THE OXFORD DICTIONARY OF

BYZANTIUM

The Oxford Dictionary of
BYZANTIUM

Prepared at Dumbarton Oaks

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PREFACE

The idea of producing a dictionary of Byzantine studies was formulated by the late Gyula Moravcsik in an article published in 1949 (*Byzantinoslavica* 10 [1949] 7). Several years later, Johannes Irmscher developed this proposal during a visit to Moscow, and plans were made to prepare such a dictionary as a joint German-Soviet enterprise; however, the project was never launched. In 1968 Peter Wirth in Munich began publication of an ambitious work, entitled *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik,* rivaling Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyklopädie* in scope; this dictionary collapsed after the appearance of a few fascicles.

In America plans for the preparation of a dictionary of Byzantium began to materialize at Dumbarton Oaks in 1980 in conversations among Alexander Kazhdan, Anthony Cutler, Speros Vryonis, and Jelisaveta Allen. With the encouragement and support of Giles Constable, then director of Dumbarton Oaks, editorial and advisory boards were established, a preliminary list of entries was drawn up, and in 1982 an initial application was made to the National Endowment for the Humanities. After the receipt of NEH funding, the project formally commenced in November 1983; in 1984 an office was established at Dumbarton Oaks and a contract was signed with Oxford University Press.

A number of existing encyclopedias deal to a limited extent with Byzantine history and culture. In some of them Byzantium is considered as an integral part—but only a part—of the subject matter; to this category belong, first and foremost, the *Lexikon des Mittelalters* (as yet unfinished) and the recently completed *Dictionary of the Middle Ages.* Other encyclopedias include separate fields of Byzantine studies, limited chronologically (thus Pauly-Wissowa's *Real-Encyklopädie* elucidates the history of the late Roman Empire and also treats later authors relevant for ancient history) or topically (there are numerous patristic, theological, liturgical, and church historical dictionaries and encyclopedias as well as reference books on prosopography, topography, art, and iconography, including the *Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* the *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* the *Tabula Imperii Byzantini,* and the *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*). Ours is, however, the first attempt to collect within a single work data concerning all fields of Byzantine studies.

Encyclopedias differ in that some of them (such as the *Real-Encyklopädie* or the *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*—the latter still in progress) claim comprehensiveness of both information and bibliography, while others are selective and therefore more concise (e.g., the three-volume *Dizionario patristico e di antichità cristiane*). *The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium* (hereafter *ODB*) was from the outset planned as a selective dictionary following the model of other Oxford dictionaries.

As a result it was necessary to make choices in three areas: the number of entries, their length, and the bibliographical references.

From the very beginning we limited the *ODB* to approximately five thousand entries. It goes without saying that this is a number insufficient to include all Byzantine names and terms; thus we had to decide who and what would be treated, who and what would be excluded. Only one category, that of the Byzantine emperors, is complete, while a selection has been made among saints, patriarchs, writers, places, fiscal and administrative concepts, and so forth. The decision process was long and painful: we started it before the editorial board was fully operative, we consulted with members of the Dumbarton Oaks community, in 1986 we published the preliminary *Working Lists* of entries and distributed this pamphlet to leading Byzantinists. We continued to make changes in the list right up to the time of galley proofs, thanks to the understanding of the Oxford University Press. The final result is comprehensive coverage of all aspects of Byzantine history and civilization, with special depth in subjects such as bureaucratic titles and fiscal terms, urban life, and rural economy.

Our original goal was to create a work of approximately 1.1 million words, exclusive of bibliographies. We established the average length of an entry as two hundred words and of a major article as one thousand words, but we did grant our contributors some latitude. We restricted bibliographical references: we requested that only one edition of a text (the best) be indicated and that the "literature" section include no more than four or five items. As a consequence, however, of adding new entries in the course of our work, of increasing the wordage of many entries in order to permit adequate coverage of the subject matter, and of expanding the bibliographies to incorporate the most recent scholarhip, the completed product is considerably longer than anticipated, a three-volume work of approximately two million words, including bibliographies. We were able to keep revising the bibliographies until June 1989; in only a few instances was it feasible to add references to new editions, articles, and monographs that appeared in 1989 and 1990.

We decided to divide the subject matter into about 135 "clusters" of entries and invited certain contributors to serve as cluster leaders responsible for a particular topic such as fiscal system or geography of Asia Minor. In most instances, the cluster leader was asked to write both a general survey article on his or her topic of specialization as well as the related shorter entries. Our reasoning was that the system of clusters would permit more coherence within the group of entries and more flexibility for these contributors who, in the course of work, were to decide which person or object was more and which less significant; we also expected thereby to lessen repetitions and inconsistencies. Certainly, the system had its shortcomings: often it was impossible to make a strict separation between different clusters, and some topics appeared in different clusters, even under different names. Some cluster leaders subcontracted a part of their entries, thus multiplying the legion of contributors. It is our judgment nevertheless that this system helped to

produce a certain uniformity and to avoid unnecessary duplication of information.

It was difficult to impose a consistent structure on the entries and especially difficult to decide whether an entry should merely state facts or should also include source references, scholarly discussions, and scholarly doubts. Thus many entries have no scientific scaffolding and supports, while others are heavily loaded with scholarly apparatus. This difference in treatment has been determined both by the preference of individual contributors and by the controversial nature of certain topics. In any case, we tried to avoid unilateral solutions and sometimes presented in the running text, or at least in bibliographical references, conclusions we or our contributors do not share.

We also faced the difficult question of to what extent a dictionary should summarize already established data and to what extent authors should go beyond the *déjà connu* and suggest new viewpoints and new solutions. At the beginning, we set as our goal the summation of elementary knowledge about Byzantium; it turned out, however, that there are many questions that have not even been asked and many traditional views that are not substantiated by the sources. We found ourselves obliged to touch upon topics developed by western medievalists but not yet studied by Byzantinists and to question a number of traditional perceptions and dates.

Preparation of the *ODB* was the joint effort of more than a hundred contributors, dozens of cluster leaders, and a handful of editors. Could such an assemblage reach a unified approach and work as a team? We tried to achieve such a goal but were not always successful. Over a seven-year period we had long discussions, both at meetings and in correspondence; the editorial board insisted, surrendered, and insisted again, and frequently was unable to find unity within its own ranks. Nevertheless we hope that in the end we managed to develop certain general principles, even though they could not be uniformly applied, partly owing to the lack of data, partly to the strength of traditional approaches.

First of all, we addressed issues of chronology and geography. The chronological scope of the dictionary was defined as the period from the 4th to the 15th century; classical authors such as Euripides and Plato are included, but discussion of them is focused on the transmission and knowledge of their writings in Byzantium. The post-Byzantine tradition *(Byzance après Byzance)* was deliberately omitted. It proved much more difficult to set geographical limits for the *ODB* because of the constant fluctuation in the borders of the empire and the far-ranging impact of Byzantine culture and its contacts with distant lands. All regions that at any time formed part of the Byzantine Empire are covered, as are sites outside the empire's borders that had significant connections with Byzantium. In entries treating areas bordering on the empire, the emphasis is on relations with Byzantium or Byzantine culture. Thus, the *ODB* entries on the Qur'ān and Muḥammad differ greatly from their counterparts in the *Encyclopedia of Islam,* in that they focus on Byzantine perceptions of the Holy Book and Prophet of Islam. To

take another example, in the realm of art and architecture, only those churches of medieval Serbia have been emphasized for which it can be demonstrated that Byzantine artists or architects were primarily responsible.

The second principle we followed was to make the entries in the *ODB* interdisciplinary in nature. We wanted to have entries in which history, philology, art, and liturgy were interwoven and combined; even short entries were sometimes written by three professionals so that a person or an event is viewed from several vantage points. This approach is closely linked to our belief that elements of Byzantine culture did not exist in isolation.

This brings us to the very complex problem of whether Byzantium was a living, developing organism or only a guardian of ancient and patristic traditions. The question is complex since so much in Byzantium imitated the past and the sources themselves gloss over changes and alterations, but in the words of Paul Lemerle "to represent Byzantium as immutable over a period of eleven centuries is to fall into a trap set by Byzantium itself" (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 251). In fields as disparate as literature, military strategy and organization, science, medicine, law, and philosophy, the editorial board has taken the position that Byzantium did not merely transmit the traditions of antiquity but developed its own models and worldview.

A final point is that the *ODB* includes many topics not normally found in traditional encyclopedias and dictionaries. The editors have made a deliberate attempt to emphasize *realia* and the man in the street *(homo byzantinus)*, with special focus on subjects such as the family, diet, emotions, and everyday life.

It is our hope that the *ODB* will provide its reader with a body of knowledge about Byzantium. We also expect it to demonstrate many areas of study that are still underdeveloped, unclear, and confused, and by so doing to stimulate the further evolution of our discipline.

NOTE TO THE READER

Entries in the *ODB* are arranged in alphabetical order, strictly letter by letter, not word by word. A space between words is thus ignored, so that Leo *G*rammatikos precedes Leo*n*ard of Chios, but Leo *o*f Catania follows Leo*n*tios Scholastikos. Entries on emperors, popes, patriarchs, and others with identical names are arranged in chronological order. Cross-references, indicated by small capitals (e.g., FARMS, IRENE), will guide the reader to other entries that should offer pertinent related information. We recommend that the reader doing research on a topic also consult the major survey article; thus, someone interested in farms might also read the article on agriculture, where numerous other relevant entries will be mentioned.

Some monuments are subjects of independent entries made under the name of the specific church or monastery (this is the case for the

monuments and monasteries of Constantinople, Athos, and Thessalonike), while others are discussed in entries under the name of the site (as for Mistra, Venice, Rome, etc.). Many artists and architects who are not subjects of separate entries are discussed in the major articles on artists and architects, respectively. Toponyms are generally listed under the form of the name commonly used in the Byzantine period, for example, Ankyra instead of modern Turkish Ankara. Modern names are used for sites for which the medieval name is unknown or uncertain, for example, Alahan Manastiri, Umm el-Jimal.

References to primary sources are given in two different ways: either the work is cited in the form of a bibliographic abbreviation (e.g., Theoph. or *De cer.*), which can be found in the list of bibliographic abbreviations, or the name of the author or text is printed in small capitals, to indicate that the cross-referenced entry will provide information on editions of the works.

Greek terms and the names of most people and places have been strictly transliterated, but in many instances a traditional latinized or anglicized form (e.g., Homer, Aeschylus, Thebes, Nicaea) was used. We have also adopted the anglicized form of Greek first names that are common in English, for example, John, Nicholas, Peter. Armenian has been transliterated in accordance with the guidelines of the *Revue des études arméniennes*, Arabic and Ottoman according to the rules of the *International Journal of Middle East Studies*. For Slavic languages we have followed the "modified Harvard system," employed in *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*. In Latin we have used the initial form *ju-*, rather than *iu-*, for example, *jugum, jus;* we also distinguish between *v* and *u*.

The bibliographies are selective and emphasize monographs on a given subject; they are supplemented by bibliographical citations in the running text. Usually the most important item is listed first, but in some cases a recent book or article was added at the end. In order to avoid repetition, some works have been omitted from the bibliography of an entry if they are listed in the bibliography of another entry cross-referenced in the text. For the sake of simplicity, many articles are cited in the reprint edition of a scholar's articles (such as Variorum Reprints), with the date of original publication indicated in parentheses. For books, reprint information is given wherever known. When possible, we have tried to emphasize works in western European languages (especially English), but where appropriate a conscious decision was made to include numerous works in Greek, in Slavic and other eastern European languages, and in languages of the Middle East.

Among the challenges faced by the editorial board was that of reconciling our contributors' differing definitions of the term *Byzantine* and their often conflicting terminology for the successive stages of Byzantine history. In early drafts of entries the period from the 4th to 7th century was variously termed late antique, early Christian, late Roman, early Byzantine, proto-Byzantine, and even late Byzantine (by scholars dealing with the history of Syro-Palestine and Egypt). The term *Middle Byzantine* was used by different contributors to refer to the 8th to 11th century, the 9th to 12th century, etc. Because of the lack of precision

and confusion engendered by Byzantinists' inconsistent terminology for the periodization of Byzantine history, the editors have tried to substitute exact centuries wherever possible. In general, the *ODB* has chosen to use the term *late Roman* or *late antique* for the period of the 4th to the early or mid-7th century and to employ *Byzantine* for phenomena of the 7th century and later, but inevitably there are inconsistencies in our usage.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

The Oxford Dictionary of Byzantium would never have been realized without the assistance and goodwill of numerous institutions and individuals.

Three successive directors of Dumbarton Oaks have supported the project in manifold ways, beginning with the initial encouragement given by Giles Constable, who provided invaluable advice during the early phases of organization, preliminary overtures to the National Endowment for the Humanities, and negotiations with publishers. His successors, Robert Thomson and Angeliki Laiou, have continued this policy of strong institutional commitment and have also themselves made a scholarly contribution to the *ODB* by writing and reviewing entries. Throughout the long years of the project, Dumbarton Oaks has provided office space, paid some staff salaries, made accommodations available, and offered various kinds of administrative and logistical support. We are grateful to the staffs of the Financial Office (especially Marlene Chazan and José Garcia), the Byzantine Library (especially Irene Vaslef, Steve Rouser, and Mark Zapatka), and the Department of Visual Resources (especially Natalia Teteriatnikov and Astrid Williams), who helped to administer our grants and finances, to track down obscure bibliographic citations and rare and missing books, and to provide photographs for the illustrations, respectively.

The Advisory Board, composed of six senior scholars, played an important role in the planning of the *ODB*, reviewing general guidelines and advising on the list of entries and selection of contributors. The advisers have supported the project throughout its duration, as contributors and especially as reviewers of entries written by other scholars.

We also wish to acknowledge warmly the important contribution to the project of Gary Vikan, one of the two original editors for art history, who had to leave the Editorial Board at the end of 1984. He was extremely helpful in the early phases of the project, especially in revising the list of art entries and in preparing the initial application to the National Endowment for the Humanities.

We would indeed be remiss if we did not pay special tribute to our 127 contributors from seventeen different countries whose combined efforts were essential for the realization of this project. In order to avoid the translation of entries, we looked first to scholars from English-speaking countries, but for certain specialized topics we were not able

to adhere to this principle. Many of our contributors not only agreed to serve as cluster leaders and to write large numbers of entries but also were collaborators in the true sense of the word, working with the editors as a team and demonstrating a concern for the relationship of their entries to the *ODB* as a whole.

One of the advantages of preparing the *ODB* at Dumbarton Oaks has been the availability to the editors of the many American and international scholars who visit the Byzantine Library to conduct their own research. Many of these individuals have been extremely generous in their willingness to read and comment upon sizable groups of entries. Entire clusters were reviewed by Ute Blumenthal (Papacy), Robert Browning (Rhetoric, Literature, Education), Bernard Coulie (Armenia, Georgia), Paul Hollingsworth (Russian Literature), David Jacoby (Economy/Agrarian Relations), Leslie MacCoull (Coptic Art and Archaeology), Cyril Mango (Culture), Michael McCormick (Papacy), John Meyendorff (Ecclesiastical Structure, Church Councils, Patriarchates), Nicolas Oikonomides (Bureaucracy, Athos), Andrzej Poppe (Russian Literature and Geography), Lennart Rydén (Hagiography), Ihor Ševčenko (Palaeography, Antiquity, Literature, Late Byzantine Authors), Irfan Shahîd (Ethiopia and South Arabia), and Rainer Stichel (Theology). Some scholars in permanent residence at Dumbarton Oaks who also reviewed entries are Jelisaveta Allen (Serbian Geography), Angeliki Laiou (Economy, Family, Urban Life), and William Loerke (Architecture). Furthermore we wish to acknowledge the advice from afar of János Bak (who read the entries on Hungary), Dimitri Conomos (Hymnography), Elena Metreveli (Armenia, Georgia), and Isidore Twersky (Jews). Many other scholars read and commented on individual entries; we regret that it is not possible to mention them all by name.

One of our greatest difficulties was in reconciling conflicting systems of transliteration for the many languages cited in the *ODB*. We are particularly grateful for the assistance of Steven Reinert and Elizabeth Zachariadou with Ottoman Turkish, of Sidney Griffith and Peter Cowe with Syriac, of Robert Thomson with Armenian and Georgian, of Irfan Shahîd with Arabic, and of Leslie MacCoull with Coptic. Stefan Gero also counseled us on the translation of theological terminology from German into English.

We would also like to recognize the difficult assignment capably executed by Ruth Macrides and Kenneth Wesche, who translated from German the clusters on law and theology, respectively.

The *ODB* project has been fortunate to enjoy throughout its course the services of a devoted and able staff. Catherine Brown Tkacz, who joined the project in January 1984 as project coordinator and then became project manager, was responsible for the challenging task of designing the computer programs and organizing office procedures. In addition to performing countless other duties in connection with the management of the project for more than four and a half years, she also served as assistant editor.

After her resignation in 1988, Catherine Tkacz was succeeded as project manager by Margaret Scrymser, who had originally joined the

staff in 1986 as project assistant. Margaret ran the office efficiently and calmly for the final two years of the project, supervising staff and volunteers during a period of constant deadlines and never-ending pressure. In addition she keyed all final revisions into the computer before the entries were sent to press and oversaw the process of bibliographic verification.

Another key staff member during the final phase of the project was Susan Higman, who served as assistant editor in 1989–90. She was an invaluable assistant to the executive editor as well as serving as liaison with Oxford University Press, coordinating the checking of galley proofs, and performing numerous other tasks. Roberta Goldblatt preceded Susan as assistant editor for a few months in 1988–89.

An essential part of the preparation of the *ODB* was the keying of more than five thousand entries, a challenging assignment because of the multilingual character of the material. Catherine Tkacz and Margaret Scrymser keyed a large number of entries during the early years of the project. We also wish to acknowledge with gratitude the skilled work of Gerry Guest (fifteen months, 1988–89), whose computer expertise was invaluable, and Leilani Henderson (ten months in 1989–90). Jane Baun and Barbara Hartmann also did clerical work for short periods of time in 1986.

For almost two years (1988–90) Leslie MacCoull faithfully carried out the tedious but necessary task of verifying the more than thirty-five thousand bibliographic citations. Her scholarly background and linguistic ability made her ideally suited for this assignment, and we are much indebted to her. Monica Blanchard of the Institute of Christian Oriental Research at the Catholic University of America made available to us the specialized resources inventory of the institute's library and helped with the verification of Georgian bibliography.

A loyal group of volunteers assisted the project in many ways: processing new entries, filing and other clerical tasks, proofreading, maintaining a bibliographic inventory, bibliographic research, and providing computer expertise. We are enormously in the debt of this cheerful band of men and women, who were willing to undertake almost any task at hand. Without their services we would never have been able to complete the project within the time allotted. In order of years of service, we wish to express our profound thanks to Helen McKagen, Peggy Nalle, and Joan Theodore (six years); Eleanor Hedblom (five years); Jane Woods (three years); Teresa McArdle, Ginger McKaye, Betty Wagner, and Hal Warren (one to two years); and Jane Baun, Gianni Guindani, Patricia Hardesty, and Paul Hollingsworth (less than one year). In addition, Michael Tkacz helped out on more than one occasion over a four-year period.

A special word of appreciation is due to James C. Moeser, dean of the College of Arts and Architecture at the Pennsylvania State University, and to G. Micheal Riley, dean of the College of Humanities at the Ohio State University, for agreeing to release Anthony Cutler and Timothy Gregory, respectively, from some of their teaching duties so that they could carry out their editorial responsibilities.

We have benefited from the expert advice and assistance of the Oxford University Press throughout our long years of common association. In the early stages of the project we worked closely first with David Attwooll and then with William Mitchell as executive editors of reference books. Since 1988 we have had a congenial working relationship with Claude Conyers, editorial director for reference books, and with Jeffrey Edelstein, who served as the Press's project editor during the demanding final phases of the project. Among former staff members at Oxford University Press, we should like particularly to thank Marion Britt.

A project of this magnitude and duration required considerable financial assistance. From the beginning we have received the indispensable support of the National Endowment for the Humanities, which has provided both outright grants and matching federal funds. In addition we wish to thank particularly the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation and Dumbarton Oaks, which supplemented Endowment funding with generous grants throughout the seven-year period of preparation of the *ODB*. The Getty Grant Program of the J. Paul Getty Trust and the Samuel H. Kress Foundation were also major benefactors, making substantial contributions to offset costs relating to art historical portions of the project. We are also most appreciative of the funds provided by the Menil Foundation, the Gordon Fund, Capt. Nicholas Kulukundis, and Helen McKagen.

THE EDITORIAL BOARD
September 1990

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Ekdotike Athenon S.A., Athens CHRYSOBULL

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Giraudon Art Resource LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER

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Ihor Ševčenko BRYAS; SINGERS

State Historical Museum, Moscow ICONOCLASM

Trinity College, Cambridge COLUMN, HONORIFIC

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Victoria and Albert Museum, London CASKETS AND BOXES

Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond ENKOLPION

J. Wayman Williams CONSTANTINOPLE; DOME; GALLERY; HAGIA SOPHIA: Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (exterior view)

ABBREVIATIONS

GENERAL ABBREVIATIONS

a. anno
acc. according
acq. no. acquisition number
A.D. anno/annis Domini
add. additions by
adj. adjective
A.H. in the year of the Hijra
a.k.a. also known as
alt. altitude
anc. ancient
anon. anonymous
app. appendix
Apr. April
Ar. Arabic
Arm. Armenian
Att. Attic
Aug. August
approx. approximately
Archbp. Archbishop
B.C. Before Christ
Bibl. Bibliothèque, Bibliothek, Bibliotheca, Biblioteca, etc.
(bibl.) bibliography
bk(s). book(s)
Bp. Bishop
Byz. Byzantium, Byzantine (adj.), Byzantines (n.)
C. century, centuries
ca. circa
cf. compare
ch(s). chapter(s)
cm centimeter(s)
cod(d). codex (codices)
col(s). column(s)
Comm. *Commentary in/on* [*the/a*], *Commentarium in/de*
corr. corrected by
Dec. December
diam. diameter
dim. diminutive
diss. dissertation
ed(s). edited by, edition(s), editor(s)
e.g. for example
Emp. Emperor
Eng. English
ep(s). epistle(s)
esp. especially
et al. et alia, et alii
etc. et cetera
f the following page
facs. facsimile
Feb. February
fem. feminine
fig(s). figure(s)
fol(s). folio(s)
fl. floruit
fr. fragment
Fr. French
ft foot, feet
g gram
Georg. Georgian
Germ. German
Gr. Greek
ha hectare(s)
HE *Historia ecclesiastica*
Hebr. Hebrew
Hlbbd. Halbband
ibid. ibidem, in the same place
i.e. that is
(ill.) work cited only because of its illustrations
inf. inferior(e)
inscr. inscription
introd. introduction, introduction by
It. Italian
Jan. January
kg kilogram
km kilometer(s)
Lat. Latin
Lib. Library
lit. literally
Lit. Literature
m meter(s)
m. married
Mar. March
masc. masculine
Mél. Mélanges
Metr. Metropolitan
mm millimeter(s)
mod. modern
MS(S) manuscript(s)
Mt. Mount
n(n). note(s)
n.d. no date (of publication)
neut. neuter
no(s). number(s)
nov. novel(la)
Nov. November
n.s. new series
Oct. October
OF Old French
or. oratio(nes)
o.s. old series
p(p). page(s)
par(s). paragraph(s)
Patr. Patriarch
Pers. Persian
pic. pictura
pl. plural
pl(s). plate(s)
pr. proem
pt(s). part(s)
r recto
r. ruled, reigned
R. Reihe (series)
republ. republished
rev. review, reviewed by
rp. reprint
Russ. Russian
S. San, Santo, Santa
sc. scilicet, namely
Sept. September
ser. series
sing. singular
sq. square
SS. Santi
St(s). Saint(s)
sup. superior(e)
supp. supplement, supplemented by
s.v. sub voce, sub verbo
Syr. Syriac
tr. translated by, translation
Turk. Turkish, Turkic
Univ. University
unpub. unpublished
v verso
viz. videlicet
v(v). verse(s)
(with bibl.) with bibliography

ABBREVIATIONS OF BIBLICAL BOOKS

Am Amos
Apoc Apocalypse
1 Chr 1 Chronicles
2 Chr 2 Chronicles
Col Colossians
1 Cor 1 Corinthians
2 Cor 2 Corinthians
Dan Daniel
Dt Deuteronomy
Ec Ecclesiastes
Eph Ephesians
Est Esther
Ex Exodus
Ezek Ezekiel
Ezra Ezra
Gal Galatians
Gen Genesis
Hab Habakkuk
Hag Haggai
Heb Hebrews
Hos Hosea
Is Isaiah
Jas James
Jer Jeremiah
Jg Judges
Jl Joel
Jn John
1 Jn 1 John
2 Jn 2 John
3 Jn 3 John
Jon Jonah
Jos Joshua
1 Kg (3 Kg) 1 Kings
2 Kg (4 Kg) 2 Kings
Lam Lamentations
Lev Leviticus
Lk Luke
Mal Malachi
Mic Micah
Mk Mark
Mt Matthew
Nah Nahum
Neh Nehemiah
Num Numbers
Ob Obadiah
1 Pet 1 Peter
2 Pet 2 Peter
Phil Philippians
Philem Philemon
Pr Proverbs
Ps Psalms
Rom Romans
Ru Ruth
1 Sam (1 Kg) 1 Samuel
2 Sam (2 Kg) 2 Samuel
S of S Song of Solomon
1 Th 1 Thessalonians
2 Th 2 Thessalonians
1 Tim 1 Timothy
2 Tim 2 Timothy
Tit Titus
Zech Zechariah
Zeph Zephaniah

ABBREVIATIONS OF MANUSCRIPT CITATIONS

Ann Arbor = Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Library

Athens, Benaki = Athens, Benaki Museum (Mouseion Benaki)

Athens, Byz. Mus. = Athens, Byzantine Museum (Byzantinon Mouseion)

Athens, Nat. Lib. = Athens, National Library (Ethnike Bibliotheke)

Athos = Mt. Athos, followed by abbrev. for individual monastery:

- Chil. Chilandari
- Dion. Dionysiou
- Doch. Docheiariou
- Esphig. Esphigmenou
- Greg. Gregoriou
- Iver. Iveron
- Koutl. Koutloumousiou
- Pantel. Panteleemon
- Pantok. Pantokrator
- Philoth. Philotheou
- Simop. Simopetra
- Stavr. Stavroniketa
- Vatop. Vatopedi
- Xenoph. Xenophontos
- Xerop. Xeropotamou

Baltimore, Walters = Baltimore, Walters Art Gallery

Berlin, Kupferstichkab. = Berlin-Dahlem, Staatliche Museen, Kupferstichkabinett

Berlin, Staatsbibl. = Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek

Bologna, Bibl. Com. = Bologna, Biblioteca Comunale dell'Archiginnasio

Bologna, Bibl. Univ. = Bologna, Biblioteca Universitaria

Brescia, Bibl. Querin. = Brescia, Biblioteca Queriniana

Cambridge, Harvard = Cambridge, Mass., Harvard College Library

Chicago, Univ. Lib. = University of Chicago Library

Cividale, Mus. Archeol. = Cividale, Museo Archeologico

Cleveland Mus. = Cleveland Museum of Art

Copenhagen, Royal Lib. = Copenhagen, Det kongelige Bibliotek

Erevan, Mat. = Erevan, Matenadaran

Escorial = Biblioteca de El Escorial

Florence, Laur. = Florence, Biblioteca Medicea-Laurenziana

Genoa, Bibl. Franz. = Genoa, Biblioteca Franzoniana

Gotha, Landesbibl. = Gotha, Thüringische Landesbibliothek

Grottaferrata = Grottaferrata, Biblioteca della Badia

Istanbul, Gr. Patr. = Istanbul, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)

Istanbul, Süleymaniye = Istanbul, Süleymaniye Library

Istanbul, Topkapı = Istanbul, Topkapı Sarayı Library

Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. = Jerusalem, Armenian Patriarchate

Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. = Jerusalem, Greek Patriarchate (Patriarchike Bibliotheke)

Leipzig, Univ. Lib. = Leipzig, Universitätsbibliothek

Leningrad, Publ. Lib. = Leningrad, Gosudarstvennaja Publičnaja Biblioteka imeni M.E. Saltykova Ščedrina

London, B.L. = London, British Library

Madrid, Bibl. Nac. = Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional

Megaspelaion = Mone Megalou Spelaiou, Kalabryta

Melbourne, Nat. Gall. = Melbourne, National Gallery of Victoria

Messina, Bibl. Univ. = Messina, Biblioteca Universitaria

Meteora, Metamorph. = Meteora, Mone Metamorphoseos

Milan, Ambros. = Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana

Moscow, Hist. Mus. = Moscow, Gosudarstvennyj Istoričeskij Muzej

Moscow, Lenin Lib. = Moscow, Publičnaja Biblioteka SSSR imeni V.I. Lenina

Moscow, Univ. Lib. = Moscow, Naučnaja Biblioteka imeni Gor'kogo Moskovskogo gosudarstvennogo Universiteta

Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. = Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek

Mytilene = Mytilene (Lesbos), Gymnasion

Naples, Bibl. Naz. = Naples, Biblioteca Nazionale

New York, Kraus = New York City, H.P. Kraus

New York, Morgan Lib. = New York City, Pierpont Morgan Library

Oxford, Bodl. = Oxford, Bodleian Library

Oxford, Lincoln Coll. = Oxford, Lincoln College

Palermo, Bibl. Naz. = Palermo, Biblioteca Nazionale

Paris, Arsenal = Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal

Paris, B.N. = Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale

Parma, Bibl. Pal. = Parma, Biblioteca Palatina

Patmos = Patmos, Monastery of St. John

Princeton, Theol. Sem. = Princeton Theological Seminary, Speer Library

Princeton, Univ. Lib. = Princeton University Library

Rossano = Rossano, Curia Arcivescovile

Serres = Serres, Monastery of St. John the Baptist (Mone tou Prodromou)

Sinai = Mt. Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine

Tbilisi = Tbilisi, Georgian Academy of Sciences, Institut Rukopisej

Thessalonike, Blatadon = Thessalonike, Monastery ton Blatadon

Turin, Bibl. Naz. = Turin, Biblioteca Nazionale

Vat. = Rome, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana

Venice, Ist. Ellen. = Venice, Istituto Ellenico (San Giorgio dei Greci)

Venice, Marc. = Venice, Biblioteca Nazionale di S. Marco

Venice, San Lazzaro = Venice, Biblioteca di San Lazzaro

Vienna, ÖNB = Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek

Washington, D.O. = Washington, D.C., Dumbarton Oaks

Zaborda = Zaborda, Monastery of St. Nikanor (Mone tou Hagiou Nikanoros)

Note: Greek papyri are cited according to the abbreviations in J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[2] (Missoula, Mont., 1978).

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Note: A superscript number following an abbreviation indicates the edition number if it is other than the first.

AA = *Archäologischer Anzeiger*

AAPA = *Artistes, artisans et production artistique au moyen âge*, ed. X. Barral i Altet, vols. 1–2 (Paris 1986–87)

AASS = *Acta Sanctorum*, 71 vols. (Paris 1863–1940)

AB = *Analecta Bollandiana*

ABAW = *Abhandlungen der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften*

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ABME = *Archeion ton Byzantinon Mnemeion tes Hellados*

Abramea, *Thessalia* = A.P. Abramea, *He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204* (Athens 1974)

ACO = *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, 4 vols. in 27 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922–74)

ActaAntHung = *Acta Antiqua Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

ActaArchHung = *Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

ActaHistHung = *Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae*

ActaNorv = *Acta ad Archaeologiam et Artium Historiam pertinentia, Institum Romanum Norvegiae*

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ADSV = *Antičnaja drevnost' i srednie veka* (Sverdlovsk)

AFP = *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum*

Agath. = Agathias, *Historiarum librum quinque*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967)

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AHR = *The American Historical Review*

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AIHS = *Archives Internationales d'histoire des sciences*

AIPHOS = *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves* (Université libre de Bruxelles)

AJA = *American Journal of Archaeology*

AJPh = *American Journal of Philology*

AkadAthPr = *Akademia Athenon: Praktika*

Akrop. = *Georgii Acropolitae Opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903)

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Annales ESC = *Annales: Économies—sociétés—civilisations*

AnnArchSyr = *Les annales archéologiques de Syrie* (from vol. 16 onward, title changed to *Annales archéologiques arabes syriennes*)

AnnEPHE = *Annuaire de l'École Pratique des Hautes Études*

AnnHistCon = *Annuarium historiae conciliorum*

AnnPisa = *Annali della Scuola Normale Superiore di Pisa*

ANRW = *Aufsteig und Niedergang der römischen Welt*

AntAa = *Antichità Altoadriatiche*

AntAb = *Antike und Abendland*

AntAfr = *Antiquités africaines*

AntCl = *L'Antiquité classique*

AnthGr = *Anthologia graeca*², ed. H. Beckby, 4 vols. (Munich 1965) with Germ. tr.

Ant. Nov. = Antony of Novgorod, *Kniga palomnik*, ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg 1899)

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AOC = *Archives de l'Orient Chrétien*

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ArchEph = *Archaiologike Ephemeris*

ArchHistPont = *Archivum historiae pontificiae*

ArchOtt = *Archivum Ottomanicum*

ArchPont = *Archeion Pontou*

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ArtJ = *Art Journal*

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ASRSP = *Archivio della Società* [alternately *Deputazione*] *Romana di Storia Patria*

AStCal = *Archivio storico per la Calabria e la Lucania*

AStSic = *Archivio storico siciliano*

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BBA = *Berliner byzantinische Arbeiten*

BBulg = *Byzantinobulgarica*

BCH = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique*

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BHL = *Bibliotheca hagiographica latina antiquae et mediae aetatis*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1898–1901; rp. 1949). *Supplementi editio altera auctior* (1911)

BHM = *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*

BHO = *Bibliothèque hagiographique Orientale*

BHR = *Bulgarian Historical Review/Revue bulgare d'Histoire*

Bibl.sanct. = *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. (Rome 1961–70)

BICR = *Bollettino dell'Istituto Centrale del Restauro* (Italy)

BIFAO = *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'archéologie orientale* (Cairo)

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BMQ = *The British Museum Quarterly*

BNJbb = *Byzantinisch-neugriechische Jahrbücher*

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BollBadGr = *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata*

BollClass = *Bollettino dei classici* [Note: *BollClass* is a continuation of *BollCom*]

BollCom = *Bollettino del Comitato per la preparazione dell'Edizione Nazionale dei Classici Greci e Latini*

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BS = *Byzantinoslavica*

BSA = *Annual of the British School at Athens*

BSAC = *Bulletin de la Société d'archéologie copte*

BSC Abstracts = *Byzantine Studies Conference: Abstracts of Papers*

BS/EB = *Byzantine Studies/Études Byzantines*

BSHAcRoum = Académie Roumaine, *Bulletin de la section historique* (Academia română, Sectiunea istorică—*Bulletin*)

BSOAS = *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* (London University)

BSR = *Papers of the British School at Rome*

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BullIstDirRom = *Bullettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* (Rome)

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ByzAus = *Byzantina Australiensia*

ByzF = *Byzantinische Forschungen*

ByzMetabyz = *Byzantina Metabyzantina*

Byz. Saint = *The Byzantine Saint: University of Birmingham 14th Spring Symposium of Byzantine Studies*, ed. S. Hackel (London 1981)

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BZ = *Byzantinische Zeitschrift*

Caetani, *Islam* = L. Caetani, *Annali dell'Islam*, 10 vols. in 11 pts. (Milan 1905–26; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1972)

CAG = *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882–1909)

CahArch = *Cahiers archéologiques*

CahCM = *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale, Xᵉ–XIIᵉ siècles*

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CCAG = *Catalogus Codicum astrologorum graecorum*, 12 vols. (Brussels 1898–1953)

CChr, ser. gr. = Corpus Christianorum, series graeca

CChr, ser. lat. = Corpus Christianorum, series latina

CEB = *Congrès international des Études Byzantines: Actes*

Cedr. = *Georgius Cedrenus*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838–39)

CEFR = *Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines: Actes* (Bucharest-Cologne-Vienna)

CEH = *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe*², ed. M.M. Postan (Cambridge 1966)

CHAfr = *The Cambridge History of Africa*, 8 vols. (Cambridge 1975–86)

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CIG = *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 vols. (Berlin 1828–77)

CIL = *Corpus inscriptionum latinarum,* 18 vols. (Berlin 1862–1989)

Classical Tradition = *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition,* ed. M. Mullett, R. Scott (Birmingham 1981)

ClMed = *Classica et mediaevalia*

ClPhil = *Classical Philology*

ClRev = *Classical Review*

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CMAG = *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs,* 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32)

CMH = *The Cambridge Medieval History,* 8 vols. (Cambridge–New York 1911–36); vol. 4, 2nd ed. 1966–67

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CPG = *Clavis patrum graecorum,* ed. M. Geerard, 5 vols. (Turnhout 1974–83)

CQ = *Classical Quarterly*

CRAI = *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres*

Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.* = *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae regiae parisiensis,* ed. J.A. Cramer, 4 vols. (Oxford 1839–41)

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CSCO = Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium

CSHB = Corpus scriptorum historiae byzantinae

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Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* = A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986)

DA = *Deutsches Archiv für Geschichte* [alternately *Erforschung*] *des Mittelalters*

DACL = *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie*

Dagron, *CP imaginaire* = G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire: Études sur le recueil des Patria* (Paris 1984)

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DChAE = *Deltion tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias*

DDC = *Dictionnaire de droit canonique,* 7 vols. (Paris 1935–65)

De adm. imp. = *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De administrando imperio,* ed. Gy. Moravcsik, tr. R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967); vol. 2, *Commentary* (London 1962)

De cer. = *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae,* ed. J.J. Reiske, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30)

De. cer., ed. Vogt = *Le livre des cérémonies,* ed. A. Vogt, 2 vols. (Paris 1935–39)

Deichmann, *Ravenna* = F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna, Hauptstadt des spätantiken Abendlandes,* 3 vols. in 5 pts. (Wiesbaden 1969–89)

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Devreesse, *Manuscrits* = R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954)

DHGE = *Dictionnaire d'histoire et de géographie ecclésiastiques*

DictBibl = *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 5 vols. in 10 pts. (Paris 1912–28)

DictSpir = *Dictionnaire de Spiritualité*

DIEE = *Deltion tes Historikes kai ethnologikes hetaireias tes Hellados*

Diehl, *L'Afrique* = C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896)

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Dion.Phour., *Hermeneia* = Dionysius of Phourna, *Hermeneia tes zographikes technes kai hai kyriai autes anekdotoi pegai*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1909)

Dionys. = *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1968)

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DMA = *Dictionary of the Middle Ages*, 13 vols. (New York 1982–89)

Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* = A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie liturgičeskich rukopisej*, 3 vols. (Kiev 1895–1917)

Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* = A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep.Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, 2 vols. (Odessa 1913–14)

DOC = A.R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966–73)

DOCat = *Catalogue of the Byzantine and Early Mediaeval Antiquities in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection*, vols. 1–2 by M.C. Ross (Washington, D.C., 1962–65), vol. 3 by K. Weitzmann (1972)

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Donner, *Conquests* = F.M. Donner, *The Early Islamic Conquests* (Princeton 1981)

DOP = *Dumbarton Oaks Papers*

Douk. = *Ducas: Istoria turco-bizantină (1341–1462)*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958)

DPAC = *Dizionario patristico e di antichità*, 3 vols. (Casale Monferrato 1983–88)

DSB = *Dictionary of Scientific Biography*

DTC = *Dictionnaire de théologie catholique*

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EAEHL = *Encyclopedia of Archaeological Excavations in the Holy Land*, ed. M. Avi-Yonah, 4 vols. (Jerusalem 1975–78)

East of Byzantium = *East of Byzantium: Syria and Armenia in the Formative Period*, ed. N.G. Garsoïan, T.F. Mathews, R.W. Thomson (Washington, D.C., 1982)

EChR = *Eastern Churches Review*

Ecloga = L. Burgmann, *Ecloga, Das Gesetzbuch Leons III. und Konstantios' V.* (Frankfurt am Main 1983)

EEBS = *Epeteris Hetaireias Byzantinon Spoudon*

EEPhSPA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*

EEPhSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Philosophikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*

EESM = *Epeteris Hetaireias Steriohelladikon Meleton*

EEThSA = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Athenon*

EEThSPTh = *Epistemonike Epeteris tes Theologikes Scholes tou Panepistemiou Thessalonikes*

Egenolff, *Orthog.* = P. Egenolff, *Die orthographischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1888)

Egeria = *Itinerarium Egeriae*, ed. P. Maraval (Paris 1982)

EHR = *English Historical Review*

Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* = A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1936–39)

EI = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*, 4 vols. (Leiden-London 1913–34)

EI^2 = *The Encyclopedia of Islam*^{2}, vols. 1– (Leiden-London 1960–)

EkAl = *Ekklesiastike Aletheia*

EKEE = *Epeteris tou Kentrou Epistemonikon Ereunon* (Nikosia)

EkklPhar = *Ekklesiastikos Pharos*

EO = *Échos d'Orient*

EpChron = *Epeirotika Chronika*

EphLit = *Ephemerides Liturgicae*

EpMesArch = *Epeteris tou Mesaionikou Archeiou*

Esphig. = *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1973)

EtBalk = *Études balkaniques*

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FHG = *Fragmenta historicorum graecorum*, ed. K. Müller, 5 vols. (Paris 1841–83)

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GOrThR = *The Greek Orthodox Theological Review*

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GRBS = *Greek, Roman and Byzantine Studies*

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GSU JuF = *Godišnik na Sofijskija universitet: Juridičeski fakultet*

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HA = *Handes Amsorya*

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Hierokl. = *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939)

HilZb = *Hilandarski Zbornik*

HistJb = *Historisches Jahrbuch*

HistZ = *Historische Zeitschrift*

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HThR = *Harvard Theological Review*

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HUkSt = *Harvard Ukrainian Studies*

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İA = *İslam Ansiklopedisi*

Iconoclasm = *Iconoclasm*, ed. A.A. Bryer, J. Herrin (Birmingham 1977)

ICS = *Illinois Classical Studies*

IEJ = *Israel Exploration Journal*

IFŽ = *Istoriko-filologičeskij žurnal* (Erevan)

IGLSyr = *Inscriptions grecques et latines de la Syrie*, ed. L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde et al., vols. 1– (Paris 1929–)

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Institutes = *Institutiones* (*Corpus Iuris Civilis*), ed. J. Lokin, N. van der Wal (Groningen 1987)

IntCongChrArch = *International Congress of Christian Archaeology: Acts*

IntCongClassArch = *International Congress of Classical Archaeology: Acts, Proceedings*

IRAIK = *Izvestija Russkogo Arheologičeskogo Instituta v Konstantinopole*

Iskusstvo Vizantii = [A. Bank, O.S. Popova,] *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijach SSSR*, exhibition catalog, 3 vols. (Moscow 1977)

IstGl = *Istoriski Glasnik*

IstMitt = *Istanbuler Mitteilungen*

IstPreg = *Istoričeski pregled*

IstSrpskNar = *Istorija Srpskog naroda*, 6 vols. (Belgrade 1981–86)

ItMedUm = *Italia medioevale e umanistica*

Ivir. = *Actes de l'Iviron*, ed. J. Lefort, 2 vols. (Paris 1985)

IzvAN SSSR = *Izvestija Akademiji Nauk SSSR*

IzvANSSSR.OL = *Izvestija Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie literatury i jazyka*

IzvBŭlgArchInst = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskija Archeologičeski Institut*

IzvInstBŭlgIst = *Izvestija na Instituta za Bŭlgarska istorija* (Sofia); after 1951: *Izvestija na Instituta za istorija*

IzvIstDr = *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto istoričeskoto družestvo* (Sofia)

IzvNarMus-Varna = *Izvestija na narodnija musej—Varna*

IzvORJaS = *Izvestija Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti*

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JAOS = *Journal of the American Oriental Society*

JBAA = *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*

JbAChr = *Jahrbuch für Antike und Christentum*

JbGOst = *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas*

JbKSWien = *Jahrbuch der Kunsthistorischen Sammlungen in Wien*

JbKw = *Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft*

JbNumGeld = *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte*

JbRGZM = *Jahrbuch des Römisch-Germanischen Zentralmuseums* (Mainz)

JDAI = *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts*

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JEH = *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*

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JGS = *Journal of Glass Studies*

JHS = *Journal of Hellenic Studies*

JMedHist = *Journal of Medieval History*

JMRS = *Journal of Medieval and Renaissance Studies*

JNES = *Journal of Near Eastern Studies*

JÖB = *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinistik* (before 1969, *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen byzantinischen Gesellschaft*)

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MM = F. Miklosich, J. Müller, *Acta et diplomata graeca medii aevi sacra et profana*, 6 vols. (Vienna 1860–90)

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MN = *American Numismatic Society Museum Notes*

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MünchJb = *Münchner Jahrbuch der bildenden Kunst*

Muséon = *Le Muséon*

MusHelv = *Museum helveticum*

NachGött = *Nachrichten von der Akademie [Gesellschaft] der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen, philologisch-historische Klasse*

NC = *Numismatic Circular* (Spink & Son, Ltd.)

NChron = *Numismatic Chronicle*

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NNM = *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* (American Numismatic Society)

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NS = *Notizie degli scavi di antichità*

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OC = *Orientalia Christiana*

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OrChr = *Oriens christianus*

OrChrAn = *Orientalia christiana analecta*

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OSP = *Oxford Slavonic Papers*

OstkSt = *Ostkirchliche Studien*

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PAPhS = *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*

Parastaseis = *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century: The Parastaseis Syntomoi Chronikai*, ed. Av. Cameron, J. Herrin (Leiden 1984)

ParPass = *Parola del passato*

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Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi* = Th. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi kai epitaphies plakes tes meses kai hysteres Byzantines periodou sten Hellada* (Thessalonike 1988)

PBR = *Patristic and Byzantine Review*

Peeters, *Tréfonds* = P. Peeters, *Orient et Byzance: Le tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1950)

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PEQ = *Palestine Exploration Quarterly*

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PG = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series graeca, ed. J.-P. Migne, 161 vols. in 166 pts. (Paris 1857–66)

PGEB = *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977)

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PKJIF = *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor*

PL = Patrologiae cursus completus, Series latina, ed. J.-P. Migne, 221 vols. in 222 pts. (Paris 1844–80)

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PLP = *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* vol. 1– (Vienna 1976–)

PLRE = *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire,* vol. 1, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, J. Morris (Cambridge 1971), vol. 2, ed. J.R. Martindale (1980)

PO = Patrologia Orientalis, ed. R. Graffin, F. Nau, vol. 1– (Paris 1904–)

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PPSb = *Pravoslavnij Palestinskij Sbornik* (1881–1916) (See also *PSb*)

PPTS = Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society

Praecepta Milit. = *Praecepta Militaria,* ed. Ju.A. Kulakovskij, "Strategika imperatora Nikifora," *ZAPANIst-fil* 8.9 (St. Petersburg 1908) 1–58

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PrOC = *Proche-Orient Chrétien*

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PSb = *Palestinskij Sbornik* (1954–; continues *PPSb*)

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pseudo-Kod. = pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices,* ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris 1966)

PSRL = *Polnoe sobranie russkich letopisej*

QFItArch = *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken*

Quasten, *Patrology* = J. Quasten, *Patrology,* 3 vols. (Westminster, Md., 1950–60)

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RACr = *Rivista di archeologia cristiana*

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RB = *Reallexikon der Byzantinistik*, 6 fascs. (Amsterdam 1968–76)

RBK = *Reallexikon zur byzantinischen Kunst*

RBMAS = *Rerum britannicarum Medii Aevi scriptores* (Great Britain)

RBPH = *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire*

RE = *Paulys Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft*

REA = *Revue des études anciennes*

REArm = *Revue des études arméniennes*

REAug = *Revue des études augustiniennes*

REB = *Revue des études byzantines*

Rec.Dujčev (1980) = *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie*, ed. V. Giuzelev, I. Božilov, et al. (Sofia 1980)

RechScRel = *Recherches de science religieuse*

Reg = F. Dölger, P. Wirth, *Regesten der Kaiserurkunden des oströmischen Reiches*, vol. 1– (Munich-Berlin 1924–)

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RegPatr = *Les regestes des actes du Patriarcat de Constantinople*, ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1932–79)

REGr = *Revue des études grecques*

REI = *Revue des études islamiques*

Reinert, *Myth* = S. Reinert, *Greek Myth in Johannes Malalas' Account of Ancient History Before the Trojan War* (Los Angeles 1981)

RendPontAcc = *Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia, Rendiconti*

RepFontHist = *Repertorium fontium historiae medii aevi*, vol. 1– (1962–)

RepKunstw = *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft*

RES = *Revue des études slaves*

RESEE = *Revue des études sud-est européennes*

Restle, *Wall Painting* = M. Restle, *Byzantine Wall Painting in Asia Minor*, 3 vols. (Greenwich, Conn., 1968)

RevBibl = *Revue biblique*

RevIst = *Revista de istorie*

RH = *Revue historique*

Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* = G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852–59; rp. 1966)

RHC = Recueil des historiens des Croisades

RHC *Arm.* = *Documents arméniens*, 2 vols. (Paris 1869–1906)

RHC *Grecs* = *Historiens grecs*, 2 vols. (Paris 1875–81)

RHC *Lois* = *Lois*, 2 vols. (Paris 1841–43)

RHC *Occid.* = *Historiens occidentaux*, 5 vols. in 8 pts. (Paris 1844–95)

RHC *Orient.* = *Historiens orientaux*, 5 vols. in 6 pts. (Paris 1872–1906)

RHE = *Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique*

RhetGr, ed. Spengel = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. L. Spengel, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1894–96)

RhetGr, ed. Walz = *Rhetores graeci*, ed. C. Walz, 9 vols. in 10 pts. (Stuttgart-Tübingen 1832–36)

RHGF = *Recueil des historiens des Gaules et de la France*, 24 vols. in 25 pts. (Paris 1738–1904)

RhM = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie*

RHR = *Revue de l'histoire des religions*

RHSEE = *Revue historique du sud-est européen*

RHT = *Revue d'histoire des textes*

Riant, *Exuviae* = P. Riant, *Exuviae sacrae Constantinopolitanae*, 3 vols. (Geneva 1877–1904)

RIASA = *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte*

Rice, *Art of Byz.* = D. Talbot Rice, *The Art of Byzantium* (London 1959)

Richard, *Opera minora* = M. Richard, *Opera minora*, 3 vols. (Turnhout 1976–77)

Richards, *Popes* = J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages. 476–752* (London-Boston-Henley 1979)

RicSlav = *Ricerche slavistiche*

RIS = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores*, ed. L.A. Muratori, 25 vols. in 28 pts. (Milan 1723–51)

RIS^2 = *Rerum Italicarum Scriptores* (Città di Castello-Bologna 1900–)

Ritzer, *Mariage* = K. Ritzer, *Le mariage dans les Églises chrétiennes du Ier au XIe siècle* (Paris 1970)

RivStChIt = *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia*

RJ = *Rechtshistorisches Journal*

RM = *Russia Mediaevalis*

RN = *Revue numismatique*

ROC = *Revue de l'Orient chrétien*

Rodley, *Cave Mons.* = L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985)

ROL = *Revue de l'Orient latin*

RömHistMitt = *Römische Historische Mitteilungen*

Roots of Egypt. Christ. = *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986)

Rothstein, *Dynastie der Lahmiden* = G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Hira* (Berlin 1899)

RPhil = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*

RQ = *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und [für] Kirchengeschichte*

RSBN = *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici*

RSBS = *Rivista di studi bizantini e slavi*

RSR = *Revue des sciences religieuses*

Rudakov, *Kul'tury* = A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow 1917; rp. London 1970)

Runciman, *Romanus* = S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign: A Study of 10th-Century Byzantium* (Cambridge 1929; rp. 1988)

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Sansterre, *Moines grecs* = J.-M. Sansterre, *Les moines grecs et orientaux à Rome aux époques byzantine et carolingienne (milieu du VI^e s.–fin du IX^e s.)*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1980)

Sathas, *MB* = K.N. Sathas, *Mesaionike Bibliotheke*, 7 vols. (Athens-Venice-Paris 1872–94; rp. Hildesheim 1972)

Sava Nemanjić = *Medjunarodni naučni skup. Sava Nemanjić—i istorija i predanje, Sveti Sava*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade 1979)

Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* = A.G.C. Savvides, *Byzantium in the Near East: Its Relations with the Seljuk Sultanate of Rum in Asia Minor, the Armenians of Cilicia and the Mongols A.D. C. 1192–1237* (Thessalonike 1981)

SBAW = *Sitzungsberichte der Bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Philosophisch[-philologische] und historische Klasse*

SBN = *Studi bizantini e neoellenici*

SBNG = *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983)

Sbornik . . . V.N. Lazareva = *Vizantija, Južnye slavjane i Drevnjaja Rus', Zapadnaja Evropa: iskusstvo i kul'tura: Sbornik statej v čest' V.N. Lazareva* (Moscow 1973)

SbWien = *Sitzungsberichte der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften: Philosophisch-historische Klasse*

SC = Sources chrétiennes

Ščepkina, *Miniatjury* = M.V. Ščepkina, *Miniatjury Chludovskoj psaltyri: Grečeskij illjustrirovannyj kodeks IX veka* (Moscow 1977)

Schartau, *Observations* = B. Schartau, *Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era*, 2 vols. (Odense 1970–73)

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Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot" = H.J. Scheltema, "Das Kommentarverbot Justinians," *Tijdschrift* 44 (1976) 307–31

SChH = *Studies in Church History*

Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* = E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen*² (Thessalonike 1982)

Schilbach, *Metrologie* = E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970)

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Schlumberger, *Sig.* = G. Schlumberger, *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantin* (Paris 1884)

Schminck, *Rechtsbücher.* = A. Schminck, *Studien zu mittelbyzantinischen Rechtsbüchern* (Frankfurt am Main 1986)

SCIV = *Studii şi Cercetări de istorie veche*

SCN = *Studii şi Cercetări de numismatică*

Scranton, *Architecture* = R.L. Scranton, *Mediaeval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton 1957)

Script.incert. = [Scriptor incertus] *Historia de Leone Bardae armenii filio* in Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842) 335–62

SEC = *Studies in Eastern Chant*

Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge" = H.R. Seeliger, "*Palai martyres*: Die drei Jünglinge im Feuerofen als Typos in der spätantiken Kunst, Liturgie und patristischen Literatur," in *Liturgie und Dichtung*, ed. H. Becker, R. Kaczynski, vol. 2 (St. Ottilien 1983) 257–334

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Seibt, *Bleisiegel* = W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, vol. 1– (Vienna 1978–)

SemKond = *Seminarium Kondakovianum*

Serb. und Mak. = R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien von 11. bis zum frühen 14. Jahrhundert*, 4 vols. (Giessen 1963–76)

Setton, *Catalan Domination* = K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948; revised ed. London 1975)

SettStu = *Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi sull'alto medioevo*

Ševčenko, "Hagiography" = I. Ševčenko, "Hagiography of the Iconoclast Period," in *Iconoclasm*, pp. 113–31; rp. in Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.V

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Ševčenko, *Metaphrastian Menologion* = N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago 1990)

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Shepard, "Russians Attack" = J. Shepard, "Why did the Russians Attack Byzantium in 1043?" *BNJbb* 22 (1985) 147–212

SicGymn = *Siculorum gymnasium*

SIG = *Sylloge inscriptionum graecarum*, ed. W. Dittenberger, 4 vols. (Leipzig 1915–24)

Silbergefässe = *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Silbergefässe aus der Staatlichen Ermitage Leningrad*, ed. A. Effenberger (Berlin 1978)

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Skyl. = *Ioannes Scylitzes: Synopsis historiarum*, ed. I. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1973)

SkylCont = E.Th. Tsolakes, *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse* (Thessalonike 1968)

SlEERev = *The Slavonic and East European Review*

Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* = V.A. Smetanin, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XIV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987)

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Soulis, *Dušan* = G.C. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium During the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and His Successors* (Washington, D.C., 1984)

SovArch = *Sovetskaja archeologija*

Sozom., *HE* = Sozomenos, *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. J. Bidez, J.C. Hansen (Berlin 1960)

Spatharakis, *Corpus* = I. Spatharakis, *Corpus of Dated Illuminated Greek Manuscripts to the Year 1453*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1981)

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Speck, *Univ. von KP* = P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1974)

Sphr. = *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966)

SpicSol = *Spicilegium Solesmense*, 4 vols. (Paris 1852–58)

Spieser, *Thessalonique* = J.-M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris 1984)

Splendeur de Byz. = *Splendeur de Byzance*, ed. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne (Brussels 1982)

SpomSAN = *Spomenik Srpske Akademije Nauke: Otdeljenje društvenih nauka*

ST = *Studi e testi*

Starr, *Jews* = J. Starr, *The Jews in the Byzantine Empire, 641–1204* (Athens 1939)

StB = *Studi bizantini*

StBalc = *Studia balcanica*

Stein, *Histoire* = E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, 2 vols. (Paris 1949–59)

Stein, *Op. minora* = E. Stein, *Opera minora selecta* (Amsterdam 1968)

Stein, *Studien* = E. Stein, *Studien zur Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches vornehmlich unter den Kaisern Justinus II und Tiberius* (Stuttgart 1919)

Stein, "Untersuchungen" = E. Stein, "Untersuchungen zur spätbyzantinischen Verfassungs- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte," *Mitteilungen zur osmanischen Geschichte* 2.1–2 (1924) 1–62

StGreg = *Studi gregoriani*

StGThK = *Studien zur Geschichte der Theologie und der Kirche*

Stichel, *Die Namen Noes* = R. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes, seines Bruders und seiner Frau* (Göttingen 1979)

StItalFCl = *Studi italiani de filologia classica*

StMed = *Studi Medievali*

StMilRoms = *Studien zu den Militärgrenzen Roms*

Stöckle, *Zünfte* = A. Stöckle, *Spätrömische und byzantinische Zünfte* (Leipzig 1911)

Stornajolo, *Omilie* = C. Stornajolo, *Miniature delle omilie di Giacomo Monaco (Cod. vatic. gr. 1162) e dell' evangeliario greco urbinate (Cod. vatic. urbin. gr. 2)* (Rome 1910)

StP = *Studia Patristica* (Papers of the International Conferences on Patristic Studies)

Strat.Maurik. = *Das Strategikon des Maurikios*, ed. G.T. Dennis, E. Gamillscheg (Vienna 1981)

Stratos, *Byzantium* = A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1968–80)

Stratos, *Studies* = A. Stratos, *Studies in 7th-Century Byzantine Political History* (London 1983)

Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* = C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in iustinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973)

Strunk, *Essays* = O. Strunk, *Essays on Music in the Byzantine World* (New York 1977)

StSl = *Studia Slavica* (Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae)

Studien Deichmann = *Studien zur spätantiken und byzantinischen Kunst: Friedrich Wilhelm Deichmann gewidmet*, ed. O. Feld, U. Peschlow, 3 vols. (Bonn 1986)

StVen = *Studi Veneziani*

SubGr = *Subseciva Groningana*

SüdostF = *Südost-Forschungen*

Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" = G.V. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II and Theodosius III," *GRBS* 17 (1976) 287–94

Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" = N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les actes des fonctionnaires," in *PGEB* 423–27

Svoronos, *Cadastre* = N.G. Svoronos, *Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI^e^ et XII^e^ siècles: Le cadastre de Thèbes* (Paris 1959)

Svoronos, *Études* = N. Svoronos, *Études sur l'organisation intérieure, la société et l'économie de l'Empire Byzantin* (London 1973)

SVThQ = *St. Vladimir's Theological Quarterly*

Symp. Gračanica = *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e^ siècle. Symposium de Gračanica 1973. Vizantijska umetnost početkom XIV veka: Naučni skup u Gračanici 1973* (Belgrade 1978)

Symp. Sopoćani = *L'art byzantin du XIII^e siècle. Symposium de Sopoćani, 1965* (Belgrade 1967)

Synax.CP = *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae: Propylaeum ad Acta sanctorum Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902)

Synthronon = *Synthronon: Art et archéologie de la fin de l'Antiquité et du Moyen Âge* (Paris 1968)

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Szövérffy, *Hymnography* = J. Szövérffy, *A Guide to Byzantine Hymnography*, 2 vols. (Brookline, Mass.–Leyden 1978–79)

Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden* = G.L.F. Tafel, G.M. Thomas, *Urkunden zur älteren Handels- und Staatsgeschichte der Republik Venedig*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1856–57)

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Taft, "Mount Athos" = R.F. Taft, "Mount Athos: A Late Chapter in the History of the Byzantine Rite," *DOP* 42 (1988) 179–94

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Talley, *Liturgical Year* = T.J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York 1986)

TAPA = *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association*

TAPhS = *Transactions of the American Philosophical Society*

Tarchnišvili, *Georg.Lit.* = M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955)

Tardo, *Melurgia* = L. Tardo, *L'antica melurgia bizantina* (Grottaferrata 1938)

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Temps chrétien = *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge* (Paris 1984)

ThEE = *Threskeutike kai Ethike Enkyklopaideia*

TheolSt = *Theological Studies*

Theoph. = Theophanes, *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883–85; rp. Hildesheim 1963)

TheophCont = *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838)

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ThQ = *Theologische Quartalschrift*

TIB = *Tabula Imperii byzantini*, ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1976–)

Tijdschrift = *Tijdschrift voor Rechtsgeschiedenis*

Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* = M.N. Tikhomirov, *The Towns of Ancient Rus* (Moscow 1959)

Timm, *Ägypten* = S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1– (Wiesbaden 1984–)

TM = *Travaux et mémoires*

TODRL = *Trudy Otdela drevnerusskoj literatury Instituta russkoj literatury Akademii nauk SSSR*

Toumanoff, "Caucasia" = C. Toumanoff, "Caucasia and Byzantium," *Traditio* 27 (1971) 111–158

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Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* = W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982)

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Treasury S. Marco = *The Treasury of San Marco, Venice*, ed. D. Buckton (Milan 1984)

Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* = O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee*[3] (Jena 1938; rp. Darmstadt 1956)

Trinchera, *Syllabus* = F. Trinchera, *Syllabus graecarum membranarum* (Naples 1865)

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Trombley, "Trullo" = F.R. Trombley, "The Council in Trullo (691–692): A Study of the Canons Relating to Paganism, Heresy, and the Invasions," *Comitatus* 9 (1978) 1–18

TU = *Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*

Turyn, *CodVat* = A. Turyn, *Codices graeci Vaticani saeculis XIII et XIV scripti* (Vatican 1964)

Tusculum-Lexikon = *Tusculum-Lexikon*[3], ed. W. Buchwald, A. Hohlweg, O. Prinz (Munich 1982)

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ZapANIst-fil = *Zapiski Akademii Nauk: Istoriko-filologičeskoe otdelenie*

ZapImpRusArch = *Zapiski Klassičeskogo otdelenija Imperatorskogo russkogo archeologičeskogo obščestva*

ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv = *Zapiski Istoriko-filologičeskogo fakulteta S.-Peterburgskogo Universiteta*

ZbFilozFak = *Zbornik Filozofskog fakulteta* (Belgrade)

ZbLikUmet = *Zbornik za likovne umetnosti*

ZDMG = *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft*

ZDPV = *Zeitschrift des deutschen Palästina-Vereins*

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ZPapEpig = *Zeitschrift für Papyrologie und Epigraphik*

ZRVI = *Zbornik radova Vizantološkog Instituta*

ZSavKan = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Kanonistische Abteilung*

ZSavRom = *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte: Romanistische Abteilung*

ZSlavPhil = *Zeitschrift für slavische Philologie*

ZWTh = *Zeitschrift für wissenschaftliche Theologie*

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The Oxford Dictionary of
BYZANTIUM

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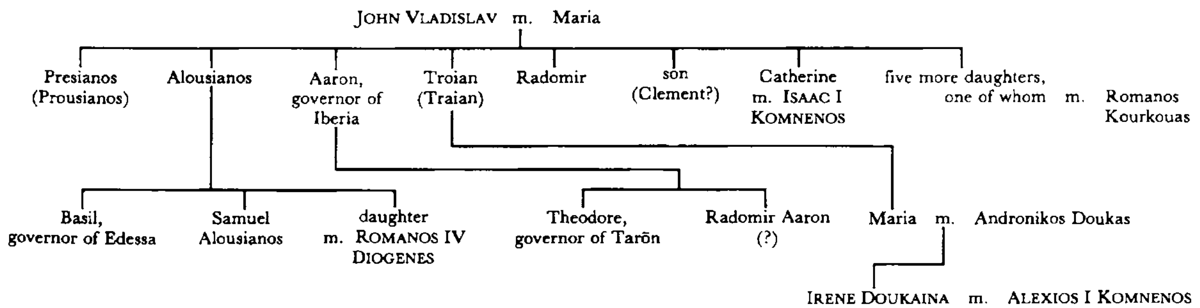
AARON (Ἀαρών), brother of Moses and first high priest of the Israelites, plays a significant supporting role in a number of events in Moses' life, notably those illustrated in the extensive cycle (between Ex 4:14 and Num 20:29) in the Octateuchs. An attempt to show Aaron in the priestly vestments described at length in Exodus 28 is also made in the illustrated MSS of Kosmas Indikopleustes, in the text of which their symbolism is considered (Kosm. Ind. 2:74–81). Usually Aaron is identified merely by the priestly diadem. He occasionally appears among the Prophets in monumental art as a companion to Moses, or as the bearer of the rod, considered one of the prefigurations of the Virgin. In Palaiologan churches more complex Marian connections with Aaron were derived from the liturgy (G. Engberg, *DOP* 21 [1967] 279–83).

lit. H. Dienst, *LCI* 1:2–4. –J.H.L.

AARONIOS (Ἀαρώνιος, Ἀαρών), Byz. noble family descended from the last Bulgarian tsar, John Vladislav, whose wife Maria was granted the title zoste patrikia soon after 1018 and settled in Constantinople. Her older sons were involved in plots and rebellions: Presianos ca.1029, Alousianos in 1040. The third son, Aaron, who gave the name to the lineage, was governor of Iberia (ca.1047), Mesopotamia (ca.1059), and perhaps of Ani and Edessa; his son Theodore, governor of Tarōn, fell in battle against the Turks in 1055/6. Another Aaron governed Mesopotamia in 1112. Seals of Radomir Aaron, *strategos* and *doux*, are preserved, but his identification remains problematic; he probably belonged to the family, since Radomir was also the name of Maria's fifth son. The Aaronioi were in double affinity with the Komnenoi: Isaac I married Maria's daughter, Catherine, and Alexios I married the granddaughter of Troian, Irene Doukaina. In 1107, however, the Aaronioi were exiled for participation in a plot against Alexios I. Theophylaktos of Ohrid dedicated two epigrams to a certain Aaron whose relationship with the lineage remains unclear. After Alexios I's reign, the family became obscure; Isaac Aaron from Corinth, interpreter at Manuel I's court, apparently did not belong to the aristocracy. In 1393 Alexios Aaron went as ambassador to Russia. The Alousianoi belonged to this lineage. (See genealogical table.)

lit. M. Lascaris, "Sceau de Radomir Aaron," *BS* 3 (1931) 404–13; rev. I. Dujčev, *IzvIstDr* 11–12 (1931–32) 375–84. I. Dujčev, "Presiam-Persian," *Ezikovedsko-etnografski izsledo-*

GENEALOGY OF THE AARONIOS FAMILY IN THE ELEVENTH CENTURY



Based on Zlatarskij, *Ist.* 535.

vanija v pamet na akademik Stojan Romanski (Sofia 1960) 479–82. *PLP*, nos. 3–7. –A.K.

ABASGIA. See ABCHASIA.

ʿABBĀSID CALIPHATE (750–1258), ruled by a dynasty whose members were descendants of the uncle of Muḥammad, al-ʿAbbās ibn ʿAbd al-Muṭṭalib ibn Hāshim. His great-grandson Muḥammad and his son Ibrāhīm prepared the revolt in Khurāsān against the UMAYYAD CALIPHATE. Although the Umayyads captured Ibrāhīm, his brothers Abu'l ʿAbbās and Abū Jaʿfar energetically continued the struggle. Proclaimed caliph in 749, Abu'l ʿAbbās became known as al-Saffāḥ, "the Bloody." His brother, Abū Jaʿfar al-Manṣūr, made Baghdad his residence. The ʿAbbāsid dynasty counted among its most illustrious caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. The dynasty weakened after Turkish mercenaries became important in the caliphate of Muʿtaṣim in the 830s, and the Mongols under Hulagu destroyed it at Baghdad in 1258. (See table for a list of ʿAbbāsid caliphs of Baghdad.) A few of the ʿAbbāsid family escaped to Egypt, where one became nominal caliph under the name of al-Mustanṣir. The last ʿAbbāsid caliph was al-Mutawakkil, who surrendered all civil and religious authority to the Ottoman sultan Selim I in 1517 and died in 1538.

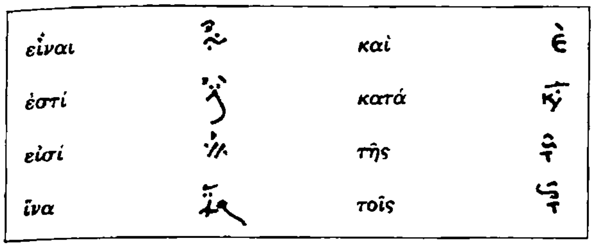
The early ʿAbbāsid caliphs, culminating in Hārūn, showed zeal in fighting the Byz. The last major campaign by an ʿAbbāsid caliph against Byz. occurred under al-MUʿTAṢIM in 838. Yet there were important cultural contacts, including embassies in which such scholars as PHOTIOS and JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS participated. These contacts led to exchanges of information and copying of MSS on mathematics, astronomy, astrology (esp. in the caliphate of al-MA'MŪN), literature, and music (and probably musical instruments, such as water organs). This intercourse probably reached its zenith in the 9th-C. Muslim geographers (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS) who wrote important descriptions of Byz. during the ʿAbbāsid caliphate. The deterioration of central authority in Baghdad reduced Byz. diplomatic contact with Baghdad and increased it with the border emirs.

LIT. Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate*. J. Lassner, *The Shaping of Abbasid Rule* (Princeton 1980). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1, 2, pts. 1–2. –W.E.K.

ABBREVIATIONS (sometimes called compendia), found in inscriptions, papyri, and MSS, were frequently substituted for words, syllables, or the ending of words or single letters to save time and space. Sometimes the abbreviations include recognizable Greek letters, usually in LIGATURE; more commonly they are composed of a variety of strokes and dots, similar to modern shorthand. The breathings and accents are often included. A particular kind of abbreviation is the *nomina sacra*, first used for Christian sacred names in papyri

ʿAbbāsid Caliphs of Baghdad

Caliph	*Date of Accession* (A.D./A.H.)	*Caliph*	*Date of Accession* (A.D./A.H.)	*Caliph*	*Date of Accession* (A.D./A.H.)
al-Saffāḥ	750/132	al-Muhtadī	869/255	al-Muktadī	1075/467
al-Manṣūr	754/136	al-Muʿtamid	870/256	al-Mustaẓhir	1094/487
al-Mahdī	775/158	al-Muʿtaḍid	892/279	al-Mustarshid	1118/512
al-Hādī	785/169	al-Muktafī	902/289	al-Rāshid	1135/529
al-Rashīd	786/170	al-Muḳtadir	908/295	al-Muḳtafī	1136/530
al-Amīn	809/193	al-Kāhir	932/320	al-Mustandjid	1160/555
AL-MA'MŪN	813/198	al-Rāḍī	934/322	al-Mustaḍi'	1170/566
AL-MUʿTAṢIM	833/218	al-Muttaḳī	940/329	al-Nāṣir	1180/575
al-Wāthiḳ	842/227	al-Mustakfī	944/333	al-Ẓāhir	1225/622
al-Mutawakkil	847/232	al-Mutīʿ	946/334	al-Mustanṣir	1226/623
al-Muntaṣir	861/247	al-Tā'iʿ	974/363	al-Mustaʿṣim	1242/640
al-Mastaʿin	862/248	al-Ḳādir	991/381		
al-Muʿtazz	866/252	al-Ḳā'im	1031/422		



Abbreviations. Sample abbreviations.

and uncial MSS, for example, XC for Χριστός. In minuscule MSS from the 9th C. onward, the *nomina sacra* occur in nonbiblical contexts also (e.g., *anthropos, pater*), even for compounds like *patriarches* or *philanthropia*. The abbreviations for endings in book script are sometimes identical with elements from tachygraphy. Monograms sometimes use an abbreviated form of a name.

lit. T.W. Allen, *Notes on Abbreviations in Greek Manuscripts* (Oxford 1889; rp. Amsterdam 1967). L. Traube, *Nomina Sacra: Versuch einer Geschichte der christlichen Kürzung* (Munich 1907; rp. Darmstadt 1967). C.H. Roberts, *Manuscript, Society and Belief in Early Christian Egypt* (London 1979) 26–48. A. Paap, *Nomina sacra in the Greek Papyri of the First Five Centuries A.D.* (Leiden 1959). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 39–43. –E.G., A.M.T.

ABCHASIA (Ἀβασγία), northern portion of ancient Colchis bordering on the eastern shore of the Black Sea. In the 4th C. Abchasia became part of the kingdom of Lazika; it probably developed only in the 6th C., even though Theodoret of Cyrrhus mentioned its existence in 423. Similarly, though the Arabic version of Agathangelos claims that Abchasia was christianized at the order of St. Gregory the Illuminator, the surviving Armenian version lacks this information, pointing again to a post-6th-C. date.

Byz. became familiar with Abchasia during the Lazic wars of the 6th C. when they built the fortresses of Sebastopolis and Pitiunt (mod. Pitzunda); a large proportion of Byz. eunuchs were said to have come from this region. The empire maintained some sovereignty over this area from the period of Justinian I to that of Herakleios and of the Arab invasions, when power passed to the native Anchʿabadze *eristavi*, who assumed the title of kings of Abchasia late in the 8th C. They expanded their territories toward western Iberia (Kʿartʿli) until checked by the Bagratids of Tao in the 10th C. In 989 Bagrat III, son of Gurgan, *kouropalates* of Kʿartʿli, inherited Abchasia through his mother Guranduχt Anchʿabadze. Although Basil II prevented his inheriting from his adoptive father David of Taykʿ/Tao in 1000/1, Bagrat received the title of *kouropalates* from Byz. His inheritance of Kʿartʿli from his natural father in 1008 joined the crowns of Abchasia and Kʿartʿli to form the first united kingdom of Georgia.

lit. A. Kollautz, *RB* 1:21–49. C. Toumanoff, *Studies in Christian Caucasian History* (Washington, D.C., 1963) 203, 256, 269, 497f. W.E.D. Allen, *A History of the Georgian People* (London 1932) 80–83. –N.G.G.

ʿABD AL-MALIK, son of Marwan I; Umayyad caliph (685–705); born 646/7, died 9 Oct. 705. Campaigning already at 16 under Muʿāwiya, ʿAbd al-Malik was a determined foe of Byz. throughout his reign. He particularly aimed at eliminating Byz. influence in the caliphate: Arabs replaced bureaucrats of Greek descent, Arabic became the official language, and coins were minted without Greek inscriptions or Byz. images. After his accession, internal opposition, the invasion of Armenia by Leontios, and raids by the Mardaites compelled him to renew the agreement that had been made between Constantine IV and Muʿāwiya. The ten-year treaty, signed most likely in 688, required Justinian II to withdraw the Mardaites from Lebanon and ʿAbd al-Malik to pay a weekly tribute of 1,000 solidi, one horse, and one slave, and stipulated that the revenues from Cyprus, Armenia, and Georgia be shared equally. During this period ʿAbd al-Malik probably received Byz. help in building the Dome of the Rock in Jerusalem.

In the early 690s hostilities flared. Although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 365.8–21) blames Justinian for attempting to resettle Cyprus and refusing to accept ʿAbd al-Malik's new coinage, the aggressor was likely ʿAbd al-Malik, who eliminated his final domestic rival in 692 and may have resented the appearance of Christ's image on Justinian's own coinage. His brother Muḥammad defeated Justinian in 693 as a result of the desertion from the Byz. ranks of Neboulos and his Slavic troops. ʿAbd al-Malik's son, ʿUbayd Allāh, invaded Armenia and captured Theodosioupolis in 700, and in 702 Muḥammad attacked Armenia IV and took Martyropolis. Despite a Byz. invasion of Syria, ʿAbd al-Malik had effectively subdued Armenia by 703. During a lull in the fighting the caliph reportedly allowed Tiberios II

to repatriate Cypriot captives and repopulate Cyprus with them. He also attacked Byz. lands in the West; armies sent from Egypt in 694–98 captured Carthage (see JOHN PATRIKIOS) and ended Byz. control of North Africa.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:19–40, 77–84. P. Grierson, "The Monetary Reforms of ʿAbd al-Malik," *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 3 (1960) 241–64. –P.A.H.

ʿABDĪSHŌʿ BAR BERĪKĀ, or Ebedjesus, a polymath monk, Nestorian metropolitan of Ṣōbā (Nisibis) and Armenia, and prolific writer in Syriac; died 1318. ʿAbdīshōʿ composed influential works of biblical commentary, theology, and liturgical poetry. For the Byzantinist, his most important writings are the *List of all the Ecclesiastical Writers* and the *Collection of the Synodical Canons*. The former is a bibliography of church books, metrically composed and arranged in four parts: books of the Old Testament, books of the New Testament, books of the Greek fathers, and books of the Syrian fathers. The *Collection of the Synodical Canons*, in the form that goes back to ʿAbdīshōʿ, bears the name *Nomokanon* and is a systematic presentation of the church laws: the first division gives laws affecting lay persons; it is followed by a second part containing laws dealing with church organization and the clergy. Some MSS also include a Syriac version of the Apostolic Canons, and the canons of the synod of the Nestorian *katholikos* Timothy I (780–823).

ED. J.S. Assemani, *Bibliotheca Orientalis Clementino-Vaticana* 3.1 (Rome 1725) 3–362. G.P. Badger, *The Nestorians and their Rituals*, vol. 2 (London 1852) 361–79. Mai, *ScriptVetNovaColl* 10:1–331.
LIT. J. Dauvillier, *DDC* 5 (1953) 91–134. Graf, *Literatur* 2:214–16. W. Selb, *Orientalisches Kirchenrecht*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1981) 76–78, 223–26. –S.H.G.

ABEL. See CAIN AND ABEL.

ABGAR. See MANDYLION.

ABINNAEUS ARCHIVE, the papyri of Flavius Abinnaeus, Roman *praefectus alae* of Dionysias in the Fayyūm, covering the years 340/1–351. The documents, 80 in Greek and two in Latin, probably came from Philadelphia in the Fayyūm and were acquired in 1893 by the British Museum and the University of Geneva. They include letters, petitions, contracts, accounts, and Abinnaeus's narrative of his appearance before Constantius II and Constans at Constantinople in 337/8. He had accompanied envoys from the BLEMMYES to the capital and later was stationed among them for three years. He served as garrison commander at Dionysias, was dismissed, but sought successfully to be reinstated. He married Aurelia Nonna, an Alexandrian. His papers illustrate the extent to which 4th-C. civilians in Egypt appealed to the military power for justice. His correspondents include Christian clerics and lay people, soldiers, and ordinary inhabitants of his district. His archive forms a small but rich source for provincial administration in the post-Constantinian period.

ED. H.I. Bell et al., *The Abinnaeus Archive* (Oxford 1962), corr. *Berichtigungsliste der griechischen Papyrusurkunden aus Ägypten*, vol. 5 (Leiden 1969) 1–3. –L.S.B.MacC.

ABIOTIKION (*ἀβιωτίκιον*, from *abiotos*, lit. "unlivable"), a charge on the transfer of the property of an individual who died intestate and without children. Andronikos II's novel of May 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295) states that in this case the property of the deceased should not be divided solely between the fisc and "those churches or monasteries that held [the person] as *paroikos*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:534.31–32), but a third part must go to the surviving spouse. It is unclear from the novel whether the ecclesiastical institution was granted its share as the *paroikos*'s lord or for memorial rites (*mnemosyne*). A charter of 1311 shows that the lord could replace the fisc: a certain Doukopoulos confirmed the transfer to the Docheiariou monastery of two-thirds of the property of "his inherited *paroikoi*" (i.e., the *mnemosyne* and the lord's share) and transmitted to the monastery another third part (*meridikon triton*) that he had received from another *paroikos* who had died without children (*Docheiar.*, no.11.1–8). The term *abiotikion* is known from 1259 on (*Lavra* 2, no.71.80) as a tax on the childless recipients of an inheritance: thus an act of 1400 (?) mentions the collectors of *abiotikion* (MM 2:342.28) who demanded that a widow display "the hyperpyra listed in the will." *Abiotikion* is mentioned in several chrysobulls, usually together with the PHONIKON and PARTHENOPHTHORIA. In 1440 the *abiotikion* in Monemvasia was used for the repair of the fortifications (E. Vranoussi, *EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.4:83–85).

The right of the state and the church to inherit the property of a person who died intestate was

recognized by Byz. law: Constantine VII enjoined that in such a case two-thirds of the *hypostasis* be given to the relatives or the fisc and one-third to God for the salvation of the soul of the deceased (Zepos, *Jus* 1:237.3–6). The novel of 1306 prescribed that after the death of a child who had only one parent his property was to be divided between the surviving parent, the parents of the deceased parent, and the church. This regulation, dubbed *trimoiria* by modern legal historians, probably originated from local CUSTOMS (N. Matzes, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 177–92). (See also INTESTATE SUCCESSION.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Un chrysobulle d'Andronic II Paléologue pour le monastère de Karakala," *BCH* 60 (1936) 440–42. A. Karpozelos, "Abiotikion," *Dodone* 8 (1979) 73–80. M. Tourtoglou, "To 'abiotikion,'" in *Xenion: Festschrift für P.J. Zepos*, vol. 1 (Athens–Freiburg im Breisgau–Cologne 1973) 633–46. –A.K.

ABLABIUS (Ἀβλάβιος), an influential family in the eastern part of the later Roman Empire. The family founder was Flavius Ablabius, a Cretan. A man of humble origin, he served under the governor of Crete, then went to Constantinople where he amassed a fortune. He became a member of the senate under Constantine I and was praetorian prefect from 329 to 337 (*PLRE* 1:3) or after 326 (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 103). Constantius II dismissed Ablabius and banished him to his estates in Bithynia; he was eventually executed. In 354 his daughter Olympias married Aršak III, king of Armenia. Flavius's son Seleukos, a pagan, supported Julian, but Seleukos's daughter OLYMPIAS became the staunchest ally of John Chrysostom. The family was still influential at court in 431 when Cyril of Alexandria proposed to bribe Ablabius, *domestikos* of the quaestor.

The Ablabii were an educated and intelligent family: although none of their works survives, it is known that Flavius wrote verses on Constantine; Seleukos reportedly composed a history of Julian's Persian campaign; a certain Ablabius compiled a history of the Goths based on Gothic legends; and the death of a physician Ablabius was lamented by Theosebeia, a poet of the 5th/6th C. (*AnthGr*, bk.7, no.559). The Ablabii are a rare example of a relatively stable aristocratic family in the East.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:2–4, 1132; 2:1–2. M. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 66. –A.K.

ABORTION (ἄμβλωσις), usually motivated by illegitimate conception, was practiced in Byz. but condemned by both imperial legislation and church canons. Justinian's DIGEST included excerpts of early Roman law that frowned on the practice; both those who concocted abortifacient potions and the women who underwent the abortion were punished. Especially among prostitutes, however, the use of abortifacients persisted; according to the scurrilous account of the young THEODORA by PROKOPIOS (*SH* 17.16), ingredients for these drugs were well known and easily available in the 6th C. Abortion spikes are preserved in collections of Roman SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS; Aetios of Amida records recipes for abortifacient drugs in his 16th *Sermo* (ed. S. Zervos, *Aetios: Peri tou en metra pathous* [Leipzig 1901] 18–22). ZONARAS mentions the use of a weight to compress the abdomen (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:63f). In the 14th C. the price of an abortifacient drug was five hyperpyra, a cloak, and a glass vase (MM 1:548.25–26). Significantly, 6th-C. Byz. medical thought held that abortion was impossible after the fetus had taken on "human form." Aetios writes that abortifacients were to be used only in the third month of pregnancy. Civil and canon law, however, and lay opinion equated abortion with murder, notwithstanding the age of the embryo. (See also CONTRACEPTION.)

LIT. C. Cupane, E. Kislinger, "Bemerkungen zur Abtreibung in Byzanz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 21–49. S. Troianos, "He amblose sto byzantino dikaio," *Byzantiaka* 4 (1984) 171–89. M.-H. Congourdeau, "Un procès d'avortement au 14e siècle," *REB* 40 (1982) 103–15. –J.S., A.M.T.

ABRAHA (Ἄβραμος), Axumite ruler of ḤIMYAR in South Arabia, from 535–58 (Lundin, *infra* 86). According to Prokopios (*Wars* 1.20.4), Abraha was a Christian, the slave of a Roman trader in ADULIS in Ethiopia. A soldier or officer in the Axumite army occupying Ḥimyar, he led a revolt against Esimphaios (probably Sumayfaʿ Ashwaʿ), the representative of ELESBOAM in South Arabia. He assumed power but acknowledged vassalage to Axum by paying tribute. Abraha consolidated Ḥimyar and in 547 carried out a successful expedition in central Arabia.

Abraha maintained an alliance with the Roman Empire, and Justinian I attempted to use him in military operations against Iran; although the emperor sent several embassies to Ḥimyar, he could not persuade Abraha to act. Abraha possibly shifted South Arabia from Monophysitism to Orthodoxy;

he built a pilgrimage church (al-Qalis, from *ekklesia*) at Ṣanʿā' (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 27, 81f).

LIT. A. Lundin, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1961) 61–87. S. Smith, "Events in Arabia in the 6th c.," *BSOAS* 16 (1954) 431–41. –A.K.

ABRAHAM (᾽Αβραάμ), Old Testament patriarch (Gen 11–25). In patristic literature Abraham was interpreted as an ideal of asceticism and obedience to God: his departure from Canaan indicated the necessity of purification in order to achieve the Promised Land. He is said to have lived 175 years in *hesychia, praotes,* and justice, and his demise is described in an apocryphal Testament of Abraham.

From the early period, Abraham appears in a number of scenes, such as the PHILOXENIA. The most popular seems to have been the Sacrifice of Isaac (Gen 22), found already in the Synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The dramatic nature of this scene was explored, for example, by Gregory of Nyssa, in terms that imply familiarity with an image (PG 46:572CD). This text was cited in support of holy images at the Second Council of Nicaea (Mansi 13:9C–12A). John Chrysostom (PG 54:432.38–433.8) and others emphasized that Christ was both the beloved son (like Isaac) and the sacrificial lamb. These eucharistic connotations were sometimes exploited visually, as at S. Vitale in Ravenna. Narrative cycles of Abraham's life are found, notably at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), in 5th/6th-C. GENESIS MSS, and in the later KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and OCTATEUCH MSS, which may derive from earlier sources. Christ's parable of the rich man and of Lazarus in Abraham's bosom (Lk 16:19–31) provided Abraham with a place in New Testament illustration, notably in the iconography of the LAST JUDGMENT. On the basis of his appearance, St. DAVID OF THESSALONIKE was described by his 8th-C. biographer as a new Abraham (vita, ed. Rose, 11.2, 12.28–29).

SOURCE. *Le Testament grec d'Abraham,* ed. F. Schmidt (Tübingen 1986).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:11–22. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:20–35. F. Cocchini, F. Bisconti, *DPAC* 1:12–16. –J.H.L.

ABRAMIOS, JOHN, astrologer and astronomer; fl. Constantinople and Mytilene, 1370–90. Abramios (᾽Αβράμιος) practiced magic and cast HOROSCOPES on behalf of Andronikos IV and his son John VII, in their quarrels with John V and Manuel II. His most important role was as the editor of texts of classical ASTROLOGY, the author of treatises on ASTRONOMY (opposed to the Ptolemaic tradition of Theodore METOCHITES, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Isaac ARGYROS, Abramios followed the Islamic tradition of Gregory CHIONIADES, George CHRYSOKOKKES, and Theodore MELITENIOTES), and as the founder of a school in which these activities were continued until ca.1410. His successors were Eleutherios Zebelenos, also known as Eleutherios Elias (born 1343), and Dionysios (*PLP,* nos. 6012, 5441).

A number of MSS of astronomical, astrological, medical, magical, and rhetorical content produced by Abramios and his school survive. They produced editions of PTOLEMY, pseudo-Ptolemy, HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. These editions are characterized by changes in both the grammar and the order of the presentation of the technical material of the original texts, and by the insertion of extraneous material into them. These MSS also contain some examples of Greek translations of Arabic astrological texts, notably the *Mysteries* of Abū Maʿshar and the *Introduction* of Aḥmad the Persian.

In 1376 Abramios wrote a treatise on the conjunctions and oppositions of the sun and moon based on the *New Tables* of Isaac Argyros, but criticized his source because he followed Ptolemy rather than the *Persian Tables* popularized by Chrysokokkes. This led to the computation by both sets of tables of the dates, and sometimes the details, of 39 lunar and solar ECLIPSES between 1376 and 1408, and an inept attempt to prove that the Islamic value for the rate of precession of the equinoxes is superior to that of Ptolemy.

LIT. Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–215. Idem, "The Horoscope of CP," in *Prismata* 305–15. *PLP,* no.57. –D.P.

ABRITUS (῎Αβριττος), late Roman city at Hisarlŭk near Razgrad in northeastern Bulgaria, where in 251 Decius was defeated and killed. The city continued to exist despite successive invasions until the end of the 6th C., when the Avars destroyed it. In the 7th or 8th C. a Bulgarian settlement was established on the ruins of the Roman city, but it

was abandoned in the late 10th C. as a result of an attack by the Pechenegs or Rus'.

Excavations since 1953 have revealed a city built on the typical Roman grid pattern, with Ionic colonnades along the principal streets. Many statues, reliefs, mosaics, and inscriptions bear witness to the prosperity and culture of Abritus in Roman times, but little is known of the Bulgarian site.

LIT. T. Ivanov, *Abritus: Rimski kastel i rannovizantijski grad v Dolna Mizija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1980). S. Stojanov, *Zlatno monetno sŭkrovišče ot Abritus V v. na n.e.* (Sofia 1982). Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 156–65, 259. –R.B.

ABŪ AL-FIDĀ', more fully Ismāʿīl ibn ʿAlī Abū al-Fidā', Syrian scholar-prince related to the Ayyūbid rulers of Ḥamāh; born Damascus Nov./Dec. 1273, died Ḥamāh (EPIPHANEIA) 27 Oct. 1331. A man of wide-ranging military and political experience, he participated in the campaigns against the Franks and established a political position in Ḥamāh (1299), becoming governor in 1310. Invested as sultan of Ḥamāh in 1320, he retained the title until his death. A generous patron, he was also esteemed for his poetry and learning. He may have known some Greek; he was certainly interested in Byz. affairs and Greek culture, about which he sought information from travelers and pilgrims.

His two extant Arabic works, though largely derivative, remain useful. The *Concise History of Mankind*, a universal history based on IBN AL-ATHĪR, ends with the memoirs of Abū al-Fidā' (1285–1329). Though preoccupied with the Franks and Mongols, he discusses developments in ARMENIA and CAPPADOCIA in the Palaiologan period, provides valuable details on the social relations between Christians and Muslims in Asia Minor, and recounts the fall of RHODES to the Hospitallers in 1308. In his descriptive geography, *Survey of the Countries* (written in 1321), material on SYRIA includes well-informed personal observations. For Byz. lands, he relies on eyewitnesses for the topography and monuments of Constantinople, the cities of Asia Minor, and possibly details on Byz. administrative geography.

ED. *Al-Mukhtaṣar fī akhbār al-bashar* (Cairo 1907). *The Memoirs of a Syrian Prince*, tr. P.M. Holt (Wiesbaden 1983). *Taqwīm al-buldān*, ed. J.T. Reinaud, L.M. de Slane (Paris 1840). *Géographie d'Aboulféda*, tr. J.T. Reinaud, S. Guyard, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1848–83).

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 2:44–46, supp. 2:44. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*[2] 1:118f. –L.I.C.

ABU BAKR (Ἀβουβάχαρος, Ἀποπάκρης), first caliph and successor of Muḥammad from 8 June 632; born shortly after 570, died Madīna 22/3 Aug. 634. After crushing rebels in the Riddah Wars following the death of Muḥammad, Abu Bakr's armies scored major early successes against the Byz., including the battles in the ʿArabah (May 633) and at al-Fusṭāṭ or the camp of Areopolis (Ar. Māb, mod. Rabba), and at Dathin and Ajnādayn (July 634), as well as the occupation of much of the land east of the Dead Sea; in his lifetime the Muslims seized Transjordania and southern Palestine from the Byz. Abu Bakr skillfully selected his generals and directed them from Madīna, but did not personally fight against Byz. armies or visit conquered Byz. territories or towns. He possessed great leadership qualities, which contributed significantly to the consolidation and advance of Islam. He also showed a sense for military strategy and operations, although Herakleios and contemporary Byz. commanders probably did not consider him a serious opponent. His motives and calculations concerning Byz. can only be inferred, for no contemporary source details his decision to invade Byz. Syria. The invasion of Iraq also took much of his attention. Most scholars now accept the historicity of his caliphate, which Crone and others had challenged (P. Crone, M. Cook, *Hagarism* [Cambridge 1977] 28, 178, n.72, partly retracted in P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* [Cambridge 1986] 111–13).

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 82–90, 127–34. W.M. Watt, *EI*[2] 1:109–11. Caetani, *Islam* 2.1:510–719; 3:1–119. –W.E.K.

ABŪ FIRĀS, more fully al-Ḥārith ibn Saʿīd ibn Hamdān al-Taghlibī, Arab prince, warrior, and poet; born Iraq 932, died Syria 4 Apr. 968. His mother was of Byz. origin, and after his father's death in 935 he grew up under her care and the patronage of his Ḥamdānid cousin SAYF AL-DAWLA at Aleppo. He participated in several expeditions against Byz. and in 962 was wounded and captured by Theodosios Phokas. Kept in chains at Charsianon, he later enjoyed princely treatment in Constantinople, was focal in negotiating a general exchange of prisoners, and was finally released in 966. Legend credits him with a spectacular escape from an alleged earlier imprisonment. While governor of Manbij, he was killed during his unsuccessful revolt against Sayf al-Dawla's son.

As poet-warrior Abū Firās reflected the ideal of Arab chivalry and sincerity; spontaneity and verve characterize his poetry. He is most esteemed for his *Byzantine Poems* (*Rūmiyyāt*) composed during his captivity, expressing defiance in adversity, yearning for loved ones, and reproach to Sayf al-Dawla for delay in ransoming him. His poems, often with his own illuminating historical notes, provide important information on expeditions, frontier toponymy, Byz. prosopography (e.g., the PHOKAS and MALEINOS families), conditions of prisoners, and Byz.-Arab mutual perceptions, as in his debate with Nikephoros Phokas on the fighting abilities of Byz. and Arabs.

ED. *Dīwān* [Collected Poems], ed. S. Dahhan (Beirut 1944).

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:349–70. M. Canard, "Quelques noms de personnages byzantins dans une pièce du poète arabe Abu Firas (X^{e} siècle)," in *Byzance et les musulmans* (London 1973), pt.IX (1936), 451–60 (with N. Adontz). Sezgin, *GAS* 2:480–83. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI*^{2} 1:119f. –A.Sh.

ABŪ MĪNĀ, famous Early Christian settlement (the ancient name is unknown) and pilgrimage center in Mareotis, west of ALEXANDRIA, where the underground tomb of St. MENAS was venerated from the late 4th C. onward. The inner core consists of a large square, with XENODOCHEIA on the north and churches on the south. The MARTYRION over the saint's tomb is the most important of the churches. Its earliest foundations date from the late 4th C.; enlarged several times, it was rebuilt under Justinian I as a tetraconch. To the east is a large transept basilica (early 6th C.), to the west a baptistery. At the south rear lies an unusual semicircular structure which probably held INCUBATION rooms for sick pilgrims. There are also two baths within the town, colonnaded streets, and many private houses. Other churches have been found in the environs of Abū Mīnā. A basilica to the north is a very regular building *extra muros*, closely connected with a residential quarter that perhaps served as the residence for non-Chalcedonians. A church to the east, another tetraconch, is surrounded by several houses for anachoretes. All churches and official buildings were built of local limestone. For their decoration extensive use was made of marble *spolia* from destroyed buildings in Alexandria. The famous MENAS FLASKS were produced as pilgrim souvenirs at Abū Mīnā from the early 6th C. onward.

During the Persian invasions of 616–20 Abū Mīnā was almost totally destroyed, and it was rebuilt only modestly afterwards. After the Arab conquest (639–42) the town, which was formerly Chalcedonian, came into the hands of the Coptic Monophysite church, and presumably about the time of the Coptic patriarch Michael I (744–68) the *martyrion* was rebuilt as a five-aisled basilica. The site was finally abandoned after the 10th C.

LIT. C.-M. Kaufmann, *Die Menasstadt* I (Leipzig 1910). P. Grossmann, "Abū Mīna," *MDAI K* 38 (1982) 131–54. Idem, *Abū Mīnā: A Guide to the Ancient Pilgrimage Center* (Cairo 1986). –P.Gr.

ABYDIKOS (ἀβυδικός), an official in control of navigation. The name is evidently derived from ABYDOS and originally designated the inspector of sea traffic through the Hellespont. Ahrweiler suggests that he was a successor to the *archon* or *komes* of the Straits (*ton Stenon*) or of Abydos, known from an edict of Anastasios I, from Prokopios, and other sources. The term later acquired a generic meaning; *abydikoi* of Thessalonike, Amisos, Chrepos, and Euripos are mentioned on seals. His function could be combined with that of KOMMERKIARIOS. A military rank on the staff of the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU, *abydikos* was equivalent to, and commonly replaced, the rank of KOMES. It remains under discussion whether the *abydikos* was the same official as the PARAPHYLAX of Abydos mentioned frequently on seals. *Abydikoi* are attested until the early 11th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures,* pt.II (1961), 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. Zacos, *Seals* 1.2:1200f. –A.K., E.M.

ABYDOS (Ἄβυδος), city on the Hellespont, near modern Çanakkale. Abydos and HIERON were the two customs posts where taxes were assessed on shipping to and from Constantinople. Abydos was administered by an *archon* or *komes ton Stenon* who commanded a small fleet, stopped illegal transport of weapons, checked travel documents, and collected taxes. The amounts were fixed by a decree of Anastasios I that forbade excessive charges (J. Durliat, A. Guillou, *BCH* 108 [1984] 581–98). Justinian I replaced this system with a customs house (*demosion teloneion*) under a *komes* with a fixed salary. Abydos long retained its function: its *archon* or *komes* is attested through the

10th C. Taxes collected there were reduced by Empress Irene in 801; the Venetians won a special reduction in 992. This function was so important that the name ABYDIKOS was applied to similar officials throughout the empire. Abydos was a strategic naval base subordinate to the theme of the Aegean Sea; it later became a separate command under its own *strategos* (or *katepano*, mentioned in 1086: *Lavra* 1, no.48.3). Its role and location made Abydos the frequent target of foreign and domestic enemies from the 7th through the 12th C. It was taken by the Venetians in 1204 and remained Latin until its reconquest by John III Vatatzes. By that time it had yielded in importance to KALLIPOLIS; the last period of its history is obscure. Originally a suffragan bishopric of KYZIKOS, Abydos became a metropolis in 1084. No remains have been reported.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1960) 239–46. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 179–81. –C.F.

ACADEMY OF ATHENS, a school of higher education, claiming descent from Plato's Academy, which preserved the traditions of NEOPLATONISM. It flourished in the 4th C. and attracted both pagan and Christian students, including Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and Julian the Apostate. STUDENTS formed close groups around their TEACHERS, and fights between different groups were common. By the end of the 4th C. and in the 5th C. the Academy had acquired a predominantly pagan character with such teachers as Ploutarchos, Syrianos, and the philosopher PROKLOS. The teachers emphasized the importance of ancient traditions and the role of the "divine philosopher" as opposed to the "tyrant." After the death of Proklos (485), Alexandria briefly evolved into the leading center of philosophical study, but at the beginning of the 6th C., under DAMASKIOS, the Academy again became the most influential pagan school. Malalas (Malal. 451.16–18) records that in 529 Justinian I forbade the teaching of philosophy and law in Athens, but some teaching continued there. Circa 532 leading philosophers from Athens emigrated to Persia; disappointed in CHOSROES I, who turned out not to be an ideal philosopher-king, they came back to the Byz. Empire. Damaskios, however, returned not to Athens but to Emesa in his native Syria. The Academy continued to function and, despite confiscations, still possessed substantial funds in the 560s. According to the autobiography of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK, an anonymous "doctor from Athens" was a famous teacher in Constantinople at the beginning of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Humanism* 92f).

The commentaries on Plato and Aristotle by such teachers as Proklos and Simplikios provide an idea of the range and quality of teaching in Athens. The *Life of Proklos* by Marinos and the *Life of Isidore* by Damaskios give a picture of the activity and attitudes of teachers at the Academy.

LIT. Cameron, *Literature*, pt.XIII (1969), 7–30. F. Schemmel, "Die Hochschule von Athen im IV. und V. Jahrhundert p. Ch. n.," *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum* 22 (1908) 494–513. G. Fernandez, "Justiniano y la clausura de la escuela de Atenas," *Erytheia* 2.2 (1983) 24–30. –A.K., R.B.

ACANTHUS (ἄκανθος), classical Greek term for a perennial plant, common to the Mediterranean, whose leaf form inspired decorative motifs in architectural sculpture, particularly the Corinthian CAPITAL. In the 5th and 6th C., the traditional, naturalistic form of the acanthus was modified by flattening the leaves against a deeply undercut ground and creating a lacy texture of light and dark, solid and void, punctuated by deeply drilled points (Grabar, *Sculptures* I, pls. XIX–XX). The organic Roman form thus became an abstract motif used as an element of overall pattern. "Wind-blown" capitals of the 5th C. preserve the naturalistic treatment of the individual leaves but twist the entire form, denying its mass. The motif was further applied to a wide range of architectural features—IMPOST BLOCKS, capitals, architraves, and archivolts. The acanthus remained an abiding decorative feature in sculpture and other media. Delicate, lacy friezes decorated arcades and marked interior divisions between domes, drums, and bodies of churches. Acanthus motifs were also used on ICON FRAMES, ARCOSOLIA, and templon barriers, as at HOSIOS LOUKAS and the CHORA (Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. XVII–XX, CVIf).

LIT. R. Kautsch, *Kapitellstudien* (Berlin-Leipzig 1936) 5–152. –K.M.K.

ACCIAJUOLI (Ἀτζαϊώλης), name of a Florentine banking family, one branch of which rose to

prominence in 14th-15th-C. Greece; etym. Ital. *acciao* ("steel"). The Acciajuolis first made their fortune in Italy in the 12th C. through the operation of a steel foundry; they then turned to banking. By the 14th C. they had amassed considerable wealth and were closely linked with the Angevins of Naples. In addition to holdings in Italy, Niccolò Acciajuoli (died 8 Nov. 1365) acquired extensive lands in Greece, particularly in Elis, Messenia, and Kephalenia (P. Topping, *Studies on Latin Greece* A.D. *1205–1715* [London 1977] pts. V, VI). In 1358 he was granted the CORINTH region by Robert II, son of Catherine of Valois. He undertook the repair of fortifications at the Isthmus of Corinth.

The family reached its height in Greece during the reign of Nerio I Acciajuoli (died 25 Sept. 1394), lord of Corinth (1371–94), who took ATHENS from the CATALANS on 2 May 1388 and founded a Florentine duchy of Athens (which included THEBES). Nerio I was succeeded as duke of Athens by his illegitimate son Antonio I, who enjoyed a lengthy and relatively peaceful reign (1403–35). The Acciajuoli family maintained its rule over Athens until 4 June 1456, when the city fell to the Turks. Franco Acciajuoli, the last duke of Athens (1455–56), spent his final years as lord of Thebes (1456–60) until he was murdered at the command of MEHMED II. The Greek branch of the family intermarried with the PALAIOLOGOS and Tocco families.

The Acciajuoli property in the Morea, known from acts of donation, included fields, vineyards, meadows, forestland, etc. The documents list the *paroikoi* who were attached to the land, as well as their animals, and enumerate the rental payment owed by each peasant, usually in cash.

LIT. C. Ugurgieri della Berardenga, *Gli Acciaioli di Firenze nella luce dei loro tempi (1160–1834)*, 2 vols. (Florence 1962). Setton, *Catalan Domination* 66–68 and n.5, 174–211. *PLP*, no.1606–15. J. Longnon, P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIVe siècle* (Paris–The Hague 1969). -A.M.T.

ACCIDIE. See AKEDIA.

ACCLAMATIONS (sing. *εὐφημία, πολυχρόνιον*). Cadenced unison shouts, which applauded or criticized magnates and esp. emperors, characterized Byz. public life. Against the silence attending the emperor's appearances or the reading of his words, acclamations manifested public reaction. Thus, acclamations by the army and people formed the key consensual act in an imperial CORONATION. Acclamations at public meetings (e.g., church councils) were increasingly written down, painted, or inscribed in public places in the 4th–5th C. and developed their own iconography. Chants or loyal petitions improvised at the circus offered Byz. crowds a rare channel of communication with their rulers; acclamations concerning provincial officials were forwarded to the prince as evidence of public opinion (*Cod.Theod.* I 16.6).

Acclamations grew more complex and formalized as the FACTIONS orchestrated their performance. The 9th- and 10th-C. acclamations of *De ceremoniis* show uniformly obsequious texts performed at every ceremony by imperial employees under the *praipositos* (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 223–25). This elaborateness and professional performance pushed acclamations toward political poetry and culminated, for example, in Theodore PRODROMOS. The army and public continued to voice shorter, more formulaic shouts, like those appearing on coins (e.g., *DOC* 3.1:177), as responses to the factions' acclamations and esp. to demonstrate loyalty in crises. Usurpers supposedly extorted them by force (John MAUROPOUS, no.186.25, ed. Lagarde, p.183) and their potential insincerity fooled no one (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 8, 1:156.1–3). At 9th- and 10th-C. state banquets and AUDIENCES, organs gave the cue for all to stand and join the factions in acclaiming the emperor (Oikonomides, *Listes* 203.31–34).

In all periods LEGITIMACY, divine support, orthodoxy, victory, and long life were favorite themes. Acclamations often observed a responsorial pattern, whereby persons were acclaimed, starting with God or the emperor and proceeding in order of precedence, followed by specific praises or requests. Acclamations' content thereby illuminates the ceremonies they accompanied. Late Roman acclamations mixed Greek and Latin, but gave way to overwhelmingly Greek texts by the 10th C.; a few fossilized Latin acclamations continued to be performed on special occasions. Rough isosyllaby and rhythm of stress accent determined the metrical structure of acclamations (P. Maas, *BZ* 21 [1912] 28–51; Cameron, *Circus Factions* 329–33) and anticipated developments of Byz. prosody like POLITICAL VERSE.

LIT. T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:216–33. C. Roueché, "Acclamations in the Later Roman Empire: New Evidence from Aphrodisias," *JRS* 74 (1984) 181–99. –M.McC.

ACCLAMATIONS, APOTROPAIC, words or phrases expressing religious conviction in brief, exclamatory form, often found on AMULETS. At first simple utterances of shared religious feeling, such acclamations lent themselves naturally—because of the frequency with which they invoke the power of the deity—to eventual apotropaic use; for instance, praise of God invokes his aid against demons. Some (e.g., *Hygieia*, "health") are little more than banal expressions of good luck, while others (e.g., *Heis Theos ho nikon ta kaka*, "One God conquering evil!") are more specifically directed against evil spirits. The roots of Christian apotropaic acclamations lie in the ceremonial protocol of the Hellenistic and Roman imperial courts, for example, the TRISAGION (*Hagios, Hagios, Hagios*), which appears frequently on amulets of the 5th through 7th C.

LIT. E. Peterson, *Heis Theos* (Göttingen 1926). –G.V.

ACHAIA (Ἀχαΐα). The toponym Achaia has several meanings in the Byz. period.

1. It was a late Roman province embracing the PELOPONNESOS and central GREECE south of Thermopylai, identified by HIEROKLES with HELLAS and credited with 79 cities. The capital was CORINTH. Under Diocletian, Achaia was part of the diocese of Moesia, but it was later transferred to Macedonia under the praetorian prefect of ILLYRICUM. Most of the province (with the exception of its western parts) was eventually included in the theme of Hellas. The ecclesiastical province of Achaia survived, but presumably designated only the Peloponnesos; PATRAS is listed as its metropolitan see from the 8th or 9th C.

2. In a general geographic sense, the term refers to the northwestern Peloponnesos, whose main city was Patras. Aside from a narrow coastal strip along the Gulf of Corinth, Achaia is mountainous and sparsely populated. Among the churches of the region is the Panagia at Mentzaina, a timber-roofed basilica, dated to the mid-10th C. (A.G. Moutzale, *Archaiologika Analekta Athenon* 17 [1984] 21–42).

3. Achaia was also the name of a Frankish principality founded in southern Greece after the Fourth Crusade (see ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF). –T.E.G.

ACHAIA, PRINCIPALITY OF, sometimes called principality of Morea (to be distinguished from the Byz.-controlled despotate of the MOREA), the Frankish territory in the Peloponnesos ruled by the princes of Achaia from 1205 to 1430. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade and the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, two Frankish Crusaders, WILLIAM (I) OF CHAMPLITTE and GEOFFREY (I) VILLEHARDOUIN, seized control of virtually the entire Byz. Peloponnesos and became the first two princes of Achaia. The Frankish principality reached the peak of its power under WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, who constructed fortresses at MISTRA, MAINA, and MONEMVASIA. After William II was captured by the Byz. at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259), however, and forced to cede the castles to Emp. Michael VIII Palaiologos, the Byz. regained a foothold in the Morea. During their remaining 170 years of empire, the Byz. gradually reconquered the Peloponnesos, until finally bringing an end to the principality only 30 years before the despotate of Morea fell, in turn, to the Ottomans. Both the Western and Greek versions of the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA are important sources for the first century of the principality.

The French conquerors imposed a feudal system upon their Greek territory. The prince of Achaia was nominally a vassal of the Latin emperor of Constantinople; in reality, however, he controlled more territory than his suzerain and was supported by a larger army. His chief residence was ANDRAVIDA. The prince had the right to mint coins, which were produced at the active port of Clarenza (see CHLEMOUTSI). The prince's authority was limited by the power of his barons, who were considered his peers; they had private armies and built (or restored) castles throughout the principality at such sites as Old Navarino, Kyparissia, and Karytaina. After Achaia became a dependency of the kingdom of Sicily in 1267 and after the death of William II in 1278, many princes of Achaia held the title only nominally and rarely, if ever, visited the Peloponnesos. The French settlers were always outnumbered by their Greek subjects, who sometimes preferred the tolerant French rule to Byz. administration, but were

Princes of Achaia

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE	1205-1209
GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN	1209-1226/31
GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN	1226/31-1246
WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN	1246-1278
CHARLES I OF ANJOU	1278-1285
Charles II of Anjou	1285-1289
Florent of Hainaut	1289-1297
Isabeau de Villehardouin	1297-1301
Philip of Savoy	1301-1307
PHILIP I OF TARANTO	1307-1313
Louis of Burgundy	1313-1316
Mahaut de Hainaut	1316-1321
John of Gravina	1322-1333
Robert of Taranto	1333-1364
Philip II of Taranto in rivalry with Marie de Bourbon	1364-1370
Philip II of Taranto	1370-1373
Jeanne of Naples	1373-1381
Jacques de Baux	1381-1383
Period of competition between Marie de Bretagne, Hospitallers, Louis II of Clermont, Pope Urban VI, Amadeo of Savoy, and Mahiot de Coquerel	1383-1396
Pierre de Saint-Superan (NAVARRESE COMPANY)	1396-1402
Marie Zaccaria	1402-1404
Centurione II ZACCARIA	1404-1430

Source: Based on Bon, *Morée franque* 696.

reluctant to relinquish their Orthodoxy. A Latin ecclesiastical hierarchy was established with the principal archbishop at Patras, subordinate to the Latin patriarch of Constantinople; Greek priests came under the jurisdiction of Latin bishops. (See table for a list of the princes of Achaia.)

LIT. A. Bon, *La Morée franque*, 2 vols. (Paris 1969). Longnon, *Empire latin* 187–355. Idem, *HC* 2:235–74. P. Topping, *HC* 3:104–66. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale* (Paris 1971). G. Dmitriev, "K voprosu o položenii krest'jan v latinskoj Grecii," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 55–64. K. Andrews, *Castles of the Morea* (Athens 1953; rp. Amsterdam 1978). –A.M.T.

ACHEIROPOIETA (ἀχειροποίητα, lit. [objects] "not made by hands"). First used by the Apostle Paul (2 Cor 5:1) to describe metaphorically the resurrected body of Christ, the term *acheiropoieta* was applied to images of sacred persons that came into existence miraculously, usually at the will of that person. The most famous *acheiropoieta* not only appeared miraculously, they could also replicate themselves miraculously. *Acheiropoieta* are cited first and most often in the period between Justinian I and Iconoclasm, the most important of them emerging in the context of the Persian Wars: the MANDYLION, the KERAMION, and the images of the KAMOULIANAI Christ, which Herakleios carried into battle like a new LABARUM. The same period yields reports of other *acheiropoieta*: the imprint of Christ's face on a cloth in Memphis, his imprint on the column of his flagellation in Jerusalem, and an *acheiropoieton* of the Virgin Mary at Lydda (Diospolis). Several of these are described in the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS, but only the Mandylion and Keramion continued to be represented after Iconoclasm. Few other *acheiropoieta* are known. With rare exceptions they represent either Christ or Mary. It is no longer possible to associate the shroud described by Nicholas MESARITES in 12th-C. Constantinople with that most enigmatic of *acheiropoieta*, the imprinted linen cloth known as the Shroud of Turin.

LIT. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig 1899). Grabar, *Iconoclasme* 37–59. G. Vikan, "Ruminations on Edible Icons: Originals and Copies in the Art of Byzantium," *Studies in the History of Art* 20 (1989) 47–59. Av. Cameron, *The Sceptic and the Shroud* (London 1980). –A.W.C.

ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH. The Church of the Acheiropoietos (Ἀχειροποίητος, lit. "not-made-by-hands") in Thessalonike is so named because it housed a miraculous icon (see ACHEIROPOIETA) of the Virgin Hodegetria (A. Xyngopoulos, *Hellenika* 13 [1954] 256–62). Dedicated to the Virgin, the Acheiropoietos was a wooden-roofed, three-aisled basilica, approximately 28 m wide and 36.5 m long (nave alone). The aisles are screened from the nave by high stylobates, there are galleries above the two side aisles, and the outer narthex was flanked by towers. Perhaps the earliest of the churches still standing in the city, it was probably built between 450 and 470; bricks from the fabric of the building have been dated to ca.450 (M. Vickers, *BSA* 68 [1973] 285–94) and the mosaics of birds, chalices, and crosses in the soffits of the nave arcade in the church are assigned to the period 450–60 (Ch. Bakirtzes in *Aphieroma ste*

mneme St. Pelekanide [Thessalonike 1983] 310–29). The present marble pavement dates from the time of the church, but floor mosaics from two earlier buildings, probably of secular character, lie under it. Fine (but damaged) frescoes of the 13th C. (figures of the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia) adorn the south aisle (A. Xyngopoulos, *ArchEph* [1957] 6–30).

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 99–102. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoietos. Mone Latomou*[2] (Thessalonike 1973) 11–41. D. De Bernardi Ferrero, "La Panagia Acheiropoietos di Salonicco," *CorsiRav* 22 (1975) 157–69. A. Xyngopoulos, "Peri ten Acheiropoieton Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 2 (1941–52) 472–87. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ACHELOUS (Ἀχελῷον), a river (or, according to Skyl. 203.95, a fortress) near ANCHIALOS where SYMEON OF BULGARIA won a decisive victory over the Byz. on 20 Aug. 917 (in Skyl., 6 Aug.). The Byz. army, commanded by Leo PHOKAS, *domestikos ton scholon,* was accompanied by the fleet under ROMANOS (I) LEKAPENOS. Romanos headed for the mouth of the Danube, where he expected to find Pecheneg auxiliaries; the Serbian prince Peter was also expected to join the Byz. Symeon launched his attack before these forces could unite. Skylitzes (Skyl. 203.94–204.37) provides two explanations of the defeat. According to the first version, Leo Phokas's horse bolted and returned riderless to camp, causing the soldiers to think that Leo had fallen in battle. The second version recounts that Leo was pursuing the Bulgarians when he heard a rumor that Romanos Lekapenos had diverted to Constantinople in order to seize the imperial power; immediately Leo headed for camp to learn the truth. Whatever the cause, the Byz. were routed, many commanders were killed (including Constantine LIPS), and Leo barely escaped to MESEMBRIA.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:380–91. Runciman, *Romanus* 55f. –A.K.

ACHILLEIS (Ἀχιλληΐς), an anonymous late Byz. romance of chivalry, written in unrhymed political verse and surviving in three versions (N [Naples]: 1,820 lines; L [London, British Museum]: 1,363, but with lacunas; O [Oxford]: 761); all apparently derive from a single, lost archetype. The romance describes the birth of Achilles late in his parents' marriage, his precocious childhood (cf. DIGENES AKRITAS and IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA), his experience of the power of Eros, courtship, marriage, and intense grief at his wife's death. Although the hero is named Achilles, his companion Patroklos and his people the Myrmidons, the romance has no other connection with the world of antiquity (Naples version, vv. 1759–1820 on Achilles' role in the Trojan War, based on Constantine MANASSES, are a later addition). Rather, the world which the *Achilleis* reflects, with its tournaments and jousting, is the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the 14th C., which is also part of the background of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE. The language, like that of the other verse romances of chivalry, is mixed, but closer to the popular speech of the day than the learned.

ED. L and N—*L'Achilléide byzantine*, ed. D.C. Hesseling (Amsterdam 1919). O—S. Lampros, ed., *NE* 15 (1921) 367–408. Ital. tr. P. Stomeo, "Achilleide, poema bizantino anonimo," *Studi Salentini* 7 (1959) 155–97.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 129–32. R. Keydell, "Achilleis. Zur Problematik und Geschichte eines griechischen Romans," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 83–99. A.F. van Gemert, W.F. Bakker, "He Achelleida kai he Historia tou Belisariou," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 82–97. O.L. Smith, "Versions and Manuscripts of the *Achilleid*," *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 315–24. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHILLES, the principal Greek hero of the *Iliad.* Achilles retained his popularity well beyond late antiquity. This popularity can be explained by the search for the ideal warrior, still as apparent in the 11th-C. *Kynegetika* (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig. 103) as in the 5th-C. illustrated *Iliad* in Milan (Ambros. F 205 inf.). The education (PAIDEIA) of Achilles by the centaur Cheiron was contrasted with Christian principles of upbringing (M. Hengel, *Achilleus in Jerusalem* [Heidelberg 1982] 45–47), but still literally depicted on bone caskets and in MSS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 165–68). Later, Christian rhetoricians (e.g., PROKOPIOS OF GAZA) tried to adapt the theme of the *paideia* of Achilles to their own moralistic ideas; it appears as an exemplary education in many Byz. writers.

The Byz. gradually divested Achilles of his military prowess: in similes of Niketas Choniates, in the *Histories* of Tzetzes, even in the commentary of Eustathios of Thessalonike on the *Iliad,* Achilles is primarily a physician, a musician, a sober man. In his commentary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust. Comm. Od.* 1696.65, vol. 1:431), Eustathios critically notes that Homer was *pany philachilleus,* "too pro-Achil-

lean." Already in Homer, Achilles had some features of a semibarbarian prince; Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 150.4–20) developed the idea that Achilles was "Tauroscythian," endowed with the typical cruelty of the Rus'.

LIT. D. Kemp-Lindemann, *Darstellungen des Achilleus in griechischer und römischer Kunst* (Bern 1975) 248–51. C. Delvoye, "Eléments classiques et innovations dans l'illustration de la légende d'Achille au Bas-Empire," *AntCl* 53 (1984) 184–99. –A.C., A.K.

ACHILLES TATIUS (Ἀχιλλεὺς Τάτιος), author of the novel *Leukippe and Kleitophon* and, according to the SOUDA, other works of varied scope; born Alexandria, fl. end of 2nd C. The *Souda* also states, almost certainly incorrectly, that he became a Christian and a bishop. The ROMANCE, in carefully wrought prose with many EKPHRASEIS, is narrated throughout in the first person; it relates the lurid adventures and dramatic separations (by pirates, shipwrecks, false deaths, and so on) of the hero and heroine before they can be reunited and married. A papyrus roll of the 3rd to 4th C. containing the romance is being edited at the university libraries of Duke and Cologne (W.H. Willis in *XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia* [Naples 1984] 1:163-66). Despite reservations about the romance's moral qualities (see, e.g., Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.87; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), the novel seems to have maintained an intermittent readership, perhaps because of its potential for allegorical interpretation in terms of the salvation of a Christian soul as well as its Atticist prose style. When in the 12th C. novels began to be written once more, that of Achilles was taken as a model by Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, used by Theodore PRODROMOS, and quoted in the Grottaferrata version of DIGENES AKRITAS.

ED. *Leucippe and Cleitophon*, ed. E. Vilborg, 2 vols. (Stockholm 1955, 1962). Eng. tr., S. Gaselee, *Achilles Tatius* (Cambridge-London 1969).

LIT. T. Hägg, *The Novel in Antiquity* (Oxford 1983) 41-54. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121-25. S.V. Poljakova, "Evmatij i Achill Tatij," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 380–86. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ACHMET BEN SIRIN (Ἀχμὲτ ὁ υἱὸς Σηρείμ), author of the longest and most important Byz. tract on DREAMS. Achmet is the pseudonym of a Christian Greek who used in his ONEIROKRITIKON widely divergent sources: Arabic (N. Bland, *JRAS* 16 [1856] 118–71; M. Steinschneider, *ZDMG* 17 [1863] 227–44), Byz. (dream books of ASTRAMPSYCHOS and the prophet DANIEL), late Roman (Artemidoros, 2nd C.), and his own dream material. The pagan material, particularly in the first 14 chapters, has been reworked to conform to Christian orthodoxy. The treatise is dedicated to "the *protosymboulos* Ma'mūn," the caliph of "Babylon," whose dream interpreter Achmet purports to be, and contains the interpretations of hundreds of dream symbols attributed to Persian, Egyptian, and Indian seers. These attributions, patently false, are a scheme to project cosmopolitan erudition. The date of composition lies somewhere between 813 (the year of ascent of Caliph Ma'mūn) and the early 11th C., when the dream book appears in the marginalia and text of two MSS (D. Gigli, *Prometheus* 4 [1978] 65–86, 173–88; S.M. Oberhelman, *BZ* 74 [1981] 326f). The name Achmet also appears as the author of an astrological treatise, datable to the end of the 8th or the beginning of the 9th C. (E. Riess, *RE* 1 [1894] 248).

ED. *Oneirocriticon*, ed. F. Drexl (Leipzig 1925). *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet*, tr. S.M. Oberhelman (Binghamton 1989).

LIT. F. Drexl, *Achmets Traumbuch* (Freising 1909). Idem, "Studien zum Text des Achmet," *BZ* 33 (1933) 13–31, 271–92. –S.M.O.

ACHYRAOUS (Ἀχυράους, Lat. Esseron), fortress of Mysia overlooking the Makestos River in northwestern Anatolia, near modern Balıkesir. First mentioned in 812 as a village by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Achyraous became important only in 1139, when John II Komnenos made it a powerful and strategic fortified city to assure control of the region and its roads. Achyraous was then made a bishopric, under KYZIKOS, and, in the late 12th C., an ecclesiastical metropolis. At that time, it apparently became the center of a separate civil province. After Latin occupation in 1204–20, Achyraous was a major Laskarid fortress. Although strengthened by Michael VIII in 1282, it barely survived a Turkish attack in 1302, was temporarily rescued by the Catalans in 1304, but fell to the Turks of KARASI soon after. The well-preserved fortress is built in a distinctive masonry with much brick decoration. Mt. Kyminas in the immediate vicinity contained important monastic settlements in the 9th–10th C.

LIT. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 161–66. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 93f. –C.F.

ACOLYTE (ἀκόλουθος), the "follower" in a FUNERAL cortege. Justinian's novel 59, regulating the payment of funeral expenses out of the endowments of the GREAT CHURCH, mentions *akolouthoi* among the various corporations that specialized in the performance of the necessary obsequies. There were to be three *akolouthoi* per cortege (*asketrion*). The acolytes who constituted the lowest clerical order in the Roman church (H. Leclercq in *DACL* 1:348–56) apparently did not have a counterpart in Byz. –P.M.

ACQUISITION. The most common legal means of obtaining property were transfer (Lat. *traditio*; Gr. *paradosis*), possession by prescriptive right (LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO), *occupatio*, and acquisition *ex lege*. Property was obtained, for example, in fulfillment of a sale-, gift-, or dowry-CONTRACT through a physical transfer; from the time of Justinian I this transfer could take place informally, in contrast to the earlier formal act, the *mancipatio*. In case of a purchase (SALE), payment had to accompany the transfer in order for the acquisition of the property to be complete. *Occupatio*, appropriation with the intent to keep the object as property, was the legal basis for the acquisition of an object which had no owner. Acquisition *ex lege* (i.e., an acquisition where the acquirer does not participate in the transaction), involved primarily the acquisition of an inheritance by the lawful heir of the testator. The acquisition of possession was based on the effective tenure of an object and by the wish to have it: *corpore et animo* (Gr. *somati kai psyche*, lit. "in body and soul"). –M.Th.F.

ACRE, KINGDOM OF. After the Third Crusade recovered Acre from Saladin (12 July 1191) but failed to regain Jerusalem, Acre became the capital of the kings of Jerusalem and a major center for the production of CRUSADER ART. John of Brienne was king there (1210–25) before becoming Latin emperor in Constantinople. Restricted to a coastal strip, the kingdom of Acre was dominated by Italian merchant communities in the cities. A conflict between Venetians and Genoese over a house belonging to the Church of St. Sabas in Acre (1256–70) drove Genoa to ally itself with MICHAEL VIII, thereby facilitating his seizure of Constantinople. The Venetian-Genoese struggles, however, spread into Byz. waters, where much harm was done to Byz. Acre fell to the Mamlūks on 18 May 1291.

LIT. Prawer, *Royaume latin.* –C.M.B.

ACROCORINTH. See CORINTH.

ACROSTIC (ἀκροστιχίς), a composition in prose or verse in which the initial letters of each section form a word, phrase, or alphabetic sequence. Acrostics are regularly found in hymns, both KONTAKIA and KANONES, where the first letters of each OIKOS, or verse, are linked to form the author's name (e.g., Τοῦ Ρωμανοῦ), an indication of the subject matter (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Ἰωσὴφ Ρωμανοῦ ἔπος), or to make an alphabet (as in the AKATHISTOS HYMN); letters can be doubled to allow the text to expand (e.g., Εἰς τὸν Χχρρυυσσοοσσττομον) and some phonetic spelling is permissible (e.g., ταπινοῦ). Alphabetic acrostics link chapters and entries in the gnomologia (see GNOME) and MIRRORS OF PRINCES, hortatory works to which are related a series of shorter penitential alphabets in prose and verse and in the vernacular as well as the learned languages (Krumbacher, *GBL* 717–20). Acrostics are found in secular *enkomia*, spelling the name of the recipient (e.g., in the works of DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO). Alphabetic acrostics are also used for love songs, as in the EROTOPAIGNIA.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, "Die Akrostichis in der griechischen Kirchenpoesie," *SBAW* (1903) 551–691. W. Weyh, "Die Akrostichis in der byzantinischen Kanonesdichtung," *BZ* 17 (1908) 1–69. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165. –E.M.J.

ACTA ARCHELAI, anti-Manichaean document in the form of a disputation involving, on the Christian side, Archelaos, bishop of Kaschara in Mesopotamia (ca.270), and for the Manichaeans Turbo and MANI himself. Although the dispute is certainly not historical, the text contains authentic documents and genuine tradition concerning MANICHAEANISM. The *Acta* were written before 350 by an otherwise unknown Hegemonios and were cited by authors such as EPIPHANIOS of Salamis and SOKRATES. Only a few fragments of the original Greek version survive, but the full text exists in a defective Latin translation.

ED. PG 10:1405–1528. *Hegemonius: Acta Archelai*, ed. C.H. Beeson (Leipzig 1906).

LIT. G. Hansen, "Zu den Evangelienzitaten in den 'Acta Archelai,'" *StP* 7 (1966) 473–85. A.L. Kac, "Manichejstvo

v Rimskoj imperii po dannym Acta Archelai," *VDI*, no.3 (1955) 168–79. –T.E.G.

ACTIONS (ἀγωγαί). Under the classical formulary procedure of Rome, actions were written statements of grievance (*formulae*) that were allotted to the parties by the PRAETOR on the basis of their descriptions of the conflict, so that they could bring their lawsuit before the judge. The substantive claims set forth in this formal statement were closely connected with the relevant OBLIGATION; as a rule every *obligatio* had its own *actio* and, inversely, where there was no *obligatio* (see PACTA) there was no *actio*. With the elimination of the formulary system in 342 (*Cod. Just.* II 57.1), the procedural aspect of the action became irrelevant. Action became the name for the substantive claim (*obligatio*) that a plaintiff brought against a defendant. The name of the action had to be mentioned in the first sentence of the plaintiff's writ (*editio actionis*). Consequently, lists were compiled of the names of actions; of these, only the work DE ACTIONIBUS from the 6th C. has been edited.

Actions in the Post-Justinianic Period. The Byz. developed a detailed system of classification of actions (e.g., *Synopsis Basilicorum* A. 24.1). In charters, however, the term (which is common) has a vague meaning of "claim," with the connotation of an illegal procedure. It is used primarily in formulas assuring legal protection for a buyer or grantee against the seller (grantor) or a third person who was thus prohibited from initiating any claims concerning the transferred object (e.g., *Ivir.* 1, no.3.19–20; *Xénoph.*, no.9.45, etc.). A document of 1377 (*Lavra* 3, no.148) describes a *nomimos agoge* (with no further definition) brought against the monastery; the plaintiffs eventually dropped the claim, refusing to turn to "any Christian *agoge*" that could assist them, and they subsequently guaranteed the property of the Lavra. There is a difference between the elaborate categorization of actions in legal texts and the simple interpretation of the *agoge* in documents as a claim in general. –A.K.

ACTOR. In Roman law actors (Lat. *histriones*) and MIMES were considered as belonging to an infamous profession and were classified with those whom the emperor expelled from the army for shameful behavior (*Digest* 3:2.1). Despite the defense of actors by some intellectuals (LIBANIOS, CHORIKIOS OF GAZA), this negative attitude toward actors prevailed in Byz.: clerics were forbidden not only to participate in performances, but even to see a show. Various decrees, secular and ecclesiastical alike (esp. the rules of the Council in TRULLO), restricted theatrical performances. As late as the 15th C. Manuel II characterized the theatrical show as typical of the Ottoman court and found it reprehensible. The principal accusation against actors was the sexual promiscuity allegedly characteristic of their way of life: musicians, dancers, and actors are frequently mentioned in the same context as prostitutes. Nevertheless, in the late Roman Empire actors were to be found everywhere; a law of 409 prevented local urban authorities from transferring actors, charioteers, and wild animals from their cities and thus lessening the appeal of popular festivities (*Cod.Just.* XI 41.5). With the decline of the THEATER, actors assumed the role of clowns and jesters.

LIT. F. Tinnefeld, "Zum profanen Mimos in Byzanz nach dem Verdikt des Trullanums (691)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 321–43. W. Puchner, "Byzantinischer Mimos, Pantomimos und Mummenschanz im Spiegel der griechischen Patristik und ekklesiastischer Synodalverordnungen," *Maske und Kothurn* 29 (1983) 311–17. –Ap.K., A.K.

ACTS (Πράξεις τῶν ἀποστόλων), the historical portion of the NEW TESTAMENT that describes events after Christ's Crucifixion. The Byz. unanimously considered LUKE to be the author of the Acts, but MS tradition links it more closely to the Epistles than to the Gospels: among almost 3,000 uncial and minuscule MSS of the New Testament listed by K. Aland (*Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* [Berlin 1963]), approximately 335 contain the Acts together with the Epistles, but without the Gospels, while only ten contain the Gospels and Acts without the Epistles. The major Byz. commentary on Acts is that of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. A full exegesis of Acts was falsely attributed to the 10th-C. Thessalian bishop Oikoumenios—Beck (*Kirche* 418) dates it to the end of the 8th C. Another complete commentary, by THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, draws upon that of Chrysostom. Other commentaries are known in fragments from CATENAE.

Chrysostom highly appreciated the book of Acts:

it is no less beneficial for us, he says (PG 60:13f), than the Gospels, since it demonstrates the realization (*ergon*) of what was prophesied by Christ and presented in the Gospels. The book, he continues (col.15.15–16), related the acts of PAUL, who labored more than any other; Chrysostom completes his work with a panegyric of Paul. Chrysostom's interpretation of Acts is permeated by his ethical ideals of poverty over wealth and pious ignorance over pseudophilosophy; he uses his material for attacks on theatrical performances. The commentary of DIDYMOS THE BLIND, on the other hand, emphasizes Christological problems. Referring to Chrysostom, Didymos (PG 39:1672AB) discusses the contradiction between Acts and Paul in the story of the miracle on the road to Damascus. The contradiction is resolved by pointing out that in one case the text states that his companions heard Paul's voice, while in the other they saw only the light and did not hear the voice of the Lord. Lections from Acts (together with the Epistles) formed the liturgical book called the PRAXAPOSTOLOS. Various APOCRYPHAL acts described the exploits of individual apostles.

Acts Illustration. Illustration of Acts is rare in Byz. art. In monumental painting, only the 21-scene cycle in the narthex at Dečani (14th c.) in Serbia illustrates Acts itself, rather than episodes from hagiographical cycles, such as the scenes of PETER and Paul at MONREALE. Only two MSS of Acts—both 12th C.—contain anything more than a prefatory portrait of its author, Luke: Paris, B.N. gr. 102, fol. 7v (see Kessler, *infra*), has a grid of four scenes—Peter and JOHN at the Beautiful Gate, the martyrdom of JAMES, Peter liberated from prison, and the stoning of Stephen—and Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965, preserves 13 of its original 19 framed illustrations. The earlier SACRA PARALLELA contains 17 vignettes illustrating episodes from Acts. These four monuments, though chronologically diverse, reveal consistencies in the selection and interpretation of subject matter that occur also in byzantinizing cycles from Italy and indicate that a coherent Byz. tradition of Acts illustration did exist. It was extensive, settling on particular passages and illustrating them densely: ASCENSION, PENTECOST, activities of Peter, Paul, PHILIP, and Stephen. In contrast to the illustration of hagiographical cycles, Acts illustration was strictly canonical.

LIT. A.W. Carr, "Chicago 2400 and the Byzantine Acts Cycle," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 1–29. L. Eleen, "Acts Illustration in Italy and Byzantium," *DOP* 31 (1977) 253–78. H. Kessler, "Paris. gr. 102: A Rare Illustrated Acts of the Apostles," *DOP* 27 (1973) 209–16. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ACTS, DOCUMENTARY, documents of a formal nature, preserved in original or in COPY, and varying according to their author and the nature and importance of the question they concern.

Physical Characteristics. Normally acts were written on PAPYRUS, PARCHMENT, or PAPER in black or brown INK; emperors (and later *despotai*) used purple ink for their signatures (and for some other words, esp. in CHRYSOBULLS); the SEBASTOKRATORS and CAESARS used blue ink, the PROTOVESTIARIOS green ink. Purple parchment, use of gold or silver ink, and documents with miniatures (12th, 14th C.) or with decorated initials (12th C.) are rare. The script varies. In the 10th–12th C. a notarial script is typical of official chanceries. Normally acts were written in Greek; the language varies from moderately educated (chanceries) to popular (some private deeds). Letters of foreign relations were written in other languages (above all in Latin) or were accompanied by translations (few mentions of cryptographic or coded letters survive). The contents of the document were guaranteed by the author's autograph signature at the bottom, or by his *protaxis*, i.e., writing his name at the top of the document; if the author was illiterate, *protaxis* and subscription could be replaced by a *signon*, i.e., an autograph cross in the quarters of which the notary wrote the author's name and titles. Some public documents and most private ones bear also the signatures (autograph, if possible) of witnesses and, if one took part, of the *tabellion* or *taboullarios* (see NOTARY) who signed as a privileged witness. In some cases, the transaction was further confirmed by the signature of a bishop or an official, obviously with the hope that thus the document would receive public *fides*. The authenticity of the document was also guaranteed by a SEAL, hanging from a string of variable value and color at the bottom of an open document or securing a folded one: the seals were made of gold (only the emperor), of silver (rare; some *despotai*), lead and wax (general use, including emperors and *despotai*). Several annotations also survive; their interpretation is not always sure: recognition that the contents of

the act reflect what was intended to be said; registration; or MONOCONDYLES on the place where two different sheets were glued together. Major chanceries had secret signs guaranteeing the authenticity of their acts, such as having the final word (*kratos*) of the CHRYSOBULLS written at the beginning of a line; other secrets of the patriarchal chancery (place of seal, way of folding, etc.) are described in the EKTHESIS NEA.

Composition. Most acts contain some (if not all) of the following parts. At the very beginning (protocol) and at the very end (eschatocol) of the document are formulas and pieces of information identifying author, addressee, and date. At the beginning is an *invocatio*, usually to the Holy Trinity; the *intitulatio*, with the name and titles of the author (emperors, patriarchs, certain officials) or the *protaxis* or *signon* (in private deeds); eventually indication of the addressees (*inscriptio*). The date is part of the protocol in certain documents, such as excerpts from decisions of the synod, some acts of public officials (until the 11th C.), as well as some private deeds of the late Roman period and, in southern Italy, of the 10th–14th C. Justinian I required a ready-made protocol with the date on which it was drafted. The eschatocol contains the date on which the document was written (*egraphe*) or issued (*datum*, Gr. *apelythe*) and the subscription(s). The date is expressed according to one of several CHRONOLOGIES: by consular years (until the 8th C.), regnal years (introduced in 537 and still used in the 11th C. in Italy), *anno mundi* (year of the creation), and INDICTION. The body of the act is composed of the PROOIMION (*arenga*), a rhetorical introduction with philosophical and/or political considerations; the exposition of the affair (*narratio*); the decision or arrangement or order (*dispositio*); eventual spiritual or temporal sanctions for recalcitrants; and special clauses.

Probatory Value. The value of an act as evidence was limited, since its authenticity and validity could be contested at any time. An act of a state authority (*instrumentum publicum*) could be contested by the state itself (e.g., the privileges granted by an authentic imperial chrysobull would not be recognized by the authorities unless the chrysobull had been registered in time at the appropriate government services). An individual, however, could contest only its formal authenticity and bore the onus of proof. In the absence of notarial RECORDS (minutes) with probatory value, the diplomatic authenticity as well as the contents of private deeds could be contested in court. In such cases proof had to be brought in order to support them: testimony of the parties themselves, witnesses (including, first of all, the *taboullarios* who drafted the deeds), judicial oaths, and graphological examination of the signatures (for the deceased).

Types of Acts. All chanceries and public or ecclesiastical authorities issued simple letters (*grammata pittakia*; see PITTAKIA), which, when sealed, were called SIGILLIA. The imperial chancery also issued chrysobulls, EDICTS, NOVELS (*novellae*), *pragmaticae sanctiones*, *sacrae* (*sakrai*), PROSTAGMATA, *prostaxeis*, HORISMOI, RESCRIPTA, *lyseis*, etc. *Horismoi* and *parakeleuseis* were also issued by *despotai* and other state or church dignitaries (caesars, patriarchs); *entalmata*, SEMEIOMATA, and HYPOMNEMATA were documents typical of the patriarchal chancery and of that of public servants, who also issued fiscal acts, such as *apographika grammata*, PRAKTIKA, *periorismoi*, *isokodika* (see KODIX), etc. All kinds of private documents survive: WILLS, deeds confirming SALES, exchanges, and DONATIONS as well as documents that offer guarantees, make special agreements, etc.

LIT. Dölger, *Schatz*. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 23–56. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 174–89. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 423–27. Falkenhausen-Amelotti, "Notariato & documento" 40–62. A. Guillou et al., "Table ronde," in *PGEB* 532f. –N.O.

ADAM AND EVE, the original ancestors of humankind, occupied an important place in Byz. theological doctrine. Adam (Ἀδάμ), whose name was interpreted as "man" or "earth," was created perfect, but committed grave sin (ORIGINAL SIN) by his own free will; his sin was considered more serious than that of Eve (Εὔα). Adam's sin led to the loss of grace and to death, but Christ came to redeem his fall. Thus Christ was proclaimed a Second Adam, and Adam the prefiguration (*typos*) of Christ—either through similarity (created without human father) or in contrast (obedience versus disobedience, damnation versus salvation). Exegetes ascribed double prefigurative significance to Eve: as the *typos* of the church, since she was created from Adam's rib and the church emerged from the open wound of Christ on the Cross, and as an antithesis to the VIRGIN MARY.

Representation in Art. Adam and Eve are depicted already at the Christian building at Dura Europos and play a significant role in art of the pre-Justinianic period, culminating in extensive cycles in the illustrated Cotton and Vienna Genesis MSS. Later they continue to occur in cycles which presumably reflect early models, such as the illustrated Octateuchs, the nave mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at Palermo and the cathedral at Monreale, and the narthex mosaics at S. Marco in Venice. Brief cycles, closely related iconographically, also appear on ivory caskets (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, e.g., nos. 67–69, 84), where their function is unclear. From the 9th C., the Anastasis provided an important new context for Adam and Eve with the youthful Adam of Genesis now a white-bearded patriarch; from the 12th C. the idealized features of Eve become lined and wrinkled.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:40–54. S.E. Robinson, *The Testament of Adam: An Examination of the Syriac and Greek Traditions* (Chico, Calif., 1982). H. Maguire, "Adam and the Animals: Allegory and Literal Sense in Early Christian Art," *DOP* 41 (1987) 363–73. –A.K., J.H.L.

ADDAI, DOCTRINE OF. See Doctrine of Addai.

ADDRESS, FORMS OF, various modes of exclamation, appeal, harangue, and greeting, preserved primarily in letters (both papyri and collections) as well as in documents and speeches; on rare occasions narrative texts preserve traces of formulas of oral address while recreating dialogues. Zilliacus (*infra*) suggests that in the 4th–6th C. a radical change of the form of addressing people took place, because of the bureaucratization of society, on the one hand, and its christianization, on the other. "Classicizing" authors, such as Libanios and Julian, retain the traditional literary forms of address: *agathe*, *anthrope*, *kale*, etc. In the papyri of the 5th–6th C., however, ancient forms of address practically disappear, being replaced by pious epithets (*theotimetos*, *theophylaktos*) or complicated adjectives with prefixes *pan-* and *hyper-*. The usage of the *pluralis reverentiae* ("plural of reverence"), unknown in the Christian milieu before the 4th C., was established thereafter, and from the 5th C. onward it became the rule in addressing the emperor. Some ancient epithets (*philos*, *philtatos*, etc.) continued to be used throughout the Byz. period, while at the same time formulaic addresses were established: the emperor was "your majesty" (*basileia sou*), the bishop, "the most holy lord" (*hagiotate despota*). Terms of family relationship, father, brother, nephew, were also common, strictly distinguishing the type of connection between the correspondents. Platonizing forms of address (ὦ λῷστε) continue in works of high style until the end of the empire.

LIT. H. Zilliacus, "Anredeformen," *RAC*, Supp.-Lieferung 4 (1986) 481–97. –A.K.

ADELPHATON (ἀδελφᾶτον), a "fellowship" in a monastery, which provided the holder (*adelphatarios*) with a living allowance (*siteresion*) for life. An *adelphaton* was normally granted in return for a gift of immovables or money (100 nomismata was the going rate in the 14th C.—N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 59) and guaranteed in a contract between the monastery and the beneficiary. *Adelphata* might also, however, be in the gift of the monastery's patron, as with the *adelphaton* at the Mangana, which Manuel I gave to Manganeios Prodromos. There were two categories of *adelphatarioi*: *esomonitai*, who joined the monastic community in some capacity, and *exomonitai*, who continued to live outside it. The institution is first attested in the 11th C. It always aroused some disapproval because it was seen to involve and encourage simony and lack of commitment to the monastic life; hence periodic attempts to restrict it to *esomonitai*, to keep it nonheritable, and even, in some monastic *typika*, to prohibit it altogether (e.g., *Typikon* of Charsianeites, *EEBS* 45 [1981–82] 491f, 497, 510).

LIT. E. Herman, "Die Regelung der Armut in den byzantinischen Klöstern," *OrChrP* 7 (1941) 444–49. M. Živojinović, "Adelfati u Vizantiji i srednovekovnoj Srbiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 241–70. I. Konidaris, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984) 223–30. A.-M.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 276f. –P.M.

ADELPHOPOIIA (ἀδελφοποιΐα), the adoption of a brother or sister. Like adoption and baptismal sponsorship (see Godparents), with which it is always mentioned in treatises on prohibited degrees of marriage, *adelphopoiia* was considered a spiritual relationship between two people, cre-

ated by the prayers of a ritual (Goar, *Euchologion* 706–08). Unlike these other spiritual relationships, however, *adelphopoiia* was not recognized by civil or canon law and was therefore inconsequential with regard to rights of inheritance and MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, ed. Pitra, cols. 31–32, 725–26; John PEDIASIMOS, ed. A. Schminck, *FM* 1 [1976] 156.375–81). A statement in the *Peira* (49.11), however, indicates that *adelphopoiia* could be acknowledged as creating a marriage impediment between the two people who had contracted the tie. Repeated prohibitions against *adelphopoiia*, including those in monastic TYPIKA, show that the practice was widespread. *Adelphopoiia* was contracted by members of the ecclesiastical hierarchy (e.g., the patriarch Thomas I of Constantinople [607–10] and Theodore of Sykeon: *Life of Theodore of Sykeon*, ed. Festugière, 106.1–6). It could confirm a friendship, as in the case of Romanos IV Diogenes and Nikephoros Bryennios (An.Komn. 2:196.10–16) and carried with it an obligation of mutual help and support (e.g., DANELIS's son John and Basil I: *TheophCont* 228.6–7).

LIT. G. Michailides-Nouaros, "Peri tes adelphopoiias en te archaia Helladi kai en to Byzantio," *Tomos Konstantinou Harmenopoulou* (Thessalonike 1952) 284–90. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XII (1978), 625–36. –R.J.M.

ADLOCUTIO (lit. "address"), public address of the emperor to his soldiers or the civilian populace, usually at the conclusion of a campaign. Two depictions of *adlocutio* survive from the period of the TETRARCHY. On the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike the emperor stands frontally on a platform in the center of the composition and addresses his army, represented by cavalry and footsoldiers assembled on both sides of him. On a relief on the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome the emperor proclaims to the Roman citizens the new era to follow his victory over Maxentius (312). He stands on the Rostra in the Forum Romanum and is flanked by senators on either side. In both reliefs the viewer, because of the symmetry of the composition and the frontality of the emperor, becomes the direct recipient of the imperial message. These are the latest extant examples in monumental art; the last-known numismatic representation of *adlocutio* is on a silver medallion of Constantine I dated to 315. Thereafter the subject disappears from the repertoire of Late Antique art.

LIT. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 165–73. H.P. L'Orange, A. von Gerkan, *Der spätantike Bildschmuck des Konstantinsbogens* (Berlin 1939) 80–89. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975) 47f, 99f, 127–30. –I.K.

ADMIRAL. See AMERALIOS.

ADMONITION (*παραίνεσις, νουθεσία, νουθέτησις*), a genre of didactic literature. To designate its products, Gregory of Nazianzos and John Chrysostom used the term *parainetikos* (other church fathers considered parts of the Bible "paraenetic"), while KEKAUMENOS used the title *logos nouthetikos* for a section of his work, going back to Xenophon and to the theoretician of rhetoric, Demetrios (both 4th C. B.C.). Byz. "paraenetic" speech differed from late Roman deliberative oratory (Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 19–23) in that it was ethically rather than politically oriented and was presented in written form. The BASILIKOS LOGOS, a kind of *enkomion*, in fact contained substantial elements of admonition. So did the MIRRORS OF PRINCES, as indicated by the title *kephalaia parainetika* of the *Mirror* attributed to Emp. Basil I. In the 11th and 12th C. admonitions were produced addressing various sectors of society (e.g., the so-called *Strategikon* by Kekaumenos, SPANEAS): biblical and ancient precepts were mixed with contemporary anecdotes, and the language was plain and even close to the VERNACULAR. The paraenetic genre flourished in the monastic milieu from the 4th C. onward and usually affected the standard language: CHAPTERS (*kephalaia*) of sentences (GNOMAI) inculcated rules of ascetic conduct, SERMONS had a didactic purpose, and HAGIOGRAPHY also aimed at ethical indoctrination.

LIT. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 182–89. –A.K., I.Š.

ADNOUMIASTES (*ἀδνουμιαστής*), always used with the epithet *megas*, described by a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20) as a subaltern of the MEGAS DOMESTIKOS; his function was to issue horses and weapons to soldiers. In documents from 1290 onward the *megas adnoumi-*

astes appears as an administrator of land donations. There could be at least two *adnoumiastai* at one time, as shown in a synodal decision (of 1337/8?) involving two *megaloi adnoumiastai*, Alexios Hyaleas and George Kokalas. The last known *megas adnoumiastes* is not George Katzaras in 1351 (*Docheiar.*, no.27.1–2), as stated by Guilland, but John Marachas in 1402 (*PLP*, no.16829).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:594–96. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 240. Maksimović, *Administration* 191f. –A.K.

ADNOUMION (ἀδνούμιον, from Lat. *ad nomen*), an annual census and mobilization to enumerate and inspect soldiers of the provincial armies (*themata*). The Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, referring to a campaign against the Arabs in the later 8th C., describes an *adnoumion* at which soldiers were expected to present themselves with their horse and weapons (ed. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 125.34–127.26). The 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 320.3–322.41) recommends general *adnoumia* before and after campaigns to maintain accurate records of available manpower and equipment. The muster-lists recording these totals were kept at the bureau of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU. The *megas adnoumiastes*, marshaller, was in the 14th C. responsible for horses and equipment; he assisted the *megas domestikos* during the display of troops (pseudo-Kod. 250.13–20); the sign of his office was a silver staff with a dove on its haft.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VIII (1960), 8f. –E.M.

ADOMNAN or Adamnan of Hy, Irish churchman and writer; abbot on the island of Iona, the Inner Hebrides (from 679); born ca.624, died 23 Sept. 704. His works, in Latin, include a treatise *On the Holy Places* (*De locis sanctis*), written before 686 or 688. It relies chiefly on eyewitness testimony dictated by Arculf, bishop of an unidentified see in Gaul, whose ship was blown off course and landed on Britain's west coast. Arculf visited the Holy Land in or before 683 or 684, traveled to Alexandria and from there, via Crete, to Constantinople, where he stayed for some eight months. He then sailed to Rome, probably via Sicily (whence his information on travel conditions, e.g., 211.8–10, 221.20–21, 222.8–10). Book 1, on the churches (Arculf sketched plans preserved in later MSS) and relics (E. Nestle, *BZ* 4 [1895] 338–42) of Jerusalem and its environs, is based almost exclusively on Arculf's nine-month stay there, while book 2's description of other sites depends more on written sources: e.g., the bustling shipping at Alexandria (223.55–60) is borrowed from "Hegesippus." Book 3 relates information Arculf collected in Constantinople on the city's legendary foundation (227.2–36), on Iconoclastic incidents involving an icon of St. George and its cult among the army at Diospolis, and on an icon of the Virgin (229.1–231.58, 233.1–31). It also describes Arculf's impression of Hagia Sophia (J. Strzygowski, *BZ* 10 [1901] 704f) and the ceremony of the veneration of the relic of the cross by the emperor and his court (228.21–38).

ED. L. Bieler, *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr, ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 175–234. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 93–116, 192–97.
LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 173–78. –M.McC.

ADOPTIANISM, Christologies that depict Christ as a man whom God assumes or adopts as his Son, either at his baptism or resurrection. The adoption may be likened to the Servant of God in Deutero-Isaiah, or to the bestowal of the spirit on the Old Testament prophets. Or, it may conform to certain Hellenistic concepts (e.g., apotheosis) often associated with docetic or Gnostic views (see GNOSTICISM). All of these forms share a strictly monotheistic conception of God, and for that reason they have been viewed in connection with MONARCHIANISM. Adoptianism, in contrast to MODALISM, retains the transcendence of God the Father while the Son is solely a reality within history, and the Spirit, in the history of salvation, is the unique gift of God, but not God himself.

To the extent that the Christology of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL emphasized the full reality of Jesus' humanity, it could easily tend toward Adoptianism, as confirmed in Paul of Samosata (condemned in 268: H. de Riedmatten, *Les actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* [Fribourg 1952]). Later Antiochenes (Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Nestorios), however, established their notions on the basis of the consubstantiality (see HOMOOUSIOS) of the Father and the Son/Logos. Nevertheless, in their Christology they preferred

the image of "indwelling" (*enoikesis*), which lends itself to an Adoptianist interpretation.

LIT. G. Bardy, *Paul de Samosate*[2] (Louvain 1929). A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition, From the Apostolic Age to Chalcedon (451)*[2] (Atlanta 1975). –K.-H.U.

ADOPTION (*υἱοθεσία*). In Byz. legal practice adoption did not establish PATRIA POTESTAS; the adopted child/adult could inherit from an adoptive parent only if the latter died intestate (*Epanagoge aucta* 15.9) or expressly designated the adopted child as heir (Sathas, *MB* 6:628–31). Leo VI extended the right to adopt to eunuchs and unmarried women (novs. 26, 27) and stipulated that an ecclesiastical blessing, not any civil procedure, was to be the essential constitutive act of adoption (nov.24; Balsamon in commentary on canon 53 of Trullo—Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:429–31). Adoption thus became a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP "above those of the flesh," like baptismal sponsorship (see GODPARENT) with which it shared a common terminology and similar MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS. From notarial contract formulas and case histories it emerges that children were given up for adoption by widows/widowers who could not afford to raise their offspring, while children were adopted by childless couples in order to obtain descendants and heirs. Michael PSELLOS's adoption of a daughter is the best documented case (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 39 [1969] 284–317). Couples with children of their own might also adopt (D. Simon, S. Troianos, *FM* 2 [1977] 276–83; G. Ferrari, *Bollettino dell'Istituto storico italiano* 33 [1913] 65, 81f). A series of (proposed) adoptions by childless imperial couples in the 11th C. indicates a desire to provide an heir to the throne (Zoe's adoption of MICHAEL [V] KALAPHATES, nephew of her husband Michael IV), but also an attempt to forestall coups by their prospective adopted sons (Michael VI's adoption of Isaac Komnenos; Nikephoros Botaneiates' adoption of Nikephoros Bryennios).

In painting, the legitimization of paternity was expressed by the act of holding an adopted child upon the "father's" knees. Probably derived from images of Abraham and Lazarus, as in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XXXIV), by the 11th C. this pose was used for the "Ancient of Days" (see CHRIST) and, from the 12th C., in images of the TRINITY. A political extension of the motif occurs in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES (Papadopoulos, *infra*, figs. 1, 2) where both foreign princes adopted by the emperor and Byz. adopted by foreign rulers are shown on the knees of their "parents."

LIT. A.P. Christophilopoulos, *Scheseis goneon kai teknon kata to Byzantinon dikaion* (Athens 1946) 75–84. S.A. Papadopoulos, "Essai d'interprétation du thème iconographique de la paternité dans l'art byzantin," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 121–136. –R.J.M., A.C.

ADOPTIVE BROTHERS. See ADELPHOPOIIA.

ADORATION OF THE MAGI. According to Matthew 2:1–12, the Magi (*Μάγοι*) led by a star arrived at Jerusalem in search of the child who was born to become the Messiah or the king of the Jews; they were directed to Bethlehem, found Mary and Jesus, paid homage to him, and gave him three gifts: gold, frankincense, and myrrh. Matthew says only that they came from the Orient; some church fathers (e.g., Epiphanios) considered them as coming from Arabia, others (Diodoros of Tarsos, Cyril of Alexandria) from Persia, and others (e.g., the 5th-C. theologian Theodotos of Ankyra—PG 77:1364C) from Chaldaea. The number of the Magi was usually stated as three (primarily on the basis of the number of gifts), but the Syrian and Armenian tradition counts a dozen Magi. Later exegetes invented various names for the Magi; thus the 12th-C. writer Zacharias of Chrysopolis (Besançon in France) writes that their Greek names were Apellius, Amerus, and Damascus, meaning faithful, humble, and merciful, respectively (PL 186:83D).

Identified as kings already in the 3rd C., the Magi were interpreted as symbols of the conversion of the Gentiles, and so figured prominently in Early Christian art. As in Matthew, they were at first depicted as approaching the enthroned Virgin and Child, independent of the scene of the NATIVITY. Frequent pairings of the Adoration and Nativity on sarcophagus lids, ivories, and ampullae proclaim their common theme (the theophany of the Incarnation), not their narrative unity. The Adoration appears independently of the Nativity still in certain 11th–12th-C. monuments (churches in GÖREME; DAPHNI) and, more frequently, in Palaiologan imagery influenced by the AKATHISTOS HYMN. Usually, however, post-

Iconoclastic art integrates the Adoration and even the journey and departure of the Magi with the Nativity, because the Magi were commemorated on Christmas. Their original Persian costume is later assimilated to that of Old Testament priests; they mount horses, acquire names (Melchior, Balthasar, Kaspar) representing three races descending from Noah, and are extensively depicted in the FRIEZE GOSPELS. A homily by JOHN OF EUBOEA in Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Taphou 14 (11th C.) and Athos, Esphig. 14 (12th C.) (*Treasures* II figs. 342–392), is illustrated with 17 images of the Magi, many of them otherwise unparalleled.

LIT. Millet, *Recherches* 136–51. G. Vezin, *L'Adoration et le cycle des Mages dans l'art chrétien primitif* (Paris 1950). H. Lesètre, *Dict Bibl* 4.1:543–52. –A.W.C., A.K.

ADRAMYTTION. See ATRAMYTTION.

ADRIANOPLE (Ἀδριανούπολις, also Orestias, mod. Edirne), city in Thrace on the middle HEBROS River (navigable from Adrianople to the sea) and on the major military road Belgrade-Sofia-Constantinople. It was an important stronghold protecting Constantinople from invasions from the north, but is rarely mentioned as an administrative center: the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* lists the *doux* of Adrianople immediately after that of Thessalonike; in the 1040s the *magistros* Constantine Arianites held that position (Skyl. 458.48–49). As a bishopric Adrianople is known from the end of the 4th C., but its place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy declined from 27th in the 7th C. to 40th in the 10th C., despite its growing number of suffragans—from 5 to 11 (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:544). A center of the Macedonian nobility, esp. in the 11th and 12th C., Adrianople produced at least three usurpers: Leo TORNIKIOS, Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and Alexios BRANAS; on the other hand, Macedonian troops supported Constantinople against eastern generals during the revolts of Nikephoros Phokas and Isaac Komnenos. In the 14th C. the *demos* of Adrianople became active, and in 1341 its revolt preceded the outbreak of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike.

Located at the intersection of important strategic routes, Adrianople was often the center of military activity: on 3 July 324 Constantine I defeated Licinius near Adrianople, on 9 August 378 Valens was routed here by the Goths (see ADRIANOPLE, BATTLE OF), in 586 the Avars besieged Adrianople in vain. In the 9th–10th C. Adrianople was a strong point in wars against the Bulgarians: Emp. Nikephoros I reportedly appointed an Arab experienced in "mechanics" to help defend the city, but to no avail (Theoph. 498.7–11); both Krum and Symeon managed to seize Adrianople temporarily. In the 11th C. resistance to the Pechenegs was based at Adrianople. Frederick I Barbarossa occupied the city and in 1190 signed there a treaty with Constantinople. Kalojan defeated Baldwin I of Constantinople at Adrianople on 14 Apr. 1205. In the 13th C. the city changed hands several times, being captured by the armies of Nicaea, Epiros, and Bulgaria. John III Vatatzes established Nicaean rule over Adrianople in 1242–46. In 1307 the Catalan Grand Company besieged it. Turkish *begs* seized it probably ca.1369, but the Ottoman sultan Murad I did not enter Adrianople before the winter of 1376–77 (I. Steinherr-Beldiceanu, *TM* 1 [1965] 439–61). It served as the Ottoman capital until their capture of Constantinople in 1453.

Hagia Sophia, an important domed quatrefoil church of the 5th–6th C., with ambulatories and galleries, was photographed in the 19th C., but no longer exists (N. Mavrodinov, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 286–90).

LIT. P. Axiotes, *He Adrianoupolis apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri tou 1922* (Thessalonike 1922). Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 137–48. E.A. Zachariadou, "The Conquest of Adrianople by the Turks," *StVen* 12 (1970) 211–17. *Kleinchroniken* 2:297–99. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ADRIANOPLE, BATTLE OF, the scene of a major defeat of the Roman army by the GOTHS on 9 Aug. 378. In 376 the Goths, under pressure from the HUNS, crossed the Danube, probably in the area of DOROSTOLON, and were allowed to settle as FOEDERATI on Roman territory. Harsh treatment by Roman officials led the Goths to rebel, and some common people from Adrianople joined them. In 377 Valens left Antioch for Constantinople and sought assistance from Gratian, the emperor in the West. Valens led his troops to Adrianople, while Gratian's army was marching from Gallia to Sirmium. Relying on false reconnaissance information that the Gothic force was only 10,000 strong, Valens decided to launch an attack before the arrival of the Western army. Fritigern, the Gothic commander, sent envoys

proposing an eternal peace treaty, but his overtures were rejected. The Roman cavalry, which at first attacked successfully, was soon exhausted, and the counterattack of Ostrogothic and Alan mounted warriors destroyed the Roman infantry. Valens stood firm for a while, with his select infantry, but then had to retreat.

The defeat was overwhelming; probably only a third of the Roman army was able to escape, and Valens was killed. According to one version, he was killed by an arrow, his body was stripped on the spot and later could not be recognized; another version relates that he was wounded, brought to a hut, and burned with the hut by his pursuers. Even though Fritigern was unable to take Adrianople, the Goths rampaged all over Thrace and reached the walls of Constantinople; only lavish gifts diverted them from the siege of the city. At news of the defeat, Gratian recalled his troops to the upper Rhine. Orthodox tradition connects Valens' defeat with his Arian persuasion.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2118–26. J. Irmscher, H. Paratore, M. Rambaud, *De pugna apud Hadrianopolim quibusque de causis Romani imperii opes laborare coeperint* (Rome 1979). –A.K.

ADRIATIC SEA (Ἀδριατικὸν πέλαγος), the narrow waterway extending north of the IONIAN SEA from the Straits of Otranto; it lies between Italy on the west and Dalmatia on the east. Along the Italian coast there are few harbors between BARI and RAVENNA, and steep mountains rise along the eastern shore, but there are many islands and harbors on this side, with major entrepôts at ZARA, DUBROVNIK, and DYRRACHION. At the northern end of the Adriatic Sea are AQUILEIA and VENICE. Byz. maintained control of most of the cities along the east coast until the late 11th C., despite Slavic settlement and Arab raids as far north as Dubrovnik. The developing maritime power of Venice, from the 11th C. onward, made the Adriatic Sea a virtual Venetian lake.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). A. Carile, "La presenza bizantina nell'Alto Adriatico fra VII e IX secolo," in *Studi Jesolani* (Udine 1985) 107–29. A. Guillou, "La presenza bizantina nell'arco Adriatico," in *Aquileia nella "Venetia et Histria"* (Udine 1986) 407–21. –T.E.G.

ADSCRIPTICII (ἐναπόγραφοι, "registered"), landless cultivators recorded in census registers under the name of the owner on whose estate they lived and who was responsible for their tax liabilities; the term first appears in 451 (*ACO*, tom.II, vol. 1, pt.2:353.9). Tenant *adscripticii* formed one type of COLONI, but adscript status also encompassed some agricultural slaves and day laborers. Children of *adscripticii* normally inherited this status, while free proprietors could become *adscripticii* by alienating all their land or possibly through PATROCINIUM VICORUM. According to 5th- and 6th-C. legal texts, the condition of *adscripticii* approximated that of SLAVERY (*Cod.Just.* XI 48.21): they could not possess personal property nor in most cases sue their masters (*Cod.Just.* XI 48.19; XI 50.1–2), they could not leave the land nor could an estate be sold without the *adscripticii* attached to it, and they could marry or receive ordination only with their master's consent (*Cod.Just.* I 3.36). In reality, their condition might differ substantially from such legal prescriptions; some 6th-C. Egyptian *adscripticii* not only owned personal property, but even entered into contractual agreements with their landlord (*P.Oxy.* 1896). The *adscripticii* disappeared during the 7th C., although the term occurs anachronistically in later law codes (e.g., *Ecloga ad Procheiron mutata* 10.15).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 19–24. A. Segré, "The Byzantine Colonate," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 103–33. W. Schmitz, "Appendix I der Justinianischen Novellen—eine Wende der Politik Justinians gegenüber Adscripticii und Coloni?" *Historia* 35 (1986) 381–86. I.F. Fichman, "Byli li objazany barščinoj egipetskie kolony-adscripticii?" *Klio* 63 (1981) 605–08. –A.J.C.

ADULIS (Ἄδουλις), an Axumite trading city and episcopal see, located at the foot of the bay southeast of Massawa on the Red Sea coast of Abyssinia. It was visited by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who transmits (2:49–50, 54–65) the Greek text of a victory inscription of Ptolemy III Euergetes from a monument there, a copy of which was requested by ELESBOAM from the ruler of Adulis. The bishop of Adulis attended the Council of Chalcedon. Archaeological excavation has unearthed Axumite coins and the remains of a church with a semicircular apse. The city appears to have been destroyed by the Arab navy in the early 8th C.

LIT. R. Paribeni, *Ricerche nel luogo dell'antica Adulis* (Rome 1908). F. Anfray, "Deux villes axoumites: Adoulis et Matara," in *IV Congresso Internationale di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1 (Rome 1974) 745–72. –L.S.B.MacC.

ADULTERY (μοιχεία), or marital infidelity, was contrasted with fornication or illicit sexual intercourse; Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:228C) defined *porneia* as the satisfaction of desire without offending another person, whereas *moicheia* is "a plot (*epiboule*) and injury (*adikia*)." On the ladder of sins described in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, the toll houses for *moicheia* and *porneia* were positioned separately (ed. Veselovskij 1:31.28, 33.16). Some authors, however, equated fornication and adultery, since the only permissible union was in marriage. Canon law condemned adultery; both *porneia* and *moicheia* were considered as grounds for DIVORCE, whereafter REMARRIAGE of the aggrieved partner was permissible.

Late Roman civil law introduced severe measures against adultery. In his law of 326 Constantine I (*Cod.Just.* IX 9,29.4) established the death penalty for adultery for both the guilty parties. Justinian I (nov.134.10) retained the principle of Constantine's legislation but emphasized the possibility of reconciliation of the married couple: within a two-year period the marriage could be restored, but if the husband died before the end of this period, the adulterous wife was to be confined in a monastery for life. The *Ecloga* (17.27) introduced MUTILATION (cutting-off of noses) as the punishment for both men and women who committed adultery, and the *Procheiron*—in overt contradiction of Christian morality—allowed the husband to murder his wife's lover if they were caught *in flagrante delicto* (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI [1967], 311). It is difficult to judge to what extent these strict laws were applied in practice: many conflicts of this kind were probably resolved within the family, as described in the vita of MARY THE YOUNGER, who was beaten by her husband on suspicion of infidelity. Cuckolds were mocked and deer antlers used as a symbol of their disgrace (Nik.Chon. 322.55–59). Adultery by men seems to have been rarely punished in actuality.

Adultery could lead to property problems. According to novel 32 of Leo VI the husband of an adulterous wife was to receive her DOWRY as a "consolation" for his dishonor; her remaining property was to be divided between her children and the convent to which she retired.

The history of imperial adultery suggests certain changes in Byz. attitudes toward marital infidelity: Constantine VI's open adultery provoked the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, and Leo VI's infidelity with Zoe, daughter of Stylianos Zaoutzes, initially had to be concealed; in the 11th C., however, Constantine IX overtly kept his mistress SKLERAINA in the palace. In the 12th C. Manuel I and Andronikos I officially promoted their ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 578–600. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 71–75. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 156–58.

–J.H., A.K.

ADVENTUS (ἀπάντησις), ceremonial arrival rooted in ancient society and religion. Although Byz. *adventus* ceremonies were held to greet bishops, officials, and saints' relics, the most spectacular *adventus* welcomed the emperor into a city. The two main ritual elements of *adventus* were the *occursus* (*synantesis*, *hypantesis*, etc.) of a delegation out of a city to welcome the arriving party and its escort (*propompe*) into the city. The point of encounter was carefully defined (e.g., *De cer.* 495.1–13), since distance from the city and the delegation's composition symbolized the participants' relationship. ACCLAMATIONS or *eisiterioi* poems (e.g., on AGNES OF FRANCE), panegyrics, incense, lights, and crown offerings were traditional components of Byz. imperial *adventus* ceremonies. The route of the PROCESSION was decorated, included a visit to a shrine, and might have concluded with a banquet. Because the *adventus* expressed the bonds between the welcoming community and arriving emperor, it took on a deeper meaning as a demonstration of loyalty and consensus, particularly at an emperor's first entry, for example, Nikephoros II Phokas (*De cer.* 437.20–440.11). This made *adventus* important in imperial propaganda and explains its role in art and on coins. The *adventus* of an imperial fiancée lent unusual prominence to aristocratic women, for example, Irene, the bride of Leo IV (Theoph. 444.15–19; cf. pseudo-Kod. 286f). The ceremony was also adapted to other circumstances such as triumphs or conditional surrenders. –M.McC.

Representation in Art. Depictions of the *adventus* ceremonies in Byz. art are very few. The monumental ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike and the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome show the standard Roman iconography: the emperor arriving in a chariot accompanied by cavalry and foot soldiers. On the silver LARGITIO DISH of Constantius II and on several commemorative medallions,

one as late as Justinian I, the scene is abbreviated, showing the emperor on horseback, led by a NIKE figure and followed by a soldier. A fresco in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike, probably depicting the *adventus* of Emp. Justinian II into that city, is the last surviving representation commemorating a contemporary event. The two examples from the 11th C. usually interpreted as depictions of *adventus* deviate from the earlier examples. On a silk wall hanging in Bamberg a mounted emperor is flanked by two TYCHE figures who present him with a crown and a helmet. More problematical is a scene on the ivory casket in Troyes, since the two emperors shown may be riding away in opposite directions from a fortified city placed in the center; it may depict a departure ceremony (PROFECTIO). Of a different nature are the miniatures of triumphal entries in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES, since they illustrate a historical narrative and thus are not commemorative. Usually these show the emperors mounted and accompanied by horsemen approaching a city. The miniature depicting the triumphal arrival of John I Tzimiskes in Constantinople (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.443) shows an icon of the Virgin and Child on a wagon leading the procession.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "The 'King's Advent' and the Enigmatic Panels in the Doors of Santa Sabina," *ArtB* 26 (1944) 207–31. S.G. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981) 17–89, pls. 9–11, 13, 16, 22–23. Grabar, *L'empereur* 48, 50–54, pls. VI, X. –I.K.

AEDICULA (Lat., lit. "small building"), the architectural frame of an opening (door, window, or niche), consisting of two columns or pilasters supporting a pediment; more specifically a shrine framed by two or four columns supporting an entablature, a pediment, an arch, or a roof. The motif, commonly used in Roman architecture and popular in 5th- and 6th-C. Syria (e.g., the "Praetorium" at PHAINA) and Egypt (e.g., the White Monastery, or Deir-el-Abiad at SOHAG), was modified in Byz. From the 10th C. onward, the aedicula played a major role in the articulation of the TEMPLON screen, where it was often used for framing icons of Christ, the Virgin, and saints. These usually appeared in pairs, referred to as PROSKYNETARIA, that flanked the main section of the templon, as in the Theotokos Church at HOSIOS LOUKAS, at NEREZI, and at the CHORA. The aedicula continued to be used in a more general decorative role, albeit less frequently, during the last centuries of Byz. architecture, for example, in the squinches under the main dome of the Paregoretissa at ARTA.

LIT. N. Okunev, "Altarnaja pregrada XII veka v Nereze," *SemKond* 3 (1929) 5–23. A.K. Orlandos, *He Paregoritissa tes Artes* (Athens 1963), figs. 64, 76. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980) 105–09. Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979) 224–37. –S.Ć.

AEGEAN SEA (Αἰγαῖον πέλαγος), the Byz. *mare internum* between Asia Minor, Greece, and Crete, characterized by a rugged coastline and many islands that differ widely in size, physical condition, and economy. The larger islands seem to have been more densely populated than the smaller ones, at least in the later period (J. Koder, *ByzF* 5 [1977] 232f). Some islands (Crete, Lesbos, Lemnos) were rich in agricultural products, and in the later period the northern islands supplied Mt. Athos with grain; at the beginning of the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN from Rus' was surprised by the amount of livestock on the Aegean islands.

The natural protection of the islands made them into places of refuge during the Slavo-Avar invasion (S. Hood, *BSA* 65 [1970] 37–45), even though some Slav boats penetrated to individual islands. The Arab onslaught changed the situation, esp. when in the 820s they seized Crete—some islands (like Paros) were deserted and only occasional hermits inhabited them. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. constructed numerous fortresses to guard the islands: they were built on high rocks protected by nature and fortified with massive walls (H. Eberhard, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 188). Malamut (*infra*) suggested that in the 11th–12th C. the islands prospered economically, whereas Wirth (*infra*) noted that from the late 11th C. onward they were virtually dependent on Venice.

In late antiquity the islands were divided between the provinces of Achaia and Insulae (Islands); by the late 7th C. some were put under the command of the *strategos* of the KARABISIANOI and later included in the theme of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (53.18–19) mentions the *droungarioi* of the Aegean Sea and of the Kolpos; according to Ahrweiler (*Mer* 77–81), the territory was divided into

two administrative units—the Aegean Sea in the north, and Kolpos, centered around Samos and including most of the Cyclades. The vita of DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE mentions the *strategos* of the island [of Lesbos], but the extent of his power is unknown. In the late 11th C. the theme of Kyklades was administered by a *krites*; it included Chios, Kos, Karpathos, and Ikaria. In the 12th C. Rhodes, Chios, and Kos were separated from the theme, and each governed by a *doux*. In 1198 a province called "Dodecanese" is known, with its center probably in Naxos.

After 1204 most of the southern Aegean Sea fell under Venetian control, while the islands along the coast of Asia Minor were retained by the Latin Empire. The campaign of LICARIO against Euboea in 1275–76 restored much of the Aegean to Byz. control, although the duchy of Naxos maintained Latin power on that island and Andros. By the end of the 13th C., however, the Byz. navy had collapsed and the islands were lost to the Venetians, Genoese, the Hospitallers, and Turkish pirates.

LIT. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin: VIIIe–XIIe siècles*, 2 vols. (Paris 1988). P. Wirth, "Die mittelalterliche griechische Inselwelt im Lichte der byzantinischen Kaiserdiplome," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 415–31. –T.E.G.

AELIA CAPITOLINA. See JERUSALEM.

AELIANUS, CLAUDIUS, Roman rhetorician who wrote in Greek; born Praeneste ca.170, died ca.235. His *On the Characteristics of Animals*, an unsystematic collection of largely paradoxical animal stories, was a major source of Byz. zoological lore used by writers in many genres and esp. by TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA (the 12th-C. paraphrase of whose work contains 32 parallels), Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, John TZETZES, Michael GLYKAS, Manuel PHILES (J.F. Kindstrand, *StItalFCl* 4 [1986] 119–39), and various anonymous zoological excerptors. A new Byz. edition, represented by the 15th-C. MS Florence, Laur. 86.8, rearranged the stories thematically. The surviving MSS of Aelianus's *Miscellaneous Stories* (*Varia Historia*), a similar collection of mainly human anecdotes, transmit a Byz. epitome of a fuller text that was known to STOBAIOS, the SOUDA, PSELLOS, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Aelianus's 20 surviving *Letters* of imaginary peasants were uninfluential but are contained in two independent MSS of the 10th and 15th C. *On Providence* and *On Divine Truths*, attributed to Aelianus by the *Souda*, are probably alternative titles of a single stoicizing treatise now lost. Aelianus is almost certainly to be distinguished from the author of the *Tactics*, a work seldom used in Byz. scholarship.

LIT. E.L. De Stefani, "Gli excerpta della 'Historia animalium' di Eliano," *StItalFCl* 12 (1904) 145–80. M.R. Dilts, "The Testimonia of Aelian's *Varia historia*," *Manuscripta* 15 (1971) 3–12. –A.R.L.

AELIUS ARISTIDES. See ARISTEIDES, AILIOS.

AER (ἀήρ). The largest of three liturgical veils, the *aer* was carried in the GREAT ENTRANCE procession and placed over the eucharistic elements after their deposition on the altar. Liturgical commentaries interpret the *aer* as the shroud of Christ as well as the stone that sealed the Holy Sepulchre; later commentaries even refer to *aeres* as EPITAPHIOI (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:288A). Initially, *aeres* were made of plain linen or silk (e.g., a white *aer* in *De cer.* 15.20; a silk *aer* in the Patmos INVENTORY [ed. Astruc 21.32–33]), but in the late 12th C. they began to be embroidered with images, esp. the AMNOS (H. Belting, *DOP* 34–35 [1980–81] 12–15).

All surviving *aeres* date from the late Byz. period. They are made of silk, gold-embroidered with images of the Dead Christ, angels, symbols of the evangelists and, by the end of the 14th C., the Lamentation (*threnos*), as well as with liturgical and dedicatory texts. The eucharistic phrases together with the specific designation of the cloths as *aeres* in the dedicatory inscriptions help to differentiate the *aeres* from *epitaphioi,* which are often similar in appearance. Important examples include the (lost) *aer* of Andronikos II Palaiologos, and that of Stefan Uroš II Milutin (Belgrade, Museum for Ecclesiastical Art), both from the early 14th C. The fine mid-14th-C. Thessalonike *aer* (Athens, Byz. Museum) is embroidered with a three-part composition: a central AMNOS panel flanked by two smaller side panels showing the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER).

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 607–10. Millet, *Broderies* 86–109, pls. 176–216. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, pls. 93–96. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216–19. –A.G.

AERIKON (ἀερικόν, also *aer*), a supplementary fiscal levy first mentioned by Prokopios (*SH* 21.1–2) as imposed by the praetorian prefect of Constantinople during Justinian I's reign. F. Dölger (*BZ* 30 [1929–30] 450–57) hypothesizes that the name originated from a fine for violating laws mandating sufficient distance (*aer*, "air") between buildings in cities (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* IV 24, *Cod.Just.* VIII 10, 12.5c). The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ch.20.71) indicates that the *stratiotai* were obliged to pay state taxes (*phoroi*) and *aerikon*. In the 11th C., *aerikon* appears either as a fine for felony (*ptaisma*) (novel of 1086—Zepos, *Jus* 1:312.15–24) collected by a bishop and/or a *praktor* or as a supplementary tax imposed on a village in the amount of 4–20 nomismata (Skyl. 404.56–58).

In 13th- and 14th-C. documents, the *aer* (*aerikon* in Trebizond) is frequently encountered as a supplementary charge alongside the ENNOMION of bees (*Docheiar.*, no.53.23), ANGAREIAI, and MITATON (*Koutloum.*, no.10.61–62), etc. The *aer* appears as a fixed sum, and the fine for murder and PARTHENOPHTHORIA as well as the tax for the TREASURE TROVE were considered its parts (e.g., *Chil.*, no.92.146–48). This suggests that for Byz. the distinction between "fine" and "tax" was far from absolute. *Aer* could be granted by the emperor to privileged monasteries. Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 362–64) hypothesizes, although without any source evidence, that the state grant of a monetized *aerikon* (*aer*) to a landowner also implied the transfer of the rights of [low] justice over the *paroikoi* held by the recipient.

LIT. B. Pančenko, "O Tajnoj istorii Prokopija," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 507–11. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 383–85. I. Tornarites, "To ainigma tou byzantinou aerikou," in *Archeion Byzantinou Dikaiou*, vol. 1 (1930) 3–212; vol. 2 (1931) 307–66 and *Parartema*, no.1 (1933) 140–58. M.A. Tourtoglou, *To phonikon kai he apozemiosis tou pathontos* (Athens 1960). –M.B.

AESCHYLUS (Αἰσχύλος), Greek tragic poet; born Eleusis 525/24 B.C., died Sicily 456. The Attic tragedian least known in the Byz. period, Aeschylus was listed as an Athenian king in the chronicle of Malalas (Malal. 72.9) and was even ignored by the learned compiler of the *Souda*. The earliest MS of Aeschylus's seven extant plays dates from the 10th or early 11th C. Subsequent evidence of revived interest in Aeschylus is found in PSELLOS—who commends Aeschylus for his profundity and gravity but finds him generally hard to understand (cf. A.R. Dyck, *The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia* [Vienna 1986] 44.58–64)—and in two dramatic works, CHRISTOS PASCHON, which contains some 20 quotations from Aeschylus, and the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS, which shows some verbal borrowings. Annotated editions of Aeschylus's most widely studied plays, the triad of *The Persians*, *Prometheus*, and *Seven against Thebes*, were produced in the 14th C. by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. The latter also edited the *Eumenides* and *Agamemnon*. Triklinios's autograph MS (Naples, Bibl. Naz. 2 F 31) is the primary authority for most of the *Agamemnon*. The number of surviving MSS and of quotations in Byz. authors indicates that Aeschylus stood third in popularity after EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES.

ED. *Demetrii Triclinii in Aeschyli Persas scholia*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1963). *Scholia graeca in Aeschylum quae extant omnia*, ed. O.L. Smith, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1976–82).

LIT. R.D. Dawe, *The Collation and Investigation of Manuscripts of Aeschylus* (Cambridge 1964). O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus I: The Recensions of Demetrius Triclinius* (Leiden 1975). K. Treu, "Zur Papyrusüberlieferung des Aischylos," in *Aischylos und Pindar: Werk und Nachwirkung*, ed. E.G. Schmidt (Berlin 1981) 166–69. –A.C.H.

AESOP (Αἴσωπος), a Phrygian slave who lived in Samos in the 6th C. B.C. and was renowned as the author of metaphorical animal FABLES, in prose, with a moral point. Originally traditional tales, but then a recognized literary device that was classed as a PROGYMNASMA, all such fables came to be attributed to Aesop, the fables of APHTHONIOS being an exception. The first collection, now lost but possibly known to ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, was made in the 4th C. B.C. Aesop's fables are known in three major revisions: (1) the Augustana, probably first compiled in the 2nd or 3rd C.; (2) the Vindobonensis, of uncertain date; and (3) the Accursiana, in which Maximos PLANOUDES had a hand. The fables of SYNTIPAS are Greek versions of a Syriac translation of Aesop. Similar moralizing anecdotes with animal characters exist in the PHYSIOLOGOS and the ANIMAL EPICS, while a scattering of late Byz. non-Aesopic fables attest to the enduring attraction of the genre. Also attributed to Aesop are a collection of PROVERBS and GNOMAI. The *Life of Aesop*, written originally in Egypt in the 2nd C., turns the legendary information on

Aesop's career into a diverting narrative, whose popularity continued into late Byz. and beyond; linguistically it provides useful evidence for the development of spoken Greek.

A MS in New York (Morgan Lib. 397), a significant witness for the text of the Aesopic corpus, includes an important series of miniatures (M. Avery, *ArtB* 23 [1941] 103–16). Accompanied by brief texts, incidents from at least three of Aesop's fables are depicted in a rock-cut chamber above the narthex at Eski Gümüş (M. Gough, *AnatSt* 15 [1965] 162–64).

ED. *Corpus fabularum Aesopicarum*, ed. A. Hausrath, H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1959–70). B.E. Perry, *Aesopica*, vol. 1 (Urbana, Ill., 1952).

LIT. B.E. Perry, *Babrius and Phaedrus* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1965) xi–xlvi. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 28–31.

–E.M.J., A.C.

AESTHETICS. The aesthetic principles of the Byz. were revealed both in works of literature (esp. EKPHRASIS, EPIGRAM, and literary portrait) and objects of visual art. The *ekphraseis* retained the ancient principle that an art object was to imitate nature, and even hagiography stressed the resemblance of the icon to the original (the stereotype of recognition of a saint by means of an icon). However, the concept of corporeal BEAUTY as a reflection of absolute (divine) beauty contradicted this naturalistic approach. The main goal of art was to represent the eternal, not the ephemeral; therefore, it focused on humans (placed in a conventional LANDSCAPE), on the spiritual elements of the human body (the face, esp. the eyes), on stability (movement and disorderly gestures were signs of barbaric character), on FRONTALITY (a rear or profile view was reserved for the devil or the enemy). In his ceremonial pose man was an "imitation of a statue," rather than the statue being a copy of a live human being. In literary portraits the person described was usually perceived not as an entity, but as a construction, consisting of certain parts (forehead, eyes, nose, etc., down to the soles of the feet), each element being characterized separately.

The idea of uniqueness was alien; even the drama of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection was miraculously repeated in liturgy and church decoration. Each event belonged not only to its historical place and time, but simultaneously to the ever-repeating cycle of the divine plan, and the transfer from concrete historicity to eternal mystery was performed by symbolic interpretation, direct references to the Bible or classical texts, stylistic parallels, and use of stereotyped imagery and vocabulary. Since all events were symbolically or metaphorically interconnected, the world was an enormous enigma or RIDDLE, and both the author and the reader could reach a solution only through a thicket of obscurity. Because art was a demonstration of the divine plan, each phenomenon registered had its profound meaning, and each personage had his place on the moral scale. Art was didactic and interpretive, and seemingly distant events and images (including those of pagan gods) explained the fundamentals of contemporary politics and ideology.

Despite this black-and-white didactic approach, the Byz. recognized the artistic pleasure that could be conveyed by rhetorical skill, richness of vocabulary, nuanced imagery, descriptions of curiosities and miracles, conflict of opposites, and unexpected turns of the plot. General aesthetic principles underwent alterations due to historical changes in taste, individual STYLE, or particularities of genres.

LIT. P.A. Michelis, *An Aesthetic Approach to Byzantine Art* (London 1955). G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). H. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence in Byzantium* (Princeton 1981). S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika: teoretičeskie problemy* (Moscow 1977). A.F. Losev, *Istorija antičnoj estetiki: Poslednie veka*, 2 vols. (Moscow 1988). –A.K.

AETHERIA. See EGERIA.

AETHICUS ISTER, conventional name for the author of a Latin cosmography allegedly translated from Greek by the priest Hieronymus, sometimes identified with JEROME. The book was known by the 9th C., but neither the date of compilation nor the identity of the author and translator can be established. References to Constantinople and Augustine (as well as to some other 4th-C. theologians) suggest a *terminus post quem* of 400. It is plausible that the author originated from the area of the lower Danube (he calls himself "Scythian by nation") and emigrated to the West. The book describes the cosmos (including paradise, the Devil, and angels) and pays special attention to peoples not mentioned in Scripture and to marvelous countries and islands

at the edge of the earth; Alexander the Great's expedition is related in detail. Greece, Macedonia, Cyprus, and other islands of the "Great Sea" are presented in much greater depth than other regions of the Mediterranean, Asia Minor being only briefly described and Italy hardly mentioned. The author is interested in seafaring and characterizes various types of ships. His sobriquet "philosophus" has no relation to philosophy, but is reminiscent of the "wise philosophers" who serve as informants in the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI.

ED. A. D'Avezac-Macaya, *Éthicus et les ouvrages cosmographiques intitulés de ce nom* (Paris 1852). For other ed. see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 14f.
LIT. N. Vornicescu, *Aethicus Histricus. Un filosof străromân de la Histria Dobrogeană* (Craiova 1986). –A.K.

AETIOS (Ἀέτιος), "Neo-Arian" (Anomoian) theologian; born Antioch? ca.300 or ca.313 (Kopeck, *infra*), died Chalcedon 366/7. Born to the family of a low official, he embarked on a career as a goldsmith or physician. He then became interested in "logical studies" (as Philostorgios puts it) and traveled throughout Cilicia (Anazarbos, Tarsos), making contacts with the Arian clergy and participating in theological discussions. In the 330s and 340s he taught in Antioch and Alexandria, inciting the enmity of the leaders of the Nicene party, esp. BASIL OF ANKYRA. As a friend of the caesar GALLUS he came under the suspicion of Constantius II and was exiled in 360; Julian, however, recalled Aetios from exile, appointed him bishop, and granted him an estate on Lesbos. He probably supported the rebellion of PROKOPIOS and was consequently forbidden to enter Constantinople in 366.

Aetios was reputed to be a talented debater with a gift for sarcasm; he held a radical position condemning any attempt to seek reconciliation with the Orthodox. He supported the doctrine of *anomoion* (unlikeness) in opposition to the theory of the HOMOOUSION: the Ingenerate God (the Father) had no common essence with the created deity of the Logos. Aetios further asserted that the Son had one nature, will, and energy, being different from the Father (V. Grumel, *EO* 28 [1929] 159–66). Little survives from Aetios's literary works: his manifesto of 359 or 360 (the *Syntagmation*) is preserved (in a revised form?) in EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, bk. 76, ch.11); in addition a letter to a certain "Mazon *tribunus*" is known as are several fragments cited by later theologians.

ED. and LIT. L.R. Wickham, "The *Syntagmation* of Aetius the Anomoean," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 532–69, with Eng. tr. Idem, "Aetius and the Doctrine of Divine Ingeneracy," *StP* 11.2 (1972) 259–63. G. Bardy, "L'héritage littéraire d'Aétius," *RHE* 24 (1928) 809–27. T.A. Kopeck, *A History of Neo-Arianism* (Philadelphia 1979) 1:61–297; 2:413–29. –T.E.G., A.K.

AETIOS, eunuch and *patrikios*; died 26 July 811 (?). Aetios was *protospatharios* and trusted adviser of Empress Irene in 790, when Constantine VI exiled him. He regained influence after Irene's return in 792 and in 797 cleverly obtained the surrender of Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers. After Irene deposed Constantine in 797 Aetios vied with STAURAKIOS to place relatives in power. In May 799 Aetios allied with Niketas, the *domestikos ton scholon,* against Staurakios; he became Irene's chief adviser, and, after the death of Staurakios in 800, probably *logothetes tou dromou* (D. Miller, *Byzantion* 36 [1966] 469). In 801 Aetios took command of the Opsikion and Anatolikon armies and appointed his brother Leo as *monostrategos* of the Macedonian and Thracian themes in hopes of making him emperor. Aetios is credited (Theoph. 475.30–32) with blocking the proposed marriage between Irene and CHARLEMAGNE. He likely lost power after Nikephoros I deposed Irene, but may have been the *patrikios* Aetios who perished with Nikephoros in battle against KRUM.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 326. –P.A.H.

AETIOS OF AMIDA, physician; born Amida, fl. ca.530–60 in Alexandria and Constantinople. Aetios compiled a 16-book encyclopedia of medicine, traditionally called the *Tetrabiblon* from its division into four sections. His encyclopedia is rich in quotations from many authors of Greek and Roman antiquity; it begins with a summary of pharmaceutical theory, simplifying the often obscure thinking of GALEN and ORIBASIOS on the topic (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 224–26), followed by compactions of pharmacy, dietetics, general

therapeutics, hygiene, bloodletting, cathartic drugs, prognostics, general pathology, fever and urine lore, diseases of the head, ophthalmology, and cosmetics and dental matters (bks. 1–8). The account of ophthalmology is the finest before the European Enlightenment (cf. E. Savage-Smith, *DOP* 38 [1984] 178–80). The remaining books of the *Tetrabiblon*—which await modern editors—contain significant summaries of toxicology and poisonous creatures (bk.13) and gynecology and obstetrics (bk.16). Compared with ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, PAUL OF AEGINA, and Oribasios, Aetios is arid in style and more interested in medical theory than in practice, but his *Tetrabiblon* is fundamentally important in its careful selections of ancient authorities and in its shrewd amalgamations of traditional and contemporary medical theory.

ED. *Libri medicinales*, ed. A. Oliveri, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1935; Berlin 1950). J.V. Ricci, tr., *Aetios of Amida: The Gynaecology and Obstetrics of the VIth Century, A.D.* (Philadelphia-Toronto 1950).

LIT. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:529–35. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:294–96. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dei libri medicinali di Aezio Amideno, III," *Koinomia* 8 (1984) 93–100. –J.S.

AETIUS (Ἀέτιος), *magister militum*; born Durostorum (Dorostolon) ca.390, died Rome 21/2 Sept. 454. The son of an important military officer from Lower Moesia and an Italian noblewoman, Aetius in his youth was hostage to the Visigoths and Huns. After service under the usurper Ioannes he secured a military post from Valentinian III (ca.425) and was responsible for the defense of Gaul. In 432 he retired in temporary disgrace, but in 433 became *magister militum* of the West, a post he held continuously until his death. For years he was the most powerful figure in the Western provinces, dealing successfully with Visigoths, Burgundians, Alans, Franks, and others while supporting the throne of Valentinian III. His policy was to use various barbarian peoples (esp. Huns) against his enemies, both domestic and foreign. Aetius may have persuaded Valentinian not to give his sister Honoria in marriage to Attila. The Byz. sources allege that Attila's purpose in attacking the West was to remove Aetius. In 451 Aetius allied with Theodoric the Visigoth and defeated Attila at the battle of the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS, but he could not keep the Huns out of Italy. With the death of Attila, however, Aetius's fortunes collapsed. In 454 he was assassinated by order of Valentinian, the emperor he had served so faithfully. Aetius made a great impression on contemporaries and was remembered by Prokopios (*Wars* 3.3.15) as one of the last of the Romans.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:241–44, 249–53, 292–99. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 74–87. J.R. Moss, "The Effects of the Policies of Aetius on the History of Western Europe," *Historia* 22 (1973) 711–31. S.I. Oost, "Aëtius and Majorian," *ClPhil* 59 (1964) 23–29. –T.E.G.

AFRICA, CONTINENT OF. Byz. knowledge of the configuration of Africa (Ἀφρική) did not go beyond that of PTOLEMY. The northern coast was thought to be straight. The west coast was known as far as Cape Bojador, the east coast as far as Zanzibar. The interior, except for EGYPT, NUBIA, and AXUM, was inaccessible or unexplored. The general name for the continent west of Egypt was Libya, although OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (ed. Blockley, fr.40) calls it Africa while Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 9.8.3) uses both terms interchangeably. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (ed. Wright 440) says that "Africa" is the Latin equivalent of "Libya." Byz. geographical descriptions are limited to east Africa. Prokopios of Caesarea and Kosmas Indikopleustes describe the Red Sea coast as far as Axum. PRISKOS of Panion (fr.21) traveled to the Egyptian-Nubian frontier; Olympiodoros (fr.35) penetrated five days' journey into Nubia and visited the El Kharga (or Dakhla) Oasis (fr.32). Lives of saints, histories, and nonliterary documents provide many details about Egypt. After the Muslim conquest, esp. under the Fāṭimids, Ayyūbids, and early Mamlūks (11th–13th C.), Byz. trade with Africa, focused at Alexandria, continued. IVORY was the most important trade commodity. Byz. itineraries written by EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES and John ABRAMIOS included Alexandria, and those by Andrew LIBADENOS and AGATHANGELOS included the Thebaid (P. Schreiner, *XXII. Deutscher Orientalistentag* [= *ZDMG*, supp. 6] [1985] 141–49). (See also CORIPPUS.)

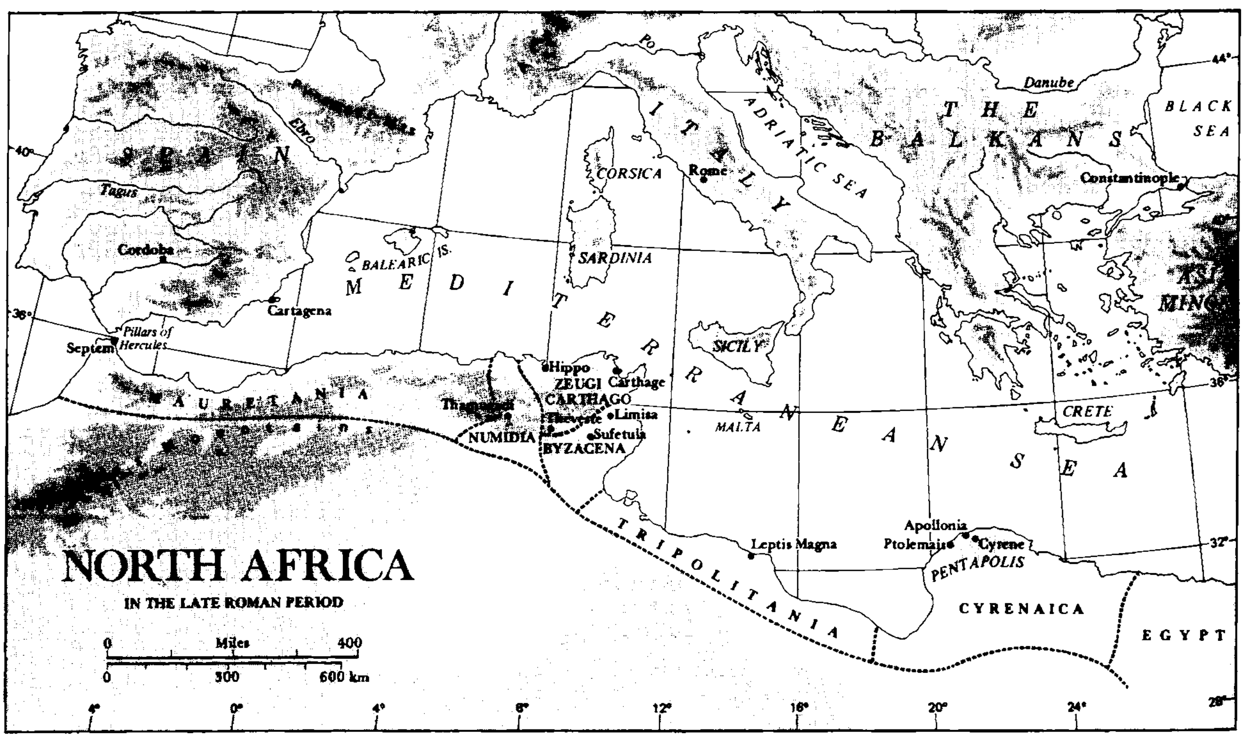
LIT. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896). P. Salama, "The Roman and Post-Roman Period in North Africa, Part II: From Rome to Islam," *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981) 459–510. P. Heine, "Transsaharahandelswege in antiker und frühislamischer Zeit," *Münstersche Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 2.1 (1983) 92–

98. W.H.C. Frend, "The Christian Period in Mediterranean Africa," in *CHAfr* 2:410–89. –D.W.J.

AFRICA, PREFECTURE OF. The diocese of Africa was first raised to the level of a prefecture for a short period, between ca.332 and 337, perhaps in response to unrest sparked by the Donatist controversy. This action, attaching the prefecture to someone outside the imperial family, was unusual, for other prefectures were attached to the emperor Constantine I or his sons. A precedent was perhaps the earlier expedition (309) of Maxentius's praetorian prefect Caius Ceionius Rufius Volusianus to Africa to suppress Domitius Alexander. Apart from a brief revival in 412, the African prefecture was not again reconstituted as a separate entity until April 534, following the Byz. victory over the VANDALS and recovery of its territory. The revived prefecture included the provinces of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, BYZACENA, TRIPOLITANIA, NUMIDIA, the two MAURITANIAS, and SARDINIA.

The primary function of the prefect of Africa was apparently to support the defense and administration of the African provinces through revenues raised within the prefecture. This was not easily achieved in the early years after the reconquest, as the Vandals had destroyed Roman tax records. By 549, however, the revenues were evidently stable enough for SOLOMON, in his capacity as prefect, to undertake the construction of a number of fortifications. At the end of the 6th C. the prefecture of Africa was replaced by the EXARCHATE of Carthage. The exarch (first mentioned in a letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT) was a military commander (probably replacing the *magister militum*) who was placed over the praetorian prefect and gradually assumed the latter's civil functions. By this time Tripolitania was transferred to the diocese of Egypt.

Archaeological evidence from Italy, Gaul, and Spain in the 6th and early 7th C. reveals continued imports of oil, wine, fish sauce, and pottery from Africa, suggesting that the prefecture was reasonably prosperous. From letters of Pope Gregory I the Great addressed to African prefects and the works of MAXIMUS THE CONFESSOR in the mid-7th C., one can deduce that prefects were



expected to maintain civil order, protect against corruption, and defend orthodoxy. The Arab invasions of the late 7th C. drained the exarchate financially, forcing Byz. abandonment of Africa by ca.687 except for Carthage (which fell to the Arabs in 698) and SEPTEM (which surrendered in 711).

LIT. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 97–107, 489–92. D. Pringle, *The Defence of Byzantine Africa* (Oxford 1981). J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome-Paris 1981). T.D. Barnes, "Regional Prefectures," *Bonner Historia-Augusta Colloquium* (1985) 13–23. –R.B.H.

AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS, Roman author; born Jerusalem ca.160, died ca.240. Circa 221 Africanus wrote his *Chronographies* in Greek, which is preserved now only in fragments; it was either a world history or tables of synchronies and genealogies designed to integrate the Old Testament with Greek and Oriental secular history. He espoused the belief that the world would last 6,000 years from the Creation; the birth of Christ was placed in 5500. Although rejecting its millenarianism, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA made much use of the work, both as model and source; an intermediary source may have been the similar *Chronika* of Hippolytus (ca.235), like Africanus an acquaintance of ORIGEN at Alexandria. Other late Roman and Byz. users and preservers of fragments include SOZOMENOS, the CHRONICON PASCHALE, and GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. Fragmented also is Africanus's *Kestoi* (Amulets), an encyclopedia full of remarkable information. Byz. military writers used it for such things as cavalry techniques (F. Lammert, *BZ* 44 [1951] 362–69), while its sections on chemistry and explosives figured in the development of the so-called GREEK FIRE. Numerous extracts from its agricultural lore are preserved in the GEOPONIKA, while literary and magical items attracted the attention of PSELLOS.

ED. *Chronographies*—PG 10:63–94. *Les Cestes*, ed. J.-R. Vieillefond (Florence-Paris 1970), with Fr. tr. *Die Briefe*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig 1909).

LIT. A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Cranbury, N.J., 1979) 139–43, 146–57. B. Croke, "Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 116–31. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* (Leipzig 1880–98). F.C.R. Thee, *Julius Africanus and the Early Christian View of Magic* (Tübingen 1984). –B.B.

AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, PROVINCE OF. Under Diocletian the proconsular province of Africa was reduced in size; the boundary with Numidia was modified and the new provinces of BYZACENA and TRIPOLITANIA were formed out of the old proconsular province. The VERONA LIST makes reference to Zeugitana, the old name of the region around Carthage. This has generally been construed as an additional or alternative name for the proconsular province. The 4th C. saw an increase in urban building activity after a period of stagnation in the 3rd C. The ANNONA continued to provide the underpinning for trade in African exports, making the proconsular province among the richest in the empire. The arrival of the VANDALS in 439 terminated the strong social and economic links between the province and Rome, but increased trade with Gaul, Spain, and the East may have offset to some degree the loss of the *annona*. Vandal confiscations of the estates of African nobles may have undermined the prosperity of the province; the cities were clearly in decline during the 5th C.

The Byz. reconquest of the African provinces (533) led to the fortification of a number of towns in response to the razzias of the MAURI, which began under the Vandals. Although there is evidence of continued commercial activity between Constantinople, the East, and Africa in the 6th and 7th C. (largely in kind, it would seem), it is still to Gaul and Spain, and once again Italy, that the bulk of African goods seemed to be directed. The economy of the province appears, however, to have been in slow decline, if we are to believe some recent archaeological evidence that suggests a drop in rural settlement in the 6th C. Africa Proconsularis remained under Byz. control until Carthage was seized by the Arabs in 698.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 1:29–46. C. Wickham, "Marx, Sherlock Holmes, and Late Roman Commerce," *JRS* 78 (1988) 183–93. –R.B.H.

AGALLIANOS, THEODORE (also known as Theophanes of Medeia), patriarchal official and writer; born Constantinople ca.1400, died before Oct. 1474. A student of Mark EUGENIKOS, Agallianos (Ἀγαλλιανός) became a deacon in 1425 and was *hieromnemon* from 1437 to 1440 and again from 1443 to 1454. A staunch anti-Unionist, he

was temporarily suspended from office from 1440 to 1443. Taken captive by the Turks at the fall of Constantinople, he was released in 1454 and returned to the patriarchate. A friend of GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, he was promoted to the office of *megas chartophylax* (1454) and in 1466 to *megas oikonomos;* twice, however, he was forced into retirement by a faction bitterly opposed to Gennadios's policy of OIKONOMIA. Circa 1468 he became bishop of Medeia and changed his name to Theophanes (Patrineles, *infra* 14–25).

The writings of Agallianos include treatises attacking Latins and Jews, a work titled *On Providence,* and 17 letters, four of which are addressed to George AMIROUTZES. Most significant are his two apologetic *Logoi* of 1463, which defend his policies at the patriarchate and provide important autobiographical data as well as information on the patriarchs in the turbulent decade following the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. Agallianos was also a copyist of MSS who transcribed some of his own works and, for CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, the text of Strabo.

ED. Ch.G. Patrineles, ed., *Ho Theodoros Agallianos kai hoi anekdotoi logoi autou* (Athens 1966). For complete list of works, see Patrineles, 43–60.

LIT. C.J.G. Turner, "Notes on the Works of Theodore Agallianos Contained in the Codex Bodleianus Canonicus Graecus 49," *BZ* 61 (1968) 27–35. *PLP,* no.94. –A.M.T.

AGAPETOS (Ἀγαπητός), a 6th-C. deacon (probably of Hagia Sophia), and author of the *Ekthesis,* 72 chapters of advice to Justinian I on how to rule. The small work was written between 527 and 548, probably closer to the earlier date. The central message is that the emperor is God's representative on earth, unamenable to human pressure, but himself a mere man, who shapes his kingdom into an imitation of heaven by his own philosophy, purity, piety, and exercise of PHILANTHROPY. The *Ekthesis* combines classical notions of the philosopher king (culled, probably indirectly, from pseudo-Isocrates and Plato), and traditional methods of discreetly advising a ruler through panegyric and patristic tags and echoes of Eusebios's conceptions of kingship. The result is a very early example of the MIRROR OF PRINCES, a genre emulated at least a dozen times throughout the history of Byz. Agapetos influenced some Byz. Mirrors of Princes, particularly that by MANUEL II, but his greatest impact was upon the political ideology of Orthodox Slavs, esp. Muscovy (I. Ševčenko, *Harvard Slavic Studies* 2 [1954] 141–79). He was the first secular author ever to be translated into a Slavic language (Bulgarian translation of ca.900). In western and eastern Europe, Agapetos was the most widely read and published Byz. author after the church fathers.

ED. PG 86.1:1163–85. Partial Eng. tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 54–63. Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 59–80.

LIT. R. Frohne, *Agapetus Diaconus* (St. Gallen 1985). P. Henry, "A Mirror for Justinian: the *Ekthesis* of Agapetus Diaconus," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 281–308. Ševčenko, *Ideology,* pt.3 (1978), 3–44. D.G. Letsios, "E 'Ekthesis Kephalaion Parainetikon' tou diakonou Agapetou," *Dodone* 14 (1985) 175–210. –B.B., I.Š.

AGAPETUS I, pope (from 8 or 13 May 535); died Constantinople 22 Apr. 536; Roman feastday formerly 20 Sept. (the day of his interment in Rome), now 22 Apr.; Byz. feastday 17 Apr. Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Agapetus belonged to the circle of CASSIODORUS and planned with the latter to found a Christian university in Rome. He worked to expand the authority of the Roman see; for example, he intervened in ecclesiastical controversies in Byz. Africa where, after Justinian I's reconquest, the situation of the Arian church (which had been supported by the Vandals) became threatened; Agapetus insisted on a hardline attitude toward former Arians converted to Orthodoxy (e.g., preventing them from holding clerical offices). He also took measures against the bishop of Larissa in Illyricum. His policy is reflected in a story told by John MOSCHOS and another author (probably GREGORY I THE GREAT) who resented the pope's intervention in the sphere of influence of an Italian bishop or abbot (A. de Vogüé, *AB* 100 [1982] 319–25). After the Byz. invasion of Ostrogothic Dalmatia and Sicily, the Ostrogothic king THEODAHAD sent Agapetus as his envoy to Justinian in an effort to end the war. In this the pope failed (if, indeed, he had ever tried to succeed), but he capitalized on the precarious situation to intervene in the disputes of the Byz. church. Using the canonical argument that the pro-Monophysite patriarch Anthimos had formerly been bishop of Trebizond, he forced his resignation and consecrated MENAS in his place.

The death of Agapetus and the Byz. reconquest of Italy checked the growth of the Roman see's influence over the church of Constantinople.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:199–228. W. Ensslin, "Papst Agapet I. und Kaiser Justinian I.," *HistJb* 77 (1958) 459–66. H.-I. Marrou, "Autour de la bibliothèque du pape Agapit," *MEFR* 48 (1931) 124–69. –A.K., M.McC.

AGAPIOS OF HIERAPOLIS, or Maḥbūb ibn Qusṭanṭīn, Melkite bishop of HIERAPOLIS in Osrhoene; died after 941. Agapios composed a universal history in Arabic, from Creation to his own time, entitled the *Book of the Title.* "It is," he explained, "the sort of book that is named 'Chronicle' in Greek." Although the work originally ended in 941, in its surviving form it extends only to 776. The history of Agapios preserves fragments of otherwise lost works, such as the Greek *Chronicle* of THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (died 785). In turn, the work of Agapios was a source for the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN.

ED. "Kitab al-ʿUnvan," ed. A. Vasiliev, PO 5 (1910) 557–692; 7 (1911) 457–591; 8 (1912) 397–550.
LIT. Graf, *Literatur* 2:39–41. Gero, *Leo III* 199–205. –S.H.G.

AGATHANGELOS, pseudonym for the author of the standard Armenian account of the life of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR and of the conversion of King TRDAT THE GREAT at the beginning of the 4th C. Although Agathangelos claims to have been an eyewitness, the work cannot have been composed before the 5th C.

The extant Armenian text is not the original. From an early, now lost, text Agathangelos was translated into Greek, Syriac, and Arabic. From a revised Armenian text—the standard "received" version—further Greek and Arabic translations were made. No other Armenian text ever circulated so widely outside Armenia.

The extant Armenian text covers the period from 224 to the death of St. Gregory after 325. It describes the early careers of Gregory and Trdat, the tortures and imprisonment of Gregory by the yet unconverted king, the martyrdom at VAŁARŠAPAT of nuns (Hṙipʿsimē and her companions) who had fled from DIOCLETIAN, the release of Gregory and ensuing conversion of Trdat and the court, and the destruction of pagan temples. It also gives an account of Gregory's consecration in Cappadocian Caesarea, the founding of an organized Armenian church, the visit of Trdat and Gregory to Constantine I, and of the succession of Gregory's son to the patriarchate. The text in its present form includes a long theological document, the "Teaching of St. Gregory," which dates probably to the mid-6th C. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 102 [1984] 321–28).

Of particular interest are the information on pagan temple sites, the emphasis on the dependence of the early Armenian Church on Caesarea, and the identification of Vałaršapat with the main episcopal see. Syrian influence in early Christian Armenia is ignored, as is the fact that the original 4th-C. see was at Aštišat, west of Lake Van. Agathangelos thus represents a reworking of the Armenian ecclesiastical history to which pseudo-PʿAWSTOS BUZAND bears earlier witness.

ED. *Agatʿangełay Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, ed. G. Ter-Mkrtcʿean, St. Kanayeancʿ (Tbilisi 1909; rp. Erevan 1983); rp. with introd. R.W. Thomson (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). G. Lafontaine, *La version grecque ancienne du livre arménien d'Agathange* (Louvain 1973).
TR. R.W. Thomson, *Agathangelos: History of the Armenians* (Albany, N.Y., 1976). Idem, *The Teaching of St. Gregory: An Early Armenian Catechism* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970).
LIT. G. Garitte, *Documents pour l'étude du livre d'Agathange* (Vatican 1946). G. Winkler, "Our Present Knowledge of the History of Agatʿangelos and its Oriental Versions," *REArm* n.s. 14 (1980) 125–41. –R.T.

AGATHIAS (Ἀγαθίας), writer; born Myrina, Asia Minor, ca.532, died ca.580. Early in his career Agathias was apparently *curator civitatis* (concerned with public buildings) at Smyrna. He later became a successful lawyer (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople. His early *Daphniaka*, short hexameter pieces on erotic and other themes, are lost; so are other unspecified prose and verse works. In the 560s Agathias collected contemporary epigrams (including 100 or so of his own) by various friends, often fellow lawyers, notably PAUL SILENTIARIOS, who may have been his father-in-law. This collection of hellenizing epigrams on classical and contemporary themes, called the *Cycle*, is incorporated in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY along with its preface addressed by Agathias to an emperor, either Justinian I or Justin II (Al. & Av. Cameron, *JHS* 86 [1966] 6–25).

Agathias's *History*, written in formal continuation of PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, stops after five books covering the years 552–59, apparently because he died. Eastern and western campaigns are described, with the general NARSES in Italy a major theme; Justinian gets a sensibly mixed press. Social and intellectual history also receives due attention, though church matters are played down or omitted. This, however, is stylistic affectation rather than paganism; despite some contrary opinions, Agathias was certainly a Christian.

ED. *Historiarum Libri Quinque*, ed. R. Keydell (Berlin 1967). Eng. tr. J.D. Frendo, *The Histories* (Berlin 1975). *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Milan 1967), with It. tr.; Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*

LIT. A.M. Cameron, *Agathias* (Oxford 1970). R.C. McCail, "The Erotic and Ascetic Poetry of Agathias Scholasticus," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 205–67. –B.B.

AGE (ἡλικία). The ancient Greeks and Romans often considered the life of man as consisting of seven periods that corresponded to the system of seven planets; MACROBIUS developed the idea of the hebdomadic (seven-year) rhythm in the life cycle, according to which 49 was the perfect age and 70 represented the complete life span. In contrast, AUGUSTINE rejected the mystical meaning of the hebdomadic rhythm and of the astral connections of the human ages and established the concept of six ages of man that correlated with the six ages of the world; Augustine's ages were infancy, childhood, adolescence, the periods of one's prime and of decline, and old age; senectitude, however, was to be followed by the new morning, the age of the future life that shall have no evening. The six-age theory was widely accepted in the West, by Isidore of Seville among others.

The Byz. knew the ancient seven-age theory but did not develop either it or Augustine's view. In their practical definitions the Byz. distinguished several ages of man: infancy, CHILDHOOD, puberty or marriageable age (marked by separation of the sexes), and old age. They did not precisely define the different stages, and the attitude toward them varied: the young Niketas Choniates, for instance, ridiculed old age, but later expressed indignation with impertinent and silly youth (A. Kazhdan, *Kniga i pisatel' v Vizantii* [Moscow 1973] 87f).

For the most part, society respected old age, partially because the average Byz. had a relatively short LIFE EXPECTANCY. The elderly also commanded respect because they had accumulated wisdom and experience (*polypeira*) and understanding (*episteme*) that could be transmitted orally (*Sacra parallela*, PG 95:1305D–1308D). Village elders (*gerontes, protogeroi*) with a good recollection of local traditions often resolved disputes over boundaries and land ownership. Many elderly Byz. complained, however, of the infirmities of old age; NIKETAS MAGISTROS, for example, regretted the effects of age on his literary creativity (ep.22.2–4). The *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.76) includes an earlier poet Rufinus, who described the physical decline of the elderly—gray hair, wrinkles, colorless cheeks, and sagging breasts—as "a coffin-like galley about to sink," although Agathias noted cases where "time cannot subdue nature" (*AnthGr*, bk.5, no.282).

Elderly parents expected children to care for them; according to Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:600C–601A), two children were sufficient for the needs of old age. Parents might disinherit children who failed to provide for them, as, for example, in the case of a spiritual son who had promised in writing to look after his aged mother (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathe* [Vatican 1972] no.30.12–18). WIDOWS frequently lived with their children and might even act as heads of households. Some monasteries provided hospices for the elderly (GEROKOMEIA); as an alternative, many widows and widowers took monastic vows and received care in a monastery in exchange for a donation of cash or property (see ADELPHATON).

LIT. E. Sears, *The Ages of Man: Medieval Interpretations of the Life Cycle* (Princeton 1986) 39–69. A.-M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–78. C. Gnilka, "Kalogeros: Die Idee 'guten Alters' bei den Christen," *JbAChr* 23 (1980) 5–21. R. Häusler, "Neues zum spätrömischen Lebensaltervergleich," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1984) 183–91. E. Patlagean, "L'entrée dans l'âge adulte à Byzance aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in *Historicité de l'enfance et de la jeunesse* (1986) 263–70. –J.H., A.K.

AGENTES IN REBUS (ἀγγελιαφόροι, "messengers," or μαγιστριανοί, "*magister*'s men"), a corps (*schola*) under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM created, probably by Diocletian, to replace the former *frumentarii*. First mentioned in 319, their primary function was to carry imperial messages, which gave them the right to the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS); they also had the duty to inspect this

service. Their broader responsibilities included supervision of the activity of any state functionary and reports to the emperor on subversion and administrative malpractice. Some *agentes in rebus*, called *curiosi*, were sent to the provinces as a kind of secret police. In addition to these functions, *agentes* acted as state prosecutors, inspectors of customs offices, state construction, and the billeting of soldiers; they also led diplomatic embassies. Their activity was closely interwoven with that of the *schola* of notaries (W. Sinnigen, *AJPh* 80 [1959] 238–54). The corps of *agentes* had a tendency to increase in size. While Julian tried to restrict their number, by Leo I's reign it had reached 1,248 (*Cod.Just.* XII 20.3). The enrollment of the relatives of *agentes* was welcomed, but Jews and Samaritans were expelled (Jones, *LRE* 2:948). *Agentes in rebus* were exempt from the jurisdiction of provincial governors and could be dismissed, originally, by the *magister officiorum*, but after 415 (in the East) only by the emperor. The *agentes in rebus* disappeared by the 7th C.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 1 (1894) 776–79. Stein, *Op. minora* 71–115. G. Purpura, "I curiosi e la scuola agentium in rebus," *Annali del Seminario giuridicio di Palermo* 34 (1973) 165–275. P.J. Sijpesteijn, "Another Curiosus," *ZPapEpig* 68 (1987) 149f. –A.K.

AGHTʿAMAR. See AŁTʿAMAR.

AGNELLUS, also called Andreas; 9th-C. priest and abbot of S. Maria ad Blachernas and St. Bartholomew's in RAVENNA. He came from a leading family; his ancestor Ioannicius served in the central administration of JUSTINIAN II. Between 830/1 and the late 840s Agnellus composed the *Liber pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis* (Pontifical Book of the Church of Ravenna) in imitation of the Roman LIBER PONTIFICALIS. His biographies of the archbishops of Ravenna up to his own time champion Ravenna's pretensions vis-à-vis Rome. They also shed light on late antique Ravenna, the EXARCHATE, Justinian II, the adaptation of Eastern hagiographical legends to a Western context (F. Lanzoni, *FelRav* 8 [1912] 318–26; 17 [1915] 763f; 18 [1915] 795–97)—the issue of ICON veneration is alive in his account—and life in a Byz. provincial town, as remembered two or three generations after the imperial authorities' departure. His sources included the lost chronicle of Archbp. Maximian (546–66), hagiography, occasional archival documents (including Byz. imperial privileges—K. Brandi, *Archiv für Urkundenforschung* 9 [1924–26] 11–13), oral tradition—particularly with respect to his own family—and a remarkably intensive, if uneven, use of the images and inscriptions of his city, many of which are now lost. The surviving text is corrupt and a few biographies are missing altogether (J.O. Tjäder, *ItMedUm* 2 [1959] 431–39).

ED. (partial) *Codex pontificalis ecclesiae Ravennatis*, ed. A. Testi Rasponi [= RIS 2.3] (Bologna 1924). Ed. O. Holder-Egger in MGH *SRL* 265–391.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 428–31. C. Nauerth, *Agnellus von Ravenna* (Munich 1974). –M.McC.

AGNES OF FRANCE, Byz. empress (1180–85); born ca.1171/72, died after 1204; daughter of LOUIS VII and Adèle of Champagne. In 1179, as the result of an embassy of MANUEL I, she arrived in Constantinople; early in 1180, renamed "Anna," she was splendidly wedded to Manuel's heir, ALEXIOS II. After Alexios was killed, ANDRONIKOS I married her. When in 1185 his downfall seemed imminent, Andronikos attempted flight with Agnes and a favorite concubine, but they were apprehended. From 1185 to 1203, Agnes apparently lived in Constantinople, where she entered a relationship with Theodore BRANAS; they could not marry, lest she lose her dowry. Sought out in 1203 by members of the Fourth Crusade, she bitterly rejected them and spoke through an interpreter who claimed that she had forgotten French. During the sack of Constantinople she took refuge in the Great Palace. Subsequently she married Branas, who entered the service of the Latin emperors.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f, 72f, 259. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:457–60. –C.M.B.

AGONY IN THE GARDEN. Christ's prayer in the garden of Gethsemane before his arrest is first found depicted on the 4th-C. Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.89). Christ's standing posture and the scene's place at the beginning of the PASSION cycle imply inspiration from John 17:1–13, which opens the HOLY WEEK liturgy. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.8v, and Corpus Christi Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels*

of St. Augustine [Cambridge 1954] pl.I) show Christ twice, in PROSKYNESIS and upbraiding the sleeping disciples, reflecting Matthew 26:36–46 and Mark 14:32–42. All three Christ figures, the sleeping disciples, and the angel of Luke 22:39–46 appear in the superb 11th-C. miniature opening the Holy Week lections in Athos, Dion. 587 (*Treasures* I, fig.226). This conflation of the synoptic Gospels and John yielded the components that characterize the scene's subsequent iconography. An esp. exhaustive version appears in S. Marco, VENICE (ca.1220).

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 2.1:6–21. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:783–91. –A.W.C.

AGORA (ἀγορά, "marketplace"; Lat. *forum*), the center of public life in many Byz. CITIES and large towns. The agora was generally laid out on a rectangular plan, though forms such as the oval (at GERASA and the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople) and the circle (JUSTINIANA PRIMA) are known. Lined with porticoes, or STOAS, and dominated by important religious, civic, and commercial buildings, an agora was often embellished with imperial statues, honorific COLUMNS, monumental ARCHES, and NYMPHAEA. Besides the seven major examples in the capital (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF) agoras also remained part of the urban scene at PHILIPPI and THESSALONIKE beyond the 5th C. Construction of buildings within forums was prohibited by a decree of 383 (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.22), but it was not long before the agoras in most cities were encroached upon by new construction, a process that accelerated thereafter. The term, however, remained in usage.

LIT. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 63–68. –M.J.

AGRARIAN RELATIONS, the fiscal, economic, political, and social interrelations between the owner of land and its cultivator as reflected factually in the form of RENT and COERCION and juridically in OWNERSHIP and POSSESSION. Byz. was an agricultural society, the basis of the economy being the soil. Like Rome, Byz. attached extreme importance to the status of land and the persons who cultivated or owned land. Consequently, to understand Byz. agrarian relations is to understand both the Byz. economic system and state structure. Scholarship has tended to focus on issues such as the condition of the PEASANT, the emergence of the PAROIKOS, the origin and survival of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, the conflict between the powerful (DYNATOS) and the POOR in the countryside, the reemergence of large-scale landholdings by laymen and by the church, particularly monasteries, and the connection between military service and land tenure. Study of these issues involves investigation of the types of real property (STASIS, PROASTEION), the types of land tenure, and state and private obligations burdening property and their owners. The most controversial problems of Byz. agrarian relations are the existence of STATE PROPERTY, the validity of the concept of Byz. FEUDALISM, and the nature of the village community.

LIT. P. Lemerle, *The Agrarian History of Byzantium from the Origins to the Twelfth Century* (Galway 1979). Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 7–109. –M.B.

AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS. Besides the PLOW, Byz. farmers employed two similar TOOLS for tilling and weeding, the *makele* (mattock) and *dikella* (two-pronged drag-hoe). The former is depicted in an illustration from Hesiod's *Works and Days* (Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r) as a long-handled implement outfitted with a triangular blade set at an angle to the haft. In this instance it appears to resemble extant examples of the Italian *ligo* (see K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* [Cambridge 1967] 39, fig.19). An illustration of the *dikella* is found in a 5th- or 6th-C. mosaic in Constantinople (*Great Palace, 2nd Report*, pl.47); here a farmer, grasping the handle of the implement, pulls the bifurcated blade, attached at right angles to the haft, slowly toward him, its two curving teeth digging lightly into the soil. For turning larger clumps of soil the *lisgarion* (spade-fork) was employed. This implement (as illustrated in Paris, B.N. gr. 2774, fol.36v) was shaped like the Greek letter π; the tool was manipulated by a handle attached in the center of the horizontal cover-bar.

At harvest time grain was reaped with a sickle (*drepanon*) rather than a scythe and threshed not with flails but with a threshing-sled (*doukane*); it was separated from the chaff with a winnowing-

fork (*likmeterion*) and/or winnowing-shovel (*ptyon*). The vinedresser's essential tool was the *klaudeuterion* or pruning knife, which (as illustrated in Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r, and Paris, B.N. gr. 2786, fol.140r) might have two blades—one in the shape of a half-moon and the other like a quarter-moon. This instrument could be used for hacking, cutting, or pulling back.

Except for MILLS and wine and OLIVE PRESSES, more complex devices were rare. The 4th-C. agriculturalist Rutilius Palladius (*Opus agriculturae*, ed. R.H. Rodgers [Leipzig 1975] bk.7.2.2–4) describes the reaper on two wheels pulled by an ox that was common in 4th-C. Gaul, but this *vehiculum* was not used in the East. A device for preparing dough operated by animal power was invented in the Great Lavra of Athanasios on Athos.

LIT. *Les outils dans les Balkans du Moyen âge à nos jours*, ed. A. Guillou, vol. 1 (Paris 1986). A. Bryer, "Byzantine Agricultural Implements: The Evidence of Medieval Illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days*," *BSA* 81 (1986) 45–80. L. Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 218–22. J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni orŭdija na truda v Bŭlgarija," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite* 25 (1962) 19–55. – J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

AGRICULTURE (γεωπονία). Byz. had a diversified soil and climate even after the loss of Syria, Egypt, and North Africa in the 7th C. Its lands ranged from the hot littoral of the Mediterranean, where olive trees and even cotton could grow, to the fertile valleys of Thrace producing barley and grapes, to the arid pastures of Cappadocia sustaining numerous flocks. The most general features were the predominance of rocky soil, scarcity of water supply, and warm summers. This resulted in the relatively small size of fields, in the development of HORTICULTURE and viticulture (which to some extent was detrimental to grain production), and in stock breeding characterized by TRANSHUMANCE.

Byz. agriculture was polycultural. The primary types of cultivated land were the CHORAPHION producing grain, the VINEYARD, and the GARDEN in which FRUIT and vegetables were planted; in addition, flax, cotton, and sesame were grown, and in Sicily and the Peloponnesos the silkworm was cultivated. OLIVE groves were typical of areas near the sea. There was no IRRIGATION on a large scale (after the loss of Egypt), but gardens, vineyards, and sometimes olive trees were supplied with water by small conduits from natural sources or cisterns.

Agricultural TECHNOLOGY was predominantly a continuation of ancient and Mediterranean traditions, for instance, the sole-ard PLOW, supplemented on particularly stony soils and in gardens by hand cultivation with hoes and mattocks. AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS included the sickle (not scythe), which left high stalks in the fields as cattle fodder and as fertilizer. For the THRESHING of wheat, the grain was trampled by oxen or crushed by a threshing-sled, rather than flailed. Complex mechanical devices were limited to wine presses, OLIVE PRESSES, and MILLS, both animal- and water-driven; there is no mention of water-lifting devices or reapers in Asia Minor or Greece. The land was cultivated in both winter and summer, and in the warmest regions two crops were produced annually. For nurturing the land Byz. farmers employed a two-field rotation system. The degree to which lands were manured is problematic.

Some innovations took place after the end of the Roman Empire. The quality of grain improved: hard wheat spread in Asia Minor and rye was introduced in the Balkans. These types of GRAIN were more stable and easier to store. The system of harness changed around the 10th C., permitting the HORSE to be used for plowing. Windmills appeared, probably in the 13th C. The role of LIVESTOCK increased, and dairy products (esp. CHEESE) assumed greater importance in the Byz. DIET. By the 14th C. cattle and flocks of SHEEP and GOATS seem to have been a more significant indication of wealth than land.

Figures of agricultural yield are difficult to establish. A 12th-C. writer (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 155.69–71) asserted that on a small field he was able to harvest grain 20:1, but such high yield is atypical. In the estates of the ACCIAJUOLI in Greece in 1380 the yield ranged from 1.6:1 to 5:1 (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 57, n.6). In any case Western observers stressed the plentiful supply of agrarian products in Byz., and from the 12th C. onward Byz. exported grain, wine, and other agricultural products to Italy and Dubrovnik. The political situation in the 14th and 15th C. caused a drastic change in rural conditions—the abandonment of

lands and the impoverishment of households as reflected in the *praktika* of Mt. Athos. Byz. FARMS were small units managed by families using primitive techniques. Only from early 15th-C. Thessalonike is there evidence about large-scale husbandry aimed at the improvement of soil (in part by irrigation), subleasing to smaller tenants, and increasing income; this intensive exploitation of land met resistance from monastic landowners.

Apparently in the late Roman Empire there was more land than there were people to till it, and an important function of legislation was to persuade farmers to stay on their allotments. This situation had changed by the 10th C., and legislation tended to prevent (rich) neighbors from acquiring neighboring properties. Although reduced in extent from the 7th C., the empire still possessed territories that could provide enough grain and other victuals to feed its capital (and indeed allow it to grow in the 10th C.), to supply armies in the field that could counter Arab attacks and eventually reclaim lost lands, and to support a general increase in the population in the 9th and 10th C. There is little evidence on the clearing of forest land, but the will of Eustathios BOILAS suggests that some individuals tried to open up new lands, and Psellos (like some other landowners) expressed interest in expanding and improving his estates.

Around the 10th C. the most fertile regions of the empire, besides Thrace and southern Italy, were located in Asia Minor, esp. on the seacoast, while the main centers of cattle breeding were in Bulgaria, Thessaly, and the interior of Asia Minor. By the 12th C., while Balkan cities flourished, the rural character of Asia Minor grew more and more evident; under the Nicaean emperors in the 13th C. the west coast of Asia Minor produced abundant grain for export and became famous for its domestic FOWL "industry." Asia Minor was soon lost, however, to the Ottomans, and the northern Balkans were either conquered or suffered from invasions. The Peloponnesos, on the other hand, maintained a prosperous agriculture to the end of Byz.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, *DMA* 1:76–79. G. Weiss, "Antike und Byzanz," *HistZ* 224 (1977) 559. C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:92–124. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire 330–1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. J. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates of the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972). M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1973). J. Henning, "Untersuchungen zur Entwicklung der Landwirtschaft in Südosteuropa im Übergang von der Spätantike zum frühen Mittelalter," *Ethnographisch-archäologische Zeitschrift* 25 (1984) 123–30. –J.W.N., A.K.

AHIKAR (Ἀχιάχρος), grand vizier of the Babylonian king Sennacherib (or Asarhaddon, in Aramaic). He was the hero of an oriental saga known in an Aramaic version of the 5th C. B.C. and alluded to in the Book of Tobit, an apocryphal book of the Old Testament; some ancient Greek authors (e.g., AESOP, in his fables) were familiar with the saga, as was the QUR'ĀN. The legend made Ahikar a victim of the slander of his adopted son Nadan; Ahikar miraculously escaped execution, however, and eventually emerged to save his king when the Egyptians imposed on the king the impossible task of building a castle in the air. Numerous GNOMAI and fables were added to the legend. The legend of Ahikar is preserved in Old Slavonic, beginning with a Glagolitic MS of 1468. A. Veselovskij (*Skazki tysjači odnoj noči* 2 [St. Petersburg 1890] xvi–xviii) and V. Jagić (*BZ* 1 [1892] 108–11) hypothesized that the Slavonic text was based on a Byz. version, but Grigor'ev (*infra*) suggested that it drew upon an Armenian original.

ED. F.C. Conybeare, J.R. Harris, A.S. Lewis, *The Story of Ahikar*² (Cambridge 1913) with Eng. tr.
LIT. A.D. Grigor'ev, *Povest' ob Ahikare premudrom kak chudožestvennoe proizvedenie* (Moscow 1913). I.C. Chiţimia, "L' 'Histoire du sage Ahikar' dans les littératures slaves," *Romanoslavica* 9 (1963) 413–26. –J.I., A.K.

AIGINA (Αἴγινα), name of both an island in the Saronic Gulf southwest of ATHENS and of its principal city; it was located in the province of ACHAIA and eventually in the theme of HELLAS. Archaeological evidence shows that the ancient city site on the west coast was inhabited throughout the Byz. period, while the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev 12.94–95) says that Aigina served as a place of refuge for the inhabitants of CORINTH during the Slavic invasions. In the 9th C. Aigina suffered from Arab raids; probably at this time a new settlement was established at Palaiachora on a hill in the interior. In the 12th C. the island was used by pirates as a base for attacks on the surrounding coastlines (Mich.Akom. 43.17–18). Although originally granted to the Venetians after

1204, Aigina was ruled by the dukes of Athens until it fell under Catalan control in 1317. From 1425 it was Venetian.

The bishop of Aigina was originally a suffragan of Corinth. He was elevated to archbishop by 900, and briefly after 1371 was subject to Athens.

The hill of Colonna north of the modern town was fortified, perhaps as early as the 3rd C. but more probably later, and a large cistern was cut in the ancient temple. Several Early Christian basilicas have been found in the ancient city, one of them built up against the fortress wall; and a synagogue with inscribed mosaic (giving the cost of its decoration) was transformed into a church after the 7th C. East of the city is the Omorphe Ekklesia, a church dedicated to the Sts. Theodore (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 242–76), built in 1282 (M.Ch. Gketakos, *Anekdotoi epigraphai kai charagmata ek byzantinon kai metabyzantinon mnemeion tes Hellados* [Athens 1957] 67–69), or 1284 (M. Chatzedakis, *ArchDelt* 21.2.1 [1966] 20, n.16). Its frescoes are rather primitive in style and contain some unusual iconography, such as the Virgin nursing Christ in the Nativity scene. Of the 35 churches at Palaiachora, 10 date before 1450.

LIT. N. Moutsopulos, *RBK* 1:54–61. Idem, *He Paleachora tes Aigines* (Athens 1962). F. Felten, *Alt-Ägina, Die christliche Siedlung* (Mainz 1975). –T.E.G.

AILIOS HERODIANOS. See HERODIAN.

AIMILIANOS (Αἰμιλιανός), patriarch of Antioch (from before 1074 to 1078). Aimilianos was patriarch long before 1074 when Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 203.2–4) first mentions him as the moving spirit of the city's anti-imperial opposition. Because of Aimilianos's great popularity, MICHAEL VII DOUKAS had him escorted secretly from Antioch to Constantinople in 1074. NIKEPHORITZES, during his tenure as governor, had first suggested the removal, since he, too, had been opposed by the patriarch. The new governor of Antioch, Isaac Komnenos, orchestrated the execution of this difficult assignment. Even in Constantinople, however, Aimilianos did not resign his see or abandon his political activity. According to Bryennios, he was a "cunning and energetic" individual who eventually incited the people (*demos*) to rebellion (245.3–4). In effect, he became the ringleader of the anti-imperial faction of churchmen and senators responsible for proclaiming NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES emperor (25 March 1078).

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat" 144f. Papadopoulos, *Antioch.* 865–67. Polemis, "Chronology" 68–71. –A.P.

AINEIAS OF GAZA, teacher of rhetoric; fl. 5th or 6th C. After studying NEOPLATONISM under HIEROKLES at Alexandria and visiting Constantinople, Aineias (Αἰνείας) returned home to practice as a Christian sophist. His major work is the *Theophrastus*, a dialogue in which the Aristotelian philosopher of that name is defeated in arguments concerning immortality of the soul and the resurrection. Twenty-five letters also survive.

ED. *Teofrasto*, ed. M.E. Colonna (Naples 1958), with It. tr. *Epistole*^{2}, ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1962).

LIT. M. Wacht, *Aeneas von Gaza als Apologet: Seine Kosmologie im Verhältnis zum Platonismus* (Bonn 1969). –B.B.

AINOS (Αἶνος, mod. Enez), city in Thrace on the east bank of the HEBROS River near its mouth. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.11.1–5) reports that Justinian I transformed its low city wall into an impregnable fortification, and the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 634.5) lists it as capital of the province of RHODOPE. Nothing is known about the city from the 7th to 11th C., but it did function as an ecclesiastical center: first as an autonomous archbishopric, and by 1032 a metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:614f). It reappears in historical narratives in 1090 when Alexios I established his headquarters there during his war against the Pechenegs (An.Komn. 2:135.27–29). Thereafter its role increased: in the 12th C. it was a market where monks of the Kosmosoteira monastery bought olive oil directly from boats (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 50.1–4). A 15th-C. historian (Kritob. 193.6–11) characterizes Ainos as a large *polis* thriving on trade with the neighboring islands of Imbros and Lemnos (the description is partly borrowed from Herodotus). Strongly fortified, it withstood the attack of the Bulgarians and Tatars in 1265 and that of the Catalan Grand Company in 1307. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 520f), ca.1384 the people of Ainos invited a member of the family of Francesco GATTILUSIO to be their ruler, and it remained an important Genoese possession until it fell to the Turks in 1456; in

1460 Mehmed II granted Ainos to Demetrios Palaiologos, the deposed *despotes* of the Morea, but in 1468 it returned to Ottoman control.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 120–24. Miller, *Essays* 298, 318, 334, 338f. –T.E.G.

AITOLIA (Αἰτωλία), a mountainous region in the western part of central Greece, between the Ambracian Gulf and the Gulf of Corinth; west of Aitolia lay Akarnania, a part of which occupied the fertile valley of the Acheloos River; the Akarnanian coast faced the islands of the Ionian Sea—Leukas, Ithaka, and Kephalenia. The region was a part of the theme of NIKOPOLIS, then of the despotate of EPIROS. The ancient names of Aitolia and Akarnania were still used in the 6th C., and Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.1) even speaks of Aitolians and Akarnanians; the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 648.4) mentions Aigion as the metropolis of Aitolia. The names then disappeared from Byz. nomenclature, but were revived by historians of the 14th–15th C. (Kantakouzenos, Gregoras, Laonikos Chalkokondyles), who often used them side by side with Epiros and sometimes as synonyms for the latter (*TIB* 3:39). The name Aitolia had been revived even earlier in ecclesiastical lists, and NAUPAKTOS was called "of Nikopolis" or "of Aitolia" (*Notitiae CP* 10.531). In the acts of the local council of 1367 the metropolitan of Naupaktos is titled "*hypertimos* and exarch of all Aitolia" and the bishopric of Arta defined as "in Akarnania" (MM 1:494.6, 13). –A.K.

AKAKIA (ἀκακία, lit. "guilelessness," also ἀνεξικακία, "forbearance"), a cylindrical pouch of purple silk containing a handful of dust that the emperor carried in his right hand on ceremonial occasions; in his left he held a scepter, an orb, or a cross ornamented with precious stones (*De cer.* 25.20–22). In the *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.13–16) the order of the hands is reversed. Two late Byz. writers (pseudo-Kod. 201.12–202.3; Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:356AB) both emphasized that the *akakia* symbolized the instability of temporal power and the humility of its mortal bearer. According to Hārūn ibn Yaḥya's description of the emperor's procession to Hagia Sophia on Ash Wednesday, the ruler went on foot carrying a golden box with a bit of earth in it; at every two paces his "minister" exclaimed, "Be mindful of death!" and the emperor paused, opened the box, looked at the dust, and wept (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159).

A representation of the *akakia* can be seen on the mosaic of Emp. ALEXANDER in the gallery of Hagia Sophia (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 191, 195f and n.30, fig.1).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 148. *DOC* 2.1:86f; 3.1:133f. N.P. Kondakov, "Mifičeskaja suma s zemnoj tjagoju," *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija na Naukite, Klon istoriko-filologičeski* 22.12 (1921) 53–66. –A.K.

AKAKIAN SCHISM, a temporary rift (484–519) between the church of Constantinople and the papacy, so named after the patriarch AKAKIOS. By the end of the 5th C. the bishop of the imperial capital faced resistance from East and West: on the one hand, the popes emphasized their primacy among the five archbishops as confirmed by canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon in 451, and thus Pope Simplicius (468–83) entrusted Akakios with *legatio pro nobis* (PL 58:41C), treating him as the pope's legate; on the other hand, the Eastern archbishops, irritated by the administrative decisions of Chalcedon (e.g., confirming for Constantinople the second place in the ecclesiastical hierarchy), tried in 477 to return to Ephesus the privilege of exarchate, to the detriment of the capital. The situation was aggravated by the theological split between Rome and the sees of Antioch and Alexandria that clung to Monophysitism, whereas Akakios wavered between the two creeds and kept shifting his allegiances.

In 482 Emp. Zeno and Akakios signed the HENOTIKON, a compromise with the Monophysite PETER MONGOS, but it was rejected by Kalandion of Antioch (479–84) and by Monophysite monks in Egypt. The new pope, FELIX III, sent envoys to Constantinople who regarded the compromise favorably. The AKOIMETOI monks, the anti-Monophysite activists in Constantinople, accused the papal legates of succumbing to bribery and betraying the Roman interests; in July 484 Felix convoked a synod of bishops in Rome, abrogated the legates' decision, condemned Mongos, and deposed Akakios. The papal letter enumerating the "sins" of Akakios was delivered to the patriarch by an Akoimetos monk who paid with his life for this courageous action.

As a result of the schism the name of Felix was

removed from Constantinopolitan diptychs. Then Akakios moved against Kalandion, who was suspected of supporting the revolt of LEONTIOS and ILLOS—he was deposed and replaced by PETER THE FULLER; thereafter Martyrios of Jerusalem (478–86) signed the *Henotikon*.

Rome remained intransigent, however, and the pope had solid partisans in Constantinople; nor did the *Henotikon* find uncompromising adherents in Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The revolt of VITALIAN was carried out under the banner of the Chalcedonians. Patriarchs Makedonios (496–511) and Timothy I (511–18) tried to curb the Monophysite movement, but they refused to denounce the *Henotikon* and to remove Akakios from the diptychs lest they thereby acknowledge the victory of Rome. Reconciliation was difficult since Emp. Anastasios I expressed obvious pro-Monophysite sympathies; he even found Makedonios insufficiently anti-Chalcedonian and deposed him. Only the predominance of the Orthodox party under Justin I and the search for an alliance with Rome brought an end to the Akakian schism: on 28 Mar. 519 Justin abrogated the *Henotikon* and ended the break with Rome; the names of Akakios and Zeno were removed from the diptychs.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *Town and Country* (London 1980), pt.XI (1975), 69–81. E. Schwartz, *Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma* [*ABAW*, philos.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10] (Munich 1934). P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). W.T. Townsend, "The Henoticon Schism and the Roman Church," *The Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. –A.K., T.E.G.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), bishop of Berroia, Syria (from 378); born ca.322, died ca.433. Akakios became a monk at an early age, gaining a reputation for asceticism, kindness, and piety. He participated in the Council of Constantinople (381) and the Synod of the Oak (403). Because of his advanced age, he could not attend the Council of Ephesus (431) but played a mediating role behind the scenes. Contemporaries considered his only fault to be an implacable hostility toward JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, a former friend with whom he had broken over a supposed insult. His follower Balaeus extolled his virtues in five Syriac hymns. A few of his many letters survive, including one to Cyril of Alexandria in support of NESTORIOS; they show him to be a man of personal and theological compromise.

ED. PG 77:99–102. PG 84:647f, 658–60. *ACO*, tome I, vol. i, pt.1:99f.

SOURCE. Germ. tr. of Balaeus's hymns —P.S. Landersdorfer, *Ausgewählte Schriften der syrischen Dichter Cyrillonas, Baläus, Isaak von Antiochien und Jakob von Sarug* (Kempten-Munich 1913) 71–89.

LIT. G. Bardy, "Acace de Bérée et son rôle dans la controverse nestorienne," *RSR* 18 (1938) 20–44. –B.B.

AKAKIOS (Ἀκάκιος), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar. 472–26 or 28 Nov. 489). Before his election Akakios was director of the orphanage in Constantinople. The first crisis he faced after ascending the patriarchal throne was the usurpation of BASILISKOS; after some hesitation, the patriarch joined the Orthodox party that was led by DANIEL THE STYLITE and supported by the majority of the population of the capital. At first Akakios followed a traditional ecclesiastical policy, seeking an alliance with Rome against Alexandria, and accordingly deposed the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS. Then he realized that the unity of the eastern provinces was the crucial task and attempted to find a compromise with the Monophysites: Peter Mongos was reestablished in Alexandria, and Akakios composed the HENOTIKON on behalf of Zeno (482). This about-face caused anxiety in Rome and eventually led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484–519); even though Akakios managed to attract the support of two legates of Pope FELIX III, a Roman synod condemned the patriarch in 484. Felix III's epistle of 28 July 484 first charged Akakios with usurping the rights of other provinces and criticized the growing role of Constantinople within the Eastern church; then the pope accused Akakios because of his reconciliation with the Monophysites, and esp. Peter Mongos. The policy of Akakios was no more successful in pacifying the Eastern church: the orthodox opposition was directed by the AKOIMETOI in Constantinople and found supporters in Alexandria and Antioch.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 148–72. E. Marin, *DTC* 1 (1935) 288–90. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 144–46. –A.K.

AKAPNIOU MONASTERY, located in Thessalonike, perhaps on the acropolis. The date of its foundation is uncertain. V. Grumel (*EO* 30 [1931] 91–95) suggested that Akapniou (Ἀκαπνίου, "without smoke") was established by St. Photios

of Thessaly in the early 11th C. on the evidence of a hymn by Demetrios Beaskos (end of 13th C.) that names a St. Photios as the *ktetor*. The relationship of the monastery to the 11th-C. Akapnes family of civil functionaries (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 107, 159, 202) cannot be determined. Sometime in the 11th or 12th C., an early *hegoumenos* of the monastery, Ignatios, wrote a treatise on the mosaic of Christ at the Latomos monastery (V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 165–67).

During the Latin occupation of the 13th C. Pope Innocent III placed Akapniou under the protection of the Holy See. In the 14th C. it was involved in a number of disputes over properties located in Macedonia and in Thessalonike proper. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited the monastery in 1405. After the Turkish conquest of Thessalonike in 1430 Akapniou lost most of its property (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 35 [1976] 4).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 347–49. –A.M.T.

AKATHISTOS HYMN (Ἀκάθιστος Ὕμνος), an anonymous KONTAKION sung in honor of the Theotokos while the congregation stands (i.e., *akathistos*, "not seated"; a recollection of the all-night vigil during which, according to tradition, the Akathistos Hymn was first sung in thanksgiving for the lifting of the Avar siege of Constantinople in 626). Despite the liturgical developments of the 8th C., when performance of *kontakia* in their entirety was abandoned, the Akathistos Hymn continued in use, at first at the Feast of the ANNUNCIATION (25 March) and subsequently during LENT. The Akathistos Hymn consists of a *prooimion* (three of which, probably, exist) and 24 OIKOI, or stanzas, linked by an alphabetic ACROSTIC. The *oikoi* follow two alternating structures, one shorter with the refrain "Allelouia," the other longer and with a set of 12 *Chairetismoi* (Salutations) to the Theotokos, ending in the refrain "Hail, wedded maiden and virgin." The first 12 *oikoi* give the biblical narrative on the Incarnation; the remaining 12 meditate upon its mysteries. The whole coalesces to create a subtly interwoven net of images that is one of the high points of Byz. poetry. The author and date of composition remain uncertain. One *prooimion*, "To the defender and commander," and hence the entire Akathistos Hymn, is attributed in the *synaxaria* to Patr. SERGIOS I in 626 and in the Latin translation (8th or 9th C.) to Patr. GERMANOS I in 717/18; metrical patterns and theological considerations, however, point rather to a date in the early 6th C. Despite the temptation to ascribe this masterpiece to another craftsman working in the same genre at approximately the same time, ROMANOS THE MELODE probably did not write the Akathistos Hymn. The hymn survives in a rich MS tradition.

Four illustrated copies of the Akathistos Hymn are preserved. Two are Greek: in Moscow (Hist. Mus., gr. 429), probably a product of the HODEGON monastery from the third quarter of the 14th C., and in Madrid (Escorial R.I. 19), whose late 14th- or early 15th-C. decoration shows Western influence. Two are in 14th-C. Slavonic Psalters: the Tomič Psalter in Moscow (Hist. Mus. M.2752) and the Serbian Psalter in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbibl., slav.4). The cycle is found somewhat earlier in monumental painting, but may be Palaiologan in origin. Illustrations of the first 12 *oikoi* rely on traditional iconography of the life of the Virgin and consequently are relatively standardized. The next 12 required greater imagination on the part of artists, and results varied.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 17–39. E. Wellesz, *The Akathistos Hymn* (Copenhagen 1957). Lat. version—M. Huglo, "L'ancienne version latine de l'Hymne Acathiste," *Muséon* 64 (1951) 27–61.

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 483–509. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 32–36. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 1:116–35. T. Velmans, "Une illustration inédite de l'Acathiste et l'iconographie des hymnes liturgiques à Byzance," *CahArch* 22 (1972) 131–65. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'illustration de la première partie de l'Hymne Akathiste et sa relation avec les mosaïques de l'Enfance de la Kariye Djami," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 648–702. E. Wellesz, "The 'Akathistos': A Study in Byzantine Hymnography," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 141–74. A. Pätzold, *Der Akathistos-Hymnos: die Bilderzyklen in der byzantinischen Wandmalerei des 14. Jahrhunderts* (Stuttgart 1989). –E.M.J., R.S.N.

AKEDIA (ἀκηδία), accidie, sloth or torpor, term for a state of listlessness found in monks. It was recognized as a special problem for HERMITS who lacked the encouragement of brethren in a cenobitic community. Neilos of Ankyra defined it as the "weakness of a soul unable to withstand temptation" (PG 79:1157C). *Akedia* was thought to be the result of indulgence in vices such as laziness, loquaciousness, and absorption in the emotions but was sometimes attributed to preternatural causes, a demon that was active at the noon hour. The demon made monks restless, excitable, and

negligent with regard to prayer and reading. *Akedia* could be overcome through assiduous attention to prayer and study of the Scriptures, patience, avoidance of idle talk, and manual labor (PG 79:1456D–1460B). Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1724C) prescribed 40 days repentance as punishment for this vice, including three weeks without wine or oil and 250 penitent prostrations (*metanoiai*) daily, for if uncorrected the sin could lead to the depths of hell.

SOURCE. Jean Cassien, *Institutions cénobitiques,* ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965) 382–425.

LIT. A. & C. Guillaumont in *Évagre le Pontique: Traité pratique ou le moine* (Paris 1971) 1:84–90, 2:520–26. H. Waddell, *The Desert Fathers* (London 1946) 157–60. –A.M.T.

AKEPHALOI. See PETER MONGOS.

AKHMĪM (Panopolis, Πανῶν πόλις), metropolis of the Panopolite nome of Upper Egypt, a bishopric from the early 4th C. A church is mentioned in a text of 295–300 A.D. (P. Gen. inv. 108), but no early examples have survived. They may have been destroyed in the 14th C., since al-Naḥrawālī (*Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, vol. 3 [Leipzig 1857; rp. Beirut 1964] 109) indicates that many marble columns from Akhmīm were reused in the Kaʿba at Mecca. Akhmīm has been famous since the 5th C. for its TEXTILES, many of which were found in early Christian (5th–7th C.) tombs nearby. Other tombs have yielded small articles of daily use. Papyri attest to a flourishing classical literary culture in the 4th–5th C.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:80–96. R. Forrer, *Die frühchristlichen Altertümer aus dem Gräberfelde von Achmim-Panopolis* (Strassburg 1893). S. McNally, "Excavations at Akhmim, Egypt 1978," *American Research Center in Egypt Newsletter* 107 (1978–79) 22–28. –P.G.

AKHNĀS, or Akhnāṣiya (Ἡρακλεόπολις, Heracleopolis Magna), south of Fayyūm, approximately 15 miles west of Beni Suef, metropolis of the Heracleopolite nome of Egypt, site of a bishopric from 325. From Akhnās have come a number of 4th- to 5th-C. architectural sculptures, such as niche-heads, capitals, friezes, etc., which once adorned mausoleums in the cemetery; many of these are decorated with mythological scenes. The site is now deserted, a vast field of pottery hills surrounded by several modern villages. Traces of a colonnaded street are visible. Spots where huge columns abound are currently referred to as *kanīṣa* ("church") but are more probably the remains of other public buildings.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *La scultura ad Ahnâs* (Milan 1923). H.-G. Severin, "Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara," *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 299–303. Timm, *Ägypten* 3:1161–72. –P.G.

AKINDYNOS, GREGORY, anti-Palamite theologian; born Prilep ca.1300?, died 1348. His baptismal name and original surname are unknown: Gregory was a monastic, Akindynos (Ἀκίνδυνος) an adopted name. Of humble, most probably Bulgarian, ancestry, Akindynos studied in Thessalonike with THOMAS MAGISTROS and subsequently became a schoolteacher in Berroia. There ca.1330 he met Gregory PALAMAS and became a monk; he was, however, rejected by four Athonite monasteries, perhaps because of his reputation for secular learning. Akindynos returned to Thessalonike, where he became friendly with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA.

By 1337 Akindynos was in Constantinople and involved in the controversy over PALAMISM; in its early stages he played a mediating role between Barlaam and Palamas. By 1341, however, he began to question the orthodoxy of Palamite doctrine on divine grace, and threw his support to Barlaam. He was apparently condemned at the July session of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Akindynos was a protégé of Irene CHOUMNAINA and the spokesman of Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, who ordained him deacon and priest (1344). With the erosion of the authority of Kalekas and the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Akindynos fell into disgrace; he was excommunicated at the council of 1347 and died in exile soon after.

His correspondence provides important insights into the hesychast controversy from an anti-Palamite viewpoint; many of his theological treatises, including the *Antirrhetics* against Palamas, are still unpublished. Unlike later anti-Palamites, Akindynos was neither a Latin sympathizer nor influenced by Greek philosophy, as his opponents claimed. In his works he did not inveigh against the spirituality of the monks but against the Palamite doctrine of the divine energies, thus ex-

pressing the conservative approach to theology of his fellow intellectuals.

ED. *Letters of Gregory Akindynos*, ed. A.C. Hero (Washington, D.C., 1983), with Eng. tr. Address to Hierotheos—ed. K. Pitsakes in *Epeteris Kentrou Ereunes Historias Hellenikou Dikaiou* 19 (1972) 111–216. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 24f.

LIT. J.S. Nadal, "La critique par Akindynos de l'herméneutique patristique de Palamas," *Istina* 19 (1974) 297–328. B. Phanourgakes, "Agnosta antipalamika syngrammata tou Gregoriou Akindynou," *Kleronomia* 4 (1972) 285–302. M. Candal, "La Confesión de fe antipalamítica de Gregorio Acíndino," *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 215–64. *PLP*, no.495. –A.M.T., A.C.H.

AKINDYNOS, PEGASIOS, AND ANEMPODISTOS (Ἀκίνδυνος, Πηγάσιος, Ἀνεμπόδιστος), martyrs who lived in the Persian Empire under Shāpūr II (r.310–79); saints; feastday 2 Nov. The *Passio*, preserved in two different versions (the earliest MSS from the 9th C.), concentrates on their ordeal: they were thrown into boiling lead, into the sea, into a ditch full of bloodthirsty beasts. They remained unharmed due to the help of angels and by their endurance converted many pagans to Christianity: Shāpūr's servant Aphthonios (who was immediately decapitated), the senator Elpidephoros (murdered together with his companions), and even the mother of the "basileus." She, the three martyrs, and 28 other soldiers (*stratiotai*) were burned in an oven. The legend was reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

Representation in Art. The three saints, sometimes joined by Aphthonios and Elpidephoros, are depicted wearing Byz., rather than Persian, court costume. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.155) shows the saints being thrown in the sea, the Persian converts being beheaded, and the martyrs being burned alive in a brick oven, all in the same composition. These saints, though collectively called the "Holy Five," should not be confused with the more famous Five, Eustratios and his four companions, the FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 1:461–504. PG 116:9–36.
LIT. *BHG* 21–23a. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:23. –A.K., N.P.Š.

AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF, an early monastic community in Constantinople, allegedly founded by the archimandrite ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS in 405 (Beck, *Kirche* 213), ca.420 (Janin, *Églises CP* 16), or ca.425 (G. Dagron, *AB* 86 [1968] 272), and originally located near the Church of St. Menas in the Mangana quarter. The *akoimetoi* (ἀκοίμητοι, lit. "sleepless ones") were pledged to perpetual praise of God; their offices (popularly known as the *akolouthia ton akoimeton*) were continuous and uninterrupted, performed by three choirs in succession, each doing one eight-hour shift per day. This was actually a mitigation of Alexander's original ideal of perpetual prayer, a fundamentalist construction of the New Testament command to pray unceasingly; he had imposed an unending cycle of 24 offices, one per hour, with a minimum of time permitted for unavoidable bodily needs (*Vita*, ed. de Stoop, PO 6 [1911] 680f).

As a result of persecution, the *akoimetoi* were forced to move to a succession of monasteries almost immediately after their establishment; by the mid-5th C. they settled at Eirenaion on the eastern shore of the Bosporos. Here the monastery flourished under the leadership of the ardent anti-Monophysite MARKELLOS THE AKOIMETOS, who served as *hegoumenos* for ca.40 years; in this period the monks reportedly numbered in the hundreds. The monastery of the *akoimetoi* housed a scriptorium and library; in its early period the monastic community was trilingual, including Greek, Roman, and Syrian monks (Lemerle, *Humanism* 78, n.82). A contingent of the monks moved in 463 to the recently founded monastery of STOUDIOS. The *akoimetoi* had no influence after Iconoclasm, when Stoudite monasticism prevailed in Constantinople. By the 9th C. the monastery of the *akoimetoi* had returned to Constantinople or had established a *metochion* in the city; when ANTONY of Novgorod visited Akoimetoi in 1200, it was within the walls. The monastery is not mentioned in the sources after 1204 and does not seem to have survived the Latin occupation.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 3, 9, 19, 23–26, 74, 79. Janin, *Églises centres* 13–15. –A.M.T., R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία, lit. "succession"), a liturgical rite, esp. the ritual or sequence of elements comprised in a particular rite or office (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the PROTHESIS, the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA). The term also refers to the "proper," or variable parts, of the office of a day or feast (e.g., the *akolouthia* of the Nativity or of St. Nicho-

las), or to the "common" of an office, the rite designed for a specific category of saint, to be used when the saint's day has no proper of its own (e.g., the *akolouthia* of a martyr). (For use of this term as a musical anthology, see PAPADIKE.)

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279f. L. Petit, *Bibliographie des acolouthies grecques* (Brussels 1926), with add. S. Eustratiades, *EEBS* 9 (1932) 80–122. –R.F.T.

AKOLOUTHOS (ἀκόλουθος, perhaps from ἀκολουθέω, "to follow"), in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern officer under the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS or of the *arithmos*. From the 11th C. onward, as the *droungarios tes viglas* assumed primarily judiciary and police duties, the *akolouthos* became an independent commander of foreign, esp. Varangian, contingents (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130). Under Constantine IX, the *patrikios* and *akolouthos* Michael was one of the most prominent generals. In the 12th C. *akolouthoi* fulfilled predominantly diplomatic functions, for example, Eumathios PHILOKALES, who is called *acolitho* in the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI (ed. Chroust, 60, 65). The last individual known to have held the position of *akolouthos* was John Nomikopoulos in 1199, but a 14th-C. ceremonial book was familiar with the office; it defines the *akolouthos* as the chief of the Varangians and states that he accompanied the emperor at the head of this group (pseudo-Kod. 184.20–24). (For ecclesiastical *akolouthos*, see ACOLYTE.)

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:522–24. Oikonomides, *Listes* 331. –A.K.

AKRA TAPEINOSIS. See MAN OF SORROWS.

AKRITAI (sing. ἀκρίτης, from *akron/akra*, "summit, extremity"), term found in Byz. military treatises of the 10th and 11th C. denoting people stationed at the extremity of a given position, such as an army encampment or military formation. Its most common usage, however, designates inhabitants at the extremities of imperial territory, esp. along the eastern FRONTIER. When used in this manner, the term *akritai* can, depending upon context, refer to army units stationed along the frontier, to the commanders of such troops, or to the civilian population along the border. The term does not seem to have had any technical meaning for Byz. provincial administration or military organization, nor does it refer to any specific type of unit composed of scouts or border guards, although such troops did exist and appear to have been called APELATAI. In the epic poem DIGENES AKRITAS, *hai akrai* generally denote the region near the Euphrates and the term *akritai* can refer to any inhabitant of this area including Muslims living outside the empire. In a later reference to Digenes' legendary exploits, Manuel I Komnenos was termed "a new Akrites" (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 25 [1955] 779–81).

LIT. A. Pertusi, "Tra storia e leggenda," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1971) 237–78. N. Oikonomidès, "L'épopée de Digènes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 375–97. –A.J.C.

AKRITIC IMAGERY. Episodes found in both DIGENES AKRITAS and the AKRITIC SONGS are possibly reflected in the SGRAFFITO decoration of more than 100 ceramic plates of uncertain origin, but found as far afield as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Sparta, Corinth, and the Athenian Agora. At the last two sites, the pottery comes from a 12th-C. context. A plate found at Corinth, representing Digenes wooing Maximo, queen of the Amazons, seems to follow the epic closely, esp. in the depiction of costume and the setting (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 3114–17). On the other hand, a fragment from the Agora, showing the sword-bearing hero beside a dragon whose neck is pierced with five darts, reproduces the *pente kontaria* and other details in an Akritic ballad (ed. in Notopoulos, *infra* 127) without counterpart in the epic. Many plates show the warrior as foot soldier in contrast to both *Digenes Akritas* and the Akritic Songs, each of which describes the hero as a horseman. While 35 plates have the warrior wearing the *podea* or pleated kilt (sometimes called a fustanella) attributed to Manuel I, the "new Akrites," in a Ptochoprodromic poem, and 26 have him slaying a dragon, neither iconographic element is sufficient to identify the hero specifically as Digenes because both the kilt and the deed characterize other *akritai* named in the Akritic Songs. More identifiable is the subject of a relief from St. Catherine's in Thessalonike that shows a figure in plate-armor tearing the jaws of a lion in accord with an event in *Digenes Akritas* (Grottaferrata MS, ed. Trapp, vv. 699–714). Evidence for illustrations to accompany the epic,

which may have been the source for five plates, may be found in the spaces left blank for illustration in the 16th-C. Escorial MS of *Digenes Akritas* and in the now lost MS seen in the 18th C. at the Xeropotamou monastery by K. Dapontes. Identification of these scenes as Akritic is, however, far from secure; they may well represent other folk tales now lost, but of which glimpses may be caught (e.g., in the romance of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE).

LIT. J.A. Notopoulos, "Akritan Ikonography on Byzantine Pottery," *Hesperia* 33 (1964) 108–33. –A.C.

AKRITIC SONGS, narrative vernacular songs or ballads usually in POLITICAL VERSE, in which characters' names or actions appear to reflect episodes from the epic-romance DIGENES AKRITAS. The first examples of Akritic Songs were collected in Pontos around 1870, at about the time when the Trebizond MS of *Digenes Akritas* was discovered. According to Sathas and Legrand (L. Politis, *A History of Modern Greek Literature* [Oxford 1973] 23), these songs represented the remnants of an ancient epic cycle predating *Digenes Akritas*. Episodes from *Digenes Akritas* that have been linked to these songs include the abduction of Digenes' bride (*He apagoge tes kores tou strategou*), the building of his castle (*Akritas kastron ektizen*), his encounters with wild beasts (*Ho drakos*), and his death (*Ho Charos maura ephoresen*), though the dramatic struggle with CHARON, which is a striking element in the songs, does not occur in the epic. The hero's name in the songs fluctuates: he can be Digenes or Constantis or Giannis. R. Beaton (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 22–43) has stressed that the connections between the songs and the epic are slight and that similarities are likely to have arisen because both draw on a common pool of traditional folk material. Those songs that come closest to the surviving epic are more likely to have been influenced by it than vice versa. Since most of the songs were collected from oral sources in the late 19th C. and have been subject to the transformations of up to a thousand years of oral transmission, the identification of precise references to Byz. historical events can be only conjectural.

ED. P. Kalonaros, *Basileios Digenes Akritas*, vol. 2 (Athens 1941; rp. 1970) 205–53. B.Ch. Makes, *Demotika tragoudia: Akritika* (Athens 1978).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 87–94. E. Trapp, *Digenes Akrites* (Vienna 1971) 43–45. R. Beaton, *Folk Poetry of Modern Greece* (Cambridge 1980) 78–82. –E.M.J.

AKROINON (Ἀκροϊνόν, also Akrounos, now Afyonkarahisar), a city of PHRYGIA. Located at a main highway junction, Akroinon first appears in history when the Arabs attacked it in 716 and 732. In 740, Leo III won a decisive victory there over the Arabs led by Sayyid al-Baṭṭāl. Akroinon drew importance from its strategic location and steep acropolis, which provides a remarkable natural defense. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, first attested in the 10th C. Still Byz. when its governor revolted against Alexios I Komnenos in 1112, Akroinon was conquered by the Seljuks before 1146, when Manuel I won a victory there. The citadel bears a Seljuk castle that may include Byz. walls; it depended on cisterns of Byz. origin.

LIT. S. Göncer, *Afyon Ili Tarihi* (Izmir 1971). S. Eyice, "La fontaine et les citernes byzantines de la citadelle d'Afyon Karahisarı," *DOP* 27 (1973) 303–07. –C.F.

AKROPOLITES (Ἀκροπολίτης, fem. Ἀκροπολίτισσα), a family of civil functionaries; in the 13th C. George Akropolites exaggerated when he called his ancestors a noble kin (Akrop. 1:49.18–19). The name derives from *akropolis*, referring most probably to the Acropolis in Constantinople; in the 10th C. the first known Akropolites acquired Gregoras Iberitzes' house (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:150.1–2), which presumably was at the Acropolis (Skyl. 198.46–47). If so, the family was of Constantinopolitan origin. From the end of the 11th C. onward, the Akropolitai were mostly fiscal officials: Nicholas, *chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* in 1088; Michael, *megas chartoularios tou genikou*, whom Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no.353) tentatively identified with several other Michaels active in the 1140s. The position of the Akropolitai became more prominent in the second half of the 13th C. when George Akropolites was appointed *megas logothetes*; his son, Constantine, held the same post in the 14th C. (see AKROPOLITES, GEORGE and AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE). Leo Akropolites served as *doux* of Serres and Strymon ca.1295 (*PLP*, no.521), but his relationship to George and his son is unclear. Several family members were intellectuals: George and Constantine were famous writers; Melchisedek Akropolites, another of George's sons (blinded or executed in 1296), corresponded with PLANOUDES and instigated Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS to revolt. The Akropolitai intermarried with the Philanthropenoi, Tor-

nikioi, and Kontostephanoi. Maria Doukaina Akropolitissa possessed property in Constantinople ca.1300 (MM 1:312.16–17).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 517–25. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249–56. –A.K.

AKROPOLITES, CONSTANTINE, hagiographer and statesman; born mid-13th C., died Constantinople? in or before May 1324. The eldest son of George AKROPOLITES, Akropolites opposed the Union of Lyons, in contrast to his father. Circa 1282 he became *logothetes tou genikou,* still bearing this title when he signed a treaty with Venice in 1285. From 1305/6 to at least 1321 he was *megas logothetes*. He was related by marriage to Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS, the Tornikes (see TORNIKIOS) family, and the imperial family of Trebizond. A patron of the arts, Akropolites was *ktetor* of the Constantinople monastery of the Anastasis, for which he wrote a supplementary *typikon* (K.A. Manaphes, *EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 459–65); he also commissioned an icon of the Virgin and Child, now in the Tretyakov Gallery in Moscow (V.I. Antonova, N.E. Mneva, *Katalog drevnerusskoj živopisi. XI–načalo XVIII veka*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1963] no.221, pl.172).

Akropolites was a prolific hagiographer, who wrote *enkomia* of about 30 saints, thus earning the name of "the new Metaphrastes." He wrote about saints of earlier centuries, rather than his contemporaries, the one exception being an *enkomion* of St. John the Merciful the Younger (D.I. Polemis, *AB* 91 [1973] 31–54). His *Logos* on the iconodule martyr Theodosia (PG 140:893–936) was evidently inspired by the miraculous cure of himself and his son-in-law at her shrine. Of his letters 194 survive, mostly unpublished; his correspondents included Gregory II of Cyprus and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a chronicle from the foundation of Rome to 1261. Akropolites severely criticized the TIMARION for both style and content (M. Treu, *BZ* 1 [1892] 361–65).

ED. 20 letters and *typikon*—"Constantini Acropolitae, hagiographi byzantini, epistularum manipulus," ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 (1933) 263–84. F. Winkelmann, "Die Metrophanesvita des Konstantinos Akropolites," *Studia Byzantina. Beiträge aus der byzantinistischen Forschung der DDR* (Halle 1968) 79–102. For list of ed. and unpublished works, see Nicol, *infra* 254–56.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Constantine Akropolites: A Prosopographical Note," *DOP* 19 (1965) 249–56. *PLP*, no.520. R. Romano, "Per l'edizione dell' epistolario di Costantino Acropolita," *Rendiconti: Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti di Napoli* 56 (1981) 83–103. –A.M.T.

AKROPOLITES, GEORGE, civil official, teacher, and historian of the empire of Nicaea; born Constantinople 1217, died Constantinople 1282. Related by marriage to MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, Akropolites was the father of Constantine AKROPOLITES and the monk Melchisedek. His parents sent him at age 16 from Constantinople to the court of JOHN III VATATZES, where he continued his studies under Theodore HEXAPTERYGOS and Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. In the 1240s he was a tutor to the emperor's son, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and performed chancery and ambassadorial functions as a *grammatikos*. Under Theodore II, Akropolites became *logothetes tou genikou* (1255) and then *praitor* (1256), with the duty of overseeing the troops in Macedonia. He held the title *megas logothetes* from ca.1259 to 1282. In the reconquered Constantinople he helped restore higher education as a teacher of philosophy, geometry, and rhetoric, producing at least two known students, the future patriarch GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and John PEDIASIMOS. In 1274, as part of a three-man delegation to the Second Council of LYONS, he swore to accept the PRIMACY of the Roman church on his own behalf and that of the emperor.

Contemporaries acknowledged his learning and characterized Akropolites as a man who "gave much to the emperor" (Constantine Akropolites, *Diatheke*, ed. M. Treu, *DIEE* 4 [1892] 48) and was "neglectful in matters of conscience" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:409.23–25). He restored the Church of the Anastasis in Constantinople, which he bequeathed to his son Constantine, and wrote various works, notably his *Chronike Syngraphe*, the main Greek source for 1203–61. Written with the hindsight of the victorious party of 1261, it is infused with admiration for Michael VIII. The work was a source for the so-called Chronicle of Theodore SKOUTARIOTES (who also made valuable additions to it) and for EPHRAIM. Other works are an *epitaphios* for John III, prefatory verses to his own edition of Theodore II's letters, and two tracts on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.

ED. *Georgii Acropolitae opera*, ed. A. Heisenberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1903), corr. P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1978).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442–47. Constantinides, *Education* 31–35. P. Žavoronkov, "Nekotorye aspekty mirovozzrenija Georgija Akropolita," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 125–33. Oikonomides, *Dated Seals* 128, no.136. –R.J.M.

AKTEMON (ἀκτήμων, lit. "without property"), a fiscal designation for a peasant who possessed no plow animals and little or no real property (at most, perhaps, only small vineyard or garden plots) but who possessed other livestock (e.g., asses, sheep, goats, bees). The term appears in documents from 1073 to 1303 that categorize peasants and peasant-holdings for fiscal and administrative purposes: in decreasing order, ZEUGARATOS, *boidatos*, *aktemon*, and APOROS. As economic units producing a fiscal revenue, four *aktemones* were equivalent to one *zeugaratos*. Accordingly, in the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS, the ANGAREIA of an *aktemon* was valued at half the *angareia* of a *boidatos*. *Aktemones* are probably identical to the *pezoi* ("on foot," i.e., peasants who worked without draft animals) found in some contemporaneous sources. *Aktemones* probably leased land or earned their living as craftsmen, laborers (*douleutai*), or hired men (MISTHIOI).

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 51–61, 224f. Angold, *Byz. Government* 138, 221. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 303–09. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 153, n.27, 161–63. –M.B.

AKTOUARIOS (ἀκτουάριος, Lat. *actuarius* or *actarius*), the name of an official whose functions changed over the centuries. In the late Roman Empire the *aktouarios* was a fiscal official whose duty was the distribution of military wages and provisions (O. Seeck, *RE* 1 [1894] 301f). The term was in use at least to the 6th C.—in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3 [1931] 92), inscriptions (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.211), and legislative texts. The *Basilika* retained some old laws concerning *aktouarioi*, stressing among other points the distinction between *aktouarioi* and the TABOULLARIOI (*Basil.* 6.35.6). The *aktouarios* reappears in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS but in vague contexts. In a 10th-C. ceremonial book he is described as distributing awards to victorious charioteers on behalf of the emperor (*De cer.* 345.14–15). R. Guilland (*BS* 26 [1965] 3) calls the *aktouarios* the chief of the couriers. The term changed its meaning again in the 12th, or perhaps as early as the 11th C.—from this time onward, *aktouarios* was the title of the [court?] physician.

LIT. S. Kourouses, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 252–55. Karayannopoulos, *Finanzwesen* 102f. Bury, *Adm. System* 106. –A.K.

AKTOUARIOS, JOHN. See JOHN AKTOUARIOS.

AL-________. See under latter part of name.

ALAHAN MANASTIRI (formerly called Koca Kalesi), a ruined complex of ecclesiastical structures situated between Karaman (Laranda) and Mut (Claudiopolis) on the boundary between Isauria and Lykaonia. The ruins occupy an artificial ledge on a mountainside, approximately 250 m long and 30 m wide. They consist of a cave chapel (the earliest feature on the site), a three-aisled basilica that retains an impressive carved doorway and, some 110 m farther east, another church lacking only its roof. The east church was covered by a central tower on squinches, probably terminating in a pyramidal timber roof. The two main churches were joined by a colonnaded walk, along which were built a baptistery and other structures. Notable architectural sculpture survives. Funerary inscriptions of Tarasis (died 462), builder of *apanteteria* (meeting rooms), and of the junior Tarasis, who served as *paramonarios* (see PROSMONARIOS) from 461 onward, provide chronological confirmation for the attribution of the bulk of the complex to the reign of Zeno. During a secondary phase a smaller church was built in the nave of the west basilica. The cave church, baptistery, and living quarters were also repaired, but the east church remained derelict. The generally accepted assumption that Alahan was a monastery appears incorrect, so that its proposed identification with "the monastery at Apadnas in Isauria" that was rebuilt by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5:9.33) should be abandoned. It was more probably a pilgrimage shrine.

LIT. *Alahan, an Early Christian Monastery in Southern Turkey*, ed. M. Gough (Toronto 1985). F. Hild et al., "Kommagene-Kilikien-Isaurien," *RBK* 4 (1984) 254–63, 286f. –C.M.

ALAMANIKON (Ἀλαμανικόν), or "German tax," imposed in 1197 by ALEXIOS III after HENRY VI demanded 5,000 pounds of gold as tribute and agreed to accept 1,600. Before this levy on the provinces and Constantinople, the emperor summoned an assembly of senators, clergy, and members of the trades and professions. When he proposed that the property of each be assessed, the

assembly rejected the imposition as contrary to custom. In near revolt, members of the crowd blamed Alexios's maladministration, citing the waste of public funds and the imposition of incompetent relatives of the emperor as provincial governors. Alexios hastily disavowed the plan. He next tried to collect costly ecclesiastical objects not of primary use in the liturgy; when this attempt also met with resistance, he turned to plundering the tombs of past emperors, abstaining only from that of Constantine I. Thereby he acquired some gold and 7,000 pounds of silver. Henry VI's death forestalled the dispatch of the money.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 193. –C.M.B.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), king of Ḥīra who raided the Byz. frontier for almost 50 years (ca.505–54), both as a client of Persia and as Lakhmid king; died near Chalkis 554. Around 523 he captured two Roman generals, Timostratos and John, and released them in the following year for a large sum of money. He participated in the Persian campaign that ended with the battle of Kallinikos. His role in the Strata dispute (ca.539) and his subsequent negotiations with the Romans provided the Persian king Chosroes I with a pretext for beginning the so-called Second Persian War, in which Alamundarus took part. For some ten years after this war he fought with his Ghassānid adversary Arethas, but finally was defeated and killed. Toward the end of his life he apparently received subsidies from Justinian I. Although Alamundarus married a Christian woman, Hind, the daughter of Arethas, king of Kinda, he was a pagan in word and deed. If he was converted to Christianity ca.513, as claimed by some ecclesiastical historians such as Theodore Lector, his conversion was of short duration.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 71–87. –I.A.Sh.

ALAMUNDARUS (al-Mundhir), son of the Ghassānid king Arethas and his successor as supreme phylarch and king of the Arab foederati (569–582). Like his father before him, he, too, distinguished himself in the wars of the period and also as an arbiter in the Monophysite controversies. He participated in the campaign of 580 against the Persians, during which disagreements developed between him and the Byz. commanders. On two occasions, in 570 and in 580, he captured Ḥīra, the capital of his Lakhmid adversaries, in two lightning campaigns. In 580 he was received by Tiberios I in Constantinople and was allowed to wear a crown instead of a coronet or a band. Throughout his career, he tried to settle religious differences between the Monophysites and the Chalcedonians and also within the ranks of the Monophysites. In the quarrel between two Monophysite leaders, Paul the Black, the Monophysite patriarch of Antioch, and Jacob Baradaeus, he took the side of Paul. His Monophysite persuasion was not well received in Constantinople. Justin II tried unsuccessfully to arrest him, but the two were later reconciled. Emp. Maurice, however, treacherously had him arrested and exiled to Sicily. Like his father, he was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten* 23–30. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:249–57. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1979) 327–31. –I.A.Sh.

ALANS (Ἀλανοί) were known in the West from the 1st C. A.D. Ammianus Marcellinus regarded them not as an ethnic entity, but rather as ubiquitous groups of professional warriors (cavalrymen) who practiced ritual adoption and used an East Iranian idiom as their lingua franca. Some of them took part in the exploits of the Goths, Huns, and Vandals, fought at the battle of Adrianople, and eventually settled in North Africa, Italy, and Gaul. Others became *foederati*; Aspar was reportedly of Alan origin.

Later sources distinguish two groups, the mountain Alans and the steppe Alans. The former, the Alans proper, lived in the northern Caucasus, between the Terek, Bol'šoj Zelenčuk, and Argun rivers. Both groups were either subjects or associates of the Khazar state or Byz.; Justinian II sent an embassy to Alania (as the country is called by Theophanes the Confessor) seeking an alliance against the Arabs. Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos dispatched several church missions to the Alans, and between 914 and 916 Peter, archbishop of Alania, was active there. The remains of churches in Byz. style, dated to the 10th C., have been discovered in the region. In the 13th C. Theodore of Alania sent a report on his flock. Kulakovskij's attempt to locate the metropolis of

Vicina in Alania is erroneous (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 91–103). The only known Christian Alan inscription (of the 10th–12th C., in a Greek script) was discovered on the Bol'šoj Zelenčuk.

In the 11th C. Alans served as Byz. mercenaries. In the early 14th C. Andronikos II settled a 10,000-strong contingent of Alan men with their wives and children in Asia Minor to use against the Turks, but they were unsuccessful; their operation against the Catalan Grand Company in 1305 was no more fortunate. The Byz. made no clear distinction between Alans, Abchasians, and Georgians, even though John Tzetzes boasted that he knew how to address the Alans in their language. In the 11th C. the Georgian princess Maria was consistently called Maria of "Alania."

LIT. B. Bachrach, *A History of the Alans in the West* (Minneapolis 1973). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Alany po svedenijam klassičeskich i vizantijskich pisatelej* (Kiev 1899). V.A. Kuznecov, *Alanija v X–XIII vv.* (Ordžonikidze 1971). K.G. Doguzov, *Vizantijsko-alanskie otnošenija (VI–XII vv.)* (Tbilisi 1987). –O.P.

ALARIC (Ἀλάριχος), Visigothic ruler (395–410); born Danube region between 365 and 370, died Consentia in Bruttium in 410. Leader of a Gothic contingent in 394 at the battle of the Frigidus against the usurper Eugenius, Alaric chafed under the leadership of Gainas and, offended that he had not been made *magister militum,* broke with Roman rule. Under Alaric the Visigoths rose in revolt and devastated Moesia, Macedonia, and Thrace, advancing close to the walls of Constantinople. Alaric descended into Thessaly and then into southern Greece (396–97). Twice Stilicho had the Visigoths at his mercy, but both times he withdrew, probably for political reasons. Alaric was granted the title of *magister militum* of Illyricum and retreated to the north. In 401 he invaded Italy but was driven out by Stilicho the next year. He may have formed a plan with Stilicho to detach Illyricum from the empire but this came to naught. In 408 Alaric again began to threaten Rome, causing the Roman senate to agree to pay him compensation. The murder of Stilicho rendered Italy defenseless, and Alaric marched on Rome, driven as he said by divine impulse (Sokr. *HE* 7.10). Alaric demanded that Venetia, Noricum, and Dalmatia be ceded to him; when this was refused he set up the pretender Attalus against Honorius. After this too failed to secure concessions, Alaric occupied Rome and sacked it on 14 (G. Wirth, *LMA* 1:271) or 24 Aug. 410, sending a shock of horror through the civilized world, reflected, among others, by Augustine in *The City of God* (1.7). Alaric sought to cross to Sicily but his ships were wrecked in a storm. He died soon after. The story told by Jordanes (*Getica* par.158) of his burial in the bottom of the Busento River, when all the grave diggers were executed lest they divulge the whereabouts of immense treasure, is legendary.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:109–11, 160–63, 174–85. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 43–45. N.I. Golubcova, "Italija v načale V veka i vtorženie Alaricha v Rim," *VDI* (1949) no.4, 62–74. –T.E.G.

ALBANIA, CAUCASIAN (Ἀλβανία, Arm. Ałuank'), region northeast of Armenia and east of Iberia between the Kur River, the Caspian Sea, and the Caucasus range. From the 1st to the 6th C. it formed an independent kingdom with its own language and literature, now lost. It was evangelized from Armenia in the 4th C. (pseudo-P'awstos Buzand 3.5–6), whence it also received its alphabet in the next century (Koriwn, *Life of Mashtots*, ed. K. Maksoudian [Delmar, N.Y., 1985] 70f; pt.2, p.40). It remained within the orbit of the Armenian church, although it disputed the marchlands south of the Kur with the Arsacids. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 18:6.22; 19:2.3) mentions Albania as an ally of Persia against the Romans in 359, a position confirmed by the Armenian sources for 369–70 (pseudo-P'awstos Buzand 5.4.13). Around 510 the Sasanians suppressed the Albanian monarchy and the country was ruled by a *marzpan* residing at Partaw. In 628 Herakleios installed the Mihranid dynasty of Gardman in Albania; it remained in power under Arab suzerainty until 821, when Albania ceased to exist as an autonomous Christian principality.

LIT. R. Hewsen, "Ethno-History and the Armenian Influence upon the Caucasian Albanians," *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 27–40. K.V. Trever, *Očerki po istorii i kul'ture Kavkazskoj Albanii* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959). –N.G.G.

ALBANIANS (Ἀλβανοί), also Arbanitai, an ethnic group the origin of which is enigmatic. Attempts to connect medieval Albanians with those described by Ptolemy (e.g., E. Lange-Kowal, *Zeitschrift für Balkanologie* 18 [1982] 136) do not pro-

vide sufficient evidence; Byz. texts begin to mention them only from the 11th C., and even these texts are open to question (E. Vranouse, *Symmeikta* 2 [1970] 207–54).

Hypothetically, we can assume that the Albanians were descendants of the ancient Illyrians (see ILLYRICUM) who survived the period of barbarian invasions and, by the 11th C., occupied Arbanon, a mountainous valley of the Shkumbi River (A. Ducellier, *TM* 3 [1968] 353–68) that formed a part of the theme of DYRRACHION. The region was populated by a predominantly pastoral people. By the 13th C. the Albanians had spread far from this area; George Akropolites mentions the *phrourion* Kroia (Albanian *Krujë*) as a part of Albanon.

In the 14th C. many Albanian nobles settled in different parts of EPIROS: notable among them were Charles Topia ("princeps Albaniae," 1359–92) in Dyrrachion, John Spata in Arta, Balša Balšić in Avlon, and the Kastrioti in Kroia. In Kroia the local lord, SKANDERBEG, was able to defeat the Ottomans, but soon after his death the Ottomans completed their occupation of Albania. Dyrrachion, taken by the Venetians from Charles Topia in 1392, was evacuated by them in 1501. By the early 14th C. bands of Albanians had also spread into Thessaly. Around 1350 the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS transplanted a large number of Albanians to the Morea to serve as soldiers and farmers in the depopulated peninsula; yet another wave of Albanians arrived in the Morea during the despotate of THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 101–05).

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, "Forschungen zur albanischen Frühgeschichte," *Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis* 7 (1941) 1–196. S. Islami, K. Frashëri, *Historia e Shqipërisë*, vol. 1 (Tirana 1959). S. Pollo, A. Puto, *The History of Albania* (London-Boston 1974). A. Ducellier, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au Moyen Âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Idem, *L'Albanie entre Byzance et Venise, Xe–XVe siècles* (London 1987). –O.P.

ALBERTINI TABLETS, 33 documents written in Latin on cedarwood tablets and dating to the Vandal period (493–96); found on an estate in the Jabal Mrata south of THEVESTE, they are named after their first editor. All but three of the documents constitute deeds of sale involving parcels of land under the category of *culturae Mancianae*, which formed part of the *fundus Tuletianos* and potentially neighboring *fundi*. The estate was owned by a landlord, Flavius Geminius Catullinus, *flamen perpetuus*, probably in absentia, but was evidently maintained by three brothers, Geminius Felix, Geminius Cresconius, and Geminius Januarius, possibly relatives of Catullinus, acting in capacities akin to the *conductores* of the Roman period. The reason for this rash of sales is not evident in the documents, but involved the purchase by the Geminii brothers of scattered plots, for rather low prices, from tenants of the estate (most of whom carry the family name of Julius, suggesting that they formed a single clan). It is evident from the deeds that it was the use of the plots and the ownership of the trees (mostly olive, but also fig, almond, and pistachio) and other crops cultivated on the plots, and not the plots of land themselves that were being sold.

Cultura Manciana was a land tenure arrangement, originally established under the terms of a Roman-period *lex Manciana* (evidently only in effect in Africa), in which lease or usage rights (*usus proprius*) to uncultivated land (*subseciva*) on an estate was granted in perpetuity to an individual (*colonus/possessor*) by the owner in exchange for shares of the crop. This arrangement is thought to have been designed to extend cultivation on estates through a system of tenancy. From the Albertini Tablets, however, it would appear that the predominant form of landholding on the estate of Catullinus was a Mancian tenure, suggesting that even primary parts of estates in Africa may have been brought into cultivation under the Mancian system. The tablets likewise suggest that this system was left essentially untouched by the Vandals.

In terms of agriculture, the tablets reveal continued arboriculture, particularly olive cultivation, as well as continued practice of floodwater farming technology along the Saharan frontier. The Albertini Tablets also provide valuable information on Vandal and early Byz. coinage and monetary values (P. Grierson, *JRS* 49 [1959] 73–80) as well as late Latin grammar, phonetics, and legal and agricultural terminology.

ED. C. Courtois, L. Leschi, C. Perrat, and C. Saumagne, *Tablettes Albertini* (Paris 1952).

LIT. J. Lambert, "Les Tablettes Albertini," *Revue Africaine* 97 (1953) 196–225. J. Percival, "Culturae Mancianae: Field Patterns in the Albertini Tablets," in *The Ancient Historian and his Materials* (Westmead 1975) 213–17. C.R. Whittaker, "Land and Labour in North Africa," *Klio* 60

(1978) 358–60. D.J. Mattingly, "Olive Cultivation and the Albertini Tablets," *Africa-Romana* 6 (Sassari 1988) 403–15. –R.B.H.

ALBERT OF AACHEN, canon; 12th-C. Crusader historian (the name is indicated only in two later MSS). Although he never traveled to the Levant, Albert authored in Latin the *Jerusalem History* (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), the most detailed contemporary account of the First Crusade (books 1–6) and the Crusader kingdom's early years (books 7–12). He likely began writing before 1119 (possibly as early as 1100–01; events of 1109–11 are dated one year too early). He probably wrote book 12 (events of 1111–19) in the 1120s and certainly before ca.1140 or 1150 (date of the earliest MSS: Knoch, *infra* 14–18); it contains apparently unfinished material. Albert enthusiastically but uncritically exploited the GESTA FRANCORUM, oral reports of fellow Lotharingians, whom he lionizes, and possibly also lost sources, including an early form of Richard the Pilgrim's CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE. Although Albert's reliability has been challenged, his data on the Hungarians, PECHENEGS, and Byz. (bk.1, chs. 6–14) appear accurate (J. Kalić, *Beogradski Universitet, Zbornik filozofskog fakulteta* 10.1 [1968] 183–91). He treats the relations of Alexios I Komnenos with PETER THE HERMIT (bk.1, chs. 13–15, 22), GODFREY OF BOUILLON (bk.2), and BOHEMUND I (bk.9, ch.37, 47; bk.10, chs. 40–45) as well as a Turkish attack on Byz. territory (bk.12, ch.15).

ED. RHC *Occid.* 4 (1879) 265–713. Germ. tr. H. Hefele, *Geschichte des ersten Kreuzzugs*, 2 vols. (Jena 1923).
LIT. P. Knoch, *Studien zu Albert von Aachen* (Stuttgart 1966). Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 111–19. –M.McC.

ALBOIN (Ἀλβοῖος), Lombard king; born Pannonia?, died Verona 28 June 572. Circa 565, Alboin succeeded his father Audoin as king of the Lombards in Noricum and Pannonia. In 567, in alliance with the Avars, Alboin destroyed the GEPIDS, slew their king Cunimund, and married his daughter Rosamund. On 2 Apr. 568, allegedly at the invitation of NARSES, Alboin left with his people for Italy, arriving in May 569. It is unlikely that Alboin entered Italy with the complicity of some Byz. authorities (Schmidt, *infra* 588f). By Sept. 569, aided by some Herulians, Rugians, Gepids, Alans, and Saxons, Alboin conquered Aquileia, Cividale, Venetia, and Lombardy. He entered Milan on 3 Sept. 569, easily overran Tuscany, Piedmont, and regions of Spoleto and Benevento (including Treviso, Vicenza, Verona, Brescia, and Bergamo), crossed the Po in 570, and took Pavia and Verona in 572. Alboin established himself in the former palace of Theodoric; in autumn 569 or early 570 he was proclaimed *dominus Italiae* at Milan. Alboin personified the valor and ethic of a warring society and had greater military than administrative ability. He capitalized on Justin II's preoccupation with other frontiers and the inadequacy of Byz. garrisons in Italy and started the process whereby Byz. control of Italy dissolved. His chamberlain Peredeo slew him, possibly in league with Alboin's vengeful wife Rosamund.

LIT. P. Delogu in *Storia d'Italia*, ed. G. Galasso (Turin 1980) 1:10–17. T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders 553–600* (Oxford 1895; rp. New York 1967) 5:137–71. L. Schmidt, *Die Ostgermanen*² (Munich 1941; rp. Munich 1969) 539–42, 582–95. –W.E.K.

ALCHEMY (χυμεία or χημεία). The "sacred art" of the transmutation of metals into gold or silver was, in Byz., a continuation of older Mesopotamian and Egyptian traditions of coloring or making alloys of cheaper materials so that they would be accepted as more expensive ones. Sometimes the writings of the alchemists are composed of simple RECIPES for achieving tinctures, confusions of metals, and other chemical effects, but often they are expressed in an allegorical mode infused with philosophical, religious, or astrological imagery that reflects their mystical nature, which is almost completely irrelevant to the perceptible world.

These two tendencies are clearly visible in the earliest Byz. alchemical texts, of the early 4th C.; the papyri of Leiden and of Stockholm contain recipes for imitating gold, silver, precious stones, and purple dye, while some of the surviving Greek treatises of Zosimos of Panopolis (3rd/4th C.) are primarily allegorical visions in which the transmutation of base metals into gold or silver is represented as a religious act whereby the adept ascends a series of ladders leading to the accomplishment of his goal. Other treatises ascribed to Zosimos in Greek, while still mystical, are more closely connected to actual chemical operations

and describe the apparatus necessary for their execution; preserved under his name in Syriac are many practical recipes and a description of alchemical ingredients with indications of where they can be found (M. Berthelot, *La chimie au moyen âge*, vol. 2 [Paris 1893; rp. Osnabrück-Amsterdam 1967] 210–66, 297–308). Many other tracts of Zosimos are preserved in Arabic translations (Sezgin, *GAS* 4:73–77; M. Ullmann, *Die Natur- und Geheimwissenschaften im Islam* [Leiden 1972] 160–63).

Indeed, early Byz. and Syrian alchemy, in combination with some material from Iran and India, is the foundation for the rich alchemical tradition in Arabic, which in turn inspired western Europe from the 11th C. onward. Much remains to be discovered in this vast literature in Syriac, Arabic, Persian, and Latin that is relevant to the history of Byz. science. The summary accounts given by Sezgin (*supra*, 77–111) and Ullmann (*supra*, 163–91) reveal the existence of works falsely attributed to APOLLONIOS OF TYANA; a *Kitāb al-Habīb* (Book of the Beloved), which had a Byz. original; many versions of Greek and Syriac treatises associated with the names of Plato, Aristotle, and Hermes; and Arabic translations of the alchemical works of STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA, Emp. Herakleios, and Marianos the Monk (Lat. Morienus).

Works surviving in Greek of early Byz. alchemy (4th–7th C.) include the commentary on pseudo-Demokritos by SYNESIOS of Cyrene, apparently composed before 389; the commentary on Zosimos composed by OLYMPIODOROS (either the early 5th-C. historian or—more probably—the 6th-C. philosopher); *On the Sacred Art* by Pelagios the Philosopher and *On the Divine Art* by John the Archpriest, who both use Zosimos; the mystical treatise *On the Making of Gold* by Stephen of Alexandria; two compilations, that of "the Christian" and an anonymous one, both of which cite Stephen; and the four alchemical poems ascribed to Heliodoros, Theophrastos, Hierotheos, and Archelaos. All of these texts and some anonymous compendia of recipes were included in a collection made in, perhaps, the late 9th or early 10th C. and dedicated to a certain Theodore. A primary descendant of this is the unfortunately mutilated Venice, Bib. Marc. 299, probably of the 10th C. It includes formulas and explanatory texts for the transmutation of metals, astrological diagrams purporting to show the heavenly TAXIS that allows the making of gold, and alembics and other apparatus for heating and distilling liquids. The MS was evidently still in use in the 14th C. when other drawings were added (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:11–15). Expanded versions of the collection are found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2325 (13th C.) and B.N. gr. 2327 (1478).

This last MS opens with a most significant contribution to alchemical literature, the letter *On How to Make Gold* addressed by Michael PSELLOS to Patr. Michael I Keroularios in ca.1045/6 (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 6 [1976] 329f). In it he argues that the transmutation of one element into another is perfectly natural and then gives a series of recipes for manufacturing "gold," debasing it, and extracting it from sand. Later in his career Psellos attacked the unfortunate patriarch for having been such a good student (*CMAG* 6:73–89).

The final two authors under whose names alchemical treatises have been transmitted are Kosmas the Monk (who postdates Psellos) and Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, both of whom wrote collections of recipes. But in southern Italy a Latin alchemical treatise was translated into Greek already by the early 14th C.; the anonymous text, edited by C.O. Zuretti (*CMAG* 7), refers to Arnold of Villanova. Some other fragments of the alchemical works of Arnold of Villanova appear in a 15th-C. MS, Paris, B.N. gr. 2327. The *Semita recta* (Straight Path) falsely ascribed to Albertus Magnus is found in Paris, B.N. gr. 2419, perhaps translated into Greek by the scribe George Midiates in the 1460s.

The creative period of Byz. alchemy was the 4th–7th C., though the art continued to be studied and presumably practiced until the fall of Constantinople. Unlike ASTRONOMY, ASTROLOGY, MATHEMATICS, and MEDICINE, however, Byz. alchemy seems barely to have been enriched by translation from the Arabic, though there are some traces of eastern influence in the treatise from the 14th-C. codex Holkham gr. 290, now in the Bodleian (ed. O. Lagercrantz, *CMAG* 3), and in the work of Kosmas. The few treatises translated from the Latin texts influenced by the Arabic science were available only in Italy.

ED. *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs*, ed. M. Berthelot, C.E. Ruelle, 3 vols. (Paris 1887–88). Stephen of Alexandria—ed. I.L. Ideler in *PhysMedGr* 2:199–253; see also R.

Romano in *SBNG* 87–95. *Heliodori carmina quattuor*, ed. G. Goldschmidt (Giessen 1923). *Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs*, 8 vols. (Brussels 1924–32). *Les alchimistes grecs*, ed. R. Halleux, vol. 1 (Paris 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:279–84. R. Halleux, *Les textes alchimiques* (Turnhout 1979). –D.P., A.C.

ALEMANNI (Ἀλαμανοί), the Latin term for an amalgamation of a number of smaller Germanic tribes, including a segment of the Suevi. After some conflicts with the Roman Empire in the 3rd C., Alemanni concentrated in the area between the Upper Danube and middle Rhine. Relations with the native Roman population were frequently hostile. In 457 the Alemanni invaded Italy and later threatened Noricum. Following their defeat by Clovis (497?), some Alemanni escaped to Raetia to settle, after ca.500, south of Lake Constance under the protection of THEODORIC THE GREAT. Paganism remained widespread among the Alemanni until the late 6th C. They were eventually absorbed into the Frankish kingdom.

Coptic bronze vessels, Italian glass and ceramics, and a Byz. pectoral cross found in Alemanni graves indicate some economic and cultural links with the Mediterranean in the 5th to 7th C. The Byz. historians Prokopios and Agathias considered the Alemanni akin to the GERMANOI; according to H. Ditten (*StBalc* 10 [1975] 73–86), their name was distorted by later copyists and rendered *Albanoi.* After a period of absence from the sources, the name reappears in the *Souda* (corrupted as *Albanoi*) and in many authors of the 11th to 15th C. in reference to the Germans, whereas the term *Germanoi* sometimes meant French. When Alexios III concluded a truce with Henry VI of Germany, a new tax called ALAMANIKON was introduced to pay tribute to the Germans.

LIT. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 29–37. L. Musset, *The Germanic Invasions* (London 1985) 80–83. R. Christlein, *Die Alamannen*[2] (Stuttgart-Aalen 1979). H. Ditten, "'Germannen' und 'Alamannen' in antiken und byzantinischen Quellen," *BBA* 52 (1985) 20–31. –R.B.H.

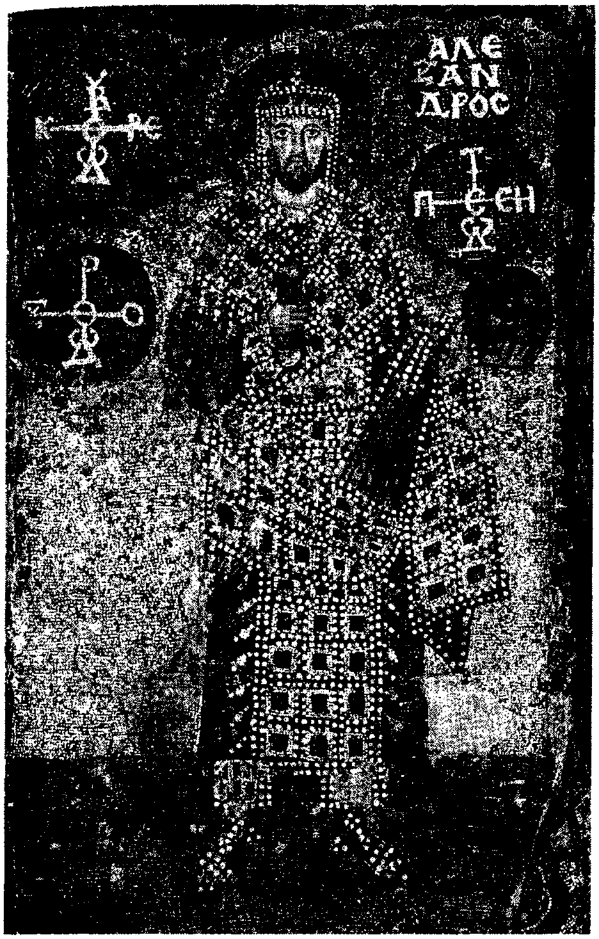
ALEPPO. See BERROIA: Berroia in Syria.

ALEXANDER, bishop of Alexandria (from 313); born Alexandria ca.250, died there 18 April 328. His first task as bishop was to deal with the MELETIAN SCHISM. Most of his reign, however, was concerned with his major adversary, ARIUS. Although condemned and excommunicated by a synod convened by Alexander ca.321, Arius refused to abandon his teaching. This led to the convocation of the First Council of NICAEA (325) in which Alexander, accompanied by his deacon ATHANASIOS (future bishop of Alexandria), played an important role. Of his voluminous correspondence, only three letters survive. In these he reveals himself as an active and persistent supporter of the Orthodox position concerning the Son's perfect consubstantiality and eternal generation from the Father. Fragments of sermons ascribed to him are also preserved in Coptic and Syriac.

ED. Letters—ed. H.G. Opitz, *Athanasius' Werke* (Berlin 1934) 3.1: 6–11, 19–31. W. Schneemelcher, "Der Sermo 'de anima et corpore,'" in *Festschrift für G. Dehn* (Neukirchen 1957) 119–43. O. Perler, "Recherches sur le *Peri Pascha* de Méliton," *RSR* 51 (1963) 407–21.

LIT. G. Loeschcke, "Zur Chronologie der beiden grossen antiarianischen Schreiben des Alexander von Alexandrien," *ZKirch* 31 (1910) 584–86. V.C. de Clercq, *Ossius of Cordova* (Washington, D.C., 1954) 189–206. B. Pheidas, "Alexandros Alexandreias kai hai dyo enkyklioi epistolai autou," *Antidoron pneumatikon. Timetikos tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 518–42. –A.P.

ALEXANDER, emperor (11 May 912–6 June 913); born Constantinople ca.870, died Constantinople. The youngest son of BASIL I and EUDOKIA INGERINA, according to the vita of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER, Alexander was co-emperor with his brother LEO VI from 879. During Leo's reign Alexander was at odds with his brother and was even suspected of plotting against him. After ascending the throne, Alexander demoted Leo's assistants (HIMERIOS was imprisoned), possibly deposed Patr. EUTHYMIOS, and reinstated NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS. ZOE KARBONOPSINA was expelled from the palace. Alexander's administration had to face assaults from two directions: the Arabs attacked the area under the control of MELIAS, and SYMEON OF BULGARIA apparently invaded Byz. before Alexander's death. R. Jenkins (*SBN* 7 [1953] 389–93) hypothesizes that an Arab embassy was sent to Constantinople during Alexander's reign. Both the author of the vita of Euthymios and chroniclers are hostile toward Alexander and represent him as lecherous and lazy. A mosaic portrait of Alexander is preserved in the north gallery of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 187–217). Coinage reflects Alexander's bad relations with



ALEXANDER. Portrait of the emperor; mosaic, 912–913. North gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

Leo VI: Leo's son, CONSTANTINE VII, although titular emperor from 908, does not share the reverse of Alexander's solidi. Rather, his place is taken by John the Baptist shown crowning Alexander, the first depiction of coronation by a sacred figure (C. Jolivet-Lévy, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 447f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Emperor Alexander's Bad Name," *Speculum* 44 (1969) 585–96. H. Grégoire, "Un captif arabe à la cour de l'Empereur Alexandre," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 666–73. –A.K., A.C.

ALEXANDER III, pope (from Sept. 1159); born Siena between 1100 and 1105, died Rome 30 Aug. 1181. While a cardinal Alexander had favored a pro-Norman policy; therefore, his election to the papacy was opposed by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, who supported several antipopes and forced Alexander to seek refuge in France. There the pontiff tried to organize an anti-German coalition, but the French king LOUIS VII was indifferent to this plan. Alexander eagerly negotiated with Emp. Manuel I. In 1161 Cardinal William of Pavia sent a letter to Manuel asking him to recognize Alexander and complaining that "the barbarians" had usurped the imperial throne. These negotiations became known in Frederick's camp, where Alexander was accused of making an alliance with the emperor. In 1167 Manuel sent the *sebastos* Iordanos to Rome, promising church union on condition that Alexander recognize him as the emperor of the East and West. The plan, however, was never executed because, although Alexander wanted to use Byz. resources against Frederick, he was not inclined to sever all links with Germany. In the 1170s Alexander based his anti-German policy primarily on the support of the Lombard League, a coalition of northern Italian cities.

LIT. M.W. Baldwin, *Alexander III and the Twelfth Century* (Glen Rock, N.J., 1966). M. Pacault, *Alexandre III.* (Paris 1956) and rev. F. Kempf, *RHE* 52 (1957) 932–37. W. Ohnsorge, *Die Legaten Alexanders III* (Berlin 1928; rp. Vaduz 1965). J. Parker, "The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166–1167)," *BSR* 24 (1956) 86–93. R. Weigand, "Magister Rolandus und Papst Alexander III," *Archiv für katholisches Kirchenrecht* 149 (1980) 3–44. –A.K.

ALEXANDER IV (Rainaldo, count of Segni), pope (from 12 Dec. 1254); born end of the 12th C., died Viterbo 25 May 1261. He was the nephew of GREGORY IX. From his predecessor INNOCENT IV Alexander inherited the war with MANFRED of Sicily and a dangerous situation in Palestine; he tried to find support in Germany through an alliance with Richard of Cornwall, son of King John of England. He also viewed THEODORE II LASKARIS as a possible ally, since the Latin Empire of Constantinople was in obvious decline. Negotiations reopened at Theodore's initiative and led to an exchange of envoys in 1256; Theodore, however, rejected the idea of papal PRIMACY and insisted on the equality of pope and emperor. Alexander's legate, Constantius of Orvieto, was instructed to agree to the convocation of an ecumenical council and to the absolution of the "schismatics" who were ready to convert to Catholicism, but not to abrogate the principle of primacy. On the other hand, despite the eirenic

tone of the epistle of Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1332), Theodore's administration arrogantly believed they could recapture Constantinople without papal aid. The negotiations in Thessalonike failed, as did Alexander's struggle for influence in Sicily.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le Pape Alexandre IV (1254–1261) et l'empire de Nicée," *EO* 34 (1935) 26–55. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Zapad," *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 117f. F. Schillmann, "Zur byzantinischen Politik Alexanders IV.," *RQ* 22 (1908) 108–31. P. Toubert in *Études sur l'Italie médiévale* (London 1976), pt.XI (1963), 391–99. –A.K.

ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, physician; born Tralles 525, died Rome 605. According to Agathias (Agath. 5:6.3–6), Alexander was one of five prominent sons of a physician named Stephen; most famous of the brothers was ANTHEMIOS, the architect-engineer of Hagia Sophia. Alexander's family probably knew the navigator-explorer KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, a fact perhaps reflected in the Far Eastern drugs included in Alexander's 12-book medical encyclopedia. In his writing, Alexander exhibits a humane, enthusiastic approach to medicine and a continually adaptive sensitivity to active practice and therapy. These qualities have caused medical historians to call Alexander the "most modern" of the Byz. physicians, even though he readily prescribes AMULETS and other magical means for cures. Compared with AETIOS OF AMIDA, Alexander is certainly less concerned with theory than with the practical application of pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 226–28). Alexander is also rightly famous for his "Letter on Intestinal Worms," indicating an acute skill in observation of symptoms and precise case histories. His medicine is eminently sensible and one reads good accounts of ophthalmology (bk.2), what moderns would call angina (bk.4), diseases of the lungs and pleurisy (bks. 5–6), kidney and bladder ailments (bk.9), and gout (bk.12). Alexander knew his GALEN and other classical authorities, but subsumed them within his medical practice, continually adapting data from the written texts, nicely illustrated by Alexander's rearrangement of pharmaceutical ingredients in many of his suggested remedies for specific diseases.

ED. *Alexander von Tralles*, ed. T. Puschmann, 2 vols. (Vienna 1878–79; rp. with addenda, Amsterdam 1963). Fr. tr. F. Brunet, *Oeuvres médicales d'Alexandre de Tralles*, 4 vols. (Paris 1933–37).

LIT. J. Duffy, "Byzantine Medicine in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *DOP* 38 (1984) 25–27. I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:535–44. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:297–99. M. Stoffregen, *Eine frühmittelalterliche lateinische Übersetzung des byzantinischen Puls- und Urintraktats des Alexandros* (Berlin 1977). –J.S., A.M.T.

ALEXANDER ROMANCE. Ascribed to Kallisthenes of Olynthos, the historian who accompanied ALEXANDER THE GREAT on his expeditions (hence, pseudo-Kallisthenes), the Alexander Romance is based on an anonymous novel written originally in the 3rd C. and widely copied, with frequent accretions of fantastic episodes. Five recensions of the text, which can be dated from the 4th to 7th C., are identifiable. For their reconstruction the translations in Armenian (5th C.), Latin (by Julius Valerius Probus, 4th C., and the archpriest Leo, 9th C.), Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic are important. These recensions survive only in late MSS. There are also late Byz. redactions, one (the Byz. *Alexander-Poem*) in political verse and dated to 1388 and another in prose of uncertain date that survives in several discrepant MSS of the 13th to 16th C. The *Alexandria* became popular in Rus', where at least two recensions were known: one inserted in the chronographs (probably of the 12th C.) was close to the Alexander Romance, another, the so-called *Serbian Alexandria*, appeared about the 15th C. It was a free adaptation of pseudo-Kallisthenes, with an emphasis on the love affair of Alexander and Roxane, the daughter of Darius.

Although Alexander is treated as a traditional hero of ROMANCE (with a mysterious birth, etc.), he is nonetheless regarded as the first *basileus* of the Hellenes. As Alexander came to hold an emotive place in the Byz. view of the past, so the more sober accounts of the chroniclers were supplemented in the popular imagination (in, e.g., the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME and the Apocalypse of pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA) by references taken from the Alexander Romance to the exotic palaces, giants imprisoned in mountains, strange monsters and barbaric peoples on the borders of the empire, and so forth that Alexander encountered on his campaigns. Figures from the Alexander Romance such as the KYNOKEPHALOS and scenes of Boukephalas and Alexander's pursuit of Darius entered the illustration of the *Kynegetika* of OPPIAN, while Weitzmann (*infra*) interpreted panels on bone caskets as depictions of the ma-

gician Nektanebos, Olympias, and Philip of Macedon, drawn from the same source. Richly illustrated versions of the Alexander Romance in both Greek (L. Gallagher, *Thesaurismata* 16 [1979] 170–205) and Armenian survive from the 13th to 15th C.

ED. *Historia Alexandri Magni*, ed. W. Kroll (Berlin 1926). *Das byzantinische Alexandergedicht*, ed. S. Reichmann (Meisenheim am Glan 1963). *Der byzantinische Alexanderroman nach dem Codex Vindob. theol. Gr. 244*, ed. K. Mitsakis (Munich 1967). *Aleksandrija*, ed. M. Botvinnik, Ja. Lur'e, O. Tvorogov (Moscow-Leningrad 1966).

LIT. R. Merkelbach, *Die Quellen des griechischen Alexanderromans*[2] (Munich 1977). H. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). G. Veloudis, *Der neugriechische Alexander* (Munich 1968). E. Bertel's, *Roman ob Aleksandre i ego glavnye versii na Vostoke* (Moscow-Leningrad 1948). Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 102–06, 186–88. A. Xyngopoulos, *Les miniatures du Roman d'Alexandre le Grand dans le codex de l'Institut Hellénique de Venise* (Athens-Venice 1966).

–E.M.J., A.C., A.K.

ALEXANDER THE AKOIMETOS, archimandrite and saint; died Gomon, Bithynia, ca.430; feastday 20 Feb., although not included in the Synaxarion of Constantinople. An islander by birth, Alexander was educated in Constantinople, where he began an administrative career. He then left for Syria, where he lived as a hermit, frequently intervening in the affairs of cities such as Edessa, Palmyra, and Antioch. From Syria he returned to Constantinople with a group of disciples and settled near the Church of St. Menas. The inflexibility of the service of perpetual prayer that Alexander instituted (see AKOIMETOI, MONASTERY OF) and his constant interference in political activity aroused the hatred of the authorities and local population. Accused of MESSALIANISM, Alexander was condemned by an ecclesiastical tribunal and narrowly escaped being torn to pieces by the *demoi* (de Stoop, *infra* 698.4). He found temporary refuge in the monastery of HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI, then went to Gomon, where he died. The vita of Alexander is known from a single 11th-C. MS, the anonymous author describing himself as Alexander's pupil.

The chronology of Alexander's life is far from clear: R. Janin (*EO* 33 [1934] 340) asserts that Alexander arrived in Constantinople ca.405 and founded the monastery of the Akoimetoi ca.420 (Janin, *Églises CP* 16), but the vita places Alexander's quarrel with Theodotos, patriarch of Antioch (424–28) before his arrival. J. Pargoire (*BZ* 8 [1899] 447) speculates that Alexander's expulsion from Constantinople must have taken place before 430, since NEILOS OF ANKYRA alluded to Alexander's troublemaking. It is also uncertain whether Alexander was the founder of the Akoimetoi monastery; his vita (p.700.16–17) says that the monastery was founded after his death.

ED. E. de Stoop, "Vie d'Alexandre l'Acémète," PO 6.5 (1911) 645–705, with Lat. tr.

LIT. *BHG* 47. E. Wölfle, "Der Abt Hypatios von Ruphinianai und der Akoimete Alexander," *BZ* 79 (1986) 302–09.

–A.K.

ALEXANDER THE GREAT (Alexander III of Macedon), son of Philip II of Macedon and Olympias; born 356 B.C., died 323. Alexander was the instigator of the first attempt at world domination by a Greek-speaking ruler. His life and exploits are recorded briefly by Byz. chroniclers with emphasis given to his meeting with the widowed Kandake, the priests of Jerusalem, and the Brahmans of India. Little detail is given on his military campaigns, which are noted for starting from Constantinople and for destroying the empire of the Persians, which was then followed by that of the Macedonians in the succession of empires. As the ruler of a world empire that could be viewed as a predecessor of the Byz. and could also be fitted into the Old Testament framework, Alexander from the time of Constantine I was regarded as a model of the ideal emperor and appears as such in chronicles, orations, eschatological texts, etc. The legendary figure of Alexander was fostered by the ALEXANDER ROMANCE and other shorter texts, dealing with his encounters with apocryphal sages, as well as by the chronicles. Textiles of the 6th–7th C. showed him on horseback (D. Shepherd, *Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 58 [1971] 244–50), while later enamels and reliefs concentrated on the legend of his Ascension. Scenes from the life of Alexander—treated as the equivalent of the biblical heroes depicted there—decorated the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS. The emotive and symbolic role that Alexander played in the Byz. popular consciousness is demonstrated by his continued importance in Greek folklore even after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. H.J. Gleixner, *Das Alexanderbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1961). A.K. Orlandos, "Neon anaglyphon tes analepseos tou Alexandrou," *EEPhSPA* 5 (1954–55) 281–89.

–E.M.J., A.C.

ALEXANDER THE MONK, author of a treatise entitled *On the Cross*. He lived sometime between the mid-6th and 9th C.; the traditional date of the mid-6th C. or before 614 lacks any validity. Nothing is known of his biography. His identification with Alexander the Monk (from Cyprus?) who wrote an *enkomion* of the apostle BARNABAS after the discovery of the apostle's relic (488) is arbitrary.

On the Cross consists of two parts: a history of Christianity from the Roman emperor Tiberius to the discovery of the TRUE CROSS by Helena and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in 351, and a panegyric on the CROSS as the major symbol of Christianity: "God," says Alexander (PG 87.3:4021B), "made every visible and invisible creature in the shape of a cross," since everything in the world has "height, depth, breadth, and length" (cf. Eph 3:18); thus, the Seraphim are interpreted as "fourfold (*tetramorpha*) beings that prefigure the *typos* of the Cross" (4021C). The cult of the Cross exists in all cities, islands, and tribes (4072C). Because of this cosmic character of the Cross the Lord suffered death on the Cross (4036A). The treatise is known also in a Georgian translation whose earliest MSS belong to the 9th and 10th C.

ED. PG 87.3:4016–88.

LIT. S. Salaville, "Le moine Alexandre de Chypre," *EO* 15 (1912) 134–37. M. van Esbroeck, "L'opuscule 'Sur la Croix' d'Alexandre de Chypre et sa version géorgienne," *BK* 37 (1979) 102–32. –A.K.

ALEXANDRIA (Ἀλεξάνδρεια), third largest city of the late Roman world (after Rome and Constantinople); founded by Alexander the Great in 331 B.C. Formerly capital of the Ptolemaic kingdom and the Roman province of Egypt, it was the administrative, military, and ecclesiastical center of the country as well as chief industrial entrepôt of the eastern Mediterranean and outlet for the annual shipments of Egyptian grain (the *embole*) to Rome and Constantinople. Its two harbors handled shipping for goods that had come down the Nile (papyrus, textiles, glass) and for the maritime trade of Oriens as well as transshipments upriver of olive oil, metal goods, pottery, and wine. Laid out on the Hellenistic grid pattern, the city preserved splendid ancient monuments including the Pharos lighthouse (one of the so-called Seven Wonders); the Serapeum (temple of the syncretic god Serapis), which was partly demolished in Byz. times; and the Caesareum, converted into the patriarchal cathedral. Few remains are extant, except for the recently excavated theater, baths, and lecture hall at Kūm al-Dik (*infra*); the MOUSEION and the Tomb (*Sema*) of Alexander are not attested after the 3rd C.

With its wealth, large population (about half a million) bilingual in Greek and Coptic, and flourishing infrastructure, Alexandria was the major intellectual and cultural center of the East, rivaling Constantinople in political influence as well. In literature, scholarship, science, and theology its schools attracted the best minds, and both secular and church patronage supported abundant production in written works and the visual arts. Christianity took root early, leading to the establishment of a powerful centralized patriarchate (see ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF), later split into Chalcedonian and non-Chalcedonian lines of succession; and a theological school, the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, renowned for its Neoplatonic approach and allegorical method of exegesis. Large urban monasteries, such as the Ennaton and the Metanoia, which are attested in numerous 6th- to 7th-C. papyri, supported guilds of *philoponoi* (charity workers) and varied trades and professions. The mint of Alexandria was revived by Emp. Justin II.

Alexandria was briefly occupied by the Sasanians between 618 and 628/9 (L. MacCoull, *Studi classici e orientali* 36 [1986] 307–13); it fell to the Arabs under ʿAMR in 642 (Butler, *infra*, lxxii–lxxvi), was briefly retaken by the Byz. in 645 but immediately recaptured by the Arabs; a second Byz. attempt at recovery in 652 proved unsuccessful.

Monuments of Alexandria. Almost no Byz. monuments have survived. Only the names and a few details regarding the history and location of its once numerous churches are known. The Greek Orthodox patriarchal Church of St. Sabas may preserve some sections of its original 7th-C. foundations. In the area called Kūm al-Dik ("pottery hill") a late Roman bath, a 4th-C. odeon, and some 6th-C. Byz. houses have been excavated. There are also Early Christian tombs (e.g., the so-called Wescher Catacomb, now destroyed, which included a painted frieze representing the FEED-

ING OF THE MULTITUDE). With marble imported from Constantinople, a number of workshops in Alexandria produced architectural sculpture for use in the provincial towns of Lower Egypt; scores of examples have been found at ABŪ MĪNĀ as well as in Cairo.

LIT. A. Calderini, *Dizionario dei nomi geografici e topografici dell'Egitto greco-romano*, vol. 1 (Cairo 1935) 55–206. A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharoahs* (Berkeley 1986) 203–33. J. Irmscher, "Alexandria, die christusliebende Stadt," *BSAC* 19 (1967–68) 115–22. A. Martin, "Les premiers siècles du christianisme à Alexandrie," *REAug* 30 (1984) 211–25. M. Krause, "Das christliche Alexandrien und seine Beziehungen zum koptischen Ägypten," in *Alexandrien*, ed. N. Hinske (Mainz 1981) 53–62. M. Rodziewicz, *Alexandrie III. Les habitations romaines tardives d'Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1984). A.J. Butler, *The Arab Conquest of Egypt*[2] (Oxford 1978) 368–400.
–P.G., L.S.B.MacC.

ALEXANDRIA, PATRIARCHATE OF. In addition to using the title of pope (PAPAS), Alexandria's bishop was, perhaps, the first to claim the title ARCHBISHOP. At NICAEA I (325) this see was mentioned, together with Rome and Antioch, among the major ecclesiastical divisions of the empire (canon 6). Its reputation was based on Alexandria's political importance, the support received from monasticism, vast landed wealth, and Egypt's long-standing tradition of centralization. In fact, by the 4th C. all of EGYPT, the Pentapolis, and Libya had been brought under its central authority.

As a result, Alexandria played a prominent part in the theological controversies and ecclesiastical power politics of the 4th–5th C. Nevertheless, its powerful bishops' claim to first place among the sees in the East gradually altered with the rise of Constantinople, promoted to second rank in 381. The bitter conflict that followed in the reigns of THEOPHILOS and CYRIL was finally resolved—at Alexandria's expense and humiliation—at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Indeed, Chalcedon's rejection of DIOSKOROS and his MONOPHYSITISM were fatal to Alexandria's ecclesiastical and theological prestige and supremacy. Moreover, its unity also suffered. The patriarchate split into two unequal parties, with representatives of the non-Chalcedonian Monophysite majority contesting and sometimes occupying the patriarchal throne. This dissident group eventually formed the national Coptic church of Egypt. The decisive blow to the patriarchate came with the Arab conquest (641). Henceforth Constantinople, with the approval and confirmation of the caliphs, appointed Alexandria's Orthodox patriarchs as a rule; the patriarchs controlled only a small minority of Christians in Egypt and followed Constantinople in all liturgical and canonical matters.

LIT. J. Maspero, *Histoire des patriarches d'Alexandrie* (Paris 1923). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia ekklesias Alexandrias* (Alexandria 1935). *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B.A. Pearson, J.E. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). –A.P.

ALEXANDRIAN ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY produced by two Egyptian monks and chronographers of the early 5th C., Annianos and Panodoros; the system is known from and was used by GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS (early 9th C.). Panodoros, a critic of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, tried to harmonize the data of the Bible with those of pagan sources (esp. the *Canon of Kings* by Ptolemy). He came to the conclusion that the Creation took place on 19 Mar. and the birth of Christ occurred 5,494 years after the Creation. The computation of Panodoros is the major Alexandrian Era (*aera Alexandrina maior*); the minor Alexandrian Era was suggested by Annianos who dated the Creation to the vernal equinox (25 Mar.) and placed the birth of Christ in 5501.

The Alexandrian Era remained in use outside Egypt: George the Synkellos (6.13–16) defended the idea that the first of the Jewish month Nisan (25 Mar.) and not the first of Thoth (29/30 Aug.), according to Egyptian custom, or the first of Jan. (the Roman usage), was the day of Creation; he also dated the Incarnation 5,500 years after the Creation (p.2.26–27). Traces of the Alexandrian Era can be found in Theophanes the Confessor as well. Maximos the Confessor (PG 19:1249B) also calculated that Christ was born 5,501 years after Adam. After the 9th C. the Alexandrian Era was abandoned even though a unified system of computation did not immediately replace it. The difference between the Alexandrian Era and the BYZANTINE ERA is approximately 16 years, but one also has to take into consideration the difference in the beginning of the year: 25 Mar. according to Annianos and 1 Sept. according to the official calculation of the INDICTION and of the Byzantine Era. To convert an Alexandrian date to an A.D. date, 5,492 is subtracted for dates between 25 Mar. and 31 Dec., but 5,491 for dates

between 1 Jan. and 24 Mar. When 1 Sept. is used as the beginning of the era, however, 5,493 is subtracted for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec., but 5,492 for dates between 1 Jan. and 1 Sept.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 85–97. O. Seel, "Panodoros," *RE* 18 (1949) 632–35. V. Loi, *DPAC* 1:211. –B.C.

ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, a conventional designation of two intellectual institutions. First of all, it was the theological tradition generally seen in opposition to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. As a developed institution it is attested from the early 3rd C. It consisted of an elementary (catechetical) school and a *didaskaleion* oriented toward the intellectual elite. The school operated under the control of the see of Alexandria, and a number of its teachers (Heraklas, Dionysios, Theognostos, Peter) became bishops of Alexandria in the 3rd C. The last known teacher of the school was DIDYMOS THE BLIND. The theology of the Alexandrian School was developed by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA and ORIGEN, who envisioned primarily a cultivated and well-to-do urban audience and based their tenets on the Platonic tradition as revised by PHILO. The main points were typological or allegorical interpretation of the Bible—viewing the Old Testament as a prefiguration of events of the New Testament; the doctrine of three hypostases with an anti-Monarchian emphasis; focusing on Christ's divinity rather than his humanity; a dualistic anthropology in the manner of Plato; and a spiritual rather than "physical" perception of eschatology. The Arian distinction between the Father and Son was in a sense based on the Alexandrian concept of hypostases. Athanasios of Alexandria and esp. Cyril of Alexandria signified a disruption rather than a continuation of the school, since they stressed the unity in substance and the divine nature of Christ, but not the diversity in hypostases.

The term also refers to the Alexandrian School of philosophy that flourished in the 5th to early 7th C.; it included scholars such as HIEROKLES, HYPATIA, and John PHILOPONOS; studied Aristotle no less than Plato; developed an interest in science; and remained neutral toward Christianity.

LIT. G. Bardy, "Aux origines de l'école d'Alexandrie," *RechScRel* 27 (1937) 65–90. L.B. Radford, *Three Teachers of Alexandria* (Cambridge 1908). H. de Lubac, " 'Typologie' et 'allegorisme,' " *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226; 47 (1959) 5–43. E. Molland, *The Conception of the Gospel in the Alexandrian Theology* (Oslo 1938). A. Le Boullvec, "L'école d'Alexandrie," in *Alexandrina: Mélanges offerts au P. Cl. Mondésert* (Paris 1987) 403–17. J.A. McGuckin, "Christian Asceticism and the Early School of Alexandria," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* [= *SChH* 22] (Oxford 1985) 25–39. –T.E.G.

ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE, the conventional title given to a chronicle, illuminated fragments of which survive in the so-called papyrus Goleniščev (now in the Pushkin Museum, Moscow). The text is similar to that of BARBARUS SCALIGERI; the chronicle ends in 392. The papyrus has been dated by O. Kurz to ca.675–700 (in *Kunsthistorische Forschungen*, ed. A. Rosenauer, G. Weber [Salzburg 1972] 17–22). This MS is chiefly of interest to art historians, containing on eight fragments a profusion of unframed marginal illustrations, comparable to the Merseburg fragment of the ANNALS OF RAVENNA. The subjects represented include the Old Testament prophets, Roman emperors, a map of the Ocean and its islands, walled cities, and personifications of the MONTHS in bust form (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* I, no.8).

ED. *Eine alexandrinische Weltchronik*, ed. A. Bauer, J. Strzygowski, *DenkWien* 51 (1905) 119–204.
LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 106, 108, 121. –B.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS (Ἀλέξιος), personal name (etym. "helping, supportive"). Classical antiquity knew the similar forms Alexis and Alexion (*RE* 1 [1894] 1466–71), but neither form is listed in *PLRE*, vols. 1–2, or mentioned by historians of the 6th–7th C. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 466.4–5) refers to only a single Alexios, *droungarios tes viglas* under Irene. Alexioi also appeared as shadowy figures among two groups of martyrs allegedly murdered under Leo III (*BHG* 1:14), and in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* we find "Alexios, bishop of Bithynia," also a very vague reference. As far as ALEXIOS HOMO DEI is concerned, the origin of the legend remains obscure. After the 9th C. the name became more common: Skylitzes refers to three Alexioi, as does Anna Komnene. In Niketas Choniates' time the name Alexios was popular; he lists 24 Alexioi, second only to JOHN (35). The five emperors who bore the name ruled between 1081 and 1204. The fashion probably did not extend beyond the elite: in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), the name appears only as that of emperors; in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3

(13th–15th C.), we meet an insignificant number of Alexioi and the name has fallen to twentieth place. –A.K.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (from 4 Apr. 1081); born ca.1057, died Constantinople 15 Aug. 1118. Son of John KOMNENOS and Anna DALASSENE, Alexios began his career as general under Michael VII and Nikephoros III. Together with his brother Isaac, Alexios revolted against Nikephoros (14 Feb. 1081). Constantinople fell on 1 Apr. and was sacked. Alexios came to the throne with the support of the military aristocracy, esp. the DOUKAI, to whom he was linked by marriage to IRENE DOUKAINA. He found a difficult situation: the government had to cope with the revolts of aristocrats, the Seljuks occupied most of Asia Minor, the Pechenegs threatened the Danubian provinces, and ROBERT GUISCARD was preparing to attack Constantinople. Alexios acted effectively: in 1081–93 he overcame the Normans, defeated the Pechenegs at Mt. LEBOUNION, and repelled TZACHAS from Constantinople.

Alexios's successes owed something to diplomacy—alliances with VENICE and Germany against the Normans (T. Lounghis, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 158–67) and with the CUMANS against the Pechenegs. His domestic policy was equally important: he restricted the influence of senators and eunuchs and relied upon a few military families. Those aristocrats who did not join the "clan" of the Komnenoi, esp. the Anatolian magnates whose estates had been taken by the Seljuks, lost power. His reform of titles was intended to reshape the ruling class. Conspirators (esp. aristocrats) repeatedly but unsuccessfully challenged Alexios (B. Scoulatos, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 385–94). He supported provincial towns, regulated their trade, and by ca.1092 had restored a sound coinage. Alexios aimed at centralizing the state, even though this state was constructed on a familial or patrimonial principle. Thus his mother and his older brother Isaac acted as emperors. He consolidated the administration under the *logothetes ton sekreton* (see LOGOTHETES) and entrusted various departments to his courtiers. In the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON Alexios broke the church's resistance to official fiscal levies, but he consistently supported the church as the bearer of the true ideology (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 238–42). He allowed the condemnation of heretical intellectuals such as JOHN ITALOS and—against his will—EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA; Alexios tried and burned BASIL THE BOGOMIL.

The First CRUSADE created a serious problem for Alexios. Although he rid himself of the bands of PETER THE HERMIT, constrained most Crusader leaders to acknowledge their dependence on the empire, and used their forces to regain the coast of Asia Minor, he was unable (partly due to Tatikios's mistakes, partly to the intrigues of BOHEMUND) to prevent the creation of independent Crusader states in Palestine. Alexios was critically judged by ZONARAS, treated equivocally by Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and eulogized by Anna KOMNENE.

Zonaras described Alexios as having debased the coinage, which was already in a poor state at his accession, but this is true of only the first ten years of his reign. Circa 1092 he carried out a major monetary reform, restoring a gold coin of good fineness in the form of the HYPERPYRON and creating two new fractional denominations (see TRACHY) of electrum (see TRIKEPHALON) and billon, which with the copper (initially lead) TETARTERON were to form the standard coinage of the Komnenian period.

Alexios's reputation for piety is suggested by his gift of an icon, establishing the type known as the Virgin Kykkotissa, to the Kykko monastery on Cyprus at the time of its foundation. He also erected a mural (in one of the imperial palaces, according to Nicholas KALLIKLES) of the Last Judgment with Alexios on the side of the damned (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 124–26). The illuminated MSS apparently sponsored by Alexios include two copies of the *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS and the Barberini Psalter (Vat. Barb. gr. 372—J. Anderson, *CahArch* 31 [1983] 35–67).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* vol. 1. Angold, *Empire* 102–49. Morrisson, "Logarike" 419–64. P. Gautier, "L'édit d'Alexis I^{er} Comnène sur la réforme du clergé," *REB* 31 (1973) 165–201. –C.M.B., Ph.G., A.C.

ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1204–22); born ca.1182, died 1 Feb. 1222. Elder son of Manuel, son of Andronikos I Komnenos, Alexios was connected to T'amara of Georgia; Manuel's wife may have been T'amara's sister (K. Barzos, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 30–47). When

Andronikos I fell and Manuel perished, Alexios and his brother DAVID KOMNENOS may have been taken to Georgia, but the fact that one of Alexios's sons was John Komnenos Axouch (1235–38) suggests that Alexios may have remained in Constantinople, possibly married a daughter or niece of John Komnenos "the Fat" (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 30 [1970] 107–16; K. Barzos, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 173), and fled only after John's conspiracy (1200). The fall of ALEXIOS III seemingly inspired T'amara to mount a Georgian expedition against TREBIZOND, with Alexios and David as nominal leaders (Mar.–Apr. 1204). Once the region from Phasis to Sinope had been occupied, Alexios remained at Trebizond, probably using an imperial title, while David advanced into Paphlagonia. Niketas CHONIATES criticizes Alexios for his inactivity. In 1214, when Kay-Kāvūs I seized Sinope, Alexios may have become his vassal: Ibn Bībī records an immense annual tribute owed. Alexios founded the dynasty of the GRAND KOMNENOI.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. A. Savvides, "Hoi Megaloi Komnenoi tou Pontou kai hoi Seltzoukoi tou Rûm (Ikoniou) ten periodo 1205/6–1222," *ArchPont* 39 (1984) 169–93. –C.M.B.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor (1180–83); born Constantinople 14 Sept. 1169 (P. Wirth, *BZ* 49 [1956] 65–67), died Constantinople ca. Sept. 1183. A PORPHYROGENNETOS, son of MANUEL I and MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Alexios was crowned coemperor in 1171, an elevation celebrated in pictures of Alexios, his father, and grandfather (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." 146f). In 1175, Alexios accompanied Manuel on an expedition to rebuild DORYLAION (P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* [Amsterdam 1980] 78). He married AGNES OF FRANCE on 2 Mar. 1180, a match that Spatharakis (*Portrait* 210–30) proposed was the occasion of an illustrated EPITHALAMION in the Vatican Library. Barely adolescent when he succeeded his father, largely uneducated, Alexios indulged in amusements, while his mother and Alexios KOMNENOS the *protosebastos* ruled. Their regime favored the Italian merchants and the aristocracy, who pillaged the treasury and exploited government offices. To counter incursions by BÉLA III of Hungary and KILIC ARSLAN II, the regency sought assistance from the pope and SALADIN. Opposition from Maria KOMNENE was easily suppressed, but ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS overthrew the regency (Apr. 1182). He recrowned Alexios (16 May 1182), bearing the youth on his shoulders. Closely guarded, Alexios continued to pursue pleasure; his supporters Andronikos Angelos, Andronikos Kontostephanos, and John Komnenos Vatatzes were suppressed. In 1183, Alexios condemned his own mother to death. Once Andronikos had been proclaimed emperor, he decreed Alexios's death. The youth was strangled and the body buried at sea.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:454–71. Brand, *Byzantium* 31–49. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 12–29. –C.M.B., A.C.

ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330); born 1283, died 3 May 1330. Son of JOHN II KOMNENOS of Trebizond and Eudokia Palaiologina, he used the surname Palaiologos as well as Komnenos (O. Lampsides, *REB* 42 [1984] 225–28). He was only 14 when his father died; he then came under the tutelage of his uncle, the Byz. emperor ANDRONIKOS II. Alexios refused, however, to marry Irene, daughter of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and thwarted the emperor's wishes by marrying the daughter of Bekha Jaqeli, the ruler of Samckhe, in 1300 (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 35 [1977] 252f). In 1301 Alexios mounted a victorious campaign to drive the Turkomans out of KERASOUS; he had less success in his efforts to rid TREBIZOND of the Genoese domination of its commerce. Treaties with Genoa (1316) and Venice (1319) granted both Italian cities trading privileges and exemptions from customs duties. Alexios built the walls of Trebizond that run down to the sea. His patronage of the arts is revealed by his benefactions to the monasteries of St. Eugenios (in Trebizond) and of SOUMELA, as well as by his correspondence with the astronomer Gregory CHIONIADES, who wrote a hymn to St. Eugenios at his request (L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 [1980] 236, 239). Upon the death of Alexios, Constantine Loukites, *protonotarios* and *protovestiarios,* composed his funeral eulogy (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:421–30).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 31–44, 120. *PLP*, no.12084. –A.M.T.

ALEXIOS III ANGELOS, emperor (1195–1203); born ca.1153, died Nicaea 1211 or 1212. Elder brother of ISAAC II, Alexios spent most of the

reign of ANDRONIKOS I in Syria and was imprisoned in TRIPOLI ca.1185–87. Honored by Isaac, Alexios conspired and overthrew his brother. He was weak-willed, extravagant, and indolent, allowing birth, rank, and payments to guide his choice of officials, as in the case of Michael STRYPHNOS. Provincial officials (Leo SGOUROS, John SPYRIDONAKES) sought independence, while the court's tyranny appears in the case of KALOMODIOS. The populace of Constantinople caused occasional outbursts but failed to support the uprising of John KOMNENOS "the Fat." The strongest pillar of Alexios's regime was his wife EUPHROSYNE. Alexios experienced military successes in dealing with IVANKO and DOBROMIR CHRYSOS; with KALOJAN, he made a treaty. He favored PISA and GENOA at the expense of VENICE. The Fourth Crusade found the empire in disarray; after a brief resistance, Alexios fled (17/18 July 1203). He wandered until he fell into the hands of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT (late 1204). Sent to Montferrat, Alexios remained there until ransomed (1209 or 1210) by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, who dispatched him to KAY-KHUSRAW I (R.J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 370–76). When THEODORE I LASKARIS defeated the sultan (spring 1211), Alexios was captured. Theodore placed him in a monastery, where he died.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:726–801. Brand, *Byzantium* 117–57, 234–41. —C.M.B.

ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1349–1390); baptismal name John; born 5 Oct. 1338, died 20 Mar. 1390. Son of Basil I Komnenos (1332–40), the infant Alexios was exiled to Constantinople after his father's death. At age 11, however, he returned to TREBIZOND to claim the throne and, subsequently, enjoyed the longest reign of any Trapezuntine emperor. The early years of his rule were troubled by internal dissensions and the Turkoman threat. In 1355, he led an ill-fated expedition against the Turkomans that resulted in a rout of the Greeks; the chronicler PANARETOS narrowly escaped with his life. Alexios, however, also pursued a conscious policy of cementing good relations with the Turkomans by marrying two of his sisters and four of his daughters to various of their rulers (A. Bryer, *DOP* 29 [1975] 129–31, 136f, 148f; E. Zachariadou, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 339–51).

One of the main problems of Alexios's administration was relations with the Italian republics. At his accession, Alexios found the Venetian trading station ruined, and by 1350/1 regular transactions with Genoa ceased. In the 1360s the Venetians attempted to revive their activity in Trebizond and to attract Alexios to an anti-Turkish coalition, but chrysobulls issued by Alexios in 1364 and 1367 did not confer upon Venice any more privileges than it had had in the early 14th C. Since Alexios wanted to exploit Venetian trade for the benefit of his treasury, tensions arose. In 1376 Venice organized a military invasion, sponsoring the usurpers Michael Palaiologos the *despotes* (son of Emp. John V) and Andronikos the Grand Komnenos. Although the expedition failed to bring about Alexios's deposition, a new chrysobull in 1376 lowered Venetian *kommerkia* by 50 percent. Despite this chrysobull Venetian trade in Trebizond continued to decrease through the 1380s.

Alexios was a generous patron of monasticism, founding monasteries such as VAZELON in the empire of Trebizond and DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos. The original chrysobull of foundation (dated 1374) of Dionysiou, portraying Alexios and his wife Theodora Kantakouzene, is preserved at that monastery (*Dionys.*, no.4; Spatharakis, *Portrait* 185–87, figs. 136–38). Alexios also restored the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 55–70. *PLP*, no.12083. D.A. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène, empereur de Trébizonde, en faveur des Vénitiens* (Paris 1932). Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 57–72. —A.M.T., A.K.

ALEXIOS IV ANGELOS, emperor (1203–04); born ca.1182 or 1183, died Constantinople ca. 8 Feb. 1204. Son of Isaac II and his first wife, Alexios was left free after Isaac's blinding and in late summer/early autumn 1201 escaped to Italy. Welcomed in Germany by his sister Irene and PHILIP OF SWABIA, Alexios was present when Philip conferred with BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. About Dec. 1202–Jan. 1203 envoys from Philip and Alexios offered generous concessions to the Fourth Crusade at ZARA, if the Crusaders would put Alexios on the Byz. throne. Once the Crusaders accepted his offer, he joined them (May 1203) at Kerkyra. After Alexios III fled and Isaac II had been restored, the Crusaders required that Alexios IV be named co-emperor. He was crowned in early Aug., then joined them in an expedition to

Thrace (Aug.–Nov.). Upon his return, Alexios IV became the dominant emperor. Isaac and Alexios IV had vainly endeavored to fulfill the Treaty of Zara by formally submitting to the pope and collecting money for the Crusaders. When they could not be satisfied, Alexios fell under the influence of those hostile to the Crusaders, esp. the future ALEXIOS V DOUKAS. Isolated from his former supporters, Alexios fell victim to Doukas, who induced him to flee the palace (28/9 Jan. 1204), then had him strangled in prison.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 30–136. C.M. Brand, "The Fourth Crusade: Some Recent Interpretations," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 33–45. –C.M.B.

ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1416–29); born 1382, died Achantos (near Trebizond) before 28 Oct. 1429. Son of MANUEL III KOMNENOS, Alexios served as co-emperor from 1395 to 1416. Sometime before 1404 he briefly rebelled against his father. Upon ascending to the throne, Alexios was first faced with war against the Genoese. In 1418 he agreed to pay them an indemnity of wine and nuts for four years. He tried to ensure the security of his kingdom through diplomacy, marrying his daughters to a White Sheep Turkoman chieftain and Emp. John VIII Palaiologos. It is unlikely that one of Alexios's daughters married GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, ruler of Serbia, as is sometimes stated (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 27 [1965] 28f). Alexios was assassinated during the coup d'état of his son, JOHN IV KOMNENOS (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 79–83. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no.12082. –A.M.T.

ALEXIOS V DOUKAS, emperor (1204); died Constantinople ca. Dec. 1204. His sobriquet "Mourtzouphlos" (Μούρτζουφλος) was a reference to his overhanging brows, according to Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 561.23–25), but C. Symeonides (*Byzantina* 13.2 [1985] 1619–28) suggests it means "melancholy, sullen." A Doukas of unknown lineage, Alexios was allegedly behind the attempted usurpation of John KOMNENOS "the Fat" (1200); possibly for that reason he was in prison when the Fourth Crusade installed ALEXIOS IV. Released, he was named *protovestiarios*, but sought to undermine Alexios IV. To gain popular support for his intended usurpation, Alexios Doukas led raids on the Crusaders outside Constantinople. Between 27 and 29 Jan. 1204, when the populace made Nicholas KANNABOS emperor, Alexios Doukas encouraged Alexios IV to seek Crusader assistance, then exploited this move to win Varangian support to depose Alexios. On 2 Feb., as emperor, Alexios V failed in an attempt to ambush some Crusaders. He strengthened the walls and revitalized his troops. Funds were secured by confiscating aristocratic property. His followers defeated the first Crusader attack (9 Apr. 1204), but on 12 Apr., when the Latins burst in, Alexios V fled to Thrace. Taking with him Empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA and her daughter Eudokia, his paramour, Alexios V encountered Alexios III at MOSYNOPOLIS (summer 1204). Alexios III first allowed Alexios V to marry Eudokia, then trapped and blinded him. Around late Nov., Alexios V was captured by Thierry de Loos, tried for treason to Alexios IV, and thrown from the Column of Theodosios.

LIT. Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 123–47. B. Hendrickx, C. Matzukis, "Alexios V Doukas Mourtzouphlos: His Life, Reign and Death (?–1204)," *Hellenika* 31 (1979) 108–32. –C.M.B.

ALEXIOS HOMO DEI, saint; feastday 17 March. Born in Rome under emperors Honorius and Arkadios, Alexios was the son of a wealthy senator. To avoid an arranged marriage, Alexios sailed off to Syria, where he lived as a beggar in Edessa. After 17 years he returned to Rome and lived 17 more years on charity in his father's house, unrecognized. One day, when Archbp. Markianos (no pope of this name is known) was celebrating the liturgy, a divine voice indicated that Alexios was "the man of God" (*homo dei*). Alexios was found dead with a document in his hands revealing his origin and story. According to his vita, "the very pious emperors" attended his funeral. It is commonly accepted that the Greek legend summarized above was based on a Syriac vita of an anonymous "man of God": this saint, born in Rome, fled from his wealthy parents and his fiancée, lived as a beggar, and died in Edessa. Sixth-century MSS preserve the Syriac version. In Byz. the legend was known by the 9th C., when JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER eulogized Alexios. The text of the anonymous Greek vita was copied in many MSS, including one of 1023 (F. Halkin, *AB* 98 [1980] 5–16). The legend did not spread to Rome

before 977; thereafter it grew very popular in the West and in Slavic countries. The Ethiopic translation makes Alexios the son of Theodosios II and transfers the locale of his deeds to Armenia. The focus of the legend—rejection of family and marriage for the sake of God—was one of the most important hagiographical themes (B. de Gaiffier, *AB* 65 [1947] 157–95).

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint, which are rare, give him the features of JOHN THE BAPTIST. The 11th-C. imperial MENOLOGION in Moscow (Hist. Mus. gr. 183, fol.210) shows the saint laid out on his bed, mourned by his father, as the emperor removes the document from the dead man's hands.

SOURCES. F.M. Esteves Pereira, "Légende grecque de l'homme de Dieu Saint Alexis," *AB* 19 (1900) 243–53. *Žitie Alekseja čeloveka božija,* ed. V.P. Adrianova (Petrograd 1917; rp. The Hague–Paris 1969) 458–75. M. Rössler, "Alexiusprobleme," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 53 (1933) 508–28. E. Cerulli, *Les vies éthiopiennes de saint Alexis l'homme de Dieu,* 2 vols. (Louvain 1969).

LIT. *BHG* 51–56h. A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de Saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* (Paris 1889). C.E. Stebbins, "Les origines de la légende de Saint Alexis," *RBPH* 51 (1973) 497–507. E. Krausen, *LCI* 5:90f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ALEXIOS STOUDITES, patriarch of Constantinople (between 12 and 15 Dec. 1025–20 Feb. 1043 [V. Laurent, *EO* 35 (1936) 75f]); died Constantinople. A former *hegoumenos* of the Stoudios monastery, Alexios was appointed patriarch without the necessary canonical formalities by Emp. Basil II, who was on his deathbed. Alexios acted in concert with Constantine VIII, and in July 1026 the new emperor, the patriarch, and the senate promulgated a novel anathematizing any revolt against the *basileus* (PG 137:1245AB). Alexios tried to protect the independence of the clergy, stressing in Jan. 1028 that no clergyman or monk could be judged by a civil authority, and in 1027 he condemned the practice of CHARISTIKION. With great energy Alexios attacked the Monophysites, esp. those in the Melitene region. He dealt also with matrimonial regulations. In 1038 Alexios and the synod defined the prohibitions on marriage between close relatives; they did not make a clear decision, however, concerning individuals of the seventh degree of relationship. The patriarch's relations with the government deteriorated under Michael IV: it is reported (Skyl. 401.67–80) that JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, who desired to become patriarch of Constantinople, incited some metropolitans to demand the deposition of Alexios under the pretext that he had not been elected canonically, but the plan failed because of Alexios's courageous resistance. No more successful was the attempt of Michael V to depose Alexios.

In 1034 Alexios founded a monastery of the Dormition near Constantinople. Its *typikon* is lost in the original but has survived in Slavic MSS, the oldest of which is of the 12th C. It reveals certain modifications of the original made by the translator (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav* [Moscow 1885] 113–28).

LIT. G. Ficker, *Erlasse des Patriarchen von Konstantinopel Alexios Studites* (Kiel 1911). *RegPatr,* fasc. 2, nos. 829–55. S. Petrides, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 398. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 13–14. –A.K.

ALIMPIJ, late 11th-C. Kievan painter. The PATERIK describes Alimpij as helping painters from Constantinople who came to decorate a church (of the Dormition) in the monastery of the Caves when Vsevolod was prince of KIEV and Nikon was third abbot of the monastery (1078–91?). After the church's dedication, Alimpij became a priest. Later portions of the *Paterik* are devoted to miracles associated with icons that he painted. Like many ARTISTS, therefore, Alimpij worked in a variety of media. VLADIMIR MONOMACH is mentioned as learning of the "venerable" Alimpij. The painter's career thus spanned at least a quarter of a century. The date of his death is unknown; he was buried in his monastery.

LIT. V. Pucko, "Kievskij chudožnik XI veka Alimpij Pečerskij," *WSlJb* 25 (1979) 63–88. –A.C.

ALLAGION (ἀλλάγιον), a military detachment that in the 10th C. consisted of 50–150 warriors: imperial *allagia* had 320–400 (A. Dain, *Sylloge tacticorum* [Paris 1938] 56). In the late 13th–14th C. the term *mega allagion* designated a garrison, esp. in Thessalonike, and the old *allagion* of the emperor's guards was probably replaced by two *paramonai,* one on horseback, the other on foot. The *Chronicle of the Morea* describes *allagia* as mounted companies; Constantine, the brother of Michael VIII, had at his disposal 18 *allagia,* for a total of 6,000 warriors (D. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:133). In the 14th C. the commander of the

allagion was called the *archon tou allagiou*; side by side with him, a ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 138.34–35) mentions the *protallagator*, both subalterns of the *megas primikerios*. Since each of the *allagatores* stood at the head of a single *paramone*, the *protallagator* was the commander of the whole company; the difference between him and the *archon tou allagiou* is not clear. According to Pertusi (*infra*), the name *ta allagia* was reflected in the Arabic toponym Ṭālājā or Tafala for a theme located near Constantinople.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:524–26, 529f. A. Pertusi, "Il preteso thema bizantino di 'Ṭālājā' " *BZ* 49 (1956) 90–95. –A.K.

ALLAXIMOI (ἀλλάξιμοι, from ἀλλάσσω, "to change"), or *allaximoi* of the *kouboukleion* (*De cer.* 7.1–6), aulic servants in charge of the emperor's wardrobe. The word *allaxima* or *allaximata* designated ceremonial apparel (Ph. Koukoules, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 78) that was stored in great quantities in the palace. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos calls these servants *hoi epi ton allaximon* and places them under the command of the DEUTEROS (Oikonomides, *Listes* 131.16–18).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 127. –A.K.

ALLEGORY (ἀλληγορία) in Byz. was used in the sphere of both literature and theology.

LITERARY ALLEGORY. In antiquity, literary allegory was understood as a TROPE whose goal was the expression of a concept that differed from the literal sense of the words but was connected with them by similarity or contrast. Allegory remained an important vehicle of Byz. literature: thus, the image of the castle in Palaiologan texts served the function of both romantic adventure and didactic allegory (C. Cupane, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 264). In literary interpretation, biblical exegesis, and philosophy, the search for allegory meant the revealing of hidden content.

The same principle was applied to classical texts: the allegorical exegesis of Homer (and other poets) was practiced by Neoplatonists, who also interpreted Plato allegorically. TZETZES, too, in his commentary on Homer, distinguished three kinds of allegory: physical, psychological, and pragmatic (historical). Late antique or Byz. novels and romances were interpreted allegorically to neutralize their erotic content (cf. the commentary on the *Aithiopika* of Heliodoros, perhaps by PHILAGATHOS, and Manuel PHILES on *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*). Allegory was applied far beyond literary and philosophical exegesis: the ceremonial of the imperial court, the color of attire, the behavior of animals, an earthquake, all could receive an allegorical interpretation, since the cosmos was perceived as a RIDDLE that needed an explanation. This interpretative allegory could be many tiered, having various meanings that were construed as noncontradictory.

LIT. P. Rollinson, *Classical Theories of Allegory and Christian Culture* (London 1981). Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XIV (1954), 35–54. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 1:24–96. M.N. Esper, *Allegorie und Analogie bei Gregor von Nyssa* (Bonn 1979). W. Bienert, *Allegoria und Anagoge bei Didymos dem Blinden von Alexandria* (Berlin 1972). –A.K., I. Š.

THEOLOGICAL ALLEGORY. For theologians, allegory was the key method of hermeneutics (or *techne*) in textual interpretation from the Hellenistic period onward. The apologists, particularly theologians of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, applied it to biblical exegesis in a manner similar to the interpreters of Homer and Hesiod, either to uncover the deeper, spiritual meaning behind the literal or historical sense, or to reevaluate offensive passages. At the same time, they opposed the allegorical interpretation of myths, seen as the main support of contemporary polytheism, and Gnostic allegorization, thus distancing themselves from both views. Likewise, they opposed Marcion and fellow adherents of GNOSTICISM who denied any salvific value to the Old Testament, and who regarded the Old Testament as a foreshadowing (*typos*) of the New Testament. In Galatians 4:21–30 the Alexandrian apologists found a model and justification for their "theological method" based on the unity of the Old and New Testaments, conducted on the premise that the Old Testament prefigures Christ, and that both constitute sacred Scripture.

Relating the two Testaments to the contemporary situation to uncover the desired inner meaning is clearly evident in the exegetical commentaries and sermons of ORIGEN. Therefore, so far as Origen is concerned, the old controversy originated by the reaction of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as to whether or not Alexandrian allegory is more than an arbitrary interpretation of the texts, and thereby different from the Hellenistic or Gnostic

mythical interpretations, is relativized but not resolved.

Despite assertions to the contrary by all representatives of the Antiochene tradition, it is doubtful that Antiochene *theoria* or *anagoge* differed from the allegory of Origen as a theological or hermeneutical method. It is true that Antiochene thought is oriented more toward the text, and in the *catenae* of patristic exegesis after the Council in Trullo (691) and in the Byz. *erotapokriseis* typological exegesis stemmed largely from this orientation, which today is distinguished from allegorical exegesis. Nonetheless, radical allegorization continued to flourish, as shown, for example, in the commentary on the *Hexaemeron* by pseudo-Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:851–1077), in which the first chapter of Genesis is given an allegorical interpretation to reveal Christ and the Church.

LIT. H. de Lubac, "'Typologie' et 'Allégorisme,'" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 180–226. Idem, *Histoire et esprit. L'intelligence de l'Écriture d'après Origène* (Paris 1950). R.P.C. Hanson, *Allegory and Event: A Study of the Sources and Significance of Origen's Interpretation of Scripture* (London 1959). K.J. Torjesen, *Hermeneutical Procedure and Theological Method in Origen's Exegesis* (Berlin–New York 1986). J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l'Aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique* (Nijmegen 1977). P. Ternant, "La *theoria* d'Antioche dans le cadre de l'Écriture," *Biblica* 34 (1953) 135–58, 354–83, 456–86. J. Guillet, "Les exégèses d'Alexandrie et d'Antioche, Conflit ou malentendu?" *RechScRel* 34 (1947) 257–302. M. Simonetti, *Lettera e/o Allegoria: Un contributo alla storia dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome 1985). –K.-H.U.

ALLELENGYON (ἀλληλέγγυον, "mutual security"). The term *allelengyue* first appears in papyri designating joint guarantors of a debt or other obligation (*P. Oxy.* 1408) and by the 4th–7th C. had in practice become synonymous with mutual *fideiussio*. Justinian I (in novel 99.1 pr.) distinguishes two types of *fideiussio*: one where the co-sureties answered fully and equally any legal action against them, and the other where a special contract limited each individual's obligation to a portion of the total liability; in this case wealthy co-sureties were responsible only for their own portion and not for the liabilities of their impoverished or fugitive partners. Texts of the 9th and 10th C. employ the word in the context of obligations to the fisc, and it seems in some sense to have replaced the older term EPIBOLE to describe the longstanding principle of communal tax liability: Emp. Nikephoros I required peasants to pay *allelengyos* (collectively) for poorer neighbors engaged in military service (Theoph. 486.26); the *Treatise on Taxation* compelled peasants to pay the taxes of neighbors who had fled the land (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.2). In 1002 Basil II introduced the *allelengyon*, requiring DYNATOI to pay the arrears of poorer taxpayers; the precise procedures employed under this measure remain obscure. Under pressure from ecclesiastical officials, Romanos III abolished the *allelengyon* in 1028. Nevertheless, a deed of purchase of 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.34) mentions property based on mutual solidarity—*allelengyos* and *alleloanadochos*—and ca.1100 Nicholas Mouzalon accused tax collectors of eliciting payments from members of the village community on the principle of *allelengyon* (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14).

LIT. A. Segré, "L'*allelengye*," *Aegyptus* 5 (1924) 185–201. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 78–80. –A.J.C.

ALMSGIVING (ἐλεημοσύνη) was a social function consistently praised by theologians and moralists, even though some writers, such as SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, denied the importance of almsgiving for personal salvation (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 12). Almsgiving is a major topos of hagiography, which presents saints either distributing their property among the poor or in conflict with their families over charitable giving (cf. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, MARY THE YOUNGER). Even monks in certain monasteries were permitted to have private funds for almsgiving, or at least the practice was tolerated (*AASS* Nov. 3:566D).

The scope of charitable giving is hard to calculate. JOHN ELEEMON reportedly compiled a list of the POOR in Alexandria (more than 7,000) who were supported by his program of PHILANTHROPY. John Chrysostom stated that a tenth of the population of Antioch required material assistance; in Constantinople he counted 30,000 men and 20,000 women in need of welfare (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 257–59).

With so many in need, the problem of how to influence (and control) them was of great import. The poor argued that they had a right to bread and entertainment; the state of the 4th–7th C. complied, distributing special tokens (tesserae) for theaters, bathhouses, etc. (glass tesserae of the 5th–7th C. are known; K. Regling, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 854); esp. important was the distribution of GRAIN. Eventually the church transformed this

right of the poor into the charity of the church, the state, and the wealthy; the recipients had to stop demanding "bread and circuses" and to beg for alms. –A.K.

ALOUSIANOS (Ἀλουσιάνος), second son of the Bulgarian tsar JOHN VLADISLAV, who gave his name to a Byz. family; fl. first half of the 11th C. The origin of the name is unclear: it has been interpreted as Armenian (J. Ivanov), Jewish (S. Gičev: from *alluf*, "prince"), or Latin (I. Dujčev, who connected it with "Aloisius"). He served as *strategos* of Theodosioupolis and possessed lands (his wife's dowry) in Charsianon. Alousianos sided with rebels in Bulgaria in 1040. He joined Peter DELJAN at Ostrovo (near Thessalonike) and forced Deljan to accept him as co-ruler. During the siege of Thessalonike, discord in the rebel army broke out between Alousianos and Deljan. According to Litavrin (*Bolgaria i Vizantija* 376–96), the Bulgarian nobles supported Alousianos until he was defeated at Thessalonike. When Michael IV led an expedition against the rebels, Alousianos blinded Deljan and fled to the emperor. For his treason Alousianos was rewarded with the title of *magistros*. His son Basil was governor of Edessa. Another son, Samuel, was commander of troops in Armeniakon; perhaps the seal of a Samuel Alousianos entitled *proedros* and *doux* was his. Basil and Samuel's sister married ROMANOS IV. Several Alousianoi (Constantine, David) are known from seals with effigies of the military saints George and Demetrios. Later the family lost its military functions, although some Alousianoi became higher civil officials, e.g., Thomas Alousianos, *krites katholikos* in Constantinople ca.1380–97. They were related to the AARONIOI.

LIT. J. Ivanov, "Proizchod na car Samuilovija rod," *Sbornik v čest na Vasil N. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 59f. V. Zlatarski, "Molivdovulŭt na Alusiana," *IzvIstDr* 10 (1930 [1931]) 49–63. I. Dujčev, "Vŭrchu njakoi bŭlgarski imena i dumi u vizantijskite avtori," *Ezikovedski izsledovanija v čest na Akademik Stefan Mladenov* (Sofia 1957) 159f. S. Gičev, "Essay on Interpreting the Name Alloussian," *EtBalk* 6 (1967) 165–78. *PLP*, nos. 692–97. –A.K.

ALP ARSLAN, Seljuk sultan (1063–73); born ca.1030, died Turkestan Jan. 1073. Nephew of TUGHRUL BEG, Alp Arslan ruled Iran, Iraq, and northern Syria. To keep his Turkomans occupied, he allowed them to raid Byz. In 1064 he captured ANI with great slaughter. About 1070 he made a treaty with ROMANOS IV, which Alp Arslan considered violated by Romanos's subsequent recovery of Mantzikert (1071). Moving speedily from northern Syria, Alp Arslan inflicted a crushing defeat upon Romanos (see MANTZIKERT, BATTLE OF). Alp Arslan soon released Romanos, perhaps to encourage civil strife in Byz. MALIKSHĀH succeeded Alp Arslan.

LIT. C. Cahen, "Alp Arslan," *EI*² 1:420–21. M. Canard in *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974), pt.VI (1965), 239–59. –C.M.B.

AŁT'AMAR (Aght'amar), island in Lake Van in eastern Anatolia. Gagik ARCRUNI, Armenian king of VASPURAKAN (908–36), had a fortified city built on this island; according to the 12th-C. addition to the *History of the House of the Artsrunik'* (tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 354–61), it included a church and a palace with domes or pavilions decorated with scenes of combat, courtly pleasures, and animals.

Only the church, dedicated to the Holy Cross, survives. Built probably 915–29, it became the center of an important monastery. A domed quatrefoil of the type of St. Hṙip'simē in VAŁARŠAPAT, its blocky exterior carries the decoration described in the *History*: rinceaux enclosing scenes of courtly entertainments, Evangelists, and King Gagik offering the church to Christ. Individual animals, full figures and medallion busts of prophets and saints, and Old and New Testament scenes complete this most extensive of all surviving Armenian sculptural programs. Sources should be sought in the art of the Arab ʿAbbāsid court, in 6th-C. Palestine, and in earlier Armenian sculpture. No principle governing the arrangement of scenes has been adduced.

The interior has an equally ambitious fresco program, including, in the drum of the dome, a GENESIS cycle and, along the walls of three secondary apses, a Gospel cycle that, although one-quarter obliterated, still contains 23 scenes. The *History* does not describe these paintings; A. Grishin (*Parergon*, n.s. 3 [1985] 39–51) has questioned a 10th-C. date, noting that in places two layers of painting are visible. A lost stone loggia balustrade featured heads of exotic animals, including an elephant (Grishin, fig.4).

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Aght'amar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). N. Thierry, "Le cycle de la

création et de la faute d'Adam à Altamar," *REArm* n.s. 17 (1983) 291–329. S. Der Nersessian, H. Vahramian, *Aght'amar* (Milan 1974). –A.T.

ALTAR (ἡ ἁγία τράπεζα), the holy table on which the EUCHARIST is offered; it was located in the sanctuary behind the TEMPLON, at first in front of the apse, later within the main (central) apse of the Byz. triple-apsed sanctuary. Interpreted in Byz. COMMENTARIES as at once Jesus' tomb, the table of the Last Supper, Golgotha, the heavenly altar, and the throne of God, the altar as dread symbol of God's dwelling is reflected in the rites of access to the altar in Eucharist and ordination rites, and in the later practice of concealing it behind curtains (Taft, *Great Entrance* 279–83, 413–16). The altar also served as a place of ASYLUM.

The earliest altars—sometimes called *mensae*—appear to have been of timber and were portable. From the 4th C., as their place in the church became fixed, they began to be made of stone. Altars dressed in silver and gold and studded with precious stones are also recorded (Sozom., *HE* 9.1.4). Altars of this period were box-shaped or free-standing, the latter consisting of a circular, semicircular, or rectangular slab, variously attached to a plinth (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:444–52). Sometimes (as at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople), the altar was set on a small platform above the level of the sanctuary (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 45 [1979] 288.16, 298.8). Below or near the altar stood the *thalassa* (a small basin, usually connected with a drainage system, that served for the ceremonial washing of priests during the liturgy). In representations, an altar is often shown covered with an ENDYTE.

As early as the 4th C. altars were furnished with a case, called the *katathesis*, containing RELICS (K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:119). By the 8th C. relics became indispensable for the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of a church. The relics were placed either in a socket in the altar's plinth, as at DAPHNI (*ABME* 8 [1955–56] 76), or in a CRYPT under the altar. In Western churches transformed into MARTYRIA, the altar sometimes took the form of a SARCOPHAGUS enclosing the saint's relics, with an opening (the *fenestella*) facing west.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, T. Klauser, *RAC* 1:334–54. J. Braun, *Der christliche Altar in seiner geschichtlichen Entwicklung*, 2 vols. (Munich 1924). –R.F.T., L.Ph.B.

ALTAR OF VICTORY, symbol of pagan resistance in 4th-C. Rome. A statue of Victory (NIKE) was apparently brought from Tarentum in the reign of Augustus and stood near the entrance to the senate, where senators regularly offered incense on a small altar as they entered. The altar was first removed by Constantius II, perhaps in 357, and there was no great resistance. It was put back in place by Julian and removed again by GRATIAN, but this time the opposition was considerable. A delegation of senators sought its return, but Pope Damasus and St. AMBROSE persuaded the emperor not to yield. In 384 SYMMACHUS, then prefect of the city, addressed his poignant appeal for restoration to the court of the young Valentinian II; it nearly succeeded until Ambrose threatened the emperor with excommunication. In 390 a delegation from the senate approached Theodosios I in Milan with the same request and after some hesitation he refused. After the return of Theodosios to Constantinople the senate again sought assistance from Valentinian II; even though the *magister militum* ARBOGAST favored restoration, the emperor did not yield. The usurper EUGENIUS feared an open break with Theodosios and did not replace the pagan symbol. Honorius restored the statue in the senate, but not the altar, claiming that it was merely decorative and not an object of worship.

LIT. A. Dihle, "Zum Streit um den Altar der Viktoria," in *Romanitas et Christianitas: Studia Iano Henrico Waszink oblata* (Amsterdam-London 1973) 81–97. F. Paschoud, "Le rôle du providentialisme dans le conflit de 384 sur l'autel de la Victoire," *MusHelv* 40 (1983) 197–206. –T.E.G.

ALUM (στυπτηρία), double sulphate of aluminum and potassium, or aluminum and ammonium. In the Middle Ages, *alumen* designated a number of white astringent mineral substances. Primarily used as a mordant to fix dyes in woolen cloth and impart brilliance to the colors, it was indispensable to the textile industry and also useful to painters and tanners. For most of the medieval period, until the mines of Tolfa in Italy began to be exploited (1462), alum production was concentrated in Egypt and Asia Minor, and from there it was exported to the West. According to PEGOLOTTI, the best quality was *alume di rocca* from Koloneia. Alum of excellent quality was produced in PHOKAIA and KOTYAION (Kütahya), while

there were also alum mines elsewhere in Asia Minor, in Thrace, and the islands of the Aegean. Descriptions of the production of alum may be found in Jordanus the Catalan (ca.1330) and Pegolotti.

The rich alum mines of Phokaia were ceded by Michael VIII to the Genoese Manuele and Benedetto ZACCARIA in 1275. They built a manufacturing town and tried to monopolize the export of alum to the West by obtaining from Michael VIII a prohibition of the export of Koloneia alum by other Genoese. Although the prohibition was not effective, the Zaccaria were able to build a fortune on alum. Eventually alum became a major commodity in the commerce of GENOA, which retained a predominant position in the alum trade throughout the Middle Ages, although the price of its alum declined after 1382, as a result of political conditions, extensive mining, and the competition of Egyptian alum. Phokaia fell to the Ottomans in 1455, by which time Western sources of alum were being exploited.

LIT. C. Singer, *The Earliest Chemical Industry* (London 1948) 79–94. Heyd, *Commerce* 2:565–71. M.-L. Heers, "Les Génois et le commerce de l'alun à la fin du Moyen Age," *Revue d'histoire économique et sociale* 32 (1954) 31–53. D. Jacoby, "L'alun en Crète vénitienne," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 127–42. –A.L.

ALYATES (Ἀλυάτης), a family of unclear ethnic origin. Its first known member, Anthes Alyates, a staunch supporter of Bardas SKLEROS, fell in the battle of 976 at Koukou lithos (between Melitene and Lykandos). I. Gošev (*Starobŭlgarski glagoličeski i kirilski nadpisi* [Sofia 1961] 31–35) identified him with the *stratelates* Alyates, using the insufficient data of a 10th-C. inscription from the Round Church in Preslav. The 11th-C. Alyatai were primarily military commanders: Leo, *strategos* of Cherson and Sougdaia in 1059; Theodore, governor of Cappadocia; another Alyates fell in battle against the Normans in 1108. In the 12th C. the Alyatai switched to civil service and occupied relatively low positions. Andronikos Alyates, contemporary of Alexios III, was *kanikleios*; the family retained the post, which Nikephoros Alyates held in 1258–61. Several Alyatai were active in administration throughout the 13th C.: the *vestiarios* Alexios Alyates was sent in 1275 with a fleet against Genoese pirates in the Black Sea; another Alyates was a fiscal functionary; a seal of the *sebastos* John Alyates is dated by Laurent (*Méd. Vat.*, no.69) to the early 13th C. In the 14th C. the Alyatai played an important role in provincial life: George, *sebastos* in Thessalonike in 1327; an Alyates who was *sebastos* in Chalkidike before 1319; another Alyates, *ktetor* of a church in Philippopolis. Later they are known only as clerics; Gregory Alyates, *hieromonachos*, was a scribe and songwriter in 1433–47.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 706–21. V. Latyšev, *Sbornik grečeskich nadpisej christianskich vremen iz Južnoj Rossii* (St. Petersburg 1896) 15–19. I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.XIII (1968), 65–72. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 281f. –A.K.

AMADEO VI, count of Savoy (1343–83); born Chambéry, Savoy, Jan. 1334, died near Castropignano, Italy, 27 Feb. 1383. Amadeo, the "Green Count," inherited the title to Savoy at age nine and expanded his territory into the Piedmont. A cousin of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS (through John's mother ANNA OF SAVOY), Amadeo became involved in Byz. affairs when he led a crusading expedition against the Turks. In 1366 he commanded a fleet and an army of 1,500–1,800 men that recovered Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS), which had fallen to the Ottomans in 1354. He was, however, distracted from further campaigns against the Turks by news of John V's detention by the Bulgarians at Vidin. He sailed into the Black Sea and seized several Bulgarian coastal towns. Amadeo's siege of Varna forced the Bulgarians to give the Byz. emperor a safe-conduct through their territory (Dec. 1366). He delivered Sozopolis and Mesembria to the Byz. in exchange for 15,000 florins (to pay his mercenaries). Amadeo encouraged John to seek UNION OF THE CHURCHES and persuaded him to go to Rome in 1369 to make his personal submission to the pope and seek military aid. Amadeo's expedition was a rare example of cooperation between Crusaders and the Byz. Empire.

LIT. E.L. Cox, *The Green Count of Savoy: Amadeus VI and Transalpine Savoy in the Fourteenth Century* (Princeton 1967). O. Halecki, *Un Empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930; rp. London 1972) 138–62. *HC* 3:18f, 74–78. –A.M.T.

AMALARIUS OF METZ, archbishop of Trier (after 804–14) and of Lyons (835–838/9); liturgist active at the Carolingian court; died ca.850. In 813 he traveled to Constantinople as ambassador

of CHARLEMAGNE to Emp. MICHAEL I RANGABE to confirm a treaty between the two powers; received at Constantinople by LEO V, Amalarius returned with the treaty and the Byz. ambassadors Christopher the *spatharios* and Gregory the deacon to find Louis I the Pious on the throne and lose his own see. Rehabilitated a few years later, Amalarius participated in the synod of Paris on ICONOCLASM (825) and may have been considered for a second embassy at that time. His *Versus marini* describes the trip to Constantinople via Zara (*Ep. ad Hilduinum*, 5, ed. Hanssens [*infra*] 1:342.1–14), an AUDIENCE with Leo V, and the dangers of shipwreck and Slav or Arab attack, while his liturgical works allude to contemporary customs at Constantinople (e.g., *Codex expositionis II*, ibid. 1:280.14–20, on the Exaltation of the Cross; *Liber officialis*, ibid. 2:197.2–6, on Latin LECTIONS at Constantinople).

ED. E. Dümmler, MGH *Poet.* 1:426–28. *Amalarii episcopi Opera liturgica omnia*, ed. J.M. Hanssens, 3 vols. [= ST 138–40] (Rome 1948–50).

LIT. F. Brunhölzl, *Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters*, vol. 1 (Munich 1975) 437–40. O.G. Oexle, "Die Karolinger und die Stadt des heiligen Arnulf," *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 1 (1967) 331–39. –M.McC.

AMALASUNTHA (Ἀμαλασοῦνθα), or Amalasuintha, Ostrogothic regent (526–34) and queen (534); died Lake Bolzano probably 30 Apr. 535. The younger daughter of THEODORIC, in 515 or 516 she married Eutharic, also a member of the AMALI, and bore him MATASUNTHA and Athalaric, who, after the deaths of his father (522) and grandfather, was raised to the Ostrogothic throne under Amalasuntha's regency. Together with Athalaric, Amalasuntha is depicted on a diptych of Orestes, Western consul in 530 (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.32). Her policy was pro-Roman; Prokopios and esp. Cassiodorus praised her highly as a well-educated and beautiful woman. Her pro-Roman tendency was opposed by the Gothic military aristocracy, led by Amalasuntha's cousin THEODAHAD, so that she considered fleeing to Constantinople. She changed her plan—according to Prokopios, because Theodora was jealous, but probably because Amalasuntha arranged a compromise with Theodahad. After Athalaric died she ruled as queen briefly but was compelled to marry Theodahad. Once proclaimed king, he exiled her to an island on Lake Bolzano where she was strangled. The remonstrances of Peter, Justinian's envoy, were of no avail and Theodahad asserted that the murder had been committed against his will. Amalasuntha's death became Justinian's excuse for war: he ordered Mundus to invade from Illyricum and called BELISARIOS to Sicily. Amalasuntha was unequal to the challenge of preserving the heritage of Theodoric and miscalculated the consequences of her Roman ties.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:262–64, 328–39. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 203f. Wolfram, *Goths* 311–39. –W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

AMALFI (Ἀμάλφη), Tyrrhenian port in southern Italy, first mentioned in 596. Until 839 Amalfi belonged to the Byz. duchy of NAPLES. After that date the city and its territory became an independent state, within the orbit of the Byz. Empire. Imperial titles were conferred on most of the local rulers, *praefecturii* and, after 958, *duces*. From the 9th C. many Amalfitans were active in Mediterranean trade. Their ships were known in Egypt, the Maghreb, and Spain. They had colonies in DYRRACHION and Antioch and are frequently described as furnishing Oriental luxury goods to the West. Their quarter in Constantinople, with its Church of S. Maria de Latina, is documented from the mid-11th C.; on Mount Athos an Amalfitan monastery dedicated to the Virgin flourished between the end of the 10th and the 13th C. (A. Pertusi in *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:217–51). Clerics and monks at both institutions translated Greek hagiographical texts into Latin. Between 1053 and 1062 Amalfi tried in vain to organize an alliance of the Western and the Eastern empires against the NORMAN invaders of southern Italy. Following the Norman occupation of 1073, political relations between Amalfi and Constantinople cooled; commercial relations also declined, with Amalfi losing ground to VENICE, Byz.'s main naval ally in the Mediterranean.

Bronze DOORS commissioned in Constantinople for the cathedral of Amalfi survive *in situ*, although the cathedral itself was completely rebuilt after 1204 and the façade was again rebuilt after 1871. Nearly identical doors are in nearby Atrani, on the Church of S. Salvatore.

LIT. U. Schwarz, *Amalfi im frühen Mittelalter (9.–11. Jahrhundert)* (Tübingen 1978). *Amalfi nel medioevo* (Salerno 1977). M. Balard, "Amalfi et Byzance (X^e–XII^e siècles)," *TM* 6 (1976) 85–95. *Istituzioni civili e organizzazione ecclesiastica nello stato medievale amalfitano* 5 [= *Atti del congresso inter-*

nazionale di studi amalfitani, vol. 3 (luglio 1981)] (Amalfi 1986). M.E. Frazer, "Church Doors and the Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP* 27 (1973) 145–62. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 5:576–78, 627–28.
–V.v.F., D.K.

AMALI, or Amelungen, royal house of the Ostrogoths, whose genealogy—in its earlier part fictitious—was established by CASSIODORUS and taken from him by JORDANES (*Getica*, ed. T. Mommsen [Berlin 1882] 76–78). The earliest securely historical member of the house was Hermenerig/Hermanaricus (died 375/6), the king who enlarged Ostrogothic possessions on the northern shore of the Black Sea but was routed by the Huns. THEODORIC, AMALASUNTHA, and her children, Athalaric and MATASUNTHA, were members of the Amali. Jordanes considers the captivity of VITIGES (540) as the end of the Amali.

LIT. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 92–96. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 430–74. Wolfram, *Goths* 268–78.
–W.E.K., A.K.

AMALRIC I (Ἀμερρίγος), king of JERUSALEM (1163–74); born 1136, died Jerusalem 11 July 1174. Upon succeeding his brother BALDWIN III, Amalric sought a Byz. bride to renew the alliance with Manuel I. Manuel rejected his accompanying request to be recognized as overlord of ANTIOCH. In 1167 Amalric married Maria Komnene, daughter of John Komnenos the *protosebastos*. Amalric sought Byz. aid in 1168 to prevent ZANGID occupation of Egypt, but by 1169, when a joint expedition occurred, SALADIN already controlled Egypt. A combined siege of Damietta (Oct.–Dec. 1169) collapsed over disagreements between Amalric and the Byz. commander, Andronikos KONTOSTEPHANOS. In the same year, EPHRAIM and other mosaicists commissioned by Manuel worked in Jerusalem and Bethlehem. From Apr. to June 1171 Amalric visited Constantinople. He was received privately by Manuel, did homage, and was magnificently entertained (Runciman, *infra*). A treaty proposing joint action against Egypt was never implemented. With Amalric's death, the alliance of Byz. and Jerusalem effectively ended.

LIT. S. Runciman, "The Visit of King Amalric I to Constantinople in 1171," in *Outremer* 153–58. R.-J. Lilie, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" in *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 132–42.
–C.M.B.

AMASEIA (Ἀμάσεια, mod. Amasya), a site of great natural strength on the Lykos in PONTOS. A strategic road junction, Amaseia was made metropolis of Diospontus (later Helenopontus) by Diocletian. Christianized early, Amaseia became the seat of a metropolitan bishop. Justinian I restored its churches after the earthquake of 529. When the Pontic provinces were merged in 535, Amaseia remained a metropolis; it provided refuge in 575 for the populations of neighboring cities fleeing the Persians. Although briefly taken by the Arabs in 712, it was a bulwark of the ARMENIAKON theme and an APLEKTON where the thematic troops joined imperial expeditions. Bardas PHOKAS led a revolt there in 971. In the confusion following the battle of MANTZIKERT, Amaseia fell to ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, but in 1074 Alexios I Komnenos persuaded a gathering of its inhabitants (evidently acting with considerable independence) to surrender to him and reestablished imperial control. Soon after, the Turks of Danişmend conquered Amaseia. The sole remaining Byz. structure is a powerful and complex fortress as yet unstudied.

LIT. F. and E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica* (Brussels 1906) 2:146–84. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 964–70. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie* (Paris 1934) 2:6–16. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 17–19.
–C.F.

AMASTRIS (Ἄμαστρις or Ἄμαστρα, now Amasra), city on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia. It first appears in Byz. history when Kyros, a local monk, predicted to Justinian II in 695 that he would regain the throne. Amastris gained importance in the 9th C. as a port for communication across the Black Sea and as a military base. The vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS mentions an attack of the Rus' on Amastris, but the date of the attack and even its historicity are under discussion. The city prospered in the 10th C.: NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, in an *enkomion* of a local saint Hyakinthos (PG 105:421C), calls it "the eye of Paphlagonia and even of the *oikoumene*" and the EMPORION for trade with the northern Scythians. Amastris was a city of the theme of PAPHLAGONIA and seat of a *katepano* in the 10th C. (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 111). In the 12th C. it was administered by a *doux* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.227). Amastris was ruled by the Laskarids after a brief occupation (1204–14) by David Komnenos of Trebizond. Its later history is obscure: in the late 13th or early

14th C. it apparently was turned over to the Genoese, whose merchants were already established there. Amastris was a suffragan bishopric of GANGRA; it became a metropolis by 940.

The site occupies the neck and steep slopes of a peninsula, with two harbors. The ancient city, which stretched to the mainland, was abandoned, apparently after the Rus' attack, as Amastris contracted within new walls. Its Byz. monuments include two small single-aisled churches, perhaps of the late 9th C., and remains of a monastery that have been dated to the early 8th C.

LIT. S. Eyice, *Küçük Amasra Tarihi* (Ankara 1965). Idem, "Deux anciennes églises byzantines de la citadelle d'Amasra (Paphlagonie)," *CahArch* 7 (1954) 97–105. –C.F.

AMATUS, bishop, possibly of Paestum-Capaccio or Nusco (E. Cuozzo, *Benedictina* 26 [1979] 323–48), and monk of MONTECASSINO; born Salerno ca.1010, died ca.1083? Amatus wrote several Latin poetical works and a *History of the Normans*, which survives only in a 14th-C. French version. Amatus's account of events from 1016 to 1078 reflects Montecassino's pro-Norman stance and includes the revolt of the Lombard Meles (pp. 26.6–32.12), the expedition of MANIAKES against Sicily, and the struggle for southern Italy (pp. 66.5–93.8).

ED. *Storia de' Normanni*, ed. V. de Bartholomaeis [= FSI 76] (Rome 1935).
LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 3:898–900. W. Smidt, "Die 'Historia Normannorum' von Amatus," *StGreg* 3 (1948) 173–231. –M.McC.

AMBASSADORS (πρέσβεις, ἀποκρισιάριοι) in Byz. were normally recruited from the higher echelons of the administration, the emperor's immediate entourage, or those clerics (sent mainly to Christian countries, and, for specific reasons, to Sasanian Persia) or laymen, regardless of class or experience, who were considered able to succeed in their missions abroad. Their rank depended upon the importance of the ruler to whom they were sent. None of them were permanently accredited to a foreign country; they were sent or exchanged only when required for specific reasons of DIPLOMACY. Beyond having the emperor's confidence, an ambassador was expected to be honest, pious, able to resist corruption, and ready to sacrifice himself if necessary for the empire. He was expected to know something of the country to which he was sent and, if possible, its language (INTERPRETERS were also available). Able negotiators were entrusted with a series of embassies (e.g., Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES) or had their sons appointed as ambassadors in their place (some cases in early Byz., e.g., NONNOSOS).

Byz. ambassadors going abroad carried their own safe-conducts and letters of accreditation (*prokouratorikon chrysoboullon*). Unlike low-ranking letter-carriers, ambassadors were fully or partly empowered to negotiate. The state covered their expenses and those of their suite. Embassies could be quite large, with many interpreters and servants. One aspect of their mission was to collect INTELLIGENCE about the country they visited. (See also APOKRISIARIOS. For ambassadors to Byz., see EMBASSIES, FOREIGN.)

LIT. N. Garsoian, "Le rôle de l'hiérarchie chrétienne dans les rapports diplomatiques entre Byzance et les Sassanides," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973) 119–38. V. Beševliev, "Die Botschaften der byzantinischen Kaiser aus dem Schlachtfeld," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 71–83. D. Obolensky, "A Late Fourteenth-Century Byzantine Diplomat: Michael, Archbishop of Bethlehem," in *Mél. Dujčev* 299–315. –N.O.

AMBO (ἄμβων, also called πύργος), a platform, often standing on four, six, or eight columns, in a church. Ambos were first recorded in the second half of the 4th C. (e.g., at the Council of Laodikeia of 371), but most surviving examples date from the 5th or 6th C. (C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:127). The example in the Dormition Church in Kalambaka (STAGOI) shows that at least in some places Early Christian ambos continued to be used in the 12th C. (G.A. Soteriou, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 292f, 302–04). The ambo stood in the nave, between the chancel barrier and the west wall, and took one of four main forms: the first and earliest has a single staircase; the second is "fan-shaped" with two curving staircases; the third and most widespread type has two staircases on its east-west axis; distinct from these is the fourth, Syrian type, combining the functions of ambo and SYNTHRONON (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 34 [1968] 326.59). The ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was made of colored marbles of many hues and dressed with silver slabs (S.G. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 1–24), but most surviving examples are carved in white marble. Some 13th-C. examples were of wood and portable (Kazhdan, *infra* 425f).

Liturgically, the ambo (together with the BEMA) was one of the two focal points of the church, and processions back and forth along the SOLEA or pathway connecting the two were a standard part of the ritual. It was at the ambo that the liturgy used to open with the intonation of the TRISAGION and close with the final blessing or Opisthambonos Prayer (A. Jacob, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 306–15). In Hagia Sophia the choir sang from beneath the ambo, the readers mounted it to read the LECTIONS, and the singers intoned from it the psalmody and *troparia* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:281; Germanos, *Liturgy* 74). On the ambo or its steps the deacons proclaimed the litanies and other *diakonika* and exchanged the kiss of peace. Solemn ORTHROS (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:309) and special ceremonies such as imperial coronation rites and the Exaltation of the Cross on 14 Sept. (illustrated in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.35) were celebrated at the ambo, which also served as a pulpit for the proclamation of councils and their anathemas (THEODORE LECTOR, ed. Hansen 113.17–20, 142.26, 144.12–13, 149.25–28), and even for secular announcements (*Chron.Pasch.* 715.16–716.8). Chrysostom even preached from the ambo by way of exception, the better to be heard (Sozom., *HE* 357.14–15).

Because the Gospel was proclaimed from the ambo, liturgical COMMENTARIES interpreted it as symbolizing the stone rolled back from Jesus' tomb from which the angel announced the Resurrection to the Myrrophoroi in Matthew 28:2–7 (Germanos, *Liturgy* 62).

SOURCE. Paul Silentiarios, *Ekphrasis tou ambonos* in *Prokop: Werke* 5, ed. O. Veh (Munich 1977) 358–75, with Germ. tr.

LIT. Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 94–120. J.-P. Sodini, "L'ambon de la Rotonde Saint-Georges," *BCH* 100 (1976) 493–510. E. Kourkoutidou-Nikolaïdou, "Hoi dyo ambones tes basilikes tou mouseiou stous Philippous," in *Aphieroma ste mneme Stylianou Pelekanide* (Thessalonike 1983) 193–212. A. Kazhdan, "A Note on the 'Middle-Byzantine' Ambo," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 422–26. –L.Ph.B., R.F.T.

AMBROISE, late 12th-C. Norman jongleur, possibly from Evreux. Ambroise participated in the Third Crusade and composed a lengthy verse *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War) in Old French after his return from the Levant. Its vivid portrayal of the heroic deeds of RICHARD I LIONHEART espouses the perspective of the average Crusader and describes, for example, the relations of the Greek population of Messina with the Crusaders (vv. 601–06) and the ruins of Rhodes (1287–1302). His account of Richard's conflict with Isaac Komnenos of Cyprus and the king's conquest of the island (1355–2106) includes a description of Isaac's Greek and Armenian troops (1439–1700), his magnificent tent and gold and silver dishes (1669–72), the superb Byz. war horses (e.g., 1842–50, 1938), and Richard's shaving of Byz. burghers who surrendered to him (1948). The *Estoire* was translated into Latin and incorporated into the revised version of ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM by 1222.

ED. *L'Estoire de la guerre sainte*, ed. G. Paris (Paris 1897), with Fr. tr. M.J. Hubert, tr., *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart by Ambroise* (New York 1941).

LIT. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer [= MGH *Schriften* 18] (Stuttgart 1962) 107–51. –M.McC.

AMBROSE (Ἀμβρόσιος), bishop of Milan (from 373 or 374) and saint; born Trier ca.339, died Milan 4 Apr. 397; feastday 7 Dec. Son of a praetorian prefect of Gaul, Ambrose was trained as a lawyer and ca.374 became governor of Aemilia and Liguria, with his residence at Milan. In the same year the Arian bishop of Milan died and the people of the city demanded that Ambrose succeed him even though he was then a layman. Ambrose vigorously opposed Arianism and paganism and campaigned for the removal of the ALTAR OF VICTORY from the Senate House in Rome; his moral authority forced Theodosios I to accept church-imposed penance after his massacre of thousands in Thessalonike in 390. Ambrose wrote in Latin but knew Greek and translated JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS into Latin. He made extensive use of eastern ideas, esp. those of Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos. Many of his works are commentaries on the Old and New Testaments. His funeral orations on Valentinian II and Theodosios I as well as his letters are important sources for the history of the late 4th C.

The Greek church held Ambrose in high regard. His vita by Paulinus was translated into Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:27–88), while an anonymous vita that relied upon Theodoret of Cyrrhus was compiled in Greek (C. Pasini, *AB* 101 [1983] 101–50); the latter served in its turn as the source for Symeon Metaphrastes (*BHG* 69). Numerous Greek hymns (*kontakia* and

kanones) were devoted to the celebration of Ambrose's feastday (C. Pasini, *BollBadGr* 37 [1983] 147–209; 38 [1984] 67–140; 39 [1985] 113–79).

ED. *Opera*, ed. C. Schenkl et al., 7 vols. in 8 pts. (Vienna-Prague-Leipzig 1897–1982).

LIT. A. Paredi, *Sant'Ambrogio* (Milan 1985). J.R. Palanque, *Saint Ambroise et l'Empire romain* (Paris 1933). F.H. Dudden, *The Life and Times of St. Ambrose*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1935). J. Irmscher, "Ambrosius in Byzanz," *Ambrosius Episcopus* (Milan 1976) 297–311. –T.E.G.

AMBULATORY, a passage around a major space. Prokopios of Caesarea (*Buildings* 1.1.58) uses the term *aule* (aisle?, lit. "courtyard") for the colonnaded spaces around the NAOS (nave) of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. Ambulatories facilitate movement in a church without disturbing central and sacred areas; they can give independent access to the PASTOPHORIA or lead to a contiguous church (LIPS MONASTERY, Constantinople; HOSIOS LOUKAS). The ambulatories also served as spaces for ecclesiastical gatherings and for burials. The "ambulatory church" type consists of a naos separated by piers or columns from ambulatories to the south, west, and north, which often provided access to lateral chapels; the term has been applied to such late 13th-C. structures as the main church of the PAMMAKARISTOS (S. Eyice, *Anadolu Araştırmaları* 1.2 [1959] 223–34).

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 198–203. –W.L., K.M.K.

AMBULATORY CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

AMERALIOS (ἀμηράλιος), commander of a fleet. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 183.21–23) defines an *ameralios* as subaltern of the MEGAS DOUX and commander of the whole NAVY. It is generally accepted that the term was borrowed from the Catalans at the beginning of the 14th C. since Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:420.7–8) relates that ROGER DE FLOR appointed an exarch of his 12 ships, "whom their dialect calls *amerales*." *Amerales* as a family name is known, however, at least from 1280 (*PLP*, no.774). In the court hierarchy the *ameralios* was placed between the SKOUTERIOS and EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. L.R. Menager, *Amiratus-Ameras* (Paris 1960) 108f. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 57. –A.K.

AMIDA (Ἄμιδα, Diyarbakır in Turkey), capital and metropolitan bishopric of Mesopotamia. Fortified by Constantius II in 349, Amida was frequently contested between Byz. and the Sasanians. It was conquered by Shāpūr II in 359, retaken by Julian in 363, taken by Kavād in 502, and returned to the Byz. in 504; its buildings were restored by Anastasios I. It fell again to the Persians in 602, but was recovered in 628 by Herakleios, who built a Church of St. Thomas there. Amida came under Arab control in 640. The city walls, which still stand, are attributed to Constantius or Justinian I and were restored in the medieval period by various Muslim rulers. The Church of St. Kosmas disappeared in this century, but the sanctuary of the large tetraconch Church of the Virgin survives. According to JOHN OF EPHESUS, a native of the region, there were five monasteries at Amida in his time. Amida was reportedly attacked five times by JOHN (I) TZIMISKES: in 958, 959, 972, 973, and 974.

LIT. M. van Berchem, J. Strzygowski, *Amida* (Heidelberg 1910). J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 2:344f. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 105–09. –M.M.M.

ʿAMĪR. See EMIR.

AMIROUTZES, GEORGE, philosopher, theologian, and writer; born Trebizond ca.1400, died Constantinople after 1469. The name is a diminutive of the Turkish "emir." Amiroutzes (Ἀμιρούτζης) is first mentioned as a lay adviser to the Byz. delegation to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he supported UNION OF THE CHURCHES (M. Jugie, *EO* 36 [1937] 175–80). Later, he allegedly repudiated his earlier views in a letter to Demetrios, duke of Nauplion (ed. M. Jugie, *Byzantion* 14 [1939] 77–93); Gill (*Personalities* 204–12) has, however, challenged the attribution to Amiroutzes of this anti-Unionist tractate. In 1447 Amiroutzes was an envoy from Trebizond to Genoa; from ca.1458 to 1461 he served as *protovestiarios* and *megas logothetes* of the last Trapezuntine emperor, DAVID I KOMNENOS (1458–61). After the surrender of TREBIZOND to the Turks (Aug. 1461), he went to the court of MEHMED II at Adrianople and then to Constantinople, where he continued his scholarly activity, discussing philosophy with the sultan and preparing a map of the world based on Ptolemy (F. Babinger, *Mehmed the*

Conqueror and His Time [Princeton 1978] 246–48). Because of his Turcophile stance, Amiroutzes has frequently been charged with treachery and hypocrisy; he has been defended, however, by N.B. Tomadakes (*EEBS* 18 [1948] 99–143) and O. Lampsides (*ArchPont* 17 [1952] 15–54), who also dispute his alleged conversion to Islam.

The few surviving works of Amiroutzes include a dialogue with Mehmed on Christianity, poems of fulsome praise for the sultan, and a few letters to contemporaries such as BESSARION and Theodore AGALLIANOS.

ED. Dialogue—Lat. tr. by J. Werner (Nuremberg 1514). Poems—ed. S. Lampros, *DIEE* 2 (1885) 275–82. Letter to Bessarion—PG 161:723–28. List of ed. in Tomadakes, *EEBS* 18 (1948) 102f.

LIT. *PLP*, no.784. Beck, *Kirche* 772. –A.M.T.

AMISOS (Ἀμι(ν)σός, now Samsun), coastal city of PONTOS. Amisos is rarely mentioned before its capture by the Arabs in 863. It was a city of the ANATOLIKON theme and played an essential commercial role in supplying Cherson with grain (*De adm. imp.* 53.533–35). Seals mention several fiscal functionaries of Amisos: *kommerkiarios*, *dioiketes*, and *abydikos*. The city was occupied by the Turks in 1194, by the Komnenoi of Trebizond in 1204, and definitively by the Seljuks in 1214. During the first Turkish occupation it appears that Greek and Turkish settlements coexisted side by side. The remains of Amisos include late Roman walls, floor mosaics, churches, and inscriptions. Amisos was a suffragan of AMASEIA.

Because of similarity of names, Amisos was formerly identified with the Sampson ruled by Sabbas ASIDENOS; his base was actually PRIENE.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 92–95. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1289f. –C.F.

AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, Latin historian; born Antioch ca.330, died after 392. Born to a noble family, Ammianus saw wide military service in east and west as a staff officer (*protector domesticus*) in the years 354–63, including the siege of Amida (359) and Julian's Persian expedition (363). After returning home, he embarked on more scholarly travels to Egypt, Greece, and Rome, where, to judge from his resentful remarks, he fell victim to the expulsion of foreigners in the famine of 383. He was back in Rome in 392, enjoying the fame of his published history.

In his own concluding words (31.16.9), his *Res Gestae* covered the period 96–378 from the standpoint of a "former soldier and Greek." The first 13 books, covering 257 years with a starting point designed to provoke comparison with Tacitus, are lost. The surviving books 14–31 cover in obviously much greater detail the years 353–78, ending in catastrophe (battle of ADRIANOPLE) and forebodings of doom. Ammianus combines traditional prejudices (patriotism, contempt for barbarians and mobs, outbursts against corruption and luxury) with a refreshing religious tolerance and balanced appreciation of his protagonists—even his hero Julian's feet of clay are acknowledged. His style is just as mixed, with Tacitean epigram and Vergilian color blended with a jagged Latin that wavers between clumsiness and power. Although a pagan, Ammianus includes a surprising amount of information and detached commentary on Christian affairs (E.D. Hunt, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 186–200).

ED. *Rerum gestarum libri qui supersunt*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1978). *Römische Geschichte*, ed. W. Seyfarth, 4 vols. (Berlin 1968–71), with Germ. tr. *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1935–39), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R.C. Blockley, *Ammianus Marcellinus, A Study of His Historiography and Political Thought* (Brussels 1975). K. Rosen, *Ammianus Marcellinus* (Darmstadt 1982), rev. T.D. Barnes, *ClRev* n.s. 35 (1985) 48–50. R. Rike, *Apex Omnium: Religion in the Res Gestae of Ammianus* (Berkeley 1987). R. Seager, *Ammianus Marcellinus, Seven Studies in His Language and Thought* (Columbia, Mo., 1986). A. Demandt, *Zeitkritik und Geschichtsbild im Werk Ammians* (Bonn 1965). –B.B.

AMMONIOS (Ἀμμώνιος), teacher and commentator on Aristotle; born Alexandria late 5th C., died after 517. Ammonios imbibed paganism from his philosophically minded parents; after the death of his father Hermeias, his mother took him and his brother to Athens to study under PROKLOS. His studies complete, Ammonios returned home where, except for some time in Constantinople, he remained as a lecturer on PLATO and ARISTOTLE. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.187) vouchsafes his reputation in astronomy and geometry. He is variously praised and damned for his paganism, industry, and greed. Of his many writings, only the commentary on Aristotle's *On Interpretation* remains, though the gist of his lectures survives in students' notes. His most famous pupils included John PHILOPONOS, who edited his lectures on Aristotle's *Physics*, DAMASKIOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and SIMPLIKIOS.

ED. Commentaries on Aristotle—*CAG* 4:3–6. *Les Attributions (Catégories): le texte aristotélicien et les Prolégomènes d'Ammonios d'Hermeias*, tr. Y. Pelletier (Paris 1983).

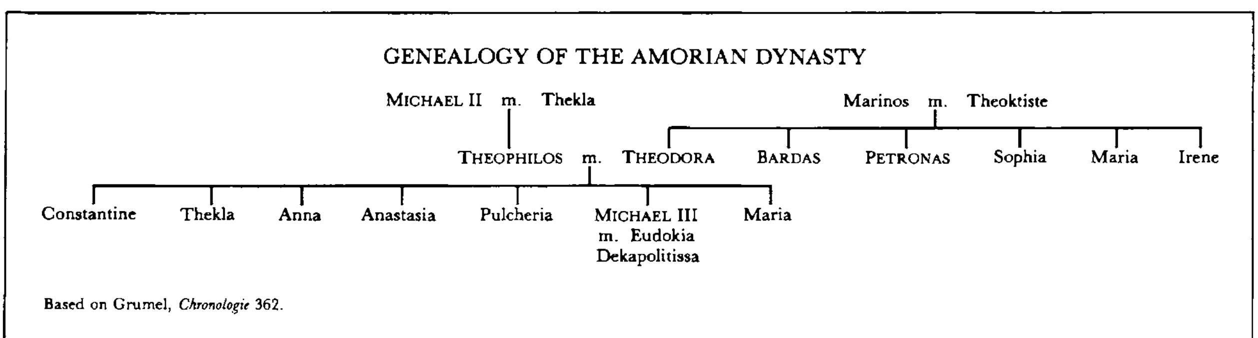
LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* x–xiii. K. Kremer, *Der Metaphysikbegriff in den Aristoteles–Kommentaren der Ammonius-Schule* (Münster 1961). –B.B.

AMNOS (ἀμνός "lamb"), term that refers esp. to the sacrificial lamb. In the Old Testament the lamb was a common sacrificial victim, esp. the paschal lamb; in the New Testament and church fathers it became a symbol of Jesus as victim (see LAMB OF GOD). In Byz. liturgical usage, the *amnos* is the central portion of the principal PROSPHORA bread, signifying Christ's body; marked with a stamp, it is cut out at the PROTHESIS rite and consecrated at the EUCHARIST. GERMANOS I (Germanos, *Liturgy*, pars. 6, 21, 36) applied the symbolism of Isaiah 53 to this rite, and within a century the prophetic verses (Is 53:7–8) became the liturgical formula for the excision of the *amnos*. The use of a lance for this excision is symbolic of the soldier's lance (see RELICS) that pierced Christ's side at the Crucifixion (Jn 19:34). In wall painting at KURBINOVO and elsewhere in and after the 12th C., the image of the *amnos*, in the form of a prone Christ Child on the altar, replaces the officiating Christ earlier represented in the apses of churches. –R.F.T., A.C.

AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 820 to 867 and included MICHAEL II, THEOPHILOS, THEODORA, and MICHAEL III; it was so called because its founder, Michael II, was born in AMORION (see genealogical table). The dynasty is best known for its role in several significant religious events. It was responsible for the final defeat of ICONOCLASM, which Michael II had tolerated and Theophilos had revived, but which Theodora ended (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Michael III created a schism with Rome by permitting the election of Patr. PHOTIOS, but his sponsorship of the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia and the baptism of BORIS of Bulgaria helped draw the Slavs into the Byz. cultural orbit. The Amorian dynasty also witnessed the revival of secular learning through patrons such as THEOKTISTOS and Caesar BARDAS and scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Under the dynasty the Arabs occupied Crete, Sicily, and parts of southern Italy, but, despite victories by MA'MŪN and MUʿTAṢIM over Theophilos, they made no permanent gains in Asia Minor and were on the defensive by the end of Michael III's reign (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:22–264).

LIT. B. Melioranskij, "Iz semejnoj istorii Amorijskoj dinastii," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 1–37. Bury, *ERE* 77–179. Vasiliev, *History* 271–90. *CMH* 4.1:100–16. –P.A.H.

AMORION (Ἀμόριον), now Hisar near Emirdağ on the borderlands of Galatia and Phrygia, was fortified by Zeno but gained importance only in the 7th C. when it became capital of the ANATOLIKON theme because of its strategic location on the main southern invasion route. First attacked by the Arabs in 644 and taken in 646, it was a frequent goal of their raids. In 742–43 it was the base of Constantine V during the revolt of ARTABASDOS. Amorion gained its greatest fame when a native son, Michael II, became emperor and founded the "Amorian" dynasty. In 838, Amorion was taken and destroyed by the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-MUʿTAṢIM in a great campaign mounted against it. The officers and civic officials captured at that time and later executed for their refusal to renounce Christianity are renowned as the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION. The city never



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

recovered from this attack, though it survived as a bishopric (under PESSINOUS; autocephalous by 787, metropolis before 860). Although Alexios I defeated the Turks there in 1116, Amorion had fallen definitively to the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site preserves traces of its fortifications and foundations of several buildings, including a large church.

LIT. *TIB* 4:122–25. –C.F.

AMORKESOS (Ἀμορκέσος, possibly Ar. Imru' al-Qays), 5th-C. Arab chief (probably GHASSĀNID) in the service of Persia who for some reason left the Great King and crossed over to Byz. Having consolidated his position among the Arabs in northern Arabia he began to attack Byz. territory in Palestina III and finally crowned his successes with the occupation of the island of Iotabe in the Gulf of Eilat. Desirous of becoming a Byz. PHYLARCH, he sent Bp. Petros to Constantinople ca.473 to negotiate with Leo I. This mission was successful and the emperor brought Amorkesos to Constantinople, where he treated him royally and made him phylarch.

LIT. I. Kawar, "On the Patriciate of Imru' al-Qays," in *The World of Islam: Studies in Honor of Philip K. Hitti*, ed. J. Kritzeck, R.B. Winder (London–New York 1960) 74–82. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 59–106. N.V. Pigulevskaja, *Araby u granic Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.* (Moscow 1964) 51–54. –I.A.Sh.

AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION, churchman, theologian, and saint; born Diokaisareia? between ca.340 and 345, died after 394; feastday 23 Nov. Amphilochios (Ἀμφιλόχιος) was overshadowed by the big three CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS to whom he was connected by friendship and family, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS being his cousin. The hypothesis of K. Bonis (*SBN* 8 [1953] 3–10) that Amphilochios was the uncle of the deaconess OLYMPIAS was rejected by Oberg (*infra* 48, 78). After studying under LIBANIOS at Antioch, and a decade or so as rhetor in Constantinople, he was consecrated bishop of Ikonion ca.373 at the behest of BASIL THE GREAT. An efficient fighter of heretics, he spoke at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and earned the praise of Theodosios I; subsequently he procured the condemnation of the supporters of MESSALIANISM at the Council of Side ca.390. His last recorded appearance was at the synod of Constantinople in 394. The bulk of his writings is lost or fragmentary. Nine homilies survive, mostly on biblical texts, as does a treatise on false asceticism and his letter on the Holy Spirit. Most interesting are his 333 iambics *For Seleucus*, not so much for their routine exhortations to virtue as for their list of biblical books.

ED. *Opera: Orationes, etc.*, ed. C. Datema (Turnhout 1978). *Peri pseudous askeseos*, ed. K.G. Bones (Athens 1979). *Iambi ad Seleucum*, ed. E. Oberg (Berlin 1969); rp. with Germ. tr. in *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 67–97.

LIT. K. Holl, *Amphilochius von Ikonium in seinem Verhältnis zu den grossen Kappadoziern* (Tübingen 1904). –B.B.

AMPHIPOLIS (Ἀμφίπολις), city of Macedonia on the Via Egnatia not far from the mouth of the STRYMON. In Roman times Amphipolis was capital of Macedonia I but by late antiquity it was subject to Thessalonike (Hierokl. 640.2). The bridges across the Strymon both north and south (at Marmarion) of Amphipolis were used throughout the Byz. period. Slavs were established in the region in the 7th–8th C. The bishop of Amphipolis, first mentioned in 553, was suffragan of Thessalonike. The bishopric appears for the last time in a notitia dated after 787 (*Notitiae CP* 3.272). Even though authors of the 12th–14th C. continued to use the name as a geographic designation, F. Papazoglou (*ZRVI* 2 [1953] 7–24) demonstrated that this was the result of conscious archaizing and that the late antique city had ceased to exist; its place was taken by CHRYSOPOLIS, which is mentioned in various documents from the end of the 10th C. onward (including portulans of the 15th C.).

Near ancient Eion south of Amphipolis is a large rectangular fortress, undated but probably still used in the 14th C. Extensive excavation at Amphipolis has revealed the remains of four large basilicas of the 5th–6th C. with rich mosaic pavements (D. Lazarides, *PraktArchEt* [1959] 42–46; [1964] 35–40; E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* [1962] 42–46; [1964] 41–43; [1978] 59–63). A centralized building with a circular outer wall and a hexagonal nave and projecting apse bears comparison with San Vitale in RAVENNA (E. Stikas, *PraktArchEt* [1966] 46; [1971] 46–48; [1981] 26–32; [1982] 43–51). In 1367 two brothers, the *megas primikerios* John and the *stratopedarches* Alexios, constructed a tower north of Amphipolis to protect lands there that they had given to the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos.

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippes* 172f, 208f. E.G. Stikas, "Les fouilles d'Amphipolis paléochrétienne en Macédoine orientale," *BS/EB* 8, 11, 12 (1981–85) 351–84. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

AMPHORA (ἀμφορεύς), large ceramic transport and storage vessel used in all parts of the empire, at least through the 13th C. The amphora shapes of the 4th–7th C. were developed from ancient prototypes and manufactured in many centers throughout the eastern Mediterranean. Amphoras were normally either round or cylindrical in shape, with two handles extending from the shoulder to the mouth; the shoulder and often the whole body were marked with grooves, wheel-ridges, or combing, presumably to facilitate the use of ropes to secure the vessels in the holds of ships.

Archaeological evidence, from shipwrecks and land sites, reveals the extent of the use of amphoras in contexts ranging from household and commercial storage to long-distance transportation. Excavations in Constantinople (esp. at Saraçhane and Kalenderhane), in Cherson and the eastern Crimea, and in Pliska, Tomis, and Dinogetia show the development of amphora types in the 8th–10th C. when evidence from elsewhere is slight. By the 11th C. Byz. amphoras are again found commonly throughout the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, a characteristic type being a relatively small conical-shaped amphora with heavy wheel-ridges, a mouth with a very short neck, and short handles. While amphoras of the 4th to 7th C. are frequently marked with graffiti, those of the 11th to 12th C. are occasionally stamped, usually on the shoulder. Since these stamps are often monograms or abbreviated names (Nicholas, John, George, etc.), Jakobson (*infra*) believes them to be potters' marks (see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL).

Amphoras were still quite common in the 12th–13th C., but their usage seems to have declined in the 14th C., perhaps because materials were transported in other containers, possibly barrels. Amphoras were inserted into the walls of churches, esp. in the masonry of pendentives; according to some authorities, this was for acoustical purposes, but the amphoras were probably used simply as lightweight filling material. Amphora-like vessels could also be made of metal (see PLATE, DOMESTIC GOLD AND SILVER).

LIT. J. Čangova, "Srednovekovni amfori v Bŭlgarija," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 22 (1959) 243–62. I. Barnea, "Amforele feodale de la Dinogetia," *SCIV* 5 (1954) 512–27. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959) 302–17. W. Hautumm, *Studien zu Amphoren der spätrömischen und frühbyzantinischen Zeit* (Fulda 1981). J. Schaefer, "Amphorae as Material Indices of Trade and Specialization," *AJA* 84 (1980) 230f. –T.E.G.

AMPHORA STAMPS. See STAMPS, COMMERCIAL.

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE, vessels of lead, clay, and other materials that were used by pilgrims to transport oil, water, earth, etc., from the LOCA SANCTA. Particular types include UNGUENTARIA and MENAS FLASKS. The main collections are at MONZA AND BOBBIO in Italy, where are preserved more than three dozen small (diam. approximately 7–9 cm), embossed tin-lead pilgrim flasks, closely

AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE. Ampulla; silver. Monza Cathedral Treasury. To the left of the seated Virgin and Child are the Three Magi; to the right, the Annunciation to the shepherds.



related to the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY in date (ca.600), provenance (Palestine), iconography, and function. Their iconography is drawn from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, with special stress (by frequency of choice and size) on the Veneration of the Cross and the Myrrophoroi—scenes evocative of the Holy Land's two most famous shrines, the Holy SEPULCHRE and Golgotha in JERUSALEM. The pilgrim EULOGIA they contained is revealed by a recurrent inscription: "Oil of the Wood of Life of the Holy Places of Christ." Indeed, the PIACENZA PILGRIM describes a ceremony in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem for the blessing of such oil flasks through contact with the True Cross. Their amuletic function for pilgrims is revealed by their emphasis on the scene of Peter Saved from Drowning, and the inscription on one specimen: "Oil of the Wood of Life, that guides us by land and sea."

LIT. Grabar, *Ampoules*. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 20–25. -G.V.

ʿAMR (Ἄμρος, Ἄμβρος), more fully ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ; Muslim conqueror of Byz. Egypt; born Mecca between ca.575 and 595, died al-Fusṭāṭ (Cairo) 6 Jan. 664. He converted to Islam between 627 and 630. A member of the tribe of Quraysh, he was a trader between Ḥijāz, al-ʿArīsh, and towns in southern Palestine. Short but hardy and broad-shouldered, he was brave, cool-headed, and clever, and an excellent horseman. Muḥammad gave him various military commands; ABU BAKR appointed him to lead one of four armies against Byz. Syria. Victorious in southern Palestine, ʿAmr conquered Jerusalem, Askalon, Gaza, and Eleutheropolis (Elousa) and participated in the siege of Caesarea. Strategically well placed for an attack on Byz. Egypt and aware of its vulnerabilities, in Dec. 639 ʿAmr launched the invasion. At his own or ʿUmar's initiative, he set out with a small force (3,500 or 4,000) for Egypt, via the coastal route to al-ʿArīsh. Soon 10,000 or 12,000 reinforcements followed. After taking Pelousion, ʿAmr defeated the Byz. at Heliopolis (640); by 642 he had overrun Egypt, including Babylon (Cairo) and Alexandria, and captured Barca in Cyrenaica. ʿUMAR restricted ʿAmr's command to the army in the lower Delta. ʿUTHMĀN removed ʿAmr, but a Byz.-inspired rebellion of the Greek population in 645 and a Byz. maritime expeditionary army forced his reinstatement. He checked the Byz. army at Alexandria and retook the city.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 113–16, 129–31, 134–37, 151–53. Butler, *Arab Conquest* 194–334, 546–48. A.J. Wensinck, *EI*² 1:451. U. Luft, "Der Beginn der islamischen Eroberungen Ägyptens im Jahre 639," *Forschungen und Berichte, Archäologische Beiträge* 16 (1974) 123–28. -W.E.K.

AMULET (φυλακτήριον). Although it could take many forms, from medicinal animal fur to apotropaic door frames, an amulet was usually a small artifact worn on the body, such as a pendant, armband (see ARMBANDS, AMULETIC), ring, or token. Severos of Antioch (PO 29.1:79 [583]f) advises against "the suspension and attachment to necks or arms or other members [of those objects] called *phylakteria*, or protective amulets . . ."

Especially common in the 4th to 8th C., and among the lower strata of society, amulets were roundly condemned by the church fathers and the church councils (e.g., Laodikeia I, canon 36). Magical power was invoked through medium, inscriptions, and/or imagery. For example, the earth of which PILGRIM TOKENS were made was believed to convey the power of the deity or saint from whose LOCUS SANCTUS it was taken. As for inscriptions, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, such as *Heis Theos*, commonly appear on 4th- through 8th-C. amulets, as do Hebrew sacred names, such as *Iaō*. These were thought to convey the protection of divine power as, commonly, was the 90th Psalm: "He that dwells in the help of the Highest. . . ."

Like these inscriptions, amuletic iconography reflects varied, often ancient, sources. The HOLY RIDER—the generic emblem of good conquering evil—was an esp. popular image with pre-Christian roots, as were the Greco-Egyptian RING SIGNS that commonly accompanied it. Alexander of Tralles (Alex.Trall. 2:377) prescribes a treatment for colic involving a jasper ring bezel engraved with HERAKLES choking the Nemean Lion. Yet, much as biblical quotations eventually found a role on amulets, so also did biblical imagery. Most often themes of deliverance or protection—such as the Sacrifice of Isaac—were chosen with the aim of establishing a typological bond. The Adoration of the Magi was a preferred theme for pilgrim amulets. More generic in its applicability was the EVIL EYE.

Medical Amulets. Amulets in this subcategory were designed for specific diseases—thus excluding relics, icons, and pilgrim tokens, whose mi-

raculous powers might incidentally encompass HEALING. Clearly some of the more common Greco-Egyptian medico-magical gem amulet types (governing sciatica and hemorrhaging) continued into Byz. times. Some 5th- through 7th-C. pendants include amulets bearing texts invoking "good digestion" and related benefits. As with more generally efficacious amulets, power could derive from substance (e.g., haematite, which was thought to absorb blood), symbols (e.g., ring signs), phrases, or images: the image of a man bending over to cut grain provided "sympathetic magic" to treat sciatica, much as a representation of the Woman with the Issue of Blood would be used to treat hemorrhaging.

Medusa Amulet. This is the modern term for a very popular form of uterine amulet known from the 5th to 8th C. and esp. favored from the 9th C. onward. Its power derives from an image characteristically formed of a human head with seven (earlier) or 12 (later) serpentlike rays, all enclosed in a solar disc, which may also include magical ring signs. This image appears frequently on pendant medallions and less often on ring bezels and armbands (here, in the company of the Holy Rider and *locus sanctus* iconography). That their magical domain was the uterus is clear from many of their inscriptions. The uterus (*hystera*) is addressed directly, usually with the double epithet "dark and black one." It is often accused of "coiling like a serpent, hissing like a dragon, and roaring like a lion"—and then is admonished to "lie down like a lamb"; a ring excavated at Corinth is inscribed: *hysterikon phylakterion* ("uterus amulet"). The Medusa-like image on these amulets developed out of the Greco-Egyptian CHNOUBIS, one of antiquity's most popular gem-amulets—and one long recognized as specifically effective in treating disorders of the abdomen and uterus.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, "Amulettes byzantins anciens destinés à combattre les maléfices & maladies," *REGr* 5 (1892) 73–93. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic." Bonner, *Studies* 51–94. –G.V.

ʿAMWĀS. See EMMAUS.

ANACHARSIS OR ANANIAS (Ἀνάχαρσις ἢ Ἀνανίας), title of an anonymous 12th-C. pamphlet (probably written soon after 1158). Chrestides (*infra*) unconvincingly attributed it to Niketas EUGENEIANOS. The pamphlet is in the form of a dialogue between Aristagoras and the personification of Grammar, but is in fact a soliloquy by Aristagoras. Anacharsis, whose name is John (identified by Chrestides as John KAMATEROS, *logothetes tou dromou*), received his derisive nickname ("delighted with Anna") from the name of his second spouse, Anna. The author presented him as the scion of a rich family who was the antithesis to the ideal of elite behavior: Anacharsis was a failure as a warrior, rider, and hunter and an unsuccessful musician, scribe, and astrologer. (The author dwells much more on these "social" accomplishments of an aristocrat than on traditional moral values or failings.) To make matters worse, after the death of his model first wife, Irene, Anacharsis became involved with the Jewish community. At the instigation of the Jew Mordecai, he married Anna, described as a "frog" who was baptized but was not improved even by this sacrament. The originality of the main image is in contrast to the imitativeness of the vocabulary, which relies greatly on the Bible, ancient authors, church fathers, and contemporary writers, primarily Eugeneianos, MICHAEL ITALIKOS, and PRODROMOS.

ED. D.A. Chrestides, *Markiana Anekdota* (Thessalonike 1984) 205–90, rev. A. Kazhdan, *Hellenika* 36 (1985) 184–89. –A.K.

ANACREONTICS, a short-lined lyrical verse named after the 6th-C. B.C. Ionian poet Anacreon. Since Anacreontics always had a basic eight-syllable pattern, they were adapted more easily than other forms of METER (whose syllable numbers were more varied) from ancient patterns of long and short syllables to the Byz. rules of stress accents. Anacreontics were used for religious compositions (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene and by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem); they were used for a secular composition by DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO. Subsequently they became assimilated into Byz. metrics as an eight-syllable verse, parallel to 12- and 15-syllable meters (DODECASYLLABLE and POLITICAL VERSE respectively). Later Byz. Anacreontics (which might better be called trochaic octosyllables) had a rather monotonous tendency to include a stress on odd-numbered syllables and a central caesura after the fourth syllable.

LIT. T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonteen* (Munich 1940). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:93–95. –M.J.J.

ANAGNOSTES (ἀναγνώστης), reader or lector, at first a layman, then a cleric in minor orders whose primary function was to read, from the AMBO, the texts from the Epistles (and, until the 7th C., from the Old Testament) prescribed for the liturgy. *Anagnostai* are classified by Byz. canonical commentators among the minor CLERGY (*klerikoi*), who received ordination through the sign of the cross (*sphragis*). In 535 Justinian I tried to limit the number of readers in the Great Church of Constantinople to 110 (nov.3); in 612 Herakleios set the limit at 160 (ed. J. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 68). The emperor Julian was an *anagnostes* before renouncing his Christian faith, as were the 9th-C. patriarchs JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS and PHOTIOS in the first stage of their clerical careers.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 79. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 87–91. –P.M.

ANAGNOSTES, JOHN. See JOHN ANAGNOSTES.

ANAGRAPHEUS (ἀναγραφεύς), fiscal official whose functions were hardly distinguishable from those of the EPOPTES. The earliest mention is on a seal of Leo, imperial *balnitor* and *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2095) of 750–850. The term is not used, however, in the TAKTIKA. *Anagrapheis* are mentioned in documents from 941 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2 and 3) to at least 1189 (MM 4:320.7); Dölger thinks that they existed up to 1204. Their major function was the revision of the cadaster; thus an act of 1044 (?) states that *anagrapheis* can be sent by the emperor to confiscate the lands of those owners who did not pay *demosion* to the DIOIKETES (*Pantel.*, no.3.1–4). Their function presupposed the measurement of land (see LAND SURVEY), and both THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and Michael CHONIATES accuse *anagrapheis* of using false measures. *Anagrapheis* were usually attached to specific themes—Peloponnesos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3220), Thrakesion (V. Laurent, *EO* 32 [1933] 36), Thessalonike, etc. (Dölger, *infra* 88). There were also *anagrapheis* of special departments, such as George, *anagrapheus* of the Eastern DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.466), or the *anagrapheus* of the soldiers (*kontaratoi*) and of sailors (Kek. 268.4–5). The *anagrapheus* often combined his duties with those of the KRITES. After 1204 he was replaced by the APOGRAPHEUS.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 82f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 301–03. –A.K.

ANALOGY (ἀναλογία, lit. "proportion" or "resemblance") was considered in antiquity, primarily by Aristotle, as a mode of predication using a term that is neither univocal nor equivocal but indicates a resemblance between parallel cases. In antiquity analogy served philosophical goals (primarily in mathematics and biology); the church fathers applied it to theology, esp. to discussing an essentially ineffable God. Origen (*Comm. on Gospel of John* 1:26.167—ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 31), while defining Christ as "light of the world," notes that spiritual concepts could have analogies to sensible objects. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:768A) states that the development of the soul presents a certain analogy to the stages of development of the human body through which is revealed order and sequence of the steps that lead man to the virtuous life. Greek theologians, however, did not elaborate a theory of analogy in the style of Thomas Aquinas. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, who rarely mentions the word analogy (e.g., *Contra Jacobitas* 77.3—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:134), broadly uses reasoning by analogy; he also attacks the weak analogies of his opponents, such as the Nestorians' assertion that Christ was a human being because of his "dwelling" within a human being (i.e., the Virgin), just as he is called a Nazarene because of his "dwelling" in Nazareth, although he had been born in Bethlehem (*Contra Nestor.* 22.6–11—ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:271).
–A.K., M.W.T.

ANAMUR. See ANEMOURION.

ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK (Anania Širakac'i), the most notable early Armenian scholar of scientific subjects; he lived in the 7th C. (exact dates unknown). Ananias traveled to Theodosioupolis, Constantinople, and Trebizond, where he studied mathematics with Tychikos, a Greek from Pontus who had learned Armenian. Ananias wrote numerous works on cosmography, a *Chronicle*, and some theological works. The *Geography* (wrongly attributed to MOSES XORENAC'I) has also been ascribed to him. Noteworthy is an introductory textbook of mathematics, with tables and a section of "Problems and Solutions," the first of its kind in Armenian. The *katholikos* Anastasios (661–67) asked Ananias to establish a fixed calendar, but this was not put into effect (Grumel, *Chronologie* 143).

ED. *Anania Širakac'u Matenagrut'yune*, ed. A. Abrahamyan (Erevan 1944). *Voprosy i rečenija vardapeta Ananija Širakca*, ed. I.A. Orbeli, *Izbrannie Trudy* (Erevan 1963) 512–31.

LIT. H. Berbérian, "Autobiographie d'Anania Širakac'i," *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 189–94. R. Hewsen, "Science in Seventh-Century Armenia: Anania of Širak," *Isis* 59 (1968) 32–45. J.-P. Mahé, "Quadrivium et cursus d'études au VII^{e} siècle, en Arménie et dans le monde byzantin d'après le 'K'nnikon' d'Anania Širakac'i," *TM* 10 (1987) 159–206. –R.T.

ANAPHORA (ἀναφορά, lit. "offering"), initially the eucharistic offering itself, but by the 6th C. the prayer accompanying that offering, the Eucharistic Prayer. Usually addressed to God the Father, the anaphora is the central element of the entire EUCHARIST, the text that reveals its meaning: it recounts what Jesus did at the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER) when he instituted the rite. Originally extemporaneous, fixed texts of the anaphora first appear in the 4th C. (A. Bouley, *From Freedom to Formula* [Washington, D.C., 1981] 217–53).

Eastern anaphoras show three structural types, Antiochene, Alexandrian, and East Syrian, distinguished from each other by the position of the intercessions (a later interpolation) relative to the anaphora's other, older elements. The Byz. anaphora of Sts. John Chrysostom, Basil, and James are all Antiochene in structure. They open with an introductory dialogue (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 49 [1983] 340–65; 52 [1986] 299–324; 54 [1988] 47–77; 55 [1989] 63–74) followed by a prayer of praise and thanksgiving to the Father for creation and salvation. This introduces the biblical TRISAGION, which is followed by a prayer recounting in greater or lesser detail the story of salvation in Jesus, esp. the account of the Last Supper, concluding with the chanting of Jesus' Words of Institution over the bread and cup ("This is my body, this is my blood"). The anamnesis prayer follows, recalling Jesus' command to repeat the rite ("Do this in memory of me," Lk 22:19), his death, resurrection, ascension, and second coming. Then in the EPICLESIS the Father is asked to send down the Holy Spirit upon the bread and wine to change them into Jesus' body and blood for the salvation of those who receive them worthily in COMMUNION. This petition leads to others: the DIPTYCHS and the intercessions for the living and dead. The anaphora concludes with a DOXOLOGY, chanted aloud, to which the people respond with "The Great Amen." The term *anaphora* may also refer to the PROSPHORA, whether consecrated or unconsecrated, or to the veil (AER).

ED. A. Hänggi, I. Pahl, *Prex Eucharistica* (Fribourg 1968) 101–415, esp. 223–63.

LIT. L. Bouyer, *Eucharist* (Notre Dame, Ind., 1968) 244–314. E.J. Kilmartin, "Sacrificium Laudis: Content and Function of Early Eucharistic Prayers," *TheolSt* 35 (1974) 268–87. –R.F.T.

ANAPLOUS. See BOSPOROS.

ANARGYROI (ἀνάργυροι, lit. "without money"), epithet of healing SAINTS who, unlike secular physicians, performed cures without taking payment. The wondrous HEALING of the *anargyroi* was favorably contrasted with the activity of pagan deities such as Asklepios and Isis and with ordinary PHYSICIANS (J. Duffy, *DOP* 38 [1984] 24f). The principal *anargyroi* were KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, but the epithet was applied also to KYROS AND JOHN, SAMPSON, and PANTELEEMON. From the 10th C. a similar term was used to designate a healing saint or his tomb ("the free hospital," *amisthon iatreion*), for example, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Representation in Art. The *anargyroi*, generally depicted as young or middle-aged, are clad soberly in tunics and *phelonia*. They carry attributes of their profession: little medicine chests (sometimes oblong, sometimes cylindrical like a pyxis), narrow boxes of medical instruments, phials, little spoons, spatulas, or pincers (see PHYSICIAN'S BOX).

LIT. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1077–82. A. Müsseler, *LCI* 5:255–59. C.H. Wendt, "Die heilige Ärzte in der Ostkirchenkunst," *Centaurus* 1 (1950–51) 132–38. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ANASARTHA (Ἀνασάρθα, now Khanāzīr in Syria) was made a *polis* of SYRIA I in 528 by Justinian I, who renamed it Theodorias after his empress (Malal. 444.20–22). Anasartha was situated on the desert LIMES. Two *martyria* were built there in the 5th–6th C., apparently by Arab wives of Byz. generals (Victor and Silvanus). City walls were constructed in 594/5, in the name of Emp. Maurice, state officials, and the local bishop, perhaps by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, a *mechanikos* who had earlier built the walls at CHALKIS and buildings at ZENOBIA. The walls of Anasartha may have been extended in 604 by a local (Arab?) Gregory

Abimenos in the name of Emp. Phokas and his empress Leontia.

LIT. R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (Paris 1945) 68, 193–97. –M.M.M.

ANASTASIA, APOCALYPSE OF, a compilation that describes the fate of sinners whom the pious nun Anastasia chanced to see during her visionary journey to Hell. The text, dated by Speranskij (*infra*) in the 10th or 11th C. and by Beck (*Kirche* 653) in the 11th or 12th C., survives in late Greek MSS (of the 15th–16th C.) and in two Slavic versions. Its content is banal, with an emphasis on the moral decline of mankind, and its cosmogony is traditional, resembling that of the Book of ENOCH. The author, however, mentions some historical personages and such events as the reconciliation of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas with his murderer John I Tzimiskes. Anastasia also reports meeting the *protospatharios* Peter of the *kastron* of Corinth, who is replaced in the Slavic version by Paul Samonas.

ED. *Apocalypsis Anastasiae*, ed. R. Homburg (Leipzig 1903).
LIT. M. Speranskij, "Malo izvestnoe vizantijskoe 'Videnie' i ego slavjanskie teksty," *BS* 3 (1931) 110–33. R. Ganszyniec, "Zur Apocalypsis Anastasiae," *BNJbb* 4 (1923) 270–76. –J.I., A.K.

ANASTASIOPOLIS. See DARA.

ANASTASIOS (Ἀναστάσιος), patriarch of Constantinople (22 Jan. 730–Jan. 754), probably of Syrian origin (Gero, *Leo III* 29, n.17). Anastasios was originally a disciple and *synkellos* of Patr. GERMANOS I. He changed sides, however, and supported the Iconoclastic policy of Leo III. After Germanos's deposition, Leo appointed Anastasios patriarch. He compiled and signed a document (*libelloi*) against the veneration of icons and sent *synodika* to Pope Gregory II defending the Iconoclastic position; the papal reaction was to excommunicate the patriarch. Nothing is known of any further activity of Anastasios during the reign of Leo III; after the emperor's death he supported ARTABASDOS and denounced Constantine V, alleging in a public statement that the emperor had confessed to the patriarch that Christ had been an ordinary man and not the Son of God (Theoph. 415.24–29). After his victory, Constantine ordered that Anastasios be flogged and ignominiously paraded naked on a donkey in the Hippodrome; nevertheless he retained him on the patriarchal throne. When Anastasios died, Constantine kept the see vacant for several months before appointing his successor, the Iconoclast Constantine II (754–66); both actions contributed to the declining reputation of the patriarchate.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 343–44. R. Janin, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1465f. –A.K.

ANASTASIOS I, emperor (from 11 Apr. 491); born Dyrrachion ca.430, died Constantinople 8 or 10 July 518. He was nicknamed Dikoros ("with two pupils") because his eyes were of different colors. His flatterers called Anastasios a descendant of Pompey, a later legend (in George Hamartolos) made him a son of a priest; his mother is described as a Manichaean. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 149.27–150.1) calls him a supporter of the Manichees and rebukes him for patronizing a painter of this persuasion. He was famous for his Christian devotion (of Monophysite type). Circa 488 he was proposed as successor to PETER THE FULLER as bishop of Antioch. Even though he held the relatively unimportant post of *decurion* of the *silentiarioi*, in 491 Zeno's widow ARIADNE selected him as emperor against the wishes of Patr. Euphemios (490–96) and of Zeno, who had wanted his brother Longinos to succeed him. Anastasios married Ariadne on 20 May 491 and banished Longinos to the Thebaid to die of starvation.

By 497 Anastasios quelled the independence of the Isaurian faction both in Constantinople and in ISAURIA. He reformed the fiscal administration by shifting the main tax burden from the urban centers (abolition of the CHRYSARGYRON) to rural areas and transferred tax collection from the *curiales* to state-appointed *vindices* (E. Chrysos, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 93–102). Anastasios created the *comitiva sacri patrimonii*, transmitting a section of state property to the emperor's private estate. In 494 he reformed the bronze coinage, issuing the large FOLLIS and several subdivisions. His frugal administration resulted in substantial economies so that at the time of his death the treasury contained 320,000 pounds of gold, despite energetic build-

ing activity in various frontier zones (I. Barnea, *Dacia* n.s. 4 [1960] 363–74).

Anastasios met with political resistance, esp. dangerous during the revolt of VITALIAN, as well as religious opposition from the Orthodox, who accused him of Monophysite tendencies. He had to deal with severe tensions on the frontiers. After a period of relative calm on the Danube, the Bulgars began to penetrate into the empire. To check them, Anastasios ordered construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace in ca.503/4 according to B. Croke (*GRBS* 23 [1982] 73f). His relations with THEODORIC THE GREAT were hostile, and the popes condemned the AKAKIAN SCHISM and tried to establish their jurisdiction over the northern Balkans. The Persians attacked Mesopotamia and temporarily seized AMIDA. Anastasios had no children, but his nephews and their descendants retained an influential position for at least five generations (Al. Cameron, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 259–76). Anastasios is sometimes held to be the emperor portrayed on the BARBERINI IVORY.

LIT. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)* (Rome 1969). *PLRE* 2:78–80. P. Charanis, *Church and State in the Later Roman Empire*² (Thessalonike 1974). –T.E.G.

ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch (559–70; 25 March 593–end of 598); born Palestine, died Antioch end of 598. Scholars (Sakkos, Weiss) now have rejected his identification with ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. Before his election as patriarch he had been *apokrisiarios* of Alexandria to the see of Antioch. For his stiff opposition to the APHTHARTODOCETISM of Justinian I, he was banished, probably to Constantinople, under Justin II (570). During this period he was befriended by the future Pope GREGORY I, with whom he was later to correspond. His literary output is primarily dogmatic and polemic. Although the authenticity of some of his homilies is debatable, the address he delivered on his return to Antioch is genuine (25 March 593). Five of his treatises on the Trinity and the Incarnation exist in Latin translation. As a Neochalcedonian, Anastasios used a strict Orthodox vocabulary but in some points (e.g., in the emphasis on the unity of divine and human natures in the Savior) he came close to moderate Monophysites. John of Damascus used him, and during the Iconoclast disputes both parties referred to Anastasios as an authority.

ED. PG 89:1289–1408. J. Pitra, *Juris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta* (Rome 1868) 2:251–57.

LIT. S.N. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 44–86. G. Weiss, *Studia Anastasiana I* (Munich 1965). K.-H. Uthemann, "Des Patriarchen Anastasius I. von Antiochien Jerusalemer Streitsgespräch mit einem Tritheiten (CPG 6958)," *Traditio* 37 (1981) 73–108. –A.P.

ANASTASIOS II, emperor (713–15); baptismal name Artemios; died Constantinople 1 June 719. Following the deposition of PHILIPPIKOS by officers of the OPSIKION theme, the *protasekretis* Artemios was crowned as Anastasios on 4 June 713. He reversed his predecessor's support of MONOTHELETISM by eventually replacing Patr. John VI (712–15) with GERMANOS I and by revalidating the Third Council of Constantinople. The raid of MASLAMA into Galatia in 714 prompted Anastasios to send entreaties for peace to Caliph Walīd, but reports of large-scale campaign preparations in Syria spurred him to prepare Constantinople for an assault. He appointed competent thematic officers, including the future LEO III; ordered individuals in Constantinople to be able to support themselves for three years or else to leave the city; rebuilt the fleet; restored the land and sea walls; erected siege weapons; and stored grain. He also dispatched a fleet in 715 to destroy the Arabs' timber supply in Phoenicia, but the expedition broke up in Rhodes and the Opsikion troops revolted in favor of THEODOSIOS III. After a six-month struggle, Anastasios abdicated, became a monk, and was exiled to Thessalonike. In 719, at the instigation of the *magistros* Niketas Xylinites, he marched on Constantinople with help from TERVEL, but eventually the Bulgars surrendered him to Leo and he was beheaded. His wife Irene buried him in the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople.

LIT. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:312–18. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 289–91. –P.A.H.

ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, theologian and saint; died after 700; feastday 21 Apr. S. Sakkos identified him with Anastasios II, patriarch of Antioch, murdered by the local Jews ca.609. However, the brief note in the SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE (*Synax.CP* 607f) contradicts the hypothesis of Sakkos and reports that Anastasios of Sinai died peacefully after having written "saints' lives

and works which profit the soul." Anastasios participated in anti-Monophysite discussions in Alexandria between 635 and 640 but was still active ca.700, although he was a monk at the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai.

His major work is the *Guidebook* (*Hodegos*), completed and supplied with the author's scholia sometime between 686 and 689. It is a polemic against heresies, esp. MONOPHYSITISM and MONOTHELETISM. Anastasios also wrote sermons, including two that dealt with the creation of man: man was created from two natures, mortal and immortal, and thus was a paradigm of God's incarnation or Christ's synthesis. The distinction between his genuine works and spuria is not always clear. An EROTAPOKRISIS and a FLORILEGIUM that had an anti-Monothelite tendency are ascribed in MSS to a certain Anastasios, who may be identical with the monk of Sinai. The HEXAEMERON is evidently not by Anastasios, although the conclusion of J. Baggarly (*The Conjugates Christ-Church in the Hexaemeron of pseudo-Anastasius of Sinai* [Rome 1974]) that the author cribbed from Psellos and lived in the 11th-12th C. does not prove valid. In the *Hexaemeron* pseudo-Anastasios interpreted the six-day creation legend allegorically as a prefiguration of the relations between Christ and the Church. Some works of Anastasios are preserved in Oriental translations.

ED. PG 89. *Viae dux,* ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1981). *Sermones duo in constitutionem hominis secundum imaginem dei,* ed. K.H. Uthemann (Turnhout-Louvain 1985).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 442–46. M. Richard, *Opera minora* 3 (Turnhout-Louvain 1977) nos. 63–64. S. Sakkos, *Peri Anastasion Sinaiton* (Thessalonike 1964) 87–171. T. Špáčil, "La teologia di s. Anastasio Sinaita," *Bessarione* 26 (1922) 157–78, 27 (1923) 15–44. –A.K.

ANASTASIS (Ἀνάστασις) or RESURRECTION is the Easter image of the Orthodox church. Usually believed to be based on apocryphal texts such as the Gospel of NICODEMUS (but see Kartsonis, *infra*), it shows Christ bursting the gates of Hell and releasing those said to have believed in him before his Incarnation. First encountered in the 8th C., the Anastasis had assumed its classic form by the 11th: Christ strides over the shattered bolts of Hell's gates, sometimes treading upon the shackled personification of HADES; flanking Christ are sarcophagi from which emerge figures including Adam, Eve, and sometimes Seth on one side and David, Solomon, and John the Baptist on the other. Christ strides toward Adam, reaching to release him (DAPHNI), or upward, dragging Adam behind him (HOSIOS LOUKAS). A rare variant shows Christ standing centrally, exposing his wounds. In a Palaiologan version he pulls Adam with his right hand and Eve with his left (CHORA). The image of the Anastasis is integral to GREAT FEAST cycles in all media; accompanying the Easter lection (Jn 1:1–18), it opens many LECTIONARIES and precedes John's Gospel in many Gospel books; it illuminates the Easter homily of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and hymns of resurrection; and it occupies the apse of certain late funerary chapels (Chora) and Crusader churches (see "Holy Sepulchre" under JERUSALEM).

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986). –A.W.C.

ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS, papal official, Latin writer, and translator; born Rome? ca.800 or before 817 (H. Wolter, *LMA* 1:573), died ca.879. Anastasius was 9th-C. Europe's leading expert on Byz. His rocky career saw him as cardinal priest of St. Marcellus in 847/8, a fugitive around Aquileia in 848–53, excommunicated and reduced to lay status by Pope LEO IV, and unsuccessful antipope in 855. Subsequently rehabilitated, Anastasius became abbot of S. Maria in Trastevere and, from 861 or 862, served as private secretary to Pope NICHOLAS I, regained the priesthood and became *bibliothecarius Romanae Ecclesiae* (head of the archive) to HADRIAN II. From late 861, he shaped policy and authored diplomatic correspondence with Constantinople, particularly concerning PHOTIOS (N. Ertl, *Archiv für Urkundenforschungen* 15 [1938] 82–121). Anastasius knew CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and backed their endeavors to evangelize the Slavs (F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method: Lehrer der Slaven* [Wiesbaden 1960] 78–82). In 868, Anastasius was accused of complicity in his relatives' attack on Hadrian's wife and daughter but was acquitted.

The following year, he traveled to Constantinople as Louis II's envoy to BASIL I and probably negotiated the projected marriage alliance between the two empires. In the same capacity, he participated in the Constantinople council of 869–70 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF),

earning Basil's irritation and papal satisfaction through a murky affair of documents stolen from the pope's ambassadors. Between 2 Feb. and 13 Aug. 871, Anastasius probably wrote the letter of Louis II to Basil I preserved in the CHRONICON SALERNITANUM. After the accession of Pope JOHN VIII in Dec. 872, his influence waned (P. Devos, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 97–115) and he devoted himself to writing.

In addition to the many letters composed in his lords' names, Anastasius probably wrote sections of the biography of Nicholas I in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS—its views on Byz. are his—and influenced the author of the Life of Hadrian II. His unparalleled, if imperfect, knowledge of Greek allowed him to translate into Latin numerous works of Byz. literature desired in the West. A dozen such hagiographical texts, dedicated to popes, churchmen, and the Frankish ruler include a sermon by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Constantine the Philosopher's lost writings on St. Kliment (the surviving preface from 877 or 878 sheds light on Constantine's earlier career—P. Devos, P. Meyvaert, in *Cyrillo-Methodiana* [Cologne 1964] 65), as well as a *Passion of Peter of Alexandria*. These works seem to betray a fascination with the East combined with fear of Byz. heresy and political oppression (C. Leonardi in *Hagiographie—cultures et sociétés* [Paris 1981] 471–89).

Anastasius's translations of theological works included MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, a revision of John Scot Eriugena's translations of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, and *Collectanea* of documents from the crisis over MONOTHELETISM. The recent relations of the PAPACY with Constantinople explain Anastasius's improved translation of the acts of the Second Council of NICAEA, the version of and commentary on the 869–70 council of Constantinople (C. Leonardi, *StMed*[3] 8 [1967] 59–192), and a *Chronographia tripartita* based in large part on THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, the nearly slavish translation of which (D. Tabachovitz, *BZ* 38 [1938] 16–22) reflects older and more reliable MSS than the revised Greek originals that have survived.

ED. E. Perels, G. Laehr, in MGH *Epist.* 7:395–442. *Theophanes Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1885) 31–346. *Sermo Theodori Studitae de sancto Bartholomeo apostolo*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm 1963). P. Devos, "Une passion grecque inédite de s. Pierre d'Alexandrie et sa traduction par Anastase le Bibliothécaire," *AB* 83 (1965) 157–87.

LIT. G. Arnaldi, "Anastasio Bibliotecario," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 3 (Rome 1961) 25–37. A. Lapôtre, *Études sur la papauté au IXe siècle*, vol. 1 (Turin 1978) 121–476. –M.McC.

ANASTYLOSIS. See DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS.

ANATHEMA (*ἀνάθεμα*, "that which is set aside, accursed"), the highest form of ecclesiastical censure directed at obstinate or unrepentant heretics, normally found at the conclusion of conciliar decrees and canons. The earliest recorded usage of the term is at the Council of Elvira, ca.305 (canon 52). The New Testament formula *εἴ τις . . . , ἀνάθεμα ἔστω* (Gal 1:9), met frequently in conciliar documents, was first employed by the local council of GANGRA. The term supposed exclusion from the church's fellowship and, as such, does not appear to have been clearly distinguishable from EXCOMMUNICATION. Nevertheless, anathema, in contrast with the disciplinary procedure of excommunication, was essentially a more solemn pronouncement of condemnation. It was thus not a precise ecclesiastical punishment as much as a curse directed almost exclusively against false teaching. From the 7th C. onward the term is clearly distinguishable from excommunication in conciliar decrees (cf. NICAEA II, canon 1). According to BALSAMON the church cannot exercise the right of total or eternal anathema by which the transgressor is deprived of all hope of salvation (PG 137:1237A). The word, which was used broadly as a malediction by individuals (e.g., in purchase deeds, MM 6:159.26–27, 161.30–31), was often coupled with the curse (*ἀρά*) of the 318 Fathers of Nicaea I. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, first drafted in the early 10th C., with additions made up to the 15th C., contains numerous anathemas of heretics.

LIT. A.S. Alivizatos, "Anathema," *ThEE* (Athens 1963) 2:469–73. –A.P.

ANATOLIA. See ASIA MINOR.

ANATOLIKON (*Ἀνατολικόν*), one of the original THEMES of Asia Minor, attested by 669. Stretching from the Aegean to Lykaonia and Isauria, it ranked first among all the themes. Its troops rebelled against Constantine IV in 681,

and in 714 its *strategos* successfully revolted to become emperor Leo III. Conscious of the power of the general, Leo apparently detached the western districts to form the THRAKESION theme. Anatolikon supported Constantine V in 742 against ARTABASDOS; in 803 its *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS led a revolt. Early in the 9th C. its eastern districts were removed to form CAPPADOCIA; under Theophilos, SELEUKEIA became a separate theme; and Leo VI added the region west of the Salt Lake to Cappadocia. The capital of Anatolikon was AMORION until at least 838. In the mid-9th C. Anatolikon contained 34 forts; its *strategos*, who bore the title *patrikios*, commanded 15,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. Anatolikon last appears when its *strategos* Nikephoros Botaneiates was proclaimed emperor in 1077.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 114–17. *TIB* 4:63–66. –C.F.

ANATOLIOS (Ἀνατόλιος), member of a famous family of jurists, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the Constitutio *Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. Anatolios was appointed by Justinian to the commission for the compilation of the DIGEST. He is probably identical with the jurist Anatolios, named specifically in some scholia to the *Basilika*, who wrote Greek paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex Justinianus*. According to the generally accepted view of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kritische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 8 [1844] 803f), the Greek versions of the *Cod. Just.* VIII 4–56 that were admitted into the text of the *Basilika* originate in a paraphrase of the *Codex* by Anatolios. Since Ferrini's edition of approximately 200 anonymous paraphrases of constitutions of the *Codex* (two of which are inscribed with "Anatolios" in the scholia to the *Basilika*), these have been regarded as extracts from this paraphrase.

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:69–72. C. Ferrini, *Opere*, vol. 1 (Milan 1929) 254–90.
LIT. Zachariä, *Kleine Schriften* 2:326–33. –A.S.

ANAZARBOS (Ἀνάζαρβος, now Anavarza), a city in the eastern plain of Cilicia on a tributary of the Pyramos. The civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA II, Anazarbos was destroyed by earthquakes and rebuilt by Justin I, then Justinian I, and assumed their names in turn. Occupied by the Arabs in the mid-7th C., its exposed frontier location led to depopulation until it was restored in 796. After many Byz. attempts, Nikephoros II Phokas took Anazarbos in 962. It became the seat of a *strategos*, but fell to the Armenians in 1085 and to the Crusaders in 1097. Retaken by John II Komnenos in 1137 and by Manuel I in 1158, it was finally lost again to the Armenians ca.1174. The site contains two basilicas of the 6th C., a cruciform church of uncertain date, and extensive remains of fortifications, some of them Byz.

LIT. M. Gough, "Anazarbus," *AnatSt* 2 (1952) 85–150. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 191–201. –C.F.

ANCHIALOS (Ἀγχίαλος), Thracian city on the Black Sea coast; in the late Roman period it was in the province of Haemimontus. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 27.4.12), it was a *civitas magna*. Prokopios (*Buildings* 3.7.18) identified its inhabitants as Thracians. Occupied by Avars at the end of the 6th C., Anchialos was later contested between Bulgarians and Byz.: in 763 Constantine V defeated the Bulgarians in a battle on the "field of Anchialos" (Theoph. 433.5). Empress Irene ordered the fortification of Anchialos, but under Michael I the Christian population left the town. In 917 a Byz. army was defeated near Anchialos in the battle at ACHELOUS, and the town was annexed to Bulgaria. Anchialos was in Bulgarian hands in the 13th and 14th C., although Michael VIII tried to regain it by marrying his relative Maria to the Bulgarian tsar Constantine Tich. It was under Byz. control ca.1423, but soon thereafter was conquered by the Turks.

According to legend, Anchialos was a Christian city as early as the 1st C.; Eusebios mentions its bishop Sotas (ca.170). From the 7th C. onward, Anchialos was an autocephalous archbishopric under the direct jurisdiction of Constantinople.

LIT. A.N. Diamantopoulos, *He Anchialos* (Athens 1954). V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 96. I. Dujčev, *LMA* 1:577. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 2 (1914) 1511–13. –A.K.

ANCHORITE. See HERMIT.

ANCIENT OF DAYS. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

ANCONA (Ἀγκών), Adriatic port in central Italy and an important Byz. stronghold during the Gothic war of the 6th C. In the mid-12th C. Manuel I used the commune of Ancona, which recognized him as overlord, as a Byz. base to fight the Norman kingdom, the Venetian predominance in the Adriatic, and the growing influence of the Western Empire in Italy. With the help of Byz. money and military advisers Ancona resisted the German assaults in 1158, 1167, and 1173. From the second half of the 12th C. Anconitan merchants are known to have traded in Dalmatia and in the eastern Mediterranean. Their colony in Constantinople, with its Church of St. Stephen (attested from 1199), was headed by a consul. According to a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1308), Anconitan ships paid 2 percent tax on goods entering or leaving the port of Constantinople (*Reg* 4, no.2315), the same percentage as that paid by Venetian and Genoese ships. The travels of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA in the eastern Mediterranean resulted in the first important archaeological information about this region. In 1453 the Anconitan consul helped to defend Constantinople's walls.

LIT. J.-F. Leonhard, *Die Seestadt Ancona im Spätmittelalter* (Tübingen 1983). D. Abulafia, "Ancona, Byzantium and the Adriatic, 1155–1173," *BSR* 52 (1984) 195–216. A. Pertusi, "The Anconitan Colony in Constantinople and the Report of Its Consul, Benvenuto, on the Fall of the City," in *Charanis Studies* 199–218. –V.v.F.

ANDRAVIDA (Ἀνδραβίδα, Fr. Andreville, origin of the name disputed), city in Elis in the northwestern Peloponnesos; primary residence of the prince of ACHAIA. According to the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA (vv. 1426–29, ed. Schmitt 98f), Andravida was already a town before the Frankish conquest, but was not fortified. GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN established himself in Andravida almost immediately after his arrival. Its location in the rich Elean plain allowed it to be well supplied for the great gatherings the Frankish chivalry so enjoyed, while its proximity to the sea, through the port at Clarenza, permitted easy contact with the West; never fortified, it was protected by the castle of CHLEMOUTSI 5 km to the east. The city witnessed great assemblies of troops and courtiers, including the marriage of Hugues de Brienne and Isabelle de la Roche in 1277. Geoffrey I transferred the bishopric of Olena (*Notitiae CP* 21.134) to Andravida and it kept that title, although the bishop was a Frank.

No monuments from before 1204 are known, but three churches of the Frankish period can be identified in the sources: St. Sophia, St. Stephen, and St. James; this last possessed a hospital and was the burial place of the Villehardouins. The sanctuary and side chapels of the Dominican Church of St. Sophia survive: it was an enormous cathedral, more than 41 m long and nearly 19 m wide. It can be paralleled by many late 13th- and early 14th-C. Gothic churches in France and Italy. Its plan resembles that of St. Paraskeve in CHALKIS. Inside the church was the tombstone of the princess Agnes (died 1286), with what is probably the coat of arms of the Villehardouin family (A. Bon, *MonPiot* 49 [1957] 129–39).

LIT. C.D. Shepherd, "Excavations at the Cathedral of Hagia Sophia, Andravida, Greece," *Gesta* 25 (1986) 139–44. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:318–20, 547–53. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries* 65–77. –T.E.G.

ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, prince of Suzdal'; born ca.1111, died 29 June 1174. Intending, like his father JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, to rule over all of Rus', Andrej did not aim to be prince of Kiev, which his army sacked in 1169. He developed his capital Vladimir on the Kljazma River after Kievan, Byz., and Romanesque models and maintained a country residence at Bogoljubovo, after which he was nicknamed. Andrej tried to erect a second metropolitan see at Vladimir, but the Byz. patriarch LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES rejected this project in a letter (ca.1165–1168; wrongly dated to ca.1161 by Grumel in *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1052). Andrej promoted the cult of the THEOTOKOS as his and his principality's patroness (see VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR) and the veneration as a saint of Leontios, a Greek and the first bishop of Rostov, who was martyred by local pagans in the 1070s. Andrej participated in church discussions concerning fasting on holy days, a topic simultaneously debated in Constantinople. His relations with Byz. were not as close as those of his father because in Constantinople relations with the Kievan ruler

took priority. Andrej was ruthless toward both his family and his close associates, a policy that precipitated a plot which ended his days.

LIT. N.N. Voronin, *Zodčestvo Severo-Vostočnoj Rusi XII–XV veka* (Moscow 1961) 1:113–342. W. Vodoff, "Un 'parti théocratique' dans la Russie du XIIe siècle?" *CahCM* 17 (1974) 193–215. E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: the Man and the Myth* (Florence 1980). –An.P.

ANDREW (Ἀνδρέας), apostle and saint; feastday 30 Nov. He was the brother of PETER and, like him, a fisherman. The early legend, preserved in EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, describes only his mission to Scythia; eventually he was said to have visited Thrace, and GREGORY OF TOURS states in passing that Andrew was in Constantinople as well. Not until the end of the 7th C., however, did the idea appear that Andrew ordained Stachys, the first (legendary) bishop of Constantinople. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.179) mentions "the so-called Acts of the twelve apostles, primarily Andrew" that were used by the Manichaean Agapios, but we do not know the contents of the Manichaean legend.

The story of Andrew was developed by Epiphanios of the monastery of Kallistratos in Constantinople in the early 9th C. (PG 120:215–60); the author's identity with EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES has been suggested but remains questionable. Epiphanios was followed by various writers, including NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON. Legend called Andrew the *protokletos* (first of the apostles) and made wordplays on his name (which means "courageous"); he is presented as a tireless missionary who traveled to Paphlagonia, the Caucasus, and the northern shores of the Black Sea. However, the notion of Andrew as the founder of the see of Constantinople did not become popular in Byz. and was invoked infrequently (e.g., by Neilos DOXOPATRES in 1143). The cult of Andrew seems to have been more intense at Patras, with which legend associated his martyrdom and death. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.*, 49.26) ascribes to Andrew's intervention the victory over the Slavs, who besieged Patras between 802 and 806.

Representation in Art. From the 6th C. onward, Andrew's disheveled white hair and beard distinguish his portraits. He is often represented in the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE and with Peter in the scene of their calling. This usually follows Matthew 4:1–18 (Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA; Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME) and only rarely John 1:37–42, in which Andrew is the central figure, shown introducing Peter to Christ as in an 11th-C. Gospel book in Vienna (ÖNB, theol. gr. 154, fol. 223r). Of the apocryphal events from Andrew's life, only his crucifixion on a cross or tree is illustrated: Belli Kilise, SOĞANLI; bronze doors of San Paolo fuori le Mura in Rome, 1070. He is shown preaching in the marginal PSALTERS (Ps 19) and baptizing in the PARIS GREGORY (fol. 426v). He appears among other saints on 10th- and 11th-C. ivories. Though both the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (s.v. Gregory III) and the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS (p.351) mention panels portraying him, the earliest surviving single-figure icons of Andrew are from the 14th C. (Nicosia, Icon Museum; Venice, Museo Correr).

LIT. *BHG* 93–110c. J. Flamion, *Les Actes apocryphes de l'apôtre André* (Louvain 1911). F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). E.C. Suttner, "Der hl. Andreas und das ökumenische Patriarchat," *Der christliche Osten* 38 (1983) 121–29. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1 (1909) 213–95. O. Demus, "Zum Werk eines venezianischen Malers auf dem Sinai," in *Byz. und der Westen* 131–42. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:154–56. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

ANDREW, archbishop of Caesarea (563–614). Andrew composed the second oldest commentary on the APOCALYPSE after that of OIKOUMENIOS, with whom he was often in principled disagreement. His exegesis is esp. valuable as a source for the textual tradition of the Apocalypse. ARETHAS of Caesarea freely exploited it in the 9th C., and its influence spread further afield through translations into Armenian, Georgian, and Slavonic. Fragments also remain of a work of moral comfort entitled *Therapeutike*; his commentary on Daniel is lost.

ED. Commentary on Apocalypse—PG 106:207–458, 1387–1412. *Studien zur Geschichte des griechischen Apokalypse-Textes*, ed. J. Schmid, vol. 1 (Munich 1955). *Therapeutike* frag. in Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 161–72.

LIT. A.M. Castagno, "Il problema della datazione dei Commenti all'*Apocalisse* di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea," *Atti e Memorie dell'Accademia delle Scienze di Torino. Classe di Scienze morali, storiche e filosofiche* 114 (1980) 223–46. F. Diekamp, "Das Zeitalter des Erzbischofs Andreas von Cäsarea," *HistJb* 18 (1897) 1–36. –B.B.

ANDREW OF CRETE, poet, ecclesiastical orator, and saint; born Damascus ca.660, died Lesbos 4 July 740. Tonsured at an early age at the mon-

astery of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, Andrew became a notary of the Great Basilica there. Contrary to legend, he did not participate in the Council of Constantinople of 680. He was, however, sent on a mission to Constantinople in 685 and administered an orphanage and a poorhouse there. Between 692 and 713 he was elected metropolitan of Crete; the seal of Andrew, *proedros* of Crete (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.619), is probably his. Andrew's homilies allude to the invasions of the Scythians (Bulgarians) and of "the tribe of the maidservant Hagar" (Arabs) as well as to Leo III's persecution of the Jews.

Andrew is often considered the creator of the new genre of the KANON that replaced the KONTAKION. His Great Kanon is enormously long, with 250 strophes. As a theologian Andrew was indifferent to MONOTHELETISM and developed the idea that the Virgin, although born of a human marriage, was in a sense the daughter of God (M. Jugie, *EO* 13 [1910] 129–33). Some works ascribed to Andrew in MSS are not genuine, for example the panegyric of James, the brother of the Lord (ed. J. Noret, H. Gaspart [Toronto 1978]). Andrew enjoyed considerable renown. His vita, written (9th C.?) by Patr. Niketas (to be distinguished from NIKETAS MAGISTROS), was later reworked several times. After 1204 a certain Akakios Sabaites produced a commentary on the Great Kanon that mentioned Basil II's victory over the Bulgarians, the foundation of Mosynopolis, and the news of the Latin conquest of Constantinople (M. Richard, *EEBS* 34 [1965] 304–11).

ED. PG 97:790–1444. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 54. Eng. tr. *The Great Canon* (Jordanville, N.Y., 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 113–114c. S. Vailhé, "Saint André de Crète," *EO* 5 (1901–02) 378–87. S. Eustratiades, "Andreas ho Kretes ho Hierosolymites," *Nea Sion* 29 (1934) 673–88. Beck, *Kirche* 500–02. –A.K.

ANDREW THE FOOL (ὁ σαλός), a "created" saint; feastday 28 May. He was supposedly a contemporary of the 5th-C. emperor LEO I, although his biographer presented him as an imitator of SYMEON OF EMESA, the holy FOOL who lived in the 6th C. A certain Nikephoros, priest of Hagia Sophia, wrote Andrew's Life; its date remains disputed. According to C. Mango (*RSBS* 2 [1982] 309), the most probable date is between 674 and 695; J. Wortley (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 248) ascribes to the vita a *terminus post quem* of 920, though he dates some parts of it to the early 880s; L. Rydén (*DOP* 32 [1978] 129–55) prefers a date of ca.950–59. The earliest MS is a quire in Munich (Bayer. Staatsbib. gr. 443) in a 10th-C. uncial script. The vita was translated into Georgian and Slavonic.

The Life of Andrew presents him as Scythian and the slave of the *protospatharios* Theognostos; Andrew acquired fluent Greek surprisingly quickly and became his master's notary, but after a dream he turned to a spiritual life. He rejected all social conventions, lived in the streets, drank from puddles, slept on a dung heap, and not only endured hardships supernaturally but knew hidden things and foresaw the future. His behavior, however, is less extreme than that described in the Life of Symeon. Andrew's endurance is emphasized: he was beaten up by visitors to a tavern, a heavy cart ran over him, he survived bad storms. The Life introduces a certain Epiphanios, who was handsome, rich, socially conventional, and part of the establishment; he was nevertheless Andrew's beloved pupil, whose election as "the bishop of the imperial city" Andrew predicted. The Life is consistently Constantinopolitan, its action unfolding on the streets of the capital. Its several visions and apocalypses include the prophecy that Egypt will pay her tribute, PAKTA (L. Rydén, *DOP* 28 [1974] 202.32–40). The Life describes Epiphanios's vision of HADES: a murky area full of prisons and populated neither by devilish executioners nor tortured sinners but rather by animals that symbolize the souls of sinners.

Representation in Art. One of the very rare images of this saint is a late 12th-C. fresco in the cell in the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS on Cyprus. The rather emaciated saint wears a fleecy, short-sleeved, belted tunic and carries a little sprig of flowers (C. Mango, E. Hawkins, *DOP* 20 [1966] fig.92).

SOURCE. PG 111:627–888.

LIT. *BHG* 115z–117k. S. Murray, *A Study of the Life of Andreas, the Fool for the Sake of Christ* (Borna-Leipzig 1910). J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Les thèmes d'édification dans la vie d'André Salos," *TM* 4 (1970) 277–328. L. Rydén, "Style and Historical Fiction in the Life of St. Andreas Salos," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 175–83. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN, late 9th-C. general of BASIL I who distinguished himself in wars against Tarsos. He received the title of *patrikios* and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*. Andrew was re-

portedly (*TheophCont* 234–36) angered by a blasphemous letter sent him by the emir of Tarsos and led an expedition against this city; at the Podandos River he defeated an Arab army and took prisoner its commander, ʿAbd Allāh ibn Rashīd (878). His enemies charged him with pusillanimity because, after his victory at Podandos, Andrew retreated without proceeding to Tarsos; according to another version (*TheophCont* 847.10–12), SANTABARENOS accused Andrew of supporting Leo against his father, Basil I. Kesta STYPPEIOTES replaced Andrew as *domestikos* (ca.883?), but Leo VI restored him to his previous position and possibly granted him the title of *magistros*.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:84,101–02. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:438f. –A.K.

ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS, emperor (1183–85); born ca.1118–20, died Constantinople Sept. 1185. Son of Isaac the brother of JOHN II, Andronikos was nurtured with the future MANUEL I, who remained personally partial to him. Andronikos, however, renewed his father's hostility to the ruling Komnenoi. Reconciled with Manuel in 1180, after many adventures, he became governor of Pontos. During the reign of ALEXIOS II, he stirred opposition to MARIA OF ANTIOCH. In Apr. 1182, Andronikos overthrew her, allowed a massacre of citizens of PISA and GENOA in Constantinople, and became regent for Alexios II. He murdered Maria KOMNENE, her husband, and Maria of Antioch. His coronation as co-emperor (Sept. 1183) led to Alexios II's death.

Internally, Andronikos attempted reforms: provincial governors received adequate salaries, sale of offices ceased, corruption was prosecuted, pillaging of wrecked ships prohibited, and taxation moderated. He used the bureaucracy against the aristocracy; he harshly persecuted nobles, esp. rival Komnenoi (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 263–65); however, some nobles (including Constantine DOUKAS and Andronikos DOUKAS) were among his supporters. Many aristocrats (notably Alexios KOMNENOS the *pinkernes*) fled to neighboring rulers, stirring opposition to Andronikos.

Externally, he had few successes. BÉLA III occupied Niš (see NAISSUS) and Sofia (see SERDICA) in 1182–83, then withdrew (1184). To gain naval support, Andronikos turned to Venice. The reappearance of Venetians in Constantinople alienated the populace. CYPRUS fell to ISAAC KOMNENOS. After the forces of WILLIAM II took Thessalonike, the multitude in Constantinople were terrified; the populace seized an occasion to dethrone Andronikos (12 Sept. 1185). Captured after attempted flight, he was cruelly put to death.

Andronikos's talents and personality earned the people's admiration, but his violence and lasciviousness marred his achievements. His first wife was a Byz. aristocrat, his second AGNES OF FRANCE; his favorite mistress was Theodora Komnene, widow of BALDWIN III of Jerusalem. Representations of Andronikos are rare, though he is distinguished on his coins (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, figs. 1109–12) by his long forked beard, remarked upon by Choniates.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 28–75. Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 30–86. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970). –C.M.B., A.C.

ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1282–1328); born 1259 or 1260, died Constantinople 13 Feb. 1332. His 46-year reign, the third longest in the history of the empire, was plagued by religious dissension, Ottoman advances, civil war, and financial problems; at the same time, arts and letters flourished, and Andronikos presided over a court that included such distinguished intellectuals as Theodore METOCHITES and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. During his reign there was considerable construction activity in the capital, esp. the restoration of churches and monasteries.

Co-emperor from 1272, Andronikos repudiated the unpopular Unionist policies of his father, MICHAEL VIII, immediately upon the latter's death in 1282; he was unable, however, to resolve the ARSENITE schism until 1310. He was staunchly Orthodox and pious, even superstitious, and very much under the influence of Patr. ATHANASIOS I.

The financial difficulties of the empire during his reign are reflected in the continuing depreciation of the HYPERPYRON. The resulting rise in prices and the emperor's use of a "scorched-earth policy" in Thrace in an attempt to stop the Catalans (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 91–113) led to widespread famine. Andronikos tried to increase revenues by raising taxes, adding a new tax on agricultural produce, and reducing tax exemptions. One of his most serious mistakes was

the dismantling of the fleet in 1285, which proved to be a false economy (Laiou, *infra* 74–76, 114f).

At the beginning of his reign Andronikos had to confront the growing threat of the Serbs on his northern frontier, under the leadership of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN. After the Serbs took considerable Byz. territory in Macedonia, Andronikos decided to negotiate a peace treaty with the Serbs. As a pledge of alliance he married his five-year-old daughter SIMONIS to Milutin in 1298. The efforts of Andronikos to save Asia Minor from the Turks, such as hiring the mercenary CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, proved fruitless; during his reign, the Ottomans seized much of Bithynia, including PROUSA, which fell in 1326. The final years of the reign of Andronikos, 1321–28, were troubled by civil war with his grandson, the future ANDRONIKOS III. He was deposed on 24 May 1328 and died as the monk Antonios four years later.

Andronikos was married twice. His first wife, Anna, daughter of Stephen V of Hungary, whom he married in 1273, bore him MICHAEL IX; his second wife was IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT.

LIT. A.E. Laiou, *Constantinople and the Latins: The Foreign Policy of Andronicus II, 1282–1328* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972). Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.58. –A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS III PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (24 May 1328–1341); born 25 Mar. 1297 (cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 29 [1963] 333, 348), died Constantinople 15 June 1341. Son of MICHAEL IX PALAIOLOGOS and Rita-Maria of Armenia, he became co-emperor sometime between 1308 and 1313 (Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 119–22). Andronikos was second in line to the throne until he antagonized his grandfather, ANDRONIKOS II, by his dissolute behavior and by inadvertently causing the death of his brother Manuel. With the support of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS and SYRGIANNES, Andronikos rebelled in 1321 against the old emperor. The civil war lasted, on and off, for seven years; in 1328, Andronikos entered Constantinople and forced his grandfather to abdicate.

During the reign of Andronikos his *megas domestikos*, Kantakouzenos, held real power, while the emperor devoted himself to military campaigns and hunting. He restored northern Thessaly and Epiros briefly to the empire and strengthened the imperial navy. These gains were offset, however, by Serbian expansion in Macedonia under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN and the Ottoman advance in Bithynia. In 1333 Andronikos joined an anti-Turkish alliance with Venice and Latin lords in the Aegean (S. Theotokos, *EEBS* 7 [1930] 283–305). Andronikos reformed the judiciary system by instituting a new "supreme court," composed of four judges with the title KRITAI KATHOLIKOI. He died at age 44, leaving as his heir his nine-year-old son, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, fruit of his second marriage to ANNA OF SAVOY.

LIT. U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* (Amsterdam 1965). Nicol, *Last Centuries* 159–92. C. Kyrris, "Continuity and Differentiation in the Régime Established by Andronicus III after his Victory of 23/24 v.1328," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 278–328. –A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS IV PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1376–79); born Constantinople 11 Apr. 1348, died Selymbria 25 or 28 June 1385. Although the eldest son and heir of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and his regent in 1366 and 1369–71, Andronikos was on uneasy terms with his father and twice engaged in open rebellion against him. The tension between the two men first surfaced in 1370, when Andronikos refused to help his father who was stranded penniless in Venice. In 1373, Andronikos joined forces with SAVCI BEG, son of MURAD I, in conspiracy against their respective fathers. After the failure of the attempted rebellion, Andronikos was imprisoned and replaced as heir by his brother MANUEL (II). He was also subjected to blinding, but apparently suffered the loss of only one eye.

In 1376, Andronikos escaped from prison. With Genoese and Ottoman support, he seized Constantinople and the imperial power. He was formally crowned on 18 Oct. 1377. His brief reign was marked by dependence on the Genoese and upon the Turks, to whom he ceded the crucial fortress of Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS). In 1379 John V overthrew his son and regained the throne. In a pact of 1381 he once more recognized Andronikos as his heir and granted him the appanage of SELYMBRIA. In 1385, however, Andronikos again rebelled, unsuccessfully, against his father; he died shortly thereafter.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 18–36, 41f, 50–52, 458–61. R.-J. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO* 38 (1939) 334–45. F. Dölger, "Zum

Aufstand des Andronikos IV. gegen seinem Vater Johannes V. im Mai 1373," *REB* 19 (1961) 328–32.
–A.M.T.

ANDRONIKOS V PALAIOLOGOS, a shadowy child emperor whose existence has only recently been acknowledged by Byzantinists; born ca.1400, died 1407? The title of a monody on the untimely death of a seven-year-old emperor (*basileus*) specifically names the child Andronikos and describes him as the son of JOHN VII. He was thus apparently the son of John and his wife Irene GATTILUSIO (subsequently the nun Eugenia), born while his father was regent in Constantinople. Andronikos must have predeceased his father, probably in 1407, since John VII is said to have died childless in 1408. Other evidence for Andronikos's short life includes an ivory at Dumbarton Oaks, probably depicting John VII and Andronikos at Thessalonike in 1403/4 (Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 329–37).

LIT. G.T. Dennis, "An Unknown Byzantine Emperor, Andronicus V Palaeologus (1400–1407?)," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 175–87.
–A.M.T.

ANEMAS (Ἀνεμᾶς), a family of the military aristocracy. The sobriquet Anemas is attested at the beginning of the 9th C. (Theoph. 482.30). The etymology of the name is debatable; the logical derivation from *anemos*, "wind," was rejected by Ph. Koukoules, who connected it with *aneme*, "spool" (*EEBS* 5 [1928] 3). On the other hand, Chalandon (*Comnène* 1:240) considered them descendants of the Cretan emir ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, whose son is called Anemas by Byz. chroniclers: he deserted to the Byz., became an army commander, and fell in the battle against SVJATOSLAV in 971. Whether the four Anemas brothers who were Alexios I's generals belonged to his progeny is unknown; names of two of them—Leo and Michael—are attested. Despite their involvement in the plot of 1105, the family maintained its position; Manuel Anemas (died 1149), military commander, married Theodora, John II's daughter, and had the high title of *protosebastohypertatos*. The family also intermarried with the Angeloi and Doukai. Alexios Anemas (who as a monk was called Athanasios) was eulogized in an anonymous epigram as a skilled archer and rider (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no.276.7–15). In 1162 Pankratios Anemas owned a *proasteion* and *paroikoi* near Thessalonike and a *pronoia* (*Lavra* 1, no.64). The family's position declined after Manuel I's reign, although sources mention them through the 15th C. (*PLP*, nos. 974–75).
–A.K.

ANEMODOULION (Ἀνεμοδούλιον, also Anemodourion; etymology, according to Cedr. 1:565.20, from *deris anemon*, "the contest of winds"), a monument in Constantinople, probably located between the Artopoleion (the bakers' quarter) and the Forum Tauri. It was built by order of Theodosios II (in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, its builder is called Heliodoros, a contemporary of Leo III), was made of bronze, and had the shape of a pyramid on a square foundation. The monument was ornamented with figures of animals, birds, plants, agricultural laborers, and other symbols of spring. Atop the Anemodoulion was a statue of a woman that moved at the slightest breath of wind and thus served as a weather vane. A part of the bronze ornamentation was reportedly brought from Dyrrachion, where it belonged to the adornment of a pagan shrine. According to a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 332.37), Andronikos I intended to erect his own statue at the summit of the pyramid, evidently to replace the female figure. The Anemodoulion was destroyed by the Crusaders in 1204.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 100. E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Église des saints Apôtres de Constantinople," *REGr* 9 (1896) 86f.
–A.K.

ANEMOURION (Ἀνεμούριον, mod. Anamur), city and bishopric of ISAURIA, at the southernmost point of Asia Minor opposite Cyprus. Excavations have revealed the nature and development of Anemourion through the 7th C. After a major setback in the late 3rd C., recovery is attested in the 4th by the construction of large baths and in the 5th by basilical churches with mosaic decoration. In 382, a new city wall was erected against the Isaurians, but their attacks led to a decline by the late 5th C.; prosperity returned with the establishment of peace in the 6th C. Major changes affected Anemourion in the late 6th and early 7th C., when large churches were abandoned and the baths and other civic buildings were filled with small houses and industrial workplaces, evidently a reflection of crowding and impoverishment. Anemourion was abandoned peacefully ca.660

when the Arabs gained control of Cyprus; its population probably retreated to the adjacent hill, whose extensive unstudied fortifications appear to include Byz. sections.

LIT. J. Russell, "Anemurium: The Changing Face of a Roman City," *Archaeology* 33.5 (1980) 31–40. Idem, *The Mosaic Inscriptions of Anemurium* (Vienna 1987). –C.F.

ANGAREIA (ἀγγαρεία), a term designating both state and private CORVÉE. The term is of Persian origin, as noted by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his commentary on the *Odyssey*. The term was used in the Roman Empire for state corvée, esp. the service for the DROMOS, and for coercive sale of goods to the state. In Byz. it was expanded to include private services owed by peasants to their lord.

LIT. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "He angareia sto Byzantio," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 21–54. –A.K.

ANGEL (ἄγγελος, lit. "messenger"). Byz. angelology was developed primarily by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* [Paris 1954] 135–67) and later by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (B. Giannopoulos, *Theologia* 44 [1973] 312–38). Angels were construed as spiritual, that is, incorporeal beings (ASOMATOI), even if in early patristic writing their incorporeality was treated as relative: they were described there as having spiritual bodies of finer substance than those of men. Angels were held to be much more numerous than men, or even innumerable. Created beings, angels were brought forth by divine will, either before the material world or simultaneously with it. They had free will and were liable to sin: thus the DEVIL was a fallen angel. They had no foreknowledge of the future. Their function first and foremost was to praise God. They also served Christ and the church, assisting the faithful in the struggle against DEMONS. Some theologians (but not Dionysios) developed the idea of guardian angels protecting individuals, nations, and esp. the souls of the dead. John of Damascus insisted that angels were not demiurges, thus rejecting the interpretation of DUALISM.

Dionysios advanced the concept of a hierarchy, dividing the angels according to their proximity to God into nine orders and three triads: SERAPHIM, CHERUBIM, thrones; virtues, dominations, powers; principalities, ARCHANGELS, angels. The idea of angelic hierarchy was understood as parallel to the human ascent to the divine via three rungs of purification, illumination, and unification with God; in this connection monastic status was defined as the "angelic life." The cult of angels developed esp. in southwest Asia Minor, arousing concern among some church fathers of the 4th–5th C.: the Council of Laodikeia in Phrygia warned against the worship of angels, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus stigmatized it as a specifically Jewish superstition (C. Mango, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984–86] 53). Nevertheless, their veneration was strong in Byz. Hagiographic texts often represented them as fulfilling divine commands and particularly as eunuchlike guardians, clad in white, who accompanied the Virgin.

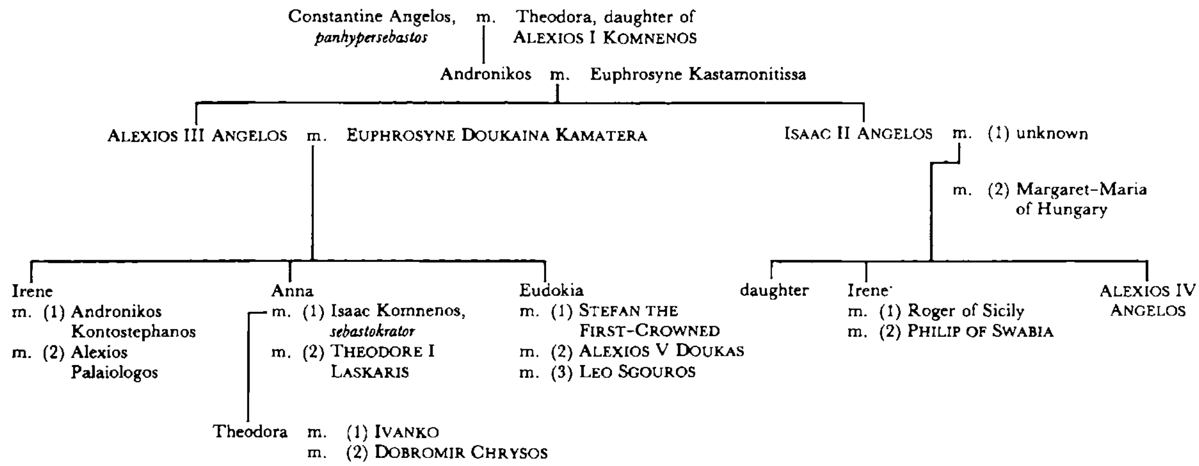
After the 5th C., the wingless divine messengers of the Old Testament (in such scenes as the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM and JACOB'S LADDER) were invariably represented like the NIKE and the winged creatures of the ANNUNCIATION and the MYRROPHOROI. Endowed with curly heads, Hellenic profiles, and white garments, even in groups angels displayed an unvarying perfect uniformity. Across a millennium, their only significant iconographical development was a marked tendency to multiply in number.

Commenting on their traditional iconography, Psellos (ed. K. Snipes in *Gonimos* 200f) declares that angels have human form because they are rational beings but are winged because of their motion toward heaven. They carry orbs to indicate their speed, for a sphere scarcely touches the ground; the fillet around their heads suggests purity and chastity.

LIT. J. Daniélou, *The Angels and their Mission* (Westminster, Md., 1957). L. Heiser, *Die Engel im Glauben der Orthodoxie* (Trier 1976). U. Mann, "Ikone und Engel als Gestalten geistleiblicher Mittlerschaft," *Eranos-Jahrbuch* 52 (1983) 1–53. M. Alpatov, "Gli angeli nell'iconografia," *L'altra Europa* 10 (1985) 44–62. A. Recheis. *Engel. Tod und Seelenreise* (Rome 1958). E. Turdeanu, "Le mythe des anges déchus," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 73–117. –G.P., A.C.

ANGELOS (Ἄγγελος, fem. Ἀγγελίνα), a noble Byz. lineage founded by Constantine from Philadelphia, who married Theodora (born 1096), the daughter of Alexios I. According to a 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:740.1–2), Constantine Angelos was handsome but of lowly origin. The derivation of the name from "angel" seems plausible; rhetoricians called members of the family *angelony-*

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE ANGELOS DYNASTY (1185-1204)



Based on C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180-1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968) 278.

moi, "named after the angels" or "bearing the name of angels." This type of name formation is exceptional, however, in Byz., and it is possible that the Angeloi took their name from the toponym of Angel or Agel (a district near Amida); this would explain why John Kamateros called ISAAC II ANGELOS "a man of the Orient" (Regel, *Fontes* 2:247.12). In the 12th C. several Angeloi served as military commanders; their identification is not always possible. In 1185 Isaac II Angelos was proclaimed emperor, succeeded by ALEXIOS III ANGELOS and ALEXIOS IV. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the Angeloi asserted their power in EPIROS and THESSALONIKE, first as independent rulers, later as imperial dignitaries; there they assumed the name of Angeloi Komnenoi Doukai to distinguish themselves from the "humble" Angeloi who are known as functionaries, physicians, clergymen, etc. (*PLP*, nos. 159–224). (See MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, NIKEPHOROS II of Epiros. See also genealogical table.)

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 166–82. L. Stiernon, "Notes de prosopographie et de titulature byzantines. Constantine Ange (pan)sébastohypertate," *REB* 19 (1961) 273–83. J.-L. van Dieten, "Manuel Prinkips † 17.06.6719 (1211). Welcher Manuel in welcher Kirche zu Nikaia?" *BZ* 78 (1985) 63–91. P. Rokai, "O jednom naslovu Kalojana Andjela," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 167–71. R. de Francesco, *Michele II° Angelo Comneno d'Epiro e la sua discendenza* (Rome 1951). –A.K.

ANI (Ἄνιον), fortress and city in the district of Širak on the west bank of the Axurean/Arpa-Çayı River in northeast Anatolia. It became the capital of ARMENIA under the later BAGRATIDS.

Ani, which had an important strategic position, was already known in the 5th C. as a fortress belonging to the Kamsarakan family. In the 9th C. Ani was sold to the Bagratids and became the royal capital with the coronation of AŠOT III in 961. The city grew so rapidly as an administrative and trade center that its dimensions tripled within 40 years and it became known as "the city of 1,001 churches."

In 1045, the Armenian *katholikos* Peter Getadarj surrendered the city to Byz. and it became for a time the capital of the theme of IBERIA. Captured by the Seljuks in 1064 and sold by them to the Kurdish Shaddādid emirs in 1072, Ani continued to flourish under them and under the ZAK'ARIDS. Its slow decline began with the Mongol capture in the 13th C.

Monuments of Ani. Although the city has only been partially excavated, hundreds of its structures are known. It is closed at the south by Smbat II's walls (989) and dominated by a citadel at its

narrow north end. Buildings lie outside the walls and along the cliffs; under the city, extensive chambers were cut from living rock. Palaces, comfortable homes, dovecotes, caravanserais, warehouses, cisterns, meeting halls, monasteries, churches, and at least one mosque survive. Very few of these structures are dated, and none to the period of Byz. rule.

Three buildings are attributed by inscription to the architect Trdat: for Smbat II and Katranide, the wife of GAGIK I, he built the cathedral (989–1001); for Gagik I, he built in 1001–20 St. Grigor (i.e., GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR). Like other Bagratid donations, these are variations on 7th-C. church plans: the cathedral on that of St. Gayanē at VAŁARŠAPAT; St. Grigor, on ZUART'NOC'. The Church of the Redeemer, which Trdat built for the merchant Apłłarip in 1036, is an octafoil carrying a very large dome.

A lifesize relief, almost in the round, of Gagik I (now lost) was unearthed at St. Grigor, along with bronze censers with New Testament scenes and a chandelier with birds. Commissioned by the merchant Tigran Honens', Georgians frescoed (1215) the Church of St. Grigor, but the program includes Armenian features, such as a life of the saint. N. Thierry (in Cuneo [1984] *infra*) believes that the poorly preserved frescoes of its forechurch, which have Greek and Georgian inscriptions, are late 13th-C. Byz. work.

Ani adopted Turko-Iranian elements, particularly under the Zak'arids. Armenian and Georgian palaces and forechurches in the city feature *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches) and double-storied portals in geometric polychrome stonework and carpet like filigree relief.

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan, *DMA* 1:290f. N. Marr, *Ani* (Moscow 1934). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 139–51, 154f, 173, 178–87, 197–99. V.F. Minorsky, *Studies in Caucasian History* (London 1953) 79–106. P. Cuneo et al., *Ani* [Documenti di architettura armena 12] (Milan 1984). Ibid., *L'architettura della scuola regionale di Ani nell'Armenia medievale* (Rome 1977). –N.G.G., A.T.

ANICIA JULIANA (Ἰουλιάνα), *patrikia* and patron of the arts; born Constantinople probably 461 or 463, died Constantinople 527 or 529. The daughter of the future Emp. Anicius Olybrius and Placidia the Younger, Anicia Juliana remained at Constantinople with her mother when Olybrius went to Italy to become emperor in 472.



ANICIA JULIANA. Portrait of Anicia Juliana as donor in a manuscript of the works of Dioskorides (Vienna, med. gr. 1, fol.6v); ca.512. Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, Vienna. Anicia Juliana is shown seated between Magnanimity and Prudence.

Probably by 478 Anicia Juliana was the sole heir of her two famous parents. She married AREOBINDUS soon after 478 and had a son, Olybrius (junior), who married Irene, niece of Anastasios I. Anicia Juliana often visited St. Sabas at Constantinople in 511/12; she reportedly was served by many eunuchs, who became monks of the monastery of St. Sabas in Palestine after her death. At her house in Constantinople a mob proclaimed Areobindus emperor in 512. She was a devout Chalcedonian who resisted the theological pressures of Emp. Anastasios and the Constantinopolitan patriarch Timotheos (511–18); she also corresponded with Pope Hormisdas to help to end the AKAKIAN SCHISM. She built and embellished many churches in Constantinople, including St. Euphemia, St. POLYEUKTOS, and a church of the Theotokos in the Honoratae quarter. The Vienna DIOSKORIDES was written for her.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:635f. C. Capizzi, "L'attività edilizia di Anicia Giuliana," *OrChrAn* 204 (1977) 119–46. Idem, "Anicia Giuliana (462 ca.–530 ca.): Ricerche sulla sua famiglia e la

sua vita," *RSBN* n.s. 5 (1968) 191–226. R.M. Harrison, "A Source for Anicia Juliana's Palace-Church," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 141f. –W.E.K.

ANICIUS, a noble family, originating from Praeneste, which in the 4th C. became one of the most influential and wealthy lineages in Rome. Unlike most Roman senatorial aristocrats, the Anicii converted to Christianity and supported the emperor of Constantinople. In the 5th C. the Anicii were believed to favor the barbarians and rumor spread that Anicia Falconia Proba ordered her servants to open the gates of Rome to ALARIC. Between 455 and 457 Anicius Olybrius married Placidia, youngest daughter of Valentinian III, and in 472 became Roman emperor; after a few months' reign he died on 2 Nov. 472 of natural causes, a rare case among 5th-C. Western emperors. His daughter ANICIA JULIANA moved to Constantinople and was an important patron of art and architecture. Sextus Claudius Petronius PROBUS belonged to this lineage. The family retained influence until at least the mid-6th C., when Anicius Faustus Albinus Basilius was the last CONSUL.

Another branch of the Anicii stayed in Italy and contributed much to the alliance of the Roman aristocracy with the house of the AMALI; BOETHIUS, for example, served Theodoric. Theodahad, while promoting Maximus, a member of the family, praised the Anicii as a lineage almost equal to the *princeps*. JORDANES completed his *Getica* with the statement that a union between the Amali and Anicii was embodied in the persons of Germanos, the son of Justinian I's nephew, and of Mathesuentha (MATASUNTHA), granddaughter of THEODORIC THE GREAT.

LIT. F.M. Clover, "The Family and Early Career of Anicius Olybrius," *Historia* 27 (1978) 169–96. A. Momigliano, "Gli Anicii e la storiografia latina del VI secolo d.C.," in *Histoire et historiens dans l'antiquité* (Geneva 1958) 247–83. M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972) 109–13. –A.K.

ANIMAL COMBAT (*τοῦ θεάτρου κυνήγια*). The exhibition of animals at the circus games, the so-called *venationes*, was popular in ancient Rome, but it seems that by the 4th C. large-scale shows were hard to arrange. Although the *Historia Augusta* describes the games in the Circus Maximus in 281, when thousands of ostriches, stags, and boars were on display and the next day hundreds of lions, leopards, and bears, the correspondence of SYMMACHUS is a more dependable source. He tells of the difficulties he encountered while organizing animal shows, saying that he had to be satisfied with Irish hounds, Italian and Adriatic bears, Egyptian crocodiles, and probably some antelopes, lions, and leopards from Africa. *Venationes* were still being held in the Colosseum under the rule of Theodoric the Great, and Justinian I, in novel 105.1, ordered the consuls to arrange *venationes* and to show men fighting beasts. A Byz. legend relates that ritual required the emperor to kill a bear and a lion in the "theater"; since Galerius was allegedly afraid to undergo this trial, the young Constantine (I) slaughtered the beasts (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 216f).

Scenes of animal combat were common on consular DIPTYCHS, while, later, scenes of hunting animals and birds became predominant. Although gladiatorial battles were prohibited by Constantine in 325, animal combat survived despite protests of the church fathers (thus, John Chrysostom [PG 59:519.33–34] condemned both horse races and the show of *theriomachountes*, as did the Council in Trullo). In the 12th C., Benjamin of Tudela observed the combat of lions, bears, leopards, and wild asses in the HIPPODROME.

Combat between animals and humans occupies an important place in hagiography and art, providing numerous legends about martyrs thrown into the arena and beasts refusing to attack them, or about martyrs who were killed by wild animals.

LIT. G. Jennison, *Animals for Show and Pleasure in Ancient Rome* (Manchester 1937) 93–98, 177–81. A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* (Rome 1982) 55–68. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. T. Talbot Rice, "Animal Combat Scenes in Byzantine Art," in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh 1975) 17–23. –A.K.

ANIMAL EPICS, narratives akin to the FABLE, though normally on a larger scale and lacking an explicit moral. Such material, which also had a worldwide currency (see STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES), circulated throughout Europe from antiquity onward in the stories attributed to AESOP, which were well known in Byz. Though it lacks the narrative element and includes inanimate objects in its christianizing observations, the PHY-

SIOLOGOS can perhaps be viewed as an extension of the Aesopic tradition. In late 12th-C. France, the *Roman de Renart,* drawing on traditional material, but adding an element of social satire to the tales of the cunning Fox, sparked a new interest in animal epics, which spread rapidly throughout Europe.

Byz.'s representative in this genre is the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY. With a similar tone of mild cynicism, though a different range of characters, are the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON, the POULOLOGOS, and the *Cat and the Mice* (*Ho kates kai hoi pontikoi*), all anonymous and written in POLITICAL VERSE at a popular level of the language; they reflect 14th-C. social conflicts. Shorter, and in prose, are the PORIKOLOGOS and the OPSAROLOGOS of approximately the same date, also anonymous; these satirize Byz. legal customs. Lively and written in the vernacular, the late Byz. animal epics offer many insights into both the small matters of everyday life and the larger issues of contemporary social tensions.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 173–79. J. Irmscher, "Das mittelgriechische Tierepos, Bestand und Forschungssituation" in *Aspects of the Medieval Animal Epic*, ed. E. Rombauts, A. Welkenhuysen (Leuven–The Hague 1975) 207–28. V.S. Šandrovskaja, "Svedenija o remesle v vizantijskom basennom epose XIII–XIV vv." in *Issledovanija po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* (Moscow-Leningrad 1960) 504–10.

–E.M.J.

ANIMALS. The Byz. kept a wide variety of domesticated animals and LIVESTOCK to provide meat, milk, eggs, leather, wool, and feathers (see SWINE; SHEEP; GOATS; FOWL, DOMESTIC) and to serve as draft animals, BEASTS OF BURDEN, or riding mounts (HORSES, CAMELS, donkeys, oxen, etc.). Horses were also used for CAVALRY, HUNTING, and equestrian SPORTS. The Byz. kept DOGS, cats, and some BIRDS as pets; predator birds, like hawks and falcons, were also used for HAWKING.

The Byz. clearly distinguished between wild beasts and domesticated animals; the wild were not always identified with evil and the domesticated with good, however. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (11.15–16) discriminates between carnivorous and herbivorous beasts, and domesticated animals such as dogs and swine were sometimes perceived as the embodiment of demonic power.

Exotic Animals. In an empire that, at its greatest extent, stretched from the Atlantic to the Tigris and from the Danube to the Nile, the Byz. encountered a wide range of exotic animals. They were exhibited in the hippodrome (see also ANIMAL COMBAT) and zoos, paraded through city streets, and presented as diplomatic gifts. The existence of exotic animals excited chroniclers and geographers alike. TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA reported on two giraffes and an ELEPHANT that passed through his city and eventually arrived in Constantinople, as noted by MARCELLINUS COMES. KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES describes the rhinoceros of Ethiopia and the hippopotamus of Egypt. In the capital in the 11th C. wild and exotic animals were displayed in a menagerie organized by Constantine IX Monomachos (Attal. 48–50). Attaleiates described a giraffe as a *kameleopardos*, a combination of a leopard and camel. LIONS were also exhibited in Constantinople.

Mythical Animals. Fantastic creatures haunted the imagination of poets, sculptors, potters, and illuminators who favored motifs such as the Iranian *simurgh*, winged felines, and GRIFFINS. PHILOSTORGIOS reported that he had seen a picture of a unicorn. Dragons, which were the embodiment of evil, were overcome by saints such as GEORGE, ELISABETH, and MERKOURIOS; they might also be used to represent enemies of the church, such as Emp. Julian, or symbolize temptation. John of Damascus insisted that dragons existed, but affirmed that they could not be killed by thunder, contrary to popular opinion.

Animal Imagery. Animal imagery was important in the Byz. world view, animals being treated, esp. in the PHYSIOLOGUS and the HEXAEMERON, as symbols of passions and virtues; even sober writers such as Symeon SETH preserve traces of legendary perception (e.g., about deer feeding on snakes and echidnae—*Syntagma kata stoicheion peri trophon dynameon*, ed. B. Langkavel [Leipzig 1868] 36.1–2). Literature actively used animal images in ANIMAL EPICS, in particular for political satire, as found in the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS or later FABLES. Political and religious ideology also developed standard animal attributes: the lion was a constant symbol of imperial power and the serpent (see SNAKE) that of the DEVIL (both images evidently derived from the Bible).

LIT. N. Vačnadze, "A propos de l'histoire de symbolique chrétienne," *BS* 48 (1987) 39–44. Mango, *Byzantium* 179f. J. Théodoridès, "Les animaux des jeux de l'Hippodrome

et des menageries impériales à Constantinople," *BS* 19 (1958) 73–84. – A.K., A.C., A.M.T.

ANKARA, BATTLE OF. In 1402, on the Çubuk plain north of Ankara (ANKYRA), the Ottomans, whose power had been rapidly expanding, suffered a temporary setback when they were decisively defeated by the Mongols. The battle took place on 28 July (*Kleinchroniken* 2:370). The course of the fighting is described by Greek historians (Chalk. 1:145–47; Sphr. 208.6–10). The Ottoman army of BAYEZID I that occupied a hill was attacked by TIMUR and was defeated, chiefly owing to the defection of the Anatolian Muslim contingents, in contrast to the sultan's Christian vassals (notably STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ) who fought loyally. Bayezid and his younger son MUSA were taken captive by the victor. Rumors spread that JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS had conspired with Timur (Barker, *Manuel II* 504–09). After the battle Timur reestablished the traditional *beyliks* (see BEG) and reduced Ottoman territory in Anatolia to its original heartland; he did not, however, invade RUMELI. The ensuing struggle for succession among Bayezid's sons ʿĪsā, Süleyman Çelebi, Musa, MEHMED (I), and later Mustafa allowed Byzantium to recover its autonomy for a short period, down to 1424, when it again became tributary to the Ottomans.

LIT. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar 1981). M.M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)* (Bucharest 1942). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. G. Roloff, "Die Schlacht bei Angora," *HistZ* 161 (1940) 244–62. –S.W.R., A.K.

ANKYRA (Ἄγκυρα, mod. Ankara), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of GALATIA. Ankyra's strategic location on the main highway across Anatolia made it a center of trade and a major military base. Frequently visited by emperors, it was an imperial summer residence in the late 4th and early 5th C. In the 4th C., Ankyra was the seat of a cultivated pagan landowning aristocracy (known from the letters of LIBANIOS); they were closely connected with the governors, who frequently adorned the city with public works. The local ruling class became Christian only in the 5th C., when the rich were famed for their piety and philanthropy. In the 6th C., the governor, bishop, and local magnates dominated Ankyra; its population was devoted to St. THEODORE OF SYKEON, who reportedly wrought many miracles in the city. Ankyra remained peaceful and prosperous through the early 7th C. In 610–11 it was the base of the revolt of KOMENTIOLOS. Sources attest a large range of public buildings, both pagan and Christian; few survive.

In 622, the Persians captured and destroyed Ankyra; afterward the large area of the ancient city was abandoned and Ankyra retreated to its heavily fortified acropolis. It became capital of the OPSIKION theme in the 7th C. and of the BOUKELLARION in the 8th. The frequent goal of Arab attacks, Ankyra fell to al-MUʿTAṢIM in 838, was rebuilt by Michael III in 859, and taken by the Paulicians in 871. After the Turks captured it ca.1080, Ankyra only briefly returned to Byz. rule following the Crusade of 1101.

An important center of Christianity, Ankyra was the home of Sts. Plato and Clement and the site of councils in 314, 358, and 375. The council of 325, planned for Ankyra, was transferred to Nicaea.

The site contains scattered remains of civic buildings, including a large bath that functioned until the 7th C., traces of luxurious houses, and the Church of St. Clement, a cross-domed brick structure (8th/9th C.?). Its fortress, one of the greatest of Anatolia, consists of a citadel, an upper rampart with closely spaced pentagonal towers, and an extensive lower wall. The inner fortress apparently dates to the mid-7th C., the outer to the early 9th; all were rebuilt by Michael III.

LIT. C. Foss, "Late Antique and Byzantine Ankara," *DOP* 31 (1977) 27–87. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 133–35, 143f. *TIB* 4:126–30. –C.F.

ANNA (Ἄννα) or Hanna, feminine personal name of Hebrew origin (etym. "veneration"). A similar name appeared in Greek and Roman mythology (G. Wissowa, *RE* 1 [1894] 2223–25; M. Nilsson, *Geschichte der griechischen Religion*[3] [Munich 1967] 251). In the New Testament (Lk 2:36) Anna is a prophetess of the tribe of Asher, but in a later Christian legend another Anna appeared, mother of the VIRGIN MARY. There is confusion between the female name Anna and the male Annas (also present in the New Testament); thus, ca.507 or

511 a man, Anna (probably of Germanic origin), was known as *comes* in Italy (*PLRE* 2:91f). Relatively rare in late Roman texts, the name became popular by the 11th C.: Skylitzes cites six Annas, more than Theodora and Irene. In the late Byz. acts Anna remained one of the most popular female names: vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* list 48 Annas, second only to MARIA.

LIT. M. Schönfeld, *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* (Heidelberg 1911; rp. 1965) 22. –A.K.

ANNA, princess of Kiev; porphyrogennete daughter of Romanos II and sister of Basil II; born Constantinople 13 Mar. 963, died Kiev 1011 (acc. to Skylitzes, after her husband). In 968 Otto I unsuccessfully sought Anna's hand for his son Otto II. Hugh Capet (king of France 987–96), who desired alliance and kinship with Byz., was surprised in early 988 by news of Anna's impending marriage to VLADIMIR I of Kiev and withdrew from his plan to ask for the princess's hand for his son Robert. Although legend places Anna's marriage in Cherson in 989, it actually took place in Kiev in 988. In summer of that year Anna was welcomed in Rus', accompanied by a large retinue headed by Theophylaktos, the first metropolitan of Kiev (and formerly of Sebasteia). In the 990s Byz. architects engaged by Anna raised Kiev's first stone buildings—the palace and the palace church of the Virgin, called the "Church of the Tithe." YAḤYĀ OF ANTIOCH attributed to Anna the construction of many churches. BORIS AND GLEB were probably her sons. –An.P.

ANNA KOMNENE. See KOMNENE, ANNA.

ANNALES BERTINIANI (so-called from the provenance of one MS from St. Bertin) continue the ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM. The first, anonymous section (a.830–34) was begun in the chapel of the Carolingian emperor Louis the Pious (814–40); it was continued by Prudentius, who took his work with him when he became bishop of Troyes (843–61), after which the tone grows increasingly independent of Charles the Bald. The continuation by Hincmar, archbishop of Reims (845–82), offers a wide-ranging but very personal view of the history of his times. In the royal annals' tradition, the *Annales Bertiniani* record Byz. diplomacy and military relations with the Franks (a.842, p.42; a.853, p.68; a.869, pp. 153, 164f; a.873, p.192) and the "Rhos" (a.839, pp. 30f) as well as Frankish activities among the Bulgars and Slavs (e.g., a.853, p.68; a.864, p.113; a.866, p.133f). They also attest to the impact of Byz. ceremonial on Frankish kingship (a.876, p.205) and Byz. pirates' activity in the western Mediterranean (a.848, p.55). Hincmar's relations with the papacy explain his knowledge of its affairs, particularly the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 138f; a.869, pp. 155f; a.872, p.187).

ED. F. Grat et al., *Annales de Saint-Bertin* (Paris 1964). Germ. tr. R. Rau, *Quellen zur karolingischen Reichsgeschichte*, vol.2 (Berlin 1956) 11–287.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 348f, 502f, 520. J.L. Nelson, "The Annals of St. Bertin," in *Charles the Bald: Court and Kingdom* (Oxford 1981) 15–36. A.V. Riasanovsky, "The Embassy of 838 Revisited," *JbGOst* 10 (1962) 1–12. –M.McC.

ANNALES FULDENSES, Latin narrative of events from 714 to 887. The first section was compiled in the Mainz area (838–63) and subsequently (864–82) reflects views characteristic of the court of Louis the German (843–76) and his son, apparently in connection with the career of Liutbert, archbishop of Mainz, as royal archchaplain (870–82). Although it is not clear where compilation ends and year-by-year redaction begins, the *Annales Fuldenses* record eastern Frankish events, particularly in relation to Moravia, the Bohemians, and Bulgars (e.g., a.828–29, pp. 25f; a.845, p.35; a.866–67, pp. 65f), and document Byz. diplomacy, mentioning a crystal reliquary sent by Basil I to Louis the German (a.872, p.75; a.873, p.81), Western repercussions of the Photian schism (a.867, pp. 66f), and of Byz. ceremonial (a.876, p.86). The Bavarian continuation (a.882–901, pp. 107–35) preserves the court connection and describes Byz. embassies and Byz.-Magyar relations (a.896, pp. 129f).

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales Fuldenses* [= MGH *SRG* 7] (Hannover 1891).

LIT. H. Löwe, "Geschichtsschreibung der ausgehenden Karolingerzeit," *DA* 23 (1967) 1–30. M. Hellmann, "Bemerkungen zum Aussagewert der Fuldaer Annalen und anderer Quellen über slavische Verfassungszustände," in *Festschrift für Walter Schlesinger*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Cologne 1973–74) 50–62. –M.McC.

ANNALES IANUENSES, official historical record of the commune of Genoa and a prime source on relations with Byz. between 1099 and 1294. Caffaro (ca.1080–1166) began the *Annales Ianuenses* (by 1100?) and established the model for his successors. He had joined the First Crusade's Genoese contingent (Aug. 1100–Jan. 1101) and visited the Orient again between ca.1130 and 1140. His career included stints as a diplomat (e.g., negotiations with Pisa, the papacy, and Frederick I), a successful admiral, and eight terms as consul (1122–49). In 1152, at Caffaro's urging, the commune ordered a copy of the *Annales Ianuenses* for the public archive (preserved in Paris, B.N. lat. 10136; sketches illustrate various personalities and places), which he continued to 1163, narrating Genoa's enterprises in the Levant and her competition with Italian rivals (e.g., the Pisan attack on 300 Genoese merchants at Constantinople: a.1162, 1.67.22–68.15). Caffaro also wrote a work *On the Liberation of the Cities of the East* (*De liberatione civitatum orientis*; ca.1155–56 in connection with a dispute with the kings of Jerusalem?) describing Genoese relations with Emp. Alexios I Komnenos and his lieutenants (1.114.15–115.7; 117.5–118.19) as well as travel distances in the Levant. From 1169 to 1294, the *Annales Ianuenses* were continued by various chancery officials, including the scribe and diplomat Ogerius, whose detailed account (1197–1216) records conflicts with the Latin rulers of Constantinople (e.g., a.1205, capture of a Venetian textile cargo, 12.98.22–99.16). Subsequent sections added by an anonymous continuator and by a committee treat the Palaiologans (a.1261, 1262, 1264—14.42.14–43.6, 44.9–45.15, 65.11–66.19).

ED. L.T. Belgrano, C. Imperiale di Sant'Angelo, *Annali genovesi di Caffaro e de'suoi continuatori* [= FSI 11–14 bis] (Genoa 1890–1929).

LIT. G. Petti Balbi, *Caffaro e la cronachistica genovese* (Genoa 1982). R.D. Face, "Secular History in Twelfth-Century Italy: Caffaro of Genoa," *JMedHist* 6 (1980) 169–84.

–M.McC.

ANNALES REGNI FRANCORUM, written in the chapel of Charlemagne and Louis the Pious (814–40), present a detailed but slanted—particularly by omission—record of royal activities (741–829). Writing probably began sometime between 787 and 793 with a retrospective account of events from 741 and continued to 795. The *Annales Regni Francorum* were then composed on a year-by-year basis to 829, with probable shifts in authorship in 808 and 820, and were continued in the Annales Bertiniani. They are an essential source on Byz. relations with the Franks, esp. diplomacy; a Byz. invasion of southern Italy (a.788, p.82); the capture of Sisinnios, Patr. Tarasios's brother (a.798, p.104); Emp. Nikephoros I's recognition of Charlemagne as *basileus* (a.812, p.136); competition over Venice and Dalmatia (a.806–10, pp. 122–30; a.817, pp. 145f; a.821, pp. 155f); relations of Byz. and the Franks with the Bulgars (e.g., a.812–13, pp. 136–39; a.824, pp. 164–67); an earthquake at Constantinople (Aug. 815, p.143); etc. Between 814 and 817, an unidentified member of the court began rewriting the text down to 817, improving the Latin, changing the political perspective slightly, and adding some details on Byz. (e.g., exarchs of Sicily in 788, p.83; a.798, p.105, the family name "Ganglianos" of an ambassador). This revised version is called *Annales Einhardi*, reflecting an abandoned theory on its authorship.

ED. F. Kurze, *Annales regni Francorum* [= MGH *SRG* 6] (Hannover 1895). Tr. B.W. Scholz, B. Rogers, *Carolingian Chronicles* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972) 37–125.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 247–57, 260–65, 347f. M. McCormick, *Les annales du haut moyen âge* (Turnhout 1975) 16–19, 38–49.

–M.McC.

ANNALS OF BARI (Lat. *Annales Barenses*). The region of Bari produced three closely connected historical works on Apulia that are valuable sources for Byz.'s conflict with the Arabs and the Normans: (1) the *Annales Barenses* (605–1043), whose short notes grow more detailed for the 11th C. and are essentially local in focus; (2) the *Annals* (860–1102), ascribed in the 17th C. to "Lupus Protospatharius," which are somewhat less parochial in their awareness of events elsewhere in the Empire; and (3) the *Anonymous Chronicle of Bari* (860–1115). All three relied on earlier, lost sources, some of which they shared (cf. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* xxix–xxxiii).

ED. *Annales Barenses*—MGH *SS* 5:52–56. "Lupus"—ibid. 52–63. *Anon. Chronicle*—RIS 5:147–56.

LIT. *RepFontHist* 2:251f. W.J. Churchill, "Per una edizione critica degli *Annales Barenses* e degli *Annales Lupi Protospatharii*," *BollCom* n.s. 27 (1979) 113–37. –M.McC.

ANNALS OF RAVENNA, conventional title of a Latin chronicle (probably of the 6th C.) of which only half of an 11th-C. folio (MS 202) has survived in the library of the cathedral in Merseburg (Saxony, in central Germany). The preserved folio encompasses events of 411–54, with numerous lacunas because of the absence of the upper half of the folio. The *Annals*, in the form of consular *fasti* with brief historical notes, belong to the type of the CALENDAR OF 354 and like the latter are illustrated. The special characteristic of the Merseburg folio is its attention to RAVENNA, usually ignored in other late Roman chronicles, and its indication of precise dates; the *Annals* mention the death of the Western emperor Honorius (who died in Ravenna) and give its precise date—27 Aug. 423—thus permitting a rejection of the date in Sokrates and Theophanes, 15 Aug. The Merseburg folio confirms the existence of the lost local annals of Ravenna, which may have been a source for such later chronicles as AGNELLUS as well as CASSIODORUS and MARCELLINUS COMES. Drawings in the columns of the text illustrate martyrdoms and other scenes of violence as well as an emperor (Valentinian III) enthroned on an orb in the manner of Christ in the apse of S. Vitale, Ravenna.

ED. B. Bischoff, W. Koehler, "Eine illustrierte Ausgabe der spätantiken Ravennater Annalen," in *Medieval Studies in Memory of A. Kingsley Porter*, ed. W. Koehler, vol. 1 (Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 125–38; reissued (in Ital.), *Studi Romagnoli* 3 (1952) 1–17.

LIT. G. Kaufmann, "Die Fasten der späteren Kaiserzeit als ein Mittel zur Kritik der weströmischen Chroniken," *Philologus* 34 (1876) 235–95. O. Holder-Egger, "Untersuchungen über einige annalistische Quellen zur Geschichte des V. und VI. Jahrhunderts," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für altere deutsche Geschichtskunde* 1 (1876) 13–120, 213–368; 2 (1877) 47–109. B. Croke, "The City Chronicles in Late Antiquity," in *Reading the Past in Late Antiquity*, ed. G. Clarke et al. (Canberra 1989) 165–204. –A.K., B.B., A.C.

ANNA OF SAVOY, empress; baptismal name Ioanna; born 1306?, died Thessalonike ca.1365 (R.J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 21 [1955] 218). Daughter of Count Amadeo V of Savoy, Anna married Emp. Andronikos III Palaiologos in Oct. 1326. She was accompanied by a large Italian entourage and promoted such Western customs as tournaments (see SPORTS) at the Byz. court. After her husband's death in 1341, she became regent for her nine-year-old son John V. She joined with Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and Alexios APOKAUKOS in opposition to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, eventually forcing him into the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. The war necessitated drastic measures. Anna pawned the Byz. crown jewels to Venice (1343) and hired Turkish mercenaries to fight Kantakouzenos (1346). Although she converted to Orthodoxy at the time of her marriage, in 1343 Anna declared her submission and that of her son to the pope. In the hesychast controversy, she supported Kalekas, the opponent of PALAMAS, until 1347 when she turned against the patriarch and presided over the synod that deposed him, just as Kantakouzenos was entering Constantinople in triumph. Kantakouzenos pardoned Anna, but relations remained tense. In 1351 the empress went to Thessalonike to dissuade John V from rebelling against John VI. She remained there until her death, ruling the city as her appanage. Historians such as Gregoras and Kantakouzenos are very hostile to Anna, depicting her as a foreigner and cruel tyrant, but Nicholas KABASILAS composed a eulogy of her (M. Jugie, *IRAIK* 15 [1911] 112–21). Mosaic portraits of Anna and Andronikos survived in the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople until at least 1579.

LIT. D. Muratore, "Una principessa sabauda sul trono di Bisanzio. Giovanna di Savoia imperatrice Anna Paleologina," *Mémoires de l'Académie de Savoie*[4] 11 (1909) 221–475. A. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 91–127. T. Bertelè, *Monete e sigilli di Anna di Savoia* (Rome 1937), corr. Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–21. D. Nicol, S. Bendall, "Anna of Savoy in Thessalonica: The Numismatic Evidence," *RN* 19 (1977) 87–102. –A.M.T., A.C.

ANNONA (*res annonaria*, ἀννῶνα), financial term referring to (1) in-kind taxation, including both *annona civica* (which governed the requisition and transfer of commodities from Africa and Egypt for the maintenance of Rome and Constantinople) and ANNONA MILITARIS, or (2) any type of rations or provisions. Originally an irregular imperial levy of commodities, *annona* was established by Diocletian as the empire's fundamental tax, paid in kind and based upon periodic assessments. From the end of the 4th C., however, the role played by *annona* in taxation diminished, as taxes came to be assessed and remitted in money; even the remaining *annona*, although still assembled in kind, was now frequently commuted into cash

payments (*adaeratio*). Thus, by the 6th C., the term was applied almost exclusively to rations and supplies, distinct from the public tax. When the term *annona* appears in later sources (e.g., the will of Eustathios Boilas [ed. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 27.217]), it invariably refers to that portion of a salary paid in kind rather than with cash.

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 1–183. –A.J.C.

ANNONA MILITARIS (ἀννῶνα). The *annona militaris* began as an unofficial tax in kind imposed by Septimius Severus (193–211) to obtain rations (wine, meat, oil, bread) or other necessities (e.g., wood) for the army. Another ration, the *capitus*, provided fodder for its horses. The *annona* and *capitus* became regular issue during the 3rd C., and the task of their assessment, collection, and distribution fell to the praetorian prefecture (Jones, *LRE* 448–62). These provisions were collected in supply depots and issued to the soldiers by the army quartermasters (*actuarii*). As taxes in kind were increasingly commuted to cash throughout the 5th C., the *annona* and *capitus* became ration allowances (in some cases at fixed rates of 5 and 4 solidi, respectively, in the *Cod.Just.* I 27.1, par.22), although rations in kind continued to be issued, esp. in the East. Eventually soldiers' pay, and that of civil officials, was computed in the cash equivalents of the *annona* and *capitus*, assessed at varying rates according to rank or grade of service (Haldon, *Praetorians* 120–25).

LIT. A. Cerati, *Caractère annonaire et assiette de l'impôt foncier au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1975) 103–51. W.E. Kaegi, "The *Annona Militaris* in the Early Seventh Century," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 589–96. –E.M.

ANNUNCIATION (*εὐαγγελισμὸς τῆς Θεοτόκου*), feast of the angel Gabriel's announcement of the coming of the Holy Spirit on the Virgin Mary (Lk 1:26–38), celebrated 25 Mar. In Syria, Constantinople, and possibly Asia Minor, a feast of the Virgin that included the annunciation theme was originally part of pre-Nativity celebrations on the first or second Sunday before Christmas; this preparatory Sunday is attested in Constantinople before 431 (F.J. Leroy, *L'Homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* [Vatican 1967] 66). But in 560 a letter of Justinian I defended 25 Mar. as the historical date of the annunciation event and af-



Annunciation. The Annunciation; icon, 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

firmed that the feasts of the Nativity and Presentation in the Temple (Hypapante) should be celebrated 25 Dec. and 2 Feb., respectively, because they depend on the Annunciation (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44). Actually, the March date, probably introduced to Antioch in the 6th C., and to Jerusalem and the whole Christian world shortly thereafter, was chosen not in order to coordinate with Christmas, but because the identification of John the Baptist's conception with the autumn equinox put Jesus' conception at the spring equinox six months later and his Nativity (25 Dec.) at the winter solstice. The date 25 Mar. was, furthermore, considered the day of the Crucifixion, and to make Jesus' life a perfect cycle, his conception and death had to coincide, since fractions were imperfect (Talley, *Liturgical Year* 8–13, 91–103).

One of the five Marian Great Feasts, and, with the Hypapante, one of two not based on New Testament apocrypha, the Annunciation is the

only one of the 12 fixed Great Feasts that can fall in Lent, Holy Week, or the week after Easter; if in Lent, it has an afterfeast of but one day, and if in Holy or Easter Week, this *metheorta* is suppressed entirely. On the day of the Annunciation, the emperor went in procession to the column of Constantine, celebrated the liturgy in the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and feasted in the palace (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.30; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 195.16–197.5).

Illustrations of the Annunciation show GABRIEL approaching the standing or seated Virgin Mary. Depicted by the 3rd C., the Annunciation became a pervasive Christian image. It appears in Christological cycles and also independently on jewelry, icons, bema doors, the triumphal arches of churches, and in some Gospel books preceding the text of Luke. The initial, simple confrontation of the holy figures was quickly elaborated. The well and purple wool, derived from the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (11:1–3), appear in 5th-C. art. The 6th-C. mosaic at POREČ shows Mary enthroned before a basilican façade, as a royal figure, a type of the Church, and a portal of salvation. Post-Iconoclastic art, drawing on homilies, embroiders the scene with springtime elements incorporating Marian symbols (lilies, the closed garden) and doctrinal ones (the arc of Heaven, the dove and impregnating light, and—in the Hagioi Anargyroi at KASTORIA—God himself). The richest of all Byz. Annunciation compositions is the late 12th-C. icon on Mt. Sinai, which, along with numerous Marian motifs, includes on Mary's breast a faint mandorla containing the infant Christ, a reference to the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA.

LIT. R.A. Fletcher, "Celebrations at Jerusalem on March 25th in the Sixth Century A.D.," *StP* 5 (1962) 30–34. Idem, "Three Early Byzantine Hymns and their Place in the Liturgy of the Church of Constantinople," *BZ* 51 (1958) 53–65. D.M. Montagna, "La liturgia mariana primitiva," *Marianum* 24 (1962) 84–128. D. Denny, *The Annunciation from the Right: From Early Christian Times to the Sixteenth Century* (New York 1977). Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 44–52. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

ANOINTING (χρῖσμα), a ritual rubbing with a blessed OIL or chrism, derived from widespread ancient use of unguents. Early Christian initiation rites like BAPTISM used anointing; in the medieval West it marked accession to political power from the 7th C. onward. At what date anointing entered Byz. CORONATIONS is controversial. Old Testament metaphors, the Septuagint's very frequent use of the phrase *chriein basilea* (e.g., 1 Sam [1 Kg] 11:5, 15:17), and the iconography of Davidic kingship (C. Walter, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 58–73) encouraged similar wording for the Byz. emperor's accession, regardless of ritual. Neither *De ceremoniis* nor *euchologia* make reference to coronation anointing. Although there is some discussion about Niketas Choniates' testimony (Nik.Chon. 457.15), anointing in connection with coronations appears irrefutably only after 1204, when debate waxed over whether Byz. anointing was introduced in response to Baldwin I's Latin-style coronation anointing at Constantinople or could have entered Byz. ceremonial shortly before. Even in the latter case, the Western presence at court and in the imperial family scarcely excludes the possibility of Latin influence.

Theodore I Laskaris was anointed emperor in 1205 and anointing became solidly entrenched thereafter. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 258.3–29) describes how the patriarch mounted the ambo and anointed the emperor's head just before crowning him, as he declared him "Holy!" (*hagios*) and the audience echoed the ACCLAMATION. Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:353B–D) gave the rite a christomimetic interpretation, reasoning that the emperor's anointing paralleled that of Christ by the Holy Spirit. (For anointing of the sick, see UNCTION.)

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 142–52. D.M. Nicol, "*Kaisersalbung*: The Unction of Emperors in Late Byzantine Coronation Ritual," *BMGS* 2 (1976) 37–52. M. Arranz, "L'aspect rituel de l'onction des empereurs de Constantinople et de Moscou," in *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 407–15. –M.McC.

ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES," jurist. Numerous scholia to the BASILIKA are inscribed "(τοῦ) Ἀνωνύμου" or "(τοῦ) Ἐναντιοφανοῦς." According to the generally accepted opinion of K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal (*Kleine Schriften* 2:152–54), these texts originate in the writings of an "elder Anonymous" and a "younger Anonymous," the latter of whom should be identified with "Enantiophanes." The "elder Anonymous" was perhaps active under Justinian I and may have composed a paraphrase of the DIGEST that served as the basis for the text of the *Basilika*. The "younger Anonymous" may have lived under Herakleios and provided the *Digest* paraphrase of

the "elder Anonymous" with explanatory notes (*paragraphai*). The "younger Anonymous" was called "Enantiophanes" because he wrote a work entitled *Peri enantiophaneion* (On Apparent Contradictions), which is mentioned in the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, a work that likewise can be attributed to him.

LIT. Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot" 308–15. N. van der Wal, "Wer war der 'Enantiophanes?'" *Tijdschrift* 48 (1980) 125–36. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 101–16. –A.S.

ANONYMOUS FOLLES. See COINS; MINTS.

ANONYMUS VALESII. See EXCERPTA VALESIANA.

ANSBERT. See HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI.

ANSELM, author, ambassador, bishop of Havelberg (1129–55), and archbishop of Ravenna (1155–58); born Germany? ca.1100, died Milan 12 Aug. 1158. In 1135/6 Anselm visited Constantinople as the ambassador of the German emperor Lothair III to John II Komnenos to discuss possible joint action against ROGER II of Sicily. In Apr. 1136, with the cooperation of Emp. John and Patr. Leo Styppes (1134–43), he participated in public debates in Constantinople with Niketas, archbishop of Nikomedeia, on the FILIOQUE, the AZYMES, and papal PRIMACY. In order to rebut Niketas's criticism of the Roman church's "innovations" in faith and practice, Anselm used his own theory of the church's historical growth in understanding the faith through the Holy Spirit. He politely, but firmly, upheld the Latin *filioque* doctrine and claimed that Niketas accepted his compromise formula: the Holy Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son, but "properly and principally" only from the Father. Niketas evidently also agreed that the Greek "through the Son" was equivalent to the Latin "from both" (*ab utroque*). Both Anselm and Niketas called for an ecumenical council that would, they hoped, result in UNION OF THE CHURCHES. At the request of Pope Eugenius II, Anselm wrote (1150) the *Dialogues*, a detailed account of his debates with Niketas.

In 1153 Frederick I Barbarossa sent Anselm to Manuel I Komnenos to negotiate a marriage between Frederick and the Byz. princess Maria. While in Thessalonike in 1154, en route home, Anselm discussed the procession of the Holy Spirit with BASIL OF OHRID and acknowledged that Latin arrogance impeded reunion.

ED. *Dialogues*—PL 188:1139–1248. Fr. tr. of book 1 by G. Salet (Paris 1966); book 2 by P. Harang, *Istina* 17 (1972) 375–424.

LIT. J. Dräseke, "Bischof Anselm von Havelberg und seine Gesandtschaftsreisen nach Byzanz," *ZKirch* 21 (1901) 160–85. L.F. Barmann, "Reform Ideology in the *Dialogi* of Anselm of Havelberg," *ChHist* 30 (1961) 379–95. N. Russell, "Anselm of Havelberg and the Union of the Churches," *Sobornost* 1.2 (1979) 19–41; 2.1 (1980) 29–94. J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965) 59–65. –F.K.

ANTAE (Ἄνται), a group of people in the area north of the Black Sea. According to Jordanes, in the 4th C. the Goths defeated the Antae and murdered their "king" (*rex*) Boz and 70 elders. Other authors (Prokopios, pseudo-Maurice, etc.) mention the Antae, usually alongside the SKLAVENOI, in connection with the events of 535–602. Prokopios describes the Antae as a conglomeration of primitive and dirty nomads who practiced democracy and made war on foot, half-naked, armed with only spears and shields; they venerated the god of lightning.

The origin of the Antae is hotly discussed. Many scholars (e.g., Č. Bonev, *EtBalk* 19 [1983] no.3, 109–20) consider them early Slavs; G. Vernadsky (*JAOS* 59 [1939] 56–66) developed the theory of their ALAN origin; B. Strumins'kyj (*HUkSt* 3/4 [1979–80] 786–96) saw in them Goths. The Antae were probably professional warriors, neighbors originally of the Alans and subsequently of the Ostrogoths, the Huns, the Bulgars, and the Avars. Justinian I, who accepted the title "Antikos," made them allies, and between 545 and 602 the Antae usually cooperated with the empire. Around 560 the Avars began to assume hegemony in eastern Europe and to demand the loyalty of the Antae. Attempts at negotiation failed, and the Avars killed the Antae envoy Mezamer. In 602 the Antae allied with Maurice against the Avars; Simokattes (Theoph.Simok. 293.15–16) relates that the *khagan* dispatched an army under the command of Apsich to exterminate the Antae but the Avars were afraid and began to desert; after 602 the Antae disappear from the sources.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 394–411. R. Werner, "Zur Herkunft der Anten," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 573–95. –O.P.

ANTECESSORES (*ἀντικήνσορες*, "those who precede"), an honorary designation used by Justinian I for the professors of jurisprudence at the state LAW SCHOOLS in Constantinople and Berytus. The Constitutio *Omnem* (a. 533), which regulated legal education, is addressed to eight *antecessores*: THEOPHILOS, DOROTHEOS, Theodore, ISIDORE, ANATOLIOS, THALELAIOS, Kratinos, and Salaminios. Of their writings—mainly summaries of and notes on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—only the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by Theophilos has been preserved in full; numerous fragments from works on the *Digest* and on the *Codex Justinianus* are transmitted, esp. in the scholia to the *Basilika*, often inscribed with the author's name. With the decline of state legal instruction in the second half of the 6th C., the designation *antecessor* fell out of use.

LIT. P. Jörs, *RE* 1.2 (1894) 2347f. H.J. Scheltema, *L'enseignement de droit des antécesseurs* (Leiden 1970). P. Pieler, *LMA* 1:692. –A.S.

ANTHEMIOS (Ἀνθέμιος), prefect under Arkadios and Theodosios II; died after 414. Probably of Egyptian origin, Anthemios was a member of one of the most distinguished aristocratic families of the period. He was *magister officiorum* in 404 and praetorian prefect of the East from 405 to 414. He may have assisted in the deposition of John Chrysostom in 404, but he was presumably a Christian and escorted the relics of the prophet Samuel into Constantinople in 406. Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 7.1.1) reports that he was the virtual ruler of the empire during the critical period of the minority of Theodosios II. He reorganized the food supply of the capital (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 5.32) and rebuilt its walls (*Cod.Theod.* XV 1.51) before he fell from power (see PULCHERIA).

LIT. *PLRE* 2:93–95. –T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS Western emperor (467–72); born Constantinople, died Rome 30 June or 11 July 472. Grandson of the prefect ANTHEMIOS and son-in-law of Marcian, *patrikios*, and commander against the Huns and Ostrogoths, Anthemios was a candidate for the throne in Constantinople in 454. Leo I named him caesar and in 467 sent him to Italy, where he was proclaimed augustus by the army. Leo concurred in the nomination as did RICIMER (who married the daughter of Anthemios), both hoping to counter the power and influence of the Vandal king GAISERIC. Celebrated by Sidonius Apollinaris and by Leo as the hope for unity between East and West, Anthemios was distrusted as a Greek and suspected of pagan sympathies. He played no part in the naval expedition against the Vandals in 468. Hostility developed with Ricimer, who finally invested Olybrius with the purple in 492. Ricimer attacked Rome, and Anthemios was captured and beheaded.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:335–40. Kaegi, *Decline* 35–43. G. Härtel, "Die zeitgeschichtliche Relevanz der Novellen des Kaisers Anthemius," *Klio* 64 (1982) 151–59. *PLRE* 2:96–98. –T.E.G.

ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES, architect, engineer, physicist, and mathematician; born Tralles in Lydia, died Constantinople? before 558 (the traditional date of his death, ca.534, is erroneous: G. Soulis, *Speculum* 35 [1960] 124). Anthemios was the son of a physician, Stephen; one of his brothers, Metrodoros, was a grammarian, another was a lawyer, and others were doctors. Anthemios achieved fame as the architect (with ISIDORE OF MILETUS) of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople. Nothing is known of his other architectural projects. Prokopios relates that Justinian I consulted Anthemios about flood control at Dara. According to Agathias, Anthemios was one of those scientists "who apply geometrical speculation to material objects and make models or imitations of the natural world" (Agath. 5:6.3). Anthemios's experiments included the production of an artificial earthquake (using steam power) and artificial thunder as well as the creation of a powerful reflector. He wrote treatises such as *Concerning Remarkable Mechanical Devices* and *On Burning-Mirrors*; in the former he describes a curved reflector similar to one that he is said to have built. According to TZETZES, Anthemios also wrote on mechanical and hydraulic subjects.

LIT. G.L. Huxley, *Anthemius of Tralles* (Cambridge, Mass., 1959). G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112–14. –M.J., A.K.

ANTHIMOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, martyr under Diocletian and saint; feastday 3 Sept. According to Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 8.6.6), Anthimos (Ἄνθιμος), bishop of Nikomedeia, was decapitated in 303; he was among those charged with setting fire to the imperial palace in Nikomedeia. A Life attributed to SYMEON METAPHRASTES presents the trial and torture of Anthimos by Maximian. It is questionable whether any of his writings survive: the legend of Sts. Domna and Indes mentions a letter of Anthimos to persecuted communities (PG 116:1073C–1076B); a fragment, *On the Holy Church*, attributed to Anthimos by G. Mercati, is actually a work of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA according to Richard (*Opera minora* 2, no.33).

Representation in Art. The earliest known portrait of Anthimos, on a mosaic (now lost) in the south tympanum of HAGIA SOPHIA, apparently showed the saint as an elderly bishop; this is the most usual type, though his features vary. In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.95v), he bears witness to the burning of the church in Nikomedeia in which 20,000 Christians are said to have lost their lives. Four scenes enclosed in roundels recount his martyrdom (including torture on a wheel) in a *menologion* MS of Symeon Metaphrastes (London, B.L. Add. 11870, fol.44v); other MSS depict only his beheading.

SOURCE. PG 115:171–84.
LIT. *BHG* 134y–135c. U. Knoben, *LCI* 5:199f.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

ANTHOLOGIA PALATINA AND ANTHOLOGIA PLANUDEA. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

ANTHOLOGIES, collections of largely secular verse, esp. EPIGRAMS, similar to a FLORILEGIUM (excerpts from theological texts) or a *gnomologion* (GNOMAI, or moralizing excerpts from secular texts in both prose and verse). Selections from the major classical anthologies (those of Meleager of Gadara, Philip of Thessalonike, etc.) were combined in the 10th C. by Constantine KEPHALAS with material from the Byz. period, esp. from the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. This collection, now lost as an independent work, in turn formed the basis for the main surviving Byz. anthologies, the *Anthologia Palatina* and the *Anthologia Planudea* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). There also survive a number of short anthologies (e.g., the 9th-C. *Sylloge Euphemiana*, the 13th-C. *Sylloge Crameriana*, the 14th-C. *Appendix Barbaro-Vaticana*), which contain a few epigrams not attested by the two major collections.

ED. See GREEK ANTHOLOGY.
LIT. *AnthGr* 1:82–84.
–E.M.J.

ANTHOUSA (Ἀνθοῦσα, lit. "flourishing"), the name or epithet given by Constantine I the Great to Constantinople–New Rome. John Lydos uses the epithet as a translation of Roman Flora, but E. Fenster (*Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 93, n.5) questions his explanation. The epithet appears in historians and panegyrics; PAUL SILENTIARIOS, for instance, speaks of "golden-clad Anthousa" who subjugates barbarians (vv. 156–58). It is also found in geographical nomenclature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike's commentary on Dionysios Periegetes), and Manuel Holobolos still used it in his speech on Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople.

LIT. J. Bernays, "Quellennachweise zu Politianus und Georgius Valla," *Hermes* 11 (1876) 129–34. A. Riese, "Anthousa," *Hermes* 12 (1877) 143f. M. Alföldi, *Die constantinische Goldprägung* (Mainz 1963) 151, n.2.
–A.K.

ANTHROPOLOGY. The classical Byz. definition of man stems from the Greek philosophical tradition and is common to theologians, philosophers, and even elementary school textbooks; man is a rational, mortal being, or corporeal essence, endowed with speech and thought, capable of reason and knowledge. Man, a being that unites two natures in one person, was the favorite model for the hypostatic union from the 6th C. In this context the SOUL or spirit of man is contrasted to the BODY in purely negative terms (incorporeal, immortal, incorruptible), and man is perceived as a simultaneous synthesis of opposites: as "a being united ineffably and simultaneously of different essences" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5, p.58f), or as a "mixture of opposites" (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:212D, 1032B).

In referring to Genesis 1:27, the patristic tradition sees man as the image of God, or, insofar as the Logos alone is the image of God, man is seen as an "image in the image of God." From Genesis 1:26, "Let us make man in our image, and according to our likeness," man is seen as an image of the Trinity in the structure of his soul,

not in the sense of Plato's tripartite division of the soul, but rather in the relationship of man's *psyche* to his *logos* and *nous* or *pneuma.*

The ability of Byz. anthropology to shed its theological context, at least outwardly, is shown in the thought of Michael Psellos and John Italos in the 11th C. (See also NEMESIOS.)

LIT. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontius von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. F.R. Gahbauer, *Das anthropologische Modell: Ein Beitrag zur Christologie der frühen Kirche bis Chalkedon* (Würzburg 1984). L. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au moyen âge* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 56–76. P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Joannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 88–106, 126–135. –K.-H.U.

ANTHROPOS (ἄνθρωπος, "man," Lat. *homo*), a term designating an individual in a relation of personal dependence; its synonyms were *philos* ("friend"), OIKEIOS, and LIZIOS. The term *anthropos* could cover relations between a *strategos* and his retinue, as in the *Strategikon of Maurice*; this usage is also found later, for example, in a 10th-C. source (*TheophCont* 374.17) that relates that Leo Argyros attacked Tephrike "with his *anthropoi.*" An *anthropos* could be a subordinate of a civil official; thus an anonymous letter of the 10th C. was addressed to an *anthropos* of the *krites* of the Aegean Sea (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 377, no.47). More evidence of the "parafeudal" nature of Byz. "homage" is revealed in sources of the 11th and 12th C., in a Cretan charter of 1118 (MM 6:95–99), and in Kekaumenos as well as in the *typika* of Pakourianos and of the Kosmosoteira monastery. A seal of Niketas, "*anthropos* of the most fortunate caesar," is published but not dated (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.643). *Anthropoi* not only served as a private retinue that followed their commander to battle, but also received land for their service. In later documents the term *anthropoi* was also applied to PAROIKOI. The "imperial men," BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI, formed a special category.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 236–38. V. Arutjunova, "K voprosu ob *anthropoi* v 'tipike' Grigorija Pakuriana," *VizVrem* 29 (1968) 63–76. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi authentai ton Kretikon to 1118," *Pepragmena tou D' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 313–17. –A.K.

ANTHYPATOS (ἀνθύπατος), Greek translation of Latin *proconsul* or CONSULARIS, a governor of some special provinces (B. Kübler, *RE* 4 [1901] 1140–42). The term probably also designated the head of the administration of Constantinople until 359, when it was replaced by the URBAN PREFECT. From the 9th C. *anthypatos* was used as a DIGNITY. According to E. Stein (*BNJbb* 1 [1920] 372f), the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (842/3) still listed the *anthypatos* as a provincial governor—a conclusion based only on the place of the title in the list. Guilland suggests that *anthypatos* as a dignity was first applied to Alexios Mousele under Emp. Theophilos. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the term, often in conjunction with PATRIKIOS, was listed in a position between MAGISTROS and regular *patrikios.* The term *protanthypatos* is known from 11th-C. sources. A *disanthypatos* is also mentioned on a seal. These titles were not used after the beginning of the 12th C.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:68–79. Oikonomides, *Listes* 287, 294. Bury, *Adm. System* 28f. C. Emereau, "L'archonte-proconsul de Constantinople," *RA*[5] 23 (1926) 103–08. –A.K.

ANTICHRIST (Ἀντίχριστος), the greatest antagonist of Christ, esp. at the Second Coming (PAROUSIA). The Greek word *Antichristos* appears in the Bible only in the epistles of John (1 Jn 2:18–22; 4:3; 2 Jn 7), but the concept of the final struggle between a diabolic ruler (anti-Messiah or "the beast") and the divine forces is to be found in the Hebrew (esp. Essene and apocalyptic) tradition. Hippolytos of Rome in the 3rd C. was the first Christian author to devote a tract to the Antichrist (*On Christ and on the Antichrist*), the core of which was opposition to the Roman Empire. The theme was developed in Byz. commentaries on the APOCALYPSE by OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, and NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS, since the two beasts in the Apocalypse that are identified with the Roman Empire or the cult of the emperor were interpreted as referring to the Antichrist.

Byz. theologians gave the Antichrist various names: Lampetis, Tetian, Lateinos, Benediktos (or Niketas), names for which the numerical equivalents of their Greek letters add up to 666, the number of the Antichrist (Rev 13:18). He was perceived either as the DEVIL incarnate or as a being consisting of a man combined with satanic energy. He was expected to come "when the time of the Roman Empire was fulfilled" (Cyril of Je-

rusalem, *Catech.* 15.12, PG 33:885A) and to subjugate Egypt, Libya, and the Ethiopians. He will deceive people by his external resemblance to Christ and by his power of working miracles. Drought, famine, and portents will manifest his coming, and he will persecute the saints. Accordingly, drought and similar phenomena were often interpreted as foreboding the coming of the Antichrist. The years of the reign of the Antichrist are numbered, and in the end he is to be defeated.

The Antichrist was often connected with the Jews, whom he specially honors, even rebuilding the Temple, over which he will preside, proclaiming himself a god. Pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA as well as SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (PG 87.3:3197D) identified the Antichrist with Islam—an interpretation that spread particularly in the post-Byz. period.

LIT. B. Rubin, "Der Antichrist und die 'Apokalypse' des Prokopios von Kaisareia," *ZDMG* 110 (1961) 55–63. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972) 79–99. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 193–225. K. Wessel, "Der Antichrist am Kreuz," in *Eikon und Logos*, ed. H. Goltz, vol. 2 (Halle 1981) 323–37. –G.P.

ANTIGRAPHEUS (ἀντιγραφεύς), in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos a subordinate of the QUAESTOR. According to Bury (*Adm. System* 75f), *antigrapheis* were successors of the late Roman *magistri scriniorum* under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. As the Greek rendition of the *magister* of a *scrinium*, the term *antigrapheus* was used by various late Roman authors. It is not known what the functions of the *antigrapheis* were after they moved to the department of the quaestor. *Antigrapheis* are mentioned in the ECLOGA (162.42, 166.104) as involved in the preparation of legislative acts. Later, the term *antigraphe* designated responses issued by the emperor (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.67.17), letters sent abroad (Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 89), etc. The seals of *antigrapheis*, some dated to the 7th C., do not clarify their duties.

LIT. J. Bury, "Magistri scriniorum, antigraphes, and repherendarioi," *HStClPhil* 21 (1910) 23–29. Zacos, *Seals* 2:159. –A.K.

ANTIMENSION (ἀντιμήνσιον), also *antimesion* (from Lat. *mensa*, "table"), a portable ALTAR, often made of cloth. The term is first found in an *enkomion* of an obscure saint, Markianos of Syracuse (text probably early 8th C.), where the "antiminsion" is identified as "*mystike trapeza*" (*AASS* June 3:281C–282D). Patr. Niketas I (766–80) reportedly set up an "antimission" in the Hippodrome and prayed before it when Leo IV crowned his son Constantine VI (Theoph. 450.16). The word occurs more frequently from the 12th C. onward when it refers specifically to a piece of cloth—linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:332D–333A) or possibly silk. The so-called Nomocanon of Cotelier (J.B. Cotelier, *Monumenta ecclesiae graecae* 1 [Paris 1677]), produced between the 12th and 14th C., prescribes punishment for a priest who officiates without an *antimension*. The *antimension* contained a small pocket for RELICS and had to be consecrated by a bishop. Although consecrated as a portable altar, an *antimension* was to be used only when a consecrated altar-table was not available, or if consecration was in doubt. Its usage was quite common, esp. during the late period. The *antimension* became mandatory for the celebration of liturgy only in the post-Byz. period when it replaced the EILITON as the altar cloth on which eucharistic vessels were set; in earlier practice the *antimension* had been spread underneath the ENDYTE. Since no Byz. *antimensia* are preserved, their exact appearance is not known, and there is no evidence that they were ever extensively decorated.

LIT. J. Izzo, *The Antimension in the Liturgical and Canonical Tradition of the Byzantine and Latin Churches* (Rome 1975) 23–144. S. Pétridès, *DACL* 1.2:2319–26. –A.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS (Ἀντινόου πόλις, also Antinoë, Antinou, mod. Shaikh Abāda), town in Upper Egypt founded by Hadrian in 130; a flourishing center of Hellenic culture. In 297 Diocletian made Antinoöpolis an important administrative center and under Justinian I it became the seat of the *doux* of the Thebaid. It had a Christian community and was an episcopal see already in the early 4th C. The ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI make reference to many churches, but excavations have unearthed only a few. There are two large basilicas in the east and south parts of the town, the latter of which dates probably from the 4th C.; it has five aisles and is built entirely of mudbrick. Of the former, only the crypt and sections of the atrium have survived. A third smaller church was discovered in the north cemetery. The site preserves traces of a colonnaded street, a large bath,

a theater, a hippodrome, and other public buildings. The ruins to the south of Antinoöpolis are of early monasteries.

Among the burials of Antinoöpolis the most famous is the chapel of Theodosia (probably late 4th C.); its frescoes represent Christ and the owner of the tomb accompanied by several saints. Other painted tombs were discovered in the mountains east of the city. The so-called Underground Church contains biblical scenes, e.g., The Marriage at CANA and the Massacre of the Innocents.

LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968*, ed. S. Donadoni (Rome 1974). P. Grossmann, "Die von Somers Clark in Ober-Anṣinā entdeckten Kirchenbauten," *MDAI K* 24 (1969) 144–68. E. Mitchell, "Osservazioni topografiche preliminari sull'impianto urbanistico di Antinoe," *Vicino Oriente* 5 (1982) 171–90. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:111–28. –P.G.

ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI, literary and documentary papyri and parchments in Greek, Latin, Coptic, Arabic, Hebrew, and even Gothic, found by British and Italian excavations at the site of Hadrian's foundation in Middle Egypt (modern Shaikh Abāda), attesting to the flourishing and multiform culture of ANTINOÖPOLIS from the 2nd C. until after the Arab conquest. They include biblical, theological, medical, legal, grammatical, and stenographic texts, poetry, drama, philosophy, rhetoric, and all the usual documentary genres, from petitions to letters. The role of Antinoöpolis as capital of the Thebaid under its *doux* in the 6th C. is apparent from the abundant paperwork generated by the official chancery. The lawyer-poet DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO lived and practiced there during 566–73, and many papyri from his archive were written at Antinoöpolis. Illustrated Greek papyri were found at the site, including herbal illustrations and a drawing of charioteers. Coptic papyri, esp. tax receipts, provide evidence of ecclesiastical institutions and of the role of the *doux* of the Thebaid into post-conquest times.

ED. C.H. Roberts, J.W.B. Barns, H. Zilliacus, *The Antinoöpolis Papyri*, 3 vols. (London 1950–67).
LIT. *Antinoe 1965–1968* (Rome 1974). M. Manfredi, "Notizie sugli scavi recenti ad Antinoe," *Atti del XVII Congresso Internazionale di Papirologia*, vol. 1 (Naples 1984) 85–96. S. Timm, *Das christlich-koptische Ägypten in arabischer Zeit*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1984) 111–28. –L.S.B.MacC.

ANTIOCH (Ἀντιόχεια), the name of two cities in the Byz. Empire. The less important city was located in Anatolia, while Antioch on the Orontes, in Syria, was one of the major cities of late antiquity and the seat of one of the four Eastern patriarchates.

ANTIOCH OF PISIDIA, metropolis east of Lake Eğridir on major routes through southern Anatolia; now Yalvaç. A Roman colony, Pisidian Antioch saw a revival of Latin and of prosperity in the 4th C. It remained a stronghold of paganism—centered on its temple of the moon god, Men—until ca.400, when the temple was destroyed and replaced by a church. Remains, which include a church with a floor mosaic of ca.380, indicate an active civic life in late antiquity. Thereafter, Antioch was exposed to attack: the Arabs wintered there in 665/6 and destroyed it in 717. The city never really recovered, but it did remain the ecclesiastical metropolis into the 12th C. The PAULICIANS established their church, Philippi, here in the mid-8th C. In 1097, the First Crusade rested in the fertile plain of Antioch, which by then had been permanently lost to the Turks.

LIT. B. Levick, *Roman Colonies in Southern Asia Minor* (Oxford 1967) 178–81. D.M. Robinson, "A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Pisidian Antioch," *AJA* 28 (1924) 435–44. E. Kitzinger, "A Fourth Century Mosaic Floor in Pisidian Antioch," in *Mél. Mansel* 385–95. S. Mitchell, "Pisidian Antioch," *AnatSt* 34 (1984) 8–10. –C.F.

ANTIOCH ON THE ORONTES (now Antakya in Turkey), city about 25 km from the Mediterranean and its port at SELEUKEIA PIERIA, situated between the Orontes River and Mt. Silpios, and crossed east to west by the Parmenios torrent. Seleucid Antioch came to replace BERROIA as the principal city of SYRIA until the latter city regained preeminence following the Arab conquest (636/7). The evidence varies as to the size of Antioch's population. In 363 Libanios referred to 150,000 *anthropoi*, while 250,000 or 300,000 people reportedly perished in the earthquake of 526 (G. Downey, *TAPA* 89 [1958] 87–90). Excavations in 1939–45 at Antioch, its port, and the suburb of Daphne, revealed large houses and five churches at the three sites; a circus, stadium, the *cardo*, and several baths in Antioch itself; and a theater at Daphne. The numerous tessellated pavements uncovered illustrate the development of FLOOR MOSAICS from the 2nd to 6th C. As an imperial residence (of Constantius II, Julian, Jovian, and Valens) in the 4th C., Antioch expanded. In its

environs, at Kausiye, a cruciform basilica was built, probably in 379, for the local martyr BABYLAS. The city walls were extended by Theodosios II in 430/1, and numerous other emperors also erected public buildings at Antioch. At least four gates led into the walled city, which was 3 km long from the years 430 to 540 and 2.3 km thereafter, when it was approximately 1.6 km wide.

The Tetrarchic palace, public baths, circus, and stadium (built 5th–6th C.) were on an island in the Orontes excluded from Justinian I's circuit wall, which reduced the defended perimeter of Antioch. The island was connected by a bridge with the heart of the city, which was constructed in part over the Parmenios and contained the Forum of Valens, the *praetorium* of the governor of Syria I, a public bath (the Kommodion), and a market. To the southeast of this lay the district of Epiphaneia built against the slopes of Mt. Silpios. Here were concentrated the *bouleuterion*, the *praetorium* of the *comes Orientis*, a law court, two tetrapylons, an *antiphoros* (an open space in front of a forum), various civil basilicas and stoas, and the Church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. The south gate of the city, beyond the Jewish quarter of Kerateion, led to Daphne with its theater, hippodrome, and closely spaced "country houses."

Antioch was capital of the diocese of ORIENS under the *comes Orientis*, provincial capital from ca.350 of Coele-Syria, and from ca.415 of Syria I under a governor, and seat of the MAGISTER MILITUM for Oriens. Antioch was also the seat of a patriarch (see ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF). In 451, JERUSALEM (which had been a suffragan of CAESAREA MARITIMA) became a separate patriarchate with control over the three provinces of Palestine; in 488, the church of Cyprus was likewise made independent of Antioch.

Antioch has been described (Jones, *LRE* 857f) as a consumer rather than a manufacturing city. Certain goods were, however, produced there in connection with its role as an administrative center. It had an arms factory and a provincial mint from the 4th C. to 611, with workshops producing ceremonial armor and, in the 4th C. and 602–10, silver vessels with SILVER STAMPS. Antioch was also a commercial center whose port linked the trade routes from the East with the Mediterranean. There were KOMMERKIARIOI of Antioch from the 6th C. The city apparently had a large middle class: in the late 4th C. John Chrysostom claimed that only 10 percent of the population was wealthy and only 10 percent poor. The inhabitants of Antioch were, moreover, "urbanized," preferring the suburban pleasures of Daphne to rural villa life (Liebeschuetz, *infra* 51). The country around Antioch was noted for its pasture land (Libanios, or.11.23,26), and the province of Syria I contained such agriculturally productive centers as DEHES and KAPER BARADA.

The literary culture of Antioch was primarily Greek, and the use of Latin by the imperial government was considered an intrusion. The city was noted for rhetoricians, historians, and theologians. In the 4th C. all these came under the influence of the pagan rhetor LIBANIOS whose pupils at Antioch included—in addition to numerous future civil servants—not only AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS but also the Christian authors BASIL THE GREAT, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The last, the foremost member of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, which later came to include THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, applied to the Bible the principles of Hellenistic exegesis learned from his teacher. A prolific church writer in Greek in the 6th C. was the Monophysite SEVEROS of Antioch (although his works survive only in Syriac). Three types of historiography are represented by the works of Antiochene authors: the classical history of Ammianus, who followed Tacitus; the universal chronicle of MALALAS; and the church history of EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS—the last following in the tradition of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Antioch was proud of a classical heritage that also manifested itself in art (e.g., in the personifications and mythological subjects of its 5th–6th-C. pavements) and in a civic pride, best exemplified by Libanios's *Oration on Antioch*. In 438 the city was flattered by another oration, that of the visiting empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, who alluded to the Athenian heritage that she shared with Antioch. The city responded appropriately with the erection of two statues in her honor by the local *boule*. Other classical traditions were maintained: curial building continued alongside public works financed by the imperial government. Although described by Prokopios in 540 as hedonistic and "not seriously disposed" (*Wars* 1.17.37, 2.8.6), the Antiochene mentality was then undergoing a change toward a collective religious

consciousness. When in 459 the body of Symeon the Stylite the Elder was brought from Telanissos into Antioch, the people refused to give it up to Emp. Leo I because they felt it would protect their city. The sanctification of the city proceeded when, after the earthquake of 526, a cross appeared in the sky and Antioch was renamed (528) Theoupolis in propitiation for contemporary calamities.

Like other cities, Antioch experienced incidents of urban unrest in the 4th–7th C. After the Riot of the Statues (387), when, in response to increased taxation, the population overturned the imperial images, both city and rioters were punished by Theodosios I: Antioch was for a time stripped of metropolitan rank and its baths, hippodrome, and theaters closed; some rioters were executed. Antioch also witnessed the intrigues of the imperial usurpers GALLUS (died 354) and ILLOS (died 488). The first outbreak of violence at Antioch involving the Blue and Green circus FACTIONS occurred in the Hippodrome ca.490, with further riots in 494/5 and 507, when the charioteer Porphyrios was transferred to Antioch from Constantinople. The unruliness of the factions and financial problems led to the closing of the Olympic Games at Antioch in 520, but the theater was still in use in 531.

Religious divisions and conflict recurred in this period. Paganism continued late at Antioch: the sophist Isokasios was prosecuted for pagan beliefs in 468, and in 562 two pagan priests from Antioch were brought to trial in Constantinople. In 578 a circle of pagans, exposed by popular protest, was said to include highly placed individuals in several cities including HELIOPOLIS, EDESSA, and, at Antioch, the patriarch Gregory himself, who was, however, acquitted. Antioch was also the scene of heretical conflict: until 378 the Arians at Antioch were alternately supported and persecuted by the resident emperors Constantius, Julian, and Valens. The local council of 341 (see under ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF) dealt with the problem of Athanasios and Arianism by drawing up four creeds. With the rise of the Monophysite movement in the 5th–6th C., the Chalcedonian patriarch Stephen was murdered (479) and succeeded by the Monophysites PETER THE FULLER (died 488) and Severos (512–18). From 518, when a separate Monophysite patriarch was established in exile, local Monophysites were persecuted, notably by Ephraim, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (526–45). In 610 there was an uprising of both Monophysites and Jews at Antioch.

Antioch served as a military administrative center between the 4th and 7th C. The large army stationed in the East was paid and provisioned from here. It was the headquarters of the *magister militum* (e.g., Zeno, Belisarios, Tiberios, Maurice) and served as a base for imperial campaigns led by Constantius, Julian, and Jovian into Persia in the 4th C. and for Herakleios's defense against the Arabs in the 7th C. The city itself was besieged by the Lakhmids in 529 and taken and sacked in 540 by the Persians; the Sasanians led away many of the inhabitants and resettled them in a replicated Antioch at Ctesiphon. After an unsuccessful attack in 573, the Persians occupied the city from 609/10 to 628.

According to Downey the decline of Antioch was occasioned by the Persian sack of 540, after which the city was rebuilt by Justinian on a lesser scale but never recovered its former vitality. Lassus, however, has demonstrated that in the 2nd half of the 6th C. the reconstruction of the main street was on a large scale. Furthermore, the city was again rebuilt by Maurice in 588, following an earthquake, and in 592 Evagrios Scholastikos mentions by name as still standing many of the buildings erected from the 4th C. onward (*HE* 1.16,18,20; 3.28; 6.8). From the late 6th through 10th C. Antioch's local history is obscure. Physically, however, many buildings erected before the 7th C. still stood in the Arab (later Byz. and Crusader) city, as attested by Arab geographers, and Justinianic circuit walls enclosed the medieval city.

After Antioch fell to the Arabs in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 148–51), it became part of a frontier district called al-ʿAWĀṢIM and was hardly mentioned. In 944 it was taken by the Ḥamdānid SAYF AL-DAWLA, who lost it in turn to the Byz. generals Michael BOURTZES and Peter Phokas on 28 Oct. 969. NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS described it as the third city of the world, noted for its beauty, strength, size of population, and impressive buildings (Leo. Diac. 73.12–15). While Arab geographers likewise praised its attractions, IBN ḤAWQAL complained in 978 of the damage inflicted there by the Byz. (G. LeStrange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 369). After its recovery by the Byz., Antioch was administered after 969 first

by a *strategos* and then a *doux* or *katepano* (V. Laurent, *MélUnivJos* 38 [1962] 221–54). It served as a base of military operations elsewhere in the region against the Ḥamdānids and, starting in 974, the Fāṭimids, whose authority had extended into central Syria. The Seljuk invasions of the Caucasus in the 1040s drove the inhabitants of Armenia into northern Syria, where they infiltrated the government at Antioch until in 1078 Philaretos BRACHAMIOS established his rule there, becoming a vassal of the *atabeg* of Mosul. Six years later Antioch fell to the Seljuks and in 1098 to the Crusaders (see ANTIOCH, PRINCEDOM OF).

LIT. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961). P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV*[e] *siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). G.L. Kurbatov, *Rannevizantijskij gorod (Antiochija u IV veke)* (Leningrad 1962). J. Lassus, *Antioch on-the-Orontes: V. Les portiques d'Antioche* (Princeton 1972). –M.M.M.

ANTIOCH, LOCAL COUNCILS OF. Antioch was the site of two notable local councils.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 324/5. This pre-Nicene council convened under the presidency of Hosius of Cordoba. Its purpose was to forestall, through its censure of ARIANISM, any favorable outcome regarding ARIUS at the first ecumenical council of NICAEA. Its relationship to the latter is underscored by its provisional excommunication of the Arian sympathizer EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, whose formal rehabilitation or condemnation was left to Nicaea to decide. Additionally, its anathemas anticipate those adopted later by the general council. Furthermore, its censorship of Arianism was quite explicit—Christ was said to be begotten "not from that which is not," but ineffably and indescribably from the Father—even though the council was unaware of the theological terminology subsequently used at Nicaea. The council's existence was unknown until E. Schwartz discovered a Syriac translation of its synodal letter. Its authenticity is now generally assumed, although contested initially by A. Harnack (*Sitzungsberichte der königlichen preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 26 [Berlin 1908] 477–91).

ED. Synodal letter—E. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, VI," *NachGött* (1905) 271–88. Eng. tr. F.L. Cross, "The Council of Antioch in 325 A.D.," *Church Quarterly Review* 128 (1939) 49–76.

LIT. R. Seeberg, *Die Synode von Antiochien im Jahre 324–5* (Berlin 1913; rp. Aalen 1973). H. Chadwick, "Ossius of Cordova and the Presidency of the Council of Antioch, 325," *JThSt* n.s. 9 (1958) 292–304. D.L. Holland, "Die Synode von Antiochien (324/25) und ihre Bedeutung für Eusebius von Caesarea und das Konzil von Nizäa," *ZKirch* 81 (1970) 163–81. L. Abramowski, "Die Synode von Antiochien 324/25 und ihr Symbol," *ZKirch* 86 (1975) 356–66. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 341. The pretext for the convocation (6 Jan.) of this "Dedication" council (*concilium in encaeniis*) was the consecration (ENKAINIA) of the Golden Basilica, begun in the reign of Emp. CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT. Ninety-seven bishops and Emp. CONSTANTIUS II, an Arian sympathizer, attended. The four creedal statements associated with the council were intended to avoid, if not reject, the homoousian terminology adopted by NICAEA I; hence their subsequent condemnation by the orthodox party. The first of these statements, it is true, is susceptible to an orthodox interpretation, while the second is possibly based on the creed of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. Equally, the council was not intentionally disloyal to Nicaea. Indeed, it expressly denied that its members were Arians. Still, the council's pre-Nicene theology was semi-Arian, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and the Western episcopate perceived. Most scholars believe the so-called 25 disciplinary "Canons of Antioch" to be the work of this council.

SOURCE. Mansi 2:1305–50.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 50f. E. Schwartz, "Zur Geschichte des Athanasius, IX," *NachGött* (1911) 469–522. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur S. Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 85–132. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York 1981) 263–74. W. Schneemelcher, "Die Kirchweihsynode von Antiochien 341," in *Bonner Festgabe Johannes Straub* (Bonn 1977) 319–46. –A.P.

ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF, one of the earliest bishoprics. Its archiepiscopal status and jurisdiction received canonical sanction at NICAEA I when it was recognized, together with the bishoprics of Rome and Alexandria, as a major see of Christendom (canon 6). Given Antioch's size and importance within the empire, the city—the capital of the civil diocese of ORIENS—was the major ecclesiastical center in the East after Alexandria. In the 5th C., however, the patriarchate began to lose its prestige as well as some of its jurisdiction—the result often of imperial pressure. At the Council of EPHESUS (431) it failed to annex CYPRUS, which was declared autocephalous. Then, at the

Council of CHALCEDON (451), its Palestinian dioceses were placed under the jurisdiction of the newly created patriarchate of JERUSALEM. This reduced the see to eleven provinces. The religious crises of NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM and the simultaneous growth of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE also contributed to Antioch's weakness and dismemberment. Monophysitism, in fact, resulted in permanent schism dividing the faithful into MELCHITES and JACOBITES and the formation of a separate "heretical" hierarchy within its borders.

After the Arab conquest (636) Antiochene metropolitans with provinces still under imperial control were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. The vacancy in the throne that occurred after 702 ended only in 742 when elections were again permitted. After the Byz. reconquest (969) candidates were appointed by the emperor and often consecrated, as in the case of JOHN III, by the patriarch of Constantinople, but Antioch did not sever its relations with Rome (J. Nasrallah, *Istina* 21 [1976] 184f, 375f). Eventually, though, the synod of Antioch was allowed to present its own candidates for the emperor's selection. The Crusaders' promise not to elect the patriarch was not always kept. The existence of a Latin patriarch along with the Orthodox of course caused frequent tension. During the Crusades and Mamluk period, the titular patriarchs of this once powerful see usually resided in Constantinople. The transfer of the see to Damascus occurred under the MAMLUKS.

LIT. R. Devréesse, *Le patriarcat d'Antioche* (Paris 1945). Ch. Papadopoulos, *Historia tes Ekklesias Antiocheias* (Alexandria 1951). Grumel, "Patriarcat." J. Nasrallah, *Notes et documents pour servir à l'histoire du patriarcat Melchite d'Antioche* 1 (Jerusalem 1965). E. Honigmann, "The Patriarchate of Antioch: A Revision of Le Quien and the Notitia Antiochena," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 135–61. H. Kennedy, "The Last Century of Byzantine Syria: A Reinterpretation," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 141–83. –A.P.

ANTIOCH, PRINCIPALITY OF. Founded by BOHEMUND after he took the city, the principality included the lower Orontes valley, the adjacent coast, and occasionally parts of Cilicia. ALEXIOS I and his successors never abandoned their claims to the region, which still had a substantial Orthodox population. Bohemund's promised allegiance (1108) was refused by TANCRED. Prince RAYMOND OF POITIERS was constrained by John II to render homage but avoided surrendering the citadel to the emperor. Following conflicts with John and MANUEL I, Raymond had to visit Constantinople and renew his allegiance. After Raymond's death, his widow Constance married Renaud of Châtillon, who first allied himself with Manuel, then, in 1155, plundered Cyprus. In 1158 Manuel's advance through Cilicia obliged Renaud to beg for mercy. He acknowledged his vassalage to Byz. and promised to yield the citadel of Antioch and accept a Greek patriarch. In 1159 Manuel entered the city in triumph. After Renaud's capture by the governor of Aleppo-BERROIA (1160), Manuel assisted Antioch. In 1161 he married Constance's daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH. His general Constantine KALAMANOS was captured by Nūr al-Dīn along with Bohemund III in 1164. After Bohemund was ransomed by Manuel, he had to introduce an Orthodox patriarch into Antioch (1165–70). About 1178 Bohemund married a niece of Manuel, but abandoned her when Manuel died. Thereafter, Byz. was too preoccupied to pursue domination of the principality, one of the long-term goals of the Komnenoi. Antioch was seized by the Mamluks on 18 May 1268.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940). S. Runciman, "The Greeks in Antioch at the Time of the Crusades," Pepragmena, 9 *CEB* (Athens 1956) 2:583–91 [= *Hellenika* supp. 9.2]. –C.M.B.

ANTIOCH "CHALICE," dated to the 6th C., an ornate silver goblet on a low foot, composed of a plain cup set inside an openwork shell decorated with a grapevine containing 12 seated figures (identified as two representations of Christ and ten Apostles). It was reportedly found at Antioch in 1910, as part of the Antioch Treasure (see KAPER KORAON TREASURE), and is now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Its first modern owners, Kouchakji Frères, maintained that the inner cup was the Holy Grail, which Christ used at the Last Supper and which, as a holy object, had been placed soon after within the protective and decorative outer cup. Although initially accepted by some scholars as a work of the 1st C., it was seen by others as either a late Roman object or a modern forgery; the general consensus is for a date of 500–550 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.542). Now corroded and in fragile condition, its craftsmanship was of a high order, including

figures carved from solid silver. Its original function—as a CHALICE or LAMP—remains unclear.

LIT. G.A. Eisen, *The Great Chalice of Antioch*, 2 vols. (New York 1923). Mango, *Silver* 183–87. –M.M.M.

ANTIOCHENE ERA. In antiquity there was a proliferation of eras in which events were dated from some fixed starting point of purely local, rather than cosmic, significance. The era used at Antioch in Syria began on 1 Oct. 49 B.C. in honor of some event associated with Julius Caesar (probably the commencement of his dictatorship). It was established in 47 B.C. when Caesar visited Antioch. Each new year of the Antiochene Era began on 1 Oct., until some point in the second half of the 5th C. when it reverted to 1 Sept., thereby bringing it into line with the official Byz. year. The Antiochene Era continued in use until the time of the Arab conquest and was esp. employed by two 6th-C. Antiochenes, the chronicler John MALALAS and the church historian EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS. To convert an Antiochene date to an A.D. date, subtract 49 for dates between 1 Sept. (or 1 Oct.) and 31 Dec., but 48 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug. (or 30 Sept.).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 215f. G. Downey, *A History of Antioch in Syria* (Princeton 1961) 157f. –B.C.

ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, a conventional designation for a group of theologians (DIODOROS OF TARSOS, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS) active mainly in Syria in the 4th and 5th C. Unlike the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL it had no formal institution, and the "Antiochene" theologians taught in different cities. The origin of the tradition is obscure; it is often connected with LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH who reportedly conducted a *didaskaleion* ca.270–312, but Lucian was probably an editor of the Old Testament rather than an exegete. EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH, the anti-Arian leader, attacked the Alexandrian School and its allegorical interpretation of the Bible and thus set the foundation for future Antiochene exegesis and theology. One of its main points was an emphasis on "historical" (sometimes literal) interpretation of the Bible in the manner of classical philology and its commentaries on Homer; allegorical exegesis was not completely rejected but the Antiochenes criticized arbitrary associations between the Old Testament, the New Testament, and contemporary events. Their glorification of the human nature of Christ was closely connected with this "rationalist" interpretation of the Bible. The Antiochene stress on the immutability of the Logos, and accordingly the existence of two natures in Christ as "Son of God" and "Son of Mary," led to a conflict with Alexandrian Monophysitism and to a moderate attitude toward Nestorianism. The "school" did not survive the 5th C.; some of its representatives were posthumously condemned in the 6th C. (see THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE), and allegorical biblical interpretation won out over a rationalist historical approach.

LIT. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition* (London 1965) 243–70, 329–452. R.V. Sellers, *Two Ancient Christologies*[2] (London 1954) 107–201. C. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne-Bonn 1974). –T.E.G.

ANTIOCHOS (Ἀντίοχος), or Antiochites (Ἀντιοχ(ε)ίτης, fem. Ἀντιοχείτισσα), a name, later a family name, deriving from the city of Antioch where it was common in the 4th C. Several 5th-C. Antiochoi were high-ranking officials in Constantinople (O. Seeck et al., *RE* 1 [1894] 2491; *PLRE* 2:101–06): the eunuch Antiochos, Persian by origin, had much influence with Arkadios but was dismissed by Theodosios II ca.421; Antiochos Chouzon (died between 438 and 444), was praetorian prefect of the Orient (430) and a member of the commission on the Theodosian Code; his son was praetorian prefect of the Orient in 448. Another Antiochos was prefect of Italy from 552 to 554. Some Antiochoi were active in cultural life: Antiochos, the rhetorician, bishop of Ptolemais (Palestine) ca.400, is known as an adversary of John Chrysostom; another Antiochos, author of the *Pandektes*, a collection of biblical and patristic quotations, witnessed the fall of Jerusalem in 614—his identification with ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, however, cannot be proved. In the mid-8th C., Antiochos, *logothetes tou dromou*, was a very influential politician; condemned by the council of 754, he was blinded and exiled. Another Antiochos was *protostrategos* of Italy ca.763. Antiochoi of the 10th and 11th C. held military posts: Antiochos, father of PAUL OF LATROS, was *komes* of the fleet; another Antiochos was *doux* of the ME-

LINGOI; the *protospatharios* Antiochos was *doux* of Calabria probably in the 11th C.; another Antiochos commanded a troop of Macedonians in 1081.

As a surname, Antiochos appears from the 11th C. onward: Leo Antiochos, Isaac I's general, fell in battle in 1057; Constantine was *megas hetaireiarches* ca.1094; his contemporary Michael Antiochos was *primikerios* of the external *vestiaritai*. The sister of Stephen Antiochos married Constantius, son of the *sebastos* Isaac Komnenos ca.1100—the identification of the Isaac is impossible. The noble family of Antiochos was supposedly involved in a plot against Alexios I. In the 12th C. Gregory Antiochos was an official and a literary figure (see ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY).

Several 11th- and 12th-C. Antiochitai are known, primarily from seals that preserve their titles but rarely their offices (e.g., Theocharistos, a fortress commander, or *kastrophylax*). Epigrams of the 12th C. also mention several Antiochitai, praising George for decorating a monastery and Theodore and John for supporting the poor (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," nos. 77.3, 82.11). The social character of the Antiochites family is unclear, esp. since their identification with the Antiochoi remains questionable. Apparently part of the 11th-C. military aristocracy, they seem to have lost their military functions after Alexios I. They possessed lands and supported monasteries; they produced a few intellectuals, including a military engineer ca.1091 and an Antiochites who corresponded with EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The names of Antiochos and Antiochites are rare in later centuries (*PLP*, nos. 1031–40); Theodore Antiochites (died 1407), a friend of John Chortasmenos, was John VIII's tutor in 1400–03.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:71f. J. Darrouzès, "Notice sur Grégoire Antiochos," *REB* 20 (1962) 76f. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 198f. Chortasm. 67f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 233f. –A.K.

ANTIOCHOS, GREGORY, high-ranking official, writer; born Constantinople 1125?, died after 1196. Antiochos did not claim descent from a noble lineage (Darrouzès incorrectly hypothesized his relationship to the Komnenoi), but his father was a man of means able to found a small convent. Antiochos was educated in Constantinople under *magistros ton rhetoron* Nicholas KATAPHLORON, Nicholas Hagiotheodorites, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. His first datable work is of ca.1159. He gave up intellectual circles and his literary career, however, and entered the civil service. After a brief and unhappy period of private employment, he served in the imperial administration; in 1181 he was imperial secretary, then a judge. It is plausible that Antiochos supported ANDRONIKOS I and Patr. Basil II Kamateros (1183–86) and was forced to resign under ISAAC II. He reappeared in the administration as *megas droungarios* ca.1196. Antiochos was a defender not only of imperial omnipotence, but also of the senate; he favored "democratic" phraseology but stood aloof from military commanders. As a writer he was influenced by Eustathios of Thessalonike (esp. in letters addressed to the latter). He presents a vivid description, tinged with sarcasm, of the climate of Bulgaria and the Bulgarian way of life. He gives life to books and fruits, and endows animals with reason.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 183–228, 300–04. M. Bachmann, F. Dölger, "Die Rede des *megas droungarios* Gregorios Antiochos auf den Sebastokrator Konstantinos Angelos," *BZ* 40 (1940) 364–401. J. Darrouzès, "Deux lettres de Grégoire Antiochos écrites de Bulgarie vers 1173," *BS* 23 (1962) 276–80; 24 (1963) 65–86.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 196–223. Darrouzès, *Littérature*, pt.VII (1962), 61–92. G. Cankova, P. Tivčev, "Novi danni za istorijata na Sofijskata oblast prez poslednite desetiletija na vizantijskoto vladičestvo," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 14–15 (1964) 315–24. Wirth, *Untersuchungen* 10–12, 22f. –A.K.

ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS, author of a narrative on the capture of Jerusalem by the Persians in 614. The Greek original is lost, the text preserved in Georgian and Arabic versions. The identification of Antiochos Strategos with a contemporary monk ANTIOCHOS, author of the *Pandektes,* is not proved. Antiochos Strategos describes the siege of Jerusalem, stressing, on the one hand, the role of the Jews in the massacre and, on the other hand, the desire of the patriarch Zacharias (609–31) to conclude a treaty with the Persians and to prevent the pillaging of the city. The last chapter of the narrative is dedicated to the restoration of the TRUE CROSS to Jerusalem by Herakleios on 21 Mar. 631.

ED. Georgian version with Lat. tr.—G. Garitte, *La prise de Jérusalem par les Perses en 614,* 2 vols. (Louvain 1960). Eng. tr., F.C. Conybeare, "Antiochus Strategos' Account of

the Sack of Jerusalem in A.D. 614," *EHR* 25 (1910) 502–17. Arabic version—P. Peeters, *Recherches d'histoire et de philologie orientales*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1951) 78–116. –A.K.

ANTIOCH TREASURE. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE.

ANTIPHON (*ἀντίφωνον*), a selection from the Psalter, followed by a DOXOLOGY, to be sung in the liturgy by two choirs in alternation. The singing of *antiphona* (*antipsallein*) is known from the 4th C. onward (Basil the Great, PG 32:764A). An *antiphon* may consist of several psalms, not necessarily consecutive; of one psalm only; or even of single verses. A refrain is not essential, but when found it is called *hypopsalma*, *ephymnion*, *hypakoe*, or TROPARION—the name *antiphon* never being applied to the refrain itself. An archaic musical feature survives in the cadence of the *antiphon*, where the last four syllables of a line are applied mechanically, without regard for word accent, to four fixed, stylized melodic elements.

LIT. Strunk, *Essays* 112–50, 165–90. –D.E.C.

ANTIPROSOPON (*ἀντιπροσωπῶν*), a deputy, probably identical with the EK PROSOPOU. The term is known from 995 onward (*Ivir.* 1, no.8.10–11) and was used primarily in the 11th C. The earlier chrysobulls describe exemptions from the *antiprosopountes* of the *strategoi*, but a charter of 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.45–49) mentions the deputies of both military commanders and civil officials; in later documents the *antiprosopon* of the PARATHALASSITES is cited (nos. 55.32–33, 67.57). Seals dated by the editors to the 11th C. belonged to the *antiprosopountes* of the GENIKON (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.957), of the *sekreton* of the *sakelle* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.817), and of an unspecified *sekreton* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.851). –A.K.

ANTIQUITY. The Greco-Roman heritage was a powerful tradition, which, together with that of the Bible, influenced Byz. CULTURE. From antiquity Byz. inherited the Greek LANGUAGE, the system of EDUCATION, Roman LAW, the basic principles of RHETORIC and literary STYLE, and substantial forms of social and political organization. The Byz. did not differentiate themselves from their ancestors who lived in the eastern Roman Empire, but called themselves RHOMAIOI and viewed classical Greek authors as models for IMITATION: HOMER was the Poet, ARISTOTLE the Philosopher, GALEN the Physician, etc. They often compared events of their lives with episodes of Greek or Roman history, their institutions with those of the Greco-Roman past. Nevertheless, Byz. cannot be placed within the framework of antiquity.

First of all, the general social and cultural setting had changed: high antiquity was primarily an urban society, but after the 7th C. the empire lost its predominantly urban character; antiquity was a society of *cives* ("citizens"), united around *municipia* and *gentes*, whereas Byz. was family oriented; antiquity was pagan, while Byz. was consistently Christian, thus entailing a radical change in ethical values and the replacement of pluralistic approaches in philosophy by mandatory doctrine. The ancient heritage, always present, was in a state of constant flux. This was partly a natural result of the passage of time. Thus the VERNACULAR, developing beneath the surface of written compositions, from the 12th C. onward overtly penetrated into written literature, first into poetry: meter based on the length of vowels—HEXAMETER, etc.—was pushed into the background by meter based on accentuation; toward the very end of Byz. RHYME began to develop under Western medieval influences. The transformation of the ancient heritage was also connected with the change in the social and cultural setting. Even though the principles of Roman law remained alive in the works of 14th-C. jurists, the elaborate system of contracts was simplified, the distinction between ownership and possession confused, the law of marriage radically changed, and the impact of the totalitarian state on law grew substantially. Education also retained general patterns of the ancient system, but Christian textbooks were introduced, concern with physical development (gymnastics) was abandoned, elementary education shifted from the school of the *paedagogus* to the church, monastery, or the family circle, and the purpose of liberal education became the development not of a free and noble citizen, but of a state functionary or a high ecclesiastic.

Second, even though the Byz. referred often to classical authors they were more likely to cite late Roman masters. In an analysis of Byz. attitudes toward the past, I. Ševčenko (*infra* [1987–88] 20–

24) has suggested three phases, corresponding to the 4th–6th C., the 7th–11th C., and the 12th–15th C., respectively. During the 4th–6th C., there was a manifest familiarity with antique authors. In the 7th–11th C., Byz. writers made greater use of late antique models than of ancient Greek authors. Thus the works produced in the 10th C. under the patronage of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos more frequently cited the Old Testament, Hellenistic and late Roman authors, even authors of the 6th–9th C., than Homer or Demosthenes. Similarly the *Bibliotheca* of Photios cites a number of late Roman historians while ignoring classical poetry. Finally, during the 12th–15th C., admiration for classical Greek authors revived, and Byz. scholars prepared commentaries on and new editions of the writings of high antiquity.

Third, there was an ideologically mandated ambivalent attitude toward antiquity among Byz. lay and ecclesiastical literati. Conditional veneration and respect had to go side by side with official rejection—this ambivalence was codified by church fathers (esp. the Cappadocians), who repudiated paganism, mythology, theater, "licentious behavior," luxury, and the ideology of success, but in practice retained most elements of Hellenic culture (as transmitted by the SECOND SOPHISTIC) as a powerful means of education and mental training. In the 10th and 11th C., involvement in the study of antiquity and ancient philosophy could make one liable to accusations of anti-Christian attitudes, and a few literati discussed the images of mythology and history to claim that "our" events are more significant, more virtuous, and more beneficial than those of antiquity. It must be remembered that more than half of surviving Byz. literature, for example, hagiography and hymnography, was virtually devoid of any influence from or allusions to classical authors.

Not many Byz. were able to understand the achievements of antiquity as well as did Michael Psellos or Eustathios of Thessalonike; cases of misunderstanding and distorting of tradition are numerous. Sometimes this distortion reflected a Byz. perspective: when Photios read Herodotus, he remained lukewarm to the development of Athens as a democratic republic—in his perception Herodotus was a historian of Persian *basileis* and of a Persian usurper; Eustathios used Homeric images to criticize excessive asceticism.

The concept of antiquity varied, depending on a Byz. author's social and educational level. Thus the world chronicle of MALALAS mentions almost nothing about Periclean Athens, but a great deal about Roman history, esp. the imperial period. On the other hand, Nikephoros BLEMMYDES is well informed on Persian campaigns against Athens. The concept of antiquity also changed as time went on. The late Roman period assumed antiquity to be a living phenomenon. Consequently, we view the philosophy of this period, represented by PROKLOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and even John PHILOPONOS, as a branch of ancient philosophy, while in 6th-C. Italy BOETHIUS continued the same tradition. Historians such as PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA also worked in the classical vein and even many church fathers were educated in the principles of classical rhetoric and applied it to their sermons. It was probably the art and architecture of the period that diverged most from the antique ideal.

The second half of the 7th C. and the 8th C. were difficult times, when much of the learned tradition, including the ancient heritage, was lost. It is therefore logical that the next period of material and cultural revival—which acquired, undeservedly, the title of "Macedonian renaissance"—was devoted primarily to the retrieval and collection of the cultural, including ancient, heritage; from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios to the *Souda* the main tasks were the reediting and copying of the surviving texts, the accumulation of excerpts and fragments, and the ordering of scraps of information.

The situation changed in the 11th and 12th C., when the simple collection and organization of materials was replaced by commentaries and the development of the heritage. An advance was made from the satisfaction of practical needs (mathematics, agriculture, moral "science," political "science") that was predominant in the 9th–10th C. to an aesthetical perception of antiquity. The study of Homer, the tragedians, and Aristophanes progressed from the copying of scholia typical of the 9th and 10th C. to the essays and detailed commentaries of scholars such as Michael PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, and John TZETZES; a very nonorthodox LUCIAN was broadly copied and imitated, and PLATO gained popularity on a level with Aristotle. There was a trend to combine both heritages—the ancient and the biblical—and direct comparison with personages of

myth and ancient history became legitimate. Scholars and writers like Psellos, Tzetzes, and Eustathios had an enormous, if antiquarian, knowledge of ancient events, names, and terms.

Thus reacquired in the 9th–12th C., after a short gap around the 8th C., the ancient tradition was not lost during the Palaiologan period. The greatest achievements of Byz. classical philology occurred during that period, in the work of Maximos PLANOUDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. As a result of contacts with the West, the Byz. concept of antiquity was even expanded to the Latin heritage, including poets such as OVID. PLETHON made the most passionate attempt ever to use ancient tradition as a tool for reorganization of society and its beliefs, or at least as a vehicle for criticism of its social, political, and religious shortcomings. It was, however, impossible to restructure the Byz. world and to achieve a Platonic UTOPIA. Moreover, the Byz. began to feel some weariness with regard to antiquity: Theodore Metochites was extremely well read in ancient literature (albeit he sometimes misunderstood his reading), but he complained that the ancestors of the Byz. had said everything so perfectly that there was no room for improvement by posterity. This awe of antiquity was in stark contrast to a RENAISSANCE perception of ancient culture as exemplary, but distinct from the present.

LIT. *Byzantium and the Classical Tradition*, ed. M. Mullett, R. Scott (Birmingham 1981). *Antičnost' i Vizantija*, ed. L. Freiberg (Moscow 1975). I. Ševčenko, "A Shadow Outline of Virtue: the Classical Heritage of Greek Christian Literature," in *Age of Spirit*. 53–73. Idem, "Byzantium, Antiquity and the Moderns," *Association Internationale des Études Byzantines: Bulletin d'Information et de Coördination* 14 (1987–88) 19–26. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38–45. E. von Ivánka, *Hellenisches und Christliches im frühbyzantinischen Geistesleben* (Vienna 1948). A. Garzya, "Visage de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe–XIIe siècle)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. G. Cavallo, "Conservazione e perdita dei testi greci: fattori materiali, sociali, culturali," in *Società romana e impero tardoantico* 4 (Bari 1986) 83–172. –A.K., I.Š.

ANTIRRHETIKOS (*ἀντιρρητικός*), "refutation," a genre of polemical literature; often used as an adjective with such nouns as *logos*, *kephalaia*, and *biblion*. The word is rare in classical Greek (e.g., Sextus Empiricus 1:21), but Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.160) uses it as a generic term when he writes that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA produced panegyrics, monodies, epithalamia, and antirrhetics; by the last term Photios probably meant Chorikios's refutation of the common views that attacked the theater. Palladios in the *Lausiac History* (ch.38, ed. C. Butler [Cambridge 1898; rp. Hildesheim 1967] 2:121.1–2) relates that a certain deacon Evagrios wrote three books against demons, one of them entitled *Antirrhetikon*. From the 9th C. , when Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS issued their antirrhetics against the Iconoclasts, and esp. in the 12th–15th C., the term designated treatises refuting heretical tenets: thus NICHOLAS OF METHONE devoted an *Antirrhesis* to the refutation of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, and George MOSCHABAR and JOHN XI BEKKOS exchanged antirrhetics (Beck, *Kirche* 678, 683); an anti-Palamite Arsenios wrote several antirrhetics against the Latins (Beck, *Kirche* 722), and Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS composed antirrhetics against GREGORAS.

–A.K., E.M.J.

ANTI-SEMITISM. In Byz. anti-Semitism was manifested primarily in legal, secular, and religious texts; iconography; and periodic forced baptism of Jews. The economic rivalry and mob violence that characterized post-11th-C. Western Christendom appeared late in Latin-controlled areas such as Crete and Corfu. Theodosios II's codification of many local or ad hoc anti-Jewish laws effectively reduced Jews to a second-class citizenship, prohibiting proselytism, government or military service, and use of public baths. The *Codex Justinianus* interfered with their hitherto guaranteed social and religious autonomy as a *religio licita* (nov.146). Subsequent Byz. law codes (*Basilika, Ecloga*) and legal collections (HARMENOPOULOS) perpetuated some restrictions. Paralleling Muslim discrimination, Jews were forbidden to ride horses.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA observed that 12th-C. Greeks hated Jews (particularly tanners); further evidence of this prejudice is found in ANACHARSIS's snub of social climbers and Tzetzes' outright nastiness; the introduction of a humiliating oath; and their expulsion from Chonai by Metr. Niketas. This secular and intellectual animosity was replaced under the Palaiologoi by concern over Jewish influence. Patr. Athanasios I protested their importance at court and in the market and objected to Byz. recourse to Jewish doctors; he tried

to banish all Jews from Constantinople. So too Maximos Planoudes complained of Jewish tanners housed in an abandoned monastery.

Byz. anti-Semitism derived mainly from polemics that justified the Christian appropriation of the Bible by denigrating Jews and Judaism. Byz. ecclesiastics effectively used the chastising and polemical language of the Septuagint and New Testament against Jews. In his *Evangelical Demonstration*, Eusebios of Caesarea emphasized Paul's teaching of God's rejection of Old Israel and Christ's salvation of New Israel. Patristic and later sermons (John Chrysostom's attack on the Jewish Sabbath) and hagiography (the vita of Basil the Younger even questions whether Jews can attain salvation) influenced the masses as did an iconography that depicted Jews as Christ-killers. In marginal PSALTER illustration they are physically caricatured, to the point of being given dogs' heads, and are shown tormenting Christ. Athanasios I refers to the "deicidal synagogue"; and from the 11th C., in MS illustration the personification of Synagogue (see EKKLESIA) is driven from the crucified Christ by an angel, while the apocryphal story of Jephonias the Jew, whose hands are cut off for upsetting the Virgin's bier, enters images of the DORMITION. Indeed, Jews were frequently accused of desecrating icons while Jewish insults to icons are an abiding theme in hagiography. A vocabulary of rejection permeates church canon and liturgy (esp. in Jerusalem). Theological polemics continued as a popular literary genre, for example, Matthew Blastares and John VI Kantakouzenos. The non-Orthodox practices and beliefs of heterodox Christians (pejoratively called "Jews") were rejected or punished as "judaizing," as in Latin AZYMES. Even ICONOCLASM was blamed on the Jews; for example PHOTIOS (*Hom.* 17.3) attributes the destruction of the apse mosaic of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, to a Jewish hand. Christian ecclesiastics recognized and feared the passive challenge of Judaism both as ideology and system of practices and its potential appeal to Christian converts, heretics, and rebels against the state religion. Condemnation of judaizing heresies—Quartodecimanism, NOVATIANISM, Tetraditism, etc.—permeate Byz. legislation. Judaism thus became the perennial foil against which Christian Byz. expressed its self-identity. (See also JEWS and JUDAISM.)

LIT. A.L. Williams, *Adversus Judaeos* (Cambridge 1935). D.J. Constantelos, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 6–16. Z. Ankori, "Greek Orthodox–Jewish Relations in Historical Perspective—The Jewish View," ibid. 28–46. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241–310. A.W. Epstein, "Frescoes of the Mavriotissa Monastery near Kastoria: Evidence of Millenarianism and Anti-Semitism in the Wake of the First Crusade," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 21–29.
–S.B.B., A.C.

ANTITHESIS (ἀντίθεσις), opposition or confrontation, was considered by ancient rhetoricians as a kind of RHETORICAL FIGURE of expression (Martin, *Rhetorik* 312f). Church fathers used antitheses both for doctrinal and stylistic purposes (opposition between divinity and humanity of Christ; Christ the child and Christ the universal ruler). Byz. writers broadly employed traditional antitheses, such as light and darkness; esp. masterful use of antithesis is found in ROMANOS THE MELODE. Antithesis encompasses not only the contrasting of opposites (strong-weak, cold-hot), but also more complex cases; thus, Niketas Choniates constantly contrasts the objective and result: describing the defeat of the Normans, he exclaimed that "the captors became captives and the victors were vanquished" (Nik.Chon. 362.81–84, tr. Magoulias 200). On the lexical level, antithesis could be expressed as oxymoron, e.g., "unplowed plowland" in Germanos I (PG 98:308C). More than a figure of speech, however, antithesis was a substantial element of the worldview: the cosmos was an antithesis between earth and heaven, the microcosm an antithesis between soul and body. Existence seemed to be permeated by oppositions, floating in a constant imbalance. The resolution of this contradiction could be achieved only by means of a miracle: in the sphere of theology, the major miracle was that of the INCARNATION. Literature also sought to resolve antitheses. Thus Gregoras (Greg. 3:130f) tells the legend of the kingfisher, based on the antithesis between violent storms and the bird hatching its chicks; the resolution is achieved "by God's hand" that cares for both the chicks and, by analogy, Gregoras himself. The principle of antithesis was also used by Byz. artists (e.g., juxtapositions of the birth of Christ and the death of the Virgin; Christ as an infant and presiding over the Last Judgment; Christ

entering earthly Jerusalem on a donkey and Christ in heavenly glory).

LIT. H. Hunger, "Die Antithese," *ZRVI* 23 (1984) 9–29. Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 53–83. –A.K., I.Š.

ANTONINA (Ἀντωνίνα), wife of BELISARIOS; born Constantinople (?) ca.484, died probably Constantinople after 548. She was the daughter and granddaughter of charioteers in Constantinople and Thessalonike. Her mother may have been an actress at Constantinople. Married to an Antiochene merchant, Antonina had one legitimate daughter and no legitimate sons before being widowed. She married Belisarios and accompanied him to Carthage in 533 and thence to Italy in 535/6; she was at Porto during the siege of Rome by TOTILA in 546. Antonina remained at Constantinople when Belisarios was ordered to lead armies against the Persians in 540, but later set out to join him. Prokopios accuses her of sinister political influence on Justinian's wife THEODORA (e.g., contriving to depose Pope Silverius [536–37] and undermine JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA) and of conduct that made Belisarios look foolish, allegedly including a romance with her adopted son Theodosios and the execution of two pages to hide the affair.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 70–74, 159–62. Stein, *Histoire* 2:285f, 495–98. E.A. Fisher, "Theodora and Antonina in the Historia Arcana," *Arethusa* 11 (1978) 253–79. –W.E.K.

ANTONY (secular name Dobrynja Jadrejkovič), archbishop of Novgorod (1210–22, 1223, 1225–28); died 8 Oct. 1232. He authored a description of Constantinople, *Kniga palomnik* (The Pilgrim Book, ca.1200), and possibly also the TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD [by the Franks] (M. Aleškovskij, *Povest' vremennych let* [Moscow 1971] 71–83). The most detailed account of Constantinople's sacred sites immediately preceding 1204, the *Kniga palomnik* is esp. valuable for its information on objects destroyed or looted by the Latins, such as the icon of Christ Antiphonetes taken from the Chalkoprateia. It describes sites in Constantinople, Pera, and Galata as well as Hagia Sophia, where Antony pays particular attention to the relationship between the church's layout and the conduct of services, although he is not above inventing pipes, a cistern, and "patriarchal baths" in the galleries. Antony is esp. interesting on the use made of RELICS—the head of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER carried around Constantinople by the city eparch on the saint's day—and miraculous objects: a door bolt, called the Romaniston, located somewhere in Hagia Sophia, would draw the venom from snakebites. Antony also notes items of specific interest for the Rus' (two tombs, an icon and church of BORIS AND GLEB) and provides the only known reference to an embassy to Constantinople from Roman of Galič (GALITZA) in 1200. The literary and formal qualities of the *Kniga palomnik* have been variously interpreted as either a plain and factual guidebook with anecdotal digressions or as a rhetorical narrative in which Constantinople is presented as a model.

ED. *Kniga palomnik*, ed. Ch. Loparev (St. Petersburg 1899). Fr. tr. by M. Ehrhard, *Romania* 58 (1932) 44–65.

LIT. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 213–21. G. Lenhoff, "*Kniga Palomnik*: A Study in Old Russian Rhetoric," *Scando-Slavica* 23 (1977) 39–61. O.A. Belobrova, "O 'Knige Palomnik' Antonija Novgorodskogo," *VizOč* (Moscow 1977) 225–35. –S.C.F., A.C.

ANTONY I KASSYMATAS (Κασ⟨σ⟩υματᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (ca.Jan. 821–Jan. 837?); baptismal name Constantine. Of low birth, he received a good education and became a lawyer (*nomikos*) in the Sphorakiou district of Constantinople ca.800. Subsequently he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery called *Ta metropolitou* (Janin, *Églises CP* 197). By 814 he was the Iconodule bishop of Syllaion; when Emp. LEO V ushered in a new period of ICONOCLASM, however, Antony shifted his position, tempted by the offer of the patriarchate (*Script. incert.* 350–52). In 814 he became a member of the committee headed by JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS that prepared a florilegium of scriptural and patristic passages supporting Iconoclasm. In 821 Emp. Michael II named Antony patriarch, thus disappointing Theodore of Stoudios, who hoped that NIKEPHOROS I might be recalled to the patriarchal throne. Around 822 Antony excommunicated Job, patriarch of Antioch, for proclaiming THOMAS THE SLAV emperor (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.412). According to the *Letter of the Three Patriarchs* (ed. L. Duchesne, *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 [1912–13] 359), Antony participated in an Iconoclast council (of uncertain date) and, as divine punishment, was stricken with a loathsome

disease. The sources differ on the length of his patriarchate, ranging from 12 to 16 years. V. Grumel argues that Antony was still alive in Apr. 836, but gravely ill, and continued to be patriarch until 837, when he was succeeded by his *synkellos*, John VII Grammatikos (*EO* 34 [1935] 162–66, 506). He was anathematized in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY (ed. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57.173).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.112. Lemerle, *Humanism* 161f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.4. –A.M.T.

ANTONY II KAULEAS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 893–12 Feb. 901 [*Synax.CP* 461]) and saint; feastday 12 Feb. The scanty facts of Antony's biography are known primarily from a 14th-C. vita by Nikephoros GREGORAS. According to this source, Antony lost his mother as a child, became a monk at age 12, was subsequently ordained priest, and elected *hegoumenos* of an unnamed monastery. He then came to the attention of Emp. Leo VI, who made him patriarch; Antony supported the emperor against Photios. Gregoras emphasized the charitable works of the patriarch and praised his acts of social justice.

Antony is best known as the founder or restorer of the monastery known variously as *tou Kaleos, tou Kalliou*, or *tou Kaulea*. After 1192 the foundation was called *tou kyr Antoniou*. Emp. Leo VI preached at the dedication of a church in this monastic complex (ed. Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panegyrikoi logoi* [Athens 1868] 243–48), describing its mosaics, pavement, and polychrome marble revetment. This text, outlining a conventional program of church decoration of the 9th–10th C., is notable for the analogy drawn between the splendor of the mosaics and that of the emperor's entourage. Antony was buried in this church, as was Stylianos Zaoutzes. The vita by Gregoras describes a number of posthumous miracles at Antony's shrine.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patriarchae pertinentia*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1899) 1–25.

LIT. R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Gregoras* (Paris 1926) 174f. *BHG* 139–139b. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 594–97. A. Frolow, "Deux églises byzantines," *Études byzantines* 3 (1945) 43–63. Janin, *Églises CP* 39–41. –A.C., A.M.T.

ANTONY IV, patriarch of Constantinople (Jan. 1389–July 1390; early 1391–May 1397); died Constantinople May 1397. A former hieromonk, perhaps from the Dionysiou monastery on Athos (F. Tinnefeld, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 106 and n.130, 115), Antony served twice as patriarch under John V and Manuel II. He was deposed in 1390 during the occupation of Constantinople by JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and temporarily replaced by Makarios (who had previously been patriarch during 1377–79). Antony was restored to the patriarchate after Manuel regained his throne.

Antony is best known for a letter addressed to Grand Prince BASIL I of Moscow, probably in 1393 (Meyendorff, *infra* 254), which not only asserts the universal spiritual authority of the ecumenical patriarch but also defends the universal sovereignty of the Byz. *basileus*, even though the empire was severely weakened by Ottoman invasions. In response to Basil's statement, "We have a Church, but not an emperor," Antony replied, "It is not possible for Christians to have a Church without an emperor," and urged that the name of the Byz. emperor be restored to the diptychs in Moscow. Antony also corresponded in 1397 with Jagiello, grand duke of Lithuania (1377–1434) and king of Poland (1386–1434), saying that he would consider UNION OF THE CHURCHES if Jagiello joined Sigismund, king of Hungary (1387–1437), in a crusade against the Turks. Three of Antony's seals survive (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, nos. 155–57).

ED. Acts—MM 2:112–14, 156–292.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 2844–77, 2882–3051. Barker, *Manuel II* 105–10, 150–53. Meyendorff, *Russia* 75f, 236–40, 253–57, 307–10. I. Sorlin, "Un acte du patriarche Antoine IV en version slave," *REB* 43 (1985) 253–58. –A.M.T.

ANTONY THE GREAT, Egyptian hermit and saint; born Kome, Upper Egypt, ca.251, died Pispir 356; feastday 17 Jan. Antony is often cited as one of the founders of the eremitic form of MONASTICISM.

Born to a prosperous peasant family, Antony gave away all his property and withdrew from society in order to follow strict asceticism. After a period of complete isolation in an abandoned fort, he began to attract followers. Together they settled at Pispir in the Egyptian DESERT. Here the monks lived separately but received guidance from their leaders.

The *Life of Antony* (356–57), attributed to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria after a Coptic original,

made him the model for many Christians, even outside of Egypt, who were drawn to the solitary life. In the *Life*, Antony is depicted as the perfect man who follows moderate ascetic practices, supports the church hierarchy, and performs miracles with divine assistance. According to the *Life*, he visited Alexandria to support Athanasios against the Arians. But there is no independent confirmation of his anti-Arianism; in the sayings and letters, Antony addresses practical and ethical questions only.

Antony was Coptic-speaking, not Greek-speaking, and probably dictated his letters in Coptic, even though it is not impossible that a Greek papyrus contains a fragment of Antony's letter to Am[mon?], his pupil (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 52 [1939] 17, n.23). The letters of Antony are preserved in two collections: seven letters surviving in Latin translation are usually considered genuine since Jerome mentioned a collection of Antony's letters in seven parts—but Bardenhewer (*Literatur* 3:81) questioned their authenticity; a collection of 20 Arabic letters is attributed to Antony. In addition, some Georgian, Syriac, and Coptic letters and fragments are known. The Sahidic vita of PACHOMIOS contains fragments of two of Antony's letters. Some forged texts exist under his name, including monastic rules. Some of his sayings were incorporated into the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM.

ED. PG 40:977–1000. *Lettres de S. Antoine: version géorgienne et fragments coptes*, ed. G. Garitte (Louvain 1955), with Lat. tr. *CPG* 2 (1974) 2330–50.

SOURCES. Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, PG 26:835–978; Eng. tr. R.T. Meyer, *The Life of Saint Antony* (Westminster, Md., 1950) and R.C. Gregg, *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus* (New York 1980) 29–99.

LIT. T.D. Barnes, "Angel of Light or Mystic Initiate? The Problem of the Life of Antony," *JThSt* 37 (1986) 353–68. H. Dörries, *Die Vita Antonii als Geschichtsquelle* [= *NachGött* 14] (Göttingen 1949). R.C. Gregg, D.E. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981) 131–59.
–J.A.T., A.K.

ANTONY THE YOUNGER, saint; baptismal name John; born Phossaton near Jerusalem 785, died 11 Nov. 865. Born to a noble family, Antony left for Attaleia, enlisted in the navy, and was eventually promoted by Michael II to *ek prosopou* (deputy governor) of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai. He successfully fought against THOMAS THE SLAV in 822/3, but in 825 abandoned his post to become the disciple of a stylite monk. He took the monastic habit and lived in various monasteries on Bithynian OLYMPOS and in Constantinople. Antony was very close to PETRONAS, whose victory over the Arabs (863) he predicted

His picturesque vita, written by a contemporary and preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS, is rich in information about Byz. medical services, everyday life, law, and the administrative system; for example, the trial of Antony by the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen in 829/30 is described in detail.

SOURCE. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 186–216, corr. P. van den Ven, *BZ* 19 (1910) 307–13. Add. F. Halkin, *AB* 62 (1944) 210–23.

LIT. *BHG* 142–143a. F. Halkin, "Saint Antoine le Jeune et Pétronas le vainqueur des Arabes en 863," *AB* 62 (1944) 187–225.
–A.K.

ANZAS (Ἀνζᾶς, Ἀντζᾶς), a family of civil functionaries. Their origins, which are unclear, are variously described: Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:554) considered Ivan Anzas (Ančo, his transliteration) a Bulgarian name; S. Rudberg (*Études sur la tradition manuscrite de saint Basile* [Lund 1953] 149f) thought it Italian. The first of them, John Anzas, assisted Theodoulos, archbishop of Bulgaria, in building the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID in 1056. The family was active in administration in the second half of the 11th C. : Michael, quaestor and *nomophylax* (1077); John, notary (1087); Niketas, judge of the *velum* (1098). Some are known only by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:679), which are dated predominantly to the same period: Constantine, judge of the *velum*; Nikephoros, SYMPONOS; Niketas and Nicholas, judges of the Hippodrome. The Anzades served throughout the 12th C. as civil (Nik. Chon. 57.57) and ecclesiastical officials: Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–57) and founder of the AREIA MONASTERY, calls himself nephew of Constantine Anzas; the monk and *orphanotrophos* Basil Anzas was the addressee of Manuel I's ordinance of 1171. The last known Anzas, John, was an official responsible for assigning land to the Genoese in 1202.

LIT. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.VII (1965), 327, n.12. –A.K.

ANZITENE (Ἀνζιτηνή), district of the eastern Byz. frontier, southeast of Armenia, commanding major routes through Armenia and across the Euphrates. Conquered from Persia by Diocletian in 297, Anzitene was important for frontier defense until Justinian I conquered territory farther east. Under the Arabs, who took it in the 640s, Anzitene was a base for attacks against Byz. and

for control of Armenia. During this period, much of its Christian population immigrated to the more protected hills to the north. The object of frequent Byz. attacks, Anzitene was reconquered by 950 and assigned to the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Anzitene, whose centers were at ARSAMOSATA and CHARPETE, is best known from the narrative of the campaign of Sayf al-Dawla in 956 and from the surveys and excavations at Asvan and the Keban region that have revealed many details of local conditions in the Byz. period, which here ended after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 239–90. –C.F.

APA ABRAHAM, bishop of Hermonthis in Upper Egypt and *hegoumenos* of the nearby monastery of Phoibammon; born ca.554, died 624. His archive consists of more than one hundred Coptic *ostraka*, primarily letters, and his will, written in Greek but dictated in Coptic. The contents illustrate the power and prestige of the local bishop: supervising the requirements for candidates for ordination; celebrating the Eucharist and administering the provision of the bread and wine; choosing his successor as *hegoumenos* and disposing of his property; imposing ecclesiastical sanctions; being concerned with the morals and behavior of his flock; and protecting the interests of the poor. His encaustic portrait is preserved in Berlin (M. Krause in *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* 97 [1971] 106–11), and a liturgical book binding (inscribed with his name) and other altar furnishings from his church near LUXOR are in the Coptic Museum in Cairo (M. Krause in *The Future of Coptic Studies*, ed. R. McL. Wilson [Leiden 1978] 10–12).

ED. W.C. Till, *Datierung und Prosopographie der koptischen Urkunden aus Theben* (Vienna 1962) 52 (list of sources). *P.Lond.* I 77. W.E. Crum, *Coptic Ostraca* (London 1902) nos. 49–76.

LIT. M. Krause, "Apa Abraham von Hermonthis" (Ph.D. diss., Berlin 1956), summarized by C.D.G. Müller in *ZKirch* 75 (1964) 283–92. Idem, "Die Testamente der Äbte des Phoibammon-Klosters in Theben," *MDAI K* 25 (1969) 58–60. –L.S.B.MacC.

APAMEIA (Ἀπάμεια) on the Orontes River, now Arab village of Qalʿat al-Muḍīq in modern Syria; capital city and metropolitan bishopric of the province of SYRIA II that was formed between 413 and 417. The Neoplatonic school of IAMBLICHOS flourished there in the 4th C. A synagogue was paved probably in 391 by donors who recorded in inscriptions the size of the area that each had financed. Following earthquakes in 526–28, the tetraconch cathedral was rebuilt (?) in 533 by the archbishop Paul, and what may have been the governor's palace was redecorated in 539, with a hunting pavement. An important relic of the TRUE CROSS was preserved at Apameia until its removal by Justin II (566 or 574). In 540 Apameia was stripped by the Persians of over 10,000 pounds of silver (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.2–38), and of yet more silver in 573 when they burned the city (John of Ephesus, *HE* 6.6). Following this event the *cardo*, an "atrium church," numerous large private houses, and other buildings were rebuilt or repaired. Urban life continued at Apameia after the Arab conquest of 639 and came to an end only at some undetermined period thereafter.

In the illuminated *Kynegetika* of the pseudo-OPPIAN (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.37a), Apameia is represented as a walled city, dominated by a huge domed church and flanked by the Orontes between Mt. Diokleos and Mt. Emblonos.

LIT. J.C. Balty, *Guide d'Apamée* (Brussels 1981). *Apamée de Syrie: Bilan des recherches scientifiques 1973–1979*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1984). –M.M.M., A.C.

APATHEIA. See EMOTIONS.

APELATAI (sing. ἀπελάτης, lit. "one who drives away"), irregular light soldiers stationed along the frontiers who supplemented their military activities with BRIGANDAGE, first appear under Basil I (*TheophCont* 685.5). Their duties primarily involved raiding (and plundering) enemy territory and acting as border-scouts and guides for Byz. expeditionary forces (DE RE MILITARI, ed. Dennis 292.16–34). *Apelatai* were recruited from Armenian and Bulgarian freebooters and from Byz. soldiers otherwise unable to fulfill obligations for military service (*De cer.* 696.4); their commanders were appointed by Byz. provincial officials (DE VELITATIONE, 41.19–20). *Apelatai* were included in the muster rolls of themes, although it is unclear whether their remuneration comprised simply cash and rations or also STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA. In western portions of the empire, *apelatai* were also termed *chonsarioi* (Bulg. for "thieves"—*Souda*

4:814.10), in the East *trapezetai* or *tasinarioi*. In DIGENES AKRITAS *apelatai* likewise fulfill this dual role as soldiers/brigands and in the latter capacity form the hero's principal adversary.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 245–57. N. Oikonomides, "L'épopée de Digènes et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 385–89. A. Syrkin, *Poema o Digenise Akrite* (Moscow 1964) 153–56. –A.J.C.

APHRAHAT (Ἀφραάτης), Syrian theologian, often called "the Persian Sage"; died ca.345. Under his name have come down 23 spiritual treatises called *Demonstrations* (Syr. *taḥwyāthā*). He lived in the Adiabene region of Persia, east of Nisibis, and was of clerical status, though apparently not a bishop or monk, but rather one of the celibate "Sons of the Covenant" (Syr. *Benai Qyāmā*) who lived in the world. His *Demonstrations* range in date from 336/7 to 344/5: the last one was written during the persecution of Shāpūr II (M. Higgins, *BZ* 44 [1951] 265–71). The first 22 are numbered by the letters of the Syriac alphabet.

The theology and writings of Aphrahat draw extensively on the Old Testament, reflecting the religious milieu of 4th-C. Mesopotamia in which Christianity was seeking to define its identity as separate from Judaism. He praises Christ as the divine conqueror of death and as the completion and fulfillment of all the types and prophecies of the Old Law. Aphrahat is concerned with how to live as a Christian in this world, with prayer, charity, endurance of persecution, and concern for the poor; *Demonstration* 1 preserves an early credal text. There is an Armenian translation (ascribed to Jacob of Nisibis) of 19 of the *Demonstrations*; separate ones are also known in Ethiopic and Georgian.

ED. I. Parisot in *Patrologia Syriaca*, vol. 1 (Paris 1894) 1–1050; vol. 2 (1907) 1–489. G. Lafontaine, *La version arménienne des oeuvres d'Aphraate le Syrien* [CSCO 382–83, 405–06, 423–24] (Louvain 1977–80).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *RAC* supp. lief. 4 (1986) 497–506. R. Murray, *Symbols of Church and Kingdom* (Cambridge 1975) 205–38. S. Brock, *The Syriac Fathers on Prayer and the Spiritual Life* (Kalamazoo 1987) 1–28. –L.S.B.MacC.

APHRODISIAS (Ἀφροδισιάς, now Geyre), city of CARIA, notable for its extensive and well-preserved remains. Aphrodisias was metropolis of the province and had active schools of sculpture and philosophy. It was a seat of pagan teaching through the late 5th C. and had an important Monophysite church—sometimes with its own bishop—in the 5th and 6th C. Aphrodisias assumed the name Stauropolis in the 7th C., but by the 12th was usually known by the name of the province, Caria. It was sacked by Theodore Mankaphas in 1188 and by the Seljuks in 1197; it became Turkish in the late 13th C.

Excavations have revealed much of Byz. Aphrodisias within its mid-4th-C. walls. The city centered on its cathedral church, formerly the temple of Aphrodite (converted in the mid-5th C.). Palaces with audience halls, probably of the bishop and governor, flanked the church. The agora to the south was apparently abandoned after a devastating earthquake in the 4th C. permanently altered the water table; many public buildings were rebuilt at that time. The south part of the city included baths, a basilica where the PRICE EDICT of Diocletian was displayed, and the theater, before which lay a large paved square. This became the main marketplace after the agora was abandoned, and commerce extended into the adjacent bath, whose basilica was converted into shops. The city was destroyed in the early 7th C. and never recovered. Thereafter, the theater became the main fortress and center of habitation. In the 10th/11th C. the cathedral was restored and a triconch church was built over the intersection of two abandoned streets.

LIT. K. Erim, *Aphrodisias* (New York 1986). R. Cormack, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Provincial City: The Evidence of Thessalonike and Aphrodisias," in *Classical Tradition* 103–18. J.W. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Lead Seals from Aphrodisias," *DOP* 37 (1983) 159–64. C. Roueché, *Aphrodisias in Late Antiquity* (London 1989). –C.F.

APHRODITE, identified with Roman Venus, goddess of love, beauty, and fertility, was worshiped until the beginning of the 4th C. when, according to Sozomenos, her temples were destroyed in Jerusalem, Aphaka (near Mt. Lebanon), and Heliopolis; in Heliopolis, he says (Sozom., *HE* 5.10.7), Constantine I built a church on the site of the temple and prohibited the "habitual fornication" evidently connected with the cult of Aphrodite. The neighboring Arabs venerated Aphrodite or a goddess identified by Prokopios (*Wars* 2:28.13) with Aphrodite and offered her human sacrifices.

After the victory of Christianity Aphrodite

underwent the regular procedure of allegorization, even if, in the decorative arts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 288, 318), her image appears to have been used without ulterior significance well into the 6th C. Malalas mentions Aphrodite in connection with the story of PARIS who proclaimed her the greatest of goddesses; in discussing the Judgment of Paris (Malal. 92f), he says that Aphrodite means desire from which everything is born—children, wisdom, temperance, skills, and all other material and intellectual things. In later literature Aphrodite appears primarily as a metonymy for sexual desire: TZETZES (*Hist.* 9:16) calls Antony the prisoner of Aphrodite, while Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 139.31–32) describes Andronikos I Komnenos as giving himself completely "to the orgies of Aphrodite." Choniates also reports that during the sack of Constantinople in 1204 the Crusaders destroyed a statue of Paris handing the apple of discord to Aphrodite (648.42–43).

The birth of Aphrodite is depicted in a MS in Paris (B.N. Coisl. gr. 239). In a MS from Athos (Pantel. 6) the goddess is shown bare-breasted and standing on a column.

LIT. Lawson, *Folklore* 117–20. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 52–54, 90, 146f, figs. 63–66. –A.K., A.C.

APHRODITE PAPYRI, Greek, Coptic, and Arabic literary and documentary papyri found in 1901 and 1905 at the site of the city of Aphrodite (later spelled Aphrodito, Coptic Jkow; mod. Kom Ishgaw) in northern Upper Egypt, which have provided rich documentation for the life of this community from the 5th to the mid-8th C. The 1905 find comprised mostly 6th-C. material, while that of 1901 yielded documents of the Arab period ca.680–750. Sixth-century Aphrodite is best known for its archive of DIOSKOROS, a hellenized Coptic lawyer who owned literary codices and wrote both encomiastic poetry and many documents. The later material embraces requisitions, orders (*entagia*), correspondence between the Arab governor and the *pagarches*, and long, detailed tax record books. Palaeographically these documents display a preparatory stage of the minuscule. The Aphrodite papyri are dispersed today among many museums and libraries. Many of the Coptic pieces have been difficult to trace and remain less known than the Greek (and Arabic), although the city was bi- and trilingual. Location and edition of the Coptic Aphrodite papyri remains a major desideratum. Thanks to all these documents we can know the institutions and culture of this city in unparalleled detail.

ED. J. Maspero, *Papyrus grecs d'époque byzantine*, 3 vols. (Cairo 1911–16; rp. Milan 1973). H.I. Bell, *Greek Papyri in the British Museum*, vols. 4–5 (London 1910–17; rp. Milan 1973). P.J. Sijpesteijn, *The Aphrodite Papyri in the University of Michigan Papyrus Collection* (Zutphen, Holland, 1977). R. Pintaudi, *I papiri vaticani greci di Aphrodito*, 2 vols. (Vatican 1980).

LIT. J.G. Keenan, "The Aphrodite Papyri and Village Life in Byzantine Egypt," *BSAC* 26 (1984) 51–63. J. Gascou, L. MacCoull, "Le cadastre d'Aphroditô," *TM* 10 (1987) 103–58. –L.S.B.MacC.

APHTHARTODOCETISM (from ἄφθαρτος, "incorruptible," and δοκέω, "to seem"), a form of MONOPHYSITISM; the doctrine was formulated by JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS after his flight to Alexandria. In contrast to SEVEROS of Antioch, Julian denied any distinction between *ousia* and *physis* in Christ and thus saw in him only divine substance. Accordingly, he asserted that Christ's flesh was incorruptible not only after the resurrection but from the moment of conception—like Adam's flesh before the Fall. Christ's suffering was contrary to the nature of his flesh but was the result of a miracle and due to his will. Julian based his soteriology not on the principle of man's similarity to Christ but on the dissimilarity—Christ was incorruptible in order to free others from corruptibility. Thus, he distanced Christ from mankind even further than other Monophysites.

Aphthartodocetism was criticized by the Orthodox (esp. LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM) and by Monophysites (Severos of Antioch). The teaching spread in the East, esp. in Egypt where Julian's friend Gaianos propagated it; he managed temporarily to seize the see of Alexandria in 535; thus his supporters were called Gaianitai. Some went so far as to assert that Christ's body was not created, giving them the sobriquet *aktistetai* (Patr. Timotheos, PG 86:44C). Late in his life Justinian I saw Aphthartodocetism as a means to promote unity among his subjects, and in 565 he issued a now-lost edict supporting its teachings. The patriarch Eutychios refused to sign it and was exiled, but further difficulty was prevented by the emperor's death.

LIT. F. Diekamp, "Zum Aphthartodoketenstreit," *Theologische Revue* 26 (1927) 89–93. M. Jugie, *DTC* 6 (1924) 999–1023. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f. –T.E.G.

APHTHONIOS ('Αφθόνιος), rhetorician from Antioch and pupil of LIBANIOS; fl. late 4th to beginning of 5th C. Of his abundant works only a textbook of exercises (PROGYMNASMATA) and 40 FABLES (*mythoi*) survive. He used the textbook of HERMOGENES and described the same types of exercises, but following the example of Theon (1st C.) reintroduced the *psogos* (INVECTIVE) as a genre side by side with the ENKOMION. Aphthonios was popular with the Byz., who praised his clarity, contrasting it with Hermogenes' complexity; TZETZES (*Hist.* 11.112–48) evaluates Aphthonios at length, emphasizing his use of EXAMPLES. The *progymnasmata* are, however, treated in isolation and not integrated with other aspects of rhetorical theory. Used for the teaching of RHETORIC, Aphthonios's exercises were extensively commented upon by JOHN OF SARDIS, JOHN GEOMETRES, and John DOXOPATRES. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and THOMAS MAGISTROS considered him as a paradigm of ATTICISM.

ED. *Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1926). Eng. tr. R. Nadeau, "The Progymnasmata of Aphthonius," *Speech Monographs* 19 (1952) 264–85.

LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 22–26. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 59f. P. Schaefer, *De Aphthonio sophista* (Breslau 1854).

–E.M.J., A.K.

APICULTURE (*μελισσοκομεία*), beekeeping, provided the major source of sugar in the Middle Ages; Byz. was not influenced by the diffusion of sugar cane in the territories of the caliphate (A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* [Cambridge 1983] 24–30). Apiculture also supplied Byz. with wax for CANDLES and with the ingredients of medical remedies and alcoholic beverages: the Slavic (?) word for honey as a drink, in the form *medos* (cf. mead), was known to PRISKOS of Panion. Ancient traditions of apiculture were preserved in the GEOPONIKA, which devoted book 15 to the location and construction of beehives, the behavior of bees, and the harvesting of honey. Byz. apiculture stood on a high level. A 12th-C. Jewish writer from northern France, Samuel ben Meyr, wrote that beekeeping in "the Greek realm" was more developed than in his motherland (S. Krauss, *Studien zur byzantinisch-jüdischen Geschichte* [Vienna 1914] 113).

Beekeeping is mentioned in various sources. The vita of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL reports that he possessed 250 beehives (*boutia*), and *praktika* of the Palaiologan era show that peasants might possess as many as 30 beehives (*melissia*; cf. *Lavra* 2, no.91.III.4). A special tax on beehives, *melissennomion*, was levied, and a special name for beekeeper, *melissourgos*, was in use. The gathering of honey from wild bees is mentioned in the vita of St. LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS and illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* of pseudo-OPPIAN (Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations*, pl.183, 1), where a man is shown being attacked by a swarm of wild bees as he raids their nest. Ceramic beehives of the 6th–7th C. have been found at several sites in Greece.

The image of the industrious bee was frequent in Byz. literature; thus Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:180B) calls the prophets bees and Holy Scripture their beehive.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "He melissokomia para Byzantinois," *BZ* 44 (1951) 347–57. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 182.

–A.K., A.C., J.W.N.

APION ('Απίων), an Egyptian family of large landowners of uncertain origin. Before 328 Aurelius Apion was eparch or prefect of Egypt (*PLRE* 1:82), but there is no evidence that either he or Flavius Strategius, *comes* and *praeses* of the Thebaid in 349 (*PLRE* 1:858–59), was related to the family that came to prominence in the late 5th C. Apion I, *apo hyparchon* in 497 (whose identity with Apio Theodosius, *praeses* of Arkadia in 488, cannot be proved), served under the command of AREOBINDUS in 503. He fell from favor in 510 but returned to court under Justin I and in 518 became praetorian prefect. His son, Flavius Strategius, was *comes sacrarum largitionum* from 535 to 538 and an envoy to the Persians in 531; Flavius's son Apion II was consul in 539, but by 548 or 550 he had returned to Egypt where he was subsequently *doux* of Thebaid, administrator (*pagarches*) of Arsinoë, and chief of the curia in Oxyrhynchus. His descendants (attested until 623) bore high titles (*patrikios*, honorary consul) and maintained a palace near the Hippodrome of Constantinople; in 603 Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT advised Apion III not to become involved in political activity (evidently against Phokas). The basis of the family wealth was their estate (*oikos*) in OXYRHYNCHUS. The Apions were Monophysites until 532 when Apion I solemnly abjured that form of Christianity. Gascou rejects Hardy's hypothesis that in the second half of the 6th C. the

Apions reverted to Monophysitism and retired from the capital.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 61–75. E.R. Hardy, *The Large Estates of Byzantine Egypt* (New York 1931) 25–37. *PLRE* 2:1325. A.C. Johnson, L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt: Economic Studies* (Princeton 1949) 50–55. –A.K.

APLEKTON (*ἄπληκτον*, from Lat. *applicatum*), lit. fortified CAMP; in documents of the 10th–14th C. the term designates the billeting of troops. The privilege granted to Ioannina by Andronikos II in 1319 prohibited the billeting (*aplekeusai*) of a soldier (*stratiotes*) in the house of a citizen "against his desire and will" (MM 5:81.27–28). In some documents the term *aplekton* is paired with MITATON (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.6.23; *Koutloum.* no.10.62), and it is not always possible to understand the distinction between the two. Since a chrysobull of 1086 speaks of "the provisioning and *aplekton* of an army heading for or returning from war" (*Lavra* 1, no.48.44–45), one can hypothesize that *aplekton* was short-term billeting.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for the Billeting of Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 121f. –A.K.

APOCALYPSE (*Ἀποκάλυψις*), revelation, a genre of Hebrew and Christian literature that describes prophetic VISIONS of the future. Several Hebrew books (ENOCH, BARUCH, etc.) belong to this genre, and among the NAG HAMMADI texts are Apocalypses ascribed to Peter, Paul, and James. The Apocalypse included in the New Testament, often called the Book of Revelation, has traditionally been attributed to JOHN the Apostle; Eusebios of Caesarea, however, doubted its authenticity, and Amphilochios of Ikonion confessed that most people considered it spurious.

From the beginning, exegesis of John's Apocalypse was tinged with eschatological expectations of the end of the wicked world. In the West, this radical interpretation was rejected by AUGUSTINE: according to him, the Apocalypse gave only the general outlines of future history, without going into detail; in the East, the eschatological interpretation of the Apocalypse was abandoned already by ORIGEN, and later exegetes (OIKOUMENIOS, ANDREW of Caesarea, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) avoided the concept of the millennial reign of God on earth before the Second Coming (PAROUSIA). After Arethas, creative interpretation of the Apocalypse came to a standstill.

Among later APOCRYPHAL apocalypses are those ascribed to Elijah, Mary, and the apostles Thomas, John, and Bartholomew. Some apocalyptic prophecies name as their authors nonbiblical personages: they deal primarily with the political future of Byz. and its struggle against the Saracens (pseudo-METHODIOS OF PATARA, LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE) as well as the vision of sinners punished in Hell (ANASTASIA).

Apocalypse Illustration. Despite the considerable quantity of Byz. apocalyptic literature treating the end of the empire, only one text—the Oracle of LEO VI—was surely illustrated. However, biblical apocalyptic illustration abounded, ranging from private mortality images through the MAJESTAS DOMINI and prophetic VISIONS to the LAST JUDGMENT. Based on Old Testament visions, on Matthew 19 and 24–25, and on EPHREM THE SYRIAN, it almost never reflects the Apocalypse of St. John. Though read, and in three surviving MSS prefaced with an author portrait, John's Revelation was not accepted as canonical until the 14th C. and left no imprint on the Byz. liturgy. Its influence was peripheral, both geographically (Egypt, where Revelation was accepted as canonical, and Cappadocia, home of the two Byz. commentators on Revelation) and in content, as art reflects commentaries and magical texts more often than Revelation itself. In Cappadocia, 9th-C. versions of the Prophetic Vision and Last Judgment include the 24 Elders, the sea of glass, the river of fire, the sea vomiting up its dead, and the angel rolling up the scroll of Heaven. Of these motifs, only the sea of glass is unique to John, and it vanishes by the 10th C. The other elements continue to be used, but all reflect modifications based on non-Johannine sources, such as the Elders who carry the letters of the alphabet associated with them in magical texts; if other elements survive in Last Judgment representations, they are also from texts other than John's.

LIT. *Apokalyptik*, ed. K. Koch, J.M. Schmidt (Darmstadt 1982). J. Schmid, "Die griechischen Apokalypse-Kommentare," *Biblische Zeitschrift* 19 (1931) 228–54. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972) 77–94. P. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985). H. Suermann, *Die geschichtstheologische Reaktion auf die einfallenden Muslime in der edessenischen Apokalyptik des 7. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt am Main–New York 1985). G. Kretschmar, *Die Offenbarung des Johannes. Die*

Geschichte ihrer Auslegung im 1. Jahrtausend (Stuttgart 1985). Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung*. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican. Les élus, images et croyances* (Paris 1945). N. Thierry, "L'Apocalypse de Jean et l'iconographie byzantine," in *L'Apocalypse de Jean: Traditions exégétiques et iconographiques, III^e–XIII^e siècles* (Geneva 1979) 319–39.

–J.I., A.W.C., A.K.

APOCRYPHA (ἀπόκρυφα, lit. "concealed or rejected [books]"), works that in their title, form, and contents resemble books of the Old Testament and New Testaments, but are not accepted in the biblical canon. The discussion of what is canonical and what is apocryphal lasted through the 4th C.; in the early 6th C., a cleric in southern Gaul presented, in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*, the first (incomplete) list of apocrypha. The Old Testament apocrypha are mostly translated from Hebrew; among those that underwent substantial Christian revision are the *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, the *Martyrdom and Ascension of Isaiah*, the *Testament of Solomon*, and the SIBYLLINE ORACLES. New Testament apocrypha were more varied. They can be categorized as apocryphal gospels, acts, letters, and apocalypses, following the main New Testament genres. Some of them are as old as the 2nd C. and probably originated in (or were eventually connected by their orthodox opponents with) a Gnostic or Manichaean milieu. Some of them are known from papyri fragments, some from MSS from NAG HAMMADI. Several apocrypha have survived only in Oriental, Latin, and/or Slavic versions.

Among apocryphal gospels one may distinguish, besides earlier (primarily Judaeo-Christian) texts, those dealing with the childhood of Jesus (PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, the Gospel of THOMAS, the story of Joseph the Carpenter—written in Greek ca.400 but known only in Coptic and Arabic versions) and with his trial and execution (the Gospel of NICODEMUS, various texts on Pontius Pilate, the Coptic gospel of Gamaliel). The 2nd-C. Gospel of Peter (known to Eusebios of Caesarea) tends to whitewash Pilate and to impose the guilt for Jesus's execution fully on the Jews and Herod. The apocryphal gospels had to satisfy pious curiosity in the areas where canonical texts were reticent; they stimulated imagery in art (e.g., ANASTASIS, DORMITION), but had a lesser impact on literature.

The case of apocryphal acts was different. Most are associated with the apostles PETER (esp. the so-called pseudo-Clementinae, which describe his travels and preaching), PAUL, ANDREW, JOHN, and THOMAS; the story of the apostle Thaddeus emerges in the legend of the MANDYLION—both in the letter of Abgar and in the DOCTRINE OF ADDAI (written in Edessa ca.400). The apocryphal acts were influenced by Greek erotic ROMANCES, with their journeys to exotic regions, themes of separation and recognition, and mirabilia; hagiographic elements are also very strong—suffering, imprisonment, and martyrdom, together with the resultant mass and individual conversions, constitute their essence. Church leaders judged the apocryphal acts severely: Amphilochios of Ikonion called them "diabolical works" (R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden*, vol. 1 [Braunschweig 1883] 57), while Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 114) says that the acts of Peter, John, Thomas, Andrew, and Paul, published by a certain Leukios (Lucius?) Charinos, originated in a heretical milieu.

The original apocryphal acts are mostly lost: from the Acts of Peter only fragments survive, including the description of his martyrdom under Nero; Andrew's Acts can be tentatively restored on the basis of later (partially Western) tradition; a substantial part of John's Acts, ending with his death in Ephesus, is known. Significant sections of the Acts of Paul have been discovered in papyri as well as in Latin and Oriental translations; the story of his life served also as material for the vita of THEKLA. The Acts of Thomas were written in Syriac, probably in the first half of the 3rd C. in a Gnostic milieu. They are the only apocryphal acts to survive in full; Greek, Latin, Ethiopic, and Armenian revisions of them are also preserved.

Apocryphal epistles include the so-called Epistle to the Inhabitants of Laodikeia, a 4th-C. compilation from Paul's epistles that is sometimes inserted in Latin Bible MSS; the forged correspondence between Paul and a converted Seneca that was already known to JEROME; a third Epistle to the Corinthians, Paul's refutation of the Gnostic tenets, that was eventually inserted in the Acts of Paul; the Epistle of Titus (Paul's disciple) on the virtue of virginity—probably a Spanish work of the 5th C.; the Epistle of BARNABAS; the Epistle of James on Christ's teaching after his resurrection—a text of Gnostic character (probably of the 2nd C.); the Epistle of apostles reporting their conversations with Jesus after his resurrection—

the text, which probably originated in Asia Minor ca.170, survives in full only in an Ethiopic translation. The Epistle to the Alexandrians has disappeared without a trace. The genre was not developed in Byz., even though a number of hagiographic and homiletic works on Barnabas, Titus, and other apostles appeared.

The apocryphal APOCALYPSES were also unpopular in Byz. The genuine Byz. "apocalypses" dealt with the political situation of the empire more than with prophetic vision of the eschatological future of humankind.

The genre of apocrypha was more widely diffused in Slavic, Caucasian, and Oriental literature than in Byz. It was esp. important for the elaboration of Bogomil ideology (see APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL).

ED. and TR. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, ed. J. Charlesworth, 2 vols. (Garden City, N.Y., 1983–85). *New Testament Apocrypha*², ed. R. McL. Wilson, 2 vols. (London 1973–74). *Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. M. Erbetta, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Turin 1966–81). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha*, ed. R.A. Lipsius, M. Bonnet, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Leipzig 1891–1903).

LIT. G. Jossa, "Gli Apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento," *Augustinianum* 23 (1983) 19–40. K.L. Schmidt, *Kanonische und apocryphe Evangelien und Apostelgeschichten* (Basel 1944). J.B. Bauer, *Die neutestamentlichen Apokryphen* (Düsseldorf 1968). H. Koester, "Apocryphal and Canonical Gospels," *HThR* 73 (1980) 105–30. A.F.J. Klijn, "The Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 193–99. F. Bovon, M. van Esbroeck et al., *Les Actes Apocryphes des apôtres* (Geneva 1981). E. Turdeanu, *Apocryphes slaves et roumains de l'Ancien Testament* (Leiden 1981). –J.I.

APOCRYPHA, BOGOMIL. The BOGOMILS, in an effort to justify and propagate their teachings, made use of the Slavonic versions of several early Greek APOCRYPHA, among them *The Book of Baruch*, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and *The Vision of Isaiah*. Only one apocryphal work is known to be an authentic Bogomil creation: the *Interrogatio Johannis* (or *Liber Secretus*, i.e., "Secret Book"), brought to Italy ca.1190 by Nazarius, the bishop of a CATHAR community in Lombardy, who had obtained it from a high-ranking Bogomil in Bulgaria. It is a dialogue between John the Evangelist and Christ, who replies to his disciple's questions about the origin of the world, Satan's power over man (whose body Satan created), and the end of all things. Satan's final defeat, after the destruction of this world by fire, shows that the cosmological DUALISM of this text is of the "moderate" variety. The importance of this document lies in its uniqueness: no other known work stems directly from the Bogomils. It survives in two slightly different Latin versions, one of them going back to a document, now lost, from the archives of the Inquisition in Carcassonne. Whether the original was Greek or Slavonic is uncertain.

ED. J. Ivanov, *Bogomilski knigi i legendi* (Sofia 1925; rp. 1970). Fr. tr., idem, *Livres et légendes bogomiles* (Paris 1976). *Le livre secret des Cathares. Interrogatio Iohannis*, ed. E. Bozóky (Paris 1980), with Fr. tr.

LIT. E. Turdeanu, "Apocryphes bogomiles et apocryphes pseudo-bogomiles," *RHR* 138 (1950) 176–218. –D.O.

APODEIPNON (*ἀπόδειπνον*, lit. "after supper"), compline, the liturgical HOUR that completes the monastic day with prayer for a tranquil night free from sin and evil dreams. First seen in the *Longer Rules* of St. BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:1016A) and possibly originating with him, *apodeipnon* is a monastic duplication of VESPERS, which had formerly constituted the final hour of the day. Psalm 90, cited by Basil, is always central to the *apodeipnon* ritual. Byz. *apodeipnon* also includes other psalms, the DOXOLOGY, the creed, a *kanon*, the TRISAGION, Our Father, TROPARIA, the *Kyrie eleison* repeated 40 times, prayers, a rite of mutual pardon, and a final LITANY. In the Byz. HOROLOGION, there are two forms of *apodeipnon*: the *mega apodeipnon*, reserved for Lent and certain VIGILS, is a series of three offices, each with its own introductory and concluding prayers, while the *mikron apodeipnon* is an abbreviated version comprising select elements of the *mega apodeipnon*, esp. its final part. *Apodeipnon* was unknown to the cathedral rite of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA), which had instead an evening service called *pannychis* (see VIGIL); cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285, 311.

LIT. A. Raes, "Les Complies dans les Rites orientaux," *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 133–45. –R.F.T.

APO EPARCHON (*ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων*), or *apo hyparchon*, designation of a former prefect as well as an honorific title. To the first category belonged people like the *apo eparchon poleos* Theodore, a participant in the council of Chalcedon (451), and probably another Theodore, a 7th-C. "*apo eparchon* and eparch of Italy" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2923). Unlike these high-ranking officials, ordinary *apo eparchon*, whose numerous seals are predomi-

nantly of the 7th C., were modest dignitaries often involved in the supervision of state workshops or toll collection; others were notaries, *chartoularioi, droungarioi,* etc. The title was granted to various intellectuals such as Zacharias, physician of Tiberios II; the historians EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS and MENANDER PROTECTOR; and ELIAS, the 6th-C. commentator on Aristotle. The origin of the title is obscure—Justinian I refers to it as an "ancient" one. The last mention is in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, in which *apo eparchon* constituted the lowest grade of dignitaries.

LIT. R. Guilland, "L'apoéparque," *BS* 43 (1982) 30–44. Bury, *Adm. System* 23f. Jones, *LRE* 1:534f. –A.K.

APOGRAPHEUS (ἀπογραφεύς), fiscal official who seems to have replaced the ANAGRAPHEUS in the 12th C. Zonaras (Zon. 3:737f) relates that Alexios I sent to "the fields and villages" *apographeis* who introduced some fiscal innovations. Dölger argues that Zonaras used the term in a nontechnical sense, but in 1175 a certain Andronikos Kantakouzenos functioned as the *doux* and *apographeus* of the theme of Mylasa and Melanoudion. The term remained in use through the 15th C. Sometimes *apographeis* combined their duties with those of the governor (*doux* or KEPHALE). Their signatures are found on various PRAKTIKA; they apportioned the POSOTES of *paroikoi* and land to the monasteries (*Lavra* 2, no.97.1–5) or conducted MERISMOS (*Lavra* 3, no.165.31–32). LAND SURVEY for tax purposes was called *apographe* or more elaborately *apographike exisotes kai apokatastasis* (e.g., *Pantel.*, no.17.9)—it involved the measurement of land and the assessment of taxes. *Apographeis* were usually local functionaries (of Thessalonike, Lemnos, and so on); an act of 1344 employs the term *katholikos apographeus* (*Docheiar.*, no.23.22), even though the individual, John Vatatzes, is known as *apographeus* of Thessalonike (*PLP*, no.2518).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 88–90. D. Angelov, "K voprosu o praviteljach fem v Epirskom despotate i Nikejskoj imperii," *BS* 12 (1951) 70f. Maksimović, *Administration* 186–91. –A.K.

APOKAUKOS (Ἀπόκαυκος, fem. Ἀποκαύκισσα), family known from the end of the 10th C. Basil Apokaukos was *strategos* of the Peloponnesos ca.990. Two other *strategoi* named Apokaukos are known from seals (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.2764; Schlumberger, *Sig.* 363). From the end of the 12th C. Apokaukoi served as metropolitans in the region of Dyrrachion and Naupaktos (see, e.g., APOKAUKOS, JOHN). The position of the family at the end of the 13th C. is far from clear: Gregoras emphatically asserts (Greg. 2:577.20–21, 585.5) that Alexios Apokaukos belonged to an obscure and low-born family (see APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS), but in 1277 a certain John Apokaukos bore the high title of *sebastopanhypertatos* and served, together with George Akropolites and Theodore Mouzalon, as witness to Michael VIII's treaty with Venice (MM 3:96.24). Alexios Apokaukos's high position served to promote the careers of many of his relatives, who functioned as governors of Thessalonike and Adrianople, *megas droungarios*, etc. The family lost its position after 1345, even though George Apokaukos was an *archon* in Constantinople in 1403. Another Alexios Apokaukos, a painter and friend of Joseph BRYENNIOS, settled in Crete after 1402. Demetrios Kyritzes Apokaukos was in the service of Mehmed II after the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 101. *PLP*, nos. 1178–95. –A.K.

APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS, *megas doux;* born Bithynia late 13th C., died Constantinople 11/12 July 1345 (for date, see *Kleinchroniken* 2:263). Born to an obscure provincial family, Apokaukos amassed great wealth as a tax collector and (after 1320) as superintendent of salt works. During his early career he was a protégé of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS. When ANDRONIKOS III rebelled against his grandfather Andronikos II in 1321, Apokaukos, who was also *domestikos* of the West, supported the young emperor and was rewarded with the post of *parakoimomenos*. After Andronikos III won the civil war in 1328, Apokaukos served the new government as MESAZON. When Andronikos died (1341), Apokaukos turned against his former patron Kantakouzenos and supported the regency of ANNA OF SAVOY and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS. He became *megas doux,* in command of the fleet; as eparch of Constantinople he repaired and strengthened the Theodosian walls. The regime of Apokaukos was backed by merchants and sailors. Thessalonike, as a relatively independent trade center, was an important base of support



APOKAUKOS, ALEXIOS. Portrait of Apokaukos as donor in a manuscript of the works of Hippokrates (Paris gr. 2144, fol.11r). Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

for him (M. Sjuzjumov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 23f), and he backed the ZEALOT revolt there. According to Kantakouzenos, Apokaukos instituted a "reign of terror" in the capital, arresting wealthy citizens and confiscating their property; the family and followers of Kantakouzenos, in particular, were targets of the mob violence and destruction. Apokaukos was murdered by aristocratic political prisoners (*archontes*) as he was inspecting construction of a new prison.

Apokaukos built a fortress on the Bosporos at Epibatai and may have founded or restored a church at Selymbria (S. Eyice, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 77–104; O. Feld, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 56–65). He had a lively interest in medicine. He commissioned the deluxe MS of Hippocrates (Paris, B.N. gr. 2144) that includes his fine portrait (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 148–51, figs. 96–97). The *De methodo medendi* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS is dedicated to Apokaukos.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études de civilisation et de littérature byzantines, I: Alexios Apocaucos," *Revue du Lyonnais* (1921) 523–41. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 133–68. *PLP*, no.1180.
–A.M.T.

APOKAUKOS, JOHN, a leading clergyman in the independent principality of Epiros; born ca.1155, died Kozyle near Arta 1233. Apokaukos was a fellow student in Constantinople with Manuel Sarantenos, the future patriarch at Nicaea. As a deacon, he assisted his uncle, Constantine Manasses, metropolitan of Naupaktos. In 1186 Apokaukos is attested as a notary at the patriarchate in Constantinople under Patr. Niketas II Mountanes (1186–89), and again in 1193 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1125). Metropolitan of Naupaktos from 1199/1200 to 1232 (L. Stiernon, *REB* 28 [1970] 305f), he was, like Demetrios CHOMATENOS and George BARDANES, outspoken in support of Theodore Komnenos Doukas and the Epirot church in the schism with Nicaea. Apokaukos's letters and decisions, like those of Chomatenos, are of central importance for the legal and social history of the period (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 275–323). His writings, which show him to be less knowledgeable in the law and less exacting in its application than his colleague (M.Th. Fögen in *Cupido Legum* 47–71), are remarkable for their clear and humorous portrayals of daily life and popular culture (P. Magdalino, *BS* 48 [1987] 28–38). He died a monk.

ED. N.A. Bees, "Unedierte Schriftstücke aus der Kanzlei des Johannes Apokaukos des Metropoliten von Naupaktos (in Aetolien)," *BNJbb* 21 (1971–74) 55–160. M.Th. Fögen, "Ein heisses Eisen," *RJ* 2 (1983) 85–96.

LIT. M. Wellnhofer, *Johannes Apokaukos, Metropolit von Naupaktos in Aetolien (c.1155–1233)* (Freising 1913). Macrides, "Killing, Asylum & Law." –R.J.M.

APOKOMBION (ἀποκόμβιον, also κόμβιον), a purse in which the emperor carried coins to distribute on feastdays. The term is derived from the word *kombos,* meaning joint or knot (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:669B), since *apokombia* were small bags tied with a ribbon. Sometimes the purse contained only one nomisma as a symbolic gift to a poor person (Oikonomides, *Listes* 181.9), while *apokombia* given to the patriarch might hold more than 100 *litrai* of gold (*De cer.* 182.8–11). A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 76.22–23) describes

how the emperor took the *apokombion* from the *praipositos* and placed it on the holy altar. Representations of the *apokombion* are found in the mosaic panels in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, depicting Emp. Constantine IX Monomachos (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 36 [1978] 220) and John II Komnenos.

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 154. –A.K.

APOKRISIARIOS (ἀποκρισιάριος, Lat. *responsalis*), in its ecclesiastical sense, the messenger or representative of a bishop or *hegoumenos* in dealings with higher authorities. The institution existed in the 5th C., but was first systematically established by Justinian I to prevent the heads of churches from neglecting the care and wasting the resources of their flocks in prolonged or frequent absences (*Cod.Just.* I.3; nov.6.2–3; nov.123.25). *Apokrisiarioi* were received by patriarchs and metropolitans from their respective subordinates, but the chief function of *apokrisiarioi* was to represent provincial churches at the imperial court. The most important patriarchal, archiepiscopal, and metropolitan sees maintained resident *apokrisiarioi* in Constantinople. Among famous churchmen who served as *apokrisiarioi* were Pope Gregory I the Great, who represented the Roman church at the imperial court (ca.578–86), and Demetrios Chomatenos, who represented the see of Ohrid at the patriarchate at the end of the 12th C. (For *apokrisiarios* as a term for diplomat, see Ambassadors.)

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 103. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2537–55. A. Emereau, "Apocrisiaires et apocrisiariat," and "Les apocrisiaires en Orient," *EO* 17 (1914) 289–97, 542–48. –P.M.

APOLLINARIS, or Apollinarios, bishop of Laodikeia (from ca.360), theologian; born Laodikeia ca.310, died ca.390. A friend of Athanasios of Alexandria, Apollinaris polemicized against Arius and Diodoros of Tarsos and elaborated a Christology stressing the divine element in Christ; he taught that in Christ the human soul was replaced by the Logos. Later Apollinaris revised his views and proposed that Christ had a human body and soul, but "heavenly *nous*" (reason). At first accepted as orthodox, Apollinaris played the role of Athanasios's successor, but then became embroiled with Basil the Great. At the Council of Constantinople in 381 his teachings were condemned; he was eventually proclaimed a precursor of Monophysitism and a heretic, and his works were destroyed or preserved under wrong names (E. Cattaneo, *Trois homélies pseudo-chrysostomiennes sur la Pâque comme oeuvre d'Apollinaire de Laodicée* [Paris 1981]). Jerome, who attended the lectures of Apollinaris in Antioch (P. Jay, *REAug* 20 [1974] 36–41), knew his exegetic works on the Bible, but found them inadequate. According to Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 5.18.3–4) Apollinaris tried to replace Homer with a work in epic verse on the antiquities of the Hebrews in 24 parts, in which he presented biblical history from Creation to the reign of Saul; he imitated Pindar, Euripides, and Menander in writing on themes of the Holy Scriptures. Apollinaris also wrote hymns for church services as well as songs in praise of God to be recited at work and play (Sozom., *HE* 6.25.4–5). According to Sokrates (Sokr., *HE* 3.16) he recast the New Testament in the form of Platonic dialogues, none of which has survived. Attribution to Apollinaris of a hexameter paraphrase of the Psalms (ed. A. Ludwich [Leipzig 1912]) is questionable.

ED. H. Lietzmann, *Apollinaris von Laodicea und seine Schule* (Tübingen 1904). *CPG,* nos. 3645–3700.

LIT. E. Mühlenberg, *Apollinaris von Laodicea* (Göttingen 1969). C.E. Raven, *Apollinarianism* (Cambridge 1923). A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'Apollinarisme dans les controverses théologiques du IVe siècle," *StP* 13 (1975) 295–305. E. Cattaneo, "Il Cristo 'uomo celeste' secondo Apollinare di Laodicea," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 19 (1983) 415–19. –B.B., A.K.

APOLLO, Greek god of the sun, music, truth, and healing. His embodiment of the divinity of the sun (Helios, Sol Invictus) caused his veneration to continue into late antiquity, as seen in Constantine I's solar piety (*Panegyrici Latini* 7.177.10, a.321) and the 4th-C. statues identified as Apollo (G. Mansuelli, *FelRav* 127–30 [1984/5] 291–95; the anecdote of the statue of Apollo brought by Constantine from Troy in Malal. 320.10–13). As late as 529, Benedict of Nursia tried to stamp out the worship of Apollo in the vicinity of Montecassino (*Grégoire le Grand: Dialogues,* ed. A. de Vogüé [Paris 1979] 2:166–69). Since Apollo's oracle at Delphi was the most famous in antiquity until its suppression by Theodosios I in 392, Byz. legend sought to attribute to it prophecies of the coming of Christ. A 12th-C.

historian (Cedr. 1:532.4–10) relates the oracle's sad response to Julian's emissary Oribasios just before his Persian expedition, while the vitae of ARTEMIOS and other texts preserve Apollo's prophecy of Christ's divinity and sufferings (A. von Premerstein in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 185–89; J. Bidez, *BZ* 11 [1902] 392). Three statues of Apollo still standing in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople were described in epigrams by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS in the late 5th C. The Delphic tripod is depicted in MS illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, while Apollo and Daphne appear in an Antioch mosaic and in numerous ivory carvings. The latter myth furnished a subject to Byz. writers from DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO to KINNAMOS. George Gemistos PLETHON included a hymn to Apollo in his *Laws*, hailing him as the lord of justice and *homonoia*, inspirer of love of divine beauty (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 208).

LIT. D. Detschew, *RAC* 1:528f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 64f. C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon: The Last of the Hellenes* (Oxford 1986) 348–51. –L.S.B.MacC.

APOLLONIA (Ἀπολλωνία). Called Sozousa in late antiquity, Apollonia was one of the five Greek colonies of the Cyrenaican PENTAPOLIS. A bishop from the city is first recorded at the Synod of Seleukeia in Isauria in 359. During the 4th and early 5th C. repairs were made to the city's fortifications in response to raids by the Austuriani (see MAURI). In the late 5th and early 6th C. Apollonia appears to have become the capital of Libya Pentapolis. To the same period belongs the construction of the east church and triconch basilica and the refurbishing of the baths originally built in the 4th C. to replace those perhaps damaged in the earthquake of 365. The first half of the 6th C. saw the construction of the central and west churches and the so-called Palace of the Dux, recently argued by Ellis (*infra*) to be the house of a local *illustris*. The east church was also remodeled and further repairs were made to the fortifications. Apart from later additions to the Palace of the Dux and urban defenses, nothing is known of the city's later history down to the Arab invasion of 642, soon after which urban life at Apollonia ceased.

LIT. R.G. Goodchild, J.G. Pedley, D. White, *Apollonia, the Port of Cyrene, Excavations by the University of Michigan, 1965–1967*, ed. J.H. Humphrey (Tripoli 1976). S. Ellis, "The Palace of the Dux at Apollonia and Related Houses," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, and J. Reynolds (Oxford 1983) 15–25. A. Laronde, "Apollonia de Cyrénaïque et son histoire," *CRAI* (1985) 93–115. –R.B.H.

APOLLONIAS (Ἀπολλωνιάς, anc. Apollonia ad Rhyndacum, mod. Apolyont), city in Bithynia situated on a lake of the same name. Apollonias appears in history in the 8th–9th C. as a strong fortress; it was a refuge for the deposed emperor Tiberios II and a place of exile for Theodore of Stoudios. Apollonias was briefly taken by the Turks in 1093, recaptured by Alexios I, then attacked again in 1113. Apollonias then remained Byz. until the early 14th C., except for a Latin occupation in 1204–05. Apollonias was a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA; it derived strength from its protected location and its walls, whose style indicates construction in the 7th/8th C. with rebuilding in the 12th. An adjacent island contains a church, apparently of the 9th C., built on a novel variation of the inscribed cross plan. It was probably the monastery from which ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS was called to the patriarchate in 1254.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 68–73. C. Mango, "The Monastery of St. Constantine on Lake Apolyont," *DOP* 33 (1979) 329–33. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 139. –C.F.

APOLLONIOS OF TYANA (in Cappadocia), pagan wonder-worker and Neopythagorean philosopher of the 1st C., whose reputation survived well into the Byz. era. His legendary biography, written by Philostratos after 217, reflects the cosmopolitan worldview of the Roman Empire, making Apollonios travel to Babylon, India, Egypt, Ethiopia, and the Pillars of Herakles. The cult of Apollonios, who was considered a magician and miraculous healer, was promoted esp. in the 3rd C., and he came to be regarded by pagans as a rival to Moses and Christ. Sosianos Hierokles of Nikomedeia (ca.307) argued that Apollonios was a greater worker of miracles than Jesus; Apollonios was also praised by Flavianus Nicomachus and in the HISTORIA AUGUSTA. His image appears on CONTORNIATES. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 22:795–868) wrote a response ca.312 to the claims of Hierokles, denouncing Apollonios as a charlatan who was perhaps in league with evil spirits. None-

theless, the Christian world was slow to reject the cult of Apollonios. Until the 12th C. Byz. authors (Malalas, Kedrenos, Tzetzes) mention him in favorable light, remembering his power to tame snakes and scorpions and describing the talismans erected by Apollonios in various cities to ward off fierce animals, noxious insects such as mosquitoes, and natural disasters. Whereas some Christian writers (e.g., the hagiographers of St. THEKLA and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI) denied the ability of Apollonios to work genuine miracles, for others he was a semi-Christian prophet. It is possible that a saint Balinas, known from a Greek prayer, may represent a transformation of Apollonios (Speyer, *infra* 63).

SOURCE. *Philostratus: The Life of Apollonius of Tyana*, ed. F.C. Conybeare, 2 vols. (London–New York 1912; vol. 1 rp. 1917, 1927, vol. 2 rp. 1921) with Eng. tr.

LIT. W. Speyer, "Zum Bild des Apollonios von Tyana bei Heiden und Christen," *JbAChr* 17 (1974) 47–63. W. Dulière, "Protection permanente contre des animaux nuisibles assurée par Apollonius de Tyane dans Byzance et Antioche," *BZ* 63 (1970) 247–77. C.P. Jones, "An Epigram on Apollonius of Tyana," *JHS* 100 (1980) 190–94.

–A.K., A.M.T.

APOLLONIOS OF TYRE, hero of a novel disseminated throughout Europe in the Middle Ages. The extant Latin version dates from the 6th C. Whether the original was written in Latin or Greek has been inconclusively debated. Certainly the plot presents many of the characteristics of a Greek ROMANCE of the 2nd or 3rd C.: separations, false deaths, violent storms, a happy ending, etc. Two versions in medieval vernacular Greek exist: one, in 852 unrhymed political verses, based on a Tuscan reworking of the Latin and dated to the 14th C.; and another, in 1,894 rhymed political verses, a free adaptation of the *Istoria d'Apollonio de Tiro* of the Florentine Antonio Pucci (ca.1310–80) and dated to the late 15th C. Despite a veneer of Byz. piety and the Italian intermediaries, the world in both cases remains that of late antiquity.

ED. Lat.—*Historia Apollonii Regis Tyrii*, ed. G.A.A. Kortekaas (Groningen 1984). Greek—(1) *Narratio neograeca Apollonii Tyrii*, ed. A.A.P. Janssen (Nijmegen 1954); (2) Venice 1534; rp. 1805.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 135–38. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

APOLLONOS ANO PAPYRI, documents discovered by French excavations in a jar at Edfu in 1921–22, comprising the bilingual archives of the Apollinopolite *pagarches* Papas from ca.648 to ca.708. R. Rémondon published 104 Greek documents in 1953, but the Coptic pieces are still being edited. The Greek documents include official letters and orders from the Arab governor, memoranda from the *topoteretes*, requisitions of men and supplies for the *cursus* (expeditions against Constantinople), lawsuits, tax records, contracts, accounts, lists of goods, and private letters. The competence of the Arab emir's Greek-speaking chancery is apparent, as is the problem of fugitives and their tax responsibility in their *origo*. The language of the documents displays the richness of official terminology that lived on in both Greek and Coptic long after attempted arabicization of the chancery. These documents, along with the 8th-C. APHRODITE PAPYRI, furnish a richly detailed picture of local administration in Egypt as it was carried on by Christian officials still in responsible positions after 642.

ED. R. Rémondon, *Papyrus grecs d'Apollônos Anô* (Cairo 1953). L.S.B. MacCoull, "The Coptic Papyri from Apollonos Ano," *Proceedings of the XVIII International Congress of Papyrology*, vol. 2 (Athens 1988) 141–60.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Papyrus grecs inédits d'Apollônos Anô," in *Hommages à la mémoire de Serge Sauneron*, vol. 2 (Cairo 1979) 25–34. J. Gascou, K.A. Worp, "Problèmes de documentation apollinopolite," *ZPapEpig* 49 (1982) 83–95.

–L.S.B.MacC.

APOLOGY (ἀπολογία), speech of defense or self-defense such as Plato's *Apology* of Socrates. The term was esp. applied to the speeches of MARTYRS in defense of the Christian faith: thus, Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 5.21.4) relates that the martyr Apollonios gave "the most rational apology" before the senate. The apology of Justin Martyr (2nd C.) is the first example preserved of this genre. The earliest apologies were directed against the misconceptions of Christianity held by pagans and Jews. As Christianity gathered momentum, the apology acquired the character of POLEMIC rather than defense: ATHANASIOS of Alexandria used this title for the defense of his escape, for his apology addressed to Emp. Constantius II, and for his *Apologetikos* against the Arians. The conventional term "apologists" has been introduced by scholars to designate Christian writers of the 2nd–5th C. who both defended Christianity and refuted pagan or Jewish views. After the final victory of Christianity the term was rarely used: ANASTASIOS OF SINAI wrote a *Tomos*

apologetikos. As late as the 15th C., however, Andrew Chrysoberges addressed an apology to Bessarion dedicated to the Palamite question (Beck, *Kirche* 743).

In a secular sense apology referred to a literary genre of self-defense (e.g., Arethas of Caesarea wrote an apology to explain his political position), a judicial defense (Ecloga 17.3, ed. Burgmann p.226.777), or—in the field of diplomacy—a rebuttal of importunate claims (*De adm. imp.* 13.21). –A.K., E.M.J.

APOLYSIS. See Dismissal.

APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM ("Sayings of the Fathers"), the anecdotes and maxims of the Egyptian desert fathers, preserved in various collections and languages. The core anthology is the alphabetic one (organized by speaker's name) compiled in the 5th or 6th C., perhaps by admirers of a certain Poimen who is disproportionately well represented. This collection is supplemented by a group of 400 anonymous sayings. They are written in simple language and offer practical advice on problems faced by cenobitic monks and hermits. Some sayings inculcate extreme asceticism and reflect an antipathy toward book-learning and women, while others are imbued with a common-sense attitude toward the rigorous life of the anchorite. They may be viewed, in part, as conscious Christian rivals to the many anthologies of maxims of pagan thinkers, while unconsciously providing one of the most fascinating sources of social and intellectual life in the late Roman period. Latin translations survive of four different collections, along with Arabic, Coptic, Syriac, Armenian, and Church Slavonic versions.

On the basis of two miniatures in the Sacra Parallela, K. Weitzmann suggested that some MSS of the *Apophthegmata* were richly illustrated (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 250, 262).

ed. Alphabetic collection—PG 65:71–440. Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Desert Christian. Sayings of the Desert Fathers: The Alphabetical Collection* (New York 1980). Anonymous—ed. F. Nau, "Histoires des solitaires Égyptiens," *ROC* 12 (1907) 43–69, 171–89, 393–413; 13 (1908) 47–66, 266–97; 14 (1909) 357–79; 17 (1912) 204–11, 294–301; 18 (1913) 137–46. Partial Eng. tr. B. Ward, *The Wisdom of the Desert Fathers: Apophthegmata Patrum from the Anonymous Series* (Oxford 1975).

lit. J.C. Guy, *Recherches sur la tradition grecque des Apophthegmata Patrum* (Brussels 1962). L. Regnault, *Les pères du désert à travers leurs apophtegmes* (Sablé-sur-Sarthe 1987). –B.B., A.C.

APOROS (*ἄπορος*, "without means"), term with several related meanings, all derived from the general meaning "lacking sufficient resources"; the Farmer's Law (par.14) mentions *aporoi* farmers, incapable of working all their land, who contract with another party to cultivate a portion of it. As an economic term, *aporoi* normally designates the destitute, such as a widow left impoverished by her husband's death (*Ecloga* 2:7), and can serve to distinguish them from the working poor (Zepos, *Jus* 1:216.17). The term also denotes individuals unable to fulfill some legal or social obligation; here it does not refer specifically to poverty, although it still normally encompasses economically marginal elements of the population. An *aporos* thief is one who cannot provide the legally mandated twofold restitution of stolen property (*Ecloga* 17:11), an *aporos* captive is one unable to provide reimbursement for his ransom (*Ecloga* 8:2). The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 696.1) contrasts poor soldiers who can still meet their obligations for military service with *exaporoi*, who cannot. In documentary sources, *aporos* is applied to: (1) ruined, uninhabited, or uncultivated land (Trinchera, *Syllabus*, nos. 7, 5.10, 14) or (2) individuals who lack land to cultivate (*Lavra* 2, no.91. I. 55; 3, no.136.166). In this context, *aporos* may also designate those who for some reason are unable to work.

lit. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 117f, 215. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3–27. –A.J.C.

APOSTLES (*ἀπόστολοι*, lit. "envoys"), term applied primarily to the 12 disciples of Jesus. The synoptic Gospels and Acts of the New Testament list the apostles with slight variations that caused difficulties for theologians: John Chrysostom (PG 57:380f) noticed contradictions between the lists in Mark's and Luke's Gospels. Simon-Peter is always at the head of the Twelve; he is followed by Andrew, James, or John; then in all lists are Philip, Bartholomew, Thomas, Matthew the tax-collector, and James, son of Alpheus; Thaddeus, Simon the Canaanite, Simon the Zealot, and Jude, brother of James, do not occur in all lists;

at the end of the list is JUDAS ISCARIOT who, after his treachery, was replaced by Matthias. PAUL is also called an apostle, although usually distinguished from the Twelve. The title was extended to other personages (esp. the Seventy Teachers, the successors of the Twelve), to THEKLA, and to CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT; the term was further applied to priests, bishops, and esp. to the pope, the holder of the "apostolic see."

Tradition stressed the humble origin and lowly professions of the Twelve: Chrysostom calculates that four were fishermen and two, tax collectors, and emphasizes that their leader was illiterate (PG 57:381.7–12). Nevertheless, they were "trumpets of the Spirit" (Tarasios, PG 98:1437B), prophets, and performers of miracles. They were held to be administrators of the church, legislators who created the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, the authors of scriptural writings, and itinerant teachers of Christian truth. The Byz. compiled various brief indices to all apostles (attributed to Epiphanios, Dorotheos, and Hippolytos), but Byz. APOCRYPHAL, hagiographical, and homiletic texts are devoted to individual apostles, rather than the group. Nevertheless, SYMEON METAPHRASTES composed a didactic poem in dodecasyllables on the apostles; NICHOLAS OF METHONE produced a treatise on the indwelling of the Holy Spirit in the apostles; and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS wrote an *enkomion* on the Twelve, as did Makarios CHOUMNOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. A number of important churches were dedicated to the Holy Apostles, such as those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

Representation in Art. Toga-clad, sandaled, and shown at first as beardless youths, the apostles were slowly individualized: Peter and Paul by the 4th C.; Andrew, Philip, John, and Thomas by the mid-6th C.; the others later and less consistently. The apostles initially acclaim Christ or his Cross (Sarigüzel sarcophagus [Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl. 75]; dome mosaics in RAVENNA) or are the witnesses obligatory in Late Antique images of theophany—observing Christ's miracles or witnessing while participating (TRANSFIGURATION, ASCENSION). As the original community of the faithful, the 12 apostles symbolize the church. Thus APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are represented with 12, rather than the canonical 11, disciples to indicate each scene's importance in the history of the church; the symbolic composition of the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) shows the church's foundation in the EUCHARIST; and episodes involving Christ and the apostles as a group—DORMITION, PENTECOST, LAST JUDGMENT—adopt formalized compositions emphasizing their church-historical significance. Scenes from the individual lives of the apostles are rare and, except for the three surviving ACTS cycles, largely apocryphal in origin. There are cycles of their martyrdoms (Hagia Sophia, OHRID) that sometimes include vignettes of their ministry (see HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE; SOĞANLI; S. Marco in VENICE); images of their preaching accompany Psalms 19 and 105 in the marginal PSALTERS.

LIT. *BHG* 150–160p. A. Medebielle, *DictBibl*, supp. 1:533–88. Beck, *Kirche* 571, 625, 725. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 110–17. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1:219–30. G. de Jerphanion, *La Voix des monuments* (Paris 1930) 189–200.

– J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

APOSTOLES, MICHAEL, teacher, writer, and copyist of MSS; born Constantinople? ca.1420, died Crete? after 1474 or 1486. After studying in Constantinople with John ARGYROPOULOS, Apostoles (Ἀποστόλης, Ἀποστόλιος) taught briefly at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL, located at the Petra monastery. When Constantinople fell to the Turks, he was taken prisoner; after his release, he went to Crete, where he spent most of his remaining years teaching private pupils. He failed to achieve financial backing to set up his own school in Italy, and complained frequently of his straitened circumstances. He was a Uniate and made frequent visits to humanist circles in Italy. BESSARION commissioned Apostoles to seek out old Greek MSS for his library or, where necessary, to make copies; he is known to have copied (at least in part) about 115 MSS for Bessarion and others (partial list: C.G. Patrineles, *EpMesArch* 8–9 [1958–59] 69f). Apostoles made an important collection of proverbs (ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* 2:233–744) and maintained an extensive correspondence. His literary oeuvre also includes treatises in defense of PLATO (J.E. Powell, *BZ* 38 [1938] 71–86), an essay on the proper method of teaching Greek to Italians, and rhetorical pieces. His *Oration on Greece and Europe*, written after 1453, asserts the cultural superiority of the Greeks over Westerners; at the same time he recognizes that the Byz. era is at an end, while Italy is at the beginning of a new age (D.J. Geanakoplos, *GRBS* 1 [1958] 157–62).

ED. Letters—E. Legrand, *Bibliographie hellénique* 2 (Paris 1885; rp. 1862) 233–59. *Lettres inédites de Michel Apostolis*, ed. H. Noiret (Paris 1889). For list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 69.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, *Greek Scholars in Venice* (Cambridge 1962) 73–110. Beck, *Kirche* 770f. *PLP*, no.1201. A.F. van Gemert, "O Michael Apostoles os daskalos ton ellenikon," *Hellenika* 37 (1986) 141–45. A. Frangedaki, "On fifteenth-century Cryptochristianity: a letter to George Amoiroutzes from Michael Apostolis," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85) 221–24.
–A.M.T.

APOSTOLIC CANONS (Κανόνες τῶν 'Αποστόλων), a collection of 85 ecclesiastical law CANONS, allegedly written by the Apostles; they form an appendix (8.47) to the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. The regulations, which are generally very short and in no particular sequence, concern mainly the qualifications and duties of clerics and occasionally the conduct of laymen; they contain mostly threats of punishment. In the 85th canon, the canonical books of the Old and New Testaments are enumerated with certain peculiarities, such as the omission of the Apocalypse of John and mention of the *Apostolic Constitutions*. The sources of the collection are the *Apostolic Constitutions* and the canons issued in the 4th C., esp. those of the councils of GANGRA, ANTIOCH (341), and Laodikeia of Phrygia. The author, given in the 85th canon as Clement (I of Rome), is not necessarily identical with the compiler of the *Apostolic Constitutions* but must have been likewise active in the last quarter of the 4th C. in Antioch. The work was translated early on into Syriac, Arabic, and Ethiopic; ca.500 it was partially rendered in Latin (only the first 50 canons) by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS. Its authenticity (disputed by the *Decretum Gelasianum*) was expressly recognized in 691 by the Council in TRULLO (canon 2); from then on, the *Apostolic Canons* stood at the head of all canon collections. In the 12th C. they were the subject of commentaries by Alexios ARISTENOS, John ZONARAS, and Theodore BALSAMON.

ED. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique (IVe–IXe s.)* 1.2 (Grottaferrata 1962) 1–53.

LIT. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1963) 214–26. C.H. Turner, "Notes on the Apostolic Constitutions, II: The Apostolic Canons," *JThSt* 16 (1914–15) 523–38.
–A.S.

APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS (Διαταγαὶ τῶν ἁγίων 'Αποστόλων διὰ Κλήμεντος), a collection of ecclesiastical law and liturgical matters, divided into eight books. Books 1–6 represent an expanded version of the *Didaskalia*, an ecclesiastical rite that originated in Syria in the 3rd C. and was esp. concerned with penitential discipline. The first part of book 7 (chs. 1–32) contains an expanded version of the *Didache*, a work of catechetical and liturgical content composed in the 2nd C. in Syria; the second part (chs. 33–49) is composed of prayer formulas (among them the Great DOXOLOGY) and baptismal instructions. The main source for book 8 (chs. 3–45) is the *Apostolic Tradition of Hippolytus*, a 3rd-C. ecclesiastical rite valuable for its exact description of the early liturgy (the so-called "Clement Liturgy"). The APOSTOLIC CANONS are attached to the work as an appendix. The compiler, ostensibly authorized by the Apostles, was possibly an Arian (according to Hagedorn, *infra*, an otherwise unknown Julian) active in Antioch during the last quarter of the 4th C. The Council in TRULLO of 691 (canon 2) condemned the work (with the exception of its appendix) as a heretical forgery. Nevertheless, it was often copied, although rarely in full. Only short excerpts entered the collections of CANON LAW.

ED. M. Metzger, *Les Constitutions Apostoliques*, 3 vols. (Paris 1985–87). Eng. tr. *The Apostolic Constitutions*, ed. J. Donaldson [Ante-Nicene Christian Library, 17.2] (Edinburgh 1870).

LIT. F.X. Funk, *Die apostolischen Konstitutionen* (Rottenburg 1891; rp. Frankfurt am Main 1970). D. Hagedorn, *Der Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian* (Berlin–New York 1973) xxxvii–lvii.
–A.S.

APOSTOLOS. See PRAXAPOSTOLOS.

APOTHEOSIS (ἀποθέωσις). Deification of a mortal (a hero or ruler) was an idea broadly spread in the Hellenistic world (ALEXANDER THE GREAT was granted apotheosis) and came to be accepted, under the Latin term *consecratio*, by Roman emperors—first as a posthumous ceremony, later during their lifetime. It was accompanied by endowing the emperor with the title *divus* (divine) and developing a system of signs symbolizing his ascent to heaven—EAGLE, pyre, chariot. The concept of deification reached its acme under Diocletian, whose epithet, Jovius, indicated his direct connections with Jupiter; it was retained by Constantine I the Great and his successors, down to Theodosios I, who received the *consecratio* from the pagan senate. Some changes were introduced under Christian influence—the cremation rite was abolished, and the symbol of the regenerating

PHOENIX disappeared; Constantine's coins minted for his *consecratio* represented only the chariot and the hand stretched from the cloud in expectation of the *divus*. This tradition was alien to Christianity, however, and by ca.400 it fell into disuse, leaving only some remnants in court terminology (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 155–57).

The term *apotheosis* appears in Nestorian polemics: Nestorios accused his opponents of the concept of the apotheosis of Christ's human nature (F. Loos, *Nestoriana* [Halle 1905] 167.1–2, 274.12–14), whereas he preferred to use the term "conjunction" (*synapheia*). Metaphorically, apotheosis could designate the mystical ascent to God. The image of the risen Christ, borne aloft by angels at his ASCENSION, depends upon Late Antique images of apotheosis.

LIT. L. Koep (A. Hermann), *RAC* 3:276–94. A. Kaniuth, *Die Beisetzung Konstantins des Grossen* (Breslau 1941). –A.K., A.C.

APPANAGE, a conventional term borrowed from the vocabulary of western European FEUDALISM and appearing in Byz. historiography with two meanings.

1. In the narrow sense, appanage designates a nearly independent territory granted by the emperor to a member of the imperial family, usually a younger son, to secure the grantee a source of livelihood or to insure a political and administrative connection between the provincial territory and the capital. The grantee characteristically maintained his own court, army, fiscal and judicial systems, and often conducted an independent foreign policy. His income was derived from the exercise of administrative rights over the territory and from land he held within the territory, though the grant of the appanage itself did not implicitly include the right of hereditary transmission. While the practice of granting substantial estates to imperial relatives was effected as early as the reign of Alexios I, the idea of an actual administrative partitioning of the empire between princes of the ruling dynasty was first entertained during the reign of Michael VIII. The civil wars of the 14th C. spurred the creation of appanages. From the mid-14th C., at one time or another, almost every younger son of an emperor held an appanage and most of the areas remaining in the empire were held as appanages: Thrace, Thessalonike with Macedonia, Thessaly and, most importantly, the Morea.

2. In the broad sense, appanage is conceived as any imperial grant, revocable at the will of the emperor, of an important region or DEMESNE in hereditary title to an individual or institution. Ahrweiler (*Structures*, pt.I [1964], 112–14) contrasts appanages as held by members of the imperial family, by ecclesiastical institutions, and by wealthy laymen with the military PRONOIA.

LIT. Lj. Maksimović, "Geneza i karakter apanaža u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 103–54. J.W. Barker, "The Problem of Appanages in Byzantium during the Palaiologan Period," *Byzantina* 3 (1971) 103–22. –M.B.

APPEAL (ἔκκλητος). The institution of appeal to a higher court existed in Roman civil and criminal procedure and acquired a coherent character through the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I the Great. If the defendant was not satisfied with the judgment, he could appeal to the emperor or to judges vested with imperial authority; in the late Roman Empire these were governors and PRAETORIAN PREFECTS, the latter's judgment being final. Later, the EPARCH and the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS served as appellate judges. The notion that their decisions were unappealable was rejected in Byz. (Simon, *Rechtsfindung* 20). The patriarch also had the right to consider appeals against lower courts. Besides a formal appeal, a petition for the emperor's clemency was permitted; it had to be addressed to the office of the EPI TON DEESEON.

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 670. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 356–58. D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *BZ* 79 (1986) 340–42. –A.K.

APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION are variously reported in the Gospels, there being 11 different episodes in all. In pre-Iconoclastic art, only the Doubting of THOMAS (Jn 20:24–29) and the *Chairete* (Christ's meeting with two MYRROPHOROI) were represented. In the former scene, Christ stands centrally, framed by the door and flanked by 12 (not 11) disciples, including Thomas, who touches Christ's side (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo). The *Chairete* scene corresponds best with Matthew 28:9, though sometimes one of the women is labeled Christ's mother, in accord with hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE

that hail the Virgin Mary as the first to see the risen Christ. The art of the 9th–12th C. continued to emphasize these events, the Doubting of Thomas often being added to cycles of the GREAT FEASTS. In addition, a formal composition of Christ's MISSION TO THE APOSTLES was introduced (Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME), the 12 Apostles displacing the canonical 11 disciples (Mk 16:15–18) to indicate the scene's symbolic significance as Christ's mission to his Church. Only extensive cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS, MONREALE) represent MARY MAGDALENE in the garden (Jn 20:14–17) and the episodes at Emmaus (Lk 24:13–32), Tiberias (Jn 21:1–14), or in the closed room (Jn 20:19–23). Fourteenth-century fresco programs in Serbia regularly include post-Passion cycles, though they vary in the selection of scenes (STARO NAGORIČINO, GRAČANICA).

LIT. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:415–33. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:371–88. –A.W.C.

APPRENTICE (*μαθητής*). Apprentices are mentioned in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* only once—the candlemakers were ordered not to send their slaves or *mathetai* to sell their wares in unauthorized places. M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 4 [1951] 23) surmised that there was no difference between an apprentice and a MISTHIOS. The 10th-C. vita of Elias of Heliopolis (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *PPSb* 19.3 [1907] 45–48) gives more detail about apprenticeship: Elias was 12 years old when he was apprenticed to a carpenter; he worked in the *ergasterion* but also waited upon his master and was paid a salary (*ekmisthoma*).

Several contracts of apprenticeship, called *didaskalikai*, are preserved in Egyptian papyri. The number of late Roman *didaskalikai* is very limited and their content is vague. I. Fikhman (*Egipet* 80) explains the infrequency of late contracts by the increasing role of the hereditary artisan who was trained at home. Vat. gr. 952 preserves several contracts of apprenticeship for 14th-C. Constantinople. A furrier, a shoemaker, and a smith appear as masters in these contracts; the term of apprenticeship is 5–10 years, and the master usually is obliged to feed and clothe the apprentice and to give him (at the end of the training period?) a sum of 5–10 nomismata (G. Ferrari dalle Spade, *SBN* 4 [1935] 264–66). From these contracts one should distinguish contracts of service, some of which, written in Latin, were concluded between Italian masters and Greek journeymen (e.g., M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, vol. 1 [Paris–The Hague 1973] no.741; G. Balbi, S. Raiteri, *Notai genovesi in oltremare* [Genoa 1973] no.68) for the term of 1–10 years.

LIT. J. Herrmann, "Vertragsinhalt und Rechtsnatur der *didaskalikai*," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 11–12 (1957–58) 119–39. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 73f. –A.K.

APRATOS (*ἄπρα⟨κ⟩τος*, lit. "idle"), term that in the TAKTIKA designated a certain kind of dignitary. In the late Roman Empire there were functionaries who received the *cingulum*, girdle, as the symbol of their duty, but fulfilled no function; they were called *vacantes* (R. Guilland, *EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 136–38). The *vacantes* should be distinguished from the *honorati*, retired dignitaries. The system seems to have been preserved in the 9th C., but it was confused. The first use of the term *apratos* is in a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 375.6) who says that Justinian II ordered the *empraktoi* and *apratoi* to be slaughtered; the meaning of the words here is unclear. The mid-9th-C. *Taktikon* of Uspenskij speaks not only of *apratoi spatharioi*, but also of *tourmarchai* and *topoteretai* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 59.12–14), that is, of officers who had functions but probably no title. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *apratoi* are listed among the titularies of lower rank, such as STRATORS or MANDATORS.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:155–61. –A.K.

APRENOS (*Ἀπρηνός*), a family probably originating from Apros. The Aprenoi are described by Pachymeres as one of the greatest families of the mid-13th C., although nothing is known of their existence in the previous century. They intermarried with the TARCHANEIOTES and DOUKAS families and sometimes bore the name of Aprenos Doukas. Andronikos Aprenos Doukas was *protostrator* ca.1266; the *protovestiarites* Aprenos fell in battle against IVAJLO in 1280. Manuel Aprenos Doukas, *oikeios* of the emperor, is mentioned in a charter of 1293; he was apparently a wealthy landowner in the Smyrna region. The family still existed in the early 15th C. when John Aprenos, a high functionary in Thessalonike, signed a charter confirming the privileges of the ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY (1409?).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 102f. *PLP*, nos. 1206–11. –A.K.

APSE ('αψίς, lit. "arch, vault"), a semicylindrical space vaulted with a CONCH, or quarter-sphere (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.32); it may terminate the axis of a longitudinal space, normally at its east end. Its entrance is marked by a large arch, commonly referred to as a "triumphal arch." Apses of episcopal churches housed a SYNTHRONON and a CATHEDRA for the seating of clergy and bishop. The exterior may be semicircular, polygonal, or immured in the east wall of the structure, while the interior face is usually semicircular. Such disparities are no less true of subsidiary apses, when present, in the PASTOPHORIA.

LIT. C. Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine. II. L'abside," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 291–310. Idem, *RBK* 1:246–68. –M.J.

APSEUDES, THEODORE, painter who worked at the Enkleistra of NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS on Cyprus. An inscription in the saint's cell provides the artist's name ('Αψευδής) and the date of the decoration, 1182/3. The saint's *typikon* confirms this date for the fresco of the Deesis in Neophytos's cell that includes the saint's likeness. Mango and Hawkins suggested that the saint's protector, Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos, brought Apseudes to Cyprus, where he painted the Anastasis and other frescoes in Neophytos's tomb-chamber as well as those in the bema of the Enkleistra. Apseudes' attenuated, serpentine figures exhibit the agitated drapery and intense expressions found also at LAGOUDERA. D. Winfield (*Panagia tou Arakous Lagoudera* [Nicosia, n.d.] 16f) suggested that the Theodore named in an inscription there was the same Apseudes.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and its Wall Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966) 183, 193–97, 205f. –A.C.

APULIA ('Απουλία), southeastern part of Italy from the region of Monte Gargano down to Terra d'Otranto, separated from LUCANIA by the Bradano River. Apulia encompassed such cities as BARI, BRINDISI, OTRANTO, TARANTO, Lecce, Trani, and Gallipoli. The area was plundered during the Gothic wars of Justinian I; subsequently the Lombards conquered almost all of Apulia and annexed it to the Lombard duchy of BENEVENTO. In the 8th C. Apulia was contested among the Lombards, Byz., and Arabs; in the 830s and 840s the Arabs occupied Brindisi, Bari, and Taranto and established several other settlements in the region. In the second half of the 9th C. the Carolingian king LOUIS II was unsuccessful in his war against the Arabs, but the Byz. emperor Basil I managed to reconquer Apulia; Byz. maintained a hold—though never total hegemony—on the region until the beginning of the 11th C.

The relative prosperity of urban communes, the large number of smallholders, and the development of wheat and oil production for the market provided the material resources for the Apulians' struggle for independence (11th-C. revolts of Melo and later of his son ARGYROS). The NORMAN invasion, however, complicated the situation. In 1047 the German emperor Henry III recognized the Normans and granted their leader the title of *dux*, prompting an anti-Norman alliance of the papacy and Constantinople. The allies' defeat at Civitate in 1053 and the conflict between the churches of Rome and Constantinople were followed by a restructuring of forces around Apulia. The reconciliation of Pope Nicholas II (1059–61) with Robert Guiscard expedited the Norman conquest of Apulia, accomplished by 1071.

Byz. had little impact on Apulian society. Town administration was in the hands of the Lombard aristocracy, and Lombard personal names outnumber Greek ones even in coastal cities (Wickham, *Italy* 157). Apulia was an important center of ceramic production in the 13th C.; so-called PROTO-MAIOLICA WARE was produced there and exported widely to Greece and the Levant.

Monuments of Apulia. Significant remains in Apulia include the large (5th-C.?) tetraconch church of S. Leucio outside Canosa, related in design to contemporary Byz. churches and to S. Lorenzo in MILAN, and 5th-C. vault mosaics in S. Maria della Croce at Casaranello, originally a cruciform chapel like the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in RAVENNA. In Barletta is a colossal bronze statue of a 4th- or 5th-C. emperor, said to have been cast up from a shipwreck, presumably while being transported (in a Venetian ship?) from Constantinople (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33).

Like these early remains, the most important Byz. buildings are in the coastal cities where the ruling class resided. They include S. Pietro at OTRANTO and the architecturally similar S. Maria di Siponto (11th C.?). The 11th-C. cathedral at

Canosa (S. Sabino) is a T-shaped building with five domes, possibly inspired by S. Marco in VENICE and ultimately by the HOLY APOSTLES Church in Constantinople. In Bari, medieval sources speak of a *palacium* or *curte* of the KATEPANO; the arguments of Schettini (*infra*) that large parts of this building survive in the Norman church of S. Nicola have been generally rejected.

The most distinctive Byz. monuments of Apulia and Basilicata are the rock-cut churches and settlements usually inhabited by Basilian monks. The caves were mostly used in the 10th–13th C. and, as in Cappadocia, the churches were extensively painted. The oldest dated paintings are in the crypt of SS. Cristina e Marina at CARPIGNANO SALENTINO, while the most completely preserved decoration is in the grotto of S. Biagio at San Vito dei Normanni, west of Brindisi; these paintings contain a Greek inscription of 1196.

LIT. *Storia della Puglia*, ed. G. Musca, vol. 1 (Bari 1979). *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980). P. De Leo, *LMA* 1:820–22. M. Cagiano de Azvedo, "Puglia e Adriatico in età tardoantica," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 129–36. F.M. de Robertis, "Prosperità e banditismo nella Puglia e nell'Italia Meridionale durante il Basso Impero," in *Studi di storia pugliese in onore de G. Chiarelli*, vol. 1 (Galatina 1972) 197–231. R. Farioli Campanati in *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982) 213–94. H. Belting, "Byzantine Art among Greeks and Latins in Southern Italy," *DOP* 28 (1974) 1–29. –A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

AQUEDUCT (*ὀχετός, ὑδραγωγός*), essential element of a large city, bringing water for baths, nymphaea, and public use. Aqueducts often reached far into the countryside and consisted largely of underground pipes or open cuttings, designed so that the water dropped gradually at an angle of less than 1 percent from the source. When valleys or swamps had to be crossed, aqueducts were supported on masonry arches, which are the most visible remains but rarely comprised 10 percent of the total length. Rome was supplied by 19 aqueducts; 32 km out of 428 rested on arches. Fourteen still functioned when cut by the Goths in 537. Constantinople originally drew its main water supply from Halkalı, about 15 km northwest of the city, through an aqueduct built by Hadrian but universally known by the name of its restorer Valens. The arches, which carried it a distance of 970 m between the third and fourth hills, still stand and show much Byz. work. In the late 4th C., a network of aqueducts was constructed over 100 km west of Constantinople to satisfy the needs of the growing population. Their exposed location, however, obliged the city to depend also on vast cisterns (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Aqueducts were esp. vulnerable to attack: that of Valens, cut by the Avars in 626, was only rebuilt in 758; it was restored on several occasions through the 12th C. Large provincial towns were also supplied by aqueducts (H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* [Vienna 1986] 123–29). Most were destroyed during the troubles of the 7th C., after which cisterns became the main source of water for their reduced populations.

LIT. K. Dalman, *Der Valens-Aquädukt in Konstantinopel* (Bamberg 1933) 1–49. C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985) 20, 40–42. A. Abramea, "'Hydragogos kai architekton ton hydaton.' Apo anekdote Athenaïke epigraphe," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1093–99. S. Froriep, "Ein Wasserweg in Bithynien," *Antike Welt* 17, 2. Sondernummer (1986) 39–50. –C.F.

AQUILEIA (Ἀκυληία), naval and commercial city; capital of the province of Venetia et Istria in the 4th–5th C. and a center of communications between East and West. It served as a residence of Diocletian, Maximian, and Constantine I; Constantine's sumptuous palace there is described in a panegyric (*Panegyrici latini* 6.6). Aquileia played a major role in the rivalries of 4th-C. emperors (e.g., Theodosios I defeated the usurpers MAXIMUS and EUGENIUS near there). The city had a cosmopolitan population, saw extensive secular and ecclesiastical construction, and was described by Ausonius as the fourth city of Italy (MGH *AuctAnt* 5.2:100.65). A council condemning ARIANISM, presided over by St. Ambrose, was held there in 381; its bishops became increasingly powerful, exercising metropolitan jurisdiction over most of Venetia by 442. The bishops of Aquileia cultivated the tradition that St. Mark had evangelized the area as the basis of their claims to metropolitan jurisdiction in North Italy and to the title of patriarch (ranking with Rome, Alexandria, and other apostolic foundations), which they assumed sometime between the 5th and 7th C. The bishops opposed Justinian's policy in the THREE CHAPTERS affair from ca.553.

As a strategic center close to the frontier of Italy Aquileia was subject to invasion: it was occupied by ALARIC in 401 and 408 and was sacked

by ATTILA in 452. Its subsequent decline may, however, owe more to other factors, such as hydrographic changes and the breakdown of trade links with the areas north of the Alps than to barbarian attacks. After Aquileia was occupied by the Lombard king ALBOIN in 568, its patriarch, Paulinus I, transferred his see to GRADO.

Monuments of Aquileia. In the 3rd–6th C. Aquileia was an influential center of the craft of FLOOR MOSAIC. Most important are the pavements of the double cathedral, dated by inscriptions of Bp. Theodore (308–19). These include donor portraits, incidental motifs (wildlife, busts of seasons) with possible allegorical significance, and a large marine scene with the story of JONAH. In the 9th? and 11th C. the south hall of the cathedral was rebuilt. Its crypt was painted around 1200 by a master or masters with access to the same cartoons used by mosaic workshops in VENICE and TRIESTE.

LIT. S. Tavano, *Aquileia Cristiana* (Udine 1973). Idem, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste 1986). *Aquileia e l'Oriente mediterraneo* (Udine 1977). *Aquileia nel IV secolo* (Udine 1982). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 43–45, 179. G.C. Menis, *I mosaici cristiani di Aquileia* (Udine 1965). D. Gioseffi et al., *Aquileia: Gli affreschi nella cripta della Basilica* (Udine 1976). J. Kugler, "Byzantinisches und Westliches in den Kryptafresken von Aquileia," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 26 (1973) 7–31. –T.S.B., D.K.

AQUINAS, THOMAS, master of theology in the Dominican Order; born Roccasecca, Italy, 1224, died Fossanova, Italy, 1274. Aquinas's form of SCHOLASTICISM, later known as Thomism, used the philosophical methods and principles of Aristotelian metaphysics, which he studied in Latin translation. His major theological works, the *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*, became known in Byz. through the many DOMINICANS residing in the East and esp. through the efforts of the Kydones brothers. Demetrios KYDONES translated the *Summa contra gentiles* in 1354, and both he and his brother Prochoros translated parts of the *Summa theologiae* before 1363. Demetrios also wrote a *Defense of Thomas Aquinas* (unpub.; Podskalsky, *infra* 195–204), which supports his authority as a saint and theologian whose syllogisms and methods could be used with validity in Byz. theological discussions. Prochoros used Thomist arguments in his anti-Palamite treatises, for example, *On Essence and Energy* (PG 151:1192–1241).

The theologian Neilos KABASILAS resisted the influence of Aquinas's works and used the translations of the Kydones brothers in composing his anti-Thomist *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit.* Matthew Angelos Panaretos and Kallistos Angelikoudes also wrote polemical treatises against Aquinas's theology in the late 14th C. In the 15th C. Thomism found a new supporter in Patr. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, who translated and commented upon parts of the *Summa theologiae*.

LIT. H.G. Beck, "Der Kampf um den thomistischen Theologiebegriff in Byzanz," *Divus Thomas* 13 (Freiburg 1935) 3–22. F. Kianka, "Demetrius Cydones and Thomas Aquinas," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 264–86. St. G. Papadopulos, *Hellenikai metaphraseis thomistikon ergon* (Athens 1967). Podskalsky, *Theologie*, esp. 207, 216, 221f, 225. –F.K.

ARAB GEOGRAPHERS. Early Arab geographers were mainly astronomers, administrative officials, or philologists; others were systematic geographer-cartographers, travelers, anthologists, or encyclopedists; many were polymaths. They provide valuable information on Byz.-Arab relations; on the Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR); and occasionally on internal Byz. military, administrative, economic, and cultural affairs. Their most original information concerning the THEMES and other administrative and strategic matters derives from official documents and accounts of returned prisoners and travelers. IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-MASʿŪDĪ preserve parts of the valuable reports of al-JARMĪ, in addition to other primary documents and oral information. Ibn Rusta preserves the account of HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, which is to be supplemented by al-MARWAZĪ. The anthologist ibn al-Fakih (late 9th C.) gives isolated details, besides his list of Byz. themes as preserved by YĀQŪT. Al-MAQDISĪ provides descriptions of Byz. naval warfare, routes through Asia Minor, and Byz. treatment of Muslim prisoners of war.

IBN ḤAWQAL, a native of the frontier and a systematic geographer, updates al-IṢṬAKHRĪ and adds much original information. Both these and the great cartographer al-IDRĪSĪ highlight the position of Constantinople and Anatolian towns on their maps. In the 13th and 14th C. the encyclopedist Yāqūt, the systematic geographer ibn Saʿīd of Granada (13th C.), and the travelers al-HARAWĪ, IBN JUBAYR, and IBN BAṬṬŪṬA are valuable sources for contemporary economic conditions and trade relations of Byz., its northern and

western neighbors, and, in the case of ibn Baṭṭūṭa, the turkification of Asia Minor. Constantinople, also known in Arabic as Būzanṭiyā, "Queen of Cities," Istānbūlin, and the "City of Caesar" (see Shboul, *Al-Mas'udi* 243f), continued to fascinate Arab geographers and visitors. Al-Harawī and ibn Baṭṭūṭa wrote esp. vivid descriptions of the Byz. capital. Other Arab geographers and cosmographers, for example, Abū al-Fidā' and al-Dimashqī (13th–14th C.), also included Constantinople and Byz. in their surveys. Kračkovskij singled out several groups of Arab geographers: travelers of the 9th C.; authors of the general surveys of the 9th C. (ibn Khurdādbeh); the classical systematic school of the 10th C. (al-Iṣṭakhrī, ibn Ḥawqal, al-Maqdisī) whose descriptions were based on detailed maps of the Islamic world; and the encyclopedists of the 13th–14th C. (Yāqūt ibn 'Abdallāh, ibn Baṭṭūṭa, et al.).

ED. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:377–437.

LIT. I.Ju. Kračkovskij, *Izbrannye sočinenija* 4 (Moscow-Leningrad 1957). A. Miquel, *La géographie humaine du monde musulman jusqu'au milieu du 11e siècle*, vol. 2 (Paris 1975) 381–481. S. Maqbul Ahmad, *EI*² 2:575–87. –A.Sh.

ARABIA, the Arabian peninsula, homeland of the Arabs and the Ḥimyarites (see Ḥimyar). Southern Arabia was famous for its riches, in spices, minerals, and fruits, although the rest of the peninsula was desolate and sparsely populated. Cities were founded largely on the caravan trade, developing along the western edge of the desert where Christians and Jews settled. Trade through Arabia involved not only items from the south but also from Axum, India, and China, allowing a rich interplay of ideas and cultures. Early visitors to Arabia from Byz. included the writer Nonnosos, his father Abraham, and grandfather Euphrasios, who went on diplomatic missions to Kinda in the 6th C. Byz. imperial and ecclesiastical influence penetrated western Arabia but failed to convert Mecca, where Muḥammad appeared ca.610. His mission quickly and fundamentally changed the face of Arabia and its relationship with Byz., and Arabia became the base of operations against Byz. In the titanic struggle after Muḥammad died (632), the Arabs wrested Oriens, Egypt, and the rest of North Africa from Byz. After the original conquests, however, Muslim operations against Byz. were conducted not from Arabia but from Umayyad Damascus in Syria, and thus Arabia practically lost its relevance to Byz.

LIT. N. Pigulevskaia, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). I.A. Shahid, "Pre-Islamic Arabia," *CHIsl* 1:3–29. J. Beaucamp, C. Robin, "Le christianisme dans le péninsule arabique d'après l'épigraphie et l'archéologie," *TM* 8 (1981) 45–61. –I.A.Sh.

ARABIA, PROVINCE OF. From 105 onward Arabia was the name of a Roman province created in the northwestern region of the former Nabataean kingdom (east of the Jordan) with its capital at Bostra. In the 4th C. its southern part (Negev) was separated from Arabia and named Palaestina Salutaris (Palaestina III); at the same time some northern regions were attached to the province of Arabia to create a barrier against independent Arab tribes. Arabia accepted the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Antioch, although from the 5th C. onward Jerusalem tried to absorb the region into its sphere of authority, but failed; by 518 only its southern part (the bishopric of Areopolis) had changed its allegiance, but Madaba remained under Bostra. During the ecclesiastical disputes of the 4th–6th C., the province of Arabia served as a place of exile for defeated churchmen, including the partisans of John Chrysostom. After 636 the territory fell to the Arabs, who were newly converted to Islam, but much of the population remained Christian and church construction continued through at least the 7th C. The Armenian Basil of Ialimbana preserved the description by George of Cyprus of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of the province.

LIT. R.E. Brünnow, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia*, 3 vols. (Strasbourg 1905–09). M. Sartre, *Trois études sur l'Arabie romaine et byzantine* (Brussels 1982). R. Aigrain, *DHGE* 3 (1924) 1169–89. S. Vailhé, "La province ecclésiastique d'Arabie," *EO* 2 (1898–99) 166–79. –A.K.

ARABIC LITERATURE. In its diverse genres, Arabic literature provides information on Arab perceptions of Byz. and occasionally on Byz. internal affairs. Pre-Islamic poetry (6th C.), the Qur'ān, and traditions attributed to Muḥammad allude to Byz. as a powerful neighbor.

Chronicles (8th–15th C.) need to be supplemented by other writings, such as anecdotal anthologies, regional histories, and biographical compilations (e.g., ibn al-'Adīm, incorporating early material from the frontier region). Both

Arab historians (such as al-BALĀDHURĪ and al-ṬABARĪ) and ARAB GEOGRAPHERS are important. Works of jurisprudence (8th C. onward) and sermons from the frontier, such as those by ibn Nubāta (died 984), provide insights into Byz.-Arab relations and reflect realistic attitudes (see Shboul [1981] *infra*).

Works of *adab* (belles-lettres, literary anthologies, and encyclopedias)—for example, by Jāḥiẓ (died ca.869), Tanūkhī (died 994), and Qalqashandī (died 1418)—contain valuable details on Byz.-Arab relations, including documents otherwise unknown. Poets, particularly those from the frontier such as ABŪ FIRĀS and al-MUTANABBĪ, illuminate aspects of the conflict and provide rare historical details.

Popular literature (e.g., proverbs and tales from the *Thousand and One Nights*) echo facets of the historical reality. In certain respects, the Arabic frontier cycles in prose (e.g., *Dhat al-Himma*) provide parallels with the Byz. AKRITIC SONGS and DIGENES AKRITAS.

Muslim polemics against Byz.—more political and cultural than strictly religious—include official epistles sent to Constantinople in the name of Arab rulers (e.g., HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD) and criticism of local Christians with allusions to Byz. (e.g., by the polymath Jāḥiẓ).

At least two semiofficial manuals (now lost) were written on Byz. administration and culture by Arab ex-prisoners of war: al-JARMĪ (9th C.), and Ahwāzī (10th C.), quoted by al-BĪRŪNĪ (died 1048).

Unlike works of philosophy and science, few literary Greek works were translated into Arabic (see *Fihrist* [*infra*] 2:718), while few Arabic books (one on dreams) were rendered into Greek. Hellenistic influences on Arabic literature, directly or through Syriac, may be discerned, for example, in historiography, geography, literary criticism, and romance.

Arabic literature mirrors Arab attitudes toward Byz. as influenced by the vicissitudes of strategic, political, and cultural relations between the two worlds, and according to the different preoccupations of Arabic writers. In addition to the standard narrative histories and geographies, valuable perceptions are contained in biographical literature, works of jurisprudence, and other literary genres, including poetry and popular literature.

A distinction should be made between the official level expressed in documents, the learned level expressed by Arab scholars and men of letters, and the popular attitudes reflected in proverbs and tales, although the three levels cannot be mutually exclusive. The image of Byz. in Arabic literature, like the Arab-Byz. encounter and Arab history itself, must not be seen as static. Briefly, pre-Islamic poetry reflects Byz. as a powerful, wealthy, and civilized Christian neighboring empire, feared and admired by the Arabs. The Qur'ān and prophetic traditions are preoccupied with Byz. as a perpetual adversary. Official Arabic documents, however, such as letters addressed to Byz. emperors (e.g., Hārūn to Constantine V or Ikhshīd to Romanos I), accounts of receptions of Byz. envoys, as well as works of Muslim jurists, generally show a pragmatic understanding of the dictates of politics and trade. The Fāṭimids, who at first reflect an unusually intransigent attitude, later resorted to political expediency.

The early image of Byz. as a civilized Christian neighbor, the existence in Islamic society of many individuals, slaves, and freedmen and women of Byz. background, as well as trade and travel between the two sides, modified hostile Muslim attitudes somewhat and provided real knowledge of Byz. culture. But concern about Byz. as the dangerous enemy remained paramount at all levels. In this context, Arabic literature, particularly at the popular level, partakes of the universal tendency to stereotype the adversary. Thus while Byz. slave girls appear lovely and industrious, the Byz. in general were most unattractive in Arab eyes.

LIT. *The Fihrist of al-Nadīm*, tr. B. Dodge, 2 vols. (New York 1970). A.F.L. Beeston et al., *Arabic Literature to the End of the Umayyad Period* (Cambridge 1983). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2. A. Shboul, "Byzantium and the Arabs: The Image of the Byzantines as Mirrored in Arabic Literature," in E. and M. Jeffreys, A. Moffatt, *Byzantine Papers* (Canberra 1981) 43–68. Idem, "Arab Attitudes Toward Byzantium: Official, Learned, Popular," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey* (Camberley, England, 1988) 111–28. S. El-Attar, "Contemplaciones iniciales sobre el tema bizantino en la cultura árabe," *Bizantion/Nea Hellas* 8 (1985) 209–26. Shboul, *Al-Masūdi* 227–83. –A.Sh.

ARABIC PAPYRI, found in the topmost levels of sites and rubbish dumps in Egypt from after 641. Arabic papyri, both documents and literary texts, have been found since 1824; they are scattered among collections and dealers the world over, and no comprehensive list of them exists.

Their texts include the Qur'ān and *ḥadīth*, history and theology, official correspondence, tax records, protocols, poetry, proverbs, grammar, and medical and scientific works. Documents of the Arab administration are very numerous and comprise examples of every type, such as land-leases and sales, tax receipts, requisitions of men and supplies (esp. for the Arab fleet's annual expedition against Constantinople), orders, safe-conduct passes (*sigillia*), and financial records. One can trace the beginnings of the use of Arabic by the Christian population in private letters and even marriage contracts. Christian Arabic literary texts on papyrus include a disputation text (in Heidelberg) and a polemical work (in Vienna). Papyri are of great importance for the history of the Arabic language and palaeography, for chronology, law, and economic history, and for every aspect of the institutions and culture of Egypt after removal from Byz. rule. Arabic papyri have also been found at sites outside Egypt (Damascus, Samarra, Israel).

ED. A. Grohmann, *Arabic Papyri in the Egyptian Library*, 6 vols. (Cairo 1934–56). C.H. Becker, *Papyri Schott-Reinhardt* (Heidelberg 1906). N. Abbott, *The Kurrah Papyri from Aphrodito in the Oriental Institute* (Chicago 1938). N. Abbott, *Studies in Arabic Literary Papyri*, 3 vols. (Chicago 1957–72).
LIT. A. Grohmann, *Arabische Papyruskunde* (Leiden-Cologne 1966). G. Frantz-Murphy, "A Comparison of the Arabic and Earlier Egyptian Contract Formularies," *JNES* 40 (1981) 203–25; 44 (1985) 99–114. –L.S.B.MacC.

ARABISSOS (Ἀραβισσός), modern Afşin, ancient city in Cappadocia, later one of the cities of the Hexapolis in Armenia II, located on the road between Cappadocian Caesarea and Melitene. In late antiquity, Arabissos was a legionary station attested from 381 on as a bishopric (suffragan of Melitene). As it was his birthplace, Arabissos was embellished by Maurice. It suffered from the earthquake of 584/5 and esp. during the wars with the Arabs, when it was the center of a KLEISOURA. In the 11th C. Arabissos was known as an EPISKEPSIS, and in 1108 as a KASTRON. Near Arabissos is a cave where an unnamed martyr was revered; for the Arabs this became a site of the legendary SEVEN SLEEPERS.

In July 629 Herakleios met SHAHRBARĀZ in Arabissos to arrange terms with Persia. Herakleios offered Shahrbarāz and his son the Persian throne. They agreed on the Euphrates as the frontier between the empires and probably negotiated the withdrawal of Persian troops from Syria, Mesopotamia, Palestine, and Egypt. Shahrbarāz promised to support Christianity and participated in the construction of the church named Irene ("Peace"). Patr. Nikephoros claims that Shahrbarāz agreed to become Herakleios's subject. Although Shahrbarāz soon fell to an assassin, the terms of the treaty (*Reg* 1, nos. 200–01) at Arabissos continued to provide the basis for Byz.-Persian relations until the Muslim overthrow of the Sasanian Empire.

LIT. *TIB* 2:144f. Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 110–12. –W.E.K., C.F.

ARABS, called in the Byz. sources *Arabes* and *Sarakenoi* as well as *Ismaelitai* and *Hagarenoi*, meaning the progeny of the biblical Ishmael and Hagar.

Constantine I inherited from Diocletian a stable frontier with Arabia. To ward off invasions from the Peninsula, Byz. developed the system of FOEDERATI, who together with the soldiers of the *limes Diocletianus*, which extended from the Euphrates to the Red Sea, defended Roman Oriens. In the course of the late Roman period, the empire dealt with a succession of these Arab *foederati*: the TANŪKHIDS of the 4th C., the ṢALIḤIDS of the 5th, and the GHASSĀNIDS of the 6th. The last were the most powerful and represented the maturest expression of the federate system. Their kings were integrated into the Roman military and administrative hierarchies: the official title of the federate chief was PHYLARCH with the rank of *clarissimus*, but the supreme one was both *patrikios* and *gloriosissimus*. The system of phylarchs and *foederati* was so successful that the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE is silent on the Arabs. The reign of Maurice witnessed a crisis in imperial-federate relations when the emperor had the Ghassānid ALAMUNDARUS exiled to Sicily. When the Muslim Arabs appeared in the 7th C. it was against a considerably weakened federate shield that they fought and won.

Before his death in 632, Muḥammad had united Arabia. His successors, the three "orthodox" caliphs, conquered the Byz. lands of Oriens and Egypt. The decisive battle was the Arabs' victory at YARMUK in 636. The UMAYYADS continued this career of conquest from DAMASCUS, the new Arab capital: against the Byz. heartland, Anatolia, and

the capital, Constantinople; against the rest of provincial North Africa and Spain; and in the Mediterranean in order to establish a strong naval presence. The thrust against Anatolia and Constantinople consisted of annual campaigns against the former and three sieges of the latter: in 669, the Seven Years War of 674–80 (against Constantine IV), and the final siege of 717/18 (against Leo III). These military endeavors against Constantinople failed. The war in the Mediterranean was more successful. Muʿāwiya built a fleet that soon became the dominant power in the Mediterranean. The Arabs took Constantia in Cyprus in 649 and began to attack the islands of the Aegean. In 654 they sacked Rhodes and demolished the colossal statue of Helios; Kos was occupied and Crete plundered. The Arabs won a decisive naval victory, the battle of the Masts, in 655 off the Lycian coast. Then followed the conquest of Chios and the region of Kyzikos (670) so that the base for an assault on Constantinople was prepared. Even though an attack on Constantinople from 674 to 678 failed, in 688 a condominium of the two powers was established on Cyprus and its territory was proclaimed neutral and demilitarized; the Arabs were entrenched in Crete by ca.824–827/8. The conquest of the Byz. Occident was also successful; Mūsā ibn-Nuṣayr carried Muslim arms to the shores of the Atlantic, while in 711 Ṭāriḳ crossed the straits that have carried his name ever since, Gibraltar (Jabal Ṭāriḳ), and destroyed the kingdom of the Visigoths.

The *translatio imperii* from Umayyad Damascus to ʿAbbāsid Baghdad in 750 opened a new phase in Arab-Byz. relations. Two energetic ʿAbbāsid caliphs carried the war into the Byz. heartland. Hārūn al-Rashīd reached the Bosporos in 782 and took Herakleia in 806, while al-Muʿtaṣim captured Amorion in 838. These operations, however, enhanced the prestige of the caliph as a *ghazi* (holy warrior) of the "infidels" more than they benefited the Islamic state. The line of frontier fortifications (see ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr) separating Anatolia from the realm of Islam became even more important than in Umayyad times, since unlike the Umayyads, the ʿAbbāsids after the early 9th C. had no serious intention of capturing Constantinople or expanding into Anatolia.

With the decline in the power of the ʿAbbāsid caliphs and the central authority, the struggle against the Byz. was continued by petty states in the east and in the west—the Aghlabids, the Ḥamdānids, and the Fāṭimids, their military operations conducted from Ḳayrawān, Aleppo, and Cairo, respectively. During the entire 9th C., the Aghlabids of Ifrīḳiya (Tunisia) dominated the middle Mediterranean and succeeded in conquering Sicily. In the east, the struggle was taken up in the 9th C. by the Ḥamdānids of Aleppo. The initial successes of Sayf al-Dawla were brought to naught, however, by Nikephoros II Phokas. The Fāṭimids of Egypt battled the Byz. in the 10th C., but John I Tzimiskes and Basil II contained their thrusts around Antioch and enlarged Byz. gains in northern Syria. The achievements of these three Macedonian emperors marked the turn of the tide against the Arabs. The destruction of the Church of the Holy Sepulchre by the Fāṭimid al-Hakim (996–1021) was one of the contributory causes of the Crusades, which were fought mainly between Latin Westerners and the Turks, while Byz. and the Arabs were spectators. The Turks, a new virile Muslim people, took up the struggle against Byz. where the Arabs left off in the 11th C.

Economic and Cultural Exchanges between Arabs and Byzantines. Within the ʿAbbāsid caliphate there were Christian monasteries and lay communities, in which Greek literature flourished throughout the 8th C. and probably later. In this milieu, or among Palestinian émigrés in Constantinople, the unrealistic dream that the caliph would convert to Christianity was cherished. Scholarly contacts developed and the caliphs tried to invite Byz. scholars, such as Leo the Mathematician, to Baghdad, Greek MSS were collected and translated, and Photios was probably able to work in Baghdad during his embassy to the city. Similarly, Arab influence penetrated Byz. art and architecture, and Theophilos is said to have built his palace on Arab models (see Islamic Influence on Byzantine Art). ʿAbbāsid attempts to support Byz. insurgents—from Thomas the Slav to Andronikos Doukas—presuppose close contacts with certain circles in Byz.

Arabs visited Constantinople as merchants, and one could meet there a Hagarene merchant in a black cloak and brick-colored sandals (PG 111:681B–C). Some Syrian merchants stayed in Constantinople for ten years. They appeared not only in Trebizond or Artze, but probably even

in faraway Athens, where archaeological evidence attests an Arab colony of the 10th–11th C. (G.C. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). People of double origin (Arab and Greek) were so typical in the eastern provinces that one of them became the hero of the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS. Arab families, such as the Sarakenopouloi, Syropouloi, Bempetziotai, and Aplespharai, penetrated the ranks of the Byz. aristocracy.

Representation in Byzantine Art and Literature. As major rivals of the Byz. until the 11th C., Arabs occupied an important place in Byz. literary texts and images. Two clichés predominated: either differences of race were ignored (esp. in the presentation of Arab saints such as GOURIAS, SAMONAS, AND ABIBAS) or Arab stereotypes were exaggerated, for example, when they were shown as terrifying raiders. Ethnic features were rarely displayed: sometimes the turban distinguishes Arabs, including John of Damascus, sometimes Arab invaders wear the three-piece garment (long tunic, underskirt, and patterned stockings) that appears in some images of the Magi in their ADORATION of Christ. When Arabs do appear in works during and after the 12th C. (Ohrid, Peribleptos; Venice, S. Marco), they are usually portrayed among the nations of the PENTECOST or as people taught by the apostles. The Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, figs. 98, 138, 189, 190, 192) presents a dispassionate record of Arab rulers, costume, and architecture. Another miniature in this MS (fig.58) depicts an Arab horseman displaying his skill in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*. I. Shahid, *Byzantium and the Semitic Orient before the Rise of Islam* (London 1988). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*. M. Canard, *L'expansion arabo-islamique et ses répercussions* (London 1974). V. Christides, "Pre-Islamic Arabs in Byzantine Illuminations," *Muséon* 83 (1970) 167–81. E. Jeffreys, "The Image of the Arabs in Byzantine Literature," 17 *CEB* Major Papers (New Rochelle 1986) 305–23. S. Gero, "Early Contacts between Byzantium and the Arab Empire," in *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām* (Amman 1987).

–I.A.Sh., A.K., A.C.

ARBANTENOS (Ἀρβαντηνός), or Arabantenos, a family known from the second half of the 11th C. The name is probably derived from al-Rāwandān in northern Syria (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 140, n.7). Arbantenoi are first mentioned in non-Greek sources: Matthew of Edessa relates that Aruantan, the *doux* of Edessa, was captured by Turks in 1066/7 (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no. 94); Ordericus Vitalis mentions Ravendinos, Alexios I's *protospatharios*, to whom the inhabitants of Laodikeia surrendered ca.1099, as well as (another?) Ravendinos, "a powerful Greek," a Byz. envoy to Antioch in 1118/19 and later to Jerusalem. The *sebastos* John Arbantenos was extolled by Nicholas KALLIKLES; he married Anna of the Komnenoi, and the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople calls him the husband of John II's niece. Thirty years later, in 1165, another *sebastos* John Arbantenos, Manuel I's *gambros* (son-in-law?), was active. Several Arbantenoi are known only by their seals: one of them, Nicholas, was *protonotarios* of Chaldia, probably in the 11th C. (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 290); other seals, dated to the 11th and 12th C., have no information about the Arbantenoi's offices, but some bear effigies of military saints that presumably indicate their military functions. In the 14th C. a few Arabantenoi are attested (*PLP*, nos. 1215–17) but they are known only as land and house owners.

LIT. P. Gautier, "L'obituaire du typicon du Pantocrator," *REB* 27 (1969) 260–62. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 73–75. –A.K.

ARBOGAST (Ἀρβογάστης), Western *magister militum* and power behind the revolt of EUGENIUS; died 394. Arbogast was a Frank and subordinate of the *magister militum* Bauto under Gratian and Theodosios I. Upon Bauto's death ca.388, Arbogast used his popularity with the troops to seize the office of *magister militum*. In 388, after Arbogast accomplished the final defeat of the usurper MAXIMUS, Theodosios left him to manage the affairs of the young VALENTINIAN II, who became a virtual prisoner. When Valentinian attempted to dismiss Arbogast, the general tore up the order, implying that he took commands directly from Theodosios. In 392 Valentinian was found dead and some historical sources implicate Arbogast. Arbogast sought to rule the West in his own name, but ultimately elevated Eugenius, although continuing to seek reconciliation with Constantinople. Arbogast was a moderate pagan who supported the revival of paganism under Eugenius. He tried to ambush the forces of Theodosios at the battle of the Frigidus in 394, but was defeated and took his own life.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:207–17. *PLRE* 1:95–97. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 7–13. B. Croke, "Arbogast and the Death of Valentinian II," *Historia* 25 (1976) 235–44. –T.E.G.

ARCH (ἀψίς, καμάρα), a structural element composed of wedge-shaped blocks of stone or bricks (VOUSSOIRS) spanning an opening, usually semicircular in form. Arches enlarge interior space by transferring the heavy loads of superstructures to isolated points of support (PIERS, COLUMNS), which can be more widely separated than those of trabeated construction. Arches can penetrate walls without diminishing their strength, carry BRIDGES over rivers, AQUEDUCTS over valleys, terraces over cisterns, domes over naoi, or clerestory walls over open colonnades. The widest spans achieved by Byz. builders are those of the great arches in Hagia Sophia—about 31 m (about 108 Byz. feet). Immured, they may articulate walls with blind arcades or spare large wall areas for groups of windows. Blind arcades, used to enliven exterior façades, sometimes employ pointed and ogee arches in addition to round-headed ones, as at the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople. Trilobe arches are also found in architecture of the 13th and 14th C., usually as window openings.
–W.L., N.E.L.

ARCH, MONUMENTAL, a structure consisting of a large single arch resting on piers or a large arch flanked by smaller arches, erected for commemorative purposes. Provided with a columnar façade (freestanding or half-columns supporting an architrave), the arch itself carried an attic on which were displayed honorific inscriptions and sometimes statuary. The only known freestanding Byz. monumental arch is that of Theodosios I erected in the Forum Tauri, Constantinople, ca.390?; though not fully excavated, it has been reconstructed as a triple arch approximately 43 m broad and 23 m wide (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, figs. 294–98). A variant, the tetrapylon, consists of four arches arranged around a square and supporting a groin vault or dome, as at the ARCH OF GALERIUS in Thessalonike. Such arches were often placed at the intersections of major streets. Monumental arches were also adapted for other purposes, such as city GATES. The Milion (see MESE) in Constantinople, built in the form of a domed tetrapylon, was the marker from which distances on the roads leading to the capital were measured. The tetrapylon was also adapted for use in Christian cult buildings, for example, the Tetrapylon of the Forty Martyrs in Constantinople, which stood until ca.1400 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 231). A tetrapylon could also be structurally integrated into a church, as at Aphrodisias (R. Cormack in *Classical Tradition* 114).

LIT. H. Kähler, *RE* 2.R. 7A (1939) 373–493.
–M.J., W.L.

ARCHAEOLOGY. Byz. archaeology is a relatively young field of scholarship. Aspects of the discipline have been separately studied as Christian and underwater archaeology. In addition, the method known as archaeological survey is a notable tradition in Byz. studies. Following an overview of the field, each of these separate disciplines will be discussed in turn.

An Overview. Byz. archaeology does not really exist as a discipline of its own, and—although there are significant exceptions (such as the excavations of the GREAT PALACE and several important churches in Constantinople [e.g., St. POLYEUKTOS, KALENDERHANE CAMII] and such late antique centers as NEA ANCHIALOS)—most Byz. sites are explored in connection with the investigation of classical monuments. Because most of these are on the Mediterranean littoral many important Byz. sites in the interior are hardly known; in addition, the Byz. components of many were either summarily treated or completely ignored, with the exception of some standing buildings (primarily churches and city walls). Churches and their decoration (mosaics, frescoes, icons, church furniture, liturgical vessels, etc.) formed the subject of "Christian archaeology" (see below) that in fact coincided with the study of Christian art. Only recently have ordinary Byz. objects (HOUSES, CERAMICS and other UTENSILS, TOOLS, and WEAPONS) found during excavation of ancient sites begun to be described, collected, and studied. Primary attention has been paid to cities (chiefly late Roman cities) such as Carthage, Apameia, Caesarea Maritima, Korykos, Aphrodisias, Pergamon, Sardis, Ephesus, Corinth, Athens, Cherson, and cities on the lower Danube; in some of them "post-Roman" strata of the 7th C. and later have been excavated. The countryside has so far received only limited investigation (mostly in northern Syria, Bulgaria, and the Crimea). Necropolises have been excavated in many places, with esp. fruitful results

in the region of barbarian invasions (Pannonia, Bulgaria).

Archaeology is essential for the study of material objects about which there is little information in written sources or visual representations (household utensils, tools, simple ornaments of bone or metal); it can also provide data on regions that were normally ignored by medieval writers (e.g., the provinces and esp. the frontier zone). The history of urban life and of the Germanic and Avaro-Slavic penetration into the empire has been rewritten in the last decades on the basis of archaeological discoveries. Archaeology, however, faces various problems: while some materials (e.g., ceramics, glass) are preserved in excellent condition, others (wood, leather, cloth) disappear entirely or are severely damaged (iron), thus distorting the picture of material culture—in only a few regions (desert or swampy areas) have organic materials been preserved. The excavated artifacts must be identified, dated, and located in a historical milieu (ethnic, religious, social, etc.).

Unlike documents and literary texts, archaeological finds are studied not so much as individual objects, but as part of a series (e.g., ceramic bowls or glass flasks) and of an archaeological complex; their location (position in the excavated room and in an archaeological layer or stratum) is no less significant than their identification as belonging to a certain series (type or subtype). The chronology of an artifact (save for rare specifically dated objects) has to be established either on the basis of typology (position in a dated series) or stratigraphy (position in a dated stratum). For establishing a chronology of archaeological finds, coins have primary importance; since they can be dated, at least within a certain reign but sometimes even to a narrower period, they often supply the scholar with a *terminus post quem* for the whole stratum. After a number of dated finds, some objects (esp. ceramics) can themselves be dated with relative precision and become the yardstick for further ("typological") dating.

Establishing the ethnic, religious, and social background of the objects (or, rather, of their long-dead owners) is very difficult unless we have direct indications; ornamented objects (earrings, necklaces, bronze BELT FITTINGS, FIBULAE) can be helpful, although sometimes problematic—conclusions of this sort are mostly hypothetical. Changes in quality and fashion reflected in objects allow one to study economic, social, and cultural development; archaeology provides us with great numbers of objects and therefore permits tentative analysis of quantitative changes (increase of production, transition from one type of object to another, etc.). Discoveries of Byz. artifacts in remote regions (the Urals, China, Scandinavia) provide evidence for the study of trade routes and cultural influences. Archaeology reveals many aspects of the past on which written sources remain reticent; on the other hand, by dealing with "real" material objects archaeology easily creates an illusion of veracity that it, as a matter of fact, does not have: archaeological observations and conclusions are often extremely hypothetical and should be compared with the independent data of written texts.

LIT. J. Russell, "Transformations in Early Byzantine Urban Life: The Contribution and Limitations of Archaeological Evidence," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 137–54. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86. Hendy, *Economy*. G. Astill, "Archaeology, Economics and Early Medieval Europe," *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 4 (1985) 215–31. J.H. Rosser, "A Research Strategy for Byzantine Archaeology," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 152–66. C. Delvoye, "Les progrès de l'archéologie et de l'histoire de l'art de l'Empire byzantin depuis le Congrès d'Oxford," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 251–62. –T.E.G., A.K.

CHRISTIAN ARCHAEOLOGY. Archaeology as a discipline emerged first to study the remains of classical and biblical antiquity, and it was only later extended to the remains of the postclassical period, including that of Byz. Originally research into this era was restricted almost exclusively to churches and objects of liturgical use, hence it was defined as Christian archaeology; its purpose commonly was to discover objects that shed light on the practices and beliefs of the early church, and a devotional goal frequently prompted (and distorted) investigation. Byz. archaeology originated as a branch of Christian archaeology and this heritage influenced its development—for example, the relatively late emergence of interest in the nonreligious aspects of Byz. society. Christian archaeology as defined today does not restrict itself to religious topics, and meetings such as the International Congress of Christian Archaeology and periodicals like *Cahiers archéologiques* allow for presentation of research from all areas of the Mediterranean in the early Middle Ages.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983). G. Bovini, *Gli studi di archeologia cristiana dalle origini alla metà del secolo XIX* (Bologna 1968). –T.E.G.

UNDERWATER ARCHAEOLOGY. Over the past 30 years technological innovation and the development of effective means of underwater excavation have made possible the archaeological exploration of the sea bed. This investigation has focused on two kinds of sites: near-shore sites that were once upon land but have sunk beneath the sea, usually because of earthquake, and shipwrecks. An important example of the former is KENCHREAI, the eastern port of Corinth, whose harbor facilities sank in an earthquake in the late 4th C. Excavated Byz. shipwrecks include the 4th- and 7th-C. Yassi Ada wrecks (G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *AJA* 75 [1971] 27–37. Eidem, *Yassi Ada* 1 [College Station, Texas, 1982]), the 11th-C. Serçe Liman wreck (carrying a large load of glass: G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 7 [1978] 119–32), and the 12th-C. Pelagonnesos wreck (with a cargo of at least 1,490 ceramic vessels: Ch. Kritzas, P. Throckmorton, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176–85). A wreck found in 1960 off Marzamemi in southeastern Sicily contained unused church furnishings—ambo, plaques, parapet slabs, monolithic columns, 28 column bases, etc. G. Kapitän (*Archaeology* 22 [1969] 122–33) identified these as Prokonnesian marbles and suggested a date in the reign of Justinian I. Shipwrecks are particularly rich sources of archaeological material since they have not been disturbed by later human activity and their destruction took place at a single time that can often be fixed quite precisely; some materials also are better preserved in water than they are in the soil. Wrecks thus offer fixed points for the dating of archaeological objects and provide important information about trade and the economy. –T.E.G., A.C.

ARCHAEOLOGICAL SURVEY. A means of gathering information about an area through the utilization of a broad-based archaeological research program, normally without excavation, archaeological survey relies on an investigation of what appears above the surface. Survey allows the study of an area much larger than can be covered by excavation, normally at a fraction of the cost, but it relies on previous stratigraphic excavation for the identification and dating of surface finds. Survey normally involves systematic investigation by teams of people walking across the landscape; aerial reconnaissance, geophysical methods, and architectural study also play important roles.

Byz. studies have a long tradition of observation and recording of archaeological sites and monuments; W. Ramsay, J. Strzygowski, D. Talbot Rice, and others were the pioneers of this archaeological method, and contemporary scholars have continued this tradition. In the past 30 years the theory and method of archaeological survey have developed rapidly and have been used with considerable success in the eastern Mediterranean. Survey can provide information about settlement patterns, economy, land use, and other aspects of life not available from written or traditional archaeological sources. Nevertheless, despite its particular applicability to Byz., where frequently rich documentary materials can provide a check on the archaeological evidence, and despite some notable exceptions (R.M. Harrison, *AnatSt* 31 [1981] 198–200, A.W. Dunn, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 605–14), the results of archaeological survey have rarely been used by Byzantinists. Instead, Byz. material from large survey projects is frequently analyzed by non-Byzantinists who do not always understand the special problems or questions of the period.

Nevertheless, survey projects, mostly in the Aegean area, have led to a certain degree of consensus about the development of the Byz. settlement pattern: remarkable prosperity and widespread settlement in late antiquity (when the number of sites is commonly only slightly less than the peak in the classical period) followed by complete collapse in the late 6th to 10th C., when survey generally fails to recognize any settlement whatever, followed by a slow recovery and another peak in the 12th–13th C., followed again by decline. This broad outline may well be correct, but it is affected by our lack of knowledge about the chronology of many Byz. ceramics and other items.

LIT. T.H. van Andel, C. Runnels, *Beyond the Acropolis* (Stanford 1987). –T.E.G.

ARCHAISM, or classicism, was a current in high-style Byz. literature inherited from the SECOND SOPHISTIC, where it originated. It encompassed both language and style (RHETORICAL FIGURES, etc.) and the contents (conscious presentation of contemporary events in the guise of ancient TERMINOLOGY, characters, situations, etc.). Obsolete METERS such as hexameter or anacreontic tetrameter were used. The late antique and early Byz. professors established a canonical list of ancient au-

thors who provided models: Homer was still the Poet, Aristotle the Philosopher, Demosthenes the Orator, Galen the supreme authority on medicine. Archaism was not limited to the literary sphere: the Byz. considered themselves as Romans (RHOMAIOI), their capital as "New Rome" or "New Jerusalem," their Bulgarian or generally Slavic neighbors as Scythians, Roman law as still effective, etc. All values were created in the past: "There is nothing of mine," John of Damascus said of his work. The Byz. had only to follow their predecessors; accordingly, the idea of novelty or INNOVATION bordered on heresy and revolt (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f). Some writers, however, became weary of archaism and lamented, like Theodore Metochites, that their ancestors had accomplished everything, leaving no opportunity for their own creativity (H.G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites* [Munich 1952] 50–75).

Archaism was neither a cultural game, nor a simple IMITATION (*mimesis*). Unlike Italian humanists of the 15th C., the Byz. rarely felt a distance between past and present. Archaism created an illusion of stability and continuity in the shaky and unstable world of the Byz. elite.

LIT. Dölger, *Paraspora* 38–45. Gy. Moravcsik, "Klassizismus in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung," in *Polychronion* 366–77. H. Hunger, "The Classical Tradition in Byzantine Literature: The Importance of Rhetoric," in *Classical Tradition* 35–47. A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 464–78. A. Dain, "A propos de l'étude des poètes anciens à Byzance," in *Studi in onore di Ugo Enrico Paoli* (Florence 1956) 195–201. –A.K.

ARCHANGEL (ἀρχάγγελος, "chief angel"). Although MICHAEL and GABRIEL appear in both the Old and New Testaments, the word archangel is not used in the Septuagint and occurs only twice in the New Testament. Nonetheless archangels came to hold an important place in Jewish legend and apocrypha and were revered in Christian tradition. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite ranked the archangels in the third and lowest triad of his celestial hierarchy, between the "principalities" and ANGELS. Only three archangels were recognized by the Christian church—MICHAEL, GABRIEL, and Raphael, whereas other Jewish archangels (Uriel, Azael, etc.) were rejected by the pope Zacharias in 745. Of these three, Michael was held in the highest regard, whereas Gabriel and Raphael (who appears in the books of Tobit and Enoch) did not receive widespread veneration in Byz. A church was dedicated to Raphael in Alexandria, but the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* does not list a feastday for him. Other archangels appear in some apocrypha (e.g., *Testament of Solomon*) and in art.

Archangels were distinguished from regular angels as early as ca.500 (C. Mango, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 40f) by their court or imperial costume (*chlamys* or *loros*, red shoes) and attributes (such as the orb or SPHAIRA). Michael and Gabriel stand dressed this way as an honor guard alongside Christ and the Virgin; they also head the heavenly host in images of the Synaxis ton Asomaton (see ASOMATOS). Their various appearances in the Old and New Testaments were collected into cycles of illustrations; in these narrative contexts the archangels are clad in the traditional angelic garb of tunic, *himation*, and sandals. Sometimes a large number of archangels, including Raphael and Uriel, is shown surrounding the figure of Christ Pantokrator in the dome, for example, at Palermo (Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pls. 13, 46), but images of archangels other than Michael and Gabriel are rare.

Michael was the *archangelos* par excellence; a church of "the *archangelos*" was assumed to be dedicated to Michael, one of "the *archangeloi*" to Michael and Gabriel. The image of Michael is common on seals, while that of Gabriel is unknown.

LIT. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:674–81. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:43f. D.K. Wright, "Justinian and an Archangel," in *Studien Deichmann* 3:75–79. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ARCHBISHOP (ἀρχιεπίσκοπος, lit. "chief bishop"), a title initially used to designate certain METROPOLITANS. It was applied to the bishops of the most important sees in the empire: Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. Hence its application by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:141.11) to designate Peter of Alexandria (300–311). With the rise of Constantinople and Jerusalem to patriarchal status in the 5th C., the epithet was used for the five chief bishops of the empire. The conciliar documents of this period repeatedly employ the term in this sense. Since the title was associated with ecclesiastical independence or autonomy, it was understandably also applied to AUTOCEPHALOUS ecclesiastics, such as the primate of CYPRUS (beginning in 431) and to the most important bishops (Ephesus, Thessalonike, Caesarea in Cappadocia, Athens, etc.). This distinction was not always maintained, however.

Archbishops not directly dependent on any metropolitan but on a patriarch (the so-called "autocephalous archbishops" without suffragans) were very numerous; they ranked below the metropolitans and were elected by the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS and the patriarch.

LIT. E. Konidares, *Hai metropoleis kai archiepiskopai tou oikoumenikou patriarcheiou kai he taxis auton* (Athens 1934). Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho titlos archiepiskopou," *Theologia* 13 (1935) 289–95. E. Chrysos, "Zur Entstehung der Institution der autokephalen Erzbistümer," *BZ* 62 (1969) 263–86. –A.P.

ARCHERY (τοξεία). Encounters with the Avars and Hun horse-archers forced the Byz. to emulate or recruit their skills. A 6th-C. treatise on archery (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 128–35) names accuracy, force, and rapidity of shot as the essential skills to be mastered either from a standstill or while in motion. Two draws were known: the Mediterranean release, with two or three fingers pulling back the bowstring and the arrow to the left of the bowstave; and the Mongolian release, using the thumb (sometimes thumb and forefinger) to pull the string with the arrow to the right of the bowstave (S. James, *BAR* Int.Ser. 336 [1987] 77–83). Mounted archers were trained to shoot in both directions to break up a fleeing enemy or to defend themselves when in retreat. Prokopios (*Wars* 1.14–16) attests the versatility and hitting power of contemporary archers, citing instances where Byz. archery proved superior against the Persians (1.18.31–35) and Ostrogoths (5.27.26–29; 8.32.6–10).

Scattered details on archery come from the 10th C. Leo VI criticized the decline of archery (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 6.5) and called for constant practice with the bow (11.49) as a useful weapon against the Arabs (18.131, 134–35), a point later emphasized in the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (4.27–34; 17.13–16). Expeditionary forces sought out good archers (*De cer.* 658.1–2) and took along thousands of arrows (*De cer.* 657.12–13, 17–19). The shafts were sometimes furrowed to shatter on impact, thus preventing reuse by the enemy. Although Byz. archery was effective against the Arabs in the 10th C., it was no match for the 11th-C. Turkish mounted archers, whose superior skills the Byz. acknowledged by actively recruiting them in the 11th–12th C. (See also WEAPONRY.)

LIT. O. Schissel von Fleschenberg, "Spätantike Anleitung zum Bogenschiessen," *WS* 59 (1941) 110–24; 60 (1942) 41–70. Bivar, "Cavalry" 281–87. W.E. Kaegi, "The Contribution of Archery to the Turkish Conquest of Anatolia," *Speculum* 39 (1964) 96–108. –E.M.

ARCHIMANDRITE (ἀρχιμανδρίτης, fem. ἀρχιμανδρίτισσα, lit. "chief of a sheepfold"), monastic term with two principal meanings.

1. First appearing in 4th-C. Syria, in the early period of monasticism (4th–6th C.) the term is a common equivalent of HEGOUMENOS, the superior of a monastery. G. Dagron (*TM* 4 [1970] 268f) argues that the term *archimandrite* was used primarily in Constantinople, esp. for the *hegoumenos* of the monastery of DALMATOU. Under Justinian I, the term *hegoumenos* began to supplant *archimandrite*, although *archimandrite* remained in use until the 10th C. as the designation for *hegoumenoi* of a few major monasteries.

2. From the 6th C. onward, according to Pargoire, *archimandrite* began to be used for the chief of a region or urban federation of monasteries, akin to EXARCH or PROTOS. In this sense *archimandrite* is applied to the *protos* of holy mountains like Athos, Latros, and Olympos, or to the head of a group of monasteries in one city, as in Athens.

LIT. P. de Meester, "L'archimandritat dans les églises de rite byzantin," in *Miscellanea liturgica in honorem L. Cuniberti Mohlberg*, vol. 2 (Rome 1949) 115–37. J. Pargoire, *DACL* 1.2:2739–61. –A.M.T.

ARCHIMEDES, ancient Greek mathematician and engineer; born Syracuse ca.287 B.C., died Syracuse 212 B.C. Archimedes profoundly influenced medieval Arabic and Latin science and late medieval and Renaissance MATHEMATICS but had little impact on Byz. after the 6th C. Archimedes is cited directly in the 4th C. by PAPPOS and THEON. In the early 6th C. three of his works were commented on by EUTOKIOS and were probably studied by ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETUS. In the 9th C. Leo the Mathematician evidently possessed a MS of Archimedes' treatises, which perhaps represents the unique transliteration of the main corpus of Archimedes' works from uncial into minuscule (Lemerle, *Humanism* 196). Other MSS also survived, however, as is evident from the Arabic versions and from the 10th-C. Constantinopolitan copy of the *On Float-*

ing Bodies and the *Method of Mechanical Theorems* (J.L. Heiberg, *Hermes* 42 [1907] 235–303). Archimedes is mentioned by Psellos in the 11th C. (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:26.24, 369.1) and is cited frequently by TZETZES in the 12th C., for example, in his poem 35 "On Archimedes and some of his Devices" (*Historiae*, 47.106–49.159). Two MSS of the main corpus of Archimedes' works were available to WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE when he made his Latin translation at Viterbo in 1269.

LIT. M. Clagett, *Archimedes in the Middle Ages*, 5 vols. (Madison, Wisc.–Philadelphia 1964–84). Wilson, *Scholars* 45f, 83, 139, 161. –D.P.

ARCHITECT. In the late Roman Empire architects were usually men of high social status and education. Some were trained in geometry, arithmetic, astronomy, physics, building construction, hydraulics, carpentry, metalwork, and painting. They drew plans, elevations, and possibly perspective renderings. Downey (*infra*) distinguishes between the *mechanikos*, the fully trained architect, and the *architekton*, a "master builder." Both terms seem to have disappeared after the 6th C., though the epithet *architekton* continued to be applied to God as creator (e.g., Patr. Germanos I—PG 98:316D-317A); they were replaced by *oikodomos*, builder (a term also found in Roman inscriptions), and, later, *protomaistor*, chief of a team or guild (see MAISTOR).

Architects known by name include:

EUPHRATAS, a legendary figure
ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES
ISIDORE OF MILETUS
ISIDORE THE YOUNGER
Eustathios, a priest from Constantinople, and Zenobios, who together designed the *martyrion*-basilica at the Holy SEPULCHRE, Jerusalem
Rufinus of Antioch, who built the cathedral at GAZA, using a plan sent from Constantinople
Asaph and Addai, architects of the rebuilt cathedral at Edessa (K. McVey, *DOP* 37 [1983] 98)
Stephen of Aila, responsible for the basilica at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai
Patrikes, a *patrikios* who built the palace at BRYAS
Petronas KAMATEROS, a *spatharokandidatos*, architect of the fortress at SARKEL
Demitras, Eustathios, and Nikon, mentioned as *oikodomoi* (*Lavra* 1, nos. 1.33, 6.17, App.1.13)
Trdat, an Armenian who restored the western portion of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after 989
Ioannikios, *oikodomos* at TMUTORAKAN, died 1078 (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74–84)
Nikephoros, who erected the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople
Rouchas, a monk sent by Michael VIII to Constantinople to restore Hagia Sophia
John Peralta, a Catalan from Sicily, and the *megas stratopedarches* Astras (*PLP*, no.1598), who repaired the dome of Hagia Sophia after 1346
George Marmaras, a *protomaistor* named in documents of 1326 and 1327 (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 307)
Demetrios Theophilos, another *protomaistor* (*Docheiar.*, no.50.22, a.1389).

LIT. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 99–118. H.A. Meek, "The Architect and his Profession in Byzantium," *Journal of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 59 (1951–52) 216–20. A. Petronotis, "Der Architekt in Byzanz," in *Bauplanung und Bautheorie der Antike* (Berlin 1984) 329–43. –M.J., W.L., A.K.

ARCHITECTURE. Byz. architecture constitutes a building tradition generally associated with the history of the late Roman and Byz. empires and, to an extent, with its wider sphere of influence over a period spanning from ca.300–ca.1450. Byz. architecture defies a comprehensive conventional definition on either cultural, geographical, chronological, or stylistic bases. Between the 4th C. and the 15th C. several more-or-less coherent architectural developments and interludes took place that can be roughly grouped into seven chronological periods.

First Period (4th to 5th C.). Architecture during this period represents the perpetuation of tradition within the cultural framework of the Greco-Roman world and the political framework of the Roman Empire. This perpetuation of established architectural practice accounts for the degree of continuity in the regional traditions of planning, structural solutions, building technique, and decoration. Two factors play a decisive role in the architectural development of the period: urban survival and active christianization. Urban centers witnessed a slow but steady shift from pagan to Christian patronage of public buildings. Christian churches—predominantly BASILICAS—derived generically from pagan prototypes, and

their construction was entrusted to established workshops that had previously been employed on imperial pagan projects. Large-scale building under imperial auspices was one of the major industries in the Roman world, and the movement of manpower and technical personnel (architects, surveyors, etc.) from one completed building project to another was standard practice. This, in fact, constituted the essence of what we refer to as "workshop practice."

Building types such as the MARTYRION, BAPTISTERY, and MAUSOLEUM were also constructed in large numbers. *Martyria* display a considerable variety of plan types, reflecting the particular requirements of preexisting customs and functions accommodated on their sites. Mausoleums, large and small, which initially were freestanding and independent, increasingly become attached to church buildings as christianization proceeded.

Second Period (6th C.). This was the period of greatest architectural productivity in Byz. history. Often identified with the policy of reconquest of Emp. Justinian I, the vast building program was, in fact, begun by his predecessors Anastasios I and Justin I and continued by his successor, Justin II. The success of this grand enterprise was facilitated by the survival of the imperial order within the framework of the fully christianized, urban society. In a comprehensive record of the building accomplishments of Justin I and Justinian I, PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA provides us with a catalog of buildings and relates many details about the realization of the imperial program. This meticulous account, which includes descriptions of whole new towns, forts, churches, palaces, public buildings, markets, cisterns, aqueducts, and so on, is substantially confirmed by preserved buildings and archaeological finds.

Notwithstanding the survival of regional building practices, the period was characterized by the much more pronounced impact of the capital. Certain building types (basilican churches, mausoleums, cisterns) continued to be constructed according to the established norms of a given region. At the same time, architecture was now also "exported" from Constantinople, the center of imperial administration. Whether in the form of new CHURCH PLAN TYPES such as the domed basilica, new structural solutions involving the use of VAULTING, standardized building techniques, or the nature of architectural decoration, there is a strong indication of direct connections of the center with regional affairs. The MARBLE TRADE and the shipping of building components (COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and church furniture), illustrate the degree and the character of the impact of Constantinople. This phenomenon is to be understood in the light of extensive construction in frontier regions, often in newly conquered territories, with the aim of consolidating recently established borders.

Third Period (7th to mid-9th C.). In striking contrast to the preceding building boom this period is characterized by a virtual absence of construction. Beleaguered by foreign wars and internal crises, the empire experienced profound changes. The decline of cities was manifested in the physical decay of their fabric. The very meaning of "construction" during this period was practically reduced to preservation, repair, and patchwork. New building other than fortifications was rare, and large-scale construction exceptional. The few surviving examples in the latter category reveal conservative traits and expedient dependence on SPOLIA.

Fourth Period (mid-9th through 11th C.). By the middle of the 9th C. relative political, religious, and cultural stability within the territorially shrunken Byz. Empire had been restored. Under the auspices of the Macedonian dynasty, building began anew, though under very different circumstances. Given new cultural parameters and an altered social structure, an architecture emerged that showed marked signs of departure from the old tradition. PALACES and palace halls of this period reveal a fresh source of influence—Islamic art and architecture (see ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART). Aspects of Islamic impact can also be seen in the decorative vocabulary of Byz. architecture, now significantly expanded beyond its traditional, classicizing framework.

Church architecture also reveals other sources of external influence, for example, Armenia. Church types proliferated while undergoing considerable reductions in scale. The latter phenomenon has been viewed as the function of shrunken economic means and the reduced demand for space of a smaller population. Still, some fairly large churches, notably piered basilicas, continued to be built during this period. The frequent appearance of smaller, centralized, and domed churches, on the other hand, involved changes in

the shape of the LITURGY and altered symbolic perceptions of the church building. Seen as a miniature version of the COSMOS, the church functioned symbolically regardless of its size. Demands for space in churches during this period were generally solved not by increasing the volume of the NAOS but by adding lateral spaces and PAREKKLESIA. When built simultaneously with the church itself, these *parekklesia*, unlike the earlier mausoleums, were often carefully integrated aspects of a building's overall form. Thus, for example, the multiplication of domes on churches of this period was the direct by-product of multiple chapels planned integrally with the main church.

Fifth Period (12th C.). Notwithstanding the military setbacks and the resulting geopolitical changes that affected the empire during the last third of the 11th C., architectural activity in the Komnenian period displayed remarkable vitality, with Constantinople playing the role of central clearinghouse for ARCHITECTS, ARTISANS, ideas, and materials. Formal characteristics, decorative features, and even structural techniques are shared by a very large number of buildings, many of which were built in the provinces and even beyond the frontiers of the empire. This phenomenon, which parallels a similar trend in Byz. painting, reflects an increasing mobility in the Mediterranean basin. Both can be related to a general increase in East-West cultural interaction.

Sixth Period (13th C.). The period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) saw the disappearance of the capital's hitherto preeminent architectural influence. Instead, architecture flourished in several new centers of the splintered empire (NICAEA, TREBIZOND, ARTA), each displaying distinctive local architectural characteristics. The stylistic coherence of the Komnenian epoch gave way to a new diversity. Thus, the political decentralization of the empire left its lasting imprint on the development of Byz. architecture.

Seventh Period (14th to 15th C.). Following the Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261, the city once more became the premier center of architectural activity. In addition to the remodeling and expansion of existing buildings, a fair number of new churches, monastic buildings, and palaces were constructed, particularly during the last decade of the 13th C. and during the first two decades of the 14th C. Church architecture during this period perpetuated the tradition of small-scale construction. The major stylistic change came in the treatment of walls, which lost their tectonic qualities in favor of flat surfaces covered by decorative patterns. The same disregard for spatial-structural articulation also permeated interiors. Here flat wall surfaces carried several tiers of continuous horizontal bands of MONUMENTAL PAINTING broken up into numerous small individual scenes.

The civil wars of the 1320s and 1340s brought architectural activity in the capital to a virtual end. Constantinopolitan architectural style was transplanted elsewhere (e.g., MESEMBRIA, SKOPJE and vicinity, Bursa), presumably by migrant workshops, which found themselves employed by Bulgarian, Serbian, and Ottoman patrons. A few centers, such as THESSALONIKE and MISTRA, kept the local architectural traditions alive beyond the early demise of Byz. architectural production in Constantinople. (See also CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF.)

LIT. R. Krautheimer, *Early Christian and Byzantine Architecture*[4] (Harmondsworth 1986). C. Mango, *Byzantine Architecture*[2] (London 1986). A.L. Jakobson, *Zakonomernosti v razvitii srednevekovoj architektury XI–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1987). H. Buchwald, "Der Stilbegriff in der byzantinischen Architektur," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 303–16. –S.Ć.

ARCHITRAVE. See EPISTYLE.

ARCH OF CONSTANTINE, the last major monument of ancient Rome, located between the Roman Forum and the Colosseum. It was probably begun in 312, directly after the victory of Constantine I at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, and completed by 315. It was dedicated to Constantine I and presumably paid for by the senate. A triple arch (see ARCH, MONUMENTAL) faced in marble, it has engaged columns resting on bases that depict captives; in the spandrels are figures of Victory, while other personifications include the SEASONS and river gods. Friezes of Constantine's ADLOCUTIO and distribution of LARGESS appear on the north side, his siege of Verona and the battle at the Milvian Bridge on the south. SPOLIA above these friezes and elsewhere on the monument are reliefs of the deeds of Trajan, Hadrian, and Marcus Aurelius with their heads recut. Inscriptions on either side of the central passage proclaim the emperor to be the liberator of the city and the source of peace. While this program, like that of

other Roman arches, celebrates imperial authority and victory, it has been read by Pierce (*infra*) as Constantine's appropriation of the achievements of earlier emperors. No recognizable Christian signs appear on the arch. Rather, Constantine and his victories are associated with the SOL INVICTUS whose image occurs four times. The style and iconography of the Constantinian parts of the monument are almost universally interpreted as harbingers of Byz. art.

LIT. P. Pierce, "The Arch of Constantine: Propaganda and Ideology in Late Roman Art," *Art History* 12 (1989) 387–418. J. Ruysschaert, "Essai d'interprétation synthétique de l'Arc de Constantin," *RendPontAcc* 35 (1962–63) 79–100. B. Berenson, *The Arch of Constantine* (London 1954). –A.C.

ARCH OF GALERIUS. Located in Thessalonike, the Arch of Galerius is not a true monumental arch, but more properly part of a tetrapylon that was expanded into an octopylon through the addition of piers for secondary passageways. It was located between the Rotunda of St. George to the north and the palace of Galerius to the south; only the west side of the structure is partially preserved. The original monumental complex, which was probably domed, spanned an important street running east to west: the central passage of the arch crossed the roadway, while the two smaller side passages continued what were undoubtedly colonnaded walkways. It provided a monumental entrance and a point of transition between the city and the sacred area of the palace. The structure was begun in 299 and construction continued at least to 303. It was made of a core of irregular stone blocks, faced with marble revetment in its lower section and with brick above. Statues of the emperors presumably looked out from the top to east and west. It was of impressive size, with the keystone of the surviving central archway 12.28 m above the modern pavement; its width is 9.70 m.

The piers are covered with reliefs arranged in horizontal zones separated by bands decorated with ribbons or garlands. The sculptures depict and celebrate Galerius's victory over the Persians in 297. Various historical scenes can be identified, such as Galerius and Diocletian sacrificing, Galerius speaking to his troops, and the emperor victorious in battle; these scenes are not arranged in any particular order, however, and are mixed with generic scenes of processions and personifications of victories. The "arch" is a prime example of Tetrarchic art, with figures often outlined rather than carved in relief, little concern for scale, and a desire to fill every part of the surface with decoration.

LIT. H.P. Laubscher, *Der Reliefschmuck des Galeriusbogens in Thessaloniki* (Berlin 1975). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 99–104. M. Rothman, "The Thematic Organization of the Panel Reliefs of the Arch of Galerius," *AJA* 81 (1977) 427–54. –T.E.G.

ARCHON (ἄρχων), a word used in antiquity primarily to denote a magistrate. In Byz. *archontes* were synonymous with *megistanes* and *dynatoi*; the term signified any officials who possessed power. In the words of Symeon the Theologian, *archontes* were those who had honor (*time*) and power (*arche*); he further defined the *strategoi* and *archontes* as the emperor's servants and friends who—unlike the common people—had personal contact with the monarch. Some subordinates of high-ranking officials (e.g., *strategoi*) were also called *archontes*.

In a technical sense, *archon* designated first of all a governor. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij lists *archontes* of Crete, Dalmatia, Cyprus (a 9th-C. seal of an *archon* of Cyprus—Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.852), and so on, whereas seals of the 10th–12th C. mention *archontes* of certain towns, such as Krateia and Klaudioupolis, Chrysopolis, Athens, Panion, etc.; accordingly the term *archontia* was employed to describe the district administered by an *archon*. The term could be applied also to independent princes, such as the *archon* of Rhosia (A.V. Soloviev, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 237–44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 72. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 131–39. Ja. Ferluga, "Archon," in *Tradition als historische Kraft* (Berlin–New York 1982) 254–66. –A.K.

ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION (ἄρχοντες τῶν ἐργοδοσίων), directors of state *ergasteria* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL) that produced primarily silk, jewelry, and weapons. Seals of many *archontes* of silk workshops (*tou blattiou*) are dated to the 7th and 8th C. *Archontes ton ergodosion* were sometimes called *ergasteriarchai* and combined their functions with those of the KOMMERKIARIOI. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, *archontes*, along

with the *meizoteroi* ("foremen") of workshops, belonged to the staff of the EIDIKON. On seals from the 9th C. onward they are often called KOURATORES. A certain Thomas, *eskeptor ton blattion*, recorded on a 7th-C. seal, was probably not director of a single workshop, but of a group of textile manufacturers. The office of the *archon* of the *chrysochoeion* (gold workshop) is also known; his relationship to the *archon* of the CHARAGE is unclear.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:323–43, 708f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 338–42. –A.K.

ARCHONTOPOULOS (ἀρχοντόπουλος), according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:108.20), a term invented by Alexios I, meaning "a son of an *archon*." The *tagma* of *archontopouloi* was created in 1090/1 and consisted of about 2,000 young men, the sons of soldiers who had fallen in battle. The *tagma* is not attested in sources after the reign of Alexios (Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 52). The term *archontopoulos* (also, neut. pl. *archontopoula;* in an act of 1478, fem. *archontopoulai*—MM 3:260.2) was a generic designation of the nobility of second rank: thus Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, in a chrysobull of 1346, speaks of his *archontes* and *archontopouloi* who served as his administrators (*Zogr.*, no.37.49). *Archontes* and *archontopouloi* are known also in Venetian Crete (Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I [1976], 23f). In 1261 a group of *archontopouloi* were to receive *exaleimmata* and other properties in the Maeander valley with an "appropriate monetary *posotes*" for the sake of their *oikonomia*; thus, evidently in the form of a *pronoia* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.66.3–4). Before 1348, *archontopouloi* in Serres seized a monastic *metochion* with its *proskathemenoi* (*Koutloum.*, no.21.3). *Archontopouloi* are also attested in the Morea, Trebizond, and Epiros.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 177. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnes de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 355. –M.B.

ARCOSOLIUM (term found only in Christian Lat. inscriptions, lit. an arch over a throne or urn), an arched niche, usually for a TOMB, carved out of or built in front of a wall. Such recesses are known as early as the 3rd C.; in 4th-C. CATACOMBS the tympanum beneath the arch often received painted decoration. Carved *arcosolia* were esp. favored in Palaiologan Constantinople (South Church of LIPS MONASTERY); the most lavish examples are the hoods over the tombs in the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *RAC* 1:643–45. –A.C.

ARCRUNI, or Artsruni, an Armenian princely lineage, some of whose members settled in Byz. territory in the early 11th C. A 12th-C. continuator of the Armenian chronicle by Thomas Arcruni (ca.900), the *History of the House of the Arcruni*, relates that the resettlement was smooth and peaceful: the Arcruni received lands, towns, and high titles (*Thomas Artsruni: History of the House of the Artsrunik'*, tr. R. Thomson [Detroit 1985] 370f). They retained the Gregorian creed. Senekerim (Σεναχηρείμ) Arcruni, last king of VASPURAKAN, became *strategos* of Cappadocia in 1021 or 1022 and lord (?) of Sebasteia and other towns and estates (Skyl. 354f). His son David helped suppress the rebellion of Nikephoros PHOKAS (1022) and was rewarded with Caesarea, Tzamandos, and other lands (H. Berberian, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 553); he inherited Sebasteia after his father's death in 1025. David's successor, his brother Atom (Ašot), ruled Sebasteia from 1035; in 1079/80 Atom sided with Gagik of Kars in a feud against the local Greek lords of the Mandales family in a futile attempt to rescue Gagik of Ani.

Other Armenian nobles who moved to Byz. simultaneously with Senekerim Arcruni include his nephew (?) Derenik and another relative, Abelgharib Arcruni. The latter received Sis, Adana, and several other towns. Circa 1080 his residence was Tarsos, and he apparently adopted the Chalcedonian creed. Probably some Arcrunis entered the Byz. ruling elite and took the family name of Senacherim: THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep. 77.22–23) complained of Senacherim "the Assyrian" who originated from Mesopotamia; Alexios I entrusted Theodore Senacherim with distributing lands among monasteries (*Xénoph.*, no.1.92–93). It is unclear whether Senacherim, an early 13th-C. general, and (another?) Senacherim, governor of Nikopolis (Epiros) in 1204, were related to this family.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 33–36. –A.K.

ARCULF. See ADOMNAN.

ARDABOURIOS (Ἀρδαβούριος), consul (447); *magister militum* of the East and *patrikios* under Marcian; died Constantinople 471. Oldest son of Aspar the Alan, he commanded troops in both East and West and reportedly helped his father secure the elevation of Leo I. In 459 he sent a detachment of Gothic soldiers to guard the corpse of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder. In 466/7, when Leo accused Ardabourios of entering into treasonable correspondence with the Persians, he was deprived of his rank (vita of Daniel the Stylite, 55). After he instigated open revolt in Thrace in 469/70, he and his father were executed; his brothers Patrikios and Ermanaric survived. His grandson was Areobindus, consul in 506.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:316–20. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* 223–26. *PLRE* 2:135–37. A. Demandt, "Der Kelch von Ardabur und Anthusa," *DOP* 40 (1986) 113–17. –T.E.G.

AREIA, MONASTERY OF, called Hagia Mone or Nea Mone, was founded near Nauplia shortly before 1143 by Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplia (ca.1143–ca.1157), who was a nephew of Constantine Antzas (see Anzas). Leo originally established the monastery, dedicated to the Virgin, at Areia (Ἄρεια) as a convent for 36 nuns. Circa 1143, however, he was forced by the threat of pirate raids to move the nuns farther inland to a new convent that he built at Bouze. He then installed 36 monks at Areia. In Oct. 1143, Leo composed a memorandum (*hypomnema*) in which he guaranteed the monastery's independent status. He also prepared a *typikon*, based on that of Stoudios, but more lenient in some of its provisions; for example, he urged the monks to bathe weekly and permitted two meals daily during the fast days preceding the feast of the Holy Apostles, "because the days are longer." In 1212 the region of Nauplia was occupied by the Franks, and in 1389 it came under Venetian control, but the monastery remained in the hands of Orthodox monks. It retained its independence until 1679, when it became a *metochion* of the Holy Sepulchre.

The cross-in-square monastic church, dedicated to the Zoödochos Pege (Life-giving Source), was completed by 1149, the date of a dedicatory plaque that names Leo as *ktetor*. Built of brick on a high foundation, it is decorated on the exterior with marble crosses and maeander friezes, like Merbaka and other churches in Argolis. Of its interior ornament little remains save for the elaborate composite capitals of the four columns beneath the dome.

LIT. G.A. Choras, *He "Hagia Mone" Areias* (Athens 1975). A. Struck, "Vier byzantinischen Kirchen der Argolis," *MDAI AA* 34 (1909) 210–34. –A.M.T., A.C.

ARENGA. See Acts, Documentary.

AREOBINDUS (Ἀρεόβινδος), more fully Flavius Areobindus Dagalaiphus Areobindus; died after 512. He was the grandson of Ardabourios and the son of Dagalaiphus and Godisthea, and thus an Alan; in 478/9 he married Anicia Juliana, daughter of the Western emperor Olybrius. Despite the fall of his family in 471, Areobindus had a distinguished military career, serving as *magister militum* of the East in 503–04, along with Hypatios and Keler. At this time he withstood a Persian invasion and devastated Persian Armenia. He served as consul in 506. In 512 the opposition to Anastasios I sought to make Areobindus emperor, but he had already gone into hiding. Five examples of his consular diptychs are preserved.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:143f. –T.E.G.

ARETHAS, Arab martyred ca.520 in Najrān; saint; feastday 24 Oct. When the judaizing Ḥimyarite king, Yūsuf, came to power ca.520, he wanted—according to the sources—to stamp out Christianity in South Arabia, esp. at Najrān. Arethas, the chief of Najrān, resisted the overtures of Yūsuf to surrender the city, but was finally overruled by his counselors. Yūsuf violated the terms of the capitulation and asked the Christians to apostasize. Those who refused were martyred, among them Arethas, who was decapitated. A hagiographical version of his speech before death is preserved. The martyrdom of Arethas and his companions had far-reaching consequences. It convulsed the Christian Orient and occasioned a successful Byz.-Ethiopian expedition (see Axum) against South Arabia to avenge the martyrs. The Ethiopian king made Arethas's son chief of Najrān and built three churches there, one of which was dedicated to the "Holy Martyrs and the Glorious Arethas." Arethas and his companions were moderate Monophysites close to the views of Severos of Antioch. A possible echo of

the martyrdoms of Najrān may be detected in chapter 85 of the Qur'ān.

Representation in Art. Illustrations of ten episodes of this story accompany an 11th-C. MS with the *passio* of Arethas by SYMEON METAPHRASTES (Athos, Esphig. 14, fols. 136r–136v; *Treasures* 2, pl.212f): the city of Najrān besieged, the Christians outside its walls taken into slavery, and the city opening its gates to Yūsuf, etc. There are occasional representations of just the beheading of the elderly bearded nobleman and his companions (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.135), but Arethas is otherwise rarely represented.

LIT. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 23–94. Idem, *The Martyrs of Najran. New Documents* (Brussels 1971). G.L. Huxley, "On the Greek Martyrium of the Negranites," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 8 (1980) 41–55. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:242f. –I.A.Sh., N.P.Š.

ARETHAS (al-Ḥārith), king of the GHASSĀNIDS (529–69), son of JABALA; not to be confused with Arethas, the king of KINDA. Around 529 Justinian I put him in command of almost all the Arab FOEDERATI in Oriens and thus centralized federate power. As supreme PHYLARCH Arethas fought for Byz. in all its eastern wars. He participated regularly in the two Persian Wars of Justinian's reign, distinguishing himself at the battle of KALLINIKOS and in the campaign of 541 in "Assyria." He fought his LAKHMID adversaries on various occasions and finally defeated ALAMUNDARUS of Ḥīra at a battle near Chalkis in 554. He also conducted punitive expeditions in the Arabian peninsula. A staunch Monophysite, Arethas contributed substantially to the revival of the Monophysite church in Oriens. He was instrumental in the consecration of JACOB BARADAEUS and Theodore as bishop ca.540. He also defended Monophysitism against teachings such as the alleged TRITHEISM of Eugenios and Konon. In recognition of his services to the empire, Arethas was made *gloriosissimus*; he was also *patrikios*.

LIT. I. Kawar, "The Patriciate of Arethas," *BZ* 52 (1959) 321–43. –I.A.Sh.

ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, scholar and politician, archbishop of Caesarea (from 902); born in Patras mid-9th C., died after 932 (according to Beck [*Kirche* 591], not before 944). During the struggle over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, Arethas first supported NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, then sided with the emperor. As theologian Arethas produced a commentary on the Apocalypse (based primarily on that of ANDREW of Caesarea) and other exegetical works. Deeply interested in antiquity, Arethas acquired a large library, commissioning some MSS, adding SCHOLIA to others. Some scholia form a polemical dialogue with the author, some allude to contemporary affairs: criticism of the luxury at Basil I's court, ridicule of Stylianos ZAOUTZES, references to the war with Bulgaria, or the dispute over the tetragamy. Some of Arethas's letters expressed his views on Leo's marriage (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.VII [1956], 293–372). In others he discussed the books he had read (Č. Milovanović, *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 [Belgrade 1979] 59–67). He also wrote homilies and pamphlets. One, esp. vitriolic, accused Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES of pagan beliefs. The attribution of some of his writings still remains disputable; Jenkins (*Studies*, pt.XI [1963], 168) rejected and P. Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 35 [1965] 455–81) defended Arethas's authorship of the letter to a Saracen emir; J. Koder (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 75–80) saw in Arethas the author of the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA.

Arethas has been severely judged by modern scholars as "a narrow-minded, bad-hearted man" (R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries* [London 1966] 219) and his style criticized as turgid; in fact Arethas rejected the ideal of plain speech, and consciously ornamented his vocabulary "with proverbs, quotations, allusions, and poetic lines, like multi-colored mosaic cubes" (Westerink, *infra* 1:189.26–31), thus paving the way for the revival of Byz. rhetoric.

ED. *Scripta minora*, ed. L. Westerink, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1968–72). PG 106:500–785. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 75.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 237–80. S.B. Kougeas, *Ho Kaisareias Arethas kai to ergon autou* (Athens 1913). Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, pts.VII–IX (1964–65). A. Meschini, *Il Codice vallicelliano di Areta* (Padua 1972). –A.K.

ARGOLID (Ἀργολίς), area of the northeastern PELOPONNESOS divided into two distinct regions: a rich central plain and a mountainous perimeter. The main city was Argos, but in late antiquity Epidauros, Methana, Troizen, and Hermione also had civic status. Remains of that date, both ecclesiastical and secular, are attested from these sites (on Epidauros, see Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 118,

fig.72); the Argolid may have had its own school of mosaicists. After devastation by invasions in the late 6th and 7th C. the Argolid was partially settled by Slavs (Yannopoulos, *infra*), but the Byz. regained control of the area by the 9th C.

The first attested bishop of Argos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449; by the 10th C. Argos was combined with NAUPLIA as a bishopric. In 1188/9 Isaac II promoted the see of Nauplia-Argos to the status of metropolis. Another important ecclesiastical center was Troizen, mentioned still in 787; by the time of Leo VI the see was renamed Damalas and its bishop considered the *protothronos* of the metropolitan of Corinth (i.e., above Nauplia-Argos); Damalas is found in the episcopal lists to the end of the empire.

In the 12th C. the Argolid was particularly wealthy, if the number of surviving churches is any measure. They are found not only in the plain, at Argos, Chonika, Merbaka, AREIA, and elsewhere, but also in the mountainous east at Ligourio (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1973–74] 1–30) and Damalas. Most of these churches display a similarity of style that suggests a local school of architecture. In the late 12th C. powerful landowners came to the fore, the most important of whom was Leo SGOUROS. After 1205 the Argolid fell under the control of the duke of Athens, and Frankish forts were built (or rebuilt) at the Larissa of Argos, Nauplia, and in the pass at Agionori. The Venetians came to dominate the east coast and, after a brief restoration of Byz. power, the Argolid fell finally to the Ottomans in 1458.

LIT. H. Megaw, "The Chronology of Some Middle Byzantine Churches," *BSA* 32 (1931–32) 90–130. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tou nomou Argolidos," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 169–202. P.A. Yannopoulos, "La pénétration slave en Argolide," in *Études argiennes* (Paris 1980) 323–71. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:424–30. –T.E.G.

ARGOS. See ARGOLID.

ARGYROKASTRON (Ἀργυρόκαστρον, mod. Gjirokastra in Albania), on the left bank of the River Drino, strongly fortified city, known only from the 14th to 15th C. In 1338–39 Argyrokastron supported Andronikos III but later it was in Albanian hands; in 1418 it fell to the Turks under Hamza Beg and served as a Turkish stronghold against Albanian resistance. The surviving fortifications, much rebuilt in early modern times, are Byz., and pottery of the 12th–13th C. has been found.

LIT. *TIB* 3:11f. –T.E.G.

ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN, writer and teacher in Constantinople and Italy; born Constantinople? ca.1393/4 (Canivet-Oikonomides) or ca.1415? (Cammelli), died Rome 26 June 1487. Argyropoulos (Ἀργυρόπουλος) is first attested as a member of the Byz. delegation to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9. From 1441 to 1443 he studied at the University of Padua, learning fluent Latin and earning a degree in letters and medicine; at the same time he gave private Greek lessons. He returned to Constantinople, and by 1448 was teaching at the Mouseion of the XENON OF THE KRAL; a pro-Unionist, he had converted to Catholicism by this time as well. After the fall of Constantinople, he emigrated in 1456 to Florence, where for 15 years he taught Greek philosophy, primarily Aristotle and to a lesser extent Plato. His students included Lorenzo de' Medici. He is credited with shifting the interests of Florentine humanists from rhetoric to the metaphysical philosophy of Plato. In 1471 he moved to Rome, where he joined the curia of Pope Sixtus IV, then under the leadership of BESSARION. With the exception of a four-year residence in Florence (1477–81), he spent the rest of his life in Rome as teacher and translator.

Argyropoulos made Latin translations of Aristotle (the *Nicomachean Ethics*), Porphyry, and Basil the Great. His own writings, in both Latin and Greek, were varied: his rhetorical works include a monody for Emp. John VIII (Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 3:313–19), three orations to Constantine XI, and an introduction to the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS. In theology, he composed treatises on the Holy Spirit and the Council of Florence (PG 158:991–1008), and 12 short *erotapokriseis*. P. Canivet and N. Oikonomides (*Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 5–97) have proposed that Argyropoulos is the author of an invective against a certain Katablattas.

ED. S.P. Lampros, *Argyropouleia* (Athens 1910). For complete list of ed. and tr., see Cammelli, *infra* 183–87.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, "The Italian Renaissance and Byzantium: The Career of the Greek Humanist-Professor John Argyropoulos in Florence and Rome (1415–1487)," *Conspectus of History* 1.1 (1974) 12–28. G. Cammelli, *Gio-*

vanni Argiropulo (Florence 1941). V. Brown, "Giovanni Argiropulo on the Agent Intellect," in *Essays in Honour of A.Ch. Pegis* (Toronto 1974) 160–75. *PLP*, no.1267.
–A.M.T.

ARGYROPRATES (ἀργυροπράτης, lit. "seller of silver," Lat. *argentarius*), term that in the 6th C. primarily designated a moneylender. *Argyropratai* were known in Alexandria and other large cities, but the *argyropratai* of Constantinople were esp. rich and influential. Their private activities (lending money at 8 percent INTEREST, mediating in the sale of precious objects, guaranteeing payment of DEBTS) were combined with various state functions that enabled some of them to acquire significant wealth and exercise political influence. Several seals of *argyropratai* (some of them collective, belonging to two men) dated to the 7th–8th C. imply that their official activity continued long after Justinian I, who devoted three special laws to *argyropratai*. Some *argyropratai*, like JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," were wealthy enough to build churches. The function of the *argyroprates* as a moneylender is still found in the 9th-C. *Basilika*.

The term *argyroprates* also designated a vendor of gold and silver. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.2) describes the guild of the *argyropratai* as primarily concerned with the sale of gold and silver objects, of bullion, and of precious stones. It is unclear, however, to what extent these 10th-C. *argyropratai* functioned as craftsmen (see JEWELERS). Although there is one reference in the *Book of the Eparch* to the *argyroprates* serving as a money changer (ch.2.3), most of their financial operations seem to have been shifted to the *trapezitai* or BANKERS, who formed a separate guild. The term *argyroprates* virtually disappears after the 10th C.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 127–40. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20–23. A. Čekalova, "Konstantinopol'skie argiropraty v epochu Justiniana," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 15–21. S. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5–38.
–A.K., A.C.

ARGYROS (Ἀργυρός, fem. Ἀργυρή, "silver"), or Argyropoulos (Ἀργυρόπουλος), a noble lineage flourishing from the mid-9th to the mid-11th C. The family founder, Leo Argyros, came from the theme of Charsianon, where the Argyroi possessed lands (*TheophCont* 374.6–12). They functioned predominantly as *strategoi* (of Anatolikon, Sebasteia, Vaspurakan, Italy, etc.); the *patrikios* Marianos was *domestikos ton scholon* under Nikephoros II Phokas, and the *patrikios* Pothos was *domestikos ton exkoubiton* ca.958. ROMANOS III ARGYROS, the only known Argyros in civil service (eparch and *megas oikonomos*), became emperor in 1028. The sons of Romanos's brother Basil participated in the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos of 1057. Alexios (I) Komnenos planned a marriage with a daughter of a certain very wealthy Argyros (Bryen. 221.12–17), but the fiancée died. In the 12th C. the Argyroi lost their high position, but the family is attested through the 15th C. The Argyropouloi were active in Thessalonike in the 15th C.: they leased a tenement from IVERON and improved the land (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102). The family produced several intellectuals: the astronomer Isaac Argyros, the humanist John Argyropoulos, the musician Manuel Argyropoulos (see ARGYROS, ISAAC and ARGYROPOULOS, JOHN). The relation of the Byz. Argyroi with the Argyroi of Bari (i.e., ARGYROS, son of Melo) is unclear.

LIT. J.F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines; Les Argyroi (IX^e–XII^e siècles)* (Paris 1975) and critical notes W. Seibt, *JÖB* 26 (1977) 323–26, and A. Kazhdan *ByzF* 12 (1987) 69f. J. Ferluga, "Počeci jedne vizantijske aristokratske porodice—Argiri," *ZbFilozFak* 12.1 (1974) 153–67. *PLP*, nos. 1249–92.
–A.K.

ARGYROS, son of Melo of Bari; *magistros, vestes*, and *doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia (1051–58); born ca.1000, died after 1058, possibly Bari 1068. During Melo's first revolt, Argyros and his mother were sent to Constantinople. Returning to Italy in 1029, Argyros repeatedly rebelled against the Byz., in 1042 with Norman assistance. When his opponent, the *katepano* George MANIAKES, tried to usurp the Byz. throne, Argyros went over to the emperor (Sept. 1042). Summoned to Constantinople in 1045, he assisted in defeating Leo TORNIKIOS, but quarreled with Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. In 1051 he returned to Bari, as its first Lombard governor. To halt the Normans, he sought an alliance with Pope LEO IX. The alliance materialized, but in 1053 Argyros and Leo were separately defeated and the pope taken prisoner. From captivity, Leo sent Cardinal HUMBERT to Keroularios. Humbert's embassy (1054) visited Bari, and eventually Keroularios claimed Argyros had forged offensive papal letters and had Argyros's son and son-

in-law arrested. Argyros vainly strove to renew the papal-Byz. alliance until relieved of office (mid-1058). The praenomen "Argyros" seems unconnected with the Byz. family of Argyros.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 59–62, 97f. J.-F. Vannier, *Familles byzantines: Les Argyroi (IX^e–XII^e siècles)* (Paris 1975) 57f. –C.M.B.

ARGYROS, ISAAC, mathematician, astronomer, and theologian; born Thrace? between 1300 and 1310, died ca.1375. A student of Nikephoros GREGORAS, the monk Argyros was the leading Byz. champion of Ptolemaic ASTRONOMY in the 1360s and 1370s. He wrote a *Construction of New Tables* and a *Construction of New Tables of Conjunctions and Oppositions* (of the sun and moon), for both of which the epoch is 1 Sept. 1367. In them he recomputes for the Roman calendar and the longitude of Constantinople the mean motions of the sun, moon, and planets, and the syzygies that PTOLEMY had tabulated in the *Almagest* according to the Egyptian calendar and the longitude of Alexandria. These tables were soon plagiarized and criticized by John ABRAMIOS (Pingree, "Astrological School" 196f). In 1367/8 Argyros wrote a treatise on the ASTROLABE (ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:236–53), closely based on the similar treatise of Gregoras. In late 1372 he dedicated a work on the COMPUTUS (PG 19:1279–1316) to Andronikos Oinaiotes (A. Mentz, *Beiträge zur Osterfestberechnung bei den Byzantinern* [Königsberg 1906] 27–29); in this work he indicates that he was at Ainos in Thrace in 1318 (Mercati, *Notizie* 233–36). He also wrote scholia on THEON, but did not write, as has been alleged, the anonymous *Instructions for the Persian Tables*.

Argyros's mathematical works include one on the square roots of nonsquare numbers (A. Allard, *Centaurus* 22 [1978] 1–43); a treatise based on Heron's *Geometrics* concerning the reduction of nonright to right triangles and other geometrical problems, composed in 1367/8; and a *Method of Geodesy*, also based on Heron (J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, vol. 5 [Leipzig 1914] xcviii–cii). He also wrote scholia to Ptolemy's *Geography* and edited with scholia his *Harmonics* (I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios* [Göteborg 1930] xxxiii, lxvi).

Like Gregoras, Argyros supported BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the Palamite controversy. He wrote three anti-Palamite treatises, including an attack on Theodore Dexios's concept of the light on Mt. Tabor (M. Candal, *OrChrP* 23 [1957] 80–113).

ED. Scholia on Theon—ed. N. Halma, *Tables manuelles astronomiques*, pt.3 (Paris 1825) 59–74; pt.4 (Paris 1825) 67–117.

LIT. Mercati, *Notizie* 229–46, 270–82. *PLP*, no.1285. –D.P.

ARIADNE (Ἀριάδνη), in Greek mythology daughter of Minos and spouse of THESEUS; after Theseus had deserted her, she married DIONYSOS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, in the 47th book of his *Dionysiaka*, concentrates on the sudden transformation of the abandoned and lamenting Ariadne into the happy bride of her "heavenly wooer" and describes her triumphal wedding; when in the battle against Perseus Ariadne was turned into stone (*petrodes nymphe*), Nonnos notes that she was happy in her death "because she found one so great to slay her" and because she was taken up to the heavens. The idea of happiness through death was important for the world view of the 5th C. MALALAS emphasized another aspect of the myth of Ariadne: he eliminates the theme of Ariadne's romantic attraction to Theseus, made her the wife promised him by the Cretans if he destroyed the Minotaur, and finally claimed that she retired to "the temple of Zeus" (instead of marrying Dionysos).

The name Ariadne was popular in the late Roman period. Leo I's daughter ARIADNE became an empress, and a legend tells of a saint Ariadne, a young bond-maid in Phrygia who fled from persecutions and found a happy death disappearing into a rock (*petra*).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 552–55. P. Franchi de' Cavalieri, "La leggenda di S. Ariadne," *ST* 6 (1901) 91–113. –A.K.

ARIADNE, more fully Aelia Ariadne, augusta; born before 457, died Constantinople end of 515. The elder daughter of Emp. Leo I and VERINA, Ariadne married Zeno in 466/7 and Anastasios I on 20 May 491. Since Leo had no sons, Ariadne's marriages served to perpetuate the dynasty. Her union with Zeno also signified Leo's alliance with the Isaurians against ASPAR and marked an important point in the growth of anti-Germanic sentiment in Constantinople. Upon the death of Leo (474), her son Leo II became emperor but soon died, leaving power in Zeno's hands. Ariadne may

have been involved in the revolt of BASILISKOS and sought to soften Zeno's anger against her mother in the aftermath. When Zeno died in 491 Ariadne dominated the court and chose Anastasios I to succeed him.

An unusually large number of portraits of Ariadne survive in marble and ivory, a fact to be explained perhaps by her dominance over her consorts and repeated status as sole heir to the imperial office (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 24–25).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–95, 429–32. W. Hahn, "Die Münzprägung für Aelia Ariadne," in *Byzantios* 101–06. D. Stutzinger, "Das Bronzebildnis einer spätantiken Kaiserin aus Balajnac im Museum von Niš," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 146–65. –T.E.G., A.C.

ARIANISM, subordinationist heresy that denied the consubstantiality of the Father and the Son; it was named for its main proponent ARIUS. Arianism involved a dispute about the relationship of members of the TRINITY: it taught that the Son was not coeternal with the Father but was created by him from nothing. This preserved the monarchy of the Father and a strict monotheism but raised problems concerning SALVATION since the sacrifice of a Christ who was less than fully God might prevent the genuine deification (THEOSIS) of mankind. Arianism arose in Alexandria, where it was condemned by the bishop Alexander; it gained many adherents, however, throughout the East, including EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. At the Council of NICAEA in 325 the Orthodox party, led by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, was successful in securing the acceptance of a declaration that Christ was HOMOOUSIOS with the Father, which resulted in the condemnation of Arianism. Emp. Constantine I, who at first supported the decisions of Nicaea, soon began to waver; the exiled Arians were recalled in 328 and many Orthodox bishops, including Athanasios, were banished.

Constantius II openly supported Arianism and persecuted the Orthodox; several councils in the East attempted to heal the rift through a variety of compromises. As a result several forms of Arianism developed. Most extreme were the Anomoians, who emphasized the difference between the Father and the Son, but the Homoians, the HOMOIOUSIANS, and the PNEUMATOMACHOI represented other variations; prominent Arian spokesmen included AETIOS and EUNOMIOS. The struggle between Arians and Orthodox also reflected rivalry among various bishops, esp. those of Constantinople and Alexandria; Arianism may have been a particularly important urban phenomenon in the East, esp. in Constantinople, and the social orientation of Arian monks may help explain the movement's initial success.

After the death of Constantius II Orthodoxy gained ascendancy in the West, although in the East the emperor Valens was an Arian. The final victory of Orthodoxy came under Theodosios I at the Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and the sect slowly disappeared from the East. In the West, Arianism remained a pressing problem since many Germanic tribes had been converted by Arian missionaries and this religious difference long remained the line between Romania and Germania.

Later legends often dwell on the heinous behavior of the Arians. An unknown chronicler Ankyrianos (sometimes but groundlessly identified as NEILOS OF ANKYRA) was quoted as stating that the Arians burned portraits of the 4th-C. bishops of Constantinople displayed at the Milion (see MESE) together with an image of the Virgin and Child (*Parastaseis* 68.13–70.2); later MS illustrations show them burning Orthodox churches (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.LII). John of Damascus (*Imag.* 3:90.33–43, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:183), reports, referring to THEODORE LECTOR (*HE* 131f), that an emperor (the name, Anastasios, may be an insertion of John) commissioned a painting showing the death of the Arian Olympios who had insulted the Trinity. As late as the THEODORE PSALTER (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration II*, fig.176), the Arians are depicted as opponents of Orthodox beliefs.

SOURCE. H.G. Opitz, *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites* (Berlin 1934).

LIT. E. Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et la 'Foi' de Nicée*, 2 vols. (Paris 1972–73). H.M. Gwatkin, *Studies of Arianism*² (Cambridge 1900). R. Gregg, D. Groh, *Early Arianism: A View of Salvation* (London 1981). M. Simonetti, *La crisi ariana nel IV secolo* (Rome 1975). H.A. Wolfson, "Philosophical Implications of Arianism and Apollinarianism," *DOP* 12 (1958) 3–28. G. Telepneff, J. Thornton, "Arian Transcendence and the Notion of *Theosis* in Saint Athanasios," *GOrThR* 32 (1987) 271–77. –T.E.G., A.C.

ʿARĪB IBN SAʿD AL-QURṬUBĪ, Arab historian from Cordoba; died 980? He held several positions under the Spanish Umayyads, serving as governor of Osuna in 943 and as secretary to one

ruler, perhaps al-Ḥakam II (961–76). A practicing physician, he wrote on various medical subjects. He was deemed a competent philologist, and his astronomical, meteorological, and agricultural calendar was incorporated into the so-called *Calendar of Cordoba*.

His best-known work was a history epitomizing the annals of al-Ṭabarī and continuing the narrative into the 960s. Most of this work is apparently lost, but the MS Gotha 261 has been identified as the section for the years 903–32. This text focuses on Iraq, Spain, and North Africa, but includes no less than 12 accounts of conflicts with Byz. along the Thughūr (see ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr) as well as a brief report on a maritime expedition organized from al-Fusṭāṭ in 931. It also discusses diplomatic negotiations and Byz. embassies to Baghdad in 907 and 917.

ED. *Ṣila ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī*, ed. M.A.F. Ibrāhīm in his *Dhuyūl ta'rīkh al-Ṭabarī* (Cairo 1969) 9–184.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:48–63. C. Pellat, *EI*^{2} 1:628. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:327. –L.I.C.

ARILJE, a monastery in the western Serbian town of the same name, the seat of the Serbian bishops of Moravica. The main church, dedicated to St. Achilleios of Larissa, was founded by the Nemanjid ruler Stefan Dragutin, the elder son of Stefan Uroš I, before 1296. Its essentially Byz. church plan has a single nave with short cross arms for the choir, a dome on pendentives, a tripartite sanctuary, and a narthex. Its façade is decorated with a row of shallow arcades under the roof. According to a fragmentary inscription preserved in the drum of the dome, the frescoes were painted in 1296. To the traditional elements of a Byz. church program were added depictions of the Tree of Jesse, church councils, the Sacrifice of Abraham, the life of St. Nicholas (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 40, 236–40), and the figure of a winged John the Baptist as well as portraits of Serbian bishops and archbishops (G. Babić in *Sava Nemanjić* 322–24) and members of the Nemanjid dynasty. The style shows many features typical of Palaiologan art (see Monumental Painting), although certain mistakes in anatomy, the very strong contours that delineate both the figures and the painted architecture, and the relatively dark colors distinguish these frescoes from the best Constantinopolitan achievements of the time. The painters of Arilje were probably Greeks from Thessalonike: an inscription on a window soffit reads "MARPOU," a Thessalonikan political slogan referring to Michael VIII (cf. Djurić, *infra*, and Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:48 n.2, 49.4). The painters' evident preference for figural relief over the color harmonies favored by the previous generation (the Constantinopolitan artists working at Sopoćani) also suggests a Thessalonikan origin for these frescoes.

LIT. M. Čanak-Medić, *Arilje* (Belgrade 1985). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 61f. –G.B.

ARISTAINETOS (Ἀρισταίνετος), fictitious author of two books of letters, probably written ca.520 (O. Mazal, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 1–5). The subject is sexual passion, treated in a variety of ways—as miniature romance, dialogue, description, etc. The style is rhetorical and full of quotations from earlier writers (Alkiphron, Menander, Plato, Lucian, etc., none later than about the 3rd C.). These are apparently known extensively and at first hand, a valuable indication of the literary works current in the early 6th C. and of the tastes of the time.

ED. *Epistularum libri II*, ed. O. Mazal (Stuttgart 1971). Russ. tr., S. Poljakova, *Vizantijskaja ljubovnaja proza* (Moscow-Leningrad 1965) 7–45.

LIT. W.G. Arnott, "Pastiche, Pleasantry, Prudish Eroticism: the Letters of 'Aristaenetus,' " *YCS* 27 (1982) 291–320. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I, 11th-C. Armenian historian. Aristakes came from Lastivert, near Erzurum; of his life nothing is known. His *History of Armenia*, describing the period 1000–72, is of particular value for Byz. expansion into Armenia, the collapse of the Bagratid dynasty, the invasions of the Seljuk Turks, and the eventual loss of eastern Anatolia. His attitude to Byz. is ambivalent: he often laments the misfortunes brought upon Armenia by foreign nations, but he blames the Armenians' own sins rather than Byz. malice. For the collapse of Armenian unity in the face of Byz. and Turkish invasions he blames the heresy of the Tondrakites, a group also attacked by Gregory Magistros.

ED. *Patmut'iwn Hayocʿ*, ed. K. Juzbašjan (Erevan 1963). Tr. with comm. M. Canard, H. Berbérian, *Récit des malheurs de la nation arménienne* (Brussels 1973).

LIT. K. Juzbašjan, " 'Varjagi' i 'pronija' v sočinenii Aristakesa Lastivertci," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 14–28. Idem, "Dej-

lemity v 'Povestvovanii' Aristakesa Lastivertci," *PSb* 7 (1962) 146–51. –R.T.

ARISTEIDES, AILIOS, rhetorician of the SECOND SOPHISTIC; born 117 or 129, died ca.189. In the discussion of the relative values of philosophy and rhetoric, Aristeides took a clear stand against PLATO and asserted the primacy of RHETORIC. This probably was one of the causes of his popularity in Byz., where his works were copied (one of the best MSS was commissioned by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) and provided with scholia. The Neoplatonist OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA polemicized against Aristeides, not only in defending Plato but also, in a political context, while attacking the idea of democracy (F. Lenz, *Opuscula selecta* [Amsterdam 1972] 129–34). Aristeides was esp. often used by late Byz. authors such as Planoudes, Thomas Magistros, and Chortasmenos; Theodora Raoulaina copied a MS of his *Orations*. METOCHITES wrote a comparison of DEMOSTHENES and Aristeides, arguing that the latter rivaled the more ancient orator in his mastery of eloquence and was superior to Demosthenes with regard to his moral and political attitude.

LIT. F. Lenz, *Aristeidesstudien* (Berlin 1964). M. Gigante, "Il saggio critico di Teodoro Metochites su Demostene e Aristide," *ParPass* 20 (1965) 51–92. A. Milazzo, "Una declamazione perduta di Elio Aristide negli scoliasti Ermogeniani del V secolo," *Sileno* 9 (1983) 55–73. –A.K.

ARISTENOS (Ἀριστηνός), a family of civil functionaries, mostly judicial. In the 12th C. Nikephoros BASILAKES considered them a well-known lineage (A. Garzya, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 100.147–49); George TORNIKIOS stated that they were famous not for their worldly brilliance but for piety (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 176f). The Aristenoi are known from the mid-11th C. when at least two of them corresponded with PSELLOS. Gregory Aristenos, a judge at the trial of JOHN ITALOS, is probably to be identified with his homonym, the *proedros* of 1094 (Gautier, "Blachernes" 258). Alexios Aristenos was an ecclesiastical official and canonist (see ARISTENOS, ALEXIOS). Basil served as judge in 1196 (MM 4:305.12–13). Several Aristenoi are known only by their seals: an eparch (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1036); a judge (no.901); Michael, the *logothetes tou dromou* (no.439); Basil, the *parathalassites* (no.1132). The family did not survive the fall of Constantinople in 1204. –A.K.

ARISTENOS, ALEXIOS, mid-12th-C. canonist. Under Emp. JOHN II Komnenos, Aristenos wrote a commentary on the NOMOKANON (A. Pavlov, *ŽMNP* 303 [Jan. 1896] 172f) that probably antedated that of ZONARAS. He fulfilled both ecclesiastical (*protekdikos, skeuophylax, megas oikonomos*) and secular (*nomophylax, dikaiodotes, orphanotrophos*) functions. Since this combination was considered an infraction of canon law, the Council at Constantinople in 1157 required Aristenos to relinquish the position of *dikaiodotes* (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). He was still alive at the time of Nikephoros, patriarch of Jerusalem (ca.1166–71). Nikephoros BASILAKES wrote a panegyric of Aristenos. He was also close to PRODROMOS.

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2–4, or PG 137–38 (together with Zonaras and Balsamon).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 53–57. M. Krasnožen, "Kommentarij Alekseja Aristina na kanoničeskij Sinopsis," *VizVrem* 20 (1913) 189–207. –A.K.

ARISTOCRACY, a fluid concept in modern scholarship, usually denoting the ruling class, but equally applicable to those exerting moral and cultural as well as political leadership. The Byz. tended to avoid the words *aristoi* and *aristokratia* in favor of *eugenes*, literally "well-born," emphasizing the concepts of honorable ancestry and high-minded spiritual and moral qualities. The Byz. were ambivalent about what it meant to be "well-born." Scholarly debate has reflected this uncertainty. At one extreme, P. Bezobrazov (*Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury* [Petrograd 1919] 12) argued that Byz. had neither an aristocracy of noble origin nor a recognized nobility with strict privileges; at the other extreme, R. Guilland (*BS* 9 [1948] 15) claimed that Byz. always made a clear distinction between the old hereditary nobility and the nobility of rank and title.

It seems that the aristocracy of the late Roman era, an old landowning gentry with large estates worked by COLONI, disappeared in the East with the crises of the 7th C. During the 7th–9th C. almost nothing survived that could be called a hereditary nobility but, then, from the mid-9th C. we see the rise of aristocratic families made up of landlords and military magnates, deriving their power from the THEME organization, particularly in the frontier zones of Asia Minor or the northern Balkans. These became the DYNATOI of 10th-

C. sources. The rise of important families seems to be indicated by the introduction of patronymic NAMES, starting in the 9th C. and accelerating after ca.1000. The growing importance of LINEAGE is reflected in a passage from the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ch.2.2–3), which states that *strategoi* should be appointed on the basis of their achievements, not their ancestry, and adds that *strategoi* from nonnoble families fulfilled their duties better because their deeds had to compensate for their humble birth. After Basil II crushed rebellions (987–89) of the provincial military aristocracy, represented by the families of PHOKAS and SKLEROS, the *dynatoi* began to cooperate with the imperial government and slowly gravitated toward Constantinople, where they eventually developed an economic base founded on rents from land, salaries, and imperial donations, plus some trade (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 164–68).

The death of Basil II heralded a struggle between the military aristocracy based on birth (Skleros, ARGYROS, DOUKAS) and the civil aristocracy based on merit. The accession of Alexios I was a victory for the military aristocracy. During the early 12th C. three aristocracies existed: (1) the KOMNENOI themselves and their "clan," a military aristocracy that monopolized military commands and provincial governorships; (2) the old families who took refuge in the BUREAUCRACY and tended to make it a hereditary civil service; and (3) provincial families who dominated the countryside. With the death of Manuel I a new struggle began among families that ultimately led to the structure of the aristocracy in the Palaiologan period. In Constantinople, the PALAIOLOGOS family, along with a dozen or so other families (including the KANTAKOUZENOS, RAOUL, PETRALIPHAS, BRANAS, TORNIKIOS, and SYNADENOS families), held the chief positions in the imperial government, benefiting from imperial grants, including PRONOIAI and APPANAGES, primarily in Macedonia and Thrace, while provincial aristocratic families maintained local power bases in towns. Yet, even in this period, the Byz. aristocracy did not become a closed caste.

LIT. *The Byzantine Aristocracy, IX to XIII c.*, ed. M. Angold (Oxford 1984). A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1974), with Fr. résumé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976) 367–80. G. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971) 1–32. A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Aristocracy in the Palaeologan Period," *Viator* 4 (1973) 131–51. –M.B.

ARISTON AND DEIPNON, ancient terms designating midday and evening meals, respectively. The clear distinction between the two was lost in Byz., and Psellos reports that he taught his students the meaning of the word *ariston* (ἄριστον). Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his *Commentary on Homer*, sometimes identifies *deipnon* (δεῖπνον) as the evening, sometimes as the morning meal; *ariston*, he says, had the general meaning of meal. Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 191.23–24) used *ariston* and *deipnon* interchangeably, as synonyms. Other sources, including monastic *typika*, are more specific and distinguish *ariston* as the earlier and *deipnon* as the later meal. Monks ate their *ariston* after the ORTHROS; sometimes it was their only meal. Laymen did not eat their first meal until midday: John II Komnenos is said to have had the *ariston* after hunting, and Niketas Choniates ridicules the emperors who were served an early *deipnon*. Nicholas Mesarites describes *ariston* as a noontime meal that included bread, wine, fish, meat, and vegetables (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] pt.II, 3, pp. 41.35–42.2). The austere Kekaumenos (Kek. 224.21–22) recommended a large *ariston* and no *deipnon*. The anonymous author of *On Food* advises eating a full meal at noon and only bread and wine for *deipnon* (*PhysMedGr* 2:194.1–195.9).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:136–41. A. Kazhdan, "Skol'ko eli vizantijcy?" *Voprosy istorii* (1970) no.9, 217. –Ap.K., A.K.

ARISTOPHANES (Ἀριστοφάνης), Greek comic poet; born Athens ca.445 B.C., died Athens ca.388. The oldest MS to transmit Aristophanes' 11 extant plays is of the late 10th C. At the same period, his life was recorded in the *Souda* along with some 5,000 entries from his text and scholia. Systematic study of Aristophanes began in the 12th C. with the extensive commentaries of John TZETZES and continued in the 14th C. with the annotated editions by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. MS evidence shows that the plays selectively studied were *Wealth*, *The Clouds*, and *The Frogs*, with *Wealth* dominant because of its edifying message.

Known as "the Comic" (*ho komikos*), Aristophanes was considered the foremost standard for the Attic dialect (Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 6f). The wide range of his language and style as

well as the historical information in his plays undoubtedly caused his popularity with Byz. scholars and teachers who, it must be noted, made no attempt to expurgate his text. Tzetzes' judgment is particularly interesting: he criticizes Aristophanes' unfair treatment of Socrates but (Massa Positano et al., *infra* 2:377.1–10) admires Aristophanes' opposition to war and approves wholeheartedly of his obscenity when it serves to promote the noble cause of peace.

ED. *Jo. Tzetzae commentarii in Aristophanem*, ed. L. Massa Positano, D. Holwerda, W.J.W. Koster, 4 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1960–64). *Scholia in Aristophanem Pars I, II*, ed. W.J.W. Koster, 7 vols. (Groningen-Amsterdam 1969–82).

LIT. W.J.W. Koster, "Aristophane dans la tradition byzantine," *REGr* 76 (1963) 381–96. Idem, *Autour d'un manuscrit d'Aristophane écrit par Démétrius Triclinius* (Groningen 1957). Wilson, *Scholars* 122, 137, 146, 181, 238, 248, 251f.

–A.C.H.

ARISTOTLE, ancient Greek philosopher; born 384 B.C., died 322. Byz. higher education always centered on the study of Aristotle. His works have been transmitted in over 1,000 MSS dated between the 9th and 16th C., making him by far the most widely copied ancient Greek author; he is also the most commented on. In the early period, interest in Aristotle was particularly strong at the school of Alexandria, where AMMONIOS and OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA managed to present PHILOSOPHY in a way that avoided trouble with the church. ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA and DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, who succeeded Olympiodoros as head of the Alexandrian school, were also commentators on Aristotle, as was John PHILOPONOS. Compared to PLATO, Aristotle was safer and of greater use to the Orthodox because parts of his system could be put directly to the service of theological discussion. After the 7th C., attention was concentrated on the logical treatises, which became the basis of philosophical studies. From then on the average educated Byz.'s direct contact with Aristotle consisted of learning the main concepts of the *Organon*, beginning with the *Categories* and ending with *Sophistical Refutations*. At the same time, interest in the nonlogical works of Aristotle was never fully lost, and in the chain of commentators, which stretches unbroken from PHOTIOS in the 9th C. to John CHORTASMENOS in the 15th, several, through exegesis or paraphrase, made themselves and their students familiar with other parts of the *Corpus*. Striking examples are PSELLOS, who composed a commentary on the *Physics*, MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, who commented on most parts of the *Corpus* including the zoological treatises, and Theodore METOCHITES, whose contributions to philosophical studies included paraphrases of the *Parva naturalia*. (See also JOHN ITALOS and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA.)

Aristotle and the Church Fathers. While the Alexandrian school made a serious study of Aristotle in the 4th–6th C., church fathers, esp. those of the Latin West, were cautious in their approach to Peripatetic philosophy; Jerome emphasized that it was heretics who cited Aristotle. In the East, Eusebios of Caesarea refuted various points of Aristotelian teaching, but some theologians (esp. NEMESIOS) drew upon Aristotle; Aristotelian logic became an important vehicle of argumentation in the Cappadocian fathers, and John of Damascus used Aristotle to build his system of Christian doctrine. The major points of Peripatetic philosophy that Byz. theologians found unacceptable were Aristotle's rejection of divine Providence as a decisive factor directing the universe; the concept that the god is physically represented in the fifth element, the ether, so that the god was reduced to the "soul of the world" that moves material things; the idea that visible things are coeternal with the god; and the doctrine of the mortality of the human soul, while only the *nous* (mind, intelligence) remained immortal.

ED. *Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca*, 23 vols. (Berlin 1882–1909).

LIT. *Aristoteles, Werk und Wirkung: Paul Moraux gewidmet*, vol. 2, ed. J. Wiesner (Berlin–New York 1987). D. Harlfinger, "Einige Grundzüge der Aristoteles-Überlieferung," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 447–83. K. Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 133–46. H.G. Thümmel, "Zur Tradition des aristotelischen Weltbildes in christlicher Zeit," *BBA* 52 (1985) 73–80. T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). S. Lilla, *DPAC* 1:349–63. A.J. Festugière, *L'idéal religieux des Grecs et l'Évangile*² (Paris 1932) 221–63.

–J.D., A.K.

ARITHMOS (ἀριθμός, lit. "number"), or *poson*, in documents from the mid-10th to mid-12th C. a fiscal term referring to the specific number of PAROIKOS (or DOULOPAROIKOS) families granted by the emperor to an individual or an ecclesiastical corporation. This number served as a means of quantifying a grant and could not be reduced or increased without imperial approval. In a chry-

sobull of 1148, Manuel I emphatically prohibited *aposos* grants of *paroikoi*, that is, without indication of "number" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:377.26–27). Nikephoros III, in a chrysobull of 1079, emphasized that the specific *arithmos* could be increased or maintained only from the children and grandchildren of the *douloparoikoi* of the monastery that received the grant (*Lavra* 1, no.38.24–26); a similar formula is found in a charter of Manuel I of 1156—the *poson* of 12 *paroikoi* was to be preserved, after the death of one of them, by drawing from their children (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 32.19–21). This meant that one and only one son (or grandson) of a peasant who was included in an *arithmos* would replace his father in that role; the state could deprive the landowner of peasants above the *arithmos*.

The fiscal and economic character of grants of an *arithmos* as well as the status and obligations of *paroikoi* within an *arithmos* are poorly understood. Although Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:63.14–15) uses *arithmos* once to refer to the sizes of PRONOIA grants, the concept of *arithmos* was superseded after the 12th C. by that of POSOTES, in which the object quantified was not the number of persons but the sum of endowed tax (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 245). In a charter of 1385 the monastery of St. Paul was granted not an *arithmos* of peasants but all the "natural (*physikoi*) *paroikoi*" of a certain area (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 2 [1949] 321). (For *arithmos* as the term for a military unit, see VIGLA.)

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 102f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 27–31. –M.B.

ARIUS (Ἄρειος), theologian, founder of ARIANISM; born Libya? ca.250, died Constantinople 336. A student of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, after ordination as a priest he became a popular preacher in Alexandria, and ca.318 his teachings began to excite controversy. Because he said that Christ was not coeternal with the Father, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, condemned him and he fled to Nikomedeia. The controversy soon spread throughout the East, and Arius won the support of many influential churchmen such as EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. Constantine I became involved in the controversy and summoned the Council of NICAEA in 325; Arius was condemned and exiled to Illyria. In 328 Constantine recalled Arius, who soon managed to convince the emperor of the correctness of his views. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria opposed Arius's teaching, but the latter allied with supporters of the first MELETIAN SCHISM; Athanasios was exiled, and the council of Tyre and Jerusalem rehabilitated Arius in 335.

"A man of the big city" (Kannengiesser, *infra* 208), Arius was an ascetic and a spiritual leader to numerous holy women and other disciples, a passionate preacher, and commentator on the Bible. Of his writings only fragments are left: a letter to Eusebios of Nikomedeia and another to Alexander of Alexandria as well as the *Thalia* (Banquet), written at least partly in metric form (M.L. West, *JThSt* 33 [1982] 98–105) before 320 (C. Kannengiesser in *Kyriakon* 1 [Münster 1970] 346–51) and presenting his doctrine. Athanasios berates "the dissolute tone" and "effeminate tune" of the *Thalia*. According to Philostorgios (*HE* 2.2, p.13.6–8), Arius wrote songs for travelers on sea and land and for workers in the mills.

Athanasios relates that Arius died an ignominious death in a latrine. This tale, suspiciously resembling the fate of Judas, was developed in later legends (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 126–33; 38 [1968] 105–11).

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:7–13. C. Kannengiesser, "Athanasius of Alexandria vs. Arius," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 204–15. G.C. Stead, "The *Thalia* of Arius and the Testimony of Athanasius," *JThSt* n.s. 29 (1978) 20–52. –T.E.G., A.K.

ARKADIA (Ἀρκαδία), mountainous central region of the Peloponnesos. The name *Arkadia* appears infrequently until the 15th C. (e.g., in pseudo-Sphrantzes). During the period of the Roman Empire, the area underwent an economic decline exacerbated by invasions of the Goths (end of the 4th C.) and Slavs (7th C.); the latter left substantial traces in local toponymy. Old cities (Orchomenos [at modern Kalpaki], Mantineia, Megalopolis) disappeared; the name *Arkadia* was applied to the city of Kyparissia on the west coast of the Peloponnesos, suggesting a population movement; in Tegea-Nikli archaeological excavations reveal a gap between levels of the 6th C. and those of the 10th–12th C. Byz. authority in the region was restored after the expedition of STAURAKIOS in 783 and that of Skleros under Nikephoros I. The oldest church in Arkadia after the Byz. reconquest is probably St. Christopher in Pallantio of the 10th C. (A. Abramea in *Geographica byzantina* [Paris

1981] 33–36). Arkadia was placed under the jurisdiction of the bishopric of LAKEDAIMON; in 1082/3 Lakedaimon was transformed into a metropolis that included the bishoprics of Nikli, Pisse, and Ezerai. The area was conquered by the Crusaders by 1209 and divided into four baronies. Various monuments of this period survive, in Mouchli (see NIKLI) and Leontarion, near ancient Megalopolis (P. Velissariou, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 625–31).

LIT. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tes Arkadias," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 91–124. A. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnemeia Tegeas-Nikliou," *ABME* 12 (1973) 3–176. G. Petropoulos-Sagias, *Mesaionika toponymia potamon Arkadias* (Athens 1978). –A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS (Ἀρκαδιούπολις), name of two cities, in Asia Minor and in Thrace.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN IONIA (mod. Arakcilar in Turkey), suffragan bishopric of the metropolis of Asia (*Notitiae CP* 1.102). Its bishop attended the Council of Ephesus in 431; his successors are attested up to the 13th C. (E. Kurtz, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 103.8; J. Nicole, *REGr* 7 [1894] 80.26). Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, nos. 292–93) ascribes to this see two seals of bishops of the 10th–11th C., arguing that the hierarch of Thracian Arkadiopolis at that time would have been an archbishop.

LIT. R. Janin, *DHGE* 3:1483f. –A.K.

ARKADIOPOLIS IN THRACE (mod. Luleburgaz, in European Turkey), city on the route from ADRIANOPLE to Constantinople, built on the site of ancient Bergoule. This ancient name was retained by late Roman geographers (*Tabula Peutingeriana*, Cosmographer of Ravenna, Hierokles, etc.) but in notitiae it appears already as Arkadiopolis—the see of the autocephalous archbishopric of Europe (*Notitiae CP* 1.49) and by the late 12th C. a metropolis. Most historians, from Theophanes to Kantakouzenos, make Emp. Arkadios the founder of the city; Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:568.5–7), however, relates that it was Theodosios I who built the *polis* on the site of ancient "Bergoulion" and named it in honor of his son (i.e., Arkadios).

As one of the strongholds (*kastron*—Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.26) protecting Constantinople from northern invasions, Arkadiopolis was often subject to hostile attack. Attila seized the city in 441 and Theodoric besieged it in 473; Thomas the Slav retreated to Arkadiopolis after his assault on Constantinople had failed; in 970 the Rus' army reached Arkadiopolis but was defeated at its walls by Bardas Skleros. The stronghold was an important station on the route of the Third Crusade: the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI describes the attack of German soldiers on *Archadinopolim* where they found much wine and other stored goods. Near the "*polisma* built by Arkadios," writes Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 446.67), the general Alexios Gidos was routed by rebellious Bulgarians and Vlachs in 1194. After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the *civitas Archadiopoli* (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 218.27) was given to Venice, but the rights to it were disputed, and the city changed hands several times; according to Choniates, it suffered serious destruction, and Villehardouin relates that its inhabitants left the city and sought refuge in Adrianople. According to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:541.17–21), by his time Arkadiopolis was an ancient city in ruins; he mentions that in 1340 Andronikos III planned to rebuild it.

LIT. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 99f. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," *Byzantina Sorbonensia* 7 (1988) 231–33. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:206f. –A.K.

ARKADIOS (Ἀρκάδιος), emperor in the East (395–408); born Constantinople 377/8, died Constantinople 1 May 408. The son of THEODOSIOS I and Aelia Flaccilla, he became augustus in 383. Left as regent in Constantinople in 394 when his father departed to fight the usurper EUGENIUS, he shared power with his brother HONORIUS after the death of Theodosios the following year. Apparently weak-willed and averse to action (Zosim. 5.12.1; Philostorg., *HE* 11.3), Arkadios was dominated by others, first by RUFINUS (395–96), then EUTROPIOS (396–400), his wife EUDOXIA (400–04), and finally the praetorian prefect ANTHEMIOS (404–08). During Arkadios's reign ALARIC ravaged the Balkans, while the Huns broke through the Caspian Gates and the ISAURIANS disturbed eastern Asia Minor. Although Arkadios may not have dominated policy, important developments marked his reign: the growing movement toward the proscription of paganism, the defeat of GAINAS and the Germanic threat to Constantinople, and the deposition of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The court of Arkadios encouraged the development of a new concept of imperial victory based not on the

military prowess of the emperor but on his piety, reflected in new symbols of victory set up in the HIPPODROME and in the Column of Arkadios erected in 400.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–58. Demougeot, *Unité* 93–410. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:157–226. –T.E.G.

ARKARIOS (*ἀρκάριος*, Lat. *arcarius*), in the late Roman Empire the name of various subordinate officials of treasuries—imperial, provincial, military, even private—who were often slaves or freedmen (P. Habel, *RE* 2 [1896] 429–31). In Byz. practice the term retained a very restricted meaning. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *arkarios* is a subaltern official of the ORPHANOTROPHOS. The *spatharokandidatos* Leo, in the first half of the 11th C., held the offices of *chartoularios*, *arkarios*, and imperial "measurer" (*metretes*) (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.837), thus suggesting that the *arkarios* was probably involved in fiscal or economic operations. The NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:175.7–11) repeats Justinian I's law of 530 (*Cod.Just.* I 2,24.16) that ordered the OIKONOMOI of Constantinople to give an accounting to the *arkarioi* (of the Great Church—omitted in the *Nomokanon*) every one or two months. It is unclear whether this rule reflects reality or only tradition. In Rome of the 6th–8th C., the *arcarius*, as keeper of the papal treasury, was, along with the *sacellarius*, the most important fiscal official.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 100. Bury, *Adm. System* 105. S. Keller, *Die sieben römischen Pfalzrichter im byzantinischen Zeitalter* (Stuttgart 1904) 108–12. –A.K.

ARKLA (*ἄρκλα*, "box"), a kind of treasury, probably provincial. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos mentions the CHARTOULARIOI of the *arklai* in the department of the GENIKON as well as their notaries; the *De ceremoniis* identifies these *chartoularioi* as "external," that is, acting outside of Constantinople (*De cer.* 694.19). A seal of the 11th or 12th C. belonged to a certain Demetrios, *chartoularios* of the *arkla* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.383). An 11th-C. fiscal document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30.34) is signed by Gregory Chalkoutzes, *chartoularios* of the *arkla* of the West, a department of the *genikon*.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 87. Dölger, *Beiträge* 69. –A.K.

ARK OF THE COVENANT (*κιβωτός* [Ex 25:22] or *σκηνὴ τοῦ μαρτυρίου* [Ex 37:5]). Usually found in narrative contexts such as the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS and illustrations to Joshua (chs. 3–4, 6) (e.g., in the JOSHUA ROLL, the OCTATEUCHS), it occurs rarely and symbolically elsewhere: a fresco in the CHORA treats the recovery of the Ark from the Philistines as a prefiguration of the Virgin (see also NOAH'S ARK), while KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES discusses the Ark's cosmological significance. As a vessel threatened but divinely protected, the Ark symbolized the church for NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (*Encomium*, p.36) and other commentators. Gregory of Nyssa's Life of MOSES (2.179) glosses the tabernacle as Christ and the Ark as his powers.

LIT. P. Bloch, *LCI* 1:341–43. L. Brubaker, "The Tabernacle Miniatures of the Byzantine Octateuchs," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1976) 85–90. –J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ARMAMENTON (*ἀρμαμέντον*, from Lat. *armamentum*), arms depot or arsenal in Constantinople. According to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 274.22–24), Emp. Maurice built an *armamenton* near MAGNAURA in 596 and set up his statue there; later sources ascribe both to Emp. Phokas. Guilland (*Topographie* 1:42) surmises that there were two different *armamenta*. There are some data concerning other arsenals. An enigmatic inscription mentions a great *arsenales* of Theophilos (Guilland, *Topographie* 2:107), and it is unclear whether this evidence can be connected with the mansion of Armamentarea (the wife of the chief of the arsenal?) allegedly built by Theophilos (Janin, *CP byz.* 455) or transformed by Empress Theodora into the monastery of St. Panteleemon (Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.IX [1964], 195). Some anti-Iconoclast texts accused Leo III or Constantine V of transforming the Church of St. Euphemia into an arms depot. Arsenals in the Blachernai region and on the Propontis are known in the 14th C.

The administration of *armamenta* presents some problems as well. Both the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mention the *archon* of the *armamenton*; Theophanes (297.17) speaks of *ho epano* of the *armamenton* in the reign of Phokas; Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) denies the existence of the *katepano* of the *armamenton*, whereas Ahrweiler (*Mer* 424, n.4) doubts his thesis. Seals mention the *archon*, *strategos*, and *chartoularios* of the imperial *armamenton*. Questionable, however,

is the figure of the *kourator* of Arsanas or Artzanas whom Laurent considered a member of the staff of the *armamenton*—it would be more reasonable to interpret Arsanas as a local name, not as an arsenal. *Armamenta* possessed pack animals—a bronze tablet of the 6th C. indicates that they were exempt from ANGAREIAI (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.187; cf. N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 49–52).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 118. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt. IX (1964), 193–96. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:343–46. –A.K.

ARMBAND (usually in plural form ψελ(λ)ία, Lat. *armillae*). The term usually refers to a military ornament, worn by Germanic soldiers on the upper arm. Elsewhere, it is described as *armilla gallica*, a BRACELET inset with gem stones, worn on the lower arm. In the Romano-Byz. world the term *armillae* normally refers to military insignia in the form of armbands, made of silver and worn in pairs, one, or sometimes two, on each arm. Examples of *armillae*, as part of the emperor's largesse, may be seen in the exergues of 4th–7th-C. medallions (e.g., *DOCat* 2, no.2), where they are shown as complete rings. Elsewhere, as in illustrations in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, they are shown as incomplete hoops, with the open ends forming knobs. The two spectacular enameled bracelets found in Thessalonike in 1958 (*Splendeur de Byz.* 190) have also been called *armillae*.

LIT. R. MacMullen, "The Emperor's Largesses," *Latomus* 21 (1962) 159–66. R. Elze, "*Baugen-armillae*: Zur Geschichte der königlichen Armspangen," MGH *Schriften* 13.2 (1955) 538–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:388f. –S.D.C.

ARMBANDS, AMULETIC, were manufactured in Egypt and Syria in the 6th–8th C. Most often silver, such JEWELRY is distinguished by recurrent inscriptions and images, and by a ribbonlike design with incised figural medallions. Typically these armbands show at least part of the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE as well as the beginning of the apotropaic 90th Psalm. More elaborate examples add RING SIGNS, apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS, the HOLY RIDER, and some form of CHNOUBIS. Because these armbands are closely related to Medusa AMULETS, which in addition to the above words and images bear various uterine incantations, they too were probably made specifically for women and control of the uterus.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine & Magic" 75–77. M. Piccirillo, "Un braccialetto cristiano della regione di Betlem," *Lib.ann.* 29 (1979) 244–52. –G.V.

ARMENIA (Ἀρμενία), kingdom and province on the northeast frontier of Byz. Much of medieval Armenian history remains obscure and problematic because of the lack of native sources before the Armenian alphabet was created (5th C.) and the limited point of view of subsequent ecclesiastical historians. They were hostile to Iranian and Muslim cultures and Byz. Orthodoxy, which they rejected as nestorianizing after the Council of CHALCEDON. They focused primarily on northern Armenia and often supported the interests of a particular noble family. The christianization of the country at the beginning of the 4th C. drew it toward the Romans and away from its Iranian past. Nevertheless, throughout the Middle Ages, Armenia remained a buffer zone oscillating between the classical world and the East. Consequently, its own history was conditioned by the balance of power beyond its borders, even though the native language, culture, and customs were stubbornly maintained. Internally, the sharp geographical divisions of the Armenian plateau fostered the centrifugal tendencies of the magnates, jealous of their prerogatives and inclined to view the ruler merely as *primus inter pares*.

Between 387 and 390 the earlier tripartite "Armenia" (the imperial province of Armenia Minor west of the Euphrates, the kingdom of Greater Armenia east of the river, and the southern SATRAPIES) was transformed by the division of the ARSACID realm of Greater Armenia into a smaller imperial portion and a much larger Persarmenia (comprising some four-fifths of the former kingdom) along a north-south line from Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) on the upper Euphrates to DARA in Mesopotamia. The Arsacid dynasty disappeared in both portions in the early 5th C. Thereafter, Persarmenia was governed by a *marzpan*, often a native magnate, residing at DUIN, while the imperial portion, Armenia Interior, was first administered by a *comes Armeniae* until Justinian I (nov.31 in 536) fused it with Armenia Minor, the Satrapies, and parts of PONTOS to form regular imperial provinces known as Armenia I–IV. This pattern survived almost three centuries when Emp. Maurice, by the peace of 591, greatly increased the imperial portion by extending the Byz. frontier eastward almost to Duin and the northwest

corner of Lake Van. Armeno-Byz. relations grew increasingly strained during this period as Byz. attempts to force Armenia back into communion with Constantinople and to impose imperial institutions and customs fueled the hostility of the powerful native clergy and of the local magnates whose prerogatives were threatened. As a result, the Arab invasions of the mid-7th C. met comparatively little opposition.

At first, the Muslim occupation of Armenia was relatively mild and taxes remained low because the caliphate relied on the Armenian cavalry to repel the KHAZARS raiding through the Caucasian passes. Administratively, Armenia was now joined with Iberia and Caucasian ALBANIA to form the province of Armīniya governed by an *ostikan* residing first at Duin and subsequently at Partaw/Bardha'a in Azerbaijan. Much of the western portion of Armenia, however, was incorporated into a military zone turned against Byz. Conditions in Armenia began to change in the 8th C. when the Arabs, profiting from the crises distracting Constantinople, tightened their hold. The turbulence of the Armenian nobles stirred up Muslim fanaticism and led to punitive expeditions, massacres, and deportations; much of the Armenian nobility was annihilated, and numerous Muslim emirates were established in the country.

From the 9th C. onward, Byz. eastward expansion and the simultaneous decline of the 'Abbāsid caliphate permitted a native revival. The Bagratid dynasty established itself in the north while the Arcruni controlled most of VASPURAKAN in the south. Armenian autonomy was recreated with the coronation of AŠOT I THE GREAT Bagratuni in 884 and that of Gagik Arcruni in 908, and the external balance of power was reestablished. This second period of independence, though politically fragile and increasingly fragmented, lasted almost two centuries; the native culture may have reached its zenith during this period (see ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE; ARMENIAN LITERATURE). Armenia likewise prospered through extensive international trade until Byz. expansion destroyed the external equilibrium once again.

Byz. expansion into Armenia began in the second half of the 10th C., and TARŌN became an imperial province in 966/7, but in 974 Emp. John I Tzimiskes was still collaborating with King AŠOT III. Byz. annexation of Armenia accelerated in the next century. In successive campaigns, Basil II gained much of western Armenia, which became the theme of IBERIA early in the 11th C. The cession of Vaspurakan threatened by the first Turkish invasions of the empire led to the creation of the Katepanate of Basprakania (VASPURAKAN) in 1021/2. Byz. imperial pressure finally caused GAGIK II to abdicate and surrender ANI to Byz. in 1045, after repeated attacks against the capital had failed. Imperial armies also failed to take Duin from the Muslims, but by the mid-11th C. most of Armenia had been converted into imperial themes—Tarōn, Iberia, Basprakania, and MESOPOTAMIA—while the native nobility migrated to CAPPADOCIA, GEORGIA, or CILICIA.

As the Seljuks overran the country, the Byz. annexation of Armenia proved short-lived and ended with the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071. Thereafter, Muslim dynasties controlled Armenia except for a brief revival under the ZAK'ARIDS, who ruled the northern portion of the country for two generations in the early 13th C. This Indian summer ended with the Mongol invasions of the 1230s; thereafter Armenia, dominated by various Muslim dynasties from the 14th C. onward, passed for centuries out of the orbit of the Mediterranean world.

The equivocal nature of Armeno-Byz. relations in every period is amply attested. Some collaboration unquestionably occurred because imperial support was indispensable if Armenia was to repel Eastern aggressions, and Byz. relied to a large extent on its Armenian military contingents. Armenian nobles repeatedly served the empire and settled and prospered in Asia Minor and Constantinople (see ARMENIANS). Recurring religious dissensions marred these contacts, however, and Armenia's traditional social structure (dominated by haughty magnates holding hereditary offices and domains) was fundamentally irreconcilable with the centralized and bureaucratic pattern characteristic of Byz., and with its fiscal policies. Despite Armenia's rejection of Byz. language and religion, cultural and artistic ties were maintained; the Armenian architect Trdat was even summoned to Constantinople in 989 to restore the damaged dome of Hagia Sophia. Similarly, Armenia profited from the transit trade crossing the country—which led to the designation of ARTAŠAT as the only northern imperial customs post in the 5th–6th C. (*Cod.Just.* IV 63.4) and to the later prosperity of Ani—while Constantinople de-

pended on the same exchange for Eastern luxury goods and some Armenian products such as metals (silver, copper, lead, etc.) and the region's red-dyed and embroidered leathers and textiles. Nevertheless, Armenia's almost total deurbanization from 364 to late Bagratid times ran directly counter to the characteristic focus of the Mediterranean world on the city and hindered the development of Armenia's internal trade; lacking a native currency entirely, Armenia had to rely on Byz. or Arab coinage for all commercial transactions. The basic incompatibilities between Armenia and Byz. won out over their mutual reliance and prevented the integration of Armenia into the empire until both were overwhelmed by the Ottomans in the 15th C.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, *CMH* 4:593–637. M. Canard, *EI*[2] 1:634–50. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970). Manandyan, *Trade and Cities*. N.G. Garsoïan, "The Early-Mediaeval Armenian City—An Alien Element," *Journal of the Ancient Near Eastern Society* 16–17 (1984–85 [1988]) 67–83. Eadem, *Armenia between Byzantium and the Sasanians* (London 1985) iii—xii. –N.G.G.

ARMENIAKON (Ἀρμενιακόν), one of the first THEMES of Asia Minor, originated in the command of the *magister militum* for Armenia instituted by Justinian I. Although 9th-C. sources (Theophanes the Confessor and al-Balādhuri) suggest that the theme may have existed as early as 629, its *strategos* is first unambiguously attested in 667. The theme encompassed eastern Anatolia from Cappadocia to the Black Sea and the Euphrates. In the 9th C. the *strategos* of Armeniakon commanded 9,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold; his domain included 17 fortresses. The army frequently played a role in politics, supporting the revolts of Leo III in 715 and Artabasdos (their former commander) in 742. They revolted against Irene in 790, but supported Michael II against Thomas the Slav. The importance of Armeniakon derived from its size and strategic location. The original area was divided early in the 9th C. into Armeniakon, CHARSIANON, and CAPPADOCIA, and in the 10th C. CHALDIA became separate, leaving Armeniakon to comprise the western Pontic coast as well as the mountains and valleys to the south. Its capital was AMASEIA.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 117–20. W. Kaegi, "Al-Baladhuri and the Armeniak Theme," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 273–77. –C.F.

ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The medieval art of Armenia falls into three main periods: that between the establishment of Christianity and the Arab invasions (ca.305–750); that of the independent Armenian kingdoms (ca.862–1021); and that of the pockets of Armenian power that survived under Seljuk, Georgian, and Mongol rule (ca.1150–1500).

In architecture, many elements remain constant: churches are almost always made of a rubble conglomerate faced with large, finely joined tufa blocks. They are vaulted, and, after the 6th C., carry masonry domes. The exteriors of most Armenian churches barely hint at the spaces within. Domes are encased in cones or pyramids, and vaults are gabled. Apses are often embedded in straight walls. Steep niches indicate the position of aisles and apses.

First Period (ca.305–750). Prior to the 6th C. Armenian churches were single-naved or simple basilicas (F. Gandolfo, *Le basiliche armene IV–VII secolo* [Rome 1982]). With the notable exception of Ereruk (ca.500), they are also small and dark.

In the 7th C. the ties of Armenia with GEORGIA, Syria, and Palestine were strong, and this period produced a remarkable variety of centralized domed plans. Attempts to find examples, that surely predate the Justinianic taste for centralized churches have not been convincing.

Among the most popular domed CHURCH PLAN TYPES is the cross-domed basilica (e.g., St. Gayanē at VAŁARŠAPAT), in which transverse vaults raised to the height of the nave interrupt barrel-vaulted aisles. At the crossing, freestanding piers support a dome on squinches (a plan very similar to the Byz. cross-in-square). In the domed hall church (e.g., at Ptłni, ca.630) these piers abut the walls so that three deep niches replace each aisle. Here the dome is on pendentives. Small cruciform buildings with domes on squinches were also popular, as was the domed quatrefoil superimposed on a cube (e.g., St. John at Mastara, 7th C.).

External sculptural decoration is generally restricted to cornices over windows and doors and at the gable-line; internal decoration is limited to capitals. Occasional figural elements appear: Old and New Testament scenes, or donor portraits. Memorial stelae illustrate the same subjects. A large relief of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA survives, now built into the wall of the cathedral of Ojun.

Vrt'anes K'ert'oł's 7th-C. treatise in defense of

images indicates that some church interiors in this period contained images of saints and New Testament scenes. A few fragments of fresco still survive: a theophanic vision in St. Stephen at Lmbat, and Christ addressing the Apostles, at T'alis.

K'ert'oł also described MSS illuminated in the Greek style and bound in ivory. The 10th-C. Ejmiacin Gospels (Erevan, Mat. 2374) have 6th-C. Byz. ivory covers and include two illuminated pages taken from an earlier Gospel. The four full-page miniatures on these folia allow a fuller appreciation of the style preserved in the frescoes; all ha' strong ties with 7th-C. Byz. painting such as the apse mosaic at KITI and the icon of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos at Kiev (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, pl.12, no.B.9).

Second Period (ca.862–1021). Armenian kings of the 9th and 10th C. supported a very retrospective architecture. Seventh-century church types served as the basis for new dynastic monuments at ANI and AŁT'AMAR, and the same phenomenon occurs in smaller principalities (the Holy Apostles at KARS [937] copies St. John at Mastara) and in monasteries. The new versions are often steeper in elevation than their models. Sculptural articulation, though often based on 7th-C. forms, developed in new directions, from the elegant, attenuated arcading at Ani to the exuberant figural reliefs at Ałt'amar. Large-scale donor portraits, some carved nearly in the round, appear at Ani, Ałt'amar, Sanahin, and Hałbat. Islamic influence in this period is evident in the use of *muqarnas* (stalactite squinches), polychrome stonework, and large expanses of flat, leafy interlace, esp. in forechurches and secular buildings.

The *xač'k'ar* ("stone-cross"), a stone slab carved with a cross and a variety of other motifs, was used from the 9th C. onward. Serving a number of commemorative purposes, *xač'k'ars* are usually freestanding, but were sometimes incorporated into the walls of churches and other buildings. Especially after the late 13th C., donor portraits and Old and New Testament scenes appear on *xač'k'ars*.

Extensive fresco cycles survive at Tat'ev (ca.930)—where Stephen Orbelian (died 1304) says the painters were "Frankish"—and at Ałt'amar.

In some MS illumination, Byz. is the predominant influence, for example, in the painting style, ornament, and imagery (but not the placement of the scenes) of the Trebizond Gospels (Venice, San Lazzaro 1400, 11th C.) and in the narrative scenes in the Gospels of Gagik of Kars (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2556, 11th C.). Several Gospels like that copied in Melitene in 1057 (Erevan, Mat. 3784) include Byz. compositions (e.g., the Entombment of Christ) developed only after Iconoclasm. The illustrations, however, are placed at right angles to the side margins; the erratically drawn figures in bright, wash-like colors on bare parchment are not Byz. in character. Other MSS preserve pre-Iconoclastic imagery, some in a style reminiscent of the RABBULA GOSPELS or Ejmiacin Gospels (the Mlk'e Gospels, Venice, San Lazzaro 1144, dated 862), others in a flattened, linear transformation (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2555, 11th C.). The influence of Islamic court art is clear in the miniature of Gagik now bound into his Gospels, showing him with his family, dressed in oriental robes, seated cross-legged on rich carpets.

Third Period (ca.1150–1500). After the Seljuk invasions, smaller Armenian principalities fostered their own, often highly individual, art (e.g., the MS painting of Armenian CILICIA). Although some activity continued in cities (e.g., the patronage of Tigran Honenc'), it was the monasteries that became the most important focus for princely patronage.

Although patrons still turned to 7th-C. church types, they developed new plans for other buildings. Among the ZAK'ARID additions at Hałbat is the forechurch of the Church of the Holy Sign (1208–10), its roof supported by four intersecting arches, with a three-story bell tower (1245) with chapels on each floor.

The sculpture of the Prošian funerary church at Gełard and its forechurch (1285) is typically exuberant. Fleshy vegetal motifs and *muqarnas* ornament the dome of the rock-cut church, while animals and New Testament figures share the surfaces of the forechurch with crosses and interlace.

In the 14th C., the Orbelian family had tympana carved at Amału with a variety of new subjects, for example, the Ancient of Days (see CHRIST: Types of Christ) with the Crucifixion and Adam. This inventiveness also emerges in MS illumination of the period. At Glajor, under Orbelian protection, T'oros of Tarōn and other artists developed Old and New Testament imagery reflecting the anti-Chalcedonian theology of their abbot,

Esayi Nč'ec'i, including, at the same time, Western images, for example, the crowned *Virgo lactans*.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London 1978). *Documenti di architettura armena*, ed. A. Manoukian (Milan 1968–). T. Mathews, "The Early Armenian Iconographic Program of the Ējmiacin Gospel," in *East of Byzantium* 199–215. T. Mathews, A.K. Sanjian, *Armenian Gospel Iconography* (Washington, D.C., 1990). –A.T.

ARMENIAN CHURCH. Considering itself autocephalous, this church traces its origin from the preaching of St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR at the beginning of the 4th C. and also claims to be an apostolic foundation through St. Thaddeus. This double tradition stems from two evangelizing waves: the earlier came from Syria-Palestine and reached southern Armenia before the end of the 2nd C., the other represented the hellenizing tradition of Cappadocian CAESAREA introduced by Gregory into Armenia and continued by his descendants. This second wave, which predominated in the northern part of the country, ultimately prevailed over the Syrian one, whose existence was all but expunged from the sources.

The Armenian church still recognizes only the first three ecumenical COUNCILS. It rejects the Council of CHALCEDON as NESTORIAN, while simultaneously condemning MONOPHYSITISM, and holds to the Christological definition of CYRIL of Alexandria: "One is the nature of the Incarnate Logos." Armenian primates ceased to be consecrated at Caesarea after the death of St. NERSĒS I THE GREAT in the 4th C., but a break with Constantinople came only considerably later, at a date that is still debated.

Despite this breach, adherents of Chalcedon remained numerous, esp. in the western provinces of Armenia, as evidenced by the pro-Chalcedonian NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE (8th C.). The Armenian patriarch or KATHOLIKOS resided from the 5th to the 9th C. at DUIN on Persian territory and was thus free to defy Byz. ecclesiastical authority, but western Armenian bishops disregarded his injunctions and continued to attend Byz. church councils. After the new partition of Armenia in 591, the Emp. Maurice even succeeded in installing a rival *katholikos* at Awan near Erevan, thus creating a schism that lasted some 20 years. Herakleios and his successors continued efforts to bring the Armenian church back into communion with Constantinople, but all compromise formulas failed, and in 725/6 the Council of MANTZIKERT proclaimed the union of the Armenian and Syrian churches, while maintaining their rejection of extreme Monophysitism. Some attempts at negotiation continued in BAGRATID times. Armenian patriarchs corresponded with PHOTIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, but the Council of Ani in 969 again condemned Chalcedonianism and its adherents in Armenia. Relations worsened in the 11th C. with polemics and forced rebaptisms occurring on both sides. Armenian historians denounced Armenian Chalcedonians in the service of Byz.—such as Philaretos BRACHAMIOS—as traitors and "Iberians," that is, no longer Armenian. During the sojourn of the *katholikoi* in CILICIA (1051–1444), a final attempt at union under the *katholikos* St. Nersēs the Gracious (1166–73) failed after Emp. Manuel I died (1180); negotiations then focused, ultimately without success, on the Latin church, although relations between Armenia and Byz. were not entirely severed.

Byz. influence can be traced in Armenian ecclesiastical practices: Armenian liturgy follows the Greek LITURGY attributed to St. Basil and the custom of distinguishing between the black (celibate, monastic) and white (married, secular) clergy follows Byz. usage. Other customs, however, differed from those of Byz.: the use of AZYMES and unmixed wine for the Eucharist, for example, as well as the early traditions involving hereditary patriarchs and clan bishops are purely indigenous.

LIT. M. Ormanian, *The Church of Armenia* (London 1912). K. Sarkissian, *The Council of Chalcedon and the Armenian Church* (London 1965). V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980). Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IX (1984), 220–50. –N.G.G.

ARMENIAN LITERATURE. Until the year 400 the Armenians used Greek or Aramaic for their inscriptions, coinage, and correspondence. Syriac also was known in ecclesiastical circles. Only after MESROP MAŠTOC' invented the native script did a vernacular literature develop.

The pupils of Maštoc' traveled to centers of Christian learning, esp. EDESSA, the Greek cities of Asia Minor, and Constantinople, to study Syriac and Greek and to make translations. A corpus of translated literature rapidly developed. At first the emphasis was on liturgical, biblical, and gen-

eral theological writings, but succeeding generations of Armenians translated and adapted many of the standard texts of late antiquity dealing with secular scholarly themes.

Some of the first translators themselves composed original works, the earliest being the *Life of Maštocʻ* by his pupil Koriun, and the treatise on evil and free will by the latter's colleague Eznik. Though the authors of the earliest major histories are unknown, the genre of historical writing devoted to Armenian themes quickly took root: AGATHANGELOS described the conversion of Armenia in hagiographical style; pseudo-PʻAWSTOS BUZAND dealt with the conflict of Christian and traditional values in the 4th C.; EŁIŠE described the struggle of Christian Armenians against Sasanian domination in the mid-5th C.; the later MOSES XORENACʻI gave the first account of the beginnings of the Armenian nation and of Armenia's historical role between the Roman Empire and Iran down to the time of Maštocʻ.

Characteristically, historians wrote about a specific house or province rather than the country as a whole. Pseudo-Pʻawstos focused on the MAMIKONEAN family, and ŁAZAR OF PʻARPI composed a history of 5th-C. Armenia extolling the virtues of the same family for his patron, Vahan Mamikonean, governor of Armenia (485–505). The work of Moses Xorenacʻi was primarily concerned with the fortunes of the BAGRATID family, and Thomas ARCRUNI glorifies the merits of the Arcruni princes of southern Armenia in his *History*.

Interest in Hellenistic and early Christian literature is demonstrated by translations of many Greek and Syrian church fathers and of Greek texts used in the schools of the eastern Mediterranean. Among theological works of especial importance translated from Syriac are the writings of APHRAHAT and EPHREM THE SYRIAN, the Lives of 4th-C. martyrs in Persia, and the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (his *Chronicle* was translated from the original Greek). From Greek were also translated works by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. The *Refutation* by TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS influenced later polemical CATENAE composed by Armenians. In the secular field the translation and adaptation for the Armenian language of the *Art of Grammar* by DIONYSIOS THRAX led to extensive later commentaries on grammar. Works by the 6th-C. Alexandrians, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER and ELIAS, led to an interest in logic. Rhetoric was studied through the *Progymnasmata* of THEON and of APHTHONIOS. An Armenian *Book of Chreiai*, attributed to Moses Xorenacʻi, introduces Christian examples to illustrate traditional Greek themes. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA was used as a source for a unique work on geography, also attributed to Moses. Numerous works by PHILO were very influential, and the *Jewish War* by JOSEPHUS was used, at least by Moses. The popular ALEXANDER ROMANCE was reedited with a Christian interpretation of its meaning in the 13th C. Also in the 13th C. the Syriac *Chronicle* by Patr. MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN was translated and adapted to Armenian interests.

The first translations were made in Edessa and Constantinople, where Armenians went to study. After the 5th C. Jerusalem became a significant center for Armenian (and Georgian) scholarly activity. Armenians joined Greek, Georgian, Syrian, and Western Catholic monks on the Wondrous Mountain near Antioch at the time of the Crusades, but being non-Chalcedonian Armenians had no monasteries on Mt. ATHOS. Numerous works, lost in Greek and Syriac, survive in Armenian versions: e.g., Irenaeus, Eusebios's *Chronicle*, some commentaries of John Chrysostom, Timotheos Ailouros's *Refutation*, Ephrem's *Commentary on the Diatessaron* (of which the original was discovered only in 1957). Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, though Armenian was known by many Byz., e.g., the teacher of ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK. In addition, when Stephen of Siwnikʻ worked in Constantinople ca.715, he was assisted by a court official. Greek versions exist of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and one of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE.

Many Greek letters sent to Armenian bishops (5th–12th C.) are preserved with the Armenian responses in the *Book of Letters*, an official compilation of correspondence between Armenians, Greeks, Georgians, and Syrians. (Tendentious alterations to these documents are not uncommon). The compilation of CANON LAW begun by John of Ojun (*katholikos*, 717–28) includes the canons of many Greek councils.

Armenian writers evince little interest in later Byz. literature, though patristic works continued to be popular. Thus in 696/7 the *Ecclesiastical History* of SOKRATES was translated; Stephen of Siwnikʻ translated the corpus attributed to pseudo-

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (ca.715 in Constantinople), as well as GREGORY OF NYSSA, *On the Making of Man*, and NEMESIOS, *On the Nature of Man*. The translation of the 7th-C. *Hexaemeron* of GEORGE OF PISIDIA is, however, an unusual foray into later Greek literature.

Armenian attitudes to Byz. were ambivalent: interest in, and respect for, Greek learning remained strong, but they were tempered by fear of cultural and esp. religious domination. Not all Armenians were staunchly anti-Chalcedonian, but a defensive tone permeates much Armenian theological writing. Notably pro-Greek were the famous religious poet Gregory of Narek (ca.950–1010); NERSĒS ŠNORHALI, who worked toward a reunion of the churches; and GREGORY MAGISTROS. Notably, the last's 88 letters reflect Byz. attitudes towards learning and scholarship rather than a traditional Armenian outlook.

The historians generally pay little attention to Byz. save insofar as Armenian interests are directly involved. Thus the *History of Herakleios* of SEBEOS is of prime importance for the Byzantinist because it describes Byz.-Persian rivalry, whereas the histories of ŁEWOND and JOHN V KATHOLIKOS are less directly useful because they describe Muslim control of Armenia. Since Armenian historians concentrate on events in Armenia, they become valuable witnesses after the eastward expansion of Byz. power. In the late 10th and 11th C. Stephen of Tarōn (known as ASOŁIK) describes events up to the year 1000, while ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I details the collapse of Armenian independence. MATTHEW OF EDESSA is a witness to the coming of the Turks, the collapse of Byz. control in Armenia and eastern Anatolia, and the arrival of the Crusaders.

Although they attempt both narrative and explanation, the writers just named lack the sophistication of the first historians (e.g., Ełišē or Moses Xorenac'i). By the 11th C. more creative minds had turned to poetry and theology. The *Chronicle* of SAMUEL OF ANI merely notes events year by year, and this style became increasingly popular. Histories on a grander scale were also produced, however, the more important of these dealing with eastern Armenia, Georgia, and the Mongols. The last comprehensive history dealing at times with Byz. is that of VARDAN VARDAPET, but it is a secondhand source, since Vardan's career was spent primarily in Greater Armenia and he had few direct contacts with Greeks and none with Constantinople.

Loss of Armenian political independence in the 11th C. did not disrupt cultural life or literary production. Especially after the Armenians took control of Cilicia, they were receptive to ideas and influences from new quarters. Scholars traveled even more than in the past, though not so frequently to Constantinople. LATIN and Arabic as well as Greek were increasingly known. Gregory Vkayaser (who abandoned his see as *katholikos* in 1067 after one year in office) and NERSĒS OF LAMBRON sought out numerous texts in Greek and Latin not yet available in Armenian; at this time the Black Mountain with its many monastic centers of different nationalities became an important source for texts not yet translated into Armenian. Medicine, primarily based on Arabic sources, was studied. For the first time a secular law code was compiled, by Mxit'ar Goš (died 1213). SMBAT THE CONSTABLE revised this in light of Cilician interaction with the Crusader principality of Antioch, but Mxit'ar's work remained standard in the Armenian diaspora in succeeding centuries.

Byz. as a source of inspiration was irrelevant to Armenian writers after the 12th C. Nonetheless, the fall of Constantinople in 1453 did spark a literary reaction, and several laments (THRENOI) were written. This genre had a long history in Armenian, e.g., Nersēs Šnorhali on the fall of Edessa and GREGORY TŁAY on the fall of Jerusalem.

LIT. H.S. Anasyan, *Haykakan Matenagitut'yun*, 2 vols. (Erevan 1959, 1976). V. Inglisian, *Armenische und Kaukasische Sprachen* (Leiden 1963). K. Sarkissian, *A Brief Introduction to Armenian Christian Literature* (London 1960). R.W. Thomson, "The Formation of the Armenian Literary Tradition," in *East of Byzantium* (Washington, D.C., 1982) 135–50. Hr.M. Bartikjan, *To Byzantion eis tas Armeniakas pegas* (Thessalonike 1981). -R.T.

ARMENIANS formed an important and influential minority in the Byz. Empire. Before the Arab invasion they were settled primarily in the eastern provinces of the empire (Armenia I–IV) and had lively economic and cultural connections with the Syro-Palestinian world; certain Armenians (e.g., NARSES in the 6th C., VALENTINOS ARSAKUNI in the mid-7th) held important military and court positions in Constantinople. One might expect that subsequent developments would have severed relations between Armenia and the em-

pire. On the one hand, the decline of the city in Armenia and Byz. alike decreased trade and cultural exchange. On the other hand, the Armenian church rejected the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon; the radical anti-Orthodox movements of the TONDRAKITES and PAULICIANS attracted broad segments of the Armenian population. In reality, however, the role of Armenians in the empire kept growing, and many Armenians emigrated to Byzantium. The Armenian historian ŁEWOND relates several cases of mass flight from the Arabs, for example, that 12,000 Armenian nobles with their wives, children, and retinues found a home in Byz. ca.790. Some Armenian emigrés settled in Armeniakon and Chaldia, while others moved (or were removed by the state) westward, to the northern Balkans (Philippopolis became one of the most important Armenian centers) and even to southern Italy.

Through the 10th C. Armenians played an important role in the Byz. army, producing many generals and several emperors: Leo V, Theodora (Theophilos's wife), Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos, and John I Tzimiskes. Armenian commanders, such as MELIAS or KOURKOUAS, were instrumental in expanding Byz. territories toward the Euphrates. These Armenians were predominantly Chalcedonian, some of them even holding high ecclesiastical positions in the Orthodox church; culturally they were hellenized and contributed much to the development of education and knowledge in Byz. Nevertheless, the Byz. attitude toward Armenians was often negative, and the stereotype of "the cunning and treacherous Armenian" became firmly implanted in Greek literature.

The number of Armenians in the empire increased drastically in the 11th C. as several Armenian states were annexed, and their population resettled in Cappadocia and neighboring lands. These newcomers probably retained their language, religion, and culture, including habits and costume. The clashes between semi-independent noble Armenians and local Orthodox landowners and bishops were sometimes acute; GAGIK II perished in one such conflict. Chalcedonian Armenian and Armeno-Georgian families (e.g., PAKOURIANOI, TORNIKIOI) continued to hold high positions (esp. as governors of frontier themes) and probably 10–15 percent of the Byz. aristocracy was of Armenian stock, but there was no Armenian emperor in this period, and few Armenians were affiliated with the Komnenian dynasty. From the end of the 11th C. the Armenian nobility tended to create independent states in CILICIA and nearby; from that time Armenians who served in the Byz. army were predominantly allies and not subjects of the emperor.

Frequent attempts to reach a reconciliation with the Armenian church produced vast polemical literature but no practical results. Enmity toward Armenians grew, and Patr. ATHANASIOS I, among others, considered contacts with Jews and Armenians defiling (ep.36.6); Patr. Joseph I Galesiotes called the Armenians "a morbid and rebellious people" (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1400). In the last centuries of Byz. history, Armenians lived in Constantinople as merchants but did not play any substantial role in the administration of the empire.

LIT. P. Charanis, *The Armenians in the Byzantine Empire* (Lisbon, n.d.). E. Bauer, *Die Armenier im byzantinischen Reich und ihr Einfluss auf Politik, Wirtschaft und Kultur* (Erevan 1978). A. Kazhdan, "The Armenians in the Byzantine Ruling Class Predominantly in the Ninth through Twelfth Centuries," *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1983) 439–51. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980).
–A.K.

ARMOR. The 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA and other literary sources identify several types of body protection worn by Byz. soldiers. Body armor (*thorax*) for cavalrymen was made of chain mail or lamellar, small plates of horn or iron laced together or to a leather backing. These protective coats, called *zabai, lorikia,* or *klibania,* varied in length, reaching the ankles, knees, or waist. To guard against concussive as well as penetrative blows, heavy cavalrymen or KATAPHRAKTOI wore padded, waist-length surcoats (*epilorikia, epanoklibania*) made of wool, felt, or cotton over their mail or lamellar armor. They also wore apronlike coverings (*pteryges, kremasmata*) to protect the midsection. Armor for horses was made of hide, felt, lamellar, or mail, and covered the animal's face and chest; according to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 318.25–28), the horse of Herakleios survived a battle in 627 by wearing padded armor. Felt coverings hung from belts of light cavalrymen to protect their legs and part of their horses.

Infantrymen wore simple body armor such as knee-length quilted coats (*kabadia*) of felt or linen,

and other homemade types of armor are noted; a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 386.1–7) describes a soldier's linen corslet, stiffened by soakings in wine and salt, which was strong enough to resist arrows. Gauntlets (*manikia*) and padded wool or cotton arm guards (*manikelia*), sometimes overlaid with mail, and wooden or iron greaves are prescribed for both infantrymen and cavalrymen in the *strategika*. The sources attest helmets (*kranea, kassidia*) made of iron, either segmented or cast whole, sometimes with flaps of chain mail or felt to protect the face and neck; felt caps (*kamellaukia*), however, were more commonly used by infantrymen in the 10th C. Many illustrations show soldiers wearing caps or helmets with a cloth hung over the back of the neck, presumably to protect against exposure to the sun.

Shields of many types and sizes—oval, rectangular, and kite-shaped—were made of wood and often sheathed in leather or iron, and were secured over the soldier's neck or shoulder by straps to leave both hands free to handle weapons. The average infantryman's shield was fairly large, about 1.4 m long and 80 cm across, but light infantry- and cavalrymen carried smaller shields. After the 12th C., Western triangular shields appear in illustrations.

A warm climate and open, mobile warfare kept Byz. armor relatively limited in comparison with that of Western knights, but, in spite of the comments of Liutprand of Cremona that the Byz. were lightly armed, they were still better protected than their enemies in the later 10th C. The Arabs were amazed by the sight of the heavily armored Byz. *kataphraktoi*, and Skylitzes records that few Byz. were killed in a 970 engagement against the Rus', though many were wounded (Skyl. 291.95–99); he later cites the effects of heat on the "fully armored" Byz. soldiers during a long battle against the same enemy (306.44–46). Byz. soldiers were obliged to carry their weapons and shields on the march and could be severely punished for discarding their equipment along the way (Leo Diac. 57.4–58.10). For sake of comfort they did not wear armor while marching; instead it was carried nearby on pack animals, to be donned quickly in case of attack (*Taktika* of Nikephoros Ouranos, *TM* 5 [1973] 292f).

Practically no archaeological material exists to support the evidence of literary sources for Byz. armor, but details and changes in armor are recorded in art. The lamellar corslet is worn by numerous military saints and emperors depicted on ivories and in illustrated MSS of the 10th and 11th C. This garment is supplemented by leather straps suspended from the shoulders and waist, but Roman "fighting skirts" still appear. By the 12th C. knee-length coats of mail are shown (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.21). The greaves depicted in the images of the 10th and 11th C. were probably archaisms by that time, but innovations such as the kite-shaped shield, replacing oval and circular types, can be traced in representations of David and Goliath in Psalter illustrations.

LIT. T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 37–131. P. Schreiner, "Zur Ausrüstung des Kriegers in Byzanz," in *Les pays du nord et Byzance* (Uppsala 1981) 215–36. P.L. Theocharides, "Hysteroromaïka kai protobyzantina krane," in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous Symposiou. He Kathemerine Zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 477–506.

–E.M., A.C.

ARMOURES, SONG OF, a poem or tragoudi preserved in 15th- and 16th-C. MSS. It describes the exploits of young Armoures-Armouropoulos (the son of Armoures) who crossed the Euphrates with the help of an angel and annihilated a Saracen army. Despite the late date of the MSS, H. Grégoire hypothesized that the poem was a 9th-C. work (*REGr* 46 [1933] 29–69). On the sole basis of the resemblance of the name of Armoures to the name of the city of Amorion, he affirmed that the poem dealt with the Byz. retribution for the Arab capture of Amorion in 838 and that Armoures was Michael III. Even bolder was G. Veloudis's hypothesis that Armoures should be identified with the emir of Melitene, ʿUmar al-Aqtaʿ (*BZ* 58 [1965] 313–19).

ED. H.G. Beck, *Byzantinische Volksepik* (Munich 1963) 7–13. Fr. tr. by H. Grégoire in *Prace Polskiego towarzystwa dla badań Europy wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu* 4 (Krakow 1933/4) 150–61. It. tr. S. Impellizzeri. *Il Digenis Akritas* (Florence 1940) 33–36.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 53–57.

– A.K.

ARMY (στρατός, στρατόπεδον, φοσσᾶτον). The history of the army in the late Roman and Byz. period begins with the military reforms of the early 4th C. The legions once massed along the frontiers were reorganized into local frontier militias (limitanei) and mobile field armies (comitatenses) garrisoned within the empire. By the 5th C. five such armies under the command of

MAGISTRI MILITUM defended the empire in the East. Two armies (*praesentales*) were stationed with the emperor at Constantinople, two (*per Illyricum, per Thracias*) along the Danube frontier, and one (*per Orientem*) along the Euphrates; a *magister militum per Armeniam* was created in the 6th C. The forces consisted of native Roman enlisted men equipped by the state, and the FOEDERATI of many nationalities who were under Roman command. Foreign mercenaries (*symmachoi*) were sometimes hired as separate units under their own commanders (J.L. Teall, *Speculum* 40 [1965] 294–322).

The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE illustrates the transition during the 5th and 6th C. from Roman to Byz. methods of warfare, which increasingly relied on CAVALRY and ARCHERY in imitation of Persian and Avar practices (Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91). The army's total manpower in the 4th and 5th C. is estimated to have been as high as 650,000, of which only a minority were well-trained, mobile fighting men (R. MacMullen, *Klio* 62 [1980] 451–60). By the 6th C., the period of the great campaigns of Generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, Justinian I's army had decreased to 150,000 men. The continuing decline in the empire's manpower and resources was so acute that an army sent to fight the Persians in 578 numbered fewer than 6,400 men (H. Turtledove, *BS/EB* 10 [1983] 216–22). Internal rebellions and defeats by the Avars and Persians made the late 6th and 7th C. a time of crisis for the Byz. Although by 628 Herakleios was able to reorganize the shattered imperial forces into an army capable of defeating Persia, new, more aggressive enemies—the Arabs, Bulgars, and Lombards—inflicted serious defeats on the imperial armies and overran much of Byz. territory during the 7th and 8th C.

Two fundamental reactions to the 7th-C. military crisis shaped the Byz. army from the late 7th to the 11th C. The first step was the stationing of army groups (*themata*) in military districts (THEMES); four such armies are mentioned in 687 (R.-J. Lilie, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 7–47). The second step was the reimposition of hereditary military service (STRATEIA) in exchange for land (Hendy, *Economy* 619f). The thematic armies, recruited and maintained locally, were sometimes effective against invaders (as at AKROINON in 740) but were slow to mobilize and coordinate for campaigns. They often lacked discipline and military skill and were prone to rebellion (Kaegi, *Unrest*). This tendency led Constantine V to dissolve the OPSIKION army, which had represented the imperial field force, and create new imperial units, known as the TAGMATA, which were based in or around Constantinople. The tagmatic units were better equipped and paid than the provincial armies and formed the crack regiments of the Byz. army; after the early 9th C. tagmatic and thematic troops commonly joined forces for expeditions. The army was mostly composed of native recruits through the 7th to 10th C., although foreigners were hired (e.g., THEOPHOBOS) or foreign peoples were resettled within Byz. territory to provide manpower (Theoph. 364.11–18).

The army's greatest period was in the 10th and early 11th C., when the Byz. recaptured much of the territory lost to the Arabs and Bulgars. As shown by contemporary STRATEGIKA, the army's increased effectiveness was rooted in the efforts of such soldier-emperors as Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II to employ more heavily armed men (e.g., KATAPHRAKTOI) and to perfect combined infantry and cavalry tactics in battle or on campaign. At the same time, however, the army's composition and structure began to change; command was centralized at Constantinople (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 141–47), and the growing presence of MERCENARIES (RUS', NORMANS), already well attested in the 10th C., became even more pronounced during the 11th and 12th C. The old tagmatic and thematic units were replaced by new contingents—mainly foreign troops—billeted in the provinces (J.-C. Cheynet, *TM* 9 [1985] 181–94). Especially under Manuel I Komnenos, the Byz. eagerly attempted to adopt the Western panoply and tactics, but this had mixed results (R.P. Lindner, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 207–13). They also accepted such Western traditions as tournaments and the glorification of military prowess in literature and art. The size and multinational character of 12th-C. Byz. armies astonished their neighbors, but this and the centralization of command made the army unwieldy; the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1203–04 demonstrated the superiority of Western feudal armies over the imperial forces.

The emperors of Nicaea developed the traditions adopted by Manuel I and learned from their Western rivals; their armies were small but effective. They were composed of Western, Cuman,

and Turkish mercenaries, supported by provincial levies; Theodore II Laskaris later attempted to convert them into a national army to control the number and cost of foreign soldiers. The restoration of the empire in 1261 precipitated attack from various claimants and created a burden that Byz. was incapable of bearing. On the one hand, acting in the interests of great landowners, the emperors abolished the last troops of peasant soldiers who guarded the frontiers; on the other hand, they were unable to maintain the NAVY and substantial land forces. They tried to transfer the obligation of military service to local landowners at a time when Byz. faced the growing centralized armies of the Ottomans, which were primarily composed of professional warriors (JANISSARIES), and the swift fleets and skillful mariners of the Italian republics. The *Chronicle of the Tocco* reveals the relative strength of the forces in the Balkans in the first half of the 15th C. when it calculates the military detachments of local lords at between 20 and 100 men, and those of the emperor at 500 horsemen, whereas the Turks could afford to send 30,000 soldiers to Epiros (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 173). Nor could the Byz. compete with the Turks in military TECHNOLOGY, lacking, for instance, cannons such as those that the Turks used during sieges in the 15th C. (see FIREARMS).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 607–86. J. Haldon, *Byzantine Praetorians* (Bonn 1984). Ahrweiler, "Administration" 1–109. Angold, *Byz. Government* 182–201. N. Oikonomides, "A propos des armées des premiers Paléologues et des compagnies de soldats," *TM* 8 (1981) 353–71. –E.M., A.K.

ÁRPÁDS (Ἀρπαδῆς in *De adm. imp.* 40.48), a dynasty of princes (876–1000) and then kings (1000–1301) of HUNGARY. Constantine VII preserves a legend (contrary to Arabic sources) that Árpád, founder of the dynasty, received his power from the *khagan* of Khazaria and of the "Turks" (Hungarians). Circa 894, at the invitation of Emp. Leo VI, Árpád attacked SYMEON OF BULGARIA and thus began the occupation of PANNONIA and neighboring lands by the Hungarians. From the 11th C. onward, the Árpáds were in close contact with Byz.: according to a 13th-C. legend, Prince Imre (Henry), son of István (Stephen) I, married ca.1020 the daughter of a Greek emperor, whom de Vajay (*infra*) arbitrarily identifies as Romanos III; ca.1075 Synadene, a relation of Emp. Nikephoros III, was given in marriage either to an Árpád (Géza I [r. 1074–77] or LÁSZLÓ I [Ladislas]) or to a Hungarian lord (acc. to A. Kazhdan, *ActaAntHung* 10 [1962] 163–66, but contrary to Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 55 [1962] 381); Álmos, the blinded brother of King Kálmán (Coloman, r.1095–1116), fled to Byz., where he was renamed Constantine and granted the town of Constantinia in Macedonia (E. Szentpétery, A. Domanovszky, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 [Budapest 1937] 442f); Piroska (Irene), László's daughter, married Emp. John II in 1104/5; István, a brother of King Géza II (r. 1141–62), fled ca.1155 to Byz., where he married Manuel I's niece, Maria in 1161; László, another brother of Géza, followed István to Constantinople. BÉLA III was, for a while, heir to the Byz. throne; his daughter Margaret-Maria married Isaac II. An enigmatic *kralaina*, Arete Doukaina, who possessed lands in Byz. ca.1157/8, was possibly the spouse of BORIS KALAMANOVIĆ (V. Laurent, *BZ* 65 [1972] 35–39). Circa 1222 Béla IV married Maria, daughter of Theodore I; Agnes-Anna of Hungary was the first wife of Andronikos II and mother of Michael IX.

LIT. G. Györffy, *LMA* 1:1022–24. Gy. Moravcsik in *De adm. imp.*, vol. 2 (1962) 146. R. Kerbl, *Byzantinische Prinzessinnen in Ungarn zwischen 1050–1200 und ihr Einfluss auf das Arpadenkönigreich* (Vienna 1979), with rev. Sz. de Vajay in *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 10 (1979) 15–28. –A.K., J.B.

ARRHA SPONSALICIA (ἀρραβών, "engagement gift"), a payment in money or in kind that served as the guarantee of the BETROTHAL promise. It fell to the bride if the groom broke off the betrothal without good cause; in the reverse situation, the bride had to return the *arrha sponsalicia* to the groom and also pay him an equivalent sum. *Arrha sponsalicia* is first mentioned in Byz. law in the 4th C. (*Cod. Just.* V 2.1, a.380). Leo I regulated it in greater detail (*ibid.* V 1.5, a.472) and stipulated that no PROSTIMON be arranged in addition to the *arrha*. If the *arrha* was, until Justinian I, an optional payment, in the *Ecloga* (1.1–2) it appears as an essential act for the betrothal—as an alternative to the written contract with *prostimon*. The *Epanagoge* (title 15) and the *Procheiron* (title 2) return, as does the *Basilika* (28.1–2), to the Justinianic legal situation, which considers the consent of the engaged couple sufficient for valid betrothal, without payment of an *arrha*. Even so, the

securing of a betrothal through *arrha* or *prostimon* remained common. Leo VI stipulates (nov.18)—contrary to Leo I—that this securing should ensue through the "more important" *prostimon* (in contrast to *arrha sponsalicia*), as this was already taking place in custom.

In the wake of the extensive equalization of marriage and betrothal, the *arrha sponsalicia* survives as a payment, bound together with the blessing of the betrothal (*Reg.* 2, no.1116). *Arrabon* or *arrabonismos* become synonymous with betrothal. *Prostima*, on the other hand, are prohibited for "genuine" betrothals, since they should be as little dissoluble in exchange for a money payment as the marriage (*Reg.* 2, no.1167). According to the *Peira* (17.5, 17.14, 49.2) the betrothal was, on the contrary, still dissoluble through payment of the *prostimon*.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 647–53. P. Koschaker, "Zur Geschichte der arrha sponsalicia," *ZSavRom* 33 (1912) 383–416. E. Volterra, "Studio sull' 'arrha sponsalicia,' " *Rivista italiana per le scienze giuridiche* n.s. 2 (1927) 581–670; 4 (1929) 3–33; 5 (1930) 155–245. –M.Th.F.

ARSABER (Ἀρσαβήρ, Arm. Aršawir), early 9th-C. usurper. An Armenian of noble background (C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 150), he served the Byz. emperor as quaestor and *patrikios*. In Feb. 808 a group of lay and clerical officials opposed to Emp. NIKEPHOROS I, including the *synkellos, sakellarios,* and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, proclaimed the "pious and most eloquent" Arsaber as emperor (Theoph. 483.25–26). When Nikephoros discovered the plot, Arsaber was beaten, tonsured, and exiled to Bithynia, while his supporters were beaten, stripped of their property, and exiled. Arsaber had a daughter, Theodosia, who married Leo V (Genes. 16.82–83).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 337. Bury, *ERE* 14. –P.A.H.

ARSACIDS (Ἀρσάκιδαι, Arm. Aršakuni), junior branch of the Parthian royal house ruling in ARMENIA until the beginning of the 5th C. The precise date of their establishment in Armenia is uncertain, and even in the 4th C. their chronology remains confused and highly controversial. Reestablished on the throne by the Romans after the peace of Nisibis of 298, the Arsacids generally followed a pro-imperial policy. This orientation, deriving from their hostility to the Sasanian usurpers of their family's kingdom in Persia, was reinforced by their conversion to Christianity in 314. Their arianizing policy under Constantius II alienated the native clergy as well as the magnates, and Armenian sources disagree with the allegiance to the Romans claimed by classical sources. Jovian's abandonment of Armenia to the Sasanians in 363 led to the Persian occupation of the country and to the ultimate downfall of the Arsacid house. After the partition of Armenia between Rome and Persia in ca.387, the Arsacid branch on imperial territory died out within a decade, while the Iranian branch ended in 428. Descendants of the Arsacids maintained an important, if primarily military, role at the Byz. court: in the 7th C. an Arsacid named VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI made a bid for the Byz. throne; in the 9th C. an apocryphal pedigree made Emp. Basil I one of their descendants.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 160–377. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 354f. –N.G.G.

ARŠAK II/III (Lat. Arsaces), ARSACID king of Armenia (338/50–363/68); his birth and death dates are uncertain. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (25.7.12–13), Aršak was a "constant and faithful friend" of the Romans, who rewarded him in 358 with a tax exemption and an imperial bride. Probably because of his attempts at centralization and his adherence to Constantius II's arianizing policy, however, Armenian aristocratic and ecclesiastical sources are hostile to Aršak, portraying him as cruel and vacillating in his allegiance. Aršak seems to have supported the campaign of Julian the Apostate against the Persians in 363 (Julian's threatening *Letter* to Aršak is usually deemed spurious). Abandoned to the Sasanians by Jovian's peace of the same year, Aršak was captured by Shāpūr (Lat. Sapor) II and deported to Persia, where he died in the "Castle of Oblivion" a few years later.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 282–300. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.V (1969), 148–64. Eadem, *Epic Histories* 352f. –N.G.G.

ARSAMOSATA (Ar. Shimshāṭ, called Ἀσμόσατον [Asmosaton] in the 10th C.; often confused with Samosata in Commagene; now Haraba), a fortress on the Murad Su (Arsanias River) about

50 km east of Harput. Arsamosata was annexed to the empire by Diocletian in 297. After the Arabs captured it in the 640s it became one of their major frontier fortresses. Stormed by Theophilos in 837 and Michael III in 856, it was finally taken by Romanos I Lekapenos in 939 and became the center of a theme of the same name (Asmosaton) and a metropolitan bishopric. It remained Byz. until the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. Remains of a substantial fortress survive, with undated medieval walls representing the contraction of a sprawling ancient city.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 75–78. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia,* ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 247f. –C.F.

ARSENAL. See ARMAMENTON.

ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra (9th-10th C.). According to his *akolouthia,* Arsenios was born in Bethany (Palestine) during the reign of Basil I and became a monk at age 12. After being educated in Seleukeia (on the Orontes?), he went to Constantinople where, under Patr. Tryphon (928–31), he was entrusted with "the care of churches" (the post of OIKONOMOS?). He was then elected bishop of Kerkyra (ca.933–56), where he survived an invasion of "Scythians." On the other hand, an inscription of 1669 states that Arsenios's relics were transferred to the Cathedral of St. James, Kerkyra, in 869 (Athenagoras in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 436).

Several *enkomia* are attributed to Arsenios's pen: on the apostle ANDREW (*BHG* 105), the martyr BARBARA (*BHG* 218), and the martyr Therinos who died in Epiros (*BHG* 1799). J. Mateos (*OrChrP* 22 [1956] 368–74) ascribes to Arsenios the authorship of the *kanon* on St. Timothy of Prousa. Arsenios probably wrote the *kanon* of *euchelaion,* the sacrament of extreme unction for the sick (M. Jugie, *EO* 26 [1927] 416–19), and several other liturgical verses, including an Anacreontic on Easter Sunday (Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:670–75), in which he not only underscored the cosmic festivity but also employed pagan mythological images to portray the joy of spring. Arsenios's identification with his homonym, a contemporary of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and a friend of PHOTIOS, is questionable.

LIT. *BHG* 2044–45. S. Pétridès, C. Emereau, "Saint Arsène de Corfou," *EO* 20 (1921) 431–46. –A.K.

ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Nov. 1254–Feb./March 1260; May/June? 1261–spring 1265 [cf. V. Laurent, *REB* 27 (1969) 139f, 142; A. Failler, *REB* 38 (1980) 59–65, 39 (1981) 155–64]); baptismal name George; born Constantinople ca.1200, died Prokonnesos 30 Sept. 1273. Born to Theodore (or Alexios) AUTOREIANOS and Irene Kamatera, Arsenios began his career as the monk Gennadios at the monastery on Oxeia (Princes' Islands). He resided in several monasteries in Asia Minor until 1254, when he became patriarch at Nicaea. Although after Theodore II's death, Arsenios, together with George MOUZALON, served as protector of JOHN IV LASKARIS, he crowned the usurper MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS in 1258 or 1259. By 1260 Arsenios realized Michael's ambition for sole rule and, in protest, refused for over a year to serve as patriarch. In 1261, however, he was persuaded to resume his duties and performed a second coronation of Michael in Hagia Sophia in Aug. 1261. Shortly thereafter, angered by the blinding of John IV, Arsenios excommunicated Michael. Antagonism between emperor and patriarch continued until 1265, when a synod deposed Arsenios and banished him to Prokonnesos. Arsenios's deposition led to the rise of the ARSENITES; in 1284, as a concession to this faction, Andronikos II permitted the translation of Arsenios's remains to Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Perhaps at this time his sanctity was recognized; his cult continued into the 15th C.

SOURCES. Testament of Arsenios—PG 140:947–58. P.G. Nikolopoulos, "Akolouthia anekdotos eis Arsenion Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 365–83. Idem, "Anekdotos logos eis Arsenion Autoreianon Patriarchen Konstantinoupoleos," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 406–61.

LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 4, nos. 1329–1347, 1353–1374. I.E. Troickij, *Arsenij, patriarch Nikejskij i Konstantinopol'skij, i Arsenity* (St. Petersburg 1873; rp. London 1973). R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *Byz. Saint* 67–87. *PLP,* no.1694. Angold, *Byz. Government* 82–93. –A.M.T.

ARSENIOS THE GREAT, saint; born Rome 354, died Troia near Memphis in Egypt 445; feastday 8 May. According to an *enkomion* by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Arsenios, who was born to a noble and rich family, was invited by Theodosios I to Constantinople to educate the emperor's sons. Two sources (vita, ed. Phirippides, *EkklPhar* 34 [1935] 196.19; *enkomion,* ed. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 257.19) call him *pater basileon,* while the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 666.7) applies to him

the anachronistic title of *basilopator* (see Basileopator). A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:231.17–18) states that he was a deacon of the Roman church. After forty years in the palace, Arsenios fled to Egypt, obeying a voice from heaven, and became a hermit in Sketis, then in Troia, then on an island near Alexandria, and again in Troia. Theodore of Stoudios describes Arsenios as a hermit who worked with his hands, weaving and sewing, and educated his pupils and visitors with shrewd conversations. His short stories are reminiscent of the Apophthegmata Patrum, and indeed several stories in the *Apophthegmata* are ascribed to a certain Arsenios (PG 65:87–108). Theodore also describes Arsenios's physical appearance: a tall, lean man, bent with age, his beard reaching to his belly, his eyelashes worn away by excessive weeping. Symeon Metaphrastes included Arsenios's vita in his collection. The 14th-C. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos was the first to mention Arsenios's literary activity, so it is questionable whether two short pieces preserved under the name of a monk Arsenios (PG 66:1617–26) should be attributed to him.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Arsenios echo Theodore's description of the venerable desert father: he is gaunt, with an extremely long white beard (sometimes four- or five-pointed), and wears monastic robes. One *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 9, fol.1r) ignores his ascetic achievements and illustrates only his arrival on horseback from Rome and his instruction of the two young princes in Constantinople. His burial is included in another *menologion* (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.21r) and possibly on a fragmentary icon on Mt. Sinai (M. Chatzidakis, *Venezia e il levante*, vol. 2 [1974] 97, fig.67).

sources. T. Nissen, "Das Enkomion des Theodoros Studites auf den heiligen Arsenios," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 241–62, corr. E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 2 (1921) 293–95. *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Arsenija Velikogo*, ed. G. Cereteli (St. Petersburg 1899). "Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Arseniou tou Megalou," ed. N.S. Phirippides, *EkklPhar* 34 (1935) 37–55, 189–201.

lit. *BHG* 167y–169c. Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 159f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

ARSENITES, followers of Arsenios Autoreianos, who were in schism with the patriarchate of Constantinople from 1265. The rift began with Arsenios's deposition from the patriarchal throne by Michael VIII Palaiologos. The Arsenites refused to recognize Arsenios's successor, Joseph I, and all subsequent patriarchs until Niphon. Following several attempts by Andronikos II to reconcile the Arsenites, Niphon succeeded in negotiating a compromise; the schism officially ended on 14 Sept. 1310 in a dramatic ceremony at Hagia Sophia.

The Arsenite schism has generally been viewed not only as an ecclesiastical controversy but as part of the political opposition to the upstart Palaiologan dynasty by Laskarid supporters. The Arsenites, who had a strong following among monks and the populace of western Anatolia (the territory of the former Laskarid Empire of Nicaea), supported the revolt of Alexios Philanthropenos in 1295 and the conspiracy of John Drimys in 1305/6.

lit. V. Laurent, "Les grandes crises religieuses à Byzance: La fin du schisme arsénite," *BSHAcRoum* 26 (1945) 225–313. I. Sykoutres, "Peri to schisma ton Arseniaton," *Hellenika* 2 (1929) 267–332; 3 (1930) 15–44. –A.M.T.

ARSINOE. See Fayyūm.

ART (τέχνη). The Greek term *techne* had a broad range of meanings, including mental dexterity, linguistic ability, and trickery as well as the skills of rulers and physicians. It therefore implied something closer to craft and denied a privileged role to the work of art and to its creator. Art was understood not as completing nature, as in Aristotle, nor as possessing value independent of nature, as in the modern view, but as nature: art reproduced reality, including those aspects of it that were normally invisible (John of Damascus, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:126.2–3). Despite centuries of theorizing about the relationship of the image to its prototype, not until the 15th C. (Manuel Chrysoloras) was a practical distinction drawn between the image and that which it represented. Equally, written accounts of works of art rarely distinguish the material of which they were made: differentiations between the principal genres and materials are usually to be found only in inventories where they served quite other purposes than aesthetic appreciation or even evaluation as stimuli to religious faith. But descriptions of mosaic and wall painting (see Monumental Painting), the two main types of monumental decoration in Byz., largely ignore the contribution of the medium to the work's final effect, emphasizing

instead the lifelike quality of the image and its impact upon the beholder. Where the medium can be discerned at all, reports on ICONS, ecclesiastical SILVER, ENAMELS, and TEXTILES—some of the most frequently noted categories of portable works—stress function rather than form, message rather than materials.

Literature provides our primary means of access to the Byz. response to that which we call art and confirms the view that the purposes of representational art took precedence over its nature and materials. The effects of art—the magnificence of a building and its decoration, the glittering splendor of a piece of metalwork—all but efface other considerations. The purpose of ARCHITECTURE is to magnify the builder and often, as described in the VITA BASILII, to show that he has recovered the glory of the past. Such an approach links imperial founders, KTETORS of lesser rank, and church builders. The significant aspect of a structure lies in what it says about its PATRON: it shows that an emperor has restored (often "from the ground up") what had crumbled, be it the fabric of a building, the reputation of a city, or the strength of right belief.

On the one hand, what was ancient, when it survived, was prized for its own sake; on the other, its restoration was a Christian's duty and a credit to him. Since an icon was understood to function by virtue of perfect correspondence to its subject, panels were frequently "made anew" (Skyl. 384.21–24) and portraits in mosaics and MSS often remade. Lacking autonomous value as art, frescoes were overpainted with subjects sometimes quite different from the originals. Nonetheless, both the means by which pictures were produced and their ICONOGRAPHY demonstrate the respect for authority and tradition (Mansi 13:252C) and the emphasis on orthodoxy of thought and behavior, apparent in other aspects of Byz. culture. Many works can be shown to have a more or less close dependence upon earlier examples, due in some cases to direct derivation but more often to the employment of a conventional and ubiquitous visual vocabulary. This lexicon included individual figures and poses, GESTURES and BACKGROUNDS preserved either in model-books (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) or, more likely, in the MEMORY of craftsmen. Such elements were used or modified, and their syntactical relationships adjusted, according to context.

Thoroughly pragmatic, ARTISTS borrowed established forms, much as builders used SPOLIA, and usually invented only when an exemplar was not at hand. How faithfully older forms were transmitted depended upon opportunities for access to models and the purpose, training, and native ability of the artist. This approach to artistic production was reinforced by socially sanctioned notions of decorum, of what was appropriate to a particular type of commission. Although there were variations in the size of a *ktetor*'s investment, CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION conformed to highly developed ideas of what was fitting. Works in other favored media, above all textiles, BOOK ILLUSTRATION, and METALWORK, display similar homogeneity. While the same genres characterized Islamic art, the latter exhibited neither the Byz. emphasis on sacred decoration nor the resultant body of canonical subject matter. The overriding Byz. concern with an established and limited iconographical corpus likewise distinguishes it from the medieval West: most of the "profane" subjects—the virtues and vices, the liberal arts, the representation of trades and crafts—are largely missing from Byz. art.

The exploitation of older models was a phenomenon common to the visual arts and LITERATURE. Just as the 10th-C. historian Leo the Deacon was content to use descriptions of battles taken from Agathias writing four centuries earlier, so the 14th-C. mosaics of the CHORA MONASTERY, for example, quote details from the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL. Such "antiques" were valued both for their age and their potential as models. As descriptions were interchangeable in texts, so were details of physiognomy, clothing, and setting in art: identity often depended as much on INSCRIPTIONS as on formal variation. The benign and constant cannibalism of earlier work largely undercuts the notion of successive RENAISSANCES that have been imposed on particular periods. The supposition that painters of the 6th, 10th, and early 14th C. were more interested in ANTIQUITY than those of other times attributes to them an unusual motivation when, in fact, the use of ancient types was a form of economy on their part. The more frequent appearance of "classicizing" elements in certain eras is merely because of the fact that these were periods of cultural revival producing more works of high quality.

While particular instances of copying may reflect an act of choice on the part of a patron, this attitude was culturally determined. Overt ex-

amples of the political supervision of artistic production are few, but social control was compelling and depended on the various functions assigned to the work of art. Basil the Great (PG 32:229A) regarded images, like the lives of saints, as inspirations to virtue. More concretely, for Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:737D) they had the value of "silent writing." This didactic role was expanded in the 8th and 9th C. For the patriarch Nikephoros I the educative power of icons exceeded that of words, while Photios saw representations of martyrdom as more vivid than writing (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 23f). Independent of such theoretical statements, art provided a vehicle for the expression of supplications and gratitude to God (Sophronios, PG 87.3:3388C). Icons were a means of access to the divine and responsible, Psellos's mother believed (An.Komn. 2:34.8–10), for human success. As materially rich creations, works of art were considered proper gifts at holy sites (PIACENZA PILGRIM) and, as the will of Eustathios BOILAS and the *diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES make clear, to churches and monasteries.

Other types of document, notably the EKPHRASIS, emphasize the presence of Christ, his mother, and his saints, in their images. This sort of "realism" differs from that which allowed actuality to obtrude into representations of agriculture, navigation, and the like, and to invest biblical and hagiographical events with details that the artist's contemporaries could recognize. Since all attention was paid to the immediate significance of a scene, no attempt was made to present the past as such (see HISTORY PAINTING). Constantine I, for instance, was sometimes given the features of the reigning monarch, and incidents of the OLD TESTAMENT were employed for their value as PREFIGURATIONS of current events.

Despite such constants, developments in both STYLE and subject matter are evident over the centuries, particularly in monumental painting, which, to a much greater extent than in the West, was the dominant visual medium. Such changes are in part to be explained by church doctrine: the Second Council of NICAEA had defined the manner of representation as the domain of the artist. Before this time, art displayed the iconographical and formal diversity characteristic of late antiquity and its far-flung cities. Lively scenes drawing on the everyday world distinguish both imperial imagery (BARBERINI IVORY) and Christian themes (ROSSANO GOSPELS). A more rigorous definition of acceptable subject matter and its modes of presentation emerged from the search for authoritative, ancient statements concerning the validity of images both before and during ICONOCLASM. To a degree this debate was responsible for the evolution of an attitude, akin to ENCYCLOPEDISM, toward the artistic heritage that was at once selective and prescriptive. In the service of dogmatic clarity, art of the 10th and early 11th C. exhibits a formal austerity based on the principles of FRONTALITY and SYMMETRY.

These features have been seen as reducing the MONUMENTALITY attributed to the painting of the "Macedonian Renaissance" but they are symptoms not causes. Rather, the late 11th- and 12th-C. desire to express more complex Christological ideas and more affective expressions of EMOTION widened the range of art, in the creation of which the number of identifiable and named artists increased greatly. But territorial losses and the fall of Constantinople to the Latins in 1204 brought to a close four centuries in which the artistic hegemony of the capital had been recognized and emulated beyond the confines of the empire. Already in the 12th C. both Latin and Turkic elements can be found in Byz. art; this trickle became a spate in and after the late 13th C. Even before the Civil War of 1341–47 cut short a brief Palaiologan revival, the sponsorship of works of art had passed into the hands of local magnates, both lay and ecclesiastical; the final 150 years display a range of representational quality and manners at odds with the splendor and uniformity that had characterized 9th–12th-C. production and on which the reputation of Byz. art has long been based. Only very recently has the appropriateness of modern standards such as aesthetic autonomy and independence of its ideological well-springs been questioned (R. Nelson, *Art History* 12 [1989] 144–57). The recovery of and sympathy for the context in which this body of production came into being is now seen as a more direct route to the understanding of Byz. art.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Storia della pittura bizantina* (Turin 1966). A. Grabar, *Byzantium from the Death of Theodosius to the Rise of Islam* (London 1966). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (London 1985). A. Cutler, J.W. Nesbitt, *L'arte bizantina e il suo pubblico* (Turin 1986). C. Mango, *The Art of the Byzantine Empire 312–1453* (Englewood Cliffs, N.J., 1972; rp. Toronto 1986). W.F. Volbach, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Berlin 1968). –A.C.

ARTA (Ἄρτα), located at the site of ancient Ambrakia, on the river Arachthos, about 13 km north of the Gulf of Arta; capital of the state of Epiros from 1205 onward. There is no certain information on Arta before the end of the 11th C. In the 12th C., however, Arta was an important trade center frequented by Venetians and an archbishopric (its archbishop is attested in 1157); an *episkepsis* of Arta probably existed within the theme of Nikopolis. The city flourished in the 13th C.: it was fortified evidently after 1227 (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 2 [1936] 156f), and excavated artifacts suggest local ceramic production (A. Vavylopoulou-Charitonidou, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 453–72). The Chronicle of the Tocco describes Arta as the center of a fertile agricultural region with many water buffaloes, cows, and horses; merchants from Venice and Dubrovnik competed for the market of Arta, which supplied dried meat, lard, ham, furs, and indigo.

Arta was attacked by the empire of Nicaea and fell briefly in 1259 to Nicaean troops. The restored empire continued these assaults: Andronikos II attacked Arta unsuccessfully, but in 1338 Andronikos III took it. After a rebellion led by Nikephoros Basilakes the city surrendered to John Kantakouzenos. Afterwards Arta changed hands many times: it was conquered by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, then passed to the Albanians, and in 1416 to Carlo I Tocco. It fell to the Ottomans in 1449.

The bishopric of Arta does not appear regularly in the notitiae and may have been combined with that of nearby Rogoi. In an act of 1367 Arta is named the "bishopric of Akarnania" (MM 1:494.13).

Monuments of Arta. The fortifications of the acropolis have been attributed to Michael I Komnenos Doukas, but in their present state they are largely post-Byz.; the palace has vanished completely.

There are churches in and around Arta that date, in part at least, from the 9th to 10th C.: simple wooden-roofed basilicas, sometimes topped by domes with high cylindrical drums (St. Demetrios tou Katsoure), or of a free-standing cross plan (St. Basil tes Gephyras, early 9th C.?). But the main building activity in Arta took place in the time of the despotate of Epiros, when many of these early churches were also renovated. Because of the strength of this local tradition, the penetration of Constantinopolitan and Western influences into the region produced in Arta architectural forms of considerable originality that are beholden to neither. The 13th-C. structures, often still basilical in plan, have lively bands of brick and multicolored ceramic decoration, the latter even including figural plaques, as in the Church of St. Basil (S. Xenopoulos, *EEBS* 6 [1929] 387–97), while stone figural sculpture adorns column capitals and tombs as well as church façades.

The most important monument in Arta is the large metropolitan Church of the Virgin Paregoretissa, founded by the *despotes* Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas, his wife, and his son, ca.1290. It has a square, blocklike exterior rising three stories like a palace; on its horizontal roofline appear five domes and a lantern. The interior is spacious, being a form of domed octagon like Nea Mone on Chios, though the eight piers here are divided into three tiers, with reused columns serving both as consoles and as vertical supports. The walls of the church had marble revetment up to the level of the surrounding galleries, and the dome itself has a Byz. program in mosaic: a huge figure of Christ Pantokrator surrounded by seraphim and cherubim, and 12 prophets between the windows of the drum. The mosaicists were presumably brought in from a Byz. center outside Epiros, though it is not known which. Western elements are also evident in the carved Romanesque monsters and reliefs with biblical themes that adorn the interior.

The Church of the Kato Panagia, built ca.1250–70 by the father of Nikephoros I, the *despotes* Michael II Komnenos Doukas, has a barrel-vaulted nave, but a transverse vault rises high over the crossing to produce the effect of a dome. The plan, very similar to that of the Porta Panagia in Thessaly, has affinities also with Peloponnesian monuments of the 13th C. The monastery of Theodora (previously St. George) has a three-aisled basilica of the mid-12th C. The domed narthex added by St. Theodora of Arta (ca.1270) housed her tomb; a marble slab from her sarcophagus bears her portrait in relief, dressed as an empress, and that of a male figure, probably her son Nikephoros I.

Frescoes in the despotate churches of Arta are generally Byz. in inspiration (e.g., St. Nicholas tes Rhodias), most painted in the style of the early decades of the 13th C. The church of the Bla-

cherna convent preserves a fragmentary fresco showing a procession of the icon of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA through the streets of Constantinople (M. Acheimastou-Potamianou, *DChAE*[4] 13 [1985–86] 301–06). The church itself (part of which may belong to the early 10th C.) is a three-aisled basilica with a dome over each aisle; fragments of its marble templon with figures of archangels flanking the Virgin have also been preserved, as has its marble mosaic floor, and some inscribed tomb reliefs that identify the deceased as members of the royal family.

LIT. *TIB* 3:113–15. A. Ducellier, "Aux frontières de la Romanie: Arta et Sainte-Maure à la fin du moyen âge," *TM* 8 (1981) 113–24. A. Orlandos, "Byzantina mnemeia tes Artes," *ABME* 2 (1936) 3–216. D. Pallas, "Epiros," *RBK* 2 (1968) 258–89. Idem, *He Paregoretissa tes Artas* (Athens 1963). P. Bokotopoulos, *He ekklesiastike architektonike eis ten dytiken sterean Hellada kai ten Epeiron* (Thessalonike 1975) 20–28, 45–50, 56–69. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 144–46. P. Vokotopoulos, "Arta," in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Schauberg 1972) 135–61.
–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ARTABASDOS (Ἀρτανασδος, Ἀρτάβαζος), usurper (742–43). An Armenian (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 135), Artabasdos was appointed *strategos* of the Armeniakon by Anastasios II (713–15). He supported the revolt of Leo III against Theodosios III and subsequently received Leo's daughter Anna in marriage, the title *kouropalates* (Guilland, *Titres*, pt.III [1970], 198f), and the position of *komes* of the Opsikion. The report of Eutychios of Alexandria that Artabasdos came from Germanikeia, Leo's birthplace, may explain their strong ties. After Leo's death Artabasdos revolted against Constantine V in June of either 741 or 742, defeated him, and entered Constantinople, perhaps exploiting a reaction against ICONOCLASM. He ruled with his eldest son Nikephoros as co-emperor and received recognition from Pope ZACHARIAS. Artabasdos may also have crowned Anna and his youngest son Niketas (*Synopsis chronike*, ed. Sathas, *MB* 7:124.2–3). His most notable achievement was the restoration of icons (denied by Speck, *infra*, but reaffirmed by W. Treadgold, *AHR* 88 [1983] 94f). He sent Niketas as *monostrategos* to the Armeniakon, but Constantine defeated him in the summer of 743 and entered Constantinople on 2 Nov. of that year. Artabasdos and his sons were blinded in the Hippodrome.

LIT. I. Rochow, "Bemerkungen zur Revolte des Artabasdos aufgrund bisher nicht beachteter Quellen," *Klio* 68 (1986) 191–97. P. Speck, *Artabasdos, der rechtgläubige Vorkämpfer der göttlichen Lehren* (Bonn 1981).
–P.A.H.

ARTABASDOS, NICHOLAS RHABDAS. See RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS.

ART AND THE WEST. While the dedication of CONSTANTINOPLE as the new Rome symbolized imperial and artistic unity and Constantinople was patterned after old ROME in its topography and monuments, their shared traditions contained the seeds of future separation. After the division of the empire and the decline of the Western part in the 5th C., it was the art of the Eastern part that upheld the classical standards of old Rome while developing new Christian form and content. When Rome gradually lost its position as artistic capital after ca.450, Constantinople assumed this role; by the 540s its impact on Italian soil was evident in the architecture and decoration of the Church of S. Vitale in RAVENNA.

The new Byz. art followed in the path of Justinian I's generals and, where political hegemony was maintained, this art flourished. As the attempt to reestablish the empire in the West failed in the face of barbarian invasions, however, manifestations of Byz. art in Italy became less the product of state patronage and, as at S. Maria Antiqua in ROME, more the result of individual traveling artists or workshops commissioned by Italians. Byz. rule continued in parts of Italy until the 11th C., so Greek artists were readily available, and possibly so even in areas not under Byz. control (e.g., S. Maria di CASTELSEPRIO). ICONOCLASM may also have stimulated the flow of artists to the outlying provinces and beyond. North of the Alps, however, the impact of Byz. art was less pronounced. Major works such as Charlemagne's Palatine Chapel at Aachen and the early 9th-C. Lorsch ivory bookcover were sponsored by the Western emperor and other knowledgeable political patrons who sought to follow imperial Byz. models. An itinerant Greek painter may have worked on the Schatzkammer Gospels (Vienna) ca.800. Farther afield the strength and frequency of Byz. influence were much less. Discrete elements of the Lindisfarne Gospels show that the artist had indirect contact with Byz. art in the late 7th C.

Similarly the full-page Virgin and Child in the Book of Kells, ca.800, reflects a THEOTOKOS at some distance, probably filtered through intermediate works.

In the 10th–11th C., direct Byz. influence on artists working for the Western emperor intensified with the marriage of Otto II and THEOPHANO: an ivory (Paris, Cluny Museum) made for their coronation depends upon a Greek prototype. Byz. ivories also transmitted to Ottonian book-painters iconographic types such as the DORMITION of the Virgin, and a Greek artist probably worked on the face and hands of Christ and the Virgin in the *Codex Aureus* of Henry III (Escorial Vit. 17, 1043–46). By contrast, in the British Isles much more selective iconographic borrowings continue to be found, for example, at Winchester in the Benedictional of St. Aethelwold of 963–84 (London, B.L. Add. 59598). Farther south direct Byz. artistic intervention did occur at MONTECASSINO, however, to which Emp. Constantine IX made large donations and where Abbot Desiderius employed Greek artists. The impact of this project is visible in some of the frescoes of SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS and in numerous 11th–12th-C. bronze DOORS on churches throughout Italy.

At the time of the CRUSADES, Byz. artistic influence in the West increased. This new and substantial phase is represented by and emanated from the monuments of the Norman kings of Sicily at CEFALÙ, PALERMO, and MONREALE; at S. Marco in VENICE; and nearby at TORCELLO. Transmitted from Italy, with Venice as an esp. important intermediary, awareness of Byz. art spread widely through Europe at various levels of impact and understanding (A. Cutler, *Mediaevalia* 7 [1981] 41–77): in Spain in the now-destroyed chapter house at Sigena; in England in a major series of MSS, including the St. Albans Psalter and a series of giant Bibles, and frescoes at Canterbury; in France in MS illumination at Cluny and the frescoes of the chapel at Berzé-la-Ville nearby; and in Austria, Germany, and the Meuse valley in the work of goldsmiths such as Nicholas of Verdun.

The nature of the artistic relationship changed greatly in the 13th C. as a result of the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the Frankish presence in Greece during the Latin Empire (1204–61), and the strengthened contacts between Byz. and the merchant cities of Venice, GENOA, and PISA. The two cultures interacted in a way that affected both Byz. art in the 13th and 14th C. and the development of the *maniera greca* in Duecento Italian panel painting. This *maniera*, expressed early in the Kahn and Mellon Madonnas (Washington, D.C., National Gallery), evolved into the individual styles of Cimabue and Duccio; the prolongation of Byz.-influenced painting in Germany; the spread of panel painting to northern Europe; and even the provision of certain components of the developing Gothic style in France, seen, for example, in the Ingeborg Psalter (Chantilly, Musée Condé 1695, ca.1200).

The impact of Byz. art on the West in the 14th–15th C. is less clear, but one major change is apparent. Whereas until the 13th C. Byz. art had influenced the West without—except in the 4th–5th C.—the reverse being true, instances of Western artistic influence on Byz. became marked. Examples range from Italian-influenced sculpture in the Church of the Virgin Paregoritissa at ARTA, through Western elements in the iconography of frescoes at BOJANA, to the dedication pages of two 14th-C. Hippokrates MSS (Vat. Palat. gr. 199; Paris, B.N. gr. 2144), and a MS of the ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 42f, 52f). A very late example is the fresco (ca.1450) decorating Tomb G in the CHORA, "the first painting found in Constantinople in which clear-cut and precise evidence of direct Renaissance influence can be observed" (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:292–95).

Although the interrelationship of Byz. art and medieval art in western Europe is clearly a complex phenomenon, the asymmetry of artistic flow, mainly westward from Constantinople and its empire, can be explained by a variety of factors. These include the strength and stability of the Byz. artistic tradition, the authority of imperial patronage, the high artistic quality maintained at Constantinople and consequent renown of Byz. art, the direct or indirect dissemination of objects, and the growing familiarity of Westerners with Byz. art and artists through travel and specific commissions. Only after the Crusades and expanded exploitation of the Mediterranean trade routes brought the West into direct contact with Byz. could the former begin to affect the art of Byz. Ironically, the very catastrophe that definitively sundered the Greek and Latin cultures, the

sack of Constantinople in 1204, provided the decisive turning point when western Europe saw a major infusion of Byz. works. This and the implantation of Franks on Greek soil sowed the seeds of artistic interpenetration. The role of the Latins in Frankish Greece and the Holy Land, and the resultant CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE, remain to be fully studied; similarly, the means of artistic transmission and interchange must be further clarified. Clearly the importance of the Crusaders' intermediary role is one of the most significant new contributions to the understanding of artistic relations between Byz. and the West.

LIT. O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). E. Kitzinger, *The Art of Byzantium and the Medieval West* (Bloomington-London 1976). H. Belting, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1981). K. Weitzmann, *Art in the Medieval West and Its Contacts with Byzantium* (London 1982). *Il Medio Oriente e l'Occidente nell'arte del XIII secolo*, ed. H. Belting [Atti del XXIV Congresso Internazionale di Storia dell'Arte 2] (Bologna 1982). –J.F.

ARTAŠAT (Ἀρτάξατα), early Armenian capital on the north bank of the mid-Araxes River, founded by Artašēs (Artaxias) in the 2nd C. B.C. It was also the capital of the later Armenian ARSACIDS. Recent excavations reveal that it was a major urban center, but rulers rarely resided there and it never recovered from its sack by the Persians in 363. Nearby DUIN replaced it, probably in the second half of the 5th C. The main importance of Artašat apparently lay in its position on the commercial transit route through Armenia; it was officially designated one of the three customs posts between Byz. and the Sasanians in the 5th C. (*Cod.Just.* IV 63.4), a position apparently reconfirmed at the Peace of 562, even though the clause did not specifically mention Artašat (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6, ed. Blockley 70.323–26). The city slowly declined to the level of a village, but was still known to 9th-C. Arab sources as a center for the production of red dye (*kirmiz*).

LIT. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 44–46, 80–92, 101, 106f, 110f, 114f, 153. S. Der Nersessian, *The Armenians* (London 1969) 25, 28f, 64, 67. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 126f, 138. –N.G.G.

ARTEMIOS (Ἀρτέμιος), saint; died Antioch ca.362; feastday 20 Oct. Born to a noble family, Artemios was governor of Egypt in 360. An Arian supporter of Constantius II, Artemios persecuted both pagans and Orthodox Christians (*PLRE* 1:112). After Emp. Julian had him executed for his Christian beliefs, the deaconess Ariste brought his body to Constantinople, where it was later deposited in the Church of John Prodromos in Oxeia. The healing power of his relics became famous: a series of miracles is described in an anonymous collection of legends compiled in 660–68. Artemios mainly cured diseased testicles by means of INCUBATION inside the church. The legend emphasizes the miraculous nature of Artemios's cures: for instance, a certain George had a vision in which Artemios appeared as a butcher and performed an operation with a butcher's implements. Artemios's miracles attracted patients from Amastris, Phrygia, Chios, Rhodes, Alexandria, and Africa. It is questionable whether the Church of Prodromos was renamed in honor of Artemios.

PHILOSTORGIOS eulogized Artemios's martyrdom, and on this basis a *passio* was produced: Bidez (*infra*, xliv–lxviii) ascribes it to John of Rhodes (otherwise unknown); Beck (*Kirche* 482f) attributes it to JOHN OF DAMASCUS, although this is unlikely, since the *passio* is referred to in the 7th-C. *Miracles*. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included it in his collection of saints' Lives.

Representation in Art. The somewhat confused historical tradition is reflected in art. In miniatures of the *menologion* of Metaphrastes, and in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.75r), Artemios appears as a noble martyr with a short dark beard like that of Christ. In wall-painting, however, his military role is emphasized: he is dressed in armor and paired with other MILITARY SAINTS, esp. MERKOURIOS and Niketas the Goth. Scenes of his martyrdom apparently once adorned the templon of his shrine in Constantinople. His beheading is depicted in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.126), and there is a Passion cycle of eight episodes in an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Esphig. 14, fols. 90r-v, *Treasures* 2:210f).

SOURCES. Miracles—A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Varia graeca sacra* (St. Petersburg 1909) 1–79. Passions—*Philostorgius, Kirchengeschichte*³, ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1981), 166–76, with corr. John of Damascus, *Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 5 (1988) 183–245.

LIT. *BHG* 169y-174e. S. Žebelev, "Čudesa sv. Artemija," in *Sbornik statej posvjaščennych počitateljami V.I. Lamanskomu*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1907) 451–73. A. Kazhdan, "Hagio-

graphical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 200–05. P. Maas, "Artemioskult in Konstantinopel," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 377–80. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios at Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. K. Lehmann, "Ein Reliefbild des heiligen Artemios in Konstantinopel," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 381–84. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ARTEMIS, female deity of pre-Hellenic origin, whose cult survived in the late Roman Empire until the 5th–6th C. Artemis Ephesia, a variant who was popular in Asia Minor, was venerated as a helper of women in childbirth, as fertility goddess, and as city-protector. Her statues represent her with a dozen or more breasts exposed beneath a wide brooch and the mural crown. Sixth-C. poets also refer to Artemis as protector of women in childbirth. Her temple at Ephesus was closed only at the beginning of the 5th C. An inscription, probably of the 5th C. (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4 [Rome 1978] 400f), records a certain Demeas who "tore down the beguiling image of the *daimon* Artemis" and substituted a cross. At Sardis her temple was abandoned by the mid-4th C., and a small church was built at the eastern end.

The vita of St. Hypatios of Rouphinianai records in the 5th C. a festival in the Bithynian uplands called the "Basket" (*kalathos*) of Artemis, which the rural population celebrated annually. Hypatios allegedly saw her appear in the form of a giantess swineherd. In the 6th C. Theodore of Sykeon heard a rumor about a place in Galatia, possibly a sacred grove, where it was popularly believed that Artemis resided with many demons and killed people. In the Byz. polemic against paganism Artemis was represented as extremely cruel; although she was a chaste virgin, she enjoyed bloody sacrifices and killed strangers and thus did not fit the ideal of Christian morality.

Radically transformed from her Antique image of athletic huntress, Artemis, represented as a kindly, hooded woman, presides with Oppian over the introductory miniature of the 11th-C. Venice *Kynegetika*.

LIT. H. Thiersch, *Artemis Ephesia: Eine archäologische Untersuchung* (Berlin 1935). C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 32, 34, 86f. Trombley, "Paganism" 328, 334–36. –F.R.T., A.C.

ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY. The Byz. employed catapults (*petrobola*) and other stone- or arrow-shooting devices (*cheiroballistra*, *cheiromangana*) in siege operations. Although torsion catapults had been developed in antiquity, the Byz. normally used the less complicated and more easily maintained rope-pulled trebuchets favored by the Arabs, Avars, and steppe peoples (D.R. Hill, *Viator* 4 [1973] 99–116). A beam was fixed unevenly over a crossbar and a stone placed in a sling at the end of the longer arm; several men then pulled down the rope(s) attached to the shorter arm, flinging the longer arm upward and propelling the stone. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* provide an excellent description of rope-pulled catapults (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:154.9–22).

The *cheiroballistron* resembled a crossbow (see Weaponry). An arrow or stone was laid in a channel along the stock, while the string, fastened to the ends of the two arms, was wound back, locked, and released to fire the projectile. These weapons, usually mounted on stands, were used by defenders and attackers; Prokopios (*Wars* 5.21.14–18) describes Belisarios's men operating this weapon from a siege tower.

Remains of late 4th-C. catapults were discovered on the sites of some Dacian strongholds (N. Gudea, D. Baatz, *Saalburg Jahrbuch* 31 [1974] 50–72). P. Brennan (*Chiron* 10 [1980] 553–67) suggests that in the Danubian provinces of Scythia, Pannonia I and II, composite detachments of *ballistarii* were formed from both legions of each province; they operated catapults and other missile-wielding weaponry at permanent bridgeheads to assist expeditionary armies.

Siege machinery included wooden towers (*helepoleis*) built or rolled next to the wall. They often had a platform from which to shoot Greek fire (as depicted in the 11th-C. Vat. gr. 1605, fol.185) and were covered with soaked hides to guard against similar incendiary weapons. Soldiers also used battering rams (*krioi*) to break down gates; rams were also suspended from a frame to be swung back and forth against the target. Nikephoros Ouranos recommended tunneling above all other methods to collapse the wall (ed. J.-A. de Foucault, *TM* 5 [1973] 295–303). The soldiers made hutlike shelters (*laisai*) from branches and vines to protect themselves while undermining the base of the wall. Most artillery and siege machinery was built *in situ* during sieges instead of being transported. Engineers (*technitai*) accompanied the besiegers to construct the necessary equipment (Leo Diac. 16.11–21).

LIT. E.W. Marsden, *Greek and Roman Artillery*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1969–71). M.F.A. Brok, "Bombast oder Kunstfertigkeit? Ammians Beschreibung der ballista (23.4.163)," *RhM* 120 (1977) 331–45. –E.M.

ARTISAN. There was no special Byz. term for the artisan and, contrary to B. Malich (*BBA* 51 [1983] 47–59), there was no clear distinction between the artisan and the MERCHANT. Of course, there were professional traders not involved in production as well as craftsmen who worked for an employer (or a prearranged customer) rather than for the market; but both Egyptian papyri and the *Book of the Eparch* note various artisans (e.g., candlemakers, soapmakers, silk weavers) who sold their own goods. The major branches of Byz. craftsmanship were metallurgy; production of weapons; manufacture of jewelry, pottery, and glass; production of textiles and clothing; the leather industry; carpentry and masonry; the building industry; baking of bread; and production of vegetable oil and other victuals. Late Roman texts present a diversified pattern of artisan professions (H. von Petrikovits, *ZPapEpig* 43 [1981] 285–306) that presupposes a very consistent division of labor, although the list of names is longer than the number of actual professions because various terms are used to refer to the same profession. The terminology of the *Book of the Eparch* seems to be less varied, and probably only silk production and the leather industry reflect any significant division of labor.

Craftsmanship was divided into several categories: state *fabricae* or *ergasteria basilika* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL), GUILDS, and craftsmen outside state or guild organizations. Artisans were concentrated in towns; according to M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 11 [1956] 66f), they worked primarily in suburban areas—a thesis that is not supported by archaeological data. Monasteries (for example, the Stoudios) had their own workshops and monk-artisans. In *praktika*, the most frequently named rural artisans are smiths, tailors, and shoemakers.

Artisans appear more commonly in Late Antique than in Byz. art. An ivory fragment at Princeton (*Age of Spirit.*, no.254) shows a carpenter planing a board; masons lay up a wall in a fresco in the Via Latina catacomb, Rome (ibid., no.253). In Byz. their role is as peripheral figures in compositions honoring a KTETOR, as in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES (fol.6v; Weitzmann, *Late Antique Ill.*, pl.15), or as illustrations to biblical scenes such as the construction of NOAH'S ARK or the tower of Babel (see GENESIS).

LIT. J.-P. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain à l'époque paléochrétienne," *Ktema* 4 (1979) 71–119. Fikhman, *Egipet* 11–34. B. Malich, "Handwerk und Handwerksvereinigungen im Byzanz im Übergang zum Feudalismus," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* 4 (1977) 173–81. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 190–249. E. Kislinger, "Gewerbe im späten Byzanz," in *Handwerk und Sachkultur im Spätmittelalter* (Vienna 1988) 103–26. P. Schreiner, "Die Organisation byzantinischer Kaufleute und Handwerker," in *Untersuchungen zu Handel und Verkehr der vor- und frühgeschichtlichen Zeit in Mittel- und Nordeuropa* (Göttingen 1989) 44–61. –A.K., A.C.

ARTISTS. No precise equivalent existed in Byz. Greek for this generic modern term: practitioners of the arts and crafts are variously referred to in texts and inscriptions as *zographos* or *historiographos* (painter), MAISTOR, and *ktistes* used in the sense of an executant of a commissioned work (cf. KTETOR). No clearly defined social or economic boundary separated ARTISANS from artists, some of whom achieved eminence. LAZAROS was a member of two diplomatic missions to Rome, and PANTOLEON was on equal terms with a *hegoumenos* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of the Panagiou. Some artists were rich enough to act as *ktetores* themselves. A 10th-C. goldsmith named Gregory paid for the construction of a church at Trani; Michael Proeleusis (see list below), an early 14th-C. painter, rebuilt and restored a monastery on land that he had rented near Halmyros.

Unlike in ancient Rome, the practice of art in Byz. was not considered demeaning. Artists might be as lowly as the "poor widow woman" in mid-6th-C. Syria "who had been taught the art of drawing and used to . . . labor at it for her necessities" (John of Ephesus—PO 17.1:15); at the other end of the social scale its most celebrated exponent was CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS. Icon-painting was by definition an acceptable enterprise for a Christian, on the model of St. LUKE who was supposed to have plied this trade. Painters are frequently described in hagiographic texts as "inspired" or "skilled," and many painters are credited with privileged, supernatural aid that enabled them to finish their commissions. A great master like EULALIOS was celebrated by numerous writers of his time. Amateurs, lay and monastic and often of high rank, aspired

to such talents (N. Oikonomides in *AAPA* 1:45–51).

Artists were not narrowly specialized, which helps to explain consistencies in both style and subject matter across different media. While legal documents such as the Codex Theodosianus (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) and the Book of the Eparch distinguish, for administrative purposes, craftsmen by their trades, panel painters like Pantoleon also illustrated books, and muralists produced icons. At sites such as the Chora in Constantinople, mosaicists were probably also responsible for the frescoed decoration.

Of the training of artists almost nothing is known. The above-mentioned Syrian woman used to teach pupils for a fee; there is no later evidence for such instruction or for art schools in the narrow sense of the term. As is made clear in the will of the Cretan painter Angelos Akotantos (see list below), both skills and equipment, including drawings (*skiasmata*), were transmitted from father to son. The transmission of technical skills from one generation to another is already implied in Constantine I's legislation of 334 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, repeated in the Codex Justinianus—*Cod.Just.* X 66.1). Parents also placed their children as apprentices. One must suppose some sort of on-the-job training like that of Alimpij, "given by his parents to study icon-painting" and employed as an assistant to the Byz. mosaicists at work in the monastery of the Caves at Kiev. Training would have been particularly necessary in mosaic, a craft demanding both individual expertise and a quasi-industrial organization.

Painters on a smaller scale and other craftsmen worked at home or, at least in the 4th–6th C., in small ateliers. A law of the emperor Valentinian of the year 374 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.4) mentions painters' studios (*pergulae*) and workshops in public places. One such may be the room equipped with an easel used by a portrait-painter depicted in the Vienna Dioskorides. Although it is often supposed that monasteries maintained painters' workshops in addition to their scriptoria, there is no documentary proof for such a notion. Most tasks would have been farmed out, by monks and laymen alike, to professionals.

In the 5th C. there is unequivocal evidence that painters worked directly from life (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen [Paris 1979] 2.248.11–16). A legend in the Life of Nikon ho "Metanoeite" has it that an artist could not paint the saint's likeness because he had no model. Artists probably knew the majority of the themes they were called upon to paint and used techniques that enabled them to work quickly. D.C. Winfield ("Painting Methods" 132f) estimated that fresco painters covered 6–7 sq. m daily. The team working with Theophanes "the Greek" finished painting the Annunciation Church in the Moscow Kremlin in one season. Yet, while employing well-established formulas and perhaps model-books, they were not externally controlled. There is no reason to suppose them regulated in aesthetic matters and almost as great a variety obtains in details of iconography as in the areas of style and composition. Conventional models and schemes of decoration were modified to suit the dimensions and layout of a building and, presumably, the financial size of a commission. Such factors, equally affecting portable artifacts, determined the mode of production.

The exercise of an artist's taste is not an identifiable characteristic of Byz. art. While artists were not limited to biblical subjects—both monumental painters (as in the patriarchal apartments at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople) and illuminators (as in marginal Psalter illustration) "commented" on current and recent events—interventions of this sort seem to have lain in the domain of the patron rather than with those hired to execute his wishes. Nonetheless, major painters could exercise considerable freedom in their choice of models: Pantoleon is known to have reproduced a picture he had just painted while, in the second half of the 14th C., Gastreas (see list below) traveled in Arkadia seeking "ancient icons" to copy.

With the exception of the team that decorated the Menologion of Basil II, artists' "signatures" do not appear in any numbers before the 12th C. The rare self-portrait of the scribe and/or painter Theophanes in a MS of ca.1100 coincides with other individualistic trends in monumental painting of the period. By the 14th C., artists such as Kallierges were legends in their own time; others, like Panselinos, may be no more than legends. Artists' inscriptions are usually laconic; where longer, they constitute proof of literacy.

Proud boasts claiming the presence of Byz. artists abound in Latin and Slavic literature. While

Byz. artists had long been active abroad—a diaspora to Rome during Iconoclasm is often asserted, but DAMASCUS, MONTECASSINO, and DUBROVNIK offer better-documented examples—named individuals are not found before the 13th C. Rather than venturing overseas alone, artists seem to have gone abroad in clusters. A succession of Greeks painted churches in Macedonia and Serbia after the fall of Constantinople in 1204; in the early 14th C. Byz. wall-painters were active in Venice, Sicily, Genoa, and Russia. A second spate returned or was summoned to Russia and Georgia in the 1370s. Preserved monuments show that they adapted themselves quickly to the local concerns and requirements of their new hosts.

Wall-painters and mosaicists such as Eulalios are more widely celebrated in chronicles than ILLUMINATORS and other craftsmen, a fame reflecting quite literally the size of their achievement; hagiography more often yields the names of icon-painters. Generally, artists appear in literature for achievements other than their artistry. This fact, the absence of documentation regarding patrons' wishes, and the impersonal nature of much Byz. craftsmanship make it hard to define artistic personality. Yet the notion that art was always an anonymous activity is contradicted by the following selection of documented names. Many craftsmen, esp. painters, gem-cutters, and goldsmiths of the 4th–7th C., are known only by their names on funerary and other inscriptions. They have been collected by Mentzou (*infra*) and are not included here.

[A]etios, monk, signed a wall-painting in the Church of the Forty Martyrs at Suveş (Cappadocia) in 1216/17 (Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2.1:156–74).

Akotantos, Angelos, icon-painter and *protopsaltes* in Chandax 1407–13. His will (M. Manoussakas, *DChAE*[4] 2 [1960–61] 146–48) was drawn up in 1436 before he sailed for Constantinople. Recently, several icons, signed by or attributed to Akotantos, have come to light (M. Vasilake-Maurakake, *Thesaurismata* 18 [1981] 290–98; *PLP*, no.13318; cf. 13319, 13320).

[Ana]stasios, priest and painter of the Church of St. George at Apodoulos, Crete, 14th/15th C. (Kalokyris, *Crete* 33; *PLP*, no.90088).

Andrea[s], sculptor named in an inscription on the upper cornice of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (unpublished; notice courtesy of L.E. Butler).

Apokaukos, Alexios, painter on Crete, fl. 1402–1421, executor of the will of Joseph BRYENNIOS (*PLP*, no.1194).

APSEUDES, THEODORE.

Argyros, John, painted a series of miniatures of the labors of the MONTHS in the *typikon* of the monastery of St. Eugenios, Trebizond (a.1346) (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 392f).

Arsenios, monk and painter who, together with his son Theophylaktos, decorated a chapel of St. Michael in the Hasan Dağ in the reign of Constantine VIII (?) (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 45–61).

ASBESTAS, GREGORY.

Atzemos, Basil, also called Berges, 11th-C. (?) painter who signed a supplication to Symeon the Stylite beside the saint's image in a Chicago MS, Univ. Lib. 947, fol.151v (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.319).

Bardas, Ioannitzes, painter, second founder of the "white church" at Selas in Chalkidike, and in 1285, hieromonk of the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos (*PLP*, no.2205).

Barlaam, early 14th-C. wall-painter whose name appears, together with the date 6827 (=1319/20), over the door of a room in the western part of the church at GRAČANICA (P. Mijović, *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia europensia*, vol. 1 [Sofia 1989] 1949–54).

BASILIUS PICTOR.

Byzagios, Andronikos, wall-painter who worked in the chapel of St. George in the Athonite monastery of St. Paul, 1423 (*PLP*, no.3266).

Chartoularis and Chenaros, painters otherwise unknown, associated with EULALIOS by Theodore Prodromos (A. Maiuri, *BZ* 23 [1920] 399).

Constantine and his son, John, named in inscriptions at Hagia Sophia, Ohrid, ca.1350 (G. Subotić, *Zograf* 5 [1974] 44–47; *PLP*, nos. 8593, 14166).

Daniel, painter of the cave church of S. Biagio at S. Vito dei Normanni (Apulia), named in an inscription of 1197 (Medea, *Cripte* 1:95).

Demetrios of Monemvasia, painter named in an inscription of 1095 or 1100 in the Church of St. Demetrios near Pourko on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 162, no.28).

Elpidios, 5th-C. mosaicist known from an inscription in the basilica of the Virgin at Palaiopolis on Kerkyra (M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca* 4 [Rome 1978] 348f).

EPHRAIM.

EULALIOS.

EUGENIKOS, MANUEL.

Eustathios, wall-painter named in an inscription of March 1020 in the Chapel of Sts. Marina e Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:114).

Euticius (Eutychios) of Naissos, mid-4th-C. silversmith. His name appears on a silver plate found at Augst (*Kaiseraugst,* no.60).

Flavius Nicanus, early 4th-C. silversmith whose name is inscribed on ingots found at Šabac, south of Sirmium, and on two plates from Červenbreg (Bulgaria) prepared for the *decennalia* of Licinius (F. Baratte, *JSav* [1975] 198).

Gabriel, monk and painter in 1322, addressed in a letter by Michael Gabras for whom he painted an icon of the Virgin (*PLP*, no.3408).

Gastreas, icon-painter ca.1329–60 (R.-J. Loenertz, *EEBS* 26 [1956] 162; *PLP*, no.3575).

George *mastora,* stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1395 in the Church of the Phaneromene in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *ArchEph* [1967] 139–41).

George, painter and monk who witnessed the *typikon* of John I Tzimiskes (972); founder of the ZOGRAPHOU MONASTERY (*Docheiar.* 99, n.1; *Prot.*, no.7.167).

"Georgius Grecus," painter mentioned in the archives of Dubrovnik between 6 Aug. 1377 and 2 Apr. 1386 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik,* nos. 326, 373, 384).

Gerontios, wood-carver of the second quarter of the 5th C., recommended to the sophist Isokasios by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (ep.38, ed. Y. Azéma, 1:102.22–103.2).

"Hemanuel Grecus," painter who became a citizen of Dubrovnik on 28 June 1367 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik,* no.268).

Isaias, monk and painter, fl. 1295/6, acquaintance of Melchizedek Akropolites and Manuel Planoudes (D. Pallas, *Hellenika* 12 [1952] 94–96).

Isaias "the Greek," wall-painter commissioned on 4 May 1338 to paint the Church of the Entry into Jerusalem in Novgorod (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 348).

Iveropoulos, John, identified in a Greek inscription in the crypt at PETRITZOS (Bačkovo) as the painter of the upper and lower stories of the church (E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* [Sofia 1977] 133).

John, a monk and disciple of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger who, according to the latter's vita (ed. van den Ven, 88f), even though untrained, carved the columns and capitals of a church at Sykeon.

John, deacon and founder in 1266 of the Monastery of St. George at Struga, near Ohrid, to which he gave an icon of the saint which he had painted. John supervised the decoration of the Church of St. Nicholas at Manastir in Macedonia in 1270/1 (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 20–22).

John, wall-painter who signed his name in Greek in the apse of the Church of St. Demetrios at PEĆ (V.R. Petković in *Mél. Diehl* 2:133–36; *PLP*, no.8591).

John of Athens, wall-painter named in an inscription of 1244 in the Church of the Trinity at Kranidi, Argolis, and, a year later, in the Church of St. John Kalybites at Psachra, Euboea (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi in der Argolis (1244)* [Munich 1975] 2, 4).

Karkinelos, 8th-C. (?) silversmith mentioned in a fanciful tale in the *Patria of Constantinople* (*Parastaseis* 100.5–6).

LAZAROS.

Leontios, deacon and painter on Cyprus, 1333. Leontios worked at ASINOU and LAGOUDERA (D.C. Winfield, C. Mango, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 378f; *PLP*, no.14708).

Leontios, *marmorarios* from Antioch, said in the vita of St. THEKLA (ed. Dagron, 334–37) to have decorated the saint's church with both murals and an *opus sectile* pavement.

Libanios and Prokopios, mosaicists named in a pavement in a 5th-C. church at Heit, Syria (P. Mouterde, *Syria* 6 [1925] 360f, no.41).

Makarios, early 14th-C. painter, named by Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 1:131) as creator of an icon of Christ (*PLP*, no.16249).

Manasses, Constantine, wall-painter, decorated the Church of the Monastery of Paliopanagia, near Sparta, 1304/5 (*PLP*, no.16599).

Maria, 14th–15th-C. painter, working in Georgia, who made an image of the Virgin (*PLP,* no.16894).

Marianos, mosaicist who, with his son Aninas, worked at the synagogue of Beth-Alpha (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:244).

Mark ("ego magister Marchus Grecus pintor qui fui de Constantinopoli") named in a Genoese notarial document of 9 Feb. 1313.

Markos, 7th-C. (?) silversmith, who prepared a cross for the *doux* Neanias (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:5f).

Maximus, early 4th-C. *vascularius* whose name appears on two silver ingots found near Philippopolis. F. Baratte (*JSav* [1975] 198) suggested that Maximus's workshop was possibly responsible for six silver plates inscribed for the *decennalia* of Licinius and found at the same site.

Methodios, monk and painter said by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 164.3) to have painted a Last Judgment that caused the conversion of Boris I.

Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychios.

Modestos, painter in the Monastery of Magoulion in Constantinople, 1265/6 (*PLP,* no. 19202).

Morphopoulos, Theodore, painter, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Lawrence in Thessalonike in 1405/6 (*PLP,* no.19333).

Moses, a monk and painter on Mt. Athos in 1344. A Bogomil, he was anathematized by a synod at Karyes and expelled (*PLP,* no.19926).

Myron, 11th-C. painter addressed as a contemporary in a poem by Christopher of Mytilene (ed. Kurtz, no.112), possibly responsible for a portrait of the emperor Michael IV.

Naouma, Kyriakos, and Thomas, mosaicists whose names are recorded in a 6th-C. pavement at Mt. Nebo (C. Balmelle, J.-P. Darmon in *AAPA* 1:238, n.20).

Nicholas, *anagnostes* and painter in 1290/1 of the Church of St. George at Sklavopoula, near Selinos in western Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31; *PLP,* no.20482).

Nicholas, a painter and *paroikos* of the Great Lavra ca.1300 (*Lavra* 2, no.91.122).

Nicholas the *droungarios* who, with his brothers, according to an inscription of 1074/5 in St. Merkourios on Kerkyra, built and decorated the church (P.L. Vocotopoulos, *CahArch* 21 [1971] 152f).

Nicholas, who signed the collar of St. Stephen's *sticharion* and, together with a certain John, painted the frescoes of the Monastery of the Holy Apostles at Neromana in Aitolia in 1372/3 (S.K. Kissas, *EESM* 3 [1971–72] 48, 52).

Nicholas and his spiritual son Daniel, who in 941 decorated a MS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Patm. gr. 33) in Reggio di Calabria (D. Mouriki, N.P. Ševčenko in *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* [Athens 1988] 280).

Nikephoros, mid-10th-C. (?) painter named in an inscription at Tokalı Kilise, Göreme (A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 33f, but cf. N. Thierry in *Proceedings of the Second International Byzantine Conference* [Athens 1989] 229).

Niketas, stone-carver (*marmaras*) named in an inscription of 1075 in the Church of St. Theodore at Balaka and three other churches in the Mani (N.B. Drandakes, *Dodone* 1 [1972] 21–24).

Nikodemos, painter and hieromonk known by an inscription of 1310/11 at the Monastery of St. George at Karditsa in Boeotia (*PLP,* no.20353).

Pagomenos, John, wall-painter named in inscriptions of 1313–47 in eight churches in the districts of Apokoronos and Selinos, Crete (Kalokyris, *Crete* 31f; cf. *PLP,* no.8363).

Panselinos.

Pantoleon.

Paul, painter of the second half of the 12th C. who, according to Antony of Novgorod (ed. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 17.3–11) was responsible for the fresco of the Baptism of Christ in the baptistery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.

Paul of Otranto, painter named in an epigram of the first third of the 13th C. by Nektarios, *hegoumenos* of St. Nicholas at Casole, Apulia (*Poeti bizantini di terra d'Otranto nel secolo XIII,* ed. M. Gigante [Galatina 1985] no.10).

Pausylypos of Thessalonike, silversmith, who signed the Achilles plate (*Kaiseraugst,* no.63) buried at Augst before 353.

Peter, early 13th-C. painter whose name appears on two icons at Mt. Sinai and to whom D. Mouriki (in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200,* ed. V. Korać [Belgrade 1988] 329–47) attributes two other panels.

Petrovič "the Greek," who painted the interior

of the Church of "the Holy Mother of God at the Gate," Novgorod, in 1196/7 (*Novgorodskaja pervaja letopis'*, ed. A.N. Nasonov [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 42).

Phokas, Manuel and John, fl. 1436–ca.1453, wall-painters who decorated three churches in eastern Crete (Th. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70).

Phrangopoulos, Kyriakos, wall painter, fl. ca.1300. His name appears in a dedicatory inscription in the apse of the Church of St. Nicholas at Agoriane, Lakonia (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1987–88] 110). His connection, if any, with the PHRANGOPOULOS family is unknown.

Proeleusis, Michael, painter mentioned in a deed of 1304 (*Chil.*, no.21.8; G. Babić, *Zograf* 12 [1981] 59–61).

Riz(z)o (Ritzos), family of 15th-C. Cretan painters. Francesco Rizzo is first mentioned in a notarial document of 13 Feb. 1420, Nicholas Rizzo in the same year, and Andreas Rizzo in 1450 (M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 10 [1973] 238–82).

Romulus, Flavius, early-5th-C. engraver whose name appears on a sardonyx in Leningrad carved with a scene of imperial investiture (Delbrück, *Spätant. Kaiserport.* 211–14).

Sava, painter, signed in Slavonic and dated (Dec. 1209) frescoes in the drum of the Church of the Virgin at Studenica, Serbia (D. Tasić in M. Kašanin et al., *Studenica* [Belgrade 1968] 71f).

Sclopulus, Muscolcus, goldsmith of Chandax mentioned in deeds of 1366 and 1377 (Krekić, *Dubrovnik*, nos. 256, 266).

Soelos, Kaioumos, and Elias, identified as mosaicists in an inscription of 531 at Mt. Nebo (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 26 [1976] 314f).

Staurakios of Esbous, and his colleague Euremios, floor mosaicists named in a pavement in the Church of St. Stephen at Um er-Rasas (Jordan) in an inscription of March 756 (M. Piccirillo, *Lib.ann.* 37 [1987] 180–82).

Stephen, icon-painter of the late 12th C., who signed two large icons at the Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, nos. 74–75).

Stephen, son (?) of Therianos, painted an early 14th-C. icon of St. Mark in the Church of al-Muʿallaqa in Cairo (L.-A. Hunt, *Varia* 2 [1987] 41).

Theodore, mid-6th C., formerly a *kastrensis* (see KASTRESIOS) who gave up his position to be a carpenter, builder, and carver (John of Ephesus, tr. and ed. E.W. Brooks in PO 19:200f).

Theodore, mid-11th-C. painter whose house is mentioned among the possessions of a monastery at Neokastron near Reggio-Calabria (A. Guillou, *Le brébion de la métropole byzantine de Règion* [Vatican 1974] 201.535).

Theodore, painter of the 11th–12th C., named in an inscription on the Deesis in the cave chapel of Hagia Sophia on Kythera (Skawran, *Development* 163, no.30).

Theoktistos, 13th-C. painter who made a miniature of John Chrysostom and wrote the accompanying verses (*PLP*, no.7491).

THEOPHANES "THE GREEK."

Theophylaktos, wall-painter, who signed an image of Christ in the Chapel of Sts. Marina and Cristina at Carpignano, Apulia (Medea, *Cripte* 1:115).

Theorianos, John, fresco- and possibly icon-painter, fl. 1346–50. His Greek signature appears on the sword of the Archangel Michael in the exonarthex of St. Sophia at Ohrid (Djurić, *Byz. Fresken* 98f).

Thomas, 7th or 8th C., monk and painter of Damascus known from an entry in the psalter, Leningrad, Pub. Lib. gr. 216, fol.349v (*Iskusstvo Vizantij* 2, no.479). A. Frolow (*BEO* 11 [1945–46] 121–30) hypothesized that Thomas was a mosaicist who had worked in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem.

Tzykandeles, Manuel, mid-14th C. scribe, illuminator (and fresco painter?), who decorated a commentary on Job, Paris, B.N. gr. 135 (*Byzance et la France médiévale* [Paris 1958] no.87).

Veneris, Daniel, who, with his nephew Michael, painted the Church of Christ at Meskla (Kydonia), Crete, in 1303. In 1318 Michael painted the Church of the Virgin in the province of Rethymnon (Kalokyris, *Crete* 32f; M. Cattapan, *Thesaurismata* 9 [1972] 203; cf. *PLP*, nos. 2601, 5151, 91999).

LIT. T. Velmans, "Aspects du conditionnement de l'artiste byzantin: les commanditaires, les modèles, les doctrines," in *AAPA* 2:79–97. V. Djurić, A. Tsitouridou, *Namentragende Inschriften auf Fresken und Mosaiken auf der Balkanhalbinsel vom 7. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart 1986). Ph. Piompinos, *Hellenes hagiographoi mechri to 1821* (Athens 1984). Mentzou, *Symbolai*. –A.C.

ARTSRUNI. See ARCRUNI.

ARTUKIDS, Turkoman dynasty, 11th–15th C. Artuk (Ἀρτούχ) (died ca.1091) appears in 1074/5, aiding MICHAEL VII against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, whom Artuk captured and subsequently released for ransom. In 1086 Artuk became governor of JERUSALEM; his descendants succeeded him there until expelled by the FĀṬIMIDS in 1098. Thereafter, the family secured possession of Amida, Mardin, Martyropolis, and even, briefly, Aleppo. Artuk's son Sukmān fought the First Crusade at ANTIOCH; his brother Īlghāzī was temporarily allied (1115) with Roger, prince of Antioch, but subsequently defeated and killed him (1119). In 1120 Īlghāzī's cousin Balak aided GHĀZĪ against Constantine GABRAS of Trebizond. Initially rivals of ZANGĪ, the Artukids became followers of NŪR AL-DĪN and joined his display of force against MANUEL I in 1159. The dynasty continued to serve successive rulers of northern Syria. Artukid copper coins imitated early Byz. coinage.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*² 1:662–67. –C.M.B.

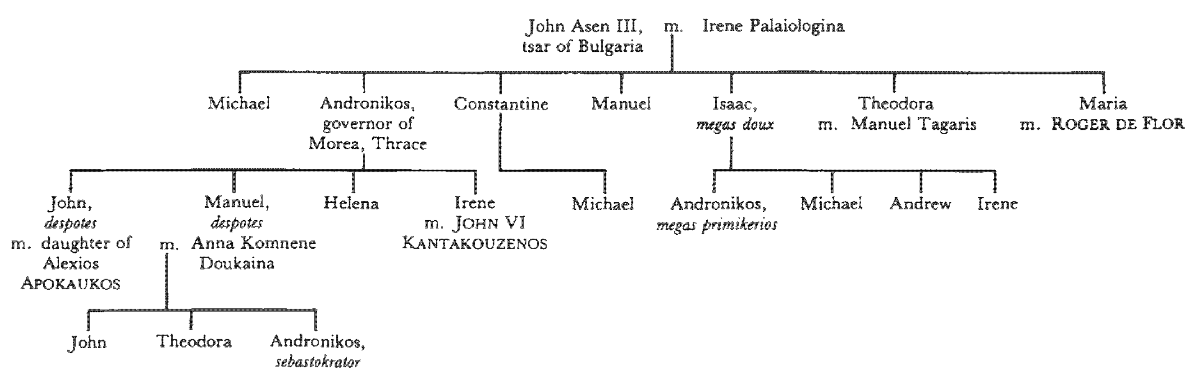
ARTZE (Ἄρτζε), trade settlement (*komopolis*) near THEODOSIOUPOLIS. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 451.28–30) it was rich and densely populated, attracting many local, Syrian, Armenian, and other merchants. In 1049 the Seljuks captured and burned the town. Skylitzes' statement that 150,000 inhabitants were killed by the flames and arrows is evidently an exaggeration. The name survived in the Turkish toponym for Theodosioupolis, Erze-rum (Erzurum). –A.K.

ASAN (Ἀσάνης, fem. Ἀσανίνα), or Asen, Bulgarian royal dynasty founded by ASEN I in 1186. The evidence about the Asans' ethnic origin is vague; theories have been advanced of the family's Vlach, Cuman, or even Rus' origin, none of which has proved valid. The family produced several Bulgarian tsars (up to John III, r.1279–80; died as *despotes* before 1302); IVAN ALEXANDER may have been related to the Asans. Some princesses of the house were married to Byz. emperors (Helene to Theodore II, Keratsa to Andronikos IV) or other rulers of the region (Maria to Henry of Hainault, emperor of Constantinople). The descendants of John III and Irene Palaiologina were active at the Byz. court and as generals and governors in the 14th C., but less in the 15th C.; these included, for example, Paul Asan, governor of Constantinople (1438–40), and Demetrios Asan, governor of Corinth (1444) and Nauplion (1448–53). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460)* (Sofia 1985) and Fr. résumé *BHR* 9 (1981) nos. 1–2, 135–56. E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 163–77. B. Krekić, "Contribution à l'étude des Asanès à Byzance," *TM* 5 (1973) 347–55. *PLP*, nos. 1472–1535. –A.K.

ASBESTAS, GREGORY, archbishop of Syracuse. An ally of Patr. METHODIOS I, Asbestas (Ἀσβεστᾶς) was deposed in 853 by IGNATIOS.

GENEALOGY OF THE ASAN FAMILY IN BYZANTIUM IN THE THIRTEENTH AND FOURTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on E. Trapp, "Beiträge zur Genealogie der Asanen in Byzanz," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 177.

His appeal to Pope Leo IV (847–55) gave the latter a pretext to intervene in the internal struggle of the Byz. church. In 858 Ignatios was deposed and Asbestas consecrated Photios as patriarch; the Council of 861 formally rehabilitated Asbestas and his supporters while condemning Ignatios. Asbestas's political leanings shaped his literary and artistic activity: he wrote a vita of his patron Methodios (J. Gouillard, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 374–80) and created (or ordered?) a series of CARICATURES ridiculing Ignatios; both are lost. Asbestas's miniatures are described by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON as depicting Ignatios scourged, chained, banished, and perhaps executed, while captions identified the patriarch as the Devil, the Antichrist, and Simon Magus (PG 105:540D–541A). In disgrace during Ignatios's second patriarchate, Photios wrote to Asbestas, urging him to continue to erect churches with figural decoration (ep.112, ed. Westerink, 1:150f).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter in *Iconoclasm* 141–45.
–A.C., A.K.

ASCENSION (ἀνάληψις), feast of Jesus' ascent into heaven (Lk 24:50–53, Acts 1:9–12), celebrated on the Thursday that comes 40 days after Easter. Originally celebrated together with PENTECOST, the Ascension was first assigned its own feastday in the 4th C., a usage begun in the environs of Antioch ca.380. The evidence for Jerusalem provided by EGERIA remains problematic (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108), though the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem already puts Ascension on the 40th day (A. Renoux, PO 35:72f).

The Ascension was one of the dominical GREAT FEASTS; it had a week-long afterfeast, but no forefeast. A series of 13 receptions took place in Constantinople on this day, during which the emperor was honored by the factions; he celebrated the feast in the Church of the Virgin at PEGE, where he took communion and dined (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 213.1–10; *De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 8, 18).

Representation in Art. Initially shown in a form derived from imperial APOTHEOSIS scenes, with Christ striding upward grasping the HAND OF GOD (Milan ivory: Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.93), the Ascension assumed in the 6th C. the form that characterized it thereafter (Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE): Christ, bearded and enthroned in a MANDORLA surrounded by angels, rises over the 12 APOSTLES with Mary at their center. The presence of Mary, the inclusion of PAUL, and the use of 12 apostles rather than the 11 disciples of Scripture are references to the Church, showing the Ascension as a major event in its history. In the RABBULA GOSPELS (fol.13v) elements from Ezekiel's prophetic Vision are added to underline the scene's eschatological connotations (cf. Lk 1:11). In the 9th C., the Ascension was represented in the domes of the NEA EKKLESIA (Constantinople) and HAGIA SOPHIA (Thessalonike), a situation so apt in form and in significance that it was repeated in all periods. By the 11th C. (St. Sophia, OHRID), the Ascension was also standard in bema vaults, reflecting its eucharistic significance as the apotheosis of Christ's sacrificed flesh. The Ascension appears on icons, in mural cycles, in *evangelia* and Gospel books at Mark 16:19, and occasionally before Acts (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol.231v).

LIT. J. Daniélou, "Grégoire de Nysse et l'origine de la fête de l'Ascension," in *Kyriakon: Festschrift Johannes Quasten*, vol. 2 (Münster 1970) 663–66. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 66–70. Grabar, *Martyrium*, 2:185, 197, 221, 233, 293. E.T. Dewald, "The Iconography of the Ascension," *AJA* 19 (1915) 277–319.
–R.F.T., A.W.C.

ASCETICISM (ἄσκησις, "exercise, training"), the practice of austerity and self-discipline; an ideal for all Christians, but esp. associated with monks and hermits. *Askesis* was sometimes used as a synonym for monastic life; *asketerion* for a monastery or hermitage; and *asketes* for a monk, nun (*asketria*), or solitary. Asceticism was a characteristic of monasticism from the earliest hermits in the Egyptian desert (e.g., ANTONY THE GREAT) to the hesychasts and *kelliotai* of the last centuries of Byz. All monks were expected to follow an ascetic regime, but the degree of severity varied. It was practiced in a most extreme form by HERMITS, ENKLEISTOI, STYLITES, and holy FOOLS, but a number of celebrated ascetics lived in cenobitic monasteries. Although there were some noted female ascetics in the earlier centuries, rigorous mortification of the body was not expected of the aristocratic nuns of the late Byz. period (V. Laurent, *REB* 8 [1950] 78f). The chief forms of this discipline were celibacy, fasting, standing vigils, and sleeping on the floor; ascetics went barefoot, wore only a single tunic, even in bitter cold, mortified the flesh with hair shirts or chains and fetters, prayed continuously, and often lived in isolation. Basil the Great urged moderation so that monks

would not become arrogant on account of their ascetic achievements. He stressed, rather, obedience to the *hegoumenos*, requiring that a monk receive permission from his superior before embarking on an extraordinary fast.

An ascetic monk sought to gain control over his body and attain *apatheia* or impassibility. Through such rigor a monk might be granted miraculous or prophetic powers; an ascetic way of life became a prerequisite for sanctity, replacing the martyrdom of the early Christian period. In the 12th C. some intellectuals criticized or even ridiculed excessive asceticism; Eustathios of Thessalonike suggested that one etymology for asceticism was *askos*, "wineskin," and the vita of CYRIL PHILEOTES by Nicholas Kataskepenos rejected the immoderate practice of asceticism (A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 482–86).

LIT. M. Viller, K. Rahner, *Aszese und Mystik in der Väterzeit* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1939). K.S. Frank, *Askese und Mönchtum in der alten Kirche* (Darmstadt 1975). J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). P.R.L. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1989). –A.M.T.

ASEKRETIS (ἀσηκρῆτις, an invariable form, from Lat. *a secretis*), in full "*asekretis* of the court," imperial secretary. The term seems to have appeared in the 6th C.; Prokopios found it necessary to explain its meaning (*SH* 14.4; *Wars* 2.7.15). Many scholars believe that the term originated in the 4th C., since Beronikianos, an AGENS IN REBUS, is called *asekretis* in the acts of the Council of Chalcedon; this term only appears, however, in the 6th-C. translation of Vigilius (A. Kraus, *RQ* 55 [1960] 45). The *asekretis* replaced the REFERENDARII and formed the upper echelon of imperial secretaries positioned higher than imperial NOTARIES. Some *asekretis* were officials of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The seals of *asekretis* are known from the 6th/7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 9–13). The offices of the *asekretis* were located in the KATHISMA of the Hippodrome (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:185). At the Third Council of Constantinople (680–81), a functionary called *asekretis* held the title of GLORIOSUS, suggesting that he was probably head of the college of *asekretis*—the office later known as PROTASEKRETIS. *Asekretis* disappear from the sources after the 12th C., the term being replaced by GRAMMATIKOS.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 59–65. –A.K.

ASEN I (Ἀσάν), otherwise called Belgun (S. Mladenov, *Spisanie na BAN* 45 [1933] 49–66), cofounder (with his older brother PETER OF BULGARIA) of the Second Bulgarian Empire; died Tŭrnovo 1196. Both his names are Turkic; his ethnic affiliation has been much discussed. Byz. and Crusader sources call the brothers Vlachs, but Bulgarian, Cuman, and Rus' origins have been suggested (N.S. Tanaşoca, *Revista de istorie* 34 [1981] 1297–1312). As G. Litavrin (*VizVrem* 41 [1980] 102) declares, the brothers were closely connected with local elements in Paristrion. When, ca.1185–86, according to Niketas Choniates, Peter and Asen requested entry into Byz. military service and a village as reward, they were refused. Exploiting discontent over taxation, they raised a rebellion. Isaac II (ca.1187) drove them beyond the Danube, where Asen recruited Cumans. With their aid, the brothers reoccupied Bulgaria and ravaged Thessaly; in 1190 they severely defeated Isaac. When (ca.1192/3) Peter allied himself with the Byz., Asen became the leader of the new state. He conquered Sofia, Melnik, and other strongholds. After a victory at Serres in 1196, Asen was murdered by IVANKO.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:410–83, 3:59–108. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung der zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–88. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt.III (1949), 180–84. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460): Genealogija i prosopografija* (Sofia 1985). –C.M.B., A.K.

ASHLAR, cut stone masonry. Used throughout the Byz. period, ashlar was esp. characteristic of the architecture of Syria-Palestine, much of Asia Minor, Armenia, and Georgia. In Constantinople, this type of masonry was used particularly for foundations and piers that carried heavy loads, such as those supporting the dome of Hagia Sophia. Bands of ashlar alternate with bands of BRICK in the city walls of Constantinople, a technique found occasionally in later buildings such as the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY. In cloisonné technique (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS), individual ashlar blocks are framed with bricks on all four sides.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. E. Reusche, "Polychromes Sichtmauerwerk byzantinischer und von Byzanz beeinflusster Bauten Südosteuropas" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Cologne, 1971) 7–64. –M.J.

ASHMUNEIN. See HERMOPOLIS MAGNA.

ASHOT. See AŠOT.

ASIA MINOR, or Anatolia, the peninsula that forms the westernmost extension of Asia. It stretches from the Aegean to the Euphrates River and Antitaurus Mountains, a maximum distance of about 1,200 km, and from the Black Sea to the Mediterranean, about 600 km. Its topography is determined by its mountain ranges. In the east they rise in sheer peaks. In the center they occupy the north and south regions of the peninsula, surrounding the relatively arid central plateau, and in the west break up into parallel chains separated by the broad and fertile plains of the Aegean region. The configuration of mountains and plains has influenced patterns of settlement and communication. Wealth and population have historically been concentrated in the western coastal plains, which support extensive agriculture of the Mediterranean type and are well connected by natural LAND ROUTES that also lead into the interior; the region has many good harbors.

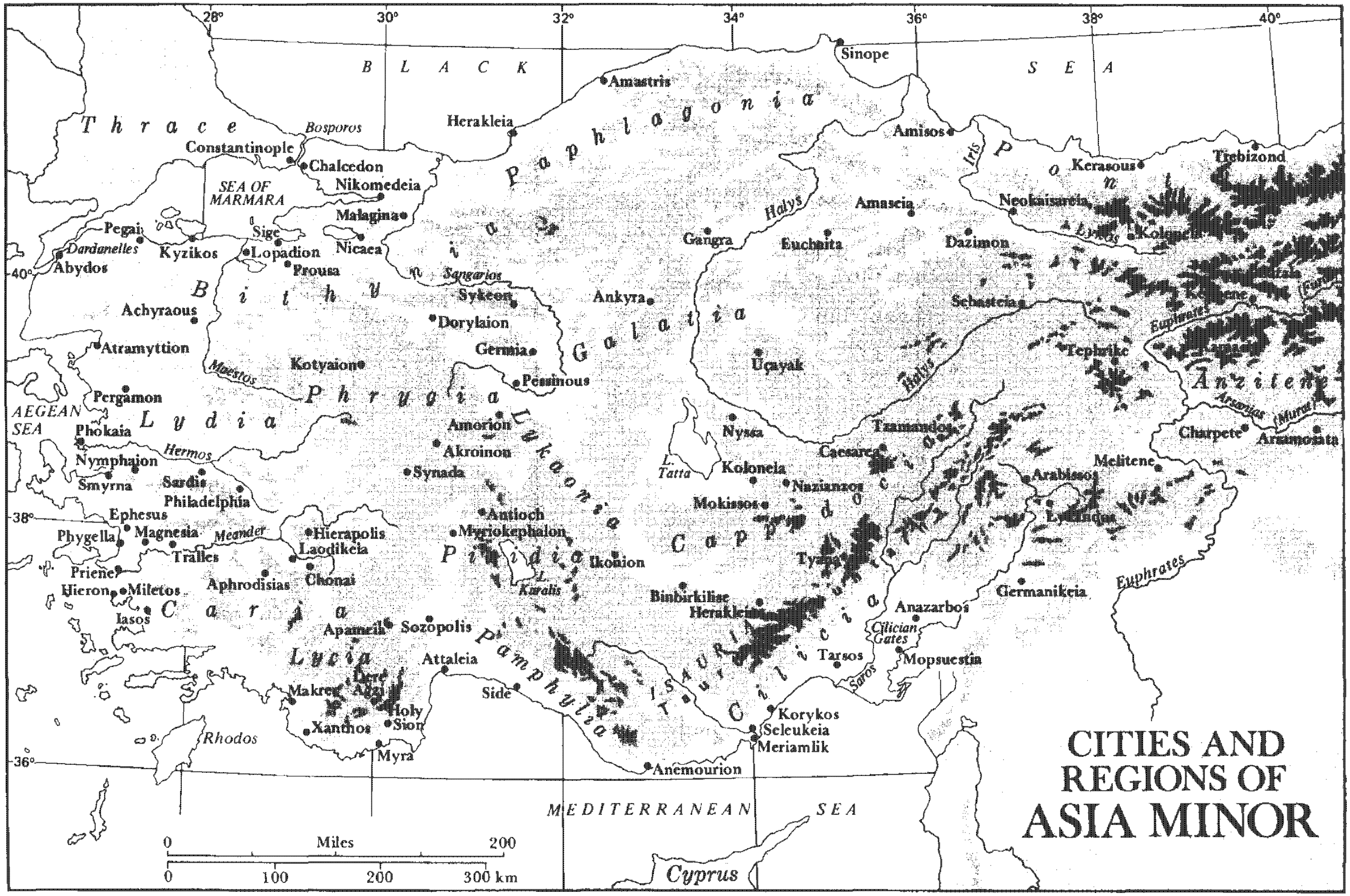
The broken country between the Aegean and the plateau contained many sites strategically located on roads, while habitation on the plateau was scattered along the routes that followed the edges of the central steppe. The adjacent parts of CAPPADOCIA contained several populous valleys, but settlement diminished in the mountainous country to the east, where arable land is confined to narrow and often isolated valleys. The relatively unpopulated mountainous regions, which occupy much of the country, were valuable for their pastures and mineral deposits, as well as for defense of the routes that passed through them.

Asia Minor prospered in late antiquity, when it was divided into two dioceses and 24 provinces. Urban life flourished in the coastal regions and along the roads leading to the frontier; villages enjoyed the benefits of a long period of peace. The population was largely Christian by the 4th C. and thoroughly hellenized by the 6th C. Asia Minor was, however, the home of numerous HERESIES. Peace was rarely interrupted: the revolts of PROKOPIOS and TRIBIGILD in the 4th C., like the irruptions of the Huns in the 5th–6th C., passed rapidly; the revolts of ISAURIANS in the 5th C. were a more persistent source of trouble. The reign of Justinian I brought extensive construction of buildings and roads, but the financial demands of his wars drained local resources. Large areas, from PISIDIA to PONTOS, were afflicted by endemic brigandage and revolt, provoking administrative reforms whose failure was usually due to corruption. The PLAGUE of 542 reduced the population, but some cities and the southern coastal region continued to prosper.

The 7th C. brought fundamental change aggravated by Persian attacks that devastated the country, provoking the ruin of the network of cities upon which social and economic life had been based (C.Foss, *EHR* 90 [1975] 721–47). The Persians were immediately followed by the Arabs, who failed to achieve any permanent conquest of the peninsula but, through their incessant attacks over two centuries, precluded any possibility of recovery. The loss of Syria, Palestine, and Egypt to the Arabs meant that Asia Minor became the heartland of the medieval empire and its main bulwark against threats from the east. In order to survive, therefore, it received an extensive network of FORTIFICATIONS and its administration was militarized in the system of THEMES. Arab raids nevertheless struck through the country, culminating in the sieges of Constantinople from 674 to 678 and 716/17 and the capture of AMORION in 838.

During the 8th C., Asia Minor was a center of Iconoclasm and became ethnically diverse as Slavs were brought in to settle regions devastated by the Arabs or recurrence of the plague. At this time, the army dominated the country; in the 9th C., the themes of Asia Minor had a total force of about 70,000. *Strategoi* and their subordinates ruled provinces and cities; cities were often under the joint administration of a *strategos* and a bishop. Most large ancient cities had disappeared, replaced by smaller fortified towns and castles; eventually, new cities rose to prominence on account of their strategic locations. Most of the population lived in villages, with a fortress for refuge nearby. Some commerce still continued, esp. to serve the need of capital and army; regional FAIRS, often celebrated on the feast day of a saint, provided local stimulus.

Byz. moved on the offensive in the mid-9th C., gradually pushing back the frontier and establishing a peace and security that prevailed to the mid-11th C. Expansion eastward brought significant ethnic and economic change as immigrants from Syria and Armenia settled previously desolate re-


CITIES AND
REGIONS OF
ASIA MINOR
B L A C K S E A
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
AEGEAN SEA
SEA OF MARMARA
Thrace
Bithynia
Paphlagonia
Pontus
Galatia
Phrygia
Lydia
Caria
Lycia
Pisidia
Lykaonia
Pamphylia
Isauria
Cappadocia
Cilicia
Anzitene
Constantinople
Bosporos
Chalcedon
Nikomedeia
Malagina
Nicaea
Sige
Lopadion
Prousa
Pegai
Dardanelles
Abydos
Kyzikos
Achyraous
Atramyttion
Pergamon
Phokaia
Nymphaion
Hermos
Smyrna
Sardis
Philadelphia
Ephesus
Phygella
Magnesia
Meander
Tralles
Priene
Hieron
Miletos
Iasos
Aphrodisias
Hierapolis
Laodikeia
Chonai
Apameia
Sozopolis
Attaleia
Side
Makre
Holy Sion
Xanthos
Myra
Rhodos
Kotyaion
Maestros
Dorylaion
Sykeon
Sangarios
Germia
Pessinous
Amorion
Akroinon
Synada
Antioch
Myriokephalon
L. Karalis
Ikonion
Heraklea
Amastris
Sinope
Amisos
Iris
Kerasous
Trebizond
Neokaisareia
Lykos
Koloneia
Amaseia
Gangra
Halys
Euchaita
Dazimon
Ankyra
Sebasteia
Tephrike
Euphrates
Arsanias
Murat
Uçayak
Nyssa
L. Tatta
Koloneia
Caesarea
Tzamandos
Nazianzos
Mokissos
Tyana
Charpete
Arsamosata
Melitene
Arabissos
Lykandos
Germanikeia
Anazarbos
Cilician Gates
Mopsuestia
Tarsos
Saros
Binbirkilise
Herakleia
Korykos
Seleukeia
Meriamlik
Anemourion
Cyprus
28°
30°
32°
34°
36°
38°
40°
40°
38°
36°
0
Miles
200
0
100
200
300 km

gions and as magnates, whose families played an ever-increasing role in politics, took over extensive tracts of land. Civil wars precipitated by their rivalries caused widespread disturbance in the late 10th C.

The Turks, whose raids began striking into Anatolia in the mid-11th C., brought the next fundamental change, in which the region, previously united, was divided between two or more powers. After the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071, the Byz. permanently lost control of the east and center; thereafter they were precariously confined to the coastal region, where their position was seriously threatened by the SELJUK Turks. Although the First Crusade pushed the Turks back onto the plateau and allowed Alexios I to mark further gains, no part of the country was free from attack during his reign. John II frequently fought in Asia Minor, consolidating Byz. control by building strategic fortresses and establishing a foothold on the edge of the plateau. Under Manuel I, who restored security to many regions, the frontier was threatened by the immigration of TURKOMAN nomads. In an effort to solve the problem by striking directly at the Seljuks, Manuel met disaster at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. In the 1180s and 90s, major frontier forts fell and the Turks advanced westward, helped by the troubles attendant upon the Fourth Crusade.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204 the Laskarids of the empire of NICAEA established an equilibrium with the Seljuks and secured their territories (the Aegean region and Bithynia) by extensive fortification. The prosperity they brought is reflected in their restoration of towns and foundation of monasteries. The Byz. recapture of Constantinople in 1261 was a disaster for Asia Minor: imperial attention shifted to the west and frontier defenses were neglected just as the weakening of the Seljuk state before Mongol attack left the Turkomans free to move westward. The Byz. position in Asia Minor crumbled rapidly; the southwestern coastal region was lost by 1270, the Meander valley by 1284, and most of the interior by the end of the century. In 1300 Byz. controlled only the northwestern coasts and a few fortresses that were islands surrounded by the Turkomans, who by now were establishing their own independent principalities of AYDIN, MENTESHE, SARUHAN, and KARASI. Despite major campaigns, the Aegean region was lost by 1315, and Bithynia fell to the OTTOMANS by 1337. Subsequently, Byz. maintained only a few ports until 1360, and afterward only the virtually independent enclave of PHILADELPHIA, whose fall in 1390 marked the end of Byz. Asia Minor.

LIT. Vryonis, *Decline* 1–68. Hendy, *Economy* 21–154. Foss, "Twenty Cities." –C.F.

ASIDENOS, SABAS, sometimes Sabbas, local ruler in Anatolia (fl.1204–14). Of unknown origin, Asidenos (Ἀσιδηνός) assumed power at Sampson (ancient Priene) and the lower Meander River valley when the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople. Possibly as early as 1205 his territory was added to the Nicene state by THEODORE I LASKARIS. He remained locally powerful, and in 1214 Theodore addressed him as *sympentheros* (relative-in-law) and SEBASTOKRATOR (N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 [1968] 14f).

LIT. P. Orgels, "Sabas Asidénos dynaste de Sampsôn," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 67–80. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 60. –C.M.B.

ASINOU, located in the foothills of the Troodos mountains, Cyprus, site of the Church of the Panagia Phorbiotissa, founded 1105/6, according to dedicatory inscriptions by Nikephoros the *magistros* (died 1115). This small, single-naved church of three barrel-vaulted bays is built of mortared rubble. The plastered exterior was incised in imitation of ashlar and painted with red zigzags. The laterally apsed narthex, partly of ashlar, was added later in the 12th C. Scenes from the Passion in the west end of the nave are well preserved; Christ's Infancy cycle and the donor's portrait in the central bay were repainted in the post-Byz. period. The votive images in the narthex date from the end of the 12th C. and later. The style of the paintings of the first phase of decoration is related to the more refined frescoes of the *parekklesion* of Hagios Chrysostomos near Koutsovendis, donated by Eumathios PHILOKALES. Paintings by the Asinou workshop are also found in Panagia Theotokos at Trikomo, Sts. Ioakeim and Anna at Kaliana, and the Panagia Amasgou at Monagri. Also associated stylistically with the frescoes at Asinou are several icons at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai (K. Weitzmann in *Studies in Memory of D.T. Rice* [Edinburgh 1975] 47–63).

LIT. A.Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106, et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966). D. Winfield, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Church of Our Lady at Asinou, Cyprus," *DOP* 21 (1967) 261–66. D. Winfield, "Hagios Chrysostomos, Trikomo, Asinou: Byzantine Painters at Work," *Praktika tou protou diethnous Kyprologikou synedriou, Leukosia, 1969* (Nicosia 1972) 285–91. –A.J.W.

AŞIQPAŞAZADE, great-grandson of the poet Aşiq Pasha (died 1333), dervish, *ghazi* warrior, and author of a *Tevarih-i al-i Osman*, a history of the OTTOMAN dynasty from its origins to 1485; born in Elvan Çelebi (near Amasya) 1400, died Istanbul? after 1484. Aşiqpaşazade's *Tevarih* is a fundamental source for early Ottoman history. For events prior to 1420, Aşiqpaşazade depended chiefly on a collection of stories and legends about the Osmanoğulları (now lost, but used in the earliest anonymous TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN, and Uruc Beg), and materials derived from Yahşi Fakih. The subsequent account embodies more of Aşiqpaşazade's experiences and research among contemporaries. Intending his work for a wide audience, Aşiqpaşazade wrote in simple and lively Turkish. In form his *Tevarih* varies from straightforward narrative to poetry to extended dialogue.

Throughout his work Aşiqpaşazade treats Byz. themes as an aspect of the wider Ottoman struggle with the unbelievers. His information about Constantinople, and even major Byz. figures and events, tends to be generalized.

ED. *Die Altosmanische Chronik des Āšikpašazāde*, ed. F. Giese (Leipzig 1929). *Vom Hirtenzelt zur Hohen Pforte*, partial Germ. tr. R.F. Kreutel (Graz 1959).

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 347–51. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 174f. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in ibid. 152–59. –S.W.R.

ASKALON (Ἀσκάλων), on the southern coast of Palestine, was one of the most significant cities of the region, according to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.11). The MADABA MOSAIC MAP shows the city plan, but no religious buildings; the remains of a 7th/8th-C. church, fragments of a synagogue, and the city wall are known, however, as well as a late 6th-C. mosaic. Pilgrims were attracted to Askalon by remarkable wells allegedly dug by Abraham and by the tomb of KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS. One of the last Palestinian cities to fall to the Arabs (in 640), Askalon remained in the hands of the Fāṭimids after the Seljuk occupation of Palestine. In 1099 the Crusaders won a battle over the Egyptians at Askalon but were unable to take the city until 22 Aug. 1153. Although Saladin took Askalon briefly in 1187, the Crusaders regained control from 1191 to 1247.

LIT. R. Hartmann, B. Lewis, EI^2 1:710f. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 150. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 21f. *EAEHL* 1:121–24, 129. –G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

ASKIDAS, THEODORE, theologian; died Constantinople, Jan. 588. Askidas (Ἀσκιδᾶς) was *hegoumenos* of the New Lavra in Palestine and from 537 onward metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia. A supporter of the tenets of ORIGEN, Askidas belonged to the sect of so-called *Isochristoi* who taught that in the final *apokatastasis* (restoration) the faithful will attain a complete union with Christ. He was also suspected of supporting Monophysitism. In 543, however, he was forced to sign a condemnation of Origen; he also signed a condemnation of the THREE CHAPTERS. Pope VIGILIUS anathematized him in 551, but in the following year Askidas made peace with the pope. Of his works only a fragment is preserved (in EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 384. G. Ladosci, *DPAC* 2:3376. –A.K.

ASKLEPIOS, regarded as the son of APOLLO; the major god of healing in ancient Greece. His cult was widespread in the Greek-speaking world; of his numerous healing shrines the most famous were Epidaurus and Cos in Hellenistic times and Pergamon under the Roman Empire. Christianity adopted a belligerent stance toward Asklepios and deliberately promoted the figure of Christ the Physician in opposition to Asklepios the Savior; some temples of Asklepios (e.g., at Epidaurus and Athens) were converted to Christian use. In the 4th C. Julian the Apostate strongly supported the cult of Asklepios and attempted to place it at the center of paganism. Well into the 5th C. the god was actively worshiped by individual Neoplatonists such as PROKLOS, who believed that as a young man he had been healed by Asklepios (Marinos, *Vita Procli* in *I Manuali*, tr. C. Faraggiana di Sarzana [Milan 1985] 314f). Thereafter, when the name of Asklepios had practically been forgotten, the influence of his cult lived on in those Christian shrines where INCUBATION was practiced. Miracle

accounts such as those of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, KYROS AND JOHN, and ARTEMIOS all give evidence of elements that could be called "Asclepian." The name *asklepiadai* continued to be applied to Byz. physicians.

LIT. E.R. Dodds, *The Greeks and the Irrational* (Berkeley 1951) 110–16. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 166–68. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. –J.D.

ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA (ἀκολουθία ᾀσματική, lit. "sung office"), the cathedral HOURS of the rite of Constantinople, found in fully developed and unadulterated form in 8th–12th-C. MSS of the EUCHOLOGION (Arranz, "Asmatikos Hesperinos" 109–16). The rite was at first distinct from, but gradually mingled with and was ultimately replaced by, that of the monasteries of Constantinople (see SABAITIC TYPIKA). In Thessalonike, the *asmatike akolouthia* was still in use as late as the 15th C. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 624D–625B).

According to the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, which contains the rules for the *asmatike akolouthia*, the office comprised only the hours of ORTHROS and VESPERS, with the occasional addition of a *pannychis* or a *paramone* (see VIGIL), and a combined terce-sext in Lent. But MSS of the *euchologion* include the Little Hours as well.

The *asmatike akolouthia* had no separate book of hours—the HOROLOGION being originally a Palestinian monastic book—but was celebrated from the *euchologion* (for prayers and DIAKONIKA), the *antiphonarion* or Constantinople psalter (for PSALMODY and refrains), and the PROPHETOLOGION (for Old Testament lections). Despite its name, this office had very little hymnody.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 358–70. –R.F.T.

ASMATIKON (ᾀσματικόν), a music book containing the special CHANTS and refrains for the liturgy and the HOURS, sung by the small group of *psaltai* (SINGERS) at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Its repertory is set in a moderately ornate style. Eleven Greek and three Slavic *Asmatika* survive; each varies and none dates from before the 12th C., but there are substantial reasons for supposing that the *Asmatikon* was first compiled at Constantinople during the 11th C. or perhaps earlier. Nine of the MSS belonged to southern Italian religious houses of the Greek rite; the musical tradition they have adopted dates from 1225 at the latest. The remaining two Byz. MSS represent different, though not wholly dissimilar, melodic traditions. (For the solo items, see PSALTIKON.)

LIT. K. Levy, "A Hymn for Thursday in Holy Week," *Journal of the American Musicological Society* 16 (1963) 131–54. Conomos, *Communion* 52–66. –D.E.C.

ASOŁIK ("singer") or Stephen (Step'anos) of Tarōn, Armenian historian. Nothing is known of the life of Stephen, save that he came from the province of TARŌN and was appointed by the *katholikos* Sargis (992–1019) to supervise monasteries and churches. Sargis also commissioned Asołik to write a *Universal History* at the beginning of the 11th C. Although book 1 contains lists of biblical kings and rulers of ancient empires, and book 2 names Sasanian, Muslim, and Byz. rulers (down to Basil I), Asołik's interest is primarily Armenia, esp. religious matters and Byz.-Armenian relations. Book 3 is thus a valuable source for the 10th-C. Byz. eastward expansion (from the establishment of the BAGRATID dynasty in 885 until 1003).

ED. *Patmut'iwn tiezerakan*, ed. S. Malxasean (St. Petersburg 1885). Fr. tr.—books 1–2, E. Dulaurier, *Etienne Açogh'ig de Daron* (Paris 1883); book 3, F. Macler, *Etienne Asołik de Taron* (Paris 1917).
LIT. M. de Durand, "Citations patristiques chez Etienne de Taron," in *Armeniaca: Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice 1969) 116–24. –R.T.

ASOMATOS (ἀσώματος), incorporeal, term characterizing the intelligible world as opposed to the sensible one. In the strict sense the word could be applied only to God: according to John of Damascus (*Exp.fid.* 26.5, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:75), "only the godhead (*theion*) is really incorporeal and immaterial." John, however, distinguished two types of incorporeality: that of substance or nature, possessed by God only, and that of grace, possessed by ANGELS, DEMONS, and SOULS (ibid. 26.53–57, ed. Kotter, 2:77). In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:1165B) classified angels among incorporeal beings: "All rational creatures are divided into incorporeal and corporeal; the angelic [category] is *asomatos*, the other category is mankind."

The Synaxis ton Asomaton, the feast honoring the incorporeal beings, was celebrated 8 Nov. and illustrated from the 11th C. onward (S. Gabelić, *Zograf* 7 [1977] 58–64). The homilies and liturgical poetry accompanying this feast were important sources for illustrated cycles of the angels and ARCHANGELS. –A.K., N.P.Š.

AŠOT I THE GREAT (Ἀσώτιος), founder of the BAGRATID kingdom of Armenia; died 890. Succeeding his father as commander-in-chief (*sparapet*) of Armenia after the devastating Muslim punitive expeditions of the mid-9th C., Ašot consolidated the position of his house by expanding his domains at the expense of other feudal families and by dynastic marriages with the principalities of Siwnik' and VASPURAKAN. In 858, his continuation of the generally pro-Arab policy of the earlier Bagratid house earned him the title of Prince of Princes (*batrīq al-batāriqa*) and the suzerainty of the Arab emirates in Armenia. To maintain equilibrium on Armenia's borders, Ašot assured Byz. of his continuing loyalty and encouraged the Armenian *katholikos* Zacharias to correspond with PHOTIOS, although the Council of Širakawan (ca.862) failed to achieve a reunion with the Byz. church. By 884 (rather than 886 as formerly believed), Ašot felt powerful enough to have himself crowned king with a crown sent by the Arab governor in Azerbaijan; recognition by Byz. followed, endowing him with the title of *archon ton archonton*. Although Ašot was the master and arbiter of Armenia and Georgia, where he had his kinsman Adernarse crowned in 888, he continued to pay tribute to the Arabs. His authority over the Armenian magnates derived more from the power of his personality than from any formal base.

LIT. V. Hakobian, "La date de l'avènement d'Ašot, premier roi bagratide," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 273–82. H. Thopdschian, *Die inneren Zustände von Armenien unter Ašot I* (Berlin-Halle 1904). A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 53–60. –N.G.G.

AŠOT II ERKAT (Iron King), grandson of AŠOT I THE GREAT; third BAGRATID king of Armenia (914/15–928/9). Ašot reestablished Bagratid control over northern Armenia after the defeat and martyrdom of his father, Smbat I. His early success resulted in part from his recognition of Constantinople, where he was invited in 914 (not 921) and granted the customary title of *archon ton archonton* as well as military support. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS initiated at this time a correspondence with the Armenian *katholikos*, John the Historian. These friendly relations were later compromised by Ašot's increasingly autonomous policy, esp. after the Muslims recognized him as *Šahanšah* ("King of Kings"). As a result, Byz. directed a campaign commanded by John KOURKOUAS against Armenia in 922 and apparently transferred the title of *archon ton archonton* to the rival southern Armenian kingdom of VASPURAKAN, but was not able to check Bagratid consolidation at this time.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 265–83. –N.G.G.

AŠOT III OŁORMAC' (Merciful), son of Abas I; last BAGRATID king of Armenia to rule over a united kingdom (953–77). His generally prosperous reign was marked by the complete exemption of Armenia from the payment of tribute to the caliphate, by the transfer of the capital to ANI, by close collaboration with the Armenian church (which he supported against Chalcedonian sympathizers and local separatists), and by the assertion of royal authority over the magnates. Ašot was successful in his war against the Caucasian mountaineers and the ḤAMDĀNID emirs. Moreover, supported by his vassals, he checked the advance of Emp. John I Tzimiskes at the Armenian border (974), whereupon the emperor declared him his ally and spiritual son (MATTHEW OF EDESSA, ed. Dulaurier 16–24). Ašot's reign saw a great expansion of monasticism with the establishment of the future intellectual centers of Sanahin (966) and Hałbat (976); his extensive philanthropic foundations earned him the epithet "Merciful." Nevertheless, his grant of KARS (Vanand) to his brother Mušel and of Loři (Tašir, Joraget) to his son Gurgēn divided the realm and ultimately weakened Bagratid control of Armenia.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 478–88, 494–500. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 93, 95–100, 105f, 130, 136, 142f. –N.G.G.

ASPAR (Ἄσπαρ), more fully Flavius Ardaburius Aspar, an Alan; consul (434), *patrikios*, and *magister militum*; died Constantinople 471. Together with his father Ardabourios, Aspar suppressed the rebel Ioannes in 425 and secured the throne

for Valentinian III. Aspar led a fleet against the Vandals in 431, fought against the Huns in 441, constructed a large cistern in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF) in 459, and led the inhabitants of the capital in combatting a fire in 465. Representing the power of the Germanic soldiery, he dominated the Eastern court and, after the death of MARCIAN, secured the elevation of LEO I in 457; as an Arian, however, he could not hope to gain the throne for himself. Aspar had his son Patrikios crowned as caesar in 469/70, but his influence was undercut by Leo's alliance with ZENO and the Isaurians. Aspar supported the campaign of BASILISKOS against the Vandals, perhaps hoping to see it fail, and by 469 there was open rupture between Aspar and Zeno (A. Kozlov, *ADSV* 20 [1983] 30f). Aspar may have sought the support of RICIMER, but he and his son ARDABOURIOS were captured and executed. Together with other members of Aspar's family, they are represented on a missorium in Florence (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.35).

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:222–25, 314–20. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 607–10. G. Vernadsky, "Flavius Ardabur Aspar," *SüdostF* 6 (1941) 38–73. L. Scott, "Aspar and the Burden of Barbarian Heritage," *BS/EB* 3.2 (1976) 59–69. –T.E.G., A.C.

ASPARUCH (Ἀσπαρούχ), Bulgar khan (ca.650–ca.700); third son of KUVRAT. Around 660 Asparuch led a BULGAR horde westward, crossing the Dnieper and Dniester before ultimately establishing a fortified camp in the northern part of the Danube delta; its precise location is much disputed (N. Bănescu, *Byzantion* 28 [1958] 433–40). From here the Bulgars raided Byz. territory across the Danube, perhaps exploiting Byz. preoccupation with Arab attacks in the 670s. Constantine IV responded by campaigning personally in 680/1, with disastrous results: the army was routed and the Bulgars crossed the Danube in pursuit, reaching Varna. Renewed attacks on Byz. towns compelled Constantine to recognize the Bulgars' occupation of Byz. land (apparently SCYTHIA MINOR and MOESIA Inferior) and to pay them annual tribute (PAKTON), an agreement likely concluded in 681 but broken in 687/8 by Justinian II. Asparuch also subjected the local Slavic tribes to tribute payments and even resettlements, probably using them as bulwarks against the AVARS to the west and the Byz. to the south. Nothing else is known of Asparuch's rule. A dubious tradition credits him with founding PLISKA. An 11th-C. Bulgarian source records a legend of his death in battle with the Khazars (I. Dujčev, *BZ* 53 [1960] 207).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:123–62. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:99–113. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 173–82. V. Gjuzelev, *Forschungen zur Geschichte Bulgariens im Mittelalter* (Vienna 1986) 3–24. –P.A.H.

ASPER (ἄσπρον) was a Latin word meaning basically "rough" but by extension "fresh" and (of silver) "white," a sense it had already acquired in early Roman imperial times. It first came into common use for a coin in the 12th C., mainly as a qualification of the billon TRACHY (*τὸ νόμισμα τραχὺ ἄσπρον* "the rough, white nomisma"), which to us is a dirty gray in color but was no doubt issued in a blanched state. It was sometimes also applied to the electrum trachy. In the 14th–15th C. the term was used of various nonconcave silver coins, mainly the small ones also known as DOUKATOPOULOI and their Turkish counterparts (*akçes*, also from a word meaning "white") but occasionally, as at Trebizond, for large silver coins also. There are many contemporary Western parallels to the use of such a name for coins: *blanc*, *witten*, *albus*, etc.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 18, 20f, 31. –Ph.G.

ASPIETES (Ἀσπιέτης, fem. Ἀσπιετίνα, Ἀσπιέτισσα), an Armenian lineage in Byz. service from at least the late 11th C. (etym. Arm. *aspet*, "rider, knight"). Prokopios (*Wars* 2.3.12) mentions the "great and numerous lineage of the so-called Aspetianoi," but no evidence connects the Byz. Aspietai and 6th-C. Aspetianoi. The first known Aspietes, Alexios I's general, boasted of his royal origin from the Arsacids (An.Komn. 3:58.28–29); he served as governor of Tarsos ca.1107/8 and *stratopedarches* of the Orient. There is no reason to identify Aspietes with Ošin, son of Chetum, prince of Lambron (see correctly J. Laurent in *Mélanges offerts à m. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 [Paris 1924] 164f). Several Aspietianoi (Michael, Constantine, etc.) were military commanders under Manuel I; (another?) Constantine Aspietes commanded a troop in 1190; Alexios Aspietes, commander in Serres shortly after 1195, was captured by the Bulgarians and proclaimed emperor in Philippopolis after 1204 but was soon seized

and executed by KALOJAN. The chronicle of Magnus Presbyter (MGH *SS* 17:512), under the year 1189, mentions a Byz. embassy to Saladin, whose members were "Sovestat, Aspion, and old Constantine, a translator from Arabic"; the envoy may have been the *sebastos* Aspietes. The cultural role of the Aspietai is unknown: a monk John Aspiotes corresponded with Michael GLYKAS. Aspietai of the 14th and 15th C. were landowners intermarried with sundry noble families, including Palaiologoi (*PLP*, nos. 1567–79), but did not occupy high positions; Maria Choumnaina Aspietissa was the wife of a *megas papias* in 1324.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 43–46. –A.K.

ASPROKASTRON (Ἀσπρόκαστρον, or Maurokastron; Ital. Moncastro; Turk. Akkerman; Rum. Cetatea Albă; Russ. Belgorod Dnestrovskij—four of its names mean "White Fort"; Maurokastron and the corrupted form Moncastro mean "Black Fort"), city and port situated at the mouth of the Dniester, close to the site of ancient Tyras. It was probably a late Roman or early Byz. fortress but passed out of imperial control in the 7th–9th C. The information on "Maurokastron" in the 10th C. given by the TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is entirely fictitious. In the 13th C. Asprokastron belonged to the Polovzian khanate (see CUMANS). From ca.1290 Asprokastron was frequented by Genoese ships that loaded grain and wax. For some years in the early 14th C. it was in Bulgarian hands, but by midcentury it had become a Genoese colony. From 1410 Asprokastron was subject to the princes of Moldavia, and in 1437 Venice opened commercial relations with the city. In the 15th C. it was a regular point of embarkation for travelers between Constantinople and central Europe, including Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS. After 1453 MEHMED II brought colonists from Asprokastron to settle in Constantinople. For a time after 1457 Stephen the Great, Prince of Moldavia, resided there, but in 1485 Sultan Bayezid II captured Asprokastron and CHILIA.

LIT. N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetăţii-Albe* (Bucharest 1899) 1–137. G.I. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Albă* (Bucharest 1935) 99–126. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 1:143–50. N. Bănescu, "Maurocastrum—Moncastro—Cetatea-Albă," *BSHAcRoum* 21 (1939) 20–31. –R.B.

ASSARION (ἀσσάριον, from early Lat. *assarius*), used in the New Testament for the smallest coin in circulation (Mt 10:29: "Are not two sparrows sold for an assarion?"). It is used by Nicholas RHABDAS (in P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 [Toulouse-Paris 1920] 158) in formulating a mathematical problem that has a contemporary setting—the author was writing in 1341—and it had apparently been revived as the name of the flat copper coin of approximately 2 g introduced under Andronikos II (1282–1328). Assaria were struck in great quantities during the first half of the 14th C.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 278. –Ph.G.

ASSEMBLIES. In addition to the SENATE, Byz. was familiar with other forms of assemblies with claims to political power. The most organized were the church COUNCILS (H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* [Leipzig 1907] 142–55). Provincial assemblies of the late Roman Empire consisted of *honorati* (former imperial officials) and CURIALES; in contrast to the members of ancient assemblies, these were not elected and there was no representation in proportion to population (J. Larsen, *ClPhil* 29 [1934] 209–20). Despite Leo VI's abolition of municipal *boulai,* they continued to exist in provincial towns from the 11th to the 15th C., although they tended to be assemblages of local nobles rather than regular representations of constituencies.

Throughout the centuries Constantinople witnessed two kinds of assemblies: those convoked by usurpers or demagogues in protest against unpopular measures (which had no legal basis or regular organization) and those convened by the state in cases of emergency (for confiscation of church property in 1094, to raise funds to meet the demands of Henry VI in 1197, to discuss the imperial response to the Bulgarian tsar in 1341, etc.). Assemblies were esp. active during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 (Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 74–76). The assemblies were called *ekklesiai, syllogoi,* or *syneleuseis*; even though they were not representative of the electorate, they could include people outside the bureaucratic and ecclesiastical nobility. The assemblies or parliaments that functioned in the Crusader states (J. Colson, *REB* 12 [1954] 114–27) may have influenced Byz. assemblies.

LIT. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "Byzantine Parliaments and Representative Assemblies from 1081 to 1351," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 432–81. C.P. Kyrris, "Representative Assemblies

and Taxation in the Byzantine Empire between 1204 and 1341," *XIIe Congrès International des sciences historiques* 31 (Paris 1966) 43–54. –A.K.

ASSES. See Beasts of Burden.

ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA, Cappadocian churchman and writer, overshadowed by his more famous contemporaries, the Cappadocian Fathers; born between 330 and 335, died between 420 and 425 (according to Datema, *infra* [1970] xxiv). Asterios (Ἀστέριος) was perhaps a lawyer before his appointment to the see of Amaseia in Pontos, sometime between 380 and 390. Of his oeuvre 16 homilies survive, and Photios (*Bibl.*, cod. 271) lists four more. Some of these speeches have survived in Latin, Georgian, and Church Slavonic translations. Two homilies are of particular interest to modern scholars, the fourth (delivered 1 Jan. 400), which systematically refutes Libanios's defense of the pagan New Year feast, and the eleventh, which contains an *ekphrasis* of a painting of some scenes from the vita of St. Euphemia of Chalcedon (W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 14 [1971] 39–47). The latter oration is a landmark of Byz. art criticism and is also informative about Asterios's tastes in classical literature, notably for the writings of Demosthenes. The eleventh homily was translated into Latin by Anastasius Bibliothecarius and was cited *in toto* during the Second Council of Nicaea, 787, to justify the veneration of icons.

ed. *Homilies I–XIV*, ed. C. Datema (Leiden 1970). C. Datema, "Les homélies XV et XVI d'Astérius d'Amasée," *Sacris erudiri* 23 (1978–79) 63–93. Eng. tr. of *Hom.* 11—Mango, *Art* 37–39.

lit. M. Bauer, *Asterios, Bischof von Amaseia: Sein Leben und seine Werke* (Würzburg 1911). W. Speyer, *RAC* supp. 4 (1986) 626–39. V. Vasey, "The Social Ideas of Asterius of Amasea," *Augustinianum* 26 (1986) 413–36. –B.B.

ASTERIOS SOPHISTES, rhetorician; died after 341. He was a pupil of Lucian of Antioch and a supporter of Arianism. Photios (*Quaest. Amph.* 312, ed. L. Westerink, 6.1 [1987] 112f) distinguishes him from the Orthodox Asterios of Amaseia. He wrote the *Syntagmatarion* (ed. Bardy, *infra*), an exposé of Arian views (preserved in fragmentary quotations in Athanasios of Alexandria), and homilies on Psalms and on Easter that have survived in catenae often under the names of Asterios of Amaseia or John Chrysostom. Asterios was probably a Jew who had converted to Christianity, and his works show some knowledge of Rabbinic teaching. His homilies are important as a source for the study of Jewish-Christian relations in the early 4th C.: Asterios views the Jews as an incarnation of evil and warns Christians against Jewish penetration into the church.

ed. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936) 341–57. M. Richard, *Asterii Sophistae commentariorum in Psalmos quae supersunt* (Oslo 1956).

lit. E. Skard, *Index Asterianus* (Oslo 1962). H. Auf der Maur, *Die Osterhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Trier 1967). G. Gelsi, *Kirche, Synagoge und Taufe in den Psalmenhomilien des Asterios Sophistes* (Vienna 1978). –A.K.

ASTERISKOS. See Paten and Asteriskos.

ASTRAMPSYCHOS, a Persian magus of the 4th C. B.C. (Diogenes Laertius, 1.2). Various works of the Byz. era were ascribed to him, the most important being a dream book written in accentual trimeters, datable between the 6th and 9th C. (S.M. Oberhelman, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 489). This treatise formed the basis for later dream books falsely ascribed to Patr. Nikephoros I, Patr. Germanos I or II (the attribution is unclear), Gregory of Nazianzos, and Athanasios of Alexandria (the last two are replicas of the Nikephorean dream book). Other works assigned to Astrampsychos deal with oracles (A.J. Hoogendijk, W. Clarysse, *Kleio* 11 [1981] 54–97; G.M. Browne, *The Papyri of the Sortes Astrampsychi* [Meisenheim am Glan 1974]); geomancy (P. Tannery, *REGr* 11 [1898] 96–105); love charms (P. Lond. I 122); healing of asses (Souda, s.v. Astrampsychos); and astronomy (E. Riess, *RE* 2 [1896] 1796f).

ed. *Sortes Astrampsychi*, vol. 1, ed. G.M. Browne (Leipzig 1983).

lit. G.M. Browne, "The Origin and Date of the Sortes Astrampsychi," *ICS* 1 (1976) 53–58. –S.M.O.

ASTRAPAS, JOHN. See Michael (Astrapas) and Eutychios.

ASTROLABE (ἀστρολάβος), an astronomical instrument used to measure altitudes of the stars and to tell time. Ptolemy described the principles of the astrolabe in his *Projection of the Surface of a*

Sphere, a work known in Constantinople only in the early Byz. period. Other Greek treatises on the astrolabe include works by THEON and John PHILOPONOS, and the description by SYNESIOS of his gift of a pseudo-astrolabe to Paionios. In the 12th C. John KAMATEROS described its uses in ASTROLOGY (*Introduction* 2153–2281). In the Palaiologan period there was particular interest in the astrolabe, as evidenced by the translation by Gregory CHIONIADES of a Persian treatise, two works by Nikephoros GREGORAS, and finally a section (1.11–21) of the *Three Books* of Theodore MELITENIOTES. There exist as well several anonymous treatises on the construction and/or use of astrolabes, one of which may be by BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. At an unknown date Leontios the Mechanic wrote a treatise on constructing a celestial globe.

The only surviving Byz. astrolabe is one made in 1062 for the *protospatharios* and *hypatos* Sergios, "of the race of the Persians" (*Splendeur de Byz.* 176), whose 14 stars are all found among the 19 in a list of stars for the rete of an astrolabe whose right ascensions are computed for 908 (Florence, Laur. 38, 34, fols. 143v-144r). The large number of treatises on the construction and use of astrolabes written in the Palaiologan period and the several references to observations made with them indicate that many more Byz. astrolabes must once have existed. (See also ASTRONOMY.)

LIT. D.J. Price in *A History of Technology*, ed. C. Singer et al., vol. 3 (Oxford 1957) 582–619. O.M. Dalton, "The Byzantine Astrolabe at Brescia," *ProcBrAc* 12 (1926) 133–46. –D.P.

ASTROLOGY, a "science" of making predictions concerning the future or interpretation of the past based on the positions of the planets relative to each other, to the signs of the zodiac and their subdivisions, and to the 12 astrological places, and on the positions of the zodiacal signs relative to those places. The basic forms of astrology are: (1) genethlialogy, in which the positions at the moment of a person's birth or of his computed conception are the determining factors, dependent on which are various forms of continuous horoscopy including transits, prorogations, and anniversary HOROSCOPES (these permit updatings of the predictions made from the base horoscope); (2) catarchic astrology, in which the most favorable moment for commencing an enterprise is chosen in accordance with astrological rules, the main subordinate parts of which are iatromathematics (the application of astrology to medicine) and military astrology; (3) interrogational astrology, in which the horoscope of the moment at which a query is put to the astrologer is interpreted to provide its answer; and (4) political astrology, in which predictions of the future events within a nation or among several, or reconstructions of their histories, are based on various cycles as well as on horoscopes cast for significant times.

In antiquity only the first three types appear in texts; political astrology was developed in Sasanian Iran and early Islam and transmitted to Byz. between 800 and 1000 with other Arabic works. Byz. astrological literature, then, falls into three periods: summaries and compendia of classical astrology in the 4th–7th C., the translations from the Arabic in the 10th–11th C. (some translations were made later), and the compilation of vast compendia and the editing of earlier texts in the 11th–14th C.

The earliest known Byz. astrological authors were Pancharios, whose iatromathematical *Epitome Concerning Bed-Illnesses* was probably composed in the early 4th C., and Maximos, who wrote a poem on catarchic astrology, *On Beginnings*, in the 4th or 5th C. The second edition of the *Introduction* of PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA was apparently issued in 378. It is a work on genethlialogy in the tradition of Antiochos of Athens (fl. before 300) and PORPHYRY. Part of a work by Paul's contemporary, the so-called "Anonymous of 379," is preserved in the late 14th-C. compendium ascribed falsely to a certain Palchos (al-Balkhī).

In ca.415 HEPHAISTION OF THEBES wrote an *Astrological Effects* based on PTOLEMY and Dorotheos of Sidon (1st/2nd C.) for its genethlialogy and primarily on Dorotheos for its catarchic astrology. Also in the 5th C. the *Anthologies* of Vettius Valens (2nd C.), another text on genethlialogy, was edited and expanded, while probably in the same century was written the *Treatment* of Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects* attributed to Proklos. Circa 500 Julian of Laodikeia wrote a work on catarchic (including military) astrology, of which several chapters are preserved in RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, who also includes in his collection a large number of 5th- and early 6th-C. horoscopes. Both the *On Omens* and *On the Months* of JOHN LYDOS

contain some astrological material. The only other extant 6th-C. work on astrology is the commentary of OLYMPIODOROS on Paul of Alexandria, based on a course of lectures given at Alexandria in 564.

In the early 7th C. Rhetorios of Egypt compiled the richest surviving collection of classical and early Byz. astrological texts. It is primarily devoted to genethlialogy but contains some material on catarchic astrology. After Rhetorios there was a gap in the astrological tradition in Byz. until the end of the 8th C., although in Arab-controlled Syria THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA wrote in Greek on genethlialogy, catarchic and interrogational astrology, and astrological history; he used not only such sources as Petosiris, Ptolemy, Hephaistion, and Rhetorios, but also Islamic and Indian material. In 775 an astrologer pretending to be STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA wrote a "prediction" of the course of history of the caliphs based on the horoscope of the beginning of the year (1 Sept. 621) of the Hijra. The author is probably Stephen the Philosopher, who studied in Persia and wrote a defense of astrology, *On the Mathematical Art*, in the late 8th or early 9th C.

In the 9th C. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN wrote a few trivial pieces on genethlialogy, and from the 10th C. survive a number of horoscopes cast by astrologers such as Demophilos. These astrologers, and probably others, were responsible for the first minuscule MSS of the older astrological literature, of which the surviving examples are the 9th-C. Florence, Laur. 28, 27, and the 10th-C. Laur. 28, 34 and Vat. gr. 1453. Demophilos was also the editor and compiler of astrological collections; he evidently made substantial revisions in the texts of Porphyry's *Introduction* and of Rhetorios.

Shortly before the year 1000 began the extensive Greek translations of Arabic astrological works by such authors as Abū Maʿshar and his pupil Shādhān; the *Kitāb al-Thamara* (*Karpos* or *Fruit*) ascribed to Ptolemy with its commentary by Aḥmad ibn Yūsuf; and an enormous compendium ascribed to Aḥmad the Persian and entitled *Introduction to and Foundation of Astrology*. Excerpts from most of these translations begin to appear in 11th- and 12th-C. compendia preserved in MSS such as Paris, B.N. gr. 2506; Vat. gr. 1056; and Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 115. Some translations served as the basis of translations into Latin in the 13th C.

The Byz. church took a firm stance against astrology. The astrological concept that human fate is determined by the position of stars at man's birth contradicts the idea of FREE WILL and introduces necessity—*ananke* or *heimarmene*—in place of Providence. The decisive role of stars in human life and in the forecast of political events appeared to the church fathers (including JOHN OF DAMASCUS) as a reminder of the pagan identification of gods with celestial bodies. The church fathers, however, had to face an exegetic problem, since Holy Scripture itself dealt with celestial phenomena in their capacity to influence or predict earthly events of great importance, e.g., the appearance of a star (interpreted sometimes as a comet) to the Magi. Astrology seems to have been rejected by the patristic authorities, but in the 12th C. the discussion was revived and often acquired a political significance.

Manuel I was a promoter of astrological interests, and it was in the court milieu of the 12th C. that the astrological poetry of John KAMATEROS and Theodore PRODROMOS originated. In the 1180s Byz. astrologers were involved in active correspondence with their Arab and Western colleagues predicting disaster on the basis of the impending conjunction of planets on 16 Sept. 1186. Niketas CHONIATES ridiculed the extraordinary efforts designed to preserve the palace during the expected calamity. Manuel's pro-astrological position prompted both disguised and overt criticism: while earlier in the century Anna Komnene restricted herself to a general disapproval of astrological views, Michael GLYKAS directly attacked Manuel and was subsequently thrown into prison and blinded.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) little of an astrological nature seems to have been composed in Greek, except for the translation made by Alexios of Constantinople in 1245 of an Arabic version of the *Apocalypse* of Daniel, a work on celestial omens. In the Palaiologan period, however, the study of astrology revived with vigor. A dialogue entitled *Hermippos*, which offers a Christian defense of astrology, was composed in the early 14th C., probably by John Katrones (*PLP*, no.11551). But the most important Palaiologan astrologers were John ABRAMIOS and his pupil Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias. Between 1370 and 1400 they revised many of the major classical and early Byz. astrological

treatises—Ptolemy, Hephaistion, Olympiodoros, and the beginning of Rhetorios—and the Greek translations of Shādhān and of Aḥmad the Persian. Eleutherios was apparently responsible for the vast compilation of Greek and Arabic astrology which he falsely attributed to Palchos. The labors of these scholars have served to obscure and pervert the true history of ancient and Byz. astrology, although they did preserve many fragments that would have otherwise been lost. Their work was to some extent carried on in the 15th C. by men like John CHORTASMENOS and ISIDORE OF KIEV.

ED. *Catalogus Codicum Astrologorum Graecorum*, 12 vols. in 20 pts. (Brussels 1898–1936).

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 421–45. U. Riedinger, *Die Heilige Schrift im Kampf der griechischen Kirche gegen die Astrologie* (Innsbruck 1956). H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 65–84. –D.P., A.K.

ASTRONOMY in Byz. began with commentaries on PTOLEMY. In the 11th C. this activity was supplemented by an infusion of short texts based on Arabic astronomy. Finally, in the Palaiologan period, two contrasting schools developed, one based on the Ptolemaic tradition and the other on Islamic astronomy presented in translations either from Persian and Arabic or from Latin.

From the 4th to the early 7th C. were produced the commentaries on the *Almagest* by PAPPOS and THEON, the summary of that work in the *Outline* of PROKLOS, and the introduction to it by EUTOKIOS; the two commentaries of the *Handy Tables* by Theon and that by STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA; and a large number of scholia connected with both of these works of Ptolemy. There was also collected together, perhaps already in the 4th C., a group of early treatises on spherics by Autolykos, EUCLID, and Theodosios, which formed a sort of corpus throughout the Byz. period. Other signs of astronomical activity in this period include the observations made by Heliodoros and Ammonios between 475 and 510; perhaps the planetary tables based on Babylonian goal-year periods that al-Zarqālī in the late 11th C. associated with Ammonios's name; and some papyrus fragments of *ephemerides* (tables of true longitudes of the sun, moon, and planets) based on the *Handy Tables*. In this early period elementary astronomical knowledge was necessary for the church—both for its practical needs such as establishing the CALENDAR, esp. the date of EASTER, and for outlining the image and the history of the cosmos. GEORGE OF PISIDIA in his *Hexaemeron* was able to draw upon a good astronomical textbook (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–42).

The study of astronomy lapsed in Byz. after Stephen's commentary on the *Handy Tables* of ca.620 but continued to flourish outside the empire in Egypt, Syria, and Armenia. Its restoration in Constantinople in the 9th C. is attested to by the brief discussion of Greek and Islamic tables given by Stephen the Philosopher, probably in ca.800, and by the career of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. Further witness to the revival of interest in astronomy is the production of a number of deluxe MSS with astronomical contents during the 8th–9th C.; Vat. gr. 1291, which has a suntable accurate only for 826–35, was dated by I. Spatharakis (*BZ* 71 [1978] 41–47) to the reign of Theophilos, but redated by D. Wright (*BZ* 78 [1985] 355–62) to ca.753, on a palaeographical basis. It was brought up to date until 866 and was in use possibly as late as the 12th C. A primitive text on computing the longitudes of the planets based on Vettius Valens (I 18) was written in 906 and was still being studied in the Palaiologan period (*Vettii Valentis Antiocheni Anthologiarum libri novem*, ed. D. Pingree [Leipzig 1986] 398–406). In addition an elementary *Quadrivium* with instructions and examples for using the *Handy Tables* was produced in 1007/8.

In the 11th C. Islamic astronomy began to be familiar to the Byz., as can be seen from some translations of Arabic star catalogs; from the writings of Symeon SETH (which may include the scholium of 1032 to the *Prolegomena to the Almagest*); and from an anonymous astronomical treatise written between 1072 and 1088 (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-Century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). From the 12th C., however, nothing survives. From the 13th C. survive mainly uninspired texts by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, George AKROPOLITES, George PACHYMERES, and John PEDIASIMOS.

In the early Palaiologan period, however, a knowledge of Ptolemaic astronomy was restored by Manuel BRYENNIOS, Theodore METOCHITES, and Nikephoros GREGORAS and was continued into the later 14th C. by Nicholas KABASILAS and

Isaac ARGYROS, and into the 15th by John CHORTASMENOS and BESSARION. The interpenetration of theology, celestial mechanics, geography, and harmony is clear in the early 14th-C. miniatures inserted into Venice, Bib. Marc. gr. 516. Furlan (*Marciana* 4:40–48) related many of these diagrams to the thought of Manuel Bryennios and Pachymeres. Followers of the so-called Islamic school included Gregory CHIONIADES, who by 1300 had translated into Greek a number of Persian and Arabic astronomical tables; this tradition was followed by George CHRYSOKOKKES and several anonymous treatises of the later 14th C. One work that encompasses both Ptolemaic and Islamic astronomy is the *Three Books* written by Theodore MELITENIOTES in ca.1361; also drawing upon both traditions were the pupils of John ABRAMIOS. Other Byz. discussions of Persian astronomy were composed on Cyprus in ca.1347 and on Rhodes in ca.1393.

The Latin texts translated into Greek include the *Toledan Tables* prepared on Cyprus in the 1330s, perhaps by George LAPITHES, and again by Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS with an epoch of 1377; and the tables of Jacob ben David Yom-tob by Mark EUGENIKOS in 1444. Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils's *Seven Wings* was translated from Hebrew by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Classical Greek astronomical texts mention a number of observational instruments: meridional and equinoctial armillaries, a plinth, an armillary sphere, a parallactic instrument, and a diopter are all described in the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. The Byz. also knew about the construction of these instruments through commentaries on the *Almagest* by Pappos and Theon, and through the summary of it in Proklos's *Outline*. Ptolemy also described the principles of the two main time-keeping devices, the ASTROLABE and the SUNDIAL, in other treatises.

ED. *Corpus des astronomes byzantins*, ed. A. Tihon (Amsterdam 1983–).

LIT. A. Tihon, "L'astronomie byzantine (du Ve au XVe siècle)," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 603–24. –D.P., A.C.

ASYLUM (ἀσυλία), the refuge given by the church to all Orthodox Christians seeking protection from the threat of imprisonment or physical harm. Sources refer to asylum as the "privilege" of the church; it was evidently established by custom. The earliest mention, in canon 7 of Serdica (a.342/3) (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:248–52), takes it for granted, and there are no ecclesiastical laws establishing it, only civil legislation from the late 4th C. onward, acknowledging and regulating it. In 431 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 45.4) the boundaries of ecclesiastical sanctuary were extended from the nave and ALTAR to include the entire precinct of the church building and severe sanctions were introduced against the transgressors of the rights of refugees (J. Herrmann in *Beiträge zur Rechtsgeschichte, Gedächtnisschrift für Hermann Conrad* [Paderborn 1979] 271–82). In many cases, nevertheless, fugitives (e.g., political) were forcefully dragged from the church. The church punished such violations by the imposition of EPITIMIA and even EXCOMMUNICATION (cf. vita of TARASIOS, ed. Heikel, 407.11–37, 408.1–18).

Although Justinian I excluded from asylum the perpetrators of the crimes of RAPE, ROBBERY, ADULTERY, and MURDER (novs. 17.7 and 37), a significant change occurred in the 10th C. with the novel of CONSTANTINE VII, which allowed murderers the protection of asylum. By the 12th C. HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople had become famous as a place of asylum, esp. for killers (Nik.Chon. 342.9–15). It had a tribunal for such cases, headed by the PROTEKDIKOS, and certain parts of the church were known as the "Refuge" (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). The right of asylum for murderers was again abolished by Manuel I (R.J. Macrides, "Justice" 190–204). In 1343 John V prescribed that those who sought protection in Hagia Sophia should head for a special room without disturbing the divine service (*Reg* 5, no.2886). Although there is less evidence for it, Hagia Sophia appears also to have offered protection to insolvent debtors (MM 2:448f, a.1400).

LIT. E. Herman, "Zum Asylrecht im byzantinischen Reich," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 204–38. P.T.D. de Martin, *Le droit d'asile* (Paris 1939). G. Crifó, *Libertà e ugualienza in Roma antica* (Rome 1984) 71–89. –A.P., R.J.M.

ATALANTA. See MELEAGER.

ATHANASIOS, archbishop of Alexandria, theologian, philosopher, and saint; born Alexandria 295, died Alexandria 2 May 373; feastdays 18 Jan., 2 May. After a fierce struggle (L. Barnard, *OrChrP* 41 [1975] 344–52), Athanasios was elected archbishop of Alexandria on 8 June 328. He

succeeded ALEXANDER, whom he had served as secretary and accompanied to the Council of Nicaea in 325. Continuing Arian influence at the imperial court caused Athanasios to be deposed and exiled five times (335, 339, 356, 362, 365); his removal in 362 was due to his refusal to be maneuvered by Emp. JULIAN into fomenting Christian infighting. Two early tracts (ca.318), *Against the Hellenes* and the *Incarnation of the Logos*, attack pagan mythology and defend the Christian faith against Jewish and pagan criticism, respectively. His major work was the refutation of ARIANISM in four books: the authenticity of the final volume has long been suspect, and recently C. Kannengiesser (*Athanase d'Alexandrie évêque et écrivain* [Paris 1983]) tried to attribute the third book to APOLLINARIS.

The focal point of Athanasian theology is the concept of salvation, which Athanasios understood as the deification of man: "All are named sons and gods both on earth and in heaven." This deification is possible because the incarnate Logos who assumed human flesh was—in contradiction to Arian dogma—the genuine God, of the same nature as the Father. "He was not a man who later became God, but God who later became man in order to deify us" (PG 26:92C–93A). Athanasios explains the mystery of the generation of the Son-Logos by the Father by using the metaphor of the sun, which is constantly emitting its rays. Athanasios, however, did not elaborate a refined terminology to describe the TRINITY, nor did he draw a strict line between nature and hypostasis, nor between HOMOOUSIOS and plain "likeness" (*homoios*). Athanasios acknowledged the consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

The fragments of his biblical exegesis show some allegorizing tendencies. His 39th *Festal Letter* (367) contains an important list of Old and New Testament books, with distinctions between genuine and apocryphal works. His Life of St. ANTONY THE GREAT, a landmark in Christian literature and model for later hagiography, is a valuable source for early monasticism as well as for Egyptian social history and popular beliefs, esp. demonology.

Representation in Art. Athanasios was included in almost every painted group of CHURCH FATHERS as a balding white-haired bishop with a somewhat squared beard. His funeral is mentioned in the *Homilies* of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and there are numerous representations of this scene in illustrated MSS of these *Homilies*; the scene takes the form of a funeral around the bier, attended by bishops and other clergy (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 49f). He is often paired with his fellow citizen CYRIL of Alexandria, whose feast is celebrated the same day.

ED. PG 25–28. *Athanasius Werke*, ed. H.G. Opitz, W. Schneemelcher, M. Tetz, 3 vols. (Berlin 1934–38). *Athanasius: The Life of Antony and the Letter to Marcellinus*, tr. R.C. Gregg (New York–Ramsey–Toronto 1980). *Athanasius: Contra gentes and De incarnatione*, ed. R. Thomson (Oxford 1971), with Eng. tr.

LIT. F.L. Cross, *The Study of St. Athanasius* (Oxford 1945). *Politique et théologie chez Athanase d'Alexandrie*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1974). M. Tetz, "Zur Biographie des Athanasios von Alexandrien," *ZKirch* 90 (1979) 304–38. H.A. Drake, "Athanasius' First Exile," *GRBS* 27 (1986) 193–204. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 5:268–72. –B.B., A.K., N.P.Š.

ATHANASIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (Oct. 1289–Oct. 1293; June 1303–Sept. 1309) and saint; born Adrianople ca.1235, died Constantinople ca.1315; feastday 28 Oct. From his youth Athanasios was an ascetic monk who moved frequently from one monastery to another: he resided in turn on the holy mountains of Athos, Auxentios, Latros, Galesios, and Ganos, and made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Soon after 1282 Andronikos II installed him in a monastery on the Xerolophos hill in Constantinople and eventually made him patriarch. Athanasios was deposed from his first patriarchate because of his unpopular insistence on strict monastic discipline and the requirement that bishops reside in their sees. After ten years in retirement, he returned to the patriarchal throne but was again deposed to bring an end to the ARSENITE schism.

His letters and sermons reveal a rigid and fervently pious individual who hoped to check the Turkish advance by urging repentance on emperor and people alike. Under his guidance the synod issued a new law (*neara*) in 1304 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1607), confirmed by the emperor in 1306 (*Reg* 4, no.2295), which was designed to rectify injustices and raise moral standards; it covered such topics as inheritance, opening hours of taverns and bath houses, prostitution, and adultery. Athanasios sought to alleviate the sufferings of the poor and personally supervised distributions of food and clothing. He also organized a commission to control the supply and price of grain in Constantinople. At times he had considerable influence on the emperor; nonetheless his petitions were frequently ignored. After

his death his popularity led to the development of a local cult at his tomb where numerous miracles were attested. His sanctity was recognized sometime before 1368. Two vitae are preserved, both by Palamite authors, Joseph KALOTHETOS and THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE (*BHG* 194, 194c).

ED. *The Correspondence of Athanasius I*, ed. A.-M.M. Talbot (Washington, D.C., 1975), with Eng. tr.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1549–60, 1589–1780, App. 1–12. J. Boojamra, *Church Reform in the Late Byzantine Empire* (Thessalonike 1982). A.-M.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983). –A.M.T.

ATHANASIOS II, Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (ca.1275–ca.1315). He was a former Sinaite monk who, because of the Mamlūk occupation of Egypt, spent most of his tenure in exile. In 1275 or 1276 Athanasios went to Constantinople, where Michael VIII and his son Andronikos (II) granted him monasteries, to provide him with both a residence and income. He rapidly became involved in ecclesiastical controversies and found himself in opposition to his contemporary patriarchs of Constantinople, GREGORY II and esp. ATHANASIOS I, who confiscated Athanasios's monasteries and forced him into exile on Rhodes ca.1289. Athanasios returned to Constantinople during the interval between the two patriarchates of Athanasios I (1293–1303). In 1294 he was entrusted with an embassy to Cilician Armenia that was aborted when pirates attacked his ship. Athanasios opposed the reinstatement of Athanasios I and by 1305 was again compelled to leave the capital. After a series of narrow escapes in Greece, he presumably made his way to the *metochion* of Sinai on Crete. The place and date of his death are unknown.

Athanasios was bilingual in Greek and Arabic and a cultured bibliophile who acquired several MSS in Constantinople for the see of Alexandria. His most notable acquisition was the 5th-C. Codex Alexandrinus (London, B.L. Royal 1.D.v–viii).

LIT. A. Failler, "Le séjour d'Athanase II d'Alexandrie à Constantinople," *REB* 35 (1977) 43–71. *PLP*, no.413. T.C. Skeat, *The Codex Sinaiticus and the Codex Alexandrinus* (London 1955; rp. 1963) 31–33. –A.M.T.

ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, founder of the Great LAVRA; saint; born Trebizond between 925 and 930, died Mt. Athos 5 July ca.1001. Baptized Abraamios, he began a career as a teacher in Constantinople but resigned and left the capital for the Bithynian monastery of Kyminas, in which he lived ca.952–58 together with Michael MALEINOS. He then moved to Mt. ATHOS, where in 962/3, with the support of Emp. Nikephoros II Phokas, he founded the Lavra. Athanasios was closely connected with aristocratic families and was Nikephoros's private counselor. He effected a radical change in Athonite MONASTICISM, from scattered hermitages to large monasteries. With imperial support (the Lavra was granted SOLEMNIA and lands), Athanasios initiated large-scale construction; he even died while supervising the construction of a church. He also introduced new time-saving devices (e.g., a *mechane* driven by oxen to prepare dough) and composed Rules for the monks (*typikon*, *diatyposis*, and *hypotyposis*).

Two Lives of Athanasios were written soon after his death: one by a certain Athanasios of the monastery of Panagios in Constantinople, another on Athos; the problem of their interdependence is not yet solved (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 538–44). The theme of both Lives is Athanasios's thwarted desire to escape earthly glory; he was unable to conceal his educated background under the disguise of illiterate simplicity, nor was his flight from growing popularity successful. The Constantinopolitan Life of Athanasios contains important evidence concerning the painter PANTOLEON.

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint are found primarily in works associated with Athos: in manuscripts of the saint's vita and in churches under the influence of the Holy Mountain. He is depicted as an elderly man in monastic habit with balding head and a long white two-pointed beard.

SOURCES. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 187–88. P. Lemerle in *Lavra* 1:13–48. D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 69–102. J. Noret, "La vie la plus ancienne d'Athanase l'Athonite confrontée à d'autres vies de saints," *AB* 103 (1985) 243–52. G. Galavaris, "The Portraits of St. Athanasius of Athos," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 96–124. U. Knoben, *LCI* 5:267f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

ATHANASIOS OF METEORA, saint; baptismal name Andronikos; born Neopatras 1305, died Meteora 20 Apr. 1383. Born to a noble family, Athanasios was orphaned at an early age and entrusted to the care of his paternal uncle. He eagerly pursued both secular and religious studies in Thessalonike and Constantinople, where he met GREGORY SINAITES, ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS,

and Gregory AKINDYNOS. After a period on Crete as a hesychast, he became a monk on Mt. ATHOS in 1335 and took the name Antony (later changed to Athanasios). After a Turkish attack on Athos, Athanasios left the Holy Mountain ca.1340 with his spiritual master, a hesychast named Gregory. The two sought refuge and tranquillity among the rocky spires of the METEORA in Thessaly. For years Athanasios lived in solitude; eventually he settled on a pinnacle called Platylithos ("broad rock"), which he named Meteoron ("suspended in midair"). Here he established a cenobitic community of 14 monks for whom he drafted a short rule (vita, 251f) and built a church dedicated to the Theotokos (later reconstructed and rededicated to the Metamorphosis). His anonymous Life (*BHG* 195) was written sometime after 1388 by a monk who had lived on Athos and had known Athanasios briefly at Meteora.

SOURCE. N.A. Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 237–70.

LIT. *PLP*, no.359. Nicol, *Meteora* 73–76, 88–105. D.M. Nicol, "A Layman's Ministry in the Byzantine Church: The Life of Athanasios of the Great Meteoron," *SChH* 26 (1989) 141–54. –A.M.T.

ATHANATOI (ἀθάνατοι, "immortals"), a TAGMA of noble youth. Created by John I Tzimiskes in 970 (Leo Diac. 107.11–12), they were armed and preceded the emperor on campaign (132.17–18). They camped, together with the HETAIREIA, next to the emperor's tent (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 250.100). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial first mentions the *domestikos* of the *athanatoi*. John I's *athanatoi* probably did not endure; they are not mentioned again until the end of the 11th C. when, according to Nikephoros Bryennios (Bryen. 265–67), NIKEPHORITZES revived the corps of *athanatoi* and supplied them with armor, shields, helmets, and spears. Some chrysobulls of the end of the 11th C. (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.28) place the *athanatoi* together with the ethnic contingents, but S. Kyriakides (*Makedonika* 2 [1953] 722–24) strongly insists on their autochthonous origin. There is no evidence that the *athanatoi* survived the 12th C.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27f. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 143. –A.K.

ATHENA, in Greek mythology, daughter of ZEUS, virgin goddess of wisdom, and eponymous patron of Athens. Myths about Athena, drawn from the standard classical curriculum of Byz. education, continued to furnish literary material down to the time of TZETZES, who reproduced them in his *Histories.* The *Iliad* passage (5.837–39) describing Athena's chariot creaking under her weight was often discussed by Christian apologists, who were concerned to reject the old embodiment of virginity and its power in Athena in favor of the new figure of the Virgin Mary. They ridiculed Homer's description: a weightless deity could not have caused that phenomenon (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 2:213.5–7). A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 158.70–72) used the same Homeric image to describe Manuel I's bringing of an icon of the Virgin into Constantinople on a chariot: in the triumphal procession, the vehicle did not creak under the true Virgin. In GNOSTICISM, on the other hand, the figure of Athena was used positively to represent the divine SOPHIA.

An antique bronze statue of Athena, 30 feet high, stood in the Forum of Constantine in Constantinople until just before 1204, when the mob, interpreting the hand's gesture as inviting the Latin army, tore it down (Nik.Chon. 558f). In Byz. art Athena appears in depictions of the Judgment of Paris (J. Trilling, *The Roman Heritage* [Washington, D.C., 1982] 46, no.25; H. Zaloscer, *Die Kunst im christlichen Ägypten* [Vienna 1974] pl. 48). Clad as a Byz. empress, she is shown born from Zeus's head in illustrations of the scholia of pseudo-NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS on the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed a hymn to Athena in his *Laws,* hailing her as the power presiding over form (*eidos*) and impelled movement (*kinesis gignomene*), who rejects the superfluous (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 210).

The Byz. TZETZES (*Historiae,* 1.176–77, 5.671–72) and Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38: 487.27–28) were also acquainted with the ancient myth that Athena, though a virgin, had borne to Hephaistos a son called Erichthonios: how the perpetuation of this legend is related to the contrast between Athena and the Virgin Mary is unclear.

LIT. W. Kraus, *RAC* 1:880f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 50–52. –L.S.B.MacC., A.C.

ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, wife of Theodosios II, augusta (from 2 Jan. 423); born Athens ca.400, died Jerusalem 20 Oct. 460. The daughter of

Leontios, a pagan philosopher in Athens, Athenais (Ἀθηναΐς) came to Constantinople where she was baptized, taking the Christian name Eudokia. She soon attracted the attention of powers at court, possibly those in opposition to PULCHERIA, the emperor's sister. Athenais married Theodosios on 7 June 421 and bore him three children. The oldest, Licinia Eudoxia (born 422), was to become the wife of VALENTINIAN III. In these years Athenais enjoyed considerable power and may have been the center of a faction of "traditionalists"—men such as her uncle Asklepiodotos and the prefect KYROS—who urged policies of religious moderation and supported classical culture. Athenais was, however, gradually eclipsed by Pulcheria, who gained increasing control over her brother. In 438 Athenais departed with MELANIA THE YOUNGER for the Holy Land, where she encountered Cyril of Alexandria and Barsauma. She returned to Constantinople the next year and reached the height of her power. By 443, however, she again fell from favor as a result of allegations of adultery. She went to Jerusalem in voluntary exile, but apparently retained her imperial title. She sided with anti-Chalcedonian monks in Jerusalem in 452. Although she was ultimately reconciled to Chalcedon, she was nonetheless revered in Monophysite tradition (H. Drake, *GRBS* 20 [1979] 381–92). Athenais was highly educated and obviously independent-minded; some fragments of her poetry survive. Her story was romantically enhanced by later Byz. tradition.

ED. *Eudociae Augustae, Procli Lycii, Claudiani carminum graecorum reliquiae*, ed. A. Ludwich (Leipzig 1897) 11–79.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 112–224. Al. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982) 217–89. F. Gregorovius, *Athenais, Geschichte einer byzantinischen Kaiserin*[3] (Leipzig 1892). A. Pignani, "Il modello omerico e la fonte biblica nel centone di Eudocia imperatrice," *Koinonia* 9 (1985) 35–41. –T.E.G.

ATHENS (Ἀθῆναι), city in central Greece, in late antiquity part of the province of Achaia, listed by Hierokles as the "metropolis of ATTICA." Sacked by the Heruli in 267 and ALARIC in 396, the city lost much of its ancient splendor and was surrounded by a fortification embracing only a fraction of its former area: at the end of the 4th C. Synesios of Cyrene described Athens in disparaging terms, as a place famous only for its production of honey. From the 4th to early 6th C., however, Athens maintained its place as an academic center and home of NEOPLATONISM, centered in the revived ACADEMY OF ATHENS and independent philosophical schools; among the students there were BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and the future emperor JULIAN. Paganism apparently remained strong in Athens in the late Roman period, and Christian symbols did not become common on lamps until the early 5th C. (A. Frantz, *DOP* 19 [1965] 187–205). The empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, an Athenian, was noted for her learning. The effect of Justinian I's closing of the Schools of Athens in 529 remains controversial (Al. Cameron, *Literature*, pt.XIII [1965], 7–29).

The city was apparently sacked by the Slavs in 582 but remained in Byz. hands; in the 7th C. there was some political recovery, highlighted by the visit of Constans II in 662/3. From the late 7th C. Athens was part of the theme of HELLAS. The city was threatened by Arab pirates but more peaceful relations are suggested by the probable existence of an Arab mosque (G. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). It is usually assumed that during the Iconoclast crisis Athens supported icon worship; at any rate, Empress Irene, born in Athens, played a decisive role in the restoration of the cult of icons. In the early 9th C. another woman from Athens, Theophano, a relative of Irene, married the future emperor Staurakios (Theoph. 483.18). In 1018 Basil II visited Athens and gave thanks in the Church of the Virgin in the Parthenon for his victory over the Bulgarians. The letters of Michael CHONIATES, who was metropolitan of Athens 1182–1204, complain of the poverty of the city, the ignorance of the inhabitants, and the rapacity of imperial officials (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1976] 253–84).

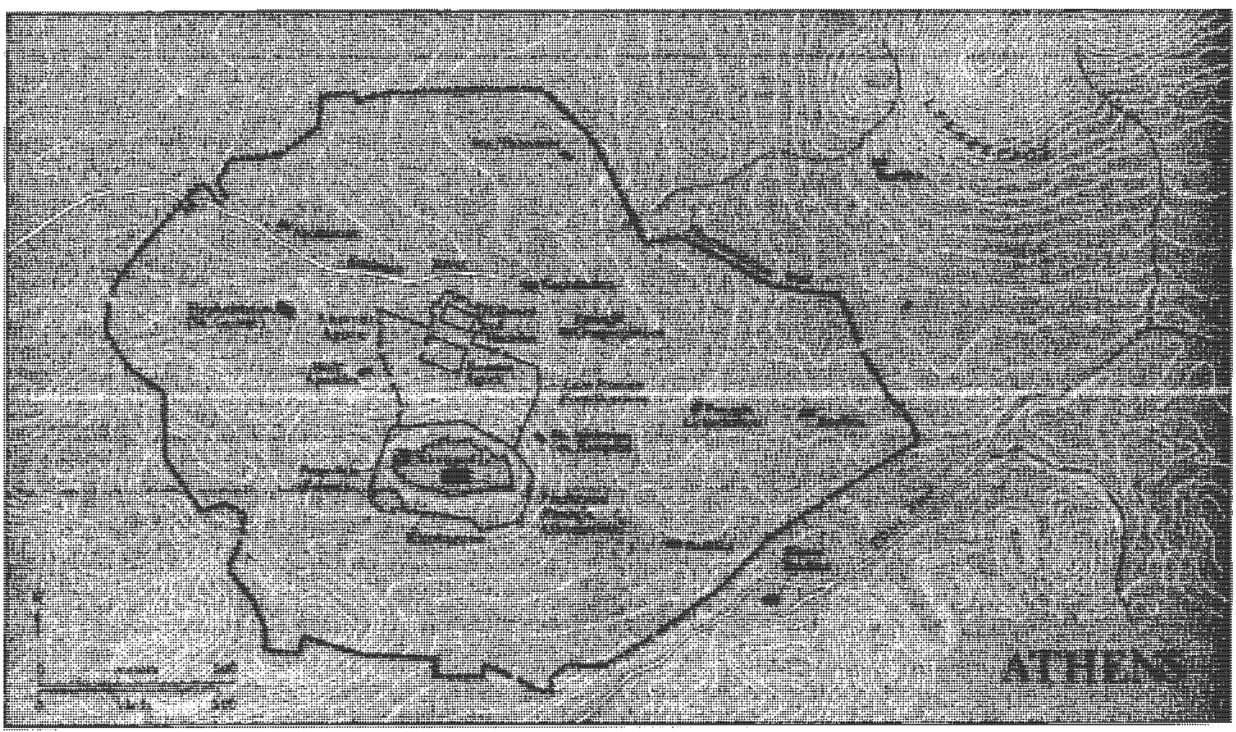
In 1204 the city withstood a siege by Leo SGOUROS, but by the end of the year it fell to Boniface of Montferrat, who appointed Guy de la Roche as the first duke of Athens. The duchy of Athens controlled all of central Greece and had interests in the Peloponnesos and as far north as BOUDONITZA; the dukes, however, had their primary residence at THEBES. In 1311 the city came under the control of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, who surrendered it to Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI in 1385 (K.M. Setton, *The Catalan Domination of Athens 1311–1388*[2] [London 1975]). In 1394 it passed briefly to Venice and then to Antonio Acciajuoli

after 1403. In 1446 the future Constantine XI took Athens for Byz. but in 1456 it fell to the Turks.

The bishop of Athens was under the authority of the bishop of Thessalonike; he was raised to metropolitan status, probably in the 9th C. (V. Laurent, *REB* 1 [1943] 58–72); his suffragans included the bishops of Euboea, central Greece, and the nearby islands (*Notitiae CP* 7.496–506, etc.). A Latin archbishop, who replaced the Orthodox bishop after 1204, played an important role in the papacy's plan to control the Greek church (J. Koder, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 129–41). Under the Acciajuoli the Orthodox bishopric was reestablished.

Monuments of Athens. Athens preserves many standing Byz. monuments and more have been brought to light by excavation, esp. in the Agora. In the courtyard of the Library of Hadrian a large quatrefoil structure of the 5th C. has been uncovered, probably a church rather than a lecture hall or audience hall as previously believed. On the slopes of the Areopagos and the south side of the Acropolis have been found houses associated with the philosophical schools. Basilican churches (e.g., the so-called Ilissos Basilica) were constructed on the periphery, but most of the pagan temples were not converted to Christian use until the late 6th C. or even later. From the 5th C. onward small-scale industrial activity was introduced into the former city center, as the ancient urban pattern was abandoned. The extensive ancient enceinte, repaired by Justinian I, was soon thereafter allowed to fall into decay; coin finds after the mid-7th C. are infrequent (F. Kleiner, *Medieval and Modern Coins in the Athenian Agora* [Princeton 1978] 12), and certain areas—the region of the Odeion (H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 137) and the Pnyx (H.A. Thompson, R.L. Scranton, *Hesperia* 12 [1943] 376)—were deserted. Recovery began in the 9th C. and reached its peak in the 11th–12th C. This period of prosperity ended, as far as the archaeological evidence shows, ca.1180 (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] 626f).

Beginning ca.975 with the *katholikon* of Mone Petrake, there is an unbroken string of surviving churches, nearly all of the Constantinopolitan cross-in-square type; many have pseudo-Kufic decoration. The Church of the Holy Apostles in the Agora is a domed quatrefoil of considerable sophistication (A. Frantz, *The Church of the Holy Apostles* [*The Athenian Agora* 20] [Princeton 1971]);



the Church of Sts. Theodore is dated by an inscription to 1065, while the Kapnikarea (1060–70) has an exonarthex, as well as a *parekklesion* perhaps added during the Frankish period. The Panagia Gorgoepikoos/St. Eleutherios (Little Metropolis) is made entirely of marble, mostly reused blocks, many of them sculptured; it dates probably to the period shortly after 1200. Most of the Athenian churches are small and are grouped in the area immediately to the north of the Acropolis. The poorly restored Panagia Lykodemou (11th C.) was a large domed octagon, presumably representing influence from the capital. None of these churches retains its original painted decoration. Fresco programs have survived, however, in several churches on the outskirts of Athens, notably the cave chapels on Mt. Pentele of the early 13th C., similar in style to that of the late Komnenian period, which preserve a haloed portrait of Michael Choniates (D. Mouriki, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1974] 79–119), and the Omorphe Ekklesia of the late 13th C. which already reflects the latest stylistic developments in the contemporary painting of Macedonia (A. Basilake-Karakatsane, *Hoi toichographies tes Omorphes Ekklesias sten Athena* [Athens 1971]. The Parthenon was the cathedral church and the other buildings of the Acropolis were used as churches, while the Propylaia was converted by the Frankish dukes into a palace with a large tower.

LIT. *TIB* 1:126–29. K.M. Setton, *Athens in the Middle Ages* (London 1975). I. Traulos, *Poleodomike exelixis ton Athenon* (Athens 1960). Idem, *RBK* 1:349–89. A. Frantz, *Late Antiquity* [= *The Athenian Agora* 24] (Princeton 1988). Idem, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965) 187–205. T. Leslie Shear, Jr., "The Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 53 (1984) 1–57. Janin, *Églises centres* 298–340. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

ATHINGANOI (Ἀθίγγανοι, lit. "Untouchables"), judaizing heretics in Phrygia and Lykaonia first mentioned as favored by Emp. Nikephoros I, who, according to the hostile report of Theophanes the Confessor, invited them in 810 to sacrifice a bull to quell a revolt. Emp. Michael I condemned them to death and massacred many but later relented. Theophanes Continuatus defined them as Sabbath observers who were baptized and followed the laws of Moses except for circumcision, while each Athinganos was under the spiritual and material influence of a Jew. Constantine VII apparently disputed with them. An 11th-C. (?) abjuration formula accused them of practicing magic, astrology, and a ritual purity characterized by Levitical ablutions. The name was later attached to other groups, e.g., Adsincanoi (GYPSIES).

LIT. J. Starr, "An Eastern Christian Sect: The Athinganoi," *HThR* 29 (1936) 93–106. P. Alexander, "Religious Persecution and Resistance in the Byzantine Empire of the Eighth and Ninth Centuries," *Speculum* 52 (1977) 239, 245. I. Rochow, "Die Häresie der Athinganer im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert und die Frage ihres Fortlebens," *BBA* 51 (1983) 163–78. –S.B.B.

ATHOS, ACTS OF. The monasteries of Mt. Athos possess numerous charters of the Byz. (and post-Byz.) period, both in original and in copies. In its totality the collection is by far the richest Byz. archive of documentary material, providing abundant data on political, economic, and ecclesiastical history, the history of institutions and law, ethnic composition, literacy, etc. The oldest extant documents date to the late 9th C. The richest collections belong to the LAVRA, IVERON, HILANDAR, and VATOPEDI monasteries; in addition are preserved the acts of DIONYSIOU, DOCHEIARIOU, ESPHIGMENOU, KASTAMONITOU, KOUTLOUMOUSIOU, PANTOKRATOR, St. Paul, PANTELEEMON, PHILOTHEOU, XENOPHONTOS, XEROPOTAMOU, and ZOGRAPHOU, as well as those of the PROTATON and of several minor archives (Karakalou and Simopetra).

Attempts at systematization of the archives were begun at the end of the 18th C. by the monks themselves: Cyril of Lavra compiled a list of acts in his monastery's archive (A. Guillou, *BCH* 82 [1958] 610–34). In the 19th C. some travelers to Athos copied and later photographed selected charters; an important collection of photographs was assembled by P.I. Sevast'janov (E. Granstrem, I. Medvedev, *REB* 33 [1975] 277–93). Russian scholars began the systematic publication of the acts of Athos—first of Panteleemon (Kiev 1873), then Vatopedi (St. Petersburg 1898), then in appendices to *Vizantijskij Vremennik*—while Greek scholars published individual acts in various periodicals. A systematic survey, started by G. Millet and continued by P. Lemerle, has resulted in the publication of many Athonite documents in Paris (now in progress); V. Mošin and F. Dölger also made important contributions. The Acts contain some of the most important surviving INVENTORIES of icons and liturgical equipment.

ED. *Archives de l'Athos,* ed. P. Lemerle, N. Oikonomides, J. Lefort et al. (Paris 1937–). (See entries on individual monasteries for editions of specific volumes.)

LIT. M. Manoussakas, "Hellenika cheirographa kai engrapha tou Hagiou Orous," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 391–419.

–A.K., A.C.

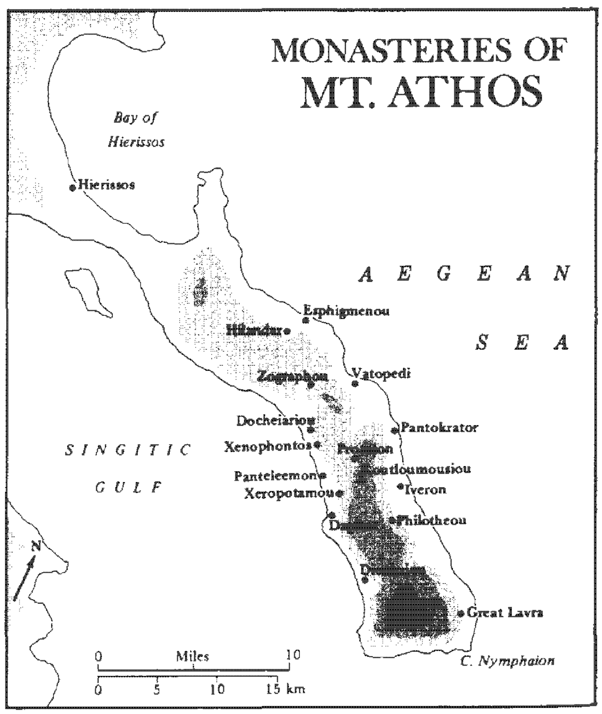
ATHOS, MOUNT, also called the HOLY MOUNTAIN (*Hagion Oros*), from the late 10th C. the most important center of Eastern Orthodox MONASTICISM. Athos ("Αθως) is the name given to the northernmost projection of the CHALKIDIKE peninsula, 45 km long, 5–10 km wide, as well as to the peak (2,033 m) that dominates this rocky finger of land. It is linked to the mainland by a narrow isthmus 2 km in width. The peninsula has forests, meadows for pasturage, and small plots of land suitable for vineyards, orchards, olive groves, and gardens.

Athos was virtually deserted when monks first began to settle there, probably in the late 8th or early 9th C.; according to the 10th-C. historian GENESIOS (58.22), in 843 Athos was already a major monastic community, but his evidence must be treated with caution. The theories that the earliest monks of Athos were refugees from the Arab conquests of the eastern provinces of Byz., or Iconodules fleeing the persecutions of the Iconoclast emperors, have now lost favor. The first arrivals seem to have come from nearby regions, and to have been attracted by the unsullied solitude of the peninsula. Monasticism developed slowly on the Holy Mountain, however, because of its isolation, its rugged terrain, and the danger from Arab pirates. The early monks lived as solitary hermits or in small groups; the pioneers on Athos included Peter the Athonite (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 92 [1974] 19–61)—a semilegendary figure—and EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER, who arrived in 859. The first cenobitic monastery in the vicinity of Athos was KOLOBOU, founded near HIERISSOS sometime before 883. A fragmentary *sigillion* of Basil I (*Prot.*, no. 1, a.883) is the earliest preserved imperial act concerning the Holy Mountain; it protected the Athonite monks from the intrusion of local shepherds.

The date of the first appearance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos proper is impossible to ascertain, but by the mid-10th C. some *koinobia* (e.g., XEROPOTAMOU) are attested. In 963 ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, with the support of Nikephoros II Phokas, founded the Great LAVRA, which would soon hold first place in the Athonite hierarchy, a position it would maintain in perpetuity. By the end of the 10th C. many of the most important Athonite monasteries (e.g., IVERON, HILANDAR, ESPHIGMENOU, PANTELEEMON, VATOPEDI, XENOPHONTOS, and possibly ZOGRAPHOU) had been founded; by 1001 46 monasteries were in existence (Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 86–93).

Monks from non-Greek lands began to come to the Holy Mountain in the 10th C.: the Georgian monastery of Iveron was established in 979/80, soon followed by the Italian monastery of the Amalfitans (see AMALFI). Orthodox Armenians (Chalcedonians) were numerous at Esphigmenou. In the 12th C. the peninsula began to attract more Slavic monks: Panteleemon was taken over by monks from Rus', and Hilandar was restored as a Serbian monastery. In the 13th C. Zographou came to be inhabited primarily by Bulgarian monks.

The organization of Athos in the 10th C. was relatively simple: the monks attended three annual assemblies at the PROTATON in KARYES and elected a PROTOS who represented the community in its relations with ecclesiastical and secular authorities. By the end of the 10th C. (?) this assem-



bly was replaced by an irregular "council" that attracted on the average 15 participants, but occasionally as many as 40. The larger monasteries became independent of the Protaton, with the *hegoumenos* of the Great Lavra acquiring a more prestigious position in the local hierarchy than the *protos*.

In the 10th and 11th C. Athos attracted considerable imperial attention. Romanos I Lekapenos initiated an annual stipend (*roga*) for the Athonite monks and ordered the demarcation of a frontier boundary, probably in 941/2 (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 55). The rapid growth of the Lavra under the patronage of Nikephoros Phokas prompted the resentment of many Athonite monks, esp. the anchorites who feared for their way of life. John I Tzimiskes' issuance of a *typikon* for Athos, the TRAGOS, between 970 and 972, attempted a compromise, recognizing the rights of *hegoumenoi*, *kelliotai* (the spiritual leaders of anachoretic groups), and solitary hermits to attend the assemblies at Karyes. Both Nikephoros II and John I envisaged Athos as a stronghold of "poor monasticism," but under Basil II some monasteries began to acquire lands beyond the boundaries of the Holy Mountain and were gradually transformed into great landowners. Cenobitism became predominant, to the detriment of hermitages. In the 11th–12th C. new monasteries continued to be founded (KASTAMONITOU, DOCHEIARIOU, KOUTLOUMOUSIOU), and the older ones expanded their possessions. Economic activities on Athos increased, such as the sale of wood from Athonite forests and surplus agricultural products (fruits, vegetables, wine) cultivated on monastic estates. Many monasteries owned boats for the transport of these goods and the importation of necessary provisions; these boats often were granted exemptions from customs duties. Despite John I's prohibition of the presence of eunuchs, beardless youths, women, and even female animals on the peninsula, in the 11th C. substantial groups of VLACH shepherds settled with their families on Athos and supplied the monks with dairy products. The "Vlach question" caused such a scandal that ca.1100 Alexios I was forced to expel the herdsmen from Athos.

Constantine IX Monomachos's chrysobull of 1045 sheds light on the administrative development of Athos. The independence of individual *koinobia* increased; Lavra, Vatopedi, and Iveron were the top-ranking monasteries, taking precedence over the central administration of the *protos*. The growth of landownership incited conflicts among monasteries over estates as well as clashes with local landowners, esp. in Hierissos; with the Cumans who had settled in southern Macedonia; and with imperial functionaries. On the other hand, the patriarchate tried to establish its jurisdiction (at least partial) over Athos, which had been considered as subordinate only to the emperor.

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 and the establishment of the Latin Empire led to a period of difficulty for Athos, as Macedonia was troubled by the Latin occupation, the rising power of the Bulgarians, and rivalry between the empire of Nicaea and Epiros. Athos came under the rule of the Frankish Kingdom of Thessalonike from 1204 to 1224, and the monasteries lost some of their properties outside the peninsula, which they sought to recover after the Greek reconquest of Constantinople in 1261. The reign of Michael VIII Palaiologos was, however, extremely unpopular on Athos, because of the persecution of monks who refused to accept the Union of Lyons of 1274 (G. Rouillard, *REB* 1 [1943] 73–84; J. Koder, *JÖB* 18 [1969] 79–88).

In the early 14th C. Athos suffered from the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, but then enjoyed a period of prosperity during which several new monasteries were founded (Gregoriou, DIONYSIOU, PANTOKRATOR, Simopetra). Documents recording various privileges conferred by the emperors on Athonite monasteries (a practice which goes back to the 9th C.) are esp. copious from the first half of the 14th C. Whereas the privileges granted by the government in the 10th C. were primarily SOLEMNIA (stipends from the state treasury) and the chrysobulls of the 11th C. mostly established monastic *exkousseia* (immunity from taxes), the documents of the 14th C. were first of all donations of lands and *paroikoi*.

The properties of Athos took the form of fields, vineyards, pastures, mills, fishponds, entire villages, urban rental properties, and workshops. These possessions were concentrated in Macedonia (including Thessalonike), esp. on the Chalkidike peninsula and in the Strymon valley, but extended to Thrace, Thasos, Lemnos, Serbia, and

Wallachia. The bulk of the acts of Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF) concern these estates, and include *praktika*, charters of sale, exchange, and donation, in addition to imperial chrysobulls confirming the monasteries' titles to their property and guaranteeing fiscal immunity. All ranks of people, from humble peasant to emperor, were anxious to make pious donations to Athonite monasteries; in addition to the emperors at Constantinople, the benefactors of Athos included the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, the rulers of Serbia and Bulgaria, and *voivodes* of Wallachia.

In the 14th C. IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM developed on Athos, and the *koinobion* declined. By mid-century Turkish pirates were attacking the peninsula, forcing some of the monks to flee to PARORIA or to METEORA. The Ottoman threat led to government restriction on the growth of monastic properties and the confiscation of some Athonite estates in the second half of the 14th C.; thus, after the Turkish victory at Marica in 1371 half of the *metochia* belonging to Athos were transformed into *pronoiai* and transferred to soldiers. This policy was continued in the 15th C. (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 161–76). After briefly occupying Athos in 1387 and from 1393 to 1403, the Ottomans established permanent control over the Holy Mountain in 1430. The Turks recognized the autonomy of Athos in return for the payment of annual tribute, but the monasteries lost their immunities and their estates in Thrace and Macedonia.

Attitudes toward the intellectual life were varied. *Kelliotai* and hermits, who placed an emphasis on spirituality and asceticism, had little use for books. As N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78) has shown, many of the Athonite monks came from a rustic background and were illiterate. Nonetheless in the *koinobia*, founded on the Stoudite model, there was more emphasis on intellectual pursuits, esp. from the 13th C. onward. The monasteries amassed important collections of MSS (B. Fonkić, *PSb* 17 [80] [1967] 167–75), some produced in their own scriptoria (e.g., at Philotheou, Hilandar, and Iveron). Among Athonite monks could be found composers (John KOUKOUZELES), hagiographers (Joseph KALOTHETOS), theologians (Gregory PALAMAS), and ecclesiastical writers (THEOLEPTOS of Philadelphia). With its international assemblage of monks, cultural interchange was inevitable: Hilandar, Zographou, Panteleemon, and Iveron became centers for the transmission of Byz. religious literature to Serbia, Bulgaria, Russia, and Georgia, respectively.

As the Holy Mountain par excellence from the 10th C. onward, Athos attracted Byz. monks for six centuries. Many holy men, whose custom it was to wander from one monastery or HOLY MOUNTAIN to another, spent time on Athos before moving on, thus reducing the cultural isolation of the Athonite monasteries. Because of its geographical proximity, Thessalonike, rather than Constantinople, had the closest links with the Holy Mountain. For some monks, like Palamas, a hegoumenate on Athos was the springboard to a bishopric; for others it might lead to the patriarchate of Constantinople as it did for NIPHON, KALLISTOS, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (R. Guilland, *EEBS* 32 [1963] 50–59).

It was one of the wandering holy men, GREGORY SINAITES, who introduced to Athos in the 14th C. the "Jesus prayer," which was adopted by a small number of monks. From this new method of prayer developed a form of mystical spirituality, a renewed emphasis on HESYCHASM that was championed by Palamas (J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 42 [1988] 157–65). After many vicissitudes PALAMISM spread all over the Byz. world and was eventually declared Orthodox by the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

LIT. *Prot.* 3–164. *Le millénaire du Mont Athos 963–1963*, 2 vols. (Chevetogne 1963–64). C. Cavarnos, *The Holy Mountain* (Belmont, Mass. 1973). I.P. Mamalakes, *To hagion Oros (Athos) dia mesou ton aionon* (Thessalonike 1971) 1–222. S. Lampros, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts on Mount Athos*, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1895–1900). –A.M.T., A.K.

Art and Architecture of Athos. Little survives of the 10th–12th-C. architecture of the Holy Mountain except for the principal churches of a few monasteries and portions of the perimeter walls. The earliest Athonite churches generally had an inscribed-cross plan with a central dome, triconch apse, a double narthex, and lateral chapels to the west (P.M. Mylonas, *Thesaurismata* 2 [1963] supp., 18–48). Instituted at the Lavra, this scheme was adopted at Iveron and Vatopedi and remained essentially unchanged until the double narthex was replaced by a unified rectangular space (sometimes called a *lite*) for singers at Hilandar. This scheme, in turn, was widely adopted, for example, at Koutloumousiou ca.1400. The

14th C. saw an expansion of the older monasteries, the addition of towers (PYRGOI) and other fortifications, and the creation of new institutions that tended to follow the established "Athonite type." Most of the chapels and living and service quarters now to be seen on Athos date from the 15th C. or later.

In the churches mosaic decoration survives only at Vatopedi and Xenophontos (now detached and kept in the "new *katholikon*"). The oldest preserved frescoes are at the *kellion* of Rhabdouchou (P. Mylonas in 14 *CEB*, vol. 2B [Bucharest 1971] 552–54); frescoes of 1312 survive at Vatopedi but are much overpainted. The well-preserved program at the Protaton is of similar date. Thereafter, however, with the exception of fragments in the monastery of St. Paul, almost no wall painting survives from the period between the mid-14th and the early 16th C.

From the 10th C. onward, Athonite monasteries received gifts of liturgical silver, crosses, textiles, sometimes richly covered books, and esp. icons (of which the Lavra has 3,000, mostly post-Byz.), which form the nuclei of their treasures today. A few objects are the donations of generous rulers and other patrons from the period before 1453 but, like the physical fabric of the monasteries, the vast majority of the treasures date well after the foundation of the institutions that now house them. Despite the arguments of V.N. Lazarev (*DChAE*[4] 4 [1964] 117–43), there is little evidence for resident ateliers of mural painters on Athos in the Byz. period; A. Xyngopoulos (*CorsiRav* 11 [1964] 419–30) suggested that at least in the 14th C. fresco painters came from Thessalonike and possibly Constantinople. The name or epithet *zographos* of a 10th-C. monk (see ZOGRAPHOU) suggests, however, that some artists took up residence; a 14th-C. workshop that made ICON FRAMES has also been hypothesized. Certainly masons were called in from the outside world in the 10th C. (*Prot.*, no.7.141–42). Many of the illuminated MSS in the monasteries' libraries reached Athos long after their creation elsewhere, just as many books with Athonite provenances are today to be found in libraries and museums outside the Holy Mountain.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 1:389–421. G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos. 1. Les peintures* (Paris 1927). S.N. Pelekanides et al., *The Treasures of Mount Athos. Illuminated Manuscripts*, 3 vols. (Athens 1973–79). K. Weitzmann, *Aus den Bibliotheken des Athos* (Hamburg 1963). E. Voordeckers, "L'art au Mont-Athos," in *Splendeur de Byz.* 262–74. –A.C.

ATRAMYTTION (Ἀτραμύτ⟨τ⟩ιον, l'Andremite of the Crusaders, now Edremit), city on the northwest coast of Asia Minor. Although obscure in late antiquity, Atramyttion was an important naval base when the Opsikian fleet stopped there during its revolt in 714, seized Theodosios (III), a native tax collector of Atramyttion, and made him emperor. Atramyttion was the northernmost city of the THRAKESION theme; in the 10th C., it was a *tourma* of SAMOS. The Turkish pirate TZACHAS completely destroyed Atramyttion ca.1090; Eumathios PHILOKALES rebuilt and repopulated it in 1109. It became a base for defense against Italian and Turkish attacks. Manuel I made it a center of NEOKASTRA; by 1185 it was the headquarters of a separate theme (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 8). Plundered by the Genoese in 1197, it was briefly seized by the Latins in 1205 and ruled by them in 1213–24. In 1268, the Venetians had a concession in Atramyttion, but dangers from the Turks made the Genoese of Phokaia take control of it in 1304. It fell to the Turks of KARASI before 1334. Atramyttion was a suffragan bishopric of Ephesos; its site contains no significant remains.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 223f, 289f, 349. –C.F.

ATRIKLINES (ἀτρικλίνης), courtier in charge of imperial banquets. The term is of Latin origin, from *triclinium,* dining hall, but it has often been distorted as *artoklines,* from Greek *artos,* bread. In his *Kletorologion*, PHILOTHEOS, who was himself *atriklines*, describes his function as maintaining order at banquets by positioning dignitaries according to their titles and offices (Oikonomides, *Listes* 83.15–24). This presupposed a clear knowledge of titulature. Although Philotheos was titled *protospatharios*, the *atriklines* held a relatively modest place in the hierarchy. The *atriklines* was mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij; the seal of the imperial *atriklines* Smaragdos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1606B) is dated in the 8th C. Some seals of *atriklinai* belong to the 11th C.; thereafter the fate of this functionary is unknown.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 27–29. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 145–47, 183. –A.K.

ATRIUM (αὐλή, αἴθριον) an open court directly preceding a church, usually enclosed by four colonnaded porticoes (a *quadriporticus*) or, in churches possessing a narthex, by the narthex and three porticoes. Occasionally, as in Constantine I's church at MAMRE, simple wall enclosures replaced the porticoes. The form of the atrium was probably derived from that of the peristyle courtyards that often preceded Roman buildings. The conventional term *atrium* was apparently derived from the Greek *aithrion*, meaning an area under the open sky, rather than from the Latin *atrium*, the main room of an Italic house. The open court is also called a *louter*, a term derived from the ritual ablutions of hands and feet at the *kantharos*, or fountain, located therein. The atrium was not a requisite feature of church architecture in any period, though it was common in many regions in the 4th–6th C. When present, atriums served not only as places for washing but also for the separation of catechumens and for starting entrance ceremonies, as local customs dictated. Churches with atriums are extremely rare after the 6th C., perhaps because of changes in the entrance rite. The atrium reappears in the 9th C. in two notable examples in Constantinople, the Pharos (?) in the GREAT PALACE and the NEA EKKLESIA as well as in the 11th-C. Church of St. George of MANGANA.

LIT. C. Delvoye, "Études d'architecture paléochrétienne et byzantine," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 261–91. Idem, *RBK* 1:421–40. D. Pallas, "Archaiologika-leitourgika," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 279–89. C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973). –M.J.

ATROA (Ἀτρώα), a plain at the foot of the Anatolian Mt. OLYMPOS, 7 km southwest of Prousa, where several monastic communities existed in the 9th and 10th C. Its most famous monastery was St. Zacharias, founded ca.800 by the hermit Paul and his disciple, Peter of Atroa. It served as the mother house for several smaller nearby monasteries. Paul was the first *hegoumenos* of St. Zacharias; upon his death in 805 he was succeeded by Peter. During the Iconoclastic persecution of Leo V and Theophilos the monks temporarily disbanded, to live in scattered hermitages on Mt. Olympos. In 821, when Peter was criticized by a group of bishops and superiors, he was defended by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, then in exile from Constantinople. After Peter's death on 1 Jan. 837, he was succeeded by his brother Paul and then his nephew James. Paul transferred Peter's remains from a chapel of St. Nicholas to a cave near St. Zacharias; many miracles reportedly occurred at this tomb. The monastery survived until at least the 10th C. when the future St. LOUKAS THE STYLITE spent three years there.

SOURCES. V. Laurent, *La vie merveilleuse de Saint Pierre d'Atroa (d. 837)* (Brussels 1956). Idem, *La Vita Retractata et les miracles posthumes de Saint Pierre d'Atroa* (Brussels 1958).

LIT. B. Menthon, *Une terre de légendes: L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris 1935) 49f, 88–121. Janin, *Églises centres* 135f, 140, 151, 184. –A.M.T.

ATTALEIA (Ἀττάλεια, mod. Antalya), city and bishopric of Pamphylia. Although inscriptions and remains indicate some prosperity in late antiquity, Attaleia became most important in the 9th–11th C. as a naval and military center. A special force of MARDAITES under a *katepano* attested in the 10th C. may have been installed in Attaleia as early as 689. Attaleia was apparently capital of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme; it was certainly a main base of the Byz. navy and a major entrepôt for trade with Cyprus and the Levant. According to IBN ḤAWQAL (10th C.), Attaleia was the center for collecting taxes on goods brought by trade or piracy from Muslim lands; the revenue from this amounted to 300 pounds of gold. He also states that the city was directly subject to the emperor and paid no taxes. Attaleia was a base of the imperial post that connected it with Constantinople in eight days by land and 15 by sea (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:414–19). Powerful Roman walls, rebuilt and extended by Leo VI, kept Attaleia from capture by the Arabs; it maintained its ancient size throughout the Byz. period. By the 11th C., Attaleia had a substantial Jewish community. Attaleia survived the turmoil after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, remaining a center of imperial and Venetian trade, but by 1148 it was a Byz. island in territory overrun by the Turks. It was taken by the Italian Aldobrandini family ca.1204 and by the Seljuks in 1207. Attaleia, a suffragan bishopric of Perge, was elevated to a metropolis by Alexios I. Attaleia preserves the circuit of its walls, much of them Byz., and a large Justinianic cruciform church with a central tower, later transformed into a basilica.

LIT. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1890) 7–32. M. Ballance, "Cumanın Cam'i at Antalya," *BSR* 23 (1955) 99–114. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 82f, 108, 187. –C.F.

ATTALEIATES, MICHAEL, historian; born Constantinople or Attaleia between ca.1020 and 1030, died after 1085 (according to Gautier, after 1079). A man of modest origins, Attaleiates (Ἀτταλειάτης) had a brilliant career: a senator and judge, he had the title of *proedros;* he also acquired properties both in Constantinople and Rhaidestos which he described in his *Diataxis* of 1077. Lemerle (*infra* 111) estimates Attaleiates' properties at approximately 150 LITRAE. In the *Diataxis* Attaleiates incorporated the history of his acquisitions into his autobiography, established rules for the monastery of Christ Panoiktirmon in Constantinople and the XENODOCHEION (in Rhaidestos), which he founded, and listed icons and liturgical objects belonging to the monastery. In 1073/4 Attaleiates issued a legal textbook, introduced by a survey of the development of Roman law from the Republic to the BASILIKA.

His major work is the *History*, encompassing the period 1034–79/80. Written primarily on the basis of firsthand observations, the book is less personal than the contemporary *Chronography* of PSELLOS, although in some cases Attaleiates describes his own role in events. The *History* is a rhetorical panegyric of NIKEPHOROS III: Attaleiates not only ascribed to him conventional imperial virtues, but emphasized his noble origin and military prowess—qualities absent from earlier MIRRORS OF PRINCES. At the same time Attaleiates demonstrated an unusual interest in the fate of cities and in urban movements and stressed the links between his hero and urban populations. According to E.Th. Tsolakis (*Byzantina* 2 [1970] 258), the final version of the *History* was completed after Nikephoros's deposition in 1081, and thus is not the work of a sycophant, but a sincere expression of political views. Less talented than Psellos in exposing the clash of human passions, Attaleiates sought the causes of events. Also an acute observer of nature, he described the ELEPHANT and giraffe with naturalistic details.

ED. *Historia*, eds. W. Brunet de Presle, I. Bekker (Bonn 1853). Fr. tr. of chs. 1–34 by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 325–62. P. Gautier, "La Diataxis de Michel Attaliate," *REB* 39 (1981) 5–143, with Fr. tr. Zepos, *Jus* 7:409–97.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:382–89, 2:465. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 23–86. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 65–112. E.Th. Tsolakis, "Aus dem Leben des Michael Attaleiates (seine Heimatstadt, sein Geburts- und Todesjahr)," *BZ* 58 (1965) 3–10. –A.K.

ATTICA (Ἀττική), the territory of ATHENS. In late antiquity there is evidence of considerable prosperity, and settlements existed at many places: early Christian basilicas have been discovered at Brauron, Glyphada, Anabyssos, Koubaras, and Kalamos, among other sites. The silver mines at Laurion and Thorikos were apparently worked again and caves, such as that at Bari, were inhabited. G. Fowden (*JHS* 108 [1988] 48–59) suggests that increased production of silver was only partly responsible for this phenomenon, since pagans may have fled to more remote areas, and mountain passes were utilized in response to the barbarian danger. Along with the rest of the empire, Attica suffered from barbarian invasions in the late 6th through the 8th C.; although Attica certainly remained in Byz. hands, most of the settlements seem to have been abandoned: none of the Early Christian basilicas survived into later times.

Prosperity returned beginning in the 9th C., and many churches date to the 11th through 13th C.; most of these are simple cross-in-square structures, such as the *katholikon* at KAISARIANE. Several fresco programs of the 13th C. survive (e.g., N. Coumbaraki-Pansélinou, *Saint-Pierre de Kalyvia-Kouvara et la chapelle de la Vierge à Mérenta* [Thessalonike 1976]); the former has a portrait of Michael CHONIATES. Porto Raphti on the east coast seems to have developed as a major port. After the Fourth Crusade a series of towers was constructed, linking Athens with the hinterland of Attica and the east coast. The soil of Attica is rather poor and, as in antiquity, the area specialized in the production of honey, olives, and wine.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, A. Kaloyeropoulou, R. Andreadi, *Churches of Attica*² (Athens 1970). D. Pallas, "He Palaiochristianike Notioanatolike Attike," in *Praktika B' Epistemonikes Synanteses ND Attikes* (Kalyvia 1986) 43–80. –T.E.G.

ATTICISM, the use in literature of an archaizing and artificial form of Greek, based on imitation of the language of Athenian writers of the 5th–

4th C. B.C. Perpetuated by teachers of rhetoric and codified in LEXIKA and textbooks, Atticism dominated the literature of the Roman Empire. Addressing an educated pagan public, Christian apologists such as CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA naturally used the Atticizing literary Greek their readers knew and accepted. As Christianity spread among the urban upper classes, Atticizing Greek, rather than New Testament KOINE, became the normal ecclesiastical language esp. of the 4th- and 5th-C. church fathers. For the Byz., the works of these church fathers became models of language and style no less worthy of imitation than those of the writers of classical Athens. Every Byz. revival of education and culture was accompanied by a reassertion of Atticism, often marked more by the avoidance of features of the spoken language than by imitation of ancient models; Homer, Gregory of Nazianzos, and George of Pisidia were as "Attic" as Demosthenes. Throughout the Byz. period EDUCATION perpetuated and institutionalized a distinction between spoken and literary Greek, which later widened and hindered the development of an expressive VERNACULAR literature. Thus PHOTIOS praised the simplicity of New Testament language but did not practice it himself. SYMEON METAPHRASTES rewrote in inflated language and style some early saints' Lives composed in a relatively popular language. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS declared that literary excellence required the imitation of classical and patristic models. While rhetoric, history, and theology were the domain of Atticism, technical writing, ascetic writing, and chronicles such as those of John MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR were often couched in simpler language.

LIT. W. Schmid, *Der Atticismus*, 5 vols. (Stuttgart 1887–89). E. Norden, *Die antike Kunstprosa vom VI. Jahrhundert v. Chr. bis in die Zeit der Renaissance* (Leipzig-Berlin 1915; rp. Stuttgart 1958) 251–99, 392–407, 512–72. Browning, "Language." G. Böhlig, "Das Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1957) 1:1–13. Eadem, *Untersuchungen zum rhetorischen Sprachgebrauch der Byzantiner* (Berlin 1956). C.A. Trypanis, *Ho Attikismos kai to glossiko mas zetema* (Athens 1984). –R.B.

ATTIKOS, bishop of Constantinople (Mar. 406–10 Oct. 425); born Sebasteia in Armenia, died Constantinople. After taking the monastic habit at an early age, Attikos joined the PNEUMATOMACHOI; he recanted their teaching when he moved to Constantinople and became priest there. Poorly educated, he was not popular as a preacher (Sozom. *HE* 8.27.5–6). This was probably one of the reasons for his hatred of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM: Attikos was Chrysostom's major accuser at the Synod of the Oak (403), and even after Chrysostom's death Attikos was slow and reluctant to restore his name to the diptychs. More politician than theologian, Attikos left little in writing (Bardenhewer, *Literatur* 3:361f), but he did much to strengthen the position of the bishop of the capital: Attikos was on good terms with the court, dedicated to Empress PULCHERIA and her sisters a now-lost tract entitled *On Faith and Virginity*, and received from Theodosios II a personal privilege prohibiting the election of a bishop in the neighboring area without notifying the bishop of Constantinople (Sokr. *HE* 7:28). Attikos was active in fighting heresies (e.g., MESSALIANISM and PELAGIANISM) and gained the support of Pope Celestine and approval of Pope LEO I. Cyril of Alexandria was more cautious but found in Attikos an ally in his anti-Nestorianism (PG 77:97B). The traditional assertion, however, that Cyril quoted Attikos as using the term *theotokos* in a homily (PG 76:1213BC) is wrong; the term appears in the next quotation, from a certain bishop Antiochos.

ED. M. Brière, "Une homélie inédite d'Atticus, patriarche de Constantinople (406–425)," *ROC* 29 (1933–34) 160–86. M. Geerard, A. Van Roey, "Les fragments grecs et syriaques de la lettre 'Ad Eupsychium' d'Atticus de Constantinople (406–425)," in *Corona gratiarum. Miscellanea Eligio Dekkers*, vol. 1 (Bruges–The Hague 1975) 69–81.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 35–48. C. Verschaffel, *DTC* 1.2 (1937) 2220f. A. Bigelmair, *LThK* 1:1016f. –A.K.

ATTILA (Ἀττίλας), ruler (*dominus* in Jordanes) of the Huns (434–53). He was the son of Mundiuch and successor of his uncle Rua (Rugila). At first he ruled with his older brother Bleda, but assassinated him in 445. The center of his realm was in the basin of the Tissa and Timoš rivers, tributaries of the Danube; various peoples such as the Gepids, Goths, and Alans were under his power. Attila led several attacks against the northern Balkans, urging the emperors in Constantinople to sign peace treaties. In 434/5 (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 355–58) or after Feb. 438, he concluded a favorable treaty at Horreum Margi calling for an annual tribute of 350 (or 700?) pounds of gold. In 442 he reached Thrace; the

embassy of Nomos achieved a peace that lasted to 447 (B. Croke, *BS* 42 [1981] 159–70). In 447 the Huns advanced as far as the Chersonese and Thermopylae; when peace was arranged the tribute was increased to 6,000 pounds of gold. When Attila seized the territory from Pannonia to Novae, an embassy led by Anatolios and Nomos demanded and achieved the withdrawal of the Huns from this area. In 450 Marcian refused to pay tribute; surprisingly, however, Attila turned his attention westward, demanding marriage with Justa Grata Honoria (Valentinian III's sister) and a substantial portion of the Western Empire. His invasion of Gaul ended in defeat at the CATALAUNIAN FIELDS in 451. The following year Attila attacked Italy, capturing Aquileia, Milan, and other cities. He retreated after negotiations with Pope LEO I, probably fearing an attack of the Eastern army. He died of a hemorrhage in his camp on the night of his wedding with a Gothic woman named Ildico.

Jordanes describes Attila as a short man, broad-chested, with a large head, small eyes, and sparse beard. It has been debated whether Attila was only a cruel plunderer (O. Maenchen-Helfen, *BZ* 61 [1968] 270–76) or the founder of a new barbarian imperium, a forerunner of medieval steppe-states (G. Wirth, *BZ* 60 [1967] 41–69).

LIT. O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973). E.A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford 1948). Idem, "The Foreign Policies of Theodosius II and Marcian," *Hermathena* 76 (1950) 58–75. –T.E.G.

ATUMANO, SIMON, Greek humanist and Catholic prelate; born Constantinople early 14th C., died between 1383 and 1387. Born to an Orthodox Greek mother and Turkish father, his name, Atumano (Ἀτουμάνος), is probably derived from "Ottoman." He became a monk at the Stoudios monastery and in 1348 was named as successor to BARLAAM in the see of Gerace (Calabria). He converted to Catholicism and was Latin archbishop of Thebes from 1366 until his death. He made periodic trips to the West and taught Greek at the papal court in Avignon. After the conquest of Thebes by the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1379, Atumano retired to Rome, where he taught Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

His knowledge of Hebrew, unusual at the time, enabled him to prepare a trilingual version of the Old Testament dedicated to Pope Urban VI (1378–89). He also translated into Latin Plutarch's *On the Control of Anger*, composed a poem on JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and wrote scholia on Euripides.

LIT. G. Fedalto, *Simone Atumano monaco di Studio, arcivescovo latino di Tebe, secolo XIV* (Brescia 1968). G. Mercati, *Se la versione dall' ebraico del Codice veneto greco VII sia di Simone Atumano, arcivescovo di Tebe* (Rome 1916). K.M. Setton, "The Archbishop Simon Atumano and the Fall of Thebes to the Navarrese in 1379," *BNJbb* 18 (1945–9/60) 105–22. *PLP*, no.1648. –A.M.T.

AUDIENCE (δοχή, προέλευσις, δέξιμον), a ceremonial encounter between the EMPEROR and others. Its staging and locale varied over time and according to participants, but always used splendid setting and ceremony to maximize the impact of the emperor's self-manifestation. *De ceremoniis* suggests three main kinds of public audiences: relatively low-key daily or Sunday audiences (*De cer.*, bk.2, chs. 1–2, ed. Reiske 518–25); an audience of the factions (*De cer.*, bk.1., chs. 62–64, 66, ed. Vogt 2:88–101, 105–09); and, the most grandiose, audiences of foreign ambassadors (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.89; bk.2, ch.15, ed. Reiske 404.1–408.4, 566–98). Typically, the emperor sat on a raised throne that was surmounted by a baldachin (*kiborion*, *kamelaukion*) and separated from the rest of the room by a curtain (*velum*, *velon*, *kortinai*); porphyry disks (*omphaloi*) in the floor might guide participants' movements. Silence reigned during the audience and an official often spoke for the emperor. Participants were admitted in series, called *vela*, according to precedence, and performed PROSKYNESIS as they approached the emperor through the midst of AUTOMATA and ranks of guards and officials chanting acclamations; their hands were covered to prevent profanation of the emperor.

Despite rigid etiquette, the audience ceremonial was sometimes disturbed (e.g., *Vita Euthym.* 107.22–26), sometimes modified as an imperial favor (e.g., *XII panegyrici* 3 (11) 28.1–4, ed. R.A.B. Mynors [Oxford 1964] 141.9–22). Suppliants sought private audiences, esp. with the EMPRESS. The audience served as a framework for other ceremonies, such as promotions (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 43–59, ed. Vogt 2:26–83) or reconciliation with defectors (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.37, ed. Reiske, 634f). Audiences granted by Byz. officials and elite followed a similar but less splendid pattern; they presumably explain the numerous audience rooms

identified by archaeologists in elite residences of the 4th–6th C.

LIT. D.F. Beljaev, "Eżednevnye i voskresnye priemy vizantijskich carej i prazdničnye vychody ich v chram sv. Sofii v IX–X v.," *Byzantina* 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1–308. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 52–101. –M.McC.

AUGOUSTALIOS (αὐγουστάλιος, Lat. *augustalis*), from the 2nd half of the 4th C. the title of the prefect of Egypt (K.J. Neumann, *RE* 2 [1896] 2361). The term reappears at the end of the 10th C. but its meaning is unclear; in the TAKTIKON of Escurial (of 971–75) the title is placed between the *epi ton deeseon* and *thesmophylax*. A letter of Nikephoros OURANOS is addressed "To the *protospatharios* Pothos, the former *augoustalios*" (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 222, no.11). A late 12th-C. (?) text is directed to a certain Katasampas as "*diktator* and *archistrategos* of our school of fish and of other sea animals, the *doux* and *augoustalios*" (S. Lampros, *NE* 7 [1910] 356.25–27), although the use of the term here may be ironic. Oikonomides suggests that the Latin *augustalis-augoustalios* could be translated into Greek as SEBASTOPHOROS.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 52, n.6. –A.K.

AUGUSTA. See EMPRESS.

AUGUSTAION, enclosed open space in Constantinople, situated south of HAGIA SOPHIA. Probably carved out of a preexisting agora called the TETRASTOON, the Augustaion is ascribed to Constantine I, who is said to have placed in it a statue of his mother Helena on a column (Hesychius in Preger, *Scriptores* 17). Remodeled in 459 (*Chron. Pasch.* 593.4) and again by Justinian I, the Augustaion served not as a public forum but as a courtyard of restricted access. It survived as an open space until the end of the empire.

Monuments. Several sculptural and architectural monuments were prominent features of the Augustaion.

1. *Justinian's column* was surmounted by his equestrian statue. The shaft of the column was of brick, reveted with brass plaques. The bronze statue appears to have been remodeled from one of Theodosios I or II. It represented the emperor wearing a TOUPHA, raising his right arm and holding an orb in his left hand (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1:2.11–12). The statue, delineated in a 15th-C. drawing emanating from the circle of CYRIACUS OF ANCONA and now at the University Library, Budapest, was removed by Mehmed II. P. Gyllius (1544–50) saw and measured parts of it in the grounds of the Seraglio before they were melted down (*De topographia Constantinopoleos* [Lyons 1561; rp. Athens 1967] bk.2, ch.17). The column itself was toppled ca.1515.

2. *Statues of three barbarian kings offering tribute* stood in front of Justinian's column and probably formed part of the same triumphal ensemble. These are known only from the accounts of Russian pilgrims (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 134–37, 184f, 240).

3. *The Senate House* was situated on the east side of the Augustaion. Built by either Constantine I or Julian, damaged by fire in 404, and burnt down in 532, it was rebuilt by Justinian I with a porch of six huge marble columns (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1:10.6–9). (See SENATE HOUSE.)

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 2:40–54. Mango, *Brazen House* 42–47, 56–60, 174–79. P.W. Lehmann, "Theodosius or Justinian?" *ArtB* 41 (1959) 39–57, rev. C. Mango, ibid., 351–58. –C.M.

AUGUSTINE, more fully Aurelius Augustinus, Latin theologian, bishop of Hippo Regius in Africa (from ca.396), and saint; born Tagaste, Numidia, 13 Nov. 354, died Hippo 28 Aug. 430. The son of a Christian mother and a pagan father, Augustine experienced a remarkable spiritual odyssey before converting to Christianity in 387. His major works were the *Confessions*, a sort of autobiography, and the *City of God* (*De civitate Dei*), contemplations on human conditions and goals, written after the sack of Rome by ALARIC in 410. The desire for SALVATION is at the center of Augustine's theology. Even though he wrote on subjects important in Byz. theology (MANICHAEANISM, ARIANISM), his major concerns were in other directions: for him the ideas of SIN, FREE WILL (in his polemics against PELAGIANISM), and REDEMPTION stood in the forefront, while the Eastern church was involved in the Trinitarian and Christological controversies. Augustine's command of Greek was shaky, but he probably knew some works of contemporary Greek theologians, for example, Theodore of Mopsuestia (J. McWilliam Dewart, *Augustinian Studies* 10 [1979] 113–32). His anti-Pelagian stand was known in the East,

but in 415 Palestinian bishops (at the synods of Jerusalem and Diospolis) disapproved of his views.

Certain of Augustine's statements were included in Byz. FLORILEGIA, and it is possible that Maximos the Confessor used him, without, however, mentioning his name (G.C. Berthold, *StP* 17.1 [1982] 14–17). Photios refers to Augustine, but the patriarch's knowledge of him was vague. Only in the 13th–14th C. did interest in Augustine arise, when Maximos PLANOUDES, the KYDONES brothers, and Manuel KALEKAS translated and studied his authentic and spurious works.

ED. H. Hunger, *Prochoros Kydones, Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Vienna 1984).

LIT. P. Brown, *Augustine of Hippo* (Berkeley 1967). M. Rackl, "Die griechische Augustinus-Übersetzungen," in *Miscellania F. Ehrle*, vol. 1 (Rome 1924) 1–38. B. Altaner, "Augustinus in der griechischen Kirche bis auf Photius," *HistJb* 71 (1952) 37–76. D.Z. Niketas, "He parousia tou Augoustinou sten Anatolike Ekklesia," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 7–26. E. Pagels, "The Politics of Paradise: Augustine's Exegesis of Genesis 1–3 versus that of John Chrysostom," *HThR* 78 (1985) 67–99. V. Laurent, "Une effigie inédite de Saint Augustin sur le sceau du duc byzantin de Numidie Pierre," *Cahiers de Byrsa* 2 (1952) 87–93. –A.K., T.E.G.

AURELIUS VICTOR, SEXTUS, Latin historian; born Africa ca.320, died after 389. By his own account Aurelius was a man of poor rural stock who advanced by his literary skill. He was sufficiently in the public eye (perhaps a lawyer or civil servant) to catch the attention of JULIAN when that emperor captured Sirmium in 361, and Julian appointed him governor of Pannonia Secunda. Perhaps briefly in eclipse after Julian's death, he came back as *iudex sacrarum cognitionum* under Theodosios I, who made him urban prefect of Rome in 389. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, perhaps a friend, commends (21.10.6) his sobriety (more political than alcoholic).

Aurelius wrote a *Breviary* of Roman history from Augustus to the year 360, generally known as the *Caesares* or *Liber de Caesaribus*. Biographical in approach, it is conventional in opinions, moralizing in tone, and stylistically an uneasy amalgam of Sallustian brevity and the bureaucratese of his own age. Apparently a pagan, he was sensibly reticent on contemporary religious issues. His book may have enjoyed some currency into the 6th C., being mentioned by JOHN LYDOS (*De magistratibus* 3.7), albeit the latter's reference to it as a history of the civil wars suggests no deep knowledge. Aurelius's work is to be distinguished from the *Epitome de Caesaribus*, which ends in 395.

ED. *Liber de Caesaribus*, ed. F. Pichlmayr, R. Gruendel (Leipzig 1966). *Livre des Césars*, ed. P. Dufraigne (Paris 1975), with Fr. tr.

LIT. H.W. Bird, *Sextus Aurelius Victor: A Historiographical Study* (Liverpool 1984). Den Boer, *Historians* 19–113. R.J. Penella, "A Lowly Born Historian of the Late Roman Empire: Some Observations on Aurelius Victor and his *De Caesaribus*," *Thought* 55 (1980) 122–31. C.G. Starr, "Aurelius Victor: Historian of Empire," *AHR* 61 (1955–56) 574–86. –B.B.

AUSTRIA, from 976 an eastern borderland, or *Ostmark*, of the German kingdom. In 1148, as part of an effort to maintain alliance with CONRAD III, Manuel I married his niece Theodora to Henry II of Babenberg (1141–77), Conrad's half-brother and the first duke of Austria. Walter von der Vogelweide praised her wedding. Theodora died in Vienna on 3 Jan. 1183. Two more Austrian dukes took Byz. princesses as their wives: Leopold VI (1198–1230) married Theodora, granddaughter of Alexios III Angelos, and the last Babenberg, Frederick II (1230–46), married Sophia, daughter of Theodore I Laskaris.

Rudolf IV of Habsburg was the first Austrian duke to be crowned Roman emperor (as Rudolf I, in 1273), but it was only later, with Frederick V Habsburg (as Holy Roman Emperor, Frederick III, 1443–93), that imperial ideology was clearly linked with Austria (*Austriae est imperare orbi universo*), a claim enhanced by the fall of Constantinople in 1453, making Frederick the sole emperor. The Austrian Habsburgs' claim to the Byz. imperial legacy was manifest in Frederick's wife, Eleanor, who offered to change her name to Helen and tried unsuccessfully to have her son Maximilian I named Constantine. The search for imperial legitimacy continued into the 15th C. with the emergence of legends linking the Habsburgs with the family of Julius Caesar and later with the Merovingians and ancient Trojans. The latter theory of descent contributed to an interest in Greek antiquity and ultimately to the cultural and political inheritance of Byz.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Byzantinische Einflüsse auf Österreich im XII. und XIII. Jahrhundert," *Reichspost* (Vienna), no.311, 11 Nov. 1935, 17f. Idem, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhundert," in T. Meyer, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrich I.* (Leipzig 1944; new ed. 1973) 1–272. P. Enepekides, "Byzantinische Prinzessinnen im Hause der Babenberger und die byzantinischen

Einflüsse in den österreichischen Ländern des 12. und 13. Jahrhunderts," 9 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Thessalonike 1956) 368–74. A. Wandruszka, *The House of Hapsburg* (London 1964) 14–23. –R.B.H.

AUTHOR. The self-perception of the Byz. author ranged from cloaking himself in complete anonymity to devoting profound attention to his own personality, the difference being determined by both genre and epoch. The author does not appear at all in such genres as rhetorical exercises, romance, and epic, whereas historiography, epistolography, poetry, epideictic oratory, and even sermons permitted more opportunity for overt self-expression. In hagiography, the author sometimes presents himself through the topos of MODESTY; at other times he appears as the hero's relative or disciple. The author-disciple assumes an esp. elaborate role in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER; in some saints' lives, however, like that of ANDREW THE FOOL, the author-disciple is a fictitious figure introduced to give the impression of a truthful and authoritative account.

In the late Roman period the author often revealed himself, at least in the PROOIMION, or in autobiographical pieces (cf. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS), but in the 7th–9th C. the trend toward anonymity prevailed. In the 11th–15th C. the individuality of the author became more apparent: epistolography flourished, and certain historical works (Psellos, Niketas Choniates, John Kantakouzenos) came close to the genre of AUTOBIOGRAPHY; in poetry, personal references are evident in Prodromos and Tzetzes, and some centuries later in Sachlikes. In poetry, as in hagiography, real personality is often mixed with CLICHÉS: thus the topos of the author's imprisonment (e.g., Glykas, Della Porta) or poverty is frequent. The "ego" of the verses of Ptochoprodromos (a young monk, a henpecked husband) is obviously different from that of the actual author. The author's self-expression takes various forms, from direct defense of his views (as in Gregoras) to a clever apology disguised as objectivity and sincerity (Kantakouzenos).

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Der Mensch in der byzantinischen Literatur," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 11–13. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.II (1961), 169–86. I. Čičurov, "K probleme avtorskogo samosoznanija vizantijskich istorikov IV–IX vv.," *Antičnost' i Vizantija* (Moscow 1975) 203–17. –A.K.

AUTOBIOGRAPHY as a genre reached its peak in the 4th and 5th C. Its representatives both secular (LIBANIOS, SYNESIOS) and ecclesiastical (GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS) combined conventional rhetoric and playful exercises with a trend toward revelation of the psyche of the AUTHOR, his sufferings, and his search for the righteous path; the latter tendency toward sincere confession found an extreme expression in AUGUSTINE. Autobiography could be used (e.g., by NESTORIOS) for the purpose of self-defense. After this early peak, autobiography disappeared for a long period. It was revived in the 11th C. in the guise of historiography or even of extraliterary writing: Christodoulos of Patmos and Attaleiates prefaced their *typika* with autobiographical introductions. Attaleiates also dedicated some passages of his *History* to his own role; PSELLOS was even more self-oriented and made himself play a leading role in the history of his time as described in his memoirs. As a separate genre autobiography was produced by Nikephoros BASILAKES and further developed in the 13th and 14th C. by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, Theodore METOCHITES, Demetrios KYDONES, etc. (I. Ševčenko in *La civiltà bizantina del XII al XV secolo* [Rome 1982] 116). MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS prefaced a *typikon* with his autobiography. The most sophisticated Byz. memoirs, verging on autobiography, were those of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS: written in the third person, they are an apology for his political failure, cloaked in the disguise of objectivity and sincerity. Even though autobiographies may include some hagiographical elements (e.g., in Blemmydes), they have a different function, emphasizing not the modesty of the author-hero, but his talent, knowledge, and political significance at the court.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:165–70. G. Misch, *Geschichte der Biographie*, vol. 1.2 (Bern 1950) 551–704; 3.2 (Frankfurt am Main 1962) 749–903. J. Irmscher, "Autobiographien in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Studia byzantina* 2 (Berlin 1973) 3–11. N. Austin, "Autobiography and History: Some Later Roman Historians and their Veracity," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 54–65. –A.K.

AUTOCEPHALOUS (αὐτοκέφαλος), the term used in Byz. canon law and in the NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM to designate each diocese possessing the right to elect its own primate or *kephale*,

"head." These dioceses were completely self-governing, that is, independent of the five ancient PATRIARCHATES. The practice and the term itself were already established by the 6th C. (cf. THEODORE LECTOR 121.21). As BALSAMON emphasizes, before the patriarchal centralization of the 4th C. all provincial primates or METROPOLITANS were, in fact, autocephalous and were ordained by their own synods (PG 137:317D). Autocephaly was determined either by an ecumenical council (431, Cyprus), imperial decision (10th C., Bulgaria) or, as in the case of Georgia, by a disposition of the mother-church in the 8th C. (Balsamon, PG 137:320A). The autocephalic churches of Cyprus and Bulgaria followed the five patriarchates in order of rank (cf. *Hieroclis Synecdemus et Notitiae Graecae Episcopatuum. Accedunt Nili Doxapatrii Notitia Patriarchatuum et Locorum Nomina Immutata*, ed. G. Parthey [Berlin 1866] 284–86). The primate usually carried the title of metropolitan, ARCHBISHOP, or, occasionally, patriarch.

Apart from its primary meaning, the term was also used to define a distinct group of bishops without suffragans ("autocephalous archbishops") whose immediate superior was the patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 817–70). These bishops were not subject to any metropolitan, although in terms of precedence they followed the metropolitans.

LIT. A.D. Kyriakos, "Das System der autokephalen, selbständigen orthodoxen Kirchen," *Revue internationale de théologie* 10 (1902) 99–115, 273–86. F. Heiler, *Urkirche und Ostkirche* (Munich 1937) 153–78. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1478–1510. –A.P.

AUTOKRATOR (*αὐτοκράτωρ*), official Greek translation of *imperator*, or emperor, until 629; used alongside BASILEUS and other titles thereafter. The Greek term *autokrator* lacked the Latin's military connotations, emphasizing rather autonomous power and monarchy. Christians had used the Roman monarchy to argue monotheism's superiority over polytheism, but after Constantine I's conversion monotheism buttressed the legitimacy of monarchy, which was already advocated by Hellenistic political philosophy and justified by analogies with the animal kingdom, for example, the "king" bee (F. Dvornik, *Early Christian and Byzantine Political Philosophy*, vol. 2 [Washington 1966] 611–723). The title *autokrator* appears on coins from 912, in CHRYSOBULLS from the 11th C., and in contemporary legends to miniature paintings depicting emperors. Outside of *intitulationes* and ACCLAMATIONS, the term developed a specialized meaning no later than the early 9th C. that, like *megas basileus* (cf. P. Schreiner, *Byzantina* 3 [1971] 173–92), distinguished the main emperor from co-emperors. Thus, *autokratoria* referred to the anniversary ceremonies of an emperor's assumption of actual power as opposed to his CORONATION (e.g., Oikonomides, *Listes* 225.10–11; *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.33, ed. Reiske 632.4–11). The Palaiologoi extended the use of the title to mark one of several co-emperors as designated heir (cf. pseudo-Kod. 252.24–253.3).

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 102–51. –M.McC.

AUTOMATA, devices powered by compressed air from bellows or by water, were displayed in the MAGNAURA and testified to in the 10th C. by Constantine VII and Liutprand of Cremona. Their existence in the 9th C. is surrounded with legends: they are said to have been constructed during the reign of Theophilos (Glykas names LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN as their engineer) and then destroyed by Michael III, who was in need of money (presumably they were melted down to extract their precious metals). The Magnaura automata included the throne of Solomon, which could be lifted high in the air; mechanical singing birds, perched in a gold tree, that fluttered their wings; and roaring golden lions. Writers in CHINA report on a gold human figure that marked the hours by striking BELLS. Mechanical singing birds are also mentioned in romances (e.g., the *Achilleis*). The origin of the automata is unclear: Grabar (*Fin Ant.* 1:286) argued that the machines at Theophilos's court were imported from Baghdad, but related contrivances, such as ORGANS and GREEK FIRE, suggest that automata may have been native inventions based ultimately on the work of Heron of Alexandria.

LIT. R. Hammerstein, *Macht und Klang* (Bern 1986) 43–58. G. Brett, "The Automata in the Byzantine 'Throne of Solomon,'" *Speculum* 29 (1954) 477–87. –A.C., A.K.

AUTOREIANOS (Ἀυτωρειανός, fem. Ἀυτωρειανή), a family of state and church officials. The etymology of the name is unclear; it may be of Western origin. Autoreianoi are known from

the 1080s onward as judges (Michael in 1094 and perhaps 1082—see Gautier, "Blachernes" 258; John in 1196—see *Lavra* 1, nos. 67.2, 68.2) and notaries (Theodosios in 1088—*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no. 48A.205). One family member became patriarch as MICHAEL IV, another as ARSENIOS. Circa 1302–07 Phokas Autoreianos, *grammatikos*, served as *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 151–54). They were apparently a family of intellectuals: Theodosios Autoreianos (mid-12th C.) corresponded with John TZETZES; the future patriarch Michael was a friend of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and Michael CHONIATES; and some Autoreianoi were among the correspondents of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS and Maximos PLANOUDES.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 1691–96. –A.K.

AUTOURGION (*αὐτούργιον*, lit. "operated without assistance"), a property producing maximum revenue, *euprosodon* (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:593.19–20). Balsamon (ibid. 595.4–7) includes in this category salt pans, olive groves, vineyards, meadowland, water mills, brickyards, etc. The term is infrequent in later acts, in which it also refers to vineyards, *vivaria*, *aulakia* (canals? cf. *Lavra* 2, no.104.177–79), and water mills (no.112.24). *Autourgia* are usually contrasted with peasants' allotments and juxtaposed with such items of income as fairs, taxes, tolls, etc. (Zepos, *Jus* 1:382.22–25). Such capital-intensive assets could be exploited as DEMESNE property and thus did not need to be rented out to peasants; they were conceived as the most valuable part of the estate. The term *autourgion* was also applied to any property that earned a profit.

LIT. N. Svoronos, "Les privilèges de l'église à l'époque des Comnènes," *TM* 1 (1965) 329, n.22. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151. F.I. Uspenskij, "Mnenija i postanovlenija konstantinopol'skich pomestnych soborov," *IRAIK* 5 (1900) 42–45. N.B. Tomadakes, "Byzantine engeios horologia," *Athena* 75 (1974–75) 69–72. –M.B.

AUXENTIOS (*Αὐξέντιος*), saint; born Syria ca.420, died Bithynia 14 Feb. ca.470. He came to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II and served as a soldier of the fourth *schola*. Circa 442 he resigned and left for Mt. Oxeia to live in solitude. His Life states that Emp. Marcian invited Auxentios to the Council of Chalcedon in 451, but the council acts do not mention him. During his second stay in Constantinople, Auxentios was closely connected with the ROUPHINIANAI monastery. Suspected of disagreeing with the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon, he cleared himself before Marcian. He left Constantinople again, for a cave on Mt. Skopa in Bithynia, where he lived as a hermit. A monastery that took the Saint's name was later founded on this mountain (see AUXENTIOS, MOUNT). A noble lady Eleuthera (Stephanis in Psellos), the chambermaid of Empress PULCHERIA, urged Auxentios to support the foundation of a nunnery in a nearby *proasteion*, Gyreta; Auxentios was buried in its chapel. Auxentios is said to have compiled "pleasant and useful troparia of two or three stanzas with plain and artless melody" (PG 114:1416A). His Life is known from the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES; this late version was reworked by PSELLOS, who emphasized Auxentios's role as imperial councilor and courageous market reformer and noted that he suffered from depression; Psellos also ascribed to Auxentios some features of his own biography (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 546–56).

Representation in Art. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.399), Auxentios appears as an orant monk; in the THEODORE PSALTER (fols. 38v, 96v) he appears once as a bishop bearing witness before Christ to the defeat of two armed men by an angel and once as a monk bearing witness to the defeat of two demons.

SOURCES. PG 114:1377–1436. P.-P. Joannou, *Démonologie populaire—démonologie critique au XIe siecle* (Wiesbaden 1971) 64–132. *Vie de st. Auxence*, ed. L. Clugnet [= *BHO* 6] (Paris 1904) 3–14.

LIT. *BHG* 199–203c. –A.K.-, N.P.Š.

AUXENTIOS, MOUNT, a HOLY MOUNTAIN dotted with hermitages and monasteries, present-day Kayışdağ, located near Constantinople, 12 km southeast of Chalcedon. Called Skopa or Skopos in antiquity, the mountain took its name from the 5th-C. Syrian St. AUXENTIOS, who spent the last 20 years of his life in a cave near the summit. Both men and women flocked to the mountain to live as solitaries under Auxentios's spiritual leadership. Circa 460 a certain Eleuthera built the convent of Trichinarea (sometimes called Trichinaraiai) at the base of the mountain for 70 of these pious women. It survived until at least the end of the 12th C.

No male monastery was built until the 8th C., when STEPHEN THE YOUNGER constructed a com-

plex for about 20 monks. Shortly thereafter he and his companions were exiled and the monastery destroyed during the Iconoclastic persecution of Constantine V. Sources of the 11th–13th C. report a number of monasteries under different names, including St. Stephen, Holy Apostles, the Archangel Michael, and the Holy Five (five Armenian martyrs of the early 4th C.), where Maximos PLANOUDES was *hegoumenos*. Some of these names may refer to the same institution, restored with a new dedication. The monastery of the Archangel Michael was renovated by Michael VIII, who composed a *typikon* limiting the number of monks to 40.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:769–94.

LIT. L. Clugnet, J. Pargoire, *Vie de saint Auxence: Mont Saint-Auxence* (Paris 1904). Janin, *Églises centres* 43–50. Beck, *Kirche* 208, 687, 692, 696. –A.M.T.

AUXILIARY DISCIPLINES (from Lat. *auxilium*, "help, assistance"), designation of certain branches of knowledge that apply general and concrete approaches (methodology and technique) to the analysis (primarily the external analysis) of historical sources. Traditionally, auxiliary disciplines include PALAEOGRAPHY, EPIGRAPHY, PAPYROLOGY, DIPLOMATICS, NUMISMATICS, SIGILLOGRAPHY, METROLOGY, PROSOPOGRAPHY, CHRONOLOGY, genealogy, historical geography, TOPONYMICS, and heraldry. Source analysis (Germ. *Quellenkunde*) can also be described as an auxiliary discipline. The analysis of archaeological objects, elaborated in recent decades, requires the application of various scientific disciplines, such as geology, palaeobotany and palaeozoology, archaeometry, aerial photography, dendrochronology, physics, etc. Statistics employed for analysis of mass data has emerged as an auxiliary discipline as well. All of these disciplines have methods of their own, but their common goal is to provide the scholar with means of control and categorization of source material, of discarding false "information," of placing historical events within the framework of space and time. From the use of auxiliary disciplines we must distinguish the application of interdisciplinary methodology, for example, the utilization of literary and archaeological evidence to resolve common problems.

LIT. L.F. Genicot, *Introduction aux sciences auxiliaires traditionnelles de l'histoire de l'art* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1984).
–T.E.G., A.K.

AVARS (Ἄβαροι), a nomadic people that appeared in the mid-6th C. in the steppe north of the Black Sea. Their previous history can be established only hypothetically, on the basis of identifications in Chinese and Byz. sources. Their language is thought to be Altaic.

The first Avar embassy appeared in Constantinople in 558. Justinian I concluded an alliance with the Avars and used them to alleviate the pressure of Pontic barbarians on the Byz. frontier. The Avars were able to control both COTRIGURS and ANTAE, but they then invaded SCYTHIA MINOR and occupied PANNONIA after having destroyed the GEPIDS. The growth of Avar power created frictions in their relations with Byz.; under the command of BAIAN, the Avars, acting in alliance with the Slavs, conquered a part of the northern Balkans, including SIRMIUM (582). The emperor Maurice's attempts to stop the Avars were unsuccessful; in 626 their offensive reached its peak when, together with the Persians, they besieged Constantinople. Thereafter, the first signs of disintegration of the Avar confederation (khaganate) became visible: the Croatians and Serbs joined Emp. Herakleios in his struggle against the Avars and ca.635 KUVRAT acquired independence from the Avars. We know nothing about the Avars from 680 to 780. At the end of the 8th C., they reappeared in the West but were defeated by Charlemagne. In 805 Krum subjugated a group of Avars; survivors of the group were mentioned for the last time ca.950.

The Avars were mounted warriors and used the iron STIRRUP, saber, long lance, and reflex-bow that gave them tactical advantages in battle. Excavated Avar hoards contain luxurious objects of Byz. origin as well as Avar arms and complex belt sets that must have indicated the social status of their owners. Familiarity of the Avars with the forms of Byz. metalwork and jewelry is suggested by the objects in the MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA and other treasures. By the end of the 7th C. wealthy tombs disappear; luxurious booty is replaced by ordinary bronze and bone objects. The Avars became more sedentary, but they remained pagan.

LIT. S. Szádeczky-Kardoss, *Avarica* (Szeged 1986). A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes*, vols. 1–2 (Klagenfurt 1970). A. Avenarius, *Die Awaren in Europa* (Bratislava 1974). Idem, "Die Konsolidierung des Awarenkhaganates und

Byzanz im 7. Jahrhundert," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985–86) 1019–32. F. Daim, "The Avars," *Archaeology* 37.2 (1984) 33–39. W. Pohl, *Die Awaren* (Munich 1988). –A.K., A.C.

AVLON (Αὐλών, lit. "a hollow between hills," Ital. Valona), a harbor in Epiros mentioned in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* and the Cosmographer of Ravenna. It was known during the late Roman period as a "*polis* on the Ionian gulf" (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.4.21) connected with Italy and as a bishopric (first mentioned in 458). It played an important role during the wars against the Normans in the 1080s, and at the end of the 11th C. the Venetians obtained trading privileges there, probably as a reward for their assistance in the anti-Norman war. It was assigned to the Venetians after 1204 but recovered by Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1259 Michael II of Epiros surrendered Avlon to Manfred of Sicily who appointed Philip Chinardo to administer the area; in 1273 the Angevins established their power in Valona, but after 1284 the Byz. managed to occupy it. Valona, called *civitas imperatoris Graecorum* in Latin documents, served as a center of trade with Dubrovnik and Venice. The Angevins claimed Avlon until ca.1332, when the Albanians attacked it; in 1345/6 it fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. After his death it formed a part of the dominions of the Serbian family of Balša; by 21 July 1418 it was in Turkish hands. Avlon should be distinguished from other centers of the same name, such as a suffragan bishopric of Athens (*TIB* 1:130f) or a valley in Palestine.

LIT. W. Miller, "Valona," *JHS* 37 (1917) 184–94. W. Tomaschek, *RE* 2 (1896) 2414f. –A.K.

AVRAAMIJ OF SMOLENSK, saint; fl. early 13th C.; feastday 21 Aug. Avraamij was a popular and controversial preacher and painter of icons on eschatological themes. The vita by his pupil Efrem presents Avraamij as a learned and ascetic monk—physically "a likeness of St. Basil"—who attracted a large lay following and aroused the hostility of the SMOLENSK clergy. Accused of heresy, of using secret or forbidden books (*g(o)lubinnyja knigy*), of prophesy, and of taking others' (spiritual?) children, he was acquitted by the secular authorities and eventually made peace with his bishop. Avraamij's rhetoric and images, as reported by Efrem, as well as an extant sermon titled *On the Celestial Powers* sometimes attributed to Avraamij, concentrate on two topics: the fate of the soul after death, esp. its passage through the "customs houses" (*mytarstva, teloniai*) as described in the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER, and the Last Judgment, for whose depiction Avraamij was inspired by EPHREM THE SYRIAN. Historians have tried, with little success, to specify Avraamij's alleged "heretical" interests, linking his enigmatic and perhaps imaginary *g(o)lubinnyja knigy* with both the BOGOMILS (G. Fedotov, *Pravoslavnaja mysl'* 2 [1930] 127–47) and the 14th-C. *strigol'niki* (B. Rybakov, *SovArch* [1964] no.2, 179–87).

ED. "Slovo o nebesnych silach," ed. S.P. Ševyrev, *Izvestija Imperatorskoj AN po otdeleniju russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti* 9.3 (1860) 182–92.
SOURCE. *Žitija prepodobnago Avraamija Smolenskago*, ed. S.P. Rozanov (St. Petersburg 1912; rp. Munich 1970).
LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:158–75. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 101–03, 139–42, 238–40. –S.C.F.

ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR, the Muslim regions and their defenses and fortifications along the Syrian-Anatolian border of Byz. from the time of ʿUMAR to the late 10th C. The ʿAwāṣim were the inner regions of the frontier zone; the outer ones were the Thughūr. They included towns located at entrances to the Taurus Mountains or intersections of roads. The ʿAwāṣim became a distinct entity after caliph Hārūn al-Rashid separated the area in 786 from the *jund* ("military district") of Qinnasrīn (Chalkis) as the *jund al-ʿAwāṣim*. Hieropolis and Antioch were the major centers of the ʿAwāṣim. The Thughūr were divided into Syrian and Mesopotamian sections. The former included passes between Syria and Cilicia and such towns as Adana, Tarsos, Mopsuestia, and Germanikeia (Maraş). East of it lay the Mesopotamian portion, of which Melitene was the most important town.

These districts witnessed heavy fighting since they were bases for Muslim raids into Byz. As the ʿABBĀSID CALIPHATE weakened, the ʿAwāṣim and Thughūr had to rely more on themselves and nearby Muslim leaders in their unsuccessful struggle against Byz.

LIT. M. Canard, EI^2 1:761f. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 42, 72. –W.E.K.

AXIOMATIKOS (ἀξιωματικός), a term that in the late Roman Empire had a vague meaning of military officer, as opposed to a recruit (Makarios of Egypt, PG 34:832B). According to the *Chroni-*

con Paschale (*Chron.Pasch.* 579.1), Empress Athenais-Eudokia promoted her brothers to the rank of *axiomatikos*. Malalas (Malal. 382.17) employs the word in a more specific sense when he speaks of an *axiomatikos* of Caesarea. In the 9th C. the word reappears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS where it designates some subaltern officers of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The *De ceremoniis* employs this term in its general sense—a person having an *axioma*, a post or title.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:161. –A.K.

AXIOPOLIS (Ἀξίου πόλις; in Prokopios, Axiopa; mod. Cernavodă in Rumania), a Roman port on the Danube and a fortress. A stone wall approximately 50 km long connected Axiopolis with TOMIS on the Black Sea. The fortress and wall were reconstructed under Constantine I. In addition to fortifications, Christian inscriptions of the late 3rd–6th C. in Greek and Latin, naming some officials (e.g., *dux* and *comes*), as well as ceramics through the late 6th C. have been found in excavations at Axiopolis. The city then disappears. In the 10th C. a new fort was built, south of the Roman stronghold; among the remains are ordinary ceramics of the 10th–11th C. and an inscription (ca.9th–10th C.) with the Slavic name Vojislav, possibly of Kriusa. The last mention of the fort seems to be in al-Idrīsī.

LIT. I. Barnea, "Date noi despre Axiopolis," *SCIV* 11 (1960) 69–80. G. Tocilescu, "Fouilles d'Axiopolis," in *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigsten Geburtstage* (Berlin 1903) 354–59. Popescu, *InscrGrec* 203–10. –A.K.

AXOUCH (Ἀξούχ, Ἀξοῦχος), a Byz. noble family of "Persian" (Turkish?) origin. The founder of the family, John Axouch, a captive of the Crusaders in 1097, became a servant at the court of Alexios I Komnenos and a playmate of John (II), the heir apparent. John II gave Axouch the title of *sebastos* and appointed him *megas domestikos* (or *domestikos* of the West and East); he died ca.1150 and was eulogized by Nikephoros BASILAKES. Axouch's daughter Eudokia married Stephen Komnenos; his son Alexios took as his wife Maria, daughter of Alexios Komnenos, the oldest son of John II. Alexios Axouch, a *protostrator*, commanded several military expeditions—to Italy in 1158, Cilicia in 1165, and perhaps Hungary in 1166. One of the wealthiest magnates, he lost the favor of Manuel I ca.1167 and was confined in a monastery. Alexios was criticized by contemporaries (Kinn. 267.13–16) for decorating one of his suburban houses with pictures of the campaigns of Kilic Arslan II, sultan of Konya, rather than those of the emperor as was customary (see HISTORY PAINTING). Alexios left two sons, one of whom, John KOMNENOS or John the Fat, fomented a riot against Alexios III on 31 July 1200 but was murdered in the struggle. The Axouch family is not attested in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. K.M. Mekios, *Ho megas domestikos tou Byzantiou Ioannes Axouchos kai protostrator hyios autou Alexios* (Athens 1932). –A.K., A.C.

AXUM or Aksum (Ἄξωμις), the kingdom that takes its name from its capital city located in the northern highlands of modern ETHIOPIA. Although Byz. considered Axum part of its sphere of influence, the Axumite rulers viewed themselves the equals of the Byz. emperors and maintained their independence. Its chief port, ADULIS on the Red Sea, served as both a way station on the trade route to India and a conduit for goods from the east African interior. The kingdom officially converted to Christianity in the mid-4th C. and was a suffragan of the archbishop of Alexandria. Aramaic-speaking monks were instrumental in the spread of a distinctively Semitic Christianity. Axum's ties with Byz. were closest during the Ḥimyarite Wars in South Arabia (517–37), esp. in 525 when Emp. Kālēb 'Ella 'Aṣbehā (ELESBOAM) conquered South Arabia at the behest of Justin I, who supplied ships but not troops. Justin's desire to block Persian designs on South Arabia was ultimately thwarted when the Persians occupied the region in 599. Following the Arab conquests, Axum was cut off from Byz. and eventually lost its ports on the Red Sea to the Arabs. By the 8th C., Axum was in decline.

LIT. Y.M. Kobishchanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa., 1979). F. Aufray, "The Civilization of Aksum from the first to the seventh Century," and T. Mekouria, "Christian Aksum," in *UNESCO General History of Africa*, vol. 2 (Berkeley 1981), 362–80, 401–22. –D.W.J.

AYDIN (Ἀϊδίνης), a Turkish emirate in Anatolia that emerged in the late 13th C. from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It was most probably named after its founder, Aydin, about whom very little is known. It occupied the territories around the river Kaystros; its main ports were EPHESUS (Theologos) and SMYRNA, its capital

being Pyrgion. The emirate became powerful during the time of UMUR BEG (died 1348). His fleet repeatedly raided the Aegean islands, the Morea, Negroponte, and the littoral from Thessaly up to Constantinople, finally reducing the lords of these territories to the status of tribute-paying vassals. Umur provoked two Crusades organized against Aydin in 1334 and in 1344, the latter known as the Crusade of Smyrna. He was a devoted ally of John VI Kantakouzenos during the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Western merchants frequented the territories of Aydin and purchased large quantities of agricultural produce (mainly cereals), livestock and related items from the nomads (cattle, horses, skins, cheese, etc.), and slaves. Consuls from Venice, Genoa, Rhodes, and Cyprus were established in Theologos. Aydin was annexed to the Ottoman state temporarily from 1390 to 1402 and permanently after Murad II defeated the rebel lord of Smyrna, Junayd (1424).

LIT. H. Akın, *Aydin oğulları tarihi hakkında bir araştırma*[2] (Ankara 1968). P. Lemerle, *L'émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident* (Paris 1957). Idem, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 55–67. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. K.A. Žukov, *Egejskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988). –E.A.Z.

AYYŪBIDS, a Muslim dynasty that dominated Egypt, Syria and Palestine, Upper Mesopotamia, and the Yemen from the late 12th to the mid-13th C. They originated from a Kurdish tribe that lived near Duin in Armenia. Two brothers, Ayyūb and Shīrkūh, served ZANGĪ and NŪR AL-DĪN as governors and generals. After Shīrkūh conquered Egypt, he was proclaimed the vizier in 1169 but died almost immediately. He was succeeded by Ayyūb's son SALADIN, the actual founder of the dynasty, who defeated the Crusaders in 1187 and recovered Jerusalem for the Muslims. He engaged in diplomatic negotiations with the Byz. rulers Andronikos I Komnenos and Isaac II Angelos.

After Saladin's death in 1193, his vast domain was divided between his three sons, brothers, and other relations; nonetheless his immediate successors al-ʿĀdil (died 1218) and the latter's eldest son al-Kāmil (died 1238) were able to maintain the family unity that was required to withstand constant warfare with the Crusader states: in 1218–19 the Franks besieged Damietta and in 1227 FREDERICK II disembarked at Acre leading a new Crusade. During the week of 11–18 Feb. 1229 al-Kāmil was forced to sign a treaty with Frederick yielding to the Franks the control of Jerusalem, on condition that its fortifications would not be rebuilt and freedom of religion would be preserved in the city. Ayyūbid relations with the SELJUK rulers of Asia Minor were hostile: the expedition of united Ayyūbid forces against them in 1233 turned into a disaster, and in 1241 the Seljuks took Amida from the successors of al-Kāmil. The subsequent decentralization of power, the Turkish and Mongol pressure on the northeast border, and the new Crusade of Louis IX (his flotilla captured Damietta in 1249) weakened Ayyūbid Egypt, and in 1250 MAMLŪK rule was established there. The northern Ayyūbids remained in power longer, but in 1258 the Mamlūks took Baghdad and in 1260 they conquered Aleppo (Berroia) and Damascus.

The Ayyūbids supported commercial relations with the cities of Italy, southern France, and Catalonia; Egypt sold to Europe products imported from India but prevented the Westerners from entering the Red Sea. Regular trade connections with the Franks contributed to the penetration of Christian motifs in Ayyūbid minor arts.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*[2] 1:796–807. R.S. Humphreys, *From Saladin to the Mongols* (Albany 1977). H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958). E. Baer, *Ayyubid Metalwork with Christian Images* (Leiden 1988). –A.K.

AZDĪ, AL-, more fully, Abū Ismāʿīl Muḥammad ibn ʿAbd Allāh, al-Azdī, Arab historian; fl. ca.800–10. On al-Azdī's life, our only source is his history, *The Conquest of Syria*. Clearly he was a narrator of Azdite and other Yemenite tribal accounts, gathering his information primarily from northern Syria, esp. Ḥimṣ. His *floruit* can be ascertained from the archaism of his narratives and the death dates of the later authorities transmitting his work.

The Conquest of Syria is the earliest extant account of the Arab conquest. Proceeding from the summons to the tribes by Abū Bakr until the siege of Caesarea Maritima, it views these events as divinely ordained to reward Arab faith and punish Greek polytheism and misrule. Beneath this overarching doctrinal theme, the work is extraordinarily informative. Azdī reveals a sophisticated knowledge of developments on the Byz. side and

esp. of the activities and attitudes of the Christian and pagan populations in Syria. He deals with townsmen, peasants, and Bedouins as distinct groups; his account is unique for its detail on the shifting loyalties and complex maneuvering that characterized the conquest period.

ED. *The Fotooh al-Shám, Being an Account of the Moslim Conquests in Syria*, ed. W.N. Lees (Calcutta 1854), with Eng. summary.

LIT. Caetani, *Islam* 2:1209–11; 3:54f, 67–70, 205–10, 312, 404f, 439f, 578–83, 599f. A.D. al-ʿUmarī, *Dirāsāt ta'rīkhiyya* (Medina 1983) 67–79. L.I. Conrad, "Al-Azdī's History of the Arab Conquests in Bilād al-Shām," *Proceedings of the Second Symposium on the History of Bilād al-Shām*, ed. M.ʿA. Bakhit, vol. 1 (Amman 1987) 28–62. –L.I.C.

AZOV SEA (Μαιῶτις), an extension of the northeastern part of the BLACK SEA, reached via the straits of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Trade routes went from the Sea of Azov north to RUS' via the Don (Tanais) River and eastward to China. The Azov Sea was located in an area important for its salt and naphtha, and associated in Byz. convention with Cimmerians, SARMATIANS, and Tauroscythians (see, e.g., TZETZES, *Hist.* 12:835–36). PROKOPIOS (*Wars* 8:4.7–7.12) asserts that the peoples of the Azov region were a continual threat to the borders of the empire. The northern Azov region was controlled in the 7th C. by Great Bulgaria (Theoph. 356.20–357.11) and in the 8th–10th C. by the KHAZARS (who built there the fortress of SARKEL). The peoples of the area (including ZICHIA) in the 10th C. are described by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 42, 53). The possession of TMUTOROKAN by the Rus' lasted at least until the end of the 11th C., though both a Rus' and a Byz. administrative presence in the Azov region (e.g., in RHOSIA) is postulated even for the late 12th C. From the mid-13th C. the MONGOLS dominated the area, while the trade routes between the Azov Sea and Constantinople came under the control of the Genoese from their settlement at TANA. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK describes the route in detail, while Nikephoros Gregoras (Greg. 3:199.11–12) confirms its use for travel to and from Moscow. –S.C.F.

AZYMES (ἄζυμα "without yeast, leaven"), unleavened BREAD used by the Armenian and Latin churches in the eucharistic sacrifice based on the tradition that such bread was used at the Last Supper, at which Jesus instituted the EUCHARIST. The Byz. used leavened bread. Controversy on the issue occurred first between Greeks and Monophysite Armenians. Invited in 591 by Emp. Maurice to participate in a council of union, the Armenian *katholikos* Moses II uttered a famous rebuttal: "I shall not cross the Azat River to eat the baked bread of the Greeks" (*Narratio de rebus Armeniae*, ed. G. Garitte [Louvain 1952] 226f). Between Greeks and Latins, controversy began on this subject only in the 11th C. Responding to Greek criticism of the Latin practice, in 1054 Cardinal HUMBERT excommunicated Patr. Michael I Keroularios and his followers as "prozymite heretics." The Greek theologian Niketas STETHATOS responded.

Arguments used in the abundant Byz. polemical literature on the subject refer to the New Testament accounts of the Last Supper, which all describe the bread used by Jesus as *artos*—the standard Greek term for leavened bread—and not *azymon*. This historical argument, however, was less popular among the Greeks than references to the symbolic meaning of "leaven" ("The Kingdom of God is like unto leaven," Mt 13:33), and also to a Christological argument: leaven gives "life" to bread, just as the soul gives life to the body. Consequently, Armenians and Latins were seen as denying the existence in Christ of a human soul, and therefore, shared the heresy of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia.

LIT. J.H. Erickson, "Leavened and Unleavened: Some Theological Implications of the Schism of 1054," *SVThQ* 14 (1970) 155–76. M.H. Smith III, *And Taking Bread . . . Cerularius and the Azyme Controversy of 1054* (Paris 1978). –J.M.

B

BAALBEK. See HELIOPOLIS.

BABYLAS (Βαβύλας), saint; died Antioch ca.250; feastday 4 Sept. Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *HE* 6.39.4) mentions in passing that Babylas died under Decius (249–51) in a prison in Antioch. The story was subsequently developed; Leontios of Antioch (died 357/8) says that Decius murdered Babylas because he forbade Emp. Philip the Arab (244–49) to enter the church; John Chrysostom (PG 50:533–72), in two polemical sermons against Julian, praises Babylas's resistance to an emperor, but his information about Babylas is vague. Unlike Eusebios, Chrysostom stresses that Babylas was murdered. Hagiographical texts transfer Babylas's martyrdom to the reign of Numerianus (283–84) and sometimes provide Babylas with companions in martyrdom: a Greek text associates three children with him, while a Georgian legend describes a certain Basil of Epiphaneia, who was executed for his support of Babylas. Another stage in the development of the legend was the creation of St. Babylas of Nikomedeia, who was venerated on the same day.

Representation in Art. Miniatures illustrating the vita of Babylas written by SYMEON METAPHRASTES depict the saint as an elderly bishop, and often show him being beheaded along with his little disciples. One of these MSS includes a cycle of four scenes showing him sitting in prison with his disciples, and being interrogated, scourged, and beheaded (London, B.L. Add. 11870, fol.52r).

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, ed., *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 75–84. PG 114:967–82.

LIT. *BHG* 205a-208, 2053–54. P. Peeters, "La passion de S. Basile d'Épiphanie," *AB* 48 (1930) 302–23.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

BACKGROUND, the farthest surface of an image, behind its chief objects of contemplation, was sometimes enlivened with architectural constructions and/or LANDSCAPE. These elements are, however, usually uninhabited and treated ever more frequently as independent elements and conventional tokens of cities, mountains, etc., inserted behind figures. Buildings read as backcloths dropped behind a scene rather than as enclosures for the event depicted: in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, for example, such sets often open out in inverse PERSPECTIVE. Likewise, portions of structures facing different directions are placed in the same plane. While this remains generally true, in 10th- and early 14th-C. art attempts were made, sometimes with success, to integrate figures into the setting so that the factitious distinction between the protagonists' zone of operation and their background tends to disappear. Progressively from the 6th C. onward, settings are replaced with a blue or shimmering gold screen that denies SPACE and depth, supernaturally focusing all attention on the main figures. –A.C.

BAČKOVO. See PETRITZOS MONASTERY.

BADOER, GIACOMO, Venetian merchant who operated in Constantinople in 1436–40. His account books, kept in double-entry form, are one of the few sources to describe Constantinopolitan commerce in this period. Badoer's books show that this merchant, whose activities were of medium size, had an annual turnover of merchandise valued at approximately 126,000 hyperpyra. They reveal Constantinople as an active trade center functioning primarily as an entrepôt. They illuminate the flow of merchandise (raw materials, wax to the West, silk cloth from the West), the activities of Byz. bankers, and the participation of Byz. merchants in trade. This was large in terms of the number of merchants and sea captains, but small in terms of capital engaged; it is seen also to have been a deficit trade with Western merchants. The account books show that the Byz. who traded with Badoer were engaged primarily in retail trade and were only tangentially concerned with foreign trade. The source has also been used to extrapolate the value of total Venetian trade in Constantinople, the importance of

Genoese merchants (seen as paramount), and the types of ships used to transport merchandise.

ED. U. Dorini, T. Bertelè, *Il Libro dei Conti di Giacomo Badoer* (Venice 1956).

LIT. M.M. Šitikov, "Konstantinopol' i venecianskaja torgovlja v pervoj polovine XV v. po dannym knigi ščetov Džakomo Badoera," *VizVrem* 30 (1969) 48–62. T. Bertelè, "Il giro d'affari di Giacomo Badoer: precisazioni e deduzioni," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 48–57. –A.L.

BAGHDAD (Βαγδά, Εἰρηνόπολις), capital of the caliphate for most of the ʿABBĀSID dynasty. The name *Baghdad* was Persian; officially it was called Dār al-Salām ("City of Peace"). Caliph al-Manṣūr founded Baghdad as a circular city on a modestly inhabited site. He intended it as a camp for his troops from Khurāsān, using ruins from the nearby abandoned Sasanian capital of Ctesiphon. Baghdad's great prosperity lasted from 775 to 833. The ʿAbbāsid court briefly transferred its residence to Samarra from 836 to 892, when Caliph al-Muʿtamid returned to Baghdad. It remained the capital until the Mongols terminated the dynasty there in 1258.

The replacement of Damascus by Baghdad as the capital benefited Byz. by moving the center of Islamic power further from the borders of the Byz. Empire. The same move also made the Islamic capital more secure. Byz. embassies to ʿAbbāsid caliphs visited Baghdad and became means for cultural influences and some goods to cross otherwise closed frontiers. Such embassies to the Islamic capital were esp. notable in the 9th and 10th C.

LIT. J. Lassner, *The Topography of Baghdad in the Early Middle Ages* (Detroit 1970). A.A. Duri, *EI*² 1:894–908. –W.E.K.

BAGRATIDS (Παγκρατουνής; Arm. Bagratuni; Georg. Bagrationi), Armenian feudal family that gave royal dynasties to ARMENIA, GEORGIA, and Caucasian ALBANIA. The origin of the Bagratids was probably Iranian, but a late tradition, known even to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 45.1–8), traces them back to the Old Testament King David and to the Virgin Mary. The original Bagratid domain lay in Sper in northwestern Armenia. Their hereditary office was that of "coronant" (*t'agadir*) of the ARSACID kings and perhaps of commander-of-the-cavalry (*aspet*), although the latter may be a family name rather than a title, since Prokopios (*Wars* 2.3.12–18) refers to them as *Aspetianoi*.

The power of the Bagratids grew in the 7th–8th C. when they served Byz., the Persians, and esp. the caliphate. Benefiting from the elimination of rival houses, the Bagratids extended their domains into central and southern Armenia (TARŌN) and acquired the hereditary title Prince of Princes by the 9th C. In 884, AŠOT I THE GREAT was crowned king with the agreement of both the caliphate and Byz. The Bagratids ruled over Armenia until 1045, a senior branch residing at ANI, where the ruler styled himself King of Kings, and junior ones at KARS (Vanand) from 961 onward and at Lori (Tašir, Joraget) from 972(?) onward. Nevertheless they did not hold the Arsacid capital of DUIN and their control of Armenia was challenged by the establishment of a separate kingdom of VASPURAKAN in 908. By the mid-11th C., Bagratid power had dwindled so far that Byz. annexed their kingdoms, except for Lori, which survived into the 13th C.

Secondary branches of the Bagratid house settled in Iberia and TAYK'/TAO early in the 9th C. Ašot the Great (813–30) was named Prince of Iberia by the caliph and *kouropalates* by Byz., and in 888 Adarnarse IV was crowned king. The Georgian branch prospered as that in Armenia declined. Tayk' reached its apogee under DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO at the end of the 10th C. In 1008, Bagrat III united ABCHASIA and Georgia to form a single kingdom, which reached its zenith under DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER and Queen T'AMARA, who supported the empire of TREBIZOND and ruled Armenia through her ZAK'ARID viceroys. The Mongol invasions of the 1230s abruptly halted Bagratid prosperity, but the Bagratids continued to rule over a reduced and divided Georgia.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.*, esp. 306–54. Idem, "The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century," *Muséon* 74 (1961) 5–42, 233–316. L. Movsêsian, "Histoire des rois Kurikian de Lori," *REArm* 7 (1927) 209–66. H. Bartikyan, "La conquête de l'Arménie par l'Empire byzantin," *REArm* n.s. 8 (1971) 327–40. R. Suny, *The Making of the Georgian Nation* (Bloomington-Stamford 1988) 29–59. –N.G.G.

BAHĀ' AL-DĪN, also called Ibn Shaddād, Arab historian, educator, jurist, and authority on Islamic traditions (*ḥadīth*); born Mosul 1145, died Aleppo 1235. In July 1188, Bahā' al-Dīn joined

the staff of SALADIN to serve as the "judge of the army" and "judge of Jerusalem." In this capacity he accompanied Saladin everywhere on his travels and campaigns, including the bitter fight against the Third Crusade. After Saladin died (1193), Bahā' al-Dīn remained active in Egyptian and Syrian politics.

Bahā' al-Dīn wrote several works, among them a treatise on the Holy War (*jihād*), dedicated to Saladin. The most important is his biography of Saladin, which, with the works by ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, constitutes the most authentic source for Saladin's life. Whereas for the account of the years prior to his entering Saladin's service Bahā' al-Dīn depended on trustworthy friends, for the subsequent period he relied on his own observations. Although his work mainly concerns Saladin's military and political accomplishments, the book contains important documents illustrating the relations of the Sultan, the Crusaders, and the Byz. In addition to brief references to Byz. participation in the 1169 attack against Damietta (Wilson, *infra* 57) and to Muslim capture of a ship that "came from Constantinople" to Acre on 12 June 1190 (p.182), Bahā' al-Dīn treats diplomatic exchanges between ISAAC II and Saladin, some of them affecting religious practices of the Greeks in Jerusalem and of the Muslims in Constantinople (pp. 198–201, 334f). He also quotes the Arabic translation of an Armenian letter from Katholikos Basil on the impact of Frederick Barbarossa's Crusade on the Byz. Empire (pp. 185–89).

ED. *Sīrat Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn*, ed. Gamal El-Dīn El-Shayyāl (Cairo 1964). *The Life of Saladin*, tr. C.W. Wilson [= PPTS 13] (London 1897; rp. New York 1971).

LIT. Gamal El-Din El-Shayyal, *EI*² 3:933f. M.H.M. Ahmad in Lewis-Holt, *Historians*, 87f. —A.S.E.

BAHNASA. See OXYRHYNCHUS.

BAIAN (Βαϊανός), Avar khan (ca.562–582/4) who led his people to the lower Danube by 562. Perhaps it was Baian who in 558 sent envoys to Constantinople to conclude an alliance: THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (232.6–10) gives no name. Menander Protector is the only historian to name Baian while recounting the attempts of the Avars to cross the Danube and seize Sirmium. Even though the negotiations of Baian's ambassador Targitaj brought no result, emperors tried to use the Avars against the Gepids and Slavs. Finally, with the help of Greek engineers, Baian built a bridge over the Sava, besieged Sirmium, and impelled the Byz. to yield the starving city in 582. Kollautz and Miyakawa's statement (*infra* 249) that in 586 Baian beleaguered Thessalonike is mistaken; even more erroneous is M. Artamonov (*Istorija Chazar* [Leningrad 1962] 160), who gave his date of death as 630.

LIT. T. Olajos, "La chronologie de la dynastie avare de Baïan," *REB* 34 (1976) 151–58. A. Kollautz, H. Miyakawa, *Geschichte und Kultur eines völkerwanderungszeitlichen Nomadenvolkes*, vol.1 (Klagenfurt-Bonn 1970) 239–49. V. Popović, "La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avares vers la Mer Egée," *CRAI* (1978) 612–16. —W.E.K., A.K.

BAILO (μπαΐουλος), "bailiff," the head of the Venetian colony in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period and simultaneously the Venetian ambassador at the court of the emperor. Gregoras (Greg. 1:97.21–25) translates the term *bailo* into Greek as *epitropos* or *ephoros*. In this capacity the *bailo* replaced the Venetian *podestà* whose functions were more limited. The office of *bailo* was introduced after the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople by the agreement of 4 Apr.–30 June 1268. The *bailo* was elected by the Great Council in Venice for a short term (about two years or less); his salary was set at 100 *librae* a month. The *bailo* had two assistants (*consiliarii*) who were also sent from Venice. His duties were to administer the trade activity of the colony, sit in judgment, and supervise the four Venetian churches in the Byz. capital. There was a Venetian *bailo* in Euboea as well as in Constantinople, whereas Venetian administrators elsewhere bore different titles (*dux* of Crete, *castellani* of Methone).

LIT. Ch. Maltezou, *Ho thesmos tou en Konstantinoupolei Benetou baïlou* (Athens 1970). —A.K.

BAIOULOS (βαΐουλος, from Lat. *baiulus*, "bearer") in Byz. signified a preceptor or mentor. Balsamon (PG 119:1213D) derives the word from *baion*, palm leaf, allegedly because teachers had the responsibility to develop and supervise the growth of young minds. Probably not earlier than Theophanes the Confessor, the term was applied to the emperor's preceptor, and in the 10th C. the honorific title of *megas baioulos* was created for Basil LEKAPENOS. Pseudo-KODINOS remarks (140.8–

9) that the place of the *megas baioulos* in the 14th-C. hierarchy is unknown; some contemporary lists locate him above the *kouropalates*.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Ho megas baïoulos," *EEBS* 23 (1953) 193–205. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 147–49. –A.K.

BAKCHEIOS, GERON (Βάκχειος, Γέρων), Greek music theorist of the age of Constantine the Great; fl. late 3rd–early 4th C. He is known only for his *Introduction to the Art of Music* (*Eisagoge technes mousikes*), written in the form of a catechism. It is an eclectic production, mostly following the school of Aristoxenos (4th C. B.C.). The short treatise, not in dialogue form, published under his name by F. Bellerman in 1841, is by Dionysios, Bakcheios's contemporary.

ED. *Musici scriptores graeci*, ed. C. Janus (Leipzig 1895; rp. Hildesheim 1962) 283–316. *Alypius et Gaudence, Bacchius l'ancien*, tr. C.E. Ruelle (Paris 1895). –D.E.C.

BAKER (μάγκιψ), also *artopoios, artokopos, artopoles*. These terms are already found in Egyptian papyri and refer specifically to those who made BREAD. In the 10th C. the bakers formed an important guild, whose members were exempted from public service, as were the animals they used to grind the grain. Their activities and profit (4 1/6 percent) were regulated by the state, and when grain prices varied, they were allowed to change the weight of the loaf, but not its price (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.18). The quaestor of Constantinople could force beggars to work for bakers (*Epanagoge* 5.5). Bakers' shops could not be located beneath dwellings, or very close to them, for fear of fire (*Bk. of Eparch* 18.3; Harm. 2.4.14).

The question arises whether bakers who made the bread sold it in a retail fashion. The *De ceremoniis* (1.96) states that in the early months of the reign of Nikephoros II, the rebel Joseph Bringas went from the patriarchate past the Milion and ordered the bakers (*artopoioi*) to neither bake bread nor sell it on the market. The bakers in question may be identical to those who sold bread in the main bread market of Constantinople, the Artopoleia, located just beyond the Forum of Constantine (*Parastaseis*, ch.40). If this is the case, then breadmakers and bread sellers are identical; it could well be, however, that the *artopolai* who presumably worked in the Artopoleia sold wholesale. Other texts (e.g., Theoph. 234.23) distinguish between *artopoleia*, where bread was sold, and *mankipeia*, where it was made. It seems likely that in other parts of Constantinople outside the main bread market, as well as in smaller cities, those who made bread also sold it to the consumer. This is suggested by monastic documents that show (e.g., in Serres) *mankipeia* (*Koutloum.* nos. 8.13, 18.42), but make no mention of *artopoleia*, probably because the two were identical.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 47–50. M. Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 236–44. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätrömischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt–Bern–New York 1983) 79–90. –A.L.

BALĀDHURĪ, AL-, more fully Abū'l-ʿAbbās Aḥmad ibn Yaḥyā al-Balādhurī, Arab historian; died ca.892. Little is known about al-Balādhurī. Clearly he was born into a well-connected family. He studied under or knew many of the great Iraqi scholars of his day, pursued his researches in several Syrian cities, and enjoyed patronage and favor at the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdad. A profoundly learned scholar, he was also a traditionist, poet, and Arabic translator of the *Testament of Ardashir*.

Two of Balādhurī's Arabic histories survive, both based on extensive oral and written sources. His *Conquests of the Provinces* relates to the conquests of the Arabs. It is arranged by province and describes many nonmilitary developments. The incomplete enlarged version is lost. The later *Genealogies of the Notables* (also unfinished and still largely unedited) is a voluminous history, organized genealogically, down to the early ʿAbbāsids. Balādhurī often deals with Byz. He relates the conquests of Syria, Egypt, and Cyprus in detail; discusses the campaigns for Rhodes, Crete, and Sicily; and describes frontier defenses and expeditions (by both sides). Also considered are diplomatic relations, preconquest conditions, the attitudes of the indigenous populations and later demographic changes, the continuing use of the Greek language and Byz. coinage, and commercial contacts between the two sides.

ED. *Liber expugnationis regionum*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden 1866). *The Origins of the Islamic State*, tr. P.K. Ḥitti, F.C. Murgotten, 2 vols. (New York 1916–24). *Ansāb al-ashrāf*, vol. 1, ed. M. Ḥamīdullāh (Cairo 1959); vol. 2, ed. M.B. al-Maḥmūdī (Beirut 1977); vols. 4A-B and 5, ed. M. Schloessinger, M.J. Kister, and S.D. Goitein (Jerusalem 1936–71). *Il Califfo Muʿāwiya I*, tr. O. Pinto, G. Levi della Vida (Rome

1938). Bibliotheca Islamica ser., pt.3, ed. ʿA. al-Dūrī (Wiesbaden 1978), and pt.4.1, ed. I. ʿAbbās (Wiesbaden 1979).
LIT. A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton 1983) 61–64. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:320f.
–L.I.C.

BALANCE SCALES (ζυγός), the simplest weighing device used in Byz., was an equal-arm balance (contrast STEELYARD) supported from above, often by a hinged needle within a bracket to indicate perfect horizontality. In turn, it supported a pair of pans in which the weights and load were placed. Although balance scales have been made of various materials and in widely varying sizes, those surviving from Byz. are small and bronze. Their size and relative precision suggests that they were used for weighing coins and precious metal. Imperial legislation (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* XII 7.1–2; XII 6.21) stipulated how and by whom the device was to be held to ensure the fair payment of taxes (see ZYGOSTATES). Balance scales are a frequent component of the PSYCHOMACHIA in images of the Last Judgment.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 29–31. Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1662–78. –G.V., A.C.

BALDWIN II (Βαλδουῖνος), Latin emperor of Constantinople (1240–61); born Constantinople 1217, died 1273. It was his fate to preside over the dissolution of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. The youngest son of PETER OF COURTENAY, he was only ten when his brother ROBERT OF COURTENAY died in 1228. JOHN OF BRIENNE took over the reins of government on the understanding that Baldwin would eventually succeed. This agreement was sealed by Baldwin's marriage to John's daughter Marie. When John died in 1237, Baldwin was in the West, seeking help for Constantinople. To this end he mortgaged his county of Namur to Louis IX of France for 50,000 livres parisis. Late in 1239, Baldwin finally reached Constantinople by the overland route through Hungary and was crowned emperor in 1240.

He soon returned to the West and was given a place of honor at the First Council of Lyons in 1245. His presence insured that help for Constantinople was placed high on the agenda, but there was to be little effective aid because of Louis IX's plans for a crusade. The help promised by the Spanish order of Santiago in 1246 failed to materialize (J. Longnon, *Byzantion* 22 [1952] 297–99). Baldwin was reduced to pledging his son Philip in order to raise money (R.L. Wolff, *Speculum* 29 [1954] 45–84). It was only a matter of time before Constantinople fell. After its conquest by the Nicaeans in 1261, Baldwin made his way to the West, seeking supporters who might help him win back his empire. The most promising was CHARLES I OF ANJOU. A treaty was concluded at Viterbo in 1267, whereby Baldwin surrendered suzerainty over the Frankish principality of ACHAIA against the promise of an expedition to recover Constantinople.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 178–86. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 193–200. *HC* 2:221–32. –M.J.A.

BALDWIN III, king of JERUSALEM (1143–63); born 1129, died Beirut 10 Feb. 1163. In 1157, threatened by NŪR AL-DĪN, Baldwin began to seek Byz. aid and a bride from Constantinople. Theodora Komnene, Manuel I's niece, married Baldwin in 1158. Shortly after Renaud of Antioch's abject surrender to Manuel at Mopsuestia, Baldwin was ceremonially welcomed by the emperor. When Manuel entered Antioch in triumph (Apr. 1159), Baldwin rode in the procession. The threat of joint Crusader-Byz. action caused Nūr al-Dīn to make concessions, and Manuel unexpectedly returned to Constantinople. During 1160–61, Baldwin's efforts to induce Manuel to wed Melisende of Tripoli instead of MARIA OF ANTIOCH were unsuccessful. After Baldwin's death, Theodora received Acre as her portion, but in 1167 she fled with the future Andronikos I.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Kreuzzüge und lateinischer Osten* (London 1983) pt.VI (1980), 549–566. –C.M.B.

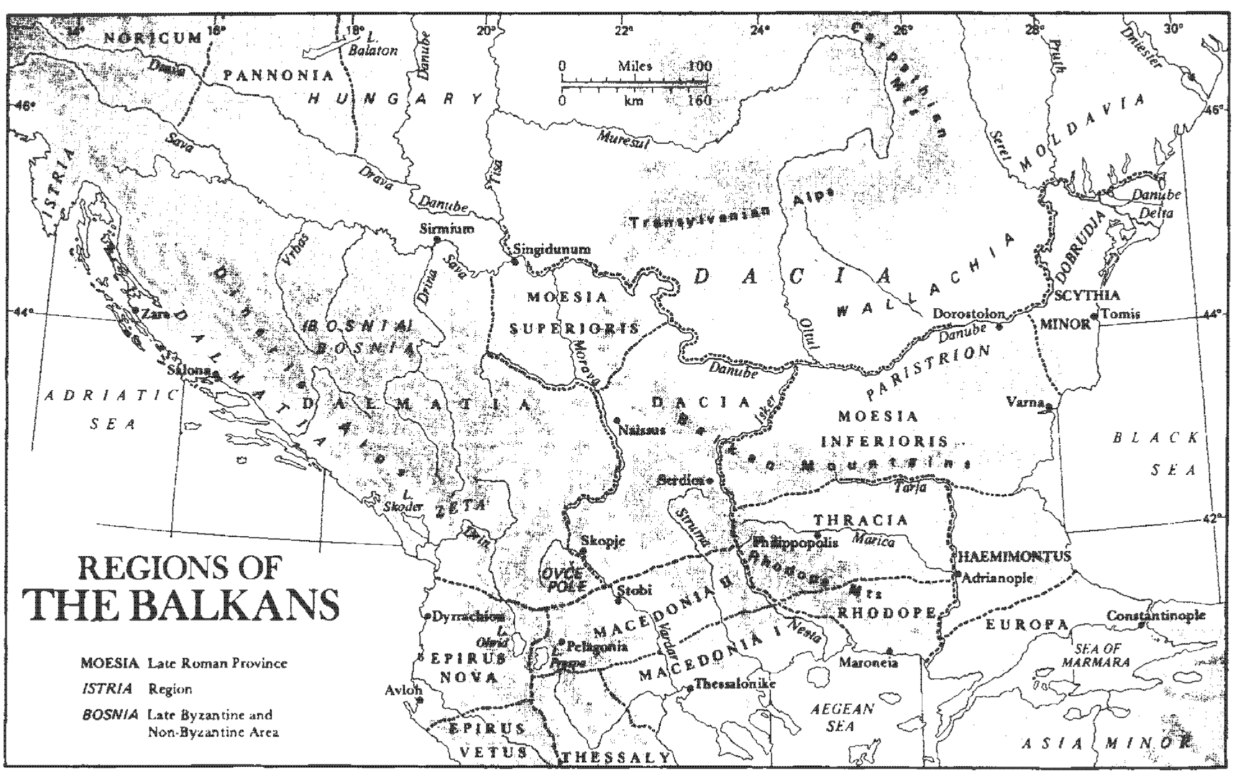
BALDWIN OF FLANDERS, count Baldwin IX of Flanders, Baldwin VI of Hainault, then Baldwin I of the Latin Empire; born Valenciennes 1172, died Tŭrnovo 1205 or 1206. He joined the Fourth Crusade and set out in Apr. 1202 at the head of the expedition's largest contingent. To sustain the Crusade he supported BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and Enrico DANDOLO in welcoming the offers of PHILIP OF SWABIA and the future Alexios IV. Baldwin and his troops played leading roles in fighting Alexios III and Alexios V. After the capture of Constantinople, he was elected emperor on 9 May 1204, probably through the votes of the Venetians; he was crowned 16 May.

Baldwin employed traditional Byz. titles but had a feudal concept of government. Despite his agreement that Boniface should have THESSALONIKE, he wished to occupy the city. Boniface reacted violently; peace was made only in Aug. 1204. Early in 1205 the Byz. of Thrace, alienated by Baldwin's contemptuous attitude, revolted and summoned KALOJAN to their assistance. On 14 Apr. Kalojan defeated and captured Baldwin outside Adrianople. He perished mysteriously in prison. In July 1206 news of his death was reliably reported to the Crusaders.

LIT. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt. IV (1952), 281–322. B. Hendrickx, "Baudouin IX de Flandre et les empereurs byzantins Isaac II l'Ange et Alexis IV," *RBPH* 49 (1971) 482–89. Longnon, *Compagnons* 137–40. –C.M.B.

BALKANS (medieval Αἶμος), the modern (19th-C.) name of the mountain range that extends about 550 km from the Timok Valley eastward to the Black Sea. The word *Balkan* (*balqan*) is Ottoman Turkish, meaning "thickly wooded mountain"; the Bulgarians called it in Slavonic *Stara Planina*. The Balkans form the major divide between the Danube (north) and Marica (south) rivers, and are traversed by some 20 passes, of which the most important are TRAJAN'S GATE; Via Succorum (now Ichtimanski Prohod), a link on the Via EGNATIA; and Siderogephyron.

In antiquity the Haimos mountains formed the ethnic frontier of the Thracians. During the Great Migrations it remained a natural border of the Byz. Empire against the Goths and later the Avars; its passes were well fortified. In the 6th and 7th C. the romanized Thraco-Illyrian population was forced to settle in the mountains; they reappear in the 11th C. as the VLACHS. In the second half of the 7th C. the leading role was assumed by a Sklavene group called the "Seven Tribes," but as early as 680 these Sklavenoi had become associates of the newly arrived Bulgars of ASPARUCH. A year later the Byz. acknowledged Bulgar occupation as a *fait accompli* and concluded a peace with the newcomers; Haimos became the Byz. frontier. In OMURTAG's treaty (816–17) the Byz.-Bulgarian frontier was defined by a line that ran westward from Develtos to Makrolivada. The Bulgarians were allowed to fortify this line with ramparts and trenches; it became known as the "Great Fence" (*herkesia*).



LIT. D. Dečev, "Hemus i Rodopi: Prinos kŭm starata geografija na Bŭlgarija," *GSU FIF* 21.10 (1925) 3–36. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Sur l'établissement des tribus slaves du groupe bulgare au sud du Bas Danube," *Études historiques*, vol. 4 (Sofia 1968) 143–66. P. Koledarov, *Političeska geografija na srednovekovnata bŭlgarska dŭržava*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1979). –O.P.

BALNITOR (*βαλνίτωρ*, probably from Lat. *balneator*, "bathkeeper"), a title known from seals dated ca.650–850. The term—always modified by the adjective "imperial"—appears in conjunction with modest titles such as *kandidatos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.403), *hypatos* (no.224) or former *hypatos* (no.2000), or modest offices such as *silentiarios* (no.1016), *anagrapheus* of Opsikion (no.2095), and several times *kommerkiarios* (nos. 223–24, 226–27, 230–31). The functions of the *balnitor* are not defined in available sources. Guilland (*Institutions* 1:268) views him as an ancestor of the NIPSISTIARIOS—a hypothesis that Oikonomides (*Listes* 301, n.88) rejected.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 174, n.2. –A.K.

BALSAMON, THEODORE, canonist; born Constantinople between ca.1130 and 1140, died after 1195. Balsamon (Βαλσαμών) occupied high positions in the church hierarchy: first as patriarchal *nomophylax* and *chartophylax*, then (from ca.1185–90) as patriarch of Antioch (although he remained in Constantinople). ISAAC II considered the possibility of Balsamon's election as patriarch of Constantinople but preferred Dositheos of Jerusalem (1189–91). Balsamon acted also as *hegoumenos* of Blachernai (PG 104:975A) and of the monastery *ton Zipon*. His major work is the *Commentary* (*Exegesis*) on the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, begun in the 1170s; Balsamon's aim was not only an explanation, but also a critical revision of contradictory and obsolete statements. Unlike his predecessors, ARISTENOS and ZONARAS, Balsamon included in his commentary many legal texts now lost. He differs from Zonaras also in his political program; Balsamon staunchly supported strong imperial power and imperial political aspirations. He defended the privileges of the patriarchate of Constantinople and in this connection critically studied the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 3 [1896] 21–29). His other canonical works included a treatise defending third marriages, which were important for the aristocracy's attempt to strengthen clan linkages (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 2 [1895] 503–11). Balsamon defended the role of the CHARTOPHYLAX against the PROTEKDIKOS. In 1195 he issued answers to canonical questions of Mark III, patriarch of Alexandria (ca.1195). He also wrote letters and epigrams that throw light on Byz. cultural life. As a canonist Balsamon was criticized by Neilos KABASILAS (A. Failler, *REB* 32 [1974] 211–23).

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2–4, or PG 137–38. E. Miller, "Lettres de Théodore Balsamon," *Annuaire de l'association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* 18 (1884) 8–19 (also Th. Papazotos in *Trito symposio byzantines kai metabyzantines archaiologias kai technes* [Athens 1983] 70). Horna, "Epigramme" 178–204.

LIT. G.P. Stevens, *De Theodoro Balsamone* (Rome 1969). V. Narbekov, *Nomokanon konstantinopol'skogo patriarcha Fotija s tolkovaniem Val'samona* (Kazan' 1899). A. Christophilopoulos,"He schesis ton kanonon pros tous nomous kai ho Theodoros Balsamon," *EEBS* 21 (1951) 69–73. –A.K.

BANALITY in Western medieval law designated an economic monopoly imposed by landlords on their peasants; it included primarily the obligations to grind grain at their lord's water mill, to bake bread at his oven, and to press grapes at his wine press. Banalities are known in Frankish Morea as *jus linobrosii in quo actatur linum*, "where the flax was worked on" (Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 38.13) or *labotaga ubi fit oleum*, "where olive oil was produced" (p.62.1). It is unclear whether these rights were of Greek origin or introduced by the Crusaders. The Greek term *linobrocheion* is frequently used in Byz. *praktika*, for instance, together with *opsonion* and *vivarium* (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 36, A30) or with *ennomion* (*Xénoph.*, no.15.24), that is, as one of the rents paid by peasants to their lord. A *linobrocheion*—as a work site—had to be located next to water, near a water mill (*Lavra* 2, no.105.23). A payment for using a mill, EXAGION, is mentioned in an act of 1089 (*Xénoph.*, no.1.161). The existing sources do not, however, say that the use of these mills, olive presses, or places for soaking flax was coercive; it is plausible that former coercive rights were supplanted by regular payments imposed on the village as a whole or, indeed, that the use was not coercive but *de facto* unavoidable, since often mills belonged to the landlord.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 125f. J. Bompaire in *Xerop.* 146f. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 183, n.12. –A.K.

BANDON (βάνδον), ensign or banner, eventually came to signify a small military detachment. As defined in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (86.21–22), "A *bandophoros* was a man who carried the ensign of a *bandon*." The earliest evidence often refers to Persian *banda*. Malalas (Malal. 461.11–12) speaks of the "royal *bandon*" of the Persians, and Theophanes (Theoph. 319.5) reports that Herakleios took captive 28 Persian *banda*. Hagiographers of the 7th C. mention *banda* (W. Kaegi, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 65–67), usually with ethnic designations. In the 10th C. a TOURMA was composed of five to seven *banda*, each *bandon* consisting of 50–100 mounted soldiers or 200–400 infantrymen. The commander of a *bandon* was called KOMES. Constantine VII equated *bandon* and *topoteresia*, considering the *bandon* as a territorial unit (*De adm. imp.* 50.94–110). Unlike other terms for territorial units, such as KLEISOURA or *tourma*, the *bandon* enjoyed longevity and survived at least in the empire of Trebizond (F. Uspenskij, V. Beneševič, *Vazelonskie akty* [Leningrad 1927] lx).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 172f, 276f. S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai meletai* 5 (Thessalonike 1937) 537f. –A.K.

BANJANI. See NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

BANKER (τραπεζίτης). In the late Roman Empire the term *trapezites* was used synonymously with ARGYROPRATES, a moneylender (E. Hanton, *Byzantion* 4 [1927–29] 132f). Frequently cited in papyri, a *trapezites* was primarily an administrator of a *trapeza* or bank (F. Preisigke, *Girowesen im griechischen Egypten*[2] [Hildesheim–New York 1971] 59); in the 3rd–4th C. *trapezitai* were sometimes called *demosioi* or *politikoi trapezitai*—probably to distinguish them from private money changers. In the 5th and 6th C., these qualifying epithets seem to have disappeared; references are to plain *trapezitai* or to a *lamprotatos trapezites* (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:173f). Many, but not all, *trapezitai* were associated with propertied families, such as the APIONS in Egypt, and served them as cashiers. Another term for the "banker"–money changer in the 5th–8th C. was *kollektarios* (R. Bogaert, *Chronique d'Egypte* 60 [1985] 5–16).

The *trapezitai* of the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.3) formed a guild separate from the *argyropratai*, at that time the dealers in gold and silver. Their principal function was to exchange money; their responsibilities also included assaying coins of poor alloy and denouncing the *sakkoullarioi* ("bag bearers"), probably unauthorized coin dealers operating "on the market squares and in public streets." There is no evidence that the *trapezitai* of this period served as moneylenders. Great emphasis was placed on the necessity for *trapezitai* to prove their honesty. They were also supposed to carry out certain imperial assignments, the character of which is not defined in the *Book of the Eparch*.

In late documents as well as in the *Book of the Eparch*, money changers are also called *katallaktai*. In 15th-C. Thessalonike a *katallaktes* named Platyskalites had a sister who was married to another *katallaktes*, called Chalazas (S. Kougeas, *BZ* 23 [1920] 153.14–16). The term *trapezites* continued to be used, as in the case of Iannes Androuses, a money changer of the late 14th C. (*PLP*, no.90111). The shops of money changers were small; thus, in the mid-14th C. the Lavra monastery owned in Constantinople 20 *katallaktika trapezia* that it had acquired from different people, some of them noble (*Lavra* 3, no.123.105–10). In 1400 a certain Samaminthes rented from the monastery of Hodegetria in Thessalonike two *trapezia* that he made from *katallaktika* in a perfumer's shop (MM 2:526.17–23). Ecclesiastical institutions thus avoided the prohibition on engaging in the money-changing business.

LIT. G. Platon, *Les banquiers grecs dans la législation de Justinien* (Paris 1912). Stöckle, *Zünfte* 23f. *Bk. of Eparch* 140–48. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 64. –A.K.

BANQUET (συμπόσιον), feast held in private households during religious and public festivities or to celebrate a WEDDING or birth of a child. The guests sat in the dining room (*triklinon*) around the best TABLE in the house. They either reclined on couches or mattresses (see BEDS) or sat on chairs and benches. At a banquet sponsored by PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL the imperial guests sat at a round ivory table that accommodated 36 people (*Vita*, 137.31). Guests were seated according to their social position; usually ecclesiastics occupied the place of honor to the right of the host. Women and children sat apart in another room and were rarely introduced to the guests (*Vita*, 139.32–35). The host provided food, wine, and entertainment—music, song, and dancing. The clergy stayed only for dinner and had to leave when the entertainment began. Kekaume-

nos recommended avoiding banquets in order to be spared their intrigues and idle talk (Kek. 124.14–20).

Imperial banquets were held at the palace to mark the emperor's birthday, coronation, marriage, or birth of a child. They were also held on religious FEASTS and public holidays. On such occasions the emperor invited high officials along with the church hierarchy. The guests wore their insignia and regalia. The emperor sat at a separate "golden" or "honorable" table, joined only by the six most important state officials. The banquets were held in various palace rooms with different seating capacities. Therefore, each banquet had a different group of participants. The seating was arranged according to a strict protocol. Such occasions were both solemn and festive, including the distribution of imperial gifts to courtiers and songs and DANCES. A Westerner like LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA criticized these imperial banquets as obscene and too lengthy, with food reeking of garlic, onions, and leeks. By the 14th C. such banquets were given only five times a year, on religious feastdays (pseudo-Kod. 219.27–220.7).

In a typological illustration in Athens, Nat. Lib. 211 (G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* [Madison, Wisc., 1970], fig.94), a table being heaped with food by attendants is compared to John Chrysostom serving the faithful at an altar.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:194–204. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 101–05. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 104f. –Ap.K., A.C.

BAPHEUS (Βαφεύς, often incorrectly called Baphaion), site in BITHYNIA of a crucial battle in which OSMAN defeated the Byz. army under George MOUZALON on 27 July 1302. By this time, the Ottoman Turks had penetrated to the region of NIKOMEDEIA and threatened famine by blocking its communications. Mouzalon, with a force of 2,000, hoped to relieve the city and allow the inhabitants, who had taken refuge within its walls, to harvest their crops. Instead, the Turkish cavalry charge broke the ranks of the Byz., whose Alan contingent failed to participate, and Mouzalon withdrew ignominiously into the citadel of Nikomedeia (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:333–35). The battle produced a fatal weakening of the Byz. position in Bithynia, provoked a wave of westward-bound refugees, and left the defensible fortified towns as islands in a region soon overrun by the Turks. The exact site of the battle has not been determined; it was in view of Nikomedeia, probably to the east.

LIT. Arnakis, *Othomanoi* 127–29. R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983) 25f. –C.F.

BAPTISM (βάπτισμα, βαπτισμός), the SACRAMENT of initiation into Christian life via ritual lustration in the name of the Trinity for the remission of sin. Baptism performed but once and never repeated was interpreted in the New Testament by metaphors of new beginning, esp. rebirth in the Spirit, dying and rising in Christ, restoration of sight and illumination, and with Old Testament types such as the FLOOD, the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, and circumcision on the eighth day. Byz. authors like John of Damascus (*Expositio fidei*, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:181–86, 231.23–35) develop these traditional themes.

In the early church an elaborate initiation process, including a lengthy CATECHUMENATE, preceded baptism, which took place in the BAPTISTERY, principally at Easter Vigil, but also, in Constantinople, on EPIPHANY, LAZARUS SATURDAY, and PENTECOST because of the baptismal and resurrectional symbolism associated with these days. With the decline of the adult catechumenate and the shift to infant baptism (by ca.600), the ritual elements that marked the principal stages of this three-year process of initiation were concentrated within the last weeks of Lent. Finally, on Holy Saturday evening, while the congregation kept vigil in Hagia Sophia with LECTIONS recounting biblical types of baptism, the patriarch in the Great Baptistery blessed the FONT, presbyters and deacons anointed the candidates, and the patriarch himself baptized them and anointed them with chrism. Then the neophytes, vested in the white robes of sinlessness, made their solemn ritual entrance into the church to the chant of Psalm 31 with the baptismal TROPARION (Gal 3:27 plus alleluia) as refrain, to join the waiting congregation in the final rite of initiation, COMMUNION in the paschal EUCHARIST (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:84–89). (For the feast of the Baptism of Christ, see EPIPHANY.)

LIT. Arranz, "Rites d'incorporation" 53–66. Arranz, "Les sacrements." –R.F.T.

BAPTISTERY (*βαπτιστήριον*), a building or room containing the FONT and used for rites of BAPTISM. The earliest known baptistery was a room within the Christian *domus* at DURA EUROPOS. Beginning with Constantine I's baptistery at the Lateran Basilica in Rome and continuing into the 6th C., baptisteries were often distinct constructions with a variety of forms—circular, octagonal, square, rectangular, cruciform, or triconch. No rules determined the position of the baptistery relative to its church. It could be located in front of, to either side of, or behind the church building and sometimes lacked any direct connection with the church. Some baptisteries were provided with vestibules and subsidiary rooms, though the font was usually located in the center of the main space, often beneath a dome. After the 6th C. and probably as the result of changing baptismal customs, the detached baptistery disappears. The font was moved into the church, occupying a position in the narthex or in a room set aside for that purpose. In monastic settings the function of the baptistery was frequently superseded by that of the PHIALE.

LIT. A. Khatchatrian, *Les baptistères paléochrétiens*[2] (Paris 1980). C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:460–96. M. Falla Castelfranchi, *Baptisteria* (Rome 1980). –M.J.

BĀRA, AL-. See KAPER PERA.

BARBARA (Βαρβάρα), saint; feastday 4 Dec. The different versions of her legend disagree as to her birthplace and the date of her martyrdom. Barbara was supposedly a daughter of Dioskoros, a rich and noble pagan in Heliopolis (or Nikomedeia or Antioch), who placed Barbara in a tower (*pyrgos*) to prevent her from marrying. Ironically, she had no intention of marrying. She soon converted to Christianity and, during her father's absence, ordered a third window installed in the bath to symbolize the Trinity. When Dioskoros learned this, he tried to kill Barbara, but a supernatural force brought her to a mountaintop; helped by a shepherd who was at once transformed into a rock, her father discovered her and dragged her off to trial and execution. The execution is variously ascribed to the reign of Maximinus the Thracian (235–38), of MAXIMIAN, or of another emperor.

The legend was probably created by the 6th or 7th C. JOHN OF DAMASCUS praised Barbara (*Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 5 [1988] 247–78), her *passio* was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES (PG 116:301–16), and the legend inspired various encomiasts. It was also translated into Syriac and broadly spread in the West.

Representation in Art. The earliest portrait of Barbara is presumed to be that of the 8th C. in the presbytery of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, where she is discreetly clad in a MAPHORION. Later images of the high-born virgin are virtual fashion plates of female COSTUME and HEADGEAR. Her execution at the hands of her father is depicted only rarely (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.224).

SOURCES. *Passions des saints Écaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia*, ed. J. Viteau (Paris 1897) 89–105.

LIT. *BHG* 213–218q. W. Weyh, *Die syrische Barbara-Legende* (Leipzig 1912). A. Wirth, *Danae in christlichen Legenden* (Vienna 1892). –A.K., N.P.Š.

BARBARIANS (*βάρβαροι*). The concept of a world divided into two polar groups—civilized Romans and uncivilized barbarians—was inherited by the thinkers of the late Roman Empire from classical antiquity and formed part of late Roman nationalism. AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS was one author who developed the negative stereotype of the barbarian, although as a descriptive ethnographer he was more objective and cautious than his contemporaries (T. Wiedemann in *Past Perspectives* [Cambridge 1986] 189–201). Practical needs (settlement of barbarians as FOEDERATI, military conflicts, and diplomacy) required a more sober assessment, reflected, for example, in the advocacy by THEMISTIOS of tolerance and philanthropy toward the barbarians; on the other hand, attempts to idealize the morally upright barbarian (e.g., in Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES) also represented an ancient attitude.

Initially Christianity tended not to emphasize the old contrast but replaced it with another polar opposition—Christian and heathen: the perception of the limits of the "Roman" OIKOUMENE were expanded and gradations were introduced in the non-Roman world. Thus, CASSIODORUS did not perceive the Goths as barbarians, reserving this epithet for the less "civilized" Franks (L. Viscido, *Orpheus* n.s. 7 [1986] 338–44); the ideas of Christian MISSION and the conquest and conversion of barbarians were influenced by this concept.

These Christian notions were not entrenched, however, and the Byz. clung to a definition in

terms of culture rather than creed: not only wild nomads but also Christian Latins and even Orthodox Bulgarians could be regarded as barbarians. The distinction between the "Romans" and barbarians (the embodiment of vanity, cruelty, greed, bad manners, illiteracy, and so forth) survived and was still applied to all peoples outside the empire.

As a conventional image of imperial TRIUMPH, statues of defeated barbarians were set up on the *spina* of the HIPPODROME in Constantinople and were frequently represented in Late Antique art (e.g., Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.54) and on coins.

LIT. Y.A. Dauge, *Le barbare* (Brussels 1981). J. Vogt, *Kulturwelt und Barbaren* (Wiesbaden 1967). B. Luiselli, "L'idea romana dei barbari," *Romanobarbarica* 8 (1984–85) 33–61. G. Podskalsky, "Die Sicht der Barbarenvölker in der spätgriechischen Patristik," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 330–51. –A.K., A.C.

BARBARICARII, gold-weavers, embroiderers in gold, probably of Germanic origin; the 4th-C. grammarian Donatus described them as working "with gold and colored threads." Under Constantine I they were still private laborers, but later in the 4th C. state "factories" were founded in which they worked under the supervision of three *praepositi branbaricariorum* [*sic*] *sive argentariorum*, who were posted in the West—Arles, Rheims, and Trier; in the West they were under the jurisdiction of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. In the East their function included the decoration of armor (helmets) and they were under command of the *magister officiorum*. By 374 their factories were known in Constantinople and Antioch, but the 5th-C. NOTITIA DIGNITATUM locates them in every eastern diocese except for Thrace and Illyricum, which shared one workshop.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 2856f. –A.K.

BARBARO, NICOLÒ, Venetian doctor attached to the fleet of Venice and eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople to the Turks; born ca.1400, died after 1453. Barbaro kept a detailed diary of the siege from 2 Mar. 1451 to 29 May 1453. Back in Venice and nearly a year (at least) after the event, he reworked his record into an account that survives in the Venetian dialect autograph MS. His perspective on the siege is favorable to the Byz., highlights the Venetian contribution (e.g., he identifies leading Venetian participants, ed. Cornet, pp. 16–18), and accuses the Genoese of undermining the city's defense, thereby complementing the accounts of LEONARD OF CHIOS and Jacopo TEDALDI.

ED. *Giornale dell'assedio di Costantinopoli 1453*, ed. E. Cornet (Vienna 1856). Excerpts—Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:8–38. Tr. J.R. Jones, *Diary of the Siege of Constantinople 1453* (Jericho, N.Y., 1969).

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:527. A. Carile, *LMA* 1:1439. –M.McC.

BARBARUS SCALIGERI, conventional name of the author of a chronicle entitled (also conventionally) *Excerpta latina barbari*. The Greek original was produced in Alexandria after 412 (the end of the patriarchate of THEOPHILOS of Alexandria is the last event mentioned). While from the Greek original only a parchment leaf of the early 5th C. survives (P. Berol. 13296), an awkward Latin translation of ca.700 is preserved in a single MS (Paris B.N. lat. 4884). The name Barbarus Scaligeri was given for its first editor, the humanist Joseph Justus Scaliger (1540–1609).

The chronicle consists of three sections: a world history from Adam to the fall of Cleopatra; a list of rulers (Assyrian, Egyptian, Greek, Persian, etc.) to which lists of Jewish high priests and Roman emperors have been added; and a list of Roman consuls from Caesar to 387. The list of emperors, which extends to Anastasios I, is considered an interpolation. The chronicle of Barbarus Scaligeri was based on older chronicles by Hippolytos, Sextus Julius Africanus, and Eusebios.

The Greek parchment leaf contains colored, strip illustrations paralleling the papyrus Goleniščev of the so-called ALEXANDRIAN WORLD CHRONICLE: it has busts of saints, a scene of martyrdom, and one of the earliest representations of the walls of Constantinople (H. Lietzmann in *Quantulacumque. Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* [London 1937] 339–48).

ED. C. Frick, *Chronica minora*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1892) 183–371.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie*, vol. 2.1 (Leipzig 1885; rp. New York 1967) 316–29. F. Jacoby, *RE* 6 (1909) 1566–76. R. Klein, *LMA* 4:156. –B.B., A.K., A.C.

BARBER (κουρεύς). Information on barbers is scanty, despite the important role HAIR-cutting played in Byz. (e.g., through the monastic TONSURE, or as a form of punishment, or as an expres-

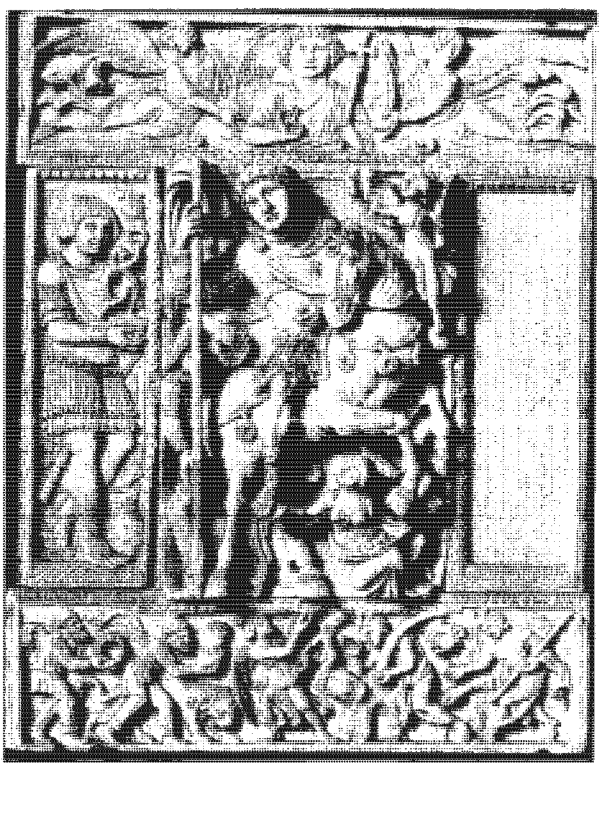
sion of social attitudes through growing a BEARD). In late antiquity there were professional barbers, and Diocletian established the price of a haircut as 2 denaria. According to the *Miracles* of Kosmas and Damianos, a butcher could become a barber; he needed only special tools, *kourika ergaleia*, and some funds (around 50 nomismata) to set up a shop (H.J. Magoulias, *BS* 37 [1976] 28f). Some barbers worked in the precincts of churches; in the 14th C. Matthew Blastares mentioned barbershops operating at Hagia Sophia alongside the shops of PERFUME sellers (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:483.6–7). There were also barbers at the imperial palace; according to a legend, Emp. Julian dismissed all of them but one (Theoph. 47.12). Law codes (e.g., *Basil.* 60.11.1) mention barbers working near playgrounds.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:199f. –Ap.K.

BARBERINI IVORY (Paris, Louvre, inv. no. OA 9063), carved ivory panel that takes its name from the cardinal-legate whose collection it entered in 1625. The ivory is often assumed, with insufficient reason, to be one leaf of the so-called five-part DIPTYCHS. The mounted emperor is usually said to be Anastasios I; the suggestion that he represents Justinian I (D.H. Wright, 3rd *BSC Abstracts* [1977] 6f) is more likely to be correct. The right panel is now missing, but the military figure to the emperor's left, presenting a wreath-bearing NIKE, lends some support to the notion that ivories such as this were presented to the emperor rather than by him. The PERSONIFICATION of Terra (Earth) at his feet and the Indians and other BARBARIANS making offerings in the lower panel complete a selection of figures deriving from Roman imperial iconography. The pagan themes of tribute to majesty, of victory, and of prosperity are, however, christened by the beardless Lord set axially above the earthly ruler among cosmological symbols. The thesis that the central panel is a replacement (P. Speck, *Varia II* [Berlin 1987] 348–53) is unlikely, given that all four preserved panels bear liturgical notations written on the back, indicating that they were in Gaul as early as ca.613 (E. Hlawitschka, *Rheinische Vierteljahrsblätter* 43 [1979] 1–99).

LIT. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.48. –A.C.

BARBERINI IVORY. The Barberini ivory. Musée du Louvre, Paris.



BARDANES, GEORGE, church official and metropolitan; born Athens second half of 12th C., died ca.1240. Bardanes (Βαρδάνης) was a central figure and spokesman, along with John APOKAUKOS and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, for the ecclesiastical independence of EPIROS from the patriarch at Nicaea in the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople. He began his career studying in Athens with Archbp. Michael CHONIATES; when Choniates went into exile on Keos after 1205, Bardanes served him as *hypomnematographos* and *chartophylax* (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1975] 262f). He represented Choniates in Constantinople in 1214 in the discussions with Cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO and by 1218 was serving in the bishopric of Grevena, still with the title of *chartophylax*. Strongly recommended by Apokaukos, his friend and correspondent on matters of canon law (M.Th. Fögen in *Cupido Legum* 47–71), Bardanes was appointed metropolitan of Kerkyra in 1219 by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, without consulting the patriarch at Nicaea. He contributed much to the schism between the churches, officially declared in a letter to Patr. GERMANOS II, written by

Bardanes in 1228 on behalf of the Epirot clergy (R.-J. Loenertz, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 87–118), and ended in 1233 by another letter of Bardanes. In 1235/6 Manuel Angelos sent him on an embassy to Frederick II and Pope Gregory IX, but illness prevented him from fulfilling his mission. While convalescing at the monastery of St. Nicholas of Casole at Otranto, Bardanes took part in a discussion with a Franciscan, Fra Bartolomeo, on purgatory, of which Bardanes has left an account.

ed. Letters in Latin tr.—J.M. Hoeck, R.-J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole* (Ettal 1965) 117–28, 148–235. *On Purgatory*—M. Roncaglia, *Georges Bardanes, métropolite de Corfou, et Barthélemy de l'Ordre franciscain* (Rome 1953) 56–71. A. Acconcia Longo, "Per la storia di Corfou nel XIII secolo," *RSBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 209–29.

lit. Nicol, *Epiros I* 82f, 115–21. G. Prinzing, "Die *Antigraphe* des Patriarchen Germanos II. an Erzbischof Demetrios Chomatenos von Ohrid und die Korrespondenz zum nikäisch-epirotischen Konflikt 1212–33," *RSBS* 3 (1984) 21–64. –R.J.M.

BARDANES TOURKOS (Βαρδάνης ὁ ἐπίκλην Τοῦρκος), unsuccessful rebel in 803. Of Armenian origin, Bardanes was a *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Anatolikon under Nikephoros I (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 150); he is probably to be identified with the *patrikios* Bardanios who, as *domestikos ton scholon* under Constantine VI, arrested Plato of Sakkoudion and, as *strategos* of the Thrakesion, supported Irene against Constantine in 797 (Guilland, *Titres*, pt.IX [1970] 339f). In 803 Emp. Nikephoros I appointed Bardanes "*monostrategos* of the five eastern themes" (*TheophCont* 6.14–16), probably anticipating an offensive against the Arabs. On 18 July Bardanes was proclaimed emperor reportedly for economic reasons: Nikephoros may not have paid the troops, Bardanes had equitably distributed booty from Arab campaigns, or Bardanes may have opposed the high taxes of Nikephoros. His supporters included Michael (II), Leo (V), and Thomas the Slav.

According to several Byz. sources (Genes. 6.4–7.36; *TheophCont* 7), before his revolt Bardanes visited a holy man who prophesied that his rebellion would fail, Michael and Leo would each reign, and Thomas would himself instigate a revolt. The Armeniakon troops refused to join Bardanes, who unsuccessfully besieged Chrysoupolis for eight days. Michael and Leo deserted him, and Bardanes withdrew to Malagina to negotiate with Nikephoros, who apparently used Joseph of Kathara as an intermediary (see Moechian Controversy). Receiving a written guarantee of safety confirmed by Patr. Tarasios, in Sept. Bardanes took refuge in the monastery of Herakleion in the port of Kios (in Bithynia), where he became a monk under the name Sabbas. He moved to a monastery that he had built on Prote, but Nikephoros confiscated his property, arrested his supporters, and blinded him.

lit. E. Kountoura-Galake, "He epanastase tou Bardane Tourkou," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 203–15. S. Mauromate-Katsougiannopoulou, "He epanastase tou strategou Bardane stis synchrones kai metagenesteres aphegematikes peges," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 217–36. Kaegi, *Unrest* 245–47. Bury, *ERE* 10–14. –P.A.H.

BARDAS (Βάρδας), caesar; died 21 Apr. 866 (*TheophCont* 206.13). An Armenian from Paphlagonia (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 136) and brother of Empress Theodora and Petronas, Bardas began his career in the military. In 837 Emp. Theophilos, who entitled him *patrikios*, sent him with Theophobos into Abchasia, where he was defeated. He may have played a small role during Theodora's regency for Michael III, but after helping Michael dethrone her by assassinating Theoktistos, he was named *chartoularios tou kanikleiou, magistros*, and then *domestikos ton scholon*. In 859 Michael entitled his uncle *kouropalates* and on 26 Apr. 862 crowned him as caesar.

An outstanding administrator, Bardas was responsible for many achievements of Michael's reign, including the baptism of Boris I of Bulgaria, the mission of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios to Moravia, and the election of Patr. Photios. Bardas contributed to the revival of secular learning by organizing a school in the Magnaura and patronizing scholars such as Leo the Mathematician (Lemerle, *Humanism* 183f). From his first marriage he had two sons—one he named *domestikos ton scholon*, another a *strategos*—and one daughter. He married his second wife, Theodosia, ca.855 and divorced her ca.862, but probably continued to live with his daughter-in-law Eudokia Ingerina, who had joined his household after the death of his eldest son, apparently ca.857. According to Niketas David Paphlagon (PG 105:504C), Bardas deposed Patr. Ignatios for condemning his relationship with Eudokia as

incestuous. Bardas was assassinated by Basil (I) while campaigning with Michael in Asia Minor. Following other numerous scenes from his life, this last event is depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* no.195) in a manner suggesting that Michael III was responsible for Bardas's death.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:437. F. Dvornik, "Patriarch Ignatius and Caesar Bardas," *BS* 27 (1966) 7–22.
–P.A.H., A.C.

BAR HEBRAEUS. See GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ.

BARI (Βάρις), Adriatic port in Apulia, occupied by the Byz. in 875/6 and used as a military base during their recovery of southern Italy under Basil I. In 893 Bari became the residence of the *strategos* of Longobardia and later of the KATEPANO of Italy. The NORMANS conquered the city in 1071. The population of Bari was predominantly Lombard, the local language was Latin, and the ecclesiastical rite was and remained Roman Catholic throughout the Byz. period. As the capital of Byz. Italy for almost 200 years, however, Bari experienced the presence of a conspicuous number of non-Italian officials, the immigration of new inhabitants from all parts of the empire (Greeks, Armenians, and Jews), and frequent contacts between the local upper class and Constantinople. In fact, 11th-C. documentation shows that many members of the upper class of Bari were bilingual and acquired Byz. tastes in art and literature. According to the local annals (MGH *SS* 5:51–63), Bari was also the center of Italian opposition to the Byz. government. There is some evidence of trade between Bari and the empire. In 1087, local merchants brought the relics of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA to Bari. The church of the city's new patron saint, Nicholas, was built on the site of the Byz. governor's residence (*praetorium*), which was given by Duke Roger to the archbishop of Bari in the same year. Schettini (*infra*) argued that the extant church is actually the remodeled shell of the *katepano*'s palace, but his thesis has been generally rejected, not least because a document attests the destruction of the palace in a revolt of 1079. Many fragments of Byz. sculpture are still preserved in the town.

LIT. V. von Falkenhausen, "Bari bizantina," in *Spazio, società, potere nell'Italia dei Comuni*, ed. G. Rossetti (Naples 1986) 195–227. Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.VIII, 1–22. M. Milella Lovecchio, "La scultura bizantina dell'XI secolo nel museo di San Nicola di Bari," *MEFRM* 93 (1981) 7–87. M. Salvatore, N. Lavermicocca, "Sculture altomedievali e bizantine nel museo di S. Nicola di Bari," *Rivista dell'Istituto nazionale di archeologia e storia dell'arte*[3] 3 (1980) 93–135. F. Schettini, *La Basilica di San Nicola di Bari* (Bari 1967), rev. G. Mörsch, *ZKunst* 31 (1968) 151–58. *Archeologia di una città. Bari dalle origini al X secolo*, ed. G. Andreassi, F. Radino (Bari 1988) 499–589.
–V.v.F., D.K.

BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, prose romance of uncertain date and authorship. "A story beneficial for the soul," it describes the conversion to Christianity of the Indian prince Ioasaph by the hermit Barlaam and the subsequent conversion of King Abenner by his son Ioasaph. The plot provides the opportunity to develop the principles of the Christian creed and its advantages over paganism. One of the most widely read Greek texts of the Middle Ages, *Barlaam and Ioasaph* survives in over 140 MSS, some probably of the 10th C.; the earliest dated MS is from 1021 (B. Fonkič, *AB* 91 [1973] 13–20). The story is of Oriental origin, reflecting to some extent the life of Buddha, but the path of transmission of the legend from India to Byz. is unclear. The date of composition and the authorship of the Greek *Barlaam and Ioasaph* are also under discussion. Scholarly tradition clings primarily to two names: JOHN OF DAMASCUS and EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, who allegedly translated the work from Georgian. Probably neither is to be credited with this achievement, and the work should instead be assigned to an unknown John of Mar Saba of the 9th C.(?), whose name appears on dozens of MSS. *Barlaam and Ioasaph* was translated into various languages, Latin, Slavic, etc.

Five densely illustrated Byz. MSS of *Barlaam and Ioasaph* survive, dating from the 11th C. (Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Stavrou 42) and later. The earliest have purely narrative illustration that closely follows the text, much like that of the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES. Examples of the 13th to 14th C. include miniatures of the FLOOD, the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, and other Old Testament scenes. Paris, B.N. gr. 1128 (14th C.) adds a notable CREATION cycle, as well as scenes of the INFANCY OF CHRIST, MIRACLES OF CHRIST, and PASSION OF CHRIST. It also depicts Barlaam as a monk in its frontispiece and includes scenes and figures, such as CARPENTERS, drawn from everyday life. In all versions, Indian buildings, boats, beds, and other realia are represented as if they were Byz. Only the occasional turban suggests the tale's exotic

setting. The name Ioasaph was adopted by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and several members of the NEMANJID dynasty, who had themselves represented as the monastic hero of the story at STUDENICA and GRAČANICA (V.J. Djurić, *CahArch* 33 [1985] 99–109).

ED. *St. John Damascene: Barlaam and Joasaph*², ed. G.R. Woodward, H. Mattingly (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1967), with Eng. tr. Slavic version—*Povest' o Varlaame i Ioasafe*, ed. I. Lebedeva (Moscow 1985).

LIT. P. Peeters, "La première traduction latine de 'Barlaam et Joasaph' et son original grec," *AB* 49 (1931) 276–312. F. Dölger, *Der griechische Barlaam-Roman* (Ettal 1953). A. Kazhdan, "Where, when and by whom was the Greek Barlaam and Ioasaph not Written," in *Zu Alexander d. Gr. Festschrift G. Wirth zum 60. Geburtstag am 9.12.86*, vol. 2 (Amsterdam 1988) 1187–1209. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration du roman de Barlaam et Joasaph*, 2 vols. (Paris 1937). *Treasures* 2:306–22, figs.53–122.

–E.M.J., M.J.J., A.K., A.C.

BARLAAM OF CALABRIA, theologian; born Seminara, Calabria, ca.1290, died Avignon? June 1348 (A. Pertusi, *ItMedUm* 3 [1960] 108 n.1). Born in southern Italy to an Orthodox family, he became a monk in his youth. In 1330 he moved to Constantinople, where he was *hegoumenos* of the Akataleptos monastery until 1341. A protégé of ANDRONIKOS III, he served as an Orthodox spokesman in Union negotiations in Constantinople and, in 1339, as imperial emissary to the courts of Naples and Paris. A brilliant but arrogant and contentious scholar, in the mid-1330s he began to attack HESYCHASM for both its theology and manner of prayer. He accused Gregory PALAMAS of MESSALIANISM, and argued that the light on Mt. TABOR at the Transfiguration was created and not eternal. His intemperate criticism of the mystical exercises of the monks of Mt. Athos (whom he called *omphalopsychoi*, "with souls in their navels") triggered the controversy over PALAMISM that was to divide the Byz. church for over a decade. The local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) condemned Barlaam and ordered his anti-hesychast writings burned. He returned to the West, converted to Catholicism at Avignon in 1342, and became bishop of Gerace in Calabria (1342–48). At Avignon Barlaam met Petrarch, who was later to study Greek with him. Barlaam was anathematized by the Orthodox church in 1351.

Bilingual, Barlaam left writings in both Latin and Greek. Most of his anti-Palamite works (except for his letters and an unedited disputation with Gregory AKINDYNOS) were destroyed, so his views are known primarily from the rebuttals of his opponents. His 21 anti-Latin treatises on the Procession of the Holy Spirit and papal primacy do survive (in Latin), but are mostly unpublished. Barlaam was also interested in ASTRONOMY and wrote treatises on solar ECLIPSES and the ASTROLABE.

ED. PG 151:1255–82, 1301–64. *Epistole greche*, ed. G. Schirò (Palermo 1954). *Epistole a Palamas*, ed. A. Fyrigos (Rome 1975), with Ital. tr. *Traités sur les éclipses de soleil de 1331 et 1337*, ed. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon (Louvain 1977), with Fr. tr. For further ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 102.

LIT. G. Schirò, *Ho Barlaam kai he philosophia eis ten Thessaloniken* (Thessalonike 1959). Podskalsky, *Theologie* 126–94. *PLP*, no.2284. R.E. Sinkewicz, "The Doctrine of the Knowledge of God in the Early Writings of Barlaam the Calabrian," *MedSt* 44 (1982) 181–242. P. Leone, "Barlaam in Occidente," in *Studi in onore di Mario Marti* (Lecce 1981) 427–46. A. Fyrigos, "Barlaam Calabro tra l'aristotelismo scolastico e il neoplatonismo bizantino," *Il Veltro* 27 (1983) 185–95.

–A.M.T.

BARLEY. See GRAIN.

BARNABAS (Βαρνάβας), apostle and saint; feastday (together with St. Bartholomew) 11 June. Originally from Cyprus, he taught with PAUL in Antioch and Cyprus and thereafter with MARK. He is considered the founder of the Cypriot church. Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 1.12.1) states that some people listed Barnabas among the 70 disciples of Christ. The epistle of Barnabas was seen as authentic by Origen and was included in some MSS of the Bible (e.g., Codex Sinaiticus), but Eusebios and Jerome considered it apocryphal. The New Testament Epistle to the Hebrews was attributed to Barnabas in the 2nd and 3rd C., but Eusebios rejected his authorship. Although the so-called *Gospel According to Barnabas*, a piece of pro-Islamic polemic, has survived only in Italian and Spanish, Cirillo (*infra*) considered it to have descended from an apocryphal work compiled in the Judaeo-Christian milieu before the 5th C.

Byz. legend usually connects Barnabas with Cyprus. His relics, together with a copy of the Gospel of Matthew allegedly copied by Barnabas himself, were discovered under a tree in Cyprus (488?); this tradition was used by the Cypriots as an argument against their dependence on Antioch (THEODORE LECTOR 121.19–23). The Cypriot legend was developed by Alexander the Monk in his

eulogy of Barnabas. Another legend, accepted in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, stressed the connection of Barnabas with PETER—Barnabas was Peter's companion and Peter ordained him; the memory of Barnabas was celebrated in Constantinople in the Church of St. Peter, near Hagia Sophia.

ED. *Évangile de Barnabé*, ed. and tr. L. Cirillo and M. Frémaux (Paris 1977).
LIT. *BHG* 225–226e. L. Cirillo, "Un nuovo Vangelo apocrifo: il Vangelo di Barnaba," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 11 (1975) 391–412. R. Stichel, "Bemerkungen zum Barnabas-Evangelium," *BS* 43 (1982) 189–201. –A.K.

BARSANOUPHIOS (Βαρσανούφιος), monastic writer; died ca.545. An Egyptian by birth, Barsanouphios took up the vocation of a recluse at the *koinobion* of Abba Seridos at Thavatha, near Gaza. Together with another recluse at the same monastery, John "the Prophet," Barsanouphios issued opinions, presumably in Greek, on a wide range of problems presented to him as questions coming from other monks, bishops, and lay people. The responses of the two holy men, called "the Great Old Man" and "the Other Old Man," respectively, were gathered by a now anonymous monk of the monastery into a collection of some 850 questions and answers. As recluses, Barsanouphios and John corresponded with others only through intermediaries. Abba Seridos performed this service for Barsanouphios; the young DOROTHEOS OF GAZA was intermediary for John. The texts of the responses of the two recluses furnish abundant evidence for many of the practical problems churchmen and others encountered in 5th- and 6th-C. Palestine. They approved the ascetical counsels of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, while rejecting his "Origenism." Their teaching was extremely influential in monastic circles. The kernel of their ascetical advice is the constant admonition to cultivate an attitude of freedom from anxiety and reliance on God.

ED. S.N. Schoinas, *Nikodemou Hagioreitou Biblos Barsanouphiou kai Ioannou* (Volos 1960). "Barsanuphius and John: Questions and Answers," ed. D.J. Chitty, PO 31 (1966) 447–616. Fr. tr. L. Regnault, P. Lemaire, B. Outtier, *Barsanuphe et Jean de Gaza, Correspondance* (Solesmes 1972).
LIT. Chitty, *Desert* 132–40. –S.H.G.

BARSAUMA, or Barsumas, metropolitan of Nisibis (from ca.470); born in northern Persia (as a slave?) between about 415 and 420, died 496. Educated in Edessa by IBAS of Edessa, he eagerly joined the Nestorians, stirring up such a hatred of the Monophysites that the "Robber" Council of Ephesus (449) demanded his expulsion from Ephesus. After the death of Ibas in 457, Barsauma left Edessa and settled in Nisibis, where he was elected bishop. He successfully contested the authority of Babaway, metropolitan of Ktesiphon-Seleukeia, and with the help of the Persian king Pērōz (459–84) brought about the deposition of the metropolitan and a flogging that proved fatal; Barsauma's friend Akakios was appointed as Babaway's successor. Barsauma opposed the requirement of celibacy for the clergy and was himself married to a former nun. He founded the academy of Nisibis and invited NARSAI OF EDESSA to teach there. A Syriac catalog of ʿABDĪSHŌʿ BAR BERĪKĀ lists his sermons, hymns, and other works, of which six short letters (in Syriac) to Akakios of Ktesiphon have survived. At the end of his life Barsauma opposed the HENOTIKON and the increasing influence of the Monophysites.

ED. O. Braun, ed., "Des Barṣauma von Nisibis Briefe an den Katholikos Aḳaḳ," in *Actes du Xe Congrès des Orientalistes, Génève, 1894* (Leiden 1896), pt.3, sect.2:83–101.
LIT. S. Gero, *Barṣauma of Nisibis and Persian Christianity in the Fifth Century* (Louvain 1981). J. Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'empire perse sous la dynastie sassanide*[2] (Paris 1904) 131–52. G. Bardy, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 948–50. J.-M. Sauget, *DPAC* 1:484–86. –A.K.

BARTER ECONOMY. Alongside the Byz. monetary economy there existed an element of barter that took various forms. First, small-scale producers may have exchanged their products in local markets, as did the 9th-C. peasant Metrios at a FAIR; but there he met a merchant who conducted his business in large amounts of cash (*Synax.CP* 721.30–34). Barter could be a first stage in transactions that eventually became monetized, as is evident by the development of Athonite trade (a clear case of barter is found in the vita of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS [vita A, ed. Noret, par.38.9–30]; see also *Prot.* nos. 7.99–100, 8.99–100). Second, some taxes were paid in kind, not in the Byz. Empire proper but rather in outlying provinces. The Bulgarians, after the conquests of Basil II, were allowed to pay their taxes in kind. The conversion of these taxes into payments in cash, during the reign Michael IV, caused a revolt. Third, foreign trade occasionally took the form of an exchange of commodities. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (9.6) describes a classic barter situation:

Bulgarians or other non-Byz. go to Constantinople to exchange their goods; the linen merchants, acting as brokers, find the [Byz.] merchants who have the appropriate commodities and receive a commission, in cash, for their services. It is important to note the juxtaposition of a barter economy, resulting from the needs of outsiders, and the cash economy in which the Byz. merchants themselves operated. There is, finally, another type of barter, involving services. Professionals of one sort or another might receive their salary partly in cash and partly in kind; these include, for example, the bishops and priests of rural areas and the doctors of the hospital of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople.

Given the fact that taxes were collected overwhelmingly in cash and cash transactions were commonplace, the role of barter must not be exaggerated. The importance of barter may have increased somewhat in the 7th–8th C., but in general its role was secondary to the dominant cash economy.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii xi–xii vv.," *VizOč* 2 (1971) 200f. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 241–55. –A.L.

BARTHOLOMEW (Βαρθολομαῖος), apostle, treated as one of the Twelve, and saint; feastday in Constantinople (together with St. BARNABAS) 11 June. Byz. legends present Bartholomew as teaching in Asia Minor where, together with PHILIP, he suffered a martyr's death in Hierapolis. Already Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 5.10.3) was aware of Bartholomew's journey to "India" (Ethiopia or Arabia?), whither Bartholomew brought the Gospel of Matthew written in Hebrew. Eventually, the legend developed that he was crucified in Arbanoupolis in Armenia, whence his relics were brought in a lead casket first to Benevento and then to Lipari. Armenian texts from the 7th C. onward claimed that Bartholomew died and was buried in "Urbanopolis of Great Armenia," which, according to van Esbroeck, was a new name for Nikopolis of Pontos. The presence in Armenia of one of the Twelve Apostles (not merely that of Thaddeus, one of the 70) served as a justification for Armenian ecclesiastical autonomy. In Byz. the veneration of Bartholomew was probably connected with Thessalonike: there, Joseph the Hymnographer received the relics of "the great apostle" and soon after built (in Thessalonike?) the Church of Bartholomew (PG 105:964A). Several eulogies of Bartholomew were compiled (e.g., by Theodore of Stoudios).

LIT. *BHG* 227–232f. F. Spadafora, *Bibl.sanct.* 2:852–62. M. van Esbroeck, "The Rise of Saint Bartholomew's Cult in Armenia," *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984) 161–78. –A.K.

BARUCH (Βαρούχ), legendary friend and companion of JEREMIAH; pseudonymous author of several Hebrew and Judaeo-Christian apocalyptic books. The Book of Baruch or Baruch I, which develops the theme of sin and repentance, became popular with Christian theologians; it was commented on by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and (in the 7th C.?) John the Droungarios. Theodoret (PG 81:761A) juxtaposed Baruch with Paul ("the divine apostle") and stressed the concordance between Old Testament and New Testament. Baruch II is a Syriac Apocalypse, probably of the early 2nd C. Baruch III, which may also date to the 2nd C., has survived in only two Greek MSS of the 15th–16th C. and—in different forms—in Slavic versions. It is accepted that Origen knew Baruch III and that it was written before 231, even though ORIGEN (*First Principles* 2.3.6) found "clear indication of the seven worlds or heavens," where Baruch III speaks of Baruch's ascent to the five heavens: the first two of these house sinners; the third a dragon, a sea, primal rivers, the garden of Eden (?), the sun with the Phoenix, and the moon; the fourth, the souls of the righteous; the fifth, the angels.

ED. J.C. Picard, *Apocalypsis Baruchi Graece* (Leiden 1967).
LIT. M. Faulhaber, *Die Propheten-Catenen nach römischen Handschriften* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1899) 129f. E. Turdeanu, "L'*Apocalypse de Baruch* en slave," *RES* 48 (1969) 23–48. –J.I., A.K.

BASIL (Βασίλειος), personal name (meaning "imperial, royal"). Unknown in antiquity and in the New Testament, the name first appeared in the 4th C. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 48; *PLRE* 1:148f). Relatively rare in the early centuries (Theophanes the Confessor lists only four Basils), it became more popular in the 10th and 11th C. when, for example, Skylitzes mentions 25 Basils, almost as many as THEODORE (26); it is perhaps no coincidence that the two emperors named Basil ruled in the 9th–11th C. In the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), however, Basil occupies

only the eighth place among male names. The puns based on the etymology of the name are self-evident: thus Photios (*Epistulae* 3:42.1346) called Basil the Great "the imperial (*basileios*) attire of the church." –A.K.

BASIL, archbishop of Seleukeia (from ca.440); ecclesiastical writer; died after 468. Basil vacillated publicly and dramatically in his attitude toward Eutyches and Monophysitism—either from opportunism or genuine changes of heart. He first opposed the Monophysites at Constantinople in 448, supported them the next year at the "Robber" Council of Ephesus, and finally subscribed to their condemnation at Chalcedon in 451 (M. van Parys, *Irénikon* 44 [1971] 493–514).

Forty-one biblical sermons survive under his name, though at least two (nos. 38–39) are spurious; six pseudo-Athanasian sermons (PG 28:1047–61, 1073–1108) are now, however, attributed to him. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.168) read 15 of Basil's homilies, noting the exegetical influence of Basil the Great and John Chrysostom; he approved their content but found the style too pretentious. Basil's taste for dramatic form has led to his being credited with an influence on the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melode (P. Maas, *BZ* 19 [1910] 285–306). G. Dagron (*Vie et miracles de sainte Thècle* [Brussels 1978] 13–19) has argued that Basil is not the author of the vita and Miracles of Thekla, as is usually thought. According to Photios, however, he did write a poetical version of her *Acta*, which has not survived.

ed. PG 85:10–618. P. Camelot, "Une homélie inédite de Basile de Séleucie," in *Mélanges A.-M. Desrousseaux* (Paris 1937) 35–48. *Homélies pascales*, ed. M. Aubineau (Paris 1972) 167–277, with Fr. tr.

lit. B. Marx, "Der homiletische Nachlass des Basileios von Seleukeia," *OrChrP* 7 (1941) 329–69. M. López-Salvá, "Los *Thaumata* de Basilio de Seleucia," *Cuadernos de filología clásica* 3 (1972) 217–319. –B.B., A.M.T.

BASIL I, emperor (867–86) and founder of the Macedonian dynasty; born Thrace or Macedonia 830 or 835 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 20 [1911] 486–91) or on 25 May 836 (Adontz, *Etudes* 67), died Constantinople 29 Aug. 886. Of peasant origin, Basil had a brilliant career under Michael III, was crowned co-emperor in 866, and became emperor after Michael's murder 23/4 Sept. 867. In the Vita Basilii Constantine VII described Basil (his grandfather) as an ideal ruler concerned with fiscal administration, justice, and protecting the poor and catalogued the many structures, including the Nea Ekklesia and the Kainourgion in the Great Palace, that he built or restored. Basil's known reforms reveal his tendency to strengthen state control over economic life: he prohibited the exaction of interest and tried (but failed) to require peasants to pay taxes for abandoned neighboring lands. He stimulated the restoration of Roman law and promulgated the Procheiron and the Epanagoge.

Basil faced resistance of various sorts: the rebellion of slaves of his cousin Asylaion was crushed; in 872 Basil's general Christopher routed the Paulicians; John Kourkouas organized an aristocratic plot in 883–85. There were also troubles within the family: Leo, Basil's son and heir, was imprisoned, allegedly slandered by Santabarenos, and reconciliation was achieved only just before Basil's death. Basil fought the Arabs both in the East and in Italy. He seized Zapetra and Samosata in 873 but suffered defeat at Melitene; in 878 Andrew the Scythian won a victory at Podandos but retreated from Tarsos. The successes of Nasar and Nikephoros Phokas in southern Italy only partly compensated for the Byz. loss of Syracuse. In Italy Basil sought an alliance with both Louis II and the papacy; he had to yield to Pope Nicholas I and replace Photios with Ignatios. Basil succeeded in occupying Cyprus for seven years. He died after a hunting accident. Together with members of his family, he is portrayed at the start of the Paris Gregory MS.

sources. *TheophCont* 211–353. A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile I par son fils Léon VI le Sage* (Rome 1932). Gy. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I.," *DOP* 15 (1961) 59–126.

lit. A. Vogt, *Basile Ier, empereur de Byzance (867–886)* (Paris 1908). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:1–114. B.N. Blysidou, "Symbole ste melete tes exoterikes politikes tou Basileiou A΄ ste dekaetia 867–877," *Symmeikta* 4 (1981) 301–15. E. Kislinger, "Der junge Basileios I. und die Bulgaren," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 137–50. –A.K., A.C.

BASIL I, grand duke of Moscow and Vladimir (1389–1425); born 1371, died Moscow 28 Feb. 1425. Son of Dimitrij Donskoj, he was sent in his youth as a hostage to the Golden Horde. Soon after Basil succeeded his father as grand duke,

he married the Lithuanian princess Sophia (1391). He annexed Nižni Novgorod and withstood the incursion of TIMUR in 1395. In 1393 Basil objected to the commemoration of Emp. Manuel II in the diptychs by the pro-Byz. metropolitan KIPRIAN, reportedly saying, "We have a church but no emperor." It was in response to this incident that Patr. ANTONY IV sent his letter defending the universal sovereignty of the Byz. emperor. Good relations were soon restored, however, between Basil and Constantinople, for in 1398 Basil sent the Byz. emperor funds to assist in defending the capital against the Ottoman siege. In 1413 (P. Schreiner, *BZ* 63 [1970] 294) or 1414 (Barker, *Manuel II* 345) Basil's young daughter Anna was married to the Byz. crown prince John (VIII) Palaiologos; she died in 1417 of the plague. Basil, his Lithuanian wife, his daughter Anna, and her Byz. husband are all depicted on the so-called "Large Sakkos" of Metr. Photios (1408–31), probably made between 1414 and 1417 (D. Obolensky, *EChR* 4 [1972] 141–46).

LIT. Meyendorff, *Russia* 244f, 254–57. *PLP*, no.2387. Obolensky, *Commonwealth* 264–67. L.V. Čerepnin, *Obrazovanie Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV–XV vekach* (Moscow 1960) 663–743. –A.M.T.

BASIL I, ANONYMOUS POEM ABOUT, a work in 12–syllable verses, probably written before 872, since the author prays for the emperor's victory over "the friends of Mani," i.e., the PAULICIANS. The beginning is lost. The author praises BASIL I as a *megas basileus* whose deeds surpass those of all other emperors and who has succeeded in subjugating "false tribes." At the same time he emphasizes that Basil is a peacemaker (*eirenopoios*), "the lord of tranquility," far removed from "impious struggles," who pursues justice and treats *archontes* and the poor alike. The panegyric is strikingly similar to the epitaph of LEO VI for his father, as well as the VITA BASILII and GENESIOS; the anonymous poet stressed more emphatically than these writers the humble origin of his hero, and compared Basil with DAVID. This theme was apparently an element of official propaganda, since on a mosaic in the Kainourgion palace Basil's children were depicted as praising God who raised their father up "from Davidian poverty" (*TheophCont* 335.2–3).

ED. *Alexandri Lycopolitani contra Manichaei opiniones disputatio*, ed. A. Brinkmann (Leipzig 1895) xvi–xxii.

LIT. Gy. Moravcsik, "Sagen und Legenden über Kaiser Basileios I," *DOP* 15 (1961) 63–70 (modern Gr. version in *Eis mnemen Konstantinou Amantou* [Athens 1960] 1–10). –A.K.

BASIL II, emperor (976–1025); born 958, died Constantinople 15 Dec. 1025. Crowned in 960, Basil and his brother CONSTANTINE VIII succeeded on the death of JOHN I TZIMISKES. Until his exile in 985, the *parakoimomenos* Basil LEKAPENOS exercised power; thereafter, Basil II governed. The rebellions of Bardas SKLEROS and Bardas PHOKAS were overcome with aid from VLADIMIR I of Kiev, to whom Basil married his sister ANNA. The revolts convinced him to curb the wealthy landholders. His law of 996 limited their rights to acquire their poor neighbors' properties; monastic lands were restricted. Basil forced landlords to pay the ALLELENGYON of their poor neighbors. Nevertheless, the magnates remained powerful; numerous families that later became prominent originated in Basil's reign (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 255–58). He fought to destroy the Bulgarian state led by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. His first campaign (986) ended in disaster at TRAJAN'S GATE. Rebellions and the need to oppose the FĀṬIMIDS in northern Syria delayed further action.

From 1001, when he made a durable peace with the Fāṭimid caliph, Basil campaigned repeatedly against the Bulgarians. In 1014 at Kleidion (Slavic Belasica, near the river Struma) he captured a large Bulgarian force; allegedly, he blinded 14,000, allowing one man in 100 to retain one eye. Stunned by this catastrophe, Samuel died. Bulgarian resistance continued until 1018. Basil's conquests were organized into the themes of PARISTRION and BULGARIA. By the late 12th C., he was called "Bulgar-Slayer" (Boulgaroktonos). Croatia and Serbia became Byz. dependencies.

Basil forced DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO to promise his lands to Byz. upon his death, and in 1000 Basil acquired most of them. In 1021–22 he defeated a Georgian effort to recover David's territories, which became the theme of IBERIA (V. Stepanenko, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 211–14). In 1022 the king of VASPURAKAN ceded his realm, which also became a theme. Around 1001 Basil had offered a marriage alliance to OTTO III. Late in life, he planned aggressive expansion against Sicily and even the Western Empire.

Despite his wars, Basil's prudent government



BASIL II. Image of the emperor; prefatory miniature to a Psalter (Venice, Marciana gr. 17, fol.1r). The triumphant emperor is crowned by both the archangel Gabriel and Christ and is given a lance by the archangel Michael. At his feet, his defeated enemies; to his left and right, framed busts of military saints.

enriched the treasury. Devoted to military life, he refused to marry. Basil is depicted crowned by Christ, with his enemies in PROSKYNESIS, in a psalter in Venice (Marc. Z.17—A. Cutler, *ArtVen* 31 [1977] 9–15). He was the recipient of the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

LIT. Rosen, *Vasilij Bolgarobojca*. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 46–79, 132–41. Ohnsorge, *Abend.& Byz.* 288–316.

–C.M.B., A.C.

BASIL II KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 1183–Feb. 1186 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 261–63]). His career before the patriarchate is described in two unpublished speeches, by Gregory ANTIOCHOS and Leo Balianites, also a contemporary. A member of the KAMATEROS family, Basil served Manuel I primarily as a diplomat, but his mission to Rome (in 1169?) ended in a fiasco, and he was (temporarily?) banished. As a man out of favor with Manuel, Basil was welcomed by Andronikos I, who had troubles with Patr. THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES; compelled to abdicate, Theodosios was replaced by Basil. Immediately Basil nullified Theodosios's prohibition of the marriage between the illegitimate imperial offspring Irene and Alexios (despite their being close relatives) and freed the murderers of Alexios II from their solemn vow to be his guardians. The speech of Antiochos contains vague allusions to Basil's ecclesiastical reforms: "The all-encompassing house of the church has been swept clean," he says; no longer decked out in superficial ornament, the church stood now in all its natural beauty. The execution of Andronikos meant the end of Basil's success. Even though he tried to gain the favor of the new ruler, Isaac II Angelos, by crowning him and by promulgating a synodal declaration that noblewomen forced by Andronikos to enter convents could return to secular status, Isaac did not want to retain a staunch supporter of his predecessor on the patriarchal throne; Basil had to abdicate and was condemned by the synod for permitting the marriage of Alexios and Irene. His subsequent fate is unknown.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1162–67. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 207–11. Brand, *Byzantium* 48f, 77f. L. Bréhier, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 1129f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.25bis.

–A.K.

BASILAKES (Βασιλάκης, fem. Βασιλακίνα), a family of Armenian or Paphlagonian origin. According to Matthew of Edessa, the noble Armenian Vasilak fell at the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. Nikephoros Basilakes made an unsuccessful attempt to usurp the throne in 1078 (see BASILAKES, NIKEPHOROS). George Basilakes was *protoproedros* in 1094/5; he or his homonym participated in a plot against Alexios I. The will of Kale (Maria) Basilakina, produced between 1098 and 1113 (G. Litavrin, *Starinar* n.s. 20 [1970] 185–90; *VizOč* 2 [1971] 164–68), provides some data concerning the family's affiliations and estates: they intermarried with the DABATENOI and PAKOURIANOI and had high titles, including that of *kouropalates*; Kale-Maria owned the village of RADOLIBOS granted her by Alexios I. By the mid-12th C. the position of the Basilakes family declined and they entered civil service. Constantine was envoy and treasurer "of foreign expenses" (*ton ep'allo-*

dapes chrematon—Regel, *Fontes* 2:235.21); both warrior and intellectual, he perished in the war against the Sicilian Normans. Other known members of the family were insignificant provincial officials: John was nephew of John TZETZES, Michael acted as *logariastes* in the Miletos region in the early 13th C.; Basilakes, *nomikos* (?) in Mistra ca.1296, was a scribe and poet.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 103–06; *PLP*, nos. 2367–68.
–A.K.

BASILAKES, NIKEPHOROS, theologian and writer; born ca.1115, died after 1182 (cf. A. Garzya, *BZ* 64 [1971] 301f). Born to a noble family (that was, however, losing its preeminent position), Basilakes served as imperial notary and then as *didaskalos* of the Apostle at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (ca.1140). According to his own testimony, he was very popular because he introduced new techniques of teaching. He belonged to the circle of JOHN II and delivered panegyrics of both the emperor and his supporters, such as John AXOUCH and John KOMNENOS, archbishop of Bulgaria. Involved in a dogmatic dispute begun by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, Basilakes was condemned in 1156/7 and exiled to Philippopolis (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 389–92). His subsequent career is unknown, although some letters from this period survive. He probably dedicated his time to writing; ca.1160 he produced a collection of his works with an introduction, in which he described his education, teaching, and literary activity, mentioning among other works four comedies or satires now lost. Basilakes produced both PROGYMNASMATA and panegyrics and monodies, dedicated to his contemporaries (e.g., the monody on his brother Constantine). Conventional in style, these works abound in antique imagery. A unique speech of indictment against a certain Bagoas presents the biography of an average man, son of a fisherman from Constantinople and a Scythian (Cuman?) woman from Cimmerian Bosporos. Bagoas, who was a catamite according to Basilakes, received a good education, pretended to be pious, and with the help of some monks wormed his way into the Palace. He also committed a sacrilege by inciting a certain Hierotheos to smear honey on icons in a church.

ED. *Orationes et epistulae*, ed. A. Garzya (Leipzig 1984). *Progimnasmi e monodie*, ed. A. Pignani (Naples 1983).

LIT. A. Garzya, "Un lettré du milieu du XIIe siècle: Nicéphore Basilakès," *RESEE* 8 (1970) 611–21. Idem, "Precisazioni sul processo di Niceforo Basilace," *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 309–16. Idem, "Une rédaction byzantine du mythe de Pasiphaé," *Le parole e le idee* 9 (1967) 222–26.
–A.K.

BASIL ELACHISTOS ("the least"), archbishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia (mid-10th C.); according to R. Cantarella (*BZ* 25 [1925] 293), he was born in Seleukeia. Basil wrote a commentary on the speeches of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, dedicating the work to CONSTANTINE VII. In the text he calls fortunate those cities which have philosophers as emperors (p.6.3–4); in his commentary on the epitaph of BASIL THE GREAT (p.25.3–18), the hero's upbringing is strikingly like that of BASIL I in the biography written by Constantine VII. Basil's commentary encompasses ancient mythology and philosophy (e.g., refutation of Democritus's concept of the existence of manifold worlds), rhetoric, painting, and sculpture; references to contemporary events are rare. J. Sajdak (*Historia critica scholiastarum et commentatorum Gregorii Nazianzeni* [Krakow 1914] 59–61) wrongly identified Basil with St. BASIL THE YOUNGER.

ED. R. Cantarella, "Basilio Minimo. II.," *BZ* 26 (1926) 3–34. PG 36:1073–1205.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 597. –A.K.

BASILEOPATOR (*βασιλ⟨ε⟩οπάτωρ*, lit. the "emperor's father"), the office of protector or tutor of a young emperor. According to the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 101.1–2), this office was created by Leo VI and occupied the highest rung on the ladder of offices; Philotheos listed it among the "special" *axiai* (ibid. 109.1–2). The title was invented in the late 9th C. for Stylianos ZAOUTZES, the father of Zoe, second wife of Leo VI; a few years later Romanos (I) Lekapenos was granted the same title (Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Symmeikta* 2 [1970] 60) before he became caesar. According to Liutprand of Cremona, Leo Phokas ardently desired to become *pater vasilleos*. There is no evidence that the title was in use after the 10th C. It was employed without a technical meaning in some texts anterior to the 9th C. and by some 10th-C. authors referring to the earlier period; thus, Symeon Metaphrastes, in the Life of Arsenios (died ca.445), said that the saint was the tutor of the emperor's

sons and was called *basileopator*. L. Rydén (*AB* 100 [1982] 494f) finds a reflection of this title also in the revised version of the vita of Philaretos the Merciful. After 1259, Michael VIII's supporters tried to reintroduce the *basileopatoria* (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:105.13–16), which they found appropriate for the REGENT of the young emperor, John IV Laskaris.

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Title or Office of Basileopator," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 278–80. –A.K.

BASILEUS (βασιλεύς), the main title of the Byz. emperor. Roman antiroyalism had camouflaged imperial monarchy behind the titles of *imperator-autokrator* and *augustus*. In the Greek East's literature and everyday speech, however, the Hellenistic royal title *basileus* (king) predominated for the emperors by the time of Constantine I (A. Wifstrand in *Dragma Martino P. Nilsson a.d. IV Id. Iul MCMXXXIX dedicatum* [Lund-Leipzig 1939] 529–39) and prevailed outside of 4th–6th-C. official documents. The emergence of barbarian kingdoms in the West imposed a distinction between universal monarchy—official documents in Constantinople seem to have used the term *basileus* for only the Persian shah—and these lesser rulers, whose Latin title *rex* was transliterated into Greek, while *basileus* increasingly was understood as "emperor" in unofficial usage. Common parlance, biblical example, and Hellenistic theories of kingship probably combined with Persia's final collapse to encourage Herakleios to replace the traditional title AUTOKRATOR with *pistos en Christo basileus* in an edict issued in 629, which symbolized the empire's progressive hellenization (cf. I. Shahid, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 288–96). A century later, the title began to appear on silver coins of Leo III and on gold coinage under Constantine VI.

The additional qualifier "of the Romans" (*basileus Rhomaion*) also goes far back in popular usage, but first appears on imperial seals in 654–68 (Zacos, *Seals* 1:19, no.18) and, for example, on Constantine IV's subscription to the Third Council of Constantinople (680). An imperial document's *intitulatio* uses it in connection with the Second Council of Nicaea (24 Sept. 787; *Reg* 1, no.346), but the combination first gained wide publicity on miliaresia of Emp. Michael I Rangabe, in obvious response to Charlemagne's imperial dignity (*DOC* 3.1:178). This Byz. assertion of Roman legitimacy sparked numerous disputes in diplomacy with Western rulers; the qualifier became the rule in chrysobulls and diplomatic letters down to 1453 (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 141–48), but disappeared from coinage after Nikephoros III Botaneiates, except for a brief reappearance under the Palaiologoi (V. Laurent, *Cronica numismatică şi arheologică* 15 [1940] 198–217). From the 9th C. onward, *megas basileus* is sometimes equivalent to the contemporary meaning of *autokrator*.

Use for Foreign Rulers. The applicability of the term *basileus* to foreign rulers started to cause problems for Byz. when its Christian neighbors began to challenge the Greek monopoly on the imperial status. As for the German emperor, the Byz. accorded him the title *basileus* of the Franks (but not RHOMAIOI, Romans); a greater threat was the claim of the Bulgarian ruler to the title "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi and Bulgarians." By the end of the 12th C. the nonofficial use of the term *basileus* for foreigners became common: Niketas Choniates calls Roger of Sicily, Frederick Barbarossa, and Henry VII *basileis*; for George Akropolites, Kalojan was *basileus* of the Bulgarians; the Latin emperors of Constantinople and the Greek rulers of Trebizond were officially titled *basileis*. In the 14th C. the Serbian king assumed the title "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi and Serbs" in his official Greek documents. From the 13th C. onward, some authors used the title as a designation of some non-Christian Eastern rulers, for example, Timur, "*basileus* of Scythians and Massagetes" (Sphr. 204.24), or *megas basileus* Mehmed II (Kritob. 13.19), while other authors, like Doukas, avoided this title and gave to Eastern rulers the name of *tyrannoi, hegemones,* or *archegoi* (S.K. Krasavina, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 102).

LIT. G. Rösch, *Onoma basileias* (Vienna 1978) 37–39, 111–16. E. Chrysos, "The Title Basileus in Early Byzantine International Relations," *DOP* 32 (1978) 29–75. –M.McC., A.K.

BASILICA (βασιλική), a type of church building. In Roman architecture, a basilica was a hall or building used for large assemblies and serving as a market, law court, or palace audience hall. The term is used by Eusebios of Caesarea to denote a church; thereafter, in Byz. Greek, it generally refers only to profane structures, with rare exceptions (cf. D. Feissel, *Recueil des inscriptions chrétiennes de Macédoine du IIIe au VIe siècle* [Paris 1983]

no.226). Most commonly, the basilican church is characterized by an oblong plan consisting of a nave (NAOS) usually with two or more aisles and terminating in an APSE or tribunal. Generally, basilicas were covered with wooden trussed roofs and illuminated by clerestory windows. As a church type, the basilica displayed many regional variations with respect to proportions, number of aisles, and presence of a NARTHEX (or vestibule), ATRIUM, transept, GALLERIES, PASTOPHORIA, etc. Typically, the nave was used for processions by the clergy, with lay persons occupying the aisles and galleries, if the latter existed. The basilica served as the standard church type until the 6th C. By this time, a variant employing vaulting throughout the building had come into being in areas such as Cyprus (A.H.S. Megaw, *JHS* 66 [1946] 48–56). A related development was the basilica with a dome or a tower over the nave. Although not as common after the 6th C., basilicas continued to be built. Beginning in the 9th C., a major revival of the basilica occurred, represented in Greece and the Balkans at Pliska and the Anargyroi at Kastoria as well as in Asia Minor (Hagia Sophia at Nicaea), though apparently not in Constantinople. Small-scale basilicas, however, constitute the most common church type until the 15th C. (For ground plan, see illustration in CHURCH PLAN TYPES.)

LIT. R. Krautheimer, "The Constantinian Basilica," *DOP* 21 (1967) 115–40. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:514–67. Dj. Stričević, "La rénovation du type basilical dans l'architecture ecclésiastique des pays centrales des Balkans au IXe–XIe siècles," 12 *CEB* 1 (Belgrade 1963) 165–211. G. Stanzl, *Längsbau und Zentralbau als Grundthemen der frühchristlichen Architektur* [= *DenkWien* 139] (Vienna 1979) 16–29, 60–74.

–M.J., J.W.

BASILICA DISCOPERTA, or "hypaethral basilica," a type of basilica in which the aisles and apse are roofed but the nave left open to the sky. The existence of this type is based on tenuous evidence. Only two ruined buildings—at Marusinac near Salona (426) and at Pécs—and a confused description by the PIACENZA PILGRIM of a monument in Hebron, "a basilica built with a *quadriporticus*, with the middle atrium uncovered," suggest the type. The interpretation of the buildings at Salona and Pécs is debated, though they appear to have been roofless basilicas or open courtyards with exedrae along one of the short sides. E. Dyggve (*ZKirch* 59 [1940] 103–13) argued that this type represented the link between the classical *heröon* and the Christian MARTYRION, and that the type was also adopted for use in Late Antique PALACES (idem, *Ravennatum Palatium Sacrum* [Copenhagen 1941] 30f). Both theories have been largely discounted.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Basilica discoperta," *Antiquity* 24 (1950) 131–39. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:507–14.

–M.J.

BASILIKA (τὰ Βασιλικά, "the imperial [laws]"), or the *Basilics*, the term used from the 11th C. onward to designate an extensive collection of laws divided into six volumes or 60 books, begun under Emp. Basil I and completed in the first years of the reign of Leo VI (probably Christmas 888, A. Schminck, *SubGr* 3 [1989] 90–93). According to the preface composed by Leo, the work was to be a clearly arranged compilation of the legal material contained in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, eliminating everything superfluous. The collection is based on all four parts of the Justinianic corpus, though there is little from the *Institutes*. The Latin texts, esp. those of the *Digest* and the *Codex Justinianus*, are presented in Greek translations (mainly of the 6th C.). The books are subdivided into titles, which are arranged according to subject and are always structured so that pertinent chapters from the *Digest* precede those from the *Codex*, which in turn precede those from the *Novels*. Many books of the *Basilika* have been handed down in only one MS; others can be reconstructed only partially through the indirect evidence provided esp. by the EPANAGOGE AUCTA, the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, the PEIRA, the TIPOUKEITOS, and the commentary of BALSAMON. Presumably in the middle of the 11th C. a CATENA commentary was appended to the work, composed mainly of excerpts from the writings of the 6th-C. ANTECESSORES (the so-called "old scholia"); compared with these, the "newer scholia" (from the 11th and 12th C.) are fewer in number.

–A.S.

The *Basilika* as a Source. The *Basilika* was considered the official collection of actual law, and the *Book of the Eparch* (1.2) prescribes that a notary be thoroughly familiar with the "60 books of the *Basilika*." The *Basilika* contains some precepts, however, esp. in the sphere of administrative and social regulations, that were definitely obsolete by

the 9th C., and its terminology is sometimes out of date and misleading (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 7–10). Some jurists, for example, the author of the MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS, argued for the higher merit of Justinianic law over the *Basilika*. –A.K.

ED. *Basilicorum libri LX*, Text, 8 vols., Scholia, 9 vols., ed. H.J. Scheltema, N. van der Wal, D. Holwerda (Groningen 1953–88).

LIT. H.J. Scheltema, "Über die Natur der Basiliken," *Tijdschrift* 23 (1955) 287–310. Schminck, *Rechtsbücher* 17–54. F.H. Lawson, "The Basilica," *The Law Quarterly Review* 46 (1930) 486–501; 47 (1931) 536–56. N. van der Wal, "Der Basilikentext und die griechischen Kommentare des sechsten Jahrhunderts," in *Synteleia Vincenzo Arangio-Ruiz*, vol. 2 (Naples 1964) 1158–65.

BASILIKE (Βασιλική), a public building in Constantinople, located on the Mese, not far from the Milion. It formed a vast square courtyard, surrounded by colonnades inside and porticoes outside. Its relationship with the TETRASTOON is unclear. In the centuries immediately following the foundation of Constantinople it served as a legal and cultural center of the city: rhetoricians and lawyers assembled there, and in the 5th C. it housed the university and a library. A law of Theodosios II of 440 prohibited the establishment of shops and boutiques in the Basilike, bringing in horses, or celebrating marriages there. The building was burned down in 476 but immediately restored. Justinian I constructed a cistern nearby, probably the one now called Yerebatansaray (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Justin II placed in the Basilike a HOROLOGION (perhaps a sundial). After the 6th C. the Basilike lost its position as an intellectual center and was considered primarily as a repository of old statues, including those of the emperors Herakleios and Justinian II. In such a connection "the golden-roofed Basilike" is cited several times in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI. After the 10th C. it is no longer mentioned.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 157–60, 208f. Guilland, *Topographie* 2:3–6. Speck, *Univ. von KP* 93–99. –A.K.

BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI (*βασιλικοὶ ἄνθρωποι*, "imperial men"), sometimes simply *basilikoi*, a term applied in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to two categories of functionaries. In a broad sense, the term embraced all high-ranking officials; thus Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 215.7–8) speaks of banqueting *magistroi, praipositoi, patrikioi*, and other *basilikoi anthropoi*. In a restricted sense, the term designated a relatively low echelon of imperial servants—including *spatharokandidatoi* and *stratores* (205.25–26)—who consisted, at least partially, of foreigners (like the troops of HETAIREIA), that is, Pharganoi, Khazars, Hagarenes, and Franks (177.29–30). Their commander apparently was *protospatharios* of the *basilikoi*, one of the STRATARCHAI, even though his staff did not include *basilikoi anthropoi*, but consisted rather of the *domestikos* of the *basilikoi, spatharioi, kandidatoi* of the Hippodrome, and imperial *mandatores*. In the *De ceremoniis* (e.g., *De cer.* 20.20) and the TAKTIKON of Escurial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 269.35), their commander is also called the *katepano* of the *basilikoi*. Oikonomides (ibid. 328) suggests that *basilikoi anthropoi* formed a military detachment, since some sources describe *spatharioi* participating in military actions. On seals *basilikoi* are often civil officials of relatively low rank: Constantine, *hypatos* and *basilikos* in the bureau of the *sakellarios*, 11th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.971); *spatharokandidatos* Anastasios, *basilikos* in the district of Amastris and head of the *oikeiakoi*, 10th–11th C. (ibid., no.88); and *spatharokandidatos* Chosnis, *basilikos* of Tarsos, 10th C. (ibid., no.108). In the 10th C. the *domestikos* of the *basilikoi anthropoi* was evidently a courtier (ibid., no.1065).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 111–13. –A.K.

BASILIKON (*βασιλικόν*), a small silver coin weighing 2.2 g introduced by Andronikos II shortly before 1304 and modeled in weight, fineness, and general appearance on the Venetian grosso or silver ducat. Both coins have on one side a seated figure of Christ, and on the other two standing figures, but on the Byz. coins these are Andronikos II and Michael IX instead of St. Mark and the doge. By analogy with its prototype of the duchy (*ducatus*) of Venice, it was called a *basilikon* (from BASILEUS), but Byz. sources of the early 14th C. often made no distinction between the two and called both *doukatoi*. The basilikon was worth 1/12th of a HYPERPYRON, so that it corresponded to the old MILIARESION, which had become no more than a money of account as two KERATIA. The value of the actual coins, however, fluctuated with the price of silver and was usually less, as

ratios of between 12.5 and 15 to the hyperpyron were common. Half basilika were also minted. The introduction of the basilikon marked a revival in the empire of the large-scale use of silver for coinage, but in the 1330s and 1340s its weight was reduced in response to a general silver shortage that affected western Europe and the Mediterranean world. In the 1340s the basilikon weighed no more than 1.25 g and after the 1350s it ceased to be struck.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le basilicon, nouveau nom de monnaie sous Andronic II Paléologue," *BZ* 45 (1952) 50–58. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 280f, 295–98, 338. Hendy, *Economy* 531f. –Ph.G.

BASILIKOS LOGOS (*βασιλικὸς λόγος*), a variety of ENKOMION addressed to an emperor on some notable occasion. MENANDER RHETOR (pp.76–94) set out the form and the sentiments considered appropriate; the major points were the emperor's origin, physical appearance (esp. his handsomeness), upbringing, habits, deeds in peace and war, four virtues (courage, righteousness, prudence or moderation, and good sense), philanthropy, and good fortune (TYCHE). The term is rare: Michael Italikos devoted *basilikoi logoi* to both John II and Manuel I, but the regular title of an imperial *enkomion* was *logos eis ton autokratora*, "speech to the emperor"; such an *enkomion* was delivered on special occasions and regularly on the feast of EPIPHANY. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, in his panegyric of Constantine I, established the principle of encomiastic oratory as depicting the ideal emperor rather than giving a factual account. Hunger (*Lit.* 1:157) distinguishes between a conventional panegyric-*enkomion* and a more individualized MIRROR OF PRINCES. The structure of the *basilikos logos* varied: Italikos's panegyric of Manuel I contains many conventional elements (origin, prophecy, portrait), whereas his *enkomion* of John II is primarily historical. The Byz. *basilikos logos* became "Christian" with an emphasis on piety, and the concept of *tyche* disappeared. As a specific kind of *basilikos logos*, Menander (p.180) distinguished the *presbeutikos*, a speech to the emperor on behalf of a city in difficulty. In Byz. this subgenre disappeared, and the term *presbeutikos* designated the report of an ambassador (e.g., Theodore METOCHITES) on his mission.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 205f. P. Hadot, *RAC* 8:601–19. –A.K., E.M.J.

BASILISKOS (Βασιλίσκος), more fully Flavius Basiliskos, usurper (Jan. 475–summer 476); died Limnae in Cappadocia after Aug. 476. Brother of the empress VERINA, Basiliskos was consul in 465 and *magister militum* from 468. His expedition against the Vandal king GAISERIC in 468 ended in disaster, but Verina saved him from punishment. He helped to overthrow ASPAR for which he received the title of first senator in 474. When Leo I and soon after him Leo II died, the anti-Isaurian faction in Constantinople urged Emp. Zeno to flee. Basiliskos was acclaimed augustus. Basiliskos wanted to gain the support of the Monophysites. He published an edict (*enkyklion*) abolishing the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. This policy met with broad resistance from the people of Constantinople, led by Patr. AKAKIOS and DANIEL THE STYLITE. An enormous fire in the capital, which destroyed many books and works of art, was interpreted as a sign of divine wrath against Basiliskos. The army commanders, such as Basiliskos's former allies ILLOS and Armatus, joined Zeno who returned to the capital welcomed by the faction of the Greens. Basiliskos sought asylum in a church. He was promised that he would not be executed, was exiled with his wife and child, and was starved to death. Zeno crowned the son of Armatus, also named Basiliskos, as caesar and heir to the throne, but soon thereafter executed Armatus and enrolled the younger Basiliskos among the clergy; the latter probably lived until the reign of Justinian I.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–94. *PLRE* 2:212–14. L. Hartmann, *RE* 3 (1899) 101–02. B. Croke, "Basiliscus the Boy-Emperor," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 81–91. E. Dovere, "L' Ἐγκύκλιον Βασιλίσκου: Un caso di normativa imperiale in Oriente su temi di dogmatica teologica," *Studia et documenta historiae et juris* 51 (1985) 153–88. –T.E.G.

BASILIUS PICTOR, mosaicist whose name is given in both Latin and Syriac at the bottom of a frieze of angels set up ca.1169 in the Church of the Nativity, BETHLEHEM, where EPHRAIM also worked. Kühnel (*infra*) suggested that an abbreviation in the Syriac inscription yields the toponym Moschem and that this northern Syrian village was the painter's place of origin. There is no necessary reason to connect Basilius with the inscription *Basili[us] me fecit* in the Melisende Psalter (see CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE) said to have been made in Jerusalem.

LIT. Buchthal, *Miniature Painting*, xxix, 2–9. G. Kühnel, "Neue Feldarbeiten zur musivischen und malerischen Ausstattung der Geburts-Basilika in Bethlehem," *Kunstchronik* 37 (1984) 507–13. –A.C.

BASIL OF ANKYRA, bishop (336–43, 350–60); died Illyria ca.364. An erudite and eloquent former physician, Basil was appointed in 336 to replace MARKELLOS as bishop of Ankyra by the synod of Constantinople. He was deposed in 343, restored after 350, and finally deposed in 360 and exiled to Illyria. As a moderate Arian, he was caught between the Scylla of his own extremists and the Charybdis of Orthodox opposition. ATHANASIOS of Alexandria (*De synodis* 41) confirms his role as leader of the HOMOIOUSIANS. He played a prominent role in the arianizing synods of Sirmium (351), Ankyra (358), and Seleukeia (359). EPIPHANIOS of Salamis preserves (*Panarion* 73.12–22) a Trinitarian treatise (*Hypomnematismos*), which Basil co-authored with George of Laodikeia. Many scholars ascribe to Basil the essay *On Virginity* that is included among the spuria of BASIL THE GREAT (F. Cavallera, *RHE* 6 [1905] 5–14). Other works such as a polemic called *Against Markellos* mentioned by JEROME are lost.

ED. *Hypomnematismos*—PG 42:425–44. *On Virginity*—PG 30:669–809. *De virginitate de saint Basile*, ed. A. Vaillant (Paris 1943), Slav. text with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Schladebach, *Basilius von Ancyra* (Leipzig 1898). R. Janin, *DHGE* 6 (1932) 1104–07. F.J. Leroy, "La tradition manuscrite du 'De virginitate' de Basile d'Ancyre," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 195–208. –B.B.

BASIL OF IALIMBANA. See GEORGE OF CYPRUS.

BASIL OF OHRID, metropolitan of Thessalonike, rhetorician; died ca.1169. In 1154 Basil had a debate with ANSELM of Havelberg, yielding on many points. Pope Adrian IV (1154–59) sent Basil a letter asking for help in bringing about the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Basil participated in the council at Constantinople in 1157 against Soterichos PANTEUGENOS (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In 1160 Basil delivered a funeral oration on BERTHA OF SULZBACH, wife of Manuel I, with conventional praise of both the emperor and the late empress. Basil corresponded with TZETZES.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 311–30. J. Schmidt, *Des Basilius aus Achrida, Erzbischofs von Thessalonich, bisher unedierte Dialoge* (Munich 1901).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 626. J. Darrouzès, "Un faux Théodore de Cyzique," *REB* 25 (1967) 291f. –A.K.

BASIL THE BOGOMIL, leader of the BOGOMILS of Constantinople; died Constantinople ca.1111. Nearly all we know about him comes from Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:218–28), who describes his arrest, trial, and execution. A monk and a doctor, he appears to have become a teacher in the Bogomil sect ca.1070. According to Anna, he was tall, clean-shaven with a withered countenance, and went about with 12 disciples whom he called apostles. One of them betrayed him under torture. Emp. Alexios I invited Basil to the palace and persuaded him to expound his teaching; if Anna can be believed, her father then dramatically drew back a curtain, revealing a secretary who had secretly written down Basil's confession. Verbal persuasion having failed, and on the advice of Patr. NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS and the synod, the emperor ordered Basil to be publicly burned in the Hippodrome. Anna's account of the execution is uncommonly vivid. Her horror at Basil's beliefs cannot wholly conceal a grudging admiration for "an inflexible and very brave Bogomil." About these beliefs she says very little, referring the reader to the relevant section of the *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS, who presumably used Basil's palace confession as his main source.

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Rasprava imperatora Alekseja I Komnina s bogomilom Vasiliem," *Voprosy istorii religii i ateizma* 12 (1964) 310–19. –D.O.

BASIL THE COPPER HAND, leader of an uprising against ROMANOS I; born in Macedonia, died Constantinople ca.932. According to the chronicle of SYMEON LOGOTHETE (*TheophCont* 912.6–7), Basil was an impostor who falsely assumed the name of Constantine DOUKAS (killed in 913) and collected a following of "many people." Arrested by Elephantinos, *tourmarches* of Opsikion, he was brought to Constantinople and condemned by the eparch of the city to have his hand cut off. Basil returned to Opsikion and had manufactured for himself a copper hand holding an enormous sword. He then gathered a "crowd

of the poor" and started "the great rebellion" against the empire. The rebels seized the stronghold of Plateia Petra, where various kinds of victuals were collected and, according to Symeon Logothete, looted at random. Defeated by imperial troops, Basil was transferred to Constantinople, where he accused many magnates of involvement in his rebellion. After an investigation proved his charges false, he was burned at the stake on the Forum Amastrianum.

The major problem concerning Basil's revolt is whether it can be considered a popular uprising; besides the direct evidence of Symeon Logothete, this hypothesis finds support in Constantine Doukas's popularity among the common people. The chronology of the revolt (before THEOPHYLAKTOS was elected patriarch) suggests dating the event between the famine of 928 and Romanos's novel of 934 and treating it hypothetically as a reflection of peasants' wrath and an incentive for the emperor's agrarian legislation.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "'Velikoe vosstanie' Vasilija Mednoj Ruki," *VizVrem* n.s. 4 (1951) 73–83, with criticism by H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 500–02. –A.K.

BASIL THE GREAT, bishop of Caesarea (from 370/1), writer and saint; born Caesarea in Cappadocia ca.329, died probably in Caesarea 1 Jan. 379; feastdays 1 and 2 Jan. His two brothers, GREGORY OF NYSSA and Peter of Sebaste, also became bishops, while his sister, St. Makrina the Younger, was a model ascetic. Education in Constantinople and Athens grounded Basil in both Christian and classical culture. During the course of his studies he met GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, who became his lifelong friend; his student friendship with the future emperor JULIAN, however, was doomed by circumstances. He soon abandoned rhetoric, an early interest, for the monastic life. After travels to monasteries in Egypt and Syria, he settled near Neokaisareia in Asia Minor.

As one of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, Basil contributed much to the development of the concept of the TRINITY as based on the principle of HOMOOUSIOS. In so doing he became involved in political and ideological struggles, esp. in combatting EUNOMIOS. Basil encouraged an active economic, social, and cultural role for monks; he preferred the KOINOBION to the eremitic life and viewed the monastery as a community of brethren who had to live and work together. Basil wrote sets of Rules for monks and nuns that are preserved in a short and a long version; they greatly influenced the development of MONASTICISM both in Byz. and outside the empire and are characterized by a tone of moderation and common sense. Of his homilies, those on the HEXAEMERON are most noteworthy for their content and style.

The letters of Basil furnish much geographical and secular information about the Roman Empire in the 4th C. A work of special interest and importance is the essay (written for his nephews) on deriving Christian benefit from pagan literature. Basil argues that pagan works, both prose and poetry, should be read eclectically, not uniformly censored or condemned; classical literature can be morally beneficial to Christians and, since pagan morality sometimes approaches Christian ethics, may serve as a propaedeutic to the true faith. Of the many authors cited, Homer and Plato (not surprisingly) stand out. His authorship of the LITURGY ascribed to him is questionable, even though attested as early as the 6th C.

Representation in Art. Basil, as a purported author of a liturgy, is regularly depicted at the head of one line of the procession of bishops adorning a church apse; JOHN CHRYSOSTOM leads the other. Basil has a distinctive pointed black beard and narrow face, evident already on a Sinai icon of about the 7th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.24). Episodes from his vita by pseudo-AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION were illustrated as early as the 9th–10th C. in churches in Rome (J. Lafontaine, *Peintures médiévales dans le temple dit de la Fortune Virile à Rome* [Brussels-Rome 1959] 77f), while the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY MS contains a variety of scenes relating to the saint in conjunction with Gregory's *Homily* 43 on Basil (fol.104r). Some of these scenes recur in 11th-C. MSS of the homilies as well (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 46–52). Among the frescoes in the Church of Hagia Sophia in OHRID is one showing the saint first performing the liturgy (R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, vol. 1 [Giessen 1963] fig.25); this theme also appears at the beginning of those liturgical ROLLS that contain the text of the liturgy of Basil. Narrative compositions from later periods are rare,

though there is a vita icon of Basil of the 13th C., now in the De Menil collection, Houston (*Splendeur de Byz.* 36, Ic.2).

ED. PG 29–32. *The Letters*, ed. R. Deferrari, 4 vols. (London–New York 1926–34), with Eng. tr. *Lettres*, ed. Y. Courtonne, 3 vols. (Paris 1957–66), with Fr. tr. *On Greek Literature*, ed. N. Wilson (London 1975), with Eng. tr.

LIT. *Basil of Caesarea: Christian, Humanist, Ascetic*, ed. P. Fedwick (Toronto 1981). M.M. Fox, *The Life and Times of Basil the Great as Revealed in His Works* (Washington, D.C., 1939). *Basilio di Caesarea: La sua età, la sua opera e il basilianesimo in Sicilia*, vol. 1 (Messina 1983). G. de Jerphanion, "Histoires de saint Basile dans les peintures Cappadociennes et dans les peintures romaines du moyen âge," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 535–58. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 5:337–41. –B.B., A.K., N.P.Š.

BASIL THE NOTHOS ("bastard"), *parakoimomenos;* born ca.925, died after 985. The son of ROMANOS I by a bondwoman of "Scythian" (Slav?) origin, Basil was a eunuch from his boyhood. In 944–47 he was *megas* BAIOULOS. Basil supported CONSTANTINE VII against Romanos I's sons Stephen and Constantine and was rewarded with the titles of *patrikios* and *parakoimomenos*. In 958 he participated in the campaign of JOHN I TZIMISKES against SAYF AL-DAWLA and was granted a triumphal procession at the Hippodrome (*TheophCont* 462.4). ROMANOS II pushed Basil into the background and replaced him with Joseph BRINGAS, thus inciting Basil's hatred of Bringas; siding with NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS in his struggle against Bringas, Basil received from Nikephoros the highest title of *proedros*. Basil's alliance with Nikephoros was brief: he joined Tzimiskes against Nikephoros, but again changed sides; he reportedly poisoned Tzimiskes (Skyl. 312.15–20). Basil administered the empire while BASIL II was a child and used his power to accumulate enormous wealth. In 985, however, Basil II dispensed with his tutelage, exiled him to the shores of the Bosporos, and confiscated his property. In his Novel of 996 Emp. Basil annulled all the ordinances promulgated by Basil the Nothos.

Basil was one of the most lavish Byz. art patrons. Psellos (*Chron.* 1:13.11–22) comments on Basil's concern for the monastery of St. Basil that he built in Constantinople. To this or some other house, he presented two reliquaries of a Symeon the Stylite, including one that allegedly contained the saint's skull and is now at Camaldoli di Arezzo. The Treasury of St. Mark's in Venice contains a splendid yellow jasper paten and chalice, the latter inscribed with the supplication of "Basil, *proedros* and *parakoimomenos,*" and thus datable after 963 (H. Belting, *CorsiRav* 29 [1982] 52–57). The well-known enamel cross-reliquary now at LIMBURG-AN-DER-LAHN was commissioned by Basil in 964/5. He also ordered three very large books written on parchment of high quality: a collection of TAKTIKA, including his own work on naval battles (Milan, Ambros. B 119 Sup.); a copy of the homilies of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (Athos, Dion. 70) dated to 955; and a Gospel book with the Pauline epistles in Leningrad (Publ. Lib. gr. 55).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:182f. W.G. Brokaar, "Basil Lekapenus," *Studia bizantina et neohellenica Neerlandica* 3 (1972) 199–234. M. Ross, "Basil the Proedros Patron of the Arts," *Archaeology* 11 (1958) 271–75. E. Follieri, "L'ordine dei versi in alcuni epigrammi bizantini," *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 447–64. Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.795. –A.K., A.C.

BASIL THE YOUNGER, saint; died in Constantinople 26 Mar. 944 (less probably 952). His origins and early career are unknown. According to his vita he was brought by imperial officials from Asia Minor to Constantinople, where he was interrogated by SAMONAS, flogged, and thrown into the sea, but miraculously saved by dolphins. Angelide (*infra*) dates Basil's arrival in Constantinople in 896, but the chronology of the vita is not reliable. Basil did not belong to any monastic community but lived in private homes (first with a certain John and his wife Helene, thereafter in the houses of the *primikerios* Constantine and of the Gongylas brothers), preaching morality and performing miracles.

Basil's vita was written by his contemporary, the layman Gregory, a disciple of the eunuch Epiphanios; Gregory was a modest landowner possessing a *proasteion* near Rhaidestos. Although Gregory depicts some ordinary people, he focuses on Emp. Romanos I, his family, and courtiers such as Romanos Saronites and the *patrikia zoste* Anastasia. The hagiographer describes important political events: the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913, the death of Christopher Lekapenos, the Rus' attack of 941, the fall of Romanos I. While some of these episodes took place outside, most of the action occurred indoors (Mango, *Byzantium* 82). A salient episode of the vita is the vision of the pious Theodora who served Basil for many years: during its journey to heaven Theodora's soul passed customs houses (*teloneia*), and there-

after Theodora saw the celestial Jerusalem and observed the punishment of sinners. The vita has an evident anti-Semitic tendency: according to Basil, the Jews are doomed to eternal punishment despite their closeness to the Christian concept of God and their veneration of the Old Testament.

ED. S.G. Vilinskij, *Žitie sv. Vasilija Novogo v russkoj literature* (Odessa 1911–13). A.N. Veselovskij, "Razyskanija v oblasti russkogo duchovnogo sticha," *Sbornik Otdelenija russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 46 (1889–90) supp. 3–89; 53 (1891–92) supp. 3–174.

LIT. *BHG* 264–264f. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 492–511. Ch. Angelide, *Ho bios tou hosiou Basileiou tou Neou* (Ioannina 1980). L. Rydén, "The Life of St. Basil the Younger and the Date of the Life of St. Andreas Salos," in *Okeanos* 568–77. –A.K.

BASTARDS. See Illegitimate Children.

BATHMOS (βαθμός), grade or degree. The word was used by late Roman writers to designate "rank"; thus John Lydos (*On Magistracies* 2.8) says that the consul in ancient Rome held a higher *bathmos* than the king. In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the term has a technical meaning differing from that of office or title—it meant the position on the hierarchical ladder according to which the atriklines seated the individual at imperial banquets. In the ecclesiastical hierarchy, the sacred (*hieros*) *bathmos* meant the degree conferred by a sacramental ordination as distinct from the office, i.e., function (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 1). –A.K.

BATHS (sing. βαλανεῖον, λουτρόν) remained an important element of urban culture during the late Roman period, functioning as centers of leisure and social intercourse. In Constantinople the most famous were the Baths of Zeuxippos. The *Notitia urbis Constantinopolitanae* indicates that 5th-C. Constantinople contained as many as nine public and 153 private baths (see also Constantinople, Monuments of). Separate facilities were provided for men and women, and the interiors were sumptuously decorated with marbles and statuary; they were heated by hypocausts. Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:449C) ridiculed a miserly moneylender in a Cappadocian town who did not go to the public bath because he was reluctant to pay the price of three obols. Even clergy and monks used public baths, which were occasionally decorated with subjects from Christian iconography. The church, however, regarded public baths as centers of immorality, issued regulations prohibiting mixed bathing, and condemned frequent visits to the baths by clergy.

After the 6th C. a profound change occurred: most of the huge public baths fell into disuse either because of the decline in population or simply because they proved too costly to maintain. Some establishments were destroyed, others transformed into churches or army barracks. Some public baths continued to operate in major cities, but the overall attitude of the public toward baths and bathing had gradually changed. Attendance at the baths was no longer a normal part of everyday life but had become a luxury or hygienic necessity. The new attitude toward bathing, shaped by teachings of the church, is reflected in monastic *typika*; those of the 11th and 12th C., for example, vary as to the frequency of bathing they prescribe: from twice a month to three times a year, with the norm being once a month. Kekaumenos testified without astonishment that the Macedonian town of Servia at the beginning of the 11th C. had only one bath, located outside the city walls. Michael Choniates described a provincial bath as a smoky and drafty hut heated by an open hearth. An extraordinary exception to this trend is the sumptuously decorated bathhouse of Leo VI, which is the subject of an *ekphrasis* by Leo Choirosphaktes (P. Magdalino, *DOP* 42 [1988] 97–118).

Baths came to be associated with healing: sick monks or nuns and patients in monastic hospitals were permitted more frequent or even unlimited baths. This connotation entered Christian symbolism so that the church building was sometimes called a spiritual *balaneion*, and God might be designated *balaneus*, or bathkeeper (Germanos II, *Homily* 2, ed. S. Lagopates, 225.7–11).

Relatively few baths of post-6th-C. date have been uncovered by archaeological excavations, for example, at Sparta (Ch. Bouras, *ArchEph* 121 [1982] 99–112) and Trikkala (A. Tziaphalias, *ArchDelt* 31.2.1 [1976] 178–81). The evidence suggests that they continued the Roman principles of planning and construction, generally being divided into a series of vaulted or domed rooms for dressing, exercise, and cold, warm, or hot bathing. Monastic baths, which constitute a distinctive and important category, continued to be built throughout the Byz. era (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 95–108).

LIT. C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 338–41. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich 1982). Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 69f.
—Ap.K., M.J., A.K., R.B.

BATOPEDI. See VATOPEDI MONASTERY.

BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG (*σημεῖον, βάνδον, φλάμμουλον*). Battle standards such as the Roman eagle or dragon were used by late Roman infantry units until the 6th C., while cavalry units were identified by the *vexillum*, a square banner on a pole. The raising of the standards was the traditional signal to begin battle, and since they often served as rallying points, the rank of standard-bearer (*bandophoros*) was assigned to an exceptionally brave soldier (Prokopios, *Wars* 4.10.4). Armies of the 9th and 10th C. carried standards bearing relics or icons (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 247f), and banners suspended from a cross are also mentioned (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:59). The LABARUM, the cross itself, and cross-like standards were used from Constantine I onward, esp. by Iconoclastic emperors, and later by Nikephoros II Phokas (Leo Diac. 8.5–7). Regimental standards were commonly used in imperial ceremonies and processions (Haldon, *Praetorians* 287f) and the imperial units or *tagmata* kept their ceremonial standards (*ptychia, skeptra*) both in the Churches of St. Stephen of Daphne, and in the Church of the Lord (*De cer.* 640.16–641.5).

Battle flags (*banda*) in the shape of a square field (*kephale*) with trailing streamers (*phlammoula*, from Lat. *flammulae*, "small flames") appeared as early as the 6th C. and were used for signalling and identification. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* 1.2, p.82.75–80) notes that each unit (*meros*) had a flag whose field was of one color with variously colored streamers attached to identify the division (*moira*). The *Strategikon* warns that too many flags might be a hindrance and source of confusion in battle (2.10). The units of the baggage train (TOULDOS) were also designated by separate flags (1.9, p.102.9–12). The 10th-C. *Praecepta militaria* (*Praecepta Milit.* 14.27–34) records that separate flags identified each 50-man cavalry unit (*bandos*) and its spare horses in battle; flags were also used to mark the places of each unit when preparing the CAMP (18.30–33). Battle flags are often depicted in illustrations (S. Dufrenne, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 51–60), and the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes offers a rich repertoire of standards and flags without, however, assigning them to specific nations. Under Michael II (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.60, fig.18), for instance, both Byz. and Arab armies carried dragon streamers. Wall paintings in Cappadocia depict several types of standard featuring the cross (D. Wood, *Archaeology* 12 [1959] 38–46).

Flags for signaling and identification were also important in naval warfare. A special dark-colored banner (*kamellaukion*) was hoisted on the flagship as the signal to begin battle (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 19.41).

LIT. R. Grosse, "Die Fahnen in der römisch-byzantinischen Armee des 4.-10. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 24 (1923/4) 359–72. G.T. Dennis, "Byzantine Battle Flags," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 51–59.
—E.M., A.C.

BAWĪṬ, village in Upper Egypt, site of the monastery of Apa Apollo, probably founded in the late 4th C. The two churches (north and south) are both of basilican plan and are richly outfitted with columns, pilasters, and various carved friezes, most being spolia of the 4th–6th C. There are several monastic complexes; some contain small chapels, as well as large transverse halls, probably prayer-halls, which are furnished with painted niches. The niche in hall no.6 of the northernmost complex represents the Virgin Mary flanked by Apostles. Some complexes have kitchens. The large complex (I–XV) southwest of the two churches probably housed the monks. There are also several tombs nearby.

Bawīṭ's history resembles that of the monastery of Apa Jeremias at SAQQĀRA. The two churches of Bawīṭ evolved from structures which were not originally ecclesiastical in purpose. The surviving wall paintings, though simple and provincial in character, use Byz. themes of decoration (e.g., MAJESTAS DOMINI, Virgin "Galaktotrophousa" [see VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary]). The monastic community continued to flourish in the 9th C., as seen from papyri.

LIT. J. Clédat, *Le monastère et la nécropole de Baouît* (Cairo 1904). E. Chassinat, *Fouilles à Baouît* (Cairo 1911). J. Maspero, *Fouilles exécutées à Baouît*, 2 vols. (Cairo 1931–43). H.-G. Severin, "Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara," *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 309–14. Timm, *Ägypten* 2:643–53. H. Torp, "Le monastère copte de Baouît," *Acta Norv* 9 (1981) 1–8.
—P.G.

BAYEZID I (Παϊάζιτης and similar forms), Ottoman sultan (1389–1402); born 1354, died Akşehir 8 Mar. 1403. The successor of MURAD I, he was the first of the sultans to attempt the conquest of Constantinople. From 1389 to 1394 Bayezid maintained his authority over the Palaiologoi through established tributary alliances and by manipulating their dynastic struggles to his advantage. As of 1389, his key Palaiologan vassals were JOHN V and MANUEL II in Constantinople, THEODORE I in Mistra, and JOHN VII in Selymbria. It is unlikely that Manuel and John VII participated in his first Anatolian campaign, which included the conquest of PHILADELPHIA (1389–90). Early in 1390, however, Bayezid probably sanctioned John VII's plans for a coup in Constantinople. By March 1390 John was besieging the city with Turkish troops. Although John VII seized Constantinople (13–14 Apr.), afterward he made no major concessions to Bayezid, who was then campaigning in KARAMAN. Following Manuel's recovery of Constantinople for John V and himself (17 Sept. 1390), John VII took refuge with Bayezid, then returned to Selymbria and remained the sultan's loyal vassal until 1399. Likewise, John V dispatched Manuel to Bursa (see PROUSA) to reaffirm their tributary alliance with Bayezid, at which time Bayezid pressured John V to dismantle recently built fortifications outside the GOLDEN GATE in Constantinople. When John V died (16 Feb. 1391) Manuel returned to Constantinople and established his rule—doubtless with Bayezid's consent. Bayezid then summoned Manuel and John VII to join his campaign against Süleyman Pasha of Kastamonu (see KASTAMON) and Kadi Ahmed Bürhaneddin of Sivas (June–Dec. 1391). In spring 1392, Bayezid appointed Manuel to prepare a naval expedition to Sinope, but then aborted the enterprise.

Bayezid's rapport with Manuel and Theodore deteriorated in 1393. Manuel's efforts to achieve reconciliation with John VII were betrayed by the latter himself to Bayezid, and Theodore's seizure of Monemvasia from Paul Mamonas (another of Bayezid's dependents) also angered the sultan. Late in 1393 or early in 1394 Bayezid summoned Manuel, Theodore, John VII, and other vassals to his court at Serres. Amid acrimonious confrontations, Bayezid allegedly resolved at one point to execute Manuel and additionally pressured Theodore to surrender control of Monemvasia and Argos. Shortly thereafter both Manuel and Theodore renounced their pacts with Bayezid, and he assaulted them as rebels. By summer 1394 Bayezid had begun the siege of Constantinople, which lasted eight years. Meanwhile, devastating raids were launched into the Morea in late 1394 or 1395, and again in 1397. In 1399 John VII was reconciled with Manuel and governed Constantinople during Manuel's journey to the West. By 1401 the morale of the citizens was low, and John VII was negotiating with Bayezid for surrender. The city was saved, however, when TIMUR defeated and captured Bayezid at Ankara (see ANKARA, BATTLE OF) on 28 July 1402. Eight months later, Bayezid purportedly committed suicide, still a captive of Timur.

Many Byz. perceived Bayezid archetypically as a neo-Pharaoh or Sennacherib, whose blasphemous attack on the people of God and their holy city inevitably evoked God's saving wrath. In this vein, Bayezid's epithet *yıldırım* ("lightning bolt") was usually interpreted as an allusion to all-consuming violence and destruction, and not merely alacrity or impetuous daring.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 67–218. H. İnalcık, *EI*[2] 1:1117–19. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:339–70. E. Zachariadou, "Manuel II Palaeologos on the Strife Between Bāyezīd I and Ḳāḍī Burhān al-Dīn Aḥmad," *BSOAS* 43 (1980) 471–81. –S.W.R.

BEACON (φανός). In the 9th C., Byz. created a series of beacons across Asia Minor to give advance warning of Arab attack. Signals were flashed from Loulon north of the CILICIAN GATES, where the Arabs would be first observed, to Argos on the Hasan Dağ in Cappadocia, and thence by a series of unidentified stations to Mokilos above PYLAI, then to Mt. AUXENTIOS and the imperial palace, a distance of about 450 miles. The system was reportedly created by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, who devised a code for the interpretation of signals, and had two identical water clocks (see HOROLOGION) made for the terminal stations. His work took account of the difference in longitude and of the time the signal needed for transmission. Modern experiments suggest that one hour would suffice for the entire distance. The beacons consisted of huge bonfires on platforms or towers within fortifications on isolated hills; two have been identified at Loulon and Argos (*TIB* 2:135–37, 223). In the open country of central Anatolia,

where the air is clear, stations were more than 60 miles apart, while in the broken country of the northwest the average separation was about 35 miles. The system was curtailed or modified by Michael III, whose victories reduced the necessity for it. Smaller chains of beacons served to notify places off the main line and along the frontier; others were in use in 13th-C. Greece. Remains of a beacon station near KOTYAION (C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* [Oxford 1985] 86–94) indicate that the system was revived by Manuel I.

LIT. P. Pattenden, "The Byzantine Early Warning System," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 258–99. –C.F.

BEARD (*γένειον*). In late antiquity the norm for men was to be clean-shaven, and imperial portraits of the 4th–6th C. present predominantly beardless rulers; after that date bearded images on coins came to symbolize imperial power or imperial seniority, although some exceptions can be found, such as Constantine V. On coins, a beard and moustache are often not portrait elements but conventions to distinguish a senior from a junior emperor. Later images of Constantine I, who was historically clean-shaven, show him with a beard, the shape of which was often changed to conform to the type worn by the current emperor. The huge beard of Constans II, added as an afterthought to the dies of his coins, gave rise to his nickname, Pogonatos (P. Grierson, *NC* 70 [1962] 159f).

The defense of beards originated not only within Christian circles, but also among pagan "philosophers" who saw, as JULIAN did, in the shaggy beard a symbolic rejection of effeminacy and a return to the classical fashion; Julian's satiric treatise *Misopogon* is addressed to those who criticized his beard. Beards served in the Byz. view as an indication of manliness, contrasted with beardless EUNUCHS; the deprivation of one's beard was considered a severe punishment. Monks were normally bearded.

After the SCHISM of 1054 the beard became a symbol of national pride that differentiated Byz. from clean-shaven Latins. The cult of the beard was ridiculed, however, by satirists such as Theodore PRODROMOS (Boissonade, *AnecGr* 4:430–35). On the other hand, many 12th-C. authors (esp. ZONARAS) relate that youths preferred to shave off their beard, evidently following the Latin style; the same fashion was mentioned by a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:396.17). Social prejudices against the beardless are reflected, to some extent, in proverbs and satiric texts, such as SPANOS. Touching the beard was an important element of BODY LANGUAGE.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Peri kommoseos ton Byzantinon," *EEBS* 7 (1930) 3–37. L. Bréhier, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1950) 47f. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2:478–86. –Ap.K., A.C.

BEASTS OF BURDEN (sing. *ὑποζύγιον*). To transport loads, the Byz. used animals, since in mountainous areas the CART could not always be employed. HORSES were rarely used for transport or cartage; the main pack animals were asses (*onika*) and mules (*hemionoi*). Cattle and esp. donkeys are depicted as beasts of burden in illustrations of Old Testament narratives (Uspenskij, *Seral'skij kodeks,* nos. 260, 302), while, as in illustrations of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, the ass remained the primary form of humble transportation. CAMELS and their drivers, *kamelarioi,* are usually mentioned in connection with Syria or Egypt; John VI Kantakouzenos, however, kept a number of camels in Thrace.

It is difficult to calculate the weight of a load; in the vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL (ed. A. Vasiliev, *IRAIK* 5 [1900] 72.4) a *hypozygion* carried 6 *modioi* of grain. The load was sometimes put (or poured) into ceramic vessels attached on both sides of an animal. The rural population, unless exempt from this fiscal burden, was required to provide so-called *parangaria*—the duty of supplying military contingents or imperial officials with pack animals.

LIT. A. Leone, *Gli animali da trasporto nell'Egitto greco, romano e bizantino* (Rome-Barcelona 1988). –J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

BEAUTY (*κάλλος*). Physical beauty was not perceived by Christian apologists as a virtue—our bodies, according to Augustine, are defective, and will be improved by the Creator after our resurrection (V. Byčkov in *Eikon und Logos* [Halle 1981] 23f); Christ, in his Incarnation, assumed not a handsome body, but a plain and undistinguished one. Emphasis was placed on spiritual beauty, which might be accentuated by external ugliness,

esp. if the body was distorted and mutilated during a martyrdom or in ascetic exercises. Pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE developed a hierarchy of beauty: the absolute beauty of God—an efficient and final cause, radiating into the world and attracting everything to itself; the beauty of heavenly beings; and the visible beauty of corporeal objects and beings. This visible beauty was understood as moral goodness rather than external handsomeness.

Beauty was also an AESTHETIC category. The beauty of nature and that of the Holy Writ, having been created by God, stood on a higher level of aesthetic values than the work of painters and writers (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 44:1197B). Although in theory beauty was linked to simplicity, Byz. ideologists discarded the early apologists' contempt for sumptuous ornamentation of the body and of buildings; external "beauty" came to occupy a significant place in both court ceremonial and liturgy. *Ekphraseis* praised the visible beauty of churches, icons, palaces, gardens, etc.; female beauty was described in romances and verses, and noted in funeral orations; and preambles to historical works named beauty of speech as one of the highest qualities.

LIT. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 65–107. C.C. Putnam, *Beauty in the Pseudo-Denis* (Washington, D.C., 1960). –A.K.

BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY, located in Constantinople, dedicated to the Theotokos Bebaias Elpidos ("of sure hope"). It was founded in the 1320s or 1330s by Theodora Synadene, niece of Michael VIII and wife of the *megas stratopedarches* John Komnenos Doukas SYNADENOS. When widowed, Theodora Synadene retired to her new foundation, taking the monastic name of Theodoule; her daughter Euphrosyne, the "second founder" of the convent, accompanied her. The monastery is known only from its lengthy rule, written by Theodora between 1327 and 1342 and preserved in a deluxe parchment MS (Oxford, Lincoln College gr. 35), known as the "Lincoln College Typikon." It includes ten pages of double portraits, showing the founder's family as married couples in court and/or monastic costume. The sequence closes with images of the Mother of God, inscribed "*he bebaia elpis*," in the pose of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, gesturing toward Theodora and Euphrosyne on the facing recto. The final miniature (fol. 12r) depicts nuns and novices gathered about their superior.



BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY. Portraits of the founders of the nunnery Theodora (Theodoule) and her daughter Euphrosyne. Miniature in the manuscript of the *typikon* of the nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35 fol. 11r). Bodleian Library, Oxford.

The convent, in the Heptaskalon region, first housed 30 nuns, then 50. It followed the *typikon* of St. SABAS with regard to liturgy and dietary regulations. The convent possessed considerable property in Constantinople, its environs, and Thrace. It also received valuable donations of money and liturgical objects from relatives and descendants of Theodora who wished to assure their posthumous commemoration at the convent.

SOURCE. H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921) 10–14, 18–105, 141–72.

LIT. A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *CahArch* 27 (1978) 179–98. Janin, *Églises CP* 158–60. –A.M.T., A.C.

BEDE, called "the Venerable," English Benedictine monk, polymath, historian, and theologian; born near Wearmouth (Northumberland) ca.672/3, died Jarrow (Durham) 25/6 May 735. The Latin church fathers were major sources for him, but Bede also knew some Greek and possibly some Hebrew. His works on spelling, metrics, and computus, for instance, contain a little Greek (M.C. Bodden in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, ed. P.E. Szarmach, V.D. Oggins [Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986] 55, 62, n.16). W.F. Bolton considered Bede's use of Greek "passive," based on earlier writers such as Jerome and Isidore of Seville and on interlinear Greek-Latin texts, but K.M. Lynch (*Traditio* 39 [1983] 432–39) argues that, by the late 720s when Bede wrote his second commentary on Acts, he read biblical Greek. L.T. Martin (*American Benedictine Review* 35 [1984] 211–16) and A.C. Dionisotti (*Revue Bénédictine* 92 [1982] 123–29) show that in this work and in *On Spelling*, respectively, Bede systematically compares variants, both Greek and Latin.

Where his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* touches on events at Constantinople, he seems generally to draw on preserved sources (e.g., bk.1, ch.13 on a 5th-C. famine, plague, and earthquake; bk.5, ch.15 on the pilgrim Arculf's trip to the Levant and Constantinople; see ADOMNAN), but he supplies independent testimony on Theodore of Tarsus, archbishop of Canterbury, who supported the Lateran Council of 649 and glorified "the Holy Spirit ineffably proceeding from the Father and the Son" (bk.4, ch.17). Bede's Anglo-Saxon connections with Rome presumably explain his revision of the Latin translation of the Passion of St. Anastasius (cf. C. Vircillo Franklin and P. Meyvaert, *AB* 100 [1982] 373–400) as well as the independent testimony on contemporary events in Constantinople supplied in the chronicle appended to his *De temporum ratione*, such as Justinian II's career (chs. 567 and 577–78, pp. 529 and 531), Philippikos's destruction of conciliar images (ch. 581, p.523), and the Arab siege of Constantinople and attack on the Bulgars in 717–18 (ch. 592, pp. 534f).

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. B. Colgrave, R. Mynors (Oxford 1969). See list in Brown (*infra*). *De temporum ratione*, ed. T. Mommsen, C. Jones, in *CCL* 123b (1977) 463–544.

LIT. *Bede: His Life, Times, and Writings*², ed. A.H. Thompson (Oxford 1969). G.H. Brown, *Bede the Venerable* (Boston 1987). –C.B.T., M.McC.

BEDS (sing. κραββάτιον) were used, at least until the 10th C., not only as a place for sleeping, but also for reclining during BANQUETS, even though the custom of sitting at TABLES to dine became more and more usual (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:167f). The bed was normally made of wooden planks, whereas the rich bedecked their *klinai* (bedsteads) with silver (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 55:516.34–35) or ivory (Symeon Metaphrastes, PG 115:909B). The frame was provided with ropes or chains that supported the *stromne*, or mattress. The frame was placed on two trestles or on four legs, which were sometimes decorated. Beds of this kind are often depicted in miniatures. The *stromnai* were filled with rushes, straw, or wool; in rich houses they were covered with CARPETS, animal skins, or silk cloths of gay colors (M. Gedeon, *BZ* 5 [1896] 115.1–3). Pillows were used at one end of the bed to elevate the head (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 2:206f). Folding beds were also employed (MM 6:243.4). Warriors and ascetics prided themselves on rejecting the comfort of beds: Manuel I reportedly slept on brushwood during his campaigns, and Nikephoros II Phokas slept on the floor even in the palace. St. Andrew the Fool reportedly preferred to spend the night on a dunghill (PG 111:705AB). Eustathios of Thessalonike ridiculed the ascetics' habit of spending their nights on the ground.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:67–77. –Ap.K., A.K.

BEEKEEPING. See APICULTURE.

BEER. See BEVERAGES.

BEG (mod. Turk. *bey*), a Turkish title of unknown origin appearing on the oldest monument of the Turkish language, the 8th-C. Orkhon inscriptions, meaning "nobility" and opposed to *bodun*, i.e., "the mass of the people"; later it acquired the meaning "lord" and was widely used in the Islamic world as the equivalent of the Arabic title *ʿamīr* (see EMIR). The Karakhanids and the founders of the SELJUK dynasty used it. The 14th-C. Turkish emirates or beyliks were ruled by a senior lord known as the *ulu* (big) *beg*, whose territory was

divided into provinces governed by members of his family, simple begs. The title was also used in the Ottoman Empire and was introduced into Greek as a loanword (πάκις, πέγ, etc.).

LIT. L. Bazin, *EI*[2] 1:1159. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:250f. E.A. Zachariadou, "Observations on Some Turcica of Pachymeres," *REB* 36 (1978) 261–67. –E.A.Z.

BEGGAR (ἐπαίτης). Assistance to beggars was consistent with Byz. PHILANTHROPY toward the unfortunate. The texts rarely distinguish "professional" beggars from the POOR, who are described as *ptochoi, penetes*, AKTEMONES, or APOROI. Scenes of begging are, however, abundant in the sources: thus, a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 3:225.14–16) describes indigents in the streets who were stretching out their hands to the crowd, pleading for a small coin to buy some bread; Ptochoprodromos tells of a rich woman who fed her husband less well than the beggars who came to her house. PALLADIOS in the *Lausiac History* (164.7–10) writes of indigent people who lived in the stoa of a church and were in constant search of food; a woman even gave birth to a child in this stoa. The beggars were either naked or wore specific clothes, the beggar's cloak, *himatia epaitika* (PG 65:228B). Anna Komnene (An.Komn., bk.12.3; 3:63.19–20) relates that her mother Irene distributed money among *epaitai*, who were either naked or *sisyrophoroi*, clad in goathair cloaks. Some beggars are described as insolent: when one of them was given a loaf of bread, he demanded a cloak instead (Moschos, PG 87:2860A). The Homeric Iros (*Odyssey*, bk.18) was for the Byz. an archetypal image of the insolent beggar. The vita of Andrew the Fool (PG 111:708C) speaks of the "poor robbers" who stole Andrew's cloak; the hagiographer comments that citizens called them "children of the *archiereus*," a term probably indicating an institutionalized organization of Constantinopolitan beggars. It is not clear whether "the poor brethren in Christ" who were fed at the PTOCHOTROPHEION of ATTALEIATES (*Typikon*, ed. Gautier, 47.493–501) and the poor people who were annually chosen to have their feet washed by the emperor (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 126f) were genuine beggars or poor people able to sustain themselves. The government tried to restrict the number of beggars in Constantinople by prescribing that the quaestor employ able-bodied beggars or expel them from the city.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 5, 26f, 119, 130, 260. –A.K.

BEHAVIOR. The Byz. developed several images of ideal behavior. One of them was the eremitic ideal, with its tendency to mortification of the flesh in forms such as flight to the desert or wilderness, STYLITE life on a pillar, seclusion, and fasting. This ideal was contrasted with the communal life of the KOINOBION: both were based on the principle of *tapeinotes*, "humility" (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), but the cenobitic ideal placed more emphasis on discipline and activity than on individual abnegation. Attitudes toward PHILANTHROPY also varied; usually treated as a virtue, it was questioned by people such as Symeon the Theologian. Another criticism of ASCETICISM (esp. in the 12th C.) came from clerical and lay intellectuals (such as Eustathios of Thessalonike) who contrasted hermits with virtuous married people living in the world.

The secular ideal of behavior was construed in several forms: individualistic behavior concentrated on the interests of the nuclear family, emphasizing obedience to the law and fealty to the ruling emperor (Kekaumenos); behavior based on tolerance and OIKONOMIA, with developed bonds of FRIENDSHIP and values such as education and moderate enjoyment of life (Psellos); the knightly ideal, with stress on military prowess and personal fealty (Eustathios of Thessalonike). The ideal of WOMEN's behavior slowly shifted from that of extreme piety (the prostitute transformed into an ascetic, a woman in male disguise eagerly searching for salvation) to the model housewife; in the 12th C. a new image appeared—the woman actively involved in political affairs, a patron of art, a faithful mistress

Byz. ideals of behavior were developed particularly in hagiography and in special moralistic treatises, such as those by KEKAUMENOS or SPANEAS, in MIRRORS OF PRINCES, and in rhetorical writings (panegyrics, monodies, etc.). (See also ETHICS; BODY LANGUAGE.)

LIT. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav* 241–43. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XI (1976), 597–623. W. Hörandner, "Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 235–47. –A.K.

BEIRUT. See BERYTUS.

BÉLA III (Alexios to the Byz.), king of Hungary (from 1172); born ca.1148, died 23 Apr. 1196. Second son of Géza II (ruled 1141–61/2), by agreement with his brother István III Béla went to Constantinople ca.1163 to be betrothed to Maria Komnene, heiress apparent of MANUEL I; Béla may have been named DESPOTES (but see L. Stiernon, *REB* 21 [1963] 292). Manuel envisaged an eventual union of Hungary and Byz. In 1166 Béla helped fight Hungary to regain Croatia and Dalmatia, his promised inheritance. After the birth of ALEXIOS II, the engagement to Maria was terminated; Béla (now caesar) wedded Anne of Châtillon, half-sister of Manuel's empress. Upon the death of István III, Béla occupied Hungary with Byz. assistance. In 1181, he seized Croatia and Dalmatia; ca.1182–84 he took the Morava valley and Niš (Naissus). Following Anne's death (1184), he sought the hand of Manuel's relative Theodora, which would have given him a claim to the throne. When this marriage was denied, Béla's daughter Margaret married ISAAC II ANGELOS. In 1192 he and Isaac met at Belgrade, but only in 1195 were they able to agree on joint action against Bulgaria. Isaac's overthrow frustrated their cooperation.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 305–13. Idem, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970) 82–84, 89–95. Brand, *Byzantium* 79f, 88–96. F. Makk, "Relations hungaro-byzantines à l'époque de Béla III," *ActaHistHung* 31 (1985) 3–32. –C.M.B.

BELGRADE. See SINGIDUNUM.

BELISARIOS (Βελισάριος), general; born Germania on borders of Thrace and Illyricum ca.505, died Constantinople March 565. Belisarios became guard officer of Justinian I (who was then *magister militum*), *doux* of Mesopotamia (526), and then *magister militum* of the East (529). He defeated the Persians near Dara in 530, but Justinian recalled him because these operations ultimately failed. In 532 Belisarios suppressed the NIKA REVOLT. Belisarios commanded the successful expeditionary force that reconquered Africa in late 533, decisively defeated the Vandals, destroyed their kingdom in 533–34, and celebrated a triumph at Constantinople in 534. He occupied Sicily, then entered Rome on 9/10 Dec. 536. His victories were represented in mosaic on the CHALKE Gate. Belisarios was recalled to Constantinople because of Justinian's mistrust and fear of Persia. The emperor again sent Belisarios to Italy in 544, but recalled him in 548. Despite internal dissension and inadequate resources, he skillfully directed the reconquest of much of Italy from the Ostrogoths. In 559–60 he led an emergency defense against Cotrigur Huns who threatened Thrace and Constantinople. Justinian removed him as *comes domesticorum* in 562 but restored him to favor on 19 July 563. Belisarios was greatly influenced by his wife, ANTONINA, but was apparently indifferent to politics. He possessed many (possibly 7,000) *buccellarii* (private guardsmen). Master of strategy, operations, and tactics, with a swift and instinctive grasp of the potential in a situation, Belisarios was probably the best Byz. general. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, Belisarios's *assessor*, described many of Belisarios's campaigns and contributed to his high reputation.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 51–55, 156–64, 171–76. Stein, *Histoire* 2:284–93, 312–24, 346–55. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 77–109. –W.E.K., A.C.

BELISARIOS, ROMANCE OF, an anonymous verse text composed probably in the late 14th C. (cf. ROMANCE). The fate of the hero, blinded and reduced to begging at the central crossroads of Constantinople, exemplifies the workings of Envy. He has little connection with the historical BELISARIOS, Justinian I's general, though both Prokopios and Theophanes the Confessor comment that envy destroyed Belisarios's career. The legend first appears in a 12th-C. MS of the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE and the *Chiliades* of TZETZES, while the developed story reflects episodes from the 12th C. (the PETRALIPHAS brothers and the siege of Kerkyra, 1149) and the 14th C. (the career of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS). An underlying theme, unusual in Byz. literature, is a class-based tension between aristocrats and populace, which may account for the poem's continued popularity in the post-Byz. period, when it circulated in two rhymed versions.

ED. *Istoria tou Belisariou*, ed. W.F. Bakker, A.F. van Gemert (Athens 1988). Wagner, *Carmina* 322–78. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

BELL (*κώδων*). Bells were used by the Romans for various purposes, for example, as children's TOYS (bells of this kind were found in catacombs) and as devices to signal the opening of public baths and help keep track of livestock. A bas-relief discovered in Galata and dated to the reign of Justin II shows a bell, struck by two men, that was apparently used to announce the beginning of circus games (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:1970).

Small bells for animals survive from the 4th C. onward; one is inscribed "St. Theodore help the horse (*alogon*)" (unpublished; Oxford, Ashmolean Museum, inv. 1980.26). Small bells were also among the silver horse fittings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS) excavated in Nubia (W.B. Emery, L.P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* [Cairo 1938] 262–71, pls. 55–56). A pavement mosaic at Umm Harteyn in Syria, dated 499/500, shows a bull with three bells hanging from its neck (J. Balty, *Mosaiques antiques de Syrie* [Brussels 1977], fig.61). The *Farmer's Law* (ch.30) establishes the punishment for a thief who removed a *kodon* from a cow or sheep.

The metal content of two 6th- or 7th-C. small bronze bells in the Ashmolean Museum has been analyzed and found to conform to the traditional high-tin formula for bells, a formula imported into the western world from southeast Asia where it originated in the Iron Age (P. Craddock in *Application of Science in Examination of Works of Art*, ed. P.A. England, L. van Zelst [Boston 1985] 64).

Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:841A), when describing the persecution of the faithful in Constantinople, exclaims that the tolling of bells (*kodonismos*) was heard throughout the whole city—Theodore's hostile attitude toward the *kodonismos* suggests that he meant secular rather than ecclesiastical bells, since Byz. churches at that time used a gong or SEMANTRON for signaling the hour.

In the West, however, bells were widely used from the 6th C. to summon the faithful to church services. The sophistication of the Latin West in bell-founding is amply demonstrated by Theophilus Presbyter's extensive description (11th C.?) of the techniques involved (*Schedula diversarum artium*, ed. A. Ilg [Vienna 1874; rp. Osnabrück 1970] 319–31). Such experience may have led Basil I to seek bells in the West: according to the CHRONICON VENETUM (ed. G. Monticolo, 126.13–16), the Venetian doge Orso II (864–81) sent to Constantinople 12 bells "and from this time onward the Greeks started having *campanae*." LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3:34) describes a *machina* in the NEA EKKLESIA that struck (*sonat*) ecclesiastical hours—it may have been an AUTOMATON equipped with a bell.

Some monasteries used *kodones* instead of *semantra* to summon monks: one is mentioned in the *hypotyposis* of Athanasios of Athos (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 136.22–23), another in the *typikon* of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 77.1035). Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:521.32–522.5), however, considers the *semantron* as typical of Byz. and stressed that the Latins used the "brass-tongued" *kampana*. Another 12th-C. writer (Eust. Thess., *Capture*, pp. 134.23–136.14) also describes the animosity of the Normans toward wooden gongs and asks in astonishment why they were not hostile to "the large *semantikoi kodones*" in the Church of St. Demetrios. Texts of the 14th and 15th C. more frequently mention church bells that also rang at times of danger. After 1453 the Turks prohibited the tolling of bells. Allatios, in the first half of the 17th C., wrote that bells of brass and copper were rare in Greece, although many very old bells were preserved on Mt. Athos.

LIT. L. Allatios, *The Newer Temples of the Greeks* (University Park, Pa.–London 1969) 5f. E.V. Williams, *The Bells of Russia* (Princeton 1985) 21–24. E.M. Zumbroich, *LMA* 4:1500f. –M.M.M., A.C., A.K.

BELL TOWER, a multistoried structure built as an integral part of, or adjacent to, a church with the purpose of hanging BELLS. Though at times functionally and formally related to monastic PYRGOI, bell towers are invariably distinct from them. Belfries are made of masonry-bearing walls, perforated on all four sides. The top floor, where the bells are hung, usually has the largest openings. Relatively few Byz. churches with bell towers have been preserved (e.g., at the Omorphoklisia near Kastoria; Zoodochos Pege near Samara, Messenia; Aphentiko, Brontocheion monastery, Mistra); several others survive in Serbia (e.g., Bogorodica Ljeviška in PRIZREN; main church of Žiča monastery) and Bulgaria (Pantokrator church at MESEMBRIA). No surviving example appears to antedate 1200. This led earlier scholars (G. Millet, *L'école grecque dans l'architecture byzantine* [Paris 1916; rp. London 1974] 137f) to assume that the form was imported from the West during the Latin

occupation of Constantinople. Recent research indicates that many churches in Constantinople (KALENDERHANE CAMII, Kilise Camii, PAMMAKARISTOS, CHORA) once had belfries, although none survive. Their destruction may be related to the general Turkish prohibition on bells. The origins of the Byz. bell towers remain murky. Their existence by the 9th C. at the latest is attested in miniatures depicting Holy Sion in the Khludov Psalter (Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, fols. 51r, 86v).

LIT. Ch. Barla, *Morphe kai exelixis ton byzantinon kodonostasion* (Athens 1959). H. Hallensleben, "Byzantinische Kirchtürme," *Kunstchronik* 19 (1966) 309–11. O.M. Kandić, "Kule-zvonici uz srpske crkve XII–XIV veka," *ZbLikUmet* 14 (1978) 3–75. –S.Ć.

BELT (ζώνη, Lat. *cingulum*), in the early Roman Empire an element of military costume. During the reforms of Diocletian and Constantine I, a *zone* became part of the dress of every official, with the exception of the empress, who did not wear a belt since she was not considered a true officeholder. The fashion for belts spread, and in 382 the state tried to restrict the use of belts by civilians. Monks and priests followed the trend, viewing the belt as a symbol of purity, temperance, and manliness.

Byz. belts were made of leather or cloth, with buckles of bronze. Luxurious specimens could be purple or gilded. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 470.10–12) mentions purple and quasi-purple *zostriai* (the price of which ranged from 8 to 16 miliaresia apiece). As official INSIGNIA, belts of court functionaries differed in form and color; some were studded with precious stones. Higher orders of the clergy (from priests on up) wore belts, made of silk, over the STICHARION and the EPITRACHELION; the EPIGONATION was attached to the belt. All-metal belts are unknown, except for gold MARRIAGE BELTS. Numerous BELT FITTINGS have been found, primarily on the frontiers of the empire, in civilian as well as in military contexts.

The Virgin's girdle was one of the most important relics in Constantinople. Brought to the capital perhaps in the 5th C. and contained in a special reliquary box or SOROS, it was housed in the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and ultimately at the Church of BLACHERNAI. Its deposit at the Chalkoprateia was celebrated annually on 31 Aug.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:50–55. M. Sommer, *Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschläge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen Reich* (Bonn 1984). Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 101–17. M. Jugie, "L'église de Chalcopratia et le culte de la Ceinture de la Sainte Vierge à Constantinople," *EO* 16 (1913) 308–12. –A.K.

BELT FITTINGS. Until recently most excavated belt fittings of the 5th–7th C. were from barbarian graves and it was assumed that those found on Byz. soil were imports (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 267); recent finds from Constantinople and Asia Minor, however, suggest that the Byz. appropriated and diffused barbarian fittings. Most surviving specimens may be assigned to the 6th–7th C.; they are primarily bronze, with rare examples in gold, lead, iron, or silver. The discovery of bronze stamping molds in Cherson testifies to the existence of the local production of belt fittings of Byz. type in the 7th C. (A.I. Ajababin, *SovArch* 3 [1982] 190–98). A fairly limited range of design types is replicated in various media. A few deluxe fittings even bear gemstones.

Byz. belt fittings assumed a variety of forms: those with hinged buckles versus those on which only the tongue is hinged; those secured to the belt strap with pierced studs versus those with a slit through which the end of the strap could be looped. Examples of the later type, with rigid buckle and strap loop, tend to be of the 8th–10th C. and most bear zoomorphic decoration. Earlier (6th–7th C.) specimens boast a greater variety of shapes (hearts, triangles, lozenges) and often bear highly stylized floral or zoomorphic motifs. Iconic images (Christ, the Virgin Hodegetria) occasionally appear, as do simple biblical scenes (e.g., the Annunciation), pagan heroes (e.g., Herakles), invocations, and expressions of good luck. Most common, however, are personal monograms, which suggests that personalized belt fittings may have facilitated the retrieval of one's clothing at the baths. (See also BELT; MARRIAGE BELT.)

LIT. J. Werner, "Nomadische Gürtel bei Persern, Byzantinern und Langobarden," *Atti del Convegno sul tema la civiltà dei Longobardi in Europa* (Rome 1974) 109–39. M. Sommer, *Die Gürtel und Gürtelbeschläge des 4. und 5. Jahrhunderts im römischen Reich* (Bonn 1984). –G.V.

BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA (Βέλθανδρος καὶ Χρυσάντζα), an anonymous ROMANCE in 1,348 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written probably during the 14th C. in a language that shows the confusion of VERNACULAR and learned

elements characteristic of this genre. A striking feature of the plot is the elaborate *Erotokastron* (Castle of Love) in which, in a dreamlike atmosphere, Belthandros selects from a BRIDE SHOW the girl destined to be his wife. He eventually finds her in Antioch and, after many hazards including a false marriage with her maid, they live happily ever after. The romance is familiar with some of the vocabulary (e.g., LIZIOS, "liege") and habits (e.g., HAWKING) of westernized feudal society. Antecedents for the plot have thus been sought in Western literature, for example, in the (admittedly rare) *château d'amour* of Provençal poetry or in the Tristan story (for a marriage with the beloved's maid). Equally likely, however, are precedents within the Byz. learned tradition itself, in chroniclers' accounts of bride shows (C. Cupane, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 221–48) and in the EKPHRASEIS of gardens and buildings in the 12th-C. romances. The mixture of motifs reflects the Western penetration of Byz. society following the Fourth Crusade.

ED. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 85–130. Germ. tr., E. von Nischer-Falkenhof, "Belthandros und Chrysantza: Ein byzantinischer Minnesang aus dem 13. Jahrhundert," *JÖB* 8 (1959) 87–122.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 120f, 124–27. M. Chatzigiakoumes, *Ta mesaionika demode keimena: symbole ste melete kai sten ekdose tous* (Athens 1977) 60–69, 104–26, 213–46. H. and R. Kahane, "The Hidden Narcissus in the Byzantine Romance of *Belthandros and Chrysantza*," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 199–219. G. Fulciniti, "Il romanzo di Beltrando e Crisanza: un tentativo di Analisi narratologica," *Università di Napoli. Annali di Facoltà di lettere e filosofia* 27 (1984–85) 229–41.

–E.M.J., M.J.J.

BEMA (*βῆμα*), the area of the church containing the ALTAR, also referred to as the *presbyterion* or *hierateion* (sanctuary). In Byz. churches, the bema occupied the position at the east end of the naos, directly in front of the APSE, though in some cases it extended laterally to include areas in front of the subsidiary apses. In Syria the bema was placed in the middle of the naos. In early churches the bema was usually raised on a platform one step high, enclosed by the chancel barrier and later the TEMPLON. The entire closed area was accessible only to the members of the clergy who celebrated the liturgy there. In theological terms, the bema was viewed as the Christian equivalent of the "Holy of Holies" in the ancient Jewish Temple. The "bema of the *anagnostai* (readers)" was another name for the AMBO (Sozom., *HE* 9.2.11); John Chrysostom is said (ibid. 8.5.2) to have preached in the middle of his crowded audience, sitting on the bema of the *anagnostai.*

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:583–99. A.M. Schneider, *RAC* 2:129f. R. Taft, "Some Notes on the Bema in the East and West Syrian Tradition," *OrChrP* 34 (1968) 326–59.

–M.J.

BENEVENTO (Βενεβεντός), city in CAMPANIA, capital of the province of Samnium in the late Roman Empire. In the late 530s Benevento was contested between Justinian I's general Belisarios and the Goths. Circa 545 Totila conquered the city and destroyed its walls. The Lombards occupied Benevento ca.570; various Byz. attempts at reconquest (e.g., Constans II's siege of 663) failed, and the city and the duchy of Benevento remained under the nominal suzerainty of Lombard kings.

Much construction occurred during this period. Theuderata, wife of the duke Romuald, built the monastery of S. Pietro outside Benevento (680s). Duke Arechis II (758–87) is credited with building a palace (perhaps an addition to the existing ducal palace), extending the city walls, constructing the palace-church of S. Sofia, and granting the monastery connected with S. Sofia a water pipe to supply its bath as well as a yearly supply of wood for heating. The chapel of S. Sofia is described in 8th-C. documents as a likeness of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Excavations in 1950 revealed that the church originally was star-shaped, with two inner rings of supports and a low dome. It had marble and mosaic decoration that does not survive.

When the Lombard state was crushed by the Franks in 774, Benevento gained full independence. After its political surge in the 8th C., Benevento experienced internal strife (SALERNO detached itself from the duchy in 849) and hostile attacks on its territory: the Carolingian king Louis II managed to repel the Arabs in 872, but only temporarily. Emp. Basil I sought an alliance with Lombard principalities, and in 876 a Byz. ambassador was sent to Benevento, Salerno, and Capua but had no success (*Reg* 1, no.495). In Oct. 891 the Byz. captured Benevento and the Byz. *strategos* remained there until 895, when he was forced to leave the city and its territory. Benevento was still politically dependent upon the empire, however, until the Norman invasion. With the help of the Normans, Atenulf III, prince of Benevento, defeated in 1041 the Byz. army of the *katepano*

Boioannes the Younger, but soon thereafter the Normans left the service of Atenulf and supported Salerno against him. The subsequent events are obscure; George MANIAKES seems to have retaken Benevento from the Normans in 1042 (Skyl. 427.52–56), but the Byz. could not retain the city; in 1051 Benevento, in the face of a Norman attack, accepted the suzerainty of the pope.

LIT. H. Belting, "Studien zum beneventanischen Hof im 8. Jahrhundert," *DOP* 16 (1962) 141–93. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 16, 20f, 171f, 230–34. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:273–77. – A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

BENJAMIN I, patriarch of Alexandria (626–65); born ca.590, died 3 Jan. 665; feastday (Coptic church) 3 Jan. Born to a wealthy and apparently hellenized Egyptian family, Benjamin became a monk ca.621 but soon entered the service of the Monophysite patriarch Andronikos, who later named him as his successor. The Byz. reconquest of Egypt from the Persians and esp. the arrival in 631 of Patr. KYROS compelled Benjamin to take refuge in Upper Egypt from Kyros's persecutions. He returned only in 644 after the Muslims had captured Alexandria, reportedly following a decree by ʿAMR recalling him. Ibn ʿAbd al-Ḥakam (died 871) claims that ʿAmr sought and received from Benjamin specific advice on administering Egypt. Benjamin probably left Alexandria during the temporary Byz. reoccupation (645) and may have offered ʿAmr support in exchange for lenience toward the local populace. The Coptic church reveres Benjamin for having encouraged and organized the Egyptian Monophysites during and after the persecutions of the 630s and for rebuilding churches and monasteries. An account, preserved only in Coptic and Arabic versions but probably composed in Greek by Benjamin's *synkellos* and successor Agathon, records Benjamin's consecration of a church at Dair Macarius (*Livre de la consécration du sanctuaire de Benjamin*, ed. R.-G. Coquin [Cairo 1975]). Of Benjamin's writings, only a "Homily on the Wedding at Cana" is extant in toto; written in Coptic, its vocabulary reveals strong Greek influences.

ED. C. Müller, "Neues über Benjamin I, 38. und Agathon, 39. Patriarchen von Alexandrien," *Muséon* 72 (1959) 323–47. Idem, *Die Homilie über die Hochzeit zu Kana und weitere Schriften des Patriarchen Benjamin I. von Alexandrien* (Heidelberg 1968).

LIT. C. Müller, "Benjamin I., 38. Patriarch von Alexandrien," *Muséon* 69 (1956) 313–40. Butler, *Arab Conquest* 169–79, 439–46. –P.A.H.

BENJAMIN OF TUDELA, or Bar Yonah, the most important and informative medieval Jewish traveler; fl. mid-12th-C. Spain. His *Itinerary* (*Sepher Masaoth*), apparently unedited notes, outlines his travels during the 1160s from Spain along the Mediterranean coast to Byz. It also includes data on the Islamic world, Ethiopia, and Europe. Benjamin recorded unique censuses of Jewish congregations, economic observations, local pronunciation of Greek, and folklore. Our main source for 12th-C. Byz. Jewish history, the *Itinerary* also contains early descriptions of Vlachs, Oghuz Turks, Druses, and Assassins. His description of Constantinople is among the best extant. He mentioned guilds of Jewish silkworkers in Thebes, Thessalonike, and Pera; tanners in Pera; and even an agricultural settlement near Delphi. He visited about 25 Byz. cities and recorded some 9,000 JEWS.

ED. *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, ed. M.N. Adler (London 1907).

LIT. A. Andréadès, "Sur Benjamin de Tudèle," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 457–62. Ankori, *Karaites* 141–61. –S.B.B.

BERA (Βήρα), identified with modern Pherrai in western Thrace, site of the monastery of the Theotokos Kosmosoteira, founded before 1152 by the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS, son of Alexios I. Isaac built the cenobitic monastery as his residence and final resting place; he requested that his tomb be transferred to this new foundation from the church of the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople, which he had restored earlier (N.P. Ševčenko, *GOrThR* 29 [1984] 135–39). The complex, surrounded by a wall, included a cistern, mill, and library. The monastery also had a GEROKOMEION with 36 beds and a bathhouse for the use of monks and villagers. The monastery continued in use until the mid-14th C.

The *typikon*, drafted by Isaac starting in 1152, was closely modeled, for its liturgical sections, on the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. It provided for 74 monks, of whom 50 were to be choir brothers, the rest serving brothers. All the monks were to be over 30 years of age, and no eunuchs were permitted. Isaac

emphasized the independent status of the monastery and endowed it with substantial properties in Thrace. The *typikon* is an important source for local toponyms, esp. since it contains numerous Slavic place names (V. Tŭpkova-Zaimova, *Balkansko ezikoznanie* 2 [1960] 123–27) and for social and economic relations: as the former estate of a secular owner, the estates of the Kosmosoteira housed certain "vassals" who were given land in exchange for their service to the master (V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* [Erevan 1978] 32–34).

The church at Pherrai, which is presumed to be the *katholikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery, is a large modified cross-in-square structure with frescoes of the 12th C. By 1433 it had been transformed into a mosque; it was restored and reconsecrated in 1940.

SOURCE. L. Petit, "Typikon du monastère de la Kosmosoteira près d'Aenos (1152)," *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 17–75.

LIT. S. Sinos, *Die Klosterkirche der Kosmosoteira in Bera (Vira)* (Munich 1985). A.K. Orlandos, "Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Beras," *Thrakika* 4 (1933) 3–34. N. Patterson (Ševčenko), "Byzantine Frescoes at Pherrai" (M.A. thesis, Columbia University 1964). –A.M.T., N.P.Š.

BERBERS. See MAURI.

BERROIA (Βέ[ρ]ροια), name of cities in Syria and Macedonia.

BERROIA IN SYRIA (Ar. Halab, Aleppo in mod. Syria), city and bishopric of SYRIA I; it stood on the road leading east from Antioch, about halfway to Hierapolis to the northeast and to the Tigris River to the east. It was raised to a metropolitan bishopric in 536. In 540, the citizens of Berroia gave only half of the 4,000 pounds of silver demanded by Chosroes I, who burned the city; the local military garrison then deserted to the Persians, complaining of a lack of pay (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.7). By the 580s, the Legio IV Parthica was stationed at Berroia (Theoph.Simok. 2.6.9). The city was under Persian rule from 604 to 628 and Arab rule after 636; after NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS took and sacked it in 962, Berroia was again Byz. between 995 and 1017. Among the few Byz. vestiges at Berroia is part of an aisled tetraconch (cathedral?) church (in the Madrasah al-Ḥalāwiyya) with sculpture characteristic of the early 6th C.

LIT. J. Sauvaget, *Alep* (Paris 1941). H. Gaube, E. Wirth, *Aleppo* (Wiesbaden 1984). W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origins and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 27 (1973) 101–03. –M.M.M.

BERROIA IN MACEDONIA, city at the west end of the central Macedonian plain, sometimes confused in the sources with Beroe-Stara Zagora in Thrace. In late antiquity Berroia belonged to the province of Macedonia I. In the 7th C. DROUGOUBITAI settled in the plain below the city. In the late 8th C. the empress Irene is said to have rebuilt Berroia and named it Eirenoupolis; some texts, including Theophanes (Theoph. 457.8–10), place Berroia-Eirenoupolis in Thrace (Chionides, *Historia* [1970] 2:14–18). The 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 265.32) mentions a *strategos* of Berroia alongside that of Strymon, and an act of 1196 specifically names the theme of Berroia (*Lavra* 1, no.69.3). A letter of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep.123, ed. Gautier 563.1) is addressed to a *doux* of Berroia. For a short time Samuel of Bulgaria held the city, but in 1001 Dobromir, its *katarchon* (i.e., governor or master), surrendered Berroia to Basil II. The city does not appear again in the sources until the end of the 12th C. It is questionable whether Peter and Asen conquered Berroia, since the evidence on this may refer to Thracian Beroe (Chionides, *infra* [1970] 2:27, n.3).

After 1204 Berroia was assigned to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. In 1224 it was taken by Theodore I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros, then in 1246 by John III Vatatzes. John VI Kantakouzenos took an interest in Berroia, but in 1343/4 it was surrendered to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN; Kantakouzenos retook the city in 1350, but it soon fell again into Serbian hands and was administered from 1358 by the Serbian noble Radoslav Chlapen. Berroia was once more Byz. ca.1375, but Ottoman attacks began at just that time. The Turks seized the city several times, definitively ca.1430.

The bishopric of Berroia, suffragan of Thessalonike, is known from 347. After 1261 Michael VIII promoted Berroia to an archbishopric, and by 1300 it had become a metropolis.

A considerable number of the monuments of the Byz. city have survived, and some of the many post-Byz. churches may have been built on Byz. foundations. An Early Christian cemetery with

more than 50 tombs has been excavated (*ArchDelt* 33.2 [1978] 264–66, 268, 273–82). Some churches with frescoes of the 12th and 13th C. are still standing, but the most significant monument is the Church of the Anastasis, an unpretentious, single-aisled basilica with spectacular frescoes dated by inscription to the year 1315 (S. Pelekanides, *Kallierges: Holes Thettalias aristos zographos* [Athens 1973]). The artist is named KALLIERGES, the donors a certain Psalidas and his wife Euphrosyne. The paintings bear comparison with the mosaics of the PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople and the HOLY APOSTLES in Thessalonike, and esp. with the frescoes of St. NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, also in Thessalonike. The program of the Anastasis church includes "panels" of the Crucifixion and the Anastasis in niches opposite each other. On the north and south walls are a Feast cycle with an expanded Passion sequence and the portrait of a monk in *proskynesis* before St. Artemios. The church may have been the *katholikon* of a patriarchal monastery (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2018). The old cathedral is a Byz. construction using *spolia* from some Early Christian basilica (Ph.A. Drosogianne, *ArchDelt* 18.2 [1963] 249f).

LIT. G.Ch. Chionides, *Historia tes Beroias* 2 (Thessalonike 1970). Idem, "Perigramma tes ekklesiastikes historias tes Beroias," *GregPal* 65 (1982) 159–81. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:342. N.K. Moutsopoulos, *He laike architektonike tes Beroias* (Athens 1967). Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioumi, "Verroia," in *Alte Kirchen und Klöster Griechenlands*, ed. E. Melas (Cologne 1972) 126–30. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

BERTHA OF SULZBACH, sister-in-law of CONRAD III and first wife of MANUEL I; she was given the name Irene after her marriage; died Constantinople ca.1160. To confirm the alliance of 1140 with John II, Conrad sent Bertha to marry Manuel in 1142, but the wedding occurred only in Jan. 1146. She is said to have been just, charitable, pious, opposed to cosmetics, stubborn, and narrow-minded. She acted as a patron, and TZETZES dedicated some of his works to her. Manuel soon neglected her in favor of other women, partly because she failed to bear a male heir; allegedly, Patr. Kosmas II Attikos, on being deposed (Feb. 1147), cursed her womb. In 1152 she bore Maria KOMNENE and ca.1156 Anna, who died ca.1160. Bertha warned the emperor about the conspiracies of Andronikos Komnenos and STYPPEIOTES. She was commemorated in an EPITAPHIOS by BASIL OF OHRID (Regel, *Fontes* 1.2:311–30).

LIT. C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*[2] (Paris 1938) 170–91. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:33–39. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:454–59. –C.M.B.

BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE, Burgundian pilgrim to the Holy Land; died Lille 1459. Bertrandon, who was a knight of Philip III the Good of Burgundy, described his journey in a book entitled *Voyage d'outremer*. He set off in Feb. 1432 from Ghent to Palestine and visited Jerusalem, Damascus, Antioch, and many other places in the area; then, in a caravan, he traversed Asia Minor as far as Pera and Constantinople (which he left on 23 Jan. 1433). Bertrandon describes the city walls of Constantinople, its churches (Hagia Sophia, St. George, the Pantokrator, the Holy Apostles, Blachernai), and squares. The city seemed to him smaller than Rome, and he described it as having more open space than built-up areas. He saw Emp. John VIII and his brother Demetrios Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, as well as the empress Maria Komnene, daughter of the emperor of Trebizond; Bertrandon writes how Maria mounted—"like a man"—a horse with a magnificent saddle; she wore a mantle and a tall pointed hat. Bertrandon also attended a solemn church service and a wedding of one of the emperor's relatives. From Constantinople Bertrandon traveled across Macedonia, observing that the countryside was completely devastated and, except for Selymbria, was in the hands of the Turks. The description is sober and concise but tinged with animosity toward the Greeks: he finds them less honest than the Turks and deceitful in their submission to the Roman church. It is worth noting that the court of Constantinople sought information from Bertrandon about Joan of Arc.

ED. *Le Voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière*, ed. C.H.A. Schefer (Paris 1892). Eng. tr. in *Early Travels in Palestine*, ed. T. Wright (London 1848) 283–382. –A.K.

BERYTUS (Βηρυτός, now Beirut [Ar. Bayrūt] in mod. Lebanon), city in the province of Phoenicia Maritima under TYRE and independent metropolitan bishopric under the patriarch of ANTIOCH. Berytus was damaged by earthquakes in 347/8, 501/2, and 550/1; after the last, the city was re-

stored by Justinian I (Theoph. 227.21–228.4), epigraphic and other vestiges of which work (including a bath) have been found in the forum. Berytus was still noted in the 6th C. for its famous LAW SCHOOL and for its state silk factories (Prokopios, *SH*, ch.25) as well as its private purple-dyeing industry. The Arabs took Berytus in 635; it was held briefly by JOHN I TZIMISKES in 975.

LIT. R. Mouterde, "Regards sur Beyrouth phénicienne, hellénistique et romaine," *MélUnivJos* 40 (1964) 147–90. P. Collinet, *L'école de droit de Beyrouth* (Paris 1925). –M.M.M.

BESSARION (Βησσαρίων), Greek expatriate scholar and theologian in Italy, cardinal (1439–72), and titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople from 1463; baptismal name John; born Trebizond 1399/1400?, died Ravenna 18 Nov. 1472. Educated in Constantinople and Mistra, Bessarion studied with John CHORTASMENOS, George CHRYSOKOKKES, and Gemistos PLETHON. He became a monk in 1423 and subsequently deacon, priest, and *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Basil in Constantinople. Appointed metropolitan of Nicaea in 1437, he attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE as a leader of the pro-Unionists. In 1439 he converted to Catholicism and was made a cardinal. After a brief return to Constantinople, he spent the rest of his career in Italy. He was appointed to numerous high ecclesiastical positions, including that of papal legate, and was twice a candidate for the papacy (1455 and 1471). Ever mindful of his Greek origins, he lobbied unsuccessfully for a crusade against the Turks.

It was as a scholar that Bessarion made his greatest impact. He wrote prolifically in Greek and in Latin, of which he acquired an excellent knowledge. During the Byz. portion of his career, he composed pro-Unionist theological treatises, refuting the views of Orthodox scholars such as Mark EUGENIKOS. He was also the author of numerous orations and *enkomia*, including a panegyric of his native Trebizond (ed. O. Lampsides, *ArchPont* 39 [1984] 3–75), probably written in 1436–37. He emphasized its seapower, military preparedness, and strong fortifications. The oration also described the layout of Trebizond, esp. the imperial palace and the thriving commercial and manufacturing quarter of this *emporion tes oikoumenes* or "marketplace of the world."

In Rome Bessarion headed an academy that produced new and/or more accurate translations of ancient Greek authors. To this end he was an energetic collector of Greek MSS, which he eventually (1468) bequeathed to Venice, where they became the nucleus of the Biblioteca Marciana. He himself also copied some MSS (H.D. Saffrey, *ST* 233 [1964] 263–97). Bessarion took a moderate position in the mid-15th-C. debate over Plato and Aristotle; he did, however, write (in Greek) a lengthy work, *Against the Calumniator of Plato*, attacking the extreme Aristotelian views of GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS. He was the patron of Greek émigrés such as Theodore GAZES and Michael APOSTOLES, who wrote his funeral oration (PG 161:cxxvii–cxl).

ED. PG 161:137–744. *Against the Calumniator of Plato*, ed. L. Mohler, *infra*, vol. 2. For list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 121f.

LIT. L. Mohler, *Kardinal Bessarion als Theologe, Humanist und Staatsmann*, 3 vols. (Paderborn 1923–42). *PLP*, no. 2707. Gill, *Personalities* 45–54. *Miscellanea Francescana* 73.3–4 (1973). L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* (Rome 1979). *Miscellanea Marciana di studi Bessarionei* (Padua 1976). –A.M.T.

BESSARION RELIQUARY, a wooden *staurotheke*, that is, a container for fragments of the TRUE CROSS, composed of several parts, now in the Accademia in Venice; it took its name from the 15th-C. cardinal who presented it to the Scuola della Carità in that city. BESSARION may have obtained it from "Gregory Pneumatikos," as he is called on the cross within the RELIQUARY, perhaps Patr. Gregory III (1443–50/1). A second inscription speaks of "Irene Palaiologina, daughter of the emperor's brother," whom Frolow (*infra*) believed to be the niece of John VIII rather than of Michael IX. The sliding lid of the *staurotheke* is painted with seven scenes of the PASSION OF CHRIST surrounding the Crucifixion. Beneath this cover, a silver-gilt cross with the crucified Christ, flanked by Constantine and Helena in niello, is surrounded by eight framed ENAMEL panels; four of these have windows for relics. This part of the reliquary may be Western, but the cross itself carries Byz. enamel with Greek letters, which Frolow reads as the initials of such phrases as "The place of Calvary has become Paradise." Similar medallions are found on the back.

LIT. *Venezia e Bisanzio,* ed. I. Furlan (Venice 1974) no.112. Frolow, *Relique,* no.872. G. Fogolari, "La teca del Bessarione e la croce di San Teodoro di Venezia," *Dedalo* 3 (1922–23) 138–60. –M.E.F., A.C.

BESTIALITY (*ζωοφθορία, κτηνοβασία*), human intercourse with animals, was prohibited by the Old Testament, which associated it with HOMOSEXUALITY (Lev 18:22–23). This connection dominated Byz. canon law, which often imposed the same EPITIMION for both sins (NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES 13.2). The *Ecloga* (17.39) imposed the penalty of castration and ranked bestiality after incest and consanguinous intercourse as the third sexual sin, before homosexuality. The condemnation of bestiality continued throughout Byz. history, from Basil the Great in the 4th C. to Demetrios CHOMATENOS and John APOKAUKOS in the 13th C., always stressing the perversity of this form of intercourse. In the *Penitential* attributed to John IV Nesteutes, both men and women were condemned for bestiality (PG 88:1893D). Some monastic communities, such as Mt. Athos, prohibited the residence of children, eunuchs, women, and female animals in or near monasteries to deter fornication, homosexuality, and bestiality. The *typikon* of the PHOBEROU MONASTERY (pp. 75.14–77.10, 82.9–25) denied access to female animals specifically to prevent bestiality; at other monasteries their prohibition seems to reflect a general repudiation of the female sex (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 121).

Ancient myths with their elements of totemistic bestiality endured in literature and art, for example, in epigrams about Zeus's transformation into a bull or swan to seduce EUROPA or Leda (*AnthGr,* bk.5, nos. 65, 125, 307) and on the Europa casket. Pasiphaë, who disguised herself as a heifer to have intercourse with a bull and thus conceive the Minotaur, was interpreted as the embodiment of female initiative and its terrible consequences.

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 36–38. H.-G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich 1986) 140f. –J.H.

BESTIARY. See PHYSIOLOGOS.

BETHANY (*Βηθανία,* Ar. al-ʿĀzarīya or ʿAyzarīyah), located 3 km east of Jerusalem, is the site associated with the Raising of Lazarus. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*Onomastikon* 58:15) speaks of Bethany's Lazarion or "Place of Lazarus"—evidently a rock tomb. EGERIA (ca.380) implies the existence of a church there, which was used in the stational liturgy on Palm Sunday. Its proximity to JERUSALEM made it part of that city's "pilgrimage circuit." The early church, which had guest rooms, was rebuilt in the 5th C. A monastery existed there as well, and a second church, dedicated to Mary Magdalene, was erected during the time of the Latin Kingdom.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 151. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 29–31. –G.V.

BETHLEHEM (*Βηθλεέμ*), village in the Judaean hills, 9 km south of Jerusalem, that was revered from the 4th C. as Jesus' birthplace. The first church on the site of the traditional cave of the Nativity was built by Constantine I, probably on the initiative of Helena. It was a five-aisled basilica with an octagonal *martyrion,* preceded by an atrium. This church was destroyed at the time of the SAMARITAN revolt of 529. Justinian I replaced it with another basilica, larger and more ornate: a narthex was added, a trefoil apse constructed, and two entrances cut leading to the cave of the Nativity. Much later, under Manuel I, the east end of the church received lavish mosaic decoration at the hands of EPHRAIM. Other points of pilgrimage were the shrine of the Holy Innocents; the Well of the Star; and the tomb of St. JEROME, who, with a group of matrons, had established two monasteries at Bethlehem.

After the Arab conquest of Palestine, Bethlehem was venerated by Muslims as the birthplace of "ʿĪsā ibn Maryam" (Jesus, son of Mary) but never developed into an important center. The Crusaders occupied Bethlehem in 1099 and tried to create a bishopric there but lost it to Saladin in 1187.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 151f. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 33–37. W. Harvey, *Structural Survey of the Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem* (London 1935). B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem 1952). *EAEHL* 1:198–206. –G.V., Z.U.M.

BETH MISONA TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C., four liturgical vessels in silver acquired by the Cleveland Museum of Art in 1950. None of the objects has SILVER STAMPS but two bear

dedicatory inscriptions: the paten was offered by a certain Domnos to the Church of St. Sergios in the village (*chorion*) of Beth Misona, possibly to be identified with the modern village of Msibine, southwest of Aleppo (BERROIA) in northern Syria; one of the three nearly identical chalices, with repoussé decoration, was presented to the same church by Kyriakos, son of Domnos. Because of the dedication to St. Sergios, a misreading of the village name, and confusion over modern provenance, the Beth Misona Treasure has mistakenly been called the Ruṣāfa Treasure (see SERGIOPOLIS); instead it is one of several silver TREASURES given to village churches in the 4th–7th C.

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 228–31. –M.M.M.

BETH SHEAN. See SKYTHOPOLIS.

BETROTHAL (*μνηστεία*, Lat. *sponsalia*). Roman law had no specific form of contract preceding MARRIAGE; no penalty for breach of promise existed. The legislation of Constantine I (*Cod.Theod.* III 5.2, etc.) introduced the concept of ARRHA SPONSALICIA, the prenuptial gift, and by so doing transformed the informal agreement into a formal contract. Ensuing developments led to the reinforcement of the ties of the betrothal and a gradual disappearance of the clear distinction between it and marriage: the Council in Trullo (canon 98) equated marrying another person's betrothed to ADULTERY, and the *Ecloga* prescribed the punishment of cutting off the nose for one who engaged in intercourse with another's betrothed. In 1066 a synod under Patr. John VIII Xiphilinos proclaimed the legal equality of the two institutions, and in 1084 Alexios I confirmed their identity (*Reg.* 2, no.1116). The celebration of the betrothal continued, nevertheless, after Alexios's novel, and Demetrios CHOMATENOS (Laiou, *infra* 295) strongly contrasts *mnesteia* and marriage, defining the former as "the prearrangement and preagreement of a marriage."

Despite the lack of consistency in the Byz. treatment of betrothal the following features seem to have characterized *mnesteia*, distinguishing it from *gamos*: (1) the type of priestly benediction—even in the later period "incomplete" betrothal, without priestly benediction, was possible; (2) the age of the partners, the betrothed being allowed to be of five to seven years (and older); (3) the lack of economic ties, the DOWRY not yet being transmitted to the family of the groom; (4) the tendency to avoid (if not legally prohibit) sexual relations between the betrothed; (5) a broader range of valid grounds for dissolution of the betrothal, for example, madness, religious differences—in the 11th C. it was debated whether the reduced means (*aporia*) of one of the parties could cause the termination of a betrothal (*Peira* 49.26); (6) certain betrothals (those not blessed by a priest) could be terminated, but under the penalty of a PROSTIMON.

LIT. A. Laiou, "Ho thesmos tes mnesteias sto dekato trito aiona," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:280–98. S. Papadatos, *Peri tes mnesteias eis to Byzantinon dikaion* (Athens 1984). Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI (1967), 322–24. Ritzer, *Mariage* 178–91. –J.H., A.K.

BEVERAGES (*ποτά*). WATER was the basic beverage, closely followed by WINE (often mixed with water), which was consumed in large quantities and considered a staple of the diet. An acidic wine, *phouska* (really a mixture of vinegar and water), was served in cheap taverns called *phouskaria* (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 49–53). In monasteries, during the fasting periods, monks and nuns substituted for wine a hot drink made of boiling water mixed with SPICES such as pepper, cumin, and anise (*eukraton* or *kyminothermon*). Liqueurs were prepared from FRUITS such as dates, pears, and prunes. Neither dairy drinks nor beer seem to have been very popular. Eustathios of Thessalonike relates that "semibarbarians" prepared an intoxicating winelike drink from BARLEY; he denotes this drink with an old Russian word, *olovina* or "beer" (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 355). The *biberatikon* ("drink payment") was a reward given to laborers for their work (M. McCormick, *AJPh* 102 [1981] 160f).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:121–35. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 76–84. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 127–30. –Ap.K., A.K.

BEZANT (Lat. *bizantius aureus*, OF *besant*), the name given in western Europe to the Byz. gold NOMISMA. The word is mainly found in documents of the 10th–13th C., and its use subsequently is literary or heraldic, the coins themselves being known to merchants as HYPERPYRA or perperi. –Ph.G.

BIBLE (Βιβλία, lit. "books"), also *graphe* (scripture) usually with the epithet "holy," the collection of books that constitute the foundation of the Christian creed. Even though the Bible consists of two sections, the OLD TESTAMENT and the NEW TESTAMENT, written in different languages and in different historical situations, the CHURCH FATHERS emphasized its unity and the concordance of Old Testament and New Testament that derives from divine inspiration, the Bible being a work of the Holy Spirit. However, some heretics (e.g., the BOGOMILS) contrasted the Old Testament and New Testament, rejecting the former (wholly or in part) as inspired by Satan.

The Bible presents to the human mind various difficulties and alleged contradictions, the solution of which can lead to a profounder understanding of the text. A special discipline, EXEGESIS, arose, aimed at the interpretation of the Bible, while homiletics sought to explain biblical situations in SERMONS, the material of which was set out as scenes, dialogues, and rhetorical imagery. Two major branches of exegesis were founded: the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, which stressed the allegorical interpretation, and the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, which stressed "historical" interpretation. The "true" exegesis of the Bible was the focal point of doctrinal discussions, beginning with the Arian controversy. Each faction of the theologians tried to find in the Bible appropriate references or to interpret biblical citations in a sense that accorded with their views; consequently the idea of biblical "obscurity" requiring interpretation became important.

After the 5th C., the church assumed the exclusive right to interpret the Bible; tradition (*paradosis*) based on the sanctified church fathers imposed limits on previously free understanding. Dispute then centered on interpretation of the Fathers, rather than of the Bible itself.

LIT. *The Cambridge History of the Bible*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1970). *Le monde grec ancien et la Bible*, ed. C. Mondésert (Paris 1984). H.M. Biedermann, "Bibelverständnis der Ostkirchen," *OstkSt* 31 (1982) 122–41. M. Harl, "Origène et les interprétations patristiques grecques de l' 'obscurité' biblique," *VigChr* 36 (1982) 334–71. –J.I., A.K.

BIBLIOTHECA, also *Myriobiblon* (Μυριόβιβλον, "thousand books"), conventional titles of a work of PHOTIOS. In the oldest MS (Venice, Marc. gr. 450) the heading of the work is "List and Description of Books We Have Read." The *Bibliotheca* contains 280 chapters ("codices") that describe 386 books according to Treadgold (*infra* 5). It also has a preface and epilogue, both addressed to Photios's brother Tarasios. If we take them at face value, Photios compiled the *Bibliotheca* before leaving on an embassy to the "Assyrians," i.e., Arabs; this embassy has been variously identified with those of 838, 845, or 855. F. Halkin (*AB* 81 [1963] 414–17), however, suggested a much later date of composition (after 875). Most recently A. Markopoulos (*Symmeikta* 7 [1987] 165–82) proposed that the bulk of the *Bibliotheca* represents a revised version written in Photios's old age. B. Hemmerdinger hypothesized that Photios worked in Greek libraries in Baghdad (*REGr* 69 [1956] 101–03). N. Wilson surmised that Photios was working from memory (*infra* 95–99).

The *Bibliotheca* surveys both pagan and Christian authors, sometimes very extensively, sometimes briefly. Photios evidently avoids school texts (poets, Plato, Aristotle), is very interested in heretical works, and devotes more attention to historians than to natural science; very indicative is his concern for LEXIKA since he himself wrote one. The composition is not systematic, although several "codices" are organized in thematic groups. Photios sometimes provides biographical data on the author, summarizes the contents, and in some cases presents a theological and stylistic evaluation. Although Photios preferred a simple style, the *Bibliotheca* demonstrates that he could appreciate diverse stylistic approaches. Since his compilation includes many texts now lost, historians of ancient literature have studied it closely. Less attention has been paid to the *Bibliotheca* as reflecting the Byz. worldview. It is significant, for example, that Photios understood HERODOTUS as a historian of the Persian *basileis* and of an illegitimate revolt against them (cod. 60), and not as one who described the victory of the Greek city-states over a monarchy.

ED. *Bibliothèque*, ed. R. Henry, vols. 1–8 (Paris 1959–77), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. J.H. Freese, vol. 1 (London 1920).
LIT. W. Treadgold, *The Nature of the Bibliotheca of Photios* (Washington, D.C., 1980). Wilson, *Scholars* 93–111. G. Kustas, "The Literary Criticism of Photius," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 132–69. T. Hägg, *Photios als Vermittler antiker Literatur* (Stockholm 1975). T. Hägg, W. Treadgold, "The Preface of the *Bibliotheca* of Photius Once More," *Symbolae Osloenses* 61 (1986) 133–38. J. Schamp, *Photios historien des lettres: La Bibliothèque et ses notices biographiques* (Paris 1987). –A.K.

BILLETING. See MITATON.

BINBIRKILISE (Turk., lit. "thousand and one churches"), ecclesiastical site in LYKAONIA, apparently medieval Barata (Βάρατα), attested as a bishopric from the 4th to the 12th C. The area contains the remains of over 40 churches, in two main groups. The majority stand in the lower town (Madenşehir) and consist primarily of vaulted basilicas with horseshoe-shaped apses of a massive ashlar construction, together with an octagonal church that strikingly corresponds to the description of a "martyrium" by GREGORY OF NYSSA (ep. 25). Those of the upper town (Değle) include cross-in-square churches of less regular masonry with decorative brickwork. Dating is difficult and disputed; it appears that the lower town flourished from the 4th to the 7th C. and was reoccupied in the 9th, while the upper town was a refuge during the Arab invasions.

LIT. W.M. Ramsay, G. Bell, *The Thousand and One Churches* (London 1909). *TIB* 4:138–43. M. Restle in *RBK* 1:690–718. S. Eyice, *Recherches archéologiques à Karadağ (Binbirkilise)* (Istanbul 1971). –C.F.

BIOGRAPHY, a literary genre created in antiquity that flourished during the Roman Empire. It was considered an intermediate form lying somewhere between ENKOMION and HISTORIOGRAPHY and having as its purpose the presentation of the hero's character (*ethos*) and/or actions (*praxeis*) in logical rather than chronological sequence. The material was presented in anecdotes, maxims (sayings), catalogs of works, etc. Biographies were often combined in series, as by Plutarch. Late Roman biography included emperors (HISTORIA AUGUSTA), philosophers (Diogenes Laertius in the 3rd C.), and rhetoricians (the *Lives of the Sophists* by EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS). There was a tendency to transform the wise man into a "godlike" holy man like Pythagoras and Plotinos in their biographies by PORPHYRY, Origen in his *Life* written by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (bk.6 of the *Ecclesiastical History*), and esp. APOLLONIOS OF TYANA. Works of this kind, along with the books of the Maccabees and the Acts of the Martyrs, contributed to the development of HAGIOGRAPHY, the vita of ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria being the model for the new genre. The late Roman biography of the holy man was based on a preconceived ideal of behavior, presented the hero's life as a continual acme from cradle to grave, and had the purpose of defending the principles of particular philosophical and religious schools.

In Byz., secular biographies were not very common, nor were they produced in series (unlike the *Historia Augusta* and Eunapios). The demarcation of the genre from both hagiography and historiography was vague: the Life of Basil I (VITA BASILII) commissioned by Constantine VII was included in a historical compilation; Anna Komnene's panegyric on her father, the *Alexiad*, was construed as a book on history; the biographies of some emperors (JOHN III VATATZES) or empresses (THEODORA, wife of Theophilos) who became revered as saints were couched in the form of VITAE. The Byz. elaborated the genre of pejorative biography (INVECTIVE) such as the anonymous dialogue ANACHARSIS, and the pamphlets of Nikephoros BASILAKES on a certain Bagoas, and of John Argyropoulos (?) on Katablattas (N. Oikonomides, P. Canivet, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 5–97).

LIT. P. Cox, *Biography in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1983). A. Priessnig, "Die literarische Form der spätantiken Philosophenromane," *BZ* 30 (1929–30) 23–30. –A.K.

BIRDS (*ὄρνιθες*). The Byz. raised birds for food and for use in sport and hunting. Book 14 of the GEOPONIKA is dedicated to rearing domestic FOWL, primarily pigeons and hens. Ornithology fascinated Byz. artists and sportsmen, much as it had earlier Greek and Roman naturalists and birdcatchers. Aristotle's study of birds (esp. in *Parts of Animals*) left a heavy imprint on later ornithologists, but additional data were included by Alexander of Myndos (fl. 1st C. B.C.?) and elaborated by a certain Dionysios (fl. 1st C. A.D.?) in a tract called *Ornithiaka* or *Ixeutikon*. Dionysios's original text is lost, but a paraphrase with magnificent illuminations of 48 birds is part of the Vienna DIOSKORIDES. The illustrations in this MS (esp. fol.483v with 24 birds in a grid) suggest observations in the field of varied species such as the ostrich, various ducks, the moor hen, bustard, partridge, and many others. Later tracts on ornithology include an excellent work on HAWKING by Demetrios PEPAGOMENOS, who apparently used sources different from those of FREDERICK II in his *On the Art of Hunting with Birds* (*De arte venandi*

cum avibus—C.H. Haskins, *Studies in the History of Mediaeval Science* [Cambridge, Mass., 1924] 299–326). Besides falcons, the Byz. kept other tamed birds: PEACOCKS to decorate their gardens or partridges and geese (*Great Palace, 1st Report,* pl.29) as house pets.

The mosaics of the ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH in Thessalonike depict ducks and other birds, used in Roman fashion apparently without the symbolic content that had earlier been attached to the peacock; at the mausoleum of Galla Placidia in RAVENNA, birds drinking from a chalice are depicted as attending a FOUNTAIN OF LIFE. This interpretation persisted in the veritable aviaries that adorn the CANON TABLES and HEADPIECES of illuminated MSS. On the other hand, birds were sometimes seen as part of the natural world inappropriate to Christian decoration. The author of the Life of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1120C) objected to the Iconoclastic mosaic program of the church at BLACHERNAI in Constantinople, which included "cranes, crows, and peacocks, thus making the church, if I may say so, altogether unadorned." Yet, as winged creatures free of earthly bonds, birds were widely represented in sacred settings and were a favorite motif in relief SCULPTURE, as on the drum cornice of the Church of Constantine LIPS. Bird-filled trees figured among the AUTOMATA of the Magnaura witnessed by Liutprand of Cremona.

In Byz. mythology birds played a lesser role than animals or SNAKES; a deep significance was ascribed to the dove, however, as a symbol of the HOLY SPIRIT, and to the peacock and pelican. The theme of the EAGLE fighting the serpent was popular in art. Birds are dramatis personae in the POULOLOGOS.

SOURCE. A. Garzya, *Dionysii Ixeutikon seu De aucupio libri tres in epitomen metro solutam redacti* (Leipzig 1963).

LIT. Z. Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine Manuscripts* (Budapest 1978) 77–90. D'A.W. Thompson, *A Glossary of Greek Birds* (Oxford 1936; rp. Hildesheim 1966). –J.S., A.C.

BIRTH (γέννησις). Women usually gave birth at home with the assistance of relatives and/or a midwife. There were, however, some lying-in HOSPITALS, such as the institutions established in Alexandria by St. JOHN ELEEMON, according to one version of his vita (H. Delehaye, *AB* 45 [1927] 22.17–27). Paramedical and magical means were



BIRTH. The birth of John the Baptist. Miniature in a Gospel book (Vat. Urb. gr. 2, fol.167v); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

commonly used to achieve an easier delivery, for example, Anna, the mother of the future empress Theophano, was given, during her labor, a girdle from a monastery of the Virgin (E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano* [St. Petersburg 1898] 2.28–34). The newborn baby was washed and swaddled in woolen wrappings. The placenta was sometimes retained as a talisman.

After childbirth the mother and those who assisted her were considered unclean and a priest was summoned to exorcise the evil spirits, yet the mother could not partake of communion until 40 days had passed. The wet-nurse was common, even though some moralists disapproved of this practice (J. Beaucamp, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 549–58). Male babies were preferred (e.g., PRODROMOS, *Hist. Gedichte*, no.44.6–7), but in general the birth of a CHILD was a *panegyris* that provided an occasion for a BANQUET, visits, and gifts; if the baby was an heir to the throne, special festivities were held throughout the empire. The gross birth rate

in 14th-C. rural Macedonia is estimated as 44 per 1,000, but because of high mortality the net birth rate was 22 (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 292–94).

Birth scenes, with mothers shown frontally seated with raised skirts, are treated particularly candidly in the Vatican Book of Kings (Lassus, *Livre des Rois*, figs. 3, 6). Childbirth and the washing of the newborn infant are also depicted in images of the NATIVITY of Christ and John the Baptist.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:9–42. –Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN (*γέννησις τῆς Θεοτόκου*), one of the five Marian GREAT FEASTS, celebrated 8 Sept. with both a forefeast and a four-day afterfeast. The feast originated in Jerusalem with the dedication of a 5th-C. church at the Probatic Pool (Jn 5:2–9), where tradition placed the house of Mary's parents Ioakeim and Anna (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 [Paris 1926] 669–76). From the 6th C. onward, it was celebrated at this spot with a reading from the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (G. Garitte, *Le calendrier palestino-géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (X^e^ siècle)* [Brussels 1958] 324f). The earliest evidence for the existence of the feast in Constantinople, a *kontakion* by ROMANOS THE MELODE (no.35, ed. Maas-Trypanis, 276–80), is a paraphrase of this apocryphal narration, which was also incorporated into Byz. MENOLOGIA and *panegyrika* for use on the feast (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:57, 204).

The feast opened in the evening with a *pannychis* (see VIGIL) at Hagia Sophia, in which the patriarch took part. After the *orthros* service there was a procession, with a station (LITE) at the Forum (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:18–21), in which "the sovereigns and the whole senate proceed with great pomp" to the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 223.10–11). Once the liturgy was over, the emperor offered a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian.

In art the standard composition is first seen in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.22) with Anna reclining on a bed, three gift-bearing women approaching, and midwives bathing the child. Used in narratives of the Life of the VIRGIN MARY, the scene also occurs among Christological feasts, as in the naos at DAPHNI. Versions from the 12th C. onward stress the wealth of the Virgin's parents, adding a peacock fan (Daphni), richly carved cradle (MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS), palatial setting (King's Church, STUDENICA), and numerous attendants (CHORA). Ioakeim joins the scene in the 14th C. (Chora).

LIT. G. Babić, "Sur l'iconographie de la composition 'Nativité de la Vierge' dans la peinture byzantine," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 169–75. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'Empire byzantin et en Occident*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1964) 89–121. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

BĪRŪNĪ, AL-, more fully Abū'l-Rayḥān Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Bīrūnī, Muslim scientist, historian, and observer of cultures; born Kāth (in Khwārizm) 4 Sept. 973, died Ghazna? 11 Dec. 1048 (E. Kennedy, *LMA* 2:226) or after 1050 (D. Boilot, *EI*^{2} 1:1236). Under royal patronage in Khwārizm, al-Bīrūnī studied the sciences. After the Ghaznavid conquest (1017), he was lavishly maintained in Ghazna until his death. He visited India, but journeyed westward only to Iran.

Bīrūnī ranks among the greatest scholars of medieval Islam and wrote almost 150 works on science, geography, chronology, and history. He considers Byz. in his *Vestiges of the Past* (Chronology of Ancient Nations), written in 1000, incorporating much cultural information within discussions of calendars and eras. Major topics for Bīrūnī are doctrine, hagiography, customs concerning Lent, and MELCHITE festivals. Bīrūnī digresses at length on the Greek ecclesiastical hierarchy and the organization of the Byz. administration and army. Though sometimes offering secondhand information from Melchites in Khwārizm, Bīrūnī refers to *The Learning of the Greeks*, a book (now lost) by a certain Abū'l-Ḥusayn (or Ḥasan) al-Ahwāzī (9th C.) based on his experiences in Constantinople.

ED. *Chronologie orientalischer Völker*, ed. E. Sachau (Leipzig 1878; rp. Leipzig 1923) 288–308. Tr. E. Sachau in *The Chronology of Ancient Nations* (London 1879; rp. Frankfurt 1969) 282–305. For other works, see A.S. Khan, *A Bibliography of the Works of Abū'l-Raihān al-Bīrūnī* (New Delhi 1982).

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:427–30. H.M. Said, *Al-Bīrūnī: His Times, Life and Works* (Karachi 1981). P.G. Bulgakov, *Žizn' i trudy Beruni* (Tashkent 1972). –L.I.C.

BISHOP (*ἐπίσκοπος*), the highest ranking minister among the major orders of the Byz. CLERGY, supreme in all matters concerning the discipline (cf. EPISCOPALIS AUDIENTIA), doctrine, and administration of the bishopric (*episkope*). As a generic term the title also included METROPOLITANS, pa-

triarchs, etc. St. Ignatius of Antioch (ca.100) is the earliest witness of the monarchic episcopate and describes the bishop as the source and center of church unity. Although the exclusive focus of unity and authority in his district—as PROEDROS and *archiereus* of his flock and of his CHOREPISKOPOS—a bishop was still subordinate to the metropolitan of the province of which his bishopric was a part. His nomination was in fact confirmed by the provincial metropolitan, from whom he also received consecration (NICAEA II, canon 3). Normally he was restricted for life to the see for which he was ordained, although translations were not unknown.

All ecclesiastical properties, charitable institutions, and hospitals of the bishopric were under the bishop's disposition but were actually managed and administered by various officials, such as the OIKONOMOS. The revenues of the see were derived from property, voluntary offerings, and donations, and, from the 11th C., from ecclesiastical taxes as well, such as the KANONIKON and KANISKION. The income was used for the upkeep of the bishop and his clergy but also for the sick, poor, the redemption of war prisoners, and the maintenance of churches. Despite their considerable privileges and authority, Byz. bishops (with some exceptions) did not play the role of feudal magnates, unlike their counterparts in the West, although they often enjoyed considerable political influence. Their vestments were similar to those worn by PRIESTS except (later) for the episcopal SAKKOS and OMOPHORION. (For list of bishoprics, see NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM.)

LIT. I.I. Sokolov, "Izbranie archiereev v Vizantii IX–XV v.," *VizVrem* 22 (1915–16) 193–252. D.T. Strotmann, "L'évêque dans la tradition orientale," *Irénikon* 34 (1961) 147–64. A. Guillou, "L'évêque dans la société méditerranéenne des VI^e–VII^e siècles: Un modèle," *BECh* 131 (1973) 5–19. S. Troianos, "Ein Synodalakt des Sisinios zu den bischöflichen Einkünften," *FM* 3 (1979) 211–20. –A.P.

BITHYNIA (Βιθυνία), a region of northwest Asia Minor, opposite Constantinople. Bithynia became a separate province in the early 4th C. Besides its capital, NIKOMEDEIA, Bithynia contained a few important cities (NICAEA, CHALCEDON, PROUSA) and rich agricultural land. Although its cities were eclipsed by the growth of Constantinople, Bithynia prospered from its location on the trade and military routes between Constantinople and Anatolia. The suburban coastal region east of Constantinople flourished particularly as the seat of many rich villas. Bithynia became part of the OPSIKION theme in the 7th C., then was divided between that theme and the OPTIMATOI. The civil province of Bithynia continued to exist into the 8th C., when Slav captives were settled there (Zacos, *Seals* 1:190f). Frequent later references are to the geographical region. Texts of the 13th C. mention a district called Mesothynia, which apparently denotes the peninsula of Nikomedeia (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 3). Bithynia preserves the remains of numerous fortifications but is esp. noted for its churches (SIGE, MEDIKION, PELEKETE, Nicaea). It was also a monastic center that grew in importance in the Iconoclastic period (Mt. AUXENTIOS, Mt. OLYMPOS). Ecclesiastically, Bithynia was divided into three provinces after 451: Nikomedeia, Nicaea, and Chalcedon.

LIT. R. Janin, "La Bithynie sous l'empire byzantin," *EO* 20 (1921) 168–82, 301–19. Janin, *Églises centres* 1–191. J. Sölch, "Historisch-geographische Studien über bithynische Siedlungen," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 263–337. –C.F.

BIZYE (Βιζύη, mod. Vize), city in Thrace, northeast of ARKADIOPOLIS. A *polis* in the late antique province of Europe, Bizye appears in Byz. texts as *kastron* (Beševliev, *Inschriften* 184, no.27), *polisma* (*TheophCont* 68.6–7), or *polichnion* (Zon. 3:346.15). The vita of MARY THE YOUNGER refers to Bizye as a *polis*, but describes the town's inhabitants as engaging in agricultural work (*AASS* Nov. 4:699BC, 700F); in the eyes of the chronicler Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN (par.428), Vizoi (Bizye) was "good and strong."

As a fortress Bizye played an important role during the 9th-C. revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV, whose son fled there but then surrendered to the emperor. Symeon of Bulgaria captured Bizye, demolished it, and later rebuilt the city walls. In the 13th C. Bizye was one of the larger *asteis* (Akrop. 1:54.14–15) and the base of many military operations; the city was one of the focal points during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and its *demos* actively participated in the political struggle (Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 75f). Bizye was finally taken by the Turks in 1453.

A bishopric by 431, then autocephalous archbishopric, Bizye became metropolis in the 14th C. It served as the place of exile for several impor-

tant ecclesiastical dissidents such as Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:160C).

The remains of ramparts still survive in the city. A.M. Mansel (*Trakyanin kültür ve tarihi* [Istanbul 1938] 45) suggests that their upper part was constructed in the 6th C. On the other hand, D. Dirimtekin (*Ayasofya müzesi yıllığı* 5 [1963] 15–25) dates this section to the time of the Palaiologoi. The large Church of Hagia Sophia in Bizye combines the floor plan of a basilica with the elements of a cross-in-square church; its plan is similar to that of Dere Ağzı. C. Mango (*ZRVI* 11 [1968] 9–13) suggests, on the basis of a painted inscription, now lost, that the church was built in the late 8th or 9th C. and housed the tomb of St. Mary the Younger in the 10th C. However, S. Eyice argues that the church dates to the 13th or 14th C., and may have replaced the earlier church where St. Mary was venerated (18 *CorsiRav* [1971] 293–97).

LIT. V. Velkov, "Die thrakische Stadt Bizye," in *Studia in honorem V. Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 174–81. R. Janin, *DHGE* 9 (1937) 44–46. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 552. –T.E.G.

BLACHERNAI, CHURCH AND PALACE OF. The name *Blachernai* (Βλαχέρναι) designates an area possessing a spring of water in the northwestern corner of Constantinople. A basilica of the Virgin Mary, which became the most famous Marian shrine of the city, is said to have been built there by Empress Pulcheria (ca.450). Leo I added a circular reliquary chapel (SOROS) after the "honorable robe" (see MAPHORION) of the Virgin had been brought from Palestine. Situated a short distance outside the walls, the church was miraculously spared during the Avar siege of 626, after which Emp. Herakleios extended the walls to enclose it. A New Testament cycle in mosaic was destroyed by Constantine V and replaced by vegetal ornament and pictures of birds (*Vita S. Stephani Junioris*, PG 100:1120C). The church was burned down in 1070 and rebuilt. Fire destroyed it completely in 1434. Next to it was a bathhouse (*louma*) in which the spring flowed. The latter is now enclosed in a modern Greek church.

South of the church complex and on higher ground, an imperial palace was set up by ca.500. It is known to us from protocols described in *De cer.* (bk.1, chs. 27, 34; bk.2, chs. 9, 12) and included one hall named Anastasiakos, another called Okeanos, and a third called Danoubios, the last communicating with the church complex by means of staircases. Under the Komnenoi the Blachernai palace became the customary residence of the emperor and was so strongly fortified as to resemble a castle. Alexios I and Manuel I built additional halls of great splendor. The Palaiologoi also lived in the Blachernai palace. Its approximate situation is marked by the mosque of Ivaz Efendi, but the evidence is too slight to allow even an approximate reconstruction (see also TEKFUR SARAYI).

LIT. J.B. Papadopoulos, *Les palais et les églises des Blachernes* (Thessalonike 1928). V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *EO* 30 (1931) 129–46. A.M. Schneider, "Die Blachernen," *Oriens* 4 (1951) 97–105. S. Runciman, "Blachernae Palace and Its Decoration," in *Studies in Memory of D. Talbot Rice* (Edinburgh 1975) 277–83. A. Wenger, "Notes inédites," *REB* 10 (1952) 54–59. Janin, *CP byz.* 123–28. Janin, *Églises CP* 161–71. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 223f. –C.M.

BLACHERNAI, COUNCIL OF. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Local Council of 1285.

BLACK DEATH. See PLAGUE.

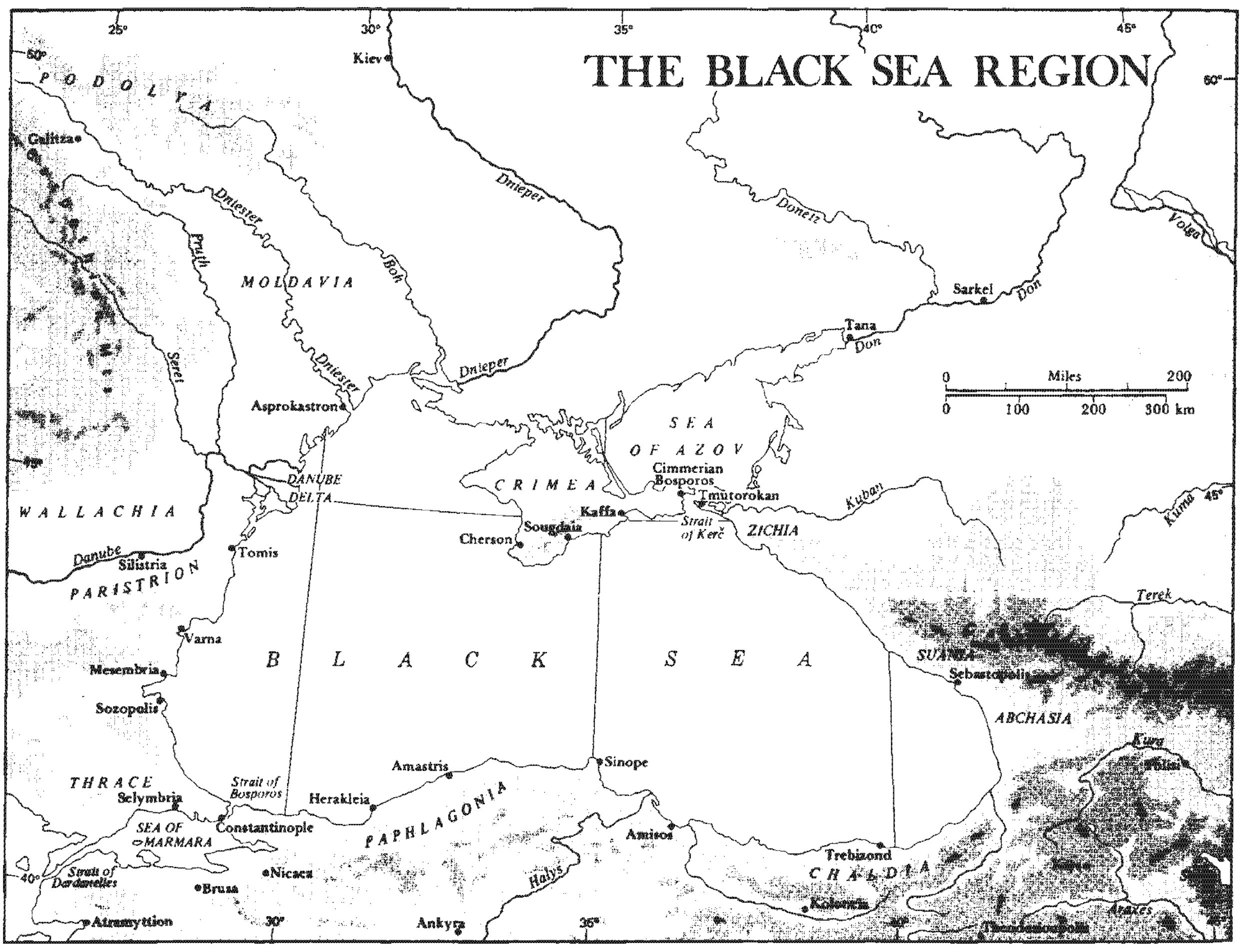
BLACK SEA (Πόντος Εὔξεινος, Μαύρη Θάλασσα). Throughout its history Byz. sought to maintain control of the Black Sea, in part to preclude foreign powers from establishing a foothold there and threatening Constantinople. Justinian I prevented the Sasanian Persians from gaining permanent access to the coast of LAZIKA; from the 7th C. Byz. policy in the area focused on diplomatic efforts and control of CHERSON. Herakleios made a treaty with KUVRAT in hope of hindering KHAZAR access to the AZOV SEA and the CRIMEA, and the Khazars were afterward the focus of Byz. diplomatic and missionary activity in the area. The Arabs never established a presence on the coast of the Black Sea, but the Rus' of Kiev repeatedly sailed through the Black Sea to attack Constantinople, beginning in 860. The city and naval arsenal of Cherson remained a Byz. possession (apart from a brief occupation by VLADIMIR I of Kiev in 988) until the Fourth Crusade, after which it passed into the hands of the empire of TREBIZOND. Only in 1215/16 did the Seljuk Turks establish a temporary naval base at SINOPE; the

southeastern coast of the Black Sea remained under the control of Trebizond until 1460.

Byz. naval control was not matched by similar commercial success. The Black Sea was important as a source of food for Constantinople; fish came from its waters, and grain from the Dobrudja and Crimea. It was also a crossroads of long-distance trade, linking Byz. with central Europe, Russia, the Caucasus, Central Asia, and China. This trade attracted Italian merchants, particularly Venetians and Genoese, from the 11th C. Manuel I, seeking an ally against Venice, granted GENOA the right to trade in the Black Sea. In 1261 Michael VIII granted the Genoese exclusive access to the Black Sea, together with tax exemptions, by the Treaty of NYMPHAION. Thereafter they dominated the Black Sea trade from their colonies of Galata, VICINA, KAFFA, TANA, AMASTRIS, and Samsun (AMISOS), and the profits of this trade were lost to Byz.

LIT. G.I. Brătianu, *La Mer Noire* (Munich 1969). Balard, *Romanie génoise*. A. Poppe, "The Political Background to the Baptism of Rus': Byzantine-Russian Relations between 986–89," *DOP* 30 (1976) 195–244. O. Lampsidis, "La Mer Noire byzantine," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 363–69. E. Todorova, "The Thirteenth-Century Shift of the Black Sea Economy," *EtBalk* 23.4 (1987) 112–16. –R.B.

BLASIOS OF AMORION, saint; secular name Basil; born in village of Aplatianais near Amorion, died Constantinople ca.912; feastday 20 Dec. After elementary schooling in his village, Blasios (Βλάσιος) came to Constantinople and chose an ecclesiastical career; Patr. IGNATIOS consecrated him deacon of Hagia Sophia. En route to Rome he had various adventures: he was sold into slavery to the "Scythians" (Pechenegs rather than Bulgarians), freed, robbed by pirates on the Danube, and saved by an angel; he returned to Bulgaria, met the local bishop and the "first *archon*" of the barbarians, and eventually reached Rome.



There he took the monastic habit and stayed for 18 years, mostly in the monastery of St. Caesarius, where he was consecrated priest. To escape his increasing fame, Blasios returned to Constantinople, joining the monastery of STOUDIOS ca.897. Around 900 he retreated to Athos, which he was forced to leave 12 years later because of a controversy. He returned to Constantinople but died soon after he had received a chrysobull from Leo VI. He was buried at the Stoudios monastery.

The anonymous author of his Life (written in the 930s or 940s and preserved in a single 10th-C. MS) claimed to have received his information from Blasios's disciple Loukas; it is plausible that the Life was produced in the Stoudios. The hagiographer praises Blasios's sociability and intellectual qualities (e.g., his work as a calligrapher) and defends moderation: the *hegoumenos* who flogged the young monk Euphrosynos for having a filthy garment was condemned in a vision.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4:657–59.

LIT. *BHG* 278. H. Grégoire, "La vie de Saint Blaise d'Amorium," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30) 391–414. V. Gjuzelev, "Žitieto na Vlasij Amorijski kato izvor za bŭlgarskata istorija," *GSU FIF* 61 (1968), istor. 3, 19–33. –A.K.

BLASTARES, MATTHEW, canonist and theologian, monk and priest in the monastery of Kyr Isaac in Thessalonike; died Thessalonike after 1346. In 1335 Blastares (variously spelled Βλαστάρης, Βλάσταρης, Βλάσταρις) completed his principal work, *Syntagma kata stoicheion* (lit. *Alphabetical Treatise*) in 24 sections, most of them subdivided into chapters. Each chapter is devoted to a separate legal topic (e.g., 1.12 on robbers) and contains first the statements of CANON LAW and then those of civil law, the *nomoi politikoi*. In the preamble, Blastares defines his goal as gathering "all the canons" as well as interpreting and paraphrasing them (5.7–33). This attempt at reconciling canon and civil law differentiates the work of Blastares both from previous NOMOKANONES in which civil legislation is but an insignificant appendix and from previous synopses that ignore canon law (A. Soloviev, *SBN* 5 [1939] 700). As sources Blastares used not only the *Basilika* and other Byz. compendia but the *Codex* and *Digest* of Justinian I as well as the novels of various emperors (e.g., the novel of Andronikos II of 1306); he also used the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* and the commentary of Theodore Balsamon. The *Syntagma* became popular beyond the borders of the empire and was translated into Serbian during the reign of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. Blastares also wrote several short synopses of canon law, an index of Latin legal terms, theological works, hymns, etc.

ED. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma,* vol. 6. P.B. Paschos, *Hapanta ta hymnographika tou Matthaiou Blastare* (Athens 1980).

LIT. S. Troianos, "Peri tas nomikas pegas tou Matthaiou Blastare," *EEBS* 44 (1979–80) 305–29. N. Il'inskij, *Sintagma Matfeja Vlastarja* (Moscow 1892). St. Novaković, *Matije Vlastara sintagmat* (Belgrade 1907). P.B. Paschos, *Ho Matthaios Blastares kai to hymnographikon ergon tou* (Thessalonike 1978). *PLP*, no.2808. –A.K.

BLATADON MONASTERY, established ca.1355 on the north edge of Thessalonike, next to the acropolis. Blatadon (Βλατάδων, Βλαταίων, Βλατέων) was founded by Dorotheos Blates, metropolitan of Thessalonike (1371–79), and his brother Mark, a hymnographer and hieromonk from the Great Lavra (*PLP*, nos. 2818–19). Both were disciples of Gregory PALAMAS and accompanied him to Thessalonike in 1352 after the triumph of PALAMISM. The monastery was dedicated to Christ Pantokrator and the Transfiguration. IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK visited it in 1405. The monks of Blatadon were anti-Unionist and opposed the Venetian occupation of Thessalonike (1423–30); Stoglioglou (*infra* 162–73), however, rejects the tradition that they betrayed the city to the Turks in 1430 by suggesting to MURAD II that he cut off the water supply. During the Turkish occupation, Blatadon was sometimes called Çavuş Manastir.

Blatadon is the sole monastery of Byz. origin still functioning in Thessalonike; its much-restored 14th-C. church, on an inscribed-cross plan, is the only surviving Palaiologan building at the monastery. Frescoes dated between 1360 and 1380 by Ch. Mauropoulou-Tsioumi (*He Thessalonike* 1 [1985] 231–54) are preserved in the south chapel, and the library contains a number of Byz. MSS. Today the stauropegic monastery houses the Patriarchal Institute of Patristic Studies (founded 1965), which owns an important collection of microfilms of MSS from Mt. ATHOS.

LIT. G.A. Stoglioglou, *He en Thessalonike patriarchike mone ton Blatadon* (Thessalonike 1971). A. Xyngopoulos, *Tessares mikroi naoi tes Thessalonikes ek ton chronon ton Palaiologon* (Thessalonike 1952) 49–62. S. Eustratiades, *Katalogos ton en te mone Blateon (Tsaous-monasteri) apokeimenon kodikon* (Thessalonike 1918). Janin, *Églises centres* 356–58. –A.M.T., A.C.

BLATTION (βλάττιον), a term that originally meant the color PURPLE, and, by extension, the cloths, both SILK and wool, dyed in the highest quality purple. By the 10th C., however, the term *blattion* had come to mean silk in general, regardless of shade (R. Guilland, *infra*). Silk curtains and festive hangings such as those in the Great Palace (*De cer.* 12.20, 572.2); hangings covering icons (Patmos inventory, ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 21.33); and silk garments were all referred to as *blattia.* The meaning of the terms *diblattia* and *triblattia* is obscure. They have been thought to refer to the number of times the silk cloth was dipped in the dye, or to the number of colors used in weaving it. Guilland has suggested that these may be double or triple bands of silk attached or applied to the basic piece of silk cloth, a proposal that neither the extant silks nor the depictions of court COSTUME can readily substantiate. The term *blatopoles* (Prodromos in PG 133:1265B) designated a vendor of *blattia.*

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 21–23. R. Guilland, "Sur quelques termes du Livre des Cérémonies de Constantin VII Porphyrogénète," *REGr* 62 (1949) 333–48. Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 151f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:39. –A.G.

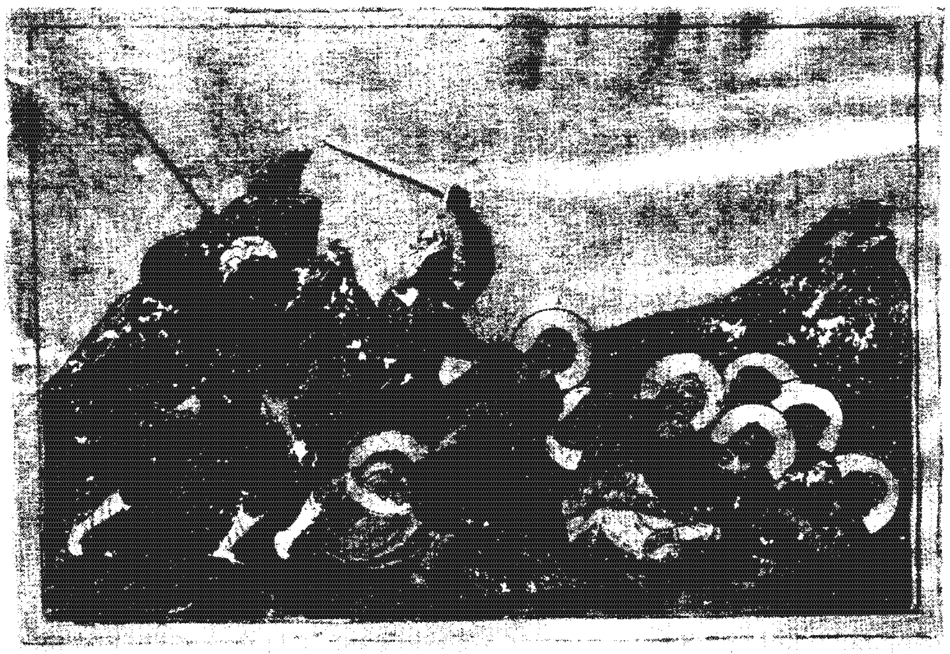
BLEMMYDES, NIKEPHOROS, teacher and writer in the empire of Nicaea; born 1197, died Ephesus ca.1269. Son of a doctor, Blemmydes (Βλεμμύδης, Βλεμμίδης) moved with his parents ca.1204 from Latin-occupied Constantinople to Bithynia where he pursued studies, including seven years of medicine, until his 26th year. His subsequent career in the church was initiated by Patr. GERMANOS II, who ordained him *anagnostes*, deacon, and *logothetes* in quick succession (1224–25). Ten years later Blemmydes took monastic vows, keeping his name, and ca.1237 was appointed *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Gregory Thaumatourgos in Ephesus. In 1241 he founded his own monastery near Ephesus. His attempts to ensure its independence failed, however, for it became a *metochion* of the GALESIOS monastery ca.1273.

Famous in his time for his learning, Blemmydes' most important role was as a teacher. His best known students were George AKROPOLITES, whom he instructed in philosophy, and THEODORE II LASKARIS. In connection with his teaching duties he traveled to Athos, Thessalonike, Larissa, and Ohrid in search of books (1239–40) and wrote epitomes of logic and physics (PG 142:685–1320). A difficult man by most accounts, Blemmydes left a remarkable two-part autobiography, the *Partial Account* (1264, 1265), a defense of his life that contains elements of a hagiographical work (J.A. Munitiz in *Byz. Saint*, 164–68). His other surviving works include the *Imperial Statue*, a MIRROR OF PRINCES for Theodore II (which George GALESIOTES and George OINAIOTES paraphrased in the 14th C.), occasional verses, ascetic works, and fragments of a *typikon* (J.A. Munitiz, *REB* 44 [1986] 199–207).

ED. *Autographia sive curriculum vitae*, ed. J.A. Munitiz (Turnhout-Leuven 1984). Eng. tr. J.A. Munitiz, *A Partial Account* (Leuven 1988). *Curriculum vitae et carmina*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Leipzig 1896). Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes*, esp. 13–18, 43–147. *Gegen die Vorherbestimmung der Todesstunde*, ed. W. Lackner (Leiden 1985), with Germ. tr.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Nicéphore Blemmydès, Autobiographies (1264 et 1265)," *La Civiltá bizantina dal XII al XV secolo* (Rome 1982) 111–37. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:163f, 166f; 2:42, 243. –R.J.M.

BLEMMYES (Βλέμμυες), a tribe of perhaps Libyan Berber origins that inhabited the eastern desert between the Nile and Red Sea in Upper Egypt. A 4th-C. historian (Amm.Marc. 14:4.3) describes them as half-naked warriors, all of equal rank, riding swift horses and camels. Diocletian in 297 ended the raids of the Blemmyes in Egypt by handing over to them the territory south of the First Cataract and by fortifying the island of Philae. The Blemmyes were concentrated in this area. Their embassies to the imperial court in the 320s and 330s are reported by Eusebios (*Vita of Constantine*) and in the ABINNAEUS ARCHIVE. They resumed attacks in 373 (J. Desanges, *Meroitic Newsletter* 10 [1972] 33f); PALLADIOS of Helenopolis met crowds of refugees from the Blemmyes at Tabennesi in the early 5th C. OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, who visited the Blemmyes ca.423, reported that they possessed several cities and emerald mines and had developed a rudimentary form of administration headed by a "king." An uprising of the Blemmyes was quelled ca.452 when Maximinos, the military commander of the THEBAID, defeated them and negotiated a hundred-year peace; at that time the Blemmyes were acting in concert with the Noubades (Nobatae), a neigh-



BLEMMYES. Monks of Sinai martyred by the Blemmyes. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p. 315). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

boring tribe, but soon a conflict arose between the two, and Silko, king of the Noubades, conquered the Blemmyes, as he boasted in an inscription.

Probably to the 6th C. belong documents from the island of Gebelein (Greek and Coptic texts on leather from gazelle and crocodile skins) that record the names of some chieftains of the Blemmyes and indicate the penetration of Christianity into their predominantly pagan society. Justinian I reportedly destroyed their sanctuaries at Philae dedicated to Isis, Osiris, and Priapus. Greek papyri of the 6th C. often mention the Blemmyes, and in the early 7th C. a certain Dioskoros is known who, as a scribe of the Blemmyes, dealt with *kommerkia*. Kosmas Indikopleustes (11.21:2–5) indicates that the Blemmyes sold emeralds to the Axumites in Nubia, who then sent them to India. The numerous Coptic papyri of the 7th and 8th C. contain only two references to the Blemmyes.

SOURCE. *Anonymi fortasse Olympiodori Thebani Blemyomachia (P. Berol. 5003)*, ed. H. Livrea (Meisenheim-Glan 1978).

LIT. R.T. Updegraff, "A Study of the Blemmyes" (Ph.D. diss., Brandeis University, 1978). M. Satzinger, "Urkunden der Blemyer," *Chronique d'Egypte* 43 (1968) 126–32. T. Hägg, "Blemyan Greek and the Letter of Phonen," in *Nubische Studien* (Mainz 1986) 281–86. —R.B.H., A.K.

BLINDING (τύφλωσις) as a punishment did not exist in the law of Justinian I; the evidence concerning the blinding of Christian martyrs during the persecution is probably legendary. The first certain case of punitive blinding is that of Patr. Kallinikos in 705 by Justinian II (Theoph. 375.13). The ECLOGA mentions blinding only once (17.15)—as a punishment for stealing from the altar. The FARMER'S LAW (pars. 68–69) prescribes blinding for the thief of grain or wine who had been caught for the third time. Blinding became the major means of punishing political rivals; among the victims of blinding were ARTABASDOS, CONSTANTINE VI, MICHAEL V, ROMANOS IV, and JOHN IV. Michael VIII was probably the last emperor to resort to total blinding, although in 1373 John V, under pressure from Murad I, was compelled to order the partial blinding of Andronikos IV and his son, the future John VII (R. Loenertz, *EO* 38 [1939] 335). Blinding was a PENALTY for heretics, magicians, and traitors. Basil II employed mass blinding of prisoners to terrorize the Bulgarians with whom he was at war. Blinding was carried out by pouring boiling vinegar, gouging out the eyes, or applying a red-hot iron. The degree of blindness achieved could be of varying severity,

so that some generals continued to command armies after this operation. An attempt to introduce blinding in Kievan Rus' in 1097 failed because of general indignation.

LIT. O. Lampsides, *He poine tes typhloseos para Byzantinois* (Athens 1949). –A.K.

BLIND MAN, HEALING OF THE. The Gospels record several blind men healed by Christ: two who followed Jesus in Jericho (Mt 9:27–34); two who sat by the way in Jericho (Mk 10:46–52, Lk 18:35–43); one healed at Bethesda (Mk 8:23–26); and the man born blind, healed at Siloam (Jn 9:1–12). Gaining sight was an apt metaphor for gaining faith, and Early Christian art abounds in generic vignettes of Christ healing a blind person. Byz. art uses fewer such images, though no miracle cycle lacks some scene of blindness cured. Most frequently distinguished from the others is the healing at Siloam, usually depicted in at least two phases: Jesus placing mud on the man's eyes, and the man washing them. This is the most fully narrated of all healings: the Paris FRIEZE GOSPEL (fol.186r) uses eight vignettes. This healing is also distinctive in being one of the three water miracles recounted in the Gospel of John (also Christ and the Samaritan woman, Jn 4:5–30; paralytic at Bethesda, Jn 5:2–9) that are often joined in exegesis (E. Hoskyns, *The Fourth Gospel* [London 1947] 363–65) and art (Sopoćani, exonarthex of CHORA) to convey the healing power of faith.

LIT. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:256–61. –A.W.C.

BLOOD (αἷμα) was understood in Byz. as the biblical "life of the living body" (Lev 17:11) and was consequently surrounded by taboos. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (8.4) prohibited the use of blood for dyeing raw silk; the penalty for ignoring this prohibition was having one's hands cut off. Some blood taboos, such as the prohibition of eating blood, were imposed only on the clergy (APOSTOLIC CANONS 62), whereas the cooking of blood broth (*aimatia*) was widespread among laymen. Bloodshed, as in military actions, was completely forbidden to the clergy. The precious Blood of Christ was regarded as the price of human REDEMPTION. The Church repeated the sacrifice of Jesus in the EUCHARIST, when the WINE was thought to become the true Blood of Christ. Since blood was identified with life and redemption, the color PURPLE, symbolizing blood, assumed an important role in the imperial cult. For Niketas Choniates, however, the imperial purple symbolized the shedding of blood and murder. Blood that left the body was identified with death, and a constant bloodthirstiness was ascribed to demons. Blood was also the symbol of union, as of FAMILY ties and particularly aristocratic LINEAGES.

LIT. *Atti della settimana Sangue e Antropologia nella letteratura cristiana* (Rome 1983). J. McCarthy, "The Symbolism of Blood and Sacrifice," *Journal of Biblical Literature* 88.2 (1969). –A.K.

BLOOD VENGEANCE. Killings in revenge are not well attested in Byz. sources. A. Mirambel (*Byzantion* 16 [1944] 381–92) mistakenly saw evidence for it in the term PHONIKON (but see P. Charanis, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 331–33). There are examples, however, of compensating the family of the deceased by handing over the person responsible for the MURDER: in the *Peira* (66.27; also 66.28) a slave who murdered a soldier at his master's order was given by the judges to the widow "to serve her." Neilos of Rossano advised the princess of Capua to give, as a form of penitence, one of her sons to the family of the man murdered by her sons at her instigation "for them to do with him whatever they wish" (*AASS* Sept. 7:308D-F).

The sources also preserve measures taken to prevent blood vengeance. Constantine VII legislated that the person guilty of a willful killing was to be subjected to lifelong exile far from the scene of the crime, thus protecting the victim's relations from the painful reminder of the crime and also helping to prevent a killing in retaliation (Zepos, *Jus* 1:233). Other factors that may have helped to check blood vengeance were the private settlement, which could be arranged between the murderer and the victim's family and which provided a form of compensation (*Basil.* 11.2.1; 60.53.1; *Peira* 66.25 and 66.27), and the "warning" attached to documents issued by the church, addressed to civil officials and members of the deceased's family, admonishing them not to harm the killer, on penalty of excommunication (R.J. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). –R.J.M.

BLUES. See FACTIONS.

BOBBIO AMPULLAE. See AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE; MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF.

BODRUM CAMII. See MYRELAION, MONASTERY OF.

BODY (σῶμα), sometimes distinguished from flesh (*sarx*), was considered in Byz. ANTHROPOLOGY as one of the two "natures" that constituted man: unlike the SOUL, the body was construed as three-dimensional, visible, and corruptible (mortal). It consisted of four elements (*stoicheia*): earth, dry and cold; water, cold and wet; air, wet and warm; fire, warm and dry. It had four humors (*chymoi*): black bile, analogous to earth; phlegm—to water; blood—to air; light bile—to fire. The main somatic qualities were divisibility, qualitative change (warming, cooling, etc.), and mutability in response to voiding (*kenosis*) that created physical desires (hunger, thirst, etc.). A peculiar definition of the body is to be found in ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch, and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI: the body is all that "was not uncreated" or "what originates from nothingness." The concept of a double creation—of the inner man and of the unity of the soul and body—had no chance of survival after the condemnation of ORIGENISM. The body distinguishes man from both the ANGELS and DEMONS, even though sometimes the concept of angelic (demonic) finer flesh was maintained. Thus, PSELLOS, in his demonology, insisted that the astral bodies of demons (*pneumata*) were vehicles to transfer false images, fantasies, and hallucinations, and to deceive mankind.

A major problem for Byz. theology was determining an appropriate moral or soteriological role for the body. The Byz. rejected the Stoic image of the body as the cage or prison of the soul as well as the Manichaean vision of the body as the embodiment of evil. The body, created by God himself, was conceived of as ethically irrelevant, an instrument through which the soul could sin. Corruptible as it was, the body was to expect RESURRECTION.

LIT. H.J. Blumenthal, "Some Problems about Body and Soul in Later Pagan Neoplatonism," in *Platonismus und Christentum: Festschrift für Heinrich Dörrie* (Münster 1983) 75–84. P. Brown, *The Body and Society* (New York 1988). A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–106. –K.-H.U.

BODYGUARD (σωματοφύλαξ). In addition to guards entrusted with the defense of the palace (HETAIREIA), there were small units designed to protect the person of the emperor; when the emperor traveled, the palatine *somatophylakes* guarded him (e.g., Attal. 9.20). Belisarios, while removed from supreme command, served as *archon* of the emperor's *somatophylakes* (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.21.1). In the 14th C. the corps of bodyguards was under the command of the *primikerios* of the court (*aule*) and consisted of several units, each of which had its own station: the VARANGIANS stood watch at the doors of the emperor's chamber, the so-called *paramonai* in the palace court. There were also TSAKONES and other mounted and foot soldiers (pseudo-Kod. 179f). The distinction between bodyguards, palace guards, and imperial retinue was blurred, and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 184.11, 322.49) defined *somatophylakes* and *doryphoroi* (retainers) together as the contingents closest to the emperor.

Bodyguards were often recruited from foreigners in West and East. Protection of the emperor was also assigned to some courtiers, one of whom, the PARAKOIMOMENOS, slept at the threshold of the emperor's chamber. In the 5th- or 6th-C. romance *The Tale of the Persian Affairs*, it is said that King Kyros had female bodyguards, *somatophylakissai* (E. Bradtke, *Das sogenannte Religionsgespräch am Hof des Sasaniden* [Leipzig 1899] 20.1–2)—but it is questionable whether this evidence reflects the existence of a corps of female bodyguards (of the empress?) at the late Roman or Byz. court. High-ranking military officers and influential private individuals might also have bodyguards (sometimes called BOUKELLARIOI). –A.K.

BODY LANGUAGE. The ideal of late Roman and Byz. BEHAVIOR was "statuary": one should imitate the statue (*agalma*), avoiding unnecessary movements and appearing solemn and quiet. Early medieval attitudes condemned passionate EMOTIONS, including lamentations, and art and literature rarely present dramatic gesturing (M. Barasch, *Gestures of Despair* [New York 1976] 34f). SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (*Catéchèses*, no.26.28–31) prescribed strict discipline for the body during prayer, and Psellos followed the same vein when he censured a priest for excessively moving his lips, shoulders, and hands (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 238).

Nevertheless, body movement was a significant component of state ceremonial (with PROSKYNESIS the extreme physical expression of self-submission), LITURGY (the gestures of the priest), funerals (tearing of hair, beating of breasts), or marriage rites. It was also a part of everyday behavior—embraces and kissing signified greeting and respect (e.g., vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Vilinskij 1:338.14–16); a movement of a finger could denote a charitable attitude (vita of Basil the Younger, ed. Veselovskij 2:106.34–107.1); pulling out the hair of the beard expressed dismay (PG 111:797A); touching the beard indicated pleading for mercy (ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople, ep.94.19–22).

Some GESTURES—in reality or in fiction?—stressed a tragic situation, as in a description of the execution of Andronikos I (Nik.Chon. 351.53–54): the maimed emperor, whose hand had been amputated, in pain extended the stump to his mouth as if trying to suck out the dripping blood. On the other hand, the strange and indecent body language of a holy fool (such as SYMEON OF EMESA) was interpreted metaphorically as an expression of the saint's utmost humility. –A.K.

BOEOTIA (Βοιωτία), a region in central Greece; THEBES was still considered its metropolis in the 6th C. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.2.24) stresses that the city walls of Boeotian towns were neglected before the reign of Justinian I, and ZOSIMOS (5.5.7, ed. Paschoud 3:11.25–30) describes how "all Boeotia" was destroyed by the invasion of Alaric in 395/6. On the other hand, an inscription shows that in 401/2 Boeotia was able to provide the state with a significant amount of grain (F. Cauer, *RE* 3 [1899] 663), and U. Kahrstedt (*Das wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* [Bern 1954] 86f) suggested that substantial areas of the region were turned over to large estates. Archaeological investigation demonstrates that in the 4th–6th C. Boeotia retained, in general outline, the classical urban pattern, the territory of Thespiai showing even a remarkable resettlement. From the 7th C. Boeotia was in decline, and O. Rackham (*BSA* 78 [1983] 346f) concludes that this period was bad for men and goats, but good for trees, so that the woodland expanded. Some revival can be observed in the 9th–11th C. when the massive stone church at Skripou near Orchomenos (dated 873/4) and HOSIOS LOUKAS were constructed. The area seems to have been densely populated after 1204. Boeotia formed a part of the theme of HELLAS, although the ancient name of Boeotia appears frequently in various authors; for instance, Skylitzes (Skyl. 341.28–29) lists Thessaly, Boeotia, and Attica; Nikephoros Gregoras (Greg. 2:239.7 and 17–18) speaks of Boeotia and Thebes as an administrative unit.

LIT. J.L. Bintliff, A.M. Snodgrass, "The Cambridge/Bradford Boeotian Expedition: The First Four Years," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 12 (1985) 147–49. T.E. Gregory, "The Fortified Cities of Byzantine Greece," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 14–21. A. Harvey, "Economic Expansion in Central Greece in the Eleventh Century," *BMGS* 8 (1982–83) 21–28. M. Chatzidakis, *Byzantine Monuments in Attica and Boeotia* (Athens 1956) 11–17. –A.K.

BOETHIUS, more fully Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius, Latin philosopher and writer; born ca.480, died Ticinum ca.524. Of a rich and consular family, he was cared for by the family of Quintus Aurelius Memmius Symmachus upon his father's death. Boethius may have studied in Alexandria. Boethius served THEODORIC THE GREAT as consul (510) and *magister officiorum* (ca.522–23), until his intervention in a treason trial resulted in his own condemnation, imprisonment, and execution on the same charge.

While in prison he wrote *On the Consolation of Philosophy*, a five-book dialogue in prose and verse between himself and Philosophy, neoplatonically showing how the soul may achieve a vision of God. His authorship, now generally accepted, of five theological treatises, including one on the Trinity and anti-Nestorian polemic (J.R.S. Mair in *Maistor* 149–58), demonstrates that Boethius was indeed a Christian. An expert in Greek as well as Latin and a practitioner of many genres including poetry, his main interests were philosophy and translation. His scheme to latinize all of ARISTOTLE and PLATO was never completed, although he did manage to translate some of the former. The above works, along with writings on logic, mathematics, and music, helped to consolidate the medieval educational concept of the seven liberal arts (*quadrivium* and *trivium*). Some of his work was later translated into Greek by Maximos PLANOUDES and Manuel KALEKAS (A. Pertusi, *AIPHOS* 11 [1951] 301–22) as well as by Prochoros KYDONES (D.Z. Niketas, *Hellenika* 35 [1984] 275–315).

ED. PL 63–64. *Philosophiae consolatio*, ed. L. Bieler (Turnhout 1957). Gr. tr. by Planoudes—*Boëce: De la consolation*

de la philosophie, ed. E.-A. Bétant (Geneva 1871; rp. Amsterdam 1964). D.Z. Nikitas, *Eine byzantinische Übersetzung von Boethius' "De hypotheticis syllogismis"* (Göttingen 1982). *The Theological Tractates*, ed. H.F. Stewart, E.K. Rand (Cambridge, Mass., 1973), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Gibson, ed., *Boethius: His Life, Thought, and Influence* (Oxford 1981). *Boethius*, ed. M. Fuhrmann, J. Gruber (Darmstadt 1984). H. Chadwick, *Boethius: The Consolations of Music, Logic, Theology and Philosophy* (Oxford 1981). D. Shanzer, "The Death of Boethius and the 'Consolation of Philosophy,'" *Hermes* 112 (1984) 352–66. S. Lerer, *Boethius and Dialogue* (Princeton 1985). –B.B.

BOGOMIL, POP, the presumed founder of the sect of the BOGOMILS; fl. 10th C. Our information about him comes mainly from KOSMAS THE PRIEST, who states that Bogomil was a priest (*pop*) and that he began to teach his heresy in Bulgaria in the reign of Tsar PETER OF BULGARIA (927–69). A Russian index of forbidden books, preserved in a 16th-C. MS, states that Bogomil wrote heretical books. His name is probably the Slavic equivalent of the Greek Theophilos. His dualist followers in 10th-C. Bulgaria, named after him, are described by Kosmas as "lamb-like, gentle, modest, and silent, and pale from hypocritical fasting. They do not talk idly, nor laugh loudly, nor give themselves airs. They keep away from the sight of men, and outwardly they do everything so as not to be distinguished from Orthodox Christians."

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge 1948) 117–20, 124–26, 271–74. D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bŭlgarija*[3] (Sofia 1980) 123–27. –D.O.

BOGOMILS, a dualist, neo-MANICHAEAN sect, founded in 10th-C. Bulgaria, presumably by Pop BOGOMIL. It subsequently spread over the entire Balkan peninsula and parts of Asia Minor, exerted a formative influence over the CATHAR movement in Italy and France, and proved for five centuries a determined enemy of the Byz. church. Holding the material world to be the creation and realm of the Devil, the Bogomils denied most of the basic doctrines of the Orthodox church, including the Incarnation. They imposed, at least on a minority of "elect" initiates, an ascetic life that required abstinence from sexual intercourse, meat, and wine, and—at least in 10th-C. Bulgaria—preached civil disobedience. Most evidence of their teaching and behavior is in the works of their enemies, esp. KOSMAS THE PRIEST, Anna KOMNENE, and Euthymios ZIGABENOS, though some valuable information is also found in the *Interrogatio Johannis* (or *Liber Secretus*, i.e., "Secret Book"), the only undeniably authentic product of Bogomil APOCRYPHA.

Originally the Bogomil doctrines owed much to the teaching of the PAULICIANS, who lived alongside them in the Balkans, and, unlike the Bogomils, were warlike in spirit and frequently rose up in arms against their Byz. overlords. MESSALIANISM, with which Bogomilism was frequently identified in the later Middle Ages, was probably used by Orthodox writers of the time as little more than a label for suspect or heretical mystical currents.

In the 11th C. the sect gained ground in Constantinople where, under its leader BASIL THE BOGOMIL, it found converts in aristocratic circles. At the behest of Alexios I Komnenos, Euthymios Zigabenos described its doctrines, rules, and ceremonies at considerable length. In the 12th C. Bogomilism spread in the empire's Slavic provinces (notably in Macedonia), and also in Asia Minor, where in the 13th C. the Nicaean patriarch GERMANOS II wrote a treatise against them. Despite continued persecution, votaries of Bogomilism scored notable successes in Serbia, Dalmatia, and esp. Bosnia, where under the name of Patarenes they later became the dominant religious group. After the Turkish conquest they disappeared from the Balkans.

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Bogomils* (Cambridge 1948). S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge 1947; rp. 1982). M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974). D. Angelov, *Bogomilstvoto v Bŭlgarija*[3] (Sofia 1980). –D.O.

BOHEMUND (Βαΐμοῦντος), son of ROBERT GUISCARD; born between ca.1050 and 1058, died Bari? 5 or 7 Mar. 1109 (A. Gadolin, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 125–31) or 1111. In 1081 he accompanied his father in attacking Alexios I, but was forced to withdraw in 1084. He joined the First Crusade in 1096 and reached Constantinople ca.9 Apr. 1097. There he swore fealty to Alexios, but Alexios put off his request to be named *domestikos* of the East. During the siege of Antioch, Bohemund helped induce TATIKIOS to depart, then obtained the city in violation of his oath to Alexios. Bohemund fought against the Byz. at Laodikeia until he was captured by Danişmend ca. July 1100. Following his ransom in 1103, he again fought the Byz. Late in 1104 he returned to Italy; with papal support,

he called for a new Crusade, then, in France (1106), proclaimed his intention of directing it against Alexios, whom he denounced for treachery to the Crusaders. His expedition to Dyrrachion (Oct. 1107) became trapped between the Byz. fleet and army. Bohemund was forced to accept a treaty at DEVOL (Sept. 1108) whereby he became an imperial vassal and received Antioch as a fief from Alexios (Ja.N. Ljubarskij, M.M. Frejdenberg, *VizVrem* 21 [1962] 260–74). Anna Komnene depicts him as valiant, clever, an outstanding and farsighted commander, but treacherous, deceitful, a natural liar, and chameleon. His goal, in her opinion, was to win for himself land and power, and ultimately to seize Byz.

LIT. R.B. Yewdale, *Bohemund I, Prince of Antioch* (Princeton 1924). J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *BullJRylandsLib* 49 (1966–67) 165–202. G. Rösch, "Der 'Kreuzzug' Bohemunds gegen Dyrrhachion 1107/1108 in der lateinischen Tradition des 12. Jahrhunderts," *RömHistMitt* 26 (1984) 181–90. –C.M.B.

BOILAS (Βοΐλας), name of Bulgarian origin; it designated a high Bulgarian title. The first known Boilas in Byz. was the *patrikios* Constantine, a contemporary of the 8th-C. empress Irene. St. IOANNIKIOS is said to have been related to the Boilas family. In the 10th C. members of the Boilas family were military commanders: Bardas Boilas, *strategos* of Chaldia, inspired a revolt in Armenia ca.922; Petronas Boilas served as *katepano* of Nikopolis (on the Pontos?) during the reign of Constantine VII. Judging from the names, one might infer that these two Boilades were Armenians. Some members of the family were courtiers: the chamberlain Constantine Boilas was involved in 925 in an unsuccessful plot against Romanos I and was compelled to take the monastic habit. The status of the family declined by the 11th C.: historians of this period call Romanos Boilas, the favorite of Constantine IX, a man of humble origin (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:38, par.140.10); he was in charge of the imperial guard. Convicted of plotting against the emperor ca.1051, he was exiled but soon returned to the court. The traditional image of Romanos Boilas as a buffoon accounts for the biased judgment of him in Psellos and other sources. His contemporary, Eustathios Boilas, is known from his will of 1059 (see BOILAS, WILL OF EUSTATHIOS). Even though the name of Boilas was common in the later period (*PLP*, nos. 2933–41), the Boilades did not occupy significant posts at that time. George Boilas (ca.1400) wrote a now-lost treatise *Against the Latins* to refute the teaching of Thomas AQUINAS (Beck, *Kirche* 745).

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 150f, 181f. –A.K.

BOILAS, WILL OF EUSTATHIOS. In Apr. 1059, Eustathios Boilas, *protospatharios, epi tou chrysotriklinou,* and *hypatos,* wrote his will; it was then copied on the last blank folios of a MS of St. John Klimax (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 263). Boilas was writing in an unknown place (probably near Edessa in Syria) where he had taken refuge after leaving his native Cappadocia. He had previously served for 15 years under the late *doux* Michael Apokapes and was still attached to members of his family. Reasonably wealthy in 1059, he had many slaves and real estate that he distributed among his two married daughters and Theotokos tou Salem, his pious foundation, which was scheduled to remain their property. This testament is important because of its early date and because it provides an insight into a poorly known region and society.

ED. and LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 13–63. Eng. tr. S. Vryonis, "The Will of a Provincial Magnate, Eustathius Boilas (1059)," *DOP* 11 (1957) 263–77. –N.O.

BOIOANNES (Βοιωάννης), a family name, probably of Slavic origin. According to M. Mathieu (*Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 299–301), the name was connected with the Slavic name *Boian*; it is also recorded in the form of Boinos, Baianos (Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 11, n.1; V. Beševliev, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 3); one of Leo VI's wives was Eudokia Baiana. The first known Boioannes was Basil, *katepano* of Italy in 1017–28 (see BOIOANNES, BASIL). It is questionable whether a rebellious magnate called Baianos (Skyl. 396.26), whose fortune was confiscated in 1034, belonged to the same family. Another Boioannes, *exaugustus* of Italian sources, was *katepano* of Italy in 1041; the Normans captured him. Skylitzes (Skyl. 426.38–41) considered him a descendant of Basil Boioannes. Constantine Boioannes, a member of the local nobility in Dyrrachion, is mentioned in a synodal decision of 1199 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1193): a certain Alexios Kapandrites, backed by an armed band, forced Constantine's sister, Eudokia, to marry him; in

retaliation Constantine seized his undesirable brother-in-law, fettered him, and gave Eudokia in marriage to another man.

LIT. W. Holtzmann, "Der Katepan Boioannes und die kirchliche Organisation der Capitanata," *NachGött*, no.2 (1960) 19–39. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 90f, 93f. –A.K.

BOIOANNES, BASIL, *protospatharios* and KATEPANO of Italy (1017–summer 1028); whether the name derives from Slavic or Greek is uncertain (M. Mathieu, *Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 299–301). The career of Boioannes before his appointment as *katepano* by BASIL II and after his recall by CONSTANTINE VIII is unknown. In Oct. 1018, at Cannae, Boioannes defeated the rebel Melo of Bari. He refortified northern Apulia, where he founded Troia (1019). Cooperating with Pandolf IV of Capua, Boioannes's army campaigned successfully on the Garigliano (1021). In response, Pope Benedict VIII summoned Henry II of Germany, who in 1022 captured Pandolf and vainly besieged Troia. After Henry's death (1024), Boioannes helped restore Pandolf (1026); Salerno, Capua, and Naples acknowledged Byz. overlordship. Boioannes secured papal recognition of Bari as a metropolis and of Troia and other places in the capitanate as bishoprics (W. Holtzmann, *NachGött* [1960] no.2:19–39). In 1024 Boioannes raided CROATIA and in 1025 joined in an unsuccessful expedition sent by Basil II against Sicily. In May–Sept. 1041, another Boioannes, a son or relative, was *katepano*, but was captured by Lombards and Normans.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 57f, 90f. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 199f. –C.M.B.

BOJANA, a settlement in Bulgaria, southwest of Sofia, the site of a double church dedicated to Sts. Nicholas and Panteleemon. The smaller, east church has been dated on the basis of style to the 12th C. It has a square exterior enlivened by blind arches and a cruciform interior. The later church is a two-story funerary structure adjoining the older church at the west and serving as its narthex. The lower story is a barrel-vaulted hall with *arcosolia*; the chapel above it is cruciform, with shortened cross arms and a central dome. Frescoes dated by inscription to 1259 cover the entire interior of both churches. The scenes follow the usual Byz. arrangement, and certain iconographic details (the fresco icons of Christ Euergetes and Christ Chalkites, the cityscapes) link the paintings to Constantinople. Despite the presence of some up-to-date details (such as the intricate armor), the tall, slim proportions of the figures and landscape in the compositions reflect Byz. models of the 11th and 12th C., and give the ensemble an archaic look. The lower church contains a cycle of scenes from the life of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA; though Byz. in origin, the cycle is unusually long and displays many Western features. The captions to all the frescoes are in Slavonic; the artists may have come from TŬRNOVO. The donor portraits of the *sebastokrator* Kalojan (otherwise unknown) and his wife in the lower church are surprisingly individualized.

LIT. A. Grabar, *L'église de Boïana* (Sofia 1924). K. Mijatev, *The Boyana Murals* (Dresden 1961). Sv. Bosilkov, "Za tradiciite i novatorstvoto v Bojanskata živopis," *Tŭrnovska knižavna škola 1371–1971* (Sofia 1974) 355–71. –E.C.S.

BOLDENSELE, WILHELM VON (originally named Otto of Nygenhusen), German traveler to Mt. Sinai; born in Westphalia-Saxony, died in Cologne? after 1337. A Dominican friar, Otto left his priory, changed his name to Wilhelm, and, in 1332–36, on assignment from the papal curia, traveled to the Levant. His purpose was probably not just a simple pilgrimage but also a reconnaissance with an eye to planning a new Crusade. At any rate, he paid serious attention to strategic points in Palestine and to the places where the Mamlūk sultan allegedly kept his treasures. On his way to Sinai Wilhelm stopped at Constantinople, Chios, Rhodes, and Cyprus; whether he visited Athens is unclear. In Constantinople he was received by Andronikos III, who gave him a letter to deliver to the sultan of Egypt. In his *Itinerary*, Wilhelm describes the marvelous churches and palaces of Constantinople and says that Hagia Sophia surpassed any other building in the world. He dwells particularly on the equestrian statue of Justinian I, which, to Wilhelm, seemed to threaten potential rebels and enemies of the empire. The *Itinerary* of Wilhelm was used by his contemporary Ludolf of Sudheim, who traveled to the East in 1336–41; in some cases Ludolf corrected and added to the work of his predecessor.

ED. C.L. Grotefend, "Des Edelherrn Wilhelm von Boldensele Reise nach dem Gelobten Lande," *Zeitschrift des historischen Vereins Niedersachsen* (1852) 226–86.

LIT. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:25–37. G. Schnath, "Drei Niedersächsische Sinaipilger um 1330," in *Festschrift P.E. Schramm*, ed. P. Classen, P. Schiebert, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1964) 464–78. –A.K.

BOLERON (Βολερόν), region in Thrace between the Rhodope mountains and the sea, bounded by the Nestos River on the west and the defile of Korpiles on the east. First mentioned in the vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (as a geographical location), it became an administrative unit in the first half of the 11th C.: an act of 1047 refers to a "new *dioikesis*" of Boleron (*Ivir.*, no.29.77). By 1083 Boleron was considered a separate theme, containing at least two *banda*, MOSYNOPOLIS and PERITHEORION (*Typikon of Gregory Pakourianos*, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 37.288). Most commonly it appears as part of the joint theme of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike—the first known reference is the *hypomnema* of its judge Constantine Kamateros of 1037 (*Docheiar.*, no.1.35). After 1204 the region was part of the Latin Kingdom of Thessalonike. It was probably reconstituted ca.1246 by John III Vatatzes and called the theme of Boleron-Mosynopolis. In the early 14th C. it was united with Mosynopolis, Serres, and Strymon under a *kephale* (Guillou, *Ménécée*, nos. 7.25–26, 11.1–2). A document of 1344 (*Docheiar.*, no.22.1–3), however, considers Boleron, Popolia, Serres, Strymon, and MELNIK as *kastra*, in contrast to the themes of Thessalonike and BERROIA.

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippes* 129f, 160–63. S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai Meletai* 2–5 (Thessalonike 1937) 291–362. Th. Papazotas, "Semeioseis sto 'Boleron' tou St. Kyriakide," *Thrakike epeterida* 2 (1981) 233–43. –T.E.G., A.K.

BONE CARVING, a perennial industry, based on the slaughter of cattle and pack animals. Bone was used for buttons, knobs, and struts as well as for tools, esp. in the weaving trade. Bone gaming-pieces, containers, and bird-rings as well as ornamental handles for fans or fly-switches from many different periods have been found in Constantinople (M.V. Gill in R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1 [Princeton 1986] 226–33, 251–53, 258–63); bone's range of application thus exceeded that of IVORY, although it was probably worked by the same craftsmen. Numerous plaques attached to CASKETS AND BOXES, often said to be of ivory, are in fact of bone.

LIT. Ai. Loverdou-Tsigarda, *Osteina plakidia* (Thessalonike 1986). A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 86–89. –A.C.

BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT (Βονιφάτιος ὁ Μόντης Φεράντης), marquis of Thessalonike (1204–07); born early 1150s, died near Mosynopolis 4 Sept. 1207. In 1179–80 Boniface served as guardian of the captive Christian of Mainz while his brother CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT traveled to Constantinople (D. Brader, *Historische Studien: Bonifaz von Montferrat bis zum Antritt der Kreuzfahrt (1202)* [Berlin 1907; rp. Vaduz 1965] 23–25). In June 1201, possibly influenced by his cousin King Philip II of France, Boniface accepted the leadership of the Fourth Crusade (E. Kittell, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 562–65). At Christmas 1201, at Hagenau, he met another cousin, PHILIP OF SWABIA, and the future Alexios IV; they probably discussed the use of the Crusade to enthrone Alexios. Boniface avoided participating in the capture of Zara, but early in 1203 enthusiastically supported the proposal of Alexios and Philip of Swabia to turn the Crusade against Constantinople. After Alexios III fled, Boniface joined Alexios IV in an expedition through Thrace. In late 1203, he took a leading role in the discussions with Alexios IV.

During the sack of Constantinople, Boniface occupied the Great Palace, where his captives included the widow of Isaac II, Margaret of Hungary, whom he subsequently married. Because he had commanded the Crusaders, the populace of Constantinople anticipated his choice as emperor and hailed him as *Ayos vasileas marchio* ("the holy emperor, the marquess"), but BALDWIN OF FLANDERS was elected. Boniface received Thessalonike as a kingdom, but a quarrel over it with Baldwin (mid-1204) was resolved with difficulty. Initially the populace of Thessalonike welcomed him warmly; later he appropriated the dwellings of the wealthiest inhabitants for his knights. In late 1204, using Margaret and Isaac's son Manuel (clad in imperial robes) to smooth his advance, Boniface drove Leo SGOUROS from Thessaly and occupied central Greece, where he captured Alexios III. The inhabitants of Thebes received Boniface enthusiastically, but he rejected the support of the Byz. aristocracy who then turned to Kalojan. In

1205–07 he fought Kalojan and allied himself with HENRY OF HAINAULT, then perished in a Bulgarian ambush.

LIT. M.A. Zaborov, "K voprosu o predistorii četvertogo krestovogo pochoda," *VizVrem* 6 (1953) 223–35. J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IV^e croisade: Villehardouin et Clari*, vol. 1 (Paris 1973) 208–44. Longnon, *Compagnons* 227–34. –C.M.B.

BOOK (*βιβλίον, βίβλος, δέλτος*). The written word was of great importance in Byz., for the transmission of the Bible (the *biblos* par excellence) and patristic literature, and for the preservation of the heritage of classical antiquity. The number of preserved Greek MSS is about 55,000 (A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*[2] [Paris 1964] 77), of which perhaps 40,000 are Byz. They are mainly in the form of a CODEX, but the ROLL survived in the transmission of liturgical texts and in the imperial chancery. Few pre-10th-C. MSS survive; the numbers of MSS produced increased dramatically with the introduction of MINUSCULE script. Most MSS were liturgical or theological; these books predominate both in modern collections and in medieval inventories of monastic libraries. Literary, scientific, and historical books were generally found in the private collections of literati. Books were a rare and expensive commodity in Byz., because of the shortage of writing materials (PARCHMENT and PAPER) and the length of time it took a SCRIBE to copy a MS (see BOOK TRADE). N. Wilson has shown that in the 9th C. a MS of about 400 folios cost 15–20 nomismata, a sum reckoned by C. Mango as equivalent to half the annual salary of a civil servant (*Books & Bookmen*, 3f, 38f).

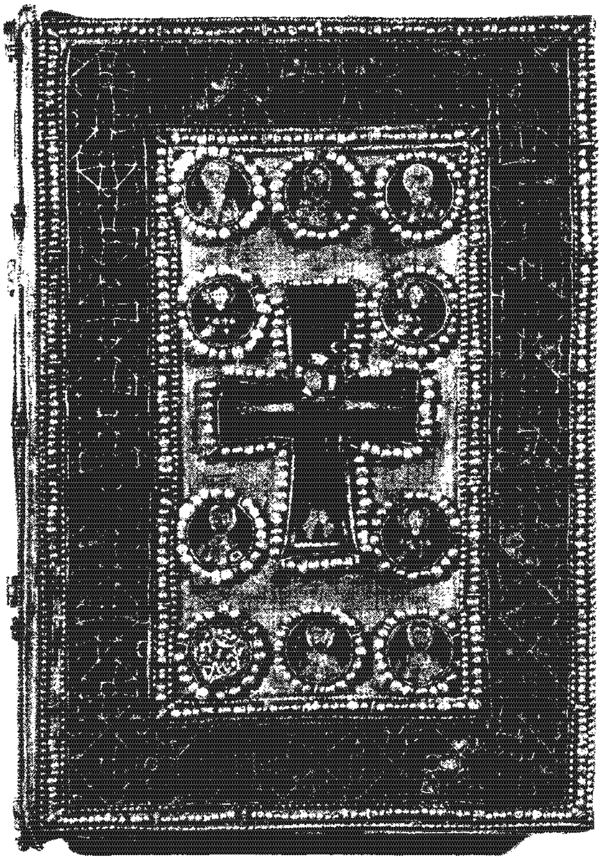
Private libraries rarely exceeded 25 volumes. Booksellers are scarcely ever mentioned; books were obtained by borrowing from friends, commissioning the copying of a MS at a SCRIPTORIUM, or using a LIBRARY. Hence books were highly valued by clergy and intellectuals; MSS from libraries frequently contain an imprecation against anyone who would dare steal the book. The designation of a book for a certain use might change in the course of the centuries; thus the Vienna DIOSKORIDES (Vienna, ÖNB med.gr.1) was originally dedicated to the princess Anicia Juliana in the 6th C. but served as a herbal for a hospital in Constantinople in the 14th and 15th C. Many monasteries such as STOUDIOS, HODEGON, and GALESIOS housed important scriptoria; at others, however, esp. in the early Christian centuries, books were scorned. ANTONY THE GREAT reportedly memorized the Scriptures so that he had no need for books (PG 26:845A, 945A); an abbot criticized a monk for spending money on codices instead of the poor (PG 65:416C).

LIT. *Byzantine Books and Bookmen* (Washington, D.C., 1975). G. Cavallo, "Il libro come oggetto d'uso nel mondo bizantino," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 395–423. C. Wendel, *Kleine Schriften zum antiken Buch- und Bibliothekswesen* (Cologne 1974). Averincev, *Poetika* 183–209. –A.M.T., E.G.

BOOKBINDING (*στάχωμα, ἀμφίασμα*). The CODEX was protected by a binding, usually of leather or parchment, more rarely of silk or precious metals. Normally two leather-covered wooden boards held together and protected the QUIRES, which the bookbinder stitched together. The dimensions of the quires and of the boards that form the binding are identical. In contrast to Western bookbinding, Byz. bindings did not have raised bands but were distinguished by a smooth spine. Sumptuous bindings sometimes took the form of metal BOOK COVERS, occasionally adorned with precious stones or ENAMELS. Technical names for elements of the decoration are known from the description of books in the inventories of monastic LIBRARIES (such as Patmos). Owing to the custom of storing MSS horizontally, the leather of the binding was protected by bosses (*amygdalia*, lit. "almonds"). Preserved examples of Byz. bookbinding permit the analysis of the stamps used for decoration; further research of this sort could enable us to investigate centers for bookbinding. Among the motifs used for blind-tooling on bindings from the late Byz. period are the monogram of the Palaiologos family (P. Hoffmann, *Scriptorium* 39 [1985] 274–81) and metal representations of patron saints.

LIT. E. Baras et al., *La reliure médiévale* (Paris 1978) 23–35. C. Federici, K. Houlis, *Le legature bizantine vaticane* (Rome 1988). B. Atsalos, "Sur quelques termes relatifs à la reliure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia Codicologica* [= TU 124], ed. K. Treu (Berlin 1977) 15–42. –E.G.

BOOK COVER. Some ancient codices still have their original BOOKBINDING of wooden boards, sometimes covered in leather; metal and silk and other textiles were also used for covers. A number of preserved metal and ivory plaques, which cor-



BOOK COVER. Metal book cover (Venice, Marciana lat. Cl. I, 101; front cover); 9th to early 10th C. The figures of Christ on the Cross and the busts of saints and angels around him are made of cloisonné enamel outlined in pearls.

respond to the general sizes of Byz. books, are thought to have served originally as covers; examples are the 6th-C. sets of silver plaques in the KAPER KORAON TREASURE and the SION TREASURE, decorated with standing figures or a cross under an arch. The colophon of a Syriac MS of 633/4 written near Damascus refers to its cover composed of metal plates and gems (J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* [Paris 1964] 118). Elaborate fittings for book covers are described in church inventories in and after the 11th C.: cross-shaped panels (*stauroi*) at the center and L-shaped corners (*gammata*); hinged straps (*kompothelika*); roundels (*boulai*); nailheads (*karphia*); and almond-shaped bosses (*amygdalia*) (*Pantel.*, no.7.6–8; C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 22f).

The most elaborate covers were reserved for Gospel lectionaries, intended mainly for display, either on the altar or during the Little Entrance. The Crucifixion is the dominant subject of medieval Gospel covers, though DEESIS compositions and Nativity scenes are also recorded. By the 14th C., Crucifixion scenes on the front cover are accompanied by ANASTASIS scenes on the back. Both images are surrounded by busts of angels, prophets, bishops, or saints and Christological scenes closely resembling contemporary ICON FRAMES (*Treasury S. Marco* 176–78).

LIT. B. van Regemorter, *La reliure byzantine* (Brussels 1969). H. Hunger, *RBK* 1:752–57. T. Velmans, "La couverture de l'Évangile dit de Morozov et l'évolution de la reliure byzantine," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 115–36. V.H. Elbern, "Neue Funde goldener Geräte des christlichen Kultes in der frühchristlich-byzantinischen Sammlung Berlin," *IntCongChrArch* 7 (1965 [publ. 1969]) 493–95.

–M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION. Conventionally the terms are used synonymously, or the former may refer to figural and the latter to ornamental decoration. MS illumination—a topic of study inaugurated by N.P. Kondakov in 1876—provides the most comprehensive evidence for the history of Byz. painting and is the oldest and best-studied area of Byz. art history. MSS were decorated by SCRIBES and/or ILLUMINATORS. Some were painted at the same time as they were written, but generally the text of the entire book was first copied and then it was illustrated; miniatures were either added in spaces left by the scribe or painted on separate leaves. A rare example of the illustration preceding the writing is the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. In the latter the unit of work was the single folio, but more commonly an illuminator, working sometimes in a SCRIPTORIUM, executed the entire QUIRE. A scribe might illuminate his own work or collaborate with someone else. The basic composition of a miniature was first established by a preliminary sketch, which then was typically covered with opaque pigments. Colored washes sufficed for simpler ornament and became popular for figural illustration in the Palaiologan period. Miniatures, esp. those of the DECORATIVE STYLE, often cracked and flaked and were repainted during and after the Middle Ages.

The overwhelming number of decorated MSS are religious, with the PSALTER and GOSPEL BOOK predominating. Certain liturgical texts were dec-

orated, esp. LECTIONARIES and liturgical rolls (see ROLLS, LITURGICAL), but illustrated versions of the OKTOECHOS and the STICHARION are rare. A special edition of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was created for liturgical use. Many MSS of the MENOLOGION are illustrated with images of saints and their martyrdom. Accounts of church councils, theological treatises, and monastic texts, such as the TYPIKON, the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, or the romance of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, were illustrated with varying frequencies.

Secular texts were decorated less often. A few imperial ROLLS open with imperial portraits or frame the text with decorated borders. The only Greek historical text with narrative illustration, the MS of John SKYLITZES in Madrid, was produced in Norman Sicily. Various SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS are accompanied by essential pictures and diagrams (DIOSKORIDES, NIKANDER). Decorated literary texts are very rare, but fragments of a 5th-C. *Iliad* with later Byz. marginalia are preserved in Milan. Other decorated texts range from an ALEXANDER ROMANCE in Venice to an *Epithalamion* in the Vatican.

Illuminated MSS are more common in some periods than others. The rare and well-studied books from the pre-Iconoclastic period (ROSSANO GOSPELS, RABBULA GOSPELS, GENESIS MSS in Vienna and London) are painted in a soft painterly manner of ancient origin. Little survives from the period of Iconoclasm, except a PTOLEMY MS in the Vatican. From the latter half of the 9th C., the most important MSS are the Khludov Psalter, the PARIS GREGORY, and the SACRA PARALLELA. The 10th C.—the height of Byz. illumination according to some—includes the classicizing PARIS PSALTER, Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, JOSHUA ROLL, and Stavronikita Gospels. The style and iconography of 11th- and 12th-C. MSS (*Menologion of Basil II*, the THEODORE PSALTER, and the CODEX EBNERIANUS) are more innovative, however, and in this period, the ornament of HEADPIECES, INITIALS, and CANON TABLES reaches its apogee. The many MSS of the Decorative Style testify to major provincial production during the late 12th and early 13th C. Palaiologan MSS feature pear-shaped figures, painted in pastel colors, and intricate ornament imitative of the Islamic arabesque. While some Palaiologan MSS were made for the emperor and his family, ecclesiastical patronage was more important. During the later 14th C., the production of deluxe Greek MSS declined; it all but ceased in the 15th C. but resumed in Renaissance Italy.

The reasons why decorated MSS were created are probably as numerous as the MSS themselves. For the many illustrated MSS that were donations to religious institutions, the principal motivation expressed in dedication notes is the hope of eternal salvation. Miniatures of the patron, offering the book to an intercessory saint, document the gift and proclaim the donor's piety and association with saintly patrons. Images of contemporary persons affirm or legitimize political and social status, for example, Christ blessing the emperor or investing the *hegoumenos* of a monastery. Illustrations establish the context in which the text was used, as when the liturgical roll opens with a scene at the altar, an herbal adds to a plant picture an illustration of its medicinal use, or a lectionary depicts not the text's content, but the religious occasion on which it was read. Even the most literal illustration calls attention to certain passages and not others. Some miniatures provide sophisticated commentary, while others serve as devotional images no different from other icons.

The contemporary significance of the illuminated MS in Byz. is attested by the language of inventories, wills, and notices of later owners and by the considerable impact that Byz. MS illustration had on Armenian, Syriac, and Coptic illumination. Byz. illuminators painted Gospel books in Georgian and Arabic, and Slavic artists adapted Byz. illustration and ornament for local contexts. Even Muslim artists copied illustrated scientific MSS. Few illuminated Byz. MSS are documented in western Europe before 1204, but many were imported afterwards. In the 15th C., humanists collected secular texts, which were seldom decorated, but their secondary interest in theological literature brought many illuminated MSS to European libraries. The appreciation of Byz. MSS as art objects is a product of the later 19th and 20th C. and had varied consequences. Miniatures were excised from MSS, forged by modern painters, and divorced from textual and cultural contexts in art historical studies. Yet the high artistic value accorded them gained a wider modern audience for Byz. culture in general.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, *Istorija vizantijskogo iskusstva* (Odessa 1876), tr. as *Histoire de l'art byzantin considéré principalement dans les miniatures* (Paris 1886–91). V.N. Lazarev, *Storia*

della pittura bizantina (Turin 1967). H. Belting, *Das illuminierte Buch in der spätbyzantinischen Gesellschaft* (Heidelberg 1970). K. Weitzmann, *Studies in Classical and Byzantine Manuscript Illumination*, ed. H.L. Kessler (Chicago-London 1971). I. Hutter, *Corpus der byzantinischen Miniaturenhandschriften* (Stuttgart 1977–). –R.S.N.

BOOK OF THE EPARCH (Ἐπαρχικὸν Βιβλίον), a collection of regulations of the activity of the Constantinopolitan GUILDS, which came under the supervision of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. The complete text survives in a 14th-C. MS (Geneva, Bibliothèque de Genève, no.23); the title and preamble are also preserved in an Istanbul MS (Metochion Taphou, no.25). In several MSS can be found the first three paragraphs of chapter 1 of the *Book of the Eparch* excerpted, as it is said, from "the decrees on city guilds (*somateia*)" (P. Noailles, A. Dain, *Les novelles de Léon VI le Sage* [Paris 1944] 376f). The MS of Metochion Taphou gives the name of the legislator—Leo VI (as do the fragments from ch.1)—and the date, 911/12 (D. Gkines, *EEBS* 13 [1937] 186). However, the mention in four paragraphs of TETARTERA (coins that were not introduced until the mid-10th C.) permits the hypothesis that the treatise was compiled (or interpolated) under Nikephoros II Phokas. This opinion is rejected by A. Schminck (*Rechtsbücher* 27, n.26) who identifies the *tetarteron* cited in the *Book of the Eparch* as the TREMISSIS or SEMISSIS known through the reign of Basil I.

The *Book of the Eparch* is a collection in 22 chapters of rules devoted to separate guilds—notaries; *argyropratai*; money changers; various dealers in clothing and perfume; candlemakers; soapmakers; purveyors of groceries, meat, bread, fish, and wine—as well as to some assistants of the eparch (*legatarii*) and the so-called BOTHROI and TECHNITAI. Some chapters repeat the same statements and probably were compiled separately. Certain important professions and trades (e.g., potters, ironmongers, tailors, dyers, shoemakers, barbers, physicians) are not included.

P. Pieler (in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:471) considers the *Book of the Eparch* a document that "belongs completely to the sphere of the late antique system of guilds." P. Schreiner (in *LMA* 3:2043), on the other hand, emphasizes the differences between the commercial organization described in the *Book of the Eparch* and that of late antiquity, since the 10th-C. treatise reflects neither coercive nor hereditary membership in guilds. Sjuzjumov views the regulations as representing the economic ideas of Leo VI.

ED. *Vizantijskaja kniga eparcha*, ed. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (Moscow 1962). Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield in *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* (Cambridge 1938); rp. in *To Eparchikon Biblion*, ed. I. Dujčev (London 1970) 205–81.

LIT. S. Troianos, *Hoi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens 1986) 135–37. –A.K.

BOOK OF THE ḤIMYARITES, a Syriac text preserved (in fragments) in a MS of the 15th C. with some remnants in another, 10th-C. codex. The *Book* describes the persecutions by Masruq (DHŪ-NUWĀS) in NAJRĀN and the invasion of Kaleb (ELESBOAM), the king of Axum, in 525. The *Book* was written by a Monophysite author immediately after the events described, probably on the basis of oral information from eyewitnesses. Moberg (*infra*) tentatively identified the author as a certain Sergios (or George) of Ruṣāfah, of whom nothing is known save his participation in an embassy sent by Justin I to the Lakhmid ALAMUNDARUS of Ḥīra. Shahid (*infra*), however, identified him with Symeon, bishop of Bēth-Arshām, the author of a letter detailing the same events.

ED. and TR. A. Moberg, *The Book of the Himyarites* (Lund 1924).

LIT. I. Shahid, "The Book of the Himyarites," *Muséon* 76 (1963) 349–62. –A.K.

BOOK TRADE in the strict sense hardly ever existed in Byz., in contrast to the flourishing BOOK production and distribution of late antiquity. There was a certain market for old and rare books, while new books were always produced on commission for the private LIBRARY of the commissioner or for the library of a public or ecclesiastical institution. Some MSS contain indications about the price, the charges for the copying and those for the material (i.e., the PARCHMENT) being calculated separately. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA paid around 15–20 nomismata on the average for a MS, about a third of this amount being for the parchment. In other cases the data concerning book prices are much less clear. Because the size and format of the books in question are often unknown, the average price of a Byz. book cannot be determined, much less related to the purchasing power of the currency during the period in question. Writing material remained expensive even after

the introduction of oriental PAPER, and only in the last centuries of the empire were costs reduced by the importation of western paper. Under these circumstances acquiring and collecting books was a privilege of institutions and of a very few wealthy individuals. Owing to the high prices, intellectuals rarely could satisfy their need for books through purchase; as a result, scholars often borrowed books from one another and copied them personally.

LIT. N. Wilson, "Books and Readers in Byzantium" and C. Mango, "The Availability of Books in the Byzantine Empire, A.D.750–850," in *Books & Bookmen* 1–15, 29–45. G. Cavallo, "La circolazione libraria nell'età di Giustiniano," in *L'imperatore Giustiniano—storia e mito* (Milan 1978) 201–36. Hutter, *CBM* 3.1:386. Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, *"Semeiomata" Hellenikon kodikon* (Athens 1978). Eadem, *Sylloge chronologemenon "semeiomaton" Hellenikon kodikon 13ou ai.* (Athens 1984). –W.H.

BOOTY (σκῦλα). The spoils of war included the enemy's baggage, equipment, animals, money, and even their persons, which could be sold into SLAVERY or held for ransom (see PRISONERS OF WAR). The military treatises laid down strict regulations against soldiers' plundering during battle (for which the penalty was death) and assigned second-rank men or soldiers' attendants to follow the combatants and collect booty or prisoners for distribution afterwards (*Strat. Maurik.* 2.9, pp. 126–28; *Praecepta Milit.* 7.14–21, 16.32–35). According to the rules on division of spoils set out in the ECLOGA (18.1) and the 10th-C. SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, ch.50 (ed. A. Dain [Paris 1938] 98f), one-sixth of the collected booty was reserved for the imperial treasury and the remainder given out to the soldiery. Interestingly, officers did not receive booty in addition to their wages unless they had distinguished themselves in battle; their reward came out of the imperial share. The *Ecloga* 16.1–2 states that booty and gratuities granted to soldiers counted among PECULIUM CASTRENSE.

Details from historical sources show practice at variance with theory in the distribution of booty and revenues derived therefrom. IBN ḤAWQAL describes the efforts of Nikephoros II Phokas to tax or appropriate revenues generated from the sale of prisoners or booty to finance his military expeditions (*Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, vol. 1 [Paris 1964] 192–94). Basil II divided prisoners taken at Longas (1016) three ways between himself, his allies from Rus', and his own troops (Skyl. 355.22–24), and in 1018 simply paid his army's wages out of money seized at Ohrid (Skyl. 358.14–359.18).

LIT. A. Dain, "Le partage du butin de guerre d'après les traités juridiques et militaires," 6 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Paris 1950) 347–52. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 231–34. –E.M.

BORIL (Βορίλας), Bulgarian tsar (1207–18); died after 1218. Boril seized the Bulgarian throne after the murder of his uncle KALOJAN; to strengthen his position he married his uncle's Cuman widow. He invaded the Latin Empire, but was completely defeated on 31 July 1208 outside Philippopolis, and was defeated again by the Latins in 1211, this time near Thessalonike. His hold over Bulgaria was always tenuous, with members of his family establishing themselves as semi-independent rulers. His brother Strez controlled Prosek with the support of the Serbian ruler STEFAN I THE FIRST-CROWNED. Using the good offices of the papacy, Boril turned to HENRY OF HAINAULT for help against this pair. In 1213 they concluded an alliance, sealed by Henry's marriage to Maria (probably Boril's daughter). The next year they launched a joint expedition against Serbia, but were repulsed. In 1211 Boril convoked a synod of the Bulgarian church at Tŭrnovo, which condemned the BOGOMIL heresy. Though the synod conformed to the practices of the Orthodox church (J. Gouillard, *TM* 4 [1970] 361–74), Boril's dealings with the papacy suggest that he may have been prompted by papal concern about the Albigensian heresy, which was believed to originate in Bulgaria (I. Dujčev, *BBulg* 6 [1980] 115–24). In 1218 Boril was overthrown by John Asen II and blinded.

LIT. G. Prinzing, *Die Bedeutung Bulgariens und Serbiens in den Jahren 1204–1219* (Munich 1972) 100–38. A. Dančeva-Vasileva, *Bŭlgaria i Latinskata imperija (1204–1261)* (Sofia 1985) 80–115. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:270–323. –M.J.A.

BORIL, SYNODIKON OF, conventional name of a Bulgarian compilation of various ANATHEMAS of heretics. Its initial form was a translation from a Greek compilation of ecclesiastical bans similar to the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, including some anathemas of the 12th C. To this translated part an original section was added containing the decisions of the Bulgarian synod of 1211 convoked by Tsar BORIL. Later on, complementary entries

were introduced dealing with ecclesiastical discussions of the 14th C. The text has survived in two major Bulgarian redactions (those of Palauzov and of Drinov) as well as in Serbian and Russian versions. The Bulgarian redactions probably reveal traces of the editorial work of EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO.

LIT. M.G. Popruženko, *Sinodik carja Borila* (Sofia 1928). I. Dujčev, "Une source byzantine du Synodikon bulgare du XIIIème siècle," *BS/EB* 8, 11–12 (1981, 1984–85) 85–93. –A.K.

BORIS I (Βώγωρις), Bulgarian khan (852–89); died 2 May 907; commemorated in Orthodox calendars on 2 May. Byz. sources commonly use his baptismal name Michael. Soon after his accession Boris contemplated attacking Byz. but reportedly was dissuaded by a personal threat from Empress THEODORA (Genes. 61.89–99); a treaty may have been concluded in 853 (G. Cankova-Petkova, *BBulg* 4 [1973] 25). During the early years of Boris's reign rivalry between Byz. and Western clergy over missionary activity in Bulgaria sharply increased in close connection with political maneuvering by Rome, Aachen, and Constantinople (J.-M. Sansterre, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 375–88; H.-D. Döpmann, *Die slawischen Sprachen* 5 [1987] 21–40). Boris's treaty with Louis the German in 862 provoked a campaign by Caesar BARDAS in 863/4 that compelled the Bulgarian ruler to reject a Frankish alliance and be baptized in exchange for Byz. recognition of Bulgarian settlement in Zagorje south of the Balkans (P. Petrov, *BBulg* 2 [1966] 41–52). One legend says that Boris received religious instruction from his sister, who had converted to Christianity while a captive in Constantinople; another relates how a Greek monk painted an icon of the Last Judgment that terrified Boris into being baptized (*TheophCont* 162.13–165.10). Patr. PHOTIOS baptized him in 864 (A. Vaillant, M. Lascaris, *RES* 13 [1933] 5–15) or perhaps 865/6 (S. Mihajlov, *BHR* 5.3 [1977] 63–71).

The conversion of Boris provoked a revolt by conservative Bulgarian nobles, which he cruelly suppressed. A letter from Photios in 865 to "the God-sent *archon*" Boris described the duties of a Christian ruler (*Photii Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, vol. 1 [Leipzig 1983] 2–39). Byz. intentions to subordinate the Bulgarian church to Constantinople prompted Boris to seek local control over ecclesiastical jurisdiction in 866 from Pope NICHOLAS I; the pope answered Boris's questions about the consequences of conversion for Bulgarian customs (see RESPONSA NICOLAI PAPAE) and indicated that he would send a bishop (R. Sullivan in *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 3 [1966] 53–139). Yet Hadrian II delayed in appointing a bishop, and in 869 Boris sent ambassadors to Basil I; their meeting was recorded by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (*Lib.Pont.* 2:182–84). In March 870 a church council placed Bulgaria under the patriarchate of Constantinople. Boris expelled Western missionaries from Bulgaria, and Patr. IGNATIOS appointed clerics to staff the Bulgarian church (V. Swoboda, *BBulg* 2 [1966] 67–81).

Boris was not hostile to Byz. but realized the dangers of hellenization posed by Constantinople's religious dominance. In 885/6 he welcomed the disciples of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, including KLIMENT OF OHRID, who laid the foundation of a Slavic Christian culture in Bulgaria. Boris actively patronized the church: a later tradition reports that he built seven cathedrals (ed. A. Milev, *Grŭckite žitija na Kliment Ochridski* [Sofia 1966] ch.67). He built at least one court chapel at PLISKA. In 889 he retired to his monastic foundation of St. Panteleemon at PRESLAV, but emerged temporarily in 893 to depose his son Vladimir, who favored a pro-Frankish alliance and reportedly persecuted Byz. clerics. A local church council that summer approved the accession of Boris's son SYMEON and officially adopted Church Slavonic for Bulgarian liturgical use.

LIT. Vlasto, *Entry* 158–68. V. Gjuzelev, *Knjaz Boris Pŭrvi* (Sofia 1969). Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:63–75. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:1–277. –P.A.H.

BORIS II, tsar of Bulgaria (969–71); son of PETER OF BULGARIA and Maria (Irene) Lekapena; born probably Preslav ca.930, died near Ikhtiman? between ca.976 and 985. At their mother's death (ca.963), Boris and his brother Romanos went as hostages to Constantinople. Returning to Bulgaria perhaps as early as 967, Boris was recognized as tsar at Peter's death. Bulgaria was already involved in the struggle between SVJATOSLAV of Kiev and the Byz. On his second invasion, Svjatoslav took Preslav (969), apparently peacefully; Boris continued to rule. JOHN I TZIMISKES

captured Boris in Preslav (971, before Apr.). Once eastern Bulgaria was subdued, Boris was stripped of his crown, taken to Constantinople, and given the title *magistros*; Romanos was castrated. After the outbreak of the rebellion of the KOMETOPOULOI, Boris and Romanos escaped, but on his entry into Bulgaria in disguise Boris was slain by a Bulgarian guard. Romanos reached Vidin and served SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 346.64–69), he surrendered Skopje to Basil II (between 1002 and 1004).

LIT. P.K. Petrov, "Vosstanie Petra i Bojana v 976 g. i bor'ba Komitopulov s Vizantiej," *BBulg* 1 (1962) 121–44. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Les fils de Pierre de Bulgarie et les Cométopoules," *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 405–19. –C.M.B.

BORIS AND GLEB, saints; baptismal names Roman and David; Boris died 24 July 1015 at L'to River, Gleb died 5 Sept. 1015 near Smolensk; feastday 24 July. Sons of VLADIMIR I, Boris and Gleb were murdered by their elder half-brother (or cousin) Svjatopolk and later widely venerated as martyrs. Several Byz. metropolitans of Kiev participated in translating the saints' relics at their shrine in Vyšhorod (north of Kiev): John I (before 1039), George (May 1072), and NIKEPHOROS I (2 May 1115). A 12th-C. MS attributes the saints' first office to "metropolitan John of Rus'," that is, John I or possibly JOHN II, leading to conjecture that the extant Slavonic text was originally composed in Greek; portions apparently stem from Byz. offices for Sts. Prokopios and Kyros and John (F. Keller, *Slavica Helvetica* 7 [1973] 65–74). The cult's many hagiographic works, including a vita by NESTOR of Kiev and the 1015 entry in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET, also draw heavily on Byz. literary traditions (F. von Lilienfeld, *BBA* 5 [1957] 237–71; L. Müller, *ZSlavPhil* 25 [1956] 329–63, 27 [1959] 274–322, 30 [1962] 14–44). So too the saints' depiction on seals, icons, frescoes, enamel jewelry, and pectoral crosses and in MS illuminations reflects Byz. artistic models. Armenian *synaxaria* of the 13th C. contain a vita often thought (probably incorrectly) to be translated from a lost Greek Life (Ya. Dachkevytch, *REArm* n.s. 11 [1975–76] 323–75). In 1200 ANTONY of Novgorod reported a church of Boris and Gleb in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 65) and their icon in Hagia Sophia.

SOURCES. D.I. Abramovič, *Žitija svjatych mučenikov Borisa i Gleba i služby im* (Petrograd 1916), rp. with introd. L. Müller, *Die altrussischen hagiographischen Erzählungen und liturgische Dichtungen über die heiligen Boris und Gleb* (Munich 1967). S.A. Buhoslavs'kyj, *Ukrajino-rus'ki pam'jatky XI–XVIII vv pro knjaziv Borysa ta Hliba* (Kiev 1928).

LIT. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt.VI (1981), 29–53. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 106–16. N. Ingham, "The Martyred Prince and the Question of Slavic Cultural Continuity in the Early Middle Ages," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, eds. H. Birnbaum, M. Flier (Berkeley 1984) 31–53. –P.A.H., S.C.F.

BORIS KALAMANOVIČ, general; born Kiev ca.1113, died near the Danube River ca.1155/6. Son of Kálmán, king of Hungary (1095–1116), and Euphemia, daughter of VLADIMIR MONOMACH, he was born after her repudiation by Kálmán. Between 1128 and 1130 Boris came to Constantinople, where he possibly married Anna Botaneiataina Doukaina Komnene (as a nun, Arete), a descendant of Isaac KOMNENOS and thus a cousin of John II (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:33–43). As a pretender to the Hungarian throne, Boris was supported by several neighboring states. Around 1151, encouraged by Manuel I, he invaded Hungary. He was killed fighting Cumans south of the Danube. In Sept. 1157 the "kralaina" (i.e., the wife of the *kralj*) Arete Doukaina donated fields and *paroikoi* to the monastery of Hiera-Xerochoraphion (V. Laurent, *BZ* 65 [1972] 35–39). (See also KALAMANOS.)

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 4:79–91. S.P. Rozanov, "Evfimija Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovič," *IzvANSSSR, otdelenie gumanitarnych nauk* (1930) 649–71. M. Gumplowicz, "Borys Kolomanovic, królewicz węgierski," *Przegląd historyczny* 2 (1906) 5–19. –C.M.B.

BORROWING, LINGUISTIC. Greek, like other languages, frequently borrowed foreign words for new objects or concepts. Where there was widespread bilingualism, whether regional or typical of a professional or other group (e.g., lawyers or soldiers), foreign words or expressions might also be used for convenience or prestige, even when a Greek equivalent existed. Up to the end of the 6th C. the principal source of loanwords was LATIN, the official language of the Roman Empire, and the main semantic fields involved were military affairs and public administration. Among early Greek loan words from Latin were *hospition, membrana* or *membranon, armarion, fabrika, offikialios, aplikeuo, rogeuo.* Literary Greek avoided these Latin loan words, replacing them by Greek synonyms or by circumlocutions. After the 12th C.

most loanwords were from the Romance languages. Commercial and maritime terms were largely borrowed from Italian, terms of feudal law and administration from French; examples are *phrountzato, ph(l)iskina, kouberta, skouderes, printzes, phlamoulon, lizios, exomplion, kaballikeuo, tenta.* Turkish loan words, numerous in Greek from the mid-15th C., are rare in the Byz. period. Middle Persian, Proto-Bulgarian, Old Slavonic, Arabic, Khazar, Spanish, Catalan, Provençal, and Albanian also contributed occasional loanwords. To survive, loanwords had to be adapted to Greek phonological and morphological patterns. The gender of a loanword is often uncertain, and masculine or feminine words in Latin or Romance are often represented by neuter diminutives in Greek. Nouns were more easily borrowed than verbs. The frequency of borrowing from Latin led to the adoption of certain Latin suffixes, for example, *-arios, -arion, -ianos,* which were used to form derivatives from Greek stems. Romance suffixes such as *-ella, -ello, -inos* on the other hand, were scarcely used except in Romance loanwords; the principal exception is the Italian verbal suffix *-aro* (aorist *-arisa*), which became extremely productive in late medieval Greek.

LIT. M. Triantaphyllides, *Die Lehnwörter der mittelgriechischen Vulgärliteratur* (Strassburg 1909), rp. in his *Hapanta,* vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1963) 299–494. A. Buturas, *Ein Kapitel der historischen Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* (Leipzig 1910). Zilliacus, *Weltsprach.* F. Viscidi, *I prestiti latini nel greco antico e bizantino* (Padua 1944). H. & R. Kahane, A. Tietze, *The Lingua Franca in the Levant* (Urbana, Ill., 1958). N.G. Contossopoulos, *L'influence du français sur le grec* (Athens 1978). Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica.* S. Daris, *Il lessico latino nel greco d'Egitto* (Barcelona 1971). –R.B.

BOSNIA (Βόσ[θ]να), part of the Roman province of DALMATIA. Excavations in the territory of Bosnia (D. Basler, *Arhitektura kasnoantičkog doba u Bosni i Hercegovini* [Sarajevo 1972]) have shown that urban life and building activity survived there during late antiquity. The Slav invasion coincided with the ruralization of the area, even though the newcomers often settled in old church buildings or fortresses (N. Miletić, *Balcanoslavica* 1 [1972] 121–27). The name Bosnia (probably of Illyrian origin) first appears in the 10th C. in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.151) as "Bosona"; according to Constantine, Bosona was a territory (*chorion*) parallel to "baptized Serbia" and included two *kastra*—Katera and Desnik. Traditional interpretation of this passage (e.g., B. Ferjančić in *VizIzvori* 2:59, n.202), that is, that Constantine envisaged Bosona as a part of Serbia, contradicts the Greek text. A 12th-C. Byz. historian (Kinn. 131.22–23) considered Bosnia part of Croatia and contrasted it (p.104.8–10) with the land of the *archižoupan* (prince) of the Serbs. Later tradition ascribed to Basil II the conquest of "all Bulgaria, Raška and Bosnia" (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 201).

In the 12th C. Byz. claimed that the Croatian and "Bosnaios" acknowledged their allegiance to the emperor (Browning, *Studies,* pt.IV [1961], 203.568–69), and Manuel I Komnenos accepted the epithet "ruler of Bosnia" in his titulature (*Reg* 2, no.1469). At the end of the 12th C. the king of Hungary became the lord of Bosnia, but Kulin, the *ban* (prince) of Bosnia, managed to find support from Pope INNOCENT III ca.1203. Bosnia reached its peak in the 14th C. under King Tvrtko (died 1391), who in 1377 assumed the title "King of Serbia" and in 1389 participated in the battle at Kosovo POLJE. The teaching of the BOGOMILS penetrated to Bosnia no later than the 12th C. and became the official creed of the land.

LIT. V. Ćorović, *Historija Bosne,* vol. 1 (Belgrade 1940). S. Ćirković, *Istorija srednjovekovne Bosanske države* (Belgrade 1964). J.V.A. Fine, *The Bosnian Church: A New Interpretation* (New York 1975). –A.K.

BOSPOROS (Βόσπορος, Turk. Boğaziçi), the strait linking the Black Sea with the Propontis, usually called Stenon by the Byz. It is 28.5 km long (in a straight line) and barely 660 m wide at its narrowest. Both shores were studded with small settlements; the more important are listed below.

The European Side (south to north). Argyropolis was the area to the east of GALATA.

St. Mamas (corresponding to Turk. Dolmabahçe rather than Beşiktaş) included a harbor, built in 469, and an imperial villa equipped with a hippodrome. Leo I, Constantine V and VI, and Empress Irene occasionally resided there. The villa was burnt by Krum in 813 and robbed of its ornaments, but was soon rebuilt. Michael III, who used to race chariots there with his courtiers, was murdered there (867). The harbor sheltered the ships of Anastasios II in 715 and the Kibyrrhaiot fleet of Constantine V in 742. By the terms of the treaties of 907 and 945, the St. Mamas quarter was assigned as the compulsory dwelling place of visiting merchants from Rus' (J. Pargoire, *EO* 11 [1908] 203–10).

St. Phokas (Ortaköy) was the site of a palace built by the patrician Arsaber, brother of Patr. John VII Grammatikos; Basil I transformed it into a monastery.

Hestiai or Michaelion (Arnautköy) was the site of a famous shrine of St. Michael, attributed to Constantine I, in which cures were effected by incubation.

Phoneus was the site of the castle of Rumelihisarı, built by Mehmed II in 1452.

Anaplous or Sosthenion (Istinye) is a small natural bay next to which was another Church of St. Michael, transformed into an important monastery by Basil II. One mile inland stood the pillar of Daniel the Stylite. Nearby was the Georgian monastery *ta Rhomanou*, founded in the 9th C.

The Asiatic Side (north to south). Hieron was a fortress. Not far from Hieron stood the monastery of St. John Prodromos tou Phoberou, residence of the painter Lazaros who was persecuted under Emp. Theophilos.

Eirenaion (Çubuklu) was the site of the monastery of the Akoimetoi, established soon after 430.

Ta Anthemiou (near Anadoluhisarı), was the site of a monastery founded by Alexios Mosele, son-in-law of Theophilos.

Sophianai (usually placed at Çengelköy), a palace built by Justin II and named after his wife Sophia, was the birthplace of Herakleios Constantine (612).

Bithynian Chrysopolis was a village, not a town. Its most famous Byz. feature was a lavish monastery built in 594 by Philippikos, brother-in-law of Maurice. Maximos the Confessor is claimed to have been its *hegoumenos*; so was the future patriarch Pyrrhos. The body of the murdered emperor Michael III was temporarily buried here in 867. The point south of the harbor of Chrysopolis was called Damalis (lit. "heifer") after an antique statue of a cow. Manuel I had a palace there.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 741–57. J. Pargoire, "Anaple et Sosthène," *IRAIK* 3 (1898) 60–97. Idem, "Les Saint-Mamas de Constantinople," *IRAIK* 9 (1904) 261–316. Janin, *CP byz.* 468–89. Janin, *Églises centres* 5–29 (for Asiatic shore). S. Eyice, *Bizans devrinde Boğaziçi* (Istanbul 1976).
–C.M.

BOSPOROS, CIMMERIAN (Crimean), ancient name of the Straits of Kerč, the passage leading from the Black Sea to the Azov Sea, as well as the name of the ancient city of Pantikapaion at the extreme eastern tip of Crimea; until the end of the 4th C. Pantikapaion was the capital of the kingdom of Cimmerian Bosporos, an ally of Rome. Excavations give evidence of a slow decline in the 4th C.; local coins ceased to be issued in 336/7. Nonetheless, the site has yielded important largitio dishes and other 4th- and 5th-C. Byz. silver (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, nos. 34, 35, 44, 48). Occupation by the Goths ca.370 aggravated the economic situation of the people of Bosporos. According to Gajdukevič (*infra* 498), ca.400 Bosporos occupied barely one-tenth of its former territory, yet it remained an important commercial center connected with lands as distant as Egypt and Syria. Christianity penetrated Bosporos in the 3rd C., and its bishops attended the ecumenical councils of 325 and 431.

Under Hunnic rule in the 5th C., Bosporos offered allegiance to the Byz. Empire ca.530; Justinian I tried to make it a center of resistance to the Huns. As early as 576 the Old Turks occupied Bosporos. From the 7th C.—when the main city received the name "Kerč"—until the 10th C. Bosporos was a province of the Khazar realm. It was governed by a *tarchan*, but the population remained in part Christian: in the 8th C. a large Church of John the Baptist was built in Bosporos. In the 11th C. it was a part of the Rus' princedom of Tmutorokan and received the name of Korčev. Archaeological excavation has revealed Byz. ceramics of the 10th and 11th C. Bosporos was probably under the direct control of Byz. in the 12th C. and can tentatively be identified as the port of Rhosia (Rusiya), named in some Greek and Arab sources. After 1223 and before 1240 the Mongols became its suzerains. With the Mongols' permission, the Genoese soon established there a colony called Vosporo that, in 1332, was granted the rank of metropolis. Vosporo was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

LIT. V. Gajdukevič, *Das bosporanische Reich* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1971) 497–519. I. Kruglikova, *Bospor v pozdneantičnoe vremja* (Moscow 1966). T. Makarova, "Srednevekovyj Korčev," *KrSoobInstArch* 104 (1965) 70–76. G. Litavrin, "Novye svedenija o Severnom Pričernomor'e (XII v.)," in *Feodal'naja Rossija vo vsemirno-istoričeskom processe* (Moscow 1972) 237–42. N. Brunov, "Pamjatnik rannevizantijskoj architektury v Kerči," *VizVrem* 25 (1927) 87–105.
–O.P., A.C.

BOSTRA (Βόστρα, now Buṣra [Bosra] in Syria), capital city and metropolitan bishopric of province of Arabia and seat of its *doux*. Titus of

Bostra was bishop of the city in the 4th C. Bostra was an important trading center (in wine and grain) on the Via Trajana, esp. for caravans coming via Aila from Mecca. Extensive remains (civic, religious, and private) of the 4th–7th C. include ten inscriptions of Justinian I dated 539/40 and referring to the restoration of an aqueduct, wall construction, a Church of St. Job, and some unidentified buildings. Unusually large in scope, the extent of the construction seems to conflict with Prokopios's account of Justinianic work at Bostra, which is limited to a poorhouse (*ptocheion*; *Buildings* 5.9.22). Although the aisled-tetraconch Church of Sts. Sergios, Bakchos, and Leontios (R. Farioli in *Studien Deichmann* 1:133–42), finished in 512/13, has been called the cathedral of Bostra, the latter should perhaps be identified with an even larger church discovered in 1985, of which the nave is on a scale with that of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Dentzer, *infra* 138, fig.5). Theodore, the "bishop of Bostra (?)," a companion of JACOB BARADAEUS and leader of the Monophysites of Arabia from the 540s, was not, apparently, resident in the city, whose list of known Chalcedonian bishops is extensive. Under the Arabs, Bostra was a prosperous pilgrimage stop between Damascus and Mecca.

LIT. M. Sartre, *Bostra: Des origines à l'Islam* (Paris 1985) 41, 99–139. Idem, *IGLSyr* 13 (1982). J.-M. Dentzer, "Bosra," in *Contribution française à l'archéologie syrienne* (Damascus 1989) 133–41. –M.M.M.

BOTA (Βότα, from Lat. *vota publica*), a festival celebrated on 3 Jan., dating from 44 B.C. The Bota was celebrated in the traditional manner with sacrifices and public prayers at banquets and in the Hippodrome until the end of the 4th C., when Emps. Arkadios and Honorius proscribed the sacrifices. The Council in TRULLO forbade Christians to celebrate the Bota, probably because the sacrifices were still being performed (Trombley, "Trullo" 5). A variant of the Bota called the Foot-race Boton (*boton pezodromion*) existed in Constantinople in the 9th and 10th C. The Bota remained on the official calendar of court ceremonial until the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, though by then the ritual was entirely christianized. Memory of the Bota had died out by the time of Balsamon (12th C.), who, using a false etymology for Bota (he confused it with the Greek word for "grazing beasts"), speaks of it as a festival of "the falsely named god Pan, the overseer, as the pagans blather, of beasts, cattle, and other animals" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:450.11–15).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:24f. I. Rochow, "Zu 'heidnischen' Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert," *Klio* 60 (1978) 487. –F.R.T.

BOTANEIATES (Βοτανειάτης), a noble lineage first mentioned in an inscription of 571 from the Synada region (G. Buckler, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 405–10); Artemon Botaneiates, surnamed Kroubeles, was however from a place called Botania or Botane rather than a member of the family. ATTALEIATES praised the family's nobility and established an evidently forged pedigree from the Roman Fabii; in contrast, Psellos (*Chron.* 2:183, par.18.21–25) asserted that Michael VII elevated the family from a modest status to high rank. Other than Andrew Botaneiates, *spatharios* (?) and *anthypatos*, whose seal is dated tentatively to the 9th C., the Botaneiatai became prominent only in the 10th C. According to Attaleiates, Nikephoros Botaneiates was Basil II's *archistrategos*. GREGORY ABU'L-FARAJ preserves the (legendary?) information that Nikephoros "Votanik" was a peasant who attained high positions in Cyprus and Antioch, fell into disgrace, and ended in penury. His son Michael was also Basil II's general who served in Thessalonike and against Abchasia. Theophylaktos was governor of Thessalonike in the early 11th C. His son Michael participated in the battle of 1014 against the Bulgarians. With no reason Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:732 and n.3) identified him with the first Michael, whose father was not Theophylaktos, but Nikephoros; the son of the first Michael was the emperor NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES. An unnamed grandson of Nikephoros III (Michael, according to P. Gautier, *REB* 27 [1969] 342) was betrothed to the daughter of Manuel Komnenos, Alexios I's brother. The relationship of other Botaneiatai to Nikephoros cannot be established; until the first half of the 12th C. they were military commanders (e.g., Eustratios, *strategos* of Byblos) and landowners, related to both Komnenoi and Doukai; the death of George Botaneiates was lamented by Prodromos. By the end of the 12th C. their role declined: John Botaneiates served ca.1197 as *taboularios* on Crete. The later Botaneiatai (*PLP*, nos. 3001–03) held insignificant positions.

LIT. K. Amantos, "Hoi Botaniatai," *Hellenika* 8 (1935) 48. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the Byzantine Prosopography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 67f. *Byz. Aristocracy* 254–66. M. Bartusis, "A Seal of Nikephoros Votaneiates," *MN* 29 (1984) 135–41.
–A.K.

BOTANY. In Byz., botany was a sum of dispersed observations, mostly derived from ancient texts, rather than a discipline in its own right. Byz. botany stood in the context of a rich lore, standardized in Greco-Roman times by the widely circulated handbooks of Theophrastos, Cato, Varro, Columella, and Pliny the Elder. The 10th-C. GEOPONIKA compacts much data from earlier farmers' manuals, popular knowledge, and botanical tracts drawn from both Greek and Latin sources. Some botanical MSS seem to be dry lists of names and synonyms, but other texts indicate how Byz. botanists and herbalists improved on their predecessors' work. Study of Byz. scholia to DIOSKORIDES reveals observations taken directly from nature, and vivid proof of Byz. botanical art is in the illuminated SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, particularly the Vienna Dioskorides. Later MSS also show detailed care, and Byz. texts of Dioskorides, NIKANDER, and similar authors suggest botanical skills throughout the Byz. millennium. The polymathic curiosity of PSELLOS encompassed botanical lore deemed extraordinary or marvelous, and Manuel PHILES displayed expert knowledge of gardening in several of his poems on domesticated plants. Botany explicated plants in AGRICULTURE, dietetics, the compounding of drugs for PHARMACOLOGY (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 229–32), and occasionally in magical texts specifying herbs—for instance, the *Geoponika* and its sources, the *Properties of Foods* by Symeon SETH, and the scholia to Dioskorides.

SOURCES. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:273–454. *Textes grecs inédits relatifs aux plantes*, ed. M.H. Thomson (Paris 1955) 125–75. Idem, *Le jardin symbolique* (Paris 1960).

LIT. E.L. Greene, *Landmarks of Botanical History*, vol. 1 (Stanford, Calif., 1983) 426–33. J. Stannard, "Byzantine Botanical Lexicography," *Episteme* 5 (1971) 168–87. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:271–76.
–J.S.

BOTHROS (*βόθρος*, lit. "pit" or "ditch"), assessor or inspector for the sale of animals in Constantinople. They are mentioned only in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.21) and in the *Tipoukeitos* referring to the *Book of the Eparch*. On the basis of the statement in the *Tipoukeitos*, Sjuzjumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 251) assumed that there had been a special decree of Leo VI on the *bothroi* that was included in the *Book of the Eparch* but in an incomplete form.

The *bothroi* operated in the Forum Amastrianum, where the horse market and evidently the market for other animals was held. These officials had to be registered with the office of the eparch and wear a badge with their individual number. Their main function was to examine the animals that were for sale and to declare their patent or latent defects; for this service they were paid one keration per animal. After the close of the market they bought the unsold animals. Their name originates from that activity, since they disposed of the leftover animals (i.e., removed them from the marketplace). The elder (*prostateuon*) of the *bothroi* received from each member of the guild 12 folleis a year, either for the sponsorship of a liturgical procession (according to Sjuzjumov) or for maintenance of the sewer (according to E.H. Freshfield, *Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* [Cambridge 1938] 47). Among his other duties were the recovery of stolen animals and service as a judge or arbiter.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 51–54.
–A.K.

BOUCICAUT (Jean II Le Meingre), French marshal; born Tours 1366, died England 1421. Boucicaut was a French soldier who participated in the Crusade of NIKOPOLIS (1396), was captured by the Turks, and subsequently ransomed. In 1399 Charles VI of France appointed him commander of a small expeditionary force of 1,200 men dispatched to relieve Constantinople, which was under Ottoman siege. He fought his way through the blockade of the Hellespont and joined MANUEL II in minor raids in the vicinity of the capital. Boucicaut soon realized that larger armies were needed and suggested that Manuel visit western Europe to seek military assistance. Boucicaut also negotiated a reconciliation between Manuel and his nephew JOHN VII, who served as regent during the emperor's absence. Departing from Constantinople in Dec. 1399, Boucicaut escorted Manuel as far as Venice and then preceded him to Paris. At first Charles VI promised to extend for one year the services of Boucicaut and his men to the Byz., but plans for a relief expedition fell through in 1401 when Boucicaut was

appointed governor of Genoa, a new French dependency. Manuel and Boucicaut met again near Modon (Methone) in 1403, and Boucicaut provided four Genoese galleys to transport Manuel on the final leg of his return to Constantinople.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 162–71, 174, 189, 235–37. J. Delaville Le Roulx, *La France en Orient au XIVe siècle: expéditions du Maréchal Boucicaut* (Paris 1886). –A.M.T.

BOUDONITZA (Βουδονίτζα, also Mountinitza, Lat. Bodoniza, and other forms), Latin marquisate in the area of Thermopylai; its name is of Slavic origin (Vasmer, *Slaven* 106, no.36). The pass of Thermopylai was fortified by Justinian I and then by Basil II, but there was no population center until the 13th C., when BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT entrusted the region to an Italian adventurer Guido (Guy) Pallavicini, the first marquis (1204 to sometime after 1237). The castle on a hill was constructed on ancient foundations and controlled the pass of Thermopylai. Nearby was a monastery where Michael CHONIATES sought refuge after 1204. Originally under the authority of the prince of ACHAIA, the marquisate extended its territory as far north as Lamia and emerged as a major rival to Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. Later it fell under the control of the duke of Athens. It survived a Catalan attack in 1311 but in 1332 the region was plundered by the Turks. In the second half of the 14th C. Boudonitza prospered under the rule of Marquis Francesco, who was supported by the Venetians, but the Ottomans continued their attacks: in 1408 some of its inhabitants moved, with their livestock, to southern Euboea; the castle fell to the Turks on 20 June 1414.

Women ruled the marquisate on several occasions: Marchioness Isabella, Maria della Carceri, Guglielma Pallavicini. The Latin bishopric was a suffragan of Athens; a Greek notitia (*Notitiae CP* 13.458) also mentions a bishop of Mountinitza, who is probably distinct from the bishop of Bounditza known from the 10th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 7.576).

Although the walls of the lower town are not well preserved, the 13th-C. fortress survives largely intact: an outer wall and an interior keep with a central tower. Within the walls are the remains of buildings and cisterns.

LIT. *TIB* 1:221f, 273–75. W. Miller, "The Marquisate of Boudonitza (1204–1414)," *JHS* 28 (1908) 234–49. A. Bon, "Forteresses médiévales de la Grèce centrale," *BCH* 61 (1937) 148–63. P.A. MacKay, "Procopius' *De Aedificiis* and the Topography of Thermopylae," *AJA* 67 (1963) 241–55. –T.E.G.

BOUKELLARIOI (βουκελλάριοι) were soldiers in the personal service of military and, occasionally, civil authorities from the beginning of the 5th C. onward (H.-J. Diesner, *Klio* 54 [1972] 321–24); the term *boukellarios* allegedly derives from the higher quality bread (Lat. *bucellatum*) they received. Drawn from all classes and many nationalities, these private retainers were chiefly concerned with their employer's security and the coercion (or elimination) of his rivals. They formed their commander's BODYGUARD while on campaign and were often assigned important tasks because of their superior equipment and fighting abilities. Many rose to prominence, including BELISARIOS, who later, as supreme commander, raised a force of 7,000 *boukellarioi* on which he relied heavily during his campaigns (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.1.18–20).

During the 6th C. the state recruited *boukellarioi* (usually through private citizens) as police and tax-collectors and for local defense; the case of Egypt is particularly well documented (J. Gascou, *BIFAO* 76 [1976] 143–56). Other terms denoting privately hired soldiers (*hypaspistai*, *spatharioi*) gradually replaced *boukellarioi*, which by the 7th C. had come to designate one of the élite units comprised in the OPSIKION field force.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 666f. Haldon, *Praetorians* 101f, 210–27. –E.M.

BOUKELLARION (Βουκελλάριον), a THEME of central Asia Minor, detached from the OPSIKION in the 8th C. and named for the privately hired soldiers, BOUKELLARIOI. Its *strategos* is first attested in 767. Boukellarion comprised Galatia, Honorias, Paphlagonia, and parts of Phrygia and was commanded by a *strategos* with 8,000 troops and headquarters at ANKYRA; he was paid 30 pounds of gold. In the 9th C. Boukellarion included two towns and 13 fortresses. Circa 842 PAPHLAGONIA was detached; under Leo VI Boukellarion lost the region east of the Halys to CHARSIANON and its southern districts around the Salt Lake to CAP-

PADOCIA. The reduced theme subsisted into the 11th C.; the region was lost to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. *TIB* 4:62–67. –C.F.

BOUKOLEON (Βουκολέων, lit. "bull lion"), a quarter of Constantinople on the shore of the Sea of Marmara, south of the GREAT PALACE. It took its name from an ancient statue depicting colossal figures of a lion and a bull. It is not known when the statue was brought to the site; it survived the fall of Constantinople in 1453 and was described by western visitors in the 16th C. On the shore was a palace, or probably two palaces, one called the "*palation* of Leo Makellos," another the "house of Justinian." Their precise location has not yet been determined; the buildings probably adjoined the sea walls. The palace harbor, located in the same area, was called the *limen* of Boukoleon.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:249–93. Janin, *CP byz.* 101, 120f, 234, 297f. –A.K.

BOULGAROPHYGON (Βουλγαρόφυγον), now Baba Eski, near Adrianople, a battlefield where SYMEON OF BULGARIA routed the Byz. army in 896. The war against Bulgaria had been stabilized after Symeon's first successes, thanks to the activity of Nikephoros PHOKAS and the employment of Hungarian contingents. Then, however, Stylianos ZAOUTZES, fearful of Nikephoros's influence, managed to replace him with Leo Katakalon, who allowed Symeon to defeat the Hungarians with the help of the PECHENEGS; thus when Katakalon met Symeon at Boulgarophygon, the rear of the Bulgarian army was no longer threatened. Symeon won the battle, Katakalon barely escaped, and his lieutenant, the *protovestiarios* Theodosios, was killed. Al-ṬABARĪ preserves the story that LEO VI, in despair, ordered the arming of Arab captives to be sent against Symeon, but the Bulgarian prince did not wait for a new confrontation and signed a treaty: he returned to Byz. 30 strongholds seized in the theme of Dyrrachion, whereas Byz. was obliged to pay an annual tribute. R. Nasledova suggests that the peace treaty was signed only in 904, after LEO OF TRIPOLI attacked Thessalonike (*Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* [Moscow 1959] 221f). Whether Symeon marched against Constantinople before or immediately after the battle at Boulgarophygon remains unclear.

LIT. R. Abicht, "Der Angriff der Bulgaren auf Constantinopel im Jahre 896 n. Chr.," *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 17 (1895) 477–82. G.T. Kolias, "He para to Boulgarophygon mache kai he dethen poliorkia tes Konstantinoupoleos (896)," *Archeion tou Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thesaurou* 7 (1940–41) 341–62. –A.K.

BOULLOTERION. See SEALING IMPLEMENTS.

BOULLOTES (βουλλωτής), an assistant of the EPARCH mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos. The *Book of the Eparch* imposed corporal punishment on a silk weaver who prevented a *boullotes* or *mitotes* from entering his workshop. Both officials evidently performed the function of inspector, controlling the quality of products and certifying quality by affixing a seal (*boulla*).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 93. G. Spyridakes, "To ergon tou mitotou kata to Eparchikon Biblion Leontos tou Sophou," in *Mélanges O. et M. Merlier*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 417–23. –A.K.

BOURTZES (Βούρτζης, fem. Βούρτζαινα), a lineage of military aristocracy probably originating from the Euphrates region. The name could derive either from Arabic *burj*, "tower," or from the toponym Bourtzo-Soterioupolis (near Trebizond). They were considered Armenians by P. Charanis, Arabs by V. Laurent (see Kazhdan, *infra*). The family first appears in the second half of the 10th C. Michael BOURTZES was *doux* of Antioch under Nikephoros II Phokas; he supported the rebel Bardas SKLEROS but later went over to Basil II; he was again governor of Antioch ca.990–96. Three of Michael's descendants—the brothers Michael, Theognostos, and Samuel—were involved in a plot against Constantine VIII, who blinded Constantine Bourtzes, Michael's son, in 1025/6. To the same time should be dated a case of *Peira* (60.1): a certain Bourtzes bequeathed his land to his three sons, one of whom became rebellious and forfeited his estates. Nonetheless the family was among the noblest of the mid-11th C.: an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 488.63–66) calls a Bourtzes (along with Skleros, Botaneiates, and Argyros) a most influential *archon* of the Anatolikon theme. Samuel Bourtzes commanded the

infantry in 1050; Michael Bourtzes was a military commander during the reign of Michael VI; and Theognostos was *strategos* of Devol in the 1070s. Under Alexios I a certain Bourtzes became *toparches* of Cappadocia and Choma. In the early 12th C. several members of the family possessed lands next to Mt. Athos; a forged chrysobull of Emp. John V (*Kastam.*, p.84.11) mentions the church of "our holy father Nicholas surnamed Bourtzes." The family was closely related to the MELISSENOI. From the 12th C. the family's position declined; they appear in the provinces: for example, Constantine, an official on Crete in 1117/18 (MM 6:96.29–30), and George, metropolitan of Athens (died 1160—J. Darrouzès, *REB* 20 [1962] 190). John TZETZES wrote to an unknown Bourtzes. The name is very infrequent in later texts (*PLP*, nos. 3110–11).

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 15–55. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 85–88. –A.K.

BOURTZES, MICHAEL, general (died after 996). In 968 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS bestowed upon him the title of *patrikios* and appointed him *strategos* of the Black Mountain, with the special task of watching ANTIOCH. Disobeying imperial orders, Bourtzes and the eunuch Peter (former slave of a Phokas) attacked Antioch and in late 969 took it from the Arabs. Bourtzes, however, was not rewarded for his success; this injustice incited his support of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES, whom Bourtzes helped to murder Nikephoros II. BASIL II appointed Bourtzes *doux* of Antioch, and, with Peter, Bourtzes participated in the battle of LAPARA in 976 against Bardas SKLEROS; Bourtzes was, however, the first to take flight. Soon after this defeat he deserted to Skleros and fought against the emperor, but was again defeated. Skylitzes (Skyl. 321.58–59) stresses that those who fell at this battle were primarily Armenians. Soon Bourtzes joined Basil II's army and together with Bardas PHOKAS fought against Skleros. In 990–96 he served again as governor of Antioch.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche sous la seconde domination byzantine," *MélUnivJos* 38 (1962) 229–34. –A.K.

BOUTHROTON (Βουθρωτόν, mod. Butrinti in Albania), located on the mainland opposite KERKYRA, in late antiquity a city of Old Epiros (Hierokl. 652.4); it was a suffragan bishopric (attested from the mid-5th C.) of NIKOPOLIS, later of NAUPAKTOS. It was probably ruralized thereafter: ARSENIOS, metropolitan of Kerkyra, praised its richness in fish and oysters, as well as the fertility of its territory. In the 12th C. al-Idrīsi described Bouthroton as a small town with markets. In 1081 and 1084 Bouthroton was captured by the Normans. After 1204 it was first controlled by the despotate of Epiros, but from the mid-13th C. Bouthroton was contested between MANFRED OF SICILY, Michael VIII, and CHARLES I OF ANJOU, being temporarily returned to the Epirots. In 1386 it was ceded to Venice.

The surviving fortifications of Bouthroton are mainly post-Byz., but they contain masonry from as early as the 10th C. Remains of several Early Christian basilicas and a triconch building have been found; east of the ancient theater is an elaborate baptistery renovated in the 6th C., with mosaics probably of the 4th C. On the acropolis are ruins of a large three-aisled basilica with transept, probably constructed in the 5th–6th C., rebuilt in the 11th–12th C. In the northeast corner of the walls are remains of a small single-aisled church, probably of the 13th–14th C.

LIT. *TIB* 3:132–34. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:232–35. L.M. Ugolini, *Albania Antica* 3 (Rome 1942). A. Ducellier, "Observations sur quelques monuments d'Albanie," *RA* (1965) 184–88. C. Asdracha, "Deux actes inédits concernant l'Épire," *REB* 35 (1977) 160–65. –T.E.G.

BOUTOUMITES (Βουτουμίτης), a family name of unclear origin: Ja. Ljubarskij (in *Anna Komnina, Aleksiada* [Moscow 1965] 524, n.688) derives it from the toponym Boutoma-Budva in Serbia. A certain Boutoumites (died 1077), presumably a local landowner, was a donor to the pious institution of Michael ATTALEIATES (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 127.171). In the 1070s Michael Boutoumites was in charge of the private militia of Michael MAUREX in Herakleia Pontike (Bryen. 199.8–10). His later contemporary, Manuel Boutoumites, was a "warlike and noble man," according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:160.25–26); he was *doux* of the fleet ca.1090, *doux* of Nicaea after its recapture in 1097, commander in Cilicia in 1105, and envoy to Jerusalem in 1111/12. He may have been governor of Cyprus, as Laurent suggested (*Coll. Orghidan*, p.215). The family eventually lost its status, but a certain Boutomites

(*sic*) is known as a *kephale* in a Thessalian town in the early 14th C. (*PLP*, no.3128). –A.K.

BRABEION (*βραβεῖον*), properly "prize" or "reward," the term used in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to designate INSIGNIA by which a DIGNITY was conferred upon its holder. It might take the form of a crown without cross (given to the caesar), tunics, ivory tablets, gold chains, special diplomata, etc.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 22. –A.K.

BRACELET (*βραχιάλιον* or *βραχιόλιον*, lit. "armband," *κλάνιον*). Said in Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) to be worn by women, a bracelet is often shown in depictions of jewelry as part of a matching set, together with earrings, necklace, and belt. No such complete sets have survived, however. Bracelets preserved in collections are usually of gold and silver, although examples in ivory are also known. Specimens excavated usually from graves are more often bronze with traces of gilding, or simple GLASS bangles. These generally seem to be locally produced, although specimens found in Kiev were imported from Byz. (Ju. Ščapova, *Steklo Kievskoj Rusi* [Moscow 1972] 107–13). The Roman form of a plain ring made of twisted gold or silver wires continued until the 4th C. In the 4th–5th C., gemstones were added and OPUS INTERRASILE was used. In the 5th–6th C., tubular hoops had low relief decorative and figural elements. In the 6th–7th C. the form became more complex, with medallions or coins, modeled animal forms, and GEMS in decorative claw settings added. In the 7th–11th C. wide bands with relief figures and sometimes Christian iconography predominate. These bracelets are fairly heavy, with hinged fasteners, as opposed to the ring types that slip over the hand or incomplete rings that relied on the metal's flexibility. Examples of less elaborate bracelets from the 7th–11th C. tend to be narrower, not hinged, and with punched decoration.

LIT. C. Lepage, "Les bracelets de luxe romains et byzantins du IIe au VIe siècle," *CahArch* 21 (1971) 17–23. –S.D.C., A.C.

BRACHAMIOS (Βραχάμιος, fem. Βραχαμήνα, Βραχαμίνα), noble family with a name of Armenian origin, meaning "descendant of Vahram." The family flourished in the mid-10th C. when the Arab poet Abu Firās mentioned "the family of Bahrām" among Byz. fighting against the Arabs (N. Adontz, M. Canard, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 454, v.11). Sachakios (Arm. Sahak, Isḥāq ibn Bahrām of Arabic sources) was a general by 969 and later supported the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS. Eleventh-century seals attest several *strategoi* named Brachamios (George, Demetrios, Michael) as well as Kale Brachamina, wife of a *strategos*, and Elpidios, *doux* of Cyprus.

Philaretos Brachamios (Varazhnuni), Romanos IV's *strategos*, *doux* and, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:64.5–8), *domestikos*, was—if we believe MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (*Chronique*, tr. Chabot 3:173)—an Armenian robber from the village of Shurbaz; thus his identification as a Byz. general is questionable. After Romanos IV's blinding, Philaretos became independent ruler of Tarsos, Antioch, Edessa, Melitene, and some other eastern centers. Greek, Syriac, and Armenian traditions all charge Philaretos with cruelty and greed: he allegedly confiscated the riches of Antiochene magnates and distributed them among his supporters. After Nikephoros III's accession to the throne, Philaretos acknowledged his allegiance to the Byz. and was proclaimed *kouropalates* and *domestikos ton scholon* of the East; in 1084 he surrendered Antioch to the Turks. He disappeared thereafter from the scene, but an anonymous Syriac chronicle mentions the sons of Philaretos *domestikos*, "Christians" (i.e., Orthodox) who ruled over Maraş and Black Mountain (A.S. Tritton, H.A.R. Gibb, *JRAS* [Jan. 1933] 72f). The family is not known after the 11th C., except in 1171 when Brachamioi served as messengers in negotiations between Manuel I and the Armenians.

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 57–74. Adontz, *Études* 147–52. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii* (Erevan 1980) 152–69. C.J. Yarnley, "Philaretos: Armenian Bandit or Byzantine General?" *REArm* n.s. 9 (1972) 331–53. –A.K.

BRAD. See KAPER BARADA.

BRANAS (Βρανᾶς, fem. Βράναινα), a noble lineage, its name apparently of Slavic origin (I. Dujčev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 6 [1956] 348, n.3), although S. Lampros considered it Albanian and Ph. Koukoules Latino-Greek. In Serbia the name of Branos (*Vran*,

lit. "raven") is known in the 10th C. (*De adm. imp.* 32.67). Members of the Branas family appear in Byz. sources from the 11th C., primarily as military commanders: in 1047 Marianos Branas was the closest supporter of Leo TORNIKIOS; Nicholas, Alexios I's general, fell in battle against the Pechenegs in 1086; George and his brother Demetrios were Manuel I's generals; Michael, governor of Niš in 1147, commanded an army on Cyprus in 1156, was *strategos* of Cilicia, and in 1166 unsuccessfully campaigned against the Hungarians. Alexios Branas revolted against Isaac II (see BRANAS, ALEXIOS); his contemporary John was governor of Dyrrachion in 1185. Alexios's son Theodore, commander of the Alans, supported Alexios III's rebellion in 1195; after 1204 Theodore, married to AGNES OF FRANCE, became a vassal of the Latin Empire, as the lord of Didymoteichon and Adrianople. The Branas family was related to both Komnenoi and Angeloi; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentions their large estates. In the 13th C. the Branas family possessed properties in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 168f). The family intermarried with other noble families such as Palaiologos and Petraliphas. In 1259 Irene Branaina married the *sebastokrator* Constantine PALAIOLOGOS, and ca.1300 several members of the Branas family proudly called themselves the emperor's *douloi* and *oikeioi*: Theodore in 1281–85, Michael in 1281–1302 (?) (both also surnamed Komnenoi), another Theodore in 1329–30; no evidence of their holding any offices exists, however (*PLP*, nos. 3149–51, 3153–82). On the other hand, some family members in this period were clerics and intellectuals: a Theodore Branas, scribe ca.1303, and another Branas, astronomer ca.1307. John Branas, commandant of Beograd in 1440, was of Croatian origin and did not belong to the Byz. Branas family. –A.K.

BRANAS, ALEXIOS, *sebastos* ca.1166, general of Alexios II; partisan of Andronikos I; died Constantinople 1187. In a seal attributed to him (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.64), Branas is called *protosebastos* and his mother described as a Komnene; the continuator of William of Tyre named him "cosin de l'empereor Manuel" (PL 201:899C). In 1185 Branas routed the Normans, who had captured Thessalonike and were moving toward Constantinople; soon after, perhaps in 1186 (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:346f), but more probably in 1187, Branas revolted against Isaac II but was defeated by CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT and killed in battle at the walls of Constantinople. M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 12 [1957] 69–72), emphasizing that the inhabitants of suburban Constantinople, esp. fishermen, supported Branas's rebellion, suggests that his defeat was a factor in the ruin of Constantinople's trade and handicrafts.

LIT. Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 73–77. Brand, *Byzantium* 80–83, 273f. –A.K.

BRANIČEVO (Βρανίτζοβα), a fortress and bishopric on the river Pek, a right tributary of the Danube, not far from the site of Roman Viminacium, which was deserted soon after 600 (B. Saria, *RE* 2.R. 8 [1958] 2176f). Near Viminacium, remains of fortifications (probably of Justinian I's time) were discovered: walls, towers, and an underground passage, 21 m long and 1.6–1.8 m high, that led to the river (M. Pindić in *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 [Belgrade 1961] 127).

Basil II's list of sees in the Bulgarian archbishopric of OHRID (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 43.17) places the bishopric of Branitza between Niš and Belgrade. Braničevo was a station on the strategic road from Belgrade to Niš, en route to Constantinople (G. Škrivanić, *Putevi u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* [Belgrade 1974] 83f). In the 12th C. the city belonged to the *doukaton* of Braničevo and Belgrade and was a focal point in the Byz.-Hungarian conflict. During the war of 1127–29, the Hungarians razed Braničevo; the Byz. restored and colonized it in 1166. In 1182, while Constantinople was distracted by domestic strife, BÉLA III temporarily occupied Braničevo (Gy. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* [Budapest 1967] 309) but returned it to Byz. as his daughter's dowry. The empire, however, was unable to retain the stronghold after about 1198; from the end of the 12th C., it was an object of contention between the Bulgarians, Serbs, and Hungarians. The Serbian prince Lazar took Braničevo in 1378/9, and the Turks conquered it in 1459.

LIT. M. Dinić, *Braničevo u srednjem veku* (Požarevac 1958). M. Popović, V. Ivanišević, "Grad Braničevo u srednjem veku," *Starinar* 39 (1988) 125–79. J. Kalić in *VizIzvori* 4:13, n.17. S. Novaković, "Ohridska arhiepiskopija u početku XI veka," *GlasSAN* 46 (1908) 36. –I.Dj., A.K.

BREAD (ἄρτος, also ψωμίον in papyri [Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:774] and narrative texts [e.g., PG 65:196C]) was the basic food in the popular DIET. It was produced from WHEAT, BARLEY, and infrequently millet; rye and oats were deemed unsuitable for baking. Wheat loaves were considered the finest, barley bread of lower quality. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:123.7–9) writes of bread made from barley and bran (which a man of his status could barely swallow) as typical of peasant food. Bread was made either at home or by professional BAKERS. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS reportedly invented a device powered by oxen to mix the dough. Bread was produced in the form of loaves, sometimes flat ones; soldiers on campaign ate *paximadion*, bread baked twice and dried in the sun (T. Kolias in *Byzantios* 197–99). Bread was baked in furnaces or special ovens; in peasant households loaves might be baked in ashes, as Gregoras (Greg. 1:379.6–8) complains.

The daily bread consumption in the late Roman Empire was 3 to 6 pounds, according to Patlagean (*Pauvreté* 46, 52); by the 11th–12th C. the average daily ration was reduced to 1.5 pounds, probably due to the loss of the grain-producing areas of Egypt and North Africa (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 118). In the 10th–11th C. the price of bread was 1 nomisma for 8–18 *modioi*; according to G. Ostrogorsky (*BZ* 32 [1932] 320–22) the price remained at the 4th-C. level. Byz. had periodical shortages in bread supply, and the state tried several times to introduce a MONOPOLY on the GRAIN trade and to regulate bread prices.

Constantine I transferred to Constantinople the Roman custom of distributing bread among the citizens. The first distribution took place on 18 May 332. The custom was abolished in 618, when the grain delivery from Egypt stopped. Despite this, the *Basilika* retained some imperial regulations concerning the *panis civilis*. The *Codex Theodosianus* (*Cod.Theod.* XIV) preserves 15 imperial ordinances of 364–408 that determine the right of citizens (house owners) to get the "state bread." It was baked in imperial bakeries (*pistrina publica*) and distributed from special high counters (*gradus*). Each person entitled to *panis civilis* had to be entered on a list and assigned to a particular *gradus*; these people were given special TOKENS.

Gradually, the church took over the bread dole, transforming it from a citizen's right into an act of charity for the poor. The church had fed the poor long before 618 and retained this function after the state divested itself from the burden; the distribution of bread during a famine is a *topos* of many saints' lives.

Leavened bread as PROSPHORA (in contrast to the AZYMES of the West) was one of the two elements of the EUCHARIST, and accordingly played an important part in ecclesiastical symbolism (Christ as bread) and iconography.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Onomata kai eide arton kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *EEBS* 5 (1928) 36–52. J.L. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire, 330–1025," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 89–92. B. Kübler, *RE* 18 (1949) 606–11. –Ap.K., A.K.

BREBION (βρέβιον, from Lat. *brevis*), a term known from the 4th C. onward that designated an INVENTORY or list of persons, offices, crafts, taxes, confiscated lands, etc. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 832). In the 10th C. properties of imperial monasteries were registered in the *brebia* of the SAKELLION (*Ivir.*, no.9.30, *Lavra* 1, no.33.39). In later acts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.58.5–6, *Dionys.*, no.19.27) "the sacred *brebion* of a monastery" meant the list of persons to be commemorated: in an act of 1364 the word is employed synonymously with *psychochartion* (*Xénoph.*, nos. 30.8, 35). On the other hand, the authors of monastic TYPIKA employed the term *brebion* for a document listing precious objects that belonged to the monastery. Michael Attaleiates used *brebion* to designate the appendix to his *diataxis* that listed new acquisitions of movable and immovable properties (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 83.1078–79). According to the *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery (P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 17.54–59), its *brebion* (now lost) included an inventory of cells, books, vessels, icons, liturgical garments and fabrics; the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 133.2007–23) states that *typika* and *brebia* should be placed in the *skeuophylakia* of both the Great Church and the Kecharitomene. In Slavic languages the word *brevno* acquired the meaning of an inventory of lands (D. Angelov, *Agrarnite otnošenija v Severna i Sredna Makedonija prez XIV vek* [Sofia 1958] 12, n.3).

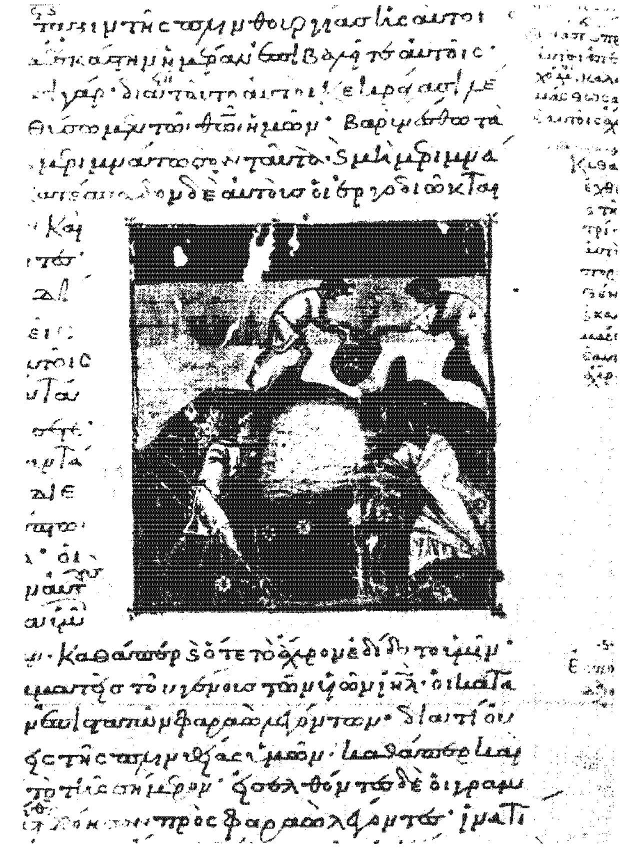
LIT. Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 73–79. –A.K.

BRESCIA CASKET. See LIPSANOTHEK; RELIQUARY.

BREVIARIUM. See FESTUS.

BREVIARIUS (Lat. "summary"), a "brief," simple Latin guidebook to the holy sites of JERUSALEM composed as "publicity material" for Western pilgrims. Likely of early 6th-C. date, it survives in two independent traditions derived from a single original. Additions probably reflect annotations of various users. Seemingly written to be carried around the city's LOCA SANCTA, it gives numerous topographical indications and provides important evidence not only for the standard "Jerusalem tour" of the time, but also for structural details of such buildings as the Holy Sepulchre and the Golgotha Shrine, and for the existence and veneration of specific relics.

ED. R. Weber, "Breviarius de Hierosolyma," in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr, ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 105–12.
LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 4f, 182f, with Eng. tr. 59–61.
-G.V.



BRICKS. The production of brick. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol.78v); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

BRICKS (sing. πλίνθος). The production of brick was highly developed in the Roman Empire and continued in Byz., where both baked and sun-dried mud bricks as well as TILES were used. Houses "built of brick" (sing. *plinthoktistos*) and roofed with tiles (*enkeramos*) are attested in documents (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.102.7). Workshops for brick production are also mentioned, such as an *ergasterion* to make *keramoi* (bricks and/or tiles) in an act of 952 (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4). It is more difficult to decide whether the term *keramarion* (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 4.68, 12.14; *Xerop.*, no.9A.26) meant a brick factory or a water pipe made of tiles. Workers in brick and tiles were called *ostrakarioi* and *keramopoioi,* and Constantine V is said (Theoph. 440.21–22) to have brought hundreds of them to Constantinople from Hellas and Thrace.

Bricks and tiles were often stamped with signs or inscriptions bearing names of craftsmen or emperors. Most Byz. brick stamps come from Constantinople and its environs—probably supplied from the same kilns—and from Thessalonike. The provinces (even Nicaea) have yielded few stamps, and in Dalmatia, for instance, late Roman bricks and tiles were produced without stamps (J. Wilkes in *Roman Brick and Tile* [Oxford 1979] 69f). Stamps from Constantinople are numerous for the late Roman period, but it is difficult to tell exactly when the practice of stamping bricks disappeared in the capital: there are stamps of the 10th–11th C., but probably no Palaiologan examples. On the other hand, stamped bricks and tiles of around the 10th C. are known from Cherson, the lower Danube, and Bulgaria.

The biblical *plintheia* was a metaphor for bondage and the sinful state from which baptism liberates man.

LIT. C. Mango, "Byzantine Brick Stamps," *AJA* 50 (1950) 19–27. S. Angelova, "Za proizvodstvoto na stroitelna keramika v Severnoiztočna Bŭlgarija prez rannoto srednovekovie," *Archeologija* 13.3 (1971) 3–24. A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959) 316–21. P. Diaconu, "În legătură cu datarea olanelor cu semne în relief descoperite în aşezările feudale timpurii din Dobrogea," *SCIV* 10 (1959) 491–97. K. Theocharidou, "Sym-

bole ste melete tes paragones oikodomikon keramikon proionton sta byzantina kai metabyzantina chronia," *DChAE*[4] 13 (1985–86) 97–111. –A.K.

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. From the 5th C. onward, Byz. architecture depended heavily on BRICK as a structural and decorative material. The most common building techniques involving this material were (1) alternating bands of several courses of brick and stone (related to the Roman *opus vittatum*), used from the 5th to 14th C. in Constantinople and its vicinity and less consistently elsewhere; (2) solid brick construction, used sporadically in the 5th to 12th C.; (3) the recessed-brick technique, an all-brick construction method in which every alternate course was set back from the wall plane with the recess filled in with MORTAR, producing seemingly thick mortar joints. This was commonly employed in Constantinople and vicinity from the 11th C. onward; from Constantinople the technique was exported to areas under Byz. influence (e.g., Kiev, central Balkans). A fourth method, the cloisonné technique, involved framing individual stone ASHLARS with brick on all four sides; it was widespread in Greece and the Balkans from the 10th C. onward. These basic building techniques were often combined with decorative patterns, executed in brick, that were used to highlight architectural features (e.g., apses, domes, tympanums, eaves) and to conceal structural timbers imbedded within walls. Some of these ORNAMENTS appear as early as the 10th C., but most became popular in the 13th–14th C. The most typical were reticulate REVETMENTS; diaper and checkerboard patterns; dogtooth friezes; and chevron, herringbone, and meander patterns as well as inscriptions executed in brick or specially cut tiles. Following the Roman practice, Byz. bricks were occasionally stamped in the course of production. The general significance of Byz. brick stamps has not yet been properly understood (C. Mango, *AJA* 54 [1950] 19–27).

BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS. Recessed brick masonry; 11th C. Detail of the city walls of Nicaea.



LIT. J.B. Ward Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. A.H.S. Megaw, "Byzantine Reticulate Revetments," *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 3 (Athens 1966) 10–22. A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos ton byzantinon kterion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens 1973). P.L. Vocotopoulos, "The Concealed Course Technique," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 247–60. G.M. Velenis, *Hermeneia tou exoterikou diakosmou ste byzantine architektonike* (Thessalonike 1984). –S.Ć.

BRIDE SHOWS are reported to have been organized on several occasions at the initiative of the empress-mother to select suitable wives for imperial princes. Commissioners were sent throughout the empire to find candidates who resembled an imperial ideal, which was enshrined in a picture (*lavraton*), and met specific measurements. Usually three candidates became finalists in this Byz. "Judgment of Paris," held in the imperial palace, when the young emperor-elect presented a golden apple or ring to his chosen lady. In 788 Empress IRENE persuaded CONSTANTINE VI to select Maria of Amnia, the granddaughter of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL; in 807 Theophano, already married and hurriedly divorced, was chosen for STAURAKIOS; in 830 THEOPHILOS encountered KASSIA and chose THEODORA; in 855 the same Theodora, as empress, imposed Eudokia of Dekapolis on MICHAEL III; and in 881 BASIL I selected pious THEOPHANO for his son LEO VI. An otherwise unattested bride show is recorded in the vita of St. IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON. It has been argued that bride shows, in contrast with the foreign marriage alliances of the 8th C., helped to bind powerful regional families to Constantinople. Recently, however, scholars such as P. Speck (*Kaiser Konstantin VI*, 1 [Mun-

ich 1978] 203–08) and L. Rydén (*Eranos* 83 [1985] 175–91) have cast doubts on the historicity of the bride show; Rydén suggests that it is a literary *topos* of the 9th or 10th C., which reappears in the 14th-C. romance of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA. The custom of the bride show is also found in the medieval West and in 17th-C. Russia.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, "The Bride-shows of the Byzantine Emperors," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 395–413. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XVII (1965), 150–58. –J.H.

BRIDGES (sing. γέφυρα). Crossing RIVERS, esp. those that were wide or had rapid currents, created difficulties for travelers and military expeditions. In cases of urgent necessity pontoon bridges (of boats bound together) were constructed; long logs laid over the boats provided flooring for the roadway (An.Komn. 2:137.17–19). In 636 Herakleios built this sort of bridge over the Bosporos (Stratos, *Byzantium*, 2:139).

The Byz. inherited the technique of bridge construction from the Romans. They erected bridges of stone, brick, and/or timber set in concrete; the arches rested on piers (the same technique as used for AQUEDUCTS). The bridge near Limyra in Lycia, 360 m long, consists of 28 arches and seems to be lower than regular Roman bridges (W. Wurster, J. Ganzert, *AA* [1978] 288–304). The approach to bridges was sometimes fortified with towers. During the late Roman period several grandiose projects were executed: the bridge over the Danube constructed by Constantine I between Oescus and SUCIDAVA was 2,437 m long. Many bridges are named in the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. Prokopios mentions some bridges built by Justinian I; that over the Sangarios is still standing. Later sources mention various bridges (Zompe over the river Sangarios, one near Kosmidion, a bridge in Adrianople passing over three streams, etc.) as well as smaller *gephyria* (*Lavra* 3, no.146.40); it is, however, not clear which of these bridges were actually of Roman construction. Bridgelike con-

BRIDGES. Justinianic bridge. Built over the Sangarios River in Bithynia; 6th C.



traptions were used to assault the walls of besieged towns (e.g., An.Komn. 1:153.20–22; Nik.Chon. 623.61–62). A special tax called *gephyrosis* was imposed in the 11th C. (*Lavra* 1, nos. 38.38, 48.36) for the maintenance and repair of bridges. In the 12th C. the Kosmosoteira monastery (see BERA) was obliged to maintain two local stone bridges; in this connection the *typikon* of Kosmosoteira stresses that bridges are useful to many people.

In Christian metaphor *gephyra* served as an epithet for any person, action, or institution bridging this world and heaven: for example, the Mother of God (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios, PG 87.3:3968C), Christ's descent into Hell, John's baptism, and prayer.

LIT. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 2:730f. P. Gazzola, *Ponti romani*, vol. 2 (Florence 1963). D. Tudor, *Les ponts romains du Bas-Danube* (Bucharest 1974) 135–70. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 178, n.48. T. Totev, "Novootkrit most na Tiča vův Vůrbičkija prochod," *Archeologija* 11 (1969), no.4, 25–28. M. Whitby, "Justinian's Bridge over the Sangarius and the Date of Procopius' *De Aedificiis*," *JHS* 105 (1985) 129–48. –A.K.

BRIGANDAGE (λῃστεία), ROBBERY carried out usually by members of lawless bands, often accompanied class struggle and military operations; Bartusis (*infra*) hypothesized that in the 14th C. brigands were primarily soldiers. Revolts of military contingents, such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, often led to looting, arson, RAPE, and so forth, as did urban riots and political upheavals, as for instance Alexios I Komnenos's capture of Constantinople in 1081. Feuds of local lords (e.g., those described in the PEIRA) led to grave damage of peasants' property. In turn, brigandage could be used by peasants for self-defense in their struggle with the DYNATOI for land; in some cases the peasants were supported by ethnic groups (the Vlachs, Cumans, etc.) settled in the area. Byz. historical tradition described other ethnic groups (e.g., the Isaurians) as particularly inclined toward brigandage, but such statements were often exaggerated. The poeticized image of the brigand (APELATES) penetrated into folklore and thence into the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS, who was described as victorious over the *apelatai*. Church fathers and hagiographers equated brigands with demons (G.J.M. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 [1967] 12–24), but at the same time hagiography described some reformed robbers as living in extreme piety.

PIRACY, another form of brigandage, was a real scourge for maritime commerce and the inhabitants of coastal areas.

LIT. F.M. de Robertis, "Interdizione dell' 'usus equorum' e lotta al banditismo in alcune costituzioni dell Basso impero," *Studia et documenta historiae et iuris* 40 (1974) 67–98. M. Bartusis, "Brigandage in the Late Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 386–409. –A.K.

BRINDISI (Βρεντήσιον), city in southern APULIA with a splendid harbor; terminus of the ancient Via Appia, a primary point of departure for the East, and a center of trade with Dalmatia and the eastern Mediterranean. During the war against Totila in the mid-6th C., the Byz. general John (nephew of Vitalian) conquered Brindisi and used it as a center of operations in southern Italy. The Lombards took Brindisi in the second half of the 7th C.; it formed the southernmost point of the duchy of BENEVENTO. Brindisi suffered from Arab attacks and was destroyed in 838. At the end of the 10th C. Byz. reestablished its administration in Brindisi and ca.1000 the patriarch of Constantinople elevated it to an archbishopric.

The Norman Robert Guiscard occupied Brindisi in 1071, but the Byz. continued trying to recapture it until the 1150s. Brindisi was the port of departure for Norman expeditions against Byz. and for the Crusades. The church of Brindisi was under the patronage of the papacy—in 1089 Pope Urban II dedicated the city's cathedral—but the Greek rite and Orthodox communities remained in the city, as did the Jews. Brindisi was a primary center for the manufacture of PROTO-MAIOLICA pottery.

LIT. P. de Leo, *LMA* 2:693f. A. de Leo, *Dell' origine del rito greco nella chiesa di Brindisi* (Brindisi 1974). I. Dujčev, "Un brindisino ambasciatore in Bulgaria all' inizio del 1200," *Familiare '82* (Brindisi 1982) 105–11. –A.K.

BRINGAS, JOSEPH, high official under CONSTANTINE VII and ROMANOS II; died 965 in monastery of the Asekretis, in Pythia (Bithynia). Eunuch, *patrikios*, and *praepositus*, Bringas (Βρίγγας) was promoted by Constantine to the posts of *sakellarios* and *droungarios* of the fleet (*TheophCont* 445.6–10); as *parakoimomenos* he administered the empire under Romanos. An adversary of the military aristocracy, he quashed the scheme of the nobles to give the throne to the *magistros* Basil

Peteinos (Skyl. 250f) and zealously opposed NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS. Romanos left Bringas at the head of the state (15 Mar.–15 Aug. 963), but THEOPHANO sided with Nikephoros Phokas, and BASIL THE NOTHOS supported their alliance. Nikephoros pretended to obey orders and left Constantinople to join his army, but his soldiers proclaimed him emperor (2 July 963) and he marched against the capital. An addition to *De cer.* (p.435–37) described in detail the battle for Constantinople. The population of the capital supported the military aristocracy and defended Bardas PHOKAS, who sought asylum in Hagia Sophia; at the same time Bringas gained the assistance of the influential guild of BAKERS who stopped selling bread in order to compel the poor to cease their resistance (9 Aug. 963). At this time Basil the Nothos armed 3,000 servants and sent them to pillage the houses of Bringas's partisans; he also ordered warships to sail to Abydos and join Nikephoros. Bringas had no choice but to surrender. Nikephoros entered the capital and banished Bringas to Paphlagonia and subsequently to the monastery of the Asekretis near Nikomedeia (Janin, *Églises centres* 86).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:183f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 388–95. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 258–97. –A.K.

BRONTOLOGION (*βροντολόγιον*), a manual on DIVINATION by thunder. The Byz. attributed their *brontologia* to famous figures of the past, such as King David or HERMES TRISMEGISTOS, or to obscure Roman writers, such as Nigidius Figulus (W. and H.G. Gundel, *Astrologumena* [Wiesbaden 1966] 137–39). In his *On Portents*, JOHN LYDOS lists four *brontologia* that he allegedly used: three are concerned primarily with political predictions, the fourth (ascribed to Labeon) with agrarian events. The church condemned *brontologia* as based on ASTROLOGY, and the *Souda* stated that divination by thunder was "diabolical property." Nonetheless, the custom was well entrenched; several *brontologia* are known both in Greek and in Old Slavonic translation (*Gromnik*), and a *brontologion* was among the books taken along on the imperial baggage train (*De cer.* 467.11). *Brontologia* were structured on the position of the sun (or the moon) in the zodiac and on the calendar. The strength and the direction of the thunder also had to be considered. A *brontologion* preserved in a 16th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 56 sup.) describes a series of political events, imagined or real: a revolt "in Egypt and among the Arabs," the devastation of Cyprus, a barbarian expedition as far as Chalcedon (perhaps a reference to Igor's expedition of 941), the absence of any king in "Comania" and Alania, the Crusade of 1147. This *brontologion* is attributed to "Leo the Wise" (i.e., Emp. Leo VI) but should be dated to the 12th C. As late as the 15th C. Kritoboulos observed that many people believed that thunder, lightning, and the wandering orbits of stars revealed the future.

LIT. M.A. Andreeva, "Političeskij i obščestvennyj element vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nych knig," *BS* 2 (1930) 59–67. Eadem, "K istorii vizantijsko-slavjanskich gadatel'nych knig," *BS* 5 (1933/34) 126–29, 134–53. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:218f. –F.R.T., A.K.

BRONZE (*χαλκός*), the term used in Byz. as in classical Greece to designate both pure copper and its alloys with tin or with zinc (brass). The location and exploitation of copper MINES from the 4th to the 15th C. is somewhat a matter of speculation. Bronze could be considered a semiprecious metal: Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 3.50.2) praises a church ornamented with gold, bronze, and "other very expensive materials," while Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.2.4) speaks of the best bronze as being softer in color than pure gold and in quality not much inferior to silver.

Colossal monuments of bronze included the ANEMODOULION at Constantinople (set up between 379 and 395) and the 6,000-pound cross erected by Eudocia at Jerusalem (*Jean Rufus, Plérophories*, PO 8 [1912], ch.11). Bronze statues of emperors, charioteers, etc. are recorded as late as the 7th C. (*AnthGr* 16.46–47), but only that of LEO I (?) (= Colossus of Barletta: U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33) survives relatively intact. A medieval deployment of bronze on a large scale was the revetment of an obelisk in the HIPPODROME in Constantinople by Constantine VII. Among the few other monumental uses of bronze after the 9th C. were cast church DOORS, with incised decoration and silver inlay or chrysography, as well as doors of sheet metal with repoussé decoration. The doors of S. Paolo fuori le mura, Rome, bear the names of the founder (*chytes*) and the artist who manufactured and decorated them. The *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos transferred a bronze

grill (*kangellon*) from the Chora monastery to his Church of the Virgin Kosmosoteria at BERA to separate his tomb from the rest of the narthex. Rare decorative bronzes of the 10th and 11th C. include the water-spouting troughs of fountains (L. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 8 [1975–76] 88f).

In addition to their use on monuments and for decoration, copper and bronze were employed for functional purposes, for example, for coins, surgical instruments, LITURGICAL VESSELS, roof tiles, armor, and esp. for LAMPS. Numerous bronze objects were used in the household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS). An inventory of 1142 lists (in addition to iron tools) bronze BELLS, vessels, caldrons, etc. (*Pantel.*, no.7.28–29). Domestic bronzes (*chalkomata*), some of them tinned, include ewers, basins, pans, and various COOKING WARES (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:99–101, 105). Byz. inventories from the 11th C. often refer to various LIGHTING devices of cast bronze, such as candelabra (*manoualia*), candlesticks, *polykandela*, lamps, lanterns, *lamnai* (bronze beams with candleholders), and *choroi* (polygonal frames for the suspension of lights) as well as CENSERS; some such devices of the 4th to 14th C. survive to this day. Bronze was also employed for ICONS, cast or in sheet metal, votive CROWNS, pectoral crosses, AMULETS, BELT FITTINGS, cone SEALS, and stamps as well as for ordinary JEWELRY. KEYS, LOCKS, and fittings for CASKETS were often cast in bronze as were STEELYARDS, various weights and measures, and astrological instruments such as the ASTROLABE.

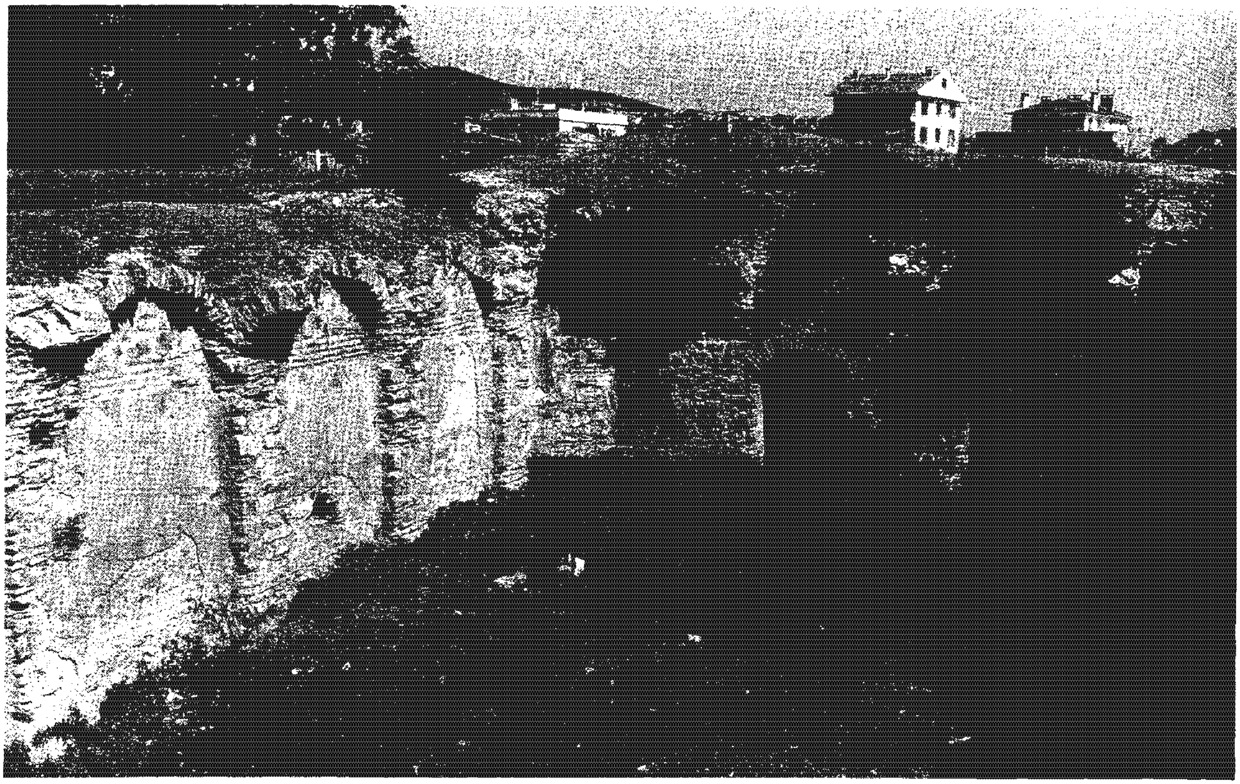
Large numbers of cast bronze household objects (ewers, caldrons, etc.) made in Byz., and mistakenly called "Coptic," have been found outside the empire, in 6th- and 7th-C. burials throughout western Europe.

The scientific work that has been carried out on Byz. bronze (that is, copper alloy) objects has been largely restricted to those made between the 4th and 7th C. The results reveal a varying of alloys to suit manufacturing techniques. Some cast items from this period excavated at Sardis (e.g., censers, crosses, buckles, chains, etc.), which have been analyzed for their metallic composition, were found to be of a four-part (quaternary) alloy of copper, tin, zinc, and lead; other objects, such as cooking vessels made of sheet metal, were of nearly pure copper (J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1983] 175–77). Other hammered objects, such as a group of 6th-C. ornamented SITULAS found elsewhere, are made of brass, that is, copper and zinc (M.M. Mango et al., *Antiquity* 63 [1989] 308). The shift from the manufacture of bronze (copper and tin) to that of brass, which started in the Roman period and increased by the 7th C., has been explained in terms of the loss of the Spanish and British tin mines by the 5th C. (R. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, vol. 3 [London 1983] 945–61). But tin may still have been available in the Taurus Mountain mines, and 10th- and 11th-C. tinned copper *polykandela*, lamps, patens, chalices, and other objects, made apparently in imitation of silver, have been found in Asia Minor and the vicinity of Antioch.

LIT. V.H. Elbern, "Alltäglisches aus Byzanz," *Alte und moderne Kunst* 26 (1981) 13–15. *DOCat* 1:30–68.

–M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

BRUMALIA (Βρουμάλια), the festival of DIONYSOS, which was celebrated from 24 Nov. to the winter solstice. The Brumalia marked the end of the wine cycle, when the liquid from the grapes crushed during the September harvest had fermented and was ready to be poured into jars for consumption. Carousing and merriment accompanied the rituals, which included the invocation of Dionysos. In his treatise *On the Months* (ed. Wuensch, 174.11–31), JOHN LYDOS notes the survival of the cult in the 6th C.: the viticulturalists would sacrifice a goat to Dionysos because the animal ate and destroyed vines. Canon 62 of the Council in TRULLO imposed a six-year excommunication on Christians who celebrated the Brumalia. The canon also condemned mumming and the donning of comic, satyric, and tragic masks, another Brumalian feature (Trombley, "Trullo" 5). Nevertheless, the imperial court celebrated the Brumalia. Stephen, the author of the vita of Stephen the Younger, condemns Constantine V as a "friend of demons" for his participation in the festival. In the time of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos the Brumalia consisted of acclamations for the emperor and a ceremony wishing him a long reign; on these occasions the emperor handed out APOKOMBIA, bags of gold, to various officials (*De cer.* 601.6–20, 606.4–607.14). The popular celebration of the Brumalia persisted until at least the 12th C. (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978]



BRYAS. Ruins at Küçükyalı. These ruins are thought to be those of the 9th-C. palace at Bryas.

487f). Christopher of Mytilene notes the sending of small cakes (*pemmata*) as gifts at the Brumalia, and Theodore Prodromos mentions festivities on the day of cosmic joy of the Brumalia, but the religious character of these acts is unknown.

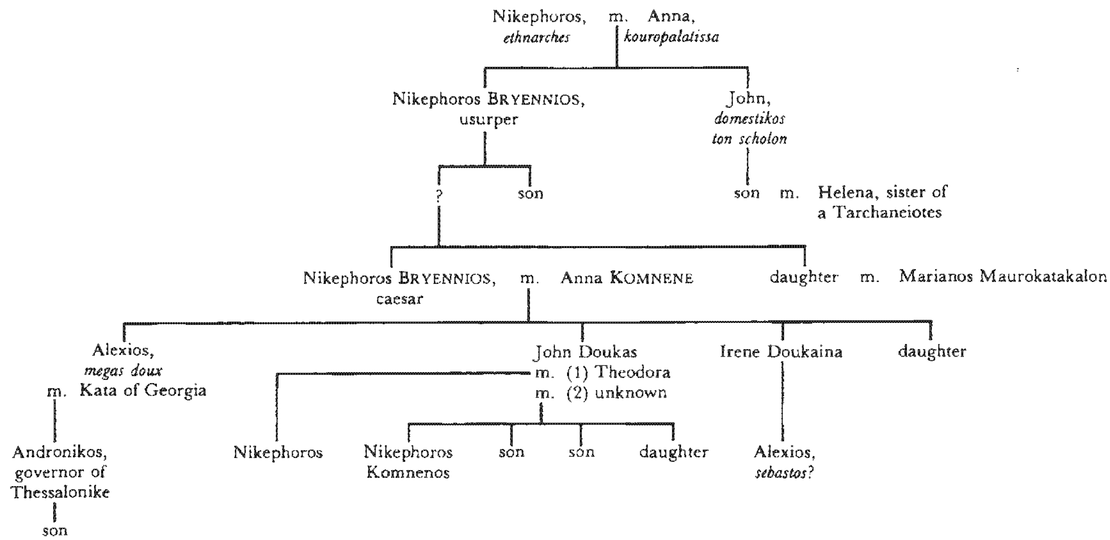
LIT. J.R. Crawford, "De Bruma et brumalibus festis," *BZ* 23 (1920) 365–96. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:25–29. Lawson, *Folklore* 221–32. M. Nilsson, "Studien zur Vorgeschichte des Weinachtsfestes," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 19 (1916–19) 62–64, 80–94. –F.R.T.

BRYAS (Βρύας, mod. Maltepe), Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, opposite the PRINCES' ISLANDS. It was the site of a palace built by Emp. Theophilos ca.837 in imitation of Arab palaces described to him by JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS on the latter's return from his embassy to Baghdad. The only modification of the Arab model consisted in the addition of two chapels, one next to the emperor's bedchamber, the other, of triconch form, in the forecourt. The palace has been plausibly identified with a standing ruin at Küçükyalı, between Bostancı and Maltepe, that recalls the layout of princely Arab residences.

LIT. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, "Archaeologisch-epigraphisches aus Konstantinopel und Umgebung," *BNJbb* 3 (1922) 103–06. R. Janin, "La banlieue asiatique de Constantinople," *EO* 22 (1923) 193–95. S. Eyice, "Bryas sarayı," *Belleten* 23 (1959) 79–111. Idem, "Quatre édifices inédits ou mal connus," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 245–50. –C.M.

BRYENNIOS (Βρυέννιος, fem. Βρυέννισσα), a noble Byz. lineage. Etymology of the name remains unclear; according to E. Trapp, it derived from *bryo*, "to abound" (*JÖB* 19 [1970] 293). Bryennioi are known from the 9th C. onward: Theoktistos was sent by Michael III as *strategos* of Peloponnesos (*De adm. imp.* 50.9–12); another Bryennios, *strategos* of Dalmatia, is attested from a 9th-C. seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 205f). Throughout the 10th C. they are not known. When the Bryennioi reappear in the mid-11th C., their relation to the 9th-C. Bryennioi is unclear: Attaleiates considered them a family of lower origin than the BOTANEIATAI. Like their predecessors,

GENEALOGY OF THE BRYENNIOS FAMILY IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES



the 11th-C. Bryennioi were military commanders: Nikephoros, from Adrianople, served as ethnarch, commander of foreign mercenaries; he participated in a rebellion against Empress THEODORA and was exiled; in 1057 he joined another aristocratic revolt and was captured and blinded. His son (also Nikephoros) Bryennios unsuccessfully tried to usurp the throne in 1077 (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS); another son, John, supported his brother's revolt and was appointed *domestikos ton scholon*; after the revolt, however, the Varangians arrested and murdered him. Nikephoros's son (according to Zonaras) or grandson (according to Anna Komnene), the caesar Nikephoros Bryennios, was a general and historian (see BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS). Another Bryennios served ca.1100 as *doux* of Thebes.

Caesar Nikephoros married Anna KOMNENE; some of their descendants bore the patronyms Komnenos and Doukas. They were primarily military comanders: John Doukas commanded both in Italy and against the Seljuks; his brother Alexios Bryennios, *megas doux* in 1156, was called the *anthypatos* of Hellas by Michael Choniates and praised as protector of the poor (Mich.Akom. 1:337.8–9). He is probably distinct from another Alexios Bryennios, *doux* of Dyrrachion and Ohrid, an addressee of George TORNIKIOS in the 1150s (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 162–66). Andronikos, son of the *megas doux* Alexios, served as governor of Thessalonike; involved in a plot against Isaac I, he was arrested and blinded; his son attempted a revolt but was also blinded. Joseph Bryennios, *sebastos* and the emperor's *gambros*, was a general in the 1160s. Only Nikephoros Komnenos, John Doukas's son, held a civil position: he was temporarily the functionary in charge of petitions (*epi ton deeseon*).

Several Bryennioi occupied important posts in the later period: George was *megas droungarios* in 1328, and Michael was commandant of Pamphilon in Thrace (1342). At this time the Bryennioi were also active in the church, diplomatic service, and intellectual life: besides the philosopher Joseph Bryennios and writer Manuel Bryennios, a scribe Gregory Bryennios from Thessalonike copied translations of Thomas AQUINAS in 1432 (*PLP*, nos. 3241–62). (See BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, and BRYENNIOS, MANUEL; see also genealogical table.)

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 165f. –A.K.

BRYENNIOS, JOSEPH, monk, writer, and teacher; born ca.1350, died before 1438, probably 1430/1. A fervent supporter of Orthodoxy, Bryennios lived for 20 years (ca.1382–1402) in Venetian-occupied Crete as preacher and missionary. He spent most of his remaining years in Constantinople at the monasteries of Stoudios (ca.1402–06) and Charsianeites (1416–27). In 1406 Patr. MATTHEW I sent him to Cyprus as *topoteretes* to try to negotiate the administrative union of the Cypriot church with that of Constantinople, but his mission proved fruitless. In his later years he served as court preacher and official spokesman against UNION OF THE CHURCHES with Rome, playing an important role in 1422 in discussions with a Latin delegation to Constantinople (G. Patacsi, *Kleronomia* 5 [1973] 73–96).

Bryennios composed a considerable number of theological treatises defending Orthodox doctrine on the Holy Trinity and Procession of the Holy Spirit. He supported the Palamite argument that the light of TABOR was uncreated. Other works include a dialogue with a Muslim (A. Argyriou, *EEBS* 35 [1966/7] 141–95), in which Bryennios praised the tolerance of Islam and the virtue of some Muslims; he argued that the decline of Byz. was divine punishment for the sins of the Byz. He corresponded with John CHORTASMENOS, Nicholas KABASILAS, Demetrios KYDONES, and Emp. Manuel II, among others. Mark EUGENIKOS wrote his epitaph.

ED. *Ioseph monachou tou Bryenniou ta heurethenta*, ed. E. Boulgares, T. Mandakases, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1768–84).

LIT. N.B. Tomadakes, *Syllabos byzantinon meleton kai keimenon* (Athens 1961) 491–611. Loenertz, *Calecas* 95–105. *PLP*, no.3257. –A.M.T.

BRYENNIOS, MANUEL, Byz. scholar and possibly a music theorist; fl. Constantinople ca.1300. Although academically eccentric, he instructed the statesman Theodore METOCHITES in mathematics, astronomy, and probably music (a didactic poem by Theodore reflects Bryennios's teaching). His doctrines on mathematics and astronomy are to be found in a letter to Maximos PLANOUDES and in scholia to MSS of Ptolemy's *Almagest*.

The only surviving work attributed to Bryennios is the three-volume *Harmonika*, based on ancient Greek tradition. The author treats his material more independently and carries his conclusions further than his sources, however. The neo-Pythagorean numerological theory of music is Bryennios's most important source (more for facts than for metaphysical speculation). Other sources are Nicomachus of Gerasa, Aristides Quintilianus, Theon of Smyrna, and, above all, Claudius Ptolemy for his theory of the eight *tonoi*, the "shadings" of the tetrachords, and the monochord and its division.

Bryennios also drew extensively on the empiricist school of Aristoxenos (4th C. B.C.). The first section of the treatise is based largely on this school; the second, however, is founded on neo-Pythagorean tradition and concludes with a comparison of the divisions of the tetrachords. The third section unites the Pythagorean and Aristoxenian traditions and culminates in a theory for constructing melodies. One section deals with the Byz. ecclesiastical MODES and associates them with the ancient systems of transposition (*tonoi, tropoi*); this section is illustrated by the musical practice of Bryennios's own time.

Bryennios's treatise is the most comprehensive surviving codification of Byz. musical scholarship. Associated with the growing interest in mathematics in the early Palaiologan period, it contributed to the rediscovery of ancient music theory. The late Byz. Empire and the Italian Renaissance valued it highly: 46 MSS from before 1600 and two early Latin translations (1497 and 1555) survive.

ED. *Opera mathematica*, ed. J. Wallis, vol. 3 (Oxford 1699) 357–508.

LIT. H. Reimann, "Zur Geschichte und Theorie der byzantinischen Musik, 4: Die Theorie des Manuel Bryennios," *Vierteljahrsschrift für Musikwissenschaft* 5 (1889) 335–44, 373–95. G.H. Jonker, *The Harmonies of Manuel Bryennios* (Groningen 1970). *PLP*, no.3260. –D.E.C.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS, 11th-C. usurper. Bryennios was a general and *magistros* who fought at the battle of Mantzikert (1071), served as a *doux* of Bulgaria in 1072–73, and was later governor of Dyrrachion. In 1077 he headed a revolt against Michael VII, the center of which was located in Adrianople, but lost to NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES in the competition for the throne. Bryennios refused to accept the title of caesar and continued his rebellion, but he was then defeated by Alexios Komnenos (the future ALEXIOS I) and

blinded. Zonaras accused Alexios of this deed, but other historians do not support his version. Nikephoros III returned to Bryennios all his properties and granted him new honors and lands (Bryen. 285.1–3). Despite his blindness, in 1094/5 Bryennios was in charge of defending Adrianople against the Cumans and a rebel who claimed to be a member of the DIOGENES family (Leo or Constantine?) and a son of Romanos IV; even though Bryennios belonged to an aristocratic family inclined to rebellion, he declined Diogenes' proposal of an alliance.

LIT. A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 235–82. –A.K.

BRYENNIOS, NIKEPHOROS THE YOUNGER, historian and general; born Adrianople? ca.1064 (A. Carile, *Aevum* 42 [1968] 436) or ca.1080, died Constantinople ca.1136/7. He was either the son (A. Carile, *Aevum* 38 [1964] 74–83) or grandson (S. Wittek-De Jongh, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 463–65; P. Gautier, *infra* 20–24) of his namesake, the rebel of 1077/8. Bryennios married Anna KOMNENE ca.1097, participated in Alexios I's campaigns, and became caesar ca.1111. In 1118 IRENE DOUKAINA and Anna Komnene unsuccessfully tried to proclaim him Alexios's successor. Although in disfavor with John II, Bryennios still participated in the emperor's expedition to Antioch, after which he died.

His unfinished memoirs, the so-called *Historical Material* (*Hyle historias*), were written after 1118 and describe the period 1070–79. He presents events not as a history of emperors, but as the power struggle of the mightiest families (the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Bryennioi); under the screen of a polite eulogy of Alexios is veiled criticism, whereas Nikephoros BRYENNIOS the Elder is an unquestionable hero. Aristocratic traits (noble origin, wealth, martial prowess) are presented as positive values. In their structure, Bryennios's memoirs are a forerunner of the ROMANCE, with the core of the tale being the marriage of Alexios and Irene after they overcame obstacles.

ED. *Histoire*, ed. P. Gautier (Brussels 1975), with Fr. tr.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:394–400. J. Seger, *Byzantinische Historiker des 10. und 11. Jahrhunderts I. Nikephoros Bryennios* (Munich 1888). A. Carile, "La 'Hyle historias' del cesare Niceforo Briennio," *Aevum* 43 (1969) 56–87, 235–82. –A.K.

BUDGET. Evaluations of the Byz. budget are speculative and arbitrary because of lack of evidence. Yet in recent publications one finds figures that are not too contradictory: 900,000 solidi in the 6th C. (Hendy); 1,700,000 nomismata by the end of the 8th; 3,300,000 nomismata in the middle of the 9th (Treadgold); 1,000,000 half-pure hyperpyra in the 14th (Hendy). Fiscal revenue derived mainly from TAXATION on land (70–95 percent) and COMMERCE AND TRADE; voluntary contributions of wealthy citizens ceased after the 7th C. Regular major expenditures were salaries for members of the armed forces, the administration (less important), and dignitaries (largely self-financed) and cash outlays for philanthropic institutions. Public works were also self-financed through CORVÉES; largess, such as the consulship, became occasional. Extraordinary expenditures, such as major campaigns or tributes, were dealt with either by spending accumulated reserves or by imposing extraordinary taxes and levies. Part of the payments were made in silk textiles, mainly those produced by the imperial workshops.

LIT. W.T. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). Hendy, *Economy* 157–227. –N.O.

BUILDING INDUSTRY. Builders formed teams or companies. According to the vita of Symeon the Stylite the Younger, Isaurian MASONS lived in communities, caring for those team members who had lost their health while working. The *Book of the Eparch* does not consider the *technitai* or ARTISANS a guild but a temporary association that included craftsmen of various professions: CARPENTERS, masons, workers in gypsum, etc. Such a team of *technitai* is described in the vita of Germanos of Kosinitza: they were hired to build a church and signed a contract (*homologia*) according to which they were to be paid 100 gold coins upon completion of the work (*AASS* May 3:9*). In *Basil.* 15.1.39 (and schol. 1 to this passage) an *ergolabos*, or manager, served as intermediary between the owner and the workers. He was paid by the owner and erected the building using his own materials. In the *Book of the Eparch*, on the other hand, there is no distinction between *ergolaboi* and *technitai* and the owner is to supply the materials. The terms are also used synonymously

in vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par.234.14–21).

The textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS contain some data on the organization of construction work: the builder is called *mastores* or *technites*; sometimes he appears with his APPRENTICES (*mathetades*); the building of a house takes 6–50 days; the builder receives 20 asproi per day but owes the owner 30 asproi for each day he does not work; in one hypothetical problem the builder is awarded 1,000 asproi for the entire job (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 26 [1965] 281f).

Large undertakings, such as the building of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople or repairs on the aqueduct of Valens, required hundreds of workers who labored under the supervision of governmental officials. Some construction jobs were completed by the army and, in the form of KASTROKTISIA, by the local population. The stages of a church's construction—the transport of stone by hand and on a luge, its cutting, the making of mortar, the feeding of the artisans, and the building's dedication to the Virgin—are shown on the cornice of a 10th–11th-C. church at Korogo in Georgia (N. Thierry in *AAPA* 2 [1987] 321–29).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 142f. *Bk. of Eparch* 257–65. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111f. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 84–86. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for Building and Repairing Fortifications in Late Byzantium and Medieval Serbia," *BS* 49 (1988) 205–12. –A.K., A.C.

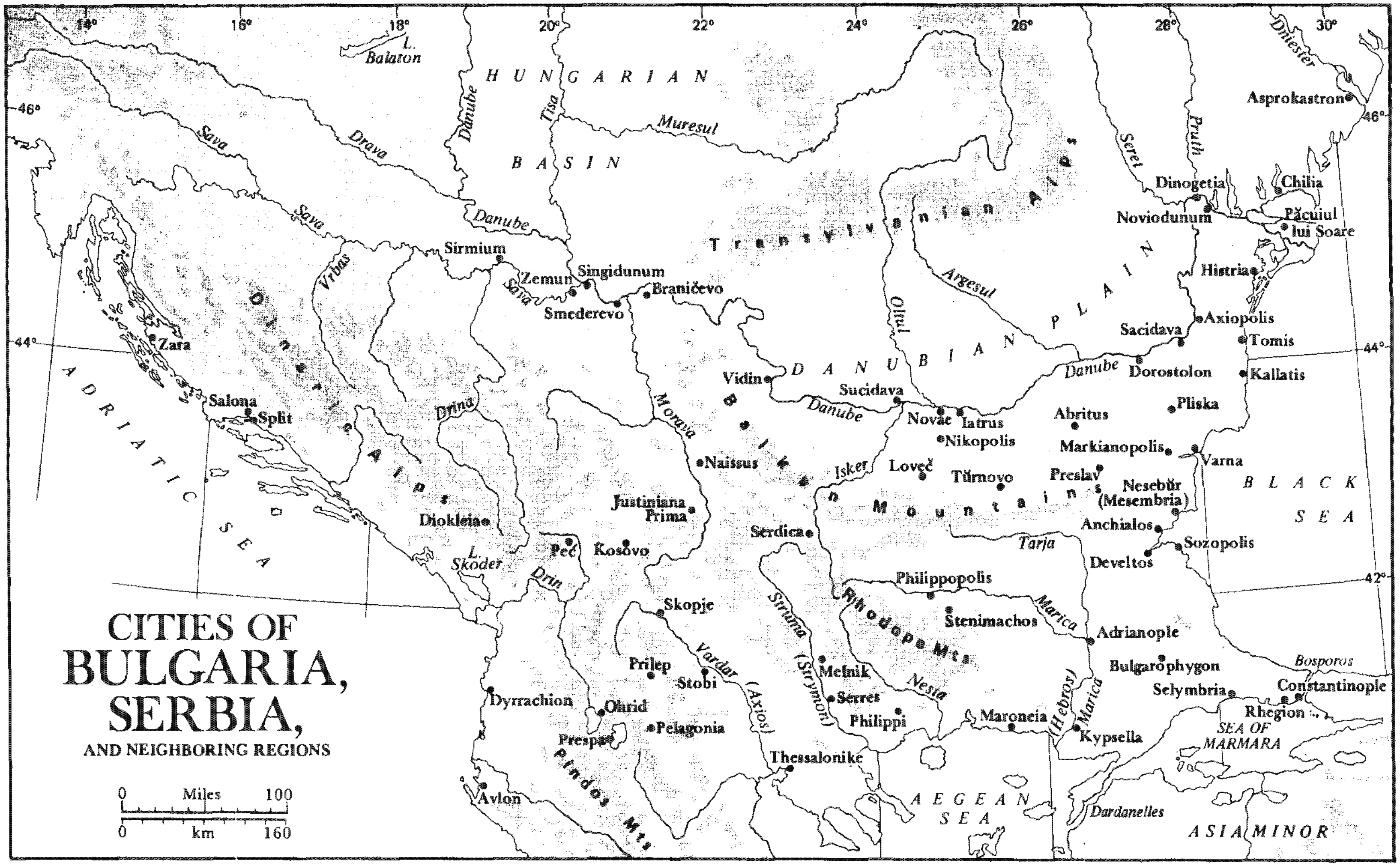
BULGARIA, state in the northern Balkans. Founded in 681 by ASPARUCH, Bulgaria included former Roman territory between the Danube, the Black Sea, the Balkan range, and the river Iskŭr. It was populated by Slavs, BULGARS, Vlachs, and some remaining Greek inhabitants. The capital was established at PLISKA. The Slav and Bulgar occupation led to the deurbanization of the region and the expulsion of the Christian church with its hierarchy built upon urban foundations. The focal point of domestic development in the late 7th–9th C. was the union of Slavs and Bulgars into a single ethnos that used the Slavic language, a Bulgar administrative system, and the Greek alphabet for the PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS. This unity was reinforced by the christianization of the country by 864/5.

Even though Bulgaria profited from the defeat of the AVARS by Charlemagne and extended its power to the northwest as far as the river Theiss, Bulgarian northern policy was primarily defensive: Bulgaria had to protect its northern frontier from the Germans, Hungarians, Pechenegs and other steppe tribes, the Rus', and later the Tatars. Bulgaria's policy in the south was more active, and Bulgarians were often involved in Byz. affairs, sometimes as allies (TERVEL supported Justinian II), sometimes as dangerous adversaries (esp. under KRUM and SYMEON OF BULGARIA). The periods of war were interrupted by peace treaties (the 30-year treaty under OMURTAG), and sometimes Byz. managed to exercise considerable influence on Bulgaria, as happened in the reign of BORIS I.

Despite the arrival in 885 of pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS who brought both the Slavic alphabet and incipient Slavic literature and liturgy, Byz. administrative and cultural influence on Bulgaria increased from the end of the 9th C. onward. Bulgarian rulers accepted Byz. imperial and ceremonial titulature (*basileus* for the former *khan*, *patriarch* for the *archbishop*, etc.); the new capital, PRESLAV, harbored a significant artisan population; and a substantial selection of Greek theological literature was translated into CHURCH SLAVONIC. Trade and intermarriage (e.g., Tsar PETER and Maria, Romanos I's granddaughter) helped consolidate Bulgaro-Byz. links.

From the second half of the 10th C. Byz. began to gain the upper hand in the Balkans. After the plan to subjugate Bulgaria with the assistance of SVJATOSLAV of Kiev had miscarried, John I Tzimiskes evicted Svjatoslav from Bulgaria, annexed a substantial part of the country, and abolished the autocephalous Bulgarian patriarchate. The struggle of the KOMETOPOULOI and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA against Basil II, despite temporary success, was lost; by 1018 the whole of Bulgaria had been incorporated into Byz. and formed several themes—Bulgaria, Paradounavon, Dyrrachion, etc.

The imposition of the "Byz. yoke" strengthened the Byz. impact on Bulgaria. The Byz. system of taxation was extended to the new themes, along with Byz. secular and ecclesiastical administration and Byz. forms of peasant dependence (PAROIKOI, etc.). Intensified trade and the mass penetration of Byz. coinage accompanied the development of urban life. On the other hand, the Bulgarian aristocracy entered the ranks of the Byz. ruling class; Bulgarian topics were treated in Byz. liter-



CITIES OF BULGARIA, SERBIA, AND NEIGHBORING REGIONS

..., and specific Bulgarian forms of ideology, such as the Bogomil heresy, gained a strong hold in Byz. The Byz. domination over Bulgaria was several times challenged in the 11th C. (revolts of Deljan and George Voitech, the Bogomil rebellion in 1086). In 1185 a new revolt broke out, and by 1188 the weakened Byz. government had recognized the independence of Bulgaria north of the Balkan range, with its capital in Tŭrnovo. The Bulgarian victory at Arkadiopolis in 1193 led to the annexation of much of central Thrace. A new Bulgaria emerged, usually called the Second Bulgarian Empire.

At first (under Kalojan, Boril, and John Asen II) Bulgaria profited from the disarray resulting from the Fourth Crusade to occupy more of Thrace and most of Macedonia, and after the Bulgarian victory over Epiros at Klokotnica in 1230 extended its rule to the Adriatic at Dyrrachion. The marriage of John Asen's daughter to Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea and the creation of a Bulgarian patriarchate in 1235 mark the apogee of Bulgarian power. This zenith was of short duration: the state faced serious domestic and international problems. The country lacked economic unity. The towns on the Danube, such as Vidin, were more connected with central Europe, those on the Black Sea were involved in Italian trade, and western Bulgaria tended toward Dubrovnik. While ca.1200 Bulgaria profited from alliance with the Cumans, later the Tatar settlement in the steppe created a serious menace, heightened by constant conflicts with Byz. and Serbia and esp. by the Ottoman invasion of the 14th C. The internal instability found its expression in revolts, such as the mutiny of Ivajlo. By the end of the 13th C. only northeastern Bulgaria recognized Tsar Georgij Terter I. For a short period Theodore Svetoslav, Michael III Šišman, and Ivan Alexander reunited Bulgaria, and the country, despite certain military losses, enjoyed relative peace and prosperity. From 1370 onward, however, the increasing encroachment of the Ottomans on the Balkans threatened the very existence of Bulgaria. In 1373 Bulgaria became a virtual Ottoman vassal, and in 1393 Murad I invaded and annexed it.

Of all the Slavic countries Bulgaria was the closest to Byz. Their interrelationship was very complex, ranging from military rivalry to trade connections (Bulgaria exporting to Constantinople flax and cattle) to religious and cultural exchange; some Greek regions were absorbed by Bulgaria and for almost two centuries Bulgaria was incorporated by Byz. The Bulgarian state was formed both under Byz. impact and in a constant resistance to the threat of "hellenization." The material interpenetration did not abolish mutual mistrust, and political alliance was sporadic and short-lived. On the other hand, Bulgaria transmitted Byz. civilization to other Orthodox peoples, particularly Rumanians and Muscovite Russia (in the 14th C.). The absorption of Byz. culture was selective. The literature and ideology of Byz. Christianity, both in its learned and its popular form, were taken over (see Bulgarian Literature), as were the Byz. chroniclers' picture of world history, a simplified version of Byz. civil and canon law, and some popular nonreligious literature such as the Alexander Romance. What was rejected was learned and classicizing literature and thought, including philosophy and science, which Bulgarian society neither needed nor understood. It was this filtered Byz. culture that was passed on to the non-Greek Orthodox world.

LIT. R. Browning, *Byzantium and Bulgaria* (Berkeley 1975). V.N. Zlatarski, *Istorija na bŭlgarskata dŭržava prez srednite vekove*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1918–40). P. Mutafčiev, *Istorija na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1944). D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost*[2] (Sofia 1981). G.G. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija v XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1960; Bulgarian tr., Sofia 1987). S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930). I. Dujčev et al., *Histoire de la Bulgarie* (Roanne 1977) 1–244. V. Gjuzelev, *Učilišta, skriptorii, biblioteki i znanija v Bŭlgarija, XIII–XIV vek* (Sofia 1985).

–R.B.

BULGARIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The First Bulgarian Empire was founded on territory rich in Roman and Byz. remains. These and other sources were used to create an art designed to serve the national and religious needs of the new state. The earliest administrative center, Pliska, was laid out as a double fortress, an architectural solution also adopted at the second capital, Great Preslav. The most unusual monument from this period is the large relief of a horseman carved in the cliff above the religious center of Madara. Most likely carved in 705 and probably representing Khan Tervel, the relief is surrounded by contemporary and later Greek inscriptions of rulers' names. The iconography—a horseman holding aloft a cup, with a lion below

and a dog running behind—bears close resemblance to rock-cut reliefs of Sasanian Persia. But the bold, monumental style, with the figure and the background rendered as two parallel planes, is typical of Bulgarian sculpture from this period and continues into the 10th C. at nearby Preslav and Abradaka.

Bulgarian ceramic TILE decoration may also be Near Eastern in influence. Tiles—both flat tiles and semicircular cornice pieces, large and small—were specially made for use as wall revetment. Some tile images, such as a 20-tile icon of St. Theodore from Sofia and a group of smaller, single-tile icons from Tuzlalŭk, depict saints, though the majority are decorated with floral and geometric motifs. Many have been found *in situ*, adorning the floors and dado zones of small monastery churches around Preslav (the earliest datable example comes from the Round Church of Preslav, probably built before 907). Similar tile decoration is found in Constantinople as well, and probably derives from Arabic antecedents. It is possible that ceramic decoration was used in large quantities in and around Preslav even before its widespread use in Constantinople.

The Round Church at Preslav is a good example of the eclectic use of sources typical of much Bulgarian art of the early empire. The form of the church—a domed rotunda with an interior two-tiered colonnade preceded by an atrium that is enclosed by walls with niches and columns—has been likened to ARMENIAN ARCHITECTURE, while the use of mosaic decoration shows Byz. influence. The structure may in fact reflect late Roman BAPTISTERY forms, underscoring one of the main functions of the church in the newly converted realm. Its round form may also indicate it was intended to serve as a palace chapel.

Byz. culture was to be the decisive influence on Bulgarian art during the 11th and 12th C., when the territory came under Byz. hegemony (cf. the frescoes of the ossuary of the monastery of PETRITZOS). By the time Bulgarian independence was won, Byz. culture had become the single major source for artistic creation.

The art of the Second Bulgarian Empire shows a resurgence of architecture and painting. Donations by nobles include the churches on Trapezitsa Hill in TŬRNOVO and the Tower of Hreljo in the RILA monastery. Two-story churches, which were used for burial and whose structure served to level uneven terrain, may have derived from Byz. or Caucasian prototypes but became a popular local type of church plan. Other churches are elaborate variants of Palaiologan architectural forms: in the 14th-C. churches of MESEMBRIA, for example, stone, brick, and ceramic inserts combine to produce a rich, textilelike patterning of the exterior quite unrelated to the internal divisions of the church (e.g., St. John Aleitourgetos).

Painting of the Second Empire shows two tendencies. Many monuments rely on Byz. models of the 11th and 12th C., introduced during the period of Byz. rule (e.g., BOJANA). Other fresco ensembles and icons show more awareness of contemporary art in Constantinople. This is especially true of the royal commissions by Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. The rock-cut "Cŭrkvata" at Ivanovo was decorated by Bulgarian artists in the most up-to-date Palaiologan style; bottom-heavy figures in twisted postures are placed in front of elaborate architectural façades. The flat ceiling of this humble church, which served a hesychast monastic community, is given an unusual treatment: copying the wall decoration, the ceiling is laid out with small scenes in square frames. Manuscript painting also tended to copy Byz. models, both contemporary and older; the *Gospels of Ivan Alexander* (London, B.L. Add. 39627, dated 1355/6) has the format of a FRIEZE GOSPEL, and the portraits it contains of the tsar and his family are clad in Byz.-style imperial costume. The *Chronicle* of Constantine MANASSES (Vat. slav. 2, ca.1345) copies a Byz. illustrated chronicle, adapting traditional scenes to illustrate the passages on Bulgarian history written expressly for this book. Icon painting (e.g., the late 13th-C. St. George, Plovdiv State Gallery no.486) also reflects contemporary Byz. Palaiologan style.

LIT. S. Vaklinov, *Formirane na starobŭlgarskata kultura VI–XI vek* (Sofia 1977). K. Mijatev, *Die mittelalterliche Baukunst in Bulgarien* (Sofia 1974). A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie*, 2 vols. (Paris 1928). *Istorija na Bŭlgarskoto izobrazitelno izkustvo* (Sofia 1976). E. Bakalova, "Society and Art in Bulgaria in the Fourteenth Century," *BBulg* 8 (1986) 17–72. –E.C.S.

BULGARIAN LITERATURE. Although a number of inscriptions in Greek and a few PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS written in Greek characters survive from before the conversion of Bulgaria, and there is evidence that both the Proto-

Bulgarians (Bulgars) and the Slavs were acquainted with writing, Bulgarian literature is a product of the christianization of the country. When the pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, expelled from Moravia, reached Bulgaria in 885, bringing with them translations of the Scriptures and of the liturgy, they found the ground prepared for the development of literature in CHURCH SLAVONIC. There had already been 20 years of missionary activity by Greek and Roman clergy. Tsar BORIS I was anxious to avoid too close dependence of the Bulgarian church on Byz. Furthermore, a generation of young Bulgarians, including the future tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA, had studied in Constantinople and brought some familiarity with Byz. literary culture back with them.

From their first arrival, the newcomers received royal patronage and encouragement on a grand scale. Schools were established in monasteries in Preslav and Ohrid for the training of Slavonic clergy and the translation or composition of the literature necessary for a Christian and civilized society. The beginning of Bulgarian literature can be dated with great precision to the second half of the 880s. Translation was the first priority. Among the earliest works translated by KONSTANTIN OF PRESLAV and others were select homilies of Athanasios of Alexandria, Gregory of Nazianzos, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, and John of Damascus, which provided an introduction to theology. Translations of the chronicles of MALALAS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS familiarized Bulgarians with a historical process which was at the same time a process of salvation. The *Christian Topography* of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES furnished geographical information in a theological framework. The practice of translation provided a laboratory of language and style, in which experimentation with different genres flourished and the flexibility and expressiveness of Slavonic developed. With this end in mind, the short treatise of George CHOIROBOSKOS, *On Figures of Speech*, was translated in the late 9th or early 10th C.

Original writing went hand in hand with translation. Unknown authors wrote Lives, panegyrics, and *akolouthiai* on Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios, KLIMENT OF OHRID and NAUM OF OHRID. JOHN THE EXARCH and Konstantin of Preslav combined material translated or adapted from Greek with much original matter. KOSMAS THE PRIEST applied Byz. theological concepts to the elucidation of specifically Bulgarian problems arising out of the spread of the BOGOMILS and displayed a capacity for sharp social criticism. Poetry was written, both in Byz. 12-syllable meter, such as the anonymous *enkomion* of Tsar Symeon, and in the complex accentual rhythms of the Byz. liturgy, as in the *kanon* on St. Demetrios. A treatise on church music surviving in a single GLAGOLITIC MS may well be connected with the development of liturgical hymns in the late 9th C.; it was written in Preslav or Ohrid.

Along with the "official" literature of the Byz. church, the Bulgarians took over and translated apocryphal and apocalyptic texts, such as the *Vision of Isaiah*. These provided a model for original compositions expressing Bulgarian aspirations and fears, such as the *Story of the Cross* by Jeremiah the Priest (10th C.) or the Thessalonican legend of the baptism of the Bulgarians. Both the Orthodox and sectarians, esp. the Bogomils, used such texts extensively; 25 apocryphal texts figure in the IZBORNIK of 1073.

What was not translated, adapted, or imitated in this period of the development of Bulgarian literature was the classicizing secular literature of the Byz., which must have seemed irrelevant and incomprehensible to Bulgarian readers and listeners. Thus Byz. literature and culture was filtered in its transmission to Bulgaria in the 9th and 10th C.

The piecemeal conquest of Bulgaria by the Byz. between 971 and 1018 destroyed the social and political structure that had fostered Bulgarian literature. Royal patronage, which had been necessary for the origin and rapid growth of Bulgarian literature, ceased. Monasteries, however, provided both a demand for and a supply of saints' Lives, such as the earliest Life of St. JOHN OF RILA, written before 1183. A number of apocryphal writings, sometimes of Bogomil inspiration, probably date from the period of Byz. rule.

Now Bulgarian literature began to have some influence on Byz. hagiography. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid wrote a Life of his predecessor Kliment that evidently drew on Slavonic sources. The *protokouropalates* George SKYLITZES, who had served as *strategos* of a Bulgarian province, wrote a Greek

Life of St. John of Rila, which survives only in a 13th- or 14th-C. Slavonic translation. It may have been intended as a response to the pro-Bulgarian tone of the earlier Slavonic Life.

The restoration of Bulgarian independence in 1186 did not at once lead to a revival of Bulgarian literature. Feuding between ruling groups, threats from the Latin Empire of the Crusaders, and the general social and political instability of the country in the 13th C. were not conducive to literary production. Little literature survives from the period, apart from minor hagiographical texts and the Synodikon of Tsar BORIL, which contains, along with traditional Byz. material, accounts of the Bulgarian church council of 1211 and of the restoration of the Bulgarian patriarchate, as well as panegyrics on Bulgarian rulers and churchmen.

In the 14th C. the encouragement of literature by successive church leaders, in particular Teodosije, superior of Kilifarevo monastery (died 1363), and EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO, together with the patronage of Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER, stimulated a remarkable literary and cultural revival, centered in monasteries in the Tŭrnovo region. Many new translations were made from Greek, including the *Kephalaia* (Chapters) of the hesychast GREGORY SINAITES, an anthology of sermons of John Chrysostom, and the *Chronicle* of Constantine MANASSES. Evtimij of Tŭrnovo composed Lives of Bulgarian saints, liturgical texts, and dogmatic treatises. His close friend KIPRIAN, an ecclesiastical diplomat of wide experience and for 17 years metropolitan of Moscow, wrote Lives of Russian saints, letters on dogma and church discipline, a *synaxarion* for the Russian church that included many Bulgarian and Serbian saints, and perhaps the first index of prohibited books. More than any other of his time he furthered the spread of southern Slavic and Byz. literary models and techniques in Serbia and Russia. KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI, who migrated to Serbia in 1410, wrote a Life of Stefan Lazarević and translated Greek patristic texts. Grigorij CAMBLAK, who migrated first to Serbia and then to Kiev, wrote many hagiographical works, liturgical compositions, and sermons. IOASAF OF VIDIN included in his panegyric of St. Philothea much information on the Bulgaria of his time. Among the many minor and often anonymous works surviving from the 14th and early 15th C. are a short Bulgarian chronicle, letters on religious problems addressed to Evtimij of Tŭrnovo, and a verse panegyric on Tsar Ivan Alexander.

The literature of this period is marked by the influence, both in matter and in form, of contemporary Byz. literature. HESYCHASM won strong and immediate support among most Bulgarian clergy and monks. A rhetorical, poetic, and often pompously inflated style was reflective of contemporary Byz. taste. At the same time, we sometimes find lively descriptions of Bulgarian society and life. Had not the Turkish conquest destroyed the structures of Bulgarian society, Bulgarian literature might well have flourished. As things were, it provided a stimulus and a model for the literature of Serbia, Rumania, and above all Russia.

LIT. P. Dinekov et al., *Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura, I: Starobŭlgarskata literatura* (Sofia 1982). Idem, *Pochvala na starata bŭlgarska literatura* (Sofia 1979). Idem, "Über die Anfänge der bulgarischen Literatur," *International Journal of Slavic Linguistics and Poetics* 3 (1960) 109–21. I. Dujčev, *Iz starata bŭlgarska knižnina*, 2 vols. (Sofia 1943). M. Murko, *Geschichte der älteren südslavischen Literaturen* (Leipzig 1908). E. Georgiev, *Literaturata na Vtorata bŭlgarska dŭržava. Pŭrva čast: Literatura na XIII vek* (Sofia 1977). P. Rusev et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1980). A. Davidov et al., *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, vol. 4 (Sofia 1985). –R.B.

BULGARIAN TREATY, ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON THE, conventional title of a speech preserved in a single MS (Vat. gr. 483 of the 13th or 14th C.) and dedicated to the signing of the peace treaty with the Bulgarians in October 927. The speech contains a survey of historical events: Leo VI is highly praised; then the author mentions a revolt (*apostasia*); the assault of the *archon* (SYMEON OF BULGARIA), who was crowned by the "helmet of darkness" (NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS); and the elevation of the new Moses (ROMANOS I), raised up out of the water to extinguish the flames of war. The text is full of classical references and obscure allusions, some of which are explained in red ink in the margins by the hand of the same scribe. Various scholars have suggested the following possible authors of the treatise: Nicholas Mystikos (F. Uspenskij in *Letopis'* 2 [1894] 121), ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (M. Šangin, *Istorik-Marksist* [1939] no.3, 177), NIKETAS MAGISTROS (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 126), and Theodore DAPHNOPATES (I. Dujčev, *DOP* 32 [1978] 252f).

However, the most recent editor, Stauridou-Zaphraka, rejects all these identifications (*infra* 351–55).

ED. A. Stauridou-Zaphraka, "Ho anonymos logos 'Epi te ton Boulgaron symbasei,'" *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 343–406. –A.K.

BULGARS, TURKIC, also Proto-Bulgarians, Pra-Bulgarians, a pastoral people, originally living in Central Asia. Swept westward in the great movement of steppe peoples that brought the Huns and later the AVARS to Europe, some Bulgar tribes settled in PANNONIA, where they were dominated by the Avars and took part in their campaigns against the Franks, Lombards, and Byz. In the 7th C. many of these Pannonian Bulgars settled in Italy, in Lombardy, the Rimini-Osimo area, and the region of Benevento. The main body of the Bulgar tribes, dwelling north of the Azov Sea and the river Kuban, were dominated by the Western Turkic khaganate from the mid-6th C. onward. In 632, profiting from divisions among their Turkic rulers, these Bulgars revolted successfully and formed a powerful confederation of Bulgar and related tribes known as Great Bulgaria, led by KUVRAT. Herakleios, seeking a reliable ally to block the Khazar advance westward, concluded a treaty with Kuvrat.

After Kuvrat died, Great Bulgaria broke up under Khazar pressure. Some tribes migrated to the Volga-Kama region, some probably joined their kinsmen in Pannonia, some remained under Khazar rule, and some, led by ASPARUCH, migrated westward to the area between the Dnieper and the Danube delta. In 681 Asparuch and his followers invaded Byz. territory south of the Danube and established the First Bulgarian Empire. About the same time a group of Pannonian Bulgars and their Slav and Greek subjects led by Kouber migrated to northern Macedonia; Byz. authorities recognized their presence there. Both Bulgar groups had long been in contact with agricultural peoples and had largely given up their pastoral way of life. They quickly mingled with the Slavs among whom they settled, becoming a single people called Bulgarians. By the end of the 9th C. the Bulgars had probably ceased to exist as a separate ethnic and linguistic group. (See also PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS.)

LIT. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981). Idem, *Pŭrvobŭlgarite: Bit i kultura* (Sofia 1981). V. Gjuzelev, *The Protobulgarians: Pre-History of Asparouhian Bulgaria* (Sofia 1979). P. Petrov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata dŭržava* (Sofia 1981). A. Stojnev, *Svetogledŭt na Prabŭlgarite* (Sofia 1985). N. Mavrodinov, *Le trésor protobulgare de Nagyszentmiklós* (Budapest 1943). O. Pritsak, *Die bulgarische Fürstenliste und die Sprache der Protobulgaren* (Wiesbaden 1955). *Problemi na prabŭlgarskata istorija i kultura, II meždunarodna srešča po prabŭlgarska archeologia, Šumen* 1986 (Sofia 1989). –R.B.

BUREAUCRACY. Byz. was governed by the EMPEROR and administered by a corps of officials. The Byz. did not restrict the ruling class to a Greek version of the Western *oratores* and *bellatores*, clergy and knights, but regularly regarded officials as a separate category of the elite, often described as *synkletikoi*, SENATORS (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 66–70). In the broad sense of the term, bureaucracy also encompassed military commanders and ecclesiastical functionaries. We do not have figures to determine the size of the bureaucracy, although the number of officials was larger than in any other medieval European society. Very approximate data can be drawn from the early 5th-C. NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. Around 400, there were 103 main offices of the central and provincial administration of the eastern part of the empire, both military and civil, and more than 260 subaltern offices (the number of officials should be larger since many offices presupposed several functionaries simultaneously); ca.900, there were 59 main and about 500 subaltern offices, despite a drastic contraction of imperial territory.

The main spheres of administrative activity, besides ecclesiastical, were military, fiscal, and judicial—this categorization provided by chrysobulls from the end of the 11th C. PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION was in the hands of either military commanders or JUDGES, while DIPLOMACY was not consistently separated from the general administration. A significant role was assigned to various imperial chanceries whose function was the composition of documents and the handling of correspondence addressed to the *basileus*. After the abolition of the office of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT no functionary presided over the whole executive activity; the MESAZON or PARADYNASTEUON who tended to assume this role remained a semi-official imperial favorite.

There were neither social nor educational requirements for recruitment of civil servants—even

illiterate officials are known. EDUCATION, however, did provide one avenue of entrance, while children of officials had a better chance of obtaining administrative positions. By the 12th C. a pattern emerges in which military commanders or fiscal or judicial functionaries predominate in certain families, despite the absence of a hereditary system of TITLES or OFFICES. The combination of land ownership and imperial service was typical, esp. among the military elite, even though the government tried to prohibit the STRATEGOI from acquiring lands within their districts. Civil administrators originated more often than military commanders from families engaged in commerce; they were more likely to be connected with an intellectual milieu and the higher CLERGY.

A typical trait of Byz. bureaucracy was a close connection between the state government and the emperor's household. The difference between the two was ill defined, and the spheres of authority of the emperor's treasury and of the state financial bureau were barely distinguishable. Accordingly, the personnel of the imperial household, including EUNUCHS, was often assigned state functions, both civil and military. Until the end of the 11th C., the imperial household was considered to be a section of the state administration, and courtiers were included in the state hierarchy of the TAKTIKA. The Komnenoi tried to reverse the system and treated the state as the patrimony of the ruling dynasty; relatives of the emperor not only actually obtained high positions in the bureaucracy but also assumed the highest titles by right of consanguinity. A patrimonial element became entrenched in the Palaiologan period. The 14th-C. bureaucracy described by pseudo-KODINOS is based on the principle of consanguinity/affinity and on a post at court rather than on state service.

A position in the bureaucracy was seen as prestigious; it was characterized, esp. from the 12th C. onward, by terms of dependence (on the emperor) such as DOULOS or OIKEIOS; it was strictly contrasted with private service (A. Kazhdan, *RESEE* 7 [1969] 469–73). Public service was rewarded by salary (in a direct form or as a part of a province's revenues), by gifts from the emperor on feastdays, by donations of land or incorporeal rights (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION, etc.), and, finally, by *sportulae* (see SYNETHEIAI).

Texts preserve manifold complaints concerning malpractice of officials, esp. tax collectors (coercion, bribery, theft, biased judgment). It is important to remember, however, that historians and hagiographers record primarily exceptional cases, and that the administrative machine could function effectively, although centralization had its negative features—the apparatus was expensive and clumsy, decision making took place in Constantinople, competition between officials could easily grow into intrigues and cabals, and bureaucratic omnipotence opened broad opportunities for personal gain.

Modern scholars, particularly J.B. Bury and F. Dölger, have considered the Byz. bureaucracy as a coherent system with a well-defined division of functions, which drew upon the late Roman administration so that new offices smoothly replaced the old ones. This picture is idealized and simplified; the bureaucracy was often in a state of confusion with the result that the same term might designate various offices, different departments might fulfill identical functions, SEKRETA might combine responsibilities of completely different kinds, and rivalry penetrated the whole state machinery. Direct connection with the Roman system is illusory and based primarily on the deceptive similarity of terms. It is quite probable that around the 7th C. the bureaucracy underwent a profound transformation that cannot, however, be explained by reform or a series of reforms; the main features of the gradual change were replacement of the PREFECTURE by the system of LOGOTHESIA, introduction of THEMES, and the decline of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION. The struggle for centralization was won by the emperors of the 9th and 10th C. The resistance of themes was crushed, the army of TAGMATA created, and an orderly hierarchy established. The 11th C. witnessed the triumph of the centralized administration of the civil bureaucracy that soon revealed its negative features. The Komnenoi tried to rebuild the bureaucracy on the patrimonial basis that, after a reaction under Andronikos I and the Angeloi, was revived by the Laskarids. The small state of the Palaiologoi yielded to decentralizing tendencies; the administration in Constantinople merged with the court, and in the provinces local forces achieved administrative independence.

LIT. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 103–95. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society* (Lawrence, Kans., 1971). J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911), with an index by

M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou in *EEPhSPTh* 10 (1968) 165–240. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973). A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich 1965). W. Kaegi, "Some Perspectives on Byzantine Bureaucracy," in *The Organization of Power: Aspects of Bureaucracy in the Ancient Near East*, ed. McG. Gibson, R. Biggs (Chicago 1987) 151–59. –A.K.

BURGUNDIANS (Βουργουζίωνες), a Germanic tribe that crossed the Rhine in 406 and settled in the middle Rhineland. In 443, following their defeat by the Huns, AETIUS resettled them in the Rhone-Saône valleys (Burgundy) and eastern Switzerland. The kingdom of Burgundy, by virtue of its rich Roman heritage, well-entrenched Gallo-Roman aristocracy, and proximity to Italy, was the most romanized of all the barbarian states. Although the Burgundians were Arian, relations with the orthodox Gallo-Roman clergy were such that Avitus, bishop of Vienna, was permitted by King Gundobad to convert his son and successor Sigismund to orthodoxy in 516. At least three Burgundian kings were granted an official title by Eastern emperors, perhaps *magister utriusque militiae per Gallias*. Eastern influence in Burgundy is evident in the presence of 5th-C. churches dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, Christopher, and George. The Greek TRISAGION was also introduced into the Western Mass by way of Burgundy in the early 6th C. Burgundy was overrun by the FRANKS under Clovis in 534. The Franks sent a contingent of Burgundians to support the Ostrogoths in their struggle against Justinian I's forces in Italy. Tiberios I tried to intervene in Burgundian politics in order to secure Burgundian support against the LOMBARDS in Italy, but failed.

LIT. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 73–118. J. Richard, *Histoire de la Bourgogne* (Toulouse 1978) 90–130. Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 23–37. H. Rosenberg, "Bishop Avitus of Vienna and the Burgundian Kingdom," *Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association* 3 (1982) 1–12. –R.B.H.

BURGUNDIO OF PISA, jurist, diplomat, Latin translator of Greek texts; born ca.1110, died 30 Oct. 1193. On 10 Apr. 1136 Burgundio appeared at Constantinople as an interpreter (along with MOSES OF BERGAMO) at the theological disputation of ANSELM of Havelberg, Lothar III's ambassador to Emp. John II Komnenos, with Niketas, metropolitan of Nikomedeia. His career as a Pisan jurist (1140–74) is well documented. From 7 Nov. 1168 to 9 Nov. 1171 he helped head an embassy to Emp. Manuel I intended to restore PISA's competitive position with her commercial rivals at Constantinople (*Reg* 1, no.1499). Burgundio's theological translations comprise Chrysostom's *Homilies on Matthew* (finished on 29 Nov. 1151 for Pope Eugenius III from a MS supplied by the Latin patriarch of Antioch); part of John of Damascus's *Fountain of Knowledge*, or *Pege gnoseos* (1153 or 1154); Nemesios (ca.1164 or 1165; dedicated to Frederick I); and Chrysostom's *Homilies on John* (begun during the embassy from two MSS loaned by Byz. monasteries; finished 1179). He also translated Galen's *On the Sects* (1185; dedicated probably to Henry VI), Greek passages of the *Digest* of Justinian, and the *Geoponika*. His annotations occur in Greek MSS Florence, Laur. 74.5, 74.18, 74.25, 74.30, and Paris, B.N. gr. 1849. Burgundio reproduced the Greek as closely as possible but shows semantic flexibility for individual words; his versions shed light on the Byz. transmission of these works.

ED. See R. Durling, *LMA* 2:1097f, for list of ed.
LIT. P. Classen, *Burgundio von Pisa: Richter, Gesandter, Übersetzer* (Heidelberg 1974). –M.McC.

BURIAL (ταφή). Although practices varied in different areas, it was common in warm countries to bury the deceased on the first day after death. Following FUNERAL preparations, the ceremony at the TOMB—including prayers, incense, and the EPITAPHIOS oration—centered on saying farewell to the departed and praying for his salvation and the pardon of his sins. The majority of people were buried in CEMETERIES, which were located outside of a city, town, or village. Some corpses were buried with valuables, which made their tombs liable to GRAVE-ROBBING.

Although a law of 381 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 17.6) prohibited the practice of burials in churches, it continued for clerics, distinguished monks, emperors, and influential laymen and their families. MAUSOLEUMS and MARTYRIA were erected to commemorate some imperial family members or the most venerated martyrs. Three distinct types of burials are to be found in Byz. churches from early Christian times on: ARCOSOLIA, tombs in the pavement, and SARCOPHAGI. All these types are

found in church porches, narthexes, naves, chapels, PAREKKLESIA, burial chambers, and CRYPTS. The burial sites were frequently reserved by individuals during their lifetime; for example, in the 13th-C. *typikon* for the LIPS MONASTERY in Constantinople, Empress Theodora prescribed the placement of her tomb as well as those of her family in various locations in the narthex and the nave of the church.

After the burial relatives of the deceased observed a period of mourning, during which, on the third, ninth, and fortieth day, they commemorated and prayed for the soul of the departed and prepared KOLLYBA.

LIT. N.P. Ševčenko, C.S. Snively, D. Abrahamse, N.B. Teteriatnikov, and S. Ćurčić in *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 115–95. J. Kyriakakis, "Byzantine Burial Customs," *GOrThR* 19 (1974) 37–72. A. Rush, *Death and Burial in Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1941). –N.T., Ap.K.

BURNING BUSH, a theophany to MOSES on Mt. SINAI (Ex 3:1–6). Pilgrims such as EGERIA (1.2–2.7) visited the site, and the monastery of St. CATHERINE reportedly was built there. The miracle was depicted early, for example, at the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS, at S. Maria Maggiore at Rome (432–40), and at S. Vitale at Ravenna (ca.540). In and after the 9th C. it is often included with the scene of Moses receiving the Law, since both accounts are connected with Mt. Sinai. In the PARIS PSALTER and the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, for example, the burning bush is represented halfway up the mountain. The Exodus account was read both at vespers and in the liturgy of the feast of the Annunciation, and the burning bush was already treated as a type of the Virgin by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:332D), a theme developed in later homilies and prayers. Images of the Virgin or Virgin and Child within the burning bush are found in Palaiologan art, for example, in a cycle of such prefigurations in the *parekklesion* of the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. M.Q. Smith, *LCI* 1:510f. S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:336–38. –J.H.L., C.B.T.

BUSTA GALLORUM (Βουσταγαλλώρων, lit. "tombs of the Gauls"), site on the via Flaminia, between Rome and Ravenna, near Tadinae (H.N. Roisle, *RE* supp. 14 [1974] 749–58, 799–809). Here, at the end of June/early July 552, NARSES crushed TOTILA and thereby decisively broke the resistance of the Ostrogoths, marking the beginning of the end of their organized fighting ability. The Byz. enjoyed two-to-one numerical superiority, using Lombards, Herulians, and other barbarian infantry. The battle began with a single combat won by Anzalas, a retainer of Narses. Waiting for a troop of 2,000 mounted soldiers, Totila started a display of riding skill aimed at delaying the fight. Narses deployed his army in the shape of a crescent with *foederati* in the center and archers on the flanks. The Ostrogoths tried to smash the center but met a storm of arrows from the flanks. Prokopios, the only source for the battle, ascribes to Totila the order to use not bows but spears only (*Wars* 8:32.6). The unexpected counterattack of Roman cavalry finally compelled the Ostrogoths to retreat; 6,000 of them fell in battle, and many others who had surrendered were massacred. Totila, mortally wounded, fled.

LIT. H.N. Roisle in F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1962) 363–77. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 351–61. –W.E.K., A.K.

BUTCHER. In the late Roman and Byz. eras a distinct terminology was used for dealers in and butchers of SWINE and merchants/butchers of other kinds of LIVESTOCK (primarily cattle and SHEEP). A law of 419 (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 4.10), for example, united the separate guilds of swine merchants (*suarii*) and cattle merchants (*pecuarii*). In Egypt the pork butcher (*choiromageiros*) was often a separate tradesman (e.g., P.Cair.Masp. II 67164.3). The term *makellarios* (cattle butcher) appears several times in late Roman inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 280, 538, and possibly 388); one of these inscriptions commemorates George *makellarios logarites*, perhaps a treasurer of the butchers' guild.

The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (chs. 15–16) divides the butchers/merchants into two guilds, the *makellarioi* and the *choiremporoi* (swine merchants); the *makellarioi* were strictly prohibited from buying swine and storing pork. At this time the *makellarioi* and *choiremporoi* served numerous functions, purchasing the animals, slaughtering them, and cutting up and selling their meat; in contrast the late Roman *suarii* and *pecuarii* were middlemen who bought animals from stockbreed-

ers and sold them to the actual butchers (*lanii*). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 225.8–9) used the term *kreopoles* for the tradesman who both slaughtered animals and sold the meat.

Butchers in Constantinople were required to operate in authorized markets—Strategion and Tauros. They were forbidden to go to Nikomedeia or other nearby towns to receive delivery of sheep or to buy swine outside these markets; *makellarioi* were, however, allowed to travel beyond the Sangarios River in order to purchase animals for a lower price. *Makellarioi* had to set prices under the supervision of the eparch; they received the heads, feet, and entrails of the butchered animals as their profit but had to sell the remainder according to the fixed price.

A few seals of butchers survive. An 8th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Anastasios (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.735) implies that butchers could have administrative functions. There is also a 10th-C. seal of the *makellarios* Leo (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.933). A guild of butchers probably existed in 15th-C. Thessalonike; in any case, a *protomakellarios* is attested there (S. Kougeas, *BZ* 23 [1920] 145.10, 146.39). The functions of the guild at this time, however, seem to have expanded, so that a *protomakellarios* in Constantinople also dealt in wool (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111). There is evidence of a struggle in Constantinople in the Palaiologan period over market privileges: in 1320 a Venetian *bailo* protested the prohibition on Venetian meat and fish dealers in the capital's meat market (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 42–45. *Bk. of Eparch* 222–31. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätrömischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt am Main–Bern–New York 1983) 90–97.

–A.K.

BYTHOS (Βυθός), PERSONIFICATION of the Depths of the Sea, occurring most commonly in representations of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. Bythos is usually shown as a powerful naked male pulling Pharaoh from his horse into the water. Unknown in Early Christian imagery, he appears from the 10th C. in PSALTER illustration and the OCTATEUCHS. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS this figure is identified as Pontos, the Sea. (See also THALASSA.) –A.C.

BYZACENA (Βυσσάτις χώρα in antiquity). Under Diocletian, southern AFRICA PROCONSULARIS was formed into a new province known as *Valeria Byzacena*. Byzacena was a major producer of agricultural goods from imperial and private domains situated on the eastern coast (Sahel) and near important inland towns such as SUFETULA (Sbeitla) and Thelepte. In 442 Valentinian III ceded Byzacena to the VANDALS. In the late 5th and early 6th C. much of southern Byzacena fell under the control of MAURI tribes. Following the Justinianic reconquest, Byzacena was ruled by both civil and military governors. The province was the scene of frequent warfare between the Byz. and Mauri until ca.571. Byzacena continued, however, to export oil to Constantinople and other parts of the Mediterranean, although in evidently reduced volume. Surveys conducted around Sufetula and Cillium (Kasserine) show a decline in rural settlement in the 6th and 7th C. Byzacena was invaded by the Arabs in 647 and again in 665 and 669. In 670 a permanent Arab presence was established at Qayrawān. By the 680s the province was considered lost by Byz. authorities.

The ecclesiastical province of Byzacena did not emerge before the mid-4th C. Donatists predominated in the mountainous regions, Orthodox in the plains and coast; unlike NUMIDIA, Byzacena was not torn by conflicts between the two sects. Byzacena was, however, a center of Orthodox resistance to the Arian Vandals and at the forefront of African opposition in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy. Byzacena was also involved in opposition to MONOTHELETISM, which crystallized in the brief revolt (646–47) of the exarch GREGORY.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "Les gouverneurs de Byzacène et de Tripolitaine," *AntAfr* 1 (1967) 119–34. Pringle, *Defence*. J.-M. Lassère, "La Byzacène méridionale au milieu du VIe s. apC d'après la *Johannide* de Corippus," *Pallas* 31 (1984) 163–78. R.B. Hitchner, "The Kasserine Archaeological Survey," *AntAfr* 24 (1988) 7–41. –R.B.H.

BYZANTINE ERA, a system of computation of world CHRONOLOGY devised by the 7th C. Its elements are noticeable in the CHRONICON PASCHALE written in the 630s. In 638/9 the monk and priest George elaborated its principles in a treatise on the computation of Easter (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 24–32); it is difficult to decide whether he was the same priest and *hegoumenos* George to whom Maximos the Confessor dispatched a letter (PG 91:56–61) at approximately the same time. George's point of departure was the observation

that according to the ALEXANDRIAN ERA the sun had to be created on the fourth day of its course and the moon in its full phase, already on the fifteenth day of its course. To eliminate this contradiction George made a shift of 16 years and concluded that the Creation took place not 5,492 but 5,508 years before the birth of Christ. Only by the end of the 10th C. did this system of dating become prevalent, although sporadic use of it in ecclesiastical documents can be found earlier, e.g., in 691 (V. Beneševič, *Syntagma XIV titulorum* [St. Petersburg 1906; rp. Leipzig 1974] 145.17–19). The era began originally on 21 Mar., but later (9th/10th C.) was shifted to 1 Sept.

To convert a Byz. Era date to an A.D. date, where commencement of year is 21 Mar., subtract 5,507 for dates between 1 Jan. and 20 Mar., but 5,508 for dates between 21 Mar. and 31 Dec.; where commencement of year is 1 Sept., subtract 5,508 for dates between 1 Jan. and 31 Aug., but 5,509 for dates between 1 Sept. and 31 Dec.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 98–128. –B.C., A.K.

BYZANTINE RITE, the liturgical system of the Byz. Orthodox church, comprising the SACRAMENTS; the HOURS and VIGILS; the liturgical YEAR with its CALENDAR of FEASTS, FASTS, and saints' days; and a variety of lesser AKOLOUTHIAI (blessings, ENKAINIA, EXORCISMS, monastic investiture, etc.), all codified in LITURGICAL BOOKS.

Renowned for the sumptuousness of its ceremonial and for its rich liturgical symbolism, the Byz. rite—in part the heritage of the imperial splendors of Constantinople—is actually a hybrid of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian rites gradually synthesized over the course of the 9th–14th C. Its history can be divided into four phases: "palaeo-Byz." (late Roman), imperial, Stoudite, and neo-Sabaitic. Antioch was the major center of liturgical diffusion in the prefecture of Oriens, and with several early bishops of Byzantion coming from Antioch or its environs, the early Constantinopolitan ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA and liturgy of the Eucharist, esp. the ANAPHORA, bear Antiochene traits. In the 6th–7th C., esp. under Justinian I with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the Byz. rite became "imperial," acquiring great ritual splendor and theological explicitation, the latter the result of the contemporary Christological controversies; new feasts, the creed, and several new chants (TRISAGION, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON) were added at this time.

By the 9th–10th C. the church of Constantinople had evolved its complete liturgical system, codified in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. The monastic victory over ICONOCLASM resulted in the gradual monasticization of the LITURGY, esp. the adoption by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS of Palestinian monastic usages for the hours, which initiated an eventual fusion of Constantinopolitan and Palestinian liturgical books. The monks of STOUDIOS gradually combined the HOROLOGION of the imported Palestinian office of St. Sabas with the EUCHOLOGION of the Great Church to create the hybrid "Stoudite" office: Palestinian monastic psalmody and hymns merged with the litanies and prayers of the Constantinopolitan *asmatike akolouthia.* This period is characterized by a massive infusion of new liturgical poetry into the offices, monastic compositions from both Palestine and Constantinople, and their gathering into new anthologies (OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, PENTEKOSTARION, MENAION). It is in this period that the first STOUDITE TYPIKA appear to regulate the use of these new "propers."

Meanwhile, the Byz. rite was spreading to the patriarchates of Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem, as these churches, weakened successively by the Monophysite schism, the Islamic conquests, and later the Crusades, gradually abandoned their own liturgies in favor of the Byz. rite. This process, already observable in MSS of the 9th C., was fostered esp. by Theodore BALSAMON and was more or less complete in Alexandria and Antioch by the end of the 13th C., though the Liturgy of St. James remained in use longer in the patriarchate of Jerusalem (C. Charon [Korolevskij] in *Chrysostomika* [Rome 1908] 473–718; J. Nasrallah, *OrChr* 71 [1987] 156–81).

The Stoudite office, adopted throughout the Byz. monastic world, underwent further Sabaitic influence in Palestine. The result, codified in the SABAITIC TYPIKA, was adopted on Mt. Athos, where it received its final form under Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. This "neo-Sabaitic" rite was to spread further in the wake of the reform movement under the patriarchate of Philotheos, even replacing the *asmatike akolouthia* everywhere but Thessalonike. By the end of the empire the Byz. rite was in use throughout the Orthodox world and Sabaitic *typika* in force everywhere except south-

ern Italy and Rus', which still retained Stoudite usages.

LIT. M. Arranz, "Les grandes étapes de la liturgie byzantine: Palestine-Byzance-Russie," *Liturgie de l'église particulière et liturgie de l'église universelle* (Rome 1976) 43–72. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 40, 45f, 49, 52, 71, 132. Taft, "Mount Athos," 179–94. –R.F.T.

BYZANTION (Βυζάντιον, also Βυζαντίς), name of a Megarian colony at the southern mouth of the BOSPOROS, reportedly founded ca.660 B.C. The word is of Thracian origin; cf. the town of BIZYE, the river Barbyses, etc. Ancient and Byz. legends considered a certain Byzas (the son of the nymph Semestre or a legendary Thracian king) as the founder of the city, sometimes together with the mythical Antes. The *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* often refers to "the days of Byzas and Antes" (e.g., *Parastaseis* 100.17); a combination of these two names must explain the toponym Byz-Ant-ion.

Constantine I chose Byzantion as the site of his residence, transformed gradually into a new capital. Byz. authors through the 15th C. (e.g., Douk. 43.9) used the name *Byzantion* for their capital, although the official designation was CONSTANTINOPLE (Gr. Konstantinoupolis, "the city of Constantine"). The Byz. never extended the name *Byzantion* to their empire, which was termed "of the Rhomaioi"; for them the Byzantioi were the inhabitants of the capital. The term *Byzantine Empire* was coined by 16th-C. humanists.

Layout and Monuments. Seeing that Byzantion was absorbed into Constantinople without any radical replanning, its layout influenced that of the new city and many of its buildings survived into the Byz. period. The ancient city walls, renowned for their strength, described an arc from the Golden Horn to the Propontis, passing a short distance east of what was to be Constantine's Forum. Demolished by Septimius Severus in 195–96, they were rebuilt in the second half of the 3rd C., probably along the same line. The acropolis of Byzantion, on the site of the present Seraglio, contained the main temples, which were still standing in the 6th C. Two fortified harbors lay within the walls on the shore of the Golden Horn. Next to them was an agora (later the Strategion). A second agora, called TETRASTOON, is represented by the open space south of HAGIA SOPHIA, later the AUGUSTAION. From there a colonnaded street, ascribed to Severus, led westward to the city gate. The theater, amphitheater (in the region of MANGANA), the baths of Achilles and ZEUXIPPOS, the aqueduct of Hadrian, and possibly the HIPPODROME were further features of the ancient city that survived into the Middle Ages. The cemetery of Byzantion lay west of the city walls. The archaeological remains of Byzantion are very meager except for a good number of inscriptions.

LIT. J. Miller, *RE* 3 (1899) 1116–50. V.P. Nevskaja, *Byzanz in der klassischen und hellenistischen Epoche* (Leipzig 1955). H. Merle, *Die Geschichte der Städte Byzantion und Kalchedon* (Kiel 1916). Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 62–69. P.A. Dethier, A.D. Mordtmann, *Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis* [=*DenkWien* 13] (Vienna 1864). N. Fıratlı, *Les stèles funéraires de Byzance gréco-romaine* (Paris 1964). –C.M., A.K.

BYZANTIUM, or Byzantine Empire, conventional name of a medieval state that existed for more than one thousand years. It can be viewed as a continuation of the Roman Empire inasmuch as its legal and administrative systems retained numerous Roman features; at the same time, it underwent significant transformations, evolving into a Christian and primarily Greek-speaking state centered on the Balkans and eastern Mediterranean. The Byz. themselves called their state the Roman Empire (*basileia ton Rhomaion*) rather than Byzantium, applying the name BYZANTION only to their capital, renamed CONSTANTINOPLE. Byzantium as a term for the state was introduced into scholarship only in the 16th C. by Hieronymus Wolf (1516–80).

Since there is no act formally proclaiming the inauguration of Byz., no revolution abolishing the "ancient regime," the date of its beginning remains under discussion; most scholars prefer the date of 324 (or 330), when Constantinople was founded by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, or 395, when the Roman Empire was divided between the sons of THEODOSIOS I. It is easier to set a precise date for the end of Byz.; it ceased to exist in 1453 when Constantinople was captured by the OTTOMANS, although some remnants of the empire (the despotate of MOREA, the empire of TREBIZOND) retained their independence until 1460 and 1461, respectively.

The population was multinational; after the loss of the eastern provinces to the Arabs in the 7th C., it was composed primarily of Greeks, Armenians, and Slavs. Its size is hard to estimate: J.C.

Russell (*TAPhS* 48.3 [1958] 93) proposed about 10.7 million inhabitants for Asia Minor and the Balkans ca.600 (see DEMOGRAPHY). Greek was the official LANGUAGE from the 7th C. onward, although many ethnic minorities kept their own languages. The principal religion was Orthodox Christianity, but Armenians, Jews, and Muslims observed their own rites. Constantinople, which was founded as the emperor's residence, became the capital by the 5th C. and remained the center of administration, culture, and cult until the end of the empire except for a short period of Latin occupation (1204–61), when the capital was moved to NICAEA.

Geography of the Empire. Byz. territory was constantly in flux: originally encircling the entire MEDITERRANEAN SEA (extending over an area of more than 1,000,000 sq km in 560), it shrank first to a state occupying only the Balkans and northeastern Mediterranean, then to a state surrounding the AEGEAN SEA, and finally to a tiny domain on the BOSPOROS. For much of its history the Balkan peninsula and Asia Minor were its nucleus, supplying basic foodstuffs and manpower. This region is characterized by mountainous terrain (major ranges are the Haimos or BALKANS, RHODOPE, Taygetos, Pontic and Armenian ranges, the TAURUS) with vast plateaus (e.g., CAPPADOCIA) and relatively few valleys; the RIVERS, save for the DANUBE and EUPHRATES on its frontiers, are not major waterways, and are open to navigation only in their lower reaches. This landscape, tending to separate one region from another, strongly contrasts with the politically unified structure of the empire. Indented coastlines and numerous islands provided harbors and formed convenient "stepping stones" from Constantinople to Crete and from the western Balkans to Italy; however, as the empire's political authority over the Mediterranean region diminished, its merchants lost their monopoly on COMMERCE and yielded first to the Arabs and then to the Italians.

The empire possessed a variety of climatic and agricultural zones: regions with hot weather, suitable for growing cotton and palm trees; typically moderate Mediterranean areas producing olives and grapes; northern valleys rich in grain; mountainous plateaus providing pasture for flocks. This diversity of CLIMATE contributed to the development of TRANSHUMANCE on varying scales. There is no evidence for climatic change in the Byz. period. The issue of erosion has been much debated: there is no doubt that many harbors silted up and coastlines changed with the deposit of alluvium, but this may have been the result of commercial negligence rather than the cause of decreasing economic activity.

LIT. *Tabula imperii byzantini*, vol. 1– (Vienna 1976–). J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984). A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 19–100. A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung* (Leiden 1939). O. Maull, "Der Einfluss geographischer Faktoren auf die Geschichte des byzantinischen Reiches," *SüdostF* 21 (1962) 2–21. –A.K.

BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF. This article is composed of an introductory overview of periodization, followed by six essays on the major divisions of Byz. history.

AN OVERVIEW. The separation of Byz. history into periods, like any historical periodization, is one artificially imposed by scholars. The most broadly used periodization is the tripartite division into early, middle, and late periods. This system has, however, two substantial shortcomings: first of all, it is based not on actual historical developments, but on the dubious philosophical premise that three is a magical figure; second, there is no common consensus concerning the borderlines between particular periods. The conventional system of periodization places the beginning of Byz. history either in the early 4th C. with the foundation of CONSTANTINOPLE by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT or at the end of that century with the division of the empire into Eastern and Western halves under the sons of Theodosios I, ARKADIOS and HONORIUS. There is much less agreement about what marks the end of the "early Byzantine" period (and, accordingly, the beginning of the "middle Byzantine" period); it has been variously dated to 565 (death of JUSTINIAN I), 610 (accession of HERAKLEIOS), 717 (beginning of the ISAURIAN DYNASTY), and 843 (defeat of ICONOCLASM and the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). For the end of the middle Byzantine period scholars have usually chosen either 1071 (battle of MANTZIKERT) or 1204 (capture of Constantinople by the Latins). The "late Byzantine" period is traditionally dated from 1204 (or 1261, the recovery of Constantinople by the Byz.) to 1453, when Constantinople fell to the Turks.

The following historical survey does not attempt to establish precise boundaries between periods based upon specific political events; instead, this scheme for the most part uses vaguer, approximate dates corresponding to internal developments rather than to changes imposed from without. Thus, the proposed framework represents a more elaborate periodization than the traditional tripartite division while carrying the acknowledgment that it, too, represents an artificial scheme.

Period of the Late Roman Empire (4th–mid-7th C.), dubbed "Protobyzantine" by Lemerle (*Agr.Hist.* 1–26). The application of the term "Byzantine" to this period is debatable, since the empire of this time preserved the main features of ancient urban society and remained a Mediterranean state par excellence. The issue is further confused by the fact that some scholars refer to papyri of the 6th and 7th C. as "late Byzantine," and that likewise the final period of Byz. rule in Syria and Palestine (6th–7th C.) may be termed "late Byzantine."

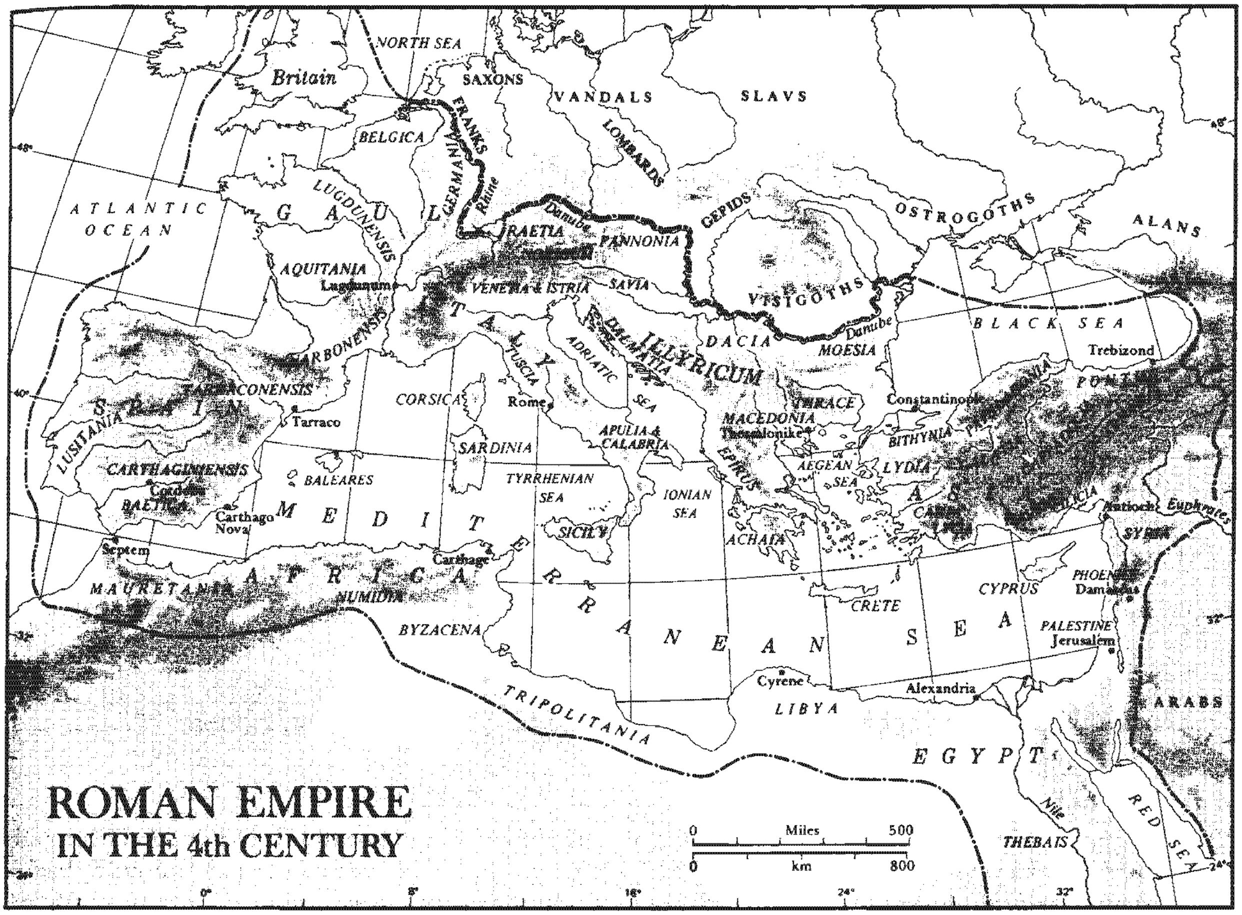
Period of the "Dark Ages" (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850) is characterized by the crisis of ancient city life, aggravated by serious territorial losses and cultural decline. Sometimes it is called the "period of Iconoclasm," even though the two phenomena do not fully coincide chronologically; moreover, the concept of Iconoclasm does not cover all the changes that Byz. society underwent during this time. No more fortunate is the attempt to describe this period as one of Slavic penetration into the empire, which allegedly caused an essential restructuring of the Byz. economy and administration. In the first half of the 9th C. occurred the first stages of the process of recovery and consolidation that was to characterize the next period.

Age of Recovery and Consolidation (ca.800/850–1000), sometimes called the period of the "Macedonian renaissance" or of ENCYCLOPEDISM. The latter term is more appropriate, although it refers only to cultural developments. During this period the "classic" form of the Byz. centralized and "totalitarian" state was established, and ideological and cultural uniformity was superimposed upon society. At the end of this period Byz. launched a series of offensive wars and managed to recover some of its territory in the east and the Balkans.

Period of "Westernization" and the Empire of Nicaea (ca.1000–1261), divided into two unequal parts by the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204. Characteristic traits of this period are the rise of provincial towns and of a semifeudal nobility, developments that were accompanied by a cultural flowering that is here called "pre-Renaissance" (the traditional term is "Komnenian renaissance"). Byz. took substantial steps toward "westernizing" its economy, social structure, and government, and despite religious friction was close to becoming a member of the European community of feudal states. The catastrophe of 1204 seems to have had no radical impact on the economic and social development of Byz.; the political pattern changed, however, and the centralized empire was replaced by a group of independent entities (the empires of NICAEA and TREBIZOND, the despotate of EPIROS, the LATIN EMPIRE with its vassal states).

"Empire of the Straits" (1261–1453). Under the Palaiologan dynasty Byz. was a minor state whose territory continued to shrink under the blows inflicted by the Latins (esp. the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY), Serbs, and OTTOMANS. The desperate situation was aggravated by socioeconomic factors—the growth of semifeudal forces, the increasing urbanization of western Europe, and the growing economic dependence of Byz. on the Italian republics of Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. The Byz. retained nevertheless the illusion of being a universal empire, while in the West national states were emerging as the dominant political form. The government and esp. the church could not reconcile their universal claims with the political realities. Byz. was unable to normalize relations with either the Turks or the West, nor could it unite the divided powers of eastern Europe to resist the Turkish onslaught.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *History of the Byzantine State* (New Brunswick, N.J. , 1969). A. Vasiliev, *History of the Byzantine Empire* (Madison, Wisc., 1952). *The Cambridge Medieval History*, vol. 4.1–2, ed. J.M. Hussey (Cambridge 1966). R. Browning, *The Byzantine Empire* (New York 1980). *Istorija Vizantii*, 3 vols. (Moscow 1967). G. Weiss, *Byzanz* (Munich 1986). L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, 3 vols. (Paris 1969–70). *Historia tou Hellenikou ethnous*, ed. G. Christophilopoulos, I. Mpastias, vols. 7–9 (Athens 1978–79). A. Ducellier, M. Kaplan, et al., *Byzance et le monde orthodoxe* (Paris 1986). D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Empire, 500–1453* (London 1971). C. Foss, P. Magdalino, *Rome and Byzantium* (Oxford 1977). C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire*

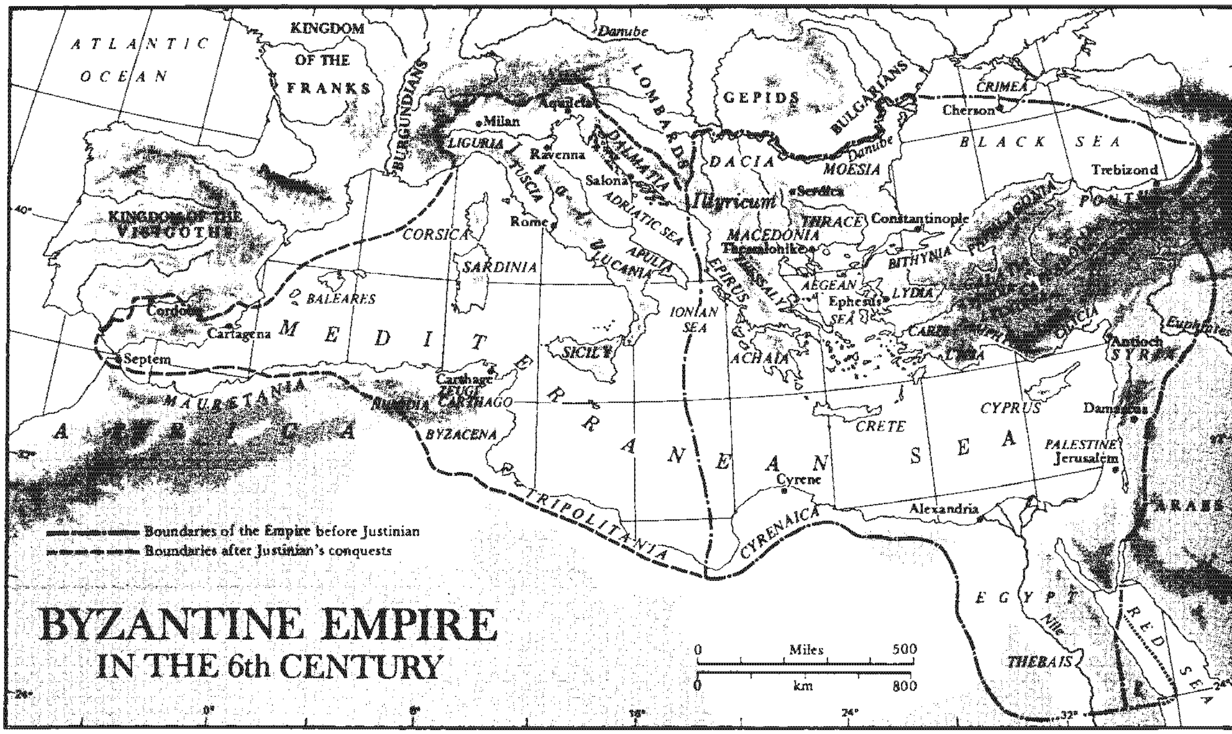


ROMAN EMPIRE IN THE 4th CENTURY

of New Rome (New York 1980). D. Geanakoplos, *Byzantium: Church, Society, and Civilization Seen through Contemporary Eyes* (Chicago 1984). –A.K.

LATE ROMAN EMPIRE (4th–mid-7th C.). The beginning of the late Roman Empire can be placed ca.300. By that time DIOCLETIAN, through a series of administrative and economic reforms, managed to quell the so-called crisis of the 3rd C., during which the empire was beset by internal problems such as impoverishment of the populace, decline of military power, economic and monetary instability, and frequent rebellions and depositions of the emperor, as well as the increasing external threat from Germanic tribes and SASANIAN Persia. The system of the TETRARCHY established by Diocletian was effective during his 20-year rule but upon his retirement disintegrated. After long power struggles CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT emerged victorious in 324. Constantine's policy of toleration of Christianity and his foundation of a new imperial residence in the East, CONSTANTINOPLE, were both significant events that began the process of transformation of the Roman Empire into the Byz. Empire.

For a century and a half, until 476, there continued to be emperors in both the Eastern and Western halves of the empire. The rulers in Constantinople managed to avert the threat of the Germanic tribes by diplomacy and accommodation (settling some Germans as FOEDERATI) but observed cold-bloodedly (and perhaps even instigated) the barbarian advance into the territory of the Western Empire: ALARIC sacked Rome in 410, and later in the 5th C. the OSTROGOTHS overran Italy, the VISIGOTHS took Spain, and the VANDALS North Africa. In 476 the power of the last Western emperor in Italy, ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS, was abolished, although JULIUS NEPOS continued for



BYZANTINE EMPIRE IN THE 6th CENTURY

a few more years (until 480) as claimant to the Western throne. Nevertheless, the first Germanic kingdoms on Roman territory were Roman-oriented and, with certain exceptions, ready to acknowledge the theoretical sovereignty of Constantinople. Moreover, in the 6th C. the generals of JUSTINIAN I were able to recover some of the Western lands lost to the barbarians, reestablishing Constantinople's control over Italy, North Africa, and southeastern Spain.

By the end of the 6th C., however, much of Italy was again lost to the empire, when it was overrun by the LOMBARDS. Also at the end of the 6th C. the AVARS and SLAVS began to break through Roman defense lines in the Balkans and to penetrate as far south as the Peloponnesos. The threat of the rival Sasanian Empire was contained until the early 7th C., when the Persians briefly took Egypt, Palestine, and Syria. HERAKLEIOS's recovery of the Holy Land for the Byz. (629) was short-lived; within a decade, the ARABS, newly converted to Islam, had emerged as the dominant power in the Near East, and Byzantium lost its eastern provinces permanently.

The EMPERORS of this period, who originated primarily from the northern Balkans (Thrace and Illyricum), were sometimes of humble background (Justin I was a peasant, Anastasios I an official, Valens and Leo I were military commanders of mid-rank, Phokas a soldier) or questionable descent (Constantine I was the son of a concubine, Zeno of an Isaurian chieftain). They rarely served as active generals, Julian, Theodosios I, and Herakleios being evident exceptions. Most rulers remained in Constantinople (Theodosios II, Anastasios I, Justinian I); their policies were open to the influence of strong empresses (e.g., Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora, Martina) as well as of EUNUCHS and lawyers. Emperors tried to stabilize the throne in two ways: on the one hand, there were attempts to establish a collegiality of power (the tetrarchy, the institution of co-emperors, the system of equal rulers in Rome and Constantinople); on the other hand, an effort was made to build up hereditary power (Constantine I–Constantius II–Julian from 324 to 363, Theodosios I–Arkadios–Theodosios II from 379 to 450). The establishment of dynasties was thwarted, however, by the failure of some of the most successful emperors to produce heirs or by the rivalry

of their sons by different wives; thus, Constantius II, Julian, Theodosios II, Marcian, Zeno, Anastasios I, and Justinian I all died childless, and the deaths of Constantine and Herakleios were followed by power struggles among relatives. In some cases successors to the throne were adopted sons (Tiberios I), nephews (Justinian I, Justin II), sons-in-law (Maurice), or husbands of the late emperor's widow (Anastasios) or sister (Marcian).

In the 4th and 5th C. the empire retained the major features of antiquity: it was still a Mediterranean state bound together not only by political but also by economic, cultural, and linguistic unity. The city and villa formed the cornerstones of the late Roman economy; trade flourished throughout the Mediterranean, and commercial routes over land and sea connected the empire with the remote areas of Ethiopia, India, and the territories beyond the Danube. However, from the 6th C. onward, an economic decline of the POLIS can be traced, primarily in cities of small and medium size. Larger cities (such as Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage) continued to flourish; their role as administrative centers contributed much to the urban prosperity. Imperial residences played a special role: in the West, Rome preserved the place of honor as the former capital of the empire, but the court moved away—to Milan and then to Ravenna. In the East, Constantinople, inaugurated in 330, became the capital by the mid-5th C., superseding all its administrative, economic, and ecclesiastical rivals, such as Nikomedeia, Naissos, Ephesus, and Alexandria.

By the mid-7th C., however, the urban system was in a state of crisis, both in the areas vulnerable to enemy invasions and in the regions that remained relatively safe from hostile attack. Changes in the countryside are difficult to interpret, since the evidence is contradictory. On the one hand, it is thought that from the 4th C. onward, the colonate (see COLONI) began to assume the traits of personal dependency; by certain scholars this trend is even equated with medieval serfdom. On the other hand, both archaeological data and documentary material indicate that villagers (at least in certain regions) became more prosperous and independent. The ARISTOCRACY also changed in character: both the municipal and senatorial aristocracies (basically hereditary) were replaced (esp. in the East) by a new type of officialdom, seeking and depending on imperial favor.

The administrative structure of the empire was a substantial concern of the authorities; various emperors, esp. Diocletian, Constantine I, and Justinian I, tried to organize and reorganize central and provincial administration, the ARMY, the system of taxation, and court life. Reforms were introduced and abolished, laws promulgated, and voluminous law books (CODEX THEODOSIANUS, CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS) compiled. The main directions of change were as follows: the reinforcement of the central BUREAUCRACY, whose leaders, such as the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, played a decisive part in the administration; the increasing impact of court ceremonial on all aspects of life; the restructuring of the army so that the defensive forces (including the LIMES and the troops of the *foederati*) acquired a predominant role; the gradual replacement of municipal bodies by provincial governors (*duces*, prefects) and their staffs. Of momentous importance were the shifts in provincial organization: initial attempts to combine military and civil power in the same hands were succeeded by the separation of power; finally, by the end of the 6th C., EXARCHATES were created, and the way was paved for the introduction of the THEME organization.

The period of the 4th–7th C. saw the firm establishment of Chalcedonian Christianity as the official religion of the empire. Major PATRIARCHATES were organized at Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Constantinople, and a series of ecumenical COUNCILS sought to define Christian doctrine. MONASTICISM, which had its beginnings in the desert, became an urban phenomenon as well; the accumulation of property by monasteries meant that these institutions began to play an increasing role in the economy.

Ancient scholarship and oratory, education, and forms of entertainment continued in the late Roman period. Many intellectuals spoke both Greek and Latin; rhetorical skill reached its peak in works of writers such as Libanios and John Chrysostom; libraries, universities, and theaters still functioned; and philosophers commented on and developed ancient doctrines. Nevertheless, profound changes took place in the sphere of culture: local ethnic traditions (Egyptian, Thracian, etc.) were revived; local literatures (e.g., SYRIAC, COPTIC) emerged; the role of urban professionals (teachers, medical doctors) diminished; and by the mid-6th C. in the East, Greek became the pre-

dominant language of law and administration as well as of literature. The most important feature of late Roman culture was the increasing influence of Christianity. Although pagan scholarship and literature had their exponents up to the 6th C., Christianity dominated both institutionally, through its churches, monasteries, and philanthropic organizations, and ideologically, attracting the traditional intelligentsia and implanting its values and ideals of behavior. With the triumph of Christianity, new literary forms, such as the homily, hymn, and saint's vita emerged, as did new genres of art and architecture.

By the end of this period, society and culture were far from being uniform. The Germanic conquests in the West in the 5th C. led not only to political division but also to a widening economic and cultural breach: the West became more and more latinized, while the East preserved a multilingual pattern with Greek as the language of administration. The pre-feudal landed aristocracy in the West, based on a system of estates and lineage, became increasingly independent, while in the East both the bureaucracy and nuclear family were more significant factors. The crisis of urbanism affected the West more strongly, and in the 6th C. the decline of ancient civilization was more evident there than in the eastern portion of the empire, which was gradually being transformed into Byzantium. In the East disputes took place between pagans and Christians, between numerous groups within Christianity (Arians, Monophysites, Nestorians, Neo-Chalcedonians), and between ethnic communities (attacks were launched against the Germanic *foederati*, the Isaurians, Samaritans, etc.). Scholarly issues were hotly debated, among others Aristotelian and Platonic world views as well as such religio-cultural topics as the legitimacy of the theater, the hippodrome, and divorce. Circus FACTIONS, which were normally the mouthpiece of the fans of the hippodrome, could proclaim political slogans at moments of crisis and thus produced an illusion of bipartisan political structure. The involvement of the state in theological discussions, esp. in church councils, however, prepared the climate for the medieval concept of "one state, one dogma."

LIT. T.D. Barnes, *The New Empire of Diocletian and Constantine* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1982). E. Stein, *Histoire du Bas-Empire*, vol. 1 (Paris 1959), vol. 2 (Paris-Brussels 1949). P. Brown, *The Making of Late Antquity* (Cambridge 1978). Aik. Christophilopoulou, *Byzantine History 1: 324–610* (Amsterdam 1986). A. Piganiol, *L'Empire chrétien (325–395)* (Paris 1972). W.E. Kaegi, *Byzantium and the Decline of Rome* (Princeton 1968).

–A.K., A.M.T., T.E.G.

"DARK AGES" (mid-7th C. to ca.800/850). During this period, which includes the ISAURIAN and AMORIAN dynasties, the empire suffered great territorial losses but eventually restructured its administration and stabilized its borders. The period witnessed far-reaching societal transformations and, near its close, the beginnings of a sustained economic and cultural revival.

During the 7th and 8th C. the ARABS (UMAYYAD CALIPHATE, ʿABBĀSID CALIPHATE) permanently occupied Byz. territory from Syria to Spain, ended Byz. naval hegemony in the eastern Mediterranean, and twice besieged Constantinople (MUʿĀWIYA, MASLAMA). Although the caliphs HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD and MUʿTAṢIM invaded Byz. territory, by the 9th C. the empire had retained Asia Minor and stabilized a no man's land running between Syria and Armenia. At the same time Byz. cultural influence on the Arabs was considerable, esp. under caliph MA'MŪN. In the 7th C. the BULGARS under ASPARUCH established themselves south of the Danube, but through skillful diplomacy and military campaigns (e.g., Constantine V's defeat of TELERIG at LITHOSORIA) Byz. held on to Thrace and occasionally used the Bulgars as allies (TERVEL). KRUM attacked Constantinople in 811, but OMURTAG made peace and accelerated the Bulgars' entry into the Byz. cultural sphere, which culminated in the conversion of BORIS I and the reign of his son SYMEON OF BULGARIA. In Italy Byz. could not prevent the advance of the LOMBARDS, who took RAVENNA in 751, nor of the FRANKS, who ultimately laid claim to the imperial title itself (CHARLEMAGNE, LOUIS II) and became the new secular protectors of the PAPACY.

External pressures on Byz. accelerated significant internal political, economic, and social changes that definitively transformed late antique civilization into the medieval Greek world. Many scholars (esp. Sjuzjumov and, most recently, Weiss) believe that the transition from late antiquity to the so-called middle Byzantine period was marked by a continuity of ideas and institutions. Yet mounting archaeological and numismatic evidence supports the view (advocated by Kazhdan as well as by Foss and Ch. Bouras) that during the 7th and 8th C.

the Eastern Roman *polis* underwent a severe crisis that disrupted the traditions of urban life. Many CITIES in Thrace, Greece, and Asia Minor ceased to exist or survived only as bishoprics (e.g., NAZIANZOS). Those that did survive were often drastically reduced in size or relocated altogether (EPHESUS). Most commonly, the population abandoned the traditional urban site to cluster in or around a fortified KASTRON on a nearby hill.

The breakdown of late antique urban life had a harmful effect on Byz. culture and also transformed everyday life by producing a shift from "open" to "closed" modes of social expression. Tertiary schools (universities) disappeared by the end of the 7th C. Original literary production in the 7th and 8th C. was apparently negligible. Ecclesiastical disputes stimulated theology, but the greatest Christian writer of the age, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived in Arab territory. Few artistic works—icons, mosaics, churches—can be attributed to the period. In architecture, the ancient HOUSE with its interior courtyards, galleries, and fountains now became a tight maze of small functional rooms. In town planning, broad boulevards and open squares disappeared in favor of small streets with limited open space. Churches replaced traditional urban assembly spaces such as BATHS and THEATERS.

Great changes were also underway in economic and social relations, although the scantiness of literary evidence leaves many details unclear. The tradition of private property ownership in cities appears to have yielded to a notion of supreme state ownership of property (see STATE PROPERTY). The BARTER ECONOMY became more important, although it still remained secondary to the monetary economy. Traditional late Roman social categories such as the hereditary nobility, urban aristocracy, dependent peasantry, and slaves declined significantly and were largely replaced by the nobility of the main urban centers (esp. Constantinople), provincial civil and military administrators, and an increasingly uniform rural population, although the appearance of powerful families (e.g., SKLEROS) in the 9th C. signaled the revival of a hereditary aristocracy. The THEME system contributed to this development by increasing the body of moderate landholders and free peasants. Legal texts such as the FARMER'S LAW and hagiographical sources reveal the decline of large landed estates and the rise of freeholders, along with an increasing reliance on communal landownership, the abolition of compulsory peasant service, and the introduction of free movement.

The loss to the Arabs of rival cities like Alexandria and Antioch made Constantinople the center of the empire, and successive emperors instituted reforms aimed at strengthening the capital's often precarious hold on the periphery. The Arab and Bulgar attacks stimulated a radical restructuring of PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION. The themes became the foundation of efforts to retain Byz. territory and then to reassert control over recaptured lands. By the mid-9th C. there were more than 20 themes in Asia Minor, Greece, the Aegean, and the Balkans as well as KLEISOURAI along the Arab frontier and KLIMATA in Crimea. This marked a decisive break with late Roman administration by transferring civil authority to military representatives, although the thematic system was also a source of instability, since it put powerful armies under individual commanders. Serious revolts originated in the themes (SABORIOS, BARDANES TOURKOS, THOMAS THE SLAV), and more than one STRATEGOS became emperor (Leontios, Philippikos, Leo III, ARTABASDOS, Michael II). Efforts to reform the military, including reliance on small units like the DROUNGOS and the BANDON and increases in soldiers' landholdings and wages, made the army more flexible and professional.

Changes in central civil administration made the court bureaucracy increasingly important in running state affairs. Several bureaucrats became emperor (Anastasios II, Theodosios III, Nikephoros I) or were proclaimed emperor in coup attempts (ARSABER). A key development was the emergence of chief bureaus—there were 13 by 842—and the growing influence of the post of LOGOTHETES. The most important official became the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, many of whom (STAURAKIOS, AETIOS, THEOKTISTOS) exercised great authority under weak rulers and during regencies (IRENE, THEODORA).

The primary legislative aim of the emperors was to maintain order in a turbulent world (NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, ECLOGA). This imperial insistence on unity and uniformity extended to religious affairs. Constans II tried to quell disputes over MONOTHELETISM by promulgating his TYPOS and punishing proponents of Orthodoxy (Pope MARTIN I, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR), and Justi-

nian II convened the Council in TRULLO to establish religious uniformity and eliminate pagan customs. In the 8th and 9th C. the attempt by several emperors to impose ICONOCLASM on a reluctant population ultimately failed. The court instituted numerous fiscal reforms aimed at revitalizing the economy and increasing the state's tax revenues. Many are attributed to Nikephoros I, but on the whole he merely formally systematized already existing measures. Most notably, the hearth tax (KAPNIKON) was extended to PAROIKOI belonging to the growing number of ecclesiastical establishments; the VILLAGE COMMUNITY became collectively responsible for its members' taxes (ALLELENGYON); and the POLL TAX may have been separated from the land tax and applied to all taxpayers. Such reforms allowed Constantinople to benefit from an economic recovery that is discernible from the late 8th C.; state revenues apparently doubled between 780 and 850.

By the early 9th C. a cultural revival was also underway, stimulated by a growing economy and the reemergence of wealthy patrons. Historiography reappears with the works of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I. KASSIA was a famous poet of the period. The emperor Theophilos launched an ambitious building program in the capital. The breadth of knowledge displayed by scholars such as LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and the foundation of the school in the MAGNAURA (THEOKTISTOS, BARDAS) testify to the reinvigoration of Byz. secular learning. By this time Byz. culture was primarily Greek: Latin was little known or used.

LIT. A.N. Stratos, *Byzantium in the Seventh Century*, 5 vols. (Amsterdam 1968–80). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine Revival, 780–842* (Stanford, Calif., 1988). –P.A.H.

AGE OF RECOVERY AND CONSOLIDATION (ca.800/850–1000). This period approximately coincides with that of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. The intense desire to perpetuate the dynasty is seen in LEO VI's series of four marriages in the attempt to produce a male heir (TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI) and in the eventual accession to sole power of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and BASIL II after the throne was usurped by strong civilian and military figures during the period of their minority (ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, JOHN I TZIMISKES).

The centralization achieved through Constantinople's economic revival, the predominance of the civilian aristocracy, and the slow development of a new "knightlike" army permitted Byz. to stop the Arab invasions in the mid-9th C. and to go on the offensive from the mid-10th C. The successes of John KOURKOUAS, Nikephoros II Phokas, and John I Tzimiskes led to the Byz. reconquest of Syria and Crete; Bulgaria, a mighty rival ca.900, had to surrender to John I and was eventually annexed in 1018 under Basil II; Rus' became an ally. Although Byz. recognized OTTO I only as "emperor of the Franks," the Byzantino-German alliance was strengthened by Byz. political and cultural influence. The economic revival that had begun in the first half of the 9th C., primarily in Constantinople and the Aegean coastlands, expanded farther: numismatic and archaeological evidence shows a gradual recovery in the 10th C. throughout Greece and Asia Minor at sites that had lain wholly or partially devastated in the previous period. Constantinople, however, remained the central point of trade and manufacture, its position unrivaled even by large cities such as THESSALONIKE and EPHESUS.

Nor did the growth of private and ecclesiastical landownership yet challenge the state; although some stable clans (SKLEROS, DOUKAS, PHOKAS, KOURKOUAS) appeared by the 10th C., the state managed to check them and restrict their wealth, partly by bestowing upon the rural community the right of PROTIMESIS. Most aristocratic families served the government loyally, and aristocratic generals were primarily responsible for winning the glorious victories of the period. Another factor in Byz. military success was the restructuring of the army, whereby the heavily armed professional KATAPHRAKTOI replaced the irregular contingents of thematic troops. Even when rebellious, the military aristocrats sought the support of Constantinople and strove to acquire the throne, not to create independent princedoms.

In 843 the government of THEODORA restored the veneration of icons, but the monks who had led the resistance to Iconoclasm did not gain much. Strong monastic communities of working brethren—the ideal of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS—gave way to individualistically structured LAVRAS and small monasteries dependent on state grants in kind and money (SOLEMNIA); the ideal of the poor brotherhood became very popular, and Nikephoros II Phokas supported it by restricting monastic landownership and by rewarding recently founded

communities on Mt. ATHOS, which in their early stages renounced property. The role of monasteries in intellectual life declined: Byz. culture, which was controlled by monks in the first half of the 9th C., became increasingly secular after 850: after GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, not one significant Byz. writer was a monk until SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN.

Arguably, the state (personified in the emperor) benefited most from Iconoclasm and its aftermath. The Byz. church was made subject to imperial power. MICHAEL III disparaged the patriarchal office in Constantinople: the patriarchs, regardless of their personal qualities, became puppets in the hands of the emperor (among the deposed patriarchs of the period were IGNATIOS, PHOTIOS, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, and EUTHYMIOS). Twice the patriarchate was awarded to members of the imperial family (Stephen, brother of LEO VI; THEOPHYLAKTOS, son of Romanos I). Only in the second half of the 10th C. was the patriarchate, under POLYEUKTOS, strong and independent enough to influence imperial policy.

The imperial court and the officialdom of the capital assumed a fundamental role in the consolidation and reorganization of the empire. The concept of order (TAXIS) prevailed in the administrative and ideological activity of the time: the TAKTIKA (a literary genre typical of the period from the mid-9th C. to the late 10th C.) aimed at shaping the imperial administrative machine, mostly in its ceremonial functions; two surviving treatises on TAXATION, although not precisely dated, may best be assigned to the 10th or early 11th C. Writers from Leo VI to Nikephoros OURANOS produced a number of military textbooks (STRATEGIKA); this genre also disappears after 1000. The outlines of an ideal imperial system were drafted in the milieu of Constantine VII in books on the themes (DE THEMATIBUS), the goals of diplomacy (DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO), and the ceremonies of the imperial court (DE CEREMONIIS). The law underwent "purification" as well: BASIL I and Leo VI drafted or promulgated a series of legal books based on the formulas of Roman law (PROCHIRON, EPANAGOGE, BASILIKA).

Imperial regulations were extended throughout the empire: not only did imperial estates increase, but the state proclaimed its supreme right over all the lands of the empire; taxpayers were divided into several special categories according to their rents and services—STRATIOTAI of different sorts, EXKOUSSATOI of the DROMOS, ordinary peasants. The government attempted to stabilize the categories it imposed on the population: 10th-C. legislation, from ROMANOS I onward, aimed at preserving the village community, making a peasant responsible for his neighbor's taxes and prohibiting him from "fleeing" his village; the members of the community were also obliged to arm a soldier, if he lacked the means to buy a horse or weapons. The state developed the principle of JUST PRICE, prohibiting the unfair pricing of land. The state even attempted to abolish USURY, but when Basil I's measures failed, Leo VI was compelled to rescind them. The state also tended to regulate trade activity, promulgating the BOOK OF THE EPARCH.

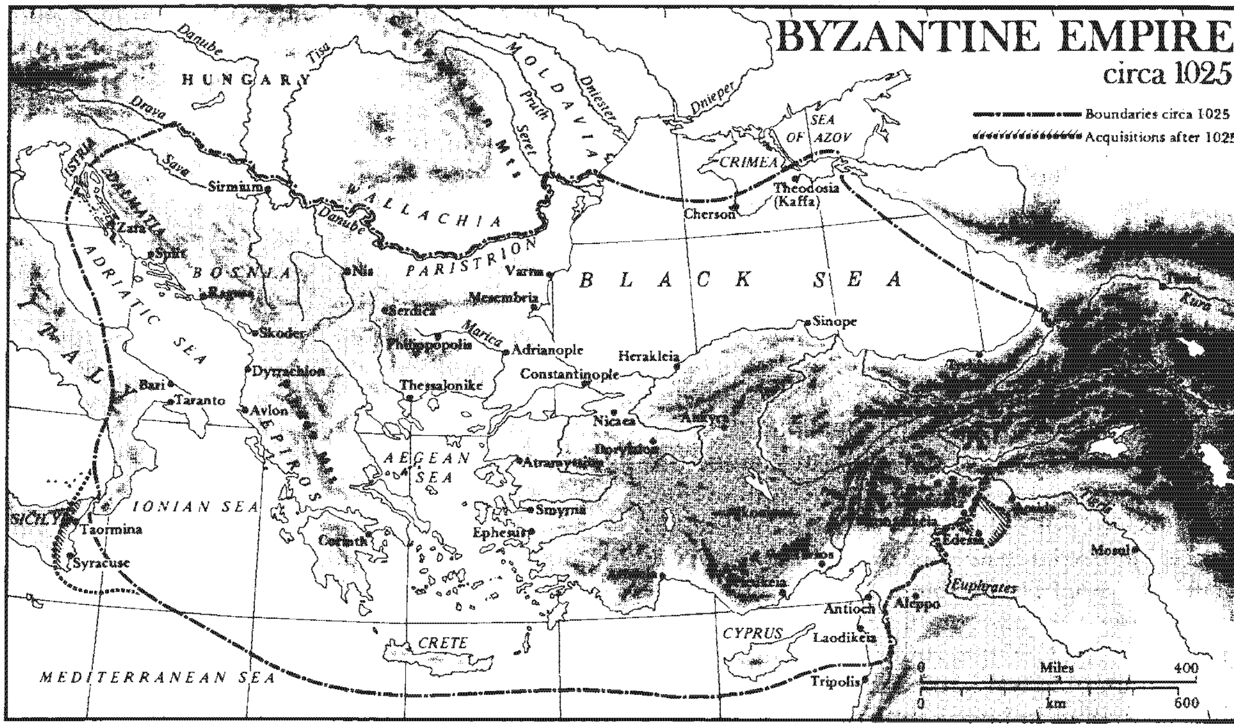
Regulation also encompassed ecclesiastical ritual and cultural life. Church architecture acquired a greater homogeneity in form and scale ca.900, the liturgy became more uniform, and SYMEON METAPHRASTES produced a monumental collection of saints' Lives for ecclesiastical feasts. The task of collecting the ancient heritage was emphasized: the Greek classics were transmitted, collections of the most important fragments were compiled (including the GEOPONIKA), and Photios in the BIBLIOTHECA surveyed significant works of ancient and early Byz. authors. Several LEXIKA were published, among them the SOUDA.

The period was doubtless one of political success and expansion. Its accompanying cultural upsurge is often called the Macedonian renaissance, though a more proper term would be ENCYCLOPEDISM, meaning here the tendency to collect and set in order both Greek and Roman traditions. Little that is original is to be found in the numerous works produced during the period.

LIT. R. Jenkins, *Byzantium: The Imperial Centuries: A.D. 610 to 1071* (London 1966). A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* (London 1973). N.G. Popov, *Očerki po graždanskoj istorii za vremja Makedonskoj dinastii* (Moscow 1913). -A.K.

PERIOD OF "WESTERNIZATION" (ca.1000–1204). This era began with the victories of BASIL II, witnessed a collapse before the TURKS and NORMANS in 1071, a partial revival under the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, a weakening under the ANGELOI, and concluded with a seemingly fatal blow from the Fourth CRUSADE.

From Basil II's reign onward, the system of



great estates everywhere expanded. By the 12th C. most peasants were apparently dependent PAROIKOI on government, ecclesiastical, or private property. Cities grew: Constantinople was still in the forefront in the 11th C., but such provincial centers as THESSALONIKE, TREBIZOND, ARTZE, CORINTH, and THEBES competed successfully; 12th-C. Theban silk was superior to that of Constantinople. In the capital, a vigorous middle class appeared; it overthrew MICHAEL V. The military crises of the late 11th C. forced ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS to give extensive privileges—similar to those received by the Rus' in the 10th C.—to VENICE and PISA in return for naval assistance; GENOA later obtained similar grants. Using their exemptions from customs dues, Italian merchants exploited the Byz. economy in the 12th C., arousing imperial and popular opposition in Constantinople. While magnates increased their properties where possible, they also sought lucrative government appointments in Constantinople. The Komnenoi secured the support of military-magnate families (DOUKAI, PALAIOLOGOI, KONTOSTEPHANOI, and dozens more) through intermarriage, and an aristocracy based on ties of kinship developed. Whether this social structure (dependent peasantry, militarized aristocracy) constitutes a "feudal" society remains debatable.

The emperors, esp. Alexios I Komnenos and his successors, zealously defended Orthodoxy against popular and intellectual heretics, including the BOGOMILS, JOHN ITALOS, and DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. The rulers selected and supplanted patriarchs and members of the higher clergy; MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, Kosmas I, and Dositheos were among those deposed. Yet the ability of the secular clergy to oppose the emperor increased: Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES helped overthrow Michael V, Keroularios contrived the downfall of Michael VI, clerics such as LEO OF CHALCEDON seriously embarrassed Alexios I by opposing his appropriation of church treasures, and the metropolitans of MANUEL I resisted his effort to ease the conversion of Muslims to Christianity. Above all, in 1054 Keroularios overrode CONSTANTINE IX and forced a SCHISM with the Western church.

Under Turkish pressure, the focus of monasticism shifted westward, although centers in CAPPADOCIA continued to flourish. CHRISTODOULOS founded the monastery of St. John on PATMOS; JOHN II KOMNENOS and his wife Irene established



the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. As the empire became more open to foreigners, ethnic monasteries developed within its boundaries: Gregory PAKOURIANOS founded PETRITZOS for Georgians in Byz. Bulgaria; STEFAN NEMANJA established HILANDAR for Serbs on Mt. Athos. Latin monasteries included an Amalfitan one on Mt. Athos and a Venetian one in Constantinople. Cenobitic life within monasteries declined in favor of individual monks' rights to own property and support themselves. In Constantinople "holy men," practicing eccentric forms of asceticism, were patronized by wealthy ladies and criticized by intellectuals. While monasteries expanded their landed wealth, many, mismanaged, fell into decay; a solution was sought in the CHARISTIKION.

In the 11th C., bureaucrats such as JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS and NIKEPHORITZES dominated weak emperors; many of these officials were eunuchs. Scholars such as Michael PSELLOS and Patr. CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDES also achieved influential positions. The 11th C. allegedly witnessed a conflict between the bureaucrats, with their candidates for the throne (ROMANOS III, Constantine IX, MICHAEL VII), and the landed-magnate generals with their candidates (Leo TORNIKIOS, ISAAC I KOMNENOS, Alexios I). Psellos, an acute observer, was aware of the conflict between bureaucrats and military officers, but neither group seems solid or cohesive: the bureaucrats formed factions around personalities and policies, while the army was split into rival Anatolian and European wings. Emperors such as Isaac I Komnenos and CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, who came from military backgrounds, were unable to free themselves from the traditional policies of the bureaucrats. With the accession of Alexios I, the government became dominated by imperial relatives; eunuchs lost importance.

Recruitment and leadership of the army posed difficulties. Military service formerly required of landholders was frequently converted into taxation. From the 1040s, foreign mercenaries filled the ranks; sources specify Turks of various sorts, VARANGIANS, Normans, and other Westerners, including Anglo-Saxon refugees. Under John II and Manuel, EXKOUSSEIA was conferred upon certain landowners, and some of them were granted *charistikion* and PRONOIA; Westerners could become LIZIOI and receive grants similar to Western fiefs. In the 11th C., mercenaries such as ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL attained leadership, but after 1081

commanders of this sort were few. In the 11th C., officers were either court eunuchs or landed magnates; in the 12th, usually aristocrats linked to the Komnenoi or Angeloi. Despite periodic revivals, the navy could not be maintained; the effort to use Venetian, Pisan, and Genoese fleets ultimately failed. In 1204, Danes and Anglo-Saxons led the defense of Constantinople.

In the 11th C., Constantinople witnessed an intellectual flowering, chiefly among representatives of the middle class. Psellos revived interest in Plato, Neoplatonism, and their application to Christianity; in the 12th C., TZETZES and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE enhanced the study of classical philology. Constantine IX established a law school for John XIPHILINOS, while making Psellos "chief of the philosophers" (HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON), a position that gave him some supervision over secular instruction in Constantinople. The application of formal logic to theology by John Italos and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA alarmed Alexios I; instruction was placed under the patriarch's control. Later, the *hypatos ton philosophon* was ordered to exercise an academic censorship. In the writing of history (Psellos, Anna KOMNENE, Niketas CHONIATES) and literature (Theodore PRODROMOS, Eustathios of Thessalonike), conventional ways of depicting people and objects gave way to some elements of "naturalism" and attempts to show the complexity of human character.

Basil II's victories over ARABS and BULGARIANS brought the empire a period of relative external peace, which permitted such rulers as Constantine IX to rely on the bureaucrats and repress the magnates and army. The fall of BARI to the Normans and the Turkish triumph at the battle of Mantzikert (1071) discredited the regime of the civilians, allowing independent Armenian states to appear in CILICIA and ultimately permitting Alexios I to seize the throne. The first three Komnenian emperors provided a century of stability; the army was rebuilt and the new aristocracy strengthened the throne, but concessions to the Italians undermined the economy. Alexios I repelled Norman and PECHENEG invasions of the Balkans; with the help of the First Crusade, he recovered coastal Anatolia. John II and Manuel fought with mixed success against Crusaders, HUNGARIANS, SERBS, and Turks. Manuel's defeat at MYRIOKEPHALON (1176) and weak rulers after 1180 stopped the Byz. drive into Anatolia. ANDRONIKOS I sought to establish his power by bloodily suppressing the aristocracy, but he failed to reinvigorate the Byz. state. CYPRUS, occupied by the rebel Isaac KOMNENOS, was later taken by RICHARD I LIONHEART. The Angeloi emperors, ISAAC II and ALEXIOS III, failed to meet the many challenges that confronted them. Civilian aristocrats, displacing the military aristocracy of the Komnenoi, dissipated the empire's resources. Circa 1186, the Bulgarians and VLACHS established the Second Bulgarian Empire, while the Serbs gained their independence. In addition to these ethnic movements, rebels appeared, striving for separatist regimes: Theodore MANKAPHAS at Philadelphia, Leo SGOUROS of Nauplia, Alexios and DAVID KOMNENOS in Pontos. When the Fourth Crusade conquered Constantinople in 1204 and established the LATIN EMPIRE, the Byz. empire was already partially dismembered. That Byz. recovered was due to its regional strength in the successor states at TREBIZOND, NICAEA, and EPIROS.

LIT. M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204: A Political History* (London–New York 1984). N. Skabalanovič, *Vizantijskoe gosudarstvo i cerkov' v XI veke* (St. Petersburg 1884). P. Lemerle, *Cinq études sur le XIe siècle byzantin* (Paris 1977). F. Chalandon, *Les Comnène*, 2 vols. (Paris 1900–12; rp. New York n.d.). C. Brand, *Byzantium Confronts the West, 1180–1204* (Cambridge, Mass., 1968). –C.M.B.

EMPIRE OF NICAEA (1204–61). The most successful of the three Greek successor states that emerged after the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204, the Nicaean Empire was founded by THEODORE I LASKARIS. Its core comprised the coastlands of western Asia Minor, stretching in an arc from the Paphlagonian coast to the southwestern tip of Asia Minor, where the river Indos (Dalaman Çay) formed the frontier with the Turks. Despite Turkish pressure along these frontiers, the Nicaean AKRITAI were more than able to hold their own. The Nicaean lands in Asia Minor formed two distinct blocks: a northern region around NICAEA, the official capital, and the western coastlands, where in the hills behind Smyrna JOHN III VATATZES established his residence at NYMPHAION. This area formed the hub of the Nicaean Empire. The treasury was housed at Magnesia, while Smyrna became the main naval base. Nicaea remained the residence of the patriarchs, but the emperors rarely visited

it except for their coronations. The choice of Nymphaion as a residence brought the emperors of Nicaea clear advantages. It provided a good vantage point for surveying the Turkish frontier, and it was in the heart of a very fertile region, where imperial and aristocratic estates were concentrated. Once Nicaean armies began campaigning regularly in Europe it was better placed than Nicaea, for it was situated on a shorter and more direct route to the straits of KALLIPOLIS.

At one level, the history of the Nicaean Empire revolves around the ultimately successful struggle to restore the seat of empire to Constantinople. Recognizing the Greeks of the despotate of EPIROS and the Bulgarians as serious competitors, the emperors of Nicaea realized that they must establish their authority in Thrace and Macedonia if they were to have a real chance of recovering Constantinople from the Latins. John III outmaneuvered his rivals and was able to gain control over northern Greece because his authority was based on an effective system of government and he had at his disposal a greater range of resources than any of his opponents. He built up the imperial domains and by careful management increased their profits. The incubus of a bloated and inefficient bureaucracy was swept away with the loss of Constantinople. In its place the Nicaean emperors created an inexpensive and efficient administration centered on the imperial household, in which the aristocracy had an acknowledged place. John III carefully supervised the fiscal administration. The fiscal surveys, always one of the strengths of Byz. government, were continued. The administrative and financial strength of the Nicaean Empire was reflected in the substantial armies it kept in the field and in its navy, which secured the islands along the Asia Minor coast.

Another source of strength was the presence of the ecumenical patriarch at Nicaea. The period was by and large one of cooperation between emperor and patriarch. The emperors could normally rely on the patriarchs for moral support. The patriarchal presence also gave the Nicaean rulers a role on the international stage that none of their rivals could match: there were a number of rounds of negotiations with papal representatives over the UNION OF THE CHURCHES; an alliance was concluded with FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN; and Nicaea became the acknowledged center of the Orthodox world. In 1220 the Serbian church turned for recognition of its autonomy to Nicaea. In 1235 Patr. GERMANOS II con-



ferred patriarchal rank on the head of the Bulgarian church. In both cases a primacy of honor was reserved for the Nicaean emperor and patriarch.

At another level, these examples show how changes long underway in Byz. crystallized during the period of exile. The recognition of the autonomy of the Orthodox church in Serbia and Bulgaria set the seal on their political independence. Although the Nicaeans were unwilling to make similar concessions to the Greeks of Epiros, the princes of the house of Komnenos Doukas were granted the rank of DESPOTES, thus reconciling their autonomous status with Nicaean claims to overlordship. Devolution of authority also occurred within the Nicaean Empire. The policy of granting EXKOUSSEIA to the great monastic and aristocratic estates was continued and extended into regions where they had been rare before 1204; the same is true of the PRONOIA. In the European provinces the Nicaean emperors issued a series of chrysobulls to the towns and cities, thus officially conferring upon them a measure of autonomy. The period of exile saw a significant growth of local and aristocratic privilege, but relations between emperor and aristocracy remained good until the reign of THEODORE II LASKARIS, whose attack upon the aristocracy, motivated by his desire to assert imperial autocracy, was doomed to failure.

The loss of Constantinople to the Latins dealt a severe blow to Byz. culture. The emperors of Nicaea sought to revive Byz. education by creating a palace school. A concerted effort was made to collect and copy manuscripts. Byzantium's "Hellenic" past was increasingly appreciated in intellectual circles, which added a new dimension to the Byz. sense of identity. It contributed to the way that Byzantium's universalist claims began to yield to a more strongly "nationalist" feeling, best caught in the growing hatred of what the Latins stood for. When, at last, the seat of empire was restored to Constantinople in July 1261 by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, a radical change in the structure and outlook of Byzantium had been completed.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "L'expérience nicéenne," *DOP* 29 (1975) 23–40. M. Angold, *A Byzantine Government in Exile* (Oxford 1975). Idem, "Byzantine 'Nationalism' and the Nicaean Empire," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 49–70. M.A. Andreeva, *Očerki po kul'ture vizantijskogo dvora v XIII veke* (Prague 1927). –M.J.A.

"EMPIRE OF THE STRAITS" (1261–1453). The restored "empire" of the 1260s was scarcely large enough to justify its name, limited as it was to the western coast of Asia Minor, northern Greece, and the southeastern Peloponnesos (with the Latin principality of ACHAIA in control of the rest of the peninsula). The despotate of EPIROS and the empire of TREBIZOND maintained their autonomous status. Despite the recovery of its capital, the empire continued to shrink during the remaining two centuries of its history. Although the diplomacy of MICHAEL VIII thwarted the plans of CHARLES I OF ANJOU for conquest, later Byz. emperors were less successful in containing the expansionist policy of their northern and eastern neighbors. By 1340 the OTTOMAN Turks had conquered most of Asia Minor; by 1355 the Serbs, under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, controlled most of northern Greece, and the Turks had gained a foothold in Europe. Didymoteichon and Adrianople, the principal towns of Thrace, fell to the Ottomans in the 1360s, Thessalonike in 1387 (and again in 1430, after a brief period of Byz. and Venetian recovery). The independence of Epiros also ended in 1430 with the fall of IOANNINA. Only in the Peloponnesos did the Byz. despotate of MOREA prosper and expand (at the expense of the principality of Achaia); by 1430 it encompassed virtually the entire peninsula. Shortly thereafter, however, in 1453, MEHMED II took Constantinople by siege (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF), and the Morea was able to hold out against Ottoman conquest only until 1460. The next year Trebizond, the last Greek stronghold, fell.

Numerous factors contributed to the final demise of the empire, which had already been seriously weakened by the Latin conquest of 1204. First of all, the restored Byz. state had to face the rising power of a vigorous new empire, that of the Ottomans, which steadily conquered Byz. territory and reduced Byz. to vassal status after 1371. The Ottomans besieged Constantinople from 1394 to 1402; the capital was saved only by TIMUR's defeat of the Ottoman sultan BAYEZID I at the battle of ANKARA in 1402. This setback to the Ottoman fortunes, and the ensuing civil war among Ottoman princes, gave the Byz. Empire a reprieve and enabled it to resist until 1453, although MURAD II did besiege the capital in 1422.

Second, the states of western Europe provided

little or no assistance to Byz., even though their very existence was threatened by the Turks. The papacy and Western rulers continued to demand that the Byz. emperor agree to UNION OF THE CHURCHES in exchange for military assistance. Twice the Byz. agreed to these conditions, at the Council of LYONS in 1274 and at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1439; the promised Western aid either never materialized or was ineffective. The Western crusading movement had almost died out by the late 13th C.; the two crusades of the 14th and 15th C., the Crusade of NIKOPOLIS (1396) and the Crusade of VARNA (1444), both met defeat at the hands of the Turks.

Internal problems also weakened the Byz. state in the 13th–15th C. Although only one dynasty, that of the Palaiologoi, held sway throughout the final period, it was not as stable as might appear. It is true that only eight emperors (discounting the brief usurpation of Andronikos IV and John VII) ruled during a period of 195 years, for an average 24-year reign (ANDRONIKOS II was em-



Emperors of Byzantium

Ruler	*Reign*
Constantine I the Great	324–337
Constantine II	337–340
Constans I	337–350
Constantius II	337–361
Julian	361–363
Jovian	363–364
Valens	364–378
Theodosios I	379–395
Arkadios	395–408
Theodosios II	408–450
Marcian	450–457
Leo I	457–474
Leo II	473–474
Zeno	474–491
Basiliskos	475–476
Anastasios I	491–518
Justin I	518–527
Justinian I	527–565
Justin II	565–578
Tiberios I	578–582
Maurice	582–602
Phokas	602–610
Herakleios	610–641
Herakleios Constantine and Heraklonas	641
Constans II	641–668
Constantine IV	668–685
Justinian II	685–695
Leontios	695–698
Tiberios II	698–705
Justinian II (second reign)	705–711
Philippikos	711–713
Anastasios II	713–715
Theodosios III	715–717
Leo III	717–741
Constantine V	741–775
Leo IV the Khazar	775–780
Constantine VI	780–797
Irene	797–802
Nikephoros I	802–811
Staurakios	811
Michael I Rangabe	811–813
Leo V the Armenian	813–820
Michael II	820–829
Theophilos	829–842
Michael III	842–867
Basil I	867–886
Leo VI	886–912
Alexander	912–913
Regency for Constantine VII	913–920
Romanos I Lekapenos	920–944
Stephen and Constantine Lekapenos	944–945
Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos	945–959
Romanos II	959–963
Nikephoros II Phokas	963–969
John I Tzimiskes	969–976
Basil II	976–1025
Constantine VIII	1025–1028
Romanos III Argyros	1028–1034
Michael IV Paphlagon	1034–1041
Michael V Kalaphates	1041–1042
Zoe and Theodora	1042
Constantine IX Monomachos	1042–1055
Theodora	1055–1056
Michael VI Stratiotikos	1056–1057
Isaac I Komnenos	1057–1059
Constantine X Doukas	1059–1067
Romanos IV Diogenes	1068–1071
Michael VII Doukas	1071–1078
Nikephoros III Botaneiates	1078–1081
Alexios I Komnenos	1081–1118
John II Komnenos	1118–1143
Manuel I Komnenos	1143–1180
Alexios II Komnenos	1180–1183
Andronikos I Komnenos	1183–1185
Isaac II Angelos	1185–1195
Alexios III Angelos	1195–1203
Isaac II and Alexios IV Angelos	1203–1204
Alexios V Doukas	1204
Theodore I Laskaris	1205–1221
John III Vatatzes	1221–1254
Theodore II Laskaris	1254–1258
John IV Laskaris	1259–1261
Michael VIII Palaiologos	1259–1282
Andronikos II Palaiologos	1282–1328
Michael IX Palaiologos	1294/5–1320
Andronikos III Palaiologos	1328–1341
John V Palaiologos	1341–1391
John VI Kantakouzenos	1347–1354
Andronikos IV Palaiologos	1376–1379
John VII Palaiologos	1390
Manuel II Palaiologos	1391–1425
John VIII Palaiologos	1425–1448
Constantine XI Palaiologos	1449–1453

peror for 46 years, John V for 50). These figures are misleading, however, because the reigns of both emperors were severely shaken by usurpers and civil war. Andronikos II fought for seven years (1321–28) against his grandson ANDRONIKOS III before abdicating; the youthful JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS was challenged by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, who gained power for seven years after the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. These civil wars sapped the strength of the empire, as a result of the devastation of agricultural land and the Byz. use of declining resources to fight each other instead of the common enemy. The Civil War of 1341–47 esp. revealed the hostility of the lower classes toward the landed aristocracy, as manifested in a series of popular urban rebellions, most notably that of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike; it should be noted that all of these urban movements were ultimately unsuccessful. As rival factions invited Serbs and Turks to take sides in the civil wars as allies or mercenaries, they enabled these dangerous foes to encroach upon Byz. territory. Even after forcing the abdication of Kantakouzenos, John V faced a series of rebellions by his son Andronikos IV and grandson John VII. Another sign of imperial weakness was an increasing tendency for the emperor to divide his territory among his sons, assigning them APPANAGES, which they ruled as autonomous princedoms.

The state treasury was impoverished as revenues declined on account of the decrease in Byz. territory, the immunity from taxes of many large landholders and monastic estates, and the frequent inability of the local population to pay taxes as a result of civil war or foreign invasion. Instead of drawing on the military obligations of PRONOIA holders, the state was forced to pay for an army composed largely of mercenaries. On occasion the use of mercenaries backfired, as when the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY turned against the empire when the emperor was unable to pay them. Under Andronikos II, the fleet was temporarily dismantled as an economy measure. Gold currency, the HYPERPYRON, steadily depreciated in value. Most COMMERCE was in the control of the Italian republics (see VENICE, GENOA), so that the Byz. state received few customs revenues. ANNA OF SAVOY had to pawn the crown jewels to Venice for a desperately needed loan. The empire's remaining wealth lay in the hands of the great landowners.

The empire became further divided by a number of ecclesiastical controversies. Michael VIII's usurpation of the throne from the Laskarid dynasty at Nicaea precipitated the schism (1265–1310) between ARSENITES, who defended the Laskarid cause, and Josephites, who supported the new Palaiologan emperor. Simultaneously Michael alienated most of his subjects, esp. the monks, by his decision to agree to Union of the Churches at the Council of Lyons. Although he was motivated by the hope of checking Angevin aggression and of securing Western military aid against the growing power of the Turks, his policy was soon repudiated by his son Andronikos II. The middle years of the 14th C. were torn by the debate over HESYCHASM, which was condemned at first but later accepted by the church as orthodox doctrine. This dispute had ramifications in the political arena, as supporters of Gregory PALAMAS and hesychasm tended to favor Kantakouzenos in the Civil War of 1341–47, while the regency for John V opposed the new doctrines of PALAMISM. Disagreement over Union of the Churches continued until 1453, as the Byz. agonized over whether to acknowledge the primacy of the pope in the perhaps vain hope that they would be rewarded with a Western crusade against the Turks. John V personally converted to Catholicism, but not until the reign of John VIII did an emperor again dare to follow the policy of Michael VIII. The Union concluded at Florence in 1439 was rejected, however, by the populace of Constantinople. Loukas NOTARAS reportedly stated that he would rather be conquered by the Turks than submit to the pope.

This era of declining imperial power saw an increase in the prestige and authority of the Byz. church. The patriarchal throne was graced with distinguished scholars such as GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS and reformers like the ascetic ATHANASIOS I. In 1312 jurisdiction over the monasteries of Mt. ATHOS was transferred to the patriarch from the emperor. While the empire shrank, the sway of the patriarch of Constantinople was recognized in those lands of Asia Minor and the Balkans no longer under Byz. rule, as well as in Russia, and was even extended to LITHUANIA. MONASTICISM prospered, too, in the Palaiologan era; numerous monasteries were built or restored in Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Mistra. METEORA was colonized by monks from Athos and soon became a new holy

mountain, while Athos, revitalized by the mysticism of the hesychast movement, continued to be a major monastic center even though the peninsula suffered from the raids of Catalans and Turks.

Letters as well as the arts flourished; a sense of Hellenic national identity emerged, accompanied by a new intensification of interest in ANTIQUITY. In the major cities, a small but influential elite of intellectuals pursued studies in classical philology, astronomy, and medicine; they also commissioned the copying of numerous MSS. Among those scholars most inspired by the classical tradition were Theodore METOCHITES and George Gemistos PLETHON. The 14th C. saw a revival of the genre of HAGIOGRAPHY, as monks and secular literati alike composed Lives of contemporary holy men, or rewrote the Lives of older saints. VERNACULAR literature also gained greater importance, and there was particular interest in the genre of ROMANCE. Greater contact with the scholasticism and humanism of Italy provided a stimulus for scholars such as Demetrios KYDONES and BESSARION. Although Constantinople remained depopulated and wheatfields and vineyards still could be found within its walls, the restoration or new construction of churches and monasteries in the capital and at THESSALONIKE and MISTRA after 1261 attests to the artistic vitality of the declining empire, esp. in the first century of the Palaiologan era (see under MONUMENTAL PAINTING).

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Last Centuries of Byzantium, 1261–1453* (London 1972). K.P. Kyrres, *To Byzantion kata ton ID' aiona*, vol. 1 (Leukosia 1982). I. Ševčenko, "The Palaeologan Renaissance," in *Renaissances Before the Renaissance*, ed. W. Treadgold (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 144–223. *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971). –A.M.T.

C

CADASTER, land registry for the purpose of tax assessment. Some early cadasters are preserved on papyri (J. Gascou, L. MacCoull, *TM* 10 [1987] 103–58). Knowledge of the Byz. cadaster in the 10th–12th C. is based on rules presented in the treatises on taxation (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on four original folios preserved in Vat. gr. 215, and on some excerpts copied in documents of the archives of Iveron, Lavra, and St. Panteleemon. At least after 995 (maybe earlier) a census (*anagraphe* and later *apographe*) was conducted periodically (probably every 30 years), following a geographical pattern defined by the administrative circumscriptions of the provinces from the larger to the smaller (theme, *dioikesis*, *enoria* or *archontia*, *hypotage*). The results were inscribed in the KODIKES of the province (the "boxes," ARKLAI) and duplicates were kept in the appropriate bureau in Constantinople (GENIKON, *stratiotikon* [see LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU]). Each identifiable piece of land occupied a separate line (STICHOS) in the cadaster with the name of its owner (and taxpayer) or its successive owners added piecemeal, sometimes between the lines; there was also an indication of any temporary modifications of the land's fiscal burden and the amount of the tax payable at the right end of the line (*akrostichon*). A copy of the *kodix* (*isokodikon*; registers with that name were created by Basil II) was seen as a necessary proof of ownership. The taxpayer received a PRAKTIKON, i.e., an act signed and sealed by the official enumerating his (eventually scattered) properties and their fiscal obligations. The geographical cadaster does not reappear in the 13th–15th C.; it seems to have been replaced by the *thesis* or *megale apographike thesis*, which included copies of the *praktika* delivered by every surveyor (APOGRAPHEUS) of the province. (See LAND SURVEY.)

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre*. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys*. 141f. –N.O.

CAESAR (καῖσαρ), a DIGNITY formerly applied to the emperor himself, was used under Diocletian to designate a junior emperor who stood under an augustus and did not possess charismatic qualities (A. Arnaldi, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 83 [1981] 75–86). Until the 11th C. caesar remained the highest title reserved primarily for the emperor's sons, albeit with several exceptions: BARDAS was caesar under his nephew Michael III, Nikephoros II made his father Bardas Phokas a caesar, Michael IV did the same for his namesake and nephew. The assertion of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 42.22–23) that Justinian II granted TERVEL the emperor's cloak and the title of caesar is proved by the evidence of seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2672). The ceremony of elevation of a caesar is described in the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* bk.1, ch.43). The insignia of the caesar was a crown without a cross. Alexios I lowered the rank of caesar, placing it below *sebastokrator*. In pseudo-KODINOS the caesar occupies the rank between *sebastokrator* and *megas domestikos*; from the 14th C., however, the title was conferred primarily on foreign princes, such as caesars of Vlachia, of Thessaly, or of Serbia.

According to Gy. Moravcsik (*ZRVI* 8.1 [1963] 229–36), the Slavic word *tsar* was derived not from the Byz. title but from the Latin designation for the emperor, probably in the 6th/7th C.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:25–43. Bury, *Adm. System* 36. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori i kesari u Srpskom carstvu," *ZbFilozFak* 11 (1970) 255–69. –A.K.

CAESAREA (Καισάρεια, mod. Kayseri), metropolis of CAPPADOCIA. When its enthusiastic Christians destroyed pagan temples, Emp. Julian deprived Caesarea of municipal status, but it soon recovered to flourish under St. BASIL THE GREAT. Caesarea was a great military base with imperial factories of weapons and textiles to supply the frontier. Justinian I replaced its ancient walls, which included fields, gardens, and pasture within their circuit, with a shorter, more defensible rampart. Although Caesarea resisted Chosroes I in 575, Chosroes II took and burned it in 611. Nevertheless, its size and wealth impressed the

Arabs when they first attacked it in 646; they captured it temporarily in 726. Caesarea was first part of the ARMENIAKON theme, then of CAPPADOCIA, and finally, under Leo VI, of CHARSIANON. Caesarea was an important military base in the 10th–11th C.; John KOURKOUAS was stationed there, and NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and Bardas PHOKAS, whose revolt the city supported, were proclaimed emperor in Caesarea. Turkish bands attacked it in 1067 and 1073; the Danişmendids conquered Caesarea in 1092; at the time of the First Crusade it was a ruin. Except for some sections of its city walls, which may be Justinianic, the Byz. remains of Caesarea have perished. Caesarea was an ecclesiastical metropolis in the 4th C. Before 431 it won precedence over Ephesus, and when the patriarchate of Constantinople was definitively established, Caesarea became its second see, its archbishop entitled PROTOTHRONOS.

LIT. *TIB* 2:193–96. A. Gabriel, *Monuments turcs d'Anatolie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1931) 6–30. –C.F.

CAESAREA MARITIMA, port in Palestine and the capital city of Palestina I. Until 451 the archbishopric of Caesarea (Καισάρεια) stood higher in the ecclesiastical hierarchy than Jerusalem, but the Council of Chalcedon subjugated it to Jerusalem. Extensive archaeological excavations have revealed an expansion of the city from the 4th to 6th C. Two aqueducts were restored in 385 and ca.526, and the main harbor was revitalized between 501 and 518. In the 6th C. streets were refurbished, including a north-south thoroughfare perhaps 17.5 m wide (R. Wiemken, K. Holum, *BASOR* 244 [1981] 27–41). Interregional trade prospered at Caesarea: whereas in the 2nd C. 80 percent of the fine pottery found at the site came from northern Syria, in the 5th–6th C. 36 percent originated in Asia Minor, 32 percent in Cyprus, and 17 percent in North Africa (J. Riley, *BASOR* 218 [1975] 52f).

From literary sources we know that a hippodrome functioned at Caesarea in the mid-4th C. and probably into the 6th C. (J. Humphrey, *BASOR* 213 [1974] 44). The city was a major cultural center: EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA organized a theological school there; according to Isidore of Seville, its library contained 30,000 books. Many churches are mentioned in the sources: ca.484 Zeno rebuilt the Church of St. Prokopios; the vita of Anastasios the Persian (died 628) describes several churches that continued to function under the Persian occupation of 604–28 (W. Kaegi, *IEJ* 28 [1978] 177–81).

The city fell to the Arabs in 640 or 641/2. Its capture was regarded in Muslim sources as the zenith of Arab military success in Palestine. Legend has it that Caesarea had 930,000 defenders against 17,000 Arab besiegers (M. Sharon in *EI*² 4:841). Under the Arabs, Caesarea ceased to be a major port and became the center of an agricultural area. The traditional opinion that the campaign of John I Tzimiskes in 975 reached Caesarea was refuted by J. Starr (*Archiv orientálni* 8 [1936] 94f). On 17 May 1101 it was taken by the Crusaders, who retained it until 1187; thereafter the city was the target of countless raids, frequently changed hands, and soon declined.

LIT. J. Ringel, *Césarée de Palestine* (Paris 1975). *Studies in the History of Caesarea Maritima*, ed. C. Fritsch (Missoula, Mont., 1975). L. Levine, *Roman Caesarea* (Jerusalem 1975). L. Levine, E. Netzer, *Excavations at Caesarea Maritima 1975, 1976, 1979* (Jerusalem 1986). K. Holum et al., *King Herod's Dream: Caesarea by the Sea* (New York–London 1988). –M.M.M., K.G.H.

CAESAROPAPISM, conventional term for the allegedly unlimited power of the Byz. EMPEROR over the church, including unilateral intervention in doctrinal questions ordinarily reserved to ecclesiastical authority. By passively submitting to this system of imperial protective tutelage, the Church—it has been suggested—lost its own sphere of competence and essential independence; it became, in effect, an adjunct of the state bureaucracy.

The term has been rejected by most scholars as a misleading and inaccurate interpretation of Byz. political reality. First, not a single Byz. emperor tried to act as "pope" or patriarch, whereas the bishop of Rome did on occasion assume the role of caesar. Second, the actual relationship between the *imperium* and *sacerdotium* cannot be characterized as a simple subordination of the latter. On the one hand, some emperors described themselves as *episkopoi ton ektos*, "supervisors (bishops) of external [things of the church]," and indeed they controlled the material resources of the church (lands, incomes, dependent peasantry); they even confiscated holy vessels in cases of state emergency. Emperors controlled the staffing of the

higher levels of the church hierarchy, including appointment and deposition of patriarchs and bishops. They enjoyed limited liturgical privileges. Their intervention in internal church affairs was less significant: only a few emperors (Justinian I, Manuel I) attempted to impose their theological views on the church, although others were active during the disputes over Iconoclasm or the debate over the Union of the Churches; the emperors or their representatives, however, usually presided over ecumenical councils. On the other hand, the church insistently defended its ideological independence, including canon law; developed (in the *Epanagoge*) the theory of two correlated powers (the emperor's and the patriarch's); and even proclaimed, in some ecclesiological treatises, that the power of the bishop is higher than that of the emperor. In certain situations the church administration controlled and judged secular functionaries. Finally, the clergy and monks possessed enormous economic wealth and wielded ideological influence over broad strata of the population, so that the church was capable of blocking governmental decisions. In sum, the term caesaropapism altogether exaggerates the degree of actual control of the church by the state.

LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, "Church and State in the Byzantine Empire: A Reconsideration of the Problem of Caesaropapism," *ChHist* 34 (1965) 381–403. J.-M. Sansterre, "Eusèbe de Césarée et la naissance de la théorie 'césaropapiste,'" *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 131–95, 532–94. H.-G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich 1978) 33–108. S. Runciman, *The Byzantine Theocracy* (Cambridge 1977).
–A.P., A.K.

CAFFARO. See ANNALES IANUENSES.

CAIN AND ABEL (Κάϊν, Ἄβελ), the sons of ADAM AND EVE. Their offerings (Gen 4:3–5) and Abel's death at the hands of his brother acquired Christological and eucharistic undertones already apparent in the New Testament (e.g., Heb 12:24) and explored in great detail by exegetes such as Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69:33B–44D), who juxtaposed the righteous Abel with Christ. John Chrysostom, quoting Hebrews 12:1, discusses Abel as a martyr (*Sur la providence de Dieu*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey [Paris 1961] 236, ch.19.5). Abel's gifts are cited in the Proskomide prayer of the liturgy attributed to St. Basil (Brightman, *Liturgies* 320; Taft, *Great Entrance* 365).

Representation in Art. At S. Vitale at RAVENNA, a mosaic pairs Melchizedek's offering with Abel's, with clear eucharistic significance (*DACL* 1.1:62). More extensive pre-Iconoclastic representations are implied by the mosaics of S. Marco in Venice, based on the Cotton GENESIS, and by the OCTATEUCHS. Cain and Abel also appear with Adam and Eve on a group of ivory caskets and occasionally in such contexts as the illustrated homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS. Abel often appears in the ANASTASIS.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:717–22. G. Henderson, *LCI* 1:5–10. A. Ulrich, *Kain und Abel in der Kunst: Untersuchungen zur Ikonographie und Auslegungsgeschichte* (Bamberg 1981) 51–73.
–J.H.L., C.B.T.

CALABRIA (Καλαβρία), region in southern Italy. Under Diocletian Calabria and APULIA formed a single province administered by a *corrector*. Until ca.680 the name Calabria was applied to all of southern Italy, including Apulia and Bruttium but, after a significant part of this region had been conquered by the Lombards, Calabria came to designate the former province of Bruttium in the toe of Italy (M. Schipa, *Archivio Storico per le province Napoletane* 20 [1895] 23–47). The capital of Calabria was REGGIO-CALABRIA.

Originally under the jurisdiction of the exarchate of Ravenna, ca.700 Calabria formed part of the duchy of Sicily (cf. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij). After Sicily fell to the Arabs (by 902), Calabria became a theme: Falkenhausen (*Dominazione* 30) maintains that this occurred between 938 and 956, whereas A. Pertusi (*Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [1975] 427f), referring to a series of Calabrian *strategoi* beginning with Eustathios ca.917 (Skyl. 263.47–48), suggests an earlier date. Possibly the Byz. did not acknowledge the loss of Sicily and considered Calabria as "Sicily." Sigillography provides evidence about the Byz. administration of Calabria: in the 8th C. it had a RHAIKTOR (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1477); in the 9th C. a *doux*; and a seal of the 10th C. belonged to a certain Pothos, "*tourmarches* of Calabria and *strategos* of Sicily."

In the late 9th and 10th C. Calabria was contested between Byz. and the Arabs. Nikephoros Phokas the Elder (died ca.900) secured Byz. power in the area, but at the end of the 10th C. the Arab threat again became serious. Otto II's expedition against the Arabs in 982 was a failure, but Byz.

generals retained control over Calabria. Finally in 1060 the Normans occupied the region.

Calabria was strongly influenced by eastern (Greek) customs, culture, and dialect. The Greek ecclesiastical and cultural impact increased in the 10th C., after the Arab occupation of Sicily, when many Greeks, esp. monks, emigrated from there to southern Italy. In the ecclesiastical notitia of 920–80 the "*eparchia* Kalabrias" is listed, with SANTA SEVERINA as its metropolitan see (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.51). Several monasteries are known from the documents of the 11th C.: St. Nikodemos near Mammola, St. Leontios of STILO (S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* [Naples 1963] 65). The Greek Orthodox population in the region was sizable: several saints of the Greek church (NEILOS OF ROSSANO, ELIAS SPELEOTES, ELIAS THE YOUNGER, PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER) were born or settled in Calabria, and Greek books were copied by local scribes. Greek saints' Lives reflect a Byz. cultural world in the region (Wickham, *Italy* 157). Silk manufacture developed in Calabria under the Byz. impact. Greek language and culture survived there even after the Norman conquest; in the 14th C. an eminent Byz. theologian, BARLAAM, originated from Seminara in Calabria.

LIT. *Calabria bizantina* (Reggio-Calabria 1974, 1977, 1983, 1986). *Atti del 4° Congresso storico calabrese* (Naples 1969). F. Lacava Zipparo, *Dominazione bizantina e civiltà basiliana nella Calabria prenormana* (Reggio-Calabria 1977).

–A.K., R.B.H.

CALENDAR. See CHRONOLOGY.

CALENDAR, CHURCH, a codification of the liturgical YEAR in two lists, both arranged chronologically. One, the *kanonarion,* lists the feasts of the lunar or paschal cycle, the mobile feasts that vary in date depending on when Easter falls. The other, the SYNAXARION, is a list of the fixed feasts and saints' days. The calendar was based on the 365 dates of the Julian solar calendar, but with the days of the month numbered continuously, rather than according to the Roman system involving Nones, Ides, and Kalends.

From 313 to 462, the cycle of fixed feasts began on 23 Sept. with the feast of the Conception of John the Baptist, the first Gospel mystery preparing for the Nativity of Jesus. After 462 it followed the civil year and began 1 Sept., the start of the INDICTION. By the 8th C., the 1 Sept. New Year's day had acquired liturgical status with its own lections, and the feast of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, celebrated on 8 Sept., gradually diminished the importance of the Baptist feast as the start of the fixed cycle (Grumel, *Chronologie* 192–203), though the latter is still called "the new year [day]" in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:42, 54f).

Church calendars began to develop in the 4th C. from primitive lists of MARTYRS (saints' days originate in the general custom of venerating the dead on the anniversary of their death), of commemorations and lections. Though the earliest developed calendars are the Jerusalem LECTIONARIES of the 4th–8th C., and there was much borrowing of feasts from church to church, the Constantinopolitan cathedral calendar is basically an independent tradition. It was not just a local usage that later spread far afield: this calendar was conceived from the start as a calendar for the whole of Byz. Fixed between 650 and 750, most likely before 700, it was used in all quarters of the empire by the 9th C., probably owing to the liturgical legislation of the Council in TRULLO (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:28–33).

Ehrhard divides extant calendar MSS of the 9th–15th C. into four types, according to their relative completeness. The final cathedral form of the calendar is transmitted to us in the *Typikon of the Great Church.* Its history, however, still remains to be written; it will have to be traced on the basis of liturgical books, feasts, saints' days, and sermon collections.

LIT. A. Baumstark, "Das Typikon der Patmos-Handschrift 266 und die altkonstantinopolitanische Gottesdienstordnung," *Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft* 6 (1926) 98–111. S. Salaville, "La formation du calendrier liturgique byzantin d'après les recherches critiques de Mgr Ehrhard," *EphLit* 50 (1936) 312–23.

–R.F.T.

CALENDAR CYCLES. This genre of HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION depicted either the portrait or the martyrdom of one saint after another, arranged according to the date of his celebration in the church CALENDAR. The cycle could also include representations of the GREAT FEASTS on the appropriate day of the year.

Martyrological cycles may have existed already by the 8th C. (Life of TARASIOS by Ignatios, ed.

Heikel, 413–16, tr. W. Wolska-Conus, *REB* 38 [1980] 248–50; Photios, hom.17, ed. Laourdas, 170.17–21). Basil I is known to have included scenes of martyrdom in the decoration of a portico of the Nea Ekklesia (Vita Basilii 328.2–8). But there is no indication whether either of these lost examples actually followed the sequence of the church calendar.

The earliest and most important surviving cycle of this kind is the Menologion of Basil II. Its miniatures were copied in the mid-11th C., this time to accompany a true menologion, the texts in this particular group of MSS being modified versions of the lives of the saints composed by Symeon Metaphrastes (F. Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* [Brussels 1985]). Each of these texts concludes with a prayer for the well-being of the emperor, perhaps (but by no means surely) Michael IV.

A set of 11th-C. icons from Sinai preserves a calendar cycle of this type, and literary equivalents can be found in the contemporary metrical calendars, sets of jingles listing each saint and his manner of death composed by Christopher of Mytilene and Theodore Prodromos (cf. E. Follieri, *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo* [Brussels 1980]). Fresco versions appear first in the 13th C., and then only in churches in Thessalonike, Serbia, and Bulgaria, most of them royal foundations. The only other MS calendar cycle is a princely commission of the early 14th C. (Oxford, Bodl. gr. th. f.1, Hutter, *CBM*, vol. 2, no.1); here as with the frescoes, no text, other than verse captions, accompanies the miniatures. The context in which these various martyrological cycles are found suggests that they may have originated in monumental painting; the significance of their imperial connections remains to be explored.

Though many Gospel lectionary MSS include calendar notices, only very rarely are these notices accompanied by images (cf. Vat. gr. 1156 and Athos, Dion. 587, both MSS of the 11th C.). Where they do exist, the images are as laconic as the notices themselves, consisting mainly of a series of saintly portraits. This type of "portrait" calendar cycle apparently represents a separate tradition from the martyrological one of the Basil Menologion and its successors; it recurs on another set of Sinai icons, but never in monumental painting.

lit. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). S. Der Nersessian, "Moskovskij Menologij," *Vizantija, Iužnye Slavjane i Drevnjaja Rus', Zapadnaja Evropa* (Moscow 1973) 94–111. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries on Sinai," *DChAE*[4] 12 (1984) 63–116. –N.P.Š.

CALENDAR OF 354, also referred to as the Chronographer of 354, an almanac drawn up from a large variety of both Christian and pagan documents, including consular *fasti,* tables of Roman festivals, a secular chronicle of Roman history, the regionaries of the city of Rome, Easter tables, and lists of bishops and martyrs. The various fragmented MSS, when collated, recreate what seems to be the oldest extant Roman Christian calendar; Mommsen (unaware of an unillustrated MS at St. Gall, not pointed out until 1953) derived them all from the lost Carolingian *Codex Luxembergiensis.* The calendar throws together all manner of information, from key religious and secular items to such trivia as famous Roman gluttons.

The greatest interest and value comported by this calendar derives from the illustrations, made for his patron Valentine by the artist Furius Dionysius Filocalus, who also was calligrapher of the poems of Pope Damasus (366–84). The 26 illustrations, preserved in 17th-C. drawings based on the Carolingian copy, form a gallery of astrological and political emblems appropriated for Christian purposes: no other visual document provides so immediate or broad an impression of mid-4th-C. beliefs and official imagery. The utility and accuracy of the pictures is assured by comparison with other Late Antique works. The largess of Constans II and the personifications of great cities are subjects found on silver; those of the Months are repeated in floor mosaics and represent the tradition inherited by Byz. artists.

ed. *Chronica minora*, pt.1, ed. T. Mommsen in MGH *AuctAnt* 9.1 (Berlin 1892) 13–148.

lit. H. Stern, *Le Calendrier de 354: Étude sur son texte et ses illustrations* (Paris 1953). T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften* 7 (Berlin 1909) 536–79. M.R. Salzman, "The Representation of April in the Calendar of 354," *AJA* 88 (1984) 43–50. –B.B., A.C.

CALENDS (Καλάνδαι), a calendar custom marking the Roman new year; it was celebrated during the first four days of January. Libanios and John Chrysostom describe the Calends in detail (e.g., the decoration of house doors with laurel wreaths). Gregory of Nazianzos condemned this custom,

and a law of 395 prohibited the pagan celebration of holidays (*Cod.Theod.* II 8.22). The Calends gave rise to festive processions where participants got drunk, wore animal costumes, distributed gifts in specie (*kalandika*), and banged on doors in the middle of the night. Chrysostom refers to this as "a procession of demons in the *agorai*" (PG 48:954.4–5). Christian clerics viewed the Calends, which fell during the 12 days between Christmas and Epiphany, as a continuation of the ethos of the BRUMALIA and the pagan cult practices associated with it. The mummers of the Calends gave rise to popular tales about demons called *kallikantzaroi*. The Council in TRULLO prescribed a six-year excommunication for participation in the Calends, but the practices went on at least until the time of Balsamon, who describes the mummery.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:13–19. Trombley, "Trullo" 5. Lawson, *Folklore* 221–29. –F.R.T.

CALENDŽICHA. See EUGENIKOS, MANUEL.

CAMBLAK, GRIGORIJ, Bulgarian churchman and writer; born Tŭrnovo ca.1365, died Kiev 1419. Although a member of an aristocratic Bulgarian family of Byz. origin (see TZAMBLAKON), it is now considered doubtful that he was the nephew of Metr. KIPRIAN of Kiev and Moscow (D. Obolensky, *DOP* 32 [1978] 80f). He was educated in Tŭrnovo, where he studied with Patr. EVTIMIJ (whose panegyric he later wrote), on Mt. Athos, and in Constantinople. Patr. MATTHEW I of Constantinople sent him on a mission to Suceava in Moldavia ca.1402–03. He then served as superior of the Dečani monastery in Serbia ca.1403–06. In 1406 Kiprian summoned Camblak to Moscow, but he turned back on news of the latter's death. He moved to Kiev ca.1409, and in 1415 local bishops elected Camblak metropolitan as the result of Lithuanian pressure; he was, however, excommunicated by Constantinople and Moscow. In Feb. 1418, shortly before his death, he attended the Council of Constance, where he allegedly made a speech in favor of church unity under the pope.

Camblak wrote a wide range of hagiographical, homiletic, and liturgical works in Slavonic; many are still unpublished. His *Razkaz* (ed. in Kałużniacki, *infra* 432–36) on the translation of the relics of St. Petka (Paraskeve) is rich in historical information, esp. about the Ottoman invasion of Bulgaria. He was a stylish and powerful writer, with a marked interest in personality. As an ecclesiastical politician he found himself involved in conflicts of power with which he was unfit by temperament and training to deal.

ED. *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymius*, ed. E. Kałużniacki (Vienna 1901). *Pohvalno slovo za Evtimij*, ed. P. Rusev et al. (Sofia 1971). A. Davidov et al., *Žitie na Stefan Dečanski ot Grigorij Camblak* (Sofia 1983). See also list in Heppell, *infra*.

LIT. M. Heppell, *The Ecclesiastical Career of Gregory Camblak* (London 1979). A.I. Jacimirskij, *Grigorij Camblak* (St. Petersburg 1904). K.S. Mečev, *Grigorij Camblak* (Sofia 1969). G. Pŭrvev, "Konstancijat sŭbor (1414–1418) i učastieto na Grigorij Camblak v nego," in *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, ed. P. Rusev et al., vol. 2 (Sofia 1980) 484–500. –R.B.

CAMELS (sing. κάμηλος), common BEASTS OF BURDEN and a source of meat and of bone for carving throughout much of Syria and Egypt. In North Africa they were also used for plowing and pulling carts. Camels were envisaged as pack animals for the army in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE. A workshop of camel saddles in Damascus is mentioned in the vita of Elias of Heliopolis (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *PPSb* 19.3 [1907] 48.2–5). Camels are also attested in 14th-C. Greece: John VI Kantakouzenos had them on his estates (Kantak. 2:185.8). Camel drivers (*kamelarioi*) were considered persons of the lowest standing: the *De administrando imperio* attributes such a station to MUḤAMMAD. To be paraded through the streets on the back of a camel was a form of humiliation in Constantinople: under Justinian I, persecuted astrologers suffered this punishment (Prokopios, *SH* 11.37); in a similar fashion the deposed Andronikos I Komnenos was led through the capital on a "mangy camel" in the 12th C.

In art, the camel frequently denotes an Egyptian setting: an attribute of St. MENAS or of the Joseph story, as on the cathedra of MAXIMIAN. Attesting to their ordinariness, camels normally appear in CREATION scenes and in images of Adam naming the animals. A mosaic in the GREAT PALACE depicts two boys riding on a camel.

LIT. E. Demougeot, "Le chameau et l'Afrique du Nord romaine," *Annales ESC* 15 (1960) 209–47. R.S. Bagnall, "The Camel, the Wagon and the Donkey in Later Roman Egypt," *BASP* 22 (1985) 1–6. –A.M.T., A.C.

CAMEO, ornament made from a precious or semiprecious stone, usually with two or more layers of different colors. The subject is carved in relief on the often translucent upper layer, while the lower layer forms the base. This distinguishes cameos from stones carved in INTAGLIO. The quality of carving in Byz. cameos is not as high, generally, as in Roman examples. Stones favored in Byz. were carnelian, chalcedony, heliotrope, haematite, jasper, lapis lazuli, sardonyx, and rock crystal. Secular cameos often displayed portraits. Christian examples may depict the Virgin, Jesus, a scene from his life, or the bust of a saint. Although some Byz. cameos bear an inscription, it is usually not contemporary with the scene or figure. For this reason as well as the stone's portability and intrinsic value, it is difficult to determine the date and provenance of cameos, although comparison with coins and seals can be helpful. One firmly dated 11th-C. example in London is of serpentine or green jasper, with a contemporary inscription that names Nikephoros (III) Botaneiates (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.150). Cameos were often mounted to be worn around the neck as ENKOLPIA or AMULETS. GLASS PASTE CAMEOS were made in imitation of hardstone cameos.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantij IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 115–46. H. Wentzel, "Datierte und datierbare byzantinische Kameen," in *Festschrift Friedrich Winkler* (Berlin 1959) 9–21. W.F. Volbach, J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzanz und der christliche Osten* (Berlin 1968) 202f. –S.D.C., A.C.

CAMP (ἄπληκτον, from Lat. *applicatum*). The location, construction, and security of the marching camp were of vital concern to Byz. campaign armies, and nearly every STRATEGIKON contains a section on encampments. The most thorough description of a temporary camp is given by the 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 246–75), which instructs the surveyors preceding the army to locate campsites on level terrain with sufficient water supply nearby. The army camped in a square, keeping the infantry around the outside, the cavalry and supply train within. The commander's tent and his retinue were in the center. Roads, entered by gates set up in the outer defenses, bisected the camp from north to south and from east to west. The distinctly Byz. plan of a square camp crossed by intersecting roads thus differs from the earlier Roman rectangular plan based on the T-shaped intersection of the *via praetoria/principalis* and is first attested in the 6th C.

To protect the camp, the *strategika* recommended digging a trench with the earth heaped up along the inner lip to form a rampart; the infantry might then fix their spears in the earth and hang or lean their shields upon them to make a shield-cover or palisade. John I Tzimiskes' army fortified their camp in this manner before Dorostolon in 971 (Leo Diac. 142.1–143.6); Yaḥyā of Antioch states that the ditch and shield palisade around the camp of Romanos III Argyros during the Syrian campaign of 1030 reflected "the usual practice of the Greeks in their camps" (M. Canard, *REB* 19 [1961] 305f). A well-protected camp enabled an army to resist attack and organize a counterattack, as when in 1068 Romanos IV Diogenes' men first held off and then defeated an Arab army that had attacked their encampment (Attal. 113.8–114.22).

LIT. Ju. Kulakovskij, "Vizantijskij lager' konca X veka," *VizVrem* 10 (1903) 63–90. R. Grosse, "Das römisch-byzantinische Marschlager vom 4.-10. Jahrhundert," *BZ* 22 (1913) 90–121. H. von Petrikovits, *Die Innenbauten römischer Legionslager während der Prinzipatszeit* (Opladen 1975) 114f. V. Kučma, "Iz istorii vizantijskogo voennogo iskusstva na rubeže IX–X vv. Lagernoe ustrojstvo," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 259–62. –E.M.

CAMPANIA (Καμπανία), a region south of Rome comprising the cities of CAPUA, NAPLES, Nola, and BENEVENTO. The GARIGLIANO is one of the important rivers in the area. From the reign of Diocletian onward, Campania was considered to encompass Latium as well, and according to Prokopios (*Wars* 5.15.22) Campania stretched to the city of Tarracina. In Western terminology the name Campania was applied to two districts: Neapolitan Campania, forming a part of the duchy of Benevento, and the section included in the territory of the papacy.

Campania was administered by a *corrector*, who from 333 had the high title of *consularis*. With rich land close to Rome, Campania played an important role during Justinian I's reconquest of Italy in the 6th C.; when TOTILA captured Rome, he resettled Roman senators in Campania. Campania had many senatorial estates. The presence of senators accounts, in part, for the continued spending (moribund in most other parts of Italy) by *patroni* on secular construction in the province

during the 4th and early 5th C. Statues to governors and *patroni* also continued to be erected. Governors promoted secular building activity in Campania in the same period. The military and financial crisis precipitated by the Visigothic invasions, more than Christianity, is the probable cause for the decline in construction of secular monuments in the 5th C. On the other hand, Paulinus of Nola's construction of a church at Fondi in Campania is possible evidence of a redirection from secular to ecclesiastical building by the senatorial aristocracy residing in Campania.

In 553/4 the Franks penetrated the province (Agath. 40.16). After the 6th C. the name *Campania* rarely appears in Greek sources, but in the 12th C. the TIMARION (53.19) still mentions Kampanoi and Italian merchants visiting the fair in Thessalonike. Because of Arab raids a complex trading pattern emerged between Byz., the Arabs, and the West, with Campania serving as a western apex.

LIT. D. Whitehouse, "Raiders and Invaders: The Roman Campagna in the First Millennium A.D.," *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 4 (Oxford 1985) 207–13. Wickham, *Italy* 147–51, 155f, 164f. Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 23–25, 67f, 230–35. –A.K., R.B.H.

CANA (Κανά), town in Galilee where Christ is said to have worked his first miracle, turning water into wine during a wedding feast (see CANA, MARRIAGE AT). Near Nazareth, its precise location has not been established. According to Jerome (Eusebios, *Onomastikon* 117:7) it was a "town of Gentiles" (*oppidum gentium*). Two sites preserve the ancient name: Kafr Kanna east of Nazareth, where remains of a Byz. synagogue were discovered, and Khirbat Kanna north of Nazareth. Many early pilgrims (PIACENZA PILGRIM, Willibald [see HUGEBURC], EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES) mention Cana. The objects of veneration were the couch on which Christ reclined, a waterpot, and the spring at which the pot was filled. In the 12th C. only a small *kastellion* existed at Cana (John Phokas in *PPSb* 8.2 [1889] 6.29–30), but pilgrims, such as DANIIL IGUMEN, continued to mention it.

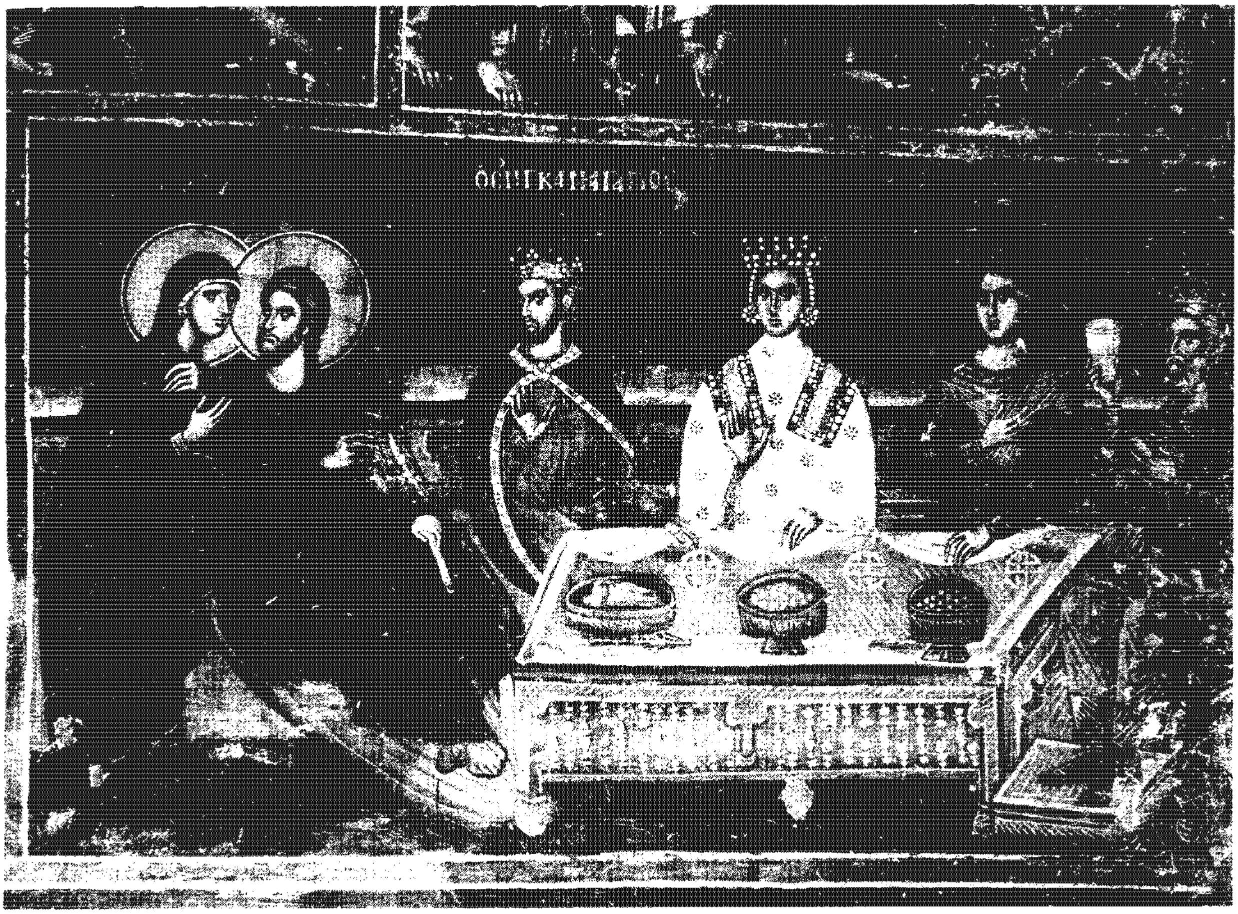
LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:412f. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 153. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani di Galilea* (Jerusalem 1971) 42–48. –G.V., Z.U.M.

CANA, MARRIAGE AT. Popular already in CATACOMB imagery, Christ's conversion of water into wine during the wedding feast at Cana (Jn 2:3–10) had a twofold significance: as Christ's first miracle, revealing his Godhead, and as an anticipation of the EUCHARIST. Both meanings are made clear at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, where this scene (wine) and the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE (bread) open the miracle cycle, facing the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER) across the bema. From the 4th C. (silver reliquary in Milan—Volbach, *Early Christian Art,* pl.111) through the 14th C. (CHORA), Cana is regularly juxtaposed with the Feeding of the Multitude; a similar eucharistic message appears in the Parma Gospels (Lazarev, *Storia,* fig.241), where Cana and the Miraculous Draught of Fishes accompany the Last Supper, which has bread baskets like those of the Feeding of the Multitude. Early images included simply Christ, the jars, and servants; Mary and the feasting wedding party were added in the 6th C. The wedding feast dominates the scene thereafter. Although found in Gospel Books and mural cycles, Cana does not appear in illuminated lectionaries.

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:244–54. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:280–84. W. Kuhn, "Die Darstellung des Kanawunders im Zeitalter Justinians," in *Tortulae: Studien zu altchristlichen und byzantinischen Monumenten* (Rome 1966) 200–15. –A.W.C.

CANDLEMAKER (κηρουλ⟨λ⟩άριος). There was no Roman guild of candlemakers. The role of this profession evidently increased around the 7th C., when the ancient ceramic LAMP was replaced by the CANDLE. The word *keroullarios* appears in the 7th-C. *Miracles* of St. ARTEMIOS (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 27.1); in the 9th C. Theophanes (Theoph. 487.31) speaks of a well-to-do *keroullarios* who worked in the Forum; a severe fire in the Forum in 931 destroyed the shops of furriers and candlemakers, *keropoleia* (*TheophCont* 420.13–16).

According to the *Book of the Eparch, keroullarioi* bought wax and olive oil (in part from churches) and sold candles in their shops, which, because of precautions against fire, had to be separated from each other by a prescribed distance (30 *orgyiai*); only for the workshops near Hagia Sophia was an exception made. The production of candles, esp. for great festivities, required elaborate skill: a 14th-C. source (pseudo-Kod. 191.9–16) describes a Christmas procession candle (*lampas*), the top of which was colored with cinnabar and the middle



CANA, MARRIAGE AT. The Marriage at Cana; fresco, 14th C. Church of St. Nicholas Orphanos, Thessalonike.

part adorned with golden leaves that bore red roundels with inscribed crosses.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 38f. *Bk. of Eparch* 208–11. –A.K.

CANDLES (sing. κηρίον, κηρός) were used extensively in both everyday and ecclesiastical LIGHTING in Byz. The ancient Greeks did not make much use of candles, but the Romans employed them, as well as torches, for festive processions and funeral services; their houses were illuminated with LAMPS made of clay or metal. There are reasons to suppose that in the 7th C. the practice changed and that candles began to replace lamps: first of all, very few clay lamps are found in excavations of post-7th-C. strata, although literary texts continue to speak of oil lamps; secondly, the profession of CANDLEMAKER (*keroularios*) is known from the 7th C. onward; finally, the term *kerion*, which in classical texts means honeycomb, acquired the meaning of candle and is used to form compound words such as *keroprates* (candle merchant) or *keropoleion* (candle workshop). Another word, *lampas*, which in classical vocabulary had designated torch or lamp, was used for larger candles (Clugnet, *Dictionnaire* 81, 89f). Late Roman candles were produced of both tallow and wax (F. Cabrol, *DACL* 3.2:1613); the BOOK OF THE EPARCH (11:3–4) stipulates that the candlemaker could use wax and olive oil but not fat. Candles of inferior quality had no wicks (*pinai*). Sources mention the use of candles for processions (e.g., the vita of Eusebios of Alexandria, PG 86:309A), imperial ceremonies, and liturgy, but there is no information on candles in everyday life, save for the prohibition on light in individual cells of some monasteries; nor do we have any data on the price of candles.

Liturgical Candles. In worship, candles were used, with oil lamps, for both practical and symbolic purposes. Christians, who saw Jesus and his salvation as LIGHT and the candle as the image of the eternal light (PG 87:3985C), used candles from the 4th C. onward at funerals, at VESPERS, in processions, at EPIPHANY and the Easter VIGIL, and eventually also at BAPTISM, UNCTION, etc.

Typical of Byz. ritual and private devotion was the honorific use of candles. Candles of varying sizes were kept burning on the iconostasis, by tombs, and before icons and other venerated images inside churches (see, e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 37.152, 39.165, 47.282). The patriarch was accompanied in procession by candles, a practice borrowed from court ceremonial, and emperor and patriarch offered obeisance with candles and INCENSE at the opening of services. Liturgical candles evolved into the two episcopal candelabra: the triple-branch *trikerion* in honor of the Trinity and the double-branched *dikerion* for the two natures of Christ, with which the bishop bestowed solemn blessings.

LIT. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy" 107–110. C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 255f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2 (1948) 91. –R.F.T., A.K.

CANICATTINI BAGNI TREASURE. See PLATE, DOMESTIC SILVER AND GOLD.

CANON. For legal term, see CANON LAW; CANONS. For hymnographic term, see KANON.

CANONIZATION (ἀνακήρυξις), official ecclesiastical acknowledgment and proclamation of the sanctity of an individual by the patriarch and synod of Constantinople. Although the term is sometimes loosely used by scholars for the period prior to the 13th C., canonization in Byz. appears to have been a development of the Palaiologan period. From the earliest centuries of Christianity, holy men and women were popularly revered as SAINTS, commemorated on their feastdays, celebrated in hagiography, and represented in sacred images; the faithful prayed to them for intercession and sought healing from the relics at their shrines. This recognition of a person's sanctity is properly termed *anagnorisis.* In the West, official papal canonization began in the late 10th C.; the earliest example in Byz. seems to be that of Patr. ARSENIOS in the late 13th C. In the 14th C. at least eight cases of canonization are attested, including Patr. ATHANASIOS I, Meletios the Confessor (died 1286), and Gregory PALAMAS (cf. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2132, 2540; 6, no.2681a). Among the prerequisites for canonization were popular veneration, evidence of miracles, and creation of an iconic and hagiographic tradition.

LIT. R. Macrides, "Saints and Sainthood in the Early Palaiologan Period," in *Byz. Saint* 67–87. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983) 21–30. –A.M.T.

CANON LAW, in a broad sense, is the totality of legal regulations concerning church life. In its narrow (formal) sense, it is the totality of the rules that derive from church authorities. Because of the great importance of the church, canon law in Byz. was of an importance equal to secular law (see LAW, CIVIL). There did not develop a strict separation of the two spheres of law as in the Latin West.

Byz. canon law, static and adverse to all innovations, did not undergo any significant development. The history of Byz. canon law (in its narrow sense) falls into three periods: that of the COUNCILS (4th C.–second half of the 9th C.), that of the patriarchs (second half of the 9th C.–11th C.), and that of the canonists (12th–15th C.).

From the 4th C. come the most important sources by far: the CANONS issued by church councils. The canons of some councils were being assembled and arranged in chronological order by the 5th C. at the latest; these collections were supplemented and partly replaced—by the 6th C.—with "systematic" collections (organized according to subject matter) such as the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES and the NOMOKANONES. Excerpts from the writings of church fathers (including the so-called APOSTOLIC CANONS) were also introduced into these collections. The bulk of the sources that became the recognized basis for ecclesiastical law was already established in the 6th C. and given the authority of an ecumenical council in 691 by the Council in TRULLO (canon 2), which repudiated in particular the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS. These canons (which form the basis of canon law in its narrow sense) were considered to be, in principle, immutable.

The Constantinople council of 879–80 led by

Patr. Photios was the last council that issued generally recognized canons; from then on the corpus of canons was supplemented by occasional prescriptions of individual patriarchs, mostly with the participation of their ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. In the MSS these prescriptions constitute variously composed appendices to the collections of canons. Only certain prescriptions, in particular those dealing with marriage law, acquired an authority comparable to that of the canons.

The chronologically arranged canons were provided with continuous commentaries in the 12th C. by Alexios ARISTENOS, John ZONARAS, and Theodore BALSAMON; these commentaries, esp. those of Balsamon, took certain other sources into account as well. Byz. canon law studies—which originated in the 11th C., peaked in the 12th C., and flourished once more in the 14th C.—produced compendia, in particular the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Matthew BLASTARES and the *Epitome canonum* of Constantine HARMENOPOULOS as well as works on particular problems in the form of treatises and EROTAPOKRISEIS (NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, JOHN IV (V) OXEITES of Antioch, Michael Choumnos, NIKETAS OF ANKYRA, NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA," BASIL OF OHRID). Finally, the judicial decisions of ecclesiastical authorities such as John APOKAUKOS, Demetrios CHOMATENOS, and the *endemousa synodos* of the patriarchs of Constantinople, whose register for the 14th C. is almost completely preserved, belong to the sources of canon law in its narrow sense.

Sources of canon law in its broad sense are the imperial laws regarding church life; these are of great importance because individual emperors, in particular, CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, JUSTINIAN I, and LEO VI, issued large numbers of legal prescriptions involving ecclesiastical matters, which, on the whole, were respected by the church. Laws derived from the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS were compiled in special collections (see, e.g., COLLECTIO TRIPARTITA) or integrated into works based on the canons (the *nomokanones*, the commentary of Balsamon, the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Blastares).

Even if some collections of canon law are not arranged either chronologically or alphabetically, but according to content (esp. the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles*), it is impossible to assert that a "system" of canon law was ever developed in Byz. This was done only in modern times and one can now (following Christophilopoulos) divide church law into five sections according to content: a general section, constitution, administration, penalties, and judicial procedure.

1. To the general section belong the concept of canon law (including its distinction from secular law, ethics, and theology); the relationship of the church to the state as well as to dissenters (Jews, Muslims, Latins, and heretics, like Manichaeans and Paulicians); and the sources of canon law and their interpretation (see OIKONOMIA).

2. To the constitution of the church belong the regulations concerning its members (who have been received into it through baptism): the laity, clergy, and monks as well as the prescriptions concerning the organs of ecclesiastical administration—the councils, *endemousa synodos*, patriarchs, metropolitans, bishops, and monasteries.

3. The administration of the church includes the rules for the sacraments, esp. marriage, and for religious education as well as the laws regarding church property (see PROPERTY, SACRED), including the income of the clergy.

4. Ecclesiastical penal law deals—both generally and in particular—with ecclesiastical offenses such as apostasy, HERESY, SCHISM, SIMONY, and SACRILEGE as well as with ecclesiastical penalties such as EXCOMMUNICATION, deposition and ANATHEMA (see also EPITIMION, PENANCE).

5. Finally, the ecclesiastical judicial process (see TRIAL, CRIMINAL PROCEDURE) before the ecclesiastical courts (see COURT, LAW) forms a part of canon law.

Byz. canon law was not "law" in the modern sense of the term: neither in substance nor in procedure was the uniformity of the handling of norms ever vouchsafed, because there was never an institutionalized legal education of the clerics concerned with the application of "law" and because the notion of an ubiquitous validity of legal norms (the "concept of the legal state") was completely absent. In several areas (e.g., that of penance) canon law was not clearly divided from ethics or theology; this is due to the fact that the most important producers of the norms of canon law, namely the councils and the church fathers, also determined the codes of ethics and the theological dogmas.

Research into Byz. canon law began in the West in the 16th C.; in the 16th and 17th C., Bonefidius, Voellus, Justellus, and Beveregius in particular produced a series of notable editions of canon

law sources. These studies were taken up again in the second half of the 19th C. by J.B. Pitra and at the beginning of the 20th C. by V.N. Beneševič. The documents of the *endemousa synodos* of the patriarchs of Constantinople (*RegPatr*) have been the subject of research since ca. 1930 by the French Assumptionists.

Systematic studies on canon law have been pursued since the second half of the 19th C., mainly in Orthodox lands (above all in Greece and, until the revolution of 1917, in Russia) where Byz. canon law was still largely valid. While this so-called inner legal history has received considerable attention, the area of the sources (so-called outer legal history) is still insufficiently researched: most texts still lack a classification of the MS tradition and a critical edition.

LIT. N. van der Wal, J.H.A. Lokin, *Historiae iuris graeco-romani delineatio* (Groningen 1985). S.N. Troianos, *Oi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens-Komotini 1986). Idem, *Paradoseis ekklesiastikou dikaiou*[2] (Athens-Komotini 1984). N. Milaš, *Pravoslavno crkveno pravo*[3] (Belgrade 1926). P.I. Panagiotakos, *Systema tou ekklesiastikou dikaiou kata ten en Helladi ischyn autou*, vols. 3–4 (Athens 1962, 1957). A.P. Christophilopoulos, *Hellenikon ekklesiastikon dikaion*[2] (Athens 1965). –A.S.

CANONS (*κανόνες*), term that in Roman law was used synonymously with *regulae*, rules, but that eventually acquired a technical meaning as the body of ecclesiastical law or of its individual regulations. As canonical were recognized the rulings of several councils, both ecumenical (Nicaea of 325, Constantinople of 381, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Trullo, Nicaea of 787) and local (esp. Ankyra, Gangra, Serdica) as well as the precepts of several authoritative church fathers (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa, Gregory of Nazianzos, Amphilochios of Ikonion, Cyril of Alexandria, Tarasios, and others).

Canons covered broad areas of CANON LAW—ecclesiastical structure, church discipline, norms of morality and behavior, liturgy, etc. Zonaras (PG 137:509D) distinguishes "the investigation of dogma and decisions (*psephoi*)" from formal canons that should, according to Balsamon, bear the signatures of emperors and "fathers" (PG 137:509A). In theory, canons had to be approved "by the common volition and unanimous desire" (Mansi 11:933D) of the council participants. Canons were considered to be "divine," "saintly," or "holy." Justinian I emphasized the importance of canons: thus, in his novel 131 of 545 he endowed the canons of the first four ecumenical councils with the validity of imperial legislation.

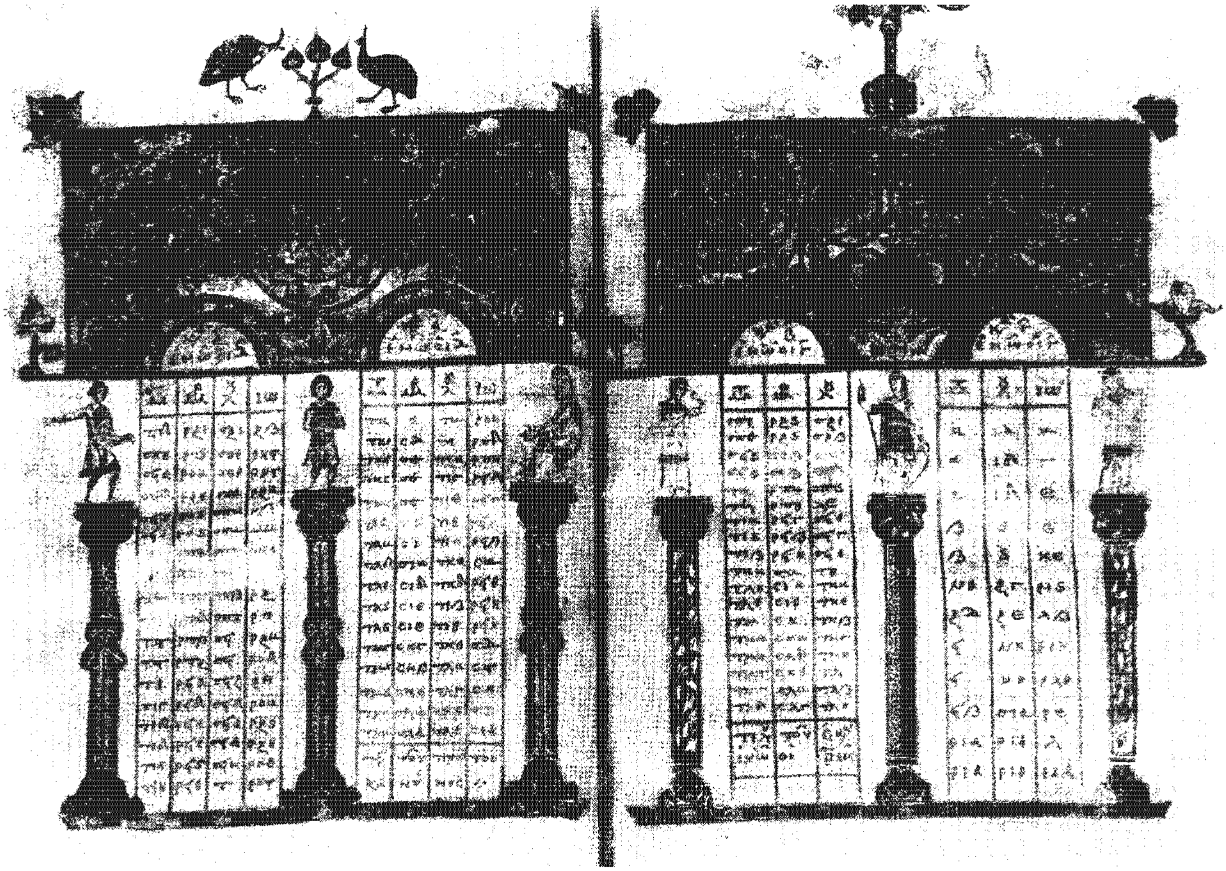
ED. P.-P. Joannou, *Discipline générale antique*, 4 vols. (Grottaferrata 1962–64).

LIT. L. Wenger, *Canon in den römischen Rechtsquellen und in den Papyri* (Vienna-Leipzig 1942) 83–166. E. Schwartz, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 4 (Berlin 1960) 159–275. –A.K.

CANON TABLES, a system of concordance to the Gospels devised by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. His letter to Karpianos, often included with the ten tables, explained their use. Numbered sections of Gospels were accompanied by a red number, corresponding to one of the tables, in which similar passages in other Gospels were listed. Eusebios's original design, preserved in certain 10th-C. MSS, spread the ten tables over seven pages. In the 10th C., Constantinopolitan illuminators extended the series to ten pages and framed the matrix of numbers in elaborate arches. Canon tables enjoyed their greatest popularity and artistic success in the 11th and 12th C. Menageries of exotic animals and mythological creatures play on top of arcades, and personifications of the labors of the MONTHS and virtues are incorporated into the bases and capitals. The same themes appear in Georgian MSS decorated in Constantinople by Byz. painters. At the end of the 12th C. even more elaborate profusions of ornament embellish the tables of DECORATIVE STYLE MSS. In the Palaiologan period, decorated canon tables are neither as common nor elaborate as before.

LIT. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Kanontafeln* (Göteborg 1938). E. Nestle et al., *Novum testamentum graece* (Stuttgart 1981) 73–78. R.S. Nelson, "Theoktistos and Associates in Twelfth-Century Constantinople," *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 (1987) 59–66. –R.S.N.

CANOSCIO TREASURE, 5th(?)-C. hoard of 24 silver objects (nine plates, four cups, nine spoons, a strainer, and a ladle) discovered in 1934 at Canoscio in Umbria and now in the cathedral treasury of Città di Castello. Although the Canoscio Treasure is often described as a church treasure, Engemann (*infra*) convincingly demonstrated that it was for domestic use and belonged to a couple whose names, Aelianus and Felicitas, are inscribed on at least one of its objects. Most of the plates have small crosses at their center, but the lack of dedicatory inscriptions and the flat



CANON TABLES. Canon tables from a Gospel book (Melbourne, 710/5, fols. 3v–4r); 12th C. Above each column stands the personification of a month (left) or of a virtue (right). National Gallery of Victoria, Melbourne; Felton Bequest, 1959.

profiles of the plates argue against their being PATENS. The two largest plates, decorated with a cross flanked by two lambs, represent the introduction of Christian themes into household silver. Although usually attributed to the 6th C., individual objects are related to those in the 4th- or 5th-C. CARTHAGE TREASURE. Both these collections offer evidence for the intermediary stages of development in the types of domestic silver PLATE manufactured in the period between the better-known silver TREASURES of the 4th C. and those of the 6th and 7th C.

LIT. E. Giovagnoli, "Una collezione di vasi eucaristici scoperti a Canoscio," *RACr* 12 (1935) 313–28. J. Engemann, "Anmerkungen zu spätantiken Geräten des Alltagslebens," *JbAChr* 15 (1972) 154–73. –M.M.M.

CANTICLES. See PSALTER.

CAPERNAUM (Καφαρναούμ), a site in Galilee, identified as Tell Ḥum. Although Capernaum was the center of Jesus' ministry in Galilee, it remained only slightly touched by Christianity. Eusebios of Caesarea (*Onomastikon* 120.2–4) described it as a village of "pagans," and EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 30.11.9–10) listed it among those Jewish sites where no church had been constructed and no Christians dwelled. Excavations discovered there the remains of a synagogue with buildings of the 1st and the 4th–5th C. Pilgrims to Capernaum (EGERIA, PIACENZA PILGRIM) were shown the house of the apostle Peter transformed into a church. This holy site is identified as a room in a 1st-C. private house, whose plastered walls bore Christian graffiti. Its hall became a place of worship (*domus ecclesiae*) in the 4th C., and in the 5th C. an octagonal church was erected above it.

After the Arab conquest of Palestine the church is no longer mentioned, but pilgrims could see the house of John the Evangelist and the place where the paralytic was lowered through the roof. DANIIL IGUMEN confuses two Capernaums: one at the Lake of Tiberias, another near Caesarea. He says that Capernaum used to be a large and populated city but was deserted by his time; he reports a prophecy that the Antichrist would emerge from Capernaum (*PPSb* 3–9 [1885] 88f).

LIT. V. Corbo et al., *Cafarnao*, 4 vols. (Jerusalem 1972–75). V. Corbo, S. Loffreda, A. Spijkerman, *La sinagoga di Cafarnao* (Jerusalem 1970). V. Corbo, *The House of St. Peter at Capharnaum* (Jerusalem 1969). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 153f. –G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

CAPIDAVA (Καπίδαβα), a Roman military fort in the DOBRUDJA at a ford of the Danube, on the route leading to HISTRIA and TOMIS. Excavations have revealed two layers of settlement; a Roman *castrum* (or *locus*) existed to the early 7th C. (a coin of Maurice was found) and was restored several times, the last time probably by Anastasios I. The 6th-C. fort was smaller than the earlier one, and among numerous Latin inscriptions only a few can be dated later than the 3rd C. The second settlement was founded in the time of John I Tzimiskes and can be dated by coins that reach the reign of Theodora. The settlement was surrounded by a wall 2 m thick and the habitations were semisubterranean. The objects found in the second layer are of poor quality, primarily ceramics that show some influence of Slavic ware (the potters' stamps resemble those in Bulgaria); on the other hand, large clay caldrons indicate Pecheneg connections. The city name is mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.60, ed. Pertusi p.86).

LIT. G. Florescu, R. Florescu, P. Diaconu, *Capidava*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1958). R. Florescu, N. Cheluţă-Georgescu, "Săpăturile de la Capidava," *Pontica* 7 (1974) 417–35; 8 (1975) 77–85. –A.K.

CAPITAL (κιόκρανον, κιονοκράνιον), the crowning element of a COLUMN, a critical block that marks the junction of a load (e.g., of an EPISTYLE) and its support (the column shaft). A capital is also used with pilasters and piers, where it marks the springing of an arch or vault. During the 4th–5th C. most Ionic and Corinthian capitals relied



CAPITAL. Capital; 6th C. Church of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. One face of the capital bears the monogram of Justinian I.

on Roman models (J.-P. Sodini, 10 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 [Thessalonike 1984] 207–78). Corinthian, with ACANTHUS decoration, was the dominant form and the source of inspiration for most other types: the Composite capital; the "Theodosian" with its characteristic fine-toothed acanthus; the windblown acanthus capital; and the two-zone capital in which animal or bird PROTOMES surmount a zone with acanthus leaves or basket pattern.

Byz. arcades, however, demanded more compact capitals. Adopting the IMPOST BLOCK, the IMPOST CAPITAL had fully emerged by ca.530, followed by two variants: the kettle and fold capitals, marked by a preference for stylized floral ornament and undercutting (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:325–37).

Already ca.550 the production of new capitals dropped dramatically and the use of SPOLIA became a common practice. Rare new forms after the 9th C. include the Corinthian-impost capitals in the Church of the Theotokos at HOSIOS LOUKAS (H. Buchwald, *ArtB* 48 [1966] 152), impost capi-

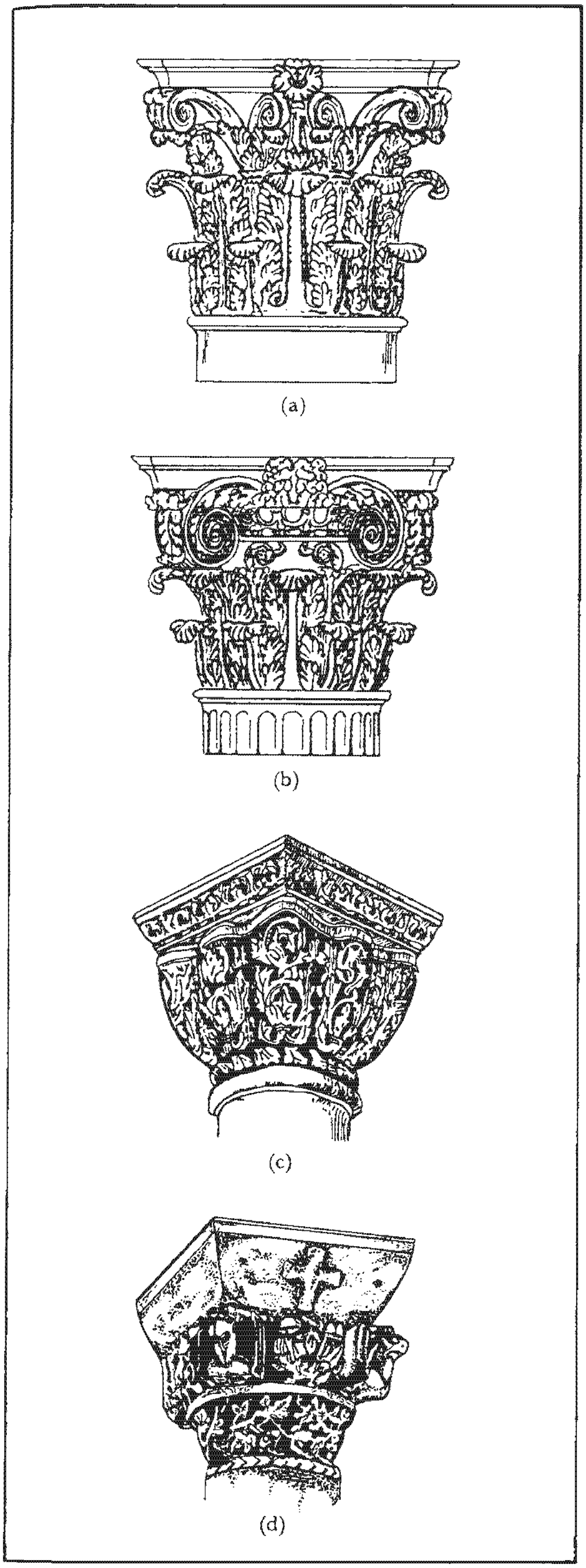
tals with busts of angels, and the Palaiologan impost capitals with busts of saints as at the church of the CHORA MONASTERY.

LIT. R. Kautzsch, *Kapitellstudien: Beiträge zu einer Geschichte des spätantiken Kapitells im Osten vom vierten bis ins siebente Jahrhundert* (Berlin-Leipzig 1936). W.E. Betsch, "The History, Production and Distribution of the Late Antique Capital in Constantinople" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1977). F.W. Deichmann, *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig* (Wiesbaden 1981). Grabar, *Sculptures I* 65–67. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 26–28, 131–36. E.D. Maguire, "A Revolution in Northern Justinianic Capital Design," *ByzF* 14 (1989) 59–74. Eadem, "Range and Repertory in Capital Design," *DOP* 41 (1987) 351–61.
–L.Ph.B., W.L.

CAPITANATA, territory in northern Apulia that comprises, roughly, the modern Italian province of Foggia. The name, which appears first in the 11th-C. *Chronicle* of Leo Marsicanus (MGH *SS* 34:261), derives from KATEPANO. In fact, during the first quarter of the 11th C. the *katepano* had reorganized the area, repopulating it with people from neighboring Lombard counties, and founding and fortifying new cities such as Civitate, Dragonara, Torre Fiorentina, and Troia. Troia's act of foundation, by Basil BOIOANNES (1019), has been preserved. The population and the local officials were predominantly Latin-speaking Lombards; the bishop of Troia was directly subject to the Holy See. The territory was intended as a line of defense against invaders from the north; the Normans occupied it in the mid-11th C.

LIT. J.-M. Martin, "Une frontière artificielle: la Capitanate italienne," 14 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Bucharest 1975) 379-85.
–V.v.F.

CAPITATIO-JUGATIO (ζυγοκέφαλον or κεφαλόζυγον), FISCAL SYSTEM related to Diocletian's reforms; its exact nature is unclear, in spite of long and heated discussions. It ensured a fair distribution among individual taxpayers of the ANNONA, the total amount of which was fixed by the authorities at various levels, from the PRAETORIAN PREFECT down to the provincial governor. The distribution was made by taking into account some established shares of tax liability, called JUGUM (for land) and CAPUT (for humans, animals, etc.),



CAPITAL. Byzantine Capitals. (a) Corinthian with acanthus decoration; (b) Composite; (c) Windblown acanthus; (d) Two-zone.

which were estimated as having equal value. Some scholars (Piganiol, Ostrogorsky) saw in the system a combination of POLL TAX and land tax, concluding that a *jugum* could not be taxed unless it had a corresponding *caput* and vice versa; consequently they related the system to the state's effort to bind peasants by law to the land that they cultivated. This theory has been broadly criticized.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *History* 40f. Jones, *LRE* 448–56. J. Karayannopulos, "Die iugatio-capitatio-Frage und die Bindung der Agrarbevölkerung an die Scholle," in *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération Internationale des Associations d'Études Classiques*, vol. 2 (Budapest 1984) 59–72. Idem, "Die Theorie A. Piganiols über die Iugatio-Capitatio und die neueren Auffassungen über die Entwicklung der sozialen und finanzwirtschaftlichen Institutionen in Byzanz," *BNJbb* 19 (1966) 324–49. –N.O.

CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδοκία), the hilly and mountainous region of central Asia Minor stretching from the Pontic mountains to the Taurus and from the Salt Lake to the Euphrates. Except for a few fertile plains (the best around Melitene), Cappadocia is not very productive and never supported a large population or extensive urban life. In antiquity, it had only three cities—CAESAREA, MELITENE, and TYANA; the emperor owned most of the land and its population was his tenants. Cappadocia is rich in minerals and was famed for cattle, sheep, and esp. horses. It gained importance from its command of the main highways across Anatolia and from its proximity to the frontier.

The wars of the 3rd C. depleted the population. Diocletian reduced the area of Cappadocia by forming the provinces of Armenia from its eastern regions. The remaining area, with its capital at Caesarea, was assigned to the diocese of PONTOS. Hannibalianus, nephew of Constantine I, however, was briefly king (*rex regum*) of Cappadocia, Pontos, and Armenia (335–37). When Constantine confiscated the treasures of the temples, the imperial estates grew. They became the *domus divina per Cappadociam*; their revenues supported the imperial bedchamber. In 371, Valens detached the southern half, making a new province, Cappadocia II, with its capital at Tyana.

The writings of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS provide considerable information about Cappadocia in the late 4th C., a time of great prosperity. After 363, when the region east of the Euphrates was ceded to Persia, Cappadocia gained in strategic importance and became more exposed. Tzannoi, Isaurians, and Huns ravaged Cappadocia in the 5th C., provoking a program of fortification continued by Justinian I, who rebuilt Caesarea and established a new fortified center at MOKISSOS. Vainly hoping to repress widespread civil disturbance and revolts by imperial tenants, he appointed a proconsul with full civil and military powers in 535, but the old system was restored by 553. The Persians destroyed SEBASTEIA in 575 and Caesarea in 611, introducing a period of great turmoil.

Arab attacks began with the temporary capture of Caesarea in 646 and intensified after they gained control of the Cilician Gates and Tyana in 708. The long wars led to major changes: the country was covered with strong, usually remote fortresses; large areas, esp. in the east, were depopulated; and Slavs were transported from the Balkans to strengthen the defenses.

In the regime of THEMES, Cappadocia was divided between ANATOLIKON and ARMENIAKON. When these were reduced in the early 9th C., the two new themes of CHARSIANON and Cappadocia occupied the ancient geographical area, which continued to bear the name Cappadocia for unofficial and ecclesiastical purposes. In Byz. administrative parlance, however, Cappadocia came to denote a smaller area, the highly exposed southern region. First mentioned (by Ibn Khurdādhbeh) as a KLEISOURA of Anatolikon, it became a separate theme by ca.830. It extended from the Taurus to the Halys and had its headquarters at Korone in the mountains above the main invasion route of the Arabs. Its *strategos*, who drew a salary of 20 pounds of gold, commanded 4,000 men and numerous fortresses. Leo VI extended Cappadocia to the northwest by adding the region adjacent to the Salt Lake.

In the mid-9th C., the Paulicians attacked from their base of TEPHRIKE just east of the frontier. That threat was removed in 878, but Arab raids continued until the capture of Melitene by the Byz. in 934 and the displacement of the frontier eastward brought renewed security. Major problems remained, however: notably depopulation from the long wars and the concomitant growth of the estates of the military aristocracy, many of whom were Cappadocian. Syrian and Armenian settlers helped to repopulate the country. The increasing power of the magnates sparked a series

of revolts led by Bardas PHOKAS and Bardas SKLEROS that spread from Cappadocia to afflict most of Anatolia from 963 to 989. After finally gaining control, Basil II moved against the Cappadocian aristocracy, confiscating the wealth of such families as the MALEINOI. He gained victories in the east and then annexed much of Armenia; in compensation, Armenian princes and their followers received lands and offices in Cappadocia. Large parts of the country became Armenian, and hostility between the newcomers and the native population grew. In 1057, the deteriorating military situation produced by increasing Turkish attacks provoked Bryennios, general of Cappadocia, to revolt. In the same year the Turks destroyed Melitene and in 1059 Sebasteia; defense of such cities had long been neglected. After the devastation of Caesarea in 1067, Romanos IV strove to restore the military situation in Cappadocia and the east. In 1071, he passed through Cappadocia en route to the fatal battle of Mantzikert, after which Cappadocia was permanently lost to the empire. A province of Cappadocia is last mentioned in 1081, when Alexios I summoned the *toparches* of "Cappadocia and Choma" to Constantinople (An.Komn. 1:131.16–17). This probably indicates either that imperial authority had survived in the westernmost parts of Cappadocia or that the name, perhaps together with troops, had been moved into Phrygia.

LIT. *TIB* 2. F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna 1977). –C.F.

Monuments of Cappadocia. Few churches built during the 4th–7th C. have survived in the province (M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* [Vienna 1979]). The region is best known for the ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS carved into its soft volcanic tuff hills. Large 6th–7th-C. congregational basilicas in the cliffs at Çavuşin and Avçılar survive, but most of the datable rock-cut monuments are small monastic chapels, often associated with cells, mills, winepresses, and refectories. Chapels that have been ascribed dates before 843—and sometimes much earlier—include Ioakeim and Anna and Niketas the Stylite in Kızıl Çukur and St. Basil at Sinassos (N. Thierry, *RSBS* 1 [1981] 205–28). The greatest period of artistic productivity, however, occurred between the cessation of major Arab attacks on Anatolia and the SELJUK conquest, reflecting the popularity of the region as a monastic center in the 10th and first half of the 11th C. Among the most important datable fresco cycles from this period are those found in Ayvalı Kilise or the Church of St. John (913–20), GÜLLÜ DERE; Tavşanlı Kilise (913–20); the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise and Kılıçlar Kilise in GÖREME, each associated with a series inappropriately named the "Archaic Group"; the Great Pigeon House of Çavuşin (963–69) and the New Church of Tokalı Kilise (mid-10th C.) in GÖREME; Direkli Kilise (976–1025) and St. Michael (1025–28) near the HASAN DAĞ; ESKI GÜMÜŞ near Niğde; St. Barbara (1006 or 1021) and Karabaş Kilise (1060–61) in SOĞANLI; and the COLUMN CHURCHES (mid-11th C.?). In their architectural form, programs, and painting style, these chapels reflect the tension between metropolitan cultural hegemony and local artistic tradition.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres*. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*. Restle, *Wall Painting*. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985). N. Thierry, *Haut moyen-âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavuşin* (Paris 1983). –A.J.W.

CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and GREGORY OF NYSSA, the three church fathers who combatted ARIANISM in the 4th C. and were later considered the highest ecclesiastical authority. AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION is sometimes included in this group. Basil was the great organizer of men and institutions, Gregory of Nazianzos the great orator and poet, and Gregory of Nyssa the profound and subtle philosopher. Together they are best regarded as masters of compromise and synthesis in their adaptations of Plato and ORIGEN to the Orthodoxy of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. Their trinitarian definitions paved the way for the Council of CHALCEDON. Basil established and clarified the distinction between the one *ousia* (see SUBSTANCE) and three HYPOSTASES in support of the concept of HOMOOUSIOS. Gregory of Nazianzos developed the properties and mutual relationships of the three divine persons within the TRINITY. Gregory of Nyssa emphasized the divinity and consubstantiality of the Holy Spirit.

The Cappadocians also departed from Origenist notions of SIN, SALVATION, and TIME. In their view, sin is more a product of human weakness and succumbing to temptation than the result of

ORIGINAL SIN. Salvation is attained by penitence, confession, the contemplation and understanding of the divine, and the final reconciliation of sinners with God after the temporary punishment of hell. Much of this comports their efforts to define and distinguish time from eternity, another major departure from Origen; the concept of *diastema* was developed to separate divine from created time (B. Otis, *StP* 12 [Berlin 1976] 327–57), a notion put forth to substantiate their theories of man's fall and redemption. Apart from theological matters, the Cappadocians responded directly to the social issues of their day, with all three denouncing chariot racing, a particular obsession of Cappadocia, as a source of unrest and riot (J.H. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* [London 1986] 528).

LIT. B. Otis, "Cappadocian Thought as a Coherent System," *DOP* 12 (1958) 95–124. R. Gregg, *Consolation Philosophy: Greek and Christian Paideia in Basil and the Two Gregories* (Philadelphia 1975). T.A. Kopecek, "The Social Class of the Cappadocian Fathers," *ChHist* 42 (1973) 453–66. C.B. Ashanin, "Christian Humanism of the Cappadocian Fathers," *PBR* 6 (1987) 44–52. R. Teja, *Organización económica y social de Capadocia en el siglo IV, segun los padres Capadocios* (Salamanca 1974). –B.B.

CAPUA (Κάπυα), city in CAMPANIA. Some remains of late Roman Capua survive: an amphitheater (converted to a fortress in the late 9th C.), bath, and Mithraeum. The Vandal Gaiseric sacked and destroyed Capua in 456. In 594 it was taken by the Lombards. Thereafter Capua was at first under the rule of the duchy of BENEVENTO, and Duke Arechis II (758–87) may have constructed a church there (CHRONICON SALERNITATUM 17.11; Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 84). Capua gained independence in the 9th C. Sometime before 808, abbot Josue of S. Vincenzo al Volturno received permission from King Louis (later Emp. Louis the Pious) to destroy a "very ancient temple." Ward-Perkins (ibid. 206) thinks this proves continued government control (presumably Carolingian) over ruined secular buildings in Italy after 800. The rulers of Capua acquired the title of princes ca.900. At this time the city had to struggle against the Arabs, but the Muslim danger was eliminated at the battle of GARIGLIANO in 915.

The Byz. impact on Capua was less significant than on neighboring Benevento; a Byz. attempt to seize Capua ca.891 failed; the Byz. expedition of 934 was but an armed embassy; the expedition of 956 ended with a token submission; and the activity of the *katepano* Basil Boioannes in Capua in 1026 was short-lived. German influence in the 10th C. was exerted through their vassal Paldolf I Capodiferro (Ironhead) of Salerno (961–81), who succeeded in unifying the vast Lombard lands in southern Italy around Capua. In 966 Pope John XIII elevated the church of Capua to the rank of metropolis. Capua still flourished in the first half of the 11th C., when Paldolf IV managed temporarily to annex NAPLES, GAETA, and MONTECASSINO, but the Normans captured the stronghold of Capua after a long siege (1058–62), and the principality became part of the Norman state.

LIT. I. Di Resta, *Capua medievale* (Naples 1983). G.A. Loud, *Church and Society in the Norman Principality of Capua* (Oxford 1985) 26–37. –A.K., R.B.H.

CAPUT (Lat. "head"), technical term introduced in the FISCAL SYSTEM with Diocletian's reforms and having three possible meanings: an individual "heading" in the tax register; an unsecured (because it did not consist of land) share of tax assessment, equivalent to the JUGUM; a human or animal component in the formula of assessment. Basically, the *caput* seems to be a unit of account used within the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO for taxing humans or animals working on land. According to Goffart (*infra* 35), the concept of *caput* dropped out of the codes; the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK is silent about it, while the *jugum* continued to figure in the laws, at least until the 6th C. As the assessment was gradually considered to be based on land alone, the *caput* disintegrated and the tenant of land was eventually bound to the soil, so as to be kept on the roll of taxpayers.

LIT. W. Goffart, *Caput and Colonate* (Toronto 1974). –N.O.

CARBONE, Italian monastery dedicated to St. Elias and St. Anastasios the Persian; founded at the end of the 10th C. by Loukas Karbounes in a wild mountain region of the Basilicata, probably under the influence of St. Sabas the Younger. While Loukas was active primarily in Armentum, his successors, seeking a refuge from the Arabs, retired to Carbone; nonetheless, one of its superiors, Menas, was captured by them. After the Norman conquest of southern Italy Carbone flourished under the patronage of the feudal fam-

ily of Chiaromonte. Greek monks continued to reside in Carbone until the 16th C.

Despite two fires (in 1174 and 1432) part of the monastic archive survives, including eight Greek documents of 1007–61. Among them are wills containing descriptions of their possessions drafted by Basil (Blasios) in 1041; Loukas II, a superior of Carbone (1059); and Gemma, widow of Nikephoros, *chartoularios* and *topoteretes* of Taranto; also preserved is a *sigillion* of ARGYROS, son of Melo, of 1053, which describes a mutiny against the emperor led by "the impious archbishop [of Taranto] and his accomplices."

LIT. G. Robinson, *History and Cartulary of the Greek Monastery of St. Elias and St. Anastasius of Carbone*, 3 vols. (Rome 1928–30). M. Petta, "Codici del Monastero di S. Elia di Carbone," *VetChr* 9 (1972) 151–71. –A.K.

CARIA (Καρία), district of southwestern Asia Minor, south of the Meander River. Caria has a long indented coastline with many harbors, chains of forested mountains, and fertile interior valleys. It became a separate province ca.305, with APHRODISIAS as its capital; the governor was a *praeses* until the 6th C., then a *consularis* (I. Ševčenko in *Synthronon* [Paris 1968] 29–41). In 536 Justinian I assigned Caria to the *quaestura exercitus*, together with Scythia, Moesia, the Aegean islands, and Cyprus; its purpose was evidently to assure supplies, esp. timber, to the Danube armies. JOHN OF EPHESUS, in his mission to the pagans of Caria and neighboring provinces in 542, claimed to have made 80,000 converts; paganism was still strong in the mountain regions. Caria became part of the theme of KIBYRRHAIOTAI, but is mentioned as a province as late as 722, when it appears as belonging to the *apotheke* of Asia, Caria, the islands, and the Hellespont organized to supply the army (Hendy, *Economy* 656–60). Later uses of the term refer to the geographic area or to the ecclesiastical province, which lasted until the end of Byz. rule (late 13th C.). Caria is also the Byz. name for APHRODISIAS.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 43, 482f, 939. –C.F.

CARICATURE, a deliberately distorted picture of individuals or groups created for satirical purposes. In late antiquity and Byz. it was directed at both domestic and foreign enemies. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (fr.78, *FHG* 4:49) relates how an eparch of Rome set up in the middle of the "Stadium" a picture on panels mocking the barbarians who flee the threatening HAND OF GOD; the picture was accompanied by a written commentary. Legends again accompanied the best-known incident of caricature in Byz. history: according to NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, minutes of a council opposed to Patr. IGNATIOS were illustrated by Gregory ASBESTAS with colored images identifying Ignatios as "the devil," "the abomination of desolation" (cf. Mt 24:15), etc. Some contemporary marginal PSALTERS had illustrations that caricatured the enemies of Israel. The Ziphites of Psalms 53 and 72:9 are depicted almost literally with their "mouths set against heaven" while their "tongues go through the earth." The Hebrews who reproached Moses are represented with Silenus-heads and exaggerated Semitic features (Dufrenne, *L'illustration* I, fol.106v), while Iconoclasts such as JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS are shown with the wild hair normally associated with the DEVIL (Ščepkina, *Miniatjury*, fols. 51v, 67r). In the 12th C., Eustathios of Thessalonike was ridiculed in a sketch that circulated in the city (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 98.42–64). Gregoras (Greg. 1:258.24–259.4) again describes the use of caricature in politics: enemies of Patr. Athanasios I painted on the base of the patriarchal throne a picture of Christ and behind him Andronikos II bridled and led by the patriarch "as a charioteer leads a horse." –A.C., A.K.

CARIČIN GRAD. See JUSTINIANA PRIMA.

CARMEN CONTRA PAGANOS, 4th- or 5th-C. work, also known as *Carmen adversus Flavianum*, that survives only in one copy attached to a MS of PRUDENTIUS and consists of 122 hexameters written in difficult Latin, often ungrammatical and unmetrical. Its target is an unnamed prefect who restored paganism at Rome, offended God, and duly perished miserably. The equation of this villain by T. Mommsen with Virius Nicomachus FLAVIANUS (died Sept. 394) still remains the most plausible; a rival theory, however, offers Gabinius Barbarus Pompeianus, prefect at Rome in 408/9 when besieged by Alaric, who after permitting pagan ceremonies was lynched in a food riot. Either way, the poem can be connected with the last attempts at a pagan revival in the West. Its theme and biting tone recall the pseudo-Cyprian

Carmen against a renegade Christian senator and the *Carmen ad Antonium* contained in two MSS of PAULINUS of Nola and thought by some to be his. A recent theory (F. Dolbeau, *REAug* 27 [1981] 38–43) suggests that Pope Damasus (366–84) might have written the *Carmen Contra Paganos*.

ED. T. Mommsen, "Carmen Codicis Parisini 8084," *Hermes* 4 (1870) 350–63. G. Manganaro, *Nuovo Didaskaleion* 11 (1961) 23–45. Eng. tr. B. Croke, J. Harries, *Religious Conflict in Fourth-Century Rome* (Sydney 1982) 79–83.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "Il paganesimo romano tra religione e politica (384–394 d.C.): per una reinterpretazione del 'Carmen contra paganos,'" *Atti della Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei, Memorie, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*[8] 23 (Rome 1979) 1–143. J.F. Matthews, "The Historical Setting of the 'Carmen contra Paganos' (Cod. Par. Lat. 8084)," *Historia* 19 (1970) 464–79. F.M. Clover, "The New Assessment of the Carmen Contra Paganos," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1982/3* (Bonn 1985) 163–76. D. Shanzer, "The Anonymous Carmen contra paganos and the Date and Identity of the Centorist Proba," *REAug* 32 (1986) 232–48. –B.B.

CARNIVAL, in the strict sense of the three-day festivity preceding LENT, left no trace in Byz. sources; on the contrary, Lent was preceded by weeks of partial abstinence (those of *apokreos* and *tyrophagos*) that, according to Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1700B), were established to remind Christians of monastic order (*taxis*) or of "the new and spotless society." The Byz. did celebrate carnivals in the broader sense, however, as semipagan feasts that embodied sensual festivities; they expressed themselves primarily in masked processions and coarse jokes, often with sexual overtones. The elements of carnival were reflected in pagan festivities such as LUPERCALIA and BRUMALIA. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE describes a procession of masked students of the school of NOTARIES on the feast of St. Markianos and Martyrios; one of them was disguised as the emperor. Carnival entertainment sometimes had a parodic character, as at the court of Michael III: there, fake liturgies were performed to the accompaniment of lyres (*kitharai*) and a certain Grillos was installed as a bogus patriarch surrounded by eleven "metropolitans," all in gilded holy vestments; Michael himself played the part of the "*proedros* of Koloneia" (*TheophCont* 200.15–201.17). Canon law discouraged acting in costume, prohibited laymen from masquerading as monks and clerics, and clerics from disguising themselves as soldiers or animals (PG 137:729D). Canonists lamented that on some saints' days pious women had to stay away from church for fear of being accosted by excessively boisterous merrymakers (PG 138: 245D–248B).

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Der Kaiser als Mime," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 41–46. –A.K.

CAROLDO, GIAN GIACOMO, Venetian official and historian; born ca.1480, died 3 June 1538. Caroldo's numerous and delicate diplomatic missions included one to the sultan in Constantinople (*relazione* of 30 Sept. 1503 in Marino Sanudo the Younger's *Diarii* 5 [Venice 1881] 449–68); from 1520 he occupied a key position in the Venetian chancellery. From that date until 1532 Caroldo worked on a *Historia Veneta*, whose initial part (to 1280) derives chiefly from Andrea DANDOLO. The independent final section (1280–1382), however, makes extensive use of archival records available to Caroldo and sheds valuable light, for example, on Byz.-Venetian relations, connections with Russia, the conflict between John V and John VI, the cession of Tenedos, and the pawning of the Byz. crown jewels. The *Historia* is largely unpublished and survives in three different redactions, two of which exist in partially autograph MSS.

ED. J. Chrysostomides, "Studies on the *Chronicle* of Caroldo with Special Reference to the History of Byzantium from 1370 to 1377," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 123–82.

LIT. A. Carile, "Caroldo, Gian Giacomo," *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 29 (1977) 514–17. Idem, *La cronachistica Veneziana (secoli XIII–XVI) di fronte alla spartizione della Romania nel 1204* (Florence 1969) 158f. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:526f. –M.McC.

CARPENTER (τέκτων, λεπτουργός, ξυλουργός). The terms for ARTISANS working in WOOD, including the combined form *tekton leptourgos*, are common in papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 28f). PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 94.7–9) saw in a monastery in Panos 15 tailors, 14 fullers, 7 smiths, and only 4 *tektones*, which shows a relatively unimportant role for carpentry in this monastery. In his opinion (100.6–7) *tektonike* or carpentry was a profession that should be learned in boyhood. Various carpenters—*tektones*, *leptourgoi*, and, distinct from them, builders or *oikodomoi*—worked in the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 413). It seems that by the 10th C. the distinction between the carpenter, MASON, and builder became vague. SOUDA (ed. Adler, 4:517,

no.251) equates *tekton* with *technites* and conceives of him as a craftsman working on both stone and wood. In the *Book of the Eparch*, *leptourgoi* appear in the chapter on *technitai* together with masons (*marmarioi*) and workers in gypsum. In the vita of Ioannikios the Great (*AASS* Nov. 2.1:407C), *tektonema* is the designing of the building to be constructed by *technitai*. *Tektones* do not appear in later acts of Athos, but the term *xylourgos* is known (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.63.5, App. I. 12).

Because of the disappearance of most artifacts of WOOD, carpenters are better known to philology than to archaeology, yet it is self-evident that woodworkers supplied the framework, joists, and tie beams of public and private buildings; ceilings such as that in the church of St. Catherine's monastery at Sinai; and BEMAS, AMBOS, and benches. Their role in SHIPBUILDING and the construction of vehicles was even larger. Various carpenters' TOOLS are named by Theodore of Stoudios, the *Geoponika*, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 234): one-edged ax, adze, saw, auger, plumbline, plane, square, even a wood-turning lathe (*dinos*).

The word *leptourgia* meant skillful craftsmanship and was applied to the Creation (GEORGE OF PISIDIA, *Hexaem.* 1270, 1505), whereas Anastasios of Sinai (ed. J. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia*, vol. 2 [Rome 1868] 259.15) speaks of the demon's "*tektones* and followers," and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 258.14, 301.23) uses the term *tekton* only metaphorically as schemer or contriver.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 143. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1 (1948) 207. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 86–88. –A.K., A.C.

CARPETS (sing. τάπης) or rugs designated in antiquity any kind of woven material used to cover floors, beds, walls, or apertures of doors (H. Schroff in *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 2251). This broad range of functions was preserved in Byz., and various carpetlike hangings (*bela*) played an important role in court ceremonial, concealing the emperor from the eyes of laymen (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 55f). In the opinion of Basil the Great (PG 31:288C), covering walls with carpets was a sign of excessive luxury; likewise John Chrysostom (PG 55:510.47) considered that carpets on the floor were as typical of the rich house as throngs of slaves and tables glittering with gold. According to Asterios of Amaseia (PG 40:168A), wall carpets were sometimes covered with images of hunters, animals, and rocks. In the 9th C. the rich widow DANELIS sent to Constantinople woolen carpets to cover the whole floor of the NEA EKKLESIA; precious stones were woven into the carpets so that they resembled a mosaic (*TheophCont* 319.14–20). More modest was the carpet on which Epiphanios, friend of St. Andrew the Fool, slept on the floor (PG 111:705AB). Since pious people used carpets for kneeling in prayer, a new term, *epeuchion* ("prayer rug"), was created by the 12th C. for carpets.

Some carpets were produced in Constantinople or the Peloponnesos; Demetrios CHOMATENOS (ed. Pitra, 6:542.29) mentions a type of carpet that the local people called *tzerga*. Some carpets were brought from Alexandria or Armenia; esp. famous for carpet production was Persia, and Herakleios seized precious carpets in Dastagerd.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:85–88. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 11, 147f. –Ap.K., A.K.

CARPIGNANO SALENTINO (Καρπινιάνα), city in southern Apulia, Italy; site of the cave-church of Ss. Marina and Cristina, famous for its dated frescoes. According to A. Jacob (*AttiLinc Rendiconti*[8] 37 [1983] 41–64), inscriptions identify the painters as Theophylaktos (959) and Eustathios (1020). H. Belting (*DOP* 28 [1974] 12–14) argues that the style of the earlier artist derives from late 9th-C. Constantinople, while that of Eustathios is a copy of Theophylaktos's work rather than a reflection of Byz. painting in the early 11th C. The church, long in use as a funeral chapel, also contains a long Greek metrical inscription on the death of a child and his father, a *spatharios* (between 1055 and 1075—A. Jacob, *RSBN* 20–21 [1983–84] 103–22).

LIT. C.D. Fonseca et al., *Gli insediamenti rupestri medioevali nel Basso Salento* (Galatina 1979) 59–75. –V.v.F., A.C.

CART (ἅμαξα). Unlike the light chariot pulled by HORSES that was employed for CHARIOT RACES and solemn processions, the cart was a heavy vehicle dragged by oxen and used for everyday business; grain and other foodstuffs were transported in carts (vita of Eustratios, 9th-C. *hegoumenos* of the Abgas monastery, ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:387.6–9), and a peasant might visit a fair in a cart (*Synax.CP* 720.34). The

Codex Theodosianus (*Cod.Theod.* VIII 5.48) established the maximum weight permitted to be carried in a cart (*raeda*) of four wheels—98–164 kg of gold and 164–327 kg of silver—but these figures do not represent the real capacity of the cart (J. Béranger, *MusHelv* 28 [1971] 125). The ancient system of harnessing was based on traction at the neck of the animal, with a soft collar and a flexible yoke to which a long pole was strapped; this harnessing prevented the animal from hauling big loads. Lefebvre de Noettes (*infra*) hypothesized that in the 9th–10th C. the Byz. introduced some innovations in the ancient system of harnessing, releasing the neck and transferring the force of traction from the neck to the chest; this invention allowed the partial replacement of the ox by the horse.

The Byz. were acquainted with the so-called Wagenburg tactic (i.e., surrounding a military camp with a line of carts), which was used by some of their neighbors, such as the Cumans.

LIT. R. Lefebvre de Noettes, "Le système d'attelage du cheval et du boeuf à Byzance et les conséquences de son emploi," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:183–90. L. Bréhier, *Le monde byzantin*, vol. 3 (Paris 1950) 175f. –A.K., J.W.N.

CARTAGENA. A Punic foundation on the southeastern coast of Spain, it later became the site of the Roman colony of Nova Carthago. In 425 it was destroyed by the Vandals. An inscription recording the repair of the city gates by the Byz. *magister militum* of Spain, KOMENTIOLOS, has led to the assumption that Cartagena was the capital of Byz. Spain, but the inscription provides no indication of the town's status. Cartagena was seized by the Visigothic king Suinthila in 624.

LIT. Thompson, *Goths* 320f, 329f. –R.B.H.

CARTHAGE (Καρχηδών), port in North Africa near modern Tunis, the largest city in the western Mediterranean after Rome. Under Diocletian, Carthage became the seat of the African diocese. It contained numerous churches and monasteries and was the focal point of many religious disputes, such as DONATISM, ARIANISM, the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, and MONOTHELETISM. The city mirrored Rome in its administration, monuments, wealth, and spectacles. Its aristocracy formed the core of the landed elite of Africa and retained close links with Roman senatorial circles. Carthage was the main port for African grain and oil exported to Rome as part of the ANNONA. It was also a major producer and exporter of AMPHORAS, LAMPS, and tableware, esp. African Red Slip ware (see CERAMICS). Under the VANDALS, there is evidence of an increase in imports of amphoras and other pottery forms, suggesting that the economy was increasingly dependent on supplies brought from outside Africa. Nevertheless Carthage continued to export African agricultural products to Spain, Gaul, and the eastern Mediterranean.

Literary sources emphasize the continued flourishing of Roman culture, including a certain degree of civic patronage on the part of the later Vandal kings. Continuity is also evident in the archaeological record; a number of urban villas, for example, show evidence of remodeling and refurbishment. At the same time, there is evidence that the late Roman walls, Antonine Baths, Via Coelestis, theater, Odeum, and the enigmatic circular monument or rotunda near the theater were allowed to fall into a state of disrepair, and some churches belonging to the Orthodox community are known to have been closed.

Following the Byz. reconquest (533), Carthage, renamed Carthago Justiniana, became the civil and military capital of the prefecture of AFRICA and later the seat of the EXARCH. Justinian I refurbished the walls, the circular and rectangular harbors, and a number of churches. He also constructed a fortified monastery called Mandracium, perhaps on the site of the civic basilica on the Byrsa. A mint was also established (a carryover from the Vandals, who minted in bronze and silver) to serve the monetary needs of the city, prefecture, and army. Justinian's efforts at urban renewal were short-lived (ca.533–60) and probably more cosmetic than substantive, as recent archaeological evidence shows little change in the character and quality of domestic life in Carthage from the Vandal to Byz. periods. There is also numismatic evidence for continuous inflation of the base bronze coinage throughout the 6th–7th C., possibly initiated by the building program and costly wars against the MAURI, a condition that no doubt drained the resources of the city.

While clearly the center of Byz. influence in Africa, Carthage was also the focal point of frequent resistance to Constantinople. In 608 Herakleios, exarch of Africa, rebelled against Emp. Phokas, and his son, the future emperor HERA-

KLEIOS, led the fleet of Carthage against Constantinople. Another exarch, GREGORY, proclaimed himself emperor, with the support of the "Romans" (Roman Africans) and African tribes. Urban life at Carthage declined over the course of the 7th C., the conditions of habitation worsened, and intramural burials became widespread. Trade, now largely with the eastern Mediterranean, was also decreasing (both the circular and rectangular harbors were out of use by ca.650). By the mid-7th C. production of African Red Slip ware ceased altogether, and mint emissions were erratic and small. Arab invasions after 647 contributed significantly to Carthage's decline, particularly after the founding of Qayrawān in 670. After 645/6, no bishop of Carthage can be certainly identified and a number of churches ceased to function. The city was conquered by the Arabs, after several attempts, in 698.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:11–53. L. Anselmino et al., "Cartagine," in *Società romana e impero tardoantico*, vol. 3, *Le merci, gli insediamenti*, ed. A. Giardina (Rome-Bari 1986) 163–95. J.H. Humphrey, "The Archaeology of Vandal and Byzantine Carthage," in *New Light on Ancient Carthage*, ed. J.G. Pedley (Ann Arbor 1980) 85–120. H.R. Hurst et al., *Excavations at Carthage: The British Mission* (Sheffield 1984). A. Ennabli, "La campagne internationale de sauvegarde de Carthage: Fouilles et recherches archéologiques 1973–1987," *CRAI* (1987) 407–39. M. Fulford, "Economic Interdependence among Urban Communities of the Roman Mediterranean," *World Archaeology* 19.1 (1987) 58–75. F.M. Clover, "Carthage and the Vandals," *Excavations at Carthage 1978 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, vol. 7 (Ann Arbor 1982) 1–22. Idem, "Felix Carthago," *DOP* 40 (1986) 1–15. W.H.C. Frend, "The Early Christian Church in Carthage," in J.H. Humphrey, *Excavations at Carthage 1976 Conducted by the University of Michigan*, vol. 2 (Ann Arbor 1977) 21–40. –R.B.H.

CARTHAGE TREASURE, dated to the 4th or 5th C. and found at Carthage before 1897, is composed of 24 objects of domestic silver PLATE (19 in the British Museum and five in the Louvre) and seven pieces of jewelry (four gold, three carved gems). One plate is inscribed with the name of the Cresconius family, known from a *comes metallorum* in 365 up to the poet Fl. Cresconius CORIPPUS in the 6th C. The treasure itself, which is usually attributed to ca.400, was thought to have been buried at the time of the campaign against the adherents of DONATISM from 393 onward, or when the Vandal king GAISERIC took Carthage in 439. The display of a family name in the center of a plate occurs also in the CANOSCIO TREASURE and compares with the use of personal monograms in the 4th-C. Esquiline Treasure (Shelton, *Esquiline* 80f) and on a long series of 6th- or 7th-C. plates. The beaded bowl and dolphin-handled ladles of the Carthage Treasure resemble those in the MILDENHALL TREASURE, while the covered bowls on raised foot find parallels on silver plate discovered in Italy.

LIT. Dalton, *Catalogue* 79–81. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris 1924), nos. 1921–22, 1985, 2057–58. –M.M.M.

CARTOGRAPHY. Ancient mapmaking reached its highest development with PTOLEMY. The ancient cartographic tradition, based on mathematics and practical observation, was continued by Arab cartographers, whereas the major goal of Christian mapmakers was to reconcile practical knowledge with biblical data. This concern is reflected in KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES' drawings, which though preserved only in later MSS probably derive from his original sketches. The only surviving late antique map is the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA based on ancient traditions; some maps are preserved in later MSS of such late antique writers as ISIDORE OF SEVILLE and MACROBIUS. Local maps certainly continued to exist and were even reproduced on mosaics, for example, the decorative MADABA MOSAIC MAP. Comparing the Madaba map with the itinerary of a certain Theodosios to the Holy Land (in the first half of the 6th C.), Y. Tsafrir (*DOP* 40 [1986] 129–45) comes to the conclusion that at that time there was a variety of pilgrim maps all differing from each other.

Medieval Western maps of the world, the so-called *mappae mundi*, are known from the 8th C. on, revealing the geographic knowledge of Latin-speaking authors. No Byz. maps have survived, however, even though various texts (e.g., *The Concise Measurement of the Entire Oikoumene*, of uncertain date) allow one to hypothesize the existence of maps, which were eventually used in PORTULANS. Three extant MSS with maps of Ptolemy's *Geography* and one MS of STRABO belong to the 13th C. and were probably compiled under the direction of Maximos PLANOUDES (A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* [Amsterdam 1983] 103). A 14th-C. illustrated MS of Ptolemy, complete with maps, is preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:31–34). In the 15th C.

Italian maps, representing parts of the (former) Byz. Empire, were available: for example, a (military?) map of 1430–53 (probably of 1444) illustrating the northern Balkans, from the left bank of the Danube to Constantinople (M. Nikolić, *Istorijski časopis* 29–30 [1982/3] 63–75), and a map of Cyprus of 1480 (A. & J. Stylianou, *KyprSp* 34 [1970] 145–58).

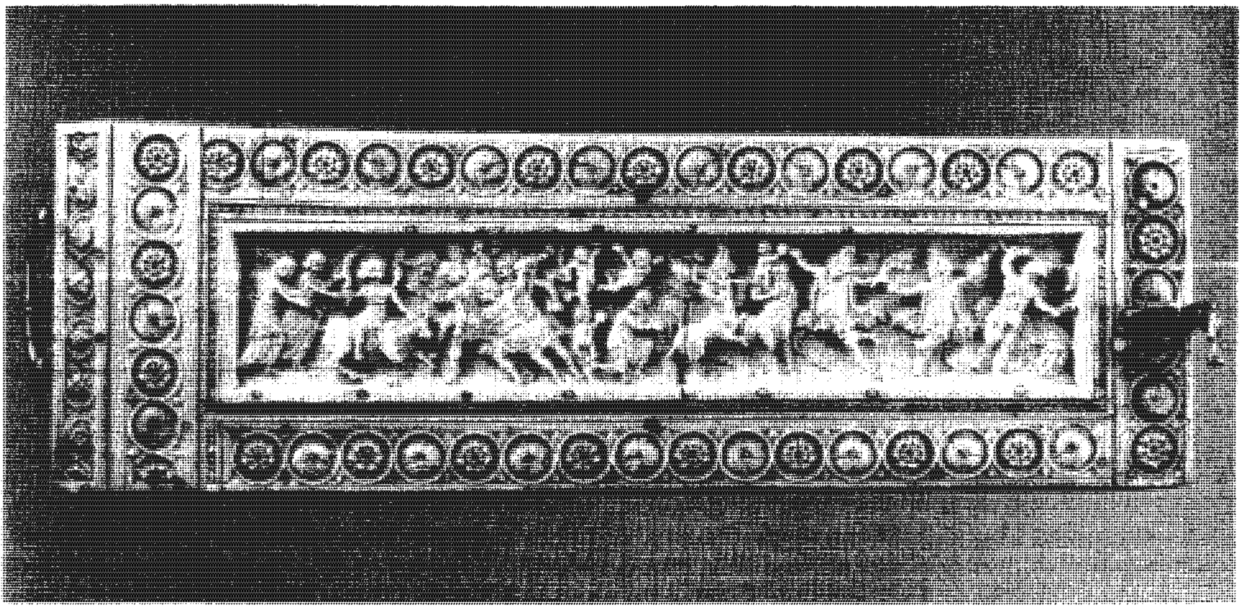
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:523–27. Beazley, *Geography* 1:375–85. O.A.W. Dilke, *Greek and Roman Maps* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1985) 167–77. Idem in *The History of Cartography*, ed. J.B. Harley, D. Woodward, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1987) 234–75. A. De Smet, "Cartes manuscrites du Moyen âge," *Scriptorium* 21 (1967) 326–35. A.D. von Brincken, "Ost- und Südosteuropa in der abendländischen Kartographie des Spätmittelalters," *RESEE* 13 (1975) 253–60. –A.K.

CASAUX DE PARÇON ("shared households"), medieval French term designating properties held in co-seigneurie by a Byz. *archon* and a Frankish knight. This type of fiscal arrangement is attested on Frankish territory in the Morea during the late 13th and 14th C. The co-seigneurs shared the *telos* paid in cash by the dependent peasants of one or more villages and the right to their pastures. As for the DEMESNE lands, the lords held them privately, unaffected by the co-seigneurial arrangement. *Casaux de parçon* is an example of compromise and temporarily peaceful coexistence between Franks and Greeks in the border areas of the Morea motivated by political and economic considerations and facilitated by the Franks' adoption of Byz. fiscal practices.

LIT. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VIII (1963), 111–25. P. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia 1949) 121, n.3. –M.B.

CASKETS AND BOXES (*θῆκαι, κιβωτίδια*) in late antiquity were normally made of wood; metals and ivory were used for PYXIDES and more pretentious specimens in a variety of shapes—oblong, cubical, or spherical, with flat, domed, or pyramidal lids. One of the two large silver caskets in the ESQUILINE TREASURE, decorated with domestic and mythological scenes and figures, contained lotion bottles while the other probably held bath linen. The internal arrangements and the iconography (Asklepios, Hygieia, Christ's Healing of the Blind) suggest that some early ivory boxes were used for medications. Hasty construction of bone- and metal-clad examples as well as prolonged use mean that many have survived only as panels. Important examples such as the Brescia LIPSANOTHEK, made of ivory cornerposts into which panels with Old and New Testament scenes are

CASKETS AND BOXES. Lid of the Veroli Casket; ivory, 10th C. Victoria and Albert Museum, London. Decorated with mythological scenes (l. to r., the Rape of Europa, Herakles playing the lyre, erotes, centaurs and dancing maenads).



slotted, have been reconstructed. As in the case of metal caskets made as late as the 14th–15th C. (W.D. Wixom in *Treasury S. Marco* 201–03), the original function of the lipsanothek is unknown; suggested contents include sacred bread, incense, and monetary offerings.

Equally uncertain is the function of numerous wooden boxes of the 10th–12th C., with ivory panels depicting scenes from Genesis, Joshua, and Kings (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.*, vol. 1, nos. 1–5, 67–98). Others, with bone panels representing warriors, fantastic animals, and puttilike manikins, framed with rosette bands, seem to parody classical mythology. There being no evidence to suggest their function, these are commonly supposed to have been ladies' jewel boxes. This may have been true of the minority originally equipped with locks.

LIT. H. Buschhausen, *Die spätrömischen Metallscrinia und frühchristlichen Reliquiare* (Vienna 1971). Ai. Loverdou-Tsigarda, *Osteina plakidia* (Thessalonike 1986). A. Cutler, "On Byzantine Boxes," *JWalt* 42–43 (1984–85) 32–47. J. Duffy, G. Vikan, "A Small Box in John Moschus," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 93–99. – M.M.M., A.C., L.Ph.B.

ČASLAV (Τζεέσθλαβος in *De adm. imp.*), Serbian prince; born Bulgaria, died Serbia ca.960. Časlav was the son of a Serbian prince, Klonimir, to whom BORIS II gave a Bulgarian wife. SYMEON OF BULGARIA used Časlav in the war against the Serbian ruler Zacharias: Časlav accompanied a Bulgarian army that forced Zacharias to flee to Croatia; the Bulgarians summoned Serbian *župans* (nobles) to receive Časlav as their prince but then tricked them, took them captive, and pillaged the country. "Seven years afterwards," relates Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.*, 32.128), Časlav escaped from Bulgaria: the date is under dispute, 928/9, 931/2, and 933/4 having been suggested. In any case the flight occurred after PETER OF BULGARIA concluded the treaty of 927 with Byz. Constantine asserts that Časlav found a devastated Serbia inhabited by only 50 men, "without wives and children, who supported themselves by hunting." He gained the assistance of ROMANOS I by promising to be an imperial vassal, rallied the Serbs living in Croatia and Bulgaria, and created a powerful state rivaling Bulgaria.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Porfirogenitova hronika srpskih vladara," *Istoriski časopis* 1 (1948) 24–29. F. Dvornik in *De adm. imp.* 2:136. –A.K.

CASOLE, Italian town about 2 km south of OTRANTO. The Greek monastery of S. Nicola di Casole (τῶν Κασούλων) was founded at Casole in 1098/9 by the monk Joseph under Norman patronage. During the later Middle Ages the abbey was one of the most prosperous ecclesiastical institutions in Apulia. The monastery's reputation as a center of Greek learning is mostly due to its important library and to the presence of NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO. Turks destroyed the monastery in 1480. Its archives and most of the MSS are lost; the *typikon* (1173) survives but has been only partly edited (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:795–836).

LIT. T.Kölzer, "Zur Geschichte des Klosters S. Nicola di Casole," *QFItArch* 65 (1985) 418–26. H. Omont, "Le *Typicon* de Saint-Nicolas di Casole près d'Otrante," *REGr* 3 (1890) 381–91. –V.v.F.

CASSIAN, JOHN, a founder of early monasteries in southern Gallia and a Latin ecclesiastical writer; born ca.360, *natione Scytha*, according to GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES, that is, probably in Scythia Minor, died Marseilles after 432. Cassian (Κασσιανός) spent his youth in a monastery at Bethlehem, then in Egypt (in Sketis). After leaving Egypt suddenly, ca.399, he came to Constantinople where John Chrysostom ordained him deacon. After Chrysostom's deposition, Cassian moved westward in 405; in Rome he formed a friendship with the future pope Leo I and ca.410 settled in Provence, where he founded twin monasteries—one for men (named after the local saint, Victor) and another for women.

Here Cassian wrote three books in Latin. The first section of the *Institutions* describes monastic life in Egypt and Palestine, including monastic dress; in the second part of the treatise he presents the theory of eight VICES that monks had to avoid; since four of them bear Greek names (*gastrimargia*, *philargyria*, *acedia*, and *cenodoxia*), it is quite plausible that Cassian used Greek sources, such as EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. The second book, *Collationes* (Conferences), consists of fictitious conversations with hermits (in the style of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM) and is concerned with the superiority of the way of salvation: the *Institutions* were intended to prepare the flesh for a virtuous life, while the *Conferences* dealt with the journey of the soul to the heavenly abode. Though very popular, the *Conferences* were suspected of Pela-

gianistic formulations and proclaimed apocryphal by the Western church. At the instigation of Pope Leo I, Cassian also compiled a refutation of Nestorios entitled *On the Incarnation of the Lord.*

ED. *Institutions cénobitiques,* ed. J.-C. Guy (Paris 1965). *Conférences,* ed. E. Pichery, 3 vols. (Paris 1955–59). Eng. tr. C. Luibheid (New York–Mahwah–Toronto 1985). *De incarnatione Domini,* ed. M. Petschenig in *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* 17 (1888) 233–391.

LIT. P. Rousseau, *Ascetics, Authority and the Church in the Age of Jerome and Cassian* (Oxford 1978) 169–239. O. Chadwick, *John Cassian: A Study in Primitive Monasticism*[2] (Cambridge 1968). E. Schwartz, "Cassian und Nestorius," *Konzilstudien,* vol. 1 (Strassburg 1914) 1–17. –T.E.G., A.K.

CASSIODORUS, more fully, Flavius Magnus Aurelius Cassiodorus Senator, statesman and scholar; prefect of Italy (533–37) under THEODORIC THE GREAT; born Bruttium ca.487, died Vivarium monastery ca.580. He was in Constantinople ca.550 for unknown reasons. Returning to Italy after Justinian I's reconquest, he founded and lived in the Calabrian VIVARIUM MONASTERY until his death. As an official, Cassiodorus was instrumental in romanizing his Gothic masters both administratively and culturally. Vivarium, though physically short-lived, paved the way for medieval preservation of ancient texts and the Benedictine monastic tradition.

Cassiodorus was as tireless a writer as organizer. The *Institutes* are a blueprint for the union of secular and theological study. A commentary on the Psalms, drawing upon AUGUSTINE, emphasizes allegorical interpretation, while the *De anima* dwells upon the spirituality of the soul. The *Historia Tripartita* is a 12-book arrangement of the church historians SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS translated into Latin by Cassiodorus's pupil Epiphanios. Principal secular works are the *Variae,* 12 books of his official correspondence preserving the imperial edicts that he had drawn up, a model for later chanceries; a *Chronicle* summarizing Roman history within a universal context from the time of Adam to 519; and a treatise on orthography. His *History of the Goths* is preserved only in an abridged version by JORDANES (B. Croke, *ClPhil* 82 [1987] 117–34).

ED. PL 69–70. *Cassiodori Senatoris Variae,* ed. T. Mommsen, in MGH *AuctAnt* 12 (Berlin 1894). *Institutiones,* ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1937). Eng. tr. L.W. Jones, *An Introduction to Divine and Human Readings* (New York 1946; rp. 1966). *The Letters of Cassiodorus,* tr. T. Hodgkin (London 1886).

LIT. J.J. O'Donnell, *Cassiodorus* (Berkeley 1979), rev. Av. Cameron, *JRS* 71 (1981) 183–86. *Flavio Magno Aurelio Cassiodoro,* ed. S. Leanza (Soveria Mannelli 1986). A. Momigliano, "Cassiodorus and the Italian Culture of his Time," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 207–45. S. Krautschick, *Cassiodor und die Politik seiner Zeit* (Bonn 1983). M.G. Ennis, *The Vocabulary of the Institutions of Cassiodorus* (Washington, D.C., 1939). –B.B.

CASTELSEPRIO. Mural paintings discovered in 1944 in the unprepossessing Church of S. Maria foris portas, outside the Roman, Byz., and Lombard fortress (*castellum*) of Seprium, northwest of Milan, have figured prominently in the attempt to reconstruct the history of pre-Iconoclastic mural art in Constantinople. The paintings, very similar in style to MSS such as the PARIS PSALTER and JOSHUA ROLL, are apparently the work of an itinerant Byz. master. Their remarkable naturalism first suggested a date in the 6th–7th C., though Weitzmann argued for the 10th. The later dating has been vindicated by radiocarbon analysis of the original roof beams, which suggests a range between 778 (or 808?) and 952 (P. Leveto-Jabr, *Gesta* 26 [1987] 17f). The murals covered the upper wall of the eastern apse with at least 11 scenes of the life of the Virgin, of which 8 survive, making Castelseprio an important witness to narrative iconographies rarely encountered in Byz. monumental painting before the 13th C.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *The Fresco Cycle of S. Maria di Castelseprio* (Princeton 1951). D.H. Wright, "Sources of Longobard Wall Painting," *AttiCAltMed* 6.2 (Spoleto 1980) 727–39. –D.K.

CASTLES. See CRUSADER CASTLES; FORTIFICATIONS; KASTRON.

CATACOMBS, the usual term for rock-hewn burial grounds, which were in widespread use until the 6th C. Although catacombs were not the prerogative of any one religious group, or limited to a single region (witness Naples, Syracuse, and Alexandria), they are commonly associated with Christianity, under whose aegis they flourished, and the city of Rome, where the largest body of them has been discovered. From the 3rd C. Roman Christians largely buried their dead in extramural subterranean tombs composed of networks of corridors and cubicula that ranged in size from the small and presumably private (e.g., catacomb

of Vibia), single-family complex to the large, multistoried structure housing thousands of tombs, administered by the church (e.g., catacombs of Calixtus, Domitilla). In the Roman catacombs all classes and ages were buried, in LOCULI and ARCOSOLIA. Tombs were often marked with a carved or painted inscription identifying the occupant. Images expressing Christian hopes of salvation (COMMENDATIO ANIMAE; the GOOD SHEPHERD), painted on the walls of the catacombs and carved on contemporary sarcophagi, are among the earliest Christian art known. After Christianity was granted toleration ca.311–13, the architecture and decoration of the catacombs became quite elaborate, drawing upon forms commonly used for above-ground tombs. The catacombs of Rome ceased to be used for burials in the 6th C.; they continued to be visited, however, and indeed even embellished with works of art (e.g., catacombs of S. Ermete, Calixtus), though sporadically, throughout the Middle Ages.

LIT. P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma* (Bologna 1966). W. Tronzo, *The Via Latina Catacomb* (University Park, Penn., 1986). G.B. de Rossi et al., *Inscriptiones christianae urbis Romae* (Rome 1857–). –W.T.

CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, band of Spanish mercenaries hired by ANDRONIKOS II to fight the Turks in Anatolia. The Catalans were able to recover some Byz. territory in 1304, but after the assassination of their leader ROGER DE FLOR (1305) they turned against the Byz. Using the KALLIPOLIS peninsula as their base, they raided the surrounding countryside for two years (1305–07). In 1307 they moved west, plundering Thrace, Macedonia, and even the monasteries of Athos. In 1309 they ventured further south into Thessaly; in 1311 they defeated Gautier de Brienne, duke of Athens, at the battle of Kephissos near Thebes. Having thus ended Burgundian rule over Athens and Thebes, the Catalan mercenaries established themselves in the duchy of Athens. They requested the protection of the Aragonese king Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337), three of whose sons were in turn named dukes of Athens. Thebes, which served as the political and commercial center of the duchy, was captured by the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1379. Catalan rule over Athens lasted until 1388, when the city fell to the Florentine Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI.

SOURCES. *Ramon Muntaner. L'expedicio dels Catalans a Orient*, ed. L. Nicolau d'Olwer (Barcelona 1926). Eng. tr. Lady [A.] Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, 2 vols. (London 1920–21). A. Rubió i Lluch, *Diplomatari de l'Orient català 1301–1409* (Barcelona 1947).

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 127–242. K.M. Setton, *Catalan Domination of Athens, 1311–1388* (Cambridge, Mass., 1948, rev. ed., London 1975). Jacoby, *Société*, pt.V (1966), 78–103. –A.M.T.

CATALANS (Κατελάνοι) of northeastern Spain had contacts with Byz., at least from the 12th C. onward, through the merchants of Barcelona. The Catalans seem to have been involved in Manuel I's dynastic policy when he married his heir, Alexios II, to the daughter of the king of France, and planned the marriage of his niece Eudokia with Ramon Berengar, duke of Provence and brother of the king of Aragon, Alfonso II (1162–96). Relations intensified at the end of the 13th C. The confederation of Aragon and Catalonia was established in Sicily after the SICILIAN VESPERS (1282), the revolt that expelled the Angevin dynasty hostile to Byz. In 1315 Ferrando of Majorca landed in the western Peloponnesos, while his cousin Frederick, Aragonese ruler of Sicily, was at war with the Angevins of Naples. Ferrando was able, however, to keep only a part of the Morea for a year; he was defeated by Louis of Burgundy and beheaded. In the 14th C. the mercenary CATALAN GRAND COMPANY had considerable impact on Byz., eventually establishing Catalan rule over Athens and Thebes. In 1351 Aragon-Catalonia allied with Byz. and Venice against Genoa; this coalition led in the following year to a successful but costly allied naval victory over the Genoese fleet in the Bosporos. The Catalan chronicler, Ramon Muntaner (1265–1336), provides a valuable source for the history of relations between the Catalan Grand Company and Byz.

LIT. J.N. Hillgarth, *The Spanish Kingdoms 1250–1516*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1976) 233–86. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 127–242. W. Hecht, "Zur Geschichte der 'Kaiserin' von Montpellier, Eudoxia Komnena," *REB* 26 (1968) 161–69. B. Berg, "The Moreote Expedition of Ferrando of Majorca in the *Aragonese Chronicle of Morea*," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 69–90. –R.B.H.

CATALAUNIAN FIELDS (Campi Catalaunici), site of a battle that occured in 451, probably on 20 June. The battle of the Catalaunian Fields is also known as the battle of Châlons or of Maurica. After Emp. Marcian refused to pay the customary

tribute to the Huns in 450, ATTILA turned his attention to the West and invaded Gaul with a force of Huns and subject Germans. The *magister militum* AETIUS organized the resistance and the future emperor EPARCHIUS AVITUS arranged an alliance with Theodoric, king of the Visigoths. The Romans and their allies prevented Attila from reaching Orléans and pursued the Huns into eastern Gaul. The two armies met somewhere in what is now Champagne. The exact site has been subject to considerable but futile scholarly debate. The battle was long contested and ended in a draw, although this represented a moral victory for the Romans; Attila reportedly prepared a funeral pyre rather than fall into the hands of his enemies. Thorismund, son of Theodoric (who had died in the battle), wished to pursue the advantage and attack the Huns. Aetius, however, did not want the total destruction of Hunnic power and persuaded the new Visigothic king to return home to forestall the ambitions of his brothers. Attila was thus allowed to slip away and to plan his invasion of Italy in 452. The importance of the battle has generally been exaggerated in historical accounts.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:291–94. D. Jalmain, "Attila en Gaule," *Archeologia* 206 (1985) 72–75. –T.E.G.

CATANIA (Κατάνη), city on the east coast of Sicily; together with the rest of the island, Catania belonged to the Ostrogothic state from 491. While Catania was under the Ostrogoths, royal permission was given to the town to repair its walls with blocks fallen from the ruined amphitheater (CASSIODORUS, *Variae* III.49). In 535, general Belisarios recovered the town for the Byz. without encountering serious resistance. It was temporarily recaptured by Totila in 550; Prokopios (*Wars* 7.40.21) indicates that at this time the city was unwalled. The town was gradually hellenized: the seal of the 7th-C. bishop George has a Latin inscription, whereas the inscriptions of 8th- and 9th-C. seals are in Greek.

In the 9th C. the Arabs repeatedly plundered the environs of Catania. In 900 they besieged it unsuccessfully, but soon thereafter they conquered the city. A legend reports that George MANIAKES seized Catania in 1042 and took to Constantinople the relics of St. Agatha, who had supposedly been martyred at Catania; her bones were returned in 1126. The Normans occupied the city sometime in the second half of the 11th C.

The first known bishop of Catania was Fortunatus in the early 6th C. The see appears as an archbishopric under the authority of Constantinople in the notitia compiled between 787 and 869. In the mid-9th C. the bishop of Catania Euthymios was ordained by Patr. Ignatios but then joined the party of Patr. Photios and was probably rewarded by promotion to the rank of metropolitan by 869. After the fall of Sicily to the Arabs (by 902) the title of the metropolitan of Catania survived: Leo of Catania participated in the meeting convoked by Patr. Sisinnios in Feb. 997 (PG 119:741A), and "Katane of Sicily" is still listed in the notitia of the 13th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.15.44). A Latin bishopric, however, was established in the city in 1086–89. The legendary vita of an earlier LEO OF CATANIA describes frequent travel between Catania and Constantinople as well as the horse races in Catania; both the date and validity of this evidence remain disputable.

LIT. G. Libertini, "Catania nell'età bizantina," *Archivo storico per Sicilia orientale. Conferenza* 28 (1932) 242–66. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:700–04. –A.K., R.B.H.

CATECHUMENATE (from *κατηχούμενοι*, "those who receive instruction"), period and discipline of preparation for BAPTISM. Characterized already ca.150 as a period of fasting, prayer, and instruction, the catechumenate reached classic expression ca.215 as a well-defined institution of candidates called *catechumeni* (Tertullian, *De praescriptione Haereticorum* 41.2, ed. R.F. Refoulé [= CChr, ser. lat. 1:221.4–7]). During the catechumenate, which normally lasted three years, the candidates were presented to the church leaders by Christian sponsors, tested, exhorted, and prayed over at common sessions with a teacher; they attended services in a special place reserved for them, but were dismissed before the Prayer of the Faithful, in which they could have no part. From the 7th C., church GALLERIES are often called *katechoumena*, but by then the catechumenate was no longer a living institution in Byz. (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 42 [1976] 301f).

LENT brought a second, final stage, when the *photizomenoi* ("enlightened"), those destined for baptism at Easter, were prepared, in a crescendo of initiatory rites that included renunciation of

Satan, profession of faith, stripping, blessing of the water, prebaptismal anointing, the bath of baptism by triple immersion, clothing, chrismation or sealing, entrance into the waiting community, kiss of peace, eucharistic offering, and COMMUNION, usually at the Easter VIGIL. The dramatization of the ritual for maximum effect is revealed in the classic 4th-C. catechetical homilies of Cyril of Jerusalem, John Chrysostom, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Ambrose of Milan (E. Yarnold, *The Awe-Inspiring Rites of Initiation* [Slough 1972]; H. Riley, *Christian Initiation* [Washington, D.C., 1974]).

After the 4th C., with the enrollment of infants in the catechumenate and of adults with no intention of seeking baptism in the immediate future, the two-stage system declined. In Constantinople, parents first presented their infants for admission to the "first catechumenate" 40 days after birth. Then on Monday of the fourth week of Lent, those to be baptized at the Easter Vigil were brought to the church for the prayers and exorcisms that began the "second catechumenate" (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:39f). These *photizomenoi* were prayed for in a special LITANY at all services for the rest of Lent. On Good Friday the patriarch held a catechesis for them at St. Irene, followed by the solemn renunciation of Satan and adherence to Christ (ibid. 78f). From at least the 8th C. onward, however, Byz. usage compresses all of this into a service immediately preceding baptism.

LIT. M. Dujarier, *A History of the Catechumenate: The First Six Centuries* (New York 1979). Arranz, "Rites d'incorporation" 36–53. Idem, "Les sacrements," 49 (1983) 284–302; 50 (1984) 43–64, 372–97. –R.F.T.

CATENAE (Lat. "chains"), scholarly term used from the 15th C. onward to designate the genre that the Byz. called "collection of exegetical fragments." The genre was created by PROKOPIOS OF GAZA and survived the fall of Byz.; it expanded to some neighboring countries as well. Catenae consisted of quotations from theologians (both church fathers and heretical writers) attached to a particular verse of the BIBLE and following the sequence of the text itself. On the basis of the catenae to the Psalms, Dorival (*infra*) divided the genre into two groups: the Palestinian and the Constantinopolitan, the latter originating between 650 and 700. The first type of the Palestinian group is the Prokopian model, consisting of quotations from the commentaries or homilies of Palestinian authors. The second Palestinian type is the chain-scholia, characterized by their brevity and format: they were set forth in a column parallel to the biblical text so that every scholion stood side by side with the verse commented on; sometimes the scribe left empty space between two scholia. Constantinopolitan catenae often consisted of citations from one authority—primarily JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, sometimes THEODORET OF CYRRHUS; another Constantinopolitan type contained citations from the two authors and offered the integrated commentary of particular theologians, rather than quotations out of context. The third Constantinopolitan model combined Chrysostom and Theodoret with Palestinian authorities. Byz. exegetes produced catenae to the books of both Old Testament and New Testament (OCTATEUCH, PSALTER, Gospels, etc.). Catenae also exist in Christian Oriental languages (Coptic and Syriac).

ED. *Catenae graecae in Genesim et Exodum II*, ed. F. Petit (Turnhout-Leuven 1986).

LIT. M. Geerard, *CPG* 4:185–259. G. Dorival, "La postérité littéraire des chaînes exégétiques grecques," *REB* 43 (1985) 209–26. Ch.Th. Krikones, "Peri hermeneutikon seiron (catenae)," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 89–139. –J.I., A.K.

CATEPANATE. See KATEPANATE.

CATHARS (from Gr. Καθαροί, "the pure"), medieval dualist sect that flourished in Germany, southern France, and northern Italy. From the mid-12th C. onward, Byz. DUALISM exerted a formative influence on the Cathar movement, as several reliable Western documents attest. Contact between dualists of eastern and western Europe were facilitated by trade relations and by the Crusades (C. Thouzellier, *RHE* 49 [1954] 859–72). In the second half of the 12th C. dualist missionaries from the Balkans frequently visited Italy and France to propagate either the "absolute" or the "moderate" form of dualism in the local heretical communities. (The "absolute" dualists believed in two coeternal principles of good and evil, while the "moderate" dualists held that the evil demiurge, creator of this world, was himself the creature of the one God.) The most prestigious of these visitors was Niketas, the leader of the

dualists of Constantinople, who came to preside over the heretical council of St. Félix de Caraman near Toulouse (which met probably between 1174 and 1177), and persuaded the French Cathars to adopt "absolute" dualism (D. Obolensky in *Okeanos* 489–500). The Cathars seem generally to have believed that their faith came from the Balkans. Thus, a group of them, condemned to the stake in Cologne ca.1143, declared that their religion had its home "in Greece and certain other lands" (the latter expression is generally taken to refer to Bulgaria). The Balkan origin of Catharism is confirmed by terminology: their name is Greek, and the Cathars were often known in the West as *Bulgari*, *Bogri*, or *Bugres* (hence *bougre*).

The teaching of the Cathars shows striking similarities with the doctrines of the BOGOMILS: these include denial of the reality of the Incarnation, repudiation of marriage, total opposition to the established church, and the belief (held by the "moderate" dualists) that the Devil was the son of God. The ritual of the Cathars was certainly influenced by that of the Bogomils.

LIT. A. Dondaine, "Les Actes du concile Albigeois de Saint-Félix de Caraman," in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati* (Vatican 1946) 5:324–55. Idem, "La hiérarchie cathare en Italie," *AFP* 19 (1949) 280–312; 20 (1950) 234–324. B. Hamilton, "The Cathar Council of Saint-Félix Reconsidered," *AFP* 48 (1978) 23–53. G. Šemkov, "Der Einfluss der Bogomilen auf die Katharer," *Saeculum* 32 (1981) 349–73. G. Rottenwöhrer, *Der Katharismus*, 2 vols. (Bad Honnef 1982). –D.O.

CATHEDRA (*καθέδρα*), term for a bishop's THRONE. Such seats were made of stone, wood, or, as in the case of the cathedra of MAXIMIAN, ivory. The cathedra stood in the center of the apse, at the top of the SYNTHRONON. It was used by the bishop during the liturgy and, in the early period, while he pronounced homilies. The bishop in his cathedra flanked by priests was likened to Christ among the Apostles. Certain cathedrae served strictly symbolic functions, as was the case with the "Sedia di S. Marco," a 6th-C. alabaster throne-reliquary now in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.7). –M.J.

CATHERINE, MONASTERY OF SAINT. The site of the BURNING BUSH at the foot of Mt. SINAI (Djebel Mousa) was inhabited by the 4th C. A church marked the *locus sanctus*, and monks lived nearby in cells, as attested by the pilgrim EGERIA who visited the area in 381–84. Sometime between 548 and 565 Justinian I constructed a heavily fortified monastery around the shrine to protect the monks from Bedouin raids and for the defense of Palestine (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5.8.9). The monastery, which was and still is under the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Jerusalem, has been continuously inhabited ever since. It also has strong ties with Cyprus and Crete, where it possesses METOCHIA.

The monastery was originally called *tou Batou* (of the Burning Bush); it took the name of St. CATHERINE in the 10th or 11th C. after acquiring the relics of the Alexandrian martyr. Because of the monastery's remote location, its artistic treasures escaped destruction during the period of Iconoclasm; hence its collection of over 2,000 icons includes extremely rare examples of encaustic painting of the 6th and 7th C. The library contains more than 3,000 MSS in a variety of languages (Greek, Arabic, Georgian, Syriac, and Slavic) that reflect the diversity of the monks who have lived at Sinai.

Much of the 6th-C. architecture survives, including the fortification walls and the basilica, which preserves some of its original decoration such as the mosaic of the TRANSFIGURATION in the conch of the apse and fine wood carving on the entrance doors and ceiling beams.

LIT. G.H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Church and Fortress of Justinian. Plates* (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1973). K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai. The Icons. I. From the 6th to the 10th C.* (Princeton, N.J., 1976). Idem, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton, N.J., 1982). J. Galey, *Sinai and the Monastery of St. Catherine* (London 1979). I. Ševčenko, "The Early Period of the Sinai Monastery in the Light of its Inscriptions," *DOP* 20 (1966) 255–64. –A.M.T.

CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA, saint; feastdays 24 and 25 Nov. Her *passiones* present Catherine, or Aikaterina (*Αἰκατερῖνα*), as a young virgin of imperial stock who successfully debated with pagan philosophers in Alexandria in the presence of Emp. MAXENTIUS. The emperor ordered Catherine to be stripped of her "imperial purple garb" and flogged. Although Catherine succeeded in converting both the empress and the *stratopedarches* Porphyrion to Christianity, Maxentius ordered her decapitation; instead of blood, milk gushed from the wound, and angels carried

her body to SINAI. The monastery founded on Sinai at the site of the Burning Bush eventually took her name (see CATHERINE, MONASTERY OF SAINT). Viteau (*infra*) hypothesized, despite the legendary character of the *passiones*, that a Christian virgin Catherine had in fact been beheaded on 24 Nov. 305; he surmised also that the prototype of the *passiones* dates from the 6th C. or the first half of the 7th C. (see sharp criticism, *AB* 18 [1899] 69f). The evidence for Catherine's cult is late: the monk Epiphanios who visited Sinai ca.820 knew nothing of Catherine. The interconnection between the preserved *passiones* is unclear; one of them, an obvious forgery, names as its author Athanasios, *tachygraphos* (stenographer) and servant of the saint. The description of Catherine's debate with the Alexandrian philosophers has passages in common with BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. The *passiones* were slightly reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES and also translated into Latin, Arabic, and other languages.

Representation in Art. Catherine is invariably clad in imperial vestments (*loros* with *thorakion*, and crown) and holds a martyr's cross. Her beheading and the fiery death of her inquisitors appear in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.207), and her dispute with the rhetors in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.167r); there is a cycle of 12 scenes surrounding her portrait on a 12th–13th-C. icon on Mt. Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*[4] 12 [1984] 95f).

SOURCES. *Passions des Saints Écaterine et Pierre d'Alexandrie, Barbara et Anysia*, ed. J. Viteau (Paris 1897) 5–65. PG 116:275–302. P. Peeters, "Une version arabe de la passion de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie," *AB* 26 (1907) 5–32.

LIT. *BHG* 30–32b. G.B. Bronzini, "La leggenda di S. Caterina d'Alessandria," *Memorie dell'Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei. Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche*[8] 9 (1960) 257–416. E. Klostermann, E. Seeberg, *Die Apologie der Heiligen Katharina* (Berlin 1924). J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Un hymne inédit à Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie," *TM* 8 (1981) 187–207. –A.K., N.P.Š.

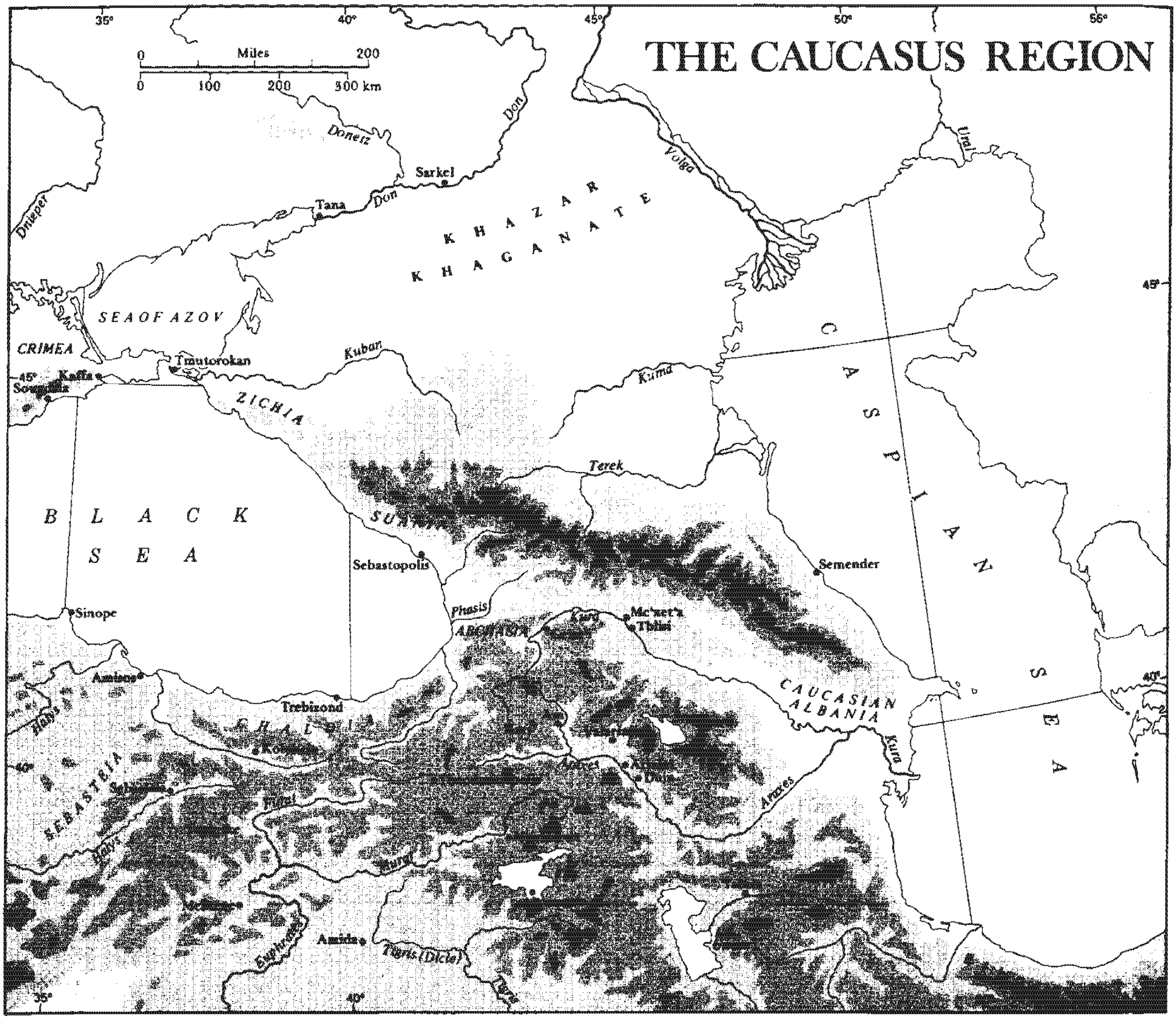
CATTLE. See BEASTS OF BURDEN; LIVESTOCK.

CAUCASUS (Καυκάσος), major mountain range stretching some 1,200 km northwest to southeast from the Black Sea to the Caspian Sea, traditionally held to have been the natural frontier between Europe and Asia. Because many descendants of various nomadic tribes survived in high mountain valleys, Plutarch claimed that Pompey needed 120 interpreters on his Caucasian campaign, and medieval Arab geographers called it "The Mountain of Languages." Historically the Caucasus served as a barrier protecting the settled kingdoms to the south from northern nomads, and measures were repeatedly taken to control its two main passes: the Darial (Dār-i Alan, "Gate of the Alans") near the center of the chain on the "Georgian Military Highway" descending to Tblisi, and the "Caspian Gates" on the seashore near Derbent. The Peace of 562 between Byz. and Persia stipulated that the Sasanians would garrison the passes, while the empire contributed a subsidy. Justin II abrogated this agreement, leading to the resumption of the Persian war at the end of the 6th C.

Though relatively impenetrable, the Caucasus remained a channel for both military and commercial purposes. Justinian I sought to evade the Persian monopoly over the SILK trade by creating a route running north of the Caucasus to the Caspian and eventually the Far East. Nevertheless, fragments of silk have also been found in the mountains, and the later south-north trade between the caliphate and the Rus' was carried on through the passes. These same passes allowed Byz.'s allies, the KHAZARS, to attack the Arabs in the 8th–9th C., while in the 12th–13th C. the Georgian kings drew support for the unification of their country from the Kipchak Turkish tribes north of the mountains. (For map, see next page.)

LIT. T. Halasi-Kun, "The Caucasus: An Ethno-Historical Survey," *Studia Caucasica* 1 (1963) 1–47. M.O. Kosven, *Etnografija i istorija Kavkaza* (Moscow 1961). *Kavkaz* (Moscow 1966). S.T. Eremyan, "Sinunia i oborona Sasanidami Kavkazskich prochodov," *Izvestija Armjanskogo filiala Akademii Nauk SSSR* (1941). –N.G.G.

CAVALRY (ἱππικόν, καβαλλαρικόν) provided the offensive force in the Byz. army, and their tactics and equipment were thoroughly discussed in the military treatises. Their skills and tactics reflect the influence of the empire's eastern enemies, most notably in the acquisition of the STIRRUP, possibly from the Avars (first mentioned in the 7th C.), and the use of mounted archers. Books 1–3 of the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE describe the techniques of cavalry warfare developed in the late Roman period, stressing mobility, the importance of reserves, and the need for individual skill



with both lance and bow. Cavalry tactics sought to combine encirclement with shock by deploying three units forward in an attack line and four behind in support, with other units on both flanks detailed to outflank the enemy on the right and prevent enemy encirclement from the left. To this basic pattern of cavalry deployment the 10th-C. STRATEGIKA show the addition of heavy KATAPHRAKTOI for increased shock against enemy infantry, and a third line of reserves for protection against Arab skirmishers (*Praecepta Milit.* 3–4, pp. 10.15–18.15).

Cavalry warfare in the later period was influenced by Latin MERCENARIES, best illustrated by Manuel I Komnenos's eager imitation of knightly tournaments (Nik.Chon. 108.53–109.88). These mercenaries provided the bulk of cavalrymen, esp. heavy cavalrymen, in Nicaean and Palaiologan armies.

LIT. A.D.H. Bivar, "Cavalry Equipment and Tactics on the Euphrates Frontier," *DOP* 26 (1972) 271–91. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 184–90. R.P. Lindner, "An Impact of the West on Comnenian Anatolia," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 207–13. W. Gaitzsch, "Ein westeuropäisches Pferdegeschirr des späten 13. Jahrhunderts aus Pergamon," *IstMitt* 37 (1987) 219–56. –E.M.

CAVE CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS. See ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS.

ÇAVUŞIN. Near this village in CAPPADOCIA are two important ROCK-CUT CHURCHES. The large, finely carved three-aisled Basilica of St. John the Baptist (probably 6th C.) until recently retained part of its impressive façade of massive rock-cut Ionic columns. Along with the Basilica of Dumuş Kadir Kilisesi in the village of Avçılar, St. John the Baptist is prominent among a small group of early rock-cut monuments surviving in the province. The second historically significant structure is the Great Pigeon House, dated to 963–69 by the portraits of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and his family in the prothesis apse. With a figure on horseback at the front of a row of military saints is an invocation on behalf of MELIAS the *magistros*. Portraits (presumably of donors) at the feet of a colossal St. Michael at the east end of the north wall are almost entirely obliterated. The church was decorated with an elaborate Christological cycle largely dependent on the program of Tokalı Kilise in GÖREME Valley.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2:511–50. N. Thierry, *Haut Moyen-âge en Cappadoce: Les églises de la région de Çavuşin*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983). Eadem, "La basilique Saint-Jean-Baptiste de Çavuşın," *BullSocAntFr* (1972) 199–213. L. Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşın," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 301–39. –A.J.W.

CEFALÙ, village on the north coast of Sicily. The cathedral of Sts. Peter and Paul is a T-shaped basilica of largely French design, decorated in the apse and presbytery with mosaics. It was founded in 1131 as the burial church of King ROGER II, but he seems to have lost interest in it; his porphyry sarcophagus eventually was transferred to Palermo cathedral and concomitantly the mosaic decoration was abandoned after the completion of the program in the presbytery. The mosaics in the apse (bust of the PANTOKRATOR in the conch, Virgin with archangels and apostles on the wall below) are dated to 1148 by inscription. Because the craft had no local tradition in Sicily, it is assumed that these first mosaics were executed by Byz. artisans. Those in the presbytery (angels in the vault, and standing prophets and saints) are ascribed to Sicilian pupils.

LIT. *Mostra di documente e testimonianze figurative della basilica ruggeriana di Cefalù* (Palermo 1982). Demus, *Norman Sicily* 3–24. F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania 1975) 87–91. –D.K.

CEIONIUS, a Roman aristocratic family that the *Historia Augusta* credits with royal descent. Actually, the founder of the family's fortune, Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, was not noble but rose through his own political achievements and a good marriage (T.D. Barnes, *JRS* 65 [1975] 46f). He prospered under Diocletian and Maxentius and retained a high position after Constantine I's victory; he was prefect of Rome in 313–15, but thereafter fell into disgrace. Nonetheless, his son, Ceionius Rufius Albinus, was prefect of Rome in 335–37; Ceionius Rufius Volusianus, named also Lampadius, prefect of Rome in 365, may well have been Albinus's son. His building activity proved burdensome for the local population and caused a riot in Rome, during which his house was destroyed. The family was still influential in the first half of the 5th C., when its representatives occupied posts such as *comes rerum privatarum*, quaestor, and prefect of Rome. The family owned estates in Italy and Africa and, unlike the ANICII, supported paganism; Publius Ceionius Julianus was a maternal uncle of Emp. Julian; under his nephew he served as *comes Orientis* and zealously persecuted Christians in Antioch. Another member of the family, Rufius Antonius Agrypnius Volusianus, loyal to paganism, discussed the doctrine of the Incarnation with Augustine (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 353). Some Ceionii, however, married Christian women, and St. MELANIA THE YOUNGER was related to the family. The Ceionii disappeared soon after 440.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 3 (1899) 1858–66. *PLRE* 1:1137–38. –A.K.

CELIBACY (*ἀγαμία*) was extolled by St. Paul and the church fathers, but was not considered as prescribed by God (John Chrysostom, PG 63:602.11–12). Only some radical dissidents/dualists (*Chron. Pasch.* 486.6–8) insisted on mandatory celibacy for laymen. Clerical celibacy was viewed as a matter of personal choice rather than a prerequisite for ordination. Except in the case of monks and nuns, no universal law excluded clerics from marriage. In the West, the Council of Elvira (beginning of the 4th C.) required, for the first time, the obligatory celibacy of the higher clergy, whereas the East remained reluctant to take this step: the First Council of Nicaea, under the pressure of the monk Paphnoutios, a victim of Diocle-

tian's persecutions and a strict ascetic, repudiated a proposal that would have made celibacy compulsory for all clergy. The development in the East was not uniform: in 4th-C. Asia Minor even a bishop could be a married man, whereas in North Africa, Synesios of Cyrene as a special privilege received a dispensation from abandoning his wife when he became a bishop; in Thessaly, at the time of Sokrates (*HE* 5:22.50), an ordinary cleric was forbidden to sleep with his wife after ordination. In 528 Justinian I prohibited marriages of bishops, having particularly stressed the significance of this regulation—bishops should not bequeath their property to their relatives, but to the church and the poor (*Cod. Just.* I 3.41).

The Council in Trullo defined the rules that remained in effect throughout the entire Byz. period: the lower clergy could marry after ordination; priests, deacons, and subdeacons could retain their wives if they had married before ordination; married men elevated to the bishopric had to sever their marital bonds and their wives had to go to convents. The marital status of Byz. middle clergy was one of the serious points in the conflict between the Western and Eastern churches from the 11th C. onward, esp. after the Latin conquest of Orthodox territories, since the Greek priests were not required to be celibate.

LIT. C. Knetes, "Ordination and Matrimony in the Eastern Orthodox Church," *JThSt* 11 (1910) 348–400, 481–513. J. Meyendorff, *Marriage: An Orthodox Perspective* (New York 1970) 52–60. R. Gryson, *Les origines du célibat ecclésiastique du premier au septième siècle* (Gembloux 1970). B. Kötting, *Der Zölibat in der alten Kirche*² (Münster in Westfalen 1970). E. Papagiannes, *Oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986). –A.P., A.K.

CEMETERY (*κοιμητήριον*, lit. "sleeping place [for the dead]"). John Chrysostom, in his homily *On the Name of the Cemetery* (PG 49:393.33–36), declares that the place was named *koimeterion* to show that buried persons are not dead but asleep. Tombstones of the 4th–6th C. regularly refer to an individual burial as *koimeterion*. Christian cemeteries were both subterranean (CATACOMBS) and above ground (*areae*). Even though some apotropaic symbols have been discovered in mid-4th-C. Christian cemeteries (N. Hamparţumian in *Hommages à Maarten J. Vermaseren*, vol. 1 [Leiden 1978] 473–77), pagans were refused burial there. *Areae* were located outside city walls; BASILICAS began to be erected there from the late 4th C. onward, as did MAUSOLEUMS and MARTYRIA.

TOMBS were commonly built of tiles or rubble masonry, often with vaults. Simple graves were often covered with plastered pseudo-vaults that were visible above the ground. Lamps were left burning at graves, and relatives and friends apparently gathered at tombs for memorial meals and celebrations. In the 6th–7th C. cemeteries began to invade the central areas of cities, including the ancient marketplaces. The Byz. also buried their dead in *hypogaea*, or subterranean vaulted chambers, esp. in Constantinople (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 219–22). These varied from single rooms to multilevel structures where SARCOPHAGI were separated by walls decorated with frescoes.

Most cemeteries were made up of simple interments with burials regularly oriented so that heads were at the west. In many areas simple tile-lined graves were covered with mounded dirt that was then sealed with a coat of plaster. Even though an edict of 381 (*Cod.Theod.* IX 17.6) prohibited BURIAL in churches, the custom was well established, esp. for saints, emperors, and influential persons. Even in monastic cemeteries no equality obtained: the *typikon* of the 12th-C. KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY (117.1727–31) provides that separate burial plots (*stataraia*) be assigned to superiors, nuns of the higher rank (*megaloschema*), regular nuns, and servants.

The inscriptions from late Roman necropolises constitute a highly important source of social information: those from KORYKOS, for example, suggest flourishing mercantile activity in the 5th–6th-C. city (A. Gurevič, *VDI* [1955] no.1, 127–35); inscriptions from the so-called cemetery of Sts. Mark, Marcellianus, and Damasus in Rome (ca.331–406) show that this was the graveyard of ordinary people with an average LIFE EXPECTANCY of 20.75 years (P. Saint-Roch, *RACr* 59 [1983] 411–23). Cemeteries can also elucidate the history of barbarian invasions (e.g., AVAR necropolises in Pannonia); in the Balkans, Slavs were frequently interred in the ruins of earlier churches. Despite a common misconception, and although to a lesser extent than in classical burials, Byz. cemeteries commonly contained grave goods, including jewelry and vessels for wine and oil presumably used to prepare the body for interment.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:1625–58. C. Snively, "Cemetery Churches of the Early Byzantine Period in Eastern Illyricum," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 117–24. *The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, vol. 1 (Ann Arbor 1989) 179–336. –N.E.L., A.K., A.C., T.E.G.

CENOBITIC MONASTICISM. See KOINOBION; MONASTICISM.

CENSER (*θυμιατήριον, θυμιατός*), a vessel designed to contain glowing coals on which INCENSE was strewn; they were meant either to be set on a horizontal surface (standing censers) or to be swung by chains (hanging censers). Even though the LIBER PONTIFICALIS ascribes to Constantine I the donation of gold censers to the Lateran basilica and St. Peter's, it is doubtful that they came into ecclesiastical use before the very end of the 4th C. They were used (mainly by deacons) for censing the altar, the Gospel, and the elements of the Eucharist. Censers were also employed in a secular context to show honor to a great person and in private devotions (e.g., censing a site after an earthquake). It is hypothesized that incense burners found at Sardis were used to deodorize dye shops (J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1990] 15). Although the vast majority of surviving examples are in cast bronze, several examples in hammered silver are known, including those in the SION and the CYPRUS TREASURES, and another in the Metropolitan Museum (Mango, *Silver*, no.85).

Until the 8th C., hanging censers consisted of a cubical, polygonal, or cylindrical cup, sometimes accompanied by an openwork cover (*DOCat* 1, nos. 45–49). The most popular type is chalice-shaped with a low foot and decorated with Gospel scenes in relief. This type, with more than 50 surviving examples, appears to have remained in use well after Iconoclasm (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 563–64). After the 9th C. a new type of standing censer (*katzen, katzi⟨on⟩*) appears, with a shallow bowl and long flat handle, often decorated with the representation of the patron saint of a church (*Isskustvo Vizantii* 2, no.570). Such objects are recorded in church inventories from the 11th C. onward (e.g., *Pantel.*, nos. 7.12, 49), most of gilded or plain silver, but also of bronze. The *katzi* may have been used esp. in a funerary context. Censers often appear in representations of DEACON saints, images of the DORMITION, the MYRROPHOROI, and in scenes of the procession of venerated icons (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 145, figs. 1–2).

Symbolically censers were perceived as images of Christ's humanity and accordingly the epithet "womb of the censer" was applied to the Virgin (pseudo-Basil, *Hist. mystagog.*, ch.42, ed. F.E. Brightman, *JThSt* 9 [1908] 388.1–3). Metaphorically, the tongue of a person praising a martyr could be called a censer (John Chrysostom, PG 50:583.39).

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5:21–33. C. Billod, "Les encensoirs en argent d'époque protobyzantine," in *Kanon: Festschrift E. Berger* (Basel 1988) 336–70. –L.Ph.B., A.K.

CENSUS RECORD. See CADASTER.

CENTAUR, zoomorphic mythological figure, half man and half horse. Byz. historians and lexicographers collected general information on the centaurs (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.11–13; GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS 191.16–17). An ancient proverb, "meaningless like a centaur" (cf. *Souda* 3:483.11), is explained by Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:160.16–17 [= section 102.27–28]). In Byz. literature the centaur is used as a metaphor for excellence in hunting and horsemanship (Genes. 89.72–74; Nikephoros BASILAKES, *Orationes* 32.26–28). The church fathers considered the centaur as yet another absurd instance of pagan religion (e.g., Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:44B) and characterized as "centaurlike" the Monophysite doctrine of Severos of Antioch, which introduced two different incomplete natures in one person (George of Pisidia, PG 92:1625A). In the 10th C. BASIL ELACHISTOS (R. Cantarella, *BZ* 26 [1926] 25.3–9) ridiculed Cheiron, half centaur and half horse [*sic*], the legendary teacher of Achilles; similarly Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 220.4) was skeptical of the educational abilities of Cheiron and referred to him as *mixanthropos* (half man, half brute).

Youthful and aged centaurs playing musical instruments appear, along with EROTES, as images of abandon—often in their traditional role of molesting Lapith women—on numerous CASKETS AND BOXES (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, nos. 21, 24, 26, 27). Purely decoratively, they

adorn the headpieces of 11th- and 12th-C. Gospel books. –P.A.A., A.C.

CENTO (Lat. for "garment made of patchwork," Gr. *κέντρων*), also *Homerokentron* (*Anth.Gr.* 9:381), a pastiche composed of borrowed lines (primarily from Homer). The composition of centos was a sort of literary game aimed at the creation of new associations, often parodical and even obscene. The practice originated in antiquity (both Greek and Roman) and is mentioned by Epiphanios of Salamis. Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust.Comm.Il.* 4:757f) explains that the term was derived from a word designating a young shoot grafted onto another plant and was applied to a cloth of many colors (*kentonion* as a kind of garment appears in *Apophthegmata patrum*, PG 65:412D). Latin centos were based on Vergil: in the 4th C. Proba, a noble Roman lady, produced centos "to the glory of Christ." Greek centos were esp. popular in the 5th C.: a certain Leo the Philosopher compiled a 12-line cento on Hero and Leander, another cento on Echo, etc. The empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA tried to use these techniques for religious poetry and composed the Life of Christ in borrowed Homeric hexameters, probably in imitation of Proba. Compilation was not restricted to Homer's verses, however; the CHRISTOS PASCHON is actually a cento, one third of which consists of lines taken from ancient tragedians; a similar technique was used for CATENAE and FLORILEGIA.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:98–107. F. Ermini, *Il centone di Proba e la poesia centonaria latina* (Rome 1909). –A.K.

CENTRAL ASIA, a somewhat vague geographical-historical term, here defined as the extensive region north and east of the Amu Darya (Oxus) River, consisting of the inhospitable steppes of Turkestan and Mongolia that lead to northern China. It was the great domain of the Altaic nomadic peoples and at the same time a part of the great caravan SILK ROUTE between Chinese and Islamic civilization. Here Buddhism, Manichaeanism, Shamanism, and Christianity often followed the great merchant caravans from the southwest to the east. After the great empires of the Gök Turks, the Uighurs, and finally the Kirghiz Turks in Mongolia, they were displaced there by the Mongols in the 10th C. To the west various Turkic groups (at least five identifiable groups) pressed ultimately onto the borders of Islam in Khurāsān and Transoxiana. It was here that by the 10th C. they began to convert to Islam and to enter fully into the scene of political chaos and decline in the classical Islamic world. Certainly the most spectacular description of this steppe society is that preserved by the Arab, Ibn Faḍlān, who traversed frigid Turkestan in a great caravan in 922.

Relations with Byzantium. Material objects found in Central Asia indicate that there were (indirect?) connections between the late Roman Empire and this area. Thus in Old Merv was excavated a building, oval in plan, that evidently housed a Christian community (G. Dresvjanskaja in *Trudy Južno-Turkmenistanskoj archeologičeskoj kompleksnoj ekspedicii* 15 [Ashʿhabad 1974] 155–81); ampullae of St. Menas produced near Alexandria penetrated into Central Asia (B. Staviskij in *Drevnij Vostok* 1 [Moscow 1975] 299–307); Roman coins of the 6th C. as well as their imitations and a medallion with the portrait of Justinian I (M. Masson in *Obščestvennye nauki v Uzbekistane* 16.7 [1972] 29–38) have also been found. One of the routes from the late Roman Empire to CHINA went through Central Asia; in the 6th–7th C. imperial envoys visited it, trying to engage its population in an alliance against IRAN. After the Arab conquest of Iran, Byz. links with Central Asia were severed.

LIT. V.V. Barthold, *Four Studies on the History of Central Asia*, 3 vols. (Leiden 1956–62). R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes. A History of Central Asia* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). M. Masson, "K voprosu o vzaimootnošenijach Vizantii i Srednej Azii po dannym numizmatiki," *Trudy Sredneaziatskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta* 23 (1951) 91–104. –S.V., A.K.

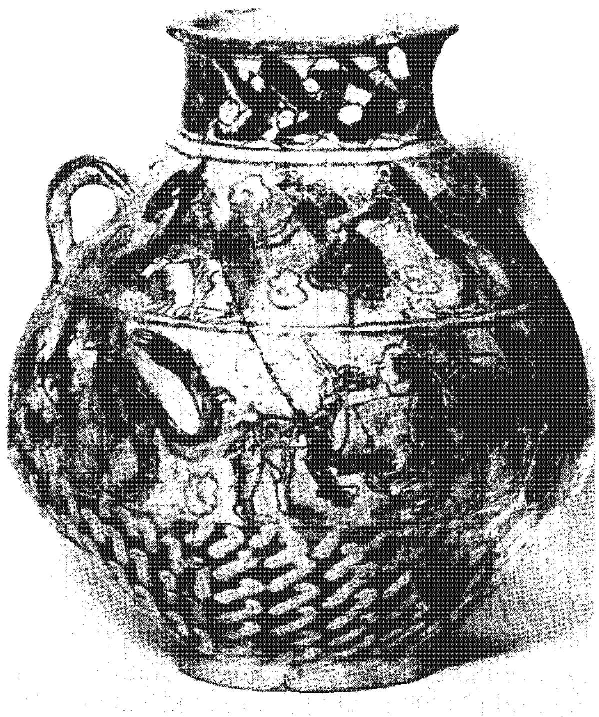
CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION. Polychrome ceramic ornament with vitreous glazes was widely used on façades and interior walls as well as on templon screens and icon frames from the late 9th to the 14th C. Though normally set between courses of brick, shallow bowls, plates, and TILES could be inserted at focal points in elaborate brick patterns, around window frames, or even inserted into ashlar blocks. Among pieces specifically made for architectural use (for example, at TEKFUR SARAYI) were small tubes, their mouths pinched to form a cross, tapering to a long stem to facilitate bonding in the wall.

LIT. A. Pasadaios, *Ho keramoplastikos diakosmos ton byzantinon kterion tes Konstantinoupoleos* (Athens 1973). *World Ceramics*, ed. R.J. Charleston (New York 1968) 102–04, figs. 303, 306, 308. A.H.S. Megaw, "Glazed Bowls in Byzantine Churches," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–5) 145–62. –K.M.K., W.L.

CERAMICS. The Greek word κεράμια (pl.) designated all kinds of VESSELS and pots. John Chrysostom (PG 62:349.28–29) speaks of golden *keramia*; usually, however, the term and related ones referred to earthenware products, both pottery and TILES. Potters were called *kerameis*; they were evidently professionals, although the *Book of the Eparch* does not list a potters' guild and in general they are infrequently mentioned in written sources. The word was applied metaphorically to God as demiurge, and ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes*, vol. 4, no.33.10.6) speaks of "the potter of the world" who washes clean the foot of the clay vessel.

Earthenware dishes were considered of lower quality than golden and silver vessels: RABBULA of Edessa is said to have ordered his clergy to dispose of their silver dishes and replace them with ceramic ones. Byz. pottery was manufactured on potter's wheels (*trochoi*) and fired in KILNS. The vessels varied in size and shape and were used for transport, storage, cooking, and eating. The principal functional types of Byz. ceramics in the 10th–13th C. were *pithoi* (usually embedded into the earth) for storage; AMPHORAS for transport and storage; flat-bottomed pots with globular bodies and long-necked jugs usually with one or two handles; chafing dishes—deep bowls set on a ventilated stand with a compartment containing live coals to keep food warm; table dishes—bowls and broad shallow plates; small, usually two-handled cups; stemmed goblets; and flasks (including pilgrim flasks). Vessels ranged from elaborately decorated luxury products of fine clay, well-turned and glazed and painted, to crudely manufactured utilitarian wares.

Ceramics were produced in both towns and villages: the author of the GEOPONIKA (85.20) describes the potter as the most necessary craftsman in the countryside; in 952 the Lavra monastery acquired for three gold coins a potter's workshop located near the seashore (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4); by 982 the Iveron monastery was served by a pottery workshop (? *keramarion*), also situated by the sea (*Ivir.* 1, no.4.68); Balsamon (PG 137:929C) lists



CERAMICS. Ewer decorated with fantastic creatures; 13th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

potters' shops (*kerameia*) among various agricultural properties. Excavations in Carthage, Cyprus, Asia Minor, and Egypt have revealed many centers of ceramic production in the late antique period; 10th–13th-C. ceramics from Corinth, Athens, and Cherson are relatively well studied, but Anatolian wares are not as well known. Constantinople is considered to have been a great center for the manufacture of pottery; R. Stevenson (in *Great Palace, 1st Report* 47f) concluded that pottery production in Constantinople declined by the 12th C. (at the end of the 12th C. 70 percent of the finds were ordinary mugs of coarse fabric). Ceramic production in Corinth, however, flourished in the 11th and 12th C.; in temporary decline after the Norman invasion of 1147, it recovered by the end of the 12th C. and prospered in the 13th C.

Ceramics were produced for both local use and export: North African pottery (mostly from Carthage) has been found in many areas, including the Crimea. It is quite plausible that some of the glazed pottery discovered in Cherson was imported from Constantinople (esp. in the 9th and

10th C.) and provincial centers such as Corinth and Thessalonike (in the 11th and 12th C.); after the 12th C. Byz. exports to Cherson ceased (A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1950] 223f).

Byz. pottery developed in an unbroken tradition from the wares of late antiquity. In the 4th to 6th C. fine pottery was generally covered with red slip and often stamped, sometimes with figural decoration or Christian motifs; African Red Slip Ware (manufactured at Carthage) and Phokaian Ware (Asia Minor) were apparently the most prominent and were imitated at many local kilns. Large storage/transport amphoras were manufactured throughout the empire.

In the course of the 7th C. important changes took place in pottery manufacture and use, as local wares, frequently of inferior quality, took the place of imported wares, while vitreous glazed wares replaced the red-slipped fabrics of late antiquity. Constantinople and its vicinity seem to have been the major source of these new glazed wares. The earliest of these had a monochrome lead glaze (usually yellow or greenish-yellow) applied directly over the fabric, which was either white (producing a light-colored finished product) or reddish-brown (producing a darker color). By the 9th C. at least, some of these vessels were stamped (Impressed Ware), producing a design in low relief on the center of the interior; a shallow bowl on a high foot (so-called "fruit stand") is a common form of this ware. Another luxury product of the 9th–12th C. was Polychrome Ware, in which designs (usually abstract but occasionally figural) were painted in various colors of glaze on a white fabric.

Beginning in the 11th C. a considerable number of different fine wares were produced, in part to satisfy the desires of the new Byz. officialdom; most of these were inspired by the techniques and methods of contemporary Islamic pottery: Green and Brown Painted Ware, Slip-Painted Ware, Imitation Luster Ware, SGRAFFITO WARE, and Incised Ware. Most of these used simple geometric designs, but motifs derived from classical repertoires (e.g., RINCEAUX and running spirals) were not uncommon and several wares had figural decorations, sometimes people but more commonly fish, animals, and birds. Oriental motifs, esp. pseudo-Kufic, were common on several wares. Most of these fine wares continued into the 13th C. and beyond, as represented by ZEUXIPPOS WARE and so-called Aegean Ware. Otherwise, political fragmentation and greater foreign influence led to a localization of ceramic production. Italian pottery, esp. PROTO-MAIOLICA, came to replace Byz. wares as the preferred luxury pottery, although locally produced Byz. pottery continued to be made.

Coarse wares, including COOKING WARE, jugs, and other kitchen vessels, present a continuous line of development from antiquity to the end of the Byz. period; most of these were locally produced. Many coarse wares were partially or fully covered with a yellow glaze, giving them a characteristic brown color (usually called Brown Glazed Ware); this was often used for cooking pots and small vessels as well as chafing dishes and was sometimes decorated with molded figures, occasionally of an obscene character. Most of these cannot be precisely dated. In addition to crockery and tiles, clay was also used to produce BRICKS, LAMPS, children's TOYS, CENSERS, and simple icons with images of saints (J. Ebersolt, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 559f).

Despite the pioneering work of D. Talbot Rice and others earlier in the century, the study of Byz. pottery is still well behind that of other periods in the history of the Mediterranean, in part because of a lack of interest and in part because of the paucity of stratigraphically excavated Byz. sites necessary to the elucidation of ceramic chronologies. Pottery from critical periods, such as the "dark age" of the 7th–8th C. and the 14th–15th C., is poorly known and little studied. Megaw and Jones (*infra*) have made an important beginning in the identification of individual wares and their distribution.

LIT. *Recherches sur la céramique byzantine*, ed. V. Déroche, J.M. Spieser (Paris 1989). A.H.S. Megaw, R.E. Jones, "Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to Problems of Origin and Distribution," *BSA* 78 (1983) 235–63. C.H. Morgan, *The Byzantine Pottery* [*Corinth 11*] (Cambridge, Mass., 1942). T.S. MacKay, "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 249–320. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford 1930). A.L. Jakobson, "Srednevekovaja polivnaja keramika kak istoričeskoe javlenie," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 148–59. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 204–21. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:196f. –T.E.G., A.K.

CEREMONY (*κατάστασις, τάξις*). Symbolic gestures, usually public and assembled into rituals,

marked important moments in Byz. life. Ceremony flourished at all social levels, from the Byz. infant's baptismal liturgy and procession, to the promotion of the *patrikios*. It was, however, the ceremony that shaped the public life of the emperor, projected his power and LEGITIMACY, and defined his relations to the church, army, senate, and people that concretized the imperial idea in a way essential to Byz. Roman IMPERIAL CULT contributed to the content of ceremony, which took the Hippodrome, Hagia Sophia, and palaces and monuments of Constantinople as its main theaters. The high officials who stage-managed ceremonies—successively, the *magistros*, the *praepositus* assisted by the *epi tes katastaseos*, the *protovestiarites* assisted by the *primikerios tes aules*—relied on specialized treatises to design ceremonial traditional in appearance yet flexible in its details and adhering to the ideal of TAXIS. PETER PATRIKIOS, the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, DE CEREMONIIS, and pseudo-KODINOS suggest that ceremonial innovation and recording peaked in the 6th, 9th–10th, and 14th C.

Depending on the period, ACCLAMATION, CORONATION, SHIELD-RAISING, and ANOINTING inaugurated a reign; a PROCESSION, AUDIENCE, or PROKYPSIS manifested the emperor in the PURPLE and with INSIGNIA; he was adored with PROSKYNESIS. PROFECTIO and ADVENTUS heralded his departure from and return to the capital, while TRIUMPHS signaled his victorious return from battle; all allowed or forced Byz. CITIZENS to display their loyalty and PATRIOTISM. The pervasive and spectacular PROPAGANDA of imperial ceremony captured the Byz. imagination, leaving manifold traces in art and literature, and fascinated foreigners like LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA.

LIT. O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell* (Jena 1938; rp. Darmstadt 1956). M. McCormick, "Analyzing Imperial Ceremonies," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 1–20. –M.McC.

Representation in Art. In their representations of these ceremonies the Byz. placed the same emphasis on the majesty of the imperial power. Thus, depictions of historical ceremonial events such as military triumphs, coronations, marriages, official receptions, etc., focus on imperial ideology in preference to fuller historical detail; these images have a specific and limited visual language that conveys the most significant act of the ceremony without reference to time or, in most cases, to place. The ceremonial events were commemorated in wall paintings and mosaics in public places and PALACE buildings as well as on more private objects such as MSS, ivory plaques, and silver vessels.

The formal or compositional principles are generally the same as those governing the performance of these ceremonies: SYMMETRY, hierarchy, and FRONTALITY. These principles are used to focus attention on the emperor and to define the status of others in relation to him. In the images, this system of presentation is made immediately apparent by limiting secondary figures and eliminating the audience, as well as, for example, by marking hierarchy through color or through variations in the sizes of figures.

Little survives of all these representations, particularly of the monumental images. The types of ceremony commonly depicted in Roman art (PROFECTIO, ADLOCUTIO, LARGESS, etc.), still found in some of the early monuments such as the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome, do not survive much beyond the Justinianic period. A notable example from the 6th C. is to be found in the mosaics of San Vitale, RAVENNA, which show Justinian I and Theodora participating in a liturgical ceremony. Although a specific emperor, Justinian, is shown with a specific bishop, Maximian, the procession remains generic enough to be any liturgical procession requiring the presence of the emperor, such as the later ceremonial entry of the emperor and patriarch into Hagia Sophia on the great feast days.

Another ceremony, which can be inferred from the silver Missorium of Theodosios I (for ill., see PLATES, DISPLAY), is the distribution of offices by the emperor, a ceremony that took place in the palace. In this depiction, Theodosios is enthroned in the center under an arch, just as he would have been seated in the palace under the arch of the apse in the throne room. He is flanked by his two co-emperors, who are placed in secondary positions. The emperor hands to an official of much smaller size the diptych listing the duties of his office. Although the emperor is handing out the tablets, his action is hardly noticeable. The emphasis is on his person and his successful rule, implied by the PERSONIFICATION of Abundance at the emperor's feet.

In an 11th-C. miniature (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 79, fol.2r—for ill., see EMPEROR) there is a represen-

tation of an enthroned emperor with his administrators. He is in the center of the composition. Two officials, again much smaller in size, stand on each side. The hierarchy and symmetrical relationship of the figures to each other express the ceremonial configurations of official meetings of the emperor. The figure standing on the emperor's right side and closest to him wears fancier dress than others in attendance; the fact, too, that his hands are not covered, as are those of the others, is a sign of his more privileged position vis-à-vis the emperor.

These representations, although based on court protocol, are removed from the specificity of one historical moment. This has been achieved in different ways: sometimes, as in the Missorium, through the addition of another, allegorical dimension; sometimes through the lack of any reference to a spatial setting, as in the miniature. The presence of Christ in such images works in a similar way. In the representation of Romanos (IV?) and Eudokia on an ivory plaque in Paris in the Cabinet des Médailles, for example, Christ is crowning the imperial couple. It is not clear from the composition alone if this is a depiction of their wedding, coronation, both, or of the idea of investiture. It appears that such representations were meant to be more encompassing by containing all three and possibly even more readings, and did not limit their meaning or message to one historical moment.

Another such example is the representation of Basil II in a Venice psalter MS. The image shows Basil in military dress being presented with a crown by Christ and a lance by an angel. His defeated enemies are at his feet. This scene may have been created after a particular military triumph. The accompanying poem, however, does not mention a specific victory, instead stressing Basil's triumphant divine rule and power.

A second category of depictions of ceremonies is found within a narrative context. These images show events from the past rather than contemporary times. They are found in MSS like the Menologion of Basil II or the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes. In the *Menologion* the painters depict ecclesiastical ceremonies in which the emperor is participating; in the Skylitzes they illustrate imperial ceremonies described in the *Chronicle*. The compositions of these representations are also different. The narrative moves from left to right like a written text and does not follow the compositional principles outlined above. For example, in the *Menologion* on 26 Jan., a day commemorating an earthquake, the patriarch and the emperor, accompanied by clergy and citizens carrying candles, walk through the city in a penitential procession. The barefooted and simply dressed emperor, the candles, and the censer refer to a specific ceremony that must have taken place on that day. The depiction of the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom is another such example. Theodosios II and Patr. Proklos, who holds a candle and the Gospels, are shown receiving the body in front of the Church of the Holy Apostles. A representation of a similar event, the translation of the relics of St. Stephen on the ivory plaque in Trier, shows Theodosios II at the head of the procession and Pulcheria receiving them in front of the newly built church.

In the Madrid Skylitzes a number of ceremonies are depicted: receptions of ambassadors, baptisms, coronations, marriages, proclamations of emperors, and triumphal processions. Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.368, for example, shows the triumphal entry of Nikephoros II Phokas on horseback into Constantinople. A large group of musicians playing cymbals and trumpets is welcoming him. The ceremony of shield-raising is represented twice. These are the only two illustrations of this ceremony in Byz. art that represent Byz. historical figures; all others show Old Testament kings. Leo Tornikios (ibid., no.561) is proclaimed emperor by his rebel supporters, an event that we know took place as depicted. Another page (ibid., no.2) shows Michael I and Leo V raised together on the shield, with Michael placing his hand on the head of Leo, whom he has chosen as co-emperor. This depiction is not historically correct, since the coronation and raising on the shield never occurred simultaneously, but was presumably chosen to emphasize the new order of imperial rule.

lit. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936). Idem, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIVe siècle," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 195–221. S. MacCormack, *Art and Ceremony in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1981). M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* (Cambridge 1986). –I.K.

ČERNJACHOVO, the name of a culture in the Ukraine (2nd C. A.D.–ca.400), known from ar-

chaeological excavations, first discovered and studied in 1899. The designation is derived from the agricultural settlement excavated in the village of Černjachiv (Kaharlyk region, Kiev district) on the middle South Bug River. This culture was spread over an area extending in a north-south direction from the sources of the Dniester and South Bug to the Danube delta (including Moldavia) and the Dnieper estuary. To the north it extended along a line that went from the upper West Bug (a tributary of the Vistula), across the region that later became Kiev, to the upper Sivers'kyj Donec', and traversed the Dnieper river bend, but it did not reach the Crimea.

The Černjachovo settlements, of which over 2,500 are known at present, are scattered along the rivers. Two groups are distinguishable, the larger settlements (2–3 km long, covering 35–45 hectares), and the smaller ones (300–400 m long, covering 3–4 hectares); in both groups semisubterranean dwellings coexist with subterranean. More than 350 burial grounds have been excavated, showing evidence of mixed burial rites, though inhumation seems to have prevailed. Characteristic is the production of gray and black pottery of high quality, iron tools, and metal ornaments; amphoras, *terra sigillata*, small lamps, buckles, and coins were exported to the Romans.

By A.D. 400 life in all Černjachovo settlements came to an abrupt end, which scholars at present connect with the Hunnic invasion. Animated debate still continues concerning the ethnic composition of the Černjachovo culture. The Slavic hypothesis (until recently highly favored) is gradually being abandoned. There is good reason to identify some bearers of this culture with the Ostrogoths in the Ukrainian "Mesopotamia" (Gothic *Oium*) described by JORDANES.

LIT. V.D. Baran, *Černjachivs'ka kul'tura* (Kiev 1981). Z. Váňa, *The World of the Ancient Slavs* (London 1983). –O.P.

ČERNOMEN, BATTLE OF. See MARICA, BATTLE OF.

CEYLON (Ταπροβάνη, mod. Sri Lanka), called Sinhala by its inhabitants during the Middle Ages. Archaeological investigations of the island have not been extensive and are of limited value; some hoards of 5th–6th-C. Byz. bronze coins and imitations have been found. KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who describes the island's location correctly as being east of southern India, claims that Byz. merchants traded there and that a Christian community lived on the island. Its noteworthy export was the *hyakinthos*, a blue gem, perhaps the sapphire. Ceylon may have been involved in the SPICE trade and perhaps served as a clearinghouse for products from Southeast Asia. Byz. merchants participated in the trade directly, but not exclusively: Axumite, South Arabian, and South Asian ships are also known to have sailed to and from Ceylon. The preferred transit points inside the Byz. Empire were the Red Sea ports, esp. Klysma. Partly to protect the Red Sea shipping lanes from Persian interference, Justin I forged an alliance with AXUM. The Persian occupation of South Arabia in 599 and the subsequent conquest of the Red Sea littoral by the Arabs effectively closed this route to direct participation in Far East trade by Byz. merchants.

LIT. H.W. Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency* (Colombo 1924; rp. Colombo 1975). J. Still, "Roman Coins Found in Ceylon," *Journal of the Ceylon Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* 19 (1907) 161–88. –D.W.J.

CHAIRS. See FURNITURE.

CHALCEDON (Χαλκηδών, now Kadıköy), city of BITHYNIA, located directly across the Bosporos from Constantinople. Chalcedon was permanently overshadowed by the nearby capital, but it did benefit in the 4th and 5th C. from the generosity of imperial dignitaries who enlarged its harbor and built palaces and churches in the vicinity. Chalcedon was taken by the Persians in 615 and 626 and by the Arabs during their attacks on Constantinople. It was the main camp for the First, Second, and Fourth Crusades before their further advances. Chalcedon fell to the Ottomans in 1350.

The Byz. remains of Chalcedon have disappeared: they consisted of a palace, a hippodrome, and numerous churches. Most notable was that of St. EUPHEMIA, built outside the walls in the 4th C. and seat of the Council of 451 (see CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF). It contained the circular domed shrine of the saint, from whose tomb was said to issue a miraculous flow of blood, and was decorated with paintings showing scenes from her life.

It was destroyed by the Persians. The suburbs of Chalcedon contained the important monastic centers of ROUPHINIANAI and Mt. AUXENTIOS. Originally a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA, Chalcedon became an independent metropolis in 451.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 31–60. Janin, *CP byz.* 493f.
–C.F.

CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF, the fourth ecumenical council, held in the Church of St. EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON (8–31 Oct. 451). About 350 bishops attended its sessions, primarily those from the East. The leading roles at the council were played by the representatives of the imperial couple (Marcian and PULCHERIA) as well as Paschinus, the legate of Pope LEO I, to whom the Egyptian bishops stood in opposition. The council was intended to answer the Christological question raised by EUTYCHES after the Council of EPHESUS (431). Chalcedon defined Christ's two natures as inviolably united without confusion, division, separation, or change, in one person or hypostasis. This negative formula, distinguishing precisely between nature and person, was clearly aimed at the teaching of NESTORIOS and Eutyches. Doctrinally, it rejected neither the Council of 431 at Ephesus nor CYRIL of Alexandria. Still, the definition acknowledging Christ "in two natures"—grounded on the Nicene faith, Cyril, and the Tome of Pope Leo I—was viewed by Egypt as a betrayal of strict Cyrillian Christology. This conviction, along with the council's condemnation of DIOSKOROS and Eutyches and cancellation of the "Robber" Council of Ephesus of 449 (see under EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF)—decisive blows to Alexandria's ecclesiastical and theological hegemony—were to cause the Monophysite schism.

Chalcedon also granted patriarchal status to Constantinople by enlarging its territorial jurisdiction to include the dioceses of Asia, Pontus, and Thrace and by confirming its existing honorary primacy after Rome (canon 28). Constantinople also received the right to hear appeals from regional METROPOLITANS (canons 9, 17) and to consecrate the metropolitans of the three dioceses under its jurisdiction. Finally, because monasticism had become a serious urban problem by expanding into the cities, it was decided (for the first time in the history of Christian asceticism) to bring every monastery under the direct jurisdiction of its local bishop (canon 4).

SOURCE. *Acta—ACO* Tom.II, vols. i–vi. Partial Fr. tr., A.-J. Festugière, *Actes du Concile de Chalcédoine: Sessions III–VI (La définition de la foi)* (Geneva 1983).

LIT. Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon*, 3 vols. P. Stockmeier, "Das Konzil von Chalkedon. Probleme der Forschung," *Freiburger Zeitschrift für Philosophie und Theologie* 29 (1982) 140–56. R.V. Sellers, *The Council of Chalcedon* (London 1953). J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82. P.T.R. Gray, *The Defense of Chalcedon in the East (451–553)* (Leiden 1979).
–A.P.

CHALDEAN ORACLES (Χαλδαϊκὰ λόγια), a work that has been lost and is now known only in fragments, written in bad hexameters. The oracles purport to be revelations from the gods. The *Souda* ascribes the authorship of the oracles to two Julians—the father, surnamed the Chaldean, and his son "the Theurge," who allegedly were active at the end of the 2nd C. The philosophical system of the Chaldean Oracles is dualistic, contrasting the world of the Intelligibles with evil Matter. The Chaldean deity is triune: it comprises the Paternal Intellect, an impenetrable monad; the Second Intellect, dyadic, since it unites the physical world created by it with the intelligible monad; and the Cosmic Soul that is identified as HEKATE of Greek mythology. The human mind, a spark of the divine Intellect, must "empty" itself, that is, purge itself of evil Matter, in order to ascend to the god.

The Chaldean Oracles became popular with the late Neoplatonists (esp. PORPHYRY). Emp. Julian wrote a treatise on the Chaldean Oracles (ed. R. Majercik [Leiden–New York 1989]). IAMBLICHOS used them to develop the concept of theurgy, magical influence upon the supernatural world. Later Psellos and Plethon referred to the Chaldean Oracles.

ED. *Oracles chaldaïques*, ed. E. des Places (Paris 1971).

LIT. H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy*^{2} (Paris 1978); rev. of 1st ed. by E.R. Dodds, *HThR* 54 (1961) 263–73.
–A.K.

CHALDIA (Χαλδία), a THEME of northeastern Asia Minor. It appears as a TOURMA of the ARMENIAKON ca.800, then as a separate *ducatus* in 824 and as a theme by ca.840. Its status at that time is unclear: *strategoi* are known from the 9th–11th C., and *doukes* from the 8th to 10th (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349, 354). According to Arab geographers, Chaldia had an army of 10,000 and

six fortresses; its *strategos* had a salary of 10 pounds of gold and an equivalent amount from the local KOMMERKION. Chaldia comprised the eastern part of PONTOS with the interior valleys; its capital was TREBIZOND. Its strategic but remote location gave it importance for trade and the military—it was a base of support for THOMAS THE SLAV, but was virtually independent under the Gabrades in 1075–1140. As part of the empire of Trebizond, Chaldia denoted a more restricted area south of the watershed of the Pontic mountains, astride the major routes to the interior. Chaldia was dominated by local families and only loosely controlled by Trebizond. Its defensible location enabled Chaldia to maintain its independence until 1479. The area is rich in remains of Byz. churches and fortresses, among them the oldest church in the Pontos, at Leri (probably 6th C.).

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 299–318. –C.F.

CHALICE (*ποτήριον*), a LITURGICAL VESSEL for holding the wine of the EUCHARIST, which in the so-called church history ascribed to Patr. Germanos I (ed. N. Borgia ch.39, p.31.17–29) is compared with the vessel used to collect Christ's blood at the Crucifixion and the crater used at the Last Supper. Attested from at least the 4th C., the earliest form of the chalice is uncertain: the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure has two types of cup: one with two handles and resting on a foot and two others without feet. Silver chalices surviving from the 6th C. onward have a large cup on a flared foot usually with a knob; occasionally they have two handles. The cup usually has a dedicatory inscription around the rim and sometimes figural decoration below. Although elaborate chalices of gold, or studded with or carved from precious stones, are known from literary sources of the 4th–7th C., none survives. The chalice often forms a set with the PATEN (*diskopoterion*) in written sources.

Many important post-9th-C. chalices continue to have a tall, flared foot with a knob; others are made with a low foot and a pair of handles (*krateres*). Elaborate examples incorporate cups of semiprecious stone, rock crystal, or glass, mounted in gilded silver, ornamented with enamels, pearls, and other materials. Eucharistic inscriptions sometimes appear around the lip, while dedicatory inscriptions are limited to the foot. Medieval church INVENTORIES mostly refer to chalices of



CHALICE. Chalice of Emp. Romanos (II?). Treasury of San Marco, Venice. The sardonyx body of the chalice is an antique bowl dating from the 1st C. BC to 1st C. AD. The enamel panels and metal base were added to the bowl in the 10th C. Visible are the enamel busts of saints and patriarchs.

gilded silver, occasionally with repoussé decoration (MM 2:566.19). Some display a DEESIS composition (*Pantel.*, no.7.13), others crosses and stars (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 91.1209; *REB* 43 [1985] 155.103). Ordinary chalices were of beaten bronze, usually tinned. A 14th-C. chalice with monograms of MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS consists of a cup of jasper mounted in gilded silver but lacks the enamels, stones, and pearls of earlier examples (Bréhier, *Sculpture*, pl.LXXI).

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 68–77, 251–53. A. Grabar in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence 1971), nos. 40–66. *Treasury S. Marco* 110f, 129–40, 156–67.
–M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

CHALKE (Χαλκῆ), main entrance vestibule of the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, so named either for the gilded bronze tiles of its roof or for its bronze portals. The earliest attested building was put up by the architect Aitherios under Anastasios I (*AnthGr* 9:656). Burned down in the

NIKA REVOLT, it was rebuilt by Justinian I as a rectangular structure with four engaged piers supporting a central dome. The ceiling was decorated with mosaics representing the emperor's victories over the Goths and Vandals, with the imperial couple surrounded by a cortège of senators placed in the center (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.10.12–19). The Chalke or its dependencies became a PRISON in the 7th–8th C. Basil I repaired the building and turned it into a law court (*TheophCont* 259f).

On the façade of the Chalke, above the main door, was an icon of CHRIST CHALKITES, shown standing full-length on a footstool. Its origins are obscure. Its removal by Leo III in 726 or 730 was the first public act of imperial ICONOCLASM. Restored by Irene ca.787, it was once again removed by Leo V and replaced by a cross. Soon after 843 the icon, in mosaic, was set up again by the painter LAZAROS.

When the palace was enclosed by a less extensive circuit wall by Nikephoros II Phokas, the Chalke lost its importance as a vestibule. A small chapel dedicated to Christ Chalkites, built next to it by Romanos I, was reconstructed on a larger scale by John I Tzimiskes, who endowed it with relics and was himself buried there. The chapel, situated on an elevated platform, survived until 1804. Drawings and plans of the 18th C. help to place the chapel about 100 m south of the southeast corner of Hagia Sophia. The Chalke itself, robbed of its bronze doors by Isaac II, is not mentioned after 1200.

LIT. C. Mango, *The Brazen House: A Study of the Vestibule of the Imperial Palace of Constantinople* (Copenhagen 1959). Guilland, *Topographie* 1:7–33. –C.M.

CHALKE, ISLAND OF. See PRINCES' ISLANDS.

CHALKIDIKE (Χαλκιδική), peninsula in the northwestern Aegean, terminating to the south with the three promontories of (west to east) Kassandra (Pallene), Longos, and ATHOS. The area is among the best known from the Byz. world because of the surviving documents from the monasteries of Mt. Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF), which owned many of the villages in the peninsula. The territory is hilly and wooded with a moderate climate suitable for growing grapes, grain, and fruit trees. Excavation at various sites has revealed a period of prosperity during late antiquity, followed by violent destruction in the 7th C. (e.g., O. Alexandre, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 674–77). Part of the theme of THESSALONIKE, the Chalkidike was divided into several katepanates; there were cities at OLYNTHOS, KASSANDREIA, and HIERISSOS. The CATALAN GRAND COMPANY ravaged the Chalkidike in 1307–09; excavation near Torone may show destruction from this period (N. Nikonanos, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 770f, 776).

LIT. J. Lefort, *Villages de Macédoine: 1. La Chalcidique occidentale* (Paris 1982). G.I. Theocharides, "Kalamaria (Apo ten historian tes Byzantines Chalkidikes)," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 259–97. –T.E.G.

CHALKIS (Χαλκίς). Several cities in the ancient and medieval Mediterranean world bore this name, most notably two cities in Syria and Greece.

CHALKIS AD BELUM (Syr. Qenneshrin, Ar. Qinnasrīn), a city in northern SYRIA I, lying in a fertile plain surrounded by the limestone massif of Belus. It should be distinguished from the monastery of Qenneshre at EUROPOS. A caravan stop on roads from ANTIOCH and BERROIA, Chalkis was also strategically situated as part of the LIMES to which it gave its name. After Chosroes I extorted 200 pounds of gold from Chalkis in 540 (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.12.1–5), Justinian I had its city walls rebuilt (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.11.8–9) in 550 by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, as confirmed by two extant inscriptions (*IGLSyr* 2, nos. 348–49). Nearby, in 554, the Ghassānids won a decisive victory over the Lakhmid ALAMUNDARUS. Chalkis was under Persian rule ca.608/9–28 and taken by the Arabs in 636–37 after an unsuccessful resistance (Donner, *Conquests* 149f). The Umayyads made Chalkis a military headquarters and capital of the district (*jund*) of Qinnasrīn. Chalkis was attacked and sacked by the Byz. in 966, 998, and 1030. It never recovered from Seljuk destruction at the end of the 11th C., after which it served merely as an arsenal and caravansary. Today Chalkis is in ruins. Chalkis ad Belum should be distinguished from Chalkis under Lebanon (now Anjar in Lebanon), a Hellenistic settlement that did not become a Roman or Byz. city.

LIT. R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis: Organisation de la steppe en haute Syrie romaine* (Paris 1945) 4–9. N. Elisséef, *EI*[2] 5:124f. –M.M.M.

Chalkis in Greece, city founded in antiquity on the west coast of Euboea, where the island comes closest to the mainland. In the 6th C. a movable bridge (*zeugma*) linked the shores of the strait of Euripos (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.18–19). Termed a city in the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 645.6), it reappears in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 5.13–14, ed. Pertusi 90) as an island, and as an alternative name for Euboea. The name *Chalkis*, however, was preserved in the ecclesiastical hierarchy at least to the 9th C.; a seal of a *droungarios* of Chalkis also survives (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2587). It was assumed (e.g., by J. Koder in *TIB*) that the name of Chalkis was replaced by that of Euripos and of Chripos/Chrepos; the latter identification was rejected by Svoronos (*Cadastre* 72, n.2); the bishop of Euripos appears in notitiae along with the bishop of Chalkis. It is not impossible that the settlement of Euripos was founded in the 9th C., after Chalkis had lost its urban character.

The *kastron* of Euripos was attacked by the Arabs in the 870s (*TheophCont* 298.8–12); when Skylitzes relates this episode he calls Euripos a *polis* (Skyl. 151.32). A bishop of Euripos participated in the council of 869/70. An inscription of the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos of the end of the 9th C. mentions the restoration of a road from Chalkis (E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 [1899] 2086). In the 12th C. Euripos had a Venetian trading colony and a large Jewish population. At the beginning of the 13th C. a *phrourion* was built there to defend the straits (Nik.Chon. 610.92). Euripos was attacked by a Venetian fleet in 1171 and seized by Venice in 1209. In the 13th–14th C. the city of Chalkis, which was called Negroponte by the Westerners, was the object of various attacks: by knights from Achaia in 1257/8, by Catalans in 1317, by Turks in 1350/1. The Turks took the city in 1470.

A figural floor mosaic found in the city is dated to the 5th C. The Church of St. Paraskeve, originally dedicated to the Virgin, is a wooden-roofed three-aisled basilica. Probably constructed in the 5th C., it was rebuilt in the 12th C. and connected with a monastery of the Virgin (Th. Theochares, *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 7 [1960] 1–23; D. Triantaphyllopoulos, ibid. 16 [1970] 186–91). It was one of the major churches of the Frankish period. The surviving fortifications of the city and the bridge-fortress are Venetian in date; although they presumably have Byz. antecedents, all trace of these has vanished.

LIT. *TIB* 1:156–58. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1973) 43–95, 133–38. –T.E.G.

CHALKOKONDYLES, LAONIKOS, historian; born Athens ca.1423 or 1430, died ca.1490. Little is known of the life of Chalkokondyles (Χαλκοκονδύλης); his father George fled to the Morea in 1435 after an unsuccessful coup attempt against the Acciajuoli. In 1447 Chalkokondyles was a student of Plethon at the court of Mistra. He evidently spent his life somewhere in the Aegean region.

His history in ten books was written in the 1480s and covers the period 1298–1463. His purpose was to show "the downfall of the great empire of the Hellenes" and the growing power of the Turks; his emphasis on the rise of the Ottoman Empire is unusual for a Byz. historian. He had direct access to Turkish sources (e.g., the secretaries of the sultan) and provides some important information on early Ottoman institutions (S. Vryonis, *International Journal of Middle East Studies* 7 [1976] 423–32). For Chalkokondyles the *basileus* is the Turkish sultan; the Byz. emperor is designated as "*basileus* Hellenon." His account of the Byz.-Ottoman conflict is clearly modeled on the confrontation of Greeks and Persians described by Herodotus. The work also owes much to Thucydides in its use of direct speeches and Attic vocabulary. Chalkokondyles inserted lengthy excursuses on various peoples and countries, notably the Muslims, Germans, Russians, South Slavs, and Spaniards. Chalkokondyles had a superstitious belief in omens and oracles and recognized Tyche as a force affecting historical events (C.J.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 358–61). The weakest aspect of his history is the relative lack of chronological data.

ED. *Laonici Chalcocondylae Historiarum Demonstrationes*, ed. E. Darkó, 2 vols. (Budapest 1922–23).

LIT. A. Wifstrand, *Laonikos Chalkokondyles, der letzte Athener. Ein Vortrag* (Lund 1972). E.B. Veselago, "Istoričeskoe sočinenie Laonika Chalkokondila," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 203–17. H. Ditten, *Der Russland-Exkurs des Laonikos Chalkokondyles* (Berlin 1968). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:485–90. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:391–97. –A.M.T.

CHALKOPRATEIA (Χαλκοπρατεῖα, lit. "Copper Market"), quarter of Constantinople, west of

HAGIA SOPHIA. It is said to have been originally inhabited by Jews, who had a synagogue there; these were allegedly expelled by Theodosios II and the synagogue replaced by a Church of the Theotokos, which is variously attributed to Empress Pulcheria or to Verina. The church, of basilical form, was repaired by Justin II and Basil I. Among its relics were the Virgin's girdle (*zone*), housed in a special chapel (SOROS), and a miraculous image of CHRIST ANTIPHONETES. The apse and parts of the north and south walls of the church are preserved, as is the undercroft of an octagonal structure north of the atrium.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 237–42. W. Kleiss, "Neue Befunde zur Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 15 (1965) 149–67. Idem, "Grabungen im Bereich der Chalkopratenkirche in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 16 (1966) 217–40. C. Mango, "Notes on Byzantine Monuments," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 369–72. –C.M.

CHANCEL BARRIER. See TEMPLON.

CHANCERY. Officials in Byz. corresponded either personally or by using an official scribe (*notarios* and, after the 12th C., *grammatikos*). One can speak of organized chanceries—i.e., bodies of secretaries, scribes, and other officials responsible for correspondence—only when dealing with the large central administrations of the emperor and the patriarch, and, possibly, the semi-independent *despotai* (which are very poorly known). Private deeds could be made legally by anyone who could write. There were also the specialized NOTARIES, laymen or ecclesiastics. FORMULARIES were often used for drafting all kinds of documents.

Imperial Chancery. Constantine I the Great created the corps of secretaries (*schola notariorum*) under the command of a *primikerios*. Some *notarii*, called REFERENDARII, were attached to the emperor's private service; in the 5th C. appeared the upper category of confidential *notarii*, the ASEKRETIS, who replaced the *referendarii* before the end of the 6th C. The role of the QUAESTOR was important. Reports of individuals were examined and eventually answered by the four *scrinia* (*memoriae, epistolarum, epistolarum graecarum, libellorum*).

From the 8th C. onward, the chancery was directed by the PROTASEKRETIS. Assisted by the *asekretis*, some imperial *notarioi*, and the DEKANOS (?), he was responsible for the final drafting and preparation of original imperial ACTS (the draft was undoubtedly prepared by the office competent in the matter). The verification of the contents (*recognitio*) of the documents seems to have been the work of the KANIKLEIOS, who also probably added in some documents the words traditionally written in purple (except for the emperor's autograph subscription). Drafting imperial documents also required the help of other officials, esp. those with judicial competence: the quaestor (laws), the EPI TON DEESEON, the MYSTIKOS, the *mystographos*.

Some time after 1106 the *protasekretis* abandoned the chancery. It was then manned by *grammatikoi* and later (13th C.) by imperial *notarioi* (who sometimes also acted as *taboullarioi*) and translators (*diermeneutai*), mostly of Latin. The direction of the chancery, esp. as far as foreign relations were concerned, fell to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU and his PROTONOTARIOS, and, in the 13th C., to the *megas logothetes*, while the *protonotarios* remained at the head of the *notarioi* or *grammatikoi* and controlled the everyday functions of the chancery. The real chancellor, with extended powers, was now and until 1453 the MESAZON, the "intermediary" between the emperor and all the others.

Patriarchal Chancery. Initially placed under the guidance of the *primikerios* of the *notarioi*, who was an archdeacon, this chancery and its activities in time were related to the office of the CHARTOPHYLAX, who was seen as the *mesazon* of the patriarch. The *primikerios* would draft the documents, register and authenticate outgoing acts as well as the minutes of the synod, issue certified copies or duplicate originals, and cancel previous documents. In his secretarial functions, he was in competition with the *protonotarios*, who became the head of the chancery. Also having direct access to the patriarch, the *protonotarios*, among others, added to outgoing patriarchal acts some secret authenticity marks. The *primikerios* remained the simple dean of the patriarchal *notarioi*. Other important personnel, attested from the 10th C. onward, included the *hypomnematographos*, who assisted the *chartophylax*, and the *hieromnemon*, responsible for ordinations. Some secrets and procedures of the 14th-C. patriarchal chancery are described in the EKTHESIS NEA. Certain patriarchal documents were approved by the synod and

were thus qualified as *synodikon* (*gramma*, SEMEIOMA, etc.).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 57–67. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 168–73. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 310–13. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 296–525. Falkenhausen-Amelotti, "Notariato & documento," 29–39. –N.O.

CHANDAX (Χάνδαξ, from Arabic al-Khandaq "moat," via Candica to Candia, which became the name of the whole island of Crete), mod. Herakleion on the north central coast of CRETE. Founded by Andalusian Muslims under Abū Ḥafṣ ca.827 on a site identified for the conquerors by a Christian monk (Genes. 33.11–17), Chandax replaced the nearby ancient settlement at Knossos, which had prospered through the 7th C. It was the base from which the Arabs completed their conquest of Crete; its walls were famous for their size and strength (e.g., Leo Diac. 11.4–10). Nikephoros II Phokas besieged the city (shown in the Madrid Skylitzes), which capitulated on 7 Mar. 961; thereafter the Byz. recovered all of Crete. The emperor built a new fortress called Temenos near the Arab citadel, although the Arab walls continued in use (N. Platon, *KretChron* 6 [1952] 439–59). After the Fourth Crusade Chandax was first assigned to Boniface of Montferrat, but it quickly passed to Venice, which held it until 1669.

The bishop of Knossos continued to be recorded in the episcopal lists instead of Chandax (e.g., *Notitiae CP* 3.241, 10.467); the bishop of Chandax, separate from that of Knossos, is attested only in the 12th C. (13.484). In an act of 1206 (MM 6:151.17) the bishopric bears the double name "Knossos or Chandax."

Aside from the fortifications, there are no Byz. remains at Chandax. The Church of St. Titos, originally of Byz. date, was destroyed in an earthquake.

LIT. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984) 91f, 107f, 110. N. Panayotakes, "Zetemata tina peri tes katakteseos tes Kretes hypo ton Arabon," *KretChron* 15–16 (1961–62) 9–38. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:468–70. –T.E.G.

CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE, Old French Crusader epic on the conquest and defense of Antioch (1098). It is generally believed to have been composed by Richard le Pèlerin, a participant in the First Crusade, but has survived only in the extensively revised form established before ca.1177–81 by one Graindor d'Arras as part of a larger Crusader epic cycle. A few scholars maintain that Richard, Graindor, and the early version are merely literary fictions, or that Graindor was patron, not author of the work. Others have detected apparent traces of its use in contemporary Latin historians, for example, ALBERT OF AACHEN, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, or FULCHER OF CHARTRES. The *Chanson* treats Byz. directly and in some detail only during the Crusaders' stay at Constantinople (vol. 1, pp. 56–67) and the siege of Nicaea (vol. 1, pp. 67–112).

ED. *La chanson d'Antioche*, ed. S. Duparc-Quioc, 2 vols. (Paris 1976–78).

LIT. C. Cahen, "Le premier cycle de la croisade (Antioche-Jérusalem-Chétifs)," *Le moyen âge* 63 (1957) 311–28. *Les épopées de la Croisade*, ed. K.-H. Bender (Stuttgart 1987). K.-H. Bender, H. Kleber, *Le premier cycle de la croisade* (Heidelberg 1987). –M.McC.

CHANT (ψαλμῳδία), the general term for liturgical music similar to plainsong, that is, monophonic, unaccompanied, and in free rhythm. Although the language of the Byz. church was Greek, Byz. chant was not a continuation of ancient Greek music, but constituted a new departure based to some extent on Eastern models. The Byz. system of MODES differs sharply from that of the ancient *tonoi*, but is quite similar to that of the medieval Western church.

Byz. chant differs from Western, however, in its textual basis. Whereas psalmic and other scriptural texts prevail in Latin chant, the texts of Byz. chant are mostly nonscriptural, although often modeled after the psalms or canticles. Most are hymns, written in metrical arrangements that often employ an isosyllabic principle. Furthermore, in the Byz. tradition, unlike the Western, music for the liturgical HOURS is more important than that for the Eucharistic liturgy.

Chants in the early period were largely syllabic and were meant to be sung by the entire congregation. After ca.850 the repertory was enriched by florid, melismatic chants (having more than one note per syllable) written for professional choirs.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music*. Strunk, *Essays* 297–330. –D.E.C.

CHAPEL, in Byz. terminology usually EUKTERION, any space equipped with a consecrated altar table

and used for the celebration of the mass. A chapel is normally located within a larger complex to which it is related functionally, that is, as a PALACE CHURCH or a PAREKKLESION (generally within a monastic compound). Chapels are usually small-scale, though this is not always a distinguishing criterion. Chapels accompanying larger churches appear in the earliest Christian monumental architecture and remain a common ingredient throughout Byz. church architecture. Chapels vary considerably according to their function (burial, commemoration, private worship), their relative position (ground-level or elevated; accessible from the narthex, naos, or sanctuary), their plans (rectangular, polygonal, trefoil, quatrefoil, cruciform, cross-in-square), and their structural makeup (roofed in wood, barrel- or groin-vaulted, domed). When physically connected to a larger church, chapels become important ingredients in articulating new CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

LIT. G. Babić, *Les chapelles annexes des églises byzantines: Fonction liturgique et programmes iconographiques* (Paris 1969). S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977) 94–110. T. Mathews, " 'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 125–38. B. Schellewald, "Zur Typologie, Entwicklung und Funktion von Oberräumen in Syrien, Armenien und Byzanz," *JbAChr* 27–28 (1984–85) 171–218. –S.Ć., W.L.

CHAPTERS (κεφάλαια), collections of sayings (aphorisms), usually combined in *centuria* that contained about 100 aphorisms each, although collections of 150 chapters are also known (as in Palamas). The genre of chapters existed throughout the entire Byz. period, the last example being compiled by a certain Kallistos Kataphrygiotes ca.1400. Some *centuria* were written by well-known theologians such as Maximos the Confessor, Symeon the Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, and Gregory Palamas; other authors of chapters (John of Karpathos, Elias Ekdikos) are less famous. Unlike FLORILEGIA, chapters are the works of individuals; they often reflect not only traditional wisdom but also personal views. We do not know how they were created—whether as a spiritual testament or as part of an educational process. The aphorisms are assembled thematically, the topics being sometimes more general as, for example, the theological, "gnostic," and practical chapters of Symeon the Theologian, or more or less specific, such as *On Being Unborn* by John of Karpathos or *On the Unity with God* and *On Contemplative Life* by Kataphrygiotes. –A.K.

CHARAGE (χαραγή), term designating minting, in both narrative texts (Theoph. 365.15–16; An.Komn. 3:136.22, 137.9) and documents (*Pantel.*, no.2.12–13, a. 1033/4). This meaning was preserved in Trebizond in the 14th–15th C. (*Dionys.*, nos. 4.53, 27.20), as well as in a forged chrysobull of Romanos I (*Xerop.*, no.B42); a post-Byz. charter of donation of 1471 applies the term to "florins" (*Lavra* 3, no.173.21). A more complicated case is Manuel I's chrysobull of 1153 (*Reg.* 2, no.1390) in which *charagai* (pl.) are not "minting" but rather a sort of obligation: the legislator speaks of various tax alleviations—KLASMATA, SYMPATHEIAI, "humble" STICHOI, and "*stichoi* liable to *charagai*." Svoronos (*Cadastre* 111) identifies *charage* with CHARAGMA and thinks that the tax in this case was calculated in gold coins. The *archon tes charages* is mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos as a functionary of the VESTIARION, which led Dölger (*Beiträge* 28) to conclude that the *vestiarion* dealt not only with goods but also with minting money. The precise duties of the *archon tes charages* are not defined.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 96. D. Zakythinos, *Le chrysobulle d'Alexis III Comnène* (Paris 1932) 62–64. –A.K.

CHARAGMA (χάραγμα) initially meant the operation of a mint, then the coined money, then the gold NOMISMA seen as a real coin and not as an accounting unit. In fiscal context, the term was used to specify that whenever the tax (KANON plus some PARAKOLOUTHEMATA) owed by a taxpayer amounted to a fraction of a nomisma (2/3 or more), he was obliged to give a (hard to come by) gold coin and receive his due change in silver or copper. In the early 12th C. and in a context of monetary instability, Alexios I's fiscal reform transformed the *charagma* into a means of establishing the real amount of the tax, calculated on the basis of the *kanon*. The word survives in documents until the end of the empire with a less clear meaning, indicating perhaps a secondary tax, or a tax on a special category of lands, or a term indicating the coinage in which part of the tax was paid.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 77–89, 110–18. Idem in *Lavra* 4:159f. –N.O.

CHARIDEMOS (Χαρίδημος), also called *Peri kallous* (On Beauty), a dialogue preserved under the name of LUCIAN in several MSS of the 14th–15th C. It consists of a conversation between two friends taking a stroll in the suburbs of Athens, during which Charidemos reports on three speeches praising beauty; the first two were delivered by men whose names are reminiscent of earlier philosophers, PHILO and Aristippos (a companion of Socrates), the third by Charidemos. The work borrows extensively from the *Helena* of Isocrates, but the material is rearranged. Unlike pseudo-Lucian's TIMARION and PHILOPATRIS, the *Charidemos* does not contain contemporary allusions and polemics, unless we read in this way Aristippos's emphasis on the dangers caused by the beauty of Helena and Hippodameia; the themes are primarily mythological and philosophical.

The date of composition is impossible to establish. Although the dialogue was traditionally dated to the 3rd C., Anastasi (*infra*, p.11) relocates it to "a much later time" on the very shaky basis of the similarity between the mythological tradition in the *Charidemos* and in TZETZES. Anastasi evidently intended thereby to propose a date in the Komnenian or Palaiologan period, but Hunger (*Lit.* 2:149 and n.178) erroneously inferred that the editor dated *Charidemos* to the period of the "Macedonian Renaissance."

ED. *Lucian*, ed. M.D. Macleod, vol. 8 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1967) 467–503, with Eng. tr. *Incerti auctoris Charidemos*, ed. R. Anastasi (Bologna 1971), with Ital. tr.

LIT. R. Anastasi, "Appunti sul Charidemus," *SicGymn* 18 (1965) 259–83. –A.M.T., A.K.

CHARIOTEERS (sing. *auriga*, ἡνίοχος; later φακτιονάριος, μικροπανίτης), popular professional racing drivers who competed in CHARIOT RACES for the victory of their FACTIONS, usually in light, four-horse chariots. Charioteers enjoyed geographic mobility, sometimes changed factional loyalties, and bore frequently recurring stage names that are well attested in circus curse tablets (*defixiones*) intended to jinx opponents. Their career began in their teens and sometimes lasted 30 years or more. In the 6th C., the heyday of the circus, statues to champions were raised in the HIPPODROME and their portraits adorned the KATHISMA; in the provinces their renown is recorded in floor mosaics sometimes bearing a driver's name (K.M.D. Dunbabin, *AJA* 86 [1982] 65–89). Epigrams concerning these monuments survive in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY.

Despite their popularity, early charioteers had a low social status. After the 7th C., charioteering seems to have been confined to Constantinople and its environs. *Phaktionarioi* (usually interpreted as charioteers of the Blues or Greens), *heniochoi*, and *mikropanitai* (those of the Reds or Whites) were integrated into the imperial precedence hierarchy, since they appear in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes*, p.161.3, 8, 14; cf. p.125.5) and this presumably denotes an enhanced social status. DE CEREMONIIS (bk.1, ch.69, ed. Vogt 2:131–42) describes several circus ceremonies and procedures involving charioteers. Theophilos and Michael III as well as ranking members of their courts are themselves reported to have raced as charioteers.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:32–40. Al. Cameron, *Porphyrius the Charioteer* (Oxford 1973). –M.McC., A.C.

CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS. Bronze chariot mounts, formed of an ornamented double ring mounted on a socket, have been described as rein guides or "shock absorber" supports; several examples attributed to the 4th C. have been found in Thrace, Pannonia, and Spain (*Age of Spirit.*, no.331). Some chariot ornaments of 6th-C. provincial governors (Theoph. 244.28–29) were covered with gold leaf.

HORSE fittings, known from Byz. representations in various media (e.g., 4th–8th C.—*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 28, 41, 44, 80–81; 8th–11th C.—J. Beckwith, *The Art of Constantinople* [London 1961] figs. 73, 126; 14th C.—Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.494), include bridle, collar, saddle, and STIRRUPS as well as decorative pendants in the form of small BELLS and *phalera* (medallions and crescents, originally indicating military distinction), attached to leather straps or to a wood or leather saddle. Imported Byz. silver horse fittings (4th–5th C.) found with skeletons of horses in tombs at Qustul in Nubia include three complete bridles featuring lion-headed medallions, saddle pommels, and trappings composed of disks and pendants (Emery, *infra*, pls. 26–31). Similar trappings are in the 4th-C. Esquiline Treasure from Rome (Shelton, *Esquiline* 89–91). Other horse fittings, esp. in bronze, have been found, for example, in the CONCEŞTI TREASURE, and three 4th-C. nosepieces,

incised with various scenes, originate from Italy (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 195, 215; *Byzantinische Kostbarkeiten aus Museen, Kirchenschätzen und Bibliotheken der DDR* [Berlin 1977], no.92).

LIT. W.B. Emery, *Nubian Treasure* (London 1948) 44–56. W.B. Emery, L.P. Kirwan, *The Royal Tombs of Ballana and Qustul* (Cairo 1938) 251–71, pls. 55–59, 61–63.
–M.M.M.

CHARIOT RACES (*ἱπποδρομίαι, θεωρίαι ἱππικαί, τὰ ἱππικά*). Roman-style chariot racing was Byz.'s most popular spectator sport from the 4th to the 7th C. Held at HIPPODROMES, races were divided into morning and afternoon sessions. Four teams of four horses competed. A CHARIOTEER, sporting the color of his FACTION (Blue, Green, White, or Red), drove each team. Women and religious were discouraged from attending.

The considerable expense of mounting chariot races may have been borne by the city in the 4th C. As circuses spread through the empire, perhaps along with Roman municipal institutions, the imperial treasury seems to have provided increasing support; this reflected general economic conditions and growing connections between the emperor and the circus, as the ideology of military victory came to pervade and fuse with the notion of sporting victory. Annual races commemorated imperial accessions, visits, and victories. Special races attracted large audiences for ceremonies connected with emperors' CORONATIONS, marriages, and TRIUMPHS. The races sometimes exploded into riots, such as the NIKA REVOLT of 532 and others that shook Byz. cities and the throne into the 7th C.

After the 7th C., chariot races disappeared except in Constantinople; they survived there in diminished form as a traditional and indispensable prop of the monarchy, which continued to use them to celebrate important political events. Whereas the 4th- and 5th-C. state calendars of Philocalus (see CALENDAR OF 354) and POLEMIUS SILVIUS reveal as many as 66 annual racing holidays, each often comprising 24 daily races, *De ceremoniis* records fewer than a dozen annual racing holidays and only eight daily races in the 10th C. Though the popularity of chariot races in the 11th C. is reflected in a poetic account of a day spent watching them (CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, poem 90, ed. Kurtz, 56–60), by the 12th C. they were losing ground to the new Western spectacles of jousts and tournaments (see SPORTS); chariot races disappeared entirely after 1204.

The church was hostile to chariot races, which had once had pagan religious overtones; gambling connected with the races and their unpredictable result stood in sharp contradiction to the concept of Providence (see PRONOIA). Preachers like John Chrysostom inveighed against the sport as a powerful rival that lured audiences away from church services. Nonetheless, ecclesiastical rhetoricians and hagiographers often employed literary imagery drawn from the hippodrome and its races.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:7–80. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance: Les courses de l'Hippodrome," *BS* 27 (1966) 26–40. Al. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976).
–M.McC., A.K.

CHARISTIKION (*χαριστική* ⟨*δωρεά*⟩, lit. "gift of grace"), a system of giving monasteries to private persons or institutions on a conditional basis for a restricted period, usually a lifetime or three generations. The origin of *charistikion* is unclear. P. Charanis (*DOP* 4 [1948] 74f) found its roots in the 49th canon of the Council in Trullo; M. Sjuzjumov (*Učenye zapiski Sverdlovskogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948] 90f) traced it to the leasing of temple allotments in antiquity; Beck (*Kirche* 136) said it originated with Iconoclasm. The earliest mention of the *charistikes typos* is in an act of Leo VI of 908 (*Prot.*, no.2.12); the main evidence comes from the 11th and 12th C.

The beneficiary was called *charistikarios* as well as PRONOETES, PROSTATES, and EPHOROS, all terms emphasizing his function as supervisor and not as full proprietor. The beneficiary was supposed to wield administrative power over the monastic lands without interfering in ecclesiastical affairs. The right of granting *charistikia* belonged to emperors, patriarchs, metropolitans, founders of monasteries (including peasants), and high-ranking state officials. While some scholars suggest that during the 11th C. and earlier *charistikion* and PRONOIA were synonymous, others distinguish the two types of grants by the obligation the grantee bore (with the *charistikion*, toward the object granted; with the *pronoia*, toward the grantor). Grants of *charistikion* provoked a serious controversy; JOHN IV (V) OXEITES censured the practice of giving monasteries to lay persons, while EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE argued that it freed monks from temporal concerns and troubles. *Charistikion* be-

came rare after 1204, though a synodal decision of 1317/18 deals with donations of monasteries *kata skopon tou epimeleias axiousthai* to clerics of the diocese of Attaleia (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP* 1, no.53.8).

LIT. S. Barnalides, *Ho thesmos tes charistikes (doreas) ton monasterion eis tous Byzantinous* (Thessalonike 1985). J.P. Thomas, "A Byzantine Ecclesiastical Reform Movement," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 1–16. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VII (1967), 1–27. P. Gautier, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 77–132.
–M.B.

CHARITON (Χαρίτων), born in Aphrodisias; author of *Chaireas and Kallirrhoe*, a ROMANCE in eight books written probably in the 2nd C. Chariton is thus the earliest of the extant Greek novelists, rather than the latest as was once thought. The novel is given an ostensibly historical background at the end of the Peloponnesian War (Kallirrhoe's father is the Sicilian general Hermokrates). Written in a clear straightforward style, it describes the meeting and marriage of the hero and heroine and the trials (false death, capture by tomb robbers, shipwrecks, etc.) that befall them after their separation and before they can be reunited. There is little evidence that the novel was widely read in the Greek Middle Ages, but the novelists of the 12th C. were clearly aware of Chariton's work, which influenced their choice of plot motifs.

ED. *Le Roman de Chairéas et Callirhoé*, ed. G. Molinié (Paris 1979), with Fr. tr. *Chariton's Chaireas and Callirhoe*, tr. W.E. Blake (Ann Arbor, Mich.–London 1939).

LIT. B.P. Reardon, "Theme, Structure and Narrative in Chariton," *YCS* 27 (1982) 1–27. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:123–25.
– E.M.J., M.J.J.

CHARITY. See ALMSGIVING; PHILANTHROPY.

CHARLEMAGNE (Κάρουλος), Frankish ruler (768-814); born 742, died Aachen 28 Jan. 814. The son of Pippin III, Charlemagne became sole king of the Franks in 771. After conquering the LOMBARDS in 774 he came into direct conflict with Byz. interests in Italy. Ohnsorge (*Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 1-28) interprets his assumption of the title PATRIKIOS in 775 as a statement of anti-Byz. intentions. Perhaps to counter the revolt of ELPIDIOS, in 781 Charlemagne sealed an alliance with Empress IRENE by engaging his daughter Rotrud to Irene's son CONSTANTINE VI and inviting the *notarios* Elissaios to come to Aachen to teach her Byz. customs and Greek. The engagement ended in 787 after Charlemagne invaded Italy as far as Capua and apparently refused to send Rotrud to Constantinople, although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 463.21-22) accuses Irene of breaking the engagement. The Frankish ruler further strained relations with Byz. by refusing to endorse the acts of the Second Council of NICAEA in 788 and later by adding his name to the LIBRI CAROLINI.

Charlemagne's destruction of the AVARS in 796 extended his territory into central Europe. In 797 he negotiated a treaty with Irene that affirmed his sway in ISTRIA and BENEVENTO and recognized Byz. rights in CROATIA. Relations were aggravated again by Pope Leo III's coronation of Charlemagne as *imperator Romanorum* on 25 Dec. 800, an act that reflected increasing Frankish appropriation of Byz. imperial language, symbols, and notions. Despite the coronation's long-term significance, Charlemagne did not intend to create a Western Roman Empire: the Frankish court argued that Irene's dethronement of Constantine VI had left the throne vacant and a woman in charge. The Byz. court considered the coronation an affront but not a threat to imperial unity (J. Arvites, *GOrThR* 20 [1975] 53-70; C. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 345-60). Charlemagne sought to eliminate the awkward situation by marrying Irene, but negotiations in Constantinople in late 802 were thwarted by AETIOS and the coup of Nikephoros I. In 810 Nikephoros sent an embassy to the Franks requesting naval help against Dalmatia; Charlemagne apparently agreed to return Byz. possessions along the Adriatic coast in exchange for recognition as imperator (ed. MGH, *Epist. Karolini aevi* 2:546-48). The treaty was finalized in 812 by Michael I: Byz. ambassadors in Aachen acclaimed Charlemagne *basileus* and began negotiations for a marriage between Michael's son Theophylaktos and a Frankish princess. The Byz. evidently considered Charlemagne as emperor solely of the Franks and after 812 emphasized the point by designating their ruler *basileus* of the RHOMAIOI.

LIT. P. Classen, *Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz* (Sigmaringen 1985). W. Ohnsorge, "Das Kaisertum der Eirene und die Kaiserkrönung Karls des Grossen," *Saeculum* 14 (1963) 221-47. G. Musca, "Le trattative matrimonali fra Carlo Magno ed Irene di Bisanzio," *Annali della Facoltà*

di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Bari 7 (1961) 83-127. A. Ostermann, *Karl der Grosse und das byzantinische Reich* (Luckau 1895). –P.A.H.

CHARLES I OF ANJOU, king of Naples and Sicily (1265–85); born Mar. 1226, died Foggia, Italy, 7 Jan. 1285. Brother of Louis IX of France, Charles was an ambitious ruler who sought to create a Mediterranean empire and restore Latin domination over Byz. territory. With papal support he defeated MANFRED of Sicily in 1266 at Benevento and gained control of Hohenstaufen possessions in southern Italy and Sicily. In 1267, by the Treaty of Viterbo, he joined BALDWIN II, WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN of Achaia, and Pope Clement IV (1265–68) in an anti-Byz. coalition. In 1273 Charles married his daughter to Baldwin's son, Philip of Courtenay, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople. His plans for a Crusade against the Byz. capital were thwarted in 1274, however, by Michael VIII's agreement to the Union of Churches at the Council of Lyons (I. Dujčev, *Studi in memoria di p. Adiuto Putignani* [Taranto 1975] 111–25). After the accession of the pro-Angevin Pope Martin IV (1281–85), who excommunicated Michael, Charles again prepared for an expedition against Constantinople. In 1281 he cemented his alliance with Venice and Philip of Courtenay at Orvieto. Again his plans were foiled by the diplomacy of Michael, who helped instigate the rebellion of the SICILIAN VESPERS in 1282. Michael's ally, Peter III of Aragon (1276–85), drove Charles from Sicily. The final three years of the French ruler's life were absorbed in the attempt to regain his Sicilian kingdom, and he had to renounce his projected attack on Constantinople.

LIT. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 189–371. S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge 1958) 65–256, 282–86. E.G. Léonard, *Les Angevins de Naples* (Paris 1954) 13–160. *PLP*, no.11232. –A.M.T.

CHARLES OF VALOIS, titular Latin emperor of Constantinople (1301–13); born 12 Mar. 1270, died 16 Dec. 1325. Son of Philip III of France and Isabelle of Aragon, Charles acquired titular rights to the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople through his marriage to Catherine of Courtenay in 1301. After serving as mediator in the Angevin-Sicilian war and bringing about the peace of Caltabellotta (1302), Charles was free to pursue his ambitions for conquest of the Byz. Empire. Between 1306 and 1308, he negotiated alliances with the Venetians, Serbs, and Catalans and secured papal support for his "crusade." He was in a position to mount a formidable expedition against Constantinople. His plans were frustrated, however, by the need to remain in France to help his brother, Philip IV, and by the Catalans' neglect of their oath of fealty. After his wife's death (1307 or 1308) and the marriage of his daughter Catherine to PHILIP I OF TARANTO, prince of Achaia, in 1313, Charles renounced his ambitions in the East, allowing his son-in-law to press the family's imperial claims. Despite the significant threat that Charles posed for Byz., contemporary Byz. sources scarcely mention his plans for conquest.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 200–20, 233–42. E. Dade, *Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel* (Jena 1938) 72–78, 111–18, 136–58. J. Petit, *Charles de Valois (1270–1325)* (Paris 1900). –A.M.T.

CHARON (also Charos and Charontas), ancient ferryman of the dead across the River Styx or Acheron. He emerges in Byz. texts from the 10th C. onward as "night-thief of souls" (John Geometres, PG 106:949A; ACHILLEIS, ed. D.C. Hesseling, 85–87), an idea that may be biblical in origin (Mt 24:43, 1 Th 5:2, 2 Pet 3:10). He is also described as black and fierce, holding the cup of death and a long, curved sword with which to sever the thread of life, a motif that connects him with Moira, or Fate (G. Moravcsik, *SBN* 3 [1931] 45–68). From the 12th C. onward Charon is addressed directly, sometimes engaging in dialogue with the bereaved; as violent bridegroom of young girls, despoiling their beauty; as premature culler of grapes or reaper of corn, esp. in the learned romances of the 12th C. (Niketas EUGENEIANOS, *Drosilla and Charikles* 2.173–85). Thus he is not merely a continuation of the ancient ferryman but an active agent of death, more concretely personified in later Byz. texts than HADES or Thanatos, with clear delineation of attributes: black looks, cruelty, use of sword, premature reaper of marriage in death.

LIT. M.B. Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in Vryonis, *Past* 221–36. D.C. Hesseling, *Charos* (Leiden-Leipzig 1897). Idem, "Charos Rediens," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 186–91. R.H. Terpening, *Charon and the Crossing* (Lewisburg 1985). –M.B.A.

CHARPETE (Χάρπετε, now Harput), a major fortress of the Byz. frontier situated above the Arsanias River (Murad Su), east of the Euphrates. Under its ancient name Ziata, Charpete formed part of the territory conquered by Diocletian from the Persians in 297. It was briefly recaptured by the Persians in 359. At that time it was a *castellum* of sufficient size to serve as a refuge for the country population (Amm.Marc. 19:6.1). It became a major fortress (called Ziyād) under the Arabs, who controlled it from the 640s until 937, when Romanos I Lekapenos conquered the area and incorporated it into MESOPOTAMIA. Charpete was the base of the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS in 976 and remained Byz. until the battle of Mantzikert (1071). It had great strategic importance as the main stronghold of the district of ANZITENE; it was apparently never a bishopric. The site contains a powerful fortress that represents the reduction of the late antique settlement. Enlarged after the Byz. reconquest, it shows seven undated phases of construction.

LIT. J. Howard-Johnston, "Byzantine Anzitene," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia*, ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 249f, 260f. –C.F.

CHARPEZIKION (Χαρπεζίκιον), probably to be identified with Çarpizek Kalesi (*TIB* 2:86, n.260), center of a dwarf theme east of the Euphrates, first mentioned in 949 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 241f). It had an army of only 905 men and probably ceased to exist soon after the compilation of the *Taktikon of Escurial* (971–75), which lists the *strategos* of Charpezikion between those of Tephrike and Romanoupolis.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles et le Taktikon de l'Escorial," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 285–302. –C.F.

CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY, founded in Constantinople in the mid-14th C. by John (monastic name: Job) Charsianeites (Χαρσιανείτης), a supporter of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. It was dedicated to the Virgin Nea Peribleptos. Its precise location is unknown but was probably within the city walls. The monastery had close ties to Kantakouzenos, who granted it a chrysobull, and spent part of his retirement there as the monk Ioasaph. Two of the monastery's superiors became patriarchs (NEILOS KERAMEUS and MATTHEW I); a third patriarch, GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, took the habit there. Patr. Matthew composed a testament in 1407 that describes the origins of the monastery and includes a *typikon* as well as a *hypotyposis* drafted by his two predecessors as *hegoumenos*, Mark and Neilos. Makarios MAKRES wrote a description of an icon of the Nativity in the monastic church (H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 125–40).

SOURCES. H. Hunger, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Matthaios I. (1397–1410)," *BZ* 51 (1958) 288–309. I.M. Konidares, K.A. Manaphes, "*Epiteleutios boulesis* kai *didaskalia* tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Matthaiou A' (1397–1410)," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 462–515. Janin, *Églises CP* 501f. –A.M.T.

CHARSIANON (Χαρσιανόν), fortress of Cappadocia between Caesarea and the Halys, supposedly named for a general Charsios who fought the Persians under Justinian I. Its site has not been located. First mentioned in 638, it was captured by the Arabs in 730 and was the scene of considerable fighting during the next two centuries. The fortress was the center of a district of the same name that became a KLEISOURA in the early 9th C. and a separate theme, created from parts of BOUKELLARION, ARMENIAKON, and CAPPADOCIA, after 863. According to Arab geographers, Charsianon had four fortresses and an army of 4,000 men; the salary of the *strategos* was 20 pounds of gold. Charsianon was a base of the landed aristocracy in the 10th C.; the Argyroi had their homes there and the MALEINOI their vast estates. In 1057, Charsianon supported the revolt of Isaac (I) Komnenos. The resettlement of GAGIK II there in 1045 and influx of Armenians led to conflicts with the local Greek nobility. Charsianon was lost to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. D. Potache, "Le thème et la forteresse de Charsianon," in *Geographica Byzantina*, ed. H. Ahrweiler (Paris 1981) 107–17. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "Charsianon Kastron/Qal'e-i Ḥarsanōs," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 410–29. –C.F.

CHARTOPHYLAX (χαρτοφύλαξ), an ecclesiastical official of Constantinople and the provinces, usually a DEACON, attested from the 6th C., with archival and notarial duties that grew in extent and significance with the growth of synodal trans-

actions. By the 10th C. the *chartophylax* was head of the SEKRETON of the *chartophylakeion* and principal assistant to the patriarch. The importance of his functions far exceeded his rank in the hierarchy which, by the 11th C., was fourth among the EXOKATAKOILOI. In addition to archival and chancery-related duties he acted as intermediary between the patriarch and clergy, introducing clerics before the patriarch and conciliar gatherings, and receiving letters sent to the patriarch. He examined candidates to the priesthood and prepared testimonials for them (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:440–44; 2:587). The *chartophylax* also wrote EROTAPOKRISEIS on canonical matters and released them in his own name. He represented the patriarch and, in his absence, presided over the synod. A *prostagma* (1094) of Alexios I Komnenos, confirming the *chartophylax*'s right to this position, indicates that it was not a new privilege but a controversial one disputed by the bishops of the synod (Zepos, *Jus* 1:649f). Theodore BALSAMON asserted, in his treatise on the functions and rights of the PROTEKDIKOS and *chartophylax*, that the latter had judicial competence and presided over a court (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:530–41); this claim appears to have more to do with Balsamon's need to bolster the office that he held than with the actual functions of the *chartophylax*. From the reign of Andronikos I, *megas* was added to the title of *chartophylax*.

Some monasteries included among their officials a *chartophylax* or *chartophylakissa*, a monk or nun responsible for the security and conservation of monastic records, and keeping track of borrowed documents.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 334–53, 508–25. Meester, *De monachico statu* 284f. –R.J.M.

CHARTOULARIOS (χαρτουλάριος, from χάρτης, official document), a generic term designating subaltern officials in various bureaus. Late Roman *chartoularioi* were known from 326 in the chanceries of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT, MAGISTER MILITUM, etc. (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 2193). The first known *chartoularios* of the "divine *logothesion*" was mentioned in the 7th-C. *Miracula* of St. ARTEMIOS (ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, 23.29). In the 9th–10th C. *chartoularioi* were functionaries with fiscal and archival duties in both central and provincial administration, such as the *chartoularioi* of the GENIKON, STRATIOTIKON, and DROMOS. Similar functions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy were performed by the CHARTOPHYLAX, and the two terms could be confused (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 20); the seal of a *chartophylax* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.358) is also known. A *chartoularios* could be the head of an entire *sekreton*, such as *chartoularios* of the *sakella* (see SAKELLION) or VESTIARION. According to seals, the *chartoularioi* of the *genikon* and *stratiotikon* acquired the epithet *megas* from the end of the 10th C. *Chartoularioi* could be commanders on the battlefield (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.138); Theophanes (Theoph. 398.13–14) relates that Leo III appointed "his personal *chartoularios*" Paul as *strategos* of Sicily. In the 12th C. some *chartoularioi* (e.g., Theodore Choumnos) exercised military functions. From the 13th C. onward, the *megas chartoularios* was a high-ranking courtier whose duty, like that of the PROTOSTRATOR, was to lead the horse of the emperor. I. Medvedev (*PSb* 23 [1971] 63–67) rejected B. Pančenko's hypothesis concerning the existence of a guild of *chartoularioi*.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XVIII (1971), 405–26. Bury, *Adm. System* 83. –A.K.

CHARTRES NOTATION. See NEUMATA.

CHEESE (τυρός), an important food source, mentioned along with wine, olive oil, beans, and bread as a major component of the DIET (*Lavra* 1, no.27.19–21); it was commonly added as a relish (*prosphagion*) to bread. The GEOPONIKA (bk.18:19) gives a recipe for making cheese and says that the best type was made from GOAT milk. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON praises cheese made from the milk of water buffalo. Some cheeses were pungent and used as appetizers with wine. The Vlachs were famous as cheese makers, providing the monks of Mt. Athos with their product. Cheese could be used for payment of rent in kind: thus, in 1382, the monastery of Nea Petra on Mt. Athos received from revenues in Lemnos 16 *modia politika* of grain, 4 *modia politika* of legumes, and 3 *kantaria* (a measure of approximately 40–48 kg) of cheese (*Dionys.* no.5.11–12). Imperial privileges exempted various monasteries from mandatory sales of grain, wine, meat, cheese, "and all other kinds of food" (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no. 6.53–

54), thus enumerating cheese among the most basic foodstuffs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:31–35. –A.K., J.W.N.

CHEILAS (Χειλᾶς), also Prinkips Cheilas, a family of Peloponnesian origin, known from the 13th–15th C. The Cheilades produced several ecclesiastical leaders and intellectuals: Theodosios Prinkips Cheilas was sent by Michael VIII as envoy to the Mongol khan Hülegü; ca.1278–83 he was patriarch of Antioch. His contemporary John Cheilas, metropolitan of Ephesus, wrote against the ARSENITES and Patr. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS; the collection of letters in Paris, B.N. gr. 2022, was erroneously ascribed to John. John's brother Constantine was a military judge (*krites tou phossatou*) in 1293–94; two of his seals have survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1193–94). Nikephoros Prinkips Cheilas, a rhetorician of the first half of the 15th C., wrote a monody on the death of Kleope Malatesta (died 1433), spouse of the *despotes* THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, and was closely connected with many intellectuals of his time, such as John EUGENIKOS, BESSARION, PLETHON, and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS.

LIT. I. Bogiatzides, "Hai prinkipes Cheilades tes Lakedaimonos," *NE* 19 (1925) 192–209. J. Gouillard, "Après le schisme arsénite: La correspondance inédite du Pseudo-Jean Chilas," *BSHAcRoum* 25 (1944) 174–211. –A.K.

CHEIROTHESIA (χειροθεσία), "the laying on of hands," esp. by the bishop in the rite of ordination. Initially it referred specifically to the central part of the ordination process—the imposition of hands—rather than to the sacrament of ordination proper and the conferring of ecclesiastical dignity. Still, this distinction was not always maintained. Indeed the term became interchangeable with CHEIROTONIA and the whole liturgical act of ordination (cf. NICAEA I, canon 19; Council of CHALCEDON, canon 15). By the 8th C., however, *cheirothesia* came to be used for the ecclesiastical ceremony conferring minor orders of SUBDEACON, ANAGNOSTES, etc., through the sign of the Cross (*sphragis*), while *cheirotonia* was reserved for the ordination of the major orders of DEACON, PRIEST, and BISHOP. According to SYMEON of Thessalonike (PG 155:361D), the first took place "away from the altar" (*exo tou bematos*), whereas the second was performed "at the altar" (*entos tou bematos*). In general, of course, *cheirothesia* was also a common element in a number of other rites, such as baptism, in which the laying on of the hands in benediction took place. –A.P.

CHEIROTONIA (χειροτονία). In its primitive etymological sense the term, meaning "stretching forth the hands," signified primarily appointment or election to office. In Christian canonical and sacramental usage, the word came to designate the liturgical rite by which a candidate was ordained into one of the three major orders of the Christian CLERGY. Specifically, the sacrament included both the appointment and the laying on of the bishop's hands on the ordinand in the rite of CHEIROTHESIA. Zonaras described *cheirotonia* as the liturgical act in which the invocation of the Holy Spirit by the bishop is accompanied by the laying on of hands on the candidate for ordination (PG 137:37A; cf. John Chrysostom, PG 60:116.15–20). The same canonist was nevertheless aware of the ancient distinction between simple nomination and the actual rite of consecration, for he observes that the election (*psephos*) eventually came to be called ordination (*cheirotonia*) by the church fathers (cf. C. Vogel, *Irénikon* 45 [1972] 7). The bishop alone had the right to perform the ceremony.

LIT. C.H. Turner, "Cheirotonia, Cheirothesia, Epithesis Cheiron (and the Accompanying Verbs)," *JThSt* 24 (1923) 496–504. J. Coppens, *L'imposition des mains et les rites connexes dans le Nouveau Testament et dans l'église ancienne: Étude de théologie positive* (Paris 1925). M.A. Siotis, *Die klassische und die christliche Cheirotonie in ihrem Verhältnis* (Athens 1951). –A.P.

CHELANDION (χελάνδιον) was sometimes used synonymously with DROMON to refer to oar- and sail-powered warships of varying sizes and speeds (A. Dain, *Naumachica* [Paris 1943] 66), but other sources indicate that *chelandion* generally meant a transport ship, such as the type used by Constantine V to ferry horses to Bulgaria in 762 (Theoph. 432.29–433.1) or by Basil II to transport men and supplies during his siege of Tripolis in 999 (Yaḥyā of Antioch, PO 23 [1932] 459). Another term, *pamphylos*, refers to round-hulled vessels that served to carry war machines and horses; smaller transport ships were called *sagenai*, *saktourai*, and *katenai*, names that indicate an Arabic origin.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 410–14. R.H. Dolley, "The Warships of the Later Roman Empire," *JRS* 38 (1948) 47–53. –E.M., A.K.

CHEMISTRY. See ALCHEMY.

CHENOLAKKOS MONASTERY, a Bithynian monastery of uncertain location. Chenolakkos (Χηνόλακκος, "Goose Pond") was founded in the early 8th C. by a St. Stephen, who is known only from his liturgical notice in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* for 14 Jan. (*Synax.CP*, 392–94). He established the monastery at Chenolakkos, on land given him by Patr. GERMANOS I. The monks of Chenolakkos supported the restoration of images by the Second Council of NICAEA in 787; the monk Thomas signed the *Horos* (decree) as a delegate of the *hegoumenos* John.

In the 9th C. Chenolakkos is known as the monastery where the iconodule METHODIOS, the future patriarch, first adopted the habit and worked as a scribe. The monastery disappears from the sources between the 10th and 12th C.; it reappears in the second half of the 13th C. as an insignificant *metochion* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi, housing only two monks.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 189f. –A.M.T.

CHERNIBOXESTON (*χερνιβόξεστον*, from *χερνιβεῖον* + *ξέστης* "wash basin [and] ewer"), term attested from the 6th C. in papyri and in an inscription of 582–602 on a silver vessel, for a washing set, either domestic or liturgical. The basin often took the form of a long-handled TRULLA, while the ewer was a handled jug. In a series of long-handled pans with dated SILVER STAMPS, the three latest (of 582–651) apparently still have matching ewers (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 30–31, 48–49, 75, 77). While none of the complete sets displays Christian motifs, other ewers with a church dedication (KAPER KORAON TREASURE) or New Testament iconography may bear witness to the early ecclesiastical use of washing sets mentioned in the EUCHOLOGION and described in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS by the Latin terms *urceus* and *agmanile*. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos described the use of *cherniboxesta* decorated in low relief and of "precious towels" for the washing of hands during palace ceremonies (*De cer.* 586.3–5).

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 106f. –M.M.M.

CHEROUBIKON (*χερουβικόν*), the Cherubic Hymn, important TROPARION that accompanies the transfer of gifts in the GREAT ENTRANCE and introduces the eucharistic half of the LITURGY with its references to the preanaphoral dialogue ("let us lay aside all worldly care"), TRISAGION ("sing the thrice-holy hymn"), and COMMUNION ("to receive the King of All"). Its name derives from its opening words, in which the singers are assimilated to the CHERUBIM around the throne of God. The other Great Entrance hymns that replace this hymn in the Liturgy of Basil on Holy Thursday (*Tou deipnou*), Holy Saturday (*Sigesato pasa sarx*), and at PRESANCTIFIED (*Nun hai dynameis*) are by extension also called *cheroubika*. The *cheroubikon* and *Tou deipnou* were introduced under Justin II in 573–74 (Cedr. 1:685.3–4), perhaps replacing earlier psalmody (Ps 23 with alleluia). The Holy Saturday chant comes from the Jerusalem Liturgy of James; it appears in Constantinople by the 11th–12th C. but is only an optional replacement for the *cheroubikon* until the end of Byz.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 53–118. –R.F.T.

CHERSON (Χερσών), a Greek colony in the immediate vicinity of modern Sebastopol on the Crimean peninsula, was from the 2nd C. a part of Roman Lower MOESIA. Christianity was firmly established there by the beginning of the 4th C. The altar of a cruciform church discovered in 1897 contained a silver reliquary, with relics intact, bearing a monogram, bust, and control stamps of Justinian I (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no.151). Cherson was the most significant city of CRIMEA in the 5th–6th C.; excavations have shown, however, that large-scale production of salted fish and wine stopped during this period. The economic situation in Cherson in the 7th–8th C. is still disputed: Jakobson (*infra*) stresses decline and desertion, whereas A. Romančuk (in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* [Prague 1985] 123–35) emphasizes the continuity of urban life. At this time Cherson was a place of exile for Pope MARTIN I and Emp. Justinian II. In the 8th C. it was under

the rule of a Khazar governor (*tudun*). According to a later legend, it offered shelter to Iconodule refugees from Byz.

Byz. rule was reestablished by Emp. Theophilos who, ca.832, created the theme of Klimata (see KLIMA). From the 10th to the 12th C. Cherson enjoyed great prosperity. The minting of autonomous coins of municipal character was resumed by Michael III (*DOC* 3.1:91f) at this time, and abundant seals survive of Byz. officials in Cherson, primarily those of *strategoi* and *kommerkiarioi*. The colony assumed pivotal importance in relations between Byz. and the Khazars (the starting point for the missionary activity of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER), Pechenegs, and Kievan Rus'. It played an essential role in the conversion of Kievan Rus' in 988/9: according to a legend, VLADIMIR I of Kiev was baptized in Cherson. Many inscriptions and graffiti (both Greek and Latin) have been recovered in Cherson through archaeological excavations.

After 1204 Cherson accepted the suzerainty of Trebizond. It began to lose its Greek character, mainly because of Alan impact and economic ties to the northern Caucasus and the Near East. By the end of the 14th C. it was destroyed by the armies of the Golden Horde.

LIT. A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* (Moscow-Leningrad 1959). O. Dombrovs'kyj, "Srednevkovyj Chersones," in *Archeologija Ukrains'koj SSR* 3 (Kiev 1986) 535–48. J. Smedley, "Archaeology and the History of Cherson," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 172–92. I. Sokolova, *Monety i pečati vizantijskogo Chersona* (Leningrad 1983). –O.P., A.C.

CHERUBIM (χερουβ(ε)ίμ), celestial beings who held an important place in the Old Testament as supporters of God; God was enthroned upon them and they moved his chariot. Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite describes them as the second order of the first triad of heavenly beings, between the SERAPHIM and the thrones (*thronoi*), another order of angels. In contrast, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:348A) eliminates the distinction between cherubim and *thronoi*, since God was enthroned upon the cherubim. Greek authors represented the cherubim as fiery, with four faces and many eyes (*polyommata*), although Origen warned against literal interpretation of these features. Their usual functions included driving the heavenly chariot, praising God, defending the church, and assisting at the Last Judgment, but pseudo-Dionysios emphasized the spiritual qualities of the cherubim—their ability to receive the gift of light, to contemplate the primordial might of thearchic splendor, and to see and comprehend God (*Celestial Hierarchy* 7.1.32–34). Accordingly, the name *cherubim* was interpreted as meaning "full knowledge" (John Chrysostom, PG 48:724.55), even though they were unable to comprehend God as he comprehended himself.

Images of two cherubim were placed on the Ark of the Covenant (Ex 25:18–22) and in the Temple of Solomon (1 Kgs 6:23–29). The *Chronicon paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.* 462.9–13) states that the latter were seized by the Roman emperor Titus and affixed by Vespasian to the gates of Antioch. These Old Testament images of cherubim were cited by John of Damascus and others in polemics against the Iconoclasts: although made by human hands, they were nonetheless the object of divine cult and could thus be used to justify the Christian veneration of icons.

The cherubim were first depicted as regular ANGELS; later, under the combined influence of Ezekiel's visions (Ez 1:4–25, 10:1–22) and of Revelations 4:6–9, they took the form of composite creatures having at least four "many-eyed" wings, the top pair usually crossed, with a human face in the very center of the wings, and the heads of the four apocalyptic beasts at the sides (man and ox to the left, lion and eagle to the right; see EVANGELIST SYMBOLS). Their feet are human but winged, and they may have a pair of hands coming out the sides, to hold a sword or spear. The fiery wheels of Ezekiel's vision are often included either directly below them or nearby. The cherubim were sometimes given six wings, a feature borrowed from Revelations or from the closely related seraphim.

Cherubim appear in the pendentives of churches to support visually the image of the cross or of Christ Pantokrator in the dome (e.g., 9th-C. mosaics in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople); they also guard the gates of Paradise (e.g., in OCTATEUCH illustration [Gen 3:24] or in scenes of the LAST JUDGMENT). On the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY they are labeled *archai*. Their liturgical connection (the CHEROUBIKON hymn describes how they support the throne of God) led to their being depicted on RHIPIDIA.

LIT. O. Wulff, *Cherubim, Throne und Seraphim* (Leipzig 1894). D. Pallas, "Eine Differenzierung unter den

himmlischen Ordnungen," *BZ* 64 (1971) 55–60. Idem, *RBK* 3:56–78. –A.K., N.P.Š.

CHESS (ζατρίκιον), a game of Eastern origin, unknown in the later Roman Empire. The date of its penetration into Byz. is not established. When Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:71.11–16) described Alexios I playing chess with some of his relatives, she added that the game "came to us from the Assyrians." A 15th-C. historian (Douk. 99.17–18) depicts TIMUR as playing *zatrikion* with his son; by that time, the game was also known among the Latins, under the name of *skakon*. The DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (vv. 918–27) distinguishes between *skakoi*, *zatrikia*, and *tablia*, and states that bishops, *archontes*, and merchants played these games using pieces of gold and silver; *skakoi* and *tablia*, according to the same text (vv. 615–21), were made also of bull's horn. Wood and bone pieces were used as well. The game of chess was interpreted in the so-called ONEIROKRITIKON of Patr. Germanos I (F. Drexl, *Laographia* 7 [1923] 437.70) as foretelling a fight. More explicit is the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (pp. 192.3–193.9): victory at *zatrikion* foreshadowed profit, good luck, or military success.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1:220f. B. Janovski, "Kŭm rannata istorija na šachmata u nas," *IstPreg* 20 (1964) no.5, 92–101. –Ap.K., A.K.

CHILANDAR. See HILANDAR MONASTERY.

CHILDHOOD. The Greek terms for child, *teknon* (τὸ τέκνον) and *pais* (ὁ or ἡ παῖς), were applied to boys and girls alike, while *pais* could also designate a slave, and *teknon* had a connotation of spiritual relationship. Even though some Byz. practiced ABORTION and CONTRACEPTION, procreation was considered the primary goal of a married couple and INFERTILITY was viewed as a disaster; the birth of a child, esp. a boy (Prodromos, *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner, no.44.1–7), was a cause for rejoicing and celebration. The number of children varied considerably; Laiou (*Peasantry* 310) calculates that the household coefficient in the domain of Iveron in the first half of the 14th C. was 2.9 to 4.9 and in that of Lavra 4.1 to 4.9.

The infant (*brephos*, in *praktika* also called *pais hypomazios*—*Esphig.*, no.7.3–4) was weaned at about two or three years of age. Babies were swaddled at birth and nursed either by their mother or a wet-nurse; the attitude of Byz. society toward wet-nursing was equivocal (J. Beaucamp, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 546–59). Breastfeeding was depicted in the image of the Virgin Galaktotrophousa and of some saintly children shown suckling; hagiography tells of some future saints who as infants refused to suckle on fastdays. Infant mortality was high, the case of Maria the Younger probably being typical: she bore four children of whom two died in infancy. Children were esp. susceptible to disease after weaning (D. and P. Brothwell, *Food in Antiquity* [London 1969] 186–89).

Formal EDUCATION began at age six or seven, either at SCHOOL (for boys) or with a tutor or literate parents; rote memorization, esp. of the Psalms, was emphasized. Only a small number of children went on to secondary schooling. Despite John Chrysostom's warnings against indulgence (*Sur la vaine gloire*, ed. A.-M. Malingrey [Paris 1972] 96.239–100.266, 196.1058–1064), children, even boys, wore gold JEWELRY and gems (e.g., the gold belt, bracelet, and necklace renounced by THEODORE OF SYKEON, *Vita*, ch.12). Children played with TOYS AND GAMES and pets.

Parents were prohibited from selling or abandoning their children, although Constantine I, in a law of 329, permitted the sale of children "in the case of extreme poverty" (*Cod.Just.* IV 34.2) with the right of a later repurchase. Some children were abandoned, often at the thresholds of churches or houses of the wealthy. Some orphans, even of substance, faced problems: the vita of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS (*AASS*, Nov. 3:529D) describes how their neighbors expelled orphans from their father's house and seized their belongings. ORPHANAGES directed by the state and church tried to alleviate the problems of orphans and abandoned children.

Even though the concept of *patria potestas* (the father's rights over his children) diminished during the Roman Empire, Byz. parents retained substantial rights (often customary) with regard to their sons and daughters: parents could inflict corporal punishment on their children, albeit some moralists (like Kekaumenos) criticized whipping; they could castrate boys to make them EUNUCHS (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 187); they used children's labor in the household (esp. as shepherds and swineherds), and sent them out to work as ap-

prentices, servants, and prostitutes, retaining their earnings. Parents controlled their children's future by arranging their BETROTHAL and MARRIAGE. After reaching adulthood children usually resided outside the parents' household, but sometimes (at least, in the case of peasant families) remained in their parents' homes after their own marriage and the birth of first grandchildren. Conflicts between fathers and sons as described in hagiography (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 188–90) refer primarily to the attempts of children to leave the family and take monastic vows. Despite the parental authority over children, Byz. literature reveals the affection of both parents and grandparents for their offspring and of children for their mothers and fathers. Thus Psellos was very fond of both his mother and of his daughter who died in childhood (G. Vergari, *Studi di filologia bizantina*, vol. 3 [Catania 1985] 69–76), and Anna Komnene remained devoted to her parents, although secretly critical of her nephew, Manuel I.

The principle of Roman law that considered children as legally subordinate to the father (*personae alieni iuris*, Gr. *hypexousioi*) was accepted by the law of Justinian, albeit with some modification, and preserved in the terminology of the *Ecloga*. The *Procheiron* still required the formal emancipation of the son from his father's power (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 113, n.327), but Leo VI, in novel 25 (ed. P. Noailles, A. Dain, pp. 99.26–101.5), ruled that the son who established an independent household should be granted legal independence (*autexousion*) regardless of any formal procedure of emancipation; the child also had full rights to objects received from his/her mother or a third person. Byz. law retained the Roman principle of equal division of inheritance between the children.

There was no transitional period from childhood to maturity corresponding to the *ephebeia* (youth) of antiquity, even though the term, in a nontechnical meaning, appears in some authors (e.g., SYNESIOS, ed. N. Terzaghi, 2:289.20). Legally adulthood began at 25, but in fact the borderline between childhood and maturity was not sharply defined: marriage, taking monastic vows (after the 7th C. the minimum age for entry into a monastery was ten years), entering military or civil service, the opening of one's own workshop meant the end of childhood. In reality it occurred about the age of 16 or 18, although precocious cases are known, mostly in a legendary form, as in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS or in saints' Lives.

Images of the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN and cycles depicting her infancy invariably show the child as a miniature adult; the emphasis on the youthfulness of CHRIST Emmanuel is almost unique in iconography.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.1:1–184. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.X (1973), 85–93. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine (du VIe au XIIe siècle)," *Annales DH* (1973) 77–84. A. Moffatt, "The Byzantine Child," *Social Research* 53 (1986) 705–23. P. Leloir, "Attitudes des pères du désert vis-à-vis des jeunes," *L'enfant dans les civilisations orientales* (Leuven 1980) 145–52. P. Schreiner, "Eine Obituarnotiz über eine Frühgeburt," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 209–16. –J.H., A.K., A.C.

CHILIA (Κελλία, Κελλίον, mod. Kiliya), city and port at the northernmost mouth of the Danube 50 km northeast of Ismail. Probably ceded, with nearby Vicina, to Michael VIII by the Mongols after 1261, it returned to Mongol control later in the century. In the early 14th C. it belonged to the Second Bulgarian Empire and was a port of call for Venetian ships trading with Bulgaria. Later in the century, as Vicina declined and Genoa ousted Venice from the Black Sea trade, Genoese influence grew, and a Genoese colony and garrison were established in Chilia. After 1370 it seems to have passed to the control of the princes of Moldavia; in the 15th C. the Wallachian port of Braila eclipsed Chilia, and in 1484 the Ottoman Turks captured it. Its principal exports were grain, wax, honey, and slaves. Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS passed through Chilia on his return journey from Italy and Hungary in 1428. It is doubtful whether the Byzantine toponym *Chele* ever referred to Chilia. Some scholars identify Chilia with LYKOSTOMION.

LIT. N. Iorga, *Studii istorice asupra Chiliei şi Cetătii-Albe* (Bucharest 1899). N. Bănescu, "Chilia (Licostomo) und das bithynische *Chele*," *BZ* 28 (1928) 68–72. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 1:143–50. S. Baraschi, "Les sources byzantines et la localisation de la cité de Kilia (XII^e–XIII^e siècles)," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 473–84. –R.B.

CHILIAS (χιλιάς, pl. χιλιάδες), a measure of calculation, indicating a quantity of one thousand units.

1. In agriculture, a *chilias* is a measure of vineyards indicating 1,000 vines. Depending on the quality of the soil, the region, and the customs of

viticulture, the area of 1 *chilias* ranged between 1 and nearly 4 MODIOI [= approx. 878 to 3,512 sq.m]. According to the metrological sources, in the Balkans a *chilias* could be an area of 1,000 sq. ORGYIAI.

2. As a measure of fields, 1 *chilias* is equal to 1,000 *modioi*.

3. When measuring the tonnage of ships, *chilias* indicates a capacity of 1,000 *thalassioi modioi*.

4. In the trade of the Levant, esp. among the Italians, the *chilias* (It. *migliaio*) is a quantity of 1,000 pounds (LITRAI, *libbre*) and differs according to the pound used. *Migliaio* can also, however, be a larger measure of calculation for oil, for example, of 646 liters in Venice or 713 liters in Negroponte.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 83–89, 117. –E. Sch.

CHINA. The enormous distance between Byz. and China makes direct contact between the two doubtful. Byz. coins and precious objects, however, penetrated to China. A golden necklace, part of it possibly Byz., was found in the tomb of Princess Li Jingxun (600–08; see A. Kiss, *Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae* 38 [1984] 33–40), and Chinese archaeologists have found various Byz. coins of the 6th and the first half of the 7th C. If Shiao Nai (*VizVrem* 21 [1962] 178–82) is correct and a solidus of Justin II was found in a tomb dated between 595 and 599, then coins could move from Byz. to China in less than 20 years. The discovery of Sasanian silver dirhems in the same localities suggests that they came through the intermediary of the Persian Empire. In light of these discoveries, the romancelike legend, preserved by Prokopios of Caesarea and THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM, about smuggling the silkworm (see SILK) from the land of Serinda becomes less incredible, although the location of Serinda remains questionable.

Chinese reports about Da Qin and its apparent successor Fulin have been identified as referring to the Roman Empire and Byz., although some scholars consider them descriptions of a Taoist utopia (K. Shiratori, *Memoirs of the Research Department of the Toyo Bunko* 15 [1956] 25–72). The chronicle of the Tang period (618–907) depicts the capital of Fulin as having a large gate ornamented with gold; a palace adorned with gold, fragrant wood, and ivory; and an AUTOMATON indicating the hours. Twelve ministers administer the country, the emperor has a crown resembling a bird with wings, and the people use chariots and wear garish apparel (H. Wada, 14 *CEB* [Bucharest 1975] 2:445–50). This picture is perhaps a distorted reflection of Byz. reality.

NESTORIAN monks reached China in 635 and the Nestorian communities there were known to 13th-C. western European travelers; the history of these communities between the late 9th and the 12th C. is obscure. Nestorian monks from China occasionally visited the West. In 1278 two Nestorians, Patr. YABH ALLĀHA III and Sauma, set out from Beijing for Jerusalem. Sauma arrived at Constantinople where Andronikos II received him; in 1287 he reached Naples, then visited France and England, negotiated with Pope Nicholas IV and by 1291 returned to China (*The Monks of Ḳûblâi Khan, Emperor of China*, tr. E.A. Wallis Budge [London 1928]).

LIT. A.C. Moule, *Nestorians in China* (London 1940). P. Saeki, *The Nestorian Documents and Relics in China*² (Tokyo 1951). H. Wada, *Prokops Rätselwort Serinda und die Verpflanzung des Seidenbaus von China nach dem Oströmischen Reich* (Cologne 1970). H. Miyakawa, A. Kollautz, "Ein Dokument zum Fernhandel zwischen Byzanz und China zur Zeit Theophylakts," *BZ* 77 (1984) 6–19. Eidem, "Das Grab der Prinzessin Ch'ih-ti-lien, einer Enkelin des Anagaios (Ana-Kuei der Jou-jan)," *BZ* 79 (1986) 296–301.

–D.W.J., A.K.

CHIONIADES, GREGORY, astronomer, physician, teacher, and bishop; born Constantinople between 1240 and 1250, died Trebizond ca.1320; baptismal name George. After becoming a monk, Chioniades (Χιονιάδης) went from Constantinople to Trebizond, where he probably composed his notes on John of Damascus's *Dialectics* and *On the Orthodox Faith*. In the early 1290s he traveled on to the court of the Īl-Khāns at Tabrīz, where he began studying ASTRONOMY under Shams Bukhārī. Between Nov. 1295 and Nov. 1296 Shams dictated to him in Persian the rules for using the *ʿAlāʾī Tables* of al-Fahhad, which Chioniades rendered into barbaric Greek as the *Persian Astronomical Composition*. The conventionally titled *Revised Canons*, which he wrote in the spring and fall of 1296 in order to express some of these rules in a better style, indicate that he was then already becoming familiar with the shorter Arabic version of al-Khāzinī's *Sanjarī Tables* and with the Persian *Īl-Khānī Tables* of al-Ṭūsī, both of which he sub-

sequently translated into Greek. In this period he also translated various shorter pieces, including a treatise on the ASTROLABE written by Shams and an introduction to astronomy that is illustrated by diagrams of a Ṭūsī couple. Knowledge of the Ṭūsī couple eventually reached the West through a MS of Chioniades' works, and perhaps by other routes as well; it was employed by Copernicus in his planetary models (N. Swerdlow, O. Neugebauer, *Mathematical Astronomy in Copernicus's De revolutionibus*, pt.1 [New York 1984] 47f).

Chioniades was back in Trebizond by Sept. 1301 and in Constantinople by Apr. 1302. In Constantinople he trained students in Persian astronomy and medicine. It was clearly in this period that he translated into Greek a short Persian treatise on antidotes and, being suspected of heresy for his long residence among the Persians and for his interest in astrology, wrote a confession of faith (ed. L.G. Westerink, *REB* 38 [1980] 233–45). He was appointed bishop of Tabrīz in 1305, at which time he changed his name to Gregory. He remained at his post in Tabrīz for at least five years and then retired as a monk to Trebizond. At his death he left part of his library to Constantine Loukites.

ED. *The Astronomical Works of Gregory Chioniades*, ed. D. Pingree, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Amsterdam 1985–86). I.V. Papadopoulos, "Gregoriou Chioniadou tou astronomou Epistolai," *EEPhSPTh* 1 (1927) 151–205.

LIT. Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy." Idem, "In Defense of Gregory Chioniades," *AIHS* 35 (1985) 436–38.

–D.P.

CHIOS (Χίος), island in the eastern Aegean Sea, near the coast of Asia Minor, in late antiquity part of the province of the Islands. Excavations have revealed building activity through the 6th C. Thus, the third construction phase of the Basilica of St. Isidore is assigned to the mid-6th C. (C.I. Pennas in *Chios*, ed. J. Boardman [Oxford 1986] 332). Late Roman buildings at Pendakas were abandoned by the beginning of the 7th C. when the inhabitants probably retired to the relative security of the fortress south of the harbor (J. Boardman, *BSA* 53–54 [1958–59] 303). Emborio continued to be inhabited into the 7th C. (J. Boardman, *Greek Emborio* [London 1967]); the fortress seems to have been destroyed by fire soon after 660 (M. Hood, J. Boardman, *JHS* 75 supp. [1955] 23). Archaeological evidence from the following centuries is obscure.

Chios was included in the theme of the AEGEAN SEA and ruled in the 9th C. by an *archon* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.204); some seals indicate the role of Chios as a customs station: in 690/1 a certain George was general *kommerkiarios* of the combined *apotheke* of Asia, Chios, and Lesbos (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.168); in the 9th C. a *dioiketes* of Samos and Chios (no. 2216) is known. In the 11th C. Chios stood under the command of its own *strategos* distinct from that of Samos (Skyl. 373.12–13).

Chios was attacked by TZACHAS ca.1083 and was later a Byz. base against him. The island was sacked by the Venetians in retaliation for the Latin massacre of 1171, and in 1204 it was granted to Baldwin of Flanders; it passed effectively to the Genoese in 1261 as a result of the Treaty of NYMPHAION. From 1304 to 1329 Chios was occupied by the ZACCARIA, from 1329 to 1346 governed by a Greek administrator in the name of the emperor; on 15 June 1346 the Genoese fleet besieged Chios and in eight days conquered the entire island. Kantakouzenos relates that the inhabitants resisted the Genoese, and Tzybos, a former governor of the island, attacked them but was killed; a later chronicle described a plot organized by the local metropolitan who wanted to hand Chios over to the emperor but failed. In a chrysobull of 1355 (*Reg* 5, no.3042) John V Palaiologos considered Chios a Genoese possession (the similar privilege of 1367 [*Reg* 5, no.3117] is probably a forgery).

A Genoese record of 1395 lists 2,142 Greek households on Chios (about 10,000 people). The land belonged to secular nobles (Schilizzi, Coresi, etc.) and to the monastery of NEA MONE that in the 14th C. complained of the shortage of grain and the small number of *douloparoikoi*. The Genoese administration abolished the ANGAREIAI of peasants and replaced them with the KAPNIKON of two hyperpera; indirect taxes were also increased. Chios remained in Genoese hands until 1556, when it fell to the Turks. Chios was a suffragan bishopric of Rhodes and from the 14th C. a metropolis without suffragans.

Aside from Nea Mone, an imperial foundation of the 11th C., Chios preserves the remains of many Byz. buildings and sites. The Church of the Panagia Krina is a smaller copy of the *katholikon*

of Nea Mone with frescoes of the 13th C. and later (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 10 [1980–81] 165–80), while the Holy Apostles at Pyrgoi is of similar shape, with well-preserved exterior architectural detail. The general outline of the castle above the modern town is probably Byz., although it has undergone rebuilding in many periods; in the castle, the Church of St. George may originally have been built in 993.

LIT. Ph. Argenti, *The Occupation of Chios by the Genoese and their Administration of the Island, 1346–1566*, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1958). M. Balard, "Les Grecs de Chio sous la domination Génoise au XIVe siècle," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 5–15. A. Orlandos, *Monuments byzantins de Chios* (Athens 1930). D.I. Pallas, *RBK* 1:917–66. Ch. Bouras, *Chios* (Athens 1974). –T.E.G.

CHI RHO. See CHRISTOGRAM.

CHITON. See TUNIC.

CHLAMYS (χλαμύς, also χλανίς), a long cloak fastened on the right shoulder by means of a FIBULA so as to leave the right arm free. In antiquity, a short *chlamys* was worn by soldiers, hunters, and riders. Diocletian's Price Edict refers to various kinds of *chlamys*, including a military type, a simple and a double *chlamys*, the latter being mentioned for the first time in this document. The two pointed sections hanging down over the legs were called "Thessalian wings" by later lexicographers (Hesychios of Alexandria, Photios, *Souda*, Eustathios of Thessalonike). By about the 6th C. the *chlamys* had lost its military character and in its longer form became a crucial element of court COSTUME. The presence of a TABLION generally differentiates the civilian *chlamys* from military cloaks such as the *paludamentum* or SAGION. The *chlamys* was made in different colors, including white, each office being associated with a specific color. It was bordered with rows of gems or pearls, and on certain occasions it was fastened in front, under the throat. A purple *chlamys* with a gold *tablion* was the prerogative of the emperor and was laid upon his shoulders in a special section of the imperial coronation rite (*De cer.* 192.23–193.1); he wore the *chlamys* over the DIVETESION, but not generally over the LOROS. Members of his family might wear *chlamydes* adorned with eagles.

Representations of the *chlamys* abound, in imperial portraits and images of Old Testament kings such as David or Solomon, in portraits of courtiers, or of princely martyrs. These *chlamydes* are all evidently made of SILK woven with a great variety of gold floral, circular, or spade-shaped designs.

Seeing a *chlamys* in dreams had a broad range of meanings. If the *chlamys* was frayed and dirty, this meant the downfall of a regime, if new and splendid, it foretold happiness and the birth of a male heir (ACHMET BEN SIRIN, *Oneirocriticon*, ed. Drexel, p.116.1–7).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:71–80; 3.1:117–20. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:424–48. –A.K., N.P.Š.

CHLEMOUTSI (Χλεμούτσι or Χλουμούτσι, Fr. Clermont, Ital. Castel Tornese), castle in Elis in the northwestern Peloponnesos. It was the primary fortification of the principality of ACHAIA, constructed on a hill with a panoramic view westward to the Ionian Sea and controlling passage into the interior of the Peloponnesos. It was built between 1220 and 1223 by GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN who used the wealth of the Moreot church for its construction, and was consequently excommunicated. Despite the castle's formidable size and position, it seems to have witnessed no memorable sieges or battles; it was frequently used as a prison, and the Greeks captured at the battle of Makryplage in 1264 were held there. Chlemoutsi is frequently confused with the port of Clarence (Clarentia, Clarenza, mod. Kyllene) some distance to the northwest, which was the site of the mint of the principality until its destruction in 1429. Chlemoutsi remained in Frankish hands until 1429 when it was taken by Constantine (XI) Palaiologos, then *despotes* of the Morea, and used by him as a base for his attack on Patras. The *despotes* Thomas Palaiologos kept John Asen prisoner at Chlemoutsi. It was taken by the Turks in 1460.

The surviving fortress is almost entirely Frankish. It consists of a large polygonal circuit wall and, at the summit of the hill, a powerful keep—an irregular hexagon, with sides 60–90 m long—and an interior court. The walls are in fact enormous halls, over 7 m wide with two stories, the upper supported either on vaults or with wooden beams. Living quarters were on the upper stories. Elaborate arrangements brought water from the roofs to huge cisterns under the floors.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 325–28, 608–29. Andrews, *Castles* 146–58. –T.E.G.

CHLIARA (Χλιαρά), settlement on the road from Pergamon to Philadelphia, known from the 11th C. onward. It is mentioned several times by Anna Komnene, who states that the semibarbarian Monastras controlled Pergamon, Chliara, and neighboring towns (*polichnia*) (An.Komn. 3:155.1). In the mid-12th C. Chliara was already a *polis*; it was fortified by a city wall ca.1162–73 (Nik.Chon. 150.35–40). The bishopric of Chliara, a suffragan of Ephesus, is listed in a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 10.47), the date of which is variously placed between the 10th and the 13th C. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentions the "province" of Atramyttion, Chliara, and Pergamon, but the Crusaders could not retain this region and Chliara fell to the Nicene emperor Theodore I Laskaris. It suffered from a severe earthquake in 1296 and from Turkish invasions. A 15th-C. historian (Douk. 221.13–14) is the last Byz. source to mention "Chliera, on the borders of Lydia," but it had long ago been lost by the empire to the Turks.

Recent excavations in the valley of Lykos have revealed the remains of Chliara on the rocks of Gördükkale. The find includes a city wall of stone and brick with traces of towers and a settlement that, as Rheidt hypothesizes, housed about 200 families.

LIT. K. Rheidt, "Chliara," *IstMitt* 36 (1986) 223–44. –A.K.

CHNOUBIS (Χνοῦβις). The deity or *daimon* engraved on popular medical gem AMULETS, the Chnoubis takes the form of a coiled serpent with a lion's head and a NIMBUS and rays, surrounded by the seven planets or 12 houses of the zodiac. This pagan amuletic device, believed to prevent abdominal ailments, was christianized in late antiquity when the image of Chnoubis evolved into a dominating Gorgon head, often accompanied by the inscription, "Lord, help the wearer."

The Chnoubis also appears on Christian uterine or Medusa amulets, which derive directly from pagan uterine amulets (*hysterika phylakteria*). The Christian versions have the lion-snake Chnoubis on the obverse inscribed with the *Trisagion* or invocations of the Virgin, and, on the reverse, the command to the womb to lie down quietly as well as various symbols such as the pentalpha star, lunar crescents, "Z"s, and eight-pointed stars. The purpose of both pagan and Christian womb amulets was to ensure childbirth without complications.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 75–78. Bonner, *Studies* 56–60, nos. 81–86. –F.R.T.

CHOIROBOSKOS, GEORGE, grammarian, deacon, and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople; fl. early 9th C. Choiroboskos (Χοιροβοσκός) was above all active as a teacher and is described in the titles of some of his works as *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see DIDASKALOS). His principal writings are an extensive commentary on the *Rules* (*Canons*) of declension and conjugation by Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.); commentaries on the grammarians Apollonios Dyskolos (2nd C.), HERODIAN, and DIONYSIOS THRAX, which survive only in fragments; a treatise on ORTHOGRAPHY, also fragmentary; a commentary on the *Encheiridion* by Hephaestion of Alexandria (2nd C.); EPIMERISMS or grammatical analyses of the Psalms; and a treatise on poetical figures. The dry and detailed treatises of Choiroboskos played a major part in transmitting ancient grammatical doctrine to the Byz. world. The work on poetical figures was translated into Old Slavonic, probably in Preslav ca.900, and the translation was included in the IZBORNIK of 1073, copied for Prince Svjatoslav Jaroslavič of Kiev. The *Epimerisms* on the Psalms were used in schools in the mid-10th C. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE quotes Choiroboskos frequently as an authority. Renaissance grammarians found in his works a mine of information on literary Greek.

ED. Commentary on Theodosios—*Grammatici Graeci*, ed. A. Hilgard pt.4 (Leipzig 1894; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1.103–417, 2.1–371. For complete list, cf. *Tusculum-Lexikon* 115.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 87f. W. Böhler, Ch.Theodoridis, "Johannes von Damaskos *terminus post quem* für Choiroboskos," *BZ* 69 (1976) 397–401. P. Egenolff, *Die orthoepischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1887). Egenolff, *Orthog.* –R.B.

CHOIROSPHAKTES, LEO, diplomat and writer; died after 919; Kolias (p.15) dates his birth between 845 and 850, Beck (*Kirche* 594) ca.824. Choirosphaktes (Χοιροσφάκτης) was a high-ranking official (*mystikos* and *kanikleios* under Basil I, *magistros* from 896) and a relative of ZOE KARBO-

NOPSINA. Leo VI sent him on three embassies to SYMEON OF BULGARIA and in 905 to Baghdad. Probably involved in the rebellion of Andronikos DOUKAS (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XI [1963], 171), he was arrested probably in 907, but eventually returned to Constantinople and participated in the unsuccessful attempt of Constantine DOUKAS to seize the throne. In 913 Choirosphaktes was tonsured and confined in Stoudios.

Choirosphaktes' letters are an important source for the history of Byz.-Bulgarian relations. He also wrote epigrams, hymns, and theological works, including *Theology in a Thousand Lines*, dedicated to Michael III. The attribution of some of his works remains problematic since the MS tradition is often obscure. Mercati (*CollByz* 1:271–309) ascribed to Choirosphaktes an *ekphrasis* in verse, *On the Bath-house in Pythia*, which he dates to 911; R. Anastasi (*SicGymn* 17 [1964] 1–7) rejects the attribution. Choirosphaktes was the object of severe and vitriolic accusations by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA and probably CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. M. Šangin (*VizSb* [1945] 228–48) interpreted this criticism as a reaction against Choirosphaktes' intellectual activity; on the other hand, Karlin-Hayter treats Choirosphaktes as a "sniveller" in comparison with Arethas, "a fighter" (*Studies*, pt.IX [1965], 456).

ED. G. Kolias, *Léon Choerosphactès, magistre, proconsul et patrice* (Athens 1939); also *FGHBulg* 8 (1961) 176–84. E. Mioni, "Un inno inedito di Leone (Magistro)," *Byzantion* 19 (1949) 133–39. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 468f.
LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Lav Ravduch i Lav Chirosfakt," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 29–36. –A.K.

CHOMA (Χῶμα, now Homa), fortress of PHRYGIA in the upper Meander valley, became important as a frontier post in the 11th–12th C. Its troops, *Chomatenoi*, were in the service of Nikephoros III and Alexios I; at that time, Choma was isolated in an area overrun by the Turks. It was then center of a district called Choma and CAPPADOCIA, under a *toparches*. Choma's location on a major road to the interior made it a base for the campaigns of Alexios I and Manuel I. Continually threatened by Turkish armies and nomads, Choma was refortified in 1193 by Isaac II and given the name Angelokastron. It fell to the Turks soon after 1204; it was never a bishopric. Choma was formerly identified with Soublaion (Ramsay, *Cities* 1:221–26), a fortress rebuilt by Manuel I in 1175 and dismantled by him the following year according to the treaty after the battle of MYRIOKEPHALON; its site was apparently in the vicinity of Choma.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.X (1966), 278–83. –C.F.

CHOMATENOS, DEMETRIOS, a central ecclesiastical figure in the independent state of Epiros; born mid-12th C., died ca.1236. In the late 12th C. Chomatenos (Χωματηνός) or Chomatianos (Χωματιανός) served as *apokrisiarios* from the archbishopric of Ohrid to the patriarch in Constantinople; he was also *chartophylax* in Ohrid and in 1216/17 was appointed archbishop of the autocephalous see at Ohrid by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. In 1225 or 1227/8 Chomatenos crowned Theodore emperor in Thessalonike, thus inviting the censure of Patr. GERMANOS II at Nicaea and causing the schism (1228–33) between the Epirot and Nicaean churches (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 21–64).

That Chomatenos claimed and enjoyed a quasi-patriarchal position can be seen not only from his coronation of Theodore but also from the protocol of documents issued by his chancery even after Theodore's defeat in 1230. The collection of Chomatenos's acts and letters, approximately 150 pieces, constitutes the main source of the administrative and ecclesiastical history of EPIROS, Serbia, and Bulgaria in the first half of the 13th C. (G. Prinzing, *EpChron* 24 [1982] 73–120; 25 [1983] 37–112; F. Barišić, B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 20 [1981] 41–58). His acts, mainly decisions on marriage law, inheritance, and cases of killing, like those of his colleague John APOKAUKOS, are major sources for the social and legal history of the period; they indicate the level of legal knowledge, methods of argumentation, and range of cases that came before a bishop's court. Chomatenos's statements on the limitations of imperial power are unprecedented (D. Simon in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* [Frankfurt 1984] 449–92). Probably between 1230 and 1234, he wrote a brief vita of KLIMENT OF OHRID, a Bulgarian saint (P. Koledarov, *Literaturna misŭl* 27 [1983] no.3, 89–100).

ED. Pitra, *Analecta*, vol. 6.
LIT. G.Prinzing, *LMA* 2:1874f. D. Simon, "Byzantinische Provinzialjustiz," *BZ* 79 (1986) 310–43. A.E. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIII^{ème} siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 275–323. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum & Law." –R.J.M.

CHONAI (Χῶναι, now Honaz), city of PHRYGIA. The inhabitants of Kolossai, an ancient city of the plain long in decline, moved to the nearby defensible mountain site of Chonai in the 8th C. An important highway fortress, Chonai was a bastion of the theme of THRAKESION and may have been its capital (C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* [Cambridge 1979] 195f). It was devastated by Turkish raids in 1070 and after the battle of Mantzikert (1071) became a major frontier defense. Chonai was attacked in 1144, 1189, and 1191, and taken by the Turks after 1204. The great Church of St. MICHAEL in Chonai was a center of pilgrimage and location of great trade fairs, on the ancient site of Kolossai. This was a large basilica decorated with mosaics; nothing of it survives. Chonai was the birthplace of Michael and Niketas CHONIATES. It became an autocephalous bishopric ca.860 and a metropolis (without suffragans) ca.950. The remains of its Byz. fortress have not been studied.

LIT. Ramsay, *Cities* 1:208–16. –C.F.

CHONAI, MIRACLE AT. A miracle performed by MICHAEL THE ARCHANGEL at Chonai was celebrated 6 Sept. As told by Symeon Metaphrastes, the miracle occurred shortly after the deaths of the apostles John and Philip. Next to a healing spring of sweet water, in an oratory dedicated to St. Michael, lived a hermit Archippos. The devil and local unbelievers conspired to dam the river, whose two branches ran on either side of the spring, in order to flood both the spring and the oratory with brackish water. Michael appeared just in time to cleave the rocks in an earthquake, thus diverting the river and preserving hermit, spring, and cult.

Images of the miraculous event show Archippos and the chapel on the right and the Archangel driving his staff into the earth on the left, while the river, descending in two streams from above the figures, plunges down the center of the scene into the cleft created by Michael's staff (e.g., Sinai icon, K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* [New York 1978] pl.22). Sometimes devils with pickaxes appear (Venice, Marc. Z586). Known first from the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (fol.17), the image is one of the rare examples of a miracle of a saint illustrated with the degree of consistency characteristic of feast icons. Michael wears the *pallium*, though independent images of him in armor are sometimes labeled "Choniates" (e.g., at Karanlık Kilise, GÖREME).

LIT. M. Bonnet, "Narratio de Miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis Patrato," *AB* 8 (1889) 287–328. A. Xyngopoulos, "To en Chonais Thauma tou Archangelou Michael," *DChAE*[4] 1 (1959) 26–39. O. Meinardus, "St. Michael's Miracle of Khonae," *Ekklesia kai Theologia* 1 (1980) 459–69. –A.W.C., N.P.Š.

CHONIATES, MICHAEL, writer and metropolitan of Athens (1182–1204), brother of Niketas CHONIATES; born Chonai ca.1138, died Boudonitza ca.1222; the name Akominatos often assigned to him is incorrect. Choniates (Χωνιάτης) was a pupil of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. As metropolitan he was an energetic defender of Athens' interests, esp. during the city's siege by Leo SGOUROS. After the Latin conquest, Choniates left Athens, lived on Keos in 1205–17, and via Euboea went to the monastery of Prodromos in Boudonitza (B. Katsaros, *Byzantiaka* 1 [1981] 99–137). Politically Choniates was a strong opponent of the civilian aristocracy, which he criticized for its indifference to the provinces; he was esp. critical of those who came from peasant and artisan families (Lampros, *infra* 1:337.16–22). He welcomed ANDRONIKOS I at first but then withdrew support, frightened by his reign of terror "that put the whole world in fear" (1:210.12–15).

Choniates was one of the rare writers who escaped from convention and produced lively vignettes, such as a description of a dirty and drafty bathhouse on Keos (A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Munich 1982] 71). He often developed his similes and metaphors into full-blown images. In one of his treatises Choniates discussed the question of the relationship of the artist and his audience, defending the thesis of the creator's independence from the crowd's appraisal, even though in actual rhetorical practice he had to take into consideration the desires of his audience (I. Čičurov, 14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 68f).

In frescoes in the Church of St. Peter at Kalynia Kouvara and in the south chapel of the cave of Penteli, dated 1233/4 by inscription, Choniates is depicted as a nimbed bishop, thus suggesting that in Attica he was regarded as a saint shortly after his death (A.K. Orlandos, *EEBS* 21 [1951] 210–14; D. Mouriki, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1973–74] 96–98, fig.1).

ED. S. Lampros, *Michael Akominatou tou Choniatou ta sozomena*, 2 vols. (Athens 1879–80; rp. Groningen 1968). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 531.

LIT. G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome 1934). K.M. Setton,"A Note on Michael Choniates, Archbishop of Athens (1182–1204)," *Speculum* 21 (1946) 234–36. I.C. Hill (Thallon), *A Medieval Humanist Michael Akominatos* (New York 1973). –A.K., A.C.

CHONIATES, NIKETAS, government official, historian, and theologian; younger brother of Michael CHONIATES; born Chonai, Phrygia, between 1155 and 1157, died Nicaea, spring/summer 1217 (V. Katsaras, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 83–91). After studies probably in Constantinople, Choniates (Χωνιάτης) began his career before 1182 as a provincial functionary in the Black Sea region; he returned to Constantinople, retired while ANDRONIKOS I reigned, but resumed service after ISAAC II ascended the throne, eventually becoming *logothetes ton sekreton.* In 1204 he fled to Nicaea but failed to receive any position of influence there.

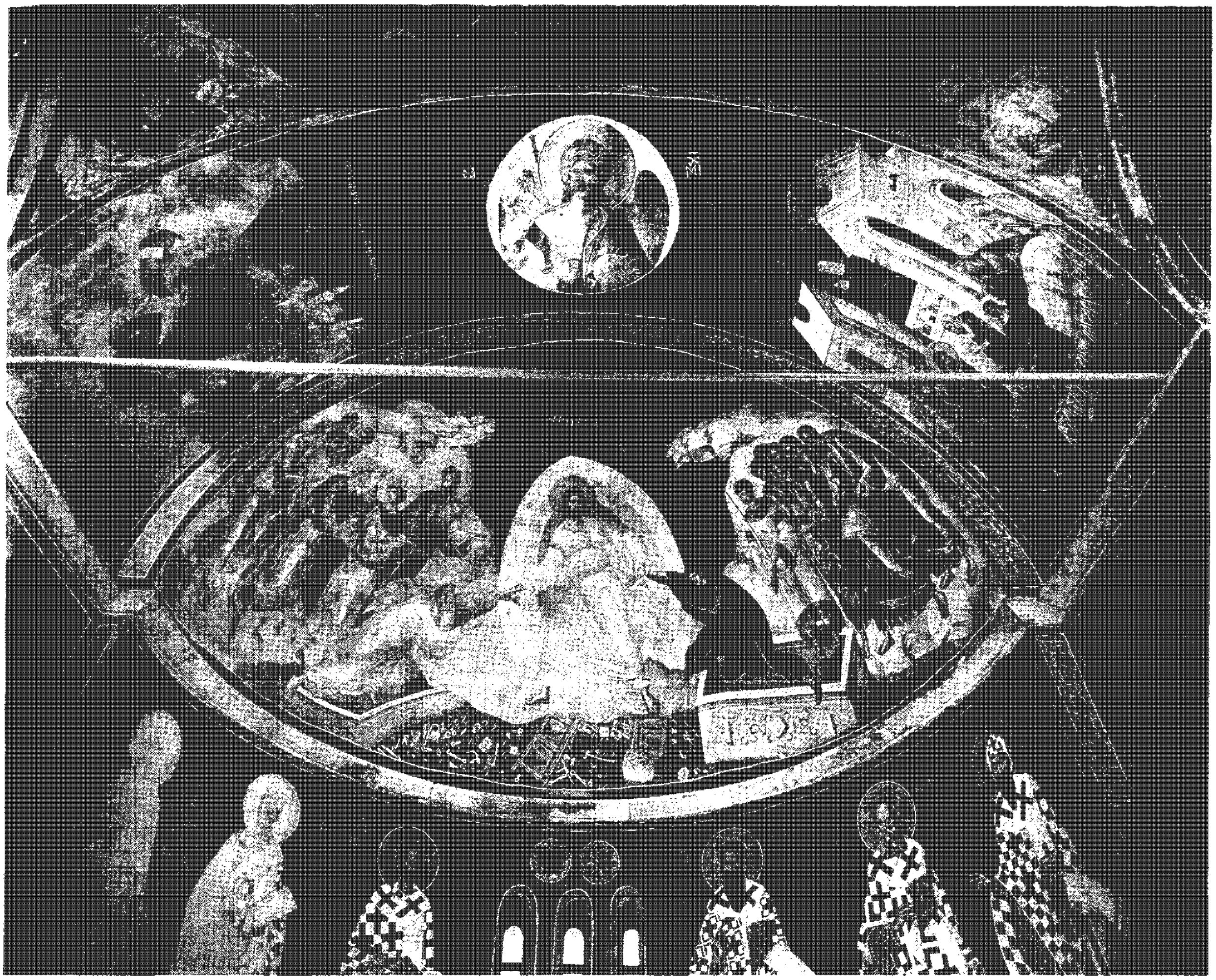
Choniates' *History* [*Chronike diegesis*] is the most important source for 1118–1206, although the author's personal (sometimes biased) opinions color it. A major example of Byz. prose, it reveals a new approach to human beings. They are presented as having contradictory, good and evil qualities and as being the active forces in history, while God functions as the highest moral principle. In a period of disaster, terror (esp. under Andronikos), and moral decline, Choniates defended the values of human life and property as well as culture. The *History* is permeated with a foreboding of catastrophe, also reflected in the imaginative system of metaphors and similes, taken from motifs of storm, shipwreck, fire, disease, and beasts of prey. Traditional clichés are interwoven with irony, psychological observations, crude jokes, obscenities: Choniates is concerned with the human body and its excretory and sexual functions, but shies away from his own curiosity. His speeches (panegyrics of Isaac II, Alexios III, Theodore I, address to the bishop of Philippopolis, monodies) and letters are more conventional than the *History;* factual inconsistencies between them and the *History* can be explained by the differing purposes of the two genres. He also wrote the *Thesaurus of Orthodoxy* (*Panoplia Dogmatike*), a refutation of heresies up to his time (published only partially).

ED. *Historia*, ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York 1975). Eng. tr. H. Magoulias, *O City of Byzantium* (Detroit 1984). *Orationes et Epistulae*, ed. J.L. van Dieten (Berlin–New York 1972). Germ. tr. of orations and letters by F. Grabler, *Kaisertaten und Menschenschicksale* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1966). *Thesaurus*, PG 139:1101–140:292.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:429–41. J.L. van Dieten, *Niketas Choniates, Erläuterungen zu den Reden und Briefen nebst einer Biographie* (Berlin-New York 1971). Idem, *Zur Überlieferung und Veröffentlichung der Panoplia dogmatike des Niketas Choniates* (Amsterdam 1970). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 256–86. A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–105. –A.K.

CHORA MONASTERY (Turk. Kariye Camii), located in the northwestern region of Constantinople near Edirne Kapı. The early history of Chora (Χώρα, lit. "dwelling place") is obscure. A legendary tradition attributes the foundation to the 6th-C. saint Theodore (*BHG* 1743), supposed uncle of Justinian I's wife Theodora; a more reliable source identifies the founder as Krispos, son-in-law of the 7th-C. emperor Phokas. In the 9th C. Chora was a center of resistance to Iconoclasm; the iconodule saints THEOPHANES GRAPTOS and MICHAEL SYNKELLOS were associated with the monastery and buried there. Restored in the 11th C. by Maria Doukaina, mother-in-law of Alexios I, Chora was again renovated in the 12th C. by her grandson, Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator*. Like its predecessor, Isaac's church was a domed basilica built of recessed-brick masonry on a cross-in-square plan with, however, a larger, single apse. Traces of its mosaic decoration remain in the south window of the nave.

The church deteriorated during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, but Theodore METOCHITES restored it magnificently (1316–21). He rebuilt the dome over the nave and replaced the narthexes and PAREKKLESION, decorating them with resplendent mosaics and frescoes. Of the mosaics in the nave, only panels of Christ, the Virgin, and the Dormition remain. The well-preserved mosaics of the narthexes and the frescoes of the *parekklesion* are critical for our understanding of the style of MONUMENTAL PAINTING of this period. In the outer narthex esp. notable are the image of Christ, identified as *he chora ton zonton*, "the dwelling place of the living," on axis with the entrance; the cycle of his Infancy with long sequences on the Magi and the Massacre of the Innocents; and that of his Ministry in the domical



CHORA MONASTERY. Frescoes in the eastern end of the *parekklesion* of the church; early 14th C. Below: church fathers, the bishops (l. to r., unidentified, Athanasios of Alexandria, John Chrysostom, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria). In the conch: Anastasis. In the arch: two miracles of Christ with the archangel Michael in the center.

vaults. The focus of the inner narthex is the donor portrait of Metochites offering his foundation to the Lord. In this area are mosaics of the Deesis with CHRIST CHALKITES, but without the Prodromos, accompanied by images of Isaac Komnenos and "Melania the Nun"; 17 scenes of the life of the Virgin; and an unusually full complement of 70 ancestors of Christ. The eastern half of the *parekklesion*, used as a mortuary chapel, is fittingly devoted to the LAST JUDGMENT and culminates in the ANASTASIS, abnormally placed in the conch of the apse. On the chapel walls are frescoes of military saints, some partly covered or destroyed by the finely carved hoods of sepulchral monuments. Along the south walls are Old Testament prefigurations of the Virgin.

Metochites also endowed the monastery with substantial estates, added a hospital and public kitchen, and donated his important collection of books. During the Palaiologan period, Chora housed Constantinople's most comprehensive library and was frequented by scholars such as Maximos PLANOUDES and Nikephoros GREGORAS, as well as Metochites himself. Sultan Bayezid II (1481–1512) transformed the church into a mosque.

LIT. P.A. Underwood, *The Kariye Djami*, 4 vols. (New York 1966; Princeton 1975). R.G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1987). Ø. Hjort, "The Sculpture of Kariye Camii," *DOP* 33 (1979) 199–289. –A.C., A.M.T.

CHORAPHION (χωράφιον, "cultivated field"). The word, rare in classical and patristic texts—Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:456D) speaks of those who diligently plow their *choraphia*—was used four times in the FARMER'S LAW and became the term for field in documents of the 10th–15th C. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 113.16–17), like the Farmer's Law (pars. 25, 83) and later documents, distinguishes *choraphia* from vineyards, and there is direct evidence concerning plowing and sowing *choraphia*. *Choraphia* are also contrasted with pastures (e.g., MM 4:30.19–20). A *choraphion* was normally under 10 *modioi* in area, whereas the more general term *ge*, "arable land," was commonly applied to much larger tracts, although the combined expression *choraphiaia ge* is used as well.

The terms *esochoraphia* (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.164.8, 13), *esothyrochoraphia* (*Pantel.*, no.17.21), *choraphion esotheron* (*Chil.*, no.92.123), and the infrequent *exochoraphia* (*Vazelon*, no.144.12; *Dionys.*, no.25.118 app.), that is, inner and outer fields, probably designated the location of a *choraphion* closer to or farther from the house. *Choraphia* could have common borders with vineyards (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.18.29–32); the cadaster of 1264 for the bishopric of Kephalenia (ed. Th. Tzannetatos [Athens 1965]) registers *choraphia* bordering a garden (p.31.31) or vineyard (p.44.204–06) as well as roads or buildings; the cadaster of 1235 for the monastery of Lembiotissa includes a *choraphion* bordering an olive grove (MM 4:8.10–11). A *choraphion* could be surrounded by a ditch (MM 4:7.33–34) or boundary marks (MM 4:189.8–9). Olive trees and nut trees grew on some *choraphia*. All this indicates that *choraphia* were not peasant "shares" in a particular field, thereby providing evidence against the existence of an "open field" agricultural system.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 506f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 61–63. –M.B.

CHOREPISKOPOS (χωρεπίσκοπος, lit. "country bishop"), a type of assistant bishop who presided over a community in the rural countryside. The *chorepiskopoi*, who were probably originally endowed with full episcopal ministry, became gradually subject to their urban colleague, the city bishop. Although their numbers increased in the 4th C., their sacramental and administrative functions were gradually restricted. Thus, the Council of ANTIOCH (341) decreed that they could only ordain ANAGNOSTAI, SUBDEACONS, and exorcists; deacons and priests could be ordained only with the city bishop's permission (canons 8, 10). Although ultimately unsuccessful, canon 57 of the 4th-C. Council of Laodikeia even attempted to replace them with itinerant priests (*periodeutai*). Finally, NICAEA II (787) restricted their episcopal prerogatives almost entirely by legislating that they could not ordain even *anagnostai* without episcopal consent (canon 14). Soon thereafter *chorepiskopoi* disappear.

LIT. F. Gillmann, *Das Institut der Chorbischöfe im Orient* (Munich 1903). M. Jugie, "Les chorévêques en Orient," *EO* 7 (1904) 263–68. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2.2:1197–1237. P. Joannou, *Fonti*, fasc. 9 (Rome 1964) cols. 61–62. –A.P.

CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, 6th-C. Christian rhetorician. Chorikios (Χορίκιος) was pupil and eulogist of PROKOPIOS OF GAZA. Forty-six declamations of various types survive. Apart from the historical value of his panegyric on Prokopios, his descriptions of the churches of Sts. Sergios and Stephen at GAZA present invaluable evidence for the variety of CHURCH PLAN TYPES, construction techniques, and figural imagery employed in the 530s and 540s. These accounts are characteristically Justinianic in their emphasis on splendor for its own sake; compared to CORIPPUS, realistic description in Chorikios still bulks larger than symbolic interpretation. Chorikios is also an excellent source for accounts of festivals celebrated in Gaza (F.K. Litsas, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 427–36).

Also important for its material on MIME and THEATER is his *Apology for the Mimes*, last in a series of such defenses (reaching back to LIBANIOS and LUCIAN) against the attacks, Christian and pagan, of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and Ailios ARISTEIDES. Theater, esp. mime, was controversial, persisting as it did in the face of the Christian onslaught, both legislative and ecclesiastical. Chorikios himself had to reckon with both Justinian's theater closures and the notorious thespian past of the empress THEODORA.

ED. *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, E. Richtsteig (Leipzig 1929). Partial Eng. tr.—Mango, *Art* 60–72. *Synegoria mimon*, ed. I. Stephanes (Thessalonike 1986).

LIT. F.-M. Abel, "Gaza au VIe siècle d'après le rhéteur Chorikios," *Revue Biblique* 40 (1931) 5–31. A. Sideras, "Zwei unbekannte Monodien von Chorikios?" *JÖB* 33 (1983) 57–73. –B.B., A.C.

CHORION (*χωρίον*) in the classical language designated "place," a meaning retained by Byz. (primarily narrative) sources. In papyri, from the 3rd C. onward, the term acquires the sense of VILLAGE (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:768), and it is the term for village in both the FARMER'S LAW and the *Treatise on Taxation*, whereas in hagiography it alternates with the classical *kome*. Dölger (*Beiträge* 66) suggests that both words were used synonymously "throughout the entire Byzantine era" and refers to *Peira* 23:3, which mentions a "*topos* (place) in the *chorion* of Gordiou [Gordou] *kome*"; Gordiou *kome* could, however, be a personal name rather than a toponym. The documents use *chorion* almost exclusively and *kome* quite seldom (e.g., "*chorion* Peristerai with the neighboring *kome* Tzechliane"—*Lavra* 1, Appendix II.8–9). The term *chorion* also had a fiscal connotation, esp. in the expression RHIZA CHORIOU. The agrarian legislation of the 10th C. emphasized the economic and fiscal solidarity of the *chorion*, considering it as the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. A *chorion* could also be a rural, juridical entity with legally defined borders that, in their development over time, might not correspond to the real geographical borders and appearance of a "physical" village. Very rarely, the term meant a landed estate (e.g., the expression "the lords of *choria*" in the interpolation VII:6 to the Farmer's Law).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 18f, 41–48. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 54f. D.V. Vayacacos, "Les mots *chora* (pays-ville), *chorion* (village), *kome* (bourg), et *polis* comme noms de lieu dans la langue grecque," *Onoma* 22 (1978) 457–66. –M.B.

CHORTAITES MONASTERY, located east of Thessalonike on the slope of a mountain now called Chortiates. The date of its foundation is unknown, but a seal of the 11th/12th C. exists, indicating that the monastery was dedicated to the Virgin (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1242). Circa 1205 Chortaites (Χορταΐτης) was granted to the Cistercians, having been abandoned by its Greek monks soon after the Frankish conquest of Thessalonike. Because of the abuses perpetrated by the Latin monks, it was briefly restored to the Byz. between 1207 and 1212 (E.A.R. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 79–81). A second group of Cistercians regained control from 1212 to 1233; thereafter it reverted to the Greeks.

Chortaites was an imperial monastery, with property in different regions of Macedonia and in Thessalonike; its holdings are mentioned in the 14th-C. acts of several Athonite monasteries. A poem of Manuel PHILES (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Martini, no.61) is the only source to mention an early 14th-C. restoration of the monastery after a fire. In 1322 during the civil war the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos fled to Chortaites from Thessalonike (Greg. 1:356.22). Chortaites' *metochion* on the east side of Thessalonike was visited in 1405 by IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK. The monastery probably fell into Turkish hands ca.1421 and became deserted.

LIT. A. Bakalopoulos, "He para ten Thessaloniken byzantine mone tou Chortaïtou," *EEBS* 15 (1939) 280–87. Idem, "Historikes ereunes exo apo ta teiche tes Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 7–15. Janin, *Églises centres* 414f. –A.M.T.

CHORTASMENOS, JOHN, writer, teacher, and bibliophile; born ca.1370, died before June 1439. Chortasmenos (Χορτασμένος) was a man of diverse interests, whose career was shaped by his love of books and literature. He first appears in 1391 as a notary in the patriarchal chancery, a position he held until ca.1415. At an unknown date he became the monk (and then hieromonk) Ignatios; by 1431 he had been made metropolitan of Selymbria.

Chortasmenos included among his pupils BESSARION, Mark EUGENIKOS, and GENNADIOS (II) SCHOLARIOS. He wrote a variety of works: 56 letters, some of which are addressed to other authors, such as Joseph Bryennios and Demetrios and Manuel Chrysoloras, as well as to Emp. Manuel II; poems, including iambic verses on the palace of Theodore Kantakouzenos and epigrams on the recently deceased scribe Ioasaph; orations; a vita of Constantine I and Helena; scholia on John Chrysostom; prolegomena to the *Logic* of Aristotle; and a short treatise on hyphenation. Particularly interesting are two detailed descriptions of serious illnesses he suffered (H. Hunger in *Polychronion* 244–52). D. Nastase has suggested

that Chortasmenos was the author of a (lost) chronicle that covered the period between the *Histories* of John VI Kantakouzenos and the historians of the fall of Constantinople (cf. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:482). An anonymous account of the Ottoman siege of Constantinople in 1394–1402 was attributed by Hunger to Chortasmenos, a hypothesis rejected by P. Gautier (*REB* 23 [1965] 100f).

At least 24 MSS have been attributed to the private library of Chortasmenos: they include codices of Euripides, Aristotle, Plutarch, Lucian, Libanios, Byz. historians, and the *Introduction to Astronomy* of Theodore Metochites. Chortasmenos is also remembered for rebinding the famous 6th-C. herbal of Dioskorides (Vienna, ÖNB, med. gr. 1). Chortasmenos copied several MSS, including *menaia* that he donated to his diocese and astronomical texts for his own use (E. Gamillscheg, *Codices Manuscripti* 7 [1981] 52–56).

ed. *Johannes Chortasmenos (ca.1370–ca.1436–37). Briefe, Gedichte und kleine Schriften,* ed. H. Hunger (Vienna 1969).
lit. H. Hunger, "Johannes Chortasmenos, ein byzantinischer Intellektueller der späten Palaiologenzeit," *WS* 70 (1957) 153–63. Idem, "Zeitgeschichte in der Rhetorik des sterbenden Byzanz," in *Studien zur älteren Geschichte Osteuropas,* pt.2, ed. H.F. Schmid (Graz-Cologne 1959) 152–61. P. Canart, G. Prato, "Les recueils organisés par Jean Chortasmenos et le problème de ses autographes," in *Studien zum Patriarchatsregister von Konstantinopel,* vol. 1 (Vienna 1981) 115–78. –A.M.T.

CHOSROES I (Χοσρόης), called Anūshirwān ("of the Immortal Soul"), Persian "great king" (531–78/9). Under his father Kavād, Chosroes participated in suppressing the social movement of supporters of Mazdak. As king he introduced several fiscal and administrative reforms and achieved a certain centralization of the state. He used Justinian I's domestic problems and involvement in Western politics to continue the war. The first war (527–32), inherited from his father, was ended by the so-called "Eternal Peace" that preserved the frontier of 502. In 540 Chosroes invaded Mesopotamia and Syria and seized Antioch; simultaneously the Persians were active in Lazica. For this invasion he found an ally in Vitiges. New activities in Lazica interrupted the truce of 545, but in 561 the parties signed a 50-year treaty preserving the status quo. War broke out again in 572, originating in the Armenian revolt against Chosroes, Justin II's suspension of tribute, and Byz.-Persian contest in southern Arabia and Ethiopia for the control of the sea routes to the East. Despite some success, the Byz. general Justinian could not retain Armenia.

Probably in 532 (Cameron, *Literature,* pt. XIII [1969], 13, 21) Chosroes offered asylum to Neoplatonist philosophers persecuted in Byz. In Arabo-Persian historiography he is presented as an ideal monarch. Cruel, hard, but worthy of respect, he failed, however, to rectify serious institutional defects. Modern scholarship often exaggerates the influence of Chosroes' reforms on Byz. (E. Stein, *Opera Minora Selecta* [Amsterdam 1968] 65–70; Ostrogorsky, *History* 97, n.2).

lit. Christensen, *Sassanides* 363–440. *Zeit. Justinians* 1:292–373. Av. Cameron, "Agathias on the Sassanians," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 172–76. –W.E.K.

CHOSROES II, or Khusrau II Parvēz ("the victorious"), the last of the "great kings" (from 590) of Sasanian Iran; died Ctesiphon 29 Feb. 628. Chosroes came to power after crushing the rebellion of Bahrām Chōbīn against Chosroes' father, Hurmazd IV. According to L. Gumilev (*Problemy vostokovedenija* [1960] no.3:228–41), Bahrām revolted after he had defeated the Turks who, with the Khazars and Arabs, had invaded Iran in concert with the Byz. plan for the Persian war. Chosroes had to flee to Byz. territory; Maurice and Domitianos helped restore him to the throne in 591. The Byz. generals Komentiolos and (eventually) John Mystakon were sent to support Chosroes. The treaty with Byz. provided for the surrender of Dara and Martyropolis. Chosroes remained Maurice's ally, and rumors circulated that he converted to Christianity.

The overthrow of Maurice by Phokas gave Chosroes a pretext for invading Byz. in 604 and reoccupying lost regions. Chosroes' generals Shahrbarāz and Shāhīn were successful, but at last Herakleios organized a counter offensive and in 627 won a decisive victory near Nineveh. Chosroes was dethroned by his son Kāvad-Shīrūya and, after a trial, murdered in prison.

lit. A. Kolesnikov, "Iran v načale VII veka," *PSb* 22 (1970) 58–88. R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich 1984) 335–37. M. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice (582–602)* (Washington, D.C., 1939). Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:128–90. –W.E.K.

CHOUMNAINA, IRENE, anti-Palamite nun and bibliophile; born 1291, died Constantinople

ca.1355. Daughter of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Irene married the *despotes* John Palaiologos, son of ANDRONIKOS II, in 1303. Widowed in 1307 at age 16, she sought solace in monastic life as the nun Eulogia. Despite her father's opposition, she gave much of her fortune to the poor and spent the remainder on the restoration of the monastery of Christ Philanthropos Soter. She became superior of this double monastery, to which her parents later retired. The convent, which housed 100 nuns, was one of the largest in 14th-C. Constantinople. Only a few ruins of the monastery have been uncovered, between the MANGANA palace and the sea walls. The *typikon* for the monastery is extremely fragmentary; its surviving chapters stress the importance of the cenobitic life (P. Meyer, *BZ* 4 [1895] 48f).

Choumnaina's first spiritual director was THEOLEPTOS, metropolitan of Philadelphia; in the 1330s she also conducted extensive correspondence with a monk whose identity cannot be established. She was an ardent supporter of Gregory AKINDYNOS and was harshly criticized by Gregory PALAMAS for meddling in theological controversy. Although errors in spelling and syntax reveal Choumnaina's lack of formal education, she was praised by her contemporaries for her erudition, possessed a substantial library, and commissioned the copying of MSS.

ED. A.C. Hero, *A Woman's Quest for Spiritual Guidance: The Correspondence of Princess Irene Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina* (Brookline, Mass., 1986).

LIT. A.C. Hero, "Irene-Eulogia Choumnaina Palaiologina, Abbess of the Convent of Philanthropos Soter in Constantinople," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 119–47. –A.M.T.

CHOUMNOS (Χοῦμνος, fem. Χούμναινα), a family of predominantly civil functionaries attested from the mid-11th C. The first known Choumnos was Michael, deacon and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in 1049 (MM 4:317.11–12). John "Soumn . . ." (read "Choumnos"?) served as chief of the *koiton* in 1087 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.47.24). Another Michael (died ca.1133) was *nomophylax* and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia and later metropolitan of Thessalonike. Several 11th- and 12th-C. Choumnoi are known only from their seals. The *sebastos* and *chartoularios* Theodore Choumnos, an important official of Andronikos I, is probably to be identified with the Choumnos who served as tax collector in Athens. Theodore was also entrusted with a military command. A chrysobull of 1192 mentions the "late *sebastos* Choumnos" (J. Verpeaux [in *Nicéphore Choumnos* (Paris 1959) 28] mistakenly named him "grand logothète"—see R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 82) who inflicted damage on the Genoese; his identification with Theodore is not probable. Nikephoros Choumnos (died 1234) also served as a tax collector in the Thrakesian theme. A later Nikephoros Choumnos was an important politician and writer (see CHOUMNOS, NIKEPHOROS); his brother Theodore was also a courtier. Several letters survive of Nikephoros's son John, the *parakoimomenos* and general (Boissonade, *AnecNova* 203–22); another son George was chief of the imperial table and *megas stratopedarches.* His daughter Irene-Eulogia CHOUMNAINA played an important role in 14th-C. religious life. Several other Choumnoi were influential courtiers: the *stratopedarches* John received a *pronoia* in 1344; Nikephoros was *megas hetaireiarches* in 1355. Makarios Choumnos founded NEA MONE in Thessalonike in the 1360s and was *hegoumenos* of STOUDIOS in the 1370s.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, "Notes prosopographiques sur la famille Choumnos," *BS* 20 (1959) 252–66. –A.K.

CHOUMNOS, NIKEPHOROS, statesman and intellectual; monastic name Nathanael; born between 1250 and 1255, died Constantinople 16 Jan. 1327. Choumnos studied rhetoric and philosophy with GREGORY (II) OF CYPRUS in preparation for a government career. He first appears in the sources ca.1275 as a quaestor entrusted with an embassy to the Mongol khan in Persia. Under Andronikos II, he was promoted to *mystikos* in 1293, and ca.1295 became *epi tou kanikleiou.* Circa 1293–1305 he was also MESAZON and one of the most loyal ministers of Andronikos. He secured an alliance with the Palaiologan dynasty in 1303 through the marriage of his daughter Irene CHOUMNAINA to the *despotes* John Palaiologos. In 1309–10 Choumnos served as governor of Thessalonike; thereafter he gradually withdrew from public service, after being supplanted in influence by his political and literary rival, Theodore METOCHITES. In the 1320s the two men engaged in bitter polemics over questions of literary style, Choumnos attacking the writings of Metochites for their lack of clarity. Metochites in

turn criticized his rival for his devotion to physics and his ignorance of astronomy, the highest form of science. Circa 1326 Choumnos retired to the monastery of Christ Philanthropos. His writings include rhetorical pieces; treatises on philosophy, cosmology, and theology; and 172 letters. He possessed a great fortune, based primarily on land in Macedonia, and founded the monastery of the Theotokos Gorgoepekoos in Constantinople (V. Laurent, *REB* 12 [1954] 32–44).

ED. Boissonade, *AnecNova* 1–201. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:293–312, 2:1–187, 3:356–406, 5:183–350. PG 140:1404–38.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, *Nicéphore Choumnos: Homme d'État et humaniste byzantin (ca.1250/1255–1327)* (Paris 1959). I. Ševčenko, *Études sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels 1962). –A.M.T.

CHRESIS (χρῆσις). In a broad sense, *chresis* implied the principles (e.g., *orthe chresis*, "proper use") by which church fathers integrated Graeco-Roman culture within the Christian worldview (Gnilka, *infra*). In documents, *chresis* meant "use" (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.59.27) and was the usual word for USUFRUCT. In accordance with the principles of Roman law, a scholium to the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 16.1.7) defines the *chresis* of a field as working the field and enjoying everything produced on it. Legislation of the 10th C. employs *chresis* in a different sense: a novel of Romanos II (Zepos, *Jus* 3:283.31–32) orders that, while a peasant in debt may hand over the *chresis* of his allotments (*topoi*) temporarily to a DYNATOS, he is not to be deprived of ownership of the property. Thus, the individual who received the *chresis* of a property (i.e., the *usufructuarius*) was not necessarily the one who worked the property. The word appears with this particular meaning occasionally in the 12th C.: in a document from 1153 (*Lavra* 1, no.62.7), a monk's *chresis* of a property owned (and worked) by a monastery provided him with an annual income (*siteresion*). In an extended use of the word a *praktikon* from 1181 (*Lavra* 1, no.65.26) distinguishes between a monastery's rights of *despoteia* (OWNERSHIP) over some *paroikoi* and a group of pronoiars' lifetime *chresis* and *nome* (POSSESSION) over the same *paroikoi*. *Chresis* appears only rarely in documents thereafter (e.g., from 1315: *Esphig.*, Appendix B.71).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 87–89, 118. Ch. Gnilka, *Chresis: Die Methode der Kirchenväter im Umgang mit der antiken Kultur* (Basel-Stuttgart 1984), with rev. F. Winkelmann, *BZ* 79 (1986) 59–61. –M.B.

CHRISM. See ANOINTING.

CHRISMON. See CHRISTOGRAM.

CHRIST. [This article is divided into three sections that treat the theology of Christ (Christology) that developed in Byz., the literary image of Christ, and the types of Christ used in artistic representations. For depictions of Christ in narrative scenes, see the following entries: AGONY IN THE GARDEN; ANASTASIS; APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION; ASCENSION; BLIND MAN, HEALING OF THE; CANA, MARRIAGE AT; CRUCIFIXION; DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS; EPIPHANY; FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDES; FLIGHT INTO EGYPT; GALILEE, STORM ON THE SEA OF; INFANCY OF CHRIST; LAZARUS SATURDAY; LORD'S SUPPER; MIRACLES OF CHRIST; MISSION TO THE APOSTLES; NATIVITY; PASSION OF CHRIST; TEMPTATION OF CHRIST; TRADITIO LEGIS; WASHING OF THE FEET.]

BYZANTINE CHRISTOLOGY. The image of Christ encountered in the Byz. church and in its theology is not so much that of the Synoptic Gospels, although Orthodoxy confesses the human nature (SUBSTANCE) of Christ and expresses it in the iconographic program of the GREAT FEASTS, but rather the Johannine Christ (LOGOS), the PANTOKRATOR, the Transfigured or Resurrected One who is enveloped by the MANDORLA. The church fathers of the 4th C. in particular exerted a lasting influence on liturgical texts, and their Christ is the Logos who is "of one essence with the Father" (HOMOOUSIOS). Against ARIUS and EUNOMIOS, they emphasized Christ's divine status, thereby initiating the Christology "from above" so characteristic of Byz. and of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as well: the Logos "became flesh" (Jn 1:14), the Preexistent One "became man" (cf. Gal 4:4).

According to Grillmeier there are two distinctive types of Christology: the Logos-*sarx* (cf. *sarkosis*, INCARNATION) and the Logos-*anthropos* (*enanthropesis*) models. Representatives of the first type are inclined to attach no theological relevance to the human soul, or human freedom, of Christ. At the very least, they ignore it (e.g., ATHANASIOS of Alexandria); or, they deny its existence altogether so that in the union the Logos

assumes the function of the soul (e.g., APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia); or, they subordinate the soul of Christ (and his human personality) to the preeminence of the Logos. Accordingly, the divine activity of the Logos concerning the human reality of Christ is often vitalistically interpreted (*theokinesis*), as in all Christologies of Monophysitic tendency since the Council of Ephesus (431); this tendency is seen above all in CYRIL of Alexandria, if one excludes the compromise formula that he offered in 433 to the Antiochenes and that the Council of Chalcedon (451) accepted as his belief. Emphasizing Christ as a "man with a body and soul" runs the risk of conceiving the union of the divine and human in the "God-Man," in the most extreme instance, as a relationship of two PERSONS, that is, in the juxtaposition of two beings, as in the NESTORIAN "Christology of separation."

Increasingly, a tendency developed to deny the "God-Man" certain human experiences believed to be "merely human." From the beginning the fact of Christ's sinlessness, a doctrine derived from Hebrews 4:15, was evident to the faithful and soon became a principle of interpretation. Athanasios, for instance, could still accept the ignorance (*to agnoein*) of Jesus as a characteristic of his human nature (PG 26:624A); but later, certain statements in the Gospels were seen only as an accommodation (*oikonomia*) to the audience: "I told you that I do not know, when in truth I do know" (Didymos the Blind, PG 39:920B). The height of this tendency is shown in the Monothelite controversy when MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR denied the possibility of a gnomic will in Christ, that is, the freedom of choice or FREE WILL.

After the acceptance of dyophysitism at the Council of CHALCEDON, theology was occupied with an explanation of the union, kept within the scope of the Chalcedonian definition (NEO-CHALCEDONISM), as taking place in the Person of the Logos (hypostatic union). This view came to fruition in the 6th C. in the anathemas of the Fifth Ecumenical Council (553) and in so-called THEOPASCHITISM under Justinian I. This made it possible to accord prominence to the Christology of Cyril of Alexandria and to offer the MONOPHYSITES a formula that drew from both traditions (e.g., "Known *in* two natures; united, without commingling, *of* two natures").

Emphasizing the hypostatic union gives prominence to the Logos as the basis of the union so that he is the existential foundation of the one Christ. Thus, emphasis on the predominance of the Logos, in an Alexandrian context, brings prominently into view the deifying "energy." Man as a union of two natures, body and soul, was a Christological model before Chalcedon and was used by Pope Leo I as well as the Monophysites. Not until Neo-Chalcedonism, however, does it become the focus for clarifying the hypostatic union and for distinguishing between varying degrees of individuation, in particular the differentiation of the individuality of NATURE or SUBSTANCE and of PERSON or HYPOSTASIS. The individuality of body and soul, both of which are conceived within a Platonic framework, are united in a particular man, in his person or hypostasis, on which basis the individual "exists in himself" as an independent being; yet, he is more than a particular instance of a common nature, or species.

The consequence of this model is shown in the Christology of Patr. ANASTASIOS I of Antioch with his emphasis on the deification of man: "Many times have our holy fathers made use of the paradigm of man when reflecting on the union of natures [in Christ]. As man is constituted of different activities (*energeiai*), some of which belong to the rational soul, some to the body, in the same way we understand the union that took place in our Saviour; just as we see one hypostasis constituted of different natures, so also we see it constituted of different energies," the divine and human (*Doctrina Patrum*, ed. F. Diekamp, 13.1, pp. 79.13–80.3).

If, as in THEODORE OF RAITHOU, the energies are expressly connected with the hypostasis, or together form a *prosopon* derived from a *prosopon*, then Neo-Chalcedonism is able to promote a single, hypostatic energy of Christ. In other words, there is created a Chalcedonian MONOENERGISM (or MONOTHELETISM) as, for example, in the anthropological paradigm to which Patr. Sergios I refers Pope Honorius (Mansi 11:536AB). By emphasizing that the subject of the activity and will is one, both NESTORIANISM and the possibility of conflict between the divine and the human in Christ were excluded, while Christ's sinlessness, and its accompanying mode of freedom, was firmly established.

It is noteworthy that MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR sought to understand the uniqueness of Christ's

hypostatic union by altering this paradigm, after a phase in which he avoided or even rejected it, and thereby provided ANTHROPOLOGY with a significantly different model of man. The human hypostasis is never absolutely independent, never autonomously free; in its worldly and communal existence it is precisely defined as a union of natures, bound by necessity and impotence to arise and disappear, together with its elements, and to be so constituted until the end of the world. Christ alone is a pure hypostatic union standing above the laws of unions in the natural order. Consequently, he is an absolutely unique hypostasis and is not like man, who is unique only in a relative sense, existing as one particular among many other particulars of the same species. The autonomous character of Christ's hypostasis differs from that of the hypostases in the natural order, for there the independence of the hypostasis is conditioned by the essential elements that constitute the species.

Maximos's concept of "person," therefore, is not concerned with its precise content, but rather its ontological structure. Since Christ is a unique synthesis established in divine freedom, he is not subject to anything in or of the world. For Maximos, as soon as one defines the content of the hypostasis, its activity and will, one falls into Monophysitism, for one's thought moves within the framework of the natural synthesis characterizing man.

This Christological model was, however, unique and had little impact on the history of Byz. theological thought, where distinguishing marks are the predominance of the Logos, the notion of the mutual interpenetration (*perichoresis*) of the divine and human natures, and the communication of idioms produced by the hypostatic union. As a result, theological scholarship acquired the religious flavor peculiar to the tradition of Alexandrian Monophysitism, and this became normative for Byz. thought. The divine Logos is the one whom the believer encounters in the icon of Christ, and in the life, suffering, and resurrection of Jesus. It is God who in Jesus has assumed all mankind and whose presence extends in an aesthetic experience.

This experience is in no apparent conflict with God's transcendence, with respect to his essence. The argument of the Iconoclasts—which maintained that the iconographic representation of Christ, to the extent that it claims to depict God and man, either separates his two natures (falling, therefore, into Nestorianism) or fuses them into one (thereby falling into Monophysitism)—reflects not the experience or consciousness of the faithful, but rather competing pseudo-rational Christological formulas. An example of an alternative view is the simple statement of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I that in the icon of Christ the Logos is made visible if it represents his body and therefore refers to him. At issue is the role of perceptible symbols in conveying spiritual understanding: "We do not err when we depict Christ crucified at all times, for if what we see mentally, while absent, is not also seen with the senses in painting, then even what we see mentally will be lost" (Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:436A).

In spite of this spirituality, the dogmatic formula of Monophysitism remained unacceptable to Byz. thought and theologians were constantly involved in its refutation, esp. when the conquests in Armenia and on the borders of the Euphrates confronted them again with the Monophysite church. Christology also played a role in the polemic against ISLAM in that Monophysite, and even Nestorian, influences are discernible in the Qur'ān, thereby indicating the milieu in which it originated.

LIT. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition,* vols. 1, 2.1 (London-Oxford 1965–87). K.H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. Idem, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor," in *Maximus Confessor,* ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn (Fribourg 1982) 223–33. –K.-H.U.

LITERARY DESCRIPTIONS OF CHRIST. Although the New Testament provides no information on the physical characteristics of Christ, gradually the church fathers developed verbal descriptions of Christ in his human manifestation. Using Isaiah 52:13–53:12 as their source, some early fathers (Clement of Alexandria, Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria) imagined Christ as an unattractive man of short stature and ordinary features (A. Michel, *DTC* 8 [1947] 1153). Others (Jerome and Augustine in the West, John Chrysostom in the East) provided a different literary portrait, based on the description of the Messiah in Psalm 44:3 as "the most beautiful of the sons of men." Chrysostom (PG 57:346.19–26) states that Christ's countenance was surely comparable

to the glorious face of Moses and to Stephen the Protomartyr, who resembled an angel.

By the 9th C. detailed descriptions of Christ were developed: the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS (ed. Duchesne 277.15–18) refers to the church tradition that presented Christ as being "of good build, three cubits tall, with eyebrows that meet, beautiful eyes and long nose, curly haired, bent over, of healthy appearance, with a black beard, a complexion the color of wheat, and long fingers." The same features are listed in the letter to Emp. Theophilos falsely ascribed to John of Damascus (PG 95:349C) and by OULPIOS (ed. Chatzidakes, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 411.39–43).

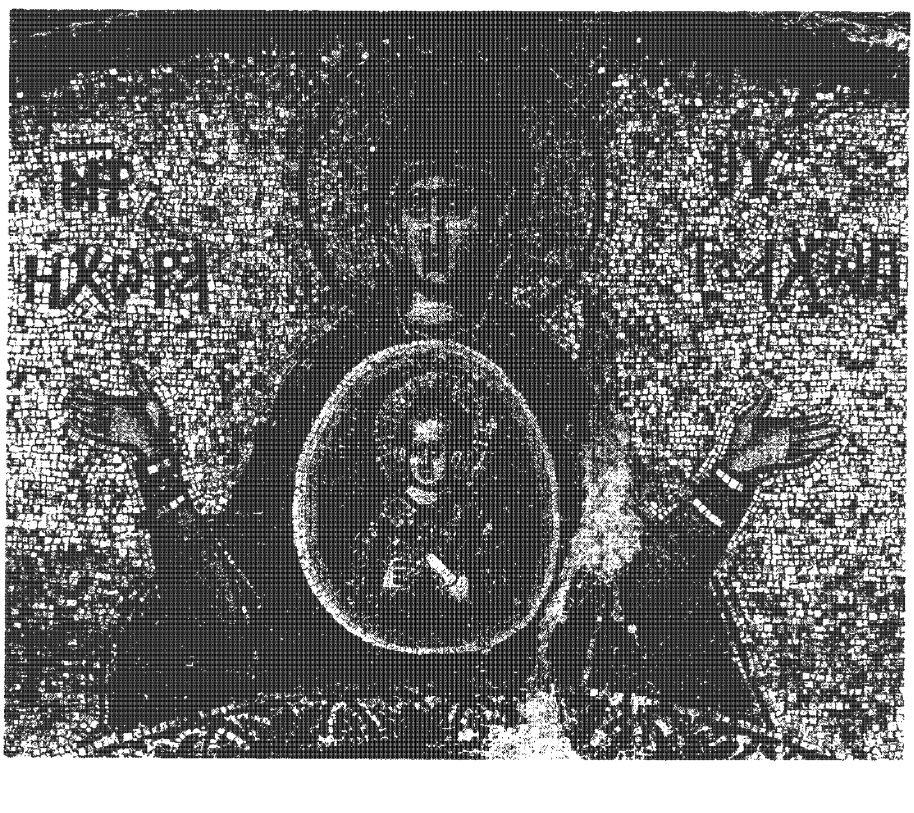
LIT. P. Hinz, *Deus homo,* vol. 1 (Berlin 1973). S.G.F. Brandon, "Christ in Verbal and Depicted Imagery," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults. Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* (Leiden 1975) 164–72. B. Baldwin, "Images of Christ and Byzantine Beliefs," *Aevum* 58 (1984) 144–48. –A.K.

TYPES OF CHRIST. The iconographical tradition of representing Christ was slow to develop. Once established, however, images of Christ remained remarkably consistent, because of the emphasis, from the 6th C. onward, on "authentic" likenesses of Christ that were all supposed to derive from ACHEIROPOIETA fashioned during his lifetime.

Early images of Christ showed him together with the apostles, or in other contexts, such as performing miracles; if depicted alone, he at first took the form of the GOOD SHEPHERD. In these cases he was generally depicted young and beardless.

Other images of Christ alone are documented only from the 6th C. onward (the lost *acheiropoietos* icons from KAMOULIANAI and PANIAS, in the Praetorium of Pilate in JERUSALEM, and at Memphis). Two of these, the miraculous images of Christ's face known respectively as the MANDYLION and the KERAMION, survived longer; both were transferred to Constantinople during the 10th C. These two icons have also been lost, but versions of them made during the 11th C. show a bearded Zeus-like head of Christ, which suggests that these early lost images all used the same type later known as

CHRIST: Types of Christ. Christ Emmanuel in a medallion on the breast of the Virgin; mosaic, early 14th C. Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.



the Pantokrator. This is confirmed by the earliest surviving panel portrait of Christ, an icon at St. Catherine's monastery, Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, B1), and by the image on the solidus of Justinian II, the first figure of Christ to appear on coins (J.D. Breckenridge, *The Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* [New York 1959]).

Christ Pantokrator. The concepts that separate the types of Christ are theological, having to do with the various manifestations of Christ in his relation to God the Father; the images themselves are based on the prophetic VISIONS of God as well as on traditional representations of antique divinities. The Pantokrator, or "all-sovereign," designates the best-known type: Christ is represented frontally as a severe dark-bearded figure, clad in a tunic and dark blue *himation*, blessing with his right hand raised before his chest and holding a Gospel book in his left. His hair is parted in the middle, and two strands of hair may fall left or right from the center of his forehead. His halo is inscribed with a cross. The features do not change but can be subtly altered to convey a more strongly ascetic, merciful, or judgmental impression, depending on the taste of the period. The image is generally accompanied merely by the abbreviation IC XC, the monogram of Christ; the word *Pantokrator* begins to accompany this image only in the 12th C. Variations in the image are legion: Christ may be holding the book open or closed, from beneath or with his fingers stretched out over its binding. He may bless with the first two fingers raised and the last two touching the thumb or with all raised but the fourth finger. Instead of blessing, he may point to the book.

In monumental painting, this Pantokrator figure, in the form of a bust, was deemed particularly appropriate for dome decoration, where it could appear that Christ the ruler was coming from the heavenly world into the earthly through the center of the dome; it was also frequently placed over the entrance to a church, esp. the door between narthex and naos. Christ Pantokrator could be represented seated on a throne, as in the coins of Basil I (*DOC*, ed. Grierson, 3.1:154–60), but most often appears as a bust.

Christ Emmanuel. Christ as the preexistent Logos, the incarnate Word, the flesh immortal, was depicted in the form of a frontal beardless youth with curly locks pushed behind his ears, a high forehead and a cross-halo; he was known as the Emmanuel (Is 7:14). Though images of the youthful Christ were common in the 4th–5th C., separate images of Christ Emmanuel labeled as such appear with any frequency only from the 11th C. onward. Images of the MAJESTAS DOMINI in the frontispieces to Gospel MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group replace the mature Christ with the figure of the young Emmanuel. Manuel I Komnenos used the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins, evidently a reference to his own name. The VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA is shown with the Emmanuel enclosed in a medallion on her chest, and the features of the Emmanuel were borrowed for images of CHRIST ANAPESON, for the sacrificed child in the AMNOS, for Christ in the BURNING BUSH, etc.

Ancient of Days. God the Father was never represented, but Christ's oneness with the Father (see TRINITY) was conveyed through the image of Christ as the Ancient of Days (*ho palaios ton hemeron*), an elderly figure with white hair and beard, bearing a cross-halo. His robes and gestures are those of the Pantokrator. The image itself, rarely inscribed, is based on the description in Daniel 7:9 (cf. Rev. 1:14); it grew in popularity from the 12th C. onward.

The relation between the three aspects of Christ (Pantokrator, Emmanuel, Ancient of Days) is explored esp. in the 11th and 12th C., when all three may appear together on a single MS page (as three figures seated on three thrones in Paris, B.N. gr. 74; S. Tsuji, *DOP* 29 [1975] fig.4) or in a single church, each in a separate dome (NEREZI), or in three medallions down the barrel vault of the nave (St. Stephen, KASTORIA).

Christ as Angel. The rare image of the Christ-angel is based on Isaiah 9:6, which speaks of the Messiah as the angel of the Great Council (S. Der Nersessian, *CahArch* 13 [1962] 209–16). This and other Old Testament passages were adopted by Gregory of Nazianzos in his Second Homily on Easter (PG 36:624AB) to describe the vision of Habbakuk, and illustrated MSS of his homilies from the PARIS GREGORY on illustrate his homily with the image of an angel in a mandorla. Later versions stress the relation of the angel figure to Christ by giving the angel the cross-nimbus. Christ as SOPHIA was also depicted as the Christ-angel.

Only a couple of Christ images are clearly related to famous icons in Constantinople: CHRIST CHALKITES and CHRIST ANTIPHONETES. Both are

essentially Pantokrator images. Images in which Christ's eyes look off to the viewer's left, the direction followed by his "forelock," has been associated by A. Cutler with Christ Euergetes (*DOP* 37 [1983] 35–45). Other epithets accompanying figures of Christ, such as *soter* (savior), *eleemon* (merciful), *philanthropos* (lover of mankind), *hyperagathos* (supremely good), and *zoodotes* (giver of life), while they correspond to the dedications of famous monasteries, do not necessarily represent distinct types or famous originals. The image of Christ Anapeson derives from a popular literary allegory, rather than from any theological tenet or special icon original. The MAN OF SORROWS and the Helkomenos ("the one dragged along"), which shows Christ being dragged to the cross and is known from at least the early 12th C. onward, are both illustrations of narrative Passion scenes.

LIT. E. von Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* (Leipzig 1899). K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:966–1047. J.T. Matthews, "The Byzantine Use of the Title Pantocrator," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 442–62. A.W. Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 7–10 and n.51. W. Warland, *Das Brustbild Christi. Studien zür spätantiken und frühbyzantinischen Bildgeschichte* (Rome-Freiburg-Vienna 1986). I. Stouphe-Poulemenou, "Palaiochristianikes parastaseis tou Christou kai ho byzantinos Pantokrator," *Theologia* 57 (1986) 793–854. –N.P.Š.

CHRIST, GENEALOGY OF. See GENEALOGY OF CHRIST.

CHRIST ANAPESON (*ἀναπεσών*, lit. "the reclining one"), the image of Christ asleep, awaiting resurrection. The image depends ultimately on the description of the lion in PHYSIOLOGOS as a beast who sleeps with his eyes open and whose offspring, born dead, are wakened to life by their father on the third day. References in the Bible to the unsleeping lion of Judah (esp. Gen 49:9; cf. Ps 121:4) led to the incorporation of the *Physiologos* description into biblical commentaries and to the development by the mid-14th C. of the image of Christ as a youth reclining on a bed, legs crossed, his head resting on his right hand, his eyes open. In his left hand he holds a scroll. In monumental painting the image is most often placed in or at the entrance to the *pastophoria* (A. Grabar, *La peinture religieuse en Bulgarie* [Paris 1928] 257–62). The figure of Christ may be flanked by two angels carrying the symbols of the Passion (e.g., at Peribleptos church, Mistra); the instruments of the Passion serve to emphasize Christ's sacrifice, as does the location near the sanctuary (in the case of the Peribleptos, the conch of the *diakonikon*) (S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises de Mistra* [Paris 1970] 33, 54). The recumbent pose is occasionally assumed by the Christ child in images of the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1011–12. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 181–96. –N.P.Š.

CHRIST ANTIPHONETES (*ἀντιφωνητής*, lit. "the one who responds," also "the guarantor"). An icon of Christ Antiphonetes famous for its miracles was kept in Constantinople in an unidentified "domed tetrastyle" building thought to go back to the time of Constantine I the Great; it was probably in the neighborhood of the Church of the Virgin at CHALKOPRATEIA, where the icon is known to have been housed from at least the 9th C. onward. Its best-known miracle (7th C.) involved a merchant and the Jewish creditor to whom he gave the icon as surety, and it may explain the meaning of the epithet "the giver of surety." According to Psellos (*Chron.* 1:149, ch.66.1–10), the empress Zoe owned an icon of Christ Antiphonetes through which she foretold the future, as the complexion of Christ on the icon was capable of responding to questions by changing color. According to a 13th-C. chronicler, she also founded a Church of Christ Antiphonetes in which she was buried (Sathas, *MB* 7:163.3–5). An icon of Christ Antiphonetes appears, inscribed as such, on her coins and on other coins of the 11th C. (*DOC*, 3.1, ed. Grierson, 162f). The image is that of a standing, three-quarter length Christ, arms held close to his sides, with the palm of his right hand held up so as to face the viewer. It appeared again in the now destroyed 11th-C. mosaic on a bema pier in the Koimesis church in NICAEA (C. Mango, *DOP* 13 [1959] 252), but rarely thereafter. There was a 12th-C. monastery of Christ Antiphonetes on Cyprus.

LIT. T. Raff, "Das 'heilige Kerámion' und 'Christos der Antiphonetés,'" in *Festschrift L. Kretzenbacher* (Munich 1983) 149–61. Mango, *Brazen House* 142–48. Majeska, *Russian Travellers* 356–60. B. Nelson, J. Starr, "The Legend of

Divine Surety and the Jewish Moneylender," *AIPHOS* 7 (1944) 289–338. –N.P.Š.

CHRIST CHALKITES (Χαλκίτης), Christ of the CHALKE Gate. The site and historical associations of this image of Christ assured its fame, yet its exact appearance remains unclear and may in fact have changed with the repeated restorations to which it was subject. Leo III's order to remove (or destroy) the image in 726 or 730 initiated ICONOCLASM. The 9th-C. version, installed under Patr. Methodios after the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY, was executed by the artist LAZAROS in mosaic. Frolow construed Methodios's epigram on this image to mean that Christ was depicted as a bust of the Pantokrator type, with the arms of the cross as three separate spikes—that is, not inscribed in a halo—behind his head. Coins of John III Vatatzes that bear a standing figure of Christ are labeled Chalkites, as is a similar figure in the Deesis mosaic in the narthex of the Church of the CHORA in Constantinople. But the gesture of Christ's right hand varies, and P. Grierson has suggested that by the 13th–14th C. any standing figure of Christ was called Chalkites (*DOC* 3.1:160–62).

LIT. Mango, *Brazen House* 108–42, 170–74. A. Frolow, "Le Christ de la Chalcé," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 107–20. –N.P.Š.

CHRISTIANOUPOLIS (Χριστιανούπολις), city of the Peloponnesos, probably to be identified with the modern village of Christianou in western Messenia (N.A. Bees, *OrChr* n.s. 4 [1915] 265–67), although connection with ancient Megalopolis in Arkadia has also been suggested. The city probably did not exist in antiquity but was briefly important in the 12th C. The bishop of Christianoupolis, unknown previously, held metropolitan status from the end of the 11th C. (*Notitiae CP* 11.79). By the 13th C. the city had declined and in 1222 Pope Honorius III divided its territory between the bishops of Korone and Methone (*Regesta Honorii Papae III*, ed. P. Pressutti, vol. 2 [Rome 1895] 50). Christianoupolis is perhaps to be identified with C(h)ristiana of Latin documents of the 13th–14th C., which mention a tower (Bon, *Morée franque* 348). The Greek see was restored before 1278 and is mentioned thereafter (V. Grumel, *AOC* 1 [1948] 166).

Preserved at the site is the large Church of the Transfiguration (restored), a domed octagon similar to the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI, dated to the 3rd or 4th quarter of the 11th C. It was apparently an episcopal church; its construction may be associated with the elevation of Christianoupolis to metropolitan rank.

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 112. E. Stikas, *L'église byzantine de Christianou en Triphylie* (Paris 1951). R. Janin, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 773f. –T.E.G.

CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS (in Egypt), poet of 5th-6th C. Two of his epigrams in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY (bk.7, nos. 697–98) commemorate the death of John of Epidamnos, consul (467) and prefect (479). Christodoros's hexameters on the statues standing in the Zeuxippos baths at Constantinople comprise book 2 of the *Greek Anthology*. These verses, filled with the favorite Roman praise of the statues' lifelike qualities, tell us much about the cultural taste of the times; the presence of statues of the Latin authors Vergil and Apuleius is particularly striking. JOHN LYDOS (*De magistratibus* 3.26) quotes one line from Christodoros's poem *On the Disciples of the Great Proklos*. Possibly Christodoros wrote the fragmentary poems in P. Gr. Vindob. 29788B-C (R.C. McCail, *JHS* 98 [1978] 38–63). The *Souda* credits him with an epic on the Isaurian war of Emp. ANASTASIOS I as well as *patria* on Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities, but none survives.

ED. *AnthGr* 1:168–193, 2:406. Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.* 1:58–91, 2:368–70.
LIT. F. Baumgarten, *De Christodoro Poeta Thebano* (Bonn 1881). T. Viljamaa, *Studies in Greek Encomiastic Poetry of the Early Byzantine Period* (Helsinki 1968) 29–31, 56f, 101. R. Stupperich, "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 210–35. –B.B.

CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS, saint; baptismal name John; born Bithynia first half 11th C., died Euripos in Euboea 16 Mar. 1093. After elementary education in his native village, Christodoulos (Χριστόδουλος) became a monk on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. When his spiritual father died, Christodoulos visited Rome, Bethlehem, and Jerusalem. Forced by Turkish invasions to leave Palestine, he headed for LATROS, where he was *protos* from 1076 to 1079. The Turkish threat then compelled him to seek refuge in Strobilos, Kos, and PATMOS. On Patmos Christodoulos

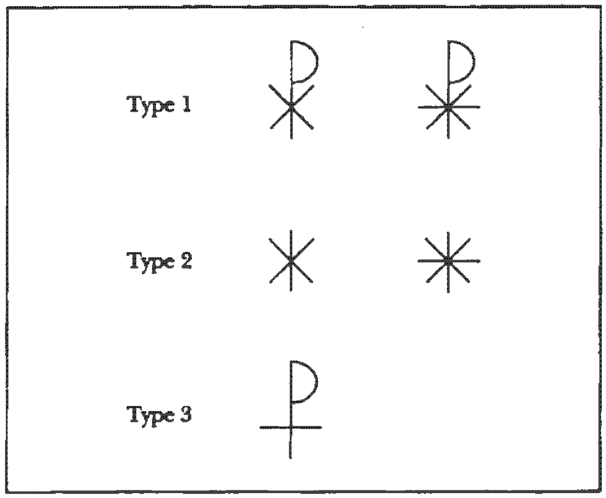
founded a monastery dedicated to John the Theologian and eagerly contributed to the economic regeneration of the island, which had been devastated by invasions. In 1092 a Turkish attack made Christodoulos flee to Euripos, where he soon died.

For his monastery on Patmos, Christodoulos received privileges from Alexios I, including a chrysobull of April 1088; he composed three sets of Rules: the *Hypotyposis* (1091), the *Diatheke* (Testament) (1093), and the *Kodikellos* (1093). John, metropolitan of Rhodes, wrote the Life of Christodoulos, probably ca.1140; Athanasios, a monk on Patmos and later patriarch of Antioch (1156–70), wrote an *enkomion* of Christodoulos based on the Life. After 1191 Theodosios, a monk from Constantinople, compiled another *enkomion* containing a description of Christodoulos's posthumous miracles and substantial information about political events of the late 12th C.

ED. MM 6:59–90.
LIT. *BHG* 303–08. E. Vranouse, *Ta hagiologika keimena tou hosiou Christodoulou* (Athens 1966). *Patmou Engrapha* 1:3*–32*. P. Gautier, "La date de la mort de Christodoule de Patmos," *REB* 25 (1967) 235–38. –A.K.

CHRISTOGRAM (also Chrismon) and Christ's MONOGRAM are terms for various monogrammatic abbreviations of the name of Christ that began to appear during the 3rd C. and became popular in the 4th C. as a result of their use by Constantine I the Great and his sons. The two most common types are (1) the combination of Chi (X) and Rho (P), the first two letters of the Greek name *Christos*, and (2) a starlike figure consisting of the initials of *Iesous Christos*, Iota (I) and Chi (X), the horizontal beam of the cross being often added to each of these figures. A third type of Christogram consists only of the combination of Rho and the cross beam. The programmatic intention can be stressed by the addition of the letters Alpha (A) and Omega (Ω) or of attendant figures like apostles, angels, putti, etc.

The Christian meaning of the abbreviations in question is not always demonstrable, the combination Chi-Rho and similar figures (*crux ansata*) having been used in non-Christian milieus much earlier. Therefore the original aim of Constantine when placing a symbol of this kind on LABARUM and shield cannot be established with certainty (transfer from Mithraic cult?). From the 4th C. into the 6th, the Christogram was used as an apotropaic device on imperial armor and as a sign of imperial triumph. It quickly became a sign of Christ's triumph as well, appearing already on early 4th-C. "Passion" sarcophagi, atop the cross, as it had stood atop Constantine's labarum. Its Christian use hereafter was varied and extensive. Occasionally ornamental, it was a widespread sign of Christian affiliation; it often symbolized Christ's triumph, and sometimes symbolized Christ himself. From the 5th C. onward, it was replaced more and more by the CROSS; it remained in use, however, in special functions, e.g., on doors (apotropaic), on documents and letters (invocative), or as a pattern of *versus intexti*. Its monumental use ceases after the 6th C. in Byz.



CHRISTOGRAM. Types of Christogram.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 2:57f. Idem, *Das alte Monogramm* (Leipzig 1924) 73–107. M. Sulzberger, "Le Symbole de la Croix et les Monogrammes de Jésus chez les premiers Chrétiens," *Byzantion* 2 (1925) 337–448. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1047–50. R. Grigg, "Constantine the Great and the Cult Without Images," *Viator* 8 (1977) 16–22. P. Bruun, "The Christian Signs on the Coins of Constantine," *Arctos. Acta Philologica Fennica* n.s. 3 (1962) 5–36. H.I. Marrou, "Autour du monogramme constantien," in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris 1959) 403–14. –W.H., A.W.C.

CHRISTOPHER, general; dates of birth and death unknown. He was *domestikos ton scholon* under BASIL I and also was the emperor's *gambros;* according to C. Mango (*ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 22, n.35), he married Basil's eldest daughter, Anastasia. R. Guilland identifies him with the *magistros* Chris-

topher of the same reign. In 872 Christopher led the army against the PAULICIANS; he seized TEPHRIKE and thereafter sent the *strategoi* of Armeniakon and Charsianon to meet CHRYSOCHEIR at Bathyryax; an attack in the dead of night compelled the Paulicians to flee, and Chrysocheir was killed during the pursuit (P. Lemerle, *TM* 5 [1973] 103).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:438. J.G.C. Anderson, "The Campaign of Basil I. against the Paulicians in 872 A.D.," *ClRev* 10 (1896) 136–40. –A.K.

CHRISTOPHER, bishop of Ankyra; fl. first half of the 13th C. After being elected EXARCH of the West on 6 Aug. 1232 at Nicaea, Christopher was sent to the despotate of EPIROS as legate of Patr. GERMANOS II to end the schism between the churches of Nicaea and Epiros. Upon arrival in Epiros in 1233, he convened a synod where the termination of the schism was declared. He was well received by most of the Epirot clergy, who provided him with financial support during his stay. He met with leaders of the schism, like George BARDANES, and investigated the status of certain stauropegial monasteries (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1983] 24, 52, 57).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233)* (Thessalonike 1973) 90–94. E. Kurtz, "Christophoros von Ankyra als Exarch des Patriarchen Germanos II," *BZ* 16 (1907) 120–42. Nicol, *Epiros I* 119–22. –A.M.T.

CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS, eldest son of ROMANOS I; co-emperor (921–31); died Constantinople? 931. Christopher replaced his father as *megas hetaireiarches* ca.919 and was crowned co-emperor on 20 May 921. The *patrikios* Niketas, father of Christopher's wife Sophia, tried unsuccessfully to incite him to rebel against Romanos and in 928 was removed from the palace. Maria-Irene, Christopher's daughter, was married to PETER OF BULGARIA.

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 64f, 71f. –A.K.

CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, poet, high-ranking imperial official; born Constantinople ca.1000, died after 1050 or perhaps after 1068. Christopher had the titles of *patrikios* and *anthypatos,* and served as imperial secretary (*hypographeus*), judge of Paphlagonia and Armeniakon. His epigrams—sometimes conventional descriptions of various objects, sometimes personal and sarcastic—present scenes of everyday life as well as political events (death of Romanos III, blinding of Michael V); he also praised the manliness of the rebel George MANIAKES. Christopher was deeply interested in the beauty of the visible world which reflected divine wisdom, exemplified in such a small creature as the spider whose skill he praised; yet, at the same time, he was concerned with social inequity (Kurtz, *infra,* no.13). He praised some monks, e.g., Niketas of Synada, whom the empress and the whole city revered (no.27), but he esteemed Niketas primarily for his talent as poet and rhetorician. He derided gluttonous monks (no.135) or gullible monks like Andrew, the collector of false relics (no.114). Christopher was interested in the visual arts and praised artists who depicted people and animals as full of life (nos. 50, 101). He also wrote four CALENDARS of saints: two in classical meters (iambs and hexameters), and two in isosyllabic meters—one very concise (in STICHERA), another a little more expanded (in KANONES); the last is called a SYNAXARION in some MSS.

ED. *Die Gedichte,* ed. E. Kurtz (Leipzig 1903), corr. C. Crimi, *BollBadGr* 39 (1985) 231–42. *Canzoniere,* Ital. tr. R. Anastasi, C. Crimi, et al. (Catania 1983). *I calendari in metro innografico di Cristoforo Mitileneo,* ed. E. Follieri, 2 vols. (Brussels 1980).

LIT. E. Follieri, "Le poesie di Cristoforo Mitileneo come fonte storica," *ZRVI* 8.2 (1964) 133–48. –A.K.

CHRISTOS PASCHON (Χριστὸς πάσχων), anonymous drama presenting the story of Christ's crucifixion and resurrection. Although the *personae dramatis* are derived from the Gospels (VIRGIN MARY, JOHN, Joseph of Arimatheia, MARY MAGDALENE, and others), the author has them express their feelings and attitudes in words borrowed from ancient writers, primarily Euripides. He structures his drama, however, on different aesthetic principles, replacing action with a narrative account of the action (both the chorus and heralds play a substantial part) and emphasizing the sudden shifts in emotion (S. Averincev in *Problemy poetiki i literatury* [Saransk 1973] 255–70); the author accordingly changes the lexical pattern of his sources (I.G. Rizzo, *SicGymn* 30 [1977] 1–63). The problem of authorship remains un-

solved; the MS tradition ascribes the work to GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and A. Tuilier accepted this traditional point of view, but the majority of scholars prefer to date *Christos Paschon* in the 12th C. Among possible authors mentioned are PRODROMOS, TZETZES, and MANASSES, none of them unquestionably proven. R. Dostálova (*JÖB* 32/3 [1982] 80) hypothesized that the work could have been produced in the circle of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, while L. MacCoull (*BSAC* 27 [1985] 45–51) returned to late antiquity by hypothesizing an origin in 5th- to 6th-C. Egypt.

ED. *Grégoire de Nazianze, La passion du Christ*, ed. A. Tuilier (Paris 1969), with criticism by J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 (1973) 363–72.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:102–04. F. Trisoglio, "La Vergine ed il coro nel 'Christus Patiens,'" *Rivista di studi classici* 27 (1979) 338–73. W. Hörandner, "Lexikalische Beobachtungen zum Christos Paschon," in *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie*, eds. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna 1988) 183–202. –A.K.

CHRISTOUPOLIS (Χριστούπολις, mod. Kavala), seaport in northern Greece located on the site of ancient Neapolis; it was the harbor of PHILIPPI. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.4, p.118.50) mentions Neapolis in the list of Macedonian *phrouria* fortified by Justinian I; it is still named among Macedonian bishoprics in a notitia compiled after 787 (*Notitiae CP* 3.274), and is listed by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.36, ed. Pertusi 88) among Macedonian *poleis*. The name of Christoupolis had probably replaced that of Neapolis by the second half of the 9th C.; seals of several *kommerkiarioi* and an *archon* of Christoupolis have been published (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 114; Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2404). Its walls were rebuilt by the *strategos* Basil Kladon in 926 (S. Reinach, *BCH* 6 [1882] 267–75).

Located on an important mainland route from Thessalonike to Constantinople, Christoupolis was the object of many attacks: it was burned by the Normans in 1185, captured by Baldwin of Flanders, and seized by semi-independent Lombard barons. In the 13th C. the area was contested among Latins, Bulgarians, the despotate of Epiros, and the empire of Nicaea, with John III Vatatzes the ultimate victor. In the early 14th C. it was a part of the theme of Boleron-Mosynopolis (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.16.1), in 1335–38 an independent theme (*Xénoph.*, nos. 23.23, 25.1). Because of the strength of its fortifications (G. Mpakalakes, *Hellenika* 10 [1938] 307–18), it withstood the attack of the Catalan Grand Company in the early 14th C., but Stefan Uroš IV Dušan later conquered it. The Byz. retook Christoupolis in 1357–58, after Dušan's death, and John V gave it to two brothers, the *stratopedarches* Alexios and the *megas primikerios* John, who had commanded the army that seized Christoupolis (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 147–54). The city surrendered to the Turks in 1387.

The bishop of Christoupolis, first attested in the early 10th C., was suffragan of Philippi; he became autonomous archbishop before 1260 and metropolitan without suffragans by 1310. The traditional view that Christoupolis also had the Slavic name Moruvac was rejected by G. Theocharides (*Makedonika* 6 [1964–65] 75–89).

LIT. K. Chiones, *Historia tes Kabalas* (Kavala 1968) 27–64. G. Mpakalakes, "Neapolis, Christoupolis, Kabala," *ArchEph* (1936) 1–48. Idem, "Hoi teleutaioi Komnenoi ex epigraphes tes Kabalas," *ArchEph* (1937) 464–72. Lemerle, *Philippes* 208f. –T.E.G.

CHRIST PHILANTHROPOS MONASTERY. See KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY.

CHRONICLE (χρονικόν, also χρονογραφικόν, χρονογραφεῖον, rarely χρονογραφία), the term that the Byz. applied, without a strict distinction, to various types of HISTORIOGRAPHY, and that has acquired, in modern scholarship, several specific meanings. The concept of the monastic chronicle as opposed to the secular "history" created by high state officials was rejected by Beck (*infra*), who demonstrated that among 21 so-called chronicles only one-third were written by monks, one of whom (GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS) was a man of high education. As a conventional term, chronicle can designate any one of the following types of works: (1) historical works describing world history from Creation (John MALALAS, George Synkellos, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, GLYKAS) or large sections of past history (as in THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I) that for the most part were not based on the author's personal observation; the sections on ancient history were derived primarily from JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, Sextus Julius AFRICANUS, and EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA; ZONARAS, however, used more sophisticated

sources; (2) short chronicles that narrated in an annalistic form political events within a limited chronological period; esp. abundant are short chronicles dealing with the Turkish invasions (see CHRONICLES, SHORT); (3) short lists of dated events (ancient empires, emperors' reigns, patriarchs, popes, etc.) beginning with the ancient past (e.g., the *Chronographikon* of Patr. Nikephoros I, the chronicle of PETER OF ALEXANDRIA), attested in Byz. from ca.800 onward, that, according to Z. Samodurova (*VizVrem* 36 [1974] 139–44), were contained in MSS alongside short works on grammar, geography, rhetoric, philosophy, metrology, etc., and probably served educational ends (*VizVrem* 21 [1962] 146f); and (4) private notes with chronological dates, such as the list of the children of Alexios I in Moscow, Hist. Mus. 53/147 (A. Kazhdan in *Festschrift F. Altheim*, vol. 2 [Berlin 1970] 233–37).

ED. *Chronica byzantina breviora. Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (Vienna 1975–79). S. Lampros, *Brachea chronika* (Athens 1932).

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XVI (1965), 188–97. Z.V. Samodurova, "Malye vizantijskie chroniki i ich istočniki," *VizVrem* 27 (1967) 153–61. B. Croke, "The Origins of the Christian World Chronicle," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 116–31. –A.K.

CHRONICLE OF 819, a short, annotated chronological table of events and notable persons from the birth of Christ to 819, written in Syriac. The author, a Monophysite, and probably a monk at Qartamīn, a monastery near Mardīn, listed those persons and events that were of interest to members of the Syrian Orthodox church. Of particular interest are the references to military encounters between the Muslims and "Romans" in the 8th and 9th C. The chronicle was later integrated almost completely into the so-called *Chronicle of 846*.

ED. A. Barsaum in *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, ed. J.-B. Chabot (Paris 1920) [CSCO 81] 3–22, (Louvain 1937) [CSCO 109] 1–16. –S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF 1234, conventional title for the universal history in Syriac, composed by a now anonymous Edessan author ca.1240. The work covers roughly the same ground as does the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, which is earlier by almost a half-century and with which the *Chronicle of 1234* often disagrees in details. The latter chronicle is composed of two major parts, a narrative of civil affairs and a record of ecclesiastical events. The two parts are conflated up to the time of Constantine I; thereafter they are in separate books. In the *Chronicle*'s present state of preservation, a unique and incomplete 14th-C. MS, the civil history reaches the year 1234 (hence the conventional title) while the ecclesiastical record ends in 1207. The importance of the *Chronicle of 1234* lies in part in the fact that it preserves excerpts from earlier works that are now lost. Examples of works surviving only in quotations are writings attributed to John of Asia, DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAḤRĒ, and a history of Edessa by Basil bar Shūmana (died 1171). Other now unknown sources used by the author appear to be the same as those used by Theophanes the Confessor (A.S. Proudfoot, *Byzantion* 44 [1974] 367–439).

ED. J.-B. Chabot, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad annum Christi 1234 pertinens*, 2 vols. in 3 pts. (Paris 1916–20; Louvain 1937) with Lat. tr. [CSCO, vols. 81, 82, 109]. Fr. tr. A. Abouna, J.-M. Fiey, *Anonymi auctoris chronicon ad A.C. 1234 pertinens II* (Louvain 1974) [CSCO 354].

LIT. W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of Pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē* (Uppsala 1987) 85f. –S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF CAMBRIDGE, conventional and incorrect title of an anonymous chronicle preserved in two Greek versions (Vat. gr. 1912 and Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 920 of the 11th C.) and in an Arabic translation (MS of Cambridge, of the 13th C.). It consists of brief notes with chronological indications, encompassing 827–965 and relating primarily to Greco-Arab wars in Sicily; it was apparently the continuation of a general chronicle, from Adam to 825/6. G. Cozza-Luzi suggested that it was written in 998/9, with the Arabic text produced in the beginning of the 11th C.

ED. *La Cronaca Siculo-Saracena di Cambridge*, ed. G. Cozza-Luzi (Palermo 1890), corr. C.O. Zuretti, *Athenaeum* 3 (1915) 186f.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 1:342–46. Krumbacher, *GBL* 358. –A.K.

CHRONICLE OF EDESSA, or *Histories of Events in Brief*, as the work is called in Syriac, is essentially a list of notable events and noteworthy churchmen associated with the history of the city of EDESSA from the 3rd to 6th C. The now anonymous *Chronicle*, which was compiled in the 6th C., survives in a unique MS (Vat. Syr. 163). It pre-

serves excerpts from the archives of Edessa as well as other sources, and is important for the history of the establishment of Christianity in the Syriac-speaking world. In its present form the *Chronicle* is probably an abbreviation of a longer recension of the same material. In turn, it became a source for later chronicles.

ED. L. Hallier, *Untersuchungen über die edessenische Chronik* (Leipzig 1892), with Germ. tr. I. Guidi, *Chronica Minora* (Paris 1903) 1:1–13 (Syriac); 2:1–11 (Latin).
LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 99f. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971) 12–17. W. Witakowski, "Chronicles of Edessa," *Orientalia Suecana* 33–35 (1984–86) 487–98. –S.H.G.

CHRONICLE OF GALAXEIDI, a brief chronicle composed ca.1703 by Euthymios, a monk of the monastery of the Savior in Galaxeidi (a port on the Gulf of Corinth). Drawing on apparently authentic documents preserved in the monastery and adding a liberal dash of epic imagination and religious credulity, the chronicle provides some interesting sidelights on late Byz. resistance movements in the southern Balkans as well as on earlier events, such as the Bulgarian invasion of the Peloponnesos under Romanos I (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XX [1955], 205–09; Bon, *Péloponnèse*, 80 and n.4).

ED. K. Sathas, *Chronikon anekdoton Galaxeidiou* (Athens 1865). G. Valetas, *Chroniko tou Galaxeidiou* (Athens 1944). –E.M.J.

CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA, name given by Vranoussis to an anonymous 15th-C. prose chronicle, originally wrongly attributed to the nonexistent "Komnenos and Proklos." The chronicle, written ca.1440, is the longest and most informative of the surviving texts on medieval EPIROS and describes the tyrannical reign over IOANNINA of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ (1366/7–84). The author is very hostile to Thomas and emphasizes his cruelty. The second portion of the chronicle concerns Thomas's pious widow, Maria Angelina (died 1394), and her marriage in 1385 to the Florentine Esau Buondelmonti, who ruled benevolently until 1408 or 1411. The chronicle also contains information about the settlement in Epiros of Serbs and ALBANIANS. It concludes with the year 1399; however, an Oxford MS of the chronicle contains additional entries up to 1417/18 (L. Vranoussis, *Historika kai topographika tou mesaionikou kastrou ton Ioanninon* [Athens 1968] 78f). There is also a vernacular version of the chronicle, written in the 18th C., that ends with the death of Thomas.

ED. L. Vranoussis, "To chronikon ton Ioanninon kat' anekdoton demode epitomen," *EpMesArch* 12 (1962) 57–115 (texts: 74–101).
LIT. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España. El legado de la basilissa Maria y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1943). Nicol, *Epiros II* 131, 142–60. L.I. Vranoussis, *Chronika tes mesaionikes kai tourkokratoumenes Epeirou* (Ioannina 1962). –A.M.T.

CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA, conventional and perhaps incorrect title of a local anonymous chronicle preserved in four late MSS (of the 16th C.) that differ from each other in content. Lemerle argued that the original chronicle (as reproduced in Ivir. 329) should be called the "Chronicle of the Peloponnesos": it describes events in the Peloponnesos from Justinian to Nikephoros I. The additional section deals with later events, some of which can be dated from 1082 to 1339. Lemerle argued that the chronicle was written before 932, when it was used in a scholion by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA; J. Koder even hypothesized that it was Arethas who compiled the chronicle (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 75–80). I. Dujčev (in *Charanis Studies* 54) rejected these conclusions on the basis of the allusion to Nikephoros II who lived after Arethas; he dated the chronicle to 963–1018. The chronicle's statement that the Slavs dominated the Peloponnesos for 218 years has provoked heated discussion: S. Kyriakides (*Byzantinai meletai*, vol. 6 [Thessalonike 1947]) considered the chronicle as a nonauthentic text, whereas P. Charanis (*DOP* 5 [1950] 139–66) insisted on its historicity.

ED. *Cronaca di Monemvasia*, ed. I. Dujčev (Palermo 1976).
LIT. P. Lemerle, "La chronique improprement dite de Monemvasie," *REB* 21 (1963) 5–49. –A.K.

CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA (Χρονικὸν τοῦ Μορέως), an anonymous account of the Frankish conquest of the MOREA, from the First Crusade to 1292, which survives in four versions (Greek, French, Italian, and Aragonese, while extracts appear in the chronicle of DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA); debate continues whether the original was in Greek or French. The main MS of the Greek text (which is composed of over 9,000 lines of POLITICAL VERSE) dates from the late 14th C., not long after the time of its composition in the first

decades of that century. Including many Frankish loanwords and written in the mixed Greek found also in the late Byz. verse ROMANCES, this work contains a large number of repeated lines, a feature which usually indicates a close connection with traditional oral POETRY (M.J. Jeffreys, *DOP* 27 [1973] 163–95). The *Chronicle* is a major witness to the forms of VERNACULAR Greek at this time. The unknown author shows good knowledge of the legal niceties of Moreot feudal procedure and is more familiar with the council chamber than the battlefield; on events outside the Morea he is totally unreliable. Taking a Frankish standpoint and at times showing a vehemently anti-Byz. and anti-Orthodox bias, his account reflects vividly the cultural mix of the Frankish-Greek Peloponnesos of the late 14th C.

ED. *The Chronicle of Morea,* ed. J. Schmitt (London 1904; rp. Groningen 1967). *To Chronikon tou Moreos,* ed. P. Kalonaros (Athens 1940). *Crusaders as Conquerors: The Chronicle of Morea,* tr. H. Lurier (New York 1964).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 157–59. Jacoby, *Société,* pt.VII (1968), 133–89. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Chronicle of the Morea: Priority of the Greek Version," *BZ* 68 (1975) 304–50. I.P. Medvedev, "K voprosu o social'noj terminologii Morejskoj chroniki," *VizOč* 3 (1977) 138–48. –E.M.J.

CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, title given by G. Schirò to an early 15th-C. chronicle in political verse about the Tocco family. Most of the chronicle (3,923 lines) has been preserved in Vat. gr. 1831 (produced before June 1429), which Schirò identifies as an autograph MS; Zachariadou (*infra*) has shown that the order of folios in the MS is confused. The title of the work and the name of its author are missing. The chronicle describes events in EPIROS during the late 14th and early 15th C. and glorifies the accomplishments of the Tocco rulers of IOANNINA. It spans a 50-year period from the death of Leonardo Tocco (1375/6) to 1422. In addition to political history, the work provides information on the feudal structure of Epiros and socioeconomic conditions.

Schirò suggests that the anonymous author was contemporary to the events he described and lived in Ioannina when he wrote the *Chronicle of the Tocco.* He praised Ioannina and the Greeks and criticized Arta and the Albanians. His viewpoint is very provincial: Constantinople and the Byz. emperor seem far removed from the local power struggles on which he focuses. The author writes in the Greek vernacular with many errors in orthography.

ED. *Cronaca dei Tocco di Cefalonia di anonimo,* ed. G. Schirò (Rome 1975), with Ital. tr.; corr. E.A. Zachariadou, *EpChron* 25 (1983) 158–81.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Some Notes on the 'Chronicle of the Tocco,' " in *Bisanzio e l'Italia. Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan 1982) 169–76. –A.M.T.

CHRONICLE OF THE TURKISH SULTANS (*Χρονικὸν περὶ τῶν* Τούρκων *σουλτάνων*), conventional title of an anonymous chronicle of the Ottoman sultans, compiled at the end of the 16th C. It is preserved in a unique MS (Vat. Barb. gr. 111), which lacks both opening and closing folios; another MS (Vat. Barb. gr. 598) contains some fragments of the text (E. Zachariadou, *Hellenika* 20 [1967] 166). In its present form the *Chronicle* runs from 1373 to 1513. Zoras (*infra*) and Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 1:296) suggested that the chronicler used CHALKOKONDYLES and LEONARD OF CHIOS as well as some sources now lost; Zachariadou (*infra*) demonstrated that its major source was the Italian chronicle of Francesco Sansovino (in its second edition of 1573), which the chronicler translated with slight changes and additions; he used also pseudo-DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA and an independent story of SKANDERBEG. The *Chronicle*'s significance for Byz. events is minimal.

ED. *Chronikon peri ton Tourkon Soultanon,* ed. G.T. Zoras (Athens 1958), with add. and corr. in *EEPhSPA* 16 (1965–66) 597–604. *Leben und Taten der türkischen Kaiser,* tr. R.F. Kreutel (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1971).

LIT. E.A. Zachariadou, *To Chroniko ton Tourkon soultanon* (Thessalonike 1960). –E.M.J., A.K.

CHRONICLES, CITY. Local chronicles form a subdivision of the genre of CHRONICLES; few are known (e.g., CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA). One can hypothesize that some kind of annalistic records were kept in Antioch and Constantinople, but the traces are very indistinct. A chronicle of Antioch seems to have been the main source for MALALAS (bks. 1–17); Theophanes and some other historians also rely on local materials. PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI drew its detailed knowledge of the late 6th-C. emperors from a written source that might be a lost chronicle (*Parastaseis* 45), and some information concerning natural phenomena (solar eclipse, comets) in the second part of the

chronicle of SYMEON LOGOTHETE might be drawn from a city record (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 15 [1959] 140f). Schreiner (*Kleinchroniken* 1:24) listed annalistic notes from Thessalonike, Argos and Nauplion, Thebes, Mytilene, and Mesembria as well as those of Greco-Venetian provenance; they belong primarily to the 14th and 15th C.

LIT. A. Freund, *Beiträge zur antiochenischen und zur konstantinopolitanischen Stadtchronik* (Jena 1882). –A.K.

CHRONICLES, SHORT (Βραχέα Χρονικά), a name imposed by S. Lambros (the first editor of these texts) on a series of unrelated brief notices found scattered in the margins and on blank folios of MSS from the 10th C. onward. A major characteristic of these notices is a precise date by indiction, year, month, and day (after the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, 9th C., this annalistic form ceased to be used for major works). The *Short Chronicles* vary in type and can include extracts from longer works, lists of imperial reigns, records of events in a particular locality, and notes of births and deaths within an individual family. Though often scrappy, the *Short Chronicles*, which cover all periods from the 4th C. to the Turkish conquest of the Aegean in the 16th and 17th C., frequently contain information unattested elsewhere; they provide an invaluable web of references that corroborate and complement the narrative historians.

ED. *Die byzantinischen Kleinchroniken*, ed. P. Schreiner, 3 vols. (Vienna 1977–79), with partial Germ. tr. –E.M.J.

CHRONICON ALTINATE, a complicated Venetian compilation that survives in 13th-C. MSS and whose legendary early history of Venice and its relations with Byz. comprises catalogs of rulers and bishops. It preserves an essential document on the circumstances of the deaths of Byz. emperors and descriptions of their tombs that was compiled in the 10th C. and continued from the 11th to 13th C. The 10th-C. section is a Latin translation of a lost memorandum of the emperors' reigns that once figured as the hitherto lost chapter 42 of *De cer.* book 2 (C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 [1962] 61–63) and sheds considerable light on problems of imperial chronology.

ED. R. Cessi, *Origo civitatum Italie seu Venetiarum* [= FSI 73] (Rome 1933) 102–19.

LIT. Grierson, "Tombs and Obits," 3–60. *RepFontHist* 3:265f. –M.McC.

CHRONICON PASCHALE, conventional title for a Byz. universal chronicle, probably written in the 630s. It was so named by its first editor DuCange because it presents methods of determining the date of EASTER. It has sometimes been called the Alexandrian Chronicle, although in fact the work does not follow the Alexandrian chronographic tradition. The *Chronicon Paschale* originally covered the period from Adam to 629/30, but the preserved text breaks off in 628. It is the first extant chronicle to use the reckoning of 21 March B.C. 5509 for the date of Creation. Though largely a compilation of Sextus Julius AFRICANUS, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, and other sources, it does provide documentary and contemporary evidence for the 6th and early 7th C., esp. the reigns of Phokas and Herakleios. From the prominence accorded to SERGIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople, it has been conjectured that the author was a member of his circle.

ED. *Chronicon Paschale*, ed. L. Dindorf, 2 vols. (Bonn 1832). Eng. tr. M. & M. Whitby, *Chronicon Paschale 284–628 A.D.* (Liverpool 1989).

LIT. J. Beaucamp et al., "Le prologue de la *Chronique pascale*," *TM* 7 (1979) 223–301. Eidem, "La *Chronique pascale*: Le temps approprié," in *Temps chrétien* 451–68. E. Schwartz, *RE* 3 (1899) 2460–77. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:328–30. –B.B.

CHRONICON SALERNITANUM, essential source on Byz. Italy and its relations with neighboring principalities by an anonymous 10th-C. monk of Salerno (perhaps Radoald, abbot of S. Benedetto—H.Taviani, *Annales de Bretagne et des pays de l'Ouest* 87 [1980] 175–89). The chronicle draws on the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Paul the Deacon, ERCHEMPERT, and lost archival materials, which are sometimes incorporated into the account (e.g., the letter of LOUIS II to Basil I and the spurious epistolary exchange between CHARLEMAGNE and the *basileus*), as well as oral tradition; it also narrates in lively—and sometimes inventive—fashion the deeds of the princes of Benevento and Salerno from the 8th C. to 974. It is particularly valuable for the later period.

ED. *Chronicum Salernitanum*, ed. U. Westerbergh (Stockholm 1956).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 1:340f, 3:111f. P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale (Salerno, secoli VIII–XI)* (Naples 1977).
–M.McC.

CHRONICON VENETUM, the oldest surviving Venetian history, which narrates events from the 6th C. to 1008. The prominent role the anonymous work gives to the diplomat John, deacon, chaplain, and confidant of Doge Pietro II Orseolo (976–78, 991–1008), suggests that John may have written it. Most material on Byz. for the first two centuries comes from the 8th-C. chronicler Paul the Deacon. From ca.800 the *Chronicon* has independent value, although its sources are unclear and its chronology imprecise. It downplays Venice's formal links to Byz. but documents relations in the conferral of dignities like *spatharios*, *hypatos*, etc., on doges (e.g., 103.12–13, 104.1–2, 106.16–17); the defense of Byz. Italy (109.4–12, 113.11–115.4); the dispatch of Venetian BELLS to Constantinople for a church built by Basil I (126.13–16); and the purchase of artwork in Constantinople (143.1–2). It also treats Eastern events like the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS (100.14–19), the Bulgar victory over Michael I (106.6–14), the attack of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860 (117.14–118.5), Romanos I's coup and Constantine VII's restoration (134.23–136.13), and the marriage at Constantinople of the doge's son with Basil II's "niece," Maria Argyropoulina (167.27–169.11), who was actually a sister of ROMANOS III (Vannier, *Argyroi* 43).

ED. *Chronache veneziane antichissime*, ed. G. Monticolo in FSI 9 (1890) 59–171.
LIT. G. Fasoli, "I fondamenti della storiografia Veneziana," in *La storiografia Veneziana fino al secolo XVI: Aspetti e problemi*, ed. A. Pertusi (Florence 1970) 11–44. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:417.
–M.McC.

CHRONOGRAPHER OF 354. See CALENDAR OF 354.

CHRONOLOGY. Byz. inherited from the ancient world its wide variety of systems for ordering events at proportioned intervals on a fixed scale and for measuring the time between them, and it proceeded to construct new systems of its own. Nature's way of ordering the passage of TIME is twofold: the monthly cycle of the moon and the annual seasonal cycle of the sun. Following Roman usage, the Byz. calendar comprised a week of seven DAYS, with each day divided into HOURS of light and dark which varied in length depending on latitude and the seasons; and a year of 365 days divided into 12 MONTHS of uneven duration with a bissextile or leap year every four years. At Constantinople and throughout most of the Byz. world each new year began on 1 Sept. (before 462, on 23 Sept.). This day traditionally signified the beginning of the INDICTION, the official administrative year, which became compulsory for legal purposes in 537 (Justinian I, nov.47). The indiction was originally a cycle of years used in Egypt for the purpose of assessing land tax and in 312/13 a regular indiction of 15 years was instituted. Although the successive indiction cycles were themselves never numbered, each year within the cycle was, and the indiction became the usual way for the Byz. to distinguish recent and forthcoming years. When a document is dated only by an indiction, the exact year must be established by some other means. The date of EASTER was the other recurring chronological yardstick for Byz.; it required the provision of paschal tables setting out successive years with each year's Easter date. Sometimes events were dated in or from a year of cataclysmic or portentous events such as EARTHQUAKES, ECLIPSES, and COMETS.

The passing of time was ordered in a number of short-term and long-term ways. In the short term an event might be ascribed to a particular indiction or eponymous year. There was a variety of eponymous years that could begin and end at any point in a solar year: regnal years of Byz. emperors and foreign rulers (regnal years of Byz. emperors might also be used outside the empire, e.g., in Italy); years of the patriarchs of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem; years of the popes of Rome; and years of leading imperial officials such as PRAETORIAN PREFECTS. Until the 7th C., following Roman practice, each year beginning on Jan. 1 was a consulship named after one or two consuls designated for that year. This was the usual way of dating years in chronicles and in public and legal documents. Lists of consuls were maintained for chronological reference.

The ordering of time over longer spans was much more complex and controversial. Some traditional measures were utilized: Olympiads (each year being the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, or 4th of a successively numbered Olympiad beginning in 776 B.C.);

local eras used in different cities and regions such as the ANTIOCHENE ERA or the DIOCLETIANIC ERA originating in Egypt and beginning on Thoth 1 (Aug. 29). The years of Diocletian were used initially for Easter tables but were later employed to date events and documents. More significant were the chronological measures developed by the Byz. themselves: lunar/solar cycles and world eras. Lunar cycles (19 years) and solar cycles (28 years) were employed to establish recurring synchronism and were compounded into larger cycles of 532 (= 28 × 19) years for fixing paschal dates (see COMPUTUS). The cycles also formed the basis for calculating eras from Creation, on the suppositions that the age of the world could be discovered precisely by chronographical methods and that the death and resurrection of Christ were epochal dates of special cosmic significance. All Byz. era calculations were based on the lunar cycle of Anatolios of Laodikeia, which began in 258, and the world era of Julius AFRICANUS (Incarnation in 5500, or 5501 by George the Synkellos's reckoning). Consequently, the ALEXANDRIAN ERA was constructed by changing the commencement of the year to 29 Aug., and the BYZANTINE ERA was constructed by adjusting the cycle of Anatolios first to the equinoctial new moon (21 Mar.), then to the indiction. There were other eras such as that of MALALAS (Incarnation in 5967, Crucifixion 6000) and the eras of the Incarnation (date dependent on world era) and the Ascension (beginning in 31). The official era became the Byzantine Era, while the civil year corresponded to the liturgical YEAR, reflecting the way Byz. had come to sacralize chronology and the calendar.

The multiplicity of dating systems used by Byz. up to the 9th C. meant that historians and annalistic chroniclers always needed to reconcile and combine overlapping systems. The chronicle of Malalas, for instance, dates events by consulships and indictions, by the Antiochene Era, and by years from Adam. It was not easy to maintain perfect synchronism over a long period, as evidenced by the miscalculation of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR for the events of the 7th/8th C. After Theophanes a unified system of chronology was used, and the date of the Creation as 5,508 years before the Incarnation was generally accepted.

To establish the chronology of events, modern scholars rely primarily on direct indications of dates. The sources, however, present various difficulties in chronology: (1) many Byz. historians do not date every event; thus, Byzantinists can place undated episodes in time only by inference, assuming that events were presented in strict chronological sequence (not always true); (2) some events or documents are dated by indiction only, and the scholar needs additional information to establish an absolute date; (3) in some cases, when there is a discrepancy between the date by indiction and the date from Creation, the scholar must decide which date is correct (or if both are wrong); (4) a similar problem arises when events are assigned different dates in Byz. and non-Byz. sources. If a source has no date whatever, the event can sometimes be dated on the basis of astronomical data (mention of ECLIPSES and COMETS), of natural phenomena (EARTHQUAKES, PLAGUES, etc.), or of feasts (e.g., by the occasional coincidence of Easter or a Sunday with a day and month of the solar year).

AUXILIARY DISCIPLINES have elaborated complicated methods to date MSS, inscriptions, coins, seals, ceramics, and other objects; to establish the chronology of archaeological material, not only the discovery of relatively well-dated objects (esp. coins) is necessary, but also stratigraphy, that is, the sequence of inhabited levels. Particularly important and difficult is the dating of literary texts, esp. anonymous ones, that can be based only on the mention of persons and events and, to a far lesser degree, on stylistic and linguistic criteria.

LIT. V. Grumel, *La Chronologie* (Paris 1958). M. Sjuzjumov, *Chronologija vseobščaja* (Sverdlovsk 1971). R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978). F. Dölger, *Das Kaiserjahr der Byzantiner* (Munich 1949). Ja. Ljubarskij, "Zamečanija k chronologii XI knigi 'Aleksiady' Anny Komninoj," *VizVrem* 23 (1963) 47–56.

–B.C., A.K.

CHRONOS (Χρόνος), ancient personification of TIME, the father of Aion (i.e., aeon). In Neoplatonic philosophy, esp. in Damaskios (381K), he is the principle of being, described as a winged dragon with the face of a god resembling both a bull and a lion. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 2:420–23) depicted Zeus as seated in Chronos's chariot with four winged steeds, whereas QUINTUS OF SMYRNA (12:194f) said that it was "immortal Aion" who framed Zeus's eternal chariot "with his never-wearying hands." Church fathers usually contrasted Chronos and Aion, considering *chronos*

as the time of the sensible world and *aion* (eternity) as the time of the everlasting cosmos (Basil the Great, PG 29:596B; Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 36:320B).

LIT. O. Waser, *RE* 3 (1899) 2481f. –A.K.

CHRYSAPHES, MANUEL, musician; fl. ca.1440–63. Although little is known about his life and growth as a musician, apparently Chrysaphes (Χρυσάφης) was the most prolific and distinguished composer, singer, scribe, and theoretician of the late Byz. period. At least two of his dated autographs survive: Athos, Iveron 1120 (July 1458) and Istanbul, Topkapı 15 (July 1463). Numerous sources reveal that he held the office of *lampadarios* (see SINGERS) at the imperial palace, and, as John VIII and Constantine XI commissioned certain of his compositions, his association with the imperial court is confirmed.

Chrysaphes' compositions appear with great frequency in musical collections written after the mid-15th C. In this he compares favorably with the prolific 13th- and 14th-C. writers Glykys, KOUKOUZELES, Korones, and KLADAS. All adhere to the new stylistic trends of the Palaiologan period, characterized in musical composition by the dominant kalophonic idiom. Chrysaphes—like his predecessors, acutely aware of the need to refurbish older chants, which were no longer suitable for the new, expanded liturgy, and to enrich the repertory with fresh vocal settings—composed a variety of musical offerings in diverse styles to fit the new requirements: solo and choral hymnody and psalmody; embellished chants; *kratemata* (see TERETISMATA); etc.

Chrysaphes was one of the few Byz. composers to write about theoretical and practical matters that he considered essential for a true understanding of Byz. chant. His treatise, entitled *On the Theory of the Art of Chanting and On Certain Erroneous Views That Some Hold about It,* is of great value in that it clarifies hitherto unexplained aspects of modal theory and musical practice and provides much important information about the development of Byz. singing in the 14th–15th C.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios* (Vienna 1985). –D.E.C.

CHRYSARGYRON (*χρυσάργυρον, collatio lustralis*), tax in gold and silver levied every five years, originally designed to pay the quinquennial donatives to the army. The tax was instituted by Constantine I and collected from *negotiatores,* a term primarily denoting merchants, but also including moneylenders and prostitutes; doctors and teachers were exempt. The tax was assessed on the capital assets of the *negotiatores,* along with their tools and families. Officials elected in each city by those liable for the tax collected the *chrysargyron;* it was esp. burdensome for city dwellers and those of small means. In the 5th C. it was collected every four years. In 498 Emp. Anastasios I abolished the tax, making up the difference from his own estate.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 110, 237, 431f, 871f. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen* 129–37. R. Delmaire, "Note sur la périodicité du chrysargyre," *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* 40 (1985) 621–23. T. Damsholt, "Das Zeitalter des Zosimos: Euagrios, Eustathios und die Aufhebung des Chrysargyron," *Analecta Romana Instituti Danici* 8 (1977) 89–102. –T.E.G.

CHRYSOBALANTES, THEOPHANES, physician; fl. probably 10th C. Recent research has demonstrated that the name of Theophanes Nonnos, previously ascribed to this physician, derives from a Renaissance forgery. No biographical data are known. At the orders of an emperor "Constantine Porphyrogennetos," probably Constantine VII, Chrysobalantes (Χρυσοβαλάντης) compiled a therapeutic manual composed of abstracts from the writings of ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA. This compendium survives as the *Epitome de curatione morborum* in 297 chapters. He also wrote a pharmaceutical tract, the *De remediis* (as yet unpublished). A third treatise, *De alimentis,* describes the nutritive values of various foods.

ED. *Epitome de curatione morborum,* ed. C.W. Ettinger, 2 vols. (Amsterdam-Gotha 1794–95). *De alimentis,* in *PhysMedGr 2:257–81.*

LIT. J. Sonderkamp, "Theophanes Nonnus: Medicine in the Circle of Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *DOP* 38 (1984) 29–41. Idem, *Untersuchungen zur Überlieferung der Schriften des Theophanes Chrysobalantes (sog. Theophanes Nonnos)* (Bonn 1987). –J.S.

CHRYSOBERGES (Χρυσοβέργης, "golden wand"), a family known from the late 10th C. Some family members were judges or fiscal officials, such as "Krysobourgios," judge of Melitene under Romanos III (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronique* 3:140f); Peter Chrysoberges, *patrikios* and

judge of the *velum* and Charsianon (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 285; the editor's date—10th C.—does not seem acceptable: at that time PATRIKIOS was too elevated a title for a provincial judge); Peter, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.335) in the 11th C.; John, *megas chartoularios* of the soldiers' *logothesion* in 1088; Michael, *logariastes* on Crete in 1193.

Other members of the Chrysoberges family were high ecclesiastical functionaries: two patriarchs of Constantinople, Nicholas II and LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES; Theodosios, patriarch of Antioch in the mid-11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1521–24); Chrysoberges, metropolitan of Naupaktos, an addressee of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid; another Chrysoberges, archbishop of Corinth ca.1170 (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 214–18); Stephen, *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople in the mid-12th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.101; he was, according to Laurent, identical with the archbishop of Corinth); Nikephoros Chrysoberges, metropolitan of Sardis and a writer (see CHRYSOBERGES, NIKEPHOROS). The family possessed lands and held modest posts in the Smyrna region from the 12th C. onward (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 109f). While they still participated in administration in the 14th C.—a Leo signed a charter of 1322 as imperial *doulos* (*Chil.* 1, no.85.98–99), and a John was an imperial envoy ca.1343—by that time they were mostly peasants, artisans, and scribes.

LIT. Nikephoros Chrysoberges, *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1892) 38f, add. N. Bees, *EEBS* 2 (1925) 143, n.1. –A.K.

CHRYSOBERGES, MAXIMOS, theologian; died Lesbos? between 1410 and 1429. He was the eldest of three brothers, all of whom became DOMINICANS; both Theodore and Andrew rose to be vicar-general of the order. Maximos was a student of Demetrios KYDONES and studied AQUINAS in his teacher's translation. After his conversion to Catholicism, he entered a Dominican monastery in Pera ca.1390. A few years later he went to Venice to study philosophy and (in 1396) to Pavia to study theology. In 1398 he traveled to Rome, where he received permission from Pope Boniface IX (1389–1404) to celebrate the Dominican rite in Greek. Circa 1399/1400 he went to Crete, where he participated in a public disputation with Joseph BRYENNIOS and wrote his *Discourse to the Cretans on the Procession of the Holy Spirit.* He also engaged in polemics with Neilos DAMILAS. Maximos believed that the decline of the Byz. was a result of their disobedience to the pope.

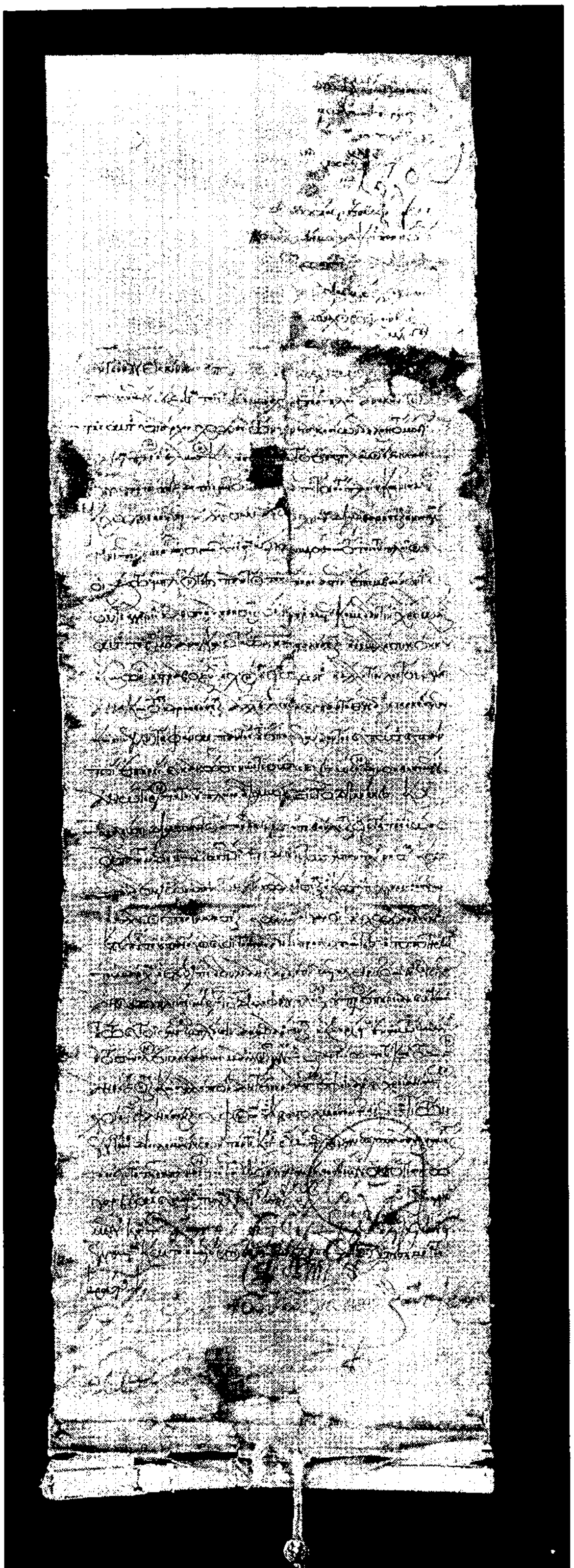
ED. PG 154:1217–30.
LIT. Loenertz, *Calécas* 57–63. Beck, *Kirche* 742. –A.M.T.

CHRYSOBERGES, NIKEPHOROS, rhetorician; born probably ca.1160 (not 1142), died after 1213?. Promoted with the patronage of Constantine MESOPOTAMITES to the post of DIDASKALOS ca.1186, Chrysoberges probably fell into disgrace in the 1190s but was then appointed *magistros ton rhetoron* (1200–04) and produced speeches to Alexios III, Alexios IV, and Patr. John X Kamateros. Circa 1204 he succeeded his uncle as metropolitan of Sardis. Both his political views and literary principles were traditional and conventional. He praised imperial power but unlike EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE remained unimpressed by military prowess. The Italian problem occupied an important place in Chrysoberges' works. In 1202 he criticized the Italians for their arrogance and vanity but was more cautious in 1204, trying to present them as loyal servants of Alexios IV.

ED. *Ad Angelos orationes tres*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1892). Eng. tr. of the speech to Alexios IV by C. Brand, "A Byzantine Plan for the Fourth Crusade," *Speculum* 43 (1968) 465–72. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 37–68. F. Widmann, "Die Progymnasmata des Nikephoros Chrysoberges," *BNJbb* 12 (1935–36) 12–25.
LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 224–36. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 184–86. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 91–110. P. Wirth, "Die Wahl des Patriarchen Niketas II. Muntanes von Konstantinopel," *OrChr* 46 (1962) 124–26. –A.K.

CHRYSOBULL (χρυσόβουλλον), generic name for several types of documents bearing the emperor's gold bulla; later, used to indicate solemn documents, even those without such a bulla. Chrysobulls were also issued by the emperors of Trebizond and by Slavic rulers, esp. by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN.

Types of chrysobull included the *chrysoboullos logos*, the *chrysoboullon sigillion*, the *chrysoboullon*, and the *chrysoboullos horismos*. The *chrysoboullos logos* (preserved originals from 11th to 15th C.) was a solemn document for granting privileges (including unilateral confirmations of TREATIES with



countries of western Europe), sometimes also for communicating important administrative decisions or for publishing new laws. The word *logos* (usually three times), part of the date, the word *legimus* (until the 12th C.), and the full imperial autograph signature were written with red ink. The *chrysoboullon sigillion* (originals from 11th to mid-14th C.) was for lesser privileges, often related to real estate. Words written in purple ink were *sigillion, legimus* (until 1119), and the emperor's autograph MENOLOGEM. In some early *sigillia*, the gold seal was accompanied by the emperor's wax seal. The *chrysoboullon*, sometimes defined as *horkomotikon* (when confirming an oath) or *prokouratorikon* (when it served as a procuration), was a document for confirmation of treaties, safe-conducts, appointment of representatives (13th–15th C.), signed either with full signature, or with menologem. The *chrysoboullos horismos* (middle of the 14th C.) was a less-solemn document in which only the emperor's full signature was written in purple.

The gold bulla and the emperor's autograph full signature in purple (exception: menologems 1341, 1342) were also used to confirm treaties (*trevae, symbolaion, symphonia*) with Venice and Genoa (1341 and after) as well as the *litterae patentes* (Gr. *aneogmenai graphai*) issued in Paris by Manuel II (1400, 1402), although the word *chrysobull* was not used of them.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 117–28. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 190. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 313–19. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 39–45. –N.O.

CHRYSOCHEIR (Χρυσοχέρις, lit. "Golden Hand"), last leader of the PAULICIANS (ca.863–ca.878/9). Chrysocheir may have served in his youth as an officer in the imperial army, but his career is known primarily after his succession to his uncle, KARBEAS. Chrysocheir sided with the Muslims and fought vigorously against Emp. Basil I, raiding as far as Nicaea, Nikomedeia, and even Ephesus, but the capture of TEPHRIKE and his own murder by a renegade named Poullades (ca.878/9) brought about the end of the Paulician principality. The memory of his career must have survived in popular tradition, for in the DIGENES

CHRYSOBULL. Chrysobull of Emp. Alexios I; 1088. Monastery of St. John, Patmos.

AKRITAS he seems to have been turned into Digenes' Muslim paternal grandfather.

LIT. Lemerle, "Pauliciens" 96–103. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy* 30f, 39, 128f. –N.G.G.

CHRYSOGRAPHY. See ILLUMINATORS.

CHRYSOKEPHALOS, MAKARIOS, metropolitan of Philadelphia (1336–82); baptismal name Michael; born ca.1300, died Philadelphia? Aug. 1382. Born to a noble family, Chrysokephalos (Χρυσοκέφαλος) is first attested, as a scribe, in 1327. By 1328 he was a monk and was later ordained hieromonk. After becoming metropolitan of PHILADELPHIA, he traveled frequently to Constantinople to participate in the permanent synod (ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS); he remained a moderate on the questions of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and PALAMISM. In 1345 he was praised by AKINDYNOS (ep.48) for his opposition to Palamas, but switched sides by the following year and signed the Tomos of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 five years after it had been issued. By 1350 he had the title of exarch of Lydia, and in 1351 he was called "universal judge" (see KRITAI KATHOLIKOI). He was a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353 but was defeated by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS.

Chrysokephalos was celebrated by his contemporaries as an orator and writer. In his youth he compiled the *Rhodonia* (*Rose Garden*), an anthology of PROVERBS and GNOMAI. Later he wrote CATENAE on Matthew and Luke, homilies, and a vita of St. Meletios of Galesios (*BHG* 1246a). Passarelli (*infra*) argues that he was responsible for the restoration of the basilica of St. John at Philadelphia and delivered his *Homily on the Feast of Orthodoxy* at its inauguration. His correspondents included Sophianos, Makarios Paradeissas, and Theodore MELITENIOTES (cf. R. Walther, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 219–32; 23 [1974] 215–27).

ED. *Rhodonia*—ed. Leutsch-Schneidewin, *Corpus* 2:135–227. PG 150:173–244. *Macario Crisocefalo (1300–1382): L'omelia sulla festa dell'Ortodossia e la basilica di S. Giovanni di Filadelfia*, ed. G. Passarelli (Rome 1980). *Vita S. Meletii*, ed. Spyridon Lauriotes in *GregPal* 5 (1921) 582–84, 609–24 and *Ho Athos* 8–9 (1928) 9–11.

LIT. M. Manousakas, "Makariou Philadelpheias tou Chrysokephalou anekdota chronika semeiomata," *Thesaurismata* 4 (1967) 7–19, 223f. –A.M.T.

CHRYSOKOKKES, GEORGE, astronomer and physician; fl. Trebizond and Constantinople ca.1335–50. Chrysokokkes (Χρυσοκόκκης) is first noted as a scribe who copied the *Batrachomyomachia* and *Odyssey* in 1336 (Vat. Palat. gr. 7). Fragments of his works on medicine, perhaps influenced by contemporary Persian practice, survive in some MSS. He studied ASTRONOMY in Trebizond under a priest named Manuel, who owned MSS containing astronomical tables and their canons translated by Gregory CHIONIADES from Persian and Arabic into Greek. Taking his geographical table and one of his three star-catalogs from Chioniades' version of the *Zīj al-Sanjarī* of al-Khāzinī, his calendaric tables from the *Zīj al-ʿAlāʾī* of al-Fahhad, and most of his planetary tables and their canons from the *Zīj-i Īlkhānī* of al-Ṭūsī, Chrysokokkes produced ca.1346 an *Introduction to the Syntaxis of the Persians* (*Exegesis eis ten Syntaxin ton Person*), dedicated to his "brother," John Charsanites (perhaps identical with John Charsianeites, the founder of the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY—H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 137). Some 30 MS copies survive of this extremely popular work, which influenced several anonymous sets of astronomical tables and canons written in the second half of the 14th and the beginning of the 15th C. as well as the *Tribiblos* of Theodore MELITENIOTES. Shelomo ben Eliyahu of Thessalonike (fl.1374–86) translated Chrysokokkes' *Exegesis* into Hebrew (B. Goldstein, *Journal for the History of Arabic Science* 3 [Aleppo 1979] 36f). Chrysokokkes himself made no significant contribution to astronomy (D. Pingree, *DOP* 18 [1964] 144f). His authorship of the brief list of equivalent ancient and modern toponyms (published by U. Lampsides, *BZ* 38 [1938] 320–22) is extremely doubtful.

A later George Chrysokokkes, active in Constantinople ca.1420–30, was an important humanist, counting among his students BESSARION and among his Italian patrons FILELFO, Aurispa, and Cristoforo Garatone (Wilson, *Scholars* 271f). Another astronomer, Michael Chrysokokkes, a notary of the Great Church in Constantinople, translated the astronomical tables of Immanuel ben Jacob Bonfils from Hebrew into Greek in 1435 under the title *Hexapterygon* (P. Solon, *Centaurus* 15 [1970] 1–20).

ED. Tables and one star-catalog—*Astronomia philolaica*, ed. I. Bullialdus (Paris 1645), *Tabula philolaicae*, 211–32. Canons (partial)—*Ad historiam astronomiae symbola*, ed. H.

Usener (Bonn 1876) 23–37. Three star-catalogs—ed. P. Kunitzsch, *BZ* 57 (1964) 382–411.

LIT. R. Mercier, "The Greek 'Persian Syntaxis' and the Zīj-i Īlkhānī," *AIHS* 34 (1984) 35–60. –D.P., J.S.

CHRYSOLORAS, DEMETRIOS, writer and government official; born before 1360, died after April/May 1416. Little is known of his biography; his relationship to Manuel CHRYSOLORAS (Χρυσολωρᾶς) is unclear. He was an intimate of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, who addressed eight letters to Chrysoloras between 1397 and ca.1417. About 1384/5 he went on an embassy to a "barbarian" ruler, probably the Ottoman sultan Murad I. Despite his friendship with Manuel, he served as *mesazon* for JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS in Thessalonike from 1403 to 1408.

Chrysoloras wrote a variety of works: anti-Latin polemics (including a dialogue among Thomas AQUINAS, Neilos KABASILAS, Demetrios KYDONES, and himself), a eulogy of St. Demetrios, and discourses on the Annunciation and Dormition. His *enkomion* of a flea is still unpublished. In 1403 he composed an oration of thanksgiving on the first anniversary of the defeat of BAYEZID I at Ankara (P. Gautier, *REB* 19 [1961] 340–57). His description of the ideal emperor (*Comparison of Old Rulers and the Present New Ruler*) was the source of a closely related work, his "Hundred Letters" to Manuel, a collection of very short letters praising the emperor.

ED. *Cento epistole a Manuele II Paleologo*, ed. F.C. Bizzarro (Naples 1984), with Ital. tr. *Comparison*—ed. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 3:222–45. Eulogy of St. Demetrios—ed. B. Laourdas, *GregPal* 40 (1957) 342–54. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 166.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 751. Chortasm. 90–94. –A.M.T.

CHRYSOLORAS, MANUEL, diplomat and teacher of Italian humanists; born ca.1350, died Constance 15 Apr. 1415. About the same age as MANUEL II, Chrysoloras was the emperor's friend and was entrusted with numerous European missions. During embassies to Venice in the 1390s he first came into contact with Italian scholars. From 1397 to 1400 he taught Greek in Florence; his most prominent student was Guarino of Verona (1374–1460). After his return to Constantinople in 1403, he continued his teaching and prepared a textbook on grammar. Chrysoloras made periodic trips to the West to seek assistance against the Turks; in 1406 he was in Venice and Padua, from 1407 to 1410 in Paris, London, Spain, and Bologna. Chrysoloras converted to Catholicism and spent two years in Rome (1411–13) attempting to negotiate the convocation of a church council. He then attended the Council at Constance, where he died.

His relatively small literary output included a *Comparison of the Old and New Rome*, in the form of a letter to Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS. In this work Chrysoloras shows his appreciation of the naturalism of antique art and marvels at the ancient ruins and Christian shrines of Rome, but concludes that Constantinople is the superior city because of its incomparable location and wondrous monuments such as Hagia Sophia. An autograph MS (Meteora, Metamorph. 154) preserves a lengthy and important discourse to Manuel, written in 1414, eulogizing the deceased *despotes* THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, and urging the promotion of education and study of the past (C.G. Patrinelis, *GRBS* 13 [1972] 497–502).

ED. Letters—PG 156:24–60. Germ. tr. of eps. 1–2—F. Grabler, *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz 1954) 109–47. See list in Cammelli, *infra* 177–85.

LIT. G. Cammelli, *I dotti bizantini e le origini dell'umanesimo, I. Manuele Crisolora* (Florence 1941). Barker, *Manuel II* 261–67, 320–23, 544f. H. Homeyer, "Zur *Synkrisis* des Manuel Chrysoloras, einem Vergleich zwischen Rom und Konstantinopel," *Klio* 62 (1980) 525–34. –A.M.T.

CHRYSOPOLIS (Χρυσόπολις, lit. "Golden City"), the name of at least two Byz. cities, one in Macedonia, the other in Bithynia.

CHRYSOPOLIS IN MACEDONIA, a *kastron* at the mouth of the STRYMON River; it was located near ancient AMPHIPOLIS which disappeared in the 7th C., although some archaizing authors (from Bryennios through Kantakouzenos) continued to use the name Amphipolis. Chrysopolis is first attested in an act of 984 transferring from Lavra to Iveron 25 exempted households there (*Ivir.*, no.6.32–35). An act of the mid-11th C. (ibid., no.30.2) places Chrysopolis in the district (*dioikesis*) of Boleron and Strymon. Chrysopolis was a harbor on "the sea of Chrysopolis" (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.9.43–44); in 1347 Stefan Uroš IV Dušan conferred upon Lavra an annual reve-

nue of 300 hyperpera from the salt pan and mooring stations in Chrysopolis (ibid, no.16.48–51). The town is also mentioned in Greek portulans of the 15th–16th C.

Surviving walls represent several phases ranging from the original settlement in the west to a vast extension in the east during the 14th C., probably under Andronikos III, and later repairs.

LIT. F. Papazoglou, "Eion-Anfipol-Hrisopol," *ZRVI* 2 (1953) 7–24. A.W. Dunn, "The Survey of Khrysoupolis, and the Byzantine Fortifications in the Lower Strymon Valley," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 605–14. Lemerle, *Philippes* 263–65. –T.E.G.

CHRYSOPOLIS IN BITHYNIA (Scutari, mod. Üsküdar), a harbor on the eastern shore of the BOSPOROS, and a suburb of CHALCEDON. It was one of the principal places to cross the strait to Constantinople. In antiquity it was a simple *kome* (W. Ruge, *RE* 3 [1899] 2518). In the 9th C. Patr. Nikephoros I described it as a coastal *chorion* opposite Constantinople (Nikeph. 44.10–11) and as a port, *epineion* (60.25).

Licinius was captured in Chrysopolis after his defeat in 324 and delivered to Constantine I. The town gained significance in the 7th and 8th C., when both the Arabs attacking Constantinople and armies from rebellious themes headed toward the Bosporos: thus in 668 the soldiers of Anatolikon assembled in Chrysopolis to demand that Emp. Constantine IV accept his brothers as corulers; in 715 the town served as a base for the Opsikianoi who mutinied against Anastasios II; in 717 the future Leo III moved against Theodosios III from Chrysopolis. The town also played a crucial role in the revolt of ARTABASDOS against Constantine V. In 803 BARDANES TOURKOS arrived there and waited in vain for the citizens of Constantinople to invite him into the city. In 988 Basil II defeated Bardas PHOKAS at Chrysopolis, and in 1055 the rebellious Bryennios went to Chrysopolis. Around 1050 Chrysopolis formed a theme under the command of a *strategos* (Skyl. 467.2–3). Its role evidently diminished after the Turkish conquest of Asia Minor, where these uprisings had originated. In 1200 Alexios III moved to Chrysopolis when there was a rebellion in Constantinople. Under its new name, Scutari, Chrysopolis is mentioned by Latin authors in the 13th C.

Chrysopolis was an important monastic center. The most renowned of its monasteries was built by Philippikos.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 494f. Janin, *Églises centres* 23–29. –A.K.

CHRYSOTELEIA (χρυσοτέλεια, lit. "tribute in gold"), a tax introduced by Anastasios I. It is described by a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 394.8–10) as a tax imposed upon JUGA, collected in money instead of in kind, and used "to feed the *stratiotai*." EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 3:42) criticizes Anastasios for levying the *chrysoteleia*, since the emperor "sold the soldiers' expense" and placed a heavy burden on taxpayers; according to JOHN OF ANTIOCH, Anastasios's measures left the provinces (*eparchiai*) empty of military contingents (*FHG* 4:621, fr.215). This evidence has been variously interpreted: as a new tax replacing the CHRYSARGYRON that Anastasios had abolished; as a COMMUTATION of the ANNONA; and finally as an *adaeratio tironum* (see SECONDARY TAXES) that was effective only temporarily. The vernacular expression *chrysoteles eispraxis* (exaction in gold) used by the hagiographer of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch.58.13) was understood by N. Svoronos (*Cadastre* 85, n.1) as synonymous with CHARAGMA.

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, "Die chrysoteleia der iuga," *BZ* 49 (1956) 72–84. –A.K.

CHRYSOTRIKLINOS (Χρυσοτρίκλινος, "golden hall"), a hall in the GREAT PALACE, probably constructed at the end of the 6th C. A domed octagon lit by 16 windows, the Chrysotriklinos was the place of ceremonial receptions, esp. at Easter. Its principal table (of gold or rather gilded silver) accommodated 30 high-ranking state and church functionaries; there were 2 to 4 additional tables for 18 persons each, where subordinate officials were seated. Literary sources sometimes mention a small table for the emperor who sat apart from his guests. The imperial throne, decorated with a mosaic representing the enthroned Christ, was placed in the apse of the Chrysotriklinos. The hall contained exquisite furniture, of which the most renowned piece was the so-called PENTAPYRGION, a large cupboard displaying vases, crowns, and other precious objects. The Chrysotriklinos was surrounded by numerous halls: Tripeton (a ves-

tibule of Chrysotriklinos), Horologion (possibly containing a sundial), Kainourgion (adorned with 16 columns and with mosaics depicting imperial expeditions), LAUSIAKOS, and the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN (II), from which one could reach the HIPPODROME through the Gate of Skyla. The official in charge of the Chrysotriklinos (also called the *protospatharios* of Chrysotriklinos) was an important court dignitary, but his functions are not yet clear.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 115–17. Oikonomides, *Listes* 196, n. 209, 299. –A.K.

CHURCH (ἐκκλησία, lit. "assembly"). The Byz. did not develop a systematic ECCLESIOLOGY. Instead, for them the church was a sacramental communion that included not only the earthly OIKOUMENE but the Kingdom of Heaven as well, with angels, saints, and God himself: in the words of Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78:685A), a "union of saints hammered out of true faith and perfect behavior." In general, however, the Byz. church rejected the claims of DONATISM and MONTANISM, whose followers sought to exclude sinners from membership in the church. Sanctity and unity were considered basic features of the church, contrasted with the multiplicity and falsity of paganism and heresy. The unity of the church was underlined by such epithets as *katholike* (general) and *oikoumenike* (universal), and its dogmatic correctness by the epithet *orthodoxos* (of right belief).

Administration of the church was based on patristic texts and the canons of ecumenical and local COUNCILS, codified beginning in the 6th C. and regularized in the NOMOKANON of Fifty Titles. The Byz. church did not have a single head, rejecting the idea of papal PRIMACY, but embraced the concept of PENTARCHY in which patriarchs and the pope maintained administrative control of their individual territory. In fact, the loss of the East to the Arabs in the 7th C. and the separation of the West made the patriarch of Constantinople the *de facto* head of the Byz. church. The Byz. defended the concept that the authority of the council was superior to the power of the patriarch; in an extreme form, an anonymous treatise of the 10th C. tried to justify the superiority of an assembly of metropolitans over the patriarch of Constantinople (Darrouzès, *infra* 24–29). On the contrary, NIKETAS OF AMASEIA defended the thesis that the patriarch was the supreme arbiter in the ecclesiastical sphere. With regard to the state, theoreticians insisted that the church was superior to the civil administration (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 61:507.42–43), in contrast to the attempt of the state to treat the emperor as the supervisor ("bishop") of the church's external affairs. The author of the EPANAGOGE presented the theory of two equal powers, that of the emperor, who deals with material matters, and that of the patriarch, responsible for mankind's spiritual health and salvation. In practice, however, civil administration usually had the upper hand over the church.

As an institution, the church possessed an established organization based on a hierarchy of rank (bishop, priest, deacon, etc.), on administrative gradations (patriarchate-metropolis-bishopric, etc.), on regular assemblies (councils), and on the system of ecclesiastical officials. Its privileges included a special CANON LAW distinct from civil law, and various exemptions for the CLERGY. The church obtained jurisdiction over the clergy and in some matters over the laity. Its material basis consisted of the ownership of land, imperial grants (SOLEMNIA), movable property (esp. liturgical vessels and vestments), and voluntary donations and bequests; the mandatory TITHE was a relatively late innovation. Ecclesiastical property was in theory inalienable, and attempts to confiscate it aroused serious conflicts (e.g., the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON).

Being a holy body, the church could expel sinful members, both temporarily and permanently (by means of EXCOMMUNICATION). MISSIONS expanded the church's influence by spreading Christianity to new territories, baptizing heathens and heretics, and converting Jews and Muslims. The Byz. church had no monopoly on education, but it obtained supervision over teaching and offered episcopal posts to many outstanding scholars. Its means of salvation were challenged by some mystics who, like SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, considered the individual path of vision of the divine light as superior to the activity of the institutionalized church. The political role of individual bishops was significant in secular affairs, but the influence of episcopal organization had to compete with monasteries (see MONASTICISM) that

often managed to obtain independence from local bishops (STAUROPEGION) and even from the patriarch.

SOURCE. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.*

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 79–90. E. Herman in *CMH* 4.2:105–33. J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986) 297–368. –T.E.G.

CHURCHES, CAVE AND ROCK-CUT. See ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS.

CHURCHES, IMPERIAL, were of three main types, all more or less exempt from patriarchal and episcopal jurisdiction, although this exemption was contested in the early 11th C. by Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES (cf. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:29) and no doubt at other times.

1. One group included the churches and chapels of the imperial palaces and provincial governors' residences (*praitoria*). Their exemption is authorized in a real or spurious piece of imperial legislation whose administrative terminology reflects the realities of the 6th–7th C. (L. Burgmann in *Cupido Legum* 20).

2. Another group included those founded by emperors, in association either with the Palace (NEA EKKLESIA, CHALKE) or, more commonly, with monastic and philanthropic institutions in Constantinople (e.g., MYRELAION, MANGANA, PANTOKRATOR). Such foundations, officially designated as "pious houses" (EUAGEIS OIKOI) or, by the 11th C., "pious bureaux" (*euage sekreta*), constituted, with their large endowments, a special crown domain (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 138–40).

3. Finally, there were monasteries whose founders, often highly respected, influential ascetics, put them under the direct protection of the emperor, in order to make them independent (*autexousia* or *autodespota*) of other earthly authorities (Meester, *De monachico statu* 104; I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakes periousias* [Athens 1979] 173–79). Such foundations were registered in the imperial SAKELLION (*Lavra* 1, no.33) and put under the care of particular government ministers (P. Magdalino, *REB* 42 [1984] 235f). –P.M.

CHURCHES, PRIVATE, were characterized, in canonical terms, by "oratory" (EUKTERION) status, and, for practical purposes, by dependence on a "proprietor" (KTETOR) able to determine how and by whom the foundation was used. Although the rights and requirements of *ktetores* varied considerably and were sure to lapse sooner or later, it is useful to draw a conceptual distinction between churches founded on this basis and churches founded for purposes of public worship. The institution of the private church was already well established by the 6th C., and became even more popular later, accounting for the vast majority of churches built after the slump of the 7th–8th C. From this time the existing public churches were, except in newly reoccupied and reorganized provincial areas, generally more than adequate, while the urge to found one's own church was widespread among all who had the means, which, to judge from many surviving structures, did not have to be very great.

A private church was the expression of all that the founder held most dear. It provided an intimate venue for his regular religious observances; it embodied his personal devotion to the heavenly figure to whom it was dedicated; it was a spiritual investment for his own salvation, and, as sacred PROPERTY, a financial investment that was relatively secure from fiscal erosion and partible inheritance. Whether it served as a funerary chapel or merely commemorated the *ktetor* and his family in its prayers, it was a monument to him and the unity of his kin. The significance of the private church is very well illustrated by the will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059), who with his late sister's grandchildren had joint responsibility for a church that his mother had founded, while he himself was founder of two churches, one a burial chapel, and, close to his house, another which clearly meant more to him than either of his two daughters to whose hands he reluctantly entrusted its fate (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 23–29).

The relationship between private churches and the authorities was ambivalent. Local bishops, who were often *ktetores* in their own right, cannot have objected to modest foundations whose properties were registered in an INVENTORY in the episcopal archives and might be added to the episcopal estates after the founder's death—a practice that Basil II tried to prevent (Zepos, *Jus* 1:268). On the other hand, churches founded by rich and powerful *ktetores* threatened to take business away

from the bishop's church, esp. from the 9th–10th C., when legal restrictions on the liturgical functions of domestic *eukteria* lapsed and founders were able to evade episcopal control by placing their foundations under the jurisdiction of the patriarch. The possibility that private services in domestic chapels were a cover for clandestine gatherings concerned the state as well as the church. William Adam (pseudo-Brocardus), a Western writer of the 14th C., saw the private churches as a politically subversive institution peculiar to Byz. (RHC *Arm.* 2:475).

The proliferation of private churches, whether urban or rural, domestic or monastic, undoubtedly affected the development of liturgy and church architecture from the 6th C. The exclusion of the laity from entrance processions, the confinement of these within the church, the elevation of the sanctuary barrier, and the disappearance of the SYNTHRONON and SOLEA may all be related to the saying of private masses in private chapels. The intimate scale of the Byz. church of the 10th–12th C. and its standardization as a hierarchy of inner surfaces peopled with icons had much to do with the *ktetor*'s desire for communion with his own personal "heaven on earth."

The diversity of plans, masonry types, and forms of decoration in private churches is evident in such regions as have been investigated in detail (GÖREME, KASTORIA, and the MANI), although local traditions tended to dictate norms in these respects. More idiosyncratic were the oratories that existed in monasteries such as St. CATHERINE's on Mt. Sinai and that of Constantine LIPS, and in *katholikai ekklesiai*, for example, in the GALLERIES of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. After the 8th C., private chapels are found in the residences of both lay persons and ecclesiastics.

LIT. Zhishman, *Stifterrecht*. J. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987). A. Steinwenter, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *ZSavKan* 19 (1930) 1–50. E. Herman, " 'Chiese private' e diritto di fondazione negli ultimi secoli dell'impero bizantino," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 302–21. A.W. Epstein, "Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria: Dates and Implications," *ArtB* 62.2 (1980) 190–207. T.F. Mathews, " 'Private' Liturgy in Byzantine Architecture: Towards a Re-appraisal," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 125–37. –P.M., A.C.

CHURCH FATHERS (*ἐκκλησιαστικοὶ πατέρες* in EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Against Markellos* 1.4.3), the most authoritative ancient Christian writers, second in their significance only to the APOSTLES. The totality of their oeuvre is called patristics or patrology. In the first centuries of Christianity the title "father" was given to spiritual teachers in general and esp. to bishops; *pateres* was also the term for the DESERT FATHERS whose sayings were collected in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM and for the participants in the First Council of Nicaea. The concept of the church fathers as guardians of Christian tradition was developed from the 4th C. onward, when their opinions were frequently used during Trinitarian and Christological discussions and were, for this purpose, gathered in FLORILEGIA; one of these florilegia was the so-called *Doctrina patrum de incarnatione Verbi* (The Doctrine of the Fathers on the Incarnation of the Logos), a collection of Orthodox and "heretical" statements concerning Monophysitism and Monotheletism, produced between 660 and 685 (Beck, *Kirche* 446). In the West, a (partial) list of "holy fathers" was established, probably in the 6th C., and is found in the so-called *Decretum Gelasianum*, the apocryphal decree of Pope GELASIUS I.

The early Christian theologians are divided into the earlier Apologists (Justin, Hippolytos, etc.) and later "fathers" in a narrow sense of the word, while such authors as ORIGEN, TERTULLIAN, and LACTANTIUS occupy an intermediate place. Among the Western fathers AUGUSTINE was considered supreme; after him patristics declined, and theological thought revived only in the 11th C., in the form of SCHOLASTICISM. In the East, patristics flourished from the 4th to the 6th C., with pride of place being given to the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE in the theological field, while JOHN CHRYSOSTOM marks the apogee of Christian ethics. JOHN OF DAMASCUS summarized the whole development of Christian doctrine up to his time and can be called the last of the church fathers. The great theologians of the post-patristic period (Symeon the Theologian, Nicholas of Methone, Gregory Palamas, etc.) are not considered church fathers.

LIT. M. Geerard, *Clavis patrum graecorum*, 5 vols. (Turnhout 1974–87). J. Quasten, *Patrology*, 3 vols. (Westminster, Md. 1950–60; Ital. revised tr. Turin 1967–78). O. Bardenhewer, *Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur*, 5 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1902–32). J. Liébert, *Les Pères de l'Église*, vol. 1 (Paris 1986). P.K. Chrestou, *Hellenike patrologia*, 3 vols. (Thessalonike 1976–87). G.G. Majorov, *Formirovanie srednevekovoj filosofii* (Moscow 1979). –A.K.

CHURCH PLAN TYPES. The classification of religious architecture by type was first established around the turn of the 20th C. and served as a chronological taxonomy. Although this method of dating has largely been superseded, the identification and study of these types remains a useful system of basic classification. The most common plan types are the following: BASILICA (e.g., St. Achilleos, Mikra Prespa); domed basilica (St. IRENE, Constantinople); cross-domed church (HAGIA SOPHIA, Thessalonike); cross-in-square (North Church of LIPS MONASTERY, Constantinople); domed octagon (NEA MONE, Chios); Greek cross, or domed octagon (*katholikon*, DAPHNI); ambulatory church (PAMMAKARISTOS, Constantinople); triconch, or trefoil (large-scale: *katholikon*, Great LAVRA, Mt. Athos; small-scale: Koumbelidike, KASTORIA); tetraconch, or quatrefoil (large-scale: *martyrion* [?], SELEUKEIA PIERIA; small-scale: VELJUSA). (For ill., see next page.)

Many other church plan types existed, but they were less commonly employed. Most could be enlarged by the addition of enveloping spaces—exedrae, ambulatories, aisles, porches, or chapels—resulting in new compound plans and more elaborate exterior massing. Multiplication of domes (St. Sophia, KIEV) is one of the most important architectural by-products of this phenomenon.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 517–21. G. Stanzl, *Längsbau und Zentralbau als Grundthemen der frühchristlichen Architektur* (Vienna 1979). S. Ćurčić, "Architectural Significance of Subsidiary Chapels in Middle Byzantine Churches," *JSAH* 36 (1977) 94–110. –S.Ć.

CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION. From the earliest surviving remains it is evident that Christian edifices were adorned with figural images selected and positioned according to their religious significance. Already in the mid-3rd-C. baptistery in DURA EUROPOS both symbolic depictions such as the Good Shepherd and representations derived from biblical narratives such as the Healing of the Cripple were used to reinforce visually the beholder's ritual experience.

From the 4th to 7th C. elaborate narrative cycles from both the New and Old Testaments appeared on the interior walls of Christian monuments (S. Maria Maggiore, ROME; S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA). Other monuments displayed votive panels (St. DEMETRIOS, Thessalonike). On the triumphal arch and in the apse of the BEMA a variety of themes occurred, including Christ in Majesty among saints, apostles, and/or donors (S. Vitale, Ravenna), the prophetic VISION (HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike), the Virgin with accompanying figures (KITI, LYTHRANKOMI), and even narrative images, like the TRANSFIGURATION (St. CATHERINE, Sinai; S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna).

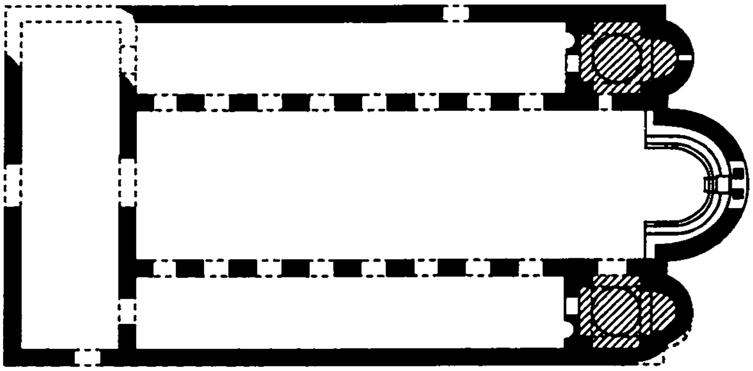
EKPHRASEIS of churches in Constantinople and surviving provincial monuments suggest that in the period from the 9th through the 10th C. programming was flexible. Scenes such as the ASCENSION and PENTECOST as well as the PANTOKRATOR might appear in the central vault. The Virgin was the most popular but certainly not the only subject for the conch of the apse. The nave might be adorned with elaborate Christological narratives or with single figures. Particularly in the provinces, votive programs seem to have maintained their pre-Iconoclastic popularity.

The so-called "Middle Byz. Program" appeared as a dominant formula only at the end of the 10th and beginning of the 11th C., coincident with the political consolidation of the empire. This scheme is typified by a Pantokrator in the central dome and the Virgin, most often holding the Child, in the conch of the bema. The heavenly court—angels, prophets, apostles, and saints—are ranked on the walls and vaults below along with icons of the GREAT FEAST cycle. The hierarchical nature of this program complements the pyramidal ordering of space in the relatively small, centralized churches constructed during this period. With the collapse of the empire in 1204, narrative programming with the multiplication of framed, quadratic images replaced the more iconic and architectonic forms of the earlier period.

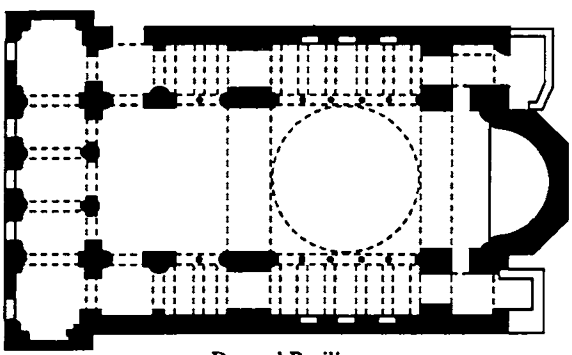
LIT. Demus, *Byz.Mosaic*. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'évolution du programme décoratif des églises," 15 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Athens 1976) 131–56. Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco* 1:231–73. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*. T. Mathews, "The Sequel to Nicaea II in Byzantine Church Decoration," *Perkins Journal* 41 (July 1988) 11–23. –A.J.W.

CHURCH SLAVONIC, in its broadest sense, the liturgical and literary language of the Orthodox (and Catholic Croatian) SLAVS. The term *Old Church Slavonic* (OCS) is normally reserved for the language of the earliest translations by Sts. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and their immediate successors, as preserved in GLAGOLITIC and Cyrillic MSS of the 10th–11th C.

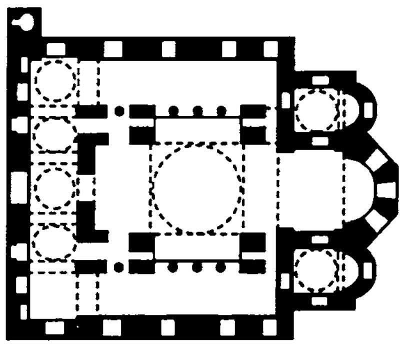
CHURCH PLAN TYPES



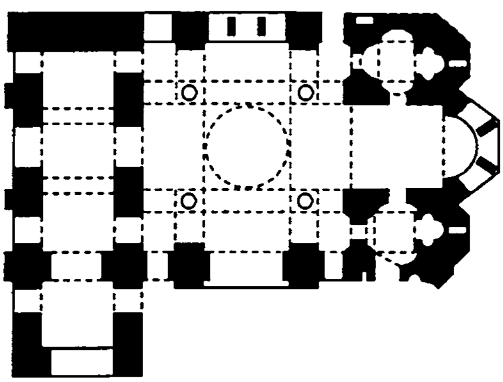
Basilica



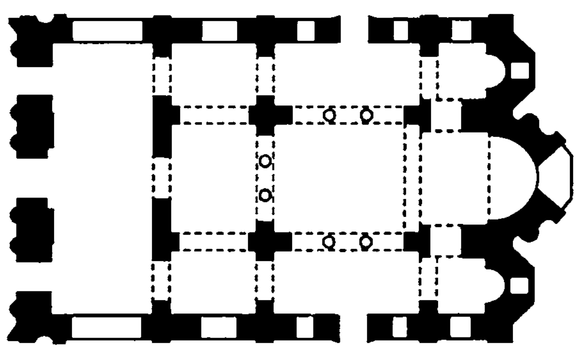
Domed Basilica



Cross-domed Church

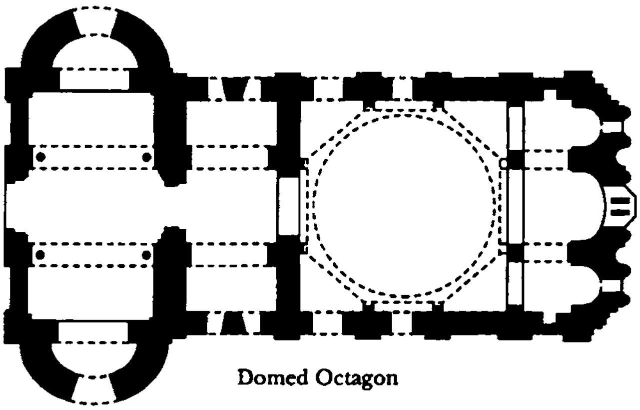


Cross-in-square or Quincunx

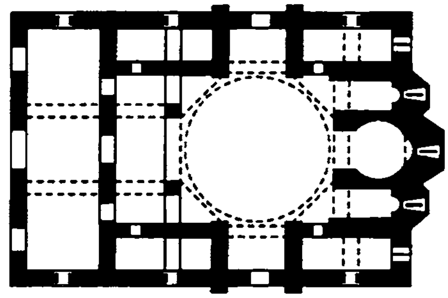


Ambulatory Church

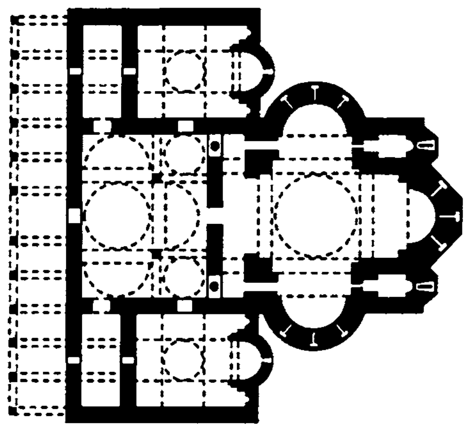
CHURCH PLAN TYPES



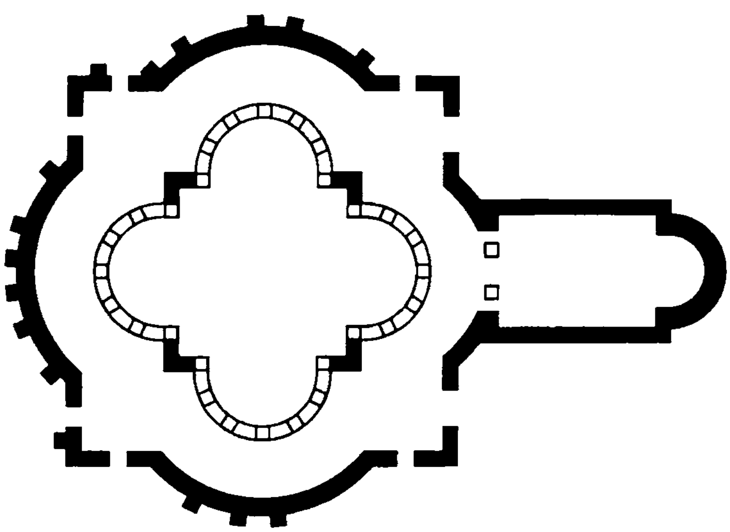
Domed Octagon



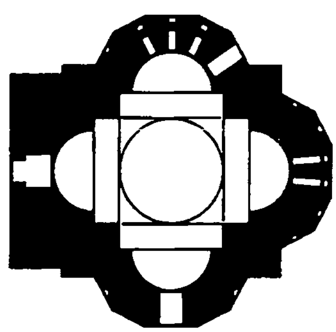
Greek Cross-domed Octagon



Triconch



Tetraconch



Tetraconch

Subsequently, distinct local recensions of Church Slavonic emerged through its interaction with the Slavonic vernacular languages (Russian Church Slavonic, Bulgarian Church Slavonic, etc.).

LIT. R. Picchio in *The Slavic Literary Languages*, ed. A. Schenker, E. Stankiewicz (New Haven 1980) 1–33.
–S.C.F.

CIBORIUM (*κιβώριον*), a domed or pyramidal structure on four or six columns (K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1055). In Roman times ciboria were erected over tombs both to protect them and to enhance their importance, hence their use over the ALTAR symbolizing the tomb of Christ. Similarly, the silver ciborium at St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike was thought to mark the site of the saint's tomb (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:114f). A pyramidal ciborium rose over the SARCOPHAGUS containing the saint's relics in the church of HOSIOS LOUKAS (R.W. Schultz, S.H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke* [London 1901] 29, pl.46). Circular, hexagonal, or rectangular in plan, ciboria survive mostly in fragments; exceptionally complete examples are the restored ciborium of the Katapoliane in Paros and that of the Metropolis church at Kalambaka (see STAGOI). Some ciboria display columns with spiral fluting and Corinthian or protome CAPITALS, their pyramidal or domed canopy terminating in a cross (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:471–81). Painted representations of ciboria suggest that they were furnished with curtains, though this point has been contested (Mathews, *Early Churches* 165–68).

Ciboria sometimes combined colored and white marble, while those of St. Polyeuktos and St. Euphemia in Constantinople displayed inlaid glass decoration. They were cast in bronze and gilded, or dressed in silver like that in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, as described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS.

LIT. M.T. Smith, "The Ciborium in Christian Architecture at Rome, 300–600 A.D." (Ph.D. diss., New York Univ., 1968). D.I. Pallas, "Le Ciborium hexagonal de Saint-Démétrios de Thessalonique," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 44–58.
–L.Ph.B.



CIBORIUM. Depiction of a ciborium; mosaic, 14th C. Inner narthex of the Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul. The scene depicts Zacharias praying before the rods of the suitors.

CILICIA (Κιλικία), Roman province of southeastern Asia Minor consisting of two districts: Cilicia Pedias, a well-watered fertile plain bounded by the Taurus, Antitaurus and Mediterranean, and Cilicia Tracheia, the rugged region of the southern Taurus stretching west to PAMPHYLIA. Under Diocletian, Cilicia Tracheia became part of ISAURIA. Cilicia Pedias was divided ca.400 into Cilicia I (metropolis TARSOS) and Cilicia II (metropolis ANAZARBOS); their churches were under the patriarchate of Antioch. Located on the highway from Constantinople to northern Syria via the CILICIAN GATES, Cilicia prospered; it was a densely populated center of agriculture, trade, and manufacture (esp. of linen) through the 6th C. In 646, however, MUʿĀWIYA found the area virtually deserted, and by the early 8th C. it was occupied by the Arabs, for whom it became a bulwark against Byz. attacks. These achieved their goal with the reconquest of Cilicia by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. The district did not then form an administrative unit, but was ruled by *strategoi* of separate fortresses (N. Oikonomides in 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Bucharest 1974] 288f). After 1071 Byz. lost Cilicia to Philaretos BRACHAMIOS; thereafter, it constantly changed hands between Byz., Crusaders, Seljuks, and Armenians. John II Komne-

nos took it in 1137; Manuel I Komnenos had to reconquer it in 1159; it was definitively lost to the Armenians after 1176 (see CILICIA, ARMENIAN). Cilicia contains the remains of numerous late antique churches and medieval fortifications.

LIT. F. Hild et al., *RBK* 4:182–356. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 104–254. H. Hellenkemper, F. Hild, *Neue Forschungen in Kilikien* (Vienna 1986). R.W. Edwards, "Ecclesiastical Architecture in the Fortifications of Armenian Cilicia," *DOP* 36 (1982) 155–76. –C.F.

CILICIA, ARMENIAN (also known as Lesser Armenia), principality (1073?-1099) and subsequently kingdom (1099–1375) under the Armenian RUBENID and HET'UMID, and the Latin LUSIGNAN dynasties. Armenians fleeing from Seljuk invasions after the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT (1071) took refuge in Rubenid strongholds such as Vahka and Gobidar (Kopitar) in the Antitaurus mountains, and the Het'umid Lambron near the Cilician Gates. By the end of the 12th C. the Rubenids had established a kingdom that encompassed at its peak the coastal plain of Cilicia as well as the surrounding mountains. Its capital was located at Sis, in the foothills.

The princes of Armenian Cilicia, although occasionally supported by the Crusaders, were forced to recognize the suzerainty of Byz. (reaffirmed by the campaigns of the emperors John II Komnenos in 1138 and Manuel I Komnenos in 1158) and negotiations were opened between the Armenian church and the Byz. Empire. The Third Crusade enabled the Rubenid prince Leo II to be crowned king as Leo I (see LEO II/I). Officially, Byz. sanctioned this action, but Armenian Cilicia turned thereafter increasingly toward the Latins.

The kingdom prospered from the trade passing from the West to the Far East through its port of Ayas (It. Lajazzo), esp. during the period of Mongol protection in the second half of the 13th C. Its international culture reached its apogee in the same period.

The recognition of Mongol suzerainty by the Het'umids in 1253 bolstered Armenian Cilicia for a time, but its political situation between the Seljuks of Rūm, the Mamlūks of Egypt, and the Mongols remained precarious, esp. after the conversion of the latter to Islam at the end of the 13th C. By 1292 the Armenian patriarchs were forced to abandon their seat at Hṙomkla on the Euphrates overrun by the Muslims and to seek refuge at Sis. Internal struggles between pro- and anti-Latin parties, fueled by the growing influence of Western institutions and by the negotiations for an ecclesiastical union with Rome, sapped the strength of the kingdom still further. The hostility of the Armenian nobility toward the Latin Lusignans led to the murder of King Guy in 1344. In 1375, an Egyptian force overran Cilicia, sacked the capital, and carried away the last king as a prisoner to Cairo.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *HC* 2:630–59. Ł. Alishan, *Sissouan ou l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice 1899). P. Tekeyan, *Controverses christologiques en Arméno-Cilicie dans la seconde moitié du XIIe siècle* (Rome 1939). R. Edwards, *The Fortresses of Armenian Cilicia* (Washington, D.C., 1987). –N.G.G.

Art of Armenian Cilicia. The many ruins of fortified towns in Cilicia include both palaces and churches, some with traces of monumental painting. Some silverwork survives—a reliquary and bookbindings—but it is MS illumination that best reveals the brilliant art of the Cilician court. The traditions of great scriptoria (in both monasteries and towns) and the contributions of individual artists and aristocratic patrons can be traced for decades at a time: for example, MSS are known from Hṙomkla from just after the founding of the patriarchal see there in 1151 until the Mamlūk sack of 1292; among them are seven signed from 1256 to 1269 by the artist T'oros Roslin.

Although Armenian workshop traditions survived the emigration to Cilicia, Byz. styles and images are found throughout Cilician painting. A 13th-C. Gospel (Erevan, Mat. 7651) copies almost all the miniatures of the 11th-C. FRIEZE GOSPEL in Florence. Ornate inscriptions and arabesque arches on CANON TABLE pages, however, reflect Islamic art, while the Lectionary of Het'um II (Mat. 979) contains Chinese elements. Cilician royalty are shown wearing oriental textiles. Latin influence was particularly strong after the Council of Sis (1252), as the affinity of T'oros Roslin's figure style to that of the Arsenal Bible (Paris, Arsenal 5211) or the adoption of the *Madonna della Misericordia* type for Cilician donor portraits demonstrates.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* (London–New York 1978) 123–62. Eadem, "Deux examples arméniens de la Vierge de Miséricorde," *REArm* n.s. 7 (1970) 187–202. –A.T.

CILICIAN GATES (Πύλαι Κιλικίας), the narrow pass, 1,050 m high, that offers the easiest crossing of the Taurus Mountains between central Anatolia and the plain of Cilicia, and thus always the route of a major highway. It was esp. important during the wars with the Arabs after they gained control of Cilicia in 703. The term strictly denotes the narrow pass but is also applied to the whole stretch of road through the mountains. The main center of this district was Podandos, a city and bishopric and later KLEISOURA of Cappadocia, which was the constant goal of (often successful) Arab attacks in the 8th–10th C. Lulon, on a steep peak at the west end of the pass, provided a final defense and served as the first in the chain of BEACONS that rapidly transmitted news of attack to the capital. The pass contains the remains of several fortresses.

LIT. *TIB* 2:223f, 261–64. –C.F.

CIRCUS. See CHARIOTEERS; CHARIOT RACES; HIPPODROMES.

CIRCUS PARTIES. See FACTIONS.

CISTERNS. See CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Cisterns.

CITATION was an important stylistic device closely connected with the tendency toward ARCHAISM and IMITATION (*mimesis*). On the one hand, citation was a sort of game between the author and reader, the former avoiding any direct indication of the origin of the citation and the latter challenged to guess the source (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:7). On the other hand, citation could be a powerful vehicle to convey direct information; e.g., Christian apologists (imitating their Jewish predecessors) quoted ancient poets for their propaganda, and during theological discussions citation was the major argument that time and again led to forgery or deletion of crucial passages. The most commonly quoted texts were the Bible, Homer, and the ancient tragedians. Often citations originated not from original texts but from FLORILEGIA and LEXIKA; quoting from MEMORY was common and frequently caused distortions. The frequency of citation differs from work to work: some texts (CHRISTOS PASCHON, ANACHARSIS, BARLAAM AND IOASAPH) are consciously composed of borrowed lines, while other works used citations to a limited degree. Since the concept of plagiarism did not exist, the use of quotations could grow into a copying of entire passages. Even though there was an element of showing off the author's knowledge (D. Christides, *EEPhSPTh* 22 [1984] 689), citation also performed specific aesthetic functions. It connected the present with the past, depicted objects and events from an alien point of view, and introduced the element of unexpectedness and strangeness (esp. by combination of biblical and pagan quotations); a new image was often constructed from borrowed words and sentences.

LIT. N. Zeegers-van der Vorst, *Les citations des poètes grecs chez les apologistes chrétiens du IIe siècle* (Louvain 1972). E. Livrea, "Le citazioni dei tragici in un inedito florilegio patmiaco," *RSBS* 3 (1983) 3–9. F. Grabler, "Das Zitat als Stilkunstmittel bei Niketas Choniates," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 190–93. A.R. Littlewood, "Repetition of Quotations in Byzantine Letters," 12 *BSC Abstracts* (Bryn Mawr 1986) 49f. M. Kertsch, "Patristische Zitate bei spätern griechisch-christlichen Autoren," *JÖB* 38 (1988) 113–24. –A.K.

CITIES (πόλεις), the cornerstone of classical civilization, were centers of population, culture, trade, manufacture, and administration. By the 6th C., the East contained more than 900 cities, of which the greatest were CONSTANTINOPLE, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH. A large provincial city might extend 2 km in its greatest dimension and have a population of 50,000, but most were much smaller.

Urban wealth was based on agriculture, but trade and manufacture were significant. These were usually on a small scale in which the artisan would sell the goods he made, but many cities, esp. ports, had extensive TRADE in essential or luxury goods. Major classes of the urban population were the CURIALES, bureaucrats and state officials, ecclesiastics, landowners, and the members of GUILDS, the craftsmen and shopkeepers.

The city differed from rural areas by its provision of public works and services. Most were maintained until the 6th C.: cities provided free bread, AQUEDUCTS, clean and lighted streets, BATHS, markets, theaters, HIPPODROMES, and LATRINES. Diocletian instituted municipal higher education to supply trained civil servants. The church, whose revenues were increasing, offered public welfare, with HOSPITALS, poorhouses (PTOCHOTROPHEIA),

homes for the aged (GEROKOMEIA), and inns (XENODOCHEIA). As cities found public works more difficult to support, governors came to build or restore them. Such activity was concentrated in provincial capitals, which often prospered at the expense of lesser cities. Urban prosperity varied considerably, from Constantinople, which could draw on the revenues of the empire, to cities in exposed regions like North Africa (e.g., CARTHAGE in the 7th C.) and the Balkans, where ruin and contraction were common.

Cities were administered by councils or CURIAE, which relied on rents, endowments, local taxes, and contributions from their members (*curiales* or decurions) to support their expenses: supplying bread and water to the population, higher education, police, and esp. maintenance of baths and other public facilities. The confiscations of Constantine I and Constantius II deprived the cities of their territories and taxes; the resulting financial distress was only partially relieved when Valens remitted one-third of these revenues. The history of late antique cities is thus marked by shortage of money, weakening of the councils, and growing interference from Constantinople. As the decurions became increasingly reluctant to serve, the government tried a series of expedients to maintain the councils, install responsible administrators (DEFENSOR CIVITATIS), and restrain the influence of rapacious governors. Finally, Anastasios I entrusted the cities to their bishops and landowners, replacing the councils with the collective responsibility of the church and propertied class. Many cities suffered serious demographic decline from the bubonic plague of 542 and later years; however, Constantinople, provincial capitals, pilgrimage centers, and cities along main highways and trade routes continued to prosper.

Excavations have revealed the physical aspect of the late Roman city. The broad boulevards, numerous open squares, and massive palaces and churches of Constantinople represented the planning of the age but could not be duplicated elsewhere. New districts of cities like Antioch, however, show a regular plan featuring orthogonal streets with monumental arches at their intersections. Most cities followed existing and often irregular plans, but in all cases colonnaded streets (EMBOLOI) were an essential element for communication and commerce, as rows of shops laid out behind their mosaic-paved colonnades became the chief markets. In general, the ancient urban fabric survived: theaters, odeons, baths with gymnasiums, marketplaces, and civic centers were all maintained, while the villas and luxurious apartments of the rich were frequently expanded, and monumental fountains adorned the streets. Major changes reflected religion and style. Pagan temples were abandoned and demolished for building materials; churches took their place. In some cases, temples were turned into churches, but more often the churches grew up on the periphery and only gradually invaded the city center. Late antique cities looked very different from their predecessors: buildings universally employed reused material, often covered on the outside with plaster, and were decorated inside with frescoes, cut marble, and mosaics. Color was manifest everywhere. Ancient urban regularity tended to disappear as open spaces and streets became cluttered with shoddy commercial construction (shops were typically extended into streets, and booths set up in colonnades), and abandoned buildings were left in ruins. Deterioration of open space was esp. marked in the 6th C. Cities like JUSTINIANA PRIMA, or some in LYCIA, have virtually no civic buildings of the traditional type but contain houses and shops closely packed along regular streets and dominated by one or more large churches, thus illustrating the decline of public works and growth in the power of the church.

In the 7th C., cities underwent fundamental and permanent transformations as they reduced in size and population; their public works and services came to an end. They generally became ruralized, differing from fortresses or villages only in their size, occasional preservation of ancient buildings, and continuing role as seats of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Merchants and craftsmen became rare; the *curiales* disappeared; cities were commonly under the command of military officials, subordinates of the STRATEGOS. External blows—Persian, Arab, Slav, and Avar attacks—contributed to the crisis.

A typical city of the Dark Ages consisted of a fortified center, often with a separate acropolis, which occupied a small part of the former urban area. The walls, built from ruined buildings, typically incorporated or obliterated former public structures and ignored previous streets. Within them, civic buildings were almost universally

abandoned: most became quarries for building material; others were occupied by squatters who built poor dwellings within them, often in connection with burning their marble for lime to make mortar. Churches, however, survived, often as increasingly dilapidated basilicas that came to tower over the small and crowded industrial installations (for pottery, glass, lime, and iron working) and houses. Monasteries and cemeteries, formerly alien to urban areas, came within the walls. Houses were small and poorly built, usually containing courtyards with large *pithoi* for storage of grain and liquids. With the abandonment or destruction of aqueducts, cisterns were constructed everywhere. Many settlements clustered behind the walls of a hilltop fortress, while others were scattered around the ancient ruins, often as separate settlements resembling villages, each with its own water supply and limited facilities for production. Even Constantinople was affected: large parts of the city fell into ruin, public services were abandoned, and the population declined drastically.

Recovery began in the 9th C. and continued in Asia Minor through the 11th, in Greece through the 12th C. The cities never regained their ancient roles, but conditions within them improved as peace and trade brought growth. New larger circuits of walls were built, but cities continued to expand outside them. Small neighborhood churches were erected and an occasional open marketplace appeared, but cities remained crowded and poorly built, with small houses along narrow winding streets which had no relation to earlier planning. In this, new foundations hardly differed from the old; fortresses and churches were the dominant elements, other structures found room beside them. The 13th C. brought some prosperity to the cities of Asia Minor, which often received new walls and churches, while in Greece the Frankish period brought a growth of city-fortresses on hilltops. The last period of Byz. rule, when the central government was weak, allowed the cities to gain some independence, often recognized with concessions when they were reintegrated into the empire. In some places a local aristocracy assumed considerable authority. Cities of the splinter states grew and flourished. They often consisted of a citadel (KASTRON), an upper enclosure where the ruler, magnates, and bishop had their palaces; and a lower town (EMPORION) devoted to commerce, with the homes of the common people and foreigners (who sometimes had their separate castle). By the 14th C. houses were large and spacious, aqueducts were again in use, and the standard of living was higher than it had been since the 7th C. Even such places, however, were small compared with their late antique predecessors, offered few if any public services, and showed no sign of systematic planning.

The normal artistic representation of a city was as a walled enceinte, studded with towers and rendered in bird's-eye perspective. Entered via a single portal, cities shown as models in the hands of a benefactor or as elements of BACKGROUND are customarily filled with elaborate architecture including a domed church. Only rarely, as in the MADABA MOSAIC MAP, do they contain structures that allow specific identification of the site. A unique planimetric view of Constantinople appears on the hyperpers of Michael VIII and Andronikos II.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskie goroda v VII–IX vv.," *Sovetskaja Archeologija* 21 (1954) 164–88. E. Kirsten, "Die byzantinische Stadt," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) Berichte 5:3. C. Foss, "Archaeology and the 'Twenty Cities' of Byzantine Asia," *AJA* 81 (1977) 469–86. Mango, *Byzantium* 60–87. Ch. Bouras, "City and Village: Urban Design and Architecture," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 611–53. I. Ehrensperger-Katz, "Les représentations de villes fortifiées dans l'art paléochrétien et leurs derivées byzantines," *CahArch* 19 (1969) 1–27. –C.F., A.C.

CITIZENS (πολῖται). Byz. law preserved the Roman concept of citizenship, as granted to all free inhabitants of the empire in 212. Byz. citizens were distinguished from slaves, whose acts of MANUMISSION recognized them as citizens (e.g., Sathas, *MB* 6:618.13–14). Changes in citizenship to take advantage of commercial privileges could cause problems (e.g., MM 3:189.11–19 of 30 Oct. 1436) and dual citizenship is attested after 1204. It is unclear how Byz. proceeded juridically toward the numerous foreigners (e.g., Armenians, LATINS) who entered imperial service, but many were successfully assimilated. Externally, Byz. citizens were usually recognizable by a national costume and particular traits of grooming; for example, in 787 the Beneventans offered to enter the Byz. Empire and adopt the Byz. national dress and haircut (CODEX CAROLINUS 83, p.617.5–31). Shared cultural traditions, PATRIOTISM, loyalty to the emperor, Orthodoxy, and, from the 7th C. onward,

the Greek language helped shape Byz. citizens' distinctive identity.

LIT. R.S. Lopez, *Byzantium and the World around It* (London 1978), pt.XIV (1974), 342–52. P. Schreiner, *LMA* 2:1039f. –M.McC.

CITY TAXES. Until the 7th-C. crisis, Byz. cities, important demographically as well as economically, had their own municipal administrations and finances, based mainly on rents of city land (*astika*), on contributions (voluntary or not) of wealthy citizens (esp. civic magistrates), and on city taxes, the *vectigalia*, collected on local economic activities. City taxes were taken over by the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, partially returned by Julian, then confiscated again by Valentinian and Valens, the latter being obliged to return part of them to the city administrations. In the meantime, urban economic activities had started to decline. After the 7th C., when the smaller and less economically active "medieval" cities appeared, administered directly by state officials and financed by the government, city taxes disappeared.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 732–34. –N.O.

CIVIL PROCEDURE (χρηματικὴ δίκη). The Justinianic civil lawsuit began with the plaintiff's (*enagon*) submission of the writ (*libellos*) at the COURT of law; from there it was served, together with a summons, on the defendant (*enagomenos*). On the first day fixed for TRIAL the formal conditions were clarified (esp. the question of the competency of the court), an OATH was taken by the participants in the proceedings, and surety was arranged by the plaintiff and defendant or by their representatives. The first part (*prooimion*) of the procedure was concluded with the formal statement of dispute (*prokatarxis*). The next step was the examination of evidence that could be undertaken by the assessors. The most important types of evidence were the testimony of WITNESSES and documents. Witnesses did not necessarily have to appear in person, but they did have to confirm their recorded testimony under oath. Where other proofs were lacking an oath could be imposed on one party by the other or by the judge. After a maximum of three years, a trial concluded with a final judgment (*apophasis*), which had to be drawn up in writing and read aloud. If the losing party neither complied with the decision nor appealed within ten days, the victorious party could file for the legal execution of the judgment four months after the court's announcement of the decision.

LIT. D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum justinianischen Zivilprozess* (Munich 1969). Kaser, *Zivilprozessrecht* 410–529. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 392–99. –L.B.

Later Developments. In post-Justinianic law, witnesses, documents, and oaths continued to play the chief role in litigation. Although late Roman procedure tended to give more weight to documents than to oral testimony, the *Peira* 30.17 reversed this principle: while acknowledging the preeminence of written evidence in cases such as marriage or sale of property and other business affairs, Eustathios RHOMAIOS proclaimed that oral testimony was generally the most reliable. Byz. law thus paid much attention to exposing false documents (S. Troianos, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–73] 181–200). The use of oaths contradicted the injunction of Matthew 5:33, and commentators on *Basil.* 22.5 tried to reconcile their practice with the Gospel ruling by quoting John Chrysostom. Byz. legal practice also accepted certain paralegal means of decision making: rhetorical arguments that could be more convincing than legal ones, the principle that the emperor's word is beyond law (this could be extended to those to whom the emperor delegated his authority), and mob pressure. The use of various ORDEALS as a means of establishing the truth emerged despite some strong resistance. Literary texts (e.g., hagiography) could be submitted as evidence, and references to Homer or Aristotle could be used to establish precedent.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Der Beweis im byzantinischen Gerichtsverfahren," *La preuve* 1 (Brussels 1964) 595–612. Simon, *Rechtsfindung*. S. Troianos, "Ho elenchos tes gnesiotetos ton apodeiktikon engraphon en te byzantine dike," in *Xenon: Festschrift für P. Zepos*, vol. 1 (Athens–Freiburg im Breisgau–Cologne 1973) 693–716. –A.K.

CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Following shortly after the conflict between Andronikos II and Andronikos III (1321–28), this war further divided and weakened the remnants of the Byz. Empire. When Andronikos III died in 1341, leaving his nine-year-old son JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS as heir to the throne, a struggle for the regency developed between JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, the *megas domestikos*, on one side, and the empress ANNA OF SAVOY, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, and the *megas*

doux Alexios APOKAUKOS, on the other. Taking advantage of the absence of Kantakouzenos from Constantinople on military campaign, John XIV declared his own regency and confiscated Kantakouzenos's property in the capital. In Oct. 1341 Kantakouzenos was proclaimed emperor in Didymoteichon, triggering war. Kantakouzenos was generally supported by the provincial landed aristocracy and proponents of HESYCHASM, but there were numerous exceptions. At first Kantakouzenos fared poorly in the war as the result of antiaristocratic rebellions in the towns of Macedonia and Thrace, notably the revolt of the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike. But after receiving assistance from UMUR BEG, emir of Aydın, and STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, king of Serbia, his fortunes improved and he gained control of Thessaly, Epiros, and parts of Thrace and Macedonia, despite Dušan's switch of allegiance to John V. The murder of Apokaukos in 1345 was a severe blow to the regency. After 1345 Umur was forced to withdraw his troops, but Kantakouzenos replaced them with Ottoman soldiers supplied by the emir ORHAN (E. Werner, *BS* 26 [1965] 255–76). In 1346 Kantakouzenos was crowned emperor at Adrianople, and the following year he entered Constantinople. An agreement that he and John V should rule as co-emperors ended the civil war. The prolonged struggle was disastrous for Byz., as it brought anarchy to the cities and devastation to the countryside. In Didymoteichon, for example, soldiers turned to BRIGANDAGE in order to secure the necessary provisions (C. Asdracha, *EtBalk* n.s. 7.3 [1971] 118–20). The war also permitted Dušan to expand his empire into Thrace and Macedonia. The victory of Kantakouzenos significantly affected the church, since it enabled the triumph of hesychasm.

LIT. Nicol, *Last Centuries* 191–216. Ostrogorsky, *History* 509–22. Matschke, *Fortschritt.* –A.M.T.

CLARENZA. See CHLEMOUTSI.

CLARISSIMUS (λαμπρότατος), honorific epithet applied to SENATORS that became an official title during the early Roman Empire. According to the EXCERPTA VALESIANA (ed. Moreau-Velkor 9.3), when Constantine I created the SENATE in Constantinople he granted new senators the title of *clari* to distinguish them from the *clarissimi* of Rome. When the titles of ILLUSTRIS and SPECTABILIS were introduced in the second half of the 4th C., *clarissimus* began to designate the lowest category of senators. Between 450 and 530 use of the title *clarissimus* (as well as *spectabilis*) declined and ceased to be applied to senators at all. Jones (*LRE* 2:529) considers it still as hereditary, but Guilland (*Institutions* 1:68f) denies it. The title was not part of the Byz. bureaucratic hierarchy.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 123f. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.I (1967), 27–36. –A.K.

CLASSE. See RAVENNA.

CLASS STRUCTURE. Class is a conventional sociological term designating extensive groups of people who have common characteristics with regard to their place in the system of production, their wealth, power, and prestige. The difficulty in defining Byz. class structure originates in the difference between Byz. stratification and the contemporary scholarly models (which in turn, vary according to schools of thought, Marxist or non-Marxist), from the lack of clear-cut boundaries between various classes, and from cases of social mobility. The Byz. resorted to several methods of social categorization: (1) slaves and free men, (2) "great" and "small," or "powerful" (*dynatoi*) and "poor," with a third category of men of moderate means (*mesoi*) introduced on occasion; (3) classification by profession, as in Psellos—senators, monks, the urban masses, and those involved in agriculture and trade; (4) a tripartite classification of Western type—soldiers, clergy, and ordinary people (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 142–44).

Four factors were taken into account by the Byz. in defining the elite or ruling class: good family background (this principle seems to have been reestablished by the 10th C.); wealth (including salaries, rewards, extortions, etc., in addition to property); hierarchical rank; and prestige or high moral reputation. The shift from an elite based on rank and position to an elite determined by family background and ownership of land was a crucial development of the Byz. class structure. Merchants probably emerged as an independent class by the 11th C. but were never legally defined

as a distinct category. The lower class encompassed various groups of rural and urban population: common soldiers, state and private peasants, craftsmen and peddlers, *misthioi*, slaves, beggars. The lower clergy (*paroikoi*-priests, working monks) in a certain sense belonged to this class. Intellectuals did not form a separate group until the 12th C.; before then they were part of the secular and ecclesiastical administration.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.X (1965), 11–45. A. Kazhdan, *Social'nyj sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa Vizantii XI–XII vv.* (Moscow 1974), with a Fr. résumé by I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 (1976) 367–80. A. Kazhdan, I. Čičurov, "O strukture vizantijskogo obščestva VII–IX vv.," *VizOč* (Moscow 1977) 107–37. G. Weiss, "Beobachtungen zur Sozialgeschichte von Byzanz," *SüdostF* 34 (1975) 3–25. J. Gagé, *Les classes sociales dans l'Empire romain* (Paris 1964) 335–448. –A.K.

CLAUDIAN (Claudius Claudianus), wandering poet of late Roman Egypt; born Alexandria ca.370, died ca.404. After producing (in Greek) conventional panegyrics, *patria*, and epigrams (some preserved in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY), Claudian went to Italy, where he composed Latin panegyrics at Rome (395) for the consuls Probus and Olybrius and at Milan (396) for the third consulate of Emp. Honorius. From then until 404, he tirelessly manufactured more panegyrics for Honorius and most notably for STILICHO. A natural pendant to these works is Claudian's elaborately vicious attack on the Eastern courtiers RUFINUS and EUTROPIUS. His material rewards for this propaganda included the title *clarissimus*, a public statue whose inscription (*CIL* 6:1710) records his honors, and a rich bride chosen by Stilicho's wife Serena. Further poetic themes include the crushing of the rebel GILDO (398) and the mythological *De raptu Proserpinae* and *Gigantomachia*. Claudian, noted for his poetry and paganism by AUGUSTINE and OROSIUS, is essentially the culmination of classical Latin poetry. Prolix in praise and abuse, although polished overall, his poems are a major source for the military and political history of the years 395–404.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. J.B. Hall (Leipzig 1985). *De raptu Proserpinae*, ed. J.B. Hall (Cambridge 1969). *Claudian*, ed. M. Platnauer, 2 vols. (London–New York 1922), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Al. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970). J.B. Hall, *Prolegomena to Claudian* (London 1986). P.G. Christiansen, *The Use of Images by Claudius Claudianus* (The Hague–Paris 1969). H.L. Levy, *Claudian's In Rufinum. An Exegetical Commentary* (Cleveland, Ohio, 1971). –B.B.

CLAVIJO, RUY GONZÁLEZ DE, a high-ranking official of Henry III, king of Castile; died 2 Apr. 1412. With an embassy he journeyed to the court of TIMUR in Samarkand, which he described in detail. The embassy left Seville on 22 May 1403 and returned to Castile on 24 March 1406. Clavijo describes several islands of the Aegean Sea (Rhodes, Chios, Lesbos ["Metellin"]), mentions Mt. Athos ("Monteston"), and dwells at length on Constantinople and Pera. He was most interested in churches and monasteries (Hagia Sophia, St. John the Baptist, Blachernai ["de la Cherne"], etc.) and their treasures, relics, and ornaments; among others, Clavijo describes the Church of Mary "Peribelico" (PERIBLEPTOS), at whose entrance were represented 30 castles and towns allegedly granted to the church by an emperor Romanos; privileges listing the rights of the church to these castles and confirmed by wax and lead seals were displayed nearby. Clavijo also reports on the Hippodrome, the city walls, wells of sweet water, the money-changers' street, warehouses, and the fetters used to punish those who sold meat or bread with false weights. He noticed that many buildings were in a state of ruin. Clavijo visited Trebizond as well. He devotes considerable attention to relations within the imperial family and to the war between Venice and Genoa.

ED. *Embajada a Tamorlán*, ed. F. López Estrada (Madrid 1943). Eng. tr., *Narrative of the Embassy of Ruy Gonzalez de Clavijo*, ed. C. Markham (London 1859; rp. New York 1970).

LIT. A. Bravo García, "La Constantinopla que vieron R. González de Clavijo y P. Tafur," *Erytheia* 3 (1983) 39–47. –A.K.

CLAVUS, a vertical stripe decorating the Roman TUNIC; the wide ones (*clavi lati*) were originally an indication of the senatorial rank of the wearer. The *clavi* were usually purple or gold and were woven into the tunic in pairs; they were visible on the shoulder even when the tunic was covered by an outer mantle. In Byz. art, *clavi* are primarily found decorating the tunics of Christ, the angels, and the apostles, figures who are regularly shown clad in ancient garb. *Clavi* embroidered with rows of flowers adorn the tunics of the female members of the imperial entourage and those of female martyrs in the 6th-C. mosaic processions of S. Vitale and S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, and David's tunic in the 10th-C. Bible of LEO SAKEL-

LARIOS (fol.263). In Egypt, tapestry bands have been found decorated with comparable floral and figural designs; these were probably *clavi* for tunics. Simple, dark-colored *clavi* adorn the Byz. liturgical vestment called STICHARION, in which case they are called *potamoi* ("rivers").

LIT. M.G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*² (London 1947) 97, 138, 143. Papas, *Messgewänder* 107f. –N.P.Š.

CLEMENT III (Guibert of Ravenna), antipope (elected Mar. 1084); born Parma ca.1025, died Civita Castellana 8 Sept. 1100. Henry IV of Germany supported Clement against Popes GREGORY VII and URBAN II. Urban sought an accommodation with Byz., whereas Clement tried to gain the support of Byz.'s northern neighbors: on 8 Jan. 1089 he created a Serbian archbishopric under Roman jurisdiction. Around 1088 Clement sent envoys to JOHN II, metropolitan of Kiev.

LIT. J. Ziese, *Wibert von Ravenna* (Stuttgart 1982). –A.K.

CLEMENT V (Bertrand de Got), pope (from 5 June 1305); born in the Bordelais ca.1260, died Roquemaure, Comtat Venaissin, 20 Apr. 1314. Forced to leave Italy, Clement settled in southern France, residing from 1309 in Avignon. He advocated the idea of a new Crusade with limited objectives. While proclaiming the liberation of the Holy Land as the ultimate goal, the Crusaders' armies were directed to specific areas: Clement supported the attack of the HOSPITALLERS on Rhodes, the official purpose of which was to protect Armenia and Cyprus from the infidel, to hinder trade with the Saracens and to prepare a universal crusade. Also under the banner of a crusade, Clement organized a war against Venice and managed to regain FERRARA for the papacy.

LIT. G. Mollat, *The Popes at Avignon, 1305–1378* (London–New York 1963) 3–8. F. Heidelberger, *Kreuzzugsversuche um die Wende des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Berlin 1911) 24–62. L. Thier, *Kreuzzugsbemühungen unter Papst Clemens V.* (Werl, Westfallen, 1973). N. Housley, "Pope Clement V and the Crusades of 1309–1310," *JMedHist* 8 (1982) 29–43. –A.K.

CLEMENT VI (Pierre Roger), pope (from 7 May 1342); born Maumont (Corrèze), France, 1291, died Avignon 6 Dec. 1352. Clement's pontificate coincided with the growth of national forces in western Europe and the decline of monarchies with a tendency to universalist power, so that the PAPACY remained the sole bearer of the idea of crusade. The kings of France, who were involved in the Hundred Years' War, withdrew from the project, and Clement had to seek the support of smaller Mediterranean states such as Aragon, Venice, Cyprus, and the kingdom of Cilicia. He also entered into negotiations with Byz. in expectation that the empire, weakened by the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, would accept UNION OF THE CHURCHES. In 1348 Emp. John VI Kantakouzenos sent ambassadors to Avignon; this mission left an important mark on cultural life, since one of its members, Nicholas Sigeros, gave Petrarch a codex of Homer. Clement's major achievement was the capture of SMYRNA by a Latin navy on 28 Oct. 1344, but the ensuing expedition inland failed. Union was not achieved, but the people of PHILADELPHIA, impressed by the Latin success at Smyrna, dispatched ambassadors to Avignon, accepting papal supremacy in exchange for assistance in their struggle against the Turks.

LIT. A. Pélissier, *Clément VI le Magnifique* (Paris 1951). G. Mollat, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 1129–62. J. Gay, *Le pape Clément VI et les affaires d'Orient* (Paris 1904; rp. New York 1972). R.J. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 285–302. F. Giunta, "Sulla politica orientale di Clemente VI," in *Studi di storia medievale e moderna in onore di Ettore Rota* (Rome 1958) 149–62. –A.K.

CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, more fully T. Flavius Clemens, early Christian philosopher; born Athens? ca.150, died Cappadocia before 215. Educated in Alexandria, he worked there as a teacher from ca.200 until he was forced to leave the city because of anti-Christian persecutions. Like ORIGEN, Clement belonged to a group of well-educated Christians who sought a certain reconciliation with pagan ideas and were influenced by Platonism. Clement's aim was the struggle against GNOSTICISM and radical extremists within Christianity: he argued that the rich could be saved, defended marriage, praised education, and took the concept of Logos (Reason), not Theos (God), as the basis of his doctrine. Clement laid the foundations for the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL and paved the way for the incorporation of pagan learning within Christianity; he was a foremost

proponent of the use of allegory in biblical exegesis.

Clement was not one of the more popular church fathers in Byz.: Prodromos (PG 133:1265AB), for example, criticized him for treating language as immaterial and rejecting the search for beauty and nobility of expression. Arethas of Caesarea was interested in Clement: at his instigation, a certain Baanes prepared in 914 a MS of two of Clement's works (*Protreptikos* and *Paedagogus*), which was provided with scholia by Baanes and Arethas (Paris, B.N. gr. 451). Some other writings have survived in MSS of the 11th and 12th C.

ED. PG 8–9. *Protrepticus und Paedagogus*[3], ed. O Stählin et al. (Berlin 1972). *Stromata, Buch I–VI*[4], ed O. Stählin et al. (Berlin 1985). *Stromata, Buch VII und VIII*[2], ed. O. Stählin et al. (Berlin 1970). *Register*, ed. U. Treu (Berlin 1980). G.W. Butterworth, *Clement of Alexandria* (London–New York 1919), with Eng. tr. *CPG*, nos. 1375–99.

LIT. S.R.C. Lilla, *Clement of Alexandria* (Oxford 1971). Quasten, *Patrology* 2:5–36. O. Stählin, *Beiträge zur Kenntnis der Handschriften des Clemens Alexandrinus* (Nürnberg 1895). Idem, *Untersuchungen über die Scholien zu Clemens Alexandrinus* (Nürnberg 1897). –T.E.G.

CLEMENT OF OHRID. See KLIMENT OF OHRID.

CLEMENT SMOLJATIČ. See KLIM SMOLJATIČ.

CLERGY (κλῆρος), term that initially designated the entire Christian community, the people of God (*laos*, LAITY) chosen to participate in God's inheritance or *kleronomia* (1 Pet 5:3). By the 3rd C. the term was restricted to those appointed as ministers of worship within the Christian community. Below the major orders (*hieromenoi*) of BISHOP, PRIEST, and DEACON were the minor orders (*klerikoi*) of SUBDEACON and ANAGNOSTES. Besides differences in functions, the two orders were distinguished by the method of ordination (CHEIROTONIA)—the ritual act that also served to separate clergy from laity. Their lives and responsibilities were fixed by ecclesiastical law. Ordination to the priesthood and episcopate was forbidden before age 30, whereas deacons and subdeacons could be consecrated at ages 25 and 20, respectively (Council in TRULLO, canons 13, 14). Once appointed to a city or church they could not transfer elsewhere (NICAEA I, canon 15). Equally, all were subject to episcopal jurisdiction and could sue each other only in episcopal courts (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 9). Admitted to the office of DEACONESS, women were forbidden entry to both the priesthood and episcopate.

Generally, clergy were forbidden to participate in secular occupations such as trade, usury, or banking; nor were they allowed to become civil servants, although they could perform manual and agricultural labor (Nicaea II, canon 15) and serve as imperial advisers (like the monk Ioannikios in the court of ALEXIOS I). In practice, however, these restrictions were not always observed, as several 12th-C. synodal and patriarchal decrees illustrate (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1048, 1092, 1100, 1119). Clerical privileges included exemption from certain taxes, military service, and other municipal duties (*Cod.Theod.* XVI 2.1–47, 5.1; Council of Chalcedon, canon 7). Despite their social, judicial, and pecuniary exemptions, Byz. clergy never constituted a rigid sociological entity—a self-conscious antithesis of the laity—as in the West. Significantly, they rarely held high state office and were never the exclusive bearers of high culture. Except for bishops, they were also not separated from the laity by CELIBACY.

LIT. A.P. Lebedev, *Duchovenstvo drevnej vselenskoj cerkvi ot vremen apostol'skich do IX v.* (Moscow 1905). D.J. Constantelos, "Clerics and Secular Professions in the Byzantine Church," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 373–90. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 378–442. T. Elliott, "The Tax Exemptions Granted to Clerics by Constantine and Constantius II," *Phoenix* 32 (1978) 326–36. –A.P.

CLICHÉ, in modern terminology, a trite or repeated phrase or idea. In Byz. literature two types of cliché can be distinguished. (1) In works written at a learned level of the language at all periods, the conventions of RHETORIC (which, learned in the schoolroom, underlay virtually every literary genre) imposed structures and sequences of ideas that most writers and audiences accepted as appropriate and followed. (2) In many works written in the POLITICAL VERSE at a popular level of the language in the 14th–15th C., large numbers of lines and half-lines were repeated virtually unchanged, both within a given poem and in others (see ROMANCE). Debate continues as to whether this is the result of plagiarism and quotation, or whether these "clichés" (phrases like *mikroi te kai megaloi*, "great and small") represent in written form the style of a traditional literature, originally disseminated orally. –E.M.J.

CLIMATE in Byz. was determined by the situation of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA, which is enclosed to the south and southeast by a band of deserts and to the north and northeast by mountain ridges (Pyrenees, Alps, and Caucasus). Winds, dry in summer and bringing rain in winter, blow primarily north to south; the strong winter winds, esp. dangerous along the southern Mediterranean shore, could bring navigation to a halt. The combination of rainy winters (from approximately Oct. to Apr.) and summer drought is typical of the Mediterranean. Summers were hot, but winters mild, except on elevated plateaus where considerable snow accumulated; permanent snow cover is found only on mountains at high elevations. The diverse climate was due partly to latitudinal situation (the hottest areas—North Africa, Egypt, and Palestine—were lost to the Arabs in the 7th C.) but also to elevation, with sharp contrasts between the coastal lowlands and interior highlands.

The coast was sufficiently warm for the cultivation of olives, mulberry, and, in some areas (Sicily, Crete), cotton. Vineyards and many FRUIT orchards could be found at higher elevations and farther to the north (including Thrace), but Bulgaria was considered by the Byz. to be a region that produced little fruit. Grain grew everywhere; the predominance of wheat in Asia Minor and of barley in the Balkans depended more on soil than on temperature. The plateaus (esp. Anatolia), with their cold winter nights and shortage of water, were best for cattle and flocks of sheep and goats, while the contrasts between lowland and highland contributed to the development of TRANSHUMANCE. Special climatic regions were the hinterland of the Black Sea, the Caucasus and the Armenian highlands, the Anatolian plateau, Egypt, and the valley of the Po—a transitional region between the Mediterranean and Central European climate.

The question of changes in the Mediterranean climate in historical times has been variously approached by historians, some of whom attribute the decline of the Roman Empire to climatic changes; climatologists, however, deny radical changes, even though some warming and desiccation ca.1300 can be observed (F. Braudel, *La Méditerranée*[2] 1 [Paris 1966] 247). It is plausible that deforestation also took place over time, but neither its scale nor chronology can be established.

LIT. E.C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932) 83–101. A. Philippson, *Das Mittelmeergebiet* (Leipzig 1904) 93–138. J.H. Prior, *Geography, Technology and War* (Cambridge 1988) 15–24. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 41–100. –A.K.

CLOCK. See HOROLOGION.

CLOISONNÉ. See ASHLAR; BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS; ENAMELS.

CLOSED DOOR or gate (πύλη κεκλεισμένη) of the sanctuary of the Temple, seen by Ezekiel (44:1–3) in a vision. This was not to be opened or traversed by any man, for God had entered in by it. The image was taken, for example, by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 81:1233B), to symbolize the Virgin's womb. ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes* 2, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons [Paris 1965] 10:9.4–10) describes Mary as the Closed Gate (*aparanoiktos pyle*) who opened the door to the Magi that they might see the Door (*thyra*), the infant Christ. In the context of increased interest in PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, the Door is represented at the CHORA (S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:346) and other Palaiologan churches.

LIT. G. Babić, "L'image symbolique de la 'Porte fermée' à Saint-Clément d'Ohrid," in *Synthronon* 145–51. –C.B.T., J.H.L.

COATS OF ARMS. The use of heraldic INSIGNIA as a symbolic representation of families did not develop in Byz. The broad range of images (Christ, the Virgin, the cross, various saints) found on SEALS are personal rather than familial emblems. Certain "blazons" have, however, been interpreted by some scholars as official imperial or familial coats of arms. Soloviev (*infra*) considered the double-headed EAGLE as an emblem of the Komnenoi and the tetragrammic cross with four Bs as the blazon (from ca.1327) of the Palaiologoi. G. Vikan (*ArtB* 63 [1981] 326) has connected other emblems (including a multipetal flower, a swastika, and four overlapping bars) with the Palaiologos family. Some of these symbols—whether blazons or not—were placed on imperial standards: thus, a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 167.17–23) states that on ordinary warships the customary imperial banner (*phlamoulon*) was displayed, that is, the cross with *pyrekbola* (flints?)—

probably the tetragrammic cross—whereas the ship of the *megas doux* displayed the image of the mounted emperor. In Aug. 1439 John VIII Palaiologos conferred upon Giacomo de Morellis, a citizen of Florence, the right to place on his banner the imperial "blazon" (*semeion*); on the chrysobull, beneath the text, is pictured a double-headed eagle (*Reg* 5, no.3489).

LIT. W.H. Rüdt von Collenberg, "Byzantinische Präheraldik des 10. und 11. Jhs.," *Recueil du 12e Congrès international des sciences généalogique et héraldique* (Stuttgart 1978) 169–81. D. Cernovodeanu, "Contributions à l'étude de l'héraldique byzantine et postbyzantine," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 409–22. A. Soloviev, "Les emblèmes héraldiques de Byzance et les Slaves," *SemKond* 7 (1935) 119–64. –A.K.

CODEX (δέλτος, πυκτίον, τεῦχος, κῶδιξ), the preponderant form of the Byz.—and modern—BOOK. It consists of QUIRES made of sheets of PAPYRUS, PARCHMENT, or, later, PAPER, which were prepared for copying by the application of RULING PATTERNS in order to guide the writing; the written quires were stitched, usually one to another, to form the smooth spine characteristic of Byz. BOOKBINDING. Unlike the earlier ROLL, the codex fitted more text into less space because each sheet was written on both sides. Moreover, since the codex could be immediately opened to any page, it allowed random consultation. In appearance, Byz. codices range from sumptuous illuminated MSS (see BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION) or lavish editions of the classics to tax registers or heavily annotated working texts produced by scholars for their personal use.

The codex probably derived from the Roman businessman's parchment notebook, itself inspired by the bound and waxed wooden tablets (*codices*) used as notepads in antiquity and Byz. Travelers seem to have been among the first to favor the new format, and the codex enjoyed unique prestige among Christians from the 2nd C., esp. for Scripture. Eusebios of Caesarea mentions the order issued by Constantine I that fifty codices of the Bible should be copied for liturgical use in Constantinople. From 300 onward, the codex replaced the roll as the chief vehicle for literary texts. The physical transformation of the book encouraged intellectual change as well. The capacity of and the ease of access within the codex now made practical the creation—and quick consultation—of vast works of reference, such as the codification of Roman law at Constantinople in the 5th and 6th C. For artists the invention of the codex made possible the painting of full-page miniatures.

LIT. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonike 1971) 88–128. C.H. Roberts, T.C. Skeat, *The Birth of the Codex* (London 1983). M. McCormick, "The Birth of the Codex and the Apostolic Life-Style," *Scriptorium* 39 (1985) 150–58. –E.G., M.McC.

CODEX CAROLINUS, collection of letters sent by popes (GREGORY III through HADRIAN I) and from the Byz. Empire to Charles Martel, Pippin, and CHARLEMAGNE, compiled at Charlemagne's command in 791. Only the papal letters survive. They constitute the chief source on Frankish involvement in Italy. Because the PAPACY acted as an intermediary between Byz. and the Franks, these letters shed valuable light on Byz. relations with the Carolingians (eps. 11, 25, 28–29, 36–37 on the negotiations of CONSTANTINE V with Pippin, and ep.45 on the planned marriage of LEO IV with the king's daughter) and, above all, on Constantinople's projects to recapture its Italian holdings (eps. 15, 17, 30–31, 38, 57, 61, 64–65, 80, 82–84) and subdue the Iconodule papacy (eps. 20, 32). They also transmit general information deemed relevant to the Frankish court, for instance the Eastern patriarchs' attitude toward ICONOCLASM (ep.99), Constantine V's death (ep. 58), an Arab invasion of Asia Minor (ep.74), news from Byz. ISTRIA (ep.63), and the activities of Byz. or Venetian merchants (eps. 59, 86).

ED. W. Gundlach, MGH *Epist.* 3:476–657. Facsimile—*Codex epistolaris Carolinus*, ed. F. Unterkircher (Graz 1962).
LIT. P. Kehr, "Über die Chronologie der Briefe Papst Pauls I. im codex Carolinus," *NachGött* (1896) 102–57. –M.McC.

CODEX EBNERIANUS, a 12th-C. illustrated New Testament in Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. inf. 1. 10, named after its 18th-C. owner. Bound in a silver cover with a 10th-C. ivory fragment, the MS is decorated with ornate CANON TABLES and HEADPIECES, a double portrait of Eusebios of Caesarea and Karpianos, and ten portraits of New Testament authors. Accompanying most portraits are liturgically inspired narrative scenes. The MS was copied by the same scribe as Escorial X IV 17, but illuminated in the different style of the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS. It is the product of

the preeminent school of Constantinopolitan illuminators during the second quarter of the 12th C. In 1391 the scribe Ioasaph of the HODEGON monastery added liturgical notations to the MS, and its evangelist portraits served as the model for the Palaiologan miniatures inserted into Venice, Marc. gr. I, 8. The MS is marked with Georgian quire signatures, but was still in Constantinople in the 16th C.

LIT. Hutter, *CBM* 1:59–67, 3.1:333f. H. Buchthal, "A Greek New Testament Manuscript in the Escorial Library," in *Byz. und der Westen* 86–94. –R.S.N.

CODEX GREGORIANUS, a collection of imperial rescripts issued sometime between 291 and 294 by a certain Gregory, who is otherwise unknown. It is impossible to determine whether it was prepared in the East (Berytus?) or elsewhere, or whether it was a private tool or an official document, for purposes of instruction or for practical use. It contains edicts from the year 196 to Diocletian; the latest law (of 295) is often considered a later addition. The material is organized, according to subject matter, in books and titles. It is possible that the original text of the edicts has here been contracted and paraphrased (N. van der Wal, *Bollettino dell'Istituto di diritto romano* 22 [1980] 7). The text has survived only in fragments—in the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and in various legal compilations, such as the *Fragmenta Vaticana*, scholia of the Sinai Library, and the *lex Romana Visigothorum.*

ED. P. Krüger, *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* 3 (Berlin 1890) 224–33, 236–42.

LIT. P. Jörs, *RE* 4 (1901) 161–64. J. Gaudemet, *La formation du droit séculier et du droit de l'église aux IVe et Ve siècles* (Paris 1979) 44–48. W. Turpin, "The Purpose of the Roman Law Codes," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 620–30. –A.K.

CODEX HERMOGENIANUS, a collection of imperial rescripts published after the CODEX GREGORIANUS by a certain Hermogenianus, usually identified as a praetorian prefect of 304. The text has survived in fragmentary form in the same sources as the *Codex Gregorianus* (with the exception of the appendices to the *lex Romana Visigothorum*), but it differs from the latter in several respects: the *Codex Hermogenianus* is shorter, divided only into titles (not books), and contains primarily the edicts of Diocletian. The 5th-C. Christian author Sedulius notes that Hermogenianus had his work published three times; accordingly, Rotondi (*infra*) postulates that the first edition appeared in 295, the second in 305, and the third included three constitutions of 314–24. Seven rescripts of 364/5 are considered later additions.

ED. P. Krüger, *Collectio librorum iuris anteiustiniani* 3 (Berlin 1890) 234f, 242–45.

LIT. A. Cenderelli, *Ricerche sul 'Codex Hermogenianus'* (Milan 1965). D. Liebs, *Hermogenians Iuris epitomae* (Göttingen 1964). G. Rotondi, *Scritti giuridici* 1 (Milan 1922) 111–46. –A.K.

CODEX JUSTINIANUS, a collection of imperial constitutions (in the form of *leges, rescripta, sanctiones pragmaticae*) from Hadrian to Justinian I, that, along with the DIGEST, the INSTITUTES, and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I, constitutes the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Executed at Justinian's request, the collection was intended to take the place of the CODEX GREGORIANUS, the CODEX HERMOGENIANUS, and the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and to provide a compilation of imperial law arranged according to subject and freed from contradictions and repetitions. To this end Justinian appointed a commission of ten lawyers under the direction of TRIBONIAN. The original collection, the so-called *Codex vetus*, which has been transmitted only in short fragments, was made public on 7 Apr. 529 through the introductory constitution "Summa." It soon stood in need of revision—not least because of Justinian's own legislative activity.

With the constitution "Cordi" of 16 Nov. 534 the so-called *Codex repetitae praelectionis* was promulgated and made authoritative. It contains 12 books that, in contrast to the *Institutes* and the *Digest*, reflect the socioeconomic and ecclesiastical problems of the time in the form of numerous administrative, penal, civil, and ecclesiastical regulations. The language of the constitutions is predominantly Latin. The regulations of the *Codex Justinianus* were introduced into the BASILIKA, esp. in the Greek version of THALELAIOS; treatments of the *Codex Justinianus* by the jurists ISIDORE, ANATOLIOS, and THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS are also preserved. Revisions in the sequence of the laws of the *Codex Justinianus* are transmitted only in fragments. With a view to the integration of the *Codex Justinianus* into the *Basilika*, the individual titles were divided up according to subject and, where appropriate, attached to the *Basilika* chapters originating in the *Digest.*

ED. *CIC*, vol. 2.

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 569–72, 638–51, 688–92. D. Simon, "Aus dem Codexunterricht des Thalelaios," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 334–83; 87 (1970) 315–94; *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 16 (1969) 283–308; 17 (1970) 273–311. –M.Th.F.

CODEX SUPRASLIENSIS, the largest surviving Old Church Slavonic MS (found in 1823 in the Suprasl monastery in Poland), is a *menologion* for the month of March that contains saints' Lives and sermons for Holy Week and Easter. It was probably copied in central or eastern Bulgaria between 900 and 1050 on the basis of an original created in the circle of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA. More than half of its 285 folia were lost during World War II; the other portions are in Ljubljana and Leningrad. Marguliés (*infra*) and some other scholars hypothesize that the original of the Codex was in GLAGOLITIC. The Codex was translated from a Greek pre-Metaphrastic *menologion* and contains 48 hagiographical texts; for some of them the Greek sources have not yet been identified. The work of the translator (or translators?) was difficult, since the original also contained the writings of some experienced rhetoricians (Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Epiphanios of Salamis), and in some cases their language was misunderstood. The compilator of the Codex probably introduced stylistic alterations. The Codex is an important monument of Byz. intellectual influence upon Bulgaria ca.900.

ED. S. Sever'janov, *Suprasl'skaja rukopis'* (St. Petersburg 1904; rp. Graz 1956). *Suprasŭlski ili Retkov sbornik,* ed. J. Zaimov, M. Capaldo, 2 vols. (Sofia 1982–83).

LIT. R. Trautmann, R. Klostermann, "Drei griechische Texte zum Codex Suprasliensis," *ZSlavPhil* 11 (1934) 1–21, 299–324; 12 (1935) 277–94. K.H. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavische Studien* (Halle an der Saale 1939). Ph.A. Marguliés, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis* (Heidelberg 1927). M. Capaldo, "Zur linguistischen Betrachtungsweise der Komposition des Codex Suprasliensis," in *Contributi Italiani all'VIII Congresso internazionale degli Slavisti* (Zagreb-Ljubljana 1978) 23–60. –A.K.

CODEX THEODOSIANUS, a Latin law book named after the emperor THEODOSIOS II. By a constitution of 26 Mar. 429, Theodosios, together with his co-emperor Valentinian III, established a nine-member commission to produce a collection of all of the imperial constitutions published since Constantine I (following the model of the CODEX GREGORIANUS and the CODEX HERMOGENIANUS), integrating into the collection appropriate passages from the writings of the jurists. By a constitution of 20 Dec. 435, the same emperors set up a new commission of 16 people that was to collect all general imperial constitutions since Constantine I and, if necessary, to improve them by changing the text or dividing them into several titles. This work came to fruition and was published by a constitution of 15 Feb. 438. On 1 Jan. 439 the *Codex Theodosianus* went into force for the entire Roman Empire. The *Codex* contains more than 2,500 constitutions (from the years 311–437) and is divided into 16 books; the books are subdivided into titles within which the constitutions are arranged in chronological order. The MS transmission of the *Codex Theodosianus* is poor, esp. for books 1–5, which are only indirectly preserved, in the *Lex Romana Visigothorum.* For this *Lex* as well as for the *Codex Justinianus*, the *Codex Theodosianus* was the most important source. The *Codex Theodosianus* was provided with commentaries (F. Wieacker in *Symbolae Friburgenses in honorem Ottonis Lenel* [Leipzig 1935] 259–356). After approximately a century it was superseded by the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, esp. the *Codex Justinianus.*

ED. T. Mommsen, *Theodosiani libri XVI cum Constitutionibus Sirmondianis,* 1 vol. in 2 pts. (Berlin 1905; rp. Dublin-Zurich 1970–71). *Codex Theodosianus cum perpetuis commentariis Iacobi Gothofredi,* ed. A. Marvillius, with rev. and add. I.D. Ritter, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1736–43; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1975). Eng. tr. C. Pharr, *The Theodosian Code and Novels and the Sirmondian Constitutions* (Princeton 1952; rp. 1970).

LIT. G.G. Archi, *Teodosio II e la sua codificazione* (Naples 1976). T. Honoré, "The Making of the Theodosian Code," *ZSavRom* 103 (1986) 133–222. –A.S.

CODICIL. In classical Roman law, the codicil was at first a document strictly connected to a WILL, in which the testator addressed the heir of the will and requested that he execute a FIDEICOMMISSUM. The codicil had no required form; it had to be announced in the will or be authorized by a (later) will. When codicils independent of the will came into use, they began to compete with wills. A will was distinguished from a codicil in that it had a required form and by the circumstance that only in wills could heirs be appointed and disinheritance effected. The difference was weakened by the testator instructing that his will be maintained as a codicil in the case of invalidation. Justinian I further reduced the differences by his

regulation that a codicil must be drawn up in the presence of five witnesses (it was seven for wills). In the post-Justinianic period, the required number of witnesses for a will was reduced even further (*Nov. Leo VI* 41): five witnesses in the city, three in the country and while on journeys. Since already in late antiquity the significance of the appointment of heirs diminished with the decline of the Roman household structure, the codicil should have disappeared. If it is still mentioned in the legislation of the Macedonian period and in the legal literature that follows it until Harmenopoulos, this appears to be—as the lack of evidence from practice allows one to surmise—only a traditional reminiscence. -D.S.

Codicils in Administrative Terminology. Codicil (Lat. *codicillus*, Gr. *κωδίκελλος*) designated in Roman terminology the emperor's brief writing and particularly the diploma of appointment to a high office or the conferring of a high title. They are known from literary and legal texts of the 4th C. onward. At that time they were usually accompanied by ivory DIPTYCHS and probably put inside the diptych's sealed wings. Texts of the 8th–10th C. sometimes mention separately granting either the codicils or ivory *plakes* (tablets). The preparation of codicils in the late Roman Empire was the duty of the *primicerius notariorum* (the chief of the notaries), while in the 10th C. it was the responsibility of the *kanikleios*, who was paid by the grantee 16 nomismata per piece (Oikonomides, *Listes* 95.8).

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 179–81. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 49. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 113–15. Oikonomides, *Listes* 93, n.41. -A.K.

CODICOLOGY (lit. "the study of the CODEX"), the scholarly term coined by A. Dain (*Les manuscrits*[1] [Paris 1949] 71–86) as an equivalent of the German *Handschriftenkunde* ("the study of manuscripts"). Dain conceived of codicology as a discipline dealing with the history of MSS and their collections, research on their present location, and the compilation of catalogs and repertories of catalogs (*Les manuscrits*[2] [Paris 1964] 77); that is, with the history of books after their completion. The term, however, gradually has acquired a different meaning—the study of ancient *écrits* in contrast to that of *écriture* (F. Masai, *Scriptorium* 10 [1956] 286–92), that is, study of the hand-produced book as an archaeological object rather than of its script. Thus it has become identical with the German *Buchwesen* ("the structure of the book"), one of the two divisions of PALAEOGRAPHY.

Codicology examines the book's size, material (PAPYRUS, PARCHMENT, PAPER), physical properties of INKS and pigments, preparation for writing (RULING PATTERNS and systems), structure (QUIRES, their signatures, sewing, BOOKBINDING and rebindings), ownership markings, and so forth, all of which changed over time and place. In so doing, it often determines characteristics specific to various production centers (SCRIPTORIA) and LIBRARIES. The use of the neologism *codicology* can be justified by the fact that recent study puts more and more emphasis on the book as a material vector of culture, unlike traditional palaeography, which tended to study the book in a cultural vacuum.

LIT. *PGEB* (Paris 1977) 27–91. R.H. & M.A. Rouse, *DMA* 3:475–78. *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung*, ed. D. Harlfinger (Darmstadt 1980). G. Cavallo, "Le tipologie della cultura nel riflesso delle testimonianze scritte," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 467–529. -M.McC., E.G.

COERCION, NONECONOMIC, an application of moral or physical compulsion to force people to work. It was based primarily on political, social, and personal relations (esp. dependency) and only secondarily on market values. The tendency of the landlord was to exact the maximum benefit from the laborer without ruining the existence of the slave/serf or his dependent household; the tendency of the laborer was to perpetuate his household. Accordingly, RENT was established in Byz.—in practice, not in theoretical calculations—not only on the basis of the actual quantity and quality of the soil (arable land, vineyards, olive trees, gardens), livestock, yokes of oxen, number of family members, but primarily on the basis of intangible factors of social status and personal relations. Thus a curious phenomenon arose: poorer peasants could be compelled to pay a proportionately higher rent than their wealthier counterparts (in another or even in the same village) and, on the average, the poorer tenants would fulfill heavier obligations than the wealthier householders—in contrast with the modern system of progressive taxation. The numerous tax exemptions granted to churches and monasteries, officials and courtiers, originated from the same

principle. This principle was extended to land prices, variations in which went beyond the usual market conditions. Noneconomic coercion in Byz. was shaped not only through landlord-tenant relations reflected in local customs but also through the state with its elements of state ownership of property (see STATE PROPERTY), MONOPOLY, and the concept of the "enslavement" of the entire population to "the father and the lord," that is, the emperor.

LIT. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.III (1975), 1371–96. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 138–364. -A.K.

COINAGE, FOREIGN. The circulation of foreign coinage played no role in the Byz. Empire during the greater part of its existence. During the early centuries the only coin-producing state with which Byz. was in contact was Persia, and although there is literary evidence for Sasanian silver drachmae circulating on the frontier (e.g., at Nisibis) hoard evidence shows that such coins did not penetrate into the interior. The thin, broad fabric of Umayyad dirhems certainly determined the appearance of the silver MILIARESION introduced by Leo III, and miliaresia later in the 8th C. are sometimes found overstruck on ʿAbbāsid dirhems (G.C. Miles, *MN* 9 [1960] 189–218). Only in the last two centuries of the empire, after the Fourth Crusade and the occupation of most of the former imperial territories in the Aegean by Westerners, did foreign coins come to be used on a large scale in the empire and to influence the designs of Byz. coins. The most important of the intruders were initially the Venetian silver ducat, copied as the BASILIKON, and the Frankish TORNESE. Later the Venetian gold ducat, imitated at Chios and at Fogliavecchia on the neighboring mainland and by the Genoese at Pera in the suburbs of Constantinople itself, replaced the Byz. gold HYPERPYRON, which ceased to be minted in the 1350s. From ca.1380 onward the small change of Constantinople seems to have largely consisted of Turkish akçes, minted mainly at Bursa, which supplemented the locally produced ASPERS and were of about the same value.

LIT. T. Bertelè, "Moneta veneziana e moneta bizantina," in *Venezia e il Levante fino al secolo XV* (Florence 1973) 3–146. -Ph.G.

COIN FINDS are customarily classed into three categories: hoards, site finds, and casual or isolated finds. These categories are not exclusive, however; most hoards come to light by chance. A hoard is defined as a group of coins concealed or lost as a unit. Site finds are those brought to light by archaeologists in the course of excavation. Isolated finds are those turned up by chance in digging a field, preparing a road surface, or as the result of some similar activity.

Hoards. Finds of this type are valuable partly as sources of material, partly because of their size. In addition, sometimes the presence of a container tends to ensure the survival of their contents in good condition. They are also useful because they show what coins were in circulation or at least were available at the time of concealment or loss. Their interpretation is often delicate: a savings hoard will differ in composition from one buried in an emergency. Also, although coins have been hoarded at all periods, usually they were recovered by their original owners except in times of unrest. Then too, since a single hoard may have belonged to a traveler from outside the area where it was found, its contents are not necessarily a reliable guide to the local circulating medium. Comparing several hoards whose contents overlap is the surest means of determining the order of issue of undated coins. In many periods hoards are virtually limited to gold and silver coins of substantial inherent value, but in the Byz. world, as in Roman times, there are also many hoards of low-value coins. Much of Hendy's work on the coinage of the 12th–13th C. was made possible by the great number of (mainly) Bulgarian hoards of billon and trachea of the period. Unfortunately the reporting of hoards in most former Byz. lands is inadequate, and the only comprehensive bibliography (Mosser, *infra*) is long since out of date. Byz. coin hoards in the USSR throw much light on trade routes (see Kropotkin, *infra*), while inside former imperial territories they have been helpful in documenting Slavic penetration of the Balkans (J. Juroukova, *BBulg* 3 [1969] 255–63) and the military situation in the Aegean area under Herakleios (D.M. Metcalf, *ABSA* 57 [1962] 14–23).

Site Finds. These consist mainly of low-value coins that were easily lost and not worth their owners' trouble to recover. The older excavation reports often neglected to take proper note of them, and in particular failed to find the great numbers of tiny 5th- and 6th-C. copper NUMMI

that require systematic sieving of the soil. A new standard in this respect was set by the American excavations at Athens, Corinth, Antioch, and other sites, mainly from the 1920s onward. The reports of these have made possible the study of fluctuations in coin use between different periods, though their interpretation presents many problems. Simple comparisons between the numbers found for different rulers, as was common in the older reports and historical works based on them, can only mislead, for coins will normally have remained in circulation many years after they were struck, and denominations of different sizes and values are not equally likely to be lost. The coins themselves are usually in poor condition as a result of prolonged burial. They are so corroded or worn as to be of little use for the study of types and inscriptions and of no use at all for metrological purposes. They are, on the other hand, essential to archaeologists for dating associated objects and the buildings or excavation strata in which they were found.

Casual Finds. This type of find generally occurs in the countryside and is usually of single coins. In most former Byz. lands these tend to be inadequately reported. The scholarly value of such finds comes mainly from the light they throw on the areas over which coins circulated, esp. outside the cities, and occasionally for the identification of local mints.

LIT. P. Grierson, *Numismatics* (London 1975) 124–39. V.V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantijskikh monet na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1962). Hendy, *Coinage* 325–404. P. Grierson, "The Interpretation of Coin Finds," *NChron*[7] 5 (1965) i–xiii; 6 (1966) i–xv. S.McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* (New York 1935). –Ph.G.

COINS. Byz. coinage derived from that of the later Roman Empire, and there is no sharp division between them. Nevertheless, in many respects they are very different. It has long been customary to start the Byz. series with Anastasios I, since a separate line of emperors in the West had come to an end with JULIUS NEPOS (died 480) and because Anastasios's creation of the copper FOLLIS in 498 determined much of the pattern of minting for the future, but the older books begin with Arkadios, since from 395 there were separate lines of emperors in East and West.

Metals. Metals for coins were mainly the three



COINS. Gold coin (solidus) of Emp. Justinian II (687–92) showing the bust of Christ on the obverse.

standard ones used in the ancient world—gold, silver, and copper—but the proportion and form of coins in each metal has varied greatly over the centuries. Heavy copper coins were not struck in the 5th C. (their place being taken by tiny NUMMI), nor were they struck after the late 11th C. A coinage in silver barely existed in the 5th–6th C., and between the late 11th and the late 13th C. the traditional silver MILIARESIA were replaced by TRIKEPHALA of electrum (a gold-silver alloy) for higher values and TRACHEA of billon (that is, a silver-copper alloy containing less than 50 percent silver) for lower ones. The trachea also substituted for the heavy folles of copper no longer minted. The gold remained of high quality until the 1030s, when a half century of progressive debasement began. NOMISMATA of good quality were revived by ALEXIOS I in 1092 as part of a general coinage reform which reestablished a currency on whose quality users could rely, but these HYPERPYRA were only 20.5 carats fine (85.4 percent) instead of 24 carats as previously. The use of good quality silver coins was revived only with the creation of the BASILIKON in the first years of the 14th C. Gold hyperpyra were no longer struck after the mid-14th C. Lead was occasionally used, e.g., for ten-nummus pieces in 6th-C. Italy (C. Morrisson, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 83 [1981] 119–30)

and for Alexios I's first tetartera or half-tetartera of 1092.

Thematic Content. The thematic content of Byz. coins differed markedly from that of Roman ones, as did the way the emperor was represented. Beginning with the reign of Constantine I all coin types of a positively pagan character disappeared, although for the next two-and-a-half centuries representations of Victory and of Roma and Constantinopolis (see also PERSONIFICATION) continued to be tolerated because it was possible to regard them as symbolic and not as objects of worship. The cross began to be used as a main type in the mid-5th C., though only on a few denominations; only under Tiberios I did it become the main reverse type of the gold coins. A bust of Christ, first shown on coins of Justinian II, became a regular feature of the coinage only after the restoration of images under Michael III (843), but from then on representations of Christ, of the Virgin (first under Leo VI), and of the saints (first under Michael IV) are normal. A bust or standing figure of the emperor was almost always present, except on the so-called Anonymous Folles (970–1092), which have religious types and inscriptions only. But the personality of the emperor was eclipsed by the greatness of his office. Characterized portraits in high relief, a distinctive feature of Roman coinage during the Principate, were replaced by formalized frontal effigies in low relief, usually with no attempt at reproducing an individual likeness. Instead, the status of the emperor was shown by his costume (CHLAMYS, FIBULA, CROWN) and insignia (SCEPTER, globus cruciger, AKAKIA).

Language. The language of the coin inscriptions was initially Latin, as were the elements of the emperor's style (DN for *dominus noster*, PE or PF for *perpetuus* or *pius felix*, AVG for *augustus*), but Greek legends began to be used in the 7th C. (EN TOVTO NIKA on folles of Constans II) and Greek titles such as *basileus*, *despotes*, and so forth in the 8th. After a long period in which Greek and Latin characters were used indiscriminately and might even appear together in the same word, the use of letters in a specifically Latin sense disappeared in the 11th C., so the *C* was henceforward invariably a sigma and *H* an eta.

Collections. Byz. coins are found by the thousand every year, some in regular excavations, in which case they are preserved as part of the record, but the majority pass through dealers' hands to collectors and some in due course to museums. The major collections are those of Paris (Bibliothèque Nationale), London (British Museum), Berlin (Staatliche Museen), Leningrad (Hermitage), and the Dumbarton Oaks Center of Byzantine Studies in Washington, D.C. The British Museum catalog of 1908 was for a half century the standard work of reference on the subject, but it has now been largely superseded, other than as a collection of material, by the catalogs of the Paris collections (to 1204) and of Dumbarton Oaks, three volumes (to 1081) out of a projected five having been published to date. Much Hermitage material is available in the unfinished work of Tolstoj (to 886). For the period 491–720 these have to be supplemented by a synoptic survey published under the auspices of the Numismatic Commission of the Austrian National Academy of Sciences. For coins of the 4th C., from the accession of Diocletian (284) to the death of Theodosios I (395), the standard reference work is vols. 6–9 of *Roman Imperial Coinage*; since vol. 10 has not yet appeared, there is no satisfactory work covering the century from 395 to 491.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins*. Hendy, *Economy*. W. Wroth, *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum*, 2 vols. (London 1908). C. Morrisson, *Catalogue des monnaies byzantines de la Bibliothèque Nationale (491–1204)*, 2 vols. (Paris 1970). A.R. Bellinger, P. Grierson, *Catalogue of the Byzantine Coins in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection and in the Whittemore Collection*, 3 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1966–73). W. Hahn, *Moneta Imperii Byzantini*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1973–81). I. Tolstoj, *Vizantijskie monety*, 9 fasc. (St. Petersburg 1912–14). H. Mattingly, E.A. Sydenham, *The Roman Imperial Coinage* (London 1923–), vol. 6 (by C.H.V. Sutherland, 1967), vol. 7 (by P. Bruun, 1966), vol. 8 (by J.P.C. Kent, 1981), and vol. 9 (by J.W.E. Pearce, 1951). – Ph.G.

COIN SCALES, conventional name for small bronze implements for weighing coins or small amounts of precious material in granulated or powdered forms. Invented by the Romans, a coin scale is a lever balance with fixed fulcrum at midpoint; it is supported from above either by a hinged bracket or by a cord or wire (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.1466). The coin is placed in a small pan at the end of one arm, and balance is achieved either by the predetermined weight of the other arm, through a counterpoise placed in

a corresponding pan, or by a tiny weight that may be slid across a scale in an open channel along the other end.

LIT. B. Kisch, *Scales and Weights* (New Haven–London 1965) 56–66. –G.V.

COISLIN NOTATION. See NEUMATA.

COLLECTIO 25 CAPITULORUM, a 6th-C. collection of canon law prescriptions, mainly those of Justinian I, divided into 25 chapters. The work consists of 21 Greek constitutions reproduced verbatim from titles 1–4 of the first book of the *Codex Justinianus* as well as from the Justinianic novels 120, 131 (chs. 13–14), 133, and 137. The most recent piece in the collection is novel 137 of March 565. However, since the work is sometimes transmitted without the four novel chapters, these may represent a later addition. This was the opinion of Zachariä von Lingenthal, who also conjectured that the original compilation was composed soon after the completion of the *Codex Justinianus* (a.534) as an appendix to the *Synagoge of Sixty Titles.*

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Anekdota,* vol. 2 (Leipzig 1840; rp. Aalen 1969) 145–201.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 2f (615f in reprint). Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov* 290f. –A.S.

COLLECTIO 87 CAPITULORUM, a 6th-C. collection of canon law prescriptions of Justinian I, divided into 87 chapters. The work consists of excerpts, most of them verbatim, from 12 Justinianic novels that were published between 535 and 546. Since Justinian I is referred to as deceased in the rubric and in the short note between the *pinax* (table of contents) and the main text, the work cannot have been produced before 11 Nov. 565. The sporadic attribution in MSS of the collection to Patr. JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS is perhaps plausible; on the other hand, the hypothesis that the work (in its "first edition") was composed soon after 546 as an appendix to the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES is insufficiently substantiated.

ED. I.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta,* vol. 2 (Rome 1868; rp. 1963) 385–405.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 5 (618 in reprint). Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov* 288–92. –A.S.

COLLECTIO AVELLANA (6th C.), a dossier of 243 letters and edicts of emperors, popes, bishops, and magistrates, spanning the years 367–553. Many of them belong to Pope Hormisdas (514–23). This collection derives its name from Fonte Avellana, Italy, where a MS of it was found. Its documents are often valuable sources for both ecclesiastical and secular affairs, esp. when the two come together: a dispute of 384 about Lucifer of Cagliari (died between 364 and 375), a supporter of Athanasios of Alexandria; allegations by Pope GELASIUS I of a pagan revival at Rome; and controversy over THEOPASCHITISM involving Justinian and SEVEROS of Antioch are three such examples. A Latin translation of the treatise of EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, *On the Twelve Precious Stones,* is appended to the end of the collection.

ED. *Epistulae imperatorum pontificum aliorum inde ab a. CCCLXVII usque ad a. DLIII datae Avellana quae dicitur collectio,* ed. O. Guenther, 2 vols. (Vienna 1895–98).
LIT. O. Günther, *Avellana-Studien* (Vienna 1896). E. Posner, *Archives in the Ancient World* (Cambridge, Mass., 1972) 216f. –B.B.

COLLECTIO TRIPARTITA, a collection of canon law prescriptions taken from the *Corpus Juris Civilis,* divided into three parts. The work, which aims at a comprehensive coverage of the relevant material, consists of (Greek) résumés of norms originally written in Latin or Greek. The first part is taken from the *Codex Justinianus* (I, 1–13), the second from the *Digest* and the *Institutes* (regulations on the *res sacrae,* etc.), and the third from the *Novels of Justinian* (in the paraphrase of Athanasios of Emesa, titles 1–3). The latest prescription (reproduced in paraphrase) is novel 144 of Justin II from the year 572 (3.3.3). According to Zachariä von Lingenthal, the collection was produced shortly thereafter (ca.580) as an appendix to a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* (see NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES). Stolte has suggested the younger ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES" as the author of the *Collectio Tripartita.*

ED. PG 138:1077–1336.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 7f (620f in reprint). B.H. Stolte, "The Digest Summa of the Anonymus and the Collectio Tripartita," *SubGr* 2 (1985) 47–58. –A.S.

COLOBIUM (κολόβιον), a form of TUNIC, ampler than the *chiton,* and either sleeveless or short-sleeved. Its use is particularly associated with the monks of Egypt, where it was sometimes adorned with colored stripes (DOROTHEOS OF GAZA, ed.

Regnault-Préville, 168.28–170.24; see also CLAVUS). It is the garment in which Christ is clad in early representations of the CRUCIFIXION (e.g., the RABBULA GOSPELS of 586).

LIT. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 95–103. –N.P.Š.

COLONUS (κολωνός). The Latin term *colonus*, like the Greek γεωργός (PEASANT), literally means "tiller of the soil," in contrast to the *pastor*, herdsman. In late Roman legislation the term became the designation of a perpetual tenant. The term covers various categories of peasants, primarily *liberi coloni*, free tenants, and ADSCRIPTICII. The status of *coloni* differed in different provinces, and different sources stress different aspects of their condition, legislation emphasizing their fiscal bonds to the soil, while in documents (e.g., the correspondence of SYMMACHUS, the ALBERTINI TABLETS) they appear relatively independent. The term *colonatus* is used in legislative acts (e.g., *Cod.Theod.* XII 1.33) to denote the condition of the rural population.

The origin of the colonate is debatable. The institution probably developed from various roots and was assimilated under the pressure of the economic and fiscal conditions of the late Roman Empire, although it never attained real homogeneity. In the East it may have been drawn from Hellenistic (and even pre-Hellenistic) forms of dependency and at any rate was determined by the state fiscal requirements; in the West the increasing role of landed magnates contributed to the strengthening of bonds between the *colonus* and his master.

On the one hand, the *coloni* were construed as free people and Roman citizens; at the same time they were liable to service or serfdom—*servitute dediti* (*Cod.Just.* XI 50.2 pr.). They possessed some property, but it was treated as a PECULIUM; they could not give anything away without their master's permission. They could marry both free people and slaves and were able to litigate, even against their own master. They were not allowed to leave their *origo*, the land they lived on—but their master was also prevented from evicting them from this land. One became a *colonus* by birth (if both parents were *coloni* or the mother alone), or by a long residence as a tenant on a lord's land (in the East); barbarians could be settled as *coloni*, as could BEGGARS, if healthy. Free peasants under the PATROCINIUM VICORUM could be transformed into *coloni*. The colonate could be terminated by emancipation, by long service in a different status (e.g., as a *decurion*) in another province, or by entering religious orders.

By the end of the 4th C. the *coloni* were often mentioned together with slaves (e.g., *Cod.Just.* XI 48.12 of 396), but it is improbable that the colonate originated from the mass settlement of slaves on the land. The evolution of the colonate after the 6th C. is far from clear. There is no evidence of dependent peasants in the East in the late 7th–9th C., and it is impossible to prove that the later PAROIKOI were descendants of Roman *coloni*. In the West the term *coloni* continued to designate dependent peasants (e.g., in the correspondence of Pope Gregory I the Great). The Western *coloni* were probably of various conditions: in Visigothic Spain they seem to have merged with servile tenants, while in France they maintained a status between freemen and *servi*.

LIT. H. Clausing, *The Roman Colonate, the Theories of its Origin* (New York 1925). M. Rostovtzeff, *Studien zur Geschichte des römischen Kolonates* (Leipzig 1910). A.H.M. Jones, "The Roman Colonate," in *Studies in Ancient Society*, ed. M.I. Finley (London-Boston 1974) 288–303. *Colonato e otras formas de dependencia no esclavistas* (Oviedo 1980). D. Eibach, *Untersuchungen zum spätantiken Kolonat in der kaiserlichen Gesetzgebung unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Terminologie* (Cologne 1980). –A.K.

COLOPHON (κολοφών, lit. "summit, finishing touch"), or subscription, a note on a MS (usually at the end) with information on its date, the place where it was written, and sometimes the SCRIBE. Colophons are not only the main source of information about copyists but also are important for social and political history, prosopography, the economics and technology of book production and BOOK TRADE (prices, wages, length of time needed to copy a MS), and the history of copying centers (SCRIPTORIA). Dates and places mentioned in colophons are basic to the study of the development of the Greek script (mostly MINUSCULE) and of regional MS production. As a genre, Greek colophons are less informative than Syriac or Armenian ones.

LIT. K. Treu, "Griechische Schreibernotizen als Quelle für politische, soziale und kulturelle Verhältnisse ihrer Zeit," *BBulg* 2 (1966) 127–43; rp. in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 310–36. K. Treu, "Byzantinische Kaiser in den Schreibernotizen griechischer Handschriften," *BZ* 65 (1972) 9–34.

Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, "*Semeiomata*" *Hellenikon kodikon* (Athens 1978), rev. H. Hunger, *JÖB* 36 (1986) 370–72.
–E.G., I.Š.

COLOR, a functional and aesthetic element associated with earthly and heavenly splendor and therefore central to Byz. CEREMONY, both courtly and ecclesiastical. Brilliance of color was prized for its own sake, but varieties of hue also underlay hierarchical distinctions in COSTUME. Primary colors are specified in DE CEREMONIIS and the pseudo-KODINOS, although some names of colors, such as *atrabatika*, are unidentifiable. The color of the emperor's garb was sometimes left to his pleasure (*De cer.* 187.13).

No equivalents to Western treatises on the making of colors (Roosen-Runge, *infra*) are known, but a passion for polychrome brilliance shines through the taste for JEWELRY, ENAMELS, and colored MORTAR. In monumental painting, islands of brilliant color, set in fields of gold, green, or white are juxtaposed from the 6th C. onward. LANDSCAPES and architectural BACKGROUNDS employed secondary hues—purples, greens, ochres. In and after the 10th C. complementary colors were used, such as blue to highlight a purple area or red for the shadows of a green garment. Generally, carbon-black was used for shadows, and chalk or gypsum for white highlights. Blacks and whites were mixed with pigments to darken or lighten them. By the 12th C., a "three-tone" scheme had been evolved in FRESCO TECHNIQUE. At the same time, hard, opaque colors, esp. in BOOK ILLUSTRATION, aspired to the effect of enamel. The late 13th and 14th C. saw the introduction of unusual pinks and a great variety of greens.

No thorough analysis of the palette of Byz. painters has been made, but it is known that they relied more heavily on organic pigments than did Armenian artists. Mineral sources used included ultramarine and vermilion; cochineal seems to have been a source of red (M.V. Orna et al., *Archeological Chemistry* 4 [1989] 265–88). Vegetable sources yielded red-lake as well as orpiment and saffron for yellows. Colors were rarely blended; the separation of hues helps to explain the predominance of LINE AND CONTOUR in painting.

The palette of Byz. writers, with some exceptions (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike in his commentary on Homer), is relatively poor, limited to black, white, gold, and purple. Some authors, however, masterfully used colors for their political and moral purposes. Thus Niketas Choniates applied "multicolored" characterizations to Andronikos I, whose instability he wanted to stress; Niketas violates the chromatic convention when he construes the gold of imperial garb as "the color of bile" predicting defeat and the purple of the emperor's ink as the color of the blood of innocent victims (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 257–63).

Symbolism and Significance of Color. Throughout the Byz. period, color choice remained among the most powerful expressions of SYMBOLISM, affecting the palettes of painters, the choice of INK, PARCHMENT, SEALS, and COSTUME. The color of imperial garments and crowns varied according to the occasion on which they were worn; sometimes, as in the case of the DIVETESION worn in Holy Week, it was clearly symbolic. The highest state ranks were connected with particular colors: with rare exceptions gold and PURPLE were exclusive to the emperor, blue was typical of the *sebastokrator*, green of the caesar. Pseudo-Kodinos carefully indicates the color of the footwear, dress, and hats assigned to each rank of officials on special occasions. Occasionally, symbolic color yielded to practical considerations. Though all emperors down to Marcian had had purple sepulchres, Justin I and Theophilos were buried in green marble tombs, Michael III in white, perhaps because supplies of PORPHYRY were exhausted.

Conventions rather than rigid rules governed choices of color in painting. In the TRANSFIGURATION, Christ's robe is usually white, as are the tunics of martyrs; in Miracle and PASSION scenes, he often wears imperial purple. The Virgin's garments are usually purple or blue but in the Nativity, where the Child receives "courtly" gifts, it may be gold (e.g., at the Cappella Palatina, PALERMO). ANGELS frequently have haloes of celestial blue; Hades and demons often have gray flesh while PERSONIFICATIONS such as Slander in Klimax MSS display this tonality as well as bluish-gray clothing.

LIT. Winfield, "Painting Methods" 99–131. J.J. Tikkanen, *Studien über die Farbengebung in der mittelalterlichen Buchmalerei* (Helsinki 1933). H. Roosen-Runge, *Farbgebung und Technik frühmittelalterlicher Buchmalerei,* 2 vols. (Munich-Berlin 1967). V.V. Byčkov, "Estetičeskoe značenie cveta v vostočnochristianskom iskusstve," *Voprosy istorii i teorii estetiki* (Moscow 1975) 129–45. O.J. Lindsay, "Some Remarks on the Colour System of Medieval Byzantine Painting," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 85–91. U.M. Rüth, "Die Farbgebung in der

byzantinischen Wandmalerei der spätpaläologischen Epoche (1341–1453)" (Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Bonn 1977). –A.C.

COLUMN (κίων, στῦλος). The chief and definitive support in trabeate architecture from ancient to modern times, the classical column consists of a base with horizontal moldings, a cylindrical shaft (monolithic or in segments called drums), and a CAPITAL, carved to articulate the juncture of weight (superstructure) and support (the column's shaft). In the columnar basilicas, stoas, colonnades flanking streets, and open courts of the Hellenistic, Roman, and Byz. city, the column, by its size and spacing, determined the scale of the structure and the urban character of the city. In the arcuate, domical architecture of Rome and Byz., heavy piers carried the principal loads of the building; in these structures columns formed a secondary support system, screening side aisles from central naves, or became decorative additions to the piers themselves (Early Christian and Byz. baptisteries; vaulted chambers in imperial palaces; domed basilicas like St. John's, Ephesus; Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; San Marco, Venice).

Stone columns have great compressive strength and can carry heavy loads; hence they remain useful after the building has fallen into disuse. Reused ancient columns (SPOLIA) have been identified in Early Christian and Byz. structures, for example, S. Sabina and S. Maria in Trastevere, Rome, and St. Demetrios, Thessalonike. Byz. builders, particularly under Justinian I, exploited quarries of varied colored marble (unlike their ancient Greek predecessors); they also developed a new form of capital (IMPOST CAPITAL, IMPOST BLOCK) to provide a better juncture between heavy masonry arches and the column shaft than that offered by the traditional Ionic or Corinthian capital. The shafts were normally undecorated, although spirally fluted columns were esp. popular in the 6th C. (J.L. Benson, *Hesperia* 28 [1959] 254–72). In all periods inscriptions might be carved upon them or votives attached. Columns were represented on sarcophagi, in MS illumination, on ivories, and in other media where they served to frame figures of importance who are often shown standing beneath an arch. A few ascetics (called STYLITES) chose to take up residence on the top of large column shafts.

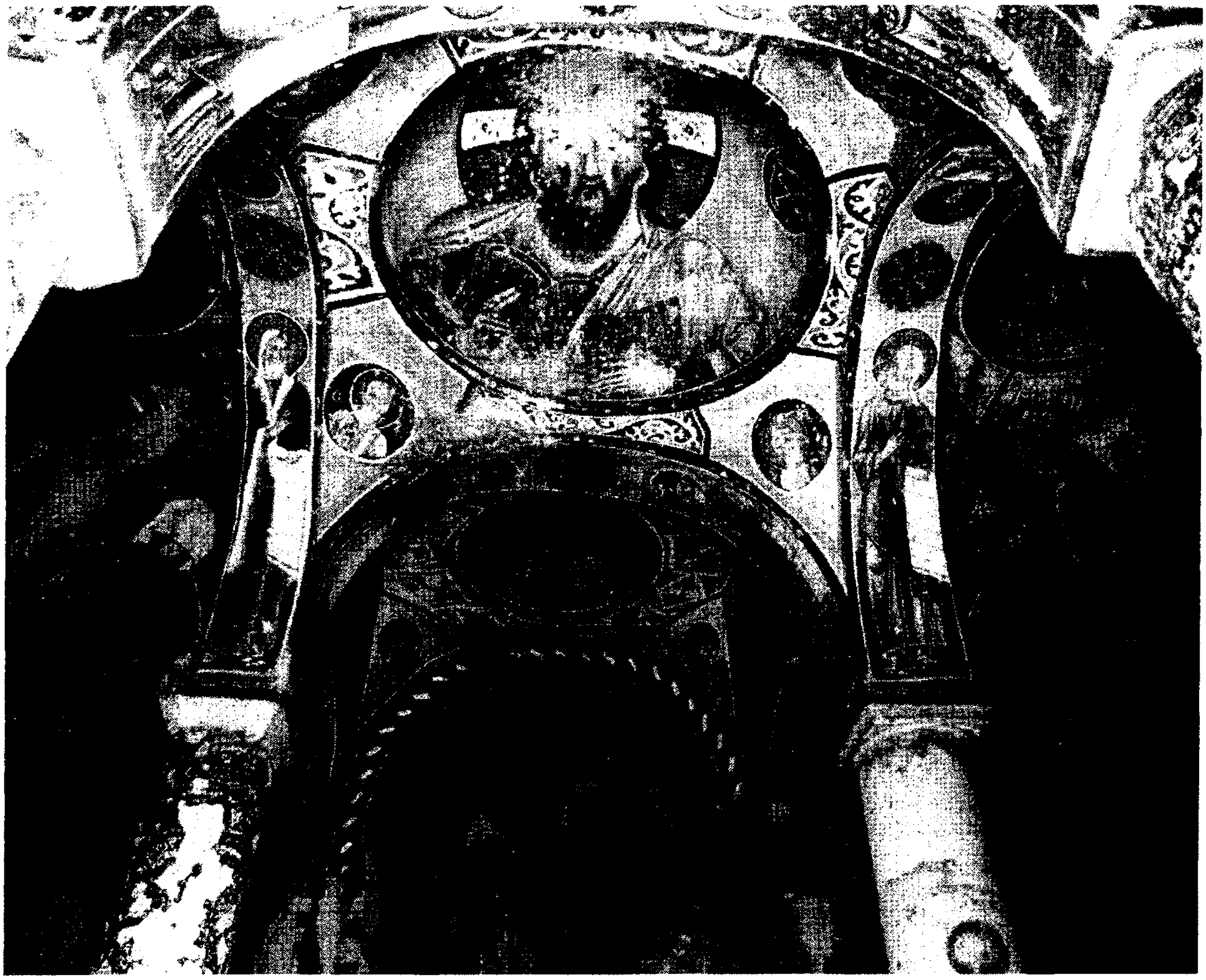
In metaphorical and symbolic vocabulary *stylos* (not *kion*) was often used to designate a moral pillar or support; the word was employed for the apostles and Christ, for saints (esp. Peter and Paul), for the church. According to John Chrysostom (PG 62:554.30–37), the church is the *stylos* of the *oikoumene* and truth is the *stylos* of the church. The biblical image of "the pillar of fire" (Ex 13:21) was combined with the concept of support. Christ, says Epiphanios of Cyprus (*Panarion* 69.35.2, ed. Holl 3:183.23–26), is the way that we follow, the *stylos* as the support of the truth, the cloud sheltering the children of Israel, and (again) the *stylos* as the fiery pillar in the desert. (See also COLUMNS, HONORIFIC.)

–W.L., T.E.G., A.C.

COLUMN CHURCHES. The term is used for three closely related ROCK-CUT CHURCHES, Karanlık Kilise (Dark Church), Elmalı Kilise (Apple Church), and Çarıklı Kilise (Sandal Church) clustered in GÖREME. All three imitate the CROSS-IN-SQUARE plan of built churches, although the western corner bays in Çarıklı were never excavated. Each was ornamented with a DEESIS in the apse and a conventional feast cycle (see CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION) in the nave, augmented by images derived from earlier churches in the valley, for example, Tokalı Kilise's Ascension/Blessing appears in the barrel vault of Karanlık's narthex. Four donor PORTRAITS are preserved in Karanlık (Basil and the priest Nikephoros in the apse and Genethleos and John *entalmatikos* [a patriarchal functionary?] over the entrance) and three in Çarıklı (Theognostos, Leo, and Michael on the west wall). The paintings have been dated to the mid-11th C. (Jerphanion, Epstein) and to ca.1200 (Restle). (For ill., see next page.)

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 1.1:393–473. Restle, *Wall Painting.* A.W. Epstein, "Rock-cut Chapels in Göreme Valley, Cappadocia: The Yılanlı Group and the Column Churches," *CahArch* 24 (1975) 115–35. –A.J.W.

COLUMNS, HONORIFIC, large freestanding columns erected for commemorative purposes. The practice of erecting such columns was a continuation of Roman custom and esp. common in the capital in the 4th–5th C. (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). Honorific columns were of two basic types. The first consisted of a monolithic shaft standing on a base and supporting a capital

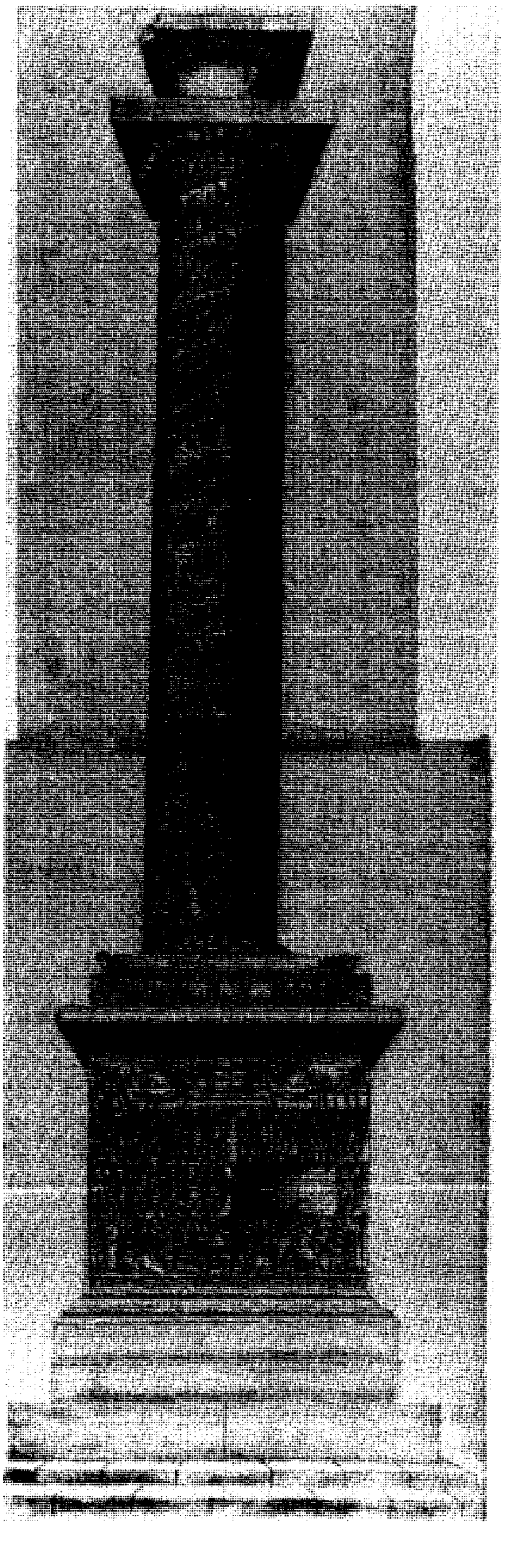


COLUMN CHURCHES. Column church of Elmalı Kilise, Göreme. View of the interior, looking east. In the dome, Christ Pantokrator.

that in turn held a statue of the honoree. Among such monuments erected in Constantinople were the so-called Porphyry Column of Constantine I and the Column of Marcian, both of which remain standing, as well as others known only from literary accounts and drawings. The second type was derived from the Column of Trajan in Rome and consisted of a shaft composed of drums resting on a base and supporting a capital and statue. Both base and shaft were carved in relief, and the figures on the shaft were set in a spiral frieze. Two such columns existed in Constantinople: the Column of Theodosios I, fragments of which survive, and that of Arkadios, its shaft and carvings known only from drawings. Although the practice of erecting honorific columns was abandoned after the 6th C., it was revived in a fashion by Michael VIII, who erected a column near the Church of the Holy Apostles. It was topped by a bronze statue of the archangel Michael and the emperor offering him a model of the city (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:234.17). Whether such columns influenced the cult of STYLITE saints appears not to have been investigated.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 52–55. G. Becatti, *La colonna coclide istoriata* (Rome 1960). Janin, *CP byz.* 73–86, 105. –M.J.

COMES (κόμης, lit. "companion"), Lat. designation for the personal adviser or retainer of an emperor or barbarian king. Constantine I gave the term a technical sense (first mentioned in



312); early terminology, *comes domini nostri* or *comes Augustorum nostrorum,* emphasized the personal link to the emperor or his family. The term was employed for officials of different ranks or *ordines* (of which there were three at the time of Constantine); it presupposed a special assignment and encompassed various meanings. As an honorary title it was bestowed on some of the highest state functionaries, such as the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM or QUAESTOR; it became part of bureaucratic denominations, such as the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM or COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM. Besides this upper echelon of the *comites consistoriani* there were other *comites* who were not members of the CONSISTORIUM. Some *comites,* such as the *comes Africae* (B.H. Warmington, *BZ* 49 [1956] 55–64) or *comes Aegypti,* were provincial administrators, while others fulfilled fiscal or economic functions or acted as guardians and overseers. In later times *komes,* the Greek form of the term, continued to be used for officials with various functions such as the KOMES HYDATON, KOMES TES KORTES, and others; *komites* were also subaltern officers of the army and navy units. The office or function of a *comes* was termed a *comitiva.*

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 629–79. Jones, *LRE* 1:104–06. G. De Bonfils, *Il comes et quaestor dell'età della dinastia costantiniana* (Naples 1981). –A.K.

COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM (κόμης τῆς ἰδικῆς παρουσίας, lit. "of the private fortune"), high-ranking official of the later Roman Empire who administered the imperial estates. The office—like that of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM—was created ca.318 and first mentioned ca.342–45. The responsibility of this *comes* was to control income from the land of the emperor as opposed to that of the state; this distinction, however, was not consistently applied. The functions of the *comes* encompassed collecting rents and accepting land grants given to the emperor as well as forfeitures and escheats, and protection of the fisc from the intrusion of private owners. The *comes* also handled the sale of movable and immovable imperial properties and was a member

COLUMNS, HONORIFIC. Drawing of the Column of Arkadios; from a sketchbook dated 1575. Trinity College Library, Cambridge. The shaft of the column illustrates conflicts between the Byz. and the Goths.

of the CONSISTORIUM. His officers were called *palatini rerum privatarum*; in 399 their number was 300 (*Cod.Theod.* VI 30.16). By the end of the 4th C. the Cappadocian estates were transferred from the control of the *comes* to that of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. Anastasios I created, before 509, a separate office of the *comes patrimonii* to manage the imperial estates, while the *comes rerum privatarum* preserved functions connected with grants and forfeitures. Thus he was transformed from a financial into a judicial official; he acquired duties that went far beyond his former obligations, for example, serving as a judge in cases involving grave-robbing and marriage. The office disappeared in the 7th C., some of its functions assumed by the SAKELLARIOS.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 664–70, 675–77. Jones, *LRE* 1:412–17. M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1976) 10–12. –A.K.

COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM (κόμης τῶν θείων θησαυρῶν, lit. "of the sacred largess, of the sacred treasuries"), high-ranking financial official of the late Roman Empire, created probably ca.318 and first mentioned between ca.342 and 345. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* replaced the former *rationalis* and obtained administration of those taxes that did not come to the department of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT, that is, CHRYSARGYRON, taxes on senators, customs duties, and the so-called "voluntary payments." Income from the emperor's private land passed from this *comes* to the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM as early as 379. The *comes sacrarum largitionum* also controlled mines, the production of state mills and dyeworks, and minting. The *comes* had a central office divided into several *scrinia* (bureaus) and a large staff in the dioceses and provinces. He enjoyed some judicial rights in cases related to taxation and after 425 also had jurisdiction over the officials of his staff. He was a member of the CONSISTORIUM. From the end of the 5th C. the role of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* decreased, esp. after the abolition of the *chrysargyron*; the last *comes* is mentioned under Emp. Phokas. In the 7th C. the office was replaced by the SAKELLARIOS. Insignia of the *comes sacrarum largitionum* are shown in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, while his control stamps are found on numerous silver objects (see SILVER STAMPS).

LIT. J.P.C. Kent, "The comes sacrarum largitionum," in Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps* 35–45. Jones, *LRE* 1:427–38. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 671–75. A. Masi, "La giurisdizione del 'comes sacrarum largitionum' e del 'comes rei privatae' sui rispettivi funzionari 'palatini,'" *Studi economico-giuridici* 45 (1965–69) 253–61. –A.K., A.C.

COMETS (sing. κομήτης, lit. "with long hair," ἀστήρ). Byz. records refer frequently to indefinable astronomical phenomena, thereby making it difficult to be certain that it is a comet that is being described because, except for Halley's Comet, the observation cannot be verified astronomically. Generally, a comet was called a *semeion* and sometimes it was qualified by a particular shape, such as that of a swordfish. Although some Byz. scholars followed Aristotle in stressing a natural scientific explanation for comets, the majority of the Byz. population understood a comet to be an omen predicting disaster. As a result an elaborate ritual of prognostication for comets was developed (JOHN LYDOS, *On Omens* 10–15). Some comets, however, such as the one used to foretell the Arab irruption of 632 (Theoph. 336.21–24), were merely invented. Like EARTHQUAKES, ECLIPSES, and FIRES, the appearance of some comets was commemorated by an annual liturgy (*Synax.CP* 154.24–26). The most reliably attested Byz. sighting of comets were in 389, 418, 422, 442, 466, 518, 734, 744, 974, 1042, and 1345. Halley's Comet was sighted in 451, 530, 837, 912, 989, 1066, 1145, 1222, 1301, and 1456.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 469–75. –B.C.

COMIC, THE, a mode intended to excite LAUGHTER, is rare in preserved Byz. art. Excluded almost by definition from Christian representation, comic elements do appear in the peristyle mosaics of the GREAT PALACE at Constantinople that show, for example, a man thrown from a donkey. If their content is correctly read, it survives on some late glazed CERAMICS. Otherwise HUMOR as we know it is hard to trace in art after the 6th C. A possible exception is the antics of the children in some 14th-C. representations of the Baptism of Christ (D. Mouriki in *Okeanos* 460–62). The CARICATURE found in psalter illustration and the PARODY of classical and mythological images evident on bone caskets and boxes are functionally different from the comic mode. –A.C.

COMITATENSES (from *comitatus,* military retinue), late Roman field army or mobile troops as opposed to the LIMITANEI or border troops. The creation of the body of *comitatenses* was attributed to Diocletian by T. Mommsen (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 195–279) and O. Seeck (*RE* 4 [1901] 619f), despite the direct evidence of Zosimos (Zosim. bk.2, ch.34), who ascribed the innovation to Constantine I. It is likely that before Constantine the *comitatus* was only a body of imperial guards (W. Seston, *Historia* 4 [1955] 295). In the 4th C. the *comitatenses* consisted of about 110,000–120,000 men (Hoffmann, *infra* 1:304) including infantry (*legiones*), cavalry (*vexillationes*), auxiliary troops of foreign soldiers, and SCHOLAE PALATINAE. The infantry and cavalry stood in theory under the command of different MAGISTRI MILITUM. In 364 each unit of *comitatenses* was divided into two parts: those called *seniores* served primarily in the West, *juniores* in the East. After 373 some units of *limitanei* were assigned to serve with *comitatenses*; Theodosios I restructured the *comitatenses*, uniting cavalry and infantry regiments under individual *magistri utrius militiae.* Circa 395 eastern contingents consisted of five armies, two attached to the court and three stationed in Oriens, Thrace, and Illyricum. *Comitatenses* were considered more privileged troops than *limitanei.* R. MacMullen (*Klio* 62 [1980] 459) suggests that the number of well-trained *comitatenses* declined in the second half of the 4th C., and later the difference between *comitatenses* and *limitanei* disappeared.

LIT. D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia dignitatum,* 2 vols. (Düsseldorf 1969–70). H.M.D. Parker, "The Legions of Diocletian and Constantine," *JRS* 23 (1933) 175–89. R. Tomlin, "*Seniores-Iuniores* in the Late-Roman Field Army," *AJPh* 93 (1972) 253–78. –A.K.

COMITIVA. See COMES.

COMMANDERS, MILITARY. In theory, the emperor was supreme commander of the army, but only a few (such as Constantine V, Nikephoros II Phokas, Basil II, or the Komnenoi) personally led armies in the field. MAGISTRI MILITUM were supreme commanders of the empire's armies until the 7th C. By the early 8th C. the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON had become chief commander, seconded by the STRATEGOS of the Anatolikon; after the 11th C. the rank of MEGAS DOMESTIKOS designated supreme military commander. Despite the high number of MERCENARIES in the Byz. army, supreme command was rarely given to a foreigner.

High military command was not necessarily entrusted to capable soldiers. The assignment, duration, and independence of military command was subject to considerations other than proven ability, and emperors were careful to bestow command on a temporary basis to loyal courtiers or family members, regardless of their actual military experience or ability. During the 10th and 11th C., when practically every successful general (Bardas SKLEROS, George MANIAKES) made a bid for the throne, command assigned on the basis of loyalty was particularly evident, as was the ensuing deleterious effect of loyal but incompetent commanders on the army's performance. EUNUCHS, automatically precluded from the throne, frequently received command of armies; while some were effective generals (e.g., the 6th-C. NARSES), many brought disaster on their men. Constantine Gongyles, for example, led the impressive expeditionary army to Crete in 949, which was annihilated as a result of his carelessness (Skyl. 245.35–246.52).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres,* pt.V (1966), 133–39; pt.VI (1973), 44f. Idem, *Institutions* 1:380–468, 498–521. –A.K., E.M.

COMMANDS, MILITARY. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat.Maurik.* 3.5, pp.152–54) provides a detailed description of commands issued by a MANDATOR during the army's training exercises. The soldiers began to march upon hearing the blast of a trumpet (*boukinon* or *touba*) or seeing an ensign wave a banner (*phlamoulon*); the striking of a shield or hand signals brought them to a stop. The *Strategikon* lists all oral commands in Latin; a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 258.15–19) records an order given by KOMENTIOLOS "in the ancestral language" (i.e., Latin), "*torna, torna, fratre,*" during an expedition against the Avars in 586, but by the end of the 9th C. Latin commands had apparently been discarded, as Leo VI lists the same commands in a Greek version in his TAKTIKA (e.g., 7.65–69). The 10th-C. PRAECEPTA MILITARIA indicates that battle commands were taught in training, and that most were signaled by trumpet (4.1–2; 15.22–23).

Daily orders were issued to officers in writing

(DE RE MILITARI 32.4–12). The emperor, in theory the supreme military commander, likewise transmitted written commands to his generals. A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 154.43–48) relates that Manuel I sent a letter (*grammata* or *biblion*) to Andronikos Kontostephanos on the eve of a battle with the Hungarians (8 July 1167) forbidding him to engage the enemy because he found the day unpropitious. Kontostephanos, however, disregarded the command, hid the letter under his cloak, gave battle, and won the day. (See also BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG.)

LIT. G. Reichenkron, "Zur römischen Kommandosprache bei byzantinischen Schriftstellern," *BZ* 54 (1961) 18–27. H. Mihăescu, "Torna, torna, fratre," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 21–35. –A.K., E.M.

COMMENDATIO ANIMAE (Lat., lit. "commending of a soul"), popular prayer for the dead in Western ritual, known from the 3rd C. onward and influential in art and hagiography. It contains 13 petitions on the model of "Free his soul, Lord, as you freed Daniel from the lions' den." The Old Testament events cited include Noah and the Flood, Job's sufferings, the sacrifice of Isaac, Jonah and the whale, and the rescue narratives of the Book of Daniel: Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Three Hebrews in the Fiery Furnace, and Susanna and the Elders. St. Thekla is the only nonbiblical figure included. A. Baumstark (*OrChr*, n.s. 4 [1914–15] 298–305) identified early Byz. analogues to the *Commendatio* in the Great Euchologion.

Scenes referred to in the *Commendatio* recur in the CATACOMBS and elsewhere. For instance, a 3rd-C. cup from Diokleia includes the three Daniel scenes (with all figures ORANT), Jonah and Isaac, with quotations from the *Commendatio* (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3:3009–11, fig.3336). Frescoes in the necropolis at El-Bagawat include the three Daniel scenes, Noah, and Thekla (Idem, *DACL* 4:439f). The Brescia casket (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107) juxtaposes images of Jonah and of the rescue narratives of Daniel. Often hagiographers ascribe a version of the *Commendatio* to saints about to face torture (e.g., Lukillianos—ed. F. Halkin, *AB* 84 [1966] 16f, 26), esp. if the approaching torture is by fire (e.g., Juliana—PG 114:1444D, 1448f).

ED. *Liber sacramentorum Gellonensis*, ed. A. Dumas [= CChr, ser. lat. 159] (Turnhout 1981) 460–62.

LIT. K. Stuber, *Commendatio animae: Sterben im Mittelalter* (Bern-Frankfurt 1976). Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge" 301, 317–19, 328. J. Ntedika, *L'évocation de l'au-delà dans la prière pour les morts* (Louvain-Paris 1971) 72–83. –C.B.T.

COMMENTARIES (pl. μυσταγωγίαι), mystagogy, interpretations of liturgical rites that apply to LITURGY the multilevel patristic method of scriptural EXEGESIS. Developed systematically in 4th-C. instructions for the CATECHUMENATE and first applied extensively to EUCHARIST by Theodore of Mopsuestia, homilies 15–16 (ed. R. Tonneau, R. Devreesse, *Les Homélies catéchétiques de Théodore de Mopsueste* [Vatican 1949] 461–605) and pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy* (PG 3:369–569), mystagogy matured with the Byz. commentaries of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, GERMANOS I, the *Protheoria* (PG 140:417–68) of ca.1085–95 (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 32 [1974] 199–203), the spurious 12th-C. *Liturgical Commentary*, wrongly attributed to SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (PG 87:3981–4001), Nicholas KABASILAS, and SYMEON OF THESSALONIKE.

Differing methods of interpretation were inherited from the two schools of patristic exegesis, Alexandrian and Antiochene. For the more spiritualizing ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL (Dionysios, Maximos, Symeon to some extent), the contemplation (*theoria*) of liturgical rites raises the soul to the realities of the invisible world. Here anagogy takes precedence over biblical typology, and the liturgy becomes an allegory of the soul's progress from sin to divine communion via a process of purification symbolized in the rites. This Alexandrian system left little room for the saving mediatorship of Jesus' earthly life, death, and resurrection. By contrast, the exegesis and mystagogy of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, more attentive to *historia* than to *theoria*, emphasized the relationship between liturgical rites and the historic saving actions of Christ, of which the sacramental rites are an "imitation" (*mimesis:* Cyril) and "memorial" (*anamnesis:* Chrysostom), as well as being an initiation and foretaste of the heavenly worship.

Patr. Germanos I, joining both methods, added the more literal Antiochene mystagogy to the Alexandrian heritage of pseudo-Dionysios transmitted to Byz. via Maximos. Thus for Germanos the church is not only, as for Maximos, "Heaven on earth, where the God of heaven dwells and moves." It also "images forth the crucifixion and burial

and resurrection of Christ" (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par.1). The GREAT ENTRANCE not only shows "the entrance of all the saints and righteous ahead of the cherubic powers and the angelic hosts. . . . It is also in imitation of the burial of Christ" (par.37). This synthesis reached classical expression in the more extensive and complete commentary of Kabasilas, which represented a return to the balanced method of Germanos after the exaggerated allegorical historicism of the *Protheoria*.

LIT. Taft, "Liturgy of Great Church." R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VIIe au XVe siècle* (Paris 1966). H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York 1986) 184–92. –R.F.T.

COMMERCE AND TRADE. The role of trade in Byz. changed over time, depending on political circumstances and on general economic development. In the period through the 6th C., among the factors facilitating economic exchange within the empire were the existence of cities, a common currency, the low internal duties of 2 to 2.5 percent, and the relative openness of the MEDITERRANEAN, even after the creation of a VANDAL fleet. Among the factors inhibiting exchange were state exactions, the fact that the needs of the army and the provisioning of Constantinople were met by levies or payments in kind thus obviating trade, the difficulties of transportation, and a certain degree of self-sufficiency on the large estates. Modern scholars tend to stress these inhibiting factors; nevertheless, the evidence for the existence of internal trade is clear: WINE and OIL (commodities for mass consumption) were objects of relatively long-distance trade, as were wool, metals, MARBLE, timber, and manufactured goods, esp. cloth and luxury products, the last having a MARKET that was diffused geographically but restricted in size. Great periodic markets (FAIRS), such as those of Aigai (in Cilicia) and EDESSA, catered to this internal long-distance trade. At the local level, markets were small and so was the radius of activity. The fairs outside Antioch served the needs of local villages; small towns exchanged products with the countryside, forming local networks of exchange within a system of relative self-sufficiency. Trading activity was greater in the eastern part of the empire, while in the West the process toward self-sufficiency was more advanced. It is impossible to quantify the importance of trade in the economy of this period; Jones's statement (*LRE* 2:872) that the *collatio lustralis*, a tax on trade and manufacturing, accounted for 5 percent of imperial revenue, is a fiscal, not an economic calculation.

In terms of international trade, its most important expression was the importation of SPICES, silks, jewelry, and other luxury products from China, Persia, and India; these commodities arrived at the stations of the Persian frontier, the Syrian cities, or Clysma and Aila, and then were transported to both the eastern and the western part of the empire. Foreign trade appears to have been particularly active in the 5th–6th C. It was somewhat hampered by the fact that trade in the most important item of exchange, SILK, was highly regulated.

The political, demographic, and military troubles that afflicted Byz. in the 7th C. brought about economic changes that affected trade. The tendency toward self-sufficiency became much stronger than in the previous period, while urban decline reduced the level of exchange between town and countryside. Land routes became very difficult and communications along the Mediterranean, although they never completely stopped, were disrupted by PIRACY. Trade declined but did not cease, the provisioning of big cities, esp. Constantinople, acting as an impetus to it. Large fairs, like that of EPHESUS, continued to exist. The RHODIAN SEA LAW testifies to the survival of maritime trade. It was probably in order to stimulate such trade that Emp. Nikephoros I imposed a forced loan on the large shipowners of Constantinople. Locally, exchange took place in small markets where an element of BARTER was also to be found. International trade was reoriented to some extent toward the north and to the Black Sea. In the 8th C. the Byz. had trade relations with Bulgaria and in the 10th C. with the Rus'. The silk trade, now taking place primarily within the empire, may have been considerable. Quantifiable information is, once again, lacking.

By the 10th C., there is evidence of a strong revival of trade. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, along with other sources, shows a large number of different trades and crafts in Constantinople. The state regulated and circumscribed, to some extent, the activities of the various guilds. At the same time, Constantinople appeared as a center of international trade, with Syrian, Italian, Rus', and

Bulgarian MERCHANTS, whose contact with Byz. merchants was also regulated. The market of Constantinople stocked spices, which arrived by way of TREBIZOND, cloth from Syria (also mentioned in Thessalonike), and linen cloth from Bulgaria and the Pontus. Trade relations with the Muslims became very active in the middle of the 10th C. The internal market also appeared active. The size of mercantile enterprises remained small.

In the 11th–12th C. a number of general changes combined to activate the economy of exchange. Urban growth acted as a stimulant, as did the rise of an important Italian market and, possibly, the general quickening of economic activity in the Mediterranean, partly the result of the activities of Italian merchants. Byz. traders from Constantinople appear in the documents of the Cairo Geniza, importing into Egypt brocades and luxury textiles as well as furniture: chests, cupboards, and bedsteads of Rūm. Constantinople and Thessalonike were still the most important trade centers. The TIMARION attests to the vitality of the commerce of Thessalonike, while BENJAMIN OF TUDELA (p.20) says of Constantinople, "It is a busy city, and merchants come to it from every country by sea or land, and there is none like it in the world except Baghdad." A number of smaller centers of exchange developed: HALMYROS, DEMETRIAS, Preveza, and others. Michael CHONIATES speaks of the dependence of Athens on trade. The Black Sea witnessed important commercial activity throughout the period. Byz. aristocrats still shied away from commerce, at least in their normative statements; and large economic units (e.g., the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA) tried to buy necessities such as oil directly from the producer, rather than through middlemen. At the same time, monks themselves participated in trade, primarily, perhaps, by selling their produce, but also, it seems, by sometimes acting as middlemen.

The acquisition of trade privileges first by VENICE (at the end of the 11th C.) and then by PISA and GENOA played an important role in these developments. The chrysobulls to the Venetians gave them access to an increasing number of markets, both in Constantinople and in provincial cities. Venetian merchants were interested not only in trade with the East, but also in the internal trade of the Byz. Empire; this is also evident in the chrysobull of 1198 (the date is under discussion), which greatly expanded the markets accessible to the Venetians. Venetian involvement in domestic trade was facilitated by the fact that, after 1126, the Byz. paid no KOMMERKION on their transactions with the Venetians. This may have acted as a stimulant to trade and may even have profited some Byz. merchants; in the long term, however, it subsidized the Venetian middleman to the detriment of the Byz.

During the Palaiologan period, the trade of the Byz. Empire functioned under very different conditions from the past. The dominant factor in the eastern Mediterranean in this period was the presence of Western merchants, primarily the Italians, who had turned the terms of trade in their favor. By the late 13th C., they had created a network of exchange that resembled an international trade network; within it they were dominant, since they controlled communications, information, exclusive access to Western markets, and privileges in the marketplaces of the Levant, including the Byz. Empire. Through their colonies and trade stations, Western merchants exercised overwhelming influence on trade. Byz. trade formed part of this complex and served the needs of Western markets. Food and raw materials were exported to the West, from which manufactured products, primarily Italian and French cloth, were imported. Constantinople was a particularly important pivot in this system when the *Pax Mongolica* (mid-13th–mid-14th C.) made it easier for merchandise from the Far East to reach the Mediterranean by way of the Black Sea. By contrast, after the mid-14th C. the relative importance of Constantinople declined, to the advantage of Cyprus, Ayas (Lajazzo in Lesser Armenia), and eventually Alexandria and Berytus.

Throughout this period trade was active, esp. along the coasts of the Aegean and the Black Sea, the islands, the inland route from Thessalonike to Prizren and other Serbian towns, and the Danube delta. MONEMVASIA, Thessalonike, and Trebizond were major commercial centers. Indeed, it may be said that commercial activity was greater in this period than ever before. Byz. merchants and sailors participated in this activity quite substantially, as did members of the aristocracy. They were primarily active in local or interregional trade, however, rarely gaining access to international trade, which was the most lucrative. Only in the late 1340s did the Byz. try to capture the profitable Black Sea trade for themselves. It was an

abortive effort, which came to an end in 1350. For the rest, their activities remained important, extensive but subsidiary, until the establishment of the Ottoman Empire changed the terms of trade once again.

LIT. W. Heyd, *Histoire du commerce du Levant au moyen âge*², 2 vols. (Leipzig 1936). M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy c. 300–1450* (Cambridge–New York 1985). N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 31–53. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 250–300. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth-Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 177–222. S.D. Goitein, "Mediterranean Trade in the Eleventh Century," in *Studies in the Economic History of the Middle East*, ed. M.A. Cook (London 1970) 51–62. –A.L.

COMMODATUM (τὸ εἰς χρῆσιν διδόμενον), a loan for use free of charge. As a type of contract *commodatum* was already under Justinian I (*Digest* 13.6) manifestly an artificial term that can be distinguished from LOAN and MISTHOSIS only with difficulty because of the unclear terminology of the Byz. with regard to ownership. Even so, it is treated in detail in the *Basilika* (13.1) and is still found in Harmenopoulos (Harm. 2.10). In practice it was confused with a wide variety of other types of transmission for use: in *Peira* 46.5 it is characterized as "polymorphic." In fact, CHRESIS is also readily used as a term for rights of use (USUFRUCT), for example, the rights of a widow over the property of her deceased husband (*Nov. Just.* 22) or for LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO (cf. Harm. 1.16.5). –D.S.

COMMUNION (μετάληψις), the eating and drinking in common of the consecrated bread and wine (Jesus' body and blood), climax of the rite of the EUCHARIST, as sign of the spiritual communion (*koinonia*) of Christians with one another in Christ, and, through him, with the Father in the Holy Spirit. The FRACTION and distribution of one loaf (1 Cor 10:16–17) and the drinking from one cup, as well as the old requirement that each receive the consecrated elements from the hand of another, symbolized the fellowship involved. Communion in both Eucharist and prayer was restricted to the baptized who had not been excluded by EXCOMMUNICATION or grave sin. Communion among churches was symbolized by inviting visiting bishops to join in celebrating the Eucharist.

Originally all church members in good standing communicated at every Eucharist, but by the end of the 4th C. the church fathers complained of a decline in the reception of communion, though they themselves were scaring people away by calling communion a "dread" mystery to be received only by those worthy, in fear and trembling. By the Middle Ages, laity communicated at most a few times a year, on the GREAT FEASTS, esp. Easter. Monks, however, continued to receive communion more often: daily communion was a rarity in Byz. monasteries, but weekly communion, though not universal, remained common.

LIT. W. Elert, *Eucharist and Church Fellowship in the First Four Centuries* (St. Louis 1966). L. Hertling, *Communio, Church and Papacy in Early Christianity* (Chicago 1972). Taft, *East & West* 61–80, 101–09. E. Herman, "Die häufige und tägliche Kommunion in den byzantinischen Klöstern," in *Mém.L.Petit* 203–17. –R.F.T.

COMMUNION OF THE APOSTLES. See LORD'S SUPPER.

COMMUTATION (Lat. *adaeratio*). Following the monetary reform of Constantine I, Byz. constantly favored the commutation of fees or contributions in kind and of services and CORVÉES into monetary payments. In the early centuries, the ANNONA as well as the CAPUT or the levies of animals (horses, pigs) or weapons were commuted into cash contributions at such a variety of rates (often arbitrarily established) that the fiscal burden of contributors and the illicit gains of some tax collectors could also vary considerably. In the FISCAL SYSTEM of the Macedonian period, the *adaeratio* of services due to the state as well as of *sportulae* (see SYNETHEIA) in kind due to officials was common: for example, the military obligation (STRATEIA) of a farmer-soldier for one year could be replaced, in the 10th–11th C., by a cash payment of 4–6 nomismata; similar arrangements were possible for peasants attached to the DROMOS and for most SECONDARY TAXES in kind, some of which were claimed in cash so often that new names had to be invented (*antikaniskon, antimitatikion*, etc.). In the late 11th C. and afterward, in times of monetary instability TAX COLLECTORS increased their revenues by playing with the ex-

change rates of the various coins. In the 14th C. the KANISKION was commuted to 6 keratia per year.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 207f, 460f, 625f, 670f, 702–04. Morrisson, "Logarikê" 419–64. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 120. –N.O.

COMPUTUS. The date of EASTER in Byz. was determined by a set of simple rules and a variety of cycles, collectively called the computus. The rules are essentially that Easter falls on the first Sunday that follows both the 14th day of the Paschal lunar month (Passover) and 21 March in the Julian calendar. The two cycles in common use were of 19 years (19 solar years = 235 months; the years of intercalation [embolismic years] were numbers 3, 6, 8, 11, 14, 17, and 19 of the cycle) and, from the 5th C. onward, 532 years (= 19 × 28). The 28-year solar cycle is the product of a four-year leap-year cycle and seven weekdays. The combination of the 19-year lunar cycle and the 28-year solar cycle results in the precise recurrence of the sequence of Julian calendar dates of Easter in each 532-year cycle. The so-called "reforms" of the computus in general consisted simply of changing the epoch at which the 19-year or 532-year cycles begin, or of changing the one year in each cycle in which the *saltus lunae* or "leap of the moon" (an epact of 12 instead of 11 days) occurs. It is true that, following the Islamic value for the length of a solar year that had been known in Byz. since the 11th C., Nikephoros GREGORAS proposed a reform of the calendar (Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy" 138f), but this proposal was not accepted. The immense Byz. literature on computus includes treatises by Isaac ARGYROS and Nicholas RHABDAS.

Ready-made computus tables (or paschal tables) indicating the dates of Easter for the observable future survive in many MSS. Usually compiled by the readers/owners, their earliest date gives the terminus ante quem for the completion of the MS.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 31–55, 98–110, 129–39, 265–77. O. Neugebauer, *Ethiopic Astronomy and Computus* (Vienna 1979). –D.P.

CONCEŞTI TREASURE, dated to ca.400?, found at Conceşti in Moldavia in 1812 and now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. It includes six Byz. silver objects, Hunnish gold jewelry, and horse fittings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS). Three silver objects have decorations from classical mythology: the amphora, one of the most elaborate silver vessels of the late antique period, has relief decoration of a hunt, a battle between Greeks and Amazons, and a marine *thiasos* (Dionysiac revelry); the SITULA has a frieze incorporating Hylas, Leda, Apollo, and Daphne; and the plate, one of the largest known (diam. 55 cm), is decorated on its rim with gilded and niello-inlaid portrait medallions and hunt scenes, comparable in technique to the SUTTON HOO TREASURE plate and a *trulla* in the MYTILENE TREASURE. The other silver objects in the treasure include a ewer, of a well-known type; a folding stool that resembles others from Ostia and the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE; and a helmet of a type introduced by Constantine I (see ARMOR). It has been suggested that the treasure belonged to a Hunnish prince who may have acquired the silver objects as booty during a campaign in the Danube region and that the burial took place between 400 and 410.

LIT. Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Antike* 123–37. Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 138f. –M.M.M.

CONCH (κόγχη, lit. "mussel shell"), a half-dome covering a niche or APSE. Its shell-like or ribbed form, which appeared behind and above the seats of magistrates in Roman basilicas, was taken over into Christian iconography (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 137, 150, 153f). In Byz. churches a conch was usually decorated with mosaic or fresco as a focus for the interior decoration. In early basilican churches the conch of the apse normally contained an image of Christ; in later, domed churches the conch of the apse became, after the dome, the most conspicuous location in the building and was reserved for the image of the Virgin. Conches were also used for other visually and structurally prominent roles—for example, in the supporting system for the dome in certain domed octagon churches (as at the NEA MONE on Chios), for the covering of subsidiary apses in triconch and tetraconch churches, and for covering EXEDRAE of polyconch churches and other buildings (e.g., *triklinia* and refectories). Smaller-scale conches

were also used in conjunction with niches as exterior decorative devices (H. Buchwald, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 265f, 290–95).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:268–93. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 21f. –M.J.

CONCUBINAGE (παλλακεία, *agraphos gamos* in *Ecloga* 2.6), a stable sexual relationship, frequently of a married man with a woman of lower status, was considered legal in Roman law (Ph.J. Thomas in *Huldigungsbundel P. van Warmelo* [Pretoria 1984] 230–36). Church fathers attacked concubinage, equating it with PROSTITUTION. In 326 Constantine I prohibited married men from keeping concubines (*Cod.Just.* V 26.1) and in 336 he threatened with infamy and deprivation of Roman citizenship any men of high rank who tried to treat as legitimate their children by bond-maids, freedwomen, actresses, or tavern keepers (*Cod. Theod.* IV 6.3 pr.). Anastasios I and Justinian I were more tolerant toward concubines and their offspring, and the *Ecloga* still protected concubines against the arbitrariness of their "husbands." Leo VI abolished this institution (nov.91); the previous opinion that this action was initiated by Basil I was questioned by N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 30 [1976] 173–93) who interpreted *Procheiron* 4.26 as an interpolation of a section of Leo VI's novel of 907. Concubinage evidently survived this abolition, and in the 13th C. Demetrios CHOMATENOS mentions *pallakeia* and concubines (*pallakai*) kept by men of various status and in various areas of Epiros.

The status of the children of concubines, *filii naturales*, posed a problem for legislators who tried to distinguish them from offspring resulting from casual intercourse (with prostitutes, etc.); their attitude toward these children kept shifting, as they sometimes granted and sometimes withdrew their rights to the property of their fathers. In reality many ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN of emperors and noblemen by their concubines assumed high ranks and social importance.

LIT. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIIIe siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 284–300. G. Prinzing, "Sozialgeschichte der Frau im Spiegel der Chomatenos-Akten," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 453–62. Ritzer, *Mariage* 93f, 133, 169f. M. Niziołek, *Legal Effects of Concubinage in Reference to Concubines' Offspring in the Light of Imperial Legislation of the Period of the Dominate* (Krakow 1980). –J.H., A.K.

CONFESSION (ἐξομολόγησις), the solemn act of acknowledgment of one's sins, was considered by the church fathers as indispensable in the search for SALVATION. As Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 27:481A) states, "Confession is the beginning of salvation." John Chrysostom (PG 57:426.35–37) asserts that sin is such a stain that even thousands of springs of water cannot remove it, only tears and confession. The early church encouraged public confession, but from the end of the 4th C. this practice declined, and the right of hearing confession and imposing PENANCE was entrusted to the church as an institution and individually to priests. The Byz. church, however, placed less emphasis on the institutional and legalistic approach to confession than did its Western counterpart: confession was not included in the list of SACRAMENTS established by Theodore of Stoudios. John Chrysostom (PG 49:292.34–44) stresses that there are many different ways of repentance (*metanoia*) and none are difficult: "Are you a sinner? Enter a church, confess your sins, and receive absolution." The informal character of Byz. confession is evident from a text ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:372A): "If you find a spiritual man, experienced and capable of curing you, confess before him without shame and full of faith, as if before God and not a human being."

In the monastic milieu confession to a PATER PNEUMATIKOS, a spiritual father, was a regular practice. At the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY daily confession was prescribed (*Typikon*, chs. 105–11). But in the secular world it was not common, except during LENT or as acknowledgment of serious sins. Byz. PENITENTIALS do not suggest a rigid format for absolution or a strict scale of penances (EPITIMIA); absolution was expressed mostly in the form of PRAYER and the remission of sins was attributed to God rather than to the priest.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 195f. M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium* 3 (Paris 1920) 331–89. A. Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved' v pravoslavnoj vostočnoj cerkvi* (Odessa 1894), rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 675–82, 692. –A.K.

CONFESSOR (ὁμολογητής), an honorific title designating primarily those who, during the persecutions of the 3rd–4th C., overtly proclaimed themselves Christians; the feminine form, *homo-*

logetria, is rare—for example, EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (PG 42:192B) mentions an anchorite, Paphnoutios, who was the son of a *homologetria*. The difference between the confessor and MARTYR was still vague in the 3rd C.; ORIGEN applied the term martyr to all who witnessed to the truth, although he knew that the term was generally reserved for those who proved their faith by shedding their blood. After the victory of Christianity, the term acquired the metaphorical sense of "pious Christian," as in the 5th-C. inscription of "Domnos homologetes" (W. Ramsay, *JHS* 25 [1905] 172). It was also specifically applied to some ardent defenders of Orthodoxy, such as MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, who suffered exile or imprisonment, but not death, for their beliefs. (For confessor as one who hears CONFESSION, see PATER PNEUMATIKOS.)

LIT. H. Delehaye, "Martyr et confesseur," *AB* 39 (1921) 20–49. –A.K.

CONFISCATION. Legislation of the 4th–6th C. prescribed confiscation as punishment for traitors, heretics, pagans, and parties contracting illegal marriages; in addition, the property of pagan temples, certain municipal estates, and individuals who died intestate without legally recognized heirs, was subject to confiscation. While several of these categories ultimately fell into disuse, confiscation for both intestacy and treason persisted in modified forms throughout later periods: the *Ecloga* (6.2) stipulates that the fisc could recover half the estate of a husband who died intestate and was survived only by his wife (see ABIOTIKION); the *Peira* (60.1) documents a complicated division of property between the fisc and the heirs of a proscribed member of the Bourtzes family; Manuel STRABOROMANOS (P. Gautier, *REB* 23 [1965] 183.30–31) describes how his father was punished with confiscation under Alexios I, adding that the victims were allowed to retain a portion of their property and that many subsequently received aid from the emperor himself. Confiscated lands became state property, administered until the 7th C. by the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM.

Alongside such practices sanctioned in civil law, confiscation also developed certain extrajudicial forms based largely upon administrative regulations of the army and fisc. In the 10th C., military officers were permitted during foreign invasions to seize private cash to purchase supplies (DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA 49.20–22), and several emperors appropriated ecclesiastical treasure to meet urgent military expenses. Lands abandoned for 30 years might become classified as KLASMA and revert to the fisc, while STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA could be withdrawn from their original possessors for transfer to more reliable soldiers. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid (ep.26, ed. Gautier, *Lettres* 215–17) mentions widespread confiscation by imperial officials in Bulgaria. In addition, emperors progressively obtained the right to confiscate any landholding in exchange for its JUST PRICE or the equivalent in land (vita of John Chrysostom, PG 114:1156A), and both Nikephoros I (Theoph. 487.27–488.1) and Basil II (Skyl. 340.88–95) appear to have appropriated private property without any compensation. Such widespread application rendered confiscation a continual threat in Byz. society, and a number of writers (e.g., Skylitzes, Kekaumenos, and esp. Niketas Choniates) express disapproval and fear of its frequently unjust or arbitrary nature.

LIT. G. Monks, "The Administration of the Privy Purse," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 748–63. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 144f. –A.J.C.

CONFRATERNITY (ἀδελφότης, "brotherhood," or διακονία, "diaconate"), a private association of laymen and clergy, men and women, established for devotional purposes (e.g., the veneration of a particular icon) and for mutual assistance among members (e.g., in cases of sickness, for funeral or memorial services). One function of a confraternity was to hold a procession with cult icons on feastdays, a scene depicted in the Blachernai monastery at ARTA. Such lay confraternities had charters, strict regulations for members, and other similarities to the confraternities found in the medieval West. There is evidence for Byz. confraternities from the 6th C. until the end of the empire, with perhaps a discontinuity during the Iconoclastic era. A late 11th- or early 12th-C. TYPIKON exists for a confraternity at Thebes.

LIT. J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, "A Confraternity of the Comnenian Era," *BZ* 68 (1975) 360–84. Beck, *Kirche* 138f. P. Horden, "The Confraternities in Byzantium," in W.J. Sheils, D. Wood, *Voluntary Religion* (Oxford 1986) 25–45. –M.B., A.C.

CONRAD III (Κορράδος) of Hohenstaufen, king of Germany (1138–52), never crowned Western Emperor; born 1093, died Bamberg 15 Feb. 1152. Begun in 1140, negotiations with John II Komnenos for an alliance against Roger II of Sicily culminated in 1142 with the dispatch of Bertha of Sulzbach to Constantinople as bride for Manuel I. Conrad led the German contingent on the Second Crusade in 1147. Because of clashes with Byz. forces, he feared to enter Constantinople, but crossed the Bosporos with his army. Defeated in Anatolia by the Turks, Conrad joined Louis VII, leader of the French Crusaders. From Ephesus, ill and exhausted, Conrad sailed to Constantinople (ca. Jan. 1148), where Manuel entertained him; he continued by sea to the Holy Land. Returning after the Crusade's failure, Conrad landed at Thessalonike, where, at Christmas 1148, he and Manuel agreed on a joint attack on Roger. Manuel was to receive Apulia and Calabria as Bertha's dowry. Because of ill health and preoccupations in Germany, Conrad failed to execute these plans.

LIT. V.G. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 4:18–105. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:33–115. H. Vollrath, "Konrad III. und Byzanz," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 59 (1977) 321–65. –C.M.B.

CONRAD OF MONTFERRAT, claimant king of Jerusalem (1190–92); died Tyre 28 Apr. 1192. Son of the marquess William VI of Montferrat, Conrad and his brothers Boniface of Montferrat and Renier of Montferrat allied with Emp. Manuel I against Frederick I Barbarossa in 1179. Conrad captured Frederick's representative, Archbp. Christian of Mainz (Sept. 1179), then went to Constantinople to confer with Manuel; he was there at Manuel's death. In 1186 Isaac II offered the hand of his sister Theodora and Conrad accepted. He reached Constantinople about Apr. 1187, and the marriage occurred immediately. Conrad became caesar. During the subsequent revolt of Alexios Branas, Conrad enlisted Western cavalry and infantry as well as Turkish and Georgian merchants; his generalship was crucial in defeating Branas. Conrad soon became discontented, however, and perhaps learned of the threats posed by Saladin in the Holy Land. Around late June 1187 (or Sept., according to R.-J. Lilie in *Varia* 1 [Bonn 1984] 163–74), he abandoned Theodora and sailed to Tyre. There he helped organize the defense of the city and preserve the remnants of the kingdom of Jerusalem. In 1190 he married Isabel (daughter of Amalric I and Maria Komnene) and claimed the kingdom.

LIT. Th. Ilgen, *Markgraf Conrad von Montferrat* (Marburg 1880). Brand, *Byzantium* 18–20, 80–84. –C.M.B.

CONSANGUINITY. See Relationship, Degrees of.

CONSCIENCE (συνείδησις), a term rarely found in ancient philosophy. Taken literally, *syneidesis* originally meant personal knowledge or understanding shared with another; eventually it came to mean self-awareness. From the 1st C. B.C. the term appears more frequently, often with a negative connotation, in reference to an attitude that approaches our notion of conscience. In the New Testament, while the term does not occur in the Gospels, it appears 30 times throughout the remaining books, but only in the Pauline epistles is it understood in an ethical sense as the stage at which the self feels either justified or condemned.

In Christian sources *syneidesis* primarily denotes either self-justification or self-condemnation, even though its alternative meanings are not wholly absent. For example, in Ignatius of Antioch and Clement of Rome conscience becomes more authoritarian, emphasizing faithful obedience to the authority of the church. The Philonic or Pauline notion is evident in John Chrysostom, for whom conscience is the highest authority next to the command of God, an understanding that unites him with John of Damascus, for whom the law of God is embedded in human conscience, called the law of the mind (*Exp. fidei* 95.8–10, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:222). It is the impulse, the tension that maintains the life of ascetic spirituality, for the conscience demands satisfaction. The ascetic life of the saints shows conscience as a form of martyrdom, while it may also refer to the monastic life: "Let conscience serve as a reflection of your obedience" (John Klimax, PG 88:712B). In this tradition, the formation of conscience requires certain spiritual qualities, "vigilance of the heart" and "sobriety" (*nepsis*).

LIT. C.A. Pierce, *Conscience in the New Testament* (London 1955). J. Stelzenberger, *Syneidesis bei Origenes* (Paderborn 1963). Idem, "Conscientia in der ost-westlichen Spannung

der patristischen Theologie," *Tübinger Theologische Quartalschrift* 141 (1961) 174–205. M. Pohlenz, "Paulus und die Stoa," *ZNTW* 42 (1949) 69–104. Idem, *Die Stoa*[3], 2 vols. (Göttingen 1948–49). –K.-H.U.

CONSISTORIUM (*θεῖον συνέδριον*), the body of imperial advisers that replaced the former *consilium* in the late Roman Empire. The term *consistorium* was derived from the hall in which the meeting was convened; W. Kunkel (*ZSavRom* 85 [1968] 295, n.96) rejects the traditional derivation of the name from the obligation of participants to stand during its sessions. The mention of the *consistorium* in a decree of Diocletian (*Cod.Just.* IX 47.12) is probably a later "correction" of the scribe, and the first secure evidence comes only from 347, although it is plausible that the *consistorium* was a creation of Constantine I. Membership in the *consistorium* was never fully regularized, but by the end of the 4th C. the *consistorium* was composed of two groups of members or *comites consistoriani*: (1) the chiefs of the central administration (MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, *quaestor sacri palatii* [see QUAESTOR], COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, and COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM), and in some cases the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and certain military commanders, and (2) advisory officials with minor rights. The functions of the *consistorium* included promulgation of imperial laws, reception of foreign ambassadors, and discussion of high policy (although sometimes this was discussed within a narrower and less formal circle of the emperor's *proximi*, including the empress) and high justice. A session of the *consistorium* was called a SILENTIUM. The *consistorium* never developed into an independent institution, remaining a consultative and ceremonial body. By the end of the 4th C. emperors rarely participated in the *consistorium*, as the emperor's "inner cabinet" came to play a growing role as the advisory board. Senators actively participated in the judicial work of the *consistorium* from the 5th C.; in the 6th C. Justinian I essentially abolished the distinction between the consistorium and the SENATE.

LIT. W. Kunkel, "Consilium, Consistorium," *JbAChr* 11–12 (1968–69) 242–48. P.B. Weiss, *Consistorium und comites consistoriani* (Würzburg 1975). Jones, *LRE* 1:333–41. –A.K.

CONSTANS I (Κώνστας), caesar (from 25 Dec. 333) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born ca.323, died fortress of Helena, Pyrenees, Jan. 350. The youngest son of CONSTANTINE I and Fausta, he was initially given control of Italy, Africa, Pannonia, Dacia, and Macedonia. In 340, after CONSTANTINE II's death during an attack on him, Constans became master of the entire West. He opposed ARIANISM and persuaded CONSTANTIUS II to participate in the ill-fated Council of SERDICA (342/3). He continued to support ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and was probably responsible for his return from exile in 346. In 350 Constans was overthrown and killed in a plot led by MAGNENTIUS.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 112–15. Barnes, *New Empire* 8, 45. –T.E.G.

CONSTANS II, emperor (641–68); son of HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE and grandson of Herakleios; born Constantinople 7 Nov. 630, died Syracuse 15 July 668 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 49f). Christened Flavios Herakleios, Constans was crowned co-emperor as Constantine (Constantine III, according to Stratos) by his uncle, HERAKLONAS, in Sept. 641. He became sole emperor after Heraklonas and MARTINA were deposed in winter 641/2, ruling officially as Constantine (his coins bear the name) but popularly known as Constans. His thick beard earned him the nickname "Pogonatos." With his wife Fausta, daughter of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI, he had three sons: Constantine (IV), Herakleios, and Tiberios.

Throughout his reign, Constans was occupied by the empire's external enemies. Against the Arabs he probably organized the themes of ANATOLIKON and OPSIKION and personally campaigned in Asia Minor and Armenia. The first Greek inscriptions on Byz. coins ("In this, conquer") are found, together with Constans holding a cross, on folleis of his reign. Evoking the success of Constantine I at the Milvian Bridge, this slogan was intended to urge the army to victory over the Muslims. He suffered defeats, however, esp. at the naval battle of Phoenix (mod. Finike in Turkey) in 655, and twice (651, 659) accepted peace treaties (see MUʿĀWIYA). He had more success against the Slavs, personally invading SKLAVINIA in 658 and resettling captives in Asia Minor. He also probably organized the theme of HELLAS.

Anxiety over external threats led him to leave Constantinople for the West ca.660. Arriving in

Italy in 663, he campaigned against the Lombards before settling in Sicily, where he created a theme and raised a navy and army. Constans's measures to finance his military activities were unpopular, esp. in Italy, where high taxes and confiscations of church vessels antagonized the local nobility and clergy. He faced numerous rebellions (e.g., those of SABORIOS, OLYMPIOS, and GREGORY, exarch of Carthage). His religious policy attempted to end Christological arguments, but his TYPOS only angered Western bishops, partly resulting in the trials of Pope MARTIN I and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. He also infuriated Pope VITALIAN in March 668 by decreeing the independence of the archbishop of Ravenna. Constans was murdered while bathing, either struck in the head by a servant or stabbed by the conspirators who proclaimed MEZIZIOS emperor. His body was returned to Constantinople, perhaps personally by Constantine IV, and buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.

LIT. J. Kaestner, *De imperio Constantini III (641–668)* (Leipzig 1907). Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:1–282. P. Corsi, *La spedizione italiana di Costante II* (Bologna 1983). Idem, "La politica italiana di Costante II," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 751–96. – P.A.H., A.C.

CONSTANTIA (Κωνσταντ(ε)ία), Constantiana, and other variants, name of several sites (towns and/or strongholds), primarily in the northern Balkans.

CONSTANTIA IN THE RHODOPE MOUNTAINS, a town destroyed by Kalojan in 1201 (Nik.Chon. 532.22–23). It is probably the Constantia listed in a notitia of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos as a suffragan of Philippopolis (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.592). Excavations at Assara (near Marica in Bulgaria) have revealed the remains of a late Roman and medieval town (coins of Anastasios I, Phokas, and Leo VI were found) that has been identified as Rhodopian Constantia.

LIT. W. Gjuselev, "Forschungen zur Geschichte Thrakiens im Mittelalter," *BBulg* 3 (1969) 155–69. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 151f. Z. Aladžov, "Archeologičeski proučvanija na Konstancija (1967–1977 g.)," *Izvestija na nacionalnija istoričeski muzej* 3 (1981) 253–333.

CONSTANTIA ON THE DANUBE, 5th-C. fortress (*phrourion*) mentioned by Priskos (*FHG* 4:72.16), probably to be identified with the 11th-C. *phrourion* of Constantia, referred to by Skylitzes (Skyl. 301.2–3). It was near modern Belgrade, at the juncture of the Morava and the Danube.

CONSTANTIA ON THE BLACK SEA. See TOMIS.

CONSTANTIANA IN SCYTHIA. A notitia (*Notitiae CP*, no.3.656) lists Constantiana as a bishopric of the *eparchia* of Scythia; its identification is questionable (E. Popescu, *BZ* 66 [1973] 359–82, and I. Barnea, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 427–29).

CONSTANTION NEAR OHRID, a *phrourion* erected by Basil II (Skyl. 359.40–42).

OTHER CONSTANTIAS. Cities also possessing this name existed in Calabria, Cyprus (anc. Salamis), and Phoenicia, and infrequently this name was given to Constantinople. CONSTANTINA (now Viranşehir in Turkey) in northern Mesopotamia was called Konstantia by Theophanes the Confessor. –A.K.

CONSTANTIANA. See CONSTANTIA.

CONSTANTINA (Κωνσταντίνη, Syr. Tella), city in northern Mesopotamia, now Viranşehir in eastern Turkey. Constantina was the headquarters of the *doux* of Mesopotamia in 363–527 and 532–40 and a bishopric of OSRHOENE subject to Edessa (L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* [Paris 1962] 75, 107f). Malalas (Malal. 323.14–19) states that Constantina was rebuilt by Constantine I on the site of ancient Maximianoupolis, which had been destroyed by a Persian attack and an earthquake. Constantina, also called Konstantia by Theophanes, should be distinguished from the Konstantia in Phoenicia, previously called Antarados, that was rebuilt by Constantius II (Theoph. 38.8–9). In the 6th C. Constantina was headquarters of General PRISKOS and an important point of contention during the Persian wars. JACOB BARADAEUS was born near Constantina and was a monk at the monastery of Phesiltha outside the city. Constantina fell to the Arabs in 639.

Parts of city walls, a large-aisled, centralized church (the "Octagon"), and an entire (?) warehouse of 543 were still standing in 1972; other remains of the 4th–6th C., including Greek inscriptions, are recorded by travelers. A tetrapylon disappeared in this century.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 154–57. –M.M.M.

CONSTANTINE (Κωνσταντῖνος), personal name. It is uncertain whether the name was used before CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT; a certain Aurelius Constantine is named in an undated inscription (*CIL* 3294). The name may have been coined on the basis of Constantius, Constantine the Great's father; at any rate, in the 4th C. Constantius was more popular than Constantine (*PLRE* 1:223–28). The relative frequency seems to have changed in the 5th C.: *PLRE* 2:311–25 lists 24 Constantines and 20 Constantii. Prokopios mentions only four Constantines, but thereafter the frequency increased: 28 in Theophanes, 60 in Skylitzes, 15 in Anna Komnene (in the last two cases Constantine is the most popular name). Niketas Choniates has 22 Constantines, third after JOHN (35) and ALEXIOS (24). In *Lavra*, vol. 1, encompassing the period of the 10th–12th C., 37 Constantines are listed, third only to JOHN (90) and NICHOLAS (42), but in the later *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), Constantine occupies only the seventh place. Constantius seems to have almost disappeared after Theophanes, but the vernacular form Konstas, rare in *Lavra* 1, occurs 30 times in *Lavra* 2–3. Constantine was the most popular name for emperors; 11 bore the name between the 4th and 15th C. and it should be noted that Leo V changed the name of his son Symbatios to Constantine (E. Patlagean in *Byz. Aristocracy* 27). Four patriarchs had this name but there are very few saints named Constantine in the Byz. calendar. –A.K.

CONSTANTINE, co-emperor; eldest son of BASIL I by his first wife Maria, although some sources name EUDOKIA INGERINA as his mother (see G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 28); born ca.859 (Vogt, *infra*) or 863/4 (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 129), died 3 Sept. 879 (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 36 [1966] 624–26). Constantine was proclaimed co-emperor in 867/8, and his name is included with Basil's in the title of the PROCHEIRON. Basil planned his betrothal to a daughter of LOUIS II, and the question was discussed with Frankish envoys in 869 (A. Gasquet, *L'empire byzantin et la monarchie franque* [Paris 1888] 412). Constantine accompanied Basil in his expedition against the Arabs in 879 (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:88–91,93–94).

Constantine always appears beardless on his father's coins (Grierson, *DOC* 3.2:474 and nos. 1–4, 8, 10–11). Spatharakis's view (*CahArch* 23 [1974] 97–105) that Constantine was depicted in the well-known Paris MS of the Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Paris B.N. gr. 510, fol.8v) was corrected by I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*JÖB* 27 [1978] 19–24).

LIT. Vogt, *Basile Ier* 58f. –A.K., A.C.

CONSTANTINE. See also KONSTANTIN.

CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, augustus (from 25 July 306); born Naissos 273/4, died Nikomedeia 22 May 337; feastday 21 May. Son of CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and HELENA, he was proclaimed as augustus in Britain upon the death of his father. He was subsequently acknowledged as caesar by GALERIUS and as augustus by MAXIMIAN,

CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT. Bronze head of the emperor; 4th C. National Museum, Belgrade.



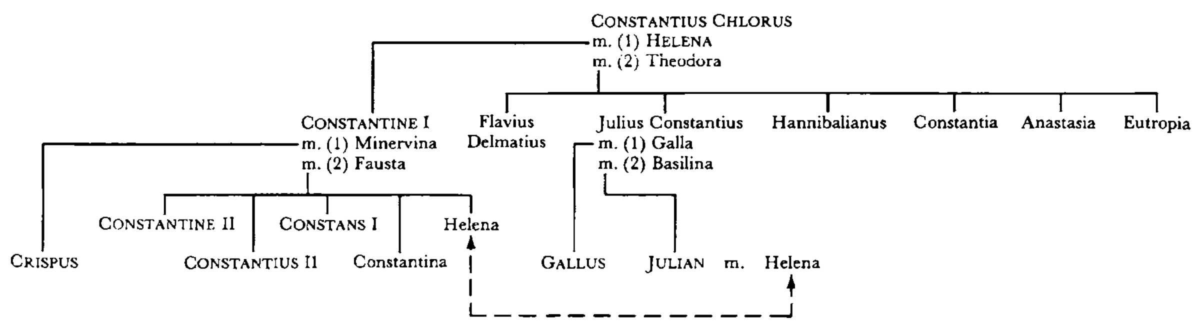
and his imperial position was confirmed at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308. He defeated Maxentius at the battle of the Milvian Bridge in 312, thus becoming sole ruler of the West. Alliance with Licinius turned to hostility, and after victory over his rival at Chrysoupolis in Bithynia in 324 Constantine became ruler of the whole empire. He associated his sons with him as caesars—Crispus (317), Constantine II (317), Constantius II (324), and Constans I (333)—but he remained sole augustus until his death. He had two consorts, Minervina (perhaps a concubine) and Fausta (see genealogical table).

Constantine carried out important administrative and military reforms, completing and/or reversing those of Diocletian. He organized the entire empire into three or four prefectures, each under its own praetorian prefect, below whom were provinces and the cities. At court, officials such as the *comes rei privatae, comes sacrarum largitionum*, and *magister officiorum*, wielded great power as heads of large amorphous bureaus, while *magistri militum* commanded the army, increasingly dominated by the comitatenses. Constantine reformed the coinage, issuing a gold solidus that remained the standard coin through the 11th C. To celebrate his victory over Licinius he founded a new city on the site of ancient Byz.; Constantinople was inaugurated on 11 May 330, not so much a "new capital" as an imperial residence and monument to the emperor's greatness. According to the Chronicon Paschale (1:527–29), his huge building program consisted almost entirely of secular structures, whereas Eusebios of Caesarea emphasizes the churches and martyria that Constantine built in the capital and at Nikomedeia, Antioch, and Jerusalem.

Like most of his predecessors, Constantine sought divine support for his rule and ultimately came to base his power on a special connection with the Christian God. This concept developed slowly, augmented by the emperor's victories, and culminating in the image of Constantine in the works of Eusebios of Caesarea, esp. the Vita Constantini. In the latter work (*VC* 4.15) Eusebios interprets the upward gaze exhibited by Constantine on his coins as a gesture of piety. In fact, his numismatic portraits exhibit a remarkable range of types (D.H. Wright, *DOP* 41 [1987] 493–507). It is still debated whether Constantine actually issued the so-called Edict of Milan. Constantine became involved in the controversies surrounding Donatism and Arianism, convoked the first ecumenical council at Nicaea, and approved its decisions, although he later came to support Arianism. He was baptized on his deathbed by Eusebios of Nikomedeia. The so-called Donation of Constantine is a forgery, probably of the 8th C.

As the first Christian emperor and the founder of Constantinople, Constantine set the style that was followed by nearly all Byz. emperors. Despite his very real human failings, Constantine was very quickly heroized as founder of the new politico-religious order and regarded as a saint; he was commonly pictured, frequently along with his mother, in figural representations of rulers in church decoration.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF CONSTANTINE I



Based on A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (New York 1962) 211.

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, *Constantine and the Conversion of Europe* (London 1948; rp. New York 1962). T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). J. Vogt, *Constantin der Grosse und sein Jahrhundert*[2] (Munich 1960). M. MacMullen, *Constantine*[2] (London–New York–Sydney 1987). *Konstantin der Grosse*, ed. H. Kraft (Darmstadt 1974). A. Kazhdan, " 'Constantin imaginaire.' Byzantine Legends of the Ninth Century about Constantine the Great," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 196–250. –T.E.G., A.C.

CONSTANTINE II, caesar (from 1 Mar. 317) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born Arles, Feb. 317, died Aquileia 340. He was the son of Constantine I, perhaps illegitimate. In the arrangements made after his father's death Constantine II ruled Britain, Gaul, and Spain. He was, however, apparently regarded as the senior emperor. A strong opponent of ARIANISM, he returned ATHANASIOS of Alexandria from exile in Gaul despite the opposition of CONSTANTIUS II. In 340 Constantine responded to a perceived slight from CONSTANS I by invading Italy, where he was killed.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 112–14. *PLRE* 1:223. Barnes, *New Empire* 8, 44f. –T.E.G.

CONSTANTINE III, usurper in Britain and Gaul (407–11). He is described as a common soldier but was a man of ability who was proclaimed emperor in Britain in 407. He made himself master of much of Gaul, being able to mint coins extensively at Trier, Lyons, and Arles. In September 411 he surrendered to Honorius's army and was put to death. He is not to be confused with either HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, son and successor of HERAKLEIOS, or with CONSTANS II, both of whom have been called Constantine III by some historians.

LIT. E. Demougeot, "Constantin III, l'empereur d'Arles," in *Hommage à André Dupont* (Montpellier 1974) 83–125. –Ph.G.

CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDES (Λειχούδης), patriarch of Constantinople (2 Feb. 1059–9/10 Aug. 1063); born Kouzenas (Psellos in Sathas, *MB* 5:300.10) or Constantinople (Sathas, *MB* 4:390.18–19) ca.1000, died Constantinople. The statement of later chroniclers that he was a eunuch is probably incorrect. Together with John MAUROPOUS, Leichoudes was the leader of the young intellectuals who came to power under Constantine IX; he became MESAZON (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII [1955], 329) but had to retire ca.1050. The question of the *pronoia* that Constantine IX granted to Leichoudes over the MANGANA monastery is under discussion; it was apparently an administrative function (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 291–94), rather than a semifeudal property (K. Juzbašjan, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 24–28). He returned to political activity only when Michael VI sent him and Psellos as envoys to the rebellious Isaac I Komnenos, who eventually chose Leichoudes to replace MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS on the patriarchal throne.

The policy of Leichoudes as patriarch is little known: he evidently resumed negotiations with Pope Alexander II (1061–73) concerning the FILIOQUE (PL 145:633B). His hostility toward the Monophysites was relentless: MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN mentions the patriarchal decree of 1063 to burn all the sacred books "of the Syrians" (tr. Chabot, 3:166). Leichoudes regulated the right of ASYLUM in such a way that a priest involved in a murder was proclaimed free, whereas a slave (*oiketes*) Demetrios, guilty of murder, was extradited to his owner in exchange for the payment of 24 nomismata (PG 119:853–56). On his seals Leichoudes retained the title of ecumenical patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.17). Psellos devoted to him an *enkomion* praising his friend as a talented administrator and even military commander.

SOURCE. Sathas, *MB* 4:388–421. It. tr. U. Criscuolo, *Michele Psello: Orazione in memoria di Costantino Lichudi* (Messina 1983).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 887–92. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 56–58. A. Michel, "Schisma und Kaiserhof im Jahre 1054: Michael Psellos," *L'Église et les églises*, vol. 1 (Chevetogne 1954) 361–65, 426–28. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 390–96. –A.K.

CONSTANTINE IV, emperor (668–85); born ca.650, died Constantinople 10 July (?) 685. In the 19th C. many scholars identified Constantine IV with "Constantine Pogonatos," who in reality was his father, CONSTANS II (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 460–62). Proclaimed co-emperor in April 654 by Constans II, Constantine avenged his father's murder by going to Sicily in early 669 and defeating MEZIZIOS (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 455–59, rejects Constantine's personal participation). Constantine ruled with his younger brothers Herakleios and Tiberios until 681, when he deposed and mutilated them, probably because of a

conspiracy (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 30 [1915] 42–51). With them and his son Justinian (II) he is shown in an apse mosaic in S. Apollinare in Classe, presenting privileges to that church (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.96).

Throughout his reign Constantine faced external pressures but preferred diplomatic to military responses. The Arabs raided Byz. territory yearly and in 674–78 besieged Constantinople itself, but their defeat compelled MUʿĀWIYA to sign a 30-year truce on terms favorable to Byz. Shortly thereafter Constantine signed treaties with the Lombards, who had captured Brindisi and Taranto (after 671), and the Avars (*Reg*, nos. 241, 240). In the Balkans Constantine unsuccessfully campaigned against ASPARUCH and formally recognized the Bulgars' settlement south of the Danube, in response to which he created the theme of THRACE. He hoped to end the empire's religious disputes by summoning the Council in TRULLO and personally presided at 12 of its 18 meetings. He also attempted to revalue the bronze coinage by minting an 18-gram FOLLIS. He died of dysentery and was survived by his wife Anastasia and their sons Justinian and Herakleios.

LIT. D. Missiou, "Who was the Constantine in the Inscription no. 8788 CIG IV?" *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 1477–86. I. Barnea, "Sceau de Constantin IV empereur de Byzance trouvé à Durostorum," *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 20 (1981) 625–28. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:1–171. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:228–52. –P.A.H., A.C.

CONSTANTINE V, emperor (741–75); born Constantinople 718, died Strongylon 14 Sept. 775. Leo III crowned his son Constantine as co-emperor in 720 and in 732 married him to the Khazar khagan's daughter, who took the name Irene and bore him Leo (IV). Constantine's second wife, Maria, died shortly after their marriage ca.750. By a third wife, Eudokia, whom he crowned in 769, Constantine had five sons (including Caesar NIKEPHOROS) and a daughter. After succeeding Leo in 741, Constantine was briefly driven from Constantinople by ARTABASDOS, but regained the throne in Nov. 743. Byz. sources displayed their hostility toward his zealous support of ICONOCLASM by nicknaming him "Kaballinos" ("groom") and "Kopronymos" ("dung-named") for supposedly having defecated while being baptized. Constantine convened a church council at HIERIA in 754 and thereafter persecuted ICONOPHILES in the bureaucracy, army, and church; his attacks on monks evolved into a campaign against monasticism as an institution. He also rejected the cult of saints, including the intercessory power of the Theotokos, and was hostile to RELICS, except those of the True Cross. In the Life of St. Stephen the Younger (PG 100:1120C), Constantine is indicted for scraping the holy pictures off the walls of the Church of the Virgin at BLACHERNAI. In the provinces he relied on *strategoi* like Michael LACHANODRAKON to execute his iconoclastic and fiscal policies. Constantine wrote treatises on Iconoclasm that survive as his fragmentary *Questions* (*Peuseis*, ed. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 7–45).

An outstanding general, Constantine served in 740 with his father at AKROINON. He campaigned frequently against the Slavs and Bulgarians, winning decisive victories at Anchialos in 763 and over TELERIG at LITHOSORIA in 773. He also campaigned successfully against the Arabs, capturing Germanikeia in 746 and Theodosioupolis and Melitene in 752. For resettling captives from Armenia in Thrace, he was blamed for introducing PAULICIANS into the empire (Theoph. 429.19–22). He repopulated Constantinople with families from Greece after a plague in 747. Constantine transferred Sicily, Calabria, and ILLYRICUM from papal to Byz. ecclesiastical jurisdiction, but, by neglecting northern Italy and the Lombards' seizure of Ravenna, he drove the papacy closer to the FRANKS. He created the BOUKELLARION theme and restored the aqueduct of Valens during a drought in Constantinople in 767. He financed his campaigns and enriched the treasury by raising taxes and selling confiscated monastic properties. Constantine was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles, but in the 9th C. his bones were exhumed, burned, and cast into the sea (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 53f).

LIT. S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Constantine V* (Louvain 1977). A. Lombard, *Constantin V, empereur des Romains (740–775)* (Paris 1902). C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (*BHG* 1764)," *REB* 46 (1988) 191–210. C. Mango, "St. Anthusa of Mantineon and the Family of Constantine V," *AB* 100 (1982) 401–09. –P.A.H.

CONSTANTINE VI, emperor (780–97); son of Leo IV and Irene; born Constantinople 14 Jan. 771, died before 805 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 9 [1900] 655). Leo crowned Constantine VI as co-emperor

in 776, but after Leo's death IRENE ruled as Constantine's regent with STAURAKIOS. In 782 she betrothed Constantine to Rotrud, the daughter of CHARLEMAGNE, but broke the engagement in 788 and married Constantine to Maria from Amnia in the Armeniakon. This reportedly upset Constantine (Theoph. 463.24–27) and likely contributed to his growing animosity toward his mother. He signed the acts of the Second Council of NICAEA (787) condemning ICONOCLASM, but his close association with Michael LACHANODRAKON, with whose help he deposed Irene in Dec. 790, may indicate Iconoclastic leanings. He was an ineffectual ruler, fruitlessly campaigning against the Bulgarians and Arabs in 791 and being severely defeated by the Bulgarians at MARKELLAI in 792. His restoration of Irene in 792 disappointed his supporters. In 792–93 he thwarted a conspiracy in favor of his uncle, Caesar NIKEPHOROS, and at Irene's urging blinded Alexios MOSELE, thereby aggravating an uprising in the Armeniakon, which he cruelly suppressed. He instigated the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY in 795 by divorcing Maria, who had given him two daughters, and marrying his mistress Theodote. Undermined by Irene and Staurakios, he was dethroned and blinded on 19 Apr. 797 (S. Pétridès, *EO* 4 [1900–01] 72–75). He died in exile and was buried in Irene's monastery of St. Euphrosyne (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 54f). Constantine's only recorded monumental portrait was a mosaic at the Church of the Virgin of PEGE, together with one of his mother.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 60–110. D. Misiou, "Stadia basileias Konstantinou ΣΤ' kai Eirenes kai ta nomismata tous," *Byzantiaka* 1 (1981) 139–56. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.* (Munich 1978). Ostrogorsky, *History* 176–81.

–P.A.H., A.C.



CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS. The emperor crowned by Christ; ivory, 10th C. State Pushkin Museum of Fine Arts, Moscow.

CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, emperor of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (945–59); born 17 or 18 May 905, died Constantinople 9 Nov. 959. His birth to LEO VI and ZOE KARBONOPSINA provoked the conflict over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Crowned co-emperor probably on 15 May 908 (P. Grierson-R. Jenkins, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 133–38), he was excluded from power for almost four decades, successively dominated by ALEXANDER, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS and Zoe, and ROMANOS I, whose daughter Helen married Constantine in May 919. His independent rule began only after Romanos's sons were deposed on 27 Jan. 945. Dismissing Romanos's supporters, Constantine sought the assistance of aristocratic families such as PHOKAS. A contemporary source (*TheophCont* 456.14–16) asserts that Constantine surrounded himself with noblemen (*eugeneis*) on whom he bestowed titles and gifts, while another (Skyl. 237.14) reports that the emperor chose his functionaries regardless of their noble merits (*ouk aristinden*).

In his legislation Constantine proclaimed a complete rupture with his predecessor's policy: he called Romanos's officials and generals venal and unwarlike (Zepos, *Jus* 1:226.5) and tried to alleviate (*kouphisai*) the tax burden that his father-in-law had required the peasantry to bear

(*TheophCont* 443.13–18). In fact, however, Constantine's novels, written predominantly by THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS, retained principles of Romanos I's legislation, such as the concept of the protection of the poor from the DYNATOI; he made, however, certain concessions to small *archontes* and small monasteries. Especially important in this respect was a novel (now lost) mentioned in Theodore's decision of 960/1: in it, Constantine, responding to the request of the military *archontes* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:239.19), obliged even the poorest peasants to compensate the illegal buyers of their allotments; they were allowed, however, five years for this repayment.

Constantine fought against the Arabs without great success. The expedition to Crete in 949 was a failure, and although his armies seized GERMANIKEIA in 949 and crossed the Euphrates in 952, they were subsequently defeated by SAYF AL-DAWLA. NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS led the offensive from 954 and in 957 captured Ḥadat; in 958 JOHN (I) TZIMISKES conquered Samosata. Despite the baptism of OL'GA, princess of Kiev, and her visit to Constantinople, Constantine was unable to establish a strong alliance with the Rus'.

Constantine contributed much to the systematization of knowledge and encouraged the compilation of encyclopedic works such as *Excerpta de legationibus* (see EXCERPTA) and GEOPONIKA; he also encouraged historical writing intended to eulogize BASIL I and thereby present Basil's predecessors as inept villains. This aim was achieved by the anonymous author of the *Imperial Histories*, ascribed to a certain GENESIOS, and by a collection conventionally called THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. Constantine collaborated in several works on the empire's administrative system and foreign relations that are preserved under his name: DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, DE THEMATIBUS, and DE CEREMONIIS. To his literary heritage also belong several speeches, letters (e.g., correspondence with THEODORE OF KYZIKOS), and specimens of liturgical poetry.

Constantine's reputation as guiding spirit of the so-called Macedonian Renaissance is based on the *prooimion* of the continuators of Theophanes (*TheophCont* 3.15–4.1), who declare that the emperor brought a *palinzoia* ("new life") and *palingenesia* ("rebirth") to what had been lost in the course of time. The same source (450.12–20) tells of Constantine's "accurate" painting and his role as "corrector" of stonemasons, carpenters, goldsmiths, silversmiths, etc., and attributes numerous works to his hand (447.1–450.11). LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3.37) confirms also that Constantine engaged in *zografia*, that is, that he worked as a painter. Constantine's portrait is found on an ivory plaque in Moscow (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.35) and perhaps on a MANDYLION icon at Sinai.

LIT. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London 1973). A. Rambaud, *L'empire grec au dixième siècle, Constantin Porphyrogénète* (Paris 1870; rp. New York 1963). A. Kazhdan, "He epoche tou Konstantinou Z' Porphyrogennetou," *Diabazo* 129 (1985) 17–20. J. Ripoche, "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et sa politique hongroise au milieu du Xe siècle," *SüdostF* 36 (1977) 1–12. Lemerle, *Humanism* 309–46. –A.K., A.C.

CONSTANTINE VIII, emperor (1025–28); born 960/1, died Constantinople 12 Nov. 1028, according to YAḤYA. Son of Romanos II, Constantine was crowned co-emperor probably 30 Mar. 962 (Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.XIII [1965], 173–76). During the reign of his elder brother BASIL II, he lived in idleness. He married Helena, daughter of Alypios, who bore him three daughters: Eudokia (who became a nun), ZOE, and THEODORA. Upon succeeding his brother, Constantine continued his devotion to chariot racing and theatrical spectacles, although he did enjoy the imperial duty of receiving embassies. He was strongly influenced by his household EUNUCHS, capricious, and prone to inflict blinding on the slightest excuse. Among his apparently innocent victims were Constantine BOURTZES, Nikephoros Komnenos, and Basil SKLEROS. Because Basil II had allowed two years of tax arrears to accrue, Constantine collected the taxes for five years in three. He considered annulling the ALLELENGYON that Basil had imposed but did not live to do this. His general Constantine Diogenes repelled an attack by PECHENEGS, and George Theodorakanos defeated a Muslim naval incursion. On his deathbed, Constantine married Zoe to the future Romanos III.

Generally accepted as portraits of Constantine and Basil II are the co-emperors in the Bari Exultet Roll (Archivio della Cattedrale 1). If this is so, it is, apart from his coins, the only portrait known of Constantine.

LIT. M. Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des X^e et XI^e siècles," *REB* 19 (1961)

284–314. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 1–14. S.A. Kamer, "Emperors and Aristocrats in Byzantium, 976–1081" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1983) 158–73. –C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS (Μονομάχος), emperor (1042–1055); born ca.1000, died Constantinople 7/8 Jan. (*Kleinchroniken* 1:159, 167) or 11 Jan. (Grumel, *Chronologie* 358; Ostrogorsky, *History* 337) 1055. From a distinguished family, Constantine was exiled to Mytilene by MICHAEL IV. He was recalled to wed ZOE (11 June 1042) and crowned the next day; their mosaic portraits survive in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. He enjoyed the support of the commercial classes of Constantinople; leading merchants became senators. He also gathered around him such intellectuals as future Patr. CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, future Patr. JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, Michael PSELLOS, and John MAUROPOUS, whose epigrams describe two images of Constantine. A law school was established under Xiphilinos, and Psellos became HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON.

Constantine extravagantly maintained his mistress, SKLERAINA, and her successor, an "Alan" (Georgian) princess. He converted into taxpayers peasants in "IBERIA" who had owed military service and substituted mercenaries. A moderately adulterated NOMISMA perhaps facilitated commerce (Morrisson, "Dévaluation" 6f). These policies alienated the military aristocracy. The revolts of George MANIAKES and Leo TORNIKIOS were overcome with great difficulty.

Constantine experienced some successes over foreigners: the Rus' of JAROSLAV of Kiev were defeated (Shepard, "Russians Attack" 147–212), and GAGIK II yielded Ani. Nonetheless, the frontiers proved porous: the Turks of TUGHRUL BEG devastated eastern Anatolia, the PECHENEGS occupied the Danubian plain and ravaged Thrace, and the NORMANS advanced in southern Italy. Late in his reign, these disasters caused Constantine to dismiss Xiphilinos and other intellectuals. He turned to the eunuch John, who instituted harsh taxation. In his final year, Constantine could not control Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS.

Psellos's *Chronographia* vividly depicts Constantine's personality; later Byz. writers blamed his extravagant policies for the ensuing collapse of Byz. Among his lavish foundations were the monastery of the NEA MONE on Chios and the monastery at MANGANA, built near the house where Skleraina lived. MSS presumably commissioned by Constantine include a rich copy of the homilies of John Chrysostom (Sinai gr. 364) that contains a frontispiece showing the emperor between Zoe and THEODORA (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.66).

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 268–71, 285–90. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 317–32. Idem, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983) 207–18. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 24–29. –C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, emperor (1059–67); born ca.1006, died Constantinople 22/3 May 1067. An Anatolian magnate, Constantine was briefly imprisoned, then retired to his estates when his father-in-law Constantine DALASSENOS was arrested (1034). In 1057 Constantine supported the rebellion of the future ISAAC I KOMNENOS. Through his second wife, EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, a niece of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, he was allied to the opponents of MICHAEL VI STRATIOTIKOS within Constantinople. During Isaac's reign, Constantine supported those hostile to Isaac's reforms (E. Stănescu, *RESEE* 4 [1966] 55–69). Nevertheless, through the influence of Michael PSELLOS, Constantine was designated emperor by the dying Isaac and crowned on 23/4 Nov. 1059. He undid Isaac's reforms, restoring many to office and promoting leading guild members to the senate. Soldiers who felt neglected sought to enter the civil hierarchy (Attal. 76.10–12). He avoided a plot (Apr. 1061) led by the eparch of Constantinople (D. Polemis, *BZ* 58 [1965] 61f). His generosity to monasteries and individuals required heavy taxation, which inspired rebellion (1066) in northern Greece (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 11 [1956] 123–34). Constantine could barely rally 150 soldiers to oppose an incursion of UZES across the Danube (1064–65). Turkish raiders overran the eastern boundaries, and ALP ARSLAN seized Ani. Constantine's reign was deemed disastrous by Attaleiates; even Psellos was critical. At his death, the augusta Eudokia took power on behalf of her sons (N. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.III [1963], 102). She had already held the place of honor (the spectator's left) on FOLLEIS of Constantine's reign. Their joint portraits appear in a badly damaged miniature in a copy of the *Sacra Parallela* (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.68). Constantine's best-preserved likeness, again with Eudokia, is on a reliquary of St. Demetrios in Moscow (*Iskusstvo Vizantij* 2, no.547).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 28–34, no.12. M. Angold, *The Byzantine Empire 1025–1204* (London–New York 1984) 16–32, 53–56, 61–74. –C.M.B., A.C.

CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (12 Mar. 1449–29 May 1453); born Constantinople 8 Feb. 1405, died Constantinople 29 May 1453. Last member of the Palaiologan dynasty and final ruler of the Byz. Empire, Constantine was the fourth son of MANUEL II and Helena Dragaš. He is sometimes called Constantine XII because of the erroneous supposition that Constantine Laskaris was crowned emperor in Apr. 1204 (cf. Brand, *Byzantium* 258 and 381, n.58). Constantine came to the Morea in 1428 to share the despotate with his brothers THEODORE II and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS; he ruled as *despotes* for 20 years. He significantly strengthened the Byz. position by the restoration of the HEXAMILION (1444) and the conquest of Patras (1429), Athens, and Thebes (1444). His dream of reasserting control over Greece, however, was destroyed by the Ottoman campaign of 1446. Since both of Constantine's older brothers, Theodore and Andronikos, predeceased him, he inherited the throne upon the death of the childless JOHN VIII. He was crowned at Mistra on 6 Jan. 1449 and began his reign in March when he reached Constantinople. He did not receive a second coronation in Hagia Sophia.

As a pragmatist Constantine accepted the Union of Florence, in the hope of gaining military assistance from the West. During his short reign he made several desperate appeals to European rulers (R. Guilland, *EEBS* 22 [1952] 60–74 and *BS* 14 [1953] 226–44). He did not implement the Union, however, until 12 Dec. 1452. Constantine fought bravely during the Ottoman siege of Constantinople and was killed on the ramparts during the final Turkish assault. He died without heir, since his two marriages were childless.

LIT. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.95. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:204–47. M. Carroll, "Constantine XI Palaeologus: Some Problems of Image," in *Maistor* 329–43. –A.M.T.

CONSTANTINE BODIN (Βοδῖνος), called Peter by the Bulgarians, king of Duklja (DIOKLEIA) after ca.1081; died 1101 or 1108. In 1072 Constantine was sent by his father, Michael, son of Stephen VOISLAV, to support George VOITECH. At Prizren Constantine was acclaimed *basileus* of Bulgaria, but the Byz. defeated and captured him. Rescued or ransomed, he returned to Duklja ca.1078. When ROBERT GUISCARD attacked Dyrrachion, Constantine led an army purportedly to assist Alexios I, but at the battle on 18 Oct. 1081 he withheld his troops until the Norman triumph was clear, then led them away unscathed. Between 1085 and 1091, John Doukas, governor of Dyrrachion, defeated Constantine and according to Anna Komnene captured him. In 1092–94 Alexios I waged campaigns in Raška and ZETA, which weakened Constantine's realm. The PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA mentions Constantine's strife with his relatives, which also contributed to the weakening of his power.

LIT. A. Petrov, "Knjaz' Konstantin Bodin," *Sbornik V. I. Lamanskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883) 239–64. B. Radojčić, "Peri tes exergeseos tou Konstantinou Mpontin," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:185–87. –C.M.B., A.K.

CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ (Δραγάσης), Serbian nobleman and autonomous ruler; died 17 May 1395. Together with his brother John Dragaš (died 1378/9), he ruled a large region of northeastern Macedonia, inherited from their father the *sebastokrator* and *despotes* Dejan (Ferjančić, *Despoti* 168–70). He was called *gospodin* (lord) in Serbian documents, *kyr* (*Koutloum.*, no.40.15) or *authentes* (MM 2:260.8) in Greek texts. It is a matter of dispute whether he was ever given the title "*despotes* of Serbia" (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 27 [1969] 62.72–73 and n.; Ostrogorsky, *infra* 288f). With their mother Theodora-Eudokia, sister of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, the Dragaš brothers generously endowed monasteries on Mt. Athos, esp. Hilandar, Panteleemon, and Vatopedi (S. Novaković, *Zakonski spomenici* [Belgrade 1912] 446–48, 452–57, 510–15, 676, 738–40). After the battle of MARICA in 1371, Constantine and John were forced to become vassals of Murad I; Constantine was fighting on the side of the Turks when he fell in battle at ROVINE. His lands were subsequently annexed by the Ottoman Empire.

Despite their Ottoman vassalage, the Dragaš brothers maintained close relations with Byz. Probably after 1386, Constantine took as his second wife Eudokia Komnene, daughter of Alexios III of Trebizond (I. Djurić, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 259–72), and in 1392 he gave Helena, his daughter by his first wife, in marriage to Manuel II Palaiologos. Their son Constantine XI bore the family

name Dragases in addition to Palaiologos. Helena died on 13 Mar. 1450 as the nun Hypomone; several Byz. rhetoricians wrote funeral orations in her memory.

LIT. Soulis, *Dušan* 100–102. G. Ostrogorsky, "Gospodin Konstantin Dragaš," *ZbFilozFak* 7.1 (1963) 287–94. H. Matanov, *Jugozapadnite bŭlgarski zemi prez XIV vek* (Sofia 1986) 115–28. -J.S.A.

CONSTANTINE LASKARIS. See under CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS.

CONSTANTINE OF KERKYRA, theologian condemned in Jan. and Feb. 1170 for his heretical interpretation of John 14:28, "The Father is greater than I." Stressing the hypostatical unity of the Father and the Son, Constantine denied that the Son was inferior on account of the real and concrete humanity which he assumed in the incarnation (*RegPatr,* fasc. 3, no.1113). According to V. Grumel (*EO* 28 [1929] 283–94), Constantine wrote the treatise *On the Orthodox Creed (Napisanie o pravoj vere)* preserved in Old Church Slavonic and ascribed to CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER; S. Kos (*De auctore expositionis verae fidei S. Constantino Cyrillo adscriptae* [Ljubljana 1942]; cf. B. Schultze, *OrChrP* 9 [1943] 229–31) rejects this identification and considers the author a disciple of METHODIOS, perhaps KLIMENT OF OHRID. Even more questionable is the identification of Constantine with Constantine Bykinator, an official (*kanstrisios*) of Hagia Sophia and archbishop of Bulgaria mentioned by Michael Gazes in 1203 (C. Giannelli, *EEBS* 23 [1953] 224–32).

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 221f. -A.K.

CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, poet; born ca.870 or 880 at Lindos, Rhodes, died after 931. Constantine began his civil career as secretary of SAMONAS and his literary career as a satiric poet, accusing Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES of paganism and mocking a eunuch called Theodore the Paphlagonian. Later, as Constantine VII's *asekretis,* he produced an *ekphrasis* (surviving perhaps in an unfinished form) consisting of two sections: descriptions of the Seven Wonders of Constantinople and of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES. In full conformity with the encyclopedic tendencies of 10th-C. literature, his descriptions are a catalog of elements rather than an emotional perception of the achievements of architects and painters (A. Epstein, *GRBS* 23 [1982] 81f). Constantine's description of the Seven Wonders was used by KEDRENOS, probably through an intermediary source. His satiric poems are inelegant, being essentially lists of the base qualities of his opponents.

ED. E. Legrand, "Description des oeuvres d'art et de l'Église des saints Apôtres à Constantinople par Constantin le Rhodien," *REGr* 9 (1896) 36–65. G. Begleri, *Chram svjatych Apostolov i drugie pamjatniki Konstantinopolja po opisaniju Konstantina Rodija* (Odessa 1896), corr. G. Bartelink, *Byzantion* 46 (1976) 425f. Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:624–32.
LIT. G. Downey, "Constantine the Rhodian: His Life and Writings," *LCMS* 212–21. -A.K.

CONSTANTINE OF SICILY, 9th-C. poet, named also *grammatikos* and philosopher. He wrote Anacreontic verses to which Krumbacher (*GBL* 723) ascribes a vivid naturalness. Constantine mentions Arab attacks on Sicily. Lemerle (*Humanism* 199–200, n.95) attributes to him, although reluctantly, a poem in which the author regards PHOTIOS as his teacher. Constantine was also involved in a polemic against his teacher, Leo the Philosopher; his vitriolic verses charge Leo with paganism and threaten him with Hell, where he will meet his friends, ancient poets and scholars. The identification of both Constantine and Leo is difficult: Lipšic (*Očerki* 355) is inclined to see in Leo the Philosopher Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES and to connect Constantine's invectives with the polemic of ARETHAS and CONSTANTINE OF RHODES against the latter; Lemerle identifies Constantine's teacher with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN. M.D. Spadaro (*infra* 183–92) hypothesizes that the author of the polemical verses was CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER.

ED. M.D. Spadaro, "Sulle composizioni di Costantino il Filosofo del Vaticano 915," *SicGymn* 24 (1971) 198–202. Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.*, vol. 4 (Oxford 1841) 380–83. Matranga, *AnecGr* 2:689–98.
LIT. R. Anastasi, "Costantino Siculo e Leone il Filosofo," *SicGymn* 16 (1963) 84–89. -A.K.

CONSTANTINE THE JEW, saint; born Synada, Phrygia, died on Bithynian Mt. Olympos 26 Dec., after 886. Born to a Jewish family, Constantine adopted Christianity. His conversion began when he spontaneously imitated a merchant who crossed

his mouth while yawning; "the power of the sign" was such that Constantine without baptism acquired a fervent belief in Christ (cols. 629F–630A). Constantine's relatives forced him to marry, but on his wedding night he fled to the Phlouboute monastery near Nicaea, where he was baptized, became a monk, and stayed 12 years. He was ordained a priest and tried to convert Jews living in Nicaea. When Constantine attempted to move to Olympos, he was brought back as a fugitive and put in chains. Prompted by St. Spyridon in a vision, Constantine traveled via Attaleia to Cyprus and returned with a relic, the right hand of Palamon (an otherwise unknown martyr), which he gave to the monastery of St. Hyakinthos at Nicaea. Although he settled on Olympos (at Atroa, later at Bolion-Balaios), he still attempted to influence affairs in Constantinople: he supposedly reconciled the emperors Basil I and Leo VI.

His anonymous Life, apparently written during Leo's reign, eulogizes the emperor (648F); since the author, in describing the region of Nicaea, speaks of "our desert" (645C), he must have belonged to a Nicaean monastic community. He sympathizes with the upper stratum of the provincial population and stresses that Constantine found support first of all among "those who were noble by nature and fortune and earthly distinction" (644A–B). The hagiographer avoids vivid detail, but the miracles are unusual—a girl who tried to seduce Constantine fainted at the sign of the cross; some books fell from Constantine's pouch into a torrent, but were brought to his feet undamaged. No mere humble compiler, the author incessantly comments upon his story, asserts that his hero deserves an exquisite *logos*, not a mediocre composition (628C), and boasts that no one could have done the job much better than himself (651C).

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 4:628–56. *Synax.CP* 345f.
LIT. *BHG* 370. Starr, *Jews* 119–22. –A.K.

CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER (monastic name Cyril), missionary to the Slavs and saint; born Thessalonike 826/7, died Rome 14 Feb. 869; feastday 14 Feb. Constantine and his brother METHODIOS were the sons of the *droungarios* Leo and Maria, who may have been a Slav. Displaying remarkable intelligence as a youth (he reputedly memorized the works of Gregory of Nazianzos), ca.842 Constantine journeyed to Constantinople, where he gained the favor of the eunuch THEOKTISTOS and received an advanced education; the tradition that he studied philosophy under LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and PHOTIOS is, however, disputed (Lemerle, *Humanism* 185–91). He was ordained priest and became *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia under Patr. Ignatios, but was later appointed a teacher of philosophy at the school of the MAGNAURA. His legendary erudition brought him prominence: he reportedly defined PHILOSOPHY in secular terms for Theoktistos (I. Ševčenko in *For Roman Jakobson* [The Hague 1956] 449–57), bested JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS in a debate over ICONOCLASM, learned Hebrew, disputed Muslim theologians at the caliph's court at Samarra, and debated Jewish spokesmen before the khagan of the KHAZARS.

In 863 Michael sent him and his brother Methodios to MORAVIA to comply with the request of RASTISLAV for missionaries. In preparation, Constantine devised the GLAGOLITIC alphabet and a literary language, CHURCH SLAVONIC, into which he translated numerous Greek works, including the so-called liturgy of John Chrysostom, selected daily offices, the Psalter, the New Testament, and perhaps Leo III's ECLOGA. In Moravia, Constantine and Methodios organized a native church using the local Slavic tongue, but under pressure from the Frankish clergy they journeyed to Rome in 867, where Constantine died, having been tonsured shortly before his death. He was buried in the Church of St. Clement, whose relics he had discovered in Cherson in 860 and brought to Rome. His 9th-C. Church Slavonic vita, perhaps composed by Methodios, draws heavily on Greek sources (I. Ševčenko in *To Honor Roman Jakobson*, vol. 3 [The Hague 1967] 1817). The existence of Constantine's original Greek works, esp. concerned with St. Clement's relics, can only be deduced from references or surviving fragments in Church Slavonic sources.

SOURCES. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantina i Metodego* (Poznań 1959) 3–93. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes* (Zagreb 1960).
LIT. *Kirilometodievska bibliografija 1940–1980*, ed. I. Dujčev et al. (Sofia 1983). V. Vavřínek, B. Zástěrová, "Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Great Moravian Culture," *BS* 43 (1982) 161–88. F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*[2] (Hattiesburg, Miss., 1969). Idem, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) 53–145. Vlasto, *Entry* 26–66. –P.A.H.

CONSTANTINE TICH, Bulgarian monarch (1257–77), whose reign coincided with a period of bitter internal feuding and repeated foreign invasions. After the murder of Tsar Michael Asen and the brief reign of Sebastokrator Koloman (probably murdered), Constantine was proclaimed tsar by a group of boyars. No sooner had he suppressed a revolt by a certain Mico, son-in-law of John Asen II, than he was faced by a Hungarian invasion, in which he lost much of northwestern Bulgaria to the Hungarians. By dynastic marriages, successively to Irene, daughter of Theodore II Laskaris, and to Maria, niece of Michael VIII, Constantine sought in vain to assure himself of Byz. support. In 1263 the Byz. invaded Thrace, took PHILIPPOPOLIS, and advanced toward Sofia, but the Hungarians drove them back. In desperation Constantine made an alliance with the MONGOL Golden Horde in southern Russia. Their combined forces advanced nearly to Constantinople, but when the Mongols withdrew with their booty, Constantine had to fall back empty-handed. Exploiting Bulgarian weakness, the Hungarians extended their rule and that of their Bulgarian puppet Svetoslav. All that was left to Constantine was the territory between the Danube and the Balkan range east of the river Iskŭr, and from 1271 even that was regularly raided by the Mongols, with whom Michael VIII had allied. By the end of his reign Constantine was a virtual vassal of the Mongols.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 172–183. P.S. Srećković, "Rasprava o Konstantinu Tehu," *Srpska Kraljevska Akademija, Glas* 2 (1888) 1–90. Zlatarski, *Ist.*, vol. 3 (1940) 476–551. –R.B.

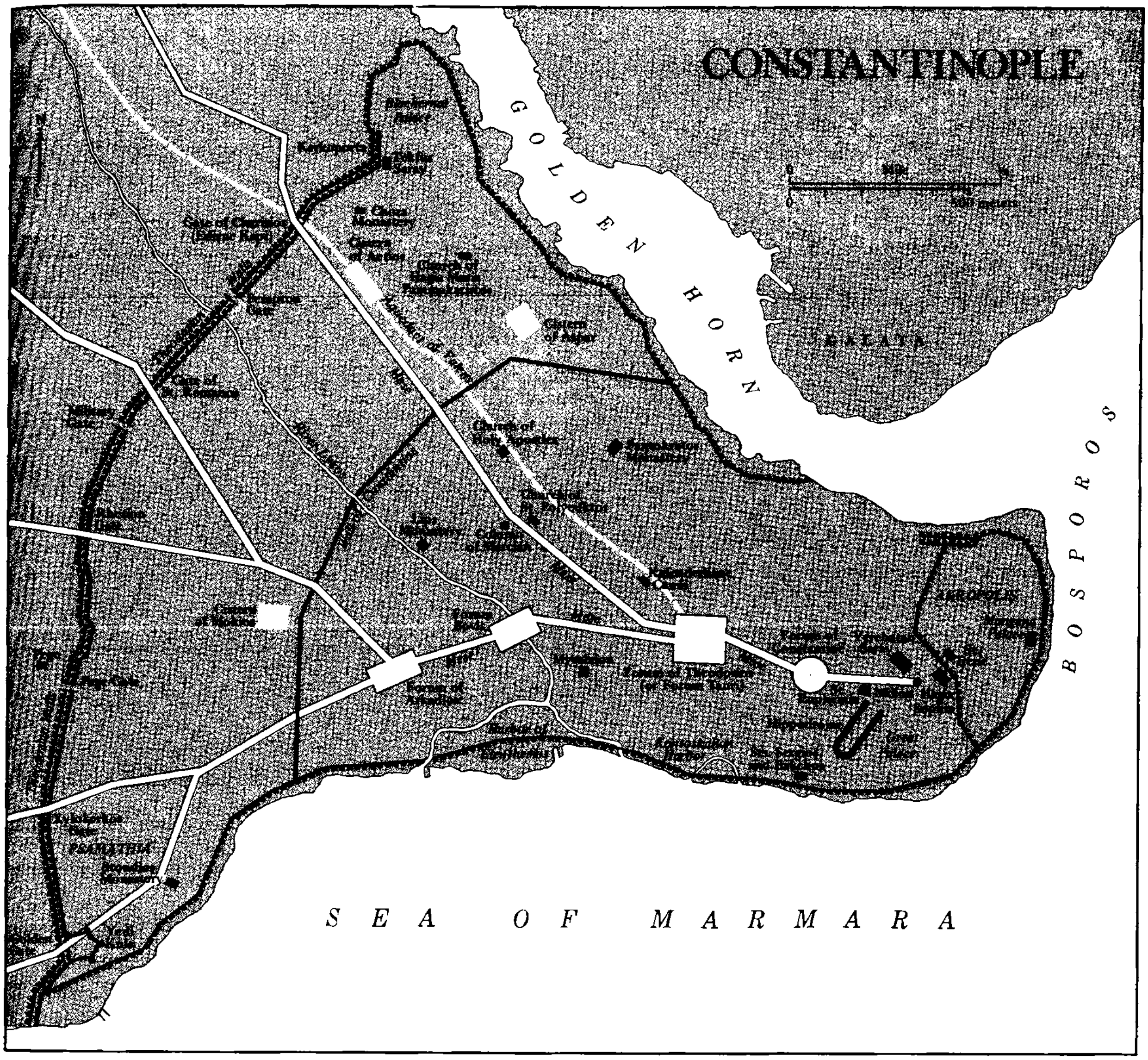
CONSTANTINOPLE. [This entry treats the history and development of the city of Constantinople. For a discussion of its public monuments, city walls, and cisterns, see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF. The capture of the city by the Turks is treated in CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF. Individual monasteries and churches are the subject of independent entries.]

Capital of the Byz. Empire, Constantinople (Κωνσταντινούπολις, Turk. Istanbul) was founded by Constantine I in 324 on the site of the Greek city of BYZANTION and dedicated on 11 May 330. The creation of imperial seats of government in the provinces was in line with the policy of the Tetrarchy; Diocletian had already established his residence in nearby NIKOMEDEIA. If Constantine was not satisfied with Nikomedeia, it was probably because he considered Byzantion to be strategically more advantageous. It commanded access to the Black Sea and lay at the juncture of two military highways, the European Via EGNATIA and the road leading from CHALCEDON to Nikomedeia and points farther east. Yet the site of Byzantion also had the great weakness of being unprotected on the landward side by any natural barrier—a factor that came into play barely 50 years later and posed thereafter a constant threat.

Constantinople was formed by the expansion of Byzantion. The new center of imperial authority, consisting of the complex of the GREAT PALACE and HIPPODROME, was placed within the ancient city. From there a colonnaded street, already built by Septimius Severus, ran to the old city gate. Constantine laid out a circular forum outside the gate and continued the main artery (later named MESE) in a straight line westward. About 1.2 km west of the forum a Capitolium was set up. There the street forked, one arm extending southwest to the Golden Gate (near the mosque Isakapı Mescidi; to be distinguished from the Theodosian GOLDEN GATE), the other northwest to meet a new line of walls that described an arc from the Propontis to the Golden Horn, roughly from the modern quarter of Samatya (PSAMATHIA) to that of Cibali. No maritime defenses were put up since at the time there was no threat from the sea.

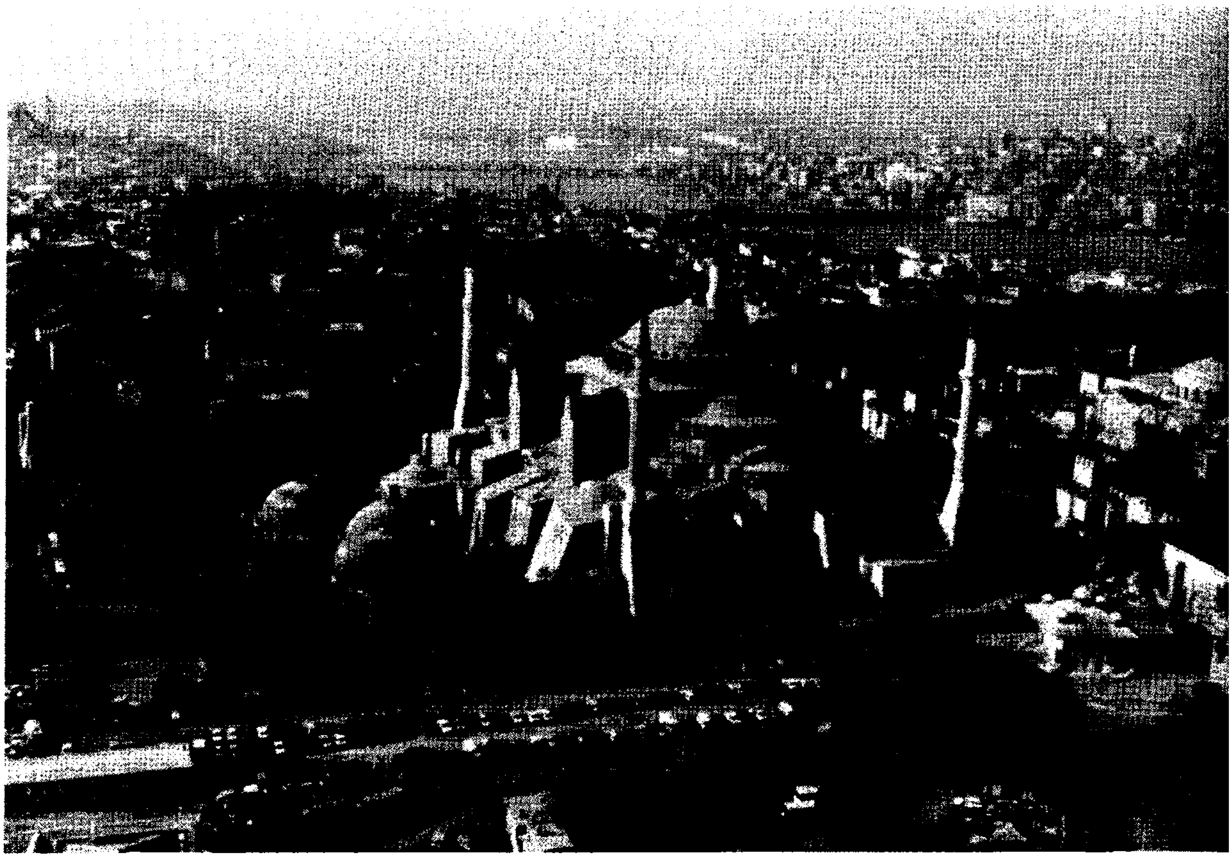
Constantine envisaged a sharp increase in the population and made arrangements for grain supply from Egypt amounting to 80,000 rations—perhaps a target rather than the figure requisite at the time. Indeed, the population did climb steeply in the 4th–5th C., a process that is reflected in gradually expanded harbor capacity, granaries, and water supply. It is difficult to determine when it reached its peak or to estimate a maximal population figure (opinions have ranged between 250,000 and 1,000,000). Clearly, so large a center of consumption could be maintained only thanks to a complex and potentially vulnerable system of provisioning dependent on Egypt. In addition to the subsidized supply of BREAD (and oil?) such comforts as were expected in the biggest cities (i.e., luxurious public baths and entertainment in theaters and the circus) attracted people to Constantinople.

The oft-repeated statement that Constantine



willed his new residence to have from the start a purely Christian character is not substantiated by the evidence. The old pagan temples on the Acropolis and elsewhere were not disturbed and the Capitolium, which may be attributed to Constantine, had a clearly pagan character. Constantine probably built no more than three churches: St. Irene to serve as cathedral, and two martyria dedicated to local martyrs, St. Akakios (near the Golden Horn) and St. Mokios in the cemetery area outside the land walls. The Church of the Holy Apostles was built by Constantius II next to Constantine's mausoleum.

The Gothic invasion and the defeat of the emperor Valens at Adrianople (378) served to underline the vulnerability of Constantinople and necessitated new defensive measures, esp. to protect the water supply only recently guaranteed by the construction of a network of aqueducts extending as far as Bizye in Thrace and possibly farther west, a distance of some 100 km. It was probably to this end, and not because of a multiplication of exposed suburbs, that by 413 the land walls were extended 1.5 km to the west of the Constantinian circuit. The wide belt of land that was added to the city appears to have been sparsely



CONSTANTINOPLE. Hagia Sophia and the Golden Horn, viewed from the southeast. To the right, the Church of St. Irene. The bridges lead across to Galata.

populated and much of it was taken up by cemeteries. Three enormous open-air cisterns were there—with a total capacity of approximately 1,000,000 sq. m—those of Aetios (421), Aspar (459), and St. Mokios (ascribed to Anastasios I). Somewhat later, a forward defensive line was built from SELYMBRIA to the Black Sea at a distance of 65 km from the city: this was the so-called Anastasian or LONG WALL, 45 km long. Fairly effective for a time, it was abandoned in the 7th C. because of the difficulty of keeping it manned and repaired.

The emperors of the Theodosian line made a sustained effort to embellish Constantinople and provide it with further public works such as granaries and the great Theodosian harbor on the Propontis. Simultaneously members of their family and government officials invested heavily in real estate, building for themselves mansions of princely magnificence. The only extant statistical account of the city, the NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE, dates from this period (ca.425): it describes briefly the 14 urban Regions and lists the principal monuments contained in each one. Twelve of the Regions were within the Constantinian walls; the 13th was at Sykai (GALATA), the 14th at an unknown location (Eyüb?) up the Golden Horn. All in all there were 5 palaces, 14 churches, 8 public and 153 private baths, 4 forums, 4 harbors, 52 major colonnaded streets, 322 other streets, and 4,388 *domus* (substantial masonry houses?). Multistory tenement houses clearly existed, for their height was limited by law to 100 ft., and specific regulations protected the right to a view of the sea, governed the distance between houses, the width of streets, etc. (*Cod.Just.* VIII 10.12, reign of Zeno). Constantinople was becoming overcrowded.

The second half of the 5th C. ushered in a period of mounting civil strife and frequent FIRES,

the most serious being that of 465, which destroyed about half the city. Circus riots became common: the NIKA REVOLT of 532 left the center of the city in ashes—allowing Justinian I to indulge his passion for building. Prokopios (*Buildings*, bk.1) provides a detailed description of Justinian's (and Justin I's) constructions, which suggests, apart from such public buildings as had to be rebuilt after the fire, a shift towards churches, 33 of which are mentioned. The churches built or rebuilt under Justinian include HAGIA SOPHIA, Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, and St. Irene. Another large church built in the Justinianic period was St. POLYEUKTOS. The population of the city was, however, gravely depleted, perhaps halved by the PLAGUE of 542.

Building activity at Constantinople continued until ca.600, then ground to a halt. In 618 grain supply from Egypt was permanently discontinued. In 626 Constantinople suffered its first siege, the cutting of its major source of water (restored only in 768), and the devastation of both its European and Asiatic suburbs. In 674–78 Arab fleets blockaded it. In 715 Anastasios II, foreseeing another Arab attack, expelled all inhabitants who were unable to lay up provisions for three years: only a shrunken population could have survived the Arab siege of 717–18. In 740 a terrible earthquake threw down a considerable portion of the walls; the catastrophic plague of 747 followed.

Practically no building, other than defensive, is recorded for the period ca.600–ca.780. By the end of the period of Iconoclasm, Constantinople must have had a population of a few tens of thousands living amid the ruins of past glories. Only one public granary appears to have survived, and one harbor (out of four) continued to function for nonmilitary purposes. The great public baths and theaters were abandoned. Limited construction was resumed under Irene; Theophilos repaired the sea walls; Basil I undertook a sustained effort of rebuilding mostly churches that had fallen into ruin (31 are named). The pattern of imperial munificence, already foreshadowed by Justinian, shifted decisively to imperial palaces, churches, and hospices for the poor and the ill; what had earlier been the "civic" sphere was abandoned.

Doubtless Constantinople started to recover in the 9th C., with a gradual rise in population and an expansion of commercial and artisanal activities. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, while silent about many crafts, mentions the importation of commodities both from the provinces and foreign countries (silk, linen, unguents, honey, wax, soap). The textile industry was active, but exports severely discouraged. Shops along the main street were beginning to charge high rents (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 26 [1972] 345–55). Probably the opening up of the Black Sea by the Kievan princes, for all the dangers it brought (witness the attacks on Constantinople in 860, 941, and 1043), benefited trade. Even so, little was built in the 10th C.

The 11th–12th C. witnessed further expansion. Artisanal occupations became profitable, tradesmen exerted a growing influence on political affairs, and new crafts were developed (e.g., the manufacture of bronze DOORS), some of which were exported to Italy. Of greater importance was the installation of foreign trading colonies. While the Rus' in the 10th C. were kept at arm's length at St. Mamas on the lower BOSPOROS, the Amalfitans, Venetians, Pisans, Genoese, Anconitans, and Germans gained concessions along the Golden Horn, opposite Galata, acquiring their own landing facilities, storehouses, and churches. The size of the colony of LATINS in the late 12th C. has been estimated at about 7,000 (Hendy, *Economy* 593f), although much higher figures are given in some sources.

In terms of construction a feature of the 11th–12th C. is the establishment by emperors and members of the aristocracy of great urban "abbeys"—monasteries in name, they also served educational, welfare, and financial functions. Such were the monasteries of the Virgin PERIBLEPTOS, of KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, of the MANGANA, and of Christ PANTOKRATOR, and the ORPHANAGE of St. Paul (enlarged by Alexios I), the last so big that a tour of it required a whole day.

The great fire of 1203 and the Latin occupation (1204–61) destroyed the prosperity of the Komnenian city, which was subjected to systematic spoliation. The initial recovery under the Palaiologoi is mostly reflected in further imperial and aristocratic monasteries, some of which survive (St. Andrew in Krisei, the Virgin PAMMAKARISTOS, Christ of the CHORA, etc.). By the middle of the 14th C. decay had set in. Travelers from abroad (CLAVIJO, Pero TAFUR, BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE, Buondelmonti) describe a partially deserted city contrasting with the bustle of Genoese

Pera across the water. When it was stormed by the Turks in 1453, Constantinople probably had a population of 50,000.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* Janin, *Églises CP.* Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon.* C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985). A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899). G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974). J. Ebersolt, *Constantinople byzantine et les voyageurs du Levant* (Paris 1918). A.M. Schneider, *Byzanz* (Berlin 1936). E. Mamboury, "Les fouilles byzantines à Istanbul," *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 229–83; 13 (1938) 301–10; 21 (1951) 425–59. –C.M.

CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF. Constantinople was the site of many ecumenical and local councils.

CONSTANTINOPLE I. Summoned by THEODOSIOS I (May–9 July 381), this second ecumenical council of some 150 bishops had as its object the final settlement of the Arian controversy. Although no Western representatives attended, by 451 the council was deemed important enough to be universally accepted as ecumenical. Under the presidency of Meletios, bishop of Antioch (360–81), the synod endorsed the faith of the First Council of NICAEA as well as the full consubstantiality and divinity of the Holy Spirit. In effect, both PNEUMATOMACHOI and followers of APOLLINARIS were condemned. Probably the so-called Niceno-Constantinopolitan CREED, which CHALCEDON later attributed to the council, was originally a local baptismal profession of faith containing the Nicene formula. It may in fact have existed as early as 362. Finally, the council proclaimed Constantinople as the second see of Christendom with honorary precedence over all other sees, except the elder Rome (canon 3). The basis of this primacy, as the canon succinctly states, was the city's political standing—"because it is New Rome." The acts of the council either did not survive, or, more probably, never existed.

LIT. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2:1–48. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds* (New York 1981) 296–331. *GOrThR* 27.4 (1982) 359–453 (fascicle dedicated to the council). A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965). E. Chrysos, "Die Akten des Konzils von Konstantinopel I (381)," *Romanitas-Christianitas* (Berlin–New York 1982) 426–35. –A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE II. The fifth ecumenical council (5 May–2 June 553) was convened by JUSTINIAN I to reconcile the proponents of MONOPHYSITISM by convincing them that the Council of CHALCEDON had not lapsed into NESTORIANISM or denied the Council of EPHESUS. Therefore the council condemned the THREE CHAPTERS (the person of THEODORE OF EDESSA, and some writings of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and IBAS of Edessa), which the Monophysites had viewed as anti-Cyrillian and hence Nestorian. Although initially apprehensive that the council was rejecting Chalcedon, Pope VIGILIUS eventually accepted the council's decisions (Dec. 553). As a matter of plain fact, the posthumous condemnation of the three 5th-C. authors of the Three Chapters reaffirmed and preserved the authority of Chalcedon and CYRIL of Alexandria. Thus the modern criticism (C. Moeller) that the council's NEO-CHALCEDONISM opposed authentic Chalcedonian Christology and somehow betrayed Chalcedon is unwarranted. The council also anathematized ORIGEN. This was aimed at the Origenist monastic parties of Egypt and Palestine, who had proposed their own heretical solution to the Christological problem.

Reconciliation, however, proved impossible, as Monophysitism was by then too deeply entrenched to be influenced by the emperor's desperate bargains or anti-Nestorian zeal. The Egyptians, as SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem put it, were not a race to change their minds or end their hostility toward the central government of Constantinople.

SOURCES. Mansi 9:171–657. PG 86:945–93. E. Schwartz, *Drei dogmatische Schriften Iustinians* (Munich 1939). *ACO* 4:1.

LIT. C. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en orient de 451 à la fin du VI[e] siècle," in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 1:637–720. E. Chrysos, *Die Bischofslisten des V. ökumenischen Konzils (553)* (Bonn 1966). Idem, *He ekklesiastike politike tou Ioustinianou kata ten erin peri ta tria kephalaia kai ten E' oikoumeniken synodon* (Thessalonike 1969). F.X. Murphy, P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et III* (Paris 1974) 9–130. E. Zettl, *Die Bestätigung des V. ökumenischen Konzils durch Papst Vigilius* (Bonn 1974). –A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE III. The sixth ecumenical council (7 Nov. 680–16 Sept. 681) was convoked by CONSTANTINE IV to settle the controversy over MONOTHELETISM. This doctrine was used by the government early in the 7th C. to conciliate the dissident Monophysites. The council drew up a comprehensive decree in which the reality of Christ's two wills and two *energeiai* (operations), one divine and the other human, were acknowledged and declared inseparably united to one another (Mansi 11:637B). For if there were two natures in the incarnate Christ, as Chalcedonian

Christology affirmed, there had to be two wills. All those accused of Monotheletism were anathematized, including Pope Honorius (625–38), who had given his written approval to the doctrine, and four patriarchs of Constantinople (e.g., SERGIOS I and PYRRHOS). The earlier opponents of Monotheletism, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, Pope MARTIN I, and SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, were thus vindicated. To complete its work and to issue disciplinary canons, the TRULLO council convened in 691–92.

SOURCE. Mansi 11:189–922.

LIT. W.M. Peitz, "Martin I. und Maximus Confessor: Beiträge zur Geschichte des Monotheletenstreites in den Jahren 645–668," *HistJb* 38 (1917) 213–36, 429–58. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme," *EO* 27 (1928) 6–16, 257–77; 28 (1929) 19–34, 272–82; 29 (1930) 16–28. F.X. Murphy, P. Sherwood, *Constantinople II et III* (Paris 1974) 133–260. R. Riedinger, *Die Präsenz- und Subscriptionslisten des VI. oekumenischen Konzils (680/81)* (Munich 1979). –A.P.

COUNCIL OF 869–70. BASIL I convoked this council (5 Oct. 869–28 Feb. 870) to settle the Photian schism and to restore communion with Rome. In the presence of three papal legates, Patr. PHOTIOS was deposed and anathematized and his predecessor IGNATIOS reinstated. Despite protests from the Roman delegation, it was announced at the council that Bulgaria was placed under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Constantinople. In addition, 27 canons were issued endorsing such matters as the theory of the PENTARCHY and the veneration of images (canons 3 and 21).

Following the restoration of Photios, the decisions of 869–70 were annulled at the council of Constantinople of 879–80 (see below). The council of 869–70 was therefore omitted from the list of ecumenical councils recognized by the Latin church, until the second half of the 11th C. After the dispute with MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, the West began to include it among the ecumenical councils. This interpretation was due (as Dvornik conclusively demonstrated) to Western canonists, who thought the council had not been annulled in 879. Except for a synopsis of the original Greek text (Mansi 16:308–420), the council's acts survive only in the Latin translation of ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS.

SOURCE. Mansi 16:1–208.

LIT. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 132–58. D. Stiernon, *Constantinople IV* (Paris 1967). *Der Kampf um das Menschenbild. Das achte ökumenische Konzil von 869/70 und seine Folgen*, ed. H.H. Schöffler (Dornach 1986). –A.P.

COUNCIL OF 879–80. This council composed of 383 bishops solemnly recognized PHOTIOS as patriarch and annulled the decisions of the anti-Photian council of Constantinople of 869–70 (see above). As Dvornik has shown, its rehabilitation and vindication of Photios definitively ended the Photian schism, because the pope, JOHN VIII, never repudiated the council's decisions, to which two papal legates had subscribed. Thus the "second schism" described by subsequent "legend" never occurred. On the contrary, the council succeeded at achieving reunion and was even recognized in Rome as "ecumenical" until the Gregorian Reform, when the official Roman tradition was abandoned in favor of the council of 869.

Likewise with Rome's full endorsement, the council anathematized anyone who would tamper with the original text of the creed (Mansi 17:520E–521A). Although the "privileges" of Rome were recognized, the canonical and judicial authority of pope and patriarch were defined in terms of equality (canon 1). Papal jurisdiction over the Byz. church was thus excluded. The council's decisions were inserted in every subsequent Orthodox collection of canon law and normally followed those of the first seven ecumenical councils. It is referred to as "ecumenical" by some Byz. authors.

SOURCE. Mansi 17:373–526.

LIT. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 159–201. J. Meijer, *A Successful Council of Union: A Theological Analysis of the Photian Synod of 879–880* (Thessalonike 1975). J.L. Boojamra, "The Photian Synod of 879–80 and the Papal Commonitorium (879)," *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 1–23. V. Peri, "Il concilio di Costantinopoli dell'879–80 come problema filologico e storiografico," *AnnHistCon* 9 (1977) 29–42. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 754. See HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 815. This council, which met in Hagia Sophia in spring 815, marks the second restoration of ICONOCLASM. The iconodule patriarch NIKEPHOROS I was deposed shortly before the council and replaced by the Iconoclast THEODOTOS I. Promoted by LEO V, who was convinced that the military disasters of his imperial predecessors, IRENE and NIKEPHOROS I, were caused by their support of images, the council repudiated the decisions of NICAEA II (787) and reaffirmed those of HIERIA (754). Although a committee headed by JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS had assembled a *florilegium* in preparation for the council, its renewed opposition to image venera-

tion was based on a repetition of the Christological arguments of Hieria: an icon either depicts the uncircumscribable Godhead, or else divides the Lord's humanity from his divinity, thus compounding the evil (Ostrogorsky, *infra* 50). The council's doctrinal definition (*Horos*) called icons "spurious" and ordered their destruction, but (unlike Hieria) refrained from declaring them idols. Only fragments of the acts of 815 survive.

SOURCE. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 46–60.
LIT. P.J. Alexander, "The Iconoclastic Council of St. Sophia (815) and Its Definition (Horos)," *DOP* 7 (1953) 35–66. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 843. Summoned by the widowed empress THEODORA on the first Sunday of Lent (11 March 843), this council marks the official destruction of ICONOCLASM and the solemn restoration of image veneration in the Byz. church. The deliberations of this assembly are lost. Its restoration of images was understandably based on the authoritative decisions of NICAEA II (787). Hence its excommunication of all those who stubbornly clung to the belief that the incarnate Lord was "indescribable." The council also deposed the patriarch JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, replacing him with METHODIOS I. Later the liturgical text of the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY was composed to commemorate the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

LIT. C. Mango, "The Liquidation of Iconoclasm and the Patriarch Photios," in *Iconoclasm*, 133–40. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 920. The council settled the controversy over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, which had divided the Byz. church for nearly two decades. In effect, it successfully resolved the schism between, on the one hand, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS and his followers, who had been unwilling to sanction either the union of LEO VI with ZOE KARBONOPSINA or its issue, and, on the other, the bishops supporting EUTHYMIOS, who had granted the desired dispensation. Specifically, fourth marriages were explicitly banned by the council's TOMOS OF UNION (9 July 920). Although third marriages were condemned, childless widowers under 40 years of age were exempt, while those with children were subject to a four-year penance. The council, according to Nicholas's correspondence (ed. Jenkins and Westerink, ep.94, 361.20–22), also made provisions for restoring bishops expelled from their sees during the controversy.

SOURCE. *Tomos unionis—Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople: Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1981) 56–85, with Eng. tr. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1094. This council was convened by Alexios I in Blachernai in order to resolve the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON. The chronology of the synod is obscure: Grumel (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.967) and Beck (*Kirche* 57) date it in 1092, Gautier (*infra*) at the end of 1094, A. Glabinas (*He epi Alexiou Komnenou [1081–1118] peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* [Thessalonike 1972] 179–82) at the beginning of 1095.

ED. and LIT. P. Gautier, "Le synode de Blachernes (fin1094). Etude prosopgraphique," *REB* 29 (1971) 213–84. –A.K.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1156–57. The two sessions, 26 Jan. 1156 and 12 May 1157, met to discuss the teaching of the patriarch-elect Soterichos PANTEUGENOS concerning Christ's sacrifice on the Cross. The council affirmed through its spokesman, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, that the sacrifice of the Cross and the eucharistic sacrifice (which were one and the same) were offered to the entire Trinity, rather than to the Father alone as Panteugenos maintained. The council reasoned that the redemptive or "economic" activity of God, of which Christ's oblation was the expression, was a Trinitarian action involving all three persons of the Trinity. In addition, the council (quoting the liturgical formula of the CHEROUBIKON) argued that because of the single hypostatic union of Christ, the Logos both "offers and is offered, receives and is received." The anathemas condemning Panteugenos were entered into the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY (Gouillard, "Synodikon" 72–74, 210–15).

SOURCES. *Acta*—PG 140:148–201. *Patmiake Bibliotheke*, ed. I. Sakkellion (Athens 1890) 316–28.
LIT. P. Čeremuchin, "Konstantinopol'skij Sobor 1157," *Bogoslovskie Trudy* 1 (Moscow 1960) 87–109. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 1038, 1041. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1166–67. This council involved a series of meetings summoned by Emp. MANUEL I KOMNENOS to pronounce on the meaning of the text, "The Father is greater than I" (Jn 14:28). The origins of the controversy lie in the active political and ideological relations with the West during Manuel's reign. It is usually agreed that his ambassador, DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, introduced this controversy in Byz. after discussing the question with Western theologians during his mis-

sions to Italy and Germany. In the debate, the opposition argued that the Son could not be inferior to the Father because Christ's humanity had been deified and was thus "one" with his divinity. The council found this interpretation close to MONOPHYSITISM and unacceptable. Specifically, the reality of Christ's humanity, as concrete humanity—"created and mortal"—was inferior to God. The hypostatic union of Christ's two natures (as defined by the Council of CHALCEDON) did not erase the differences between Christ's humanity and divinity; his divinity was greater. Likewise, in Trinitarian theology proper, the Father was considered "greater" than the Son inasmuch as he is hypostatically the unique cause, the *principium divinitatis* of both the Son and the Spirit. Finally, the council also found unacceptable the following three interpretations: that the Johannine text separated intellectually Christ's human from his divine nature; that it underlined his *kenosis*, or condescension, during the Incarnation; and that it indicated his position (due to his shared humanity) as God's favored Son. The council's condemnation of the opposition was subsequently inserted in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. The marble plates on which its decision was inscribed were placed in Hagia Sophia (C. Mango, *DOP* 17 [1963] 317–30). The problems of this council continued to be discussed during the session of Feb. 1170.

SOURCES. PG 140:201–84. S.N. Sakkos, "He en Konstantinoupolei synodos tou 1170," in *Theologikon Symposion in Honor of P. Chrestou* (Thessalonike 1967) 313–52. Gouillard, "Synodikon" 76–80, 216–26.

LIT. S.N. Sakkos, *"Ho Pater meizon mou estin" B'. Erides kai synodoi kata ton IB' aiona* (Thessalonike 1968). P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. *RegPatr,* fasc. 1, nos. 1060, 1062, 1065, 1076. G. Thetford, "The Christological Councils of 1166 and 1170 in Constantinople," *SVThQ* 31 (1987) 143–61. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1285, also known as the Second Council of Blachernai (5 Feb.–Aug. 1285). Presided over by Patr. GREGORY II, the council was convoked at BLACHERNAI to decide whether the expression "from the Son" (Lat. FILIOQUE) was equivalent to the patristic phrase "through the Son" advocated by the Unionist ex-patriarch JOHN XI BEKKOS, who held that the hypostatic existence or procession of the Spirit was "through" or "from" the Son. The council pronounced this unacceptable, for the Spirit's eternal mode of origin is an act of the hypostasis of the Father and not of the essence. Rather than revealing the Spirit's personal procession, the phrase "through the Son" simply refers to the Spirit's energetic, eternal manifestation by the Son—an activity common to all three divine persons (Tomos, PG 142:240C–D). Only in this sense is the Spirit said to proceed through or even from the Son (*ex patre filioque*). Besides condemning Bekkos, the assembly formally repudiated the Council of LYONS (1274). Although several ecclesiastics subsequently opposed the synodal Tomos of 1285, penned by Gregory himself, the church never altered or rejected it. Thus it holds a permanent place in Orthodox tradition. The council, in fact, is of major importance as the only official *conciliar* reaction of Byz. to the *filioque*. It should be noted that the same distinctions among ENERGY, HYPOSTASIS, and SUBSTANCE, which Gregory made and the council endorsed, were later elaborated and developed by Gregory PALAMAS.

SOURCES. Tomos—PG 142:233–46. V. Laurent, "Les signataires du second synode des Blachernes (été 1285)," *EO* 26 (1927) 129–49.

LIT. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 62–101, 155–67 (tr. of Tomos). –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1341. The council was convoked (10 June) under the presidency of Emp. ANDRONIKOS III to resolve the dispute between Gregory PALAMAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. Both Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and future Emp. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS were present. The one-day session was unfavorable to Barlaam, who therefore soon left Constantinople. A second council, with the same participants, convened in Aug. and condemned Gregory AKINDYNOS, who had continued the struggle on Barlaam's departure. Since Andronikos had died days after the June debate, Kantakouzenos presided.

The synodal Tomos published after the Aug. meeting is unmistakably Palamite in content (cf. PG 151:680B, 688C), reflecting the victory won for HESYCHASM. Because it concentrates solely on the June meeting and fails to mention the second council in Aug. and its formal condemnation of Akindynos, its authenticity has been questioned. Indeed, M. Jugie (*DTC* 11 [1932] 1778–84) criticized the document as unreliable, a tampered version of the June debate that Kantakouzenos had forced Kalekas to sign. J. Meyendorff, however, has argued that the political rivalry between

Kalekas and Kantakouzenos for control of the regency explains the shape of the Tomos. Specifically, Kalekas refused to present the Aug. synod as official because his adversary had usurped an imperial prerogative by presiding over it; acknowledging the second council would have implied support of Kantakouzenos's imperial ambitions. Kalekas, therefore, accepted only the earlier synod—excluding the Aug. session—simply because it was the one at which Andronikos had presided, hence the shape of the Tomos.

SOURCE. Tomos—PG 151:679–92.

LIT. J. Bois, "Le synode hésychaste de 1341," *EO* 6 (1903) 50–60. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 103–12. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 42–62. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1347. This council of 8 Feb. reconfirmed the decisions of 1341, which had settled the controversy between Gregory PALAMAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA over HESYCHASM. These decisions had been overturned by the regency of ANNA OF SAVOY and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS during the long civil war (1341–47). The synodal Tomos of 1347 actually incorporates the decisions reached by an earlier assembly (2 Feb.), days before the triumphant entry of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS into Constantinople. Favoring PALAMISM, these decisions include the deposition of Kalekas and the excommunication of AKINDYNOS. The text gives a Kantakouzenist version of the civil war by blaming Kalekas alone, rather than Anna or Alexios APOKAUKOS, both of whom are viewed as the patriarch's victims. Aside from its "legitimist" interpretation of the war, the Tomos also ratifies the doctrinal decisions of the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see above) and lifts Kalekas's excommunication of Palamas. The document contains signatures of three sets of bishops: those present on 2 Feb., those who signed before the enthronement of the new hesychast patriarch ISIDORE I (17 May), and those who signed afterward, including Palamas as newly elected archbishop of Thessalonike.

SOURCE. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm* (London 1974) pt.VII (1963), 209–27. –A.P.

LOCAL COUNCIL OF 1351. Although the church had approved PALAMISM as early as the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see above), political circumstances had denied it a conclusive victory. The anti-Palamite camp and its leading spokesman, Nikephoros GREGORAS, continued their opposition even after the second approval of the doctrine (1347) and the condemnation of its earlier opponents, BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and Gregory AKINDYNOS. Therefore Emp. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS convened the synod in Blachernai (28 May) to reaffirm the decisions of 1341 and 1347. Gregory PALAMAS, Patr. KALLISTOS I, and the opposition were all present. The dissidents were heard in several sessions, then finally condemned (9 June); the council assembled in July without them.

This session approved Palamas's theology in detail. Specifically, it sanctioned both his defense of the deification of man in Christ and his distinction between substance and energies; it also categorically denied the claim that the uncreated energy introduced a complexity (*syntheton*) in God (PG 151:732AB). The synodal Tomos incorporating these decisions, evidently written by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, metropolitan of Herakleia, was signed in Aug. in Hagia Sophia (*Reg* 5, no.2982). JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, who was not in Constantinople then, signed in Feb. or Mar. 1352 (R.J. Loenertz, *BZ* 47 [1954] 116). The council's decisions were later inserted into the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. By the end of the century, the whole Eastern church had recognized and accepted this unconditional canonization of Palamite doctrine.

SOURCE. Tomos—PG 151:717–63.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Ein byzantinisches Staatsdokument in der Universitätsbibliothek Basel: ein Fragment des Tomos des Jahres 1351," *HistJb* 72 (1953) 205–21. A. Dold, *Das Geheimnis einer byzantinischen Staatsurkunde aus dem Jahre 1351* (Beuron 1958). Meyendorff, *Palamas* 94–101. –A.P.

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF. The architectural monuments of Constantinople may be considered from the point of view of the following three topics: public monuments, cisterns, and walls. The principal churches and palaces are the subject of independent entries.

PUBLIC MONUMENTS. The architectural development of Constantinople may be divided into three main periods.

First Period (4th–early 7th C.). Constantinople was built as a late antique city with all the normal features of contemporary urbanism, only more magnificent. A straight avenue bordered by colonnades (EMBOLOI) was obligatory: at Constantinople this was the MESE, which ran from the arch

of the Milion near the HIPPODROME to the Capitolium, a distance of 1.7 km, then as far again to the Constantinian Golden Gate. This longitudinal avenue was crossed at right angles by another (later called *emboloi tou Domninou*), with a tetrapylon at the intersection. At intervals along the main avenue were squares, or forums (see AGORA), each adorned with suitable monuments. Two of these were inherited from ancient BYZANTION, namely the Strategion, later remodeled by Theodosios I, and the TETRASTOON, which became the AUGUSTAION.

The *umbilicus* of Constantine's city consisted of a circular forum (called simply *ho Phoros*) bordered by porticoes. At its center stood a column (see COLUMNS, HONORIFIC) made of drums of porphyry and supporting a statue of the emperor wearing a radiate crown. The column is still preserved in a truncated form (Turk. Cemberlitaş). On the north side of the Phoros was the SENATE HOUSE with a porch of porphyry columns; facing it on the south was a monumental fountain (*nymphaeum*). The next forum to the west (Forum Tauri, corresponding to modern Beyazit) was laid out by Theodosios I in imitation of Trajan's Forum in Rome: it had a triumphal arch on each side (parts of the west one are preserved; see ARCH, MONUMENTAL), a basilica and, on axis, a gigantic column covered with spiral reliefs commemorating the emperor's military exploits (destroyed ca.1500).

The next two forums to the west, the Forum Bovis (*ho Bous*) and the Amastrianos, are poorly documented. Then, on the city's seventh hill (Xerolophos), was the Forum of Arkadios, with a second spirally decorated column (pedestal preserved). At the western limit of the walled city, the GOLDEN GATE (both Constantine's original and that constructed by Theodosios II farther west) had the form of a triumphal arch; evidence indicates that the processional way linking the two gates also received a monumental treatment.

Nearly every emperor from Constantine I to Phokas commemorated his reign by erecting monuments in the capital. Beyond those already mentioned, only two survive: the so-called Column of the Goths on the Seraglio Point, which may be Constantine's, and Marcian's Column. The colossal Corinthian capital discovered in 1959 in the courtyard of the Seraglio has been linked to a column of Leo I and the Barletta Colossus (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33). Justinian I was glorified by a column and equestrian statue in the Augustaion; Justin II erected a column of his own in the quarter called Deuteron and started to build another one (not completed) near the baths of Zeuxippos; Phokas put up a column near the Tetrapylon. In addition to imperial monuments, several statues of pagan gods, mythological figures, philosophers, and so on were imported from other cities by Constantine and his successors and placed in public baths, forums, the Hippodrome, and elsewhere. New honorific statues of persons other than emperors were also made, the last recorded one being a statue of Niketas, cousin of Herakleios (ca.614). A monumental weathervane called the ANEMODOULION was decorated with bronze statues. These display monuments were put up for the city's adornment but also to express certain ideological messages (e.g., imperial victory, the wisdom of the senate, etc.) and to provide an appropriate setting for ceremonial occasions.

Public buildings of an ornate character included the two Senate Houses; the BASILIKE next to the Augustaion, which appears to have been a vast stoa with a gilded roof surrounding a central courtyard; the theaters (of which little is known); the Roman amphitheater (Kynegion) and the HIPPODROME; the public BATHS, the biggest of which may have been the Constantianai (begun 345, completed 427) and which also included the Karosianai (built by Valens in 375), the Arkadianai (395), the Honorianai (412), the Helenianai, and the bath of Dagistheos (started by Anastasios I, completed by Justinian in 528) in addition to the famous baths of ZEUXIPPOS and the ancient bath of Achilles near the Strategion. The construction of baths was a favored sector of imperial munificence because of the popularity of bathing.

Also constructed in the capital during the 4th through 6th C. were the GREAT PALACE and the Hormisdas, Antiochos, and Lausos palaces. The principal churches erected in this period were St. Mary of BLACHERNAI and St. Mary at CHALKOPRATEIA, the Basilica of St. John at the STOUDIOS MONASTERY, St. POLYEUKTOS, HAGIA SOPHIA, St. IRENE, Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, and the HOLY APOSTLES.

Second Period (7th–12th C.). The construction of display monuments ended in the early 7th C., by which time the city or, at any rate, its main

avenues and squares must have resembled a vast stage set. The "dark age" that followed caused the abandonment of earlier urbanistic practices, the gradual ruination of public buildings, and a shift in popular mentality: the monuments that remained were no longer understood for what they were and assumed a mythic character. They were invested with occult power, either beneficent or maleficent, and interpreted as presages of things to come. The cryptic messages they conveyed could be decoded only by "philosophers." It is in this manner that they are interpreted in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

The so-called Macedonian Renaissance brought a few instances of the collection and reuse of earlier pieces of sculpture and one recorded case of the restoration of a monument (the masonry obelisk of the Hippodrome by Constantine VII) but did not return to the monumental tradition of antiquity. The Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, however, constituted a period of considerable construction activity, during which the MANGANA and BLACHERNAI palaces were built in Constantinople and the BRYAS palace in the suburbs. New churches and monasteries of this time include the NEA EKKLESIA, MYRELAION, LIPS MONASTERY, KALENDERHANE CAMII, and PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY.

Third Period (13th–15th C.). Following the Fourth Crusade and the period of Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61), during which numerous buildings were damaged or fell into disrepair, a surge of new construction occurred under Michael VIII and Andronikos II. Perhaps to symbolize his work of restoration, Michael VIII erected a group of statuary near the Church of the Holy Apostles representing the emperor offering a model of the city to St. Michael. In addition to the palace of TEKFUR SARAYI, several new monasteries and churches were built, most notably the South Church at the Lips monastery, PAMMAKARISTOS, CHORA, and the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon.* Janin, *CP byz.* C. Mango, *Le développement urbain de Constantinople* (Paris 1985). Idem, "Antique Statuary and the Byzantine Beholder," *DOP* 17 (1963) 55–75. Dagron, *CP imaginaire.* –C.M.

CISTERNS (κινστέρναι). Constantinople, with no rivers, few springs, and fast runoff of rainwater, needed reservoirs to tide the city over dry spells and lengthy sieges, when AQUEDUCTS might be threatened. Water from forests west of the city was introduced into open cisterns (total capacity approximately 900,000 cubic m [Janin, *infra* 202]) and more than 80 covered cisterns (capacity approximately 160,000 cubic m). Constantinople's daily consumption of water was about 10,000 cubic m. Most cisterns were built between the late 4th C. and early 7th C. as population burgeoned. The largest open cistern was that of Aetios (probably the eparch of the city in 419): built in 421, it measured 244 × 85 × about 14 m deep and had a capacity of between 250,000 and 300,000 cubic m. Covered cisterns included Binbirdirek (Philoxenos), whose superposed columns reached a height of 12.4 m and were set in 16 rows of 14 columns each (capacity about 40,000 cubic m), and the BASILIKE (Yerebatan Sarayı), whose 336 columns, 8 m high and set in 12 rows of 28 each, supported a chamber capable of holding approximately 78,000 cubic m.

The major cisterns, usually placed on hills, sup-

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Cisterns. The Basilike cistern (Yerebatan Sarayı).



plied water to about 40 public baths as well as monasteries and churches. The use of columns rather than the brick and cement piers used by the Romans reduced maintenance costs; IMPOST BLOCKS make an early appearance in cisterns. Hydraulic cement (*opus signinum*) lined the structures.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 278–85. Janin, *CP byz.* 201–15. P. Forchheimer, J. Strzygowski, *Die byzantinischen Wasserbehälter von Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1893).

–K.M.K., W.L.

WALLS. The first fortifications of Constantinople, on the land side only, were started by Constantine I and completed by Constantius II. In the reign of Theodosios II the Land Walls were extended about 1.5 km to the west so as to describe a huge arc, 6 km long, extending from the Propontis to the Golden Horn. Completed by 413 and repaired on numerous occasions (notably after the earthquakes of 447, 740, 989, etc.), they continued to protect the city throughout the Byz. period and parts of them are still standing. They consist of an inner wall 11 m high with towers at intervals of about 70–75 m, a lower outer wall also furnished with towers, and a moat. The walls are built of bonded masonry with bands of brick (five successive courses going right across the wall) alternating with bands of cut-stone facing, enclosing a core of mortared rubble. The only section of the Theodosian walls that has not survived was in the area of BLACHERNAI, where, as documented both in texts and visible remains, their original line was brought forward by Herakleios to enclose the Church of the Virgin and by Manuel I to protect the imperial palace. The Land Walls were pierced by six main gates, including the GOLDEN GATE, and a number of secondary posterns.

The Sea Walls, both along the Propontis and the Golden Horn, consist of a single line of fortifications and are today poorly preserved. They were first built in 439 and repaired many times, notably under the emperors Anastasios II and

CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF: Walls. Western land walls of the city, first built under Emp. Theodosios II in 412/13.



Theophilos. About 65 km west of Constantinople the LONG WALL was built to defend the imperial capital from attack from that direction.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople: The Walls of the City and Adjoining Historical Sites* (London 1899). B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943). A.M. Schneider, "Mauern und Tore am Goldenen Horn zu Konstantinopel," *NachGött* (1950) 65–107. F. Dirimtekin, *Fetihden önce Marmara surları* (Istanbul 1953). Idem, *Fetihden önce Haliç surları* (Istanbul 1956). Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 286–319. –C.M.

CONSTANTINOPLE, PATRIARCHATE OF. Constantinople was one of the four major PATRIARCHATES of the eastern Mediterranean.

History. According to legend, the see of Constantinople was founded by the apostle ANDREW, who ordained a certain Stachys as the first bishop of Byzantion. However, the information concerning the first bishops of the city, including two contemporaries of Emp. Constantine I, Metrophanes and Alexander, is mostly legendary. Canon 3 of the Council of Constantinople (381) established Constantinople's place of honor in the ecclesiastical hierarchy right after Rome; nevertheless, the patriarch of Constantinople (if we can believe the statement of Sokrates [*HE* 5.8.14] that the bishop of Constantinople was already called patriarch at this time) had under his jurisdiction only the "megalopolis" and probably Thrace, whereas Pontos, Cappadocia, and Asia formed independent eparchies. Canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon (451) confirmed the precedence of Constantinople over the patriarchates of ANTIOCH and ALEXANDRIA and its jurisdiction over all of Asia Minor.

The bitter rivalry during the 5th C. between the patriarchates of Constantinople and Alexandria was a major factor—in addition to theological and cultural causes—in the controversy over MONOPHYSITISM; the papacy's support of Constantinople in this conflict contributed much to the defeat of Alexandria. In the 6th C. the political situation in Italy, which was first subordinated to the Ostrogothic kings and then conquered by the Byz. army, paved the way for Constantinopolitan supremacy; this new status was reflected in the acceptance by the bishop of Constantinople of the title "of the New Rome" and esp. ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

The fall of Alexandria, Antioch, and JERUSALEM to the Arabs in the 7th C. deprived these three patriarchates of political significance. The patriarch of Constantinople, however, was unable to profit from this situation and expand his role further, since he was restricted by the same factor that had previously promoted his power, that is, his proximity to the imperial throne. Meanwhile, the PAPACY, more or less emancipated from oppressive political tutelage, was slowly gaining momentum. From the 8th C. onward the popes assumed an independent attitude toward the Byz. emperors, developed further the concept of PRIMACY, and endeavored to intervene in Byz. internal affairs (ICONOCLASM, conflict between the patriarchs PHOTIOS and IGNATIOS, the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI). Ideologically, Constantinople countered the concept of primacy with the doctrine of the PENTARCHY, the theoretical equality of the five patriarchates. For a time the patriarchate of Constantinople, taking advantage of the political power of the emperor, was able to expand its authority: it acquired jurisdiction over ILLYRICUM and southern Italy (8th C.), as well as newly converted Bulgaria (9th C.). In the 11th C., however, Roman influence started to penetrate into the Balkans, then into Syria and Palestine. Tensions between the papacy and the patriarchate of Constantinople came to a head in 1054 with the mission of Cardinal HUMBERT to the Byz. capital and his excommunication of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, resulting in a deep conflict between the two churches (see SCHISM).

After the Fourth Crusade in 1204 a Latin patriarchate was established in Constantinople and the Orthodox patriarchate was forced to go into exile in Nicaea. Following its restoration in 1261 the patriarchate of Constantinople never regained its former splendor. It was beset by controversies over the ARSENITES, UNION OF THE CHURCHES, and PALAMISM, which caused deep rifts among the faithful. Although its theoretical sphere of influence, which extended to Moscow, was much greater than that of the Palaiologan emperors, the patriarchs gradually lost even their authority over Slavic countries. The Serbs, for example, established an independent patriarchate at PEĆ in the mid-14th C. Nevertheless the patriarchate of Constantinople survived the political fall of the Byz. capital in 1453.

Organization and Jurisdiction of the Patriarchate. The patriarch was in theory elected by the

metropolitans of his patriarchate, and only they had the power to depose him. The metropolitans. however, were entitled only to nominate a slate of three candidates from whom the emperor would select the new head of the church, and in practice the emperor had the final say in both the appointment and deposition of patriarchs. The patriarch administered the territory under his jurisdiction from his headquarters at Hagia Sophia, the GREAT CHURCH. In theory his right hand and potential successor was the SYNKELLOS; in practice the chief offices were held by the priests and deacons of Hagia Sophia—OIKONOMOS, SKEUOPHYLAX, SAKELLARIOS, CHARTOPHYLAX, KANSTRISIOS, REFERENDARIOS, etc. The metropolitans, whose number varied over the centuries (the *Corpus* of Laurent records 66 *metropoleis*), expressed their views through the COUNCILS and through the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. The tensions between the officials of Hagia Sophia and metropolitans (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 62 [1969] 25–72) reflected the conflict between centrifugal and centripetal tendencies. The revenues of the patriarchate of Constantinople came from lands located in various parts of the empire and from donations of the imperial treasury that amounted to between 180 and 200 pounds of gold in the 11th C.

The rights of the patriarch, besides his function as the bishop of the capital, included appeal in both ecclesiastical and secular cases, the STAUROPEGION, and the interpretation and elaboration of CANON LAW. From the 5th C. onward the patriarch of Constantinople played a role in the ceremony of the imperial CORONATION, but he actually crowned the emperor only in the absence of a senior emperor. In addition, the patriarch wielded an exceptional moral authority, although the extent of his influence depended on the real balance of power between the emperor and the church, the degree of popularity of the patriarch, his connection with the monastic establishment, etc. The theory of two powers—those of the emperor and patriarch—emerges in the EPANAGOGE but did not find a consistent application in Byz. ideology: the bishops of Constantinople displayed a wide range of behavior, including cowardly subservience to a powerful ruler (ATTIKOS), fruitful collaboration with the throne (SERGIOS I, ATHANASIOS I), and bold opposition to the imperial will (MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS).

The Patriarchs, 300–1204. From the beginning of the 4th C. to 1204 there were 100 patriarchs; the average duration of a patriarchate was thus nine years. Of these patriarchs, 35 died after resigning or having been deposed and five were deposed temporarily. Data concerning the patriarchs' social and ethnic background are incomplete: at least one (Fravitas [488–89]) seems to have been a Goth and another (Niketas I [766–80]) of Slav origin; four were Italians, three came from Armenia or were of Armenian stock; three from Alexandria (all within the 4th–6th C.); six from Syria, including THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES (counted already as Armenian); one from Tarsos, one from Trebizond, five from Cappadocia, Pisidia (?), Phrygia, and Isauria, two from Cyprus, one from Aegina; approximately 12 were natives of Constantinople, even though the origin of some (e.g., CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDES) has not been definitely established. Very few originated from the Balkans—PAUL I was from Thessalonike and MICHAEL III possibly from Anchialos.

Of the 100 patriarchs, 30 were former *hegoumenoi*, hieromonks, or simple monks. L. Bréhier (6 *CEB* 1 [Paris 1950] 223) counts 45 patriarchs of monastic background during the period 705–1204, but he evidently included men of other status in this group. The "monastic patriarchs" are unevenly distributed over time: only five in the 4th–8th C.; seven from 815 to 912; only four in the 10th C.; and 14 in the 11th and 12th C. Ten patriarchs were former bishops transferred from other sees—seven of these belong to the earlier period, 341–766; later this practice almost ceased. Another ten patriarchs were former priests. The Constantinopolitan ecclesiastical administration produced 27 patriarchs: at least four were *synkelloi*, 17 were administrators (*skeuophylakes, oikonomoi, sakellarioi*, etc.). Distribution of this category over time is also uneven: seven patriarchal officials became patriarchs in the 5th–6th C., whereas the undeveloped 4th-C. administration produced none; the 7th C. presents the highest number—ten in 607–715; only two are known from 730–80 and none in the 9th–11th C. (unless we count the monks and *synkelloi* EUTHYMIOS and Antony III [974–79] as officials). Patriarchal officials reappear in the 12th C.—six between 1111 and 1189.

Among the former laymen were two princes—Stephen, son of Leo VI, and THEOPHYLAKTOS, son of Romanos I (both within the short period

Patriarchs of Constantinople, 381–1465

Name	*Tenure*	*Name*	*Tenure*
NEKTARIOS	381–397	JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS	837?–843
JOHN CHRYSOSTOM	398–404	METHODIOS	843–847
Arsakios	404–405	IGNATIOS	847–858
ATTIKOS	406–425	PHOTIOS	858–867
Sisinnios I	426–427	Ignatios (2nd patr.)	867–877
NESTORIOS	428–431	Photios (2nd patr.)	877–886
Maximian	431–434	Stephen I	886–893
PROKLOS	434?–446	ANTONY II KAULEAS	893–901
FLAVIAN	446–449	NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS	901–907
Anatolios	449–458	EUTHYMIOS	907–912
GENNADIOS I	458–471	Nicholas I (2nd patr.)	912–925
AKAKIOS	472–489	Stephen II	925–927
Fravitas	489–490	Tryphon	927–931
Euphemios	490–496	THEOPHYLAKTOS	933–956
Makedonios II	496–511	POLYEUKTOS	956–970
Timothy I	511–518	Basil I Skamandrenos	970–974
John II Kappadokes	518–520	Antony III Stoudites	974–979
Epiphanios	520–535	Nicholas II Chrysoberges	979–991
Anthimos I	535–536	[vacancy	991–996]
MENAS	536–552	Sisinnios II	996–998
EUTYCHIOS	552–565	SERGIOS II	1001–1019
JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS	565–577	Eustathios	1019–1025
Eutychios (2nd patr.)	577–582	ALEXIOS STOUDITES	1025–1043
JOHN IV NESTEUTES	582–595	MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS	1043–1058
Kyriakos	595/6–606	CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDES	1059–1063
Thomas I	607–610	JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS	1064–1075
SERGIOS I	610–638	Kosmas I	1075–1081
PYRRHOS	638–641	Eustratios Garidas	1081–1084
Paul II	641–653	NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS	1084–1111
Pyrrhos (2nd patr.)	654	John IX Agapetos	1111–1134
Peter	654–666	Leo Styppeiotes	1134–1143
Thomas II	667–669	Michael II Kourkouas	1143–1146
John V	669–675	Kosmas II Attikos	1146–1147
Constantine I	675–677	NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON	1147–1151
Theodore I	677–679	Theodotos II	1151/2–1153/4
George I	679–686	Neophytos I	one month in 1153/4
Theodore I (2nd patr.)	686–687		
Paul III	688–694	Constantine IV Chliarenos	1154–1157
Kallinikos I	694–706	LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES	1157–1169/70
Kyros	706–712	MICHAEL III	1170–1178
John VI	712–715	Chariton Eugeniotes	1178–1179
GERMANOS I	715–730	THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES	1179–1183
ANASTASIOS	730–754	Basil II Kamateros	1183–1186
Constantine II	754–766	Niketas II Mountanes	1186–1189
Niketas I	766–780	Dositheos of Jerusalem	Feb. 1189
Paul IV	780–784	Leontios Theotokites	Feb./Mar.–Sept./Oct. 1189
TARASIOS	784–806		
NIKEPHOROS I	806–815	Dositheos of Jerusalem (2nd patr.)	1189–1191
THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS	815–821	George II Xiphilinos	1191–1198
ANTONY I KASSYMATAS	821–837?	JOHN X KAMATEROS	1198–1206

Patriarchs of Constantinople (*continued*)

Name	*Tenure*	*Name*	*Tenure*
Michael IV Autoreianos	1208–1214	Isaias	1323–1332
Theodore II Eirenikos	1214–1216	John XIV Kalekas	1334–1347
Maximos II	1216	Isidore I Boucheiras	1347–1350
Manuel I Sarantenos	1216/17–1222	Kallistos I	1350–1353
Germanos II	1223–1240	Philotheos Kokkinos	1353–1354
Methodios II	1240/1?	Kallistos I (2nd patr.)	1355–1363
Manuel II	1243/4?–1254	Philotheos Kokkinos (2nd patr.)	1364–1376
Arsenios Autoreianos	1254–1260	Makarios	1376/7–1379
Nikephoros II	1260–1261	Neilos Kerameus	1380–1388
Arsenios Autoreianos (2nd patr.)	1261–1265	Antony IV	1389–1390
Germanos III	1265–1266	Makarios (2nd patr.)	1390–1391
Joseph I	1266–1275	Antony IV (2nd patr.)	1391–1397
John XI Bekkos	1275–1282	Kallistos II Xanthopoulos	1397
Joseph I (2nd patr.)	1282–1283	Matthew I	1397–1402, 1403–1410
Gregory II of Cyprus	1283–1289	Euthymios II	1410–1416
Athanasios I	1289–1293	Joseph II	1416–1439
John XII Kosmas	1294–1303	Metrophanes II	1440–1443
Athanasios I (2nd patr.)	1303–1309	Gregory III Mammes	1443–1450?
Niphon	1310–1314	Athanasios II	1450
John XIII Glykys	1315–1319	Gennadios II Scholarios	1454–1456, 1463, 1464–1465
Gerasimos I	1320–1321		

Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 435–37, with modifications.

of 886–956); to their numbers could be added Ignatios, but he was son of a deposed ruler and by the time of his election was a *hegoumenos*. In addition to these princes, 13 other laymen were elected: four in the 4th–6th C., only one in the 7th C., seven between 784 and 1063, and only one, Basil II Kamateros, the supporter of Andronikos I, during the final 150 years of the period.

The Patriarchs, 1204–1453. Thirty-five patriarchs ascended the throne of Constantinople during these 150 years, for an average reign of seven years. Especially after the Palaiologan restoration, service as patriarch proved to be risky. On account of the tumultuous history of the Orthodox church in this period, fully half of the patriarchs between 1261 and 1453, 14 in all, either were deposed or abdicated under pressure. Seven of these were later reinstated. Reflecting the shrunken boundaries of the empire, virtually all the patriarchs were of Greek ancestry, with the exception of Joseph II, who was Bulgarian. The vast majority of the Palaiologan patriarchs (80 percent) came from a monastic background; a number served as *hegoumenoi* or metropolitans before being selected as patriarch (F. Tinnefeld, *JOB* 36 [1986] 89–115). The only layman to become patriarch in this period was John XIII Glykys, a former *logothetes tou dromou.*

LIT. *Les regestes des actes du patriarcat de Constantinople. I. Les actes des patriarches,* ed. V. Grumel, V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, 6 fasc. (Paris 1972–79). Beck, *Kirche* 60–78. M. Gedeon, *Patriarchikoi pinakes* (Constantinople 1890). G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451–1204* (London 1947). Gennadios, *Historia tou oikoumenikou patriarcheiou,* vol. 1 (Athens 1953). Maxime de Sardes, *Le patriarcat oecuménique dans l'église orthodoxe* (Paris 1975). –A.K., A.M.T.

CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF. The Ottoman sultan Mehmed II resolved as early as autumn 1451 to attack Constantinople, but officially proclaimed his intent only in Jan. 1453. By 5 Apr., he positioned an army allegedly 80,000–100,000 strong outside the land walls of Constantinople, while an armada of more than 120 ships patrolled the coastal waters. Constantine XI, with the help of the Venetian commune and other foreign allies (notably the Genoese Giovanni Giustiniani Longo), defended Constantinople with 26 warships and fewer than 7,000 fighting men. The

Genoese in Pera remained neutral, and schemes of Western Catholic powers to render aid were ineffective.

Mehmed opened the siege on 6 Apr., but his numerical superiority did not bring instant victory. Within a fortnight, the attackers had destroyed the outer wall in the Lykos Valley, using large cannons cast by Urbinus, a Hungarian engineer (see FIREARMS). The defenders, however, erected a stockade in front of the inner wall and repeatedly fought off enemy advances. Even Mehmed's spectacular penetration of the Golden Horn on 22 Apr. gave him no decisive advantage. Indeed, on 25 May his grand vizier, Halil Pasha, counseled retreat. Mehmed, however, persevered with a final attack on Tuesday, 29 May, about 1:30 A.M.

During the next four hours, two futile charges were made on the landward defenses. Toward dawn Mehmed dispatched the Janissaries to breach the stockade. About an hour later, Constantinople's defenses cracked at two points. A small band of Turks slipped through the unattended Kerkoporta Gate and took control of the Blachernai fortifications. Meanwhile the Janissaries breached the stockade and mounted the inner wall, near the Gate of St. Romanos (Top Kapı). By noon, most of Constantinople was conquered or had submitted; Constantine XI himself fell in battle shortly after the defenses were breached. That afternoon, Mehmed made his triumphal procession to Hagia Sophia; his troops looted the city well into the evening.

Contemporaries rationalized the *halosis* ("conquest") of 1453 with a variety of theocentric as well as secularizing explanations. Generally, the event compelled many to reject, reconsider, or refashion the traditional axioms of Byz. political and ecclesiological ideology. As a national tragedy, moreover, it evoked a series of THRENOI, or laments, expressed variously in prose, poetry, and song.

SOURCES. J.R.M. Jones, *The Siege of Constantinople 1453: Seven Contemporary Accounts* (Amsterdam 1972). *La caduta di Costantinopoli: Le testimonianze dei contemporanei*, ed. A. Pertusi, 2 vols. ([Rome-Milan] 1976). *Testi inediti e poco noti sulla caduta di Costantinopoli*, ed. A. Pertusi (Bologna 1983).

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople, 1453* (Cambridge 1965). Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 348–65. M.T. Gökbilgin, *İA* 5.2:1185–99. E. Methuen, "Der Fall von Konstantinopel und der lateinische Westen," *HistZ* 237 (1983) 1–35. –S.W.R.

CONSTANTIUS II (Κωνστάντιος), caesar (from 8 Nov. 324) and augustus (from 9 Sept. 337); born 7 Aug. 317, died Mopsoukrene, Cilicia, 3 Nov. 361. The son of CONSTANTINE I and Fausta, he was married three times, to the daughter of Julius Constantius (name unknown), to Eusebia, and to Faustina. Perhaps responsible for the murder of his rivals after Constantine I's death, Constantius was originally assigned Oriens, Pontica, Asiana, and Thrace. He became ruler of the entire empire after the overthrow of CONSTANS I and the defeat of MAGNENTIUS in 353. Constantius fought the Persians throughout his reign and waged successful campaigns against the Germans in Gaul and the Sarmatians on the middle Danube. He named GALLUS as caesar in 351 and JULIAN in 355 after the usurpation of Silvanus. Constantius was influenced by moderate ARIANISM and resisted the urging of his brothers who wanted to recall ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. Constantius tried to restore unity to the church by councils held in Ariminium and Seleukeia in 359–60, but the supporters of the HOMOOUSION remained intransigent. Constantius is remembered as a persecutor of the Orthodox. His reign was important in the development of Constantinople, whose senators were granted equality with those of Rome in 357. He was responsible for the construction of the original church of HAGIA SOPHIA; the *Chronicon Paschale* records his lavish donations at the dedication of the basilica in 360. Constantius died in Cilicia in 361 on his way to the West to deal with the usurpation of Julian. His best-known portrait is on a largitio dish now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii*, vol. 1, no.34).

LIT. R. Klein, *Constantius II. und die christliche Kirche* (Darmstadt 1977). C. Vogler, *Constance II et l'administration impériale* (Strasburg 1979). M. Michaels-Mudd, "The Arian Policy of Constantius II and its Impact on Church-State Relations in the Fourth-Century Roman Empire," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 95–111. –T.E.G.

CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS, or Marcus Flavius Valerius Constantius, augustus (305–06); born Dacia Ripensis ca.250, died York 25 July 306. A fiction of Constantinian date made him a descendant of Claudius II Gothicus (268–70). Constantius had a typical military career, becoming governor of Dacia and then, in 288, praetorian prefect to MAXIMIAN in Gaul. In response to the usurpation of Carausius and the loss of Britain as well

as a part of Gaul, DIOCLETIAN proclaimed him CAESAR and member of the TETRARCHY on 1 Mar. 293. At the same time he was adopted by Maximian as part of the "Herculian Dynasty." Later in that year Constantius drove Carausius from Gaul and in 296 reunited Britain to the empire. In practice though not in theory the Western provinces were divided between Constantius and Maximian. Constantius was responsible for Britain and Gaul from his primary residence at Trier, but he campaigned regularly against German invaders south of the Rhine. Constantius was a devotee of SOL INVICTUS but apparently did not actively persecute the Christians. There is, however, no reason to credit later Christian testimony that Constantius was a Christian.

Upon the abdication of Diocletian and Maximian in 305, Constantius became senior emperor in the West and apparently added Spain to his territories. In the same year Constantius crossed over to Britain and campaigned against the Picts in the north, where his son Constantine joined him. Constantius had children by two women, first HELENA the mother of CONSTANTINE I, and later (by 289) Theodora, the stepdaughter of Maximian, with whom he had six children; one of them was named Anastasia (Resurrection), an indication of Jewish or Christian sympathy.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 35–37, 60f, 125f. R. Syme, "The Ancestry of Constantine," *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1971* (1974) 237–53. -T.E.G.

CONSTELLATIONS. The standard constellations referred to in Byz. texts are the 48 listed by Ptolemy in the *Almagest* (7.5–8.1): 21 northern constellations (Arktos mikra, Arktos megale, Drakon, Kepheus, Boötes, Stephanos boreios, Ho en gonasin [Herakles], Lyra, Ornis, Kassiopeia, Perseus, Heniochos, Ophiouchos, Ophis, Oïstos, Aetos, Delphis, Hippou protome, Hippos [Pegasos], Andromeda, and Trigonon); the 12 signs of the zodiac (Krios, Tauros, Didymoi, Karkinos, Leon, Parthenos, Chelai [Zygon], Skorpios, Toxotes, Aigokeros, Hydrochoos, and Ichthyes), and 15 southern constellations (Ketos, Orion, Potamos [Eridanos], Lagoos, Kyon, Prokyon, Argo, Hydra, Krater, Korax, Kentauros, Therion, Thymiaterion, Stephanos notios, and Ichthys notios).

Another set of constellations, however, is referred to by RHETORIOS OF EGYPT in his description of the stars that rise simultaneously with each of the 36 decans (*paranatellonta*); these and others are found in several related Byz. astrological texts (F. Boll, *Sphaera* [Leipzig 1903; rp. Hildesheim 1967] 5–294). Finally, in a calendar for sailors ascribed to a *protospatharios* and *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai theme, the stars are named after the saints or religious events on whose feast days they are first visible (A. Olivieri, *CCAG* 2:214–16).

There are numerous catalogs of the individual stars that constitute the constellations. In astronomical contexts they are derivatives from the catalog in the *Almagest* (some, including lists of astrolabe stars, being transmitted through Arabic and thereby acquiring an altered nomenclature, but one that is still equivalent in meaning), while in astrological contexts, aside from the *paranatellonta* tradition mentioned above, they are derived from the associations of planets with stars found in Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects* (1, 9). The astrologers frequently confine their lists to 30 "bright stars" (P. Kunitzsch, *ZDMG* 118 [1968] 62–74).

The constellations are seldom depicted in Byz. art. The available evidence was assembled by H. Stern (*Le calendrier de 354* [Paris 1953]). A 14th-C. MS at Milan preserves unusual miniatures of the constellations (D.Pingree, *JWarb* 45 [1982] 185–92). (See also STARS.) -D.P.

CONSUBSTANTIALITY. See HOMOOUSIOS.

CONSUL (ὕπατος), supreme magistrate of the Roman Republic. By the later empire the consulship lost its functions and the term was transformed into an honorific title. The emperors appointed two consuls each year (Justinian I, nov. 105.1); sometimes one consul was named in the West and another in the East. After completing his term the consul retained his honorific title. Election as consul was a great honor, often assumed by the emperor; it required enormous financial resources since the consul was obliged to arrange a banquet, distribute consular DIPTYCHS, and—the most burdensome duty—organize public games, such as CHARIOT RACES, at the Hippodrome. Prokopios (*SH* 26.13) calculates this last expense at more than 20 kentenaria of gold, part of which was supplied by the state. The consul remained eponymous for official dating until 537

when the system of INDICTIONS and years of the emperor's reign was introduced, at first alongside the old system of consular dating. The last eponymous consul was Basil the Younger in 541; after him only emperors assumed the *hypateia*. The last recorded instance is Constans II in 632, but Stein (*Op. minora* 340–48) suggests the office continued to exist until the 9th C. when Leo VI, in novel 94, abolished the institution as a contradiction of the existing political structure. After this time the term HYPATOS acquired a completely different meaning.

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 4 (1901) 1133–38. R. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* (Atlanta, Ga., 1987). Guilland, *Institutions* 2:44–67. Stein, *Op. minora* 248–53. –A.K.

CONSULARIA ITALICA. See ANNALS OF RAVENNA.

CONSULARIS (ὑπατικός), Roman title bestowed on a former CONSUL. In the 3rd C. it became customary to designate as *consularis* the governor of a province where several legions were assigned. *Consulares* were considered of higher rank than other governors (*praesides* and *correctores*); they were accorded the title of CLARISSIMUS. Among the provinces under *consulares* ca.400 were Palestina I, Phoenicia, Syria I, Cilicia I, Cyprus, Pamphylia, Hellespont, Lydia, Galatia, Bithynia, Europa, Thrace, Macedonia, Dacia Mediterranea, Crete, and Pannonia. By the 6th C. Pannonia was removed from this list and placed under a *praeses*, while several other provinces became consular; according to HIEROKLES, they were Epirus Nova, Lycia, Caria, Pisidia, Lycaonia, Phrygia Pacatiana, Phrygia Salutaris, Cappadocia I, Helenopontus, and Arabia. Justinian I's novel of 535 gives a different list, however. The term *hypatikos* appears on some seals, for example, a 7th-C. seal with a Latin legend (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1197). The title was abandoned when the Roman provincial administration gave way to the new system of THEMES. The equivalent term *proconsul* was translated as ANTHYPATOS.

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 4 (1901) 1138–42. –A.K.

CONTEMPLATIVE LIFE. See VITA CONTEMPLATIVA.

CONTINUATIONES ISIDORIANAE anni 741 and anni 754, two closely related Latin chronicles compiled in Spain after the Islamic conquest, which continue the *Chronicle* of ISIDORE OF SEVILLE. They derive from an eastern Mediterranean original that may have been written in Greek by a Monophysite author; their treatment of Arab, Byz., and Visigothic affairs from HERAKLEIOS on favors the Umayyads. On the Byz.-Arab conflict they show points of contact with the *Breviarium* of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C.E. Dubler, *Al-Andalus* 11 [1946] 283–349). The *Continuatio Isidoriana* [*Byzantia-Arabica*] *anni 741* treats events down to LEO III, while the *Continuatio Isidoriana Hispana anni 754*, which repeats and alters much of the material in the first continuation, adds considerable material about the VISIGOTHS and reaches the revolt of ARTABASDOS against CONSTANTINE V and the death of Caliph Marwān II.

ED. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:332–68. *Crónica mozárabe de 754*, ed. J.E. López Pereira (Saragossa 1980), rev. G.V. Sumner, *Emerita* 49 (1981) 61–64.

LIT. J.E. López Pereira, *Estudio crítico sobre la Crónica mozárabe de 754* (Saragossa 1980). –M.McC.

CONTORNIATE (from It. *contorno*, "rim"), the name given since the 18th C. to the large copper-alloy coinlike objects, approximately 5 cms. in diameter, manufactured in some quantity at Rome between the middle of the 4th C. and the last quarter of the 5th, although certainly not products of the official mint. They have on one side the head of an emperor, usually of the 1st or 2nd C., or of some well-known literary or historical figure (e.g., Homer, Alexander the Great), and on the other a representation of a mythical or historical event or of a scene from the circus or public life. Their name derives from the deep groove that always marks their edge, but the purpose of this, as indeed of the objects themselves, is unknown. Because their designs are conspicuously pagan, Alföldi has argued that contorniates were propaganda medalets issued in connection with the public games by the senatorial aristocracy of Rome. They are of special interest to art historians through the contrast between their simplified iconography and the more sophisticated treatment of artistic themes on the gold and ivory objects apparently produced for members of the same senatorial classes. The contorniates often

bear, as a countermark, the letters PEL in monogram form, probably for *palma et laurus*, signifying victory in the games.

LIT. A. Alföldi, *Die Kontorniaten* (Budapest 1943). A. and E. Alföldi, assisted by C.L. Clay, *Die Kontorniat-Medaillons*, pt.1: *Katalog* (Berlin 1976). H.-I. Marrou, "*Palma et laurus*," MEFR 58 (1941–6) 109–31. –Ph.G.

CONTRACEPTION. The use of contraception was condemned by church fathers. The *Penitential* ascribed to JOHN IV NESTEUTES considers it a form of infanticide, categorizing several kinds of birth control: application of an ointment ([?] *trimmata*) that is perceived as the least heinous; drinking a potion (*pharmakon*); and the worst—the use of herbs to induce ABORTION (PG 88:1904C). Another text attributed to the same author (col.1924A) required sinners to confess their desire to remain childless, induce an abortion, or use contraceptive herbs. John Chrysostom calls the use of contraception "a murder before birth" (PG 60:626.50–51) and views it as harmful not only because it prevents procreation but also because it leads to involvement in contraceptive magic and idolatry (ibid., 627.6–8). The practice of contraception was usually limited to prostitutes and to women tempted to break their vows of chastity or of marital fidelity. Married couples, however, sometimes abstained from or restricted sexual intercourse after having produced a child or two. EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus (*Panarion* 26.5.2–6) describes with indignation (and evidently with strong exaggeration) the habits of heretical Gnostics who did not wish to bear children but fornicated for the sake of pleasure, using *coitus interruptus* or abortion as a means of contraception; they are even reported to have ground up the embryo in a mortar, mixed it with honey, pepper, and other spices, and to have eaten it at their loathsome assemblies.

Byz. medical writers, esp. PAUL OF AEGINA in the 7th C., transmitted the theories and techniques of contraception outlined by the 2nd-C. *Gynaikeia* of Soranos, which recommended vaginal wool suppositories and the application of olive oil, honey, cedar resin, alum, balsam gum, or white lead to prevent sperm from passing into the uterus. Paul, however, provided only one herbal contraception recipe, whereas DIOSKORIDES had 20. In the 6th C. AETIOS OF AMIDA recommended magical protection, such as wearing an AMULET of cat's liver or a womb of a lioness in an ivory tube.

LIT. E. Patlagean, "Birth Control in the Early Byzantine Empire," in *Biology of Man in History*, ed. R. Foster, O. Ranum (Baltimore 1975) 1–22. K. Hopkins, "Contraception in the Roman Empire," *Comparative Studies of Society and History* 8 (1965–66) 124–51. J.T. Noonan, Jr., *Contraception: A History of its Treatment by the Catholic Theologians and Canonists*[2] (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1986) 13–19, 78f, 83–85. –J.H., A.K.

CONTRACT. In the first half of the 4th C. the late Roman state eliminated earlier Roman formulary procedure (*Cod. Just.* II 57.1 of 342) and in its place brought into general use the previously "extraordinary procedure": the examination of judicial matters by public officials (*cognitio extra ordinem*). Over the following two centuries this developed into a written procedure (libel suit) that endured in its main features until the fall of Byz. The consequence of this process was that ACTIONS lost their function and were severed from OBLIGATIONS, whereupon obligations were freed from the constraint of a certain typology. By making the STIPULATION a written act and thereby making all PACTA equal with the contract obligation, there arose a new, unitary conception of *contractus* (*synallagma*), for which the older forms of establishment (*consensus, verba, res, litterae*) no longer played any role, despite their repeated mention in the sources.

Instead, the specification of the contract as oral or written, being of particular procedural importance, became decisive. Consequently, from the time of Justinian I the tendency increases of requiring a written form for important transactions (DOWRY, SURETYSHIP, DIALYSIS, etc.); Leo VI only ordained what had long been the case when he asserted the binding force of every written agreement (*Nov. Leo VI* 72). At the same time the oral contract remained valid and in use, esp. in the area of everyday buying and selling, but also as a transaction with witnesses. Limits on what could be contained in a contract were determined by possible violations of moral standards and numerous legal prohibitions (concerning minors, rights of preemption, prohibitions against alienation, etc.). Breach of contract led to sentences requiring payment or compensation (in kind or monetary), which were assigned case by case with considerable flexibility. –D.S.

Types of Contract. Roman and Byz. law distinguished various types of contract. The first group formed "real" contracts, that is, loan, *commodatum*, deposit, and *pignus*; stipulation was the main form of the oral contract; consensual contracts included sale, contracts of letting or hiring a thing, service contracts (contracts for paid labor—see MISTHOSIS), partnership, and *mandatum*.

Extant Contracts. Multiple late Roman and Byz. contracts survived in original form and in contemporary copies. From the earlier period those are primarily on both Greek and Latin papyri (see RAVENNA PAPYRI); from the later period are extant certain contracts (mainly purchase deeds) preserved in monastic archives (Mount Athos, Lembiotissa, etc.). (See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.)

–A.K.

CONTRITION (πένθος), in Byz. spirituality, is the remorseful heart or the gift of tears, whereby one mourns not only for one's own sins and the sins of the world, but also for the suffering of Christ. This is not a metaphor of the earthly life as "the vale of tears," but a real weeping and shedding of tears. The Byz. believer sees in the beatitude, "Blessed are they who mourn, for they shall be comforted" (Mt 5:4), the promise of comfort obtained through tears. Accordingly, contrition must be united with unceasing prayer (e.g., the Jesus prayer characteristic of HESYCHASM) in order to advance in the spiritual life and to attain its goal, HESYCHIA. "In death, God will not reproach us if we have performed no miracles, or if we are not theologians or mystics, but most certainly will we render account to Him if we have not ceaselessly bewailed our sins" (John Klimax, PG 88:816D).

In the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM and in hagiography in general one often encounters the gift of tears. The Abbot Isaac, for example, sought the gift of being able to weep continuously, as did Mary under the Cross (PG 65:357B). For SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, in whose spirituality the experience of spiritual perception or *aisthesis* gains significance, the gift of tears is as necessary for salvation as the sacrament of baptism, for that is the baptism of the Spirit. Thus Niketas STETHATOS, in his vita of Symeon (90.7–8, *OrChrAn* 12 [1928] 124), likens Symeon's tears to the flowing waters of baptism. Symeon recommended his own practice to his monks as the ideal: daily prayer and the cultivation of a contrite heart.

LIT. I. Hausherr, *Penthos: La doctrine de la componction dans l'Orient chrétien* (Rome 1944). P.-R. Régamey, "La 'componction du coeur,' " *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 44 (1935–36) [1–16], [65–84]. Idem, *Portrait spirituel du chrétien* (Paris 1963) 76–116. M. Lot-Borodine, "Le mystère du 'don des larmes' dans l'Orient chrétien," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 48 (1936) [65–110]. P. Adnès, *DictSpir* 9:290–95. –K.-H.U.

COOKING WARE, ceramic vessels used for the preparation and serving of food. Byz. cooking pots developed directly from traditional late Roman shapes, although one cannot exclude the possible influence of wares from the barbarian north. Most were locally produced and are difficult to date except in the most general terms. The pots were simple in design, with a flat or more commonly rounded bottom, round or vertical sides, and a simple often outturned rim on which a lid could be placed; two horizontal or vertical handles were generally added. Cooking ware was comprised of a coarse clay, normally with a liberal admixture of sand and small stones, which usually fires black; the pots were often placed directly in the fire for cooking and it is not always possible to tell if blackening came from the firing process or from use. From the 7th C. onward, cooking pots were commonly glazed on the interior with a yellow glaze that fires a dark brown. (For cooking wares made of metal, see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS.)

LIT. T.S. MacKay, "More Byzantine and Frankish Pottery from Corinth," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 288–300.

–T.E.G.

COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE, a conventional designation for the art and architecture of Christian Egypt.

Christian art in Egypt derived from late Roman provincial art and was fully dependent upon the Graeco-Roman traditions developed along the Mediterranean littoral. Once Constantinople had become securely established as the cultural center of the empire, however, its influence in Egypt increased: in ALEXANDRIA, the seat of Byz. civic and military administration and a center of Hellenic culture from the time of its foundation, artistic developments in Constantinople were in-

troduced early and rapidly displaced local traditions.

The earliest surely datable churches are the transept basilica of HERMOPOLIS MAGNA and the church of the Dayr Anbā Shinūda (the so-called White Monastery) near SOHAG (both first half of the 5th C.). Most of the remaining churches belong to the 6th and 7th C., while those in Old Cairo do not date from earlier than the last decade of the 7th C. For the most part these churches are conventional three-aisled basilicas, but they have an aisle across the west end (the so-called "return aisle," not to be confused with a narthex), a distinctive feature originating in Ptolemaic and Roman cemetery architecture. Few churches have an atrium. The east end is normally straight, since the apse is usually flanked by PASTOPHORIA. A good number, however, have a triconch sanctuary (Sohag, Dendera, and the Monastery of the Syrians in WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN), and a secondary triumphal arch before the entrance into the triconch; from the spatial division this arch caused in front of the sanctuary was to develop the *khūruṣ* (choir, from Gr. *choros*) of the early medieval Egyptian church (e.g., SAQQĀRA). Exceptions to the simple basilican plan are the transept basilicas at Hermopolis Magna, ABŪ MĪNĀ, and Marea, and the two tetraconch churches at Abū Mīnā; these plans were evidently imported from abroad.

The churches at monastic sites are usually rather simple (Sohag is an exception, and the two five-aisled basilicas of the Pachomian monastery at PBOW are impressive only for their size). Each form of monasticism in Egypt developed its own particular type of accommodation: while anachoretes lived in small separate houses containing individual sleeping rooms, oratories, and kitchens (as at KELLIA), cenobites were accommodated in larger lodging-houses, occasionally in common dormitories (e.g., Dayr al-Balāyza).

Great quantities of architectural sculpture, such as friezes, niche-heads, and capitals, have been found in BAWĪṬ and Saqqāra (most now housed in the Coptic Museum in Cairo). Stylistically these pieces are dependent on artistic developments in Constantinople: even the interlaced foliage friezes considered peculiar to Egypt derive from East Roman acanthus branches. Only the form of the door-lintel shows a continuation of Pharaonic design. Spolia were used extensively, and by the end of the 8th C. local production of stone architectural sculpture seems to have come to an end. Figural sculpture found particularly in AKHNĀS and OXYRHYNCHUS appears mainly in sepulchral contexts, incorporated into an architectural framework in the form of stelae or niche-heads. Pagan themes are common in works of the 4th and 5th C.; in the 6th and 7th C. the figures are completely surrounded by ornament.

A few wall paintings have survived in catacombs and ecclesiastical buildings; these show the influence of Alexandria. In churches and monastic buildings somewhat later in date than the catacombs, there are frontally posed representations of saints and important figures of Egyptian monasticism. Even the images of Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Holy Rider, or St. MENAS between two camels are more iconic than narrative in character. Compositions in the niches of the little chapels at Bawīṭ and Saqqāra are often of high quality, and most echo large-scale models. Though the famous Egyptian mummy portraits belong entirely to the pagan period, their encaustic technique was adapted in early Christian ICON painting. The portrait of APA ABRAHAM, bishop of Hermonthis, in the Louvre (ca.600) follows Byz. models such as the icon of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos from Sinai, now in Kiev (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, B.9).

Many early Coptic TEXTILES have survived, thanks to the dry climate of Egypt. Though figural motifs of pagan origin were still in use even in the Christian period, these textiles are decorated primarily with ornamental motifs. Egyptian pottery, which is relatively mediocre because of the poor quality of the local clay, follows late Roman types known from the Mediterranean littoral. Many painted bowls have been found dating from the 5th and 6th C. Of much higher standard are the Egyptian works in IVORY; the majority of these was produced in Alexandrian workshops and had considerable artistic value even outside of Egypt.

The patrons of Christian art during the 5th and 6th C. in Egypt were mostly local magnates of hellenized Egyptian or partly Greek origin; they were continuously receptive to new developments in Constantinople and lent Coptic art its simultaneously classicizing and Christian character. The art from monastic sites shares this blend of clas-

sical and Christian elements, though it is executed in materials more modest than those used in the opulent city cemeteries.

LIT. P. du Bourguet, *The Art of the Copts* (New York 1967). L.-A. Hunt, "Coptic Art," *DMA* 3:585–93. H.-G. Severin, "Frühchristliche Skulptur und Malerei in Ägypten," *Propyläen Kunstgeschichte*, supp. 1 (Berlin 1977) 243–53. *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts in the 2nd to 7th Centuries A.D.*, ed. F.D. Friedman (Providence, R.I., 1989). –P.G.

COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE. Coptic is the latest stage of the Egyptian language, written in the Greek alphabet plus seven signs derived from demotic. Originally five major dialects—Sahidic, Bohairic, Fayyūmic, Akhmimic, and Lycopolitan (Subakhmimic)—were recognized; modern scholarship has detected several more idiolects (R. Kasser, *Muséon* 93 [1980] 53–112, 237–97; 94 [1981] 91–152). Beginning with 3rd-C. horoscopes, Coptic became the language of Christian EGYPT, attaining classic literary status by the 5th C. in the writings of SHENOUTE. From early versions of the Bible and the liturgy, Coptic writings came to include homilies, hagiography, biblical commentary, panegyric and apocalyptic, both translations from Greek and Syriac and original productions by Egyptian writers. However, not much original theological writing survives. The rich Gnostic literature found at NAG HAMMADI and elsewhere was written partly in Coptic. The extent to which Coptic was part of the bilingual society of Byz. Egypt is seen in the enormous volume of Coptic financial and legal documents and letters, as well as inscriptions, surviving from the period of Byz. control and down to the 9th C. The immediate post-conquest period produced more hagiography, hymnody, and lectionary texts. Coptic persisted among the Christian community after the Arab conquest but was inexplicably moribund by the 11th C. A little survives, memorized but uncomprehended, in the present-day liturgy of the Coptic church.

LIT. T.O. Lambdin, *Introduction to Sahidic Coptic* (Atlanta 1983). W.E. Crum, *A Coptic Dictionary* (Oxford 1939). W. Vycichl, R. Kasser, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue copte* (Louvain 1983). H.J. Polotsky, *Études de syntaxe copte* (Cairo 1944). Idem, *Collected Papers* (Jerusalem 1971). A. Shisha-Halevy, *Coptic Grammatical Categories* (Rome 1986). T. Orlandi in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 51–81. A.A. Schiller, "A Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters," *BASP* 13 (1976) 99–123. W. Kammerer, *A Coptic Bibliography* (Ann Arbor 1950), continued by T. Orlandi, *Bibliografia copta* (Rome yearly). –L.S.B.MacC.

COPTS, the name, derived from Greek *Aigyptioi* via the Arabic *Qibt*, of the autochthonous Christians of Egypt, descendants of the population of Pharaonic times; since the 5th C., they have been adherents to a non-Chalcedonian church later termed "Coptic Orthodox." The term "Copts" is really an anachronism for the Byz. period but serves to designate those who used COPTIC as their principal language (or bilingually with Greek) and as a major vehicle of culture, thought, and theology. As a label "Copt" does not carry an automatic class or confessional connotation. A Copt was not necessarily a peasant, an Upper Egyptian (as opposed to an Alexandrian), or a Monophysite; ATHANASIOS and CYRIL of Alexandria were Copts as were PACHOMIOS and SHENOUTE. The Copts constituted a culturally vigorous and creative ethnic group within the empire, producing highly original visual art and abundant literature; the submergence of their language and culture after the Muslim conquest has not been explained. Some eight million Copts survive in Egypt today; large diaspora communities live in North America and Europe.

LIT. A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986). *Beyond the Pharaohs: Egypt and the Copts, 2nd–7th Centuries A.D.*, ed. F.D. Friedman (Providence 1989). *The Coptic Encyclopaedia*, ed. A.S. Atiya (New York 1990–). *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). –L.S.B.MacC.

COPY, OFFICIAL (ἴσον). Major CHANCERIES kept RECORDS of outgoing documents and could provide official copies of them. In the imperial chancery copies were identical to the originals but lacked the emperor's signature (and eventually replaced the gold seal by a lead one). The patriarchal chancery produced excerpts of the synod's minutes signed by the CHARTOPHYLAX or copies of documents signed by him and his NOTARIES. Lay administrations had similar practices. Certified copies of all documents could also be delivered by bishops or other public officials, who signed at the bottom or on the verso. These copies could be used instead of the originals even in tribunals (at least from the 10th C. onward) as Byz. had broken with the Roman tradition of banning copies as evidence.

For reasons of security, individuals or institutions (e.g., monasteries) had their archival documents copied on *kontakia* (long rolls of parchment

or paper) or in volumes (see KODIX) that constituted chartularies (such as those of NEA MONE OF CHIOS, of St. John Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKEION, of MAKRINITISSA on Pelion, of Hiera/Xerochoraphion and of Latmos near Miletos, of Lembos [LEMBIOTISSA] near Smyrna, of VAZELON in the Pontos, etc.). Only some were certified by a superior authority, but all may have been seen as having some probatory value.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 129–34. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 517–25. I. Medvedev, "Vizantijskie i postvizantijskie kopijnye knigi," *Vspomogatel'nye istoričeskie discipliny* 6 (Leningrad 1974) 307–18. –N.O.

CORBEL, a stone projecting from the face of a wall and used as a support; a series of brick courses progressively stepped forward above one another for the same purpose. Corbels, sometimes elaborately carved, provide footing for roof beams (as at QALB LAWZAH), for projecting balconies (A.N. Popov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 192–94), for the columns of decorative blind arcades, or for elaborate projecting cornices. A series of corbels supporting small arches at the top of a wall creates a corbel-table frieze. –W.L.

CORDOBA (Lat. Corduba), capital of the Roman province of Baetica in southern Spain in the late 3rd and early 4th C., later replaced by Hispalis (Seville). Ossius (or Hosios), bishop of Cordoba (died 357/8), was a staunch supporter of Nicaean orthodoxy and an influential adviser of Constantine I. Little is known of the city's history in late antiquity, but it was probably an object of Vandal and Visigothic raids. In 550/1 it was attacked by Agila, king of the Visigoths; the inhabitants of Cordoba defeated him and captured the royal treasure. Justinian I used the situation as a pretext to send a small army into Spain under command of Liberios, although there is no clear evidence to indicate that Cordoba was ever directly occupied by Byz. In 572 Cordoba was seized by King Leovigild, but by 584 it was again independent and the refuge of Hermenegild, Leovigild's rebellious son. Hermenegild was betrayed and taken prisoner, and Cordoba fell to the king.

In 711 it was conquered by the Arabs and in 716 became the administrative center of al-Andalus. After several riots against the Umayyad caliph of Spain, 15,000 Muslim refugees from Cordoba, including women and children, settled (814–15) near Alexandria. In 818 they occupied Alexandria but were expelled from the city and sometime between 824 and 827 landed in CRETE. In 839–40 Emp. Theophilos sent an ambassador to Cordoba. In Sept. 947 a Byz. embassy led by the eunuch Salomon arrived in Cordoba and was received by the caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥmān III. Among the gifts brought by Salomon were a Greek MS of Dioskorides and a Latin MS of Orosius. The caliph, in response, sent to Constantinople a group of envoys headed probably by the bishop of Carthage. It is possible that this exchange of ambassadors was somehow connected with the Byz. abortive expedition against Crete in 949. Al-IDRĪSI (tr. P. Jaubert, 2:60) reported that the *qibla* of the Great Mosque at Cordoba was decorated with mosaic tesserae sent to ʿAbd al-Raḥmān by "the emperor of Constantinople."

LIT. Thompson, *Goths* 320–34. R.C. Knapp, *Roman Cordoba* (Berkeley 1983) 69–73. S. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988) 202–17. A. Lippold, "Bischof Ossius von Cordoba und Konstantin der Grosse," *ZKirch* 92 (1981) 1–15. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984) 81–92. E. Lévi-Provençal, "Un échange d'ambassades entre Cordoue et Byzance au IXe siècle," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 1–24. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2:324–31. –R.B.H., A.C.

CORFU. See KERKYRA.

CORINTH (Κόρινθος), city on the Isthmus of Corinth in the northeastern Peloponnesos; it enjoyed the protection of the powerful citadel of Acrocorinth and had harbors at Lechaion on the Gulf of Corinth and at KENCHREAI on the Saronic Gulf. The commercial and strategic location of the city made it important throughout the Byz. period.

In late antiquity it was capital of the province of ACHAIA. The city was devastated by earthquakes in 365 and 375 and by ALARIC in 396; afterward the civic center was rebuilt on a monumental scale, but a new city wall encircled only part of the ancient area (T.E. Gregory, *Hesperia* 48 [1979] 264–80). At least four churches are known in the ancient city, another on Acrocorinth and an enormous 5th-C. basilica at Lechaion (D. Pallas, *Ergon* [1961] 141–48; [1965] 105–12). From the late 6th C. Corinth declined. A tomb of the 7th C. found near the walls belonged to a warrior and contained non-Byz. objects; these finds

raised the question of whether the city was captured in the 7th C. (G.D. Weinberg, *Hesperia* 43 [1974] 512–21); a mutilated inscription, perhaps honoring the victory of Constans II, led to the hypothesis that he recaptured Corinth. The question of the ethnic origin of the invaders has also been discussed, although archaeology can rarely establish the ethnicity of skeletons found in tombs (K.M. Setton, *Speculum* 25 [1950] 502–43; 27 [1952] 351–62; J.H. Kent, ibid. 25 [1950] 544–46).

The primary settlement may have shifted to Acrocorinth in the 7th C. Corinth was perhaps capital of the theme of HELLAS from the late 7th C. and was capital of the theme of PELOPONNESOS from the early 9th C. Numismatic evidence suggests that the economy of the city began to recover in the 9th C. (D.M. Metcalf, *Hesperia* 41 [1973] 180–251).

The city of the 11th–12th C. differed significantly from late antique Corinth: public buildings (except churches) disappeared, streets became narrow, and the old Roman marketplace was covered by small shops. Shops also moved to colonnades along the major streets, and tombs slowly began to encroach upon the ancient civic center. From the 9th C. onward the settlement abandoned the ancient city plan, as shops, workshops, gardens, churches, and monasteries jostled one another without any apparent order. Workshops for the production of ceramics (with remains of kilns) and glass (G.R. Davidson, *AJA* 44 [1940] 297–324), as well as smithies, have been excavated. Narrative sources emphasize the existence of a flourishing silk industry in the 12th C. The city continued to function as an important harbor.

In 1147 ROGER II of Sicily attacked Corinth: the inhabitants fled to Acrocorinth, which fell as a result of the incompetence of the commander Nikephoros Chalouphes. Roger carried off both Corinthian notables and artisans (particularly the city's famed silk weavers) as well as considerable wealth, including an icon of St. Theodore. The city apparently did not fully recover from the sack of the Normans. Leo SGOUROS took Corinth in 1202.

In 1205 the Crusaders, nominally under the authority of Boniface of Montferrat, began a siege of Acrocorinth, defended by Sgouros. The attackers built a castle at Penteskouphi, but the siege dragged on until ca.1210 when Theodore Komnenos Doukas, brother of *despotes* Michael I of Epiros, gained control of Acrocorinth, presumably by treaty; the city became part of the principality of Achaia, and is termed a capitanate in the Assizes of ROMANIA. Little is known of Corinth under Frankish rule, as it was not one of the great baronies; the mint was, however, located at Corinth until it was moved to Clarence (Clarenza). The city and castle were formally surrendered to the Byz. in 1262 by WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, but the local commander refused to relinquish control. Corinth was ceded to Philip I of Taranto ca.1300 and in 1305 a great tournament was held at the Isthmus. In 1358 the city was given to Niccolò ACCIAJUOLI, who strengthened the defenses. In 1395 Theodore I Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, gained control of Corinth for Byz. In 1397 he surrendered the city to the HOSPITALLERS, who held it until 1404, when they returned Corinth to Byz. control (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110). Around 1443 the future emperor Constantine XI appointed a certain John Kantakouzenos as governor in Corinth. The territory was ravaged by the Turks in 1446. Mehmed II attacked the city in 1458, and on 8 August the residents surrendered Acrocorinth to him.

The bishop of Corinth was metropolitan of the Peloponnesos and of the province of Achaia (L. Duchesne, *MEFR* 15 [1895] 375–78). He was present at most of the early councils; in 431 he was the only bishop from the Peloponnesos and in 680 the only representative from Greece (Mansi 11:689). In the crisis after the Slavic invasions the bishop of PATRAS contested control over the Peloponnesos with Corinth, and in the 10th C. the suffragans of Corinth were restricted to the eastern Peloponnesos and the Ionian Islands (*Notitiae CP* 7.488–95, 9.371–99).

There was a sizable monastery of St. John in the area of the ancient center, and literary sources and seals refer to an important Church of St. Theodore whose site has not been identified. None of the Byz. churches of Corinth has survived intact. The fortifications of Acrocorinth rest largely on ancient foundations, but many sections of Byz. masonry, probably of the 6th–7th C., can be seen, esp. along the inner western wall.

LIT. J.H. Finley, "Corinth in the Middle Ages," *Speculum* 7 (1932) 477–99. R. Scranton, *Medieval Architecture in the Central Area of Corinth* (Princeton 1957). R. Carpenter, A. Bon, *The Defenses of Acrocorinth and the Lower Town* (Cam-

bridge, Mass., 1936). M.S. Kodroses, *Symbole sten historia kai topographia tes perioches Korinthou stous mesous chronous* (Athens 1981). T.A. Gritsopoulos, *Ekklesiastike historia kai Christianika mnemeia Korinthias*, vol. 1 (Athens 1973). –T.E.G.

CORIPPUS, more fully, Flavius Cresconius Corippus, Latin poet; died after 567. Corippus was a native of the province of Africa, where he was a small-town teacher and/or wandering poet. Probably in 549 he recited to the dignitaries of Carthage his epic poem the *Johannis*, eight books on the just-concluded war of the Byz. general John TROGLITA against the Berbers. He then disappeared from view until ca.566 when he turned up in Constantinople, celebrating in four hexameter books, with two prefaces, to the emperor and the quaestor Anastasios, respectively, the accession of JUSTIN II on 14 Nov. 565. Some scholars equip him with distinguished patrons and imperial office, but this is mere speculation. Likewise, it is hard to know how biographical or rhetorical are his complaints about old age and poverty.

Although a competent versifier with predictable classical debts, Corippus commands attention mainly as a contemporary historical source. The *Johannis* is a mine of information on African topography and Berber customs, while the panegyric on Justin is a very important source for 6th-C. ceremonial. Several of Corippus's EKPHRASEIS, notably that of Justinian I's funeral robe, ornamented with scenes of imperial TRIUMPH, seem to depend as much on artistic representations as on the poet's experience. The text thus "replaces" lost images of a critical equipoise in art history, a moment when realism was not yet dead and symbolism not yet overweening, even as it describes Justin as an emperor who is at once Roman consul and *imago Christi*.

ED. *Johannidos seu De bellis Libycis libri VIII*, ed. J. Diggle, F.R.D. Goodyear (Cambridge 1970). G.W. Shea, "The *Johannis* of Flavius Cresconius Corippus. Prolegomena and Translation" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia Univ., 1966). *In laudem Iustini Augusti Minoris*, ed. Av. Cameron (London 1976), with Eng. tr.

LIT. U.J. Stache, *Flavius Cresconius Corippus. In laudem Iustini Augusti minoris. Ein Kommentar* (Berlin 1976). B. Baldwin, "The Career of Corippus," *CQ* 28 (1978) 372–76. Av. Cameron, "The Career of Corippus Again," *CQ* 30 (1980) 534–39. Eadem, "Corippus' Iohannis: Epic of Byzantine Africa," *Liverpool Papers* 4 (1983) 167–80. Y. Moderan, "Corippe et l'occupation byzantine de l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 195–212. –B.B., A.C.

CORNICE, the upper part of the ENTABLATURE of a colonnade or of a door-frame. By the 6th C., the use of cornices was extended to define architectural space by marking the level of galleries or the springing of arches, domes, and vaults. A variant on cornices of the Corinthian order appears in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, and other Justinianic monuments, with characteristic modillions decorated with acanthus leaves (L. Butler, *Ayasofya Müzesi Yıllığı* 10 [1985] 27–32). Less ambitious churches display cornices with plain *torus* or *cyma recta* profiles decorated with a wide range of acanthus leaves, palmettes, and anthemia, etc.

Simplified cornices continued to be used in domed, cross-in-square churches or Greek cross-octagons after the 9th C. Those in the church of Constantine LIPS in Constantinople have traces of gilding and color, constituting a revival of 6th-C. forms (C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 18 [1964] 306–09). The *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS retains cornices cast in plaster, while that of DAPHNI shows champlevé cornices with colored inlay evoking *opus sectile* (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, pl.XXXIV).

LIT. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:374–79. Grabar, *Sculptures I* 62–64, 103f. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 64. –L.Ph.B.

CORON. See KORONE.

CORONATION (στέψιμον, στεφάνωσις), imperial accession CEREMONY (together with ACCLAMATION, ADVENTUS, SHIELD-RAISING, BANQUETS, circus spectacles, and ANOINTING), whose significance reflects that of the CROWN as imperial INSIGNIA. From the time of Julian to the 6th C., the coronation shared the imperial election's military character, as soldiers crowned the new EMPEROR with a TORQUE during his acclamation and shield-raising. From the 5th C. the patriarch of Constantinople blessed the insignia and participated in the coronation, but a constitutional interpretation of his role (P. Charanis, *Byzantina* 8 [1976] 37–46) seems unlikely (e.g., C. Tsirpanlis, *Kleronomia* 4 [1972] 63–91). It reflects, rather, the church's prestige and individual patriarchs' political stature (F. Winkelmann, *Klio* 60 [1978] 467–81). Patriarchal coronations occurred only when there was no senior emperor, a minority of cases from 450 to 1000. The shift of coronations (*De cer.* 410–33) from the HEBDOMON to the HIPPODROME in the

5th or 6th C. reflects Byz.'s changing political structure. As late as 776, Constantine VI was crowned co-emperor in the Hippodrome between ceremonies in Hagia Sophia.

The coronation of Constans II in the ambo of Hagia Sophia (641) began a long series of coronations at the Great Church and reveals imperial legitimacy's religious element, underscored by the scheduling of coronations to coincide with holy days like Christmas or Easter, and by imperial epithets like *theosteptos* or *a Deo coronatus* (G. Rösch, *Onoma basileias* [Vienna 1978] 67, 140f). The well-documented Byz. coronation of the 10th C. (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.38, ed. Vogt 2:1–5, and Goar, *Euchologion* 726f) comprised receptions by officials and factions during a procession to Hagia Sophia; the patriarch crowned the emperor in the ambo and the audience acclaimed him; the emperor then ascended a throne to receive the officials' PROSKYNESIS. A eucharistic liturgy followed. The coronation of co-emperors was similar (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.38, ed. Vogt 2:3.1–19), except that, like empresses, they were crowned by the senior emperor. Coronations of empresses took place in the Augustaion and at St. Stephen of Daphne (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.40, ed. Vogt 2:11–15).

The Nicaean Empire temporarily abandoned the coronation of co-emperors and systematically added shield-raising and anointing to the ritual. The Palaiologoi restored co-emperors' coronations. Their ceremony (Kantak. 1:196.8–204.3; cf. pseudo-Kod. 252–72) began with the emperor's subscription to a profession of Orthodoxy (his first use of his title), shield-raising, and acclamation. Next, the emperor, enthroned on a wooden platform in Hagia Sophia, received the SAKKOS and diadem. Coronation was now integrated into the eucharistic liturgy during which the patriarch and church dignitaries performed the anointing in the ambo. Then the patriarch—assisted by the senior emperor if there was one—crowned the new emperor, who was acclaimed again, and the liturgy continued. A PROKYPSIS followed. Empresses were crowned by their husbands and then performed a *proskynesis* to them. Several days of festivities ensued. Commemorative coins were often issued in connection with coronation LARGESS; 9th-C. Byz. coronations customarily involved large payments to the clergy of Hagia Sophia and to the bureaucracy and army (see, e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 229).

LIT. A. Christophilopoulou, *Ekloge, anagoreusis kai stepsis tou byzantinou autokratoros* (Athens 1956). J. Nelson, "Symbols in Context: Rulers' Inauguration Rituals in Byzantium and the West in the Early Middle Ages," *SChH* 13 (1976) 97–119. –M.McC.

Representation in Art. Depictions of coronations occur on a number of different objects (ivory plaques, MS frontispieces, silver vessels, coins, wall paintings), the earliest probably being that of Basil I in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XIX). Most depictions show the emperor or imperial couple receiving the crown from Christ, the Virgin, or an archangel. The presentation of the emperor crowned by the divine power expresses the tendency to construe the fact not only as a historical event but as an image of the emperor-Godhead relationship and the selection of the emperor by God. The images on the ivory plaques and the coins were most likely commemorative of the historical event. The coins were first issued at the time of the coronation but often continued through the reign; the ivory panels were possibly given out as gifts to court officials to celebrate the occasion. There are several ivory plaques with the theme of coronation—for example, the Moscow panel of CONSTANTINE VII being crowned by Christ. In a similar manner the imperial couple of Romanos and Eudokia is crowned by Christ on an ivory plaque in the Cabinet des Médailles in Paris, which commemorates not only the coronation of Romanos (IV?) but also his marriage to Eudokia (I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25). A number of coronation scenes illustrated in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES are neither commemorative nor contemporary with the events they represent. These scenes accompany the chronicler's narrative; they vary in detail but all show the historical ceremonial by depicting the patriarch crowning the emperor or the imperial couple (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 266, 328, 542).

LIT. Grabar, *L'empereur* 112–22, pls. XXIII–XXVI, XXVII.2, XXVIII.5, 6. –I.K.

CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, the name given from the 16th C. onward to the legislative work of Justinian I. It consists of the INSTITUTES, the DIGEST, the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I. All four parts were taught in the LAW SCHOOLS of Berytus and Constantinople. The translations of the Latin text of the *Corpus* that

were produced in both cities form the foundation of Byz. law and were incorporated into the BASILIKA and its scholia. Considerable sections of later law books—transmitted mainly through the *Basilika*—can be traced back to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. In western Europe the *Corpus* was forgotten soon after Justinian but was rediscovered in the 11th C. In many European countries it remained the authoritative source of law into the 19th C. (see LAW, ROMAN).

ED. *Corpus iuris civilis*, ed. P. Krüger et al., 3 vols. (Berlin 1928–29; rp. 1963, 1968). Eng. tr. S.P. Scott, *The Civil Law*, 17 vols. in 7 pts. (Cincinnati 1932; rp. 1973).
LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 562–734. –M.Th.F.

CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, COMMENTARIES ON THE. Evaluation of the writings of Justinian I's contemporaries on the *Corpus Juris Civilis* depends on one's opinion of how the Justinianic prohibition on commentary is to be interpreted, a matter that has long been controversial. The prohibition is found in the introductory constitutions to the DIGEST: it forbids all *commentarii* and *interpretationes* except for translations (*kata podas*), summaries (*indices*), and indications of supplementary and parallel regulations (*paratitla*). The extensive legal literature produced in Justinian's time seemingly provides ample evidence that the prohibition was not observed. The possibility cannot be excluded, however, that the prohibition was not directed at that literature at all. To this end, arguments of content or of form have been adduced. Arguments based on content claim that the surviving legal literature comments on the law affirmatively and does not represent divergent points of view; only the latter were forbidden, to avoid the danger of confusion. Arguments based on form claim that this legal literature consists of "private" lecture notes, not the published commentaries of professors. Another variant of the argument based on form has been put forward by Scheltema (*infra*), who argues that it was not the production of divergent opinions that are forbidden but rather their inclusion in MSS of the *Digest*. Given that the prohibition is found only in the *Digest* (which contained the harmonized remains of the controversies of classical jurists) and given its formulation (that contradictions should be avoided), an explanation based on content is preferable. The relevance of Justinian's directive remains questionable, however, since the uncritical summing up and exegetical character of juristic writings is probably due not so much to the prohibition on commentaries as to a general professorial mentality. (See also ANTECESSORES.)

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 681–92. A. de Roberts, *La interpretazione del Corpus iuris in Oriente e in Occidente* (Naples 1984). N. van der Wal, *Les commentaires grecs du Code de Justinien* (Groningen 1953). Scheltema, "Kommentarverbot." –D.S.

CORRUPTION in the Roman and Byz. worlds was a means of exercising private power for the achievement of public or private purposes by exploiting the latent compliance of state and ecclesiastical officials. The system was based on a sense of community within the bureaucratic officialdom and was enhanced by the intermixture of private and public elements of administration. The system worked through favoritism (for relatives, friends, former servants or slaves, etc.); bribes, which could be official or semiofficial (grants, *sportulae*); fear; and moral pressure, sometimes effective for pious ends (e.g., the extortion of a donation for a monastery). The exploitation of subordinates also comes under this category (soldiers exploited by a *strategos*, peasants by a local landowner, etc.). The illegal acquisition of private property, a portion of state taxes, or objects belonging to the state (e.g., ropes or other parts of a ship) were widespread types of corruption and barely distinguishable from theft. The state might condone such practices and even institutionalize them (e.g., the payment of judges by litigants), but in some cases measures had to be taken to suppress dangerous excesses; thus, for instance, some emperors of the 10th C. tried to limit corruption in the form of seizure of land by the DYNATOI.

Corruption is denounced by Byz. authors of all periods. They criticized not so much the purchase of titles and offices, which was always practiced to various extents and was often considered legitimate, but rather arbitrary administrative actions motivated by personal profit. In the sources, emperors are accused of appointing the rich instead of the best or of practicing the abhorred SIMONY to increase their own revenues; public officials, of accepting kickbacks; fiscal officials, esp. the tax-farmers, of crushing the rural populations by collecting unauthorized taxes or by other fraud-

ulent practices. The most famous corruption scandal is that of the KRITAI KATHOLIKOI in 1337.

LIT. R. MacMullen, *Corruption and the Decline of Rome* (New Haven 1988) 58–121. P. Veyne, "Clientèle et corruption au service de l'État: La vénalité des offices dans le Bas-Empire romain," *Annales ESC* 36 (1981) 339–60.
–A.K., N.O.

CORVÉE, compulsory, usually unpaid, day labor for the state or for one's lord. State corvées, attested since the Roman period, most commonly involved the regular or occasional obligation of local inhabitants to furnish their labor (and their animals) for maintenance of the DROMOS. Such labor—included within the terms ANGAREIA, *parangareia* (from the 11th C., services and animals provided for secondary roads), *leitourgia* ("public service"), and *douleia* ("service")—usually unremunerated, was also supplied for the building of ships (*katergoktisia, karabopoiia*), fortifications (KASTROKTISIA), and perhaps for rural and urban guard duty (*apoviglisis, vigla, paramonai*). In particular areas, certain categories of persons (clergy, bakers, some peasants and soldiers, Jews on Chios in 1049) were exempted (EXKOUSSATOI) from corvée, but this could be annulled in times of emergency (esp. due to war). Probably because of the rise of the *paroikia*, evidence of state corvée is rare after the 12th C. State officials, while traveling, demanded (legally or illegally) labor services from the peasant and urban population: accommodations, food, animals. Landlords needed special privileges to be exempted from such burdens.

The novel of Constantine VII of 935 speaks of *angareiai* demanded by DYNATOI (Zepos, *Jus* 1:209.20) and considers them a form of oppression. By the 11th C., state corvées were occasionally transferred to private landowners and burdened their dependent peasants. Documents from the 13th to 15th C. require *paroikoi* to work (with their animals) for their lords for a fixed number of days per year (ranging from 12 to 52 days, with 12 and 24 being the most common). Svoronos (in *Lavra* 4:165–68) estimates that in the early 14th C. corvées accounted for at most 20 percent of the cultivation of the domain lands of the monastery of Lavra. The commutation of corvées for cash payments, attested throughout the Byz. era, became common in the last centuries of the empire (e.g., in the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS [1218/19], a ZEUGARATOS was compelled to replace his service obligation by a payment of 4 hyperpyra).

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 364–67. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 105f.
–M.B.

CO-SEIGNEURY. See CASAUX DE PARÇON.

COSMETICS. The production of cosmetics was often associated with that of PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS; those involved in this trade formed a guild (*Bk. of Eparch* 10.1–2). Simple cosmetics were prepared at home along with medications, unguents, concoctions to grow or dye hair, and so on, as described in various manuals (e.g., G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301). Symeon SETH stated that women applied bean flour to wash their faces, and according to DIOSKORIDES, they anointed their skin with olive oil from Sikyon. Empress ZOE took a passionate interest in preparing perfume and unguents in her palace. Cosmetics—including hair dyes, skin emollients, makeup, and eye shadow—were widely used, esp. by women, to embellish their face and thus to stress their social status. The church took a negative stand toward cosmetics that was retained as late as the 15th C., when John EUGENIKOS wrote a pamphlet against women who powdered their face, painted their lips, covered their cheeks with rouge, or even blackened their eyebrows to become more attractive (S. Eustratiades, *EEBS* 8 [1931] 42–46).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:375–85. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 38.
–Ap.K., A.K.

COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, anonymous Latin author of the 7th C. who compiled a book called *Cosmography*. After an introduction that divides the earth into 12 southern and 12 northern regions, he gives the geographic nomenclature of the known world: (1) a list of cities and rivers; (2) a PERIPLOUS of the Mediterranean, beginning with Ravenna; and (3) a list of islands in the various seas. The Cosmographer often draws upon the same source as the TABULA PEUTINGERIANA. He refers to many authors, patristic or otherwise, but his knowledge of ancient geographers is very questionable: he quotes only PTOLEMY, whom he confuses with a king of Egypt. Some of the authorities ("philosophers") whom he cites are imag-

inary, and legendary data appear side by side with reliable information. The author's goal, as he himself formulates it, is to preserve for mankind in a time of general political disturbances the memory of geographic names; he makes no attempt to order the sites in a logical fashion.

ED. *Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia,* ed. M. Pinder, G. Parthey (Berlin 1860; rp. Aalen 1962).

LIT. E. Schweder, *Über die Weltkarte des Kosmographen von Ravenna* (Kiel 1886). G. Funaioli, *RE* 2.R.1 (1920) 305–10. O.R. Borodin, "'Kosmografija' Ravennskogo anonima," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 54–63. B.H. Stolte, *De cosmographie van den Anonymus Ravennas* (Zundert 1949). G. Mansuelli, "I geografi ravennati," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 331–42. F. Staab, "Ostrogothic Geographers at the Court of Theodoric the Great," *Viator* 7 (1976) 27–58. –A.K.

COSMOLOGY, conventional term for the doctrine of the structure or arrangement of the COSMOS, classified by the Byz., like all knowledge of the past, as "human sciences," the presupposition of THEOLOGY as a view of ultimate unity. The starting point for Byz. cosmology was the spherical model of Aristotle, as modified by Ptolemy, in which the earth, planets, sun, and moon follow orbits within a large finite sphere. The Alexandrian theologians in general adopted this view. Origen at least knew of it and raised no objections. Clement of Alexandria used the spherical theory, for example, in the allegory of the ARK OF THE COVENANT, hinting already at a fundamental contrast with the Antiochene School, which saw the universe as a cube consisting of two tiers, HEAVEN and earth, separated by a firmament (*stereoma*) which divides the "waters above" and the "waters beneath."

These two views clashed shortly before the middle of the 6th C. The Alexandrian view was represented by John PHILOPONOS, who interpreted the first chapter of Genesis on CREATION against the background of Greek physics and astronomy. The Antiochene belief was represented by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, who argued from the Bible and yet actually followed ideas popular in the East and, without realizing it, borrowed from the Greek tradition. For Philoponos (*De opificio mundi,* ed. Reichardt, 78.20–26, 119.1–5), Moses is the teacher of Plato; according to Kosmas, Moses received the mandate from God to oppose the spherical cosmology of the Babylonians and Greeks (*Topographia christiana,* ed. Wolska-Conus, 1:437–39, 449–51).

The antispherical trend was intensified in the 6th C. through the condemnation of Origenism. At the very least, the presupposition inherent in the spherical image of the world, that the spheres are moved by intelligent minds, was anathematized by Justinian I. This conception of cosmos, altered in various ways, generally speaking was responsible for "the popular mind-set in the Middle Ages, and apparently displaced the conception of a spherical world in the Greek world up to the time of Photios and Psellos" (Wolska, *infra* 182). Naturally, there were exceptions, as, for example, John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 20.9–11, 42–50, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:50–52).

More important for Byz. spirituality and mysticism is the fact that *theoria physike,* religious contemplation of the world, remained an essential element in the ascent to God. It served as the presupposition for attaining the vision of God (*theologia*), a possibility realized through perfected *praxis.* This means that the program of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (A. Guillaumont, *RHR* 91 [1972] 50f) was preserved in the tradition of the church, esp. through Maximos the Confessor, in spite of the tendency of Byz. spirituality to disregard the world and history in order to find God immediately (cf. HESYCHASM, PALAMISM).

LIT. W. Wolska, *La Topographie Chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962). H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie, Das Weltbild Maximus' des Bekenners*[2] (Einsiedeln 1961). A. Delatte, "Un manuel byzantin de cosmologie et de géographie," *BAcBelg* 18 (1932) 189–222. –K.-H.U.

COSMOS (κόσμος, lit. "world"). The fundamental Greek world view emphasized the unity, harmony, and beauty of reality. In the Platonic tradition, the perceptible cosmos is conceived as an image of the world of noetic ideas in the divine INTELLECT, composed of preexistent matter. Christian tradition, in contrast, developed its notion of CREATION "out of nothing," without reducing the cosmos to "the world of man" (a tendency observed in late antiquity); it did not view the cosmos as fundamentally evil, as did GNOSTICISM. The cosmos was seen in a more external, material, eschatologically or ontologically transient character, in contrast to the inner, spiritual, eternal life yet to come. Inasmuch as the cosmos was conceived as a universe, or as the embodiment of all things, the use of a holistic model suggests itself to conceptualize the cosmos as analogous to

an organism possessing the attributes of a "World-soul." The problem for Byz. authors who sought to preserve the holistic model consisted in excluding the notion of a World-soul ("neither divine nor rational"), and particularly in rejecting the doctrine of the World-soul as a third hypostasis, advocated by "the most eminent of the pagan theologians" (JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, pars. 42.6, 68.1, ed. P. Joannou, pp. 52.27, 109.21–22), while maintaining, on principle, an organized totality. –K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. In art the cosmos was depicted as a complex involving PARADISE and its rivers, Earth shown as a mountain below the firmament (*stereoma*) and surrounded by Ocean; the cosmos is represented as a many-leveled structure, as well as planimetrically, in MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. From the 14th C. onward "Kosmos" is identified as a personification in images of the PENTECOST. (See also COSMOLOGY.) –A.C.

LIT. K. Reinhardt, *Kosmos und Sympatheia* (Munich 1926). R. Loewe, *Kosmos und Aion* (Gütersloh 1935). W. Kranz, "Kosmos," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 2.1 (Bonn 1955) 5–113. C. Haebler, "Kosmos," ibid. 11 (1967) 101–18.

COSTUME. Byz. clothing consisted generally of several layers of loose TUNICS and mantles (CHLAMYS, HIMATION). The simplest was a knee-length belted *chiton* with short sleeves, which was worn by laborers, shepherds (including the youthful David in Psalter illustrations), and children. Slightly more formal dress was a full-length tunic adorned in the early period with stripes or CLAVI and square ornaments at specified places; later tunics had tight sleeves and an embroidered hem and collar. This was the usual costume for ordinary city dwellers or provincial dignitaries. Over this could be thrown a mantle, whose form varied with the sex and social status of the wearer. TROUSERS, a Germanic and Eastern fashion, are rarely depicted in art, but texts suggest that they were worn, at least occasionally, by the 12th C.; men also wore tight leather hose. Hats (see HEADGEAR) did not flourish until well into the 11th C. For FOOTWEAR, men wore boots reaching to mid-calf rather than sandals.

Though the basic elements of costume, such as tunics, cloaks, BELTS, hats, and scarves, were common to most social groups, both lay and ecclesiastical, certain versions of these garments became associated over the course of time with specific offices and titles. In fact, costume in Byz. was so strictly regulated and determined by the wearer's office, or role in society, that the distinction that we might make today between costume on the one hand, and INSIGNIA or even liturgical vestments on the other, must have been blurred. Elements of costume, both lay and ecclesiastical, were awarded to the wearer in special rituals; on rare occasions, the emperor, as a special honor to a courtier of a certain rank, might grant him the right to wear a special hat or vestment properly belonging to the rank above, but this was inconceivable to the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Being divested of one's costume or forced to wear another's could have the effect of "defrocking" and be a cause of humiliation: for example, Sergios and Bakchos were deprived of their *maniakia* (see TORQUE), and the general Theophilos Erotikos was forced after the failure of his revolt to appear in the Hippodrome in women's clothes (Skyl. 429.13–17).

Imperial Costume. From the costume of a CONSUL, whose office the emperor had assumed, imperial costume derived the LOROS; this jeweled stole, his red (purple) boots or TZANGIA, and the CROWN became the most distinctive elements of the imperial wardrobe. The *loros* was worn over a silk tunic, the DIVETESION or SAKKOS, either of which may in turn have been worn over another tunic of which only the embroidered (detachable?) cuffs are visible in representations. Other garments, such as the SKARAMANGION (another form of tunic) and the *chlamys* or SAGION, were worn not only by the emperor but also by members of the court. For his coronation, the emperor wore the *divetesion*, the *chlamys*, and *tzangia* (Leo Gramm. 246.19–21). The emperor donned full military dress (see ARMOR) on campaign as well as to celebrate a triumph upon his return to the capital; on such occasions his dress differed from that of his officers only with respect to his crown and red boots.

PURPLE was the prerogative of the emperor and his relations, and of his household attendants under certain conditions. Compromises on color could be arranged for political purposes: Nikephoros III Botaneiates allowed strands of scarlet to be woven into the clothes of Constantine Doukas (whose father he had deposed as emperor), in honor of Constantine's imperial lineage (An.Komn. 1:115.22–23), and Alexios I Komne-

nos later restored to Constantine as caesar the right to wear shoes entirely of red.

Some imperial garments bore figural designs; for example, the mantle of Empress Theodora in the mosaic at S. Vitale, RAVENNA, is adorned with the figures of the Three Magi. In the 14th C. EAGLES made of pearls decorated the shoes of members of the imperial family. The imperial garments were so stiffened with gold embroidery and weighed down with gems as to render the emperor and empress virtually immobile.

Aristocratic and Court Costume. Aristocratic dress differed from ordinary lay costume in the greater number of layers involved (usually a long-sleeved tunic was covered by another looser tunic, which in turn was topped by a *chlamys*), in the greater length of the tunics, in the richness of the materials, and probably in the brightness and variety of its colors. Aristocratic costume was intrinsically valuable, not only for its SILK material, but for the large number of pearls and precious stones used to adorn the fabrics. Garments were decorated with gold embroidery along the hems, around the upper arm, and at the cuffs: rows of pearls also outlined the various sections of the garment, and collars were studded with gems. In fact, it is hard to determine whether these collars should properly be considered pieces of JEWELRY or parts of actual garments. The higher the official, the more gems on his clothing and the less his freedom of movement. Some court robes were adorned with lions or pictures of the emperor as well as the more usual floral patterns.

At court, Oriental garments were much in vogue from at least the 9th C. onward (N.P. Kondakov, *Byzantion* 1 [1924] 7–49): courtiers adopted a wide variety of long silk caftanlike garments (e.g., KABBADION), belted and highly patterned, as well as exotic headgear. Sources that indicate the names of these garments, if not their actual appearance, are the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (late 9th C.), DE CEREMONIIS (10th C.), and pseudo-KODINOS (14th C.). The color of the costume was of paramount importance, far more so than the pattern of its fabric: courtiers were lined up in processions by color, and sometimes only the color of their shoes, for example, served to distinguish the dress of two officials of differing rank.

Monastic and Ecclesiastical Costume. The monastic habit (see SCHEMA), provided by the monastery usually on an annual basis, consisted of a long dark tunic of cotton or wool; the *analabos*, a sort of sleeveless vest comparable to the scapular; a dark cloak (MANDYAS); the *koukoullion*, or hood; and black slippers (*kaligia*).

Ecclesiastical vestments were again a series of tunics, mantles, and scarves, strictly determined by the rank of the wearer: the STICHARION and ORARION for a deacon; the *sticharion*, PHELONION, and EPITRACHELION for a priest; and these plus the OMOPHORION, EPIMANIKIA, and ENCHEIRION/EPIGONATION for a bishop.

Dress of Women. There seem to have been comparatively few variations in female dress. Most women wore a full-length long-sleeved tunic and the MAPHORION over a tight headdress to cover their heads. The distinction in dress between married women and NUNS was probably small: nuns, to judge by representations, wore the *maphorion* more tightly drawn about the neck, so that no part of their body was visible except face and hands. In artistic representations, maidservants, midwives, and the Samaritan woman, always a special paradigm of rural beauty, can have long unbound hair or a loose turban. Their tunics are often sleeveless, as are the tunics of various female PERSONIFICATIONS; they may wear a short knee-length tunic over a longer one. Female court attire other than that of the empress is rarely illustrated: the women dancing with Miriam in the 11th-C. Vat. Gr. 752, fol.449v (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig.123), wear tunics with extremely wide pointed sleeves, jeweled sashes or belts, and pillowlike headdresses. Donor PORTRAITS of the 14th C. show women in beautifully woven silk Oriental tunics like those of the men.

Nudity. The Byz. rejected the antique cult of the NUDE. In art, complete nudity is reserved for the images of Adam and Eve, for Christ in the scene of his baptism, and for figures in exile such as Job. Partial nudity is often associated with people on the fringes of society: wild-haired demoniacs, the devil, certain extreme ascetics (Onouphrios wore only palm fronds), martyrs stripped of their official robes and brought to desert places for execution, or for personifications of natural features, such as river gods.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:5–59, 6:267–94. M.G. Houston, *Ancient Greek, Roman and Byzantine Costume and Decoration*[2] (London 1947) 131–61. A. Carr, *DMA* 3:614–16. K. Wessel, *Die Kultur von Byzanz* (Frankfurt a.M. 1970) 222–25, 411–14. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923). Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid*. Braun, *Liturgische Gewan-*

dung. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 12–19. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 74–79. H. Mihăescu, "La terminologie d'origine latine des vêtements dans la littérature byzantine," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:587–99. –N.P.Š.

COTRIGURS AND UTIGURS (*Κουτρίγουροι, Οὐτίγουροι*), Turkic peoples, settled in the mid-6th C. north of the Black Sea, between the Dnieper and the Don. At the request of their Gepid allies the Cotrigurs sent a large force against the Lombards in Pannonia. Urged by the Gepids, the Cotrigurs then raided Byz. territory in 551 and withdrew only when their eastern neighbors and kinsmen, the Utigurs, who lived east of the Don, were bribed by the Romans to attack their home territory. The Cotrigurs had seen the wealth of the empire, however, and realized its vulnerability to a fast-moving cavalry force. In 558/9 they crossed the frozen Danube near its mouth and advanced into Byz. territory in three columns. One swept into Greece as far as Thermopylae, the second entered the Kallipolis peninsula, and the third, commanded by ZABERGAN, approached the walls of Constantinople, where their arrival caused consternation until Belisarios drove them away. During their return they were again attacked by the Utigurs; the hostility between the Cotrigurs and the Utigurs continued until both were subdued in the 560s by the Avars, who took some of the Cotrigurs with them to Pannonia. The Utigurs then became part of the Turkic confederation that captured Bosporos (Kerch) in 576, while the rest of the Cotrigurs became part of the Bulgar confederation settled north of the Azov Sea in the mid-7th C.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 84–118. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarische Periode der bulgarischen Geschichte* (Amsterdam 1981) 95–99, 308–13. P.B. Golden, *Khazar Studies* (Budapest 1980) 1:30–34, 42–46. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:66f. D.I. Dimitrov, *Prabŭlgarite po severnoto i zapadnoto Černomorie* (Varna 1987). –R.B.

COTTON GENESIS. See GENESIS.

COTYAEUM. See KOTYAION.

COUCHES. See FURNITURE.

COUNCILS (*σύνοδοι*), formal deliberative bodies of bishops and ecclesiastical representatives (priests, deacons, laymen, or monks) that gathered to discuss and regulate disputed questions of church doctrine and discipline. Such assemblies, which could be ecumenical, metropolitan, episcopal, or patriarchal, expressed the essential nature of the church as community or *koinonia.* The church was indeed conceived as synodal or conciliar in structure from the beginning. This pattern and practice of conciliarity had in fact become the rule by the 3rd C. as regional meetings of several Christian communities were convoked to discuss controversial issues, with nonparticipating churches being informed of their decisions. Presbyters, deacons, and laymen also attended, but probably only as "observers" or as advisers to the episcopal college.

Ecumenical Councils. Strictly speaking, the early church could only express its conciliar nature on a local rather than an "ecumenical" scale while Christianity was still an illegal religion. When it was recognized in the 4th C., however, universal or ecumenical councils representing—at least in theory—the entire episcopate of the empire became possible. Besides, as the church was seen as coextensive with the empire, reliable pronouncements became more urgent; exact definitions of faith were needed in order to determine imperial policy toward dissident or schismatic groups. This was clearly the primary goal of these assemblies as far as the state was concerned. Accordingly, these larger convocations, unlike the pre-Nicene councils, were given imperial confirmation and the binding force of law. Nicaea I (325), convoked by CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, was the prototype. Seven such councils—all held in the East—were recognized by the Byz. church as genuinely ecumenical: Nicaea I, Constantinople I, Ephesus, Chalcedon, Constantinople II, Constantinople III, and Nicaea II. The eighth "ecumenical" council acknowledged by the West, the council of Constantinople of 869–70, was annulled by the union synod of 879–80. In contrast to the Byz. position, the Roman Catholic church considers as ecumenical several councils convoked by popes; four Lateran synods (1123, 1139, 1179, 1215), two councils of LYONS (1245 and 1274), Vienna of 1311, Constance (1414–18), FERRARA-FLORENCE, etc. Two of them, the Second Council of Lyons and Ferrara-Florence, deliberated problems connected with Byz. (For articles on individual councils, see under site of convocation: e.g., EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF.)

Significantly, none of the ecumenical councils was convened by a pope. The emperors, who often presided over them (either personally or through their representatives), summoned them. All, moreover, were extraordinary or occasional gatherings. This being so, the canonical literature lacked fixed rules (a typically Byz. phenomenon) concerning their convocation, composition, and organization. Byz. canon law has in fact no philosophy of ecumenical councils.

Although the emperors hoped to use the ecumenical councils as an immediate, binding authority to achieve unanimity or uniformity and cohesion throughout the empire, such councils and their decisions were not accepted mechanically in advance, as divine institutions *de jure divino*. Nicaea I, for example, was not universally acknowledged until 381, while others (SERDICA, HIERIA, the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS, Ferrara-Florence) were eventually accepted as local councils, or rejected as outright heretical *conciliabula*, even when they possessed all the criteria of ecumenicity. Their reception therefore was not based on any outward juridical notion of ecumenicity, but on the truth they embodied as authentic organs of episcopal and ecclesial consensus. It was this alone—viewed as a manifestation of Christ's abiding allegiance to his church—which eventually caused them to be recognized as binding and infallible in authority (J. Meyendorff, *SVThQ* 17 [1973] 267f). Councils quite simply were not above the church.

Metropolitan Councils. Unlike ecumenical councils, provincial (or metropolitan) councils were a permanent institutionalized phenomenon: convocations of bishops of a particular province, meeting in the provincial capital under the presidency of the METROPOLITAN, were in place before the 4th C. They met to discuss controversial issues of common concern, but also for episcopal consecrations, which required conciliarity, that is, the presence and participation of all bishops of an ecclesiastical area. Only with Nicaea I, however, were these metropolitan councils permanently established by being ordered to meet twice yearly (canon 5). This regulation was confirmed by Chalcedon (canon 19), but was subsequently changed to a single annual convocation (TRULLO, canon 8; Nicaea II, canon 6). The duties of these councils were quite extensive, covering questions of faith, liturgy, morals, discipline, and organization. Nicaea I likewise decreed that the election of a bishop to a vacant see be placed in the hands of all the neighboring bishops of the province (canon 4). These canons mark the beginning of a distinction in ecclesiastical law between different kinds of synods and are, as such, an important stage in the evolution of conciliar theory.

Episcopal Councils. The episcopal council was the official assembly of the bishop and clergy of a single bishopric (*paroikia*). It was always under the authority and presidency of the bishop and was responsible for all matters concerning the *paroikia*. This type of council was affected considerably by the new legislation; although not entirely eliminated, it was certainly superseded by the metropolitan council, henceforth viewed as the superior authority. The latter indeed became the higher court of appeal for sentences generated by the lower episcopal council (Nicaea II, canon 3).

Patriarchal Synods. The 4th C. also saw the introduction of patriarchal synods, which were councils of the individual PATRIARCHATES convoked and presided over by the patriarchs. The most important consultative body of the patriarch of Constantinople was the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS. This was essentially a permanent "resident" synod with a continuous existence throughout the medieval period in which decisions were reached in collegiality. But regional or local patriarchal councils were also important, particularly after the 11th C. when no ecumenical councils were held because of the SCHISM. In contrast with the *endemousa*, these exceptional, more solemn assemblies held during major doctrinal disputes, included not only metropolitans and bishops, but often also the emperor and members of the senate. Their doctrinal definition (TOMOS) was sometimes included in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, as was the case with the local councils of Constantinople of 1156–57, 1166–67, and 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The authority of the Byz. church was not therefore restricted to the age of the seven ecumenical councils alone; essentially, regional councils could be and were accepted as universally valid testimony of the Orthodox faith.

Time and Place. Normally circumstance and convenience determined the time and place of meeting for councils. This was the case with ecumenical councils, which had to accommodate not

only large numbers, but individual participants traveling long distances. Provincial councils, however, met at the capital of the province. They could also be convened "at the place where the bishop of the metropolis shall approve" (Chalcedon, canon 19; Trullo, canon 8). The actual convocation was held in a church such as Hagia Sophia, or in a building attached to the church, such as the baptistery or *diakonikon*, with the imperial residence or palace an alternative choice, as the councils held at Hieria, Blachernai, and Trullo illustrate. Often individual contingents (e.g., the Egyptian and Antiochian at Ephesus and Chalcedon) were housed in different buildings. This did not always prevent riots, bloodshed, or even separate or rump synods, which assembled in order to undermine the work of the majority or opposition (see SERDICA and EPHESUS), for quite often bishops were accompanied by sizable overzealous parties of supporters consisting of priests, monks, and laymen. It should be noted that this nonepiscopal (i.e., nonvoting) element was often invited to speak and join in the discussion.

Documents. Minutes of the deliberations were carefully recorded by secretaries, although some, such as the acts of Nicaea I and Constantinople I, have not survived. Those of the *endemousa* were kept in the *chartophylakeion* of the patriarchate. The signing of these documents was determined by seniority of ordination or by the traditional order (*taxis*) of sees. The five major sees of the empire (PENTARCHY) took precedence over all others. A priest or deacon signed if he had attended as a representative of a particular see. In addition to doctrinal definitions, disciplinary canons regulating the life of both clergy and laity were also frequently issued by councils. Often collected separately, these formed an important component of ecclesiastical law. Occasionally ANATHEMAS, EXCOMMUNICATIONS, or depositions (*kathaireseis*) directed against individuals or groups would be attached to the dogmatic decisions. Exile or imprisonment in a monastery often accompanied such ecclesiastical punishments.

Church and State. The secular power was represented in most councils, esp. ecumenical and patriarchal ones. Given the close ties between church and state in Christian Byz., this was both natural and understandable. Imperial interest in the outcome of councils was no doubt one reason the public transportation system (*cursus publicus*) was placed at the disposal of the bishops at Nicaea I; it also explains why emperors often presided over some councils (cf. MARCIAN at Chalcedon) and even took part in their deliberations. True, abuses and even compulsion were not unknown (e.g., the submission of Pope VIGILIUS to Justinian I at Constantinople II [see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF]). Despite the tension caused by such flagrant abuse of imperial power, however, the right of formal decision in matters of faith belonged to the episcopate. Indeed, the church was often successful (though not always immediately) in resisting an emperor's pressure.

Representations in Art. Surviving depictions of councils assume a form closely related to that of other images of authority such as the PENTECOST and the LAST JUDGMENT. Following Late Antique schemes such as the council of the gods in the Ambrosian *Iliad* (see HOMER) and the emperor's presidency at the games on the base of the OBELISK THEODOSIOS, they show a semicircle of hierarchs meeting as a college and supervised by the emperor as *epistemonarches*.

The earliest images of councils are known only from texts. Six councils were depicted in the MESE, in Constantinople, set up, according to the author of the Life of Stephen the Younger, to edify "country folk, foreigners, and the common people" (PG 100:1172A). By the early 8th C. such pictures were fairly common, including mosaics of the First Council of Nicaea in an unknown church in that city. Mosaics showing structures symbolizing each of the seven ecumenical councils, many reworked in the 12th C. and today fragmentarily preserved, survive in the Church of the Nativity in BETHLEHEM. After Iconoclasm, council scenes were no longer purely commemorative. In the marginal PSALTERS, Leo V appears amid Iconoclastic bishops at the Council of 815 to illustrate hypocrisy and bloodthirstiness (Ps 25:4), while Theodosios I presides over the First Council of Constantinople in a miniature in the PARIS GREGORY reflecting the concern of PHOTIOS with both Iconoclasm and the FILIOQUE. Even more central is the position given to an Iconoclast shown condemned by Nicaea II, in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.108). The Madrid MS of John Skylitzes devotes a unique series of pictures (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 310–12) to the council that forced the resignation of Patr. Tryphon (927–31). Frescoes of four councils—painted as usual

in the narthex—in the Metropolis at MISTRA may have liturgical significance (S. Dufrenne, *Les Programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* [Paris 1970] 8, 59f). The miniature in Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.86), that shows John VI Kantakouzenos towering over identifiable metropolitans and Patr. Kallistos I at the Council of 1351 reasserts the traditional meaning of council pictures as images of imperial hegemony in matters of doctrine.

SOURCES. *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, ed. J. Mansi, 31 vols. (Florence-Vienna 1759–98; rp. Paris 1901–27). G.A. Rhalles, M. Potles, *Syntagma ton theion kai hieron kanonon*, 6 vols. (Athens 1852–59). *Acta Conciliorum Oecumenicorum*, ed. E. Schwartz, 5 vols. in 32 pts. (Berlin-Leipzig 1922–84).

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Die Synoden und die Episkopal-Ämter in der morgenländischen Kirche* (Vienna 1867). C.J. Hefele, H. Leclercq, *Histoire des conciles*, 8 vols. (Paris 1907–21). F. Dvornik, "Emperors, Popes, and General Councils," *DOP* 6 (1951) 1–23. J. Hajjar, "Patriarche et synode dans l'Église byzantine," *PrOC* 4.2 (1954) 118–44. B. Botte, H. Marat, et al., *Le concile et les conciles* (Chevetogne 1960). *Histoire des conciles oecuméniques*, 12 vols. (Paris 1962–). P. L'Huillier, *The Church of the Ancient Councils* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1986). J. Boojamra, "The Byzantine Notion of the 'Ecumenical Council' in the Fourteenth Century," *BZ* 80 (1987) 59–76. C. Walter, *L'iconographie des conciles dans la tradition byzantine* (Paris 1970). –A.P., A.C.

COURT, LAW (*δικαστήριον*). The emperor was the source of law and the supreme judge who determined the right of APPEAL and of amnesty; the power to judge was thought to be delegated by him to individual institutions or officials. All government bureaus (SEKRETA) possessed to some extent the right to condemn and pardon, and even the GENIKON had its own court; since the heads of departments frequently had no professional legal knowledge, they usually were given SYMPONOI as assistants (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:339.2–9). In the army, STRATEGOI and their subalterns exercised judicial authority. More specific judicial functions were fulfilled by the EPARCH OF THE CITY and the QUAESTOR, whereas the EPI TON DEESEON presided over petitions and appeals. As chief of police, the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS had judicial duties. The imperial judges of the VELUM or Hippodrome (replaced later by the KRITAI KATHOLIKOI) constituted the highest court. In rare cases the SENATE discussed crimes of great importance. Bishops, aided by their staff, exercised ecclesiastical jurisdiction extending far beyond CANON LAW, and the precise demarcation between civil and ecclesiastical courts was not always clear.

In the provinces, jurisdiction lay in the hands of the local administration, and governors frequently bore the title of JUDGE (*krites*) or PRAETOR; sometimes special magistrates arrived from Constantinople to hear local cases. Masters were considered the judges of their slaves and servants, unless they were personally involved in the case (*Peira* 51.1). The concept of judicial IMMUNITY was never very highly developed in Byz.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 353–89. Kaser, *Zivilprozessrecht* 418–45. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319–23. A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* (Paris 1974) 149–57. Macrides, "Justice" 99–204. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia* 7–48. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Ta byzantina dikasteria kata tous aiones I′–IA′," *Diptycha* 4 (1986) 163–77. –A.K.

CRAFTSMEN. See ARTISAN; GUILDS.

CREATION (*κτίσις ἐκ τοῦ μὴ ὄντος*). The classical formulation of the Christian doctrine of creation states that the COSMOS was brought into existence out of nothing through the omnipotence and free will of God. On the other hand, the divine generation (*gennesis*) of the Son and the Procession (*ekporeusis*) of the Holy Spirit, interpreted as "creation" and coming into existence by ARIANS and the PNEUMATOMACHOI, respectively, had to be distinguished from creation of world and mankind; at the same time any doctrine of emanation to explain creation had to be excluded, since it does "not stem from the essence of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 8.57–78, 81.6–11; ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:20f, 180).

Emphasis on the FREEDOM and contingency of divine creation runs counter to the idea of its eternality and necessity. In this connection, the question as to the motive of creation (why did God create the world?) receives an answer in which the Platonic tradition and esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, that is, the view that the Good continuously generates out of itself, are interpreted to mean that man cannot penetrate the transcendent essence of God who alone is good (Lk 18:19). The question, then, is met by referring to this notion of the essence of the Good: that God creates because he wills to, and not because he is good, an answer that emphasizes the apophatic character of theology (and not, as

in the West, the possibility of theological cataphatic statements). Finally, in connection with the emphasis on God's freedom in the creation, the Platonic notion that the ideas within the divine mind serve the demiurge as models, insofar as it is given an anthropomorphic interpretation, is rejected.

In spite of the tension that exists between the Platonic cosmological model (presumably based on Gen 1:2 LXX) and belief in the "sovereignty of God," that is, the unlimited power of God in relation to the world, and in spite of (or even because of) the cosmological speculations of Gnosticism, there slowly developed in early Christianity the doctrine of creation out of nothing that also served as a twofold front against both Gnosticism and philosophy. Nevertheless Plotinos's interpretation of matter as the final emanation and pure privation (*steresis*), and Porphyry's arguments against an eternally preexistent matter, led outwardly to an approach that, for example, in Alexandria in the 5th C., produced a formal (i.e., outward) synthesis in the philosopher Hierokles, who taught that God eternally creates, yet not "out of preexistent matter," but only on the basis of his will (PHOTIOS, *Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251, ed. Henry 3:126.22–26, 7:189.23–191.23). John PHILOPONOS sought, in opposition to PROKLOS and Aristotle (W. Wieland in *Festschrift für Hans-Georg Gadamer* [Tübingen 1960] 291–316), to provide the doctrine of creation with a philosophical basis to which he later gave an exegetical foundation by tying it to Basil the Great's homilies on the HEXAEMERON. The cosmology he opposes is that of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and his disciple KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES.

In the 11th C., under the influence of the Neoplatonic doctrine of emanation, creation is seen to be continually rooted in the procession and return to God, a "movement proceeding from its origin (*arche*)" (e.g., JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.69, ed. P. Joannou, pp. 114–17), which constitutes the relationship of the creature to the Creator, except that the difference between them is not addressed. This is observed particularly in commentaries on theological statements of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*² (Amsterdam 1967). G. May, *Schöpfung aus dem Nichts* (Berlin–New York 1978). P. Joannou, *Die Illuminationslehre des Michael Psellos und Johannes Italos* (Ettal 1956) 39–78. J. Baudry, *Le problème de l'origine et de l'éternité du monde dans la philosophie grecque de Platon à l'ère chrétienne* (Paris 1931). M. Baltes, *Die Weltentstehung des platonischen Timaios nach den antiken Interpreten*, vol. 1 (Leiden 1976). –K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Based on the twofold account of Genesis 1:1–2:4 and 2:5–25, representations of the Creation are found in numerous artistic contexts and may be divided into at least three categories, developed probably not much later than Basil the Great's HEXAEMERON. This popular text is preserved in more than 100 MSS, but none of them received narrative illustration. The striking iconographic feature of the days of Creation personified as angels—e.g., in the Cotton GENESIS—derived not from biblical exegesis but from Late Antique art (M.-T. d'Alverny, *CahArch* 9 [1957] 271–300). In another variation type God is present and directs the Creation (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO, and MONREALE); in a third type, represented by the OCTATEUCHS, the action is carried out by an unseen heavenly power.

LIT. C. Hahn, "The Creation of the Cosmos: Genesis Illustration in the Octateuchs," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 29–40. J. Lassus, "La création du monde dans les Octateuques byzantins du douzième siècle," *MonPiot* 62 (1979) 85–148. M. Bernabò, "Considerazioni sul manoscritto Laurenziano Plut.5.38 e sulle miniature della *Genesi* degli Ottateuchi bizantini," *AnnPisa*³ 8 (1978) 135–57. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 47–58. –J.H.L.

CREDITOR (δανειστής), either a professional money-lender (ARGYROPRATES or BANKER) or anyone else to whom money was owed. In Justinianic law and later, social status determined the rate of INTEREST. One could get a LOAN even from a monastery. Christian public opinion condemned USURY and both legal texts and narrative sources describe the cruelty of creditors: *Epanagoge* 35.1 prohibits creditors from exhuming corpses "under the rationale of DEBT," and Demetrios KYDONES (*Correspondance*, ed. Loenertz 1:30.140–50) describes how a creditor dragged an insolvent debtor from beneath his bed, beat him, "shouted about silver, interest, and months," and took him before a judge. The hagiographer of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL sympathizes with a peasant whose ox died and who wanted to run away before his creditors (*chreopheiletai*) attacked him like wild beasts (M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 119.4–7).

As security the creditor usually received immovables from the debtor—either as a mortgage

or the actual physical possession. If the debtor proved to be insolvent, the ownership of the land, house, or other item was transferred to the creditor. -A.K.

CREED (*σύμβολον*), in the strict sense of the word, the short brief exposition of the principles of Christian belief as formulated at the ecumenical councils of NICAEA (325) and the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), and as transmitted by the acts of the Council of CHALCEDON (451). Formulas representing the Nicaean "creed," as cited by various theologians, esp. in the commentary of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, do not give a homogeneous text, and the concept of the Nicaean creed in the 4th C. seems to have been relatively vague. The creed of Constantinople is also problematic: first of all, it is not mentioned until Chalcedon (an argument *ex silentio*); secondly, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus, in a book written seven years before Constantinople I, presents the creed in the same form as that of Constantinople rendered at Chalcedon, although the text of Epiphanios may be interpolated (B.M. Weischer, *Theologie und Philosophie* 53 [1978] 407–14). Thus, the creed of Nicaea was developed only over time; it derived from (but did not eliminate) local creeds, probably the creed of Caesarea as attested by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. It served as a baptismal formula that eventually assumed the role of the line of demarcation from heresy—whether this happened by 381 or only 451 is not clear. The text of the creed also survived in papyri of the 5th (J. Kramer, *ZPapEpig* 1 [1967] 131f) and 6th C. (O. Montevecchi, *Aegyptus* 55 [1975] 58–69).

ED. G.L. Dossetti, *Il simbolo di Nicea e di Costantinopoli* (Rome 1967).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Creeds*[3] (London 1972). D.L. Holland, "The Creeds of Nicea and Constantinople Reexamined," *ChHist* 38 (1969) 248–61. Idem, "The Earliest Text of the Old Roman Symbol: A Debate with Hans Lietzmann and J.N.D. Kelly," *ChHist* 34 (1965) 262–81. A.M. Ritter, *Das Konzil von Konstantinopel und sein Symbol* (Göttingen 1965). -K.-H.U.

CRETAN LITERATURE. Little is known of Cretan literary activity until the late 14th C.; by this time, following the division of territories in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade, Venetian feudal overlords and Greek subjects had settled into a relationship in which the Italo-Venetian and Cretan Greek dialects and the Catholic and Orthodox faiths maintained a relatively harmonious coexistence. Of the earliest identifiable writers, Leonardo DELLA PORTA stands apart from Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI, a younger contemporary, in that he employed a standard form of Greek whereas Sachlikes and Falieri preferred the Cretan dialect. Both the latter demonstrate other features that remained characteristic of Cretan literature until the end of its Golden Age. These are the use of rhymed POLITICAL VERSE and a delight in scenes of comic realism drawn from the back streets and brothels of urban Crete. Cut off from the mainstream of Byz. educational traditions and open to influences from western Europe, writers in Crete showed an acquaintance with the vernacular literatures of Byz., esp. the verse ROMANCES (probably also composed and copied on the fringes of the Byz. world), and an awareness of Venetian literary fashions (esp. sharply observed amatory dialogues) which was to culminate in the masterpieces of George Chortatzis (*Erofili, Katzourbos*) and Vincenzo Kornaro (*Erotokritos*).

LIT. M. Manoussakas, *He Kretike Logotechnia* (Thessalonike 1965) 5–26. G. Morgan, "Cretan Poetry: Sources and Inspiration," *KretChron* 14 (1960) 7–68. -E.M.J.

CRETE (Κρήτη), large island in the eastern Mediterranean, midway between Greece and Africa. In the Roman period Crete was primarily agricultural, with industries producing mainly for the local market (I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* [Warminster 1982] 32–35); the island had numerous *poleis*—different sources give various figures, from 22 to 29—the most important being GORTYNA and Knossos. Until 295–97 Crete formed a joint province with Cyrene but was then separated and under Constantine I included in the diocese of Macedonia. The administrative changes of the 7th C. are obscure: several seals of *archontes* of Crete are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1782) as well as one of a *tourmarches* of Crete (no.2059)—but this is not sufficient evidence to postulate the existence of a theme of Crete. The 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* lists both the *archon* and—separately—the *strategos* of Crete; this double governorship is still enigmatic.

The island was attacked by the Goths in 268,

Vandals in 457, and Slavs in 623. Sometime between 824 and 827/8 expatriate Spanish Arabs led by Abū Ḥafṣ landed in Crete, quickly conquered the whole island, and established their capital at CHANDAX. The Cretan Arabs had a highly developed urban culture and tolerated Christianity. The Muslim occupation of Crete did, however, leave the whole of the AEGEAN SEA open to devastating raids from the island. After several efforts by his predecessor had failed, in 961 Nikephoros (II) Phokas reconquered Crete and brought enormous treasure for his triumph to Constantinople (THEODOSIOS THE DEACON 2:8). After 961 Crete was under the authority of a *strategos*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* he is placed between those of Cyprus and Hellas (Oikonomides, *Listes* 265.27). From the time of Alexios I Komnenos until 1204 Crete was administered by a *doux* or *katepano*. The bishop of Gortyna was archbishop of Crete from the beginnings of Christianity on the island, originally under the papacy and after 732/3 under the patriarch of Constantinople.

Crete under Venetian Rule. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204, Crete was given to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, who sold it to Venice. The island became a source of agricultural products for the Republic, esp. grain, wine, olive oil, cheese, and wood (A. Laiou in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 183–86); Venetian influence led to the commercialization of Cretan agriculture. The Greek inhabitants seem to have been less involved in commerce than the Latins and Jews; Laiou (*supra* 193) reckons that Greeks are named in 20 percent of the 14th-C. notarial acts that she studied. Crete was also an important base for Venetian trade with the Levant, esp. AYDIN, MENTESHE, and the Mamlūk territories (E. Zachariadou, *Trade and Crusade* [Venice 1983] xxxiii–iv). The harsh domination of Venice prompted several revolts in which not only the Greek population but also some Venetian nobles participated, as in 1363 (J. Jegerlehner, *BZ* 12 [1903] 78–125); in 1453 Siffius Vlasto, a Greek from Rethymno, conspired to overthrow the Venetian government but his scheme was betrayed (M. Manoussakas, *He en Krete synomosia tou Sephe Blastou* [Athens 1960]). The Orthodox clergy in Crete was limited to 130 members who were under the jurisdiction of the Latin archbishop of the island (Z. Tsirpanles, *Hellenika* 20 [1967] 44–72). In spite of all the political and religious restrictions, Venetian Crete was a place where Greek and Latin cultural traditions came into contact, resulting in a revival of art and Greek literature, esp. in the vernacular, by such writers as Stephen SACHLIKES and Leonardo DELLA PORTA.

LIT. V. Christides, *The Conquest of Crete by the Arabs* (Athens 1984). D. Tsougarakis, *Byzantine Crete 5th–12th C.* (Oxford 1984). K. Gallas et al., *Byzantinisches Kreta* (Munich 1983). S. Borsari, *Il dominio Veneziano a Creta nel XIII secolo* (Naples 1963). N. Tomadakis, "La politica religiosa di Venezia a Creta verso i Cretesi ortodossi del XIII al XV secolo," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 361–76. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.X (1971), 108–17. –T.E.G., A.K.

Monuments of Crete. The monuments built on Crete before the Arab conquest of the island are impressive for their size and number (more than 40 survive): the churches at Panormos and GORTYNA are large three-aisled basilicas built of carefully dressed blocks, the former having a tripartite transept, atrium, and fine architectural carving.

The far smaller medieval buildings were often built into the ruins of these grander structures. None can be dated before the restoration of Byz. rule in 961, and relatively few from the period preceding the Venetian domination, despite the missionary activity of John XENOS and NIKON HO "METANOEITE." The Church of the Virgin at Myriokephala, part of a monastery founded by Xenos, has a layer of painting dating from the early 11th C. (G. Antourakes, *Hai monai Myriokephalon kai Roustikon Kretes meta ton parekklesion auton* [Athens 1977]). The Church of St. Panteleemon at Pege (formerly Bizariano) probably dates from the 12th C.; one of its columns was formed by piling four reused Corinthian capitals on top of one another.

The churches erected under the Venetians are, for the most part, modest one-aisled barrel-vaulted structures lacking dome and narthex, built of stone or rubble masonry with little external decoration. The influence of the Venetians appears mainly on the façades, in the occasional pointed arch or ornamental carving. These churches served as private chapels, or were used by small village communities; as the many surviving inscriptions indicate, they were donated by groups of villages as well as by individuals and families. An adjoining church was frequently constructed parallel to the first, and though the two were designed to communicate and could be virtually contemporary, each "aisle" had a different dedication and

different donors. One of the relatively few domed structures is the cruciform Church of the Virgin Gouverniotissa at Potamies (mid-14th C.).

The fresco decoration of these churches was both rich and surprisingly independent of Western influence (although there are three portraits of St. Francis). The earliest dated program is that of St. Anne at Amari (a.1225, S. Papadake-Oekland, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1973–74] 31–57); many later ones are also precisely dated, and many, esp. those of the 14th C., bear the names of the ARTISTS as well; the name of John Pagomenos appears in eight churches in western Crete over the years 1313–47, and that of the Phokas brothers in three churches in eastern Crete from 1436 to ca.1453 (T. Gouma-Peterson, *Gesta* 22 [1983] 159–70). The small scale of the churches led to a reduction in the scale of the paintings, but not of their content: some of the individual scenes in the grid of fresco panels adorning the barrel vaults are scarcely larger than portable icons. The lack of a dome meant that the bust of Christ Pantokrator was often displaced to the conch of the apse, where it was flanked by the supplicant Virgin and John the Baptist in a DEESIS composition. The programs are not as laced with liturgical themes as are those at Mistra, for example, but are rich in narrative, esp. hagiographical subjects (M. Basilake, *Kretike Hestia*[4] 1 [1987] 60–83), including the life of the Virgin and local saints.

The earliest frescoes of Crete reveal closer ties with the monastic centers of Asia Minor than with the art of Constantinople or even mainland Greece; 13th-C. monuments such as St. George at Sklavopoula (1290/1) are still provincial versions of 12th-C. Komnenian painting. In the 14th C., however, the successive trends in Palaiologan MONUMENTAL PAINTING as evidenced in such centers as Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serbia, and Mistra came to Crete fairly promptly; apparently without any widespread importation of metropolitan artists, this art would take firm root on the island. In the north and south aisles of the Panagia Kera at Kritsa, the 11 scenes of the life of the Virgin and the elaborate Last Judgment are characterized by multifigured compositions with imposing architectural backdrops, melodramatic poses, and exaggerated facial expressions reminiscent of the early 14th-C. works of MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS (M. Borboudakis, *Panagia Kera* [Athens, n.d.]; S. Papadake-Oekland, *ArchDelt* 22 [1967] 87–111), while the frescoes in the church of the Virgin at Sklavopoula (late 14th–early 15th C.) show the influence of the more graceful and wistful "mature" Palaiologan style favored in Constantinople and Mistra. This latter style was ultimately to lead to the development of the so-called Cretan school of painting of the 15th and 16th C.

LIT. K. Kalokyris, *The Byzantine Wall Paintings of Crete* (New York 1973). M. Chatzidakes, "Toichographies sten Krete," *KretChron* 6 (1952) 59–91. G. Gerola, *I monumenti veneti nell'isola di Creta*, 4 vols. (Venice 1905–40). G. Gerola, K. Lassithiotakes, *Topographikos katalogos ton toichographemenon ekklesion tes Kretes* (Heraklion 1961). Idem, "Ekklesies tes Dytikes Kretes," *KretChron* 21 (1969) 177–233, 459–93; 22 (1970) 133–210, 347–88; 23 (1971) 95–177. M. Cattapan, "Nuovi elenchi e documenti dei pittori in Creta dal 1300 al 1500," *Thesaurismata* 9 (1972) 202–35. –N.P.Š.

CRIMEA, known in antiquity as Tauric Chersonese, a large peninsula situated between the Black and Azov Seas; in Byz. Greek texts the term KHAZARIA is sometimes used for Crimea. The interior was occupied in the 5th C. by the HUNS, but in the early 6th C. Byz. established its power at least in the coastal cities of CHERSON and Cimmerian BOSPOROS. Justinian I ordered the restoration of walls and built *phrouria* at Alouston and Gorzoubitai to protect the coastal part of the Crimea (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.7.10–11); the location of the frontier remains under discussion (e.g., E. Vejmarn, *ADSV* 17 [1980] 19–33). Byz. suzerainty was terminated ca.600, and the remnants of urban life dwindled, but it is plausible that the countryside flourished in the 7th–8th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970]). The KHAZARS dominated Crimea from the 7th to 10th C., but from the 9th C. onward Byz. struggled for hegemony, its stronghold being Cherson and the theme of Klimata (see KLIMA).

The ethnic composition of Crimea was diversified: besides Greeks and the remnants of Scythians and Sarmatians, there were Goths in DORY, Bulgars in the region of Bosporos, Alans and Pechenegs in the interior, and Rus' in nearby TMUTOROKAN. Armenians and Italians settled in cities of the peninsula from the 13th C. onward. The Byz. designated the local population of Crimea indiscriminately as "Tauroi" or "Tauroscythians."

After 1204 Crimea was at first within the economic sphere of TREBIZOND; during the period

of Tatar political domination (after 1235) Genoese and Venetians used Crimean towns (esp. SOUGDAIA and KAFFA) as bases for long-distance trade. In 1475 the entire peninsula fell to the Ottomans.

LIT. A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* (Leningrad 1964). Ju. Kulakovskij, *Prošloe Tavridy*[2] (Kiev 1914). D. Obolensky, "The Crimea and the North before 1204," *ArchPont* 35 (1978) 123–33. –O.P.

CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (ἐγκληματικὴ δίκη). The office of public prosecutor was unknown in Byz. law. Nevertheless, criminal procedures could be initiated by the authorities, but there were few laws governing how they were to be carried out. Punishable offenses were often prosecuted on application of a private person. The nature of the crime dictated who was entitled to prosecute: the injured or harmed person alone, or his relatives and anyone else. The accuser was, as a rule, called a *kategoros,* and the accusation to be recorded in court was an *engraphe*; however, the blurred distinction between criminal and CIVIL PROCEDURE is reflected in the terminology of the sources. Criminal procedure differed from civil procedure in several ways: for example, there were variations in the arrangements for accusation and representation; witnesses had to appear in person; TORTURE played a large role; the accused could be held in custody; a trial could not last more than two years; and the unsuccessful accuser (*sykophantes*) was threatened with the same punishment that would have befallen the accused had he been convicted (*tautopatheia*).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 406–08. D. Simon, "Die Melete des Eustathios Rhomaios über die Befugnis der Witwe zur Mordanklage," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 559–95. –L.B.

CRISPUS (Κρίσπος), more fully Flavius Julius Crispus, son of CONSTANTINE I and Minervina, probably the emperor's concubine; born ca.305, died Pola 326. A pupil of LACTANTIUS, he was caesar from 1 Mar. 317 together with the infant CONSTANTINE II. He was apparently put in charge of Gaul and acclaimed for victory over the Franks and Alemanni in 320 and 323. He is titled *invictus* on a milestone from Lorraine—probably an allusion to the cult of SOL INVICTUS. As commander of the fleet Crispus played a notable role in the defeat of LICINIUS in 324, but in 326 was suddenly executed. Aurelius Victor says specifically that this was by order of his father, and many authors (John Chrysostom, Sidonius Apollinaris, etc.) saw a link between his death and the subsequent murder of his stepmother Fausta. Zosimos was the first to relate that Crispus came under suspicion of being involved with Fausta; when Constantine had him murdered, HELENA took the loss of her grandson very hard, and Constantine, in order to placate her, placed Fausta in an overheated bath where she suffocated. P. Guthrie (*Phoenix* 20 [1966] 327f) dismisses any connection between the two murders, but his arguments are not convincing; Crispus must have committed or at least been charged with a serious crime, the nature of which remains uncertain.

LIT. H. Pohlsander, "Crispus: Brilliant Career and Tragic End," *Historia* 33 (1984) 79–106. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 1722–24. –T.E.G.

CRITICISM, LITERARY, was stimulated in Byz. by the necessity to take a stand with regard to the literary heritage of antiquity. The first task was the assemblage, systematization, and categorization of the surviving texts; this took the form of compiling various LEXIKA and FLORILEGIA and establishing the canon of selected authors and works. A greater challenge was the appreciation of classical literature: rejected by radical Christians like Tatian owing to its allegedly amoral character, it was sanctioned—at least as a valid instrument in aiding logic and rhetoric—by such authorities as Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory of Nyssa, Basil the Great, and, to a lesser degree, John Chrysostom. The judgment was pronounced on the basis of ideological criteria, not literary ones; this ideological approach survived in much later centuries as well and is exemplified by the refutation by Constantine AKROPOLITES of the *Timarion.* On the other hand, literary critics applied allegorical reinterpretation to pagan texts, esp. to the antique and late antique ROMANCES, some of which were seen as the story of the soul's longing for salvation (Poljakova, *Roman.* 43–48). Photios, in his BIBLIOTHECA, included a literary evaluation of the books he had read as well as their moral significance (G. Kustas, *Hellenika* 17 [1962] 132–69). Psellos contributed much to literary criticism: he wrote a stylistic appreciation of the work of a hagiographer, Symeon Metaphrastes; analyzed the rhetorical skill of Gregory of Nazianzos (Mayer, "Psellos'

Rede" 27–100); and compared George of Pisidia with Euripides (A. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus and Achilles Tatius* [Vienna 1986]). Psellos emphasized two contradictory principles of a successful literary style—its variety in vocabulary, meter, and form and its internal unity (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 138f). Eustathios of Thessalonike and Theodore Metochites also analyzed the style of ancient models, such as Plutarch and Synesios, and John Merkouropoulos (see JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES) tried to characterize the literary achievements of John of Damascus and Kosmas the Hymnographer.

LIT. J.W.H. Atkins, *Literary Criticism in Antiquity*, vol. 2 (London 1952). Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:1075–94. –A.K., I.Š.

CROATIA (Χροβατία), northwestern Balkan state, created by Croatian Slavs, who moved into the area in the 7th C. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 31.68–70, 83–84) there were two different Croatian states—Pannonian Great or White Croatia, which was pagan, and baptized Dalmatian Croatia; the latter included the *kastra* of Nin (Nona), Biograd (Belegradon, one of many "white towns"), Velica (Belitzin), and Skradin (Skordona). Constantine asserts that the Croatians were settled there by Emp. Herakleios.

The early centuries of Croatian history are obscure. In Charlemagne's time the region came under Frankish domination. After his death (814), a rebellion by Pannonian Croatians was crushed by the Franks, but Dalmatian Croatia gained strength under local princes. It obtained papal recognition of its independence in 879, under Prince Branimir (879–92). During the rule of Prince TOMISLAV (from between 910 and 914 to ca.928) Dalmatian and Pannonian Croatia were united, thus creating a powerful state. In about 923 the Byz. emperor Romanos I sent an embassy to Tomislav to form an alliance with Croatia and Serbia against SYMEON OF BULGARIA; Symeon's invasion of Croatia turned into a disaster for Bulgarian troops. It is unclear how and why, but Tomislav then abandoned his Byz. alliance and sought papal support; by 925 Rome acknowledged him as a king.

Probably the danger of Venetian penetration persuaded Tomislav's successors to turn again to Byz.; at any rate, King Peter Kresimir IV (1058–74) acted as representative of the Byz. emperor in Byz. Dalmatia. Culturally Croatia became further removed from Constantinople when two ecclesiastical conventions in Split (1060 and 1074) condemned and prohibited the Slavonic liturgy, but it survived in many peripheral churches. This anti-Byz. attitude was further developed by King ZVONIMIR (1075–89/90), under whom Croatia entered a period of internal instability and Hungarian intervention. In 1102 Croatia became united with Hungary, but remained a distinct state, with the Hungarian king being separately elected and crowned as king of Croatia (until 1235). Thereafter Croatia had no further involvement with Byz. affairs.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 248–91. N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1971). Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1976). –B.K., A.K.

CROSS (σταυρός), symbol of the CRUCIFIXION of Jesus Christ. From the earliest years of Christianity the paradox that through his death on the cross Christ destroyed the power of death and offered the hope of eternal life to mankind has made the cross a symbol of Christianity.

THEOLOGY OF THE CROSS. Although the cult of the cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) did not blossom until the 4th C., theological development of the symbolism of the cross had already begun in the writings of the Apostolic period, with particular reference to Old Testament prototypes (prefigurations) of the cross as, for example, Moses' attitude of prayer in the victory over the Amalekites, the Tree of Life, and the bronze serpent. The numerous Byz. sermons pertaining to the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross are devoted chiefly to these prototypes. Surviving examples of these homilies represent a kind of hymnic litany extolling the cross as the sign of victory and salvation (e.g., Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS, PG 150:177C). The church fathers repeatedly express their wonder that what was once a symbol of shame became in Christianity a symbol of honor for both crowned heads and simple people, and is treated as such in every church and square and found even on clothing and ordinary utensils (see "The Cross in Everyday Life," below). The danger that the symbol of the cross might degenerate into something meaningless and commonplace is

expressed, among other ways, in a decree of Emp. Valentinian III (*Cod.Just.* I 8, a.427) and in a resolution of the Council in Trullo (canon 73) forbidding incorporation of the cross into a church floor where it could be trampled underfoot.

Perhaps the most significant theology of the cross is that of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. In many of his sermons, devoted wholly or in part to this theme, he treats the multifaceted mystery of the cross. Beginning with the worldwide spread of Christianity, he emphasizes the central position of the cross as the work of *philanthropia*, or the symbol of God's providential care (*kedemonia*) for the world. Rooted in the cross is the salvation of the world because Christ gave his life (*psyche*) as ransom for the enemy (Chrysostom, PG 58:622.53–55). Referring to St. Paul (Col. 2:14), Chrysostom proclaims that the baptism and the cross canceled the contract that pledged us to the Law and that stood against us: "Not only was it canceled but torn to pieces, the nails of the cross cleft it, made it invalid" (PG 50:462.54–463.1). Through the erection of the cross the air is purged of demons, the citadel of the Devil destroyed. Thus, the cross became the monument to the flight of the enemy. As the Devil conquered Adam through the wood of the Tree of Life, so Christ overcomes Hell through the wood of the cross, leading men who are held captive there to freedom. Through Christ, the SOL JUSTITIAE, the cross is also immersed in the transfigured light of God. This theological conception yields the artistic form of the *crux gemmata*, that is, the cross of gold or mosaic overlaid with pearls and precious stones (A. Lipinsky, *FelRav*^{3} 30 [1960] 5–62). Chrysostom also considers it obvious that the "sign of the Son of Man" is the cross that precedes Christ in his PAROUSIA or Second Coming.

The veneration of the cross was furthered significantly through Constantine I the Great's vision of the cross at the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312, by Helena's discovery of the TRUE CROSS, and by the development of the cult of the cross in the 4th C. and later. It was also advanced by liturgical development in the Feast of the Exaltation of the Cross, whose status was further intensified by Emp. Herakleios's recovery of the True Cross from the Sasanians and its restoration to Jerusalem in 631. For a brief time ICONOCLASM also contributed to the portrayal of the cross as an alternative to icons. The Christian attitude of prayer facing east was fixed by mounting a cross in this direction; it also counteracted the orientation of the Jewish Temple and the Marcionites and PHOUNDAGIAGITES, who prayed facing west.

The liturgy of the triumphal cross was taken as a model for the acclamations for the victorious emperor returning home. The emperor bore the cross on his diadem as a symbol of Christ's sovereignty, while the monks wore this symbol on their headgear or *koukoulion* (J. Engemann in *Theologia crucis—Signum crucis: Festschrift E. Dinkler* [Tübingen 1979] 137–53). The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE describes the erection of the cross in the public square of the capital city (probably done first under Theodosios I). The sign of the cross, which was used in all the sacraments, but particularly in the administration of baptism, was made as the eschatological seal of righteousness in the name of Christ. A sermon on the life-giving cross (pseudo-Chrysostom) gives a comprehensive description in one particular passage: "We [i.e., Christians] have for our ship [*anti skaphous*] the Old and New Testaments, the cross as our helm, Christ as our helmsman, the Father as our captain, the Holy Spirit as our west wind, grace as our sail, the disciples as our sailors, the prophets as our soldiers; we direct ourselves, therefore, beyond the ship into the ocean of thought not to extract a pearl, but something more valuable even than the pearl" (PG 50:817).

LIT. G.Q. Reijners, *The Terminology of the Holy Cross in the Early Christian Literature as Based upon Old Testament Typology* (Nijmegen 1965). E. Peterson, "Das Kreuz und das Gebet nach Osten," in *Frühkirche, Judentum und Gnosis* (Rome 1959) 15–35. P. Stockmeier, *Theologie und Kult des Kreuzes bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Trier 1966). J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79. –G.P.

THE CROSS IN EVERYDAY LIFE. The sign of the cross dominated every aspect of daily life: it marked churches, graveyards, religious foundations in general, and house altars. Believing it to be the only true weapon against demonic and evil powers, the faithful wore it around their necks or had it stamped or embroidered on their clothes. To ward off misfortune, the sign of the cross was engraved or carved in a prominent place on city walls, public buildings, bridges, dangerous passes, and private homes. The Second Council of Nicaea ruled that the cross is properly set up not only in churches and on sacred vessels and images but

also "in houses and on streets" (Mansi 13:377CD). At times of pestilence, drought, or flooding the faithful carried crosses in litanies led by the clergy. Miraculous salvation from such natural catastrophes was affirmed with the sign of the cross, as when THEODORE OF SYKEON gave a blessing and made the sign of the cross after concluding a miracle (vita, ed. Festugière, ch.43.56). On the banks of a flooded river, at the boundaries of vineyards or cultivated fields ready for harvest, or at a place from which evil spirits had previously escaped, a cross would be erected or carved to ensure protection against demonic powers (*Ibid.*, ed. Festugière, ch.43.45, ch.45.21–22, ch.53.5, ch.114.41, ch.144.4, ch.155.15–16). Similarly, a newly launched ship bore the sign of the cross on its masts, bow, and stern. Farm animals were also blessed with the sign of the cross.

Marks of the cross have been widely found in quarries, apparently used to lend spiritual strength to the workers' technical skills (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 124–26). They were painted on the walls of churches—together with inscribed prayers at Tokalı Kilise in Göreme—before being covered with more elaborate decoration. Replacing the LABARUM, the cross was a common sign of faith on weapons. Gregory Abu'l-Faraj noted among the loot taken by the Arabs from the Byz. in 887 gold and silver crosses from the heads of their spears. During a celebration in honor of the True Cross that lasted from 28 July to 13 Aug., the houses, walls, and other buildings in Constantinople were blessed (*De cer.* 539.19–21). The illiterate signed documents by simply drawing a cross; inscriptions and the signatures of the literate on documents were usually preceded by a cross.

Occasionally there were acts of impiety such as swearing and taking false oaths on the cross (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:363, 377) or even faking miracles—discovering supposedly hidden crosses and presenting them to the faithful, thereby exploiting their piety (vita of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios, *AASS* Nov. 3:512f).

LIT. Hunger, *Reich* 182–84. –Ap.K., A.C.

CROSS, CULT OF THE. Though John Chrysostom says that Christ "did not leave the Cross on earth but seized it and carried it up to heaven" (PG 49:403.61–3), legends of the finding and identification of the TRUE CROSS by HELENA in the first half of the 4th C. abound. By the second half of the 4th C. relics of the Cross, used as AMULETS—though the practice was condemned by canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia ca.360–90 (Mansi 2:570; Gregory of Nyssa, *Vie de sainte Macrine*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1971] 240f, n.2)—had spread from Jerusalem to Antioch, Cappadocia, and Constantinople. Circa 384 EGERIA described the beginnings of the liturgical cult of the Cross on Good Friday in Jerusalem: on Golgotha behind the chapel of the Cross the bishop took his seat, and the Wood of the Cross and the Title were taken out of their box and placed on a table. The relics were guarded by deacons to prevent the pilgrims from biting off a piece as they passed to kiss the Wood (*Diary* 37:2–3). Egeria also furnishes our earliest description of the 14 Sept. feast of the Cross in Jerusalem, where it celebrated the finding of the Cross, associated with an earlier 13–14 Sept. dedication feast of the cathedral complex on Golgotha.

The rite of the Elevation of the Cross is first attested at the Golgotha *martyrion* in the 6th C. (ed. H. Usener, *Der hl. Theodosios, Schriften des Theodoros u. Kyrillos* [Leipzig 1890] 71). The 7th-C. CHRONICON PASCHALE speaks of the exposition of the Cross (*staurophaneia*) on 14 Sept. (1:531.9–12), and testifies to the exaltation (*hypsosis*) rite in Hagia Sophia on that day in 614 (705.3–6). In the rite of Constantinople this exaltation theme overshadowed the earlier *inventio* motif, and the ritual exaltation became the central ceremony, celebrated with the greatest solemnity (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:24; *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.31 [32]). For four days (10–13 Sept.) the wood of the Cross was exposed for veneration, and the Sunday before and after the feast and its VIGIL (*paramone*) were all directed toward the celebration. On 14 Sept. itself, at ORTHROS in Hagia Sophia, the patriarch entered in solemn procession bearing the relic of the Cross, escorted by the emperor and court dignitaries bearing candles. They formed an honor guard along the ambo and solea as the patriarch mounted the ambo with "the precious wood." After prostration and prayer, the patriarch elevated the relic of the Cross thrice to the four corners of the earth, then the people came forward to venerate the relic. After the service the emperor offered a banquet in the Triklinos of Justinian (Oikonomides, *Listes* 222f). In the 14th



CROSS, CULT OF THE. The Elevation of the Cross. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.35). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The patriarch of Constantinople is shown celebrating the feast of the Elevation of the Cross.

C. the exaltation rite took place on a platform erected in the Triklinos (pseudo-Kod. 239–40).

In the SABAITIC TYPIKA this feast is one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS and the only nonbiblical dominical feast. It does not celebrate Jesus' passion, like GOOD FRIDAY, but the Cross as instrument of salvation, the triumphant symbol of Jesus' victory over death.

One of two Byz. FEASTS that are fast days, the Exaltation is solemnized by a forefeast with *agrypnia* and a week-long afterfeast with *apodosis*. The festive propers for 14 Sept. in the MENAION are repeated on Holy Cross Sunday in the TRIODION, the Third Sunday of Lent (but cf. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:38–45).

Historical Development. The veneration of the Cross was concentrated on two "historical" events—the vision of the Cross by Constantine I the Great on the eve of his victory over Maxentios in 312 and the appearance of the Cross in Jerusalem in 351 as described by Cyril of Jerusalem in his letter to Constantius II (E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973/4] 264–96). To this a third "historical" event was added—the discovery of the Cross by St. Helena and Makarios, "patriarch" of Jerusalem. The relic of the True Cross was captured by the Persians who seized Jerusalem in 614, but recovered by Herakleios and restored to Jerusalem in 631. Enormous literature has been devoted to the veneration of the Cross, the treatise of ALEXANDER THE MONK being one of the most important works on the subject; unfortunately, the traditional dating in the mid-6th C. cannot be substantiated. The cult of the Cross acquired a particular significance under the Iconoclast emperors of the 8th C., when the Cross was treated as the symbol of the Christian church—on the other hand, the Iconodules emphasized that the Cross is only one of a number of symbols and no more important than the ICON. The Iconoclasts stressed the mili-

tary function of the Cross as the instrument of victory; this victory-giving role of the Cross is developed also in the hymns of KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, whereas John of Damascus remained lukewarm with regard to this theme. A legend of the Iconoclast period recounts that Constantine the Great erected in Constantinople three crosses named Jesus, Christ, and Victory (Herakleios renamed the latter Aniketos, Unvanquished); these crosses were located in the Forum, Philadelphion, and Artopoleion, places that served as stations during the victory celebrations of the 9th C. The Cross remained a military symbol throughout the 10th C.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la vraie croix. Recherches sur le développement d'un culte* (Paris 1961). H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3.2:3131–39. P. Bernardakis, "Le culte de la Croix chez les grecs," *EO* 5 (1901–02) 193–202, 257–64. J. Hallit, "La croix dans le rite byzantin. Histoire et théologie," *Parole de l'orient* 3 (1972) 261–311. J. Straubinger, *Die Kreuzauffindungslegende* (Paderborn 1912). A. Korakides, *He heuresis tou timiou staurou* (Athens 1983). A. Kazhdan, " 'Constantin imaginaire,' " *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 199f, 218–30, 242f. J. Moorhead, "Iconoclasm, the Cross and the Imperial Image," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 165–79 with add. by P. Speck, *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 521, n.11. N. Thierry, "Le culte de la croix dans l'empire byzantin du VIIe siècle au Xe dans les rapports avec la guerre contre l'infidèle," *RSBS* 1 (1980/1) 205–28. –R.F.T., A.K.

CROSS, PROCESSIONAL. The carrying of crosses in procession is attested at least as early as 499, when clergy, monks, and lay persons of both sexes, armed with such emblems, traversed Edessa to appease the Providence that had caused an earthquake (*JoshStyl* 27). Crosses were carried in churches during the LITTLE ENTRANCE and through cities, as in the procession of the patriarch of Constantinople from Hagia Sophia to the Forum of Constantine (*De cer.* 29.16–17). A miniature in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.142) depicts a deacon bearing through the streets a huge pearled cross with pendant jewels, supported by a strap around his neck.

Surviving processional crosses, made of a variety of metals, may be identified by a tang at the base for insertion in a staff and sometimes by their decoration on both sides. At least two crosses of the 10th–11th C. are referred to as a *signon* in the texts inscribed upon them (C. Mango, *infra* 42). In inventories they may be called *litanikoi* (will of Eustathios BOILAS) or *baiophorikoi stauroi* (*Diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES). Such documents suggest their role in the liturgies of even small churches and chapels, when they may have been of quite modest size. Preserved processional crosses of the 6th–7th C. average 30–60 cm in height; they often have flaring arms terminating in small knobs and have suspension holes for pendants—sometimes the Apocalyptic letters *alpha* and *omega*. Usually made of hammered silver, some bear dedicatory inscriptions (Mango, *Silver* 87–91, 235, 249). Post-Iconoclastic crosses in both silver and bronze retain these features but frequently have disks at the ends of their arms or melon-shaped fittings (*DOCat* 1:59f).

Most surviving examples in silver consist of sheets wrapped around an iron core (L. Bouras, *The Cross of Adrianople* [Athens 1979]) that may be decorated in repoussé on the obverse and with niello and gilding on the reverse, as on the so-called Cross of MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Elaborate processional crosses could be decorated with the DEESIS or with scenes pertaining to their donor or the patron saint of a church. The most impressive post-Iconoclastic specimen is the monumental cross of Nikephoros II Phokas in the Lavra on Mt. Athos (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99–125), which is embellished with gems and busts of saints in repoussé.

LIT. E.C. Dodd, "Three Early Byzantine Silver Crosses," *DOP* 41 (1987) 165–79. C. Mango, "La croix dite de Michel le Cérulaire et la croix de Saint-Michel de Sykéôn," *CahArch* 36 (1988) 41–49. –L.Ph.B., A.C.

CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, the escape of the Israelites from Egypt across the Red Sea, whose waters parted miraculously (Ex 14:15–30). This event offered a promise of salvation, both personal and collective, that was visualized as early as the 4th C. in the Via Latina catacomb and on numerous SARCOPHAGI. Didymos the Blind (PG 39:691–8), John Chrysostom, and others treated the Crossing as a type of BAPTISM (F. Dölger, *Antike und Christentum* 2 [1930] 63–69). As an image of salvation, the passage was chanted in the ambo of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, on Holy Saturday (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:84–86). The main application of the image derived from the analogy drawn with Constantine I's triumph at the Milvian Bridge (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.8); it provided a basis for imperial victory celebrations in the mid-10th C. (*De cer.* 610.2–5). Contemporaneously, the triumphal song chanted by Moses entered ODE

illustration. A miniature in the PARIS PSALTER shows NIGHT (Nyx), BYTHOS, and other personifications participating in the Israelites' triumph. With or without these additions, the Crossing remained a standard component of Psalter and other OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:1–9. Grabar, *L'empereur* 95f, 236f. A. Weckwerth, *LCI* 1:554–58. –J.H.L., A.C.

CROSS-IN-SQUARE CHURCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

CROTONE (Κρότων), also called Cotrone, coastal city in CALABRIA. It was an important stronghold during the Gothic wars in Italy: Totila's army besieged it in 551/2, but Justinian I sent a special fleet that saved the city (Prokopios, *Wars* 4.25.24–26.2). During the Lombard invasion the Byz. continued to hold Crotone. Several important battles were waged near the city: Gay (*Italie* 337) suggests that in 982 Otto II chased the Arabs from Crotone but was defeated the same year; in 1052 the Normans routed ARGYROS, son of Melo, at Crotone.

Legend has it that Dionysios the Areopagite, on his way from Athens to Paris, stopped at Crotone and was for a while its bishop. The city's first attested bishop, however, was Jordanes in 551. Bishops of Crotone attended councils at Constantinople in 680, 787, and 870. When the metropolis of REGGIO-CALABRIA was created in the early 9th C., Crotone was one of its suffragans. –A.K.

CROWN (στέφανος, στέμμα), with purple robes and boots, the imperial INSIGNIA par excellence. Coins are the best guide to the chronology of changes in crown design, which evolved from simple to complex. Various terms designate crowns of different types, but their rigor and the exactness of modern identifications of terms and designs is unclear. Constantine I adopted the Hellenistic symbol of the diadem and its evolution dominated crowns down to the 12th C. It consisted essentially of a circle of jeweled panels with hanging ornaments called *prependoulia* and surmounted by a cross; it was sometimes combined with helmets. A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.37, ed. Vogt 1:175.10–178.15) refers to red, white, blue, or green crowns, perhaps indicating cloth linings. The TORQUE was used as a crown in coronations from 360 to the 6th C. and may have developed into the collar depicted in imperial portraiture from the 11th C. Modern studies of the late Byz. crown call it *kamelaukion* and emphasize its golden top that covered the head. The MODIOLOS seems to have been used from the 5th to 13th C. Another kind of crown, the crested TOUPHA, was particularly associated with military events. Empresses' crowns resembled emperors' diadems, except that they normally showed triangular elements projecting upward from the circle. Late Roman caesars shared other imperial insignia, but not the diadem (Zosim. 6.13.1, ed. Mendelssohn, 293.10–12; *Vita Marcelli* 34, ed. G. Dagron, *AB* 86 [1968] 316); Byz. heirs presumptive wore some kind of headgear, for example, the *kamelaukion* (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.27, ed. Reiske, 628.5–10) and *phakiolion* (*De cer.*, "Append.," ed. Reiske, 500.12–15).

Crowns were worn during ceremonies. Emperors possessed several, of which particular crowns do not seem to have been handed down, as in the West. Some were buried with the emperor, others given to churches as votive offerings (Theoph. 281.16–20, 453.27–30). Late Roman emperors removed their crown as a sign of mourning (Malal. 421.16–21; Theoph. 173.1–7), penance, and usually—to the 10th C. at least—when they went to church. This custom had changed by Palaiologan times, when it was specified (pseudo-Kod. 268.4–20) that the emperor should remove the crown during communion. When not worn, crowns, like other insignia, were entrusted to court eunuchs. The *praipositos* usually crowned or uncrowned the emperor (Theodosius in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [Turnholt 1965] 123.13–124.6). Crowns were kept in cases called *korniklia* (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.1, ed. Vogt, 1:4.17).

Client rulers received crowns and other insignia thanks to Byz. diplomacy. The Hellenistic custom of offering golden crowns or wreaths to emperors, as at ADVENTUS, became a tax (*aurum coronarium*) and, in the 9th and 10th C., a symbolic exchange (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 211f). –M.McC.

Surviving Examples of Byz. Crowns. Whereas representations of Byz. diadems are copious on diptychs, coins, wall paintings, miniatures, and so forth, few actual specimens have been preserved. Some pieces of an imperial crown were found in

1860 near the Hungarian village of Nyitraivánka; it is unclear how this diadem came to Hungary—as an imperial gift or after the looting of Constantinople in 1204. Z. Kádár (*Folia archaeologica* 16 [1964] 121f) reconstructs the iconography of the crown as follows: in the center was the Pantokrator flanked by personifications of Modesty (Tapeinosis) and Truth (Aletheia); below them was a portrait of Constantine IX Monomachos with Zoe and her sister Theodora; on the back King David was represented with Sophia and Propheteia; the three dancing women beneath them suggest that it must have been a festive event (wedding or coronation) that caused the crown to be made.

The lower part of the so-called Hungarian crown of St. Stephen (*corona graeca*) contains portraits of Michael VII Doukas, his brother or son Constantine, and the Hungarian king Géza I; it was probably sent from Constantinople between 1074 and 1077 as a present to the ruler of Hungary, although Deér (*infra*) questions that the object was originally intended to be a crown.

Imperial crowns are made of precious metals and ornamented with precious stones and enamels. Much more modest are two tin-plated copper crowns (in the Byz. Museum of Athens) with inscriptions mentioning the *spatharokandidatos* Romanos, his wife, and children; the objects, probably of the 11th C., may have served either as an altar decoration or as MARRIAGE CROWNS. –A.K.

LIT. *DOC* 2:80–84, 3.1:127–30. E. Piltz, "Insignien," *RBK* 3:373–498. T. Kolias, "Kamelaukion," *JÖB* 32–33 (1982) 493–502. J. Deér, *Die heilige Krone Ungarns* (Vienna 1966) 33–88, 139–49. É. Kovacs, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980) 18–42. G. Seewann, "Die Sankt-Stephans-Krone, die Heilige Krone Ungarns," *SüdostF* (1978) 170f. P.A. Drossoyianni, "A Pair of Byzantine Crowns," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 529–38.

CROWNING. See MARRIAGE RITE.

CRUCIFIXION. Christ's death on the Cross (*σταύρωσις*), the culminating event of the PASSION OF CHRIST, was not depicted until the 5th C.; the earliest surviving representations are from the late 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.13r; SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY; AMPULLAE). They include many participants—the Virgin Mary, JOHN the Apostle (or Theologian), thieves, soldiers playing dice, the lance- and the sponge-bearer—and most versions show Christ with open eyes, in spite of the open wound on his side as the unmistakable sign of death. This is explained by the theology of the CROSS of John Chrysostom, who provided a profoundly Antiochene stamp: "Because God loved the world (Jn 3:16), his temple, endowed with a soul, was crucified" (PG 59:159.7–8). The anti-Monophysite emphasis on Christ's mortal corporeality attests, through the simultaneously opened eyes, the inseparability of the divine Logos from the body and soul of the dead Christ (only the body of Christ sleeps on the cross, while his divinity remains awake). Post-Iconoclastic images show Christ dead with closed eyes, blood and water flowing from his side, to demonstrate his humanity (J. Martin in *LCMS* 189–96). In these representations he wears a loincloth rather than the earlier COLOBIUM.

In the marginal PSALTERS scenes of Christ being led to the cross, and its raising, indicate that narrative cycles of the Crucifixion existed by the 9th C. In the 10th–12th C., when the scene had become the feast icon for GOOD FRIDAY, the composition focused on the figures of Christ, Mary, and John, only sometimes adding further, symbolic motifs: mourning MYRROPHOROI; the centurion Longinus (the first person converted by Christ's death); personifications of EKKLESIA and Synagogue; Mary fainting beneath the Cross. In Palaiologan art the narrative is again enriched with crowds of onlookers and additional scenes (cf. the long cycles of the Crucifixion at STARO NAGORIČINO and GRAČANICA). A crucifix was placed on top of the TEMPLON from the 12th C. onward.

LIT. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 33–68. K. Wessel, *Die Kreuzigung* (Recklinghausen 1966). K. Weitzmann, *Studies in the Arts at Sinai* (Princeton 1982), pt.XIV (1972), 23–36. R. Haussherr, "Der tote Christus am Kreuz: Zur Ikonographie des Gerokreuzes" (Ph.D. diss., Rheinische Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität, Bonn, 1963) 125–42. –G.P., A.W.C.

CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The presence of CRUSADER STATES in Syria and Palestine between 1099 and 1291 set the stage for vigorous artistic activity, esp. at the LOCA SANCTA in JERUSALEM, BETHLEHEM, and NAZARETH, formerly under Byz. control and at that time possessed by the Latin Kingdom. Crusader art was sponsored mainly by the resident Franks, but the artists who carried out these commissions in-

cluded western Europeans, indigenous Christians, Frankish artists born in the Crusader states, Armenians, and Byz. Greeks.

After the capture of Jerusalem on 15 July 1099, the Crusaders were challenged to settle and defend newly won territory. From 1099 to 1231 defensive architecture was a high priority, but church building was also attended to. After 1112 in Jerusalem, Crusader architects boldly unified the great Byz. rotunda of the Holy Sepulchre with the Calvary chapel to create a pointed-arch, rib-vaulted French type of pilgrimage church, reusing portions of the Byz. mosaic program. In Bethlehem, the Church of the Nativity was captured intact in 1099; the Crusaders used this Justinianic building for their early coronations and decorated it starting in 1130 with fresco painting in Romanesque styles on the nave columns. In Nazareth, by 1107 TANCRED had rebuilt the Church of the Annunciation on ruins of Byz. buildings. The barrel-vaulted Latin basilica with transepts is used at Nazareth and in Jerusalem in the Church of St. Anne, started shortly after 1113.

The richest and most diverse artistic output of the Crusaders was in the 12th C., esp. between 1131 and the early 1180s. When Melisende (died 1161), eldest daughter of BALDWIN II and his Armenian wife Morfia, came to the throne in 1131, her personal patronage apparently stimulated much activity in and around Jerusalem. The most famous work directly associated with her is the Psalter (London, B.L. Egerton 1139), completed by 1143. Three artists executed the illustrations, all Western-trained, but strongly if differently influenced by Byz.; one of them, Basilius, signed the DEESIS image in Latin. Taken together, the paintings, the text of the calendar with its notable English features, and the ivory covers with a Byz.-looking prince engaged in works of mercy, a Western iconographical concept, epitomize the mélange of East and West that characterizes Crusader art.

Completing the Holy Sepulchre was the most important project of the 1130s and 1140s. The double portal of the main façade echoes the Byz. design of the Golden Gate in Jerusalem. The rich sculptural decoration included elements from Roman, Early Christian, and Arab sources along with Byz.-inspired mosaics in the west tympanum, acanthus capitals, and two Romanesque lintels. At its dedication on 15 July 1149, the Holy Sepulchre must have been a spectacular monumental statement of the interpenetration of artistic traditions that characterized the new Frankish art. Elsewhere in Jerusalem, sculpture in a robust French style decorated the Hospitaller complex, while on the Ḥaram al-Sharīf some of the most beautiful nonfigural Crusader sculpture, featuring a wet-leaf acanthus motif in an Italo-Provençal manner, seems to have been sponsored by the Templars.

At Tyre the Byz. church was rebuilt, while at Ramla and nearby Lydda (DIOSPOLIS) the smaller churches of St. John and St. George, respectively, demonstrated the more typical Romanesque-Levantine basilica with a flat stone roof and a Near Eastern vocabulary of architectural sculpture. Some of the best known CRUSADER CASTLES, such as Saone, Krak des Chevaliers, and Belvoir, were begun or rebuilt in these years. Finally, Nazareth and Bethlehem emerge between 1150 and 1187 as major centers of sculpture and painting respectively. The Nazareth capitals, reflecting Romanesque style, Byz. iconography, and Islamic *muqarnas*, are the best-preserved examples of a major atelier from which nearly 100 figural fragments survive (J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* [University Park, Pa.–London 1986]). The frescoes painted on the nave columns in the Church of the Nativity include a series in the Byz. style and extensive mosaics signed by Basilius and EPHRAIM. They were completed by 1169 under the patronage of the local bishop, King AMALRIC I, and Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. The strong Byz. influence here and nearby in the frescoes of the Hospitaller church at Abu-Ghosh, along with the contemporary products of the Holy Sepulchre scriptorium, reflect the close ties between the Latin Kingdom and the Byz. Empire from the mid-1160s to the death of Amalric (1174).

Saladin's conquest drastically reduced the artistic output of the Crusaders. Only a few places held out, including the castles of Krak des Chevaliers and Margat where frescoes in Byz. style were completed despite the difficult circumstances. Tripoli, Tyre, and Antioch also remained in Crusader hands and the Third Crusade quickly restored Acre (1191), but not Jerusalem. For a century Acre was the major port and the political and artistic center of the Latin Kingdom.

Artistic activity in the Crusader states was thus diminished until the mid-13th C. Castle building

continued of necessity but only one important church was completed, Nôtre-Dame of Tartus. Only one major MS has been attributed to the period: the psalter, possibly commissioned ca.1235 by Frederick II, combining English and Byz. aspects—notably a thoroughly Byz. Nativity and prophets holding scrolls with texts translated from the Septuagint—with a German approach to the program of scenes (Buchthal, *Latin Kingdom* 40–43).

Artistic output, esp. painting, increased sharply after 1250, stimulated by Louis IX who resided in the Latin Kingdom from 1250 to 1254. The illustrations for an Old French Bible apparently commissioned by Louis are in an accomplished Franco-Byz. style strongly related to frescoes painted in KALENDERHANE CAMII in Constantinople during the period of Latin occupation. Icons on wood panels demonstrate Byz. influence, while the strength of the Italo-Byz. style reflected the Italian presence in the merchant quarters of Acre. Paralleling developments in the West, secular codices became increasingly popular. A *Histoire Universelle*, possibly prepared as a gift for Henry II of Lusignan, has a frontispiece showing the impact of ISLAMIC ART. Surprisingly, the last important painter in Acre used a purely French Gothic style for the Hospitallers. Recently arrived from Paris, he worked in Acre in the decade before its fall in 1291.

LIT. *The Art and Architecture of the Crusader States*, ed. H. Hazard [*HC*, vol. 4] (Madison, Wisc., 1977). *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Oxford 1982). K. Weitzmann, "Crusader Icons and Maniera Greca," in *Byz. und der Westen* 143–70. *The Meeting of Two Worlds*, ed. V. Goss, C. Bornstein (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1986). –J.F.

CRUSADER CASTLES. In the East the Crusaders, familiar with the motte-and-bailey castle, encountered Byz. and Arabic FORTIFICATIONS, esp. a descendant of the Roman *castra* (rectangular, with corner towers) and the irregular mountain-crest castle, usually with several defensive lines on the weakest approach. A vast Byz. crag-type fortification, perhaps 10th C., became the castle of Saone (Sahyūn, between Laodikeia and the Orontes). In the 13th C., this pattern was used on a peninsula at Château Pèlerin (ʿAtlīt, between Haifa and Caesarea). In Frankish Greece, after 1204, the Crusaders adapted these plans to their needs. Refortified classical and Byz. sites include the Acropolis of ATHENS and Acrocorinth (see CORINTH). CHLEMOUTSI (Clermont) in Elis is an irregular hollow hexagon crowning a low hill. KARYTAINA is a crest-type castle above a gorge in the central Peloponnesos; PLATAMON and BOUDONITZA defend the vale of Tempe and a pass near Thermopylae, respectively.

LIT. T.S.R. Boase, "Military Architecture in the Crusader States in Palestine and Syria," and D.J. Wallace, T.S.R. Boase, "The Arts in Frankish Greece and Rhodes: A. Frankish Greece," in *HC* 4:140–64, 208–28. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (New York-Jerusalem 1970) 277–339. Bon, *Morée franque* 601–84. –C.M.B.

CRUSADER STATES. The states first founded by the Crusaders were on former Muslim territory, where the principal vestiges of Byz. rule were the Christian minorities (MELCHITES, JACOBITES, MARONITES). These states included the kingdom of JERUSALEM, the principality of ANTIOCH, the county of EDESSA, and the county of TRIPOLI.

Upon lands that the Crusaders later conquered from Byz., the Crusaders founded the kingdom of CYPRUS, the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople, the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS, the duchy of NAXOS, and various lesser feudal units. Venice assumed direct rule over Crete, Methone and Korone in the Morea, and eventually Euboea, while Genoa acquired Chios, Lesbos, and Phokaia. Rhodes passed to the HOSPITALLERS. The populations of these states and dependencies were Byz. or partially byzantinized Slavs and Vlachs. In the Crusader states an aristocracy of Western knights and lords was superimposed on the local society. While the aristocracy followed Western feudal customs, enshrined in the Assizes of JERUSALEM and of ROMANIA, the populace generally observed Byz. law, paid dues modeled on what they had paid the emperors, and maintained their Orthodox religion.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie'* (Paris 1971). J. Prawer, *The Crusaders' Kingdom* (New York 1972). –C.M.B.

CRUSADES were military expeditions launched by popes, initially against infidels for the recovery of the Holy Sepulchre in JERUSALEM. The term "bearer of the Cross" (*staurophoros*), known from Greek texts from the 4th C. onward, has been

construed as referring to monastic life, not Crusaders. The idea of the holy war prevailed during Herakleios's expeditions against the Persians. This idea reappeared in the West in the writing of Pope Gregory VII and assumed final form in the proclamation of Pope Urban II.

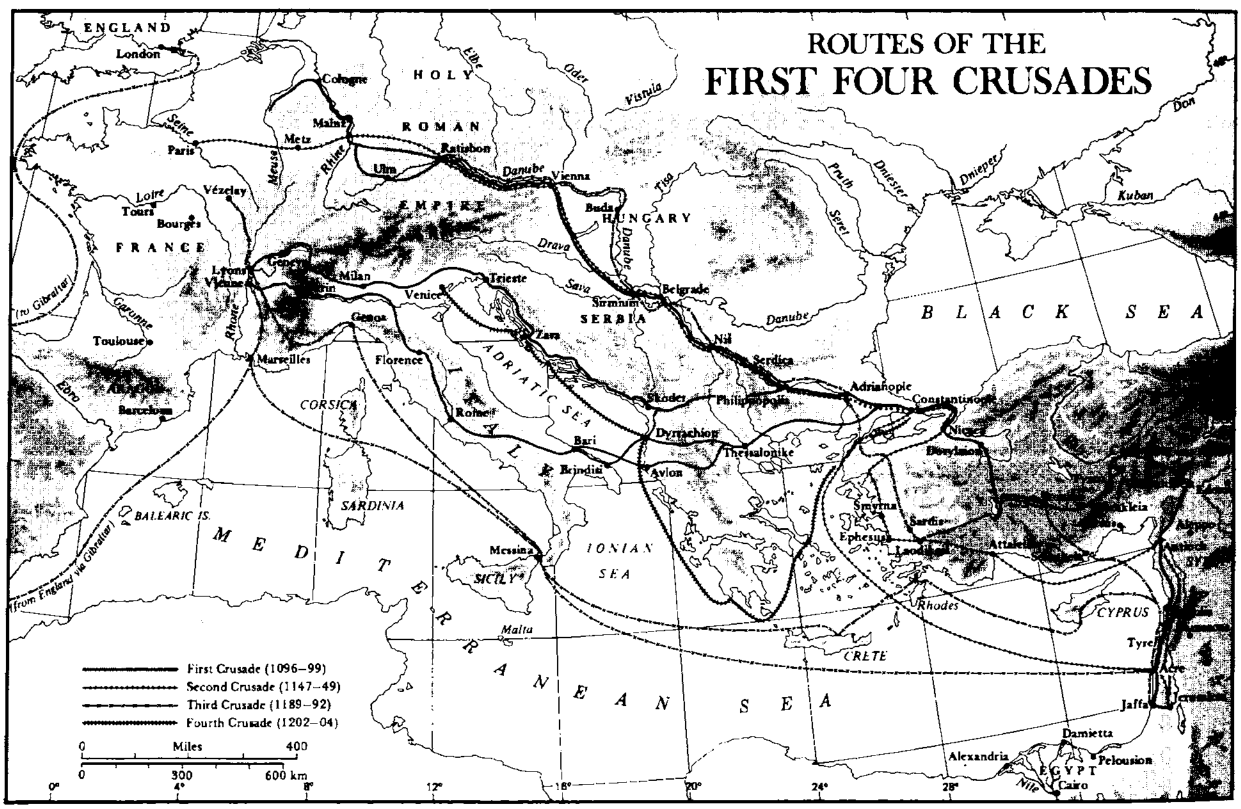
Alexios I was partially responsible for inspiring the Crusades. In March 1095 his envoys met Urban II at Piacenza and appealed for Western help against the Seljuk Turks. The pope publicly urged assistance to Byz. On 27 Nov. 1095, at Clermont, Urban renewed his appeal for aid to the Eastern Christians and called for the rescue of the Holy Sepulchre.

The armies of the early Crusades passed through Byz. territory, traveling either from Braničevo on the Danube through Sofia to Constantinople, or from Dyrrachion via Thessalonike. Crossing the straits, they marched through Byz. and Turkish territory to Antioch and the Holy Land. The Byz. attempted to provide markets where the Crusaders could purchase provisions, while restraining them from pillaging the countryside. Nevertheless, the undisciplined Westerners often plundered; policing (usually by Pecheneg horsemen) was brutal. Skirmishes in which both sides suffered losses led to ill feeling.

Forerunners of the First Crusade (1095–1099) were bands led by Peter the Hermit and others that reached Constantinople in 1096. Faced with their turbulence, Alexios transferred them to Anatolia, where they were largely destroyed by the Turks. The survivors blamed the emperor.

The portions of the First Crusade led by nobles such as Godfrey of Bouillon and Bohemund reached Constantinople in late 1096 and early 1097. As they arrived, Alexios sought to gain each leader's favor by gifts, induce him to swear fealty to the emperor, and make him urge later arrivals to do the same. Those who took the oath pledged to return to Byz. all territories recently seized by the Turks. Some, like Hugh of Vermandois and Bohemund, readily agreed; others, like Godfrey, demurred. Godfrey, after his followers quarreled with the Byz., attacked Constantinople, but was beaten off; reconciled with Alexios, he took the oath.

The Crusaders and Byz. jointly attacked Nicaea



(May–June 1097); the former were displeased when the city surrendered to the Byz., but Alexios appeased them with gifts. He dispatched TATIKIOS and a small force to support their march across Anatolia. During the siege of Antioch, Tatikios was forced to withdraw and Bohemund later used this action to justify his seizure of Antioch. The Crusaders succeeded in capturing Jerusalem on 15 July 1099.

An expedition of Lombards and some French nobles that set out from Europe in 1100 encountered difficulties in crossing Byz. territory; some Lombards even attacked the Blachernai Palace. In 1101 the Crusaders' rash conduct in Asia Minor brought them disaster. Alexios was charged with treacherously betraying them to the Turks. Byz. claimed Antioch and strove until 1180 to subordinate its princes. Alexios I's attacks caused Bohemund to join with the pope and launch a Crusade against Byz.; it was defeated in 1108.

The Second Crusade (1147–1149) consisted of a German contingent led by CONRAD III and a French one led by LOUIS VII. In 1147 Conrad's followers clashed with the Byz. in Thrace, and Manuel I was pleased to transport them over the Bosporos before Louis arrived. Although the French enjoyed a friendly reception from Manuel, Bp. Godfrey of Langres proposed the seizure of Constantinople. Germans and French suffered heavy losses at the hands of the Turks in Anatolia. Manuel provided shipping to transport the survivors from Attaleia to Antioch (Jan. 1148), but the Byz. were blamed for betraying the Crusade. In July the French withdrew from Damascus after an unsuccessful attack.

In subsequent decades, as pressure on the Crusader states from NŪR AL-DĪN and SALADIN increased, the kings of Jerusalem sought alliance with Byz. BALDWIN III married a Komnene, as did his successor AMALRIC I. A joint Crusader-Byz. force attacked Damietta (1169), but disagreements and mutual distrust caused the expedition to fail. Amalric did homage to Manuel in Constantinople in 1171. In 1177 Manuel attempted to renew the alliance, but the weakness of Amalric's successors prevented any action.

After Saladin's conquest of most of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1187), Isaac II attempted a rapprochement with him. To obtain Saladin's good will, Isaac lured the portion of the Third Crusade (1189–1192) led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA into Thrace, then attempted to destroy it (1189). Enraged, Frederick wrote to his son HENRY VI ordering him to bring a fleet for an attack on Constantinople. Isaac, however, soon yielded and allowed Frederick to proceed, but he drowned in Cilicia (10 June 1190) and his army scattered. Another section of the Third Crusade, led by RICHARD I LIONHEART, seized Cyprus from its Greek ruler, ISAAC KOMNENOS. The French and English forces failed to regain Jerusalem but did capture Acre on 12 July 1191. In 1195–97 Henry VI planned a Crusade and used it to blackmail Byz. Only Henry's death saved the empire from having to pay the ALAMANIKON tribute.

Byz. hostility to the Crusades, evident in the writings of Anna Komnene and Kinnamos, and with some qualifications in Niketas Choniates, was reciprocated, as shown by Western authors such as Raymond of Aguilers, Odo of Deuil, and Ansbert. Bohemund and Frederick I had proposed a Crusade against Byz. (S. Kindlimann, *Die Eroberung von Konstantinopel als politische Forderung des Westens im Hochmittelalter* [Zurich 1969]). Pope Innocent III was ready to threaten a Crusade as a means to bring about church unity (A.J. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). The Crusades had made Constantinople's wealth known in the West. PHILIP OF SWABIA and his ally BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT had ambitions in the East. Venetian merchants wanted an assured monopoly in Constantinople (Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 557–95). Philip, Boniface, and Doge Enrico DANDOLO of Venice assisted the refugee Alexios IV; they easily won the support of many members of the Fourth Crusade (1202–04) for a diversion against Constantinople. After Alexios IV and his successor Alexios V proved hostile, the Crusaders seized Constantinople for themselves (12 Apr. 1204) and cruelly sacked it. The hostility of the Byz. populace to the LATIN EMPIRE established by the Crusaders contributed to its short life (1204–61). The Crusader principalities founded in the MOREA, however, such as the principality of ACHAIA, enjoyed greater success.

After the Latin Empire fell, the Turkish menace to the West was recognized and the defense of Constantinople prompted several Crusades. In 1344 Smyrna was won, but the Crusade of 1396 ended in a crushing defeat at Nikopolis (see NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF). A final attempt to save Constantinople resulted in the Ottoman victory

at VARNA (1444) that assured the Turkish conquest of Byz.

Economically, the Crusades stimulated the development of Venice and Genoa at the expense of Constantinople. While cultural exchange between Byz. and the West increased, their mutual hostility furthered the SCHISM. Originally intended in part to rescue Byz. from the Turks, the Crusades contributed substantially to its downfall.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Bibliographie zur Geschichte der Kreuzzüge* (Hanover 1960). M.A. Zaborov, *Istoriografija krestovych pochodov* (Moscow 1971). *A History of the Crusades*², ed. K.M. Setton, vols. 1–5 (Madison, Wis., 1969–85). C. Erdmann, *The Origin of the Idea of Crusade* (Princeton 1977). R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Idem, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" *Varia* 1 (Bonn 1984) 121–74. –C.M.B.

CRUSADES, WESTERN HISTORIANS OF THE. The First Crusade focused Western imagination on the seemingly providential events in Palestine (and secondarily in Byz.), stimulating new departures in Latin literature (G. Spreckelmeyer, *Das Kreuzzugslied des lateinischen Mittelalters* [Munich 1974]). Letters, like the one that Count Stephen of Blois sent his wife about Constantinople (ed. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* [Innsbruck 1901] 138–40), or oral and written reports, like the GESTA FRANCORUM, brought new knowledge of Byz. shaped by the confrontation of differing civilizations and conflicting objectives. Crusader admiration or hostility centered initially on Alexios I rather than the Byz. people, reflecting the emperor's all-pervasive position. The *Gesta* was rewritten in the polished style required by the so-called 12th-C. renaissance for a burgeoning audience of educated clergy. Although some added little more than literary trappings, others, such as ALBERT OF AACHEN and GUIBERT OF NOGENT, supplied new material deriving from local Crusaders and, possibly, early vernacular epics. By interpreting Byz. in terms of Western society, they also unconsciously distorted it. Even non-Crusader historians such as ORDERIC VITALIS, Caffaro (see ANNALES IANUENSES), and ROGER OF HOVEDEN incorporated the Levant into their historical productions. The classicizing literary climate revived antique stereotypes about shifty, effeminate Greeks who were tacitly assimilated to the modern-day Byz. emperor. But early Crusaders did not emphasize religious differences, and the relative serenity of a Lotharingian theologian like RUPERT OF DEUTZ typifies the early 12th C.

The growth of administrative kingship and literacy meant that, from the Second Crusade, clerical record-keepers accompanied Western rulers. Some histories, like that of ODO OF DEUIL, the diarylike material of TAGENO, and the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI, reflect the royal retinues' contacts with Constantinople, while other Crusaders authored personal accounts like the ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM. Religious hostility toward Byz. swelled dramatically as Western theology's accelerating development and obsession with local heretics affected differences between the Byz. and Latin churches, exacerbating political conflicts. The old stereotypes now encompassed the Byz. people, increasingly considered as an ethnic unit. The classicizing ideals of the 12th C. revived the Trojan legend and reinforced assimilation of contemporary Byz. and ancient Greeks even as it sharpened hostility, since the "Franks" believed their ancestors came from Troy. The Crusader states, however, produced Latins who knew Byz. directly and could be essentially positive, like FULCHER OF CHARTRES, or reflect political tensions, like RADULF OF CAEN. This milieu explains the masterful portrayal of Byz. by WILLIAM OF TYRE.

Although epic overtones already pervade Albert and Radulf, written vernacular Crusader poems emerge only late in the 12th C. with the CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE and the verses of AMBROISE. Western fantasies of Byz. and its riches worked their way into fictional works like the VOYAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE and the tales of Walter MAP, even as the Third Crusade's failure diminished expectations from such enterprises. The fascination peaked tragically with the Fourth Crusade as Byz. treasures flooded Western society, accompanied by reports of the conquest like the DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA and the account of GUNTHER OF PAIRIS. Count Baldwin's court in Hainault had pioneered vernacular literary innovation, and his role in the conquest combined with the primacy of French as the Crusader states' vehicular language to encourage prose histories like the ESTOIRE D'ERACLES; the works of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN, HENRI DE VALENCIENNES, ROBERT DE CLARI; and, later, the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA.

LIT. M.A. Zaborov, *Vvedenie v istoriografiju krestovych pochodov (latinskaja chronografija XI–XII vekov)* (Moscow 1966). B. Ebels-Hoving, *Byzantium in westerse ogen, 1096–1204* (Assen 1971). J. Richard, *Les récits de voyages et de pèlerinages* (Turnhout 1981). D. Jacoby, "La littérature française dans les états latins de la Méditerranée orientale à l'époque des croisades [diffusion et création]," in *Essor et fortune de la chanson de geste dans l'Europe et l'Orient latin*, vol. 2 (Modena 1984) 617–46. –M.McC.

CRYPT (from κρυπτή, "concealed place," also "vault"), a chamber beneath the main floor of a church, usually containing relics or tombs. Although never a requisite feature, crypts are found in Byz. churches of all periods and in a variety of locations. Most of the early basilicas of Constantinople were provided with a small cruciform crypt located directly beneath the altar, as in the 5th-C. STOUDIOS basilica. The entry into these crypts was usually by means of a narrow stairway opening in the interior of the APSE, though in other churches, such as the 6th-C. Church of St. John in HEBDOMON, access was obtained from outside the building. The spacious crypt under the transept of the 5th-C. Basilica of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike enclosed a part of a Roman bath in which the saint was believed to have suffered his martyrdom. The function of many later crypts is not clear; those under such churches as the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS, the ossuary of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY, and the Taxiarches in Thessalonike were designed expressly for funerary purposes.

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 27, 32, 34, 57, 60, 109. Grabar, *Martyrium* 1:436–87. N. Brunov, "K voprosu o bolgarskich dvuchetažnych cerkvach-grobnicach," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 4 (1926–27) 135–44. –M.J.

CRYPTOGRAM, an encoded text. The most frequent system of cryptography in Byz. MSS originated in MAGIC papyri from the 3rd/4th C. and is based on the use of Greek letters as NUMBERS. The numerals are distributed in three lines, each with nine letters, which switch places within the line: alpha (i.e., one) becomes theta (nine), beta (two) becomes eta (eight), etc. The letter in the middle (epsilon, nu, phi) cannot change its place. This "three-line system" also occurs as early as the Job MS of Patmos (Patmos gr. 171) of ca.800. Another method, also based on the Greek numerals, replaces one letter by two with half of the numerical value (e.g., iota [ten] becomes epsilon-epsilon [five and five]). This kind of cryptography is attested in dated subscriptions of the 11th–12th C. Scribes of the 14th–15th C. invented a personal cryptography by contorting the Greek letters.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 43–45. J. Noret, "Le cryptogramme grec du Laurentianus, XXVIII 16," *Scriptorium* 30 (1976) 45f. V. Gardthausen, "Zur byzantinischen Kryptographie," *BZ* 14 (1905) 616–19. –E.G.

CUBICULUM. See KOITON; PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI.

ČUČER. See NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

CULTURE encompasses all forms and results of human activity: modes of production, food, clothing, and shelter, which constitute the material aspects of life; behavior with its norms—ethics and law as well as ceremonial and religious rite; education as the means to transmit the normative; spiritual life—visual arts, literature, music, science, philosophy, and theology. The terms "culture" and "civilization" are used interchangeably with regard to Byz.

For a long time Byz. culture was considered a mechanical agglomeration of independent phenomena. In the standard textbook, S. Runciman's *Byzantine Civilisation* (New York 1933), as well as in many similar works, government and law, social life, church and monasticism, literature, science, and art form independent sections of a multistory construction, with no staircase leading from one floor to another. The first modern attempt to integrate, rather than merely to juxtapose, the various aspects of Byz. culture, was H. Hunger's *Reich der neuen Mitte* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1965). The structure of books that followed Hunger (A. Kazhdan, *Vizantijskaja kul'tura X–XII vv.* [Moscow 1968] and A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* [Paris 1974]) differed drastically from that of Runciman; the authors dealt with economy ("the acquisition of the world"), social ties, power of the state, and what Guillou calls "culture," that is, spiritual culture, and what in Kazhdan's book is divided into "the image of the world" and AESTHETICS.

If Byz. culture is perceived not as an agglomeration but as a unified entity, the question arises as to the nature of this entity. Hunger, while situating the problem on a purely spiritual plane,

considered Byz. culture as an ancient civilization in the process of transformation into a Christian one. H.G. Beck (*infra*) shifted the emphasis: in his view, Byz. culture was determined by the role of the state, which created an atmosphere of political orthodoxy and left very little room for nonconformity; Byz. literature and theology, wrote Beck, reflected this political and ideological uniformity.

Kazhdan began his analysis of Byz. culture from a different point: according to him, social groupings (microstructures) played in Byz. a lesser role than in antiquity or in Western medieval countries, whereas FAMILY links were stronger and more stable. This situation contributed to the development of individualism, which, however, deprived of the support of any hierarchy and of social groupings, gave way to the omnipotent power of the state and became an "individualism without freedom." An extreme ambivalence with regard to cardinal concepts and a search for stability within the world of imagination determined the main lines of Byz. spiritual life.

Every culture includes traditional elements (heritage) side by side with INNOVATIONS. The problem of their interrelationship in Byz. has been hotly discussed. The well-established view, that Byz. culture was determined by the continuity of ancient elements (Greek and/or imperial Roman), was developed by G. Weiss (*HistZ* 224 [1977] 529–60) and continues to be dominant. On the other hand, A. Toynbee (*Constantine Porphyrogenitus and his World* [London 1973] 510–74) emphasized the radical differences, "the antithesis between the Byz. spirit and the Hellenic spirit," as expressed in such cultural phenomena as *proskynesis*, dress, architecture, visual art, etc. This antithesis could be explained by Beck's omnipotent state and political orthodoxy, but Averincev (*Poetika*), following Hunger rather than Beck, interpreted the non-Greek elements of Byz. culture as oriental, penetrating the empire via the Bible.

Both Weiss and Toynbee, regardless of their disagreement, dealt with Byz. as a unity, whether inherited from antiquity or replacing antiquity; Averincev also believed that previously existing "culture circles" were interconnected to form the phenomenon of Byz. culture. Kazhdan and Mango (*infra*) have a different approach, perceiving Byz. culture as a historical rather than metaphysical event. Both acknowledge the decline of ancient urban civilization, the cultural crisis, and the subsequent revival of culture; for both of them, ancient tradition is not a simply and automatically inherited treasure, but wealth that was almost lost and later regained.

Although a unity, that is, having a common denominator, Byz. culture was far from absolute uniformity; on the contrary, a permanent ambivalence, an inner contradiction, was typical of it (H. Hunger, *Byzanz, eine Gesellschaft mit zwei Gesichtern* [Copenhagen 1984]), as of any living civilization. This ambivalence was caused by various factors: the opposition of centripetal and centrifugal forces, that is, the capital and the province, or a rigid asceticism and a joyful and tolerant approach to life, of the hermitage and *koinobion*, of patristic tradition and Hellenic heritage, of totalitarianism and nonconformity and, finally, by ethnic, linguistic, and religious divergences, as well as conflicts between classes and social groups.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 1–22. C. Mango, *Byzantium: The Empire of New Rome* (London 1980). Idem, *Byzantium and its Image* (London 1984). H.G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* (Munich 1978). *Kul'tura Vizantii*, ed. Z.V. Udal'cova, G.G. Litavrin, 2 vols. (Moscow 1984–89). A. Kazhdan, A. Cutler, "Continuity and Discontinuity in Byzantine History," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 429–78. M.W. Weithmann, "Strukturkontinuität und -diskontinuität auf der griechischen Halbinsel im Gefolge der slavischen Landnahme," *Münchner Zeitschrift für Balkankunde* 2 (1979) 141–76. –A.K.

CULTURE, DIFFUSION OF. Different kinds of diffusion of Byz. culture may be distinguished.

1. Diffusion of material objects does not in itself indicate any assimilation of culture. Byz. coins (see COIN FINDS) and metalwork have been discovered as far north as Scandinavia and as far east as INDIA and CHINA. They may have found their way there through trade, as loot, or as the remuneration of mercenaries.

2. The impact of Byz. on neighboring non-Christian countries was exercised both through trade and Christian communities established there, as in Sasanian Persia, whose kings were anxious to profit from higher Byz. expertise in the crafts and even to emulate a Byz. way of life. The Muslim world proved more resistant to Byz. cultural influence, though it showed interest in ancient and late antique Greek philosophical and scientific writings.

3. A higher degree of penetration was achieved

in Christian countries of Roman Catholic obedience, esp. in Italy, parts of which were Byz. for a long time, less so in Germany, Hungary, and Scandinavia. This is most noticeable in art (painting and mosaics more than architecture) that was spread either by migrant Byz. craftsmen or by the importation of objects (e.g., bronze DOORS), giving rise to local imitations. The West showed little interest in Byz. writings, except for the several translations made in the 9th C.: those by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS (chronicles, acts of the Council of 787), the two translations of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (one of them by John Scotus Eriugena), and a few works of hagiography. Forced symbiosis between Greeks and Latins, beginning with the Third Crusade, led to a greater assimilation of Latin culture by the Greeks than vice-versa. In the 14th and 15th C. a number of Greek scholars, who were attracted by Italian humanism, studied Latin and taught Greek in Italy; some (e.g., Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS) became distinguished teachers of Greek, others (Michael APOSTOLES, BESSARION) collected Greek MSS for Italian libraries, or, like Theodore GAZES and George Trapezountios, made translations of Greek authors, primarily Plato and Aristotle (see TRANSLATION). An exceptional case is that of Armenia, which, though non-Orthodox, was so intimately tied to the empire as to become profoundly influenced by it.

4. The most thorough diffusion was achieved in Orthodox, mostly Slavic, countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Kievan, Halyč, and Muscovite Rus' as well as Romania, Alania, and Georgia); the countries of this cultural Byz. commonwealth owed the bulk of their civilization to Byz., including religion, ceremonial, art, alphabet, and literature. Byz. writings in Greek translated into an Old Church Slavonic *koine* circulated throughout the Slavic Orthodox world (with the Balkans, esp. Bulgaria, being the main source of such translations). In the case of Georgia, some translations were made from the Arabic as well. In Orthodox countries the diffusion of Byz. culture (esp. in art and literature) continued well beyond the fall of Constantinople; in some countries (Bulgaria, Serbia, Romania) it is attested as late as the 18th C.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Commerce in the Dark Ages: A Critique of the Evidence," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 9 (1959) 123–40. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1958). "Abendland und Byzanz," in *RB*, Reihe A, vol. 1, fasc. 3–6. G. Cavallo et al., *I Bizantini in Italia* (Milan 1982). O. Demus, *Byzantine Art and the West* (New York 1970). D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth: Eastern Europe 500–1453* (New York 1971). J. Irmscher, "Die Ausstrahlung der spätbyzantinischen Kultur," 15 *CEB* Rapports 4.2 (Athens 1980). –C.M., I.Š., A.M.T.

CUMANS (Κούμανοι; in Byz. works of the 11th to 13th C. often "Scythians"; Turkic *Qipčak*, Slavic *Polovtsy*), a confederation of Eurasian nomadic and seminomadic tribes who replaced the PECHENEGS in the east European steppe ca.1050–60 and were, in turn, subjected by the MONGOLS in 1222–37. Cattle breeders and warriors (their capital was located near present-day Khar'kov, Ukraine), the Cumans were also involved in trade (esp. slave trade), for example, with SOUGDAIA and CHERSON. The Cumans appeared on the Byz. frontier on the Lower Danube at the end of the 11th C., first as allies of the Pechenegs with whom they plundered Thrace in 1087. In 1091, however, Alexios I Komnenos used the Cumans against the Pechenegs: the alliance remained ephemeral and Cuman invasions continued at least until 1160. Diaconu (*infra*) hypothesizes that ca.1122 the Cumans destroyed DINOGETIA. At the same time the Cumans began to settle on Byz. territory; some of them were granted PRONOIAI (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 48–54). After the Mongol invasion, the Cuman influx into Byz. increased: in 1241 John III Vatatzes reportedly settled 10,000 Cumans in Thrace and Asia Minor, and in 1259 Cuman contingents played an important role in the battle of PELAGONIA. Cumans were famous as skillful archers. Their loyalty, however, was sometimes doubtful: in 1256 at Didymoteichon they deserted to the Bulgarians (Angold, *Byz. Government* 188f).

The Cumans participated in the anti-Byz. revolt in Bulgaria in 1186, but it is difficult to prove that Peter and Asen I were of Cuman origin (P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 2 [Sofia 1973] 162–68), even though "Asen" was evidently a Turkic name. Archaeologically the Cumans are little known, and their tombs difficult to distinguish from those of the Pechenegs. The MAMLŪK dynasty that ruled Egypt and Syria from 1250 to 1517 was partially composed of former slaves (*mamlūk*) of Cuman origin.

LIT. P. Diaconu, *Les Coumans au Bas-Danube aux XIe et XIIe siècles* (Bucharest 1978). D. Rasovskij, "Les Comans et Byzance," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 9 (1935) 346–54. O. Pritsak, "The Polovcsians and Rus'," *Archivium Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 2 (1982)

321–80. P.B. Golden, "Cumanica I: The Qipčaqs in Georgia," *Archivium Eurasiae Medii Aevi* 4 (1984) 45–87. A. Savvides, "Hoi Komanoi (Koumanoi) kai to Byzantio, 11os–13os ai. m.Ch.," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 937–55. E.Č. Skržinskaja, "Polovcy. Opyt istoričeskogo istolkovanija etnikona," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 255–76. –O.P.

CURIA (βουλή), city council. In late antiquity *curiae* administered CITIES and their territories, controlled local expenditure, sent embassies to the emperor, issued honorific decrees, and appointed urban teachers (sophists). Their heaviest responsibilities were the provision and maintenance of public works and services, and collection of taxes, for which the members had collective responsibility. *Curiae* selected their own members, CURIALES or decurions, who sat for life. In the East, *curiae* were large, often with 500 members; Antioch had 1,200. None of the *curiae*'s activities involved major policy decisions, which were decided by the governor and his representatives. The financial obligations of service in the *curia* made citizens increasingly reluctant to serve and anxious to find any avenue of escape; consequently, the *curiae* declined in size and prestige, and governors came to run cities through their own officials. A law of Anastasios I effectively substituted the collective responsibility of church and landowners for the *curia*. According to JOHN LYDOS, the *curiae* were a memory by the mid-6th C. In actuality they continued to exist, but only for ceremonial purposes. Leo VI issued a novel abolishing *curiae*, but their activity is revealed in various later sources. *Curiae* met in *bouleuteria*, commonly theaterlike buildings that were kept in good repair through the 6th C.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 724–31, 757–63. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 50f. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). –C.F.

CURIALES (βουλευταί), members of the local council or CURIA (Gr. *boule*) of a *municipium* in the late Roman empire; the term replaced the former *decuriones*. Constantine I transformed the curia into a body in its own right by giving its members specific rights and obligations and prohibiting them from changing status (e.g., becoming SENATORS, military officers, or clergymen). The major purpose of this legislation was to preserve the class of urban landowners who were responsible for the normal functioning of the city's institutions (finance, food supply, public works, entertainment). This concern was underscored in the law of 386 (*Cod.Theod.* XII 3.1) prohibiting *curiales* from selling their land and slaves. The obligations of *curiales* were burdensome, esp. their responsibility for local tax-collecting, but at the same time they possessed some fiscal and legal privileges. LIBANIOS presents the *curiales* of Antioch as an active and efficient body; probably they were less influential in the West, but even there SALVIAN of Marseilles (5th C.) described *curiales* as exploiters of the surrounding population.

The diminishing number of *curiales* and increasing state requirements in the 4th C. forced the government to take coercive measures, including the forcible subscription of criminals to the curia, along with official complaints on the avoidance by *curiales* of their duty. With regard to the later status of *curiales*, Bowman and Liebeschuetz emphasize the state's encroachments on the rights of the *curiales*, the introduction of offices (such as the DEFENSOR CIVITATIS) that held an intermediary position between the central government and the city, and the subjugation of the city to government control. Kurbatov, on the other hand, stresses the differentiation among the *curiales* and the appearance of an upper echelon which he identifies with feudal seigneurs. The curia as an institution disappeared after the 6th C., and Leo VI abrogated legislation concerning the municipal *boule* (nov.46), but the elements of MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION remained in Byz.

LIT. W. Schubert, "Die rechtliche Sonderstellung der Dekurionen (Kurialen) in der Kaisergesetzgebung des 4.-6. Jahrhunderts," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 287–333. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch* 163, 165f, 181–83. A. Bowman, *The Town Councils of Roman Egypt* (Toronto 1971). G. Kurbatov, *Osnovnye problemy vnutrennego razvitija vizantijskogo goroda v IV–VII vv.* (Leningrad 1971) 119–71. I. Hahn, "Immunität und Korruption der Curialen in der Spätantike," *Korruption im Altertum* (Munich-Vienna 1982) 179–99. –A.K.

CURRICULUM. The meaning of *enkyklios paideia*, "general education," had already begun to narrow in Hellenistic times and continued to do so in late antiquity. John TZETZES (*Historiae* 11:518–28) plainly stated that the term *enkyklios paideia* (or *mathemata*), which previously encompassed the seven "liberal arts," now designated GRAMMAR only. The traditional three-tiered education that had still functioned in the 4th–6th C. was simplified

after the 7th C. and consisted of two stages: the teaching of the elementary skills of literacy (reading, writing, and knowledge of sections of the Bible) and *enkyklios paideia*, primarily grammar. Since the SCHOOL was predominantly private, variations and complementary components were often introduced. The revival of the ancient curriculum (including the QUADRIVIUM) probably began in the 9th C.: the professors of the MAGNAURA school taught some of these disciplines on the secondary level. As a result the 9th C. witnessed the transmission of mathematical and astronomical MSS before those of historians and poets (Wilson, *Scholars* 85–88). The attempt to resuscitate tertiary education in the 11th C. and the organization of philosophy and law schools in Constantinople had only a limited effect; the curriculum remained oriented toward grammar, PHILOSOPHY, and RHETORIC, with casual sallies into the quadrivium, MEDICINE, and some exotic sciences such as *optike, katoptrike* (see MATHEMATICS), and *kentrobarike* (e.g., Mich.Ital. 157.10).

LIT. A. Moffatt, "Early Byzantine School Curricula and a Liberal Education," in *Mél.Dujčev* 275–88. Lemerle, *Humanism* 111–117, 292–96. Marrou, *Education* 266f, 274–77, 409f, 568. A. Garzya, " 'Enkyklios paideia' in Palladio," *AB* 100 (1982) 259–62. –A.K.

CURSING (κατάρασις), the imprecation of evil or damnation on a person or thing. Church fathers endeavored to soften the passages involving cursing in the Bible and to demonstrate that such curses were not acts of hatred but merely predictions of the future. Nevertheless, cursing remained a regular element of life, and the TIMARION (ed. R. Romano, p.67.478) says that the Byz. were particularly fond of it. Cursing was used to protect contracts, property, tombs, and so on; the curse (*ara*) of the 318 Fathers of the First Council of NICAEA is commonly invoked on purchase charters and in MSS to keep the document from being stolen. Cursing was also used to strengthen church discipline (against heretics, violators of canon law, etc.), ANATHEMA being its strongest form. Cursing was thought to bring forth the anger of God and relegate the accursed to the power of the Devil. Cursing could also be an act of evil persons, and Muḥammad, among others, was accused of cursing. The EUCHOLOGION contained prayers for the lifting of curses (ed. Goar, 545–49, 693–96).

LIT. W. Speyer, *RAC* 7:1240–88. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:326–46. –R.F.T., A.K.

CURSIVE, a style of Greek script, the origin of which can be traced back to the script used in business PAPYRI. In the 4th C. Greek cursive evolved from the chancery script; it is contained within four parallel lines and shows typical features for the letters beta, eta, iota, kappa, and delta, and esp. for the epsilon with the upper stroke in the form of a beak. This script occurs in Egyptian papyri of the 6th–8th C. The MINUSCULE evolves from the cursive; this development can be seen already at the end of the 7th C. in the subscriptions of the members of the Third Council of Constantinople (680), written partly in minuscule, partly in UNCIAL. The 8th- or 9th-C. Vat. gr. 2200 is a unique codex exhibiting an alternative to the minuscule, a cursive script used for literary rather than chancery purposes (L. Perria, *RSBN* 20–21 [1983–84] 25–68). Cursive elements survived in the regular minuscule, for example, MSS copied by Ephraim in the mid-10th C. or texts written in scholarly hands. N.G. Wilson was able to assign an earlier date to codices written by scholars by comparing them with dated documents showing cursive features (in *PGEB* 221–39).

LIT. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 86–93. C.M. Mazzucchi, "Minuscole greche corsive e librarie," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 166–89. –E.G., I.Š.

CURTAIN. See KATAPETASMA.

CUSTOM (συνήθεια). Byz. legal theory recognized the normative force of custom but tried to set strict limitations on it. Like a law, a customary regulation could achieve recognition only when it had been examined and approved judicially or sanctioned directly by an emperor. When a custom hindered the efficacy of a certain law, it was interpreted as a procedural error on the part of the people to whom the law was addressed, not as the legal establishment of a counterregulation. Thus, a law based on legislation could be rendered ineffective by contrary custom, but it could not be abrogated. The high theoretical value placed on statutory law, closely linked with the concept of the emperor as the living law through God's grace, was contradicted in practice by an enor-

mous mass of customary regulations. This profusion could be explained by the inaccessibility of the legislation, the difficulty of its language, the complexity of its content, and its contradictory nature. A further explanation lies in its inability to adapt to the social developments of the Byz. state, for which only a very small proportion of the Roman imperial and late antique norms were appropriate. Finally, there were a great number of special local or ethnic regulations which the central government was unable to override in the provinces through equivalent legal measures.

Custom in Byzantine Documents and Novels. Although the Byz. clearly distinguished between the law (*nomos*) and custom (*synetheia*), they often treated them as parallel and noncontradictory concepts (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.6.60–61, a.1118, no.40.41, a.1370/1). The legislators, however, had to cope with the cases of discrepancy between the two: many of the NOVELS OF LEO VI dealt with *synetheiai*—in 16 cases he approved of customary regulations and only in five or six cases rejected them. Passages in many documents state that a particular tax was levied or should not be levied, or a particular procedure had been performed or had not been performed *kata ten synetheian*, "according to custom."

LIT. D. Simon, "Balsamon zum Gewohnheitsrecht," in *Scholia: Studia D. Holwerda* (Groningen 1985) 119–33. J. de Malafosse, "La loi et la coutume à Byzance," *Travaux et recherches de l'Institut de droit comparé de l'Université de Paris* 23 (1963) 59–69. K. Polyzoides, *To ethimon eis to plasion tes Orthodoxou Ekklesias* (Thessalonike 1986). –A.K., M.B.

CUSTOMS. Imports and exports were tightly controlled and taxed in Byz. This was done at the frontiers, in special markets, the KOMMERKIA, at the entrance of the straits leading to Constantinople (Abydos, Stena Pontikes Thalasses), and later in ports, such as Thessalonike. At least until 634, the circulation and sale of merchandise in the empire was subject to the OCTAVA (12.5 percent duty) collected by the *octavarii.* This was later (before ca.800) replaced by the *kommerkion* (10 percent and, in the mid-14th C., 2 percent) and other TITHES (esp. on wine), collected by a series of officials such as the ABYDIKOS, the KOMMERKIARIOI, the PARATHALASSITES, the *limenitai*, the *eleoparochoi*, etc. These officials supervised the circulation of merchandise and prevented all unauthorized exports, esp. those of precious or "strategic" materials, the *kekolymena* or "prohibited items" (gold, silk, weapons, iron, lumber, etc.); from the 13th C. onward, the export of wheat from Constantinople was also prohibited if its price surpassed a certain level. Western merchants, starting with the Venetians in the 11th C., obtained privileges exempting them from the payment of these custom duties that were mandatory for almost all Byz. (except some privileged monasteries). Other burdens on merchandise were toll payments (*diabatikon*, *poriatikon*), port duties (*naulos*, *antinaulos*, *limeniatikon*, *skaliatikon*), sales tax (*pratikion*), dues for measurement of weighing, etc.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Recherches sur les douanes à Byzance* (Paris 1963). H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1961) 239–52. –N.O.

CYCLE, in art, a conventional term for a sequence of images recounting events in the lives of biblical and other sacred figures and, in HISTORY PAINTING, of emperors. Christian cycles were, to some extent, successors to representations of the vitae of pagan mythological heroes. They existed as early as the 4th C.: the LIPSANOTHEK at Brescia displays a sequence of pictures drawn from the Passion of Christ, while events from the lives of Moses and Peter are excerpted on SARCOPHAGI of the period. Even at this stage, as in the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, dogmatic and typological considerations outweighed narrative impulses in the selection of scenes. The early existence of cycles of the lives of JOSHUA and DAVID has been hypothesized; the latter was certainly in existence by the time of the Second CYPRUS TREASURE (early 7th C.). The concept of cycles finds full development in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION, icons, and manuscript illumination in and after the 9th C. Cycles of the Infancy, Ministry, and Passion of Christ, and of the lives of the Virgin Mary and of some saints (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION), pervade the remaining centuries of Byz. art. Cycles in the literal sense of the term may then be said to exist in that the sequence of GREAT FEAST scenes appears to be correlated with the recurring liturgical year. In the Palaiologan era cycles multiply both in the recondite nature of their contents and in number, sometimes drawing on hymnographic material such as the AKATHISTOS HYMN.

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic.* Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–302. Weitzmann, *Roll and Codex* 193–205. –A.C.

CYNEGETICA. See OPPIAN.

CYNEGIUS MATERNUS, staunch supporter of THEODOSIOS I and praetorian prefect 384–88; died Constantinople or en route to Constantinople, March 388. Probably of Spanish origin, Cynegius was an active adversary of paganism, notorious for demolishing pagan temples in Syria and for his anti-Semitic attitude. According to J. Matthews (*JThSt* n.s. 18 [1967] 438–46), Theodosios brought to Constantinople from Spain not only Cynegius but an entire clan of his relatives, who went on to dominate court life in the capital. One of Cynegius's relatives was Aemilius Florus Paternus, proconsul of Africa (393), who kept the province loyal to Theodosios when Italy was in revolt. Matthews also postulates a family connection between the clan of Cynegius and Serena, Theodosios's niece and the wife of STILICHO. Another Cynegius, a zealous Christian, was a member of the consistorium under Arkadios.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:235f, 2:331f. J.M.-F. Marique, "A Spanish Favorite of Theodosius the Great: Cynegius, Praefectus Praetorio," *Classical Folia* 17 (1963) 43–59. B. Gassowska, "Maternus Cynegius praefectus praetorio Orientis and the Destruction of the Allat Temple in Palmyra," *Archaeologia* 33 (1982) 107–230. –A.K.

CYPRIAN. See KIPRIAN.

CYPRUS (Κύπρος), island in the northeastern Mediterranean, an important way station between East and West, with good ports, rich agricultural land, and significant mineral deposits, esp. copper. Cyprus, which constituted a province within the prefecture of Oriens, enjoyed considerable prosperity in late antiquity and urban life apparently flourished during the period. A series of terrible earthquakes devastated the island in the mid-4th C., but urban life did not collapse. Salamis in the northeast, rebuilt and renamed Constantia by Constantius II, became the capital; restructured urban centers continued at Kourion, Paphos, and elsewhere. In 536 Justinian I removed Cyprus from the jurisdiction of the prefect of Oriens and placed it, along with five other provinces, under the newly created *quaestor exercitus*. Cyprus continued to play an important political and economic role in the 6th and early 7th C., since it was at first spared the military upheavals that afflicted the rest of the empire.

The rise of Arab sea power, however, meant the end of peace, and Cyprus became a battlefield between Byz. and Islam. In ca.647 the island began to be the target of Arab raids, whose success forced the abandonment of many of the cities and the dislocation of others (e.g., the removal of Kourion to nearby Episkope). Justinian II resettled some Cypriots in the area around Kyzikos and in 688 he signed a treaty with the caliph ʿABD AL-MALIK, by which Cyprus seems to have become a no-man's-land in which taxes were paid both to Byz. and to the caliphate and in which both powers had access to ports (which they might use to mount attacks on each other). In the 9th C., however, pressure built within Byz. for reconquest of Cyprus, and after several false starts Basil I finally accomplished the task (at an uncertain date), incorporating Cyprus into the theme system; after seven years, however, the island resumed its former status. In 965, Nikephoros II Phokas brought Cyprus firmly within the Byz. sphere; it became a province governed by a KATEPANO. In the 11th–12th C. there was some economic recovery, and new cities were founded on the coasts near the deserted sites of antiquity: Ammochostos near Salamis, Lemessos near Amathos, while Nikosia (Leukosia) in the center of the island became the capital. Monasteries and churches sprang up throughout the island as witnesses of this new-found prosperity and cultural vigor.

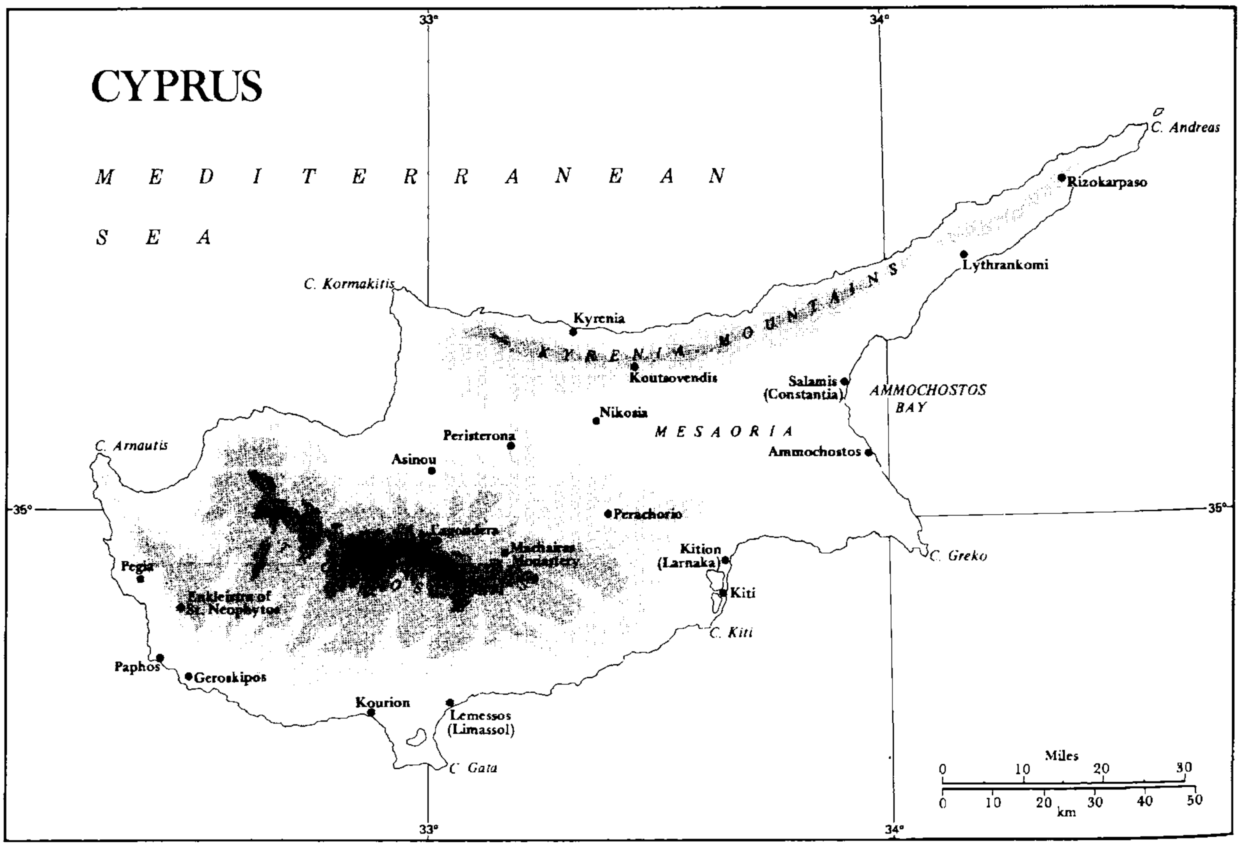
In the 11th and 12th C. the Cypriots felt heavily burdened by Byz. administrative and fiscal policies, even though the complaints of Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON seem to be exaggerated. In 1043 Cyprus revolted, and the *protospatharios* Theophylaktos, "judge and *praktor* of the state revenue," was murdered (Skyl. 429.4–12). In 1092 Cyprus and Crete simultaneously rebelled against Alexios I Komnenos, but the uprising was quelled by John Doukas. Rhapsomates, the leader of the Cypriots, was taken captive, and Alexios sent Eustathios Philokales with a strong garrison to the island. In 1184 ISAAC KOMNENOS seized control of Cyprus and proclaimed the island independent.

In the 12th C. the island became a focal point

in the struggle for domination over Syria. In 1148 the Venetians acquired trade privileges in Cyprus. Renauld of Châtillon, the Crusader prince of Antioch, raided Cyprus in cooperation with T'OROS II of Lesser Armenia in 1155 or 1156; in 1161 pirates equipped by Raymond, count of Tripoli, attacked Cyprus. In 1191 RICHARD I LIONHEART occupied the island. The next year Richard sold Cyprus to the Knights of the Temple, then presented it to Guy de LUSIGNAN. Under Lusignan rule, most of the land was handed out as feudal grants and the Catholic hierarchy appropriated all the larger sees, relegating the Orthodox clergy to villages and remote areas. The Lusignan period nevertheless seems to have been prosperous, as attested by numerous archaeological sites throughout the island: not only churches and fortresses, but also villages and medium-sized farmsteads. The remains bear witness to considerable cultural contact, particularly with Italy and the Levant. In fact, during those years Cyprus was, after Palestine, the most important Western outpost in the East, the staging ground for whatever Crusader aspirations still remained.

The data concerning connections between Cyprus and Byz. in the 13th–15th C. are scanty. Letters addressed by the Orthodox patriarch (prob. Neophytos) and by Henri Lusignan to John III Vatatzes (K. Chatzepsaltes, *KyprSp* 15 [1951] 63–81), though limited in factual content, show friendly relations between the two states and the allegiance of the Cypriot church to Nicaea; the patriarch does not complain of the situation of the Greek church in Cyprus. Byz. influence at the court of Nikosia seems to have increased during the reign of Jean II Lusignan (1432–58) who was married first to Medea, daughter of the half-Greek marquis of Montferrat John-James Palaiologos, and then to Helena, daughter of Theodore II Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea, who managed to place her adoptive brother Thomas as grand chamberlain; in her circle an idea arose to replace the Latin archbishop of Nikosia, Hugh (died 1442), with an Orthodox Greek (A. Vacalopoulos, *Praktika tou A' diethnous kyprologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 [Leukosia 1972] 277–80).

Even though tradition claimed that the evangelization of Cyprus was the result of the activity of St. Paul and his disciple BARNABAS, no data on the Cypriot ecclesiastical hierarchy before 325 are



known. Since administratively Cyprus was under the government of the diocese of Oriens, its church was placed under the jurisdiction of Antioch. In the 5th C. the metropolitans of Cyprus led a struggle for ecclesiastical independence, taking advantage of the conflict between Antioch and Alexandria and appealing to the authority of Rome and Constantinople (G. Downey, *PAPhS* 102 [1958] 224–28). Antioch tried to retain its jurisdiction before the Council of Ephesus in 431, but the Cypriots elected Rheginos their metropolitan, and in Ephesus he joined the cause of Cyril of Alexandria. Peter the Fuller tried again to recover Antiochene jurisdiction expecting help from Emp. Zeno, but Anthemios, the metropolitan of Cyprus, stubbornly resisted. In 488 the tomb of the apostle Barnabas was discovered; it also contained a copy of St. Matthew's Gospel that Anthemios immediately sent to the emperor. Zeno proclaimed the church of Cyprus autocephalous (a decree confirmed by Justinian I); the metropolitan received special signs of respect: a garment of purple silk, a scepter instead of a staff, the right to sign his letters in red, and the title of *makariotes* ("beatitude"). Greek archbishops existed in Cyprus until 1260 (V. Laurent, *REB* 7 [1949] 33–41).

LIT. G.F. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 244–329; vol. 2 (Cambridge 1948). Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XIV [1953], 1006–14. C.P. Kyrris, "The Nature of the Arab-Byzantine Relations in Cyprus," *Graeco-arabica* 3 (1984) 149–75. R. Browning, "Byzantium and Islam in Cyprus in the Early Middle Ages," *EKEE* 9 (1977–79) 101–16. J. Richard, "Une économie coloniale? Chypre et ses ressources agricoles au Moyen-Age," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 331–52. Idem, "Culture franque et culture grecque: Le royaume de Chypre au XVème siècle," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 399–416. M.B. Efthimiou, "Greeks and Latins on Thirteenth-Century Cyprus," *GOrThR* 20 (1975) 35–52. J. Hacket, Ch.I. Papaioannou, *Historia tes orthodoxou ekklesias Kyprou*, 3 vols. (Piraeus 1923–32). –T.E.G.

Monuments of Cyprus. Several large ecclesiastical complexes of the 4th–5th C. have been excavated on the island. Among the most impressive is Salamis. The Basilica of St. Epiphanios, which probably functioned as the cathedral of the city, is the largest Christian building discovered on Cyprus. Other important sites include a 4th-C. ecclesiastical complex at nearby Kampanopeta; Kourion, with a large 5th-C. episcopal basilica and baptistery; Pegia, with two basilicas, a baptistery, and a bath dated to the late 5th or early 6th C.; Soloi and Gialousa.

Mosaics ascribed to the 6th or 7th C. at Kiti and Lythrankomi were incorporated in churches rebuilt either before the Arab invasions of the 7th C. or during the Arab-Byz. treaty period (688/9–mid-10th C.). Similarly unclear in chronology are the monuments of the Karpas peninsula, including a cross-in-square church near Rizokarpaso, and three vaulted basilicas, all built over the ruins of earlier churches.

A group of triple-domed basilicas including St. Lazaros at Larnaka, St. Barnabas at Salamis, Sts. Barnabas and Hilarion at Peristerona, and St. Paraskeve at Geroskipos, may be very tentatively ascribed to the period before the Byz. reconquest of the island by Nikephoros II Phokas in 965. After the reconquest there is little evidence of artistic activity before the early 11th C., when the cross-in-square *katholikon* of St. Nicholas tes Steges received its first fresco phase, including a Great Feast cycle. At the beginning of the 12th C., the image of St. Nicholas with a monastic donor was painted on a masonry partition inserted between the *diakonikon* and the *naos*. Later in the 12th C. a narthex decorated with a Last Judgment was added.

Perhaps in response to the rebellion of Rhapsomates in 1092 and the advancing armies of the First Crusade, there was much construction on the island during the reign of Alexios I. For example, Saranda Kolonnes, the fortress protecting Paphos harbor, which was initially erected in the 9th C. (?), was rebuilt (the Crusaders would make further additions to this castle after they took the island in 1191). At Koutsovendis, the monastery of Hagios Chrysostomos, founded on 9 Dec. 1090 by a *hegoumenos* George, was fortified. The complex included a domed-octagon *katholikon* built partially in cloisonné-brick with a *parekklesion*. The high-quality decoration of the latter dates from the late 11th or early 12th C. Asinou and a large number of other churches with frescoes stylistically related to those at Koutsovendis further attest to rebuilding on the island in the late 11th and early 12th C.

The second half of the 12th C. is also rich in monumental remains. The Holy Apostles at Perachorio, a small, single-naved, domed church, was decorated with a feast cycle in the 3rd quarter of the century. The unpublished church at Kato Lefkara also seems to date from this period. The rich, painted programs of the Enkleistra of St.

NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS and LAGOUDERA date to the end of the 12th C.

Before the Latin occupation of Cyprus, its art and to a lesser degree its architecture were informed by a tension between Constantinopolitan and local traditions. In contrast, 13th-C. painting on the island represents a distinctively regional development. The monastery of St. John Lampadistes at Kalopanagiotes is a complex of three churches. The first surviving phase of fresco decoration of St. Herakleidios, a cross-in-square church constructed probably in the 11th C., dates from the 13th C. The Panagia at Moutoullas, a small, rectangular, wooden-roofed structure, was decorated with scenes from the life of Christ for John, son of Moutoullas, and his wife Irene on 4 July 1280. The small monastic church of Panagia Amasgou at Monagri received its principal medieval decoration in the 13th C., though a few fresco fragments of the early 12th C., stylistically related to the paintings at Asinou, also remain.

LIT. Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou.* A. and J.A. Stylianou, *The Painted Churches of Cyprus*[2] (London 1985). A. Papageorghiou, "L'architecture paléochrétienne de Chypre" and "L'architecture de la période byzantine à Chypre," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 299–324, 325–35. A.H. Megaw, "Le fortificazioni bizantini a Cipro," *CorsiRav* 32 (1985) 199–231. Idem, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus: Metropolitan or Provincial?" *DOP* 28 (1974) 57–69. –A.J.W.

CYPRUS TREASURE. Two treasures of the 6th to 7th C. are known by this name.

FIRST CYPRUS TREASURE. Found at the end of the 19th C. at Karavas, a village close to Lambousa (anc. Lapithos) west of Kyrenia in Cyprus, the First Cyprus Treasure included 39 silver objects (plate, censer, bowl [with SILVER STAMPS of 578–82, 605–10, 641–51, respectively], and 36 spoons) of which all but 11 spoons entered the British Museum in 1899. In 1906 a find of three silver plates (all with stamps of 610–30) decorated with a monogram (read as "Theodore A") was associated with this treasure by Dalton, as was eventually the Second Cyprus Treasure. Several spoons have inscribed names, including that of Theodore, and one set of 11 spoons has a series of running animals. Although the single plate, bowl, and censer have Christian decorations (cross, busts of Christ, and saints), none is inscribed with a dedication to a church and the treasure is probably domestic silver PLATE with pious ornamentation like that in the CANOSCIO TREASURE.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia [sic], Cyprus now preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159–74. Idem, "Byzantine Silversmith's Work from Cyprus," *BZ* 15 (1906) 615–17. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 28, 35, 37–39, 78. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 103–05. –M.M.M.

SECOND CYPRUS TREASURE. Discovered in 1902 very close to the find-spot of the First Cyprus Treasure, this second find consisted of two lots: 11 silver plates concealed in a walled niche and eight pieces of gold JEWELRY buried in a pot nearby. Eight bronze objects (lampstand, two lamps, five ewers) also formed part of the group. The silver objects, now divided between the Nikosia and Metropolitan Museums, included the nine DAVID PLATES of 629/30 and two dinner plates, one bearing the monogram of a certain John (with SILVER STAMPS of 605) and one bearing a small cross (with stamps of 613–30). The jewelry included a belt and a chain containing consular and imperial MEDALLIONS of Maurice (584, 585). The second treasure was probably part of the contemporary First Cyprus Treasure (which contains similar dinner plates) and belonged to a highly placed family that received imperial gifts in 584–85 and 629/30 and acquired other objects between 578 and ca.641. The objects were probably buried when the island was invaded by the Arabs in ca.647.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, "A Second Silver Treasure from Cyprus," *Archaeologia* 60 (1906) 1–24. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 33, 54, 58–66. A. and J. Stylianou, *The Treasures of Lambousa* (Vasilia, Cyprus, 1969). *Age of Spirit.*, nos. 61, 285, 287, 292. –M.M.M.

CYRENAICA (Κυρήνη). The Roman province of Cyrenaica comprised the plateau of Djebel Akhdar on the east coast of Libya. Under Diocletian it was divided into two provinces: Libya Superior or PENTAPOLIS and Libya Inferior. Both provinces suffered from frequent attacks by the Austuriani in the 4th and 5th C., leading to the establishment of a *dux Libyarum* ca.383 and, by the late 5th C., of a *dux Libyae Pentapoleos.* Regulations regarding the provisioning of troops on the *limes* of the province, published in the reign of Anastasios I (*Supplementum Epigraphicum Graecum*, 9.1 [Leiden 1938] no.356), indicate the continuing interest of Constantinople in maintaining control over Cyrenaica. Anastasios and Justinian I also undertook

the refortification of some towns in Cyrenaica in response to new barbarian attacks, most notably by the Mazikes (see MAURI). Despite these attacks, archaeological evidence from the cities indicates that trade, largely with the Aegean and northeast Mediterranean areas, continued from the earlier Roman period, although never in great volume. The main export was perhaps grain, but olive oil and seafood products may also have been traded. Much archaeological work remains to be done on the rural history of Cyrenaica in the late Roman period, our prime source of information still being SYNESIOS, bishop of Cyrene in the late 4th and 5th C.

Cyrenaica was subordinated to the church of Alexandria and thus affected by Egyptian religious controversies. In the 4th C. Arianism obtained support among Cyrenaican bishops. Zeno's HENOTIKON is addressed to both Cyrenaican and Egyptian clergy, indicating the existence of a strong Monophysite church in Cyrenaica in the 5th C. In 609 Herakleios marched from Cyrenaica into Egypt in his revolt against Phokas. The history of Roman Cyrenaica ends with the Arab invasions of 642 and 645.

LIT. P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica romana (96 a.c.–642 d.c.)* (Rome 1971). *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985). D. Roques, *Synesios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-empire* (Paris 1987). M. Fulford, "To East and West: The Mediterranean Trade of Cyrenaica and Tripolitania in Antiquity," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989) 169–92. –R.B.H.

CYRIACUS OF ANCONA, or Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli, Italian merchant; self-taught humanist and epigrapher fascinated by antiquities; born Ancona ca.1391, died Cremona ca.1455. From 1412 to 1454 he traveled incessantly over the territories once or still controlled by Byz. Beginning ca.1424, he kept in Latin a detailed diary, the *Commentaria*, that recorded his movements; the people he met, including John VIII Palaiologos (K.M. Setton, *Speculum* 33 [1958] 227f and n.14), Gemistos PLETHON, and other Byz. potentates and scholars; the places and monuments he saw and sketched; and passages from Greek (for example, B. Baldwin, *Scriptorium* 37 [1983] 110–12 on the Athos MS of Nonnos) and Latin MSS he consulted. Most important of all, he transcribed vast numbers of Greek and Latin INSCRIPTIONS, for many of which he is the oldest or only witness. In all these domains he collected Byz. material no less avidly than classical, although his honesty has sometimes been questioned.

Of the multivolumed original diary only a small fragment about the Peloponnesos (1447–48) survives; more is preserved in autograph extracts that Cyriacus sent to various acquaintances, and sections of the account of his travels in Greece (1435–37) survive in copies. This complex and fragmentary textual tradition complicates the exploitation of his myriad materials. He avidly collected Greek MSS in such places as Constantinople, Thessalonike (M. Vickers, *BMGS* 2 [1976] 75–82), Chios, and Mt. Athos, where he also made a list of the MSS he examined in Nov. 1444 (ed. Bodnar-Mitchell, 49.859–56.1041).

Cyriacus, who attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence (1438–39), was devoted to church union and a crusade against the Turks despite his excellent personal relations with the sultans (F. Pall, *BSHAcRoum* 20 [1938] 9–68); he supposedly entertained Mehmed II on the eve of the conquest of Constantinople (E. Jacobs, *BZ* 30 [1929–30] 197–202). Cyriacus wrote some works in Greek, for example, a treatise on the Roman calendar (1448) for Constantine (XI) Palaiologos, *despotes* of Morea (ed. G. Castellani, *REGr* 9 [1896] 225–30), and one or two poems (D.A. Zakythinos, *BZ* 28 [1928] 270–72; cf. Bodnar, *infra* [1960] 62). For his handwriting, see D. Harlfinger, *Specimina griechischer Kopisten der Renaissance*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1974) 21f.

ED. R. Sabbadini, "Ciriaco d'Ancona e la sua descrizione autografa del Peloponneso trasmessa da Leonardo Botta," in *Miscellanea Ceriani* (Milan 1910) 181–247. *Classici e umanisti da codici Ambrosiani* (Florence 1933) 1–48. E. Bodnar, C. Mitchell, *Cyriacus of Ancona's Journeys in the Propontis and the Northern Aegean, 1444–1445* (Philadelphia 1976).

LIT. M.E. Cosenza, *Biographical and Bibliographical Dictionary of the Italian Humanists*[2] (Boston 1962) 1169–71. J. Colin, *Cyriaque d'Ancône: Le voyageur, le marchand, l'humaniste* (Paris 1981). E. Bodnar, *Cyriacus of Ancona and Athens* (Brussels 1960). C. Smith, "Cyriacus of Ancona's Seven Drawings of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB* 69 (1987) 16–32. –M.McC.

CYRIL, bishop of Jerusalem (ca.348/50–386/7) and saint; born near Jerusalem ca.313; feastday 18 Mar. Accused both of theological submission to his Arian superior Akakios, bishop of Caesarea, and of harboring pro-Nicene sentiments, Cyril was thrice deposed (357, 360, 367) and thrice restored (358, 362, 378). His major extant work

is a series of 24 catechetical lectures, transcribed by a listener, which were delivered as Lenten and Easter instructions for catechumens. The last five, the *Mystagogical Catecheses*, may have been written wholly or partly by his successor as bishop, JOHN II of Jerusalem. Cyril's lectures provide much information on both the liturgy and the topography of 4th-C. JERUSALEM. His observations on the EUCHARIST are particularly important, as he was the first theologian to discuss transubstantiation and to emphasize its sacrificial nature. His lectures include much on the theory and practice of BAPTISM, which for him was a prerequisite for salvation. His Christology is Nicene, although he notably eschews the term HOMOOUSIOS, more in opposition to Sabellianism than ARIANISM. The word does, however, appear in his letter to Constantius II describing the apparition of a cross of light in the sky over Jerusalem on 7 May 351; this letter also refers to Helena's discovery of the True Cross (ed. E. Bihain, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 264–96; the letter is also preserved in a Syriac version, ed. J.F. Coakley, *AB* 102 [1984] 71–84). The presence of the term *homoousios* here may imply a Cyrilline change of mind, or simply an interpolation. A homily on the paralytic also survives.

ED. PG 33:331–1176. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*,[2] ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1988), with Fr. tr. by P. Paris. *Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F. L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838). Eng. tr. L.P. McCauley. A.A. Stephenson, *The Works of St. Cyril of Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1969–70).

LIT. H.M. Riley, *Christian Initiation* (Washington, D.C., 1974). E.A. Boulgarakes, *Hai katecheseis tou Kyrillou Hierosolymon* (Thessalonike 1977). A.A. Stephenson, "S. Cyril of Jerusalem's Trinitarian Theology," *StP* 11 (1972) 234–41. J.H. Greenlee, *The Gospel Text of Cyril of Jerusalem* (Copenhagen 1955). –B.B.

CYRIL, patriarch of Alexandria (from 18 Oct. 412), theologian, and saint; born Mahalla in Egypt 378, died Alexandria 27 June 444; feastday 9 June. He succeeded on the patriarchal throne his uncle THEOPHILOS whom he had attended at the Synod of the Oak (403), which deposed John Chrysostom. His early years in office (up to 428) were marked by conflicts with Jews, Novatians, and pagans, the last provoking suspicion that he was involved in the murder of HYPATIA (415). In later years (between 433 and 441), Cyril wrote a detailed refutation of *Against the Galilaeans* by Julian, thus revealing the tenacity of Egyptian paganism.

The early writings of Cyril were mainly biblical commentaries, allegorical in method though less so than those of ORIGEN, and polemics against ARIANISM, in which he developed the Trinitarian views of ATHANASIOS. While Athanasios had to deal primarily with the question of the Trinity, Cyril wrestled with Christological problems. NESTORIOS consistently separated the God-Logos in the incarnate Christ from the Man, accepting only the *synapheia* or "contact" of the two natures. Cyril's aim was to preserve the concept of unity of the God-Man as a necessary condition of salvation. For this purpose he employed the term HYPOSTASIS (introduced by APOLLINARIS) and asserted that the Logos and the flesh (he preferred these words to "god" and "man") in Christ were not in contact but in hypostatic unity (Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.42, pp. 243–52). Accordingly, Cyril insisted that the VIRGIN MARY had given birth not only to the man Jesus but to God and therefore deserved the appellation THEOTOKOS. Cyril did not distinguish clearly, however, between the concepts of hypostasis and nature, and sometimes assumed that Christ possessed one hypostasis or nature (*physis*). Formulations of this kind allowed for a MONOPHYSITE interpretation of his doctrines. This Monophysite cast to Cyril's writings accounts for the preservation of a great many of his works in Armenian, Syriac, Ethiopic, and Coptic. As S. Gero (*OrChr* 62 [1978] 77–97) demonstrated, there is no evidence to support the theory that Cyril encouraged icon veneration.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Cyril, with his dark pointed beard, resemble those of Basil the Great, but Cyril wears a special pointed bonnet, the prerogative of the patriarch of Alexandria. The bonnet is often decorated with crosses.

ED. PG 68–77. *Opera*, ed. P.E. Pusey, 7 vols. (Oxford 1868–77). *Select Letters*, ed. L. Wickham (Oxford 1983), with Eng. tr. *St. Cyril of Alexandria: Letters*, tr. J.I. McEnerney, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C. , 1987). *Über den rechten Glauben*, ed. B.M. Weischer, Germ. tr. O. Bardenhewer (Munich 1984). *CPG*, nos. 5200–5438.

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:116–42. M. Simonetti, "Alcune osservazioni sul monofisismo di Cirillo d'Alessandria," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 493–511. A. Kerrigan, *St. Cyril of Alexandria, Interpreter of the Old Testament* (Rome 1952). W.J. Malley, *Hellenism and Christianity* (Rome 1978) 237–423. R.L. Wilken, *Judaism and the Early Christian Mind: A Study of Cyril of Alexandria's Exegesis and Theology* (New Haven 1971). –B.B., A.K., N.P.Š.

CYRIL, jurist of the time of Justinian I. Cyril was the author of a Greek paraphrase of the DIGEST, many fragments of which have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA. His paraphrase of books 41 to 50 of the *Digest* appears to have been the basis for certain sections of the *Basilika* text as well.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:16, 56–59. Wenger, *Quellen* 687. –A.S.

CYRIL (saint). See CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER.

CYRIL III, patriarch of Antioch (29 June 1287–ca.1308?). The third of his name to sit on the throne of Antioch (not the second; cf. V. Grumel, *MélUnivJos* 38 [1962] 260, n.3), Cyril was metropolitan of Tyre until his election as patriarch in 1287. A rival claimant, Dionysios I, was elected at the same time in Cilicia. In 1288 Cyril went to Constantinople, where Patr. GREGORY II and ATHANASIOS I refused to recognize his election. He lived in Constantinople at the HODEGON monastery and was finally recognized in 1296 by Patr. John XII Kosmas (1293–1303). He resided in the capital until his death or resignation ca.1308. Athanasios remained hostile to him and accused him of causing a schism in the church (ep.69, ed. Talbot). The chronology of the patriarchate of Antioch in the early 14th C. is not yet fully resolved; *PLP* (no.14053) suggests that Cyril may have resumed the patriarchate between 1310 and 1314.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Le patriarche d'Antioche Cyrille II," *AB* 68 (1950) 310–17. –A.M.T.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, monk and hagiographer; born Skythopolis (in Palestine) ca.525?, died after 559?. Cyril's father, a lawyer named John, supervised his early religious education. When still a young child, Cyril met St. SABAS, who strongly influenced his future monastic career. According to Flusin (*infra*), Cyril became an *anagnostes* shortly after 532 and in 543 was tonsured as a monk. He left almost immediately for Jerusalem, where he met St. John the Hesychast, whose biography he would later write. In 544, after spending some months as a hermit in a lavra near the Jordan, he entered the cenobitic monastery of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT at Jericho, where he spent the next ten years. Following the condemnation of ORIGENISM in 553, Origenist monks were expelled from the New Lavra of St. Sabas and replaced in 555 by Orthodox monks, among them Cyril. In 557 he moved to the Great Lavra of Sabas, where he died shortly thereafter.

Despite his short life Cyril wrote a number of biographies of Palestinian monks, such as Sabas, Abraham, Kyriakos (also preserved in Georgian), Theodosios, and Theognios. His evident aim was to produce a corpus of vitae of Palestinian saints, an ambition fostered both by local patriotism and a firm belief in the relationship between holiness and the DESERT. The historical details in his Lives, where verifiable, are accurate. He is informative on topics ranging from the phylarchs of the Parembole in Palaestina I to the movements of HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM. Cyril is occasionally illuminating on Constantinople, as in the story of "the liberating of the *polis* and the church" (ed. Schwartz 176.1–2) from the three heresies—of Arius, Nestorius, and Origen.

ED. *Kyrillos von Skythopolis*, ed. E. Schwartz (Leipzig 1939). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, vol. 3 (Paris 1962–63). "La version Géorgienne de la vie de S. Cyriaque par Cyrille de Scythopolis," ed. G. Garitte, *Muséon* 75 (1962) 399–440.

LIT. B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983). –B.B., A.M.T.

CYRIL OF TUROV. See KIRILL.

CYRIL PHILEOTES, saint; born in Philea near Derkos ca.1015, died 2 Dec. 1110 [1120, according to Karlin-Hayter, *infra*]. A holy man who remained a long time in the world, Cyril spent three years as a sailor; he had a wife and children but was very devoted to monastic life and consistently restricted both his sexual life and diet. From his homeland he frequently visited Constantinople, but he traveled even further, to Chonae and even to Rome. Cyril was connected with the Komnenoi and some of their supporters: Eumathios PHILOKALES, George Palaiologos, Michael Doukas, etc. He took the habit at the monastery founded at Philea by his brother Michael and received there his monastic name of Cyril; his secular name is unknown. Alexios I granted the monastery a confirmation of the independence of all its possessions from the treasury.

Cyril's Life, written by Nicholas KATASKEPENOS (died after 1143), has an unusual structure: every chapter or paragraph begins by stating a fact in Cyril's biography, followed by a series of patristic quotations that tend to emphasize the general significance of this fact. Kataskepenos presented a rigoristic approach to salvation: his hero performed not only traditional fasting and vigils but also self-flagellation with rope and club (e.g., ch.5.7). Unlike SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Cyril is said to have approved of monastic FRIENDSHIP and to have eagerly practiced charity.

SOURCES. *La Vie de saint Cyrille le Philéote moine byzantin*, ed. E. Sargologos (Brussels 1964), with notes by P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 607–11; A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 28 (1968) 302–04; A.-J. Festugière, *REGr* 80 (1967) 430–44; 81 (1968) 88–109.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Svedenija za istorijata na Varna i Anchialo (Pomorie) prez XI v. v žitieto na Kiril Fileot," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 28 (1972) 315–23. –A.K.

CYRRHUS (Κύρρος, also Hagioupolis, now Huru Pegamber in eastern Turkey), city of northern Syria in the province of EUPHRATENSIS. Bishops of Cyrrhus are known from 325 onward; between 460 and 570 it became an autocephalous metropolis. Libanios speaks of it as a small city that had formerly been great; its function as the region's fortress was usurped, under Constantius II, by HIERAPOLIS. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, who was the city's bishop in the 5th C., describes the city primarily as a residence of hermits; his own building activity there included the construction of stoas, two bridges, an aqueduct, and the maintenance of public baths. Some revival took place under Justinian I, who stationed a garrison at Cyrrhus and ordered the repair of the city walls and the construction of a roofed aqueduct. Several inscriptions have been found in Cyrrhus bearing the names of Justinian, Theodora, and Belisarios. The *martyrion* of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos near Cyrrhus, first mentioned by Theodoret, was later called a "wonder of the world" by Arab writers; its materials were removed by al-Walīd (705–15) for his mosque at BERROIA. The circuit walls and the remains of two large basilicas, all from the period of the 4th to 7th C., still stand at Cyrrhus; a residential quarter by the *cardo* has been excavated; and two bridges survive in the area. The remains of a large basilica and traces of an aqueduct have also been discovered.

The Arabs took Cyrrhus in 637. From the 10th C. onward the Byz. tried to regain it: in 905 Andronikos Doukas plundered Cyrrhus and took its inhabitants captive. Romanos III was defeated in this region in 1030. In the 12th C. Armenians and Crusaders fought over "Guris"/"Qurus"; thereafter it is not mentioned by historians.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 199–204. E. Frézouls, "Recherches historiques et archéologiques sur la ville de Cyrrhus," *AnnArchSyr* 4–5 (1954–5) 106–28. "L'exploration archéologique de Cyrrhus," in *Apamée de Syrie*, ed. J. Balty (Brussels 1969) 81–92. –M.M.M.

CYZICUS. See KYZIKOS.

CZECH LITERATURE. CHURCH SLAVONIC as a liturgical and literary language coexisted with Latin in the Bohemian (Czech) church until its use was banned in 1096/7. The basic texts were probably imported from Moravia. The earliest Church Slavonic MS of indisputably Czech provenance, the 11th-C. GLAGOLITIC *Prague Fragments*, is a Byz. liturgical text translated from Greek. All other extant Czech translations are from Latin works, although some translators may have known Greek (F. Mareš, *BS* 24 [1963] 247–50). Native literature is esp. notable for its hymnography (the *Canon to St. Václav* [Wenceslas], the hymn *Hospodine pomiluj ny*) and hagiography (numerous Latin and Church Slavonic vitae of Václav [died 929], of Václav's grandmother Ludmila [died ca.921], and probably of St. PROKOPIOS). Translated and original Czech literature was exported to the Slavic Orthodox world, particularly to RUS' (P. Devos, *AB* 72 [1954] 427–38; B. Florja, *BS* 46 [1985] 121–30). Most Church Slavonic works of Czech origin survive in Eastern Slavic MSS, the earliest dating from 1095/6. (See also KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA).

ED. F. Mareš, *An Anthology of Church Slavonic Texts of Western (Czech) Origin* (Munich 1979).

LIT. *Magna Moravia* (Prague 1965) 435–566. Vlasto, *Entry* 90–92, 105–13. –S.C.F.

CZECHIA. In the 9th C., when reached by Byz. missionaries, Czechia was a vassal state of Great MORAVIA. According to legend, METHODIOS converted Borivoj of Prague and his wife Ludmila. After the Hungarian invasion and collapse of Moravia (ca.906) two independent princedoms

emerged: one under the Přemyslid dynasty of Prague and another (until 991) under the Slavnik dynasty of Libica. Constantine VII seems to have had some information about Czechia: his "White Serbloi" who lived beyond "Turkey" in a place called Boiki (or Boimi?—*De adm. imp.* 32.2–4) may be the Slav inhabitants of eastern Bohemia. Twelfth-century Byz. authors speak of the Tzechoi who were allied with Hungary and Kiev against Manuel I (e.g., Lampros, "Mark. kod." 174, no.320.6–7), though Kinnamos (Kinn. 223.5–8) implies that the "king of the Tzechoi" was the empire's LIZIOS at the time of the Second Crusade. Vincent of Prague (MGH *SS* 17:681) records that a noble Czech, Boguta of Moravia, served Manuel and was granted several castles. In 1273 Byz. and Czechia negotiated concerning a union of the churches and the organization of a crusade. In 1451–52 a Hussite emissary, probably Matthew English, came to Constantinople and after lengthy defense of the Hussite creed obtained a letter dated 18 Jan. 1452, signed by seven church dignitaries and inviting the Hussites to join the Greek church. The letter, however, satisfied only the most moderate leaders of the Czech movement. Chalkokondyles conveys some data about the Tzechoi or Boemoi (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 56f), asserting, for instance, that they were fire worshipers.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*² (Gulf Breeze, Fla., 1974). M. Paulová, "Die tschechisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen unter Přemysl Otakar II," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963) 237–44. F.M. Bartoš, "A Delegate of the Hussite Church to Constantinople in 1451–1452," *BS* 24 (1963) 287–92; 25 (1964) 69–74. –S.C.F., A.K.

D

DABATENOS, or Diabatenos (Δ⟨ι⟩αβατηνός, fem. Δ⟨ι⟩αβατηνή), a family that flourished in the second half of the 11th C., possibly of Armenian origin. A certain Davatanos, *doux* of Edessa, fell in battle ca.1062; his brother Levon held the same position in the 1070s. We do not know whether he is to be identified with Leo Diabatenos, a general under Romanos IV, and another Leo, governor of Mesembria in 1080. Another Dabatenos, under Alexios I, served as *topoteretes* of Herakleia in Pontos and of Paphlagonia (1081); perhaps he was the same Dabatenos who more than 20 years later was *doux* of Trebizond. Even less certain is his identity with Michael Dabatenos, *protonobelissimos* in 1094/5 (P.Gautier, *REB* 29 [1971] 245f). Several Dabatenoi left seals with such titles as *sebastos*, *protokouropalates*, and *katepano*. Soon after 1100 the family position declined, and the Diabatenoi attested in the 13th and 14th C. were *paroikoi*, priests, or owners of small farms (*PLP*, nos. 5365–70).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 114–16. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii* (Erevan 1980) 141–43. –A.K.

DACIA, the territory north of the Lower and Middle Danube. It was conquered by Trajan and then abandoned by the Romans in the mid-3rd C. Aurelian, however, created the province of Dacia Ripensis on the south bank of the Danube between Moesia I and Moesia II. Its major cities were Ratiaria and Oescus; Priskos of Panion (fr.1) called Ratiaria a large and densely populated city. Military camps and forts, rather than cities, were typical of the province. Dacia Ripensis flourished in the mid-4th C., and the Romans even managed to recover some fortresses on the north bank of the Danube. Gothic foederati penetrated into Dacia, and some settlements probably belonging to them (e.g., a fortified village at Vit) have been excavated. This system of Germanic settlements continued after the battle of Adrianople (378), as in Sucidava, where the last Roman coins are of 408–23; probably thereafter the system of forts was demolished by the Huns. The empire renewed the construction of strongholds north of the Danube at the end of the 5th C. and was able to maintain them through the end of the 6th, when Dacia was occupied by the Avars and Slavs (O. Toropu in 9 *CEFR* [1974] 71–81).

Dacia Mediterranea lay south of Dacia Ripensis and was probably created sometime later. Its capital was Serdica and its major cities were Naissus, Pautalia, and Remesiana. Dacia Mediterranea was more urban and more Greek than Dacia Ripensis and played a larger role in ecclesiastical development.

LIT. H. Vetters, *Dacia ripensis* (Vienna 1950). E. Chirilă, M. Gudea, "Economie, populaţie şi societate în Dacia post-aureliană," *Acta Musei Porolissonensis* 6 (1982) 123–54. –A.K.

DACO-GETANS, autochthonous population on both banks of the Lower Danube. Ancient authors considered them a single group, speaking a dialect of the Thracian language, but recent scholars distinguish three ethnic elements: Thracian, Illyrian, and Daco-Moesian (C. Poghirc in *L'ethnogénèse des peuples balkaniques* [Sofia 1971] 171f). Despite romanization of the region, old Getic traditions, esp. old forms of ceramics, survived in Scythia Minor and in Moesia through the 6th C. (C. Scorpan, *Thracia* 2 [1974] 131–34). From the 7th C. onward, the Slavs settled on the Danube, assimilating a substantial part of the autochthonous population, then the Bulgars and Pechenegs moved into the area. The ancient Daco-Getans mingled with these peoples, even though some Daco-Getans, esp. in mountainous regions, retained their latinized language and certain cultural traditions, eventually emerging as Vlachs.

The ethnic name *Dakes* reappears in the 10th–11th C. to designate Pechenegs; in the 12th–15th C. it was applied primarily to the Hungarians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:116) and, in the 15th C., even to the Danes (E. Trapp, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 301f).

LIT. D. Protase, *Problema continuităţii în Dacia* (Bucharest 1966). G. Ştefan, "Le problème de la continuité sur la territoire de la Dacie," *Dacia* 12 (1968) 347–54. *Transylvania and the Theory of Daco-Roman-Rumanian Continuity*, ed. L. Löte (Rochester, N.Y., 1980). –A.K.

DAKTYLOS (δάκτυλος, "finger"), the smallest Byz. unit of length, equal to 1/16 POUS [= 1.95 cm], also called *monas* (unit).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 16. –E. Sch.

DALASSENE, ANNA, mother of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS; born ca.1025, died 1 Nov. 1100 or 1102. Her father was Alexios Charon, her maternal grandfather Adrianos DALASSENOS (N. Adontz, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 171–85). She married John, brother of ISAAC I KOMNENOS, in 1040 or 1045; their children included Manuel, Maria, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Alexios, Adrianos, and Nikephoros. After Isaac I's abdication, Dalassene opposed the Doukas family, who had succeeded to the throne; she even disliked Alexios's marriage to IRENE DOUKAINA. She actively encouraged Isaac and Alexios's revolt against NIKEPHOROS III (14 Feb. 1081) and had to seek refuge in Hagia Sophia and then the PETRION monastery. Upon Alexios I's accession, she became powerful at court. During his campaigns (beginning in Aug. 1081), he granted her sweeping administrative powers (*Reg* no.1073): written or verbal, rational or ridiculous, her orders were to be obeyed as the emperor's own. A copy of her PITTAKION for CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS (May 1088) survives (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:342–51, no.49), and in 1095 she ordered the blinding of Nikephoros DIOGENES (An.Komn., 2:201.16–22). After popular charges of misgovernment seemingly disturbed her relationship with Alexios (Zon. 3:746.4–7), she retired to the PANTEPOPTES MONASTERY. Her piety and patronage of monks were renowned; Anna KOMNENE greatly admired her.

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 20–24. –C.M.B.

DALASSENOS (Δαλασσηνός, fem. Δαλασσηνή), a noble Byz. lineage originating from Dalasa-Talaš on the Euphrates and known from the late 10th C. Adontz's hypothesis that the family was of Armenian stock can neither be proved nor refuted. The *magistros* Damianos and his son the *patrikios* Constantine were governors of Antioch in 996–998 and in 1025, respectively. Constantine, called "the lord of the Eastern land" in contemporary epigrams, was an important landowner; Constantine VIII regarded him as his heir, but in the 1030s Constantine Dalassenos fell from imperial favor and was arrested by Michael IV. His brother Theophylaktos was *doux* of Antioch according to a seal; the third brother Romanos was *katepano* of Iberia. In the 1060s and 70s the Dalassenoi served in the Balkans: Theodore as *doux* of Thessalonike and Serres, Damianos as *doux* of Skopje. Anna DALASSENE was married to John Komnenos and became mother of Alexios I Komnenos. Thereafter the Dalassenoi ceased to be military commanders: the *sebastos* Theodore served as a judge in 1196; another Theodore, *sebastos* (and eparch), is known from a seal; a third Theodore is mentioned in TIPOUKEITOS as a lawyer in Eudokia's court (1067), but the high title of *protonobelissimos* makes this attribution dubious (see NOBELISSIMOS). In the later period the name Dalassenos is rare and used only in a low level of society (*PLP*, nos. 5035–36).

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Études* 75–115, 121f. Adontz, *Études* 163–77. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 92–97. –A.K.

DALMATIA (Δελματία), Roman province on the eastern coast of the Adriatic Sea whose capital was SALONA. After brief domination by Odoacer, and then by the Ostrogoths, ca.538 Dalmatia became a Byz. proconsular province, consisting of coastal cities and nearby islands, from Istria to Kotor. It prospered through maritime trade. In the early 7th C. when Slavs and Avars invaded the hinterland and destroyed the coastal cities (Salona, Epidauros), these centers were replaced by new ones (SPLIT, DUBROVNIK). Both cities and islands remained under Byz. rule, but their ecclesiastical jurisdiction alternated between Rome and Constantinople. The metropolis became Zadar (ZARA) administered by a prior or *archon*. Whether he was a Byz. functionary or local magnate remains unclear. In the early 9th C. Charlemagne subjugated Dalmatia, and the *dux Jaderae* briefly functioned there as Frankish representative; in 812 the Franks returned Dalmatia to Byz., but it remained practically independent until the late 860s when Basil I established a Byz. theme there. Ecclesiastically it formed the metropolis of Ke-

phalia under the jurisdiction of Constantinople (*Notitiae CP*, no.3.54).

The area consisted of several independent economic and political zones: the northern centers tended to be pro-Venetian; the mid-Dalmatian cities, mostly autonomous, wavered in their loyalties between Venice and Hungary; Dubrovnik temporarily formed a special Byz. theme; the southern cities were linked with Serbia and Zeta. After a short-lived Venetian conquest in 1000, the Byz. presence in Dalmatia weakened. Various forces—Venice, Croatia, Hungary, the Normans—contended for domination over the area, and in the 1060s real Byz. authority disappeared, except in Dubrovnik. After the union of Croatia with Hungary (1102), northern Dalmatia was under Venice; the central area under Hungaro-Croatian kings; the southern area nominally Byz., but in fact autonomous. Croatian impact on Dalmatian cities and islands intensified. Brief restoration of Byz. influence in the mid-12th C. collapsed in 1180. From 1204 to 1358 Venice dominated Dalmatia, after which all the area except Dubrovnik was conquered by Hungary. Venetian domination returned in the early 15th C. and lasted until 1797.

LIT. J. Hahn, J. Ferluga, Ž. Rapanić, *LMA* 3:444–57. J. Ferluga, *L'amministrazione bizantina in Dalmazia* (Venice 1978). N. Klaić, *Povijest Hrvata u ranom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1971). Idem, *Povijest Hrvata u razvijenom srednjem vijeku* (Zagreb 1976). L. Steindorff, *Die dalmatinischen Städte im 12. Jahrhundert* (Cologne-Vienna 1984). –B.K.

DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE. Neither a dalmatic nor belonging to Charlemagne, the so-called Dalmatic of Charlemagne, a piece of silk dating ca.mid-14th C., is a patriarchal SAKKOS presumably from Constantinople; documented in Vatican inventories from 1489, it is currently in the Treasury of St. Peter's. Its association with Charlemagne is purely legendary. The dark blue silk *sakkos* is decorated with an extensive gold-embroidered figural cycle on the theme of Salvation. The complex iconography begins with the TRANSFIGURATION on the back of the garment, continues with the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) on the shoulders, and ends with the PAROUSIA, the Second Coming of Christ on the front. Embroidered inscriptions include Matthew 26:26–27, John 11:25, and Matthew 25:34.

LIT. G. Millet, *La Dalmatique du Vatican* (Paris 1945). E. Piltz, *Trois sakkoi byzantins* (Stockholm 1976) 28f, 42–45, figs. 5–7, 9–10. –A.G.

DALMATOU MONASTERY, an important early monastery, evidently the first to be constructed in Constantinople. Dalmatou (Δαλμάτου, Δαλματίου) was founded in 382 by the Syrian saint Isaac outside the Constantinian walls in the eastern part of the Psamathia quarter. After Isaac's death ca.406, he was succeeded as superior by his disciple Dalmat(i)os, a former officer of the imperial guard (died 438), after whom the monastery was named. In the 5th C. Dalmatou was a bastion of Orthodoxy, and its superior was given the title of ARCHIMANDRITE or EXARCH, supervisor of the other monasteries of the capital. Beginning in the late 7th C., the monastery was frequently used as a place of confinement for political prisoners, such as the deposed emperors Justinian II, Leontios, and Philippikos. During the Iconoclastic controversy, the Dalmatou monastery was persecuted because of its fervent support of images and even closed for a time. In the 9th C. the vita (unpublished) of Hilarion (died 845), a superior of Dalmatou and iconodule confessor, was written by a certain Sabas (*BHG* 2177, 2177b). In the late 12th C. Dalmatou was transformed into a nunnery; in 1182, Maria, widow of Manuel I Komnenos, was confined there. Thereafter the monastery disappears from the sources.

LIT. G. Dagron, "Les moines et la ville: Le monachisme à Constantinople jusqu'au concile de Chalcédoine (451)," *TM* 4 (1970) 229–76. Beck, *Kirche* 213, 558. Janin, *Églises CP* 82–84. –A.M.T.

DAMAGE BY QUADRUPEDS. Roman law regulated wrongful damage to property by the LEX AQUILIA, which deals primarily with the killing of another person's slave or animal and with damage by the burning, breaking, or destruction of another's property. To these two categories Byz. law added the specific case of *praida* (πραῖδα). The word is derived from Latin *praeda* (meaning "booty," and metaphorically "gain") and was used in late Roman texts in its original sense of "booty" (e.g., John Moschos, PG 87:3024B). The FARMER'S LAW, however, lends to this term a new legal sense, that of damage by quadrupeds, and regulates the punishments and compensations due on

both sides when an animal wanders onto a neighbor's land and causes damage or is injured (pars. 25, 48–53, 58). Some of these norms were accepted in (Italian?) provincial law. Where this "original and practical rule of arbitration" (Simon, *infra*) first arose is unclear. It could be a borrowing from neighboring countries—it exists in the Lombard *Edictum Rothari* and in its Greek translation (MGH *Leges* 4:231)—or a local Byz. development due to similar rural conditions.

LIT. Simon, "Provinzialrecht" 102–10. –A.K.

DAMASCUS (Δαμασκός), ancient city in southern Syria situated 100 km inland from the Mediterranean between the coastal mountains and the desert, in an oasis watered by the Barada River. An important military stronghold on the eastern frontier, Damascus was one of four cities of ORIENS with an arms factory (*NotDign* 11.18–23). The city was the metropolitan bishopric of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis, which was under the civil administration of EMESA. Little remains of Byz. Damascus. The Roman temple of Zeus Damaskenos was closed by Theodosios I and a church (later named for John the Baptist) was built within its precincts. Sauvaget (*infra*) demonstrated that the ancient street grid of Damascus evolved into an irregular "oriental" system, but subsequent attempts to date this change to the 5th–6th C., rather than later (H. Kennedy, *ByzF* 10 [1985] 170, n.91), are conjectural. SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem was a native of Damascus.

The city was under Persian rule from 612 to 628 and was taken by the Arabs in 635. There are several conflicting accounts of the siege—including one that emphasized the role of the father of JOHN OF DAMASCUS—and the peace terms made between the victors and the people of Damascus (payment of tribute, division of property), as quoted in some sources, may be of dubious authenticity (Donner, *Conquests* 131–45, 246f). Soon after its conquest Damascus became the capital of the Umayyad Caliphate (661–750). In 708 the Church of John the Baptist was replaced by the Great Mosque, which was decorated with wall mosaics attributed by some scholars to Byz. craftsmen. In the 10th C. Damascus passed to the Ikhshidids and FĀṬIMIDS of Egypt, and, while briefly controlled by the Turk Afteqin, was placed under Byz. protection in 975. From 1154 the city was the base of NŪR AL-DĪN, and from 1174 it supported SALADIN, who died there.

LIT. N. Elisséef, *EI*² 2:279–86. C. Watzinger, K. Wulzinger, *Damaskus, die antike Stadt* (Berlin-Leipzig 1921) 77–101. J. Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Damas," *Syria* 26 (1949) 314–58. R.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*², vol. 2 (Oxford 1969) 323–72. –M.M.M.

DAMASCUS CHRONICLE. See IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ.

DAMASKENOS, PETER, monk and ascetic writer, fl. ca.1156/7. His major works, of the type of the PHILOKALIA, were entitled "Admonition [Hypomnesis] addressed to his own soul" and "Sayings in alphabetical order." They are based on tradition (the latest author cited is the 10th-C. SYMEON METAPHRASTES) and treat primarily the problem of salvation. Although Damaskenos's world view is optimistic and he argues that the way of salvation is open to lay persons (*biotikoi*), he ascribes the highest esteem to solitary (hesychastic) monks. The ideal way of salvation is neither social nor that achieved in a monastic community, but individual. The first stage of this path is the purification of body and soul, in which reading forms an important element; the second stage, called *theoria* or *gnosis*, is reached not only through meditation but through divine grace: beginning with the contemplation of Christ's passion, the soul soars up to the contemplation of God in his attributes. Damaskenos was very popular in both late Byz. and Russia.

TR. Eng. tr., *The Philokalia*, G. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, vol. 3 (London-Boston 1984).

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Un auteur spirituel byzantin du XIIᵉ siècle, Pierre Damascène," *EO* 38 (1939) 257–78. –A.K.

DAMASKIOS (Δαμάσκιος), or Damaskios Diadochos, last scholarch of the ACADEMY OF ATHENS; born Damascus ca.460?, died after 538. Damaskios both studied and taught rhetoric at Alexandria, also studying Plato with AMMONIOS. Moving to Athens, he studied several subjects, including mathematics, under Marinos. He eventually headed the Neoplatonist school. Sometime after Justinian's closing of the Academy in 529, he emigrated with six fellow traveling philosophers to the Persian court. Soon disillusioned, they returned to

Byz. territory in 532 under a special treaty giving them safe-conduct and freedom of expression. An epigram that he wrote at Emesa (*AnthGr* 7:553) shows him still alive in 538.

His biography of his colleague Isidore can be reconstituted from fragments in Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 181, 242) and the SOUDA. Of his Platonic commentaries, that on the *Philebus* is wholly extant, those on the *Parmenides* and *Phaedo* partly so. A treatise *On First Principles* also survives. Several lost works include four books of *mirabilia*, thought by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.130) to be concisely written and good of their kind. Damaskios's literary versatility continues the tradition of the SECOND SOPHISTIC, while his wedding of science and superstition is typical of late NEOPLATONISM.

ED. *Vitae Isidori reliquiae*, ed. C. Zintzen (Hildesheim 1967). *Dubitationes et solutiones de primis principiis, in Platonis Parmenidem*, ed. C.E. Ruelle, 2 vols. (Paris 1889). *Problèmes et solutions touchant les premiers principes*, tr. A.E. Chaignet, 3 vols. (Paris 1898). *Traité des premiers principes, I: De l'ineffable et de l'un*, ed. L. Westerink, Fr. tr. J. Combes (Paris 1986). *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, vol. 2, ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam 1977), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* xi–xii, xv–xviii. R. Strömberg, "Damascius: His Personality and Significance," *Eranos* 44 (1946) 175–92. –B.B.

DAMILAS, NEILOS, hieromonk of the monastery of Karkasina at Hierapetra (Crete); died ca.1417. In 1399 Damilas (Δαμιλᾶς) established nearby, at Baionaia, a nunnery dedicated to the Theotokos Pantanassa and composed a *typikon* for the nuns. His rule emphasized the cenobitic life, proper psalmody, daily reading, and strict supervision of the nuns to prevent unauthorized contact with men, whether monks, lay workers, or relatives.

Damilas knew Latin as well as Greek, and took an interest in contemporary theological controversies. He composed a treatise, addressed to Maximos CHRYSOBERGES, supporting the Orthodox position on the Procession of the Holy Spirit. A bibliophile and scribe, he included in his will of 1417 (ed. S. Lampros, *BZ* 4 [1895] 585–87) an inventory of books, probably bequeathed to the nunnery at Baionaia. His library numbered 41 volumes, primarily liturgical or theological, but included one lexikon and a MS of the works of Cato, Boethius, and Manasses. In the inventory he noted that six of the MSS were in his own hand.

ED. *Typikon*—ed. S. Pétridès, *IRAIK* 15 (1911) 92–111. Treatise—ed. Arsenios of Novgorod, *EkAl* 19 (1895–96) 382f, 391f; 20 (1896–97) 7f, 31f, 61–63.

LIT. *PLP*, no.5085. Beck, *Kirche* 750f. N.B. Tomadakes, *Ho Ioseph Bryennios kai he Krete kata to 1400* (Athens 1947) 89–92. F. von Lilienfeld, "Das Typikon des Neilos Damilas—ein Zeugnis des gemäßigten 'sinaitischen' Hesychasmus," *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 359–72. –A.M.T.

DAMNATIO MEMORIAE, a modern term designating a punishment for high treason or *maiestas*, inherited from Rome. The name *damnatio memoriae* derives from the fact that traitors could be tried posthumously. As a formal procedure, *damnatio memoriae* is attested only in the late Roman period (e.g., *Institutes* 4.18.3; cf. Theophilos in Zepos, *Jus* 3:268.34–38). It entailed obliteration of the condemned's memory through destruction of his images, erasure of his name from inscriptions, and cancellation of his legal acts (*Cod.Theod.* XV 14.1–13). *Damnatio memoriae* was carried out chiefly against usurpers and their appointees, as the consular datings suggest (R.S. Bagnall et al., *Consuls of the Later Roman Empire* [Atlanta 1987] 25). In later centuries the formal procedure lapsed, but some of its features crop up in measures taken after a change of government, as when Emp. Alexander's name was removed from literary works (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 [1973] 229–42) and images of Nikephoros II Phokas were destroyed after his fall. Acts of BASIL THE NOTHOS were invalidated unless countersigned by Basil II (*Reg* 1, no.774). Likewise, certain names were suppressed or restored to the liturgical diptychs, depending on the doctrinal tendency of the moment.

LIT. F. Vittinghoff, *Der Staatsfeind in der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Berlin 1936). C.A. Bourdara, "Quelques cas de *damnatio memoriae* à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 337–46. –M.McC.

DANAË, a mythological figure, daughter of the Argive king Akrisios. She was secluded by her father in a chamber and there conceived a child by Zeus, who visited her in a shower of gold. The image was used in Byz. literature in its direct form, for example, as a simile for a person imprisoned and chained, "like Danaë by Akrisios of old" (Nik.Chon. 56.44). More important, the myth of Danaë had an impact on the creation of Christian legends about noble girls secluded by their

fathers in a tower or an isolated palace where a visiting angel would initiate them into the Christian creed. One of the "Christian Danaës" was St. Barbara; another was St. Irene-Penelope, daughter of King Licinius, who was secretly baptized by Timotheos, disciple of the apostle Paul (*BHG* 952y-954c).

LIT. A. Wirth, *Danaë in christlichen Legenden* (Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1892). –A.K.

DANCE (*ὄρχησις*) was inherited by the Byz. from their Greco-Roman past. The attitude toward dance was hotly discussed in late antiquity, when the church fathers rejected dance together with the theater as an embodiment of immorality. On the other hand, in 361 Libanios published an oration, *On the Dancers* (ed. R. Foerster, 4:420–98), defending both the art of dance and dancers. Although his oration was a refutation of Ailios Aristeides (J. Mesk, *WienSt* 30 [1908–09] 59–74), he was definitely referring to contemporary matters. Dancing on stage died out as did the theater, but dance performances survived in court festivities. They are represented on several artifacts, such as the crown of Constantine IX Monomachos and the silver vase of the 12th C. from Berezovo; the dancers wear long dresses, usually with broad sleeves, and wave kerchiefs over their head. As part of court ceremonial, the members of factions (demoi) performed an "exotic" dance, the Gothic Pageant (*De cer.*, ed. Vogt, 2:88f, 102–04, 149f, 182–85).

Despite rhetorical attacks on dance, it remained popular with different levels of Byz. society: the wife of Digenes Akritas danced for her husband on a small carpet (*blattis*) to the accompaniment of a lyre (*kithara*); the *logothetes tou dromou* John Kamateros is described by a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 113.95) as dancing the licentious *kordax*, "kicking his legs to and fro." Lewd dances with suggestive movements and nudity are further documented by the 15th-C. *Comedy of Katablattas* (ed. P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 29.43–46, 43.194, 210, 73.647). Dance formed an indispensable element of all feasts—the Calends and Brumalia, for example—and esp. weddings. The festival of St. Agathe included dancing by women in the cloth-making trades (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:112f); in taverns men danced with women to the music of flute and cymbals and the clapping of hands.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:206–44. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 177–80. –Ap.K., A.K.

DANDOLO, ANDREAS, jurist, historian, and doge of Venice (from 4 Jan. 1343); born 30 Apr. 1306, died 7 Sept. 1354. As doge, Dandolo allied Venice with Cyprus and the Hospitallers against the Turks (1343–45) and waged war against Genoa in alliance first with John VI Kantakouzenos and then John V Palaiologos. In St. Mark's, he sponsored the restoration of the Pala d'Oro and commissioned the baptistery mosaics and the chapel of St. Isidore. Dandolo ordered the overhaul of the statutes of Venice (*Liber Sextus*, 1343–46; *Volumen statutorum legum ac iurium tam civilium quam criminalium DD. Venetorum* [Venice 1709]) as well as a systematic collection of instruments relative to Venice's role in the Levant, *Liber albus*, which is a precious source on Byz.-Venetian relations (e.g., the treaty of Manuel I with Venice, *Reg* 2, no.1365), and *Liber blancus*, which is on Italy.

Before becoming doge Dandolo had written a concise chronicle from Venice's origins to 1342, but his most important work, the *Chronica per extensum descripta* (A.D. 48–1280) was begun after assuming power. Although its chronological framework derives from the universal chronicle of Paulinus, bishop of Pozzuoli (died ca.1344), it transcribes 40 documents and summarizes about 240 others, including numerous Byz. instruments. Aside from the latter (e.g., Emp. Leo V's order of an embargo on trade with the Arabs, 144.31–33; *Reg* 1, no.400), this chronicle provides most valuable evidence for the period after that covered by the Chronicon Venetum, which it used. Dandolo organized his account after the 8th C. by reigns of doges; he is favorable to the Byz. monarchy at the outset, but his account becomes hostile in the second half of the 12th C. owing to Byz.'s religious deviance; his glorification of the policies of his ancestor Enrico Dandolo may reflect anti-Turkish projects afoot at the time of the work's composition (F. Thiriet, *RESEE* 10 [1972] 5–15).

ED. G.L.F. Tafel, G.M. Thomas, *Der Doge Andreas Dandolo und die von demselben angelegten Urkundensammlungen zur Staats- und Handelsgeschichte Venedigs* (Munich 1856) 1–167. *Chronica per extensum descripta*, ed. E. Pastorello [= RIS² 12.1] (Bologna 1938–58).

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:497. G. Ravegnani, *Dizionario biografico degli Italiani* 32 (Rome 1986) 432–40. L. Margetić, "Vjerodostojnost vijesti Andrije Dandola o Dalmaciji u XI st.," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 117–46. –M.McC.

DANDOLO, ENRICO, doge of Venice (1192–1205); born Venice ca.1107 or later, died Constantinople ca.29 May 1205. Before becoming doge, Dandolo (Δάνδουλος) served on embassies to Manuel I (1172) and Andronikos I (1184). According to later legend, a Byz. emperor had him blinded, but the story is unconfirmed; his impaired vision did not hinder his vigorous activity. Elected doge ca.Apr. 1192, Dandolo found himself drawn into protracted negotiations with Alexios III; his shrewd foresight is evident in his instructions to envoys sent in 1197. Despite Alexios's renewal of Venetian privileges (1198), Byz. officials abused Venice's rights. In 1201 Dandolo and his council contracted with envoys of the Fourth Crusade to construct a large fleet in return for payment and to send 50 galleys at their own expense. In 1202, when an insufficient number of Crusaders appeared to repay Venice's expenditures, Dandolo offered to postpone the debt, provided that the expedition recover ZARA. With Dandolo's encouragement, the Venetians joined the Crusade. At Zara, Dandolo welcomed the suggestion of PHILIP OF SWABIA and the future Alexios IV that the Crusade place Alexios on the throne; he had possibly negotiated earlier with Alexios.

Dandolo played a leading role in the capture of Constantinople in 1203, in the ensuing discussions with Alexios IV and Alexios V, and in the conquest of 1204. By the Treaty of March 1204 and the PARTITIO ROMANIAE, he secured for Venice repayment of its expenses and three-eighths of the empire. He was at Adrianople when Emp. Baldwin I was captured; Dandolo facilitated the Crusaders' retreat but died shortly after. He was buried in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. VILLEHARDOUIN admired Dandolo's ability and forceful leadership; Niketas CHONIATES stigmatized his cunning and vengefulness and imputed to him the Crusade's diversion against Byz.

LIT. H. Kretschmayr, *Geschichte von Venedig* (Gotha 1905; rp. Aalen 1964) 1:275–322. R. Cessi, "L'eredità di Enrico Dandolo," *Archivio veneto* 67 (1960) 1–25. D.E. Queller, *Medieval Diplomacy and the Fourth Crusade* (London 1980) pts. XII–XIII. –C.M.B.

DANELIS, or Danielis (Δανιηλίς), a rich widow in Patras; born ca.820, died Naupaktos? ca.890. She sponsored the future emperor BASIL I when he came to Patras ca.850 in the service of the imperial official Theophilos. According to the biography of Basil by CONSTANTINE VII (*TheophCont* 226–28), a monk in Patras prophesied that Basil would obtain imperial power, and Danelis lavished attention upon him and made him spiritual brother of her son John. Later, Basil appointed John *protospatharios.* Danelis left almost all her property to LEO VI (p.317–21) instead of to her grandson (her son John predeceased her). Her wealth struck the imagination of her contemporaries; she reportedly owned "innumerable" slaves, 3,000 of whom Leo VI freed and settled in southern Italy; she controlled "not a small part of the Peloponnesos as her personal property," and even for her dispossessed heirs she retained 80 *proasteia.* Given the general paucity of great estates in 9th-C. Byz., Danelis's case requires special explanation. Runciman suggested that her wealth was based on a flourishing silk production in the Peloponnesos, but E. Weigand (in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 504) pointed out that the description of her riches mentioned no silk, only *sidonia erga.* It is worth noting that Constantine VII states that Basil I was ready to proclaim Danelis mistress (*kyria*) of "the whole of this land" (p.228.14–15) and that she returned from her voyage to Constantinople "as the lady (*despoina*) and queen (*basilissa*) of the country" (p.319.8). Possibly Danelis's estates around Patras, an area that in the early 9th C. was controlled by Slavic tribes, still formed a semi-independent "princedom" in the middle of the century. Granting the title *protospatharios* to foreign princes was not atypical of this period.

LIT. S. Runciman, "The Widow Danelis," in *Etudes dediées à la mémoire d'André Andréadès* (Athens 1940) 425–31. –A.K.

DANIEL (Δανιήλ), Old Testament prophet. Daniel figured in the liturgy and popular piety as a PROPHET, a just man, and a providentially rescued saint. His vision (ch.2 and esp. ch.7) decisively marked Byz. chronology and thus the popular view of history (G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* [Munich 1972] 57–61; O. Meinardus, *OrChrP* 32 [1966] 394–449). The Septuagint contains three main passages that are not in the original Hebrew and Aramaic of the Book of Daniel: the Prayer of Azarias and the Song of the Three Hebrews (after Dan 3:23); a second trial in the Lions' Den, called Bel and the Dragon (as the end of Dan 12); and Susanna and the Elders (as Dan 13; in the Greek text of Theodotion it precedes ch.1).

Exegetical literature on the Book of Daniel is surprisingly scant (Podskalsky, ibid. 16–40). Fragments (on Dan 3:49 [Septuagint numbering], 7:13–18, and 9:26) of a verse-by-verse commentary by Eusebios of Caesarea survive (PG 24:525–28). Theodoret of Cyrrhus wrote an extensive verse-by-verse commentary on the entire text (PG 81:1255–1546), with a sharp polemic against the Jews. The *catena* of John Droungarios relied greatly on his numerous predecessors (partial edition in A. Mai, *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* 1.2 [Rome 1825] 1–56). Daniel's name recurs in prophetic literature and ONEIROKRITIKA (Krumbacher, *GBL* 628, 630). Symeon Metaphrastes discusses the four figures together (PG 115:371–404).

Origen, in his fourth homily on Ezekiel (PG 13:699–704), led the church fathers in distinguishing three types of just man, represented by Noah, Daniel, and Job (H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, vol. 1.2 [Paris 1959–61] 571–74). Daniel in the Lions' Den (Dan 6) and the Three Hebrews were types of the Resurrection, according to, for example, ORIGEN (*Contra Celsum* 7.57). During Daniel's second sojourn in a lions' den, Habakkuk brought him bread, which Hippolytos and others interpreted as a eucharistic prefiguration. The COMMENDATIO ANIMAE prayer refers to the rescue narratives of the Book of Daniel—Daniel in the Lions' Den, the Three Hebrews, Susanna and the Elders. The Life of DANIEL THE STYLITE, who was named after Daniel, alludes to him frequently and refers to Nebuchadnezzar (ch.68), Susanna (ch.71), and the Three Hebrews (ch.92).

Daniel's relics and tomb, preserved at the church of St. Romanos in Constantinople, were visited by pilgrims. With the THREE HEBREWS, Daniel was commemorated on 17 Dec. at Hagia Sophia (G. Majeska, *DOP* 28 [1974] 363).

Representation in Art. Images of Daniel are found, particularly with the soteriological implications attached to the story of the Lions' Den, from the 4th C. onward on sarcophagi and ivory pyxides (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 421, 436) as well as on objects of daily use (no.377). This scene, with Daniel ORANS between two lions, was repeated with few changes in illuminated MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. In the marginal PSALTERS, Daniel's vision of the great mountain (Dan 2:34–5) is added. In such miniatures, as in his appearances among the PROPHETS in church domes, Daniel is usually clad in Persian costume. The eschatological implications of the Book of Daniel were virtually ignored in art.

LIT. G. Podskalsky, "Marginalien zur byzantinischen Reichseschatologie," *BZ* 67 (1974) 351–58. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 4:221–48. *BHG* 484v-488n. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1113–20. H. Schlosser, *LCI* 1:469–73. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985). –C.B.T., J.I., J.H.L., A.C.

DANIEL OF SKETIS, monk and *hegoumenos* of Sketis; saint; born early 6th C., died after 576 in Tambok, Lower Egypt, according to Coptic tradition. His activity is known from a series of short stories that in Ethiopic and Coptic versions form a unified work. The stories are presented as if told by Daniel himself or his associates and contain precious details not only about monks (e.g., the repentant Mark who lived in Alexandria pretending to be a fool) but also of craftsmen (the *argyroprates* Andronikos in Antioch) and members of the upper class (the *patrikia* Anastasia, who fled from Constantinople to Sketis). The stories, simple in structure (similar to the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM), combine adventures with moral indoctrination: Daniel was supposedly captured three times by "barbarians" in the desert; the third time he killed his captor, which so upset Daniel that he visited ecclesiastical and secular authorities in Alexandria, Rome, Constantinople, Ephesus, Jerusalem, and Antioch in search of punishment, but he was exonerated everywhere. Another story deals with the eternal question of the damaging influence of wealth: rewarded through Daniel's prayer, a stonemason named Eulogios found a cave full of coins, moved to Constantinople, and became "eparch of the holy praetoria." Wealth and glory did not make Eulogios happy; involved in the NIKA REVOLT of 532, he was forced to flee to his village from Justinian I's revenge. Only Coptic and Ethiopian traditions made him a staunch anti-Chalcedonian (H. Bacht, *LThK* 3:155). Besides the Greek original, Daniel's stories are known in Syriac, Coptic, Ethiopic, and Arabic, the last very close to the Greek version.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Daniel, very rare, can be found at HOSIOS LOUKAS and in the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS: the saint is portrayed as a monk with a white beard, which, in the Enkleistra, has five strands.

SOURCES. *Vie et récits de l'abbé Daniel le Scétiote*, ed. L. Clugnet [= BHO 1] (Paris 1901), also in *ROC* 5 (1900) 49–73, 254–71, 370–406, 535–64; 6 (1901) 51–87, with rev.

M. Bonnet, *BZ* 13 (1904) 166–71. Additional stories—F. Nau, *ROC* (1903) 98f; E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 92f.

LIT. *BHG* 2099z-2102d. G. Garitte, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 70–72. –A.K., N.P.Š.

DANIEL THE STYLITE, saint; born in village of Meratha near Samosata 409, died near Constantinople 11 Dec. 493. At age 12 he entered a monastery. After visiting SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, Daniel set off for Constantinople and in 460 mounted a pillar in Anaplous on the Bosporos. His anonymous Life is preserved in two versions: Delehaye (*infra*, xxxv) regards it as a contemporary work; Beck (*Kirche* 411) dates it ca.600. The hagiographer presents Daniel as a legitimate heir of Symeon—he received Symeon's leather tunic after the stylite's death. The hagiographer also stresses Daniel's political role: for example, he acted as mediator between Emp. Leo I and Gubazes, king of Lazika; he descended from his pillar to resolve the conflict between Patr. AKAKIOS and BASILISKOS. The power of this STYLITE exceeded that of the emperor: when Leo I dared to mount a horse in sight of the saint, the horse threw him. Daniel was above the elements, too: after the wind tore off Daniel's tunic one winter night, his disciples found him atop the pillar, his body seemingly lifeless and covered by icicles, but they revived him using sponges with warm water. His funeral was regal—tens of thousands of candles were lit, and a large sarcophagus of precious stones was prepared for him. SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked Daniel's Life.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Daniel show an elderly monk behind a grill atop his column (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.237) or under a little protective shelter letting down a basket (THEODORE PSALTER, fol.26v); in church decoration he is paired with other stylites, esp. St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder, who occupy corresponding positions in the church. At NEA MONE on Chios, he is portrayed as having hair that comes down over his shoulders and a very long beard. A mosaic portraying Daniel is also preserved in MONREALE.

SOURCES. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 1–147 (also in *AB* 32 [1913] 121–229). Eng. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 7–71.

LIT. *BHG* 489–490. N.H. Baynes, "The Vita S. Danielis Stylitae," *EHR* 40 (1925) 397–402. D. Miller, "The Emperor and the Stylite: A Note on the Imperial Office," *GOrThR* 15 (1970) 207–12. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:33. –A.K., N.P.Š.

DANIIL II (Danilo), Serbian churchman and writer; born ca.1270, died 19 Dec. 1337. A monk and superior (1305–11) in HILANDAR on Athos, he defended the monastery against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY (1307–09). In 1311 he returned to Serbia, where he served as bishop of Raška (1311–15), bishop of Hum (1317–24), and archbishop of Serbia (1324–37). He was also the confidant and adviser of several Serbian rulers, for whom he undertook diplomatic missions to Tŭrnovo and Constantinople. Daniil condemned Michael VIII's policy of church union. He wrote a series of biographies in Slavonic of Serbian kings and archbishops of the second half of the 13th and the early 14th C., which were combined by his pupils after his death into a kind of chronicle, and later extended to 1385. The Lives are a rich and reliable source for Serbian and Bulgarian history and for Byz. relations with the states of the northern Balkans. In spite of his poetic and often panegyrical tone, Daniil was a well-informed, realistic, and critical observer of political and military affairs.

ED. *Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866; rp. London 1972). Germ. tr. S. Hafner, *Serbisches Mittelalter: Altserbische Herrscher-Biographien*, 2 vols. (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1976).

LIT. M.M. Vasić, "Arhiepiskop Danilo II, monah i umetnik," *PKJIJ* 6.2 (1926) 231–64. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost* 210–33. S. Ćirković, *LMA* 3:542f. –R.B.

DANIIL IGUMEN, an early 12th-C. superior (*hegoumenos*), presumed to be from southern Rus'; sometimes identified with Daniil, bishop of Jur'ev (1114–22). He wrote an account of a journey from Constantinople to the Holy Land, normally dated 1106–08, though conjectures span 1104–09. Daniil traveled by sea, stopping at Ephesus and several islands, onward via Cyprus to JERUSALEM. During his 16-month stay in the Holy Land he was based at the Lavra of St. SABAS, one of whose monks acted as his guide. Daniil's account is exceptionally broad in scope and diverse in detail: his terse descriptions are dense with information on measurements and distances; shapes and dimensions; and local crops, weather, and produce. He also reports stories (often apocryphal and perhaps oral) connected with the sites he visits. Relations between the Orthodox and the Latins are cordial: on a trip to Galilee, Daniil travels with King Baldwin I of Jerusalem for safety; he accepts the blessing of the Latin monks on Mt.

Tabor; and he describes at length the joint celebration of the descent of the Holy Light at the Holy Sepulchre at Easter (probably 1107), confirming in all essentials the 1101 account by FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

ED. *Choženie, Wallfahrtsbericht*, ed. M.A. Venevitinov (rp. Munich 1970), rev. A. Poppe, *RM* 2 (1975) 166–77. *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land, 1106–1107 A.D.*, tr. C. Wilson (London 1895).

LIT. Ju. Glušakova, "O putešestvii igumena Daniila v Palestinu," in *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskich stran* (Moscow 1963) 79–87. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 196–200. -S.C.F.

DANIŞMENDIDS (Τανισμάνιοι), a Turkoman dynasty that ruled over Cappadocia, the Iris valley, and the regions of SEBASTEIA and MELITENE. Its founder, Emir Danişmend, appeared after 1085 during a period of anarchy in Muslim Asia Minor. Later he fought against the soldiers of the First Crusade: in 1100, near Melitene, he captured one of its most prestigious leaders, BOHEMUND, whom he imprisoned in NEOKAISAREIA. Emir Danişmend is the hero of a Turkish epic poem combining history and legend, the DANIŞMENDNĀME. He was succeeded by Emir GHĀZĪ, who increased his power by intervening in the dynastic strife among members of the SELJUK house; he also fought against the Byz. emperor JOHN II KOMNENOS in the region of KASTAMON. Around the mid-12th C. the Danişmendid territories were divided by dynastic struggle from which the Byz. profited. MANUEL I KOMNENOS allied with the Danişmendid Yaghi-Basan and used him against the Seljuks. The Seljuks, however, defeated the Byz. in 1176 at MYRIOKEPHALON; after they conquered Melitene in 1178 the Danişmendid dynasty disappeared. Some preserved coins of the Danişmendids bear Greek or Greek and Arabic inscriptions.

LIT. I. Mélikoff, *EI*² 2:110f. C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London 1968) 82–86, 89–106. N. Oikonomides, "Les Danishmendides, entre Byzance, Bagdad et le sultanat d'Iconium," *RN*⁶ 25 (1983) 189–207. Vryonis, *Decline* 118–22, 155–59, 220f. -E.A.Z.

DANIŞMENDNĀME, or *Book of Melik Danişmend*, a Turkish epic composed in 1360 by Arif Ali, but based on a mid-13th-C. version by Mawlana ibn Ala, now lost. A mixture of simple prose and poetry, the *Danişmendnāme* recounts the legendary deeds of Emir Danişmend (died 1104), known to Anna Komnene as Tanismanes, the founder of the DANIŞMENDID *beylik* in northern Anatolia. As a whole, the *Dānişmendnāme* depicts the emir's confrontation with Christians of Asia Minor as a perfect expression of *ghaza*, or holy warfare, in the cause of Islam. This aside, the work indubitably reflects the mentality of the Turcomans who conquered Anatolia in the 11th–12th C. as well as the character of the conquest.

ED. I. Mélikoff, *La Geste de Melik Dānişmend: Étude critique du Dānişmendnāme*, 2 vols. (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 309f. Vryonis, *Decline* 176–79. -S.W.R.

DANUBE (Δανούβιος), ancient Istros, the most important river of central and southeastern Europe. The name *Danoubios/Danoubis* was being used already in late antiquity (Julian, pseudo-Kaisarios, Stephen of Byzantium), but it did not totally replace the classical Istros. The Danube rises in the Black Forest of Germany and empties into the Black Sea, forming a huge delta. Some of its right-bank tributaries (Sava, Drina, and Morava) connected Byz. territories with the Danube. The river is divided into three almost equal sections: the upper (down to Vienna), middle (to the Iron Gate, near Orşova, Rumania), and lower reaches.

The Romans made the Danube their frontier and established the following provinces to its south: RAETIA, NORICUM, PANNONIA, MOESIA I and II; DACIA was to the north. They built a fortified LIMES, many ports, and cities (e.g., SIRMIUM, SINGIDUNUM, DOROSTOLON). In the division of the empire in 395, Raetia, Noricum, and Pannonia were ceded to the Western Empire. Soon afterward, however, the territory south of the Danube was occupied by the Germanic peoples, the Huns, and finally (568) by the Avars. Anastasios I and Justinian I tried to fortify the Danubian frontier in its middle and lower reaches, but by 600 the Avars and SKLAVENOI destroyed what was left of the *limes*. The SKLAVINIAI began to emerge; the "Seven Tribes" settled along both banks of the Lower Danube and by 680 the whole of Moesia was under BULGAR control.

Byz. reconquered the south bank of the Danube between 971 and 1018 and retained it in the 11th–12th C., establishing the themes of Sirmium and PARISTRION. Byz. struggled to protect this area from raids of the PECHENEGS, UZES, and CUMANS and competed with HUNGARY in the 12th C. for the region of ZEMUN and BRANIČEVO.

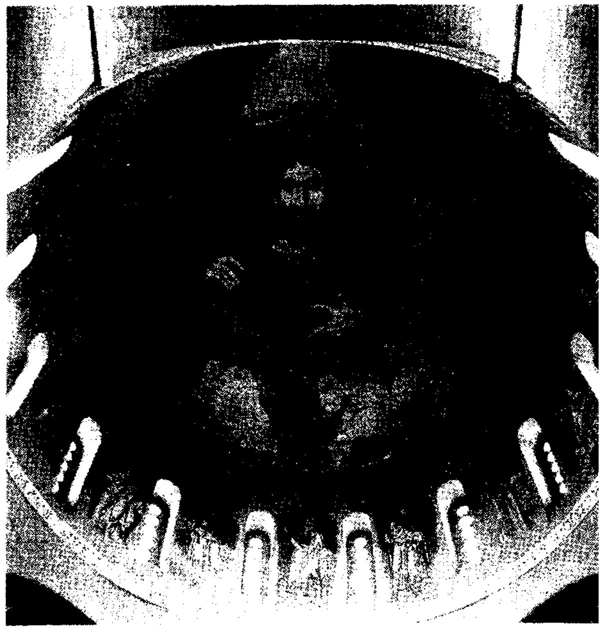
The Danube was an important mercantile route but, being on the Byz. frontier, did not much influence its internal development. Protected by a fleet and a system of fortresses, it created a serious obstacle for invaders; but the nomads of the steppe learned to cross it—on ice in rare winters when the Danube froze, or swimming behind their horses, or in small boats.

LIT. F. Heiderich, *Die Donau als Verkehrsstrasse* (Vienna 1916). A. Ristić, *Dunav* (Belgrade 1931). *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1961). P. Koledarov, "Otbranitelnata granična sistema na Bŭlgarskata dŭržava ot 681 do 1018 g.," *Voennoistoričeski sbornik* 3 (1978) 109–23. A.G. Poulter, "Roman Towns and the Problem of Late Roman Urbanism: The Case of the Lower Danube," *Hephaistos* 5/6 (1983/84) 109–32. E. Chrysos, "Die Nordgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1987) 27–40. -O.P.

DAPHNE. See ANTIOCH.

DAPHNI (Δάφνειον, Δαφνίον), located approximately 10 km west of Athens, the site of a celebrated monastery dedicated to the Mother of God and best known for the mosaics of its *katholikon*. Sculptural remains led Millet (*infra*) to suggest that an earlier church on the site dated from the reign of Justinian I. There is no textual support for this supposition, however; Daphni is not named among the more than 100 monasteries whose representatives attended the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 (Mansi 13:152–56). The dates of construction and decoration of the present church, laid out as a Greek cross-octagon (see CHURCH PLAN TYPES), are unknown, although the mosaics are generally held to be of the late 11th C. The monastery was certainly in existence in 1048 when Dionysios, "monk and priest of the monastery of Daphni," attached his name to the *typikon* of a CONFRATERNITY serving Hosios Loukas. Several seals of the monastery, one of a *hegoumenos* Paul (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1245), have been attributed to the 10th–12th C. Daphni is briefly mentioned in the 12th-C. vita of MELETIOS THE YOUNGER (ed. Vasilievskij, 55.31).

Although it is sometimes assumed to be an imperial foundation, the construction of the church cannot be connected with two later, much damaged frescoes of emperors in its narthex. Cistercian monks settled at Daphni between 1207 and 1211, building an exonarthex and a small cloister on the south side. It remained in Latin hands until the Ottoman occupation of Attica in 1458. Apparently abandoned in the 18th C., the monastery was partially restored after World War II (E. Stikas, *DChAE*[4] 3 [1962–63] 1–47).



DAPHNI. Mosaics of Christ Pantokrator and prophets in the dome of the *katholikon*, Daphni monastery.

The mosaics of Daphni, some employing silver tesserae and set against expanses of gold, are dominated by a Pantokrator in the dome, made more fierce in a restoration of 1889–97, and prophets in the drum. Below, four Great Feast scenes in the squinches and others in panels on the walls concentrate on the life of Christ. Despite the church's dedication, the only Mariological pictures in the nave are the Birth of the Virgin in the northern arm of the cross and her Dormition over the west door. Other scenes from her life are found in the southern portion of the narthex. Throughout, portraits of saints are far fewer than at HOSIOS LOUKAS. The style of the mosaics, often described as having a "classical" or "antique" aspect, is unparalleled in works later than the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. Their serene monumentality is due in part to balanced composition, in part to skillful framing within ornamental arches on the walls or, as in the squinches, their setting above a finely cut marble cornice.

LIT. G. Millet, *Le monastère de Daphni* (Paris 1899). D. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends in Monumental Painting of Greece

during the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 94–98. Janin, *Églises centres* 311–13. *TIB* 1:141f. Panagopoulos, *Monasteries* 56–62. –A.C.

DAPHNOPATES, THEODORE, high-ranking official and writer; died after 961. *Protasekretis, patrikios,* and *magistros* (according to the headings of his works), Daphnopates (Δαφνοπάτης) played a very important role at the court of Romanos I; he probably lost influence under Constantine VII, but Romanos II briefly appointed him to the post of eparch of Constantinople. The correspondence of Daphnopates sometimes has an official character and sheds light on Byz. international and domestic politics (including the enthronement of Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS and relations with SYMEON OF BULGARIA). The letters deal also with Armenian affairs; Daphnopates apparently knew Armenian. The correspondence treats theological questions as well, and two letters are dedicated to the interpretation of a dream of Romanos II. Daphnopates wrote homilies, one of which describes the miracles worked in Antioch by a holy relic (the hand of John the Baptist), its theft from Antioch and transfer to Constantinople. He also composed several hagiographical works (on St. George, Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Stoudios) and a collection of excerpts from John Chrysostom arranged systematically, a work typical of 10th-C. ENCYCLOPEDISM. Skylitzes describes Daphnopates as a historian, and some scholars have suggested that he wrote the last section of the chronicle of THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. I. Dujčev (*DOP* 32 [1978] 252f) considers Daphnopates as the most probable author of an anonymous speech on the BULGARIAN TREATY.

ED. *Correspondance*, ed. J. Darrouzès and L.G. Westerink (Paris 1978). *Dve reči*, ed. V. Latyšev, *PPSb* 59 (1910). See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 552f.

LIT. M. Sjuzjumov, "Ob istoričeskom trude Feodora Dafnopata," *VizObozr* 2 (1916) 295–302. –A.K.

DARA (Δάρας, also called Anastasiopolis, now Oğuz in Turkey), city built by Anastasios I in 505–07 as a military stronghold on the Byz.-Persian frontier, a rare example in this period of the new foundation of an urban center. A long description of building operations, including the wages paid to workers, is given by ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE (ch.6), details of which conflict in part with the account given by Prokopios (*Buildings* 2.1.4–2.3.26), where some of the same work (e.g., walls, two churches, waterworks) is attributed instead to Justinian I. Seat of the *doux* of MESOPOTAMIA from 527 to 532 and perhaps of the *magister militum* from 540 to 573, Dara was also metropolitan bishopric of the newly formed ecclesiastical province of southern Mesopotamia. The city remained under Persian control from 573 to 591 and from 604 to 628, falling to the Arabs in 639. Extensive ruins include walls, a bridge, a storehouse, cisterns, and a church.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 102–05. I. Furlan, *Accertamenti a Dara*, vol. 1 (Padua 1984). M. Whitby, "Procopius' Description of Dara," in *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East* (Oxford 1986) 737–83. J. Crow, "Dara, A Late Roman Fortress in Mesopotamia," *Yayla* 4 (1981) 12–20. B. Croke, J. Crow, "Procopius and Dara," *JRS* 73 (1983) 143–159. M.C. Mundell, "A Sixth Century Funerary Relief at Dara in Mesopotamia," *JÖB* 24 (1975) 209–27. –M.M.M.

DARDANELLES. See HELLESPONT.

DAVID (Δαυίδ), the greatest king of Israel, according to the Bible. David was venerated in Byz. as the author of the Psalms and creator of Christian music and poetry. He was also treated as a prefiguration of Christ: his fight with Goliath symbolizes Christ's victory over Satan, his function as shepherd presages Christ's role as shepherd of souls, etc. The ambivalence of the biblical David—his vices and humility when set against his heroic exploits—attracted Byz. interest, and his penitence for his sins (infidelity, the murder of Absalom) was frequently discussed. David became an esp. popular figure in political rhetoric of the 12th C. when Manuel I and Andronikos I were compared to him. Michael CHONIATES (1:215.9–24) specifically compares Isaac II to icons of David.

Representation in Art. David normally appears in imperial garb; when this regalia changed, that of David did not. In monumental painting he is found among the PROPHETS or with Solomon in the ANASTASIS. In PSALTER illustration David is shown holding the text, inspired by God, or leading musicians. Illustrating the events of 1–2 Kings, he occurs in many narrative situations, such as the anointing by Samuel or slaying Goliath; both scenes occur already on the DAVID PLATES. In the PARIS PSALTER and elsewhere, David the shepherd and musician appears as ORPHEUS, inspired by

the personification of Melodia. This composition passed into secular art, serving as the centerpiece of a 12th-C. silver bowl with a representation of DIGENES AKRITAS and Eudokia (Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 132–39).

LIT. J. Daniélou, *RAC* 3:594–603. M. Philonenko, "L'histoire du roi David dans l'art byzantin," in *Les pays du Nord et Byzance* (Uppsala 1981) 353–57. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1145–61. A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *ArtVen* 30 (1976) 9–14. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 186–200. –J.H.L., J.I., A.C.

DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE, three Iconodule brothers from Lesbos; saints; feastday 1 Feb. Born to a family possessing a modest amount of property, they lived as hermits and monks on Lesbos; George was elected bishop of Mytilene. Only Symeon is said to have been exiled to the Aegean island of Lagousas, whence he set off for Constantinople, fleeing Arab attacks; he stood on a column near Pegai on the Black Sea. On the basis of their Life, van den Gheyn (*infra* 210) constructs this chronology of the brothers: David, 716–83/93; Symeon, 764–843; George, 763–844. Halkin (*infra* 468) questioned the authenticity of the Life, which contains serious chronological contradictions. On the evidence of a 10th-C. Life of George, Patm. gr. 254 (*AB* 72 [1954] 22f), Halkin calculated that George was born ca.776, became bishop in 804, and died on 7 Apr. 821. I. Phountoules attempted to distinguish three different Georges of Mytilene. The Life of the three brothers seems to have been written after Petronas's victory over the Arabs in 863 and before the assassination of BARDAS (865), to whom George prophesied a happy future (ed. van den Gheyn, p.252.22–30). Anti-Iconoclastic in its tendency, the Life eulogizes the empress THEODORA and reveals a good knowledge of her circle; it provides a vivid, contemporary account of the restoration of images (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 517–20). The collective hero of the Life is a pious family: the "pure virgin" Hilaria, sister of David, Symeon, and George, is also praised, as well as their uncle; the brothers were buried in a common "family" tomb.

SOURCES. I. van den Gheyn, "Acta graeca Ss. Davidis, Symeonis et Georgii Mitylenae in insula Lesbo," *AB* 18 (1899) 209–59. I. Phountoules, *Lesbiakon heortologion* (Athens 1959) 33–43.

LIT. *BHG* 494, 2163. F. Halkin, "Y a-t-il trois saints Georges, évêques de Mytilène et confessuers [*sic*] sous les Iconoclastes?" *AB* 77 (1959) 464–69. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 185–88. –A.K.

DAVID I KOMNENOS, last emperor of Trebizond (1459–Aug./Sept. 1461); born between ca.1407 and 1409, died Constantinople 1 Nov. 1463. Third son of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS, David held the title of *despotes* during the reign of his brother JOHN IV KOMNENOS. In 1458 he went to Adrianople to pay tribute to the Ottoman sultan MEHMED II. Shortly after David ascended the throne, he surrendered TREBIZOND to the Ottomans, who had attacked by land and sea. He was taken prisoner, together with his family. After a brief period of exile in Adrianople and Serres, David was accused of a conspiracy and subsequently executed.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 96–109. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no.12097. K. Barzos, "He moira ton teleutaion Megalon Komnenon tes Trapezountos," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 273–76, 279–86. –A.M.T.

DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER, BAGRATID king of Iberia (1089–1125). Benefiting from the withdrawal of Byz. after MANTZIKERT in 1071 and the collapse of Seljuk rule 20 years later (1092), David restored the power of the Georgian crown over the rebellious native dynasts with the help of mercenaries recruited from among the northern Caucasian Kipchak tribes. He reunited the principalities of ABCHASIA, K'aheti, and K'art'li into a single kingdom, with Tblisi, which he had retaken from the Muslims in 1122, as its capital. His military victories, together with his foundation of cultural and intellectual centers such as the monastery of GELATI, laid the foundation for Georgian power which, in the second half of the 12th C., reached into Armenia and Azerbaijan.

LIT. Allen, *Georgian People* 95–100. C. Toumanoff, "Armenia and Georgia," *CMH* 4.1:622–24. Š.A. Badridze, "Istoki i evoljucija gruzino-vizantijskich političeskich vzaimootnošenij na grani XI–XII vv.," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1976) 4:46–54. –N.G.G.

DAVID KOMNENOS (sometimes called David I Komnenos), ruler of Paphlagonia (ca.1204–12); monastic name, Daniel; died Sinope 13 Dec. 1212. Younger brother of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS of Trebizond, David helped conquer Trebizond, then, in late 1204, pushed west with Georgian and other

mercenary troops to occupy Paphlagonia. His lands extended from Sinope to Pontic Herakleia. Nominally, David was subject to his brother. Attacking Nikomedeia in 1205, his general Synadenos was defeated and captured by Theodore I Laskaris. Under pressure from the Nicaeans, David allied himself with Henry of Flanders; with aid from Constantinople, he survived Theodore's siege of Herakleia (1206). But after his ally Thierry de Loos was defeated and captured by Theodore's general Andronikos Gidos (1207), David was forced onto the defensive. He lost Herakleia to Theodore ca.1207; after his death the rest of Paphlagonia passed to the Nicaeans.

LIT. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 67–70. S. Karpov, "U istokov političeskoj ideologii Trapezundskoj imperii," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 103f. –C.M.B.

DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, dynast of upper TAYK'/TAO (from 961); junior member of the Iberian BAGRATID house and ruler of the Armeno-Iberian marchlands; died 31 Mar. 1000. David's support of Emp. Basil II against Bardas SKLEROS won him the title of *kouropalates* and extensive territories along the Armeno-Byz. border from Tayk'/Tao by way of THEODOSIOUPOLIS to MANTZIKERT, which he retook from the Arabs between ca.992 and 994. David's eminent position allowed him to play the role of arbiter in both Armenia and Georgia, and his bilingual court was a great intellectual and artistic center. In 963 David founded a church at Oški (in southern Tao-Klarjet'i), where he and his brother are represented as donors in stone reliefs, once flanking a Deesis and again in the south cross arm. Georgian inscriptions identify "David Magistros" and "King Bagrat, duke of dukes," as builders of the church, a model of which they hold in the first set of images (W. Djobadze, *BZ* 69 [1976] 39–62).

Childless, David intended to make Bagrat III of ABCHASIA his heir and worked to unify other Georgian lands under him, until quarreling with him in 988. After David supported Bardas PHOKAS, Basil II forced him in 989 to will his lands to Byz. David's death, possibly instigated by the pro-Byz. party among his nobles, gave Basil a pretext to annex Tayk'/Tao and to transform it into the core of the new theme of IBERIA, an event that marked the beginning of the Byz. conquest of the Armenian plateau.

LIT. Z. Avalichvili, "La succession du curopalate David d'Ibérie, dynaste de Tao," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 177–202. K.N. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux Xe–XIe siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 154f. C. Toumanoff, "The Bagratids of Iberia from the Eighth to the Eleventh Century," *Muséon* 74 (1961) 37–40. –N.G.G., C.M.B., A.C.

DAVID OF THESSALONIKE, saint; born Mesopotamia ca.450, died ca.540 on a boat en route to Thessalonike; feastday 26 June. He went as a boy to Thessalonike from the east, became pious, lived (for three years?) in an almond tree near a church, and later inhabited a cell. Aristeides, archbishop of Thessalonike, sent David to Constantinople to request the transfer of the eparch's residence from Sirmium (endangered by Avar invasions) to Thessalonike. David, an Abraham-like hermit with hair down to his loins, was respectfully received by Empress THEODORA and then by Justinian I, in whose presence David worked a miracle—he held hot charcoal embers without burning his hands. He died after his successful mission. According to John MOSCHOS, a certain Palladios in Alexandria related how David dwelt in a cell outside the walls of Thessalonike and how soldiers observed a miraculous fire pouring out of his cell windows. David's anonymous Life, written in Thessalonike ca.720, contains a surprising eulogy of Theodora. David's exploits were praised by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, Makarios MAKRES, and others.

Representation in Art. The saint is depicted as a hermit with a long beard that sometimes reaches his feet, for example, in a relief of ca.900 (A. Xyngopoulos, *Makedonika* 2 [1941–52] 143–66); in the parekklesion at CHORA, he is depicted seated in a nest atop an almond tree whose branches substitute for the capital of a STYLITE's column. The church of HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike was dedicated to him.

ED. *Leben des heiligen David von Thessalonike,* ed. V. Rose (Berlin 1887). B. Laourdas, "Anekdoton enkomion eis ton hosion Dabid," *Makedonika* 10 (1970) 244–52. V. Latyšev, "O žitijach prepodobnogo Davida Solunskogo," *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 30 (1912) 236–51 (and as a separate book).

LIT. *BHG* 492y-493m. A. Vasiliev, "Life of David of Thessalonica," *Traditio* 4 (1946) 115–47. R.-J. Loenertz, "Saint David de Thessalonique," *REB* 11 (1953) 205–22. K. Kunze, J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:37f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

DAVID PLATES, a set of nine plates decorated with a series of scenes from the life of King DAVID, now divided between the Nikosia and Metropoli-



DAVID PLATES. Plate depicting David and Goliath; silver, early 7th C. Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York.

tan Museums. Part of the Second CYPRUS TREASURE, the plates, made of solid silver chased from the front, all have SILVER STAMPS dated to the period 613–629/30 and bear witness, therefore, to high standards of metalworking in the early 7th C. Of three graduated sizes, these dishes were intended as display PLATES; the biblical scenes, which include David's combat with Goliath, have been interpreted as commemorating the war HERAKLEIOS waged with the Sasanian Persians, which ended in 628, thereby narrowing the date of the plates to 629/30. A plate from another possible David series, found in Russia (*Age of Spirit.*, fig.61), suggests that several sets may have been made for imperial distribution as LARGITIO DISHES.

LIT. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 58–66. S. Wander, "The Cyprus Plates and the *Chronicle* of Fredegar," *DOP* 29 (1975) 345f. *Age of Spirit.*, nos. 425–33. E. Foltz, "Zur Herstellungstechnik der byzantinischen Silberschalen aus dem Schatzfund von Lambousa," *JbRGZM* 22 (1975) 221–45. J. Trilling, "Myth and Metaphor at the Byzantine Court: A Literary Approach to the David Plates," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 249–63. –M.M.M.

DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, a pupil of OLYMPIODOROS in Alexandria in the second half of the 6th C.; Greek sources attribute to him an *Introduction to Philosophy* and a *Commentary on Porphyry's Eisagoge*. In Armenian tradition, however, David the "Invincible" Philosopher was thought to be a pupil of MESROP MAŠTOCʻ. Medieval accounts of his defense of Armenian orthodoxy against the Council of Chalcedon are legendary. Armenian translations of the two Greek works noted above and of Greek commentaries on Aristotle's *Categories* and *Analytics* were attributed to him. Certainly, the Armenian renderings of these standard philosophical texts were of fundamental importance for the development of Armenian philosophy. Numerous Armenian commentaries on the *Prolegomena*, or "Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy," were written in the 13th and 14th C.

ED. Greek texts in *CAG* 18.2, ed. A. Busse. Arm. text of *Prolegomena*—B. Kendall, R. Thomson, *Definitions and Divisions of Philosophy by David the Invincible Philosopher* (Chico, Calif., 1983) with Eng. tr.

LIT. *David Anhaghtʻ the 'Invincible' Philosopher*, ed. A.K. Sanjian (Atlanta 1986). K.N. Juzbašjan, "David Nepobedimyj i ego vremja," *Voprosy istorii* (1980) no.5, 101–10. –R.T.

DAY (ἡμέρα). The Byz. followed Roman usage in dividing the full day (*nychthemeron*) into night (*nyx*) and day (*hemera*), each being further divided into 12 HOURS. Each new full day began at midnight and each day at sunrise. A seven-day week prevailed throughout the Byz. world, although this was not a natural division of TIME. The Hebrew tradition of seven days concluding with the Sabbath, adopted by Christianity, gradually penetrated the Roman world at a time when the seven-day week had become normal, with each day possessing its own mystical and liturgical significance: Wednesday as the day Christ was betrayed and Friday the day he was crucified became special fast days. The first day of the week, the day of the Resurrection (Mk 16:2), was known as the Lord's day (*Kyriake*, Lat. *dies dominica*) while the Sabbath (*Sabbaton*) was always held in respect. In place of pagan Roman usage whereby the days were named after planets, the Byz. followed the strictly Christian tradition in naming the days Kyriake (SUNDAY), Deutera (lit. "second ⟨day⟩," Monday), Trite (lit. "third ⟨day⟩," Tuesday), Tetarte (lit. "fourth ⟨day⟩," Wednesday), Pempte (lit. "fifth ⟨day⟩," Thursday), Paraskeve (lit. "preparation," Friday), and Sabbaton (Saturday).

In the Cotton GENESIS MS (M.Th.d'Alverny, *CahArch* 9 [1957] 271–300) the days of Creation are personified as young women with wreaths on

their heads, on the model of the HOURS represented in floor mosaics at Antioch and elsewhere. Personified days played a part in the iconography of the SEASONS.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 165f. –B.C., A.C.

DAYR ANBĀ HADRĀ. See SYMEON, MONASTERY OF SAINT.

DAZIMON (Δαζιμών), a site in PONTOS, probably at the modern village of Dazmana (see P. Wittek, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 55) above the Iris River, east of Amaseia, at the edge of an extensive plain. Although first mentioned in 375, Dazimon only became important in the wars between Byz. and the Arabs. In those years, the neighboring plain, an imperial estate in the late 6th C., formed an APLEKTON where the troops of the ARMENIAKON joined the emperor on eastern campaigns. In 838 Dazimon was the site of a major battle between Emp. Theophilos and the Arabs led by Afshīn. In spite of initial Byz. success, the Arabs won a major victory that enabled them to capture Ankyra and eventually AMORION. The Byz. forces took refuge in Amaseia; news of the defeat at Dazimon provoked a riot in Constantinople. Remains of the site have not been reported. Dazimon has alternatively been identified with Tokat, whose jagged peak bears a fortress, some of which is Byz.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:154–59. F. & E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1906) 239–47. –C.F., A.K.

DEACON (διάκονος "attendant, servant"), a specific office in the Byz. church. A deacon's duties both in the primitive and patristic period were distinctly ministerial. He assisted at baptism (see also DEACONESS), served at the celebration and distribution of the Eucharist (which, however, only a PRIEST or BISHOP could perform), supervised the charities dispensed by the church, managed the diocese's properties and finances, and acted as the bishop's secretary (cf. Council of Laodikeia, canons 21, 23, 25). The latter duty normally fell to the archdeacon, a title which first emerged in the 5th C. Despite his wide authority as the bishop's chief assistant, the deacon was subordinate to both priest and bishop. He was, as such, the lowest in rank among the three major orders of the CLERGY. Conciliar legislation emphasized the inferiority of the office and even forbade the deacon to sit among the priests (NICAEA I, canon 18). This was later modified for a deacon representing his bishop at a council (Council in TRULLO, canon 7).

From the 11th C. the deacons of HAGIA SOPHIA at Constantinople, esp. those who were members of the ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS, managed to acquire and wield considerable power and influence within the patriarchate (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 62 [1969] 33–36). Under Emp. Herakleios the number of deacons at Hagia Sophia was fixed at 150 (*Reg* 1, no.165), although by the late 12th C. their number had probably dwindled to about 60 (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 2 [1967] 380–82).

Canonically, the deacon was ordained to a specific diocese or church at age 25 or above (Trullo, canon 14). Marriage was permitted, but only before ordination. The deacon's characteristic vestments were the ORARION and STICHARION. (See also SUBDEACON.)

LIT. P.A. Leder, *Die Diakonen der Bischöfe und Presbyter und ihre urchristlichen Vorläufer* (Stuttgart 1905; rp. Amsterdam 1963). S. Salaville, G. Nowack, *Le rôle du diacre dans la liturgie orientale: Étude d'histoire et de liturgie* (Paris 1962). J.G. Plöger, H.J. Weber, *Der Diakon* (Freiburg im Breisgau–Basel–Vienna 1980). S. Zardoni, *I diaconi nella Chiesa* (Bologna 1983). –A.P.

DEACONESS (διακόνισσα). The feminine form of the term deacon dates from the 4th C. (NICAEA I, canon 19). Her chief liturgical function was to assist at the baptism of women, which, for reasons of decency, could not be performed exclusively by the male clergy. The decline of adult baptism, however, hastened the demise of the office. By the 12th C. it had indeed lapsed, although the title was still being used ("improperly," according to BALSAMON) for certain women monastics (PG 137:441D). In the EUCHOLOGIA, their ordination (Goar, *Euchologion* 218–22) paralleled that of the DEACON. It was permissible only to widowed or unmarried women, however. Still, priesthood was never conferred upon a deaconess, although it could be conferred upon her male counterpart. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis emphasizes that deaconesses were not priests but women-elders (PG 42:744D–745A). The age for ordination, 60, was later reduced to 40 (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 15; Council in TRULLO, canon 14).

LIT. A.G. Martimort, *Les diaconesses: Essai historique* (Rome 1982). C. Vagaggini, "L'ordinazione delle diaconesse nella tradizione greca e bizantina," *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 145–89. R. Gryson, *The Ministry of Women in the Early Church* (Collegeville, Minn., 1976), tr. J. Laporte, M. Hall. –A.P.

DE ACTIONIBUS, an anonymous treatise on actions in civil lawsuits. The work has the practical aim of enabling potential plaintiffs to give the correct name to their ACTION. Its original version derives probably from the legal literature connected with the Justinianic ANTECESSORES, since its association with the 5th–6th-C. theory of CIVIL PROCEDURE (libel suits) is evident. The treatise was still copied and supplemented in MSS of the 11th and later centuries, although the procedural act (*editio actionis*) appropriate to it cannot be provided for that period.

ED. *De actionibus*, ed. F. Sitzia (Milan 1973), with rev. by D. Simon, *IURA* 24 (1973) 339–44, *ZSavRom* 92 (1975) 417–24. –D.S.

DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, conventional and incorrect title of a book compiled by CONSTANTINE VII or under his supervision and dedicated to his son Romanos II. The plan, according to the preface, consisted of four points: the relationship of the "nations" (*ethne*) with the Rhomaioi and the means of using some *ethne* to defeat and subdue dangerous neighbors; the gifts desired by the *ethne;* the characterization of their geographical situation and their customs; the changes that took place in the "empire of the Romans." Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 1:362f) tried to demonstrate that the work conforms to the plan despite occasional repetitions, contradictions, and errors; on the contrary, Lemerle (*Humanism* 320f) emphasized the book's incoherence and heterogeneity. *De administrando imperio* has two levels, purely informative sections taken from archival documents and didactic indoctrinations concerning methods of diplomacy; accordingly, one must distinguish between the date of compilation (probably the 950s) and the date of texts included. Some materials are of signal importance (e.g., ch.9 describing the "way from the VARANGIANS to the Greeks"), some are based on unreliable legends, but as a whole *De administrando imperio* is a unique source for the history of the Caucasus, the north shores of the Black Sea (Rus', Pechenegs, Hungarians, Khazars), and the Serbians and Croatians. The announced fourth section on changes within the empire remained unwritten.

ED. *De administrando imperio*, vol. 1, ed. Gy. Moravcsik, R. Jenkins (Washington, D.C., 1967), with Eng. tr.; vol. 2, *Commentary* by F. Dvornik, R. Jenkins, B. Lewis, et al. (London 1962).

LIT. J.B. Bury, "The Treatise De administrando imperio," *BZ* 15 (1906) 517–77. *VizIzvori* 2:9–74. P. Yannopoulos, "Histoire et légende chez Constantin VII," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 158–66. T. Lounges, "To kephalaio 27 tou 'De Administrando Imperio,'" *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1069–91. Lj. Maksimović, "Struktura 32. glave spisa De administrando imperio," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 25–32. G. Litavrin, "Iz kommentarija k 49–oj glave Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo 'Ob upravlenii imperiej,'" *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 1347–53. –A.K.

DEATH (θάνατος). There was no fixed Byz. terminology for death; it is variously designated as a separation, passing away, the end of life, return, repose, payment of the common debt, and other formulations. The Byz. view of death, derived from Greco-Roman philosophy, is that it is the separation of the soul from the body; this separation was construed as temporary since eventually the soul would be reunited with its body. Death occurs through the commandment of God and is brought about by an angel sent for that purpose. There were divergent views, however, as to whether the hour of death was predetermined by God. Only the saints could foretell the day of their demise. The soul (naked and without gender) is usually envisaged as leaving the human body through the mouth in order to begin a 40-day journey in the company of the angel. In its ascent to heaven it must pass through the *teloneia*, or tollhouses, of the demons (cf. vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), which charge it for its sins. Thereafter it has the opportunity to see both PARADISE and HELL, and is then brought to a place of rest until the Day of LAST JUDGMENT. Doctrines of the wandering of the soul and reincarnation were totally rejected. Both Neoplatonic philosophy and Christianity saw death as a liberation from captivity, and yet laid greater stress on the positive aspect of birth to a new life. For this reason, such theologians as Basil the Great (PG 31:484A) and John Chrysostom criticized loud and excessive mourning over the dead. There was even objection in some radical monastic circles to a special BURIAL (PG 65:105BC).

The rites of the FUNERAL liturgy and certain representations of the hereafter, which derive from

customs and beliefs antedating Christianity, were transformed by Christianity in a specific way. The ancient beliefs in a journey taken by the soul after death, in the need to provide *ephodion* (victuals) for the journey (G. Grabka, *Traditio* 9 [1953] 1–43), and in a ship and escort of souls, were taken over by the church fathers but filled with new content. Angels took over the role of the *psychopompoi*, the church became the ship of souls, while the *ephodion* was seen above all as the Eucharist received before death, though we find it occasionally given a wider meaning so that it includes faith, baptism, or the monastic life. That the Eucharist could sometimes be understood almost superstitiously as a kind of dowry for the hereafter is shown in the recommendation that eventually resulted in the repeated reception of the Eucharist on the day of death in the hope that one would die with the Host in one's mouth (PG 29:CCCXV, BC). According to Chrysostom, the reception of communion (as an unrivaled means of nourishment) on one's deathbed ensured the escort of angels (rather than demons), while at the Second Coming (PAROUSIA) the righteous entered directly into the dominion of God (PG 61: 364.30–34). Numerous Byz. adopted the monastic habit on their deathbed in greater hopes of salvation.

Another custom, that of KOLLYBA, is derived from the pagan tradition of a (private) funeral meal conducted by relatives at the tomb of the deceased. It was unanimously opposed by the church in the West as a pagan superstition, but the practice survived in the Byz. church. *Kollyba* were distributed and liturgical prayers were said for the dead particularly on the 3rd, 7th (or 9th), and 30th (or 40th) day after death (G. Dagron in *Temps chrétien* 419–30); the prayers were seen as accompanying the soul of the deceased on its journey. These dates were believed to represent important stations on the soul's journey either to the final vision of or banishment from God. The deceased were also commemorated on the anniversary of their death and on the Saturday before Meatfare Sunday (*to Sabbaton tes Apokreo*). The Byz. believed that the fate of the soul could be influenced through the prayers and intercessions of the living and made generous donations to churches and monasteries in order to ensure the proper commemoration of deceased relatives.

The contemplation of death (*melete thanatou*), taken from Stoicism, found a particularly vibrant resonance in the monastic milieu. Church fathers illustrated the frailty of human life by referring to the once-famous Alexander the Great whose grave was unmarked and unknown, while the innumerable graves of the martyrs were everywhere held in the highest honor. Monks desired to know what their brethren saw and experienced in the hour of death; they even contrived to consult the bones of the dead over their fate in the hereafter in order to learn the effectiveness of their intercession; even resurrection of the dead by the saintly desert fathers was reported (PG 34:244B–246A). The death of a saint is often connected with the vision of light, and the effusion of a clearly perceptible fragrance. Conversely, death itself generally brings one near the realm of the "black one" ("Ethiopian" = devil), and is connected with the symbol of the sword (and on icons with the cup of poison). The pre-Constantinian church gave the highest value to martyrdom as a baptism of blood, an imitation of the Lamb of God, and birth into heaven. The martyrs, therefore, as those who had been redeemed, continued to intercede for the living.

Hagiography uniformly stresses the serenity with which the dying saint faced death, because of his belief that death meant freedom from the bonds of the body and union with the divine. The prevailing attitude in epitaphs and MONODIES is quite different, however. Death is likened to the mythical CHARON, who cuts man's tree of life. Untimely death is generally seen as unjust and as a blow to the family and friends of the departed.

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Die Byzantiner und ihr Jenseits* (Munich 1979). P.J. Fedwick, "Death and Dying in Byzantine Liturgical Tradition," *EChR* 8 (1976) 152–61. D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 125–34. C. Walter, "Death in Byzantine Iconography," *EChR* 8 (1976) 113–27. J. Pelikan, *The Shape of Death* (London 1962). J. Rivière, "Mort et démon chez les pères," *RSR* 10 (1930) 577–621. *Morte e immortalità nella catechesi dei padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici (Rome 1985). E. Freistedt, *Altchristliche Totengedächtnistage und ihre Beziehung zum Jenseitsglauben und Totenkultus der Antike* (Münster 1928).
–G.P., R.S., Ap.K.

DEBT (χρέος, Lat. *debitum*) designated in Roman law both an obligation that originated from the contract of a LOAN and the object of this contract, that is, a sum of money or a thing owed by one

person to another. Byz. society reluctantly accepted transactions on credit: Kekaumenos, for instance, considered a loan to be a risky transaction for both parties and recommended avoidance of borrowing (Kek. 190f). Nevertheless, credit transactions were common, and complaints about the burden of debts and greed of usurers appear often in hagiographical and rhetorical texts. Patr. Euthymios appealed to Leo VI asking the emperor to free imprisoned debtors; Romanos I Lekapenos reportedly paid the debts of all debtors in Constantinople—both magnates and the poor; their contracts (*homologiai*) were thrown into the fire (*TheophCont* 429.17–21). Soon thereafter, the author of the PHILOPATRIS expressed the hope that the emperor would pay CREDITORS all the debts of the inhabitants of Constantinople.

The relationship of loan and debt are often treated in Byz. legal texts, which prescribe a written contract (*engraphon*) in the presence of witnesses (*Peira* 26.10) and security (*enechyron*) (*Peira* 19.2). *Peira* 6.2 lists three major reasons for mortgaging a house: to receive a loan (without specifying the purpose of the loan); to take up a state assignment (*demosiake douleia*); to conclude a marriage. *Peira* 26.1 cites a particular case of borrowing—to buy goods at a *panegyris*. Borrowing to ransom a relative is often mentioned in later texts.

Cases of debt are common in documents of the Palaiologan period. Thus, in 1325 the family of the late *stratopedarches* Petzikopoulos borrowed 50 hyperpers from the monks of Hilandar, giving over to the monks as security (HYPOTHEC) three houses on the condition that if the Petzikopouloi returned the money within a year, they would get back their houses; if they were unable to repay, Hilandar would give them an additional 90 hyperpers and receive full title to the houses and the adjacent land (*Chil.*, no.112.30–43). The contract did not state who was in physical possession of the houses during the period in question. Clearer is the short charter of 1302 (*Vazelon*, no.97) in which Theodora Theophilaba acknowledged the receipt of 100 *asproi* from the monastery of Vazelon; she gave the monastery her *choraphion*, which was to be restored to her as soon as she paid her debt. On the other hand, in an act of 1285 Theodore Komnenos Branas related that he received olive trees from Angelina, the widow of Chrysoberges, only after she proved insolvent (MM 4:114.17–26); she retained, however, her right to buy back her trees.

LIT. O. Tafrali, *Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1913) 104–17. –A.K.

DEČANSKI. See STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI.

DE CEREMONIIS, in full, *De ceremoniis aulae byzantinae*, the modern title for a 10th-C. treatise of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS that treats court CEREMONY in the spirit of ENCYCLOPEDISM for the glorification of the emperor and his servants. Major and minor ceremonies are described in minute detail from the perspective of court officials who staged secular rituals. To interpret *De ceremoniis* requires knowledge of each section's origin because it compiles 5th–10th-C. records (see Table) that document Byz. government, diplomacy, prosopography, Constantinopolitan topography—esp. that of the GREAT PALACE—and historical events. The complete MS (Leipzig, Univ. Lib. 28) is dated to the 10th C. (I. Rochow, *Klio* 58 [1976] 193–97). It is less a finished work than a dossier that contains instructions for ceremonies and descriptions of actual performances intended as raw material for the former: thus book 2, chapter 38, was stripped of specifics to form the prescriptive book 2, chapter 14 (G. Ostrogrosky, E. Stein, *Byzantion* 7 [1932] 185–233 and F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 145–57). It also includes sundry memoranda on subjects ranging from officials' salaries to military logistics. The imperial family implied by book 1, chapters 1–9, fits a time frame of ca.957–59, while datable references reveal revisions no earlier than Constantine's last years (bk.1, ch.28—after 27 Feb. 956; bk.2, ch.15—after autumn 957); the text was certainly revised under Nikephoros II Phokas and book 1, chapter 97, may suggest a connection with BASIL THE NOTHOS.

Constantine states that book 1 derives from records. Chapters 1–83 offer fairly homogeneous prescriptive material on holy-day processions to Constantinopolitan sanctuaries (1–37) and secular ceremonies (38–83), such as CORONATIONS, marriages, funerals, officials' promotions, and circus celebrations. Chapters 84–95 are unrevised extracts from PETER PATRIKIOS, including verbatim

Chronological Synopsis of the Sources of *De ceremoniis*

Book and Chapter	*Subject*	*Date*
Book 1		
Chs. 1–9 (Vogt 1:3–56.8)	Processions and acclamations from Christmas to after Pentecost (interrupted by a lacuna)	ca.957–59
Chs. 9–18 (Vogt 1:56.9–105)	Yearly processions from Easter to Ascension	Probably Michael III (ca.847–62?); rev. ca.900–03 and ca.957–59
Chs. 19–21	Feasts of the Prophet Elijah, the Nea Ekklesia, and St. Demetrios	Probably Basil I; rev. under Leo VI
Chs. 22–23	Processions of 14 Sept. and Christmas	Same as chs. 9–18
Ch. 24	Feast of St. Basil the Great	900
Chs. 25–35	Processions from Epiphany to Holy Saturday	Same as chs. 9–18
Ch. 36	Feast of the Union of the Church	After 920: 957–59?
Ch. 37	Imperial costume for processions	ca.900–03; rev. ca.957–59?
Chs. 38, 40, 42 (Vogt 2: 3–5, 13.17–15.15, 24–25)	Acclamations	ca.957–59
Ch. 41	Empress's coronation and wedding (Irene)	17 Dec. 768
Chs. 43–44	Promotions to caesar and *nobelissimos*	2 Apr. 769
Chs. 46–52 (except next section)	Various promotions	Probably Isaurian
Ch. 48 (Vogt 2:57.9–60.11)	Acclamations for promotion to patrician	ca.957–59?
Ch. 53	Acclamations for promotion to eparch	ca.957–59?
Chs. 54–58	Promotions	Isaurians?
Chs. 62–63	Faction audiences	Constantine VII
Ch. 64	Faction audience	Michael III
Ch. 65	Dance	Constantine VII
Ch. 66	Winter faction audience	Michael III
Ch. 67	Arrangement of dignitaries during faction audiences	Constantine VII?
Ch. 68	Hippodrome	Late 7th, early 8th C.
Chs. 69, 71–73	Hippodrome	Michael III?; rev. Constantine VII
Ch. 69 (Vogt 2:136.13–23)	Acclamations on vanquished emir	863
Ch. 70	Hippodrome	Same as ch. 68, but heavily revised?
Chs. 84–95	Extracts from Peter Patrikios	5th- and 6th-C. material compiled ca.548–65
Ch. 96	Acclamations for Nikephoros II	963
Ch. 97	Promotion to *proedros*	963–69
Book 2		
Chs. 1–25	Secular ceremonies	Constantine VII
Ch. 14	Enthronement of patriarch	After 933
Ch. 15 (Reiske 570.11–598.12)	Receptions of ambassadors from Tarsos and reception of Olga	946 and 957
Ch. 17	Coronation of Romanos II (lost)	945

Sources of *De ceremoniis* (*continued*)

Book and Chapter	*Subject*	*Date*
Ch. 19	Triumph in the Forum	956
Ch. 20	Triumph in the Hippodrome	956 or 958–59
Ch. 23 (Reiske 622.1–17)	Leo VI's first haircut	866–70?
Chs. 27–30	Herakleios's ceremonies; funeral of Patr. Sergios I	638–39
Chs. 31–37	Promotions and audiences	Michael III
Ch. 38	Enthronement of Patr. Theophylaktos	933
Chs. 40–41	Ceremonial costume	945/6–959
Ch. 42	Imperial tombs and obits (partially lost: see CHRONICON ALTINATE)	Constantine VII; rev. after 959
Ch. 44	Expeditions against Crete and Italy	911; 935
Ch. 45	Expedition against Crete	949
Ch. 47 (Reiske 681.5–682.17)	Styles of address for Bulgar ruler	ca.922–24
Ch. 48 (Reiske 690.6–16)	Same as above	ca.920–22; rev. 945–59
Chs. 49–50	Payments to officials	Leo VI
Ch. 51	Inspection of Constantinople's granaries	Same as bk. 1, chs. 84–95?
Chs. 52–53	*Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS	899
Ch. 54	Pseudo-Epiphanios of Cyprus	Herakleios
Ch. 56	Factions' payments	After 963

protocols of accession from Leo I to Justinian I (chs. 91–95, partly recycled in acclamations for Nikephoros II Phokas [bk.1, ch.96]).

Constantine's claim that book 2, possibly an afterthought, draws only on oral tradition holds generally for book 2, chapters 1–25, although even they contain historical records (see Table). The disparate documents of chapters 25–56 may have been physically associated with Constantine's own copy and transcribed as they were found at the end of the Leipzig MS; they shed precious light on such matters as military mobilization (bk.2, chs. 44–45) against Crete and Italy (cf. G. Huxley, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 295–300), while a diplomatic style sheet (bk.2, chs. 46–48) illuminates the hierarchy of STATES (Dölger, *Byzanz* 183–96; W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 45 [1952] 320–39). The remaining chapters concern mostly officials' precedence, fees, and payments (bk.2, chs. 49–50, 55; 56 concerns BRINGAS). The language of *De ceremoniis* provides valuable testimony on vernacular usage (G. Moravcsik, 5 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Rome 1939] 514–20) and governmental technical terms, esp. of Latin origin (partial list: A. Landi, *Koinonia* 2 [1978] 301–22).

A treatise, *On Imperial Expeditions*, incorrectly dubbed *Appendix ad librum I* (Reiske, *infra* 444–508), precedes *De ceremoniis* in the Leipzig MS. Constantine based it largely on a lost work by Leo Katakylas, *magistros* under Leo VI, and dedicated it to his son. It details the logistics of an imperial campaign into Anatolia (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 87–93; Hendy, *Economy* 304–15) and concludes with records of TRIUMPHS by Justinian I, Theophilos, and Basil I.

ED. J.J. Reiske, *Constantini Porphyrogeniti imperatoris De cerimoniis aulae byzantinae*, 2 vols. (Bonn 1829–30), with indispensable comm. A. Vogt, *Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies*, 4 vols. (Paris 1935–40) (bk.1, chs. 1–83; with Fr. tr.). Corr. by Ph.I. Koukoules, *EEBS* 19 (1949) 75–115 and *EEPhSPA* 5 (1954–55) 48–65; A.J. Festugière, *RPhil* 45 (1971) 240–57.

LIT. J.B. Bury, "The Ceremonial Book of Constantine Porphyrogennetos," *EHR* 22 (1907) 209–27, 417–39. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "A New Manuscript of the *De cerimoniis*," *DOP* 14 (1960) 247–49. Guilland, *Institutions* and *Topographie*. Av. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine Book of Ceremonies," in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 106–36. –M.McC.

DECIUS, a Roman aristocratic family that flourished under Theodoric the Great. Its connection with the earlier Roman family of the same name is unclear. Caecina Decius Albinus (*PLRE* 1:35–36), urban prefect of 402, probably a descendant of the Ceionii, may have been the founder of the Decius family. Caecina Decius Acinatius Albinus, urban prefect of 414, may be his son. The family is better known from the end of the 5th C., when Caecina Decius Maximus Basilius was consul (480), as were two of his brothers (484, 486). All four of Basilius's sons attained consular rank: Albinus in 493 (presumably the first consul appointed by Theodoric), Avenius (501), Theodorus (505), and Importunus (509). They formed, however, a house divided into two pairs of brothers, the first two supporting Pope Symmachus, the other two his rival Laurentius. Circa 519 Albinus was involved in religious discussions to end the schism between Rome and Constantinople, and ca.522 the *referendarius* Cyprian accused Albinus of having sent treacherous letters to Justin I. Boethius attempted to defend Albinus, but they were both arrested. In 525, however, Theodoric sent Theodorus and Importunus with Pope John I as ambassadors to Constantinople. Their relatives continued to serve as consuls until 534.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:1324. J. Moorhead, "The Decii under Theodoric," *Historia* 33 (1984) 107–15. –A.K.

DECORATIVE STYLE (*olim* "Family 2400," "Nicaea School," "Karahisar script") is the provisional name for a group of more than 100 illuminated Greek MSS of the 12th and 13th C. More than half are Gospel books; liturgical books are few and most of the group seem to reflect commissions for private use. The MSS are linked by their black ink and distinctive script; by recurrent iconographic patterns in their author portraits, Psalter cycles, and extensive Gospel cycles; by their exceptionally lavish ornament using carpet headpieces and extravagantly shaped canon tables; and by their decorative style with strongly profiled figures, ornate, screenlike architecture, and hot, pinkish color schemes. The group's few dated examples—two Gospel books of 1153 and 1156 (Vat. Barb. gr. 449; Gospel book owned by H.P. Kraus, New York), another from around 1208 (Moscow, Lenin Lib. F181 gr. 11), a Psalter from before 1213 (London, B.L. Add. 40753), and the noted Gospel book in Berlin (Staatsbibl. gr. Quarto 66) from shortly before 1219—indicate that it flourished ca.1150–ca.1250. It includes most of the illuminated books surviving from the late 12th C. and comprises the only known group of luxury MSS from the period of the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61). Its place of origin is unclear. Early examples are provincial (Cypro-Palestinian?), but the group's quality rises over time, and the later books may have been commissioned by members of the Nicaean court.

LIT. A.W. Carr, *Byzantine Illumination, 1150–1250: The Study of a Provincial Tradition* (Chicago 1987). P. Canart, "Les écritures livresques chypriotes du milieu du XI[e] siècle au milieu du XIII[e] et le style palestino-chypriote 'epsilon,'" *Scrittura e civiltà* 5 (1981) 17–76. H. Buchthal, "Studies in Byzantine Illumination of the Thirteenth Century," *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 25 (1985) 27–102. –A.W.C.

DECURIONES. See Curiales.

DEEDS OF PURCHASE. See Sale.

DEER (ἔλαφος, νεβρός). Along with the gazelle and wild goat the deer was a popular object of hunting; miniatures depict scenes of dogs or domesticated leopards in pursuit of deer. According to legend, Basil I was pursuing on horseback a huge stag that suddenly dragged the emperor from his saddle and carried him away on its antlers. Venison was recommended during cool seasons, but not in summer when it was considered poisonous. The horns of the deer were viewed as symbols of marital infidelity. Andronikos I reportedly exhibited antlers of the deer he had hunted, ostensibly to show the size of the killed beasts but actually to mock the inhabitants of Constantinople for the adultery of their wives.

Christian legend described the hart or male deer as fighting and killing snakes, and in this capacity the deer became a symbol of Christ. The 4th-C. exegete Philon (of Karpathos or Karpasia?) describes Christ as turning toward the Gentiles and running like a gazelle or deer to the ends of the world (PG 40:76B). Since the nature of the deer is destructive, comments Cyril of Alexandria (PG 69:825A), and snakes flee from its smell and color, the Lord is rightly called *nebros* since he tramples on and destroys the power of adversity. Apostles, preachers, saints, and all the righteous



DEESIS. Deesis; mosaic, 13th C. South gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

were also compared with harts as crushing the power of the serpent.

Representation in Art. The image of the hart or stag entered Christian art partly because of Psalm 42:1: "As the hart panteth after the water brook, so panteth my soul after thee, O God." The thirsting soul was associated particularly with BAPTISM, and the hart was widely used in 4th-C. BAPTISTERY decoration, esp. floor mosaics. Constantine I is supposed to have given the Lateran baptistery in Rome seven 80-pound silver harts that spouted water, and many other baptisteries had hart-shaped fountains or spigots. In Ravenna 5th-C. mosaics in the "Tomb" of GALLA PLACIDIA show harts flanking streams and the Tree of Life. Harts appear beside Psalm 42 in the marginal PSALTERS and occasionally atop CANON TABLES.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:416f. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2.2:3301–07. –A.K., A.W.C.

DEESIS (Δέησις, lit. "entreaty"), the word used since the 19th C. to identify as an image of intercession the Byz. composition of the Virgin Mary and JOHN THE BAPTIST standing on either side of Christ with their hands extended toward him. Byz. used the word *deesis* for this composition, too, but not for it exclusively: the Virgin Mary praying, or the Virgin or a donor presenting a petition were also called *deesis*. Intercession, moreover, was neither the exclusive nor the original

significance of the "deesis" composition. Initially, it was intended to express the privileged role of the Virgin and John as the first witnesses to Christ's divinity, an idea that continued into the 12th C. After the 9th C., however, the composition appeared more and more in contexts that suggested intercession: it adopted the imagery of the imperial court with Christ enthroned between Mary and John like an emperor enthroned between interceding courtiers; it became the core of the "Great Deesis" used on TEMPLON beams and devotional ivories, a composition developed from the liturgical prayers of intercession, and comprising Christ, the Virgin, and John flanked by APOSTLES and saints; and it formed the center of the LAST JUDGMENT and Prophetic VISIONS where the Virgin and John intercede for mankind. These intercessory applications came to dominate the composition's content.

LIT. A. Cutler, "Under the Sign of the Deesis: On the Question of Representativeness in Medieval Art and Literature," *DOP* 41 (1987) 145–54. C. Walter, "Two Notes on the Deesis," *REB* 26 (1968) 311–36. –A.W.C.

DEFENSOR CIVITATIS, an official of the late Roman Empire who functioned as a semiprivate advocate of provincial citizens in relations with the central government. The origin of the office remains unclear. It is probable that in the first half of the 4th C. in the eastern provinces of the empire (Egypt, Arabia) there existed the so-called *syndikoi* or *ekdikoi,* who acted as advisers of the urban populace in conflicts with the administration; in the West the institution was introduced by Valentinian I in a law of 368 (for Illyricum) as an element in the emperor's anti-aristocratic policy (A. Hoepffner, *RH* 182 [1938] 225–37). The first *defensores* were chosen from the upper class of former functionaries such as AGENTES IN REBUS or governors, and some had senatorial rank. The importance of the *defensores* declined gradually, but Justinian I attempted to return the office to its former significance. The functions of the *defensor* were vaguely defined; primarily he was to record all complaints and by so doing check the malpractice of local administrators. The *defensor* also had judicial authority in minor cases (Justinian I, nov.15.3.2, 4). With the decline of the city in the 7th C. the office of *defensor civitatis* fell into disuse.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 2365–71. V. Mannino, *Ricerche sul "defensor civitatis"* (Milan 1984). B.R. Rees, "The defensor civitatis in Egypt," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 6 (1952) 73–102. –A.K.

DEHES, village in northern Syria, in the mountains between Antioch and Chalkis ad Belum. The history of Dehes, as revealed by archaeological excavation, illustrates the region's economic development. The village prospered in the 4th–6th C., when the enlargement of an OLIVE PRESS suggests flourishing OLIVE cultivation. The buildings grew larger; the houses of nuclear families were transformed into the habitats of extended families. Construction techniques and planning improved—from an irregular to an orthogonal system. After the mid-6th C. the growth of Dehes stopped, even though coin finds indicate economic activity through the reign of Constans II and probably until 674. There are no signs of a catastrophic destruction, but slow decline led to the abandonment of the site ca.900. Incidental Byz. coins of the 11th C. (down to Alexios I) testify to the Byz. penetration of northern Syria in that period.

LIT. J.P. Sodini, G. Tate et al., "Déhès (Syrie du Nord): Campagne I–III (1976–1978)," *Syria* 57 (1980) 1–208. –A.K.

DEIFICATION. See THEOSIS.

DEIPNON. See ARISTON AND DEIPNON; LORD'S SUPPER.

DEIR ZAʿFARAN MONASTERY, the "Saffron monastery," also called Mar Hananiya, Monophysite monastic complex built ca.530 northwest of DARA in Mesopotamia, 5 km east of Mardin in Turkey. Its early history is obscure, but Deir Zaʿfaran should perhaps be identified with the monastery of Natapha where Monophysite bishops sought refuge during the persecution of Justin I. The well-preserved triconch main church of Deir Zaʿfaran displays a complete example of the early 6th-C. type of ornate architectural sculpture found in fragments at, for example, AMIDA, Dara, and SERGIOPOLIS. Refounded in 793 by Mar Hananiya and again ca.1125 after short periods of abandonment, from the 12th C. Deir Zaʿfaran was the seat of the Jacobite Patriarch of Antioch. It formerly housed an important Syriac library, which contained a 6th-C. illuminated MS.

LIT. M.C. Mundell, "The Sixth Century Sculpture of the Monastery of Deir Zaʿfaran in Mesopotamia," 15 *CEB* 2 (Athens 1981) 511–28. –M.M.M.

DEKANOS (δεκανός), originally a subaltern officer in the Roman army. From the 4th C. onward, the term designated palace messengers, esp. those of the empress. According to Kallinikos's vita of HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI (ed. Bartelink, ch. 41.13), there were mounted *dekanoi*. They served also as guardians of gates. JOHN LYDOS equates them with lictors (*rabdouchoi*). In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos the *dekanos* is a modest functionary under the PROTASEKRETIS. According to the *De ceremoniis*, while accompanying the emperor on an expedition *dekanoi* were in charge of imperial papers (*chartia*). The seals of *dekanoi* are few; the owner of one (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.215, 11th C.) was *protospatharios*, *praipositos*, and *dekanos*. The term was applied as well to hermits in command of ten other monks, to subaltern patriarchal officials, and to ecclesiastical *fossores* whose function was to bury the dead. It was also used to render the Syriac *dihkan*, a notable of modest rank (P. Devos, *AB* 64 [1946] 95). The term does not appear in pseudo-Kodinos, but patriarchal *dekanoi* are mentioned in later hierarchical lists, at the very bottom (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 557.32).

In accord with the many functions served by *dekanoi*, figures labeled as such on works of art display considerable variety. On an early votive icon at Mt. Sinai, the *dekanos* Leo is shown wearing a square nimbus, a blue mantle with pearled borders over a yellow chiton, and a red belt and shoes. In the Paris Chrysostom (Paris, B.N. Coislin 79, fol.2r) a dignitary standing at the emperor's left is inscribed *ho proedros kai dekanos*. He wears the red mantle decorated with golden ivy leaves of the PROEDROS over a blue chiton and a red hat with black tassels.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 98. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:89–92. H.U. Instinsky, *LAC* 3:608–11. Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.14. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 110, fig.71. –A.K., A.C.

DELICT. In Justinianic law a textbook distinction was made between private offenses (*delicta, hamartemata, plemmelemata*) and crimes that were prosecuted through public CRIMINAL PROCEDURE (*crimina, enklemata*) (*Digest* 47–48). THEFT, ROBBERY, damage (see LEX AQUILIA), and HYBRIS were considered primary forms of civil wrongs (*Institutes* 4.1), while crimes included TREASON, ADULTERY, MURDER, FORGERY, violence, embezzlement of public money, and kidnapping (4.18). Through the politically motivated expansion of criminal jurisdiction, however, this distinction had already largely lost its practical meaning. The terminology in the legal texts was vague, and post-Justinianic legal collections eventually placed even the regulations on damage in the area of criminal law (*Ecloga* 17.7–9; *Basil.* 60.2–5). The list of punishable offenses inherited from Roman law changed with the christianization of the law: actions that violated the church's sexual and moral standards were penalized ever more harshly. –L.B.

DELJAN, PETER, Bulgarian leader of a revolt in 1040–41; died after 1041. His Slavic name, meaning "victor," normally rendered ⟨'Ο⟩δελεάνος in Greek, was distorted by Psellos (*Chron.* 1:76, ch.40.5–7) into Dolianos, from *dolos*, "treachery" (M. Dinić, *PKJIF* 30 [1964] 237f). The revolt, caused by a grave economic situation in Bulgaria, was worsened by the tax reform of JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, who replaced payment in-kind by cash. Deljan's origin is unknown; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 409.89–90) states that he was a slave who fled from Constantinople. Deljan proclaimed himself a son of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. Marching from Belgrade, Deljan occupied Niš (Naissos) and Skopje. The troops of the theme of Dyrrachion, who joined the revolt, elected a soldier, Tichomir, *basileus* of Bulgaria. At a meeting of the two rebel groups (probably at Skopje), after an oration by Deljan, Tichomir was stoned to death. Deljan seized Dyrrachion, sent troops to Thebes, and marched on Thessalonike. Probably at this time the theme of Nikopolis joined the Bulgarian rebels; to Deljan's camp also came courtiers of MICHAEL IV, such as Manuel Ibatzes. ALOUSIANOS became Deljan's co-ruler, but in 1041 blinded him and betrayed him to Michael IV. The Byz. then subdued Bulgaria; Deljan and Ibatzes were brought to Constantinople for Michael's triumph. The entire story, from Deljan's rise to his blinding, is lavishly illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 524–29, figs. 255–58).

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 376–96. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 379–93. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Petŭr Deljan prez pogleda na negovite sŭvremennici," *Istoričeski pregled* 22.4 (1966) 97–106. A. Miltenova, M. Kajmakanova, "The Uprising of Petăr Delyan (1040–1041) in a New Old Bulgarian Source," *BBulg* 8 (1986) 227–40. –A.K., C.M.B., A.C.

DELLA PORTA, LEONARDO, first Cretan vernacular poet; born Chandax, Crete, shortly before 1346?, died Chandax? 1419/20. Born to a noble Orthodox family on Venetian-occupied Crete, Della Porta (Ντελλαπόρτας) received a broad education and was bilingual in Greek and Italian. He spent most of his career in the service of Venice as soldier and ambassador. He commanded a warship that fought the Genoese near Negroponte and campaigned in Italy during the Chioggia War (1378–81). In May 1389 he was made a lawyer (*dikegoros*) in Chandax; he served as Venetian envoy to the Ottoman sultan MURAD I, to THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS of Morea, and ca.Nov. 1389 to the Hafsid sultan of Tunis, Abū-al-ʿAbbās Aḥmad (M.I. Manousakas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 340–68). His final embassy, in 1403, was to the emir of MENTESHE at Miletos. Shortly thereafter he fell into disgrace and was imprisoned on charges of fathering an illegitimate child.

While in prison, Della Porta wrote four poems in political verse. The longest and most important poem is a dialogue between the poet and Truth, in which Della Porta protests his innocence and relates many autobiographical details. His other three poems are *On Retribution, On the Sufferings of Christ,* and prayers to Christ and the Virgin.

ED. Poem on retribution—"To 'Hypomnestikon' tou Leonardou Ntellaporta kai to pezo prototypo tou," ed. M.I. Manousakas, *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 67–72.

LIT. M.I. Manusacas, "Un poeta cretese ambasciatore di Venezia a Tunisi e presso i Turchi: Leonardo Dellaporta e i suoi componimenti poetici," in *Venezia e l'Oriente fra tardo medioevo e rinascimento,* ed. A. Pertusi (Florence 1966) 283–307. Idem, "Nea anekdota benetika engrapha (1386–1420) peri tou Kretos poietou Leonardou Ntellaporta," *KretChron* 12 (1958) 387–434. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 9, 199–201. –A.M.T.

DELOS (Δῆλος), small island in the Cyclades in the central AEGEAN SEA, formerly a chief place of the cult of APOLLO. In late antiquity there was a substantial community on the island, largely dependent on trade. From the 7th C. the site was abandoned. The remains of several churches survive, including that of St. Kerykos south of the Agora (mid-6th C., with fragments of the ambo) and another near the Asklepieion (perhaps late 7th C.). All of these are simple single-aisled basilicas.

LIT. D.I. Pallas, *RBK* 1:1186–90. A.C. Orlandos, "Délos chrétienne," *BCH* 60 (1936) 68–100. –T.E.G.

DELPHI (Δελφοί), city in central Greece on the southern slope of Mt. Parnassos, site of the ancient sanctuary and oracle of APOLLO; it attained civic status sometime before the 4th C. and enjoyed the attention of several 4th-C. emperors (C. Vatin, *BCH* 86 [1962] 229–41). Constantine I removed various monuments from Delphi, including the famous Tripod of Plataia, which was set up in the Hippodrome of Constantinople. The pagan cult apparently continued throughout the 4th C., and the Pythian Games were celebrated at least until 424 (*Cod. Theod.* XV 5.4). The city was probably abandoned in the 6th–7th C. Delphi was apparently a bishopric, although perhaps only briefly, since only a single incumbent is attested. A notitia of the late 8th or 9th C. mentions a bishopric of Delphi (*Notitiae CP*, ch.3.719).

The late antique city of Delphi was probably located in an area west of the sanctuary, where the remains of a large three-aisled basilica with figural mosaics were found. In the sanctuary itself only *spolia* of the 4th–6th/7th C. have been securely identified (G. Daux, *BCH* 86 [1962] 909–12). Recent excavation in the gymnasium suggests, however, that there was a church in that area.

LIT. *TIB* 1:143f. E. Dyggve, "Les traditions culturelles de Delphes et l'église chrétienne," *CahArch* 3 (1948) 9–28. –T.E.G.

DEMARCHOS (δήμαρχος), a term designating the leader of a circus FACTION. The *demarchoi* played a prominent role in the HIPPODROME and in imperial CEREMONIAL, at least until the 10th C. The term is first attested in 602; the reference in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE to two *demarchoi* under Theodosios II is late and suspect. They are sometimes called *dioiketai* in popular usage (*Miracles* of ARTEMIOS, ch.21, p.26.25). Cameron (*infra*) considers *demarchoi* to have been the conductors of a choir or claque, whereas G. Manojlović (*Byzantion* 11 [1936] 630f) saw them as military commanders of the DEMOI.

By 842 or 843 at the latest (cf. Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2017, for the seal of a *demarchos* John assigned to the 8th C.), the TAKTIKA show they had been coopted into the imperial hierarchy and held dignities such as HYPATOS or PROTOSPATHARIOS. *De ceremoniis* (bk.1, chs. 63 [55]–65 [56], ed. Vogt 2:75–80; cf. bk.1, ch.89 [80], Vogt 2:178f) pre-

serves protocols for promoting *demarchoi* and their assistants: besides *chartoularioi* and notaries, a deputy (*deutereuon*); specialists, a poet and a composer (*melistes*), for acclamations; the CHARIOTEERS; and GEITONIARCHAI, whose function ("neighborhood supervisors") remains unclear.

Demarchoi of the 11th C. held posts such as SYMPONOS or LOGARIASTES (Zacos, *Seals* 2, nos. 601–02; Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 819, 1056). Although *demarchoi* continue to crop up in the sources, the nature and extent of the continuity of their institutional attributes is uncertain. In the early 14th C., "two of the *demarchoi*" monitored the grain trade and bread production of Constantinople (Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople, ep.100, pp. 256f, 429), a ceremonial book mentions their banners or *phlamoula* (pseudo-Kod. 196.28–33), and they administered Constantinople's GEITONIAI. During the siege of 1453, they played a military role (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 101f). When pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 386.24) relates that Constantine XI appointed GIUSTINIANI LONGO *demarchos* and *strategos* over 400 warriors, the word evidently has a military connotation.

LIT. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 258–61. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'Hippodrome de Byzance," *BS* 30 (1969) 1–17. A.P. D'jakonov, "Vizantijskie dimy i fakcii," *VizSb* 158–60. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 106f.

–A.K., M.McC., A.M.T.

DEMESNE, or domain, a Western medieval term designating that portion of the lands of an ESTATE not granted to tenants but retained by the landlord for his own use. When applied to Byz. conditions the term refers to those lands that were operated by the owner or his representatives, either by exploiting the labor of slaves or the ANGAREIAI of dependent peasants or by leasing the lands on a short-term basis. Despite the abundance of papyri we have only a very vague idea of the structure of demesne in Egypt. I. Fikhman (*Oksirinch gorod papirusov* [Moscow 1976] 73) suggests that the estates of the APIONS consisted of AUTOURGIA, where the "permanent personnel" and hired laborers worked (i.e., demesne), and the allotments of tenants; the *autourgia*-demesne formed the smaller part of the estates.

There is no data, even approximate, on the size of demesne until the end of the 11th C. when it appears astonishingly large. According to F. Dölger (*Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences* 5 [1933] 9) in 1073 the demesne of the estate of Baris composed about 4/5 of the entire property. Litavrin (*VizObščestvo* 51f) calculates that in the 12th C. the demesne of the Lavra on Athos was 2 to 3 times larger than the tenures assigned to the *paroikoi*. The table composed by Ostrogorsky (*infra* 298) shows that in the 14th C. the demesne of Hilandar was five times greater than the peasant lands and the demesne of Zographou almost 12 times greater. In a *praktikon* of 1318 the Xenophon monastery was granted 2170 *modioi* of arable land, only 70 of which were possessed by *paroikoi* (*Xénoph.*, no.12.41–42). Contrasting with this enormous proportion of domanial land is the insignificant quantity of corvée-*angareia* and the scarcity of domanial implements and livestock to till the soil, probably indicating that only a portion of the demesne was worked by MISTHIOI and laborers who used *doulika zeugaria*, whereas most of the demesne was leased for short terms. The term demesne has also been used by scholars to designate state lands and the private estates of emperors.

LIT. N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 51–63. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 127–34. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 296–302. R. His, *Die Domänen der römischen Kaiserzeit* (Leipzig 1896).

–A.K.

DEMETRIAS (Δημητριάς), city in east central Greece, on the Pagasitic Gulf, just southwest of modern Volos; the ancient city was of considerable importance because of its harbor. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.5) names Demetrias among Thessalian *poleis* allegedly refortified by Justinian I, but ancient urban life may have already come to an end by the beginning of the 6th C. (P. Marzolff in *Demetrias* 3 [Bonn 1980] 39f). Its territory was settled by the Slavic Belegezitai in the 7th–8th C. The city was placed either in the province of Thessaly (Hierokl. 642.3; *De them.* 2.41, ed. Pertusi, 88), or Hellas (*TheophCont* 364.12). It was plundered by the Arabs in 901 or 902 and by the rebellious Bulgarians in 1040. After 1204 Demetrias was granted to the empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA and in 1210 to Margaret, widow of Boniface of Montferrat. After 1240 Demetrias was supposedly a possession of Manuel of Thessalonike, but in fact it was controlled by the family of the Melissenoi. In the late 13th C. Demetrias was contested between Byz. and the Vene-

tians of EUBOEA. In 1310 it was plundered by the Catalans, who held it until at least 1381. From 1333 the inhabitants began to migrate to Volos; in 1393 Demetrias fell to the Turks. The bishop of Demetrias, known from 422, was the first suffragan of Larissa.

Byz. Demetrias occupied only a fraction of the ancient city. Besides traces of the walls, there survive the remains of a 4th-C. basilica and another (4th/5th C.) near the northern harbor, along with an aqueduct restored in Byz. times.

LIT. *TIB* 1:144f. S.C. Bakhuizen et al., *Die deutschen archäologischen Forschungen in Thessalien: Demetrias* 5 (Bonn 1987). –T.E.G.

DEMETRIOS (Δημήτριος), personal name. Common in antiquity, it became quite rare in the later Roman Empire (*PLRE* 1:247f, 2:352); not a single theologian of this name is known from that period, but a priest Demetrios was active in Carthage ca.393 (A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire,* vol. 1 [Paris 1982] 271). St. Demetrios, the savior of Thessalonike in the 7th C., is an exceptional hero of this name in the hagiographical calendar (another Demetrios is said to have suffered under the Iconoclasts, the third was an obscure saint in Sicily). The name does not appear in Theophanes the Confessor. Skylitzes mentions St. Demetrios and three other Demetrioi, one of whom was Bulgarian and another Georgian ("Abasgian"). The name became popular in the later period and probably in the countryside; at any rate, in the acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), we find 222 Demetrioi, holding third place after John and George. –A.K.

DEMETRIOS, CHURCH OF SAINT. Located in Thessalonike, this was a major pilgrimage church in the central part of the city, probably built in the 3rd quarter of the 5th C. (W. Kleinbauer, *Byzantion* 40 [1970–71] 40) when the cult of St. DEMETRIOS was transferred from Sirmium. Tradition ascribes its construction to the Roman governor Leontios in 412/13; M. Vickers (*BZ* 67 [1974] 348) has identified him with Leontios, praetorian prefect in ca.435–41 (*PLRE* 2:669). The church is a cross-transept basilica, more than 55 m long, with five aisles, galleries, and low clerestory windows. Piers and column groups alternate in the nave and, although the columns are *spolia*, they are arranged according to their color. The capitals of the nave arcade date from the 5th C. According to the Sotirious, the church was constructed on the site of several Roman buildings, including a bath and/or nymphaeum incorporated in the crypt under the sanctuary—this may have been the source of the sweet-smelling oil believed to flow from the saint's relics. Krautheimer (*infra* 474, n.49), however, suggests that the apse excavated beneath the present nave may be rather a remnant of an earlier church built by Leontios. A silver ciborium, probably located in the main aisle of the church, housed a silver image of the saint and became the focus of the cult (D. Pallas, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 44–58). The church was damaged by fire between 629 and 634, and restored immediately thereafter; it was again virtually destroyed by fire in 1917, and the present basilica was rebuilt, as far as possible with original materials.

Much of the interior decoration of the church was destroyed in the various fires, but a number of mosaic panels have survived; others are known through texts or from watercolors made shortly before the fire of 1917 (R. Cormack, *BSA* 64 [1969] 17–52). The mosaics do not appear to have ever constituted a coherent program, but are a series of independently commissioned dedicatory panels. Some date before the 7th-C. fire, others just afterward or as late as the 11th C. While the earliest ones show the saint *orans* approached by donors (or worshipers) with their children, sometimes in landscape settings, the late 7th-C. panels celebrate the saint's actions on behalf of the larger community (e.g., his rescue of the city from the "barbarous flood of barbarian ships," probably a naval attack of 647). The increased abstraction of design and elegance of costume of these later 7th-C. mosaics, executed after the fire, may indicate a closer connection with the art of Constantinople. There were also frescoes of unknown date, now lost, depicting the life and miracles of the saint. One extant fresco depicts an ADVENTUS, probably that of Justinian II into Thessalonike in 688.

A chapel dedicated to St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, added to the southeast corner of the church, was frescoed in 1303 at the behest of Michael the *protostrator* (Michael Tarchaneiotes GLABAS) and his wife Maria, the couple that was also responsible for the decoration of the *parekklesion* of the Church of the PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople.

The frescoes, which include a cycle of the life of the saint (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–83), were executed by painters working in a style closely related to that found in the PROTATON on Mt. Athos; the paintings help confirm the Thessalonican origins of the artists of the Milutin school (see MICHAEL [ASTRAPAS] AND EUTYCHIOS). Another Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike was located on the seashore (S.D. Mantopoulou, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 175–91).

LIT. G.A. and M.G. Soteriou, *He basilike tou Hagiou Demetriou Thessalonikes* (Athens 1952). A. Xyngopoulos, *He basilike tou Hagiou Demetriou Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1946). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 125–28. Janin, *Église centres* 365–72. P. Lemerle, "Saint Démétrius de Thessalonique et les problèmes du martyrion et du transept," *BCH* 77 (1953) 660–94. Th. Papazotos, in *Aphieroma ste mneme St. Pelekanidou* (Thessalonike 1983), 365–76. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS (Angelodoukas in a MS of 1244—L.Politis, *BZ* 51 [1958] 269f), *despotes* of Thessalonike from before 25 Sept. 1244–Dec. 1246; born ca.1220, died Lentiana? in Bithynia. Younger son of THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Demetrios succeeded his brother John as ruler of Thessalonike; the title of *despotes* was bestowed on him, as on his brother, by John III Vatatzes. Some charters of Demetrios, including a "chrysobull with a seal of silver," are mentioned in the inventory of Hilandar (A. Solovjev, *SemKond* 10 [1938] 33–38, nos. 9, 39, 54, 55), but have since disappeared. Demetrios's brief reign ended in 1246, when some of the leading citizens of Thessalonike organized a conspiracy to surrender the city to the Nicaean emperor. There was little Demetrios could do: he was young and dissolute and real power lay in the hands of the chief families. Following his deposition, he was imprisoned at Lentiana, where he probably died.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 141–47. Polemis, *Doukai* 93, no.46. –M.J.A.

DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, diplomat and secular theologian; born Lampe (near Atramyttion), fl. 1160s. Kinnamos reports that after missions to Italy and Germany, Demetrios rejected the Western teaching that Christ is at the same time inferior to God the Father and equal to Him (Kinn. 251–56). He had a disputation with Manuel I, who defended this doctrine and emphasized the existence of two natures in Christ. Then Demetrios submitted a treatise in which he developed his concept. Kinnamos, who thought that only professors, ecclesiastics, and emperors were entitled to discuss theological subtleties, avoids presentation of the core of the dispute. No richer is the information provided by the 12th-C. German theologian Gerhoch of Reichersberg, who knew that Hugo ETERIANO argued against Demetrios. Despite the resistance of the emperor and of Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, Demetrios found many partisans among the élite of the capital, and his case stirred up heated discussion at the local council of 1166–67 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

LIT. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. –A.K.

DEMETRIOS OF THESSALONIKE, saint, often called the "Great Martyr" and *myroblytos*, "giving forth myrrh"; feastday 26 Oct. The early lists of martyrs (including a Syriac martyrology of 411) mention Demetrios (or Demetrios the deacon) in Sirmium. By the 6th C., however, Demetrios was closely connected with Thessalonike, where he reportedly worked many posthumous miracles; Emp. Maurice tried to obtain relics of Demetrios from Thessalonike, but in response to his request Archbp. Eusebios stated that the inhabitants of the city did not know the site of his interment (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:89:20–25).

Demetrios's biography, unknown before the 9th C., is preserved in three versions: that of Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.255), paralleled by an anonymous Greek account and a Latin translation of ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS produced in 876; the anonymous story in Vat. gr. 821 (11th-C. MS); and that of SYMEON METAPHRASTES. According to the version known to Photios, Demetrios was a "teacher of piety" executed by Emp. Maximian in Thessalonike when the emperor was returning from the stadium where the young Christian NESTOR defeated in single combat and killed Maximian's favorite, the gladiator Lyaios. There is no link between Demetrios and Nestor in Photios's version—Demetrios was murdered only because Maximian "was intoxicated by wrath and impiety." Nestor appears as the actual hero of the story, and Demetrios only as a passive victim; nothing is said about his background.

The link between the two martyrs was created

(or developed?) in the 10th C. In the version of Symeon Metaphrastes, Demetrios inspires Nestor, and in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* Nestor is said to have come to the arena with the cry: "God of Demetrios, help me!" Metaphrastes stresses emphatically (PG 116:1185A) that Demetrios did not become famous through the brilliance of his ancestors; in contrast, in Vat. gr. 821, Demetrios is depicted as a noble senator, military commander, and *anthypatos* of Hellas (PG 116:1173B). Photios mentions Leontios, the future eparch (governor) of Illyricum, who supposedly found in Thessalonike the place "in which the body of the martyr was laid to rest" and built there "the famous shrine." The parallel anonymous Greek text adds that it was near the stadium and public bath. The identification of Leontios causes problems since Leontios, prefect of Illyricum, was the addressee of two laws of Theodosios II issued in 412 and 413 (*Cod.Theod.* VII 4.32, XII 1.177), but M. Vickers (*BZ* 67 [1974] 348) rejects this date and places him ca.435–41 (*PLRE* 2:669). The story of Leontios was developed (*AASS*, Oct. 4:94E–95A): he allegedly attempted to remove Demetrios's relics from Thessalonike but was stopped by the saint himself; so he took only Demetrios's garment, and brought it to Sirmium, where he built another church. Vickers hypothesizes that the cult of Demetrios originated in Sirmium, whereas P. Lemerle (*Miracles* 2:202) argues that it was transferred from Thessalonike to Sirmium.

Miracles performed by Demetrios were described by many authors: the earliest accounts are those of JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike in the first half of the 7th C., and an anonymous late 7th-C. writer. The old legends are a very important source for the history of the Slav attacks on Thessalonike. The topic of the sufferings and miracles of Demetrios was very popular in Byz. literature; there are later versions of his miracles—Niketas of Thessalonike, mid-11th C. (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 420–22); John Staurakios, late 13th-C. (I. Dujčev, *AB* 100 [1982] 677–81)—and *enkomia* in his honor by Archbp. John (D. Hemmerdinger-Iliadou, *BalkSt* 1 [1960] 49–56), Archbp. Plotinos (V. Tŭpkova-Zaimova, *BBulg* 3 [1970] 119–23), Leo VI, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Constantine Akropolites, Nicholas Kabasilas, etc. The cult of Demetrios was widely spread among the Slavs.

Representation in Art. The numerous extant 7th-C. portraits of the saint in his grave church in Thessalonike (see DEMETRIOS, CHURCH OF SAINT) celebrate the role of Demetrios as protector both of individuals and of the city as a whole. The most important image of the saint, which was housed in the ciborium, is known, however, only from texts (Cormack, *infra*). There was once a mosaic (7th C.?) on the façade of the church depicting Demetrios's cure of the prefect Marianos and inside the church were frescoes of the saint's martyrdom. But extensive cycles with relevant episodes from the life of St. Nestor as well as Demetrios's rescue of Thessalonike from the Slavs exist only elsewhere; on a 12th-C. silver reliquary in the Vatopedi monastery on Mt. Athos (A. Xyngopoulos, *ArchEph* [1936] 101–36; A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 3–5) and in wall painting (MISTRA and SERBIA). ENKOLPIA containing tiny figures of the saint lying in his tomb (A. Grabar, *DOP* 8 [1954] 307–13) served as PILGRIM MEDALLIONS and PILGRIM TOKENS.

Originally portrayed as a youthful princely martyr clad in tunic and *chlamys*, the image of Demetrios as a military saint had emerged by the 10th C. Demetrios was thereafter often paired with St. GEORGE; the two are shown side by side in full armor or both on horseback, and differ essentially only in their hairstyle (that of Demetrios being less full and rarely covering the ears). His image as a warrior was used by Alexios I Komnenos on his coins (Hendy, *Coinage* 437).

SOURCES. P. Lemerle, *Les plus anciens recueils des Miracles de s. Démétrius*, 2 vols. (Paris 1979–81). PG 116:1081–1426.

LIT. *BHG* 496–547g. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 103–09. F. Barišić, *Čuda Dimitrija Solunskog kao istoriski izvori* (Belgrade 1953). P. Lemerle, "Note sur les plus anciennes représentations de Saint Démétrius," *DChAE*⁴ 10 (1981) 1–10. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ho eikonographikos kyklos tes zoes tou Hagiou Demetriou* (Thessalonike 1970). C. Walter, *Studies in Byzantine Iconography* (London 1977), pt.V [1973], 157–78. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:41–45. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York 1985) 50–94. –A.K., N.P.Š.

DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1449–60); born Constantinople ca.1407/8, died Adrianople 1470 as monk David. Fifth son of MANUEL II, he is described by Zakythinos (*infra* 241) as ambitious but of immoral character. A mysterious flight to Hungary in 1423 suggests difficulties with his family. In 1442 he besieged

Constantinople in league with the Turks (Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 2:52–57 and I. Vogiatzides, *NE* 18 [1924] 78–84). Despite his anti-Unionist views, he accompanied John VIII to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1437–39). When CONSTANTINE XI became emperor in 1449, Demetrios left his appanage on the Black Sea for Mistra to share the despotate of the MOREA in its final years with his brother THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS. Throughout his career Demetrios was willing to seek accommodations with the Turks; he requested assistance from the sultan during his conflicts with Thomas. After surrendering Mistra to the Ottomans in 1460, Demetrios married his daughter Helena to MEHMED II and was treated honorably by his son-in-law. He moved to Adrianople and received sizable revenues from Ainos and the islands of Lemnos, Imbros, Thasos, and Samothrace.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119f, 188, 216, 241–87, 356. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.96. *PLP*, no.21454. –A.M.T.

DEMOCRACY (δημοκρατία). In a shift that illuminates the social distribution of political power in Byz., democracy's earlier meanings, which had relatively positive connotations ("popular government," "republic," or even "Roman Empire"), faded by the 5th C. and the term assumed the pejorative overtones that dominated Byz. usage: "disturbance" or "riot" associated with "the people" or lower classes (DEMOI).

LIT. G.E.M. de Ste. Croix, *The Class Struggle in the Ancient Greek World from the Archaic Age to the Arab Conquests* (Ithaca 1981) 300–26. S. Vryonis, Jr., "Byzantine Demokratia and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *DOP* 17 (1963) 289–314. G.I. Bratianu, " 'Démocratie' dans le lexique byzantin à l'époque des Paléologues," in *Mém.L.Petit* 32–40. –M.McC.

DEMOGRAPHY. In broad terms, historical demography addresses two interrelated issues: the absolute size of population in a city or region and the composition and natural growth (or decline) of such populations. The former is influenced by incidents of natural catastrophe (esp. famines and epidemics), by wars, foreign immigration, and by patterns of migration from one district to another or between urban areas and their hinterlands. The latter is determined by such considerations as average duration of women's childbearing years; rates of fertility and infant mortality; the normal age of MARRIAGE; LIFE EXPECTANCY; quality of DIET and medical care; and by the size, wealth, and cohesiveness of FAMILY/household units. Where the number of households is known, a coefficient can be employed to estimate total population; where more complete documentation exists, this population may be broken down according to age and sex and compared to a statistical model ("life table"), which in turn permits calculations of birth and mortality rates, expectations of life at various ages, and rates of population replacement.

Unfortunately, sources for Byz. demography remain fragmentary. Although some judicial compilations provide valuable insights regarding the size and stability of litigant families, Byz. authors did not otherwise ordinarily concern themselves with demographic issues, and most information must be derived either from physical evidence or from surviving government records. Excavations reveal both a qualitative (desertion or repopulation) and a quantitative picture: using as data the size and number of excavated houses, A. Jakobson (*VizVrem* 19 [1961] 154f) calculated that the average 10th–11th C. city had about 5,000 inhabitants. Osteological material and remnants of grain furnish evidence on medieval diet, while funerary inscriptions provide data on births and mortality, although in many cases this information is insufficient or presented in a manner unsuitable for statistical analysis (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.IX [1978], 169–86).

The most important sources are PRAKTIKA, primarily of 14th-C. southern Macedonia. Many offer detailed listings for members of peasant families dwelling on the estate; since a number of areas underwent recurrent assessments—in 1300–01, 1316–18, 1320–21, and 1338–41—their *praktika* give some indications concerning household stability. At the same time, *praktika* should be employed with extreme caution. As fiscal documents, they tend to omit information deemed inessential for taxation; in particular the ages of the population are not recorded—nor is it certain at what age a child was first enrolled—and any division into age groups can thus form at best only a rough approximation (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 48 [1978] 501–18). It also seems likely that women, when not acting as heads of households, were persistently undercounted, and the registers do not appear always to have taken fully

into account either newly arrived families or those who no longer worked on the estate but might remain in the same (or a neighboring) village (D. Jacoby, *Speculum* 61 [1986] 677f).

Literary texts provide isolated population figures for individual cities: 4th-C. Antioch, 150,000–200,000 inhabitants; 6th-C. Jerusalem, 53,000; 10th-C. Thessalonike, 200,000 (an exaggeration); 11th-C. Edessa, 35,000; 13th-C. Nicaea, 30,000–35,000. The population of Constantinople (Jacoby, *Société,* pt.I [1961], 81–109) could not have been larger than 400,000 in the 5th–6th C. All attempts to provide a reliable estimate for the entire population of Byz. have failed, but it is possible to chart its broad fluctuations over the centuries. The steady growth of the 4th and 5th C. seems to have given way during the 6th and 7th C. to a precipitous decline under the recurring impact of FAMINES, PLAGUES (esp. that of 542), and foreign invasions; this was followed in turn by a period of slow recovery. Evidence for the 11th and 12th C. is ambiguous: economic expansion and a modest urban revival indicate growth, while political decline suggests stagnation. The territorial losses of the late 11th C. cost the empire a large portion of its population, and from 1200 onward the areas that remained appear to have experienced virtually continuous demographic regression, exacerbated during the 14th C. by civil wars, the Black Death, and the disruptions caused in Macedonia by marauding mercenaries of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; by 1450 the population of Constantinople itself did not exceed 40,000–50,000.

We also possess information regarding certain aspects of fecundity and life expectancy. Although the legal age for marriage was set at 12 (women) and 14 (men), the usual age appears to have been older (about 15 and 20, respectively); women might normally remain fertile until age 40–45. Infant mortality remained high in all periods (perhaps as great as 50 percent), and the presence of religiously inspired CELIBACY and heretical groups that rejected procreation probably exercised a significant—if unquantifiable—limiting influence on birthrates (Patlagean, *Structure,* pt.VIII [1969], 1353–69). In addition, ABORTIONS, CONTRACEPTION, and abandonment of infants are all attested, esp. in the early centuries. Evidence from 4th–7th-C. Palestine indicates that half the adult male population died by age 45, three-quarters by 65, and that women suffered significantly higher rates of early mortality.

Our knowledge of life expectancy in succeeding centuries must remain inferential: NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.29, ed. Jenkins-Westerink, 200.47–49) states that few of his contemporaries survived to 70, while Basil PEDIADITES (S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* [Athens 1882] 48.21–3) considered an individual over 60 to be decrepit; nevertheless a comparison reveals the possibility that the Byz. in the 11th–12th C. had a longer life expectancy than their predecessors in the 4th–6th C. and their Western contemporaries (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 116f). The subsequent centuries probably experienced a demographic crisis: A. Laiou (*FM* 6 [1984] 279–84) suggests that in 13th-C. Epiros the number of children per family was below the level required for the population to replace itself; she also calculates (*Peasant Society* 296) that in 14th-C. Macedonia 71 percent of females died by age 45 and 74 percent of males by age 50.

LIT. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 73–112. J.C. Russell, *Ancient and Medieval Population* (Philadelphia 1958) 92–94, 99–101. A. Bryer, H. Lowry, *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986). –A.J.C.

DEMOI (δῆμοι), without further qualifiers, usually means "the people." It can refer to members of the circus FACTIONS and is sometimes used this way alongside *meros* or *demotai,* esp. in technical texts like DE CEREMONIIS. Th. Uspensky (*VizVrem* 1 [1894] 1–16) mistakenly connected the political districts of ancient Athens, also called *demoi,* to the very different Byz. meanings. This misidentification fueled the notion that factions resembled political parties and preserved some vestige of ancient Hellenic DEMOCRACY, which in turn led to far-reaching interpretations of 5th–7th-C. Byz. history based on the interplay of factional riots, the presumed or attested factional loyalties of various emperors, and the social, economic, and religious identities ascribed to each faction. In fact, as Sjuzjumov and Cameron (*infra*) independently demonstrated, the *demoi,* whether in the singular or plural, have little to do with districts or political parties in the modern sense.

LIT. G. Manojlović, "Le peuple de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 617–716. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Političeskaja bor'ba vokrug zrelišč Vostočno-Rimskoj imperii IV veka," *Učenye zapiski Ural'skogo gosudarstevennogo universiteta imeni. A.M. Gor'kogo* (Sverdlovsk 1952) 88–98. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 25–39. A.A. Čekalova, "K voprosu o dimach v rannej Vizantii," *VizOč* [4] (1982) 37–53. –M.McC.

DEMONOLOGY. Byz. demonology is substantially derived from the patristic synthesis laid down by John of Damascus. Witch hunts appear not to have taken place, as in the West, but there was widespread interest in the theme of DEMONS not only among the common people but among scholars as well. The latter is instanced in two systematic tracts falsely attributed to Michael PSELLOS. In the longer of the two, *Timotheos, or On demons,* the unknown author uses the form of a Platonic dialogue to provide an overview of the opinions of the pagans and distinguishes six kinds of demons, which dwell in the vicinity of the moon, in the air, on the earth, in the water, under the earth, and in the darkness. The author also states that the Euchites or MESSALIANS, who are the focus of the dialogue, erred when they saw Satan as the Son of God, since he is simply the prince of lies, cast into the darkness because he thought he could be equal to God. Demonology was frequently connected with idolatry.

SOURCES. P. Gautier, "Le *De daemonibus* du Ps.-Psellos," *REB* 38 (1980) 105–94. Idem, "Ps.-Psellos, *Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus,*" *REB* 46 (1988) 85–107.

LIT. P. Ioannou, "Les croyances démonologiques au XIe s. à Byzance," 6 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Paris 1950) 245–60. J. Grosdidier de Matons, "Psellos et le monde de l'Irrationnel," *TM* 6 (1976) 325–49. R.P.H. Greenfield, *Traditions of Belief in Late Byzantine Demonology* (Amsterdam 1988). –G.P.

DEMONS (δαίμονες, also *allotrioi*, lit. "strangers, aliens"), evil spirits. In addition to rejecting the view that demons were offspring of marriages between angels and daughters of Cain (Gen 6:1–4), Christianity also repudiated the dualist idea of uncreated demons, who were creators of the material world. God created them good and with free will, but they chose the path of evil because of their envy of man. Sometimes they were identified with pagan gods.

Although these fallen ANGELS were incorporeal (contrary to previous views acknowledging a certain kind of body in demons), they were not free from physical desires. They inhabited the earth (esp. dark places like tombs and caves) and its surrounding atmosphere, and appeared to men in the disguise of animals (DOGS, SNAKES, etc.), as ETHIOPIANS, robbers (G. Bartelink, *VigChr* 21 [1967] 12–24), women, and so on. Rarely represented in art before the 11th C., demons are shown thereafter as small, usually black creatures who travel in packs. They beset Christ in scenes of his Ministry, pull monks from the ladder of JOHN KLIMAX, and collectively stand in for the DEVIL (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies,* fig.459). In contrast to Western medieval versions, they are usually absent from scenes of the Last Judgment. They were hostile to mankind, producing crop failures, storms, famines, droughts, and other disasters, and attempted to divert men from righteous ways. Demons were esp. active in seducing hermits. Beginning with the vita of ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria (W. Schneemelcher in *Pietas* [Münster/Westf. 1980] 381–92), hagiographic literature presents manifold scenes of the personal struggle of saints against demons. Especially dangerous was the so-called demon of midday (Ps 90:6), who infused the human heart with AKEDIA, or torpor and dejection. The demon of midday was sometimes identified as ARTEMIS (C.D. Müller, *JbAChr* 17 [1974] 95–98).

Some men sold their souls to demons for the sake of power or glory, while others were possessed by demons who caused sickness, esp. mental derangement. Demons had their place in the cosmic development of history: not only were they seducers of men (from the days of Adam and Eve), they were accusers of sinners: demons grabbed their victims' souls and tortured them in HELL. The best protection against demons was piety and its material manifestations such as the sign of the cross, holy water, incense, amulets, holy books (particularly the Psalms), icons, and sincere prayers. A sure and effective defense against demons was to respond with scriptural passages, to ask the demon its name, or to mock and ridicule it. There was a special service of EXORCISM to rid possessed people of demons.

LIT. G. Closen, *Die Sünde der "Söhne Gottes"* (Rome 1937). J. Rivière, "Role du démon au jugement particulier chez les Pères," *RSR* 4 (1924) 43–64. A. Grün, *Der Umgang mit dem Bösen* (Münsterschwarzach 1980). G. Switek, "Wüstenväter und Dämonen," *Geist und Leben* 37 (1964) 340–58. J. Chrysavgis, "The Monk and the Demon," *Nicolaus* 13 (1986) 265–79. –G.P., A.C.

DEMOSIARIOS (δημοσιάριος, from *demosion*, "state treasury"), a fiscal category of peasants whose nature is unclear. *Demosiarioi* appear in only a handful of documents from the mid-10th through the mid-11th C.; in these documents they are sometimes called PAROIKOI and are often associated with *exkoussatoi tou dromou* (see EXKOUSSATOI) and STRATIOTAI, two fiscal categories of peasants with specific obligations toward the state. The traditional interpretation has been that *demosiarioi* were peasants settled on imperial domains. Ostrogorsky, however, hypothesized that *demosiarioi* were *paroikoi* held by the state who owed the state the same fiscal and service obligations that private *paroikoi* owed their lords. Basing his reasoning on the appearance of the term *demosiarios* and later terms such as *demosiakos paroikos* (which he considers to be equivalent), Ostrogorsky concludes that *demosiarioi* were in effect state *paroikoi* and that an independent free peasantry disappeared during the 10th C. and was replaced by an agrarian system in which there were only state *paroikoi* and private *paroikoi*. On the other hand, Lemerle, along with other scholars who reject Ostrogorsky's hypothesis, maintains the traditional view and suggests that *demosiarioi* (and the *dedemosieumenoi paroikoi* found in a few 11th-C. documents) were a special category of peasants who lived on state domains and, while these might well be called state *paroikoi* in that they held land on condition of fiscal and service obligations toward the state, they were perhaps not numerous and did not, during the 10th and early 11th C., signal the disappearance of a free peasantry. It is plausible that the VILLEINS of the Commune, on the Venetian territory of Romania, distinct from the *villani* or *parichi* of individuals (Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I [1976], 35f, pt.III [1975], 149), originated from Byz. *demosiarioi* of the period before 1204.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 182–87. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 11–24, rev. J. Karayannopulos, *BZ* 50 (1957) 168–72. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 27–39. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:208. –M.B.

DEMOSIOS (δημόσιος), term designating the state treasury, fisc, a meaning also found in antiquity. In Byz. the fisc was called *demosios* primarily as a recipient of fines—in these cases the term is used side by side with VESTIARION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 29)—or as a recipient of confiscated property or escheat (e.g., *Ecloga* 2.7). The use of the term *demosios* as recipient of fines is testified to by later acts, for example, a purchase deed of 1373 (*Docheiar.*, no.42.81). Another use of the word is the definition of the fisc as owner: thus the *Ecloga* (13.1) mentions the lease of land from the *demosios* or other institutions. In the same way, a *prostagma* of Manuel II from 1409 contrasts the property of the *demosios* and that of monasteries. Accordingly, *ta demosia* denotes state properties; a chrysobull of 1311 speaks of officials administering *ta demosia* (*Pantel.*, no.10.65–66). More rarely the term was employed in connection with tax collecting; thus in 1344 the *protovestiarites* John Doukas expressed his concern that the *demosios* should not suffer in the case of penury (*Docheiar.*, no.23.6–7). The term *demosios kanon* or *to demosion* was, however, broadly employed for tax. It remains disputable whether the distinction between *demosios* and the private imperial (*basilikos*) treasury, drawn in certain texts (e.g., *Ecloga*, 16.4) reflects reality.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 24–28. –A.K.

DEMOSTHENES, Athenian orator; born 382 B.C., died 322. He remained "the Orator" for the Byz., who referred to him frequently and used quotations from his speeches through the 15th C. Libanios and Zosimos drafted short biographies of Demosthenes based on ancient sources; numerous papyri from Byz. Egypt contain texts of Demosthenes. A statue of the orator in the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople was described in verse by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS. Demosthenes was among those classical authors in whom interest was revived in the 9th C. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.265) gives a detailed biography of Demosthenes (based on pseudo-Plutarch), and the earliest surviving MS, Paris, B.N. gr. 2934, is dated by Dilts (*infra*, vol. 1 [1983] 7) to the 9th C. Interest in the orator continued in the 10th C., to which four more MSS are dated. In the *Souda* a biographical note was compiled. The MSS were supplied with scholia in which on rare occasions "contemporary" notes were inserted, for example, "Byzantion is now Constantinople" (in Or. 5.25.40) or "Perinthos, a Thracian polis, now named Herakleia" (in Or. 11.3.10).

For NICHOLAS OF MYRA Demosthenes was the embodiment of virtue compared to the wretched orator Aeschines (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:358.8–9) and superior even to Pericles (1:381.1–3). TZETZES

(*Historiae* 6.67–188), on the contrary, relying upon a tradition hostile to Demosthenes (based on Aeschines, among others), presents the orator as a Scythian by birth, effeminately dressed, perverse, and easily bribed. Metochites developed the same approach in his comparison of Demosthenes and ARISTEIDES (ed. M. Gigante, *ParPass* 20 [1965] 51–92). Even though as a rhetorician Demosthenes was superior to Aristeides, he paid the price of living in a democracy, being ensnared by his passions, and adapting his views to the political situation. Aristeides, on the other hand, who lived in the security of the Roman Empire, was concerned only about the serenity of his style.

ED. *Scholia demosthenica*, ed. M. Dilts, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1983–86).

LIT. E. Drerup, *Demosthenes im Urteile des Altertums* (Würzburg 1923) 166–241. Wilson, *Scholars* 260f. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite* (Amsterdam 1987) 194–97, 205f. M. Dilts, "Palaeologian Scholia on the Orations of Demosthenes," *ClMed* 36 (1985) 257–59. –A.K.

DEMOTIC. See COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE; EGYPT.

DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA (How to Withstand Sieges), conventional title of an anonymous treatise on siege warfare. References to the capture of Thessalonike (904) and the fall of Kitros (924) provide a *terminus post quem* for the work; mention of the "ferocious Bulgars" reflects its focus on the empire's western regions. The author reviews the initial steps to be taken once enemy intentions were known, including gathering and rationing foodstuffs; collecting raw materials (e.g., wood, linen, flax, cotton, hemp) for weapons and other equipment, while destroying any source of enemy provisionment; and evacuating the elderly or unfit. He then lists the town's craftsmen (carpenters; tailors; smiths; makers of rope, weapons, and saddles) who were to be put to work on necessary items and tasks. Further defensive measures included digging a moat around the wall and setting traps to impede enemy assault, while the walls were heightened, repaired, or doubled where necessary. Citizens and soldiers were properly mobilized and a system of patrols was organized; criminals, a potential source of treachery, were to be rounded up. Forays to ambush the enemy en route or to ravage their land were advised. Though fully attentive to contemporary conditions, the author frequently supports his recommendations with examples drawn from the past, revealing a wide knowledge of earlier Byz. and classical historians and tacticians.

ED. *Anonymus de obsidione toleranda*, ed. H. van den Berg (Leiden 1947).

LIT. J. Teall, "Byzantine Urbanism in the Military Handbooks," in *The Medieval City*, ed. H.A. Miskimin, D. Herlihy, A.L. Udovitch (New Haven–London 1977) 201–05. –E.M.

DE PECULIIS, a special tract on family property law, esp. on the separate property of children (PECULIUM) and their assets that could not be acquired (*aprosporista*) by the person who had authority over them. Demetrios CHOMATENOS attributed the work to Eustathios RHOMAIOS. The purpose of the study was the instruction of fellow judges on this difficult material, after uncertainties had arisen in judging.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 3:345–57, with corr. by N. Matzes, *EEBS* 33 (1964) 160–62.

LIT. A. Berger, "On the so-called tractatus de peculiis," *Scritti in onore di C. Ferrini*, vol. 3 (Milan 1948) 174–210. W. Wolska-Conus, "L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XI[e] siècle: Xiphilin et Psellos," *TM* 7 (1979) 31–36. –D.S.

DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS (Ἀποκαθήλωσις). The removal of Christ's body from the Cross, though not described in the Gospels, had been elaborated in hymns and homilies by the time the earliest surviving Byz. images appear in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.30v) and in Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME, in the 10th C. (Maguire, *infra*, pl.76; A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth-Century Metropolitan Art in Cappadocia* [Washington, D.C., 1986] pls. 38, 85). These images differ markedly. The Paris Gregory version is emotionally reserved, with Mary standing to one side while Joseph of Arimathea supports Christ's body and Nicodemus removes a nail from his hand. The two Göreme versions are more emotional, as Mary embraces Christ's body, laying her head against his. The reserved variant—with John added and Mary holding Christ's hand—persisted through the 12th C. The more expressive variant continued as well, with the figures gaining in dynamism and emotional urgency in accord with the mounting intensity of the Holy Week liturgies (NEREZI). A fresco at MILEŠEVA anticipates the yet more expressive Palaiologan versions by adding the lamenting Holy

Women and depicting MARY MAGDALENE holding Christ's hand while Mary embraces his torso, her cheek on his.

LIT. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow" 163–64. Millet, *Recherches* 467–88. –A.W.C.

DERE AĞZI, site in the Kasaba Valley of central LYCIA, noted for its elaborate cross-domed church, which has a domed nave, side aisles ending in pastophoria, a narthex flanked by towers, an exonarthex, and two attached octagons; galleries rise above the aisles and narthex. The masonry consists of rubble faced with cut stones, with bands of brick; much of the material was imported from the region of Constantinople. Traces of frescoes and mosaics suggest a date in the late 9th or early 10th C.; this dating is questioned, however, by U. Peschlow (*BZ* 79 [1986] 84). The architecture finds parallels in the monasteries of LIPS and the MYRELAION in Constantinople. The Byz. name of the church is unknown. Surrounding buildings suggest it was a monastery; its size, wealth, and style indicate a wealthy patron in the capital. The site also housed a small settlement, protected by a large fortress with towers of varying shape; it contains cisterns and ruined buildings and may date from the 9th C.

LIT. J. Morganstern, *The Byzantine Church of Dereağzi and its Decoration* (Tübingen 1983). –C.F.

DE REBUS BELLICIS (4th C.), a treatise by an anonymous Latin writer on economic reform and military innovation. On internal evidence he is usually confined to the period 337–78, probably the reign of Valentinian and Valens (366–75), albeit different theories dispute exactly when, and whether the author lived in the West or East. His short book proposed to the incumbent emperors various economic and military reforms guaranteed to improve the efficiency of the Roman army. The former strike a modern note (reduction of public expenditure) with bizarre touches (confinement of mint workers to an island to contain their corruption); the latter make his work a fascinating piece of writing on ancient TECHNOLOGY. His brain children include new WEAPONS (paddle-steamers and catapults abandoning the classical principle of torsion), revived versions of old ones (scythed chariots and portable bridges on bladders), and more comfortable clothing for soldiers. There is no evidence that his ideas were ever adopted, his book being perhaps intercepted and "lost" in the files by some imperial civil servant.

His text, written in very difficult Latin, was accompanied by miniature illustrations, as were many SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS. Like the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM with which the text was transmitted, these pictures are known only through copies of a Carolingian intermediary. Nonetheless they represent an essential and therefore original part of the author's message. Because they are realistic, these illustrations constitute useful data about weaponry and other instruments.

ED. *Anonymi auctoris De rebus bellicis*, ed. R. Ireland (Leipzig 1984). *A Roman Reformer and Inventor*, ed. and tr. E.A. Thompson (Oxford 1952).
LIT. *Aspects of the De Rebus Bellicis*, ed. M.W.C. Hassall (Oxford 1979). B. Baldwin, "The *De rebus bellicis*," *Eirene* 16 (1978) 23–39. –B.B., A.C.

DE RE MILITARI (On Warfare), conventional title of an anonymous, untitled military treatise dealing with campaign tactics mainly but not exclusively beyond the northwestern frontiers of the empire. The author, a plain stylist and an experienced soldier, envisions an army of about 25,000 men under the emperor's personal command and sets forth the proper procedures for preparing the expeditionary CAMP (1–6), marching through difficult terrain in enemy territory (9–20), and attacking or defending camps and fortifications (21–27); he concludes with brief notes on assembling and training the army, transport units, and daily assignments (28–32).

The date of the treatise is uncertain. A reference to the tagma of the ATHANATOI (created 970) provides a *terminus post quem* for its composition, and the emphasis on Bulgaria links it to Basil II's many wars against SAMUEL OF BULGARIA between 986 and 1014. The *De re militari* is appended to the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI in the earliest MSS and was apparently written to complement the DE VELITATIONE (ca.975); although similar in style and reliance on firsthand experience, the two texts reveal interesting contrasts in military terminology and conditions between the empire's eastern and western frontiers.

ED. *Incerti scriptoris byzantini saeculi X. liber de re militari*, ed. R. Vári (Leipzig 1901). Dennis, *Military Treatises* 241–335, with Eng. tr.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 155–60, 171–75, 248–54, 272–74. –E.M.

DERMOKAITES (Δερμοκαΐτης, fem. Δερμοκαΐτισσα; etym. "hide-burner"), a noble family known from the mid-10th C. An early Dermokaites was a soldier who became a monk and addressee of SYMEON LOGOTHETE; another (or the same) Dermokaites was the monk on Mt. Olympos to whom Romanos I Lekapenos sent the written confession of his sins in 946. John and Michael Dermokaites were troop commanders ca.1036–40. The family rose to prominence after 1204, when the *sebastos* Michael Dermokaites held the *episkepsis* of Sampson (see PRIENE) ca.1216. In 1306/7 the *sebastos* Dermokaites was recommended by Patr. ATHANASIOS I to take charge of the grain supply of Constantinople. In the 14th–15th C. some members of the Dermokaites family were civil servants and courtiers, such as Theophylaktos, judge in the 1360s; George Dermokaites Palaiologos, governor of Imbros in the mid-15th C.; and Dermokaites, chamberlain of John VIII. They were apparently related to the RUBENIDS and later the PALAIOLOGOS, ASAN, and Chrysoloras families. Their role in cultural life was insignificant, even though a Dermokaites was an addressee of Michael GABRAS, and Dermokaitissa Asanina Palaiologina, who was buried in a chapel of the CHORA MONASTERY (after 1330?), may have been among the patrons of the church.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Family of Dermokaites circa 940–1453," *BS* 35 (1974) 1–11, with add. A.P. Kazhdan, *BS* 36 (1975) 192. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.874. *PLP*, nos. 5197–216. –A.K.

DESERT. The term first appears in Greek literature as an adjectival form (ἐρῆμος, Attic ἔρημος) meaning "desolate" or "void." By the early Christian period, this merged with a Semitic notion of the desert as the dwelling place of demons. Thus Jesus' temptation by Satan takes place in the desert (*eremos* as a substantive, Lk 4:1). With the rapid development of asceticism in the 3rd–4th C., many Christians consciously imitated John the Baptist and Jesus by settling in desert regions of Egypt, Syria, and Palestine. The "desert" came to mean any wild, uninhabited region, including forested mountains, because these offered both withdrawal (*anachoresis*) from civilization and the challenge of combat with demons or wild animals.

As the numbers of monks increased, some of their desert settlements grew to the point where, paradoxically, "the desert was made a city" (Athanasios, *Life of Antony*, ch.14, PG 26:865B), and the real desert often became an ideological phenomenon. Through the Byz. period, the desert symbolized Christian life in its most challenging form (as in PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG, *Letter* 6; JOHN KLIMAX, *Ladder of Paradise* 15.62).

In PSALTER illustration and the later OCTATEUCHS, Eremos is personified as a male figure in classical garb sitting in the wilderness that the Israelites traversed before the Crossing of the Red Sea. Desert also appears as a counterpart to Earth in late Byz. representations of the Christmas *sticheron*. Here it always appears as a woman, depicted as seated, standing, or, as in the frescoes of the HOLY APOSTLES at Thessalonike, kneeling and offering a manger to the Christ child.

LIT. A. Guillaumont, "La conception du désert chez les moines d'Égypte," *RHR* 188 (1975) 3–21. –J.A.T., A.C.

DESERT FATHERS, usual designation for the early ascetics of Egypt to whom are attributed the sayings that became, in written form, the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Beginning in the 3rd C. they withdrew to the edge of the settled land of Egypt (see DESERT), singly or in groups, as a visible alternative to village and family life and more directly to confront powerful spiritual forces. Individuals among them acquired fame for their exploits of sanctity: Sts. ANTONY and MAKARIOS THE GREAT; Moses the Black, reformed highwayman; Theodore, who sold his books to give the money to the poor; Ammonas, who vanquished a basilisk; Daniel, who defied a barbarian raid; Besarion, who never sat down; Poemen, who loved the hidden life; Hor the silent; and Pambo the humble. There were women too: Sara who embraced continence, Synkletike who taught peace. Their life and spirituality were the goal of many pilgrimages in late antiquity. Individual figures such as ARSENIOS THE GREAT, Antony, and MARY OF EGYPT appear in church programs of decoration from the 11th C. onward as paradigms of monasticism.

SOURCE. *Historia Monachorum in Aegypto*, ed. A.-J. Festugière (Brussels 1961).

LIT. N. Russell, B. Ward, *The Lives of the Desert Fathers* (London-Kalamazoo 1981). S.N.C. Lieu, "The Holy Men

and their Biographers in Early Byzantium and China," in *Maistor* 113–48. –L.S.B.MacC., A.C.

DESPOTES (δεσπότης, lit. "lord, master"), official epithet applied to God, the patriarch, and bishops, but mainly to the emperor. The title of *despotes*, which was created in the 12th C., occupied the highest rung on the hierarchical ladder, second only to the emperor and co-emperor. The origins of the title are disputed. According to G. Ostrogorsky (*Byz. Geschichte* 153–65), Manuel I created it in 1163, under Hungarian influence, for his heir presumptive Alexios (the future BÉLA III) who appeared as *despotes* in a document of 1167 (P. Wirth, *Byzantina* 5 [1973] 424). Already before 1163, however, *despotes* was an epithet for the highest nobility, applied on seals to SEBASTOKRATORS and CAESARS (L. Stiernon, *REB* 21 [1963] 292; A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 41–44) or even used as a separate title (e.g., Stephen Kontostephanos: Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2723). From the 13th C. emperors bestowed the title on several individuals (primarily their sons) simultaneously, and it did not signify the right to succession. Under the Palaiologoi, *despotai* were active both in Constantinople and at the head of the largest appanages—Thessalonike, Epiros, and Morea. Only Morea, however—and even it not without doubts (P. Wirth, *BZ* 56 [1963] 353)—can properly be called a despotate; for Epiros the term was employed only in sources from the late 14th C. onward, predominantly of Western origin (L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 [1959] 124–26). The term penetrated into Bulgaria (13th C.) and Serbia—the first known Serbian *despotes* was Jovan OLIVER in the 14th C. The rulers of Kerkyra in the 15th C. were also named *despotai*.

LIT. B. Ferjančić, *Despoti u Vizantiji i južnoslovenskim zemljama* (Belgrade 1960). Idem, "Još jednom o počecima titule despota," *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 45–53. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:1–24. A. Failler, "Les insignes et la signature du despote," *REB* 40 (1982) 171–86. –A.K.

DETERMINISM, or a belief in the strict causality of events, was a concept developed by Greek philosophers, esp. Demokritos; the Byz. retained the theory that *ananke, heimarmene, automaton*, or TYCHE was an impersonal force determining the behavior and fate of humans regardless of their FREE WILL. The Eastern church fathers rejected determinism. Thus EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*Praep.evang.* 6.11) refuted the idea that the stars determined human actions. He argued that God, as creator, stands above the stars, while reward or punishment is meaningless without the freedom of human will. Eusebios's concept can be found in such church fathers as Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:168B), and was reaffirmed later on by MANUEL II (PG 156:419–42). Nikephoros GREGORAS delineated two contrasting views: either that divine PRONOIA ruled over mankind or that necessity (*ananke*) governed men's fate, a view ascribed by him to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 320–22). Determinism was a presupposition of ASTROLOGY.

The treatise entitled *On the Predestined Terms of Life*, which is attributed in the MS tradition either to Germanos I or to Photios (as a part of his *Amphilochia*), presents another aspect of antideterminist polemics (ed. C. Garton, L. Westerink [Buffalo 1979]). The problem discussed in the treatise is whether God predestines and foresees all the events of human life and death (in which case murderers only fulfill divine orders) or whether our evil actions could persuade God to change his previous decision—in other words, whether God acts as an impersonal force or is a personal deity changing his decisions in accordance with our behavior and prayer. This treatise, based upon Basil the Great, accepts the second solution.

The problem was debated anew in the mid-12th C., when NICHOLAS OF METHONE launched an attack against a treatise that was falsely attributed to an unnamed church father and that defended the doctrine of *aoristia*, the lack of any predestined terms of life. The discussion was again revived in the 14th–15th C., esp. by PLETHON (I. Medvedev, *Vizantiskij gumanizm* [Leningrad 1976] 104–23).

LIT. L.G. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Âge* (Louvain–La Neuve 1986) 64–75. D. Amand, *Fatalisme et liberté dans l'antiquité grecque* (Louvain 1945; rp. Amsterdam 1973). M. Kertsch, "Zur unterschiedlichen ethischen Bewertung von 'Natur/äusserer Zwang' und 'freier Willensentschluss' bei Heiden und Christen im Hintergrund einer Aussage Gregors von Nazianz," *WS* 18 (1984) 187–93. N.G. Politis, *Pegai kai periechomenon ton peri heimarmenes kephalaion tou Nemesiou Emeses* (Athens 1979). A. Anwander, "'Schicksal'—Wörter in Antike und Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 2 (1949–50) 48–54. –G.P.

DE THEMATIBUS (Περὶ τῶν θεμάτων), conventional title of the book written by CONSTANTINE VII or under his auspices on the geography of the empire. The book consists of two parts dealing

respectively with the East and the West. Each part is divided into sections dedicated to individual THEMES (Anatolikon, Armeniakon, etc.), treating the origin of the name, boundaries, and history of the area. Much of the information, however, is taken from STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM and HIEROKLES and describes the situation of the 6th C.; later changes and events are mentioned only infrequently. Thus the work falls within the framework of encyclopedic endeavors of Constantine VII such as the EXCERPTA. The date of production is hotly debated. The book used to be considered a "juvenile work" of Constantine and dated to the period 934–44; recently scholars have begun to attribute it to a later year, after 952 (T. Lounghis, *REB* 31 [1973] 299–305) or at least after 944 (H. Ahrweiler, *TM* 8 [1981] 1–5).

ED. *De thematibus*, ed. A. Pertusi (Vatican 1952).
LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 321–23. N. Oikonomides, "Constantin VII Porphyrogénète et les thèmes de Céphalonie et de Longobardie," *REB* 23 (1965) 118–23. G. Ostrogorsky, "Sur la date de la composition du Livre des Thèmes et sur l'époque de la constitution des premiers thèmes d'Asie Mineure," *Byzantion* 23 (1953) 31–66. –A.K.

DEUTEROS (δεύτερος, lit. "second"), eunuch in charge of imperial insignia: thrones, curtains, vessels, and apparel. His staff included *hoi epi ton allaximon* (see ALLAXIMOI), VESTITORS, and *hoi epi ton axiomaton* (keepers of insignia and ceremonial garments for dignitaries). *Diaitarioi* with their *primikerios* were subordinates of both the *deuteros* and the PAPIAS. According to Beljaev, there were two distinct groups of *diaitarioi*, but Bury (*Adm. System* 128) suggests that the same *diaitarioi* were under the command of both eunuchs. The *deuteros* was considered the assistant of the *papias*; at least he substituted for the *papias* when the latter was ill.

LIT. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1891) 165–81. –A.K.

DEVASTATIO CONSTANTINOPOLITANA, a brief but detailed account of the Fourth Crusade between 1202 and 16 May 1204 inserted into the MS of the *Annales Herbipolenses*. The Latin eyewitness's identity is controversial, but he may have belonged to the entourage of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT or, less probably, that of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. M. Kandel's arguments (*Byzantion* 4 [1929] 179–88) for the *Devastatio Constantinopolitana*'s dependency on the letters of Baldwin I to Pope Innocent III are not conclusive.

ED. C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin 1873) 86–92.
LIT. *RepFontHist* 4:183. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:149. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:469. –M.McC.

DE VELITATIONE (Περὶ παραδρομῆς, Treatise on Skirmishing), work attributed in the earliest MSS (ca.1020) to the "late" emperor Nikephoros II Phokas. In the preface, the anonymous author explains that he composed the text from notes given him by the emperor. Written ca.975 when the Arab threat had already waned, *De velitatione* recalls (for future generations, should this threat reappear) the local, defensive warfare perfected by the PHOKAS family (among others) along the eastern frontiers during the first half of the 10th C. The treatise encapsulates the essential principles of guerrilla tactics—close reconnaissance, surprise, use of nightfall and terrain, avoidance of pitched battles—all in order to give the Byz. the advantage of choosing the best time and place for their attack. The author analyzes four types of Arab expedition, from small, rapid bands of raiders to large armies of infantry and cavalry, and reviews the options available to the Byz. commander; methods of attacking or defending CAMPS and fortifications are also covered. The product of an experienced soldier, *De velitatione* reflects his originality and vivid manner of presentation; at the same time, the militant religious ideology behind the Byz.-Arab wars of the later 10th C. is visible. The tract contains an impassioned plea for the preservation of the salaries and fiscal and legal privileges of soldiers risking their lives for their Christian brethren (ch.19).

ED. and LIT. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 137–239. G. Dagron, H. Mihăescu, *Le traité sur la guérilla (De velitatione) de l'Empereur Nicéphore Phocas (963–69)* (Paris 1986). –A.K., E.M.

DEVELTOS (Δεβελτός, Δηβελτός) or Deultum, city and fortress in Bulgaria about 20 km southwest of Burgas, controlling the north-south coastal road. An episcopal see from late antiquity, in the 8th C. Develtos was a major Byz. defensive position against the Bulgarians. Captured by KRUM in 812, it became a strong point on the Bulgarian defensive earth wall constructed by OMURTAG, which ran from the Black Sea to the river Marica. With the treaty of 846 Byz. regained Develtos, but SYMEON OF BULGARIA recaptured it in 896.

After 927 it became once again a Byz. possession, and at the end of the 12th C. part of the Second Bulgarian Empire; it remained in Bulgarian hands until falling to the Ottoman Turks in 1396. Due to its location, Develtos was a center of trade and accordingly a seat of *kommerkiarioi* from the mid-9th C. onward (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.285; 2, no.159bis).

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 5 (1905) 260. –R.B.

DEVGENIEVO DEJANIE (Deeds of Devgenij), Slavonic prose version of DIGENES AKRITAS. The *Devgenievo Dejanie* survives only in three defective MSS of the late 17th and 18th C. and in fragments copied from a lost 16th-C. MS. Together they comprise five episodes: the adventures and marriage of the "tsar Amir" and his Greek bride, and the birth of Devgenij; Devgenij's youth; Devgenij's defeat of Filipap and the warrior-girl Maksimiana (Philopappos and the Amazon Maximo of the Greek original; A. Schmaus, *BZ* 44 [1951] 495–508); Devgenij's courtship and marriage to Stratigovna (i.e., the daughter of a *strategos*); and Devgenij's victory over the tsar Vasilij. The last episode has been interpreted as indicating a profeudal tendency in the Greek epic; E. Trapp insists, however, that such names occur only in the Slavonic version and not in the Greek original (*Byzantina* 3 [1971] 201–11). It has been claimed that the Slavonic translation reflects the "original" of the "literary" version of *Digenes*, in some respects comparable to the Grottaferrata MS, but also that the Slavonic is merely a contaminated adaptation of a late offshoot of the Greek tradition. The translation is often assigned to pre-Mongol Kiev, though many scholars favor a 14th-C. southern Slav provenance.

ED. *Devgenievo dejanie*, ed. V.D. Kuz'mina (Moscow 1962). Ed. O.V. Tvorogov in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XIII vek* (Moscow 1981) 28–64.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Le Digénis russe," *Memoirs of the American Folklore Society* 42 (1947–49) 131–69. A. Vaillant, "Le Digénis slave," *PKJIF* 21 (1955) 197–228. H. Graham, "The Tale of Devgenij," *BS* 29 (1968) 51–91. –S.C.F.

DEVIL (διάβολος), Satan, the prince of DEMONS; the name was interpreted by the majority of church fathers as "calumniator." He was considered incorporeal by Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:456A) and other church fathers (e.g., Theodoret of Cyrrhus, PG 83:473D). By the 11th C. the theory arose that the Devil and demons had opaque bodies; Niketas STETHATOS refuted this opinion, but Psellos developed it (A. Ducellier in *Le Diable au Moyen âge* [Paris 1979] 202f). In Manichaean and later Bogomil doctrine the Devil appears as an eternal principle and the cause of evil; the Christian perception of the Devil was developed as a refutation of this dualist view. The Devil is a creature, one of the ANGELS, who, possessing free will, changed his nature and out of pride and wickedness revolted against God. As the enemy of God the Devil is hostile to mankind, always trying to entrap men, esp. those of saintly character; however, he involuntarily benefits humanity since man can prove his virtue in this contest.

In everyday practice the Devil's foreknowledge (albeit limited) and power sometimes leads to confusion of good and evil forces, but a man possesses the means (esp. the CROSS) to dispel him. The Devil was defeated by Christ but allowed to continue his activity against mankind; ignorant of his destiny the Devil blasphemes against God but at Christ's Second Coming (PAROUSIA), he will be thrown into fire with his host. Magicians were said to use the Devil's help in achieving their goals. The Byz. presented the Devil as a snake or dog, as Ethiopian or black, and as *baskanos* (calumniator), having the evil eye (G. Bartelink, *OrChrP* 49 [1983] 390–406). His epithet was *kosmokrator*, "world-ruler." ANTICHRIST was his "general" in the war against the Good.

In art, in such scenes as the temptation of Christ, the Devil is represented in a manner indistinguishable from that of a regular demon.

LIT. J.B. Russell, *Lucifer: The Devil in the Middle Ages* (Ithaca 1984) 28–51. F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne der Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster 1918). A. Theodorou, "He peri ton dikaiomaton tou Satana: Theoria en te soteriologia tes archaias Anatolikes Ekklesias," *Theologia* 28 (1957) 103–14, 225–37, 412–19. G. Lafontaine, "Une homélie copte sur le diable et sur Michel, attribuée à Grégoire le Théologien," *Muséon* 92 (1979) 37–60. –G.P.

DEVOL (Δεάβολις [Deabolis], Διάβολις [Diabolis]), a fortress and bishopric on the Via EGNATIA south of Ohrid (precise location unknown), first mentioned in connection with Basil II's conquest of Bulgaria: in 1018 he subdued a revolt in "so-called Diabolis" (Skyl. 360.43, 60). As a *kastron* under the jurisdiction of the bishop of Kastoria, Diabolis appears in Basil's grant of a privilege to the Bulgarian church in 1019; only in a later list

(*Notitiae CP* 13:835) is Diabolis named as the second bishopric of Justiniana Prima, or Bulgaria. Theophylaktos of Ohrid (died early 12th C.), however, speaks of the city as the see of KLIMENT OF OHRID (ca.900) and the center of his school, but no independent sources confirm this late evidence. In 1072 the rebellious Bulgarians captured Diabolis before attacking Kastoria.

Devol played an important role during the Norman war against Alexios I, and in 1108 the emperor forced BOHEMUND to sign there a treaty with the empire, in which Bohemond conceded vassal dependence on Byz. Devol remained an important stronghold in the 13th and 14th C.

LIT. P. Koledarov, "O mestonachoždenii srednevekovogo goroda Devol i predelach odnoimennoj oblasti," *Palaeobulgarica* 6.1 (1982) 87–101; 6.2 (1982) 75–90. T. Tomovski, "Po tragata na srednevekovniot grad Devol," *Godišen zbornik: Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitet, Skopje* 27 (1975) 187–200. N. Ljubarskij, M. Freidenberg, "Devol'skij dogovor 1108 g. meždu Alekseem Komninom i Boemundom," *VizVrem* 21 (1962) 260–74. –A.K.

DEVŞIRME. See JANISSARIES.

DEXTRARUM JUNCTIO. See MARRIAGE RITE.

DHŪ-NUWĀS (Δίμνος), ruler of ḤIMYAR (517–25). A native of South Arabia, he seized power by overthrowing his predecessor (probably Maʿadikarib); he converted to Judaism, took the name of Joseph (Yūsuf), and, seeking alliance with Iran, turned against Greek and Ethiopian Christian merchants active in Ḥimyar. Malalas (Malal. 433.13–17) relates that Dimnos, the king of the Ḥimyarites, murdered Roman merchants and stopped their trade with Ethiopia and India. The Axumite expedition (probably led by ELESBOAM or his father) to Ḥimyar was an immediate response to the policy of Dhū-Nuwās. At first compelled to flee, Dhū-Nuwās gathered forces and in 518 reconquered the cities of Ẓafār, Muhwan, and NAJRĀN; many Christians were killed. According to an inscription, Dhū-Nuwās's general slaughtered all of the inhabitants of Muhwan and burned its church. Dhū-Nuwās tried to gain the support of Iran and the Lakhmids but failed, whereas the Roman-Ethiopian alliance was strengthened; in 525, with the help of the fleet sent by Justin I, Elesboam again invaded Ḥimyar. In a battle on a seashore Dhū-Nuwās was killed by an Ethiopian soldier whom Yu. Kobiščanov (*VizVrem* 25 [1964] 234f) identifies as ABRAHA. Al-Ṭabari, however, knew a legend that Dhū-Nuwās preferred suicide to disgrace and threw himself, with his horse, into the sea. After his death South Arabia reverted to Axumite rule.

LIT. A. Lundin, *Južnaja Aravija v VI veku* (Moscow-Leningrad 1961) 31–52. Yu. Kobiščanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979) 90–103. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels 1971) 260–68. M. Rodinson, "Sur une nouvelle inscription du règne de Dhoû Nowâs," *Bibliotheca orientalis* 26 (1969). –A.K.

DIABATENOS. See DABATENOS.

DIADEM. See CROWN.

DIADOCHOS (Διάδοχος), bishop of Photike in Epiros, prominent opponent of MONOPHYSITISM in the 450s; born ca.400, died before 486. Little else is known, though a possible connection with VICTOR VITENSIS has been suggested (H.-I. Marrou, *REA* 45 [1943] 225–32). Diadochos's major work, *One Hundred Chapters on Spiritual Perfection*, was widely admired by many Byz. Its three major concerns are to advocate the virtues of asceticism; to stress the three virtues of faith, hope, and esp. love as the basis for spiritual contemplation; and to combat the MESSALIAN notion (condemned at the Council of EPHESUS in 431) of demons in the soul by arguing that evil exists only as a consequence of sin. A homily on the Ascension, a *Catechesis*, and the *Vision* (in which the author conducts a dialogue with John the Baptist in a dream) also survive.

ED. *Oeuvres spirituelles*², ed. E. des Places (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Messana, "Diadoco di Fotica e la cultura cristiana in Epiro nel V secolo," *Augustinianum* 19 (1979) 151–66. F. Dörr, *Diadochus von Photike und die Messalianer* (Freiburg 1937). Th. Polyzogopoulos, "Life and Writings of Diadochus of Photice" and "The Anthropology of Diadochus of Photice," *Theologia* 55 (1984) 772–800, 1072–1101. –B.B.

DIAKONIA. See CONFRATERNITY.

DIAKONIKA (διακονικά, from διάκων, "deacon"), liturgical exclamations, LITANIES, DIPTYCHS, etc., of the DEACON. The book in which *diakonika*

were collected was called a *diakonikon* or *hierodiakonikon*, though these texts were ultimately incorporated into the EUCHOLOGION. There are a few extant *diakonika* rolls (e.g., Sinai gr. 1040 of the 12th C. [Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 2:127–35]).

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxii–xxxiii. –R.F.T.

DIAKONIKON. See PASTOPHORIA.

DIALECTS. Ancient Greek was divided into a number of dialects, all of which were mutually intelligible. As cities lost their autonomy to Hellenistic monarchies and later to Rome, local dialects were replaced by KOINE for public communication, gradually degenerated into peasant patois, and ultimately ceased to be spoken. Only the language of the TSAKONES in the southeastern Peloponnesos and the Greek of southern Italy show traces of the ancient Greek dialects. These, as they appeared in literature, were known to the Byz. mainly from the compilatory *On Dialects* of Gregory PARDOS. In the Middle Ages a new differentiation of Koine into regional dialects began. These developing dialects were used in literature only occasionally and in regions outside Byz. control and influence, such as 14th-C. Cyprus. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE sometimes quotes contemporary dialect words or forms in his Homeric commentaries, and there are other indications of interest in dialects, as part of spoken Greek, in the 12th C. After the fall of Constantinople, poets and dramatists in Venetian-ruled Crete began to write in the local dialect and to elaborate it for literary use. This literature in Cretan dialect continued to be written until the mid-17th C.

LIT. A. Meillet, O. Masson, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*[8] (Paris 1975) 77–115. L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J., 1980) 57–82. A. Mirambel, "Les tendances actuelles de la dialectologie néohellénique," *Orbis* 2 (1953) 448–72. B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect: A Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972). Browning, *Greek* 119–37. N.G. Kontosopoulos, *Dialektoi kai idiomata tes Neas Hellenikes* (Athens 1981). –R.B.

DIALOGUE (διάλογος), a literary form of conversation or dispute. Throughout their history the Byz. imitated two main types of antique dialogue: the Platonizing/philosophical and the Lucianic/satirical. The philosophical kind was much used by Christian writers of the 2nd–7th C. The finest examples of the Christian dialogue were written by AUGUSTINE in the West and GREGORY OF NYSSA in the East, who retained the scenic background of the conversation. The Christian dialogue, however, changed the social milieu (in the *Banquet* of METHODIOS of Olympos ten virgins are debating the virtues of celibacy) and replaced Plato's dialectical mode of inquiry with overtly didactic and militant polemic: dialogue ceased to be a method of arriving at the truth and became a vehicle for polemics (e.g., Justin Martyr's *Dialogue with Tryphon*) communicating the message of salvation (Hoffman, *infra* 162). Voss (*infra* 348) asserts that another formative influence on the Christian dialogue was that of Jewish disputations over the Torah. In the 6th to 8th C. dialogue was used for ascetic indoctrination (Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, who was nicknamed Dialogus; MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR) or solving theological problems (Patr. GERMANOS I [?], *On Predestined Terms of Life*). The philosophical dialogue is found later in the Palaiologan period; thus GREGORAS wrote a number of Platonizing dialogues, esp. *Florentios, or On Wisdom*, devoted to polemic against Barlaam. John KATRARES defended astrology and used Arabic sources in his classicizing dialogue *Hermippos, or On Astrology*.

From the 10th C. onward, Lucianic satirical dialogue became popular. Whether pseudo-Lucianic (CHARIDEMOS, PHILOPATRIS, TIMARION), anonymous (ANACHARSIS), or pseudonymous (*Timotheos, or On Demons*, ascribed to Psellos), they are set in the world of the past or even in Hades (again, in the wake of Lucian), and in their audacity strain the limits of Orthodoxy. Dialogical elements also appear as part of independent genres; in the sermon, whether prose or poetical; in acts of martyrs (in imitation of judicial interrogation); and hagiography, but rarely in historiography (the introduction to the *History* of Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES is couched as a dialogue between History and Philosophy, and Theophanes the Confessor reproduces a dialogue with KALOPODIOS). Alexios MAKREMBOLITES employed the genre for political and moral propaganda. The scholarly EROTAPOKRISIS took the structural form of a dialogue. Vernacular poets used the dialogue form in THRENOI.

LIT. B.R. Voss, *Der Dialog in der frühchristlichen Literatur* (Munich 1970), rev. W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 15 (1972) 201–06.

M. Hoffmann, *Der Dialog bei den christlichen Schriftstellern der ersten vier Jahrhunderte* (Berlin 1966). –A.K., I.Š.

DIALYSIS (διάλυσις), a legal transaction by which parties settled a quarrel existing between them or an uncertainty about a legal situation through compromise. Consequently, a second settlement on the same matter was inadmissible after the conclusion of a *dialysis*, and any matter that had been decided conclusively in court could not become the object of a *dialysis* (cf. *Peira* 7.1,3,6,17). Moreover, a compromise agreement was inadmissible if it led to a result that was not recognized by the legal system (e.g., a DIVORCE by mutual consent: cf. *Peira* 7.7,8). Apart from this, however, every conceivable matter in dispute (even criminal acts) could be the object of an (oral or written) settlement. The legal situation achieved by the settlement could be changed later only by a challenge to the legitimacy of the *dialysis* (e.g., in cases of deception or threat).

In the documents, along with this rigorous and readily used form of settlement (cf., e.g., the formulas for division of immovable things and termination of a suit through *dialysis*—Sathas, *MB* 6:631–34), various mixed forms were developed. As early as the 6th C. a connection arose between *dialysis* and the Aquilian STIPULATION, on account of their common character of "general settlement." This finally led to the designation of every "conclusive settlement" through, for example, receipts, declarations of guarantee, etc. as a *dialysis*, even in circumstances where there were no legal uncertainties (cf., e.g., *Xerop.* no.4.3, a.1032; *Pantel.* no.4.36, a.1048; *Lavra* 1, no.42.4, a.1081).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:440–48 (§274). A. Steinwenter, "Das byzantinische Dialysis-Formular," in *Studi in memoria A. Albertoni*, vol. 1 (Padua 1935) 71–94. G. Weiss, "Kitanza: Zwei spätbyzantinische Dialysisformulare," *FM* 1 (1976) 175–86. –D.S.

DIATAXIS (διάταξις, Lat. *ordo*), a book of rubrics for the bishop or priest presiding at the EUCHARIST, or, less frequently, at VESPERS, ORTHROS, and ordinations. *Diataxeis* developed because early EUCHOLOGION MSS contained few rubrics to regulate the proper celebration of the services. The *diataxis* can be traced back as far as the 10th C. (A. Jacob, *OrChrP* 35 [1969] 249–56), though no MSS earlier than the 12th C. have survived. The most important *diataxis* is that of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, whose codification of Byz. rubrics acquired general authority during the time he was patriarch. His *diataxis* rubrics for the PROTHESIS were applied ca.1380 to the pontifical Eucharist in the *archieratikon* (see LITURGICAL BOOKS) of Demetrios Gemistos, notary of Hagia Sophia under Philotheos. The PRESANCTIFIED *diataxis* attributed to Theodore of Stoudios is not authentic in its present redaction. (For *diataxis* as a form of monastic rule, see TYPIKON; for *diataxis* as a will, see INVENTORY.)

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxv–xxxviii. Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy." –R.F.T.

DIDASKALOS (διδάσκαλος), a general term for laymen or clerics who were TEACHERS of sacred or profane subjects; also, a technical term for those attached to the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL at HAGIA SOPHIA and engaged either in instruction in the faith or exegesis of Holy Scripture. Among those attached to Hagia Sophia two groups may be distinguished: an unspecified number of *didaskaloi* attested from the 11th C. whose status and duties were defined by Alexios I Komnenos in an edict of 1107 (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 31 [1973] 165–201), and the trio of *didaskalos tou evangeliou* (also *oikoumenikos didaskalos*), *didaskalos tou apostolou*, and *didaskalos tou psalteriou* known from the 11th and 12th C. The *didaskaloi* of Alexios's edict were usually clerics of Hagia Sophia but could be recruited from laymen and monks who were distinguished by their virtuous character and ability to teach. Their function was pastoral, instructing people in the faith and policing their behavior in the capital. The three *didaskaloi* of Holy Scripture were always DEACONS and held a rank in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Their duties consisted of exegesis and preaching, as their *didaskaliai* indicate. There is no consensus of opinion as to their function. The idea that they were teachers of theology has recently been restated (B. Katsaros, *Ioannes Kastamonites: Symbole ste melete tou biou, tou ergou kai tes epoches tou* [Thessalonike 1988] 163–209). *Didaskaloi* in both groups usually advanced to a higher position in the church, often becoming bishops or metropolitans. (See also MAISTOR TON RHETORON.)

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 66–86. Browning, *Studies*, pt.X (1962), 167–201; (1963), 11–40. Lemerle, *Humanism* 84–107, 300–05. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 54–56. E. Papagiannes, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 78–99, 160–64. –R.J.M.

DIDYMA. See HIERON.

DIDYMOS THE BLIND, last head of the catechetical school at Alexandria; born ca.313, died ca.398. Didymos (Δίδυμος) had a reputation for erudition, although he was blind by four and never attended school. He numbered among his pupils JEROME and RUFINUS, who attest to his scholarship and influence. His condemnation for Origenism at the Council of Constantinople in 553 may account for the loss of much of his vast corpus. Excerpts from his commentaries on Genesis, Ecclesiastes, the Psalms, and Job survive (with some of Origen) in a 6th- through 7th-C. group of papyri found at Tura near Cairo; their exegetic method is allegorical. Fully or partly extant are *On the Trinity*, Athanasian in its defense of consubstantiality; *On the Holy Spirit* (in Jerome's Latin translation), also urging consubstantiality; and *Against the Manichaeans*. Didymos may have written the *Against Arius and Sabellios* ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA (K. Holl, *ZKirch* 25 [1904] 380–98). Other dogmatic and polemical works are lost. Overall, Didymos defends and develops a diversity of theological issues, being orthodox on the Trinity, Christology, and the Holy Spirit, but following ORIGEN in anthropology and eschatology (primarily in the doctrine of the so-called *apokatastasis*, i.e., the ultimate salvation of all rational creatures—men, angels, and demons).

ED. PG 39:131–1818. *De Trinitate*, ed. J. Hönscheid, I. Seiler, 2 vols., with Germ tr. (Meisenheim an Glan 1975). Tura papyri—ed. in *Papyrologische Texte und Abhandlungen*, vols. 1–4, 6–9, 12f, 16, 22, 24–26, 33:1 (Bonn 1968–85), with Germ. tr. To complete list, see *CPG* 2:2544–72.

LIT. B.D. Ehrman, *Didymus the Blind and the Text of the Gospels* (Atlanta, Ga., 1987). J. Tigcheler, *Didyme l'Aveugle et l'exégèse allégorique* (Nijmegen 1977). –B.B.

DIDYMOTEICHON (Διδυμότειχον, "twin-wall"), city of Thrace, located on a hill above the river Erythros, a tributary of the HEBROS. Giannopoulos (*infra* 2–7) assumes that Justinian I built the fortress to replace Plotinopolis, situated in a valley somewhere nearby but difficult to defend. By the 9th C. Plotinopolis was completely replaced by Didymoteichon; in fact it had probably already disappeared in the 7th C., and the mention of Ploutinoupolis by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.55, ed. Pertusi 86) is anachronistic. The *kastron* of Didymoteichon (Beševliev, *Inschriften* 180f, no.21) was taken by Krum in 813; its first known bishop, Nikephoros, participated in the council of 879. The fortress is mentioned as the place of exile for Bardas Skleros.

From the end of the 12th C. Didymoteichon appears as one of the most important strongholds in the area, and a sought-after prize for Latins, Bulgarians, rulers of Epiros, and John III Vatatzes, who occupied it ca.1243. During the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 Didymoteichon was the headquarters of John VI Kantakouzenos who was crowned there in 1341. Matthew I Kantakouzenos held Didymoteichon as his appanage. In the 14th C. Didymoteichon consisted of the citadel (*polichnion* in Gregoras) and a lower city that was destroyed during the civil war and rebuilt in 1342. The city was temporarily taken by the Turks in 1359 and permanently conquered in Nov. 1361.

The bishop of Didymoteichon became archbishop in the 12th C. and metropolitan in the 13th C. From 1204 to 1206 Didymoteichon was the residence of the patriarch John X Kamateros and a center of resistance to the Latin patriarchate of Constantinople.

Some remains of the medieval city survive, including traces of the double city wall with towers and gates, a water reservoir of stone and brick, and the Church of St. Catherine of ca.1300.

LIT. Ph.A. Giannopoulos, *Didymoteichon: Geschichte einer byzantinischen Festung* (Cologne 1975). G.P. Euthymiou, "To Didymoteichon kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *Archeion tou Thrakikou Laographikou kai Glossikou Thesaurou* 22 (1957) 349–78. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 103–07. R. Janin, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 427–29. –T.E.G.

DIE, an instrument for striking coins. It normally consisted of a lower die of bronze or iron that could be fixed in a block of wood and had its upper face engraved in intaglio with the design of one side of the coin, and an upper die consisting of a cylinder of metal that could be held in the hand and had on its lower face the design for the other side. Coins were made by placing blank pieces of metal of the correct weight and fineness between the two dies and striking the upper one with a heavy hammer. No Byz. coin dies have been preserved: the pincerlike object in the Fogg Art Museum (published as a die by Vermeule) is in reality a *boulloterion* (see SEALING IMPLEMENTS) for striking lead seals (V. Grumel, *REB* 15 [1957] 211–14). Their form is not in general likely to

have been different from 7th-C. Sasanian dies, of which three are known, or those of contemporary western Europe. They were evidently produced in limited numbers only, as obverse dies prepared for gold coins were sometimes also used for silver ones, and reverse dies without the names of specific emperors might be carried over from one reign to a later one. The concave coins of the later Byz. period apparently required the use of more elaborate double dies.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Coins monétaires et officines à l'époque du Bas-Empire," *Schweizer Münzblätter* 11 (1961) 1–8. W. Hahn, "Coin Mules and Die Economy in the Byzantine Coinage of the Sixth Century," *NC* 81 (1973) 422. C.C. Vermeule, *Some Notes on Ancient Dies and Coining Methods* (London 1954). S. Bendall, D. Sellwood, "The Method of Striking Scyphate Coins Using Two Obverse Dies," *NChron*[7] 18 (1978) 93–104. –Ph.G.

DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (*Διήγησις τῶν τετραπόδων ζώων*), or *Tale of the Four-Footed Beasts*; an anonymous satirical poem in just over 1,000 POLITICAL VERSES, dating from the late 14th C. At the instigation of Emp. Lion, the four-footed beasts establish a truce between the carnivorous and herbivorous animals to meet and debate their respective qualities, but the lively discussion degenerates into savage fighting, from which the herbivorous animals emerge victorious. Written at a VERNACULAR level of the language, which includes some of the repeated phrases found also in the late Byz. verse ROMANCES, the poem survives in five MSS, of which at least two were intended to be illustrated. It falls within the traditions of Greek FABLES and ANIMAL EPICS and the western European *Roman de Renart* and "Debate" poems among animals, such as Chaucer's *Parlement of Fowles*. The elements of SATIRE, which incidentally give insights into contemporary culinary practice, arise generally out of the implied contrast between animal and human behavior. The conflict between the carnivores (the aristocracy?) and the herbivores (the people?) must reflect the civic turmoil of the late 14th C. Despite the date (15 Sept. 1365) embedded in the text, the *Diegesis* cannot now be linked to any particular event. Similar Byz. works include the OPSAROLOGOS, POULOLOGOS, and SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY.

ED. *Paidiophrastos Diegesis ton zoon ton tetrapodon*, ed. V. Tsiouni (Munich 1972).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 174f. V.S. Šandrovskaja, "Vizantijskaja basnja 'Rasskaz o četveronogich,' " *VizVrem* 9 (1956) 211–49; 10 (1956) 181–94. H. Eideneier, "Zum Stil der byzantinischen Tierdichtung," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 301–06. –E.M.J.

DIET. The Byz. ate one to three times a day (see ARISTON AND DEIPNON). Attitudes toward food varied: the ascetic ideal praised temperance in diet, and saints are described as surviving on water and beans or wild plants and berries.

There is little information about the food of ordinary people. It consisted primarily of BREAD, legumes, and vegetables, supplemented by OLIVES, FRUIT, fish, and WINE. Dairy products, except for CHEESE, played a lesser role. The poor subsisted mostly on vegetables and vinegar, legumes prepared with olive OIL, a gruel made of flour or barley, or perhaps an onion omelet (*sphoungaton*). The fruit and vegetables were varied: apples, pears, grapes, figs, melons, cabbage, leeks, cucumbers, carrots, garlic, onions, zucchini, etc. (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 28–32). Fish from the sea were preferred to those from lakes or rivers. Sugar was provided primarily by honey. The traditional view is that ordinary people rarely ate MEAT, but there is evidence suggesting that from the 7th C. onward the consumption of meat increased. The food of monks is better known, thanks to regulations in the TYPIKA; meat was excluded from the monastic diet.

The food of the noble and wealthy classes was plenteous and even exotic; some products, like caviar and sturgeon, were imported from afar. Wild game adorned the table. Food was often cooked with olive oil; for seasoning, various sauces were used as well as vinegar, pickled cabbage, and SPICES such as pepper and cinnamon. Desserts and honey cakes made of flour mixed with boiled must (*oinoutta*) or made of the finest wheat flour in circular shapes (*krikelos*) completed a rich meal.

Recipes for dishes survive mainly in treatises dealing with the nutritious properties of food and the monthly regimen that should be observed for good health (e.g., by Symeon SETH), but 12th-C. writers such as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and PTOCHOPRODROMOS take pleasure in describing luxurious dishes. A common dish for rich and poor alike was *monokythron*, a mixture of fish, cheese, and vegetables cooked in a casserole and served as a one-course meal. The author of the

third Ptochoprodromic poem (ed. D.-H. Hesseling, H. Pernot, 55.175–56.186) mentions this dish, including as its ingredients sturgeon, Vlach cheese, cabbage, olive oil, pepper, garlic, and sweet wine. Another rich meal was prepared with salt pork and cabbage, all drenched with fat. Poultry might be stuffed with almonds or dough balls and marinated in red wine. Fish was either fried in olive oil, grilled, or made into soup with vegetables such as dill, leeks, etc. Drying, salting, smoking, and pickling were the main methods for the preservation of food.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:9–121. A. Karpozelos, "Realia in Byzantine Epistolography, X–XII c.," *BZ* 77 (1984) 20–37. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 85–99. E. Ashtor, "Essai sur l'alimentation des diverses classes sociales dans l'Orient médiéval," *Annales ESC* 23 (1968) 1017–53. E. Jeanselme, L. Oeconomos, "Aliments et recettes culinaires des Byzantins," *Proceedings of the 3rd International Congress of the History of Medicine, London 1922* (Antwerp 1923) 155–68. M. Dembińska, "Diet: A Comparison of Food Consumption between some Eastern and Western Monasteries in the 4th–12th C.," *Byzantion* 55 (1985–86) 431–62. E. Kislinger, "How Reliable is Early Byzantine Hagiography as an Indicator of Diet?," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 5–11. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 76–79. –Ap.K., A.K.

DIGENES AKRITAS (Διγενὴς Ἀκρίτας), epic-romance in POLITICAL VERSE compiled, perhaps in the 12th C., from earlier material, much of which may originally derive from oral sources (see POETRY, ORAL). The text falls into two halves. The first, epic in tone, concerns Digenes' father, an Arab emir, and his marriage to Digenes' mother, daughter of a Byz. general. The second, which has an atmosphere of romance, deals with Digenes ("born of two races") and describes his precocious childhood, his exploits in hunting and against brigands on the borders (the *akrai*, which he guards as "Akritas" or "Akrites"), and his peaceful life with his bride in their palace on the Euphrates till death comes to them. The first part reflects personalities and events from the 9th- and 10th-C. Arab-Byz. wars, as analyzed by H. Grégoire. The second is virtually timeless, whether a survival from the distant past or a later attempt to recommend harmony between Byz. and the Arabs. The general worldview presented by the whole text predates the 11th-C. Turkish invasions of Asia Minor; many details of geography and titulature confirm that dating. The most likely date for the composition of the surviving version, however, is the 12th C., during the revival of interest in the ROMANCE (cf. the extensive quotations from ACHILLES TATIUS in MS G [Grottaferrata]). The existence of the poem is first attested at this time by a reference in a Ptochoprodromic poem to Manuel I Komnenos as a "new Akrites."

The poem survives in six Greek MSS and a Slavic version (DEVGENIEVO DEJANIE). The latter is less complex than the Greek, and it is unclear whether it derives from an early stage of the Greek text or represents a simplification of the Greek story. Recent research suggests that four of the Greek MSS (Trebizond and others) derive from a 16th-C. compilation and so are of no value as witnesses to earlier stages. The two older versions survive in the Grottaferrata and Escorial (E) texts, which plainly derive from one original text. They differ greatly, however; the Grottaferrata version is well-organized and at the middle level of Byz. linguistic purism, while the Escorial text is closer to the language of everyday speech but full of gaps and metrical irregularities. Although critics are evenly divided on their support of the Grottaferrata or Escorial text as the more accurate reflection of their common archetype, recent discussions have stressed the early elements in both.

Each gives an interesting insight into the life of the wealthy magnates of the eastern frontier of Byz. in the 9th to 11th C. Digenes' palace on the Euphrates consisted of a stone house at least three stories high, an elaborate GARDEN, and a courtyard containing his private church. The ceilings of the palace were decorated in mosaic with Old Testament scenes (exploits of Moses, David, Joshua, and Samson) and a vast repertory of mythological and HISTORY PAINTING including scenes from the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and the life of ALEXANDER THE GREAT.

Digenes Akritas has left scattered signs of influence outside Byz. in Arabic literature and in the Slavic version, but its greatest impact has been in modern Greek culture. Digenes and Akritas (rarely both together) are frequently found in traditional folksongs (see AKRITIC SONGS), while the hero of the epic is often used as a symbol of medieval Hellenism in modern Greek literature and also represented in objects of art (see AKRITIC IMAGERY).

ED. *Digenes Akrites*, ed. E. Trapp (Vienna 1971). *Digenes Akrites* [MS G], ed. J. Mavrogordato (Oxford 1956), with Eng. tr. *Basileios Digenes Akrites* [MS E], ed. S. Alexiou

(Athens 1985). Slavic—M. Speranskij, "Devgenievo dejanie," *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo Jazyka i Slovesnosti* 99, 7 (1922) 132–65. Tr. H.F. Graham, "The Tale of Devgenij," *BS* 29 (1968) 51–91.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 63–97. H. Grégoire, *Autour de l'épopée byzantine* (London 1975). N. Oikonomides, "L'"épopée' de Digénis et la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe et XIe siècles," *TM* 7 (1979) 375–97. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

DIGEST (from Lat. *Digesta*, lit. "that which has been classified," Gk. Πανδέκται, "all-encompassing"), a legal compilation promulgated by Justinian I on 16 Dec. 533 through the bilingual introductory constitution "Tanta/Dedoken." This constitution gives information about the origin, content, and arrangement of the work: excerpts were made from the writings of Roman lawyers of the Republic and the Principate—esp. from the legal literature of Ulpian and Paul (both first half of the 3rd C.), and these were arranged according to subject matter into 50 books subdivided into a varying number of titles. The method used by the 16-member commission under the direction of TRIBONIAN to classify material of "more than 3 million lines" (*Cod. Just.* I 17.2.1) is still disputed. Equally unresolved to this day is the extent of the INTERPOLATIONES, that is, corrections made to the original text by the compilers of the *Digest* with the express permission of Justinian. The most important MS of the *Digest* is the so-called *Florentina*, which dates from the 6th C. The *Digest* was used esp. by the "Anonymous" jurist (see ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES") and by the jurists STEPHEN and DOROTHEOS for the teaching of law in Constantinople and Berytus. The Greek version of the entire *Digest* was received into the BASILIKA, though the sequence of the laws was changed.

ED. *CIC*, vol. 1, pt.2, with Eng. tr. by A. Watson (Philadelphia 1985).

LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 576–600, 685–88. D. Osler, "The Compilation of Justinian's Digest," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 129–84. M. Kaser, "Zum heutigen Stand der Interpolationenforschung," *ZSavRom* 69 (1952) 60–101. *Vocabularium iurisprudentiae romanae*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1903–87). *Concordance to the Digest Jurists*, ed. T. Honoré, J. Menner (Oxford 1980). –M.Th.F.

DIGNITIES AND TITLES (ἀξίαι διὰ βραβείων), ranks in the official hierarchy. Unlike Western feudal titles, Byz. dignities were nonhereditary and bestowed by a BRABEION. Four consistent systems of dignities are known: (1) the late Roman system in which membership in the SENATE served as the major denominator—the CLARISSIMI, later ILLUSTRES, were SENATORS par excellence; (2) the system of the TAKTIKA in which dignities were concurrent with office, and all officials holding the dignity of PROTOSPATHARIOS and higher were considered members of the senate; (3) the Komnenian system in which the dignity depended on relationship with the emperor (son, brother, son-in-law, etc.); and (4) the late Byz. system reflected in pseudo-KODINOS in which the difference between dignity and OFFICE disappeared. The development of each system involved an inflation of old titles and their replacement by new ones; thus, the dignities of MAGISTROS, PATRIKIOS, and so on declined in importance by the mid-11th C., intermediary titles (PROEDROS, etc.) were introduced, and at the end of the century a new system based on the dignity of SEBASTOS elaborated. *Sebastos* was inflated by the end of the 12th C., giving way to pompous denominations such as *panhypersebastos*, *sebastohypertatos*, and *protosebastohypertatos*, some of which were known earlier. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS lists 18 dignities of "bearded men" and eight of EUNUCHS. The following list, based on the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos, gives 18 dignities in descending order of importance.

Caesar
Nobelissimos
Kouropalates
Zoste patrikia
Magistros
Anthypatos
Patrikios
Protospatharios
Dishypatos
Spatharokandidatos
Spatharios
Hypatos
Strator
Kandidatos
Mandatoi
Vestitor
Silentiarios
Stratelates and Apo eparchon

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 20–23. Oikonomides, *Listes* 281–88. P. Koch, *Die byzantinischen Beamtentitel von 400 bis 700* (Jena 1903). F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 29–68. J.C. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 453–77. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 34–40. J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *TM* 1 (1965) 421–37. –A.K.

DIKAIODOTES (δικαιοδότης), a high-ranking JUDGE. In a nontechnical sense of "dispenser of the laws" the term was known in antiquity and used in Byz. texts (e.g., *NE* 19 [1925] 181.6). As the head of a SEKRETON, the *dikaiodotes* is mentioned for the first time in an edict of Alexios I of 1094 (J. Nicole, *BZ* 3 [1894] 20.6). The *dikaiodotes* presided over one of the tribunals in Constantinople. The post was very important in a civil career; its holders could obtain simultaneously the office of *kanikleios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.226). Theodore Pantechnes, during his career of 1148–82, exercised the functions of quaestor, *dikaiodotes*, and eparch of the city (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 50f). The precise character of the duties of the *dikaiodotes* is not yet known. The last mention is that of 1197 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.11 B.34–35, p.108)—the *sebastos* and *dikaiodotes* Michael Belissariotes.

LIT. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 135. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:478–80. –A.K.

DIKAIOPHYLAX (δικαιοφύλαξ), a title designating a subaltern judge, first attested in Constantinople and the provinces in the mid-11th C., conferred by the emperor on both laymen and churchmen (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 902–04; N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 135). From the reign of Michael VIII the title was conferred exclusively on churchmen by imperial appointment. The *dikaiophylax*'s duties involved cases of an ecclesiastical nature and required knowledge of civil and canon law. The first *dikaiophylax* in Constantinople after its reconquest in 1261, the deacon and *epi ton deeseon* of Hagia Sophia, Theodore SKOUTARIOTES, was empowered to exercise all the judicial functions and rights formerly attached to the office (MM 5:246f). Skoutariotes and all subsequent *dikaiophylakes* were included among the EXOKATAKOILOI, combining one of the titles assigned to the latter with that of *dikaiophylax*.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 109–11. –R.J.M.

DIKAIOS, used only in dative case, δικαίῳ, "by commission," was a term formed similarly to EK PROSOPOU; it designated a deputy (of a patriarch), an administrator acting on behalf of (lit. "in the right of") the patriarch. The CHARTOPHYLAX is described as acting *dikaio tes archierosynes* in a novel of Alexios I of 1094 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:649) and as *dikaio tou patriarchou* by Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:587.11–12); John Cheilas, metropolitan of Ephesus in the second half of the 13th C., wrote about the professors of the Great Church who taught on behalf of the patriarch (*dikaio tou patriarchou*) as his representatives, *ekprosopountes* (Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 388.3–4). In 1350, the synod of Constantinople announced that the *hieromonachos* Niphon was not the patriarch's representative (*eis dikaio autou*—MM 1:297.25). An act of 1316 (*Esphig.*, no.12.66) mentions also the agent (*dikaio*) of the *protos* of Mt. Athos. More than ten other "agents" of the *protos* are mentioned in the documents of 1322–94, and others are known after 1462 (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 161–64). An exceptional case is Theodosios, who signed an act of 1375 as "monk and *dikaios* (in nominative case) of the Holy Mountain," not of the *protos* (*Pantel.* no.15.21).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 131, 348–40. Meester, *De monachico statu* 294, 305. –A.K., A.M.T.

DIKTYS OF CRETE, author of what purports to be an eyewitness account of the Trojan War (*Ephemeris belli Troiani*) but was actually written in the 2nd or 3rd C., as two papyrus fragments of the lost Greek original (*P.Tebt.* II 268, *P.Oxy.* XXXI 2539) testify. These fragments also support the claims of the Latin translation by "Septimius" (4th C.?) to be a faithful version of the first five books; the remaining books have been condensed into one. Extracts from the original text of Diktys are embedded in the Byz. chronicle tradition, esp. in John MALALAS. They have, however, been recast and confused with the work of the otherwise unknown Sisyphos of Kos. Diktys's account, determinedly rationalistic and eschewing the supernatural, was a major source on the Trojan War for the Byz., for some of whom—e.g., John TZETZES—Diktys provided a counterbalance to the "falsehoods" of HOMER. Diktys's material is also reflected in the vernacular WAR OF TROY, a close translation of Benoit de Ste. Maure's French adaptation of the Latin version.

ED. *Dictys Cretensis Ephemeridos belli Troiani libri sex*[2], ed. W. Eisenhut (Leipzig 1973). *The Trojan War: The Chronicles of Dictys of Crete and Dares the Phrygian*, tr. R.M. Frazer (Bloomington, Ind., 1966).
LIT. A. Peristerakis, *Diktys ho Kres* (Athens 1984). –E.M.J., M.J.J.

DIMODAION (διμοδαῖον, lit. "of two *modioi*"?), a SECONDARY TAX. In the list of taxes collected in Lampsakos in 1218 it is reckoned as an insignifi-

cant sum (0.6 percent of the whole amount), whereas in a *praktikon* of Lavra of 1321 it amounts to about 14 percent of the OIKOUMENON (*Lavra* 2, no.109.941). The nature of the *dimodaion* is unclear: Solovjev-Mošin (*Grčke povelje* 423f) associate it with trade duties, G. Litavrin (*VizVrem* 37 [1976] 23) with taxes on fruit trees. In many documents it appears together with CHARAGMA (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.29.19; *Lavra* 3, no.118.196–97); both were said to be collected annually (*Esphig.* 7, no.14); it can also be mentioned in a different context, e.g., listed between ZEUGARATIKION and MITATON (*Docheiar.*, no.25.15). –A.K.

DINOGETIA (Δινογέτεια, mod. Garvăn in Rumania), city and stronghold that formed a part of the *limes* in SCYTHIA MINOR. It was located on a small island in the Danube. Excavations have revealed two layers of settlement. The late Roman (4th–6th C.) rectangular fortress was built on a rock dominating the island; it had a cobblestone and brick-paved main street 4–5 m broad and official buildings, such as the *praetorium*, baths, basilica, etc. Dinogetia was damaged by fire, probably during the COTRIGUR attack in 559, and was deserted ca.600. The fortress was restored by John I Tzimiskes and was inhabited, according to coin finds, through the reign of John II Komnenos. Excavations revealed habitations (mostly semisubterranean) and a small church; the population engaged in fishing, agriculture, and carving bone and wood. Connections with Byz. are attested to by coins (some hoards of gold were found), jewelry, and seals, including that of Symeon, *katepano* of "Paradounabon" (PARISTRION). A seal of Michael, "*poimenarches* of Rhosia," indicates ecclesiastical connections with Kiev during the first half of the 12th C. Identification of the castle (*phrourion*) of Demnitzikos mentioned in Kinnamos (Kinn. 93.19) as Dinogetia (A. Bolşacov-Ghimpu, *RESEE* 5 [1967] 543–49) remains hypothetical.

LIT. I. Barnea, "Dinogetia—ville byzantine du bas-Danube," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 237–87. G. Ştefan et al., *Dinogetia*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1967). A. Barnea, "Dinogetia III. Precizări cronologice," *Peuce* 9 (1984) 339–46. –A.K.

DIOCESE (διοίκησις), territorial unit of both secular and ecclesiastical administration.

Secular Diocese. In the early Roman Empire the diocese was a part of a province. In the late 3rd C. the term was applied by Diocletian to a greater area, larger than the province but smaller than the PREFECTURE of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. According to the so-called VERONA LIST, ca.297 the empire consisted of 12 dioceses: Oriens (later divided into Egypt and Oriens), Pontus, Asia, Thrace, Moesia (divided later into Dacia and Macedonia), Pannonia, Britain, Gaul, the Seven Provinces (Vienne), Italy (later divided into two parts, with centers at Milan and Rome), Spain, and Africa. At the head of the diocese stood the VICAR, but some seem to have been administered directly by the praetorian prefect. The system of dioceses, planned as a vehicle of centralization, created a cumbersome bureaucracy. In the 5th C. it ceased to operate effectively. Anastasios I and Justinian I tried to abolish it (Jones, *LRE* 1:374) and to transfer some functions from the vicar to the provincial governor. The diocese system disappeared in the 7th C.

LIT. E. Kornemann, *RE* 5 (1907) 727–34. A. Chastagnol, "L'administration du diocèse italien au Bas-Empire," *Historia* 12 (1963) 348–79. K.L. Noethlichs, "Zur Entstehung der Diözasen als Mittelinstanz des spätrömischen Verwaltungssystems," *Historia* 31 (1982) 70–81. –A.K.

Ecclesiastical Diocese. The ecclesiastical diocese was an administrative unit modeled on the secular diocese (to be distinguished from its modern usage as an episcopal province). The First Council of Constantinople of 381 (canon 2) mentions dioceses of Alexandria, Oriens, and Asia; so also pseudo-Palladios, in his *Dialogue* on John Chrysostom, speaks of the Egyptian and Asian dioceses; in the 5th C. Sokrates referred to the Pontic diocese. Following the example of secular provincial administration, dioceses were subdivided into episcopal provinces, EPARCHIAI and PAROIKIAI. The Council of Antioch of 341 distinguished between the bishop of a metropolis (i.e., *eparchia*) and one of a *paroikia*. The bishops of dioceses acquired the titles of exarchs and/or patriarchs, with the exception of the bishop of Constantinople, who was titled patriarch without being the head of a diocese.

The system of patriarchate-metropolis-bishopric became entrenched in the Byz. church; the diocesan units, on the other hand, disappeared, although territories controlled by the EXARCH resembled, to a certain extent, the late antique dioceses. Nevertheless, canonists of the 12th C.

discuss the term: according to Zonaras (PG 137:420C), patriarchs were the exarchs of dioceses. Balsamon (PG 137:420AB) is even more explicit; he says, with some hesitation, "The exarch of a *dioikesis*, I believe, is not the metropolitan of each *eparchia*, but the metropolitan of the entire diocese; as for the diocese, it comprises many *eparchiai*. . . . Now some of the metropolitans are called exarchs, but in their dioceses they have no metropolitans subordinated to them; it is plausible that [our] exarchs are different from the exarchs of that time [of the time of the council of Chalcedon] or that they are the same but have lost the privileges given to them by the canons [of Chalcedon]." The term is not employed after the 12th C. The word *dioikesis* was also used in a general sense for government or ordering—by Christ, the angels, the Devil, the church, etc.

LIT. A. Scheuermann, *RAC* 3:1056–59. A Fliche, V. Martin, *Histoire de l'Église*, 3 (Paris 1936; rp. 1947) 437–87.
–A.P., A.K.

DIOCLETIAN (Διοκλητιανός), emperor (284–305); born Dalmatia 22 Dec. 243 or 245?, died Split, 3 Dec. 313 or 316. Diocles, as he was originally known, rose from an obscure origin through the army to become *comes domesticorum* and then emperor. He ended the anarchy of the 3rd C., in part by appointing MAXIMIAN as augustus in 283 and GALERIUS and CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS as caesars in 293, thus forming the TETRARCHY. As senior emperor Diocletian devoted his attention primarily to the East, from his residence at Nikomedeia. During his reign Diocletian reformed the administrative structure of the state by approximately doubling the number of provinces and grouping them into DIOCESES, each under the jurisdiction of a VICAR. Diocletian seems generally to have made a principle of separating military and civil authority, and most of the governors had no troops. Late in his reign he apparently began to appoint *duces* as military commanders, usually with jurisdiction that crossed provincial boundaries. In military policy Diocletian is commonly contrasted with CONSTANTINE I since he generally relied on stationary frontier troops, although each member of the imperial college apparently had a mobile field army. Diocletian attempted to restore the finances of the empire with reformed coinage and the PRICE EDICT. He regularized requisitions in kind with the ANNONA based on a system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO.

Like many of his predecessors, Diocletian identified himself with one of the gods, in his case Jupiter. He did not, however, take action against the Christians until 303, with the beginning of the Great Persecution, in which scriptures were to be surrendered and churches demolished. Subsequent edicts dismissed all Christians in state service, subjected them to legal disabilities, and finally ordered the arrest of clergy. The persecutions were unevenly enforced, but there were evidently many apostasies. Byz. tradition remembers Diocletian primarily as a persecutor. On 1 May 305 Diocletian abdicated and went into retirement at SPLIT, where he had built a palace. He emerged from there only briefly to attend the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, after which his life is obscure.

Diocletian's physiognomy, esp. his downturned mouth and short-cropped beard, is familiar from a number of busts and medallions (*Age of Spirit.*, no.3).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 37–76. S. Williams, *Diocletian and the Roman Recovery* (London 1985). P. Brennan, "Diocletian and the Goths," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 142–46. G. Thomas, "L'abdication de Dioclétien," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 229–47.
–T.E.G., A.C.

DIOCLETIANIC ERA, an era used in Egypt, computed from the starting point of 1 Thoth (29 Aug.) A.D. 284. Originating in pagan computations of the genealogy of the Apis bull and used in 4th-C. horoscopes, it came to be employed by Egyptian Christians in the 6th and 7th C. in epitaphs, colophons, and eventually in documents. In the late 8th C. in Nubia it also came to be called the "Era of the Martyrs," and this name gradually superseded the earlier designation by the 13th C.

LIT. L. MacCoull, K. Worp, "The Era of the Martyrs," in *Miscellanea Papyrologica*, ed. R. Pintaudi (Florence 1989).
–L.S.B.MacC.

DIODOROS (Διόδωρος), bishop of Tarsos (from 378) and theologian; born Antioch, died before 394. Educated at Athens, Diodoros became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of a monastery outside of Antioch. He was an ardent opponent of Arianism and of the pagan revival of Emp. Julian. In 372 Valens banished him to Armenia; he was then recalled and made bishop of Tarsos.

Diodoros played an important role in the mid-

4th-C. ecclesiastical struggle in Antioch, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, his pupil, praised him as the new John the Baptist; for JULIAN (ep.55, ed. Wright), on the other hand, Diodoros was a fallacious propagator of "a boorish religion." Diodoros was an ally of BASIL THE GREAT and one of the most influential participants in the Council of Constantinople in 381. His doctrine was developed in polemics against ARIUS, in which he stressed the perfect divinity of Christ, and against APOLLINARIS, in which he emphasized the perfect humanity of Christ; to avoid contradiction, Diodoros developed the concept of the coexistence of the Logos and man in Christ, the Logos dwelling in man as in a shrine. Accordingly, Diodoros described the Virgin as *anthropotokos*, "giving birth to a man."

After the death of Diodoros his teaching was censured by CYRIL of Alexandria, who quite logically saw in Diodoros a forerunner of NESTORIOS. It is generally assumed that Diodoros was condemned in 499, but this hypothesis is refuted by L. Abramowski (*RHE* 60 [1965] 64f). At any rate, his works were lost, although in the *Souda* and the Syriac Ebedjesu (died 1318) indications of his enormous productivity are found. Some fragments of his many theological commentaries and polemics are extant in Armenian, Syriac, Latin, and Greek. His treatise entitled *Against Astronomers, Astrologers and Fate*, known only from Photios's lengthy notice (*Bibl.*, cod.223), argues for faith in God and divine providence, rejecting the concept of fate and the influence of the stars, thereby contesting the views of the 3rd-C. astrologer Bardesanes of Edessa (C. Schäublin, *RhM* n.s. 123 [1980] 51–67).

ED. PG 33:1545–1628. *Commentarii in Psalmos*, ed. J.M. Olivier (Turnhout 1980). M. Brière, "Quelques fragments syriaques de Diodore évêque de Tarse (378–394?)," *ROC*[3] 10 (1946) 231–83, with Fr. tr.

LIT. C. Schäublin, *Untersuchungen zu Methode und Herkunft der antiochenischen Exegese* (Cologne-Bonn 1974) 43–83. R.A. Greer, "The Antiochene Christology of Diodore of Tarsus," *JThSt* 17 (1966) 327–41. J.R. Pouchet, "Les rapports de Basile de Césarée avec Diodore de Tarse," *Bulletin de littérature ecclésiastique* 87 (1986) 243–72.

–B.B., A.K.

DIOGENES (Διογένης), a noble lineage, probably of Cappadocian origin (Attal. 99.21–22, 170.16–17). In the 11th C. Psellos regarded the family as "ancient and flourishing" (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:157, par.10.2); the first attested Diogenes, however, is Constantine, commander of the *tagma* of Western *scholae* under Basil II. His career was concentrated in the Balkans: he commanded the troops in Thessalonike and was *archon* of Sirmium; a seal of a *strategos* of "Serbia" is usually ascribed to him (V. Laurent, *REB* 15 [1957] 190f), but the meaning of "Serbia" remains questionable. It is also unclear whether Constantine was governor of Bulgaria. Married to a niece of Romanos III Argyros, Constantine was accused of conspiring against him, transferred to Asia Minor as *strategos* of the Thrakesian theme, and eventually arrested; he died during an inquest. His son became Emp. ROMANOS IV DIOGENES, whose sons were allies of the Komnenos family: Constantine, married to Alexios I's sister Theodora, was killed at the walls of Antioch in 1073; Alexios appointed Nikephoros Diogenes governor of Crete.

Nonetheless the family remained inclined to revolt: involved in a plot in 1094, Nikephoros was blinded and exiled to his estates. Several members of the Diogenes family (or imposters who took their name) acted against Constantinople in alliance with foreign princes: Ordericus Vitalis mentions "the son of august Diogenes," instigated by Bohemund to claim the imperial throne; the *Russian Primary Chronicle* tells about a Cuman expedition against Byz. in 1095 commanded by a certain Diogenes; in 1116 Leo Diogenes, the son-in-law of VLADIMIR MONOMACH, participated in an expedition of the Rus' against Byz. The family's role declined by the 12th C., and John Diogenes is known only in the modest position of Manuel I's court orator. In 1254 Constantine Diogenes, *doux* of Leros and Kalymnos, was ordered to conduct a census of these islands; his *praktikon* is still unpublished (Angold, *Byz. Government* 139, n.110). No data about later members of the family survive.

LIT. M. Mathieu, "Les faux Diogènes," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 133–48.

–A.K.

DIOIKETES (διοικητής), a term designating several fiscal officials. The origin of the term is obscure. Bury's suggestion (*Adm. System* 89) that it was connected with the late Roman DIOCESE was rejected by Dölger; Egyptian *dioiketai* were fiscal and judicial functionaries on the local level despite their high-sounding epithets (A. Steinwenter, *Studien zu den koptischen Rechtsurkunden* [Leipzig 1920; rp. Amsterdam 1967] 19–25); Theophanes

(Theoph. 367.27) uses the word in a vague sense of "administrator." A clear indication that the *dioiketes* was a tax collector is given only in Leo VI's novel 61 and the *Treatise on Taxation* in the Marcian MS (Venice Marc. gr. 173, fols. 276v–281). The first mention of *dioiketes* is that of Paul, "*dioiketes* of the eastern *eparchiai*" in 680 (probably the same as Paul, "*dioiketes* of the Anatolikon," whose seal is in Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2290), although the acts of the Third Council of Constantinople (680–81) do not clarify Paul's functions. *Dioiketai* of the *eparchiai* are known from seals of the 7th and 8th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:654–58). *Dioiketai* belonged to the *sekreton* of the GENIKON but carried out their duties in the provinces. Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, p.1880) published 37 seals of various *dioiketai* linked either to traditional provinces (Bithynia, Galatia, Lydia, Thrace) or new territorial units (Anatolikon), but mostly islands (Samos and Chios, Euboea, Andros, Cyprus, Sicily) and cities, predominantly coastal (Ephesus, Kyzikos, Myra, Rhaidestos, Miletos, Thessalonike). The latest seal (no.3161) is of the early 10th C. Later *dioiketai* belonged to themes, such as a *dioiketes* of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike in 1074 (*Lavra* 1, no.36.5). It is plausible that *dioiketai* were rewarded by the so-called SYNETHEIA (*Ivir.* 1, no.29.96, a. 1047). The term remained in use in the 14th C. and the office is mentioned in pseudo-KODINOS, but after 1109 the *dioiketes* was replaced by the PRAKTOR. Another *dioiketes*—"of the *metata*" (see MITATON)—belonged to the department of the LOGOTHETES TON AGELON (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:297f).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 70f. –A.K.

DIOKLEIA (Διόκλεια), a stronghold (*kastron*) in Illyricum, at the confluence of the Zeta and Morava rivers. Excavations have located it north of modern Titograd and have revealed remains of walls, an aqueduct, and a basilica (C. Patsch, *RE* 5 [1905] 1251).

In 297 Diokleia became the capital of the Roman province of Praevalitana. The *kastron* was allegedly built by Diocletian—the legend is preserved by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.11–14), Kinnamos, and some Latin texts (A. Meyer in *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 54–59 [1954–57] 35–102). Another tradition asserts that Diocletian was a native of Diokleia (P. Skok in *Starohrvatska prosveta*, vol. 1 [1927] 62f). It is unclear when Diokleia became a bishopric (G. Mikulin, *DHGE* 14 [1960] 541) but, at the beginning of the 7th C., Pope Gregory I addressed letters to its bishop. Soon thereafter the city was destroyed by the Avars; in the 10th C. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 35.9–11) noted that the *kastron* of Diokleia was deserted. Legend has it that the last bishop of Diokleia fled either to Dubrovnik or Antivari.

The name *Diokleia* was also extended over the entire region along the Adriatic littoral between the theme of DYRRACHION in the south and the town of Kotor in the north. The population was Slav (predominantly Serbian) with strong Roman elements. Constantine VII locates the region of Diokleia near "the *kastellia* of Dyrrachion" and states that in his time the area was populated by the Diokletianoi, a tribe considered by the Byz. as "Scythian" along with the Croats, "Serbloi," Zachloumoi, Terbouniotai, and Kanalitai. A seal of Peter, *archon* of Diokleia, has been dated (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 433) in the 9th C., but it is not known whether Peter was the commander of a Byz. garrison or an independent ruler. The name *Diokleia* reappears in Kekaumenos (Kek. 168.12) as a site where "Tribounios the Serbos" routed the army of Michael, *katepano* of Dyrrachion. In 1179 Constantine Doukas was Byz. governor (*doux*) of Diokleia, Dalmatia, Split, and Dyrrachion (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 260f). It is an established scholarly view that the region of Diokleia or Duklja was also called ZETA from the 11th C. onward.

LIT. *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 1 (Titograd 1967) 316–403. G. Litavrin in Kek. 406–08. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 205–13. A. Cermanović-Kuzmanović et al., *Antička Duklja* (Cetinje 1975). V. Korać, "L'architecture du Haut Moyen Age en Dioclée et Zeta," *Balcanoslavica* 5 (1976) 155–72. J. Kovačević, "Etnička i društvena pripadnost ktitora u Dukljі i Pomorju od kraja VIII do kraja XIII vek," *IstGl*, no.2 (1955) 118–20. –I.Dj., A.K.

DIOKLETIANOUPOLIS. See KASTORIA.

DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAHRĒ, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (from 818); died 845. In addition to his successful administration of the Monophysite church in Syria and Mesopotamia under the disabilities imposed by the Islamic government, the fame of Dionysios rests on his reputation as an ecclesiastical chronicler, whose now lost work

was quoted by later writers such as MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (died 1199) and GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ. As a result Dionysios was mistakenly believed to be the author of a universal chronicle in Syriac, written in the late 8th C. by an anonymous monk in the monastery of Zuqnīn, in northern Mesopotamia near Amida. The *Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē*, as the work is now called, is preserved in a unique 9th-C. MS. Its contents record the succession of events from biblical times to the year 775 (it mentions Emp. Leo IV), with the fullest narratives covering the final 47 years (728/9–75), presumably the years of the writer's maturity. The *Chronicle* is important as a record of the relationships between Byz. and the Arabs in the 8th C. It incorporates the so-called *Chronicle* of JOSHUA THE STYLITE. The author drew material from a number of earlier sources (such as the *Ecclesiastical History* of JOHN OF EPHESUS) for which the *Chronicle* is itself now an important source.

ED. J.-B. Chabot, *Chronique de Denys de Tell-Maḥré, quatrième partie* (Paris 1895). *Incerti auctoris Chronicon Pseudo-Dionysianum vulgo dictum*, ed. idem, 2 vols. (Paris 1927–33, Louvain 1949, 1952), with Lat. tr. [CSCO 91, 104, 121].

LIT. R. Abramowski, *Dionysius von Tellmahre* (Leipzig 1940). W. Witakowski, *The Syriac Chronicle of pseudo-Dionysius of Tel-Maḥrē* (Uppsala 1987). -S.H.G.

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (Διονύσιος ὁ Ἀρεοπαγίτης), 1st-C. saint; feastday 3 Oct. Dionysios was a noble Athenian, a member of the supreme tribunal of the city, who was converted by St. Paul and selected by him as first bishop of Athens. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR cites allusions to Dionysios in early sources (Dionysios, bishop of Corinth; Polycarp's letter to the Athenians; Eusebios of Caesarea) but knows little about the saint's biography. The Latin legend confused him with Dionysios, a missionary in Gaul, and developed the theme of his martyrdom. The Latin legend was translated into Greek by an anonymous hagiographer (PG 4:669–84); his text later served as the source for the vita produced probably ca.833 or 834 by MICHAEL SYNKELLOS, who transferred the date of Dionysios's execution from the reign of Domitian to that of Trajan. Symeon Metaphrastes included Dionysios in his *menologion* (PG 115:1032–49), and his life is briefly described in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, where the saint is portrayed as follows: "He was of moderate height, emaciated, with white and sallow skin, flat-nosed, with puckered eyebrows, sunken eyes, always deep in thought, with large ears, abundant gray hair, a moderately cleft upper lip, a straggly beard, a slight pot-belly and long slender fingers" (*SynaxCP* 102.8–14).

Representation in Art. Byz. artists imagined Dionysios as an elderly bishop of Athens, who, after his execution, was able to carry his own head around and entrust it to a Christian woman. He is thought to have witnessed the eclipse at the time of the CRUCIFIXION (Khludov Psalter, Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129, fol.45v) and to have been present at the DORMITION of the Virgin.

LIT. *BHG* 554–58. R. Loenertz, "Le panégyrique de s. Denys l'Aréopagite par s. Michel le Syncelle," *AB* 68 (1950) 94–107. A.M. Ritter, *LCI* 6:60f. A. Louth, *Denys, the Areopagite* (London 1989). –A.K., N.P.Š.

DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, PSEUDO-, pseudonym of the author of a corpus of theological writings that includes *Celestial Hierarchy*, *Ecclesiastical Hierarchy*, *Mystical Theology*, *Divine Names*, and letters; fl. ca.500?. The author represents himself as St. Paul's disciple, but his true identity is unknown: various candidates have been proposed, including SEVEROS of Antioch, PETER THE FULLER, PETER THE IBERIAN, or someone in the circle of JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS. His theology was irrelevant to the major problem of his era—the relationship between the natures in the incarnate Christ; Dionysios dealt with the same philosophical problem of unity and plurality on a completely different level—even his vocabulary differs from that of his contemporary theologians. Dionysios drew extensively upon the Neoplatonists, esp. PROKLOS, but he introduced essential revisions in the system of Proklos: Dionysios eliminated the concept of the *psyche*, moved the world of ideas from the *nous* to the "One," and emphasized the *chorismos* (separation) between God and created beings.

While dealing with the problem of the TRINITY, Dionysios avoided the Neoplatonic construction of the triad that might have been helpful for his purpose (B. Brons, *Gott und die Seienden* [Göttingen 1976] 325f). He stressed God's ineffability and unity and dwelt more on God's attitude toward the created world than on his internal development in the categories of natures and hypostases. The world, created not by God's free will but by innermost necessity, was a static, not a historical

(i.e., developing) system and consisted of certain hierarchies—angels, institutions, and men; salvation was a result of God's incarnation and philanthropy rather than an active volition of the soul to ascend to God. Dionysios's hierarchical vision of the cosmos was profoundly social—even though H. Goltz (*Hiera mesiteia* [Erlangen 1974] 200) overstates it as a "legal and rational type of power organization."

Dionysios's emphasis on the divine unity accounts for his acceptance by the MONOPHYSITES: Severos was the first to refer to Dionysios, and the Monophysites employed Dionysios in the discussions in Constantinople in 532/3; their Orthodox opponent HYPATIOS of Ephesus rejected Dionysios's evidence as a forgery. Later, however, Dionysios was recognized by the Orthodox, esp. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, and PACHYMERES wrote a paraphrase of Dionysios. He was less popular in Byz., however, than among the Syrians and esp. in the West where his hierarchical worldview gave a convenient ideological sanction to the feudal organization.

In 827 a MS of Dionysios was presented to Louis the Pious by a Byz. embassy; soon thereafter the corpus was translated into Latin (M. McCormick, *ICS* 12 [1987] 218f). The pseudo-Dionysian corpus also attracted the attention of such scholars as John Scotus Eriugena and Robert GROSSETESTE. As a writer Dionysios made abundant use of composite words, tautologies, and antitheses; such an "obscure" style was meant to reflect the complexity and contradictions of the enigmatic world (Averincev, *Poetika* 139f).

ED. PG 3–4. *La hiérarchie céleste*², ed. R. Roques et al. (Paris 1970), with Fr. tr. *Tutte le opere*, eds. E. Bellini, P. Scazzoso (Milan 1981), with Ital. tr. *The Complete Works*, tr. C. Luibheid (New York 1987).

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 457–72. R. Roques, *L'Univers dionysien* (Paris 1983). S. Lilla, "Introduzione allo studio dello Ps. Dionigi l'Areopagita," *Augustinianum* 22 (1982) 533–77. P. Rorem, *Biblical and Liturgical Symbols within the Pseudo-Dionysian Synthesis* (Toronto 1984). A. van den Daele, *Indices Pseudo-Dionysiani* (Louvain 1941). –A.K., B.B.

DIONYSIOS THRAX, Greek grammarian and pupil of Aristarchos, whose work on Homeric philology he continued; born Alexandria ca.170, died ca.90 B.C. His *Grammar* (*Techne grammatike*) is the earliest surviving systematic treatment of the subject and the only book of a Hellenistic scholar to survive in nearly original form. It sums up a long tradition of linguistic study by Hellenistic scholars. Essentially a series of definitions, sometimes illustrated by examples, the work is based on the usage of poets and prose writers, not on the spoken language. It deals with prosody, phonology (see PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY), the parts of speech, and MORPHOLOGY, but not syntax. The brevity and clarity of Dionysios's work guaranteed it success as a schoolbook for more than 1,000 years. A mass of commentaries grew up around it, some the work of a single author, such as George CHOIROBOSKOS or HELIODOROS, others catenalike compilations. Dionysios's *Grammar* served as a model for the Latin grammatical studies of Varro, Remmius Palaemon, and later scholars. It was translated into Syriac—to the structure of which it was ill adapted—and Armenian. The Armenian version in its turn was the object of several commentaries (N. Adontz, *Denys le Thrace et les commentaires arméniens* [Louvain 1970]). Though largely replaced in the Greek world as a schoolbook in the 13th C. by the *Erotemata* of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and similar pedagogical grammars, Dionysios's work greatly influenced the Renaissance study of language. Modern European grammatical terminology is largely based on the work of Dionysios.

ED. *Dionysii Thracis Ars grammatica*, ed. G. Uhlig (Leipzig 1883; rp. Hildesheim 1965). A. Hilgard, *Scholia in Dionysii Thracis Artem grammaticam* (Leipzig 1901; rp. Hildesheim 1965).

LIT. R. Pfeiffer, *History of Classical Scholarship: From the Beginnings to the End of the Hellenistic Age* (Oxford 1968) 266–72. M. Fuhrmann, *Das systematische Lehrbuch: Ein Beitrag zur Geschichte der Wissenschaften in der Antike* (Göttingen 1960) 29–34. W. Hoerschelmann, *De Dionysii Thracis interpretibus veteribus* (Leipzig 1874). –R.B.

DIONYSIOU MONASTERY, located on a rock 80 m above the southwest coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS between the monasteries of Gregoriou and St. Paul. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist, Dionysiou (*Διονυσίου*) is sometimes called Nea Petra because of its setting. It was founded between 1356 and 1366 by the monk Dionysios (born 1316), a native of Koresos in Macedonia and former monk at Philotheou. As a result of the mediation of his brother Theodosios, who became metropolitan of Trebizond in 1368/9, Dionysios was able to secure the patronage of the

Trapezuntine emperor ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS. The latter became the *ktetor* of Dionysiou, financing the construction of its principal buildings. In 1374 the emperor issued a confirmatory chrysobull (*Dionys.*, no.4); at its head are depicted Alexios and his wife Theodora (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.136). The monastery also received property and fiscal exemptions from the emperors in Constantinople (*Dionys.*, nos. 3, 5, 10, 13). Dionysiou was declared a patriarchal monastery in 1389.

The archives contain 28 Byz. documents dating between 1056 and 1464. In the library are approximately 237 Greek MSS of the 15th C. or earlier (Lampros, *Athos* 1:319–436; Euthymios Dionysiates, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 233–71). Its most precious possessions are a richly illustrated lectionary, cod. 587 (C. Walter, *DChAE*[4] 13 [1985–86] 181–89) and cod. 61, an 11th–12th-C. copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. An ivory plaque depicting the Crucifixion above a scene of the soldiers casting lots (*BCH* 81 [1957] 604) may be of doubtful authenticity.

SOURCES. *Actes de Dionysiou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1968). B. Laourdas, "Metrophanes, Bios tou hosiou Dionysiou tou Athonitou," *ArchPont* 21 (1956) 43–79.

LIT. O. Lampsides, "Biographika ton adelphon Dionysiou, hidrytos tes en Hagio Orei mones, kai Theodosiou, metropolitou Trapezountos," *Archeion ekklesiastikou kai kanonikou dikaiou* 18 (1963) 101–24. *Treasures* 1:36–223, 393–449. –A.M.T., A.C.

DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS, Christian scholar; fl.ca.500–ca.550. Dionysius was a monk (abbot in some sources) from Scythia who spent most of his life in Rome. CASSIODORUS reports that Dionysius assumed the Latin epithet Exiguus ("the Little") out of humility. His obsessive interest in the CHRONOLOGY of EASTER produced his most famous achievement, the first reckoning of historical events from the birth of Christ rather than from Diocletian (284), using 753/4 A.U.C. (*ab urbe condita*, "from the foundation of Rome") as the year of the Incarnation. He also assembled the first proper collection of CANON LAW, including translations of Greek laws. His laudable desire to reconcile the churches of East and West prompted him to translate important texts into Latin, for example, the Life of PACHOMIOS; *On the Making of Man* by GREGORY OF NYSSA; and the *Tome to the Armenians* of PROKLOS, patriarch of Constantinople.

ED. PL 67:9–520. *Die Canonessammlung des Dionysius Exiguus*, ed. A. Strewe (Berlin-Leipzig 1931). *La vie latine de Saint Pachôme*, ed. H. van Cranenburgh (Brussels 1969).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 224f, 227. W.M. Peitz, *Dionysius Exiguus-Studien* (Berlin 1960); rev. K. Schäferdiek, *ZKirch* 74 (1963) 353–68, C. Munier, *Sacris erudiri* 14 (1963) 236–50. H. Wurm, *Studien und Texte zur Dekretalensammlung des Dionysius Exiguus* (Bonn 1939; rp. Amsterdam 1964). –B.B.

DIONYSOS, Greek god of fertility and wildlife, both animal and vegetable, primarily of wine; in a later myth the son of PERSEPHONE. His cult grew in importance during the Roman period when the idea of a happier life in the netherworld was connected with the image of Dionysos, and scenes of Dionysiac myths began to appear on sarcophagi. PROKLOS refers to an Orphic tradition that proclaimed Dionysos the king of all the gods for six generations, and MACROBIUS perceives him as the god who combines in himself other deities, such as Helios and Apollo, as the soul of the world (Daszewski, *infra* 41f). NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS devoted to Dionysos a voluminous epic, the *Dionysiaka*, in which the god is primarily a world-conqueror, subduing nation after nation in bloody battles and showing his courage. Finally, MALALAS—following, probably, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA—rationalized the ancient myth, humanizing and historicizing the god; he created for Dionysos a human genealogy and made him a mortal deified on account of his miracles and benefactions. O. Nicholson (*Byzantion* 54 [1984] 253–75) suggests that Galerius viewed Dionysos as his divine protector and interprets LACTANTIUS's criticism of Liber (Latin form of Dionysos) as polemics against Galerius.

A widespread motif in art—sometimes with connotations of resurrection—until the 6th C., the image of Dionysos disappears thereafter only to return in the 11th C. in the much narrower compass of illustrations to the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Based on the commentaries of the pseudo-Nonnos, these most commonly pictured scenes from his birth and childhood (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 52–58, 164–65) and his military and maenadic companions (see MAENADS). In the pseudo-Oppian MS in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Dionysos is depicted as a handsome youth wearing a short tunic and carrying ivy branches (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.119).

LIT. W.A. Daszewski, *Dionysos der Erlöser* (Mainz 1985). S.W. Reinert, "The Image of Dionysus in Malalas' Chronicle," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis [*ByzMetabyz* 4] (Malibu 1985) 1–41. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 46–49, 54f, 111f, 129f, 138–40, 179–83.
– A.K., A.C., A.M.T.

DIOSKORIDES, Greek physician and pharmacologist, author of works on PHARMACOLOGY and herbal lore; fl. ca.65. His *De materia medica* was a fundamental medical and pharmacological tract in Byz.; numerous physicians attached their comments to Dioskorides' original text, and occasionally challenged his opinions (J.M. Riddle, *DOP* 38 [1984] 95–102).

The *De materia medica* survives in at least ten illustrated MSS. The earliest (Vienna, ÖNB med. gr. 1) is the most luxurious of Byz. SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, with 498 miniatures, mostly full-page paintings of plants in alphabetical order (as against Dioskorides' original sequence). It also includes depictions of snakes, insects, spiders, scorpions, various animals, and birds to illustrate paraphrases by Euteknios of the *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* of Nicander, the *Ornithiaka* of Dionysios of Philadelphia, and similar tracts. Among five frontispieces, one shows seven famous physicians of antiquity, and one depicts ANICIA JULIANA, daughter of the empress Galla Placidia, surrounded by PERSONIFICATIONS and dropping gold on a copy of the book. A much-abraded acrostic within the octagonal ornament of this page was read by A. von Premerstein (*JbKSWien* 24 [1903] 105–24) as an expression of gratitude to Juliana from Honoratai (sometimes called Onoratoi), a town near Constantinople, for a church she had built there; in the spandrels of the octagon, putti are depicted building this church, which was completed, according to Theophanes the Confessor, by 512. Added marginalia indicate that the Vienna Dioskorides was in Latin hands for a time after the Fourth Crusade. In the 14th and 15th C. Greek monks in the monastery of St. John Prodromos in PETRA made numerous notations in the book. Among the monks was Nathanael, who was also a doctor at the nearby hospital founded by STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN. In 1406 Nathanael asked John CHORTASMENOS to have the MS restored and rebound; Chortasmenos partially transcribed the uncial text and added, in minuscule, names of persons and plants. In 1422/3 the MS was still in the Prodromos library; sometime after 1520 it passed into the hands of the Jewish physician of Süleyman the Magnificent and was eventually purchased by Charles V.

A lavish copy of the Vienna Dioskorides was produced in the 10th C. (New York, Morgan Lib. 652). Romanos II sent an illustrated version to the caliph of Cordoba about the same time.

ED. *Pedanii Dioscuridis Anazarbei De materia medica*, ed. M. Wellmann, 3 vols. (Berlin 1906–14; rp. 1958). Facsimile and commentary—H.Gerstinger, *Dioscurides: Codex Vindobonensis Med. Gr. 1 der Österreichischen Nationalbibliothek*, 2 vols. (Graz 1965–70). O. Mazal, *Pflanzen, Wurzeln, Säfte, Samen. Antike Heilkunst in Miniaturen des Wiener Dioskurides* (Graz 1981).

LIT. A. van Buren in *Illuminated Greek MSS*, no.6. J.M. Riddle, *Dioscorides on Pharmacy and Medicine* (Austin, Texas, 1985). Idem, "Dioscorides," in *Catalogus Translationum et Commentariorum*, eds. F.E. Cranz, P.O. Kristeller, vol. 4 (Washington, D.C., 1980) 1–143. J. Scarborough, V. Nutton, "The *Preface* of Dioscorides' *Materia Medica*," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia*[5] 4 (1982) 187–227.
–A.C., J.S.

DIOSKOROS (Διόσκορος), patriarch of Alexandria (444–51); died Gangra 4 Sept. 454. Dioskoros succeeded CYRIL as bishop of Alexandria, determined to defend the position of his see and destroy all vestiges of dyophysite Christology, esp. as it was taught by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and IBAS of Edessa. Haughty and impetuous in temperament, he antagonized even some of his natural allies in Alexandria. Dioskoros supported the Monophysite monk EUTYCHES in his conflict with Patr. FLAVIAN of Constantinople; in 449 he presided over the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS, using coercion to secure the victory of Alexandrian theology and the condemnation of Flavian. Two years later at the Council of CHALCEDON Dioskoros was in turn deposed and exiled to Gangra, where he soon died; he was not, however, condemned for heresy but only for his strong-arm tactics at the "Robber" Council. Much of the Egyptian church remained loyal to Dioskoros until his death and refused to accept Proterios, who had been named as his successor in Alexandria by the council. Later Monophysite opinion, however, did not always regard Dioskoros with favor, but in some Monophysite circles he was viewed as a saint. A Syriac vita of Dioskoros by his disciple Theopistos is preserved (ed. F. Nau, *Journal Asiatique*[10] 1 [1903] 5–108, 241–310).

LIT. N. Charlier, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 508–14. F. Haase, "Patriarch Dioskur I. von Alexandria nach monophysi-

tischen Quellen," in *Kirchengeschichtliche Abhandlungen* 6 (Breslau 1908) 141–233. J. Lebon, "Autour du cas de Dioscore d'Alexandrie," *Muséon* 59 (1946) 515–28.
–T.E.G.

DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO in Egypt, poet and lawyer who represented the people's interests in letters and petitions to the local grandees; died after 585. Dioskoros (Διόσκορος) visited Constantinople in the 550s on family business (V. Martin, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 15 [1929] 96–102). A cache of papyri containing his papers was found in the early 20th C. Apart from classical fragments, they contain his own writings. His prose includes an important Greek-Coptic glossary, petitions and business contracts, and a treatise on metrology. His verses, in assorted meters, range from classicizing exercises to panegyrics and epithalamia addressed to local magnates. Dioskoros's *enkomion* of JUSTIN II provides early testimony on the veneration of the imperial image (L.S.B. MacCoull, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 575–85). The verses show his fondness for decorative epithets, for self-quotation, and for combining pagan with Christian imagery. What once were thought to be inaccuracies in his versification can now be understood as reflections of Coptic phonology and syntax. Since much of his verse and prose output is preserved in draft stage, it affords an opportunity to see a late antique writer at work.

ED. E. Heitsch, *Die griechischen Dichterfragmente der römischen Kaiserzeit*, vol. 1 (Göttingen 1961) 127–52. Greek-Coptic glossary—H.I. Bell, W.E. Crum, *Aegyptus* 6 (1925) 177–226.

LIT. L.S.B. MacCoull, *Dioscorus of Aphrodito: His Work and His World* (Berkeley 1988). Eadem, "The Coptic Archive of Dioscorus of Aphrodito," *Chronique d'Egypte* 56.3 (1981) 185–93. Eadem, "Dioscorus and the Dukes: An Aspect of Coptic Hellenism in the Sixth Century," *BS/EB* 13 (1986) 30–40.
–B.B., L.S.B.MacC.

DIOSKOUROI, Castor and Polydeuces (Lat. Pollux), Greek mythological figures; twin brothers of Helen, they share immortality between them, living half their time in the netherworld and half on Mt. Olympos. Represented as riders on white steeds, the Dioskouroi were connected with the astral cult; they were also perceived as helpers of mankind, esp. at sea (e.g., HIMERIOS, ed. A. Colonna, or.9.112–13) and in illness. The veneration of the Dioskouroi continued after the triumph of Christianity: on North African pottery of the 4th C. representations of the Dioskouroi are accompanied by the 12 apostles or the Raising of Lazarus, and on sarcophagi with the scene of St. Peter's arrest (F. Bejaoui, *AntAfr* 21 [1985] 173–77). Pope Gelasius I attests to the existence of a cult of "Castores" that the people did not want to abandon. The attitude of the church to the Dioskouroi was ambivalent: the church fathers rejected the myth of their immortality; on the other hand, they tried to replace the Dioskouroi by Christian pairs—thus, the apostles Peter and Paul assumed their function as helpers at sea, and KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS their function as healers. More questionable is the Dioskourian origin of the Cappadocian triplet saints Speusippos, Elasippos, and Melesippos, who are said to have been skilled riders. Niketas Choniates compares the imperial brothers Isaac II and Alexios III Angelos to the Dioskouroi (Nik.Chon. 452.14).

In the MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Polydeuces is shown in a boxing match with Amykos, king of the Bebrykes, while Castor is depicted as a soldier. In other miniatures of the same MS the brothers are shown hunting, both on horseback and on foot (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 118, 128–29).

LIT. J.R. Harris, *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* (London 1903). H. Grégoire, *Saints jumeaux et dieux cavaliers* (Paris 1905). W. Kraus, *RAC* 3:1133–38. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 109–11.
–A.K., A.M.T.

DIOSPOLIS (Διόσπολις, also called Lydda, Ar. Ludd; George of Cyprus calls it Georgioupolis), a city in Palestine southeast of Jaffa, which became an early center of Christianity. Its bishop was *synkellos* of the patriarch of Jerusalem, and the see an autocephalous archbishopric. The Council of 415 in Diospolis supported Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM). According to the PIACENZA PILGRIM, a miraculous column stood near Diospolis; as the Lord was being led toward this pillar to be scourged, it was lifted up in a cloud and set down in the middle of the road. The cult of St. GEORGE was early attached to Diospolis. Legend has it that George was born in Diospolis and his remains brought there after his death in Nikomedeia; pilgrims speak of his miracle-working tomb in Diospolis. Even after ʿAMR conquered Diospolis, the city remained a place where George was venerated: in the 10th C. there was a splendid church dedicated to him; a Muslim legend, probably based

on the image of George killing the dragon, predicted that at the door of this shrine Christ would slay the Antichrist. The remains of a monastery of St. George, built by the Crusaders over a church of Justinian I, are still evident in and around the Greek Orthodox church of Lydda.

(For Diospolis in Bulgaria, see IAMBOL.)

LIT. G. Hölscher, *RE* 13 (1927) 2120–22. M. Sharon, *EI*[2] 5:798–803. G. Beyer, "Die Stadtgebiete von Diospolis und Nikopolis im 4. Jahrh. n. Chr. und ihre Grenznachbarn," *ZDPV* 56 (1933) 218–53. M. Benvenisti, *The Crusaders in the Holy Land* (Jerusalem 1970) 167–70. *HC* 4:100.
–G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

DIPLOMACY, conducted for such purposes as negotiating TREATIES and arranging imperial marriages or exchanges of PRISONERS, was one of the main activities of the Byz. government and largely contributed to its successes. A solid ideology underlay this diplomacy, which an educated and versatile BUREAUCRACY conducted with subtle pragmatism.

The uniqueness and supremacy of the empire on earth was a concept inherited from Rome and enhanced by the theory that imperial power was obtained by God's will according to God's choice. Following these principles, the ideal would have been to unite all the world under one Christian Roman emperor, always perceived as a peacemaker (*eirenopoios*). This was one long-term objective for Byz. diplomacy, but in the meantime the defense of the empire had to be guaranteed. This basic theory remained practically unchanged throughout the history of Byz., even in its most somber moments.

The existence of other rulers, with varying degrees of sovereignty, was officially recognized. Each had a specific place in the theoretical framework of a big family, the center of which was the Byz. emperor: the designations "son" (often vassal), "brother," "cousin," "nephew," etc., indicated the closeness and the rank that the emperor assigned to each ruler. Following the imaginary example of heaven and the concrete one of the imperial court, a real (and changeable) hierarchy of states was construed on the basis of power, religion, and recognized level of civilization. At the top of this hierarchy, after Byz., came the SASANIAN Persians, then the ARABS, with whom the emperor negotiated on terms of quasi-equality. The western European states—previously part of the empire, but separate from the 5th C. onward—were given mediocre positions, even though they were Christian and had an admitted affinity with the Byz. This hierarchy was manifested in official correspondence in the form of address assigned to each foreign ruler or in the weight of the gold seal (bulla) used to seal the letter sent to him (e.g., in the 10th C. *boullae* of four solidi were used for letters to the Arab caliph, three solidi for the khan of the KHAZARS, two solidi for the *archon* of RUS', one or two solidi for the pope and for the king of the FRANKS, etc.). These differentiations were even clearer in the way that some treaties were concluded and put in writing.

Whenever possible, the appearances dictated by the above ideology had to be respected. Instead of "paying tribute" the Byz. said they "gave gifts" or, better, granted titles and the accompanying salaries to foreign rulers and their entourages, thus reaffirming implicitly the emperor's supremacy. Only when compelled did the emperors accept humiliation (e.g., Nikephoros I agreed in 806 to pay HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD not only a hefty tribute, but also three nomismata for his personal capitation and three more for his son's). They also agreed to accommodations (OIKONOMIA). Although the Byz. forcefully refused to recognize other Christian emperors, they accepted unwillingly the use of the imperial title by other rulers (Charlemagne, the German emperors, the Bulgarians, and the Serbs); the title "emperor of the Romans" they retained for their sovereign alone. This general ideology, recognized and accepted by most other states, helped the Byz. considerably in conducting their foreign policy, enhanced as it was by the long tradition of the empire.

Diplomacy used various means. Pressure on the other party could be exerted directly by the armed forces, indirectly by allies that Byz. could turn against its enemies, by civil strife that it would provoke, or just by supporting the pro-Byz. political party. On the other hand, to make individual friends, Byzantium used its prestige and wealth as well as its capital, Constantinople, which offered a high quality of life. Close relatives, esp. sons, of foreign rulers, were invited for prolonged stays in Constantinople, where they were exposed to Byz. culture and religious practices (and served as hostages). Foreign rulers were invited to visit

Constantinople, where imperial wealth and power could be displayed while negotiations were conducted.

Marriages of Byz. princes to foreign princesses were accepted from the 8th C. onward; Byz. princesses of blood, close relatives of the emperor, married abroad from the 10th C. onward. Marriages to foreigners were, however, usually arranged with illegitimate children of the emperor or with children of the aristocracy. Royal insignia could be attributed and a sovereign title assigned to a foreign ruler who would agree to become the (adopted) "son" of the emperor, thus recognizing his superiority.

Attribution of Byz. titles in order to create bonds of dependency was practiced throughout Byz. history; in some cases these titles became hereditary to the foreign princes. Gifts or periodic payments were intended to secure the conclusion of a treaty, an alliance, or the prince's neutrality. Similarly, commercial privileges were granted to foreign colonies (attested from the 10th C. onward). MISSIONS, when successful, attracted the foreign country into the orbit of the Byz. church, which in turn provided the converts (partly or totally) with ecclesiastical personnel. By accepting Byz. Christianity, the foreign ruler became subject to spiritual pressures by the patriarch of Constantinople.

Byz. had no diplomatic service as such but made use of a large, competent, and well-organized bureaucracy, various branches of which would, when necessary, deal with foreign states. Rarely, diplomatic negotiations were conducted by provincial governors (e.g., the *katepano* of Italy or the *strategoi* of Cherson). Foreign policy was decided by the emperor or the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, later by the PARADYNASTEUON, and eventually by the MESAZON. Foreign correspondence was prepared in the imperial CHANCERY (under the Palaiologoi, supervised by the *megas* LOGOTHETES). AMBASSADORS, who also collected INTELLIGENCE, were assisted by a corps of INTERPRETERS, even though Greek, esp. demotic Greek, was a major language of diplomacy in the eastern Mediterranean, also used in negotiations between non-Greek-speaking peoples. Foreign ambassadors were received by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. Very seldom did sovereigns themselves conduct negotiations; usually they were the work of EMBASSIES, sent ad hoc, that held discussions mostly with high officials. The permanent foreign representatives in Constantinople (BAILO, *podestà*) had their place in the imperial ceremonies and consequently were in close contact with the authorities.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 281–323. F. Ganshof, *Le Moyen Âge* [= P. Renouvin, *Histoire des relations internationales*, vol. 1] (Paris 1953). D. Obolensky, "The Principles and Methods of Byzantine Diplomacy," 12 *CEB* Rapports 2 (Belgrade-Ohrid 1961) 45–61 (cf. also the complementary reports by G. Moravcsik and D. Zakythinos). I. Medvedev, "K voprosu o principach vizantijskoj diplomatii nakanune padenija imperii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 129–39. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident* (Athens 1980). J. Shepard, "Information, Disinformation and Delay in Byzantine Diplomacy," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 233–93. –N.O.

DIPLOMATICS, the AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dealing with the critical study of archival documents (see ACTS, DOCUMENTARY), has a short history as far as Byz. is concerned. B. de Montfaucon first treated the subject in chapter 6 of his *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris 1708). Byz. acts were also examined critically by some Athonite monks, such as Cyril of Lavra and Nikodemos Hagioreites, both in the 18th C. Setting aside the PAPYRI, one is left with few surviving diplomatic materials, because all Byz. state archives and most monastic ones have perished.

Archives known to preserve Byz. documents are relatively few: the monasteries of Mount Athos (see ATHOS, ACTS OF), Patmos, and Meteora are the main depositories of monastic archives, together with the numerous documents of churches and monasteries preserved in southern Italy and Sicily. Original documents of foreign relations can be found in western European state archives (esp. Genoa, Venice). Many more acts are scattered in various collections, originals or copies in MS codices, including collective COPIES and medieval chancery RECORDS.

The main goal of diplomatics is to study Byz. documents in order to reconstitute the lost archives and Byz. CHANCERY techniques; to classify the preserved documents according to the authorities that issued them; to examine them, be they original or copies (official or unofficial, certified or not, preserved in other documents or in narrative sources), and to establish whether they are authentic or forgeries. The limited probatory value of the written act may explain why the

relatively few Byz. fakes come from periods of political upheaval (such as the 14th and early 15th C. in Macedonia). Moreover, the documents have to be published properly (if possible, with facsimiles) and commented upon adequately in regard to the wealth of information that they contain concerning the administration and the finances, the economy and society, the prosopography and the geography, the historical events that they mention, their language and their calligraphy, even the literary trends and ideology that are reflected in them, esp. in their rhetorical prooimia.

LIT. I.P. Medvedev, *Očerki vizantijskoj diplomatiki* (Leningrad 1988). Dölger, *Diplomatik*. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre*. –N.O.

DIPLOVATATZES. See VATATZES.

DIPTYCH (δίπτυχος), any laterally connected pair of panels in wood, ivory, or precious metal; the term is customarily applied to leaves more ceremonial in purpose and more elaborate than WRITING TABLETS. Ivory diptychs are the best studied. According to the *Historia Augusta*, ivory diptychs were used to record proceedings of the senate. In 5th-C. Carthage *calculi eburnei* served to preserve the names and deeds of proconsuls (*CChr Ser. lat.* 60:220). It is possible that John Chrysostom's allusion to "golden" *deltoi* (PG 56:110.46) refers to diptychs issued as documents of appointment to high officials. No such literary evidence is available for two other subsets: the classes known as imperial and five-part diptychs (see below). Frequently depicted in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, official diptychs seem to have been framed in gold, an element lacking in presumably privately issued specimens carved with mythological scenes, games, or literary figures (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 54–61, 66, 68–69). Even though related in size and technique to the consular diptychs (see below), such private diptychs were probably distributed in much smaller quantities.

Pagan ivory diptychs disappeared in the 6th C., although a parallel Christian series, the so-called five-part diptychs, continued to be issued after that date. Sacred diptychs (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 40–42, 52–53, 60, 122, 222–23), functioning as folding ICONS, were less prevalent than TRIPTYCHS in the 10th–11th C., but hinged panels continued to be used as



DIPTYCH. Diptych of the consul Anastasios (516); ivory. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

insignia of office: the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 93.22–95.1, 127.25–27, 129.4–5) specifies that the emperor should present decorated ivory plaques to candidates for the patriciate, a distribution confirmed in *De cer.* (248.11). Like the codicil diptychs of late antiquity, these may have contained parchment documents of appointment.

Consular Diptychs. These were panels issued by ordinary CONSULS upon their accession to office. The earliest surviving specimen is that of Felix, consul in 428; the series closes with the end of the civil consulate in 541 because emperors who thereafter assumed the consulate did not issue diptychs. Normally, consular diptychs bear the name, *cursus honorum*, and a likeness of the honoree. Rome and Constantinople were the most likely centers of distribution. Diptychs of the 5th C. are generally simple portraits; most 6th-C. examples show the consul presiding over the games that marked his accession. More than 30 identify

a specific consul; a handful of others, although anonymous, probably also belong to the consular series. It is not certain that all such appointees issued diptychs, and the number and nature of recipients must have varied. Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS (ep.3.6.5–6) indicates that consuls distributed panels to their friends and relatives; the diptychs of Justinian I (521) and Philoxenos (525) bear dedications to the senate or its members. Inscriptions are usually in Latin, occasionally in Greek, though language alone cannot reveal their place of manufacture. Slight variations in iconography, combined with the evidence of technique, point to ivory workshops that produced other sorts of panels (A. Cutler, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 75–115); surviving in greater numbers, consular diptychs were serially produced. Their inner surfaces have recesses like those of normal writing tablets, but the notion that these huge slabs of ivory—those of Apion, consul in 539, measure nearly 41 × 16 cm each—were filled with wax and inscribed cannot be verified. Many consular panels were reused for Christian purposes in the Middle Ages. Preserved in this way, they constitute an invaluable tool for modern scholarship since they are precisely datable by the name of the official they bear.

Five-part Diptychs. Known only in ivory, they are paired and sometimes hinged assemblages of five panels attached to one another by tongue-and-groove joints. Each group of five panels forms a leaf measuring approximately 35 × 30 cm overall. If the so-called imperial diptychs are included, panels survive from 13 such objects. Neither the function nor the dates of five-part diptychs are known with any precision. Office-holders appear on some fragments and a consul is depicted on one (Delbrück, *infra*, no.47), but this is an insufficient basis on which to suppose, with Delbrück, that five-part diptychs showed the consul's reception of *codicilli*. On the majority of examples, usually dated between the 6th and 8th C., Christ, the Virgin, the Lamb of God, or a cross occupies the central panel, surrounded by Gospel scenes. Some of these may have been designed from the start as BOOK COVERS (F. Steenbock, *Der kirchliche Prachteinband im frühen Mittelalter* [Berlin 1965] 11–21).

"Imperial" Diptychs. A subset of five-part diptychs, they contain the depiction of an emperor or empress in their central panels. Though no example survives in its original state, there are 12 fragments belonging to eight different specimens; these are customarily assigned to the 5th or 6th C. Images of various dignitaries appear on the flanking plaques, a bust of Christ or a PERSONIFICATION of Constantinople in the upper register, and BARBARIANS bringing offerings in the lower. "Imperial" diptychs have therefore been thought to celebrate perpetual victory, a theme repeated on some of their inscriptions. On the basis of one example inscribed with a consul's *cursus honorum* but lacking his name (Delbrück, infra, no.49), it is assumed that they were presented to the ruler by consuls at their inauguration. H. Thümmel (*BS* 39 [1978] 196–206) conversely suggests that "imperial" diptychs were presented by emperors to state officials and that examples with Christian iconography functioned as insignia bestowed on high clergy when they took office. (See also BARBERINI IVORY.)

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 4.1:1094–1170. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1196–1203. Al. Cameron, "Pagan Ivories and Consular Diptychs," 7th *BSC Abstracts* (1981) 54. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*. A. Goldschmidt, "Mittelstücke fünfteiliger Elfenbeintafeln des VI.–VII. Jahrhunderts," *JbKw* 1 (1923) 30–33. –A.C.

DIPTYCHS, LITURGICAL, lists of names of the living and of the dead proclaimed aloud by the DEACON during the EUCHARIST. The practice is attested from as early as the 5th C. The church of Constantinople had two separate lists, that of the dead being further subdivided into a list of laymen and a list of clergy, with the bishops of Constantinople listed according to the order of their succession. The diptych soon became a vehicle of political struggle. Already in 451 it was prohibited to "read from the altar" the names of the leaders of the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS. Names of emperors, popes, and bishops were often erased from diptychs and restored only after some form of reconciliation had taken place.

Sometimes inscribed on double tablets of ivory, liturgical diptychs could be local, as in the Syrian traditions, commemorating representatives of the local church, or ecclesial, commemorating hierarchs of other churches with which the local church was in communion, or the two combined. Byz. diptychs were the combined type and were chanted by the deacon during the ANAPHORA, not before it, as in the Syrian rites.

LIT. O. Stegmüller, *RAC* 3:1145–48. G. Winkler, "Die Interzessionen der Chrysostomusanaphora in ihrer geschichtlichen Entwicklung," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 363–77. –R.F.T., A.K.

DISEASE. The Byz. cherished an interest in diseases and knew how to describe them. Although images created by PSELLOS are usually static, he was able to show the changes in human appearance caused by disease (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 241f). Byz. authors produced detailed descriptions of disease—both the pandemic PLAGUE and individual illness (H. Hunger in *Polychronion* 244–52). Scientific MEDICINE clearly classified ailments—from plague to rabies, ophthalmic afflictions, LEPROSY, various skin rashes, cholera, pneumonia, and tuberculosis. Human diseases were understood through the ancient notions of imbalances among the four humors, best known to Byz. medical writers from the works of GALEN, although physicians were well aware of the Hippocratic origins of humoral pathology.

Side-by-side with scientific diagnosis was a "demoniac" explanation of disease; not only was miraculous HEALING conceived as a struggle against DEMONS, but even a well-read man such as PHOTIOS, who knew Hippocrates, Galen, and ORIBASIOS, explained gastric illness as the action of a fecal demon (PG 101:553A–B). He also assumed that the moon could cause disease (117B–D).

LIT. A. Festugière, "Epidémies 'hippocratiques' et épidémies démoniaques," *WS* 79 (1966) 157–64. –J.S., A.K.

DISHYPATOS (διϲύπατος, i.e., twice HYPATOS), title mentioned the first time at the beginning of the 9th C.: the *dishypatos* Thomas was an addressee of Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:949C). The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos places the title after that of the *protospatharios*. In the 11th C. the title *dishypatos* was often conferred on judges, *anagrapheis*, and *chartoularioi*. The title seems to have disappeared in Byz. by the end of the 11th C., but was known in southern Italy in the beginning of the 12th C. John, son of the imperial *dissipatus* Ursus, was mentioned as late as 1178. *Dishypatos* as a family name appears in the 12th C. and becomes relatively common in the Palaiologan period (*PLP*, nos. 5522–45).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:79–81. Oikonomides, *Listes* 295. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 237–40. –A.K.

DISHYPATOS, DAVID, Palamite monk and apologist; died by 1354, perhaps by 1347. Dishypatos (Διϲύπατος) was a member of an aristocratic family that was related by marriage to the Palaiologan dynasty. He first appears ca.1337 as a correspondent of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. Despite this connection, he favored the views of Gregory PALAMAS. In 1341 he was at the monastery of Katakekryomene in PARORIA, a stronghold of hesychasm, when he was summoned to Constantinople to support Palamas in his struggle with Barlaam.

After the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) Dishypatos began to compose polemical tracts against Barlaam and AKINDYNOS, notably a *Logos* addressed to Nicholas KABASILAS (ca.1342) and a lengthy iambic poem of 610 verses in response to Akindynos's poetical attack on Palamas (ca.1342–44). In 1346, at the request of ANNA OF SAVOY, he wrote a *Short History of the Heresy of Barlaam and Akindynos*. Some works of Dishypatos were translated into Slavic languages probably in the second half of the 14th C. and are known in MSS from the 15th C. onward (G.M. Prochorov, *TODRL* 33 [1979] 32–54).

ED. *Dabid Disypatou Logos kata Barlaam kai Akindynou pros Nikolaon Kabasilan*, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1973). R. Browning, "David Dishypatos's Poem on Akindynos," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 713–45. *Short History*—M. Candal, "Orígen ideológico del palamismo en un documento de David Disípato," *OrChrP* 15 (1949) 85–125.

LIT. H.-V. Beyer, "David Disypatos als Theologe und Vorkämpfer für die Sache des Hesychasmus (ca.1337–ca.1350)," *JÖB* 24 (1975) 107–28. *PLP*, no.5532. –A.M.T.

DISHYPATOS, MANUEL, 13th-C. patron of an icon of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA now in Freising Cathedral. He is sometimes identified with Manuel Opsaras Dishypatos, metropolitan of Thessalonike, 1258–60/1 (*PLP*, no.5544). Dishypatos's offering retains its original silver-gilt revetment, on which the image is described as the "Hope of Those Who Have Lost Hope" (*He Elpis ton Apelpismenon*). Dishypatos is identified as a *kanstresios* (see KASTRESIOS); the dodecasyllabic verses are said to have been written by Dishypatos himself (M. Kalligas, *ArchEph* [1937] pt.2, 505). Plaques of the HETOIMASIA, archangels, and saints attached to the frame led Wessel (*infra*) to postulate an enamel workshop in mid-13th-C. Thessalonike. The icon, which reached Freising in

1440, is described in a Latin inscription on the altar on which it rests as a gift to Gian Galeazzo Visconti "from the emperor of the East."

LIT. *PLP*, no.5543. Grabar, *Revêtements*, no.16. *Athens Cat.*, no.214. Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.65. –A.C.

DISKOPOTERION. See CHALICE; PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

DISMISSAL (ἀπόλυσις, lit. "release"), a formula pronounced at the end of a liturgical service or sometimes of one of its parts, as in the *apolysis* of the catechumens after the reading of the Evangelion (e.g., Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:692D–693A). The formula of the *apolysis* varied, the major types having been the so-called small and great dismissal; the latter was used after vespers, *orthros*, and the divine liturgy (Eucharist).

LIT. S. Pétridès, *DACL* 1:2601f. M.M. Solovey, *The Byzantine Divine Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1970) 332f. –A.K.

DISTORTION, the alteration in shape or proportion in an image, frequently employed to convey values on a hierarchical SCALE, the expression of EMOTION—less often used than in the medieval West—or for purposes of CARICATURE. Despite antique theoretical systems designed to avoid distortion, which were transmitted by PROKLOS, the absence of coherent PERSPECTIVE often resulted in what, to the modern eye, appear to be deformations of SPACE and proportion. Some distortions, however, are evidently attempts by the artist to compensate for the spectator's point of view; monumental figures, intended to be seen from below, often appear with disproportionate heads or legs when viewed from appropriate positions. Spiritual values such as ASCETICISM have been held to explain distortion of the human form; some such instances must be attributed rather to artistic incompetence or lack of concern for PLASTICITY. –A.C.

DIVETESION (διβητήσιον, also διβιτίσιον), a long ceremonial silk TUNIC resembling the Latin dalmatic, for use on only the highest state occasions. It was worn, belted, instead of the SKARAMANGION (perhaps over another simpler tunic), under the LOROS, CHLAMYS, or SAGION, esp. by the emperor, but also by certain court officials. Red, green, and white *divetesia* are mentioned in texts, but the color PURPLE was restricted to the emperor. According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 423.2), Anastasios I wore a *sticharion divetesion*; the term is encountered frequently in the 9th–11th C. but is not used by pseudo-Kodinos in the 14th C., by which time the garment had apparently been replaced by the SAKKOS.

In imperial portraits it is not always easy to distinguish between the *skaramangion* and the *divetesion*; both seem to have been woven with gold designs and ornamented with panels of gold embroidery on the shoulders and hem. The *divetesion* (if indeed this is the garment depicted in the portraits) changed somewhat over the course of the 11th and 12th C.: the sleeves grew tighter, and the lower embroidered hem was no longer a strictly horizontal band but extended up the outer edge of each leg into a point or roundel. The comparable tunic that the empress wore under the *loros* had immensely wide sleeves.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:422, 478–80. *DOC* 2.1:77; 3.1:119. Hendy, *Coinage* 67. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 50–59. –N.P.Š.

DIVINATION, foreseeing or prediction of future events or disclosure of hidden knowledge. Various mantic arts were inherited by the Byz. from ancient practice but were transformed and christianized. They can be divided into two major forms: "natural" divination based on the spontaneous observation of the world and inductive ("artificial") divination originating from the use of special means. To the first group belong the observation of celestial bodies (ASTROLOGY), of meteorological events and NATURAL PHENOMENA (e.g., thunder [see BRONTOLOGION] and EARTHQUAKES), of dreams (see ONEIROKRITIKON), of birds (the EAGLE and others) and animals. The behavior of horses was sometimes alleged to predict the destiny of a new ruler or of a military campaign. According to HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, if imperial horses, when led into Hagia Sophia, took the bridle in their mouths, it meant that the Byz. had defeated the Muslims (A. Vasiliev, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 159f). In the 6th C. a dog allegedly was able to divine which women in a crowd were pregnant and which men were adulterers (Theoph. 224.15–27). It is unclear if any special means were used by the

9th-C. Peloponnesian shepherds who announced the fall of Syracuse to the Arabs two weeks before the news was confirmed (Genes. 83.64–75). The natural divination of ORACLES, the ecstatic and unintelligible utterances of prophets, so fashionable in antiquity, lost significance, yet Niketas Choniates describes a seer, Basilakes by name, active in Rhaidestos, whose nonsensical words and enigmatic gestures were interpreted by his followers as predicting the future.

Inductive divination encompasses the use of various objects, such as books, icons, flour, mirrors, fire, dice, dishes, etc. Herakleios reportedly resorted to *bibliomanteia* (picking a passage of the Bible at random) to determine where his army should spend the winter (Theoph. 308.15–16). Particular importance was attached to names and letters. The emperor Maurice, for example, predicted that his successor's name would begin with the letter *phi* (it happened to be Phokas).

The church condemned, in principle, all types of divination but had to comply with its christianized forms. Thus divination by icons is still attested by Blastares, and Anastasios of Sinai recommended the random opening of the Bible to predict the future.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:155–226. Trombley, "Paganism" 338f, 343, 348. –F.R.T., A.K.

DIVORCE (*διαζύγιον*) or dissolution of marriage (*[dia]lysis tou gamou*) was a concept alien to classical Roman law, which acknowledged the right to end a marriage at any time by mutual agreement or by repudiation of the spouse. This principle was preserved in the law of papyri of the 4th to 7th C. (A. Merklein, *Das Ehescheidungsrecht nach den Papyri der byzantinischen Zeit* [Erlangen-Nuremberg 1967]). Roman divorce, though easy, might involve (if it was considered without grounds) moral condemnation, legal penalties, and material compensation. The Christian church rejected the concept of unrestricted divorce. Constantine I in 331 forbade spouses to send a notice of divorce (*repudium*) on arbitrary grounds; only if the husband was guilty of murder, sorcery, or grave-robbery was the wife permitted to repudiate him and recover her entire DOWRY; if she separated on other grounds, she lost everything "to her last hairpin" and was to be deported to an island (*Cod.Theod.* III 16.1).

Justinian I prohibited divorce by mutual consent, except in cases in which the couple took monastic vows, and established a restricted list of legal causes for separation: conspiracy against the emperor or the spouse; ADULTERY or misbehavior on the part of the wife (dining and bathing with other men, living outside her house, attending circus games and theaters, and the hunting of wild animals); the husband's inducing his wife to fornicate with other men or a false accusation of adultery against the wife (nov.117.8–9). Justin II, in 566, reinstated the Roman tradition (C. Castello in *Mneme G.A. Petropoulou*, vol. 1 [Athens 1984] 295–315), his rationale being that divorce was a lesser sin than irrational hatred that might lead to attempted murder or suicide.

The indissolubility of marriage was formulated and firmly established in the *Ecloga* 2:9.1–3, which listed very few legal grounds for the dissolution of marriage: the wife's prostitution, impotence of the husband for a period of three years, and one spouse plotting against the other. Some supplementary reasons for divorce were introduced by later legislators, but the principle of the indissolubility of marriage (except for entrance into a monastery) dominated Byz. civil and canon law. One should probably distinguish between divorce proper and the annulment of marriage caused by its illegality (e.g., marriages prohibited by impediments, such as consanguinity) or by the social inequality of partners.

Cases of divorce were brought before law courts, civil and ecclesiastical alike, and their decisions show that in practice the principle of dispensation (OIKONOMIA) was applied more frequently than civil and canon law suggest. Eustathios Rhomaios mentioned cases of divorce by consent (*ek synaineseos*—*Peira* 25.37, 25.62), although penalties were exacted; he also included contracts of divorce (*Peira* 7.8, 25.30) and devoted serious attention to the regulation of the property rights of the divorced couple. In the 13th C. Chomatenos and Apokaukos judged cases of divorce involving people from various walks of life; besides the traditional legal grounds (the husband's impotence, the wife's adultery) other reasons were taken into account: incompatibility of the couple, implacable hatred, sodomy, consanguinity; when a husband abandoned his wife and refused to return to her, she might be permitted to remarry.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 578–600, 729–806. S. Troianos, "To synainetiko diazygio sto Byzantion," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 9–21. L. Burgmann, "Eine Novelle zum Scheidungsrecht,"

FM 4 (1981) 107–18. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIIIe siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 300–317, app. 2. F. Delpini, *Indissolubilità matrimoniale e divorzio dal I al XII secolo* (Milan 1979) 112–22. F. Goria, *Studi sul matrimonio dell'adultera nel diritto Giustinianeo e bizantino* (Frankfurt am Main 1975). –J.H., A.K.

DIYARBEKIR. See AMIDA.

DJEMILA (anc. Cuicul), site of a Roman colony in Numidia Cirtensis (mod. Algeria). The city was considerably transformed in the second half of the 4th C., when several basilicas, known from both texts and archaeology, were built. Construction dates for the so-called Christian quarter are less certain, although Djemila, like THEVESTE to the southeast, seems to have enjoyed a huge building campaign in the first quarter of the 5th C. At the heart of this campaign was the construction of two basilicas, each with extensive FLOOR MOSAICS and large crypts under their apses; the relative chronology of these churches is disputed (N. Duval, P.-A. Février, 8 *IntCongChrArch* [1969] 24f): the larger has a mosaic inscription naming as its founder a bishop Cresconius, whose identification is uncertain. To the west of these churches was built an exceptionally large baptistery in the form of a rotunda. Other buildings were given over to the administration and accommodation of an evidently large clergy. Numerous private residences, such as the "House of the Ass" and the "House of Europa," had elaborate floor mosaics installed, which Dunbabin (*Mosaics* 256) dates to the end of the 4th C. or the beginning of the 5th; in other houses there was extensive restoration of older pavements. The date at which Djemila was abandoned is unknown.

LIT. P.-A. Février, "Notes sur le développement urbain en Afrique du Nord: Les exemples comparés de Djemila et de Sétif," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 1–26. M. Blanchard-Lemée, *Maisons à mosaïques du quartier central de Djemila, Cuicul* (Paris 1975). Y. Allais, *Djemila* (Paris 1938). –A.C.

DNIEPER (Δάναπρις, also Βορυσθένης), river flowing south from the Valdai hills to the BLACK SEA west of the CRIMEA. Tributaries and portages link the upper Dnieper to the Volga for eastern traffic and to the Dvina and Lovat' for access to and from NOVGOROD and the Baltic. Byz. references to the Dnieper usually imply its lower section, which curves in an eastward loop through the steppes: Theophanes (Theoph. 357.28) describes the crossing of the Dnieper by the Bulgarians of ASPARUCH; Skylitzes (Skyl. 455.38) states that the PECHENEGS are found from the Dnieper to the DANUBE. From the mid-11th C. the lower Dnieper was controlled by the CUMANS, from the mid-13th C. by the MONGOLS, and in the late 14th and early 15th C. by LITHUANIA under Vitovt. The Dnieper was used by the RUS' as a route between the Black Sea and northern Europe from the late 9th C., and it became the main commercial artery connecting KIEV, SMOLENSK, and other towns. The lower part of this route "from the VARANGIANS to the Greeks" (POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET 1:11–12) is described in detail by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9), who pays special attention to its twin hazards: a series of rapids and attacks by the Pechenegs. The Russo-Byz. treaty of 944 guaranteed to CHERSON the right to fish unmolested at the mouth of the Dnieper (*Povest' vremennych let* 1:37).

LIT. Obolensky, *Byz. and the Slavs*, pt.V (1962), 16–61. V. Bulkin, I. Dubov, G. Lebedev, *Archeologičeskie pamjatniki Drevnej Rusi IX–XI vekov* (Leningrad 1978) 6–60. –S.C.F.

DOBROMIR CHRYSOS (Δοβρομηρὸς Χρυσός), founder of an ephemeral Bulgarian principality; died after 1201. The name Dobromir is applied to him only in a speech by Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 106.14). He probably joined ASEN in his revolt against Isaac II, then changed sides and was sent to defend Strumitza where he proclaimed himself independent. V. Zlatarski (*Godišnik na Sofijskija Universitet, Ist.-fil. Fak.* 29 [1933] 1–20) hypothesized that he was identical with the "jupanus vel satrapa Bulgariae" mentioned by Ansbert, but P. Mutafčiev rejected the identification (*BZ* 34 [1934] 205). According to Zlatarski, Dobromir, who, like IVANKO, was hostile to KALOJAN, tried in 1197 to make an alliance with Alexios III. Again Dobromir changed sides and established his "principality" in PROSEK. In a treaty Alexios III acknowledged Dobromir's power over Prosek and Strumitza and gave him as wife the daughter of the *protostrator* Manuel KAMYTZES. Dobromir ransomed Kamytzes from Bulgarian captivity and in 1201 started a war against Byz. The alliance with Kamytzes did not last long. Dobromir accepted Byz. sovereignty and married the emperor's granddaughter Theodora. Thereafter, he disappears from the sources.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:120–45. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* (Sofia 1973) 1:172–243. Brand, *Byzantium* 127–34. –A.K., C.M.B.

DOBROTICA (Τομπροτίτζας, also called Dobrotić, mostly by Rumanian scholars), a local ruler in Dobrudja; died before 1387. He was the brother of prince Balik (Balica), whose capital was in Karvuna. In 1346 Balik sent Dobrotica and another brother Theodore to Constantinople to support ANNA OF SAVOY. Defeated by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347, Dobrotica acknowledged Byz. suzerainty. By 1357 or 1366 Dobrotica received the title of DESPOTES. He was Balik's successor, moved the capital to Kaliakra and then to Varna, and acted, in alliance with Byz., against Bulgaria. He expanded his territory from the Byz. frontier to the Lower Danube. Dobrotica gave his daughter in marriage to Michael Palaiologos, the third son of John V, and in 1373 probably supported Michael's unsuccessful expedition against Trebizond (*Kleinchroniken* 2:310f). He severed dependency from the patriarchate of Tŭrnovo and acknowledged the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

LIT. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1973) 104–29. P. Schreiner, *Studien zu den Brachea Chronika* (Munich 1967) 148–51. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 150–53. –A.K.

DOBRUDJA, a region between the Lower Danube and the Black Sea. In the 4th–6th C. the province of SCYTHIA MINOR approximately encompassed this territory. In the 7th C. the AVARS and Slavs penetrated into Dobrudja; ca.680 ASPARUCH passed through the region and established his capital in PLISKA. The political allegiance of Dobrudja in the 8th–10th C. is under dispute: Bulgarian historians consider it a part of Bulgaria; Rumanian scholars assert that the Byz. retained control over the Lower Danube. In the 960s SVJATOSLAV of Kiev claimed the estuary of the Danube, but John I Tzimiskes defeated him and reconquered Dobrudja. The Byz. constructed fortresses on the Danube and encouraged development of coastal centers (e.g., CHILIA), but Dobrudja was subject to raids by the PECHENEGS and other nomads. Under Byz. control the "Roman" ethnic element (VLACHS and future RUMANIANS) recovered and actively participated in the Bulgarian revolt that led to the organization of the Second Bulgarian Empire. Byz. tried to retain the ports of Dobrudja, but was slowly driven out by the Venetians and Genoese. In the 14th C. semi-independent *archontes* of Slavic and proto-Rumanian origin were active in Dobrudja—Balik, DOBROTICA, and others—and MIRCEA THE ELDER temporarily annexed Dobrudja to Wallachia. After their defeat of the Crusaders at VARNA in 1444, the Ottomans completely occupied the region. region.

LIT. R. Vulpe in *La Dobroudja* (Bucharest 1938) 280–403. *Istorija na Dobrudža*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1984) 156–76. Ş. Ştefănescu, "Byzanz und die Dobrudscha in der zweiten Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Byzantinistische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 239–52. *Din istoria Dobrogei*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1971). –A.K.

DOCHEIARIOU MONASTERY, located on the southwest coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, northwest of the Xenophontos monastery. The origins of Docheiariou (Δοχειαρίου) are obscure: it was apparently first established before 1013 by John Docheiarios (probably the former cellarer of Xeropotamou) at the Athonite port of Daphne, with a church dedicated to St. Nicholas. Oikonomides hypothesizes that the monastery was transferred to a new location in the mountains between 1051 and 1056 and, finally, between 1083 and 1108 was moved to its present site near the sea. By the early 12th C. its dedication had changed to St. Michael. At this time the *hegoumenos* Neophytos, considered the second *ktetor* of the monastery, built a larger church and a fortification wall with a tower. He also acquired important properties in Chalkidike and composed a testament (sometime after 1118). From the 14th C. Docheiariou was an imperial monastery. It played no role in the hesychastic controversy; its monks were more involved with temporal concerns and engaged in mercantile shipping. Docheiariou was always a cenobitic monastery inhabited by Greeks. In the early 15th C. the Russian deacon ZOSIMA recounted that Docheiariou was ninth in the Athonite hierarchy.

The archives contain 60 acts of the Byz. period (1037–1424). The will of *hegoumenos* Neophytos (*Docheiar.*, no.6.29–31, 58–60) boasts of the precious textiles (*pepla*) he had added to the monastery's treasury and of the ecclesiastical silver, books, and icons he had amassed. At present the library contains approximately 100 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:233–69), of which cod. 5, a 12th-C. *menologion* (*Treasures* 3, figs. 258–68), and four Gospel books are notable for their illustration. The monastery also possesses a relief of the Ascension of Alexander, who is raised to heaven

by griffins. Docheiariou's present buildings are almost all post-Byz.

SOURCES. *Actes de Docheiariou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1984).

LIT. *Treasures* 3:160–75, 289–95. N. Oikonomides, "Hiera mone Docheiariou. Katalogos tou Archeiou," *Symmeikta* 3 (1979) 197–263. –A.M.T., A.C.

DOCTRINA JACOBI NUPER BAPTIZATI (the Indoctrination [διδασκαλία] of Jacob Recently Converted), a treatise dated in 634 (Bonwetsch, *infra*, p.xvi) or 640 (Nau, *infra*, p.715). It takes the form of a pseudo-dialogue (one party only asks questions without entering the discussion) between a certain Jacob and a group of Jews. In its prologue a man called Joseph claims to have been present during the conversation of Jacob with the Jews and to have written it down. In addition to Emp. Herakleios, the title names George, the eparch of Carthage, and it is plausible to suppose that the treatise was produced in Africa.

The main theme of the treatise is the limited character of the message of the Old Testament; only the "new law" brought forth by Christ assures the salvation of mankind. An important theme of the *Doctrina* is the moral perversion of Jews, which Jacob illustrates by his own activities before conversion. This topic allows the author to describe (in a very vague way) some contemporary events, such as the conflict between the Blue and the Green factions, the "tyranny" of Emp. Phokas, and the Arab expansion under Muḥammad. The treatise has survived both in the original Greek (without the prologue) and in Ethiopic and Slavic translations (W. Lüdtke, *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 33 [1912] 317).

ED. and LIT. *Doctrina Iacobi nuper baptizati*, ed. N. Bonwetsch (Berlin 1910). "La didascalie de Jacob," ed. F. Nau in PO 8.5 (1912) 711–80. –A.K.

DOCTRINE OF ADDAI, 5th- or 6th-C. Syriac account of the origins of Christianity in EDESSA and environs, which relies on earlier materials. The anonymous work is basically a collection of documents preserved in the archives of Edessa under the names of Ḥanan, the archivist of Abgar V (4 B.C.–A.D. 50), and Labûbnâ bar Sānaq, the king's scribe. The documents consist of a letter of King Abgar to Jesus inviting him to Edessa, which Ḥanan reportedly delivered personally, bringing back an oral reply, and accounts of the sermons and miracles worked in Edessa by Addai, an apostle sent to the city by Judas Thomas after the ascension of Jesus. The same story appears in digest form, but including a letter from Jesus to Abgar, in the *Ecclesiastical History* of Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios *HE* 1.13). In the *Doctrine of Addai* the author reports that Ḥanan painted a portrait of Jesus, which Abgar installed in one of his palaces. Important themes in the *Doctrine* are apostolic succession in Edessa, the *imperium Romanum* as the appropriate civil milieu for Christianity, antipagan and anti-Jewish polemics, the canon of the scriptures, and divine protection guaranteed for Edessa, "the Blessed City."

ED. G. Phillips, *The Doctrine of Addai, the Apostle* (London 1876). G. Howard, *The Teaching of Addai* (Chico, Calif., 1981).

LIT. W. Bauer, *Orthodoxy and Heresy in Earliest Christianity* (Philadelphia 1971) 1–43. H.J.W. Drijvers, "Facts and Problems in Early Syriac-Speaking Christianity," *The Second Century* 2 (1982) 157–75. Idem, "Jews and Christians at Edessa," *Journal of Jewish Studies* 36 (1985) 88–102. –S.H.G.

DODECASYLLABLE, a Byz. development of the ancient iambic trimeter, the meter of most dialogue in classical tragedy. Early in the Byz. period, accurate trimeters were written by the long and short syllable patterns of ancient prosody. However, by the 9th C., since Greek had lost the distinction between long and short syllables, a new METER developed around two aspects of the iambic trimeter that could still be appreciated: a basic line length of 12 syllables; and a division after either five or seven syllables by the two caesura patterns of the ancient meter. To this outline was added a set of stress accent preferences that varied according to fashion and personal taste, but observed as an absolute rule a stress accent on the eleventh syllable. A learned writer like John TZETZES, while conforming to the stress patterns, also judged dodecasyllables for their accuracy as quantitative trimeters, condemning false quantities in his own early work. Most Byz. dodecasyllables, however, at least from the 12th C. onward, pay little regard to quantity, esp. the vowels α, ι, and υ (the dichronous vowels), whose length is not immediately apparent.

Dodecasyllables were used for works of epic tone after the decline of the HEXAMETER (e.g., by GEORGE OF PISIDIA) and were very frequent in

epigrams and ceremonial poetry. A small proportion of popular poetry also appears in dodecasyllable form, leaving open the suspicion that the verse may have developed at an oral level before being adopted by the written word.

LIT. P. Maas, "Der byzantinische Zwölfsilber," *BZ* 12 (1903) 278–323. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:91–93. –M.J.J.

DODEKAORTON. See GREAT FEASTS.

DOGMA (δόγμα), a term encountered in the New Testament in connection with the edict of the so-called Apostolic Council of Jerusalem (Acts 16:4) where it signifies "what seems right, or good, or reasonable." In Byz. theology, it generally retains an ambiguity, referring variously to the opinions or teachings of the church, of pagans, of philosophers, or of heretics. Thus, for example, in the so-called *Definitiones Patmenses* (*OrChrP* 46 [1980] 335–37), the word dogma is understood more broadly than in modern usage that has established it as a theological term since the 17th C. In effect, what we now call dogmas, Byz. theology finds in the CREED of Nicaea and Constantinople as well as in the definitions or ANATHEMAS of the subsequent ecumenical councils, and concretely in the SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY. Thus, dogma means orthodox teaching as "true concept concerning all matters" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux,* 2.6, pp. 10–12).

LIT. E. Amand de Mendieta, "The Pair *kerygma* and *dogma* in the Theological Thought of St. Basil of Caesarea," *JThSt* n.s. 16 (1965) 129–142. –K.-H.U.

DOGS (sing. κύων). Used for guarding and rounding up flocks of sheep, but also for HUNTING or simply as a companion or pet, the dog was particularly indispensable in agricultural communities. It is the inveterate companion of DAVID in Psalter illustration and other works depicting the young shepherd. The FARMER'S LAW (pars. 25 and 75–77) heavily penalized anyone who killed, poisoned, or injured a sheep dog. The guilty faced corporal punishment and had to pay double for the animal's price. The training of hunting dogs was entrusted to *skylagogoi,* who took charge of the hounds during the hunting expeditions of the nobility. Hunting dogs were highly prized and might be sent as gifts. The dog's usefulness is reflected in the *Kynosophion* of Demetrios PEPAGOMENOS, which describes the breeding and training of dogs and the treatment of their diseases; rabies is mentioned along with observations on its symptoms (R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1866] 587–99).

The Byz. praised the dog for being man's most faithful companion. A common and familiar theme is the dog's revelation of the murderer of its slain master (TZETZES, *Hist.* 4:131, 152). We also hear of trained dogs entertaining the public by performing various acts (Malal. 453.15–454.4). Following classical models, Nikephoros BASILAKES composed an *enkomion* for dogs that mentions the use of guide dogs by blind beggars (*Progimnasmi e monodie,* ed. A. Pignani [Naples 1983] 136.95–97). Three centuries later Theodore GAZES composed a similar *enkomion* dedicated to Mehmed II (PG 161:985–97). In hagiography, however, the dog is often depicted as a symbol of evil or even as the embodiment of the Devil (e.g., *AASS* Nov. 3:517f). Similarly, superstitious beliefs held that a dog seen early in the morning brings bad luck.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 6:316f. M. Lurker, "Der Hund als Symboltier für den Übergang Dieseseits in das Jenseits," *Zeitschrift für Religions und Geistesgeschichte* 35 (1983) 132–44. –Ap.K., A.C.

DOKEIANOS (Δοκειανός, fem. Δοκειανή), a family name probably derived from the toponym of Dok⟨e⟩ia, said to be in the Armeniakon theme or in Paphlagonia. The Dokeianoi were known in the 11th C. predominantly as military commanders; the first, Nikephoros, was *katepano* of Italy before 1040; in 1040/1 the post was occupied by Michael Dokeianos, who was killed during an unsuccessful expedition against the Pechenegs in 1050; Theodore, *magistros* and *megas doux,* was one of the closest supporters of Isaac I, his uncle. Another Dokeianos married Alexios I's niece Sophia (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 228) and was granted the high title of *sebastos.* Anonymous epigrams (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 147f, 161f) mention their son, who died prematurely, and their daughter Irene Komnene, wife of Isaac Vatatzes. The Dokeianoi were rich: Michael possessed a mansion in Paphlagonia (Bryen. 194f), and a charter of 1110 (*Lavra* 1, no.59.34) mentions "a moat of the Dokeianoi" near Thessalonike; Irene Komnene, according to the epigrams, was raised in luxury, with servants and golden vessels. Despite their relationship with the Komnenoi, the Dokeianoi lost their prominence after Alexios I's

reign; we know only that a certain Dokeianos was appointed bishop of Dyrrachion in 1212. The name appears in later sources, but the late Dokeianoi are mostly peasants, clerics, or scribes (*PLP*, nos. 5560–78). John Dokeianos was a writer in the mid-15th C. (see DOKEIANOS, JOHN).

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 93. –A.K.

DOKEIANOS, JOHN, rhetorician, copyist, and bibliophile; fl. mid-15th C. Our knowledge of Dokeianos (Δοκειανός) is based almost exclusively on the evidence of his own writings. His earliest work that can be dated with any certainty, an address to the *despotes* THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, was apparently composed ca.1436 (Topping, *infra* 6); he evidently lived into the 1470s, when he wrote an epigram on the deceased patriarch GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. Dokeianos is perhaps to be identified with the John Dokeianos who was teaching at the patriarchal school in Constantinople in 1474. Dokeianos was closely associated with the Palaiologan family, both in Mistra and in Constantinople, and served as tutor to the princess Helena Palaiologina, daughter of the *despotes* DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS.

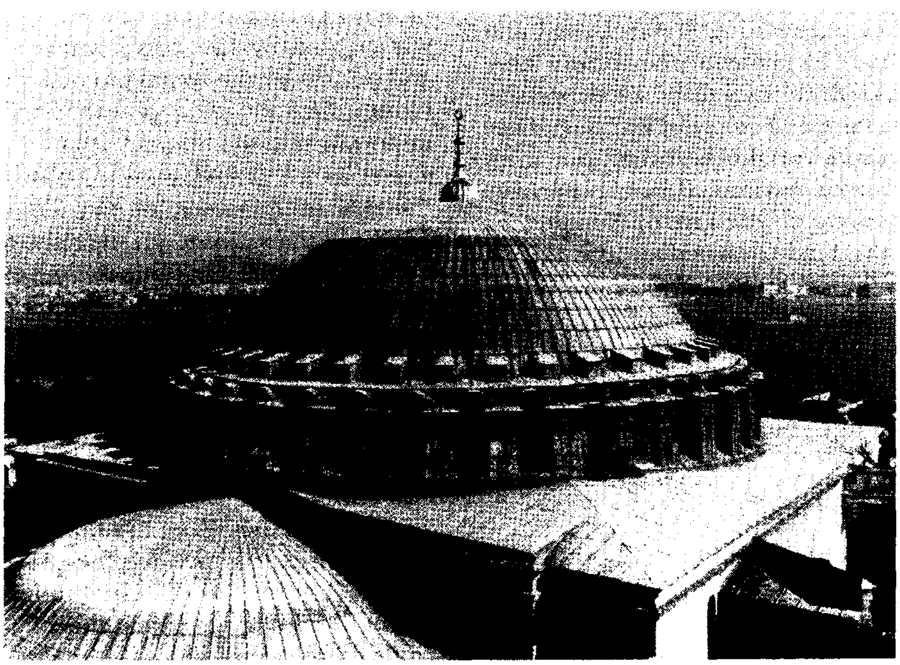
Dokeianos's preserved works are primarily rhetorical, such as *enkomia* and addresses to Constantine XI. A monody on Catherine, Constantine's second wife, has been attributed to Dokeianos by P. Sotiroudis (*JÖB* 35 [1985] 223–29). His love of classical literature is revealed by his frequent citations of ancient authors and allusions to antiquity, and by the catalogue of his personal library, which included volumes of Homer, Hesiod, Aeschines, Xenophon, Aristotle, and Hermogenes. He was also a copyist of MSS, notably Venice, Marc. gr. 520, which includes works of Theognis and Plutarch.

ED. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 1:μη'-νβ', 221–55.
LIT. P. Topping, "Greek MS 1 (the works of Ioannes Dokeianos) of the University of Pennsylvania Library," *The Library Chronicle* 29 (1963) 1–15. S. Lampros, "Hai bibliothekai Ioannou Marmara kai Ioannou Dokeianou," *NE* 1 (1904) 295–312. *PLP*, no.5577. –A.M.T.

DOLICHE. See TELOUCH.

DOME (ἡμισφαίριον), a hemispherical vault, distinguished by its pure geometry and by its centralizing role in the planning of buildings. The dome is perhaps the most characteristic feature of Byz. church architecture, lending both internal and external coherence. Domes could be built of stone (e.g., audience hall of al-Mundhir at Sergiopolis, 6th C.), tubular ceramic elements (e.g., San

DOME. Dome of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul. View from the southwest.



Vitale, Ravenna), or of brick (e.g., Hagia Sophia, Constantinople). The interior of the dome could be either a smooth hemisphere (e.g., St. Irene, Constantinople), scalloped (also known as a "pumpkin dome," e.g., Myrelaion Church, Constantinople), or ribbed (e.g., Hagia Sophia). All these methods of construction and interior articulation appear as early as the 5th–6th C. and persist to the very end of Byz. architecture. Structurally and iconographically, the Byz. dome descended from Roman antecedents. Yet, unlike Roman examples, Byz. domes were related to basically longitudinal rather than fully centralized buildings. An ingenious system of structural supports, involving either PENDENTIVES or SQUINCHES, was developed to permit the setting of the dome over the rectilinear space of the NAOS. In addition to being the crowning architectural element, the dome was also the focus of CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *The Dome: A Study in the History of Ideas* (Princeton 1950; rp. 1971). J.J. Rasch, "Die Kuppel in der römischen Architektur," *Architectura* 15.2 (1985) 117–39. S. Storz, "Zur Funktion von keramischen Wölbröhren in römischen und frühchristlichen Gewölbbau," *Architectura* 14.2 (1984) 89–105. O. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic.* K. Lehmann, "The Dome of Heaven," *ArtB* 27 (1945) 1–27. –S.Ć.

DOMENTIJAN, Serbian scholar and writer; born ca.1210, died after 1264. For most of his life Domentijan was a monk in HILANDAR on Athos, where he wrote a (very long) Life of St. SAVA ca.1250 at the request of King Stefan Uroš I and in 1263/4 a Life of St. Simeon (the former king STEFAN NEMANJA). Both texts make an impressive display of scriptural and theological learning. They are valuable sources for the historian, but must be used with caution because they are partially derivative. Both draw on the Life of Nemanja by his son Stefan the First-Crowned; in the Life of Simeon, Domentijan copies long passages verbatim. Another unacknowledged source of motifs is the panegyric on Vladimir I by Metr. ILARION of Kiev. The Life of St. Sava was revised by the monk TEODOSIJE in 1290–92.

ED. Dj. Daničić, *Domentijan. Život sv. Simeuna i sv. Save* (Belgrade 1865). *Légendes slaves du moyen âge, 1169–1237. Les Némania: vies de St. Syméon et de St. Sabba,* ed. A. Chodźko (Paris 1858), with Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Nikolić, *Domentijan* (Zemun 1897). V. Ćorović, preface to L. Mirković, *Domentijan, Životi svetoga Save i svetoga Simeona* (Belgrade 1938) 5–23. A. Schmaus, "Die literarische Problematik von Domentijans Sava-Vita," *Opera Slavica* 4 (1963) 121–42. –R.B.

DOMESTIKOS (δομέστικος), a term designating a broad range of officials, ecclesiastical, civil, and military. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.4.7) explains the term as the Latin form of the Greek *koinonos,* "companion." In the church hierarchy they were the heads of specific groups connected with order and ritual (ANAGNOSTAI, SUBDEACONS, etc.), esp. as conductors of the choirs of SINGERS (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 596). In the civil service the term is known from 355 for the chief of a bureau, identical to PRIMIKERIOS; *domestikoi* of the SEKRETON or of the EPHOROS are mentioned on later seals. *Domestikoi* were influential, some of them close to the emperor, some confidants of important functionaries (O. Seeck, *RE* 5 [1905] 1296f). By the late 9th C. when PHILOTHEOS compiled the *Kletorologion,* there were two kinds of military *domestikoi*: the commanders of TAGMATA, esp. the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, and their subaltern officers who, according to the anonymous book on tactics (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.139–46), stood under the command of the COMES. From the end of the 11th C., *domestikoi* of the themes are also known (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:588–93), relatively low officials who dealt primarily with theme finances. (See also MEGAS DOMESTIKOS.)

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 47–68. Oikonomides, *Listes* 329–33. –A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON (δομέστικος τῶν Ἐξκουβίτων), commander of the TAGMA of the Exkoubitoi. The small corps of *excubitores* was created by Leo I as a select imperial guard and put under the command of a *comes excubitorum* (Jones, *LRE* 1:658), a post that had considerable importance in the 6th and 7th C. The first known *domestikos ton Exkoubiton* was Strategios, who held the title of *spatharios,* in 765 (Theoph. 438.10–11). Bury (*Adm. System* 57) suggests that this change in title from *comes* to *domestikos* meant degradation of the rank, but the real significance of the shift escapes us because of the paucity of sources. In the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij the *domestikos ton Exkoubiton* occupies a place inferior to all *strategoi*; in later *taktika* he was ranked ahead of Western *strategoi*. In the 10th-C. *taktikon* of Escurial we find two *domestikoi*—one for the East and another for the West; Oikonomides (*Listes* 330) hypothesizes that besides these two there was a special *domestikos* for Constantinople. In the 11th C. the title of the commander of Exkoubitoi became *archon* (Skyl. 380.92–93), and a 12th-C. his-

torian (An.Komn. 1:151.19) uses the verb *exarcho* to describe the function of the *domestikos*. It is not known, however, whether this change was official or only due to literary taste, and whether this *tagma* was a united body of *Exkoubitoi* or one of the two (or three) divisions (East, West, and Constantinople).

Some seals of the 7th C. bear the name *exkoubitor*, while *domestikos* of the Exkoubiton or the Exkoubitoi appears in those of the 8th–9th C.; their titles are *spatharioi* (in the 8th C.), *protospatharioi*, and even *patrikios* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2403) in the 9th C. Their staff included a TOPOTERETES; a *protomandator*, with his MANDATORES; the bearers of ensigns; and *skribones*. This last term, which in the 7th C. probably was a dignity (see Zacos, *Seals* 1.3:1649) and was combined sometimes with the civil functions of DIOIKETES, ZYGOSTATES, etc., designates in the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (4.6) officers assigned for occasional services.

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 355–57. M. Whitby, "On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople," *Historia* 36 (1987) 483–88. –A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON (δομέστικος τῶν Ἱκανάτων), commander of the TAGMA of Hikanatoi. The origin of the Hikanatoi is obscure; Bury rejects the possibility of their identification with FOEDERATI, stressing that there is no evidence whatever that Hikanatoi were foreigners. Haldon suggests that the regiment of Hikanatoi was modeled on the VIGLA. According to the vita of Patr. IGNATIOS, the office was created in 809, and Niketas (the future Ignatios) was the first appointee. Without rejecting this testimony, Bury expresses doubts, but G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein (*Byzantion* 7 [1932] 193f, n.2) accept the evidence as valid. The *domestikos ton Hikanaton* is mentioned in all the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C., but the evidence from the 11th C. is already questionable since the sources may use Hikanatoi as a family name. Among his subordinates were the TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, *komites* (see COMES), and so on. The seals of several *domestikoi ton Hikanaton* of the 9th C. are preserved.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 63f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 332. Haldon, *Praetorians* 295f, 357. –A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON (δομέστικος τῶν Νουμέρων), commander of the TAGMA of the Noumera. This *domestikos* is listed in all the TAKTIKA. The first known *domestikos ton Noumeron* is Leo Lalakon who was active during the reign of Michael III (PG 105:513B); one of his contemporaries, Theophilitzes, is said to have held the office of the KOMES TON TEICHON and that of the Noumera (*TheophCont* 655.10–11), which may mean that the two offices were not yet separate. Bury assumes that the *droungarios* of the Nou[mera] mentioned on a 7th- or 8th-C. seal was a predecessor of the *domestikos*. J. Haldon (*Praetorians* 256–75) hypothesizes that the regiment of the Noumera was established in the late 7th C. and had close contacts with the factions. On seals of the 9th C., *domestikoi ton Noumeron* have titles of *spatharioi* and *protospatharioi* (Zacos, *Seals* 1:1881). The functions of this *domestikos* included protection of the palace and supervision of the city PRISON of the Noumera. On his staff were the TOPOTERETES and CHARTOULARIOS, as well as *tribuni*, *vicarii*, and others. The office does not seem to have survived the 11th C.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 65f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 337. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:48–51. –A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON OPTIMATON, governor of the theme of OPTIMATOI or commander of the TAGMA deployed there. The TAKTIKA do not mention a STRATEGOS of the Optimatoi. This *domestikos* occupies in the hierarchical lists a position much lower than all the Eastern *strategoi*. Oikonomides (*Listes* 339) emphasizes his function as provider of mules for the army. Nothing is known about his role on the battlefield. The staff of the *domestikos ton Optimaton* was structured like that of other *tagmata*, including a TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, *komites* (see COMES), and so on.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 66f. Pertusi, *De them.* 133. –A.K.

DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON (δομέστικος τῶν σχολῶν), commander of the TAGMA of the *scholae*. It is plausible that this office originated from that of the *domestikos* on the staff of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, who became independent as the *magister* was assigned other duties. The first known *domestikos ton scholon* is the *patrikios* Antony in 767 (Theoph. 442.25–26). In the TAKTIKA the *domestikos ton scholon* occupies the place below the *strategos* of Anatolikon but before the other *strategoi*. The term is rarely used in military books of the 10th C. (e.g., Dennis, *Military Treatises* 292.25).

During the reign of Romanos II the office was divided in two, *domestikoi* of the East and of the West; they are listed in the *taktikon* of Escurial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 263.23–24) but even at that time below the *strategos* of Anatolikon. In reality the *domestikos ton scholon* was commander in chief of the army (or one of its two sections); from the end of the 9th C. the PHOKAS family attempted to monopolize the office. Constantine VIII and some of his successors, desiring to restrict the independence of noble families, often granted the office to eunuchs, but from the mid-11th C. the post was returned to the military aristocracy. The MEGAS DOMESTIKOS as commander in chief functioned until the fall of the empire, whereas the simple *domestikos* (known at least through 1320) became an honorary title conferred on governors and the like. The staff of the *domestikos ton scholon* included TOPOTERETAI, *komites* (see COMES), CHARTOULARIOI, subaltern *domestikoi*, and others.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:405–68. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 237–39. –A.K.

DOMINICANS. The religious order founded by St. Dominic in 1215 soon became active in missionary work in the East. By 1228 it was firmly installed in the Latin Empire of Constantinople and in the Holy Land. A regional grouping within the order, the Societas Fratrum Peregrinantium, began ca.1300, was suppressed from 1363 to 1375, then revived. It operated in the Genoese colonies in the Crimea, then in Armenia, Persia, and Georgia.

Members of the order residing in the East, esp. in the Dominican convent in PERA, were active as papal legates, imperial ambassadors to the papacy, proselytizers, and polemicists. Many became fluent in Greek and wrote theological treatises in that language addressed to prominent Byz., including Andronikos II, hoping to persuade them to accept the Latin teachings on the procession of the Holy Spirit and on papal PRIMACY.

In 1309 the Dominican order chose Albertus Magnus and Thomas AQUINAS as official teachers of theology. The writings and translations of Demetrios KYDONES enhanced the influence of Thomism in Constantinople. In the late 14th and early 15th C. a number of Byz. in Kydones' circle converted to Roman Catholicism and joined the order, including the brothers Andrew, Theodore, and Maximos CHRYSOBERGES and Manuel KALEKAS.

LIT. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I*, 209–26. B. Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZKirch* 53 (1934) 436–93. –F.K.

DOMITIANOS (Δομιτιανός), diplomat, bishop of Melitene from 580, and saint; born ca.550, died Constantinople 10 or 12 Jan. 602; feastday 10 Jan. Domitianos was a cousin of MAURICE—Paret rejects Honigmann's assumption that Domitianos was the son of Peter, Maurice's maternal uncle. Domitianos spent 582–85 and 591–98 primarily in Constantinople as Maurice's adviser; Pope Gregory I addressed several epistles to him. He played the key role in the empire's Persian policy: after CHOSROES II fled to Byz. territory in 591, Domitianos became his confidant, accompanied the king on his expedition to Iran, and negotiated the treaty with him. Domitianos directed Maurice's religious policy in the eastern regions; this policy was—*contra* H. Grégoire (*Byzantion* 13 [1938] 395f)—intolerant toward the Monophysites. The later Monophysite tradition (e.g., GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ) is hostile to Domitianos, accusing him of seizing all Monophysite churches in Mesopotamia and northern Syria and of persecuting the "faithful." He was guardian of Maurice's children.

LIT. R. Paret, "Dometianus de Mélitène et la politique religieuse de l'empereur Maurice," *REB* 15 (1957) 42–72. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 217–23. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 14f. –W.E.K., A.K.

DOMITIUS ALEXANDER, usurper (308–09). He was *vicarius Africae* and briefly controlled Tripolitania, Numidia, and Sardinia, as well as Africa proper. He was condemned at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308 and defeated by MAXENTIUS, whose rule over Italy was threatened by Domitius's control of African grain and recognition of CONSTANTINE I. There is disagreement about the date when the revolt was suppressed (Barnes gives 309, Stein 311).

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 14f. Stein, *Histoire* 1:85. –T.E.G.

DONATION (δωρεά). Byz. law fluctuated between accepting an oral agreement as a sufficient form of the donation contract and requiring a

written contract or a certain number of witnesses (3–7). Leo VI in novel 50 established the rule that a donation whose value surpassed 500 nomismata was void without a written contract, whereas a lesser donation was valid if confirmed by three witnesses. Byz. law categorized a donation as a specific form of alienation that was usually contrasted with sale (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.15.4). More explicit is a sigillion of Michael VIII of 1267 or 1282 (*Docheiar.*, no.8.14–16) that cites alternative methods of acquisition: through a *ktetor*'s charter, through an imperial *prostagma* or other imperial *dorea*, through purchase, exchange, donation (*prosenexis*), or improvement of the property.

Even though the mixed form *negotium cum donatione* was known to Roman law, in Byz. the distinction between sale and donation became obscured, partially due to the concept of the spiritual (*psychike*) donation, that is, made for the salvation of the soul. Thus, in some charters (e.g., MM 4:408.33) there are clauses stating that the seller of property to a monastery did not accept the full price but granted part of the payment to the monastery as a donation. On the other hand, a transaction could be called *dorea* even when it was actually a sale (e.g., *Kastam.*, no.1 [a.1047]). The term "donation" could also cover the medieval *precarium remuneratorium*: thus, in 1232 Alexios Tesaites donated his possessions to the monastery of Lembiotissa, but the family remained on their holding, probably as monastic *proskathemenoi* (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 160f).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 302–05. –A.K.

DONATION OF CONSTANTINE (*Constitutum Constantini*), an 8th-C. Latin document, purporting to be an act of Constantine I. Perhaps originating in the chancery of Pope Stephen II (752–57) or Paul I (757–67), it is based heavily on the 5th-C. *Legenda S. Silvestri.* In the document Constantine I professes his faith (*confessio*) and grants to Pope Silvester I several imperial insignia and privileges (*donatio*), the Lateran Palace, as well as Rome, Italy, and the western regions. Some scholars speculate that the Donation was fashioned to bolster Pope Stephen's negotiating position with the Frankish ruler Pepin (741–68) against the Lombards in 754. More regard it as a papal attempt to diminish Constantinople's authority by demonstrating that, since Constantine had offered imperial rank to Pope Silvester and since the pope had acquiesced in Constantine's move from Rome to Constantinople (the new *urbs regia*), the papacy took precedence over the patriarchate of Constantinople and the pope could transfer the empire's center from Constantinople back to Rome. Now, however, specialists minimize the document's political aspect and assert that it was not an official, anti-Byzantine act, but rather part of the rivalry between the Lateran Palace and the increasingly prestigious Vatican Church of St. Peter (R.-J. Loenertz, *Aevum* 48 [1974] 245, and de Leo, *infra* 118f, suggest that a Greek monk wrote it in Rome's Monastery of St. Silvester).

Nevertheless, since the Donation of Constantine contradicted the Byz. claim that Constantine's *translatio imperii* had made Constantinople the New Rome, it figured prominently in numerous Latin-Greek polemical exchanges over political and ecclesiastical primacy. The chancery of Otto III declared the document fraudulent, but Pope Leo IX sent a copy to Patr. Michael I Keroularios in 1054, and Cardinal Humbert later issued a revised version to support the pope's dispute with the Byz. emperor and the Eastern patriarchs. Yet in the 12th C. Byz. writers likewise began to appeal to the Donation. Under Manuel I Komnenos, John Kinnamos effectively used it to attack Western rulers who usurped the imperial title and to deny that popes had the right to confer it, while Theodore Balsamon used the document to justify Keroularios's reaction in 1054 against the papal legates (G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 7 [1935] 187–204). A Greek translation of the Donation, extant in MSS of the 14th C. (ed. W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 108–23), was likely done as early as the 12th C.

ED. P. de Leo, *Il Constitutum Constantini: Compilazione agiografica del sec. VIII*, vol. 1 (Reggio Calabria 1974). H. Fuhrman, *Das Constitutum Constantini* [= MGH *Fontes Iuris germanici antiqui* 10] (Hanover 1968).

LIT. J. van Engen, *DMA* 4:257–59. H.-G. Krause, "Das Constitutum Constantini im Schisma von 1054," in *Aus Kirche und Reich: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf* (Sigmaringen 1983) 131–58. N. Huyghebaert, "Une légende de fondation: Le Constitutum Constantini," *Le moyen âge* 85 (1979) 177–209. P. Alexander, "The Donation of Constantine at Byzantium and its Earliest Use against the Western Empire," *ZRVI* 8 (1963) 11–26. –P.A.H.

DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS (προγαμιαῖα, πρὸ γάμου δωρεά). From the 4th C. onward, the

wedding gift of a man to his wife—as opposed to the "engagement gift" (ARRHA SPONSALICIA) common in earlier times—became an institution subject to special rules. According to the laws of Justinian I, the husband was obliged to provide a *donatio* for the benefit of his wife that was equal to her promised DOWRY (*Nov.Just.* 97 pr., 1–2). These two assets constituted the marriage property, administered by the husband with limited power of disposal. The question as to who received the *donatio* after the death of the husband depended on the marriage contract, which, in addition to the legal reversion of the property brought into the marriage, should provide for an equally large profit (*kerdos*) for either marriage partner from the fortune of the one who died first. If there were children, the widow was due the USUFRUCT from the *donatio* and a portion of the property equal in size to the inheritance of a child (ibid. 127.3). If the woman married a second time, she lost her portion from the *donatio* (ibid. 2.1, 22.23). The *Ecloga* (2.3) explicitly denied the husband's obligation to provide a *donatio* of equal value to the dowry and considered it sufficient that the man, "as is common," increase the worth of the dowry through a gift. Both the *Procheiron* (tit.6; 9.12,13), and the *Basilika* (29.1,2) reproduce Justinianic law but without the prologue and the first chapter of novel 97 concerning the equivalence of the *donatio* and the dowry. In the *Epanagoge* (tit.19), the *donatio* appears in a form that has not yet been studied in detail but appears to partly recast that in the *Ecloga*; it occasioned a detailed contemporary commentary. From the time of the novels of Leo VI, the term *dorea* is often replaced by HYPOBOLON.

LIT. F. Brandileone, *Scritti di storia del diritto privato italiano*, vol. 1 (Bologna 1931) 117–214. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 225–35. A.M. Guljaev, *Predbračnyj dar v rimskom prave i v pamjatnikach vizantijskago zakonodatel'stva* (Dorpat [Estonia] 1891). –M.Th.F.

DONATISM, named after its primary teacher Donatus, a rigorist sect that developed within the African church in the early 4th C. in the aftermath of the Great Persecution. The Donatists refused to accept Caecilian as bishop of Carthage because he had been consecrated by Felix of Abthungi, who was accused of betraying the faith under the threat of persecution. A synod of 70 rigorist bishops declared Caecilian's elevation invalid and consecrated Majorianus in his stead. Majorianus died soon afterward and Donatus became bishop.

Shortly after the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE in 312 Constantine I offered financial support to the African church in the person of Caecilian. The Donatists appealed to Constantine and a commission was established in 313 under the presidency of Pope Miltiades (311–314) to hear the conflicting claims. This body condemned the Donatists, who appealed to the Council of Arles (314), with the same result. Constantine hesitated to persecute the Donatists openly, but by 316 he had personally condemned them and there was some persecution; in 321, however, Constantine ordered effective toleration. Constans I resumed persecution in 347, but the Donatists resisted, celebrated their rites in secret, and began to turn to violent reaction against government officials and the Catholic party. In 362 Julian ordered an end to persecution, but after his death Donatism was again outlawed. Attacked by Optatus, bishop of Milevis, and esp. by AUGUSTINE, Donatism nevertheless remained a vital force until the end of Christianity in North Africa.

The Donatists, who claimed that they were following the teachings of St. Cyprian, appealed to local African and rigorist sentiment. Donatism resembled NOVATIANISM in its rigorism and ecclesiology, but its adherents went beyond most similar groups in their view of the sacramental system: they held that the validity of the sacrament depended upon the rectitude of the celebrant. By the mid-4th C. some Donatists were associated with the *circumcelliones*, banditlike gangs who terrorized the cities and villas of Africa. The sect was centered in the villages and countryside of Numidia; some scholars have seen the movement as a reflection of "nationalist" or social sentiment.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *The Donatist Church* (Oxford 1952). T.D. Barnes, "The Beginnings of Donatism," *JThSt* 26 (1975) 13–22. R.A. Marcus, "Christianity and Dissent in Roman North Africa," *SChH* 9 (1972) 21–36. P.G. Schulten, *De Circumcellionen* (Leiden 1984). –T.E.G.

DONKEYS. See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

DOORS were made of a variety of materials, usually wood but also bronze; occasionally they might be inlaid with ivory (bone?) or silver.

Wooden Doors. Wood was the material most commonly used for doors. Some 20 examples survive, generally dated 12th–15th C., normally the main door of a church or of its TEMPLON. An unusual concentration is found in Cyprus (Soteriou, *Mnemeia tes Kyprou*, pls. 142–44). There and elsewhere, Byz. specimens are less elaborate than the 5th-C. doors of Rome and Milan. Structurally, wooden doors consist of either stiles and rails enclosing panels or vertical planks nailed to horizontals. Some small BEMA doors are made of a single piece of lumber; most are decorated with the ANNUNCIATION. A door at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Sinai has reliefs of animals, birds, and plants. Openwork leaves survive at Ioannina (A. Zachos, *EpChron* 3 [1928] 220–22) and doors decorated with a geometric framework at Boulgareli (A. Orlandos, *DChAE*[2] 1, fasc. 3–4 [1924] 69–73).

Bronze Doors. Byz. manufacture of bronze doors occurred in two periods—a 4th- to 7th-C. continuation of Roman traditions and a medieval revival. Although Constantine I removed from the Artemision at Ephesus the pair of doors decorated with a gigantomachy and erected them at the Senate House in Constantinople (CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, vv. 125–52), he apparently also made new bronze doors for his Forum (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:279f), and Constantius II did likewise (360?) for HAGIA SOPHIA. Doors of the cathedrals of Tyre (314–17, with relief plaques—Eusebios, *HE* 10.4.42), and Edessa (504/5—*JoshStyl*, ch.89) were covered in metal REVETMENT. Surviving from the 4th to 7th C. are both cast bronze doors—(with silver inlay) in the Lateran Baptistery, Rome (461–68)—and revetted doors—at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (with copper and silver inlay and appliqué decoration), and at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (550–65). By the 9th C. techniques of manufacture of bronze doors may have been forgotten, judging by the patchwork example in the southwest vestibule of Hagia Sophia (838–40) and by cases of reuse in Constantinople in the NEA EKKLESIA (880), on the acropolis, and at the GOLDEN GATE (963). The craft was revived, however, by the 11th C. when bronze doors, often decorated with figures and inlaid with silver, were made in Constantinople for export to a series of churches in Italy: at Amalfi (ca.1060), MONTECASSINO (1066), S. Paolo, Rome (1070), Monte Sant' Angelo (1076), Atrani (1087), S. Marco, Venice (1080, 1112), and Salerno (1100), the first five having been ordered by members of an Amalfitan family that had commercial interests in Constantinople as well as Syria/Palestine. The origin of the so-called "Korsun doors" in Novgorod (Byz. or Russian?) is under discussion.

Ivory and Silver Doors, criticized by St. Jerome, are mentioned more rarely in Byz. than in Latin literature and occurred only in lavish contexts. Six (?) of the nine doors leading from the narthex to the nave of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, were reputed to be of ivory (Preger, *Scriptores* 1:96.11–12, note). The *elephantine pyle* of the Daphne in the GREAT PALACE, first mentioned in 802, was used by the emperor on his way to the Covered Hippodrome (*De cer.* 518.8). Most doors described as ivory were probably wood inlaid with bone, like the examples preserved at the PROTATON on Mt. Athos and at Elasson, restored in 1296 (G. Soteriou, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 327–31). Alexios I Komnenos ordered the removal and recasting of the silver decorations on the doors of the Chalkoprateia Church in Constantinople, which depicted 12 dominical feasts (E. Miller, *RN* 11 [1866] 36.20–23; I. Sakkelion, *BCH* 2 [1878] 118.10–14).

LIT. C. Mango, "Storia dell'arte," *Civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari 1978) 241–51. G.H. Forsyth, K. Weitzmann, *The Monastery of St. Catherine at Mt. Sinai* (Ann Arbor, Mich., n.d.) 10, pls. XCIV–XCVI. M.E. Frazer, "Church Doors and Gates of Paradise: Byzantine Bronze Doors in Italy," *DOP* 27 (1973) 147–62. C. Bertelli, "Notizia preliminare sul restauro di alcune porte di S. Sofia à Istanbul," *BICR* 34–35 (1958) 58–115. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 71–81.

–Ch.Th.B., M.M.M., A.C.

DORMITION (κοίμησις), feast of the "falling asleep," that is, death, of the Virgin Mary, celebrated 15 Aug. One of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, the Dormition is preceded by a two-week LENT and has an afterfeast of nine days. It has been celebrated on 15 Aug. since the 6th C., replacing an earlier feast of the maternity of Mary found on that date in the earliest Jerusalem sources (A. Renoux, PO 36.2:189–91, 354–57; M. Aubineau, *Les Homélies festales d'Hesychius de Jérusalem*, vol. 1 [Brussels 1978] 145–69).

Originally a mobile celebration in Constantinople (M. van Esbroeck, *Maxime le Confesseur, Vie de la Vierge* [Louvain 1986] xxx), the Dormition had become a fixed feast by the time of Emp.



DORMITION. Dormition of the Virgin; fresco. West wall of the Church of the Virgin Phorbiotissa, Asinou. Below are visible the heads of monastic saints.

Maurice; it was celebrated at BLACHERNAI (Theoph. 265f; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG 147:292AB). In the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:368–73), the festivities began at dawn with a procession (LITE) from St. Euphemia to Blachernai for the SYNAXIS. After the liturgy, the emperor offered a banquet for the patriarch and other dignitaries (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 219.24–221.4). But in the 14th C., the emperor attended both vespers and the subsequent Eucharist at Hagia Sophia instead, resting in the patriarchal chambers in between the services without returning to the palace (pseudo-Kod. 245.11–15).

The variety of Byz. names for the feast, signifying either Dormition or Assumption (*analepsis*) (M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* (Vatican 1944) 185–95; Wenger, *infra* 422f), reflects differing theological opinion as to whether Mary really died, as was generally believed in Byz., or had been simply assumed into heaven. Both Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1696C) and the *Typikon of the Great Church* call the feast the *metastasis*.

Representation in Art. The most important texts for the iconography are the second homily of John of Damascus on the *Koimesis* (ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 5:516–40) and the "Pastoral Letter" of JOHN I of Thessalonike, read during *orthros* of 15 Aug. (M. Jugie in PO 19:344–438). Both draw on the legend, *Transitus Mariae*, associated with JAMES (the Lord's brother), which includes the Dormition in a narrative running from the Annunciation of the Virgin's imminent death (see GABRIEL) through the disappearance of her body (M. van Esbroeck in F. Bovon et al., *Les Actes apocryphes des apôtres* [Geneva 1981] 265–85). The earliest preserved representations of the Virgin's death are 10th-C. Constantinopolitan ivories, isolated litur-

gical icons that show the iconography already fully developed. The Virgin lies on a bier, Apostles grouped symmetrically to either side; Christ stands behind her, raising her small, swaddled *eidolon* or soul to an angel who will carry it up to Heaven. This image becomes widespread: in devotional panels and steatites, in MSS accompanying the reading for 15 Aug. (Lk 11:38–42), and as the final Great Feast on templon beams and in monumental cycles, where it usually occupies the west wall of the naos. The composition was elaborated in the 11th–12th C. to include buildings housing mourning women, bishops (James, Dionysios the Areopagite, Hierotheos, and Timotheos of Ephesus, all of them authors whom legend supposed to have been present), the cloud-borne Apostles arriving, and the figure of Jephonias the Jew, whose hands—cut off by an angel when he tried to upset the bier—were restored when he acknowledged Christianity. Many Palaiologan versions add episodes from the longer narrative, and some show the Virgin's bodily assumption into Heaven, whose gates open on high.

LIT. I. Zervou Tognazzi, "L'iconografia della Koimisis della Santa Vergine, specchio del pensiero teologico dei Padri bizantini," *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 8 (1985) 21–46, 69–90. A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la t. s. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e au X^e siècle* (Paris 1955). A. Raes, "Aux origines de la fête de l'Assomption en Orient," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 262–74. – R.F.T., A.W.C.

DOROSTOLON (Δορόστολον; also Lat. Durostorum; Slavic Dristra, Drŭstŭr), also Silistra, city and fortress in Bulgaria on the right bank of the lower Danube. The Roman walls were destroyed in the 4th C., probably by the Visigoths, and more massive walls built in the 5th or 6th C. These in turn were destroyed, and later rebuilt by the Bulgarians in the 9th C. In 971 John I Tzimiskes captured the city, in which SVJATOSLAV had taken refuge. After the First Bulgarian Empire fell, Dorostolon became the capital of the Byz. province of PARISTRION. Occupied for a time in the late 11th C. by the Pechenegs, Dorostolon was recaptured by Alexios I Komnenos in 1088. In 1186/7 it became part of the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the 14th C. it was ruled by semi-independent Bulgarian or Rumanian despots and finally surrendered to the Ottomans in 1388. In a period of Ottoman weakness after the battle of ANKARA in 1402, the city was seized by the Rumanian prince MIRCEA THE ELDER and not recovered by the Turks until 1419/20. Dorostolon was an important ecclesiastical center: the seat of a bishop since the conversion of Bulgaria and in the 10th C. the residence of the patriarch.

LIT. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 177–200. D.P. Dimitrov, "Le système décoratif et la date des peintures murales du tombeau antique de Silistra," *CahArch* 12 (1962) 35–52. –R.B.

DOROTHEOS (Δωρόθεος), jurist, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Berytus. He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the DIGEST and the second edition of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and was ordered, together with THEOPHILOS, to compile the INSTITUTES. In the scholia to the BASILIKA several fragments of a Greek index to the *Digest* (esp. to its 24th book) have been preserved. The paraphrases of the *Digest* passages 2.8.12–2.11.4, preserved on papyrus (ed. V. Bartoletti, *Papiri greci e latini* 13.2 [Florence 1953] no.1350), were attributed to Dorotheos by their first editor G. La Pira (*Bullettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano* 38 [1930] 151–74) but on insufficient grounds (F. Pringsheim, *ZSavRom* 53 [1933] 488–91).

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:36–47.
LIT. K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Kritische Jahrbücher für Deutsche Rechtswissenschaft* 8 (1844) 808–10. –A.S.

DOROTHEOS, VISION OF, Greek hexameter poem preserved in a unique papyrus codex of the 5th C. (P. Bodmer 29). The poem, in 343 lines, describes the narrator's journey to the court of heaven where he saw God, Christ, and the "swift angel" Gabriel. Christ was enthroned like a Roman emperor and surrounded by angels uniformed like Roman soldiers and court officials, and bearing such titles as *domestikos*, *praipositos*, *primikerios*, *ostiarios*, etc. The man was severely punished for disobedience and vanity, baptized, and indoctrinated by Christ who admonished him to be modest. Probably written by an Egyptian poet, the work marks an important stage in the development of Christian epic.

ED. *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorothéos*, ed. A. Hurst, O. Reverdin, J. Rudhardt (Geneva 1984), rev. E. Livrea in *Gnomon* 58 (1986) 687–711. Eng. tr. A.H.M. Kessels, P.W. van der Horst, *VigChr* 41 (1987) 313–59.

LIT. J. Bremmer, "An Imperial Palace Guard in Heaven: The Date of the Vision of Dorotheus," *ZPapEpig* 75 (1988) 82–88. –L.S.B.MacC.

DOROTHEOS OF GAZA, monk and ascetic writer; born Antioch ca.500, died between 560 and 580. Born to a wealthy family, Dorotheos received a classical education and became an ardent book collector. He then entered a monastery near Gaza where he came under the influence of the recluse BARSANOUPHIOS, author of a polemic against ORIGEN, and his friend John the Prophet. P. Canivet has suggested that Dorotheos was forced to leave this monastery because of his sympathy with the Origenist doctrines of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (*REGr* 78 [1965] 336–46). Dorotheos subsequently (ca.540) founded and headed his own cenobitic monastery, also near Gaza. He compiled for the monks' use a set of spiritual instructions (*Didaskaliai*) inculcating the ascetic life. His work was frequently cited by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The *Didaskaliai* survive in a 9th-C. abridged revision probably made by one of Theodore's followers; some of its 24 sections may not be authentic. The *Didaskaliai* were translated into Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Church Slavonic. Eight of his letters and a small collection of maxims also survive.

ED. PG 88:1611–1844. *Oeuvres spirituelles,* ed. L. Regnault, J. de Préville (Paris 1963), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. E.P. Wheeler, *Discourses and Sayings* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1977).
LIT. J.M. Szymusiak, J. Leroy, *DictSpir* 3 (1957) 1651–64. D. Stiernon, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 686f. –B.B.

DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA, a name (perhaps fictitious) under which was printed a world chronicle that has survived in many MSS whose interconnections are not yet fully worked out. The first redaction ended at 1570. The chronicle consisted of several disconnected sections: biblical and ancient history; lists of Roman and Christian emperors, of Turkish sultans, and of patriarchs of Constantinople; the history of Rome from Aeneas to Emp. John VIII Palaiologos; the history of sultans to Selim II; and the history of the Greek church. The last section contains a prose version of the CHRONICLE OF MOREA, the story of the Council of Ferrara-Florence, a chapter on Venice, etc. The original compilation seems to have been based on a "popular" paraphrase of Theophanes the Confessor, Theophanes Continuatus, and the *Ekthesis Chronike* (which covers the period from 1391 to 1515), as well as several now unidentifiable sources (e.g., for the Komnenian period).

The identity of the author of the original is under discussion: Moravcsik (*infra*) was inclined to accept the authorship of Manuel Malaxos from Nauplion, K. Sathas (Sathas, *MB* 3, p.ιη′) suggested Hierotheos of Monemvasia, T. Preger (*BZ* 11 [1902] 4–15) hypothesized that the author was an unknown Venetian. Russo and Lebedeva (*infra*), on the other hand, assume that Dorotheos could be a real person, a bishop of Monemvasia in the 16th C.

ED. *Biblion historikon periechen en synopsei diaphorous kai exochous historias* (Venice 1631; rp. 17 times up to 1818).
LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:412–14. I.N. Lebedeva, *Pozdnie grečeskie chroniki* (Leningrad 1968). D. Russo, *Studii istorice greco-român,* vol. 1 (Bucharest 1939) 51–100. E. Zachariadou, "Mia Italike pege tou pseudo-Dorotheou gia ten historia ton Othomanon," *Peloponnesiaka* 5 (1962) 46–59. –E.M.J., A.K.

DORY (Δόρυ), also called Doros, a region in the mountainous southwestern part of Crimea where, according to Prokopios (*Buildings* 3.7.13), those GOTHS settled who did not follow Theodoric to Italy. The *kastron* or *phrourion* of Doros was situated in Crimean Gothia; Justinian II sought refuge there in 695. A bishopric was founded in Dory either by the end of the 7th or in the 8th C. Excavation has revealed the ruins of some "cave towns" (Eski-Kermen, Mangup, etc.) in the land of Dory as well as basilicas of approximately 6th-C. date and fortifications.

The name *Dory* disappears after the 9th C., probably surviving in the form *Theodoro* (N. Bănescu, *BZ* 35 [1935] 35f); the name *Mangup* for this region is first attested in a letter of the Khazar king Joseph (ca.960): the Goths of Dory were at this time vassals of the Khazars. There is vague evidence that ca.1223 the towns of Gothia paid tribute to the emperor of Trebizond (M. Tichanova, *MatIssArch* 34 [1953] 328f). Vasiliev's hypothesis (*infra* 157f) that Constantine Gabras was sent to the Crimea after his independent rule in Trebizond had been terminated in 1140 proves invalid (Kazhdan, *Arm.* 91).

By the 13th or 14th C. a princedom of Theodoro-Mangup appeared on the site of Dory. Eski-Kermen suffered from the raid of NOGAY in 1299, and probably between 1395 and 1404 Mangup

was under the rule of TIMUR; after Timur's death, the prince of Theodoro-Mangup, Alexios, regained independence, and the principality retained it, even after the Ottoman conquest of the Crimea in 1475. Around 1425 a fortress and palace were built in Mangup and the Church of Constantine and Helena restored. Greek traditions survived in Mangup, and Greek inscriptions, both funerary and dedicatory, have been found there. In the late 14th C. the hieromonk MATTHEW OF KHAZARIA wrote in Greek a poetic account of his visit to Theodoro, describing the devastation caused by the raids of Timur.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936). È.I. Solomonik, O.I. Dombrovskij, "O lokalizacii strany Dori," in *Archeologičeskie issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma* (Kiev 1968) 11–44. E.V. Vejmarn, I.I. Loboda, I.S. Pioro, M. Ja. Čoref, "Archeologičeskie issledovanija stolicy knjažestva Feodoro," in *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 123–39. –O.P.

DORYLAION (Δορύλαιον, mod. Eskişehir), city of northwestern PHRYGIA, on a strategic road junction controlling passage from Constantinople to the interior of Asia Minor. A major military post, Dorylaion was frequently mentioned after 741, when it was base of the revolt of ARTABASDOS. It was a bastion of the OPSIKION theme and an APLEKTON; Arab raids often reached it in the 8th–10th C. According to IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, Dorylaion was noted for its plains, where imperial pack animals were raised, and for its hot springs. After the Turks captured it ca.1080, Dorylaion lay in ruins in a no-man's land frequently occupied by nomadic Turkish tribes until Manuel I took the region in 1175, drove out the nomads, and built a new fortress for defense of the frontier (P. Wirth, *BZ* 55 [1962] 21–29). Soon after the battle of MYRIOKEPHALON, however, the city fell to the Seljuks. Dorylaion was a bishopric of Phrygia Salutaris, under Synada. Remains of the fortifications, which surrounded the medieval hilltop town, have entirely disappeared; they indicated two periods of construction, perhaps of the 7th–8th and 12th C.

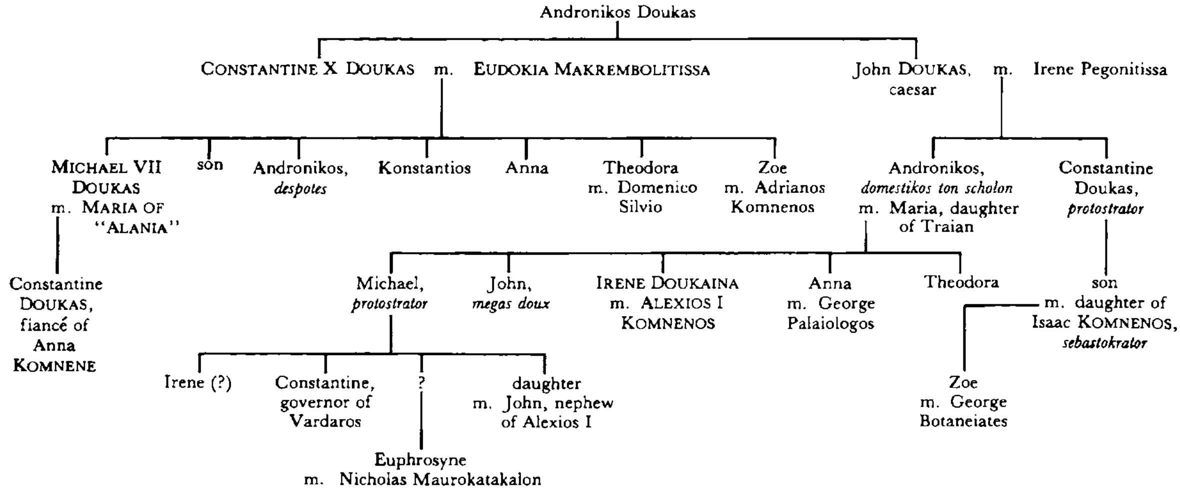
LIT. *MAMA* 5:xii–xvii. –C.F.

DOUKAS (Δούκας, fem. Δούκαινα, from DOUX, "leader, general"), a noble Byz. lineage. The hypothesis of their Armenian origin (*doux* being a translation of Arm. *sparapat*, "general") cannot be proved. The first known Doukas was sent in the 9th C. by Empress Theodora to convert the PAULICIANS forcibly. The family was very prominent in the early 10th C. when Andronikos Doukas and Constantine Doukas served as military commanders; they became prototypes of two personages in the epic poem DIGENES AKRITAS (see DOUKAS, ANDRONIKOS and DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE). It is not clear whether Andronikos Doukas, who sided with Bardas SKLEROS in 976, was related to the elder Doukai. One of his sons, Bardas Mongos, commanded the fleet sent in 1016 to KHAZARIA (the Crimea). Again it is unknown whether CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS, who ascended the imperial throne in 1059, and his son MICHAEL VII DOUKAS were related to the elder Doukai as affirmed by PSELLOS and Nicholas KALLIKLES; Nikephoros BRYENNIOS even went so far as to assert that their ancestors served Constantine I the Great. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:675f) wrote, on the other hand, that the old lineage died out after the unsuccessful revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913, and Constantine X was a descendant only through the female line. The 11th-C. Doukai, who originated from Paphlagonia, were generals and governors: John Doukas was *katepano* of Edessa in 1059 (see DOUKAS, JOHN); his sons were respectively *domestikos ton scholon* and *protostrator*; Konstantios Porphyrogennetos, Michael VII's brother, was a famous soldier, even though he died at age 20 (at Dyrrachion in 1081).

The Doukai intermarried with many aristocratic families, including KOMNENOI (the family name Komnenodoukas was used): IRENE DOUKAINA, Andronikos's daughter, became Alexios I's wife; at the beginning of his reign Alexios considered her cousin Constantine Doukas as his heir apparent (see DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE); Irene's brother, the *protostrator* Michael, was one of the most important generals at the end of the 11th C.; another brother, John, was *megas doux*. In the 12th C. the name of Doukas was fashionable and applied to some members of other families (ANGELOS, KAMATEROS, VATATZES, etc.); it is difficult to identify some of the Doukai (the numerous Johns present a particular problem) and impossible to establish their connection with the imperial Doukai. Some were generals, but others served in the civil administration as *logothetes*, *hetaireiarches*, or *vestiarites*.

The Doukai were great landowners. Their role

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE DOUKAS FAMILY
IN THE ELEVENTH AND TWELFTH CENTURIES



Based on Polemis, *Doukai*.

in cultural life was insignificant, although the *despotes* Andronikos is represented both in the monograms and portraits of a MS of JOHN KLIMAX in Milan (Ambros. B 80 Sup.), produced between 1068 and 1078. After the 12th C. only those Doukai are known who were interrelated with other lineages and formed "hyphenated" families. Descent from the Doukai was claimed, for example, by George PALAIOLOGOS, *sebastos* and *megas hetaireiarches*, who included Constantine X Doukas and Michael VII Doukas among his "ancestors" in the painted pronaos of his monastery church in Constantinople. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai*. J.C. Anderson, "A Manuscript of the Despote [*sic*] Andronicus Ducas," *REB* 37 (1979) 229–38. A. Kazhdan, "John Doukas: An Attempt of De-Identification," *Le parole e le idee* 11 (1969) 242–47. P. Karlin-Hayter, "99. Jean Doukas," *Byzantion* 42 (1972–73) 259–65. *PLP*, nos. 5676–99. M. Marcovich, "Three Notes on Byzantine Epigraphy," *ZPapEpig* 54 (1984) 207–15.
–A.K., A.C.

DOUKAS, historian; born ca.1400, died 1462 or later. Neither his baptismal name nor the date and place of his birth are recorded. His grandfather Michael Doukas, who was a supporter of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, fled from Constantinople in 1345 and took refuge at Ephesus with the Turkish emir of AYDIN. Doukas is first mentioned in 1421, living in Nea Phokaia and serving the Genoese podesta, Giovanni Adorno, as secretary. Subsequently he entered the service of the GATTILUSIO family, which controlled Lesbos. He went on several missions as envoy to the Ottoman sultan, visiting Adrianople, Didymoteichon, Philippopolis, and Istanbul.

The *History* of Doukas begins in 1341 and breaks off suddenly in 1462, in the middle of an account of the Ottoman siege of Mytilene. Doukas was an eyewitness to several of the events he describes, and his narrative is generally considered biased but reliable. He spoke Italian and Turkish, and thus had access to Genoese and Ottoman sources of information. He is the only Byz. historian to describe the peasants' revolt on the western coast of Asia Minor in 1416–18, led by Bürklüdje Mustafa, who advocated a "communistic" way of life and proclaimed the equality of Islam and Christianity (H.I. Cotsonis, *BZ* 50 [1957] 397–404). In contrast to Kritoboulos's praise of Mehmed II, Doukas emphasized the dissolute immorality and cruelty of the Ottoman sultan. He viewed the Turkish conquests as God's punishment for the sins of the Byz., but for him Fortune (TYCHE) was also an important element of historical causation. As a man in Frankish service, Doukas supported a policy of Union with Rome and felt that some

accommodation with the West was necessary to preserve the empire. An old Italian translation of Doukas includes an interpolated section on the battle of Kosovo Polje (M. Dinić, *ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 53–67).

ED. *Istoria Turco-Bizantină*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1958), with Rumanian tr. Eng. tr. H. Magoulias, *Decline and Fall of Byzantium to the Ottoman Turks* (Detroit, Mich., 1975).
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:490–94. *PLP*, no.5685. S.K. Krasavina, "Mirovozzrenie i social'no-političeskie vzgljady vizantijskogo istorika Duki," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 97–111.
–A.M.T.

DOUKAS, ANDRONIKOS, general under LEO VI; died ca.910 in Arab captivity. A *patrikios*, Andronikos won an important victory over the Arabs at Maraş (Nov./Dec. 904, according to Arab sources). Byz. chronicles relate that Andronikos, who was then ordered to join HIMERIOS in his expedition against the Arabs, suddenly revolted and "with his relatives and slaves" seized the town of Kabala near Ikonion. After Gregoras Iberitzes besieged him there for six months, he defected to the Arabs; Leo tried to persuade him to return, but through the intrigues of SAMONAS the Arabs learned of this scheme and put Andronikos in prison, where he probably died. His son Constantine DOUKAS managed to flee.

The story of Andronikos's plot raises several questions. C. de Boor, relying on the vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS, dated the beginning of the revolt to summer of 904, whereas A. Vasiliev (*Byz.Arabes* 2.1:181–90), trusting Arab sources, preferred the date of 906/7. R. Jenkins (*Speculum* 23 [1948] 222–25) treated the revolt as part of an aristocratic scheme by Andronikos, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, and the admiral Eustathios Argyros, who allegedly yielded Taormina to the Arabs in 902. Eustathios's treason at Taormina was questioned by R.H. Dolley (*SBN* 7 [1953] 340–53), but Andronikos's links with the patriarch seem substantiated by the story of Nicholas's resistance to the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Epic elements color the chroniclers' narration of Andronikos's history, and eventually both Andronikos and his son Constantine were praised in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques," *EO* 36 (1937) 202–07. P. Karlin-Hayter, "The Revolt of Andronicus Ducas," *BS* 27 (1966) 23–25. A. Kazhdan, "K istorii političeskoj bor'by v Vizantii v načale X veka," *Učenye zapiski Tul'skogo pedinstituta* 3 (1952) 191–206. Polemis, *Doukai* 16–21, no.2.
–A.K.

DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE, general, son of Andronikos DOUKAS; died Constantinople July 913. Constantine arrested SAMONAS during his flight to the Arabs and testified in the senate that Samonas was absconding to Syria. Constantine probably joined his father's rebellion against Leo VI and followed him to Arab territory. Eventually, however, he escaped to Byz., was promoted to the post of *strategos* of Charsianon and then *domestikos ton scholon*, and fought victoriously against the Arabs. After the emperor ALEXANDER died (June 913), Constantine entered Constantinople with an army and was proclaimed emperor at the Hippodrome; he may have been summoned by NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, who was frightened by the difficult political situation and esp. the Bulgarian threat. Unexpectedly, Nicholas changed his mind and prepared resistance to Constantine, who was killed at the gates of the Great Palace. Begun by aristocrats (including Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES, an Armenian named Kourtikios, and many relatives of Constantine), the rebellion was supported by the common people, and accordingly Constantine's defeat led to mass executions; scores were affixed to stakes on the eastern shore of the Bosporos. Popular legend preserved Constantine's memory: in the 930s the rebel BASIL THE COPPER HAND assumed Constantine's name. At the same time the aristocracy praised him and his father as heroes; traces of this glorification are found in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS and in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER. Six miniatures in the Madrid Skylitzes MS depict Constantine's revolt (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos.277–82).

LIT. A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* (Moscow 1959) 135f. Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 122–46. Polemis, *Doukai* 21–25, no.3.
– A.K., A.C.

DOUKAS, CONSTANTINE, son of MICHAEL VII DOUKAS; born Constantinople ca.1074, died ca.1095. Doukas was PORPHYROGENNETOS and heir; his enamel portrait accompanies Michael's on the Holy Crown of Hungary (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.37). He was betrothed to the daughter of ROBERT GUISCARD. During the reign of NIKEPHOROS III, Doukas's mother MARIA OF "ALANIA" protected him. After the accession of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, Doukas was again recognized as heir and affianced to Anna KOMNENE; they shared imperial acclamations. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid com-

posed a BASILIKOS LOGOS or *Paideia basilike* for him. After the birth of JOHN II, however, Constantine lost his title. In 1094 Doukas entertained Alexios at his estate near Serres. His end is unknown.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 60–63. –C.M.B.

DOUKAS, JOHN, caesar; died ca.1088. Brother of CONSTANTINE X, Doukas was one of the eastern generals who petitioned MICHAEL VI in 1057. During his brother's reign, Doukas became CAESAR and helped suppress a conspiracy (1061). While EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA and ROMANOS IV ruled, Doukas upheld the rights of his nephew, MICHAEL VII. The Doukas family's enmity to Romanos appeared when Doukas's son Andronikos caused the retreat at MANTZIKERT, which left Romanos in the Turks' hands. When Romanos was released, Doukas led a coup that excluded Romanos and Eudokia from the throne in favor of Michael VII. Doukas's sons Andronikos and Constantine led Byz. forces against Romanos, and Doukas ordered Romanos's blinding. He introduced NIKEPHORITZES to Michael. In 1074 Nikephoritzes sent him as commander against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL; defeated and captured, Doukas became (half-willingly) Roussel's puppet-usurper. Captured by the Turks and then ransomed, he became a monk to evade punishment. In 1078 he encouraged Michael to abdicate. He sponsored the marriage of his granddaughter IRENE DOUKAINA to ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, enthusiastically joined the Komnenoi when they revolted, and helped select Alexios for the throne. He corresponded with Psellos, and the earliest known MS of Constantine VII's DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO comes from his library.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 34–41. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 138–45. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 69–74. –C.M.B.

DOUKATON (δουκᾶτον), rare term designating a territorial unit. Hagiographical texts of the 6th–7th C. understand *doukaton* as a district under the command of a DOUX: *doukata* of Palestine (CYRIL OF SCYTHOPOLIS, ed. Schwartz, p.150.1) or of Alexandria (in PHILOSTORGIOS, *HE* 167.26–27). This meaning reappeared in the 10th C. Constantine VII used the term in an antiquarian context when describing the division of the Roman Empire into EPARCHIAI, *hegemoniai, doukata*, and the so-called consular provinces (*De them.*, ch.1.59–61, ed. Pertusi, p.62). For him, *doukaton* was both the land of the Venetian doge (*De adm. imp.*, 28.47–50) and a part of a STRATEGIS (50.88–89). The term was also used in the treaty with BOHEMUND of 1108 to designate the princedom of Antioch (An.Komn. 3:135.28–29).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 53. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 57–62. –A.K.

DOUKATOPOULON (δουκατόπουλον, pl. doukatopouloi), a coin referred to in some fragmentary accounts from Thessalonike of the early 15th C. (S. Kugéas, *BZ* 23 [1914–19] 149). BADOER called it a *ducatello* or *duchatello* and valued it normally as 1.5 *keratia*, thus identifying it with the smallest silver coin (approximately 1 g) then being struck at Constantinople, the 1/16th of a HYPERPYRON and 1/8th of a STAURATON. Its name, a diminutive of "ducat," resulted from its being a continuation of the depreciated BASILIKON ducat of the 1340s.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 540f. –Ph.G.

DOULOPAROIKOS (δουλοπάροικος, from *doulos* ["slave"] and PAROIKOS), a category of peasants whose nature is unclear. The term appears in four chrysobulls dating between 945/6 and 1079 that grant or confirm tax-exempt status to the *douloparoikoi* held by certain monasteries in the vicinity of Thessalonike. In addition, a passage from John Tarchaneiotes' *Diegesis* (probably from the early 12th C.), describing the arrival of the pastoral Vlachs on Mt. Athos, states that these Vlachs served the monks of Athos "like *douloparoikoi*." In these sources *douloparoikoi* seem to bear no fiscal or service obligations toward the state and their status seems to be hereditary. Oikonomides suggests that *douloparoikoi* were agricultural slaves and freedmen who held land from their masters in return for corvées and a part of their harvest. On the contrary, Litavrin (*Viz-Obščestvo* 86) considers *douloparoikoi* as peasants working on demesne lands and possibly identical with *aktemones* and *aporoi*.

It remains unclear whether *douloparoikoi* can be equated with the *douleutai* and *douleutoparoikoi* (MM 5:11.19) of documents of the 13th C. A charter

of 1263 identifies *douleutai* as *paroikoi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.68.6–7).

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi byzantinoi douloparoikoi," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 295–302. J. Karayannopulos, "Ein Problem der spätbyzantinischen Agrargeschichte," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 231f. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966) 40f. –M.B.

DOULOS (δοῦλος, lit. "slave"). The term retained its ancient, literal meaning as long as SLAVERY remained a social institution in Byz. At the same time the word *doulos* was used to indicate other forms of dependence, or at least served in the formation of terms for new types of dependence, such as *douleutes* and DOULOPAROIKOS. The term was often used in a metaphorical sense to define moral dependence of both evil (*doulos* of gluttony) and good character (*doulos* of God, often found in inscriptions and graffiti). All the emperor's subjects were considered as his *douloi*, but at the same time the expression "the *doulos* of the majesty" (the parallel forms *oiketes* or *sklabopoulos* were infrequently used) became a characterization of close links with the sovereign and a kind of title.

LIT. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966) 31–42. A. Kazhdan, "The Concept of Freedom (eleutheria) and Slavery (douleia) in Byzantium," *La notion de liberté au Moyen âge* (Paris 1985) 218–23. –A.K.

DOUX (δούξ, Lat. *dux*), general. The term *dux* acquired a technical sense at the time of Diocletian (first mentioned in 289) when it designated the military commander of LIMITANEI stationed within the borders of a PROVINCE, with the official title *dux limitis provinciae illius*. The mobile troops of COMITATENSES were put under the command of the *doux* by Anastasios I in 492. The *doux* normally functioned separately from the civil administration; only in a few provinces (Isauria, Mauretania, the Thebaid) did the governor combine both military and civil functions. Also exceptional were cases when the *doux* administered troops stationed in several provinces. With the decline of the Roman administrative system, the term *doux* came to be employed to indicate a subaltern officer, *merarches* or commander of a *moira* (STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE 1.3.12–13), while the governors of THEMES were eventually called STRATEGOI.

From the 2nd half of the 10th C. the term was revived to indicate the military commander of a larger district, sometimes called DOUKATON: Antioch (after 969), Chaldia (969), Thessalonike, Adrianople (after 971), Mesopotamia (976), and Italy. The *doux* of Koloneia is mentioned in the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION (ed. Vasil'evskij, Nikitin, 29.36), but this may not reflect official terminology. H. Ahrweiler (*BCH* 84 [1960] 65f) identified *doux* with KATEPANO. The term was also applied to the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 142) and, along with MEGAS DOUX, designated commanders of the fleet. After the 12th C. the term lost its prestige and the governors of small themes were called *doukes* (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951] 60).

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 5 (1905) 1869–75. Oikonomides, *Listes* 344, 354. T. Wasilewski, "Les titres de duc, de catépan et de pronoétès dans l'Empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:233–36. J.C. Cheynet, "Du stratège de thème au duc: Chronologie de l'évolution au cours du XIe siècle," *TM* 9 (1985) 181–94. –A.K.

DOWRY (*προίξ*), the property brought to a marriage by the wife. It could be provided by the father, or the parents, of the bride, but also by herself or an outsider. The amount of the dowry could be calculated on the basis of the amount of the DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS or HYPOBOLON; 100 pounds of gold was considered a large dowry (*Nov.Just.* 22.18; *Peira* 17.14). The dowry could have a determined (*diatetimemene*) or undetermined (*adiatimetos*) value. In the first case the husband was obliged, upon the termination of the marriage, to return the determined value; in the second case to return the objects provided, insofar as they were still available. During the marriage the husband was personally responsible for the administration of the dowry; the wife had right of seizure only in exceptional cases (i.e., the bankruptcy of her husband). Dowry lands could be alienated only under strict conditions. If the wife died, the dowry fell to her family or her children; the husband retained only its administration, unless the marriage contract assured him of a portion of the inheritance. If the husband predeceased his wife, the dowry reverted to the wife. As security for her claim for its return, she had a general pledge (PIGNUS) on her husband's property. Her claim had priority over those of simple creditors.

These main features of dowry law were preserved during the entire Byz. period, as the *Peira*

and dowry deeds show. However, deviations from these norms did exist; many are documented in the *Ecloga*, the *Epanagoge*, and certain treatises and scholia.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 83–105. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht." D. White, "Property Rights of Women," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 539–48. –M.Th.F.

DOXOLOGY (δοξολογία, lit. "glorification"), a liturgical formula of praise, esp. the concluding exclamation (*ekphonesis*) of a prayer. Simple doxologies, used with great frequency in liturgical services and by church fathers to conclude sermons, are found already in the New Testament. As a response to the Arian crisis (see ARIANISM), Trinitarian doxologies ("Glory to the Father through the Son in the Holy Spirit") were leveled ("Glory to the Father and to the Son and to the Holy Spirit"). The "Great Doxology," or *Gloria* ("Glory to God in the Highest"), an elaboration of Luke 2:14 sung only at *orthros* and *apodeipnon*, is to be distinguished from the widely used "Lesser Doxology" ("Glory to the Father").

LIT. C. Blume, "Der Engelhymnus *Gloria in excelsis Deo*: sein Ursprung und seine Entwicklung," *Stimmen aus Maria Laach* 73 (1907) 43–62. J. Magne, " 'Carmina Christo': Le 'Gloria in excelsis,' " *EphLit* 100 (1986) 368–90. J. Mateos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *PrOC* 11 (1961) 32–34. –R.F.T.

DOXOPATRES, JOHN, 11th-C. rhetorician, commentator on APHTHONIOS and HERMOGENES. It is unclear whether Doxopatres (Δοξοπατρῆς or Δοξαπατρῆς) used their works in the original or via Byz. commentators, such as JOHN GEOMETRES, whom he cites in his writings. The life of Doxopatres is obscure. He quoted an inscription from the apse of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople praising Romanos III for his generous donation of 50 "talents" of gold (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:291f). He also wrote an ETHOPOEIA on the words that Michael V would have pronounced after his dethronement. Tzetzes referred to Doxopatres' works.

ED. Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 80–155, 304–18, 360–74, 423–26.

LIT. H. Rabe, "Aus Rhetoren-Handschriften," *RhM* 62 (1907) 559–86. S. Glöckner, *Über den Kommentar des Johannes Doxopatres zu den Staseis des Hermogenes* (Kirchhain N.L. [Nieder Lausitz] 1908–09). –A.K.

DOXOPATRES, NEILOS, theologian and canonist of first half of 12th C.; baptismal name Nicholas. Doxopatres (Δοξοπατρῆς) held a combination of ecclesiastical and secular offices in Constantinople: deacon of Hagia Sophia, patriarchal notary, and imperial *nomophylax*; his title was *protoproedros* of the *protosynkelloi*. Before 1142/3 he took the monastic habit and left for Sicily, where he worked at the court of ROGER II. He was commissioned by Roger to write a treatise on the five patriarchates (first in the form of an epitome), in which he not only attacked the concept of Roman PRIMACY, but also developed the idea of Constantinople's superiority in the PENTARCHY. In so doing Doxopatres differed radically from those southern Italian Greeks like PHILAGATHOS who defended papal primacy (J. Siciliano, *BS/EB* 6 [1979] 176). This book on the patriarchates exists also in an Armenian translation. G. Mercati (*ST* 68 [1935] 64–79) attributed to Doxopatres an anti-Latin polemical treatise titled *On Oikonomia*, of which only two books are preserved. Doxopatres produced marginal notes to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria.

ED. F.N. Finck, *Des Nilos Doxopatres "Taxis ton patriarchikon thronon"* (Marburg 1902).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 619–21. V. Laurent, "L'oeuvre géographique du moine sicilien Nil Doxapatris," *EO* 36 (1937) 5–30. S. Caruso, "Echi della polemica bizantina antilatina dell'XI–XII sec. nel *De oeconomia Dei* di Nilo Doxapatres," *Atti del Congresso internazionale di studi sulla Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo 1973) 416–32. –A.K.

DRAGAŠ. See CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ.

DRAGONS. See SNAKES.

DRAMA (δρᾶμα), ancient term designating action on a stage. With the disappearance of the THEATER, the term lost its literal meaning and was used either metaphorically (e.g., *drama* of life, of the world), or came to signify "story." Sometimes the term *drama* or its derivatives were applied to works in DIALOGUE form produced not for the stage but reading: thus CHRISTOS PASCHON is variously titled in the MSS as *hypothesis dramatike*, tragedy, or just *stichoi* (verses). The term could be used to characterize a romance; for example, Photios describes the romance of HELIODOROS and some other ancient romances as *dramatikon*. A later romance, that of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, was also called a *drama*. The term was used fig-

uratively for tragic events: thus Patr. Germanos II speaks of the *drama* of Solomon (PG 140:713A).

LIT. H. Kuch, "Gattungstheoretische Überlegungen zum antiken Roman," *Philologus* 129 (1985) 11–14. –A.K.

DREAMS AND DREAM VISIONS. In the medieval world dreams and dream visions were considered significant sensory phenomena that could predict the future or grant understanding. This belief derived partly from classical traditions. At the same time, church fathers accepted the dream as a regular means of divine revelation (M. Dulaey, *Le rêve dans la vie et la pensée de saint Augustin* [Paris 1973] 35–127). Dreams were considered to have played a critical role in the conversion of non-Christians, in the lives of saints, and in imparting divine knowledge. Problems resulted, however, from the acceptance of dreams: (1) dream interpretation had been connected intimately with pagan DIVINATION and augury; (2) if God could speak in one's dreams, then so could the devil and demons; (3) some heresies like GNOSTICISM and MONTANISM manipulated dreams to assail Orthodoxy and to sanction their own doctrines; and (4) a dream could have earthly causes (physiological, psychological, or intellectual factors). Therefore, Byz. writers concentrated on the classification of dreams by type and provenance in order to determine what sorts of dreams had a divine origin and therefore were authoritative.

Many conflicting systems of dream classification existed (A. Kessels, *Mnemosyne* 22 [1969] 389–424); the most common was the fivefold system, based on the dream's prophetic ability. The *enhypnion* and *phantasma* were nonpredictive dreams: the former is caused by mental or physical distress or a preoccupation with daily concerns, while the latter is the distorted image that a dreamer perceives between the sleeping and waking state. Three types of dreams were significant: the *oneiros*, a symbolic dream that usually required interpretation; the *horama*, or prophetic vision; and the *chrematismos*, a dream wherein God or some divine emissary proffers information or advice. At first, the *horama* was emphasized because of its greater religious authority and the nonsymbolic clarity of its contents; moreover, because of Iconoclasm, dream images were viewed as suspect and thus the dream came to be considered an inferior activity of the human soul.

Despite an influx of Arabic texts on dreams and a growing interest in pagan dream interpretations (Artemidoros of Ephesos, a dream interpreter of the 2nd C., was known to the SOUDA and the PHILOPATRIS), oneirocriticism became thoroughly christianized, with dream books (ONEIROKRITIKA) passing under the names of biblical or historical personalities. The *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN is the best known example of Christian dreamlore. The cult of SAINTS was closely interwoven with dreams used for predicting the future and for HEALING the sick, whereas demonic visions, esp. of sexual character, were condemned. Imperial propaganda also employed the dream topic in order to demonstrate the divine origin of the emperor's power.

LIT. G. Dagron, "Rêver de Dieu et parler de soi: le rêve et son interprétation d'après les sources byzantines," in *I sogni nel medioevo*, ed. T. Gregory (Rome 1985) 37–55. J. Le Goff, "Le christianisme et les rêves (II^e–VII^e siècles)," ibid. 171–218. P. Cox Miller, "'A Dubious Twilight': Reflections on Dreams in Patristic Literature," *ChHist* 55 (1986) 153–64. S.M. Oberhelman, "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature," *BS* 47 (1986) 8–24. J.S. Russell, *The English Dream Vision* (Columbus, Ohio, 1988) 1–81. –S.M.O.

DRIMYS (Δριμύς), a family name meaning "sharp" or "angry" (Koukoules, *Bios* 6:484). In the mid-11th C. PSELLOS (*Scripta min.* 2:69.17) referred to a "very noble" Drimys involved in litigation over a property. Leo Drimys, *spatharokandidatos* and *strategos*, known only from his seal, may have lived even earlier. A different Leo, *vestes*, is known from another, late 12th-C. seal: he was a governor (judge or *katepano*?) of Bulgaria. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 3:17f) identified him with the "*župan* or satrap of Bulgaria" mentioned in Ansbert's chronicle. Demetrios Drimys was governor (*praitor*) of Hellas and Peloponnesos in Andronikos I's reign and judge of the *velum* and *protoasekretis* under Isaac II. Members of the Drimys family did not occupy high posts thereafter, except for Dionysios Drimys, *parakoimomenos* ca.1300. John Drimys, a "Westerner" and priest in Constantinople, pretended to be a relative of the LASKARIS family; in 1305, backed by the ARSENITES and probably by the lower classes, he organized a conspiracy against Andronikos II (I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.IX [1952], 149f). The synod of 1305 condemned Drimys and he was banished. V. Laurent's attempt to identify him with another pro-Laskaris con-

spirator, Glykys, does not seem valid (A. Kazhdan in *Charanis Studies* 79–81). According to Ševčenko, it is tempting to associate the arrest of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS with Drimys's plot.

LIT. *PLP,* nos. 5827–32. –A.K.

DROMON (δρόμων, "runner"), a term first used in the 5th C., generally referring to several similar types of decked warships emphasizing speed over weight, which became the mainstay of the Byz. NAVY. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.11.15–16) describes swift *dromones* powered by one bank of rowers, but later sources indicate two banks, one above the other (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI, 19.7). The *dromon* also had two masts, sometimes three, supporting triangular lateen sails. Its standard length is calculated at approximately 40 m, the breadth at 5.5 m. Smaller *dromones* carried a complement of 100 men, but larger types could carry as many as 230 or more (*De cer.* 670.3–6). Offensive weapons included a ram fixed to the prow and a launcher shooting GREEK FIRE mounted on the forecastle. An important advantage over Arab vessels was the wooden tower (*xylokastron*) amidships from which catapults and archers could fire down on the enemy, while hides soaked with water were hung along the sides to protect the ship against enemy incendiaries. In combat their sails were furled and the masts lowered; a sea battle in the 11th-C. Kynegetika MS (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.36a) shows mastless vessels, their sides protected by shields between which project eight or ten oars. Their shallow draught also made them useful for amphibious operations, as evident from Nikephoros II Phokas's efficient disembarkation of his army on Crete in 960 (Leo Diac. 7.15–8.12).

LIT. R.H. Dolley, "The Warships of the Later Roman Empire," *JRS* 38 (1948) 47–53. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 409–18. E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin 1966) 135–48. –E.M., A.C.

DROMOS (δρόμος, lit. "course"), also the "imperial (*demosios*) *dromos*" (JOHN LYDOS, *On Magistracies* 2.10.24, 29), Latin *cursus publicus,* the system of imperial post and transportation. The state post that existed during the early Roman Empire was reorganized by Constantine I or by Diocletian. It consisted of two sections: the regular (*platys*) *dromos* for goods and the accelerated (*oxys*) *dromos* for imperial officials and their baggage. The former was served by oxen pulling carts (ANGAREIA), the latter by horses and mules. It was forbidden to harness horses to carriages. On the ROADS, stations (*mansiones,* Gr. *stathmoi*) were established to change animals and to rest; they served also to collect goods for state transportation. Prokopios (*SH* 30.3) says that a rider without baggage could cover a distance of 5–8 *stathmoi* a day. Control over the *dromos* belonged to the department of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT who was the only official to grant *evictiones,* the documents entitling a person to use the *dromos.* Eventually, the surveillance of the *dromos* was taken over by the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and in the 7th or 8th C. by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. According to seals, there was a distinction between Western and Eastern *dromoi.* The provision of animals, carriages, and hay was a burden imposed primarily on the EXKOUSSATOI of the *dromos.* A chrysobull of 1109 speaks of the "burden of *dromos* and shipping" (*Lavra* 1, no.58.8–9), and charters of tax exemption include a clause concerning *angareiai* and additional *angareiai* (*parangareiai*) just after "the supply of grain" (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.5.74–75). The term *demosios dromos* was employed also for the roads themselves (*Ivir.* 1, no.22.19).

LIT. E.J. Holmberg, *Zur Geschichte des cursus publicus* (Uppsala 1933). Laurent, *Corpus* 2:196–244. H. Bender, *Römischer Reiseverkehr: cursus publicus und Privatreisen* (Stuttgart 1978). –A.K.

DROUGOUBITAI (Δρουγουβῖται), the name of two settled groups of SKLAVENOI, one in southern Macedonia (between Thessalonike and Berroia) and another in Thrace around Philippopolis. The first vowel appears variously in the sources as "a," "o," and "ou." The name is suspiciously close to the "Dregoviči" of the Kievan chronicle. Vasmer (*Slaven* 177) suggests a Slavic etymology, but O. Pritsak (*SettStu* 30 [1983] 404) proposes a Turkic derivation. They appear in the *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS together with four other Sklavene groups, among them the Sagoudatai, who lived along the left bank of the Bistrica River, southeast of Thessalonike. The Drougoubitai of the *Miracles* had their own "kings." They paid tribute to Byz. and were required to go to war as allies of Byz.

The name survives in later documents. A charter of 897 mentions the village of Dragobountoi (*Lavra* 1, no.1.15–18); a certain Dragoboundos was a neighbor of the Iveron monastery in 1047

(*Ivir.*, no.29.47). A territorial unit called "Drougoubiteia" formed a part of the theme of Thessalonike and Strymon, and in 996 a certain Nicholas was called "*protospatharios* and judge of Strymon, Thessalonike, and Drougoubiteia" (*Ivir.*, no.10.2); seals of the judges of Drougoubiteia are also known. A bishop of Drougoubiteia (Dragbiste) participated in the council of 879. The name occurs (in the form *Drugunthia*) as the designation for one of the five Balkan autonomous dualist communities, of which "papa" Niquintas (ca.1174–77) was the spiritual leader (D. Obolensky in *Okeanos* 489–500).

LIT. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Njakoi momenti ot razselvaneto na slavjanskite plemena ot iztočnija djal na južnite slavjane," *Slavjanska filologia* 14 (1973) 33–42. E. Lipšic, "Iz istorii slavjanskich obščin v Makedonii v VI–IX vv. n.e.," *Akademiku Borisu Dmitrievču Grekovu: Ko dnju semidesjatiletija. Sbornik statej* (Moscow 1952) 49–54. Oikonomides, *Listes* 357f. —O.P.

DROUNGARIOS (δρουγγάριος), a military rank first mentioned in the early 7th C. During the 7th and 8th C., a *droungarios* in the provincial armies (*themata*) represented a high rank, immediately below TOURMARCHES and above KOMES, and in command of a DROUNGOS of as many as 1,000 men, later a BANDON of between 200 and 400. However, 9th- and 10th-C. sources indicate a gradual decrease in the authority of the *droungarios*. In the 911 expedition to Crete, the *droungarioi* commanded no more than 100 men each (*De cer.* 656.14–15), and in 949 the *droungarioi* figure only slightly higher than the common soldiers in rank and pay (*De cer.* 666.19–20, 667.10, 669.9). By the 11th C., *droungarios* and *komes* were equivalent ranks (Kek. 294.21–22), eventually merging into the combined office of *droungarokomes*.

LIT. Ju.A. Kulakovskij, "Drung i drungarii," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 1–30. Oikonomides, *Listes* 341. I. Ševčenko, "On the Social Background of Cyril and Methodius," *Studia Palaeoslovenica* (Prague 1971) 341–51. —E.M.

DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS (δρουγγάριος τῆς βίγλας), or of the *arithmos*, commander of the *tagma* of the VIGLA. The first mention of this *droungarios* is in the work of a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 466.3–5) who relates that in 791 Empress Irene sent the *spatharios* and *droungarios tes viglas* Alexios MOSELE against rebellious soldiers in ARMENIAKON. The major function of this *droungarios* was guarding the emperor on expeditions and in the palace. The *droungarios* was the emperor's confidant and an active military commander. In the 10th C. represented among the *droungarioi tes viglas* are generals and members of aristocratic families such as Eustathios ARGYROS, John KOURKOUAS, and Manuel KOURTIKIOS. Under the command of the *droungarios* were officials such as the TOPOTERETES, CHARTOULARIOS, and *komites* (see COMES); one of these, the AKOLOUTHOS, is known only for this *tagma*.

About 1030 the function of the *droungarios tes viglas* changed radically (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 133f), and he became a member of the judiciary. Eustathios RHOMAIOS, author of the *Peira*, occupied this post. From the second half of the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was added to this title (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 891–97). The *droungarioi* as judges were primarily members of the civil nobility—from families such as the KEROULARIOI, KAMATEROI, and MAKREMBOLITAI; among them are several writers such as John SKYLITZES, John ZONARAS, and Gregory ANTIOCHOS. On the other hand, Constantine KOMNENOS and a certain KONTOSTEPHANOS were probably not *droungarioi tes viglas*, but DROUNGARIOI TOU PLOIMOU (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 76 [1983] 384). *Droungarioi tes viglas* existed until the end of Byz.; pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 340.31–32) equates them with the chief of the JANISSARIES.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 60–62. Oikonomides, *Listes* 331f. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:563–87. Haldon, *Praetorians* 236f. —A.K.

DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU (δρουγγάριος τοῦ πλοΐμου or τῶν πλοΐμων), commander of the fleet stationed in Constantinople. This *droungarios* is first mentioned in the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij (842/3). Bury (*Adm. System* 109) considered his existence in the 7th C. "not improbable"; on the contrary, Ahrweiler (*infra* 74) proposed a creation at the beginning of the 9th C. The *droungarios tou ploimou* occupied a modest position according to the *taktikon* of Uspenskij but gained in importance by the time of the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos. Niketas Oryphas evidently held this post under Basil I; pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS (687.7–8) called him *strategos tou ploimou*. In the 10th C. many important personages, including the future emperor Romanos I, were *droungarioi*

tou ploimou. The role of the navy having diminished in the 11th C., the *droungarios* of the fleet, now called *droungarios tou stolou,* commanded primarily the battleships of Constantinople (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 146). Even though under the Komnenoi the post was given the epithet *megas,* the *droungarios* lost his preeminence in the navy and was replaced by the MEGAS DOUX; nonetheless, the post of the *megas droungarios* remained highly ranked, and in the 13th and 14th C. it was held by members of the families of GABALAS and MOUZALON. The staff of the *droungarios* included the *topoteretes, chartoularios, komites,* and others. C. Mango (*RSBS* 2 [1982] 299f) hypothesized that a *chartoularios* of the navy existed in the 7th C., but there is no direct evidence to support this hypothesis. The function of the *komes* of the *hetaireia,* who was under the *droungarios,* is disputed; Bury (*Adm. System* 111) considered him a commander of foreign marines, while Oikonomides (*Listes* 340) argued he was commander of a special detachment of guards.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 73–76. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:535–42. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 144–48. –A.K.

DROUNGOS (δροῦγγος, δρόγγος, from the Germanic *thrunga*), a word with three meanings. (1) Prior to the 12th C., a *droungos* was a subdivision of the army of a THEME, commanded by a DROUNGARIOS; it was larger than a *bandon* but smaller than a *tourma.* (2) From the end of the 12th C., the term designated certain mountainous areas of Attica, Lakonia, and Epiros, and was synonymous with *zygos* ("mountain range" or "pass"). (3) During the 13th and 14th C., the term was applied to the military or paramilitary corps assigned to such mountainous areas.

LIT. Ju. Kulakovskij, "Drung i drungarij," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 1–30. A. Kazhdan, "Novoe svidetel'stvo ob atticeskich drungach," in *Studia in honorem V. Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 512–16. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 278f. –M.B.

DRUM, a cylindrical, polygonal, or, less frequently, square element providing visual and structural support for a DOME. The drum served to elevate the cupola and accommodate windows illuminating a building's interior. It developed from an essentially buttressing function in Roman domes. In 6th-C. architecture, the drum became a more open system of independent wall buttresses separated by windows, directly related to the internal, structural ribs (e.g., at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople); yet a drum does not actually elevate the dome above its base (hence the term "false drum"). From the 9th C. onward, drums were used almost exclusively to elevate and visually accentuate domes externally. Through the 13th C. drums tended to be relatively squat, but in the 14th C., their proportions became considerably attenuated (e.g., Holy Apostles, Thessalonike). Drums also underwent a process of increasingly more elaborate external articulation. From simple geometric forms (cylinder, octagonal, or polygonal prism), they evolved into highly elaborate structures through the use of engaged colonnettes, recessed arches, surface textures, and other treatments. –S.Ć.

DRUNKENNESS (μέθη) was condemned as a grave sin and social evil by the church fathers, such as Basil the Great in his homily *Against Drunkards* (PG 31:444–64). In actual practice, however, WINE drinking was a popular pastime, in private, at BANQUETS and public FEASTS, and in TAVERNS. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (19:3) prohibited the operation of taverns on Great Feasts and Sundays before the second hour of day, and ordered them closed at the second hour of night. Patr. ATHANASIOS I (ep.44.22–26) urged Andronikos II to fine anyone entering a tavern for the purpose of drinking, from Saturday evening to Sunday. Byz. moralists condemned drunkenness; one historian (Nik.Chon. 541.54–56) saw in alcoholism a principal reason for the decline of the empire. Some emperors were presented by historians as drunkards, for example, the Greens are reported (Theoph. 296.25–27) to have mocked PHOKAS, exclaiming, "You have drunk again of the cup; you have lost again your senses"; it is unclear whether it was a genuine insult or an apotropaic incantation. MICHAEL III was presented by hostile historiography as a drunken sot, a characterization that may be fabricated. Literati used the theme of drunkenness for parodies—Manuel II's diatribe *Against Drunkenness* or grotesque vernacular verses like the *Physiological Tale of Peter Zyphomoustos, the Father of Wine* (G. Protopapa-Bouboulidou, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–73] 594–611)—or for mild ridicule, as in Psellos's

enkomion of wine (A. Garzya, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 418–28).

LIT. E. Jeanselme, "L'alcoolisme à Byzance," *Bulletin de la Société française d'histoire de la médicine* 18 (1924) 289–95. –Ap.K., A.K.

DUALISM is a modern notion, probably first used by Thomas Hyde (1700) in his *Historia religionis veterum Persarum.* Technically, it denotes religious understandings, worldviews, or philosophical theories in which there appear two original principles fundamentally irreconcilable and opposed to one another. It may also include those religions typified by an eschatological dualism, for example, MANICHAEANISM and most systems of GNOSTICISM, which see an eschatological superiority of good over evil. Byz. also encountered dualism among the adherents of MESSALIANISM (Euchitai), PAULICIANS, and BOGOMILS or PHOUNDAGIAGITES.

In a broader sense one can speak of an anthropological dualism. The Platonic doctrine of the SOUL and INTELLECT predominant in Byz. emphasized their distinction and thus implied a dualistic conception of the BODY, of MATTER, and of the imagination. Byz. adopted an ethical dualism inherited from the New Testament. This appears esp. in the Gospel of John in the contrast between the world of darkness and the Kingdom of Light; but while this referred to the fundamental contrast stemming from belief and nonbelief, it could be converted into an ontological statement.

LIT. S. Pétrement, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques, et les manichéens* (Paris 1947). E. Rochedieu, *Le dualisme chez Platon, les gnostiques, les manichéens* (Basel 1954). J. Ménard, *De la gnose au manichéisme* (Paris 1986). H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). –K.-H.U.

DUBROVNIK (Lat. Ragusium; Gr. Ῥαούσιον, Ῥαγούσιον; Ital. Ragusa; Slavic Dubrovnik), port city and fortress in DALMATIA. It was founded probably in the 7th C., according to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, by refugees from ancient Epidauros, which was destroyed by the Slavs and Avars ca.615. It was under Byz. authority; an Arab siege in 866–67 strengthened the Byz. presence. The city remained under Byz. domination until 1205, with intermittent Venetian (1000–1030) and Norman rule (1081–85, 1172, 1189–90); it became an archbishopric in 1022. For a while in the 11th C. it was the seat of a Byz. theme. It was under Venetian control from 1205 to 1358, and then became a self-governing patrician city-state under Hungarian protection until 1526.

An important center for maritime commerce, Dubrovnik played a prominent role as intermediary in the metal trade between the Balkan hinterland and the West in the 13th–15th C. In the 13th C. representatives from Dubrovnik signed three treaties with the despotate of Epiros that granted their merchants free trade in Epiros on the condition of paying 3 percent *kommerkion*: only the purchase of grain was restricted and special customs duties had to be paid for weaponry and horses. If there was a treaty with Andronikos II of ca.1320 (*Reg* 4, no.2433), it was of short duration, since Dubrovnik sided with Venice against Byz. In 1451 the city received new trade privileges from Constantinople, through a chrysobull of Constantine XI, and from the despotate of Morea, through argyrobulls of Thomas and Demetrios Palaiologos (M. Andreeva, *BS* 6 [1935–36] 110–65).

Dubrovnik became a very prosperous, strongly fortified city, with remarkable urban development (well-planned and paved streets, stone houses, churches and palaces, a sewage system, an aqueduct, medical services, pharmacies, a hospital, an orphanage, etc.). Byz. interest in Dubrovnik is reflected in a description of the city by CHALKOKONDYLES (2:285.15–23), who emphasized that Dubrovnik, founded by the "Illyrians" (evidently Slavs), was governed by good laws in an aristocratic manner.

LIT. B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik (Raguse) et le Levant au moyen âge* (Paris-The Hague 1961). Idem, *Dubrovnik in the 14th and 15th Centuries: A City between East and West* (Norman, Okla., 1972). V. Foretić, *Povijest Dubrovnika do 1808*, 2 vols. (Zagreb 1980). –B.K., A.K.

DUIN (Δούβιος or Τίβιον), early medieval capital of ARMENIA on the east bank of the Azat River some 20 km south-southeast of modern Erevan. Duin may have been founded in the 4th C. (MOSES XORENAC'I, 3:8 vs. pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND, 3:8), but it probably did not replace ARTAŠAT as capital until a century later. After the ARSACID dynasty fell in 428, Duin became the seat of the Persian and then the Arab governors of Armenia as well

as of the Armenian *katholikos* until the 9th C. The city was captured by both Herakleios (623) and Constantine IV (652/3), but it did not remain in Byz. hands. In the BAGRATID period Duin did not regain its status as capital; Muslim emirs controlled it more often than Armenian kings. The last Byz. attempt to reconquer Duin in 1045 failed.

Despite the great earthquake of 893 which nearly destroyed the city, recent excavations attest its importance, and both Prokopios (*Wars* 2.25.1–3) and 10th-C. Arab geographers praise Duin as an international trade center famous for its textiles. The city continued to flourish under the ZAK'ARIDS when the Georgian queen T'amara used it as her winter residence after 1203; only in the 14th C. did Duin gradually decline as a result of the Mongol conquest of Armenia.

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan, *DMA* 4:323–25. Manandyan, *Trade and Cities* 81f, 133f, 143f, 152, 154f, 169f. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, "Chronologie de la ville de Dvin (Duin) aux 9e et 11e siècles," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 303–18. K. Kafadarian, "Les fouilles de la ville de Dvin (Duin)," *REArm* n.s. 2 (1965) 283–301, cf. 459f. –N.G.G.

DUIN, LOCAL COUNCILS OF. The first church council at DUIN, convoked in 505/6, was directed against Nestorianism; the Armenian church accepted the HENOTIKON, underscoring its anti-Chalcedonian tendency, and thus took the first step toward Monophysitism. These anti-Nestorian ideas were further developed in the "Letter of the Armenians to the Orthodox in Persia."

The second synod, of 554, formally rejected the council of Chalcedon. Hr. Bartikjan (*Istočniki dlja izučenija pavlikianskogo dviženija* [Erevan 1961] 26–31) questions the traditional view that the synod dealt not only with Nestorianism but also Paulicianism and that its decisions are the first evidence concerning the PAULICIANS in Armenia.

LIT. E. Ter-Minassiantz, *Die armenische Kirche* (Berlin 1904) 32f, 47–49. R. Aubert, *DHGE* 14 (1960) 1243. –A.K.

DUKLJA. See DIOKLEIA; ZETA.

DURA EUROPOS (now Sālihīyah in Syria), Seleucid/Roman settlement on the Euphrates River near the Persian frontier, destroyed after it fell to the Sasanians in 256. For Byz. studies Dura Europos is notable, among other things, for the wall paintings in its synagogue (now removed to Damascus) and other cult buildings and for its Christian "house church." Of a type that preceded the congregational church built on the plan of a public building (e.g., the basilica), this house church was an ordinary house, built ca.240, whose rooms surrounding a courtyard were designated for congregational activities (instruction, celebration of the Eucharist, baptism). One room was decorated in fresco with individual narrative scenes from the Old and New Testaments. By contrast, the walls of the synagogue were painted with continuous bands of interrelated scenes from the Old Testament, and the Mithraeum and Temple of the Palmyrene gods displayed carved and painted sacrificial scenes. The figures in all types of compositions are distinguished by frontality and an intense gaze directed outwards. Most of these iconographic, compositional, and stylistic features occur later in Byz. art.

LIT. A. Perkins, *The Art of Dura Europos* (Oxford 1973). K. Weitzmann, H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* (Washington, D.C., 1990). –M.M.M.

DURRËS. See DYRRACHION.

DUŠAN. See STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN.

DUX. See DOUX.

DYER (βαφεύς). The profession was common in the late Roman Empire, and the term *bapheus* often appears in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:261) and inscriptions (J.P. Waltzing, *Études historiques sur les corporations professionelles*, vol. 3 [Louvain 1899] nos. 121–28). Basil the Great (PG 31:568A) uses another term, *deusopoios;* this dyer prepared a vat for tincture (*baphe*) and then dyed fabric in PURPLE or some other color. "I imitate *deusopoioi*," says Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 81:232A), "by imbuing the water of the holy baptism in the color of blood." A *deusopoios* worked in the Stoudios monastery in the early 9th C. (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 413). An epitaph of a young Jewish dyer was discovered in medieval Corinth (J. Starr, *BNJbb* 12 [1936] 42–49). The *Book of the Eparch*, however, does not mention a guild of dyers, even though *Peira* 51.7 cites *baptike*, the dyeing profession, as an example of a SOMATEION.

The *Book of the Eparch* itself twice mentions *baphika*, dyes that were imported from Syria and sold by perfumers (*myrepsoi*), and, in the chapter on SERIKARIOI, the legislator prohibited dyeing silk with blood. It is difficult to explain this silence on the dyers' guild; *serikarioi* could have dyed silk themselves, but it is also possible that they dealt with a *somateion* of dyers omitted from the *Book of the Eparch*. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (*Letters*, no.139.11–13) emphasized the durability of Byz. dye, which could not be washed out.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 28f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 227. –A.K.

DYING. Byz. writers often described the process of dying, both in cases of massive numbers of deaths (during a PLAGUE, hostile invasion, etc.) and in individual instances. Some descriptions of this kind are conventional and standardized. Thus, the death of pagans and heretics was presented contemptuously—a legend depicted ARIUS as dying in a public lavatory—and their physical sufferings were enormously exaggerated (e.g., Theoph. 427.25–28, 448.12–21). MARTYRS and saints, on the other hand, were typically represented as dying peacefully, without pain; they had a positive attitude toward DEATH, rejoicing at their approaching union with God. Other descriptions contain valuable observations (e.g., Anna Komnene's detailed depiction of her father's death), are sincere in their sympathy (Prodromos's image of his dying friend, Stephen Skylitzes), and, in contrast to the usual static portrayals, acquire dynamism in displaying the decay of the human body (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 241f).

Confession and the eucharist were administered to the dying by a priest; unlike the Latin church, Byz. priests also performed the UNCTION of recently deceased people as well as the sick and moribund. Many Byz. tried to assume the monastic habit before they died: a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 221.52–222.64) describes the last hours of Manuel I, for whom the courtiers were unable to find a monk's cloak of proper size. Pious people on their deathbed expressed concern about their relatives or brethren; thus, LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS allegedly had died and was being lamented by his monks, when he unexpectedly opened his eyes and signed the *typikon* of his monastery. –Ap.K., A.K.

DYNAMIC STYLE, a term introduced by Demus (*infra*) to identify and characterize a highly mannered stylistic trend datable toward the end of the 12th C. Distinguished by elegant, often elongated figures, contorted poses, and esp. by an unnatural reduplication of thick, undulating drapery folds (e.g., at the overfall of the *himation* and the hem of the *chiton*), the dynamic style was first recognized in a series of geographically separated, dated mural cycles (KURBINOVO, LAGOUDERA, MONREALE). Undated icons and MSS have more recently been linked to (and dated according to) this stylistic trend.

LIT. O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 24–26. K. Weitzmann, "Eine spätkomnenische Verkündigungsikone des Sinai und die zweite byzantinische Welle des 12. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Herbert von Einem* (Berlin 1965) 299–312. –G.V.

DYNAMIS (Δύναμις), the embodiment of Power, or Strength, personified as an armed, winged female. Ultimately derived from the goddesses who protected warriors in Classical art, Dynamis attends DAVID in his fight with Goliath in the PARIS PSALTER (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig.248) and in the illustration of marginal PSALTERS; she is opposed to Alazoneia (Boastfulness), who abandons the giant. A similar but unidentified figure protects David on sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th C. –A.C.

DYNATOI (*δυνατοί*, lit. "powerful"), legal term designating prominent office- or titleholders potentially capable of using their positions to aggrandize themselves at the expense of weaker neighbors. According to the normative formulation of Romanos I Lekapenos (Zepos, *Jus* 1:209.1–9), the *dynatoi* were comprised of the following categories: high officials of the army, central bureaucracy, and provincial administration; MAGISTROI, PATRIKIOI, and holders of senatorial dignities; metropolitans, bishops, and *hegoumenoi*; and administrators of imperial and ecclesiastical foundations. As this definition was predicated upon social rather than economic status, the *dynatoi* probably included some possessors of modest fortunes, but substantial wealth was considered a normal attribute (Zepos, *Jus* 1:210.5–11). The highest posts and dignities were frequently, although never hereditarily, transmitted among a

limited number of families, some of which by the 11th C. had begun to form an inchoate ARISTOCRACY.

The 10th and 11th C. witnessed increasing, at times forcible, encroachment by the *dynatoi* on peasant landownership, threatening the empire's social equilibrium and jeopardizing its chief source of taxes and soldiers. Emperors from Romanos I to Basil II enacted legislation to arrest this phenomenon as well as to curb the particularistic influence exercised by the *dynatoi* over provincial society at the expense of centralized imperial authority. The earliest novel directed against the *dynatoi*, that of Romanos I, used to be dated 922 (*Reg* 1, no.595), but this date is questionable; the first dated edict (*Reg* 1, no.628) is that of Sept. 934, which bars *dynatoi* from obtaining peasant lands. Basil II subsequently voided all such acquisitions made after this date and abolished the 40-year statute of limitations that had hitherto protected these transactions (*Reg* 1, no.783). Special restrictions were placed upon landholdings of powerful monasteries and upon the alienation of STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA to *dynatoi*, and *dynatoi* were forbidden to retain thematic soldiers in their personal service or to interfere with local commercial fairs; they became liable—through the ALLELENGYON—for the tax arrears of poorer neighbors.

The term *dynatoi* was used in charters as well as in law codes: a judge's decision of 952 deals with an allotment encircled by the lands of *dynatoi*, so that no weak neighbor could exercise the right of PROTIMESIS over it (*Lavra* 1, no.4.22–23); an act of 1037 excludes any *dynaton prosopon* from inheriting certain land (*Esphig.*, no.2.24). Thereafter the term fell into disuse.

LIT. R. Morris, "The Powerful and the Poor in Tenth-Century Byzantium," *Past and Present* 73 (1976) 3–27. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 85–131. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 7–28.

–A.J.C.

DYRRACHION (Δυρράχιον, Slav. Drač, Albanian Durrës, Ital. Durazzo, anc. Epidamnos), city on the eastern shore of the Adriatic Sea, the western terminus of the Via EGNATIA, capital of the province of Nova Epirus. Despite earthquakes in 341 and 522 and an Ostrogothic sack in the 480s, Dyrrachion remained a major port and fortress in the area; Anastasios I, a native of Dyrrachion, provided the city with a triple wall and citadel, rebuilt by Justinian I. The question of Slavic settlement in the region is disputed. In the first half of the 9th C. the fortress was in Byz. hands, and a theme of Dyrrachion was established: the *strategos* of Dyrrachion is mentioned in both the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 49.17) and seals of the first half of the 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2521, 2655); Ja. Ferluga, on the basis of a letter of Theodore of Stoudios, hypothesized that the theme was founded under Nikephoros I (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Ohrid 1961] 83–92).

The city, although a metropolitan see (*Notitiae CP* 3.20), was a stronghold rather than an economic center as it had been in late antiquity; according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:142.3–13), Dyrrachion occupied only a part of ancient Epidamnos whose ramparts were ruined. The old city played an important role during Basil II's war against Bulgaria and during the revolt of DELJAN. Nikephoros BRYENNIOS and Nikephoros BASILAKES, successively *doukes* of Dyrrachion, revolted in the 1070s. The Normans attacked it several times: ROBERT GUISCARD took the city in 1081, Bohemund besieged it in 1107–08; in 1185 WILLIAM II of Sicily pillaged it. From the 12th C. onward, Venetians (and later merchants from Dubrovnik) used Dyrrachion as a port for the export of local products (salt, wood, hides) and tried to establish their political power over the city, but were opposed by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, MANFRED of Sicily, Serbs, and Byz. In 1392 Venice occupied Dyrrachion and held it until 1501 when it fell to the Ottomans.

The role of Dyrrachion in the Byz. ecclesiastical hierarchy gradually diminished: the metropolitan had eight suffragans in the 9th C. but none by the end of the 12th C.—its territory was taken over first by Ohrid and then by the Latin archbishopric of Bar (Antivari). By the 14th C. Albanians became the dominant inhabitants.

LIT. A. Ducellier, *LMA* 3:1497–1500. Idem, *La façade maritime de l'Albanie au moyen âge* (Thessalonike 1981). Ferluga, *Byzantium* 225–44.

–T.E.G.

DŽVARI. See MC'XET'A.

E

EAGLES (sing. ἀετός). The most majestic of BIRDS was employed as both a sacred and a secular emblem. In myth the eagle appears as an instrument of God's will, announcing the selection of the capital or promotion to the imperial throne: Skylitzes relates the prophecy regarding the future Basil I, overshadowed in his cradle by an eagle's wing, as depicted in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.202). The motif of an eagle battling a SNAKE occurs in floor mosaics, as a sculptural group in the Hippodrome of Constantinople, and probably as a military emblem (L. Maculevič, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 185–202), symbolizing the victory of Good over Evil. As an aspect of imperial symbolism, the consuls carried an eagle-topped scepter, which is depicted on their diptychs. This form of scepter disappeared from coins in the reign of Emp. Philippikos. The eagle may have symbolized the emperor in the early 6th C.: J. Engemann (in *Festschrift Wessel* 103–15) has interpreted the Anastasios Plate in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE in this light. Eagles with rings in their mouths and jeweled collars are found on imperial silks of the late 10th or early 11th C.

The date of the introduction of the double-headed eagle in Byz. has been much discussed. It was certainly employed by members of the Palaiologan dynasty (Belting, *Illum. Buch* 64, figs. 35–36), perhaps to suggest that the empire looked both to the East and West. It was appropriated by John VI Kantakouzenos for his footstool (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, vol. 2, fig.477) and by the Venetians for the state barge that welcomed John VIII. Perhaps the latest occurrence is on the pavement in the Metropolis at Mistra, where Constantine XI was crowned. The single-headed eagle continued in imperial portraits, such as that of Alexios V in the Choniates MS in Vienna (Belting, ibid., fig.15).

In patristic exegesis the image of the eagle represented a supernatural envoy, an angel, or Christ himself. As an EVANGELIST SYMBOL it normally indicated John, although on occasion it was used for Mark. In the PHYSIOLOGOS the eagle is a symbol of regeneration. (See also COATS OF ARMS.)

LIT. G. Gerola, "L'aquila bizantina e l'aquila imperiale a due teste," *FelRav* 43 (1934) 7–36. A. Fourlas, "Adler und Doppeladler," in *Philoxenia* (Münster 1980) 97–120, and in *Thiasos ton Mouson: Festschrift für J. Fink* (Cologne 1984) 179–90. -A.C.

EARRINGS (ἐνώτια) have been found, often singly, throughout the Byz. world, mostly in funerary contexts but also in TREASURES. They may be made of gold, silver, bronze, gilded bronze, and/or enamel, with or without added precious and semiprecious stones or glass paste. Most are designed to pierce the earlobe as a simple hoop that fastens into a knob or ball. In the late antique period the fashion was hoops of wire, with or without additional decorations of granulation, braid, or beads. By the 6th–7th C. the popular style was a hoop or a flat lunette shape, with pendant chains ending in one or more GEMS, pearls, or beads. Examples of this type are worn by Empress Theodora and her ladies in the mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA. Gradually the lunette shape changed from a solid form to filigree; by the 10th C. it was three-dimensional and basket-shaped, with extensive granulation. This type is often hard to distinguish from Islamic jewelry. Simple bronze earrings with traces of gilding have been found in many excavations and demonstrate a popular market for "costume" jewelry, imitating pieces produced in more costly materials.

LIT. H. Schlunk, "Eine Gruppe datierbarer byzantinischer Ohrringe," *Berliner Museen* 61 (1940) 42–47. S. Ercegović-Pavlović, "Grozdolike vizantijske naušnice u Srbiji," *Starinar* 18 (1967) 83–90. -S.D.C.

EARTHQUAKES (sing. σεισμός). Since most of the Byz. world lay within a region esp. vulnerable to earthquakes, a quake is recorded for almost every year of Byz. history, the best documented being those at Constantinople. As in pagan times, the Byz. interpreted quakes, like other NATURAL PHENOMENA, as heavenly portents, signifying either

forthcoming catastrophe or divine displeasure at the sins of man. To atone for the divine anger manifested through quakes, the Byz. developed various liturgies, held processions, and frequently sought the intercession of a local holy man. Sometimes relics were employed as a talisman to ward off quakes. As a perpetual reminder of the power of God's wrath, an annual commemoration of many devastating quakes took place on the anniversary of their occurrence; some became part of the liturgical calendar, at least at Constantinople and Alexandria. The Byz. were little interested in the natural causes of quakes, but there were always a few advocates of the Aristotelian explanation that quakes were caused by the movement of winds in subterranean caverns. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 88.22–89.2) found it necessary to refute this theory. Photios, in his sermons and in the *Bibliotheca*, presented the traditional view that quakes are caused by our sins; pseudo-Symeon Magistros (*TheophCont* 673.10–12), however, accused him of teaching that quakes were caused not by mankind's sins but "by abundance of water." The most significant quakes at Constantinople occurred in 365, 438, 447, 525, 557, 740, 886, 869, 989, 1064, 1296, and 1346. A full list is in Grumel, *Chronologie* 476–81, but a modern catalog is needed.

LIT. F. Vercleyen, "Tremblements de terre à Constantinople: L'impact sur la population," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 155–73. G. Dagron, "Quand la terre tremble . . . ," *TM* 8 (1981) 87–103. B. Croke, "Two Early Byzantine Earthquakes and their Liturgical Commemoration," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 122–47. *Tremblements de terre*, ed. B. Helly, A. Pollino (Valbonne 1984) 87–94, 183–219. G. Downey, "Earthquakes at Constantinople and Vicinity, A.D. 342–1454," *Speculum* 30 (1955) 596–600. B. Willis, *Earthquakes in the Holy Land* (Stanford 1928). –B.C.

EASTER (Πάσχα), the feast of the RESURRECTION (Anastasis), the Jewish Passover christianized, with Jesus being the new paschal sacrifice and lamb (see AMNOS). By the beginning of the 3rd C., the focus of the feast, which originally commemorated the entire victorious passover of Jesus from death to life, narrowed to the resurrection. BAPTISM at the VIGIL preceding the feast makes the Christian as well as Christ protagonist of the rising. The First Council of NICAEA canonized the celebration of Easter on the Sunday after the first full moon after the spring equinox. The Eastern use of astronomically inaccurate paschal tables and calendar led to differences in calculating Eastern and Western Easter. From the 4th C. onward, Easter was prepared for by LENT and with its FASTING and CATECHUMENATE, and more immediately by HOLY WEEK. Its celebration extended through the following week, called "bright week" or "renewal," and throughout PENTECOST until its closure (*apodosis*) the day before the ASCENSION.

Easter liturgy in Constantinople is detailed in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:82–97) and in books of ceremonial (*De cer.*, bk.1., ch.35; pseudo-Kod. 231.17–238.4). Later Byz. Easter services, of Palestinian origin, are found at the end of the TRIODION and the beginning of the PENTEKOSTARION.

In Constantinople the Easter vigil began HOLY SATURDAY evening in Hagia Sophia with festive VESPERS, during which the customary three LECTIONS were expanded to a series of fifteen Old Testament readings, eight of which were always read, with the others added only if necessary to occupy the people until the BAPTISMS and anointings were finished and the procession was ready to enter. After the first lection, the patriarch went to the Great BAPTISTERY, where he blessed the waters and the oil of the catechumens and incensed around the baptismal font thrice, then anointed and baptized the *photizomenoi*. After the conferral of baptism, the patriarch led the neophytes, now vested in robes of white, to the Church of St. Peter just east of Hagia Sophia, where he administered to them the SACRAMENT of chrismation (confirmation). After all had been chrismated with *myron*, the patriarch, accompanied by twelve bishops, led the neophytes in solemn procession, to the chant of Psalm 31[32], into Hagia Sophia to join the waiting congregation for the LITURGY, which began not with the usual TRISAGION but with the baptismal TROPARION from Galatians 3:26. At this liturgy the neophytes completed their initiation by receiving COMMUNION for the first time.

LIT. G. Bertonière, *The Historical Development of the Easter Vigil* (Rome 1972). Arranz, "Les sacrements," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 60–86; 52 (1986) 145–78; 53 (1987) 59–106; 55 (1989) 33–62. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 1–77. –R.F.T.

ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS, conventional name for a group of historians whose works were dedicated to the history of the Christian church. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA was the founder

of the genre, followed by Gelasios of Caesarea, Philostorgios, Sokrates, Sozomenos, and some other writers of the 5th and 6th C. The objective of Eusebios was to show the heroic progress of Christianity from the apostolic age to the victory of the new religion; this victory was achieved primarily due to the charismatic emperor Constantine I. History acquired a providential and teleological character, the line between miracle and reality was blurred, and political history merged with the biography of the holy man. The successors of Eusebios, both orthodox and heretical, stressed the local element, the piety of saints and bishops, and native traditions. In the 6th C. Theodore Lector, in his compilation, tried to gather from his predecessors all substantial evidence concerning the development of Christianity after Constantine. Many of the works of ecclesiastical historians (e.g., Basil the Cilician, John Diakrinomenos) are lost and known only from fragments or from the *Bibliotheca* of Photios. After Theodore Lector, the genre practically disappears, and church history tended to be combined with general political history. In the 14th C. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos returned to the genre when he composed his antiquarian *Ecclesiastical History*, based on the works of earlier church historians and some hagiographical texts.

LIT. *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980). F. Winkelmann, "Rolle und Problematik der Behandlung der Kirchengeschichte in der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 66 (1984) 257–69. L.C. Ruggini, "The Ecclesiastical Histories and the Pagan Historiography," *Athenaeum* 55 (1977) 107–18. R.A. Markus, "Church History and the Early Church Historians," in *The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History* (Oxford 1975) 1–17. A. Momigliano, "Pagan and Christian Historiography in the Fourth Century AD," in *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century* (Oxford 1963) 79–99. –A.K.

ECCLESIOLOGY (ἐκκλησιολογία), a modern term to designate the study of the nature of the church. In Greek patristic literature and Byz. apologetic and dogmatic surveys, the church was never an object of systematic theological speculation. This lack of ecclesiological development, however, was not deliberate for the church was ultimately the context of all theology, the presupposition of all theological speculation. Besides, the church as a sociological phenomenon, as a visible institution with its own administrative structure and unity within the framework of the empire, was frequently the object of conciliar and imperial legislation. Texts such as the Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles, the Epanagoge with its theory of the two powers, and the canonical corpus of the Council in Trullo are in fact a rich source of information on church structure, discipline, and ecclesiological ideas. Equally, practical problems generated by canon law, such as the relationship between ecclesiastical and imperial legislation, were often the object of debate by canonists (cf. Balsamon, PG 104:981B–C).

In addition, from the 11th C. various authors dealt extensively with such issues as the prerogatives of a metropolitan and his relationship to the patriarch, right of appeal, celibacy, the functions of the patriarch as president of the synod, canonical questions raised by the Arsenite schism, and episcopal or clerical elections, depositions, ordinations, and resignations. Another essentially ecclesiological problem was of course the debate over primacy (cf. pentarchy). The church's understanding of itself as an institution did not, however, emphasize structure or juridical categories exclusively, for these, it was realized, could never adequately exhaust or define the ultimate reality of the church as a divine and earthly community.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974) 79f. –A.P.

ECLIPSES (sing. ἔκλειψις). The computation of a lunar or, even more, a solar eclipse was a difficult problem for Byz. astronomers, but one that was often tackled, it seems, just to display the astronomer's superior knowledge. Early surviving examples of eclipse computations are those by Pappos and Theon in the 4th C. and by Stephen of Alexandria in the early 7th. Thereafter, until the Palaiologan period, there survives only one eclipse computation, for 1072, in a text based on an Arabic source (A. Jones, *An Eleventh-century Manual of Arabo-Byzantine Astronomy* [Amsterdam 1987]). Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:92f), however, records how Alexios I Komnenos used a prediction of a total solar eclipse to his advantage in negotiations with the Pechenegs (K. Ferrari d'Occhieppo, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 179–84). In the late Byz. period interest in eclipse prediction revived: we have computations in the translations from

Persian and Arabic in the 1290s, in the treatises by Nikephoros GREGORAS and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA in the 1330s, a number of such computations for the years 1374–1408 executed by John ABRAMIOS and his successors, and one by Michael Chrysokokkes in 1435.

Eclipses were, of course, one of those NATURAL PHENOMENA regarded as ominous in Byz. The texts that instructed Byz. on how to interpret these omens include PTOLEMY (*Astrological Effects* 2, 5–10), HEPHAISTION OF THEBES (*Astrological Effects* 1, 20–22), JOHN LYDOS (*On Omens* 9), RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, and THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (⟨*Astrological Effects*⟩ 6–7 [=*CCAG* 8.1:266–70]) as well as chapters of astrological texts translated from Arabic such as those of Abū Maʿshar and of Aḥmad the Persian (possibly ACHMET BEN SIRIN). The eclipse that marked the CRUCIFIXION was often indicated in art by the averted heads of the SUN AND MOON.

Observations of Eclipses and Their Use for Dating Events. Reports of eclipses in Byz. documents are to be used with caution. Although astronomically verifiable, the observational locations of most recorded Byz. solar and lunar eclipses are difficult to determine because of lack of precision in the historical records that is frequently compounded by textual corruption. Following the Aristotelian tradition Byz. scholars ascribed eclipses to natural astronomical causes, but the majority of the Byz. population interpreted them as divine signs or omens. Some eclipses were therefore invented or redated to suit a particular predictive purpose such as that of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:59.4–6) foretelling the death of THEODORE II LASKARIS in 1258. As in the case of COMETS, EARTHQUAKES, and FIRES, the annual commemoration of an eclipse (such as that of 8 Aug. 891) was occasionally incorporated into the liturgical calendar (*Synax.CP* 878.9–16). The most reliably attested Byz. solar eclipses occurred on 6 June 346; 28 Aug. 360; 19 July 418; 14 Jan. 484; 29 June 512; 4 Oct. 590; 5 Nov. 644; 5 Oct. 695; 15 Aug. 760; 16 Sept. 787; 14 May 812; 8 Aug. 891; 22 Dec. 968.

SOURCE. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, et al., *Nicéphore Grégoras, Calcul de l'éclipse de soleil du 16 juillet 1330* (Amsterdam 1983).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 458–69. D.J. Schove, A. Fletcher, *Chronology of Eclipses and Comets AD 1–1000* (Dover, N.H., 1984). Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy" 136f, 156f. Idem, "The Byzantine Version of the *Toledan Tables*: The Work of George Lapithes?" *DOP* 30 (1976) 103f. H. Usener, *Ad historiam astronomiae symbola* (Bonn 1876) 25f. R.R. Newton, *Medieval Chronicles and the Rotation of the Earth* (Baltimore 1972) 515–59. –D.P., B.C., A.C.

ECLOGA (Ἐκλογὴ τῶν νόμων, lit. "selection of the laws"), a law book issued in Mar. 741 (rather than 726) by Leo III and Constantine V. The *Ecloga* presents in 18 titles the most important legal standards for everyday life, representing the first official attempt at a revival of the administration of justice after over 100 years. Among the few substantive innovations are the restrictive DIVORCE law (*Ecloga* 2.9), a regulation concerning division of war BOOTY (18), and the penal law (17). The section on penal law introduces, in addition to a great number of punishable sexual offenses, a new system of punishment by MUTILATION that echoes the offense; it is surely to this that the announced "improvement in the sense of greater clemency" in the title of the law refers, because of the extensive restriction of capital punishment.

The originality of the *Ecloga* lies above all in its form. Its concise compilation of legal material and the fact that its selection and arrangement was oriented more to the circumstances of life than to legal systems made the *Ecloga* a prototype of the Byz. legal handbook. The *Ecloga* appears to have been quickly supplemented by the *Appendix Eclogae* (ed. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, *FM* 3 [1979] 24–125), a heterogeneous collection of mainly penal law regulations. Along with the Appendix, which included the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS, the FARMER'S LAW, and the RHODIAN SEA LAW, the *Ecloga* constituted a corpus of secular law unrivaled until the end of the 9th C.

Under the Macedonian dynasty, the *Ecloga* was replaced, in a move to reappropriate Justinianic law, by the EPANAGOGE; the latter, however, remained strongly indebted in content and form to the *Ecloga*, as did the PROCHIRON, issued somewhat later, whose polemic, as Schminck has shown (*Rechtsbüchern* 64f), was directed not against the *Ecloga* but against the *Epanagoge*. The continuing popularity of the *Ecloga* is attested by the existence of numerous copies and compilations (some of southern Italian origin), the ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM and other Slavonic translations (see LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE), an Arabic adaptation (ed. S. Leder, *Die arabische Ecloga* [Frankfurt

am Main 1985]), and an Armenian translation (see LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE).

ED. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga* (Frankfurt am Main 1983). Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926). Russ. tr. E. Lipšic (Moscow 1965).
LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 16f. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht*. E. Lipšic, *Pravo i sud v Vizantii v IV–VIII vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 195–201. –L.B.

ECLOGA AUCTA, an adaptation of the ECLOGA. Designated in one MS as the "second *Eklogadion*," it probably antedates the Macedonian period. As far as can be determined from the indirect (ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA) or fragmentary transmission, the author borrowed the structure and style of the *Ecloga* and copied some of its chapters verbatim, but revised, replaced, or expanded the rest. The changes are characterized by a renewed rapprochement with Justinianic law; the MUTILATION punishments of the *Ecloga* are eliminated, with the exception of castration for sodomy (17.12b).

ED. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "Eklogadion und Ecloga privata aucta," *FM* 2 (1976) 45–86.
LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios*. –L.B.

ECLOGA BASILICORUM, a legal commentary composed in 1142 by an unknown lawyer on a selection from the BASILIKA, which existed at the time but has not been transmitted independently. The commentary was intended to cover all 60 books of the *Basilika* but actually comprises only the first ten. Its sources are chiefly the complete text of the *Basilika* with scholia, the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS, and the legal writings of the 11th C. The commentary is characterized by explanatory paraphrases, examples (*thematismoi*), short introductory explanations (*protheoriai*), and quotations of legal principles (*kanones*). Recent imperial legislation is incorporated, and concrete examples are provided, esp. for the area of court procedure. The beginning of the work, as handed down, is not original.

LIT. L. Burgmann, *Ecloga Basilicorum* (Frankfurt am Main 1988). –L.B.

ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA, a compilation of the ECLOGA and ECLOGA AUCTA. It is itself poorly transmitted, but nonetheless provides crucial evidence for the text of the *Ecloga aucta*. The *prooimion*, preserved in only one MS, shows minor, yet important, variations from the *Ecloga*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:1–47. Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Revised Manual of Roman Law* (Cambridge 1927).
LIT. D. Simon, S. Troianos, "EPA Sinaitica," *FM* 3 (1979) 168–77. F. Goria, *Tradizione romana e innovazioni bizantine nel diritto privato dell'Ecloga privata aucta: diritto matrimoniale* (Frankfurt am Main 1980). E.E. Lipšic, *Zakonodatel'stvo i jurisprudencija v Vizantii v IX–XI vv.* (Leningrad 1981) 7–42. –L.B.

ECONOMIC THEORIES. The church fathers dealt primarily with the problem of reconciling the primeval ("natural") right of all men to the riches of the earth (air, water, land, etc.), which were created by God for the whole of mankind, with the reality of an unequal distribution of riches, the existence of wealth and poverty (see POOR). The solution of the problem was both historical and moral: historically approached, the reason for inequality was ORIGINAL SIN, the moral fall of mankind; the moral solution consisted in the distinction between evil and good wealth, the latter being of honest origin and devoted to good purposes, that is, philanthropy and charity; thus ecclesiastical and monastic PROPERTY was justified. In addition, the concept of "excessive" wealth (luxury) was developed that was contrasted with a self-sufficient, modest standard of living, albeit above the level of "blessed" poverty. This accounts for the elaboration of a hierarchy of properties and PROFITS that considered landed property more noble than mercantile property, treated profits from USURY as indecent, proclaimed church property sacrosanct, provided different legal protection (e.g., PROTIMESIS) for peasant property than the property of the DYNATOI, etc.

There were no other consistent economic theories in Byz. although some attempts to understand the history and mechanism of economic forces were made. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE suggested a history of mankind not in categories of fall and salvation but as a slow material progress from savagery to civilization (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 178f). Psellos, in the vita of St. AUXENTIOS, deliberated on the laws determining the function of the market (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 550), and TZETZES formulated the idea that labor sets the price of the product (eps. 81.16–82.2). PLETHON praised protectionist policy as a powerful means to stimulate a Byz. economy suffering from the competition of Italian industry and trade.

LIT. I. Seipel, *Die wirtschaftlichen Lehren der Kirchenväter*[2] (Graz 1972). S. Giet, *Les idées et l'action sociale de S. Basile* (Paris 1941). E.F. Bruck, *Kirchenväter und soziales Erbrecht* (Berlin 1956). –A.K.

ECONOMY. The Byz. economy was based primarily on AGRICULTURE; the intensive cultivation of land was typical of the littoral areas in both the Balkans and Asia Minor, whereas in the mountainous regions a pastoral economy predominated. Urban life was also concentrated mostly along the coastline. The means of production were limited as is typical of the Middle Ages—the ERGASTERION, operated by a family (with the help of one or two laborers) and located in the same building as the living quarters, was the main site of industrial activity, larger factorylike units being reserved for state needs (mints, armories, production of luxury goods); but even the "factories" were assemblages of individual producers rather than cohesive entities. In the countryside, production was organized on small parcels of land with the help of traditional AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS requiring manual labor with only a limited use of animal power. The use of natural power resources was restricted mainly to water MILLS for grinding grain and to the AUTOMATA at imperial palaces; the mechanical "pre-revolution" of the 12th and 13th C. touched Byz. only insignificantly, and the wind mill (in evidence by 1300) appeared here later than in the West. Nevertheless, until the end of the 12th C. Byz. was considered the wealthiest country of Europe, rich in grain, wine, dairy products, clothing, and jewelry.

Transportation (see TRAVEL), like production, was limited. Poor ROADS rendered impossible overland trade of any significance, and the Byz. were mediocre sailors. The Roman domination over Mediterranean COMMERCE was weakened by the Arabs in the 7th C., and Byz. maritime activity was sharply curtailed by the growth of the Italian maritime republics from the 12th C. onward. The Byz. did not organize trading expeditions on a large scale, preferring to attract their neighbors to Constantinople, Thessalonike, or Trebizond rather than to sail ships or organize caravans to foreign centers, although some Greeks traveled to the Crimea, Egypt, and Montpellier.

A monetary economy was always a characteristic of Byz., although some fluctuations in its history can be observed: unquestionably dominant in the 4th–mid-7th C., it declined thereafter; it was then revived first in Constantinople and the littoral areas (after 800) and then inland; it was extremely active from the 11th to mid-13th C., but subsequently Byz. coins were replaced by Italian currency, as the Levantine trade was transferred to Venice and Genoa and their colonies on Byz. soil. A BARTER ECONOMY, including rents and salaries in kind, existed not only in the countryside but also in Constantinople where officials and physicians were paid for their services, in part, with grain, fodder, and clothing.

Surviving figures on the Byz. BUDGET and private wealth are not reliable; it can, however, be safely stated that Byz. aristocrats derived their incomes more from their salaries (and related revenues) than from their estates (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 152–68). Assets were expressed in terms of money rather than land. An example is the dowry of Theodora (Manuel I's niece), which consisted of 100,000 hyperpers, plus 10,000 hyperpers for wedding expenses as well as jewelry, clothing, carpets, etc., estimated at 40,000 hyperpers, whereas her husband, Baldwin III of Jerusalem, gave her as a gift the city of Acre (William of Tyre, PL 201:734AB). Contrasting with this reality is the concept of Byz. moralists (e.g., Kekaumenos) that land is the most honorable source of income. The nonmonetary wealth of Byz. aristocrats consisted of livestock as well as land. Income from trade was held in low esteem, sometimes even despised.

The state played a major role in the Byz. economy: it levied taxes on land and trade, retained the privilege of minting, possessed certain MONOPOLIES, exercised control over guilds, and owned vast lands and workshops. All these supplied the state with large revenues. At the same time, the state had enormous expenses: for the army and diplomacy; for the salaries of dignitaries; for building activity; and for various largesses for ecclesiastical institutions, officials, and the needy. The largesses either took the form of direct donations, or conferral of the right to a portion of taxes, or EXEMPTION from taxation. The concentration of resources (in money and in kind) in the state treasury and their generous distribution among officials, churches, and indigents (primarily in Constantinople) created in the capital an atmosphere conducive to the increased production of various goods (esp. objects of luxury and

religious cult) and for the marketing of grain, meat, fish, etc. Constantinopolitan MERCHANTS, unlike those of Venice and Genoa who sought distant markets and resources, were not aggressive but conservative, awaiting imports and spoiled by the constancy of state demands.

There are many blank spaces in the picture of Byz. economic development, but it can be presented tentatively as follows: the late Roman economy was evidently prosperous but based on the exploitation of the countryside by the city and of the province by the capital. By the mid-7th C. the urban economy was in decay, trade shrinking, the monetary economy contracting; on the other hand, the countryside recovered after its previous stagnation and was able to compensate for the lost provinces. In the 9th and 10th C. slow revival concentrated around Constantinople, whereas in the mid-11th–mid-13th C. it was the provincial town that benefited most and the countryside that was able to supply agricultural goods to neighboring countries. The domination of the Italian republics in the Mediterranean led to greater economic activity in Byz. territory, but Greek merchants and the Byz. state harvested only a slight portion of the growing revenues.

LIT. M. Hendy, *Studies in the Byzantine Monetary Economy* (Cambridge 1985). A. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *VizOč* (1971) 169–212. N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'Empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 49–67. P. Charanis, *Social, Economic and Political Life in the Byzantine Empire* (London 1973), pt.IV (1951), 94–153; pt.IX (1953), 412–24. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.I (1976), 42–48. A. Laiou, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System," *DOP* 34–35 (1980/81) 177–222. W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). –A.K.

ECSTASY (ἔκστασις, lit. "displacement," "a state outside one's self") designated a rapture or state beyond normal mental activity caused by deep EMOTIONS. According to the church fathers it is an "alienation" produced by the impact of fear, intoxication, sin, heretical opinions, etc. They did, however, recognize mystic ecstasy: thus METHODIOS of Olympos (*Banquet*, ch.8: PG 18:73C) speaks of Christ's ecstasy that took place after his Incarnation and Passion; Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87:173B) defines *ekstasis* as "a state beyond normal consciousness" bestowed by God in his OIKONOMIA on such favored figures as Abraham, in the course of which they received profound revelations. Adam, David, and some apostles are said to have enjoyed mystic ecstasy, which is to be distinguished from the ecstatic frenzy of false prophets. The ecstatic vision of the divine light played a significant part in the teaching of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN and later in HESYCHASM. Ecstasy, sometimes characterized as "inebriation," was usually contrasted with dreams, although it could be accompanied by VISIONS; its most typical feature was a complete disruption of the material senses so that a person could be "transported" to the supernatural world.

Ecstasy was not a canonical subject in art. Exceptionally, prophetic visions as depicted in the apse mosaic of the church of the Latomos monastery (now HOSIOS DAVID) in Thessalonike, may include awestruck witnesses, but normally rapture was a state attributed to the beholder of a picture rather than to a protagonist in it. Late depictions of the TRANSFIGURATION sometimes show the apostles blinded and bowled over by the vision of the metamorphosized Jesus. –A.K., A.C.

ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (οἰκουμενικὸς πατριάρχης). Only in the 6th C. did the term come into regular use as a courtesy title for the archbishops of Constantinople (Mansi 8:1038A, 1042D, 1058A). Patr. MENAS, for example, used it in 536 (Mansi 8:959B). By the end of the century, under JOHN IV NESTEUTES, that title was also being used in official correspondence. Finally, by the 9th C., under PHOTIOS, it entered official protocol in addressing the patriarch. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS was the first to introduce it on his seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.16).

Strictly speaking, the qualifying term denoted the superior Orthodox patriarch of the ecumenical empire of Byz., whose see was also the imperial capital. It did not mean "universal" bishop, but "superior" bishop (H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 570f). The title therefore was not intended to deprive Rome of its honorary primacy within the PENTARCHY; nor did it imply universal jurisdiction over the entire church. Still, Popes Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I THE GREAT were scandalized by it (Mansi 9:1213C–E).

LIT. S.Vailhé, "Le titre de patriarche oecuménique avant saint Grégoire le Grand," *EO* 11 (1908) 65–69. V. Laurent, "Le titre de patriarche oecuménique et la signature patriar-

cale," *REB* 6 (1948) 5–26. A. Tuilier, "Le sens de l'adjectif 'oecuménique' dans la tradition patristique et dans la tradition byzantine," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 86 (1964) 260–71. –A.P.

EDESSA (Ἔδεσσα, mod. Urfa in Turkey), capital of the province of OSRHOENE until it was lost to the Arabs ca.640; it remained an important Christian and commercial center in the Islamic world until at least the 13th C. Situated in the Mesopotamian plain, Edessa is dominated on the south by a high rock and crossed by the Daisan River. Little remains of late Roman Edessa apart from sections of Justinian I's circuit walls, the *temenos* walls of the present Great Mosque (which stands beside what was probably the north-south *cardo*), traces of various structures on the acropolis, and rock-cut tombs. Local written sources, however, supply concrete details concerning the period.

Edessa was christianized in the 2nd C. when its king, Abgar IX (179–216), accepted the faith. The event was recorded in various legendary accounts that attribute the conversion of the king, identified by Eusebios as Abgar V the Black (4 B.C.–A.D. 7, then 13–50), to a correspondence with Christ, who sent him the MANDYLION. The text of the letter was inscribed as a talisman above the city gates and the Mandylion came to be displayed in the cathedral. Christianity at Edessa was eventually represented by four groups (Monophysites, Nestorians, Chalcedonians, Maronites). Church building is recorded in the CHRONICLE OF EDESSA (of ca.540): a cathedral (312/13–23); its baptistery (369/70); and at least seven other churches (345–471), including that of the Apostle Thomas, visited by EGERIA. Altogether 30 churches are known by name. Bishops and governors provided charitable and civic amenities between 458 and 505: infirmary, towers, bridges, circuit walls, aqueducts, baths, praetorium. Eulogios also provided 6,800 *xestai* of oil to light public porticoes. Following a flood Justinian rerouted the Daisan River and rebuilt the damaged southern part of the city, including the Cathedral of St. Sophia and the Antiphoros, the latter being, apparently, an open space in front of a forum. In 578–603 Bp. Severos erected porticoes and "numerous constructions" (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle* 2:373).

Edessa was a literary and intellectual center of Syriac culture, whose writers included the theologians APHRAHAT, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, and RABBULA of Edessa as well as JOSHUA THE STYLITE and DIONYSIOS OF TELL-MAḤRĒ. The theological school, founded in 363 by immigrants from Nisibis, was closed in the 5th C. for Nestorian bias; it was subsequently refounded at Nisibis.

During the 6th-C. Persian military campaigns, Edessa remained a rich, impregnable city. When it finally fell under Persian control from 602 to 628, it supplied Chosroes II with 120,000 pounds of silver, much of it from the furniture revetments of St. Sophia and the city's wealthy inhabitants. Herakleios resided there after his victory over the Persians in 628. Conquered soon thereafter by the Arabs, Edessa was recovered in 944 by the Byz., who removed the Mandylion to Constantinople. The city fell to the Crusaders in 1098. The local CHRONICLE OF 1234 records the conquest of Zengi in 1146 as particularly devastating, as was undoubtedly that of the Mongols. (For Edessa in Macedonia, see VODENA.)

LIT. J.B. Segal, *Edessa, the Blessed City* (Oxford 1970). H. Leclaine, "Crises économiques à Edessa (494–506) d'après la chronique du pseudo-Josué le Stylite," *Pallas* 27 (1980) 89–100. V.P. Stepanenko, "Iščhany Edessy i vnešnepolitičeskaja orientacija goroda v 70-ch godach XI–načale XII v.," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 87–94. –M.M.M.

EDESSA, COUNTY OF. The first Crusader state in Syria, the county included Edessa and Saruj east of the Euphrates, and Tell Bashir, Kesoun, and other towns west of it. In 1097 Baldwin of Boulogne was invited by the Armenians of Edessa to aid them; their lord Thoros adopted Baldwin. Thoros was soon murdered by his own people (A.A. Beaumont in *The Crusades and Other Historical Essays Presented to Dana C. Munro* [New York 1928] 104–12), and Baldwin became count. Armenians constituted a large part of the county's inhabitants. The Byz. never yielded their claim to Edessa, but it was too remote for them to exercise authority. After ZANGI took Edessa, the area west of the Euphrates was preserved. In 1150, following the capture of Count Joscelin II, Countess Beatrice sold Tell Bashir, Aintab, Duluk, and a few other fortresses to Manuel I, who agreed to garrison them and pay Beatrice and her children a life-income. The Byz. troops, however, proved insufficient, and in 1151 NŪR AL-DĪN easily seized these places.

LIT. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn* (Damascus 1967) 2:457–62. –C.M.B.

EDICT OF MILAN, the name given by modern scholars to the first decree granting toleration to Christianity, supposedly issued by CONSTANTINE I and LICINIUS as a result of a meeting in Milan in 313. The text of the edict, given by Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 10.5.2–14) and Lactantius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 48.2–12), grants religious freedom to both Christians and non-Christians and orders the return of confiscated church property. The authenticity of the edict was called into question by O. Seeck (*ZKirch* 12 [1891] 381) who pointed out that, according to Lactantius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 34; cf. Eusebios, *HE* 8.17.3–10), Galerius had issued a similar edict of toleration in 311. Others (e.g., Christensen, *infra*) have more recently argued that the originator of the edict was Licinius and that he was following in the tradition established by Galerius. Both Constantine (in 306) and even MAXENTIUS (in 311) had declared toleration prior to 313 and the whole concept of the "Edict of Milan" should probably be discarded. Nevertheless, the question continues to be debated (see M. Anastos, *REB* 25 [1967] 13–41).

LIT. T. Christensen, "The So-Called Edict of Milan," *ClMed* 35 (1984) 129–75. –T.E.G.

EDICTUM (ἤδικτον), edict, term used for general laws following Roman tradition. *Edicta* were usually addressed to groups (all the emperor's subjects or the inhabitants of a region or the members of a profession), but some were addressed to individuals (top officials, lay or ecclesiastic); they were usually signed by the emperor and countersigned by the QUAESTOR. The *edictum* differed from the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA (*pragmatikos typos*) in that the latter was used for special laws, with general application but issued in response to a private request. With increasing frequency, laws were called *novellae* (*constitutiones*; see NOVELS), *nearai* (*nomothesiai*), or *sakrai* (from *sacra lex*). From the end of the 11th C. onward legislation was promulgated more and more in the form of a CHRYSOBULL or a PROSTAGMA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 71–84. –N.O.

EDIRNE. See ADRIANOPLE.

EDUCATION (παιδεία) in Byz. was based on two contradictory principles: Greco-Roman tradition and Christian faith. Christianity, in its extreme, rejected ancient civilization as permeated by false mythology, permissive and cruel morality, and a deceptive image of the world and its history; being a "religion of the Book," however, it required of its followers an elementary aptitude for reading (see LITERACY) and the memorization of essential texts. The resolution of this contradiction was to maintain traditional educational methods and to make pagan literature acceptable by allegorical interpretation, by alleging derivation from Old Testament sources, by discerning in it a foreshadowing of Christianity, or by concentrating on the form while rejecting the content. Egyptian exercise books of the 4th–7th C. still contained mythological names and traditional maxims and anecdotes used for teaching reading and writing. Children in SCHOOLS continued to be given the "venom" of Homer and the poets to develop their knowledge of language, while their home upbringing was supposed to supply them with an "antidote" of moral precepts.

The 7th C. was a watershed in the development of education. By that time the tertiary schools (universities) had disappeared, and even secondary schools (those of grammar) became rare. In the 9th C. the young CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER was unable to find a GRAMMATIKOS in Thessalonike. The scholarly curiosity of youth had to be content with private TEACHERS, in the form of individual teacher-STUDENT connections, as was the case with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN who found on Andros a "wise man" to teach him rhetoric, philosophy, and arithmetic. The vast majority of those who overcame illiteracy acquired only the rudimentary skills of reading and writing with the help of parents and local literate men. Thus JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, who was born to a well-to-do family, was taught by his parents; there is no mention in his vita of a professional teacher or of Joseph's going to school. NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS was educated by his parents and continued his studies, from the age of ten, in the Stoudios monastery. These two examples may be atypical, however, and should be used with caution, since Joseph was born in Sicily and became a refugee in the Peloponnesos, while Nicholas was destined to be a monk. Other saints' vitae on occasion mention teachers (*didaskaloi*) to whom children were sent to learn *hiera grammata*, the act of reading. The vita of THEODORE OF EDESSA, which

describes the saint's education by a sophist Sophronios whom the Edessenes had as a "common teacher" and who taught the boy grammar, rhetoric, and philosophy, is exceptional for 9th-C. saints; in reality it is a later hagiographic "romance" of the 10th C., reflecting the situation of the subsequent period.

This shift occurred in mid-9th-C. Constantinople when Caesar BARDAS organized the MAGNAURA school to revive the "external [secular] wisdom" that had been neglected by previous generations "which wallowed in boorishness and illiteracy" (*TheophCont* 185.2–5). Leo the Mathematician, the head of the school, taught philosophy, while his student Theodore instructed in mathematics, Theodegios in astronomy, and Kometas in grammar. This school was revived or refounded by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 446.1–22). Two sources provide insights into school life of the 10th C.—the vita of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, who started as a popular teacher in Constantinople, and the correspondence of the anonymous teacher (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS). Secondary education, under control of the state, was concentrated in Constantinople and was organized on the private basis of teacher-student relations. It had as its major goal the formation of the higher echelon of functionaries. The main subject of teaching was GRAMMAR (with elements of eloquence and philosophy); students also studied the dead language of the ancient classics. The subject matter for training was Homer, Aelian, Demosthenes, etc., with the Bible added to this classical heritage. EPIMERISMS to the Psalms from the school of George CHOIROBOSKOS served as a textbook.

The 11th and 12th C. marked a new level in the development of Byz. education. An attempt was made to reintroduce the tertiary school, the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Other educational institutions were also active in the capital, including the school at the Church of the Holy Apostles described in detail by Nicholas MESARITES, where the classes combined students of various ages, from children learning to count on their fingers to medical doctors discussing the pulse. The PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL was created, the new SCHEDOGRAPHIA was applied as a method to enhance independence of thought, and competitions of students took place. The greatest intellectuals of the time were involved in education, including John MAUROPOUS, Michael PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Unlike Western universities, however, the Byz. school of the 11th–12th C. was not granted legal independence; it functioned under the sway of the state, its main figures (NOMOPHYLAX, MAISTOR TON RHETORON, HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON) being institutionally imperial officials. Moreover, from the end of the 11th C. onward the church was acquiring institutional impact on education.

The fall of Constantinople in 1204 was a heavy blow to education, which had been concentrated in the capital. An attempt to found a Latin university in Constantinople was stillborn. In the Greek-controlled territories of the splintered empire there seem to have been no formal academic institutions, but only individual teachers who attracted small groups of devoted followers; thus the young Nikephoros BLEMMYDES wandered from one teacher to another, via Nicaea, Smyrna, and Skamandros. He established a school with five students at the monastery of Gregory Thaumatourgos in Ephesus. After the recapture of Constantinople in 1261 Michael VIII founded a "school of philosophy" headed by George AKROPOLITES. The school of Maximos PLANOUDES in Constantinople ca.1300 was linked with a monastery, although it was also supported by imperial grants (*siteresia*). Nikephoros GREGORAS had his school in his room (*oikiskos*) in the Chora monastery. All these private schools concentrated on grammar, even though time and again the disciplines of the QUADRIVIUM are proudly mentioned. Much information on education in the 14th and 15th C. is contained in the letters and other writings of Theodore HYRTAKENOS, George LEKAPENOS, and John CHORTASMENOS. The last evidence on Byz. schools is the correspondence of 1453 (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 122), which mentions a school in Adrianople administered by a *didaskalos* and his young assistant. It was under the patronage of the local judge and was probably attached to his house.

LIT. G. Buckler, "Byzantine Education," in *Byzantium*, ed. N. Baynes, H. Moss (Oxford 1948) 200–20. R. Guilland, "La vie scolaire à Byzance," *BullBudé*[3] 1 (1953) 63–83. A. Moffatt, "Schooling in the Iconoclast Centuries," in *Iconoclasm* 85–92. K. Gaik, "Die christliche Pädagogik der Kirchenväter und ihre erziehungsphilosophischen Grundlagen" (Ph.D. diss., Pädagogische Hochschule Rheinland, 1978). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 121–33. C. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries* (Nicosia 1982). Lemerle, *Humanism* 281–308.

–A.K., R.B.

EGERIA (4th C.), a wealthy nun from the western Mediterranean or a land on the Atlantic coast (Aquitaine? Galicia?) who left a detailed account (approximately one-third extant) of her journey to the Holy Land in 381–84. The earliest graphic account of Christian pilgrimage to survive, her *Travels* records observations and responses to a variety of LOCA SANCTA in Palestine, Syria, and Egypt. Included are elements of the natural terrain (e.g., trees "planted by the patriarchs"), humble tombs and houses traditionally associated with heroes of the Old and New Testaments, churches that had been recently built by Constantine I, holy men (esp. in Egypt), and the local religious community and liturgy (particularly in Jerusalem). Indeed, her account is most valuable for what it reveals of the topography, piety, and esp. the liturgy of the Holy Land as pilgrimage was acquiring its distinctive Christian character and a rapidly increasing number of participants.

ED. *Egérie, Journal de voyage*, ed. P. Maraval (Paris 1982), with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*^{2} (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). –G.V.

EGNATIA, VIA, Roman military road running across the Balkan peninsula, built in the second half of the 2nd C. B.C. It had two starting points on the Adriatic: Apollonia and Dyrrhachion. Thence it passed by Lychnidos (Ohrid), Herakleia Lynkestis (near Bitola), Edessa, Pella, and reached the Aegean Sea at Thessalonike. It then cut across the base of the Chalkidike peninsula to Amphipolis and Philippi and originally terminated at Kypsela on the Hebros (Marica). Its extension to BYZANTION appears not to have borne the name of Egnatia. From the Hebros the road went to Herakleia (Perinthos, Marmara Ereğlisi), then (before Constantine I) struck inland to avoid the lagoons of Athyras (Büyük Çekmece) and Rhegion (Küçük Çekmece), passing through Kainophrourion (Kurfalı?) and Melantias (Yarım Burgaz?); it reached Byzantion at the gate of Melantias. By ca.330 the stretch from Herakleia to Byzantion was shifted to the coast and made to pass by Selymbria, Athyras, Rhegion, and what was to become the suburb of HEBDOMON before terminating at the GOLDEN GATE of Constantinople.

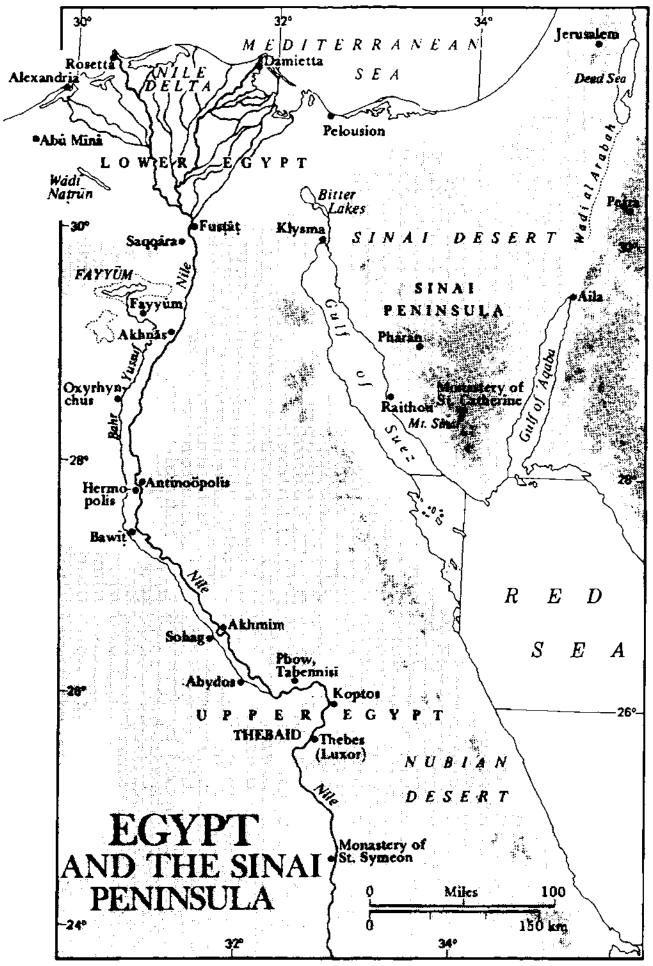
A number of MILESTONES have been discovered, some of them post-Constantinian in date. The last epigraphically attested evidence of upkeep is of the reign of Valentinian and Valens (364–75), but PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (*Buildings* 4.8.5) records that the stretch between Hebdomon and Rhegion was first paved by Justinian I. Whatever its physical condition, the Egnatia remained a major route of overland communication for much of the Middle Ages.

LIT. N.G.L. Hammond, *A History of Macedonia* (Oxford 1972) 1:19–58. Idem, "The Western Part of the Via Egnatia," *JRS* 64 (1974) 185–94. P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la Via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976) 177–200. L. Gounaropoulou, M.B. Hatzopoulos, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985). –C.M.

EGYPT. As a province of the late Roman Empire, Egypt was simultaneously the principal source of the vital grain supply and the seedbed of a flourishing and original culture. Thoroughly reorganized by the reforms of Diocletian, the region was divided into six provinces for most of the period—Aegyptus I and II, Augustamnica, Arcadia, and THEBAID I and II—and integrated into the fabric of the empire. The 4th C. was a time of radical and profound change. The old Roman metropolis with its administrative division called a nome (the *chora*) became a *civitas* plus its *territorium*; the hinterland was made up of rural administrative districts (*pagi*) presided over by *praepositi* who took the place of the old *strategoi*. The taxation system was completely reworked according to principles of abstract productive units and collective responsibility. The workability of the liturgy system, which compulsorily assigned civic and administrative functions to members of the town councils and the decurion class, was shored up by ties to the central authority. The governor of Egypt was the AUGOUSTALIOS, with *duces* and *praesides* under him in the provinces. By 382 Egypt constituted a diocese of its own with its capital at ALEXANDRIA.

After the Great Persecution in 303, the Christian Church became a prime originator and carrier of culture in Egypt. The COPTIC LANGUAGE emerged alongside Greek in the Bible and church services and eventually in record-keeping and public documentation; native Egyptian thinkers and writers were in the vanguard of thought in philosophy, theology, and belles-lettres. The monastic movement, beginning with ANTONY THE GREAT and PACHOMIOS, captured the imagination and channeled much of the best talent of Egyptian society.

The 5th C., less well documented, saw a further transformation from the mobile world of post-Constantinian society to a new pattern of greater stability. The CODEX THEODOSIANUS already reflects the growth of patronage and of attachment to one's *idia* (Lat. *origo*, "place of origin"), which was to shape late antique Egypt. The fixed land-tax (*demosios*) payable in money did away with the older differentiated categories of land. The growth of the large estate (OIKOS) and the privilege of independent tax collection (*autoprageia*) are difficult to trace in the extant sources, but it may be assumed that they were substantial and their effects favored locally based productivity. The large monasteries became great landowners, encouraging both economic and literary output. The increasing centralized power of the patriarchate of ALEXANDRIA, under such bishops as CYRIL and the monastic leadership of SHENOUTE, encouraged Egyptian ecclesiastical independence prior to the Council of Chalcedon (451). Open controversy over what constituted authentic patriarchal authority and succession produced polemical literature, liturgical experimentation, and the beginnings of a self-defining Egyptian Christian hagiography, esp. monastic biography. The first effort to compose a history of the Egyptian church in Coptic also occurred in the later 5th C. Egyptian poets traveled widely (see POETS, WANDERING), serving as court officials and envoys; NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS reshaped the late Greek epic and told the Gospel story in hexameters.



EGYPT AND THE SINAI PENINSULA

The tax reforms of Anastasios I (before 518) and the thorough reorganization of Egypt by Justinian I's Edict 13 (probably 538/9) together restructured and centralized the administration and its bureaucracy. The *doux* of each province held both civil and military power, and local tax collection was managed by pagarchs, officials of the notable class who succeeded to the functions of the old decurions. The large landowners of each area grouped together as *syntelestai* to look after their interests and maintain the rights of their tenants. The estates of these proprietors functioned in a quasi-public manner: the rent (*phoros*) payable to an estate's central office came to function as a tax revenue, while the tenants of an estate performed jobs equivalent to compulsory services (*leitourgeiai*). The *embole* or annual grain shipment to Constantinople was maintained using vessels belonging to both magnates and monasteries. Financial records were extremely thorough, as the abundant surviving papyri attest. By the 6th C. Egypt possessed a rich local culture that integrated with striking success classical pagan learning and a strong locally based Christianity. Comparative prosperity encouraged a flowering of the visual arts, esp. sculpture and textiles (see COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE), and an active literary life in both Greek and Coptic, producing works ranging from encomiastic poetry to philosophy, theology, homilies, and saints' Lives. Coptic jurisprudence also came into its own.

The successors of Justinian developed varying economic and religious policies for Egypt. Under Maurice all official documents had to begin with a Christian invocation. Abundant papyrus documentation in both Greek and Coptic attests to the continuing vitality of economic and social institutions; the numerous papyrus codices of classical

and patristic literature produced in the later 6th–early 7th C. illustrate the ongoing currents of Egyptian cultural life. Coptic visual art continued to flourish. Herakleios's revolt against Phokas led to his taking control of Egypt ca.609. During his reign the Persians occupied Egypt between 618/19 and 628/9, leaving behind papyrus documents in Pahlavi. Herakleios's appointee to the Chalcedonian patriarchate, KYROS "the Caucasian," also discharged civil functions. Both BENJAMIN I, the non-Chalcedonian patriarch, and the influential Upper Egyptian bishop Pesynthios of Coptos lived to be eyewitnesses of the Arab conquest, as did the monastic founder Samuel of Qalamun and the chronicler JOHN OF NIKIU. The political takeover of Egypt by a Muslim military force proceeded piecemeal (640–42). Historians still have not satisfactorily explained the reasons for its success. Most of the late antique administrative structure remained in place for about a hundred years, but after ca.800 the old culture began to die.

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 1–90. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen, Netherlands, 1978). R.S. Bagnall, *Currency and Inflation in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Decatur, Ga., 1985). Idem, "Late Roman Egypt," *DMA* 10:453–56. *The Roots of Egyptian Christianity*, ed. B. Pearson, J. Goehring (Philadelphia 1986). A. Bowman, *Egypt after the Pharaohs* (Berkeley 1986). –L.S.B.MacC.

EIDIKON (εἰδικόν), imperial treasury and storehouse. The etymology of the word is disputed; Guilland supported the view that it originates from *idikos*, "private," whereas Bury (*Adm. System* 98) flatly rejects this derivation and E. Stein (*Studien* 149) connects the term with the word *eidos*, "ware." Accordingly, it remains uncertain whether the *eidikon* was the emperor's private treasury, that is, the successor to the department of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM, or a special state treasury that had no connection with the emperor's *patrimonium*.

The first mention of the *eidikon* is in the 9th C., from the reign of Theophilos; Laurent's assertion (*infra* 305) that the institution was autonomous from the 7th C. is not supported by any evidence. The *eidikon* was a storehouse of precious goods, such as gold and silk as well as various materials for the needs of the army and the navy, and Arab dress for spies. The *eidikon* functioned as a state treasury; one of its responsibilities was the payment of ROGAI to senators. The head of the *eidikon* was called *eidikos* (variants *idikos* and *edikos*) or *epi tou eidikou*, and from the 11th C. *logothetes tou eidikou*. In addition to regular notaries, his staff included ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION and directors of the ARMAMENTON and of the warehouses in the Great Palace. The *sekreton* of the *logothetes tou eidikou* was still functioning in 1081 (*Lavra* 1, no.43.65), and *eidika* (in the plural) are mentioned in a formula of exemption in 1086 (*Lavra* 1, no.48.50). Thereafter the department seems to have been abolished; Guilland suggests that it was replaced by the *logothesion* of the OIKEIAKOI.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 85–95. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:304–52. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35–38. Oikonomides, *Listes* 316–18. –A.K.

EILITON (εἰλητόν, lit. "wound, wrapped"), a cloth spread over the top of the ALTAR for setting the eucharistic elements, the Byz. equivalent of the Latin corporal. *Eilita* were of linen (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:317B) and possibly silk. In the post-Byz. period their function was superseded by the ANTIMENSION. As with other altar cloths, such as the ENDYTE, the *eilita* were given symbolic significance in liturgical commentaries, esp. as the winding sheets of Christ (e.g., pseudo-Sophronios in PG 87:3985B). No Byz. *eiliton* has survived. Although it is generally believed that *eilita* were unadorned, they may, in fact, have had decoration: several painted representations of altar-tables show the eucharistic vessels placed over *eilita*-like covers decorated with corner GAMMATA, for example, the Melchizedek and Abel mosaic in S. Vitale, Ravenna, and the Communion of the Apostles mosaic in St. Sophia, Kiev.

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–10. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 326–30. –A.G.

EISAGOGE. See EPANAGOGE.

EJMIACIN. See VAŁARŠAPAT.

EKDIKOS. See PROTEKDIKOS.

EKDOSIS (ἔκδοσις, "issuing, publication"), or *editio* (Lat.), recension of the text of a work of literature made available by the author or by an editor for copying. First used by Alexandrian scholars to

denote a recension of the text of Homer, in Byz. usage *ekdosis* often denotes a particular version of a text believed to have been approved by the author. Thus PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.77) owned copies of two *ekdoseis* of the *History* of EUNAPIOS and the first *ekdosis* of the Atticist lexicon of Ailios Dionysios (*Bibl.* cod.152). The *Breviarium* of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the *History* of Niketas CHONIATES survive in two variant recensions that are possibly the work of the author. Sometimes successive *ekdoseis* of a text have become amalgamated in the MS tradition and can be reconstructed only in part by textual criticism, as is the case with the *Ecclesiastical History* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Early versions of official texts were sometimes suppressed and replaced by later versions; thus the first version of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, issued in 528, but lost, is known only from the preface to the second *editio*, published *ex repetita praelectione* (*De emendatione Codicis Iustiniani,* par.4). The term *ekdosis* is sometimes used in the Palaiologan period for a version of a classical text—most often a play—accompanied by marginal notes and other explanatory matter and prepared by a scholar for teaching purposes. It also sometimes denotes a collection of the letters or speeches of a Byz. writer, often in chronological order, as in the case of Michael CHONIATES, and prepared by the author himself or by a friend or pupil. In antiquity and the Middle Ages there is nothing corresponding to an "edition" of a printed book. Handwritten books are never entirely uniform.

LIT. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Florence 1952) 187–393. H.-G. Beck, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur," in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur* (Zurich 1961; rp. Munich 1978) 1:423–510. –R.B.

EKKLESIA (Ἐκκλησία), PERSONIFICATION of the Church. Ekklesia usually occurs in liturgical contexts and more rarely in Byz. than in the medieval West. Patristic exegesis made a protean figure of Ekklesia, recognizing her in the figures of Eve, Susanna, and other biblical heroines. She appears in these guises in wall painting and on sarcophagi of the 4th and 5th C. At BAWĪT, Ekklesia is represented as a crowned and richly dressed woman. The Early Christian distinction between the *ecclesia ex circumcisione* and the *ecclesia ex gentibus*, symbolized by the cities of Jerusalem and Bethlehem, was not preserved. Nonetheless, Ekklesia is often paired with Synagogue, each portrayed as a draped woman. In monumental painting and in illustrated Gospel books and homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.94), Ekklesia and Synagogue are present at the CRUCIFIXION, where Ekklesia is shown catching Christ's blood in a chalice. This motif survives in monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., esp. in Serbia and on Mt. Athos (Millet, *Athos*, pls. 12.3, 69.2). Another version, found at Kastoria, in which Ekklesia is led toward a church by one angel while another drives Synagogue from the scene, has been interpreted as an expression of local anti-Semitism (A.W. Epstein, *Gesta* 21 [1982] 26–28).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:30–33. M.-L. Thérel, *Les symboles de l'"Ecclesia" dans la création iconographique de l'art chrétien du IIIe au VIe siècles* (Rome 1973). Orlandos, *Patmos* 213–15. –A.C.

EKKLESIARCHES (ἐκκλησιάρχης, fem. ἐκκλησιάρχισσα), sacristan, a church official who was responsible for setting out the liturgical books, sacred vessels, eucharistic wine and bread, and for providing the appropriate number of candles and lamps for LIGHTING of the church. In monasteries, the *ekklesiarches* was one of the leading officials, appointed by the superior. At the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY in Constantinople, the *ekklesiarchissa*, together with the OIKONOMOS, was second only to the superior; at LIPS, however, she was subordinate to the *skeuophylakissa* (see SKEUOPHYLAX). The *ekklesiarches* not only prepared the church for services, but led the monks or nuns in the singing of the offices, making sure that they knelt or stood at the proper moment, made responses correctly, and that no sections of the office were omitted or recited in wrong order. The *ekklesiarches* also maintained proper discipline among the monks or nuns. The *typikon* of Bebaias Elpidos (pp.45.19–47.31) states that the *ekklesiarchissa* should be a good singer who is very familiar with the liturgy, esp. since she is responsible for the instruction of novices in the chanting of the office. The *ekklesiarches* at the PETRITZOS monastery (Typikon, ed. Gautier, p.69.827–30) received an annual stipend of 20 nomismata.

LIT. Arranz, *Typicon* 396f. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 280. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 285–88. –A.M.T.

EKPHRASIS (ἔκφρασις), a formal description. Well known in ancient literature, description received its formal definition in the RHETORIC of the Roman Empire: the textbooks considered an *ekphrasis* as a descriptive speech (*logos*) whose goal was to make the subject visible; HERMOGENES lists as subjects of *ekphraseis* persons, places, periods of time, actions, and feasts. NICHOLAS OF MYRA adds to this list works of art. The theoreticians of rhetoric perceived the *ekphrasis* as a kind of PROGYMNASMA, but in practice the *ekphrasis* was essential to many major genres (epic, historiography, romance, hagiography, etc.) or existed as a separate unit in prose (*ekphrasis* proper) or verse (EPIGRAM). While persons and actions became in practice the subject of other rhetorical genres, primarily PANEGYRICS, *ekphraseis* focused on the description of works of art, mainly buildings, either secular (e.g., by PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS, Constantine MANASSES) or sacred (by GREGORY OF NYSSA, PAUL SILENTIARIOS, Nicholas MESARITES); epigrams often dealt with minor artifacts. *Ekphraseis* of cities were typical of the earlier period (e.g., LIBANIOS on Antioch), disappeared for a long time, but were revived in the 13th–15th C. by THEODORE II LASKARIS, Theodore METOCHITES, BESSARION, and John EUGENIKOS. *Ekphraseis* of religious feasts were common, often inserted in a SERMON. Rhetoricians also produced descriptions of everyday objects: GARDENS (usually embedded in a romance), hunting scenes (Constantine Manasses, Constantine PANTECHNES), and fairs (TIMARION). Even parodical and critical *ekphraseis* are known: SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN describes the silly behavior of the lazy merchant at a fair, and Gregory ANTIOCHOS the shabbiness of Serdica.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, *RBK* 2:33–75. G. Downey, *RAC* 4:921–44. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:170–88. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 22–52. B.D. Hebert, *Spätantike Beschreibung von Kunstwerken* (Graz 1983). D. Pallas, "Les 'ekphraseis' de Marc et de Jean Eugenikos," *Byzantion* 52 (1982) 357–74. –A.K., E.M.J.

EK PROSOPOU (ἐκ προσώπου), a generic term for deputy or representative, similar to ANTIPROSOPON. The *Taktika of Leo VI* (ch.4.7, PG 107:701C) applies this term to the STRATEGOS as imperial legate; Basil BOIOANNES, *strategos* and *katepano* of Italy, calls himself *ek prosopou* in a document of 1023 (Guillou, *Byz. Italy,* pt.VII [1961], 28.30–31). Various functionaries, even metropolitans, had *ek prosopou* as deputies. In the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C. the *ek prosopou* occupied a place lower than *strategos* and was considered a temporary representative of the *strategos, katepano,* or *kleisourarches.* Ahrweiler (*infra*) hypothesizes that the *ek prosopou* had primarily fiscal functions but the evidence is not clear. Kekaumenos (Kek. 196.20) forms a noun *ekprosopike* for the district under an *ek prosopou* and states that it, along with *archontia,* could be a risky source of income; the *ek prosopou* of various themes (Anatolikon, Boukellarion, etc.) and regions (Athens, Philippopolis, etc.) are named on seals. In the 11th C. the *asekretis* Michael served as *ek prosopou* of [the *logothetes*] *ton agelon* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.845). The term probably disappeared after the 12th C., but in a document of 1214 (?) an obscure tax, *ekprosopikion,* is listed after KANISKION (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.23.9; cf. no.36.13).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 41f. Bury, *Adm. System* 46f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 305f. M. Mitard, "Études sur le règne de Léon VI," *BZ* 12 (1903) 592–94. –A.K.

EKTHESIS (Ἔκθεσις, "statement of faith"), the formula issued by Emp. Herakleios at the end of 638 in an attempt to reconcile Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES by supporting MONOTHELETISM. The text of the *Ekthesis,* which was written by Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople, attempted to end disputes concerning MONOENERGISM by forbidding a discussion of the energy in the person of Christ, while asserting that the two natures of Christ were joined by a single will (see FREE WILL). The formula "one will" had been proposed by Pope Honorius I (625–38) in a letter to Sergios. Although the *Ekthesis* was accepted by local councils in Constantinople in 638 and 639, Herakleios soon realized the futility of his conciliatory attempt and did not press the issue. Constans II withdrew the *Ekthesis,* replacing it with the *Typos* (see TYPOS OF CONSTANS II) in 648. The *Ekthesis* was condemned at the Third Council of Constantinople in 680 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. Mansi 10:991–98.
LIT. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme," *EO* 29 (1930) 16–28. –T.E.G.

EKTHESIS NEA (lit. "new setting out"), the only known Byz. CHANCERY handbook, dated 1 Sept.

1386. Preserved in many MSS, it concerns letters (PITTAKIA), mainly those written by ecclesiastics. Though not a true FORMULARY, it lists opening (and eventually concluding) formulas used by the patriarch of Constantinople in letters addressed to other patriarchs, autocephalous archbishops and suffragan metropolitans and archbishops; opening formulas used by the patriarch and by metropolitans when writing to other ecclesiastics and to lay rulers; presentation of the patriarchal *pittakia*; opening formulas for all kinds of letters of laymen and of ecclesiastics (only in MS Sinai gr. 1609); and transfers and promotions of bishops (ceremonies, documentary formulas). The *Ekthesis Nea* is interesting for the political and social ideologies reflected in the formulas and for the unique insights it provides into the patriarchal chancery's secret methods of preventing or discovering FORGERIES: the usage or lack of a seal, the kind and placement of the seal, the format in which the letter was folded, and the formulation and placement of the address all had to be combined according to strict, complicated, and secret rules in order to guarantee the authenticity of the document.

ED. AND LIT. Darrouzès, "Ekthesis Nea." –N.O.

ELATIKON (ἐλατικόν, probable etymology, "for marching"), an accessory tax mentioned in several documents of the 11th C. (e.g., *Ivir.*, no.30.33; *Lavra* 1, no.39.7; *Pantel.*, no.3.30), always in connection with SYNETHEIA. According to a treatise on TAXATION (ed. Dölger 122.21–22), *synetheia* was collected for the DIOIKETAI (an act of 1047 speaks of the *synetheia* of the *dioiketes* and of *elatikon* [*Ivir.*, no.29.96]), whereas *elatikon* was received by *taxeotai* (probably the subalterns of the *dioiketai*), whose functions are not known. A novel of Alexios I, the so-called *Palaia logarike* (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA), states that *elatikon* is collected by the GENIKON and transferred to officials called SEKRETIKOI (Zepos, *Jus* 1:332.20–23). An act of 1098 directs that *synetheia* and *elatikon*, as well as another secondary tax, *dikeratoexaphollon*, be paid to the owner or partial owner of the village (or of its part), Maria Basilakina (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.13–14). *Elatikon* was calculated as a certain part of the main tax, and the total of *synetheia* and *elatikon* from a single estate should not rise above 10 nomismata (Zepos, *Jus* 1:333.41–43).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 82f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 90. –A.K.

ELECTRUM. See COINS.

ELEGMOI MONASTERY. See HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY.

ELEOUSA MONASTERY. See VELJUSA MONASTERY.

ELEPHANTS (sing. ἐλέφας). The Byz. knew both the African and Indian elephant; KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (3:353–54) distinguished between the Indians, who domesticated the elephant, and the Africans, who hunted them. Byz. armies frequently encountered war elephants during the Persian Wars (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.1.11; Agath. 110.8–11, 119.4–8). In the early 7th C. Herakleios made a triumphal entrance into Constantinople in a chariot drawn by four elephants that were exhibited in the circus and the Hippodrome (Nikeph. 22.20). By that time, however, the elephant was not widely used for warfare. The author of the *Anonymous Treatise on Strategy* (6th C. or later) did not discuss fighting with elephants because he considered their use obsolete (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 44.20–21).

Their appearance in the empire was a rare sight. MARCELLINUS COMES reported the arrival of an elephant in Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I (*MGH AuctAnt* XI.2.94, 33–34), while JOHN OF EPHESUS (3.2.48, 3.6.10) described the "pious" behavior of several such beasts in the Hippodrome under Justinian I, perhaps booty from the Persian War. Constantine IX Monomachos obtained an elephant and a giraffe for his zoo in Constantinople (see ANIMALS). In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON (106.943) the elephant is mocked because his legs lack joints. The PHYSIOLOGOS (128–33), however, portrays the elephant as a sacred animal whose characteristics and habits symbolize man's fall and salvation. As the source of IVORY, its tusks were always prized; esp. large examples are shown among the offerings to an emperor on the BARBERINI IVORY.

Statues of elephants stood in public places in Constantinople (*Parastaseis* 80.18–19, 98.9–13). In most surviving mosaic representations the ge-

nus is indeterminate, but the peristyle mosaic at the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople clearly depicts both an African and an Indian elephant, one attendant upon DIONYSOS, the other engaged in an ANIMAL COMBAT. An African elephant is depicted with some verisimilitude in the Venice MS of the *Kynegetika* (see OPPIAN), fol.36r; others, much more fantastic, occur among the fauna that adorn the frames of CANON TABLES.

LIT. A. Cutler, "The Elephants in the Great Palace Mosaic," *Bulletin de l'Association Internationale pour l'Étude de la Mosaïque Ancienne* 10 (1985) 125–38. –Ap.K., A.C.

ELESBOAM (Ἐλεσβόας, Ἑλλησθεαῖος), also called Kaleb Ella Asbeha; Christian king of AXUM (from ca.520); saint; born ca.500, died ca.540. In alliance with Justin I, Elesboam led an expedition to ḤIMYAR in 525, defeated the native king DHŪ-NUWĀS, and set in his place Sumayfaʿ Ashwaʿ, who was eventually overthrown by ABRAHA; the latter nevertheless remained Elesboam's vassal. Elesboam's victory inscription was discovered in Ma'rib (A. Caquot, *Annales d'Ethiopie* 6 [1965] 223–26). Elesboam did not succeed in transforming South Arabia into a fully integrated part of Axum. Malalas (Malal. 457f) describes the luxury of his costume and of his chariot pulled by four elephants.

Elesboam was a Monophysite and the Axumite church acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria. In Christian tradition he appears as a builder of churches and destroyer of idols in South Arabia (I. Shahid, *DOP* 33 [1979] 55–66).

LIT. Yu. Kobiščanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979) 95–108. V. Christides, "The Himyarite-Ethiopian War and the Ethiopian Occupation of South Arabia in the Acts of Gregentius," *Annales d'Ethiopie* 9 (1972) 115–46. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najrān* (Brussels 1971) 252–60. A. Vasiliev, "Justin I (518–527) and Abyssinia," *BZ* 33 (1933) 67–77. –A.K.

ELEUTHEROS (ἐλεύθερος, lit. "free"), a fiscal category of peasants who were free from state payments; they were sometimes termed *xenoi*, lit. "alien," "unknown to the fisc," or "not inscribed in the *praktika*." The adjective *eleutheros* was first applied to things (*Ivir.*, no.15.20, 34–35, a.1008) with the notion of freedom "from any powerful and fiscal hand" (*Lavra* 1, no.55.24–25) as well as from any private ownership (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.61.31–32). In the 13th–15th C. it was also used to categorize the status of persons. *Eleutheroi* are normally mentioned at the moment when imperial permission was granted to settle them on the property of (usually monastic) landlords. Their origins are obscure; we may surmise that they were *paroikoi* who had lost their property or had fled from their former lords or from the Turks. There is a common opinion that *eleutheroi* were poor; in some cases, however, they do not seem any poorer than neighboring *paroikoi*, and it is difficult to distinguish clearly between the two categories. When settled, *eleutheroi* were reintegrated into the main body of dependent peasants; their status of fiscal exemption was transitory, but the name *eleutheroi* sometimes persisted.

The similar category of *agrafus*, not inscribed in an official cadaster, is known in Latin Romania. Only on Venetian territory was state sanction required (as in Byz.) to settle them on private lands—in Frankish Morea a free settler would become a *villanus* after remaining for a year and a day.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 330–47. V.A. Smetanin, "Deklassirovannaja proslojka v pozdnevizantijskoj derevne," *ADSV* 4 (1966) 94–135. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu ob upotreblenii termina 'elevter' v vizantijskich opisjach XIII–XIV vv.," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 18–26. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.III (1975), 139–52. –M.B.

ELIAS (Ἡλίας), a *spatharios* and retainer of Justinian II sent in 711 with a naval expedition to CHERSON and installed there as governor. Elias soon joined the revolt of PHILIPPIKOS, whereupon Justinian murdered his children and "compelled his wife to marry her Indian cook" (Theoph. 379.16–17). After Philippikos entered Constantinople, Elias was detailed to pursue Justinian into Asia Minor. Finding the emperor's camp at Damatrys and inducing his Byz. and Bulgarian troops to desert him, Elias personally decapitated Justinian and returned the head to Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:157–75. –P.A.H.

ELIAS I, patriarch of Jerusalem (23 July 494–Aug. 516); born ca.430, died Aila, on Red Sea, 20 July 518. An Arab by birth, he spent his early youth as an anchorite in the Nitrian desert. During the Monophysite persecution of TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS Elias took refuge in the lavra of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT in Palestine, and in 473 was ordained priest. While serving at the Church of

the Anastasis in Jerusalem he founded two monasteries near Jericho. His episcopate was troubled by Monophysite infiltration into Palestine. In his resistance he received the help and repeated support of St. SABAS. At the council of Sidon (511) the dissident opposition failed to force him to denounce the Council of CHALCEDON. His attitude ultimately caused his deposition and banishment (Aug. 516) to Aila as Monophysitism was strengthened under Emp. Anastasios I. But his stand was also a factor in the failure of Anastasios to impose MONOPHYSITISM as the official faith of the empire. Significantly, the emperor's selection of a successor to Elias marks the beginning of Constantinople's interference in the internal affairs of the patriarchate of JERUSALEM and in the appointment of its patriarchs.

LIT. S. Vailhé, "Les premiers monastères de la Palestine," *Bessarione* 3 (1898) 340–51. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899) 15–27. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 196–204. –A.P.

ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ, a scholar, monk, and priest of the Nestorian community; metropolitan of Nisibis (from 1008); born Nisibis 11 Feb. 975, died after 1049. Bilingual in Syriac and Arabic, he has to his credit a long list of works in both languages, only a few of which have been published in modern editions or studied by modern scholars. His particularly important contributions to scholarship were in Syriac grammar and lexicography, religious dialogue with the Muslims, and historiography. Elias was the only Nestorian man of letters to compose a universal history in Syriac, and it is this work alone, usually called the *Chronography*, that is well known. It survives in a unique MS (London, B.L. 7197) that dates from the writer's own era. The *Chronography* is in two parts, the first of which includes the universal chronicle and a list of canons; the second part is a treatise on the calendar systems of the several communities in the Oriental patriarchates, complete with conversion tables to tabulate the references from one system to another. For Byz. history the chronicle is valuable for its notices of military engagements between the Arabs and the Byz., esp. in the 10th and early 11th C.

ED. *Opus chronologicum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, J.B. Chabot, 2 vols. (Paris 1910; rp. Louvain 1954). Fr. tr. L.J. Delaporte, *La Chronographie d'Élie bar-Šinaya* (Paris 1910).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 287f. Graf, *Literatur* 2:177–89. Kh. Samir in R. Caspar, A. Charfi, Kh. Samir, eds., "Bibliographie du dialogue islamo-chrétien," *Islamochristiana* 3 (1977) 257–84. –S.H.G.

ELIAS EKDIKOS, theologian, fl. 11th C. (Beck, *Kirche* 588) or 11th-12th C. (Disdier, *infra*). His biography is unknown, and his works are often ascribed to other authors: MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, JOHN OF KARPATHOS, Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS (N. Tomadakes, *Athena* 78 [1980–82] 284f). His major work is a FLORILEGIUM entitled *Other Chapters*, a compact presentation of Christian piety. Elias distinguishes three elements of the human being: the body (connected with *aisthesis*, the capacity of feeling); the soul with its faculties, *dianoia* ("thought") and *logos*; and *nous* ("reason"). The human being is normally mired in passions, but while Maximos considers all the passions as directed against nature, Elias is ready to accept that corporeal passions are *kata physin* ("according to nature"). The main path to salvation is, according to Elias, through acquiring *apatheia*, liberation from passions, and the fear of God is an important means to achieve this end. Apparently SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN influenced Elias, but he differs from Symeon in the system of his imagery, preferring agricultural and military metaphors and similes (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 18).

ED. PG 90:1401–61 (under the name of Maximos) and 127:1129–76.

LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Elie l'Ecdicos et les *hetera kephalaia*," *EO* 31 (1932) 17–43. N. Polites, "He pros ten theorian hodos Helia tou Ekdikou," *EEBS* 43 (1977–78) 345–64. V. Laurent, "Le rituel de la proscomidie et le métropolite de Crète Elie," *REB* 16 (1958) 116–42. –A.K.

ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA, Neoplatonist commentator of Aristotle (6th C.), possibly the same person as Elias, prefect of Illyricum in 541, although the title APO EPARCHON could have a different meaning. He seems to have succeeded OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA ca.565–70 as the head of the Alexandrian philosophical school and was in turn succeeded by DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER. The MS tradition of Elias is confused and the distinction between him, David, and the so-called pseudo-Elias as well as their distinction from earlier authors is not always clear. It is assumed that the oeuvre of Elias includes commentaries on Aristotle's *Organon*, on Porphyry's *Isagoge*, and

probably *Prolegomena to Platonic Philosophy* as well as some minor works. Although officially Christian, Elias supported the ancient idea of the eternity of the world, whereas David mentions this doctrine without discussing it. Elias also followed Olympiodoros in defending the priority of the universal in nature as well as in logic.

ED. A. Busse in *CAG*, 18.1. Westerink, *Prolegomena* xx–xxiii, xlvi–xlvii, l.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, *Texts and Studies in Neoplatonism and Byzantine Literature* (Amsterdam 1980) 59–72, 93–99. D.J. O'Meara, *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought* (Norfolk, Va., 1982) 83, 242 n.3. C.W. Müller, "Die neuplatonischen Aristoteleskommentatoren über die Ursachen der Pseudepigraphie," *RhM* 112 (1969) 124f. –A.K.

ELIAS SPELEOTES, saint; born Reggio Calabria 864?, died nearby at Saline, 11 Sept. 960. His vita, which attributes to him a longer life than that of the first hermit, ANTONY, mentions very wealthy parents and an accident that maimed his hand and led to the surname Monocheir ("One-Hand"). After unsuccessful attempts at becoming a hermit in Muslim Sicily and a recluse in Rome, Elias ultimately found a spiritual master in his Calabrian homeland, the monk Arsenios. Together they fled Muslim attacks by crossing to Patras in the Peloponnesos. Upon returning to Reggio, they met ELIAS THE YOUNGER and his disciple Daniel, with whom Elias dwelt at Saline after their two masters had died. He then moved north to Melicuccà, near Seminara, where he began to direct crowds of followers, first in a LAVRA involving many small caves, and then, after a vision of himself nurturing a hive of bees, in a monastery in a large cave. Elias was also a scribe who copied many books. His Life, written at Melicuccà at least a generation later, features control over animals, exorcisms, prophesies, and ecstatic trances. He reportedly warned the *patrikios* Byzalon that he who resists the emperor resists the divine order and precisely predicted this rebel's death.

SOURCES. *AASS* Sept. 3:843–88. V. Saletta, "Vita di S. Elia Speleota secondo il manoscritto Cryptense B. β.XVII," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 445–53; 4 (1971) 272–315; 5 (1972) 61–96.

LIT. *BHG* 581. E. Morini, "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 355–58. G. Schirò, "Testimonianza innografica dell'attività scriptoria di s. Elia lo Speleota," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 313–17. G. Matino, "Stratigrafia linguistica nella 'Vita di S. Elia lo Speleota,'" *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 237–45. M. Dunn, "Evangelisation or Repentance? The Re-Christianisation of the Peloponnese in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Renaissance and Renewal in Christian History* (Oxford 1977) 79f. –J.M.H.

ELIAS THE YOUNGER, saint; born Enna, Sicily, 823?, died Thessalonike 17 Aug. 903. After having been twice captured by Muslim invaders of his homeland, Elias made his way to Jerusalem, where he received the monastic habit from Patr. Elias III (878–906). After returning to Sicily, Elias then crossed to the mainland where, 22 km south of Reggio, soon after 880, he founded the earliest known Calabrian Italo-Greek monastery, Saline (later called St. Elias, then Sts. Elias and Philaretos). His peregrinations did not trouble his nearly contemporary biographer, since "every place is safe for those who follow the will of God" (ed. Rossi Taibbi, 46.607–08). Elias did not hesitate to preach morality to local Byz. officials, troops, and citizens, and his vita indicates that reform always led to victory, vice to defeat. Famous as a wonderworker and a prophet of Arab raids, he caught the attention of LEO VI. After the fall of Taormina in 902, Leo summoned Elias to Constantinople; en route, at Thessalonike, just before he died, Elias predicted the attack on that city by LEO OF TRIPOLI. Elias's corpse was returned to his monastery in Calabria.

SOURCES. *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1962). E. Follieri, "Un canone inedito per S. Elia Siculo," *BollBadGr* n.s. 15 (1961) 15–23.

LIT. *BHG* 580. F. Cezzi, "La 'Mens' biblica nella 'Vita di S. Elia il Giovane,'" *Nicolaus* 1 (1973) 345–60. G. Caliman, "Interazioni di lingua e società nella *Vita di Sant'Elia il Giovane*," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* (n.s. 9) 21 (1978–79) 97–109. A. Amatulli, "Aspetti della relazione tra Chiesa e Stato nel 'Bios' di Elia di Enna," *Nicolaus* 8 (1980) 195–203. –J.M.H.

ELIJAH (Ἠλίας), Hebrew prophet who was taken up to heaven in a fiery chariot. John Chrysostom contrasted Elijah with Christ: in ascending to heaven, the former gave his cloak to Elisha (4 Kg 2:13), whereas the latter gave the gifts of grace (*charismata*) to his disciples (PG 50:450). In a second homily Chrysostom compared Elijah's cloak with the eucharistic body (*sarx*) of Christ (PG 49:46). These ideas were not taken up in the

visual arts, although Elijah's Ascent (4 Kg 2:11–13) appears as early as the Via Latina CATACOMB in Rome. More extensive narrative cycles are found in the SACRA PARALLELA, as illustrations to the Book of KINGS, and, surprisingly, in the *diakonikon* of the church at Morača (1252), where Elijah's birth and ten other scenes from his life are depicted (A. Skovran-Vukčević, *ZRVI* 5 [1958] 149–72). Elijah's most frequent appearance is in the New Testament image of the TRANSFIGURATION. Because of his association with mountains, Elijah's name was attached to monasteries and settlements in lofty locations throughout the empire. A 12th-C. icon at Sinai (Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.74) may be due to a local cult on this mountain. Basil I was esp. devoted to Elijah, founding or rebuilding many churches dedicated to him. Elijah is occasionally cited in hagiography, as in the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE (ed. Rose, ch.16.31).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:90–93. E. Lucchesi-Palli, L. Hoffscholte, *LCI* 1:607–13. Janin, *Églises centres* 143–46.
–J.H.L., A.C., C.B.T.

ELIS. See ANDRAVIDA.

ELISABETH THE THAUMATURGE, mid-5th-C. saint; born near Thracian Herakleia, died Constantinople; feastday 24 Apr. Elisabeth was born to a "noble and rich" couple, after a long period of sterility, on their estate on Thrakokrene (later Abydenoi). Orphaned at 15, she divided her gold, silver, and other property among the poor, emancipated her slaves, and confined herself in the nunnery of St. George on the Mikros Lophos, in Constantinople. Two years later her paternal aunt, *hegoumene* of the convent, died, and Patr. GENNADIOS I appointed Elisabeth in her place. Leo I conferred on the nunnery an imperial estate of St. Babylas in Hebdomon where a dragon dwelt. Elisabeth, in imitation of St. George whose convent she headed, "sealed" the dragon with her cross, spit on him (W. Lackner, *AB* 92 [1974] 287f), and trampled him to death. She performed cures, including posthumous healing miracles. An anonymous Life of Elisabeth is preserved in a 14th-C. MS, but Halkin (*infra*) dates this vita before 591 on the basis of an *argumentum ex silentio* (no mention of the Avar devastation of Herakleia). It is plausible that Elisabeth's legend is a female version of St. GEORGE and the dragon.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "Sainte Elisabeth d'Héraclée, abbesse à Constantinople," *AB* 91 (1973) 251–64.

LIT. *BHG* 2121–2122a. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 169f.
–A.K.

EŁIŠE, author of an Armenian *History* describing the unsuccessful revolt led by Vardan MAMIKONEAN against Sasanian overlordship in 450/1. Of Ełiše little is known, and it is debatable whether he wrote as an eyewitness (as he claims) or whether this *History* was written after that of ŁAZAR OF P'ARPI, who describes the same events somewhat differently.

Ełiše's *History* is one of the most sophisticated works in early Armenian literature. Speeches, letters, and dialogue enhance Ełiše's message; according to him, nation and Christian faith are one, the apostate and the traitor are identical. Ełiše was familiar with a wide range of Greek and Syriac texts, but his main model was the MACCABEES. The setting is Armenia and Iran; Ełiše notes that the Byz. emperor MARCIAN abandoned the Christian Armenians to their fate. Some later Armenian writers (e.g., VARDAN VARDAPET) adduce this war of 450/1 as the reason for the absence from the Council of CHALCEDON of bishops from Greater Armenia. Numerous theological works are also attributed to Ełiše, but their authorship is most uncertain.

ED. *Matengrut'iwnk'* (Venice 1859). *Hayoc' Paterazmin*, ed. E. Ter-Minasean (Erevan 1957). *History of Vardan and the Armenian War*, tr. R.W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1982).

LIT. P.N. Akinian, *Elisäus Vardapet*, 3 vols. (Vienna 1932–60). V. Nalbandjan, *Egiše* (Erevan 1972). R.W. Thomson, "Ełišē's History of Vardan: New Light from Old Sources," in *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 41–51.
–R.T.

ELPIDIOS (Ἐλπίδιος), a *patrikios* sent as *strategos* to Sicily by Empress Irene in Feb. 781. Within two months he was accused of supporting Caesar NIKEPHOROS and his brothers who were aspiring to the throne; Elpidios may even have proclaimed himself emperor. Irene sent the *spatharios* Theophilos to arrest Elpidios; when the Sicilians would not surrender him, she had his wife beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned with his sons in Constantinople. Perhaps it was in reaction to the revolt of Elpidios that Irene sought an alliance with CHARLEMAGNE through a marriage between his daughter Rotrud and her son Constantine VI (C. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 347). In 782 Irene

dispatched a large expedition to Sicily, forcing Elpidios to flee to North Africa, where the Arabs reportedly invested him with imperial regalia. In 794 he accompanied Sulaymān, the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD, on a raid into Byz. territory (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 15 [1900] 741).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. IX (1970), 329. –P.A.H.

ELPIOS THE ROMAN. See OULPIOS.

EMBASSIES, FOREIGN. Foreign ambassadors and their retinues were received at the frontier by the service responsible for the imperial post; on their way to Constantinople, they were accompanied by officials (*basilikoi*), were provided with safe-conducts (sometimes CHRYSOBULLS), used the post (DROMOS) facilities, and were offered food and hospitality by the taxpayers of the regions that they crossed (this was a secondary tax). Once in the capital, they were in contact with the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and in later centuries the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, who also accompanied them in official meetings. They were the responsibility of the *scrinium barbarorum* (early period) and resided in a special residence, the *apokrisiarikion.* The emperor tried to impress them by displaying his power and wealth and by stressing his supremacy among rulers, sometimes by using mechanical gimmicks (AUTOMATA); then he might invite them for meals and eventually have direct discussions with them, such as the ones vividly described by LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA. Simplicity prevailed in the later centuries with the decline of the empire. The exchange of presents was a standard feature of all incoming and outgoing embassies, whose security was guaranteed by the receiving state, sometimes (for barbarians) by giving or exchanging hostages. (For outgoing Byz. embassies, see AMBASSADORS.)

LIT. D.E. Queller, *The Office of Ambassador in the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1967). A.D. Lee, "Embassies as Evidence for the Movement of Military Intelligence between the Roman and Sasanian Empires," *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy (Oxford 1986) [= *BAR* Int.Ser. 297] 2:455–61. –N.O.

EMBOLOS (ἔμβολος), the regular late antique word for a colonnaded street, also denoted the porticoes that lined it. The frequent appearance of the term in texts and inscriptions of the 4th–6th C. reflects the appearance of the cities, in which *emboloi* were a prominent element, common to any place of size or pretension. The streets often served as main arteries through the cities (though many were closed to wheeled vehicles). The colonnades provided access to shops which formed the major commercial centers, often replacing the ancient AGORAS. As commerce flourished, vendors' booths were often set up between the columns, and shops were extended out into the street despite official prohibition. *Emboloi* were particularly prominent in Constantinople where they connected all parts of the city. Principal *emboloi* in Constantinople were those of the shops of the ARGYROPRATAI, of Domninos, of Leontios, and of Zeuxippos as well as the Grand (*Makros*) and the New (*Neos*) *emboloi.* After the 7th C., *emboloi* in provincial cities generally lost their function and were frequently built over with houses.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 65f. Janin, *CP byz.* 87–94. D. Claude, *Die byzantinische Stadt im 6. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1969) 60–63. –C.F., A.C.

EMBROIDERY, either of silver (*ἀργυροκέντητα*) or of gold (*χρυσοκέντητα*, also *chrysosolenokenteta*, *chrysoklaba*, and *chrysoklabarika*) was used for the COSTUME of emperors and high functionaries, liturgical cloths, etc. It was executed by skilled artisans, or *chrysoklabarioi*: Theophanes (Theoph. 469.3–4) refers to an imperial workshop of *chrysoklabarioi* in Constantinople; Philotheos speaks of imperial tailors, *chrysoklabarioi*, and goldsmiths as participating in court ceremonial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.9–10); and an EPITAPHIOS in Berat (ca. 1376) is signed by a *chrysoklabares* George. The *De ceremoniis* frequently mentions embroidered costumes but rarely describes them in detail; once it speaks of the emperor's purple MAPHORION as covered with gold-embroidered roses (*De cer.* 529.15). The LOROS, esp. that worn by emperors, was particularly sumptuous, embroidered with gold and precious stones. The finest embroideries were done with silk, gold, or silver threads on purple, red, or blue silk backing. Silk threads were used primarily for faces and occasionally detail. Most of the design was embroidered with gold and silver threads made either as metal strips wound around a silk, often colored, yarn (these are known as *chryso-* and *argyronemata* or by the attributive *solenotos* or *klapotos*) or as finely drawn wires (known

as *syrmata*); both were applied by couching. Embroideries could also include pearls and enamels (e.g., on the Great SAKKOS of Patr. Photios of Moscow, 1409–13).

Except for a few fragments from Egypt, surviving embroideries are late in date; the Halberstadt KALYMMATA of ca.1195 are probably the earliest datable example. Other important specimens include the 13th-C. St. Lawrence textile sent to Genoa by Michael VIII Palaiologos (now in the Palazzo Bianco in Genoa) as well as the so-called DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE, and the Thessalonike AER, both 14th C. The use of embroidery in the decoration of textiles appears to have increased with the decline of SILK weaving and a greater demand for specific figural compositions on liturgical cloths and costume in the Palaiologan period.

LIT. G. Millet, *Broderies religieuses de style byzantin* (Paris 1939–47). Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:41–47. P. Johnstone, *The Byzantine Tradition in Church Embroidery* (London 1967). M.S. Theochares, *Ekklesiastika chrysokenteta* (Athens 1986). A. Chatzemichale, "Ta chrysoklabarika—syrmateina—syrmakesika kentemata," in *Mélanges offerts à Octave et Melpo Merlier*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 447–98. –A.G.

EMESA (Ἔμεσα, Ἔμισ⟨σ⟩α, Ar. Ḥimṣ [Homs] in Syria), city of the province of Phoenicia Libanensis, at the crossing of routes from PALMYRA to the sea and from DAMASCUS to the north. It became an autocephalous metropolitan see under the patriarch of ANTIOCH after the head of John the Baptist was discovered there in Feb. 453 by monks of the Spelaion (Cave) Monastery; the relic was placed in the cathedral and venerated by pilgrims. Although about 300 Greek inscriptions from Emesa (dating from the 1st C. B.C. onward) have been published (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 2202–501), there are relatively few other archaeological remnants of the antique city; those of the Byz. period include a basilica and funerary chapel (ibid. 2205–11). The vitae of local saints, such as Julian of Emesa, and esp. the vita of SYMEON OF EMESA by Leontios of Neapolis (C. Mango in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41) mention other, public buildings: a hippodrome, theater, two baths. ROMANOS THE MELODE was a native of Emesa. The city was under Persian rule from 609/10 to 628.

There are several conflicting accounts of the loss of Emesa to the Arabs in 635–36. Then Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrah abandoned Emesa, and the Byz. force entered the city (Donner, *Conquests* 132f), but after the defeat of Yarmuk the situation changed and Herakleios left Emesa. The Arabs seized the city without bloodshed after the population had paid a ransom (71,000 dinars) and probably turned the Church of St. John into a mosque (N. Elisséeff, *EI*² 3:397); the urban properties left vacant were divided up among the Muslims (Donner, *Conquests* 247). Emesa remained under Muslim control thereafter except for short periods in the 10th C.: the Arab geographer al-Iṣṭakhrī (951) praised the climate, soil, and paved streets and markets of Emesa, but lamented the damage caused in the area by the Byz. (G. Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems* [rp. Beirut 1965] 353f). Nikephoros II Phokas occupied Emesa in 969 and took away the head of John the Baptist; JOHN I TZIMISKES levied tribute there in 975; the Byz. burned the city in 983 and Basil II extended his authority over it in 995, setting fire to it yet again in 999.

LIT. P. Peeters, "La Passion de S. Julien d'Émèse," *AB* 47 (1929) 44–76. –M.M.M.

EMIR (ἀμιρᾶς, ἐμίρης), Turkish form of Arabic title ʿ*amīr*, generally meaning "commander" and largely used by the Islamic peoples. In early Islamic times only commanders of armies used the title, but later persons exercising administrative and financial authority adopted it. Under the SELJUKS it was given to military officers and to younger princes. In the late 13th and in the 14th C. it was used by lesser rulers such as those of the Turkish states that succeeded the old sultanate of RŪM; it was finally used by the Ottoman sultan. The term appears in early Byz. sources (e.g., THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR) as a loanword from the Arabic. The names of some Byz. families (e.g., Amiropouloi, Amiroutzes) originate from this title. The *Song of the Ameras* (*Emir*) forms the first section of the epic DIGENES AKRITAS. It was gradually used alternatively with or replaced by the Turkish title BEG.

LIT. L. Bazin, *EI*² 1:1159. A.A. Duri, *EI*² 1:438f. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:66–68. E.A. Zachariadou, "Pachymeres on the 'Amourioi' of Kastamonu," *BMGS* 3 (1977) 57–70. –E.A.Z.

EMMANUEL. See CHRIST: Types of Christ.

EMMAUS (Ἐμμαοῦς, Ar. ʿAmwās), identified by Sozomenos as Nikopolis, and, according to Eusebios of Caesarea, "a famous *polis*" in Judaea, on the road from Jerusalem to Jaffa. It was an autocephalous archbishopric under the jurisdiction of Jerusalem. It contained several goals of pilgrimage—a healing spring and churches. Ruins of a church and baptistery with mosaics of the 5th/6th C. were discovered there. The city also had a Jewish and Samaritan population. Conquered by the Arabs between 634 and 638, it was decimated by the plague of 639. Emmaus was displaced by DIOSPOLIS and then Ramla, and later pilgrims give confused testimony concerning its location. The Byz. church was rebuilt in the Crusader period.

It remains debatable (R. Janin, *DHGE* 15 [1963] 428) whether the Emmaus mentioned in the Gospels as the place where Christ had revealed himself to two of his disciples can be identified as Emmaus-Nikopolis.

LIT. H. Vincent, F.M. Abel, *Emmaüs, sa basilique et son histoire* (Paris 1932). G. Hölscher, *RE* 17 (1937) 533–35. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 156. *EAEHL* 2:362–64.

–G.V., Z.U.M.

EMOTIONS (τὰ πάθη) were defined by Nemesios as a kind of movement (*kinesis*): movement according to nature is energy, whereas movement against nature is emotion or passion (PG 40:673C). Ancient ETHICS created an ideal of freedom from emotions—*apatheia* or *ataraxia*—and church fathers inherited from the ancients a condemnation of emotions, which were identified as VICES; thus Theodore of Mopsuestia wrote, in accordance with Romans 7:5, of sinful passions working in our body (PG 66:808AB). The *hegoumenos* Dorotheos in the 6th C., however, drew a distinction between the two—*pathe* are evil desires and *hamartiai* (vices) their energies, or realizations (PG 88:1621D). Theologians emphasized consistently that God has no emotions and is *apathes* (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:49B).

The solemnity of Byz. ceremonial, ecclesiastical and imperial alike, rejected emotional movements; an uncontrolled gesture or unbalanced BEHAVIOR were signs of barbaric, uncivilized upbringing, whereas an ideal appearance presupposed "measure," "balance," and "rhythm," or harmony and symmetry (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 235f) in contrast to emotional outbursts. Ammianus Marcellinus described the "statuesque" pose of Constantius II, and the imperial portraits of the 4th C. presented motionless, "stony" figures. Patience was treated as a necessity in any situation and would be rewarded in heaven (E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* [Cambridge 1976] 133). Hagiographers also emphasized that their heroes and heroines acted without emotion in the most distressing situations, even on the verge of death. At the same time, the Byz. distinguished between good and bad emotions: LAUGHTER was a bad emotion, whereas tears (see CONTRITION) were always welcome and indicated a sympathetic character; the gentle smile also fit the ideal of sanctity. Strong emotions such as passionate LOVE of God were also acceptable in Christians. The PASSION OF CHRIST is the focus of the theology of salvation. From the 12th C. onward Byz. writers presented emotions ever more boldly (e.g., delight in dancing and even obscure BODY LANGUAGE); they participated enthusiastically in processions and even displayed emotions that trespassed on the conventional moral code.

Representation in Art. In art, emotions were expressed less through physiognomy than through GESTURE. D. Winfield (*DOP* 22 [1968] 128) suggested that painters limited themselves to two basic facial attitudes: one for emotional disturbance, one for tranquility. Confronting innumerable impassive saints, the modern observer may doubt even the second category (L. Brubaker, *Word and Image* 5 [1989] 19–32). The reason for this lack of animation was not necessarily the sacred nature of the image: similar expressionless faces characterize scores of warriors, mimes, and dancers on bone CASKETS AND BOXES, the largest preserved class of secular art. Manuel CHRYSOLORAS (PG 156:57D–59A) echoed the 3rd-C. theoretician Philostratos (*Die Bilder*, ed. O. Schönberger [Munich 1968] 4.21–22), who had prescribed that artists convey dispositions, as these are reflected in faces. The steeply angled brows of mourners in the Vienna GENESIS convey obvious feeling, but, while many 5th- and 6th-C. images show open-mouthed horror or smiling pleasure, no extant works of art display the range of expressions that CHORIKIOS OF GAZA and Nicholas MESARITES purport to describe. Except for the sorrowful Virgin in Crucifixion scenes, emotional manifestations are rare even in the "pathetic" phase of 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING;

in the 14th C., the Massacre of the Innocents is performed by murderers treated at worst as CARICATURES.

LIT. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." –A.K., A.C.

EMPEROR (called BASILEUS, AUTOKRATOR, also DESPOTES), the pinnacle of Byz. POLITICAL STRUCTURE and society, whose extraordinary position is reflected in virtually every creation of Byz. civilization. The ideology of his power came from Rome, refashioned by Christian and Hellenistic conceptions. The divinely promoted emperor was considered to have been elected commander in chief, whether it was the army, senate, or CITIZENS that acted as God's agents by their ACCLAMATION. This lack of juridical clarity helps explain the LEGITIMACY of military success, the absence of hereditary succession (designated successors were made co-emperors), and the vitality of USURPATIONS.

From the 7th and 8th C. onward, Byz.'s new social conditions fostered the gradual appearance of a legitimacy of birth—PORPHYROGENNETOS—and lineage. The providential ruler chosen by God (*ek theou* on coins—*DOC* 3.1:179) was conceived as God's representative on earth, the SUN and serenity were his chosen metaphors, and he enjoyed unique liturgical and executive privileges within the church (A. Michel, *Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche (843–1204)* [Darmstadt 1959]). As the source of law, he was not bound by it (*Basil.* 2.6.1; cf. e.g., Leo VI, nov.47) and some believe he possessed a right of land ownership over the entire empire (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 229–35). Although Byz. frequently revolted against emperors and killed or toppled them, and their effective authority was somewhat ambiguous, few questioned the idea of emperor. The reality of his power lay in a professional army and a bureaucracy expert at extracting wealth through elaborate taxes and extensive private revenues, the whole enhanced by PROPAGANDA and the emperor's centrality to Byz. mentality and PATRIOTISM—a system unparalleled in European states before the 13th C.

The emperor was distinguished from his subjects (*douloi*) by his seclusion in the PALACE and his way of life (a living archaism in the 10th C.); by a sacral status inherited from the IMPERIAL



EMPEROR. The emperor and four court officials; miniature in a manuscript of the Homilies of John Chrysostom (Paris, Coislin 79, fol.2r); 11th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. Emp. Nikephoros III Botaneiates is seated before Truth and Justice.

CULT; by his use of PURPLE and GOLD (e.g., CHRYSOBULLS), CEREMONY, and INSIGNIA; and by a sanctity indirectly derived from the cult of Constantine I and the commemoration of his successors in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. He was united with his subjects by the exercise of his powers, his justice (cf. the story of Theophilos and the marketplace: *TheophCont* 87.9–88.3) and PHILANTHROPY, by ceremony and prayers that concretized their mutual relations, by their OATHS of allegiance, and by their payment of taxes. His relations with the aristocracy were explicitly defined by the office and dignities he granted them.

By Ostrogorsky's count, 88 emperors ruled Constantinople from 324 to 1453 for an average reign of about 13 years, or 12 without the exceptional longevity of the Palaiologoi (an average of over 19 years from 1259 to 1453). This apparent stability contrasts with high turnover in periods of crisis (e.g., 695–717, seven emperors came to

power in 22 years; 797–820, five in 23; 1055–81, seven in 26; 1180–1204, six in 24) and numerous failed usurpations. The unusual political and administrative continuity favored by this longevity must be reckoned a factor in Byz.'s survival.

Patterns of the transmission of power changed significantly, the most important trends being the decline of election—partly supplanted by successful usurpation—and the growth of family succession in later dynasties of Komnenoi and Palaiologoi. The period 324–610 saw ten designated successors take power without significant violence against the senior emperor; seven of these successors were family members, six more were elected, and four took power violently, although among them Constantine I and Julian could claim family and institutional rights. Family and usurpation loomed larger from 610 to 1204, when 32 co-emperors succeeded, 25 of whom were offspring and six more coopted into the imperial family; Michael I Rangabe might claim election, but he was the son-in-law of Nikephoros I. Twenty-one took power violently.

The family dominated late Byz. succession: eight emperors, all with close family connections by blood or marriage, took power as designated successors, although two used violence to enforce their claims; moreover, the two elected emperors were sons of emperors. Of the four usurpers, two were closely related to a predecessor.

The institutional background of emperors reflects the political structure: the early Byz. army (324–610) supplied 12 emperors, the bureaucracy only Anastasios I, while the imperial family provided nine emperors, if one includes Constantine I and Basiliskos. The period of the 7th–12th C. reflects the triumph of lineage, and the bureaucracy and palace milieux gained against the army: the former supplied roughly one emperor for every two from the army. The bureaucracy disappears as a recruiting ground for late Byz. emperors.

Except for Zeno, the European provinces supplied all early Byz. emperors of known background born outside of Constantinople down to Tiberios II; thereafter, Asia Minor (with some exceptions, e.g., Irene and Basil I) predominated for emperors born outside Constantinople, reflecting its enhanced economic and social significance. In its final centuries, the empire's reduced size severely limited the possibilities and their significance.

Most new emperors came from the aristocracy. Nonetheless, the rise of nonaristocrats to supreme power through imperial service (e.g., Justin I, Basil I, Michael IV) was an exceptional but persistent phenomenon down to the Komnenoi; more common, probably, was the rise of second-generation aristocrats (e.g., Valens, Justinian I). Aristocratic background and the premium Byz. placed on literacy meant a high level of culture among the overwhelming majority of emperors, many of whom, like Justinian I, Constantine VII, or Manuel II, have left significant writings. (For list of emperors, see Byzantium, History of.)

Lit. *Das Byzantinische Herrscherbild*, ed. H. Hunger (Darmstadt 1975). –M.McC.

EMPHYTEUSIS (ἐμφύτευσις), in the 4th C., the term referring to a set of administrative regulations whereby estates belonging to the crown were transferred to private cultivators. By the late 5th C. *emphyteusis* had developed into a specific type of written contract governing long-term, usually perpetual leases of real property applicable not only to crown lands but to holdings of private and ecclesiastical landlords. Emp. Zeno defined *emphyteusis* as a right distinct from lease or sale, although possessing certain qualities of both (*Cod.Just.* IV 66.1). An *emphyteuta* could not be evicted as long as he paid an annual fee (*solita pensio*) or presented to his master receipts (*apodochae*) for public services; his tenement was heritable and could be alienated unless the tenant had lost the contract, *emphyteuticum instrumentans* (*Cod.Just.* IV 66.2–3).

In case of sale, the owner possessed a right of preemptive purchase and was otherwise entitled to a payment equal to 2 percent of the purchase price. Persons undertaking an emphyteutical contract were required to pay an initiation fee, to keep the land in cultivation, and to return it unimpaired. Special restrictions (Justinian I, novel 120) were placed on the use of *emphyteusis* for ecclesiastical lands in order to prevent the alienation of church property. Later jurisprudence adhered closely, with some simplifications and modifications, to Justinianic regulations. After the 7th C. *emphyteusis* appears primarily to have been

applied to ecclesiastical property. Legal texts retain the traditional meaning of the term (e.g., D. Simon, S. Trojanos, *FM* 2 [1977] 67f) up to the 15th C. (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.32.29–30), whereas in documents of the 13th–15th C. the term *emphyteuma* was applied to the urban milieu (Constantinople, Thessalonike, Serres) and denoted, like *enoikion*, "house rent," the annual payment for a house built by the tenant (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 22).

LIT. D. Simon, "Das frühbyzantinische Emphyteuserecht," *Akten der Gesellschaft für griechische und hellenistische Rechtsgeschichte*, vol. 3 (Vienna 1982) 365–422. G. Weiss, "Die Entscheidung des Kosmas Magistros über das Parökenrecht," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 477–500. –A.J.C.

EMPORION (ἐμπόριον, μπόριο in later sources, e.g., the *Chronicle of the Tocco*), a term of ancient origin (J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce maritime en Méditerranée sous l'empire romain* [Paris 1966] 108) designating a place of trade, found along frontiers, coasts, and trade routes. Primarily associated with seaports, they are also attested in inland areas, such as Thrace and Bithynia. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 75.56–57) defines the *emporion* of Corinth as "the lower polis." In charters *emporia* (usually juxtaposed with KASTRA) are small settlements of urban type where ships can be docked (*Lavra* 1, no. 55.59–60, a.1102). Near the *emporion tou Kotzinou*, on the island of Lemnos, was the *kastron* of the same name (*Dionys.* no. 25.12–15, a.1430), and the Lavra of Athanasios was said to own a house in the *kastron Kotzinou* and two more in the *emporion* (*Lavra* 3, no. 164.4–5, a.1415), which according to another document (*Lavra* 2, no. 77.108, a.1284?) was located at the seashore. The term might designate a commercial quarter of a town, a market situated outside the urban fortifications (e.g., *emporion* of Adrianople), or a settlement which was in itself a marketplace, as in the case of Sagoudaous, donated by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos to the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA. In scholarly literature the term also has a number of meanings—from early medieval trading settlements in the West (R. Hodges, *Dark Age Economics* [New York 1982] 47–65) to small Byz. towns (Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 122–24) to great coastal cities (M. Sjuzjumov, *VizVrem* 8 [1956] 26–41).

LIT. M. Živojinović, "Settlements with Marketplace Status," *ZRVI* 24–25 (1986) 407–12. –A.K.

EMPRESS (*augusta*, αὐγούστα, βασίλισσα; cf. E. Bensammar, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 243–91). Legally, the empress depended on the emperor (*Digest* 1.3.31; *Basil.* 2.6.1; *Scholia Bas.* 2.6.1), but in favorable circumstances late Roman empresses, such as Pulcheria, Ariadne, Theodora (wife of Justinian I), or Sophia (wife of Justin II) might wield great power, esp. through a REGENCY. Their social background (e.g., the marriage of Honorius and Arkadios to generals' daughters) illuminates the empire's changing political structure; conversely, the case of the wife of Justinian I, Constantine VI, or Theophilos shows how such marriages generated power and influence for the woman's family. Newcomers on the throne tried to solidify their power by marriage to an established empress, from Marcian and Pulcheria to Nikephoros III Botaneiates and Maria of "Alania."

In the late Roman period the status of empress was granted only grudgingly to imperial women: of the first 26 emperors' 30 known wives (324–527) only nine were *augustae*. Four others became *augustae* as mother, sister, etc. These early *augustae* issued coinage, authenticated documents with lead seals (Licinia Eudoxia—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2759), wore imperial insignia, and possessed their own retinues. Their public life, largely separate from their spouses, involved a kind of parallel court and ceremonies with the female elite (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 203f). Like Leontia (602), some became empress at their husband's accession, some on marriage, and others afterward or not at all, whence the different coronation options in *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 39–41). The reasons are not always clear, but down to the 8th C., at least, empress status could follow the birth of a male heir (D. Missiou, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 489–98).

The solidification of Byz. aristocratic lineages and the Komnenian privatization of the state probably enhanced the power of the empresses. They kept most earlier privileges and wives became empresses more regularly—for example, Alexios I crowned Irene Doukaina one week after his accession and his dynastic successors' spouses appear to have been simultaneously crowned and married or affianced. As Irene, Theodora (wife of Theophilos), Zoe, Eudokia Makrembolitissa, Maria of Antioch, and Anna of Savoy show, successful female regency became more frequent, while Irene, Zoe, and her sister Theodora even ruled briefly in their own names. From Anna

Dalassene's administration of the empire onward, acts issued by empresses survive that compare with those of their male counterparts and that show them administering very considerable wealth (F. Barišić, *ZRVI* 13 [1971] 143–202; U.V. Bosch in *Mél.Dujčev* 83–102).

From 788 to 881 sources mention BRIDE SHOWS for selecting imperial spouses. Diplomacy began to bring foreign wives for emperors in the 8th C., when marriages with Khazar princesses were followed by failed negotiations for Frankish ones. Foreign brides might be coached in the Greek language and Byz. customs before arriving in Constantinople (Theoph. 455.23–25) and changed their NAMES when they assumed Byz. identity. Their geopolitical status peaked under the Komnenoi, with brides from the German Empire and Capetian France. Such alliances became so usual in late Byz. that a ceremony was established for the ADVENTUS of imperial fiancées from abroad, but Palaiologan wives came from lesser echelons of regional potentates.

LIT. K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982). S. Maslev, "Die staatsrechtliche Stellung der byzantinischen Kaiserinnen," *BS* 27 (1966) 308–43. –M.McC.

ENAMELS. Enameling is a means of embellishment in which GLASS, colored with metallic oxides, is heated until it melts and fuses with metal. Although enameling techniques varied over time and place, the Byz. were best known for their cloisonné enamel, in which cells divided by thin strips of gold (*cloisons*) are filled with glass and fired. After cooling, the composite surface of glass and metal is ground and polished. The lustrous result became the norm for enamels of the 10th–12th C., which were used on icons, reliquaries, book covers, chalices, and crowns, and even sewn onto ecclesiastical vestments.

The Byz. precursor of cloisonné was a technique in which enamel, often thinly applied, was contained within loops of filigree (either wire or strips set on edge) that determined the outline of the desired motif. The earliest example is a medallion portrait of a 5th-C. empress (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.2), probably Licinia Eudoxia, consort of Valentinian III. This filigree technique was in use at least until the 7th C.

Cloisonné enamel was the technique used from the 9th C. onward, and Buckton (*infra*) has suggested that the origin of Byz. cloisonné technique is to be found in the Carolingian world. Whatever its origin, the technique was well established in Byz. for RELIQUARIES and ENKOLPIA by the time the votive crown of Leo [VI] was made (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.8). The emperor appears in a *loros* and *stemma* on one of the medallions. The busts of Leo and of saints on these medallions have backgrounds of translucent green, which is characteristic of 9th-C. enamel.

Already apparent here is the substitution of enamels for precious stones, which were still used on other votive crowns. GEMS are again absent on a CHALICE inscribed "Lord, help the Orthodox emperor Romanos" (ibid., no.10), an ancient sardonyx vessel, the lip of which is enclosed in a metal band with enamel images, including those of Christ, the Virgin, and LAZAROS the icon painter. Their haloes and garments, displaying a great variety of blues, are silhouetted against the gilt metal, instead of having an enamel background. This technique became standard from the 10th C. onward and is responsible for the "typical" Byz. enamel, with the figure isolated against the gold of the plaque or medallion. A second sardonyx chalice with an identical inscription was likewise brought to Venice as booty from Constantinople in or after 1204 (ibid., no.11).

Numerous enamels have been seen as products of late 9th–10th-C. GEORGIAN ART, but work from the Caucasus is hard to distinguish from Byz. examples; further difficulties of identity and authenticity are raised by the alterations and forgeries undertaken by 19th-C. dealers and restorers. Unquestionable, datable Byz. enamels include the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY and some precious objects of the 11th C. usually interpreted as CROWNS of Constantine IX (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.32) and Michael VII (the so-called Holy Crown of Hungary—*Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn*, eds. F. Fülep, E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag [Budapest 1983]).

Constantinople as a source of "export enamels" is also apparent in two enameled triptychs, possibly brought to the West by WIBALD OF STAVELOT. The most celebrated example is the PALA D'ORO, the largest surviving complex of such materials; part of it was in Venice by the early 12th C. The original form and content of this object is much debated, not least the question of which of several empresses named Irene is depicted on it. It is

certain that the Pala was enlarged and further embellished with loot from the Fourth Crusade, including enamels of six scenes of the lives of Christ and the Virgin. According to Sylvester SYROPOULOS, these enamels were recognized in 1438 by Patr. Joseph II as coming from the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople (S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 41f).

Byz. enamels are distinguishable from Venetian work by the fineness of their *cloisons* and their saturated colors, qualities esp. evident on icons such as the full-length St. Michael in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.19), the effect of which is accentuated by gemstones. In the case of other pieces of the 12th–13th C., enameled backgrounds have reappeared, now using opaque colors, not the translucent green of the 9th C. This technique has been attributed to Thessalonike (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, nos. 60, 63). From the late 14th C. onward, enamel was increasingly used in conjunction with other media: cloisonné tondi depicting archangels, prophets, and church fathers were juxtaposed with repoussé scenes on the silver-gilt cover (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.20) of a Greek lectionary, copied by a certain Sophronios at Ferrara before 11 Nov. 1439. Among the latest Byz. enamels are the eight medallions at the extremities of the gilded filigree cross inside the BESSARION RELIQUARY.

LIT. K. Wessel, *Byzantine Enamels from the 5th to the 13th Century* (Greenwich, Conn., 1967). D. Buckton, "Byzantine Enamel and the West," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 235–44. M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–76. L.Z. Khuskivadze, *Medieval Cloisonné Enamels at the Georgian State Museum of Fine Arts* (Tbilisi 1984). E. Kovács, Zs. Lovag, *The Hungarian Crown and Other Regalia* (Budapest 1980). P. Hetherington, "Enamels in the Byzantine World: Ownership and Distribution," *BZ* 81 (1988) 29–38. –M.E.F., D.B.

ENANTIOPHANES. See ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES."

ENCAUSTIC. See ICON: Painted Icons.

ENCHEIRION (*ἐγχείριον*), a rectangular piece of soft material, embroidered with gold thread, that was worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It was attached to his belt so as to hang down over his right thigh. Its use was apparently restricted to bishops. First attested as a vestment in the book of pseudo-Germanos I on the liturgy (PG 98:396B) and in a letter of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I (PG 100:200C) and in representations of the late 10th C. (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, pp. 54, 74, 188, 254, 340), the *encheirion* was replaced during the 14th C. by the stiffer, lozenge-shaped EPIGONATION.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 551–55. Papas, *Messgewänder* 131–36, 150–53. –N.P.Š.

ENCYCLICAL (lit. "circular"), in the narrow sense of the word, a formal pastoral letter sent by the pope to the entire church; the term was used from 1740 (E. Mangenot, *DTC* 5.1 [1939] 14). However, in late Roman practice the terms *enkyklios epistole* or *enkyklion gramma* were applied to "circulars" written by church fathers of great authority: thus, Clement of Rome reportedly wrote *enkyklioi epistolai* "to be read in holy churches" (EPIPHANIOS, *Panarion* 30.15.2). Origen sent *enkyklia grammata* (Eusebios, *HE* 6.18.4); Alexander of Alexandria wrote 70 *enkyklioi epistolai* addressed to various bishops and devoted to the refutation of Arianism (Epiphanios, *Panarion* 69.4.3). The term was applied also to letters of certain patriarchs: Anatolios in 451/2, Gennadios I in 458/9, Pyrrhos in 639, Paul II in 642, etc. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 22.16) relates that the First Council of Nicaea dispatched to Alexandria, Libya, and the Pentapolis an *enkyklios epistole* concerning the Arian heresy. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 3.7) employs the term *antenkyklia*, saying that Emp. Basiliskos, fearing the resistance of Patr. Akakios, withdrew his previous pro-Monophysite *enkyklia* and issued *antenkyklia* confirming the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon. The term *enkyklios* apparently fell into disuse after the 10th C. –A.K.

ENCYCLOPEDISM, a conventional term introduced by Lemerle to replace the less precise "Macedonian Renaissance" as a characterization of Byz. culture of the 9th C. through the beginning of the 11th C. The main feature of this period was the "organization" of an administrative and cultural structure; for this purpose various manuals were produced—on the bureaucratic hierarchy (TAKTIKA), on tax collecting (see TAXATION, TREATISES ON), on military tactics and strategy (STRATEGIKA), on agriculture (GEOPONIKA); Ro-

man law was systematized in the BASILIKA and related texts, and rules for the guilds of Constantinople (the BOOK OF THE EPARCH) were issued. It was also a period of active TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from uncial to minuscule and of attempts to gather, observe, and appreciate the ancient heritage—from Photios's BIBLIOTHECA to the SOUDA. The systematization and "organization" also covered such spheres as EDUCATION, hagiography (SYMEON METAPHRASTES), and church decoration. The activity of CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS and his court was the focal point of new tendencies, resulting in the compilation of such works as DE THEMATIBUS, DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO, and DE CEREMONIIS. The epoch produced many polymaths, like LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, PHOTIOS, and ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, but the emphasis was not on creativity, but on copying and collecting.

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 121–346. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–147. –A.K.

ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS (ἐνδημοῦσα σύνοδος), the permanent, standing synod of bishops in which the activity and business of the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE was decided. Its administrative and judicial functions included canonical discipline and dogmatic and liturgical issues. Its membership, convoked and presided over by the patriarch, consisted of all those bishops visiting or residing (*endemountes*) in or near the capital. As a technical term its name first appears in 448 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.98), although the genesis of the institution itself probably stretches back to the 4th C. when Constantinople became the imperial residence. It was indeed natural, if not inevitable, for individual bishops to gravitate to the imperial capital for personal and official business, that is, whenever they wished to submit some petition or complaint to its court, hence the permanent nature of the synod. Indeed, its convocation was commonplace by the Council of CHALCEDON (451), when this established custom was first solemnly recognized (canons 9, 17).

Initially, because of its very nature, the composition of the *endemousa* was not fixed. By the 9th C., however, it was restricted to metropolitans, autocephalous archbishops, and the five administrative functionaries of the patriarchate. Despite these limitations, its membership again increased with the Turkish invasions of the 11th C. and the subsequent growth of the number of fugitive bishops residing (usually permanently) in Constantinople. The larger extraordinary councils convened during the Palaiologan period (in the controversy over PALAMISM, for example) were not identical with the *endemousa*.

LIT. B. Stephanides, "Die geschichtliche Entwicklung der Synoden des Patriarchats von Konstantinopel," *ZKirch* 55 (1936) 127–57. J. Hajjar, *Le synode permanent dans l'Église byzantine des origines au XI^{e} siècle* (Rome 1962). –A.P.

ENDYTE (ἐνδυτή), a cloth that covers the top and all four sides of the ALTAR. Apart from a possible instance in the museum of S. Marco in Venice, only representations of such cloths survive from the Byz. period, most from the 6th to 7th C., as in the Melchizedek mosaic at S. Vitale and the bema of Sant'Apollinare in Classe, both in Ravenna. Textual references to *endytai* continue from the mid-8th C. until the end of the empire; special attention is paid to them in the DE CEREMONIIS since, on Great Feasts, emperors either kissed or changed these altar vestments (see Speck [1966] *infra*, nos. 18–24). Although the *endytai* represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 14, 324, 358) have only geometrical ornament, those referred to in earlier literature are much more elaborate. PAUL SILENTIARIOS (Friedländer, *Kunstbeschrieb.* vv. 759–805) tells of a purple silk altar cloth at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople bearing images of Christ, Peter, Paul, and, on its hem, hospitals and churches founded by Justinian I. Bp. Victor of Ravenna had a cloth of gold and silver with his own likeness made for the Basilica Ursiana, and Archbp. Maximian's *endyte* for the same church had not only his portrait but "the whole story of our Lord" (AGNELLUS, ed. Holder-Egger, 324.28–33; 335.37–40). The Iconoclastic Council of 754 (Mansi 13:332B) declared that figure-bearing cloths might not be destroyed but could be altered with the permission of the patriarch and the emperor. Thereafter most references occur in *typika*, such as that of the PETRITZOS MONASTERY (ed. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 123.1730–33), and INVENTORIES such as that of Patmos (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 22), since *endytai* were a favorite offering of church benefactors.

LIT. P. Speck, "Die Endyte," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 323–75. Idem, "Nochmals: Die Endyte," *Poikila byzantina* 6 (1987) 333–37. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 604–06. –A.C.

ENERGY (ἐνέργεια). According to Clement of Alexandria, Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, and other church fathers, the activity of the Logos in creation and redemption derives ultimately from God the Father; it is opposed by the "activity" (*energeia*) of the DEMONS (*energoumenos* = "demon-possessed"). In the writings of the church fathers the doctrine of the divine energies reaches its zenith in the definition of the two energies, or wills, in Christ, corresponding to his two natures, as opposed to the doctrine of MONOTHELETISM. Important for the philosophical orientation predominant in late Byz. thought is the real distinction between God's essence and his energies (in the plural, but referring to the Trinity as a unity) represented by Gregory PALAMAS, set in the framework of the Orthodox doctrine of grace and knowledge in opposition to BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. According to Palamas, the three divine persons necessarily remain hidden and inaccessible to the faithful, while the uncreated energies—which are one with the divine essence and, accordingly, representations of it (as, e.g., the light of Transfiguration)—convey to him participation in divine life.

As a result of the unsystematic and polemical manner of expression characterizing his occasional writings and his somewhat arbitrary and selective use of the theology of the church fathers, Palamas attracted a long line of opponents, both in his lifetime and later (e.g., Gregory AKINDYNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, the KYDONES brothers, John KYPARISSIOTES), who believed that knowledge of God was connected essentially to the Creation. Both sides appealed, rightly or wrongly, to pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, or at least to various aspects of his apophatic and cataphatic theology.

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 279–310. D. Wendebourg, *Geist oder Energie* (Munich 1980) 11–64. Ch. Yannaras, "The Distinction between Essence and Energies and its Importance for Theology," *SVThQ* 19 (1975) 232–45. F. Carcione, "Energheia, Thélema e Theokínetos nella lettera di Sergio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, a papa Onorio Primo," *OrChrP* 51 (1985) 263–76. –G.P.

ENGASTRIMYTHOS (ἐγγαστρίμυθος, lit. "belly-talker"), a witchlike descendant of the ancient Sibyls or prophetesses. *Engastrimythoi*, often male, were ventriloquists who disguised their voices and made mantic utterances, as if a deity or demon were acting within and speaking through them. Their activities are attested in the 4th C. by pseudo-Justin (PG 6:1324A) and in the 5th C. by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 80:337C); in the 6th C. a female *engastrimythos* was admitted to the imperial court after Justin II showed symptoms of insanity, in order to "make known the facts about his illness" (vita of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, ed. P. van den Ven 1:180, ch.209.15–16). Canon 60 of the Council in TRULLO condemned people who feigned possession; the practice must have continued, however, as Theodore Balsamon, in his gloss to this canon, denounces those "who feign being possessed as a means of profit, and proclaim certain things with the evil, satanic gaze of the prophetesses of the pagans" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:441.13–15). (See also ORACLE; SIBYLLINE ORACLES.)

LIT. Trombley, "Trullo" 6. –F.R.T.

ENGLAND (Βρεττανία). The Roman province of Bretania was probably abandoned by the empire after 428 or even 442 (H.S. Schultz, *JRS* 23 [1933] 36–45), but some contacts with the East seem to have been maintained. In the 6th C. Prokopios of Caesarea had copious information about remote Bretania, which he viewed as lying at the extremity of the known world; the 6th–7th-C. SUTTON HOO TREASURE also provides evidence for these links, and the 7th-C. vita of JOHN ELEEMON mentions a ship from Alexandria carrying zinc from Bretania. Two Greeks, Theodore of Tarsos (archbishop of Canterbury) and Adrian (born in Africa), played an important part in the English church of the 7th C., ushering in a brief period of Greek cultural and religious influence on the island (see BEDE). Some English pilgrims visited Byz., and Byz. influence on English political terminology is reflected in the title of King Athelstan, *basileus Anglorum* (a.931).

Official diplomatic relations resumed in the mid-11th C., attested to by several Byz. seals found in England—one of Sophronios II of Jerusalem (ca.1059–64) (V. Laurent, *NC* 72 [1964] 49f) and one of the envoy John-Raphael, after 1066 (V. Laurent, *NC* 71 [1963] 93–96). After the Norman conquest some Anglo-Saxon refugees offered their services to Alexios I and are mentioned as Inglinoi in several of his chrysobulls (C. Head, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 186–98). Alexios I established an English colony at Kibotos or Chevetot (on the Gulf of Astakos). English VARANGIANS are mentioned

as late as 1329. Several Byz. diplomatic missions to England are recorded in the 11th and 12th C. Manuel I Komnenos sent embassies in 1170, 1176, and 1177 and conducted a lively correspondence with King Henry II (1154–89), no doubt in the hope of securing his support against the French and Normans, who threatened the empire. The Latin conquest of Contantinople (1204) contributed to a renewed but short-lived English interest in Greek learning during the 13th C., as evidenced by the collection of Greek MSS by John of Basingstoke, who actually studied in Athens, and the scholarship of the Franciscans Robert GROSSETESTE and Roger Bacon. The last major contact between Byz. and England occurred in 1400 when MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS visited England for two months in a largely unsuccessful attempt to enlist the financial and military support of Henry IV (1399–1413) against the Turks.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "Byzantium and England," *BalkSt* 15.2 (1974) 179–203. K.N. Ciggar, *Byzance et l'Angleterre* (Leiden 1976). J. Shepard, "The English and Byzantium," *Traditio* 29 (1973) 53–92. Idem, "Another New England?—Anglo-Saxon Settlement on the Black Sea," *BS/EB* 1 (1974) 18–39. R.S. Lopez, "Le problème des relations Anglo-Byzantines du septième au dixième siècle," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 139–62. –R.B.H.

ENKAINIA (ἐγκαίνια), ceremony of dedicating or consecrating a city (e.g., Constantinople, 11 May 330), a secular monument (e.g., Constantine I's mausoleum, 21 May 337), or a church (also called *kathierosis*). The term had been applied to the Temple in Jerusalem, but by the 4th C. Eusebios of Caesarea used it to describe the dedications of churches in Tyre and Palestine. The purpose of *enkainia* was to make the space holy, and early Christian writers stressed the similarity between BAPTISM and the dedication of a church; accordingly, lustration with holy water occupied an important place in the *enkainia* rite. Usually preceded by a SYNAXIS, the ceremony was concentrated around the ALTAR, which was washed, anointed, and covered; a procession with relics and EXORCISM also formed a part of the ceremony. These ritual steps are summarized by Patr. Germanos I in his commentary (Germanos, *Liturgy* 56) and commented on at length by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:305–32). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS describes the *enkainia* of the Church of the Anargyroi at PSAMATHIA: monks from nearby monasteries spent the entire night in prayer and thanksgiving, and at dawn a procession of torchbearers, with the cross and Gospel book, wended its way to the newly built church. After the dedication the *hegoumenos* of the Psamathia remained inside the building for 40 days.

According to Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:612B), the dedication of a church was impossible without the order (*prostaxis*) of the emperor. The rite of *enkainia* could be performed by the patriarch, e.g., Photios conducted the *enkainia* of the NEA EKKLESIA (1 May 880). The date of such a ceremony was often chosen to coincide with one of the GREAT FEASTS, as in the case of Justinian I's Hagia Sophia (25 Dec. 537). *Enkainia* was also the term used for the annual celebration of the dedication of a church (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:186), and esp. the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

LIT. P. de Puniet, *DACL* 4:374–405. M. Black, "The Festival of Encaenia Ecclesiae in the Ancient Church with special reference to Palestine and Syria," *JEH* 5 (1954) 78–85. P. de Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantine* (Rome 1930) 151–218. E. Ruggieri, "Consacrazione e dedicazione di chiesa, secundo il *Barberinus gr. 336*," *OrChrP* 54 (1988) 79–118. Goar, *Euchologion* 653–71. –A.K., A.C., R.F.T.

EN KEREM (Ar. ʿAyn Karim), a site 7 km west of Jerusalem with remains of three churches of the 5th/6th C.: two basilicas, one of which was dedicated to the Holy Martyrs of God, and a chapel of the Visitation. Some vague evidence indicates the place's connection with the cult of JOHN THE BAPTIST: there was an 8th-C. church of St. Elizabeth "in the village of Encharim," and EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES locates "the family house" of John on "Mt. Carmel," which is interpreted by Wilkinson (*Pilgrims* 156) as En Kerem.

The site is related to the legend in the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (22:3), according to which St. Elizabeth and the infant John were saved during the Massacre of the Innocents by a mountain that opened up to conceal them. A clay EULOGIA in Monza portrays this event (Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art*, fig.12).

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:295f. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 94–96. B. Bagatti, *Il santuario della Visitazione ad ʿAin Karim* (Jerusalem 1948). –G.V., A.K.

ENKLEISTOS (ἔγκλειστος, "enclosed"), term attested from the 4th C. for a monk or nun who confined himself or herself in a cell, under a vow of perpetual seclusion. An *enkleistos* might either lead the solitary life of a HERMIT, as in the case of

St. Pelagia (who disguised herself as a monk and lived in a cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem), or, like St. Neophytos Enkleistos of Cyprus, be attached to a monastic community after a period of isolation. Neophytos lived in a cave, which he excavated and enlarged so that it could accommodate a tomb and a chapel for the celebration of the liturgy. He eventually became the *hegoumenos* of a *koinobion* but performed no administrative duties, leaving them to the *oikonomos* and *docheiarios* of the monastery. The *typikon* of Neophytos is the only monastic rule that prescribes that the *hegoumenos* must be an *enkleistos*; the *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery in Constantinople permitted the *hegoumenos* to be an *enkleistos*, but did not require it (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 132f). Other *enkleistoi* who achieved sanctity were David of Thessalonike, who reportedly spent 70 years in an *enkleisterion* (John Moschos, PG 87:2921B); Stephen the Younger (PG 100:1148C); and Plato of Sakkoudion.

–A.M.T.

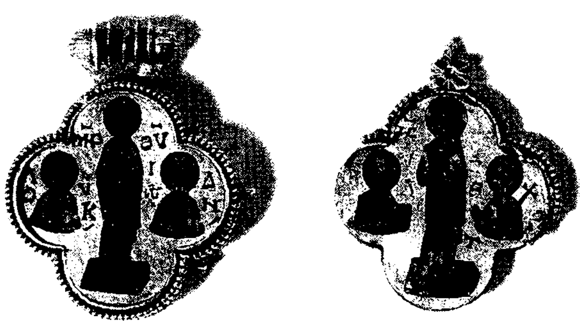
ENKOLPION (ἐγκόλπιον, lit. "in" [or "on] the bosom"), an object with Christian imagery, or containing a sacred relic or inscription, worn around the neck. *Enkolpia* were produced in virtually all materials used for jewelry. They could take the form of a simple disc, with figures, scenes, and/or inscriptions, or be a container of some sort. The *enkolpion* protected the wearer by means of its imagery or, in the case of a reliquary, by its contents.

The term *enkolpion* may encompass many other objects—*phylakteria*, eulogiai, amulets. *Enkolpia* were in use from the 4th C. onward and have been found throughout the Byz. world. Literary accounts describe them given as gifts or as belonging to individuals: a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 451.85–87) records one that depicted the Virgin Mary, to which Isaac II Angelos was esp. attached and which he embraced while confessing.

lit. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:152–64. H. Gerstinger, *RAC* 5:322–32. M.C. Ross, "A Byzantine Gold Medallion at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 11 (1957) 247–61. A. Lipinsky, "Enkolpia cruciformi orientali in Italia," *BollBadGr* 37 (1983) 51–59.

–S.D.C., A.C.

Enkolpion. *Enkolpion;* enamel and gold, 10th C. Virginia Museum of Fine Arts, Richmond. On one side of the *enkolpion,* the Virgin *orans* is represented with Sts. Luke and John; on the other Christ is flanked by Sts. Paul and Peter.



ENKOMION (ἐγκώμιον), or panegyric, a speech of praise. The authors of ancient rhetorical textbooks identified *enkomion* with epideictic of the good in general (thus Theon in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 2:61.22), and accordingly Menander Rhetor (pp. 2–6) believed that *enkomia* included praise of cities, men, animals, accomplishments, and arts; he excluded only hymns to the gods. As special types of *enkomia*, Menander lists the basilikos logos and, reluctantly, the prosphonetikos logos.

Byz. practice, however, distinguished *enkomion* from ekphrasis and limited it to the praise of persons: saints, emperors, patriarchs, and others. The praise of saints was the subject of hagiography; the emperor and patriarch were eulogized by official rhetoricians on regular days (Epiphany and the Lazarus Saturday, respectively), and *enkomia* in prose and verse were delivered on special occasions—weddings (epithalamion), funerals (epitaphios or monody), victory celebrations, and so forth. Encomiastic elements occur in historical works, even though some historians, following Lucian, tried to distinguish between *enkomion*, a consistent praise of a person, and history, which aimed at the truth (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 139f). On the other hand, the *enkomion* of one person might prove to be an invective against another. Panegyrics of private persons, side by side with those of emperors and patriarchs, became common from the end of the 11th C. At the same time parodical *enkomia* were composed

on frivolous subjects, for example, on a flea (by Michael PSELLOS, and later Demetrios CHRYSOLORAS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:120–32. –E.M.J., A.K.

ENNOMION (ἐννόμιον, from *nome*, "pasture"), a tax and/or charge on pasture land and/or on the right of pasturage. The term was used in Hellenistic and Roman papyri as well as in several inscriptions (S. Avogadro, *Aegyptus* 14 [1934] 293–97). In Byz. it appears first in *Peira* 37:2 and is frequent in later *praktika*. In *Peira*, *ennomion* is a charge paid by the owners of livestock grazing on a common pasture; the collected sum was divided between the owners of the pasture (including those peasants who had no livestock) according to the amount of state taxes paid by each. In a *praktikon* of 1073, *ennomion* is a part of the lord's revenue collected from certain pastures (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.123–24, 136) and measured per capita: 1 miliaresion for a horse or ass, 1 nomisma for 100 sheep (ibid., no.50.314–315). A metrological treatise (11th C. or later) calculates the *ennomion* of sheep also as 1 nomisma for 100 animals but gives a higher rate for other livestock (water buffaloes, mares, and cows)—1 nomisma for 3 animals (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 59.30, 60.10–14). In later documents, *ennomion* appears as an annual payment inscribed in *praktika*, and its correlation with the *telos-oikoumenon* does not seem to be fixed: thus, in a charter of 1319, "the *ennomion* of sheep and swine" together with the charge on bees makes 24 percent of the entire payment (*Lavra* 2, no.106.22–23); in a *praktikon* of 1321—together with *linobrocheion* (see BANALITY), about 5 percent (*Xénoph.*, no.15.24–27); in a *praktikon* of 1317—together with *aerikon*, 3 percent (*Lavra* 2, no. 104.165–66).

It is difficult to distinguish the *ennomion* levied on livestock (the *melissennomion*, a charge on beehives, is also known) from the *dekateia* on herds (*choirodekateia* and *probatochoirodekateia*). *Ennomion* was usually collected by a private owner: thus Andronikos II Palaiologos in 1319 granted the monks of Hilandar the right to levy the emperor's relatives, *archontes*, *stratiotai*, and all laymen and clerics who let their animals graze on the pasture of the village of Georgela (*Chil.*, no.41.73–82). But it could be a state levy—thus, in 1447 a *metochion* of the Lavra on Lemnos was granted 200 sheep free from *ennomion* (*Lavra* 3, no.171.9–10).

LIT. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:162. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 262f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 123f. Litavrin, *Viz-Obščestvo* 220–23. –M.B.

ENOCH (Ἑνώχ), son of CAIN or Jared and father of Methuselah; one of the biblical patriarchs. The Book of Enoch stands first in pseudo-Athanasios's list of APOCRYPHA. Three major versions of it survive. Enoch I, known only in an Ethiopic translation from Hebrew or Aramaic, is a work of the Hellenistic period. Enoch II exists only in Old Slavonic. It is an enigmatic text, probably translated from Greek (ca.1000?), although N. Meščerskij (*TODRL* 19 [1963] 130–47) suggested the possibility that it was translated directly from Hebrew. Enoch II describes how the patriarch was taken up to God through seven heavens and then returned to describe his vision. Its theology is uncompromisingly monotheistic, its ethics permeated by sympathy with the needy and by sexual chastity. The date of the original composition cannot be established. Enoch III, a Hebrew apocalypse of the 5th–6th C., deals with a journey of Rabbi Ishmael into heaven, where he met Enoch, son of Jared, whom God had elevated above the angels and appointed as his viceroy.

ED. and LIT. *Apocrifos del Antiguo Testamento*, vol. 4 (Madrid 1984). *The Book of Enoch, or, I Enoch*, ed. M. Black (Leiden 1985). *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1, ed. J. Charlesworth (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 5–315. R.H. Charles, *The Book of Enoch* (Oxford 1893). –J.I., A.K.

ENOIKION (ἐνοίκιον), RENT paid for a leased property. In classical antiquity the term *enoikion*, meaning house rent, seems to have been distinguished from *phoros*, rent for the lease of a workshop (ERGASTERION); already in late Roman Egypt, however, the two terms were confused (Fikhman, *Egipet* 44). Often used in the *Book of the Eparch*, *enoikion* designated primarily the rent for an *ergasterion*, but merchants staying in MITATA also had to pay *enoikion*. The term and its cognates continued to be used in late documents: an act of donation of 1338 mentions three *ergasteria enoikiaka* (*Koutloum.*, no.18.44) near the *emporion* of Serres. Sometimes the word *enoikiaka* is used as a noun to designate rooms for rent (*Lavra* 2, no.71.70); in an act of donation of 1115 (*Lavra* 1,

no.60.35), however, *enoikiaka* are contrasted with houses and evidently mean workshops.

Michael Attaleiates collected the *enoikion* of 24 nomismata for a bakery, 14 nomismata for a perfumery, and 5 nomismata for "houses" used by a physician (P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 43.440–45). Charters also provide some data about the amount of *enoikion*: in 1294, 200 hyperpers for a tower (*pyrgos*) containing several workshops (e.g., for shops selling woolen garments) and a kitchen (MM 4:286.4–7); in 1342, 700 hyperpers for a chain of shops—grocery stores, perfumeries, a bakery, and vegetable markets (*Lavra* 3, no.123.115–33); in 1419, 30 hyperpers for "houses" (*Xénoph.* no.32.21); in 1445, eight nomismata and a vessel of flaxseed oil for a workshop processing flaxseed (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–7). In a *prostagma* of 1202 (MM 3:50–53) the rent for houses and *ergasteria* is called either *enoikion* or *emphyteuma*; the latter term is usually explained as the rent for a newly established shop.

The payment of rent sometimes caused discontent in Constantinople. As a result, on one occasion Emp. Romanos I paid the *enoikika* of impoverished inhabitants of the city (*TheophCont* 429.22).

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 153f. –A.K.

ENTABLATURE, a horizontal beam carried on columns marking the juncture of load and support in trabeated construction. In ancient architecture the entablature was divided proportionately into three parts, bottom to top: architrave (or EPISTYLE), frieze, and cornice. In arcuate architecture (Roman, early Christian, and Byz.) entablatures disappeared to be replaced by a molding, sometimes elaborately carved, marking the crowns of the arches carried by the columns, the floor level of the galleries, or the springing of major arches supported by piers. Entablatures were used in Old St. Peter's (central nave only) and survive in S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; at Stoudios and Sts. Sergios and Bakchos (exedrae only), Constantinople; Church of the Nativity, Bethlehem; and in the columnar TEMPLA of Byz. churches built during and after the 9th C. (See also IMPOST BLOCK.) –W.L.

ENTERTAINMENT. For amusement the Byz. enjoyed games and spectacles such as CHARIOT RACES in the hippodrome, triumphal processions, visits of foreign dignitaries and ambassadors, religious festivities and *panegyreis* (see FAIR), BANQUETS, and CEREMONIES that provided recreation and excitement. The streets were also the setting for various kinds of shows with exotic or strange ANIMALS and wild beasts. Performances were given by acrobats, jugglers, magicians, ACTORS, and MIMES. Apart from this kind of popular entertainment people found recreation in board GAMES such as CHESS, in gambling, and in various SPORTS. HUNTING, HAWKING, and equestrian sports attracted mostly the aristocracy. The common people went to TAVERNS, where they engaged in DANCES and jesting, while BATHS and the THEATER gradually declined in importance. On certain holidays, like the feastday of Sts. Markianos and Martyrios or the January festival, there was CARNIVAL-like masquerading and processions in which even the clergy participated along with the people.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:246–69. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 98–114. –Ap.K.

ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM. Celebrated on PALM SUNDAY, Christ's Entry marks the beginning of his PASSION (Mt 21:1–11, Mk 11:1–10, Lk 19:29–40, Jn 12:12–19). Its imagery shifted with shifting interpretations of the Passion. On the 4th-C. Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.42), the Entry adopted the iconography of imperial ADVENTUS that itself had already shaped the Gospel account. Showing a youthful Christ astride a donkey greeted by the personification of Jerusalem, the Entry proclaimed the Passion as Christ's victory over death and the beginning of his sovereignty in the eternal Jerusalem. A different, more narrative inflection characterizes the 6th-C. versions (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1v), where Christ is a mature man seated side-saddle and welcomed by palm-waving crowds who lay their coats in his path. The Passion had by now acquired an emphasis on sacrifice, and henceforth a narrative version of the Entry focusing on Christ's humanity predominated. Post-Iconoclastic art replaced the personified city with the figure of a mother and child; other symbolic details are the Spinario, or boy removing a thorn from his foot (Berlin ivory—Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.115), and the prophet Zechariah (cf. Zech 9:9). Palaiologan art emphasizes the steepness of Christ's downward path to symbolize his descent into Hell.

LIT. E. Lucchesi Palli, *RBK* 2:22–30. D. Mouriki, "The Theme of the 'Spinario' in Byzantine Art," *DChAE*[4] 6 (1970–72) 53–66. –A.W.C.

ENVERI, 15th-C. Turkish poet and chronicler. All that is known of his biography is that he accompanied MEHMED II on campaigns to Wallachia, Bosnia, and Lesbos in 1462–63. He was the author of the *Desturname* (Book of the Grand Vizier), a universal history commissioned by Mehmed II's grand vizier Mahmud Pasha (who functioned in an official capacity 1455–68). Written in Turkish verse, the *Desturname* was completed in 1465. Relevant to Byz. studies is book 18, which celebrates the Aydınoğulları, or emirs of AYDIN, chiefly UMUR BEG (died 1348), and books 19–22, which cover Ottoman themes to 1464. Enveri's unparalleled account of Umur Beg's campaigns rests on excellent, evidently contemporary sources. Its value in clarifying the liaison between JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and Umur Beg during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 is demonstrated by P. Lemerle (*L'Émirat d'Aydin, Byzance et L'Occident, Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* [Paris 1957]). Enveri's treatment of the Ottoman dynasty in books 19–20 also depends primarily on an anterior source, but is much less detailed and significant. His information in books 21 and 22 about Mahmud Pasha, a scion of the Angeloi who converted to Islam after 1451, is of great importance.

ED. Book 18—*Le Destān d'Umur Pacha*, ed. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris 1954), with Fr. tr. Incomplete ed.—*Düsturnamei Enverî*, ed. M. Yınanç, in *Türk tarih encümeni külliyatı* 15 (Istanbul 1929).
LIT. H. Akın, *Aydın Oğulları Tarihi hakkında bir Araştırma* (Ankara 1968) xi–xii. –S.W.R.

ENVIRONMENT. The Byz. perceived their natural surroundings mostly in standardized, conventional terms: the DESERT was the region of "mountains and caverns and holes in the earth" (e.g., BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ed. Woodward, Mattingly, p.48.20–21), the mountains precipitous and unassailable, the sea seething with waves. When a civilized area was described, the accent lay on its material assets, not its pleasurable aspects: cities were said to possess temperate climate, fertile soil, and sweet water in abundance. The image of the world was usually presented as a catalog of abstract designations of individual categories. The vocabulary of a writer (e.g., Niketas Choniates) might contain numerous names of trees, flowers, and animals, but these flora and fauna were reminiscences of ancient scholarship rather than live elements of real environment. The GARDENS in romances are as deprived of individuality as the EMOTIONS revealed in this setting.

Some exceptions, however, can be discovered. Gregory Antiochos describes a miserable winter in Bulgaria—the barrenness of the land, the ears of travelers assaulted by the bleating of sheep and the grunting of pigs; the description is sarcastic but vivid (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 219f). Gregoras is esp. rich in fresh images of nature: a tree reflected in a pool (Greg. 2:705.10–19); the kingfisher building its nest in the sand in stormy winter weather (3:130f); Mt. Athos, blessed with forests and flowery meadows, where in the morning the nightingale, singing in a grove, blends its song with the matins prayers of monks (2:714f). Also notable are the letters of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, who frequently describes his natural surroundings, whether a storm at sea, a barren plain in Anatolia, or the pleasures of the environs of Thessalonike, with their cool springs, shady trees, fragrant flowers, and birdsongs (eps. 16, 45, 67, 68).

LIT. R. Attfield, "Christian Attitudes to Nature," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 44 (1983) 369–86. P. Cesaretti, "Eustazio di Tessalonica e l'etimologia di physis: una fonte stoica?" *Studi classici e orientali* 36 (1986) 139–45. –A.K.

EPANAGOGE (Ἐπαναγωγή, Return to the Point), correctly *Eisagoge* (Εἰσαγωγὴ τοῦ νόμου, Introduction to the Law), a law book of the emperors Basil I, Leo VI, and Alexander, divided into 40 titles. Patr. PHOTIOS took part in the composition of the work, which was probably promulgated in 886; he wrote the preface and the two most important titles (2 and 3), on the emperor and on the patriarch. The *Epanagoge* was to serve as an "introduction" to the comprehensive legislation known later as the BASILIKA and to replace the *Ecloga* of the Isaurian emperors. The source of the *Epanagoge*, which comprises nearly all spheres of law, is almost exclusively the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, whose regulations were to a certain extent intentionally altered or even falsified; the *Ecloga*, too, served as a model. Although the *Epanagoge* stopped being officially circulated soon after its promulgation and was replaced by the PROCHIRON

about 20 years later, many of its regulations were adopted into private law books (EPANAGOGE AUCTA, EPANAGOGE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, *Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES). The law book is transmitted in few MSS; extensive scholia to it have been preserved which sometimes comment critically on the text.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 2:229–368, 410–27.
LIT. V. Sokol'skij, "O charaktere i značenii Epanagogi," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 17–54. J. Scharf, "Photios und die Epanagoge," *BZ* 49 (1956) 385–400. Idem, "Quellenstudien zum Prooimion der Epanagoge," *BZ* 52 (1959) 68–81. Troianos, *Peges* 100–05. –A.S.

EPANAGOGE AUCTA, a law book that consists of 54 titles and an appendix; it is based on the EPANAGOGE and, from Title 17 onward, the PROCHIRON. The BASILIKA were also used as an important source. The unknown compiler was acquainted with the legislative works produced under Leo VI; thus he summarized approximately 30 NOVELS OF LEO VI, gave preference to the marriage property law of the *Prochiron*, and often detached the new regulations of the *Prochiron* from their context. He knew that the ECLOGA was an "Isaurian" law book (15.8). The *Epanagoge aucta*, which is transmitted in about 10 MSS, bears the rubric "Leo the emperor" and shows no traces of later laws. Thus, it is probable that it originated soon after Leo's death (912).

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:49–216.
LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, cv–cxxxii. L. Burgmann, "Neue Zeugnisse der Digestensumme des Anonymos," *FM* 7 (1986) 106–08. –A.S.

EPANAGOGE CUM PROCHIRO COMPOSITA, a law book in 42 titles that is composed of the EPANAGOGE and the PROCHIRON. In some of the few surviving MSS, the compilation also includes excerpts from the BASILIKA as well as numerous marginal glosses. Some scholia to the *Epanagoge* (esp. to title 19) are integrated into the work. The law book, fragments of which have been preserved in a palimpsest MS of the 10th C., is ascribed in its rubric to "the emperor Leo the Philosopher," and was presumably produced soon after the death of Leo VI (912).

LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, xcix–civ. D. Simon, "Inhalt und Bedeutung der neuentdeckten Bruchstücke der Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita (EPc)," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 151–78. W. Waldstein, "Zur Epanagoge cum Prochiro composita," *ZSavRom* 91 (1974) 375–83. –A.S.

EPARCH (ἔπαρχος or ὕπαρχος), the name of several officials, the most important of which was the EPARCH OF THE CITY; other officials bearing this title were the eparchs of lesser towns. Except in the case of Thessalonike, they are known only from the late Roman period, and in Thessalonike the eparch acted under the supervision of the DOUX. Guilland (*infra*) also gives a list of eparchs as chiefs of offices (eparch of the court, *nykteparchos*, and so on), but J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 45 [1984] 50f) argues that some of them never existed while others functioned only during late antiquity. Thus the eparch of the army is known in the 6th C. but not after that date (A. Failler, *REB* 45 [1987] 199f). The title of APO EPARCHON (the former eparch) is known primarily from sources of the 6th–8th C.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque I. L'éparque de la ville," *BS* 42 (1981) 186–96. –A.K.

EPARCHIA (ἐπαρχία), province, the term used by narrative sources, primarily of the 11th and 12th C., as synonymous with the official THEME. In ecclesiastical vocabulary *eparchia* meant an episcopal province.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 69f. –A.K.

EPARCHIUS AVITUS, Western Roman emperor (9 July 455–18 Oct. 456); born Clermont, Gallia, ca.395–400, died 457?. A member of the Gallic aristocracy, Eparchius was descended from the *patrikios* Philagrius (*PLRE* 1:693), of whom nothing is known. Eparchius was related to many senatorial families, Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS being his son-in-law; he served under command of general AETIUS and enjoyed Visigothic support. Eparchius was praetorian prefect in Gaul in 439. In 455 PETRONIUS MAXIMUS appointed Eparchius *magister militum* and sent him as envoy to the Visigoths; when Petronius was murdered, first the Visigoths and then the Gallic nobles urged Eparchius to accept the diadem; he was proclaimed emperor at Arles. Eparchius sent an embassy to Emp. MARCIAN asking for recognition but did not receive it, even though he boasted that his request had been granted. After his return to Italy, unable to stop the Vandal pillaging or to revitalize the grain supply of starving Rome, Eparchius incurred the hatred of both the indig-

enous population and the Germanic mercenaries. Ricimer defeated Eparchius at Piacenza on 17 Oct. 456, deposed him, and appointed him bishop of Piacenza. R.W. Mathisen (*BSC Abstracts* 9 [1983] 37f) hypothesizes that the Gallic nobles attempted to return Eparchius to the throne and that he left for Gallia but died en route.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2 (1896) 2395–97. *PLRE* 2:196–98. K.F. Stroheker, *Der senatorische Adel im spätantiken Gallien* (Tübingen 1948) 152–54. –A.K.

EPARCH OF THE CITY (ἔπαρχος τῆς πόλεως), successor of the late Roman URBAN PREFECT, the governor of Constantinople. The eparch of the city was considered supreme judge in Constantinople and its vicinity, second only to the emperor, and was the chief of police responsible for order, decoration, and ceremonial in the capital; as the head of the city police the eparch also had jurisdiction over prisons. Other functions were to control commercial and industrial activity in the capital, as reflected in the BOOK OF THE EPARCH. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE characterizes in detail the symbolism of the eparch's attire and of the trappings of his white horse (no.30.12–26); for example, the gilded copper bosses on the horse's harness represented the eparch's concern for the poor. In the *Kletorologion* (9th C.) PHILOTHEOS lists the following members of the eparch's staff: SYMPONOS, LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU, district judges, GEITONIARCHAI, PARATHALASSITES, exarchs and *prostatai* [of the guilds?], BOULLOTAI who appended seals to merchandise, and others; of this list, the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* mentions exarchs and *prostatai, boullotes,* and *symponos* (possibly in a different function), but it introduces other assistants of the eparch—the LEGATARIOS and the *mitotes,* inspector of the quality of silk textiles (Stöckle, *Zünfte* 93). After 1204 the role of the eparch declined and his office was divided up among several *kephalatikeuontes* (K.-P. Matschke, *BBulg* 3 [1969] 81–101) under the pressure of feudal forces. Seals of the eparch of the city dating from the 6th to the early 13th C. are known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:545–79).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Etudes sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire Byzantin—L'Eparque. I. L'éparque de la ville," *BS* 41 (1980) 17–32, 145–80, with corr. by J.-C. Cheynet, *BS* 45 (1984) 50–54. D. Feissel, "Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe siècle," *RN*[6] 28 (1986) 119–42. –A.K.

EPEIKTES (ἐπεικτης, on seals regularly *epiktes*), official on the staff of the *komes tou staulou,* who is mentioned in all TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 480.1–3), he was responsible for providing the fodder and water for horses as well as horseshoes, bridles, and saddles. His function was probably the management of the imperial stables—at any rate, a seal of the 8th or 9th C. belonged to the "*epeiktes* of the imperial stables" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1806), and the owner of another was an "imperial *epeiktes*" (no.2480C). Basil, the "*epeiktes* of the *basileus*" (Skyl. 179.73; he is called just a plain *epeiktes* in *TheophCont* 362.17), participated in the conspiracy of SAMONAS. At the end of the 10th C. Christopher Doukas was called Epeiktes, an epithet viewed by Polemis (*Doukai* 27) as a nickname. It is unclear how the term penetrated into the Armenian milieu—in the 1060s an Armenian "Pecht" served as a *doux* of Antioch; an Armenian prince "Epicht" was murdered by Greeks ca.1078 (Kazhdan, *Arm.* 124–26).

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 339. –A.K.

EPEREIA (ἐπηρεία, lit. "abuse, contumely"), a term that, at least from the 10th C. onward, was used by fiscal officials to designate extraordinary state "requisitions" (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 167) or special taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 61). An act of 927 contrasts the state (*demoteleis*) *epereiai* with military service (*strateiai*), both due for the land (*Ivir.,* no.1.8–9); an act of 974 (?) mentions *epereia* side by side with ANGAREIA, *aplekton,* and the (illegal) MITATON (*Lavra* 1, no.6.22–23). Later documents sometimes give a list of *epereiai*: thus, an act from ca.1200 includes *angareiai,* KASTROKTISIAI, PSOMOZEMIA, and several other charges (*Xerop.,* no.8.17–18). A privilege of 1199 has an unusual list of *epereiai* connected with trade: KOMMERKION, *dekateia* (TITHE) of wine, charge for shipping (*naulon*), etc. (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.59.7–8). The term *demosiake* (state) *epereia* (e.g., Zepos, *Jus* 1:366.8) indicates that the central government was owed these charges, whereas Theophylaktos of Ohrid spoke of *douleiai* and *epereiai* required by local authorities (*Letters,* ed. P. Gautier, no.12.20). Accordingly an act of 1429 mentions "the *demosiake* and other *epereiai*" (*Lavra* 3, no.167.19–20), and a chrysobull of 1405 refers to "*epereia archontike* and *demosiake*" (Binon, *Xéropotamou,* no.20.24).

Thus, the term seems to have no strict, technical meaning. Having a connotation of "abuse" it could denote various types of charges and was primarily employed in the clauses of tax exemption. It is, however, questionable whether the exemption "from all *epereiai*" designated, as Solovjev and Mošin (*Grčke povelje* 437) suggest, freedom from all taxes.

LIT. N. Svoronos, *Lavra* 4:156f. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 236–38. –M.B.

EPHESUS (Ἔφεσος, near mod. Selçuk), seaport of Aegean Asia Minor. As capital of the province of Asia, Ephesus enjoyed considerable prosperity due to commerce, banking, and the patronage of the proconsul and the metropolitan bishop. Constantius II, Arkadios, and esp. Justinian I adorned the city, which is best known from its remains. They indicate that classical public works and services—theater, market, baths, the civic center, and marble-paved, colonnaded streets lined with shops—were maintained and that richly decorated private houses continued to be built until the early 7th C. The city was christianized by the 4th C. and saw the erection of churches and monumental crosses and the transformation of open public spaces as private buildings encroached on them. The numerous Late Antique buildings usually used SPOLIA and were adorned with frescoes, mosaics, and marble. Prosperity ended ca.614, when large parts of Ephesus were destroyed (by Persians or earthquakes), never to be restored.

New fortifications enclosed less than half the ancient city and created a new defensive center around the Church of St. John a mile away. Its walls were probably a response to the Arab attacks that began in 654. Ephesus became a city of the THRAKESION theme; in the 10th C., it was the center of a TOURMA of the theme of Samos. Ephesus was the site of a major regional fair in the 8th C., which generated considerable revenue. By the 9th C., neglect and the resultant silting had ruined the harbor and the city had moved to the hill around the Church of St. John to become an inland fortress. The city survived the attack of the Paulicians in 867/8 or 869/70, had Italian concessions after 1082, and was occupied by the Turks 1090–96. It was then usually known as "Theologos" (after St. JOHN) or simply the "Kastron." In 1147 Ephesus was host to the Second Crusade and in 1206 recognized the Laskarids, under whom it became a center of learning. Nikephoros BLEMMYDES taught here, with George Akropolites and Theodore Laskaris among his pupils. The late 13th C. brought Turkish threats, temporarily dispelled by the Catalan Grand Company, which made Ephesus its base in 1304; it fell to the Turks of Aydın the same year.

Traditions that associated Ephesus with St. Paul, the Apostle John, the Virgin, and the SEVEN SLEEPERS made it the natural site for the councils of 431 and 449 and the frequent goal of pilgrimage.

Monuments of Ephesus. Ephesus preserves numerous civic buildings and two huge churches: the Basilica of the Virgin, seat of the councils, built in the 4th C. and twice rebuilt on a smaller scale after the 6th C., and the Basilica of St. John. The latter, the largest and most important church in the city, had its beginnings in the tetrapylon MARTYRION erected over John's purported tomb as early as ca.300 and was mentioned by EGERIA (23.10) in the last quarter of the same century. Probably ca.450 a cruciform church with a wooden roof was built on the site, incorporating the tetrapylon at its crossing. The western arm, with one or two narthexes, contained a nave and two aisles, while the eastern arm had four aisles and terminated in an apse. The church was rebuilt under Justinian I, with work beginning before 548 and completed prior to 565. The cruciform plan was maintained but the building was now covered with a series of six domes resting on massive piers. The western arm, longer than the others, consisted of two such bays, while the crossing, north, south, and east arms each had a single bay in a design described by Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.1.4–6) as closely resembling that of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, Constantinople. The church was flanked by an octagonal baptistery built in the 5th C. and a domed, octagonal *skeuophylakion*, or sacristy, erected in the late 6th or early 7th C. St. John's was the scene of an annual miracle when healing dust issued from the evangelist's tomb at the time of his feast on 8 May.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus After Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979). J. Keil, H. Hörmann, *Die Johanneskirche* [=*Forschungen in Ephesos*, 4.3] (Vienna 1951). P. Verzone, "Le fasi costruttive della basilica di S. Giovanni di Efeso," *RendPontAcc* 51–52 (1982) 213–35. M. Büyükkolanci, "Zwei neugefundene Bauten der Johannes-Kirche von Ephesos: Baptisterium und Skeuophylakion," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 236–57. –C.F., M.J.

EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF. Two important councils were held in Ephesus.

COUNCIL OF 431. The third ecumenical council was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the conflict between the Antiochian Christology of NESTORIOS of Constantinople and that of the Alexandrian school represented by CYRIL. Lasting from 22 June to 22 July, the council had approximately 150 participants at its opening. The lively political and ecclesiastical rivalry between the patriarchal sees of Alexandria and Constantinople complicated the long-standing opposition between the two schools. Although the council did not formulate its own Christological statement, it did accept that of the First Council of NICAEA (325) as interpreted by Cyril. In effect, it approved his theology that the humanity and divinity of the incarnate Christ were united in one hypostatic union—*henosis kath'hypostasin.* By so doing, it formally recognized the propriety of Mary's title THEOTOKOS (God-bearer), which Nestorios had denied. Finally, the council also condemned the beliefs of Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM) as heresy. These matters were decided before the arrival of JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch, and his delegation. The latter understandably refused to accept the Cyrillian majority's condemnation of Nestorios. A brief schism followed, ending in 433 when Cyril and John were finally reconciled. The doctrinal and ecclesiastical victory had nevertheless gone to Alexandria. Cyril's rival, Nestorios, and his theology were crushed and humiliated. Ephesus is the first general council with extant original acts.

SOURCES. *Acta—ACO* 1:1–5. *Neue Aktenstücke zum Ephesinischen Konzil von 431,* ed. E. Schwartz (Munich 1920). *Homilien und Briefe zum Konzil von Ephesos,* ed. B.M. Weischer (Wiesbaden 1979). I. Rucker, *Studien zum Concilium Ephesinum zur 1500-Jahrfeier des dritten ökumenischen Konzils* (Munich 1935).

LIT. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 2:287–377. P.T. Camelot, *Ephèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris 1962). J. Meyendorff, *Christ in Eastern Christian Thought* (Washington, D.C.–Cleveland 1969) 3–31. A. Crabb, "The Invitation List to the Council of Ephesus and Metropolitan Hierarchy in the Fifth Century," *JThSt* n.s. 32 (1981) 369–400. –A.P.

"ROBBER" COUNCIL (Latrocinium). The council (8–22 Aug. 449) was summoned by THEODOSIOS II to settle the case of EUTYCHES, who had been condemned by Patr. FLAVIAN (22 Nov. 448) for teaching that Christ had only one nature after the Incarnation. The council of some 140 bishops, including two papal legates who objected to the proceedings, was pressured by the domineering DIOSKOROS, patriarch of Alexandria, and his violence-prone monastic followers to rehabilitate Eutyches and to depose Flavian. It likewise rejected the moderate but precarious theological compromise reached after the council of 431 by CYRIL of Alexandria and JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch. Despite the repeated requests of the Roman legates, the Tome of Pope LEO I to Flavian was never read. According to W. de Vries, these proceedings have often been exaggerated by scholars and may in fact have been no less uncanonical than the actions of other councils (*OrChrP* 41 [1975] 357–98). Eutyches' Monophysitism continued to disturb the doctrinal unity and security of both church and empire until CHALCEDON (451).

SOURCES. *Acta—ACO* Tom.II, vol. i, pars. 1:68–86, 108–120, 136–151; II, iii, 1:42–91. *Akten der Ephesinischen Synode vom Jahre 449,* ed. J. Flemming (Berlin 1917).

LIT. P.T. Camelot, "De Nestorius à Eutych: L'opposition de deux christologies," in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon,* 1:213–42. H. Bacht, "Die Rolle des orientalischen Mönchtums in den kirchenpolitischen Auseinandersetzungen um Chalkedon (431–519)," ibid., 2:197–231. –A.P.

EPHOROS (ἔφορος, lit. "overseer"), term for an ancient Spartan magistrate, revived in the 11th C. It is not found in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. On seals, *ephoroi* bear the high ranks of *proedros* and *vestes* and sometimes combine their duty with judicial functions, as in the case of Theodore, judge of the VELUM and *ephoros.* On the other hand, charters of 1044–88 mention the *ephoroi* of imperial KOURATOREIAI who, according to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 138), administered all the *kouratoreiai* over the entire empire. The staff of the *ephoros* included notaries and *domestikoi.* The term is found in the letters of Theodore PRODROMOS (PG 133:1239A) and MICHAEL ITALIKOS (ep.18). At the end of the 12th C. Niketas CHONIATES held this post, but it disappeared after 1204.

Ephoros was also the term for the lay administrator of a monastery, who was responsible for its economic management; the term is first attested in the 11th C. Other terms used for this position—*epitropos, antileptor,* and *prostates*—are found in 10th-C. sources. The *ephoros* was granted ownership (*kyriotes*) of the monastery and its properties and was supposed to be its protector, assuring, for

example, that it received fiscal exemptions (M. Nystazopoulou, *Symmeikta* 1 [1966] 85–94). The *ephoros* might play an important role in the election of the HEGOUMENOS and would have the power to remove him. Galatariotou (*infra*) concludes that an *ephoros* was more commonly appointed by aristocratic KTETORS or founders; nonaristocratic TYPIKA either deliberately refrain from making this sort of appointment or appoint an *ephoros* to serve primarily as a contact with the outside world and to represent the monastery's business interests and not to intervene in the internal administration of the monastery. In aristocratic *typika*, the *ephoros* is usually a relative of the *ktetor*, and the term is often a euphemism for a *charistikarios* (Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VII [1967], 3f), who received financial benefit from the monastery, which he was granted as CHARISTIKION. Such *ephoroi* sometimes abused their privileges and brought ruin on the monastery.

In a nontechnical sense, the term *ephoros* was applied to the ecclesiastical OIKONOMOS and SAKELLARIOS (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 555.1–2).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:631–66. Dölger, *Beiträge* 45. W. Seibt, "Drei byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Ephesos," in *Litterae numismaticae Vindobonenses: Roberto Goebl dedicatae* (Vienna 1979) 151–54. Galatariotou, "Typika," 101–06, 113–16. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 182–88. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 218–20, 253–58. R. Morris, "Legal Terminology in Monastic Documents of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 284–88, 290. –A.K., A.M.T.

EPHRAIM, mosaicist who worked with BASILIUS PICTOR in 1169 in the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM. Ephraim's name is found in the Greek portion of a partially preserved bilingual inscription formerly situated above the Gospel scenes in the church's choir. It describes him as *historiographos kai mousiatoros,* names MANUEL I, AMALRIC I, and Raoul, bishop of Bethlehem, and gives the date for the work's completion. The inscription is fully recorded on the flyleaf of a monastic miscellany, now Jerusalem, Greek Patr. Taphou 57.

LIT. B. Bagatti, *Gli antichi edifici sacri di Betlemme* (Jerusalem 1952) 60f. A. Cutler, "Ephraim, Mosaicist of Bethlehem: The Evidence from Jerusalem," *Journal of Jewish Art* 12–13 (1986–87) 179–83. –A.C.

EPHRAIM (Ἐφραίμ), chronicler from Ainos in Thrace; fl. at the end of the 13th C. or early 14th C. Ephraim is known only from his chronicle in dodecasyllables that presents the history of Old and New Rome through their rulers, from the 1st C. A.D. to 1261. It is followed by a verse catalog of the bishops of New Rome from the foundation of the church by the apostle Andrew to the accession of Patr. Isaiah in 1323. The latter is the only chronological indication for Ephraim's life. The chronicle's sources are ZONARAS, Niketas CHONIATES, and George AKROPOLITES, and is most detailed for the period 1204–61. Ephraim is true to his sources; variations and departures from them are minor and can be ascribed more to the needs of the meter than to independent knowledge.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. O. Lampsides, 2 vols. (Athens 1984–85).

LIT. O. Lampsides, *Beiträge zum byzantinischen Chronisten Ephraem und zu seiner Chronik* (Athens 1971). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:478–80. –R.J.M.

EPHREM THE SYRIAN, theologian and hymnographer; saint; born Nisibis ca.306, died Edessa 9 June 373; feastday 28 Jan. Born probably to Christian parents (although his Syriac Life states that his father was a pagan priest), Ephrem spent most of his life in Nisibis, serving as a deacon. After the Persian occupation of Nisibis in 363, he moved to Edessa. Hagiographical accounts (e.g., the spurious sermon ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA) credit him with confuting ARIANISM in Egypt and visiting BASIL THE GREAT at Caesarea. His diverse writings (exegetical, dogmatic, polemical, ascetic), mostly in verse, were composed in Syriac but translated into Armenian, Greek, Latin, and Church Slavonic. Most important is his liturgical poetry, which includes hymn cycles on church feasts, funeral hymns, and polemics against various heresies, esp. those of ARIUS, Bardesanes, and MANI. Two other favorite themes were grim descriptions of the Day of Judgment and the supreme virtues of the Virgin Mary. Ephrem was a major influence on the development of Syriac and Byz. HYMNOGRAPHY. Despite some modern scepticism (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* [Paris 1977] 22f), his impact on ROMANOS THE MELODE in terms of theme and imagery (e.g., heat, light, the "thorny nature" of man) seems certain (W.L. Petersen, *VigChr* 39 [1985] 171–87).

Representation in Art. Ephrem was depicted as a monk with a scant beard from at least the 10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* no.B.58). The

scene of his death, a popular post-Byz. composition, had its origin in the Byz. period: the corpse of the saint, laid out on a bier in an open landscape, was surrounded by vignettes of eremitical life, showing monks at work in their rocky cells or preparing to descend by various means of transport for the funeral. These elements, which appear already in 11th-C. MSS of the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, were occasionally used for scenes of the death of other saints as well (e.g., ARSENIOS THE GREAT).

ED. For editions see M. Roncaglia, "Essai de bibliographie sur saint Ephrem," *Parole de l'Orient* 4 (1973) 343–70. Eng. tr. S. Brock, *The Harp of the Spirit: Eighteen Poems of Saint Ephrem*[2] (London 1983). *Paraenesis: Die altbulgarische Übersetzung von Werken Ephraims des Syrers*, ed. G. Bojkovsky, R. Aitzetmüller, 3 vols. (Freiburg im Breisgau 1984–87), with Germ. tr.

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Literary, Critical and Historical Studies in Ephrem the Syrian* (Stockholm 1958). E. Beck, *Ephräms des Syrers Psychologie und Erkenntnislehre* (Louvain 1980). T. Bou Mansour, "La défense éphrémienne de la liberté contre les doctrines marcionite, bardesanite et manichéenne," *OrChrP* 50 (1984) 331–46. P. Yousif, "Histoire et temps dans la pensée de saint Ephrem de Nisibe," *Parole de l'Orient* 10 (1981–82) 3–35. J. Martin, "The *Death of Ephraim* in Byzantine and Early Italian Painting," *ArtB* 33 (1951) 217–25. J. Myslivec, *LCI* 6:151–53. –B.B., N.P.Š.

EPHTHALITES (Ἐφθαλῖται), a Hunnic people whose history and nomenclature are not clear. Many scholars assume that the peoples variously referred to as (H)Ephthalites, White Huns, Ye-Ta, Hayāṭila, Chionites, and Kidarites are related and of Hunnic origin. Christensen (*infra*) believes the Kidarites and Ephthalites to have been different peoples on the basis of Prokopios, who says that the latter were white-skinned. In any case, the presence of this single group (or plurality of groups) in Sasanian Iran is demonstrable from the 4th C. through the reign of Chosroes I Anūshirwān in the 6th C. Migrants from Mongolia, they settled along the Oxus River probably in the late 4th C.; under their king Grumbatas they participated in the expedition of Shāpūr II against Byz. Mesopotamia in 359; as Kidarite Huns, they settled in Bactria and Gandara in the 5th C. They participated in the dynastic struggle on behalf of Pērōz against his brother Hurmazd III in 457 and later took Pērōz captive. This evidently inaugurated a period of strife and tension, settled finally in 557 by Chosroes Anūshirwān who, in alliance with the Turkic khan Silziboulos, crushed the Ephthalites and divided their lands with the Turks. The ethnological discourse of Prokopios (*Wars* 1.3) on the Ephthalites indicates that they were sedentarized and yet also retained Central Asiatic shamanistic customs; for example, the *hetairai* of the chief were interred alive with their deceased master.

LIT. A.D.H. Bivar, in *EI*[2] 3:303f. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, 3.1 (Cambridge 1983) 142, 146–48; 3.2:768–71. Christensen, *Sassanides* 292–94. –S.V.

EPIBOLE (ἐπιβολή, Lat. *adjectio sterilium*) was the official transfer of abandoned land, together with its fiscal obligations, to relatives, co-contributors, or members of the same village or fiscal unit. The measure, initially meant to stabilize state revenues, enhanced the development of the fiscal communities described in 8th–10th-C. texts; it ended by indicating a complicated procedure by which, at every revision of the CADASTER, the KANON was reassessed, taking into consideration the previous assessments and all eventual increases or decreases of fiscal obligations or taxable assets of each fiscal unit (village or large landowner); the established fiscal burden was then distributed to individual contributors. The basic characteristics of the institution survived in the late 11th and early 12th C., but the way it was actually applied had by then changed considerably owing to the decline of small landed property and the increase of state lands and large privileged private properties. At this time officials began to consider the possibility of a unified rate of *epibole* for the whole empire.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 119–29. Idem, "L'Épibolè à l'époque des Comnènes," *TM* 3 (1968) 375–95. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 46f. –N.O.

EPIC. Several types of epic flourished in the late Roman period: (1) PATRIA, or histories of cities such as Tarsos, Berytus, and Nicaea; CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS wrote *patria* in epic verses on Constantinople, Thessalonike, and other cities (Al. Cameron, *Historia* 14 [1965] 489); (2) epic *enkomia* of famous persons, primarily emperors and high officials, by such authors as CLAUDIAN (who wrote both Latin and Greek epics), the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, KYROS of Panopolis, and CORIPPUS; (3) mythological epics by NONNOS, QUINTUS OF SMYRNA, KOLLOUTHOS, MOUSAIOS, etc.; and (4) biblical epics, an attempt to reproduce various Old and New Testament episodes in HEX-

AMETERS; of these the paraphrase of St. John's Gospel, probably by Nonnos, is the most remarkable. Many of these epics are lost (esp. the city histories) and known only from fragments or citations in Libanios, the *Souda*, and other sources. PROKLOS defended Homer against Plato's criticism (S. Koster, *Antike Epostheorien* [Wiesbaden 1970] 99–114), while introducing a threefold division of poetry: the sublime, full of divine virtues; the middle, having educational purposes; and the lower, which with the help of imitation and fantasy leads the soul into error.

Epic form was occasionally used for works without epic content, such as didactic poetry. Dionysios Periegetes (2nd C.) and OPPIAN (3rd C.), authors popular in Byz., wrote in hexameter, as well as Markellos of Side, a physician of the 2nd C. From the 4th C. onward, hexameter was replaced in didactic works by iambic trimeters and prose; on the other hand, CENTOS preserved Homeric meter and vocabulary but were sometimes far removed from an epic character.

After the first half of the 7th C., epic disappeared, although even much later (12th C.) poets praised imperial military achievements in hexameter. The last 7th-C. epic *enkomion*, by GEORGE OF PISIDIA, was already iambic. The later epic DIGENES AKRITAS differs in meter, content, and language from earlier examples and is closer to the tradition of soldiers' songs than to Homer.

LIT. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:959–74. M. Roberts, *Biblical Epos and Rhetorical Paraphrase in Late Antiquity* (Liverpool 1985). B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1977) 88–90. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 48–97. G.W. Elderkin, *Aspects of the Speech in the Later Greek Epic* (Baltimore 1906). –A.K.

EPICLESIS (ἐπίκλησις), invocation for the coming of the Holy Spirit (or, rarely, the Logos) to sanctify; esp. the epiclesis in the ANAPHORA, which asks the Father to send his Spirit or invokes the Spirit to come upon the bread and wine to change them into the body and blood of Christ for the spiritual benefit of the communicants. Such a consecratory epiclesis, first seen in CYRIL of Jerusalem (ed. Piédagnel, p.124.2–3), is a later explication of the more primitive general invocation upon the church and its offering for the fruits of COMMUNION and reflects the greater emphasis on the role of the Spirit in the aftermath of the First Council of Constantinople. Whether it was the epiclesis itself that constituted the formula of consecration, as the Second Council of Nicaea stated (Mansi 13:265D), or the words of Jesus over the bread and cup ("This is my body . . .") became a source of dispute with the Latins from the 14th C.

LIT. J.H. McKenna, *Eucharist and Holy Spirit* (Great Wakering, Essex, 1975) 29–82. –R.F.T.

EPIDEICTIC (ἐπιδεικτικά, lit. "fit for display"), or epideictic oratory, one of three branches of RHETORIC as defined by Aristotle. This distinction was accepted in the treatise *Division of Epideictic Speeches* ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, who divided speeches into praise (subdivided into hymns and ENKOMIA) and INVECTIVE. The term, however, was rare in Byz. usage, and neither Aphthonios nor NICHOLAS OF MYRA use it; according to APHTHONIOS (p.21.5), *enkomion* was not an "epideictic speech," but an expository one (*ekthetikos*). The term reappears infrequently in later commentaries on Menander, for example, John DOXOPATRES (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 150.8), and was evidently replaced by less abstract notions such as *enkomion* and EKPHRASIS. The word early acquired the negative connotation of "showing off," and EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (PG 24:748B) accused MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA of "showing off Hellenic science and ignoring divine knowledge."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 177–210. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 23–27. –A.K., E.M.J.

EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ, or Epiphanios the Wise, monk of the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej near Moscow; died ca.1420. His reputation as the most florid hagiographer of Rus' rests primarily on his vita of St. Stefan of Perm' (died 1395). The vita's elaborately expressive and emotive verbal devices are sometimes thought to be a literary and aesthetic extension of the spirituality of HESYCHASM, although features of the style can be traced to Serbian vitae of the 13th–14th C. and indeed to Byz. rhetoric (M. Mulič, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 127–42). Epifanij parades his knowledge of patristic and Byz. hagiographic traditions and of the Greek language, and he was prominent among those who represented the hesychast culture of Constantinople and Athos in Rus' (see KIPRIAN), probably having spent time in Constantinople and Athos himself. He wrote an *enkomion* and, in 1418,

a vita of St. Sergej of Radonež (died 1392), which survives in a version reworked by PACHOMIJ LOGOFET. In a letter to the archimandrite Kirill of Tver', Epifanij describes the activities and working methods of THEOPHANES THE GREEK, from whom he requested and copied a miniature depiction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ED. *Žitie sv. Stefana, episkopa Permskogo,* ed. V. Družinin (St. Petersburg 1897); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij (The Hague 1959). *Drevnie žitija prep. Sergija Radonežskogo,* ed. N.S. Tichonravov (Moscow 1892–1916); rp. with introd. by L. Müller, *Die Legenden des Heiligen Sergij von Radonež* (Munich 1967). Eng. tr. M. Klimenko, *The "Vita" of St. Sergii of Radonezh* (Houston 1980). "Pis'mo Epifanija Premudrogo k Kirillu Tverskomu," ed. O.A. Belobrova in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi. XIV–seredina XV veka* (Moscow 1981) 444–46.

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:195–245. F. Kitch, *The Literary Style of Epifanij Premudryj* (Munich 1976). G. Prochorov, "Epifanij Premudryj," *TODRL* 40 (1985) 77–91. –S.C.F.

EPIGONATION (ἐπιγονάτιον), a lozenge of stiff embroidered cloth worn as a vestment by a bishop over his STICHARION. It measured about 30 cm on each side and was attached to the belt so as to hang down over the right knee. Its use was restricted to bishops at least until the 14th C. First mentioned in the 12th C. by Theodore Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.25–66), who states that it represents the cloth with which Christ washed the feet of the apostles, the *epigonation* gradually replaced the softer ENCHEIRION. The earliest surviving examples, which date from the 14th C., are embroidered with an image of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 550–54. Papas, *Messgewänder* 130–53. M. Soteriou, "Chrysokteneton epigonation tou Byzantinou Mouseiou Athenon meta parastaseos tes eis Haidou Kathodou," *BNJbb* 11 (1934) 284–96. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 18f, pls. 51–52. –N.P.Š.

EPIGRAM (ἐπίγραμμα), originally an INSCRIPTION, esp. a funerary inscription; in Hellenistic and Roman times a short poem, usually in elegiac couplets, often with an erotic or satiric theme. In the early centuries of Byz., though caustic cynicism and eroticism can still be seen in epigrams (e.g., of PALLADAS and later of PAUL SILENTIARIOS and AGATHIAS), such subjects were already being replaced by soberer topics that reflected a christianized society, as in the funerary epigrams of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Thus the epigrams of GEORGE OF PISIDIA or THEODORE OF STOUDIOS frequently deal with icons, saints, or church festivals. Epigrams were also used in doctrinal polemics, as during the Iconoclast period, or to vent personal spleen (as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES).

During the 10th C. ANTHOLOGIES of classical and Byz. epigrams were made, first by KEPHALAS and later by the anonymous compiler, or compilers, of the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). Epigrams continued to be a fertile genre whose wide-ranging and prolific practitioners included JOHN GEOMETRES, John MAUROPOUS, and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE. From the 12th C. onward there is a tendency, as in the poems of Theodore PRODROMOS and Manuel PHILES as well as in numerous anonymous verses, for epigrams to revert to their primary use as dedicatory inscriptions attached to votive offerings (icons, church vessels, etc.) and on tombstones (cf. Lampros, "Mark. kod." 3–59, 123–92). A particular form of epigram was the metrical inscription on SEALS (sometimes one line long), giving the name, title, and office of the seal owner. Still used, nevertheless, for an enormous variety of topics normally written in 12- and 15-syllable lines, they are perhaps now best called "occasional verse."

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:165–73. A.D. Kominis, *To byzantinon hieron epigramma kai hoi epigrammatopoioi* (Athens 1966). W. Hörandner, "Customs and Beliefs as Reflected in Occasional Poetry," *ByzF* 12 (1987) 235–47. Q. Cataudella, "Influssi di poesia classica anche latina negli epigrammi cristiani greci," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 79–92. B. Lavagnini, "L'epigramma e il committente," *DOP* 41 (1987) 339–50. –E.M.J.

EPIGRAPHY. A discipline of Byz. epigraphy does not yet exist. While it cannot be said that it will occupy the same central position as it does in classical studies, it can nevertheless make a substantial contribution in a variety of fields (e.g., institutions, prosopography and onomastics, linguistic frontiers, etc.). Ideally, it should encompass all types of writing except in MSS, in particular the following:

1. INSCRIPTIONS on stone, including graffiti
2. Painted and mosaic inscriptions (those on mosaic pavements, which form an important group, cease with very few exceptions in the 7th C.)
3. Objects of household and religious use, including jewelry and amulets
4. Coins, seals, and weights

5. Brick stamps (limited primarily to the 4th–6th/7th C.)
6. Ivories and steatites

For some of the above categories (ivories, steatites, coins, and seals) we do have more or less complete corpora, but most of the other material remains extremely scattered in works such as publications of individual monuments, excavation reports, regional surveys, and museum catalogs, where Byz. inscriptions are interspersed with antique ones.

Strictly speaking, Byz. epigraphy ought to include all inscriptions originating within the empire, whatever their language (Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, etc.). In practice, however, those in indigenous languages have been left to their respective specialists and attention has been concentrated on those in Greek and Latin. The boundary between the latter two up to the 6th C. runs across the Balkan peninsula, roughly along a line from DYRRACHION to Odessos (VARNA) and in Africa between the Roman provinces of Libya and Tripolitana. The use of the two "prestige" languages, however, particularly of Greek in the eastern provinces, does not necessarily reflect the most commonly spoken language in an area; for example, in Syria up to the Arab conquest the vast majority of inscriptions are in Greek. A case may also be made for including in the sphere of Byz. epigraphy regions outside the empire where Greek inscriptions of Byz. character have been found (e.g., Nubia, 8th–12th C.). Greek was also used in PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS, and the ALANS wrote their inscriptions in Greek characters (10th–12th C.).

The first aim of the epigraphist is correct reading, which involves the resolution of ABBREVIATIONS, MONOGRAMS, and CRYPTOGRAMS, and familiarity with formulas and titulature. A concurrent preoccupation concerns the evolution of script, since it permits the dating of inscriptions within broad limits when an absolute date is not given, which is in the majority of cases. By and large, Byz. inscriptions before the year 1000 are in capital letters, written without division between words and hardly ever accented. LIGATURES between vertical letters (like M, N) are frequent; that of *o* plus *υ* (ȣ) comes into widespread use from the end of the 5th C. onward. Abbreviations are limited to titles, professions, dates, *nomina sacra*, and the conjunction *kai*. An important change in script occurs in the early 11th C.: abandoning its earlier sobriety, it strives after an ornamental effect. It borrows an increasing number of ligatures and abbreviations current in MSS and places one letter above or within another with a consequent loss of legibility. One can almost say that the content becomes secondary to calligraphy.

The thematic classification of inscriptions, as it has been elaborated for classical antiquity, is only partly applicable to the Byz. period. The following breakdown is tentative:

1. Sacred texts
2. Decrees (practically none after the 6th/7th C.) and grants of privileges. The latter are extremely rare, but note the painted chrysobulls in the Brontochion church, MISTRA (ed. G. Millet, *BCH* 23 [1899] 100–118), and at STAGOI.
3. Tokens of official control or regulation (COINS, SILVER STAMPS, WEIGHTS, BRICK stamps)
4. Marks of ownership (e.g., boundary stones) and authentication (SEALS)
5. Records of building and/or decoration
6. Honorific inscriptions accompanying statues or portraits (almost none after the 6th/7th C.)
7. Records of death (EPITAPHIA and commemorative graffiti)
8. Acclamations
9. Invocations, pious and magical formulas
10. Dedications, often introduced by the formula *Deesis tou doulou*
11. Epigrams, often on small objects (e.g., ivories, icon frames, crosses, etc.)
12. Painters' "signatures" (none before the 11th C. and rare thereafter)

It should be noted that many inscriptions, esp. those in verse, are preserved by way of MS tradition—the GREEK ANTHOLOGY, among the works of poets such as Theodore Prodromos and Manuel Philes—although it is often difficult to determine whether their compositions were in fact inscribed. As an example of a real inscription preserved in this manner we may quote the epigram on the Sangarios bridge (attributed to Agathias), which is found in the *Palatine Anthology* (*AnthGr* 9:641) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 5, ed. Pertusi 70.21–26).

LIT. J.S. Allen, I. Ševčenko, *Dumbarton Oaks Bibliographies, 2.1. Epigraphy* (Washington, D.C., 1981). F. Bérard, D. Feissel et al., *Guide de l'épigraphiste* (Paris 1986). C.M.

Kaufmann, *Handbuch der altchristlichen Epigraphik* (Freiburg 1917). L. Jalabert, R. Mouterde, H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1 (1926) 623–1089. M. Guarducci, *Epigrafia greca*, vol. 4 (Rome 1978) 299–556. –C.M.

EPILEPSY. See INSANITY.

EPIMANIKIA (ἐπιμανίκια, ἐπιμάνικα), a pair of detachable gold-embroidered cuffs worn as a vestment over the sleeves of a bishop's STICHARION. Contrary to Lampe, who says that *epimanika* are first mentioned in the Liturgy ascribed to John Chrysostom, the first reference is that by the mid-11th-C. Patr. PETER III of Antioch, who spoke of *encheiria*, *epimanikia*, and EPITRACHELIA ornamented with gold as details of the patriarchal costume (PG 120:800C). They occur in representations of bishops as early as the mid-10th C. (e.g., Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, fol.3), or even the late 9th C. (tympanum mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); it is not entirely certain, however, that these early images show detachable cuffs. The use of *epimanikia* was still restricted to bishops in the late 12th C. according to Theodore Balsamon, who says they represent the bonds that encircled Christ's wrists during the Passion (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.16–24). All the *epimanikia* that have survived date from the post-Byz. period.

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 131. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 98–101. Papas, *Messgewänder* 81–105. –N.P.Š.

EPIMERISMS (sing. ἐπιμερισμός, "distribution, parsing"), elementary word-by-word commentaries on literary texts intended for school use and comprising parsing, MORPHOLOGY, ORTHOGRAPHY, prosody, semantics, and ETYMOLOGY. Epimerisms on Homer existed from late antiquity. George CHOIROBOSKOS composed epimerisms on the Psalms, which were in use as a schoolbook in the 10th C. The classicism of the Palaiologan period led to the composition of epimerisms on select works of AELIANUS, the Philostrati, and AGAPETOS by such scholars as Maximos PLANOUDES (S. Lindstam, *Eranos* 19 [1919–20] 57–92) and Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS. George LAKAPENOS even composed epimerisms on a collection of his own letters. Anonymous epimerisms on prayers and other short religious texts are numerous and impossible to date. The epimerisms on Homer and the Psalms were originally separate books, while the later epimerisms seem from the first to have been written in the margins or between the lines of the text that they were designed to explain. Used for grammatical instruction as well as for textual exegesis, epimerisms were therefore sometimes detached from their texts and rearranged alphabetically. Akin to the epimerisms on literary texts were the word-by-word grammatical explanations of *schede*, short pieces of text, often of ambiguous meaning, which were widely used in schools from the 11th C. onward for instruction in grammar (see SCHEDOGRAPHIA).

ED. *Epimerismi Homerici, Pars prior, epimerismos continens qui ad Iliadis librum A pertinent*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin–New York 1983). *Anecdota graeca Oxoniensia*, ed. J.A. Cramer (Oxford 1835) 1:1–472, 2:331–426.

LIT. L. Cohn, *RE* 6 (1909) 179–81. H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* (Munich 1960) 230–50. –R.B.

EPIPHANEIA (Ἐπιφάνεια, biblical and Syr. Hamath, Ar. Ḥamāh or Ḥamāt in mod. Syria), city on the Orontes River and bishopric of SYRIA II. A Roman temple was transformed (by 400?) into a church, which was later rebuilt (in 595?) and dedicated to the Theotokos and Sts. Kosmas and Damianos. There are epigraphic references (5th–6th C.) to this building and to another church and a winter bath at Epiphaneia (*IGLSyr* 5, nos. 1999–2004). That part of the KAPER KORAON TREASURE of 6th–7th-C. liturgical silverware that is known as the Ḥamāh Treasure was reportedly found at Epiphaneia. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS was born in Epiphaneia. After the Arab conquest of the city in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 112, 148–51) the Church of the Theotokos was transformed into the Umayyad mosque, which still survives, although Nikephoros II Phokas is said to have burned the mosque of Epiphaneia during a raid in 968.

LIT. D. Sourdel, EI^2 3:119–21. P.J. Riis, *Temple, Church and Mosque* (Copenhagen 1965). –M.M.M.

EPIPHANIES. Appearances of a god or beneficent manifestations of the divine in a human context, epiphanies were a staple of late antique paganism in both religious and state imperial cults. Mystery cults organized their rituals around epi-

phanies, shrines of healing gods recorded miraculous cures as epiphanies, and the imperial cult celebrated as an epiphany the emperor's birthday, arrival in a new place, accession to office, outstanding deeds, and ceremonial appearances at court. Christ's life, too, came to be understood in terms of theophanic events, or epiphanies. The 6th of Jan. (EPIPHANY) was the earliest feast celebrating Christ's manifestation as divine and united the Baptism, ADORATION OF THE MAGI, and miracle at CANA. Christ's early life was dotted with epiphanies marked by angelic appearances (ANNUNCIATION, admonitions to Joseph, heavenly hosts at the NATIVITY); apocryphal Gospels added others. The single such appearance during his ministry is the TRANSFIGURATION, but his miracles, being beneficent manifestations of the divine, were also regarded as epiphanies, and they early acquired the appropriate iconography with a disciple to serve as a witness. Epiphanies recur in the PASSION and its aftermath: the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, patterned after an imperial epiphany, the ANASTASIS, ASCENSION, and PENTECOST. (See also VISIONS.)

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:131–92. –A.W.C.

EPIPHANIOS, bishop of Salamis (Constantia) in Cyprus (from 367); saint; born Eleutheropolis in Judaea ca.315, died at sea en route to Salamis from Constantinople 12 May 403. First prominent as founder of a monastery near his birthplace (ca.335), Epiphanios served as metropolitan in Cyprus for 36 years. A rigorous Nicene, he combatted all heresies, esp. Origenism; his struggle against the latter involved him respectively with JEROME and THEOPHILOS of Alexandria in serious conflict against JOHN II of Jerusalem (394) and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM at Constantinople in 402. He was equally hostile to classical education, perhaps deliberately affecting a poor Attic style, which, according to Jerome, enabled him to reach the masses through his writings.

His most important works include the *Ankyrotos* (lit. "holding fast like an anchor"), the *Panarion* (or Refutation of All the Heresies), and a volume misleadingly entitled *On Weights and Measures*, which is actually a biblical dictionary. His criticisms of religious art (now generally thought to be genuine) prefigure the Byz. controversy over ICONOCLASM. Epiphanios recommended to Emp. Theodosios I that curtains adorned with sacred images be removed and used for burial shrouds and that frescoes be whitewashed (Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 67–75; Mango, *Art* 41–43). His works were translated into a number of medieval languages, including Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Syriac, and Church Slavonic.

ED. PG 41–43. *Epiphanius*, ed. K. Holl, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1915–33; vols. 2–3, rp. Berlin 1980–85). Eng. tr. F. Williams, *The Panarion of Epiphanius of Salamis, Book I* (Leiden-New York 1987). "To 'Peri metron kai stathmon' ergon Epiphaniou tou Salaminos," ed. E.D. Moutsoulas, *Theologia* 41 (1970) 618–37; 42 (1971) 473–505; 43 (1972) 631–70; 44 (1973) 157–210. For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 3744–807.

LIT. C. Riggi, "La figura di Epifanio nel IV secolo," *StP* 8 (Berlin 1966) 86–107. P. Nautin, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 617–31. D. Fernández, *De mariologia sancti Epiphanii* (Rome 1968). H.G. Thümmel, "Die bilderfeindlichen Schriften des Epiphanios von Salamis," *BS* 47 (1986) 169–88. –B.B., A.M.T.

EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES, the author of the first Byz. description of the Holy Land; fl. end of the 8th C. (J. Darrouzès in *DHGE* 15 [1963] 615) or in the 9th C. (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:517). Nothing is known of him. His short PROSKYNETARION begins with his journey via Cyprus and Tyre to Jerusalem, from which he took trips to Alexandria, "the great Babylon of the Pharaoh," Raithou, and Mt. Sinai, and to Gethsemane, the Jordan River, and Galilee. The LOCA SANCTA described are connected with the Old Testament (Joseph's warehouses, Moses' miracles); with Christ, the Virgin, and people related to them (e.g., the tomb of Lazarus); and with some saints (the tomb of Kyros and John in Edessa). Certain monasteries are named, as are the places where the patriarch of Jerusalem officiated. Some sentences of Epiphanios duplicate a section of a legend about Constantine I the Great, but it remains unclear which of the texts has priority. Neither the Arab presence nor Charlemagne's protectorate are mentioned. Epiphanios used to be confused with his namesake from Constantinople, the hagiographer who compiled vitae of the apostle ANDREW and of the Virgin.

ED. H. Donner, "Palästina-Beschreibung des Epiphanios Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 87 (1971) 42–91, with Germ. tr.; with Russ. tr. V. Vasil'evskij, "Povest' Epifanija o Ierusalime," *PPSb* 4.2 (11) (1886).

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Das Itinerarium des Epiphanios Hagiopolita," *ZDPV* 63 (1940) 143–54. –A.K.

EPIPHANY (τὰ Ἐπιφάνια), the feast of lights (*ta phota*), also called *ta theophania*, celebrating the Baptism of Christ in the Jordan River. Epiphany originally commemorated not a single event, but a mystery, the appearance of salvation in Jesus revealed in a cluster of New Testament events, principally Jesus' birth and his baptism. Historicizing tendencies in the 4th C. led to a separation of the cluster: the NATIVITY was moved to 25 Dec. and the Baptism was then celebrated by itself on 6 Jan. The feast gained importance during the controversies over the divine origins of Christ and with the subsequent definitions of the First Council of NICAEA.

Epiphany is celebrated with a solemnity matched, among the fixed GREAT FEASTS, only by that accompanying the Nativity. There is a preparatory Sunday, a four-day forefeast, a *paramone* vigil (as before the Nativity) that includes a blessing of the waters, a SYNAXIS honoring JOHN THE BAPTIST on the day following the feast (7 Jan.), and eight days of afterfeast (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:174–91). The blessing of the waters, an important part of the ritual, is attested already in 387 at Antioch by John Chrysostom (PG 49:365f). According to a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 3, 25–26), the patriarch and the emperor celebrated the vigil at the Church of St. Stephen the Protomartyr at the Daphne Palace and the Epiphany rite itself in the Church of Hagia Sophia; on the day of Epiphany the emperor, honored at a number of receptions by the FACTIONS, confirmed new MAGISTROI to office.

Representation in Art. The feast of the Baptism of Christ was represented by the 3rd C. and had acquired its standard composition by the 6th (Cathedra of MAXIMIAN): Christ frontal or in profile in the water, John the Baptist to one side, angels to the other, the dove descending in a lightburst from above, the personified JORDAN below. Post-Iconoclastic versions added a cross in the water, referring to the cross at the pilgrimage site in Palestine (HOSIOS LOUKAS); two disciples and the axe at the root of a tree (cf. Lk 3:9; MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.299); swimmers, linking this with John's other baptisms; and a dragon in the depths, associating Christ's descent into the water with his descent into Hades (see ANASTASIS). The Baptistery at HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (by 1200) embedded the Baptism in a cycle of scenes of John's ministry. In Palaiologan art the Baptism was incorporated in such a five- to seven-scene cycle, and Christ's precipitous descent into the water was emphasized to permit analogies with his descent into the cave at birth and into Hades at death. Only in miniatures in the 12th-C. MS, Chicago, Univ. Lib. 965 (fols.37r, 61v) is the Baptism separated from the descent of the Spirit in accordance with Scripture (Lk 3:21–22).

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year*, esp. 112–34. M. Dubarle et al., *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ* (Paris 1967). Millet, *Recherches* 170–209. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:252–76. D. Mouriki, "Revival Themes with Elements of Daily Life in Two Palaeologan Frescoes Depicting the Baptism," in *Okeanos* 458–88. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

EPIROS (Ἤπειρος), northwestern Greece, a mountainous area between the PINDOS and the Ionian Sea, with a rich coastal area, important for its connections with the West. Perhaps under Diocletian the province of Epiros was separated from ACHAIA, and by the time of the VERONA LIST (produced between 328 and 337) it was divided into the provinces of Old Epiros (in the south) and New Epiros (in the north), both administratively part of the diocese of Moesia, later transferred to that of Macedonia. According to Hierokles (Hierokl. 651.3–654.1), Old Epiros (capital NIKOPOLIS) had 12 cities and New Epiros (capital DYRRACHION) had nine. The area was plundered by the Vandals in the 5th C. and many of its cities were fortified or refortified by Justinian I (F. Wozniak in *Nikopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos [Preveza 1987] 263–67). Epiros was overrun by the Slavs in the late 6th–7th C. and most of the cities disappeared.

Restoration of Byz. control came largely from the sea beginning in the 8th C. The themes of Dyrrachion and Nikopolis were created in the 9th C. By the end of the 12th C. many smaller territorial units were organized: a chrysobull of 1198 lists the provinces of Dyrrachion, "Jericho et Caninon," IOANNINA, Drynoupolis, and Nikopolis; some of them included private units—*episkepseis*, called *pertinentia* in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (in Arta, Acheloos, Lesiana, etc.); the *Partitio* also lists "*chartolarata*" of Glavinica and of Bagenetia. In the 13th C. an independent principality (see EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF) emerged, engulfing all these areas.

Epiros was inhabited by Greeks, Slavs, Albanians, and VLACHS; Italians also penetrated the area. The ecclesiastical center of Epiros until ca.800 was Nikopolis; it was later succeeded by Naupak-

tos, whose suffragans in the 10th C. were Bounditza (probably not BOUDONITZA?), Aetos, Acheloos, Rogoi (or ARTA), Ioannina, Photike or Bella, Adrianoupolis (Drynoupolis), and BOUTHROTON (*Notitiae CP* 7:575–83). Many early Christian churches have been found, esp. at Nikopolis and along the coast, while later monuments are more common in the interior, esp. around Arta.

LIT. *TIB* 3:37–97. E. Chrysos, "Symbole sten historia tes Epeirou kata ten protobyzantine epoche (d'-st' aiona)," *EpChron* 23 (1981) 9–104. D. Pallas, *RBK* 2:207–334.
–T.E.G.

EPIROS, DESPOTATE OF, one of the independent Greek states established after the fall of Constantinople in 1204 during the Fourth Crusade, along with the empires of NICAEA and TREBIZOND. The term *despotaton* can be properly applied only for the 14th-15th C.; it is first used in a chrysobull of 1342. Although related to the ANGELOS dynasty in Constantinople, the early rulers of Epiros used the family names Komnenos and Doukas. The state was founded by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, who gained control of the entire northwestern coast of Greece and much of Thessaly. His ambitious brother THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS captured OHRID in 1216. Theodore, who dreamed of recovering Constantinople, took Thessalonike from the Latins in 1224 and was crowned as emperor, thus briefly setting himself up as a rival to the emperor of Nicaea. In 1242, however, Theodore's son John was forced by JOHN III VATATZES to substitute the title *despotes* for "emperor," and in 1246 Thessalonike was annexed by Nicaea. During the reign of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Nicene forces temporarily conquered much of Epiros after the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). But Epiros recovered its independence by 1264 and continued to be ruled by Greek *despotai* until 1318, when it came under the control of the Italian Orsini family (1318–37).

After a brief period of restoration of Greek rule, Epiros was occupied by the Serbs in 1348. The CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA describes the unpopular rule of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ over Ioannina from 1366/7 to 1384, while Arta was governed by the Albanian clan of Spata. In the late 14th C. Ioannina returned to Italian control, first under the Florentine Esau Buondelmonti (1385–1411) and then under the house of TOCCO, which also acquired Arta from the Albanians. Epiros was conquered by the Ottomans in the 15th C.; Ioannina fell in 1430, Arta in 1449. The geographical isolation of Epiros, esp. the barrier of the PINDOS mountain range, enabled it to remain separate from the Byz. Empire until the Turkish conquest, but the Byz. emperors always regarded rulers of Epiros as rebels and maintained the right to confer the title DESPOTES.

In the 13th C. Epiros was populated primarily by Greeks alongside whom lived Slavs (for whom the names of Macedonians, Bulgarians, and DROUGOBITES were used), ALBANIANS, VLACHS, Jews, Turks, Armenians, and Latins. The surviving documents reflect a society composed primarily of free peasants who formed communities and enjoyed the right of PROTIMESIS. Towns had a strong landowner class, mostly free peasants; dependent peasants were rare (D. Angelov, *Izvestija na Kamarata na narodnata kultura, serija: Humanitarni nauki* 4.3 [Sofia 1947] 3–46). The region consisted of several themes (e.g., Bagenetia, Acheloos, SKOPJE, and Drama) which normally included a single town and its environs; the governor of a theme was usually called *doux,* but also *kephale, energon,* etc. (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951]

Greek *Despotai* of Epiros and Emperors at Thessalonike (1205–1318)

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros	1205–1215
THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS	
ruler of Epiros	1215–1230
emperor at Thessalonike	1224/5? or 1227–1230
Manuel Angelos, emperor at Thessalonike	1230–1237
John	
emperor at Thessalonike	1237–1242
despotes at Thessalonike	1242–1244
DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, *despotes* at Thessalonike	1244–1246
MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, ruler of Epiros (*despotes* of Epiros from ca.1249)	ca.1230–1266/8
NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, *despotes* of Epiros	1266/8–1296/8
Thomas, *despotes* of Epiros	1296–1318

Source: Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 252, with modifications.

59–62). (See table for a list of the rulers of Epiros from 1205 to 1318.)

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros* (Oxford 1957), rev. L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 (1959) 90–126. D.M. Nicol, *The Despotate of Epiros, 1267–1479* (Cambridge 1984).
–A.M.T., A.K.

EPISCOPALIS AUDIENTIA, identified in the *Codex Justinianus* as the juridical powers and privileges conferred upon bishops. Actually, Christian leaders had heard and decided disputes involving members of their local congregations since Christian antiquity. Only under Constantine I did such arbitration receive official recognition. Constantine introduced the episcopal tribunal into Roman civil legal procedure by ordering that either party in a suit might have the case heard by a bishop. By the early 5th C., however, the government modified this, restricting the bishop's juridical powers to mediation and stipulating that both parties to the dispute had to consent (cf. *Cod.Just.* I. 4.7, 8). In sum, episcopal judicial activity in civil matters had ceased to exist, except in the form of arbitration *inter volentes* ("between willing [parties]"). Under Justinian I, however, a layman involved in a dispute with a cleric was once again able to bring his case to the bishop's court (nov.86). Moreover, a law of Herakleios (*Reg* 1, no.199) stipulated that all civil suits brought against clerics in Constantinople were to be heard by the patriarch (cf. the later decree of Alexios I, *Reg* 1, no.1071).

In trials involving clergy the bishop continued to act as judge. Episcopal tribunals, in fact, had jurisdiction over all civil and disciplinary cases in which the litigants were clergy. Conciliar legislation insisted that such trials were the exclusive concern of ecclesiastical courts and that clerics could settle their differences only in such courts (Council of CHALCEDON, canon 9).

LIT. G. Vismara, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Milan 1937). A.P. Christophilopoulos, "He dikaiodosia ton ekklesiastikon dikasterion epi idiotikon diaphoron kata ten byzantinen periodon," *EEBS* 18 (1948) 192–201. J.N. Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Episcopalis Audientia* (Amsterdam 1956). W. Selb, "Episcopalis audientia von der Zeit Konstantins bis zur Nov.XXXV Valentinians III," *ZSavRom* 84 (1967) 162–217. A. Michel, "Ein Bischofsprozess bei Michael Kerullarios," *BZ* 41 (1941) 447–52.
–A.P.

EPISKEPSIS (ἐπίσκεψις, lit. "care, inspection"), a fiscal term with three different meanings. (1) Most commonly, it refers to a particular property belonging to the imperial domain (*basilike episkepsis*—Dölger, *Beiträge* 120.19), a fiscal unit composed of a collection of properties held by the emperor or a member of the imperial family and sometimes by other individuals (in 10th–13th-C. documents). The monastery of Patmos was granted annually 700 *modioi* of grain from the emperor's *episkepseis* on Crete but, at the end of the 12th C., it was impossible to provide the monastery with grain, since the government had given these *episkepseis* over to some local nobles for a cash payment (MM 6:131.6–10). (2) *Episkepsis* could refer to a fiscal division of a THEME (in documents up to the 12th C.). (3) The term was also used to describe the actual daily "administration of property," particularly of imperial property.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 151f. D. Zakythenos, "Meletai peri tes dioiketikes diaireseos kai eparchikes dioikeseos en to Byzantino kratei," *EEBS* 17 (1942) 34–36. N. Oikonomides, "He dianome ton basilikon 'episkepseon' tes Kretes," *Pepragmena tou B' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou* 3 (Athens 1968) 195–201. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI (1967), 423.
–M.B.

EPISKEPTITES (ἐπισκεπτίτης), a subaltern official mentioned in the 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; there were *episkeptitai* in the departments of the DROMOS, the EPARCH OF THE CITY, the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON), and the KOURATORES. The majority of them were administrators of imperial domains (the so-called EPISKEPSIS), such as the *protospatharios* Stephen, *episkeptites* of the imperial *ktemata* in 996 (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.6). *Episkeptitai* of several locations, small and large (including Peloponnesos and Armeniakon), are mentioned on seals. Ecclesiastical *episkeptitai* were accountants dispatched by the OIKONOMOS (MM 5:355.31).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 132f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 312.
–A.K.

EPISTOLAE AUSTRASICAE, collection of letters assembled at Metz late in the 6th C. that documents Byz. DIPLOMACY and military relations with the Merovingian FRANKS. This activity was prompted chiefly by Constantinople's efforts to buy effective military support for Byz. operations in Italy. King Theudebert I sent two letters to Justinian I (eps. 19–20, between 536 and 538 and 546/7, respectively) and one letter to King Theu-

debald (ep.18, ca.548/9). Epistle 48 went to a Lombard leader in connection with Byz. efforts to defend reconquered Italy under Justin II (W. Goffart, *Traditio* 13 [1957] 77–82) or Tiberios I, while the largest group reveals relations of Childebert II and Brunichildis with Emp. Maurice, who expressed dissatisfaction with Frankish cooperation in a letter of 1 Sept. 584 (*Reg* 1, no.83). Epistles 43–45 were probably carried to Constantinople in 586 in an attempt to liberate Brunichildis's nephew, held hostage there. Fourteen letters introduced the Frankish ambassadors dispatched to Byz. in connection with the attack on Italy in 588. Their addressees include members of the imperial family, the patriarch, and leading court officials and show how the Franks understood the structure of power in Constantinople. Other letters concern Frankish cooperation with the EXARCHS of Italy Smaragdus (ep.46) and Romanus (eps. 40–41).

ED. W. Gundlach, MGH *Epist.* 3:111–53. Cf. D. Norberg, *Eranos* 35 (1937) 105–15.
LIT. E. Ewig, *Die Merowinger und das Imperium* (Opladen 1983). –M.McC.

EPISTOLAE VISIGOTICAE, 7th-C. collection of letters that preserves the courteous correspondence of Sisebut, king of the VISIGOTHS, and Caesarius, *patrikios* and governor of Byz. Spain. Their contents concern negotiations with Constantinople ca.615 (F. Görres, *BZ* 16 [1907] 530–32) for a peace treaty to end Gothic military successes against the Byz. during the disastrous early period of the reign of Herakleios.

ED. *Miscellanea Wisigotica*, ed. J. Gil (Seville 1972) 3–14. W. Gundlach, MGH *Epist.* 3:661–90.
LIT. T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident depuis la fondation des états barbares jusqu'aux Croisades (407–1090)* (Athens 1980) 106f, 422f. –M.McC.

EPISTOLOGRAPHY, or the art of writing letters, a genre of Byz. literature akin to RHETORIC, popular with the intellectual elite. Copious examples survive from all periods, in more than 150 published collections containing approximately 15,000 letters (Mullett, *infra* 75). Antecedents for the form exist from the classical period (e.g., the letters of Aristotle or Plato, whether genuine or spurious, or those of Herodes Atticus), and also in the Pauline Epistles of the New Testament, which themselves show awareness of Hellenistic epistolary practice (as described by, e.g., pseudo-Demetrios, *On Style*, chs. 223–35). Byz. letters preserved substantial elements of the ancient genre—in form, composition, and the system of imagery; direct quotations and borrowings were very common.

The first flowering of the Byz. letter, combining influences from both the Christian tradition and the classical Greek, appeared in the 4th C. with the collections of Emp. JULIAN, LIBANIOS, SYNESIOS, and the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS (who became a model and quarry for later writers). To this period also belongs the fictitious correspondence of the apostle Paul with the philosopher Seneca that survives only in a Latin version. After the 4th C., letter writing became less fashionable, although some voluminous collections are preserved (esp. that of ISIDORE OF PELOUSION); after Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES the genre virtually disappears until its revival by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and PHOTIOS. Thereafter it plays a leading role as a literary genre, becoming esp. popular in the Palaiologan period. The peak of epistolographic activity falls in the 11th–12th C., when such masters as PSELLOS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Gregory ANTIOCHOS, and Michael CHONIATES worked, and John TZETZES created an original, albeit unwieldy, genre of letters accompanied by verse commentaries.

The theoreticians of late Roman rhetoric, HERMOGENES and APHTHONIOS, ignored epistolography, but it is discussed by other theoreticians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and later, esp. in the pseudonymous *Epistolary Characters* (between the 4th and 6th C.) wrongly attributed to either Libanios (J. Sykutris, *BNJbb* 7 [1930] 108–18) or Proklos. Theon of Alexandria (1st–2nd C.) classed epistolography as a PROGYMNASMA under the heading of ETHOPOIIA, or character drawing, for the opportunities it gave to depict character. Pseudo-Proklos suggested a definition of the letter as a written conversation (*homilia*) between people who are separated and produced a sophisticated categorization of 41 types of letter. He emphasized the ideals of clarity (*sapheneia*) and reasonable length. The clearest indication of the Byz. concept of the ideal letter can be found in letters that themselves discuss the form, as in the letter of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to his nephew (ep.51, ed. Gallay). There he recommends that letters should be brief, clear, and phrased like a conversation

with an absent friend and should treat serious topics with elegant expression. Epistolography received no attention in the general handbooks until the 14th C., when JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES devoted a chapter to it in his encyclopedia. The technique of letter writing was presumably taught by example from model collections, such as MS Patmos 706.

Byz. letters survive mainly in copies, with the exception of numerous papyri and late letters that were preserved in the fabric of bookbindings (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 72f and n.3). They were nearly always intended for publication, either in the sense of public reading or through circulation as a collection. Some collections of letters were made from copies kept by the authors, others were gathered from the recipients by a later editor. Evidently many an author (e.g., John Tzetzes) rearranged and edited his letters before issuing the collection. Letters were frequently, if not normally, meant to be read aloud, not just to the intended recipient but also to an appreciative audience. Evidence for such occasions is intermittent but persistent from the 4th C. to the Palaiologan period. In this way epistolography filled the gap created by the disappearance of the THEATER; like rhetoric in general, letter writing uses theatrical terminology.

Byz. lacked regular mail service. Imperial letters were sent with special couriers; private individuals used friends, casual acquaintances, or servants as letter bearers (*grammatophoroi*). Letter writers sometimes complain of the difficulties of finding a suitable emissary. For example, the governor Theodore Branas dispatched a letter announcing the invasion of the Cumans with a monk who was walking to an annual panegyris in the town of Kouperion; the monk, however, "stuffed the letter in his bosom and consigned it to the darkness of his black robes," and failed to deliver it (Nik.Chon. 500.78–92). The *grammatophoros* was supposed to be a "living letter" (*empsychos epistole*) and convey factual information, while the letter served as a literary ornament added to the message. Often the letter was accompanied with a gift that could range from a book to fish and fruit.

Letters can usefully be divided according to their purpose, into official, private, and literary examples. The letters dispatched by emperors, patriarchs (NICHOLAS I, ATHANASIOS I), and officials, as well as petitions addressed to them, functioned as documents and were eventually quoted and referred to as such; some official letters are preserved in the minutes of meetings where they had been read aloud. Private letters were limited to the exchange of opinions between two correspondents, whereas literary letters were addressed (at least by implication) to a broader audience and often dealt with invented persons and situations. According to their content, letters can be divided into diplomatic, theological, and scholarly examples; letters of recommendation, indoctrination, and censure; and letters of consolation. Many letters express only banal politeness and standard friendship with conventional complaints about the correspondent's silence. The erotic letter died out after ARISTAINETOS.

The letter was not clearly distinct from related genres. The connection between conversation, homily, and letter was close, and a number of sermons exist in letter form. A letter could grow into a theological tract, as did Photios's lengthy letter to Ašot I (ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, 3 [1985] 4–97), or into a historical work, such as the epistle of the monk THEODOSIOS to Deacon Leo on the capture of Syracuse in 880 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f). The preamble to a major work could take the form of a letter; Photios's letter to his brother Tarasios introduces his BIBLIOTHECA. On the other hand, larger literary works could include letters; thus Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:94.2–99.9) quoted in his *History* the vernacular letter of the sultan of Egypt.

Though the Byz. letter may have aimed at originality combined with ornamentation and elegance in phrasing, variation in theme was not so important. A standard structure evolved, including—as expected—a greeting, inquiries after the correspondent's health, statements of the subject matter, and closing expressions of good will. Under Christian influence, however, certain formerly standard phrases changed. Thus in the exordium the old formula "A greets B" was usually replaced by "B is greeted by A," since according to the Christian tradition of *tapeinotes* (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF) it was improper for the author to place himself first. Alongside the old formulaic conclusion "Be healthy" appears an elaborate prayer for divine blessing on the addressee and his family. The letter was considered a rhetorical piece, and the correspondent sometimes asked to be forgiven for his inadequacies.

Special attention was paid to *prooimia* that showed the correspondent's extensive knowledge of biblical and classical literature. Formulaic content was accompanied by vivid observations, witty jokes, and expression of true feelings. Certain topics recur, giving scope for the writer's ingenuity in phraseology: the letter was a sign of friendship, it was a gift, it revealed the sender's soul, it united separated friends while lamenting the distance that divided them and the loneliness this entailed. It must be remembered that the real subject matter of a letter was often delivered orally by the courier; hence, though obscurity for its own sake was not recommended, letters frequently contain generalities rather than specific details, thus increasing the already existing trends toward "deconcretization" and abstraction. At times, and esp. when a writer can be detected borrowing phrases and even complete letters from other authors, one feels that Byz. letters rarely include any "real" information.

Nevertheless, the genre is an important source for studying Byz. history and culture. Many describe or allude to crucial events and are esp. useful for establishing the relations between various members of the intelligentsia and the intellectual atmosphere of the empire. Because letters are part of a conversation rather than a source of direct information, the chronology and identification of the persons or events mentioned may be difficult; the problem is sometimes alleviated by the presence of LEMMATA, or headings, with some factual indications, or by the existence of chronologically ordered collections of letters, frequently prepared by the author himself (Tzetzes, Michael Choniates, etc.). Sometimes, however, the *lemmata* were added by a later editor and provide erroneous information on the names and offices of the addressees. Another problem is that fictitious letters can be intermixed with real ones or form a special collection. In MS tradition the body of the correspondence is usually divided, with the letters of each correspondent forming a separate unit; the establishment of interconnected pairs remains, as a rule, problematic.

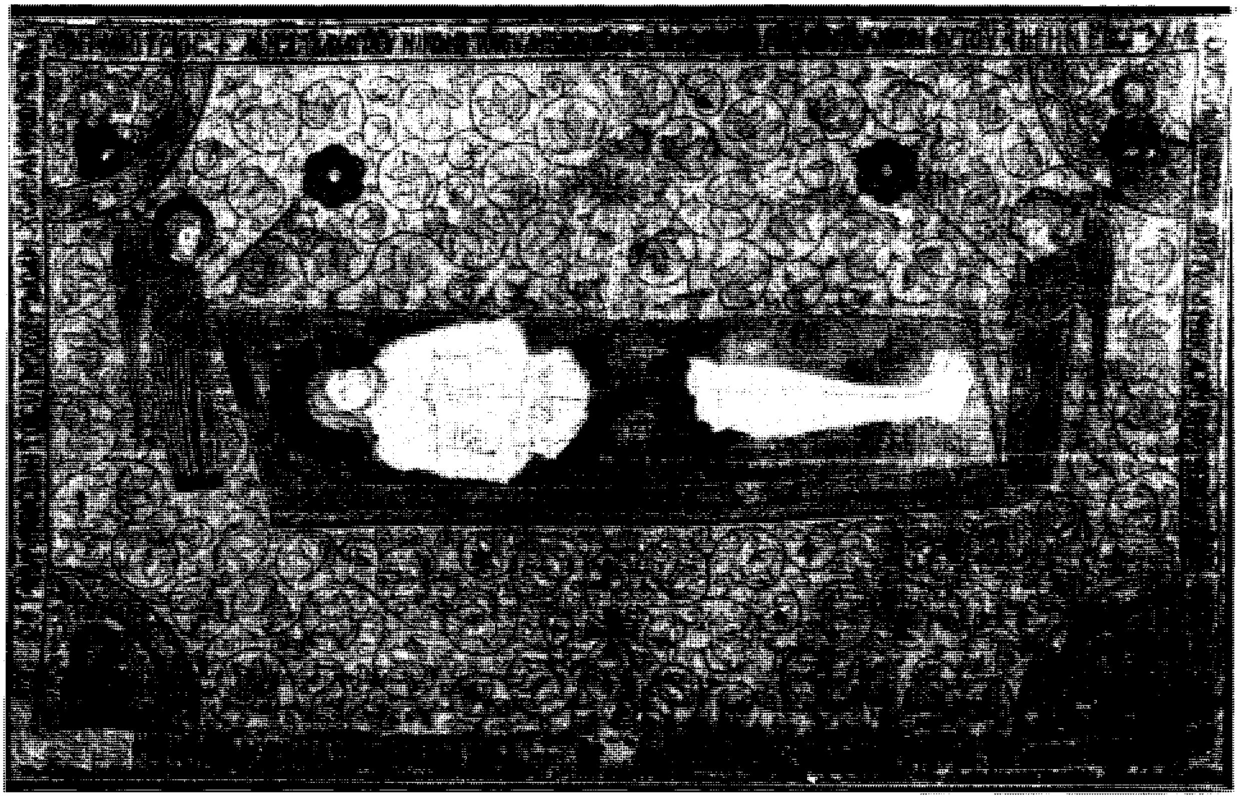
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:199–239. J. Sykutris, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 218–20. N. Tomadakes, *Byzantine epistolographia*[3] (Athens 1969). M. Mullett, "The Classical Tradition in the Byzantine Letter," in *Classical Tradition* 75–93. J. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers byzantins du Xe siècle* (Paris 1960). Idem, "Un recueil épistolaire du XIIe siècle," *REB* 30 (1972) 199–229. V.A. Smetanin, "Teoretičeskaja čast' epistolologii i konkretno-istoričeskij efarmosis pozdnej Vizantii," *ADSV* 16 (1979) 58–93. Idem, *Vizantijskoe obščestvo XIII–XV vekov po dannym epistolografii* (Sverdlovsk 1987). G.T. Dennis, "The Byzantines as Revealed in their Letters," in *Gonimos. Neoplatonic and Byzantine Studies Preented to L.G. Westerink at 75* (Buffalo, N.Y., 1988) 155–65. –E.M.J., A.K.

EPISTYLE (ἐπιστύλιον, δοκός), or architrave, lower part of the Roman ENTABLATURE, the beam of the Byz. TEMPLON. Already from the 6th C. epistyles are decorated with figures of Christ and saints (S. Xydis, *ArtB* 29 [1947] 8). The DEESIS appears on the most important epistyles of the 10th–11th C., most of them found in Asia Minor (J.-P. Sodini, *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie Antique* [Paris 1980] 130–33). These are carved in marble and inlaid with glass paste and mastic, evoking more elaborate epistyles of the period known to have been decorated with enamels (*TheophCont* 331.1) and perhaps ivory plaques (K. Weitzmann in *Festschrift für Karl Hermann Usener* [Marburg 1967] 11–20). Ordinary examples of the 10th–11th C. display geometric patterns, interconnected roundels, or arcaded patterns filled with palmettes, with a cross at the center, bosses, and, often, animals at either end. A richer vocabulary and an awakened interest in plasticity are evident from the 12th C., esp. in Greece (L. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 9 [1977–79] 71). From the late 11th C. the epistyle is often surmounted by an elongated panel with the Deesis, the GREAT FEASTS, scenes from the life of a patron saint, or portraits of the apostles (K. Weitzmann in *Byz. und der Westen* 163).

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:329–38. Grabar, *Sculptures II* 44f, 47–49, 111f. –L.Ph.B.

EPITAPHIOS (ἐπιτάφιος), technical term with two meanings.

Liturgical Cloth. The large piece of silk used in the Burial of Christ procession at the Holy Saturday *orthros*, symbolically interpreted as the bier of Christ, was called an *epitaphios*. *Epitaphioi* are usually embroidered either with the image of the Dead Christ (AMNOS) or with the Lamentation (*threnos*) and inscriptions. They evolved from Late Byz. AERES, which they resemble in their overall shape and figural decoration, but the texts on the *epitaphioi* derive from Paschal hymns, esp. the *troparion* beginning *Noble Joseph*. The appearance



EPITAPHIOS. *Epitaphios* of Nicholas Eudaimonoiannes. Victoria and Albert Museum, London.

of *epitaphioi* as distinct liturgical cloths coincided with the formalization of the Holy Saturday ritual in the early 14th C. Surviving Byz. *epitaphioi*, all fine gold and silk EMBROIDERIES, include those of John of Skopje (1349) and Syropoulos (late 14th C.), both at Hilandar; of Nicholas Eudaimonoioannes (ca.1407, in the Victoria and Albert Museum, London); and that of Euphemia and Eupraxia (ca.1405, Putna).

LIT. Millet, *Broderies* 86–109, pls. 176–216. Idem, "L'epitaphios: l'image," *CRAI* (1942) 408–19. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25f, 36–40, pls. 93–120. Taft, *Great Entrance* 216–19. -A.G.

Funeral Speech (ἐπιτάφιος λόγος). MENANDER RHETOR distinguished several types of *epitaphios*: a pure ENKOMION (usually delivered some time after the death of the person commemorated), MONODY, consolatory speech (PARAMYTHETIKOS), and *epitaphios* proper; in the three last types the elements of praise, lamentation, and consolation are to be mixed in different proportions.

Byz. practice did not retain this categorization, and rhetoricians employed the terms indifferently. Encomiastic *epitaphioi* were composed to commemorate biblical personages or saints, usually in connection with the translation of relics; they formed a kind of SERMON. Secular *epitaphioi* were pronounced or written, in prose or verse, relatively soon after the death of their subject. The subjects of *epitaphioi* were emperors, patriarchs or other ecclesiastics, relatives or friends of the rhetorician, and—esp. from the late 11th C.—members of the high aristocracy. Apart from the insights they can offer into the structure of family life (e.g., George TORNIKIOS on Anna Komnene's upbringing), *epitaphioi* frequently provide valuable prosopographical information and other historical details.

In late Roman *epitaphioi* praise and lamentation prevail: in HIMERIOS and LIBANIOS the mention of blessed future life (*makarismos*) is minor. Even later, in the lamentation included in DIGENES AKRITAS, the theme of the irrevocability of the loss predominates. Under Christian influence, however, the theme of consolation was added, and the rhetor began to downplay the feeling of loss

and to emphasize the forthcoming heavenly reward. Normally conventional and objectified, *epitaphioi* sometimes became a means to express personal emotions, as in the monody on Stephen Skylitzes by Theodore PRODROMOS. On the other hand, some writers exercised their skill in mock-heroic laments for dead birds (Constantine MANASSES, MICHAEL ITALIKOS).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:132–45. J. Soffel, *Die Regeln Menanders für die Leichenrede* (Meisenheim an Glan 1974). D. Hadzis, "Was bedeutet 'Monodie' in der byzantinischen Literatur?," *Byzantinistische Beiträge* (Berlin 1964) 177–85. A.C. Danelli, "Sul genere letterario delle orazioni funebri di Gregorio di Nissa," *Aevum* 53 (1979) 140–61. J. Alissandratos, "The Structure of the Funeral Oration in John Chrysostom's *Eulogy of Meletius*," *BS/EB* 7 (1980) 182–98. A. Sideras, "Byzantinische Leichenreden," *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaft*, vol. 3 (Marburg 1988) 17–49. –A.K., E.M.J.

EPITELEIA (ἐπιτέλεια, from *epiteleo*, "to pay in full"), a fiscal term designating various cash payments of taxes or other charges that ordinarily were due the fisc. The term appears in documents (predominantly *praktika* and acts of sale) from 1209 (MM 4:121.17–19) through the end of the empire. Ahrweiler has discerned three basic situations among the numerous fiscal procedures in which the term and its derivatives were employed. (1) When real property was transferred between private parties, the recipient agreed to pay the seller (or donor) an annual *epiteleia* designed to cover the fiscal charges burdening the property until the revision of the *praktika*. (2) If the transfer involved property for which the seller had EXKOUSSEIA, the buyer agreed to continue paying the seller an annual *epiteleia* to cover the amount of the *exkousseia*. (3) In a common form of *pronoia* grant, the fiscal charges burdening one party, which were alienated by the fisc for the benefit of another party, were called an *epiteleia*, which the recipient of the grant received for life or several generations. There appears to be no correlation between the size and price of property and its *epiteleia* (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 158f), though documented rates for *epiteleiai*, while varying greatly, tended to approximate or slightly exceed rates of fiscal assessment.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.V (1954), 71–93; pt.VI (1957), 369–72. *Docheiar.* 141f. C. Zuckerman, "The Dishonest Soldier Constantine Planites and His Neighbours," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 314–31. –M.B.

EPI TES KATASTASEOS (ἐπὶ τῆς καταστάσεως, lit. "chief of presentations"). Since *katastasis* also means "order," Bury (*Adm. System* 118f) rendered the title as master of ceremonies and connected the *epi tes katastaseos* with the late Roman *comes dispositionum*; G. Ostrogorsky and E. Stein (*Byzantion* 7 [1932] 206–10) noted that the *scrinium dispositionum* is unknown after 534 and connected this official with the *comes admissionum*. The 10th-C. *De ceremoniis* links the *epi tes katastaseos* with SILENTIARIOI and even considered him as one of the *silentiarioi* (*De cer.* 238.4) and as a member of the *kouboukleion* (503.5–6), the service of the imperial bedchamber. The 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij refers to him twice (Oikonomides, *Listes* 57.25, 59.17), situating him first between the *protonotarios* of the *dromos* and the *archon* of the *armamenton*, that is, among the civil officials, and secondly, at the bottom of the list of courtiers, concurring with the information of the *De ceremoniis*. Another problem is raised by the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, which defines the post as a special *axia* (ibid., 109.7) and states that its staff consisted of *hypatoi, vestitores, silentiarioi*, and *synkletikoi* (125.8–12), who at least in part were dignitaries rather than court officials.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 309. –A.K.

EPI TES TRAPEZES (ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης), aulic courtier in charge of imperial banquets; he introduced guests, together with the PINKERNES waited upon the emperor, and delivered dishes from the emperor's table to the guests. The *epi tes trapezes* was a eunuch; seals from the 8th C. onward indicate that he sometimes combined his duties with those of the KOUBIKOULARIOS or PARAKOIMOMENOS. The vita of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR mentions an *epi tes trapezes* as existing in the mid-7th C., but this evidence must be used with caution since the text is of later date. Some *epi tes trapezes* commanded troops and fulfilled special state assignments. Seibt distinguished the *epi tes trapezes* from the *domestikos tes trapezes* (known from 680 onward) who was not a eunuch. The *epi tes trapezes* possessed a varied staff, called *hypourgia*, and was assisted by a *domestikos tes hypourgias*. Along with the emperor's *epi tes trapezes* there was a banquet chief for the empress, known both from the TAKTIKA and from seals (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 48–49). Seibt hypothesizes that in the 7th C. the *epi tes*

trapezes assumed the major functions of the KASTRESIOS; ca.800 certain of these functions were in the hands of the KENARIOS. From the 13th C. both *epi tes trapezes* and *domestikos tes trapezes* were high ranks conferred on nobles; among the holders of this dignity were members of such families as Tarchaneiotes, Nestongos, and Notaras. Both terms appear in later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 194, 213, 218). Nikephoros GREGORAS relates a legend that the dignity of *epi tes trapezes*, from the time of Constantine I the Great, was hereditary for the princes of Russia.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 125f. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:237–41. W. Seibt, "Über das Verhältnis von kenarios bzw. domestikos tes trapezes zu den anderen Funktionären der basilike trapeza in mittelbyzantinischer Zeit," *BZ* 72 (1979) 34–38. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 152–57. –A.K.

EPITHALAMION (ἐπιθαλάμιος λόγος), a speech in either prose or verse to celebrate a marriage, whether of a private individual or a member of the imperial family. Examples survive from the 4th C. (e.g., HIMERIOS, or.9, with a *protheoria*, "introduction," on the principles governing the composition of *epithalamia*); the 6th C. (e.g., CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, or.5, on a triple wedding, and the *epithalamion* of DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO); and esp. from the 12th C., when many imperial couples were hymned in this way (e.g., Theodore PRODROMOS, on the wedding of the sons of Anna Komnene and Nikephoros Bryennios). The genre, considered a form of ENKOMION, early attracted a rich collection of erotic allusions drawn from Greek mythology (cf. MENANDER RHETOR, *On Epideictic Speeches*, ch.6), which in the 12th C. combined with imperial imagery to produce a new and bewildering exuberance of plant, animal, and cosmic symbolism.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:150. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 68f, 147f. M. Regali, "Forme e motivi dell'epitalamio nella poesia di S. Gregorio Nazianzeno," *Muséon* 96 (1983) 87–96. –E.M.J.

EPITHET (ἐπίθετον) can be considered as a rhetorical TROPE (Martin, *Rhetorik* 264). Greek authors rarely used the term (e.g., the 2nd-C. grammarian Apollonios Dyskolos, in *Grammatici graeci*, ed. R. Schneider, G. Uhling, vol. 2.2 [Leipzig 1910; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 56f); Latin theoreticians stressed that epithets were to be used sparingly. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on the *Odyssey* (*Eust.Comm.Od.*, p.1459.32–35), noticed the deliberate use (or avoidance) of epithets that would demonstrate the author's attitude toward heroes. In late Roman and Byz. practical aesthetics, epithets acquired an exaggerated importance. First, many writers (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, GERMANOS I) strove to create very long epithets, mostly composites, to stimulate the imagination and to reveal the enigmatic nature of the cosmos. Second, the growing role of ceremonial in society enhanced the creation of rigidly formalized epithets (the emperor was always *eusebes*, "pious," the serpent, "wicked" or "creeping"), so that the epithet was becoming an *antonomasia*, that is, an appellation substituted for a proper name, as the "Queen of Cities" was a designation for Constantinople. The individual writer had to reconcile two contradictory principles—the trend toward pompous epithets and the patristic prescription of plain and "truthful" exposition (the latter quality was consistently praised in Photios's BIBLIOTHECA). Byz. literature presents a broad range of stylistic approaches, from the matter-of-factness of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS to the agglomeration of epithets in EPIDEICTIC oratory.

LIT. Averincev, *Poetika* 109–28. –A.K.

EPITIMION (ἐπιτίμιον), a penalty imposed on a penitent by the priest following sacramental confession. The term was already in use by the 4th C. (Basil the Great, PG 32:721A). As a rule these penitential exercises, mentioned in Byz. canonical and ascetical literature, presupposed repentance and consisted of prayer, fasting, Scripture reading, prostrations, almsgiving, and, on occasion, temporary exclusion from the Eucharist. They were distinguished by their largely positive character and relative mildness from such formal punishments (*timoriai*) as EXCOMMUNICATION, suspension, or deposition, which were inflicted by the church for more serious transgressions such as heresy or apostasy. Since sin was understood as a disease rather than a legally punishable crime, *epitimia* in Byz. penitential practice and theology were viewed as corrective remedies, that is, as a form of spiritual healing. At any rate, they were never reduced to a payment of a fine due to God. In sum, the Western juridical notion of sin as a violation of the law, in which PENANCE constitutes

punishment or satisfaction payable to God, is for the most part not a feature of Byz. PENITENTIAL literature.

LIT. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). H. Koch, "Zur Geschichte der Bussdisziplin und Bussgewalt in der orientalischen Kirche," *HistJb* 21 (1900) 58–78. G. Wagner, "Bussdisziplin in der Tradition des Ostens," *Liturgie et remission des péchés* (Rome 1975) 273–93. J. Grotz, *Die Entstehung des Bussstufenwesens in der vornicänischen Kirche* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1955). –A.P.

EPITOME LEGUM (Extract from the Laws), the conventional term for a law book that has been transmitted in various versions. The oldest version must have been closely related to the *Epitome Laurentiana*, which contains 50 titles, follows the title sequence of the *Prochiron* and dates to "the first year of Constantine, the son of Leo" (913–914?). "In the first year of Romanos" (921) an extensive revision of the text was made that altered also the sequence of titles. The author of both these versions must have been the Symbatios named in the preface. The aim of the law book was presumably an improvement and expansion of the *Prochiron*; the additions, most of them dealing with private and penal law, were based almost exclusively on the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. The MS tradition of the *Epitome Legum* is limited. The published edition (of Zachariä von Lingenthal) is based on the MS Oxford Bodl., Barocc. 173, for titles 1–23, and on Vat. gr. 2075 (which represents another version) for titles 24–45.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 4:261–585, 596–619.
LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron* 287–310. Ch.M. Moulakis, *Studien zur Epitome Legum* (Munich 1963). J. Maruhn, "Der Titel 50 der Epitome," *FM* 3 (1979) 194–210. Troianos, *Peges* 114–17. –A.S.

EPI TON ANAMNESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναμνήσεων), an official who, according to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 185f), used to record warriors and other people distinguished by their exploits; in the 14th C. he had no clear-cut function. Guilland (*infra*) views the *epi ton anamneseon* as the successor of the *magister memoriae*, a late Roman official in the bureau of the *magister scriniorum* and asserts that the office of *epi ton anamneseon* existed long before Constantine IX. He includes George Spanopoulos, a contemporary of Alexios I, in the list of "memorialists" even though the text explicitly calls Spanopoulos "the former *genikos*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:334.3–5). Very few *epi ton anamneseon* are known. Under Andronikos III, the *epi ton anamneseon* Spanopoulos acted as MESAZON, according to a vague expression of Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:99.1–2); another *epi ton anamneseon*, Logaras, addressed a letter to Andronikos III (S. Lampakes, *EEBS* 42 [1975–76] 405). There were also *epi ton anamneseon* in the patriarchal chancery—one of them, Petriotes, composed a preamble to a patriarchal letter of 1365 (MM 1:472.28–29) and several other documents (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 357, n.3).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 147f. –A.K.

EPI TON DEESEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν δεήσεων), official whose duty was to receive petitions addressed to the emperor and to answer them. He is usually considered the successor of the late Roman *magister memoriae* (or *a memoria*) who, according to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, dictated *adnotationes* and *preces*; it should, however, be noted that the office of a certain Benivolus, *memoriae scriniis praesidens* (RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, *Church History* 11.16), is rendered in Greek by Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 7.13.5) not as *epi ton deeseon*, but as *ho epi tois grammateusi ton thesmon*; his function was to formulate laws (O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 898). The earliest known *epi ton deeseon* is Theodore, owner of a seal of the 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.230). The *epi ton deeseon* has no title higher than *protospatharios* on seals through the first half of the 11th C. The importance of this official rose in the second half of the 11th and the 12th C., when he was not only honored as *protoproedros* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253–54), but the office was held by members of the noblest families, such as the KOMNENOI, SKLEROI, KAMATEROI, and KASTAMONITAI. George Chatzikes was still active as *epi ton deeseon* in 1321 (*Reg* 4, no.2450), and the office is mentioned by pseudo-KODINOS. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS omits any mention of the staff of the *epi ton deeseon* but at least one seal of a notary of petitions is known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.255). There were also provincial *epi ton deeseon*—in Sicily, Peloponnesos, and so on—known by their seals, as well as *epi ton deeseon* of the patriarch (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 378f); one patriarchal *epi ton deeseon* was EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXII (1965), 97–118. Bury, *Adm. System* 77f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322. M. Fluss, *RE* 15 (1932) 655–57. –A.K.

EPI TON KRISEON (ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν κρίσεων), judicial office created between 1043 and 1047, before the

foundation of the law school under a NOMOPHYLAX. A *scholion* to *Basil.* 7.1 (ed. H.J. Scheltema, ser. B, 1:36) lists the *epi ton kriseon* as one of four effective judges holding tribunals, alongside the *droungarios* [*tes viglas*], quaestor, and eparch. According to Attaleiates, the court of an *epi ton kriseon* had to resolve the legal problems presented to it by thematic judges—as Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 134) suggests, due to the low level of legal knowledge of provincial judges—but it was not a court of appeal. Seals of several *epi ton kriseon* survive, including one of [Alexios?] ARISTENOS. The *epi ton kriseon* is not mentioned as the head of one of the four courts in Manuel I's novel of 1166, but is mentioned in the 12th-C. ECLOGA BASILICORUM (e.g., at B.9.1.64 = C.7.44.1 [p. 372 of Burgmann's edition]). The office existed at least until 1204; Niketas CHONIATES was one of the last *epi ton kriseon*.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 374f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 70f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:473–75. –A.K., R.J.M.

EPI TOU KANIKLEIOU. See KANIKLEIOS.

EPITRACHELION (ἐπιτραχήλιον), a liturgical stole, generally of silk, which was worn over the STICHARION only by priests and bishops. The narrow strip of cloth, about 2 m in length, hung down in front in two overlapping panels that were sometimes fastened together. Though representations of *epitrachelia* are not found before the 10th C., the term is attested as early as the 8th C. (Germanos, *Liturgy*, ch.18, ed. Borgia 17.16–20); according to pseudo-Germanos, the *epitrachelion* or *phakiolion* represents the cloth on Christ's neck by which he was dragged to his Passion. In the artistic representations, all that can be seen of the *epitrachelion* is its fringe and its lowest band of ornament (since it is generally covered by the PHELONION), but actual *epitrachelia* that have survived from the 14th or 15th C. have an elaborate embroidered decoration: images of saints standing under arcades, or busts within roundels. The figures are outlined in pearls.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 601–08. Papas, *Messgewänder* 153–212. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 16–18, pls. 31–34. M. Ćorović-Ljubinković, "Arhijerejsko odejanije nepoznatog raškog mitropolita," *Zbornik narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 4 (1964) 289–306. –N.P.Š.

EPOIKOS (ἔποικος, "inhabitant"), term designating free peasant-taxpayers in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.24) and in certain, mostly 13th-C., documents. In the latter, the word is at times applied to *paroikoi* (MM 4:255.20–30), inhabitants of towns (e.g., Ioannina—MM 5:82.12), as well as "clerics, soldiers and all the common people" (Sathas, *MB* 6:641.20–21), and appears to mean simply "resident."

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 77–80. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 438f. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41. –M.B.

EPOPTES (ἐπόπτης, lit. "overseer"), the designation of two officials.

1. The 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions *epoptai* as subaltern officials under the EPARCH OF THE CITY; the BOOK OF THE EPARCH ignores them and Stöckle (*Zünfte* 93) identified them with *mitotai*, supervisers of silk weavers.

2. *Epoptai* were also fiscal functionaries in the GENIKON whose duty was to check the amount of individual tax payments, allowing reductions (SYMPATHEIAI) or increasing the required sum. Their activity is described in a treatise on TAXATION (ed. Dölger), and they are often mentioned in the 11th-C. privileges given to monasteries, along with EXISOTAI. The functions of *epoptai* and *exisotai* are barely distinguishable. *Epoptai* were stationed in themes. Several charters of 941–56 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 2–3; *Xerop.*, no.1) mention a certain *protospatharios* Thomas, *asekretis*, *epoptes*, and *anagrapheus* of Thessalonike, who directed the sale of KLASMATA; a later document (*Ivir.* 1, no.30) refers to *sympatheiai* granted by the *epoptes* Thomas as well as his "addition" (tax-increase) in the same area. The last mention of *epoptai* is in Manuel I's edict of 1153. Dölger argued that *epoptai*, together with *exisotai*, are mentioned in a law of 496; this law is preserved only in the BASILIKA (56.8.13), and its attribution to Anastasios I is, according to the editors, H. Scheltema and N. van der Wal (ser. A, 7 [1974] 2570), spurious. Furthermore it is not known when the Greek translation was produced.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 79–81. –A.K.

EP'REM MCIRE ("the Less"), translator; died end of 11th C. One of the most important Georgian scholars of the 11th C., Ep'rem was educated in Constantinople. His father was Vače K'arič'isdze of TAYK'/TAO, who moved to Constantinople with other Georgian nobles in 1027. By midcentury Ep'rem was on the Black Mountain, where other Georgians including GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI were

also active in translating Greek texts. Epʻrem was superior of Kastana from ca.1091 until his death. His renderings of Greek are notable for their clarity and exactness; his output was immense. His translations include patristic works (John Chrysostom, *Homilies on the Epistles*; Gregory of Nazianzos, *Homilies*; Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *History*); dogmatic theology (John of Damascus, *Fountain of Knowledge*); mystical theology (pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite); and ascetic works (Basil the Great of Caesarea, *Asketikon*; Ephrem the Syrian, *Asketikon*; John Cassian, *De Institutis*, which EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN had begun on Mt. Athos; and Palladios, *Historia Lausiaca*).

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 182–98. –R.T.

ERAS. See ALEXANDRIAN ERA; ANTIOCHENE ERA; BYZANTINE ERA; DIOCLETIANIC ERA.

ERCHEMPERT, 9th-C. Lombard monk of Montecassino and envoy to Pope Stephen V (885–91). He composed verses for a martyrology (ed. in U. Westerbergh, *Beneventan Ninth Century Poetry* [Stockholm 1957] 77–81) and, at Capua after 885, wrote a *Hystoriola Langobardorum Beneventi degencium* that traces the history of the duchy of BENEVENTO from 774 and breaks off in 889. Although Erchempert was hostile to foreigners, particularly the Byz. ("equal to beasts and . . . worse than Agarenes," ch.81), by whom he was captured in 886 (ch.61), he provides unique information on Byz. Italy and Byz.'s role in the conflicts among the southern Italian principalities and Arabs.

ED. G. Waitz, MGH *SRL* 234–64.
LIT. P. Meyvaert, *DHGE* 15 (1963) 685–87. F. Avagliano, *LMA* 3:2124f. –M.McC.

ERGASTERIA BASILIKA. See FACTORIES, IMPERIAL.

ERGASTERION (*ἐργαστήριον*), a workshop or small retail store, or combination of the two. Justinian I distinguished tradesmen who operated "an *ergasterium* or other legitimate business" (*Cod.Just.* IV 32.26, par.2) from the ILLUSTRES. Cognate terms, such as *ergasteriakos* (working man) or *ergasteriarches* (foreman of a workshop), were also used in the late Roman period. It is impossible to calculate the number of workshops in a city, but Justinian's novels 43 and 59 give a rough idea by indicating that the owners of 1,100 *ergasteria* in Constantinople that belonged to the Great Church (Hagia Sophia) were exempted from making contributions for funeral expenses. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* lists *ergasteria* in Constantinople of ARGYROPRATAI, VESTIOPRATAI, LINEN merchants, SOAPMAKERS, GROCERS, BAKERS, and owners of TAVERNS.

Documents also name various kinds of *ergasteria*, some of which are the same as those mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch*: *sardamarikon ergasterion*, a grocery store (*Lavra* 3, no.123.120–21) or *mankipikon ergasterion*, a bakery (*Lavra* 3, no.148.10–11); some are different, such as the workshop of a *myrepsos* or perfume and unguent maker (*Lavra* 3, no.123.110), a workshop for the production of flaxseed oil (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), or a potter's workshop (*Lavra* 1, no.4.4); sometimes mills are described as *ergasteria*. Several documents stress that *ergasteria* were located in the marketplace or forum. The *Book of the Eparch* explicitly prohibited *argyropratai* from working at home, stating that they must ply their trade in their shops on the Mese; linen weavers, on the other hand, were forbidden to sell their goods in their *ergasteria* but had to peddle them on their backs on market days.

Several workshops (potteries, glass factories, smithies) have been excavated in Corinth, Sardis, and elsewhere. A well-excavated glass factory in Corinth occupied one room in a house and contained only a single furnace; the empty space in front of the furnace was an 11 sq m area that could accommodate only a master and one apprentice. An act of 1419 (*Xénoph.*, no.32.8–10) mentions five grocers' *ergasteria* "in the great stoa" in Thessalonike that were eventually joined and transformed into a wineshop; they also must have been small.

Ergasteria could be the property of landowners (including churches and monasteries) who leased them out. Oikonomides (*infra*) calculates that the income from an *ergasterion* equaled about 6 percent of the investment; the tax on the *ergasteria* that he investigated ranged from about 3 percent to 11–13 percent of the income.

Church fathers used the term broadly in a metaphorical sense: Gregory of Nazianzos calls Alexandria the *ergasterion* of education (PG 35:761A); EPHREM THE SYRIAN considers marriage "an *ergasterion* of life" (ed. J.S. Assemani 3:210F); the womb is frequently characterized as "the *ergasterion* of nature." Accordingly, a gabled building labeled *ta ergasteria tou martyriou* in a mosaic at Yakto (D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* [Princeton 1947] pl.LXXIXa) probably designates the site of a martyrdom.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 71–73. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 309–15. N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.," *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56. G.R. Davidson, "A Medieval Glass-factory at Corinth," *AJA* 44 (1940) 297–324. J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). –A.K.

EROS, god of love in Greek mythology; frequently a plural form, Erotes, was introduced in Greek poetry. Christian poets continued to use the image of Eros as an allegory of love: PAUL SILENTIARIOS complained of the persecutions of Eros, who is stronger than law and wounds with his arrows. Much later, Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, in his romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* (bk.2, chs. 7–9), described the triumph of Eros mounted on a chariot; he is attended by people of all ages and walks of life, by birds and animals, and even by Night and Day in the shape of huge women. The image of the luxurious garden of Eros was frequent in Byz. literature.

Theology had difficulties with the concept of Eros. On the one hand, there was a tendency to identify Eros with Christian *agape* (see LOVE). ORIGEN contributed much to this idea, and it was retained in the exegesis of the SONG OF SONGS; in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, Eros is Divine Nature itself, and it was possible to speak of man's love for Christ as "wounding *eros*," esp. in bridal imagery. On the other hand, the fathers tried to draw the line between *agape*, which was good, and the *erotes* who were diabolical.

In a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479), Eros is depicted as a winged naked youth flying through the air and shooting his arrows at a group of Olympian gods (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.143).

LIT. O. Schneider, *RAC* 6:310–12. Poljakova, *Roman.* 100f. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 470f. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 122–25, 183f. –A.K., A.M.T.

EROTAPOKRISEIS (ἐρωταποκρίσεις), a distinctive genre of Byz. literature, a combination of DIALOGUE and GNOMAI. *Erotapokriseis* are series of questions and answers related to dogma, exegesis, canon law, riddles, etc. They are either anonymous, or the participants in the "conversation" are shadowy figures deprived of any characterization, one of them playing the role of teacher, another the pupil. There is no strict sequence in the development of questions, although some unity of subject matter is preserved. Answers are formulated in gnomic form as an unquestionable truth, leaving no room for uncertainty. *Erotapokriseis* are known from ca.400; they gained popularity in the 7th–9th C. when the greatest theologians (Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, Photios) worked in this genre; one example is ascribed to Anastasios of Sinai. After the *Amphilochia* of Photios, the most developed example of *erotapokriseis*, they became infrequent; Nicholas of Methone and Niketas of Herakleia were among the rare practitioners of the genre. They were revived in the 15th C. by writers such as Symeon of Thessalonike and Mark Eugenikos. The genre (mostly in the form of translations) was popular in medieval Slavic literature (cf. the IZBORNIK of 1073).

LIT. C. Heinrici, *Griechisch-byzantinische Gesprächsbücher* (Leipzig 1911). –A.K.

EROTOPAIGNIA (Ἐρωτοπαίγνια, "Games of Love"), a collection of vernacular love poems in POLITICAL VERSE found in a unique late 15th-C. MS, though the poems themselves are older. The *Erotopaignia* include three alphabetic ACROSTICS ("Alphabets of Love"), all incomplete and with stanzas of varying lengths; an *Hekatologa* ("Hundred Words"), a counting song in which a young girl lightheartedly challenges her lover to list the ways in which he has suffered for her; and an assortment of letters, laments, and songs not unlike the songs and letters found in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE. Once thought to have come from Rhodes (and thus sometimes called "Rhodian Love Songs"), their place of origin is unknown; some of the amatory vocabulary, however, with references to enslavement to Eros, suggest that the *Erotopaignia* come from the mixed Frankish-Greek milieu that produced the vernacular verse ROMANCES. Anonymous, probably not the work of a single author,

ESOTHYRION (ἐσωθύριον), also *enthyrion*, a (fiscal?) term designating lands situated close to the center (KATHEDRA) of a *chorion* and specifically to a (rural) church (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.60.2). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.28–30) makes a distinction between *esothyra* and *exothyra*, lands of a peasant located within and outside the village; as time went on, the *exothyra* were transformed into hamlets (*agridia*). Together with AUTOURGIA, *esothyra* were considered the most valuable part of a STASIS or estate. The *praktika* of the 14th and 15th C. often mention *esothyr⟨i⟩a* in peasants' holdings or use specific terms referring to gardens: *esokepion* (*Esphig.*, no.8.42), *esokepion* within the *chorion* (*Chil.*, no.92.28), a chapel with an *esokepion* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.74.32–33), *esokepion* outside the *kathisma*-courtyard (*Dionys.*, no.23.7), *esoperibolion* (*Xerop.*, no.18A.60), *esoperibolion* with nut trees (*Esphig.*, no.14.127), *esokepoperibolion* (*Esphig.*, no.14.86). There were also "inner" CHORAPHIA. The *exo-* (outer) designation seems to have been infrequent in later documents: a *praktikon* of 1284 registers "the inherited arable land of 140 *modioi* with an *exothyrion*" located somewhere away from the household (*Lavra* 2, no.73.90).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 136f. –A.K.

ESPHIGMENOU MONASTERY, late 10th-C. foundation on Mt. ATHOS. Located on the northeast coast of the peninsula, 3 km east of HILANDAR, the monastery is first mentioned in 998 when Theodore was *hegoumenos*. Its original name was Esphagmenou ("the slaughtered"), perhaps a reference to Christ, the sacrificial lamb. Esphigmenou (Ἐσφιγμένου) prospered in the 11th C., acquiring vast properties on the Athonite peninsula. At this time the monastery housed a certain number of Chalcedonian Armenians, including Theoktistos, who was *hegoumenos* in the 1030s and became *protos* of Athos ca.1035. In ca.1001 Nikephoros, a monk of Esphigmenou, was sent on an important mission to the Charsianon, where he founded a monastery and probably exercised influence on the recently annexed Caucasian lands (A. Kazhdan, *Vestnik Erevanskogo universiteta: Obščestvennye nauki* [1974] no.3, 236–38).

The establishment reached its zenith in the 14th C., when it was an imperial cenobitic monastery housing 200 monks and owning more than 12,000 *modioi* of land, chiefly in Chalkidike and the Strymon valley. Among the monks who spent some time in residence there were ATHANASIOS (I), the late 13th-C. patriarch of Constantinople, and Gregory PALAMAS, *hegoumenos* in 1335–36, who attempted to introduce HESYCHASM into the monastery. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan issued two chrysobulls in 1346–47 confirming the monastery's titles to various properties, and granting certain tax exemptions (*Esphig.*, nos. 22–23). The history of Esphigmenou becomes obscure after the Ottomans took control of Athos in 1430.

The 31 Byz. documents preserved in the monastery's archives range in date from 1034 to ca.1409, and include early 14th-C. *praktika* that provide information on peasant households in Macedonia. The library holds more than 100 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:170–99), the most valuable of which is an illuminated 11th-C. *menologion* with miniatures on purple parchment (*Treasures* 2, figs. 327–408). The treasury contains a mosaic icon of the 14th C., depicting the blessing Christ (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.35).

SOURCE. *Actes d'Esphigménou*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1973).
LIT. *Treasures* 2:200–55, 361–85. D. Anastasievič, "Esfigmenskie akty carja Dušana," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 57–68.
–A.M.T., A.C.

ESQUILINE TREASURE, a hoard of mostly domestic objects made in the 4th C., unearthed on the Esquiline Hill in Rome in 1793. The precise contents of the treasure are a matter of dispute as no inventory was made at the time of its discovery. Shelton (*infra*) demonstrated that of the 61 objects eventually associated with the treasure only 31 can definitely be documented as part of the original hoard; 27 pieces now remain, most of which are in the British Museum. Authenticated items include one bronze ewer and 30 silver objects: nine monogrammed dinner plates (one now missing), a bowl, a flask, the elements of a CHERNIBOXESTON set, two caskets, six furniture

ornaments (= four TYCHES of Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Rome; a Pair of Hands), and six horse trappings. Of the documented objects, in addition to the missing silver plate, a lamp, lampstand, and a second plate have also been lost.

The quality and nature of the objects, which included dinner and toilet articles as well as insignia of office (the Tyches and Hands), indicate that the treasure belonged to a family of high standing. The mixture of pagan imagery and Christian inscriptions is characteristic of the Late Antique period in general. A date of 379–83 for the manufacture of the objects and for their role as wedding gifts was originally hypothesized on the basis of inscriptions on the silver. The names of Secundus and Projecta appear on one casket. Monograms on the plates were deciphered as those of Turcius Secundus, supposedly a member of the *gens* Turcia prominent in 4th- to 5th-C. Rome, and of his wife Projecta Turcii. The latter was in turn considered to be the Projecta, aged 16, whose epitaph was composed by Pope Damasus (366–84). Shelton challenged these identifications and datings, suggesting instead that the treasure was made over a period of years 330–70 for several members of the Turcius household.

LIT. K.J. Shelton, *The Esquiline Treasure* (London 1981). Eadem, "The Esquiline Treasure: The Nature of the Evidence," *AJA* 89 (1985) 147–55. Al. Cameron, "The Date and the Owners of the Esquiline Treasure," ibid., 135–45. –M.M.M.

ESTATE. In Byz. various terms, often of periphrastic character, were used to denote the estate: *agros* (field), OIKOS (house), *ktemata* (properties), PROASTEION (suburb), *zeugelateion* (lit. "driving a yoke of oxen"); a monastic estate provided with a chapel was called a METOCHION. An estate usually included a mansion, DEMESNE land, and lands worked by tenants as well as hilly pastures. Within the estate, the Byz. distinguished the *enthyria* or ESOTHYRA, located close to its nucleus, from the remote *exothyra* (*Treatise on Taxation*, ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.24–33); they also distinguished AUTOURGIA as the most profitable portions of the estate. Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:595.4–18) describes salt-pans, olive groves, vineyards, meadows, watermills, and pottery workshops as *autourgia*; he acknowledges the flexibility of the concept, since an *autourgion* could cease to produce income, while an *exochoron proasteion* could become profitable. In documents vineyards (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 29.26–27), watermills (*Lavra* 2, no.105.24), VIVARIA, and the enigmatic *aulakia* and *gripobolia* (*Lavra* 2, no.104.177–8) were considered *autourgia*.

An estate usually did not coincide with the VILLAGE but occupied a part of it, while the other part of the village either belonged to the VILLAGE COMMUNITY or formed another estate: thus, in the village of Gradec in 1300, one landlord held 26 peasant households, a collective of owners had 19, one man had eight, another seven, and three lords possessed one household each. Estates could form a complex outside the village or comprise dispersed tenures in different villages.

Estates of the late 4th–5th C.—complete with VILLAS, pasturage, and orchards—are represented in contemporary floor mosaics (Dunbabin, *Mosaics* 122, figs. 111–13), but Byz. equivalents are unknown.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 64–72. J. Lefort, "Radolibos: Population et paysage," *TM* 9 (1985) 195–234. Dölger, *Beiträge* 136f, 151. P. Gounaridis, "L'exploitation direct de la terre par l'État de Nicée (1204–61). Le zeugélateion," *Ho agrotikos kosmos ston Mesogeiako choro* (Athens 1988) 619–26. –A.K., A.C.

ESTOIRE D'ERACLES, traditional title of the works of a group of French historians of the Crusades, comprising the translation of WILLIAM OF TYRE made in France in 1220–23 and various vernacular continuations of widely varying value and origin. The name derives from the opening words' reference to Emp. Herakleios in connection with the rise of Islam. The discrepancies and elaborations of the French translation with respect to William's original Latin seem to have no independent historical value (Morgan, *infra* [1973] 185–87). Several of the continuations are extremely valuable, particularly that for the years 1184–97, which derives from the lost Holy Land chronicle of Ernoul (presumably Ernoul de Gibelet, associate of Balian II, lord of Ibelin and Ramla, in Palestine [ca.1187–93]) and sheds light on the fall of Jerusalem to the Muslims in 1187; the reigns of Andronikos I Komnenos, Isaac II Angelos—whose portrait was supposedly painted above the door of every monastery in Constantinople (ed. Morgan, *infra* [1982] 29), Alexios III Angelos, and Conrad of Montferrat (Morgan 26–30); the Third Crusade; and the conquest of Cyprus (Morgan 116–21) from the perspective of

Outremer. The various continuations give substantially the same account of the Fourth Crusade (ed. de Mas Latrie, 348–95) and provide much data on politics in the Levant and the relations of Byz. and Armenia to the Crusader states.

ED. *Estoire*—RHC *Occid.* 1 (Paris 1844). De Mas Latrie, *Chronique d'Ernoul et de Bernard le Trésorier* (Paris 1871). M.R. Morgan, *La continuation de Guillaume de Tyr (1184–1197)* (Paris 1982) 17–199.

LIT. M.R. Morgan, *The Chronicle of Ernoul and the Continuations of William of Tyre* (Oxford 1973). Idem, "The Rothelin Continuation of William of Tyre" in *Outremer*, 244–57. –M.McC.

ESZTERGOM RELIQUARY. This silver-gilt and enamel reliquary, kept in the cathedral treasury of the Hungarian city of Esztergom, displays a sizable piece of the True Cross, surrounded by images in three registers: above are two mourning angels; at the center Constantine I and Helena point to the relic in its sunken cross-shaped cavity; illustrations of Christ's Road to Calvary and Descent from the Cross are below. Between the arms of the cross appear four enameled disks, with inscriptions reading "Christ gives grace to Christians." Inset enamel strips with quatrefoils define the borders of the panel and the relic. This panel once formed the inner part of a triptych, the wings of which have been lost. The present frame is a Palaiologan addition. The reliquary's bright, opaque coloring, its fragmented borders, the rectilinear setting of the *cloisons* (thin strips of gold) and, in the inscriptions, the *iota* decorated with a nodule are characteristic of mid-to-late 12th-C. enamels; parallels are the feast scenes added to the PALA D'ORO in Venice after 1204 and two teardrop shaped panels on a composite icon in the Hermitage (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.540). The date of 1190 assigned to the reliquary in the 17th-C. will of Cardinal Kutassy of Hungary therefore seems to be accurate.

LIT. Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, no.49. *Ornamenta Ecclesiae*, ed. A. Legner, vol. 3 (Cologne 1985) 116. –M.E.F.

ETCHMIAXIN (Ejmiacin). See VAŁARŠAPAT.

ETERIANO, HUGO, lay theologian and author; born Pisa between ca.1110 and 1120, died Velletri? (Italy) 1182. Eteriano studied theology and philosophy in France and Italy and went to Constantinople ca.1160 with his brother, LEO TUSCUS, who became an imperial interpreter. In Constantinople Eteriano continued his studies and became an adviser to Emp. Manuel I Komnenos on Latin theology and the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. His background in Latin SCHOLASTICISM was influential in resolving a Christological controversy at the local council of 1166 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) where he argued with DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. At the emperor's request, Eteriano, with Leo's help, wrote a polemical treatise, *On the Holy and Immortal God* (also known as *On the Heresies of the Greeks*), which sought to demonstrate that both the Greek and Latin church fathers taught the dual procession of the Holy Spirit (the FILIOQUE). The book, written in both languages, was sent to Pope ALEXANDER III in 1177. At the request of two German scholastics, Eteriano compiled the *Book on the Difference between Nature and Person* (ca.1179), which consisted of translations of Greek patristic texts on Trinitarian theology and his comments on them. Pope Lucius III made Eteriano a deacon and a cardinal in 1182, the year of his death.

ED. *Heresies*—PL 202:227–396. "The *'Liber de Differentia naturae et personae'* by Hugh Etherian and the Letters Addressed to Him by Peter of Vienna and Hugh of Honan," ed. N. Haring, *MedSt* 24 (1962) 1–34.

LIT. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge* 19 (1952) 67–134. –F.K.

ETERNITY (*αἰών*) can only be defined negatively in relation to TIME, either as a duration without beginning or end or as existence without change or (temporal) succession. Eternity as an attribute of God was first discussed in the Christian era by ARIUS and the early Arians (e.g., EUNOMIOS). They argued that the Son was generated "before the ages" but was not "co-eternal" with the Father. In this sense, GREGORY OF NYSSA (as the First Council of Nicaea had already done) also opposed the use of the term "unbegotten" as an essential attribute of God the Father, since it excluded the Son of God from the Trinity. The definition of eternity was also linked to the revelation of the name Yahweh, in that the eternal God as "Life itself" transcended even infinity (without beginning, without end). Probably in view of the Gnostic doctrine of the emanation of the aeons, or even the eternity reserved for men and angels, John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 15, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:43f) admitted that eternity may not always mean "aeon" in the strict sense. The Palamite doctrine

of ENERGIES with the presentation of a divine, uncreated light came out of the framework of the Cappadocian doctrine of eternity.

LIT. E.C.E. Owen, "*Aion* and *aionios*," *JThSt* 37 (1936) 265–83, 390–404. D. Balás, "Eternity and Time in Gregory of Nyssa's *Contra Eunomium*," in *Gregor von Nyssa und die Philosophie*, ed. H. Dörrie, M. Altenburger, U. Schramm (Leiden 1976) 128–55. –G.P.

ETHICS. Ethical reflection in Byz. often took place in the context of discussion of questions of moral theology, in which Christian revelation was the fundamental reference (e.g., for concepts such as SIN, VIRTUE, VICE, DEVIL). Ethics in the strict sense, a philosophical inquiry independent of religion first established as a distinct science by ARISTOTLE, also survived, esp. in the continued interest taken by Byz. thinkers in ancient philosophy. As in the case of his corpus of LOGIC, Aristotle's ethical works formed a core around which Byz. commentaries, glosses, and paraphrases accumulated. His *Nicomachean Ethics* was read with ancient anonymous scholia and those of Aspasios, to which were added partial commentaries by MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, and a slightly later Byz. anonymous, the whole constituting a corpus translated into Latin by Robert GROSSETESTE. A paraphrase of the *Nicomachean Ethics* was copied for John VI Kantakouzenos. On the basis of such materials, summaries of ethics were prepared, for example, by JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Michael PSELLOS, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

Another ethical system that had a considerable impact on monastic circles was STOICISM, as represented in the works of Epictetus, Marcus Aurelius, and the stoicizing *On Virtues and Vices* (*De virtutibus et vitiis*) attributed to Aristotle (and copied for ARETHAS OF CAESAREA) and the *Concerning the Emotions* (*Peri pathon*) attributed to Andronikos of Rhodes as well as in a number of popular moralizing anthologies. An example of an ethical system based on principles Stoic in inspiration is provided by Plethon's treatise *On Virtues*.

Less broad in appeal was the ethical theory of NEOPLATONISM as formulated in particular in the *Sentences* of PORPHYRY. The solutions proposed by the Neoplatonists (esp. PROKLOS and AMMONIOS) to the problem of EVIL—evil is not a substance, but a privation of good, in particular in the form of moral turning away from God—and its reconciliation with FREE WILL and divine providence were, however, adopted by Psellos and by the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS. Indeed, in its identification of the ethical good (*eudaimonia*) as union with God, to be attained in contemplation by means of purifying by virtue the soul of its corporeal existence, Neoplatonism had already given, through the Cappadocian fathers, a fundamental structure to Byz. moral theology.

Aristotelian ethics could be integrated into this structure, in Psellos's view, in that the lowest type of virtue, "political virtue," concerns the rationally ordered and harmonious life of man as a union of soul and body, a life formulated by Aristotle and including practical wisdom and political action. The higher levels of virtue, purificatory and contemplative, which Porphyry added to political virtue, indicate for Psellos the path that leads man as immortal soul to transcend the world and reach greater union with God. The same place is assigned to Aristotle's ethics in the Christian life by Eustratios of Nicaea. BARLAAM OF CALABRIA proposed in his *Ethics according to the Stoics* (PG 151:1341–64) a similar integration of Stoic and Platonic ethics: Stoic ethics prescribes the ideal life for man as he is; Platonic ethics concerns life beyond this world. (See also BEHAVIOR.)

LIT. H. Mercken, *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln (1253)* (Leiden 1973). B. Tambrun-Kraskar, *Georges Gémiste Pléthon. Traité des vertus* (Athens-Leiden 1987). –D.O'M.

ETHIOPIA (from Αἰθίοπες, supposedly the people with "burnt faces"), the geographical-racial (not political) designation of the region in Africa south of Byz. territory, esp. south of Egypt. The eastern part of Ethiopia including South Arabia was sometimes called INDIA and the inhabitants Indians (e.g., Sozom., *HE* 2:24; THEODORET 1:22). Although Ethiopia was a general designation, it was usually qualified to pinpoint the specific area under discussion. Eusebios (*HE* 2:1.13) specifies Meroitic Nubia when he speaks of the Ethiopia that is ruled by a queen. Prokopios, discussing the Himyarite wars, speaks of "the Ethiopians who are called Axumites" (*Wars* 1:19, 17). Byz. historians were aware of tribal groupings and political units within Ethiopia, for example, BLEMMYES, Nobades, Axumites. Individuals identified as ETHIOPIANS were to be found in Egyptian monasteries, the most notable being Moses the Black of Sketis (early 5th C.). No part of Ethiopia was

ever included in the Byz. Empire, but in the 7th C. both Lower NUBIA and esp. AXUM were Byz. allies. The Arab conquest of North Africa cut off Ethiopia from Byz.

LIT. V. Christides, "The Image of the Sudanese in Byzantine Sources," *BS* 43 (1982) 8–17. F. Snowden, *Blacks in Antiquity: Ethiopians in the Greco-Roman Experience* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970). P.L. Shinnier, "The Nilotic Sudan and Ethiopia, c.660 BC to c.AD 600," in *CHAfr* 252–71.
–D.W.J.

ETHIOPIANS (Αἰθίοπες). From classical times the term *Ethiopian* referred to all dark races from the Atlantic to the Indian Ocean: specifically, to the Cushite inhabitants of the kingdoms of Meroe and AXUM. This inaccurate terminology, reflecting both Ptolemy's geography and Ethiopia's own position on the way to India, was inherited by the Byz., whose attitude toward "blacks" greatly differed from that of Westerners (C. Prager, *JMRS* 17 [1987] 260, n.5).

St. Moses the Black, a Nubian, is referred to as Ethiopian or Libyan; THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN, possibly from the Maldive Islands, is variously described as Ethiopian, Blemmys, or Libyan (G. Fiaccadori, *Studi classici e orientali* 33 [1983] 295–300; 34 [1984] 273f and n.12). Yet trade with India and events in 6th-C. NAJRĀN soon led to a better knowledge of Axum and ADULIS, both visited by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES ca.518. As allies in control of the eastern routes, the Ethiopians were then favorably regarded by diplomats and merchants alike. Between 644 and 678 the widespread hope of an Ethiopian intervention against the Mesopotamian Muslims in fulfillment of Psalm 67(68):31 still focused on the Axumite power. METHODIOS OF PATARA even claimed Ethiopian origins for the Byz. Empire, ultimately equating it with Ethiopia (M.V. Krivov, in *Proceedings of the 9th International Congress of Ethiopian Studies* [Moscow 1988] 6, 111–17). After the Islamic conquest of Egypt, the decrease in relations with Nubia and the decline of Axum prevented further contacts between the Byz. and Sudanese or Abyssinian blacks—although the "Ethiopians" serving in Theophilos's army or those involved in the 904 Arab raid on THESSALONIKE may have been Sudanese mercenaries.

From the 10th C. onward men of color are indeed mentioned frequently in Byz. literature, but the vast majority of references, following the old Mediterranean stereotype of imaginary blacks, is generic: either connected with scriptural problems (E. Benz, *Abba Salama* 6 [1975] 17–36) or totally devoid of any anthropological reality, as representing the proverbial darkness impossible to "wash off" (after Lucian, *Against the Ignorant Book Collector* 28). Bordering upon and overlapping the same cliché are the Ethiopian DEMONS that typify the spirit of fornication in early monastic hagiography (P. Devos, *AB* 103 [1985] 61–74). Thus Ethiopians became protagonists of disturbing dreams (P.-A. Fevrier, *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* n.s. 19 B [1985] 295 and n.8). This kind of demonology took shape in Egyptian milieux subjected to the savage raids of Nubian tribes, and spread then to Syria and Palestine and later to areas lacking direct experience of "evil blacks"; but color awareness never implied racial prejudice, nor did black chromatic symbolism, of superstitious origin, necessarily refer to ethnic types (E. Lepore, *ParPass* 39 [1984] 310–20).

The interpretations of scriptural Ethiopians prevailed over the scanty associations with demons and infernal phantoms, whose frightfulness lay, however, not so much in the color of their skin as in other physical features (J. Winckler, *JHS* 100 [1980] 160–65). Far from the "racial" image of black hypersexuality, the *Iliad*'s "blameless Ethiopians" (bk.1:423) were models of continence and dignity (which again precluded the identification between blacks and slaves); credited with wisdom and astrological learning, they became a symbol of Christianity's ecumenical mission, like the black King of the Epiphany.

The same developments and sensibility are found in the visual arts, esp. MSS of the 11th–12th C. Besides the small and conventional negroid figures used for decoration, Ethiopians with distinctive African traits appear, for instance, the BLEMMYES in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II; and demons are usually depicted as black. According to the Byz. eschatological perspective, blacks are also shown, chiefly in "Pentecost" scenes, among the nations reached by the preaching of the Apostles (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 185).

LIT. L. Cracco Ruggini, "Leggenda e realtà degli Etiopi nella cultura tardoimperiale," *IV Congresso Internazionale di Studi Etiopici*, vol. 1 (Rome 1974) 141–93. J. Devisse, *The Image of the Black in Western Art*, vol. 2.1 (Fribourg 1979) 37–148, 212–41. J.-M. Courtès, "Traitement patristique de la thématique 'éthiopienne,'" ibid. 9–31, 209–11. P.J. Alexander, *The Byzantine Apocalyptic Tradition* (Berkeley 1985) 17f, 38–40, 53–57, 103, 168.
–G.F.

ETHIOPIC LITERATURE, the literature written in Geʿez, the southern Semitic language of successive Christian kingdoms of the region that is now ETHIOPIA. Of three main periods, only the first, the Axumite period (4th–6th C.), was directly influenced by Byz. literature in the form of translations from Greek religious texts to fulfil the needs of newly christianized AXUM. By the 6th C., the Old Testament had been translated from the Septuagint and the New Testament from an Antiochene Greek text aided by reference to a Syriac version. The Book of Jubilees, the Apocalypse of Esdra, the Ascension of Isaiah, and the Book of Enoch were included in the Ethiopic canon. The *Qerlos*, a compilation of writings of the church fathers, esp. Cyril of Alexandria; the *Synodos*, a collection of conciliar decrees; the Lives of Sts. ANTONY THE GREAT and Paul the Hermit; the rule of St. PACHOMIOS, the PHYSIOLOGOS, and various liturgical texts all belong to this period. During the revival of Geʿez literature (14th–15th C.), vitae of indigenous saints were produced that show indirect Byz. influence via models surviving from the earlier period. After the 14th C., the region, isolated from Byz. since the Arab conquest, developed an indigenous literature subject to some Copto-Arabic influence. (See also KEBRA NEGAST.)

LIT. E. Cerulli, *Storia della letteratura etiopica* (Milan 1956). –D.W.J.

ETHNARCH (ἐθνάρχης, lit. "leader of a people or nation"), a term (possibly of Hellenistic Jewish origin) to designate any ruler of barbarians: thus, Philostorgios (Philostorg. *HE* 34.7) used it for the Jewish ruler of Himyar, Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 268.30) for the chiefs of the Sklavenes, Constantine MANASSES (*Historiae* v.2525) for the Vandal kings, etc. Church fathers designated pagan national gods as *ethnarchai*, and accordingly Basil the Great (PG 29:656B) considered the angel-ethnarch as a guardian appointed to each *ethnos*. By the end of the 10th C. the term *ethnarch* (as well as *satrap*) entered the Byz. state hierarchy: the *Taktikon of Escurial* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 271.24, 273.29) mentions both the ethnarch and his *topoteretes*. In 1051 Constantine IX appointed the *patrikios* Bryennios as ethnarch and sent him against the Pechenegs, and ca.1078 BORIL was *protoproedros* and ethnarch (Bryen. 283.2). Since a seal calls him *proedros* and *megas primikerios* of the *ethnikoi* (V. Šandrovskaja, *PSb* 23 [1971] 29), it is plausible that the ethnarch of the 11th C. was a high-ranking commander of foreign mercenaries.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 333. –S.B.B., A.K.

ETHNOLOGY as a separate discipline did not exist in Byz., but ethnological problems were touched upon by various writers. This was not only because of human curiosity but esp. because of the political situation of an empire that constantly had to deal with a variety of peoples attacking it, trading with it, or settling on its territory. The Byz. considered themselves as the chosen people and viewed FOREIGNERS as BARBARIANS; they nonetheless left valuable descriptions ranging from folkloric fantasies (e.g., in the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME), to pragmatic information (e.g., the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE), to narratives of embassies (e.g., PRISKOS of Panion). The works of historians (Prokopios, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, Leo the Deacon, Anna Komnene, Laonikos Chalkokondyles, among others) are esp. rich in ethnological descriptions. Pictorial images of various peoples are to be found in scenes of PENTECOST, in the illustrations to Psalters and Octateuchs, in the images of the LAST JUDGMENT, and in such secular MSS as the Madrid Skylitzes (M. Garidis, *Byzantion* 39 [1969–70] 86–91).

The Byz. emphasized the continuity of ethnological groups and applied to contemporary peoples ancient names (such as Scythians) and ancient *topoi* characterizing their behavior, habits, food, and dress (B. Zástěrová, *BBA* 52 [1985] 16–19). Some observers (e.g., Pachymeres) recognized modification in language and clothing because of assimilation; Chalkokondyles noted the process of cultural differentiation over time. Cultural development, unless ascribed to divine influence, was considered as a technological progression from the primitive gathering of food to civilization. In Tzetzes' view this led to moral decline, whereas Eustathios of Thessalonike connected it with the development of law and righteousness.

LIT. K.E. Müller, *Geschichte der antiken Ethnographie*, vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1980) 184–95, 226–520. K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1912). K. Trüdinger, *Studien zur Geschichte der griechisch-römischen Ethnographie* (Basel 1918). –A.K.

ETHOPOIIA (ἠθοποιΐα, lit. "character-drawing," Lat. *sermocinatio*), a rhetorical figure, one of the PROGYMNASMATA. According to HERMOGENES (ed. Rabe, 9–11), it was "an imitation of the character

of the person described," such as "what kind of words Andromache would have pronounced while mourning over Hector" (hence the words τίνας ἂν εἴποι λόγους in the title of many Byz. *ethopoiiai*). The person had to be a "real" individual, either historical or mythological, but statements put into his or her mouth were invented. Hermogenes divides *ethopoiiai* into ethical (with the emphasis on character), pathetic (with the emphasis on emotion), and mixed.

In the 4th–6th C. (Libanios, Severos of Alexandria, rhetorical school of Gaza) *ethopoiia* remained a rhetorical exercise, drawing the material primarily from mythology and stressing unusual and unreal situations. Some later Byz. *ethopoiiai* (e.g., by Nikephoros Chrysoberges) retain a conventional character. A number of authors of the 10th–12th C., however, developed the genre far beyond a school exercise: even mythological subjects (e.g., Pasiphaë's infatuation with a bull, by Nikephoros Basilakes) could sound erotic and nonorthodox (H.G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* [Munich 1984] 113). At the same time biblical and hagiographical themes were introduced; historical personages of the day, such as Nikephoros II Phokas, were featured, and elements of everyday life emerged. Eustathios of Thessalonike presented a certain Neophytos of Mokissos complaining that he had been robbed in a bathhouse. This *ethopoiia* is full of irony underscored by references to mythology and to Christian moral imperatives. The *ethopoiia* form was used as an element of other genres, e.g., in Psellos's *Chronography* (O. Schissel, *BZ* 27 [1927] 271–75).

After the 12th C. the popularity of *ethopoiia* declined, the pattern became more conventional, and even Manuel II's *ethopoiia* on the words that Timur allegedly addressed to Bayezid I was deprived of any real content (H. Hunger in *Studien zu älteren Geschichte Osteuropas* 1 [Graz-Cologne 1959] 156f). An exception is Alexios MAKREMBOLITES' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor*, which has the title of *ethopoiia*.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:108–16. H.M. Hagen, *Ethopoiia* (Erlangen 1966). Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:407–11. –A.K., I.Š.

ETYMOLOGIKA (ἐτυμολογικά), *lexika* giving the derivation, real or imagined, of words. Early Greek thinkers saw language as a natural phenomenon; the Stoics saw it as a conventional system based on analogy. Both looked for a correspondence between the form and meaning of words and propounded explanations based on this principle. In the 5th C. Oros and Orion made collections of such explanations, which survive only in fragments (*Das attizistische Lexikon Oros*, ed. K. Alpers [Berlin 1981]). Ninth-C. Byz. scholars drew on these works, as well as on LEXIKA, commentaries, etc., to compile their own *etymologika*. The earliest, the *Etymologicum genuinum*, survives in two 10th-C. MSS, but has not yet been completely edited. A slightly later compilation from similar sources, the *Etymologicum Gudianum*, is probably connected with PHOTIOS and his circle. The compiler of the SOUDA used both of these. About the mid-12th C. another compiler drew material from the *Genuinum* and the *Gudianum*, as well as from the *lexikon* of rare words falsely attributed to CYRIL of Alexandria. In the independent spirit of 12th-C. scholarship he freely abbreviated, transposed, and modified what he found in his exemplars. This compilation, known as the *Etymologicum magnum*, was used by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The unpublished *Lexikon Symeonis*, a shorter compilation of the same period, sometimes follows the *Genuinum* more closely. The explanations offered by the *etymologika* are often fanciful, for example, ἀγάπη (love) from "to lead everything" (ἄγειν τὸ πᾶν); γυμνός from κύπτω, "since the naked [man] (γυμνός) stoops (κύπτει) in order to conceal his pudenda in shame"; κάμηλος (camel)—because "she bends her thighs (κάμπτει τοὺς μηρούς)"; λύπη (sorrow) from "to open (λύειν) the countenance (τοὺς ὦπας) for tears." Nonetheless, these compilations are valuable for the light they throw on the Byz. understanding of their own literary language, as well as for their quotations from lost Greek texts.

ED. *Etymologicum magnum*, ed. T. Gaisford (Oxford 1848; rp. Amsterdam 1965). For complete list of ed., see Hunger, *Lit.* 2:45–48. *Etymologicum Graecae linguae Gudianum*, ed. F.W. Sturz (Leipzig 1818, rp. Hildesheim 1973).

LIT. R. Reitzenstein, *Geschichte der griechischen Etymologika* (Leipzig 1897). K. Alpers, *Bericht über Stand und Methode der Ausgabe des Etymologicum Genuinum* (Copenhagen 1969). N. Wilson, "On the Transmission of the Greek Lexica," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 369–75. –R.B.

ETYMOLOGY, a division of grammar in antiquity, which in the 4th C. acquired special significance as a tool for discovery of concealed links between essence and phenomenon. Broadly applied by IAMBLICHOS, it became fashionable with literati of the 5th C. when various ETYMOLOGIKA

were compiled. Far from giving scientific explanations, Byz. etymology eagerly suggested multifarious interpretations (Krumbacher, *GBL* 573–75), probing various paths to penetrate behind the sound of the word: thus, *anthropos* was considered to originate from *ano* ("up") and from various verbs meaning "to look" or "to be inclined." During the 10th-C. encyclopedic revival, the search for the etymology of geographical names became popular, and the chroniclers (pseudo-Symeon Magistros, Genesios, etc.) included etymological explanations, partly borrowed from Strabo, partly invented, but as a rule fantastic (A. Diller, *TAPA* 81 [1950] 245–53); Constantine VII's team of writers in the De thematibus also developed pseudohistorical and mythological etymologies, although the explanations of some names (Boukellarion, Opsikion) are factual (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:532). Etymology appears also as a vehicle of polemic and praise: the names of saints were interpreted as emphasizing their virtue, the names of opponents their folly or vice: thus, Nikephoros Gregoras called the followers of Palamas *palamnaioi* ("murderers") (H. Hunger, *Aspekte der griechischen Rhetorik* [Vienna 1972] 13f). Eustathios of Thessalonike effectively used etymologies in his antimonastic polemic, linking *asketes* with *askos* ("wineskin") and *laura* with *spodesilaura* ("whore") (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 152). –A.K.

EUAGEIS OIKOI (*εὐαγεῖς οἶκοι*), a category of pious institutions, also called *theioi* or divine. Probably in the 6th C., the previous philanthropic organizations (see Philanthropy) created by Christians to assist the poor, the aged, and the infirm became more institutionalized. At the same time they became powerful landowners, and Justinian I in novel 120 of 544 regulated their rights to acquire or lease properties; in the category of pious institutions the legislator included hostels (xenodocheia), hospitals, poorhouses (ptochotropheia), orphanages, and sometimes churches and monasteries as well. Byz. law distinguished between *euageis oikoi* and imperial estates; the administration of some pious institutions, however, was incorporated into the state system. In the taktika of the 9th and 10th C. *chartoularioi* and *xenodochoi* of *euageis oikoi* are mentioned, and in acts of the 11th C. the *oikonomos* of *euageis oikoi* appears. In the 12th C. the latter official was replaced by the [*megas*] *logariastes* of *euage sekreta* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, nos. 18.438, 19.26; *Lavra* 1, no.68.1). The term seems to have disappeared after 1204. Specific *oikoi* such as Eleutheriou and Mangana were closely linked to the economy of the imperial court.

Lit. Dölger, *Beiträge* 40–42. M. Kaplan, *Les propriétés de la couronne et de l'Église dans l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1976) 17–21. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 149–51. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 138–40. –A.K., A.J.C.

EUBOEA (Εὔβοια, in Western sources Negroponte), large island in the Aegean Sea (second in size only to Crete) off the east coast of Greece. It consists of three parts: the well-irrigated and forested north, a mountainous central section with fertile coastal valleys, and an unproductive south; the central section is separated from Boeotia only by the narrow strait of Euripos. Hierokles (Hierokl. 644.10, 645.6–8) lists four *poleis* in Euboea: Adepsos/Aidepsos in the north, Chalkis and Porthmos (mod. Aliveri) in the middle, and Karystos in the south. Some settlements (Avlon, Oreos) are attested as bishoprics from the 8th or 9th C. onward, but nothing is known of their urban character. Archaeological excavations have revealed mosaics, remains of basilicas, and fragments of sculpture through the 7th C., even from remote areas of the island. The establishment of monasteries in the 11th and 12th C. (e.g., Panagia Peribleptos near Politika) are an indication of Byz. recovery.

Owing to its isolated location, Euboea seems to have suffered little from hostile invasions. Vandal fleets reached the island in 466 and 475, but there is no evidence of Avar and Slavic attacks. Arabs from Tarsos attempted to capture Chalkis in the 870s, but details of this expedition are hard to establish (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1 [1968] 56, n.1); the city was burned by the Venetians in 1171. As an administrative unit Euboea existed at least through the 8th C., as shown by a seal of Kosmas, the *dioiketes* of Euboea (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2078). Thereafter the island was part of the theme of Hellas and was designated Chalkis or Euripos; from the 13th C. it took the name Negroponte, although Byz. historians continued to call it Euboea until the 15th C. (e.g., Kritob. 165.19, Douk. 75.19). From 1332 the Turks began to attack isolated areas on Euboea and in July of 1470 the island fell to them. Until the 15th C. the church

of Euboea was under the administration of Athens. Under Latin domination the church of Euboea was an important outpost of papal power.

Most of the surviving churches on Euboea date from the 13th and 14th C., and are found in the Karystos section of the island. They are small, single-aisled, barrel-vaulted churches, founded, according to their fresco inscriptions, primarily by local couples. Although their fresco programs are fundamentally Byz. in character, some Western iconographic influences are evident, perhaps deriving from Romanesque MSS. Western traits also appear in haloes, painted architecture, and the special outlining of figures (A. Koumoussi, *Les peintures murales de la Transfiguration de Pyrgi et de Sainte-Thècle en Eubée* [Athens 1987]).

LIT. J. Koder, *LMA* 4:66–68. Th. Skouras, "Ochyroseis sten Euboia," *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 20 (1975) 327–400. H. Liapes, *Mesaionika Mnemeia Euboias* (Athens 1971). A. Ioannou, *Byzantines toichographies tes Euboias* (Athens 1959).
–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

EUCHAITA (Εὐχάϊτα, now Avkat), city of PONTOS, west of AMASEIA. In the 5th C., Euchaita served as a place of exile for many prominent clergymen, including the patriarchs of Constantinople and Antioch. It was made a city by Anastasios I, who fortified the *polisma* after an attack by Huns in 515. It was burned by the Sasanians in 615, attacked by the Arab caliph Muʿāwiya in 640, and occupied by Arabs during the winter of 663/4. On this last occasion, while the Arabs plundered the city and demolished the Church of St. Theodore, the population fled to forts in the nearby hills. Nevertheless, the city recovered and the church was rebuilt. Euchaita was a city of the ARMENIAKON theme; the Arabs ambushed the *strategos* and captured the treasury of the theme in 810 (Theoph. 489.17–20). The works of the metropolitan John MAUROPOUS show that the festival of St. Theodore was the scene of a crowded fair in the mid-11th C. Its later history is unknown. Originally a suffragan bishopric of Amaseia, Euchaita became an autocephalous archbishopric by the 7th C.; its increasing importance derived from the cult of St. THEODORE TERON transferred here from Amaseia. Euchaita became a metropolis under Leo VI. No remains have survived. The relation between Euchaita and the neighboring Euchaneia (named Theodoropolis by John I Tzimiskes in 972) is not clear.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Three Inscriptions of the Reign of Anastasius I and Constantine V," *BZ* 65 (1972) 379–82. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaita et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. F. Trombley, "The Decline of the Seventh-Century Town: The Exception of Euchaita," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of M. Anastos* (Malibu 1985) 65–90, rev. A. Kazhdan, *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 197–200. C. Zuckerman, "The Reign of Constantine V in the Miracles of St. Theodore the Recruit (BHG 1764)," *REB* 46 (1988) 191–210.
–C.F.

EUCHARIST (εὐχαριστία, "thanksgiving"), principal Christian liturgical service, called the LITURGY or the Divine Liturgy in Byz. usage. Based on Jesus' command (Lk 22:19) to repeat in memory of him what he did at the Last Supper, the Eucharist is first seen (in 1 Cor 10–11) as a ritual meal in which bread and wine are offered and blessed as Jesus' body and blood in memory of his saving work, esp. his sacrificial death (1 Cor 10:26). Originally celebrated in the context of an agape meal, perhaps daily, by the 2nd C. the Eucharist had been separated from the agape, joined to a service of scripture LECTIONS, and associated with SUNDAY as the ritual symbol of the risen Jesus' enduring presence among his followers. In the 3rd C. appear the first written formulas of the ANAPHORA or central prayer expressing the service's significance. Eucharist is considered a sacrifice (*thysia*) because it is the SACRAMENT of Jesus' sacrifice on the Cross as well as an icon of the "heavenly liturgy" or permanent self-offering that Jesus offers before the throne of the Father (Heb 8–10, 12:22–4), a favorite theme of Byz. COMMENTARIES.

Within Byz., Eucharist was a source of theological disputes, esp. with the Iconoclasts, who held that the consecrated bread and wine were the only true *typos* or *eikon* of Jesus (S. Gero, *BZ* 68 [1975] 4–22). Against this the Second Council of NICAEA defined that the consecrated bread and wine are no image, but Jesus himself (Mansi 13:264). The Byz. also quarrelled with others over eucharistic practice (see LATIN RITE, ZEON, EPICLESIS). Byz. eucharistic theology achieved its classic synthesis in the commentary of Nicholas KABASILAS, who not only maintained a balanced position fair to Latin views, but also found a *via media* between the two opposing tendencies of Byz. eucharistic theology, represented in the 12th C. by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, who seemed to reduce the Eucharist memorial to a subjective

remembrance, and the ultrarealism of Michael GLYKAS, who held that in the Eucharist Jesus was really immolated (M. Jugie, *Theologia dogmatica christianorum orientalium*, vol. 3 [1930] 317–25; R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins* [Paris 1966] 229–33).

Eucharist was originally celebrated at Byz. only on Sundays, Saturdays, and FEASTS. By the 8th–9th C. Byz. LECTIONARIES provide lections for weekday Eucharist (P.M. Gy in *Miscellanea G. Lercaro*, vol. 2 [Rome 1967] 255–59), though this was probably only in monasteries since the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH does not have such lections. Only ca.1053 or 1054 did Constantine IX Monomachos assign revenues to have Eucharist celebrated daily in Hagia Sophia (Skyl. 477.64–69). Daily Eucharist never became the rule in Byz., though the STOUDITE TYPIKA provide for it except on the ferias of Lent and Holy Week (PG 99:1713B). It was celebrated less frequently in monasteries after the introduction of the SABAITIC TYPIKA, though there was provision for COMMUNION via the PRESANCTIFIED liturgy on days without Eucharist (Taft, *East & West* 61–80). (For representations of Christ's celebration of the Eucharist, see LORD'S SUPPER.)

LIT. G. Kretschmar, *Theologische Realenzyklopädie*, vol. 1 (Berlin–New York 1977) 59–89, 229–78. J. Betz, *Die Eucharistie in der Zeit der griechischen Väter*, 2 vols. (Freiburg 1955–1961). J.-M.R. Tillyard, *The Eucharist, Pasch of God's People* (New York 1967). K. Stevenson, *Eucharist and Offering* (New York 1987). –R.F.T.

EUCHELAION. See UNCTION.

EUCHOLOGION (*εὐχολόγιον*), prayer book used by the principal liturgical ministers (bishop, priest, deacon) for all services of the BYZANTINE RITE. A vast anthology whose contents vary widely from MS to MS, the early *euchologion* contained the PRAYERS and DIAKONIKA for the cathedral services of the capital and was the principal LITURGICAL BOOK originating in Constantinople. The earliest of the numerous surviving MSS of the *euchologion* is Vat. Barb. gr. 336, dating from the second half of the 8th C. (A. Strittmatter, *EphLit* 47 [1933] 329–67).

Used even in monasteries for the Eucharist, the *euchologion* became more and more monastic in character as the Palestinian HOURS introduced by the Stoudite monasteries of Constantinople gradually merged with elements of the cathedral hours (ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) to form a new, hybrid, monastic office in Constantinople (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). Arranz ("Asmatikos Hesperinos" 109–16) classifies various MSS of the *euchologion* on precisely this basis: their relative purity in transmitting the *asmatike akolouthia* of Constantinople or their degree of monastic content. A. Jacob, on the basis of their text of the Chrysostom liturgy, divides *euchologion* MSS into two recensions, the ancient and the new, subdividing the former into two families, Constantinopolitan and south Italian. Printed versions distinguish between the *Mega euchologion* (and extracts thereof, such as the *hieratikon* or *leitourgikon*), which contains the Eucharist service, VESPERS, and ORTHROS, and the *Mikron euchologion* (or *hagiasmaterion*), which contains the other sacraments, blessings, funerals, and occasional services.

ED. J. Goar, *Euchologion sive rituale Graecorum*[2] (Venice 1730; rp. Graz 1960).

LIT. A. Jacob, "La tradition manuscrite de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome (VIIIe–XIIe siècles)," *Eucharisties d'Orient et d'Occident*, vol. 2 (Paris 1970) 109–38. Taft, *Great Entrance* xxxi–xxxiv. –R.F.T.

EUCLID, ancient Greek mathematician; fl. ca.300 B.C. in Alexandria and perhaps Athens. Euclid's best known and most influential work, *The Elements*, was the basic textbook on geometry for the Byz., who normally studied it in the revision prepared by THEON OF ALEXANDRIA. The most famous copy of this revision is Oxford, d'Orville 301, dated 888, which belonged to ARETHAS OF CAESAREA. The original version is preserved only in the 9th-C. Vat. gr. 190. Commentators on *The Elements* include PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, PROKLOS, and SIMPLIKIOS. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN gained such renown for his understanding of Euclidean theorems that the caliph al-Ma'mūn tried to lure him to Baghdad (Lemerle, *Humanism* 173–78). Among later scholars who wrote on Euclid were Maximos PLANOUDES, George PACHYMERES, Nikephoros GREGORAS, Isaac ARGYROS, and BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. *The Elements* was translated into Latin (by BOETHIUS) and into Arabic.

Two other works of Euclid, the *Data* and the *Optics*, survive both in an original version and in a revision by Theon. Both works were translated

into Arabic by Isḥāq ibn Ḥunayn, and there is an anonymous Latin translation of the *Optics*, perhaps made in the 12th C. Pachymeres used the original version of the *Optics* in book 3 of his *Quadrivium*.

The *Mirrors*, which is attributed falsely to Euclid, is perhaps by Theon. Two musical works, the *Introduction to Harmony* and the *Division of the Scale*, are sometimes ascribed to Euclid in Greek MSS; the first is most probably the work of Cleonides, though the second may be in part Euclid's.

ED. Scholia—*Elementa*, ed. E.S. Stamatis, vol. 5.1–2 (Leipzig 1977).
LIT. I. Bulmer-Thomas, J. Murdoch, *DSB* 4:414–59.
–D.P.

EUDOKIA (Εὐδοκία), feminine personal name. The word is frequent in the New Testament, meaning "good will, favor." Unknown in the 4th C., the name was evidently coined for ATHENAIS and soon thereafter given also to the elder daughter of Valentinian III. It was not widely used in the early period, even though Theophanes lists four Eudokiai. However, in the late Byz. acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3, Eudokia holds sixth place among female names, between Theodora and Zoe.
–A.K.

EUDOKIA INGERINA (Ἰγγερίνα), mistress of Michael III, wife of BASIL I, mother of Leo VI and Alexander; born ca.840, died Constantinople 882/3. She was the daughter of Inger, who was perhaps of Scandinavian origin (Mango). Around 855 Michael took Eudokia as his mistress, angering his mother THEODORA and THEOKTISTOS, both of whom hated her "for her impudence" (*TheophCont* 655.3–4). Despite his marriage to Eudokia Dekapolitissa, Michael apparently continued his involvement with Eudokia Ingerina, although nothing was heard about her for a decade. Kislinger speculates that ca.856 Michael married her to a son of Caesar BARDAS to legitimize her social status and that Bardas took up with her after his son's death.

In 865/6 she married Basil; the notion that she is named and depicted on an ivory casket that is said to have been a wedding present for the couple has been shown to be false (A. Cutler, N. Oikonomides, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 77–87). In Sept. 866 Eudokia gave birth to Leo. Some scholars consider this a nominal marriage, arranged by Michael to give legitimacy to Leo, who was his child, but most assert that Leo was actually Basil's son (Ch. Toul, *Parnassos* 21 [1979] 15–35). If Eudokia continued as Michael's mistress, then her son Stephen, born in Nov. 867, would have been Michael's child as well. With Basil she had Alexander and three daughters; she is portrayed with her two sons in the PARIS GREGORY. Eudokia became involved ca.878 with a Niketas Xylinites, whom Basil forced to be tonsured. In 882 she arranged a BRIDE SHOW for her son Leo, at which he chose Theophano, one of Eudokia's relatives. In his funeral oration for Basil, Leo called Eudokia "the finest of women" (A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *OC* 26.1 [1932] 52.18).

LIT. C. Mango, "Eudocia Ingerina, the Normans, and the Macedonian Dynasty," *ZRVI* 14/15 (1973) 17–27. E. Kislinger, "Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I., und Michael III.," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 119–36. –P.A.H., A.C.

EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, empress (22/23 May–31 Dec. 1067); died after 1078. Niece of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, Eudokia married Constantine Doukas by 1049. Before he became CONSTANTINE X, she bore him Michael, two other sons, and two daughters; thereafter she had Konstantios and a daughter. She became augusta (EMPRESS) during her husband's reign; as he was dying, she swore, in the presence of Patr. JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS, synod, and senate, never to remarry. Following Constantine's death, she ruled for her sons, the emperors MICHAEL VII and Konstantios, who appear with her on her coins. Supported by the caesar John DOUKAS, she made her own official decisions. The Turks continued to attack the eastern frontier; Caesarea and the region of Antioch were plundered. The Byz. troops, badly paid and provisioned, were demoralized. Realizing the need for a male ruler, Eudokia obtained from the patriarch the annulment of her oath and selected as her new husband ROMANOS (IV) DIOGENES. She bore him Nikephoros and Leo. When, after the battle of Mantzikert, Romanos was released by ALP ARSLAN and sought to regain his throne (early Oct. 1071), Eudokia hesitated. The caesar John summarily forced her into her own convent of Piperoudion; NIKEPHOROS III recalled her to Constantinople. A copy of the SACRA PARALLELA prepared for Eudokia depicts her with Constantine Doukas and their sons

(Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig. 126). I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25) suggested that Eudokia appears with Romanos IV on a controversial ivory in Paris, against the traditional view that the depiction is of ROMANOS II and his empress.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt. III (1963), 101–28. –C.M.B., A.C.

EUDOKIMOS (Εὐδόκιμος), saint; born Cappadocia 807, died Charsianon? 840. His father Basil was reportedly influential at court, and Eudokimos began his career in Constantinople. Theophilos supposedly appointed him *stratopedarches* of Cappadocia (although Eudokimos's low title of KANDIDATOS is incompatible with the high office he allegedly received). He fought victoriously and when he died was buried in the ornate uniform of a general.

His Life is preserved in two versions, one by SYMEON METAPHRASTES; Ch. Loparev (*infra* [1908]) considered the other to be the original, if not composed by IGNATIOS THE DEACON then at least created in his circle. Actually, however, it was written by Constantine AKROPOLITES (H. Delehaye, *AB* 51 [1933] 270f), who suppressed some details of the Metaphrastic version, itself not rich in information. The first part of the Life is a biography of the saint: although he was a soldier and not a hermit, he displays the whole range of traditional virtues, such as celibacy and concern for the poor. The second section describes miracles performed both at Eudokimos's tomb and during the translation of his relics to Constantinople; the most vivid is the story of the theft of the corpse from Charsianon, at the request of Eudokimos's mother, by the monk Joseph (arbitrarily identified by Loparev with JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER): the corpse supposedly lifted his arms and legs in order to help Joseph remove his garment. The hagiographer does not mention Iconoclasm; Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 127) calls Eudokimos "a good candidate for an Iconoclast saint."

Representation in Art. Eudokimos, whose portraits first appear in 11th-C. MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, is almost invariably depicted as a young saint in full military costume. In wall painting, despite his natural death, he is paired with true martyr-warriors such as GEORGE and DEMETRIOS.

SOURCES. Ch. Loparev, "Žitie sv. Eudokima pravednogo," *Pamjatniki drevnej pis'mennosti* 96 (1893) 1–23. Idem, *IRAIK* 13 (1908) 199–219.

LIT. *BHG* 606–607e. Ch. Loparev, "Vizantijskija žitija svjatych VIII–IX vekov," *VizVrem* 17 (1910) 114–19. Da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 783–88. –A.K., N.P.Š.

EUDOXIA (Εὐδοξία), wife of ARKADIOS and empress (from 9 Jan. 400); died Constantinople 6 Oct. 404. Daughter of a Roman mother and Bauto, a Frankish general of Valentinian II, Eudoxia possessed outstanding beauty (Zosim. 5.3.2). She grew up in Constantinople and married Arkadios on 27 Apr. 395. She bore the emperor five children, including PULCHERIA and THEODOSIOS II. Although pregnant during much of her short reign, Eudoxia was involved in politics and managed to secure the fall of the powerful eunuch EUTROPIOS. Her outspokenness and alleged vanity earned the opposition of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who reportedly compared her to Jezebel and Salome; the conflict between the two threatened the normal harmony between the people of Constantinople and the Theodosian house. Upon Eudoxia's urging, Chrysostom was exiled in 403, but popular response forced the court to recall the bishop. He was again exiled in 404. Later in the year Eudoxia suffered a fatal miscarriage, interpreted as punishment for her opposition to the popular bishop.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 48–78. F. van Ommeslaeghe, "Jean Chrysostome en conflit avec l'impératrice Eudoxie," *AB* 97 (1979) 131–59. –T.E.G.

EUERGETIS MONASTERY, a foundation of the mid-11th C., located in the European suburbs of Constantinople, approximately 3 km outside the land walls. It was dedicated to the Theotokos Euergetis (Εὐεργέτις). The original founder, Paul, retired to his country estate in 1049 and built a few simple cells for the handful of monks who joined him in his monastic retreat. After Paul's death in 1054, his successor as *hegoumenos*, Timothy, put Euergetis on a solid financial base and constructed a new church and larger *kellia*. Timothy, who lived as an *enkleistos*, was revered as the second founder. Circa 1055 he composed two

TYPIKA, a foundation *typikon* containing a rule for daily life and a very lengthy liturgical *typikon*, an important example of STOUDITE TYPIKA.

The foundation *typikon*, which served as a model for the *typika* of the Kosmosoteira (see BERA), MAMAS, HELIOU BOMON, KECHARITOMENE, and HILANDAR monasteries, is our primary source of information about the Euergetis monastery. The monastic complex included a hospice to provide lodging and medical care for travelers and the sick; distributions of food were made daily to the poor. Euergetis also had a *metochion* within the walls of Constantinople. During the Latin occupation of Constantinople (1204–61) the monastery was given as a dependency to MONTECASSINO, but apparently the Greek monks were not expelled. St. SAVA OF SERBIA visited the monastery several times between 1196 and 1235 and was a major benefactor of the institution. Euergetis disappears from the sources after the 13th C. It should be distinguished from the Constantinople monastery of Christ Euergetes, which possessed an icon bearing this epithet and was a foundation of the 10th or 11th C. (A. Cutler, *DOP* 37 [1983] 42).

SOURCES. Liturgical *typikon*—ed. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:256–614. Foundation *typikon*—ed. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de la Théotokos Évergétis," *REB* 40 (1982) 5–101.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Constantinople: Le couvent de l'Évergétis," *EO* 9 (1906) 366–73; 10 (1907) 155–67, 259–63 (title varies). Janin, *Églises CP* 178–83. —A.M.T., A.C.

EUGENEIANOS, NIKETAS, 12th-C. writer. A disciple or friend of PRODROMOS, Eugeneianos (Εὐγενειανός) led a hard life (according to his own very rhetorical statements), until he was rescued by the *sebastos* and *megas droungarios* Stephen Komnenos, whose teacher Eugeneianos claimed to have been. In 1156/7 he wrote a monody on Stephen; he probably also dedicated an *epithalamion* to Stephen's wedding in the early 1150s. Eugeneianos dedicated to Prodromos another monody in prose, as well as two in verse (C. Gallavotti, *SBN* 4 [1935] 222–31). A. Sideras (*JÖB* 37 [1987] 181–200) suggests that Eugeneianos was the author of an anonymous monody that is preserved in Heidelbergensis 18 and has significant similarities with a monody of Prodromos (whom Eugeneianos could imitate). An example of such imitation is also Eugeneianos's romance *Drosilla and Charikles*; the work contains various allusions to Byz. reality, and the portrait of Drosilla, the heroine, coincides verbatim with that of the ideal bride of his *epithalamion*. In the romance Eugeneianos combines a lofty lyricism with earthy scenes and parody. Some of his epigrams are also preserved (S. Lampros, *NE* 11 [1914] 353–58). D. Christides identified Eugeneianos as the author of an anonymous dialogue ANACHARSIS OR ANANIAS and several letters.

ED. R. Hercher, *Erotici scriptores Graeci* (Leipzig 1859) 2:437–552; corr. Q. Cataudella, *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 29–32. Russ. tr. F. Petrovskij, *Nikita Evgenian, Povest' o Drosille i Charikle* (Moscow 1969). L. Petit, "Monodie de Nicétas Eugéneianos sur Théodore Prodrome," *VizVrem* 9 (1902) 446–63.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:133–36. A. Kazhdan, "Bemerkungen zu Niketas Eugenianos," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 101–17. M. Kyriakis, "Of Professors and Disciples in Twelfh (sic) Century Byzantium," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 108–19. F. Conca, "Il romanzo di Niceta Eugeniano: modelli narrativi e stilistici," *SicGymn* 39 (1986) 115–26. —A.K.

EUGENIKOS, JOHN, churchman and writer; born Constantinople after 1394, died after 1454/5. The younger brother of Mark EUGENIKOS, John Eugenikos (Εὐγενικός) was a married deacon who held the positions of notary and *nomophylax* at the patriarchate. Like his brother a fierce opponent of Union, he stayed only briefly at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. On his way home from Venice in 1438, he survived a shipwreck and, in response to this narrow escape, wrote a work titled *Oration of Thanksgiving* (ed. Lampros, *infra*, 271–314). Because of his opposition to the council, he was exiled to the Morea, where he joined the group of literati at Mistra (1439–47). He also traveled to Trebizond, his father's birthplace, and to Mesembria (1454/5). He ended his life administering the metropolis of Lacedaemonia (Sparta).

Eugenikos was a prolific author who wrote in a variety of genres; many of his works are still unpublished. His polemical writings include an *Antirrhetikos* attacking the Decree of Union of 1439. He composed several *paramythetikoi* and monodies, *ekphraseis* of icons, a *threnos* on the fall of Constantinople (which was soon thereafter translated into Slavic), *kanones* and hymns, prayers, and sermons. Recently, A. Sideras ascribed to Eugenikos an anonymous monody (*Byzantion* 54 [1984] 300–14). His encomiastic *ekphrasis* of Trebizond (ed. O. Lampsides, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 25–36) differs

radically from the *ekphrasis* of BESSARION: while the latter concentrated on the trade of this "*emporion* of the world" and on the architecture of the palace, Eugenikos praised the rustic beauty of meadows and forests around the city and their gorgeous vegetation. Among his hagiographical writings is a eulogy of James the Persian (ed. C. Hannick, *AB* 90 [1972] 261–87), of whom Eugenikos possessed a relic, and an *akolouthia* for his brother Mark (ed. L. Petit, *SBN* 2 [1927] 195–235). Of his letters 36 survive, many of them attacking Latin doctrine. In his introduction to the *Aithiopika* of HELIODOROS (H. Gärtner, *BZ* 64 [1971] 322–25), Eugenikos suggested a "mystical" interpretation of this erotic romance (S. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 244).

ED. Letters—ed. S. Lampros, *Pal. kai Pel.* 1:47–218, 271–322. For complete list, see D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 501–06.

LIT. C. Tsirpanlis, "John Eugenicus and the Council of Florence," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 264–74. *PLP*, no.6189.

–A.M.T., A.K.

EUGENIKOS, MANUEL, wall-painter, decorated the monastery church of Calendžicha (Georgia) at the behest of Dadian Vameq I, prince of Mingrelia (1384–96). His large body of surviving work has been related to frescoes in the church of Theodore Stratelates at NOVGOROD and to an icon at Mt. Sinai. Although his name is Trapezuntine, Greek and Georgian inscriptions at Calendžicha report that Eugenikos was brought from Constantinople.

LIT. T. Velmans, "Le décor du sanctuaire de l'église de Calendžikha," *CahArch* 36 (1988) 137–159. I. Lordkipanidze, "La peinture murale de Tsalendjikha," *IIe Symposium International sur l'art géorgien* (Tbilisi 1977) 1–16. H. Belting, "Le peintre Manuel Eugenikos de Constantinople, en Géorgie," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 103–14. *PLP*, no.6192. –A.C.

EUGENIKOS, MARK, metropolitan of Ephesus (1437–45), anti-Latin theologian, and saint; born Constantinople 1394?, died Constantinople 23 June 1445 (J. Gill, *BZ* 52 [1959] 31); feastday 19 Jan. Son of the deacon George Eugenikos, who was *sakellios* of Hagia Sophia, Eugenikos received the baptismal name of Manuel. After his father's death, Eugenikos studied in Constantinople with John CHORTASMENOS and George PLETHON. In 1420 he became a monk on Antigone (Princes' Islands); two years later he returned to the capital, where he entered the MANGANA monastery and was eventually ordained a priest. Shortly before the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, Eugenikos was made metropolitan of Ephesus. He attended the council as one of the leading Byz. theologians and presented the extreme Greek position concerning the FILIOQUE (M.A. Orphanos in *Philoxenia* [Münster 1980] 223–32) and PURGATORY (C. Tsirpanlis, *BS* 37 [1976] 194–200). He was the only Greek delegate who refused to sign the decree of Union (1439). After his return to Ephesus via Constantinople, he was imprisoned for two years on Lemnos (1440–42). Eugenikos has been both criticized as a "narrow-minded obstacle to Union" (Gill) and praised as an uncompromising and consistent supporter of the conciliar Christian tradition (Tsirpanlis). He was canonized by the Orthodox church in 1456; his brother John EUGENIKOS wrote his vita (ed. S. Pétridès, *ROC* 15 [1910] 97–107). An *akolouthia* also survives (ed. L. Petit, *SBN* 2 [1927] 193–235).

In his numerous theological works Eugenikos defends PALAMISM (e.g., 72 *Kephalaia*) and the anti-Latin position on *filioque* and purgatory. A few of his letters are preserved as well as hagiographical compositions and hymns (*kanones* in honor of the Virgin). He also wrote *ekphraseis* on paintings that indicate his appreciation of art (D. Pallas, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 357–74) and solutions to philosophical questions (*aporiai*) such as the existence of a soul in animals, evil, and free will. Many of his works remain unpublished.

ED. PG 159:1024–93; 160:13–105, 112–204, 1080–1104, 1164–1200; 161:12–244. *Kephalaia*—ed. in W. Gass, *Die Mystik des Nikolaus Cabasilas vom Leben in Christo* (Leipzig 1899) pt.2, 217–32. Anti-Latin works—ed. L. Petit, PO 15 (1927) 25–168; 17.2 (1923) 336–522. For full list of works, see Tsirpanlis, *infra* 109–18 and *Tusculum-Lexikon* 237.

LIT. J. Gill, "Mark Eugenicus, Metropolitan of Ephesus," in *Personalities* 55–64. C. Tsirpanlis, *Mark Eugenicus and the Council of Florence* (Thessalonike 1974). *PLP*, no.6193.

–A.M.T.

EUGENIOS (Εὐγένιος), martyr and saint, allegedly a victim of Diocletian's persecutions; feastday 20 or 21 Jan. In Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 116:467–506) he appears as an associate of the martyr Eustratios (see FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA), but in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* Eugenios is depicted as the principal hero of another group of martyrs, consisting of Valerianus, Candidius, and Aquilas (*Synax.CP* 406–07). In both

cases, the persecutor is Lysias, *doux* of "Satalea" (Satalea is the name of several towns in Asia Minor and Armenia). Whatever the origin of the legend, by the 11th C. Eugenios became the patron of TREBIZOND; one of the major churches in Trebizond was dedicated to him, and under the Grand Komnenoi his image was common on the local coins, the so-called *aspra komnenata* (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 35 [1978] 27). His martyrdom is illustrated in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, the future patriarch and a native of Trebizond, compiled the *passio* of Eugenios and wrote about his miracles (M. van Esbroeck, *OrChrP* 47 [1981] 392). The latter provide information on climate, everyday life, and on an appearance of the Rus' in Trebizond in the days of "Constantine the Younger." The martyrdom of Eugenios and his posthumous miracles were also the subject of several later works, some anonymous and some by known authors (Joseph, metropolitan of Trebizond [1364–67], John Lazaropoulos, Constantine Loukites) who were active at the court of the Grand Komnenoi in the 14th C. The *Miracles* by John Lazaropoulos is rich in factual historical material, beginning with Basil I and including both Trebizond and the neighboring lands (Iberia, Chaldia, and even Cherson).

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii Trapezundskoj imperii* (St. Petersburg 1897). O. Lampsides, "Hagios Eugenios ho Trapezountios," *ArchPont* 18 (1953) 129–201.

LIT. *BHG* 608y-613. O. Lampsides, *Hagios Eugenios ho poliouchos tes Trapezountos* (Athens 1984). F.I. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj imperii* (Leningrad 1929) 13, 23f. Janin, *Églises centres* 266–70. –A.K., N.P.Š.

EUGENIOS OF PALERMO, high-ranking official at the Sicilian court; admiral (from 1190), translator, and poet; born Palermo ca.1130, died ca.1203. HENRY VI imprisoned him in 1195–96; after his release he was appointed master chamberlain of Apulia and Terra di Lavora (1198–1202). Jamison's identification of Eugenios with Hugo Falcandus Siculus has not proved valid. Eugenios belonged to the group of Sicilian intellectuals versed in Arab, Latin, and Greek culture. He translated Ptolemy's works from Arabic into Latin and Sibylline oracles from Greek into Latin; he also wrote Greek poems. He focused on human behavior, treating it on the basis of classical and patristic tradition with a slight tint of personal experience. Eugenios published and perhaps edited a version of *Stephanites and Ichnelates* by Symeon SETH, and in his poems he developed the theme of the instability of human life, typical of Byz. didactic literature of the 11th–12th C. He praised the ideal of ascetic life; in another poem he presented the ideal image (*eikon*) of the ruler—somewhat vaguely, but emphasizing military prowess (v.21.60–66). Many other poems are dedicated to such topics as greediness, garrulity, calumny, and virginity.

ED. *Versus iambici*, ed. M. Gigante (Palermo 1964), with Ital. tr.

LIT. E. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius of Sicily, His Life and Work* (London 1957). M. Gigante, "Il tema dell' instabilità della vita nel primo carme di Eugenio di Palermo," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 325–56. Idem in *I Bizantini in Italia*, eds. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982) 628–30. –A.K.

EUGENIUS, usurper (from 22 Aug. 392); died 6 Sept. 394. A former teacher of Latin grammar and rhetoric, Eugenius was *magister scrinii* at the court of Valentinian II when the latter was murdered in 392. When ARBOGAST, the Frankish *magister militum*, failed to hold power in his own name, he appointed Eugenius as Western emperor. Eugenius was nominally a Christian but, as a moderate in the religious controversies, he was acceptable to the pagans of Italy, who chafed under the autocratic religious policies of Theodosios I. When Eugenius could not secure the recognition of Theodosios, he threw himself fully into the arms of the pagan party. Under the direction of the praetorian prefect Nicomachus FLAVIANUS paganism revived in Italy. Theodosios elevated his son Honorius to imperial rank in 393 and marched against Eugenius the next year. At the battle of the Frigidus, Eugenius was taken prisoner and executed.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:211–17. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 238–47. H. Bloch, "A New Document of the Last Pagan Revival in the West, 393–394 A.D.," *HThR* 38 (1945) 199–244. J. Szidat, "Die Usurpation des Eugenius," *Historia* 28 (1979) 487–508. B. Baldwin, "Jordanes on Eugenius: Some Further Possibilities," *Antichthon* 11 (1977) 103f. –T.E.G.

EUGENIUS III (Bernardo Pignatelli of Pisa), pope (from 15 Feb. 1145); died Tivoli 8 July 1153. Eugenius spent almost all of his papacy in a struggle against the Romans, who expelled him from the city even before his consecration. A Cistercian and follower of Bernard of Clairvaux, Eugenius sanctioned the Second Crusade (1 Dec. 1145) and

tried to achieve union with the Greeks (ROGER II of Sicily, in contrast, tried to use the Crusaders for his own purposes against Byz.). After the failure of the Second Crusade, Eugenius was forced to seek alliance with Roger; he took advantage of Roger's military support to return to Rome in Nov. 1149 but did not break with CONRAD III and his ally Manuel I Komnenos.

LIT. J.G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks (1122–1153)," *ChHist* 28 (1959) 122–26, 130, 310–27. M. Maccarrone, *Papato e impero* (Rome 1959) 11–103. –A.K.

EUGENIUS IV (Gabriele Condulmaro), pope (from 3 Mar. 1431); born Venice ca.1383, died Rome 23 Feb. 1447. After ascending the papal throne Eugenius had to deal with the resistance of many Italian cities, including Rome (from which he fled in 1434, not returning until 1443), as well as church prelates who assembled a council in Basel. He carried on negotiations with Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS and transferred the council from Basel to Ferrara, where he brought the emperor, Patr. JOSEPH II, and their retinue of 700 men. At the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39) a decree of union was signed, but it was short-lived. Eugenius tried to attract to the union other separated Eastern churches—namely the Armenians and the Copts. After the council the pope promised to send a fleet of ten ships to John and to rouse Germany and Hungary to action against the Turks. The fleet was delayed but the papal nuncio Garatoni arrived in Constantinople to outfit ships and crossbowmen. A papal letter to Garatoni of 25 Aug. 1440, however, reveals the growing tensions between the two churches and the inclination of the pope to reduce the patriarchate of Constantinople to the level of an ordinary local church. Eugenius supported the expedition of HUNYADI that ended in 1444 in a defeat at VARNA—a disaster that demonstrated the futility of Byz. expectations of a Western crusade.

LIT. J. Gill, *Eugenius IV* (Westminster, Md., 1961). Th.V. Tuleja, "Eugenius IV and the Crusade of Varna," *Catholic Historical Review* 35 (1949) 257–75. D. Caccamo, "Eugenio IV e crociata di Varna," *ASRSP* 79 (1960) 35–87. –A.K.

EUGENIUS VULGARIUS, southern Italian cleric whose surname may indicate Bulgarian background; fl. Naples? ca.900. Hoping for material reward, Eugenius dedicated to LEO VI four flattering Latin poems—including one figure poem in the shape of a pyramid, complete with a prose explanation of its symbolism. He also composed verses for Pope Sergius III (904–11) and local potentates and wrote defenses of Pope FORMOSUS (ed. E. Dümmler, *Auxilius und Vulgarius* [Leipzig 1866] 117–39). His metrical martyrology reflects Byz. tradition on BARNABAS the Apostle (ed. P. Meyvaert, *AB* 84 [1966] 360–67).

ED. P. von Winterfeld, MGH *Poet.* 4.1:412–40.

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 446f. B. Schieffer, *LMA* 4:85. –M.McC.

EUGIPPIUS, abbot of the monastery of Lucullanum and hagiographer; died Castellum Lucullanum, near Naples, after 533. Isidore of Seville mentions the spiritual rule which Eugippius wrote for his monastery. He corresponded with a number of churchmen, including DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS. Eugippius was also known to CASSIODORUS, who (*Institutiones* 23) deprecates his neglect of secular studies but praises his biblical scholarship, recommending his *Selections from the Works of St. Augustine.* Eugippius is best known for his Life of St. SEVERINUS, the apostle of NORICUM, whose disciple he was and whose remains were deposited at his monastery. This biography was written in some haste ca.511 to get ahead of an anonymous rival whose study of the monk Bassus provoked fears that his treatment of Severinus would be too literary for ordinary readers. It was sent for approval (duly received) to the Roman deacon Paschasius as a *Memorandum* (*Commemoratorium*), a title that disingenuously plays down its own considerable rhetoric. Although giving Severinus his meed of miracles and other supernatural skills, the Life emphasizes secular events, set down in accurate chronological sequence and providing overall a unique eyewitness picture of the last decades of the western Roman province of Noricum, esp. the social life of river towns between Vienna and Passau.

ED. *Vita Sancti Severini*, ed. T. Nüsslein (Stuttgart 1986). R. Noll, *Eugippius: Leben des heiligen Severin*[2] (Berlin 1963; rp. New York 1965), with Germ. tr. Eng. tr. L. Bieler, L. Krestan, *Eugippius: The Life of Saint Severin* (Washington, D.C., 1965).

LIT. M. Pellegrino, "Il Commemoratorium Vitae Sancti Severini," *Rivista di Storia della Chiesa in Italia* 12 (1958) 1–26. H. Baldermann, "Die Vita Severini des Eugippius," *WS* 74 (1961) 142–55. –B.B.

EUKTERION (*εὐκτήριον*), or *eukterios oikos* (*εὐκτήριος οἶκος*), lit. "a house of prayer" and therefore, in theory, any church building. Generally, however, the term was used of private CHURCHES—oratories and CHAPELS—distinct from, or appended to, the main places of public worship. Secular and ecclesiastical authorities were anxious to ensure that privately founded *eukteria* did not subvert or overburden the church's episcopal structure. Justinian I ordered that construction was not to begin until the local bishop had consecrated the site, approved the priest, and received from the would-be founder (KTETOR) sufficient funds for staffing and maintenance; donors who could not afford this were encouraged to contribute to the restoration of unused or ruined churches (novs. 57.1–2; 67; 123.18; 131.7). He also prohibited the celebration of the liturgy in the oratories of private houses (novs. 131.9; 58), a prohibition that the Council in Trullo repeated and extended to baptism (canons 31 and 59). Insofar as the prohibition was designed to prevent the dissemination of heresy, it had lost much of its urgency by the end of the 9th C., when Leo VI repealed it as being unnecessarily restrictive now that Orthodoxy was secure "and by divine grace *eukterioi oikoi* have been erected to God in almost every house, not only of the illustrious, but also of the common people" (nov.4; see also nov.15).

This policy ignored, however, the now more serious threat that *eukteria* posed to the sacramental raison d'être of the public churches and that Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES later (1028) attempted to remove by forbidding the use of *eukteria* for any service apart from the liturgy (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.835). According to Balsamon, an *eukterios oikos* was a church that lacked consecration through chrismation, deposition of martyr relics, and enthronement of the officiating prelate (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:458f, 479.6–9).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 83–86. –P.M.

EULALIOS (Εὐλάλιος), painter who seems to have flourished as a mosaicist and icon-painter under Manuel I; he is alluded to in several texts of the 12th–14th C. Nicholas MESARITES attributes to him the images of the Pantokrator and the MYRROPHOROI in the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, Constantinople, and suggests that Eulalios inserted his own image into the latter scene. This statement was questioned by Demus (*infra*) but is still consistent with the ethos of 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

LIT. N. Bees, "Kunstgeschichtliche Untersuchungen über die Eulalios-Frage und den Mosaikschmuck der Apostelkirche zu Konstantinopel," *RepKunstw* 39 (1916) 97–117, 231–51; 40 (1917) 59–77. O. Demus, "'The Sleepless Watcher': Ein Erklärungsversuch," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 241–45. –A.C.

EULOGIA (*εὐλογία*, "blessing" or "benediction"), the term applied to consecrated gifts as well as to the bread offered optionally at the eucharist or blessed separately and distributed in church or sent as a gift. The term was extended to the "blessing" at departure and that received by a pilgrim through contact with a holy place, person, or object. It could be received either directly and immaterially, for example, through kissing the wood of the True Cross, or conveyed indirectly through a substance of neutral origin (e.g., oil, water, earth) that itself had been blessed by such contact. In the latter case, the material itself, as in Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) or its container (e.g, MENAS FLASKS, pilgrimage AMPULLAE) might bear a representation of the sanctifying agent or event. The richest account of Byz. pilgrimage *eulogiai* is that recorded ca.570 by the PIACENZA PILGRIM, who, for example, reclined on a couch in the Garden of Gethsemane "to gain a blessing" (ch.17). At the Holy Sepulchre he describes the blessing of little flasks of oil through contact with the True Cross and the blessing of earth brought into the tomb. Pilgrim *eulogiai* were valued for their amuletic and medicinal powers; CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. E. Schwartz, 110.10–11, 164.14–18, 218.6–7, 228.13–14), for example, writes that St. SABAS (among others) used the oil of the True Cross to exorcise evil spirits; a flask at Bobbio (Grabar, *Ampoules*, Bobbio no.1) is inscribed "Oil of the Wood of Life, that guides us by land and sea."

LIT. A. Stuiber, *RAC* 6 (1966) 900–28. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensberg 1950) 398–43. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 10–14. –G.V.

EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS, pagan writer and historian; born Sardis 345/6 (*PLRE* 1:296) or 349 (R. Goulet, *JHS* 100 [1980] 67), died after 414. Eunapios (Εὐνάπιος) lived mainly in Sardis, apart

from five student years at Athens whence his parents recalled him, thus aborting a visit to Egypt. His combination of sophistry and medicine (typical for the age) helped him achieve a friendship with ORIBASIOS, famous doctor and confidant of Julian. So did his rancid PAGANISM, the central emotional and intellectual impulse of his writings, albeit he did admire his Christian mentors Chrysanthios and Prohaeresios. His *Lives of the Sophists*, written in or after 399 (T.M. Banchich, *GRBS* 25 [1984] 183–92), celebrates various Neoplatonists, iatrosophists, and rhetoricians in different degrees of fervor and coolness.

His *History*, surviving only in fragments, formally continued that of Dexippos, and encompassed in 14 books the period 270–414. Its precise structure and date of composition are endlessly debated, as is whether he used AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS as a source or vice versa. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.77) knew two versions or EKDOSEIS: the original being too anti-Christian for pious stomachs, Eunapios produced a toned-down "New Edition," clumsily done with subsequent obscurities in the text. His *History* is wildly biased toward paganism and Julian, ostentatiously neglectful of precise chronology, and crammed with rhetorical digressions and descriptions of individuals and events; ZOSIMOS exploited it to the point of plagiarism. Photios is relatively kind to his style; modern taste generally prefers C.G. Cobet's label "most stinking" (*Mnemosyne*² 6 [1878] 318).

ED. *Vitae sophistarum*, ed. G. Giangrande (Rome 1956). *Index in Eunapii Vitas sophistarum*, ed. I. and M.M. Avotins (Hildesheim 1983). *Philostratus and Eunapius*, ed. W.C. Wright (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1952), 317–596, with Eng. tr. *History*—Blockley, *Historians* 1:1–26, 2:1–150, with Eng. tr.

LIT. A. Baldini, *Ricerche sulla Storia di Eunapio di Sardi* (Bologna 1984). A.B. Breebaart, "Eunapius of Sardes and the Writing of History," *Mnemosyne*⁴ 32 (1979) 360–75. D.F. Buck, "Eunapius of Sardis and Theodosius the Great," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 36–53. –B.B.

EUNOMIOS (Εὐνόμιος), leader of Neo-Arians (Anomoians); born ca.335 in Cappadocia (in Oltiseris or more probably Dakora), died Dakora ca.394. Son of a cultured peasant, Eunomios learned the skill of TACHYGRAPHY and served as a teacher in Constantinople. In Antioch he met AETIOS, whose secretary and disciple he became and whose fate he shared, being exiled by Constantius II, recalled by Julian who gave him properties in Chalcedon, and subsequently becoming involved in the revolt of Prokopios. In 360 (according to Philostorgios) or ca.366 (according to Sokrates), he was appointed bishop of Kyzikos. After the death of Aetios, Eunomios headed the radical group of Arians and was ordered by Theodosios I to produce their exposition of faith; Theodosios, however, rejected their Anomoian views and banished Eunomios to the lower Danube and then to Cappadocia, where he died.

Like Aetios, Eunomios taught that God the Creator was ingenerate, whereas the Son was created and possessed a different essence and different energy; the Father, the Son, and the Spirit formed a hierarchy of nonconsubstantial beings. Naturally, Eunomios avoided the concept of the Trinity. The Logos-Christ was a created deity and never assumed the human nature—a view that Eunomios shared with the Theopaschites. He introduced a particular form of baptism—a single immersion in the name of the death of Christ (and not in the name of the Trinity). Eunomios professed the power of reason, and contemporaries testify to the clarity of his argumentation. He rejected the idea that God was unknowable: Sokrates ascribes to him the assertion that God does not know more of his essence than we do. Eunomios's works are lost but some of them (the *Apology*, the *Apology of Apology*, and the *Exposition of Faith*) are known in fragments from refutations produced by his opponents (Basil the Great, Gregory of Nyssa).

ED. *The Extant Works*, ed. R.P. Vaggione (Oxford 1987). PG 30:835–68, 67:587–90.

LIT. T.A. Kopeck, *A History of Neo-Arianism*, vol. 2 (Philadelphia 1979). B. Sesboüé, *L'Apologie d'Eunome de Cyzique et le 'Contre Eunome' (I; 1–3) de Basile de Césarée* (Rome 1980). F. Diekamp, "Literargeschichtliches zu der eunomianischen Kontroversie," *BZ* 18 (1909) 1–13. L. Abramowski, *RAC* 6:936–47. –T.E.G., A.K.

EUNUCHS (sing. ἐκτομίας) played an important role in the church, the army, and the civil administration. Several patriarchs were eunuchs: GERMANOS I, METHODIOS, IGNATIOS, and others, the last of them being Eustratios Garidas (1081–84); among generals NARSES was especially famous; among civil officials were EUTROPIOS, SAMONAS, Joseph BRINGAS, Basil LEKAPENOS, and JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS. High palace dignities such as PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and PARAKOIMOMENOS were until the 11th C. held mainly by eunuchs. Eunuchs also served in the houses of aris-

tocrats. Legislation prohibited castration, although Leo VI (nov.60) mitigated the punishment imposed for performing this surgery. Despite this legislation the operation was often performed on both children and adults, including members of the aristocracy. Some eunuchs were imported from the Caucasus, the caliphate, and Slavic countries. Rare at the time of Constantine I, eunuchs acquired importance during the reign of Constantius II in conjunction with the growth of the bureaucratic system; Julian's attempt to restrict the role of eunuchs failed. They retained important positions through the 11th C., but were pushed out of the highest posts under the Komnenian dynasty, as aristocratic ideology with its veneration of manliness became dominant (A. Kazhdan, *ADSV* 10 [1973] 184–97); they were rare in the 14th–15th C. Because of their fear of HOMOSEXUALITY, monastic leaders tried to exclude the "beardless" from certain monasteries (e.g., on Mt. Athos).

It is usually thought that eunuchs, who had no children of their own nor were allowed to ascend the throne, preserved greater loyalty to their masters. G. Walter (*La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes* [Paris 1966] 95) questioned this thesis, arguing that in reality eunuchs participated in diverse plots and schemes against the emperors. Theophylaktos of Ohrid (*Discours, Traités, Poésies*, ed. P. Gautier [Thessalonike 1980] 287–331) wrote a defense of the status of eunuchs, demonstrating that they had always played an important role in the palace, in the church, and esp. in the creation of ecclesiastical music. Theophylaktos provided his reader with a list of eunuch-martyrs and named a worthy contemporary, a certain Symeon, who organized a *synoikia* (community) of eunuch-monks. The monastery of St. Lazaros in Constantinople was reserved for eunuchs by Leo VI (Janin, *Églises CP* 299).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:165–97. M.D. Spadaro, "Un inedito di Teofilatto di Achrida sull'eunuchia," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 3–38. –A.K.

EUPHEMIA, CHURCH OF SAINT, built in the 4th C. at the place of her burial, about 1.5 km from CHALCEDON. It consisted of a basilica with an attached circular martyrion in which the body of EUPHEMIA was kept in a silver sarcophagus. Once a year the body reportedly exuded an effluvium of blood that was distributed in glass ampullae. A painted cycle of Euphemia's martyrdom (in a "roofed passage") is described by ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA. The Council of Chalcedon was held in the church in 451. The Persian invasions of the early 7th C. caused its destruction and the transfer to Constantinople of the "uncorrupted body," which was housed in the converted great hall of the palace of Antiochos next to the HIPPODROME. During the Iconoclastic period the new church was secularized and the relics were thrown in the sea by Constantine V; they were miraculously saved and returned in 796 to the refurbished church, which survived until the end of the Byz. Empire. Excavations in 1942 and 1950–52 revealed part of the palace of Antiochos, including the hexagonal building that housed the church, opening on to a semicircular portico. A late 13th-C. cycle of wall paintings illustrates the saint's martyrdom.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 120–24. Janin, *Églises centres* 31–33. R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* (Berlin 1966). –C.M.

EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON, saint; died 16 Sept. 303, according to the *Fasti Consulares Vindobonenses* (MGH *AuctAnt.* 9:290). EGERIA mentions the cult of Euphemia (Εὐφημία) in Chalcedon, and ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA describes her annual feast and the pictorial representation of her trial and death by fire. The Church of St. Euphemia housed the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (see EUPHEMIA, CHURCH OF SAINT). Halkin (*infra*, xvii) dates the earliest *passio* (preserved in 11th- and 12th-C. MSS) soon after this council. It provides little information, but the details of the trial and execution differ from Asterios's description; for example, Euphemia was supposedly thrown to wild beasts and died in the arena. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* p.811–13) assigns to Euphemia the miracle of determining the decision of the Council of 451: two *tomoi*, one orthodox and another heterodox (Monophysite), were placed in Euphemia's coffin; after several days the council members reopened the coffin and found the heretical creed under Euphemia's feet and the orthodox one in her hands. Euphemia's cult was popular in Byz. Constantine of Tios (ca.800) related that Leo III ordered her relics thrown into the sea, but two pious brothers saved

them and brought them to Lemnos. In the 15th C. Makarios MAKRES reworked this legend. Latin versions also survive (H. Boese, *AB* 97 [1979] 360–62).

Representation in Art. Portraits of the saint show a virgin martyr clad in a *maphorion* and long tunic. In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.163v) and in some MSS of Symeon Metaphrastes she is shown flanked by beasts from the arena (in accordance with the text), while in others she stands nude in a pyre (as in the description by Asterios) or is beheaded. A fresco cycle of 14 scenes illustrating her martyrdom adorns her church in Constantinople (R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrom zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* [Berlin 1966] 113–17).

SOURCE. F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* (Brussels 1965).
LIT. *BHG* 619–624n. J. Wortley, "Iconoclasm and Leipsanoclasm: Leo III, Constantine V and the Relics," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 274–77. O. Schrier, "A propos d'une donnée négligée sur la mort de Ste. Euphémie," *AB* 102 (1984) 329–53. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:182–85. –A.K., N.P.Š.

EUPHRATAS (Εὐφρατᾶς), legendary architect of Constantinople during the reign of Constantine I. He is described as a eunuch, *parakoimomenos*, and eponym of a church or *gerokomeion* in the district of Leomakellion in Constantinople. He is mentioned in the *Patria*, in pseudo-Symeon Magistros, and in some legends about Constantine. According to one of the legends, Euphratas built the city ramparts, developed the sewage system, excavated cisterns, and erected Hagia Sophia. Another legend relates that he came to Constantine on the eve of the battle at the Milvian Bridge and advised the emperor to abandon polytheism and trust in the true God and his son Christ. Euphratas also reportedly invited inhabitants of various cities to move to Constantinople and furnished them with *annonae* and dwellings. He supposedly provided "the *archontes* of Rome" with new houses, fountains, and gardens identical to those they had possessed in Rome. Euphratas is not mentioned in any source before the 9th C.

LIT. F. Halkin, "L'empereur Constantin converti par Euphratas," *AB* 78 (1960) 5–17. A. Kazhdan, "Constantin imaginaire," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 237–39. –A.K.

EUPHRATENSIS, properly Augusta Euphratensis (Αὐγουστοευφρατησία, also *Augusta eupatensis* [*sic*]), province created between 330 and 350 (probably ca.341) from that territory of Coele-Syria that lay along the west bank of the Euphrates. It is identified by Ammianus Marcellinus and Prokopios as former Kommagene. Part of what had earlier been the region of Palmyrene (e.g., SERGIOPOLIS) was incorporated in the province, but it is doubtful, despite Malalas and Prokopios, that Euphratensis included some parts of OSRHOENE. The province contained at least 20 cities, including HIERAPOLIS (the capital), CYRRHUS-Hagioupolis, Doliche (TELOUCH), SAMOSATA, and EUROPOS. The early 7th-C. geographer GEORGE OF CYPRUS calls the region "the eparchy of Euphratensis and Hagioupolis," stressing the special place occupied by Cyrrhus. In the 5th C. southern Euphratensis was carved out, including ZENOBIA and the capital Sergiopolis. After the Arab conquest Euphratensis formed part of the *jund* (military district) of Qinnasrīn (CHALKIS). The name al-Furātiyah survives in Arabic sources until the 13th C.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 193–98, 2.R. 4 (1932) 1698. Idem, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (Louvain 1952) 102f. –M.M.M.

EUPHRATES (Εὐφράτης), longest (2,760 km) river of western Asia. The Euphrates was navigable from north of Edessa; it was a principal waterway for transportation, but vulnerable politically and militarily. Heavily fortified since Roman times, the river provided the principal means for Persian expeditions against Byz. Much defensive construction took place in the reigns of Anastasios I and Justinian I. Important cities along the Euphrates included MELITENE, SAMOSATA, HIERAPOLIS, Zenobia, and Kirkesion. Stretches of the Euphrates were part of the Sasanian-Byz. border. The river continued to be a principal invasion route for Muslims against Byz. in the 7th–9th C. Control of its upper reaches, including such strongpoints as KAMACHA, occasioned much Byz.-Muslim warfare. The Euphrates floods from November to the end of March, and, esp. in April and May, carries heavy silt to the Mesopotamian plain. Its water allowed the agriculture that flourished along its banks, in contrast to the often parched lands beyond the reach of irrigation.

LIT. J.G. Crow, D.H. French in *Roman Frontier Studies 1979*, eds. W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie (Oxford 1980) 903–12. G. Frézouls in *Le Moyen-Euphrate: Zone de contacts et d'échanges*, ed. J. Margueron (Leiden 1980) 355–86. M.G.

Ionides, *The Regime of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* (London 1937). –W.E.K.

EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA, empress (1195–1203); fl. ca.1169–1210. She married the future ALEXIOS III ANGELOS ca.1169 and bore him three daughters: Irene (born ca.1170), Anna (born ca.1171 or 1173), and Eudokia (born ca.1172 or 1174). Stronger-willed and more intelligent than Alexios, she had great influence over him; she occupied the palace when word of his coup reached Constantinople. Her support for Constantine MESOPOTAMITES created opposition from her son-in-law Andronikos Kontostephanos and her brother Basil KAMATEROS, who informed Alexios of her affair with a certain Vatatzes. The latter was executed and Euphrosyne was shut in a convent for six months (1196–97). Upon her return she regained dominance over her husband, although she could not prevent Mesopotamites' fall (1197). Abandoned by Alexios in Constantinople when he fled, she was arrested, but ALEXIOS V DOUKAS took Euphrosyne and Eudokia with him when he left Constantinople. After Alexios V and Alexios III met at Mosynopolis, Euphrosyne joined her husband in his wanderings. Carried off to Montferrat with him, she was ransomed by MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and passed the rest of her life near Arta.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 131. –C.M.B.

EURIPIDES (Εὐριπίδης), Greek tragic poet; born Salamis 480 B.C., died Macedonia 406. Following the tradition of late antiquity, Byz. scholars favored the ten so-called select plays of Euripides. Knowledge of the nine other tragedies was rare but evident in PSELLOS, John TZETZES, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (cf. Wilson, *infra* 177, 204). The earliest extant MS of Euripides (Jerusalem, Gr. Patr., Taphou 36) dates from the 10th or 11th C., and his life is included in the *Souda*. In the early 14th C. the triad of *Hecuba*, *Orestes*, and *Phoenician Women*, which had become standard in the school syllabus, received philological study in the form of scholia and/or recensions by Maximos PLANOUDES, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. Of particular significance is the latter's edition of all 19 plays.

The only attempt at literary criticism of Euripides—Psellos's comparison of Euripides and GEORGE OF PISIDIA (ed. A. Colonna, *SBN* 7 [1953] 16–21)—survives in a damaged MS that, because of its poor condition, prevents any conclusions as to Psellos's verdict. Clearly, however, he admires Euripides for his ability to arouse pity and for his versatility of style. Judging from the number of surviving MSS, Euripides was the most popular of the great tragedians. He influenced the language of the *Verses on Adam* by IGNATIOS THE DEACON, the *Katomyomachia* by Theodore PRODROMOS, and esp. CHRISTOS PASCHON.

While scenes from Euripides are represented in the floor mosaics of ANTIOCH, no illuminated Byz. MSS of the plays survive. Nevertheless, K. Weitzmann (*Hesperia* 18 [1949] 159–210) hypothesized their existence and impact on the Venice *Kynegetika* (see OPPIAN). In his view several CASKETS AND BOXES depict episodes from the tragedies, notably the sacrifice of IPHIGENEIA on the VEROLI CASKET and HIPPOLYTOS crowned on other ivories. Other scholars, however, connect the Veroli casket with NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS.

ED. *Scholia metrica anonyma in Euripidis Hecubam, Orestem, Phoenissas*, ed. O.L. Smith (Copenhagen 1977). A. Meschini, "Sugli gnomologi bizantini di Euripide," *Helikon* 13–14 (1973–74) 349–62. *Michael Psellus, The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia and on Heliodorus*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Vienna 1986).

LIT. G. Zunz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965). A. Tuilier, *Etude comparée du texte et des scholies d'Euripide* (Paris 1972). Wilson, *Scholars* 177f, 204, 246, 254f. B. Donovan, *Euripides Papyri* (New Haven 1968). A. Turyn, *The Byzantine Manuscript Tradition of the Tragedies of Euripides* (Urbana 1957). –A.C.H., A.C.

EUROPA, in Greek mythology daughter of Phoenix or of Agenor (king of Tyre), who was abducted by Zeus disguised as a handsome bull. This episode was known to Byz. authors: for example, Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 142.16–22) compares her with Theodora Komnene, who was seduced by the future emperor Andronikos I. A scholiast to TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:363) transfers Europa from Phoenicia to Egypt and makes her the daughter of Nilus. The church fathers rationalized the myth of Europa in the same manner as the myth of DANAË but did not attempt to allegorize it in a Christian sense, prevented probably by the connotations of BESTIALITY. The rape of Europa is represented twice on the VEROLI CASKET

in London (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.23) and on other ivories.

LIT. W. Bühler, *RAC* 6:982–85. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 183–86. –A.K., A.C.

EUROPE (Εὐρώπη). The Byz. retained the ancient concept of three continents—Europe, Libya (Africa), and Asia. Since only narrow straits divided Europe from Libya, Theophanes (Theoph. 95.1–2, 426.3–4) considered Spain "the first country of Europe from the West Ocean." The border between Europe and Asia was more difficult to define. The Bosporos-Hellespont was a natural dividing line; to the north, the Tanais (Don) River was considered a border—Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:123.6–8) assumed that "the land beyond the Tanais" was larger and wider than Europe. Prokopios (*Wars* 8:6.13–15), however, rejected such a view and—referring to Aeschylus—established the borderline at Colchidian Phasis. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on Dionysios Periegetes (*GGM* 2:222.5–12, 264.44–46), acknowledged the existence of isthmuses that formed buffers between the continents—Arabia between Libya and Asia, and the Caucasus, a "large and broad isthmus between the Caspian Sea and the Euxeinos (Black Sea)." The semilegendary land of Thoule was viewed as the farthest part of northern Europe.

Europe was considered a geographic unity: according to Eustathios (2:264.44–45), it was the most varied in form among the continents, surpassing Asia and Libya in wealth, its production of fruit, and the virtue of its population, but had fewer animals. The idea of Europe as a political, cultural, and emotional concept was not developed in Byz., even though it emerged in the West in the 13th and 14th C. at the expense of the concept of Christendom; Byz. was left outside Europe, which contributed to the relative indifference of the West to the fall of Constantinople.

The name *Europe* was also applied by Greek authors to a part of Thrace, as both an administrative and ecclesiastical division.

LIT. D. Hay, *Europe: The Emergence of an Idea*[2] (Edinburgh 1968). D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine View of Western Europe," *GRBS* 8 (1967) 315–39. P. Grattarola, "Il concetto di Europa alla fine del mondo antico," *L'Europa nel mondo antico* (Milan 1986) 174–91. J. Koder, "Ho horos 'Europe' hos ennoia chorou ste Byzantine historiographia," in *Byzantio kai Europe* (Athens 1987) 63–74. –R.B.H., A.K.

EUROPOS (Εὐρωπός, Ar. Jarābulus, Cerablus on the Turkish-Syrian border), city of EUPHRATENSIS built on the site of ancient Carchemish at a strategic crossing of the Euphrates River. Its walls were built by KELER, *magister militum* of Anastasios I (*JoshStyl*, ch.91) and again by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.9.10). In 542 Europos was made the military headquarters of Belisarios (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.20.24–7). Circa 525 Monophysite monks, expelled under Justin I from SELEUKEIA PIERIA, established the monastery of Qenneshre ("eagle's nest") on a height opposite Europos. After the Arab conquest (639) it became famous for the preservation of Greek studies until 815, when the monastery was burned by local people; it was restored by DIONYSIOS OF TELL-MAḤRĒ (died 845).

LIT. F. Nau, "Histoire de Jean bar Aphthoniya," *ROC* 7 (1902) 108–10. –M.M.M.

EURYTANEIA, modern province in central Greece. The ancient Eurytanes were a tribe in AITOLIA. The rugged mountainous terrain of the region has led to its relative isolation; it contains a number of churches and monasteries, but most are post-Byz. (J.T.A. Koumoulides, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 61–83). One of the most important Byz. monuments was the large 9th-C. domed church at Episkopi, 40 km west of Karpenision, dedicated to the Dormition (P.L. Vokotopoulos, *He ekklesiastike architektonike eis ten dytiken sterean Hellada kai ten Epeiron* [Thessalonike 1975] 69–74). It received three distinct programs of wall painting; the first contemporary with its construction, the second in the late 10th or early 11th C., and the third in the first half of the 13th C. Before the church was submerged beneath the modern reservoir of Kremasta, the frescoes from all three stages were removed to the Byzantine Museum in Athens (M. Chatzidakis in *Holy Image*, nos. 2–6).

LIT. A. Orlandos, "Byzantina mnemeia tes Aitoloakarnanias," *ABME* 9 (1961) 3–20. A. Paliouras, *Byzantine Aitoloakarnania* (Athens 1985). –A.C.

EUSEBIOS (Εὐσέβιος), personal name (meaning "pious"). The name first appeared in the 4th C. and immediately spread widely in the Christian and the pagan milieus: we know several pupils of Libanios who are called Eusebios as well as many officials whose religious beliefs cannot be deter-

mined. *PLRE* 1:301–09 lists 43 Eusebioi of the 4th C., to whom several clergymen should be added—bishops of Caesarea, Nikomedeia, Emesa, and others (A. Jülicher, *RE* 6 [1909] 1439–44). *PLRE* 2:428–33 contains fewer men of this name in the 5th C.—only 29. Sozomenos is aware of 14 Eusebioi—more than JOHN (11), PAUL (9), and THEODORE (7). Probably by the 6th C. the name went out of fashion; Prokopios lists only two. Theophanes the Confessor mentions 11 Eusebioi: nine were active in the 4th C. and only two were contemporaries of Anastasios and Justinian I, respectively. Thereafter, the name disappeared almost completely: throughout published acts of the archives of Athos only two monks named Eusebios are found (in *Lavra* of the 11th C.); *PLP* (nos. 6328–29) registers two Eusebioi (a bishop after 1439, probably identical with Eusebio da Cremona, and a metropolitan of Sougdaia in the mid-14th C.). Seals give the same impression: in the Laurent *Corpus* 5.1–3, only one clergyman, Eusebios of Gaza (no.2027), is included; the editor dates his seal to the 6th C. In Zacos, *Seals*, vol. 1, five Eusebioi are present: their seals are of the 6th–8th C. Laurent's *Corpus* 2 contains only one Eusebios (no.715), *koubikoularios* and *primikerios* of the *vestiarion* of the 9th–10th C. It should be noted that the first editor, G. Schlumberger, read the name differently, as Eugenios. –A.K.

EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, churchman and scholar; born ca.260, died 339 or 340; according to a Syriac list of saints he was buried on 30 May. He was educated by Pamphilos, a priest in Caesarea, who developed Origen's traditions and enlarged Origen's library; his high esteem for Pamphilos led Eusebios to accept the surname "of Pamphilos." Pamphilos was arrested in 307 during the anti-Christian persecutions, but he kept working in prison with Eusebios's assistance; he was beheaded in 309. After the execution of Pamphilos and some of his students, Eusebios fled to Tyre and then to the Thebaid.

In 313, however, as soon as the edict of tolerance was issued by Galerius, he was elected bishop of Caesarea. He became Constantine I the Great's favorite and a historiographer and participated in many theological discussions of the period. He perceived the threat represented by MONARCHIANISM and was tolerant, even supportive, of the Arians; allied with EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA he actively contributed to the deposition of the orthodox EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH in 330 and ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in 335. He also participated in the Council of Constantinople in 336 that attacked the views of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA.

As a scholar Eusebios was an outstanding systematizer who assembled copious data. His works are devoted primarily to the problems of apologetics and church history. His major apologetic treatises are the voluminous *Preparation* and *Demonstration of the Gospels*, both dedicated to the Arian bishop of Syrian Laodikeia, Theodotos. In the *Preparation* he endeavors to show that "the philosophy and religion of the Hebrews" is more ancient and richer in content than Greco-Roman paganism and exercises a more powerful influence on human life. In the *Demonstration*, on the other hand, he asserts that Judaism is limited and ephemeral, only a fragile shell, whereas Christianity forms a permanent kernel.

The most important historical works of Eusebios are the *Chronicle*, the *Church History*, and the VITA CONSTANTINI. In the *Chronicle*, Eusebios, following in the steps of Sextus Julius AFRICANUS but using other sources as well, gave the lists of ruling dynasties of Chaldeans, Assyrians, Hebrews, Egyptians, Greeks, and Romans, and in brief form events of biblical and nonbiblical history, with special attention (in the last section) to the growth of Christianity. Thus Eusebios emphasized the same apologetic principle that permeates his *Preparation*: Christianity is not a sheer novelty but a religion properly rooted in the past. Eusebios produced several revisions of the *Church History* that are reflected in the two families of manuscripts, as well as in the 5th-C. Syriac version: he reworked his text in connection with the drastic changes in the political situation. Nevertheless the main principles of his approach remained consistent: first of all, his ten-book *History* presents an enormous amount of information, citing earlier works and documents; these citations may not always be dependable, but Eusebios believes that story-telling must be factual in order to be convincing. Second, history is a field in which the Savior is actively leading mankind to a teleologically foreseen future; accordingly, those who follow the Lord's path become victorious and, vice versa, those who emerge victorious are men following in the way of the Lord. In other words,

the emperor is successful because he fulfills the plan destined by God; he is the representative of God on earth. Constantine is praised precisely because he was victorious, and Eusebios makes him more Christian than he really was. Third, only the major patterns of development are salient while certain facts deviating from or contradicting them can be omitted or transformed or replaced by myth (as Crispus's murder is omitted; Constantine's conversion to Christianity is provided with a supernatural setting; and Galerius, the author of the first edict of tolerance, is presented as a diehard persecutor of Christians)—all with the noble aim of emphasizing the teleology of human salvation.

The Byz. often criticized Eusebios. Sokrates called him "double-tongued." The Second Council of Nicaea of 787 prohibited quoting Eusebios as a witness of correct belief. Two events account for such a negative attitude: Eusebios's pro-Arian stance and his rejection of the cult of icons. Despite these "shortcomings," Eusebios obtained great authority and for the Byz. remained the major source for the early centuries of Christianity and a textbook for antipagan and anti-Jewish polemics.

ED. PG 19–24. *Eusebius Werke*, 9 vols., ed. I.A. Heikel et al. (Leipzig-Berlin 1902–56). *Eusebius: The History of the Church*, tr. G.A. Williamson (Harmondsworth 1965).

LIT. T.D. Barnes, *Constantine and Eusebius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1981). R.M. Grant, *Eusebius as Church Historian* (Oxford 1980). A.A. Mosshammer, *The Chronicle of Eusebius and Greek Chronographic Tradition* (Lewisburg, Pa., 1979). M. Gödecke, *Geschichte als Mythos: Eusebs 'Kirchengeschichte'* (Frankfurt–New York 1987). H.A. Drake, *In Praise of Constantine* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976). –A.K., B.B.

EUSEBIOS OF EMESA, bishop of Emesa (from ca.340) and biblical exegete; born Edessa ca.300, died Antioch or Emesa 359. A native speaker of Syriac, Eusebios learned Greek at school prior to exegetical and philosophical training at Antioch and Alexandria; the latter city introduced him to the friendship and Arianism of George, bishop of Laodikeia, though he refused to succeed ATHANASIOS of Alexandria to its see in 339. His advent at EMESA was greeted by riots against his supposedly "too scholarly" personality; intervention by George and the patriarch of Antioch secured his position. Apparently semi-Arian in views, Eusebios was praised for his rhetorical skills and prolific popular writing by JEROME, who singled out his homilies on the Gospels and pamphlets against the Jews, Gentiles, and Novatians. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS mentions treatises against Manichaeans and Marcionites. Greek fragments of his commentaries on Genesis and Galatians show him to follow the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL of exegesis. About 60 homilies survive in whole or part in Armenian (H.J. Lehmann, *Per piscatores* [Århus 1975]), Greek, Latin, Slavic (M. Matejić in *Literaturoznanie i folkloristika v čest Akademiku Sbornik Petŭr Dinekov* [Sofia 1983] 145–55), and Syriac. The pseudo-Eusebian Gallican sermons belong mainly to Faustus of Riez (*Eusebius "Gallicanus" Collectio homiliarum*, ed. J. Leroy, F. Glorie, 3 vols. [Turnhout 1970–71]).

ED. PG 86.1:509–62, 31:1476–88. *Eusèbe d'Émèse: Discours conservés en latin*, ed. E.M. Buytaert, 2 vols. (Louvain 1953–57).

LIT. E.M. Buytaert, *L'héritage littéraire d'Eusèbe d'Émèse* (Louvain 1949). –B.B.

EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, Arian bishop of Nikomedeia (from ca.318); bishop of Constantinople (from 338/9); died ca.342, probably at Constantinople. Eusebios was a fellow pupil of ARIUS under LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH. After Arius's condemnation ca.320, Eusebios, who had just become bishop of Nikomedeia, organized an epistolary campaign in support of Arius. Although Eusebios subscribed to the decisions of the Council of Nicaea in 325, he was soon exiled to Gaul by Constantine I on charges of supporting the Meletians (see MELETIAN SCHISM). After his recall in 328, he became a leader of the extreme Arian party, who came to be known as "Eusebians." He gained the favor of Constantine I and in 337 baptized the emperor during his last illness. The triumph of the Arian party was evident when Eusebios became bishop of Constantinople in 338 or 339. His brief tenure in Constantinople was marked primarily by hostile maneuvering against ATHANASIOS of Alexandria.

Virtually none of Eusebios's writings survive, with the exception of a few letters preserved by the ecclesiastical historians Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 1.14), Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 2.16), and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 1.5).

LIT. A. Lichtenstein, *Eusebius von Nikomedien* (Halle 1903). C. Kannengiesser, *DPAC* 1:1296–99. C. Luibheid, "The

Arianism of Eusebius of Nicomedia," *Irish Theological Quarterly* 43 (1976) 3–23. –B.B., A.M.T.

EUSTATHIANS. See Eustathios of Antioch.

EUSTATHIOS (Εὐστάθιος), martyr executed under Hadrian and saint; feastday 20 Sept; prebaptismal name Placidas. His legend is preserved in two Greek passions, one ascribed to Symeon Metaphrastes (a Nuremberg MS presents slight variations—J.-M. Olivier, *AB* 93 [1975] 109f); in a panegyric of Niketas David Paphlagon; in a Latin translation known already in the 9th/10th C. (O. Engels, *HistJb* 76 [1957] 119f); and in a Coptic version. When the legend was created is unclear. It has sometimes been viewed as a reflection of Indian motifs that reached Byz. via Syria; traces of the supposed migration have yet to be shown. In its core the legend is a Christian version of the Job story: under Trajan, the rich Roman general Placidas, "*stratelates* in the language of the Romans," saw a huge stag with a cross between its antlers and heard a heavenly voice summoning him to baptism. He became Christian with his whole family, assumed a new name (Eustathios or Eustachios), suffered numerous disasters (plague, death of cattle and slaves), left home for Egypt, and was separated from his wife and two sons en route. Unlike the biblical Job but like the heroes of Greek romances (T. Hägg, *Symbolae Osloenses* 59 [1984] 61–63), Eustathios suffered only temporarily, later recovering both family and fame. A new blow struck after Trajan's death, when Hadrian ordered Eustathios and his family burned in a bronze bull.

Representation in Art. Eustathios is depicted in military costume from at least the 10th C. onward. The two most frequently illustrated scenes of his legend are (1) his vision, which appears in Cappadocian and Georgian churches and in the marginal psalters (where, rather than a cross, the image of Christ in the form of an icon appears between the antlers of the stag, and Christ asks, "Why are you pursuing me?"); and (2) the martyrdom of Eustathios and his family consumed by flames inside the brazen bull. Further episodes accompany certain MSS of Metaphrastes.

sources. G. van Hooff, "Acta Graeca s. Eustathii martyris et sociorum ejus," *AB* 3 (1884) 65–112. PG 105:375–418. Russ. tr. Poljakova, *Viz. leg.* 208–24.

lit. *BHG* 641–43. H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966) 212–39. T. Velmans, "L'église de Zenobani et le thème de la Vision de saint Eustache en Géorgie," *CahArch* 33 (1985) 36–49. –A.K., N.P.Š.

EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH, theologian; bishop of Berroia (Aleppo) and from 323/4 to 326 (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* 49 [1948] 27–35) or more probably to 328/9 (Hanson, *infra*) bishop of Antioch; born Side, died Traianopolis? in Thrace before 337. At the First Council of Nicaea in 325 Eustathios was one of the ardent opponents of Arius; subsequently an Arian synod in Antioch deposed him and in 330 Constantine I exiled him to Traianopolis. In 362 his partisans, called Eustathians, consecrated Paulinos as bishop of Antioch in opposition to Meletios, thus precipitating the (second) Meletian Schism.

Little of Eustathios's writings has survived; some of his work is preserved in Syriac or Georgian translations (e.g., M. van Esbroeck, *OrChr* 66 [1982] 189–214), and attribution is sometimes questionable. Eustathios attacked ancient philosophers, such as Plotinos (fragment in Syriac—R. Lorenz, *ZNTW* 71 [1980] 109–28). He also criticized the allegorical exegesis of Origen (in *On the Witch of Endor*, the only completely extant work of Eustathios). Fragments of his work *On Melchisedek*, directed against the Melchisedekians, who thought the Priest-King of Salem greater than Christ, are dated in their present form to 420–50 by B. Altaner (*BZ* 40 [1940] 30–47). The major target of Eustathios was Arianism. His concern was to show that the Logos assumed, in the act of incarnation, the entire man and not the body (*sarx*) only. He strongly emphasized the existence of the two natures of Christ; this later allowed his enemies to accuse him of Nestorianism.

ed. E. Klostermann, *Origenes, Eustathius von Antiochien und Gregor von Nyssa über die Hexe von Endor* (Bonn 1912) 16–62, with corr. by A. Brinkmann, *RhM* 74 (1925) 308–13. *CPG*, nos. 3350–98.

lit. R.V. Sellers, *Eustathius of Antioch* (Cambridge 1928). M. Spanneut, *Recherches sur les écrits d'Eustathe d'Antioche* (Lille 1948). Quasten, *Patrology* 3:302–06. R.C.P. Hanson, "The Fate of Eustathius of Antioch," *ZKirch* 95 (1984) 171–79. –A.K., B.B., T.E.G.

EUSTATHIOS OF EPIPHANEIA (in Syria), historian; died ca.505. His major work, entitled *Brief*

Chronicle according to the *Souda*, is now lost, but both Malalas and Evagrios Scholastikos drew upon it. It is plausible that this chronicle began with the destruction of Troy and reached the Roman wars against Persia in 502–05. If we can believe Evagrios, Eustathios epitomized pagan (Zosimos, Priskos, etc.) and ecclesiastical (Eusebios of Caesarea, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, etc.) historians. Eustathios's *Historikon of the Judaean Archaeology by "Iosepos"* is included in the catalog of the library in Patmos of 1200 (P. Maas, *BZ* 38 [1938] 350). Probably the same text is preserved in a MS of the 13th/14th C., Paris B.N. gr. 1555A, where it bears the title *Epitome of the Archaeology by Iosepos [written] by Eustathios of Epiphaneia in Syria*; the short fragment based on JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS begins with Adam and Eve and ends with Vespasian and Titus.

ED. *FHG* 4:138–42.

LIT. C. Benjamin, *RE* 6 (1907) 1450f. P. Allen, "An Early Epitomator of Josephus: Eustathius of Epiphaneia," *BZ* 81 (1988) 1–11. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:323. –A.K.

EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, church official, scholar, and writer; born ca.1115, died Thessalonike? 1195/6. The hypothesis of Kyriakides (*infra*, xxxv–xxxvi) that he belonged to the KATAPHLORON family is not valid. Educated in Constantinople, Eustathios served as a scribe under the future Patr. MICHAEL III; he became deacon, after 1166 *magistros ton rhetoron*, and ca.1178 (the traditional date of 1174 is wrong) archbishop of Thessalonike. Eustathios wrote a commentary on HOMER, sometimes using the epic for allusions to contemporary events. He also commented on PINDAR, ARISTOPHANES, Dionysios Periegetes, and JOHN OF DAMASCUS. Although he is studied primarily as an interpreter of ancient texts and collector of lost antique commentaries, Eustathios was an original thinker and a great writer. Politically he supported MANUEL I, but dared sometimes to criticize the emperor, esp. for his attempts at accommodation with Islamic doctrine. Eustathios praised military prowess, but censured both venal bureaucrats and greedy and illiterate monks; he defended CHARISTIKIA. In contrast to contemporary views, he set secular ideals above those of hermits in his vita of PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION. Eustathios poeticized manual (esp. agrarian) labor and developed the concept of historical progress from a primitive way of life to civilization. He rejected SLAVERY as an evil and unnatural institution. As a writer, he endeavored to shift from conventional abstraction to the presentation of great events by means of little details and frequent recourse to sarcasm and irony. He enjoyed life, considered human relations more important than ritual, and loved the richness of language; his plays on words are much more complex than the usual hints at the significance of a name. His sermons and official panegyrics are more conventional than his best works, such as *On the Capture of Thessalonike* (in 1185) or *On the Improvement of Monastic Life*, which expressed his individual attitudes in a series of portraits and vivid scenes.

ED. G.L.F. Tafel, *Eustathii Opuscula* (Frankfurt am Main 1832; rp. Amsterdam 1964). Regel, *Fontes* 1–131. *La espugnazione di Tessalonica*, ed. S. Kyriakides (Palermo 1961). Germ. tr. H. Hunger, *Die Normannen in Thessalonike* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1955; rp. 1967). *Commentarii ad Homeri Iliadem pertinentes*, ed. M. van der Valk (Leiden 1971–87). *Commentarii ad Homeri Odysseam* (Leipzig 1825–26). Eng. tr. of intro. by C.J. Herington, *Arion* 8 (1969) 432–34. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 244f.

LIT. P. Wirth, *Eustathiana* (Amsterdam 1980). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 115–95. L. Coletta, "Eustazio neo-omerista," *AntCl* 52 (1983) 260–67. N. Serikov, "K voprosu o 'čužoj reči' v proizvedenii Evstafija Solunskogo 'O zachvate Soluni'," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 225–28. D. Reinsch, "Über einige Aristoteles-Zitate bei Eustathios von Thessalonike," in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. F. Paschke (Berlin 1981) 479–88. –A.K.

EUSTRATIOS (Εὐστράτιος), hagiographer; died after 602. A priest of Hagia Sophia, Eustratios was a pupil of EUTYCHIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, whom he accompanied into exile and whose life he commemorated in a panegyric. He also wrote a biography of the Persian saint Golinduch, based on Stephen of Hierapolis (G. Garitte, *AB* 74 [1956] 422). In his treatise on souls, which survives in fragments and is also mentioned by PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.171), Eustratios defended three points: souls are active immediately after their separation from the [dead] body; they act on their own initiative and not as vehicles of God's powers; they are in need of church services that bring about their "freedom and liberation from vices."

ED. *Vita Eutych.*—PG 86:2273–2390. *Vita Golind.*—Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:149–74. Treatise on souls—ed. L. Allatius in *De purgatorio* (Rome 1655) 336–580.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 410f. A. Jülicher, *RE* 6 (1909) 1489f. P. Peeters, "Sainte Golindouche, Martyre Perse," *AB* 62 (1944) 80–92. –B.B.

EUSTRATIOS (martyr). See FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.

EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, philosopher and theologian, pupil of JOHN ITALOS; fl. ca.1100. Eustratios was not condemned in 1082 with his teacher but was promoted by Alexios I. He supported the emperor in his confrontation with LEO OF CHALCEDON, became *oikoumenikos didaskalos* ca.1115/16 (Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 306, fr.2) and metropolitan of Nicaea. With John PHOURNES Eustratios participated in the dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO. In 1114 he polemicized in Philippopolis against the Armenians. Eustratios commented on ARISTOTLE and proclaimed the importance of logic for theology: even Christ, he wrote, argued with the help of Aristotelian syllogisms (P. Joannou, *REB* 10 [1952] 34.22–23). Eustratios developed the concept of the *universalia* as pure "names," whereas he regarded only the individual as existing. Accordingly Eustratios stressed the limitations of art, asserting that the artist could not present the substance, but only the appearance of men and animals (Demetrakopulos, *infra*, p.132.9–24); heavenly beings, such as angels, could be painted only symbolically. In his polemic against the FILIOQUE, Eustratios, like Phournes, considered the Logos and the Holy Spirit as the hands of God the Father (Demetrakopulos, pp. 68.29–69.1, 95.5–6), and in his polemics against the Armenians he emphasized the human nature of the incarnated Logos. In 1117 he was accused of heresy: the major charge alleged was his sharp distinction between the divine Logos and Christ incarnated as a slave. Although Alexios I and Patr. John IX (1111–34) tried to rescue Eustratios, he was condemned and forced to abdicate, despite his assertion that the accusation was based on unfinished drafts stolen from him. Rehabilitated after his death, Eustratios was cited as an authority at the council of 1157.

ED. A. Demetrakopulos, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 47–198. P. Joannou, "Die Definition des Seins bei Eustratios von Nikaia," *BZ* 47 (1954) 365–68. See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 246.

LIT. P. Joannou, "Der Nominalismus und die menschliche Psychologie Christi," *BZ* 47 (1954) 369–78. Idem, "Le sort des évêques hérétiques réconciliés," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 1–30. K. Giocarinis, "Eustratios of Nicaea's Defense of the Doctrine of Ideas," *Franciscan Studies* 24 (1964) 159–204. A. Aleksidze, "Un traité polémique anti-Latin en version géorgienne," *Trudy Tbilisskogo Universiteta* 162 (1975) 111–23. S. Gukova, "Kosmografičeskij traktat Evstratija Nikejskogo," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 145–56. –A.K.

EUTHERIOS (Εὐθέριος), bishop of Tyana and theologian; died Tyre after 434. At the Council of Ephesus in 431 Eutherios supported his friend NESTORIOS and by 433 wrote a treatise conventionally named *Antilogia*, or *Refutations of Various Propositions*—a sharp pamphlet against CYRIL of Alexandria and his followers. This survived in two versions—a shorter and a longer; the MS tradition identified the author as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. By the time Photios read the text in the 9th C., it was attributed to THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, but SEVERUS of Antioch in the 6th C. knew it as a work of Eutherios. Eutherios attacked those who followed the opinion of the multitude and were satisfied with their faith without analyzing Scripture; he defended the concept of two natures, stressing the existence of humanity in Christ and the reality of his suffering; he argued that those who deny the human nature of the Saviour do harm to mankind (par.17).

Five of Eutherios's letters (to John of Antioch, Alexander of Hierapolis, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, etc.) are preserved in a Latin translation. Eutherios mentions his *Refutation of Cyril* in his letter to John.

ED. and LIT. *CPG* 3, nos. 6147–53. M. Tetz, *Eine Antilogie des Eutherios von Tyana* (Berlin 1964). G. Ficker, *Eutherios von Tyana* (Leipzig 1908). –T.E.G.

EUTHYMIOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Feb.? 907–May? 912); born Seleukeia in Isauria ca.834, died *proasteion* Agathou, on the Bosporos, 4/5 Aug. 917. A monk from his youth, Euthymios sympathized with Prince Leo (the future LEO VI) in his conflict with Basil I; after Basil's death Leo appointed him *hegoumenos* of a monastery in the PSAMATHIA quarter of Constantinople, member of the senate and *synkellos*, and made Euthymios his spiritual director. Euthymios opposed Leo's "foreign" advisers (the Armenian Stylianos ZAOUTZES, the Arab SAMONAS, and Italian NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS), and defended the interests of the traditional court aristocracy. During the crisis

over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, when Patr. Nicholas sided with the Doukas family against Leo. Euthymios continued to support the emperor; after Leo banished Nicholas, he appointed Euthymios as his successor. The patriarchate of Euthymios brought no peace, and Nicholas was recalled from exile—either by Leo or, immediately after Leo's death, by Alexander, who banished Euthymios to Agathou.

The writings of Euthymios are insignificant: sermons on the conception of St. Anna and a festal homily on the Virgin. Attribution of certain works ascribed to Euthymios in some MSS is not yet proved (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 33 [1914] 452f, A. Ehrhard, *BZ* 24 [1924] 186f). The anonymous vita of Euthymios, composed by a monk of Psamathia after 932 (D. Sophianos, *EEBS* 38 [1971] 289–96), is one of the richest sources for the period from the death of Basil I to the early years of Constantine VII; unfortunately some sections of the MS are lost. A new fragment has been discovered by B. Flusin (*TM* 9 [1985] 119–31). On the other hand, the panegyric of Euthymios by ARETHAS is conventional and provides only limited data.

ED. Homilies on St. Anna and the Virgin—M. Jugie, *PO* 16 (1922) 463–514, 19 (1926) 441–55.
SOURCE. *Vita Euthymii patriarchae CP*, ed. P. Karlin-Hayter (Brussels 1970). Russ. tr. A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki* (Moscow 1959) 9–137.
LIT. *BHG* 651–52. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme patriarche de Constantinople," *EO* 16 (1913) 385–95, 481–92. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 625–29. J. Darrouzès, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 58f. –A.K.

EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA (in theme of Opsikion), theologian of first half of 11th C., who used to be confused with Euthymios ZIGABENOS. His biography is little known. Euthymios states that as a boy, during the reign of Basil II, he visited Akmonia with his mother because of a lawsuit. Later he became a monk in the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. He mentions the death of Romanos III in 1034. Circa 1050 Euthymios sent a letter from Peribleptos to Akmonia to warn his fellow citizens against the menace of the heretics who were called BOGOMILS in the West (this is the first mention of the term in Byz. literature), but PHOUNDAGIAGITES in the Akmonia region; Euthymios was worried that the extreme asceticism of the Bogomils made their teaching attractive to monks. It is quite possible that Euthymios also wrote the so-called first invective against the Armenians, which was formerly attributed to the *katholikos* Isaac or a certain John of Nicaea.

ED. Ficker, *Phundag.* 3–86. PG 132:1155–1217.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 532f. M. Loos, *Dualist Heresy in the Middle Ages* (Prague 1974) 67–77. M. Jugie, "Phoundagiagites et Bogomiles," *EO* 12 (1909) 257–62. V. Grumel, "Les invectives contre les Arméniens du 'Catholicos Isaac,'" *REB* 14 (1956) 174–94. –A.K.

EUTHYMIOS OF SARDIS, metropolitan of Sardis (ca.785–803); saint; born Ouzara (on the frontier of Lykaonia?) 754, died on island of St. Andrew, near Cape Akritas, 26 Dec. 831 (not 824 as previously believed). A leader of the ICONOPHILES, Euthymios played an important role during the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. Some years later, he was accused by Emp. Nikephoros I of participation in the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS and was deprived of his see and exiled to the island of Pantelleria near Sicily. Recalled from exile, he defended the veneration of icons during the reigns of the Iconoclast emperors Leo V and Theophilos and was twice banished. Several letters of Theodore of Stoudios to Euthymios survive. His vita was written by Patr. METHODIOS I; a rhetorical panegyric by a certain Metrophanes is also preserved. Methodios relates that Euthymios forced the young woman whom the future emperor Nikephoros I wanted to marry into a nunnery, thus kindling Nikephoros's animosity.

SOURCES. J. Gouillard, "La vie d'Euthyme de Sardes († 831)," *TM* 10 (1987) 1–101, with Fr. tr. A. Papadakis, "The Unpublished Life of Euthymius of Sardis: Bodleianus Laudianus Graecus 69," *Traditio* 26 (1970) 63–89.
LIT. *BHG* 2145–46. J. Pargoire, "Saint Euthyme et Jean de Sardes," *EO* 5 (1901–02) 157–61. –A.K.

EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, a founder of cenobitic monasticism in Palestine; saint; born in Melitene 376/7, died in his lavra near Jerusalem 20 Jan. 473. Nobly born and dedicated to God from infancy, Euthymios became a priest ca.396 in Melitene. Around 406 he went to Palestine, where he met Theoktistos from Cappadocia (died 466), who became Euthymios's closest associate. Circa 411 they settled in a cave, which served as church for the cenobitic monastery they founded after some hesitation (vita, ed. Schwartz, p.17.3); here the Arab PHYLARCH Aspebetos converted to Christianity. Leaving Theoktistos as head of the monastery, Euthymios wandered through Pales-

tine and organized monasteries in Marda and Aristoboulias; then he built his lavra 5 km from Theoktistos's monastery; the church was dedicated in 428/9. The lavra had 15 cells, where the monks stayed during the week; on Saturday and Sunday they gathered to eat in the refectory and sleep in the dormitory. Euthymios remained neutral during the first phase of the Nestorian dispute; after the Council of Chalcedon of 451 he sided with JUVENAL of Jerusalem, denounced his rival Theodosios, and helped to win the support of the empress Eudokia. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote Euthymios's Life.

Representation in Art. Generally depicted as a balding old monk with a particularly long white beard (sometimes tucked under his belt), portraits of Euthymios occur as early as the frescoes of BAWĪṬ and SAQQĀRA and wherever groups of desert monks are included. The illustration of nine events in the saint's life adorns a parekklesion (renovated in 1303) adjacent to the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike; the fresco cycle begins before the saint's conception and ends with his death, emphasizing his role as a ministrant of the church and his activity in baptizing Aspebetos (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–83).

SOURCE. E. Schwartz, *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 3–85. Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines de Palestine* (Paris 1962) 55–144.

LIT. *BHG* 647–650d. S. Vailhé, *Saint Euthyme le Grand moine de Palestine (376–473)* (Paris 1909). Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 1:166f. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:201–03. J. Noret, "A propos des Vies de saint Euthyme, abbé," *AB* 104 (1986) 453–55.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, saint, also known as Euthymios Mt'ac'mindeli ("of the Holy Mountain"); born Georgia between 955 and 960, died Constantinople, 13 May 1028. Son of John the Iberian and cofounder of the monastery of IVERON on Athos, Euthymios served as superior from 1005 to 1019. He contributed much to the translation of Greek theological and hagiographical works into Georgian (lists of these translations are found in his Life and in the *Testament* of his father); some sources also ascribe to him translations from Georgian into Greek, including BARLAAM AND IOASAPH—the latter is, however, questionable. The *typikon* written by Euthymios for his monastery is lost, but it is cited in his Life. The Life of Euthymios and his father was written in Georgian by GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI ca.1045 and includes valuable information about the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS.

SOURCE. I. Abuladze, *Dzveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi*, vol. 2 (Tbilisi 1967) 38–100. Lat. tr. P. Peeters, "Histoires monastiques géorgiennes," *AB* 36–37 (1917–19 [1922]) 5–68.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg.Lit.* 126–54. J. Lefort in *Ivir.* 1:39–42.
–A.K.

EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER, also called Euthymios of Thessalonike, saint; baptismal name Niketas; born village of Opso, Galatia 823/4, died island of Hiera 14/15 Oct. 898. Euthymios was born to a well-to-do family (*eupatrides*) obliged to give military service (*strateia*). He married Euphrosyne, also of prosperous background, and fathered a daughter, Anastaso. In 841/2 he left his family and fled to Bithynian Olympos to become a monk. He traveled much: twice to Athos, to Thessalonike, to the island of Neoi, and elsewhere. He ascended a column (*stylos*) at least twice and ended his life as a hermit in a cave; nevertheless, the cenobitic monastery was his ideal, and he tried to establish order among dispersed monastic settlers on Athos. Circa 864 Euthymios became a deacon (D. Papachryssanthou suggests that he was a priest) in order to arrange liturgical services for Athonite hermits; ca.870 he converted the ruinous Church of St. Andrew at Peristerai, east of Thessalonike, into a monastery. In a sense, his activity foretold and prepared the way for ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Euthymios's Life was written by his disciple Basil, tonsured ca.875 (erroneously identified by Porfirij Uspenskij with an archbishop of Thessalonike). His eyewitness account has many chronological indications (not always accurate). Basil persistently stresses the importance of manual labor for monks. He mentions Arab raids on Athos and surrounding areas but is quite uninterested in events in Constantinople.

ED. L. Petit, "Vie et office de St. Euthyme le Jeune," *ROC* 8 (1903) 55–205, also in *BHO* 5 (1904) 14–51.

LIT. *BHG* 655. D. Papachryssanthou, "La Vie de saint Euthyme le Jeune et la métropole de Thessalonique à la fin du IX^{e} et au début du X^{e} siècle," *REB* 32 (1974) 225–45.
–A.K.

EUTOKIOS (Εὐτόκιος), commentator on mathematical works; born Ascalon ca.480. A contemporary of AMMONIOS and ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES, Eutokios was active in Alexandria and perhaps

Constantinople in the early 6th C. He is also known to have lectured on philosophy. Eutokios wrote commentaries on three works of ARCHIMEDES—*On the Measurement of a Circle*, *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*, and *On Plane Equilibria*. The first two of these commentaries were used by ISIDORE OF MILETUS, the last two were translated into Latin by WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE at Viterbo in late 1269. Eutokios also wrote a commentary on books 1–4 of the *Conics* of Apollonios of Perge that is dedicated to Anthemios. Finally it has been persuasively argued by J. Mogenet (*L'introduction à l'Almageste* [Brussels 1956] 22–34) that Eutokios was also the author of the *Introduction to Ptolemy's Great Composition*, which was originally the scholia to book 1 of the *Almagest* to which he refers in his commentary on the *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*. The *Introduction* seems to have been used by GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS for his *Introduction* of 1451 (J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana* [Binghamton, N.Y., 1984] 674, 687f).

Eutokios was not a mathematician of any originality but did understand almost all of the technical material that he commented on. He also preserves a number of solutions by earlier mathematicians whose works are no longer available to us.

ED. Commentaries—*Archimedis opera omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, E. Stamatis, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1972). *Archimède*, ed. C. Mugler, vol. 4 (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr. *Apollonii Pergaei quae Graece exstant*, ed. J.L. Heiberg, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1893) 168–361.

LIT. I. Bulmer-Thomas, *DSB* 4:488–91. Wilson, *Scholars* 45f, 86. –D.P.

EUTROPIOS (Εὐτρόπιος), favorite of Arkadios; born near the Persian frontier, died Chalcedon Aug.? 399. An emancipated slave and eunuch, he entered the service of Theodosios I and became the guardian of the young Arkadios. With the support of STILICHO, Eutropios removed RUFINUS and replaced him as the most powerful figure in the empire, first as *praepositus sacri cubiculi* (from 395), then as *patrikios* (398) and consul (399)—both titles never previously awarded to eunuchs. He granted privileges to the Jews (esp. merchants) and secured the support of the church by appointing JOHN CHRYSOSTOM as bishop of Constantinople and by issuing ordinances against heretics and pagans. Eutropios successfully commanded an army against the Huns who invaded Armenia in 397/8. He nevertheless excited hatred by his avarice, by demoting and condemning respected officials, by abolishing the church's right of asylum, by disrupting the alliance with Stilicho when he supported the revolt of GILDO, and by showing contempt toward Gothic mercenaries (esp. TRIBIGILD and then GAINAS). In 399 Eutropios finally managed to offend the empress EUDOXIA, who dismissed him. Fearing for his life, the eunuch fled to Hagia Sophia. Chrysostom, in a brilliant speech, requested imperial mercy for the former consul. Eutropios was nevertheless exiled to Cyprus, then recalled and executed. His acts and honors were nullified by an edict of 17 Aug. 399. The sources (Eunapios, Zosimos, Claudian, etc.) describe Eutropios in extremely negative terms.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:440–44. Demougeot, *Unité* 162–234. S. Döpp, *Zeitgeschichte in Dichtungen Claudians* (Wiesbaden 1980) 159–74. A.S. Kozlov, "Bor'ba meždu političeskoj oppoziciej i pravitel'stvom Vizantii v 395–399 gg.," *ADSV* 13 (1976) 74–79. –T.E.G.

EUTROPIUS, Latin historian and, according to the *Souda*, a sophist; born Bordeaux? 4th C. Although there is some discussion about his identity and career, Eutropius apparently held a string of high offices under various emperors: *magister epistularum* (before 361), *magister memoriae* (369), proconsul of Asia (371–72), praetorian prefect (Illyricum, 380–81), and consul (in 387). Both SYMMACHUS and LIBANIOS addressed letters to him in the period 387–90. In 363 he was one of several historians to accompany the emperor JULIAN on his ill-fated Persian expedition. Eutropius composed a breviary of Roman history in ten books from 753 B.C. to Valens' accession in 364. It is conventional in opinions, sober in subject matter, and clear in language. His silence on Christianity does not prove him a pagan, as some believe, as such reticence is a stylistic affectation of many late Roman historians. Eutropius's book became accessible to the Byz. through the Greek translations of Paionios, a pupil of Libanios (L. Baffetti, *BNJbb* 3 [1922] 15–36), and of Capito Lycius in Justinian I's time.

ED. *Eutropii Breviarium ab urbe condita*, ed. C. Santini (Leipzig 1979).

LIT. H.W. Bird, "Eutropius: His Life and Career," *Echos du Monde Classique/Classical Views* 32 n.s. 7 (1988) 51–60. D. Tribolis, *Eutropius historicus kai hoi Hellenes metaphrastai tou Breviarium ab urbe condita* (Athens 1941). –B.B.

EUTYCHES (Εὐτύχης), monk and archimandrite of a suburban Constantinopolitan monastery (from 410); born ca.370, died after 451 or even 454 (D. Stiernon, *DPAC* 1:1307). An ardent opponent of NESTORIOS, Eutyches was a staunch supporter of CYRIL of Alexandria; he defended the interests of Alexandria at the court of Theodosios II, exercising influence there due to his connections with the eunuch Chrysaphios, his godson. Developing Cyril's ideas, Eutyches launched the concept of MONOPHYSITISM. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS attacked him anonymously in the *Eranistes*, and Eusebios, bishop of Dorylaion, accused him of heresy in 448. At his trial later that year, Eutyches denied that Christ had two natures after the Incarnation; he refused to acknowledge even the hypostatical union of two natures in Christ and to accept that Christ was consubstantial (*homoousios*) with mankind. Patr. FLAVIAN condemned him on 22 Nov. 448, a condemnation subsequently supported by Pope LEO I. Eutyches, however, won the day at the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449 when Flavian was deposed. The death of Theodosios II was a heavy blow for Eutyches: he was deposed and exiled to a site not far from Constantinople. Pope Leo, in a letter of 9 June 451, insisted on Eutyches' banishment to a more remote place. His subsequent fate is unknown.

ED. *CPG* 3, nos. 6937–40. P. Anannian, "L'opuscolo di Eutichio, patriarca di Costantinopoli, sulla "Distinzione della natura e della persona," in *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes* (Venice 1969) 316–82, with Ital. tr.

LIT. A. van Roey, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 87–91. E. Schwartz, *Der Prozess des Eutyches* (Munich 1929). R. Draguet, "La christologie d'Eutychès d'après les Actes du synode de Flavien," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 441–57. –A.K.

EUTYCHIOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 552–between 22 and 31 Jan. 565; 2 Oct. 577–6 Apr. 582) and saint; born Phrygian village of Theios/Theion 512, died Constantinople; feast-day 6 Apr. His father was a lieutenant of BELISARIOS (PG 86:2281BC). Educated in Constantinople, Eutychios became a monk and then *katholikos* (i.e., superior of all the monks) in the metropolis of Amaseia (col. 2296AB). Justinian I selected him to succeed MENAS as patriarch, since Eutychios supported the emperor's position in the dispute about the THREE CHAPTERS. Eutychios presided over the Council of Constantinople in 553 and dedicated Hagia Sophia after its restoration. Probably by 558 relations between Eutychios and Justinian had begun to deteriorate; the emperor urged both him and Belisarios to attend a *silentium* that investigated the case of some subordinates of Belisarios who were involved in a plot (Theoph. 238.11–15). The patriarch's opposition to APHTHARTODOCETISM aroused Justinian's anger, and the emperor exiled him to Amaseia, replacing him with JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS; after the latter's death Eutychios was restored by Justin II. Eutychios had a theological discussion with the future pope GREGORY I on the question of the resurrection of the flesh.

Of his works (on Origenism, against the Monophysite interpretation of the Trisagion, etc.) little has survived excepting titles. His pupil Eustratios wrote the vita of Eutychios, full of biblical and patristic allusions; it contains some data on Chosroes I's invasion, and some miracles worked by Eutychios are of interest for cultural history. Thus the patriarch healed a young mosaicist who had been injured by a demon after he was forced to destroy a mosaic in a private house in Amaseia on which the story of Aphrodite was depicted (PG 86:2333D-2340B). Eustratios called his hero "the *archiereus* of the *oikoumene*" (col.2281A), an early case of the use of this title.

SOURCE. Vita by Eustratios—PG 86:2273–2390.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 244–49, 260–63. Beck, *Kirche* 380. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.1. R. Janin, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 94f. –A.K.

EUTYCHIOS, exarch of Ravenna (ca.728–ca.751). A eunuch of patrician rank, Eutychios was sent by Leo III to Italy after the murder of the exarch Paul, probably to remove Pope GREGORY II for opposing the emperor's Iconoclasm (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 26–31; D. Miller, *MedSt* 36 [1974] 102–05). Eutychios went first to Naples and unsuccessfully attempted to have Gregory and the Roman nobles murdered. He then approached the LOMBARDS and agreed to help King Liutprand gain Spoleto and Benevento in exchange for aid against Gregory. When they arrived in Rome (729?), however, the pope won over Liutprand, who reconciled Eutychios and Gregory. Eutychios apparently stayed in Rome, for shortly thereafter (730?) Gregory gave him troops against Tiberius Petasius. The sources do not mention Eutychios further by name, but he is assumed to have been exarch until the Lombards' capture of Ravenna

ca.751. If so, he was the exarch who sought refuge and help in Venice in the late 730s, when the Lombards first took Ravenna; entreated by Pope GREGORY III, the Venetians recaptured the city and returned it to Byz. control. So, too, Eutychios would have been the exarch who petitioned Pope ZACHARIAS in the early 740s to dissuade Liutprand from attacking Ravenna.

LIT. C. Diehl, *Études sur l'administration byzantine dans l'exarchat de Ravenne* (Paris 1888). T. Hodgkin, *Italy and Her Invaders (600–744)*, vol. 6 (Oxford 1916) 487–98. J.T. Hallenbeck, "The Roman-Byzantine Reconciliation of 728: Genesis and Significances," *BZ* 74 (1981) 29–41.

–P.A.H.

EUTYCHIOS (painter). See MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA, known in Arabic as Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq (i.e., "patriarch"); Melkite patriarch of Alexandria (from 22 Jan. 935); born 17 Aug. 877, died Fusṭāṭ 11 May 940. A learned physician, Eutychios is best known for the *Annals* that go under his name, a chronography on the Byz. model written in Arabic and extending from the age of Adam to the year 938. The form in which the *Annals* of Eutychios has been published in modern times is the result of numerous editorial expansions by later Melkite writers. A notable feature of the *Annals*, in the accounts of the years after the rise of Islam, is the coordination of the reigns of the caliphs and of the Oriental patriarchs with the reigns of the patriarchs and emperors of Byz. The *Annals* report important events in the history of Byz., such as the so-called MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY in the time of Constantine VI, and they propose an eccentric account of ICONOCLASM by representing it solely as an overreaction to the abuses of certain iconophiles on the part of Emp. Theophilos (Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic" 154–90).

A number of other Christian Arabic works are assigned to Eutychios, most importantly a long apologetic treatise, *The Book of the Demonstration*. It is now clear, however, that this and other texts attributed to him were not written by Eutychios.

ED. *Annales*, ed. L. Cheikho, 2 vols. (Beirut-Paris 1906–09). Lat. tr. PG 111:907–1156. Excerpts—*Das Annalenwerk*, ed. M. Breydy, 2 vols. (Louvain 1985), with Germ. tr. *The Book of the Demonstration*, ed. P. Cachia, 4 vols. (Louvain 1960–61), with Eng. tr. by W.M. Watt.

LIT. M. Breydy, *Études sur Saʿīd ibn Baṭrīq et ses sources* (Louvain 1983). L.V. Isakova, "K voprosu o chronike Evtichija i ee rukopisjach," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 112–16.

–S.H.G.

EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (Εὐάγριος Ποντικός), monastic writer; born Ibora, Pontos, ca.345, died Egypt 399. He was ordained *anagnostes* by Basil the Great and deacon by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, who was also his teacher. In 380 he accompanied Gregory to Constantinople, where he attained fame as a preacher; a scandalous love affair, however, soon forced his departure. Having been received by Melania the Elder at Jerusalem, in 383 Evagrios embraced the monastic life in Egypt, living in Nitria and Kellia. He associated with MAKARIOS THE GREAT and Makarios of Alexandria (G. Bunge, *Irénikon* 56 [1983] 215–27, 323–60) and supported himself as a calligrapher. Evagrios also composed his works on the monastic life during his sojourn in the Egyptian desert.

Evagrios followed ORIGEN, accepting his idea of the preexistence of souls as pure intellectual beings that assumed flesh and became sinful but are to be reconstituted in angelic shape (*apokatastasis*) and unified with God. Jesus Christ was the single spiritual being who did not fall away from the Logos, although he remained united to the flesh. Asceticism was for Evagrios the main path to salvation. He developed the concept of "practical" behavior, which he interpreted not as the "active" but the anachoretic life; its major purpose was the struggle against eight wicked *logismoi*, or sinful desires, namely gluttony, fornication, avarice, grief, wrath, torpor, vainglory, and arrogance. Cleansed of these *logismoi* the pious man would be able to contemplate the created world and divine wisdom.

After Evagrios was condemned for Origenism in 553, many of his works were lost; some are preserved under the name of NEILOS OF ANKYRA, some in Syriac, Armenian, Latin, and other translations. Nevertheless his concept of practical behavior, his list of eight *logismoi*, and his aphoristic style as well as the literary genre of spiritual *centuria* (short catechetical units) or CHAPTERS influenced subsequent monastic literature, for example, CASSIAN, PALLADIOS, and later SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN.

ED. *Traité pratique ou le moine*, ed. A. & C. Guillaumont, 2 vols. (Paris 1971), with Fr. tr. *The Praktikos: Chapters on*

Prayer, tr. J.E. Bamberger (Spencer, Mass., 1970). Syriac version—ed. A. Guillaumont, *Les six centuries des "Kephalaia gnostica"* (Paris 1958), with Fr. tr.

LIT. W. Frankenberg, *Euagrius Ponticus* (Berlin 1912). A. Guillaumont, "Un philosophe au désert: Evagre le Pontique," *RHR* 181 (1972) 29–56. Idem, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique* (Paris 1962). –B.B., A.K.

EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, ecclesiastical historian; born Epiphaneia in Coele Syria ca.536, died after 594. Evagrios was a lawyer (SCHOLASTIKOS) at Antioch, also holding some probably honorary administrative offices. His *Church History* covers in six books the years 431–594, using both secular and ecclesiastical sources. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.29) thought him an undistinguished stylist, but soundly orthodox and commendably interested in the history of images. A Chalcedonian in theology, he treats the Council of 451 at length, but is compromising toward MONOPHYSITISM. His secular narrative emphasizes the virtues and achievements of Marcian, Tiberios I, and Maurice. A certain parochialism, however, results in more space being given to the affairs of ANTIOCH (esp. the career of Patr. Gregory [570–93]) than to Constantinople. His style is conventionally rhetorical, but not excessively poetic, and he eclectically uses pagan and Christian models (V. Caires, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 29–50). Overall estimates vary widely, often criticizing him for credulity, but his eyewitness accounts, sifting of sources, citation of documents from the archives of the Antiochene patriarchate, and inclusion of bibliography make his history invaluable.

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*, ed. J. Bidez, L. Parmentier (London 1898; rp. Amsterdam 1964); Fr. tr. A.J. Festugière, *Byzantion* 45 (1975) 187–488.

LIT. P. Allen, *Evagrius Scholasticus the Church Historian* (Louvain 1981). –B.B.

EVANGELION (*εὐαγγέλιον*), evangeliary, the Byz. Gospel LECTIONARY, used chiefly at Eucharist. The *evangelion* contains only those Gospel passages that are actually read. The first part has the Gospel LECTIONS for the mobile cycle, in liturgical order John, Matthew, Luke, Mark. It must not be confused with the *tetraevangelion* (see GOSPEL BOOK), which contains the complete text of the four Gospels, arranged exactly as they are in the New Testament, but with the beginning and end of each passage to be read indicated in the margin and numbered. The second part, known as the SYNAXARION (wrongly as the *menologion*), lists the LECTIONS for each day of the year from 1 Sept., providing the full Gospel passage unless it already appears earlier in the volume. The Gospel lections for feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church CALENDAR are select; those of the movable, temporal cycle, which varies depending on the date of Easter, are semicontinuous, i.e., read more or less in the order in which they occur in the Bible text. In the latter cycle, each Gospel is associated with a particular period of the year: John, the period from Easter to Pentecost; Matthew, from Pentecost to the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 Sept.); Luke, from then until the beginning of Lent; Mark, throughout Lent.

Usually included in MSS of the *evangelion* are the Twelve Passion Gospels read at Good Friday *orthros*. These are a composite series of harmonized readings from the four Gospels, of Palestinian origin, arranged to recount in chronological sequence the events of Jesus' passion and death.

Lectionary Illustration. *Evangelia* are frequently adorned with EVANGELIST PORTRAITS; further figural illustration, which is relatively rare, may comprise headpieces, smaller framed or unframed pictures near the appropriate lection, marginal illustrations, and inhabited initials. In the most sumptuously illustrated *evangelia* the *synaxarion* section is also illustrated; these MSS date primarily between the 10th and 12th C.

LIT. E.C. Colwell, D.W. Riddle, *Prolegomena to the Study of the Lectionary Text of the Gospels* (Chicago 1933). Y. Burns, "The Greek Manuscripts connected by their Lection System with the Palestinian Syriac Gospel Lectionaries," *Studia Biblica* 2 [= *Journal for the Study of the New Testament*^{2}, supp.] (1980) 13–28. W.C. Braithwaite, "The Lection-System of the Codex Macedonianus," *JThSt* 5 (1904) 265–74. S. Tsuji in *Illuminated Greek MSS* 34–39. K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* (London 1980), pts. VIII, X, XI, XII, XIV. –R.F.T., A.C.

EVANGELIST PORTRAITS, found throughout Byz. art, are prominently represented in the PENDENTIVES below the domes of churches, on the TEMPLON, on the EPITAPHIOS, and esp. in MSS, where they are the most commonly illustrated subject. In physical type, the older, gray-haired MATTHEW and JOHN contrast with the younger, dark-haired MARK and LUKE. In MSS, they are rarely represented standing; they are usually seated, and depicted as writing, meditating, reach-



EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. Portrait of St. John the Evangelist in a Gospel book (Athens, gr. 57, fol.265v); 11th C. National Library, Athens.

ing forward to a lectern, dipping their pens in an inkwell, or occasionally erasing a text or sharpening their quills. The evangelists write on a codex or roll, usually in Greek, but, in the 13th C., sometimes in Latin. Often shown before architectural backgrounds, they are surrounded by lecterns and desks with writing paraphernalia. They may be framed by arches and accompanied by illustrations of the liturgical feast at which the beginning of each Gospel was read. From ca.1000, John is depicted dictating to his assistant Prochoros, and, less frequently, Peter and Paul instruct Mark and Luke, respectively. The inclusion of EVANGELIST SYMBOLS is rarer than in the Latin West. The importance and ubiquity of evangelist portraits was such that other authors (e.g., DAVID, the church fathers, hymnographers) were commonly represented in the same manner.

LIT. H. Hunger, K. Wessel, *RBK* 2 (1968) 452–507. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–91. I. Spatharakis, *The Left-Handed Evangelist: A Contribution to Palaeologan Iconography* (London 1988). –R.S.N.

EVANGELIST SYMBOLS. The four beasts (ZODIA) of Ezekiel 1:10—man, lion, ox, eagle—were associated from the 2nd C. onward with the four Evangelists of the New Testament. In Byz. art, they most often surround Christ in Majesty. Thus they first appear projecting from the MANDORLA of the youthful Christ in the apse mosaic at Hosios DAVID in Thessalonike. In several 10th- through 11th-C. Cappadocian apses showing the Prophetic VISION, the symbols accompany a mature Christ; labeled with the words intoned in the liturgy before the TRISAGION, the symbols link the Christ of the image with the revealed Christ of the liturgy. In various Gospel frontispieces, they surround the MAJESTAS DOMINI, echoing certain Gospel prefaces that explain the existence of four Gospels by referring to the four beasts crying the glory of "him who sits upon the Cherubim." In some Gospel books, each Evangelist is paired with a symbol. The pairing of symbols and Evangelists varies from book to book throughout the 11th–12th C. Only with a late 12th-C. set of verses found in eight DECORATIVE STYLE Gospels does the pairing standard in the West and in Armenian art appear: man/Matthew, lion/Mark, ox/Luke, eagle/John. Possibly through Western influence, this pairing becomes customary in Palaiologan art.

LIT. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Théophanies-Visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," in *Synthronon* 135–43. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 15–53, 109–18. –A.W.C.

EVARISTOS, mid-10th-C. deacon and librarian (*bibliophylax*), author of a letter addressed to CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, "born in the purple silk." The letter is preserved only in Arabic. The emperor had commanded Evaristos to produce a history of the saints "in easy language." In his letter Evaristos informs the ruler that he has sketched biographies of the saints, established their dates, and verified the records. Evaristos's compilation, now lost, was probably a step toward the comprehensive work by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

ED. A.S. Lewis, M.D. Gibson, *Forty-one Facsimiles of Dated Christian Arabic MSS* (Cambridge 1907) 27f (with Eng. tr.).
LIT. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung*, 1.1:24, n.1. –A.K.

EVE. See ADAM AND EVE.

EVERYDAY LIFE, in the broad sense, encompasses the entirety of Byz. culture: thus, T. Talbot Rice's book (*infra*) includes sections on the imperial court, church, administration, army, etc. In the narrow sense, everyday life is ordinary human activity and comprises diet and costume, BEHAVIOR and superstitions, ENTERTAINMENT, housing, and FURNITURE. The subject is poorly studied and sources are limited: historiography, rhetoric, and liturgical texts are not very helpful, although they are the best known writings; archaeology provides some scattered data; hagiography, documents, and letters offer only small nuggets of information (P. Magdalino, *BS* 48 [1987] 28–38). The content of mural and book illustration is of mixed evidential value: the costumes, gestures, and attitudes of protagonists in sacred iconography appear to be conventional and often antique, yet peripheral details in both urban and rural scenes may well reflect current circumstances.

While daily life in late antiquity was municipally oriented and situated primarily in open spaces, Byz. funneled its energy inside closed buildings. A comparison of two great vitae, those of SYMEON OF EMESA (6th C.) and BASIL THE YOUNGER (10th C.), reveals the change: Symeon is depicted in the streets and squares, Basil within the houses of his supporters. Public life did not totally disappear—some processions and feasts continued to be held in public—but it was significantly contracted: the THEATER ceased to exist, religious services dispensed with many outdoor liturgical ceremonies, even races and circus games tended to be replaced by CARNIVALS and by SPORTS and competitions, such as polo and tournaments, which were on a reduced scale and socially restricted. The shift from reading aloud to silent reading, the adoption of silent prayer, the abandonment of public repentance, the playing of quiet board GAMES like CHESS—all these belong to the same phenomenon of "privatization" of everyday life.

With the exception of churches, there was no new construction of public buildings in Byz. towns, and the regular city planning of antiquity, with squares, porticoes, and wide avenues, was replaced by a chaotic maze of narrow streets and individual habitats. The HOUSES of the nobility (villas or mansions) also lost their orderly arrangement, which was replaced by a group of irregularly shaped rooms, bedchambers, terraces, and workshops; also abandoned was their openness to nature in the form of the ATRIUM—with its impluvium, inner garden, and fountain—or naturalistic floor mosaics. Houses became darker, and the shift in LIGHTING from lamps to candles after the 7th C. contributed as well to this change.

The increased use of TABLES and of the WRITING DESK influenced various habits—from reading and writing (including the format of the BOOK) to dining and games. The BED as the symbol of the most private aspect of daily life became consistently distinct from CHAIRS or stools, which were used for more social occasions. Pottery (see CERAMICS) grew more uniform and less decorated than in antiquity; it served primarily the private needs of the family, whereas imperial BANQUETS used gold and silver ware.

A respect for the human body determined the form of ancient COSTUME: the body was covered only minimally and there was no fear of nakedness. Byz. costume, however, which began to adopt the use of TROUSERS and sleeves, was a reaction against the openness of antiquity, and heavy cloaks provided people with additional means of concealment.

Patterns of food consumption evidently changed as well: in the ordinary DIET, the role of BREAD decreased, whereas MEAT, FISH, and CHEESE became more important. Dining habits changed, too, from a relaxed reclining to the more formal sitting on chairs. While we can surmise that the actual diet was not spare by medieval standards, the predominantly monastic ideology of the Byz. condemned heavy meals and praised ascetic abstemiousness.

Bathing habits also changed: the public BATHS, which had served virtually as a club for well-to-do Romans, almost disappeared and ancient bathhouses were often transformed into churches. Provincial baths were few, located in log huts full of smoke coming from an open hearth.

The nuclear FAMILY was the crucial social unit responsible for the production of goods, so that hired workers (MISTHIOI) and even slaves (see SLAVERY) were considered an extension of the family; the education of children was also the family's responsibility. The family was limited to a certain extent by the neighborhood, guild, or village community; it was these MICROSTRUCTURES that took charge of organizing FEASTS. WOMEN, who indisputably played a decisive role in the

household, were compelled to remain in a special part of the house and to wear "decent" dress, which served clearly to distinguish a matron from the PROSTITUTE, whose more revealing costume suggested immoral conduct. The unity of the family was emphasized by the custom of common meals and by the father's right to indoctrinate (sometimes with physical force) all the members of his small household.

Depictions of everyday life are rare as primary subjects in art, although many indications can be gleaned from biblical images in MSS such as the OCTATEUCHS where, for example, scenes of birth, legal penalties, and activities such as threshing and various modes of transportation reflect Byz. practice. A market scene appears in a fresco at the Blachernai monastery in ARTA which depicts a procession of the Virgin Hodegetria. It shows merchants displaying their merchandise in baskets and on benches, fruit and beverage vendors, and their customers. By contrast, ceramic household VESSELS made for everyday use, when they do contain figural decoration of any sort, show scenes from mythology, fable, or epic.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, *Byzantinon bios kai politismos*, 6 vols. (Athens 1952–57). T. Talbot Rice, *Everyday Life in Byzantium* (London–New York 1967). C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 337–53; 32.1 (1982) 252–57. G. Litavrin, *Kak žili vizantijcy?* (Moscow 1974). M.A. Poljakovskaja, A.A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989). *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantino* (Athens 1989). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 74–83. Veyne, *Private Life* 235–409, 551–641. G. Walter, *La vie quotidienne à Byzance au siècle des Comnènes* (Paris 1966). –A.K., A.C.

EVIL (*κακία*). The core of the problem of evil is how far responsibility for it can be attributed to God. Late antiquity presented two diametrically opposed concepts of evil. The dualistic systems of GNOSTICISM and MANICHAEANISM considered evil as a "substance" warring with the good, symbolically treated as a battle of darkness against light. The material world is the realm of evil, created by the inferior deity and contrasted to the divine and heavenly world. In contrast, PROKLOS assumed that evil had only a dependent existence (*parhypostasis*) and was caused by manifold factors such as weakness, lack of knowledge, or lack of goodness; he criticized PLOTINOS, for whom evil was an inherent quality of matter.

Christianity overcame the contradiction after painful vacillations; ORIGEN, for example, viewed the cosmos as consisting of an opposition of light and darkness. The core of the Christian solution is Augustine's view that Adam's original sin was perpetrated contrary to nature (divine nature has no evil in itself); original sin was committed not due to human FREE WILL (as was the view of PELAGIANISM), but by the mysterious dispensation of God, who knows how to transform evil into good. John of Damascus, on the other hand, emphasized that any creation of God was good, but that both angels and mortals were *autexousioi*, that is, granted freedom of choice to follow God's law or deviate from it; we are responsible for our wrongdoing, just as the criminal, not the judge, is responsible for a felony and deserves punishment. John also drew a distinction between evil "by nature" (deviation from God's law) and "apparent" (subjectively perceived) evil, that is, the hardships and trials of life (including fasting, vigils, etc.) that in fact contribute to our salvation. Redemption from Adam's sin was achieved by Christ's sacrifice and is continued in BAPTISM and other sacraments. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM consistently explains Christ's sacrifice as propitiating the Father and reconciling mankind with an angry God. In Christian belief, the DEVIL and his DEMONS are the embodiment of evil; the mission of saints is the battle against demons. Despite the symbolism of light and darkness this struggle is not conceived dualistically, since it evolves under God's paternal care and aims at the improvement of corrupted human nature.

LIT. F. Young, "Insight or Incoherence? The Greek Fathers on God and Evil," *JEH* 24 (1973) 113–26. M. Erler in *Proklos Diadochos: Über die Existenz des Bösen* (Meisenheim am Glan 1978) v–ix. H.G. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). –A.K.

EVIL EYE, a popular amuletic image of the 4th–8th C. characterized by an eye surrounded by a variety of threatening beasts and instruments: lions, snakes, scorpions, daggers, etc. Most often it is found on a bronze pendant AMULET whose other side bears the HOLY RIDER. Amuletic inscriptions against the evil eye, without a representation, are also common (e.g., "the seal of Solomon holds the evil eye"—Russell, *infra* 540). Both would combat the envious glance that was popularly believed to facilitate the access of demons to a coveted thing or person. The antidote was to display the inevi-

table suffering of the covetous individual or, more specifically, of his "evil eye." In *The Testament of Solomon* (ed. C.C. McCown [Leipzig 1922] 18.39) one demon reports: "My power is annulled by the engraved image of the much-suffering eye."

LIT. J. Russell, "The Evil Eye in Early Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 539–48. –G.V.

EVLIYA ÇELEBI, Ottoman scholar, *sipāhī,* and traveler; born Istanbul 25 Mar. 1611, died Istanbul? 1684. Evliya was the author of the ten-volume *Seyahatname* (Book of Travels), professedly a description with considerable elaborations of Evliya's extensive journeys and various sojourns throughout the Ottoman Empire and beyond, primarily for ca.1630–76. Evliya wrote to entertain and his language is a mixture of learned and vernacular Ottoman. His sources include his personal observations, hearsay, cited and uncited literary works, and his own lively imagination. Assuredly, some of what Evliya wrote is fictitious. Nonetheless, he conveys a plethora of credible data regarding the geography, cities, monuments, institutions, peoples, and cultures of the Ottoman Empire of his time. For Byz. studies, Evliya's work is replete with information concerning the status and development of previously Byz. peoples under Ottoman rule. Book 1 is esp. important for its material on the topography, ethnography, and folklore of Istanbul. No critical edition of this work yet exists.

ED. AND TR. *Evliyā Çelebi seyâhâtnamesi,* 10 vols. (Istanbul 1896–1938), in Ottoman. *Evliyā Çelebi seyâhâtnamesi,* 15 vols. (Istanbul 1971), in Turkish. Eng. tr. Books 1–2—J. von Hammer-Purgstall, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa in the Seventeenth Century (by Evliyá Efendi),* 2 vols. in 1 (London 1834; rp. New York 1968). *He Kentrike kai Dytike Makedonia kata ton Ebligia Tseleb,* ed. B. Demetriades (Thessalonike 1973).

LIT. J. Mordtmann-H. Duda, *EI*[2] 2:717–20. B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe* (New York–London 1982). –S.W.R.

EVRENOS (Ἐβρενέζ and similar forms), Ottoman general; died Yenice-i Vardar 1417. Originally a *beg* of KARASI, Evrenos joined the Ottomans after they conquered that *beylik.* Evrenos had served from 1359 as general under Süleyman Pasha, Murad I, Bayezid I, Süleyman Çelebi, and Mehmed I. Evrenos participated in virtually all the critical campaigns and battles fought by the Ottomans in Europe during his lifetime. During the 1360s-80s, he led many of the Turkish conquests in Byz. Thrace and Macedonia and captured Corinth in 1397. Evrenos himself acquired vast estates, centered at Yenice-i Vardar (mod. Yiannitsa in northern Greece), the site of his family tombs.

Byz. views of Evrenos were typically negative. Manuel II, writing ca.1409, attributed to him an "unrivaled" hatred of Christians and extreme cruelty. Among Muslims, Evrenos was renowned for his heroism, piety, and generosity.

LIT. I. Melikoff, *EI*[2] 2:720. I. Uzunçarşılı, *İA* 4:414–18. –S.W.R.

EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO, patriarch of Bulgaria, teacher, and writer; born Tŭrnovo between about 1320 and 1330, died Bačkovo ca.1400. As a young monk in a monastery in Tŭrnovo he was attracted by HESYCHASM, of which he became a lifelong defender. He was the protégé of Patr. TEODOSIJE, with whom he went to Constantinople in 1363. He then spent some years in the Lavra and Zographou monasteries on Athos. Returning to Bulgaria in 1371 he founded the monastery of Holy Trinity near Tŭrnovo, which became a center of scholarship and literature. Elected patriarch in 1375, he helped in the struggle to preserve Bulgarian independence and to maintain the religious unity of the Bulgarian people. After the Turkish capture of Tŭrnovo in 1393, he was expelled and imprisoned in the PETRITZOS monastery at Bačkovo.

Evtimij revised and corrected earlier CHURCH SLAVONIC translations from Greek and sought to standardize Slavonic orthography and grammar in the face of linguistic change. His original writings comprise Lives of Bulgarian saints (for example, St. JOHN OF RILA), panegyrics of saints, theological treatises, and liturgical texts. He extended the flexibility and expressiveness of Old Slavonic and introduced to Slavonic literature something of the culture of mid-14th-C. Byz. His works enjoyed great influence in Serbia, Rumania, and Russia as well as in Bulgaria.

ED. *Werke des Patriarchen von Bulgarien Euthymios,* ed. E. Kałużniacki (Vienna 1901; rp. London 1971).

LIT. I. Bogdanov, *Patriarh Evtimij* (Sofia 1970). Kl. Ivanova, *Patriarh Evtimij* (Sofia 1986). P.A. Syrku, *K istorii ispravleniia knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke,* 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1890–98). N.C. Kočev in *Kulturno razvitie na Bŭlgarskata*

dŭržava: krajat na XII-XIV vek (Sofia 1985) 278–84. G. Dančev, "Otnošenie Evfimija Tyrnovskogo k eretičeskim učenijam, rasprostranjavšimsja v Bolgarskich zemljach," *BBulg* 6 (1980) 95–104. – R.B.

EWER. See CHERNIBOXESTON.

EX VOTO. See VOTIVES.

EXAGION (*ἐξάγιον*, Lat. *exagium*), a unit of weight equal to 1/72 of the heavy Roman *libra* or Byz. *logarike* LITRA [= 4.44 g]. Synonymous terms are *stagion, saggio* (It.), and *miṭqāl* (Ar.). Since the SOLIDUS weighed exactly one *exagion*, the term was also used to refer to the coin. *Exagion* can also identify the WEIGHTS used to control gold coins. After 1204 *exagia* of different weight are reported, that is, they are 1/72 of "pounds" that differed from the *logarike litra*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 183, 204. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:795–800. –E. Sch.

EXAKTOR (*ἐξάκτωρ*), fiscal official in the late Roman Empire whose main function was to exact arrears of taxation; *exaktores* had under their command a staff of subaltern officials, including PRAKTORES. Usually attached to a particular city, the *exaktor* was first appointed by the emperor, later by the CURIA. After the 6th C. the *exaktor* disappears temporarily.

The 9th-C. TAKTIKA do not mention *exaktores*, but the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* places them between the *protasekretis* and *mystikos*. They seem to have retained certain fiscal functions. An act of the 11th C. is signed by John, *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* and *exaktor* (N. Wilson, J. Darrouzès, *REB* 26 [1968] 18.18). TZETZES (*Hist.* 5.609–11) boasts that his grandfather George was a renowned *exaktor* who fulfilled the duty of *praktor* in various themes. At the same time, the *exaktor* became a high-ranking judge of the imperial tribunal. After 1204 the post is unknown.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 325f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 68. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:480–83. O. Seeck, *RE* 6 (1909) 1542–47. –A.K.

EXALEIMMA (*ἐξάλειμμα*, from *exaleipho*, "to wipe out, erase" [from the tax roll]), a fiscal term applied to immovable property. The term appears, almost exclusively in documents, from 1259 to 1361, although the adjective *exaleimmatikos*, as in *exaleimmatike stasis*, is firmly attested from 1300 until 1420. *Exaleimmata* were bought, sold, donated, granted in PRONOIA, reassigned to other *paroikoi*, broken up and parceled between *paroikoi* and their lord, and given fiscal assessments comparable to other properties. While V. Vasil'evskij (*ŽMNP* 210 [1880] 158) first identified *exaleimma* as escheat, later scholars (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 122; Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:240; Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 432) frequently interpret *exaleimmata* as ruined properties. A few documents, however (*Zogr.*, no.18.11–14; M. Goudas, *EEBS* 3 [1926] 133f, no.7.6–10; *Docheiar.*, no.40.13–14), demonstrate that *exaleimmata* could be cultivated properties producing income.

The use of the participle *exalipheis* in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 116.2–6) and later documents through the 12th C. and the use of the adjective *exeleimmenos* in mid-11th- to mid-13th-C. documents suggest that an *exaleimma* was an escheated property, which reverted to the owner's lord (a private landlord or the state in its role as a landlord) as a result of the death or flight of its owner (usually a *paroikos*) without leaving a proper heir. The use of these terms also suggests that in the late Byz. agrarian system, based on the *paroikia*, *exaleimma* played a role analogous to that held by KLASMA in the earlier Byz. agrarian system based on the village community.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "Exaleimma: Escheat in Byzantium," *DOP* 40 (1986) 55–81. –M.B.

EXALTATION OF THE CROSS. See CROSS, CULT OF THE.

EXAMPLE (*παράδειγμα*) was considered by ancient rhetoricians as a TROPE (Martin, *Rhetorik* 262), based on the juxtaposition of objects and aimed at exhortation or dissuasion; unlike the PARABLE, examples dealt with actual phenomena and not with possible ones (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:200.21–201.2). The church fathers frequently used examples to clarify subtle theological concepts, such as illustrating the Trinity by means of the sun and its rays, or demonstrating the existence of two natures in Christ by the example of the human soul and body. Leontios of Byzantium (PG 86:1453A–C) asserted that theological truth could not be proven by "natural reason" and

ridiculed the philosophers who rely on examples. The prototype, he said, always lacks likeness; even though Ethiopians and ravens are both black, they are totally dissimilar. JOHN OF DAMASCUS explicitly emphasized that examples must not be completely identical (*Schriften*, ed. Kotter, 2:169.19–24, 4:128, ch.54.6–7). -A.K.

EXARCH (ἔξαρχος), the name of several officials in both secular and ecclesiastical administration.

Secular Exarchs. At the time of Justinian I exarch was identified with a DOUX (C. Benjamin, *RE* 6 [1909] 1552f); eventually the term became the designation of the governor of an EXARCHATE, holding both civil and military power. Later, in the 10th-C. BOOK OF THE EPARCH, the term was applied to the heads of several guilds, the PRANDIOPRATAI and METAXOPRATAI; it is found, without any definition, in charters of 982 and 1008 (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 4, 15)—Dölger (*Schatz.* 297f) had hypothesized that they were heads of guilds. Clearer is a purchase deed of 1320 that testifies to the existence of an exarch of *myrepsoi* in Thessalonike who was personally involved in the production of perfumes (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 307). There is no evidence concerning the exarchs of guilds in Constantinople after the 10th C.

Ecclesiastical Exarchs. The chief bishop of a civil DIOCESE was also called exarch. In ecclesiastical usage therefore the title meant "primate" and was given to both METROPOLITANS and PATRIARCHS exercising authority over a wide area (CHALCEDON, canon 9). Thus ZONARAS comments that this canon designates the patriarchs themselves as exarchs of their dioceses (PG 137:420C). Although the title was abandoned by the 6th C. in favor of the familiar "patriarch," in later centuries it was frequently given to metropolitans as a purely honorary designation. At the same time, however, it was also used to denote a patriarchal functionary or representative of a territory directly dependent on the patriarch (Laurent, *Corpus*, 5.1, nos. 241–45; 5.3, nos. 1681–83). Indeed, by 1350 priests in Constantinople were even appointed exarchs in charge of the clergy in their GEITONIAI (neighborhoods). Finally, the title could denote a "supervisor" (cf. ARCHIMANDRITE) of monastic foundations subject to the patriarch. The superiors of the DALMATOU MONASTERY in Constantinople were already using the title in this sense in the 5th C.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 78–86. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 109–11. -A.K., A.P.

EXARCHATE, a new type of territorial and administrative unit created at the end of the 6th C. in CARTHAGE and RAVENNA; these existed until the end of the 7th and the middle of the 8th C., respectively. The external feature of the exarchate was the unification of military and civil power in the hands of the EXARCH, a reform that had been prepared by partial changes of provincial administration under Justinian I. Structurally considered, both exarchates were territories threatened by constant hostile pressure, populated by people with a language and cultural traditions different from those of Constantinople, strongly rural, with an aristocracy that tended to emigrate to Constantinople and a local church that acquired political power. All this formed a certain antinomy between the strong administration of an exarchate and its tendency toward economic and social separation from the empire.

LIT. A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle* (Rome 1969). -A.K.

EXCERPTA (Ἐκλογαί), conventional title of an "encyclopedia" produced by CONSTANTINE VII and his collaborators. According to the preface, the emperor gave orders for necessary books to be collected from the whole *oikoumene*, excerpted and arranged in 53 sections (*hypotheseis*) dedicated to specific topics. The purpose was to use the experience of the past for moral and political education. One of these *hypotheseis*, *De legationibus*, is preserved in full, and significant parts of *De virtutibus et vitiis*, *De insidiis*, and *De sententiis* also survive. Only the titles are known of several other sections. The compilers used both ancient and Byz. writers; the latest is GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. Some of these sources are now lost. Only from the *Excerpta* do we know PRISKOS, PETER PATRIKIOS, MENANDER PROTECTOR, EUNAPIOS, and JOHN OF ANTIOCH. The excerpts were slightly edited and supplied with commentaries. The compiler of the SOUDA used the *Excerpta* (C. de Boor, *BZ* 21 [1912] 381–424; 23 [1914/19] 1–127).

ED. *Excerpta de legationibus*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 parts (Berlin 1903). *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis*, eds. T. Büttner-Wobst, A. Roos, 2 pts. (Berlin 1906–10). *Excerpta de insidiis*, ed. C. de Boor (Berlin 1905). *Excerpta de sententiis*, ed. U. Boissevain (Berlin 1906).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 323–32. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:359–61. O. Musso, "Sulla struttura del cod. Pal. gr. 398 e deduzioni storico-letterarie," *Prometheus* 2 (1976) 1–10. P. Schreiner, "Die Historikerhandschrift Vaticanus Graecus 977: ein Handexemplar zur Vorbereitung des Konstantinischen Exzerptenwerkes?," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 1–29. –A.K.

EXCERPTA LATINA BARBARA. See BARBARUS SCALIGERI.

EXCERPTA VALESIANA (or *Anonymus Valesii*), so called after their first publication in 1636 from a single 9th-C. MS by Henri de Valois (Valesius), comprise two very different works. The first, apparently composed ca.390, is a biography of CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT, entitled *Origo Constantini imperatoris*. This piece has won much modern praise for its clarity, accuracy, and impartiality; here and there the text corresponds with passages in OROSIUS. The second excerpt, seemingly written ca.550, deals with Italy under the Ostrogoths ODOACER and THEODORIC THE GREAT in the period 474–526, under the title *Item ex libris chronicorum inter cetera*. This extract, demonstrably using such sources as the Life of St. Severinus by EUGIPPIUS and the *Chronicle* of Maximianus, bishop of Ravenna (died 556), is equally notable for its anti-Arian bias and unclassical Latin.

ED. *Excerpta Valesiana*, ed. J. Moreau, revised V. Velkov (Leipzig 1968). Eng. tr. in *Ammianus Marcellinus*, ed. J.C. Rolfe, vol. 3 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1939) 506–69.

LIT. R. Browning in *Cambridge History of Classical Literature*, vol. 2 (Cambridge 1982) 743. J.N. Adams, *The Text and Language of a Vulgar Latin Chronicle (Anonymus Valesianus II)* (London 1976). –B.B.

EXCOMMUNICATION (ἀφορισμός, "casting out") entailed the exclusion of the transgressor from the community or fellowship of the church and its sacraments, esp. the Eucharist. Offending members included emperors, for example, LEO VI and MICHAEL VIII. The separation from the church's sacramental life was either absolute or partial, that is, it could be either temporary or for the lifetime of the individual. Thus excommunication could be either "greater" or "less." (Like the ANATHEMA, the greater meant full removal from Christian society.) Once excommunication was imposed, the offender was obliged to express METANOIA and to avail himself of the church's PENITENTIAL procedure by which he was gradually reconciled to the church. Thus, ultimately neither partial nor total isolation from the church's sphere deprived the wrongdoer of membership in the Christian community.

LIT. A. Catoire, "Nature, auteur et formule des peines ecclésiastiques d'après les Grecs et les Latins," *EO* 12 (1909) 265–71. E. Herman, "Hatte die byzantinische Kirche von selbst eintretende Strafen (poenae latae sententiae) gekannt?" *BZ* 44 (1951) 258–64. –A.P.

EXECUTION, or capital punishment, the most severe of PENALTIES. The ECLOGA lists crimes punished by execution: intentional MURDER, RAPE, incest and pederasty, robbery and arson, and esp. crimes against the state—MUTINY or lèse majesté, TREASON or espionage. The death sentence was also to be imposed on apostates from Christianity and those who robbed churches at night, magicians and sorcerers, and heretics (MANICHAEANS and MONTANISTS are specifically named). As the means of execution, the *Ecloga* mentions primarily the sword, and rarely burning at the stake or hanging on the *phourka*, the fork-shaped gallows that replaced the CROSS, which as the Christian symbol was prohibited as a means of execution from the time of Constantine I. Historical texts seldom mention execution. *Phourkai* were employed for the mass execution of rebels or traitors (e.g., Theoph. 184.4–6; *TheophCont* 303.17, 877.4); burning at the stake was the fate of BASIL THE COPPER HAND and BASIL THE BOGOMIL as well as the slaves who murdered Asylaion, Basil I's brother.

Hagiographical legends abound with stories of execution, but it is difficult to distinguish truth from pious invention. There was always a hesitancy to resort to execution; in the case of political crime, BLINDING, EXILE, or confinement in a monastery often substituted for execution. In the 14th-C. Balkans there was a tendency to replace the death penalty with a fine (B. Krekić, *BS/EB* 5 [1978] 171–78); the spread of the PHONIKON reflects the same tendency in Byz. On the other hand, the government always strove to prevent private persons from carrying out execution, particularly in the form of religious or BLOOD VENGEANCE (A. Mirambel, *Byzantion* 16 [1944] 381–92).

LIT. B. Sinogowitz, "Die Tötungsdelikte im Rechte der Ekloge Leons III. des Isauriers," *ZSavRom* 74 (1957) 319–36. –A.K.

EXEDRA (ἐξέδρα), any room, semicircular or rectangular in plan, that opens full-width directly onto an adjacent larger space or room, covered or uncovered. Widely used in antiquity to flank streets, porticoes, and forums, exedrae figured prominently in the interiors of imperial Roman baths, palaces, and villas. Eusebios of Caesarea noted their presence at the basilica in TYRE, the Octagon at ANTIOCH, and the Constantinian Martyrion in JERUSALEM. Christian Latin authors (e.g., Paulinus, PL 14:37) apply the term to the apse of a basilica. Exedrae like these, open only to the central room, flanked the Octagon in the Palace of Galerius, Thessalonike, and several Constantinopolitan palaces. Much later they are found at the NEA MONE, Chios, and elsewhere. Concomitant with their role as adjacent rooms, other exedrae were designed as essential parts of centralized churches. Carried on arches that link the major piers, these allow free passage from the central space to the aisles or ambulatory spaces, expanding the breadth while articulating the elevation of the space covered by the central dome (S. Vitale, Ravenna; Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, Constantinople; Hagia Sophia, Constantinople). Exedrae enabled the Late Antique and Byz. architect to transform a square, rectangular, or polygonal plan into a single volume of space unified around a central, vertical axis. Hence their pervasive use in Byz. architecture.

LIT. F. Deichmann, *RAC* 6:1171–74. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 215–48. D. Mallardo, "L'exedra nella basilica cristiana," *RACr* 22 (1946) 191–211. D.I. Pallas, "Hai par' Eusebio exedrai ton ekklesion tes Palaistines," *Theologia* 25 (1954) 470–83. –W.L.

EXEGESIS (ἐξήγησις, lit. "leading out"), hermeneutics, explanation or interpretation of the BIBLE. The foundations of exegesis were laid by the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, esp. ORIGEN, who suggested that the sacred text had several layers of meaning. He recommended threefold exegesis on the model of a tripartite human nature, consisting of body, soul, and spirit. This approach supposes literal, allegorical, and spiritual senses of the text, or—to put it differently—references to the past, present, and future. Against this, the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL emphasized the need to grasp the real (historical) sense of the text and saw the basis for this in the contemplation of words, including study of the Hebrew original of the Septuagint. The main direction of Byz. exegesis was to find in the Old Testament testimonies concerning Christ, which were then exploited in the theological disputes of the 4th–5th C. Among the greatest exegetes were ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, GREGORY OF NYSSA, CYRIL of Alexandria, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. In the 6th C. original exegesis came to an end, to be replaced by study of the exegesis of church fathers and by the assembly of authoritative citations in CATENAE. The Council in TRULLO (692) restricted creative hermeneutics; this plus the loss of the knowledge of Hebrew contributed to the decline of exegesis.

LIT. B. de Margerie, *Introduction à l'histoire de l'exégèse*, vol. 1 (Paris 1980). M. Simonetti, *Profilo storico dell'esegesi patristica* (Rome 1981). H. de Lubac, *Exégèse médiévale*, vol. 1 (Paris 1959). P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (New York 1983). –J.I., A.K.

EXEMPTION, the term commonly used by modern historians to denote a form of IMMUNITY—any of several means whereby persons or property were released from some or all of their state obligations for the benefit of a person or institution, reflecting the basic principle that all property and persons bore fiscal burdens. Some exemptions were temporary (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS) and were granted and revoked by an APOGRAPHEUS with each fiscal survey (*exisosis*); others were (usually) permanent privileges (EXKOUSSEIA, *ateleia*) that could only be granted by the emperor: they exempted MERCHANTS from taxes on commerce and owners from the taxes due on their property (land, ships, etc.) or from the taxes (TELOS, KANON) or supplementary charges (EPEREIAI, CORVÉES) owed by their dependent peasants. Yet another category of exemption (*astrateia*) exempted persons from the service connected with STRATEIA. Permanent exemption from taxation, granted to certain properties of a few privileged monasteries and individuals in the 10th and 11th C., seems to have become almost the rule in regard to large landowners by the 14th C. Scholars view this devolution of fiscal authority to private individuals and religious corporations as either a symptom or cause of the gradual weakening and collapse of state authority in the 12th–15th C.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 122, 168–70, 173f, 208, 244. –M.B.

EXILE, a form of punishment. Byz. law distinguished two types of exile: *exoria,* banishment or deportation, which could be temporary or permanent, and *periorismos,* confinement within prescribed boundaries (*Basil.* 60.51.4). In defining *exoria* the author of the SYNOPSIS MINOR (Zepos, *Jus* 6:398f, par. 70) stressed the prohibition against being in the city in which the emperor resided or was passing through. The QUAESTOR had the right to banish illegal aliens from Constantinople. The major difference between *exoria* and *periorismos* concerned the disposition of the property of the criminal: those under *periorismos* had their property confiscated; those under *exoria* retained it (Zepos, *Jus* 6:501, par. 80). The BOOK OF THE EPARCH several times mentions *exoria* as a PENALTY for economic crimes; normally, however, exile was reserved for political criminals and suspects, esp. church leaders (JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, Pope MARTIN I, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, PHOTIOS, etc.). The place of banishment could be to the border of the empire, an island, or some less remote location; some suspects or criminals were relegated to monasteries or placed under house arrest on their own estates. Experiences of exile varied widely; a special genre of letters from exile presents a broad range of feelings, from nostalgic longing for the capital to complaints about lack of books, starvation, and torture.

LIT. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "Formy zesłania w państwie bizantyńskim," in *Okeanos* 166–73. –A.K.

EXISOTES (ἐξισώτης), a fiscal official whose functions were similar to those of the EPOPTES. The term *exisosis* designated the fiscal survey that in the 13th C. was carried out by high-ranking functionaries. The distinction between *exisosis* and *apographe* (see APOGRAPHEUS) is not clear. In 1254 Constantine Diogenes, who was *apographeus* and *exisotes* of the islands of Leros (Lerne) and Kalymnos, conducted *apographe* and *exisosis* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.65.1); the forged document allegedly signed by Joseph Pankalas in 1261 speaks of the *anatheoresis* and *exisosis* of the island of Kos (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, Π.29); an act of 1407 mentions the *apographike exisotes* [*sic*] of the island of Lemnos (*Pantel.*, no.17.9), a *praktikon* of 1430 the *apographike exisosis* of the same island (*Dionys.*, no.25.1). The term *exisosis* was employed for surveys of the theme of Thessalonike (*Xénoph.*, no.12.1) and elsewhere.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 210–12. –A.K.

EXKOUBITOI. See DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON.

EXKOUSSATOS (ἐξκουσσᾶτος, from Lat. *excusatus*, "excused," cf. EXKOUSSEIA), an uncommon term of unclear meaning, applied to people, OIKOI, and ships (*ploia*). In the 10th C. some people called *exkoussatoi* were engaged in crafts for the imperial household (*De cer.* 488.18; R. Cantarella, *BZ* 26 [1926] 31.2). A chrysobull of 1060 distinguishes *exkoussatoi tou dromou* from STRATIOTAI and DEMOSIARIOI (*Lavra* 1, no.33.32–34); ostensibly, these *exkoussatoi* served the imperial DROMOS. In an early example of the devolution of state revenues to private landowners, documents from the second half of the 10th C. refer to *exkoussatoi* or *exkouseuomenoi* households granted to the monastery of Iveron, which received their *telos* (*Ivir.* 1, nos. 2.21–22, 6.23,33); in the 13th C., *exkoussateutoi* households are known (MM 5:15.6–7).

Apparently, the designation *exkoussatos* did not necessarily imply that the individual, household, or ship served the state or that the *exkoussatos* was excused from paying the *telos*. It meant, rather, that the state no longer received some or all of the fiscal obligations owed by the *exkoussatos* (whether telos and/or EPEREIA is disputed), either because of service to the state (in which case the *exkoussatos*, if a peasant, paid less or no taxes) or because some or all of the *exkoussatos*'s state obligations were granted to a private individual or corporation. In later texts, the terms *exkousatoi* (MM 5:260.20, a.1342), *enkousatoi* (the *Chronicle of Morea*), and the Latin *incosati* (derived therefrom) designated privileged individuals, probably exempt from taxes and military service.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Ekskussija i ekskussaty v Vizantii X–XII vv.," *VizOč* (1961) 187–91. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 175f. Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 264f. –M.B.

EXKOUSSEIA (ἐξκουσσεία, from Lat. *excusatio*, "release"), a type of EXEMPTION from certain obligations toward the state and from *introitus* (the entrance of officials into an estate). As a fiscal term, *exkousseia* appears in documents and literary

texts from the 10th C. through the end of the empire. *Exkousseiai* were granted to the owners or holders of a variety of economic instruments that bore fiscal obligations, including land, PAROIKOI, ships, buildings, and animals. The two interpretations of the nature of an *exkousseia* conflict. The most common opinion is that *exkousseia* is essentially synonymous with Western IMMUNITY and implied complete tax exemption (*ateleia*) and, in the 14th C., specific judicial privileges over a property owner's DEMESNE. A. Kazhdan (*VizOč* [1961] 186–216), however, argues that, at least in the 10th–12th C., *exkousseia* was unrelated to immunity; it was rather an exemption, not from the TELOS, but from EPEREIAI. In the 14th–15th C., *exkousseia* seems to refer to any kind of tax exemption.

LIT. P. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* (Juriev 1908). G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 165–254. M. Frejdenberg, "Ekskussija v Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *Učenye zapiski Velikolukskogo pedinstituta* 3 (1958) 339–65. H. Melovski, "Einige Probleme der Exkusseia," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 361–68. –M.B.

EXOKATAKOILOI (ἐξωκατάκοιλοι), term known from the 11th C. onward to designate five (a pentad) or six principal officials of the patriarch or a bishop: *megas* OIKONOMOS, *megas* SAKELLARIOS, *megas* SKEUOPHYLAX, CHARTOPHYLAX, the head of the SAKELLION, and later the PROTEKDIKOS.

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 59f, 101–03. Beck, *Kirche* 119f. –A.K.

EXORCISM (ἐξορκισμός), an imprecation against the DEVIL and DEMONS, to drive them away, or out of a possessed person or area; also a liturgical rite for that purpose. Exorcism occurs often in the New Testament. Tertullian considered it an act that any Christian was able to perform, but by the 3rd C. professional exorcists appear. Particular importance was ascribed to the exorcism preceding BAPTISM. Other exorcistic rituals, blessings, and prayers contained in the EUCHOLOGION are the *euchelaion* (see UNCTION), the "Exorcism of St. Tryphon" recited on Holy Thursday and Easter; the blessing of a field, garden, vineyard, or house; prayers against the evil eye and against evil spirits dwelling in people or in houses.

Hagiographical texts present abundant cases of exorcism—healing of the possessed, the expulsion of demons (in the form of wild beasts, dragons, scorpions, etc.) from the places they had occupied, and the elimination of evil forces preventing a good harvest or catch. Exorcism was performed by imposition of hands, anointing with oil, the sign of the cross, by prayers, and by application of pieces of a saint's clothing.

LIT. F.J. Dölger, *Der Exorzismus im altchristlichen Taufritual* (Paderborn 1909). P. de Meester, *Rituale-benedizionale bizantino* (Rome 1930) 255–68. L. Delatte, *Un office byzantin d'exorcisme* (Brussels 1957). K. Thraede, *RAC* 7:58–117. J. Daniélou, *DictSpir* 4 (1961) 1997–2004. –R.F.T., A.K.

EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI, an anonymous treatise preserved in two Latin versions and probably translated from a Greek original; the latter was compiled in the mid-4th C., perhaps ca.360. The treatise begins with a description of Eden, which is populated by *makarenoi* (the Blessed; *camarini* in one Latin version); discussions of India and Persia then follow. This introductory part has parallels (probably originating in the same source) in Greek *hodoporeiai*, or guides, to Eden. After Persia comes the description of "our land," that is, the Roman Empire: Syria, Egypt (essentially limited to Alexandria), Asia Minor from Cilicia to Bithynia, Thrace (where its "two splendid cities" of Constantinople and Herakleia are treated as equals), Macedonia, Greece, Italy, Gaul, Spain, Africa, and the islands—Cyprus, Crete, Sicily, and Britannia. This part is free of the legendary cast that characterizes the introductory section; in addition to a list of districts and cities, it contains observations on climate, commerce, political structure, and behavior. The treatise shows little trace of a Christian worldview. Its author may have been a widely traveled merchant.

ED. *Expositio totius mundi et gentium*, ed. J. Rougé (Paris 1966). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova, I. Felenkovskaja, "Anonimnyj geografičeskij traktat," *VizVrem* 8 (1956) 277–305. Germ. tr. H.J. Drexhage in *Münsterische Beiträge zur antiken Handelsgeschichte* 2.1 (1983) 3–41.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, "Expositio totius mundi," *SemKond* 8 (1936) 1–39. F. Martelli, *Introduzione alla "Expositio totius mundi"* (Bologna 1982). M. Philonenko, "Camarines et Makarinoi," in *Perennitas: Studi in onore di Angelo Brelich* (Rome 1980) 371–77. –A.K.

ʿEZĀNĀ (Ἀεϊζανᾶ), "tyrant" of AXUM (ca.323 to 340/1 or 347/8) and identical to "Abreha" (Dombrowski, *infra* 162–64); known primarily from

undated, mostly bilingual inscriptions and from a letter of CONSTANTIUS II cited by Athanasios of Alexandria. F. Altheim and R. Stiehl (*Klio* 39 [1961] 234–48) denied, however, that the ʿEzānā of the inscriptions was the Aeizana of the letter, and dated ʿEzānā to the 5th C. The ʿEzānā of the inscriptions claimed authority over HIMYAR and other lands. In the first half of the 4th C. Frumentius, a captive in Axum, started to organize Christian communities, but Christianity was not yet the state religion in Axum. Frumentius traveled to Alexandria, where Athanasios ordained him bishop of "India" (i.e., ETHIOPIA). In the letter to ʿEzānā and his brother She'azana, Constantius required Frumentius to return to Alexandria ca.328 and receive ordination from a new Arian patriarch, George. Another attempt to include Axum within the orbit of Byz. influence is reported by Philostorgios, who recounts that THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN visited both Himyar and Axum on his way to the East; since the embassy was sent by Constantius, it is reasonable to suppose that Theophilos negotiated with ʿEzānā.

LIT. B. & F. Dombrowski, "Frumentius/Abbā Salāmā: Zu den Nachrichten über die Anfänge des Christentums in Äthiopien," *OrChr* 68 (1984) 114–69. Yu. Kobishchanov, *Axum* (University Park, Pa.-London 1979) 64–73. A. Dihle, *Umstrittene Daten. Untersuchungen zum Auftreten der Griechen am Roten Meer* (Cologne-Opladen 1965) 36–64. –W.E.K.

EZERITAI (Ἐζερῖται), one of two groups of SKLAVENOI attested in the Peloponnesos. An etymology from the Slavic *ezero* (lake) is evident; D. Georgacas (*BZ* 43 [1950] 327–30) hypothesized that *ezero* was a translation of the toponym *Helos* (lit. "marsh meadow") near Taygetos, where the Ezeritai settled. In Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 50) the Ezeritai are mentioned, along with the MELINGOI, as paying tribute of 300 nomismata; they revolted in the reign of Romanos I, were defeated, and ordered to pay 600 nomismata. Unlike the Melingoi, Ezeritai do not appear in later Byz. sources, but the bishopric of Ezera, in the Peloponnesos, is attested in 1340 (MM 1:218.31).

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 63, n.2. Vasmer, *Slaven* 167. R. Janin, *DHGE* 16 (1967) 292. –O.P.

EZRAʿ. See ZORAVA.

F

FABLE (μῦθος) was considered by rhetoricians as a type of PROGYMNASMA; it had, however, a broader function of communicating a moral message in the form of a short essay with a gnomic conclusion. Classical authors, such as Demosthenes or Aristotle, did not consider fable as a noble genre; it evidently acquired more popularity in the Roman Empire. While Hermogenes treated fable briefly, the rhetorician NICHOLAS OF MYRA (ed. Felten 6–11) devoted an extended paragraph to it. Nicholas defined fable as a fictitious story having no verisimilitude, but illustrating a truth; it dealt either with human beings or animals. Some people also included among fables myths about the gods, but Nicholas considered the latter as a separate genre, *mythika diegemata*. He stressed the fable's simplicity of language and the inclusion of an *epimythion* or moral.

The earliest fable collection to survive, the so-called *Collectio Augustana*, cannot be precisely dated; the 4th–5th C. is a possible date. Later collections are known throughout the Byz. period (F. Rodríguez Adrados in *La fable* [Geneva 1984] 182). The Byz. imitated ancient fables, esp. those ascribed to AESOP and Babrios (ca.2nd C.), sometimes paraphrasing and revising them. Some fables are included in the *progymnasmata* of Theon, Libanios, Aphthonios, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Nikephoros Basilakes, and Nikephoros Chrysoberges; some fables exist as chapters in *progymnasmata*, others appear as episodes in lengthier genres. Oriental fables are broadly used in *Barlaam and Ioasaph* and esp. *Stephanites and Ichnelates* of Symeon SETH. In the Palaiologan period the ANIMAL EPIC was developed out of animal fables.

LIT. F. Rodríguez Adrados, *Historia de la fábula greco-latina*, 2 (Madrid 1985). M. Nøjgaard, *La fable antique*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1964–67). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:94–96. J. Vaio, "Babrius and the Byzantine Fable," in *La fable* (Geneva 1984) 197–224. –A.K.

FAÇADE (πρόσοψις, lit. "appearance"), the front or any side of a building designed with the intention of being seen. Initially, the Byz. concept of the façade was based on classical prototypes; hence its use was restricted to a relatively few public building types such as PALACES (e.g., the façade of the 5th-C. Palace of Theodoric in Ravenna as represented on a mosaic in S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA) and, even less commonly, churches (e.g., the 5th-C. façade of the Theodosian rebuilding of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople). As the classical tradition in Byz. waned, so did interest in monumental façades. They returned to importance in the 9th–10th C. The façades of such Constantinopolitan churches as the 10th-C. MYRELAION and the 11th-C. PANTEPOPTES display a classicizing structural logic. The latter example also exhibits a tripling of recessed arches and pilaster strips, a mannerism characteristic of Komnenian architecture in the capital (e.g., PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Kilise Camii, and Gül Camii). At the same time, in various parts of Greece, a very different, unclassical attitude toward façade articulation emerges (e.g., Panagia Gorgoepekoos in Athens, Merbaka near Nauplion, and Hagia Theodora in Arta). Here we find flat walls decorated by continuous horizontal bands and surface textures, in complete disregard of the building's interior structure. This attitude toward façade decoration becomes even more widespread in the 14th C., with isolated areas of resistance, as at MISTRA, to the general unclassical current.

LIT. K.M. Swoboda, "The Problem of the Iconography of Late Antique and Early Mediaeval Palaces," *JSAH* 20 (1961) 78–84. S. Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Façades during the First Half of the Fourteenth Century," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIV^e siècle* (Belgrade 1978) 17–27. –S.Ć.

FACTIONS (from Lat. *factio*; Gr. μέρος, δῆμος or δῆμοι, δημόται; sometimes used as technical term), associations that staged circus games; associations of partisans of any one of the four colors inherited from Rome that competed in CHARIOT RACES. Blues (*Venetoi*) and Greens (*Prasinoi*) were the chief rivals and seem to have cooperated with Whites (*Leukoi*) and Reds (*Rousioi*),

respectively. The theory that factions or DEMOI resembled political parties is now largely abandoned.

Numerous inscriptions and narrative sources show that the factions' importance grew as circus racing spread over the Roman East and factional identities were extended to the theater and its professionals in the late 5th C. Factions sat in special sections, raised monuments to their CHARIOTEERS, and became deeply involved in performing ACCLAMATIONS, as the HIPPODROME and its vast audiences attracted a developing imperial ceremonial. The circus's enhanced political significance—perhaps in tandem with undiagnosed social and economic pressures—aggravated the tendency of excited fans to explode in the insufficiently explained riots that wracked the cities of the late 5th to early 7th C. (e.g., NIKA REVOLT), which contemporaries connected with factional rivalry. Certain neighborhoods seem to have been particularly associated with one or another faction (Gascou, *infra*); the factions could be mobilized to man the walls of their city in crises and they certainly played a role in the civil war between Phokas and Herakleios. Faction members were a small minority of racing fans in 602, when Constantinople counted 900 Blues and 1,500 Greens. Partisans may have been young and come from comfortable backgrounds. By the 8th C. they were headed by DEMARCHOI. Some members' titles reveal specialized functions; those of *melistai* and *poietai* underscore the link with ceremonial acclamations that would typify the factions in the 9th and 10th C.

Factional circus strife vanished after the 7th C.; chariot-racing and factions now became restricted to Constantinople and its environs. *De ceremoniis* details their ceremonial and circus duties; it sometimes distinguishes *peratikoi* factions—headed by *demokratai* (the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON for the Blues and DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON for the Greens)—from *politikoi* factions, headed by the traditional *demarchoi* (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.1, ch.2, ed. Vogt, 1:29.6–31.17), a distinction which perhaps reflects the suburban or urban origin of their members. These organizations were integrated into the imperial administration: the TAKTIKA place their officers in the imperial hierarchy (see *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.55, ed. Reiske, 798.20–799.16, for the longest list of personnel) and, in the 10th C., the factions were subordinate to and salaried by the *praipositos*. The medieval factions kept their special Hippodrome seats; they had their own ORGANS, stables and, for their performances, were assigned *phialai* in the Great Palace as well as stations on the routes of imperial PROCESSIONS. Blues were particularly associated with the Virgin of Diakonissa church. Each faction certainly counted more than 50 members (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.21, ed. Reiske, 617.10–13). They might wear wreaths or crowns (*stephania*) and hold handkerchiefs (*encheiria*) while performing (e.g., *De cer.*, bk.2, ch.15, ed. Reiske, 577.10–12). Ceremonial poems by Theodore PRODROMOS suggest that factionlike groups (*demoi*) were still performing in imperial ceremonies of the 12th C.

LIT. Al. Cameron, *Circus Factions* (Oxford 1976). G. Prinzing, "Zu den Wohnvierteln der Grünen und Blauen in Konstantinopel," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich 1973) 27–48. J. Gascou, "Les institutions de l'hippodrome en Egypte byzantine," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212. S. Borkowski, *Inscriptions des factions à Alexandrie* (Warsaw 1981). McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 220–27. G. Vespignani, "Il Circo el e fazioni del Circo nella storiografia bizantinistica recente," *RSBS* 5 (1985) 61–101. –M.McC.

FACTORIES, IMPERIAL (*ἐργαστήρια βασιλικά*). Although production of goods was concentrated in small ERGASTERIA, significant numbers of laborers from certain fields of craftsmanship came under the supervision of state officials. Production of WEAPONS, for example, was largely under state control, as were major construction projects: according to a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 440.19–23), Constantine V assembled 6,900 *technitai* (ARTISANS) from various provinces in order to repair the aqueduct in Constantinople and placed them under the supervision of *archontes ergodioktai* with a *patrikios* at their head. In addition to the production of weapons, imperial factories were involved in minting coins (see MINTS), weaving (GYNAIKEIA), dyeing silk, and making jewelry.

Seals list various ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION; in Laurent's *Corpus* (vol. 2) are listed 11 *archontes* of the BLATTION, one *archon* of the *chrysoklabon* (luxurious garment), and one of the jewelry factory. In other sources the state production of SILK is most frequently attested: Theophanes (Theoph. 469.3–4) mentions the fire in an imperial workshop (*ergodosion*) of *chrysoklaborioi*; the vita of Antony II Kauleas (ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik grečeskich i latinskich pamjatnikov*, vol. 1 [St. Petersburg 1899] 18.25) refers to the head of the imperial silk factory; Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac.

146.24–147.2) mentions another head of the imperial *histourgia* under whom a *systema* of weavers labored. Next in frequency are imperial jewelry workshops—in the 10th C. a high-ranking official, the *sakellarios* Anastasios, was *archon* of the *chrysochoeion* (*TheophCont* 892.14–15). Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:10.10) speaks of an imperial "foundry" (*choneia*) where gold and silver were worked. Finally, Nicholas Mesarites describes the ragged crowd of workers at the mint who toiled day and night under the merciless gaze of their overseers.

We do not know how the work in these workshops was organized. It is plausible that some private craftsmen (e.g., LOROTOMOI) were coerced into working in imperial factories; some contingents of imperial craftsmen consisted of people sent there as punishment for a crime: thus, Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1249D) writes about a man condemned for icon veneration who was forced to work with the weavers as an imperial slave. Eusebios of Caesarea also considered the workers in imperial GYNAIKEIA as state slaves. According to the *Book of the Eparch*, private artisans' slaves who broke rules could be made into state slaves.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 336–42. L.C. Ruggini, "Le associazioni professionali nel mondo Romano-Bizantino," *SettStu* 18 (1971) 147f. A.W. Persson, *Staat und Manufaktur im Römischen Reiche* (Lund 1923). Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 77–81.
–A.K.

FACUNDUS, bishop of Hermiane in Byzacena; died after 571. He was an opponent of Justinian I's religious policies. A leading supporter of the THREE CHAPTERS, Facundus represents the disillusionment of the African hierarchy after Justinian's reconquest. He attended synods in Constantinople in 546 and 547–48; there he wrote a defense of the Three Chapters, maintaining that the condemnation of Theodore of Mopsuestia, Ibas of Edessa, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus meant the abandonment of the faith of CHALCEDON. In 550 he participated in a council in Africa that condemned Pope VIGILIUS. After the Council of Constantinople in 553 he continued to write and was, at least briefly, excommunicated.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. J.M. Clément, R. Vanden Plaetse (Turnhout 1974). PL 67:527–878.

LIT. R.A. Marcus, "Reflections on Religious Dissent in North Africa in the Byzantine Period," *SChH* 3 (Leiden 1966) 140–50. A. Dobroklonskij, *Sočinenija Fakunda, episkopa Germianskogo, v zaščitu trech glav* (Moscow 1880).
–T.E.G.

FAIR (πανήγυρις), an occasional or periodic MARKET, that is, one that is not permanent either in terms of time or in terms of structures such as market stalls and, in this way, is distinguished from regular market days. The Greek term *panegyris* has different meanings, even within the same period and author. Its original meaning being a general gathering, it could refer to a religious FEAST, a public celebration, a commercial fair connected with a religious celebration, or a purely episodic market, as in the promise of Alexios I to the Crusaders to provide them with "abundant fairs." The local fair, attested in many parts of the empire, served the exchange needs of the local population. Libanios provides a classic description of the function of a fair in the 4th C., which was the exchange of products among the inhabitants of various villages of the same locality; the network of exchange thus being formed obviated the need of exchange with the city. In the late 10th and 11th C., there is mention of local fairs where the merchants came both from the vicinity and from other areas, and where therefore the exchange involved more than the locality itself. The periodicity seems to be institutionalized.

Large international fairs are also attested, one such being the fair of CHONAI during the feast of the Archangel Michael, and the fair of THESSALONIKE, connected with the feast of St. Demetrios, for which the TIMARION provides a description. The fairs of the Peloponnesos in the 14th C. seem to fall into an intermediate category.

A tax (KOMMERKION) was levied upon commercial activity at fairs and could be remitted by the emperor or given as a grant. The *kommerkion* of the fair of EPHESUS, remitted in part by Constantine VI in 795, was 100 pounds of gold. In the late 10th C. and after, there is evidence that the powerful, or the communities, or the monasteries of a locality where a fair was constituted, received revenues from the fair. A novel of Basil II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:271f) suggests that the merchants who participated in a fair could act together and choose its locality, their interests taking precedence over those of the person who had rights over the place (cf. also *Peira* 57).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:270–83. S. Vryonis, Jr., "The *Panēgyris* of the Byzantine Saint," in *Byz. Saint* 196–227. C. Asdracha, "Les foires en Epire médiévale," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 437–46. –A.L.

FALCONRY. See HAWKING.

FALIERI, MARINOS (Μαρίνος Φαλιέρος), poet; born ca.1395, died 1474. One of the most prominent feudal landlords of Crete, Falieri played a major role in the island's affairs. As a young man (ca.1425–30), he (rather than his grandson of the same name, ca.1470–1527) wrote several short works in rhymed POLITICAL VERSE. Though the *Didactic Discourses* (advice to his son) and the *History and Dream* (a dream encounter in dialogue form between the author and his beloved) owe something to Byz. demotic literature (esp. the SPANEAS poem and the romances BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE), they are also influenced by western European literary currents, in particular those of contemporary Venice. This is even more the case with the *consolatio* (*Rhima Paregoretike*) addressed to his friend Benedetto da Molino. The *Lamentation on the Passion and the Crucifixion* is a dramatic depiction, perhaps based on an icon. The *Erotic Dream*, closely modeled on the *History and Dream* and normally attributed to Falieri, is possibly not by him at all. A man of practical experience rather than wide education (he was familiar with legal Latin and at home in vernacular Greek, while his first language was the Venetian dialect), he—like his predecessors SACHLIKES and Leonardo DELLA PORTA—is a witness to the cultural life of Venetian Crete in the early 15th C.

ED. W.F. Bakker, A.F. van Gemert, eds., "The *Rhima Paregoretike* of Marinos Phalieros," *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* (Leiden 1972) 74–195. *The Logoi Didaktikoi of Marinos Phalieros*, ed. idem (Leiden 1977). *Marinou Phalierou Erotika Oneira*, ed. A.F. van Gemert (Thessalonike 1980).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 197–99. A.F. van Gemert, "The Cretan Poet Marinos Falieros," *Thesaurismata* 14 (1977) 7–70. –E.M.J.

FAMILY. Although the family was the fundamental unit (MICROSTRUCTURE) of Byz. society, there was no specific word for it in Byz. Greek: the most common term συγγένεια (*syngeneia*) designated both the nuclear family and kinship in general; relationship through marriage is defined or rather described as "connection and joining" (*Basil.* 28:4.1). The term *phamilia/phamelia* (from the Lat. *familia*) is found in some acts of the late 14th–15th C. (*Lavra* 3, nos. 140.15, 161.15; *Docheiar.*, no.53.16), where it denotes a family household in contrast to one run by a widow.

The Byz. family was primarily a nuclear family, although extended families of 20–30 members are occasionally mentioned in hagiographical and documentary sources. The frequency of occurrence of extended families varied over time and space. According to A. Laiou (*Peasant Society* 80), in the 14th-C. theme of Strymon families were on the average larger than those in Thessalonike. *Ecloga* 2.2, when prohibiting marriages between members of a *syngeneia*, lists the following categories of relatives: parents, children, brothers, sisters, and *exadelphoi*, that is, nephews and nieces; then follow relations by affinity—stepfather/stepmother, father/mother-in-law, brother/sister-in-law, etc. Relations between uncle and nephew were often very close (J. Bremmer, *ZPapEpig* 50 [1983] 173–86). A family could also include adoptive children (see ADOPTION) and such members of the household as MISTHIOI—as potential husbands of a master's daughter.

The nuclear family formed the household and was the main economic unit in both town and countryside. The husband and wife worked side by side in the fields or in the workshop, and children (see CHILDHOOD) were involved in household activities from an early age, esp. in the country where they herded their parents' swine or sheep; in cities, the boy might leave the family at an early age to become an apprentice. The Byz. family was a much more cohesive unit than the late Roman family: MARRIAGE was concluded by a solemn MARRIAGE RITE and not mere consensus (A. Laiou, *RJ* 4 [1985] 189–201); CONCUBINAGE was, at least in theory, abolished; DIVORCE was restricted; BETROTHAL was equated to marriage; the property of the husband and wife was administered as common effects with overlapping rights to both portions.

Although the nuclear family was the cornerstone of Byz. social organization, it was nevertheless limited by several factors. It was viewed as a concession to the frailty of human nature and as taking second place to eremitism (see HERMIT) and CELIBACY, which occupied a higher rung on

the ladder of values. In some instances the state controlled the family. Not only were princely marriages often concluded on the basis of political considerations—resulting sometimes in personal tragedies—but on occasion the state imposed marriages (some nuns were compelled to marry monks during the period of Iconoclasm, widows and maidens were sometimes forced to marry foreign mercenaries) or made a couple divorce if the union was considered socially improper. The state also exercised the right to ABIOTIKION, appropriation of a certain part of the inheritance left by the deceased head of the family (if he died intestate) to the detriment of his relatives. Although kinship and LINEAGE were underdeveloped in comparison with countries of western and northern Europe, they still played a certain role and influenced the functioning of the nuclear family. Some distant relatives were entitled to certain rights, such as PROTIMESIS in the sale of land. The rights of the individual within the family were emphasized: there was no right of primogeniture in Byz. law, and the family property had to be divided, at least in theory, among the children of the *pater familias* (often in equal parts between brothers and sisters) and in this way dispersed, unless the relatives agreed to retain the unity of their properties. For example, in 13th-C. Trebizond, five relatives (*syngonikarchioi*) possessed land collectively (*Vazelon*, nos. 43, 44).

As in the West, monks did not marry and produce new families, and monastic propaganda urged children to leave the family and sever their links with their parents. On the other hand, some monks and nuns maintained connections with their close relatives, entered the same (or a neighboring) community, or created artificial, familylike small units. Moreover, unlike the West, Byz. priests and deacons (but not bishops) were allowed to be married. In addition to monks and nuns, there were other groups of people who did not marry but maintained familial relationships: eunuchs who could not procreate children nonetheless preserved close ties with their nephews; teachers of ecclesiastical/state schools who frequently remained single (in expectation of an episcopal see) and favored their nephews; men who kept concubines. Slaves were not permitted to have a legitimate family (at least until the 11th C.), although they did have monogamous unions.

Along with strengthening of family links over time, there was increasing prestige of the WOMAN as wife and mother whose role in the household was decisive. The warmth of relations between parents and children is often stressed in Byz. literature—in evident disregard for the demands of some rigorists (e.g., the author of the vita of St. ALEXIOS HOMO DEI) who praised the dissolution of family ties. Some heretical dogmas, for example those of extreme Dualist sects, went so far as to advocate the total abolition of the family and rejected sexuality and procreation. As a pivotal institution of social life, the family served as a model for structuring other types of social relations. The emperor was proclaimed to be the father of his subjects, and family terminology was used to describe both his relations to neighboring rulers and some hierarchical ranks (e.g., GAMBROS, son-in-law); family terminology characterized the relationship of the teacher to his disciples (his "sons" or "nephews"), esp. within the sphere of spiritual influence; the concept that in the monastery the spiritual father replaced the biological parents was widespread in Byz.

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Frau, Ehe, Familie in Byzanz," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 9 (1985) 9–18. E. Patlagean, "Christianisation et parents rituelles; le domain de Byzance," *Annales ESC* 33 (1978) 625–36. W.C. Thompson, *Legal Reforms of the Iconoclastic Era: The Changing Economic Structure of the Family* (Madison 1976). D. Simon, "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier, Forschungen zur byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte," *FM* 1 (1976) 16–43. A. Laiou, "Contribution à l'étude de l'institution familiale en Epire au XIIIe siècle," *FM* 6 (1984) 275–323. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 188–92. –A.K.

FAMILY 2400. See DECORATIVE STYLE.

FAMINE (λιμός). In a marginally subsistent agricultural economy such as that of Byz., famine followed any climatic irregularity that interfered with agricultural, esp. grain, production. Byz. chronicles and saints' lives regularly record the harsh winters, droughts, floods, and plagues of locusts that jeopardized the annual harvest. Because God provided for mankind, any disruption to that provision was interpreted as a sign of divine displeasure with a particular situation or event, as in the case of the famine that followed the deposition of Elias as patriarch of Jerusalem in 516 (CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, *Vita Sabae*, ch.58, ed. Schwartz 159.7–14). Since BREAD was a staple dietary requirement for the Byz. population, a

failed harvest could lead to high mortality. Famines were usually localized, affecting first the countryside, then the nearby cities. Larger urban centers, esp. Constantinople, could sometimes delay the impact of famine by controlling the storage and distribution of grain, but shortages could still lead to riots as in the capital in 409 and 602.

Major famines occurred in 383–85 (Antioch), 443 (Constantinople), 499–502 (Edessa), 516–21 (Palestine), early 540s, early 580s, 600–03 (Syria), under Basil I (Skyl. 277f), 927/8 ("the great famine"), 1032 (Cappadocia and neighboring areas), and 1037 (Thrace and Macedonia). From the second half of the 11th C. and the 12th C. data on famines are rare (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 27, n. 11). Turkish invasions of the 14th–15th C. often resulted in famines, as did the "scorched earth" policy of Andronikos II when combatting the Catalan Grand Company in 1306 (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 91–113). The results of famine were esp. severe in spring when stored grain had been exhausted; women evidently had a higher mortality rate during famines than men. Famine and the miraculous help of a saint is a frequent theme of hagiographical literature.

LIT. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 74–92. Svoronos, *Études*, pt.IX (1966), 12f. –B.C.

FAN, LITURGICAL. See RHIPIDION.

FANTINUS THE YOUNGER. See PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER.

FARMER'S LAW (Νόμος Γεωργικός), a legal text preserved in dozens of MSS from the end of the 10th C. onward. It regulates relations within a village (theft, trespassing of boundaries, damage caused by or to livestock, etc.) or, rarely, between two villages; a tax (*extraordina*) is mentioned only once; two kinds of land lease are regulated, but not land purchase. There has been considerable discussion of the date, provenance, and character of this law code. It has been dated to the 7th C. (particularly to the reign of Justinian II) and to the 8th C. (as contemporaneous with the ECLOGA). Its origin has been placed in Italy and in Constantinople—the absence of any reference to olive groves and horses in the Farmer's Law suggests, however, an origin in hilly, inland terrain. It has been variously viewed as a record of Slavic customary law (even though not a single Slavic term is to be found there); as a selection of Justinianic norms (the name of Justinian—I or II?—is included in some MSS); as pre-Justinianic rules; as biblical, eastern, or Hellenic precepts; as imperial legislation; and as a private collection.

Whatever its provenance, the Farmer's Law reflects conditions in the countryside (limited to certain territories), between the crisis of the mid-7th C. and the 9th-C. revival. Its context is a milieu in which the free peasantry dominates, slaves appear only as shepherds, and ownership of large landed estates is practically unknown. Of 85 articles of the Farmer's Law, 40 deal with cattle breeding, livestock damaging crops, etc., whereas only 16 are devoted to land cultivation and related questions, nine to vineyards and gardens, two to agrarian implements, and four to houses and barns. Like Western medieval *leges*, the Farmer's Law protected the animal from the neighbor (pars. 38, 50, 51, 53, 54, 85) rather than the neighbor's crop from an animal that caused damage (pars. 78–79). The peasants described in this law own their individual allotments, while some portion of the village land is in common ownership. The relations are similar to those described in the Western *leges barbarorum*, but it is unnecessary to seek for explanation in a direct borrowing (e.g., from the Italian Lombards)—a similar situation could create similar regulations. The Farmer's Law was revised by HARMENOPOULOS and translated into Rumanian and Slavic languages.

ED. and LIT. I. Medvedev, E. Piotrovskaja, E. Lipšic, *Vizantijskij zemledel'českij zakon* (Leningrad 1984). Eng. tr. W. Ashburner, "The Farmer's Law," *JHS* 32 (1912) 68–95. J. Karayannopulos, "Entstehung und Bedeutung des Nomos Georgikos," *BZ* 51 (1958) 357–73. J. Malafosse, "Les lois agraires à l'époque byzantine," *Recueil de l'Académie de législation* 19 (1949) 1–75. N. Pantazopoulos, "Peculiar Institutions of Byzantine Law in the *Georgikos Nomos*," *RESEE* 9 (1971) 541–47. –A.K.

FARM. Usually designated as STASEIS in fiscal documents, farms varied with regard to their size and location. A regular farm consisted of a house with its enclosure and well; within the enclosure were also sheds for hay and straw, pits (*goubai*) for grain, *pitharia* (large, partially buried vessels for wine and other products), and sometimes wine

presses, animal-driven mills, and stalls. The most valuable parts of the farm were called AUTOURGIA. The farm encompassed arable land, GARDENS, olive groves, and VINEYARDS as well as the right to use common pastures (usually located in wooded hills), but products varied according to terrain and climate: some villages had practically no arable land, others did not cultivate olives or grapes; some farms were oriented toward FISHING or the breeding of LIVESTOCK.

The nucleus of the farm usually formed a part of the VILLAGE, whereas the land consisted of small scattered parcels (up to 25–33 pieces) planted in such a way that vineyards could border CHORAPHIA, etc. There were no "open fields" or systematic redistributions of allotments, but parcels formed stable units normally surrounded by fences and ditches. Besides the principal homestead, a *stasis* could include hamlets (*agridia*) located far from the nucleus. Large landowners had farms called PROASTEIA and (as monastic property) METOCHIA, which were sometimes separated from the center of the estate by significant distances.

LIT. M. Kaplan, "L'économie paysanne dans l'Empire byzantin du Vème au Xème siècle," *Klio* 68 (1986) 198–232. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 142–222. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 215–44.

–J.W.N., A.K.

FASTING (νηστεία), freely chosen total or partial self-deprivation of, or abstinence from, certain kinds of food and drink, usually for a predetermined period, as a means of penance and asceticism. Fasting was practiced either in common, before major feasts of the church, or individually, under the discretion of a spiritual elder. In early Christianity, fasting meant total abstinence from food and drink at least until evening. Later the notion of fasting was extended to include reduction in the quantity of, or abstinence from only certain kinds of, victuals.

On the symbolic or liturgical level, Christian fasting was related to expectation of the PAROUSIA, and thus partook of the nature of a VIGIL; first seen in this way in Asia Minor in the 2nd C. in conjunction with the vigil on the eve of Easter, this fast was later extended to the two days, then to the entire week, preceding Easter (whence HOLY WEEK), finally to 40 days (whence *Tessarakoste*, or LENT), to which was prefixed later, in the 6th–7th C., a pre-Lenten "Cheesefare Week." Other lents of the church year, and fasting on the vigils of Nativity and Epiphany, and on two feasts—the Exaltation of the Holy Cross (14 Sept.) and the Beheading of John the Baptist (29 Aug.)—were also added. The Byz. system of fasts was completely in place by the 11th C.

The daily eucharistic fast from midnight until COMMUNION, in general use from the 5th C. onward, is also to be understood as a vigil for the coming of the Lord. This symbolism is the basis for forbidding fasting on Saturdays and Sundays and during the 50-day season of PENTECOST, since these times signified the presence of the Risen Lord, the fulfillment of the Messianic age, symbolized in the Bible by banqueting.

From the 4th C. onward, tradition distinguishes various degrees of fasting, from the total Easter fast of one or more days, to giving up meat (*apokreas*) or cheese (*tyrine*). *Xerophagia* ("dry nourishment") was a fast that lasted until evening, followed by a meal of only bread, salt, and water. Even the Eucharist was thought to break this fast; hence Byz. fast days were "aliturgical," that is, on these days the Eucharist, being a morning service, was either not celebrated at all, or was replaced by the PRESANCTIFIED. In addition to lents, Monday (in monasteries), Wednesday, and Friday were traditional fast days except during the 50 days of Pentecost. Fasting included abstinence from marital relations. Monks practiced more severe and frequent fasting than the laity and never ate meat (E. Jeanselme, *2ᵉ Congrès d'histoire de la médecine* [Evreux 1922] 1–10).

Church fathers preached on fasting, and it occupies a prominent place in monastic literature (H.-J. Sieben, *DictSpir* 8 [1974] 1175–79) and in hagiographical texts. Saints might refuse even bread for certain periods and feed instead on wild berries, acorns, or dried locusts; the infant NICHOLAS refused to nurse on fast days, a sure sign of future sanctity. Yet excessive fasting was criticized by some intellectuals as hypocrisy: if we leave our poor brother to fast and die of hunger, says Eustathios of Thessalonike (Escorial Y II 10, fol.39v), this is not *nesteia* but *lesteia*, robbery.

LIT. J. Schümmer, *Die altchristliche Fastenpraxis* (Münster 1933). H. Musurillo, "The Problem of Ascetical Fasting in the Greek Patristic Writers," *Traditio* 12 (1956) 1–64. J. Herbut, *De ieiunio et abstinentia in ecclesia Byzantina ab initiis*

usque ad saec. XI (Rome 1968). P. de Meester, "Règlement des bienheureux et saints pères Sabas-le-Grand et Théodose-le-Cénobiarque pour la vie des moines cénobites et kelliotes," *Bulletin des Oblates Séculières de Sainte Françoise Romaine et de l'Union Spirituelle des Veuves de France* (Lille 1937) 6–13. –R.F.T., A.K.

FATE. See DETERMINISM; TYCHE.

FĀṬIMIDS, Shiite Muslim dynasty (909–1171). Its first four caliphs lived in North Africa until Fāṭimid armies captured Egypt in 973. The Fāṭimids first clashed with Byz. in 911 at Demona (Sicily). Between 914 and 918 the Byz. governor of Sicily agreed to pay an annual tribute of 22,000 gold pieces, which Romanos I succeeded in reducing to 11,000. Byz. diplomatic contacts with the Fāṭimids included embassies in 946, 953 (truce), and 957/8 (five-year truce), and treaties in 967 and 975. The Byz. unsuccessfully attempted to prevent Fāṭimid expansion in northern Syria, which was partitioned *de facto* in 969. Caliph al-Muᶜizz failed to prevent the Byz. reconquest of Crete. Caliph al-ᶜAzīz persuaded Byz. in 987/8 to lift the prohibition against commercial contacts and to allow prayers in his name to be recited in the mosque of Constantinople. He died preparing a major expedition against Byz. as protector of the ḤAMDĀNIDS. A Fāṭimid fleet defeated Byz. in 998, resulting in a ten-year truce in 1001. After Caliph al-Ḥākim destroyed the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, commercial relations were severed from 1015/16 until 1032. A ten-year treaty, which included permission for Byz. rebuilding of this church, was signed in 1038 and renewed in 1048. Relations cooled after Constantine IX died but briefly improved under Isaac I because of common fear of the Seljuks. Seljuk and Crusader invasions separated Byz. and Fāṭimid territories, but diplomatic and commercial contacts continued until the end of the Fāṭimid dynasty.

LIT. A. Hamdani, "Byzantine-Fatimid Relations Before the Battle of Mantzikert," *BS/EB* 1 (1974) 169–79. M. Canard, *EI²* 2:855. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:221f, 225–28. –W.E.K.

FAYYŪM (from Coptic Phiom or Piom, the sea), area of Middle Egypt where agriculture was highly developed in Ptolemaic and early imperial times; its capital was Arsinoë (Crocodilopolis). By the early 4th C. the prosperity of the Fayyūm had declined and several settlements were abandoned, but papyrus finds attest to the continuity of the chief city through the 7th C. Churches have been excavated at Tebtynis, Madīnat Mādi, and Hawāra. They are generally of basilican plan, with a tripartite sanctuary, but are provincial in character, the nave being often no wider than the aisles. Nearly all the columns are *spolia*. Medieval sources (al-Nāblūsī, *Description du Fayoum au VIIᵉ siècle de l'Hégire* [Cairo 1899; rp. Beirut 1974]; see the excerpts of G. Salmon, *BIFAD* 1 [1901] 29–77) refer to numerous monasteries, of which only a few have left traces. Some sites still called "Dayr" (monastery) have early churches: Dayr al-Naqlūn (also Dayr al-Malak Ghabriyāl) has parts of a 7th-C. basilica; and Dayr al-Banāt, near Dayr al-Naqlūn, is a ruined monastic site with remains of a church and refectory. The region is particularly known for its FAYYŪM PORTRAITS.

LIT. E. Bresciani, "Medinet Madi nel Fayum: Le chiese," *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 7 (1984) 1–15. S. Adli, "Several Churches in Upper Egypt," *MDAI K* 36 (1980) 1–14. –P.G.

FAYYŪM PORTRAITS, funerary portraits that survive in large numbers from the FAYYŪM. The practice of covering the faces of mummies with images painted on wooden panels began during the Roman occupation of Egypt, when the native population could no longer afford the traditional, elaborate SARCOPHAGI. At first naturalistic, such portraiture had become increasingly abstract by the time it went out of fashion in the 4th C. The importance of Fayyūm portraits for Byz. art is twofold: on the one hand, their realistic detail offers parallels for contemporary jewelry and clothing, and on the other, their shape, encaustic technique, and abstract, hieratic style contributed instrumentally to the development of 5th–7th-C. ICON painting.

LIT. G. Grimm, *Die römischen Mumienmasken aus Ägypten* (Wiesbaden 1974). A.F. Shore, *Portrait Painting from Roman Egypt* (London 1972). K. Parlasca, *Mumienporträts und verwandte Denkmäler* (Wiesbaden 1966). K. Weitzmann, *The Icon* (New York 1978) 9. –G.V.

FEAR (φόβος) was divided by Nemesios (PG 40:688B–689A) and John of Damascus (*De fid. orth.* par.29, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:81) into six categories: *oknos*, hesitation or fear of future ac-

tions; *aidos*, awe or fear of blame; *aischyne*, shame or fear of having acted dishonestly; *kataplexis*, consternation at the sight of a great imaginary apparition; *ekplexis*, terror caused by an unusual apparition; and *agonia*, anguish or fear of failure. John of Damascus (*De fid. orth.* 64.10, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:162) considered cowardice and anguish to be physical EMOTIONS, expressed in ways such as sweating and "clots of blood" (Lk 22:44).

Church fathers interpreted fear mostly as a spiritual emotion. Basil the Great (PG 29:369C) distinguished between a good fear, which brings salvation, and a base fear caused by lack of faith. The good fear was fear of God (often in the formula "fear and trembling [*tromos*]"), which was contrasted with fear of punishment (and with the fear the Hebrews felt before God). In Symeon the Theologian *phobos tou Theou* is a complete and voluntary subjugation to God, self-abnegation and transformation of oneself into a slave of God.

A secular parallel to Symeon's fear is Kekaumenos's fear of the ever-present dangers that threaten man in every aspect of his life, such as perils of nature (poisonous mushrooms, falling rocks) or of human relationships (traps laid by friends or subordinates) or of the imperial court with its danger of disfavor. The Byz. felt themselves surrounded by dangerous NATURAL PHENOMENA (earthquakes, storms, drought, locusts, etc.), political turmoil (enemy invasions, rebellions), and social instability; it required enormous faith to overcome fears and maintain optimism. The usage of metaphors implying fear (shipwreck, fire, disease, death) was esp. typical of Niketas Choniates, distinguishing him from Psellos and Gregoras, who stressed the possibility of a happy end after severe trials. –A.K.

FEAST (ἑορτή, πανήγυρις). Byz. daily life was dominated by a succession of festivals, whether these were the recurring ones of the liturgical YEAR, or sporadic ones on the occasions of imperial WEDDINGS, TRIUMPHS, or other CEREMONIES. Manuel I's list of feasts (1166) counts 66 full *panegyreis* (without Sundays) and 27 half-feasts (R. Macrides, *FM* 6 [1984] 140–55).

The liturgical feasts, both "mobile" and "fixed," are recorded in church CALENDARS. Feasts can be "dominical" (*despotikai*, of Christ), "Marian" (*Theometorikai*, of the Virgin Mary), "sanctoral" (of the saints), or "occasional" (commemorating the founding of a city, the consecration of a church, a council, a miracle, a transfer of relics, a natural calamity, etc.). They may even celebrate a dogma or its triumph, e.g., "Trinity Sunday" or the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. There is a cycle of fixed commemorations for every weekday, while SUNDAY always commemorates the Resurrection. Ceremonial for the various feasts is described in the liturgical TYPIKON.

In the *Typikon of the Great Church*, more important feasts were preceded by a VIGIL (*paramone*), but NATIVITY, EPIPHANY, and Exaltation of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) were the only fixed feasts with a fore- and afterfeast (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:294, 311). Later, SABAITIC TYPIKA distinguished five different ranks of festive solemnity: two classes of GREAT FEAST (dominical and Marian), Middle Feasts, Lesser Feasts, and days of simple commemoration. Only Great Feasts and a few important Middle Feasts merited an all-night vigil, or *agrypnia*; they may be preceded by a period of FASTING. Apart from that, these categories affected chiefly the celebration of ORTHROS and VESPERS. Only on Great Feasts did the festal KANON replace at *orthros* the *kanon* of the movable cycle found in the OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, or PENTEKOSTARION. Middle Feasts had Great Vespers and the Great DOXOLOGY at *orthros*, but no vigil. Lesser Feasts had the Great Doxology at *orthros*, but only simple vespers. These categories were not rigid, however, and sometimes elements that (ideally) pertain to feasts of one class were assigned to a feast of a different rank.

Many feasts in Constantinople involved the participation of the emperor. On dominical feasts, he attended services in HAGIA SOPHIA, on the Marian feasts he proceeded to the CHALKOPRATEIA or BLACHERNAI churches, while on the Thursday of HOLY WEEK he performed the ceremonial WASHING OF THE FEET mandated by Jesus in John 13:14. Numerous saints' days also included solemn processions around the city (see LITE). A certain number of guests were usually invited to dine at the palace after the feast and could be entertained by MIMES. The main sources for the emperor's activities on these days are the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, DE CEREMONIIS, and pseudo-KODINOS.

Food and wine were usually distributed to the population in the city squares, or to the poor

before monastery gates. Feasts were also accompanied by games in various forms, from horse races to semitheatrical performances. Christopher of Mytilene describes a masquerade, a procession of notaries in costume, one dressed as the emperor, on the feast of their patrons Sts. Markianos and Martyrios (25 Oct.). In the 14th C. the church assumed the staging of biblical stories on feastdays, esp. that of the THREE HEBREWS. (For the fairs that accompanied feastdays, see PANEGYRIS.)

LIT. A. Stoelen, "L'année liturgique byzantine," *Irénikon* 4.10 (1928) 1–32. M. Arranz, "Les 'fêtes théologiques' du calendrier byzantin," in *La liturgie, expression de la foi*, ed. A.M. Triacca, A. Pistoia (Rome 1979) 29–55. A. Kazhdan, *LMA* 4:405–07. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 131–259. A. Laiou, "The Festival of 'Agathe,'" in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:111–22. –R.F.T.

FEAST OF ORTHODOXY. See TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE. Christ's miraculous multiplication of five loaves and two fishes to feed 5,000 people occurs in all four Gospels; a similar episode with 4,000 people (Mt 15:32–39, Mk 8:1–10) was amalgamated with it in both exegesis and art. Suggesting the bread of the EUCHARIST and its ability to sustain all who come, the scene occurs repeatedly in art of the 4th–6th C., often in conjunction with the miracle at CANA. Initially, it is shown schematically, with only baskets and fishes; 6th-C. versions use figures, but formally, with a frontal Christ blessing food presented by symmetrically placed disciples. The 6th-C. Sinope Gospels (A. Grabar, *Les peintures de l'Evangeliaire de Sinope* [Paris 1948], pl.III) show bread baskets and people picnicking beside this symmetrical group; this version recurs in 9th-C. monuments. The Feeding is infrequent in later art, appearing only in extensive cycles, but it does develop, becoming more narrative in form. Its eucharistic significance is acted out rather than symbolized, as the symmetrical composition is displaced by scenes of the breaking and distribution of the bread (Monreale-Demus, *Norman Sicily*, pl.87A–B). This development culminates in richly discursive Palaiologan representations, esp. that at the CHORA.

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium* 2:247–54. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:285–88. –A.W.C.

FELIX III, pope (13 Mar. 483–1 Mar. 492). Born to an aristocratic Roman family, Felix was elected with the support of ODOACER and tried, at the beginning, to maintain correct relations with Emp. Zeno despite Rome's opposition to the HENOTIKON. Pressure from the Chalcedonian Alexandrian clergy hardened Felix's anti-Monophysite position, although his legates—willingly or not—entered into communion with Patr. AKAKIOS; Felix demanded deposition of the Monophysite Alexandrian patriarch PETER MONGOS and excommunicated the legates and Akakios, thus leading to the AKAKIAN SCHISM (484). He found support among certain circles in Constantinople, esp. the AKOIMETOI. The three failed attempts to resolve the schism in Felix's lifetime fit into the broader context of Byz. policies toward Odoacer and THEODORIC THE GREAT. One of Felix's collaborators was the future pope GELASIUS. The two men contributed much to the increasing papal independence from Constantinople in the realm of dogma.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 59–62. P. Nautin, "La lettre de Félix III à André de Thessalonique et sa doctrine sur l'Église et l'Empire," *RHE* 77 (1982) 5–34. Idem, "La lettre 'Diabolicae Artis' de Félix III aux moines de Constantinople et de Bithynie," *REAug* 30 (1984) 263–68. –A.K.

FENARI ISA CAMII. See LIPS MONASTERY.

FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, superior of the Kievan Caves monastery, or Kievo-pečerskij monastyr' (ca.1060–74); saint; born Vasil'ev, died Kiev 3 May 1074; feastday 3 May. Feodosij (Theodosios) is regarded as the founder of cenobitic monasticism in Rus' for having introduced into the Caves Monastery the Rule of STOUDIOS, which he obtained either from a Kievan monk residing in a Constantinopolitan monastery (according to Feodosij's vita by the monk NESTOR) or from Michael, a Stoudite monk who had accompanied Metr. George (ca.1065–76) to Kiev from Constantinople (according to the POVEST' VREMNNYCH LET sub anno 1051). The monastery's PATERIK (13th C.) also credits Feodosij with hiring Byz. architects from Constantinople to build the monastery's stone Church of the Dormition (founded in 1073). Some 20 written works are attributed to him with varying degrees of certainty. His brief Lenten homilies, which have the best claim to authenticity,

chiefly concern monastic discipline and repeatedly stress the authority of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. A virulent anti-Latin tract and a letter on fasting attributed to Feodosij are more likely the works of another Feodosij ("the Greek," fl. mid-12th C.), who also translated into Slavonic the letter of Pope LEO I to Patr. Flavian of Constantinople.

ED. I.P. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosija Pečerskogo," *TODRL* 5 (1947) 159–84.
SOURCE. Nestor's vita—*Uspenskij sbornik*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1971) 71–135. *A Treasury of Russian Spirituality*, ed. G.P. Fedotov (New York 1952).
LIT. R. Casey, "Early Russian Monasticism," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 372–423. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 89–93, 177–84. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:110–36. –S.C.F., P.A.H.

FEOFAN GREK. See THEOPHANES "THE GREEK."

FERRARA (Φερ⟨ρ⟩αρία), city in Emilia, in northern Italy. The city was evidently founded in the early 7th C., at which time a fortress was built on the left bank of the Po; by the 12th C., however, the Po had changed its course, and by 1438, when Emp. John VIII Palaiologos came to Ferrara, the closest point of disembarkation seems to have been Francolino, about 10 km from Ferrara (Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 226.23–24). The fortress belonged to the exarchate of Ravenna, was captured by the Lombards, and in 757 transferred to Pope Stephen II by the Lombard king Desiderius. Under the rule of its Countess Mathilda (1063–1115) the city supported the popes (esp. GREGORY VII) against Henry IV of Germany. For several centuries Ferrara struggled against the ecclesiastical supremacy of Ravenna and the political claims of Venice. At the initiative of Pope Eugenius IV, Ferrara housed the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE during its first phase in 1438 until an outbreak of plague forced the participants to move to Florence. The city seems to have had a small Greek colony concentrated around the Church of St. Julian, near which Dionysios, metropolitan of Sardis, was buried in Apr. 1438 (V. Laurent in Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 257, n.5). -A.K.

FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF. The council opened at Ferrara (1438–39). It was, however, transferred to Florence on account of the plague. Viewed by Rome as ecumenical, the council aimed at the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Its convocation was a concession to the Byz., since Rome had previously refused to accept their demands for a free and open council in which both parties would be treated as equals. All the same, East-West antagonism remained. The papacy looked with contempt on the ruined Byz. Empire and strove for the political subordination of the Greek church, while traditional Byz. distrust of and frustration and disillusion with the West were still very much alive. Besides, the atmosphere was politically conditioned from the beginning. The large Byz. delegation, which included the patriarch of Constantinople, JOSEPH II, and Emp. JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS, was also seeking military aid against the Turks.

Despite the council's prolonged deliberations on the controversial issues—papal PRIMACY, FILIOQUE, PURGATORY, AZYMES—genuine unity was not achieved. Indeed, the basic issues were not fully resolved. Both papal primacy and the *filioque* were defined in Latin terms. A crucial argument for union, moreover, lost its persuasiveness soon after the council, when the military crusade promised by Pope EUGENIUS IV was destroyed at the battle of VARNA (1444). Not surprisingly, the union decree (6 July 1439) of this council proved just as ephemeral as the union of LYONS (1274). The Byz. church officially repudiated it shortly after the collapse of the empire. Both the *Memoirs* of Sylvester SYROPOULOS and the acts of the council itself are unofficial compilations, reflecting their authors' individual views and perspectives.

SOURCES. *Quae Supersunt Actorum Graecorum Concilii Florentini*, ed. J. Gill (Rome 1953). G. Hofmann, *Concilium Florentinum*, *OrChr* 16.3 (1929); 17.2 (1930); 22.1 (1931). Idem, *Documenta Concilii Florentini de unione orientalium*, 3 vols. (Rome 1935–36).
LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, "The Council of Florence (1438–39) and the Problem of Union between the Greek and Latin Churches," *ChHist* 24 (1955) 324–46. J. Gill, *The Council of Florence* (Cambridge 1959). – A.P.

FESTUS, Latin historian; died Ephesus 3 Jan. 380. The old identification with Rufius Festus Avienius or his son is not valid. Festus is plausibly, though unprovably, equated with Festus of Tridentum in Raetia, governor of Syria and then proconsul of Asia (372–78), a character condemned for his many vices by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS, EUNAPIOS, and LIBANIOS. After several vicissitudes of fortune, he met the poetic fate of dropping dead on the steps of the temple of

Nemesis at Ephesus. Festus's *Breviarium* is a jejune précis of Roman history from the city's foundation to 369, basically a propaganda piece for the intended Persian campaign of VALENS, who may have requested the work as an *aide-mémoire*, or to whom it may have been addressed in hopes of imperial favor. Several MS headings have it addressed to Valentinian instead, perhaps an error, although some speculate that Festus sent the work to both emperors with different dedications. Highly derivative for the most part, his work has some value for the administrative and military history of the Roman east from the late 3rd–4th C.

ED. *The Breviarium of Festus*, ed. J.W. Eadie (London 1967).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Festus the Historian," *Historia* 27 (1978) 197–217. Den Boer, *Historians* 173–223. M. Peachin, "The Purpose of Festus' *Breviarium*," *Mnemosyne* 38 (1985) 158–61. –B.B.

FETHIYE CAMII. See PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA.

FEUDALISM, a term often used in modern Byz. scholarship to characterize a variety of Byz. social, economic, and political institutions and relationships. As in other fields of history, scholars disagree on the term's definition and therefore on whether/when Byz. became a "feudal society," what parts of it were "feudal," and whether the term should be applied to Byz. at all. Some academics, esp. Marxists, maintain that Byz. society can be understood only in a feudal context. These scholars variously consider Byz. to have become "feudal" in the 3rd, 7th, or 10th C., depending on such issues as whether the late Roman COLONI were already serfs and whether the inhabitants of the 10th-C. VILLAGE COMMUNITY were free smallholding PEASANTS or dependents of the state (see DEMOSIARIOS). On the other hand, those who consider feudalism to be the devolution of public (state) power into private hands debate when and to what extent privileges—fiscal (see EXEMPTION), administrative, and judicial—were granted to large landowners and even to towns, while agreeing that the process of devolution reached its fullest extent in the 14th–15th C.

Others see feudalism as primarily a system of hierarchical relationships among members of the ruling class, and, while the Western feudal concepts of fealty, homage, the benefice, and vassalage had little expression in Byz., these scholars debate whether the Byz. ARISTOCRACY ever became a hereditary, "feudal" nobility. Still others consider it misleading to apply the term *feudalism*, so laden with its autochthonous western European connotations, to Byz. Even these scholars, however, find it difficult to ignore the parallels between Western medieval and Byz. institutions (whether borrowed or indigenous to Byz.; see IMMUNITY, LIZIOS, APPANAGE, PRONOIA) and often find it useful to speak, if not of feudalism, then of "feudalizing tendencies" or the "feudalization" of Byz.

LIT. K. Watanabe, "Problèmes de la 'féodalité' byzantine," *Hitotsubashi Journal of Arts and Sciences* 5 (1965) 32–40; 6 (1965) 8–24. Patlagean, *Structures*, pt.III (1975), 1371–96. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 6f, 118–21. H. Antoniadis-Bibikou, "Problemata tes pheoudarchias sto Byzantio," *Epistemonike skepse* 1 (1981) 31–41. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:190–93. –M.B.

FIBULA (περόνη), a fastener for a cloak, shawl, or overgarment, usually placed on the shoulder of the wearer. Made of bronze, gilt bronze, gold, or silver, it is essentially a securing device, as distinct from a brooch, which is primarily decorative and consists of a hinged pin fastened to a front plate. The *fibula* was made of a single length of wire coiled on itself to produce a spring, while the back was bowed to allow for the bulk of the fabric it held. Its back portion was generally diamond- or lozenge-shaped, or cruciform, but circular *fibulae* appear by the 6th C. Initially they were plain, then repoussé; later versions are of openwork with gilt, gold wire, pendant gems and pearls, and glass paste; eventually they were decorated with cloisonné ENAMEL. Gold *fibulae* with inscriptions were given by rulers as gifts on state occasions down to the late 4th C. Conversely, plain bronze wire *fibulae*, resembling large safety pins, have been found in simple burials. The Byz. version of this fastener is generally the 6th-C. type, with rounded back, varying amounts of gold and gems, and sometimes a pendant cross or Christian inscription. The jeweled *fibula* that Justinian I wears on the right shoulder in the mosaics of S. Vitale, RAVENNA, identifies his imperial status.

Plain fibulae of bronze have been found during archaeological excavations in various centers of Greece and Macedonia (e.g., Nea Anchialos, Edessa

[Vodena]). They are dated predominantly to the 6th–8th C. and were often discovered together with BELT FITTINGS. The provenance of these objects is under discussion: while some scholars (e.g., J. Werner, *BZ* 49 [1956] 141f) consider them Bulgarian, Avar, or Slavic and interpret their presence in the Balkans as evidence of barbarian invasions, others insist on their local production.

LIT. J. Heurgon, *RAC* 7:791–800. C. Parkhurst, "The Melvin Gutman Collection of Ancient and Medieval Gold," *AMAM B* 18.2/3 (1961) 40–286. *Age of Spirit.*, no.275. D. Pallas, "Données nouvelles sur quelques boucles et fibules considérées comme avares et slaves et sur Corinthe entre le VIe et le IXe s.," *BBulg* 7 (1981) 295–318. N.M. Beljaev, "Fibula v Vizantii," *SemKond* 3 (1929) 49–114.

–S.D.C., A.K.

FIDEICOMMISSUM (φιδεϊκόμμισσον, τὰ πίστει καταλιμπανόμενα). Originally the *fideicommissum* consisted of an informal request of the testator addressed to the HEIRS or other beneficiaries of the deceased's estate. Since no one could bring suit against it, the fulfillment of the *fideicommissum* was dependent upon the honesty of the person of whom the request was made. After the *fideicommissum* became actionable (at the beginning of the Roman imperial period), it was gradually equated with the LEGATON, a process that ended with the full equation of the two under Justinian I (*Cod. Just.* VI 43.2, a.531).

***Fideicommissum* in the Post-Justinianic Period.** The practice, if not the term, is common in Byz. Thus, for example, Kale-Maria, widow of Symbatios Pakourianos, bequeathed in 1098–1113 a part of her property to the monastery of Iveron while imposing on the monks certain pious obligations; a special clause (*FGHBulg* 7 [1967] 72.24–31) instructs the executors of her will to sue the monks if they fail to carry out her wishes. Another type of Byz. *fideicommissum* appears in the will of Theodore Kerameas of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75), who commissioned Emp. Michael VIII and his own brother to carry out the construction of the monastery of Christ Pantodynamos in Thessalonike; instead of receiving a bequest of property, his brother was promised spiritual wealth, the "riches of God's compassion."

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:549–67 (§§297–300). –A.K.

FIFTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople II.

FILELFO, FRANCESCO, Italian humanist, teacher, and translator; born Tolentino, Italy 25 July 1398, died Florence 31 July 1481. Filelfo (Φιλέλφος) spent the years 1420–27 in Constantinople as secretary to a Venetian official. He took advantage of this sojourn to study Greek with George CHRYSOKOKKES and with a member of the Chrysoloras family, whose daughter he married. As a result of his studies, he became an ardent philhellene, brought back to Italy MSS of 40 Greek authors, and named one of his sons Xenophon. He taught both Greek and Latin literature in Bologna, Florence, and Milan.

After his return to Italy, Filelfo was active as a translator of ancient Greek authors such as Xenophon (the *Cyropaedia*) and Plutarch. He maintained close relations with both the Italian and Greek émigré scholars of his day, conducting correspondence in Greek and Latin. Of his Greek letters 110 survive, many on literary topics (requests for books, criticism of literary works, discussion of Aristotelian philosophy). His most frequent addressees were Theodore GAZES (18 letters), Bessarion (16), and John ARGYROPOULOS (10). His letters contain many allusions to classical Greek literature and mythology. He was appalled by the Turkish conquest of Constantinople and recognized the consequent threat to Italy. Gazes addressed to Filelfo his treatise on the origins of the Turks. Filelfo also wrote three books of poems in Greek, of which only a few have been published.

ED. E. Legrand, *Cent-dix lettres grecques de François Filelfe* (Paris 1892), with Fr. tr.

LIT. A. Calderini, "Ricerche intorno alla biblioteca e alla cultura greca di Francesco Filelfo," *StItalFCl* 20 (1913) 204–424. –A.M.T.

FILIOQUE, Latin word meaning "and from the Son," which in the West was added to the creed of Nicaea-Constantinople at a Spanish council in Toledo in 589. It was meant to affirm that the Holy Spirit proceeded not only "from the Father" but also "from the Son." When Frankish missionaries used the interpolated creed in 9th-C. Bulgaria, direct polemics on the issue began between Latins and Greeks. Patr. PHOTIOS, in an *Encyclical* addressed to the other patriarchs (866), attacked both the interpolation and the doctrine of the "double procession." Eventually, legates of Pope JOHN VIII accepted the decrees of the Photian council of 879–80 in Constantinople (see under

CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which stated that "the Creed cannot be subtracted from, added to, altered or distorted in any way . . ." (Mansi 17:516C). Photios composed a lengthy refutation of the "double procession" following his retirement in 886. It is generally believed that the interpolated creed was accepted in Rome in 1014. The interpolation was affirmed as legitimate by the councils of LYONS (1274) and FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39), but was rejected in the East.

LIT. M. Jugie, *De processione Spiritus Sancti ex fontibus revelationis et secundum orientales dissidentes* (Rome 1936). R. Haugh, *Photius and the Carolingians: The Trinitarian Controversy* (Belmont, Mass., 1975). B. Schultze, "Zum Ursprung des Filioque," *OrChrP* 48 (1982) 5–18. G.C. Berthold, "Maximus the Confessor and the *Filioque*," *StP* 18.1 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985) 113–17. –J.M.

FIRE (*ἐμπρησμός, πῦρ*). Fire was an ever-present hazard in the large, densely populated cities of the Byz. world; consequently a metropolis like Constantinople had a squadron of fire fighters (*collegiati*) under the jurisdiction of the eparch of the city in each of its regions. Nevertheless, great conflagrations, begun accidentally or deliberately, still engulfed whole sections of large cities as they spread rapidly along the porticoes and major thoroughfares. Like EARTHQUAKES, fires were interpreted by the Byz. as signs of divine anger; for example, the fire of 1 Sept. 465 was thereafter the object of an annual liturgical commemoration (*Synax.CP* 6.3–9). Major fires in Constantinople occurred in summer 388; 12 July 400; 20 June 404; 25 Oct. 406; 15 Apr. 428; 17 Aug. 433; 448; 1–2 Sept. 465; 475; 498; 509; 510; 6 Nov. 512; 15–17 Jan. 532 (during the Nika Revolt); July 548; 13 May 559; Dec. 560; 12 Oct. 561; Dec. 563; Apr. 583; 603; 10 Aug. 626; Dec. 790; 886/7; spring 912; summer 931; 6 Aug. 1040; after Sept. 1069; before 1194 destroying the northern region of Constantinople (Nik.Chon. 445.29); 25 July 1197; 17 July 1203 (set by the Crusaders); 19–21 Aug. 1203; 12 Apr. 1204; 25 July 1261 (the Greeks burned the Latin quarters); Nov. 1291; 1303; 1308; Aug. 1351; 29 Jan. 1434 (this list compiled after Schneider with slight corrections). Fires outside Constantinople are little known or studied, though the sources mention attacks by enemies who set fire to strongholds, threshing floors, and crops in fields.

The image of fire or flame occupied a significant place in theological concepts and in literature: fire was the major means of punishment in hell, and a final conflagration was expected at the end of the world. Metaphorically, the Byz. would speak of the fire of wrath, passion, heresy, persecution, etc. The pagan concept of the divine nature of fire (e.g., the Persian worship of fire) was refuted and ridiculed, but the image of God as fire was retained, as well as the concept of miraculous fire related to angels and saints. The Byz. themselves stressed the ambiguous nature of fire, contrasting material and immaterial (spiritual) fire, divine fire and fire of sin, illuminating and burning fire.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, "Brände in Konstantinopel," *BZ* 41 (1941) 382–89. Lampe, *Lexikon* 1208–11. –B.C.

FIREARMS. Portable firearms were unknown in Byz. Cannons were developed in western Europe during the 14th C. and were first used against the Byz., to little effect, by the Turks in their siege of Constantinople in 1422. G. Škrivanić (*Kosovska bitka* [Cetinje 1956] 28–30) asserts that Dubrovnik obtained cannons by the mid-14th C. and that during the battle at Kosovo Polje in 1389 both the Serbs and the Turks used firearms. But while the Turks continued to invest in improved siege guns, the Byz. had neither the materials nor the money to develop their own cannons. Doukas (Douk. 307.20–309.27) and other historians recounting the fall of the city in 1453 (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF) tell of the Hungarian gunsmith Urban who first offered his skills to the impecunious Constantine XI Palaiologos before entering the far more remunerative service of the Turks. The cannons he built for Mehmed II the Conqueror, esp. one huge gun capable of firing a stone weighing over 1,000 pounds, were instrumental in demolishing parts of the city walls and blocking the Golden Horn to the ships of Byz. allies, while the few small Byz. guns were badly outweighed and outranged.

LIT. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 124–28. Dj. Petrović, "Firearms in the Balkans on the Eve and After the Ottoman Conquest of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 164–94. –E.M.

FIRST ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See NICAEA, COUNCILS OF: NICAEA I.

FISCAL SYSTEM. Continuing the Roman practice, the state maintained a BUDGET based mainly on agricultural revenues. Indirect taxation, esp. from CUSTOMS (the OCTAVA, then the KOMMERKION), always burdened the circulation and sale of merchandise. On the contrary, CITY TAXES disappeared after the 7th C.

Payment of taxes has always been seen as a main and inevitable obligation of the population, but devolution of fiscal revenue was also practiced to varying degrees: tax exemptions allowed landowners to keep for their own profit at least part of the fiscal revenues; and fiscal revenues could be the object of outright grants to individuals (*logisima*), often as a compensation for services provided to the state (esp. in the PRONOIA system). Such practices had important social consequences.

First Period (4th to 7th C.). The 3rd-C. crisis and Diocletian's reforms resulted in a fiscal system based mainly on contributions in kind, first of all on the ANNONA, the burden of which was distributed to taxpayers following the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. Fiscal revenue from land was stabilized for periods of time according to the INDICTION and was eventually increased (or restored in case of abandoned lands) by the EPIBOLE. Following the establishment by Constantine I of a stable monetary system based on gold, the fiscal services, eager to collect precious metal, applied increasingly the principle of COMMUTATION, in spite of the injustices that this might entail, and ended by officially transforming the land tax into a contribution in gold (CHRYSOTELEIA). In 518, public finances were healthy, with attested reserves of 320,000 pounds of gold. Fiscal income was complemented by various SECONDARY TAXES and services.

Until the 7th C. at least, the empire's fiscal services were attached to the PRAETORIAN PREFECT (and, secondarily, to the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM) and functioned through provincial governors and various local authorities (or the latifundiary landowners). SYNETHEIAI were the main remuneration of TAX COLLECTORS.

Second Period (8th to 12th C.). The new fiscal system is essentially known from the 9th C. onward, thanks esp. to some treatises on TAXATION. It was based on the idea that each fiscal unit, be it an individual (*prosopon*, owning one or more PROASTEIA), or a village (CHORION, a community of small landowners with some communal properties), was expected to produce a stable fiscal revenue each year, following the principle of fiscal solidarity among its members. Until a TAX ALLEVIATION was granted, neighbors were responsible for the tax of abandoned lots; and if, after alleviation, they agreed to take over such a lot, they were required to pay deferred taxes (OPISTHOTELEIA) as if they had already been exploiting it. Solidarity in payment of taxes was brought beyond the limits of the fiscal unit by Basil II with the ALLELENGYON.

The main tax, the KANON, was paid on land (4.166 percent *ad valorem*; but this "fiscal" value could differ from the real one—Schilbach, *Byz. Quellen* 59f) and its amount was established according to the *epibole* for each fiscal unit described in the CADASTER; it was increased by the PARAKOLOUTHEMATA and had to be paid mostly in gold coins (CHARAGMA). To these were added the HEARTH TAX and many secondary taxes, CORVÉES, and services (in kind or in money). Some categories of land (those submitted to the STRATEIA or the DROMOS) were in principle exempt from secondary taxes, as were those of lay or ecclesiastic landowners that had received a privilege from the emperor (very seldom was the *kanon* included in such exemptions). Various TITHES were collected from state-owned lands.

Fiscal services were under the authority of the *logothetes* of the GENIKON, whose representatives operated in the provinces under the supervision of the STRATEGOI: ANAGRAPHEIS conducted the census, EPOPTAI revised the cadaster, EXISOTAI verified and redistributed the fiscal burden of the contributors, and DIOIKETAI collected the taxes. Military obligations related to the *strateia* were controlled by the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU, postal obligations by the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU. The PROTONOTARIOS of the theme was in charge of provincial finances and levying most of the secondary taxes and corvées. In the 10th–11th C. provincial judges also collected taxes.

Third Period (12th to 15th C.). The fiscal system, although retaining its main characteristics, changed considerably by adapting to new realities: the development of large landed property, social changes in the countryside (peasants were now increasingly PAROIKOI, often of the state), enhanced by the development of the *pronoia* system. The tax collector was now the PRAKTOR of a given province, most often a tax farmer. The census,

carried out by the APOGRAPHEUS (whose PRAKTIKA replaced the systematic cadaster), served as a basis for calculating the fiscal revenues that would be collected by the state (or by landowners who were granted tax exemptions) or would be distributed to *pronoia* holders. Land was taxed at a flat rate (50 modioi: 1 hyperpyron) and this TELOS was distinguished from the tax on the *paroikoi* (OIKOUMENON), which was calculated according to principles that are not yet clear. The secondary taxes, smaller in number but not necessarily lighter, presented substantial regional variations (Lefort, "Fiscalité" 315–54).

Between 1404 and 1420, the Byz. administration, established in the Chalkidike after 20 years of Ottoman domination, perpetuated the preexisting fiscal system with some Islamic taxes—the *harac* (land tax), the *uşr* (tithe), the *kephalatikion* (capitation)—and with very few secondary taxes and services (N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 45 [1986] 1–24). (See also TAXATION.)

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 411–69. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen*. Dölger, *Beiträge*. Svoronos, *Cadastre*. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 248–57. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 196–236. *Lavra* 4:153–73. N. Oikonomides, "De l'impôt de distribution à l'impôt de quotité. A propos du premier cadastre byzantin (7ᵉ–9ᵉ siècle)." *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 9–19. K. Chvostova, "Sud'by parikii i osobennosti nalogooblozenija parikov v Vizantii XIV v.," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 54–75. –N.O.

FISH BOOK. See OPSAROLOGOS.

FISHING (ἁλεία). Peasants living in villages along the seacoast, or near a river, marsh, or pond, engaged in fishing to secure an important source of protein in their DIET. The Great Lavra on Mt. Athos possessed, among its AUTOURGIA, two canals for fishing, a fishing boat (*karabion*), and 60 fishponds (VIVARIA), while in the list of its *paroikoi* 56 boats and 374 *vivaria* are mentioned (Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:163); the peasants paid a rent (*haleia*) for the right to fish. Another rent for fishing was called *halieutike tritomoiria* or *tetramoiria* (third or fourth part). In cities located on the coast there were teams of fishermen, each with a headman (*proteuon*), like the group of fishermen in Chalcedon whose catch was disappointing until Loukas the Stylite blessed their nets and made them promise to give him a tithe, that is, every tenth fish; the other fish were to be sold (Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 212f). Smoked fish and caviar were brought to Constantinople from the Azov Sea. Commercial fishing from a small fleet of boats in a sea inhabited by a variety of species illustrates the homily of John of Damascus on the Nativity in the 11th-C. Menologion from Athos, Esphigmenou 14 (*Treasures* 2, fig.348).

The images of fish and angler had an honorific place in the Byz. system of metaphors. Fish was the symbol of Christ himself (ΙΧΘΥΣ = Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς Θεοῦ Υἱὸς Σωτήρ), and it was common to send fish to friends as a valuable present; "fishers of men" was an epithet of the apostles.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:331–43. C.C. Giurescu, *Istoria pescuitului și a pisciculturii în România*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1964) 53–86. E. Trapp, "Die gesetzlichen Bestimmungen über die Errichtung einer Epoche," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 329–33. F. Tinnefeld, "Zur kulinarischen Qualität byzantinischer Speisefische," in *Studies in the Mediterranean World Past and Present*, vol. 11 (Tokyo 1988) 155–76. –J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

FISHMONGER (ἰχθυοπράτης). The term *ichthyoprates* (or *ichthyopoles*) existed in Roman Egypt (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:705) where the profession seems to have been distinct from that of fisherman or *halieus* (ibid. 1:56) and that of the vendor of salted and smoked fish or *taricheutes* (the feminine form *tarichopratissa* is attested in a 6th-C. papyrus; ibid. 2:578f). Fishermen in Constantinople could sell their catch themselves, like the man described in the vita of Andrew *en Krisei* (*AASS*, Oct. 8:141B) who operated in the Forum Tauri and was armed with an ax "that is used by the men of his profession." The *Book of the Eparch*, however, strictly distinguished between fishermen and *ichthyopratai*: the latter would buy the catch at the seashore and on the SKALAI and sell it in special *kamarai*, vaulted shops, in the fish market, under the control of *prostatai*—either the eparch's officials or the guild's elders. Fishmongers were prohibited from dealing in salted and smoked fish (the privilege of the *saldamarioi* or GROCERS); their profit was set at one miliaresion per nomisma (about 8 percent) or 2 folleis per nomisma—about 1.5 percent (*Bk. of Eparch* 17:1 and 3)—a contradiction that is hard to explain. John TZETZES (ep.81.16–82.2) relates that fishmongers were buying 12 fish for a copper coin on the seashore and selling 10 fish for the same coin on the market, thus making

16.6 percent profit. The annual income of the fisc from the trade in fish was calculated in the 14th C. at 10,000 hyperpers (Greg. 1:428.19–20).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 45–47. *Bk. of Eparch* 231–36. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 144f. L. Balletto, "Il commercio del pesce nel Mar Nero sulla fine del Duecento," *Critica storica* 13 (1976) 390–407. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 99, n.178. –A.K.

FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, Eustratios and his companions, Auxentios, Eugenios, Mardarios, and Orestes, legendary martyrs under Diocletian, executed in Sebasteia, Armenia; feastday 13 Dec. According to the legend, Eustratios Kyriskes, an officer (*skriniarios*) in the army of the *doux* Lysias, proclaimed himself a Christian and was condemned together with the priest Auxentios. Their courage inspired many others to accept martyrdom. Before death they were severely tortured: Eustratios had to wear shoes with sharp nails inside; Mardarios was hanged upside down; Eugenios's tongue and hands were cut off. When Auxentios was beheaded, a miracle occurred: his head disappeared, later to be found at the top of a tree. The collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES includes the *passio*, poor in information; it mentions many ancient mythological personages and authors such as Hesiod, Aeschylus, Plato, and Aristotle. According to the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, the martyrs' relics were transferred to Rome under Pope Hadrian I (772–95), but Arauraka in Armenia, where they were buried, remained a cult center until the 11th C. NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON and Michael of Stoudios wrote Greek eulogies of the martyrs. Armenian, Latin, and Spanish versions of the *passio* also exist.

Representation in Art. The Five Martyrs of Sebasteia, the "Holy Five," as they were often called, were an extremely popular group, included in many monumental church programs, on icons, and in MSS (e.g., the THEODORE PSALTER, fol.158r). Their portraits are well established by the 11th C.: Eustratios as a dark-bearded official wearing a special chlamys fastened at the front with several clasps and a white *loros* or scarf around his neck; Auxentios as an old man in court costume; Eugenios, a younger man also in court costume; Mardarios, wearing a red felt hat; and Orestes, a young beardless soldier wearing a cross around his neck. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.241) illustrates their diverse martyrdoms as do some MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes; one MS in Turin, which contains nothing but the metaphrastic vita of these saints, is illustrated with a considerable number of miniatures scattered through the text. A painted TEMPLON beam depicting 11 posthumous miracles of Eustratios has been preserved at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai; no textual source for the miracles has been found (Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.113).

SOURCE. PG 116:468–505.

LIT. *BHG* 646–646c. K. Weitzmann, "Illustrations to the Lives of the Five Martyrs of Sebaste," *DOP* 33 (1979) 95–112. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 1:143–48. Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1982) 74–81. F. Halkin, "L'épilogue d'Eusèbe de Sebastie à la Passion de S. Eustrate et de ses compagnons," *AB* 88 (1970) 279–83. J. Boberg, *LCI* 6:200f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

FLABELLUM. See RHIPIDION.

FLAG. See BATTLE STANDARD AND FLAG.

FLAVIAN (Φλαβιανός), bishop of Constantinople (July 446–between 8 and 11 Aug. 449); died Lydian Hypaepa Aug. 449 or Feb. 450. Elected as successor of PROKLOS, Flavian immediately entered into a conflict with the court: the eunuch Chrysaphios, favorite of Theodosios II, reprimanded Flavian for not sending presents of gold to the emperor on the occasion of his election, but the bishop refused to yield (Theoph. 98.11–19). Then, in 448, with Pope LEO I's support, Flavian dismissed Bassianos, the popular bishop of Ephesus, whose election had been approved by Theodosios II and Proklos. A crisis erupted when in 448 Flavian condemned and deposed the Monophysite archimandrite EUTYCHES, a protége of Chrysaphios. Following an appeal by Eutyches, Theodosios II convoked the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS (449), which deposed Flavian. The mood in Ephesus was evidently hostile to Flavian; even its bishop Stephen voted for Flavian's condemnation. Flavian was banished and probably died en route to exile, even though shortly afterward the legend arose that he had been murdered by his enemies. Emp. Marcian ordered that Flavian's remains be brought to Constantinople and buried

in the Church of the Holy Apostles. Emp. Leo I and the Council of Chalcedon praised Flavian in 451 as a victim of the Monophysites.

ED. PL 54:724–28, 731–36.

SOURCE. *S. Leonis Magni tomus ad Flavianum episc. Constantinopolitanum*, ed. C. Silva-Tarouca (Rome 1932).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 94–110. H. Chadwick, "The Exile and Death of Flavian of Constantinople," *JThSt* n.s. 6 (1955) 17–34. P. Batiffol, "L'affaire de Bassianos d'Éphèse (444–448)," *EO* 23 (1924) 385–94. J. Liébaert, *DGHE* 17 (1971) 390–96. –A.K.

FLAVIANUS, a Roman senatorial family closely related to and ideologically connected with that of SYMMACHUS. Two Flaviani played a signal role under Theodosios I. Virius Nicomachus Flavianus (ca.334–94) belonged to the intellectual elite of Rome and was known as a translator, a character in Macrobius's *Saturnalia*, and a historian: his *Annales*, which extended to 366, served as the main source for AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS. He owned estates in Apulia and Sicily. A dogged supporter of paganism, he favored the Donatists in 377, while serving as *vicarius* of Africa, and was dismissed by Gratian; Theodosios, however, restored him to favor, appointing him quaestor in 389 and then praetorian prefect for Illyricum and Italy. His son, Nicomachus Flavianus junior, obtained Theodosios's favor even earlier, and served in 382/3 as proconsul of Asia. Dismissed for flogging a *decurion*, he fled home, escaping the emperor's wrath. Both father and son joined the insurrection of EUGENIUS; after their defeat, the father committed suicide and the son found asylum in a church. He obtained Theodosios's pardon by accepting Christianity and promising to return the salary he and his father were paid during Eugenius's usurpation. He served in Italy and Africa (until 432) and was three times urban prefect. Their relation to other Flaviani is not specified in the sources.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 6 (1909) 2505–13. *PLRE* 1:343–49. J.-P. Callu, "Les préfectures de Nicomaque Flavien," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 73–80. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 231–47. –A.K.

FLIGHT INTO EGYPT. The Holy Family's flight to escape Herod's massacre of the young children (Mt 2:13–15) belongs to the cycle of Christ's INFANCY. It appears often in 4th- through 6th-C. art, where, cast as an imperial ADVENTUS, it assumes triumphal significance: Mary and Christ ride a donkey led by a youth or angel toward a city and the personification of Egypt; Joseph follows. Some versions depict palms, recalling Christ's similarly triumphal ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM (see also PALM SUNDAY) and a domed city, perhaps Heliopolis, where—according to pseudo-Matthew and *The Arabian Gospel of the Childhood of Christ*—the idols fell when Christ arrived. The *adventus* composition recurs in the 10th C. at GÖREME, with the youth labeled JAMES. Generally, however, the triumphal element dwindles, and later versions emphasize Christ's humanity. The personification appears only sporadically, Joseph takes the lead (see FRIEZE GOSPELS), and, in certain 12th-C. compositions, he carries Christ on his back (Cappella Palatina at PALERMO). Palaiologan painters relished this detail, but also depicted the triumphal scene of the falling idols (CHORA).

LIT. G. Schiller, *Iconography of Christian Art*, vol. 1 (London 1971–72) 117–20. –A.W.C.

FLOOD, THE (κατακλυσμός). According to the CHRONICON PASCHALE (42.12–16), the inundation of the world (Gen 6–8) completed the period of "barbarism" that encompassed the ten generations from ADAM to NOAH when men had no ruler and everyone lived in accordance with his own law. GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS states (15.24–27) that before the flood men occupied a small area between Paradise and the ocean, but thereafter they started settling all over the earth. Thus the flood was the starting point for the development of individual "nations."

The flood posed a serious problem for exegetes: how to reconcile the extermination of all mankind (except for Noah and his family) with the idea of divine mercy. As John Chrysostom put it (PG 55:448.14–15), the flood allows us to contemplate the balance between God's mercy and God's justice. The flood was caused by men's sins that needed to be punished, but, on the other hand, those who were destroyed have been given time to repent; the mercy of God was symbolized by the olive branch. Previously Origen had rejected other explanations of the flood, such as it being an element of the cosmic cycle or representing a change in the divine plan. The flood was also construed as the PREFIGURATION (*typos*) of baptism.

The vivid narrative of the Flood and NOAH'S ARK (Gen 7:17–8:14) was widely illustrated in the great repositories of GENESIS iconography, such as the Cotton Genesis and Vienna Genesis (Weitzmann, *Late Ant. Ill.*, pl.23) but was rare in monumental art.

LIT. H. Hohl, *LCI* 4:161–3. V. Fiocchi Nicolai, *DPAC* 1:957. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Archeologia e cultura*² (Rome 1979) 328–43. J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden 1968). –A.K., J.H.L.

FLOOR MOSAIC (*ψηφοδέτημα, λιθόστρωτον*), floor covering composed of tesserae, cube-shaped pieces of stone or glass, set into mortar in geometric and/or figural designs. The craft was widespread in the Roman Empire and continued uninterrupted into late antiquity; it flourished from the 4th to the 6th C. but was apparently not practiced in Byz. after the 7th. Late Antique floor mosaics are almost exclusively *opus tessellatum*, i.e., composed of uniform tesserae of variously colored stone—primarily marble and limestone—sometimes supplemented with terra-cotta and/or glass tesserae. Their substructures comprise three layers of progressively finer and thinner lime mortar with ground brick or *pozzuolana*: the *rudus* (a layer of coarse mortar poured over packed stones), the *nucleus*, and the setting bed.

Floor mosaic was used widely in public buildings and luxurious residences where it provided a decorative, durable, and waterproof surface; it was apparently less prestigious than OPUS SECTILE. Figures and ornament of floor mosaics generally follow the style of MONUMENTAL PAINTING. Scholars have identified criteria of composition and style unique to floor mosaics, but the inherently conservative nature of the craft and variations according to region and quality make dating by style uncertain. Not only ORNAMENT, but subject matter and style varied according to region; until the early 4th C., eastern Mediterranean mosaics displayed illusionistic mythological scenes in prominent frames placed in the center of the floor, in contrast to the polychrome depictions of hunts and other subjects from the amphitheater on North African mosaics (see NORTH AFRICA, MONUMENTS OF) or the black-and-white style typical of Rome and Ostia.

In some regions these practices continued during the early 4th C.; elsewhere style and/or subject matter changed significantly. The eastern Mediterranean was particularly conservative. Illusionistic mythological scenes still dominated pavements at ANTIOCH and Shahba-Philippopolis. In the Balkans, some mosaics (e.g., at SIRMIUM) show influence from western Europe, others from the East. Polychrome hunting and marine mosaics with two-dimensional figures distributed across the entire floor, as in Roman North Africa, then became popular in other regions, including Italy. The largest ensemble of early 4th-C. mosaics, at PIAZZA ARMERINA, included subjects—hunts, marine scenes, *putti* harvesting grapes—close to contemporary floors in CARTHAGE. At GAMZIGRAD in eastern Serbia, Emp. Galerius decorated his palace with hunting mosaics. Such subjects were rare in the 4th-C. eastern Mediterranean; those in the "Constantinian Villa" at Antioch are exceptional. After the edicts of toleration issued in ca.311–13 (see EDICT OF MILAN) monumental Christian buildings, as at AQUILEIA, provided new settings for floor mosaics. Christian subjects were combined with preexisting decorative and figural elements. SYNAGOGUES were also decorated with floor mosaic, sometimes figural, e.g., the zodiac at Hammath Tiberias.

By the end of the 4th C., most floor mosaics were ecclesiastical. At this time a vogue for strictly geometric floor mosaics—in churches and secular buildings alike—dominated the eastern Mediterranean, e.g., at Antioch (Kausiye Church), APAMEIA, Epidauros, SALONA. They extended as far west as northern Italy, while figural mosaics remained popular in North Africa and Italy.

Most 5th-C. floor mosaics in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Syria and Palestine, had figures executed in a two-dimensional style, contained in a geometric framework or regularly distributed across a white ground. The same themes dominated in secular and religious contexts. Depictions of animals alone or in rustic scenes and hunts, rare in the East earlier, now became extremely popular. Usually the subject matter remains secular, e.g., at Huarte (Basilica of Photios), Antioch (Martyrion of Seleukeia), Tabgha (Nilotic scenes in HEPTAPEGON). Sometimes biblical content was introduced: Adam appeared among the animals at Huarte (Michaelion), NOAH'S ARK was depicted at Mopsuestia, the "Peaceable Kingdom" was a popular theme in CILICIA, e.g., Karlik. Biblical narrative scenes like

the Samson cycle at Mopsuestia are rare in floor mosaics, evidently deemed inappropriate for them. In an edict of 427, Theodosios II forbade placing the sign of Christ on pavements (*Cod.Just.* I. 8).

In the Balkans, geometric mosaics remained the norm well into the 5th C. When figures reappeared, they were less varied than in Syria. Figure carpets with birds and vessels and the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE flanked by deer or peacocks were popular. Geometric floors with donor inscriptions remained common into the 6th C. in Dalmatia and northern Italy. Christian mosaics of North Africa were restrained, tomb mosaics with symbolic motifs being typical.

In the 6th C. floor mosaics continued to flourish in Phoenicia and Palestine, but fewer were laid in Syria than in the 5th. Elements of the natural world, including personifications of SEASONS and MONTHS, remained the most common subjects. Frequently these subjects were incorporated into ORNAMENT. The medallion style, characterized by a decorative framework of repeated circles sometimes outlined by stylized vine RINCEAUX, was particularly prominent, as at Kabr Hiram. Mosaics of the period of Justinian I reflect the concept of the church building as MICROCOSM, with the terrestrial world depicted on the floor, e.g., GERASA, Church of St. John, MADABA MOSAIC MAP. At Mt. NEBO, compositions symbolic of paradise were placed in sanctuaries. Many synagogues received floor mosaics representing ceremonial utensils and images of the zodiac (Beth Alpha) or animals in vine scrolls (as at Nirim). Depictions of the natural world penetrated into the Balkans by the late 5th–6th C. Personifications of the months appear at Tegea and again at Argos. Elaborate representations of terrestrial creation are seen at Herakleia Lynkestis and the Dometius Basilica at NIKOPOLIS.

In the peristyle of the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople, illusionistic depictions of animals, circus scenes, and vignettes from nature were scattered across a white ground. Although this mosaic somewhat resembles the 5th-C. mosaics of northern Syria, available archaeological evidence suggests a 6th- or 7th-C. date. Seventh-century floor mosaics are rare in the provinces. Only a few crude examples, such as the scenes of everyday life from Deir el-Adas in Syria, can be dated so late. The craft declined together with the provincial cities, although it was briefly revived outside Byz., in Umayyad mosques and desert palaces in Syria and Palestine in the 8th C.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "Stylistic Developments in Pavement Mosaics in the Greek East from the Age of Constantine to the Age of Justinian," *La mosaïque gréco-romaine*, vol. 1 (Paris 1965) 341–51. D. Levi, *Antioch Mosaic Pavements* (Princeton 1947). K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa* (Oxford 1978). J. Balty, *Mosaïques antiques de Syrie* (Brussels 1977). Maguire, *Earth and Ocean.* J.-P. Caillet, "Les dédicaces privées de pavements de mosaïque à la fin de l'Antiquité," *AAPA* 2 (1987) 15–38. –R.E.K.

FLOORS. The Greek word *patos* (πάτος) designated both a story of a building ("second *patos*"—*Lavra* 3, no.154.5–6; "fourth *patos*"—*Koutloum.*, no.15.93) and "floor" in the usual sense (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.170). Ordinary houses had floors made of pounded earth (they were called "without floors," *apatotos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.165), wooden boards (*xylopatos*—MM 3:56.18, or *sanidopatos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.52.168), or might even be paved with marble (*marmaropatos*—*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.103, or *patos dia marmaron*—MM 3:55.28–29). Palaces, mansions, and churches often had OPUS SECTILE or mosaic floors (see FLOOR MOSAIC). Archaeological data testify to the preservation of ancient techniques of flooring (A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* [Southampton 1975] 198f); furthermore, ancient materials were frequently reused for floor renovation (Ch. Bouras, *DChAE*[4] 11 [1982–83] 10f). Mosaic floors were laid on a layer of mortar, which in turn was set on a bed of sand or of crushed marble and small pebbles (A.L. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 222).

A law of 427 (*Cod.Just.* I 8.1) and canon 73 of the Council in Trullo prohibited depicting signs of the CROSS on the floor lest they be stepped on; the law of 427 was included in the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 1.1.6). Balsamon, commenting on these decisions, distinguished between those who depicted the cross on the floor due to their simplicity and excessive piety and those who did it consciously to show their disrespect for the cross (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:475.28–33).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:278f, 299. T.K. Kirova, "Il problema della casa bizantina," *FelRav* 102 (1971) 299. –A.K.

FLORENCE (Φλωρεντία), city in Tuscany. In the late Roman period the city's territory decreased significantly, though the legend that Florence was destroyed by Totila and rebuilt by Charlemagne strongly exaggerates the events. S. Reparata (over

60 m long) is one of the larger churches built in Italian urban centers in late antiquity, and as such is good evidence for local patronage of ecclesiastical construction. The site of the Roman forum continued to be used in medieval times as a market. Local tradition links the establishment of Christianity in Florence with Eastern influence; A. Amore (in *Bibl. Sanct.* 9 [1967] 494) believes that in 6th-C. Florence a chapel of St. MENAS, housing his relics, spurred the development of the local cult of St. Miniatus.

In 1094 Pope Urban II visited Florence, Pisa, and Pistoia calling for participation in the First Crusade, but Florence remained aloof. Later some of the city's high-ranking clergymen participated in the Crusades: Guido of Florence, the cardinal-priest of San Chrysogono, was the pope's legate to the Second Crusade and contributed to the reconciliation between the Byz. and the Westerners; at the beginning of the 13th C. Walter of Florence was bishop of Acre. In the 14th C. the Florentines became more active in the East even though Florence's role was less sophisticated than that of Venice, Genoa, or Pisa: bankers from Florence established themselves at CHLEMOUTSI; the Florentine family of ACCIAJUOLI became major landowners in the Peloponnesos but retained ties with Florence (they were involved in constructing a monastery in Certosa near Florence); the 14th-C. Florentine merchant Francesco PEGOLOTTI demonstrated interest in and knowledge of trade with Constantinople; and the names of Florentines trading with "Turkey" are recorded in Genoese archives (e.g., M. Balard, *Gênes et l'Outre-Mer*, vol. 1 [Paris–The Hague 1973] no.257, a.1289). In the 15th C. Florentines tried to receive trade privileges in Constantinople; they were granted a chrysobull in 1439. The *despotes* of Mistra sent envoys to Florence in 1446 and 1450.

The Florentines participated in preparations for the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in the mid-15th C.; they sent a ship to Constantinople to bring some Greeks to Italy (Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 198.5) and were active in persuading the delegates to leave Ferrara, which was ravaged by plague, and to move to Pisa or another city in Florentine territory; finally the council was transferred to Florence at the beginning of 1439. In the 15th C. Florentine humanists had contacts with Byz. scholars such as PLETHON. After the fall of Constantinople Florence provided refuge for some Greek intellectuals: thus Demetrios Chalkokondyles (a relative of Laonikos Chalkokondyles) became a professor of Greek language in Florence in 1475; a large collection of Greek manuscripts was assembled in the city.

LIT. R. Davidsohn, *Geschichte von Florenz*, vols. 1–4 (Berlin 1896–1927). A. Panella, *Storia di Firenze* (Florence 1984). W. Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, vol. 2 (Stuttgart 1879; rp. Hildesheim 1984) 298–302. G. Morozzi et al., *S. Reparata, l'antica cattedrale fiorentina* (Florence 1974).

–A.K., R.B.H.

FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF. See FERRARA-FLORENCE, COUNCIL OF.

FLORILEGIUM (Lat., lit. "collection of flowers"), a Western medieval term conventionally applied to a Byz. genre of excerpts from earlier authors collected with an explicit purpose. The term is used esp. for theological anthologies, in contrast to predominantly secular collections of GNOMAI or *gnomologia*. A *florilegium* of quotations from commentators on the Bible, strung together and attached to a biblical text, is called a CATENA; one consisting of secular verse is termed an ANTHOLOGY; short *florilegia*, composed of groups of approximately 100 sentences on either religious or secular matters, are known as "centuries."

Richard (*infra*) distinguishes between dogmatic and spiritual *florilegia*. Up to the end of the 4th C., the former were rare, an exception being the PHILOKALIA compiled by Basil the Great and Gregory of Nazianzos from Origen's writings. They became more common during the 5th-C. Christological disputes and during the Monothelete and Iconoclast controversies. A later example is the *Panoplia Dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS.

Spiritual *florilegia* with a moral and ascetic emphasis appear from the 8th C. onward. Richard divides them into three categories. The first includes those based on the SACRA PARALLELA (attributed to John of Damascus) and related texts. The second includes a group of sacro-profane *florilegia* beginning with the *Loci Communes* (or *Capita Theologica*), attributed to MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, but compiled in the 10th C. They flourished during the period of so-called ENCYCLOPEDISM (end of 9th to 10th C.) and in the 11th C. (MELISSA). Based on the *Sacra Parallela* and, in their profane part, on STOBAIOS, they were directed toward an educated public of both clergy and laity. The third category includes monastic

florilegia, of which the first example is attributed to ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (the *Erotapokriseis*). They flourished in the 11th C. and later; their authors included NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN and JOHN IV OXEITES of Antioch. Although *florilegia* usually contained *sententiae* of various church fathers, collections from a single author (e.g., Basil the Great) are known (J.F. Kindstrand, *Eranos* 83 [1985] 113–24).

LIT. Richard, *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pts. 1–5. P. Odorico, "Il 'Corpus Parisinum' e la fase costitutiva dei florilegi sacro-profani," *SBNG* 417–29. J. Sonderkamp, "Zur Textgeschichte des 'Maximos'-Florilegs," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 231–45. H. Chadwick, *RAC* 7 (1969) 1131–60.

–E.M.J., A.K.

FLORIS AND BLANCHEFLOR. See PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA.

FOEDERATI (φοιδερᾶτοι, from Lat. *foedus*, "treaty"), in Roman law a term for the barbarian tribes who were allies of the empire. In the 4th C. the term was applied to those barbarian groups that—like the Visigoths in 332—were settled on the territory of the Roman Empire on the condition of providing military service (E. Chrysos, *Dacoromania* 1 [1973] 52–64). The term was transferred to elite (mainly mounted) troops recruited primarily from various barbarian tribes. There has been some confusion over the date of this change. C. Benjamin (*infra*), referring to Malal. 364.12–13, spoke of a certain Areobindus, *comes* of *foederati* in the reign of Theodosios I, although he questioned the veracity of this evidence and himself placed the beginning of the institution of the "new *foederati*" in the reign of Honorius; Malalas, however, made Areobindus a contemporary of Theodosios II, not Theodosios I.

The 5th-C. historian Olympiodoros of Thebes (fr.7—*FHG* 4:9.6–10) states that the terms BOUKELLARIOI and *foederati* appeared under Honorius, but his evidence may be anachronistic. They are better known from the sources of the 6th C. Prokopios (*Wars* 3:11.3) stresses the further change in the status of the *foederati*: while previously only barbarians were enlisted as *foederati*, in his day anyone could join their ranks.

LIT. G. Wirth, "Zur Frage der foederierten Staaten in der späteren Römischen Kaiserzeit," *Historia* 16 (1967) 231–51. M. Cesa, "Überlegungen zur Föderatenfrage," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 92 (1984) 307–16. J. Maspero, "*Phoideratoi* et *Stratiotai* dans l'armée byzantine au VI^e siècle," *BZ* 21 (1912) 97–109. C. Benjamin, *De Iustiniani imperatoris aetate quaestiones militares* (Berlin 1892) 4–18. J.L. Teall, "The Barbarians in Justinian's Armies," *Speculum* 40 (1965) 294–322.

–A.K.

FOLIO (from Lat. *folium*, Gr. φύλλον, "leaf"), leaf of a QUIRE, consisting of one half of a folded sheet (*bifolium* or *unio*) of parchment or paper. In Byz. MSS only the front of the leaf (i.e., the right-hand page, or recto, as opposed to the reverse side, or verso) is numbered, if there is any numeration at all (most numeration of folios has been added later by owners or librarians). Thus, in modern citations of MSS, folio numbers are qualified by the addition of "recto" or "verso" (abbreviated r and v), e.g., fol.31r or 31v. Normally eight folios (*folia*), or four sheets, constitute a quire.

–A.M.T., R.B.

FOLLIS (φόλλις), a Latin word originally meaning a purse and applied to bags of COINS of any metal of determined value. This remained its meaning until the end of the 4th C. The bishop-metrologist EPIPHANIOS of Salamis defines it as a bag of 125 silver pieces. The description of the largest bronze coin of the Tetrarchy as a follis is an anachronism. (It was called a NUMMUS.) With the reintroduction of heavy copper denominations at the end of the 5th C. the term was applied to the heaviest of these, the 40-nummus piece bearing the mark of value M (=40). This remained the normal meaning of the word until the end of the 11th C., the notional value of folles being 1/24th of a MILIARESION and 1/288th of a SOLIDUS, though it is not likely that these ratios can have been sustained in the 7th–8th C., when the follis's weight fell from the approximately 16 g of the early 6th C. to not much over 4 g. The follis was sometimes called an obol, mainly in literary sources but also in, for example, the *Book of the Eparch*. After Alexios I's coinage reform of 1092, the follis was replaced as a coin by the smaller TETARTERON and as a unit of account displaced by the KERATION, so the word gradually disappeared from use. Its Italian equivalent *follaro* (from *follis aeris* "copper follis"), used at Dubrovnik and elsewhere for locally minted copper coins, was applied by BADOER and other foreign merchants to the smallest copper coin of 15th-C. Con-

stantinople, but the Greek name for these is unknown.

LIT. *DOC* 2:9, 22–32, 3:14f, 68–72. –Ph.G.

FONDACO. See PHOUNDAX.

FONT, BAPTISMAL (κολυμβήθρα, βαπτιστήριον, φωτιστήριον), a built or stone-carved basin in a special annex of the narthex or atrium of a church or an autonomous BAPTISTERY. Until about the 7th C., a large font, set deep into the baptistery floor, was mainly intended for the BAPTISM of adults; this could be square, rectangular, circular, hexagonal, octagonal, cross-shaped, four-lobed, or multi-lobed in plan. Later, however, smaller fonts, carved in marble or cast in bronze and usually chalice-shaped, were used for the baptism of children only. At Hosios Loukas the font is decorated with lion masks (R.W. Schultz, S.H. Barnsley, *The Monastery of Saint Luke* [London 1901] 32). Other important examples are the roughly octagonal font at the monastery of Hosios Meletios (*ABME* 5 [1939–40] 103, fig.51) and a round one from the Church of the Holy Apostles in the Athenian Agora (A. Xyngopoulos in *Eureterion ton mesaionikon mnemeion tes Hellados*, vol. 1.1, no.2 [Athens 1929], fig.74).

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 1:460–96. A. Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris 1982) 43, 69–82. S. Ćurčić, "The Original Baptismal Font of Gračanica and its Iconographic Setting," *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* (Belgrade) 9–10 (1979) 313–23. –L.Ph.B.

FOOD. See DIET.

FOOLS, HOLY (σαλοί), a group of SAINTS gifted with extreme foresight who, in their humility, pretended to be half-witted ("fools for Christ's sake"). The series of holy fools begins with SYMEON OF EMESA who embodied—in an extreme form—protest against the traditional values of urban civilization; the Life of ANDREW THE FOOL is less extreme. The author of the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER says that this saint claimed to be "foolish" (although he remained wise and learned) in order to escape the traps of the Devil (ed. Veselovskij, 1,50.33–4). The unpredictable and enigmatic actions and words of these saints manifest their freedom from earthly bondage and their attachment to the heavenly world. A secularized version of the holy fool is found in the Life of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, whose extraordinary generosity was viewed as "foolish" by his family and who was rewarded on earth with worldly well-being. Byzantine *saloi* found continuators and imitators in the Russian *jurodivye*.

LIT. A. Syrkin, "On the Behavior of the 'Fool for Christ's Sake,'" *History of Religions* 22 (1982) 150–71. L. Rydén, "The Holy Fool," in *Byz. Saint* 106–13. –A.K.

FOOTSTOOL (ὑποπόδιον, σουππέδιον), a normal concomitant of the THRONE and a symbol of relative superiority within sacred or social hierarchies. Following Isaiah 66:1 and Psalm 109:1, Christ is sometimes represented seated in heaven with his feet on a footstool connoting the world. At ceremonies, the EMPEROR stood or sat with his feet on a podium, a purple cushion, or porphyry disc (*rota*); in his portraits a more or less elaborate footstool is customary. When the figure of the emperor was centrally placed, even between an archangel and a church father (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.72), the emperor's footstool implies that he outranked them. When a ruler or other mortal flanks a sacred figure, he is rarely elevated in this fashion. Ecclesiastics are almost never shown raised on a footstool. Some wooden footstools included a heating device (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:80f).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 58f. –A.C., L.Ph.B.

FOOTWEAR (ὑποδήματα). In antiquity there were three kinds of footgear: open sandals fastened with leather straps, shoes covering the foot, and high boots. All three types were used in Byz., but boots seem to have become most common: the term TZANGION shifted from the sandal to the boot; Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 332.26–27) considered white boots, *krepides*, reaching up to the knees, as the typical footgear of a laborer; in artistic representations, the emperor and members of his family are always depicted wearing the same type of high red boots, adorned with little rows of pearls, esp. at the tips and ankles. The Virgin Mary is shown wearing this kind of footgear, although without pearls; their bright color contrasts with her dark robes. Angels too wear such boots when clad in the imperial LOROS.

Courtiers are depicted as shod in black, though

little can be seen of the form of their shoes under the long tunics. Active figures in shorter tunics are shown wearing high boots to the mid-calf, composed either of what looks like soft white leather above a hard black sole or of strap-work like a high sandal; in many of these cases it is hard to determine what is legging and what is shoe. Shepherds, such as those in scenes of the Nativity, occasionally wear fleece leggings above bare feet; bare feet are otherwise rare, reserved for peripheral figures such as demoniacs. John Chrysostom considered it shameful to appear in the agora without *hypodemata*, but going barefoot was a common form of penance and mortification of the flesh.

In art, monks and the clergy are depicted as wearing low black slippers, surely the *kaligia* mentioned in *typika*; for example, at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople a monk was issued two pairs of *kaligia* annually (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.609–10), at the Kosmosoteira at Bera one pair (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 49.17). In the late Roman period one form of sandals was called *kampagia*. John Lydos (*De mag.* 30.22–32.5) described them as black footgear protecting the sole and toes and bound with leather straps to the ankle. They formed a part of the patrician costume. There were also military *kampagia* (Lat. *campagi militares*), mentioned in Diocletian's Price Edict; according to Malalas (Malal. 322.10–11), soldiers wore *kampagia* and *chlamydes* at festivities. In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and *De ceremoniis*, *kampagia* are the footgear of officials.

Footgear was produced by SHOEMAKERS from leather and cloth, esp. silk. Shoes were usually black or white, though bright colors (purple, green, blue) had social significance and were worn by the emperor and officials of highest ranks. Information on the price of shoes is scarce: in Diocletian's Price Edict it ranges between 50 and 120 denarii, in a Vazelon document of 1272 *kaligia* cost two asproi.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:395–418. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:445–48. –A.K., N.P.Š.

FOREIGNERS (ξένοι, also *ethnikoi*) were equated in the late Roman Empire with BARBARIANS since it was assumed that the empire encompassed the entire civilized world, the OIKOUMENE. Foreigners were either direct enemies or MERCENARIES and FOEDERATI. In the late 4th and 5th C. they dominated the Roman army, providing such high-ranking generals as GAINAS, STILICHO, and ASPAR; this provoked a xenophobic reaction sometimes expressed in demands for the restoration of a native army (SYNESIOS), sometimes in massacres of Germanic garrisons (whose soldiers were also unpopular as Arian heretics), and sometimes in attempts to replace foreigners by local tribes such as the Isaurians. After the 7th C. the mass recruitment of foreigners as mercenaries ceased, even though some foreign contingents (e.g., the "Persian tagma" of THEOPHOBOS) served in Byz. armies. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 177.29–30) lists as *ethnikoi* the Khazars, Hagarenes, Franks, and the enigmatic Pharganoi. The recruitment of foreigners (Rus', Franks-Normans, Englishmen, etc.) increased after the end of the 10th C. They formed a special corps of *ethnikoi* (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.33.82) under the command of an *ethnarches* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 271.24) or *primikerios* of the *ethnikoi* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.732).

In the 12th C. the role of Turkish mercenaries became probably more important than that of Westerners. At the same time the character of Western infiltration began to change: from the 12th C. onward, Western residents tended to be diplomats and advisers rather than military commanders; an esp. significant group among them were MERCHANTS, primarily Italians (Venetians, Genoese, etc.), who settled in special colonies in both Constantinople and the provinces.

The government tried to make foreigners adjust to Byz. conditions: they were given lands and sometimes tax privileges, and marriage with Greeks was encouraged: the vita of Athanasia of Aegina refers to an edict that required all single women and widows to marry *ethnikoi* (F. Halkin, *Six inédits d'hagiologie byzantine* [Brussels 1987] 181.7–9). The attitude toward foreigners outside the empire was also shifting: the system of *foederati* gradually disappeared, and the concept of equilateral alliances with western, northern, and eastern powers (Frankish and later German empire, Caliphate, Khazar Khaganate, etc.) was introduced; the relations with allies were regulated by political and commercial TREATIES. Nevertheless the perception of foreigners as barbarians, heterodox, and schismatics prevailed; Kekaumenos argued against raising foreigners to high rank, Constantine VII

Porphyrogennetos discouraged imperial marriages with foreigners, and the number of such matches remained limited in the 10th and 11th C. In the 12th C. this attitude began to change, and the number of marriages with foreign princes increased dramatically. Niketas Choniates emphasized that there were bad and good foreigners and dared to create an idealized portrait of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Commercial competition and the increasing political dominance of Italians in Byz. cities as well as the narrow-minded policy of the Catholic church and the Frankish princes on territories occupied by the Crusaders contributed to growing animosity against Westerners, while economic collaboration, mixed marriages, and the need for joint resistance to the Turks created a basis for better mutual understanding. This ambivalent situation is reflected in the unsuccessful attempt at UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

LIT. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 167–96. M. Bibikov, "Das 'Ausland' in der byzantinischen Literatur des 12. und der ersten Hälfte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BBA* 52 (1985) 61–72. –A.K.

FORGERY, LITERARY, a work whose actual author differs from the author whose name appears in the title. One should distinguish between medieval and modern forgeries. The latter were the creation of scholars (primarily from the 16th to early 19th C.) and were either ascribed to famous church fathers (e.g., A. Harnack, *Die Pfaff'schen Irenäus-fragmente als Falschungen Pfaffs nachgewiesen* [Leipzig 1900]) or were anonymous like the fragments of TOPARCHA GOTHICUS. Medieval forgeries include both legal (laws and documents) and literary texts. Byz. forgeries were prompted primarily by religious zeal, the need to refute heretical views and corroborate those of the author by apostolic or patristic authority, or to promote the veneration of a local saint or martyr whose biography remained obscure. Political interests of the state, of an institution (like the papacy), or noble family could play an important role, and economic claims were involved in issuing bogus monastic charters.

The forms of forgery varied: modest alterations and interpolations, fake translations (W. Speyer, *JbAChr* 11–12 [1968–69] 26–41), fake quotations in FLORILEGIA, false *prooimia* to genuine works, APOCRYPHA, Lives of saints of Apostolic times purportedly written by their disciples (e.g., PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA), pseudonyma, and false minutes of authoritative assemblies. The author of a fictitious text might even imitate archaic handwriting (L. Rydén, *DOP* 32 [1978] 132–34). Among the most notorious ancient and medieval forgeries are the HISTORIA AUGUSTA, pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS, and the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. Many works were ascribed to famous writers (some to several different ones); others appear under unknown names, but the events described are chronologically misplaced.

LIT. W. Speyer, *Die literarische Fälschung im heidnischen und christlichen Altertum* (Munich 1971). G. Bardy, "Faux et fraudes littéraires dans l'antiquité chrétienne," *RHE* 32 (1936) 5–23, 275–302. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 384–402. E. Vranoussi, "Note sur quelques actes suspects ou faux de l'époque byzantine," in *PGEB* 505–10. A. Tuilier, "Remarques sur les fraudes des Apollinaristes et des Monophysites," in *Texte und Textkritik* (Berlin 1987) 581–90. P. Gray, "Forgery as an Instrument of Progress: Reconstructing the Theological Tradition in the Sixth Century," *BZ* 81 (1988) 284–89. –A.K.

FORMOSUS, pope (from 6 Oct. 891); born Rome? ca.815/16, died 4 Apr. 896. Bishop of Porto from 864, Formosus served as legate of Popes NICHOLAS I and HADRIAN II. In 866/7 he led a mission to Bulgaria to bring the country under Roman jurisdiction (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:183–92). He also played an important role at the Council in Rome (July 869) that anathematized Photios. A candidate for the papacy in 872, Formosus was defeated by JOHN VIII and soon thereafter deposed from his bishopric and banished. He was restored to his see, however, in 883 by Pope Marinus I and was elected pope after the death of Stephen V, despite already being bishop of another see. After he ascended the papal throne Formosus sought the support of Arnulf, king of the eastern Franks, who entered Rome and was crowned by Formosus. In his relations with Constantinople Formosus maintained neutrality between the parties of Photios and Ignatios.

LIT. A. Lapôtre, *Études sur la papauté au IX^e siècle*, vol. 1 (Turin 1978) 1–120. Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 251–62. G. Arnaldi, "Papa Formoso e gli imperatori della casa di Spoleto," *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* 1 (1951) 85–104. –A.K.

FORMULARIES, model books for drafting documents; used by major CHANCERIES and, more

often, by less educated and less pretentious NOTARIES. They reflect the reality that prevailed at a certain moment and in one particular part of the empire (the hypothesis of regional formularies has been suggested on the basis of the preserved notarial acts). Such collections of formulas, mostly from the 13th C. onward, are preserved in literary and legal MSS. The chancery formulas were classified either by possible addressee in order to guarantee the respect of etiquette (as shown in the EKTHESIS NEA), or by subject in order to provide the proper rhetorico-philosophical prefaces for solemn documents (e.g., PROOIMIA).

ED. Sathas, *MB* 6:607–40. S. Lampros, *NE* 14 (1917) 20–23; 15 (1921) 152f, 164f, 337f. G. Ferrari, "Formulari notarili inediti dell' età bizantina," *Bulletino dell' Istituto Storico Italiano* 33 (1913) 41–126. A. Dain, "Formules de 'Commission' pour un 'nomikos' et un 'eparchos,'" *REB* 16 (1958) 166–68; 22 (1964) 238–40. D. Simon, "Ein spätbyzantinisches Kaufformular," in *Flores Legum: Festschrift J. Scheltema* (Groningen 1971) 155–81. J. Darrouzès, "Deux formules d'actes patriarchaux," *TM* 8 (1981) 105–11.

–N.O.

FORTIFICATIONS. Fortification was a necessity that has left traces throughout the Byz. Empire, providing the most abundant and massive class of remains. Principles and techniques were inherited from the Romans; Byz. added little but consistently maintained a tradition of massive stone fortification. In the Roman defensive system, the main fortification was along the frontier (LIMES) where the bulk of the army was stationed, forming a network of fortresses strengthened by a deep militarized defensive zone. Within the empire, fortification was rare.

The invasions of the 3rd C. brought significant changes: thereafter, CITIES were regularly surrounded by walls, a response to the constant danger of attack. Major Byz. settlements were fortified and typically situated on a defensible hilltop. The fortress (KASTRON), which contained the garrison and civil and ecclesiastical officials, often became the core of a settlement that extended outside the walls (EMPORION). Characteristic Byz. fortifications consisted of fortified commercial cities (e.g., CONSTANTINOPLE, THESSALONIKE, ATTALEIA); thematic capitals (NICAEA, ANKYRA) that were important military bases; subordinate military outposts (KOTYAION); and forts that commanded routes by land (MALAGINA) and sea (HIERON). For the rural population, refuge sites were extremely important, usually consisting of large and remote hilltops where the population of a district could flee at the time of attack. Monks also felt the need for defense, so monasteries in the countryside were commonly fortified (N.C. Moutsopoulos in *Pyrgoi kai Kastra* [Thessalonike 1980] 8–43).

Byz. fortified sites were defended by man and by nature. Byz. defenses typically consisted of a curtain wall with projecting towers of varying shape and heavily fortified gates. They were massively built, with a core of mortared rubble and a facing whose nature varied with time and place. Elaborate fortifications had a lower outer wall (*proteichisma*). A moat (*taphros*) was common at sites on flat terrain. Defense was from platforms on the towers, where catapults and ballistas were employed, and from the parapets of the walls, manned by archers. Often a city had, besides the outer line of fortification, an inner citadel (*koula* in Kekaumenos). Larger fortifications had additional defensive levels in chambers within walls and in towers. Fortifications were generally designed to take advantage of a natural situation, usually a steep hilltop, a river, or other obstacle. Many were located for strategic reasons at road junctions, mountain passes, river crossings, or narrow straits.

While large structures like the walls of Constantinople, Nicaea, or Attaleia and barrier walls such as the HEXAMILION were imperial foundations, most Byz. fortifications are anonymous, and building inscriptions are very rare. It is likely that the majority were built and maintained by the government through imposition of the KASTROKTISIA, though the numerous refuge sites were probably the results of individual initiative. In the 11th C. and later, concessions allowed individuals to build fortifications on their estates, lay and monastic alike. The walls of Constantinople were manned by troops of low ranks, *noumera*, and *teichistai*, supplemented by the citizen militia; provincial fortifications were defended by the thematic troops, and minor fortifications by local landowners and citizens.

Byz. fortifications show a distinct historical development, with constant change until the end of the empire. The greatest Byz. fortification, which served as the model for many others, though never equalled, was the "land wall" of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS

OF), which had a triple rampart of moat, outer wall, and inner wall, and was carefully faced with ashlar masonry. At some distance from the "land wall" was the LONG WALL of Thrace. Justinian I built a great range of fortifications, with much variation according to circumstances (G. Ravegnani, *Castelli e città fortificate nel VI secolo* [Ravenna 1983]). In Africa, fortifications were usually small, of rectangular plan with corner towers, to protect a reduced population from revolt or attack, while in the Balkans networks of small forts centered on walled towns, or long fixed barriers such as the Hexamilion, ensured control of territory or blocked the passage of an enemy. These featured attached forts where the garrison could make a stand if the main line were overwhelmed. On the eastern frontier, subject to the assault of a sophisticated enemy skilled in the use of siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY), ramparts were raised, towers, outer walls, and moats were added, and citadels which could be held independently of the rest were frequently created (e.g., DARA).

The insecurity of the 7th C. produced an outburst of fortification in Asia Minor, where massive walls were constructed for cities which often withdrew to an ancient acropolis, and for the bases of the new theme system. Many of these are faced with a careful arrangement of reused architectural fragments and reflect a variety of defensive techniques: closely set pentagonal towers and elaborate gateways at ANKYRA, indented traces with few towers at SARDIS and EPHESUS. This period saw considerable construction of refuge forts, usually simply built of plain mortared rubble. Advances against the Arabs in the 9th C. involved a major program of fortification, manifesting stronger defensive techniques and a masonry of broken spoils and bands of brick: at Ankyra, the circuit received a massive outer wall and citadel while the inner wall was raised and a continuous covered gallery with loopholes was added to increase firepower; at Nicaea the number of towers was virtually doubled, and Kotyaion was built with a complete double circuit.

The Turkish invasions provoked the next significant period of fortification. Alexios I built simple coastal forts to provide bases for advance, while John II defended river crossings and roads by fortresses with towers of varied shape and a masonry of rubble and decorative brickwork. Under Manuel I there was a defensive system, the NEOKASTRA, which included the massive walls of PERGAMON and several smaller forts set back in the hills. By his time, the idea of regular or decorative facing was in decline, and the strong concrete core was simply faced with rubble, covered by plaster for protection against the elements or the hooks of an enemy; walls were normally reinforced with an internal network of wooden beams which also attached the facing to the core. Adaptation to technological change is visible at Constantinople and Kotyaion, where Manuel I built towers suitable for the installation of the new heavier catapult, the trebuchet, and for use of the crossbow. The Laskarids were also great fortification builders, with notable results at Nicaea. Under the Palaiologoi, Western techniques, such as tall keeps and machicolation, played an increasing role. The last advance appears in the walls of John VIII at Constantinople, with round ports for firearms, which were fundamentally to transform fortification.

Until the 12th C., the art of fortification was far more developed in Byz. than the West. The great stone fortifications of the 7th C. have no counterpart in Europe. The CRUSADER CASTLES built in Syria, the Peloponnesos, and elsewhere, however, had innovative designs; and after the Crusades the West surpassed Byz., which has nothing to compare with the sophistication of French and English fortifications of the 13th C. Nevertheless, the walls of Byz. cities, which were usually far longer than those in Europe, proved adequate until the advent of cannon.

LIT. C. Foss, D. Winfield, *Byzantine Fortifications, an Introduction* (Pretoria 1986). A.W. Lawrence, "A Skeletal History of Byzantine Fortification," *BSA* 78 (1983) 171–227. T. Gregory, "The Fortified Cities of Byzantine Greece," *Archaeology* 35 (1982) 14–21. D. Ovčarov, *Vizantijski i bŭlgarski kreposti V–X vek* (Sofia 1982). –C.F.

FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, saints; feastday 9 March. According to the homily of BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:508–40), they were soldiers condemned for their Christian beliefs; forced to stand naked all night in an icy lake, they froze to death. Their corpses were burned and the ashes thrown into the water. GREGORY OF NYSSA and esp. EPHREM THE SYRIAN developed the theme. Ephrem (or his Greek editor) provided a date and location for the martyrdom, near Pontic Sebasteia,



FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA. Icon of the Forty Martyrs; mosaic, ca.1300. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

during the reign of Licinius (P. Franchi de'-Cavalieri, *infra* 160). The author of an anonymous *passio*, SYMEON METAPHRASTES, and several other writers praised the martyrs; the story influenced both the legend of the FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA (*AB* 17 [1898] 468f) and that of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION. In the *Testament of the Forty Martyrs* (preserved separately from the *passio*) the martyrs (all carefully listed) request that their relics be deposited "in the place called Sarein near [or under the jurisdiction of] the *polis* of Zela." Bonwetsch (*infra*), emphasizing the authenticity of the *Testament*, tried to discover in it traces of the original document. The cult of the martyrs spread broadly in the West and East; a Coptic MS of the 10th–11th C. presents a version very close to that of Basil (D.P. Buckle, *BullJRylandsLib* 6 [1921–22] 355–57).

Representation in Art. Portraits of the Forty Martyrs as busts adorn monuments from Cappadocia to Rome, and the iconography of their martyrdom was almost as widespread and established as any biblical feast scene: forty half-naked men of varying ages standing huddled together in shallow water, some intrepidly supporting the faint, others praying or cowering with apprehension while Christ above witnesses their plight. Forty crowns sometimes hover in the sky over their heads. This composition, an almost "academic" study in male physique, was reused for the representation of a group of the damned in the Last Judgment frescoes in the *parekklesion* at CHORA. The basic composition, which appears first on 10th-C. ivories, was occasionally expanded to include an image of the bathhouse and the guard who substituted at the last moment for the single member of the group who lost heart and fled to the warmth of the bathhouse (e.g., at ASINOU). Other episodes of the legend were also illustrated: the attempted stoning of the saints, the beheading of the survivors of the frozen lake, and the burning, dispersal, and gathering of the relics (in the marginal PSALTERS, Der Nersessian, *L'illustration II* 92f, and in the prothesis of the Church of St. Sophia in OHRID). These scenes may reflect a lost cycle in Constantinople or in the martyr's church in Caesarea.

SOURCES. O. von Gebhardt, *Acta martyrum selecta: Ausgewählte Märtyreracten* (Berlin 1902) 166–81. D. Bonwetsch, "Das Testament der vierzig Märtyrer," *StGThK* 1.1 (Leipzig 1897) 75–80. D. Hagedorn, "PUG I 41 und die Namen der vierzig Märtyrer von Sebaste," *ZPapEpig* 55 (1984) 146–53.

LIT. *BHG* 1201–1208n. P. Franchi de'Cavalieri, "I santi quaranta martiri di Sebasteia," *ST* 49 (1928) 155–84. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:550–53. O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 96–109. Z. Gavrilović, "The Forty in Art," in *Byz. Saint* 190–94. Maguire, *Art & Eloquence* 36–42. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1059–61. –A.K., N.P.Š.

FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION, legendary saints executed in 845 by the Arabs in Samarra; feastday 6 Mar. The monk Euodios wrote the martyrs' legend, probably soon after the event described. In a verbose preamble, he theorized that the adoption of heretical opinions by emperors caused all Byz. defeats; the capture of AMORION in 838 was the last link in the chain. Evidently confusing the caliph al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42) with his son al-Wāthiq (842–47), during whose reign the martyrs were executed, Euodios credits "Abesak," the *protosymboulos* of the Ishmaelites,

with seizing Amorion after a 13-day siege, slaughtering all the inhabitants and soldiers, and leading the commanders of seven themes into captivity. Theological discussions between the martyrs and various people dispatched to the jail by the *protosymboulos* (gymnosophists, officials, Greek traitors) make up the core of the legend. The martyrs remained steadfast during their seven-year ordeal, rejecting Islam and defending Christian values. Ethiopian executioners murdered them on the bank of the Euphrates. Apparently the last example of the genre of collective martyrdom (which did not survive the 9th C.), Euodios's legend was important to later literature: V. Vasil'evskij (*infra,* 101f) suggested that THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS was aware of Euodios; several versions of the legend appeared, including one ascribed to MICHAEL SYNKELLOS.

Representation in Art. Unlike their counterparts, the Forty Martyrs of Sebasteia, these martyrs were rarely represented; they appear merely as a group of courtiers in chlamyses and tunics in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes in Messina (Univ. Bibl., San Salvatore 27, fol.172v).

ED. *Skazanija o 42 amorijskich mučenikach,* ed. V. Vasil'evskij, P. Nikitin (St. Petersburg 1905).

LIT. *BHG* 1209–1214c. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 150–60. –A.K., N.P.Š.

FORUM. See AGORA. For forums of Constantinople, see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF.

FOUCHER OF CHARTRES. See FULCHER OF CHARTRES.

FOUNDER. See KTETOR.

FOUNTAIN OF LIFE. The fountain of life (Gen 2:10) and its water were pervasive images of Christian salvation. Baptistery decoration throughout early Christendom showed the drinking harts of Psalm 42:1 (see DEER) or birds flanking vases. A 5th-C. floor mosaic at Iunca in Tunisia shows the four rivers of PARADISE flowing from a circular fountain that recalls the Holy Sepulchre in JERUSALEM; from the 7th C. onward the Holy Sepulchre itself was called "the fountain of our resurrection." Hymns call Christ a fountain of life and the source of the life-giving water that flows through the Gospels to nourish the Church and link the water that flowed from his side at the Crucifixion with baptism. Art reflects this literary image only in the frontispiece to a 12th-C. Gospel book (E. Akurgal et al., *Treasures of Turkey* [Geneva 1966] 119); there, to illustrate a verse calling the Evangelists rivers of the Word, the Evangelists are depicted with John pointing to Christ as their source. A fountain came to signify the harmony of the Gospels—fourfold but issuing from one source—and the ornamental vases with birds or beasts found in illuminated MSS may refer to this. The Virgin Mary was known as the Zoodochos PEGE, or "life-giving fountain."

LIT. P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospels," *DOP* 5 (1950) 41–138. T. Velmans, "Quelques versions rares du thème de la Fontaine de Vie dans l'art paléochrétien," *CahArch* 19 (1969) 29–43. R.S. Nelson, "Text and Image in a Byzantine Gospel Book in Istanbul (Ecumenical Patriarchate, cod. 3)" (Ph.D. diss., New York University, 1978) 187–97. –A.W.C.

FOURTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CHALCEDON, COUNCIL OF.

FOWL, DOMESTIC. The GEOPONIKA (bk.14) preserves excerpts from ancient agronomists on domestic fowl, describing pigeons and hens as well as peacocks, pheasants, geese, and ducks; the POULOLOGOS has almost exactly the same assortment of fowl—hens, pigeons, geese, pheasants, and peacocks. Chickens provided the Byz. with the best meat: the hen (*ornitha*) in the *Poulologos* (vv. 260–65) boasts that her chicks (*poulia*) have been eaten by bishops, exarchs, priests, Vardariotes, ambassadors, emperors, and senators, while a 12th-C. author (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 311.42–54) describes a fat, white *ornis* marinated in wine and stuffed with dumplings. Chickens formed a part of the KANISKION (e.g., *Ivir.* 1, no.29.97), and hens' eggs were common even in the houses of the poor (S. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* [Odessa 1905] 165, n.107). John III Vatatzes encouraged the development of the poultry "industry" in western Asia Minor and presented his wife with a beautiful crown acquired with money earned from the sale of eggs. Domestic BIRDS other than chickens were rare; the martyr Tryphon is said to have fed geese in his boyhood (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 281, n.96). PEACOCKS were popular on the estates of great

landlords such as Digenes Akritas, primarily to adorn the gardens. The *Geoponika* also recommends pigeon manure as fertilizer.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:66–75. –A.K., J.W.N.

FRACTION (ἡ κλάσις τοῦ ἄρτου; μελισμός, from μελίζω, "to dissect"), ritual breaking of the consecrated bread before COMMUNION. First mentioned in the New Testament, the ritual soon became a synonym for EUCHARIST (Acts 2:42). By the end of the 4th C. it was divided into a "symbolic" fraction and the "comminution" or actual breaking up of the bread for communion. Fraction first symbolized the participation of all in the one loaf as a sign of unity in one communion. By the 6th C. emphasis shifted to PASSION symbolism, with the bread seen as Christ's "broken" body (Eutychios of Constantinople—PG 86.2:2396A; cf. Apophthegmata Patrum, PG 65:156C-160A); from the 12th C. "Lamb of God" (AMNOS) formulas accompany the "symbolic" fraction; and from the 13th C. the term *melismos* prevails, first appearing as a caption for images (e.g., the apse of SOPOĆANI) that show, with the stark eucharistic realism of medieval East and West, the Christ Child lying on the paten awaiting dismemberment (M. Garidis, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 495–502).

LIT. R. Taft, "Melismos and Comminution: The Fraction and its Symbolism in the Byzantine Tradition," in *Traditio et progressio: Studi liturgici in onore del Prof. Adrien Nocent, OSB*, ed. G. Farnedi (Rome 1988) 531–52. –R.F.T.

FRANCE (Φραγγία, also Γερμανία—Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 124) emerged as a successor to the western Frankish empire after the consolidation of the territory around Paris during the 10th–12th C. Southern France (Provence, esp. MONTPELLIER) was involved in trade with the Levant, and the penetration of the CATHARS in this area shows the existence of cultural and religious ties with Byz. In 988 Hugh Capet planned to ask for a Byz. princess for his son Robert, but his letter probably was not sent (A. Vasiliev, *DOP* 6 [1951] 229–34). Manuel I, in his conflict with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, sought an alliance with Provence and France and married his son Alexios II to AGNES OF FRANCE. The French played a major role in the Crusades—first in the troops of independent nobles (GODFREY OF BOUILLON, Hugh of Vermandois, RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, etc.), then in the army of LOUIS VII. The French contingents of the Fourth Crusade were significant; Thibaut of Champagne was its first leader, replaced, after his sudden death, by BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT. After the sack of Constantinople in 1204 BALDWIN OF FLANDERS became the first Latin emperor, Boniface received the kingdom of Thessalonike, and many French knights won various fiefs. From 1261 until 1453, Byz. emperors made frequent appeals to France for assistance against the Turks. The emperor MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS went so far as to travel to Paris (1400–01) to plead his case to Charles VI (1380–1422), but apart from a small contingent of troops received very little help.

LIT. V.K. Ronin, "Vizantija v sisteme vnešnepolitičeskich predstavlenij rannekarolingskich pisatelej," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 85–94. M. Dąbrowska, *Bizancjum, Francja i Stolika apostolska w drugiej polowine XIII wieku* (Lodz 1986). Eadem, "L'attitude pro-byzantine de St. Louis," *BS* 50 (1989) 11–23. R.A. Jackson, "De l'influence du cérémonial byzantin sur le sacre des rois de France," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 201–10. –A.K., R.B.H.

FRANCISCANS, the Order of Friars Minor or Minorites (called φρέριοι by the Byz.). Founded by Francis of Assisi in 1209, the order expanded rapidly, numbering approximately 3,000 friars by 1221. It soon planned missionary expeditions to the East to convert the Muslims. Francis himself made a trip to the Holy Land in 1219 and then preached at the court of the sultan in Egypt. Other Franciscans soon became involved in missionary activities in the East, including Constantinople and Kaffa. By 1220 the Franciscans were influential at the court of the Latin Empire of Constantinople. In the 13th C. the Franciscan province of Romania expanded to roughly 20 convents. A number of Franciscan theologians, many of whom spoke Greek, served as papal legates to the Byz. court in Nicaea to discuss controversial points of theology, thus preparing the way for the Union of Lyons in 1274. The earliest of these was the English Franciscan, Haymo of Faversham, a master of theology at the University of Paris, whom Pope GREGORY IX sent to Emp. John III Vatatzes in 1234 to discuss the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. The practice continued until the decisive missions of the Greek-born Franciscan, John Parastron, who accepted Mi-

chael VIII's profession of faith prior to the Council of LYONS and also acted as interpreter there.

The most visible mark of the order's presence in the capital during the Latin occupation of 1204–61 is a cycle of frescoes devoted to the life of St. Francis in KALENDERHANE CAMII. When the Byz. recaptured Constantinople in 1261, the last Latin patriarch of the city left a member of the order there as his vicar, although the Franciscan convent was evidently abandoned. In ca.1296, however, the Franciscans returned and kept a convent in Constantinople until they were again expelled in 1307. Thereafter they maintained their house in PERA, continuing to serve as imperial emissaries to the pope as well as papal envoys to the imperial court throughout the 14th C. Some Franciscan churches built in the Greek provinces still survive, esp. on Crete.

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "The Latin Empire of Constantinople and the Franciscans," *Traditio* 2 (1944) 213–37. M. Roncaglia, *Les Frères Mineurs et l'Eglise grecque orthodoxe au XIIIe siècle (1231–1274)* (Cairo 1954). B. Altaner, "Die Kenntnis des Griechischen in den Missionsorden während des 13. und 14. Jahrhunderts," *ZKirch* 53 (1934) 436–93. B.K. Panagopoulos, *Cistercian and Mendicant Monasteries in Medieval Greece* (Chicago 1979) 93f, 102–11. –F.K., A.C.

FRANKOI (Φράγγοι, Φράγκοι), ethnic term derived from the Latin term *Franci*. Prokopios, Agathias, Theophanes, and even Constantine VII equated the Frankoi with the GERMANOI in general, and at the same time used the term specifically to describe the FRANKS; thus Theophanes (Theoph. 455.20) spoke of CHARLEMAGNE as a "king of the Frankoi." In the 10th C. the term was transferred to the Germans, and OTTO I THE GREAT was addressed as the king or even *basileus* of the Frankoi. In the 11th C., the term lost any precise significance: *Frankoi* or *Phrangopouloi* primarily designated Normans from Italy, but Niketas Choniates contrasted "the tribe of the Frankoi" (Nik.Chon. 66.12), meaning the French, with the Alamanoi (ALEMANNI) or Germans. Frankoi are listed in some chrysobulls of Alexios I, sometimes between the Inglinoi or English, and Nemitzoi or Germans (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.28, a.1086), but it is hard to decide whether Normans or French were meant.

The term was ultimately expanded to include the whole Catholic population of Europe; for example, Sphrantzes (Sphr. 58.21–23) defined Frankoi as "Western Christians." The word came to have a pejorative and negative connotation, and in 1274 a mob in Constantinople taunted and accused George Metochites—envoy of Michael VIII, who had agreed to ecclesiastical union at Lyons—of becoming a Frank.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1979) 227–54. I. Moles, "Nationalism and Byzantine Greece," *GRBS* 10 (1969) 95–108. –R.B.H., A.K.

FRANKOPOULOS. See PHRANGOPOULOS.

FRANKS, a Germanic people, probably formed during the 3rd C. from a regrouping of several different tribes that inhabited the eastern bank of the lower Rhine. Subdued by Constantius Chlorus and Constantine I, the Franks were heavily recruited into the Roman army and a segment known as the Salians was settled in what is now the Netherlands. In the early 6th C., the Franks were united politically by Clovis (Chlodovechus, 481/2–511), who extended Frankish rule over the whole of Roman Gaul with the exception of Septimania and Provence. Clovis also converted to Orthodox Christianity, the first barbarian king to do so. This conversion and his victory over the VISIGOTHS (508) contributed to a Byz. perception of the Franks as potential allies against the Arian Gothic kingdoms and later the Lombards in Italy. Merovingian kings from Clovis onward were frequently honored by Constantinople with the titles *consul* and *patrikios*.

Relations between the Franks and Byz. were often strained over conflicting interests in Italy, a situation exploited by the papacy in its struggle to extricate itself from Byz. control. The papal coronation of CHARLEMAGNE in 800 brought the Franks into political, religious, and ideological competition with Byz., while Charlemagne's victory over the AVARS was a threat to Byz. influence on the Lower Danube. The decline of the Frankish empire in the 9th C. and its division into three parts by the Treaty of Verdun in 843 decreased the rivalry; Arab attacks on Italy even contributed to an alliance between LOUIS II and Basil I. In the 10th C. the role of the Western Empire was assumed by GERMANY, and creation of the kingdom of FRANCE began.

LIT. L. Musset, *The Barbarian Invasions* (London 1975) 68–80. P.J. Geary, *Before France and Germany* (Oxford 1988).

E. James, *The Origins of France* (Hong Kong 1982). A. Gasquet, *L'Empire byzantin et la monarchie franque* (Paris 1888; rp. New York 1972). P. Goubert, *Byzance avant l'Islam* 2.1 (Paris 1956). –R.B.H.

FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA (It., lit. "Red-Beard"), king of Germany (1152–90) and Western emperor (crowned Rome 18 June 1155); born ca.1125, died near SELEUKEIA in Isauria 10 June 1190. When he succeeded CONRAD III, Frederick (Φρεδερίχος) considered marrying a Byz. princess. He deemed the invasion of southern Italy (1155–57) by MANUEL I a threat to his own claims there. When Manuel allied himself with William I of Sicily (1158), Frederick became his major Western opponent. Against Byz. pressure Frederick sought to maintain German ascendancy over Hungary; with the installation of BÉLA III, Manuel triumphed there. From 1165 Manuel subsidized the League of Lombard towns in northern Italy, which in 1176 defeated Frederick (P. Classen, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Sigmaringen 1983] 155–70). Pope ALEXANDER III also opposed Frederick and ca.1166–67 considered recognizing Manuel as sole emperor (ibid., 176–83; R.-J. Lilie, *ByzF* 9 [1985] 237–43). When in 1189 Frederick led the German portion of the Third Crusade through Byz. territory, ISAAC II (to fulfill his agreement with Saladin) attempted to trap him in Thrace. German devastation compelled Isaac to yield (Treaty of Adrianople, 14 Feb. 1190). Frederick passed through Byz. Anatolia with little friction. Niketas CHONIATES admired Frederick's devotion to the Crusade's goal.

LIT. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 411–91. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa und die sozial-politischen Verhältnisse auf dem Balkan zur Zeit des III. Kreuzzuges," *Palaeobulgarica* 6.2 (1982) 69–74. E. Eickhoff, *Friedrich Barbarossa im Orient: Kreuzzug und Tod Friedrichs I.* [*IstMitt*, supp. 17] (Tübingen 1977). K. Zeillinger, "Friedrich I. Barbarossa, Manuel I. Komnenos und Süditalien in den Jahren 1155/56," *RömHistMitt* 27 (1985) 53–83. –C.M.B.

FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, king of Sicily (1198–1250), German emperor (1212–50); born Jesi 26 Dec. 1194, died Fiorentino 13 Dec. 1250. In his long struggle with the papacy, Frederick found it useful to build up contacts in Byz., esp. with JOHN III VATATZES (E. Merendino, *Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [1974] 371–83). By the late 1230s rumors were circulating in the West that Vatatzes had promised to do homage to Frederick if he helped him recover Constantinople. The Nicaean emperor contributed troops to Frederick's forces at the siege of Brescia in 1238. In return, Frederick barred passage through southern Italy to forces going to the rescue of Latin Constantinople. If never technically a vassal, the Nicaean emperor allowed himself to be bound very closely to Frederick by marrying Frederick's illegitimate daughter, Constance Lancia ("Anna"), ca.1244 (*Reg* 3, no.1779). Vatatzes gained little from this alliance.

When papal forces defeated Frederick at Parma in 1248, Vatatzes decided that more might be gained from the papacy. In 1249 the Nicaean emperor reached an understanding with papal envoys over the question of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. The Hohenstaufen connection seems to have polarized the Nicaean court between those who wanted rapprochement with the papacy and those, like THEODORE II LASKARIS, who favored a continuing understanding with the Hohenstaufen. Theodore was much impressed by this upholder of the ideal of imperial authority in the face of the challenge from the papacy.

Frederick's chancery was able to conduct its diplomacy with Byz. in Greek. Frederick's patronage of Greek men of letters contributed to the last flowering of Greek literature in southern Italy, centered on the monastery of S. Nicola di Casole (M. Gigante, *Poeti bizantini di Terra d'Otranto del secolo XIII*[2] [Galatina 1986]).

LIT. D. Jacoby, "The Kingdom of Jerusalem and the Collapse of the Hohenstaufen Power in the Levant," *DOP* 40 (1986) 83–101. E.H. Kantorowicz, *Frederick the Second*, Eng. tr. (New York 1957). P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Zapad," *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 110–14. –M.J.A.

FREEDOM (ἐλευθερία), a concept developed in antiquity as the opposite of SLAVERY and potential enslavement by the barbaric world. Freedom was conceived of as the possibility of free actions limited by virtue and responsibility, that is, by inner and social factors. STOICISM introduced the concept of DETERMINISM (as opposed to FREE WILL) and saw freedom as the acceptance of fate. Christianity made the problem even more complex by replacing blind fate with God's providence (PRONOIA) and by emphasizing the ethical and soteriological aspect of freedom. The problem became evident in discussion incited by Pelagius (see PELAGIANISM) and in Christian refutations of Manichaean DUALISM. John of Damascus, using NE-

MESIOS and some other predecessors, formulated that man is *autexousios*, possessing free will, and responsible for evil-doing since God cannot be the cause of bad behavior; neither necessity (*ananke* or *heimarmene*, for eternal phenomena), nor nature (for plants and animals), nor TYCHE (for chance events), nor *automaton* (sheer coincidence) determines events (*Exp. fidei* 39.23–39, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:97). Man is free to choose his actions, even though sometimes providence prevents his plans from achieving fulfillment (*Exp. fidei* 40.17–18, p.98). Freedom can be the source of wrongdoing: the ideal of behavior is the renunciation of desires and full subordination to God, whereas demons and evildoers are free.

Parallel to this transformation of ancient freedom into Byz. subordination was a shift in the perception of slavery: the saint became the slave (*doulos*) of God, the courtier the slave of the emperor. Political *eleutheria* acquired a new meaning not connected to the idea of a free and civilized society: *eleutheria* began to designate tax exemption, and ELEUTHEROI were those people free from state taxes.

LIT. D. Nestle, *Eleutheria: Studien zum Wesen der Freiheit bei den Griechen und im Neuen Testament, 1. Die Griechen* (Tübingen 1967). S. Lyonnet, *Liberté chrétienne et loi de l'Esprit selon Saint Paul* (Paris 1954). H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). –A.K.

FREE WILL (*θέλημα γνωμικόν*, "will of choice"), a concept that stands at the center of the controversy over MONOTHELETISM. Patr. SERGIOS I argued in his letter to Pope Honorius that two contradictory wills in Christ, the divine and human, cannot be accepted because such an idea would establish in him two "subjects" or "persons," thereby falling into the heresy of NESTORIANISM. It is the hypostasis of the Logos who is freely obedient to God, experiencing no conflict and moving the human reality of Christ.

For MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR the doctrine of "one hypostatic will of the Logos" leads to the negation of a free human will in Christ, and consequently to the abrogation of the nature of the soul. On the other hand, he agrees with the Monothelites that any opposition to the will of God, even in Gethsemane, must be excluded in Christ, and that a unity that consists only in a common goal possessed by two wills is not sufficient to protect against this. Further, he agrees that such a view ultimately implies Nestorianism. The human will of Christ, so he argues, must be understood as a capacity of self-determination belonging to human nature, but not as a will of choice. Such a gnomic will is found only in a "person" or hypostasis "enabled" to make decisions, or better, condemned, because this freedom of choice is merely a deficient mode of freedom, rooted not in man's true nature, but in his existential condition after the sin of Adam. For Maximos, Adam possessed no gnomic will before his sin, and yet he sinned.

John of Damascus took up the doctrine that Christ possessed no human gnomic will on account of the hypostatic union; yet one can speak of one gnomic will of Christ precisely because of the hypostatic union and the unity of the willed objective (meaning that "in both his natures he wills and acts for our salvation"). "For the natural human will" in Christ willed the same as God (*Exp. fidei* 36.104, 120–23, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:91f). PHOTIOS, who quotes this text in his *Amphilochia* (80.60–86, ed. L.G. Westerink, 5:113f), concludes that neither God nor Christ has a gnomic will (80.184–225, p.117f).

LIT. Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 262–69. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 285–293. –K.-H.U.

FRESCO TECHNIQUE. A modified *buon fresco*, involving the application of lime-binding pigments directly to a layer of fine wet plaster added over an initial plaster coat, was used throughout Byz. times as an alternative to MOSAIC for wall decoration. No Byz. term corresponds exclusively to this technique. Because of its relative cheapness or its inherent modeling potential, fresco became increasingly popular in the 13th–14th C.

Examination of frescoes as well as literary allusions to painting indicate that pigments were applied in layers, even though the mixing of pigments in the modeling of flesh is found occasionally. Final flesh pigments, black or dark ochre outlines, and white highlights as well as inscriptions were normally added only after the initial layers of the painting had dried, a practice that has contributed to their loss. The range of COLOR was limited to natural pigments that remained stable in conjunction with the lime of the plaster, for example,

lime white and lime putty, ochres varying from bright red and yellow to dark brown, earth green, and carbon black. A black wash was commonly used under blue (azurite) or green to produce a dark ground. The appearance of more expensive pigments such as ultramarine blue (from lapis lazuli) and gold and silver foil distinguish lavish works. Vermilion is also not unusual, although it tends to turn black. The rich coloristic impression given by many surviving fresco programs is a testament to the ingenuity with which masters manipulated their limited palette.

LIT. D.V. Thompson, *The Materials and Techniques of Medieval Painting* (New York 1956). Winfield, "Painting Methods." *The 'Painter's Manual' of Dionysius of Fourna*, tr. P. Hetherington (London 1974) 4–16. –A.J.W.

FRIENDSHIP (*φιλία*) was an important category of ancient ETHICS, praised in both myth and philosophy. The church fathers, although not rejecting *philia*, contrasted it with true spiritual LOVE or *agape*. According to BASIL THE GREAT (ep.133, ed. Y. Courtonne, 2:47.1–2), "corporeal" friendship is a condition fostered by long association. Byz. epistolography preserved a stereotypical attitude toward friendship, with pertinent complaints about the friend's silence. In the 11th C. the question of friendship was much discussed; Symeon the Theologian and Kekaumenos denied that friendship was a virtue, the latter opposing to it the nuclear family and the former the individual path of salvation. In contrast, Michael Psellos highly approved of friendship in theory and acted energetically on behalf of his friends in practice. In Niketas Choniates, the notion of *philia* acquires a broad range of meanings: alliance between states, semifeudal allegiance, political support, respect, although "pure friendship" appears infrequently. While antiquity emphasized primarily male friendship, the church fathers introduced the concept of heterosexual friendship between two celibate persons; equal "in Christ," the partners in this relationship appear often as the male instructor and female apprentice.

LIT. L. Vischer, "Das Problem der Freundschaft bei den Kirchenvätern," *Theologische Zeitschrift* 9 (1953) 173–200. K. Treu, "Philia und agape," *Studii clasici* 3 (1961) 421–27. F. Tinnefeld, "'Freundschaft' in den Briefen des Michael Psellos," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 151–68. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 28f. –A.K.



FRIEZE GOSPELS. Miniature from a frieze Gospel page (Paris gr. 74, fol.4v); 11th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris. The miniature depicts the Flight into Egypt.

FRIEZE GOSPELS, conventional term for illustrated MSS in which successive scenes, in the narrative order of each Gospel, are arranged in strips across the page and within the body of the text block. Illustrations of these MSS also include headpiece miniatures (S. Tsuji, *DOP* 29 [1975] 165–203) and Evangelist portraits. Only two such books (Florence, Laur. 6.26 and Paris, B.N. gr. 74), of the 11th or early 12th C., survive.

LIT. T. Velmans, *La Tétraévangile de la Laurentienne* (Paris 1971). H. Omont, *Évangiles avec peintures byzantines du XIe siècle*, 2 vols. (Paris n.d.). –A.C.

FRONTALITY, the arrangement of figures in a work of art so that the beholder engages them face to face. Like the related principle of SYMMETRY, it is fundamental in Byz. composition. Following the decline of three-dimensional SCULPTURE, which allowed a virtually infinite variety of axes and poses, frontality became pronounced on aulic reliefs such as the base of the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS in the Hippodrome and generally in PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Almost invariably the most important figure in an image is shown in this manner, although in compositions such as the ANASTASIS the effect may be mitigated by the protagonist's attitude toward other participants. Established in icon painting by the 6th C., frontality became a dominant formal characteristic, allowing immediate recognition of a holy figure, his or her accessibility and, above all, the intensity

of private communication. That the Byz. were conscious of this unmediated experience even in monumental decoration is demonstrated by the ekphrasis of the Pantokrator in the Church of the Holy Apostles (Constantinople) written by Nicholas Mesarites (ed. Downey, 870, 901).

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 7f, 27–29. M. Schapiro, *Words and Pictures* (The Hague–Paris 1973) 38–49, 59–63. K.M. Swoboda, "Die Frontalfigur zwischen Spätantike und Frühgotik," in *Arte in Europa. Scritti di storia dell'arte in onore di Edoardo Arslan*, vol. 1 (Milan 1966) 271–77. –A.C.

FRONTIER (*ὅριον*). In antiquity the frontier was considered as a demarcation line between the civilized oikoumene and the "savage" world of the barbarian; its significance was more cultural than political and therefore fluctuated. Regular relations with the Persian Empire, and later with the Arab caliphate, contributed to a clarification of the legal concept of a frontier, while necessities of defense produced a concrete, physical notion of a border. Prokopios, who paid serious attention to the problem of frontiers, recognized them as following natural barriers—rivers, mountains, deserts, seas; the limes was a manmade fortified frontier. The idea of frontier, however, was not consistently applied: for a long period Cyprus was shared between the Arabs and the Byz., while certain independent regions and cities were considered (theoretically) as parts of Byz. territory under the command of Byz. officials (or local rulers adorned with Byz. titles). Intermediary zones populated by bilingual settlers, subject to regular raids from both sides and owing uncertain allegiance, commonly existed along Byz. frontiers (such was the milieu of Digenes Akritas). This legal disequilibrium resulted in the application to state frontiers of terms such as *horothesion* or *synoron*, which were normally used for rural boundary marks. The existence of foreign enclaves made the system of frontiers even more confused.

Border areas, despite their dangerous military situation, contributed much to cultural and ethnic exchange (by means of mixed marriages) and often served as cradles for new development: thus the new nobility of the 11th–12th C. came primarily from the borderlands of eastern Asia Minor and Macedonia, and innovative military tactics were developed in frontier kleisourai (Z. Udal'cova, A. Kazhdan, Hr. Bartikjan, 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 [Bucharest 1974] 231–36).

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 62–102. *The Defence of the Roman and Byzantine East*, ed. P. Freeman, D. Kennedy, 2 vols. (Oxford 1986). W. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?" 17 *CEB Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 279–303. Ahrweiler, *Byzance: Les pays*, pt.III (1974), 209–30. Ja. Ferluga, "I confini dell'impero Romano d'Oriente," in *Popoli e spazio Romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986) 365–400. J. Duneau, J. Arrignon, "Ponjatie 'granica' u Prokopija Kesarijskogo i Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 64–73. J. Haldon, H. Kennedy, "The Arab-Byzantine Frontier in the Eighth and Ninth c.," *ZRVI* 19 (1980) 79–106. –A.K.

FRUIT (*καρποί*) was an important component of the Byz. diet. The Geoponika (bk.10.74) preserves an ancient categorization of fruit into *opora* (soft) and *akrodrya* (hard-shelled); to the latter group, besides the walnut, chestnut, and pistachio, belonged the pomegranate. The Porikologos gives a long list of fruit: quince, citron, pear, apple, cherry, plum, fig, etc., whereas the walnut, almond, and chestnut form a separate category characterized as "Varangians." The peach ("Persian apple") was also known. Fruit trees were planted in gardens, while nuts and chestnuts usually grew in groves. A poor peasant might possess only a single tree, as did an *agroikos* in the vita of Michael Maleinos (L. Petit, *ROC* 7 [1902] 563.12–19) whose only asset was a pear tree. The *praktika* of the 14th C. mention pear, fig, walnut, cherry, almond, and mulberry trees; according to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 29f), the peasants of the Iveron estates in the village of Gonatou owned, on the average, 20 trees each in 1320. Calculations by N. Kondov (*infra*) show that in the northern Balkans the pear tree was more common than the apple and the cherry tree more common than the plum. Wild berries were also gathered: some saints are described as picking wild strawberries (*koumara*).

Some fruits were grown for market, but the Byz. preferred produce from their own gardens: the fruit imported by Bulgaria, stated Gregory Antiochos (J. Darrouzès, *BS* 23 [1962] 279.39–48), was spoiled—the apples wrinkled, the pears bruised, the figs dried up, having lost their sweetness during their lengthy transport.

As in the Roman tradition, artists continued to use fruit and foliage as symbols of abundance,

attached to WREATHS and other forms of ornament.

LIT. N. Kondov, *Ovoščarstvoto v bŭlgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto* (Sofia 1969). Dölger, *Schatz.* 188.
–A.K., J.W.N., A.C.

FRUIT BOOK. See PORIKOLOGOS.

FULCHER OF CHARTRES, priest; participant in and chronicler of the First Crusade; chaplain of Baldwin I; born ca.1058, died 1127/8. At Jerusalem in late 1101 Fulcher began a *Jerusalem History* (*Historia Hierosolymitana*), whose lost first version apparently narrated events to 1105 and was known, for example, to GUIBERT OF NOGENT. Fulcher later pursued his account down to 1124; ca.1127 he revised and continued the whole to constitute its present form. WILLIAM OF TYRE exploited his work, and in the 13th C. it was shortened and translated into French. Fulcher's first sections (pp. 171–214) record the Crusaders' travels across the Balkans, his wonderment at the wealth, beauty, merchants, and "20,000 eunuchs" of Constantinople, relations with Emp. Alexios I, and the siege of Nicaea. He documents the return of some of the Crusaders to Europe via Constantinople (pp. 318–21), Bohemund's war with Byz. in 1107–08 (pp. 518–25), and deplores Venetian raids on the Byz. Aegean in 1125 (pp. 758–61).

ED. *Historia Hierosolymitana (1095–1127)*, ed. H. Hagenmeyer (Heidelberg 1913). *A History of the Expedition to Jerusalem 1095–1127*, tr. F.R. Ryan, ed. H.S. Fink (Knoxville, Tenn., 1969).

LIT. J. Richard, *DHGE* 17 (1971) 1257. *RepFontHist* 4:601.
–M.McC.

FUNERAL (κηδεία). This rite had a double purpose: to say farewell to the deceased and to assist the soul in its ascent to heaven. The ritual had three major stages: preparation of the body and soul at the home of the deceased, the funerary procession, and the graveside service and BURIAL. Preparations began immediately after a person's death with the washing and clothing of his body. Normally, relatives washed the body with warm water mixed with wine and spices, anointed it with perfume, wrapped it in appropriate garments, and closed the eyes and mouth. All these stages are subsumed in representations of Christ's Passion (K. Weitzmann in *De artibus opuscula XL,* ed. M. Meiss [New York 1961] 476–90).

Typical burial garb consisted of a swaddling linen cloth and the shroud. White linen garments were customary among the majority; for example, Constantine I the Great was buried in his white linen baptismal robe. Monks and clergy, however, were clad in clerical vestments according to their rank. Luxurious garments often distinguished imperial or wealthy personages. Exceptions were made to meet the last wishes of individuals: thus, the vita of the 9th-C. saint EUDOKIMOS reports that he asked his colleagues to place him in a coffin dressed in military garb with an attached sword and to give him honors of a *strategos,* the position he occupied in his lifetime (ed. Loparev, pp. 209:8.30–35; 210:8.5). Those devoted to him even covered his coffin with the blanket under which he died (ibid., 211:9.20). On the other hand, MELANIA THE YOUNGER was buried in garments associated with saints (vita, ed. Gorce 268.13–270.3).

After burial preparations, the corpse of a lay person was displayed on a small couch in a room or vestibule of a house for mourning and lamentation by family and friends. The body was oriented so that it faced east, with hands crossed on the chest and holding an icon; candles and incense burned alongside the corpse. Sometimes holy bread was put into the corpse's hands, but the church prohibited offering communion to the dead. The singing of psalms over the body served to protect the soul against demons. The coffin of a monk or cleric was placed in the narthex of a church. When LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS died, his body was brought into the church, laid on the floor, and his leather chiton and fetters removed; then, probably after washing him, the monks replaced his chiton, laid him on a couch in the narthex, and prepared a coffin of cypresswood (*AASS* Nov. 3:587E–588A).

Following the visitation period, the funeral procession set off for the burial with lamps and burning incense, the cortèges of saints or emperors attracting large crowds. If the corpse had to be transported some distance to its final resting place (e.g., Alexios, the older son of John II), it was embalmed or simply placed in a closed coffin.

Mourners typically engaged in lamentations and tragic GESTURES (tears, beating the chest, pulling out the hair). Chrysostom, however, urged the replacement of wailing with the singing of psalms. Some rigorously ascetic saints also protested against

exaggerated expression of EMOTIONS: BASIL THE YOUNGER (vita, ed. Vilinskij 1:333.13–23) forbade laments and beating the chest at his funeral, since he considered it a time of rejoicing and entrance into "the spiritual marriage chamber."

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:148–85. D. Abrahamse, "Rituals of Death in the Middle Byzantine Period," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 125–34. G. Spyridakis, "Ta kata ten teleuten ethima ton Byzantinon," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 75–171. V. Bruni, *I funerali di un sacerdote nel rito bizantino* (Jerusalem 1972). I.-H. Dalmais, *Les liturgies d'Orient* (Paris 1980) 123f.
– Ap.K., A.K., N.T., A.C.

FURNITURE. The main pieces in a Byz. household were BEDS; TABLES; various seats (benches, chairs, *thronoi*), sometimes with FOOTSTOOLS; chests with LOCKS; and "small towers" (*pyrgiskoi*) for precious objects. In a broader sense, furnishings included CARPETS, curtains (KATAPETASMATA), and lighting devices (LAMPS). Hagiographers and authors of sermons often mention precious pieces of furniture, covered with ivory plaques, silver, or gold. On the other hand, wills and inventories of the 11th–15th C. list icons; books; and gold, silver, bronze, or glass VESSELS, but are strangely silent about beds, tables, and chairs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:67–96. M. Poljakovskaja, A. Čekalova, *Vizantija: byt i nravy* (Sverdlovsk 1989) 125f.
–A.K.

FURRIER (γουνάριος). The word *gounarios* is unknown before the 6th C. Fikhman (*Egipet* 30) suggests that *kaunakoplokos* and related terms used in some papyri designated furriers, but their context is unclear; S. Calderini (*Aegyptus* 26 [1946] 17) translates it as "weaver of wool." Constantinopolitan furriers had their shops in the Forum (of Constantine?), where as early as 532 stood the basilica of the *gounarioi*; the structure was damaged at least twice by fire (Janin, *CP byz.* 98). In 14th-C. Constantinople there was a flourishing business of processing furs imported from the north: a contract of apprenticeship to a furrier survives from this period (G. Ferrari dalle Spade, *SBN* 4 [1935] 264), and a Latin document of 1313 mentions a furriers' house in the quarter of *Pelliparii* or "furriers" (Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 425, no.4). Many furriers were Jews, esp. Jews from Venice (Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96f).
–A.K.

FUSṬĀṬ, AL-, medieval Egyptian town at the southern end of the Nile delta. In late Roman times the site was occupied by the fortress of Babylon, and it was the camp (*fossaton*) of the besieging forces of ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ in 640/1 that evolved into the Arab town. From a garrison for Arab forces advancing across North Africa, al-Fusṭāṭ soon became the capital of EGYPT. Its position gave it control over Nile commerce, particularly the vital grain trade, and a leading role in traffic moving along the southern Mediterranean coast. Byz. ships often called at al-Fusṭāṭ, Byz. goods (esp. TEXTILES) were extensively traded, and by the time of the FĀṬIMIDS many Byz. merchants and craftsmen had settled there.

Al-Fusṭāṭ also figured in the conflict with Byz. More securely situated than the often-raided coastal towns, it served as a naval base and a market for the spoils of piracy and war. In 1168 the town was burned by the Fāṭimid vizier Shāwar to prevent its capture by AMALRIC I of Jerusalem. Already affected by repeated plagues and famines, unrest, and increasing competition from neighboring Cairo (founded 969), it did recover somewhat, but by the 13th C. was no longer of much importance.

LIT. S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, 5 vols. (Los Angeles-Berkeley 1967–86). W. Kubiak, *Al-Fusṭāṭ* (Warsaw 1982). G.T. Scanlon, *The Fusṭāṭ Expedition: Final Report* (Winona Lake, Ind., 1986).
–L.I.C.

G

GABALAS (Γαβαλᾶς, fem. Γαβαλίνα), a family that served primarily with the fleet. Both the origin of the name and the early history of the family are unclear. S. Kourouses rejected the suggestion that the name originated from Gabala-Byblos and hypothesized a connection with the Old Testament Gabaelos. The family's link with the Arab Jabala, the father of the Ghassānid king ARETHAS, or the late Roman *patrikios* Gabalas (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.129) cannot be established. Kourouses claims that the Gabalas family was known at least from the 9th C., but the seal of John Gabalas, dated by K. Regling to 850–1050 (*BZ* 24 [1924] 99f) is insufficient for such a dating, and other seals of various individuals named Gabalas provide only meager information. Documents cite late 12th-C. members of the Gabalas family; two were high-ranking officials of the fleet: the *protonobelissimohypertatos* Stephen (Seibt, *supra*, no.158) and John (*Lavra* 1, no.67.34). After 1204 the Gabalas family took control of Rhodes: the caesar Leo Gabalas signed a treaty with the Venetians against John III Vatatzes in 1234; Leo's brother John succeeded him in 1240. John III captured the island in 1249. One of his navy commanders, also a Gabalas (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 169, calls him John), was *megas droungarios* until 1266/7 (*PLP*, no.3293). John Gabalas was *megas droungarios* in 1341 (Kantak. 2:118.21–23): he probably supported John VI Kantakouzenos but then betrayed him and became *megas logothetes* by 1344. Guilland (*Institutions* 1:542) believes he was *droungarios tes viglas*, but, in view of the family traditions, presumably he commanded the fleet.

In the 13th C. members of the Gabalas family possessed lands in the Smyrna region. Some of them were church officials and some were intellectuals, including Manuel Gabalas (see GABALAS, MANUEL). None is known as a member of the administration after the mid-14th C., except for Michael Gabalas, *oikeios* of Manuel II ca.1400 (*PLP*, no.3310). The settlement of some family members in Crete can be explained by the traditional interest of the Gabalas family in maritime business.

LIT. S. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas eita Matthaios metropolites Ephesou* (Athens 1972) 297–302. *PLP*, nos. 3290–313. –A.K.

GABALAS, MANUEL, also known as Matthew of Ephesus; metropolitan of Ephesus (1329–51); born Philadelphia ca.1271/2, died before 1359/60. Gabalas began his career in Philadelphia as *anagnostes*, deacon, and then as *protonotarios* (1309–12) of Metr. THEOLEPTOS. He lost his position because of his opposition to Theoleptos's continuing anti-ARSENITE stance. He was widowed in 1312. In 1321 he became a priest and, after reconciliation with Theoleptos, *chartophylax* of Philadelphia; in 1322/3 he took the monastic habit. He spent much time in Constantinople, where he became acquainted with literati such as Nikephoros GREGORAS and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. He continued to live in the capital even after his appointment to EPHESUS because his see was under Turkish occupation. He spent the years 1332–37 in Thracian Brysis, where he was named metropolitan *kat'epidosin* (i.e., to obtain additional income besides that from his own see). When he was finally able to enter Ephesus in 1339, local Muslims made his life miserable by barring him from the cathedral (which was converted into a mosque) and throwing stones at his house (ep.55). Because of his opposition to PALAMISM, he was eventually deprived of his see.

Gabalas was also a writer; his 63 surviving letters treat literary and philosophical topics and make frequent allusions to Homer and Plato. He also wrote three treatises on the *Odyssey*. His other works include an oration to Andronikos II and three monodies. Reinsch (*infra* 45–57) recently identified Gabalas as the author of 200 CHAPTERS on moral themes (cf. A. Angelou in *Maistor* 259–67). Gabalas also worked as a scribe, copying, for example, Vienna, ÖNB, theol. gr. 174, an autograph MS of his own works.

ED. *Die Briefe des Matthaios von Ephesos,* ed. D. Reinsch (Berlin 1974), with Germ. tr. L. Previale, "Due monodie inedite di Matteo di Efeso," *BZ* 41 (1941) 4–39. *Matteo di Efeso. L'ekphrasis per la festa di Pasqua,* ed. A. Pignani (Naples 1981), with Ital. tr. For complete list, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 261.

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas eita Matthaios metropolites Ephesou (1271/2–1355/60), A'. Ta Biographika* (Athens 1972). *PLP,* no.3309. Vryonis, *Decline* 328, 343–48.
–A.M.T.

GABRAS (Γαβρᾶς, fem. Γάβραινα), a noble Byz. family known from the second half of the 10th C. The Gabrades were predominantly military commanders in the East who participated in several rebellions: Constantine (died 979) supported Bardas SKLEROS, Michael was arrested in 1040. Theodore Gabras became semi-independent governor of Trebizond; his portrait and that of his wife, Irene, appear on leaves in Leningrad Publ. Lib. gr. 291, taken from the gospel book Sinai gr. 172, which was commissioned by Theodore and written in May 1067. The inscription on folio 2v describes him as *patrikios* and *topoteretes,* while the colophon calls him *hypatos* (Spatharakis, *Corpus,* no.82). Constantine Gabras, *strategos* of Philadelphia and later *doux* of Trebizond, controlled the latter city from 1126 to 1140 as an independent ruler. His exploits may have inspired the plot of the forged Byz. romance, the so-called Gabras-song, written down ca.1900. Several Gabrades served the Seljuks in the 12th–13th C. Although some Gabrades held administrative positions in the first half of the 14th C. (e.g., Gabras Komnenos, *krites tou phossatou,* ca.1300), they are better known as intellectuals, esp. Michael Gabras and his brother John, also a writer (see GABRAS, MICHAEL).

LIT. A. Bryer, "A Byzantine Family: the Gabrades," *University of Birmingham Historical Journal* 12 (1970) 164–87, with add. A. Bryer, S. Fassoulakis, D.M. Nicol, *BS* 36 (1975) 38–45. *PLP,* nos. 3319–73. H. Bartikian, "O vizantijskoj aristokratičeskoj sem'e Gavras," *IFŽ,* no.3 (1987) 190–200, no.4, 181–93; no.1 (1988) 163–78. A. Avraméa, "Manuel Ducas Comnène Gavras de Troade: A propos de CIG IV 2, no.8763," *Geographica byzantina* (Paris 1981) 37–41.
–A.K., A.C.

GABRAS, MICHAEL, writer and official of the imperial chancery; born ca.1290, died after 1350. Almost nothing is known of Gabras except for the internal evidence of his voluminous correspondence. A resident of Constantinople, he eked out a meager living as a bureaucrat, and seems to have had continual (or pretended) financial difficulties: many letters to his friends are requests for necessities such as bread, salt, fish, wheat, and barley.

Gabras was the author of a number of rhetorical works, including eulogies of his mother and father, four orations to Andronikos II, and a monody on the deceased Michael IX. He also wrote "criticism of books" and a book on dreams. None of his oeuvre has survived, except for a large group of 462 letters dating between 1308 and 1327. These are addressed to 111 different individuals, including luminaries such as Andronikos II, John (VI) Kantakouzenos, Nikephoros Choumnos, and Theodore Metochites. Despite the emphasis upon style over content common to Byz. EPISTOLOGRAPHY, Gabras's letters are not without interest. Some are requests for favors, complaints about his health, and lamentations over the death of his brother, John; many others deal with literary matters as Gabras exchanges MSS with his friends and seeks their opinion of his own work.

ED. *Die Briefe des Michael Gabras (ca.1290–nach 1350),* ed. G. Fatouros, 2 vols. (Vienna 1973).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:232f. *PLP,* no.3372. –A.M.T.

GABRIEL (Γαβριήλ, in Hebrew meaning "man of God"), angel; feastday 26 March. Gabriel appears in the Old Testament in the vision of DANIEL (Dan 8:15–16, 9:21–22) and in the Gospel of Luke (Lk 1:11–13, 19, 26–38) as the messenger announcing the forthcoming births of John the Baptist and Jesus Christ. He was popular in Jewish legend and apocrypha as a guardian of the world and as a destroyer of enemies and sinners; for Muslims he is the one who revealed the QUR'ĀN to Muḥammad. In Christian tradition Gabriel was promoted to the rank of ARCHANGEL (not conferred upon him in the Bible) and revered either together with the Archangel MICHAEL or in connection with the ANNUNCIATION.

Gabriel's function as a messenger was expressed by his carrying a walking staff, but he could also be depicted frontally as a guardian, clad in the imperial garb of an archangel holding globe and scepter, accompanying, along with Michael, the figure of Christ or the Virgin (e.g., the bema mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, NEA

MONE on Chios). Gabriel is shown crowning the emperor Basil I in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY (fol. Cv). His role in the Annunciation, one of the Great Feasts, assured his presence in nearly every church program and on innumerable icons as well as in cycles of the AKATHISTOS HYMN; Gabriel appears also in images of the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION and in extended cycles of the DORMITION as the angel who brings the news to the Virgin of her impending death. Although he occasionally joined Michael in performing a miracle, Gabriel had no miracle cycle of his own.

There were at least five churches or chapels in Constantinople dedicated to Gabriel (Janin, *Églises CP* 66); a church of Gabriel in Miletos is also known (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.220bis).

LIT. *BHG* 1290y–94c, 2158–59. C. Carletti, *DPAC* 2:1413f. F. Spadafora, M.L. Casanova, *Bibl.sanct.* 5:1326–29. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:47f. H. Maguire, "The Self-Conscious Angel: Character Study in Byzantine Paintings of the Annunciation," in *Okeanos* 377–86. –A.K., N.P.Š.

GABRIEL HIEROMONACHOS, composer who lived and worked at the monastery of Xanthopouloi; fl. Constantinople first half 15th C. He may be the author of *Discourse on the Signs of Chant*, known from 16th-C. MSS. This treatise discusses the meaning of the NEUMATA in allegorical and etymological terms.

LIT. Tardo, *Melurgia* 183–205. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 327–34. *PLP*, no.3428. –D.E.C.

GABRIELOPOULOS (Γαβριηλόπουλος, fem. Γαβριηλοπουλίνα), a family known in the 14th C. Stephen Gabrielopoulos established his rule over Thessaly sometime between 1318 and 1325 with a formal recognition from Constantinople of his dependency; he bore the title of *sebastokrator*. Until his death in 1332/3 he possessed Stagoi, Trikkala, Phanarion, and several other castles. After a period of struggle for Thessaly, Michael Gabrielopoulos gained control there; in June 1342 he issued a charter in favor of the *archontes* of Phanarion, guaranteeing privileges such as freedom of disposition of their property, exemption from taxes and billeting, strict conditions of military service, freedom from responsibility for treasonous relatives, and the tribunal of peers (C.P. Kyrris, *Hellenika* 18 [1964] 73–78). As the lord (*authentes*) of the area, Michael swore an oath that confirmed these privileges. His further fate is unknown. Other Gabrielopouloi are known at the same time in the Strymon region: a Gabrielopoulina made a donation to Esphigmenou before 1318 (*Esphig.*, no.14.198), a certain Gabrielopoulos possessed one third of the village of Krousovo before 1347 (no.23.16). The family's relationship to George Kydones Gabrielopoulos (fl.1348–83), physician and writer (see GEORGE THE PHILOSOPHER), is unclear. A certain Gabrielopoulos was exiled in 1370 for possessing books on magic.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 3430–35. B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade 1974) 168–89. –A.K.

GAETA (Γαϊτή), port on the Italian Tyrrhenian coast, of importance to Byz. in the 8th C.; during the Lombard conquest of central Italy, it assured communication between Rome, Naples, Sicily, and Constantinople. After the fall of the exarchate of Ravenna (751), Gaeta, which was part of the duchy of NAPLES, remained officially Byz. Between the end of the 9th and the beginning of the 10th C., however, the dynasty of the local *hypatoi*—called *duces* after 915—gradually became independent. Constantine VII considered Gaeta a part of Longobardia (*De adm. imp.* 27.46–52). The economic interests of Gaeta were predominantly related to those of the neighboring papal states; accordingly the city participated in the silver circulation of northwestern Europe, in contrast to the rest of southern Italy, where Byz. and Arab gold coinage prevailed. Nevertheless merchants from Gaeta are attested in Constantinople during the 10th–11th C. In 1032 Gaeta was conquered by Pandolf IV, the Lombard prince of Capua, and in 1064 by the Normans.

LIT. M. Merores, *Gaeta im frühen Mittelalter* (Gotha 1911). V. von Falkenhausen, "Il ducato di Gaeta," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 347–54. –V.v.F.

GAGIK I (Κακίκιος), last major BAGRATID king of Armenia (989–ca.1017–20). Gagik was able to maintain a senior position vis-à-vis the other Bagratid kings of his time ruling in KARS and Loṙi, esp. after the death of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, whom he supported against the Kurdish emirs of Azerbaijan. The divided kingdom of VASPURAKAN offered no challenge to Gagik, who also acquired considerable territory in the east at the expense of Siwnik', to which, however, he returned certain

ecclesiastical privileges. Gagik's dominant position allowed him to withstand pressure even from Byz.: when Basil II reached the Armenian border in 1000 to claim the bequest of David of Tayk'/Tao and the other Armenian and Georgian rulers were hastening to submit to Basil, Gagik remained defiantly inside the walls of his capital, ANI. For the rest of his reign, which marked the peak of Bagratid power in Armenia, his authority remained unchallenged; Ani, whose cathedral was completed by his queen, became a major administrative and cultural center.

LIT. K.N. Juzbašjan, "K chronologii pravlenija Gagika I Bagratuni," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 195–97. Grousset, *Arménie* 518–20, 532–41. –N.G.G.

GAGIK II, last BAGRATID king of Armenia (1042–45); son of the anti-king Ašot IV; died Kzistra? ca.1079/80. At the death of his predecessor JOHN SMBAT, Byz. demanded the surrender of ANI with the support of the pro-Byz. party in the capital. The imperial troops, however, failed to take the city and the opposition party crowned Gagik king in 1042. In 1045, the young king was persuaded by Byz. to journey to Constantinople, where he was detained and induced to abdicate in exchange for the title of *magistros* and domains in Cappadocia (possibly CHARSIANON and LYKANDOS, though Byz. and Armenian sources disagree on the location). Meanwhile, the *katholikos* surrendered Ani to the Byz. After Gagik abdicated, he composed a defense of Armenian doctrine (preserved by MATTHEW OF EDESSA), which Gagik is said to have delivered at Constantinople in 1065. Gagik was apparently murdered by the Byz. to avenge his slaying of the metropolitan of Caesarea. A Byz. seal bearing the name of Maria, "the daughter of 'Kakikes Aniotes,' " is preserved (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 602).

LIT. J. Shepard, "Skylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catacalon Cecaumenos," *REArm* n.s. 11 (1975–76) 283–97. Juzbašjan, "Skilica." J. Gouillard, "Gagik II défenseur de la foi arménienne," *TM* 7 (1979) 399–418. –N.G.G.

GAINAS (Γαϊνᾶς), general of Gothic origin; born north of the Danube, died in the northern Balkans before Jan. 401. Having begun his career as a common soldier, he was one of the commanders who led Theodosios I's barbarian troops against the usurper EUGENIUS in 394; the next year, in collaboration with STILICHO and EUTROPIOS, he accomplished the fall of RUFINUS and became *comes rei militaris* (395–99). Appointed *magister utriusque militiae* in 399, he was ordered to march against the Gothic commander TRIBIGILD, but instead joined forces with him and engineered the fall of Eutropios. Power was seized, however, by the anti-Germanic group of aristocrats headed by Aurelianos. Gainas secured the latter's exile, and, acting in alliance with Kaisarios, the former praetorian prefect, he entered Constantinople with Gothic contingents. The Goths, Arian in belief, were opposed by the populace, whose anti-Germanic sentiments were expressed by John Chrysostom and soon thereafter by Synesios. Gainas tried to obtain a church for the Arians, to seize money belonging to the bankers, and to occupy the imperial palace, but failed. On 12 July 400, Gainas's troops were massacred. Gainas escaped to Thrace, where he met with resistance from the local population. The administration in Constantinople sent some other Goths under the command of Fravitta against him. In the meantime Gainas was killed by the Hunnic chieftain Uldin. At the beginning of 401 Aurelianos returned to the capital amid a triumphant welcome. Kaisarios withdrew from politics, Fravitta was executed, and the "Gothic party" was defeated. In the early 5th C. the exploits of Gainas and his fall from power were the subject of two epic poems (Sokr. *HE* 6.6.36), since lost, and were probably the theme of the Column of Arkadios in the Forum of Arkadios.

LIT. G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (Paderborn 1985), rev. F. Winkelman, *Klio* 68 (1986) 635–37. Demougeot, *Unité* 235–66. A.D. Kozlov, "Osnovnye čerty političeskoj oppozicii pravitel'stvu Vizantii v 399–400 gg.," *ADSV* 16 (1979) 23–31. –T.E.G.

GAISERIC (Γιζέριχος), king of the Vandals (from 428); born 389, died 25 Jan. 477. Gaiseric led the Vandals from Spain to Africa in 429 and undertook its conquest. Peace with the Romans in 435 divided Africa between the two peoples. After a Roman expedition failed in 441, Gaiseric negotiated a treaty in 442 with Valentinian III whereby the Vandals received further territory (Africa Proconsularis, Byzacena, eastern Numidia). In the 450s Gaiseric became involved in European affairs, urging ATTILA to attack the Visigoths, capturing and sacking Rome in 455, taking Valentin-

ian III's widow Eudoxia and her daughters back to Africa, and raiding the coast of Greece. In 460–61 the Western emperor MAJORIAN built large fleets to attack the Vandal king, but the latter captured them before they set sail. Gaiseric made regular attacks on Italy, in part to further the imperial claims of Olybrius. The elevation of ANTHEMIOS in 467 meant greater Eastern involvement and led to the ill-fated expedition against Gaiseric under BASILISKOS in 468. Probably in 476 Gaiseric made peace with Emp. Zeno.

Gaiseric was an Arian and systematically persecuted the Orthodox; he discriminated between Romans and Vandals in his kingdom and promoted the latter. Under Gaiseric Vandal naval power shook Roman control of the Mediterranean and spread terror as far as Alexandria.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955; rp. Aalen 1964) 260–62, 394f. *PLRE* 2:496–99. F.M. Clover, "Geiseric and Attila," *Historia* 22 (1973) 104–17. –T.E.G.

GALAKRENAI (Γαλακρηναί, "fountains of milk"), site of several Byz. monasteries on Asiatic shore of Bosporos, near Chalcedon. Scholars have been unable to identify the precise location of Galakrenai, evidently a place where springs of water were made milky in color by a solution of carbonate of lime. Three different monasteries are attested in this group.

1. ***The monastery of Galakrenai,*** first mentioned in 535. It may have been here that a lavishly illuminated copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Vat. gr. 463) was written in 1072 by Symeon, a pupil of a Theodore who was superior of "the monastery of Galakrenai" (J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 178–83).

2. ***The monastery of Nicholas I Mystikos,*** founded by the patriarch ca.900. He retired to Galakrenai for five years after his deposition from the patriarchate in 907 and was buried there after his death in 925.

3. ***The monastery of John the Rhaiktor,*** founded by this official in the early 10th C. He was tonsured there in 926, after being accused of complicity in a plot to assassinate the emperor ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS. This monastery had a *metochion* in Constantinople. During the Latin occupation of the capital, John the Rhaiktor's monastery was given to the prior of the Pisan Church of St. Peter, located in Constantinople. After the Byz. recovery of 1261, the monastery, reduced to six monks, became a *metochion* of the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Demetrios of the Palaiologoi.

It is unclear which of these monasteries was given to the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople as a *metochion* in the 12th C.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 208. Janin, *CP byz.* 497f. Janin, *Églises centres* 40–42. –A.M.T., A.C.

GALATA (τὰ Γαλάτου, Γαλατᾶς, etym. unclear), settlement occupying a promontory on the north side of the Golden Horn facing Constantinople. Originally called Sykai, by ca.425 it had become an integral part of the city, of which it formed the 13th Region. It possessed a theater, baths, dockyard, and other facilities (*Notitiae urbis Constantinopolitanae*, ed. Seeck, p.240.1–23). Defensive walls were probably built in the course of the 5th C. In 528 Sykai was granted the status of a city and renamed Joustinianoupolis. It may have been abandoned in the 7th C. since later sources do not mention a city. Instead we find a fort (*kastellion*), *ton Galatou*, situated on the seashore, which served as a point of attachment of the chain barring the mouth of the Golden Horn (first attested in 717).

Churches and monasteries of Galata include St. Irene (on the site of present-day Arap Camii), dedicated in 551. Many more were just outside Galata, including the cruciform *martyrion* of the Maccabees (4th C.), St. Thekla, St. Konon, and the leper-house of St. Zotikos. The area to the east of Galata, known as Argyropolis (Turk. Tophane) is mentioned in the legend of St. ANDREW as the site where the apostle ordained Stachys as first bishop of Byzantion.

Probably in the 11th C. Galata became a Jewish quarter that attained a population of about 2,500 (Jacoby, *Société*, pt.II [1967], 175–89). The Crusaders captured the fort in 1203 and destroyed the Jewish quarter. Attacked by Michael VIII in 1260 and occupied the next year, Galata was granted by him to the Genoese (1267), the precise limits of the colony being defined in a document in 1303. Despite stipulations to the contrary, the Genoese built walls around their settlement, which they gradually enlarged. A city of Western aspect, Galata became extremely prosperous thanks to international trade. It capitulated to the Turks in 1453, retaining many of its privileges, but quickly

declined as a commercial center. The name *Pera*, as used in the 13th–15th C., is synonymous with Galata.

No Byz. remains survive at Galata. The Genoese walls, of various dates and now to a large extent dismantled, include the Galata Tower (mid-14th C., much rebuilt).

LIT. A.M. Schneider, M.I. Nomidis, *Galata* (Istanbul 1944). S. Eyice, *Galata ve kulesi* (Istanbul 1969). G.I. Bratianu, *Recherches sur le commerce génois dans la Mer Noire* (Paris 1929). J. Sauvaget, "Notes sur la colonie génoise de Péra," *Syria* 15 (1934) 252–75. P.B. Palazzo, *L'Arap-djami* (Istanbul 1946). –C.M.

GALATIA (Γαλατία), the northern hilly region of the central Anatolian plateau, stretching from the mountains of Paphlagonia to the Salt Lake and from the Sangarios River eastward past the Halys. The region was sparsely inhabited, with few cities but a large rural population in its fertile areas; it produced wheat, sheep, and goats. Galatia gained strategic importance from its location on the highways from Constantinople to the eastern frontier.

The province of Galatia was created under Diocletian with its capital at ANKYRA. Galatia was divided into Galatia I (metropolis Ankyra) and Galatia II, or Salutaris (metropolis PESSINOUS), ca.398. In 535, Justinian I gave the governor of Galatia I the title of *comes*, with both civil and military powers to deal with endemic brigandage; the reform was revoked in 548. GELIMER was granted estates in Galatia after his defeat. The civil province lasted into the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 136, 3189), by which time Galatia had become part of the OPSIKION theme, then the BOUKELLARION. The ecclesiastical province, embracing all Galatia from the time of Constantine I, was also divided ca.398; its parts persisted through the Byz. period. Late mentions of Galatia in narrative sources have geographic, not administrative meaning.

LIT. *TIB* 4:54–58. –C.F.

GALEA (γαλέα, from γαλεός, "swordfish" or "small shark"), a term first used in the 10th C. to denote light, rapid DROMONES powered by one bank of rowers (*Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain [Paris 1943] 21). They were commonly used as messenger ships or for reconnaissance in enemy waters. Pirates are usually said to have *galeai*, which seem to be oar-powered ships, lighter and more nimble than an ordinary *dromon*.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 414. –E.M.

GALEN, Roman physician and philosopher; born Pergamon 129, died Rome? ca.210. The mark of this single Roman medical writer on Byz. medicine was extraordinary; his adaptations of the Hippocratic four humors as well as his use of Plato, Aristotle, and the Stoics in creating an all-encompassing medical theory ensured his use as a source by learned Byz. physicians from ORIBASIOS to JOHN AKTOUARIOS. Oribasios was the first to make a synopsis of Galenic medicine; the extant sections of his *Medical Collection* show the first stages of a Byz. adeptness in fusing parts of Galen's works with contemporary medical practice; this streamlining tendency continued through the medical encyclopedias of AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA. Yet the best Byz. medical authors did not simply borrow the quotations of "lost" authorities as they might be found in Galen, but generally went back to the original texts when they were available and set them in an assured context with those of the great Pergamene. Oribasios, for example, apparently consulted directly the *Materia Medica* of DIOSKORIDES, and probably formulated the first Greek alphabetical listing of drugs in Dioskorides' work, the ancestor of so many alphabetical "Dioskorides" texts in Greek, Latin, and Arabic. Oribasios's technique in using Dioskorides side-by-side with Galen was followed by almost all later Byz. medical encyclopedists. Not only professionals but also educated Byz. (e.g., Michael CHONIATES) read Galen, who was popular enough to become a comic figure in the TIMARION. By the 13th–14th C., Galen had become the authority on medicine in Greek, Latin, and Arabic (see also INSANITY). His quasi-monotheism, best seen in *Use of the Parts of the Body*, made his medicine and medical philosophy easily adaptable into Christian and Islamic canons.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. C.G. Kuhn, 20 vols. in 22 pts. (Leipzig 1821–33; rp. Hildesheim 1964–65). See also lists in H. Leitner, *Bibliography to the Ancient Medical Authors* (Bern 1973) 18–40, and J. Scarborough, ed., *Society for Ancient Medicine Newsletter*, nos. 3–13 (Lexington, Ky., 1978–85).

LIT. O. Temkin, *Galenism* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1973) 51–94. J. Scarborough, "The Galenic Question," *Sudhoffs Archiv* 65 (1981) 1–31. –J.S.

GALERIUS, more fully Caius Galerius Valerius Maximianus, caesar under DIOCLETIAN (293–305) and augustus (from 1 May 305); born Romulianum in Illyricum ca.260, died Nikomedeia May 311. Galerius presumably rose through the army and may have been praetorian prefect under Diocletian. As caesar he was responsible for much of the Balkans; his primary residence was at THESSALONIKE, where remains of his palace can still be seen. He carried out wars against the Carpi on the Danube (295) and against the Persians (297–98), the latter commemorated on an arch in Thessalonike (see ARCH OF GALERIUS). After Diocletian's abdication Galerius became senior emperor in the TETRARCHY, with MAXIMINUS DAIA as his caesar. In 307 he opposed the proclamation of MAXENTIUS as emperor. The next year he convoked the Conference of Carnuntum, the result of which was the appointment of LICINIUS as caesar and the redivision of the empire. Lactantius pictures Galerius as an outspoken pagan, persecuting Christians in his own territories and responsible for Diocletian's edicts against the church. He continued the persecution until he fell gravely ill; in 311, shortly before his death, he anticipated the EDICT OF MILAN by granting toleration to the church. Galerius is remembered in the Byz. tradition as the archetypal persecutor, properly punished for his crimes by a painful death.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 40–79. P. Keresztes, "From the Great Persecution to the Peace of Galerius," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 379–99. –T.E.G.

GALERIUS, ARCH OF. See ARCH OF GALERIUS.

GALESIOS, MOUNT (Turk. Alamandağ), monastic center north of Ephesus, on right bank of the Kaystros River (Küçük Menderes). Monks were first attracted to this HOLY MOUNTAIN in the 11th C. by the stylite St. LAZAROS. Three monasteries, under one *hegoumenos*, were built near the successive sites of his pillar: (1) the Savior, reserved for 12 eunuchs; (2) the Theotokos, for 12 monks; and (3) the Anastasis, for 40 monks. A *diatyposis* for the three institutions is incorporated in the *Vita S. Lazari* (*AASS* Nov. 3:585). A fourth monastery, the Theotokos of Bessai, was imperial and had its own *hegoumenos*; it housed 300 monks in the 11th C. but rapidly declined. Near the mountain was the convent of Eupraxia, which served as a residence for female relatives of Galesiot monks.

Galesios entered a period of obscurity after the death of Lazaros, but in the 13th C., with the establishment of the empire of Nicaea, a "monastery of Galesios" again attained prominence. Two early Palaiologan patriarchs, JOSEPH I and ATHANASIOS I, were former Galesiot monks, and a third, GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, wrote a new version of the *Vita Lazari*. The monastery was reputed to have a rich library and had an active scriptorium (F. Halkin, *Scriptorium* 15 [1961] 221–27). Its history came to an end in the 14th C. when it was captured by the Turks (*AASS* Nov. 3:503).

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 241–50. –A.M.T.

GALESIOTES, GEORGE, patriarchal official and writer; born Atramyttion or Constantinople? between 1278 and 1280, died after 1346?. Galesiotes (Γαλησιώτης) was apparently a family name and does not indicate that he was a monk at Mt. GALESIOS (F. Halkin, *Scriptorium* 15 [1961] 225–27). Galesiotes studied with GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and then with Manuel HOLOBOLOS, to whom he later addressed a funeral monody. As a secular cleric, he began his career as *archon* of Hagia Sophia (ca.1303); he succeeded George Pachymeres as *protekdikos* ca.1310. He held this post until 1334, when he took charge of the *sakellion*. Galesiotes' works include a monody for Theodore Xanthopoulos and, according to S.I. Kourouses, a lament on the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia in 1346 (*EEBS* 37 [1969–70] 247–50). He was probably also the author of an oration of thanksgiving for the Christian naval victory over the Turks off Atramyttion in 1334 (V. Laurent in *Eis mnemen K. Amantou* [Athens 1960] 25–41). In collaboration with George OINAIOTES, he prepared a paraphrase, in simpler language, of the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES.

H. Hunger and O. Kresten have recently proposed that the George Galesiotes who copied patriarchal documents from ca.1325 to 1357 is to be distinguished from the author Galesiotes, and suggest that he was a younger contemporary, perhaps his nephew (Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 33f).

ED. Monody for Xanthopoulos—ed. A. Mai, *Novae Patrum Bibl.* VI/2 419–22. *Imperial Statue*—Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 19–117, 149–206.

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "He prote helikia kai he proimos stadiodromia tou protekdikou kai eita sakelliou tes megales ekklesias Georgiou Galesiotou (1278/80–1357?)," *Athena* 75 (1974/5) 335–74. *PLP*, no.3528. –A.M.T.

GALIČ. See GALITZA.

GALILEE, STORM ON THE SEA OF. Matthew 8:23–27, Mark 4:35–41, and Luke 8:22–25 tell of Christ sleeping in a storm-tossed boat on the Lake of Galilee. Awakened and upbraided by his disciples, he calmed the storm, chiding them for their lack of faith and eliciting their awe. The scene is illustrated only in extensive cycles: in FRIEZE GOSPELS, in marginal PSALTERS at Psalm 89:9, in several DECORATIVE STYLE MSS, and at CHORA. The richest depiction, that in the Florence frieze Gospel (fol.120v), shows the boat three times: with Christ and the disciples seated, with Christ asleep and then rebuking a personification of the wind, and with Christ chiding the disciples.

LIT. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:274–77. –A.W.C.

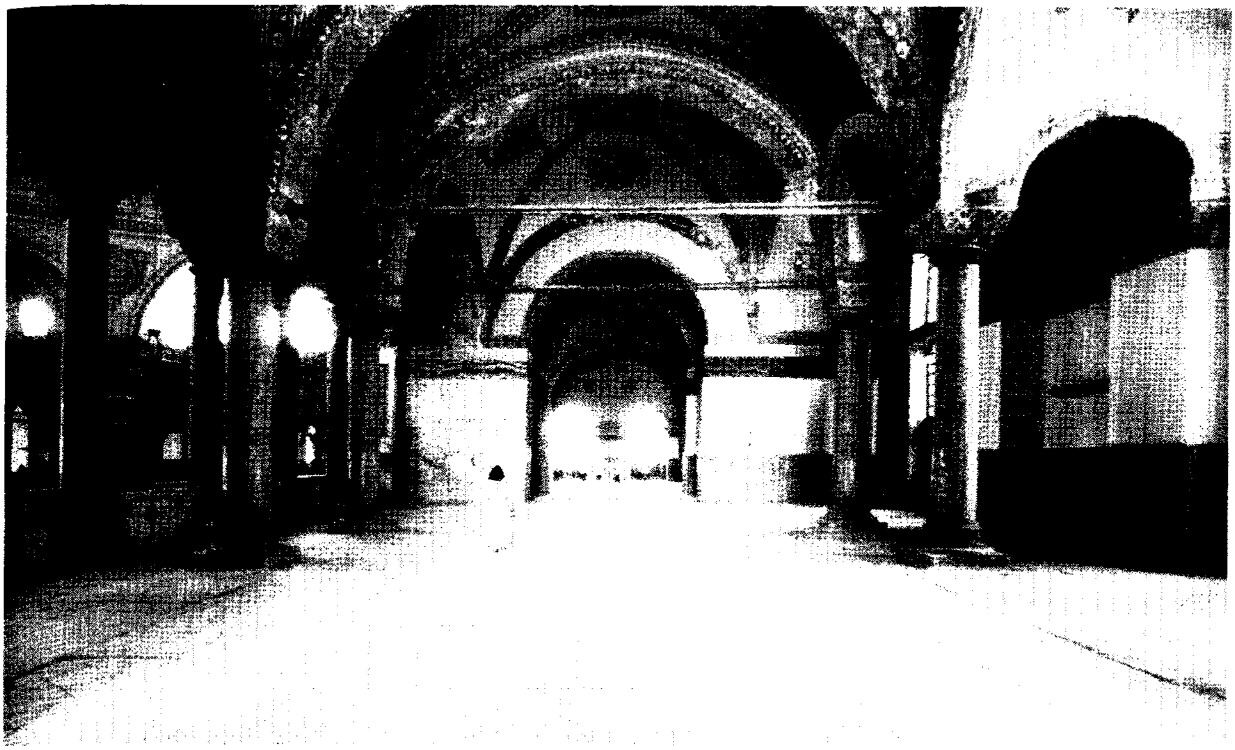
GALITZA, or Galič (Γάλιτζα, also "Galatikon" in Theodore PRODROMOS—A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 356), town on the Dniester and center of one of the principalities of Rus'. Vladimirko of Galič (1141–53) was an ally (or vassal; *hypospondos* in Kinn. 115.19) of Manuel I against Géza II of Hungary. Vladimirko's son Jaroslav harbored the future emperor Andronikos I in 1165, but Manuel's diplomacy secured Andronikos's return. ANTONY OF NOVGOROD mentions a Galician embassy to Constantinople in 1200, possibly negotiating for the campaign of Roman of Galitza against the CUMANS in 1201 (Nik.Chon. 522.26–523.35). The bishopric of Galitza, under the metropolitan of KIEV, was founded between 1147 and 1153. In the 14th C. it was sporadically raised to the rank of metropolis (*Notitiae CP*, nos. 17.157, 18.150). Casimir of Poland, requesting a metropolitan from Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS in 1370, after his annexation of Galitza (MM 1:577.29–32), mentions four previous incumbents, and when Metr. Antony was appointed in 1371 bishoprics of Cholm, Turov, Peremyšl', and Volodimer were put under his jurisdiction (MM 1:579.23–24). In the mid-13th C. Galitza played a conspicuous role in the transmission of Byz. literary culture in Slavonic translation: the best texts of the translations of MALALAS, JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, and the ALEXANDER ROMANCE all derive from Galician compilations.

LIT. G. Stökl in *Handbuch der Geschichte Russlands*, ed. M. Hellman, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981) 484–533. E. Frances, "Les relations russo-byzantines au XIIe siècle et la domination de Galicie au Bas-Danube," *BS* 20 (1959) 50–62. O. Jurewicz, "Aus der Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen Byzanz und Russland in der zweiten Hälfte des 12. Jahrhunderts," *Byzantinische Beiträge*, ed. J. Irmscher (Berlin 1964) 333–57. –S.C.F.

GALLA PLACIDIA (Γάλλα Πλακιδία), more fully Aelia Galla Placidia, augusta of the Western Roman Empire (421–50); born 388 (S.I. Oost, *ClPhil* 60 [1965] 1–4) or 393 (S. Rebenich, *Historia* 34 [1985] 372–85) in Constantinople or Thessalonike, died Rome 27 Nov. 450. Daughter of Theodosios I, she spent most of her life in the West. When Rome was sacked by Alaric in 410 the Visigoths carried Galla Placidia off to Gaul, and in Jan. 414 she married the new king Athaulf. After his death she was returned to the Romans. On 1 Jan. 417 Galla married the patrician Flavius Constantius to whom she bore the future emperor Valentinian III and a daughter, Justa Grata Honoria. In Feb. 421 Honorius proclaimed Constantius augustus (as Constantius III), but Theodosios II refused to recognize his accession. There are some vague indications that Constantius made warlike preparations against the East, but he died on 2 Sept. 421. Galla Placidia was accused of treason and conspiracy against her brother Honorius. She sought sanctuary at the court of Theodosios II in 423. After the death of Honorius the Eastern court used Galla Placidia and her son to assert indirect control over the West. Valentinian was brought to Italy and created augustus, with Galla Placidia exercising regency over him, a power she shared increasingly with the *magister militum* AETIUS. She was an ardent supporter of Orthodoxy and a generous donor of churches, esp. in RAVENNA, but she also knew how to maintain a modus vivendi with Arians. Her only known portrait is on solidi struck under Valentinian III.

LIT. S.I. Oost, *Galla Placidia Augusta* (Chicago 1968). V.A. Sirago, *Galla Placidia e la trasformazione politica dell'Occidente* (Louvain 1961). –T.E.G.

GALLERY (ὑπερῷον, κατηχούμενον, κατηχουμένιον), a corridor above the aisles and narthex of a church, opening fully onto the space of the



GALLERY. North gallery of Hagia Sophia, Istanbul, looking west.

nave through arcades or colonnades. Galleries occur in major churches throughout the empire from the 4th to 13th C. Reserved elsewhere for women or (in early centuries) for CATECHUMENS, galleries in palace chapels or churches became the preserve of the emperor or local ruler and his court, in part because they provided easy access to the church from upper levels of adjacent palaces (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; St. Sophia, Kiev); portions of the gallery in the Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, served as the PARAKYPTIKON and METATORION and were the setting of church COUNCILS. Canon 97 of the Council in TRULLO (680/1) forbade priests and laymen to live in galleries with their wives (a ban renewed by nov. 73 of Leo VI). Galleries were introduced into all types of churches: longitudinal BASILICAS, whether truss-roofed ("extra muros" basilica at PHILIPPI; St. DEMETRIOS, Thessalonike) or domed (St. John, EPHESUS; S. Marco, VENICE), and centralized churches, whether circular (Konjuh, Macedonia), polygonal (S. Vitale, Ravenna), tetraconch (S. Lorenzo, MILAN; ZUART'NOC'), or otherwise. They do not appear in the naves of basilicas where major fresco or mosaic cycles were planned in continuous sequence of images. While galleries become less common after the 7th C., they reappear with some frequency in the 13th–15th C., most notably in MISTRA and other provincial capitals. Galleries enhance the majesty of ecclesiastical spaces; may add substantially to the cost of the structure; identify imperial, royal, or princely presence; and exhibit society divided between the people below and the aristocracy above.

LIT. C. Delvoye, *RBK* 2:129–44. Mathews, *Early Churches* 19–23, 31–33, 47–51, 128–33, 163–65, 179.

–W.L., K.M.K.

GALLIPOLI. See KALLIPOLIS.

GALLUNIANU TREASURE, dated to the 6th C. and found in 1963 near Poggibonsi in Tuscany, Italy, 2.5 km from Galognano. Now in the Pinacoteca of Siena, the treasure contains six silver objects (four chalices, one paten, one spoon). Two objects bear inscribed dedications made by, respectively, Sivegerna and Himnigilda (names of

Germanic, perhaps Gothic, origin), with one mentioning the "church of Gallunianu," a place identified with the modern village of Galognano. All six objects resemble comparable types found in Asia Minor and Syria and have been ascribed to local Byz. manufacture in the mid-6th C., on the eve of the Lombard invasion. In size and composition (type of objects and dedications) the Gallunianu Treasure is similar to contemporaneous silver TREASURES from other Byz. villages.

LIT. O. von Hessen, W. Kurze, C.A. Mastrelli, *Il tesoro di Galognano* (Florence 1977). Mango, *Silver*, nos. 77–82. –M.M.M.

GALLUS (Γάλλος), more fully Flavius Claudius Constantius Gallus, caesar of the eastern part of the empire (from 15 Mar. 351); born on the estate of Massa Veternensis, Etruria, 325/6, died near Pola end of 354. Nephew of Constantine I and half-brother of Julian, he survived the massacre of his family in 337 and lived out of public view until Constantius II made him caesar. Constantius then gave his sister Constantia to Gallus in marriage and stationed him in Antioch so that he could deal with the Persian threat while Constantius suppressed the usurpation of MAGNENTIUS. Gallus succeeded in keeping the Persians at bay. He was a fervent Christian of Arian persuasion; he reportedly placed the relics of St. Babylas in the temple of Apollo at Antioch to silence the demon's prophecies. Ammianus Marcellinus condemns the cruelty of Gallus, his bloody suppression of a Jewish revolt in Palestine, and the murder of some subordinates, but R. Blockley (*infra*) considers these charges unfair. In 354 he was recalled and executed by orders of Constantius.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:141f. O. Seeck, *RE* 4 (1901) 1094–99. *PLRE* 1:224f. R. Blockley, "Constantius Gallus and Julian as Caesars of Constantius II," *Latomus* 31 (1972) 433–68. J. Arce, "La rebelion de los Judios durante el gobierno de Constancio Galo Cesar: 353 d.C.," *Athenaeum* 67 (1987) 109–25. P. Schäfer, "Der Aufstand gegen Gallus Caesar," in *Essays in Honour of J.C.H. Lebram* (Leiden 1986) 184–201. –T.E.G.

GAMBLING. See GAMES, BOARD.

GAMBROS (γαμβρός), properly "son-in-law," term that in the 12th C. became a semiofficial title encompassing a broad group of nobles linked to the emperor by affinity—husbands of the emperor's daughters, sisters, aunts, and esp. nieces and cousins. The latter were called "*sebastoi*" and "*gambroi*" and formed an upper layer within the category of the SEBASTOI. Pseudo-Kodinos considers *gambroi* as members of the group of the DESPOTAI and ascribes to them a special kind of coronet (pseudo-Kod. 147.4–8). The term could also be employed as a separate title, for example, in the *prostagma* of 1330 (*Esphig.*, no.18.13). *Gambros* was also a term of Byz. DIPLOMACY conferred upon certain rulers within the so-called hierarchy of nations (see STATES, HIERARCHY OF).

LIT. L. Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB* 23 (1965) 232–43. S. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue," *BZ* 38 (1938) 388–94. –A.K.

GAMES, BOARD, were inherited from antiquity and common among all layers of society. There were several kinds of board game: in addition to CHESS Koukoules (*infra*) distinguishes among dice (*kyboi*), backgammon (*tablia*) or checkers (*petteia*), and knucklebones (*astragalismos*), but the exact difference between them is hard to define. It is reported (Malal. 345.16–17) that Theodosios I transformed the temple of Artemis in Constantinople into a *tabloparochion* or gaming room for dice players. Gambling by clergy, however, was prohibited by canon law (PG 137:125C–128B). The major reason for the prohibition was the Byz. tendency to abstain from playing with TYCHE or fortune. Anna Komnene, who approved of chess, was very critical of other board games. They became ubiquitous during the late period: in 1437 Pero TAFUR saw gaming boards in the imperial library of Constantinople (N. Wilson, *GRBS* 8 [1967] 54). John Choumnos (end of the 13th C.), in a letter to a "philosopher" (Boissonade, *AnecNova* 215f), describes gambling along with feasting and dancing as main elements of an ENTERTAINMENT during the CALENDS: "the spotted bones," he says, "promptly changed the mood of men, making some happy and others sad." SACHLIKES complains (or rather boasts) of his losses at gambling.

Excavations have uncovered many dice and other gaming pieces of uncertain date. Game boards have been found, scratched crudely on paving slabs of roadways and buildings. These are mainly of two types: circles divided into wedge-shaped sections and rectangles divided into square sections.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1:185–219. H. Lamer, *RE* 13 (1927) 1900–2029. –Ap.K.

GAMMATA (γάμματα), ornaments in the shape of the Greek letter *gamma*, signifying the number three; as a symbol of the Trinity this letter became popular at the time of the Trinitarian discussion. John Lydos (*De mag.* 88.16) describes festive cloaks with *aurigammoi*, small golden *gammata*. Very similar in form was the Latin uncial L interpreted as the foundation stone (Eph 2:20), that is, Christ himself. The shape persisted in later periods, used to surround the crosses on a polystaurion (Balsamon, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:551.19–20) and on metal book covers.

LIT. A. Quacquarelli, "La gammadia pietra angolare: L," *VetChr* 21 (1984) 5–25. –A.K.

GAMZIGRAD, modern name of a fortified site in the province of Dacia Ripensis, north of Niš in Yugoslavia. Thanks to an early 4th-C. inscription reading "Felix Romuliana" (D. Srejović, *Starinar* 36 [1985] 51–60 and fig.1), it can be identified as the Romyliana mentioned by Prokopios (*Buildings* 4:4). Pseudo-Aurelius Victor, in his epitome, relates that Galerius was buried in a place called Romulianum in honor of the emperor's mother, Romula.

Monumental walls with 20 octagonal towers and elaborate gates to the west and east surround the site. Inside this fortification excavations have revealed two temples, one of which may be the mausoleum of Galerius, and palatial structures; mosaic pavements include Dionysiac and hunting scenes. Fragments of marble cult statues and of porphyry figure(s) of an emperor survive; architectural sculpture depicts royal themes. This imperial complex was erected at the beginning of the 4th C.; construction occurred in two phases, apparent in both fortifications and interior architecture. It deteriorated soon after the death of Galerius but was reconstructed at the end of the 4th or early 5th C. and survived through the 6th C. The nature of the site changed, however: two Christian churches, simple dwellings, and workshops were built. According to Prokopios, Justinian I restored Romyliana. A basilica dating to the late 6th C. was the latest monumental construction. Afterwards the area acquired a rural character.

LIT. D. Srejović, A. Lalavić, Dj. Janković, *Gamzigrad* (Belgrade 1983). M. Čanak Medić, *Gamzigrad kasnoantička palata* (Belgrade 1978). D. Srejović, "Two Memorial Monuments of Roman Palatial Architecture: Diocletianus' Palace at Split and Galerius' Palace at Gamzigrad," *Archaeologia Iugoslavica* 22–23 (1982–83) 41–49. Idem, "Felix Romuliana: Carska palata ili . . . ?" *Starinar* 37 (1986) 87–102. –R.E.K., A.K.

GANGRA (Γάγγρα, sometimes Γάγγραι, now Çankırı), city on a tributary of the Halys, commanding the main routes from Galatia to the Black Sea, became capital of Paphlagonia ca.297. Tradition associated Gangra with the martyr Kallinikos and the bishop St. Hypatios; it was the site of a council (see Gangra, Local Council of) in ca.341. In the 5th and 6th C., Gangra appears primarily as the place of exile for several leading churchmen, such as Timotheos Ailouros and Philoxenos of Mabbug. Patr. Makedonios fled to Gangra in 515 and later was buried in the Church of St. Kallinikos. Although off the main invasion routes, Gangra was attacked by the Arabs in 712, 724, and 742. St. Philaretos the Merciful, whose life illustrates local conditions in the 8th C., was a major landowner in a village under the jurisdiction of Gangra. It was taken in 1075 by the Danişmendids, who held it against the Crusaders in 1101. John II Komnenos captured it ca.1134 during his Paphlagonian campaigns, but it soon fell permanently to the Turks. Gangra was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Paphlagonia; it had five suffragans in 451, four ca.850, and three at the end of the 11th C. The hill above the city preserves the dilapidated remains of an undated Byz. fortress.

LIT. R. Janin, D. Stiernon, *DHGE* 19 (1981) 1091–1103. –C.F.

GANGRA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF. This council was convened ca.341 (date disputed) to condemn the radical asceticism associated with the Eustathians (see Eustathios of Antioch). Its only surviving document is a synodal letter consisting of 20 canons and a concluding epilogue (sometimes viewed as an additional canon) addressed to the episcopate of neighboring Armenia. The ascetics under judgment were primarily accused of rejecting family life and marriage (including married clergy), promoting social revolution by encouraging slaves to disobey their masters, in-

sisting that the rich could not enter the Kingdom of God, inspiring women to dress like men, and maintaining their own private liturgical assemblies while rejecting those of the church. Although evidence is lacking, the theological and socioeconomic implications of these ascetic novelties were no doubt discussed at length. Their explicit condemnation by the council is nevertheless balanced by a forceful affirmation (in the letter's epilogue) of traditional asceticism and continence. The canons constitute our earliest and, hence, crucial evidence for the origins of MONASTICISM in Asia Minor. Despite their provincial origin, they were included in all the major canonical collections of the church; BALSAMON and ZONARAS commented on them (PG 137:1233–73).

SOURCE. Mansi 2:1095–1122.

LIT. G. Gribomont, "Le Monachisme au IVe s. en Asie Mineure: De Gangres au Messalianisme," *StP* 2 (Berlin 1957) 400–15. J. de Churruca, "L'anathème du Concile de Gangres contre ceux qui sous prétexte de christianisme incitent les esclaves à quitter leurs maîtres," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 60 (1982) 261–78. —A.P.

GANOS, MOUNT, holy mountain in Thrace, on the western shore of the Sea of Marmara, about 15 km southwest of Rhaidestos. Located near the small town of Ganos (Γάν(ν)ος, mod. Gaziköy), by the 10th or 11th C. the mountain was the site of a federation of monastic communities, headed by a PROTOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1228–32). One of its most famous *protoi* was John PHOURNES, who assisted Euthymios ZIGABENOS in the compilation of his *Panoplia*. Its monasteries suffered destruction during the attacks of the Bulgarians in 1199, the Crusaders in 1203, and the Catalan Company in the early 14th C. In the late 13th C. the future patriarch ATHANASIOS I founded a double monastery there and clashed with the pro-Unionist bishop of Ganos who had been installed by Patr. John XI Bekkos. MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES spent the early part of his career on Ganos.

LIT. R. Janin, L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 19 (1981) 1105–10. M. Gedeon, "Mnemeia latreias christianikes en Ganochorois," *EkAl* 32 (1912) 304f, 311–13, 325–27, 352–55, 389–92. Zacos, *Seals*, vol. 2, no.688. —A.M.T.

GARDEN (κῆπος, also called *peribolion*). Essential to Byz. HORTICULTURE, gardens formed a valuable part of a domestic establishment, providing its members with FRUIT and vegetables. Even a poor monastery had a garden (e.g., vita of Meletios the Younger, ed. V. Vasil'evskij, *PPSb* 17 [1886] 21.17–19), and most peasants, according to Athonite *praktika*, had vineyards and small garden plots (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 32f). Big FARMS, like that of the Argyropouloi in 15th-C. Thessalonike, which raised vegetables for market, are also known. There was no clear distinction between VINEYARDS, gardens, and kitchen gardens: vines often grew together with (and upon) fruit trees, and vegetables were raised under trees; accordingly "mixed" terms such as *ampelokepion* (vineyard-garden) were used. Gardens were usually established where there was access to water; in instances where IRRIGATION was used, the plot was sometimes qualified with the adjective *hypopotion* (drinking). Probably the term *chersoperibolon* designated allotments where no irrigation system had been installed. Vineyards and gardens were usually surrounded by a fence and a ditch (already mentioned in the FARMER'S LAW), and later even by a brick wall, and special guards were commonly used to prevent trespassing.

Pleasure gardens occupy an important place in Byz. ROMANCE as a place for romantic encounters, and the garden of EDEN played a significant part in Byz. cosmology.

LIT. O. Schissel, *Der byzantinische Garten* (Vienna 1942). A.R. Littlewood, "Romantic Paradises: The Rôle of the Garden in the Byzantine Romance," *BMGS* 5 (1979) 95–114. —J.W.N., A.K.

GARIGLIANO, or Liris, a river in southern Italy (in the area of Gaeta). In the second half of the 9th C. there existed on the right bank of the Garigliano an Arab colony dangerous both to Rome and to Byz. possessions in southern Italy. In the next century Pope JOHN X forced the Arabs to retreat to the Garigliano from Narni and Ciculi. In 914 the coalition that arose against the Arabs of the Garigliano region included the newly elected pope, Constantinople, and Berengar of Friuli as well as Spoleto and several other southern Italian princedoms. In June 915 the Byz. fleet blocked the estuary of the Garigliano, and a united army (including the troops of Nicholas Picingli, *strategos* of Longobardia) forced the Muslims to flee to the mountain peaks. In Aug. 915, pressed by famine, they tried to escape but were killed or captured. A legend asserts that the apostles Peter and Paul appeared and encouraged the Christian army.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:236–38. O. Vehse, "Das Bündnis gegen die Sarazenen vom Jahre 915," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 19 (1927) 181–204. –A.K.

GARIZIM. See NEAPOLIS.

GARLAND, rope woven of leaves, usually laurel, sometimes with fruit or flowers and, like the WREATH, suggestive of ceremonial splendor. Common in Late Antique art, garlands were sometimes carried by *putti* and combined with masks in the classical tradition. They frequently festooned official and funerary monuments, for example, the Mausoleum of Diocletian at SPLIT, consular DIPTYCHS, and sarcophagi.

Garlands decorated vaults and arch soffits in monumental painting and mosaics throughout Byz. art, e.g., Church of the ACHEIROPOIETOS, Thessalonike, apse mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA (Constantinople), and the CHORA MONASTERY. Framing elements consisting of garlands appeared in FLOOR MOSAICS, TEXTILES, and BOOK ILLUMINATION, for example, the PARIS PSALTER. They were most common from the 4th to 6th C. and again in the 9th to 10th C.

LIT. E. Börsch-Supan, *Garten-, Landschafts- und Paradiesmotiven im Innenraum* (Berlin 1967) 79–110. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 67f. –R.E.K.

GASMOULOS (γασμοῦλος, also βασμοῦλος, etym. unknown), a descendant of a Byz. and a Latin (most often a Byz. female and a Latin, esp. Venetian, male). The word first appears in sources of the second half of the 13th C. Following the reconquest of Constantinople by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1261, *gasmouloi* were recruited in large numbers as mercenaries to form the core of the light-armed contingent serving aboard Michael's refurbished fleet, this *Gasmoulikon* appears in several naval campaigns during the 1260s and 1270s. Despite Andronikos II's reduction of the fleet in 1285, some *gasmouloi* remained in the service of the emperor, others served aboard Latin ships or acted as pirates in the Aegean. Later they seem to have played a significant military role in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. By the mid-14th C. service in the fleet as a *gasmoulos* (*gasmoulike douleia*) had lost its ethnic character. *Gasmouloi* served the Ottomans in the second half of the 14th C., and *gasmouloi* with a hereditary military obligation (*servitio et tenimento vasmulia*) served the Latin rulers in the Aegean in the 15th–16th C. A number of *gasmouloi* were Venetian nationals. Their nationality was a source of friction between the empire and Venice from 1277 until the 1320s.

LIT. D. Jacoby, "Les Vénitiens naturalisés dans l'empire byzantin," *TM* 8 (1981) 221–24. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 339, 361f, 384, 405. –M.B.

GATE, CITY, designated by πύλη, the same word as "door," formed an opening in the city walls, usually in the form of an ARCH. The gate marked the point where the principal urban thoroughfare changed into a highway. Through the gate the city communicated with the outer world: goods were imported, livestock driven to market, troops departed and returned, visitors and processions entered. Some portals were the setting of ceremonies, such as ADVENTUS. The gates sometimes consisted of wide passages for carriages and narrow wickets for pedestrians. Gates were the weakest point in the system of fortifications; they had to be barred at night and guarded by special watchmen who had possession of the keys; they were flanked by towers.

The Roman practice of embellishing the main entrances in city walls was pursued at SPLIT, GAMZIGRAD, and other towns and camps. Gates were decorated with statuary set in niches and colonnades resting on corbels to either side and above the gate. Other examples are preserved at NICAEA, NIKOPOLIS, and the north and south gates at SERGIOPOLIS. Apart from the GOLDEN GATE and those of the BLACHERNAI quarter, the names of seven of Constantinople's gates are known. Most derive from the region of the city in which they were situated, local churches (e.g., St. Romanos), or destinations beyond them (PEGE, RHEGION). Towers flanking these gates bear many inscriptions attesting to their imperial sponsorship or restoration. There is little basis for the widespread supposition that some gates were reserved for military use only.

In Byz. symbolism the *pyle* (gate or door) played an important role: both heaven and hell were supposed to have gates; Christ was a gate in the tower that represented the Church, and the gate facing east was a *typos* of the Virgin. In iconography, the gate stood for the city in the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, for the province in the FLIGHT

INTO EGYPT. Book illustrators employed a *pyle* (a *pi*-shaped framed HEADPIECE) at the "entrance" of many texts.

LIT. W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Resafa in Syrien* (Berlin 1976). Janin, *CP byz.* 267–83. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism* (Princeton 1956) 10–51. R. Schultze, "Die römischen Stadttore," *BJb* 118 (1909) 324–46.
–M.J., A.K., A.C.

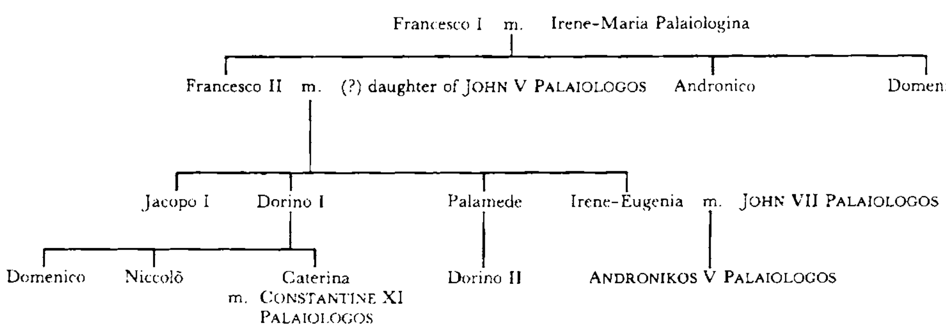
GATTILUSIO (Γατελιοῦζος) or Gattilusi, Genoese family that ruled LESBOS from 1355 to 1462. The Levantine branch of the family was founded by Francesco I, an adventurer who was reportedly instrumental in securing control of Constantinople for JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS in Nov. 1354 (Douk. 67–69). He was rewarded with marriage (summer 1355) to the emperor's sister Irene (who took the name Maria) and with lordship over Lesbos. In 1366 he helped AMADEO VI OF SAVOY recapture Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS) from the Turks. Doukas called Francesco a "good and faithful friend" of John V; he accompanied the emperor to Rome in 1369. Francesco died in the earthquake that struck Lesbos on 6 Aug. 1384, together with two of his sons, Andronico and Domenico.

He was succeeded by his son Francesco II (1384–1403), whose daughter Irene (later Eugenia) married John VII Palaiologos and was the mother of the short-lived ANDRONIKOS V (N. Oikonomides, *Thesaurismata* 5 [1968] 28–31 and "Ivory Pyxis" 331f). To underline their Palaiologan connections, the Gattilusio family made frequent use of the double-headed EAGLE on their coins and heraldry. The family ruled over Lesbos until 1462, when Niccolò Gattilusio was forced to surrender to the Turks. They also acquired control of other northern Aegean islands and coastal lands, including Ainos, Thasos, Samothrace, Lemnos, and Palaia Phokaia. The salt beds of Ainos and alum mines of Phokaia provided substantial income. An important source for the later history of the family is DOUKAS, who was in the service of the Gattilusio and went on embassies for Dorino I (1428–55) and Domenico (1455–58). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. G.T. Dennis, "The Short Chronicle of Lesbos 1355–1428," *Lesbiaka* 5 (1966) 128–42. W. Miller, "The Gattilusj of Lesbos (1355–1462)," *BZ* 22 (1913) 406–47. *PLP*, nos.3580–94. A. Luttrell, "John V's Daughters: A Palaiologan Puzzle," *DOP* 40 (1986) 103–12. –A.M.T., A.C.

GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, Benedictine monk who accompanied other Normans to southern Italy and who evidently belonged to the entourage of Count Roger I of Sicily; died before 1101. At Count Roger I's request Gaufredus authored *On the Deeds of Roger Count of Calabria and Sicily and his Brother Robert Guiscard*, a history of the Normans from ca.1038 to 1099. Dedicated to Angerius, bishop of Catania, the work mixes prose with verse and apparently was left unfinished. Although the earlier part contains legendary material, the contemporary section offers unique details on prosopography and military events of the Byz.-Norman conflict in southern Italy, possibly furnished by Roger's court. Gaufredus considered

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE GATTILUSIO FAMILY IN THE LEVANT IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on A. Luttrell, *DOP* 40 (1986) 103-12.

the Byz. too soft to make good warriors (bk.3, ch.13), but his account sheds much light on Byz. CALABRIA, esp. on George MANIAKES (bk.1, chs. 7–8), and the subjugation of Calabria (bk.1, chs. 9–37). He describes how Guiscard exploited Michael VII's deposition (bk.3, chs. 13–14) and the Norman assault on Greece (bk.3, chs. 24–29, 33, 39–41).

ED. *De rebus gestis Rogerii Calabriae et Siciliae Comitis*, ed. E. Pontieri [= RIS² 5.1] (Bologna 1927–28) 3–108.

LIT. O. Capitani, "Specific Motivations and Continuing Themes in the Norman Chronicles of Southern Italy: Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *The Normans in Sicily and Southern Italy* (Oxford 1977) 1–46. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:415. –M.McC.

GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO, Bulgarian hermit and saint; born Osiče near Kriva Palanka, fl. 11th–early 12th C. Gavriil founded the monastery of the Archangel Michael (later known as the Lesnovo monastery) on the slopes of Mt. Plavitsa, near the village of Lesnovo (now in the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia). Established in the period of Byz. rule in Bulgaria, it became a center of learning and book production throughout the Middle Ages. In the second half of the 14th C. the saint's remains were removed to the Church of the Holy Apostles in the capital city of Tŭrnovo. The present monastery church was built in 1347 by the Serbian *despotes* Jovan OLIVER on the site of Gavriil's original church. The fine frescoes are probably of the same date.

LIT. G. Traichev, *Manastirite v Makedonija* (Sofia 1930) 91–101. K. Balabanov, A. Nikolovski, D. Kornakov, *Spomenici na kulturata na Makedonija* (Skopje 1980) 112–17, 304 (plate). –R.B.

GAYANĒ. See VAŁARŠAPAT.

GAZA (Γάζα, Ar. Ghazzah), ancient city on southern coast of Palestine that remained prosperous until the end of the 6th C., when the PIACENZA PILGRIM (ch.33) called it a "lovely and renowned city." Gaza lay inland, almost 5 km from its harbor at Constantia. It was a center of trade with Mecca; according to Arabic legend, Hashīm, great-grandfather of Muḥammad, died there. Gaza resisted the penetration of Christianity and until the beginning of the 5th C. possessed a pagan shrine of Zeus Marnas (the Marneion), which was finally destroyed by PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, probably in 402. Even after the extinction of paganism, Gaza remained an important focus of ancient culture; teachers at its school of rhetoric included CHORIKIOS OF GAZA and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, while DOROTHEOS OF GAZA was an influential monastic writer. On the MADABA MOSAIC MAP, Gaza is shown as a large city with colonnaded streets crossing its center and a large basilica in the middle, probably the church erected over the Marneion. A mosaic dated by Greek inscription to 508/9 was found during the excavations of a synagogue on the seashore; it represents David as Orpheus, and dressed as a Byz. emperor (A. Ovadiah, *IEJ* 19 [1969] 193–98).

When Gaza was conquered by the Arabs under ʿAMR in 635, the soldiers of the garrison were massacred; the Christian civilian population survived, however, and the city remained the seat of the governor of the Negev. In 723–26 the pilgrim Willibald saw a church in Gaza. The sequence of ceramic finds near Gaza indicates that soon thereafter the area was abandoned (L.Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 33 [1983] 219–30). Probably recovered by the 10th C., Gaza was again in ruins when it fell to the Crusaders. They fortified it anew from ca.1149, and a lower town of merchants and peasants grew up around the citadel. The citadel of Gaza played an important part in the Crusaders' conquest of ASKALON. Saladin captured Gaza in 1187, but Richard I Lionheart retook it and the Latins held it until 1229. Gaza was never a goal of pilgrimage, but an EULOGIA stamp with a representation of the Virgin was found near there (L.Y. Rahmani, *IEJ* 20 [1970] 105–08).

LIT. D. Sourdel, *EI*² 2:1056f. G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1963). K. Seitz, *Die Schule von Gaza* (Heidelberg 1892). *EAEHL* 2:408–17. –G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

GAZES, THEODORE, Greek émigré teacher and translator in Italy; born Thessalonike ca.1400, died Policastro in Calabria 1475/6. The early career of Gazes (Γαζῆς) is poorly documented. Before 1440 he moved to Italy and taught Greek in Ferrara, Naples, and Rome, where he joined the literary circle of BESSARION. In Ferrara he wrote the *Introduction to Greek Grammar* (D. Donnet, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 133–55), which became the standard textbook for humanists and was highly praised by Erasmus. He also delivered a speech called *On the Importance of Greek Studies*, in which he emphasized the value of reading Greek literature as preparation for participation in political life. Gazes contributed much to developing mutual knowl-

edge of the Latin and Greek worlds; he translated Cicero and Claudian into Greek and made Latin translations or paraphrases of Xenophon, Aristotle, and some patristic texts (e.g., Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew). The study of Aristotle, whom Gazes tried to reconcile with Christian doctrines on the Trinity, on the immortality of the individual soul, and on the incarnation, led him into polemics with PLETHON, the consistent follower of Plato.

Gazes supported the policy of Union of Churches, in which he saw the only means to stop the Ottoman conquest. His letter to Francesco FILELFO, a treatise on the origin of the Turks (PG 161:997–1006), attests to his interest in their history. Moreover, Gazes argues against Plethon's fatalistic concept of the Turkish invasion as a revenge for Alexander the Great's conquest; he lays the foundation of historical criticism, drawing a contrast between Plethon's account and the history of the Turks as presented by "Skylax" (i.e., Skylitzes), whom Gazes finds closer to Strabo.

ED. PG 19:1168–1216; 161:985–1014. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 269.

LIT. D.J. Geanakoplos, "Theodore Gaza, a Byzantine Scholar of the Palaeologan 'Renaissance' in the Italian Renaissance," *MedHum* n.s. 12 (1984) 61–81. J. Irmscher, "Theodoros Gazes als griechischer Patriot," *ParPass* 78 (1961) 161–73. *PLP*, no.3450. –A.K., A.M.T.

GEITONIA (γειτονία), neighborhood, quarter; the term was esp. often applied to Antioch, where Malalas (Malal. 417.14) mentions various *geitoniai*. Some *geitoniai* are known by name: in Evagrios Scholastikos (*HE* 2.12), Ostrakine; in Malalas (272.6), Skepane; and in Theophanes (Theoph. 68.16), Iobiton. G. Downey (*A History of Antioch* [Princeton 1961] 478) suggests that Ostrakine was the potters' quarter. Theophanes (236.6) also mentions the *geitoniai* of the Blues in Constantinople, and in an excerpt from Malalas (T. Mommsen, *Hermes* 6 [1972] 380f) a *geitonia ta Mazentiolou* in Constantinople reappears. A.P. Djakonov's theory (in *VizSb* 155f) that *geitoniai* were centers of FACTIONS is now rejected.

The term *geitonia* disappeared after the 6th C. but the term *geitonema* ("neighborhood") continued in use. The hagiographer of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (vita, ed. Dvornik, 63.22–26) reveals that *geitonema* gave some right to a neighboring piece of land.

LIT. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 26f. G. Prinzing, "Zu den Wohnvierteln der Grünen und Blauen in Konstantinopel," *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels* (Munich 1973) 31f, 37–41. –A.K.

GEITONIARCHES (γειτονιάρχης), the chief official of the GEITONIA. According to the 6th-C. GREGENTIOS (PG 86:577D), the king of the Himyarites established in his capital 36 *regiones* and appointed to each a *geitoniarches* with a SEKRETON. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the term designates subaltern officials of two departments—that of the EPARCH OF THE CITY and that of the DEMARCHOI. The scanty evidence creates problems. If 10th-C. *geitoniarchai* were in fact district magistrates, it seems strange that Philotheos speaks of only 12 *geitoniarchai* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 209.22), whereas there were 14 districts in Constantinople. Secondly, if the *geitoniarchai* of the *demarchoi* were local supervisors, then it is curious that there was only one *geitoniarches* of each color (Cameron, *Circus Factions* 92, n.3).

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 321, n. 194, 326. –A.K.

GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, nephew of CYRIL of Jerusalem, died 395. Gelasios (Γελάσιος) was elected bishop of Caesarea in 367. As a Nicaean, he naturally fell foul of the Arian emperor Valens and was ousted, but came back on the accession of THEODOSIOS I. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 5.8) commends the purity of both Gelasios's doctrine and his life. JEROME (*De vir. ill.* 130) observes that he wrote quite well, but did not publish. At least some works circulated, however, since a number of authors do cite him. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.89) distinguishes two or three Gelasioses of Caesarea and lists their works, among which was the *Church History*, which ends with the death of Constantine the Great. Its relationship to the last two books of the continuation by RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA is much disputed (J. Schamp, *PBR* 6 [1987] 146–52; idem, *Byzantion* 57 [1987] 360–90). Only fragments survive, as is the case with his *Exposition of the Symbol*, possibly similar to the catechetical lectures of his uncle Cyril. A polemic *Against the Anomaeans* mentioned by Photios is lost.

ED. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 16–49.

LIT. F. Winkelmann, *Untersuchungen zur Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (Berlin 1966). A. Glas, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Gelasios von Kaisareia* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914). –B.B.

GELASIOS OF KYZIKOS, church historian; died after 475. The name of Gelasios (Γελάσιος) is preserved only by Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 15 and 88); the MSS of his writings, of which the oldest and the most important codex is Milan, Ambros. gr. 534 of the 12th and/or 13th C. (i.e., later than Photios), are anonymous. Of his life is known only what he himself says in the preface to his *History*: he was a son of a priest in Kyzikos and composed his work during the rebellion of BASILISKOS in order to refute the statement of the partisans of EUTYCHES that the fathers of the Council of Nicaea allegedly had been inclined to the Monophysite creed. The title of the book was *Ekklesiastike historia* (Church History), replaced in later tradition by the title *Syntagma of the Holy Council in Nicaea*. The book begins with Constantine I the Great's assumption of power; the manuscript breaks off at the description of the synod in Tyre in 335. According to Photios, the history originally extended to the end of Constantine's reign; the *Bibliotheca* also records that Gelasios rejected the view that the emperor was baptized by a heretic and affirmed that Constantine was Orthodox. For his compilation Gelasios used some sources that are still extant (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, RUFINUS, SOKRATES, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS) as well as some texts now lost, such as the *Church History* of GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, the *Church History* of a certain John, and the documents of the Council of Nicaea, particularly the address of Constantine to the Council and the dialogue between the Fathers of Nicaea and the Arian philosopher Phaidon.

ED. PG 85:1191–1360. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G. Loeschcke, M. Heinemann (Leipzig 1918).
LIT. F. Winkelmann, "Die Quellen der *Historia Ecclesiastica* des Gelasius von Cyzicus (nach 475)," *BS* 27 (1966) 104–30. C.T.H.R. Ehrhardt, "Constantinian Documents in Gelasius of Cyzicus, Ecclesiastical History," *JbAChr* 23 (1980) 48–57. G. Loeschcke, "Das Syntagma des Gelasius Cyzicenus," *RhM* n.s. 60 (1905) 594–613; 61 (1906) 34–77. –A.K., B.B.

GELASIUS I, pope (from 1 Mar. 492); died 21 Nov. 496; probably an African by birth. As archdeacon and papal secretary under FELIX III, Gelasius exerted influence even before his election to the papacy. He contributed much to developing the concept of papal PRIMACY. Unlike his predecessor LEO I, Gelasius sought support from the barbarians, esp. THEODORIC THE GREAT. When Emp. Zeno and particularly Anastasios I inclined toward alliance with Alexandria against Rome, he favored severing relations with Constantinople. He rejected the HENOTIKON and accused Patr. AKAKIOS of heresy; his opposition to Constantinople was formulated in instructions (*commonitorium*) sent to Theodoric's *magister officiorum* Probus Faustus Niger. In his treatises, Gelasius developed the idea of papal authority as parallel to that of the emperor—as a governor of all the Romans based on the *jus publicum*—but with the emperor receiving his power from men and the pope from God. Accordingly, Gelasius stated that the canons of the Council of CHALCEDON (451) had validity only insofar as they were acknowledged by the papacy, and he denied the legality of canon 28 (H. Anton, *ZKirch* 88 [1977] 79–82). It was probably under his auspices that the legend of Pope SILVESTER developed.

LIT. W. Ullmann, *Gelasius I* (Stuttgart 1981). Idem, "Der Grundsatz der Arbeitsteilung bei Gelasius I," *HistJb* 97–98 (1978) 41–70. J. Taylor, "The Early Papacy at Work: Gelasius I (492–96)," *Journal of Religious History* 8 (Sydney 1975) 317–32. –A.K.

GELAT'I, a monastic academy southwest of Kutaisi in Georgia, founded by DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER in 1106 and completed under King Demetrios (1125–56). The *katholikon*, a domed cruciform building with low chapels inserted at the four corners, is completely frescoed, save the apse, which carries a mosaic of the VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS. The subject and medium are both rare in Georgia, suggesting Byz. work, as does the presence of a lengthy Greek inscription. The pose of the Virgin, however—standing and closely flanked by archangels—and the enamel-like colors, are local features, as is the juxtaposition of the mosaic with frescoes (now obscured by 16th- and 17th-C. work) in the nave. Twelfth-century frescoes in the narthex represent the Seven Ecumenical COUNCILS.

LIT. R. Mepisašvili, *Architekturnyj ansambl' Gelati* (Tbilisi 1966). –A.T.

GELIMER (Γελίμερ), last Vandal king (530–34); born North Africa at unknown date, died Galatia at unknown date. The son of Gelaris, great-grandson of GAISERIC, and nephew of kings Gunthamund and Thrasamund, Gelimer became king

after his overthrow of the philobyzantine Hilderic on 19 May (Stein, *infra* 311) or 15 June 530 (Courtois, *infra* 269). This act and his haughty rejection of the demand of Justinian I that Hilderic be handed over created a diplomatic pretext for the Byz. reconquest of North Africa. Belisarios's landing of an expeditionary force in Sept. 533 surprised Gelimer, who ineptly directed the Vandal resistance; Belisarios subsequently defeated the Vandals at Ad Decimum on 13 Sept. 533. Gelimer unsuccessfully tried to besiege Belisarios at Carthage, was crushed at Tricamarum in mid-Dec., and fled to Mt. Pappua on the border of Numidia during the winter of 533–34. In Apr. 534 Gelimer surrendered to Belisarios, effectively ending Vandal resistance. Gelimer was brought to Carthage, and then in the summer of 534 with his wife and children to Constantinople, where he was exhibited in a triumph in the Hippodrome. Justinian gave him an estate in Galatia but denied him the rank of *patrikios* because he refused to renounce Arianism. Despite his earlier reputation for military prowess, Gelimer was a poor military commander whose complex and moody personality (according to Prokopios, *Wars* 3:19.25–29) caused his lack of steadiness and inability to rule or to save his kingdom and people.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955; rp. Aalen 1964) esp. 269–71, 353–55. Stein, *Histoire* 2:314–18. L. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Wandalen* (Munich 1942) 121–41. P. Pischel, *Kulturgeschichte und Volkskunst der Wandalen* (Frankfurt-Bern 1980) 117–22. –W.E.K.

GEMS (λιθάρια) in Byz. were used for JEWELRY, on horse fittings, weapon mounts and scabbards, and religious items, such as crosses and liturgical vessels; they could also be attached to textiles. All types of precious and semiprecious stones were used, the most common being carnelians, emeralds, sardonyx, jasper, haematite, lapis lazuli, amethysts, and rock crystal. Stones were used in their natural crystalline form wherever that occurred, polished or carved into CAMEOS and ringstones. They were rarely faceted, even though the use of diamonds for cutting diamonds was known. Gems were used in conjunction with gold, silver, and other materials. Thirty stones, of seven different kinds, are combined with marble and glass paste on Justin II's reliquary cross (C. Belting-Ihm, *JbRGZM* 12 [1965] 142–66). A law of Leo I (*Cod.Just.* XI 12[11]) expressly states that private individuals were forbidden to use pearls, emeralds, and *hyakinthoi* (sapphires, aquamarines, amethysts?) on harness trappings but were allowed to use other gemstones. The imperial monopoly on the use of specific gems may have been entirely for economic reasons or could imply belief in the amuletic value of such stones. The two most important works on the healing powers of gems were written by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis and Michael PSELLOS.

LIT. U.T. Holmes, "Mediaeval Gem Stones," *Speculum* 9 (1934) 195–204. Z. Kádár, "Über die Symbolik der Edelsteine der ungarischen Krone," in *Studien zur Machtsymbolik des mittelalterlichen Ungarn* (Budapest 1983) 147–52. –S.D.C., A.C.

GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, enumerated in Matthew 1:1–17 (40 names) and Luke 3:23–38 (56 names), is commemorated on the Sunday before Christmas. Illustrations of Christ's ancestors are rare: for example, Paris, B.N. gr. 64, fols. 10v–11r, and the two FRIEZE GOSPELS where the ancestors appear as witnesses to the Incarnation. The 43 ancestors named in the liturgy adorn the inner narthex domes of the CHORA, and ancestors appear in the nave of the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM (12th C.). Christ's Davidic ancestry through his mother, Mary, is frequently emphasized: David is axially aligned with Christ in monumental cycles and accompanies him in Gospel headpieces (Parma, Bibl. Pal. 5—Nelson, *Preface & Miniature*, frontispiece); the marginal PSALTERS illuminate Psalm 71 with an image of Mary, who also prefaces aristocratic Psalters; and the TREE OF JESSE flourishes in Palaiologan art.

LIT. S. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975) 188–203. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:49–59. –A.W.C.

GENESIOS (Γενέσιος), conventional name of the 10th-C. author of the anonymous "History of emperors" that is preserved in a single MS (Leipzig, Univ. Lib. gr. 16); an 11th-C. hand wrote the text of Genesios, but on fol.248 another, later hand has inserted the notation "Genesiou" (F. Šteinman, *VizVrem* 21 [1914] 37–39). There have been numerous attempts to reconstruct the biography and genealogy of Genesios, who has been given the first name of Joseph (a Joseph Genesios is mentioned in the preamble to Skylitzes) and

proclaimed the son or grandson of a certain Armenian Constantine (A. Markopoulos, *ZRVI* 24–25 [1986] 103–08). Written at the court of Constantine VII, the chronicle encompasses the period 813–86 and presents events from the viewpoint of the Macedonian dynasty.

The problem of its interrelationship with Theophanes Continuatus is complicated: because Genesios stated that he employed eyewitnesses and rumors (p.3.11–12), he used to be considered the source of Theophanes Continuatus; comparing the texts, however, leads to the conclusion that he borrowed his material from the continuator (esp. from Vita Basilii) or that they both depended on the same source. F. Barišić suggested that Genesios used Sergios the Confessor (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 260f). Genesios's composition is loose, full of insertions and non sequiturs. Especially poor is the last section, on Michael III and Basil I; its allegedly precise data turn out to be either invented or suspect.

ED. *Regum libri quattuor*, eds. A. Lesmüller-Werner, H. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1978).

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Études sur les deux histoires du règne de Michel III," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 452–96. F. Barišić, "Génésios et le Continuateur de Théophane," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 119–33. A. Werner, "Die Syntax des einfachen Satzes bei Genesios," *BZ* 31 (1931) 258–323. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Theophanes Continuatus und Genesios," *BS* 48 (1987) 12–27. –A.K.

GENESIS, first book of the Old Testament, which deals with the Creation. Illustration of the Book of Genesis is found most abundantly in two fragmentary MSS that are unrelated iconographically.

The Vienna Genesis (Vienna, ÖNB theol. gr. 31; 6th C.) now consists of 24 folios of an estimated 96. It is a sumptuous book, written in silver ink on purple-dyed parchment. The layout is conceived around the illustrations, with the lower half of each page given over to the artist and the text in the upper half abbreviated from the Septuagint. No manuscript quite like it survives. Theories about the origin of its iconography and style have led to an attribution to the region of Syria/Palestine, although the purple parchment might seem to point to Constantinople itself.

The Cotton Genesis (London, B.L. Cott. Otho B.VI; 5th? C.) once contained the full text of Genesis and some 360 miniatures, but a fire in 1731 reduced it to charred and shrunken fragments. Scholarly ingenuity has reconstructed in large part its original layout and to some extent the appearance of its miniatures. This was possible after study of iconographically related material, notably mosaics in the porches of S. Marco at Venice, which, since the work of Tikkanen (1899), have been accepted as closely related descendants of miniatures in the Cotton Genesis. The Cotton Genesis has been attributed to Egypt, in part on the basis of its interest in the Joseph story and enthusiasm for Nilotic landscapes, beehive granaries, and pyramids.

Further cycles of Genesis illustration in the early period are implied by the Octateuchs and monuments such as the mosaics of Monreale. Yet, in contrast to the situation in and after the 10th C. when, it is often argued, artists frequently made reference to pre-Iconoclastic artistic treasures, it is striking that the Cotton and Vienna Genesis MSS seem to have been unknown in the East. Both had reached Venice and been consulted by artists by the early 14th C. at the latest (for the Vienna Genesis, see H. Buchthal, *Historia Troiana* [London 1972] 47–52). Genesis illustration is usually held to be characterized by its literalism. Significant elements were derived from extrabiblical sources, notably Jewish and Christian legends and exegesis, which probably entered the pictorial traditions before the 6th C.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis* (Princeton 1986). H. Gerstinger, *Die Wiener Genesis* (Vienna 1931). O. Mazal, *Wiener Genesis*, 2 vols., fasc. and comm. (Frankfurt am Main 1980). S. Dufrenne, "A propos de deux études récentes sur la Genèse de Vienne," *Byzantion* 42 (1972) 598–601, with add. in *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 504f. –J.H.L.

GENIKON (γενικόν), major fiscal department that dealt with assessment of land and other taxes, maintaining the lists of taxpayers, and collecting payments (Dölger, *Beiträge* 19f). It also served as a tribunal for fiscal cases; Basil I is said to have presided over trials in the *genikon*. It occupied a special building allegedly constructed by Constantine I and located within the Great Palace. The building was destroyed by Isaac II (Janin, *CP byz.* 173f).

The head of the *genikon* was the *logothetes tou genikou*. The office is distinct from that of the *genikos logothetes*, who was a high-ranking provincial kommerkiarios in the 6th–7th C. The first mentioned head of the *genikon* logothesion was

the (former?) monk Theodotos ca.692. N. Oikonomides (*Dated Seals*, no.23) attributed to him the seal of Theodotos "monk and *genikos logothetes*." Under the *logothetes* were various officials: *megas* CHARTOULARIOS, *chartoularioi* of the ARKLAI, EPOPTAI, DIOIKETAI, KOMES HYDATON, OIKISTIKOS, *kommerkiarioi*, KOMES TES LAMIAS, etc. The role of the *genikon* declined under the Komnenoi but recovered under Andronikos I and the Angeloi. After 1204 the term *logothetes tou genikou* survived only as a title, often conferred on intellectuals such as George and Constantine AKROPOLITES and Theodore METOCHITES. The chrysobull of 1302 mentioning the SEKRETON of the *genikos logothetes* (*Xerop.* 235.40) is a forgery. Pseudo-KODINOS refers to the *logothetes tou genikou* but admits ignorance of his functions. The last *logothetes tou genikou* was probably Iannes [*sic*] Androuses in 1380 (*PLP*, no.90111).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 11–24. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:129–94. –A.K.

GENNADIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug./Sept. 458–between 17 and 20 Nov. 471); born ca.400. A man of wonderful memory and excellent education, he was highly praised by GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES. A consistent opponent of Alexandrian political and theological independence, Gennadios polemicized in his youth against Cyril of Alexandria and later deposed TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. On the other hand, he was a true ally of Pope LEO I and composed an *enkomion* of the pope's tome addressed to FLAVIAN and directed against EUTYCHES. In 458 or 459 Gennadios sent an encyclical epistle condemning SIMONY (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.143). Gennadios enjoyed fame as a miracle worker: Theodore Lector relates that the patriarch healed a painter whose hand withered because he dared to depict Christ with the attributes of Zeus; when the *anagnostes* Charisios refused to improve his behavior, Gennadios predicted his death, which indeed occurred the next day. Little has survived from his exegetic and dogmatic works. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS wrote a eulogy of Gennadios, whom he compared to Daniel the Stylite and Andrew the Fool (H. Delehaye, *AB* 26 [1907] 221–28).

ED. PG 85:1613–1734. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Münster in Westfalen 1933) 352–422. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 54–108.
LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:525f. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 143–47. J. Kirchmeyer, *DictSpir* 6 (1965) 204f. –A.K.

GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, theologian and patriarch of Constantinople (6 Jan. 1454–56, 1463, and 1464–65); baptismal name George; born Constantinople between 1400 and 1405, died Mt. MENOIKEION ca.1472. He is sometimes referred to as Kourteses, perhaps his mother's name. A student of Mark EUGENIKOS, John CHORTASMENOS, and Joseph BRYENNIOS, Gennadios taught logic and physics in Constantinople. By 1438 he was *didaskalos*, senator, and *krites katholikos*. He attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he took a Unionist position. By 1444, however, Gennadios became an avowed opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and inherited from Mark Eugenikos the leadership of the anti-Unionist party. He was consequently deposed (1446/7) from his official positions and ca.1450 took monastic vows at the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY. Gennadios was captured by the Turks in 1453; after his release he served three times as patriarch. He sought to reach a *modus vivendi* with the Turkish authorities, urged a policy of OIKONOMIA with respect to infractions of the canons, and hoped for spiritual revival among the Orthodox. In the interlude between his patriarchates, he retired to the Prodromos monastery near Serres; he later died and was buried there.

Gennadios knew Latin well and admired Latin scholarship, esp. the works of AQUINAS, of which he prepared translations and commentaries. He wrote an ardent defense of ARISTOTLE, who had been attacked by PLETHON, and sought to incorporate into Byz. thinking SCHOLASTICISM and the Thomist interpretation of Aristotle (G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974] 305–23). His extensive writings include anti-Union treatises; expositions of the Christian faith for Mehmed II (A. Papadakis, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 88–106); and essays on divine providence, predestination, and the origin of the human soul.

ED. *Oeuvres complètes*, ed. L. Petit, X.A. Sidéridès, M. Jugie, 8 vols. (Paris 1928–36).
LIT. C.J. Turner, "The Career of George-Gennadius Scholarius," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 420–55. Th.N. Zeses, *Gennadios B' Scholarios. Bios-Syngrammata-Didaskalia* (Thessalonike 1980), corr. G. Podskalsky, *BZ* 77 (1984) 58–60. Beck, *Kirche* 760–63. –A.M.T.

GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES, Latin theologian; died between 492 and 505. His biography is unknown, and most of his works (including books against Nestorios and Eutyches) are lost.

His book *On Famous Men*, which is a continuation of JEROME, is our most important source concerning Christian writers of the 4th and esp. 5th C. Gennadius knew both Greek and Latin, he described only those works he himself had read, and he tried to be objective in his approach. He viewed Pelagios as a heresiarch; at the same time he had no praise for AUGUSTINE, rejecting his concept of PREDESTINATION.

ED. E.C. Richardson in *TU* 14.1 (1896) 57–97.

LIT. B. Czapla, *Gennadius als Litterarhistoriker* (Münster 1898). M. Schanz, *Geschichte der römischen Literatur* 4.2 (Munich 1920) 552–54. –A.K.

GENOA (Γέν[ν]ουα), port city in Liguria in northwestern Italy, which after Diocletian belonged to the province of Alpes Cottiae. It was a bishopric in the 5th C., and its bishop Paschasius participated in the Council of Chalcedon in 451. Two edicts of Theodoric the Great mention a Jewish community and a synagogue in Genoa. By 539 the city was in the hands of the Byz.; it was taken for a short time by the Franks, but then remained Byz. until the 7th C. The Lombard king Rothari conquered Genoa ca.642 and destroyed its walls. The city recovered in the 10th C. despite Muslim raids in 930–35; in the 11th C. Genoa defeated the Arabs and expelled them from SARDINIA; its fleet also sacked Tunis.

The Genoese took part in the First Crusade, sending a squadron of 13 vessels that was instrumental in attacking the Syrian and Palestinian coast. Genoa's abundant archives record Genoese trade activity with Syria, Alexandria, and Constantinople; in 1155 Emp. Manuel I Komnenos, suspicious of VENICE, granted the Genoese a chrysobull promising them an EMBOLOS and SKALAI in Constantinople as well as a reduction of the KOMMERKION. In their penetration into "Romania" the Genoese encountered competition from Venice and PISA; Manuel I considered Genoa a natural ally in his struggle with Venice, and after 1171 the Genoese position in the empire became favorable. In 1201 the Genoese ambassador Ottobone della Croce received new privileges from Alexios III, and relations were active in 1203 when the threat of the Crusaders' attack on the Byz. capital became imminent (P. Schreiner, *QFItArch* 63 [1983] 292–97).

Although Venice benefited enormously from the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Genoa took advantage of Greek hostility toward Venice to secure its position in the Empire of Nicaea. Guglielmo Boccanegra, "captain of the people," concluded the Treaty of NYMPHAION with Michael VIII in 1261, and after the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople the same year Genoa attained a privileged position in the empire, replacing Venice. The Genoese naval victory of 1284 at the battle of Meloria (near Livorno) weakened, if not completely destroyed, Pisa, another rival (*Genova, Pisa e il Mediterraneo tra due e trecento* [Genoa 1984]), making Genoa the major Italian power in the Levant. Genoa established colonies in Pera (see GALATA), CHIOS, the Danubian delta (VICINA, CHILIA), the Crimea (KAFFA, SOUGDAIA), and TREBIZOND; alum mines in PHOKAIA were ceded to the Genoese. From 1292 on, however, the Venetians waged a counterattack that led to a series of wars involving the Greeks, Catalans, and Turks (C.P. Kyrris, *Byzantina* 4 [1972] 331–56; M. Balard, *TM* 4 [1970] 431–69). The treaty of 1352 signed by John VI Kantakouzenos expanded Genoa's privileges in the Levant (I.P. Medvedev, *VizVrem* 38 [1977] 161–72). Thereafter Genoese activity began to decrease, owing to the collapse of the Mongols and the advance of the Ottomans, among other reasons; Pera was lost in 1453, Kaffa in 1475, and Chios in 1566.

The Byz. of the 14th C. attentively observed internal strife in Genoa. Theodore Metochites deplored it as an example of the inadequacies of democracy; Gregoras and Kantakouzenos mention Simone Boccanegra's rise to power (1339–44). However, an attempt to demonstrate that Boccanegra's uprising inspired the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike (where a Genoese colony allegedly existed) is inconclusive (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.III [1953], 603–17).

A textile with a cycle of the Life of St. Lawrence and extensive Latin inscriptions, sent by Michael VIII to his Genoese allies, is preserved in the Galleria di Palazzo Bianco (Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 318f). R. Nelson (*ArtB* 67 [1985] 548–66) suggested that frescoes painted in the Cathedral of St. Lawrence in Genoa ca.1310 were the work of an itinerant Byz. artist.

LIT. A. Frondoni, "Note preliminari per uno studio sulla topografia di Genova 'paleocristiana,'" *Atti del V Congresso nazionale di archeologia cristiana*, vol. 2 (Rome 1982) 351–64. L.G. Bianchi, E. Poleggi, *Una città portuale del medioevo: Genova nei secoli X–XVI* (Genoa 1980). M. Balard, *La Romanie génoise*, 2 vols. (Rome 1978). G. Day, "Byzantino-Genoese Diplomacy and the Collapse of Emperor Manuel's

Western Policy 1168–1171," *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 393–405. C. Manfroni, "La relazione fra Genova, l'Impero bizantino, e i Turchi," *Atti della società ligure di storia patria* 28.3 (1902) 575–860. R.S. Lopez, *Storia delle colonie genovesi nel Mediterraneo* (Bologna 1938). –A.K., A.C.

GENRE, LITERARY. The concept of genre is historically determined, and the classical categorization of literature into three genres (lyric, epic, and drama) did not apply to Byz. The Byz. had no coherent theory of genre, except in the case of rhetoric, whose works they divided, in accordance with ancient principles, into various *gene* and *eide* (Martin, *Rhetorik* 9). Some Byz. writers, such as Psellos (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 139–41) or Eustathios of Thessalonike (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 183–87), tried to draw a distinction between certain genres. The principle of classification for medieval literature was functional rather than aesthetic—the objective and the audience addressed were the major criteria of categorization; accordingly, the genres formed an interconnected system that can be characterized as a hierarchy of genres. Each genre was supposed to possess strict rules of stylistic formulas (which some historians of literature call "etiquette"), even though the Byz. accepted the existence of mixed genres. Eustathios justified this formulaic method of composition: although in antiquity Solon demanded that each work of art be unique, now standards had changed, and God and the divine deeds of emperors should be praised repeatedly, retained "as a seal of brilliant character," and promoted everywhere (Regel, *Fontes* 1:98.21–27). Eustathios argued that the repetitive formulas were necessary for the didactic purposes of Byz. literature.

The type of genre was often, but not in every case, stated in the heading of a work (*logos*, epitaph, chronicle, vita, etc.), but this categorization is not always the author's and in any case is inconsistent. From the point of view of modern criticism, one can distinguish the following major genres: POETRY (secular and religious, both with subdivisions), RHETORIC (with many subdivisions), and esp. SERMONS, EPISTOLOGRAPHY, HAGIOGRAPHY, theological literature (primarily POLEMIC and EXEGESIS), HISTORIOGRAPHY, ADMONITIONS, ROMANCE, FABLE, GNOMAI, PROVERBS, and SATIRE. Although scientific and juristic literature contain some elements of literary genres, they belong to the sphere of normative, not didactic and entertaining works.

LIT. K.W. Kempfer, *Gattungstheorie* (Munich 1973). D.S. Lichačev, *Poetika drevnerusskoj literatury* (Moscow 1979) 55–102. W.-H. Schmidt, K.-D. Seemann, "Die Gattungsforschung und die älteren slavischen Literaturen," *Gattungsprobleme der älteren slavischen Literaturen* (Berlin 1984) 13–32. E. Patlagean, "Discours écrit, discours parlé: Niveaux de culture à Byzance aux VIIIe–XIe siècles," *Annales ESC* 34 (1979) 264–78. –A.K.

GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN (Ντεφρὲς ντὲ Βιλαρτουή), prince of Achaia (ca.1209–25/31); born between 1170 and 1175, died between 1225 and 1231. Nephew of the historian Geoffrey de VILLEHARDOUIN, Geoffrey accompanied the part of the Fourth Crusade that went to Syria. There, in 1204, he learned of the capture of Constantinople and set sail for the city. His ship was forced to pass the winter of 1204/5 at Methone, where an unnamed Byz. magnate invited him to help seize that area. Their cooperation prospered until the magnate's death. In summer 1205, his son's hostility forced Geoffrey and his followers to seek out BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, then besieging Nauplia. With Boniface's consent, Geoffrey joined WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE in conquering the MOREA. After William departed for France, Geoffrey did homage to Emp. HENRY OF HAINAULT (1209) and became prince of ACHAIA. Around 1209/10 he took the Acrocorinth (where he constructed a donjon) and then the Lakonian plain, leaving only MONEMVASIA, the Slavs of Taygetos, and the MANI unconquered. In the feudal organization of the principality, former Byz. magnates assumed a recognized place while peasants continued to pay dues similar to those in Byz. times. The circumstances of Geoffrey's death are unknown.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 64–76. Longnon, *Compagnons* 32–41. B. Hendrickx, "Quelques problèmes à la conquête de la Morée par les Francs," *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 373–88. –C.M.B.

GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN, prince of Achaia (ca.1226/31–1246); born France ca.1195?, died Morea early summer 1246. The son of GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN, he came to the Morea ca.1210. In 1217 he married Agnes de Courtenay, daughter of Pierre de Courtenay, Latin emperor of Constantinople. As Pierre's vassal Geoffrey helped the Latins oppose Byz. efforts to reconquer Constantinople. In 1236 and 1238 he fought against JOHN III VATATZES, who was besieging the capital. The Latin emperor rewarded him with suzerainty over Euboea. During Geoffrey's reign

the principality of ACHAIA enjoyed great tranquility and prosperity. Since he left no male heir, he was succeeded by his brother WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:75f, 79–115. Longnon, *Empire latin* 165f, 175f. *HC* 2:242–44. –A.M.T.

GEOFFREY DE VILLEHARDOUIN (historian). See VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFREY.

GEOGRAPHY as a scholarly discipline was inherited by the Byz. from antiquity. STRABO and PAUSANIAS were the favorite sources of STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM in the 6th C., and interest in Strabo was revived by the 9th C. (A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* [Amsterdam 1983] 1–62, 137–82): a 9th-C. Heidelberg MS contains a selection of minor geographical works, including the *Periplous of the Erythrean (Red) Sea* (see PERIPLOUS), and an epitome of Strabo (Wilson, *Scholars* 87). Strabo and Stephen of Byzantium were excerpted in chronicles and lexika, in works by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, and elsewhere. The didactic poem on geography of Dionysios Periegetes (2nd C.) also acquired popularity and was commented on by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, among others. PTOLEMY, however, was more appreciated as the author of the *Handy Tables* than as a geographer, and Eratosthenes, the most scientific of ancient geographers, remained scarcely more than a name to the Byz.

The late Roman period witnessed an interest in descriptive geography—from accounts of marketplaces and harbors (EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI) to the itineraries of pilgrims (EGERIA). The development of this genre stopped after the 6th C. and only slowly revived, beginning with EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES (end of 8th or 9th C.). The resurgence of TRAVEL LITERATURE from the 11th C. on shows growing interest in geography, although the Byz. retained a generally negative attitude toward TRAVEL. Psellos made ironic remarks about the wandering monk Elias (Ljubarskij, *Psell* 74–79), and Niketas Choniates ridiculed Patr. John X Kamateros for behaving as if he had journeyed throughout the world. Later this negative attitude disappeared: Gregoras included in his *History* (Greg. 3:3–75) a lengthy section devoted to his friend Agathangelos, who allegedly spent 20 years traveling around the Mediterranean, describing his journeys in letters. The representatives of Greek travel literature of the 12th–15th C. are John PHOKAS, Andrew LIBADENOS, and Laskaris KANANOS. To descriptive geographic literature also belong the narrative accounts of AMBASSADORS to foreign lands, such as PRISKOS of Panion and NONNOSOS in the late Roman period and Constantine MANASSES, Nicholas MESARITES, and Theodore METOCHITES in the 12th–14th C. Many geographic observations, based partly on personal experience and partly on the records of travelers, are contained in historical works from AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS to Laonikos CHALKOKONDYLES.

Theoretical geography, however, lagged behind descriptive observations. CARTOGRAPHY was barely known after the late Roman period. Description of lands and cities tended to be replaced by lists of names, as in HIEROKLES or the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, rarely supplemented with information. More elaborate are the lists of themes and esp. of neighboring peoples in Constantine VII's DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO and DE THEMATIBUS, which also provide historical and ethnographic data. Various causes hampered the development of Byz. geographic perceptions. First, writers felt the need to reconcile observations and empirical findings with preconceived notions based on the Bible—such a combination of personal experience and traditional stories is typical of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. Following another tradition, already found in ancient literature, some Byz. "geographers" uncritically accepted bookish information as true. Even in *De thematibus* the distribution of cities in ancient times is not distinguished from the situation of the 10th C. Finally, geographic views were strongly influenced by folklore; fantastic notions regarding alien lands and peoples were often blended with reliable information.

In Byz. cosmography views on the shape of the earth ranged from the domed cube (Kosmas) to the globe (Photios), but in both cases the OIKOUMENE was centered on the MEDITERRANEAN, which was seen as surrounded by three continents—Europe, Asia, and Libya—that were surrounded, in their turn, by the Ocean. The extremes of the earth—the British Isles, China, and Black Africa—were more often than not presented in legendary form, whereas INDIA had a double existence—both as a place situated on the Ganges and as another identified with ETHIOPIA. Far in the east was the earthly PARADISE, where the four major rivers (see PARADISE, RIVERS OF) supposedly rose.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Byzance: Les pays*, pt.II (1967), 465–73. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:507–22. G. Guarnieri, *Le correnti del pensiero geografico nell'età medioevale*, vol. 3 (Pisa 1971) 27–46. A. Diller, "Byzantine Lists of Old and New Geographical Names," *BZ* 63 (1970) 27–42. Z. Avalichvili, "Géographie et légende dans un écrit apocryphe de S. Basile," *ROC* 26 (1927–28) 279–304. –A.K.

GEOPONIKA (Περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί), collection of excerpts on agriculture dedicated to CONSTANTINE VII; probably compiled 944–59. The *Geoponika* deals with grain production, horticulture, apiculture, and esp. viticulture. In the preface the compiler praises Constantine's victories and patronage of philosophy, rhetoric, and all sciences and arts. Since the state consists of three elements—the army, the clergy, and agriculture (p.2.6–7)—it was natural to issue an encyclopedia of this kind.

The originality of the *Geoponika* has been much discussed. Lipšic emphasizes the original elements of the treatise (e.g., the author expressed the hope that the Arabs would perish [p.19.16]) and regards the *Geoponika* as a source for the study of 10th-C. agriculture. Lemerle asserts that the *Geoponika* contains nothing original except the preface; he argues that the *Geoponika* was based on the work of Kassianos Bassos the *scholastikos* (an office that had already disappeared by the 10th C.) and ascribes to him all the personal remarks included in Bassos's *Eklogai*, a compilation based in turn on the work of Vindanios Anatolios of Berytus (4th C.), mentioned in Photios's BIBLIOTHECA (cod. 163). Gemoll, on the other hand, saw in Kassianos Bassos the compiler of the *Geoponika*. This very popular book has been preserved in approximately 50 MSS of the 11th C. and later; the *Geoponika* (or its source) was translated into Arabic, Syriac, and later into Armenian. In 1157 BURGUNDIO OF PISA acquired a MS of the *Geoponika* and translated into Latin the section on viticulture.

ED. *Geoponica*, ed. H. Beckh (Leipzig 1895), with corr. and add. Eu. Fehrle, *Richtlinien zur Textgestaltung der griechischen Geoponica* (Heidelberg 1920), and A.D. Wilson, *BMQ* 13 (1939) 10f. Russ. tr. E. Lipšic (Moscow 1960).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 332–36. W. Gemoll, *Untersuchungen über die Quellen, der Verfasser und die Abfassungszeit der Geoponica* (Berlin 1884). –A.K.

GEORGE (Γεώργιος), personal name (derived from *georgos*, "peasant"). The name appeared in the 4th C. and became more common in the 5th C., primarily in the milieu of intellectuals (*rhetores*) and state functionaries (*PLRE* 1:391; 2:503f). The only known clergyman of this time with the name George is bishop of Laodikeia (died ca.360), a man who received a philosophical education. Rare in Prokopios (3 examples), the name is frequent in late papyri (J. Diethart, *Prosopographia arsinoitica*, vol. 1 [Vienna 1980] nos. 1321–1552). It penetrated into narrative sources by the 9th C.: in Theophanes the Confessor, George is tied for ninth place with Anastasios. In Skylitzes it also holds ninth place, together with Niketas. The name George reached its peak in the history of Anna Komnene, following directly after CONSTANTINE and JOHN, but in Niketas Choniates it returned to ninth place. This situation probably reflects the attitude of the aristocratic milieu toward the name; it was more popular with the peasantry and no emperor bore this name. At any rate, vol. 1 of the acts of *Lavra* (10th–12th C.) lists 41 cases, third only to John (90) and to NICHOLAS (42); in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), George, with 275 instances, is second only to John. –A.K.

GEORGE, saint; principal feastday 23 Apr. No reliable evidence attests his martyrdom, attributed to the time of a legendary Persian king Dadianos and located in Lydda (DIOSPOLIS in Palestine); later accounts transferred his execution to Nikomedeia and the reign of Diocletian. Nevertheless the veneration of George is attested very early. An inscription of 323 found at Shakka in the Hauran mentions George "and the saints who suffered with him." A decree of Pope Gelasius I of 496 rejects George's *acta* as apocryphal; several 6th-C. pilgrims observed the cult of George's tomb in Lydda. The earliest fragments of his *passiones* are the 5th-C. palimpsest in Vienna, the 6th-C. papyrus from the Negev, and a fragment (ca.1000?) from Nubia (W.H.C. Frend, *AB* 100 [1982] 79–86). The earliest *passio* emphasized George's ordeal and endurance; gradually, the theme of George as intercessor developed, esp. in his *Miracula* (some of which cannot be dated earlier than 1100—A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 420), in which the saint helped in finding cattle, releasing captives, etc. Unlike the *passiones*, the *Miracula* present George as a mounted knight. George, DEMETRIOS, THEODORE STRATELATES, and THEODORE TERON were the most popular MILITARY

SAINTS; Emp. John II Komnenos introduced the image of George in military costume on coins. The legend of George's victory over the dragon was known probably only from the 12th C. Many writers such as ROMANOS THE MELODE, Theodore DAPHNOPATES, and Theodore PRODROMOS eulogized George. His *passiones* were translated into Latin, Slavic, Coptic, Armenian, Arabic, and Ethiopic.

Representation in Art. Virtually no other saint is so widely depicted in Byz. art as George. His portrait as a youthful warrior, elegantly clad, his hair in tight curls, is an essential feature of every church program, and appears in every other possible medium as well, from painted icons to ivories, from MSS to coins. In the post-Iconoclastic period (mostly after the 10th C., though there is a 9th–10th-C. icon with a related image on Mt. Sinai; Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* B.44) George is also shown on horseback, often as a pendant to the mounted St. Theodore Stratelates (B.E. Scholz, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 243–53). His martyrdom on the wheel appears in the earliest marginal PSALTERS, and cycles of his martyrdom, with its long sequence of tortures as well as some of his miracles, are painted in subsidiary areas of churches from the 11th C. onward, esp. in Georgia and Serbia. Large historiated icons may contain over a dozen scenes surrounding a central figure of the saint; in some of these the figure of George is in relief, as though to imitate one of the three-dimensional wooden statues (*zoana*) of George such as that housed in his church in Omorphekklesia near KASTORIA.

SOURCES. K. Krumbacher, *Der heilige Georg in der griechischen Überlieferung* (Munich 1911). *Miracula s. Georgii,* ed. J.B. Aufhauser (Leipzig 1913). A.V. Rystenko, *Legenda o sv. Georgii i Drakone* (Odessa 1909).

LIT. *BHG* 669y–691y. S. Braunfels-Esche, *Sankt Georg: Legende, Verehrung, Symbol* (Munich 1976). E.A. Wallis Budge, *George of Lydda, the Patron Saint of England* (London 1930). D. Howell, "St. George as Intercessor," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 121–36. F. Cumont, "La plus ancienne légende de Saint Georges," *RHR* 114 (1936) 5–51. E. Lucchesi Palli, *LCI* 6:365–73. K.J. Dorsch, "Der Drachentöter Georg—Korrektur eines Heiligenbildes," *Das Münster* 39 (1986) 297–300. J. Myslivec, "Svatý Jiři ve východokřesťanském umění," *BS* 5 (1933) 304–75. –A.K., N.P.Š.

GEORGE, ROTUNDA OF SAINT. Located in Thessalonike, it may have been originally dedicated to the ASOMATOI or to Christ as the Dynamis Theou (W. Kleinbauer, *CahArch* 22 [1972] 55–60). First built as a temple or mausoleum (part of the palace complex of Galerius) at the end of the 3rd C., this structure was transformed into a church by the first half of the 5th C. Constructed entirely of brick, it is a large domed cylinder 24 m in diameter, with eight vaulted recesses set regularly into the 4-m thickness of the wall (G. Velenis, *BalkSt* 15 [1974] 298–307). When the building became a church, an apse was added to the easternmost niche and an aisle was constructed around the entire exterior, with a monumental entrance to the west and an ambo in a special enclosure to the south.

The mosaics in the drum show 16 figures, standing *orans* in pairs against elaborate two-storied gold architectural fantasies of gemmed arcades, peacock-feather conches, and ciboria over altars and thrones. The identity of the figures is still disputed: inscriptions near each head provide a name, a month, and even a profession for each figure, but it is not clear whether they represent saints or donors. In the dome are fragments of mosaics, probably a standing Christ and four flying angels in the center, and standing prophets around them. In the vaults of the recesses are mosaics with geometrical motifs enclosing birds and fruits.

LIT. Th. Pazaras, *The Rotunda of St. George in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1985). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 78. W. Kleinbauer, "The Original Name and Function of Hagios Georgios at Thessalonike," *CahArch* 22 (1972) 228–33. M. Vickers, "Observations on the Octagon at Thessaloniki," *JRS* 63 (1973) 111–20. H. Torp, *Mosaikkene i St. Georg-rotunden* (Oslo 1963). –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ, *despotes* of Serbia (from 1427); born ca.1375, died Belgrade 24 Dec. 1456. Between 1398 and 1402 BAYEZID I reinstalled George and his brother Gregory in lands confiscated from their father Vuk. George participated in the battle of Ankara in 1402 as a Turkish vassal; after the Ottoman defeat he returned to Serbia via Constantinople and used the temporary weakness of the Ottomans to build up a significant principality. Silver mines at Novo Brdo provided Branković with the necessary financial resources to construct between 1428 and 1430 a new capital on the Danube, the well-fortified SMEDEREVO.

In 1427 Branković inherited the territory of his childless uncle, STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ, and received the title of *despotes* from the Byz. emperor John VIII. In addition to coping with the increasing

Ottoman threat, Branković had to resist both Venice and Hungary; he lost Belgrade to Hungary in 1427 and had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the Hungarian king. In these conditions Dubrovnik and Constantinople were his natural allies. In 1414 he had taken as his second (or third) wife Irene Kantakouzene, granddaughter of Matthew I (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 184–88, no.71). Irene's brother Thomas became one of Branković's leading generals. A daughter Mara was married to MURAD II (I. Papadrianos, *Hellenika* 19 [1966] 113–16).

In 1439 Smederevo fell to the Turks. In 1444 Branković and HUNYADI, *voivode* of Transylvania, recaptured Smederevo and in 1444 reinstated the despotate of Serbia. This initially successful Christian crusade against the Turks ended the same year, however, in defeat at the battle of VARNA (in which Branković did not participate). Branković resumed his vassalage to the Ottomans and was forced to send a contingent of troops and sappers for the siege of Constantinople in 1453. After the fall of the Byz. capital, Mehmed II repeatedly attacked the Serbian despotate. In 1455 the Turks captured Novo Brdo and in June 1459, after the death of Branković, they took Smederevo, thus ending the last Serbian medieval state. A portrait of Branković with his family is preserved on a chrysobull of 1429 in the Esphigmenou monastery on Athos.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 2:218–74. M. Spremić, "La Serbie entre les Turcs, les Grecs et les Latins au XVe siècle," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 436–40. Č. Mijatović, *Despot Djuradj Branković*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1880–82). –J.S.A.

GEORGE HAMARTOLOS ("the sinner"), or George the Monk, author of a universal chronicle encompassing history from Adam to 842. His biography is unknown, the time of his compilation under discussion. The traditional date of ca.866/7 has been questioned by P. Lemerle (*TM* 1 [1965] 259, n.13); W. Regel (*Analecta byzantino-russica* [St. Petersburg 1891] vi–xiii) hypothesized that George used the Life of the empress THEODORA (who died 867) and was therefore a contemporary of LEO VI; A. Markopoulos (*Symmeikta* 5 [1983] 252–55), although rejecting Regel's argument, believes that George could not have written before 872. C. de Boor based his edition on a single MS (Paris, B.N. Coisl. 305 of the 10th or early 11th C.), even though various other MSS represent a common archetype (P. Odorico, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 39).

George's *Chronicle* is very combative and biased. He claims that his "small and modest *biblidarion*" conveys unadorned truth, for it is better "to stammer in the path of the truth than to be false while imitating Plato" (1:2.3–10); whether George had more than textbook knowledge of Plato remains unclear (G. Belfiore, *Sileno* 4 [1978] 23–71). George hates Iconoclasm, Islam, Manichaeanism, and idolatry and often expresses his hatred with a string of obscene epithets. He focuses primarily on the events of ecclesiastical history: thus he dedicates ten lines to Julius Caesar, but 20 pages to Augustus, whose reign coincided with Christ's birth. George is expansive in describing church councils and quotes abundantly from the church fathers. For the Byz. period his main sources are THEOPHANES and MALALAS; he is independent for 813–42. Some MSS contain a continuation sometimes ascribed to SYMEON LOGOTHETE, going up to 948 or 1081, even 1142/3. The *Chronicle* was translated into Old Georgian and Church Slavonic. An illustrated late 13th- or early 14th-C. MS of the latter version, now in Moscow (Lenin Lib. 100), contains an author portrait and a full-page image of Christ enthroned between Michael, prince of Tver (died 1318), and his mother. One hundred twenty-seven miniatures set in the text-columns depict Old Testament, New Testament, and historical subjects. These are derived by Podobedova and others from Byz. CHRONICLE illustration.

ED. *Georgius Monachus, Chronicon*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1904; rp. Stuttgart 1978, with corr. P. Wirth). V.M. Istrin, *Chronika Georgija Amartola v drevnem slavjanorusskom perevode*, 3 vols. (Petrograd-Leningrad 1920–30); rp. with intro. and bibl., F. Scholz, 2 vols. (Munich 1972).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:347–51. S. Šestakov, *O proischoždenii i sostave chroniki Georgija Monacha* (Kazan' 1891). A. Dostál, "Slovanský překlad byzantské kroniky Georgia Hamartola," *Slavia* 32 (1963) 375–84. O.I. Podobedova, "Otraženie vizantijskich illjustrirovannych chronik v Tverskom (Troickom) spiske chroniki Georgija Amartola," 14 *CEB* (Bucharest 1974) 1:373–90. G.V. Popov, "Zametki o Tverskoj rukopisi chroniki Georgija Amartola," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 124–47. –A.K., A.C.

GEORGE KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1266–80); born after 1254, died 1284 or later. Young and violent when he ascended to the throne, he changed the cautious policy of his father Man-

uel I and took an anti-aristocratic course. He also supported anti-Unionists and, in his foreign policy, attempted alliances with the Golden Horde and some Georgian princes against the Mongols of Persia. In 1278 George replaced his title of *despotes* with that of *basileus* to emphasize the independence of his position. This action provoked objections both in Constantinople by Michael VIII and in Tabrīz by the Ilkhan Abaga. En route to Abaga, in the mountains near Tabrīz, George was betrayed by Trapezuntine nobles, seized by the Mongols, and imprisoned. He was probably liberated after Abaga's death in 1282. In 1284 he (or an impostor) invaded Trebizond; again betrayed, he was captured by his brother JOHN II KOMNENOS and died in captivity.

LIT. A. Bryer, "The Fate of George Komnenos, Ruler of Trebizond (1266–1280)," *BZ* 66 (1973) 332–50. M. Kuršanskis, "L'usurpation de Théodora Grande Comnène," *REB* 33 (1975) 187–210. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 126f. *PLP*, no.12094. –A.K.

GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI ("of the holy mountain," Gr. *Hagiorites*), Georgian translator and hagiographer; born Trialeti 1009, died Constantinople 1065. After long study in Constantinople (1022–34), George went to Mt. Athos; he became superior of the Georgian monastery of IVERON ca.1045, then traveled widely—back to Georgia, to the Black Mountain, and to Jerusalem. George is important for his extensive translations from Greek into Georgian. These include revisions of the Psalms, Gospels, Acts, and Epistles; liturgical and hymnographical texts (the Great Synaxarion, Menaion, Sticharia, and homilies); and patristic texts (Basil the Great of Caesarea's *Hexaemeron*, Gregory of Nyssa's *On the Making of Man* and *Commentary on the Song of Songs*). His most valuable original work (written ca.1044) is a Life of John and EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, respectively the founder and first superior of Iveron. George's own Life was written soon after his death by a disciple, also named George, at the request of George the Recluse on the Black Mountain, where George Mt'ac'mindeli was well known.

ED. *Dzveli k'art'uli agiograp'iuli literaturis dzeglebi*, ed. I. Abuladze, vol. 2 (Tbilisi 1967) 38–100. Lat. tr. in P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 8–68.

SOURCES. Vita of George Mt'ac'mindeli—Lat. tr. P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 69–159. Eng. excerpts in W.Z. Djobadze, *Materials for the Study of Georgian Monasteries in the Western Environs of Antioch on the Orontes* (Louvain 1976) 50–59.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 154–74. *Ivir.* 1 (1985) 50–53. –R.T.

GEORGE OF AMASTRIS, saint; born in the town of *ton Kromnenon*, near Amastris, died Amastris between 802 and 807; feastday 21 Feb. Born to a family of local nobility, George began at an early age to participate in church administration; he then became a hermit on Mt. Agrioserike but subsequently moved to the cenobitic community of Bonyssa (in Paphlagonia?). Patr. TARASIOS appointed him bishop of Amastris ca.790, although the emperor supported a different candidate.

The Life of George, preserved in a single 10th-C. MS, consists of a biography, very poor in details, and the description of a few miracles, including the conversion or at least appeasement of the barbarian "Rhos," who attacked Amastris and tried to despoil the saint's tomb. The authenticity of this information depends on the date and attribution of the Life: Vasil'evskij (*infra*) and, recently, Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 123–25) attribute it to IGNATIOS THE DEACON, whereas G. da Costa-Louillet (*Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 245–48) considers it a 10th-C. work. A. Markopoulos (*JÖB* 28 [1979] 78–82) proposes a compromise solution: that the Life is by Ignatios but the "Russian miracle" is an insertion produced under the influence of PHOTIOS. Another puzzle in the Life is its lack of anti-Iconoclastic invective, despite George's evident closeness to Empress IRENE and esp. to Emp. NIKEPHOROS I, whose ascent to the throne George allegedly predicted. The hagiographer is exceptionally eloquent when criticizing trade "on land and sea" (p.52f).

SOURCE. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskija issledovanija*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1893) 1–73, reproduced in his *Trudy* 3:1–71.

LIT. *BHG* 668–668e. –A.K.

GEORGE OF CYPRUS, 7th-C. geographer of whom nothing is known save that he was born in Lapithos on Cyprus. His work is preserved in a compilation ascribed to another obscure individual, the Armenian Basil of Ialimbana, although Darrouzès (*Notitiae CP* 34, n.1, 42f) considers this attribution extremely hypothetical; the compilation is assumed to have been written in the 9th

C., and the compiler probably altered the text of George's work. While accompanied in MSS by notitiae, that is, lists of metropolitan sees, archbishoprics, and bishoprics, George's record, like that of HIEROKLES, contains secular administrative divisions, including cities (the term *polis* is usually omitted), KASTRA, *komai* (villages), KLIMATA, and, rarely, *polichnai* (towns), islands, and harbors. George begins with the district under the "eparch" of Rome or Italy, then follows with Africa, Egypt, and the Orient (Anatolike), that is, Cilicia, Isauria, Syria, Mesopotamia, Armenia, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, and Cyprus. The list is evidently incomplete.

ED. *Descriptio orbis Romani*, ed. H. Gelzer (Leipzig 1890) 28–56.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:531f. E. Honigmann, "Die Notitia des Basileios von Ialimbana," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 205–22. V. Laurent, "La 'Notitia' de Basile l'Arménien," *EO* 34 (1935) 439–72. V. Grumel, "La 'Notitia' de Basile de Ialimbana," *REB* 19 (1961) 198–207. –A.K.

GEORGE OF MYTILENE. See DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE.

GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA, metropolitan of Nikomedeia (from ca.860); deacon and *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, preacher, author of various encomiastic works, esp. some devoted to the VIRGIN MARY. The *typikon* of the EUERGETIS monastery (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1.1:550.30–32) included George's sermon on "the *threnos* of the Virgin" in the service for Good Friday. According to H. Maguire ("Depiction of Sorrow" 162f), George's introduction of the theme of the Virgin "holding and embracing the body" of Christ influenced the artistic representation of the scene of the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS beginning with the 10th C. (an early surviving example is a fresco in the Old Church of Tokalı, GÖREME). R. Cormack (in *Iconoclasm* 151–53) hypothesized that the painted wooden reliquary of the True Cross, now in the Vatican, reflects the dramatic description of the Virgin kissing Christ's bleeding feet in George's sermon for Good Friday. The homily on the Presentation of Christ published as a work of Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 28:973–1000) is spurious and in some MSS ascribed to George of Nikomedeia (*CPG* 2 no.2271).

ED. PG 100:1336–1529.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 542f. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 106. –A.C., A.K.

GEORGE OF PISIDIA, poet; born probably in Pisidian Antioch, died between ca.631 and 634. George served as deacon, *skeuophylax*, and *referendarios* in Hagia Sophia at Constantinople. His unabashedly Christian tone and stylistic innovation of using the iambic trimeter for EPIC poetry, the first step toward the later POLITICAL VERSE, make him a significant early landmark in Byz. poetry; PSELLOS even compared him (sometimes favorably) to Euripides (A.R. Dyck, *Michael Psellus: The Essays on Euripides and George of Pisidia* [Vienna 1986] 25–74). George's major historical epics eulogize HERAKLEIOS, esp. for his campaigns against the Persians and Avars. Imperial virtues and achievements are exalted but emphatically subordinated to God. Some predilection for medical diction and imagery is observable (J.D.C. Frendo, *Orpheus* 22 [1975] 49–56). George's language and themes strive for symbiosis of sacred and profane, classical and biblical; Frendo (*infra* 186) praises his "dazzling sophistication and intellectual subtlety." Others celebrated by George include Patr. SERGIOS I and Bonos the *patrikios*. Of his religious poetry, George's best efforts are the iambic HEXAEMERON on the Creation (which was translated into Church Slavonic) and a rare hexameter piece *On the Vanity of Life*; also notable are a hymn on Christ's Resurrection and a polemic against SEVEROS of Antioch. His short poems on religious and secular subjects look back to the Hellenistic and forward to the Byz. EPIGRAM.

ED. *Poemi*, ed. A. Pertusi (Ettal 1959), with It. tr. *Carmina inedita*, ed. L. Sternbach in *WS* 13 (1891) 1–62; 14 (1892) 51–68. *Hexaemeron*—ed. R. Hercher in *Claudii Aeliani varia historia* (Leipzig 1866) 2:603–62. *Šestodnev Georgija Piside i njegov slovenski prevod*, ed. N. Radošević (Belgrade 1979), with Slavonic tr.

LIT. J.D.C. Frendo, "The Poetic Achievement of George of Pisidia," in *Maistor* 159–87. G. Bianchi, "Note sulla cultura a Bisanzio all'inizio del VII secolo in rapporto all' *Esamerone* di Giorgio di Pisidia," *RSBN* 2–3 (1965–66) 137–43. –B.B.

GEORGE OF TREBIZOND. See GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS.

GEORGE THE MONK. See GEORGE HAMARTOLOS.

GEORGE THE PHILOSOPHER, also known as George (metropolitan?) of Pelagonia, writer of the second half of the 14th C. Virtually nothing cer-

tain is known of his biography, although his classical allusions indicate a secular education. He wrote a (still unpublished) treatise against Gregory PALAMAS and an *enkomion* of JOHN III VATATZES, who was later called St. John the Merciful (Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 27 [1927] 36–39). Moravcsik theorized that George was originally a monk at the monastery in Magnesia where the saintly emperor's relics were preserved but that, under the pressure of Turkish occupation, he moved to Pelagonia in Macedonia. N. Festa also attributed a Lenten homily to Vatatzes' hagiographer (*VizVrem* 13 [1906] 1–35).

Probably to be distinguished from George of Pelagonia is George Kydones GABRIELOPOULOS (ca.1323–ca.1383), also known as George the Philosopher, who was a friend and correspondent of Demetrios KYDONES (*PLP*, no.3433; cf. F. Tinnefeld, *OrChrP* 38 [1972] 141–71). This George was probably born in Thessalonike, became Kydones' physician in Constantinople, and then traveled to Cyprus, Palestine, Crete, the Morea, and Genoa. He was a Platonist and, like George of Pelagonia, an anti-Palamite.

ED. A. Heisenberg, "Kaiser Johannes Batatzes der Barmherzige," *BZ* 14 (1905) 160–233.

LIT. *PLP*, no.4117. Beck, *Kirche* 723. K. Amantos, "Ho Bios Ioannou Batatse tou Eleemonos," in *Prosphora eis Stilpona P. Kyriakiden* [= *Hellenika*, supp. 4 (1953)] 29–34.

–A.M.T.

GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS, historian; died after 810. His life is scarcely known; he was a monk and a SYNKELLOS of Patr. TARASIOS. V. Grecu questioned the hypothesis that George visited Palestine and Syria (*BSHAcRoum* 28.2 [1947] 241–44). His *Selection from Chronographers (Ekloge chronographias)* covers history from the creation of the world to Diocletian (284); perhaps he planned to continue it to his own time but was prevented by illness and death. The work is an antiquarian compilation of various carefully indicated sources (JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, Sextus Julius AFRICANUS, etc.) in separate topical clusters. Even though different layers of George's information are sometimes contradictory or repetitious, his purpose is consistent: to set forth the history of mankind in strict chronological sequence. The presentation is uneven, shifting from dry lists of rulers to descriptions of events. George's choice of material is arbitrary: as in GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, only a few lines are dedicated to Julius Caesar, in contrast to a vast section on Augustus. C. Mango's attempt (*ZRVI* 18 [1978] 9–17) to ascribe to George the authorship of the *Chronicle* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR was criticized by I. Čičurov (*VizVrem* 42 [1981] 78–87), who admitted, however, that George could have provided Theophanes with some materials collected for his own work. The only complete MS of George is Paris B.N. gr. 1711, dated 1021 (A. Mosshammer, *GRBS* 21 [1980] 289–95). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS used George for his *Historia tripartita*.

ED. *Ecloga chronographica*, ed. A. Mosshammer (Leipzig 1984).

LIT. W. Adler, *Time Immemorial: Archaic History and Its Sources in Christian Chronography from Julius Africanus to George Syncellus* (Washington, D.C., 1989) 132–234. R. Laqueur, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 1388–1410. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:331f. G.L. Huxley, "On the Erudition of George the Synkellos," *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 81 C (1981), no.6, 207–17.

–A.K.

GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS, conventionally termed "George of Trebizond," humanist teacher, rhetorician, and translator; born Crete 3 Apr. 1395, died Rome ca.1472/3. The descendant of Trapezuntines who emigrated to Crete, George moved to Italy ca.1416, converted to Catholicism in 1426, and taught Greek in Vicenza, Venice, and Rome. He attended the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE as a supporter of the Pope, and in the 1440s entered the papal curia as a secretary. George's translations of Aristotle, Plato, Demosthenes, and the Cappadocian fathers were severely criticized, perhaps unfairly, by some of his contemporaries. His translation of Ptolemy's *Almagest* fared better, although his commentary was attacked. He also produced a wide variety of writings predominantly in Latin on rhetoric, logic, philosophy, theology, astrology, and astronomy (J. Irmscher, 12 *CEB* 2 [Belgrade 1964] 362). He dreamed of the unity of mankind, but was shocked by the expectation of PLETHON that this unity be achieved on the basis of a revitalized paganism. George built his hope first on papal supremacy, but in 1453 expressed the utopian view (in his Greek treatise *On the Truth of the Christian Faith*) that the Turkish sultan, converted to Christianity, would be able to conquer the world. George's hopes in this respect were strongly affected by his eschatological vision of the Roman Empire (meaning the papacy) fighting the Antichrist. In 1465

he went to Constantinople as emissary of Pope Paul II to MEHMED II, but his mission was unsuccessful; on his return to Rome in 1466, George was briefly imprisoned for his fulsome praise of the sultan.

George argued that the study of antiquity was useful as preparation for political activity. He had high regard for Cicero, but replaced the latter's ideal of the orator-philosopher with that of the orator-statesman (Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* 294). George had a hot temper and quarrelsome nature; although a translator of Plato, he turned into an ardent defender of Aristotle in his *Comparison* of the two philosophers. As a result he was the target of the polemic of BESSARION, *Against the Calumniator of Plato*. George sharply criticized not only Plethon and Bessarion, but the more moderate GAZES: Plato's closeness to Christianity George considered deceptive, whereas Aristotle, he said, taught the immortality of the soul, creation *ex nihilo*, and a consistent monotheism; he even anticipated the Christian Trinity (Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* 157).

ED. G.T. Zoras, *Georgios ho Trapezountios kai hai pros hellenotourkiken synennoesin prospatheiai autou* (Athens 1954) 93–165. Fr. tr. A.Th. Khoury, *PrOC* 19 (1969) 320–34; 20 (1970) 238–71; 21 (1971) 235–61. For complete list of ed., see J. Monfasani, *Collectanea Trapezuntiana: Texts, Documents and Bibliographies of George of Trebizond* (Binghamton, N.Y., 1984).

LIT. J. Monfasani, *George of Trebizond* (Leiden 1976). E. Garin, "Il platonismo come ideologia della sovversione europea: la polemica antiplatonica di Giorgio Trapezunzio," *Studia humanitatis. E. Grassi zum 70. Geburtstag* (Munich 1973) 113–20. *PLP*, no.4120. –A.K., A.M.T.

GEORGIA. The modern term refers to two areas: eastern Georgia (Georg. K'art'li, Gr. Iberia, Arm. Virk', Pers. Gurgan) and western Georgia (Gr. Colchis, later LAZIKA; Georg. Egrisi, later ABCHASIA). These were united politically in Byz. times only in the years 978–1258 and 1330–1491, but had a common language and similar social structure.

The Georgian language (with Mingrelian, Laz, and Svan) belongs to the southern Caucasian, or Kartvelian, group. The literary language is based on the K'art'li dialect and the written tradition (cf. GEORGIAN LITERATURE) goes back to the 5th C.

King Mirian of Iberia was converted to Christianity in the 330s by Nino, known to tradition as a captive attached to the court. There were Christian settlements on the Black Sea coast by the 4th C. Western Georgia accepted Christianity in the same century, but as in Armenia, the populace was not fully converted until much later. In 505 or 506 at the Council of DUIN the Georgians and Armenians rejected CHALCEDON. At the beginning of the 7th C., however, the Armenian and Georgian churches split; from then on the Georgians remained in communion with the Greek church. This encouraged close contacts, political and intellectual, between Byz. and Georgia; relations with Armenia were intimate but often strained.

The original capital of K'art'li, MC'XET'A, remained the patriarchal seat after Tblisi became the political capital in the reign of Vaxtang Gorgasali (ca.440–522). At the end of his reign, dislodged by the Persians, Vaxtang fled for a short time to Western Georgia, which remained under Byz. control. After 523 the Persians installed a *marzpan* (governor) in Tblisi, and Iberia with ARMENIA fell into the Iranian orbit. In the following century the Muslims gained control of both Armenia and Iberia. The enlarged province was ruled from Duin, Tblisi remaining the center for local administration.

The caliph's hold over Georgia lasted two centuries. In 888, three years after the Armenian BAGRATID princes assumed the royal title, Adarnarse of the Georgian branch of that family claimed the title of king. Georgia was not united, however, for Abchasia remained an independent kingdom until the reign of Bagrat III (978–1014).

As the borders of Byz. expanded eastward in the 10th C., upper TAYK' was annexed on the death of its prince DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO in 1000. Unlike the Armenian kingdoms, however, which were incorporated into the empire in the 11th C., Georgia remained independent. After Byz. control in eastern Anatolia collapsed following the defeat at MANTZIKERT (1071), the Georgians extended their sway in Caucasia under DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER and his descendants. The eastern region of Kakhetia was incorporated in 1105. Tblisi was regained in 1122 from the Shāddadids (a Muslim Kurdish dynasty of Gandza, which had occupied Ani and Tblisi after the Turkish conquest of Anatolia). Tblisi now became the capital; the monastic complex of GELAT'I near the earlier capital of Kutaisi remained an important center of learning. In 1124 Ani was captured, but during the remainder of the 12th C. it passed back and

forth several times between Georgians and Shāddadids.

Cultural contacts between Georgia and Byz. were fostered in Constantinople and in monastic centers such as Mt. Athos (where the Georgians had their own monastery, IVERON), Mt. SINAI (see G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* [Louvain 1956]), and Jerusalem. Political ties were strengthened in the 6th C., when the emperor first bestowed titles (usually KOUROPALATES) on Georgian princes. In the 11th C. marriage alliances confirmed those ties: in 1032 Bagrat IV married the niece of Romanos III, following a visit to Constantinople by Bagrat's mother Maria, herself of Armenian descent; Bagrat's daughter MARIA OF "ALANIA" married Michael VII Doukas and subsequently Nikephoros III. The daughter of David II/IV the Restorer married the grandson of Alexios I Komnenos, while the first wife of Andronikos I Komnenos was related to Queen T'AMARA (who helped Alexios and David Komnenos to seize TREBIZOND in 1204). Many nobles of Georgian or Armenian descent served in the Byz. army, such as John TORNIKIOS and Gregory PAKOURIANOS.

After 1204 direct contacts with Constantinople were few. The Mongol attack of 1220 curbed the military success of T'amara and her son George IV (1212–23). In 1240 Queen Rusudan (1223–45) appealed to Pope Gregory IX for help. Latin missionaries had been in Tbilisi since 1233 and a Latin bishopric was established there in 1329. Nevertheless, the Georgian delegation to the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE did not sign the act of Union.

In the 14th C. Georgian control over eastern Georgia and Armenia declined. George VI (the Brilliant, 1314–46) moved his capital to Kutaisi and contacts with the West and Trebizond became more significant. The second wife of Bagrat V (1360–95) was Anna, the daughter of Alexios II of Trebizond; the daughter of Alexander I (1412–42) married John IV Komnenos of Trebizond. Constantinople remained beyond the Georgian horizon, save for unsuccessful negotiations to arrange a marriage between the daughter of George VIII (1446–65) and the last emperor, CONSTANTINE XI.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* Idem, *CMH* 4.1:593–637, 983–1009. M.D. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XII Centuries* (Tbilisi 1987). K. Salia, *History of the Georgian Nation* (Paris 1983); rev. *BK* 43 (1984) 93–108. M. van Esbroeck, "Église géorgienne des origines au moyen âge," *BK* 40 (1982) 186–99. –R.T.

GEORGIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Georgian art retained its distinctive national character throughout the medieval period despite significant foreign influences affecting certain media. Byz. influence was strongest in the 11th–14th C.; it dominated some schools of metalwork (esp. enamels) and painting. Before the Arab conquest Georgian architecture and sculpture followed a course parallel to that of ARMENIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE, but, although both nations based their later architecture on the achievements of the 7th C., the experimental Georgian approach after ca.800 has little in common with Armenia's almost reverential use of 7th-C. models.

Architecture and Stone Sculpture. The earliest Christian monuments are small hall churches and basilicas; centralized domed plans were introduced by the 7th C. As in Armenia, virtually all the churches are constructed of rubble conglomerate faced with tufa; vaults and domes are also masonry. Because most architectural types used in Georgia appear simultaneously in Armenia (Džvari at MC'XET'A [586 (or 587)–604?] is paralleled by Avan [ca.590], C'romi [626–35] by St. Gayanē at VAŁARŠAPAT [630–41]), attempts to assign precedence to either tradition have proved fruitless. The few Georgian CHURCH PLAN TYPES not attested in Armenia include a tetraconch with four small oval chambers inserted between the apses (Ninoc'minda [6th C.?]) and the widely used "three churches basilica," in which partition walls with only one or two small openings divide nave and aisles into very distinct spaces.

In the early basilican churches, only pier capitals and bases are sculpted; those in Sion at Bolnisi (478–83) carry Christian symbols (the Cross with stags, peacocks) and pre-Christian Georgian or Sasanian motifs (animals pursuing one another, vegetal patterns). Façade programs begin ca.600. Džvari at Mc'xet'a displays donors kneeling before Christ and angels. At Ateni (7th C.), separate reliefs show donors at the hunt and Christ and the Virgin. An altar (?) slab from Cebelda combines an image of St. EUSTATHIOS and the stag with Old and New Testament scenes and donor portraits. N. Thierry (*BK* 44 [1985] 169–223) has shown that at least one atelier (in Gugaren) pro-

duced stelae for both Armenian and Georgian patrons, but some forms, such as standing crosses, are attested only in Georgia.

The Arab invasions curtailed building in Georgia, but the experimentation in church plans that typifies 7th-C. architecture had resumed by 800. Somewhat debased standards of construction, with more use of uncut or rough-cut stone facings and less sculpture, suggest the difficulties encountered during this period.

The triumphs of the BAGRATIDS intensified building activity, particularly the foundation and restoration of monasteries. The new, lighter churches dwarf their predecessors. By the early 11th C. finely cut tufa was used again almost universally in Georgia, along with elaborately carved façades: blind arcading, bands of fleshy vegetation, large crosses, Old and New Testament scenes. Exteriors now give little hint of the spaces within: Nikorcminda (early 11th C.) appears to be a blocky inscribed cross, but the north, south, and east arms together conceal five radiating apses.

Monumental Painting. Although Iconoclasm did not affect Georgia, little figural art other than stone carving survives from before the 9th C. In the apse at C'romi (626–35), Christ holding a scroll, flanked by apostles, is visible in a mosaic and its underdrawing. The only later example of mosaic occurs at GELAT'I, which has the more traditionally Byz. theme of the Virgin and Archangels.

At Ateni, the 7th-C. fresco program consisted of the Cross in the dome and geometric patterns in the conches. The Cross is often painted in the dome and Christ in glory in the apse; in TAYK'/TAO and in David-Garedža far to the east are examples from the 11th C. or even earlier. In 10th- through 13th-C. Svanetia, painting may be restricted to the apse, and saints popular locally—George, Julitta, Kyros—appear both as individual figures and in abbreviated cycles.

The Georgian kings and princes of the 12th–13th C. favored Byz. programs of church decoration, although these were altered to fit Georgian church plans and often preserved the unusual placement of the Cross and of Christ. Thus at Ateni in 1080, elements of a typical Byz. program were distributed over the four apses of the 7th-C. tetraconch, while the Cross remained in the dome. The rock-cut hall church of the Dormition at Vardzia (1184–6) is painted with a thoroughly Byz. program, and King George III and Queen T'AMARA OF GEORGIA appear here in imperial Byz. robes; the Glorification of the Cross has been displaced to the narthex vault. At St. Nicholas in Kincvisi (1208) and at Timotesubani (ca.1220) the dome contains the Cross along with a DEESIS.

The program and style of Ahtala (early 13th C.) are typical of late Komnenian painting. The church may have been frescoed by Byz. artists. Palaiologan models were widely accepted, esp. in western Georgia, where Byz. artists worked at Calendžicha (1384–96; see Manuel EUGENIKOS), and probably at Lihni (mid-14th C.). The frescoes of the Church of the Transfiguration at Zarzma (first half of the 14th C.) have iconographic and stylistic ties with the IVERON MONASTERY on Mt. Athos.

Manuscript Illumination. The earliest surviving Georgian illuminated MSS are 9th- and 10th-C. Gospel books. Their decoration consists primarily of full-page CANON TABLES and standing EVANGELIST PORTRAITS, although the First Džruči Gospels of 940 (Tbilisi H-1660) also includes the Virgin and three Miracles of Christ.

More up-to-date Byz. styles were introduced from the 11th C. onward as Georgian monasteries edited and translated Greek texts. The *synaxarion* of EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN of 1030 (Tbilisi A-648) resembles contemporary Byz. MENOLOGIA, as does the 14th-C. *synaxarion* (Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 01–58); both are bilingual (Greek/Georgian; P. Mijović, *Zograf* 8 [1977] 17–23). The Second Džruči Gospels (12th C.; Tbilisi N-1667) is a FRIEZE GOSPEL. The STYLE MIGNON is also represented in the text miniatures of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos (Tbilisi A-109; its frontispiece miniatures, however, are in a broad fresco style). According to a Greek inscription, Michael Koresis illustrated the 13th-C. Vansk Gospels (Tbilisi A-1335) in Constantinople.

Metalwork and Enamel. Metal (esp. silver-gilt) was the favored medium for icons; repoussé was used both for scenes and for the floral grounds of icons set with small enamels. The earliest dated example, the Transfiguration from Zarzma (886), is a very shallow relief with chased lines. Later, figures were modeled almost in the round (e.g., the Išhan Crucifix of 973 and the 11th-C. tondo of St. MAMAS on the lion).

Although Georgian figured ENAMELS from the 8th–9th C. are distinct from Byz. work, Greek inscriptions are common (as in other Georgian figural art), and by the 11th C., Byz. influence

was so strong that it is hard to distinguish Georgian from Byz. work.

LIT. A. Alpago-Novello et al., *Art and Architecture in Medieval Georgia* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1980). W. Beridze, E. Neubauer, *Die Baukunst des Mittelalters in Georgien vom 4. bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 7–219. L. Chuskivadze, *Gruzinskie emali* (Tbilisi 1981). A. Djavashvili, G. Abramishvili, *Goldschmiedekunst und Toreutik in der Museen Georgiens* (Leningrad 1986). –A.T.

GEORGIAN CHRONICLES. The term is a loose rendering of *K'art'lis Cxovreba* (Life of K'art'li [Iberia]), an official collection of some, but not all, historical works written in Georgian between the 8th and 14th C. (For the others, see GEORGIAN LITERATURE.) The process of compilation had begun by the 12th C. In the early 18th C. King Vaxtang VI appointed a commission that edited and amplified it into a continuous whole. Since then earlier MSS have been discovered, the earliest (Queen Anne Codex) dating to the period 1479–95 (C. Toumanoff, *Traditio* 5 [1947] 340–44).

The first item in the collection is the *History of the Kings of Iberia* by Leontius Mroveli, archbishop of Ruisi, giving the legendary origins of the Georgian people. There follow the *History of King Vaxtang Gorgasali* by Džuanšer, giving a semifabulous account of that 5th- or 6th-C. king (the Armenian abbreviated adaptation of the first five parts of the *Chronicles*, made in the late 12th or 13th C., falsely attributes the whole collection to Džuanšer); the *Martyrdom of King Arčil II* (died 786); the *Chronicle of Iberia*, 786–1072 (from whose original title, *Cxovreba*, the whole collection probably derives its name); the *History of the King of Kings*, an *enkomion* of DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER; the *Histories of the Sovereigns*, which deals primarily with the reign of Queen T'AMARA; and the *History of the Mongol Invasions*, covering the period 1212–1346. The last four items are of special interest for Byz.-Georgian relations.

ED. *K'art'lis Cxovreba*, ed. S. Kauchčišvili, 2 vols. (Tbilisi 1955–59). *Histoire de la Géorgie depuis l'antiquité jusqu'au XIXe siècle*, tr. M.F. Brosset, 5 vols. (St. Petersburg 1849–58).

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "Medieval Georgian Historical Literature," *Traditio* 1 (1943) 139–82. –R.T.

GEORGIAN LITERATURE. Before the creation of a script for their native tongue, the Georgians used Greek and Middle Persian written in Aramaic script. As in Armenia, at the beginning of the 5th C. church authorities created a script for Georgian based on the Greek alphabet (unlike Armenian, the extra letters are added at the end). The oldest surviving examples of Georgian are the inscription of 493/4 at Bolnisi church and undated inscriptions on mosaics in Jerusalem (G. Tseret'eli, *BK* 11–12 [1961] 111–30).

The first texts written in Georgian are translations of biblical and liturgical texts. The translation of the New Testament was based on the earliest Armenian version (the surviving Armenian text is a later revision); in the 10th–11th C. an extensive revision of the Bible based on Byz. Greek MSS was undertaken (B. Metzger, *The Early Versions of the New Testament* [Oxford 1977] 182–98). The influence of Jerusalem was strong in liturgical texts, reflecting the large number of Georgian monastic establishments in Palestine.

The earliest original composition is the *Martyrdom of St. Šušanik* (daughter of Vardan MAMIKONEAN); her cult was popular in both Georgia and Armenia (I. Curtaveli, *Martvilobay Šušanikisi*, ed. I. Abuladze [Tbilisi 1938; rp. 1978]). After the rupture with the Armenian church in the time of Katholikos Kyrion (early 7th C.), literary contacts were less significant with Armenia than with Greek centers. Because the Georgians were Chalcedonian, they frequented Constantinople as well as Greek monasteries on the Black Mountain, on Mt. ATHOS, and in Palestine. Hence translations from Christian Arabic played a significant role in the development of Georgian Christian literature (G. Garitte, *Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens littéraires du Mont Sinai* [Louvain 1956]).

Historical works in Georgian date from the 7th C. The texts, both those included in the official GEORGIAN CHRONICLES and others, primarily concern local matters. Of greater value for the Byzantinist are the Lives of numerous Georgians who were active in Constantinople, Mt. Athos, the Black Mountain, and the Holy Land (Latin tr. of Georgian texts in P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 1–317). Scholars such as EP'REM MCIRE and GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI translated anew or revised earlier versions of biblical, liturgical, hagiographical, and patristic texts. John PETRIC'I treated 11th- and 12th-C. Byz. philosophical traditions. In the same period astronomical and medical texts were translated from Arabic. After the 12th C., however, secular literature (prose and poetry), despite overtones of Aristotelian and Neoplatonic philosophy, was more influenced by Persian models

(Shota Rustaveli, *The Lord of the Panther-Skin*, tr. R.H. Stevenson [Albany, N.Y., 1977]).

Georgian authorship for the corpus of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and Barlaam and Ioasaph (*Balavarianis k'art'uli redak'ciebi*, ed. I. Abuladze [Tbilisi 1957]; D.M. Lang, *The Balavariani: Barlaam and Josaphat* [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1966]) has not been unanimously accepted.

LIT. G. Deeters in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, vol. 7, *Armenische und kaukasische Sprachen* (Leiden-Cologne 1963) 129–55. Peeters, *Tréfonds*. M. Tarchnišvili, J. Assfalg, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955) [= ST 185]. E. Khintibidzé, "Byzantine-Georgian Literary Contacts," *BK* 36 (1978) 275–86. –R.T.

GEPIDS (Γήπαιδες), an eastern Germanic people, akin to the Goths. They are first mentioned in the *Historia Augusta*. In the 4th C. they settled in northern Dacia and were soon subjugated by the Huns. After the death of Attila, the Gepids, commanded by their prince Ardaricus, defeated the Huns at Nedao in 454, leading to the dissolution of the Hunnic confederacy. The Gepids occupied the flatland on the left bank of the Danube and were supported by Constantinople against the Ostrogoths. Sirmium was, for a long period, a bone of contention between the Gepids and the Ostrogoths, but at the time of Prokopios (mid-6th C.) the Gepids held both Sirmium and Singidunum. Justinian I encouraged the Lombards to attack them; allied with the Avars, the Lombards defeated the Gepids in 567/8. After this catastrophe the Gepids disappeared. Many hoards of gold and silver objects, including the princely graves in Apahida (near Cluj), have often been attributed to the Gepids, but the ethnic attribution of 5th-C. archaeological material found in Dacia is difficult—the distinction between Germanic tribes and the local population or Sarmatians is not easy to draw (V. Kropotkin, *SovArch* [1958] no.2, 316). In the 12th C. the name Gepids reappears in Byz. historiography and rhetoric as a designation of Hungarians (Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 250).

LIT. C. Diculescu, *Die Gepiden*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1923). H. Sevin, *Die Gepiden* (Munich 1955). D. Csallány, *Archäologische Denkmäler der Gepiden in Mitteldonaubecken* (Budapest 1961). K. Horedt, D. Protase, "Das zweite Fürstengrab von Apahida," *Germania* 50 (1972) 174–220. A. Kiss, "Das Weiterleben der Gepiden in der Awarenzeit," in *VölkSüdost* 203–18. –A.K.

GERAKI (Ἱεράκιον, Γεράκι, anc. Geronthrai), town in the Peloponnesos, situated between Monemvasia and Sparta; it flourished in the 13th–15th C. The Frankish baron Guy de Nivelet was granted the region after the Fourth Crusade, but ca.1263 it was returned to the Byz.; Geraki was an important town of the despotate of the Morea. It fell to the Ottomans by 1460.

A fortress was built by Guy de Nivelet ca.1230 on a hilltop less precipitous than that of Mistra. The fortress was well protected by the mountain ridge save for the southern section where the walls were reinforced by two square towers; the walls, which were 1.5–1.7 m thick, have ceramic decoration. The approximate size of the stronghold was 125 × 60 m.

The Frankish town grew up on the west slope of the hill, while the Byz. town was situated in the plain below. Numerous churches survive in both sites, as well as in the fortress. East of the modern village is an early Christian basilica, now in ruins. To the northwest is the well-preserved Church of the Evangelistria, probably of the 12th C. Its virtually complete fresco program, of the late 12th C., seems to be the work of two painters, probably contemporary with each other and from Constantinople. Moutsopoulos-Demetrokalles (*infra* 136), however, argue that the frescoes are of two different periods. Southeast of the village is the Church of St. Sozon, of inscribed cross plan and dating to the 12th C., according to Moutsopoulos-Demetrokalles (*infra* 218); frescoes of the 12th or early 13th C. survive only in the cupola and sanctuary. Very similar in plan is the Church of St. Athanasios (ca.1200); its poorly preserved frescoes (14th C.?) include portraits of bishops framed like icons. The frescoes of the small single-naved church dedicated to John Chrysostom have survived in their entirety; they are of two layers, one ca.1300, another dated ca.1450.

Within the fortress is the Church of St. George, originally built under the Franks with two naves; a third nave and narthex were added after the Byz. recovery of Geraki. Its frescoes probably date to the second half of the 14th C. A church of the late 13th C., dedicated to St. Nicholas, has frescoes of St. Mary of Egypt and Zosimos on its masonry templon.

About 8 km south of Geraki lies the Church of Hagios Strates, built ca.1430 (S. Kalopissi-Verti in *Festschrift Wessel* 147–66), which contains unusual

frescoes of the Synaxis ton Asomaton (see ASOMATOS) and, in the apse, the Virgin Zoodochos PEGE.

LIT. N.K. Moutsopoulos, G. Demetrokalles, *Geraki: Hoi ekklesies tou oikismou* (Thessalonike 1981). Bon, *Morée franque* 112f, 592–98, 642–45. W. McLeod, "Castles of the Morea in 1467," *BZ* 65 (1972) 362. M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," 22 *CorsiRav* (1975) 335–49. –A.M.T., A.C.

GERASA (*Γέρασα*, Ar. Jarash, in mod. Jordan), one of the cities of the Decapolis and bishopric of the province of Arabia under BOSTRA. The first attested bishop was Exeresius, who attended the Council of Seleukeia in 359. There are considerable remains for the period of the 4th–7th C.: city walls, a stoa and bath of the mid-5th C., and in the 6th C. another bath complex and colonnades flanking the *cardo* (513–30?). It is possible that the Maiouma theater was restored in 535 when that pagan festival, previously abolished, was revived in the guise of a Christian harvest festival.

Gerasa is best known for its extensive number of churches (at least 12), many of impressive size. Most date from the 5th and 6th C. and are basilican in plan. The oldest of these is the cathedral of ca.365, with the Basilica of St. Theodore (496) immediately to the west. The Church of the Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs (465) has a cross-in-square plan. A complex of Justinianic date (529–33) is composed of three linked churches sharing a common atrium. The central Church of St. John the Baptist has an unusual circular plan; the northernmost church, dedicated to Sts. Kosmas and Damianos, has particularly fine FLOOR MOSAICS with portraits of the donors, the *paramonarios* Theodore and his wife Georgia. A number of other churches have well-preserved pavements. The last church to be constructed at Gerasa was the Basilica of Bp. Genesios, dated to 611 by a mosaic inscription.

The city was conquered by the Arabs in 634, but half its population remained Greek into the 9th C.

LIT. *Gerasa, City of the Decapolis*, ed. C.H. Kraeling (New Haven 1938). *Jerash Archaeological Project 1981–1983*, ed. F. Zayadine (Amman 1986). J.W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Jerash* (London 1931). R. Pierobon, "Gerasa in Archaeological Historiography," *Mesopotamia* 18–19 (1983–84) 13–35. D. Sourdel, *EI*² 2:458. I. Browning, *Jerash and the Decapolis* (London 1982) 92–102, 180–207, 209–211. –M.M.M.

GERMANIKEIA (*Γερμανίκεια*, mod. Maraş), city in the Antitaurus at the edge of the Mesopotamian plain, on roads connecting Asia Minor and Syria. A bishopric of EUPHRATENSIS, Germanikeia became a Monophysite center in the 5th C.; it was the birthplace of NESTORIOS and later Leo III "the Isaurian." Persians occupied Germanikeia when Herakleios campaigned there in 625. Briefly recovered by Byz., it was destroyed by the Arabs in 637, then rebuilt by them to become a base for raiding Asia Minor. Germanikeia was the scene of constant fighting in the 8th–10th C., when it was usually controlled by the Arabs and attacked by the Byz. In 746, Constantine V transferred some of its inhabitants (including many Monophysites) to Thrace; in 769, the people of Germanikeia, accused of spying for Byz., were deported to Palestine. Michael LACHANODRAKON pillaged the region in 778; Theophilos temporarily reconquered it in 841; and in 879 Basil I made Germanikeia the goal of his eastern expedition, ravaging the suburbs when he failed to take the city. It was finally taken by Nikephoros II Phokas in 963. Germanikeia was the southernmost point reached in the campaigns of Romanos IV in 1068–69. The area was entrusted to Philaretos BRACHAMIOS, who created an ephemeral Armenian principality there from 1078 to 1097. Although briefly captured by Alexios I in 1099, it was soon lost to the Crusaders of Edessa.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI*² 6:505–08. D. & L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 20 (1984) 943–60. –C.F.

GERMANOI (*Γερμανοί*, derived from the Latin *Germani*), Byz. term for the Germans. Prokopios (*Wars* 3.11.29, 12.8) defined Germanoi as the former name of the FRANKOI, associating the latter with the Rhineland Germans of the early Roman Empire. Through the 15th C. it remained an axiomatic ethnic formula in Byz. historiography that Germanoi and Frankoi were the same, the only exception being the occasional and even more anachronistic association of the Germanoi with the "Keltoi" (Celts). The Germanic peoples of the Holy Roman Empire were not independently recognized in Byz. sources until the 11th C., and then as ALEMANNI or Nemitzoi. Thus, Kinnamos defined the German Conrad III as the king of the Alamanoi and the French Louis VII as the king of the Germanoi.

LIT. H. Ditten, "'Germannen' und 'Alamannen' in antiken und byzantinischen Quellen," *BBA* 52 (1985) 20–31. –R.B.H.

GERMANOS (Γερμανός), general, nephew of Justin I (*PLRE* 2:505) or more likely Justinian I; born before 505, died Serdica early autumn 550. Justinian appointed him *magister militum per Thracias*; he successfully fought the ANTAE. In 536 Justinian sent him to suppress the revolt of STOTZAS and, in 540, to defend Antioch against CHOSROES I, but Germanos abandoned the city. Thereafter he fell into disfavor, due esp. to Theodora's hostility: the empress saw in him a probable successor to Justinian and was angry with Germanos's marrying his daughter Justina to a powerful leader of the *foederati*—John, nephew of VITALIAN. After Theodora died and Germanos displayed loyalty by refusing to join the plot of Artabanes and Arsakes (who probably were planning to place Germanos on the throne), Justinian changed his attitude toward his nephew. He approved Germanos's marriage with the Ostrogothic princess MATASUNTHA of the AMALI, which established Germanos as heir to both realms; Germanos was to replace BELISARIOS as commander of land operations against the Ostrogoths. He assembled an army in Illyricum and frightened the Slavs who had tried to cross the Danube, but died suddenly before the expedition started.

Prokopios (*Wars* 7:40.9) praises his manliness, justice, and generosity. Germanos showed himself to be a brave warrior. He was immensely rich, kept a personal retinue, and was popular in Constantinople. By his first wife, Passara, he had two sons, one of whom, Justin, was executed by Emp. Justin II; Matasuntha bore him a posthumous son, named Germanos.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:324–27, 595–97. Bury, *LRE* 2:67f. C. Benjamin, *RE* 7 (1912) 1258–61. W.E. Kaegi, "Arianism and the Byzantine Army in Africa 533–546," *Traditio* 21 (1965) 48f. –W.E.K., A.K.

GERMANOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (11 Aug. 715–17 Jan. 730) and saint; born between 630 and 650 (Garton-Westerink, *infra*, p.v) or between 653 and 658 (Lamza, *infra* 57), died Platanion 730 or 742?; feastday 12 May. Germanos was reportedly more than 90 years old at his death. However, his vita (Lamza, *infra* 204.73–76) states that in 705, when he reached the middle of his life, Germanos turned 37; this would give him dates of 668–742. E. Stein asserts, on shaky grounds, that Germanos belonged to the family of Justinian I (*Klio* 16 [1919–20] 207). In 669 Germanos's father was executed and Germanos castrated. Elected bishop of Kyzikos ca.705, Germanos supported Emp. Philippikos-Bardanes in his sympathy for MONOTHELETISM but opposed Monotheletism after the fall of Philippikos in 713.

As patriarch, Germanos supported Leo III and praised in his sermons Leo's victory over the Arabs. He was probably that anonymous patriarch who questioned the Paulician Gegnesios (Peter of Sicily, PG 104:1284B–1285A) and permitted him to remain at large; among the issues discussed were veneration of the cross and of the Virgin, sacraments, and baptism, but not icon veneration. It is not clear how and when the patriarch came into conflict with Leo's policy of ICONOCLASM; probably the veneration of the Virgin, to whom Germanos dedicated several sermons, was the major point of dispute. Germanos was forced to resign and was replaced by the Iconoclast patriarch ANASTASIOS.

The oeuvre of Germanos is not yet established; the distinction between his writings and those of GERMANOS II is occasionally hard to draw. The dialogue *On Predestined Terms of Life* is sometimes ascribed to Photios; even his authorship of the commentary on the liturgy preserved under the curious title of *Church History* remains dubious. The commentary was translated into Latin by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS. In his genuine works Germanos is revealed as an experienced rhetorician: he created new composite words, such as *theobastaktos* (PG 98:321A, 324D, 368A) or *axiozographistos* (PG 98:336CD), used symmetrical structure of clauses (e.g., the *chairetismoi* so typical of the poetry of Romanos the Melode), and exquisite puns such as *korakes* and *kerykes* (PG 98:265CD). Especially interesting is his dialogue between Gabriel and Mary in the sermon on the Annunciation in which the protagonists converse on different stylistic levels, the archangel being majestic and the Virgin simple and naive. He was a hymnographer who wrote *kanones*; the AKATHISTOS HYMN has been attributed to him by some scholars. The anonymous vita of Germanos is legendary; it was written not in the 8th (Beck, *Kirche* 506) or 9th C. (Garton-Westerink, *infra*, p.v, n.1) but in the 11th C.

ED. PG 98:39–454. *On Predestined Terms of Life,* ed. C. Garton, L. Westerink (Buffalo, N.Y., 1979). *Il commentario*

liturgico, ed. N. Borgia (Grottaferrata 1912). P. Meyendorff, *On the Divine Liturgy* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. L. Lamza, *Patriarch Germanos I. von Konstantinopel* (Würzburg 1975). J. List, *Studien zur Homiletik Germanos I. von Konstantinopel und seiner Zeit* (Athens 1939). P. Speck, "Klassizismus im achten Jahrhundert? Die Homelie des Patriarchen Germanos über die Rettung Konstantinopels," *REB* 44 (1986) 209–27. J. Darrouzès, "Deux textes inédits du patriarche Germain," *REB* 45 (1987) 5–13. –A.K.

GERMANOS II, patriarch of Constantinople (4 Jan. 1223–June 1240 [V. Laurent, *REB* 27 (1969) 136f]); born Anaplous second half of the 12th C., died Nicaea. Germanos was a deacon at Hagia Sophia when Constantinople fell to the Latins in 1204; he fled to a monastery at Achyraous. In 1223 JOHN III VATATZES selected him as patriarch-in-exile at Nicaea (A. Karpozilos, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 227–49). He was a strong proponent of the Nicene claim to be the sole legitimate Byz. successor state and emphasized his own authority as ecumenical patriarch; he censured Demetrios CHOMATENOS for crowning THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS as *basileus* in Thessalonike (G. Prinzing, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 21–64). By 1232 he had regained control over the dissident church of EPIROS, even visiting Arta to establish his jurisdiction (1238). In 1235, however, he acknowledged the limited autocephalous status of the church of BULGARIA and recognized the archbishop of TŬRNOVO as patriarch. Germanos was noted as an opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES, esp. at the synod of Nicaea-Nymphaion (1234). He wrote several anti-Latin treatises (on the Procession of the Holy Spirit, azymes, purgatory, and baptism), produced numerous homilies, and was also a poet, composing *kanones* on the seven ecumenical councils and political verses on repentance. Only a small portion of his oeuvre has been edited.

ED. S.N. Lagopates, *Germanos ho B' patriarches Konstantinoupoleos-Nikaias* (Tripolis 1913). For complete list of works, see Beck, *Kirche* 667f.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1233–1304. A. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233)* (Thessalonike 1973) 68–93. –A.M.T.

GERMANY, kingdom that succeeded that of the Eastern FRANKS; the term *Germania* was applied to it in Latin texts of the 10th C. The Greeks called its population Alamanoi (ALEMANNI), FRANKOI, GERMANOI, and, in official documents, Nemitzoi. The coronation of OTTO I THE GREAT in 962 as emperor of the so-called Roman Empire created the problem of "two empires," Byz. at first denying the imperial title to the German king, then acknowledging him as the king or even *basileus* of the FRANKOI. The situation in Italy made the problem even more complicated: Otto I tried to subdue it, and Nikephoros II Phokas supported minor Lombard rulers against Germany. A temporary alliance with Germany was reached by John I Tzimiskes, who married his relative THEOPHANO to OTTO II; as a result their son, the half-Greek OTTO III, came to ascend the German throne. The political alliance was accompanied by the intensification of economic and cultural links. Despite some frictions, relations between the two empires remained tolerable through the reign of CONRAD III, when Manuel I married BERTHA OF SULZBACH. Theological contacts were evident on the eve of the Constantinople local council of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) (P. Classen, *BZ* 48 [1955] 339–68).

A serious conflict developed when FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA sought to retain control of Italy, and Manuel I sent money and armies to support the resistance of Italian cities. Byz. lost the struggle and capitulated to HENRY VI. PHILIP OF SWABIA used his conjugal connections to intervene in the domestic strife in Constantinople at the time of the Fourth Crusade, while FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN cherished the expectations of an alliance with John III Vatatzes and a successful war against the infidels. In the 14th and 15th C., Germany, which was in political decline, remained aloof from active involvement in Eastern politics, although emperor Sigismund (1433–37) negotiated with Manuel II; his assistance, however, was not effective.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz* (Darmstadt 1979). *Byzanz in der europäischen Staatenwelt*, ed. J. Dummer, J. Irmscher (Berlin 1983). R. Manselli, "Il Sacro Romano Impero di fronte all'Impero Romano d'Oriente e all'Oriente musulmano," in *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 125–34. K.J. Leyser, *Medieval Germany and its Neighbours 900–1250* (London 1982) 103–37. W. Ullmann, "Reflections on the Medieval Empire," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 14^5 (1964) 89–108. –R.B.H., A.K.

GERMIA (Γέρμια, now Yörme), a city in western GALATIA below Mt. Dindymon. It was famed for its healing spring whose fish, with the aid of the archangel Michael, were said to effect cures. When Stoudios, consul in 454, was healed there, he

restored the Church of St. Michael and built homes for the sick and aged. Germia, under its alternative name Myriangeloi ("10,000 Angels"), became a bishopric by 553 and received a visit from Justinian I in 554, which may have occasioned its promotion to autocephalous archbishopric, a rank it maintained through the Byz. period. THEODORE OF SYKEON visited Germia in the late 6th C. and was said to have worked miracles there. It fell to the Turks after the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. The site contains a five-aisled basilica of ashlar masonry with much sculptured decoration; probably built by Stoudios, it is the largest surviving church in Galatia. Justinian and Theodora extensively restored it. The site is frequently confused with the nearby Colonia Germa.

LIT. *TIB* 4:166–68, 247. K. Belke, "Germia und Eudoxias," in *Byzantios* 1–11. C. Mango, "The Pilgrimage Centre of St. Michael at Germia," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 117–32. –C.F.

GERMIYAN (Κερμιανός), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. Its name probably derives from a Turkoman tribe that appears, in the Greek form "Karmianoi," in an account of the miracles of St. EUGENIOS worked as early as 1223 (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Sbornik istočnikov po istorii Trapezundskoi imperii'* [St. Petersburg 1897] 131.12). Around 1239 a Turk named Germiyan, established in the Melitene region, was in the service of the Seljuk sultan; ca.1277 the Germiyan-oğlu Ḥusam al-din ibn Alīshīr founded an emirate with Kütahya (see KOTYAION) as its capital. Byz. authors seem to give the dynastic founder's name, Alīshīr, to any Germiyan-oğlu. According to PACHYMERES (ed. Bekker, 2:426.16), Germiyan was the most powerful Turkish state in the early 14th C. Its emirs were apparently the overlords of the Turkish emirs of the Aegean regions; they attacked PHILADELPHIA repeatedly and extracted polltax (*jizye*) from the inhabitants before 1314. According to the 14th-C. Egyptian encyclopedist al-ʿUmarī (*Notices et extraits* 13 [1838] 355), they also extracted tribute from the Byz. The emirate produced alum in Gediz (the ancient Kadoi), which was sold in the ports of Ephesus (Theologos) and Miletos (Palatia). In 1381 the Ottoman prince BAYEZID I married a girl of the Germiyan dynasty and received some territories as dowry. The emirate was annexed by the OTTOMANS temporarily (from 1390 to 1402) and finally in 1428/9.

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Philadelphie et l'émirat d'Aydin," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 55–67. I. Mélikoff, *EI*² 2:989f. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:62f, 154, 158. M.C. Varlık, *Germiyan-oğulları tarihi (1300–1429)* (Ankara 1974). Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin* 27–29, 107f. –E.A.Z.

GEROKOMEION (γηροκομεῖον), or *gerotropheion*, home for the destitute elderly, under the direction of a GEROKOMOS. As part of their tradition of PHILANTHROPY, the Byz. built special homes for elderly people who could not be cared for by their families. According to the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, *gerokomeia* were founded in Constantinople as early as the 4th C. At least 27 *gerokomeia* are recorded as having existed at one time or another in the capital, many of them imperial foundations; the best known was the facility at the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY for 24 elderly men who were no longer able to work because of infirmity or illness (Typikon, 109.1347–111.1389). The residents received an allocation of food, oil, firewood, and a cash allotment for clothes and incidentals, and were entitled to two baths per month. In case of severe illness they were admitted to the monastery HOSPITAL. Other monastic *gerokomeia* were those associated with the provincial monasteries of PETRITZOS and Kosmosoteira at BERA and the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. George of MANGANA. In the mid-10th C. *gerokomeia* were specifically included in Nikephoros II Phokas's law forbidding the construction of new monasteries and affiliated charitable institutions in order to curtail their rapid increase and permitting only the restoration of existing institutions (*Reg* 1, no.699.). This legislation was soon revoked, however, by Basil II.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 552–57, 565. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 222–40. A.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 278. –A.M.T.

GEROKOMOS (γηροκόμος), director of a GEROKOMEION, or old-age home. Justinian's novel 7.12 names the *gerontokomos* as an ecclesiastical official along with OIKONOMOS, XENODOCHOS, ORPHANOTROPHOS, and others. Several seals are preserved that belonged to ecclesiastical *gerokomoi*, such as the priest Theophylaktos and Epiphanios, "*gerokomos* of [the monastery?] of St. Kyros," both of the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2543, 3102). It is unclear whether Constantine, *apo eparchon* and

gerokomos (seal of the 7th C., ibid., no.1800), was an ecclesiastical or secular official. That the *gerokomos* could be a former high-ranking official is seen in a later addition to the 7th-C. Life of St. Spyridon (P. van den Ven, *La légende de S. Spyridon* [Louvain 1953] 91f, n.), speaking of a *patrikios* John, who was *gerokomos* and later bishop of Trimithous in Cyprus. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *gerokomos* together with the *xenodochos* appears as a secular functionary in the department of the SAKELLION. His functions are not specified. A *xenodochos* and *gerokomos* of Nicaea is known from a seal of ca.900 (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.263); enigmatic is the undated seal of Constantine *primikerios* and *gerokomos* of the Constantinopolitan (?) monastery in Psamathia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.426). In the lists of functionaries of the 11th C. another official with the similar name of *gerotrophos* appears in the same clause as *orphanotrophos* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 46; cf. Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.487). In the 11th C. a patriarchal official who fulfilled the same functions preserved the old name of *gerokomos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.134).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 239f. —A.K.

GESTA EPISCOPORUM NEAPOLITANORUM. See JOHN OF NAPLES.

GESTA FRANCORUM ET ALIORUM HIEROSOLIMITANORUM (Deeds of the Franks and other Jerusalem Pilgrims), earliest account of the First Crusade from May 1095 to 12 Aug. 1099, by an eyewitness participant, who, to judge from his simple Latin and expert observation of military matters, was a professional soldier in the contingent of BOHEMUND I, probably from Apulia. The work may have been completed by 1099 and seems to be mentioned in 1101; it was used by a number of later historians of the Crusade like ALBERT OF AACHEN and FULCHER OF CHARTRES. The author, who may have known a little Greek (ch.20, p.46), supplies detailed evidence on relations of the Crusaders, esp. Bohemund, with Byz. and their passage through the empire (chs. 2–9, pp. 2–21; ch.27, p.65; ch.30, p.72). Although extremely hostile to Emp. Alexios I, the author admits instances of Byz. assistance and shows no religious animosity. He even implicitly recognizes Byz. logistical skills and admires the TOURKOPOULOI (ch.8, p.16) as well as the Turks (ch.9, p.21).

ED. *Gesta Francorum et aliorum Hierosolimitanorum*, ed. R. Hill (London 1962), with Eng. tr.

LIT. B. Skoulatos, "L'auteur anonyme des *Gesta* et le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 504–32. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:416. —M.McC.

GESTURE, a movement of the body as an element in a comprehensive system of communication. Human gesticulation can be divided into two categories: "natural" movement (BODY LANGUAGE) expressing various EMOTIONS, and gestures based on deliberate cultural, legal, political, and religious conventions. Both archaic Roman law and barbarian *leges* provided for special gestures to reinforce CONTRACTS or the statements of WITNESSES; Byz. law infrequently applied such procedures, although there is mention of solemn processions that testified to or revised boundaries between two properties. Conventional gestures were used in a broad range of state ceremonies with PROSKYNESIS as the extreme expression of self-submission and including ACCLAMATIONS, expressions of power and triumph, and the granting of titles and/or offices. The submission of conquered cities could take the form of conventional processions. Gestures accompanied acts of secular and ecclesiastical investiture (e.g., CHEIROTONIA and CHEIROTHESIA), formed an integral part of LITURGY and PRAYER, and were used for HEALING of specific (esp. mental) diseases. Birth festivities, weddings, and funeral ceremonies also involved conventional language of gesture based on actual or feigned emotions.

The largely formulaic contexts in which gesture was used and the immobility and FRONTALITY of the human figure lent added importance to signals of the head, arm, and hand. Prokopios's record of the gesture made by the Justinian I statue in the AUGUSTAION and Paul Silentiarios's description (Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.*, lines 776–77) read more into Christ's preaching hand than is immediately apparent from artistic expressions of the period. Nonetheless Roman motions of address, triumph, supplication, concord, and meditation endured and were applied to such themes as the acclamation of Christ, blessing, angelic salutes, the Visitation, and EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. To these were added more dramatic, natural movements, for example, a hand covering

the mouth, the cheek or, *in extremis*, the whole face to express grief. Such physical vocabulary was freely transferred from one scene to another. In and after the 12th C., the number and intensity of gestures multiplied as part of a process in which ICONOGRAPHY was enriched esp. with pathetic imagery. At its most sophisticated, gesture carried not only emotional connotations but also ideological significance: according to the sermons of GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA, Mary's embrace of the dead Christ emphasized his humanity and thus the reality of the INCARNATION.

LIT. M. Barasch, *Giotto and the Language of Gesture* (Cambridge 1987) 1–14. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:766–83. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." R. Suntrup, *Die Bedeutung der liturgischen Gebärden und Bewegungen in lateinischen und deutschen Auslegungen des 9. bis 13. Jahrhunderts* (Munich 1978) 11–30. H. Demisch, *Erhobene Hände* (Stuttgart 1984). –A.C., A.K.

GHASSĀNIDS, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 6th C. Their most illustrious rulers were ARETHAS, his son ALAMUNDARUS, and his grandson NAMAAN. The Ghassānids fought for Byz. against the Arabs of the Peninsula, the LAKHMIDS of Ḥīra, and the Persians. They were Monophysites, and this set the emperors against them, Tiberios I and Maurice esp. seeking to weaken their power. The Ghassānids, however, did not disappear in the reigns of Phokas and Herakleios and continued to play an important role in the wars of Byz. The "Saracens" singled out for honorable mention in the bulletin issued by Herakleios after his victory over the Persians in 628 are most probably the Ghassānids. In 636 they appear in the Arab sources as the principal Arab federates of Byz. at the battle of YARMUK. After that defeat, those Ghassānids still loyal to Byz. settled in central Anatolia, in Charsianon, and Cappadocia. According to al-ṬABARĪ, Emp. Nikephoros I was a Ghassānid. The Ghassānids were great builders of churches, monasteries, palaces, and castles; their court was visited by the foremost poets of pre-Islamic Arabia who composed panegyrics for their kings.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten*. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 282–89. M.V. Krivov, "Poslednie Gassanidy meždu Vizantiej i Chalifatom," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 154–58. –I.A.Sh.

GHĀZĪ (Γαζῆς), also called Amīr Ghāzī and Gümüştegin Ghāzī; DANIŞMENDID emir; died 1134. Eldest son of Danişmend, in 1104 he inherited Sebasteia, Amaseia, Neocaesarea, and adjacent towns. Around 1120 he defeated and held for ransom Constantine GABRAS, *doux* of Chaldia (A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* [London 1980] pt.III [1970], 177.) About 1127 Ghāzī acquired Caesarea, Ankyra, Kastamon, and Gangra, becoming the leading Anatolian Muslim ruler. JOHN II took Kastamon in 1132, but Ghāzī recovered it the following year. On his deathbed, he received the title *malik* from the caliph.

LIT. I. Mélikoff, "Dānishmendids," *EI*² 2:110. Idem, *La geste de Melik Dānişmend* (Paris 1960) 1:104–06, 123–25, 453–55. –C.M.B.

GHULĀM (Ar. pl. *ghilmān*, lit. "pages"), a member of the armed forces of slave status utilized in the Arab caliphate from the 9th C. onward and developed by the SĀMĀNIDS. They formed a professional army; according to IBN AL-ATHĪR (8:157), "a soldier must be able to take with him everything he possesses, wherever he may go, and nothing must hold him back." These troops were manned primarily by young Turkish slaves bought or captured on the northeastern borders of the Sāmānid realm between the Islamic and Turkic worlds. A description of the *ghulām* system is found in the *Siyāsatnāma* of NIẒĀM AL-MULK. It was this system, introduced into Anatolia by the Seljuks of Rūm and continued by the Anatolian *beyliks*, that would reach its most famous form in the Ottoman JANISSARY system.

LIT. D. Sourdel, C.E. Bosworth, *EI*² 2:1079–84. D. Pipes, *Slave Soldiers and Islam* (New Haven 1981). P. Crone, *Slaves on Horses* (Cambridge 1980). –S.V., A.K.

GIDOS (Γίδος), a family known in the second half of the 12th and in the 13th C. S. Papadimitriu (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 734; *VizVrem* 6 [1899] 169) considered the name to be the Greek rendering of the Italian name *Guido*; W. Hecht (*Aussenpolitik* 85, n.336), however, doubts that Gidoi of this period were still Latins.

The Gidoi of the 12th C. may have descended from the son of ROBERT GUISCARD named Guido, who deserted to Byz. and became Alexios I's military adviser; Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:51.10) relates that Alexios suggested to Guido a relationship by marriage. The legendary CHANSON D'ANTIOCHE (v.901, 1033) calls Guido (Guis) the

emperor's close friend and seneschal but not his nephew, as Chalandon (*Comnène* 1:92) says. Thomas of Toscana (MGH *SS* 22:498) preserved a legend that William, Guiscard's son, married Alexios's daughter and became the lord of his empire, but died without descendants.

Under Andronikos I, Alexios Gidos was *megas domestikos* of the Orient; he retained his high position after Andronikos's downfall and in 1194 still commanded the eastern troops sent against the Bulgarians. Andronikos Gidos was Theodore I Laskaris's general; in 1206 he defeated the Italian allies of David Komnenos. It is hypothesized that he is to be identified with the Andronikos Gidos who ruled Trebizond from 1222 to 1235 (Miller, *Trebizond* 19).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:408f. –A.K.

GILDO, Moorish prince and Roman official in Africa; died on the river Ardalio, near THEVESTE, 31 July 398. A son of Nubel, the king of Mauritania, Gildo was a client of the family of Theodosios I. In 373, when his own brother Firmus rebelled, he helped Theodosius the Elder put down the revolt. He was appointed *comes* of Africa in 387/8 (S.I. Oost, *ClPhil* 57 [1962] 29) or 385 (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 179). He probably preserved hostile neutrality during the revolt of EUGENIUS. In 397 he broke with the Western court and declared allegiance to the government in Constantinople; he withheld the customary grain shipments from Africa to Rome. In Africa Gildo incited the hostility of the urban population by vast land confiscations and by his favoritism toward the Donatists. Stilicho mounted an expedition against Gildo, and Gildo's brother Mascezel (whose children Gildo had murdered) was entrusted with the campaign. The Eastern court offered no assistance. Gildo retreated inland, far from the urban centers. Easily defeated, he was killed. The estates he acquired by confiscations formed a special area in North Africa, the *Gildoniacum patrimonium.*

LIT. H.J. Diesner, "Gildos Herrschaft und die Niederlage bei Theueste (Tebessa)," *Klio* 40 (1962) 178–86. T. Kotula, "Der Aufstand des Afrikaners Gildo und seine Nachwirkungen," *Altertum* 18 (1972) 167–76. Bury, *LRE* 1:121–25. *PLRE* 1:395f. –T.E.G.

GIRDLE. See BELT.

GIUSTINIANI LONGO, GIOVANNI, Genoese hero of the final siege of Constantinople (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF); died Galata or Chios early June 1453. Giustiniani, a member of a distinguished Genoese trading family based on Chios, arrived in Constantinople on 29 Jan. 1453 and offered his services to CONSTANTINE XI. He brought with him 700 soldiers and two ships. The emperor gave him the title *protostrator* and promised him the island of Lemnos. Since Giustiniani was experienced in siegecraft, he was placed in charge of the defense and repair of the land walls. He fought valiantly against the Turks, inspiring loyalty and courage in both Greek and Italian soldiers. On 29 May, in the final hours of the siege, Giustiniani was wounded and abandoned his post; many Genoese troops then panicked and fled. The Ottoman janissaries took advantage of the ensuing confusion to make their final successful assault on Constantinople. Doukas stresses Giustiniani's bravery and the severity of his wound, whereas the "siege section" of the *Chronicon Maius* of pseudo-Sphrantzes (perhaps by Sphrantzes himself) accuses Giustiniani of cowardice and of using his wound as an excuse for flight (Sphr. 426.9–24). His wound must have been serious, since Giustiniani soon died, either in Galata (pseudo-Sphrantzes) or Chios (Doukas).

SOURCES. Douk. 331, 343, 347, 353–57, 371. Kritob. 40f, 48–50, 57, 67–70.
LIT. S. Runciman, *The Fall of Constantinople: 1453* (Cambridge 1965) 83f, 91f. –A.M.T.

GLABAS (Γλαβᾶς, fem. Γλάβαινα), a family name probably of Slavic origin (*glava*, "head"): Manuel Philes (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. Miller 2:107, no.57.74–75) clearly recognized the Slavic etymology of the name. From the late 10th C. the Glabades were active in Macedonia: the first, Basil, an *illoustrios* in Adrianople, suspected of pro-Bulgarian leanings, was arrested by Basil II and imprisoned for three years. Another Glabas conspired against Constantine VIII and was blinded. In 1047 men "from the kin of the Glabades" (Skyl. 442.74–75) supported the rebellion of Leo TORNIKIOS in Macedonia. Nonetheless the family remained in Byz. military service: ca.1050 Niketas Glabas, *topoteretes* of the *tagma* of the *scholae*, was sent from Adrianople against the Pechenegs. Another (?) Niketas Glabas is named *strategos* on a seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 667). They did not play any significant role

under the Komnenian dynasty, remaining provincial landowners: in the mid-13th C. they still lived in Kastoria (Akrop. 1:90.18–19). The *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes Glabas was governor of Thrace under Andronikos II (see GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES). Another Glabas served in the 1330s as a high-ranking civil functionary—*megas dioiketes* and judge (*PLP*, no.4215). Some Glabades occupied high ecclesiastical positions, for example, Ignatios, metropolitan of Thessalonike (*PLP*, no.4222), and another metropolitan, Isidore Glabas (see GLABAS, ISIDORE). Women of the family were active as well: Maria Glabaina, known only from her 11th- or 12th-C. seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1336), possessed a *charistikion* and probably founded a monastery of St. Stephen; after 1310 another Glabaina, *protostratorissa* (perhaps the wife of the *protostrator* Glabas?), founded a convent (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 297–305). The Glabades were apparently closely connected with the TARCHANEIOTES family.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 4200–28. –A.K.

GLABAS, ISIDORE, metropolitan of Thessalonike (25 May 1380–Sept. 1384 and Mar. 1386–11 Jan. 1396); baptismal name John; born Thessalonike? 1341/2, died Thessalonike 11 Jan. 1396. He became the monk Isidore in Apr. 1375. His first years as metropolitan coincided with the future emperor Manuel II's defense of Thessalonike against the Turks (1383–87). Although Glabas urged the citizens to respect and support Manuel, he himself left his see during the siege, was temporarily deposed, and resided for a while in Constantinople. After the capture of Thessalonike (1387), he traveled to Asia Minor to negotiate with the Turks; this perilous trip is described in the monody of Constantine Ivankos (*PLP*, no.7973) on Glabas. By 1393 he had returned to his see. His sermons (many unpublished) and letters provide evidence for conditions in Thessalonike during the Turkish siege and during the occupation of 1387 to 1403 (A.E. Bakalopoulos, *Makedonika* 4 [1955–60] 20–34). He reported that even under the Turkish yoke some Byz. officials remained in their positions. Glabas complained of heavy Ottoman taxation; a sermon of 1395 (ed. B. Laourdas in *Prosphora eis Stilpona P. Kyriakiden* [= *Hellenika*, supp. 4, 1953] 389–98) is one of the first Byz. sources to refer to the Ottoman *devshirme*, the dreaded "child levy" (S. Vryonis, *Speculum* 31 [1956] 433–43). Glabas argued that the fall of the city was divine punishment for the decadence of priests and monks, and the moral decline of its citizens.

ED. PG 139:11–164. *Homiliai eis tas heortas tou Hagiou Demetriou*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonike 1954). "Okto epistolai anekdotoi," ed. S.P. Lampros, *NE* 9 (1912) 343–414. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "Symbole eis ten historian Thessalonikes. Dyo anekdotoi homiliai Isidorou archiepiskopou Thessalonikes," *Theologia* 42 (1971) 548–81. Eng. tr. idem, *PBR* 1 (1982) 184–210; 2 (1983) 65–83.

LIT. R.-J. Loenertz, "Isidore Glabas, métropolite de Thessalonique (1380–1396)," *REB* 6 (1948) 181–87, with add. V. Laurent, 187–90. *PLP*, no.4223. –A.M.T.

GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES (or Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes), *protostrator;* born ca.1235, died after 1304. Glabas is first mentioned in 1260 as the Byz. official assigned to regain Mesembria from the Bulgarian rebel Miko. He held a series of government posts, *megas papias, kouropalates, pinkernes,* and *megas konostaulos,* culminating sometime after 1297 in the dignity of *protostrator.* He waged successful campaigns against the Bulgarians in 1263 and 1278 and fought the Angevins in Albania ca. 1284. In 1297, as governor of the western part of the empire, he was entrusted with defending Macedonia against the Serbs and built or restored 15 fortresses in Thrace. He died soon after his campaign of 1304.

Glabas and his wife, Maria Doukaina Komnene Branaina Palaiologina, were wealthy patrons of the arts. In 1303 they sponsored the restoration of the Chapel of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, attached to the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike (T. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–83). Glabas also restored the monastery of PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople; he was buried there in the *parekklesion* constructed by his widow, who became the nun Martha. Glabas had become a monk before his death and, as an inscription about the apse mosaic records, the chapel was intended as a pledge for his salvation. His military exploits were commemorated in a (now lost) fresco cycle, probably at the Pammakaristos, known from the description in a poem by Manuel PHILES.

LIT. G. Theocharides, "Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes," *EEPhSPTh* 7 (1957) 183–206. Belting et al., *Pammakaristos* 11–23. –A.M.T., A.C.

GLAGOLITIC, the earliest alphabet for the writing of CHURCH SLAVONIC, probably invented by St. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER in the mid-9th C. It consisted of 40 letters, apparently derived partly from Greek MINUSCULE, partly from adaptations of Semitic letters, and partly from characters devised by Constantine the Philosopher himself. Among the Orthodox SLAVS, Glagolitic was almost completely supplanted by Cyrillic by the beginning of the 11th C., although in Serbia and parts of Macedonia it survived until the 13th C. The Catholic Slavs of Croatia used it until the late 18th C.

LIT. A. Vaillant, "L'alphabet vieux-slave," *RES* 32 (1955) 7–31. T. Eckhardt, "Theorien über den Ursprung der Glagolica," *Slovo* 13 (1963) 87–118. –S.C.F.

GLASS, PRODUCTION OF. The term for glassmaker, *hyalopsos* (and variants), is known from papyri, early hagiographic texts, and epistolography (Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 86). John Chrysostom (PG 61:142.24–26) was astonished by the glassmakers who transformed sand into a cohesive and transparent substance. The vita of Symeon of Emesa describes the workshop of a Jewish glassmaker in Emesa in which the needy found warmth at the furnace and watched the blowing of vessels that at times burst; Moschos mentions a *hyalopsos* who was blinded by the flame (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 149f) and a Jew in Constantinople who was a glassmaker (*hyalourgos*) by profession (E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 93.25). They are relatively seldom mentioned in later texts: thus, in the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS (*Annales* 506.7) speaks of a Jewish *hyelepsos*, but this glassmaker lived in the days of Justin II. There is neither a glassmakers' guild in the *Book of the Eparch* nor any evidence that the monks of the Stoudios produced glass, unless we surmise that the *phlaskopoios* in this monastery (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 143) blew glass bottles. In the 15th C. some glass wares were imported from Italy (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 104).

Nevertheless, later Byz. objects of glass are well known: vessels (bottles, goblets, cups), often of blue or green glass, sometimes with marvered-in decorations; bracelets; mosaic cubes; window panes; etc. An inventory of 1142 lists glass lamps (*Pantel.*, no.7.25). Literary sources mention chamber pots made of glass (Koukoules, *Bios* 2:76, n.11). Some late Roman glass workshops were found in Sardis (A. von Saldern, *Ancient and Byzantine Glass from Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1980]), Galilee (G. Davidson Weinberg, *Museum Haaretz Bulletin* 10 [1968] 49f), and other locations. In Corinth two glass factories of the 11th–12th C. were excavated and it is plausible that glass was produced in Constantinople and Paphos. Byz. glass was exported (e.g., several Byz. vessels have been found in Byelorussian Novogrudok and in Ani); Romanos I, when dispatching an envoy to Italy, sent with him 17 glass vessels together with a luxurious garment (*De cer.* 661.13–16).

Technological analysis of Corinth glass suggests that it belonged to the same type as the Roman and Egyptian wares (and probably the glass from Cherson and Belaja Veža-Sarkel), but the Byz. glassmakers learned by the 11th C. to proportion their materials better and to produce more durable glass (F. Matson, *AJA* 44 [1940] 325–27). Some fragments of Byz. stained glass have been found in Istanbul (see GLASS, STAINED).

LIT. J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie* (Bologna 1970). M.A. Bezborodov, *Steklodelie v Drevnej Rusi* (Minsk 1956). G. Davidson Weinberg, "The Importance of Greece in Byzantine Glass Manufacture," 15 *CEB* 2B (Athens 1981) 915–19. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 107, n.91. –A.K.

GLASS, STAINED. Although certainly not as prominent a part of 10th–12th-C. Byz. church decoration as MOSAICS and FRESCOES, stained glass nevertheless had an important role. This is clear from the discovery of the window fragments from the south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. Datable to shortly after 1125, they attest to a mature stained-glass tradition, generally similar to that of the West in style and technique, but clearly not dependent on it. Indeed, this monument's early date suggests that the influence was the other way around. Highly ornamental in effect, Byz. stained glass had more in common with enamelwork than with monumental painting, although large figures dominated each panel. Characterized by large areas of blue and a dark purple-red, it was cast in rectangular pans, unlike Western glass, which was blown. Indeed, the Western monk Theophilus (ca.1110–40) indicates that blue, a color achieved only with

difficulty in the West, was a Greek specialty; he calls it *saphirus graecus*.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963) 349–64. J. Lafond, "Découverte de vitraux historiés du moyen âge à Constantinople," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 231–38. –G.V.

GLASS CRUETS, a common type of mold-blown vessels decorated with Christian and Jewish symbols (primarily crosses and menorahs). Distinguished by a squat hexagonal or, more rarely, octagonal body, with intaglio decoration on its side, this vessel type is known in two main variants: "bottles," with short necks (and, occasionally, handles), and "jugs," with long necks, spouts, and handles. Most are of brown glass and nearly all examples are between 8 and 16 cm in height. Findspots and provenance, which point toward Palestine and Syria, suggest sepulchral use. Their remarkable uniformity speaks for a single workshop, whose activity can be dated to the 6th and early 7th C. on the basis of similarities between certain cross types employed and those appearing on coins. A ritual function is beyond doubt, but the often-repeated suggestion that they are pilgrims' flasks is supported neither by inscriptional evidence nor texts and is difficult to reconcile with the interchangeability of Christian and Jewish symbols that is characteristic of the type. There is also no evidence to support the theory that certain of the crosses replicate the jeweled cross then standing on Golgotha in JERUSALEM.

LIT. D. Barag, "Glass Pilgrim Vessels from Jerusalem," *Journal of Glass Studies* 12 (1970) 35–63; 13 (1971) 45–63. –G.V.

GLASS PASTE CAMEOS, a popular genre of devotional medallion, produced in Venice from the later 12th to the early 14th C. Typically oval, 2–6 cm high, they are most often opaque red to reddish brown, with dark striations, although examples in clear green, yellow, and blue also survive. Made of molten glass with reusable dies, more than 200 surviving examples reflect about 60 mold types. About one-third bear images of Christ or the Virgin; the Crucifixion and Nativity are the most popular scenic representations. Most bear inscriptions in Latin or Greek. This amalgam is paralleled in the choice of subject: some, such as Sts. Francis, Christopher, and James of Compostella, are distinctively Western; others, such as Sts. Theophano, Sophia, and Demetrios as well as scenes of the DORMITION, are more characteristically Byz. These cast-glass medallions were inexpensive, "mass-produced" imitations of Byz. hardstone CAMEOS made to suit a broad, mobile clientele. Authenticated findspots range over the entire Mediterranean basin, through the Balkans and western Europe, to points as far away as Moscow and Sweden. Patron saints of land and sea travel (Christopher and Nicholas) and pilgrims (James) appear frequently, as do MILITARY SAINTS, who held special appeal for Crusaders.

LIT. H. Wentzel, "Das Medaillon mit dem Hl. Theodor und die venezianischen Glaspasten im byzantinischen Stil," in *Festschrift für Erich Meyer zum sechzigsten Geburtstag, 29. Oktober 1957* (Hamburg 1959) 50–67. –G.V.

GLASS PENDANTS are small (approximately 2 cm diam.) disks of colored glass—usually blue, yellow, or green—with a suspension loop and a die impression on one surface. Similar in appearance to GLASS WEIGHTS, they were manufactured in the eastern Mediterranean (Egypt, Syria, Palestine) until the 7th C., perpetuating a traditional, inexpensive type of jewelry current among pagans and Jews of the Roman period. Clearly amuletic in function, glass pendants typically bear scenes of protection (the Good Shepherd) or deliverance (the Sacrifice of Isaac); the cross or CHRISTOGRAM also appears, as do representations of one of the Sts. SYMEON THE STYLITE.

LIT. J. Philippe, *Le monde byzantin dans l'histoire de la verrerie (Ve–XVIe siècle)* (Bologna 1970) 37f. –G.V.

GLASS WEIGHTS, small disks (diam. approximately 1.7–2.5 cm) of colored glass—mostly yellow, green, or blue—used as EXAGIA. Their derived weights correspond to the SOLIDUS, SEMISSIS, and TREMISSIS; they would have been used either with COIN SCALES or BALANCE SCALES. Issued by the EPARCH OF THE CITY, glass weights may be either figural or nonfigural. Figural specimens most often show the eparch, identified by inscription and usually with a MAPPA in his raised hand. More rarely, the emperor is shown, either alone or with simply the MONOGRAM of the eparch. Sometimes one or two eparchs are shown with the emperor or with Christ above (in this case with one eparch only); again, a monogram iden-

tifies the issuing official. Nonfigural glass weights usually bear a single monogram (either cruciform or block-shaped). Rare specimens also include numerical weight designations (e.g., KA for 21 *siliquae*). Closely related to bronze flat WEIGHTS, glass weights were issued in substantial quantities throughout the 6th C. and into the 7th. From Constantinople they made their way via commercial routes to points throughout the Mediterranean basin. Many duplicates are known.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 36f. –G.V.

GLEB. See BORIS AND GLEB.

GLOBOS. See SPHAIRA.

GLORIOSUS, or *gloriosissimus* (ἐνδοξότατος), the highest title of SENATORS in the 6th C. As the old senatorial titles lost their eclat, the state tried to introduce new distinctions. In the mid-5th C. the ILLUSTRES were renamed *magnifici*, later *excelsi*, and in the 6th C. *gloriosi*. The title was awarded to prefects, MAGISTRI MILITUM, MAGISTRI OFFICIORUM, QUAESTORES, and PRAEPOSITI SACRI CUBICULI, whereas *comites* (see COMES) received the title of *magnificentissimus*. The title of *gloriosus* was also granted to some barbarian kings, such as the Ostrogoth THEODORIC THE GREAT.

LIT. C. Jullian in C. Daremberg, E. Saglio, *Dictionnaire des antiquités* (Paris 1899) 3.1:388f. –A.K.

GLOSSAE, glosses and commentary on legal texts and terminology. In the adaptation of the Latin texts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS by the ANTECESSORS for a Greek-speaking population, most Latin technical terms were left untranslated. The Greek NOVELS of Justinian I and his immediate successors also included a great number of Latin expressions. The rapid decline in knowledge of the Latin language made it necessary to replace most of these words through *exhellenismos*, as the *prooimion* to the PROCHIRON calls it, or at least to comment on them in the MSS. Alphabetically arranged lists of glossae, called *lexeis rhomaikai*, soon appeared. Some of these lists can be attached to specific works of legal literature; some lists were enlarged or combined with others. Greek words were also adopted as lemmata; the glossae were mixed with Latin-Greek glossae drawn from the works of JOHN LYDOS and with short independent commentaries on legal ACTIONS and similar concepts of Roman law.

LIT. L. Burgmann, "Byzantinische Rechtslexika," *FM* 2 (1977) 87–146. Idem, "Das Lexikon *adet*—ein Theophilosglossar," *FM* 6 (1984) 19–61. –L.B.

GLOSSARIES, BILINGUAL, lists of words either in Greek with Latin translations or in Latin with Greek translations produced by Carolingian scribes and preserved in MSS from the 9th C. onward. They are based on the so-called *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana* (3rd C.?) and various other sources, including ISIDORE OF SEVILLE and MACROBIUS. The texts are of different lengths. Thus the *Scholica Graecarum glossarum* contains about 450 Greek terms and definitions; other expanded glossaries are the so-called "Philoxenus" (Latin-Greek) and "Cyrillus" (Greek-Latin); many are short, limited to several words. The etymologies are often more fantastic than those found in Isidore, and explanations of Greek words can be completely wrong. The glossaries, however, can be indicative of Western interest in Byz. institutions; for example, the St. Gall *glossae* of the 9th C. include terms (with interpretations) for Byz. charitable institutions such as *xenodochium*, *ptochotrophium*, *nosochomium*, *orphanotrophium*, *gerontochomium*, and *brephotrophium*; the definitions are probably drawn from Julian the Antecessor, a Constantinopolitan jurist of the 6th C. (B. Kaczynski, *Speculum* 58 [1983] 1008–17).

ED. *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum*, vol. 2, ed. G. Goetz, G. Gundermann (Leipzig 1888). "Glossaire Grec-Latin de la Bibliothèque de Laon," ed. M.E. Miller, *Notices et extraits* 29.2 (1880) 1–230. M.L.W. Laistner, "Notes on Greek from the Lectures of a Ninth Century Monastery Teacher," *BullJRylandsLib* 7 (1922–23) 421–56.

LIT. J.J. Contreni, "Three Carolingian Texts Attributed to Laon: Reconsiderations," *StMed* 17.2 (1976) 802–08. W.M. Lindsay, "The Philoxenus Glossary," *ClRev* 31 (1917) 158–63. –A.K.

GLYKAS, MICHAEL, 12th-C. writer; born first third of 12th C., perhaps on Kerkyra (cf. Krumbacher, *GBL* 381). As imperial *grammatikos*, Glykas (Γλυκᾶς) was involved in a plot against Manuel I; according to Kresten ("Styppeiotes" 66–70), this scheme was connected with the conspiracy of Theodore STYPPEIOTES in 1159. Blinded (perhaps not totally), Glykas was imprisoned until at least

1164. His identification with Michael Sikidites (Kresten, *op. cit.* 90–92), who was charged ca.1200 with heresy and magic, is not impossible. Politically Glykas was anti-Komnenian: in his chronicle (*Biblos chronike*) of events from the Creation to 1118, he followed ZONARAS in criticizing Alexios strongly. He also condemned Manuel I's astrological enthusiasm. Glykas's attitude toward antiquity was critical as well; he rejected all ancient philosophers save Aristotle. He rejected also the idea of *ananke*, "historical determinism"—his polemic against astrology was connected with this antideterministic approach to history. Both Glykas's chronicle and his letters, often on similar subjects, were overtly didactic. His substantial additions to the first part of the chronicle are borrowed from the PHYSIOLOGOS (F. Sbordone, *BZ* 29 [1929/30] 188–97) and demonstrate Christian moral principles. Proverbs which Glykas collected and abundantly inserted in his works also served didactic ends. His language is plain albeit scholarly, but in his *Verses from Prison* Glykas was one of the first to use the vernacular.

ED. *Annales*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836). *Eis tas aporias tes Theias Graphes kephalaia*, ed. S. Eustratiades, 2 vols. (Athens 1906, Alexandria 1912), rev. E. Kurtz, *BZ* 17 (1908) 166–72 (see also W. Lackner, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 127f). *Stichoi hous egrapse kath' hon kateschethe kairon*, ed. E.Th. Tsolakes (Thessalonike 1959).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:422–26. K. Krumbacher, "Michael Glykas," *SBAW* (1894) 391–460, rev. V. Vasil'evskij, *VizVrem* 6 (1899) 524–37. H. Eideneier, "Zur Sprache des Michael Glykas," *BZ* 61 (1968) 5–9. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. –A.K.

GNOME (γνώμη, Lat. *sententia*), pithy saying or maxim. A *gnome* was a type of rhetorical ornamentation, similar to a PROVERB, that was supposedly familiar to the audience and accordingly would evoke predictable sentiments (Martin, *Rhetorik* 257f). Theoreticians of rhetoric, such as APHTHONIOS and NICHOLAS OF MYRA, treated the *gnome* as a kind of PROGYMNASMA and tried to distinguish it from the *chreia* (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:100f). Collections of *gnomai* (*gnomologia*) were made from ancient authors, both in prose (e.g., Democritus, Isocrates, Epictetus) and verse (e.g., Euripides, Menander of Athens), and were presented either thematically or alphabetically. The distinction between *gnomologium* and FLORILEGIUM is narrow and conventional. Though many scholars use the terms interchangeably, *gnomologium* may be kept for works of predominantly secular content.

The *Eklogai* of STOBAIOS contained large numbers of ancient *gnomai* used by Byz. writers and by the later (mostly anonymous) compilers of *gnomologia*, of which the fullest is the *Gnomologium Vaticanum* (Vat. gr. 743, 14th C.). Other examples include the *Gnomologium Democrito-Epictetum* (ed. C. Wachsmuth, *infra* 162–216), the *Gnomologium Parisinum* (Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 134, 13th C.—ed. Sternbach, *infra*), and that of John Georgides (10th C.; Paris, B.N. gr. 1166—ed. Odorico, *infra* 119–255). On the basis of various recensions Wachsmuth (*infra*) tried to reconstruct the text of a *Gnomologium Byzantinum* (i.e., the corpus of *gnomai* in circulation in Byz.). To the genre of *gnomologia* also belonged works of more developed character (KEKAUMENOS, SPANEAS, etc.), in which *gnomai* are elaborated in short stories or didactic digressions. Greek *gnomai* were translated into Syriac and Arabic.

ED. *Gnomologium Vaticanum*, ed. L. Sternbach, *WS* 9 (1887) 175–206; 10 (1888) 1–49; 11 (1889) 43–64, 192–242; rp. Berlin 1963. *Il Prato e l'Ape: Il Sapere Sentenzioso del Monaco Giovanni*, ed. P. Odorico (Vienna 1986).

LIT. K. Horna, K. von Fritz, *RE*, supp. 6 (1935) 74–90. C. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin 1882; rp. Amsterdam 1971). P. Odorico, "Lo *Gnomologium Byzantinum* e la recensione del Cod. Bibl. Nat. Athen 1070," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 41–70. D. Gutas, *Greek Wisdom Literature in Arabic Translation* (New Haven, Conn., 1975). –E.M.J., A.K.

GNOSTICISM (from γνῶσις, "knowledge"), a loose-knit and variable system of belief based on DUALISM and the premise that the full revelation of God is given only to a select few. It flourished esp. in the 2nd C. The works of Gnostics were condemned and destroyed so that until fairly recently their teachings were known only through the Christian polemic directed against them; the discovery of the NAG HAMMADI texts, however, makes Gnostic writings directly available. Gnostics ranged from the Valentinians, who taught an elaborate and decidedly non-Christian mythology, to Marcion (died ca.160), who was a Christian heretic with dualist tendencies. Gnostics associated the God of the Old Testament with Satan, and their Christology was docetic; it was an early rival of Christianity, and much of Orthodox theology was developed to answer its challenge. By the 3rd C., however, Gnosticism was no longer a

threat, surviving in an institutionalized form only among the MANDAEANS. Nevertheless, Gnostic ideas continued to be influential in the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, esp. in the writings of CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, ORIGEN, and EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. Some scholars have seen Gnostic influence in the PAULICIANS and BOGOMILS, but this is unlikely except in the most general sense.

LIT. K. Rudolph, *Gnosis* (New York 1983). G. Vallée, *A Study in Anti-Gnostic Polemics* (Waterloo, Ontario, 1981). E.H. Paegels, *The Gnostic Gospels* (New York 1979). H.A. Green, *The Economic and Social Origins of Gnosticism* (Atlanta 1985). M.K. Trofimova, "Gnosticism," *PSb* 26 (1978) 103–27. –T.E.G.

GOATS (αἰγίδια). Goats are often mentioned in combination with SHEEP as *aigidoprobata* (*Lavra* 2, no.109.361) or may be listed separately (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.38.36). A household might keep as many as 100 goats (*Lavra* 2, no.109.854), and a monastery a flock of 2,000 sheep and goats.

The Byz. kept goats for milk, CHEESE, MEAT, and wool. The term *aigeiometaxa* ("goat silk"), used by PTOCHOPRODROMOS (3:77), indicates that their wool was considered a high-quality material. On the other hand, the rough cloak of a holy man could also be made of goat wool (PG 120:45B). The GEOPONIKA (bk.18.9–10) devotes less space to goats than to sheep, but otherwise there are no data to establish the relative proportions of the two species. According to the *Geoponika*, goats were pastured on mountains; the vita of Paul of Latros (ed. H. Delehaye, *AB* 11 [1892] 44f) also tells of a peasant (*georgos*) who lived with his goats in the mountains, but returned home at harvest time. –A.K., J.W.N.

GOD (Θεός). Of five known ancient etymologies of the word *theos* the church fathers retained at least three: from *theo*, "run"; *theoreo*, "observe"; and *tithemi*, "set" (I. Opelt, *StP* 5 [1962] 532–40). The Christian concept of God originated as a middle way between the pagan idea of gods as "older brothers" of humans, immortal but vulnerable to human passions, and the Eastern concept of the transcendent God, fully distinguished from mankind. Dissatisfied with the pagan idea and esp. hostile to the concept of the divine emperor, church fathers tried to preserve the monotheistic principle of the Old Testament without disrupting the ties between God and mankind, thus making possible the "divinization" or SALVATION of man.

According to Gregory of Nyssa (PG 45:932C), God is unknowable in his essence; thus, the church fathers, using apophatic THEOLOGY, define God primarily with negative epithets, commencing with the negative prefix *a(n)* ("without"): thus *anarchos* (without beginning), *aperinoetos* (unintelligible), etc. (e.g., John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 2.10–12, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:8f). However, the concepts of OIKONOMIA and INCARNATION make it possible to bridge the gap between God and man. The incomprehensibility of God created an epistemological problem—how can we learn about God? John of Damascus (*Exp. fidei* 3.4–5, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:10) solved it by arguing (see ANALOGY) that our belief in God is natural (*physikos*).

Other qualities of God emphasized his omnipotence and omniscience (usually beginning with *pan-* ["all"], e.g., PANTOKRATOR) or his justice and PHILANTHROPY toward men. In the political sphere God was considered the guarantor and guardian of the Byz. Empire and of its ruler in particular.

LIT. G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought* (London 1952). W. Schoedel, "Enclosing, not Enclosed: The Early Christian Doctrine of God," in *Early Christian Literature and the Classical Intellectual Tradition* (Paris 1979) 75–86. R.M. Hübner, *Der Gott der Kirchenväter* (Munich 1979). F.M. Young, "Insight or Incoherence? The Greek Fathers on God and Evil," *JEH* 24 (1973) 113–26. B.A. Mastin, "The Imperial Cult and the Ascription of the Title *theos* to Jesus (John XX, 28)," *Studia Evangelica* 6 (Berlin 1973) 352–65. –G.P., A.K.

GODFREY OF BOUILLON, duke of Lower Lorraine; born ca.1060, died Jerusalem 18 July 1100. Leading the Lotharingian contingent of the First Crusade, Godfrey (Γοντοφρέ) peacefully traversed the Balkans until, at Selymbria, he learned that HUGH OF VERMANDOIS was captive in Constantinople, whereupon he devastated the region. Mollified by Alexios I, he pacified his troops and reached the outskirts of Constantinople on 23 Dec. 1096. Alternating peace and conflict between Godfrey and the Byz. culminated in a serious battle outside Constantinople on 2 Apr. 1097. Anna Komnene says he was attacking the city; pillaging of the suburbs followed. Only after further skirmishes did Godfrey agree to enter Constantinople and swear fealty to Alexios (5 Apr. 1097). Thereafter he mediated between BOHE-

MUND and the emperor. Godfrey played a leading role in the Crusade. After the conquest of JERUSALEM he may have become *advocatus sancti sepulchri.* Anna Komnene calls him wealthy and arrogant and emphasizes his rapid changes of attitude toward Alexios.

LIT. J.C. Andressohn, *The Ancestry and Life of Godfrey of Bouillon* (Bloomington [1947]; rp. Freeport, N.Y., 1972). Pryor, "Oaths" 111–41. –C.M.B.

GODPARENT (ἀνάδοχος), a sponsor at the sacrament of BAPTISM, one who "stands as a surety," receiving the baptized infant or adult from the "waters of rebirth." All Orthodox Christians, except monks and nuns, could stand as godparents. Some imperial and aristocratic offspring had more than one godparent; other children had only one. Usually the same person served as godparent for all the children of a marriage. Baptism established a SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP between godparent and godchild and created a tie between godparent and natural parents, "coparenthood" (*synteknia*), which manifested itself in gift-giving, social contact, and joint business ventures. Godparents were chosen from among friends and relatives. According to the church fathers, it was the godparent's duty to give moral and religious instruction to his godchildren. A few cases show that godparents sometimes took in orphaned godchildren, raised them, and provided for their education and marriage. MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS among spiritual relations increased from the 6th C., when godparent and godchild were forbidden to marry, until by the 12th C. the prohibitions were considered to be the same as those for blood relations. Godparenthood has elements in common with ADOPTION.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:43–69. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XII (1978), 625–36. R. Macrides, "The Byzantine Godfather," *BMGS* 12 (1987) 139–62. –R.J.M.

GOLD (χρυσός) was considered the most precious metal in Byz. As with other metals, the location and exploitation of gold sources and MINES between the 4th and 15th C. is somewhat a matter of speculation. It was used (sometimes alloyed with SILVER or copper as billon and electrum) for manufacturing COINS, MEDALLIONS, ENAMEL plaques, luxurious domestic PLATE and LITURGICAL VESSELS, and JEWELRY. Gold foil was used for gilding architectural details (Asterios of Amaseia [PG 40:209B] inveighs against those who dwell beneath "roofs overlaid with gold") and metal objects. It was also used in "gold glass," MOSAIC tesserae, book illumination, and icon painting, and even woven into textiles and used in embroidery.

Much gold was reserved for imperial use, even if Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 189.57–62) ridicules it as "the color of bile" that has ominous significance when worn during battle. Only the emperor issued CHRYSOBULLS and dined on golden dishes; gilded AUTOMATA occupied a place of honor in imperial ritual. Theologians interpreted gold as condensed light, as the symbol of incorruptibility, truth, glory, and of the sun.

Many recorded "gold" objects and furniture (such as those mentioned by Constantine VII [*De cer.* 580.5, 8–9; 587.9–10; 593.6]) were probably gilded silver, like the Byz. objects of the 10th–11th C. preserved in San Marco. Very few vessels made of gold survive from the 4th–15th C. Most of a selection of gold jewelry (dated from 350 to 1000) analyzed in 1986 was found to be 86–96 percent pure, that is, more debased than gold solidi of the same period; later jewelry (11th–13th C.) was 80–89 percent pure. Gold for jewelry was worked in repoussé, filigree, and granulation techniques and drawn out as wire and in the form of straps.

LIT. Hunger, *Reich* 89–95. S. Averincev, "L'or dans le système des symboles de la culture protobyzantine," *StMed*[3] 20 (1979) 47–67. Vryonis, *Byzantium*, pt.VI (1962), 5–10. M.E. Frazer, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith Work," in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–78. A. Oddy, S. La Niece, "Byzantine Gold Coins and Jewellery: A Study of Gold Contents," *Gold Bulletin* 19 (1986) 19–27. B. Brenk, "Early Gold Mosaics in Christian Art," *Palette* 38 (1972) 16–25. –M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

GOLDEN GATE (Χρυσαῖ Πύλαι, Χρυσεία Πύλη), monumental gate situated at the south end of the land walls of Constantinople, used for imperial triumphs and other state occasions (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). It was constructed under Theodosios, most probably Theodosios II. Built of marble blocks, it consists of three arched openings flanked by square towers. A Latin inscription in metal letters placed on the central arch refers to the gilding of the gate (i.e., of its valves) after the defeat of a usurper (Ioannes, executed at Ravenna in 425). The gate was dec-

orated with various statues. The complex was protected by an outer wall, pierced by a single gate, on either side of which were placed antique mythological reliefs. The latter survived until the 17th C. A fort, built here by John V in 1389/90, was immediately dismantled by order of Sultan Bayezid I. The gate was incorporated into the Castle of the Seven Towers (Turk. Yedikule) erected by Sultan Mehmed II in 1457/8.

There were Golden Gates in some other cities as well, such as Antioch (also called the Gates of Daphne, end of the 4th C.) and Thessalonike (also called the Gates of Vardar). In the 11th C. a golden gate was erected in Kiev.

LIT. T. Macridy, S. Casson, "Excavations at the Golden Gate, Constantinople," *Archaeologia* 81 (1931) 63–84. B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943) 39–62. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 297–300. –C.M.

GOLDEN HORDE. See MONGOLS; TATARS.

GOLDEN HORN. See CONSTANTINOPLE.

GOLDSMITH. See JEWELER.

GOLGOTHA. See SEPULCHRE, HOLY.

GONIKON (*γονικόν*), a category of land ownership. F. Uspenskij (in *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju, sostavlennyj i izdannyj učenikami V. I. Lamanskogo* [St. Petersburg 1883] 4) contrasted *gonikon* and PRONOIA as hereditary patrimony versus a conditional grant. As a term denoting the origin of property ("parental"), *gonikon* also distinguished patrimonial land from property received through *paradosis* (conferred upon a *paroikos* by his landlord or the state), EXALEIMMA, dowry, and purchase (*Chil.*, no.92) as well as from other relatives. *Paroikoi* who held *gonikon* could be called *gonikarioi* (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 184). In an extended application complementing the term's literal sense as a *titulus acquirendi*, imperial grants to religious institutions (e.g., *Chil.*, no.24.14) and laymen often state that property or revenue was henceforth to be regarded as if it were or had become *gonikon* (*hos gonikon . . . ktema* [Binon, *Xéropotamou*, no.20.2], *kata logon gonikotetos* [Guillou, *Ménécée* no.6.6]). In these cases, *gonikon* implied an intensified degree of tenure over the property but not necessarily the right to bequeath or to alienate. Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 134) suggests that at minimum it included the right to profit fully from improvements to a property and could be applied to certain kinds of conditional grants. On the other hand, in an act of 1432 from Trebizond, *gonikon* is distinguished from property held in simple possession (*he diapherousa nome kai gonikeia*—ed. V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 18 [1953] 263.79, 264.85–86).

The very rare verb *gonikeuomai* means "to make hereditary"; thus, in 1307 Andronikos II Palaiologos granted Alexios Diplovatatzes' request that a property already within his *oikonomia* be "hereditized" (*gonikeuthe*) so that he could hold it "as *gonikon*" (*katechein . . . hos goniken*—Guillou, *Ménécée*, nos. 2.3, 9–10); and in 1261 Michael VIII Palaiologos granted land in hereditary tenure (*eis charin gonikeutheises*) to the Thelematarioi. The fluidity and imprecision in the use of the word is also seen in Frankish Greece; the *Chronicle of the Morea* employs *igonika*, *pronoia*, and, in the French version, *héritaige* as equivalents of "fief" (Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI [1967], 430–32).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 219–21. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 219–20. –M.B.

GOOD FRIDAY (*μεγάλη* [*ἁγία*] *Παρασκευή*), the day of the CRUCIFIXION, the Friday before EASTER, from at least the 2nd C. a day of FASTING. Originally Good Friday had no special liturgical services since it was considered, with Holy Saturday and the Easter VIGIL, an integral part of the paschal triduum (three concluding days of HOLY WEEK). By the end of the 4th C. it had become a feast in its own right, celebrated at Jerusalem with a lengthy vigil Thursday night and on Friday with the veneration of the relic of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE) and an office of lections on the PASSION of Christ, services that soon spread to Constantinople and elsewhere. The *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:76–83) describes a vigil at Hagia Sophia with reading of the Twelve Passion Gospels (see EVANGELION), followed by the veneration of the Passion RELICS, esp. the Sacred Lance, a service that drew huge crowds and lasted until noon. After the HOURS of terce-sext, the patriarch held a service for the catechumens at the Church of St. Irene. The day concluded with

the liturgy of the PRESANCTIFIED at Hagia Sophia. The emperor participated in the veneration of the lance, the service of terce-sext, and the catechesis at St. Irene. The introduction of Jerusalem Holy Week customs at Constantinople from the 9th C. led to the demise of these services. According to ANTONY of Novgorod, in Constantinople by ca.1200, only in the Anastasia church in the Portico of Domninos was there a service to venerate "the Lord's nail and blood" (ed. Ch. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 29). The other churches were merely washed and strewn with blossoms in preparation for Easter.

LIT. S. Janeras, *Le Vendredi-saint dans la tradition liturgique byzantine* (Rome 1988). –R.F.T.

GOOD SHEPHERD (καλὸς ποιμήν [Jn 10:11], *agathos poimen*; cf. also Lk 15:3–7), a Christian symbol borrowed from pagan images of a *kriophoros* (ram-bearer): Christ was perceived by early Christians as both the LAMB OF GOD and the shepherd who cares for his flock. The date of the origin of the Good Shepherd's representation in art is debatable. Klauser (*infra*) denied its existence at the time of Clement of Alexandria and Tertullian; he likewise rejected the interpretation of *kriophoroi* on early sarcophagi as representations of the Good Shepherd. This figure, however, was a favorite image of Christ in the catacombs of the 3rd–4th C. and in small-scale sculpture (K. Weitzmann, *DOCat* 3, nos. 3, 5). The theme of the shepherd and his flock occurs in early baptisteries and in the baptismal ritual of Eastern churches. The shepherd was depicted standing with the sheep slung over his shoulder or seated among his flock, protecting his lambs, playing a flute, or carrying a milk pail; he is usually a beardless youth wearing a tunic. In the 5th-C. mausoleum of GALLA PLACIDIA in Ravenna the figure is royal, clad in gold and purple robes, and holding a cross-staff instead of a crook. The Good Shepherd does not occur as an independent image after the 6th C.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 13:2272–2390. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst I," *JbAChr* 1 (1958) 20–51. J. Quasten, "Das Bild des guten Hirten in der altchristlichen Baptisterien und in den Taufliturgien des Ostens und Westens," in *Pisciculi, Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums* (Münster/Westf. 1939) 220–44. K. Wessel, *RBK* 1:1051–54. –A.K., N.P.Š.

GÖREME, a valley in CAPPADOCIA, the site of a number of medieval ROCK-CUT refectories, mills, cells, and painted chapels attesting to a thriving monastic enclave for which there is no textual documentation. Churches with elaborate figural decorations include Kılıçlar Kilise, a cross-in-square structure (early 10th C.?); El Nazar, a domed-cruciform church (early 10th C.?); the COLUMN CHURCHES; and the Yılanlı Group, a series of relatively crudely carved and simply decorated monuments probably dating from the period of SELJUK occupation after 1071. Tokalı Kilise, a complex of three churches, retains the most elaborate carving and decoration in the valley. The Old Church may be ascribed to the early 10th C. on the basis of its close stylistic relation to Ayvalı Kilise in GÜLLÜ DERE. Images in the Pigeon House in ÇAVUŞIN (963–69) were derived from those in the New Church, thus providing it with a *terminus ante quem*. The extremely rich narrative cycles of the New Church are lavishly rendered in a classicizing style with quantities of ultramarine (see FRESCO TECHNIQUE) and gold and silver foil; the cycle is unique within the empire for high-quality monumental painting of the mid-10th C.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 1.2:95–497. G.P. Schiemenz, "Felskapellen im Göreme-Tal, Kappadokien: Die Yılanlı-Group und Saklı Kilise," *IstMitt* 30 (1980) 291–319. A.W. Epstein, *Tokalı Kilise: Tenth Century Metropolitan Art in Cappadocia* (Washington, D.C., 1986). L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries of Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985) 48–56, 160–83. –A.J.W.

GORTYNA (Γόρτυνα, also Gortys), capital of CRETE in late antiquity, located in the south of the island. Gortyna remained the capital until the Arab conquest and the establishment of CHANDAX ca.824–27. An earthquake ca.670 caused much destruction and early Arab attacks prevented substantial rebuilding. Byz. sources speak of the destruction of Gortyna by the Arabs and the martyrdom of its bishop Cyril, although both accounts are probably fictitious (Christides, *Crete* 92–94) and the city—much reduced—continued to exist after the conquest. The bishop of Gortyna, always a metropolitan, was frequently listed simply as metropolitan of Crete; in the later 10th C. he held the 10th rank in the empire, above that of Corinth, Sicily, and Thessalonike.

The governor's palace (*praetorium*) was rebuilt

in 381–83 and continued in use into the Arab period, after which it was apparently transformed into a monastery (Sanders, *infra* 80). The acropolis was fortified, perhaps in the 7th–8th C. The Church of St. Titos, probably built in the early 7th C., is a domed three-aisled basilica with three apses and side aisles terminating in apses; the sanctuary is a triconch with flanking pastophoria. It was probably rebuilt in the 10th C. Another church was constructed in the remains of the temple of Apollo; it may have served as the cathedral until construction of St. Titos.

LIT. I.F. Sanders, *Roman Crete* (Warminster 1982) 110–13. D. and L. Stiernon, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 786–811. A. DiVita, *Gortina I* (Rome 1988). –T.E.G.

GOSPEL BOOK. The *tetraevangelion* (Τετραευαγγέλιον), not to be confused with the EVANGELION, contains the complete text of the four Gospels, arranged exactly as they are in the New Testament, but with the beginning and end of each passage to be read indicated in the margin, and numbered.

The illustration of Gospel books is a subject of major interest. From before the 8th C., only two illustrated Greek Gospel books—the ROSSANO GOSPELS and Sinope Gospels (Paris, B.N. gr. suppl. 1286)—survive, but the Syriac RABBULA GOSPELS is also preserved. Following Iconoclasm, the typical Gospel book was written in MINUSCULE script. Containing prefaces and liturgical aids, it was decorated with CANON TABLES, HEADPIECES, INITIALS, and EVANGELIST PORTRAITS and was sometimes produced in diminutive format in combination with the Psalter to form a devotional book. Only rarely did it receive extensive narrative illustration (e.g., the two FRIEZE GOSPELS). Its prefaces prompted certain subjects, such as EVANGELIST SYMBOLS, figures inspiring the evangelists, and the MAJESTAS DOMINI. Its devotional and liturgical character occasioned preliminary iconic images and miniatures of nonbiblical events that pertain to the text's liturgical context, for example, the DORMITION of the Virgin or the ANASTASIS. The most innovative MSS were produced in the 11th and 12th C., and many MSS in the DECORATIVE STYLE (e.g., Karahisar Gospels) survive. In the Palaiologan period, the illustrated Gospel book remained popular, but its decoration was generally restricted to headpieces and evangelist portraits with occasional iconic miniatures.

LIT. R. Deshman in *Illuminated Greek MSS* 40–44. R.S. Nelson, *The Iconography of Preface and Miniature in the Byzantine Gospel Book* (New York 1980). A.W. Carr, "Diminutive Byzantine Manuscripts," *Codices Manuscripti* 6 (1980) 130–61. –R.S.N.

GOSPEL OF NICODEMUS. See NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF.

GOSPELS (Εὐαγγέλιον, lit. "good message"). The canonical Gospels are Mark, Matthew, Luke, and John, an evangelical canon established by the end of the 2nd C.; other gospels were proclaimed to be APOCRYPHA. The most ancient papyrus fragments of the Gospels belong to the 2nd C.; from the 4th C. onward complete MSS are known that contain both the Old and New Testament; separate MSS of the Gospels are preserved from the 4th–5th C. (the Freer Gospels from Egypt). The text is preserved in the form of the GOSPEL BOOK (*tetraevangelion*) and the Gospel lectionary or EVANGELION.

EXEGESIS of the Gospels created difficulties that the church fathers sought to explain: the four versions of the Gospels differ and sometimes even contradict each other. ORIGEN endeavored to resolve the contradictions by applying allegorical interpretation. THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, on the other hand, avoided allegorical assimilation of contradictory stories and treated the Gospels as the memoirs of apostles with differing recollections. In the West, Augustine collected parallel, but inconsistent, passages without trying to reconcile them artificially. Although original exegesis did not continue after the 6th C., the matter of discrepancies between the Gospels arose time and again. JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike, tried to establish in his homily on the Myrrophoroi a concordance of Gospel evidence for Christ's resurrection. Euthymios ZIGABENOS and esp. THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid produced voluminous commentaries on the Gospels.

The plain style of the Gospels also created difficulties for the Byz., who were fond of exquisite rhetoric. Some authors, such as John CHORTASMENOS, defended this stylistic simplicity against the fashionable ATTICISM.

LIT. H. Merkel, *Die Widersprüche zwischen den Evangelien* (Tübingen 1971). R.G. Heard, "The Old Gospel Prologues," *JThSt* n.s. 6 (1955) 1–16. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-, Markus- und Johannes-Katenen* (Münster 1941). –J.L., A.K.

GOTHS (Γότθοι), a Germanic people who, according to JORDANES, migrated from the Vistula region to Oium, between the Dniester and the Don. Archaeological remains of the ČERNJACHOVO culture have been tentatively identified with them. From 238 onward, the Goths harried the Danubian provinces, Greece, and Asia Minor, and ca.273 Emp. Aurelian yielded DACIA to them. At this time they probably formed two groups, VISIGOTHS and OSTROGOTHS, which moved westward in the 4th C. They played an ambivalent role in relation to the late Roman Empire—as attackers and plunderers, and as FOEDERATI. In any case, the archaeological record in the DANUBE provinces does not suggest an economic crisis during the 4th C. when the Goths were settling this area. Some Gothic generals (GAINAS, TRIBIGILD, Fravitas, etc.) became influential at the court in Constantinople. Their leading position in the army incited envy and hostility both among aristocratic intellectuals (such as SYNESIOS of Cyrene) and the population of Constantinople whose spokesman was John Chrysostom, a hostility exacerbated by the Arian creed that had been spread among the Goths by ULFILAS. On 11/12 July 400 a massacre of Gothic soldiers took place in Constantinople. Gainas soon fled and perished, Fravitas was executed, and the Gothic impact diminished. The hordes of ALARIC were turned toward Italy, and the empire was deprived of valuable warriors in the face of the Hunnic invasions.

Both the Visigothic and Ostrogothic kingdoms in the West at times offered formal allegiance to Constantinople. In the 6th C. Justinian I reconquered Italy and a part of Spain, but his success was of short duration: the Goths who were ready to accept the Roman way of life and to form an alliance with the empire were replaced by the much more innovative LOMBARDS. Some Goths remained in Byz. where in the 8th–9th C. the district of Gothograikia existed in northwestern Asia Minor (Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:414–16); they also continued to be found in neighboring areas such as DORY in the Crimea.

LIT. H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley 1987). H. von Petrikovits in *Studien zur Ethnogenese* (Opladen 1985) 112–22. E. Chrysos, *To Byzantion kai hoi Gotthoi* (Thessalonike 1972). V. Budanova, "Goty v sisteme predstavlenij rimskich i vizantijskich avtorov o varvarskich narodach," *VizVrem* 41 (1980) 141–52. S. Teillet, *Des Goths à la nation gothique* (Paris 1984). –O.P.

GOUDELES (Γουδέλης, fem. Γουδελίνα), a noble Byz. family. The first Goudeles, perhaps of Slavic origin, was blinded by CONSTANTINE VIII for his role in a plot organized by Presianos (see AARONIOS) and other Slavs. The 11th-C. Goudelai were influential magnates in Asia Minor (Christopher Goudeles was *magistros* and *strategos*) who took part in aristocratic plots and rebellions of 1034 and 1078. Although related to the noble lineage of TZIKANDELES, the position of the Goudelai declined by the 12th C. They reappeared in the 13th C. as military commanders and landowners: the will of the imperial *doulos* Goudeles Tyrannos of 1294 is a useful description of an estate in the Smyrna region (MM 4:285–87). Some Goudelai were important functionaries, esp. ca.1400–53: George Goudeles, *mesazon* of Manuel II; his son John Goudeles; Nicholas Goudeles, an envoy to Russia in 1436 (with ISIDORE OF KIEV) and to Ferrara in 1438 and a defender of Constantinople in 1453. For this Nicholas, or some earlier scion of the family, his widow, the nun Theodoule Palaiologina Goudelina, had a 12th-C. lectionary (Oxford, Bodl. Auct. T. inf. 2.7) bound in leather and stamped with the Palaiologan EAGLE. She presented it, as an undated entry on folio 357v notes, for the salvation of Nicholas's soul (Hutter, *CBM* 1:72 [no.42]).

LIT. S. Lampros, "Ho Byzantiakos oikos Goudele," *NE* 13 (1916) 211–21. *PLP*, nos. 4330–43. –A.K.

GOURIAS, SAMONAS, AND ABIBAS (Γουρίας, Σαμωνᾶς, Ἄβιβος; Syriac Gurjā, Šmona, and Ḥabib), martyrs and confessors, saints; feastdays 15 Nov. and 2 Dec. According to legend, Gourias of Sargai, an ascetic, and Samonas of Ganada, his companion, were brought to trial under Diocletian by Mysianos, governor (*hegemon*) of Edessa, and executed, after severe tortures, on the hill of Bēth-alāh-qīqlā, north of Edessa. Abibas, a deacon from the village of Tel Sehe, was judged by Lysanias (or Ausonios), governor of Edessa under Licinius, and burned in a cemetery near Edessa. Syriac, Armenian, Greek, Georgian, Arabic, and Latin versions of the legends survive; most schol-

ars assume that the original was in Syriac, although different from the preserved Syriac versions, and probably similar to the Armenian and one of the Greek texts. The author of Abibas's *passio*, Theophilos, claims to have been an eyewitness, but errors in chronology suggest that the legends are later works.

The three martyrs appear together in the story of Euphemia and the Goth, as protectors of a young woman married to a barbarian, taken from Edessa, mistreated, and her baby poisoned; the martyrs miraculously brought her home, and eventually the Goth was executed—on the initiative of Eulogios, bishop of Edessa (378–87). This legend is known in Greek and Syriac; Burkitt (*infra*) tried unsuccessfully to prove that the original was in Syriac. EPHREM THE SYRIAN dedicated a strophe to Gourias, Samonas, and Abibas; JACOB OF SARUG wrote another hymn. SYMEON METAPHRASTES included the legends in his collection; ARETHAS OF CAESAREA wrote a *laudatio* of the martyrs.

Representation in Art. The three saints together reflect the three ages of man: Abibas is depicted as a young deacon, the other two as princely martyrs in tunic and *chlamys*, with Gourias generally elderly and Samonas middle-aged The Euphemia miracle is sometimes treated as an independent text, but no illustrations of it survive. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.183), Gourias and Samonas are about to be beheaded, while Abibas is being burned alive in a furnace; in another contemporary *menologion*, there is a scene of the translation of their relics (Athos, Vatop. 456, fol.253r, Weitzmann, *Studies* fig.224).

SOURCES. *Die Akten der edessenischen Bekenner Gurjas, Samonas und Abibos*, ed. O. von Gebhardt, E. von Dobschütz (Leipzig 1911), rev. H. Delehaye, *AB* 31 (1912) 332–34. F.C. Burkitt, *Euphemia and the Goth* (London 1913), rev. P. Peeters, *AB* 33 (1914) 68–70.

LIT. *BHG* 731–740m. J.-M. Sauget, "Gurias, Samonas et Habib," *DHGE* 22 (1988) 1193f. F. Halkin, "Translation du chef de S. Abibus, un des trois confesseurs d'Edesse, BHG 740m," *AB* 104 (1986) 287–97. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 6:465f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

GRAČANICA, a monastery and the seat of the bishops of Lipljan, near Priština (Yugoslavia). The present Church of the Dormition (originally Annunciation) was begun ca.1311, under the auspices of the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, on the site of a destroyed 13th-C. church and a 5th–6th-C. basilica. Milutin's church is in all likelihood the work of builders from Thessalonike and, possibly, from Arta; in quality, Gračanica exceeds contemporary achievements in these two centers. The church consists of a domed cross-in-square naos, enveloped by a bema flanked by two domed lateral chapels, north and south ambulatory wings, and an inner narthex. Two additional domes cover the corner bays of the inner narthex. The characteristic five-domed scheme at Gračanica is marked by an unusually well-balanced composition and elongated proportions. The exterior displays high-quality cloisonné construction and a restrained application of decorative brickwork. Painted before 1321, the frescoes represent a fairly standard version of the CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION of the Palaiologan era, including Old Testament PREFIGURATIONS and liturgical subjects in the bema. Milutin's charter for the monastery and the death of a Serbian bishop are depicted in the south chapel; portraits of the Nemanjid dynasty arranged in a family tree borrowed from the TREE OF JESSE appear in the inner narthex. The painters developed the style of MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, displaying some interest in human anatomy and employing both original and reverse perspective. Gračanica may have been at first intended to serve as Milutin's mausoleum church, but this idea was subsequently abandoned. The church continued to function as a mausoleum for local bishops and eminent individuals.

LIT. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica: King Milutin's Church and Its Place in Late Byzantine Architecture* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979). S. Ćurčić, B. Todić, *Gračanica*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1988). –S.Ć., G.B.

GRACE (χάρις, lit. "gift") is a free and unmerited favor of God. Christianity contrasted itself, as a religion of grace, with Mosaic religion based on the Law. The source of grace is God acting through Christ or the Holy Spirit, always in synergy with man (see SYNERGISM). The INCARNATION was the major vehicle of grace. Christ liberated man from the damnation of sin and opened for him the way of SALVATION and divinization. After the Incarnation the Church mediated grace through the SACRAMENTS. The relationship between grace and FREE WILL was seldom explicitly discussed in Byz. as it was in the West. And yet, the doctrines of gnosis (see GNOSTICISM), MANICHAEANISM, and fa-

talism as well as the philosophical presentation of the soul's similitude to God, present a clear distinction between the image (*eikon*) of God in man, which cannot be lost, and his likeness (*homoiosis*) to God, which can be realized only through ascetic labors. THEOSIS, or deification, is the work of the trinitarian ENERGY in which the Holy Spirit assimilates man to the Incarnate Son of God.

This strongly personal conception of divine activity was questioned from time to time through the conception of the multitude of uncreated energies in Palamism. The theological expression of grace is found also in the idea of the sonship (Cyril of Alexandria, PG 73:156CD) of those who believe and of participation in the divine nature through spiritual rebirth. Earlier mysticism used such phrases as "the presence of the Trinity in the soul" and "the illumination of man," which was the preferred way for speaking from the time of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and was embraced esp. by Palamite HESYCHASM (J. Meyendorff, *GregPal* 37 [1954] 19–31).

LIT. J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). H. Merki, *Homoiosis theo* (Freiburg 1952). E. Scholl, *Die Lehre des heiligen Basilius von der Gnade* (Freiburg 1881). S.I. Gošević, "He peri theias charitos didaskalia Ioannou tou Chrysostomou," *Theologia* 27 (1956) 206–39, 367–89. J. McW. Dewart, *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, D.C., 1971). J. Loosen, *Logos und Pneuma im begnadeten Menschen bei Maximus Confessor* (Münster 1940). –G.P.

GRADO (Γράδον), late Roman city and fortress (*castrum*) on an island south of AQUILEIA, probably serving as its harbor. The first churches seem to have been built here in the 4th C. In the 5th and 6th C. Grado was used as a place of refuge; in 568, after the Lombard conquest of his city, the bishop of Aquileia, Paulinus I, transferred the see and its treasures to Grado. Eventually, two rival dioceses were formed: *vetus Aquileia* and *Aquileia nova*, or Grado. While Aquileia severed its relations with Constantinople and Rome, forming an independent patriarchate under Lombard authority, Grado remained within the Byz. sphere. Its bishop Elias (Greek by origin) supported the principles of the Council of Chalcedon, however, against those of the Second Council of Constantinople of 553; he promoted the cult of St. Euphemia, dedicating the new cathedral to her in 579. The exarch of Ravenna exercised authority over the church of Grado. The patriarchate of Grado was organized probably between 607 and 614 to counterbalance that of Aquileia, and the two sees pursued rival claims to metropolitan jurisdiction over the province of Venetia-Istria until the dispute was resolved in Aquileia's favor by Pope Alexander III in 1180. The city was in decline from the 11th C., and after 1156 the patriarchs of Grado moved to Venice. There was a Byz. garrison in Grado: inscriptions made by *milites* of two infantry *numeri* and a mounted "Perso-Justinianus" *numerus* have been found.

Monuments of Grado. The well-preserved Cathedral of S. Euphemia encloses a contemporary floor mosaic. The cathedral's baptistery and its mosaic pavement are older—from the second half of the 4th C. Ninth-century sources mention a throne of St. Mark sent by Emp. Herakleios to the bishop of Grado (ca.630). A group of ivory plaques dispersed in various museums was once commonly ascribed to this throne, but K. Weitzmann (*DOP* 29 [1972] 43–91) refuted the attribution. S. Tavano (*AntAa* 12 [1977] 445–89) has returned to the theory that they belonged to the throne. A second, alabaster reliquary throne, now in the Treasury of S. Marco in VENICE, is thought by some scholars (*Treasury S. Marco* 98–105) to have originated as another gift by Herakleios to Grado; but as M. Werner demonstrated (*Studies in Iconography* 10 [1984–86] 32, n.75), the iconography of its bas-reliefs suggests on the contrary that it may have been made in northern Italy.

LIT. S. Tramontin, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1024–29. S. Tavano, *Aquileia e Grado* (Trieste 1986). *Grado nella storia e nell'arte*, 2 vols. (Udine 1980). C.G. Mor, "Grado da Bisanzio a Venezia," in *Memorie storiche forogiuliesi* 59 (1979) 11–23. –A.K., D.K., A.C.

GRAIN. Wheat was the predominant grain in the empire. Two archaeological finds from Egypt demonstrate that the cultivation of hard wheat, which is easier to thresh and store than the soft wheat of Roman times, began there just before the Arab conquest of the 7th century (A.M. Watson, *Agricultural Innovation in the Early Islamic World* [Cambridge 1983] 20). Hard wheat was also the major grain in the 10th-C. finds from Beycesultan in Anatolia (H. Helbaek, *AnatSt* 11 [1961] 90f). Barley was probably cultivated more in the Balkan peninsula, whereas wheat was common in Asia Minor. In the finds from Beycesultan, rye is attested in an insignificant amount, but it increased



GRAIN. Grinding grain. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript; lower portion (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

by the end of the 13th C.—a certain Skaranos, in his will of ca. 1270–74 (*Xerop.*, no.9.A44), stated that he had sown 31 *modioi* of wheat (*sitarion*), 27 *modioi* of barley (*krithe*), and 45 *modioi* of rye (*briza*). Millet (*kenchros*) was cultivated (e.g., *Chil.*, no.27.48) and used for bread, as was bran (J. Darrouzès, *BS* 23 [1962] 280.63–64), but Symeon SETH (*Syntagma de alimentarum facultatibus* 137.21–25) asserted that millet was injurious to the stomach. The cultivation of oats is reflected in the tax accounts of the castellany of Corinth (J. Longnon, P. Topping, *Documents sur le régime des terres dans la principauté de Morée au XIV*^{e} *siècle* [Paris 1969] 158).

The Byz. cultivated both winter and summer crops: a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:346.21–24) observed both young grain (*galaktotrophoumenos*) and ripe grain in the fields at the same time, and Skaranos in his will related that he planted crops before 30 Nov. The season of heaviest rainfall occurs during the winter, favoring the sowing of crops in the fall and their harvesting and THRESHING in the spring. Mirroring such a cycle of production, Michael Psellos admonishes, "The best time for sowing of wheat is thought to be the 11th and 13th of November. Thereafter come many rainy storms, soil and water combining to bring the sowings to fruition" (Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:242). Harvesting is a normal component of Old Testament illustration. In the OCTATEUCHS grain is shown being cut with sickles (Uspenskij, *Seral'skij kodeks*, no.284), but is more often gathered without implements (ibid., nos. 205, 305).

The supply of grain evidently decreased in the 7th C., when Byz. lost Egypt and North Africa to the Arabs and the steppes of the northern shore of the Black Sea also ceased to be a granary for the empire. Moreover, Sicily was conquered by the Arabs in 902. This probably led to the declining consumption of BREAD in Byz., partly compensated by the growing role of LIVESTOCK.

LIT. J. Teall, "The Grain Supply of the Byzantine Empire," *DOP* 13 (1959) 87–139. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:254–74. Hendy, *Economy* 44–54. –J.W.N., A.K., A.C.

GRAMMAR (γραμματική). For DIONYSIOS THRAX grammar was "the practical knowledge of the language generally used by poets and prose writers" and was subdivided into topics such as ORTHOGRAPHY, prosody, MORPHOLOGY, mythology, and figures of speech (but not SYNTAX). It was thus a descriptive study of the language of Greek literature. Byz. teachers continued to use Dionysios's brief treatise and built round it a vast corpus of commentaries; in their hands, however, as the spoken language diverged more and more from the classicizing language of literature, grammar became prescriptive rather than descriptive, and laid down rules for correct spelling, inflection, meter, etc. The Byz. grammarian (GRAMMATIKOS), responsible for the second stage in education, tended to concentrate on the study of classical Greek poetry, esp. Homer, leaving prose to the teacher of rhetoric (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:117C-D; Michael Psellos, in Sathas, *MB* 5:90–92). The principal textbooks used until the 12th C. were Dionysios Thrax with his Byz. commentaries (esp. that of George CHOIROBOSKOS), Theodosios's *Canons* and the commentaries on it, *On Orthography* by THEOGNOSTOS, EPIMERISMS on

Homer and on the Psalms, and a handbook attributed to Theodore Prodromos. From the 12th C. onward textbooks in the form of questions and answers (*erotemata*) tended to replace the older manuals. Anonymous *erotemata* occur in MSS as early as the 12th C., and others were later written by Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, Demetrios Chalkokondyles, and others.

LIT. L. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*² (Oxford 1974) 38–69. Wilson, *Scholars* 42f, 68–78. A. Pertusi, "Erotemata, Per la storia e le fonti delle prime grammatiche greche a stampa," *ItMedUm* 5 (1962) 321–51. I. Spatharakis, "An Illuminated Greek Grammar Manuscript in Jerusalem," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 231–44. A. Wouters, *The Grammatical Papyri from Graeco-Roman Egypt* (Brussels 1979). –R.B.

GRAMMATIKOS (γραμματικός). In addition to its ancient meaning of "scholar" or "teacher" often used as a sobriquet, the word came to signify scribe or secretary. In the 14th C., pseudo-KODINOS (185.23–24) simply equated *grammatikos* and NOTARY. An act of 1217 (*Reg* 3, no.1693) mentions Nicholas Kalotheos, *grammatikos* of the imperial *vestiarion* (MM 4:290.5–6); in 1258 George Probatas was *grammatikos* of the theme of the Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 160). Several seals of *grammatikoi*, primarily of the 11th–12th C., are known (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:663–67). Dölger and Karayannopulos (*Urkundenlehre* 64) suggest that the term *grammatikos* replaced that of ASEKRETIS under the Komnenoi. The term also appears in the acts of Athos of the 11th–12th C., probably only as a sobriquet but, at least from 1406 (and possibly already in the 11th C.), it could signify the secretary of a monastery (J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:218). Some patriarchs of Constantinople (John VII, Nicholas III) were called Grammatikoi. –A.K.

GRAND KOMNENOS (Μέγας Κομνηνός), title of the emperors of TREBIZOND. An unofficial epithet of members of the KOMNENOI in 12th-C. oratory, it was eventually applied to the Trapezuntine branch of the family, which descended from ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS. The first example is a MS note concerning the death of DAVID KOMNENOS (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 25 [1967] 141, n.67). The initials MK appeared on the coinage of Emp. George (1266–80) and by 1282 the title was entrenched. B. Hemmerdinger's hypothesis (*Byzantion* 40 [1970] 33–35) that the title was based on that of Hohenstaufen was refuted by O. Lampsides (*Byzantion* 40 [1970] 543–45). The purpose of this titulature was to emphasize the rights of the Trapezuntine rulers to the Komnenian heritage. Accordingly, it was only in Trebizond that the epithet *megas* was applied to the MESAZON. The Grand Komnenoi actively and deliberately emulated the emperors of Constantinople in the construction of fortifications and the patronage of monasteries. Thus ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS enclosed the lower city of Trebizond with a huge wall and fortified KERASOUS. He refounded the monastery of St. Eugenios at Trebizond, as Manuel I of Trebizond (1238–63) or his successor had built that of Hagia Sophia in the same city. On the model of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, portraits of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS

Grand Komnenoi and Emperors of Trebizond

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS	1204–1222
Andronikos I Gidos	1222–1235
John I Axouch	1235–1238
MANUEL I KOMNENOS	1238–1263
Andronikos II Komnenos	1263–1266
GEORGE KOMNENOS	1266–1280
JOHN II KOMNENOS	1280–1297
Theodora	1284–1285
ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS	1297–1330
Andronikos III Komnenos	1330–1332
Manuel II Komnenos	1332
Basil Komnenos	1332–1340
Irene Palaiologina	1340–1341
Anna Anachoutlou	17–30 July 1341
Michael Komnenos	30 July–7 Aug. 1341
Anna Anachoutlou	7 Aug. 1341–4 Sept. 1342
John III Komnenos	1342–1344
Michael Komnenos	1344–1349
ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS	1349–1390
MANUEL III KOMNENOS	1390–1416/17
ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS	1416/17–1429
JOHN IV KOMNENOS	1429–1458/60
DAVID I KOMNENOS	1459–1461

Source: Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 372, with modifications.

and his son JOHN IV KOMNENOS flank an image of the Virgin in the tower of Hagia Sophia, Trebizond. From JOHN II KOMNENOS onward, the Grand Komnenoi supported the monastery of SOUMELA. Even legends of these rulers aped those of the emperors of Constantinople: as Romanos I of Constantinople allegedly slew a lion, so Alexios II of Trebizond is said to have destroyed a dragon whose head was then publicly exhibited. (See table for a list of Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond.)

LIT. R. Macrides, "What's in the Name 'Megas Komnenos'?" *ArchPont* 35 (1979) 238–45. N. Oikonomides, "The Chancery of the Grand Komnenoi: Imperial Tradition and Political Reality," *ArchPont* 35 (1979) 321–32. S. Karpov, "U istokov političeskoj ideologii Trapezundskoj imperii," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 101–05. –C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

GRATIAN, more fully Flavius Gratianus, Western Roman emperor (from 24 Aug. 367); born Sirmium 18 Apr. or 23 May 359, died Lyons 25 Aug. 383. The son of Valentinian I, in 374 he married Constantia, daughter of Constantius II. A pupil of Ausonius, Gratian followed his advice after he succeeded his father in Nov. 375 (with his half-brother, the minor Valentinian II, as coruler). Gratian expressed respect for the senate and traditional cultural values such as rhetorical education (S. Bonner, *AJPh* 86 [1965] 113–37) and promoted men such as SYMMACHUS, Petronius PROBUS, and Nicomachus FLAVIANUS.

The defeat of his uncle Valens at ADRIANOPLE in 378 marked a radical change in Gratian's policy. Shocked by the Goths' victory, Gratian withdrew from Illyricum and interpreted the catastrophe as the result of God's wrath against the people of the region because of their Arianism; under the growing influence of AMBROSE he became an ardent Christian and supporter of Orthodoxy. He had the ALTAR OF VICTORY removed from the senate of Rome, and in 379 or rather 383 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 58 [1968] 96–99) renounced the pagan title of *pontifex maximus*. He sought alliances with people like Theodosios I, whom he appointed ruler of the East in 379. The revolt of MAXIMUS in 383 provoked discontent in Gratian's army. He was assassinated by his own *magister equitum*.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:183–85, 200–202. O. Seeck, *RE* 7 (1912) 1831–39. M. Fortina, *L'imperatore Graziano* (Turin 1953). G. Gottlieb, *Ambrosius von Mailand und Kaiser Gratian* (Göttingen 1973). –T.E.G.

GRAVE-ROBBING (τυμβωρυχία) belongs, like SACRILEGE (*hierosylia*), to which it is closely related, to crimes against religion. It included every kind of desecration of burial places, esp. the plundering of valuables, the theft of building material, and the unauthorized exhumation of corpses. The type of punishment varies accordingly, ranging from penalties for THEFT to capital punishment (*Basil.* 60.23; *Ecloga* 17.14; *Nov. Leo VI* 96; Balsamon, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:207–09, 325f). Ecclesiastical law, which assigns EPITIMIA to grave-robbers, recognizes comparable variations (Basil the Great, canon 66; Gregory of Nyssa, canon 7; and the Byz. commentaries, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:222, 326–28). Valuable grave goods increased the likelihood of grave-robbing; the desecration of imperial graves may also have been politically motivated. Grave-robbing (*klopophoresai to soma*, cf. vita of St. Peter of Athos, ed. K. Lake, *The Early Days of Monasticism on Mount Athos* [Oxford 1909] 34.34f) is a relatively rare subject in hagiography: usually the saint is described as capable of protecting his own grave from desecration (e.g., GEORGE OF AMASTRIS, St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA in 809).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:190–93, 242f. Troianos, *Poinalios* 99–101. –L.B., A.K.

GREAT CHURCH (ἡ μεγάλη ἐκκλησία), the original name of the Church of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople; according to a 5th-C. ecclesiastical historian (Sokr. *HE* 2.16), the emperor Constantius II "built the Great Church that is now called Sophia." The edifice took this name no doubt because it was larger than any other church in Constantinople. Even after the church came to be called Hagia Sophia, it continued to bear concurrently the name Great Church (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.66). By the 8th C. the term was also applied to the patriarchate of Constantinople and by extension to the entire Orthodox Church. The seals of patriarchal officials frequently call them *oikonomos*, *chartoularios*, etc., "of the Great Church" (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 50–54, 66–71). The expression *megale ekklesia* or *megas naos* might also be applied to some larger provincial churches

such as Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike (S. Kaplaneres, *Byzantiaka* 5 [1985] 84f). -A.M.T.

GREAT ENTRANCE (ἡ μεγάλη εἴσοδος), ritual procession that opens the second half of the LITURGY, the EUCHARIST, just as the LITTLE ENTRANCE opens the earlier part, the Liturgy of the Word. The deacon carries the paten with the eucharistic bread and the priest the chalice with the wine from the prothesis chamber (see PASTOPHORIA) into the nave of the church, then through the TEMPLON to the altar. The entrance of the bread and wine symbolizes Christ's coming in the sacrament of his body and blood.

The Great Entrance is a ritualization of the primitive transfer of the gifts offered by the congregation: these gifts were brought from the *skeuophylakion* or treasury to the altar by deacons. It is first attested at Constantinople in sources of the 6th C. (Eutychios of Constantinople—PG 86.2: 2400C–2401B), at which time the CHEROUBIKON chant was added to accompany it. Formerly called the "entrance of the holy mysteries" (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:693C) or simply the "preparatory procession of the deacons" (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par.37), it is first called the Great Entrance in the 12th–13th-C. DIATAXIS in Athens (Nat. Lib. gr. 662, P. Trempelas, *Hai treis leitourgiai kata tous en Athenais kodikas* [Athens 1935], p.9) to distinguish it from the Little Entrance.

Early COMMENTARIES interpreted the Great Entrance also as the angelic procession of the Celestial Eucharist (see LORD'S SUPPER), later also as the triumphal Entry into Jerusalem (see PALM SUNDAY), as Jesus led to the cross, as his burial cortège, his entry into glory, the entrance of the saints and the just, etc. The Great Entrance in Hagia Sophia was esp. splendid on those days when the emperor participated in the liturgy, moving at the head of a vast procession of clergy and members of the court through the church to greet the patriarch at the doors of the templon.

LIT. R. Taft, *The Great Entrance* (Rome 1975). -R.F.T.

GREAT FEASTS were originally distinguished from regular liturgical FEASTS on the basis of the special liturgical practices surrounding their celebration. In the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH only Easter, the Nativity, and Epiphany were distinguished as Great Feasts; they were preceded



GREAT FEASTS. Icon of the Great Feasts; mosaic, early 14th C. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Left half of a diptych showing six Great Feasts: the Annunciation, Nativity, Hypapante, Baptism of Christ, Transfiguration, Raising of Lazarus.

by a forefeast in the form of a VIGIL the night before. The number of Great Feasts eventually increased to 12 (*dodekaorton*): nine fixed feasts (ANNUNCIATION, NATIVITY, EPIPHANY, HYPAPANTE, TRANSFIGURATION, BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN and the DORMITION, the Exaltation of the CROSS) and three mobile (PALM SUNDAY, ASCENSION, PENTECOST). The "paschal triduum" (GOOD FRIDAY to EASTER) was so important as to be in a class by itself, beyond the category of Great Feasts.

Only the nine fixed feasts have both a forefeast (*proeortia*)—usually one day long but lasting five days at Christmas and four at Epiphany—and an afterfeast period (*metheorta*) of one to eight days, plus a closure (*apodosis*). These same nine feasts, as well as four others—Circumcision (1 Jan.), the Birth (24 June) and Beheading (29 Aug.) of JOHN

THE BAPTIST, and Sts. PETER and PAUL (29 June)—were important enough to have at *orthros* a single *kanon*, that of the feast, as well as the Great DOXOLOGY; all have Great VESPERS, and a vigil that is usually an AGRYPNIA. Nativity and Epiphany have further festive material the preceding and following Saturday and SUNDAY and the older Constantinopolitan *paramone* as a vigil, instead of the monastic *agrypnia*, the eve of the feast—these being elements retained from the 10th-C. *Typikon*.

The manner and degree to which the emperor participated in the liturgy of these feasts was not always related to the solemnity of the feast itself. His involvement on Palm Sunday and Easter, for example, was actually less than on some other days.

The choice of what constituted a Great Feast did not in fact always have a purely liturgical basis, and in other contexts the list could be different. The illustrated *dodekaorton* cycles, which dominate Byz. art in all media from the 11th C. onward, comprise six fixed feasts (Annunciation, Nativity, Epiphany, Hypapante, Transfiguration, Dormition) and six mobile (LAZARUS SATURDAY, Palm Sunday, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension, Pentecost).

Only the dominical Great Feasts totally displaced a Sunday office. Six Great Feasts were followed by a SYNAXIS or closely related special commemoration, to which should be added the commemoration of the Holy Spirit the Monday after Pentecost.

(For the artistic representation of Great Feasts, see NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION and entries on individual feasts.)

LIT. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Festal Menaion*[2] (London 1977). –R.F.T.

GREAT LAVRA. See LAVRA, GREAT.

GREAT PALACE (Μέγα παλάτιον), the imperial palace of Constantinople situated on a sloping site between the HIPPODROME and the sea walls. Built or begun by Constantine I, it remained the actual residence of the emperors until the reign of Alexios I, who moved his court to the BLACHERNAI palace, and continued as the official imperial residence until 1204. The Latin emperors also lived there.

The archaeological remains of the palace are meager. Apart from a system of artificial terraces (E. Mamboury, T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* [Berlin-Leipzig 1934]), they are limited to: (1) a seaward façade deployed along two re-entrant angles of the sea walls, overlooking the artificial harbor of Boukoleon; (2) a stretch of defensive wall, probably the one built by Nikephoros II Phokas, running north from the old lighthouse tower of the sea walls; and (3) remnants of an apsed hall preceded by a peristyle court (66 × 55 m), the latter decorated with a magnificent FLOOR MOSAIC. This complex, excavated in 1935–38 and 1952–54, appears to date no earlier than the reign of Justinian I and has not been convincingly identified with any of the palatine buildings known from the textual evidence.

The palace is best known to us as it was in the 9th–10th C. and should be visualized not as a symmetrically planned complex (although parts of it may have been) but as an irregular agglomeration of buildings of various dates separated by gardens and sporting grounds. The three principal texts that help us to recreate the layout of the palace are the DE CEREMONIIS; the description in *TheophCont* (139–43, 325f) of the buildings put up by the emperors Theophilos and Basil I; and the account by Nicholas MESARITES of the failed coup of John KOMNENOS the Fat in 1200. On the basis of these and other sources, repeated attempts have been made to reconstruct the palace on paper, the first by J. Labarte (1861). All are highly conjectural.

Of the earlier phase of the palace relatively little is known. It had a monumental vestibule called CHALKE opening on to the main street (MESE) to the southeast of HAGIA SOPHIA; an area occupied by the barracks of the palace guards (*scholarii, excubitores, candidati*); a "public" section, centered on a big court (called Tribunal or Delphax) with meeting rooms (Consistorium, Augusteus) and a dining room (the Hall of the 19 Couches) grouped around it; finally, a residential wing called Daphne, which communicated with the imperial box (KATHISMA) in the Hippodrome by means of a spiral staircase (*kochlias*). A chapel of St. Stephen was added by Pulcheria (ca.428) and another, of St. Michael, before the end of the 5th C. The palace had a harbor or other landing facilities and was certainly protected by a wall. A private sport-

ing ground called "the covered Hippodrome" may have dated from the same period.

The Chalke and guards' quarters were burned down in the Nika Revolt (532) and rebuilt by Justinian I. Justin II is credited with the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS (Golden Hall), a domed octagon that was to become the throne room and ceremonial center of the palace. Tiberios I (soon after 578) remodeled the north section of the palace to provide new quarters for himself and his family. A further expansion was carried out by Justinian II, who strengthened the palace walls and built a big reception hall called Ioustinianos or the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN. The next important building phase was initiated by Theophilos, who erected a two-story complex (the Trikonchos, the Sigma, and several pavilions). Next, Basil I put up residential rooms (the Kainourgion and the PENTAKOUBOUKLON), the NEA EKKLESIA, and several chapels and laid out a polo ground (TZYKANISTERION).

Judging the defenses of the palace to be inadequate, Nikephoros II surrounded what was then the central part of it, i.e., the part overlooking the palatine harbor of Boukoleon, with a strong wall. No further building activity is recorded until the mid-12th C., when Manuel I erected a hall called Manouelites decorated with mosaics depicting his victories (P. Magdalino, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 101–14) and probably another, in the Seljuk style, called Mouchroutas, directly to the west of the Chrysotriklinos. During the Palaiologan period the palace gradually fell into decay; except for the Nea Ekklesia, little of it had survived by the time of the Turkish conquest.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910). J.B. Bury, "The Great Palace," *BZ* 21 (1912) 210–25. *Great Palace, 1st Report. Great Palace, 2nd Report.* Mango, *Brazen House*. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:3–367. S. Miranda, *Étude de topographie du Palais Sacré de Byzance*² (Mexico City 1976). W. Jobst, "Der Kaiserpalast Konstantinopel und seine Mosaiken," *Antike Welt* 18.3 (1987) 2–22. J. Trilling, "The Soul of the Empire: Style and Meaning in the Mosaic Pavement of the Imperial Palace in Constantinople," *DOP* 43 (1989) 27–72. –C.M.

GREECE, the southern part of the Balkan peninsula, encompassing the PELOPONNESOS, Central Greece (ATTICA, BOEOTIA, Akarnania, AITOLIA), Northern Greece (THESSALY, MACEDONIA, EPIROS), and the islands of the Aegean and Ionian seas. The traditional concept of an economic decline of Greece during the late Roman period needs substantial revision: even though the destinies of individual cities differed (THESSALONIKE flourished, while ATHENS stagnated), classical urban civilization prevailed in the 4th–6th C. and was able to overcome the attacks of the Goths and Huns. The antique city pattern remained despite active construction of churches (T. Gregory in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* [New York 1982] 43–73). The situation changed drastically in the 7th C.; it remains under discussion whether it was the result of an internal economic and political crisis (the mechanism of which escapes us) or was caused by the invasion of the Avars and Slavs (whose impact, however, could not have been greater than that of the Goths and Huns). The ancient cities disappeared or were ruralized, construction work ceased almost entirely, and new settlers penetrated down to the southern parts of the Peloponnesos.

The old administrative system (Greece belonged to the prefecture of ILLYRICUM), forming the provinces of ACHAIA, Thessaly, Macedonia, and Epiros, dissolved, since Constantinople retained control essentially over only a narrow strip along the sea coast with cities such as Thessalonike and CORINTH, whereas in the interior independent principalities (see SKLAVINIA), tribal units, and semi-independent grand possessions (like those of the widow DANELIS) became established.

Ecclesiastical administration also underwent changes by the end of the 7th C.: many bishoprics ceased to exist—at the Council of 680 only the bishops of Lakedaimon, Athens, Corinth, and Argos were present as well as a handful of Macedonian representatives: Thessalonike, Selymbria, Herakleia, Mesembria, Bizye, Ainos, Philippi, Amphipolis, Edessa, Uzusa, Dyrrachion, Stobi (Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 107–09); in the *Notitia* of pseudo-Epiphanios 27 metropolitans from Asia Minor are listed and only five from Greece, predominantly from northern regions (Thrace, Rhodope, Haimimontos [see HAIMOS]). A part of Greece stood under the jurisdiction of Rome until the mid-8th C.

The Byz. reconquest of Greece began at the end of the 8th C. and, though in some districts Slavic villages survived through the 14th C., the country was deeply hellenized by the 10th C. (J. Herrin, *BSA* 68 [1973] 113–26). In the 11th and 12th C. Greece witnessed an economic revival



CITIES AND REGIONS OF GREECE

Themes shown thus: STRYMON
Regions shown thus: *ATTICA*

greater than Asia Minor: the larger cities such as Thessalonike, Corinth, and Thebes successfully competed with Constantinople as trade and manufacturing centers, and splendid churches were erected throughout Greece. Some writers (e.g., Michael Choniates) deplored the cultural decline of ancient cities such as Athens, but probably this attitude itself indicates the increasing self-consciousness of provincial intellectuals who accused Constantinople of grasping the lion's share of wealth and glory. At any rate, many first-rate literati dwelt in Greek towns and actively participated in local administrative and ecclesiastical life.

Administrative units of HELLAS and Thrace were formed in Greece from which gradually other themes separated: Peloponnesos, Nikopolis, Dyrrachion, Thessalonike, Macedonia, Strymon, Boleron; other themes encompassed the islands of

the Aegean Sea. Rome lost its jurisdiction over East Illyricum. A notitia of the 8th–9th C. reflects the growing role of Greece in church organization: there are listed 27 metropolitans from Asia Minor compared with ten metropolitans from Greece, including southern sites—Patras, Athens, and Larissa.

After the fall of Constantinople to the Crusaders in 1204, Greece was relatively easily conquered by the Franks, in contrast to Asia Minor where they met a stubborn resistance. Boniface of Montferrat established himself as the king of Thessalonike, then the following Frankish states were created: the principality of ACHAIA (Morea), and the duchy of the Archipelago (both under the direct suzerainty of the Latin emperor of Constantinople); the lordship of Athens and Thebes standing in a vassal relationship to the king of Thessalonike; Euboea (NEGROPONTE), which was dependent on Thessalonike and Venice; and the county of Kephalenia, in theory held by Venice but actually autonomous.

The centers of Byz. resistance in Greece were the despotate of EPIROS and MONEMVASIA as well as some mountainous areas of Taygetos that escaped subjugation to Achaia. By 1248 Monemvasia had to surrender, but by that time the empire of Nicaea became a factor; in 1259 at the battle of PELAGONIA it showed itself as the strongest power in the Balkans, and in 1261 a Nicaean general was able to reconquer Constantinople. In 1262 Achaia ceded three strongholds (MISTRA, Monemvasia, and MAINA) to the Byz. emperor, thus opening the way for the Greek recovery of a part of the Peloponnesos; Michael VIII also attacked Thessaly and Euboea and then penetrated as far as Avlon and Dyrrachion. The Byz. reconquest of Greece, however, was short-lived: first the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, then the Serbian offense under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, and finally the Turkish invasion eliminated the successes achieved by the Greeks in the second half of the 13th C.

In the 14th and 15th C. Greece was divided into various independent and semi-independent seigneuries, of which Epiros, the despotate of MOREA, and Kephalenia seem to have been the most stable and militarily active; these seigneuries engaged in constant internecine warfare, and also fought against the Turks, Serbs, Albanians, invaders from Italy, and not infrequently Constantinople. Nevertheless, the country prospered economically; population density grew; and trade relations with Venice, Dubrovnik, and Sicily flourished. The relations between the Franks and the Greeks were not strictly determined; the Byz. ruling class found a *modus vivendi*, strengthened by intermarriages; the ordinary Greeks, however, felt oppressed by both Latin knights and Italian merchants, and Orthodoxy, in opposition to the idea of subordination to the pope, served as an expression of ethnic and social hatred.

The Turkish occupation of the Greek mainland was accomplished by 1460 (the conquest of Morea); it put an end to the existence of the multinational agglomeration created in Greece during the 13th–15th C. Some islands continued their independent status for a while longer, partly under Venetian protection.

LIT. A. Philipson, *Die griechischen Landschaften*, 2 vols. (Frankfurt a.M. 1950–52). D. Zakythenos, *He byzantine Hellas* (Athens 1965). N. Cheetham, *Mediaeval Greece* (New Haven–London 1981). J.M. Spieser, "La ville en Grèce du IIIe au VIIe siècle," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 315–40. P. Charanis, "On the Demography of Medieval Greece: A Problem Solved," *BalkSt* 20 (1979) 193–218. A. Vasiliev, "Slavjane v Grecii," *VizVrem* 5 (1898) 404–38, 626–70. –A.K.

GREEK. See LANGUAGE.

GREEK ANTHOLOGY, conventional title for two collections of ancient and Byz. epigrams.

1. *Anthologia Palatina*, the name given to a collection of about 3,700 EPIGRAMS contained in a unique MS, now divided between Heidelberg (Palat. gr. 23) and Paris (B.N., suppl. gr. 384). The MS is usually dated to the 10th C. (A.D.E. Cameron, *GRBS* 11 [1970] 339–50), but an 11th-C. date has been proposed by R. Aubreton (*REA* 70 [1968] 32–82; *AntCl* 38 [1969] 459f). Presenting complex codicological problems, the MS—in which several hands can be distinguished—also includes revisions and late insertions. Created by an unknown compiler, who probably drew on the 10th-C. KEPHALAS anthology of pagan classical and late antique epigrams and funerary inscriptions, the *Anthologia Palatina* is set out in 15 books. Of these, books 3–7, 9–12, and probably 13–14 represent the core taken from Kephalas's collection. Books 1 (Christian epigrams, largely from inscriptions in churches), 8 (funerary epigrams by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS), and 15 (a miscellaneous

group, concluding with poems by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, IGNATIOS THE DEACON, and Kometas as well as inscriptions from the HIPPODROME) are 10th-C. additions. Book 2 is made up of the *ekphrasis* by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS on the statues in the ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople. A representative work of 10th-C. ENCYCLOPEDISM, the *Anthologia Palatina* is an invaluable witness, without which the work of many poets (e.g., PALLADAS or those in the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS) would have been completely lost.

2. *Anthologia Planudea*, a collection of some 2,400 epigrams made by Maximos PLANOUDES and surviving in an autograph MS (Venice, Marc. gr. 481, dated 1299) and two apographa, revised in 1300 or 1305 under Planoudes' supervision; of these, one (London, BM Add. 16409; D.C.C. Young, *ParPass* 10 [1955] 197–214) is a preliminary revision and the other, now fragmentary (Paris, B.N. gr. 2744; R. Aubreton, *Scriptorium* 23 [1969] 69–87), is his final version; the latter was used for Laskaris's edition of the *Greek Anthology* in 1494. The epigrams in Marc. gr. 481 are set out in two blocks, the second being additions to be incorporated into the first; from this it appears that Planoudes had access to two ANTHOLOGIES of epigrams, both of which resembled the *Anthologia Palatina*, and also a version of the anthology of Kephalas (R. Aubreton, *REA* 70 [1968] 32–82). Planoudes expurgated his sources and rearranged his selection into seven books: epideictic epigrams, satiric, funerary, ekphrastic, the *ekphrasis* of Christodoros of Koptos, votive, and amatory. Within each book the epigrams were arranged alphabetically by theme. Some 388 epigrams in the *Anthologia Planudea* are not found in the *Anthologia Palatina*; these are conventionally but somewhat misleadingly printed as book 16, the "Appendix Planudea," in modern editions of the *Greek Anthology*. Demetrios TRIKLINIOS prepared a revised edition of the *Anthologia Planudea*.

ED. H. Beckby, *Anthologia Graeca*², 4 vols. (Munich 1965), with Germ. tr. W.R. Paton, *The Greek Anthology*, 5 vols. (London-New York 1925–27), with Eng. tr. *Anthologie grecque*, ed. P. Waltz et al., 13 vols. (Paris 1928–80), with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Bauer, "Zu den christlichen Gedichten der *Anthologia Graeca*," *JÖB* 9 (1960) 31–40; 10 (1961) 31–37.

–E.M.J.

GREEK-CROSS DOMED OCTAGON. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

GREEK FIRE (ὑγρὸν πῦρ, lit. "liquid flame"). KALLINIKOS was said to be the inventor of the liquid fire that saved Constantinople from the Arabs in 678 and from the Rus' in 941. Its exact composition and means of propulsion are still uncertain, esp. since the term "Greek fire" was used to refer to various types of incendiary weapons. Although some scholars prefer to understand Greek fire as an explosive compound triggered by saltpeter (E. Pászthory, *Antike Welt* 17.2 [1986] 27–37), the most likely ingredients included crude oil (obtained from regions east of the Azov Sea [TMUTOROKAN, ZICHIA] or from wells east of Armenia listed in *De adm. imp.* 53.483–511) mixed with resin and sulphur, which was then heated and propelled by a pump (*siphon*) through a bronze tube (*strepton*). The liquid jet was ignited either as it left the tube or by flaming projectiles fired after it. The Byz. were careful never to divulge details on the composition or propulsion of Greek fire (*De adm. imp.* 13.73–103); thus even when the Bulgars captured a great supply of the mixture and firing tubes (Theoph. 499.13–14) they were unable to use them.

The use of Greek fire in sea battles is frequently mentioned in the sources, but it was also used in siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY). The Arab historian Ibn al-Athīr describes the terrible effect of flame-throwing tubes during the Byz. attack on Duin in 927, a danger the Arabs were able to avert only by killing the operator (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:150). The remains of a medieval workshop that produced Greek fire "grenades" were discovered in Hama-EPIPHANEIA (P. Pentz, *Antiquity* 62, no.234 [1988] 89–93).

LIT. J.F. Haldon, M. Byrne, "A Possible Solution to the Problem of Greek Fire," *BZ* 70 (1977) 91–99. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 1–41. A. & N. Vasojević, "Naphtha," *Philologus* 128 (1984) 208–29. Th.K. Korres, *Hygron pyr* (Thessalonike 1985).

–E.M.

GREEK OUTSIDE THE EMPIRE long remained in use as a VERNACULAR or as a learned language. In Syria and Palestine some monasteries, esp. the Lavra of St. SABAS, preserved Greek learning after the Arab conquest and produced famous authors such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS; the revival of Greek hagiography started in this area at the end of the 8th C., and Arabic translations (e.g., by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥaq) bear witness to familiarity with Greek

culture. This knowledge apparently declined after the 9th C. in this region, except in and around Antioch. Greek was well known in Armenia, Georgia, and Alania, and in use as a liturgical and administrative language in NUBIA. Also in Egypt after the Arab conquest Greek persisted in administration and theology for over a century and still survives in parts of the Coptic liturgy. In the Balkans some PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS are in Greek characters, and later Bulgaria played an important part in conveying the knowledge of Greek to the RUS', who received their Greek also via Tmutorokan, Cherson, and Mt. Athos. Greek liturgical chants were sung in Russian churches, and as late as the 14th C. the minutes of church councils were written in Greek. In Sicily and southern Italy Greek continued to be spoken after the end of Byz. rule: documents in Greek survive, and Greek poetry and hagiography still flourished in the 12th C. In Rome, Greek exiles, concentrated in the Forum Boarium, kept their language alive in the 7th-10th C. Farther afield the knowledge of Greek was limited and sporadic—in England and Ireland it died out soon after BEDE and Johannes Scotus Eriugena; thanks to intermarriages, there was some knowledge of Greek at the court of the Ottonians. After the Crusades an interest in Greek was revived; among others, the Englishman Robert GROSSETESTE and the Fleming WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated works of Aristotle. (See also TRANSLATION.)

LIT. W. Berschin, *Griechisch-lateinisches Mittelalter: von Hieronymus zu Nikolaus von Kues* (Berne-Munich 1980). H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–498. E. Delaruelle, "La connaissance du grec en Occident du Ve au IXe siècle," *Mélanges de la Société Toulousaine d'Études Classiques* 1 (1946) 207–26. K.M. Setton, "The Byzantine Background to the Italian Renaissance," *PAPhS* 100 (1956) 1–76. J. Kubińska, *Faras IV: Inscriptions grecques chrétiennes* (Warsaw 1974), rev. T. Hägg, *Orientalia Suecana* 25–26 (1976–77) 144–150. P. Courcelle, *Les lettres grecs en Occident*[3] (Paris 1948). –R.B., A.K.

GREENS. See FACTIONS.

GREGENTIOS (Γρηγέντιος), archbishop of Ẓafār, in South Arabia, and saint, fl. mid-6th C. His biography is based mainly on haphazard and legendary information (R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 [1986] 1385f). According to the vita (*BHG* 705d) by Palladios, bishop of Najrān, also preserved in a Slavonic translation, Gregentios was born in the late 5th C. in Moesia. After journeying to north and central Italy, he sailed to Alexandria; from there, soon after the martyrdom of Christians at NAJRĀN and the Axumite intervention of 525 that ended with the defeat of the Jewish Ḥimyarite king DHŪ NUWĀS, the patriarch of Alexandria, called Proterios in the vita (but actually Timothy III), sent him as bishop to the land of ḤIMYAR (V. Christides, *Annales d'Éthiopie* 9 [1972] 115–46). Having consecrated several churches together with the Axumite king Kālēb 'Ella 'Aṣbehā (ELESBOAM), Gregentios remained in Ẓafār at the side of ABRAHĀ, the newly appointed Axumite viceroy of Ḥimyar, to reestablish Christian Orthodoxy. He died some thirty years later, on 19 Dec., and was inscribed on this day in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 328–30; G. Fiaccadori, *Egitto e Vicino Oriente* 3 [1980] 314, n.79).

With the name of the saint are also connected the so-called *Laws for the Ḥimyarites* (*BHG* 706h–i), and the *Conversation with Herban the Jew* (*BHG* 706d); ostensibly forming an integral part of the vita, both are, in different measure, subsequent compilations. The whole dossier was assembled not before the 10th C., although the *Laws for the Ḥimyarites* shares some points with legal inscriptions from pre-Islamic South Arabia (A.K. Irvine, *BSOAS* 30 [1967] 290f), and the *Conversation*, a cento of passages from various texts, may reflect the drastic efforts of the saint to convert the local Jews.

Gregentios is called Gregory in one MS of the vita (*BHG* 705a). The latter name (a *lectio facilior*) appears constantly in the Slavonic tradition and is also found in the inscription on a Cypriot fresco of 1110–18 that portrays the saint (C. Mango, E. Hawkins, *DOP* 18 [1964] 339 and fig.44).

SOURCES. A.A. Vasiliev, "Žitie sv. Grigentija, episkopa Omiritskogo," *VizVrem* 14 (1907–09) 23–67. PG 86:568–784.

LIT. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XIII (1964), 579–602. I. Shahīd, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 33 (1979) 23–94. G. Fiaccadori, "Yemen nestoriano," in *Studi in onore di Edda Bresciani*, ed. S.F. Bondi et al. (Pisa, n.d. [1985]) 198f, 210f. –G.F.

GREGORAS, NIKEPHOROS, polymath and historian; born Herakleia Pontike ca.1290/1 (V. Grecu, *BSHAcRoum* 27 [1946] 56–61) or 1293/4 (H.-V. Beyer, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 129f), died Constantinople between 1358 and 1361. Orphaned as a child, Gregoras (Γρηγορᾶς) was initially educated by his uncle John, metropolitan of Herakleia. Circa 1314/

15 he went to Constantinople to study logic and rhetoric with the future Patr. JOHN XIII GLYKYS, and philosophy and astronomy with Theodore METOCHITES. He supported ANDRONIKOS II in the civil war of 1321–28, but later also found favor with ANDRONIKOS III. Gregoras was a partisan of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47; from 1347, however, when Gregoras succeeded AKINDYNOS as leader of the anti-Palamite party, his fortunes declined. Shortly after taking monastic vows, he was condemned and anathematized by the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) and placed under house arrest. After his death his corpse was dragged through the streets of the capital.

Gregoras was one of the most versatile scholars of the 14th C. Based at the CHORA monastery, where he ran a school and had access to the library of Metochites, he wrote hagiography (including Lives of MICHAEL SYNKELLOS; THEOPHANO, wife of Leo VI; and John of Herakleia), rhetorical works, and theological treatises (antirrhetics against Gregory PALAMAS). His dialogue *Phlorentios*, or *On Wisdom*, a discussion between Gregoras and Barlaam of Calabria, is a successful imitation of a Platonic dialogue. He also maintained an extensive correspondence, wrote treatises on the construction of the astrolabe, and calculated ECLIPSES; his proposals for calendar reform and for the calculation of the date of EASTER were not adopted, but presaged the Gregorian reform of 1582.

The most important work of Gregoras was his *Rhomaike Historia*, in 37 books. It covered the period 1204–1359, and he imposed a strict annalistic structure on his material. He emphasized the events of his own lifetime, with particular attention to theological controversy. Gregoras rejected a determinist explanation of historical events, arguing that God is not responsible for men's evil actions, but that he does foresee the future (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 320, 324f). Although the history was composed over many years and never properly edited or revised by Gregoras, it is an extremely valuable source for the first half of the 14th C. and as a complement to the memoirs of Kantakouzenos.

ED. *Byzantina Historia*, eds. L. Schopen, I. Bekker, 3 vols. (Bonn 1829–1855). Germ. tr. J.L. van Dieten, *Nikephoros Gregoras. Rhomäische Geschichte*, 3 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–88). *Nicephori Gregorae Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone, 2 vols. (Matino 1982–83). *Nikephoros Gregoras Antirrhetika I*, ed. H.-V. Beyer (Vienna 1976), with Germ. tr. *Fiorenzo o intorno alla sapienza*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1975), with Ital. tr. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 299–302.

LIT. R. Guilland, *Essai sur Nicéphore Grégoras* (Paris 1926). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:453–65; 2:191f, 249f. *PLP*, no.4443. H.-V. Beyer, "Nikephoros Gregoras als Theologe und sein erstes Auftreten gegen die Hesychasten," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 171–88. E. Moutsopoulos, "La notion de 'kairicité' historique chez Nicéphore Grégoras," *Byzantina* 4 (1972) 205–13. O.G. Zakrževskaja, "Koncepcija patriotizma Nikifora Grigory," *ADSV* (1977) 85–95. –A.M.T.

GREGORY (Γρηγόριος), exarch of Carthage and relative of Herakleios; died Sufetula 647. A supporter of the anti-Monothelite position of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the "most pious *patrikios*" Gregory was already exarch by July 645, when he attended the disputation in Carthage between Maximos and Patr. PYRRHOS and reportedly helped reconcile them (PG 91:287A). In late 646 or early 647, Gregory and "the Africans" rebelled against Constans II. Gregory's action is partly explained by African estrangement from Constantinople over MONOTHELETISM: local support was strong for Pope Theodore and Maximos (both later accused in Constantinople of inciting Gregory), and during 645/6 various African synods denounced the "heresy." The more immediate cause was probably anxiety about the Arabs' conquest of Egypt. In 647 Abdallah invaded western TRIPOLITANIA and marched on Byzacena. Gregory, who had marshalled his forces at SUFETULA, confronted him in the nearby plains and was defeated. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 343.25–27) and some Syriac sources record that Gregory fled to Constantinople, but most scholars accept Arab reports that he was killed in battle.

LIT. C. Diehl, *L'Afrique byzantine* (Paris 1896) 554–59. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:60–71. Pringle, *Defence* 1:46–47. R. Guery, "Le pseudo-monnayage de l'usurpateur Grégoire, patrice d'Afrique," *Bulletin de la société française de numismatique* (1981) 66–68. –P.A.H.

GREGORY I THE GREAT, in Greek known as *ho Dialogos*; pope (from Sept. 590); born Rome ca.540, died Rome 12 Mar. 604. Born to an aristocratic family (related to AGAPETUS I), Gregory was urban prefect in 572 and 573. Although he was papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople from 579 to 586, Gregory claimed ignorance of Greek. Once elected pope, he dedicated his efforts to the economic and political strengthening of his diocese:

he made a truce with the LOMBARDS who threatened Rome in 592 and 593 and reorganized the utilization of church *patrimonia*, esp. in Sicily (V. Recchia, *Gregorio Magno e la società agricola* [Rome 1978]). Gregory recognized not only the secular authority of the emperor, but also his authority in ecclesiastical matters, provided the emperor did not violate the canons. Gregory did not actively interfere in the domain of the patriarch of Constantinople, although in 595 he examined an appeal from two priests condemned in the Byz. capital. He recognized the see of Constantinople as the first among the Eastern patriarchates but rejected the claim of JOHN IV NESTEUTES to the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. He was opposed to MAURICE and his court and welcomed the usurpation of PHOKAS, displaying the portraits of the new imperial couple on the Palatine Hill.

Gregory is generally believed to have been the author of the *Dialogues*, although this attribution has recently been challenged by Clark (*infra*). These *Dialogues*, which were miraculous stories about 6th-C. saints and deliberations on the immortality of the soul, were translated into Greek by Pope ZACHARIAS, and were popular in Byz. Short anecdotes about Gregory, probably known to John MOSCHOS, as well as pieces in *synaxaria* and *menologia* (F. Halkin, *OrChrP* 21 [1955] 109–14), formed the core of Gregory's Greek vita.

LIT. *BHG* 1445y–1448b. R. Gillet, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1387–1420. J. Richards, *Consul of God: the Life and Times of Gregory the Great* (London 1980). J. Fontaine et al., *Grégoire le Grand* (Paris 1986). C. Dagens, "Grégoire le Grand et le monde oriental," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 17 (1981) 243–52. E.H. Fischer, "Gregor der Grosse und Byzanz," *ZSavKan* 67 (1950) 15–144. G.R. Evans, *The Thought of Gregory the Great* (Cambridge 1986). F. Clark, *The Pseudo-Gregorian Dialogues*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1987). –A.K.

GREGORY II, pope (from 19 May 715); born Rome 669, died Rome 11 Feb. 731. As deacon, Gregory accompanied Pope Constantine I to Constantinople and participated in discussions concerning the decisions of the Council in TRULLO. As pope, Gregory resisted Byz. economic and religious policy in Italy. He rejected Emp. Leo III's demands for increased taxation in Sicily and opposed his new policy of ICONOCLASM. Two letters in Gregory's name addressed to Leo III and preserved only in Greek have sparked considerable debate concerning their authenticity. They seem to have been compiled not in Constantinople but in Italy, though not necessarily by the pope himself. The gist of these letters is a denial of the emperor's right to define dogma. Gregory's resistance led to attempts on his life but the people of Rome caught some of the assailants and forced others to flee. The exarch Paul's effort to control the situation incited a riot, and he was killed. A new imperial army under the *patrikios* exarch EUTYCHIOS was sent to Naples to restore order, but Gregory managed to gain the support of the Lombard king Liutprand and to coerce Eutychios into reconciliation. Thereafter Gregory remained loyal to Eutychios and even sent a Roman detachment to assist him against the rebellious Tiberius Petasius.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Aux origines de l'iconoclasme: Le témoignage de Grégoire II?" *TM* 3 (1968) 243–307. E. Caspar, "Papst Gregor II. und der Bilderstreit," *ZKirch* 52 (1933) 29–70. H. Grotz, "Beobachtungen zu den zwei Briefen Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leo III.," *ArchHistPont* 18 (1980) 9–40 and add. ibid. 24 (1986) 365–75. H. Michels, "Zur Echtheit der Briefe Papst Gregors II. an Kaiser Leon III.," *ZKirch* 99 (1988) 376–91. D.H. Miller, "The Roman Revolution of the Eighth Century," *MedSt* 36 (1974) 101–11. –A.K.

GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, patriarch of Constantinople (28 Mar. 1283–June 1289); born Cyprus ca.1241, died Constantinople 1290. He was educated in Cyprus, Nicaea, and Constantinople, where he studied under George AKROPOLITES (*Autobiography* 177–87). He then joined the ranks of the palace clergy. In 1283 he was elevated to the patriarchate. Although under MICHAEL VIII he supported the negotiations with the West for UNION OF THE CHURCHES, Gregory was disillusioned by its apologists, the "Latinophrones," and with Rome's unyielding demands for submission. His patriarchate was thus marked by the restoration of Orthodoxy and the formal rejection of the union of LYONS at the local council of Constantinople of 1285 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Eventually, however, the complex ecclesiastical crisis provoked by the ARSENITES, conservative bishops, and unionists opposed both to his rule and to the Tomos of 1285, forced his conditional resignation (1289).

Gregory played a prominent part in the intellectual revival of the late 13th C., as his correspondence, proverb collection, *enkomia*, declamations, and Lives of the saints indicate. His *Autobiography*—possibly inspired by the autobio-

graphical reflections of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES—is a brief yet precious account of the cultural and "academic" background of his youth in Nicaea and Constantinople. His correspondence, too, in an elegant Attic style, contains material evidence for social and economic history (M. Bibikov, *ZRVI* 17 [1976] 93–99).

ED. PG 142:1–470. Correspondence—ed. S. Eustratiades, *EkklPhar* 1–5 (1908–10). *Autobiography*, ed. with Fr. tr. W. Lameere, *La tradition manuscrite de la correspondance de Grégoire de Chypre* (Brussels-Rome 1937) 176–91. See also lists in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 302f, and Beck, *Kirche* 686.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1460–1548. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* –A.P.

GREGORY III, pope (18 Mar. 731–28 Nov. 741) and saint. Of Syrian origin, Gregory was elected unexpectedly after the demise of GREGORY II and inherited his predecessor's conflict with Byz. At the council convened in Rome on 1 Nov. 731, Italian bishops condemned ICONOCLASM. Gregory sent messengers to Emp. LEO III, but they either tarried from fear or were detained and arrested. To quell the pope's resistance, Leo dispatched to Italy a fleet, which was destroyed in a storm in the Adriatic Sea. Then Leo ordered the tenants of the papal *patrimonia* in Sicily and Calabria to pay their taxes not to Rome, but to the fisc (A. Guillou, *ZRVI* 19 [1980] 74–78); he also transferred ILLYRICUM to the jurisdiction of Constantinople. In this precarious situation Gregory vacillated between alliance with the duchies of Benevento and Spoleto, on the one side, and with the Lombard king Liutprand, on the other; he even endeavored in 740 to attract Charles Martel as Rome's protector. Gregory did not disrupt political ties with Byz., however, and urged the Venetians and the archbishop of Grado to support exarch EUTYCHIOS when the Lombards forced him to flee Ravenna in 737.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 223–26. P. Moncelle, *DTC* 6 (1947) 1785–90 and add. R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1421f. –A.K.

GREGORY V (baptismal name Bruno), pope (3 May 996–18? Feb. 999); great-grandson of OTTO I THE GREAT. The first pope of German origin, Gregory sought collaboration with OTTO III. He found a rival in John Philagathos, the archbishop of Piacenza, a man of Greek ancestry who was close to THEOPHANO, the Byz. mother of Otto. Basil II supported the claims of Philagathos: when the latter arrived in Constantinople for diplomatic negotiations, the emperor sent him back with the Byz. emissary LEO OF SYNADA. Philagathos was proclaimed pope in Rome in Feb. 997 (as John XVI), but in Feb. 998 Otto III reinstalled Gregory and severely punished the pope's adversaries.

LIT. T.E. Moehs, *Gregorius V* (Stuttgart 1972). T. DeLuca, "Giovanni Filagato," *Almanacco calabrese* (Rome 1955) 81–92. –A.K.

GREGORY VII (Hildebrand), pope (from 22 Apr. 1073); born Tuscany between 1020 and 1025, died Salerno 25 May 1085. Continuing the policy of LEO IX, Gregory worked to establish a strong papacy supported by a reformed clergy. At the beginning of his pontificate Gregory was involved in military actions against the Norman ROBERT GUISCARD. He assembled certain southern Italian princes and was even in touch with North African Christians (C. Courtois, *RH* 195 [1945] 220–25) in expectation of an alliance against the Normans. Gregory also strove for an accommodation with Byz. He corresponded with Emp. Michael VII and dreamed of organizing a "crusade" to alleviate the plight of Byz. (Cowdrey *infra*). Everything changed in 1080; as a result of Guiscard's military success and the conflict with Henry IV of Germany, Gregory accepted Guiscard's homage on 29 June and recognized his occupation of Amalfi, Salerno, and Fermo. When Guiscard waged war against Byz., Gregory insisted that the Venetians who opposed the Norman penetration into the Adriatic would not support the "excommunicated" (Greeks), and he sent his congratulations to Guiscard after his victory over Alexios I. Sources concerning Gregory's relations with Armenia, Kiev, and southern Slavs are vague. Matthew of Edessa even relates that the Armenian *katholikos* Gregory II traveled to Rome in 1075; the pope Gregory attempted to mediate the conflict between Poland and Rus' and urged ZVONIMIR to recognize his vassalage to Rome.

LIT. J. Choux, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1424–33. J. Gauss, *Ost und West in der Kirchen- und Papstgeschichte des 11. Jahrhunderts* (Zurich 1967) 39–68. G. Hofmann, "Papst Gregor VII. und der christliche Osten," *StGreg* 1 (1947) 169–81. J. Deér, *Papsttum und Normannen* (Cologne 1972) 51–136. W. Wühr, *Studien zu Gregor VII. Kirchenreform und Weltpolitik* (Munich 1930). H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Gregory VII's 'Crusading' Plans of 1074," in *Outremer* 27–40. –A.K.

GREGORY IX (Hugo, count of Segni), pope (from 19 Mar. 1227); born Anagni ca.1170 (R. Aubert, *DHGE* 21 ([1986] 1437), died Rome 22 Aug. 1241. He was the nephew of INNOCENT IV. Gregory spent his pontificate primarily in the struggle with FREDERICK II. At the same time he endeavored to strengthen the Latins' position both in Palestine and in Constantinople. He collected money for the organization of new crusades and developed a new system of punishing heretics by sending them to Constantinople for several years (P. Segl, *DA* 32 [1976] 209–20). Gregory insisted that Frederick lead a crusade to Palestine—the pope wanted him to help the Latins and at the same time to divert Frederick from Italy, where he had been attacking papal territory. Gregory tried to increase the power of the Latin patriarch of Constantinople by making him a papal legate, whereas Innocent III had sent an independent legate to check the power of the patriarch (R.L. Wolff, *DOP* 8 [1954] 285–90). Gregory initiated negotiations with the Greek patriarch GERMANOS II; Germanos's letters of 1232 to Gregory and the cardinals (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1256–57) emphasize readiness for Union of the Churches on the basis of papal PRIMACY but complain about the injustice perpetrated by the Latins, esp. on Cyprus. In 1233 Gregory dispatched Haymo of Faversham to Nicaea, but negotiations failed.

LIT. J. Felten, *Papst Gregor IX.* (Freiburg 1886). J. van den Gheyn, "Lettre de Grégoire IX concernant l'empire Latin de Constantinople," *ROL* 9 (1902) 230–34. V. Grumel, "L'authenticité de la lettre de Jean Vatatzès, empereur de Nicée, au Pape Grégoire IX," *EO* 29 (1930) 450–58. R. Spence, "Gregory IX's Attempted Expeditions to the Latin Empire of Constantinople," *JMedHist* 5 (1979) 163–76. –A.K.

GREGORY X (Tedaldo Visconti), pope (from 1 Sept. 1271); born Piacenza 1210, died Arezzo 10 Jan. 1276. Gregory encouraged the organization of a new crusade to protect endangered Latin possessions in Palestine; he also planned to rid himself of CHARLES I OF ANJOU (who threatened papal lands) by having him lead the crusade. The newly restored Byz. Empire under Michael VIII was to play an essential role in the pope's scheme: by recognizing Michael's right to Constantinople Gregory planned to make him sign a truce with Latin princes in the Peloponnesos and promise free passage for the Crusaders' army and its supply. The plan, in its general form, was announced at the Council of LYONS in 1274. Michael was interested in the project—both in diverting Charles I of Anjou and in restoring Byz. power in Asia Minor, then in the hands of the Turks and the Mongols. To continue negotiations, George METOCHITES was sent to Gregory in 1275, and it was agreed that at Easter of 1276 the emperor and the pontiff would meet either in Brindisi or in Valona. Anti-Unionist sentiments in Byz., however, and the lack of means and energy in the West foiled the pope's plans.

LIT. L. Gatto, *Il pontificato di Gregorio X* (Rome 1959). V. Laurent, "Grégoire X (1271–1276) et le projet d'une ligue antiturque," *EO* 37 (1938) 257–73. Idem, "La croisade et la question d'Orient sous le pontificat de Grégoire X," *RHSEE* 22 (1945) 105–37. C. Giannelli, "Le récit d'une mission diplomatique de Georges le Métochite," *ST* 129 (1947) 419–43. –A.K.

GREGORY XI (Pierre Roger de Beaufort), pope (from 1370); born Limousin 1329, died Rome 27 Mar. 1378. He was the last of the Avignon popes. His principal aim was to return the curia to Rome, a goal that he achieved in 1377 after an expensive war against Florence. Gregory devoted many words—but little money—to the East, where the position of the Christians was seriously threatened, esp. after the Turkish victory at MARICA in 1371. The pope subsidized the garrison in SMYRNA but was unable to summon a new crusade since only the HOSPITALLERS were ready to offer money and manpower: Venice was at war with Genoa, while other Western states (including Hungary and Aragon) were indifferent or suspicious of the papal project.

LIT. A. Luttrell, "Gregory XI and the Turks: 1370–1378," *OrChrP* 46 (1980) 391–417. G. Mollat, "Grégoire XI et sa légende," *RHE* 49 (1954) 873–77. –A.K.

GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ, Syriac scholar; known as Bar Hebraeus in the West, a sobriquet that translates the name by which he is usually called in Syriac and Arabic texts; baptismal name John; born Melitene 1225, died Maragha, Azerbaijan 30 July 1286. The son of a physician named Aaron, he took the name Gregory when he became a bishop in the Monophysite community. After occupying several episcopal sees, in 1264 Gregory became the bishop of Tagrit, and thus the *ma-*

phrian or primate of the Monophysite community in the former Persian territories, with his official residence at the monastery of Mar Mattai, near present-day Mosul. Gregory was a polymath whose career and accomplishments represent the full flowering of intellectual life in the Syriac-speaking community in the 13th C. He composed major works in theology, philosophy, mysticism, law, and Syriac grammar.

For the Byzantinist, however, his most relevant work is the *Chronicle*, a universal history that Gregory composed on the basis of the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN. Gregory's *Chronicle* presents secular and ecclesiastical history in two separate sections, often called the *Chronicon syriacum* and the *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, respectively. The secular chronicle covers the period from Adam to the Mongol invasions; the ecclesiastical chronicle begins with Aaron, the Israelite priest, and continues in the Christian period following the succession of the patriarchs of Antioch, listing only the Monophysite holders of the office after the time of SEVEROS of Antioch. In a second section of the ecclesiastical chronicle, however, Gregory also presents the history of the church in the Persian world, from the time of the apostle Thomas onward, on the basis of Nestorian sources. Gregory worked on the ecclesiastical chronicle until his death in 1286. His brother, Bar Ṣauma, brought it up to 1288. A later writer included a record of events to the year 1496. Gregory's *Chronicle* is esp. valuable for the years after 1193, where the chronicle of Michael the Syrian ended, and for the period of the Mongol invasions, which Gregory witnessed.

ED. *Chronicon syriacum*, ed. P. Bedjan (Paris 1890); Eng. tr. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols. (Oxford 1932). *Chronicon ecclesiasticum*, ed. J.B. Abbeloos, T.J. Lamy, 3 vols. (Louvain 1872–77).

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 312–20. W. Hage in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 14 (1985) 158–64. J.-M. Fiey, "Esquisse d'une bibliographie de Bar Hebraeus (+1286)," *Parole de l'Orient* 13 (1986) 279–312. S.R. Todt, "Die syrische und die arabische Weltgeschichte des Bar Hebraeus—ein Vergleich," *Der Islam* 65 (1988) 60–80. N.I. Serikov, "O putjach proniknovenija vizantijskoj duchovnoj kul'tury na musul'manskij Vostok: Grigorij Ioann Abu-l-Faradž ibn-al-'Ibri (Bar Ebrej) i vizantijskaja istoriografičeskaja tradicija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 230–41. –S.H.G.

GREGORY DEGHA PAHLAVUNI. See GREGORY TŁAY.

GREGORY MAGISTROS, prince of the Pahlavuni family, lord of Bjni in the valley of the Hrazdan River; born Bjni (near Ani) ca.990, died Tarōn ca.1058. He was important in the political and intellectual life of Armenia. After Constantine IX occupied ANI in 1045 (ending the BAGRATID kingdom), Gregory went to live in Constantinople. He joined a Greek campaign against the Turks in 1048 and was appointed *magistros* and *doux* of Mesopotamia. Thereafter he resided at his estates in Tarōn, devoted to literary studies and the repression of the TONDRAKITES. His son Vahram became *katholikos* (1065–1105) as Gregory III Vkayaser ("martyrophile"); his descendants included NERSĒS ŠNORHALI and NERSĒS OF LAMBRON.

Widely read in Greek literature, Gregory translated Plato's *Timaeus* and *Phaedo* and part of Euclid's *Geometry* and composed various theological works. His most notable legacy is a collection of 88 letters written on public and private matters in a recondite style full of classical allusions. They are unique in Armenian as conscious imitations of Byz. EPISTOLOGRAPHY.

ED. *Grigor Magistrosi t'Ł'ere*, ed. K'. Kostaneanc' (Alexandropol 1910). *Tałasac'ut'iwnk'* (Venice 1868).

LIT. M. Leroy, "Grégoire Magistros et les traductions arméniennes d'auteurs grecs," *AIPHOS* 3 (1935) 263–94. B. Tchukasizian, "Echos de légendes épiques iraniennes dans les 'Lettres' de Grigor Magistros," *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 321–29. G.H. Grigorjan, "Gregory Magistros as Philosopher," *IFŽ* (1982) no.1, 28–38. A.K. Sanjian, A. Terian, "An Enigmatic Letter of Gregory Magistros," *Journal of the Society for Armenian Studies* 2 (1985/6) 85–95. –R.T.

GREGORY OF AKRAGAS, exegete, bishop of Akragas, and saint; fl. ca.700?; feastday 24 Nov. Under his name is preserved a commentary on the *Ecclesiastes* of SOLOMON (G.H. Ettinger, *StP* 18.1 [1986] 317–20). Gregory's biography, written by a certain Leontios, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome, is confusing. It makes Gregory a contemporary of Justinian II and eyewitness to the struggle against the Monotheletes and at the same time a deacon under Patr. Makarios II of Jerusalem (552, 563/4–ca.575). The focal point of the vita of Leontios is Gregory's arrest in Akragas and Justinian's intervention with an unnamed pope to release him; the Sicilian bishops are presented as supporting Gregory against the pope. The anti-Roman tendency of

Leontios (was he really a *hegoumenos* in Rome?) also reveals itself when he gives the list of Gregory's works, one of which was dedicated to St. ANDREW who is titled the "chief (*koryphaios*) of the apostles," an epithet usually reserved for the "Roman" apostles Peter and Paul.

ED. PG 98:741–1181.
SOURCE. Vita—PG 98:549–716.
LIT. *BHG* 707–708f. G. Stramondo, *Gregorio d'Agrigento* (Catania 1952). A. Christophilopoulos, "Pote ezesen ho Gregorios Akragantos?," *EEBS* 19 (1949) 158–61. I. Croce, "Per la cronologia della vita di S. Gregorio Agrigentino," *BollBadGr* 4 (1950) 189–207, 5 (1951) 77–91. –A.K.

GREGORY OF CORINTH. See PARDOS, GREGORY.

GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS, saint; born Eirenopolis, Isaurian Dekapolis, before 797, died 20 Nov. 842 (Dvornik), 841, or even earlier (Mango). After finishing elementary school Gregory stayed 14 years in a monastery, whose archimandrite was Symeon, Gregory's maternal uncle. Thereafter he started his wanderings: he spent a winter in Ephesus, then set off for Constantinople, but landed in the Prokonnesos, passed through Ainos, Christoupolis, Thessalonike, and sailed to Sicily via Corinth; he stayed three months in a cell in Rome, lived as a recluse in Syracuse, and returned to Thessalonike, from where he visited Mt. Olympos and Constantinople.

Gregory's vita, written soon after 842/3, is assigned by three MSS to IGNATIOS THE DEACON; this attribution was questioned by W. Wolska-Conus (*TM* 4 [1970] 340) but supported by Ševčenko ("Hagiography" 123). Gregory lived through the second period of Iconoclasm but did not himself suffer from persecution: the hagiographer accordingly calls him "a martyr without weals" (Dvornik, *infra* 70.3–4). Gregory enjoyed the vision of divine light and worked miracles (a Saracen tried to kill Gregory, but his hand immediately withered). The Life contains only vague information about a revolt of the *exarchon* of Sklavinia, but provides much evidence on administrative and legal practice in Byz.: a conflict concerning the right of the "neighborhood" (*geitonema*—p.63.22–26), the *praktor* of the state treasury seizing property not bequeathed by will (p.55.20–24), etc. Images of Gregory, rare in MSS and even rarer in monumental painting, show the saint as a monk with a trim round white beard.

SOURCE. F. Dvornik, *La vie de St. Grégoire le Décapolite et les Slaves macédoniens au IXᵉ siècle* (Paris 1926).
LIT. *BHG* 711. C. Mango, "On Re-reading the Life of St. Gregory the Decapolite," *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 633–46. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:454–56. J. Longton, *DHGE* 21 (1986) 1498f. C. Nicolescu, *LCI* 6:429f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, bishop of Constantinople (27 Nov. 380–381), bishop of Nazianzos (382–84), and saint; born 329/30 in Arianzos, near Nazianzos, died Arianzos ca.390; feastday 25 Jan. One of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, he was a close friend of BASIL THE GREAT, whose fellow-student he was in Cappadocian Caesarea and Athens. Like Basil, he entered monastic life after completing his education. His homonymous father, bishop of Nazianzos, consecrated a reluctant Gregory as priest in 362; he assisted his father until the latter's death in 374. In 379 Gregory went to Constantinople, where he was appointed as its bishop. A strong supporter of Nicene orthodoxy, he fought against the adherents of EUNOMIOS at the Council of Constantinople in 381, over which he presided. He then abdicated and returned home where he died after some last years of writing and contemplation.

Gregory was a prolific author, who wrote poetry, including 254 epigrams collected as book 8 of the *Greek Anthology*, orations, and many letters, to such friends as Basil and Gregory of Nyssa. Among his letters are attacks on the heresy of APOLLINARIS, the so-called *Theological Letters*. His homilies include sermons on specific feastdays, funeral orations for family and friends, a treatise (or.2) on the burden and duties of priesthood, a diatribe (or.20) against the mania at Constantinople for dogmatic controversy, and two gloating accounts of the death of JULIAN.

The authors of his vitae, the 7th-C. Gregory the Priest (PG 35:243–304) and NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (ed. and tr. J. Rizzo, *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen by Nicetas the Paphlagonian* [Brussels 1976]), stress his role in the dogmatic struggle of the period; at the Council of Chalcedon he was granted the official epithet "the Theologian." Unlike Basil and other contemporary dogmatists, however, Gregory was foremost a rhetorician and poet (H. Musurillo, *Thought* 45 [1970] 45–55) who considered poetic vocation a prophetic activity



GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Portrait of Gregory writing. Frontispiece of a manuscript of the liturgical homilies of Gregory (Sinai gr. 339, fol.4v); 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. The manuscript was commissioned by Joseph Hagioglykerites, *hegoumenos* of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople.

and his works as a sacrifice for God's altar (S. Costanza in *Lirica greca de Archiloco a Elitis* [Padua 1984] 235). If Basil's asceticism was communal and monastic, Gregory's centered on his own experience as reflected in his poetic *Autobiography*; his vision of the world was personal and aristocratic and he stressed his distance from the "crowd" (B. Lorenz, *VigChr* 33 [1979] 240). Although his observations were personal and individual, he often used conventional situations; for example, although he never married and had no son, he lamented in one of his moral poems the untimely death of a bridegroom and the grief of the parents. He had a sincere belief in the afterlife and Christianity gave him solace against death, so that Gregory treated the Christian *paideia* primarily as a preparation for the end of earthly existence. To express his experience Gregory often used antiquated meters, albeit with certain modifications (D. Sykes, *BZ* 72 [1979] 6–15), and exquisite vocabulary. His verses, full of classical themes and images (M. Kertsch, *Bildersprache bei Gregor von Nazianz*[2] [Graz 1980]), were not suited for liturgical purposes; nevertheless, his poems were popular among later literati: they were commented upon by KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER and imitated by PRODROMOS, among others.

Illustration of the Homilies of Gregory. Numerous illustrated copies of his homilies attest to Gregory's significance in later periods. Beyond the PARIS GREGORY a smaller selection of 16 homilies became popular in the 11th C. Arranged in the order of reading during the church year, this "liturgical edition" was illustrated with images appropriate to the individual feastdays. Among the more elaborate versions is Sinai gr. 339, a mid-12th-C. MS commissioned by the *hegoumenos* Joseph Hagioglykerites of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople; its ornament is related to MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS (J.C. Anderson, *ArtB* 61 [1979] 167–85).

Representation in Art. Gregory, as one of the three most important church fathers, was invariably included in the procession of bishops adorning church apses, near the figures of John Chrysostom and Basil the Great; he is distinguished by his balding head, healthy face, and squarish beard. The inclusion of Gregory the Priest's biography of the saint into the Paris Gregory MS inspired a whole page of illustrations depicting events from his life (fol.452r), while the autobiographical references contained in various of Gregory's sermons prompted the inclusion of narrative compositions (Gregory teaching, attending funerals and councils, etc.) into many MSS of the liturgical edition of these sermons. Several of these latter MSS contain an author PORTRAIT of Gregory seated at his desk like an EVANGELIST.

ED. PG 35–38. *Saint Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres*, ed. P. Gallay, 2 vols. (Paris 1964–67), with Fr. tr. *Grégoire de Nazianze: Lettres théologiques*, ed. P. Gallay (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. *Grégoire de Nazianze: Discours*, ed. J. Mossay et al., 6 vols. (Paris 1978–85), with Fr. tr. *Gregor von Nazianz: De vita sua*, ed. C. Jungck (Heidelberg 1974), with Germ. tr. *Gregory of Nazianzus: Three Poems*, tr. D.M. Meehan (Washington, D.C., 1987). *The Five Theological Orations of Gregory of Nazianzus*, tr. A.J. Mason (Cambridge 1899).

LIT. R. Ruether, *Gregory of Nazianzus: Rhetor and Philosopher* (Oxford 1969). J. Mossay, *La mort et l'au-delà dans saint Grégoire de Nazianze* (Louvain 1966). *II. Symposium Nazianzenum, Louvain-la-Neuve, 25–28 août 1981*, ed. J. Mossay (Paderborn 1983). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii*,

vol. 1 (Moscow 1984) 302–06. G. Galavaris, *The Illustrations of the Liturgical Homilies of Gregory Nazianzenus* (Princeton 1969). U. Knoben, *LCI* 6:444–50. H. Buchthal, "Some Notes on Byzantine Hagiographical Portraiture," *GBA* 62 (1963) 81–90. F. Trisoglio, *San Gregorio di Nazianzo in un quarantennio di studio (1925–1965)* (Turin 1974).

–B.B., A.K., R.S.N., N.P.Š.

GREGORY OF NYSSA, theologian, the youngest of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS, and saint; born in the region of Neokaisareia between 335 and 340, died after 394; feastday 10 Jan. He was one of nine children, including an older brother BASIL THE GREAT and a sister, Makrina, whose vita he later wrote. *Anagnostes* by the age of 20, Gregory unexpectedly renounced his post, married a certain Theosebeia, and turned to the study of rhetoric. When his brother Basil received the metropolitan see of Caesarea, he ordained Gregory (ca.371) as bishop of Nyssa. Gregory, however, did not meet his brother's expectations: Basil accused him of "simplicity" and "lack of experience" in church administration (Basil, ep.100.27–29, 215.16–17, ed. Y. Courtonne [Paris 1957–61]). Gregory became involved in a conflict with the civil government and was forced to leave his see temporarily (376–378); during his absence the pro-Arian party took the upper hand. He returned to Nyssa after the death of Valens. During Basil's life Gregory felt restrained and wrote little (e.g., his essay *On Virginity*), but after his brother died in 379 Gregory's political and literary activity flourished: he attended the synod of Antioch in 379, served briefly as bishop of Sebasteia, supported Gregory of Nazianzos at the Council of Constantinople in 381, delivered funeral orations for members of the imperial family in 383 and 385, wrote his major works (*Against Eunomios*, the *Great Catechesis*, *On the Making of Man*, homilies on the *Song of Songs*, etc.), and participated in the synod convoked by Patr. NEKTARIOS in 394.

Well read in classical literature, Gregory highly valued Plato and had more respect for Origen than did Basil. He was much interested in scientific problems, and often touched upon physical, physiological, and medical topics. He became involved in the Trinitarian discussions which dominated his era and followed in his brother's footsteps, refining the views of Athanasios of Alexandria and polemicizing with the Arians. His personal interests, however, lay in the spheres of ANTHROPOLOGY and ESCHATOLOGY; he was esp. concerned with the problem of man's perception of God (*theognosia*—PG 44:773A); the contemplation of divine beauty, which is the most sublime end of our desires, is made possible by God's creation of man according to His image, "in order that the similar (*homoios*) might see the similar" (PG 46:176A). At the same time man is a sensual being and therefore is in danger of substituting valuable material objects for the sublime principle. Gregory saw in the Holy Writ and in the "tradition given to us by the fathers" the vehicle of discriminating between the divine and the material. Unlike Eunomios, who affirmed that a complete perception of God was possible through logical operations, Gregory asserted that our knowledge of God was restricted and could be achieved primarily through an ecstasy, "a sober inebriation" (PG 44:992A).

Gregory was respected by the Byz. and called "the father of fathers" at the Council of Nicaea in 787, but he always remained in the shadow of the two more prominent Cappadocian fathers. Some works of other theologians (e.g., Severos of Antioch—see M. Kugener, *ROC* 3 [1898] 435–51, or Anastasios of Sinai—Beck, *Kirche* 445) were ascribed to him; in the 14th C. Gregory's concept that all beings, save God, had been created provoked a heated discussion between Neilos Kabasilas and John Kyparissiotes; his statement was interpreted respectively as being a doctrine in support of or in opposition to Hesychasm.

Representation in Art. Gregory's association with Gregory of Nazianzos means that his portrait is included in illustrated MSS of the latter's homilies (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 46–48, 53–58, 183–85). A dark-haired bishop with a pointed beard, Gregory of Nyssa is commonly included in the procession of bishops adorning church apses.

ED. *CPG*, nos. 3135–3226. PG 44–46. *Opera*, ed. W. Jaeger et al., 10 vols. in 13 pts. (Berlin 1921, Leiden 1952–90). *Ascetical Works*, tr. V.W. Callahan (Washington, D.C., 1967). *The Easter Sermons of Gregory of Nyssa*, ed. A. Spira, C. Klock (Cambridge, Mass.–Philadelphia 1981). *Commentary on the Song of Songs*, tr. C. McCambley (Brookline, Mass., 1987). *The Life of Moses*, tr. A.J. Malherbe, E. Ferguson (New York 1978).

LIT. H.V. von Balthasar, *Présence et pensée: essai sur la philosophie religieuse de Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1988). M. Canévet, *Grégoire de Nysse et l'herméneutique biblique* (Paris 1983). J. Daniélou, *L'être et le temps chez Grégoire de Nysse* (Leiden 1970). M. Altenburger, F. Mann, *Bibliographie zu Gregor von Nyssa* (Leiden–New York 1988). A.M. Ritter, *LCI* 6:450f.

–A.K., B.B., N.P.Š.

GREGORY OF TOURS, bishop of Tours (from 573); born Clermont-Ferrand ca.540, died 17 Nov. 593 or 594. An aristocrat of senatorial background and adviser to Merovingian kings, Gregory was the most important historian of Merovingian France. His gift of lively narrative in late Latin produced two works significant for Byz. The *Historiarum libri X*, or *Histories in Ten Books*, describes the rising power of the FRANKS from the 5th C. down to Gregory's own time. For the early period Gregory used written sources (including valuable extracts from lost Gaulish historians on the usurper MAXIMUS and general AETIUS) and oral traditions of debated value. For Gregory, Byz. was simply *res publica* (bk.2, ch.3) and its activities in the West appear in connection with this main theme, from the alliance of ANASTASIOS I with Clovis (2.37–38—M. McCormick in E. Chrysos, *Das Reich und die Barbaren* [Vienna-Cologne 1989] 155–80), DIPLOMACY (6.2), and Byz. complicity in a Frankish usurpation (6.24, 26–28) to the Franks' role in Byz.'s war against the LOMBARDS (10.2, EPISTOLAE AUSTRASICAE) and the activities of Byz. merchants in Gaul (7.31). The *Histories* also provides independent evidence on the accessions of Tiberios I (5.30—cf. Av. Cameron, *JThSt* n.s. 26 [1975] 421–26) and Maurice (6.30); Gregory's information on Justin II, the Persian pillage of a suburb of Antioch, and the defection of Persarmenia (4.40) probably came from Monophysite circles in Constantinople.

The *Libri VIII miraculorum*, or *Miracles in Eight Books* (M. Heinzelmann in *Hagiographie—cultures et sociétés* [Paris 1981] 235–57), includes stories reported by travelers, e.g., on Justin II and Empress SOPHIA (1.5), PATRAS (1.30), the building of St. POLYEUKTOS in Constantinople (1.102), and Byz. Italy (*Virtutes S. Martini* 1.13–16) as well as the development of the cult of icons (R.A. Markus, *JThSt* n.s. 29 [1978] 151–57). Gregory also wrote the *Miracles of St. Andrew* (*BHL* 430) and, with the help of a Syrian named John, a Latin translation of the account of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus (B. Krusch, *AB* 12 [1893] 371–87).

ED. B. Krusch, W. Levison, MGH *SRM*[2] 1.1 (1951). Krusch, MGH *SRM* 1.2.

TR. *The History of the Franks*, tr. O.M. Dalton (Oxford 1927). *Life of the Fathers*, tr. E. James (Liverpool 1985).

LIT. A. Carrière, "Sur un chapitre de Grégoire de Tours relatif à l'histoire d'Orient," *Annuaire de l'Ecole pratique des hautes études* (1898) 5–23. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 1:99–107. —M.McC.

GREGORY SINAITES, hesychast monk and writer; born Koukoulos, near Klazomenai, ca.1255 or 1265?, died Paroria 27 Nov. after 1337 (the traditional date of 1346 cannot be confirmed). The exact chronology of his career is uncertain. Born to wealthy parents, Gregory was captured in his youth by Turks. After his release he fled to Cyprus, where he became a monk, and then went to Mt. SINAI. He left Sinai after disputes with other monks and made his way to Athos, via Jerusalem and Crete, where he studied with the monk Arsenios and learned the "Jesus prayer," the repetition of the phrase "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me." On Athos he reportedly introduced this "prayer of the heart," a continuous and imageless form of prayer combined with control of the breathing (K.T. Ware, *EChR* 4 [1972] 3–22), and was a forerunner of HESYCHASM. Turkish raids forced Gregory to flee from Athos and eventually to settle at PARORIA in Thrace. Here ca.1330 he founded a monastery on Mt. Katakekryomene, which attracted both Greek and Slavic monks and received financial support from the Bulgarian tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. Gregory's disciples included ROMYLOS of Vidin, THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO (died 1363), and the future patriarch KALLISTOS, who composed his biography.

His principal work was the *Most Beneficial Chapters [Kephalaia] in Acrostic*, 137 short essays on the contemplative life (see VITA CONTEMPLATIVA). Other CHAPTERS treat the hesychastic method of prayer and breathing. Gregory's *Discourse on the Transfiguration* identifies the light perceived by mystics with the light on Mt. TABOR.

ED. PG 150:1240–1345. Partial Fr. tr. J. Gouillard in *Petite Philocalie de la prière du coeur*[2] (Paris 1968) 177–97. *Discourse on the Transfiguration*, ed. D. Balfour (Athens 1982), with Eng. tr.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Kallistos—ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv* 35 (1896) 1–64.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 694f. *PLP*, no.4601. A.-E.N. Tachiaos, "Gregory Sinaites' Legacy to the Slavs," *Cyrillomethodianum* 7 (1983) 113–65. A.I. Jacimirskij, "Iz kritiko-literaturnych nabljudenij nad žitiem Grigorija Sinaita," *VizVrem* 15 (1908) 300–31. D. Balfour, "Saint Gregory of Sinai's Life Story and Spiritual Profile," *Theologia* 53 (1982) 30–62. —A.M.T.

GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR (Γρηγόριος τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρμενίας, lit. "Gregory of Great Armenia"), considered the founder of the ARMENIAN CHURCH and its first bishop; saint; fl. first half of

the 4th C.; Byz. feastday 30 Sept. The two main recensions of his vita (A and V) differ in a number of details and each survives in several versions (Armenian, Greek, Arabic, Georgian, etc.). According to the "received tradition" found in recension A (by AGATHANGELOS), Gregory was of Parthian origin and the son of the murderer of the Armenian king Xosrov I. Saved from the massacre that befell his family, he was educated as a Christian at Caesarea in Cappadocia. On his return to Armenia, he miraculously survived torture for his beliefs by King TRDAT THE GREAT. Gregory preached the new faith to the king and his court and baptized them. He was consecrated bishop of Armenia at Caesarea. Though still occasionally disputed, P. Ananian's proposed date of 314 for the conversion of Armenia now seems incontrovertible (*Muséon* 74 [1961] 43–73, 317–60). Gregory sent missionaries to the neighboring lands of GEORGIA and Caucasian ALBANIA. Near the end of his life, he consecrated his son Aristakes as his successor and sent him to attend the First Council of NICAEA. Gregory is said to have then retired to a hermitage where he died, though accounts of the end of his life remain unclear. His mission marks the beginning of hellenizing influence in the Armenian church as opposed to the earlier Syrian influence found in the southern part of the country.

Representation in Art. The earliest known Byz. portrait of Gregory is the mosaic (now destroyed) on the south tympanum of the nave of Hagia Sophia, perhaps connected with Emp. Basil I's claims of Armenian ancestry (Mango, *Materials*, figs. 57–59). Gregory is depicted as an elderly bishop in many later church programs and in MENOLOGIA, where he may appear in the company of the virgin martyrs Hṙip'simē and Gayanē. The scene of his beheading in a *menologion* (B.L. Add. 11870, fol.242v) is without textual basis. Miniatures in the THEODORE PSALTER show him being released from the pit and converting King Trdat (fol.48r). His life was depicted in one of the churches dedicated to him at ANI (1215).

LIT. M. van Esbroeck, "Témoignages littéraires sur les sépultures de saint Grégoire l'Illuminateur," *AB* 89 (1971) 387–417. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 375f. S. Der Nersessian, "Les portraits de Grégoire l'Illuminateur dans l'art byzantin," *Byzantion* 36 (1966) 386–96. –N.G.G., N.P.Š.

GREGORY TŁAY ("youth"), a nephew of NERSĒS ŠNORHALI of the Pahlavuni family; *katholikos* in Armenian Cilicia (1173–93); born 1133, died 1193. Gregory pursued discussions with the Byz. authorities concerning union of the Greek and Armenian churches. In 1179 he called a synod at Hrom-klay, the patriarchal see, where NERSĒS OF LAMBRON made an *Oration* in favor of compromise, but bishops from Greater Armenia were opposed. When Emp. Manuel I died in 1180, negotiations ended. Gregory also sought closer relations with the Syrian and Roman churches, and corresponded with Pope Lucius III (1181–85).

ED. *Namakani Grigori Kat'olikosi* (Venice 1865). E. Dulaurier, "Elégie sur la prise de Jérusalem," RHC *Arm.* 1:269–307 (with Fr. tr.).
LIT. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 35–54. –R.T.

GRIFFIN (γρύψ, γρῖφος), mythological creature with the body of a lion, head of an eagle, winged, and sometimes having a serpent for its tail; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 581.1) interpreted it as a hybrid of lion and vulture. Legend placed griffins in the land of the Scythians and Hyperboreans. Late Roman poets (Claudian, Sidonius Apollinaris) connected the griffin with Apollo, as did Servius, the 4th-C. commentator on Vergil, who lists three symbols of Apollo: the lyre, griffin, and arrows. Sidonius Apollinaris describes the chariot of Dionysos as pulled by griffins. According to NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 48:382–83), a griffin, "a bird of vengeance," winged and four-legged, flew round the throne of Nemesis. In the *Alexander Romance* the hero flies on griffins. Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:246.3–4) speaks with irony of writers who made Alexander yoke griffins and fly up from the earth. Lexicographers (Hesychios, Photios) confused the griffin with the *hippalektryon* ("horse-rooster"), another fabulous animal with four legs, wings, and a hooked beak.

Associated in Rome with the light-bringing Apollo, the heads and bodies of griffins formed Christian lamps in the 4th C. (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 560–61). But in Byz. the griffin's presence, where not purely ornamental, may depend on a more ancient, Oriental tradition that saw it as apotropaic. In this sense, perhaps, griffins flank the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE and decorate TEXTILES (as on the costume worn by Alexios V; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.99). Griffins are found frequently on enamels, on the ornamental pages of illuminated

MSS, and in a great variety of other media where they support the ascension of Alexander.

LIT. K. Ziegler, *RE* 7 (1912) 1918–24. C. Settis-Frugoni, *Historia Alexandri elevati per griphos ad aerem* (Rome 1973). J. Michael, *Alexander's Flying Machine: The History of a Legend* (Southampton 1974). L. Bouras, *The Griffin through the Ages* (Athens 1983) 45–51. H. Brandenburg, *RAC* 12:977–95. –A.K., A.C.

GROCER (σαλδαμάριος; in inscriptions usually σαλγαμάριος). According to the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.13), grocers were purveyors of preserved meat and fish (smoked, salted, or dried), cheese, butter, olive oil, honey, and pulses of all kinds as well as raw pitch, gypsum, nails, and other goods sold by weight. They were restricted, however, to selling goods weighed with a STEELYARD rather than with BALANCE SCALES. Furthermore, they were not allowed to sell products that were the responsibility of other guilds, such as soap, perfume, wine, fresh meat, or linen. Their shops or *ergasteria* could be located anywhere in Constantinople, on squares and streets, "so that the provisions necessary for life were readily available." M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 4 [1951] 32) hypothesized that *saldamarioi* were businessmen owning sizable storehouses, but this cannot be proven. The POULOLOGOS (ed. S. Krawczynski, 110.445) accuses the crow of damaging both the grocer (*samardares/sardamares*) and the plowman, thus suggesting that the former displayed his wares in the open air. In 1419 the Athonite monastery of Xenophon possessed five *ergasteria sardamarika* in the Grand Stoa of Thessalonike (*Xénoph.*, no.32.8–9)—evidently they were not large stores. A chrysobull of 1342 notes that greengroceries (*lachanopoleia*) in Constantinople that had been recently acquired by the Lavra of St. Athanasios were transformed into two *ergasteria*—one for perfume (*myrepsikon*), the other a *sardamarikon* (*Lavra* 3, no.123.121–23).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zunfte* 40f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 250f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 95. L. Robert, "Epitaphes et acclamations byzantines à Corinthe," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 39–46. –A.K.

GROSSETESTE, ROBERT, bishop of Lincoln; English theologian, scholar, and statesman; born Stradbrook (Suffolk) ca.1168, died 9 Oct. 1253. An example of the new type of ecclesiastic trained in the universities, Grosseteste played an important role in the introduction of Aristotelian learning at Oxford. Profoundly learned in Greek, he possibly knew some Hebrew as well. At Lincoln, he assembled a group of scholars (some from southern Italy) and with their assistance translated various Greek texts into Latin, including Aristotle's *On the Heavens*, with the commentary of Simplikios, and *Nicomachean Ethics*, with the commentaries of MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, and others; the pseudo-Dionysios corpus, with the scholia of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR; *On the Orthodox Faith* by John of Damascus; *On the Passions*, attributed to Andronikos of Rhodes; and other theological texts.

ED. *Pseudo-Andronicus de Rhodes "Peri pathon"*, ed. A. Glibert-Thirry (Leiden 1977). *The Greek Commentaries on the Nicomachean Ethics of Aristotle in the Latin Translation of Robert Grosseteste, Bishop of Lincoln*, ed. H. Mercken (Leiden 1973). For other works see Thomson.

LIT. S.H. Thomson, *The Writings of Robert Grosseteste* (Cambridge 1940). *Robert Grosseteste: Scholar and Bishop*[2], ed. D.A. Callus (Oxford 1969). –M.W.T.

GROSSOLANO, PETER, sometimes called Chrysolanus, theologian, bishop of Savona, then archbishop of Milan (from 1101 on); died in the monastery of St. Sabas in Rome 6 Aug. 1117. Entangled in the struggle of local parties, Peter was twice forced to leave Milan (1103, 1112). In 1112, en route to Jerusalem, he stopped at Constantinople, where he engaged in discussions with Byz. theologians, including Niketas SEIDES, THEODORE OF SMYRNA, and others, the major topic being the PRIMACY of Rome. Alexios I, according to a note in a MS of Montecassino, was very supportive of Grossolano. When the latter read his pamphlet *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*, the emperor exclaimed that now wisdom came from the Occident to the Orient and that Peter's treatise made the work of the Greek theologians superfluous (H. Block, *DOP* 3 [1946] 223f). It remains unclear whether Peter was on an official mission of Pope PASCHAL II or went to Constantinople as a private individual. After his return to Rome, Peter resigned at the Lateran synod of 1116.

ED. PG 127:911–19.

LIT. J. Darrouzès, "Les documents byzantins du XIIe siècle sur la primauté romaine," *REB* 23 (1965) 51–59. V. Grumel, "Autour du voyage de Pierre Grossolanus archevêque de Milan, à Constantinople, en 1112," *EO* 32 (1933) 22–33. D. Masnovo, "Pier Grosolano e il suo epitafio," *Archivio storico lombardo*[5] (1922) 1–28. –A.K.

GROTTAFERRATA, site about 18 km southeast of Rome where the Greek monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata (τῆς Κρυπτοφερράτης) was

founded in 1004 by NEILOS OF ROSSANO under the patronage of the counts of Tusculum. Though subject to the Holy See, the monastery followed the Byz. rite; therefore, in 1088, Pope Urban II considered its abbot, Nicholas, a suitable intermediary to send to Constantinople to discuss the question of the AZYMES. Most of the monks of Grottaferrata were of Calabrian origin. Some, following the example of their learned founder, were able scribes, hagiographers, and hymnographers, and the monastery still preserves an important collection of Greek MSS.

The monastery church, parts of which are 11th-C., was built and decorated according to Italian practice but with some use of Byz. iconography. Over the main entrance is a Deesis in mosaic of the early 12th C.; inside, on the apsidal arch, is a mosaic Pentecost that M. Andaloro (*Roma l'anno 1300* [Rome 1983] 253–73) and V. Pace (*BollBadGr* 41 [1987] 47–87) attribute to the time of INNOCENT III. Three registers of frescoes on the nave walls are recorded but have mostly disappeared. A 13th-C. Hodegetria on the altar shows traits of Cypriot painting. BESSARION was commendatory abbot of Grottaferrata from 1462 to 1472.

LIT. A.Rocchi, *De coenobio Cryptoferratensi eiusque bibliotheca et codicibus praesertim graecis commentarii* (Tuscolo 1893). G. Tomassetti, *La Campagna romana antica, medioevale e moderna*² 4 (Roma 1976) 282–338. E. Follieri, "Il crisobollo di Ruggero II re di Sicilia per la Badia di Grottaferrata (Aprile 1131)," *BollBadGr* 42 (1988) 49–81. –V.v.F., D.K.

GUARDIANSHIP (ἐπιτροπεία, also ἐπιτροπή). The prime duty of a guardian was to administer the ward's property and to arrange the child's marriage. In Roman law guardianship existed both for wards and for adult women, but imperial legislation later restricted it to wards. The guardianship for minor orphans could be either testamentary or statutory (guardians appointed from among relatives, male or female); in the absence of a statutory or testamentary guardian an official guardian could be appointed. A papyrus of 336 presents the petition of a bishop who wished to avoid the guardianship of some children (Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 162, n.25a). After the 8th-C. *Ecloga*, the term for guardian, *epitropos*, was replaced—although inconsistently—by *kourator* (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 162, n.501), whereas *epitropos* referred primarily to an official representative and administrator (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.160.1–2). The termination of the guardianship of minors was established in Roman law at 25 (still in *CodJust.* V 30). Leo VI's novel 28 mentioned the age of 18 (for girls) and 20 (for boys) but allowed local functionaries to decide the question in every concrete case. His novels 26 and 27 extended to eunuchs and virgins the possibility of ADOPTION of children, and they thus became guardians. Sexual relationships between guardians and their charges were strictly prohibited.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 634–37. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 150, 152f. –A.K., J.H.

GUERCIO, BALDOVINO (Βαλδουῖνος Γέρτζος), Genoese mercenary and ambassador; died before 1201. Guercio entered Byz. military service and fought for John II against the prince of Antioch, probably in 1142–43. Subsequently, he served Manuel I. Fighting Roger II of Sicily (1147–49), he was taken prisoner. He was released, possibly by William I of Sicily in 1158. Guercio became a LIZIOS of the empire and received a house and property that Genoese sources describe as a *feudum* ("fief"; A. Sanguineti, G. Bertolotto, *Atti della Società ligure di storia patria* 28 [1896–98] 471). In Genoa he pursued a distinguished career, while maintaining ties with Byz. In 1179 he escorted AGNES OF FRANCE to Constantinople. In 1188 Isaac II wrote Guercio about the approaching Third Crusade and recent negotiations with Genoa (ibid. 406f). Following the depredations of the Genoese Guglielmo Grasso, Guercio in 1193 successfully served as an envoy conveying the excuses of his fellow citizens (ibid. 456–59). Because of the piracies of the Genoese Gafforio (1197), Guercio's *feudum* was confiscated by the emperor. In May 1201 the Genoese envoy was directed to seek its restitution for Guercio and his heirs.

LIT. G. Day, "Genoese Involvement with Byzantium 1155–1204: A Diplomatic and Prosopographical Study" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Ill., 1978) 59, 69, 72. –C.M.B.

GUIBERT OF NOGENT, abbot of Nogent (from 1104), Latin theologian and historian; born between ca.1053 and 1064, died ca.1124. Guibert's works include a critique of relic cults (*On the Saints*

and the Relics of Saints, ca.1119) and an *Autobiography* (*De vita sua*, ed. E.R. Labande [Paris 1981]). His *History or God's Deeds Through the Franks* of ca.1108, an account of the First Crusade (1095–1104), draws on the GESTA FRANCORUM and FULCHER OF CHARTRES supplemented by oral sources. In its eight books of prose and verse (E. Burstein, *CahCM* 21 [1978] 247–63), Guibert's obsessions triumph over critical acumen where Byz. is concerned. He discusses John the Baptist's relics at Constantinople (*Historia*—bk.1, ch.5; cf. PL 156:624CD), paraphrases part of the controverted letter of Emp. Alexios I to ROBERT OF FLANDERS (*Reg* 2, no.1152), and criticizes Alexios ("that most filthy tyrant") as a usurper who vaunted the beauty of Byz. women to lure the French to Byz. Guibert calls Anna Dalassene a witch and claims Alexios's taxation required every Byz. family to prostitute one daughter and castrate one son, whence the shortage of virile Byz. soldiers (bk.1, ch.5). Books 2–3 describe the beginnings of the Crusade from Clermont through the crossing of the Byz. Empire, while the remainder refer frequently to Alexios's relations with the Crusaders.

ED. RHC *Occid.* 4 (1879) 117–263, including anon. continuation to 1112, pp. 261–63.

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:782f. *RepFontHist* 5:267–69. Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 70–77. –M.McC.

GUILDS (συστήματα, also SOMATEIA); organizations of craftsmen and merchants devoted to promoting the economic interests of their members. The late Roman state created various state workshops, *fabricae*, to satisfy the needs of the army, bureaucracy, and court, and imposed certain requirements on free *collegia*, or guilds. The degree of state requirements could differ with regard to different guilds: those *collegia* that dealt with the supply of Rome, Constantinople, and other major cities (BAKERS [*pistores*], *navicularii*, swinemongers, etc.) were subject to greater government control than guilds involved in more "private" activity. The state tried to implant the principle of hereditary professions, but there are serious doubts that it managed to achieve this aim—at least, Egyptian papyri contradict the principle (Fikhman, *Egipet* 64–68). Membership in the guild of bakers or swinemongers was considered an obstacle to social advancement. Compulsory association with a profession and restriction to a place of origin is attested even by papyri. At the same time, the members of guilds possessed various economic privileges and often exercised political pressure. The direction of the development of the late Roman guild system is under dispute: F. de Robertis (*Orpheus* 2 [1955] 45–54) rejected the traditional view concerning the continual strengthening of the compulsory system in the late Roman Empire and surmised that coercion reached its peak under Theodosios II but ended by the reign of Justinian I.

The 10th-C. guilds as reflected in the *Book of the Eparch* were privileged corporations protected from the competition of both landowners involved in trade activity and artisans and/or merchants who were not guild members. Admission to the guild was sought by those for whom membership was not compulsory and expulsion from a guild was done as a punishment. Under the leadership of elders, guilds regulated—albeit under the supreme surveillance of the state—the quality and volume of production, prices of goods and salary of the MISTHIOI, and acquisition of wares from outside merchants. Direct services to the state existed but were insignificant. Guilds of 10th-C. Constantinople resembled Western medieval corporations (of the Parisian type) more than the compulsory *collegia* of the 4th C.

Corporate organizations existed in the 11th C. (Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 51f), but the system seemed to become less rigid in the 12th C.: Nicholas of Methone (A. Demetrakopoulos, *Bibliotheca ecclesiastica* [Leipzig 1866] 279.12–14) emphasized that the Byz. did not dictate the choice of living place or trade to people possessing the necessary skill; an ordinance of Manuel I (*Reg* 2, no.1384) permitted the sale of a money changer's shop freely to any "worthy" person. Documents of the 14th–15th C. mention the elders of various corporations (notaries, butchers, makers of perfume) in Constantinople. As for the *protomaistores* of construction workers in Constantinople and Thessalonike, they were, most likely, not the elders of guilds but leaders of teams of builders.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "Le associazioni professionali nel mondo Romano-Bizantino," *SettStu* 18.1 (1971) 59–193. A. Graeber, *Untersuchungen zum spätrömischen Korporationswesen* (Frankfurt 1983). G. Mickwitz, *Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* (Helsingfors 1936) 198–235. E. Frances, "La disparition des corporations byzantines," 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Ohrid 1964) 93–101. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 108–14. –A.K.

GUILLOCHE. See INTERLACE.

GÜLLÜ DERE, valley in Cappadocia near ÇAVUŞIN. Among the ROCK-CUT CHURCHES found in this valley two are noteworthy. Güllü Dere III, a rectangular church with a single large apse, is often said to have been carved before the 8th C. because of the three large crosses in low relief on its ceiling. The apse is decorated with an elaborate MAJESTAS DOMINI ascribed on stylistic grounds to the 9th or early 10th C. Güllü Dere IV, also known as Ayvalı Kilise or the Church of St. John, is a small, double-naved complex with an elaborate fresco program. A donor's inscription mentioning the emperor Constantine should probably be dated to the sole reign of Constantine VII between 913 and 920; the name of the monument's principal patron has been obliterated. In addition to a rich Christological cycle, the LAMB OF GOD and a number of Old Testament scenes are depicted. Güllü Dere IV, the Old Church of Tokalı Kilise (see GÖREME), and the Church of the Holy Apostles at Sinassos appear to have been decorated by the same atelier (Thierry, *BullSocAntFr* [1971] 170–78).

LIT. N. Thierry, *Le haut Moyen-Age en Cappadoce*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983) 105–89. Jerphanion, *Eglises rupestres* 2:592–94. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "L'église aux trois croix de Güllü dere en Cappadoce," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 175–207. N. and M. Thierry, "Ayvalı Kilise ou pigeonnier de Gülli dere," *CahArch* 15 (1965) 97–154. –A.J.W.

GUNTHER OF PAIRIS, Latin poet, historian, and theologian; born ca.1150, died after 1208 or 1210. Gunther's epics show links with the court of FREDERICK I: the fragmentary Crusader poem *Solymarius* (ed. W. Wattenbach, *Archives de l'Orient Latin* 1 [1881] 555–61) draws on Robert of St. Remy and is dedicated to Prince Conrad (died 1196); *Ligurinus* (ca.1186/7; ed. PL 212:327–476), based on OTTO OF FREISING, celebrates Frederick's exploits in Italy. Circa 1204 Gunther became a Cistercian monk at Pairis (Alsace), where he composed (25 June 1205–ca.June 1208) the *Historia Constantinopolitana*, a polished account of the Fourth Crusade that mixes prose and verse but is marred by tendentious omissions, such as the transport contract with Venice (ch.6, p.71) and the restoration of Isaac II Angelos (ch.12, p.88). He minimized the bloodshed during the capture of the Byz. capital and stated that Constantinople's sack merely avenged Greek treatment of the Franks' putative Trojan ancestors (ch.18, pp. 102f); he also exaggerates (e.g., the power of the Byz. fleet; ch.17, p.98), particularly the role played by Martin, his abbot and informant (cf. Longnon, *Compagnons* 249f). Gunther seems fundamentally hostile to the Byz., whom he calls "the dregs of the dregs," ch.10, p.84), and focuses on Martin's theft of relics from the burial church of Irene, wife of John II Komnenos (ch.19, pp. 105f) and their translation to Pairis. Gunther may have written in part to defend Martin from charges levied by his order in 1206. Martin's booty included relics of Christ, Sts. John and James, etc. (ch.24, pp. 120–22) and a Crucifixion icon from the imperial insignia (ch.25, p.125).

ED. Riant, *Exuviae* 1:57–126. *Die Geschichte der Eroberung von Konstantinopel*, Germ. tr. E. Assemann (Weimar 1956).
LIT. F.R. Swietek, "Gunther of Pairis and the *Historia Constantinopolitana*," *Speculum* 53 (1978) 49–79. A.J. Andrea, "The Historia Constantinopolitana," *Analecta Cisterciensia* 36 (1981) 269–302. F.P. Knapp in *Die deutsche Literatur des Mittelalters. Verfasserlexikon*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1981) 316–25. –M.McC.

GYNAIKEION (γυναικεῖον, *gynaeceum*), in classical Greek, a part of the house reserved for the women; in the late Roman Empire, a type of imperial textile FACTORY. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE (*Etymol.* 15.6.3) explains the word as "a gathering of women [Greek *gyne* means "woman"] working with wool." The *gynaeciarii* of these workshops were men, however, not women (R.S. Lopez, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 6, n.3), and an edict of 365 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.3) regulates the status of a free woman who married a *gynaeciarius*. The *Notitia dignitatum* mentions *procuratores gynaecei* in Gallia as well as in the East (in the latter case without any precise localization). Constantine I's edict of 333 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.2) refers to *gynaecea* and dyers' workshops. Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 2.34.1) considers workers in *gynaikeia* and linen workshops the slaves of the treasury. Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 1.8.3) includes *gynaikeia* among places such as mines and linen workshops to which people were sent to do forced labor. The use of the term in papyri is unclear (Fikhman, *Egipet* 37, n.218).

In later centuries the word apparently disappeared and its meaning was forgotten. In the title of *Basil.* 54.16 the Latin term *procuratores gynaecei*

was rendered in Greek as "*prokouratores* of women," while in paragraph 9 of the same chapter the legislator introduced a reference to "the woman assigned to a *gynaikeion*" who was seduced or corrupted—whereas no woman had been mentioned in the original law of 385 (*Cod.Just.* XI 8.9).

LIT. A. d'Ors, "P. Ryl. 654 y el 'anabolicum,'" in *Studi in onore di U.E. Paoli* (Florence 1956) 266f. M.A. Marzouk, *History of Textile Industry in Alexandria* (Alexandria 1955) 47–49. –A.K.

GYPSIES (Αἰγύπτιοι, mod. Gk. Γύφτοι, i.e., Egyptians), from 1300 onward also called *Katsibeloi*, "wanderers" (cf. Russ. *kočevnik*, "nomad"—R.Volk, *BZ* 79 [1986] 1–16). In Greek and Georgian sources from the 11th–12th C. onward gypsies were called *Athinganoi-Adsincani* even though they had nothing in common with the 8th-C. ATHINGANOI. According to a Georgian legend, the Adsincani were invited by Constantine IX to destroy ferocious beasts that were devouring the game in an imperial hunting preserve. Balsamon describes the Athinganoi as magicians, snake charmers, and fortunetellers; the same characterization was given to them by later authors such as Patr. Athanasios I and Joseph Bryennios. They wandered in Crete (1323) as vagabonds, according to the Irish monk Symon Semeonis; in Corfu (1373) as refugees from Epiros; and in Nauplia (ca.1400) as an organized Feudum Acinganorum whose gypsy leader John had the title *drungarius Acinganorum*. MAZARIS satirized Aegyptioi as arrogant, beggars, liars, thieves, and practitioners of black magic. They were also sieve makers and blacksmiths. Numerous ruins in Greece are still popularly called (from the 14th C.) *Gyphtokastra*.

LIT. G.C. Soulis, "The Gypsies in the Byzantine Empire and the Balkans in the Late Middle Ages," *DOP* 15 (1961) 141–65. –S.B.B., A.K.

H

HADES, ancient ruler of the underworld and brother to ZEUS and Poseidon. In Byz. literature Hades connotes both (1) the underworld, as an equivalent to Christian Hell, as well as more generally, in secular texts, the place where all the dead are, at least initially, congregated; and (2) the personification of Death as a symbol for the tyranny of human mortality. In hymns and homilies from the 4th–6th C. onward Hades (alongside Thanatos, or Death) is portrayed with ravenous jaws and an insatiable belly (cf. Andrew of Crete, PG 97:1048A), swallowing old and young alike, an elaboration of an idea found in the Old Testament (Is 5:14, Pr 27:20). In the Resurrection hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons [Paris 1967] 4:444, 462, 466, 476–80), Christ's redemption of Adam involves a physical combat with Hades, followed by humorous squabbling, as in EPHREM THE SYRIAN. References in 12th-C. secular literature are frequent, but mainly unspecific, suggesting the gradual replacement of Hades as personification/agent by Hades as place. The ferryman CHARON becomes a more concrete personification of death.

In art Hades is usually depicted in the guise of a venerable pagan god; though often dark-skinned, he is not caricatured. In scenes of the LAST JUDGMENT he sits in Hell, with a condemned soul on his knee as the antithesis of Abraham in paradise. He lies pierced in the stomach by the cross (on an ivory of the Crucifixion surely influenced by the hymns of Romanos the Melode, see M. Frazer, *MMJ* 9 [1974] 153–61), or fettered like a defeated barbarian king in the dark pit of Hell, or trampled by the triumphant Christ in scenes of the ANASTASIS.

LIT. M.B. Alexiou, "Modern Greek Folklore and its Relation to the Past: The Evolution of Charos in Greek Tradition," in Vryonis, *Past* 221–36. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 206. E.G. Schwartz, "A New Source for the Byzantine Anastasis," *Marsyas* 16 (1972–3) 29–34. —M.B.A., N.P.Š.

HADRIAN I, pope (1 Feb. 772–25 Dec. 795). Upon his election to the papacy Hadrian immediately solidified his position by delivering potential opponents into imperial custody in Constantinople. The threat of the Lombard king Desiderius coincided with Constantine V's campaign against the Bulgarians and obliged Hadrian to appeal to CHARLEMAGNE for help. In 774 Desiderius capitulated to the Frankish army besieging Pavia, his son and co-ruler Adelgis fled to Constantinople, and the Franks took control of northern and central Italy. After long negotiations, Hadrian received considerable territory from Charlemagne. At first, Byz. countered the new Frankish regime by fostering the resistance of the Lombard duchies of Spoleto and BENEVENTO and the Lombard aristocracy in the north. Charlemagne reacted by crushing the revolt of the latter, while Hadrian destroyed Greek ships at Civitavecchia. In 778 Hadrian organized the papacy's first military offensive against the duchies of NAPLES and Benevento and the *patrikios* of Sicily. However, Hadrian's efforts to incite a Frankish assault on the southern Italian patrimonies confiscated by Emp. Leo III failed.

In 781, perhaps in connection with the revolt of Sicily, Constantinople came to terms with Charlemagne, and Constantine VI became engaged to his daughter. The ensuing peace allowed Hadrian to cooperate with Byz. by encouraging and sending legates to the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 to end ICONOCLASM. That same year, however, the marriage arrangement and the peace collapsed; in 788 Byz., wrongly expecting support from Benevento, attempted an invasion of Italy to restore Adelgis but was defeated. A few years later, however, Constantinople reestablished influence in Benevento by offering the duke the dignity of *patrikios* and marriage into the imperial family; the Franks then attacked him without success. In the context of this pattern of alliances, the Frankish court at first reacted violently against the Council of Nicaea, but Hadrian managed to temper the reaction. At some point in his reign, Hadrian ceased to recognize Byz. sovereignty over Rome.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. H. Beumann, vol. 1 (Düsseldorf 1965) 537–608. J. Deér, "Die Vorrechte des Kaisers in Rom (772–800)," *Zum Kaisertum Karls des Grossen*, ed. G. Wolf (Darmstadt 1972) 30–115. –A.K., M.McC.

HADRIAN II, pope (from 14 Dec. 867); born Rome 792, died Rome Nov. or Dec. 872. Born to a noble family, Hadrian married before ordination. His election was a compromise between supporters and opponents of the policy of NICHOLAS I. Since Rome was under the protection of the Frankish ruler LOUIS II, Hadrian's pontificate experienced no serious internal crisis, and his disagreement with ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS was temporary. Although Hadrian had inherited from Nicholas a conflict with Byz., the Arab threat in southern Italy required an alliance involving Louis II, the pope, and the new Byz. emperor Basil I. Patr. PHOTIOS became the first victim of their concord, and at the council at Constantinople in 869/70 the papacy's position toward Photios was upheld. Hadrian supported new Slavic churches in Bulgaria and Moravia, however, against Byz., thus creating grounds for a new confrontation. In 870 Bulgaria recognized papal jurisdiction and was rewarded with the creation of an archbishopric. After the death of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER in Rome, Hadrian ordained METHODIOS archbishop of Pannonia and Moravia, hoping to include this territory in the Roman sphere of influence. Byz. reacted only after Hadrian's demise: in the 870s Basil I pursued an active policy in the northern Balkans, and the council at Constantinople (879–80), although in an obscure form, retained Byz. claims to ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Bulgaria.

LIT. H. Grotz, *Erbe wider Willen. Hadrian II (867–872) und seine Zeit* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1970). F. Dvorník, "Photius, Nicholas I and Hadrian II," *BS* 34 (1973) 33–50. –A.K.

HADRIAN IV (Nicholas Breakspear), pope (from 4 Dec. 1154); born Abbot's Langley, England, between 1110 and 1120, died Anagni 1 Sept. 1159. Hadrian was confronted with the plans of FREDERICK I to subdue Italy and the growth of Norman power in the south. In the spring of 1155 the barons of Apulia revolted against WILLIAM I of Sicily, and Frederick unexpectedly withdrew his support; Emp. Manuel I Komnenos dispatched an army to aid the rebels. It is still not known whether Hadrian concluded a formal alliance with Byz. William of Tyre presents the pope as the soul of the rebellion, while Kinnamos asserts that Hadrian offered cooperation. The rebellion was a failure, and in 1153 Hadrian signed a treaty with William I in Benevento, followed in 1157 by a Byz.-Norman agreement. The growing tensions with Frederick, however, pushed Hadrian toward Constantinople; the pope's correspondence with BASIL OF OHRID reveals that both parties viewed rapprochement as possible.

LIT. W. Ullmann, "The Pontificate of Adrian IV," *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 (1953–55) 233–52. J.G. Rowe, "Hadrian IV, the Byzantine Empire, and the Latin Orient," in *Essays in Medieval History presented to Bertie Wilkinson*, ed. T. Sandquist, M. Powicke (Toronto 1969) 3–16. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:149–236. –A.K.

HAGIA SOPHIA (Ἁγία Σοφία, lit. "Holy Wisdom"), name of numerous churches in the Byz. Empire and neighboring countries. Two of the most important were the cathedral church of Constantinople and that of Thessalonike. Others were to be found, for example, in MONEMVASIA and OHRID as well as at KIEV.

HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. The first church on the site, of basilical form, was built near the Milion (see MESE), that is, in the neighborhood of the Great Palace and Hippodrome, by Constantius II (not Constantine as often stated) and inaugurated in 360. It was known as the GREAT CHURCH (Megale Ekklesia)—the name *Hagia Sophia* is first attested ca.430—and had the episcopal palace attached to its south side. Burned down by the supporters of John Chrysostom in 404, it was rebuilt, once again as a basilica, by Theodosios II and completed in 415. The only extant part of the Theodosian basilica is a colonnaded porch, probably the façade of the atrium rather than of the church itself (A.M. Schneider, *Die Grabung im Westhof der Sophienkirche zu Istanbul* [Berlin 1941]).

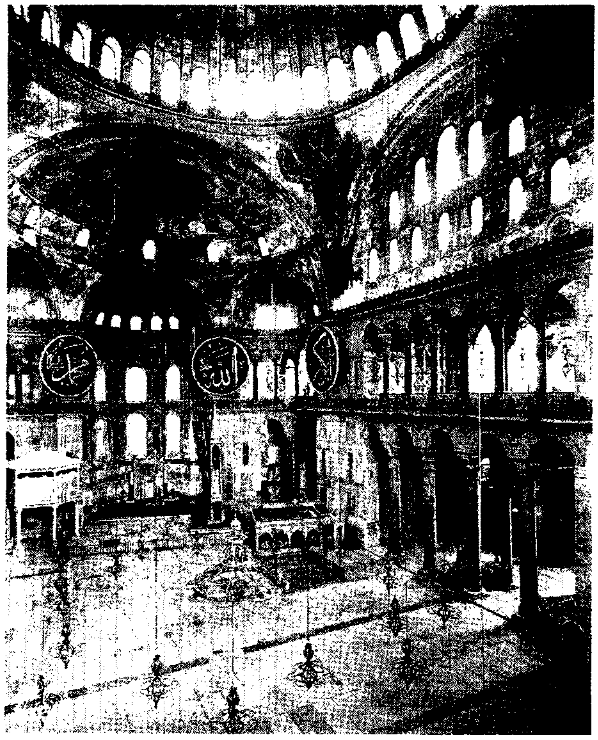
The second Hagia Sophia was destroyed by fire during the NIKA REVOLT against Justinian I (Jan. 532). Rebuilding was started immediately, under the direction of the architects ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES and ISIDORE OF MILETOS, and the new cathedral was inaugurated on 27 Dec. 537. An

account of the construction and the technical difficulties that had to be overcome is given by Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.1.21–78). In large part, Justinian's church is still standing. It is a domed basilica, that is, a combination of longitudinal and centralized planning, nearly square (78 × 72 m excluding the two narthexes), its nave covered by a dome 100 Byz. feet (31 m) in diameter and two semidomes, but at the same time clearly separated by rows of columns into three aisles, with galleries over the lateral aisles and narthex. The original dome collapsed in 558 and was rebuilt by ISIDORE THE YOUNGER some 7 m higher than the first one. The church, rededicated on 24 Dec. 562, was the subject of a descriptive poem by PAUL SILENTIARIOS.

The architectural conception of Anthemios and Isidore differed in some respects from the present form of the building. The dome, which may have continued the curvature of the pendentives, produced a more overwhelming impression from inside than the current steeper dome. The north and south tympanums appear to have been pierced by large windows, thus affording a more brilliant illumination. The exterior was unencumbered by buttresses. The liturgical fixtures are known in their post-562 form. They included a gold altar table surmounted by a ciborium; a projecting chancel screen of 12 columns; and, joined to the latter by an enclosed passage (*solea*), a lofty ambo. Most of these features as well as the top row of seats of the *synthronon* in the apse were sheathed in silver revetments.

The church was surrounded by subsidiary structures. To the west lay a colonnaded atrium with a fountain at its center; to the north the larger of two baptisteries (the smaller, still extant, being at the southwest) and, at the northeast corner, a circular sacristy (*skeuophylakion*); the south side was flanked by the patriarchal palace (built 565–77), a multistory building whose main apartments communicated with the south gallery of the church. The rooms situated at the south end of the west gallery, which preserve remnants of mosaic decoration, served as offices (*sekreta*) attached to the patriarchal complex (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 175–251). At the southeast corner of the church a raised passage connected Hagia Sophia to the GREAT PALACE.

Hagia Sophia was naturally the liturgical center of the capital. Administratively it was joined to three other nearby churches, namely St. IRENE, the Theotokos of the CHALKOPRATEIA, and St. Theodore of Sphorakios; all four churches were served by the same clergy, whose establishment was limited by Justinian to 425, but which increased to 525 in the next century. Hagia Sophia also played an essential part in imperial ceremonial and had two rooms (METATORIA) reserved for the emperor's use. The itinerary of imperial processions in and out of Hagia Sophia is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS.



HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Interior of the naos, looking southeast.

The most important structural alterations of the church during the Byz. period were the following. Repairs after the earthquake of 869 may have included the rebuilding of the tympanums in their present form (R.J. Mainstone, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 353–68). In 989 the main west arch collapsed together with the west semidome and a portion of the dome; they were rebuilt by the Armenian architect Trdat. In 1317 massive exterior buttresses were added on the north and east sides of the building. In 1346 the east arch collapsed, bringing down the east semidome and one-third of the dome and destroying the ambo under-



HAGIA SOPHIA IN CONSTANTINOPLE. Exterior view from the northwest. In the background, the Bosporos.

neath; the damage was repaired by 1353 with the restricted means that were then available.

The marble and *opus sectile* decoration of the vertical surface of the walls is relatively well preserved. The mosaic decoration of Justinian's church appears to have been largely nonfigural and much of it still survives in the vaulting of the narthex, side aisles, etc. The summit of the dome was occupied by a huge cross in a medallion. After Iconoclasm a program of figural mosaics was undertaken and part of it is preserved: an enthroned Virgin in the apse (C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 113–52), two archangels in the bema arch, prophets and church fathers in the tympana (Eidem, *DOP* 26 [1972] 1–41). Narrative scenes are known to have existed in the gallery vaults (Baptism, Pentecost, Isaiah's vision). Other preserved mosaics may be regarded as individual insets. They include a 10th-C. panel of the Virgin and Child flanked by Constantine I and Justinian I in the southwest vestibule; the enthroned Christ with a prostrate emperor (Basil I or Leo VI) at his feet in the lunette above the "Imperial Door"; the imperial portraits (ALEXANDER—P.A. Underwood, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 15 [1961] 189–217, Constantine IX with Zoe, JOHN II KOMNENOS with Irene) and the DEESIS (late 13th C.) in the gallery. The Pantokrator in the main dome (which was restored in 1355) has disappeared. In 1989 the mosaics on the eastern arch, comprising the figures of John V Palaiologos, the Virgin Mary, and John the Baptist, as well as a Hetoimasia (cf. Mango, *infra* 66–67) came to light.

In 1453 Hagia Sophia was converted into a mosque (Ayasofya Camii). Apart from the addition of four minarets, it underwent several re-

pairs, the most important in 1573 and the following years, then in 1847–49, the latter carried out by the Swiss architects Gaspare and Giuseppe Fossati.

LIT. R.L. Van Nice, *St. Sophia in Istanbul: An Architectural Survey* (Washington, D.C., 1965–86). Janin, *Églises CP* 455–70. R. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia: Architecture, Structure and Liturgy of Justinian's Great Church* (London 1988). A.M. Schneider, "Die vorjustinianische Sophienkirche," *BZ* 36 (1936) 77–85. T. Whittemore, *The Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul*, vols. 1–4 (Oxford 1933–52). C. Mango, *Materials for the Study of the Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1962). R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 131–49. –C.M.

HAGIA SOPHIA IN THESSALONIKE. The present building, located in the southeastern part of the city, was constructed over the remains of a large five-aisled basilica, incorporating, however, only the central portion of the latter. It is a cross-domed building with thick walls, narthex, well-defined aisles, heavy central piers, and galleries. The building does not fit easily into the history of Byz. architecture and has been variously assigned to the 6th through the 8th C.

Mosaic decoration of the interior can be assigned to several phases. Monograms of Constantine VI and Irene provide a date of 780–97 for the original mosaic decoration of the sanctuary, which included a huge cross in the apse (behind later figural decoration). In the dome is a mosaic of the ASCENSION, the oldest representation from any dome; the apostles stand on a multicolored rolling groundline, set off from each other by trees. An inscription in the dome states that the work was done under Archbp. Paul in November of the 4th indiction, but the precise year is not given; if Paul is to be identified with a correspondent of Photios, the composition should be assigned to the 880s. In the half-dome of the apse is the Virgin and Child, either contemporary with the mosaic in the dome, or perhaps as late as the 11th C. (Cormack, *infra* 134). In the narthex are frescoes of the 11th C. (D. Mouriki, *DOP* 34 [1982] 93 and fig.26).

The church was the city's cathedral from 1205 (under Latin occupation), but it may have held this honor at an earlier date. Gregory PALAMAS was buried in the church in 1359.

LIT. K. Theoharidou, *The Architecture of Hagia Sophia, Thessaloniki* (Oxford 1988). R. Cormack, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Thessaloniki," *DChAE*[4] 10 (1981) 111–35. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 292–95, 495, n.5. –T.E.G.

HAGIOCHRISTOPHORITES, STEPHEN, politician of lowly origin; died Constantinople 11 Sept. 1185. The son of a tax collector, Hagiochristophorites (Ἁγιοχριστοφορίτης, "bearer of the holy Christ") lost his nose as punishment for his attempt to marry a noblewoman. The staunchest supporter of Andronikos I, he acquired great influence during Andronikos's purges; he was labeled Antichristophorites by his adversaries. Andronikos rewarded him with the title of *sebastos* and the office of a *logothetes*. Hagiochristophorites helped organize the murder of Alexios II and many trials of aristocrats. He was killed by Isaac (II) Angelos, the future emperor, when he went to Isaac's house to arrest him.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 60f, 69f. –A.K.

HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION. The primary focus of Byz. hagiographical (see HAGIOGRAPHY) illustration was portraiture: the particular deeds of individual saints played a comparatively minor role in all but the very earliest period.

The first works of this genre are scenes relating to the death of certain MARTYRS, located at their MARTYRION. Though for most of these monuments only written descriptions survive (see ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA on paintings at the *martyrion* of EUPHEMIA OF CHALCEDON), it is clear that the scenes of martyrdom were often expanded into small "Passion" cycles comprising a routine sequence of episodes: arrest, trial, torture, and execution. These sets of images were more closely attached to a particular place than to a specific text.

Funerary PORTRAITS, usually ORANS figures, were set up at the tomb of the saint. These might be copied on liturgical objects (cf. the ivory MENAS pyxis), on PILGRIM TOKENS and AMPULLAE, or even on votive panels erected elsewhere in the same sanctuary (e.g., those in St. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike). A few portable panels painted with portraits of saints have survived from the late 6th to 7th C., primarily at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B5, 9, 11); their widespread use is attested in written sources, however, as is the assumption that such ICONS were capable of acting with many of the miraculous powers available to the saint during his lifetime (Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 91–156; R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* [New York 1985] 17–94).

Venerated first at tombs in far-flung quarters of the empire, the RELICS of a great number of these saints were eventually translated to Constantinople and the cults absorbed by the capital. With the establishment of the calendar for the church of Constantinople (see SYNAXARION OF CONSTANTINOPLE), each saint found his particular place in the celebrations of the liturgical year and, at the same time, began to assume a specific physiognomy. A few saints (such as PETER and PAUL) had already acquired fixed features before Iconoclasm, but the arguments raised during that period concerning the identity of an image with its prototype led over the course of the 9th through 11th C. to a growing emphasis on consistency and on the clear definition of the physical features of dozens of other saints as well.

A Byz. hagiographical portrait presents each saint in one of the three ages of man: the beardless youth, the dark-bearded mature man, or the white-haired elder. His features are then further defined by his particular hairline and the shape of his beard. Of equal importance is the saint's COSTUME, which indicates his profession, his rank in the secular or ecclesiastical hierarchy, and even his ethnic origin. Whether the saint is depicted on a large wall mosaic or inside a painted initial, his features and dress, esp. in the 11th C., are so precisely rendered as to be immediately recognizable. Only women are not so clearly distinguished one from another, partly because they usually appear veiled, so that there is no way of indicating the important differences in hairstyle (exceptions are princesses such as HELENA and CATHERINE OF ALEXANDRIA and the hermit MARY OF EGYPT). St. Peter carries his keys, the ANARGYROI their medical implements, but attributes referring to specific events in a saint's life were never a common feature of Byz. hagiographical portraiture.

The portrait type, often confirmed by literary tradition (e.g., OULPIOS the Roman), generally claimed to reproduce an image of the saint painted while he was still alive. Once visual types were fixed they could be easily transmitted, even by means of written descriptions as succinct as those found in the later painter's manuals (*Dionysius of Fourna, Hermeneia tes zographikes technes*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg 1909] 150–70).

The innumerable saintly figures adorning Byz. churches are arranged in groups according to their professional category, following a generally accepted hierarchy in CHURCH PROGRAMS or, more rarely, according to the date of their liturgical celebration. The precise situation and composition of each group was, however, constantly adjusted to suit the specific architectural design and purpose of the church it adorned.

Narrative, such as there was, reemerged very slowly. The portraits of certain saints are regularly accompanied by specific narrative elements (the Miracle at CHONAI, EUSTATHIOS and the stag, the two SYMEON THE STYLITES on their columns, and the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in the freezing lake). These images, found already in the 9th and 10th C., probably go back to lost Constantinopolitan originals, but they are essentially "expanded" portraits, rather than distilled narrative. CALENDAR CYCLES, best represented by the so-called MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, consist primarily of scenes of torture and execution, with each saint receiving exactly the same amount of space, regardless of his general importance or the complexity of his career.

Narrative cycles devoted to a single saint rarely, in fact, appear in MS form, with the exception of a few brief sequences in early MSS of the Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and the marginal PSALTERS. Even the most important Byz. hagiographical collection of all, the ten-volume *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, was rarely accompanied by any illustration other than portraits.

True biographical cycles are found primarily in icon and monumental painting. A few scenes from the lives of saints BASIL THE GREAT, GEORGE, and Symeon Stylites the Elder appear in the 9th- and 10th-C. churches of CAPPADOCIA. But comprehensive narrative sequences beginning with the birth and ending with the death of the saint occur first in fresco in the 12th C. and on the so-called vita icons of the early 13th C. Scarcely more than a dozen of these icons survive, most from Sinai and Cyprus; they present the bust or full-length figure of a saint surrounded, usually on all four sides, by a series of 6, 12, or even 16 compartments containing narrative episodes from his life. The form of these vita icons may derive from the practice, esp. popular in the 12th C., of surrounding painted icons with costly metal frames (N. Ševčenko, *14 BSC Abstracts* [1988] 32f). The fresco cycles have no fixed place in the church but are most commonly found in secondary areas such as

the NARTHEX or the PASTOPHORIA, often in connection with donor tombs. The number of different saints whose vitae were illustrated in either medium was rather limited: before the 14th C., cycles of saints NICHOLAS OF MYRA and George vastly outnumber all others. MIRACLE cycles are rare, with the exception of that of Eustratios on Sinai (see FIVE MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA).

The formal connection of these narrative cycles with the structure of VITA texts suggests that, though their iconography cannot have derived from illustrated MS models (which apparently never existed in large numbers), they may nonetheless have been a response to the prescribed reading of the Metaphrastian Lives at the ORTHROS service in monastic communities, a practice that can be documented from at least the 12th C. (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 2:314–18). Though neither the monumental nor the icon cycles strictly follow the Metaphrastian or any other specific text, either with regard to the general choice of scenes or the details of any episode, they do have their own visual conventions comparable to the *topoi* of the hagiographers (H. Maguire, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 98–99), such as the conscious borrowing of a familiar biblical composition to illustrate an event in the life of the saint.

No new genres of hagiographical illustration were introduced after the 12th C., though the number of cycles and variety of saints involved increased. In portraiture, there was a gradual loss of physiognomic precision but a gain in psychological range. The vita cycles, esp. the frescoes, absorbed contemporary Palaiologan innovations in biblical iconography, showing an increased reliance on drama and multifigured compositions. The growing programmatic thrust—whether political, eremitical, episcopal, etc.—of church decoration in this period also frequently affected the content of the hagiographical cycles (e.g., Th. Gouma-Peterson, *ArtB* 58 [1976] 168–82; S. Tomeković in *Mileševa u istoriji srpsko naroda* [Belgrade 1987] 51–65). Resonances established between biblical and hagiographical cycles grew ever more sophisticated as church decoration became more and more elaborate and various otherwise unrelated cycles had to be unrolled on a single wall (Maguire, *supra* 94–98).

LIT. C. Belting-Ihm, *RAC* 14:66–96. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1034–93. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973). Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 155–73. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th centuries at Sinai," *DChAE*⁴ 12 (1984) 63–116. Th. Gouma-Peterson, "Narrative Cycles of Saints' Lives in Byzantine Churches from the Tenth to the Mid-Fourteenth Century," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 31–44. –N.P.Š.

HAGIOGRAPHY, modern term for a genre of Byz. LITERATURE whose aims were the veneration of the SAINT and the creation of an ideal of Christian behavior as well as documentation and entertainment. As a portrayal of historical personages, hagiography overlaps with historiography, conveying historical information, using chronicles as sources, and, in turn, serving as a source for chronicles; as an edifying genre, hagiography may bear resemblance to the SERMON. Three major types of hagiography already existed in the early centuries of the empire: MARTYRION, the account of a martyr's trial and execution; VITA, a saint's biography; and APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM, a collection of wise sayings of hermits. Probably by the 7th C. the description of posthumous MIRACLES was established as a separate type.

Hagiography provides a variety of information to the Byzantinist (F. Halkin, 13 *CEB, Main Papers* XI [Oxford 1966] 1–10). First of all, saints' lives convey data concerning their heroes and the monasteries and/or cities where they lived. Second, since a number of saints played important political roles, their biographies contain data, sometimes unique, about momentous events, although the reliability of the evidence may vary from one vita to the next. Some vitae are biased, others indifferent to reality and so concerned with their edifying or propagandizing purpose that chronology is distorted, events invented, suppressed, or transferred from other vitae. More dependable are hagiographic data on EVERYDAY LIFE. The style of hagiographical works ranged from highly elevated to simple, inclining toward the vernacular. Sometimes they are full of vivid details, and adventures of heroes are woven into a romance with such elements as travel, shipwreck, concealment, and pursuit. The account of miracles, including posthumous ones, is a typical element of hagiography.

Early hagiography (4th–7th C.) tried to reject the ancient values of urban civilization: the holy man was liberated from his obligations toward society and authority and submitted exclusively to God, for whose sake he was ready to endure poverty, suffering, and tortures; accordingly, the

DESERT was chosen as the most typical setting for the saint's exploits (ANTONY THE GREAT). When the saint entered the city gates, it was to reject the traditional norms of behavior (SYMEON OF EMESA). Family ties were renounced (ALEXIOS HOMO DEI), and the saint was closer to wild beasts than to his relatives. A shameful past, such as prostitution, was not an obstacle to holiness; neither were illiteracy, ugliness, or poverty. Early hagiography emphasized the collective nature of the body of saints: many martyrs met execution in groups, and the wise "fathers" of the *apophthegmata* were a faceless throng, who can hardly be distinguished as individuals. On the other hand, the individuality of the hagiographer was maintained, and the most famous hagiographers of the period (ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, John MOSCHOS, LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem) are well-known personalities. The main centers of hagiographic production were the cities and monasteries of Egypt, Palestine, and Syria.

With the general decline of literary activity from the late 7th and through almost the entire 8th C., hagiography diminished; it regenerated slightly before 800, first in the eastern provinces, and flourished from the 9th to 11th C. The passionate denial of ancient ideals that was typical of earlier saints' lives lessened: the daring hermit gave way to the efficient builder of the monastic community (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS), the wild holy FOOL made his way into the establishment (BASIL THE YOUNGER), prostitutes and women in disguise were replaced by the ideal matron (MARY THE YOUNGER). The sanctity of family ties was assumed as a virtue, although not consistently (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 188–92). The saint's political role was highly esteemed, his connections with Constantinopolitan functionaries carefully stressed: some vitae (EUTHYMIOS, patriarch of Constantinople) avoid the miraculous elements, except for the saint's foresight, and emphasize the saint's role in political and ecclesiastical struggles; the Life of IGNATIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, is a purely political pamphlet against Photios. The collectivity of martyrs begins to disappear; it is significant that the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION was produced in several versions, some of which acquired individual heroes. We know little about individual hagiographers of this period, although some of them (Niketas, author of the Life of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, and esp. Gregory, hagiographer of Basil the Younger) provide some personal information. IGNATIOS THE DEACON was probably the only professional hagiographer of the period. On the other hand, the collection and editing of old vitae attracted distinguished writers, such as NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON and esp. SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

The Life of Lazaros of Galesios is the last great piece of 11th-C. hagiography. In the 12th C. intellectuals became critical of the image of the holy man: hagiographical production was scanty (P. Magdalino in *Byz. Saint* 52–54), and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE composed a spectacular "anti-vita" of PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION. At the same time some evidence of popular hagiography is preserved: the Life of Paraskeve was reportedly burned by order of the patriarch because of its vernacular character, and the miracles of St. GEORGE, some of which should be dated in the 12th C., conjure up an image of the saint as a clever fellow, ready to bargain and conscious of his profit. The authors of "popular" vitae plunged into anonymity, whereas we have the names of some professional writers, such as PRODROMOS and TZETZES, who tried their skill at saints' lives, although their hagiographical essays are not their best work. The interest in AUTOBIOGRAPHY as a redeveloping genre, as well as the propagation of the military ideal, contributed to the decline of hagiography: PSELLOS attempted to rewrite the Life of AUXENTIOS, permeating his work with autobiographical elements; BLEMMYDES wrote his own biography—he did not expect his disciples to eulogize his virtues.

Some hagiographers of the Palaiologan period (GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, Constantine AKROPOLITES, Theodora RAOULAINA) preferred the laudation of saints from earlier periods, while others concentrated on the lives of contemporaries. Some vitae took the form of biographies of politicians (Emp. JOHN III VATATZES, patriarchs ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS, JOSEPH I, ATHANASIOS I, ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS) and theologians, such as PALAMAS. Their anti-Palaiologan resistance or principles of church independence are the predominant reasons for the recognition of their sainthood (R. Macrides in *Byz. Saint* 68). Other writers emphasized the ascetic life of the hermit (NIPHON, ROMYLOS, MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES).

The Bollandists laid the foundations of the study

of hagiography (H. Delehaye, *L'oeuvre des Bollandistes à travers trois siècles (1615–1915)* [Brussels 1959]). In the 19th C. a critical approach toward hagiography developed: H. Usener (*Kleine Schriften*, vol. 3 [Leipzig-Berlin 1914] 74–104) attacked Christian legend from two points—as historical fraud and for the alleged construing of the image of the saint in terms of ancient mythology. Delehaye limited Usener's hypercriticism and tried to distinguish trustworthy and legendary texts. The Munich school (Ehrhard) and later Bollandists (Halkin) concentrated on collection and classification of hagiographical works, and vitae were broadly used as sources for historical information (Rudakov, Magoulias), but only recently has the tendency developed to use saints' lives as documents for ideology and social psychology (Brown, Patlagean, Magdalino). In this case the old problem of reliability loses its significance: regardless of its legendary nature, hagiography is an important means of understanding how the Byz. perceived their world.

LIT. *BHG, BHG Auct., BHG Nov.Auct.* F. Halkin, *Recherches et documents d'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1971). R. Aigrain, *L'hagiographie* (Paris 1953). H. Delehaye, *Cinq leçons sur la méthode hagiographique* (Brussels 1934). A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1937–52), with W. Abschlag, *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 91 (1966) 797–800. A.P. Rudakov, *Očerki vizantijskoj kul'tury po dannym grečeskoj agiografii* (Moscow 1917; rp. London 1970). E. Patlagean, P. Richi, *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés (IVe–XIIe siècles)* (Paris 1981). J.W. Nesbitt, "A Geographical and Chronological Guide to Greek Saint [*sic*] Lives," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 443–89. Ch. Loparev, *Grečeskije žitija svjatych VIII i IX vekov* (Petrograd 1914). A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 84–114. –A.K., A.M.T.

HAGIOTHEODORITES (Ἁγιοθεοδωρίτης), a family of Byz. civil and ecclesiastical functionaries attested from the first half of the 12th C. The first known were Constantine, lawyer, philosopher, and rhetorician at John II's court, and Nicholas, *protos* of a monastery (named on a seal). They became esp. influential under Manuel I: John was his favorite but fell from imperial favor; later three brothers played important roles—the *logothetes tou dromou* Michael (from 1158?), the eparch of Constantinople John (ca.1160); and Nicholas, metropolitan of Athens in the 1160s and 70s. Konstas Hagiotheodorites served as *logothetes* ca.1258 and then as Theodore II's private secretary.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Brat'ja Ajofeodority pri dvore Manuila Komnina," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 85–94. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 225–440. *PLP*, nos. 240–41. –A.K.

HAIMORRHOISSA, HEALING OF. See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

HAIMOS, MOUNT. See BALKANS.

HAIR (κόμη). The Byz. church inherited from primitive Christianity a negative attitude toward hairstyling: "Flowing locks," says St. Paul (1 Cor 11:14), "disgrace a man," and the image of the unkempt John the Baptist was an embodiment of the rejection of haircuts. This attitude prevailed more or less unchanged to the last centuries of Byz. Despite this clear-cut ecclesiastical position, the tendency to care about hairstyles emerged time and again.

In the late Roman period, men were clean-shaven and generally wore their hair short; those who wore long hair in plaits or curled were regarded as effeminate. In the 6th C. the youth of the circus factions styled their hair in the "Hunnic" fashion: long at the nape and shaved at the front of the head. By the 10th C. men wore their hair longer, and even monks adopted longer hairstyles, to the dismay of the church. In the 12th C. moralists inveighed against excessive attention to hairstyling. On the other hand, both hair and BEARD were indicative of social status and deprivation of either was considered a punishment. Hair color was also significant; the term *xantha ethne* ("blond tribes") designated the peoples of central and eastern Europe, in contrast to the dark-haired peoples of the Mediterranean.

The predominant hair fashion for women throughout the centuries was parted in the center and held in place with a comb or band. Combs made of bone are often found in archaeological excavations. Outside the house women were expected to cover their head with veils. Both men and women were admonished not to wear wigs or to dye their hair. (See also BARBER.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:342–72. H.G. Beck, "Orthodoxie und Alltag," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:334f. –Ap.K., A.K.

HAIR ORNAMENT. Justinian's *Digest* (34.2.25.10) classes as jewelry HEADGEAR such as "headdresses,

turbans and half-turbans, a head covering, a pearl hairpin that women are accustomed to possess, saffron-colored [hair] nets." Only traces of such hair ornaments survive, but three main types are depicted in Byz. art.

1. A ***jeweled band*** that is worn on the forehead at the hairline. Only the part from ear to ear can be seen; this part presumably continued around the back of the head, under the hair, as a band of fabric.

2. A ***circlet,*** often jeweled, worn around a chignon on the top of the head. A jeweled diadem, now in Baltimore (*Jewelery: Ancient to Modern*, ed. A. Garside [New York 1980], no.420), has been interpreted as this second type, or as part of a jeweled collar. It could also be part of a jeweled band.

3. An ***ornamented mesh or net,*** worn over the entire head, reaching to the forehead.

All three types seem to be contemporary and appear in the Theodora panel at S. Vitale, RAVENNA.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:367f. –S.D.C.

ḤALABĪYAH. See ZENOBIA.

HALMYROS (Ἁλμυρός, name derived from the salt-flats in the area), commonly known as the "Two Halmyroi" because of its double fortified citadels, city in central Greece on the Pagasitic Gulf south of modern Volos. It is identified with modern Tsingeli and Kephalosis near ancient Halos. In late antiquity an agricultural settlement is attested at nearby Aidonion, with oil and wine presses (N. Nikonanos, *ArchDelt* 26 [1971] Chronikon 312f). In the 12th C. Halmyros played an important role as an entrepôt for Venice, Genoa, and Pisa, succeeding NEA ANCHIALOS and DEMETRIAS as the primary port of Thessaly. The Venetians attacked Halmyros in 1171 as retaliation for the massacre in Constantinople, and in 1198 its ports were again opened to them. In 1204 it was first given to the deposed Alexios III as a place of retirement but soon fell into the hands of the Latins; by 1246 it was under the control of Michael II of Epiros and in 1249 it is attested as the center of a theme of the empire of Nicaea. Halmyros was attacked and occupied by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY between 1307 and 1310. The city had a significant Jewish community. The bishop of Halmyros was suffragan of Larissa.

Little remains of the two fortified acropolises or the Byz. town between them, although several churches, many of them belonging to the Italian communities, are attested in documents from the 12th C. onward. Some Byz. sculpture (N. Giannopoulos, *BZ* 25 [1925] 339–46), seals (Idem, *BZ* 17 [1908] 131–40; 18 [1909] 502–10), and inscriptions (Idem, *BCH* 14 [1890] 240–44; 15 [1891] 562–71; 23 [1899] 396–400) have been found. The so-called Alonissos ship, whose wreckage was discovered on the seabed just off the island of Pelagos, was perhaps involved in trade with Halmyros. It contained a large cargo of pottery of the 12th C. (Ch. Kritzas, *Athens Annals of Archaeology* 4 [1971] 176–82).

LIT. *TIB* 1:170f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 65f, 166–73. N. Giannopoulou, *Ta Phthiotika* (Athens 1891). –T.E.G.

HALO. See NIMBUS.

ḤAMĀH. See EPIPHANEIA.

ḤAMĀH TREASURES. See KAPER KORAON TREASURE; MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE.

ḤAMDĀNIDS, Muslim dynasty in Mosul and esp. at Aleppo, of Taghlibite Arab origin (ca.868–1015/16). The independent emirate was established at Mosul between 930 and 934, and under Nāṣir al-Dawla extended power over most of upper Mesopotamia. Nāṣir was succeeded by his son Abū Taghlib, who resisted Byz. attack in 972 but infuriated John Tzimiskes by capturing the *domestikos* Melias, who died in captivity. In 976 Abū Taghlib supported the rebellion of Bardas SKLEROS. The Ḥamdānid dynasty at Aleppo began in 944 under SAYF AL-DAWLA. Many Ḥamdānids left Aleppo because of the Byz. threat. The Ḥamdānids were forced to maneuver between FĀṬIMIDS, Buwayhids, and Byz. Saʿd al-Dawla, the son of Sayf al-Dawla, massacred many monks at Dayr Semʿān, in response to the Byz. invasion of 985. The Byz. governor of Antioch, Michael BOURTZES, helped the Ḥamdānids against the Fāṭimids, but Ḥamdānid power declined after the Byz. treaty

with the Fāṭimids in 1001. A son of Sayf al-Dawla, Abu'l Hayjāʿ, fled to Basil II and later probably converted to Christianity. Saʿd's minister Lu'lu and Saʿd himself prostrated themselves before Basil II in 995. Lu'lu's son Manṣūr fled to Byz. in 1015/16 and received a castle for aiding Romanos III in northern Syria in 1030.

LIT. M. Canard, *EI*² 3:126–31. Idem, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers-Paris 1951). R.J. Bikhazi, "The Hamdanid Dynasty of Mesopotamia and North Syria 254–404/868–1014" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1981). –W.E.K.

HAMILTON PSALTER. See PSALTER.

HAND OF GOD. The image of a hand emanating from clouds or an arc of Heaven appears in both Christian and imperial art in the 4th C. Its Christian use surely derives from earlier Jewish art, where it is an image of God's voice or word, amplifying scriptural metaphors of God's hand as his power or protection. In imperial art, the hand displaces fully embodied deities and functions differently and more actively. In medallions of Constantine I the Great, for example, a hand reaches out to crown the emperor or draw him upward at his APOTHEOSIS. The gesturing hand of Jewish tradition continues in later Christian art to signify the voice or approbation of God, appearing in such New Testament compositions as the Baptism and Ascension as well as in numerous Old Testament scenes. Other 4th- through 6th-C. images, however, based on the imperial version, show the hand actually drawing Christ upward at his Ascension, or holding a crown over Christ, the Cross, the Virgin Mary, or a saint. This version vanishes in later Byz. art, where Christ himself confers crowns on rulers and performs concrete acts. Probably a distinct, later development is the huge hand holding souls in the LAST JUDGMENT (cf. *Wisdom of Solomon* 3:1), seen in late Byz. monuments (CHORA).

The theme of "the king's heart in the hand of God" (Pr 21:1) that, for fathers of the church, had imposed limits on imperial authority, was reinterpreted in the Justinianic period to mean the all-embracing authority of the *basileus* (H. Hattenhauer, *ZSavKan* 67 [1981] 1–21).

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 2:791–94. M. Kirigin, *La mano divina nell'iconografia cristiana* (Vatican 1976). –A.W.C., A.C.

HAPLOUCHEIR, MICHAEL, member of the senate who eagerly supported ANDRONIKOS I in 1183; EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE acrimoniously censured Haploucheir (Ἁπλουχείρ) for his dishonest behavior (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 44.19–20). He probably belonged to the same family of civilian nobility as Thomas Haploucheir, judge of the *velum* under Manuel I. Haploucheir has been identified, on good grounds, with the poet of the same name, who wrote a short iambic *dramation* presenting a debate between a rustic who praises Fortune and a wise man (*sophos*) who laments his miserable fate and is ready to renounce his fame and become a craftsman. The theme of a poor intellectual's envy of a well-to-do artisan is typical of 12th-C. writers such as John TZETZES and Theodore PRODROMOS.

ED. P.L.M. Leone, "Michaelis Hapluchiris versus cum excerptis," *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 268–79.

LIT. Q. Cataudella, "Michele Apluchiro e il 'Pluto' di Aristofane," *Dioniso* 8 (1940–41) 88–93. –A.K.

HARAWĪ, AL-, more fully Taqī al-Dīn Abū al-Ḥasan ʿAlī al-Harawī, Arab author, ascetic, and traveler; born Mosul, died Aleppo 1215. He had a varied career as preacher in Baghdad and Aleppo and as envoy and confidant of the Ayyūbid sultans, including Saladin. In the course of his missions he traveled widely, to Palestine and Egypt, and in 1175 to Norman Sicily. He also visited Constantinople, where he met Emp. Manuel I Komnenos. His vivid descriptions of the Hippodrome and the statues of Constantinople are partly reproduced by YĀQŪT, al-QAZWĪNĪ, and other encyclopedists. His three principal works are the *Guide to the Places of Pilgrimage*, *Memoir on the Ruses of War*, and *Last Counsels of al-Harawī*.

ED. *Kitab al-Ishārāt ilā maʿrifat al-ziyarat* (*Guide*)—*Guide des lieux de pèlerinage*, ed. J. Sourdel-Thomine, 2 vols. (Damascus 1953–57), with Fr. tr. *Al-Tadhkira al-Harawiyya fi'l-ḥiyal al-ḥarbiyya* (*Memoir*)—ed. eadem, "Les conseils du Šayḫ al-Harawī à un prince ayyubide," *BEO* 17 (1961–62) 205–66, with Fr. tr. *Al-Waṣiyya al-Harawiyya* (*Counsels*)—ed. eadem, "Le testament politique du shaikh ʿAlī al-Harawī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb* (Cambridge, Mass.–Leiden 1965) 609–18, with Fr. tr.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*² 3:178. –A.Sh., A.M.T.

HARBAVILLE TRIPTYCH. See TRIPTYCH.

ḤĀRITH, AL-. See ARETHAS.

HARMENOPOULOS, CONSTANTINE, 14th-C. jurist. Harmenopoulos (Ἁρμενόπουλος) signed a document of 1345 (*Chil.* 134) as *sebastos* and judge of Thessalonike; by 1349 he was also a *nomophylax*, after 1359 *krites katholikos*. He compiled a "corpus" of secular and canon law. Secular law is represented by the *Hexabiblos* (Six Books), also called the *Procheiron nomon* (Handbook of the Laws), of 1345. This compilation grew out of the PROCHEIRON but adds excerpts from the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, the law book of Michael ATTALEIATES, the SYNOPSIS MINOR, the PEIRA, and the work of JULIAN OF ASKALON. Harmenopoulos organized the legal material into a new system, which made it easier to use and thus enormously popular; it is transmitted in almost 70 MSS. In practice it served as a law code (in Greece into the 20th C.) and was adopted in several Slavic countries. Attached to the *Hexabiblos* as a regular component is the FARMER'S LAW, presumably reorganized by Harmenopoulos (I. Medvedev in *VizOč* [Moscow 1982] 216–33).

Canon law is represented by the *Epitome canonum* of Harmenopoulos, which contains a selection of canons with commentaries (PG 150:45–168), a confession of faith (PG 150:29–32), and a treatise on heresies (19–29). Some shorter works of Harmenopoulos are also transmitted (*lexika*, an *enkomion* on St. Demetrios).

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli: Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969). Eng. tr. of book 6 by E.H. Freshfield (Cambridge 1930).

LIT. K.G. Pitsakes, *Konstantinou Armenopoulou Procheiron Nomon e Hexabiblos* (Athens 1971) ζ΄-ρια΄. Idem, "Gregoriou Akindynou: Anekdote Pragmateia peri (Konstantinou?) Harmenopoulou," *Epeteris Kentrou Historias Hellenikou Dikaiou* 19 (1972) 111–216. Idem, "Gyro apo tis peges tes 'Epitomes Kanonon' tou Konstantinou Armenopoulou," ibid. 23 (1976) 85–122. M.Th. Fögen, "Die Scholien zur Hexabiblos im Codex Vetustissimus Vaticanus Ottobonianus gr. 440," *FM* 4 (1981) 256–345. Eadem, "Hexabiblos aucta," *FM* 7 (1986) 259–333. –M.Th.F.

HARNESSMAKER. See LOROTOMOS.

HAROLD HARDRADA (or more properly Hardradi, "Hard-Ruler"), king of Norway as Harold III (1046–66); born 1015, died Stamford Bridge, England, 25 Sept. 1066. In 1030 or 1031 Harold (Ἀράλτης) fled from Norway to JAROSLAV of Kiev and reached Byz. probably in 1034 (J. Shepard, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 150). Harold and his Varangians participated in several Byz. military campaigns: in Sicily with MANIAKES, in Bulgaria against DELJAN, and probably against Muslims in the Aegean. The report in Norwegian SAGAS of his fight against Pechenegs—in 1036 according to K. Ciggaar (*BalkSt* 21 [1980] 385–401)—and of his journey to Jerusalem is questionable. He was granted the title of *spatharokandidatos*. A supporter of Michael IV, Harold probably took part in the deposition and blinding of Michael V. Because CONSTANTINE IX changed the Byz. attitude toward the Rus' and Varangians (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 27 [1967] 83f) or because he suspected that Harold would join the rebellious Maniakes (A. Poppe, *BS* 32 [1971] 28), the emperor imprisoned Harold. He escaped and reached Kiev probably in winter 1042/3. In spring 1045 he married Jaroslav's daughter Elizabeth and possibly incited Jaroslav to attack Constantinople. Byz. coins brought to Scandinavia by Harold in 1045 may have served as models for Danish mints (P. Grierson, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 124–38; M. Hendy, *NChron* 10 [1970] 187–97).

LIT. S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, rev. and tr. B.S. Benedikz (Cambridge 1978) 54–102, 209–14. –A.K., C.M.B.

HARROWING OF HELL. See ANASTASIS.

HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD (Ἀαρών), caliph of the ʿABBĀSIDS (789–809); born al-Rayy (near Tehran) Feb. 766, died Ṭūs (Khurāsān) 24 Mar. 809. He was the son of Caliph Muḥammad al-Mahdi (775–85). In 780 the young Hārūn invaded the Armeniakon and took Semaluous, and in 782 he was enabled by the defection of the Byz. general TATZATES to advance to Chrysoupolis and force Empress Irene to make peace. During the negotiations he captured and held the eunuch STAURAKIOS until Irene signed a three-year treaty requiring the Byz. to release all prisoners, pay an annual tribute of 70,000 dinars, and make commercial concessions. As caliph, Hārūn strengthened his border with Byz. by building frontier fortresses linking up with Tarsos. He paid special attention to the fleet, which several times attacked Cyprus and Rhodes. In 790 Hārūn's navy defeated a Byz. force off Attaleia; Theophilos the *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai was captured and exe-

cuted after refusing Hārūn's order to turn traitor. In 796 Hārūn made Raqqa on the Euphrates his chief residence, probably anticipating sustained campaigns against Byz. and eastern Iran. In 798 ʿAbbāsid forces invaded Byz. territory to Ephesus. Hārūn initially refused Irene's request for peace, but, after Khazar attacks on his northern flank, he signed a four-year treaty again requiring the Byz. to pay annual tribute to the Arabs. He personally campaigned against Byz. in 803 and in 806, when he captured Herakleia and Tyana and exacted a humiliating treaty stipulating that Emp. Nikephoros I annually pay 30,000 solidi and a head tax of 3 solidi for himself and his son Staurakios. Hārūn destroyed churches in frontier areas to punish what he thought were pro-Byz. sympathies. He died campaigning in Khurāsān.

LIT. M. Canard, "La prise d'Héraclée et les relations entre Hārūn ar-Rashīd et l'empereur Nicéphore Ier," *Byzantion* 32 (1962) 345–79. H. Kennedy, *The Early Abbasid Caliphate* (London 1981) 115–34. F. Omar, *EI*[2] 3:232–34. –P.A.H.

HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, 9th–10th-C. Arab author. Captured as a civilian (a fact usually ignored by scholars), Hārūn was carried off from Askalon via Attaleia to Constantinople, where he lived for years, perhaps as a slave. His account, a valuable report on Byz. and other Christian nations, includes a detailed description of Constantinople, its walls, gates, statues, relics, water supplies; the Palace, its decoration and furnishings; Hagia Sophia; Christmas festivities; banquets; imperial processions; chariot races in the Hippodrome; the conditions of Muslim prisoners; the route to Rome via Serbia; a description of Rome's marvels; and a reference to Britain. This account survives in the *Book of Precious Things* by ibn Rusta (born Isfahan, fl. late 9th–early 10th C.), an Arab anthologist of Persian origin.

Modern scholars have dated Hārūn's report variously between 880 and 912, due to differences regarding internal clues, the possible date of his capture or release, whether ibn Rusta quotes him directly, and whether all the details are based on Hārūn's own observations. G. Ostrogorsky (*SemKond* 5 [1932] 251–57) has argued for 912–13, Alexander's reign, as the date since no empress or co-emperor is mentioned. Actually, Hārūn describes a typical procession, not necessarily a specific one, and the emperor is depicted as a co-emperor (wearing black and red boots). It is reasonable to date the account to ca.900.

ED. *Precious Things—Kitāb al-Aʿlāq al-Nafīsa*, ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 7 (1892) 1–229]. *Les atours précieux*, tr. G. Wiet (Cairo 1955).

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "Harun Ibn Yahya and His Description of Constantinople," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 149–63. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:379–94. M. Izeddin, P. Therriat, "Un prisonnier arabe à Byzance au IXe siècle: Hāroūn-ibn-Yahya," *REI* 15 (1947) 41–62. –A.Sh.

HASAN DAĞ, site in CAPPADOCIA. On the north slope of this volcanic cone are a number of churches, including Sarıgöl and basilicas II and III near Viranşehir of the first half of the 6th C. (?) and Kemer Kilise (Viranşehir I) and Anatepe of the 7th C. (?). These solid, ashlar-faced monuments are most commonly cruciform in plan, although basilicas with both single and double naves also occur. To the north of Hasan Dağ is the Peristrema Valley with a number of ROCK-CUT CHURCHES still adorned with painted decoration. Several also retain datable dedicatory inscriptions. Direkli Kilise, a large cross-in-square church, bears an inscription mentioning the emperors Basil (II) and Constantine (VIII) and is thus datable to 976–1025. The single-naved chapel of St. Michael was decorated by the monk Arsenios and his son Theophylaktos, *protospatharios* and *axiarchos* (N. Thierry, *JSav* [1968] 46, reads *taxiarchos*) during the reign of a *porphyrogennetos*, most likely Constantine VIII (1025–28). A dedicatory inscription in Kırk Dam Altı Kilise dates its paintings to 1283–95. The fresco decorations of several churches, including Yılanlı Kilise, Ağaç Altı Kilise, Eğri Taş Kilisesi, and Kokar Kilise, are rendered with a vital primitivism that makes for difficult ascription on the basis of style and suggests the relative isolation of this valley from continuous metropolitan influence.

LIT. Thierry, *Nouvelles églises*. M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna 1979). –A.J.W.

HATS. See HEADGEAR.

HAWKING. The sport of hawking or falconry involved the use of hawks to hunt various BIRDS, such as cranes, wild geese, partridges, and pheasants. For this purpose the falconer (*hierakarios*)

trained young hawks; those imported from Georgia were esp. prized. Other species besides the hawk were also used. The *Orneosophion* (ed. R. Hercher, *Claudii Aeliani Varia Historia, Epistolae, Fragmenta* [Leipzig 1866] 577–79) mentions seven hawk-names, mostly obscure. There is evidence, however, that the falcon was known and used in this kind of HUNTING.

Some evidence for the early practice of hawking is found in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (232.16–17). From the 11th C. onward a growing number of references described hawking as a sport enjoyed by the ruling class and the emperor. Manuel I Komnenos's passion for this type of hunting is reflected in an *ekphrasis* by Constantine MANASSES. Another contemporary description was composed by Constantine PANTECHNES. The growth of interest in hawking is evinced by the practical manuals that circulated at that time. Such a *Hierakosophion* is attributed to Demetrios PEPAGOMENOS and deals with the breeding and training of the hawk and treatment of its diseases (Hercher, *supra*, 335–516). (See also PROTOIERAKARIOS.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:395–98. –Ap.K.

HEADGEAR (καλύπτρα). Until the 11th C. a headcovering was not a usual part of either official or ecclesiastical costume, with the exception of the monastic hood, or *koukoullion*, and the traditional veils of women.

Only the patriarch of Alexandria was entitled to cover his head for the celebration of the Eucharist; thus the Alexandrian patriarchs Athanasios and Cyril are depicted wearing a small black or white cap. In the 14th C. the patriarch of Constantinople wore a white MITRA, not a mitre but a gold-embroidered veil. St. Spyridon is shown wearing a small straw bonnet (perhaps a pun on his name, which derives from the word for a small basket), Patr. Methodios a headdress knotted under the chin, an allusion to the story that his jaws were dislocated by Theophilos.

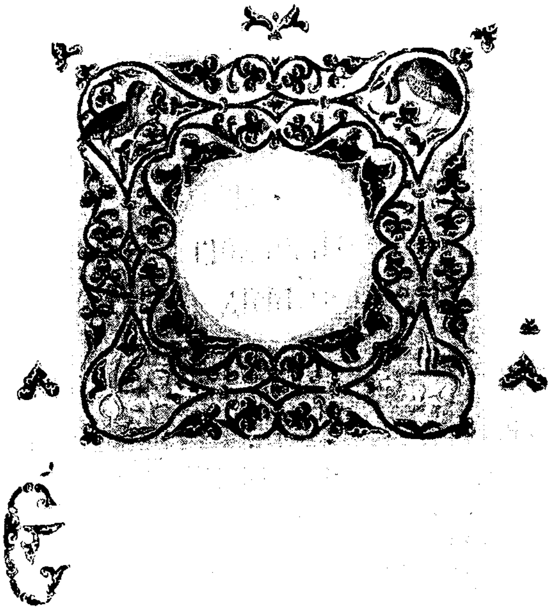
Two of the *protoproedroi* depicted in Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 79 wear low red boxlike hats with a tip that flops down over one ear, while two others wear higher white beehive-shaped ones; the latter may be an early form of the SKIADION. Another form of lay headgear is the turban, the *phakeolis* or *phakiolion*, which by the 12th C. was no mere orientalism typical of Arabs, Ethiopians, and Palestinians but common garb, esp. for women. The women depicted with Miriam in a circular dance in a Psalter in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 752, fol.449v; Spatharakis, *Corpus*, fig.123) wear huge headdresses that must reflect court fashions of the 11th C. Shepherds wear broad-brimmed straw hats, sailors a Western-inspired tight black cap tied under the chin. Israelites wear hoods identical to the MAPHORION.

In the Palaiologan period, hats proliferated; the emperor and other officials wore the *skiadion* and another squarish hat rather like a mitre, whose name is unknown (the SKARANIKON, which is sometimes presumed to be a kind of hat, was most likely a garment). Women wore the *maphorion*, though the empress apparently went unveiled. Young relatives of the emperor wore either nothing on their heads at all, at least while inside the palace and until adolescence (pseudo-Kod. 145.15–18), or a purple headband called a *tainia* (*DOC* 2.1:81, n.158).

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 134f. C. Mango, "Discontinuity with the Classical Past in Byzantium," in *Classical Tradition* 51f. –N.P.Š.

HEADPIECE, the decorated frame or panel at the beginning of a text. Pre-Iconoclastic illuminators generally devoted little attention to the embellishment of a book's title and framed it with only a series of dashes and corner flourishes. But in the PARIS GREGORY broad borders with classical patterns surround the titles, as do gold CIBORIA and *pi*-shaped brackets in 10th-C. MSS. Occasionally, medallion portraits were added to the *pi* or rectangle, and, in the 11th C., the headpiece displayed increasingly complex figural programs, inspired in part by the decorated TEMPLON. Many 12th-C. headpieces incorporate the subject matter of frontispieces (e.g., author PORTRAITS, EVANGELIST SYMBOLS, narrative scenes), or contain only ornament. As a result, the title, the original pretext for the headpiece, was relegated to a subsidiary status above or below the panel. Complex ornament fills the headpieces of MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE. Palaiologan versions rarely include figural elements, but revive Komnenian designs or create more elaborate patterns based on the Islamic arabesque.

LIT. S. Tsuji, "The Headpiece Miniatures and Genealogy Pictures in Paris. Gr. 74," *DOP* 29 (1975) 170–87. R.S.



HEADPIECE. Headpiece for the Gospel of St. Luke (Patmos, 81, fol.153r); manuscript dated 1334/5. Monastery of St. John, Patmos.

Nelson, "Palaeologan Illuminated Ornament and the Arabesque," *Wiener Jahrbuch für Kunstgeschichte* 41 (1988) 1–21. –R.S.N.

HEALING. Byz. turned to two different sources when seeking cures from illness: to the PHYSICIAN trained in the Greco-Roman tradition and to faith healing; miraculous cures might be provided by a holy man (in imitation of the healing MIRACLES OF CHRIST), by the RELICS of a saint, or by a shrine at a LOCUS SANCTUS. A standard topos of hagiographical descriptions of healing miracles is the failure of the physician to effect a cure (even though he received a substantial fee), contrasted with the "free" healing available at the tombs of saints, esp. the ANARGYROI, those who took no payment for their services. Among the methods of faith healing were INCUBATION, kissing the tomb, anointing oneself with oil from the lamp suspended above a saint's tomb, drinking oil or water that had come into contact with the relics, or, in the case of the shrine of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger, rubbing oneself with holy dust or a Symeon token (see PILGRIM TOKENS) made from the earth of the Wondrous Mountain where the stylite's pillar stood. AMULETS were commonly used as prophylactic devices. Supplicants whose prayers for healing were answered left VOTIVE offerings at the shrines in thanksgiving.

Representation in Art. Three categories of depictions of healing may be identified: Christological healing scenes (e.g., in the FRIEZE GOSPELS such as Florence, Laur. Plut. VI 23); illustrated *miracula* of "doctor saints" such as KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS (e.g., in the Lectionary, Athos, Pantel. 2—*Treasures* 2, fig.278); and deluxe illustrated compendia of pre-Byz. medical treatises such as the 10th-C. edition of Apollonios of Kition, *On the Setting of Dislocated Bones*, and Soranos of Ephesus, *On Bandaging*. Unfortunately, the latter generally reveal less about contemporary Byz. MEDICINE than about ancient prototypes (Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illum.* 18–23). Again, the saint's *miracula* are iconographically much less explicit concerning both symptoms and treatments than are the texts upon which they draw, being based, for the most part, on even more "generic" healing scenes developed for illustrated Gospels.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983) 16–20. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 65f. –A.M.T., G.V.

HEART (*καρδία*). The starting point for Christian theology and mystical belief with regard to the heart is the Old Testament command to love God with one's heart, soul, and body (Dt 6:5). In his commentary on John 13:23–25, Origen explains the heart of Christ as the inner meaning of his teaching, as the divine sense that one can discern more deeply with one's heart (PG 13:87AB; see also PG 11:129BC–130A). In passages such as these, "heart" is a metaphor for *nous* (see INTELLECT). However, in view of many different opinions among Greek philosophers, Gregory of Nyssa (PG 44:156C-164D) expressed his doubt concerning this definition of *kardia*. While EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS alternated between biblical and philosophical usages, later monastic mystics of experience, such as Diadochos of Photike, pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, and Hesychios Sinaites (6th–7th C.), show a great preference for the term heart in the sense of psyche, conscience, the seat

of passion and feeling, but also the remembrance of God. For DIADOCHOS (*Cap. gnost.* 56), for example, the heart is the organ for sensing God. Hesychios (PG 93:1481CD, 1509D) emphasized the need to guard the heart in order to maintain HESYCHIA and to call upon Jesus Christ alone. Pseudo-Makarios (PG 34:573C) saw the spirit as the (vigilant) "eyes of the heart." Nikephoros Athonites (or Sinaites) in the 14th C. defined the Jesus prayer for HESYCHASM (PG 147:963B–964A) in conjunction with the heart: "Settle yourself, collect your mind, breathe in through the nose whence the breath enters the heart. Let the mind with the inhaling breath enter into the heart."

LIT. A. Guillaumont, "Les sens des noms du coeur dans l'Antiquité," *Études Carmélitaines* 29 (1950) 41–81. F. Neyt, "Précisions sur le vocabulaire de Barsanuphe et de Jean de Gaza," *StP* 12 (1975) 247–53. –G.P.

HEARTH TAX, conventional name for any tax levied by household or "hearth" (*kapnos*), such as the KANONIKON. It appears first as a supplementary levy: Malalas (Malal. 246.16–19) relates that the guilds in Antioch, allegedly in the 1st C., had to fulfill a *leitourgia* from each hearth for the repair of city porticoes. According to Ibn Khurdādhbeh, a tax based on hearths was collected in Byz. for military purposes. The KAPNIKON was probably a tax on households. Even though the *kapnikon* is not mentioned explicitly after the 12th C., some scholars maintain that it had simply become a component of the TELOS. On the basis of a mathematical analysis of the *telos* of 14th-C. *paroikoi*, Lefort ("Fiscalité" 342f) concludes that only *paroikoi* without taxable property paid a hearth tax, usually amounting to 1/6 hyperpyron. K. Chvostova (*VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63–71) rejects Lefort's method of calculation and assumes that the *telos* of every 14th-C. *paroikos* contained, in a latent form, the hearth tax, but it was esp. significant in poorer households. The verb *kapnologeo* (lit. "to count hearths") was used in a vague sense to describe the activity of tax collectors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:384.19–20; *Mich. Akom.* 2:106.29) but not in the specific sense of "levying the *kapnikon* (or *kapnologion*)."

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 51–54. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 52–58. –M.B.

HEAVEN (οὐρανός). Two traditions merged in the Byz. perception of heaven—one popular (Eastern and late Jewish) transferred via the Bible, the other inherited from Greek physics and astronomy. In the Bible, heaven is located beyond the firmament (*stereoma*), a solid vault resting firmly on foundation pillars over the earth and dividing the water into two domains, one above and another below it. When "the windows of heaven" open, the upper water falls on the earth as rain, hail, or snow. The stars are suspended from the firmament. Heaven also meant the SPACE (air) between the firmament and the earth—"the middle distance (*chora*)" in Byz. terminology. Since the Old Testament often used the word in plural form, it enhanced speculation concerning the number of heavens, the favorite number being seven. Both the imagery and the perception originating in apocalyptic literature of heaven as the place of salvation and of a heavenly Jerusalem (the earthly PARADISE in the third heaven) were developed in Byz., esp. in the exegesis of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL as well as in sermons on Lent, in the HEXAEMERON, and in commentaries on Job. Heaven is the handiwork of God, although some Gnostics and Dualists ascribed the creation of heaven to the demiurge. Although distinct from God, heaven was nevertheless perceived as the sphere of the eternal and divine; God's throne is there, and it is the abode of Christ (whence he will come for the second PAROUSIA) and of the Virgin and angels. Metaphorically, "the kingdom of heaven" was construed as the realm of God.

Byz. COSMOLOGY was divided with regard to the form of heaven—whether the ancient model of a spherical heaven was to be retained or whether heaven was a flat roof over the cubic world (as in KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES); alternatively John Philoponos conceived heaven as "the all-encompassing space beyond" the spherical firmament that divided it from the realm of the corruptible. Much discussion ensued as to whether heaven is self-limiting and surrounded by the void (PSELLOS, *De omnifaria doctrina*, par.120.1–6), or whether heaven, as the place of fixed stars and moving planets, is of a different substance from the corporeal world, which is composed of four elements; whether it is eternal in its movement; and finally, whether the assertion of the physicists (according to JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.11, ed. Joannou, p.13.22–23) that the "heavenly body" occupies no physical space is valid, since otherwise the concept of the corporeal

world would come to a *regressus in infinitum*, the idea of an unmeasurable infinite space.

LIT. H. Bietenhard, *Die himmlische Welt im Urchristentum und Spätjudentum* (Tübingen 1951). -K.-H.U.

HEBDOMON (Ἕβδομον, lit. "seventh"; Turk. Bakırköy), suburb of Constantinople situated on Sea of Marmara and astride the Via EGNATIA seven Roman miles west of the Milion (Milliarium). The site of an army camp, it possessed a Tribunal, facing a plain called Kampos (Campus), on which several emperors were proclaimed, starting with Valens (364). Valens resided at Hebdomon in a villa or palace and built a harbor there. A little later churches were erected of St. John the Evangelist (before 400); of St. John the Baptist (391), to receive the relic of his head; and of the Prophet Samuel (411), also to receive his relics. Justinian I rebuilt the palace (called Jucundianae) and the Church of the Baptist. Hebdomon was probably devastated in the 7th–8th C. Arab fleets put in there in 673 and 717. Basil I rebuilt the churches of St. John the Evangelist and St. John the Baptist, which had fallen into ruin. The former, transformed into a monastery, was the burial place of Basil II and was later ceded to Nikephoritzes and, after him, to Empress Maria, wife of Michael VII. By 1260 it was in ruins.

Archaeological remains include a vast open-air cistern to the north of the suburb (Fil Damı), a gigantic granite column, an inscribed statue base of Theodosios II, a circular mausoleum, and parts of the church of St. John the Baptist, similar in plan to S. Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 316–41. Th.K. Makrides, "To Byzantinon Hebdomon," *Thrakika* 10 (1938) 137–98; 12 (1939) 35–80. R. Demangel, *Contribution à la topographie de l'Hebdomon* (Paris 1945). -C.M.

HEBROS (Ἕβρος), or Marica, river in Thrace, flowing into the Aegean Sea near AINOS. The Hebros is the largest of the north Aegean rivers, draining the Haimos and Rhodope massifs, through the plains of SERDICA, PHILIPPOPOLIS, and ADRIANOPLE. It was navigable as far as Adrianople, and there were no fords south of the city. In 1205 the Latins under Henry of Flanders, who were besieging DIDYMOTEICHON, were swept away by a sudden flood of the river (Nik.Chon. 624.6–10); the next year Kalojan tried to divert the Hebros at Didymoteichon in an attempt to take the city (Nik.Chon. 632.23–25). The Hebros valley was the site of the battle of MARICA in 1371.

LIT. S. Casson, *Macedonia, Thrace and Illyria* (Groningen 1968) 23. -T.E.G.

HEGOUMENOS (ἡγούμενος, fem. ἡγουμένισσα), the superior of a monastery; related terms were *abbas*, ARCHIMANDRITE, *proestos*, or *koinobiarches*. A *kathegoumenos* was a *hegoumenos* who had been ordained, a *prohegoumenos* was a retired or dismissed *hegoumenos*. *Hegoumenoi* were responsible for the administration, economic management, and spiritual leadership of a monastic community. They were most often selected from within the monastery, theoretically from among those monks or nuns most revered for their wisdom and piety. The office of OIKONOMOS was frequently a stepping stone to the hegoumenate. In the case of an imperial foundation, the *hegoumenos* might be appointed by the emperor, but most often he or she was designated by a predecessor or elected by the monks or nuns. The procedure of election, which varied considerably from one monastery to another, was regulated by the monastery's TYPIKON.

In theory, the *hegoumenos* possessed autocratic power over the brethren: he would admit new monks, expel dissidents, impose *epitimia*, appoint monastic officials, and supervise their activity. He also ensured the regular and proper observance of the daily offices and all special feastdays and supervised and maintained the monastic properties. He was assisted by a number of officials, such as the *oikonomos* and EKKLESIARCHES. In his spiritual role, the *hegoumenos* usually served as the PATER PNEUMATIKOS or confessor of the monks, even if he was not a priest. His tenure was not limited by any term or checked by any institution; the *hegoumenos* was said to give an accounting only in the hereafter. In fact, however, he was restricted by tradition and by a group of "select brethren"; if caught in malfeasance, he could be deposed (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 65–67).

The *hegoumenos* often had special privileges (e.g., better food and drink), had much greater contact with the outside world, and sometimes had influence at the imperial court and patriarchate. A number of patriarchs were former *hegoumenoi*. Some *hegoumenoi* abused the prerogatives of their rank and were criticized for dining on expensive delicacies and rare vintage wines, for frequent

bathing, wearing silken garments, and being worldly businessmen. *Hegoumenoi* were, for example, the target of a satire by PTOCHOPRODROMOS (ed. Hesseling-Pernot, 48–71) and were attacked by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his treatise *On the Improvement of Monastic Life* (pp. 258.57–259.11).

LIT. R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge. Commende et typica (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 25–28. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 193–205. Meester, *De monachico statu* 16–21, 202–63. Galatariotou, "Typika" 102–04, 110–13. –A.M.T., A.K.

HEIR (κληρονόμος), the one to whom the estate of a deceased person falls, be it alone or with others (*synkleronomoi*), either on the basis of a WILL or by way of INTESTATE SUCCESSION. The heir entered into the legal position of the deceased and was accordingly responsible for the obligations of the testator, just as he, conversely, could put forward the testator's claims. The heir was also considered a debtor of the legacies bequeathed (LEGATON, FIDEICOMMISSUM) by the testator. The entrance into the inheritance took place informally; the possibility of declining it evidently played no role in practice, since its purpose—keeping one's own property from being liable for the debts of the deceased—was, from the time of Justinian I, achievable by establishing an inventory (*beneficium inventarii*) that documented the size of the inheritance. The LEX FALCIDIA guaranteed a limitation on the heir's responsibility for paying out the bequests made by the testator. All natural persons (including slaves, minors, and the unborn) could inherit, as could corporate bodies, communities, the church, or pious foundations. In addition to the limitations that intestate succession brought with it through its system of preference, there was a set of punishable offenses (e.g., lèse-majesté, heresy) and other factors (e.g., second marriage, status as a concubine [*pallake*] or illegitimate child [*nothos*]) that precluded or lessened the right to inherit. (See also SUCCESSION.) –D.S.

HEIRMOLOGION (εἱρμολόγιον), a liturgical MS with or without musical notation, comprised of the *heirmoi*, the model stanzas referred to at the beginning of each of the nine odes of a KANON and on which the ode's melody and rhythm are based; *heirmoi* are also listed in a similar way at the beginning of a KONTAKION. Since normally only the opening words of an *heirmos* are given, the *heirmologion* was a necessary reference tool from which the singer learned the full melody and thus was able to adapt it to any text. The *heirmoi*, like TROPARIA and STICHERA, are either sung to a unique melody (*idiomela*) or are based on another (*prosomoia*). In comparison with other liturgical books, relatively few *heirmologia* survive, perhaps because of the heavy use to which they were subjected.

There are two types of *heirmologia*, both divided into eight sections, one for each musical MODE. The first, more common type lists the *heirmoi kanon* by *kanon*, giving the *heirmoi* for each ode within a complete *kanon* before listing the next *kanon*'s *heirmoi*. The other type, mainly found in Slavonic MSS, gives the *heirmoi* by ode, that is, it lists the *heirmoi* for all the first odes for every *kanon* within that mode before moving on to the second ode. The earliest MSS date from the mid-10th C. The texts of the *heirmoi* are paraphrases of the biblical canticles originally sung during the ORTHROS, but later replaced by the *kanones*.

ED. C. Høeg, *Hirmologium Athoum (Ath. Iber. 470)* (Copenhagen 1938). Idem, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium*, vol. 1 (Copenhagen 1952). L. Tardo, *Hirmologium e codice Cryptensi E.γ.II* (Rome 1950). H.J.W. Tillyard, *Twenty Canons from the Trinity Hirmologium* (Boston 1952). A. Ayoutanti, H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Hirmologium* 3.2 (Copenhagen 1956). J. Raasted, *Hirmologium Sabbaiticum (Sab. 83)*, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1968–70).

LIT. M. Velimirović, in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London 1980) 8:447f. –E.M.J.

HEKATE, Greek goddess of the netherworld, associated with dead souls and evil dreams. Pseudo-Nonnos, in his commentary on Gregory of Nazianzos, states that the Greeks believed her to be a goddess identical to ARTEMIS or to Selene or a deity in her own right accompanied by big dragon-headed men. In this company, images of Hekate's cult statue appear in 11th-C. MSS of the commentary (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 70–72). In the late Roman period her cult was celebrated in hidden places, often connected with Dionysos or Mithra. Malalas (Malal. 307.17–18) ascribes to Diocletian the construction of a subterranean temple of Hekate that had 365 steps leading down to it from ground level.

LIT. J. Heckenbach, *RE* 7 (1912) 2769–82. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 58–60. –A.K., A.C.

HELENA, augusta (from ca.325) and saint; born Drepanon, Bithynia, between ca.250 and 257?, died Rome, between 330 (*PLRE* 1:410f) and 336 (O. Seeck, *RE* 7 [1912] 2822); feastday 21 May, together with Constantine I. Born of humble status, possibly of Jewish stock (J. Vogt, *Classical Folia* 31 [1977] 148), she was an innkeeper when she met CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS whose concubine (or wife?) she became and to whom she bore the future CONSTANTINE I. Separated from Constantius after his marriage to Theodora, the stepdaughter of MAXIMIAN, Helena returned to the court only after Constantius had died and Constantine had become emperor. She was no less influential than Constantine's wife Fausta. On the portrait in the palace at Trier, executed in 321, Helena, crowned, is represented together with Fausta, Constantine's half-sister Constantia, and the younger Helena, the newly wed spouse of Helena's favorite, CRISPUS. In her honor Drepanon was renamed Helenoupolis, and the province of Helenopontus was created. Circa 325 both Helena and Fausta received the title of augusta. After the execution of Crispus in 326, Helena may have played a role in the murder of Fausta.

Helena was apparently inclined to Arianism, venerating LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, the teacher of Arius and EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. In 326 she set out on a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, where she founded and generously endowed churches of the Nativity in Bethlehem and the Ascension in Jerusalem. She sponsored churches in Constantinople and other places, but spent the end of her life in Rome and not at Constantine's court. She was buried in a splendid mausoleum on the Via Labicana (F.W. Deichmann, A. Tschira, *JDAI* 72 [1957] 44–110).

Helena's memory was surrounded with legends, the most important of which was her alleged discovery of the TRUE CROSS, in the company of which she is often represented, together with Constantine I. Her cult developed by the 8th C., when the imperial pair of Irene and Constantine VI was compared to Helena and Constantine I. It was sometimes alleged that Helena was a prostitute when she conceived Constantine.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 36. A. Amore, E. Croce, *Bibl.sanct.* 4:988–95. A. Wankenne, "Constantin et Hélène à Trèves," *Études classiques* 52 (1984) 313–16. –T.E.G.

HELIODOROS (Ἡλιόδωρος), dated by scholars from 2nd to 4th C., from Emesa; author of the *Aithiopika*, the longest and structurally most complex of the surviving Greek ROMANCES. That Heliodoros was a Christian bishop, as the church historian SOKRATES claimed, is unlikely. The *Aithiopika* opens *in medias res* on a scene depicting the debris of a drunken brawl on the seashore and continues with a series of retrospective narratives that disclose the previous history of the heroine, Charikleia, the white-skinned daughter of the rulers of ETHIOPIA, and the hero, Theagenes, a Thessalian nobleman. After enduring further hazards appropriate to this genre—attacks by robbers, attempted murder by fire, abductions, etc.—the couple are finally united in marriage and become priest and priestess of the Sun. The novel's tone is restrained, both linguistically and morally, and perhaps for this reason met with qualified approval in the Greek Middle Ages (see Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.73; Psellos, *De Chariclea et Leucippe iudicium*), esp. in comparison with the psychologically more venturesome ACHILLES TATIUS. Of the 12th-C. novelists, Theodore PRODROMOS and Niketas EUGENIANOS seem to have been particularly aware of Heliodoros's work. Byz. commentators, such as an unidentified Philip the Philosopher and John EUGENIKOS, interpreted the romance's love affair as an allegory of the soul's pursuit of a virtuous life.

ED. *Les Éthiopiques*[2], ed. R.M. Rattenbury, T.W. Lumb, J. Maillon (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr. *An Ethiopian Romance*, tr. M. Hadas (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1957).

LIT. J.J. Winkler, "The Mendacity of Kalasiris and the Narrative Strategy of Heliodoros' *Aithiopika*," *YCS* 27 (1982) 93–158. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:121–25. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

HELIOPOLIS (Ἡλιόπολις, now Baalbek [Baʿlabakk] in Lebanon), Syrian city located in a valley between the Lebanon and Anti-Lebanon mountain ranges. It was a center of paganism with grandiose temples of Zeus, Aphrodite, Hermes, and Dionysos. Constantine I closed these temples, prohibited the veneration of Aphrodite, and built a church there. Christianity continued to meet resistance, however, and RABBULA of Edessa (died 436) was beaten by heathens when he arrived at Heliopolis to demolish the idols. Emp. Julian persecuted Christians in Heliopolis, and the elite of the city remained predominantly pagan until the late 6th C. (JOHN OF EPHESUS, *HE* 3.27). In the meantime the government tried to adapt the gi-

gantic shrines for Christian use. Theodosios I reportedly destroyed the temple of Zeus; he tore down the altar and the tower in the Great Court and replaced them with a basilica of St. Peter; ancient sculptures were consistently destroyed. A baptistery was added, and the Hexagonal Court was probably covered in wood in order to create additional interior space. Heliopolis was a bishopric of the province of Phoenician Syria subject to Emesa until 400, when it became part of the newly formed Phoenicia Libanensis under Damascus. Inscriptions (*IGLSyr* 6 [1967] nos. 2827–31, 2882, 2888) record secular construction: canals in the 4th C. and 430/1 and ramparts in ca.440 and 635/6, on the eve of the Arab conquest. KALLINIKOS, the inventor of Greek fire, originated from Heliopolis.

The Arabs took Heliopolis in 637 and transformed the sanctuary into a stronghold. In 761 in the district of Heliopolis there was a rebellion under the leadership of a Syrian named Theodore; all the rebels were slain (Theoph. 431.23–26). The city passed to the FĀṬIMIDS in 972 but was temporarily occupied by John I Tzimiskes in 974. Eventually Saladin established his control over Heliopolis. After changing hands many times it became the chief town of a district under the MAMLŪKS.

LIT. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*[2] 1:970f. F. Ragette, *Baalbek* (Park Ridge, N.J., 1980) 68–76. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:384f. –M.M.M.

HELIOS (Ἥλιος), the solar god of Greek mythology, often identified in late antiquity with Mithra and APOLLO. In Neoplatonist cosmology, Helios played a significant role. JULIAN dedicated to him a hymn in which Helios appears as the *nous* (mind or reason) that contains within itself all the highest ideas; the *nous* reveals itself as the sun, the visible world's creator and keeper, which implants the ideas into preexisting but dead matter; man is also the creation of Helios and after his death he returns to Helios, who accepts and stores the souls. The SOL INVICTUS, or invincible sun, was the symbol of Helios as protector of the emperor in the late Roman period. It is unclear whether Constantine I the Great supported the cult of Helios: T. Preger (*Hermes* 36 [1901] 457–69) asserted that Constantine erected his own statue as Helios, but J. Karayannopoulos (*Historia* 5 [1956] 341–57) attempted to reject Preger's thesis. Christians interpreted Helios euhemeristically as the king of Egypt, the son of Hephaistos. MALALAS connected two legendary episodes with "King Helios": as the protector of morality Helios discovered the shameful liaison of Ares and Aphrodite; Romans introduced horse races in honor of Helios, who was to supervise the races between the Earth (the Greens) and the Sea (the Blues). Elements of the veneration of Helios were retained in the popular worldview (H. Grégoire, M. Letocart, *REA* 42 [1940] 161–64). On the other hand, Christianity also used solar symbolism, presenting Christ as *sol salutis* (see SOL JUSTITIAE) and accepting SUNDAY as a holy day. In the 15th C. George Gemistos PLETHON addressed Helios as "*hegemon* of heaven and of every created being" (Alexandre, *Pléthon* 136). The image of the sun remained the focal point of Byz. imperial PROPAGANDA.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 37–41. E. Hörling, *Mythos und Pistis* (Lund 1980) 65f. P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981) 113f, 150, 173f, 197f. I. Medvedev, "Solar Cult in Plethon's Philosophy?" *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985) 737–49. –A.K.

HELIOU BOMON MONASTERY. A monastery of Heliou Bomon (Ἡλίου βωμῶν, "altars of the sun") is first mentioned in the 10th C.; Janin suggests that it is the same as Elaiobomoi ("olive altars"), known in the 9th C. By the 12th C. Heliou Bomon had fallen into decline and was rebuilt by Nikephoros the Mystikos, who also recovered the monastery's confiscated estates. At this time Heliou Bomon changed its status from a patriarchal to an independent monastery (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1044). Emp. Manuel I helped support the costs of restoration. Nikephoros's *typikon* of 1162 limited to 20 the number of monks at Heliou Bomon and at its *metochion* in Constantinople, which was dedicated to St. Bassianos. The *typikon* is closely modeled on those of EUERGETIS and St. MAMAS.

It appears that Heliou Bomon was identical with or was united with the monastery of Elegmoi, since the *typikon* refers to the monastery as "Heliou Bomon or Elegmoi." The Elegmoi monastery first appears in 10th-C. sources. In 1042 Emp. Michael V was confined there after his deposition from the throne. In the late 12th C. the *hegoumenos* of Elegmoi became archimandrite of all monasteries in the Mt. OLYMPOS region. The Elegmoi monastery was located at modern Kurşunlu

in Bithynia, 12 km east of Mudanya. C. Mango (*DOP* 22 [1968] 169–76) has identified the 12th-C. Church of St. Aberkios, which still stands there, as the building constructed by Nikephoros. The church has distinctive recessed brickwork, a single nave with dome (now collapsed), an apse with a triple window, and a vaulted narthex.

SOURCE. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:715–69.
LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 142–48. –A.M.T.

HELL was often designated with the classical terms HADES or, more rarely, Tartaros, and also with the biblical word Gehenna. The netherworld of the Byz. was located deep beneath the earth and construed as the realm of the DEVIL and DEMONS where sinners would be punished after death or after the LAST JUDGMENT. The damned underwent different kinds of punishment. The image of Hell was contrasted with that of PARADISE and originated from the concept of a reward or punishment in the afterlife for a virtuous or sinful existence on earth.

ORIGEN considered the suffering in Hell as temporary; his ESCHATOLOGY was dominated by the idea of the *apokatastasis panton*, the cyclical restoration of all spiritual beings and their final return to God. Some traces of this concept are to be found in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, who taught the *epistrophe*, or return to God. The church fathers, however, rejected the Origenist teaching—both John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1072B–1089B) defended the idea of eternal punishment in Hell. This latter doctrine was finally accepted at the council of Constantinople in 553.

The Byz. sometimes distinguished several underworlds. Hades could be cast as an intermediate state for the souls of people who lived before the Christian era and who were liberated by the descent of Christ. Hades was also an intermediate place for all souls until the Last Judgment, and, often inhabited by a personification of its ruler, the domain represented in images of the ANASTASIS. Hades and Gehenna were names for the place of punishment for sinners. In Gehenna there was no possibility for repentance and love of God. The Byz. created special genres of VISION and journeys to Hell in which perceptions of the netherworld varied drastically, from a place of torture and suffering (in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), to a murky area full of animals symbolizing sins (the vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:772A–773B), to a site of rest, conversation, and litigation (*Timarion*).

LIT. M. Richard, *DTC* 5 (1924) 47–83. H. Crouzel, "L'Hadès et la Géhenne selon Origène," *Gregorianum* 59 (1978) 291–331. S. Lampsakes, *Hoi katabaseis ston kato kosmo ste byzantine kai metabyzantine logotechnia* (Athens 1982). –G.P., R.S.

HELLAS (Ἑλλάς), Greece, as a generic term usually applied to central Greece south of Thermopylai and the PELOPONNESOS but excluding EPIROS; its inhabitants were sometimes called Helladikoi (Charanis, *Demography*, pt.XVII [1953], 615–20). The *Synekdemos* of HIEROKLES equates Hellas with the province of ACHAIA. The theme of Hellas was created between 687 and 695 but debate continues about its original extent. Charanis (*Demography*, pt.XVIII [1955], 172–76) argues that only the eastern parts of central Greece were included, while Zakythinos (*infra* 54) thinks that THESSALY and the Peloponnesos were also part of the theme. By the end of the 8th C. Hellas was restricted to east central Greece, with THEBES as residence of the *strategos* or *krites*. In the 9th–10th C., among the western themes, the *strategos* of Hellas ranked below those of the Peloponnesos, NIKOPOLIS, and KIBYRRHAIOTAI (Oikonomides, *Listes* 105.12–15). Perhaps as early as the 10th C. the administration of Hellas was occasionally combined with that of the Peloponnesos, probably for military reasons. After 1205 most of Hellas fell under the authority of the duke of Athens. The church of Hellas was generally under the authority of the bishop of ATHENS, thus under the papacy until 732/3.

LIT. D. Zakythinos, *He Byzantine Hellas 392–1204* (Athens 1965). *TIB* 1:50–78. J. Koder, *RBK* 2:1099–1189. G. Ostrogorsky, "Postanak tema Helada i Peloponez," *ZRVI* 1 (1952) 64–77. –T.E.G.

HELLENES (Ἕλληνες). The expression *Hellen* and its derivatives had in the late Roman period two principal meanings: *hellenizo* meant first of all "to speak Greek" and *to Hellenikon* denoted the Greek language, whereas the noun *Hellen* with corresponding adjectives and adverbs designated "gentile, pagan" and had a pejorative meaning in the writings of the church fathers; accordingly Justinian I speaks of "the fallacy of impious and

foul Hellenes" (*Cod.Just.* XV 18.10); on the other hand, Julian (e.g., ep.22 [ed. Wright] to Arsakios, high priest of Galatia) praises Hellenic "liturgy" and Hellenic good works. The positive self-respect of the Hellenes disappeared after the victory of Christianity, but the ambiguity (Greek language—pagan rite) persisted. Thus ARETHAS OF CAESAREA speaks of both "Hellenic language" (e.g., *Scripta minora* 1:96.25–26) and of *hellenizontes* as opposed to Christians (1:62.24–5), and in Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:34.12) the wisdom of Hellenes and Chaldaeans is contrasted with real knowledge. More complicated is the position of Niketas Choniates, for whom "Hellenic" designates not only language or adherence to paganism, but also Byz. allegiance—the *Hellen aner* is identical with the Rhomaios (Nik.Chon. 301.18), and Hellenic *poleis* are Byz. cities (496.50). From the 13th C. onward, the Byz. saw themselves not only as Romans but also as Hellenes (see HELLENISM).

LIT. K. Lechner, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner* (Munich 1954) 16–37. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'Hellénisme dans le monde byzantin," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82. J. Irmscher, "'Griechischer Patriotismus' im 14.Jahrhundert," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 133–37. P. Gounaridis, "'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 248–57. –A.K.

HELLENISM. Two meanings of the term *Hellenism* are of concern to scholars of Byz. The first designates the consciousness among medieval and modern Greeks of their identity with the inhabitants of ancient Greece and an emphasis on their position as heirs to Greek classical civilization. The second meaning, modeled on the German usage of the word *Hellenismus*, refers to the period in the history of the region of the eastern Mediterranean between Alexander the Great (356–323 B.C.) and the Roman conquest of the region in the late 2nd and 1st C. B.C., also called the Hellenistic period.

1. ***Devotion to Greek civilization.*** Throughout the millennium of their empire, Byz. scholars expressed their links with ancient Greek culture through the conservatism of their archaizing literary LANGUAGE, which attempted to "atticize" or imitate the Greek written in the Golden Age of Athens. The system of EDUCATION in Byz. also used a curriculum based heavily on the study of a limited selection of ancient authors; a familiarity, often superficial, with classical Greek literature was presumed among the literati, who made frequent allusions to ANTIQUITY in their writings.

A greater emphasis on Hellenism began to manifest itself in the course of the 12th C. and became more marked in the late Byz. period, in the face of continuing conflict with the Westerners and the growing threat from the Turks. Moreover, as the empire shrank, it lost its multiethnic composition and by the 13th C. was limited, for the most part, to Greek-speaking lands. The Greeks began to call themselves HELLENES as well as RHOMAIOI and to think of themselves as a *genos*, or "nation." Intense interest in ancient Greek culture was a characteristic of the Palaiologan period, culminating in George Gemistos PLETHON, who advocated a return to a somewhat philosophical version of ancient Greek paganism, utopian social reforms based on Plato's *Republic*, and the establishment of an independent Greek state in the Peloponnesos.

2. ***Historical period.*** In the Byz. era, the historians MALALAS, GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS, KEDRENOS, and ZONARAS were particularly interested in Hellenism. They emphasized, among other themes, the internal strife in which the *toparchiai* (the realms of the *diadochoi* or successors of Alexander) were involved until they were engulfed by the Romans; they were also concerned with Jewish history under Hellenistic monarchs and with the mission of Jesus. As for the Hellenistic cultural heritage, the Byz. paid special attention to scientific writings (e.g., PTOLEMY), works on grammar (DIONYSIOS THRAX), didactic poetry (Aratos, 3rd C. B.C.), and epic (Apollonios of Rhodes, 3rd C. B.C.).

LIT. 1. A.E. Vacalopoulos, *Origins of the Greek Nation* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970), esp. 27–45. Idem, "Byzantinism and Hellenism," *BalkSt* 9 (1968) 101–26. C. Mango, "Byzantinism and Romantic Hellenism," *JWarb* 28 (1965) 29–43. A. Garzya, "Visages de l'hellénisme dans le monde byzantin (IVe-XIIe siècles)," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 463–82.

LIT. 2. J. Irmscher, "Der Hellenismus im Geschichtsverständnis der Byzantiner," *Soziale Probleme im Hellenismus und im römischen Reich* (Prague 1973) 37–62. –A.M.T., A.K.

HELLESPONT (Ἑλλήσποντος), a term designating both a strait and a province.

1. Also called "the Stenon," the Hellespont was the strait between the Aegean Sea and the Sea of Marmara, with the cities of ABYDOS and LAMPSAKOS on the Asian shore and KALLIPOLIS on the European shore. The Hellespont was of obvious

strategic and commercial importance as a major approach to Constantinople by sea. In the 4th–5th C. it was under the command of the *archon* of the Stenon, who was stationed in Abydos and provided with a flotilla of 5 *dromones*. Justinian I, according to Prokopios, established there a state customs post (*teloneion*). Seals from the end of the 7th and the early 8th C. mention the *apotheke* (storehouse) of Hellespont and its KOMMERKIARIOI; it usually appears as a joint *apotheke* of "Hellespont and Constantinople" (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.190), or of "Hellespont and Asia, Caria, Lydia, and islands" (nos. 226, 236). Thereafter the term *Hellespont* disappears from administrative nomenclature, although the *strategos* of the Stenon is mentioned (Oikonomides, *Listes* 358, n.394)—this, however, could refer to the Bosporos. In 1204 the Venetians gained control of Hellespont and the Latin Empire held most of the land on either side. By 1235, however, John III Vatatzes recovered the area. In the 14th C. the Hellespont was occupied by the Turks.

2. Hellespont also designated a late Roman province in northwest Asia Minor, originally part of the province of Asia, but a distinct entity in the VERONA LIST and in an inscription quoted by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.32–33, ed. Pertusi 61); its capital was KYZIKOS, and Hierokles (Hierokl. 661.14–15) assigned to it 30 cities. The civil province disappeared in the 7th C., but the ecclesiastical diocese survived, with Kyzikos as metropolis (*Notitiae CP* 1:10) and suffragan bishoprics including Abydos, Germe, Ilion, Lampsakos, and Troas (*ibid.* 1:131). At the end of the 7th C. Justinian II resettled a large number of Cypriots in the region. The city of New Justinianopolis was granted the rights of the diocese of Constantia in Cyprus so that its bishop presided over all the bishops of the province of Hellespont (*De adm. imp.* 48.11–15). The measure, although confirmed by the Council in Trullo, left no trace in the notitiae.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.II (1961) 239–43. Eadem, *Mer* 313–27. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 76–80. –T.E.G.

HENOTIKON (Ἑνωτικόν, edict of "unity"), theological formula issued by the emperor Zeno in 482 in an attempt to secure reconciliation between Chalcedonians and MONOPHYSITES. The text (Evagrios Scholastikos, *HE* 3.14) was apparently the work of AKAKIOS, patriarch of Constantinople, with the assistance of PETER MONGOS. The *Henotikon* sought to end theological controversy by glossing over the decisions of the Council of CHALCEDON and ignoring the critical issue of the natures of Christ. It condemned both NESTORIOS and EUTYCHES and demanded adherence only to the first three ecumenical councils. The *Henotikon* proved acceptable to neither side, however; furthermore, it was condemned by Pope FELIX III in 484 and gave rise to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. The *Henotikon* was a notable attempt by an emperor to solve a theological difficulty by imperial fiat. The *Henotikon* remained in force during the reign of Anastasios I but was abrogated by Justin I in 519.

ED. E. Schwartz, "Der Codex Vaticanus graecus 1431, eine antichalkedonische Sammlung aus der Zeit Kaiser Zenos," *ABAW*, philos.-hist. Abt. 32 (1927), no.6, 52–54.

LIT. S. Salaville, "L'Affaire de l'Hénotique" and "L'Hénotique de Zénon," *EO* 18 (1916–19) 255–65, 389–97. W.T. Townsend, "The Henotikon Schism and the Roman Church," *Journal of Religion* 16 (1936) 78–86. –T.E.G.

HENRI DE VALENCIENNES, French continuator of Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN for events in the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople from May 1208 to July 1209. Henri is possibly identical with a cleric who authored a verse *Vie de S. Jean l'Evangéliste* ca.1200 and apparently accompanied the future Latin emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS on the Fourth Crusade; he may also be the Master Henry sent to the pope in 1205, who evidently became a canon of Hagia Sophia and witnessed the Concordat of 1210. His *History*, which was intended as an independent work, was probably composed in 1208 and 1209, and certainly before 1216. It treats the Latin campaigns against the Bulgarians, relations with David Komnenos and Theodore I Laskaris, and Emp. Henry's struggle against the Lombard knights of the Kingdom of Thessalonike. Although Henri lacks the balance and vision of Villehardouin and delights in speeches and fictitious dialogue, he offers abundant details on historical topography, costume, climate, and other matters.

ED. J. Longnon, *Histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople* (Paris 1948). Fr. tr. N. de Wailly, *La conquête de Constantinople par Geoffroi de Villehardouin avec la continuation de Henri de Valenciennes*³ (Paris 1882) 38–421.

LIT. J. Longnon, "Sur l'histoire de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople par Henri de Valenciennes," *Romania* 69

(1946–47) 198–241. J. Dufournet, "Robert de Clari, Villehardouin et Henri de Valenciennes, juges de l'empereur Henri de Constantinople," in *Mélanges Jeanne Lods* (Paris 1978) 183–202. –M.McC.

HENRY VI, Western emperor (1191–97); born Nijmegen, Netherlands 1165, died Messina 28 Sept. 1197. Son of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, Henry was crowned king of Germany in 1169. In 1185 Henry married Constance, daughter of ROGER II of Sicily. The death of WILLIAM II of Sicily allowed him to claim that throne. In 1194 Henry overcame Norman resistance, led by TANCRED OF LECCE. In Palermo, he found Irene Angelina, widow of Tancred's son, whom he married to PHILIP OF SWABIA. At Easter 1195, Henry proclaimed a Crusade, partly to levy tribute on Byz. His envoys made harsh financial demands on ISAAC II early in 1195 and renewed them to ALEXIOS III at Christmas 1196. To meet these, Alexios tried to levy the ALAMANIKON, but Henry's unexpected death forestalled dispatch of the money.

LIT. K. Hampe, *Germany under the Salian and Hohenstaufen Emperors* (Oxford 1973) 220–31. E.N. Johnson, *HC* 2:116–22. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–94. –C.M.B.

HENRY OF BABENBERG, called "Jasomirgott," first duke of Austria; born ca.1114, died Vienna 13 Jan. 1177. A half-brother of CONRAD III and margrave of Austria after 1141, Henry accompanied Conrad on the Second Crusade. To cement the pact between Conrad and Manuel I, he married (1148 or 1149) Theodora Komnene, daughter of Manuel's brother Andronikos and Irene KOMNENE (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:171–89). Officially, the court poets hailed the marriage, but Theodore PRODROMOS, putting words in Irene's mouth, makes her lament Theodora's union with a "Western beast" (RHC *Grecs* 2:768.122). After disputes with FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA over possession of Bavaria, in 1156 Henry received Austria as a separate duchy. In 1166 he went to Serdica to try to make peace between Frederick and Manuel. Theodora survived her husband and died 3 Jan. 1183. Their son, Leopold V (born 1157, duke 1177–94), visited Constantinople in 1181 or early 1182 on his way to the Holy Land.

LIT. K.J. Heilig, "Ostrom und das Deutsche Reich um die Mitte des 12. Jahrhunderts," in T. Mayer, K. Heilig, C. Erdmann, *Kaisertum und Herzogsgewalt im Zeitalter Friedrichs I.* (Leipzig 1944) 1–271. F. Dölger, "Byzanz und das Westreich," *DA* 8 (1951) 238–49. –C.M.B.

HENRY OF HAINAULT, emperor of the LATIN EMPIRE (1206–16); younger brother of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; born Valenciennes ca.1174, died Thessalonike 11 June 1216. Having joined the Fourth Crusade, in 1204 Henry (Ἐρρῆς) defeated an ambush by Alexios V. When Baldwin was captured in 1205, Henry became regent; after Baldwin's death he was crowned (20 Aug. 1206). Following the death of KALOJAN, Henry exploited discords among BORIL of Bulgaria, Slav in Rhodope, Strez at Prosek, the Serbs, and EPIROS to his own advantage (G. Cankova-Petkova, *BHR* 4.4 [1976] 51–61). Because of the hostility of the Lombard barons of THESSALONIKE and northern Greece, in 1208–09 Henry marched to establish Demetrios, son of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, on the throne in Thessalonike. Henry received the homage of ATHENS and the MOREA. In 1211 Henry defeated Theodore I Laskaris at the RHYNDAKOS RIVER and regained the Anatolian coast from Nikomedeia to Atramyttion. He conciliated his Byz. subjects by welcoming Theodore BRANAS into his service, offering fair treatment, and preventing the imposition of Western ecclesiastical usages. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 1:28.12–19) testifies to the good reputation Henry gained.

LIT. Gerland, *Geschichte* 1:51–251. Prinzing, "Brief Heinrichs" 395–431. Longnon, *Compagnons* 140–45. –C.M.B.

HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, astrologer; born Thebes in Egypt 26 Nov. 380. Hephaistion compiled in ca.415 one of the most important summaries of classical ASTROLOGY available to the Byz., the *Apotelesmatika*, or *Astrological Effects*. This consists of three books: the first on definitions and celestial omens, the second on genethlialogy, and the third on catarchic astrology. Hephaistion is in no sense original but rather copies or summarizes earlier texts. Some of these we still possess in Greek (e.g., Ptolemy), some also survive in Arabic translations (most importantly Dorotheos of Sidon), but most are known only from other citations in the astrological literature (e.g., by Petosiris, Hipparchus, Critodemus, Thrasyllus, and Antigonus of Nicaea).

The importance that the Byz. accorded to Hephaistion's work is demonstrated by the existence of four epitomes, two of which were made in ca.1000 and the last in the School of John ABRAMIOS in the late 14th C.

ED. *Apotelesmatica*, ed. D. Pingree, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1973–74). –D.P.

HEPTAPEGON (Ar. Ain et-Tabgha, from ἑπτάπηγον [χωρίον], Hebrew En ha-Shiv'ah, "Seven Springs"), PILGRIMAGE site on the northeastern shore of the Sea of Galilee. Six springs still flow near the remains of three early Christian churches, each with New Testament associations. A small 4th-C. church directly on the shore (beneath the modern chapel of the Primacy of Peter) incorporated a stone table (altar) where, according to tradition, Christ served breakfast to the disciples after the Resurrection (Jn 21:12–13). Pilgrims chipped small pieces from this table "for their well-being" (*Egérie, Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1982] 95f). Nearby, a 5th-C. basilica (with a smaller 4th-C. precursor beneath it) commemorated Christ's Feeding the Five Thousand (Mk 6:32–44). Its exceptional mosaic pavements, among the earliest figural mosaics in Christian Palestine, depict the loaves and fishes as well as marsh plants, fowl, and buildings. The third church (6th C.) rose above a small grotto where Christ was thought to have uttered the Beatitudes (Mt 5:1–12). These associations were still alive during the Crusades.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, *The Church of the Multiplying of the Loaves and Fishes* (London 1937). S. Loffreda, *Scavi di et-Tabgha* (Jerusalem 1970). –K.G.H.

HERACLEOPOLIS MAGNA. See AKHNĀS.

HERAKLEIA (Ἡράκλεια). Three cities with this name figured prominently in Byz. history.

HERAKLEIA IN THRACE (anc. Perinthos, mod. Marmara Ereğli), city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, at the junction of the Via EGNATIA and the main Balkan road to NAISSUS. Renamed Herakleia by Diocletian (who was Herculius in official terminology), it continued to be called Pe(i)rinthos by antiquarians up to the mid-15th C. (e.g., Kritob. 35.24). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.14), it had been the most important city in the province of Europa, but was replaced by Constantinople, which was originally its suffragan. A bishopric in 325, Herakleia appeared as a metropolis in notitiae; the number of its suffragans increased, but Constantinople became independent of Herakleia in 330 or 381 (Dagron, *Naissance* 418f).

Herakleia was attacked by the Goths after the battle of Adrianople in 378, then by Attila, by the Avars, and the Bulgars. The city is mentioned by many later authors, among others NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.19.42), Skylitzes, Gregoras, and Kantakouzenos, mostly as a geographical site or an ecclesiastical center. The citizens of Herakleia supported Thomas the Slav against Michael II (*TheophCont* 71.5–6). In the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 249) "Yraclee" was assigned to the Venetians. The city played an important role during the civil wars of the 14th C. In 1382, together with RHAIDESTOS and some other Thracian towns, Herakleia was given over to Andronikos IV. Little is known about the internal life of the city: a seal of the 9th–10th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1974) belonged to a *spatharios* and *archon* of Herakleia, but it is not certain that the Thracian Herakleia was meant. The remains of an aqueduct and at least one church—perhaps that of St. Glykeria, damaged by the Avars in 591 and rebuilt by Maurice—have been preserved.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 19 (1938) 810–12. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:212–18. –T.E.G.

HERAKLEIA IN CAPPADOCIA (anc. Kybistra), a city of ANATOLIKON at the southern edge of the Anatolian plateau and the beginning of the pass to the CILICIAN GATES; now Tont Kalesi near Ereğli. Herakleia gained importance during the wars with the Arabs, who first attacked it in 708 and destroyed it in 806; it was soon restored. Herakleia was the scene of fighting into the 10th C. and consequently appears in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS. As a bishopric of CAPPADOCIA II, it was always known by its ancient name; it became autocephalous ca.1060. The site contains no significant remains.

LIT. *TIB* 2:188–90. –C.F.

HERAKLEIA PONTIKE (mod. Ereğli), a city, bishopric, and excellent harbor on the Black Sea coast of Anatolia; it was in PAPHLAGONIA after Diocletian and then was joined to Honorias ca.385. Theodosios II visited Herakleia Pontike and rebuilt it ca.440 after an earthquake. The Pontic Mountains protected Herakleia Pontike from Arab attack, so that Basil I could draw population from it for his new foundation, Kallipolis. Turks, however, ravaged the area after the battle of MAN-

TZIKERT in 1071. David Komnenos, brother of the ruler of TREBIZOND, took Herakleia Pontike in 1205 and made it capital of his domain, called Paphlagonia; he lost it in 1214 to Theodore I Laskaris, who made it a major frontier bulwark. Thereafter it was usually called Pontoherakleia. The Genoese had a colony there after 1261 and bought the city from the weakening empire in 1360; they held it until the Ottomans captured it after 1453.

Late antique Herakleia Pontike occupied a high hill by the sea and spread into the adjacent plain; it withdrew to the hill after the 7th C. The city's walls, rebuilt by David Komnenos, and its Laskarid citadel, are preserved as well as a basilical church perhaps built by Theodosios II.

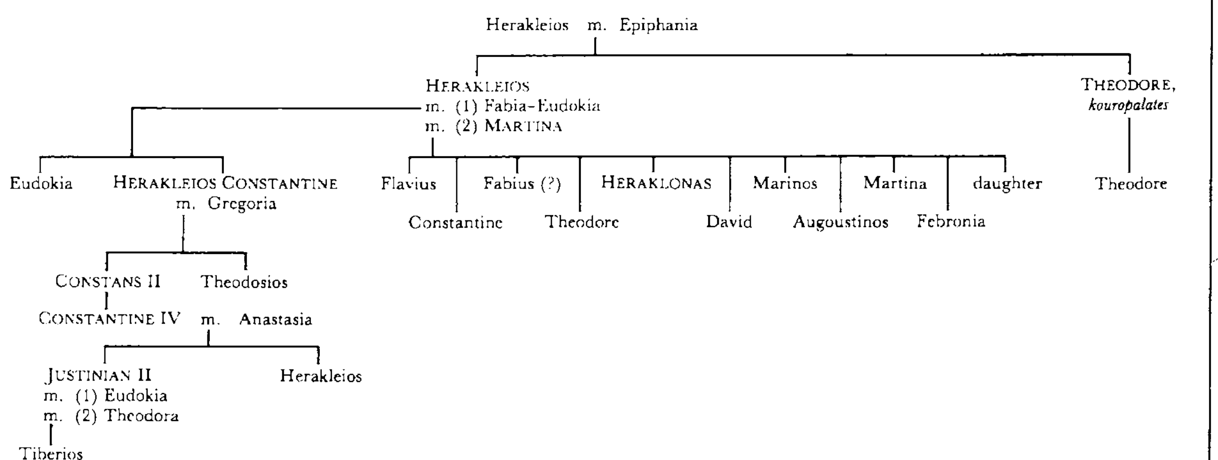
(For Herakleia Lynkestis, see PELAGONIA.)

LIT. W. Hoepfner, *Herakleia Pontike* (Vienna 1966). Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 150f. –C.F.

HERAKLEIOS (Ἡράκλειος), emperor (from 5 Oct. 610); son of the exarch of Carthage; born ca.575, died Constantinople Feb. 641. Herakleios seized power when he arrived with an African fleet to overthrow the "tyrannical" PHOKAS (G. Rösch, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 51–62). The Greens and Patr. SERGIOS I supported the overthrow. Herakleios found the empire in trouble: the Slavs and Avars were invading the northern Balkans; the Persians exerted severe pressure on the eastern frontier. The general KOMENTIOLOS revolted against Herakleios in Ankyra, and in Antioch the partisans of Phokas were still at the helm (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). The first years of Herakleios's reign witnessed a new Persian offensive, commanded by SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN, which resulted in the Persian capture of Jerusalem in 614 and occupation of Egypt from ca. 619 to 629. Herakleios entertained the idea of transferring the capital to Carthage but gave up the plan at the request of Sergios and the population of Constantinople.

Unable to fight on two fronts, in 619 Herakleios concluded a truce with the Avars. After reorganizing the army (reinforcement of cavalry and light-armored archers), in 622 he mobilized his forces in Asia Minor, won several victories, and invaded Armenia. The crucial battle took place in 626, when SHAHRBARĀZ reached the Bosporos and together with the khan of the Avars besieged Constantinople. The attack on 7 Aug. failed; both the Avars and the Persians retreated. In 627 Herakleios was able to invade Persia, inducing panic: CHOSROES II was overthrown and KĀVAD-SHĪRŪYA signed a peace treaty. This victory has been seen as the occasion celebrated in the series of DAVID PLATES. As a result Herakleios was able to recover the TRUE CROSS, which had been captured by the Persians. The success was but temporary: in 634

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF HERAKLEIOS



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

the ARABS invaded Syria and in 636 crushed the Byz. at YARMUK. They seized Mesopotamia and attacked Armenia and Egypt.

Herakleios was an able general, one of the few late Roman emperors who commanded the army in person. It is, however, questionable whether he was a great administrator. Ostrogorsky (*History* 95–100) ascribed to Herakleios a series of administrative, fiscal, and military reforms, esp. the introduction of the system of THEMES, but this theory has been rejected (R.-J. Lilie, *BS* 45 [1984] 27–39, 190–201). Herakleios proved unable to resolve religious disputes: MONOENERGISM seemed to be only a middle way between the Chalcedonians and Monophysites and only exacerbated the problem in both West and East.

Herakleios was twice married, to Fabia, who took the Greek name Eudokia, and to his niece MARTINA. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium*, vols. 1–2. W. Kaegi, "Heraclius and the Arabs," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 109–33. I. Čičurov, "O kavkazskom pochode imperatora Iraklija," *Vostočnaja Evropa v drevnosti i srednevekov'e* (Moscow 1978) 261–66. I. Shahid, "Heraclius *πιστὸς ἐν Χριστῷ βασιλεύς*." ΔΟΙΙ 34–35 (1980–81) 225–37. –W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE (also called Constantine III; Stratos, *infra*, calls him Constantine II), emperor (from 11 Jan. [?] 641); born Constantinople 3 May 612, died Constantinople 20 Apr. or 24 or 26 May 641. Son of HERAKLEIOS and Fabia/Eudokia, Herakleios Constantine was proclaimed co-emperor 22 Jan. 613, consul in 632. In 629 or 630 he married his cousin Gregoria, daughter of the general NIKETAS. After Herakleios died, Herakleios Constantine and his half-brother HERAKLONAS inherited the throne as co-rulers. From the beginning of Herakleios Constantine's rule, his stepmother MARTINA opposed him. Bad health (probably tuberculosis) and fears for the succession of his young son (the future CONSTANS II, whom Stratos prefers to call Constantine III) made Herakleios Constantine's situation even worse. He tried to gratify the army by giving 50,000 nomismata to the treasurer Philagrios to buy military support. Short of money, Herakleios Constantine had the tomb of his father opened and the crown removed. The defense of Egypt against the Arabs failed; Herakleios Constantine recalled Theodore, *doux* of Egypt, and replaced him with the *augustalios* Anastasios. Herakleios Constantine's death left the empire in a predicament. Rumor had it that Martina had poisoned him. Little is known of Herakleios Constantine's personality, but he was popular among the people of Constantinople.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:175–85. Kaegi, *Unrest* 154f. H. Gelzer, *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Johannes des Barmherzigen* (Freiburg im Breisgau-Leipzig 1893) 125–27. –W.E.K., A.K.

HERAKLES, son of ZEUS and Alkmene, the most famous hero of Greek mythology. The Latin Hercules is connected with the emperor and the imperial cult well into late antiquity (cf. MAXIMIAN Herculius). In Byz. literature Herakles appears as a standard part of imperial imagery, the defender (Theodore Prodromos, ed. Hörandner, no.16.78) and accomplisher of wondrous deeds (An.Komn. 1:36.11–16). Traces of Prodikos's allegorical interpretation (Herakles at the crossroads) are found in Basil the Great (PG 31:573AB, ch.5.14). In the *Souda* (2:584) Herakles becomes an allegory of the philosopher, who, protected by the lionskin of wisdom, kills the Hydra of desire with the club of rationality. According to K. Weitzmann (*SemKond* 8 [1936] 88f), Herakles dragging Kerberos from Hades provided a model for Christ's raising of Adam in ANASTASIS scenes. Various anecdotal material survives as well: for example, Herakles as high priest (*mystikos, telestes*), who becomes king of Italy after a childhood spent in Spain (Malal. 86.12–17). Most of all, Herakles and his labors are used throughout Byz. literature as a symbol of physical power or prodigious achievement, for emperors in particular (Leo Diac. 48.17f; *TheophCont* 332.20f). As a symbol of fortitude for both pagans and Christians, he appears frequently on 6th-C. textiles, silver, and ivory (*Age of Spirit*. nos. 136, 139, 206). Some elements of this imagery survive in popular literature. The death battle of Digenes Akritas with Charos, for example, reflects the struggle of Herakles and Thanatos (D.A. Notopoulos, *Laographia* 17 [1958] 451–53). Widely and often comically, Herakles' labors are represented on ivory and bone CASKETS AND BOXES. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA describes their depiction on a clock. Herakles could symbolize lust and servitude to women (Nik.Chon. 139.39–43). Sometimes the first night of lovers is compared to a "Herculean labor" (Theodore Daphnopates, ed. Darrouzès-Westerink, 17.15).

LIT. R. Peter in W.H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1886–90) 2997–3002. P. Monat, "La polémique de Lactance contre Hercule," in *Hommages à L. Lerat*, vol. 2 (Paris 1984) 575–83. –P.A.A., A.C.

HERAKLONAS (Ἡρακλωνᾶς), or Herakleios II, emperor (Apr./May–Sept. 641 [until July 642, according to Stratos]); son of MARTINA and Herakleios; born Constantinople 626, died probably Rhodes, date unknown. Co-ruler with his half-brother HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, Heraklonas ascended the throne at the latter's death, but Martina ruled *de facto*. Supported by the army of Thrace, she attempted to remove Herakleios Constantine's supporters and primarily the treasurer Philagrios; Patr. PYRRHOS became her main adviser and she pursued a policy of MONOTHELETISM. This internal friction coincided with Arab successes in Egypt. Martina sent Patr. KYROS back to Alexandria; he assumed the civil administration while generals fled to save their lives. The opposition of the senate and of the troops in Asia Minor compelled the emperor to surrender: Herakleios Constantine's son CONSTANS II was proclaimed co-emperor, and to balance this shortcoming Martina made her son, David-Tiberios, the third *basileus*. The compromise was temporary, and the revolt of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI overthrew Heraklonas and his family. After his nose was slit, Heraklonas, with his mother and brothers, was exiled to Rhodes.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:186–205. Kaegi, *Unrest* 155–57. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 70–73. –W.E.K., A.K.

HERALDRY. See COATS OF ARMS.

HERBALS. See DIOSKORIDES; SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

HERESY (αἵρεσις, lit. "sect, school"), a term used by the church fathers to designate a sectarian or dissident teaching, sometimes that of pagans or Jews (including MANICHAEANISM) but mainly within Christianity. There was a double terminological difficulty. First, each party accused the other of heresy—thus, the emperor Julian (quoted by Cyril of Alexandria, PG 76:565C) asserted that the tenets of the "Galilaeans," not those of the Hellenes or Jews, were *hairesis*, and conflicting Christian communities tended to call themselves "orthodox" and their adversaries "heretics." Second, it is necessary to distinguish heresy, a division on doctrinal grounds, from SCHISM, a split caused by disagreement on church policy and questions "capable of adjustment" (although sometimes doctrinal issues were also involved).

Basil the Great (ep.188.1, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 2 [Paris 1961] 121–24) makes the following distinctions between *hairesis*, *schisma*, and *parasynagoge*: heretics are those who are completely severed from the faith, while schism encompasses those unable to find a common solution to certain ecclesiastical problems, and *parasynagogai* are assemblies of rebellious bishops and priests and of disobedient laymen. As examples of heretics Basil mentions Manichaeans, Gnostics (both Valentinians and Marcionites—see GNOSTICISM), and Montanists ("Pepouzenoi"—see MONTANISM), while ancient Katharoi, Enkratitai, and Hydroparastatai were schismatics. This theoretically clear distinction was muddied in later usage: when the Latin and Byz. churches severed communion both parties employed the terms heretics and schismatics for their adversaries. Works on heresies developed into a common genre of Byz. theological literature (e.g., the *Panarion* of EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus and *Panoplia dogmatike* of Euthymios ZIGABENOS). The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY was a regular liturgical condemnation of heresies.

With the conversion of Constantine I the state became involved in the definition of and struggle against heresy, and the legal codes contain various penalties for heretical groups, frequently in ranked order, with more pernicious heresies treated more harshly. Church COUNCILS, both local and ecumenical, were commonly called to define faith and combat heresy. The idea of doctrinal error as dissent and a crime resulted from the concept of "political orthodoxy," that is, an obligatory uniformity on major points of the creed. The proliferation of sects and philosophical schools in antiquity was singled out as a shortcoming of paganism.

The late Roman period witnessed a rich blend of heresies. In the 4th–7th C. the question of SALVATION was of preeminent importance: in the West it acquired a moral and juristic flavor, focusing on the concept of free will (PELAGIANISM), whereas in the East ontological problems (the substance of the Trinity, the natures and wills of Christ in his divinity and humanity) were the

major subject of discussion (ARIANISM, NESTORIANISM, and MONOPHYSITISM). These "heresies" became entrenched outside the empire, while within, by the end of the 7th C., the Chalcedonian view became dominant; the terms *Arian*, *Manichaean*, etc., were, however, often applied to various later heresies.

John of Damascus, in his work *On Heresies*, lists besides the principal heresies a series of proponents of false doctrines rarely mentioned in or completely unknown from other sources, such as the Eutychianistoi, who denied that Christ received his flesh from the Virgin and asserted that it came from a divine source (ch.82.1–4, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:49); the Theokatagnostoi, who dared to censure some words and actions of the Lord and holy persons (ch.92.1–3, p.57); the Thnetopsychitai, who drew no distinction between the human soul and body and believed that the soul perished with the body (ch.90.1–2, p.57); the Heliotropitai, who worshiped the heliotrope flower, seeing in it a symbol of the soul ascending to God (ch.89.1–5, p.57); the Gnosiomachoi, who rejected any Christian doctrine (*gnosis*) since God allegedly did not require anything but good deeds (ch.88.1–4, p.57); the Heiketai, ascetics who were Orthodox in their belief but gathered together with female ascetics in the nude in order to worship God with dancing and singing (ch.87.1–4, p.56f); and the Ethnophrones, who accepted pagan habits such as astrology, divination, incantations, and Hellenic feasts (ch.94.1–8, p.58).

The major religious dissent of the 8th–9th C. was connected with the theological interpretation of the ICON—was it an idol that impaired the proper worship of God (the view of adherents of ICONOCLASM) or a mysterious link between mankind and the Godhead, instrumental in the mystery of salvation? After the cult of icons was restored, dualism in the form of BOGOMILISM came to the fore, while from the 9th C. onward, the schism with the West, based on theological and liturgical differences (esp. problems of the FILIOQUE and AZYMES) developed. In later centuries indigenous Byz. heresies evolved from differing interpretations of the role of institutional and individual paths to salvation: ca.1000 SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN came under suspicion because he emphasized the significance of the vision of the divine light and the personal links between teacher and disciple to the detriment of the sacraments; in the 14th C. HESYCHASM developed Symeon's individualistic or mystical approach.

The origins and exact nature of Byz. heresy have been much debated. Some scholars have suggested that heresy was caused by social and economic factors and that the poor and powerless of the empire expressed their dissatisfaction through adherence to heresy. Others have seen heresy as a reflection of otherwise suppressed national aspirations on the part of North Africans, Syrians, Egyptians, Armenians, Slavs, and other peoples of the empire. A third approach is to suggest that heresy reflects the reemergence of earlier pagan philosophical systems or native religions. Economic, political, national, and cultural phenomena may indeed have had an impact on the development and preservation of certain heresies (rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria, Syrian adherence to Monophysitism, Platonic traditions in Origenism, urban-oriented Arian propaganda, social protest in Bogomilism, etc.), but the essence of Byz. heresies emerged from dynamic forces within Christianity, primarily from attempts to understand the nature of the Godhead and of the world, to comprehend the concepts of evil (including social evil) and good, and to find the best way to salvation.

Representation of Heretics in Art. Heretics, usually shown in poses of submission to church authority, appear in MSS from the 9th C. onward. The heretic Makedonios is depicted groveling before the First Council of Constantinople in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.L), while the defeat of another heretic, probably to be identified as Arius, is represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.108). Arius and Nestorios appear in LECTIONARIES prostrate before church fathers, while Iconoclasts are shown in marginal PSALTER illustration whitewashing icons and being trampled by their adversaries. The vision of PETER OF ALEXANDRIA, as in the Metropolis at MISTRA, became an emblem of the Arian disruption of the church and is often found in the decoration of PASTOPHORIA. The representation of heretics in narthexes and monastic refectories seems to be a post-Byz. phenomenon.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "L'hérésie dans l'Empire byzantin des origines au XIIe siècle," *TM* 1 (1965) 299–324. N.G. Garsoian, "Byzantine Heresy. A Reinterpretation," *DOP* 25 (1971) 85–113. F. Winkelmann, "Einige Aspekte der Entwicklung der Begriffe Häresie und Schisma in der Spätantike," *Koinonia* 6 (1982) 89–109. W.H.C. Frend, "Heresy

and Schism as Social and National Movements," in *Schism, Heresy and Religious Protest* (Cambridge 1981) 37–56. K.L. Noethlichs, *Die gesetzgeberischen Massnahmen der christlichen Kaiser des 4. Jhs. gegen Häretiker, Heiden und Juden* (Cologne 1971). C. Walter, "Heretics in Byzantine Art," *EChR* 3 (1970) 40–49. –T.E.G., A.K., A.C.

HERMES, ancient Greek divinity. Although the myths of Hermes were criticized and ridiculed by Christians, there were some attempts to reconcile his image with the new religion. Early apologists compared his role as the messenger of the gods with that of the Christian Logos. On the other hand, Hermes was considered to be the greatest of Hellenic philosophers, one who "prophesied" the idea of the Trinity and *oikonomia*; he was allegedly a contemporary of Moses, together with whom he studied Egyptian wisdom; some people even identified him as Moses. Kosmas the Hymnographer (PG 38:496.21–32) says that Gregory of Nazianzos rejected this identification; Kosmas, however, assumes that Hermes was the first to call God "triune."

LIT. P. Stockmeier, *RAC* 14:776–80. –A.K.

HERMES TRISMEGISTOS (Ἑρμῆς Τρισμέγιστος, lit. "Thrice-Greatest") is the Greek name given to the Egyptian god Thoth, who, as the divinity of wisdom, was believed to be the author of a number of religious texts. The Greeks adopted these documents, known as the *Hermetica*, between the 1st and 3rd C. and regarded them as the revelation of Hermes Trismegistos. They combine elements of magic, astrology, alchemy, philosophy, and theology. They were much read in late antiquity, esp. in the 4th C. They were excerpted by STOBAIOS for his anthology in the 5th C., but between the 6th and 11th C. they practically disappeared from sight in Byz. This must have been partly due to the fact that the occult was never a safe subject in the Christian empire. In the 11th C. PSELLOS was familiar with parts of the *Hermetica*, but the next signs of real interest do not appear until the 14th C. The four earliest surviving MSS of the collection date from that century, and there are some references to it in Nikephoros GREGORAS.

ED. *Corpus hermeticum*, eds. A.D. Nock, A.J. Festugière, 4 vols. (Paris 1945–54).

LIT. G. Fowden, *The Egyptian Hermes* (Cambridge 1986). A.-J. Festugière, *La révélation d'Hermès Trismégiste*, 4 vols. (Paris 1944–54). –J.D.

HERMIT (ἀναχωρητής, ἐρημίτης, ἡσυχαστής), a monk or nun who retired from the world to live a solitary life of prayer and ASCETICISM. The hermits like ANTONY THE GREAT who withdrew to the DESERT of Egypt in the 3rd and 4th C. were the earliest Christian monks; eremitism continued to be a prominent form of Byz. MONASTICISM until the 15th C. Later hermits were more likely to live on holy mountains such as OLYMPOS, AUXENTIOS, ATHOS, GANOS, and METEORA. There were women hermits until the 11th C.; thereafter nuns were found only in cenobitic convents (A.M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 16–18). Particularly rigorous asceticism was practiced by the STYLITE saints and recluses (ENKLEISTOI).

Eremitism was generally considered to be superior to cenobitic monasticism because of the greater hardships associated with the solitary life and the greater opportunities for spiritual improvement. In art (e.g., Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig.245) anchorites like St. Onouphrios illustrate the physical self-denial of those who are fed by God. Usually a monk had to spend three years in a KOINOBION before he could receive permission from the *hegoumenos* to become a hermit. A number of monks moved back and forth between the cenobitic and eremitic life, ignoring the principle of monastic STABILITY; most holy men spent at least part of their careers in solitude. Still there was tension between cenobitism and eremitism throughout the centuries. BASIL THE GREAT, who espoused cenobitism, attacked the eremitic way of life because of the impossibility of material self-sufficiency, excessive concern with the self, and the lack of opportunity to practice charity. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE criticized the self-centeredness of the hermit who hid away in a cave, likening him to Homer's Cyclops. Another problem for the hermit was his lack of access to the liturgy and sacraments, if he were not a priest (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 78 [1985] 53–55). Some hermits solved this problem by attending services on the weekend at a nearby monastery.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic, and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth through the Twelfth Centuries," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 473–87. D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes by-

zantines du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1974) 158–80. K. Bosl, "Ἔρημος-Eremus." *ByzF* 2 (1967) 73–90.
–A.M.T., A.C.

HERMOGENES (Ἑρμογένης), ancient rhetorician, author of handbooks on RHETORIC; born Tarsos ca.160, died before 230. The corpus attached to his name (probably assembled in the late 5th or early 6th C.) consists of five books, of which two (*Progymnasmata*, *On Invention*) are spurious, and a third (*On Method*) of doubtful authenticity; the two others are *On Staseis*, that is, issues presented in court, and *On "Ideas"* [or *Forms*]. Hermogenes systematically described the seven stylistic features, or literary virtues, of a successful speech: clarity, grandeur, elegance, conciseness, ethos (i.e., simplicity, pleasantness, sharpness, comeliness), truth, and force. He distinguished between rhetoric and philosophy, emphasizing the irrelevance of rhetoric to moral problems (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:76). Despite this ethical indifference, Hermogenes became a canon of Byz. (and Renaissance) school rhetoric. The orators could find in Hermogenes, as necessary, the aesthetic of grandeur and force or the aesthetic of clarity and simplicity. From the 5th C. onward, commentaries on Hermogenes were produced (P.H. Richter, *Byzantion* 3 [1926] 163–66); Syrianos, in the 5th C., did not yet know the whole corpus. Among his later commentators were John Sikeliotes and Planoudes; knowledge of Hermogenes can be traced in Germanos I, John Geometres, Psellos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, Tzetzes, Plethon, etc.

ED. *Opera*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1913; rp. Stuttgart 1985). *De statibus*, ed. G. Kowalski (Bratislava 1947).

LIT. Kustas, *Studies* 5–22. D.A. Russell, *Greek Declamation* (Cambridge 1983) 40–73. D. Hagedorn, *Zur Ideenlehre des Hermogenes* (Göttingen 1964). G. Lindberg, *Studies in Hermogenes and Eustathios* (Lund 1977). –E.M.J., A.K.

HERMONIAKOS, CONSTANTINE, early 14th-C. poet. His life is obscure. Hermoniakos (Ἑρμονιακός) wrote an account (*Metaphrasis*, i.e., transcription) of the TROJAN WAR, in 24 books of unrhymed octosyllables, covering the war's antecedents and aftermath as well as its actual course. The Italian *despotes* of Epiros, John (Orsini) II Komnenos Angelos Doukas (1323–35), and his wife Anna Palaiologina commissioned the work. Hermoniakos drew partly on the ILIAD (probably a copy with scholia), but more extensively on the *Allegories to the Iliad* by John TZETZES. His intent was to make Homer clear for his contemporaries. In some places he transcribes Homer almost word for word, elsewhere he gives little more than the bare outlines of the plot, avoiding most of the scenes involving the Olympian gods though widely using Homeric similes. He also uses the *Chronike Synopsis* of Constantine MANASSES and shows a slight acquaintance with one play each of EURIPIDES and SOPHOCLES. His own contributions are largely confined to occasional moralizing comments, passages of alliteration and anachronisms; e.g., Achilles appears as the ruler of the Bulgarians and Hungarians.

ED. *La guerre de Troie*, ed. E. Legrand (Paris 1890).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 168–69. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt.IX (1975), 81–109. T.V. Popova, "Vizantijskaja 'Iliada'," *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* (Moscow 1972) 395–409.
–E.M.J., M.J.J.

HERMOPOLIS MAGNA (Ἑρμοῦ πόλις ἡ μεγάλη, Ar. Ashmunāyn), town in Upper Egypt, metropolis of the Hermopolite nome, an episcopal see from the second half of the 3rd C. (Eusebios, *HE* 6.46.2). Hermopolis Magna is well known from Greek and Coptic papyri as a flourishing cultural and administrative center. Of the two surviving 5th-C. churches, the larger, which was probably the cathedral, is a transept-basilica, with each arm of the transept ending in a large conch. Many of its columns (*spolia* from earlier Roman buildings) are still standing. It was part of a large ecclesiastical complex, which was surrounded by porticoes and had two richly adorned propylaea.

The other church, a more ordinary basilica, is much less well preserved. Along its south side are vestiges of an underground burial and the foundations of a baptistery.

LIT. A.J.B. Wace et al., *Hermopolis Magna, Ashmunein* (Alexandria 1959). Timm, *Ägypten* 1:198–220. G. Roeder, *Hermopolis, 1929–1931* (Hildesheim 1959). M. Drew-Bear, *Le nome Hermopolite* (Missoula, Mont., 1979). –P.G.

HERODIAN (Ailios Herodianos), 2nd-C. Greek grammarian who wrote on all aspects of grammar other than syntax, but concerned himself principally with prosody and MORPHOLOGY. His *Universal Prosody* (*Katholike prosodia*), now lost, gave in-

formation on the accentuation of approximately 60,000 words. The *Philetairos*, a short Atticist *lexikon* attributed to him, is certainly a much later compilation. His only work to survive entirely is a short treatise titled *On Singular Words* (*Peri monerous lexeos*). His rich and carefully ordered collections were sources, direct or indirect, for all later grammarians, not least those of Byz. Probably Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.) wrote an epitome of the *Universal Prosody*. The treatise of THEOGNOSTOS, *On Orthography*, was based largely on Herodian, as was the unpublished *On Breathings* by Theodoretos (date uncertain). Many Byz. commentaries and grammatical writings draw on Herodian, and in this way enable fragments of his lost works to be reconstructed.

ED. *Reliquiae*, ed. A. Lentz, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1867–70; rp. Hildesheim 1965). *Le "Philétaeros" attribué à Hérodien*, ed. A. Dain (Paris 1954).

LIT. P. Egenolff, *Die orthoepischen Stücke der byzantinischen Litteratur* (Leipzig 1887). Egenolff, *Orthog.* –R.B.

HERODOTUS, Greek historian; born Halicarnassus ca.485 B.C., died 425. Herodotus was known in 4th-C. Egypt (*P.Oxy.* VI 857), and papyri of his work are found as far away as Dura-Europos (C.B. Welles, *TAPA* 70 [1939] 203–12). The extent of the direct familiarity of the Byz. with Herodotus is debatable. Malalas (Malal. 161.5–9) included him in a list of poets and philosophers who were contemporaries of Philip II of Macedon, and in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (p.66.1) "the chronographer Herodotus" appears as a source for Constantine I the Great's murder of his son. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.60) characterized Herodotus in a few words as a historian of the Persian kings and the usurper Smerdis—a very Byz. perception (or misperception?) of the book.

Interest in Herodotus awakened in the 10th C. The earliest preserved MS dates from this time; the *Souda* includes Herodotus's biography, and the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII contain passages from him. Herodotus's Persians were considered to be ancestors of the Arabs. Psellos (Mayer, "Psellos' Rede" 53.208–09) praised Herodotus as the most eloquent writer. In the 12th C. chroniclers such as Zonaras and Manasses had studied his text (E. Jeffreys, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 213f, 234), and other scholars (Gregory Pardos, John Tzetzes, Eustathios of Thessalonike) referred to him. Many authors must have been familiar with Herodotus through reference works, but it seems plausible that CHALKOKONDYLES, in describing the Turks, imitated Herodotus's legends and tales (Gy. Moravcsik in *Polychronion* 369f).

LIT. B. Hemmerdinger, *Les manuscrits d'Hérodote et la critique verbale* (Genoa 1981). –A.C.H., A.K.

HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS (Ἐρβέβιος ὁ Φραγγόπωλος), mid-11th-C. commander of Norman mercenaries in Byz. service. He may have been the founder of the Byz. family of PHRANGOPOULOS. Hervé fought in Sicily under George MANIAKES (1038–40), allegedly with great success. In Byz. service by 1050, he commanded the Normans on the eastern frontier; transferred westward in that year, Hervé and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS were defeated by the Pechenegs near the Danube. In 1056, Hervé demanded the title of *magistros* from MICHAEL VI; rejected, he withdrew to his estate at Dagarabe in the Armeniakon theme. During the winter of 1056–57, he won the support of 300 Franks and led them toward Lake Van (1057). After an initial success over Turks, Hervé and his followers were enticed into Chliat, where he was seized and many of his followers slain. Apparently Hervé gained his liberty and supported ISAAC I, for a seal indicates he received the title *magistros* as well as the office of *vestiarites* and *stratelates* of the East (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 659f). According to Matthew of Edessa, ca.1063 Turks in Amida bribed a "Frankabol" (possibly Hervé) to hold back from battle; subsequently Constantine X executed him.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 71–77. R. Janin, "Les Francs au service des 'Byzantins,'" *EO* 29 (1930) 63–65. –C.M.B.

HESIOD (Ἡσίοδος), early Greek poet popular in Byz.; born Ascra, Boeotia ca.750 B.C. According to M. West (*CQ* 24 [1974] 161), the *Works and Days* is preserved in more than 260 MSS (more than 100 of them later than 1480), the *Theogony* in approximately 70, and the *Shield of Herakles* in about 60. The oldest MS of the *Works* (Paris, B.N. gr. 2771) dates from the second half of the 10th C. PLANOUDES and his circle prepared an edition of Hesiod, providing corrections of minor metrical faults. A subsequent edition was issued by TRIKLINIOS, who made grammatical and orthographical improvements in the text. The *Souda*

attributes to Hesiod other works now lost or surviving only in fragments. Quotations from Hesiod, many of them extensive and sometimes not based on the extant MSS, are found in the ETYMOLOGIKA. Scholia to Hesiod derive from an original of ca.900; ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have played some role in the annotation of the text.

The Neoplatonist PROKLOS wrote a commentary on the *Works* based on earlier comments by Plutarch. He read the poem not as literature but as a textbook for moral and practical guidance (C. Faraggiana di Sarzana, *Aevum* 55 [1981] 27; eadem in *Proclus, lecteur et interprète des anciens* [Paris 1987] 21–41). Tzetzes attacked Proklos's exegesis, esp. for its lack of a broad introduction characterizing the metrics and providing an allegorical interpretation of the myths; he also criticized Proklos's prolixity and obscurity. The commentary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS is an unpretentious paraphrase. An allegorical commentary by the deacon John Galenos (12th C.) also survives (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:61, n.27). The anonymous exegesis of the *Theogony* in two Naples MSS is probably of the 13th or 14th C. (M. Capone Ciollaro, *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 30 [1981] 113–28) and not of the 11th or 12th C. as formerly thought.

Seventeen illustrated MSS of Hesiod are preserved, the earliest of the 11th C.; one example, Venice, Marc. gr. 464, was completed in two stages by Demetrios TRIKLINIOS on 20 Aug. 1316 and 16 Nov. 1319 and belonged to BESSARION (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:25–29). Copies of the *Works and Days* contain a varying number of images of PLOWS and other AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS.

ED. *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Opera et Dies*, ed. A. Pertusi (Milan 1955). *Scholia vetera in Hesiodi Theogoniam*, ed. L. Di Gregorio (Milan 1975). –K.S., A.K., A.C.

HESPERINOS. See VESPERS.

HESYCHASM (from ἡσυχάζειν, "to be quiet, at rest"), conventional term for the method of monastic prayer and contemplation (HESYCHIA) designed to achieve communion with God through interior quietude. The practice centered on the perpetual "prayer of the heart," the constant recitation of the short Jesus Prayer, "Lord Jesus Christ, Son of God, have mercy on me" (for an early Byz. commentary on this prayer, see R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 49 [1987] 208–20). This spirituality of contemplative monasticism can be traced back to the desert fathers. The monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai was an important center for the diffusion of this prayer. Descriptions of such prayer are mentioned in DIADOCHOS of Photike and JOHN KLIMAX. The terms *hesychastes* and *hesychia*, however, are earlier, even common, in 4th-C. monastic and patristic literature. Typically, *hesychastes* was often used as a synonym for a HERMIT or anchorite. Late Byz. writers often attached to the prayer physical exercises designed to achieve concentration (*prosoche*). These psychosomatic methods (cf. Hausherr, *infra* 9 [1927] 164) were viewed as tools and not as an end. Finally, the entire tradition was unified in PALAMISM, the doctrinal synthesis of Gregory PALAMAS.

In addition to its original technical meaning, the term *hesychasm* is often used to describe 14th-through 15th-C. political, social, and religious movements. Clearly hesychasm became a social and political phenomenon once it was drawn into the 14th-C. social struggle and the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, but those who joined the opposing camps did not do so on the basis of any inherent relationship or opposition between Palamism and the sociopolitical conflict. Palamites and anti-Palamites could be found in both camps. In sum, any connection between hesychasm and the feudal nobility associated with Kantakouzenos's forces has never been demonstrated. The familiar "Palamas-Kantakouzenos" identification was ultimately political in essence.

A link has also been suggested between the "withered" art of the late 14th C. and the victory of hesychasm with its supposed Iconoclasm, monastic rigorism, and opposition to the Hellenistic traditions of the Palaiologan "renaissance." This impoverishment, however, was probably caused by economic factors. Besides, the argument fails to account for the unusual extension of Palaiologan art in the Slavic world, supported by Palamite monastic circles. Although the use of the term *hesychasm* to describe the different currents of the 14th C. is convenient, it is misleading if only because these currents were far more complex and sweeping than those of hesychast spirituality, which was concerned primarily with contemplative prayer (J. Meyendorff in *Okeanos*, 447–57).

LIT. I. Hausherr, "La méthode d'oraison des hésychastes," *OrChrAn* 9 (1927) 97–209. Idem, "Hésychasme et prière," *OrChrAn* 176 (1966) 1–306. G. Podskalsky, "Zur

Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstkSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological, and Social Problems* (London 1974). D. Angelov, "Isihazmŭt—sŭščnost i rolja," *Palaeobulgarica* 5.4 (1981) no.4, 56–78. –A.P.

HESYCHIA (ἡσυχία, lit. "tranquility"), the key concept in Byz., esp. monastic, spirituality through which man ascends to God. *Hesychia* involves the stilling of the normal human senses and passions in order to perceive the transcendent God. Inner and outer *hesychia* were not normally to be found in ordinary society, and *hesychia* became the particular goal of solitary eremitic or hesychastic monks (Justinian I, nov.5.3). The "philosophy" of HESYCHASM consists of three essential points: (1) renouncing the importance of family and the world, (2) renouncing one's own will and attaining complete obedience, and (3) a life of single-minded, pure devotion to God. The prophets Elijah and John the Baptist were seen as biblical prototypes of *hesychia*, or silent absorption in God. The hesychast leads a life like the angels, he is the antitype of the angels on earth. His virtues are solitude, ascetic tears (*penthos*), FEAR of God, humility, LOVE, and the capacity to suffer. He avoids physical hearing, seeing, and speaking and dedicates himself entirely to the purification of the HEART through watchfulness (*nepsis*, *prosoche*; cf. pseudo-Makarios/Symeon, PG 34:517C). A life filled with the pursuit of uniting *hesychia* and learning permeates the autobiography of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. In the 14th C., the concept of *hesychia* is central to the psychosomatic method of prayer of Nikephoros Sinaites and the doctrine of ENERGIES of Gregory PALAMAS.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "L'hésychasme," *OrChrP* 22 (1956) 5–40, 241–85. J. Meyendorff, "L'hésychasme: Problèmes de sémantique," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 543–47. Idem, *Introduction à l'étude de Grégoire Palamas* (Paris 1959) 195–222. G. Podskalsky, "Zur Gestalt und Geschichte des Hesychasmus," *OstkSt* 16 (1967) 15–32. –G.P.

HESYCHIOS (Ἡσύχιος), pagan historian; born at Miletos, died after 582. Son of a lawyer, Hesychios is always described as *illoustrios*. He wrote a world history in six sections (surviving only in fragments), from the Assyrian king Bel to the death of Emp. Anastasios I in 518; PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.69), who still had access to the entire work, says Hesychios added a (now lost) supplement on the early reign of Justinian I. The PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE (Preger, *Scriptores* 1:1–18) preserves a revised fragment from his account of the history of the city of Byzantion up to the time of Constantine I, which is an imaginative blend of fact and fancy. Hesychios also assembled a collection (*Pinax* or *Onomatologos*) of biographies of pagan men of letters, exploited by Photios and acknowledged as a prime source by the *Souda*, but now lost; a work of similar title and scope surviving under his name (ed. J. Flach [Leipzig 1880]) is spurious and late.

ED. *FHG* 4:143–77. *Onomatologi quae supersunt*, ed. J. Flach (Leipzig 1882). *Biographi Graeci*, ed. J. Flach (Berlin 1883).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:250. H. Schultz, *RE* 8 (1913) 1322–27. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 23–29. H. Flach, "Untersuchungen über Hesychius Milesius," *RhM* 35 (1880) 191–235. –B.B.

HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA, 5th- or 6th-C. Greek lexicographer who compiled a lengthy, alphabetically arranged list of rare words, mainly from poetry and local dialects, with their explanations, occasionally supported by brief quotations. Very many of these words are not attested in surviving literature. Hesychios's main source was the lost *Periergopenetes* of Diogenianos of Herakleia (2nd C.), itself an epitome of a longer *lexikon* by Pamphilos (1st C.). His *Lexikon*, which survives in a single 15th-C. MS, is both abbreviated and interpolated with biblical and other glosses from Byz. *lexika*. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA may have had access to a longer version of the text and perhaps helped transmit it. Though not much used by Byz. literati because its recondite vocabulary was of little use to the rhetorician, Hesychios's *Lexikon* was probably used by THEOGNOSTOS in his treatise on ORTHOGRAPHY (K. Alpers, *Theognostos Peri Orthographias* [Hamburg 1964] 27–60), and by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his Homeric commentaries.

ED. *Lexicon*, ed. M. Schmidt, 5 vols. (Jena 1858–68). (Partial) *Lexicon*, ed. K. Latte, 2 vols. (Copenhagen 1953, 1966).

LIT. R. Reitzenstein, "Die Überarbeitung des Lexikons des Hesychios," *RhM* 43 (1888) 443–60. A. von Blumenthal, *Hesychstudien* (Stuttgart 1930). –R.B.

HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM, theologian and saint; died after 451; feastday 28 March. Hesy-

chios lived as a monk near the Egyptian frontier; by 412, according to Theophanes (Theoph. 83.6–7), Hesychios was a well-known presbyter and preacher in Jerusalem. Circa 428/9 he was present at the consecration of the church of Euthymios's monastery with JUVENAL, patriarch of Jerusalem. The many fragments, scattered and translated into Armenian, Georgian, and Latin, tend to confirm the Byz. claim that he wrote a commentary on the entire Bible. Hesychios's exegetical method is entirely allegorical, also evincing hostility to philosophy as the source of heretical error. His Christology follows that of CYRIL of Alexandria, albeit expressed in less technical language. He attacks ARIANISM and the heresy of APOLLINARIOS and was himself accused (posthumously) of Monophysite leanings in a letter of Pope Pelagius I (555–61). In addition to biblical exegesis and his various homilies and sermons, not yet all published, he wrote a *Church History*, lost save for the Latin translation of an anti-Nestorian chapter read at the Council of Constantinople in 553 in denunciation of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA.

ED. PG 93:781–1560. *Homélies pascales*, ed. M. Aubineau (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr. Idem, *Les homélies festales*, 2 vols. (Brussels 1978–80), with Fr. tr. For list of works, see J. Kirchmeyer, *DictSpir* 7 (1969) 399–408.

LIT. K. Jüssen, *Die dogmatischen Anschauungen des Hesychius von Jerusalem*, 2 vols. (Münster 1931–34). Idem, "Die Mariologie des Hesychius von Jerusalem," in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart: Michael Schmaus zum sechzigsten Geburtstag*, ed. J. Auer, H. Volk (Munich 1957) 651–70. –B.B.

HETAIREIA (ἑταιρεία), a unit of the emperor's bodyguard, whose function is uncertain. Litavrin (*VizObščestvo* 47) surmised that protection of the emperor was only occasionally the responsibility of the *hetaireia*, its major function being the administration of a special category of estates. Bury (*Adm. System* 107) identified the *hetaireia* with the FOEDERATI of the 9th C., an unlikely suggestion (Haldon, *Praetorians* 246). There were several *hetaireiai*—three or even four (Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 130); they consisted largely of foreigners—Khazars, Pharganoi, probably Rus', and Hungarians. Bury identified the Pharganoi as Turks from Central Asia, esp. Ferghana; however, a chrysobull of 1079 uses the term *Pharangoi* for Varangians (*Lavra* 1, no.38.30), and the term could have been an altered form of this ethnic designation. P. Karlin-Hayter (*JÖB* 23 [1974] 116, n.66) suggested that the *epi megales hetaireias* (commander of the grand *hetaireia*) was a subordinate of the HETAIREIARCHES.

By the end of the 11th C. the structure of the *hetaireia* changed. Bryennios (Bryen. 77.5–8) says the *hetaireia* was customarily made up of noble youths. The various *hetaireiai* were probably consolidated into a single unit; Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1.20.8) speaks of *hetaireia* in the singular in a scene where Bryennios (269.12–13) used the plural form. Already in the 12th C. and more often in the 14th C. the term *hetaireia* was employed generically to describe the private retinue of a magnate bound together by an OATH.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:196f. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 27. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 138–43. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 211–18. –A.K.

HETAIREIARCHES (ἑταιρειάρχης), also *megas hetaireiarches*, commander of the HETAIREIA, a semimilitary official (STRATARCHES) responsible for the security of the imperial palace; he also carried out delicate assignments for the emperor and could be placed at the head of an army. Unknown at the time of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, the *hetaireiarches* (and *megas hetaireiarches*) appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS at the end of the 9th C. Narrative sources first mention the *hetaireiarches* under Michael III. The post acquired particular significance at the beginning of the 10th C. when the future emperor Romanos I Lekapenos held this office; he was succeeded by his son Christopher. The militant emperors of the second half of the 10th C. pushed the *hetaireiarches* into the background, but the post regained influence in the 11th C. when some court eunuchs held it. Under the Komnenoi *hetaireiarches* was not a high position and was occupied primarily by nobles of the second echelon, even though we find among the *hetaireiarchai* some relatives of the ruling dynasty, such as George Palaiologos (O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 [1970–71] 403–06). In the 14th C. pseudo-Kodinos stressed the *hetaireiarches*'s functions of control over foreigners rather than his duty as the guardian of the emperor. Under Andronikos II members of some great families (MOUZALON, NESTONGOS-DOUKAS) held this post and the *hetaireiarches* often functioned on missions far from the palace.

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "L'Hétériarque," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 101–43. Bury, *Adm. System* 106–08. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 59f. –A.K.

HETOIMASIA (ἑτοιμασία, lit. "preparation"), the prepared throne for Christ's Second Coming or PAROUSIA (Ps 9:7). *Hetoimasia* is the name conventionally given to images of a richly appointed THRONE bearing—in some combination—Gospel book, Cross, crown, dove, and Passion instruments. The name is not coeval with the image. Initially, in the 5th–7th C., the image signifies not the empty throne awaiting God, but—in accord with antique use of the throne to represent the presence of a god or emperor—God's mystic presence upon the throne. Similarly, in apses and cupolas from the 12th C. onward, the *hetoimasia* is flanked by officiating bishops or angels and bears the objects of their devotion: the Passion instruments, which signal the saving power of Christ's appearance and sacrifice, both in life and in the liturgy, and the dove, which indicates the role of the Trinity in the EUCHARIST. By the 11th C., however, the *hetoimasia* is also found in compositions, above all the LAST JUDGMENT, that included Christ himself enthroned. In such cases the *hetoimasia* displays the Cross and Passion instruments just as the True Cross was displayed upon a throne in court rituals; here it represents not Christ himself mystically enthroned, but the sign of his Second Coming. It carried this meaning into its many independent appearances on reliquaries, icons, MSS, and sanctuary arches. In such instances it acquired, from the 12th C. onward, the label of the "prepared throne" of the Second Coming.

LIT. T. von Bogyay, "Zur Geschichte der Hetoimasie," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 58–61. A.L. Townsley, "Eucharistic Doctrine and the Liturgy in Late Byzantine Painting," *OrChr* 58 (1974) 140–47. –A.W.C.

HETʿUMIDS, second dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1226–1341). The Hetʿumids were originally lords of Lambron and Barbaron near the southern approaches to the CILICIAN GATES, and as such first pursued a pro-Byz. policy at odds with that of the ruling RUBENIDS. The theologian NERSĒS OF LAMBRON was a member of this family. After the death of LEO II/I, the regent Constantine of Lambron arranged the marriage of his own son, Hetʿum I (1226–69) to the Rubenid princess Zabel, thus placing his family on the Cilician throne.

After achieving royal power, the policies of the Hetʿumids then shifted toward recognition of Mongol suzerainty, and Hetʿum I himself journeyed to the court of the khan in 1253. Cilicia prospered under his rule, and under that of his immediate successor, Leo II/III (1269–89). The latter was helped by Hetʿum's brother SMBAT THE CONSTABLE. Serious difficulties arose, however, with the accession of Hetʿum II (1289–1301) who faced simultaneously the conversion of the Mongols to Islam and the advance of the Mamluks. In 1307 the Mongols executed the new king Leo III/IV together with his uncle, the former king Hetʿum II, who had abdicated in favor of Leo. Internal quarrels between pro- and anti-Latin parties weakened the realm still further. Ošin I (1308–20) was murdered by his relatives; his heir Leo IV/V (1320–41) was killed by the Latinophiles, who then offered the crown to the LUSIGNANS.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *HC* 2:651–59. Boase, *Cilician Armenia*, esp. 23–28. –N.G.G.

HEXAEMERON (lit. "six days"), a term denoting the account in Genesis 1 of the creation of the universe in six days, also connotes the patristic commentaries and other writings on this narrative that form a distinctive literary genre both in Byz. and in the West. Though preceded by Theophilos of Antioch (died after 181), apparently the first Christian user of the word, the nine homilies of BASIL THE GREAT on the Hexaemeron are the first patristic landmark. Rejecting pagan theories as self-contradictory, Basil presents a firm Christian view based on Moses' supposed authorship of Genesis. The universe is not eternal but has a moral purpose. Concerned to show the active role of God as creator, Basil rejects allegory for science, presenting the elements and beauty of the world in a literal way. His sensibly eclectic philosophy and science draw heavily on Aristotle, Plato, and Poseidonios.

Basil's homilies were immediately and enduringly influential. GREGORY OF NYSSA supplemented them with his *On the Making of Man*, an anthropological disputation on man's creation, and the *Apologetic Explication on the Hexaemeron*, which continues Basil's rejection of allegory. Other patristic contributors include THEODORE OF MOP-

SUESTIA (fragments concerning Gen 1–3 survive) and SEVERIANOS OF GABALA. An outstanding (albeit rare) Byz. poetic treatment is the iambic *Hexaemeron* by GEORGE OF PISIDIA (G. Bianchi, *Aevum* 40 [1966] 35–52). In the West, Basil's homilies were exploited by AMBROSE of Milan and translated into Latin ca.440 by the African Eustathios; they were also translated into Church Slavonic by JOHN THE EXARCH. The *Hexaemeron* of Robert GROSSETESTE (written ca.1232/3) was greatly influenced by the *Hexaemeron* of Basil (R.W. Southern, *Robert Grosseteste* [Oxford 1986] 204–10).

ED. *Homélies sur l'Hexaéméron*², ed. S. Giet (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr. PG 92:1383–1424.
LIT. F.E. Robbins, *The Hexaemeral Literature* (Chicago 1912). –B.B.

HEXAFOLLON. See PARAKOLOUTHEMATA.

HEXAGRAM (ἑξάγραμμα, lit. "six-grams"), a silver coin of the 7th C. weighing 6.82 g, that is, six *grammata* or scruples, and probably reckoned 12 to the SOLIDUS. Introduced by Herakleios in 615, it was struck in huge quantities throughout his reign and that of Constans II. Specimens of Constantine IV are rare, however, and under his successors it became a ceremonial coin only occasionally struck, ceasing entirely under Anastasios II.

LIT. P. Yannopoulos, *L'hexagramme* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1978). –Ph.G.

HEXAMETER, the meter of Homer, enjoyed great prestige throughout the Byz. period. In the 4th–early 7th C. the hexameter was the vehicle of a widespread group of professional poets radiating from Egypt (e.g., PAMPREPIOS, CHRISTODOROS, KOLLOUTHOS, NONNOS, and TRIPHIODOROS), many of them reaching high civic positions, who concentrated on mythology, *ekphrasis*, and local history. Their use of the hexameter was extremely complex, adding many rules to those of the Alexandrian poets, which themselves were more strict than those of Homer. It is generally assumed that this complexity was a self-conscious refinement, but some features of their rules plainly relate to the final disappearance of the sense of syllable quantity in Greek, which probably took place within this period. Until the end of the 6th C., the writing of hexameter, though an archaic feature, appears to have remained a living means of artistic expression, rather than the revival of a dead form. Normally, poetry written in hexameter preserves an archaic lexical pattern.

The last poem of this tradition is credibly attributed to GEORGE OF PISIDIA and its form has suggested a possible link to the POLITICAL VERSE. Subsequent hexameters are clearly antiquarian exercises, based (with greater or less success) on ancient models, rather than following the development of a live form of expression. Some of the ceremonial verse of Theodore PRODROMOS, however, is in the hexameter, perhaps implying public recitation in the 12th C. Later, this meter was used by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES and esp. Theodore METOCHITES. Surviving treatises on hexameter include one ascribed to Plutarch, another to Herodian (Krumbacher, *GBL* 596f).

LIT. A.D.E. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509, esp. 482f. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:91. –M.J.J., A.K.

HEXAMILION (Ἑξαμίλιον, "six-miler"), barrier-wall across the Isthmus of Corinth, from the Saronic Gulf to the Gulf of Corinth (an actual distance of about five miles), designed to defend the Peloponnesos against an attack from the north. Literary and archaeological evidence show that the isthmus was defended at various times in antiquity and plans were made to fortify it during the crisis of the 3rd C. The devastation of the Peloponnesos by ALARIC led to the realization of this plan in the early years of the 5th C., at about the same time as construction of the Land Walls of Theodosios II in Constantinople. The wall was 10 Roman feet (nearly 3 m) thick, approximately 8 m high, with towers that were primarily rectangular; a large fortress was located near the former Sanctuary of Poseidon at Isthmia. The fortifications were apparently allowed to fall into disrepair and were restored by Justinian I. The Hexamilion was defended during the time of the Slavic invasions, but it seems not to have been an effective barrier. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 610.5–7) reports that the isthmus was unsuccessfully defended against the Crusaders in 1205.

In 1415 Manuel II rebuilt the Hexamilion, and during the next half-century it served as the primary defense of the Peloponnesos. The Turks breached the walls in May of 1423 and the future

emperor Constantine XI rebuilt it in 1443; subsequently a prophecy (perhaps inscribed on the wall itself) was circulated to the effect that the Hexamilion would protect a revived empire (E.W. Bodnar, *AJA* 64 [1960] 165–72). The Hexamilion fell again to the Turks on 10 Dec. 1446 despite a spirited defense. The Venetians restored the fortifications in 1462. Another Hexamilia, ancient Lysimachia, was a bishopric suffragan to HERAKLEIA in Thrace (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:229–31).

LIT. P.A. Clement, "The Date of the Hexamilion," in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* (Thessalonike 1975) 159–64. R.L. Hohlfelder, "Trans-Isthmian Walls in the Age of Justinian," *GRBS* 18 (1977) 173–79. –T.E.G.

HEXAPTERYGA. See SERAPHIM.

HEXAPTERYGOS, THEODORE, teacher and writer; born ca.1180, died Nicaea ca.1236. Educated at the Patriarchal School of Constantinople, Hexapterygos (Ἑξαπτέρυγος) was evidently the student of George Tornikes and Constantine Stilbes. He became a teacher of poetry and rhetoric in Nicaea and taught George AKROPOLITES and four other students sent to him by Emp. John III Vatatzes in 1234 (Akrop. 1:49.24–50.3). Six tales (*diegemata*) and a funeral oration on a certain Stephanos, one of his relatives, are extant in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, philol. gr. 254). His seal, bearing a dodecasyllabic legend, is preserved in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection (acquisition no.58.106.4608).

ED. W. Hörandner, "Die Progymnasmata des Theodoros Hexapterygos," in *Byzantios* 147–62.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:442. Constantinides, *Education* 9–11. –C.N.C.

HIERAPOLIS (Ἱεράπολις, "holy city"), name of two cities in the late Roman Empire, one in Phrygia, the other in Syria.

HIERAPOLIS IN PHRYGIA (now Pamukkale) rarely appears in historical sources, but excavations have revealed significant Byz. remains. Notable among them is the richly decorated octagonal Church of St. Philip, built on the site of the apostle's alleged tomb and surrounded by a large rectangular colonnade in the late 4th/early 5th C. It was never rebuilt after its destruction by fire in the mid-6th C. The site also contains four other large basilical churches of the 5th–6th C.; one of them was built into a Roman bath. The churches, large and numerous for a relatively small city, indicate that Hierapolis was considered a particularly holy site. Secular buildings are poorly known; the city walls have been assigned to the 4th/5th C. By the 10th C. Hierapolis was in decline: churches had been replaced by small chapels; squatters occupied the shrine of St. Philip; and the city came to resemble a village. By 1190 it was ruined and abandoned. Originally a suffragan bishopric of LAODIKEIA, Hierapolis became a metropolis before 553.

LIT. P. Verzone, *RBK* 2:1203–23. T. Ritti, *Hierapolis, Scavi e ricerche*, vol. 1 (Rome 1985). –C.F.

HIERAPOLIS IN SYRIA (Μέμπετζε in Leo Diac. 165.22, Syr. Mabbug, Ar. Manbij), city in northern Syria, northeast of BERROIA (Aleppo); probably under Constantius II it became the capital of EUPHRATENSIS. Hierapolis was a military headquarters during the wars with Persia: in 363 Julian assembled his army there. In 540 Chosroes I imposed tribute on the city, and in 590 KOMENTIOLOS welcomed Chosroes II near Hierapolis and started his expedition from there into the Persian interior. Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.7) calls Hierapolis an "ample city." Justinian I had to shorten the extent of its walls since by his time they encompassed abandoned areas and were difficult to defend (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.9.13); he also tried to improve the city's water supply.

A religious center in antiquity, Hierapolis became an ecclesiastical metropolis subject to Antioch. The 6th-C. rhetorician PROKOPIOS OF GAZA relates that Indians, Phoenicians, Scythians, Hellenes, and inhabitants of Asia Minor congregated in Hierapolis to hear panegyrics. Hierapolis developed into a Monophysite center; PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG was bishop there in the early 6th C., and Thomas of Harqel in the early 7th.

Taken by the Arabs in 637, Hierapolis became a part of the *jund* of Qinnasrīn yet retained Christian churches and relics, perhaps including the Holy Tile, or KERAMION (its original location is also assigned to EMESA). ABŪ FIRĀS, governor of Manbij, was captured by the Byz. in 962 and taken to Constantinople, where he wrote poems about his longing for his city. According to Yaḥyā of Antioch, in 966 Nikephoros II Phokas forced the

people of Manbij to surrender the Holy Tile to him. Leo the Deacon, however, says that when John I Tzimiskes seized Hierapolis in 974, he found other relics: Christ's sandals and the bloody hair of John the Baptist (Leo Diac. 165.21–166.3). In 1025 Hierapolis was taken once more by the Muslims but was again recovered by the Byz. in 1068, when Romanos IV captured the city and fortified its citadel. The Byz. then retained it until 1086, when it was taken by MALIKSHĀH. The Crusaders occupied Hierapolis in 1110/11. John II Komnenos passed the city by without attacking it, and the Greeks never reestablished their rule over Hierapolis.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* supp. 4 (1924) 733–42. N. Elisséeff, *EI*[2] 6:377–83. G. Goossens, *Hiérapolis de Syrie* (Louvain 1943) 145–85. –M.M.M.

HIERIA (Turk. Fenerbahçe). The name (spelling varies, Ἱερία, Ἱερεῖα, Ἡρία) is derived from Heraia Akra. Hieria, an Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, is a promontory, terminating in a little peninsula and situated opposite CHALCEDON to the east. Here Justinian I built a palace with a harbor and a Church of St. Mary (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.3.10, 1.11.16–22). Hieria was the residence of Herakleios (611, ca.636) and the seat of the Iconoclastic council of 754 (see HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF). A chapel of the Prophet Elijah was added by Basil I, who also resided there. Further buildings were put up by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 451f). Site of one of the emperor's summer palaces, Hieria often served as a reception point of triumphal returns from campaigns in the East. The existence of the palace is documented until 1203, but the archaeological remains (cistern, harbor breakwater, funerary inscriptions) are meager.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Hiéria," *IRAIK* 4.2–3 (1899) 9–78. Janin, *CP byz.* 148–50, 498f. –C.M.

HIERIA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF. CONSTANTINE V summoned this council (10 Feb.–8 Aug. 754) at the palace of Hieria in Chalcedon to condemn the veneration and production of images as idolatrous and pagan. The council regarded itself as having ecumenical authority, a claim subsequently rejected by the church because four of the five patriarchs had refused to participate. Actually, the see of Constantinople was itself vacant at the time. The 338 bishops in attendance were guided primarily by the emperor's own theology and devotion to ICONOCLASM. Their dogmatic definition insisted that a pictorial representation of God in any form was impossible. They argued that an ICON of Christ either depicted his humanity alone, or both his humanity and divinity. That is, it either separated Christ's human nature from his divine, which was NESTORIANISM, or it confused the two, which was MONOPHYSITISM (Mansi 13:252A). Indeed, the only true image of Christ, representing him in his totality, was the EUCHARIST. This ingenious Christological argument, later condemned as heretical by NICAEA II, was clearly intended to go beyond the purely scriptural prohibition of images used previously by Iconoclasts. The council's definition survives solely in the acts of Nicaea II.

SOURCES. Mansi 13:204–364. Ostrogorsky, *Bilderstr.* 7–45.

LIT. M.V. Anastos, "The Argument for Iconoclasm as Presented by the Iconoclastic Council of 754," *LCMS* 177–88. Idem, "The Ethical Theory of Images Formulated by the Iconoclasts in 754 and 815," *DOP* 8 (1954) 151–60. S. Gero, "The Eucharistic Doctrine of the Byzantine Iconoclasts and its Sources," *BZ* 68 (1975) 4–22. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.345. –A.P.

HIERISSOS (Ἱερισσός, also Erisso), town (*kastron*) in the Macedonian CHALKIDIKE near the neck of the Athonite peninsula; it was founded on the site of the insignificant ancient city of Akanthos and is known from the 9th C. It formed an urban community that possessed common land (*koinotopion*), bought and rented lands collectively, was responsible as a whole for paying rent and taxes, and collectively defended its rights in court. A unique act of 982 (*Ivir.*, no.4) bears crosses indicating signatures of 74 notable inhabitants (*oiketores*) of the *kastron*, of whom at least 14 had Slavic names (one having signed in Glagolitic), 21 or more of them were clerics (priests, lectors, deacons, etc.), three or five had low secular offices (*komes*, *archon*, *kouboukleisios* as well as exarch and *domestikos* who may have been either secular or ecclesiastic), two were described as owners (*oikodespotai*), and only one was a craftman—a *chalkeus* (smith). The importance of Hierissos grew as Mt. Athos became a major monastic center—it served as a stopping place on the way to the peninsula. Around 883 John Kolobos founded the KOLOBOU

MONASTERY near Hierissos that subsequently accommodated travelling Athonite monks; later still several Athonite monasteries acquired properties in Hierissos.

Hierissos formed a district, *enoria*, later *katepanikion*, under Thessalonike; nevertheless, documents of the 14th C. speak of the village (*chorion*) of Hierissos (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.12.12). The fate of the bishopric of Hierissos is obscure: it seems that there was no bishop before 943 and that Theodotos, mentioned in 982, was the first incumbent (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 14–15 [1973] 155–58); on the other hand, a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 7.305) dated by J. Darrouzès to the early 10th C. lists the bishop of Hierissos as suffragan of Thessalonike. After 1204 the bishops of Hierissos added to their title "and of the Holy Mountain." In ca.1341–65 Bishop Jacob obtained temporarily the title of metropolitan of Hierissos (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 4 [1970] 395–410). Hierissos was occupied by the Turks probably in 1425.

LIT. *Paysages de Macédoine*, ed. J. Lefort (Paris 1986) 157f. J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:131. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:68–78. D. Papachryssanthou, "Histoire d'un évêché byzantin: Hierissos en Chalcidique," *TM* 8 (1981) 373–96.
–T.E.G., A.K.

HIEROKLES (Ἱεροκλῆς), 5th-C. philosopher. A student of the Neoplatonist Plutarch of Athens (died 431 or 432), Hierokles taught at Alexandria, where his lectures on PLATO, esp. the *Gorgias*, attracted much attention and admiration. A militant pagan, he was flogged for his beliefs during a visit to Constantinople but did not recant. He may be the Neoplatonist Hierokles warmly described by AINEIAS OF GAZA (PG 85:873A). His commentary on the Golden Words of the Pythagoreans survives, as do extracts from his collected studies *On Providence and Fate*, preserved only by Photios (*Bibl.*, cods. 214, 251), who commends him for a clarity of style appropriate to philosophy. *On Providence* was dedicated to a certain Olympiodoros, perhaps the pagan poet-historian OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES.

ED. *In Aureum Pythagoreorum carmen commentarius*, ed. F.W. Koehler (Stuttgart 1974).

LIT. I. Hadot, *Le problème du néoplatonisme alexandrin. Hiéroclès et Simplicius* (Paris 1978). N. Aujoulat, "Sur la vie et les oeuvres de Hiéroclès: Problèmes de chronologie," *Pallas* 23 (1976) 19–30.
–B.B.

HIEROKLES, presumed author of the *Synekdemos*, a geographical list of the cities of the Eastern Empire, dated before 535. Nothing else is known of the man. As preserved, the *Synekdemos* is a bare list of cities, arranged according to provinces and in rough geographical order within the provinces. The document undoubtedly owes its preservation to confusion with episcopal notitias, which it superficially resembles. The *Synekdemos*, however, seems to have been based on secular administrative documents from the mid-5th C., although additions to the list were made through the reign of Justinian I, at which time Hierokles presumably wrote. It has been suggested that the present text of the *Synekdemos* is an epitome of a fuller, geographically oriented guidebook, but the list of cities is very different from the *itineraria* and it contains information different from what one would expect in a work of merely antiquarian interest. In format the *Synekdemos* can be compared to the *Description* of GEORGE OF CYPRUS and to the Paris MS, B.N. gr. 1115A (the so-called "Iconoclast notitia"), to which it is certainly related. Although there are many errors and lacunae in the text, its reliability as a guide to the overall municipal structure of the empire seems sound.

ED. A. Burckhardt, *Hieroclis synecdemus* (Leipzig 1893). E. Honigmann, *Le Synekdèmos d'Hiéroklès et l'opuscule géographique de Georges de Chypre* (Brussels 1939).

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, *Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*[2] (Oxford 1971) 514–21. T.E. Gregory, "Roman Inscriptions from Aidepsos," *GRBS* 20 (1979) 273–76.
–T.E.G.

HIEROMONACHOS (ἱερομόναχος), or hieromonk, a monk ordained as a priest. Justinian I (nov. 133.2) decreed that four or five priests were sufficient for each monastery; the *typikon* for the PETRITZOS monastery (ed. Gautier, 59–63) prescribed six priests for a community of 50 monks. The *hieromonachos* was charged with conducting the services in the monastic church.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 24, 95f, 279f, 389–91.
–A.M.T.

HIERON (Ἱερόν), name of two places in Asia Minor.

HIERON ON THE BOSPOROS, a fortress guarding the approach to Constantinople, now Anadolu

Kavak. Justinian I replaced its *archon* with a *comes Stenon Pontikes thalasses* whose duties included surveillance of shipping and collection of customs at the local *demosion teloneion*. By the 9th C. a PARATHALASSITES took the place of this official. The customs revenues of Hieron increased from the 9th C. onward, as traffic with the north grew; they were considered a valuable source of income during the revolt of John (VI) Kantakouzenos in 1345, when both the government and the rebel attempted to increase them. Hieron was attacked in 822 by THOMAS THE SLAV and in 941 by the Rus', whose fleet was destroyed there. It was taken by the Genoese in 1350 and by MEHMED II in 1452. Hieron contains a powerful fortress (Yoros kalesi), perhaps the work of Manuel I Komnenos, with Genoese rebuilding.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Fonctionnaires et bureaux maritimes à Byzance," *REB* 19 (1961) 246f. S. Toy, "The Castles of the Bosporus," *Archaeologia* 80 (1930) 215–28. A. Gabriel, *Chateaux turcs du Bosphore* (Paris 1943) 79–81.
–C.F.

HIERON NEAR MILETOS. Hieron was also the Byz. name for ancient Didyma whose famous temple of Apollo, fortified against Gothic attack in the late 3rd C., was repaired by Diocletian and Julian; subsequently a church was installed in it. The fortress was strengthened in the 7th C. and became the nucleus of a new bishopric, Hieron or "the Temple," a suffragan of Miletos attested through the 12th C. Alexios I Komnenos enlarged the fort (C. Foss, *GOrThR* 27 [1982] 157f) and used it as a base for his reconquest of western Asia Minor. Hieron, which consisted only of one ancient building and a surrounding village, is important for illustrating the nature of a small Byz. city and bishopric.

LIT. L. Robert, "Didymes à l'époque byzantine," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 495–502. W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 38–41.
–C.F.

HIERONYMUS. See JEROME.

HIKANATOI. See DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON.

HIKANOSIS (*ἱκάνωσις*, lit. "equalization"), a fiscal term used in a treatise on TAXATION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 122.41) to designate the operation by which the surveyor ensured that each taxpayer held no more land than the quantity corresponding to the tax that he was paying. The process is also described (ibid. 121.31–32) as assessing "the land that corresponds to the figure (of tax) due by the STICHOS." The term *hikanosis* and its derivatives are found in a number of documents. A chrysobull of Alexios I of 1089 (*Xénoph.*, no.2.14–29) explains that the emperor had established a "norm" (*metron*) in view of assessing how much land should correspond to each nomisma (of tax paid by the landowner). Also in 1089 Anna Dalassene ordered that the land "imposed" on the monastery of Docheiariou be "equalized in accordance with its payment [*teloumenon*] to the fisc" (*Docheiar.*, no.2.23–24). In the 14th C. the verb *hikanopoieisthai* ("perform an equalization") was applied to the assessment of land in accordance with the granted POSOTES (*Docheiar.*, no.26.3–4, *Dionys.*, no.2.32–33). If, after the *hikanosis*, it appeared that the taxpayer held more land than he was entitled to (according to the amount of tax that he paid), this "superfluous" land (*peritte ge* or *perisseia*) could be taken away from him.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 124f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 132f. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 80, n.1. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 140.
–A.K.

HILANDAR MONASTERY, Serbian monastery on Mt. ATHOS, located near Esphigmenou, 2 km inland from the northeastern coast of the peninsula. Originally a Greek foundation, Hilandar (Χελανδάριον) may have been established in the late 10th C. by George Chelandarios ("the Boatman"); by 1015 it was deserted and had been handed over to the KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY. The plan of the main church and possibly its *opus sectile* floor date from the monastery's foundation, as do portions of the eastern enclosure wall and a large area to the southeast, including the Tower of St. George.

In 1198–99 the monastery was restored as a Serbian *koinobion* by STEFAN NEMANJA (died 1199), who took the monastic name Symeon, and by his son SAVA, who composed in 1199 a *typikon* based on the rule of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. They constructed a new church and added a refectory, which was later partly rebuilt. By the early 13th C. Hilandar was inhabited by

90 monks. A chapel in an upper story of the Tower of St. George contains wall paintings dated by Bogdanović et al. (*infra* 64) to the mid-13th C. The next great benefactor of Hilandar was STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, who in 1303 replaced the late 12th-C. *katholikon* with a new triconch church with narthex (S. Nenadović, *HilZb* 3 [1974] 85–208; P. Mylonas, *HilZb* 6 [1986] 7–45) and also restored the refectory; he strengthened the monastery's fortifications and added a tower at the harbor. Originally endowed by Nemanja with 15 Serbian villages, Hilandar became very wealthy and, by the mid-14th C., owned one-fifth of the Athos peninsula, plus lands from Macedonia (esp. Strymon and Chalkidike regions) to Serbia, 360 villages or parts of villages in all. At this time it held fourth place in the Athonite hierarchy. Hilandar was completely independent of the authority of both the PROTOS and Byz. emperor. The *hegoumenoi* of Hilandar frequently became archbishops of Serbia.

Hilandar became an important Serbian Orthodox religious and cultural center (see SERBIAN LITERATURE): the Serbian writers DOMENTIAN, TEODOSIJE, and Danilo were all monks of Hilandar. It was also a treasurehouse of Serbian art. It contains an important collection of icons, notably a mosaic icon of the Hodegetria (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.7); it is ascribed by V. Djurić to the end of the 12th C. Djurić (*BZ* 53 [1960] 333–51) argued that in the 14th C. Hilandar was a center of icon production, and dated the Čin (an icon row from the church's templon) to ca.1360, seeing there the same hand that painted a Gospel book (cod.9) in the monastery's library. The Serbian variant of Old CHURCH SLAVONIC developed at the monastery, which housed a scriptorium, a center for translation, and bilingual library. Most of the approximately 1200 MSS preserved at Hilandar are in Slavic; esp. notable are the numerous illuminated MSS of the 13th C. The archives, which include 172 Greek and 154 Serbian documents from the medieval period, provide information on the structure of the countryside, *pronoia*, taxation, and the economic inequality of the peasants.

SOURCES. L. Mirković, *Hilandarski tipik svetoga Save* (Belgrade 1935). *Actes de Chilandar, Part I*, ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 17 (1910 [1911]), supp. 1. *Part II*, ed. B. Korablev, *VizVrem* 19 (1912 [1915]), supp. 1. V. Mošin, A. Sovre, *Dodatki k grškim listinam Hilandarja* (Llubljana 1948).

LIT. D. Bogdanović, V.J. Djurić, D. Medaković, *Hilandar* (Belgrade 1978). Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 271–73. V. Mošin, M. Purković, *Chilandarski igumeni srednjega veka* (Skopje 1940). *Hilandarski zbornik*, vols. 1– (1966–). M. Živojinović, "The Spiritual Father of the Monastery of Chilandar," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 247–56. D. Bogdanović, D. Medaković, *Katalog ćirilskih rukopisa Manastira Hilandara*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1978). S. Ćurčić, *Hilandar Monastery: An Archive of Architectural Drawings, Sketches, and Photographs* (Princeton 1988). *Treasures* 2:258–87, 387–94. –A.M.T., A.C.

HIMATION (ἱμάτιον), a mantle, the Greek equivalent of the Roman *pallium*. It was originally an oblong outer garment of wool or linen, worn over the TUNIC, and draped over the left shoulder and body in such a way as to leave the right shoulder free. In this specific form it survives in all Byz. representations of figures in antique garb, such as Christ, the apostles, and prophets, but it was apparently not in daily use after late antiquity.

In the Byz. monastic *typika*, the word *himation* refers to a different garment, namely the dark cotton mantle worn by monks (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.609) and nuns. When used in the plural (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 67.930), it has the more general meaning of clothing.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:20. Idem, "Symbole eis to peri byzantinon phorematon kephalaion," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 9–12. –N.P.Š.

HIMERIOS, teacher and orator; born Prusias, Bithynia, between ca.300 and 310, died after 380. Himerios (Ἱμέριος) spent most of his life at Athens, first as a student, then (probably) in an official teaching post. Though his pagan memorialist EUNAPIOS would not think so, his most distinguished students were BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. He died old, rich, blind, and epileptic. He produced at least 75 speeches and declamations; time has spared only 24, with excerpts and fragments from ten or so others. Thematically, they are the traditional mélange of the old-style sophist: reworkings of great moments in Athenian history, school lectures, addresses to high officials—elegant nothings, for the most part. Yet PHOTIOS (cf. A. Colonna, *Miscellanea Giovanni Galbiati*, vol. 2 [Milan 1956] 95–106), a great admirer of their style, compares his pagan stance to the "secret yappings of dogs amongst us" (*Bibl.*, cod.165), which may suggest he had read items more detectably pagan than anything now extant.

ED. *Declamationes et orationes*, ed. A. Colonna (Rome 1951). S. Eitrem and L. Amundsen, "Fragments from the Speeches of Himerios," *ClMed* 17 (1956) 23–30.

LIT. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 141–49. D. Serruys, "Les procédés toniques d'Himérius et les origines du 'cursus' byzantin," in *Philologie et linguistique. Mélanges Louis Havet* (Paris 1909; rp. Geneva 1972) 475–99. –B.B.

HIMERIOS (Ἱμέριος), admiral under LEO VI; died Constantinople? 912/13. A relative of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, Himerios belonged to the ranks of civil officials and was given, by chroniclers, the offices of *protasekretis* and *logothetes tou dromou;* he had the title of *patrikios.* Leo VI sent Himerios in 904 to prevent LEO OF TRIPOLI from besieging Thessalonike, but Himerios did not dare attack the Arab fleet; later, however, he won a brilliant victory over the Arab fleet "on the day of the apostle Thomas" (6 Oct.). The exact year of this battle is questionable: Grumel assumes that it occurred in 908, but 905 or 906 are more plausible dates (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes*, 2.1:185, n.1); reportedly sent with Himerios, Andronikos DOUKAS unexpectedly defected. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA praised Himerios's victory (P. Karlin-Hayter, *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60] 300.28). In 911 Himerios, as *droungarios* of the fleet, commanded a fleet sent against the Cretan Arabs but was defeated by the Arab admirals Damian and Leo of Tripoli off Chios in April 912 (R. Jenkins, *Hellenika* supp. 4 [1953] 277–81). After his return to Constantinople, Himerios was imprisoned by the emperor ALEXANDER and died six months later.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Notes chronologiques," *EO* 36 (1937) 202–07. – A.K.

ḤIMṢ. See EMESA.

ḤIMYAR, the land of the Ḥimyarites (Ὁμηρῖται), a state in South Arabia (now Yemen) that included the littoral on the Red Sea and Indian Ocean (with cities such as NAJRĀN and Ẓafar) and inland territory inhabited by Bedouins. Ḥimyar played an important role in late Roman trade with AXUM and INDIA, bringing to the Mediterranean spices, myrrh, silk, etc. For a short time in the 4th C. Ḥimyar was under Axumite domination, as it was to be again in the 6th C. An attempt in the early 6th C. to establish independence under a native ruler, DHŪ-NUWĀS, was suppressed by the Axumites supported by a navy sent by Justin I. The new ruler, ABRAHA, however, while continuing tribute payments to Axum, conducted an independent policy and managed to consolidate his kingdom and to expand its borders northward. Justinian I tried to involve Ḥimyar in active warfare against Persia but the Ḥimyarites avoided direct confrontation with the Persians. Circa 570 some Ḥimyarite chiefs invited the Persians into their country, and King Masruq, the last member of Abraha's dynasty, fell in battle; Ḥimyar was placed under Persian governors with their residence in Ṣanʿāʾ.

Christianity penetrated Ḥimyar in the 4th C. (acc. to Philostorgios), although Theodore Lector dates its appearance in the area much later, in the reign of Anastasios I. The country became a battlefield between Christianity and Judaism, which had had a strong tradition in Ḥimyar. Christianity, in its Monophysite version, triumphed with military support from Axum and Constantinople; local bishops acknowledged the jurisdiction of Alexandria. When Muḥammad sent his first embassy to South Arabia, the emissaries did not meet any serious opposition from the local population, and the Ḥimyarites converted to Islam.

LIT. J.H. Mordtmann, *EI* 2:310–12. N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija na putjach v Indiju* (Moscow-Leningrad 1951) 215–384. H. von Wissmann, *Zur Geschichte und Landeskunde von Alt-Südarabien* (Vienna 1965). P. Marrassini, "Bisanzio e il Mar Rosso: Cristianesimo e giudaismo in Arabia fino al VI secolo," 28 *CorsiRav* (1981) 177–91. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia." *DOP* 33 (1979) 25–87. –A.K.

HINCMAR. See ANNALES BERTINIANI.

HIPPIATRICA, or "horse medicine," was highly developed in the Byz. Empire. The shift to dependence upon CAVALRY in the late Roman army ensured the high honor accorded to hippiatric writings; the extant collection of veterinary medical writings in Greek, compiled on orders from Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, compacts the works of Apsyrtos (fl. ca.330?), Hierokles (fl. ca.360?), and many other military veterinarians whose task it was to maintain the health of cavalry horses. A 10th-C. luxury edition of the *Hippiatrika* is preserved in Berlin (Staatsbibl. Phillips 1538), decorated with ornaments and headpieces imitating the form of cloisonné ENAMEL. A more utilitarian 14th-C. version in Paris (B.N. gr. 2244)

contains miniatures depicting the treatment of sick horses and a portrait of Hierokles (Weitzmann, *Grundlagen* 24).

Byz. veterinarians were forced to invent fresh words to describe the ailments of animals, quite often viewed as analogous to human diseases, and the drugs prescribed and theories assumed are similar to comparable matters in Byz. medicine as a whole. Farm lore is prominent in the hippiatric literature, much as it is for the simple veterinary care suggested for HORSES, DOGS, domestic BIRDS, pigs, and even bees as listed in the GEOPONIKA.

LIT. A.-M. Doyen-Higuet, "The *Hippiatrica* and Byzantine Veterinary Medicine," *DOP* 38 (1984) 111–20. K.D. Fischer, "Pelagonius on Horse Medicine," ed. F. Cairns in *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 3 (1981) 285–303. R.E. Walker, "Roman Veterinary Medicine," appendix in J.M.C. Toynbee, *Animals in Roman Life and Art* (London–Ithaca, N.Y., 1973) 303–34, 404–14. –J.S., A.C.

HIPPOCAMP (*ἱππόκαμπος*), seahorse, a fabulous monster with a horse's body and fish's tail on which sea deities would ride. The hippocamp is infrequently mentioned in literary texts and plays no role in mythology; the church fathers ignore it. The image does often appear, however, in both classical and Byz. art, notably on bone CASKETS AND BOXES. –A.K.

HIPPODROMES, arenas for horse and chariot races as well as other events.

Hippodrome of Constantinople. According to unverified tradition, the Hippodrome was built by Septimius Severus (shortly after 196) and completed by Constantine I, who provided it with an imperial box (KATHISMA) and built the GREAT PALACE next to it. It served not only as a sports arena, but also as a setting for the proclamation of emperors and the celebration of TRIUMPHS and as a focus for the public life of the city's population.

As a building the Hippodrome was a typical Roman circus of the period of the Tetrarchy. It was hairpin-shaped, with its gates (Lat. *carceres*; Gr. *kankella, thyrai*) toward the northeast and its curved end (SPHENDONE) pointing southwest. The arena was divided into two tracks by a slightly oblique barrier (Lat. *spina*, Gr. *euripos*), upon which were placed obelisks, statues, and other ornamental features. Rising tiers of seats supported on vaulted passages surrounded the arena except for the side occupied by the *carceres*. Above the seating ran a continuous colonnaded passage. The Kathisma rose along the east side, probably somewhat south of center, while the west side, as in some other Roman circuses, followed a somewhat irregular line. The exact length of the Hippodrome is unknown, but must have been about 450 m. The outer width measured at the base of the Sphendone is 117.5 m and the inner width 79.5 m. The seating capacity may be tentatively estimated as somewhat above 100,000.

The 12 gates were equipped with a mechanism that enabled them to be opened simultaneously. At their center rose a tower surmounted by a quadriga of four gilded horses (which at the time of the Fourth Crusade were transported to Venice, where they remained until recently on the façade of S. Marco). Starting from the gates, the competing chariots made for the turning post (Lat. *meta*, Gr. *kampter*) marking the north termination of the *spina*, then went round the course seven times in a counterclockwise direction. The finishing line was probably in the western track, directly in front of the grandstands (Gr. *demoi*) occupied by the partisans of the two main FACTIONS. Opposite these grandstands was the imperial Kathisma, corresponding to the *pulvinar* of the Circus Maximus. It was built into the seating and appears to have been a two-storied structure, with the imperial loge and a reception hall on the first floor. It communicated with the palace by means of a spiral staircase (Gr. *kochlias*) and was protected at the rear by bronze doors, which barred access to the palace in the event the Kathisma was occupied by insurgents, as happened during the Nika Revolt (532).

In the late Roman period CHARIOT RACES were held frequently, but by the 9th C. they were reduced to about three a year, not counting those for special occasions such as imperial triumphs or the reception of foreign potentates. These special races went on until the Latin occupation. The conduct of the games is minutely described in the DE CEREMONIIS (bk.1, chs. 68–73). A schematic representation of the games has survived among the frescoes of St. Sophia, KIEV.

The structure of the Hippodrome was kept up until ca.1200. In 1203 the west wing was burnt down and soon thereafter the Crusaders melted

down the bronze statues that had decorated the *spina*, as Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 647–55) records. In the Palaiologan period the Hippodrome, now partly in ruins, was used for jousts. A view, published by O. Panvinio (1600), illustrates its condition in ca.1480. Surviving portions include the tall substructure of the Sphendone, the substructure of part of the east wing, and three monuments of the *spina*, namely: (1) the Egyptian obelisk of Thutmosis III set on a marble base bearing reliefs and bilingual inscriptions of Theodosios I from 390 (see OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS); (2) the Serpent Column, the central shaft of the Delphic tripod dedicated by the victorious Greeks after the battle of Plataea (479 B.C.); and (3) the masonry obelisk or Colossus, bearing an inscription of Constantine VII recording its redecoration with bronze plaques. Two marble bases (out of seven), which had supported the statues of the CHARIOTEER Porphyrios, have been unearthed in the Turkish Seraglio. In 1952 part of the seating of the west wing of the Hippodrome was excavated.

The Hippodrome was a monument rich in legends. Its Roman origins and pagan associations with the Dioskouroi, Poseidon, Helios, etc., were still remembered in the 6th C. (JOHN LYDOS, *De mensibus* 1:12; 4:30, 73; Malal. 173–77). Various features of it received a cosmic interpretation: the 12 gates denoted the signs of the zodiac, the seven races run round the *spina* signified the spheres of the planets, the colors of the four factions stood for the four elements, etc. Confused historical memories, esp. the slaughter of the Nika riot, were woven into the earlier mythology.

Hippodromes outside of Constantinople. Hippodromes existed in many other cities of the empire, but all of them went out of use after the 6th–7th C. The old Circus Maximus in Rome was reconstructed in the 4th C., and at the beginning of the same century Maxentius built a circus 520 m long and 92 m wide; an obelisk was erected on its *spina* or barrier (A. Frazer, *ArtB* 48 [1966] 385–92). The circus of Maxentius had space for 10,000 spectators. Private hippodromes in Rome are also mentioned (A. Manodori, *Anfiteatri, circhi e stadi di Roma* [Rome 1982] 225–29). The circus in Carthage, cleared by excavation, seems to have been active through the 5th C.—the area was later used for a rubbish dump (*The Circus and a Byzantine Cemetery at Carthage*, ed. J.H. Humphrey, vol. 1 [Ann Arbor 1988] 114–16).

The existence of hippodromes in the East is attested to primarily by written sources. Papyri, inscriptions, and occasional references in historical works describe the organization of circus factions (Blues and Greens) rather than the physical structure of the buildings. Data concerning factions survives from Alexandria, Oxyrhynchus, Caesarea Maritima, Antioch, Emesa, Helioupolis, Kyzikos, Ephesus, Priene, Stratonikeia in Caria, and several other cities (A. Christophilopoulou in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 2 [Athens 1966] 358–60). Hagiographical texts describe horse races in Gaza, the factions of the hippodrome in Emesa, and the hippodrome in Damascus (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 87f). It is plausible to assume that chariot racing declined after the 6th C. and provincial hippodromes are scarcely ever mentioned in later centuries: Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 106.30) speaks of a *politikos* (municipal) hippodrome in Thessalonike, but Rudakov is wrong in asserting that the vita of Lazaros of Mt. Galesios (*AASS*, Nov. 3:580B) mentions horse races in Magnesia; the hagiographer is referring to *hippodromia* in Constantinople.

The average hippodrome took about five years to build and, when complete, measured about 450 × 70 m. The omission of an upper colonnade, still present at the Circus Maximus, could be because of the lack of a local tradition in equestrian sports or a perceived need for haste in construction. In the late Roman world hippodromes played an essential role as a setting both for court ceremonial and the ruler's appearance before his subjects. Hence they were frequently built in a city that an emperor determined as his chief residence. Rejecting the pattern that had prevailed down to the time of Constantine I—when hippodromes were built outside the city—most such structures of the 4th C. and after were built within the walls and often next to the imperial residence. Apsidal buildings adjacent to the hippodromes of Sirmium, Milan, and Thessalonike suggest provision for an imperial loge. As at Constantinople, therefore, hippodromes became in effect an integral part of the palace.

LIT. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 64–71. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:369–595. G. Dagron, *Naissance d'une capitale* (Paris 1974) 320–64. C. Mango, "Daily Life in Byzantium,"

JÖB 31.1 (1981) 344–53. J. Humphrey, *Roman Circuses* (London 1986). J. Gascou, "Les institutions de l'Hippodrome en Egypte byzantine," *BIFAO* 76 (1976) 185–212. Y. Dan, "Circus Factions (Blues and Greens) in Byzantine Palestine," *The Jerusalem Cathedra* 1 (1981) 105–19.
–C.M., A.K., A.C.

HIPPOKRATES. See SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF.

HIPPOLYTOS, in Greek mythology the son of THESEUS and the Amazon Hippolyte, a victim of his stepmother Phaedra's passionate love for him. When Hippolytos repulsed her advances, Phaedra accused him of seducing her, and Theseus asked Poseidon to kill Hippolytos. Phaedra's attempted seduction appears on a silver plate of the 5th or 6th C. (*DOCat* 1, no.7) and again, half a millennium later, in bone carving (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.30). In literature Hippolytos becomes a symbol of chastity: thus THEMISTIOS returns several times to the legend of Hippolytos, emphasizing his *sophrosyne* (e.g., or.1:88.9–10, 2:202.11–12). Malalas describes at length the story of Hippolytos, with the intention of exonerating Phaedra and showing that both she and Hippolytos were innocent and that Theseus was fully responsible for their deaths. Diverging from ancient sources, Malalas presents Hippolytos as a man of dark complexion, short-haired, snub-nosed, broad-faced, with sparse beard and large teeth; he also stresses that Hippolytos was a mature and strong hunter and calls him "Theseus's son by a concubine (*pallake*)" (Malal. 88.13). It is impossible to judge to what extent Malalas's story may have been influenced by the "triangle" of Constantine I–Fausta–CRISPUS; the latter was Constantine's son by the concubine Minervina (Zosim. 2:20.2), a young but talented military commander, who perished (along with his stepmother Fausta) as a victim of his father's jealousy.

Hippolytos is depicted in art as a hunter in a MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479; Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 115, fig.130).

LIT. Reinert, *Myth* 555–66. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 175–77.
–A.K., A.C.

ḤĪRA, Arab city on the lower Euphrates, the capital of the LAKHMIDS prior to the rise of Islam. Nestorian Christians exiled from Byz. fled to Ḥīra, from which Christianity spread in the Arabian peninsula; the city became officially Nestorian with the conversion of the last Lakhmid king al-Nuʿmān (580–602). After his death the city received a Persian governor and in 633 it capitulated to Muslim arms. Ḥīra was eclipsed by Islamic Kūfa, but in the 9th C. it produced the most important figure in the transmission of Greek science to the Arabs, Ḥunayn ibn-Isḥāq.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968) 12–40. M.J. Kister, "Al-Ḥīra, Some Notes on its Relations with Arabia," *Arabica* 15 (1968) 143–69.
–I.A.Sh.

HISTAMENON (νόμισμα ἱστάμενον, lit. "standard"), a term commonly applied in the 11th C. to the gold NOMISMA of full weight in order to distinguish it from the substandard TETARTERON. Because the histamena of the mid-11th C. were concave, the term passed, in the shortened form of *stamena* (first attested 1030), to the Byz. billon and copper TRACHEA of the 12th–13th C., used particularly by the Latins in a variety of spellings (*stamina, stanmini*, etc.). Its exact meaning in any particular case has to be deduced from the context.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 28.
–Ph.G.

HISTORIA AUGUSTA (4th C.?), a conventional title for a collection of Lives of Roman emperors and pretenders from 117 to 284, with a real or faked lacuna for 244–59. It was ostensibly written in the reigns of Diocletian and Constantine by six otherwise unknown biographers: Aelius Lampridius, Aelius Spartianus, Flavius Vopiscus, Julius Capitolinus, Trebellius Pollio, Vulcacius Gallicanus. If it had a preface and Lives of Nerva and Trajan, its emulation of Suetonius would be complete, but too much logic on its part cannot be assumed. In content and form, the Lives are a poor man's Suetonius, crammed with exotic and erotic details and written in a sometimes remarkable Latin. Much of its documentation and information is demonstrably false and wrong, though it still has to be used when other sources are lacking. The collection parades conventional views of good emperors and senatorial virtues; efforts to equip it with any consistent philosophy have foundered. The current fashion is to follow H. Dessau's thesis (*Hermes* 24 [1889] 337–92; 27 [1892]

561–605) of a single author writing for fraud or literary fun sometime in the late 4th C. A recent computer study of its language (I. Marriott, *JRS* 69 [1979] 65–77) suggests single authorship. The only known use of it by the consular historian Symmachus in 485 might conceivably suggest a later date, or even that this Symmachus wrote it.

ED. *Scriptores historiae augustae*, ed. E. Hohl, revised C. Samberger, W. Seyfarth, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1965). *The Scriptores Historiae Augustae*, ed. D. Magie, 3 vols. (London–New York 1921–32), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Syme, *Historia Augusta Papers* (Oxford 1983). T.D. Barnes, *The Sources of the Historia Augusta* (Brussels 1978). A. Momigliano, "An Unsolved Problem of Historical Forgery: The *Scriptores Historiae Augustae*," *JWarb* 17 (1954) 22–46. C. Lessing, *Scriptorum historiae augustae lexicon* (Leipzig 1906). –B.B.

HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI (History of the Expedition of Frederick), an account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I, compiled in Austria ca.1200, possibly by a priest Ansbert. The *Historia* expanded an earlier record (partially preserved, but misassessed by Chroust) by adding a prologue, documents, and annals (1190–97) of events in the Holy Land. The earlier record seems to derive from TAGENO and another participant, probably in Frederick's entourage. The *Historia* attests diplomatic contacts with Constantinople and IKONION before Frederick's departure (pp. 15f) and quarrels over imperial titles (pp. 49–51). It offers a list of Crusaders (pp. 18–22), a detailed description of their trip and the state of the empire (pp. 26–75), and several Byz. documents (p.29, *Reg* 2, no.1592; p.51.13–18, *Reg* 2, no.1598; pp. 64.15–66.22, *Reg* 2, no.1603). Further knowledge of the lost earlier record comes from an anonymous *History of the Pilgrims* (*Historia peregrinorum*), compiled in the 1190s (ed. Chroust, pp. 116–72).

Both histories overlap somewhat with the brief, factual account of the *Gesta Federici* (Deeds of Frederick [on the Holy Expedition], ed. O. Holder-Egger, MGH *SRG* 27 [Hannover 1892] 78–96), which may also derive from Frederick's entourage. It adds new, vivid details to the crossing of the empire (e.g., the Byz. felled trees to block the road through Bulgaria, p.80).

ED. A. Chroust, *Quellen zur Geschichte des Kreuzzuges Kaiser Friedrichs I.* [= MGH *SRG* n.s. 5] (Berlin 1928) 1–115.

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:99–104. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:438. –M.McC.

HISTORIA LANGOBARDUM BENEVENTANORUM. See ERCHEMPERT.

HISTORIANS, ECCLESIASTICAL. See ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORIANS.

HISTORIOGRAPHY, one of the primary genres of Byz. literature. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 3.11–12) used the terms *chronographoi* and *historiographoi* to designate historians; this division into history and CHRONICLE, sanctioned by K. Krumbacher, became traditional, although recently serious doubts have been expressed as to its validity. The Byz. themselves did not clearly distinguish between *historia* and *chronikon:* the late Roman historians preferred the title *History* for their works, but from MALALAS onward "Chronicle" became the typical heading, not only of George Synkellos, Theophanes, or George Hamartolos, but even of some unquestionably "historical" works such as those by Psellos, Niketas Choniates, or George Akropolites. On the other hand, some authors like Patr. Nikephoros I, Skylitzes, Kedrenos, and Zonaras, who wrote in a chronicle style, used the title *History*. Eustathios of Thessalonike distinguished between the terms *historein* ("to write of the past") and *syngraphein* ("to write of contemporary events").

The Byz. contrasted historiography and ENKOMION, emphasizing that historiography's objective was pursuit of the truth. Indeed the element of criticism was substantial in historians. This overt or implied criticism, directed against deceased or living emperors and courtiers, was usually juxtaposed with praise for an ideal figure from the past (Constantine I for Theophanes), from contemporary society (Nikephoros III Botaneiates for Attaleiates), or even from the "barbaric" world (Mehmed II for Kritoboulos).

TIME was conceived as linear, not circular, both by late Roman pagan historians with their concept of eternal Rome (F. Vittinghoff, *HistZ* 198 [1964] 573) and by Christians according to whom history was moving toward Christ's PAROUSIA or Second Coming. This perception of time as a continuum is obvious in the so-called "world chronicles" that begin with Adam or Creation and treat at length both the biblical and Roman past, whereas ancient Greek history is poorly represented (Jeffreys, "Chroniclers" 237f). It is less evident in works on

limited periods that nonetheless implicitly or explicitly continue each other, so that Theophanes and his continuators, Leo the Deacon, Psellos, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates, Akropolites, Pachymeres, and Gregoras present an uninterrupted account of events. The geographic scope was wide for late Roman historians who were very interested in ethnography and the problem of barbarians; after Theophanes, the Byz. *oikoumene* shrank, and with rare exceptions (e.g., Chalkokondyles) historians dealt with territory under Byz. control.

The philosophy of history is providential, God or PRONOIA being considered as the ultimate cause of events. Providence could be conceived as in a perpetual dialogue with mankind, sending messages in the form of portents, earthquakes, visions, or miracles, and reacting to humankind's piety or sinfulness; or it could be removed to the background, while TYCHE or human activity proved to be the decisive factors in historical development. In the Palaiologan period historiography had to attempt to explain why God had forsaken his "chosen people" and granted victory to barbarians (C.I.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73). The idea that economic or social causes could influence history does appear in historiography, if rarely (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 80f).

Politically and religiously biased, historians expressed their prejudices by direct praise or invective (esp. George Hamartolos) or by tendentious choice of facts and selective omission of undesirable events. The application of elements of historical criticism is infrequent, although occasionally historians present two contradictory versions and appeal to the reader to resolve the contradiction. More often than not historians uncritically copied their sources and thus created confusion and inconsistency. Documents are infrequently cited, but sometimes letters, treaties, or laws are reproduced, whereas speeches are usually artificial creations, modeled upon earlier examples. Statistical information is rarely dependable.

In addition to the truth, "delight" or "entertainment" was a goal of historiography. This purpose was served by anecdotes, jokes, sensational stories, mirabilia, miracles, love affairs, and murder scenes. On the other hand, the authors used rhetorical techniques, embedding into their story *ekphraseis* and *enkomia*, tropes and figures, metaphors and similes. ARCHAISM formed a link with the past: by imitation, clichés, and citations from earlier models, the historian established his place in the tradition. The structure of the narrative varied between two extremes—the strictly chronological, annalistic method elaborated primarily by Malalas, Synkellos, and Theophanes, and the biographical approach ("by reigns"), which was already used by the continuators of Theophanes. Very few historical works were dedicated to specific events (e.g., EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, John KANANOS). Although written primarily in prose, poetry was not excluded as a form of historiography, both for world history and specific historical reigns/events.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:257–504. J. Karayannopulos, G. Weiss, *Quellenkunde zur Geschichte von Byzanz (324–1453)* (Wiesbaden 1982). R. Dostálová, "Vizantijskaja istoriografija," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 22–34. Croke-Emmett, *Historians*. F. Tinnefeld, *Kategorien der Kaiserkritik in der byzantinischen Historiographie* (Munich 1971). B. Baldwin, "Greek Historiography in Late Rome and Early Byzantium," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 51–65. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Neue Tendenzen in der Erforschung der byzantinischen Historiographie," *Klio* 69 (1987) 560–66. –A.K.

HISTORY PAINTING. In Byz., as in ancient Rome, history painting normally depicted climactic events in the lives of emperors, such as acts of courage, victories, and the subjugation of barbarians (cf. Mansi 13:356B). A 12th-C. historian (Kinn. 266.7–9) describes the sponsorship of pictorial celebrations of imperial triumphs as "customary among men placed in authority." Thus John Lydos (*De magistratibus*, ed. A. Bandy, p.114.14–15) reports pictures of the rise of Leo I set up by a praetorian prefect, and ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE (*HE*, ed. E.W. Brooks, *CSCO* 88, p.41.27–29) mentions a similar tribute to Justin I commissioned by a *chartoularios*. These pictures were displayed in public places, an agora, and a public bath, respectively. But from the 6th C. onward, history painting is found primarily in the precincts of imperial PALACES. A mosaic showing Belisarios's victories over the Vandals and Goths and the reception of their tribute by the augusti covered the ceiling of the CHALKE. The emperor Maurice had the story of his life up to his accession displayed in the Karianos portico at BLACHERNAI (Theoph. 261.13–15), and Basil I's "toils on behalf of his subjects, his warlike exertions and the prize of victory bestowed by God" (*TheophCont* 332.19–22) were depicted in his Kainourgion in

the GREAT PALACE. ROBERT DE CLARI (*Conquête*, p.28) describes pictures above the doors of churches in Constantinople depicting the overthrow of Andronikos I by Isaac II Angelos. Lesser men also commissioned this genre of painting: scenes of ancient history appeared among many others in the palace of DIGENES AKRITAS; Alexios AXOUCH was criticized for displaying victories of the sultan rather than the emperor.

Eusebios of Caesarea (*VC* 3.3) and later writers read such pictures allegorically. Euthymios MALAKES drew an analogy between depictions of the deeds of Manuel I and the Miracles and Passion of Christ. An anonymous text, preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. Z 524, draws parallels between the same emperor's victories, shown in the house of Leo Sikountenos in Thessalonike, and the conquests of Moses and Joshua. The only Palaiologan works known are the paintings of Michael VIII's victory over the Angevins in the vestibule of the palace, described by Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:651.1–4). The propagandistic or allegorical nature of such images differentiates them from both the narrative pictures of the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES and the historical episodes in the Paris Gregory (Paris, B.N. gr. 510).

LIT. Grabar, *L'empereur* 36, 40f, 83f, 93. Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C." –A.C.

HISTRIA (anc. Ἴστρια), a Greek colony on Lake Sinoe, in SCYTHIA MINOR, near the shore of the Black Sea, north of Constanța in Rumania. The city prospered in the 4th–6th C., when its ramparts were rebuilt three times, some bricks bearing stamps of the time of Anastasios I. Excavations have uncovered a commercial district, with various workshops and private habitations that usually form clusters, and several public buildings, including a basilical edifice of the 6th C. (E. Condurachi in *Charisterion eis Anastasion K. Orlandon*, vol. 4 [Athens 1967–68] 161–68). The sector containing two Roman baths of the 2nd C. was a commercial region in the 4th C. and later the location of a basilica and a cemetery; it was abandoned in the 7th C. (A. Suceveanu, *Histria* 6 [1982] 85–92). In the eastern sector was a large palacelike house.

The period of prosperous activity ended ca.580; the last excavated layer contains humbler habitations. Numerous coins of Maurice (H. Nubar, *Histria* 3 [1973] 84) are connected with that emperor's attempt to protect the area against Avar attacks; then the number of Byz. coins decreases and stops after Herakleios. Sporadic coin finds of the late 10th–12th C. (ibid. 227f) indicate a Byz. presence in the region, but Histria did not regain its former significance. In the sector of the Roman baths, an 11th-C. [Pecheneg?] tomb was found, containing jewelry of a type also known from DINOGETIA and the steppe north of the Black Sea (A. Suceveanu, *SCIV* 24 [1973] 495–502).

LIT. E. Condurachi, "Histria à l'époque du Bas-Empire d'après les dernières fouilles archéologiques," *Dacia* 1 (1957) 245–63. H. Nubar, "Contribuții la topografia cetății Histria in epoca romano-bizantină," *SCIV* 22 (1971) 199–215. –A.K.

HOARDS, NUMISMATIC. See COIN FINDS.

HODEGON MONASTERY, located in Constantinople east of Hagia Sophia near the sea walls. Hodegon (Ὁδηγῶν, "of guides, conductors") apparently took its name from the monks who led blind pilgrims to a miraculous spring that was able to restore sight. The church was allegedly founded in the 5th C. by the empress PULCHERIA to house precious relics, which later included St. Luke's portrait of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA. In late Byz. this icon was removed from the church every Tuesday and carried in procession through the streets, attended by large crowds hoping for miraculous cures.

The monastic complex was built by the 9th C., perhaps by MICHAEL III, and restored again in the 12th C. In the Palaiologan period a SCRIPTORIUM flourished there, specializing in the production of deluxe liturgical MSS (L. Polites, *BZ* 51 [1958] 17–36, 261–87). Among its scribes were Chariton (fl. 1319–46) and Ioasaph (fl. 1360–1405/6). The Palaiologan emperors had close ties with the monastery and visited it frequently; ANDRONIKOS III died there in 1341. During the late 13th and 14th C. the monastery was granted to the patriarchate of Antioch as a *metochion*, and served as a residence for Syrian monks visiting Constantinople.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 362–66. Janin, *Églises CP* 199–207. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: the Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 319–28. –A.M.T.

HOLOBOLOS, MANUEL, teacher, orator, and active anti-Unionist; born ca.1245, died Constantinople between 1310 and 1314. In the service of Michael VIII as a *grammatikos* from an early age, Holobolos (Ὁλόβολος) suffered repeatedly at the hands of the emperor. In 1261 his lips and nose were mutilated because he showed distress at the blinding of JOHN IV LASKARIS. Holobolos thereupon entered the Prodromos monastery in Constantinople with the monastic name Maximos (W. Hörandner, *JÖB* 19 [1970] 116–19). In 1265–66, through an appeal of Patr. Germanos III, he was appointed rhetor and assigned to teach, possibly at the school attached to the orphanage of the Church of St. Paul (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:369.5–371.5). Again in disgrace in 1273 because of his anti-Union stance, Holobolos was exiled to the monastery tou Megalou Agrou on the Sea of Marmara. He returned to Constantinople after Michael's death and was active in condemning the Unionists both in 1283 and at the Council of 1285 in BLACHERNAI (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to regaining the title of rhetor, he was *protosynkellos*, according to a letter addressed to him by the Dominican Simon (1299). A monody written for Holobolos by a student and relation, George GALESIOTES, states that he was teaching until the end of his life (S.I. Kourouses, *Athena* 75 [1974–75] 335–74).

As rhetor, Holobolos composed several orations for Michael VIII that are important sources for the early years of his reign (1259–61) and for the restoration of Constantinople after 1261. Holobolos also wrote verses for the emperor and his son Andronikos II to accompany the Epiphany PROKYPSIS ceremony, commentaries on Theokritos's *Technopaignia*, and a *logos katechetikos* for Germanos III.

ED. *Orationes*—ed. M. Treu, *Programm des königlichen Victoria-Gymnasiums zu Potsdam* (1906). L. Previale, "Un panegirico inedito per Michele VIII Paleologo," *BZ* 42 (1943–9) 1–49. Verses for Epiphany—Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:159–82. Commentaries—C. Wendel, "Die Technopägnien-Ausgabe des Rhetors Holobolos," *BZ* 16 (1907) 460–67.

LIT. R. Macrides, "The New Constantine and the New Constantinople—1261?" *BMGS* 6 (1980) 13–41. Constantinides, *Education* 55–59. C. Hannick, *Maximos Holobolos in der kirchenslavischen homiletischen Literatur* (Vienna 1981).
–R.J.M.

HOLY APOSTLES, CHURCH OF THE, name of numerous churches in Byz. territory, the most famous of which were those in Constantinople and Thessalonike.

HOLY APOSTLES IN CONSTANTINOPLE. The first building on the site in Constantinople was a circular mausoleum erected by Constantine I for his own burial. Next to it a cruciform basilica was built by Constantius II, who deposited in it relics of the apostles Timothy (356) and Luke and Andrew (357—G. Downey, *DOP* 6 [1951] 72). In 550 the church was rebuilt, again in the shape of a cross, by Justinian I, who added a second mausoleum. The two mausolea served as the burial place of emperors until 1028. After Iconoclasm the church was restored by Basil I and decorated with a cycle of mosaics described in ca.940 by CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. The mosaics appear to have been partly redone in the 12th C. and were described once again by Nicholas MESARITES. After the Turkish conquest the church was ceded to Gennadios II Scholarios as the seat of the patriarchate, but he found it unsuitable and moved instead to the Church of St. Mary PAMMAKARISTOS. The church was demolished and the mosque of Mehmed II Fātiḥ built on its site. Several of the imperial sarcophagi were salvaged (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 1–63). The Church of the Holy Apostles resembled that of St. John at EPHESUS in its cruciform plan and five-domed elevation, a scheme later replicated at S. Marco in Venice.

LIT. A. Heisenberg, *Grabeskirche und Apostelkirche*, vol. 2 (Leipzig 1908). J. Ebersolt, *Mission archéologique de Constantinople* (Paris 1921) 1–27. N. Malickij, "Remarques sur la date des mosaïques de l'église des saints Apôtres," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 123–51. A. Epstein, "The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: Reconsideration," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 79–92.
–C.M.

HOLY APOSTLES IN THESSALONIKE. The Church of the Holy Apostles (originally the Church of the Virgin) in the western part of the city is a fine example of Palaiologan monastic architecture. On the west and south façades are brickwork monograms and carved inscriptions naming the patriarch NIPHON of Constantinople as founder, which would date the church to the period 1310–14; recent carbon-14 analysis of the fabric of the church shows that all of the building was constructed at the same time, but suggests a date of ca.1329. The monk Paul is named as a second *ktetor*. The exterior of the church is richly decorated with brickwork patterns of all kinds: zigzags, hook patterns, cross-stitch designs, pendant tri-

angles, grill patterns, and hexagon stars. The west façade of the outer narthex was an open arcade. The church is effectively divided into two parts: a naos with central dome on four columns, plus a narthex, is surrounded by a U-shaped ambulatory with galleries and domes at each of the four corners. The interior is dominated by verticality; the proportion of height to width of the central bay is 5:1. The interior was once adorned with mosaics, on the upper levels only, and with frescoes, presumably executed by a Constantinopolitan workshop, perhaps the same that decorated the Church of the CHORA.

LIT. P.I. Kuniholm, C.L. Striker, "Dendrochronology and the Architectural History of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki," *Architectura* 20 (1990) 1–26. N. Nikonanos, *The Church of the Holy Apostles in Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1986). C. Stephen, *Ein byzantinisches Bildensemble: Die Mosaiken und Fresken der Apostelkirche* (Worms 1986). M. Rautman, "The Church of the Holy Apostles at Thessaloniki" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1984). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 431f. C. Diehl, N. Letourneau, H. Saladin, *Les monuments chrétiens de Salonique* (Paris 1918) 189–200. G. Velenis, "Hoi Hagioi Apostoloi Thessalonikes kai he schole tes Konstantinoupoles," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 457–67. –T.E.G.

HOLY FACE. See MANDYLION.

HOLY FOOLS. See FOOLS, HOLY.

HOLY MOUNTAIN (*ἅγιον ὄρος*). A number of mountains (with their environs) in the Balkans, Anatolia, and the Levant attracted substantial numbers of monks and acquired reputations as "holy mountains." Among the earliest were Mt. AUXENTIOS, Mt. SINAI, and the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN, first settled in the 4th and 5th C. LATROS probably received its first monks in the 7th C., OLYMPOS and ATHOS in the 8th–9th C. Until the first half of the 10th C. Olympos was considered the Holy Mountain par excellence; subsequently Athos took pride of place. Mounts GANOS and GALESIOS became flourishing monastic communities in the 10th and 11th C. METEORA was the last to be founded, in the 14th C.

Holy mountains are usually characterized by relative isolation and rugged terrain, and appealed to the desire of many monks to reside in a remote wilderness area (see DESERT). They housed both hermits and *koinobia*; a number of holy men moved from one holy mountain to another in the course of their careers. Holy mountains often tended to be centers of Orthodox monastic resistance to such unpopular developments as ICONOCLASM (Olympos) or the UNION OF THE CHURCHES (Athos, Ganos); at the same time, new spiritual trends (e.g., PALAMISM) might begin in such a monastic center. Holy mountains tended to limit the access of women, whether as visitors or as nuns in permanent residence. Two of them (Athos and Meteora) strictly prohibited the admission of women to the mountain for any purpose; Latros had no nunneries at all; Galesios, Auxentios, and Olympos each had one, which functioned in part to house female relatives of monks who lived on the mountain (A.-M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 2f). –A.M.T.

HOLY RIDER, a modern term encompassing a variety of 5th- through 7th-C. amuletic images distinguished by a mounted figure. Following a well-established Antique iconographic tradition, most examples show the horse at full gallop and the figure, in military garb, impaling a beast or demon beneath the animal's hooves. In some cases, the warrior is identified as Solomon or, more rarely, as St. Sisinnios; the victim is often a seminude female, the she-devil Gyllou (or Alabastria). The intent was not to portray a specific figure or historical event, but rather to evoke virtuous power and, more generally, the triumph of good over evil. Most Holy Rider AMULETS take the form of bronze pendants or haematite intaglio tokens, although the motif is found as well on amuletic rings, armbands, fibulae, belt fittings, and earthen tokens.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–326. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 79–82, n.59. –G.V.

HOLY SEPULCHRE. See SEPULCHRE, HOLY.

HOLY SPIRIT (*πνεῦμα ἅγιον*), third person of the TRINITY. The Holy Spirit appears in early Christian literature as a primary experience of the community and the individual Christian. His activity is manifested in his gifts, esp. the gift of prophecy which thrived in Syro-Palestine and Asia Minor, particularly in MONTANISM. In Christian experience, the Holy Spirit is encountered in the

baptismal liturgy, in the Trinitarian confession of faith, and in the doxology of the Church.

In the 4th C., the Council of NICAEA set forth a simple confession concerning the Holy Spirit: "We believe . . . also in the Holy Spirit." But at the Synod of Antioch of 341 this simple formula was expanded and the Holy Spirit presented as the eschatological gift and "paraclete" promised by Jesus. These elaborations reveal that the doctrine of the Holy Spirit was developed in conjunction with the concept of HOMOOUSIOS, the consubstantiality of the Logos with the Father.

The PNEUMATOMACHOI were those who denied the deity of the Holy Spirit and depicted him as a created gift of God. Their most significant opponents were ATHANASIOS of Alexandria and BASIL THE GREAT. In his four letters to SERAPION of Thmuis, Athanasios unites the Holy Spirit to God himself. The Father effects all things through His Logos in the Holy Spirit, involving not only salvation, but creation as well. This Trinity, moreover, is indivisible, constituting one God. At the Synod of Alexandria held in 362, Athanasios argued for an expansion to the Nicaean Creed by condemning those who said that "the Holy Spirit is a creature separate from the essence of Christ" (PG 26:800A). To contemporaries such language approached Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM); MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, for example, had been misunderstood earlier when he said something similar.

A confession concerning the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was formulated for the first time in the theology of Basil and incorporated into the creed of the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The Holy Spirit is "the Lord, the Giver of Life." In other words, he stands at the side of God the creator and redeemer. The formula, "He proceeds from the Father," describes how he is distinguished from the Son within the inner relationships of the Godhead. The unity of worship expressed in the formula, "He is worshiped and glorified together with the Father and the Son," confirms that the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are one in essence. "He spoke through the prophets," does not explain the significance of prophecy, but the unity of Old Testament and New Testament and their divine testimonies. The term *homoousios*, after the controversies it provoked in the 4th C., was consciously avoided, but, inasmuch as the Spirit is introduced as the third hypostasis of the one divine essence, it was not retracted.

A major issue in Byz. theology concerned the FILIOQUE and the Procession of the Holy Spirit "from the Father." That the Son or Logos participates in the Procession of the Holy Spirit was not called into question in either the Byz. or patristic traditions. Apart from some polemical formulas found in the writings of PHOTIOS, no one maintained that the Holy Spirit proceeds "from the Father alone"; rather, the Father is the single "uncaused Cause (*aitia*)" with respect to whom the Son can hold but a mediating position, a concept wholly in line with Greek speculation on first principles. This was expressed in the popular Byz. formula, "from the Father, through the Son" (*ek tou patros dia tou hyiou*). In precisely this sense, MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR interpreted the formula used by Pope MARTIN I: the Spirit proceeds from the Father and the Son. As the uncaused *aitia*, the Father is seen to be the "Ultimate Principle" which does not preclude a mediator (PG 91:136AB).

For Byz. theologians the cause of the controversy was not the coordinating formulas used in Western tradition as much as the addition of the *filioque* to the Nicaean-Constantinopolitan creed by Western theologians in the 7th C. The first polemical discussion on this point took place at the Council of Gentilly (767). The prelude to the controversy was set up in the LIBRI CAROLINI, and in the dispute that erupted in 808 over the use of the *filioque* in the liturgy of the Benedictine monks of Jerusalem. When Photios in his encyclical of 867 put forth the view that the *filioque* introduces two principles into the Godhead, thereby dissolving the unity of God ("The monarchy," he says, "is dissolved into a 'dyotheism' "), what had been an ecclesiastical question was now made a dogmatic issue.

The Photian Synod of 879/80 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) expressly declared that the *filioque* introduced a new heresy. Photios and his followers saw in the Procession (*probole*) of the Spirit a unique property that distinguishes the Spirit as a hypostasis in the Trinity. Both the Son and the Spirit come forth (*proodoi*) from a single principle: the Son in the manner of generation; the Spirit in the manner of procession, but apart from any mediation. Only in terms of the economy (*oikonomia*) of salvation does the Son partici-

pate in the sending of the Spirit. Strict Photians, therefore, distinguished between the "economic" and "immanent" models of the Trinity: the Spirit comes forth *ek tou patros*, communicates with mankind *dia tou hyiou* (Theophylaktos of Ohrid, PG 123:1224D). This theme is evident in the Byz. theological controversies with, for example, Peter GROSSOLANO or ANSELM of Havelberg, or the controversy with Rome over UNION OF THE CHURCHES, particularly under Michael VIII Palaiologos, or at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE.

The compromise that the Greek doctrine of mediation expressed by the formula *dia tou hyiou*, "through the Son," has the same meaning as the Latin *filioque* is found already in the teaching of NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA." Some Byz. theologians even held views that approached the Latin position. Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, for example, was originally a strict Photian, but in two of his later writings he maintained that the Son's generation and the Spirit's procession can be differentiated only if the Son participates in the latter. These writings prompted JOHN XI BEKKOS to undertake a detailed study of patristic texts, which led to the Union of Lyons (1274). The study of Bekkos, however, had no impact on Byz. theology, which remained essentially Photian.

LIT. J. Slipyi, "Die Trinitätslehre des byzantinischen Patriarchen Photios," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 44 (1920) 538–62; 45 (1921) 66–95, 370–404. Beck, *Kirche* 306–17. –K.H.-U.

HOLY TILE. See KERAMION.

HOLY TOWEL. See MANDYLION.

HOLY WEEK (ἡ μεγάλη ἑβδομάς), the week before EASTER, called "great" in Byz. usage, as are its days ("Great Monday," etc.). It originated in the extension to six days of the variable paschal period of FASTING that ended at the Easter VIGIL, a development first seen ca.260 in Dionysios of Alexandria, *Ep. ad Basilidem* 1 (*The Letters and Other Remains of Dionysius of Alexandria*, ed. C.L. Feltoe [Cambridge 1904] 90–105). The Easter vigil was at first the only liturgical service of Easter Week, but Eusebios (*HE*, bk.2, ch.17.21–22) and Epiphanios of Salamis (*Panarion*, ed. Holl, 3:523.23) already bear witness to the existence of other vigils during the week, and in 384 EGERIA (*Diary* 30–38) describes a full cycle of stational services in Jerusalem commemorating the Passion week (see GOOD FRIDAY), a cycle confirmed in detail by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem.

The Holy Week services in Constantinople differ little from those of other weeks in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:66–91). But by the 9th C. the more dramatic Jerusalem services had already begun to influence Constantinopolitan usage and were to predominate with the decline of the cathedral liturgy of Constantinople after 1204.

Imperial participation in the services of Holy Week was most evident on Holy Thursday. The emperor assisted at the liturgy, after which he distributed cinnamon and two apples to the dignitaries, then dined with guests (*De cer.* 33). There is no mention here of his participation either in the adoration of the Passion relics or in the WASHING OF THE FEET. According to the *Typikon*, it is the patriarch who washes the feet of 12 clergymen after vespers (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:72f) as the New Testament account (Jn 13) of the event is read aloud. But in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 228.10–229.20) the emperor himself washes the feet of 12 poor people before the start of the liturgy.

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 27–31, 40–47. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paschal'noj sedmic vo sv. Ierusalime IX–X v.* (Kazan 1894). –R.F.T.

HOMER (Ὅμηρος), "the Poet," was the most widely read and studied ancient author in Byz. For example, Niketas Choniates' *History* contains 134 quotations from the *Iliad* (some used several times) and 58 from the *Odyssey*, whereas the next most popular writer, LUCIAN, is represented by only 24 passages. Byz. schoolmasters and students were constantly occupied with the Homeric poems, esp. the *Iliad*, which became a basic text in the curriculum; students memorized much of it. Thus citations from the Homeric epics are found throughout late antique and Byz. literature, although analysis of papyrological data suggests a decrease of interest in Homer in late antiquity. P. Mazon (*Introduction à l'Iliade* [Paris 1967] 64f) registers 75 fragments of the *Iliad* from the 3rd C., 17 from the 4th, 16 from the 5th, five from the 6th, and one from the 7th (uncertain papyri

such as the 2nd/3rd C. are here omitted). Nevertheless, educated church fathers quoted Homer: thus, Cyril of Alexandria, who barely mentions Homer's name, was influenced by Stoic tradition and saw in Homeric gods symbols of vices and virtues or metonymies of the elements of the cosmos; he rarely polemicized against Homeric polytheism (G. Bartelink, *WS* n.s. 17 [1983] 62–68). Probably in the 6th C. an otherwise unknown female writer, Demo, wrote a commentary, primarily allegorical, on Homer. DIOSKOROS OF APHRODITO in 6th-C. Egypt owned the famous Cairo codex of Homer and called him "the best poet."

Interest in Homer revived in the 9th-10th C. The oldest complete MS of the *Iliad*, Venetus A [= Venice, Marc. gr. 454], which was formerly attributed to the scribe Ephraim and dated before 947 (B. Hemmerdinger, *REGr* 69 [1956] 433f), is probably from the last quarter of the 10th C. (E. Mioni, *Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia dell'Università di Padova* 1 [1976] 185–93). The oldest copy of the *Odyssey* (Florence, Laur. 32.24) is also of the 10th C. The EPIMERISMS, commentaries of the most elementary nature, were dated by Ch. Theodoridis (*BZ* 72 [1979] 1–5) to the beginning of the 9th C., but A. Dyck (*infra* 7) places them in the 9th–10th C. At the same time collecting of scholia began; many of them are contained in Venetus A, but they derive mostly from Hellenistic and Roman sources (N. Richardson, *CQ* 30 [1980] 265). From Constantinople the knowledge of Homer expanded to Baghdad in the 9th C. (G. Strohmaier, *BS* 41 [1980] 196–200).

The most important Homeric scholarship dates from the 12th C.—the massive commentaries by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and two long commentaries by TZETZES. Eustathios used the vernacular Greek of his time and drew on the customs of peasants and townsmen and recent events to explain the epic. He felt that Homer belonged to this world, sensing no distance between the Homeric past and his own day. Tzetzes' interpretation was more antiquarian (he tried to fill in the gaps in Homer's narrative) and allegorical, aimed at revealing historical, moral, and cosmological ALLEGORY. Among other commentators on Homer were Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos and George LEKAPENOS. Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS composed a paraphrase of the first two books of the *Iliad*, omitting the "Catalog of Ships." The story of the TROJAN WAR excited the imagination of vernacular authors such as Constantine HERMONIAKOS.

In an utterly unclassical manner, Homer is depicted as a young man with long hair in a 9th-C. MS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, fig.96). Together with ORPHEUS and HESIOD he appears among the "theologians" attacked by the church fathers.

ED. *Epimerismi Homerici*, ed. A.R. Dyck (Berlin 1983). H. Erbse, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Iliadem*, 7 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). W. Dindorf, *Scholia graeca in Homeri Odysseam*, 2 vols. (Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1962).

LIT. Browning, "Homer." A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *He anagennesis ton grammaton kata ton IB' aiona eis to Byzantion kai ho Homeros* (Athens 1971–72). G. Morgan, "Homer in Byzantium: John Tzetzes," in *Approaches to Homer*, ed. C. Rubino, C. Shelmerdine (Austin, Texas, 1983) 165–88. Wilson, *Scholars* 161f, 197–99. R. Bianchi Bandinelli, *Hellenistic-Byzantine Miniatures of the Iliad* (Olten 1955), rev. K. Weitzmann, *Gnomon* 29 (1957) 606–16. –A.K., K.S., A.C.

HOMILY. See SERMON.

HOMOIOUSIANS (from ὁμοιούσιος, "of like substance"), a group, often called "semi-Arians," who refused to accept the term HOMOOUSIOS but who believed in the perfect divinity of Christ and the similarity of his divine nature to that of the Father. Although these beliefs may be traced back to ORIGEN, the Homoiousians as a "party" came into existence ca.356 in an attempt to find a compromise between Orthodoxy and ARIANISM. Leading members of the Homoiousians were BASIL OF ANKYRA, Makedonios of Constantinople, and George of Laodikeia; they are to be distinguished from the Homoians, who maintained closer ties to strict Arianism. The movement met opposition on philosophical grounds since nothing can be "like" God's nature; moreover, the assertion of "likeness" also implies difference, leading on the one hand to charges of polytheism and on the other to identification with Arianism (Wolfson, *Philosophy* 336f). The Homoiousians did, however, influence the theology of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS.

LIT. J. Gummerus, *Die homöusianische Partei bis zum Tode Konstantius* (Leipzig 1900). G. Rasneur, "L'Homoiousianisme dans ses rapports avec l'orthodoxie," *RHE* 4 (1903)

189–206. A. Spasskij, *Istorija dogmatičeskich dviženij v epochu vselenskich soborov*[2] (Sergiev-Posad 1914; rp. Westmead 1970) 365–474. –T.E.G.

HOMOOUSIOS (ὁμοούσιος, lit. "consubstantial," "of the same SUBSTANCE"), term crucial for the understanding of the relationship among the PERSONS within the TRINITY. Not used in the Bible, it was introduced by the 3rd C. in Gnostic interpretation of emanation and probably also in the Sabellian view of God's epiphanies in history as Father, Son, and Spirit. ORIGEN and his disciples seem not to have applied the term to the Son (R. Hanson in *Epektasis: Mélanges Jean Daniélou* [Paris 1972] 293–303), but the Council of Antioch against Paul of Samosata (268) condemned the consubstantiality of the Father and Son. Paul probably understood consubstantiality in a sense of MONARCHIANISM, perceiving the Son only as an attribute (LOGOS = reason) of the Father, and the accusation was nothing but a dialectic argument against him. The further discussion of the term was provoked by the teaching of ARIUS that the Logos was a creation of the Father, his intermediary in the act of salvation and therefore subordinate to him. The teaching was rejected by the creed of the First Council of NICAEA that formulated the belief in the Son of God, born, not created, consubstantial (*homoousios*) with the Father. The idea of consubstantiality was to protect MONOTHEISM against the concept of a separate God-mediator. The tendency to identify the substance of the persons, however, introduced the danger of Monarchianism that was interpreted as applying the notions of *monoousios* and *tautoousios* instead of *homoousios* and thus removing the hypostatic difference of the persons.

The term *homoousios* was under attack during the 4th C.; the semi-Arians wanted to replace it with *homoios* ("similar") as representing a looser relationship or a recourse to Scripture (cf. Jn 5:19). It was the interpretation of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS that brought forth a synthesis and produced the canonical formula "one *ousia* (substance), three HYPOSTASES." This formulation preserved the concept of substantial identity as well as numerical difference of Godhead and provided Byz. theology with a weapon against the accusation of TRITHEISM (ANASTASIOS I, patriarch of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981] 105–08). Despite the opposition of the PNEUMATOMACHOI, the term was also applied to the Holy Spirit. Through the definition of CHALCEDON (451) the term entered Christology.

LIT. H. de Riedmatten, *Les Actes du procès de Paul de Samosate* (Fribourg 1952), rev. P. Nautin in *École des Hautes Études, Section des sciences religieuses: Annuaire* (1953–54) 54–58. M. Simonetti, "Ancora su *Homoousios* a proposito di due recenti studi," *VetChr* 17 (1980) 85–98. Kelly, *Doctrines* 252–63. G.C. Stead, "The Significance of the *Homoousios*," *StP* 3 [= *TU* 78] (Berlin 1961) 397–412. J.M. Dalmau, "El homoousios y el concilio de Antioquía de 268," *Miscelánea Comillas* 34–35 (1960) 323–40. –K.-H.U.

HOMOSEXUALITY (παιδεραστία, ἀρρενομιξία, ἀρρενοκοιτία), also called the "sin of sodomy" (e.g., Makarios the Great, PG 34:224B), was prohibited by the Old Testament (Lev 18:22) and continued to be condemned in Byz. It was common in the late Roman Empire when an abundance of young slaves and EUNUCHS created favorable circumstances for its practice. Many church fathers, esp. John Chrysostom, inveighed against this form of sexual activity. Denounced by the church as criminal and contrary to Holy Scripture, homosexuality was prohibited by Justinian I's novels 77 and 141, which repeated the punishment of death by the sword decreed by *Cod. Theod.* IX 7.3. The same punishment was imposed by the *Ecloga* (17.38) and *Ecloga aucta* (17.6); the latter exempted youths under 15 from the death penalty, sentencing them instead to flogging and confinement in a monastery. Ecclesiastical law punished the sin with two or three years of EPITIMION. The *Penitential* of pseudo-John IV Nesteutes instructed the confessor to inquire about the sin of *arrenokoitia* (PG 88:1893C) and detailed different forms of homosexuality.

Malalas (Malal. 436.6–15) describes the trial of two bishops accused of homosexuality, Isaiah of Rhodes and Alexander of Diospolis in Thrace. The former was exiled after cruel tortures, the latter castrated and dragged along the streets in an ignominious procession.

Accusations of homosexual behavior sometimes appear in Byz. polemics: thus Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 443.15) lists "the impious lust for men" among Constantine V's vices. Such accusations became less common after the 9th C., probably as a result of the consolidation of FAMILY values and developing masculine ideals; in the last

centuries of Byz., however, complaints about homosexuality (e.g., in the writings of Patr. ATHANASIOS I and Joseph BRYENNIOS) were again heard. Homosexuality was found in both male and female monasteries (*typikon* of PHOBEROU MONASTERY, 80.31–82.9); several *typika* denied access to beardless youths and/or eunuchs in an attempt to protect monks from temptation (C. Galatariotou, *REB* 45 [1987] 121f).

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 16–19. Koukoules, *Bios* 6:506–15. J. Boswell, *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality* (Chicago-London 1980) 137–66, 335–53, 359–65. D.S. Bailey, *Homosexuality and the Western Christian Tradition* (London 1955). D. Dalla, ". . .*Ubi Venus mutatur": Omosessualità e diritto nel mondo romano* (Milan 1987). E. Cantarella, "Etica sessuale e diritto: L'omosessualità maschile a Roma," *RJ* 6 (1987) 277–92. S. Troianos, "Kirchliche und weltliche Rechtsquellen zur Homosexualität in Byzanz," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 29–48. –J.H.

HOMS. See EMESA.

HONORIUS (Ὀνώριος), Western emperor (from 393), younger son of Theodosios I; born Constantinople 9 Sept. 384, died Ravenna 15 Aug. 423. He was summoned to the West by Theodosios in 394 and assumed power after his father's death in 395. His elder brother ARKADIOS ruled the East and the whole empire was never again united. Because of Honorius's youth the court was dominated by the *magister militum* STILICHO, whose two daughters, Maria and Thermantia, were married to Honorius ca.398 and 408, respectively. The double portrait of Honorius on a consular diptych of 401 has persuaded most scholars that he is represented, together with Maria, on a cameo in Paris (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, nos. 1, 66). In fear of ALARIC, he moved his residence from Milan to RAVENNA, which henceforth became the primary Western capital. After the death of Stilicho in 408 the patrician Constantius became the power behind the throne and married the emperor's sister GALLA PLACIDIA. In 421 Constantius was made emperor, but his claims were rejected by Theodosios II, perhaps because Honorius was childless and the Eastern court had ambitions in the West. During the reign of Honorius, Rome was sacked by Alaric. Much of Gaul and Spain fell into barbarian hands. Honorius and his brother Arkadios were represented as consuls on the latter's honorific column in Constantinople.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:106–211. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–570. A. Pabst, *Divisio regni* (Bonn 1986). A. De Veer, "Une mesure de tolérance de l'empereur Honorius," *REB* 24 (1966) 189–95. W.N. Bayless, "The Visigothic Invasion of Italy in 401," *Classical Journal* 72 (1976) 65–67. –T.E.G., A.C.

HORISMOS (ὁρισμός, lit. "definition"), term for an imperial decree, known from the late 11th C. onward; it was synonymous with the PROSTAGMA. The rare term *chrysoboullios horismos* designated a less solemn form of the CHRYSOBULL, which had no words written in red ink except for the emperor's signature. The term could be applied to the charters of an empress (e.g., *Koutloum.*, no.8.34), a *doux* (*Lavra* 1, no.64.99), a *despotes*, or a metropolitan (*despotikos horismos*—*Xénoph.* no.32.42).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 109, 127f. –A.K.

HORMISDAS, pope (from 20 July 514); born Frosinone, Campania, died Rome 6 Aug. 523. Hormisdas inherited the problem of the AKAKIAN SCHISM but sought reconciliation with Byz. After the revolt of VITALIAN, Emp. Anastasios I was forced to seek accommodation with supporters of the Council of CHALCEDON and addressed the pope as *mediator*; Hormisdas sent his emissaries to Constantinople with a *libellus*—conventionally called the formula of Hormisdas—which required the full acceptance of Chalcedon and the condemnation of both the Nestorians and the Monophysites. The negotiations failed, but in 519 under Emp. Justin I a new papal embassy and Patr. John II (518–20) signed an agreement stating that the names of AKAKIOS and his four successors on the patriarchal throne, as well as those of Zeno and Anastasios I, were to be deleted from the DIPTYCHS. The personal and ideological victory was, however, Pyrrhic (Caspar, *infra* 130), and in fact the pope's influence over the eastern part of the empire (including Thessalonike) was drastically restricted; this is in contrast to Hormisdas's funeral inscription (by his son, Pope Silverius) noting "Graecia's obedience to your command."

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:129–83. W. Haacke, *Die Glaubensformel des Papstes Hormisdas im Acacianischen Schisma* (Rome 1939). C. Capizzi, "Sul fallimento di un negoziato di pace ecclesiastica fra il papa Ormisda e l'imperatore Anastasio I," *Storia critica* 17 (1980) 23–54. –A.K.

HOROLOGION (ὡρολόγιον) a term that means both a liturgical book and a timepiece.

Liturgical Book. Such a book contains the "ordinary" or invariable elements of the Byz. monastic HOURS, beginning with *mesonyktikon* and ending with compline (APODEIPNON). Other material varies from MS to MS. Originally the *horologion* was designed for the monastic office in Palestine; the two earliest surviving MSS of this original *horologion* date from the 9th C. (J. Mateos in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1964] 47–76). The Byz. *horologion*, however, is a hybrid developed in Constantinople gradually from the 8th C. onward; it fuses the early monastic *horologion* with the prayers and DIAKONIKA of the cathedral rite (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) contained in the EUCHOLOGION. The final synthesis of the two was completed only in the 14th C.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. Idem, "Mount Athos." *La prière des heures: Horologion* (Chevetogne 1975). –R.F.T.

Clock. Any device used to measure the passage of TIME or to mark a specific hour was called a *horologion*. As elsewhere in the medieval world, the Byz. needed timepieces primarily for the scheduling of religious services. In addition to SUNDIALS, which were limited to use in the daytime and in sunny weather, the Byz. continued to use the waterclock (*klepsydra*) devised in antiquity (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:969B), a vessel from which water drained through small holes at a steady rate. It was superior to the sundial because it could be used at night and was not affected by changes in the sun's path due to season or latitude, although it was susceptible to frost. The monastic rule of Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1704C) mentions a waterclock (*hydrologion*) fitted with some sort of alarm device to rouse the *aphypnistes*, the monk in charge of awakening his brethren for nocturnal services. At monasteries and churches, both BELLS and wooden gongs (SEMANTRA) were used to summon the faithful to services.

There were several public *horologia* in Constantinople, including the one erected by Justinian I at the Milion (Theoph. 216.25) and the magnificent structure at Hagia Sophia, with 24 doors that opened and shut according to the hours of the day. PROKOPIOS OF GAZA has left a detailed description of the elaborate water-driven *horologion* in early 6th-C. Gaza; it was adorned with AUTOMATA, including the 12 Labors of Herakles (for the 12 hours of daytime). Unfortunately, Prokopios says virtually nothing about the mechanics of the *horologion*. Pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS (ed. Bekker, 681.21–682.15) states that LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN gave Emp. Theophilos the idea of constructing two synchronized *horologia*, one at each end of a chain of BEACONS (P. Pattenden, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 274–76). There is no evidence that the Byz. ever used the mechanical clocks that began to appear in western Europe in the second half of the 13th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:89f. H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* (Berlin 1917). W.I. Milham, *Time and Timekeepers* (New York 1944) 48–54. –A.M.T.

HOROSCOPE (θέμα, θεμάτιον, or διάθεμα; ὡροσκόπος [ὡροσκοπεῖον, ὡροσκόπιον] is the ascendant), the representation of the positions in the zodiac at a certain moment of the planets, of the cusps of the 12 astrological places (*topoi*), and sometimes of other astrological entities such as lots (*kleroi*). They may be either diagrams, in which case they are usually squares, or simple lists of longitudes. The latter is the normal method of presentation in documentary horoscopes (e.g., on papyri), which also usually are without any interpretation; diagrams are often used in literary sources, esp. astrological treatises, where they are normally accompanied by an interpretation.

Horoscopes may be cast for any significant moment in any of the branches of ASTROLOGY, and, if interpreted, may provide information on social, economic, and political as well as biographical aspects of life in Byz. Since the seven planets move at different velocities, each horoscope generally represents a situation that is unique within the two millennia that astrology has flourished. They are, therefore, easily datable. Most interesting are the political horoscopes, which include the following:

1. The horoscope of Constantinople for 11 May 330, cast by Demophilos in ca.990 (D. Pingree in *Prismata* 305–15)
2. The birth of Valentinian III on 2 July 419 (D. Pingree, *Vettii Valentis Anthologiae* [Leipzig 1986] 351)
3. The horoscopes cast by the astrologer of Zeno, dated between 440 and 486 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 30 [1976] 135–50)

4. The horoscope of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, dated 2 Sept. 905 (D. Pingree, *DOP* 27 [1973] 219–31)
5. The horoscopes of the coronations of Alexios I Komnenos (on 1 Apr. 1081) and Manuel I (on 31 March 1143) (Pingree, "Chioniades & Astronomy" 138f, n.29)
6. The horoscope for the year prefixed to his almanac for 1336 by Andrew LIBADENOS (*CCAG* 7:152–160)
7. The horoscopes cast by John ABRAMIOS for Andronikos IV between 1373 and 1376 (Pingree, "Astrological School" 191–96) –D.P.

HORSE FITTINGS. See CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

HORSES (ἵπποι, also *aloga*). Horses were not common in the Roman Empire, where the principal BEASTS OF BURDEN were oxen and mules, and the army relied primarily on foot soldiers. The role of CAVALRY increased in the 4th–6th C. due to the conflict with mounted barbarians, and by the beginning of the 7th C. the cavalry was the most numerous of the Byz. elite troop formations (D.R. Hill in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp [London 1975] 37); its role became crucial with the introduction of the KATAPHRAKTOS. It is plausible to hypothesize that the invention of a new system of harnessing animals to a CART and PLOW increased the use of horses in everyday life. Late Byz. *praktika* suggest that only the richest peasants could afford horses, although two horses in one household are attested (*Lavra* 2, no.99.135); less well-to-do villagers might have "half of a horse" (no.99.126,139). Great landowners like JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS owned large numbers of horses: Kantakouzenos complained that he lost 1,500 mares when his property was confiscated in 1341/2 (Kantak. 2:185.5–6). In the 11th C. the Athonite monastery of Xenophon (*Xénoph.*, no.1.154f) possessed 100 dray horses and donkeys. The Byz. appreciated "Arab" horses; it is unclear whether the term refers to a breed or to animals imported from the caliphate. Thessaly was famous for its horses (e.g., An.Komn. 1:20.14), and imperial herds of horses were raised in MALAGINA.

As CHARIOT RACES declined in significance after the 7th C., equestrian SPORTS like polo and tournaments became popular in the higher echelons of society; horses were also used for HUNTING by nobles who chased deer and boar on horseback; the mounted knight, whether the emperor or St. George, was a symbol of manliness. Clergymen and women, on the other hand, were supposed to ride mules, and Jews in 12th-C. Byz. were forbidden to ride horses. The Byz. cared about their horses, and HIPPIATRICA or "horse medicine" was a field of special study. The GEOPONIKA discussed their diseases in book 16, and OPPIAN's book on horses was popular.

The main elements of the harness of a saddle horse were the leather saddle attached by the girth strap (P. Connolly in *Roman Military Equipment* ed. M. Dawson [Oxford 1987] 11), the bridle with snaffle bit (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 337, no.2887), and the iron STIRRUP. (See also CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.)

LIT. P. Vigneron, *Le cheval dans l'antiquité Gréco-Romaine*, 2 vols. (Nancy 1968). M. Kretschmar, *Pferd und Reiter im Orient* (Hildesheim–New York 1980). –A.K., J.W.N.

HORTICULTURE, including arboriculture, was practiced extensively throughout the empire. In addition to FRUIT, the Byz. grew a wide variety of vegetables. Onions and cabbage were esp. important: NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.152.3–5) relates that a village had to supply Hagia Sophia with cabbage (*krambe*) and was therefore exempted from other state taxes. Legumes or pulses (*ospria*) of different kinds were also a mainstay of the DIET. A donation of 1191 (MM 4:202.17–21) describes a household that possessed 120 *modioi* of grain and 39 *modioi* of three varieties of legumes—beans (*phabata*) and two sorts of peas (*erebinthia*). In the *proasteion* of Baris in 1073 the ratio was different (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119): 410 *modioi* of wheat and barley and only 5 *modioi* of beans. A judicial decision of 1421 incorporates a list of vegetables raised on a garden farm in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102.23–24), including leeks, carrots, onions, garlic, lettuce, cucumbers, and gourds.

The GEOPONIKA (bk.12.2.3) advises the farmer that three elements are necessary for the successful production of vegetables: fertile soil, water, and manure. The same text prescribes remedies for ridding GARDENS of grubs and insects (bk.12.8).

LIT. P. Skok, "De l'horticulture byzantine en pays yougoslaves," in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* (Athens 1935) 463–69. M. Comşa, "Grădinăritul în mileniul I e.n., pe teritoriul României," *Pontica* 13 (1980) 164–84.

–J.W.N., A.K.

HOSIOS. See SAINT.

HOSIOS DAVID, church in Thessalonike. Located in the northern part of the city, Hosios David is the earliest surviving example of a domed cross plan, dating to the last third of the 5th C. The church, which until 1921 was dedicated to Christ, is 14.75 m on a side; the dome has vanished but the pendentives survive. All but the eastern arm of the cross are accessible from the exterior through doors. In the conch of the apse is a mosaic of the young beardless Christ, seated on a cloud, in a rainbow mandorla over the Four Rivers of Paradise, flanked by the EVANGELIST SYMBOLS and figures thought to represent the prophets Ezekiel and Habakkuk or Isaiah. An inscription below invokes Christ as the source of living waters. The mosaic is now generally dated to the late 5th C., although alternatives as late as the 7th C. have been proposed (Kitzinger, *Making* 141, n.41). Frescoes illustrating four Great Feasts have been discovered in and below the south vault; these date from the third or last quarter of the 12th C. and provide a transition between the style of NEREZI and that of the 13th C., for example, MILEŠEVA (E. Tsigaridas, *Hoi toichographies tes mones Latomou Thessalonikes kai he byzantine zographike tou 12ou aiona* [Thessalonike 1986]). Other frescoes from the late 13th to early 14th C. have been found elsewhere in the church.

The church served as the *katholikon* of the Latomou monastery, which is first attested in the first half of the 9th C. when JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER took up residence there; it is not mentioned again in historical sources until the Palaiologan period. After the Ottoman conquest of Thessalonike in 1430, it was transformed into a mosque, the Murad Camii.

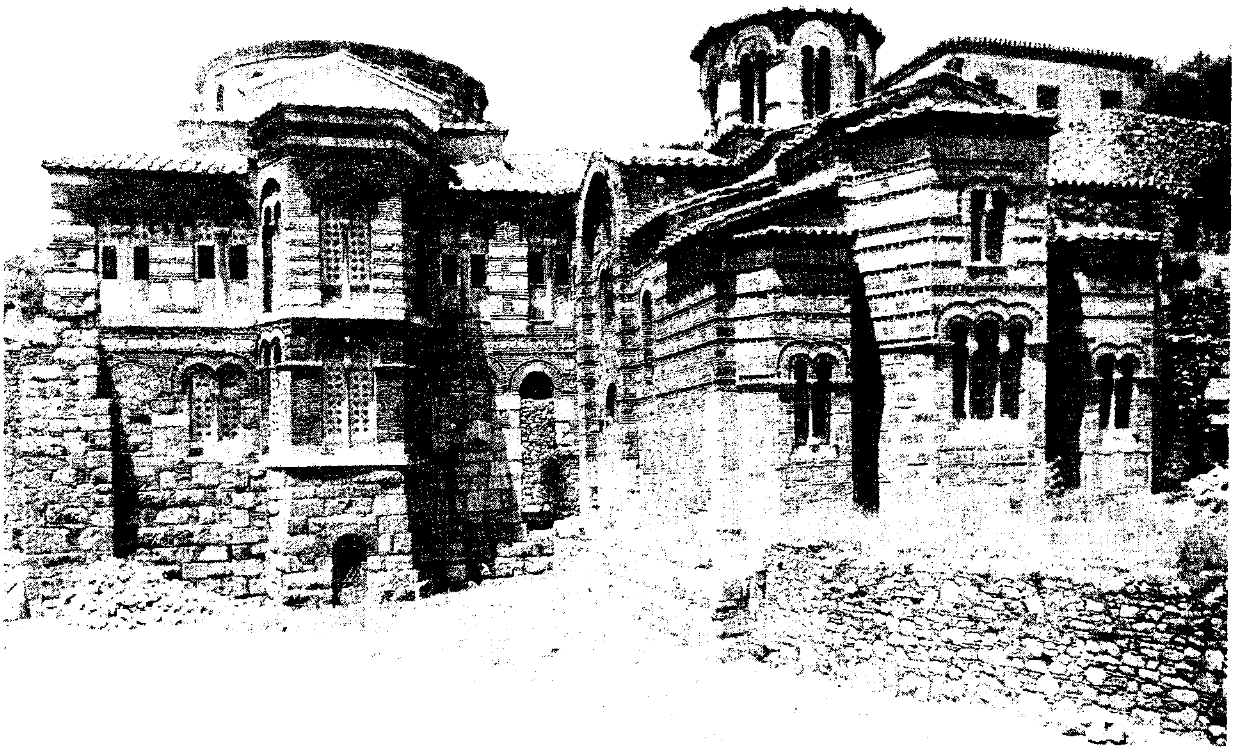
A legendary tale by the monk Ignatios, *hegoumenos* of the Akapniou monastery in the 11th C., recounts that the daughter of the emperor Maximian secretly converted to Christianity and commissioned a picture of the Virgin. After it was mysteriously transformed into an image of Christ, she had it concealed under a layer of bricks; subsequently the Latomou monastery was built on the site. Under the Iconoclastic emperor Leo V, the revetment suddenly fell off, revealing the image beneath (Janin, *Églises centres* 392–94). A 14th-C. icon in Sofia bears the image of Christ, identified by inscription as "Jesus Christ of the miracle of Latomos" (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 289–99); it clearly seems to be a copy of the mosaic in Thessalonike.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 239–41. A. Xyngopoulos, "To katholikon tes Mones tou Latomou en Thessalonike kai to en auto psephedoton," *ArchDelt* 12 (1929) 142–80. P. Grossmann, "Zur typologischen Stellung der Kirche von Hosios David in Thessalonike," *FelRav*[4] 127–30 (1984–85) 253–60. S. Pelekanides, *Palaiochristianika mnemeia Thessalonikes. Acheiropoietos. Mone Latomou*[2] (Thessalonike 1973) 45–68.

–N.P.Š., A.M.T., T.E.G.

HOSIOS LOUKAS, monastery and pilgrimage site in Phokis (Greece), known for the wonder-working tomb of its eponymous saint, LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, in the larger of its two churches. The smaller, cross-in-square church, now dedicated to the Theotokos, may be the same as the Church of St. Barbara mentioned in the vita of Loukas. According to Stikas (*infra*), the smaller church was built between 946 and 955 by Krinites Arotras, *strategos* of the theme of Hellas, who was resident in Thebes. Bouras (*infra*), on the other hand, attributed the Theotokos church to the patronage of Romanos II, dating it shortly after 960 on the basis of the marble reliefs of its drum revetment, templon screen, etc. While the Theotokos lacks painted decoration, that of the adjacent *katholikon* is the oldest mosaic program from the period of the 10th–12th C.

The plan of the larger church, which replaced a little *martyrion* built after Loukas's death (953), is complicated by a domed octagonal core allowing squinches to support the main dome. This fell after an earthquake in 1593, but most of the church's mosaics, including more than 140 images of saints, are preserved. D. Mouriki (*CorsiRav* 31 [1984] 397) has dated them to the 1020s. The Christological mosaics in the narthex are notable for their severe symmetry, as are the iconlike panels in the naos; in the same style and probably contemporary are frescoes in the northwest, southeast, and northeast chapels (this last specifically connected with Loukas's cult), as are those in the narthex gallery and in the crypt around his tomb. No document survives relating directly to



HOSIOS LOUKAS. The two churches of the Hosios Loukas monastery, seen from the east. The *katholikon* is on the left, the Church of the Theotokos is on the right.

the foundation of the *katholikon*. Bouras argues that it was built between 997 and 1031; M. Chatzidakis (*CahArch* 19 [1969] 127–50) suggested the date of 1011, while Stikas proposed that the KTETOR was Constantine IX. Similar reliefs are found at a *metochion* of Hosios Loukas at Aliveri in Euboia, dated 1014 by inscription (not 1010, as in A. Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. XXVII–XXVIII, pp. 60f).

Local interest in the monastery in Phokis is indicated in the *typikon* of a CONFRATERNITY of the Virgin in Naupaktos, ca.1048 (ed. J. Nesbitt, J. Wiita, *BZ* 68 [1975] 365.42, 373f), signed by the monastery's *hegoumenos* Theodore Leobachos, scion of a family of Theban *dynatoi*. In March 1436 the monastery was visited by CYRIACUS OF ANCONA (who ascribed its construction to Constantine IX). Stikas restored Hosios Loukas in a campaign concluded in 1964.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *TIB* 1:205f. E. Stikas, *To oikodomikon chronikon tes mones Hosiou Louka Phokidos* (Athens 1970). Idem, *Ho ktitor tou katholikou tes mones Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1974). Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends" 81–86. L. Bouras, *Ho glyptos diakosmos tou naou tes Panagias sto monasteri tou Hosiou Louka* (Athens 1980). Th. Chatzidakis-Bacharas, *Les peintures murales de Hosios Loukas* (Athens 1982). –A.C.

HOSIOS MELETIOS, monastery on the south side of Mt. Kithairon (Myoupolis), on the border between Attica and Boeotia, founded ca.1081 by MELETIOS THE YOUNGER. The monastery flourished in the 12th to early 13th C.; its *hegoumenos* Ioannikios corresponded with Michael CHONIATES. Initially after 1204 Hosios Meletios remained in Greek hands, but in 1218 it was controlled by the Latins and was plundered, perhaps by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. The monastery is surrounded by a rectangular fortification. The *katholikon* is a cross-in-square of Con-

stantinopolitan type with four columns, perhaps dating to the 11th C.; an exonarthex was added ca.1150. The surviving frescoes are post-Byz. Outside the monastery several chapels associated with it have been found.

LIT. *TIB* 1:217f. A.K. Orlandos, "He mone tou Hosiou Meletiou kai ta paralavria autes," *ABME* 5 (1939–40) 34–118. H. Deliyanni-Dori, *Die Wandmalereien der Lite der Klosterkirche von Hosios Meletios* (Munich 1975). –T.E.G.

HOSPITAL (*ξενών, νοσοκομεῖον*). One of the early Christian customs that impressed pagans was the care of the infirm, ill, and the elderly; by the 4th through 6th C., institutions were established that functioned as combinations of hostels and sick bays. Documentation is controversial for hospitals in the early centuries of the Byz. Empire, and scholars define the term hospital differently, but it seems certain that fully operational institutions for health care of the sick were founded by the 9th or 10th C. in the major cities; Miller (*infra*) argues for a date as early as the 6th C. The most meticulously documented hospital is that of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (1136). The monastery's *typikon* describes in detail the institution's use of specialist PHYSICIANS and five pharmacists who compounded drugs on orders from the attending doctors; the 50 beds were divided among five wards separated by diagnosis of various illnesses. The women's ward had a female physician (*iatraina*); two surgeons and two physicians staffed an outpatient clinic. The medical staff included an ophthalmologist, a specialist surgeon for hernia repair, and an attendant who kept the SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS sharp and clean. Other known hospitals include that at the Great LAVRA on Athos (10th C.), and in Constantinople the 10th-C. Xenon of SAMPSON (PG 115:300B–304B) and the LIPS MONASTERY (14th C.). Victims of LEPROSY were treated in specialized hospitals.

LIT. T.S. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore, Md., 1985); rev. V. Nutton, *Medical History* 30 (1986) 218–21. T.S. Miller, "Byzantine Hospitals," *DOP* 38 (1984) 53–63. R. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich 1983). –J.S., A.M.T.

HOSPITALITY (*φιλοξενία*), an aspect of PHILANTHROPY, which pious Byz. practiced both on a private basis (subject to state approval—cf. vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS 54.2–7) and institutionalized in the form of hospices (XENODOCHEIA) for passing travelers in the provinces and for needy provincials who had to stay in Constantinople. Most information on such hospitality comes from monastic sources. Most *xenodocheia* built after the 9th C. were attached to monasteries. Two late 11th-C. *typika* indicate the type of food and shelter provided. At Rhaidestos, Michael ATTALEIATES arranged for pilgrims to the Holy Land and other poor wayfarers to be fed and lodged in an annex to his PTOCHOTROPHEION, where two *modioi* of bread and a measure of wine were to be allocated weekly for their sustenance (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 49). Gregory PAKOURIANOS established three *xenodocheia* on the estates of his monastery of PETRITZOS (Bačkovo), one at STENIMACHOS near Philippopolis, and two on the coast road near the mouth of the Strymon. The first, equipped with "many beds," a stove, and a portable brazier, provided warm accommodation where sick travelers could stay for three nights, or longer in critical cases. This hostel had a daily allocation of two *modioi* of wheat and two measures of wine—double the amount allocated to each of the other two hostels. In all three, the basic diet of bread and wine was supplemented by a variable cooked dish (*prosphagion*) prepared from dried and fresh vegetables (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 110–15).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 98–110, 144f, 185–221. –P.M.

HOSPITALLERS, or Order of the Hospital of St. John of Jerusalem, a military-monastic order founded in the Holy Land in the early 12th C. The predominantly French order played a vital role in the Crusader kingdoms, providing military and medical services. After the expulsion of the Crusaders from Acre in 1291, the Hospitallers embarked upon the conquest of RHODES (1306–10), following a brief interlude on Cyprus. Rhodes remained their base until 1522 when the island was captured by the Ottomans. The Hospitallers exercised a benevolent rule over the local Greek populace, who regarded them as protectors.

Despite their limited numbers and small fleet, the Hospitallers continued their crusading efforts in the 14th and 15th C., primarily against the Turkish emirates on the west coast of Asia Minor, like MENTESHE and AYDIN. In 1344 they were

involved in the Latin recovery of the port of SMYRNA from UMUR BEG and defended the lower fortress until 1402 when it was destroyed by Timur. The Hospitallers had few direct relations with Byz. except during the reign of Manuel II. In 1390 they sent two galleys to Constantinople to help Manuel depose his usurper nephew John VII. In desperation after the Christian defeat by the Ottomans at Nikopolis in 1396 (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:347), THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS sold CORINTH to the Hospitallers in 1397 and the rest of the despotate in 1400. The Hospitallers successfully defended the Isthmus of Corinth against the Turks, but withdrew by 1403, at least in part because of the hostility of the local Greeks. By 1404 Theodore had recovered all of the despotate from the Hospitallers.

LIT. *HC* 3:278–321. A. Luttrell, *The Hospitallers in Cyprus, Rhodes, Greece and the West 1291–1440* (London 1978). Idem, *Latin Greece, the Hospitallers and the Crusades, 1291–1440* (London 1982). Barker, *Manuel II* 76f, 146, 232f. –A.M.T.

HOUR (ὥρα). The Byz. divided both night and DAY into 12 hours each (numbered 1 through 12) so one referred to the "seventh hour of the night" (Theoph. 319.10–11) or the "fourth hour of the day" (ibid. 493.30). Such hours inevitably varied in length according to both latitude and season. The "first hour" (*prote hora*) was at sunrise; the "third hour" (*trite hora*) midmorning; the "sixth hour" (*hekate hora*) noon; the "ninth hour" (*henate hora*) midafternoon. *Hespera* (evening) was one hour before sunset, and *apodeipnon* the period after sunset. In addition to its division into hours, the night could also be divided in accordance with Roman custom into four *vigiliae* or "watches." The hours were measured by a SUNDIAL or HOROLOGION such as a waterclock.

The unequal length of hours made their further partition into smaller components rather difficult and quite theoretical. For everyday life it was usual to refer to the "half hour" and "quarter hour." A period of time—a "point" or "moment"—was defined as *stigme* (= Lat. *punctum*). One of the rare sources to mention it is the vita of Loukas the Stylite (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 229.15–17). For astronomical purposes, however, Byz. computists divided the day into 24 equal hours but employed different systems of division. According to that of Psellos, for example, 1 hour = 5 *lepta*; 1 *lepton* = 4 *stigmai*; 1 *stigme* = 12 *rhopai* (G. Redl, *Byzantion* 5 [1929–30] 257.14–15). On the other hand, an anonymous computist of the 11th–12th C. (ed. F. Karnthaler, *BNJbb* 10 [1934] 5.24–26) measures one hour as equivalent to 5 *stigmai*, 10 *lepta*, 150 *moirai*, 1,200 *ripai*, etc.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 163–65. W. Sontheimer, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2011–23. –B.C.

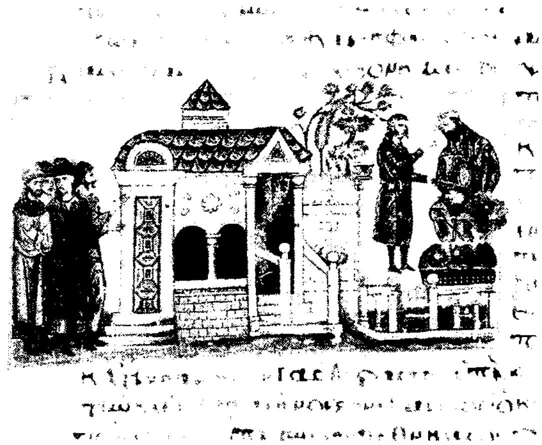
HOURS, LITURGICAL (ὧραι), often called the "Divine Office," a schedule of daily PRAYER comprising, with variations depending on the tradition, ORTHROS, the "Little Hours" (First, Third, Sixth, and Ninth, or prime, terce, sext, and none), VESPERS, APODEIPNON, *mesonyktikon* (nocturns), and occasional VIGILS. To these are sometimes added "intermediate" and "Great" or "Imperial" Hours. The Byz. intermediate hours, or monastic *mesoria*, are said after each of the Little Hours only during the LENT preceding the feasts of the Nativity and Sts. Peter and Paul. The "Great Hours," also called "Imperial," a form of Little Hours characterized by three scripture LECTIONS, a prophecy, an apostle, and a gospel, are celebrated on GOOD FRIDAY and the vigils of NATIVITY and EPIPHANY. Great Hours were first created from elements originally found in a single Palestinian Good Friday vigil service at the ninth hour. Great Hours are not found in the HOROLOGION but in the *triodion* and the *menaion* for the days indicated.

The hours are a formalization of early Christian private prayer at set times, based on the New Testament command to pray without ceasing. The full cursus results from monastic developments of the 4th C. when the two original hours (*orthros* and vespers) were filled in with services at the other traditional times of private prayers (third, sixth, and ninth hours and at night).

Most Divine Offices are hybrids resulting from a synthesis of cathedral and monastic usages. One such office was created under the aegis of St. Theodore of Stoudios (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). This "Stoudite" office combined the prayers and *diakonika* of the cathedral office of Constantinople, contained in the EUCHOLOGION, with the psalmody and hymns of the monastic office used in Jerusalem, contained in the *horologion*. By the 12th C. this hybrid Stoudite office had spread throughout the Orthodox world, even back to Palestine; there, at the Lavra of St. Sabas, it was somewhat altered

to suit the more austere, less rigidly cenobitic lifestyle of the Palestinian anachoretes, and a further synthesis was made (see SABAITIC TYPIKA), which eventually took over the field (see BYZANTINE RITE). Its rubrics were codified by Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (PG 154:745–66). There are two extant 15th-C. commentaries on the hours: the *Treatise on Prayer* by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:535–670; tr. H.L.N. Simmons [Brookline, Mass., 1984]) and one by Mark Eugenikos (PG 160:1163–93).

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours." R.F. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours in East and West* (Collegeville, Minn., 1986). Taft, "Mount Athos." –R.F.T.



HOUSES. House of Eglon, king of Moab. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 746, fol.473v); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

HOUSES (sing. οἰκία). In the late Roman Empire houses took two main forms: the *insula* or apartment house, and the *domus* or private residence. Descriptions of the regions of Rome in the mid-4th C. list 46,602 *insulae* and 1,797 *domus*. The excavations at Ephesus unearthed two *insula*-type buildings that were constructed in the 1st C., but underwent numerous remodelings up to the 7th C. The ground floor contained vaulted shops above which were situated modest rectangular rooms. The two-story mansion of a wealthy citizen formed a component of one *insula*. There is no archaeological evidence concerning later *insulae*, but written sources attest their existence in Constantinople, mentioning "five-roofed" (*pentorophoi*) houses and containing complaints about neighbors who kept pigs on upper floors. The ground plan of the *domus* was a peristyle type, containing an inner courtyard (ATRIUM) surrounded by rooms that formed the outer walls of the house. The *domus* was usually a one-story dwelling with many conveniences, including a bath, kitchen, LATRINES, PLUMBING AND HEATING systems, and storage rooms. By the 7th C. the focal point of the house shifted from the atrium to the second floor GALLERY (*hyperoon*), where guests were received (E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 83.24–25).

A series of laws (*Cod.Just.* VIII 10.12) regulated the construction of a new house or the remodeling of an old one. The law ordained that a distance of at least 12 Greek feet had to be maintained between houses. Repairs to an old house were allowed, but not changes to its original plan. Neighbors' access to daylight and a view of the sea (esp. in Constantinople) were protected. A balcony could not be built over a street less than 12 feet wide. Furthermore, a staircase leading from the street to the balcony was not permitted because it presented a fire hazard or could obstruct traffic in the street.

The Byz. town houses that have been unearthed in excavations and that date from 1000 onward present several building types. One common plan of a private residence (e.g., at Corinth, Athens, Pergamon, Thebes) was a rectangular building with a central open space that had no peristyle, but perhaps an open-fronted ROOF; the courtyard and the surrounding rooms on the ground floor served as storerooms for agricultural products (with *pithoi* placed in the pseudo-atrium), stables, etc. Workshops (ERGASTERIA) were also situated on the ground floor; living quarters were upstairs. Another common plan was a house without a courtyard or with a narrow courtyard in front of the main façade (e.g., at Pergamon and Euripos). Construction was of poor quality, with frequent reuse of ancient architectural elements. The rooms were small and irregular in shape, and the houses were erected along narrow alleys without any obvious planning.

Written sources demonstrate the same irregularity of the house even in Constantinople. In his foundation charter of 1077 (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 27.159–29.181) Attaleiates describes his mansion in the capital, which consisted of several buildings connected by a common courtyard; the buildings had a ground floor (*katogeon*) and an

upper floor (*heliakos*) that projected over the courtyard; the mansion also included a chapel and a three-story dwelling with a donkey-driven mill on the ground floor. Another important description is found in a purchase deed of 1320 for a house in Thessalonike (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.111.16–26): it was made of stone and BRICKWORK covered with TILES; adjacent was a two-story building with a thatched roof. The houses of the wealthy provided separate quarters for women, usually in the inner part of the building.

Houses in the countryside were usually modest: built of wood, unbaked bricks, or even reeds, they were rectangular in plan and consisted of small rooms and a porch (e.g., at Armatova in Elis [Peloponnesos]); some had only one or two rooms, with earthen FLOORS, open hearths, and a timber roof (e.g., at Luni in northern Italy—B. Ward-Perkins, *BSR* 49 [1981] 91–98). Nicholas MESARITES describes village houses made of reeds plastered with mud and covered with thatched roofs. In sharp contrast were the mansions of wealthy landowners (like Digenes Akritas), surrounded by GARDENS and defended by walls and towers (PYRGOI).

The architectural decoration of houses was usually simple, but noble mansions and PALACES might be ornamented with polychrome façades, arcades, and balconies as at TEKFUR SARAYI in Constantinople, or with a columned front as on the site of the Seraglio, or with niches and blind arcades as in MISTRA (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 1–114). The WINDOW openings, wide on the upper stories and narrower on the ground floor level, were mostly semicircular.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, "Houses in Byzantium," *DChAE*⁴ 11 (1983) 1–26. T. Kirova, "Il problema della casa bizantina," *FelRav* 102 (1971) 263–302. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:249–317. A.G. McKay, *Houses, Villas and Palaces in the Roman World* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1975). G. Velenis, "Wohnviertel und Wohnungsbau in den byzantinischen Städten," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum* (Berlin 1978) 197–236. J.P. Sodini, "L'habitat urbain en Grèce à la veille des invasions," in *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 341–97. S.P. Ellis, "The End of the Roman House," *AJA* 92 (1988) 565–76. –S.M.-P., Ap.K., A.K.

HRABŬR ČERNORIZEC ("militant monk"), Slavic monk who wrote a brief and enigmatic treatise, *On the Alphabet*; fl. ca.880. The authorship, date, and purpose of the work have been much debated since it first came to the attention of scholars in 1824. The text opens with a short discussion of the history of the Greek alphabet, drawing on both classical and Christian sources, and of the invention of the Slavonic alphabet by St. CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. It then goes on to a vigorous and passionate defense of the religious use of the CHURCH SLAVONIC language and alphabet against the proponents of the trilingual dogma, who believed that the liturgy could be celebrated only in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. The consensus today is that the author was a Bulgarian, probably a member of the circle of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA before his accession, and that the treatise was written between 885, when the pupils of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios reached Bulgaria, and 893, when Symeon succeeded his father. During this period there was conflict in Bulgaria between users of the new Slavonic liturgy and Byz. clergy using the Greek liturgy. The treatise shows considerable linguistic discernment.

ED. *O pismenech*, ed. A. Giambelluca-Kossova (Sofia 1980). –R.B.

HṘIP'SIMĒ. See VAŁARŠAPAT.

HUDŪD AL-ʿĀLAM (The Regions of the World), an anonymous Persian geographical treatise written in 982/3, and one of the earliest surviving Persian prose texts. A comprehensive descriptive analysis of the world as known to 10th-C. Muslims, it was composed by an armchair scholar utilizing other books (primarily those by IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, Jayhānī, and al-IṢṬAKHRĪ) and oral traditions. The early geographical sources for knowledge of Byz. have been identified as the two Byz. prisoners, Abi Muslim al-JARMI (redeemed 845–46) and HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ (late 9th C.). The dates of their information are quite relevant to the anachronistic description that the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam* presents of Byz., including 14 Byz. provinces (three in Europe and 11 in Anatolia), thus repeating Ibn Khurdādhbeh and QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, on the other hand, who wrote earlier than the *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam*, lists 12 provinces in the west and 18 in Anatolia. Furthermore, the treatise's evidence on Byz. cities is inconsistent. Of the land of RŪM it says, "It has many towns and villages," and "Each of these provinces . . . has numerous towns, vil-

lages, castles, fortresses . . . ," only to contradict itself: "In the days of old, cities were numerous in Rūm, but now they have become few." By the late 10th C. it would seem that the number and size of cities were in fact on the increase.

TR. *Ḥudūd al-ʿĀlam. "The Regions of the World." A Persian Geography 372 AH-982 AD*,[2] tr. V. Minorsky (London 1970).
LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. –S.V.

HUGEBURC, 8th-C. Anglo-Saxon nun in the Franconian abbey of Heidenheim who composed the stylistically ambitious but grammatically shaky Lives (*BHL* 8966, 8931) of two brothers who were her relatives: Wynnebald, first abbot of Heidenheim (ca.751–61), and Willibald, bishop of Eichstätt (741–24 Sept. 787), collaborators with St. Boniface in the evangelization of Germany. Willibald dictated his account to Hugeburc on 23 June 778; her retelling of his travels (723–29) in Byz. Italy, western Asia Minor, the Holy Land, and Constantinople displays linguistic characteristics distinct from Hugeburc's diction and seems to follow closely Willibald's own words. It focuses on pilgrimage shrines but also sheds light on shipping routes and conditions (via Monemvasia "in Slawinia" and the Aegean, 93.1–94.8, 101.16–102.13), towns (Ephesus, "Strobrolis" [= Strobilos?]), stylites at Miletos (93.15–24), monuments (Jerusalem; tombs of Sts. Andrew, Timothy, Luke, and John Chrysostom in Constantinople; the church in Nicaea, seat of Nicaea I, 101.18–28), general historical conditions (Cyprus's neutrality and peace between Byz. and the Arabs, 95.14–17; plague in Syria, 100.3–9; cf. Theoph. 1:410.19–20), water buffaloes in Palestine (96.10–11), the embassy of Emp. Leo III to Pope Gregory II (100.28–30), and the contemporary state of legends (e.g., an anti-Jewish anecdote about the Virgin's funeral, 97.32–98.5) in one of the most obscure periods of Byz. history. There is no apparent reference to Iconoclasm.

ED. O. Holder-Egger, MGH *SS* 15.1 (Leipzig 1887; rp. 1925) 86–106. Tr. Rev. Canon Brownlow, *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald* [= PPTS, 3, no.2] (London 1895).
LIT. E. Gottschaller, *Hugeburc von Heidenheim* (Munich 1973). –M.McC.

HUGH OF VERMANDOIS, brother of King Philip I of France; died Tarsos 18 Oct. 1101. Leading a magnificently equipped group of French nobles on the First Crusade, Hugh (Οὖβος) grandiloquently announced his forthcoming arrival to Alexios I, then suffered shipwreck near Dyrrachion. Reequipped by its governor John Komnenos, Hugh reached Constantinople in autumn 1096. Welcomed by Alexios, he was placed under some duress until he swore fealty to the emperor. Rumors that he was imprisoned disturbed the followers of GODFREY OF BOUILLON. When the latter reached Constantinople, Hugh attempted mediation between him and the emperor. Later, after fighting at DORYLAION and against Kerbogha, Hugh was sent by the other leaders to Alexios (July 1098) to offer him Antioch if he would join the Crusade (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 281–84). But Alexios's retreat to Constantinople, where Hugh found him, voided the message, and Hugh returned to France. In 1100, possibly blamed for desertion, he enlisted in a new Crusade. Apparently he accompanied Duke William IX of Aquitaine, was wounded, and escaped with him, only to die of the wound.
–C.M.B.

HUMANISM, a scholarly term often used to designate a certain period of cultural development and, in this sense, identical or similar to the concept of RENAISSANCE. Thus, for I.P. Medvedev (*Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* [Leningrad 1976] 4) humanism is the "philosophical and literary stream of the Renaissance period." All the cautionary statements applied to the concept of Byz. renaissance(s) remain valid with respect to Byz. humanism, although we can safely assume the existence of individual humanists in Byz. (e.g., PLETHON) or of certain humanistic features in late Byz. culture. It is doubtful, however, that Byz. ever had a humanistic milieu resembling that of Italy in the 14th and 15th C.

From a different perspective, Hunger (*Reich* 355–69) describes "Christian humanism" as a phenomenon distinct from the Western Renaissance; the core of this humanism is the confluence of Christian and classical elements, a conciliatory attitude toward the ancient heritage. The concept of perpetual humanism meshes better with the idea of Byz. continuity than that of perpetual renaissance since it does not require revivals and their counterpart—cultural gaps or dark ages. Humanism has also been identified with Christian philanthropy and active efforts to alleviate human

misery (Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 66). Lemerle (*Humanism* xi) speaks of two Byz. humanisms, the first of which, in the 9th–10th C., "corresponds" (chronologically) to the obscure centuries in the West, whereas the second humanism, that of the Palaiologoi, having been prepared already during the Komnenian period, developed through contacts with the West. Lemerle, however, does not define the notion of humanism.

LIT. V.L. da Nóbrega, "L'humanisme dans la compilation de Justinien," *Actes du VIIe Congrès de la Fédération internationale des associations d'études classiques* (Budapest 1984) 315–20. J. Meyendorff, "Humanisme nominaliste et mystique chrétienne à Byzance au XIVe siècle," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 79 (1957) 905–14. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam 1987) 11–29. –A.K.

HUMBERT (Οὐμπέρτος), cardinal of Silva Candida; born ca.1000, died Rome 5 May 1061. As a monk at Moyenmoutier (Lorraine), Humbert studied Greek; he accompanied Pope LEO IX to Rome and became the principal Greek scholar in the Curia. He translated and responded to the letter on Latin ecclesiastical usages by LEO OF OHRID, sent in 1053 to John, bishop of Trani. Humbert then headed Leo IX's embassy to Emp. Constantine IX, arriving in Constantinople early in 1054. His letters to Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, treatises against Byz. liturgical practices, and response to Niketas STETHATOS inflamed the patriarch and clergy. His intemperate polemics contributed to a controversy that Constantine IX tried vainly to quell. On 16 July 1054 Humbert deposited on the altar of Hagia Sophia a bull excommunicating Keroularios and his followers (PL 143:1001–04). It condemned the lack of the FILIOQUE in the Creed and various Byz. liturgical customs, esp. the use of leavened bread rather than AZYMES. Following his return, Humbert's self-justifications helped perpetuate the SCHISM.

LIT. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1924–30). –C.M.B.

HUMOR. LAUGHTER was considered in antiquity as a virtue, a divine quality, and writers (including Plutarch) collected jokes and anecdotes often ascribed to famous personages. An anonymous collection of this kind was produced, probably in the 3rd–5th C., under the title of *Laughter-Lover* (PHILOGELOS). Christian society, however, rejected laughter; it was replaced by tears of CONTRITION, compunction, and a quiet smile, frequently described as a quality of a saint. Attitudes toward humor nevertheless remained ambivalent: not only did the *Philogelos* survive in a number of MSS, but Sokrates (*HE* 6:22) describes a collection of theological jokes attributed to Bp. Sisinnios. Byz. humor might take the form of a PUN; for example, in a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 441.23–27), when Isaac II asked for some salt (*halas*) at dinner, the mime Chaliboures replied, "Let us first come to know these women, and then command others (*allas*) to be brought in." The Byz. also found humor in improper or absurd situations such as the lascivious dance of the old lady Maryllis, described by Niketas Eugeneianos (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:136). Exaggerated improper situations were frequently used in personal INVECTIVE and religious POLEMIC, and in such genres as SATIRE, PARODY, and EPIGRAM; the elements of self-mockery developed as well. The peak of humor was achieved by Christopher of Mytilene, Psellos, Ptochoprodromos, Eustathios of Thessalonike, and Sachlikes. There was also coarse and graceless humor, consisting of the cumulation of contorted curses.

ED. G. Soyter, *Griechischer Humor* (Berlin 1959) 83–123.
LIT. B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-Lover* (Amsterdam 1983) iv–xii. Averincev, *Poetika* 57–83. M. Kyriakis, "Satire and Slapstick in Seventh and Twelfth Century Byzantium," *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 291–306. G. Morgan, "A Byzantine Satirical Song?" *BZ* 47 (1954) 292–97. –A.K.

HUNGARY, country founded by the Magyars or Hungarians, a people whom the Byz. called TOURKOI and, from the 10th C. onward, Oungroi (early evidence for Oungroi is found in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). In the 9th C., Hungarians lived in the basin of the Don River and, according to an Arabic source, sold Slavic captives in Cimmerian Bosporos to the Byz. In 837 the Hungarians for the first time entered into direct military contact with Byz.: according to a revised version of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, the Bulgarians invited the Oungroi to put down a rebellion of Byz. captives on the Danube, but the Byz. fleet overcame the Oungroi and repelled their attack (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:339f). In the Byz.-Bulgarian war of 894–96 they acted as Byz. allies but, under pressure from the PECHENEGS, moved westward and settled in PANNONIA, where they organized their state under the dynasty of the ÁRPÁDS.

In the 10th C., the Hungarians often invaded the Balkans; a Hungarian legend eulogizes the

chief Botond, who allegedly knocked a hole in the gates of Constantinople with his battle-ax. In 948, two Hungarian princes were baptized in Constantinople. In 953 a Greek monk was sent as bishop to Hungary; the mission was temporarily successful, esp. in the eastern and southern parts of the country, but when István (Stephen) I (1000–1038), the first Catholic king, defeated rival Byz. Christian relatives and chieftains, Greek influence began to decline. Even though Greek monasteries were founded in the 11th C. and Greek-speaking monks lived in some religious houses as late as 1210, the country became increasingly Catholic and Latin-oriented. Byz. goldsmith-work, jewels, ecclesiastical vessels, reliquaries, and coins reached Hungary throughout the 11th–12th C., partly by trade, but mostly as imperial gifts; best known among these are the gold treasure of NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS, the so-called Monomachos crown (probably a gift to Andrew I) and the crown given to Géza I (now the lower part of the "Holy Crown of Hungary"; see CROWNS).

After LÁSZLÓ I (Ladislas) penetrated into Croatia and Kálmán (Coloman) annexed Dalmatia, the territorial conflicts between Constantinople and Hungary caused several wars; Hungary often made alliances with Serbia, the Normans, and the principalities of Rus' against Byz. In the 12th C. the situation became very complicated: while there were many dynastic contacts between the Árpáds and Constantinople, the support frequently granted to Árpád pretenders by Constantinople caused recurrent tension between Hungary and Byz. When BÉLA III—who for a while was expected to unite both states under his rule—returned to Hungary, he turned definitively to the West and, from the 13th C. onward, the intensity of Byz.-Hungarian relations decreased. When, however, the Ottoman threat became serious, Byz. turned to Hungary for help: in 1366, Emp. John V Palaiologos visited Lajos (Louis) I of Hungary; in 1423/4 John VIII sought an alliance with Sigismund of Hungary; and in 1434–36 two Byz. embassies visited Hungary during their trips to the West. János HUNYADI, who had been successful in repelling the Turks from the borders of Hungary, was defeated in 1444 when he mounted a crusade that was crushed at VARNA, and in 1452/3 he acted too slowly to prevent the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Gy. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970). A.B. Urbansky, *Byzantium and the Danube Frontier* (New York 1967). Gy. Székely, "La Hongrie et Byzance aux Xe–XIIe siècles," *ActaHistHung* 13 (1967) 291–311. Dölger, *Paraspora* 153–77. Zs. Lovag, "Byzantinische Beziehungen in Ungarn nach der Staatsgründung," *Mitteilungen des Archäologischen Instituts der Ungarischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* 14 (1985) 225–33. E. Darkó, *Byzantinisch-ungarische Beziehungen in der zweiten Hälfte des XIII. Jahrhunderts* (Weimar 1933).

–A.K., J.B.

HUNS (Οὖννοι), an Asian (possibly Turkic) people that appears in Roman sources beginning with AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS; it is generally accepted that the Huns are to be identified with the Hsiung-nu of Chinese sources and are related to the EPHTHALITES in Central Asia. Around 375 the Huns crossed the Don, conquered the ALANS, and expelled the GOTHS from the steppe north of the Black Sea. They participated in the Visigoth attacks on the empire but after 380 retired north of the Danube. After 450 they moved westward to Gaul. Their attitude toward the empire was ambivalent for several decades: some Huns served as FOEDERATI, others organized raids—in 422, under the command of "King" Ruga, they reached Thrace (B. Croke, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 347–67). In the east, the Huns in 395 crossed the Caucasus but were destroyed by the Romans at the Euphrates. Ruga's successors were Bleda and ATTILA. Attila created an "empire" that reached from Gaul to the northern Balkans, but after his defeat by AETIUS the empire of the Huns disintegrated quickly.

The Hunnic empire was a conglomerate of various nations, including Alans and some Germanic tribes. The Huns were nomads, although archaeological finds include some agricultural implements. They were horsemen, armed with bows and swords, who astonished Romans by their speed and discipline. PRISKOS of Panion noted that the Huns treated their slaves well and that Roman craftsmen worked for the Huns. A. Bernštam (*Očerk istorii gunnov* [Leningrad 1951]) suggests that the Huns played a progressive role in history by destroying slave-owning societies; E.A. Thompson (*A History of Attila and the Huns* [Oxford 1948] 209) asserts that in the West the *magister militum* Aetius, as a representative of the great landowners, looked forward to cooperation with the Huns against the Visigoths and Bagaudae, whereas in the East the ruling class induced Theodosios II to fight Attila.

After the collapse of the reign of Attila, the name Hun was applied to various peoples: some

of them (SABIRI, COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS) may have been related to the Huns, but for others (Bulgarians, Avars, Hungarians, even Ottomans) it was only an archaizing ethnic designation.

LIT. J.O. Maenchen-Helfen, *The World of the Huns* (Berkeley 1973; Germ. tr. Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1978). F. Altheim, *Geschichte der Hunnen*, 5 vols. (Berlin 1959–62) and rev. by R. Werner, *JbGOst* 14 (1966) 243–60. J. Werner, *Beiträge zur Archäologie des Attila-Reiches* (Munich 1956). J. Harmatta, "L'apparition des Huns en Europe orientale," *ActaAntHung* 24 (1976) 277–83. –A.K.

HUNS, WHITE. See EPHTHALITES.

HUNTING (κυνήγιον). In the Byz. countryside hunting had first of all a practical purpose—protection of the flocks from wild beasts. It also provided MEAT as a supplement to the diet, although it was not as important as FISHING. Farmers snaring hares are represented in MS illumination (e.g., Kádár, *Zoological Illuminations* 179, 225). They also hunted quail: a post-Byz. text describes a great slaughter of quail in Crete in 1494, when a single night's catch netted 4,000 birds (*Canon Pietro Casola's Pilgrimage to Jerusalem*, tr. M. Newett [Manchester 1907] 316f).

Hunting played a more important role as a pastime of the upper class and is represented on their possessions, such as silks and an ivory casket in Troyes (Athens Cat., no.52). Three emperors (Theodosios II, Basil I, and John II) died in hunting accidents. There were imperial officials called PROTOKYNEGOS and PROTOIERAKARIOS, and hunting images formed a signal element of imperial symbolism. Hunting was also considered a good substitute for military training (cf. SPANEAS, ed. Wagner, p.6.122–23). Enthusiasm for hunting peaked under the Komnenoi, when special *ekphraseis* on hunting became fashionable (e.g., by Constantine MANASSES and Constantine PANTECHNES). On the other hand, Michael Psellos, who was expressing the intellectual outlook of his time, had no enthusiasm whatsoever for hunting (Psellos, *Scripta Min.* 2:205.3–6).

The quarry of noble hunters was primarily bears, boars, and deer, but smaller animals such as hares and BIRDS were also hunted. The prey of the various social classes—which are distinguishable by their costume—is illustrated in the Venice *Kynegetika* MS of OPPIAN. The spear was the most common hunting weapon. Noble hunters rode HORSES; the Byz. also trained DOGS and leopards for hunting as well as various birds for HAWKING. Pero TAFUR (ed. M. Letts, 145f) observed that the Greeks were great hunters with falcons, goshawks, and dogs. The equipment of the fowler was simpler: nets, decoy birds in cages, long cords, birdlime, and reeds. His pursuit is treated in illuminated MSS (*Treasures* II, fig.300) as one of the seasonal activities evoked by the Easter homily of Gregory of Nazianzos.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, "Kynegetika ek tes epoches ton Komnenon kai ton Palaiologon," *EEBS* 9 (1932) 3–33. A. Karpozilos, "Basileiou Pediadite Ekphrasis Haloseos Akanthidon," *EpChron* 23 (1981) 284–98. Darkević, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 207–11. – Ap.K., J.W.N., A.C.

HUNYADI, JÁNOS (Ἴαγγος ὁ Χουνιάδης, in CHALKOKONDYLES usually Χωνιάτης), Hungarian general and statesman; born between 1407 and 1409, died Zemun 11 Aug. 1456. Probably of Wallachian origin, Hunyadi began his career as a retainer at baronial courts and achieved the high posts of *voivod* of Transylvania and, in 1446–53, regent for the minor László (Ladislas) V. He also amassed great wealth.

In 1442–43 Hunyadi successfully campaigned against the Turks, reconquering Niš and Sofia. However, the crusade of VARNA in which he participated in 1444 ended in disaster. In early 1451 Hunyadi signed a three-year truce with MEHMED II, confirming it on 20 Nov. on condition that the sultan would build no strongholds on the Danube. When Mehmed began preparation for the last siege of Constantinople, Constantine XI sent envoys to Hunyadi. In the fall of 1452, the Hungarians agreed to assist if they received Mesembria as their operational base. After long deliberations, a chrysobull was delivered to Hunyadi that granted him Mesembria (*Reg* 5, no.3545). In Apr. 1453 Hunyadi's ambassadors appeared in Mehmed's camp, threatening to wage war unless the Turks ceased besieging Constantinople. The rumors about Hunyadi's intervention as well as frightening omens in the Turkish camp caused Mehmed to waver, but the military council insisted on maintaining the siege. It was too late for Hunyadi to intervene, but in 1456, when Mehmed besieged Belgrade, Hunyadi won a victory that stopped the Turkish advance for decades. Soon thereafter Hunyadi died of the plague.

LIT. P. Engel in *From Hunyadi to Rákóczi*, ed. J.M. Bak, B.K. Király (Brooklyn 1982) 103–24. Moravcsik, *Studia Byz.* 371–82. F. Pall, "Byzance à la veille de sa chute et Janco de Hunedoara (Hunyadi)," *BS* 30 (1969) 119–26. J. Held, "Hunyadi's Long Campaign and the Battle of Varna 1443–1444," *Ungarn-Jahrbuch* 16 (1988) 10–27. –A.K., J.B.

HYAKINTHOS OF CYPRUS, metropolitan of Thessalonike (ca. late spring 1345–spring 1346); born Cyprus, died Thessalonike before 19 May 1346. Little is known of this anti-Palamite hieromonk; he lived at the monastery of the HODEGON in Constantinople and is probably to be identified with the Hyakinthos who carried letters from Nikephoros GREGORAS to George LAPITHES in Cyprus. Gregory AKINDYNOS praised Hyakinthos in his correspondence as "admirable" and "most holy" (ed. Hero, eps. 52.48–49, 60.54). He was made metropolitan by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, but was unable to enter Thessalonike until fall 1345, when the ZEALOTS regained control of the city. His short tenure was marked by persecution of Palamite clergy and monks. Kyrres (*infra*) argues that Hyakinthos was the metropolitan attacked in the *"Anti-Zealot" Discourse* of Nicholas KABASILAS for simony, alienation of property, and imposing fixed taxes on monasteries.

LIT. K.P. Kyrres, "Ho Kyprios archiepiskopos Thessalonikes Hyakinthos (1345–6) kai ho rolos tou eis ton antipalamitikon agona," *KyprSp* 25 (1961) 91–122. –A.M.T.

HYBRIS (ὕβρις), injury to another person through word or deed; it even includes trespassing. *Hybris* committed in a public place, against a person of standing, or in connection with bodily injury was considered severe *hybris*. Only the injured party had the right to initiate a suit, which could be either private or criminal (*Basil.* 60.21). *Hybris* against a donor or *patronus* led to the forfeiture of the gift or emancipation; children who committed *hybris* against their parents were disinherited (*Basil.* 31.6.6.1; 35.8.41; 48.26.1; 49.2.19).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:439. –L.B.

HYDATIUS, Latin historian and churchman; born Lemica (mod. Ginzo de Limia) in northern Spain ca.395, died Galicia? ca.470. During youthful eastern travels, Hydatius met JEROME at Bethlehem. Back in Spain, he was ordained in 416 and by 427 was consecrated bishop of an unknown see, perhaps Aquae Flaviae (mod. Chaves in Portugal). On a secular trip to Gaul in 431 he met the general AETIUS, toward whom he may be too partial. In 460, the Suevi kidnapped and briefly imprisoned him. As a theologian, Hydatius acquired a reputation as an expert on Priscillianism (see PRISCILLIAN), which he opposed.

His *Chronicle*, a continuation of Jerome's, covers the period 379–469. Albeit not blind to the world at large, Hydatius focuses on Spain. While prone to inflate casualty figures and unduly partisan, he penned a reliable and well-considered account of most events, giving a uniquely rational reason, surprising in a bishop, for the retreat of ATTILA from Rome. Hydatius can be a useful source for Byz. history when his part of the world is involved, for example, the Visigothic vicissitudes of GALLA PLACIDIA.

ED. *Chronique*, 2 vols., ed. A. Tranoy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. T. Mommsen in MGH *AuctAnt* 11:3–36.

LIT. E.A. Thompson, *Romans and Barbarians* (Madison, Wisc., 1982) 137–60. C. Courtois, "Auteurs et scribes: remarques sur la chronique d'Hydace," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 23–54. C. Molè, "Uno storico del V secolo: Il vescovo Idazio," *SicGymn* 27 (1974) 279–351; 28 (1975) 58–139. –B.B.

HYMN (ὕμνος). A religious poem set to fairly simple music and sung in Byz. sacred services. In early Christianity, the term "hymn" was applied to all devotional CHANT; later it referred only to newly written poems, as distinguished from the scriptural psalms and canticles. The earliest hymns are known to us from the New Testament: the Magnificat, the Song of Symeon, and the short poetic texts quoted by St. Paul in his epistles. Byz. hymns appear first in patristic literature, important early examples being the "Homily on Pascha" (a distant precursor of the KONTAKION) by Bp. Melito of Sardis and the PHOS HILARON and *Ho monogenes hyios* (see MONOGENES, HO), two early TROPARIA, the latter ascribed to Justinian I.

Although no original music for these hymns survives, probably, like their Gregorian counterparts, Byz. melodies were largely based on the principle of one tone to each syllable of the text, which made them suitable for congregational singing. Even the music for the hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE and JOHN OF DAMASCUS is unfortunately lost, but the dramatic character of the texts suggests that they were chanted in a kind of

recitative. Clearly they originally must have had a syllabic musical setting because many hymns are hundreds of lines long and any other kind of performance could scarcely have been feasible. After about the 8th C., when musical responsibility shifted from the congregation to trained choirs, more elaborate styles developed and the hymn texts were subjected at first to melismatic (ornamental) and then to kalophonic (highly florid) treatment (see TERETISMATA).

ED. *Anthologia graeca carminum christianorum*, ed. W. Christ, M. Paranikas (Leipzig 1871). *Eklogē hellenikes orthodoxou hymnographias*, ed. P.N. Trempelas (Athens 1949).
LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Hymnography and Byzantine Chant* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). –D.E.C.

HYMNOGRAPHY, a fertile and creative area of Byz. LITERATURE. A HYMN can be defined as a poem on a religious topic, primarily intended for liturgical use and to be sung, but also including verse written for private devotional purposes. The decisions of the Councils of Laodikeia (4th C.) and Braga (6th C.) prohibited hymns in the liturgy on other than scriptural themes. Hymn singing was part of Christian worship, as it had been of Jewish practice, from the earliest years. Possible specimens of such hymns can be extracted from the New Testament (e.g., Eph 1:3–14) and from the church fathers (e.g., the Easter Homily of Melito of Sardis), while embedded in the 4th-C. APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS are hymns such as "Glory in the highest" and "O, gladsome light" (PHOS HILARON); other similar hymns also survive on papyrus. The limited evidence leads to the conclusion that these early hymns were written in rhythmic prose, used a simple language, and were sung responsorially. From the 5th C. there are a few indications (e.g., the comments of Abba Pambo [Christ-Paranikas, *infra*, xxix–xxxi] and the phrases preserved in the Life of Auxentios [PG 114:1416]) that the psalms and canticles were now part of the Orthros and Vespers services and that TROPARIA and STICHERA, stanzas inserted between psalm verses, were in use (although some monastic communities were opposed to MUSIC in services). The earliest hymn writers known by name (Anthimos and Timokles) are also recorded from this period, though none of their works can now be identified.

Hymns had also been written in classical meters (e.g., by GREGORY OF NYSSA or SYNESIOS), but these, of limited appeal and intelligibility, were unlikely to have been intended for liturgical use. There had developed, however, in response to the evolution of the spoken language and under influence from Syriac literary patterns, increasingly elaborate verse forms that built lines using stress rhythms, an equal number of syllables for phrases in corresponding stanzas, and acrostics. These tendencies culminated in the KONTAKION, a metrical homily consisting of a *prooimion* and a varying number of OIKOI, or stanzas, linked by an ACROSTIC. The *kontakion*, probably chanted by the preacher with the choir singing the refrain at the end of each *oikos*, became the dominant form of the hymn in the late 5th–6th C. Though antecedents for many of its features can be found in earlier phases of Greek literature (e.g., in the late 3rd-C. *Partheneion* of METHODIOS, bishop of Olympos), the most immediate models exist in Syriac and esp. in the works of EPHREM THE SYRIAN. At its best, as in the AKATHISTOS HYMN or the Christmas Hymn of ROMANOS THE MELODE, the leading exponent of the genre, the *kontakion* is characterized by vivid dialogue and striking imagery.

Toward the end of the 7th C. the *kontakion* was replaced by the KANON, for reasons not fully understood, but perhaps connected with a change to a more varied musical setting. As late as the 9th C. *kontakia* were written (notably by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER), but normally in shortened form for use within the *kanon*. A *kanon*, paraphrasing and meditating on the nine biblical canticles which it replaces, consists of nine odes, each made up of an *heirmos* and several *troparia*. Innumerable examples of *kanones*, many as yet unedited, survive either in full or abbreviated service books, such as the MENAION. Notable exponents of the genre include ANDREW OF CRETE, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, and Joseph the Hymnographer.

Though hymns, in the form of *kanones, stichera*, and *troparia*, continued to be written until the fall of Constantinople, for all practical purposes by the end of the 11th C. the liturgical calendar was full; few additions were made later. The Orthodox church in southern Italy, led from the GROTTAFERRATA monastery, long remained an active center of hymn writing. Many hymns, like those of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, which were not on scriptural subjects, may have been intended for personal use only.

Hymns of all types, whether long forms like the

kontakion and *kanon*, or the shorter elements like the *troparia* and *stichera*, were a vital feature of the services of the Orthodox church, involving *psaltes* (SINGER), choir, and congregation. Their language, drawing on the *koine* of the Old and New Testaments, was rarely complex, though in the *kanon*, communication seems sometimes to have been subordinate to the musical setting. Limited to paraphrasing biblical passages in ways relevant to a particular feast or saint, the authors' ingenuity is frequently admirable.

Hymnographers, while predominantly monks and clerics, nevertheless came from all walks of life and included emperors (e.g., Justinian I, Leo VI), some learned scholars (e.g., John MAUROPOUS), and a few women such as KASSIA (E. Catafygiotu-Topping, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 98–111). With the early acceptance of stress meters at a time when literary compositions were struggling to impose the irrelevant archaic quantitative meters, hymn writers acknowledged the fact of linguistic change and the need for accessibility with greater realism than the classicizing secular poets.

ED. W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871; rp. 1963). E. Follieri, *Initia Hymnorum Ecclesiae Graecae*, 6 vols. (Rome 1960–66). G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols. (Rome 1966–83).

LIT. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography*[2] (Oxford 1961). K. Mitsakis, *Byzantine Hymnographia* (Thessalonike 1971). –E.M.J.



HYPAPANTE. The Presentation of Christ in the Temple. Miniature from a Gospel book (Getty Museum, 83.MB 69 [MS Ludwig II 5], fol.129v); 13th C. J. Paul Getty Museum, Malibu.

HYPAPANTE (ὑπαπαντή, lit. "meeting"), the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (Lk 2:22–38) at the time of Mary's purification, 40 days after giving birth. The Hypapante, one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, is celebrated 2 Feb.

A Presentation feast is first seen in Jerusalem ca.384; it was celebrated on 14 Feb., this being the 40th day after 6 Jan., the feast of EPIPHANY, which at that time in the East comprised the Nativity as well as the Baptism. In 518, Severos of Antioch called Hypapante a recent Palestinian innovation not celebrated in either Antioch or Constantinople (PO 29:246.16–26; cf. 38:400–15). Justinian I decreed its celebration throughout the empire (Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, PG 147:292A). There is some confusion concerning the date on which the feast was celebrated in Constantinople. Under Justinian it was 2 Feb. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 351–71; 87 [1969] 442–44), but in 602 the riot that broke out against Emp. Maurice during his procession to Blachernai to celebrate the feast apparently took place on 14 Feb. (M. Higgins, *Traditio* 1 [1943] 409f).

The Hypapante has one day of forefeast, a *synaxis* the following day, and seven days of afterfeast, which may be foreshortened by an early Lent. Despite the fact that, in the celebration of the feast, the theme of Jesus' encounter with Symeon predominated over that of the Virgin's purification, the Hypapante was considered one of the five Marian Great Feasts and was celebrated by the emperor at the Church of the Virgin at BLACHERNAI.

Representation in Art. Rare in art of the 7th and 8th C., the Hypapante attained its standard composition in the 9th. C. Usually showing Symeon and Anna standing to the right of a ciborium and altar and the Virgin with the Child and Joseph with his donation of pigeons to the left, the event is presented as a theophanic recognition

of Christ. Symeon, who perceived Christ's divinity, displaces the priest at the altar, often assuming his vestments, and Anna may gesture in ACCLAMATION. An alternative composition, developed in the 9th C. but widespread only in the 12th, emphasizes the themes of Christ's sacrifice and Mary's grief, as Symeon holds the Child over the altar and the Virgin assumes her mourning posture from the Crucifixion. The late 12th-C. image of Symeon alone cradling the Child in the posture of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA derived from this composition, showing Symeon as a prophet of Christ's PASSION. Both variants of the full composition and the condensed "Symeon Glykophilon" ("sweet-beloved") continued into Palaiologan art.

LIT. M. Aubineau, *Les homélies festales d'Hésychius de Jérusalem* (Brussels 1978) 2–6. D. Shorr, "The Iconographic Development of the Presentation in the Temple," *ArtB* 28 (1946) 17–32. H. Maguire, "The Iconography of Symeon with the Christ Child in Byzantine Art," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 261–69. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

HYPARCH. See EPARCH.

HYPATIA (Ὑπατία), Neoplatonist teacher; born Alexandria between 355 and 360 (R. Penella, *Historia* 33 [1984] 126–28), died Alexandria 415. Educated at Alexandria, Hypatia owed her zeal for mathematics to her father THEON, whose work she assisted and surpassed, revising the third book of his commentary on the *Almagest* of PTOLEMY; her commentaries on Diophantos of Alexandria and the *Conics* of Apollonios of Perga are lost. Hypatia remained in Alexandria to become that city's most celebrated and adored teacher of mathematics and NEOPLATONISM (the version of PORPHYRY rather than that of IAMBLICHOS). Pupils (SYNESIOS being her most famous one), populace, and statesmen alike succumbed to her dazzling combination of intellect, beauty, virtue (which disappointed would-be seducers), eloquence, and political acumen. All this and her paganism provoked the hatred of CYRIL of Alexandria, who may or may not have procured her brutal murder by a gang of hospital attendants (PARABALANOI) led by one Peter the Reader.

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, vols. 2–3, ed. A. Rome (Rome 1936–43).

LIT. J.M. Rist, "Hypatia," *Phoenix* 19 (1965) 214–25. F. Schaefer, "St. Cyril of Alexandria and the Murder of Hypatia," *Catholic University Bulletin* 8 (1902) 441–53. D. Shanzer, "Merely a Cynic Gesture?" *Rivista di Filologia* 113 (1985) 61–66. –B.B.

HYPATIOS (Ὑπάτιος), bishop of Gangra, legendary 4th-C. saint; feastday 14 Nov. His major miracle was the killing of a dragon that had taken up residence in the state treasury under Constantius II, thus causing severe financial problems; Hypatios used his staff, topped with a cross, to kill the dragon, and the icon of Hypatios was allegedly placed at the treasury entrance to protect it. After returning to Gangra with the emperor's fiscal privilege, the abolition of the tax called *xylelaion* (Ferri, *infra* 83.1–5), Hypatios was murdered by partisans of NOVATIANISM.

Several vitae and a *passio* are dedicated to Hypatios. It was suggested by Ferri that the earliest vita was written in the 5th C. and the *passio*, teeming with fantastic episodes, between 500 and 700, but F. Halkin (*AB* 51 [1933] 392–95) demonstrated that his argument was ill founded. If the abolition of the *xylelaion* reflects the same measure recorded as a law of Justinian I (Malal. 437.17–18), the vita cannot be earlier than the 6th C.; if the Scythian *basileus* Chobar was modeled on Kouber-KUVRAT, the *passio* was produced after 680.

Representation in Art. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.181) shows the bishop confronting the dragon by spearing it in the mouth and setting it afire. The saint himself is then killed by a woman throwing stones from an upstairs window (though the title of the page refers to his *koimesis*, or peaceful death). The composition is repeated in the illustrated "imperial" *menologion* in Moscow (Hist. Mus. 183, fol.158).

SOURCES. S. Ferri, "Il *Bios* e il *Martyrion* di Hypatios di Gangrai," *SBN* 3 (1931) 69–103. F. Halkin, "Un recueil de légendes hagiographiques: Le MS. Bollandien 1009," *BZ* 44 (1951) 253–57.

LIT. *BHG* 759–759f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 6:562. –A.K., N.P.Š.

HYPATIOS, general who was briefly declared emperor in 532; died Constantinople 19 Jan. 532. The nephew of Emp. Anastasios I, he was consul ca.500. In 503 he was sent with Patrikios and AREOBINDUS to command a campaign against the Persians. In 513 he was *magister militum* in Thrace, where his unpopular administration contributed

to the revolt of VITALIAN. Defeated in 514, he was deprived of his position, then reinstated, defeated once more, and captured by the rebels. He was commander again in the East under Justin I and negotiated with the envoys of KAVĀD; the negotiations failed, and after an investigation Hypatios was removed from the court. In 529 he was replaced as the Eastern commander by BELISARIOS. In 532, at the time of the NIKA REVOLT, Hypatios was proclaimed emperor but was executed when the rebellion was quelled. His body was thrown into the sea, but was later washed up and buried in the Church of St. Maura; verses supposedly written for his cenotaph survive in the *Greek Anthology* (*AnthGr* bk.7, nos. 591–92). His property was confiscated but later restored to his children.

LIT. *PLRE* 2:577–81. A. Čekalova, "Narod i senatorskaja oppozicija v vosstanii Nika," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 24–34. –T.E.G.

HYPATIOS, bishop of Ephesus (from 531); died ca.541. Early in his bishopric he presided at the conference convoked at Constantinople by Justinian I to reconcile SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites, whom he confounded by showing the spuriousness of the writings ascribed to DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (J. Gouillard, *REB* 19 [1961] 75). He was also the orthodox spokesman at the Council of Constantinople in 536 that anathematized Severos and other Monophysites. In the interim, Hypatios had taken Justinian's request for a ruling on THEOPASCHITISM to Pope John II (533–35) at Rome. Fragments remain of at least two books titled *Miscellaneous Questions*, answers to the questions of his suffragan, Julian of Atramyttion (H.G. Thümmel, *BS* 44 [1983] 161–70). They include an important statement on the cult of images in which church art is defended as an appropriate aid for uneducated people to progress from material to spiritual contemplation of the divine. The many citations in biblical catenae suggest his authorship of commentaries on Psalms, the Twelve Prophets, and Luke. An inscription (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.108) found at Ephesus in 1904 preserves his instructions on the obligations of Christian burial.

ED. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 109–53. Partial Eng. tr., Mango, *Art* 116f.

LIT. S. Gero, "Hypatius of Ephesus on the Cult of Images," in *Christianity, Judaism and Other Greco-Roman Cults, Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty*, vol. 2 (Leiden 1975) 208–16. P.J. Alexander, "Hypatius of Ephesus: A Note on Image Worship in the Sixth Century," *HThR* 45 (1952) 177–84. –B.B.

HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI, saint; born Phrygia ca.366, died near Chalcedon 466, on 30 June, according to J. Pargoire (*BZ* 8 [1899] 451); feastday 17 June. A *scholastikos*, Hypatios's father educated his son well, but after a family conflict Hypatios left home for Thrace and became a shepherd. At about 20 he joined an ascetic, Jonas, and assisted him in building the fortified monastery of Halmyrissos. Circa 400 Hypatios founded the monastery of ROUPHINIANAI; from 406 he was its *hegoumenos*. From 436 onward, he was considered the "father" of all the monks of Constantinople. His monastery was a community of laborers; the monks earned their living by making woolen garments and baskets and by gardening (pp. 100.14–16, 248.7–14). Hypatios struggled against pagan traditions; he prevented the prefect Leontios from restoring Olympic games in Chalcedon and caused the disappearance of ARTEMIS, a giant female demon (pp. 270–72). He supposedly resisted Nestorianism even before the Council of EPHESUS and was connected with the AKOIMETOI (E. Wolfe, *BZ* 79 [1986] 302–09). The preamble of Hypatios's Life says that it was written by his disciple Kallinikos and discovered by an anonymous "editor" who corrected the style, esp. mistakes caused by "the Syriac dialect." Bartelink (*infra* 12) trusts this claim and dates the Life to 447–50. If, however, the preamble is fictitious, the author must have lived later—in the 6th C., according to Beck (*Kirche* 404).

SOURCE. *Callinicos, Vie d'Hypatios*, ed. and Fr. tr. G.J.M. Bartelink (Paris 1971). Ital. tr. C. Capizzi (Rome 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 760. G.J.M. Bartelink, "Text Parallels between the *Vita Hypatii* of Callinicus and the Pseudo-Macariana," *VigChr* 22 (1968) 128–36. –A.K.

HYPATOS (ὕπατος), Greek term for CONSUL. *Hypatos* and *apo hypaton* (ex-consul) became honorific titles by the 6th C. and declined in importance thereafter. A letter of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT shows that in Constantinople one could obtain *cartas exconsulatus* for 30 librae (C. Courtois, *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 54f). The seals of *hypatoi* and *apo hypaton* are numerous from the 7th–9th C.; the title is usually combined with modest func-

tions, bureaucratic and fiscal, even though sometimes the *hypatos* could serve as *strategos* (e.g., Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 918–19). In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *hypatos* is a title following that of SPATHARIOS, and owners of several seals are titled *spatharios* and *hypatos*. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial *hypatos* appears as an office—according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 325) with judiciary functions. The texts of the 11th C. again present *hypatos* as a title but of a higher rank than the PROTOSPATHARIOS; the title seems to have disappeared after 1111. (See also ANTHYPATOS; DISHYPATOS.)

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 296. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 342–46. –A.K.

HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON ("chief of the philosophers"), title of the president of the school of PHILOSOPHY in Constantinople. F. Fuchs (*Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig-Berlin 1926] 29f) suggested that the office already existed in the 10th C., but the chrysobull of Romanos I that mentions the *hypatos ton philosophon* Paul Xeropotaminos (*Xerop.* 227.18) is a forgery, and Constantine, under Emp. Constantine VII, was *kathegetes* and not *hypatos*. Thus the title was apparently introduced in 1047 (or slightly earlier) by Emp. Constantine IX for Michael PSELLOS, whose successors were JOHN ITALOS and THEODORE OF SMYRNA (ca.1112). The office reappears ca.1165 or 1167, when the future patriarch MICHAEL III received this post. While the first *hypatoi* were serious scholars who contributed much to the development of philosophy, Michael's appointment had a different purpose, to control the followers of "pagan" philosophy and to defend the purity of Orthodox tenets. The office continued to exist in later centuries: in the 14th-C. lists of functionaries, the *hypatos* occupies a place between the *logothetes tou dromou* and *megas chartoularios* (pseudo-Kod. 300.21–22, 321.48) or is named in the same breath as the "first of the rhetors," *dikaiophylax* and *nomophylax* (338.143–45), probably an anachronistic statement reflecting the situation of the 11th C. The *hypatoi* of the 13th and 14th C. were teachers acting under the supervision of the patriarchate (Fuchs, ibid. 50–52).

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 231–33, 242f. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 83. Browning, *Studies*, pt.IV (1961), 181–85. –A.K.

HYPERBOLE (ὑπερβολή), one of the TROPES, an exaggerated statement whose goal was the embellishment of speech. Byz. theoreticians, following their ancient predecessors, considered hyperbole as an exaggeration beyond verisimilitude (e.g., George CHOIROBOSKOS in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:252.25–29). However, a modern critic may view the term beyond its limited role of stylistic ornamentation and consider the Byz. vision of the cosmos as hyperbolic. This was expressed, on the lowest level, through frequent use of prefixes such as *poly-* or *archi-* or superlatives (to stress the extreme of certain qualities). It was also expressed, on a higher level, through means used in other medieval literatures as well: endowing the hero (or antihero) with exaggerated qualities such as irresistible power, overwhelming beauty, immeasurable cruelty, or an extraordinary ability to endure pain or deprivation. The hyperbolic vision of people and objects was typical of certain genres, esp. hagiography, hymnography, and epideictic oratory. Rhetorical hyperbole could be traditional, tinged with antiquarian allusions. Thus Attaleiates asserts that his hero's generosity surpassed the riches of the gold-bearing rivers Pactolus and Chrysorrhoe (Attal. 273.22–274.3; cf., e.g., Strabo 13:4.5), but the same Attaleiates could make more innovative comparisons, as, for example, his description of a victory so bloodless that not a single nose was bloody (Attal. 271.8–9). The use of hyperbole is also found in Byz. art as in depictions of the priest Symeon flying through the air to meet the infant Jesus in the temple (Maguire, *Art and Rhetoric* 84–90).

LIT. A. Quacquarelli, "Note sull'iperbole nella sacra Scrittura e nei Padri," *VetChr* 8 (1971) 5–26. –A.K.

HYPEROON. See GALLERY.

HYPERPYRON (νόμισμα ὑπέρπυρον, lit. "highly refined"), the gold coin of standard weight (4.55 g) but only 20.5 carats fine, introduced by ALEXIOS I in 1092 and continued by his successors, though a few earlier 11th-C. references show the name already had been applied to NOMISMATA. The term continued in use until the end of the empire, but after gold coins ceased to be struck

at Byz. in the mid-14th C. it became a money of account, divided notionally into 24 KERATIA. The shortened forms *perperum* (Lat.) and *perpero* (It.) are Western. In the Balkans and southern Slavic borderlands it provided in various forms (e.g., *perper, iperpero*) a convenient name for a number of denominations, usually silver, and moneys of account.

LIT. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 215–17. Hendy, *Economy* 513–17. –Ph.G.

HYPOBOLON (*ὑπόβολον*), the term used from the time of Leo VI for the wedding gift of a man to his wife. Formerly called DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS, it had been obligatory since the reign of Justinian I. Leo VI promulgated three novels on the *hypobolon*. According to the novels, the *hypobolon* should be of less value than the DOWRY. In the case of childlessness and the predecease of the husband, it fell in full to the wife; if the wife died before her husband, it reverted to him (nov. 20). If there were children, the surviving spouse obtained a portion of equal value to the inheritance of a child—as in Justinianic law—but the portion was not calculated on the value of the *hypobolon* (or dowry) but on that of the entire property of the predeceased (novs. 22 and 85). The amount of the *hypobolon* to be provided by the husband, or his family, varied. According to the *Peira* and the treatise *De hypobolo* by Eustathios RHOMAIOS (ed. D.R. Reinsch, *FM* 7 [1986] 239–52), in cases of uncertainty the *hypobolon* amounted to half the dowry; lower amounts were also possible. According to the SYNOPSIS MINOR (Y 4), in default of other agreements, the *hypobolon* amounted to a third of the dowry.

LIT. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 225–30. J. Beaucamp, "Proikoüpobolon-Hypobolon-Hypoballo," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 153–61. L. Margetić, "Bizantsko bračno imovinsko pravo u svjetlu novele XX Lava Mudroga," *ZRVI* 18 (1978) 19–50. –M.Th.F.

HYPOCAUST (*ὑπόκαυστον*), Roman system of radiant heating in which hot air circulated under a floor made of square or circular brick or tile and raised on low piers (*suspensurae*); heat could also rise through flues in the walls. Hypocausts can be found throughout the Roman world in public and private BATHS and in palaces and upper-class housing. Until at least the 6th C. Byz. builders continued the hypocaust system throughout the empire, both maintaining Roman structures (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 49f) and adding new hypocausts, even in monasteries (A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* [Munich 1982] 102–07; Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 100–08).

LIT. P. Magdalino, "The Bath of Leo the Wise," in *Maistor* 225–40. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977) 130–45, 349–52. H. Hunger, "Zum Badewesen in byzantinischen Klöstern," *SbWien* no.367 (Vienna 1980) 353–64. –K.M.K., W.L.

HYPOMNEMA (*ὑπόμνημα*), term designating various kinds of documents (e.g., in *P.Cair.Masp.* I 67303, II 67131). A *hypomnema* petition was addressed to the emperor; the response to it was called *lysis* (see RESCRIPTUM) or *semeiosis*. A letter of Patr. Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1774) mentions *hypomnestika* as short documents compiled in the patriarchal chancellery and goes on to complain about the greed of copyists who made such compilations; it is plausible that the patriarch was referring to petitions. Usually, however, the patriarchal chancellery defined the term differently. In earlier documents *hypomnema* designated synodal decisions or minutes (e.g., synodal *hypomnemata* of 29 Sept. 394—*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.10), but evidently from the 10th C. onward it applied to a patriarchal decree. The first case of its use is allegedly a lost act of Nicholas I Mystikos of 923 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.684), but it is only called a *hypomnema* by Patr. Nicholas III in 1084. A patriarchal *hypomnema* (e.g., the act of Matthew I of 1398—*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3066) was a solemn decree provided with a seal and signature; the designation *sigilliodes hypomnema* was sometimes employed (SIGILLION from the mid-13th C. onward). A *hypomnema* decision or record could be produced in other offices; thus Theodore of Nicaea (mid-10th C.), in a letter to the eparch Constantine, mentions that official's "wise *hypomnemata*" (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 304.7).

A special official, the *hypomnematographos*, is mentioned in the 10th-C. *taktikon* of Beneševič (Oikonomides, *Listes* 251.26) and later texts. In the above-cited letter of Patr. Athanasios, *ho epi ton hypomnematon* is one of the senior officials of the patriarchal chancellery. *Hypomnema* was also a form of panegyric of a saint, e.g., the *hypomnemata* on the Twelve Prophets (BHG 1591).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 82–85. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 362f, 399–426. –A.K.

HYPOSTASIS (ὑπόστασις, lit. "substance"), an ancient term used by philosophers and scientists primarily to designate individual or real existence; PLOTINOS applied it to his supreme principles—the One, Intellect, and Soul. The word appears in the New Testament five times without having any technical meaning, and in its use by 3rd-C. theologians it was not clearly distinguished from *ousia* (SUBSTANCE); at the First Council of Nicaea it was used as a synonym for *ousia*. As late as the Council of SERDICA hypostasis was conceived of as real existence, and the acceptance of individual divine hypostases proclaimed heretical. Only at the Council of Alexandria in 362 did ATHANASIOS of Alexandria approve the difference between the terms hypostasis and *ousia*, and in the wake of the creed of the First Council of Constantinople in 381 the Cappadocian interpretation of the TRINITY as three hypostases and one *ousia* became canonical.

Hypostasis was contrasted to the substance or NATURE of the divinity, and defined as the individual property (*idiotes*) of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, whereas *ousia*—as an individual reality—was the element they shared (*koinon*) that presupposed a Stoic ontology. In Christology hypostasis was equated with the concept of PERSON at the Council of CHALCEDON (451). This teaching was further developed by JOHN OF CAESAREA and LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM who defined the hypostasis as "being-for-itself" (*kath' heauten einai*), discerning two degrees of individuation, the nature and the person; this formula was analyzed by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 22.4.85–86 [p.303]).

The distinction between *ousia* and hypostasis was not fully understood in the Latin West, which tended to translate both terms as *substantia*; this accounted for the Eastern opinion that the West was Nestorian, that is, that the concept of two natures was in fact the concept of two hypostases in CHRIST. This linguistic misunderstanding appears in John of Caesarea and Anastasios of Sinai.

LIT. H. Dörrie, *Hypostasis* (Göttingen 1955). A. de Halleux, " 'Hypostase' et 'personne' dans la formation du dogme trinitaire," *RHE* 79 (1984) 313–69, 625–70. Prestige, *God* 162–90. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 319–21. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312. Idem, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union bei Maximus Confessor," in *Maximus Confessor*, ed. F. Heinzer, C. Schönborn (Fribourg 1982) 223–33. –K.-H.U.

HYPOTHEC (ὑποθήκη, lit. "deposit, pledge"), in Roman law, a type of pledge or security. It differed from a PIGNUS in that the object pledged remained with the debtor, even though the rights of possession were vested in the creditor. Justinianic law and Byz. legal textbooks retained the Roman distinction between hypothec and *pignus*: thus, a scholion to *Basil.* 25.1.1 rejects as mistaken the application of the term *hypotheke* to a *pignus* (*enechyron*), arguing that the *pignus* was contracted by the physical transfer of the object, the hypothec "by simple agreement (*symphonon*)." A pledge without any actual physical transfer of the object was known in late Byz. practice: an act of 1285 describes the case of Theodore Branas who loaned a man 1.33 *litrai* of silver; when the man died and his widow could not repay the loan, she pledged olive trees to Branas equivalent to the amount of the debt. She retained the right to regain her trees after having repaid the loan; no interest is mentioned (MM 4:114.21–28).

The term "general *hypotheke*," however, is used in documents with the meaning of "guarantee" (e.g., *Docheiar.* no.3.3–4; *Lavra* 1, no.53.6), applied not to a pledge but to the sale or exchange of land. The term *rhethe hypotheke*, in the will of Theodore Kerameas of 1284, refers to a certain piece of land used as security for a loan (*Lavra* 2, no.75.40–42).

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 475f. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.251.4. –A.K.

HYRTAKENOS, THEODORE, early 14th-C. writer and teacher in Constantinople; born in Hyrtakos on the Kyzikos peninsula (F. Dölger, *BZ* 31 [1931] 411f). Hyrtakenos (Ὑρτακηνός) is known only from his writings, which include an *enkomion* of Andronikos II and monodies for Michael IX, Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat, and Nikephoros Choumnos. He also wrote a panegyric of the Theotokos and an *enkomion* of the anchorite Aninas the miracle worker. His *ekphrasis* on the Garden of St. Anne is based on a picture that he reports having seen.

His 93 surviving letters are addressed to such luminaries as Andronikos II, Patr. John XIII Glykys (S.I. Kourouses, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 344–53), Nikephoros Choumnos, and esp. Theodore Metochites (21 letters). In them, he complains about his straitened circumstances (surely exaggerated)

and appeals for a *siteresion* (payment in money or grain) for his services as a teacher and placement on the state payroll. One letter includes a request for a coat lined with fox fur. Other letters describe his exchange of books with friends, requests for copies of MSS, and references to his own library. Constantine Loukites, who was in Trebizond, commissioned him to purchase a copy of the *Odyssey* in Constantinople (ep.56). Hyrtakenos was well read in classical literature; his correspondence contains an unusual number of mythological allusions and citations of ancient authors.

ED. Letters—ed. F.J.G. LaPorte du Theil, in *Notices et extraits* 5 (1798) 709–44; 6 (1800) 1–48. *Enkomia*, monodies, and *ekphrasis*—ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 1:248–92; 2:409–53; 3:1–70.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 691. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:184. *Tusculum-Lexikon* 776. —A.M.T., Ap.K.

I

IAMBLICHOS (Ἰάμβλιχος), Neoplatonist philosopher; born Chalkis (in Coele-Syria) ca.250, died ca.325. Iamblichos supposedly learned about NEOPLATONISM from PORPHYRY in Rome. Later he established his own school at Apameia in Syria, where he expounded a mixture of Neoplatonism, Pythagorean thought, and eastern mysticism to the detriment of the theories of PLOTINOS, further dazzling his students with genuine or stage-managed feats of clairvoyance and levitation. His name became talismanic among the pagan rearguard opposition to Christianity, esp. Emp. JULIAN.

His extant writings comprise a Life of Pythagoras, a *Protreptikos* (or *Exhortation to Philosophy*), and three mathematical treatises; the authorship of *On the Mysteries*, a defense of magic, is disputed but it is probably an authentic work of Iamblichos. A fragment of his treatise on rhetoric survives. Commentaries on Plato, Aristotle, and the Chaldean oracles are mostly lost, as are the essays *On the Soul* (some fragments survive in STOBAIOS) and *On the Gods*. EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS (*Lives of the Sophists* 458 [p.362]) deprecates his uncouth style. Iamblichos influenced the course of Neoplatonism through both his writings and his pupils, eclectically importing all manner of superstitions and eastern beliefs, perverting mysticism into magic, and fitting these new elements into an ever more expanding and abstruse system with a heavy reliance on trinitarian subdivisions.

ED. *De vita pythagorica liber*, ed. L. Deubner (Leipzig 1937; rp. Stuttgart 1975). *Protrepticus*, ed. E. Pistelli (Leipzig 1888; rp. Stuttgart 1967). *Les mystères d'Egypte*, ed. E. des Places (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. T. Taylor (London 1968). *Theologoumena arithmeticae*², ed. V. de Falco (Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 294–301. B.D. Larsen, *Jamblique de Chalcis* (Aarhus 1972). J.F. Finamore, *Iamblichus and the Theory of the Vehicle of the Soul* (Chico, Calif., 1985). J. Vanderspoel, "Iamblichus at Daphne," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 83–86. –B.B.

IAMBOL (Διάμπολις), city in eastern Bulgaria on the river Tundža, sometimes identified as late Roman Diospolis. On the route from Adrianople to the passes over the Balkan range, Iambol played an important role in hostilities between Byz. and Bulgaria as well as in confrontations with invaders from the steppes. Ceded to Bulgaria by Justinian II in 705, it was recaptured in the mid-8th C. by Constantine V and retaken in 812 by KRUM. After John I Tzimiskes captured it in 971, it remained in Byz. hands for two centuries. In 1049 the Byz. general Constantine Arianites was defeated by the Pechenegs at Iambol, and in 1093/4 the city surrendered to the Cumans, who held it briefly. From ca.1190 it was incorporated in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In the late 13th C. Iambol changed hands several times; during the 14th C. it was a Bulgarian frontier city, twice taken and briefly occupied by the Byz. An inscription records the setting up of a column, no doubt to mark the frontier, by IVAN ALEXANDER in 1356/7. In 1373 the Ottoman Turks conquered Iambol.

LIT. V. Gjuzelev, "Jambol v epochata na pŭrvata i vtorata bŭlgarskata dŭržava," in *Istorija na grad Jambol*, ed. Z. Atanasov (Sofia 1976) 43–69. Ph. Malingoudis, *Die mittelalterlichen kyrillischen Inschriften der Hämus-Halbinsel, 1: Die bulgarischen Inschriften* (Thessalonike 1979) 84–86. –R.B.

IASITES (Ἰασίτης), a noble family known from ca.1000. Some were generals, such as Nikephoros, *strategos* of Cherson, and Michael, *archon* of Iberia, who commanded the troops sent in 1047 against Leo TORNIKIOS. Another (Michael?) Iasites married Eudokia, Alexios I's daughter, ca.1110, but soon fell from imperial favor and was expelled from the palace; perhaps his support of JOHN ITALOS caused his dismissal. The Iasitai were also related to the KEROULARIOI. Some of them founded a monastery in Constantinople before 1158. Later Iasitai are known as judges (Constantine, *epi ton deeseon*), fiscal officials (Iasites, *praktor* of Bulgaria before 1108), courtiers (Leo, *komes tou staulou*), members of the clergy (Michael, metropolitan of Nikomedeia, 1285–89), and literati (the monk and hagiographer JOB in the 1270s, Gregory in the 14th C.).

LIT. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 139–41. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 253, 923. *PLP*, nos. 7956–60. –A.K.

IASOS (Ἰασός), coastal city on a peninsula in CARIA, west of MYLASA. It appears in written sources only as a base of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme and as a suffragan bishopric of APHRODISIAS; it is last mentioned in the 12th C. Its excavated remains, however, provide considerable information about the life of a small Byz. city. During late antiquity, Iasos maintained its civic buildings, added several churches, and expanded to the adjacent mainland where large houses, whose remains indicate much activity in processing agricultural products, were built. Its forum was demolished in the 6th C. After the 7th C., the apparent date of a new fortification wall, some parts of the city were abandoned and others changed as public and private structures were ruined and built over with small houses. The remains of these domestic buildings have provided evidence for manufacture of pottery, glass, and iron products. Iasos had evidently become smaller and poorer by the time of the dated evidence (9th–10th C.). Remains indicate occupation through the 13th C.; the region fell to the Turks before 1269.

LIT. *Annuario della scuola italiana di archeologia di Atene* 39/40 (1961/2) 505–71; 43/4 (1965/6) 401–546; 45/6 (1967/8) 537–90; 47/8 (1969/70) 461–532. C. Laviosa, "Iasos 1984," *AnatSt* 35 (1985) 193f. –C.F.

IATROSOPHISTES (*ἰατροσοφιστής*), term applied to teachers of medicine and skilled PHYSICIANS. *Iatrosophistai*, who survived as a class through the 7th C., were often suspected of cryptopaganism: Sophronios of Jerusalem, in the *Miracles* of KYROS AND JOHN (ed. Marcos, ch.30.2), tells of Gesios, an Alexandrian *iatrosophistes*, who allegedly was baptized under compulsion and uttered a Homeric couplet while in the font. Only after the saints cured his painful illness (which his own professional skill had been unable to correct) did Gesios convert to Christianity. The cults of healing martyrs such as Kyros and John or ARTEMIOS competed with the *iatrosophistai* for clients by publishing miracle collections that criticized the *iatrosophistai* for arrogance, high fees, and clinical failure. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis in *Panarion* 64.67.5 speaks of "iatrosophistic trickery," associating medical skill with magic. The term is used occasionally in later texts (e.g., Theophilos Protospatharios and the *Souda*), but Theophanes the Confessor prefers a "separated" form, and speaks of a *sophistes* of medical science (Theoph. 382.18). –F.R.T.

IATRUS (Ἰατρός), late Roman stronghold (*phrourion* in Prokopios, *polis* in Simokattes) in MOESIA II on the Danube, near the modern Bulgarian village of Krivina, east of NOVAE. It was founded after 293, probably in the early 4th C., as a military station, and is characterized by a uniform building plan (around the *via principalis* leading to the headquarters) and a relative uniformity in the ceramic types found there. Iatrus flourished ca.370–420, the barbarian invasions having no recognizable impact on its prosperity. At this time it acquired the character of a civilian settlement, with more diversified buildings and ceramics (28 amphora types, as opposed to 12 during the previous period). The invasion of the Huns in 422 destroyed Iatrus, and when it recovered at the end of the 5th C., the settlement was smaller and humbler; however, a basilica of the 6th C. has been discovered. Iatrus was probably abandoned by the Byz. soon after 600 and replaced by a village with semisubterranean habitations and local (possibly DACO-GETAN) ceramics. The Slavic infiltration (8th–9th C.) was slow and peaceful, typical Slavic ceramics existing side by side with the late Roman provincial types. The settlement seems to have been destroyed by the Hungarians in 895/6 and again by SVJATOSLAV in 968/9. The discovery of Byz. coins of the 11th C. and of a badly preserved seal of "*str*[*at*]*ego*[*s*] [D]emetr[ios] [K]ata[kalon?]" (*Iatrus-Krivina* [*infra*] 1:207) indicates a Byz. presence in the area.

LIT. *Iatrus-Krivina*, 3 vols. (Berlin 1979–86). T. Ivanov, "Schriftquellen und geographische Karten zur Geschichte von Iatrus," *Klio* 47 (1966) 5–10. G. von Bülow, "Die wirtschaftliche Entwicklung des spätrömischen Limeskastells Iatrus in Niedermösien," *BS* 41 (1980) 181–87. –A.K.

IBAS (Ἰβᾶς), bishop of Edessa (435–49, 451–57); died Edessa 28 Oct. 457. A professor in the school of Edessa, Ibas is said to have translated works of Aristotle, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Diodoros of Tarsos into Syriac. An adherent of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL and an ardent anti-Monophysite, Ibas was at loggerheads with RABBULA, the bishop of Edessa. In 433 he had to leave

the city, but after Rabbula's death succeeded him as bishop. He was, however, unable to maintain peace in the church: he was accused of Nestorianism, and, although vindicated at hearings conducted in Tyre and Berytus, he was deposed by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449. The Council of CHALCEDON returned him to his see, where he remained until his death.

Of Ibas's works only a letter to Mari, bishop of Ktesiphon (Seleukeia on the Tigris), has survived—in a Greek translation of the original Syriac text (*ACO*, tom. II, vol. i, pt.3.32–34). Although Ibas reproached Nestorios for rejection of the title Theotokos, all his polemics were directed against CYRIL of Alexandria whom Ibas saw as the successor of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia. The fathers of Chalcedon approved the theology expressed in his letter, but Ibas's views continued to be controversial long after his death, and he was condemned in 553 during the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. After Ibas's death many of his partisans, teachers and students of the school of Edessa, moved to Nisibis.

LIT. A. d'Alès, "La lettre d'Ibas à Marès le Persian," *RechScRel* 22 (1932) 5–25. J.-M. Sauget, *DPAC* 2:1735f. –T.E.G.

IBERIA (Ἰβηρία), northeasternmost theme of the Byz. Empire, created by Basil II from the inheritance of DAVID OF TAYKʿ/TAO. The precise date of its creation is controversial; the theme was probably organized soon after Basil's campaign of 1001 and considerably earlier than 1022, when it was consolidated by the emperor's Iberian campaign. The territories of the theme first consisted of David's domains, stretching southward along the eastern Byz. frontier and into central Armenia, where it included the city of MANTZIKERT. In 1045, the lands of the BAGRATID kingdom of Širak became part of the theme and its administrative center shifted to ANI. The Seljuks captured this city in 1064, but in 1064/5 the Bagratid kingdom of KARS entered the theme, which included southern TAYKʿ/TAO, Basean, and Kars, until it disappeared in the 1070s when the Seljuks advanced into imperial territory.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii (XI v.)* (Erevan 1980) 108–35. Hr. Bartikjan, "O feme 'Iverija,'" *Vestnik obščestvennych nauk Arm. AN* 12 (1974) 68–79. K.M. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux Xᵉ–XIᵉ siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 154–83. –N.G.G.

IBERIANS (Ἴβηροι). The term "Iberia" was used in Greek with various meanings. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 23) notes that it could mean Spain or Georgia in the Caucasus. Georgian Iberia corresponds with Kʿartʿli, the eastern part of the medieval Georgian kingdom (see GEORGIA), and is to be distinguished from the theme of IBERIA, which included part of northern Armenia but not Kʿartʿli. The various peoples of the Caucasus were often confused; thus John TZETZES calls the Iberians, Abchasians, and Alans one people (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 208).

"Iberian" was also used for Armenians who belonged to the Chalcedonian rather than the Gregorian Monophysite church (V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Armjane-chalkidonity na vostočnych granicach Vizantijskoj imperii* [Erevan 1980]), those whom Armenian sources pejoratively call *caytʿ* (see TZATOI). Hence the *typikon* of Gregory PAKOURIANOS permits only "Iberians" in his monastery. The term "Iberian" could also be applied to inhabitants of the theme of Iberia or, in its narrowest sense, to a monk from the monastery of IVERON.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "'Iver' v vizantijskich istočnikach XI v.," *Banber Matenadarani* 11 (1973) 46–67. –R.T.

IBERON MONASTERY. See IVERON MONASTERY.

IBN AL-ʿADĪM (or Kamāl al-Dīn), Arab historian and Ayyūbid official; born Aleppo 1192, died Cairo 1262. He was a member of a prominent family that discharged various official responsibilities under the successive dynastic regimes in Aleppo (see BERROIA). He himself, after studies in Aleppo, Damascus, Jerusalem, Baghdad, and the Hijaz, served in Aleppo as a diplomatic secretary, as a judge, and later as the chief minister of the Ayyūbid regime. In 1260, as the Mongols approached, ibn al-ʿAdīm fled from Aleppo to Egypt. When they withdrew, he revisited his native city, found it destroyed, and returned to Cairo.

Ibn al-ʿAdīm wrote several works, the most important of which are his two major books on Aleppo. *The Ultimate Quest of the History of Aleppo*, of which ten unpublished MS volumes survive, is an alphabetically arranged biographical dictionary of men connected with Aleppo. His second historical book, *The Quintessence of Aleppo's History*, offers a chronological presentation of material gathered for the dictionary. The chronicle ends in the year 1243. It has the great merit of compiling all sources, and of recording various opinions on historical events and presenting the events in chronological order or according to political states. It includes Aleppo's relations with the Byz. during the 10th C. and the Crusader period.

ED. *Ultimate Quest*—partial Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:695–732. *Quintessence*, partial ed. S. Dahhān, 3 vols. (Damascus 1951–68). Fr. tr. C. Barbier de Meynard, RHC *Orient.* 3:577–732. E. Blochet, "Histoire d'Alep de Kamal-al-Dîn," *ROL* 3 (1895) 509–65; 4 (1896) 145–225; 5 (1897) 37–107; 6 (1898) 1–49.

LIT. S. Dahan in Lewis-Holt, *Historians*, 111–13. B. Lewis, *EI*² 3:695f. –A.S.E.

IBN AL-ATHĪR, or ʿIzz al-Dīn Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn Muḥammad, Arab historian; born Jazīrat ibn ʿUmar (on the Tigris) 13 May 1160, died Mosul June 1233. Born into a prosperous scholarly family well connected with the ZANGIDS, he received an excellent education and became a private scholar enjoying official patronage. He traveled frequently, esp. to Syria, where he witnessed some of the campaigns of SALADIN and eventually settled in Aleppo.

He composed several biographical works and a history of the Zangids but is best known for his *Consummate History*, a vast work (from Creation to 1231) considered the acme of Arabic annalistic historiography. The earlier chapters, though largely based on al-ṬABARĪ, contain valuable accounts (mostly on military campaigns) from other sources now lost. For the 12th–13th C., he writes from personal knowledge and contemporary informants; though unquestionably preoccupied elsewhere, he offers a fragmentary but useful view of Byz. military history for 1164–1228. He describes the maneuvering between the various powers in Asia Minor and the reception of refugee Muslim princes in Constantinople, recounts several disastrous expeditions of the Komnenoi in Asia Minor, and provides details on the Third Crusade, including Byz. efforts to repel Frederick I Barbarossa and the fall of Cyprus to Richard I Lionheart in 1192. The Latin conquest of Constantinople is described in detail. Later reports, though recounting continuing decline, portray Byz. as a still-formidable power.

ED. *Chronicon quod perfectissimum inscribitur*, ed. C.J. Tornberg, 12 vols. (Leiden 1851–76); rp. with corr. and add. as *Al-Kāmil fī'l-ta'rīkh*, 13 vols. (Beirut 1965–66). Extracts tr. J.T. Reinaud, C.F. Defrémery, RHC *Orient.* 1:187–744, 2:1–180.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:345f, supp. 1:587f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:129–62. F. Rosenthal, EI² 3:723f. D.S. Richards in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan (London 1982) 76–108. –L.I.C.

IBN AL-QALĀNISĪ, Arab historian of Muslim Syria; born Damascus ca.1072, died there 17 March 1160. A member of a prominent family of Damascus, he twice served as its chief municipal official (*rā'is*). He is best known as the author of the chronicle *Continuation of the History of Damascus*, used heavily by several later generations of Muslim historians. It covers a dramatic period of Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Egyptian history extending from the mid-10th C. to 1160, overshadowed by the changing fortunes of Byz., Fāṭimid, Crusader, and Zangid protagonists. For anterior historical events, ibn al-Qalānisī relied on Syro-Egyptian archives and minor chronicles, but he based the coverage of contemporary developments on his own observations, eyewitness accounts, and documentary evidence. Although the work of ibn al-Qalānisī mainly deals with politico-social life in Damascus and in central Syria and Palestine, it constitutes a unique chronicle of the first 60 years of the Crusader period written from the Arab vantage point.

ED. *History of Damascus 363–555 a.h.*, ed. H.F. Amedroz (Beirut-Leiden 1908). *The Damascus Chronicle of the Crusades*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb (London 1932). *Damas de 1075 à 1154*, tr. R. Le Tourneau (Damascus 1952).

LIT. C. Cahen, "Note d'historiographie syrienne, la première partie de l'histoire d'Ibn al-Qalānisī," in *Arabic and Islamic Studies in Honor of Hamilton A.R. Gibb*, ed. G. Makdisi (Cambridge, Mass.–Leiden 1965) 157–67. –A.S.E.

IBN BAṬṬŪṬA, more fully Shams al-Dīn Abū ʿAbdallāh Muḥammad ibn ʿAbdallāh, celebrated Arab traveler; born Tangier 1304, died Morocco ca.1369 or 1377. A jurist by education, his extensive journeys by land and sea covered all Islamic lands and most other countries of Asia and Africa

and included visits to the Crimea, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. His *Travels* were dictated in 1355 at the request of the sultan of Morocco. Although scholars have minor qualms about his veracity, chronology, and the "editorial" role of his scribe, the *Travels* of ibn Baṭṭūṭa are an invaluable primary source for 14th-C. history. His account of Asia Minor (visited 1331–33) records the rise of the Ottoman principality under ORHAN; it is esp. illuminating on the processes of islamization, turkification, and Byz. decline. His report on the Crimean TATARS records their relations with the Palaiologoi, including the marriage of a Byz. princess to their khan. During a five-week visit to Constantinople (late 1331), having arrived via the Crimea with the caravan of the returning Byz. princess, ibn Baṭṭūṭa met Emp. Andronikos III and toured markets, churches, and monasteries. Valuable because of the uniqueness of his "private" visit, his sympathetic account also enriches our knowledge of the topography of 14th-C. Constantinople and Byz.-Islamic mutual perceptions.

ED. *Voyages*, ed. C. Defrémery, B.R. Sanguinetti, 4 vols. (Paris 1859–1922; rp. 1982), with Fr. tr. *Travels*, tr. H.A.R. Gibb, 3 vols. (Cambridge 1958–71).

LIT. H.A.R. Gibb, "Notes sur les voyages d'Ibn Baṭṭūṭa en Asie Mineure et en Russie," in *Études d'Orientalisme dédiées à la mémoire de Lévi-Provençal*, vol. 1 (Paris 1962) 125–33. I. Hrbek, "The Chronology of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa's Travels," *Archiv Orientální* 30 (1962) 409–68. A. Miquel, *EI*[2] 3:735f. R.E. Dunn, *The Adventures of Ibn Baṭṭūṭa* (Berkeley, Calif., 1986). –A.Sh.

IBN BĪBĪ, Arab author of a history, written in Persian, of the SELJUKS of Asia Minor (Rūm); fl. 13th C. His father served as secretary at the chancellery of the Seljuk sultan in Konya and went on several diplomatic missions. Ibn Bībī himself made a career at the same court, becoming the head of the chancellery of the secretariat of state.

Ibn Bībī's work, *'Alā'ul Commands* [i.e., of 'Alā'al-Dīn Kay-qubādh I] *Concerning 'Alā'id Affairs*, completed in 1281/2, draws from his personal experiences at the court and covers events, including Seljuk-Byz. relations, from the end of the 12th C. until 1282. It is the only source of information about his own life. Apart from the main text (Istanbul, Süleymaniye, Aya Sofya 2985), there exist an abbreviated Persian version, *Mukhtaṣar*, composed in 1284/5 by an unknown writer while ibn Bībī was still alive, and a Turkish adaptation, written in the early 15th C. by an Ottoman court historian, Yazıcıoğlu ʿAlī.

ED. *El-Evāmirü'l-ʿAlā'iyye fi'l-Umuri'l-ʿAla'iyye*, ed. N. Lugal, A.S. Erzi (Ankara 1957). *Die Seltschukengeschichte*, tr. H.W. Duda (Copenhagen 1959).

LIT. P. Melioranskij, "Sel'džuk-name kak istočnik dlja istorii Vizantii v XII i XIII vekach," *VizVrem* 1 (1894) 613–40. –A.S.E.

IBN ḤAWQAL, more fully Abū al-Qāsim ibn ʿAlī al-Naṣīb, Arab geographer of the systematic school (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS); born Nisibis, died after 988. His *Picture of the Earth* is a primary document for the historical geography of the Islamic world, Byz., and other lands. As a merchant-scholar, he traveled widely between 943 and 973, visiting the Caspian Sea region, Fāṭimid Egypt, North Africa, Sicily, Spain, and southern Italy. He knew the Arab-Byz. frontier region well and participated in Arab military expeditions into eastern Anatolia.

His book (first published before 967 and revised twice, ca.977 and 988), though begun independently, is essentially a recast of the *Routes and Kingdoms* of al-IṢṬAKHRĪ, which the aging author requested him to edit when the two met in Baghdad (951–52). A comparison of the two works, with reference to Byz., the Thughur (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), Sicily, and Mediterranean trade, reveals ibn Ḥawqal's independent judgment and sense of history, as well as his concern for detail. His maps are also more developed and show some Byz. themes and towns. Equally important are his insightful remarks on Islamic Sicily, the policies of the ḤAMDĀNIDS, the military and financial policies of Nikephoros II Phokas, the decline of the Islamic Thughūr, and the impact of the Byz. *reconquista*. Of particular interest is his account of the Banū-Ḥabīb of Nisibis, cousins of the Ḥamdānids who, during the reign of John I Tzimiskes, converted to Christianity and cooperated with the Byz. in their campaigns against the Muslims. Ibn Ḥawqal reflects subtle FĀṬIMID propaganda and is severely critical of the Ḥamdānids.

ED. *Ṣūrat al-Arḍ*, ed. J.H. Kramers (Leiden 1938). *Configuration de la terre*, tr. G. Wiet, revised J.H. Kramers (Paris-Beirut 1964).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 198–205. A. Miquel, *EI*[2] 3:786–88. –A.Sh.

IBN JUBAYR, more fully Abu al-Ḥusayn ibn Jubayr Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad, Arab traveler and man of letters; born Valencia 1145, died

Alexandria 29 Nov. 1217. After working as a government secretary in Arab Granada for a time, he made two major and eventful sea journeys to Mecca and back (1183–85 and 1189–91) and a less eventful one in 1204 (Kračkovskij, *infra*) or 1217 (Pellat, *infra*). Only the first journey is recorded in his extant *Travels*. Ostensibly a pilgrim to Mecca, his main itinerary included Ceuta, Sicily, Alexandria, Cairo, Jedda, Mecca, Madīna, Baghdad, Aleppo, Damascus, Tyre, Acre (the last two were in Crusader hands at the time), again Sicily, Cartagena, and Granada. He traveled on Genoese ships both ways with Christian and Muslim pilgrims and merchants.

His *Travels*, written in a diary form giving the names of Muslim and Christian months, is an important document for political, economic, and social conditions not only in Islamic lands but also in the Mediterranean world. In particular, it notes the conflicts and peaceable contacts between Crusaders and Muslims; Byz.-Genoese relations; and Sicily under WILLIAM II, including the conditions of Muslims. It gives, moreover, a valuable description of the cathedral of Palermo and a unique account of the Norman court. He also alludes to Byz.-Norman relations and records the curious echoes in Sicily of recent Seljuk victories over Byz. Especially interesting is his report on Andronikos I's use of Muslim troops in seizing the throne in Constantinople in 1182 (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 33).

ED. *Riḥlat Ibn Jubayr*, ed. M. de Goeje (Leiden-London 1907; rp. New York 1973). *The Travels of Ibn Jubayr*, tr. R.J.C. Broadhurst (London 1952).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 304–07 (Fr. tr. in Canard, *L'expansion*, pt.XIV [1960–61], 64–69). C. Pellat, EI^2 3:755. –A.Sh.

IBN KHURDĀDHBEH, more fully Abu al-Qāsim ʿUbaydallāh ibn ʿAbdallāh ibn Khurdādhbeh, author of the earliest surviving Arabic administrative geography, including vital details on Byz.; born Khurāsān ca.825, died Iraq ca.912. Of Persian origin, he grew up in Baghdad, where he studied Arabic philology, literature, history, and music. He was director of posts and intelligence in al-Jibāl (ancient Media) and a boon companion of the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Muʿtamid (870–92).

Of his ten books, including a world history, only extracts of *On Entertainment and Musical Instruments*, containing references to Byz. MUSIC, and an incomplete version of his *Routes and Kingdoms* (composed ca.846–70, revised ca.885) survive. His fame rests on the latter book, which is a primary source for Islamic administrative and economic history as well as Byz. military administration. His account of Byz. is based mostly on the lost writings of the Arab prisoner al-JARMĪ (released 845), but also on official documents. It preserves a curious report of an Arab scientific expedition to the cave of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. More important is his concise information on Constantinople; topography, routes, distances, towns, and fortresses of Asia Minor; official Byz. hierarchy; army strength, revenues, and organization; and the first known Arabic list of Byz. THEMES, with the earliest mention of Cappadocia and Charsianon as military districts. His work also refers to Byz.'s northern neighbors and international trade.

ED. *Kitāb al-Masālik wal-Mamālik*, ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 6 (1889)], with Fr. tr. *Mukhtār min Kitāb al-Lahw wal-Malāhī* (*On Music and Entertainment*), ed. I.A. Khalifé (Beirut 1969).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 147–50. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxi, 87–92, 2:396–99. M. Hadj-Sadok, EI^2 3:839f. Gelzer, *Themen* 81–96, 100–06, 114–26. –A.Sh.

IBN RUSTA. See HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ.

IBN SHADDĀD. See BAHĀʾ AL-DĪN.

ICON FRAMES (sing. περιφέριον, e.g., *Pantel.*, nos. 7.21, 53) are usually slightly raised from the surface of the icon and display figural representations, floral or geometric ornament, and bosses. From the 11th C. onward they are frequently recorded in church INVENTORIES but may have been in use at least a century earlier. The most elaborate examples were made of precious metals, enamels, and stones or glass beads (*Treasury S. Marco* 172) or, more frequently, of repoussé silver (M. Chatzidakis, *Icons of Patmos* [Athens 1985] nos. 1–2). Another technique—cloisonné silver without enamel inlay—appears on numerous frames of the late 13th–14th C. (M. Chatzidakis, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 79–81).

The figural decoration of icon frames consists of busts (*laimia*) of saints or whole-figure representations (*stasidia*), sometimes including donor portraits. These form a DEESIS composition complementary to the main subject of the icon. Others display Gospel scenes or events from the life of

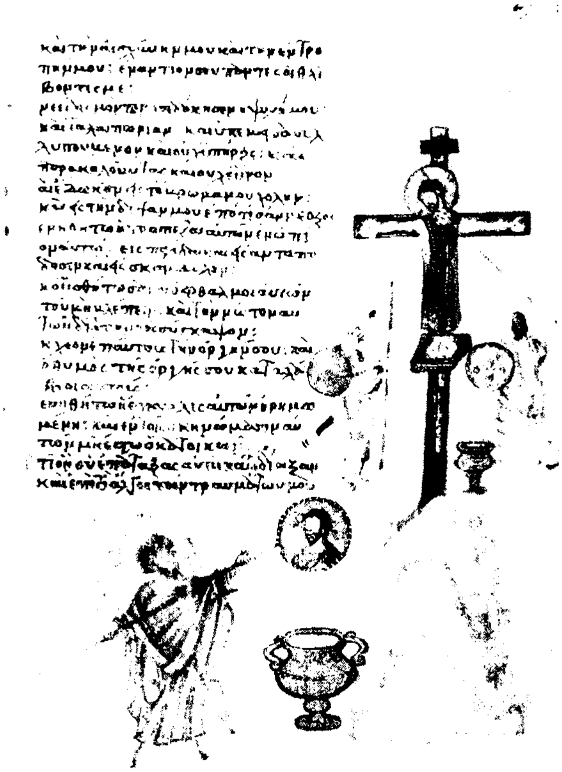
the depicted saint. Most of the elaborate frames surround venerated icons of the Virgin. They were less often employed on icons of Christ or a church's patron saint and only rarely on icons of Gospel and other scenes. Simpler frames are restricted to geometric or floral ornament.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Les revêtements en or et en argent des icônes byzantines du moyen âge* (Venice 1975). –L.Ph.B.

ICONIUM. See Ikonion.

ICONOCLASM (from *εἰκονοκλάστης*, "image-destroyer"), a religious movement of the 8th and 9th C. that denied the holiness of icons and rejected icon veneration. Clerical opposition to the artistic depiction of sacred personages had its roots in late antiquity (Baynes, *Byz. Studies* 116–43, 226–39). In the 4th C. Eusebios of Caesarea, evidently drawing on the christology of Origen, denied the possibility of artistically delineating Christ's image (G. Florovsky, *ChHist* 19 [1950] 77–96). There was also an Iconoclast movement in 7th-C. Armenia (Alexander, *History*, pt.VII [1955], 151–60). In the early 8th C. several bishops in Asia Minor, notably Constantine of Nakoleia and Thomas of Claudiopolis, condemned the veneration of images (G. Ostrogorsky in *Mél. Diehl* 1:235–38), citing traditional biblical prohibitions against idolatry. Their views became a movement when Emp. Leo III began to support their position publicly in 726 (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 5–41). His order to remove an icon of Christ from the Chalke gate caused a riot. In 730 Leo summoned a *silention* that forced Patr. Germanos I to resign and issued an edict commanding the destruction of icons of the saints. Persecutions under Leo appear to have been limited to instances of destroying church decorations, portable icons, and altar furnishings; there is no solid evidence of martyrdom.

The usurper Artabasdos temporarily restored icon veneration, but Constantine V broadened the theological base of Iconoclasm by personally writing treatises and organizing *silentia*. Constantine introduced an explicit christological aspect into Iconoclasm by asserting that a material depiction of Christ—who as God is uncircumscribable—threatened either to confuse or separate his two natures. In 754 Constantine summoned a council in Hieria, which condemned icon veneration as diabolical idolatry and insisted that the Eucharist was the only appropriate, nonanthropomorphic image of Christ. Constantine reportedly rejected worship of relics and attacked the cult of Euphemia of Chalcedon, but the 754 council affirmed the efficacy of the intercession of saints and denied only the propriety of venerating them through material depictions.



Iconoclasm. Iconoclasts whitewashing an image of Christ. Marginal miniature in the Khludov Psalter (Moscow gr. 129, fol.67r); 9th C. State Historical Museum, Moscow. The Iconoclast with the wild hair is thought to represent the patriarch John VII Grammatikos.

The acts of the 754 council were not strongly enforced until the 760s, when several Iconophiles were executed, including Stephen the Younger. Constantine rigorously persecuted Iconophiles in Constantinople, esp. monks; *strategoi* such as Michael Lachanodrakon extended this antimonastic campaign into the provinces. Yet outside the capital Iconoclasm was irregularly supported and often restricted to redecorating churches with secular art. In the capital, according to the vita of Stephen the Younger, Constantine

replaced pictures in the Church of the Virgin at Blachernai with "mosaics [representing] trees and all kinds of birds and beasts. . . ." Yet images of Christ and the saints remained in the *sekreta* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, until 768/9, when Patr. Niketas I (766–80) had them removed (Nikeph. 76.21f). Iconoclasm waned after Constantine's death: Leo IV persecuted only a small group of officials in Constantinople in 780, and in 787 Constantine VI, Irene, and Patr. Tarasios secured an official condemnation of Iconoclasm at the Second Council of Nicaea.

The emperors of the Amorian dynasty revived Iconoclasm, but it lacked the vigor of the 8th-C. movement. Leo V deposed Patr. Nikephoros I and summoned a synod in 815 that renounced the restoration of icons and rehabilitated the Hieria council (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66; idem, *History*, pt.IX [1958], 493–505). Michael II, although an Iconoclast, did not force the issue. Theophilos, influenced by John VII Grammatikos, prohibited the production of icons and persecuted prominent Iconophiles, including Euthymios of Sardis, Theodore Graptos, and the painter Lazaros, but in 843, Empress Theodora and Theoktistos engineered the Triumph of Orthodoxy. Although several church councils in the 860s and 870s condemned Iconoclasm again (F. Dvornik, *DOP* 7 [1953] 67–97), it was no longer a major issue.

While Byz. sources blame external factors like Jewish magicians and Caliph Yazīd II for influencing Leo III and his supporters, modern scholarship offers various explanations for the development of Iconoclasm. Many specialists favor an ideological interpretation: Iconoclasm was the revival of ancient polemics against religious art (Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 6–22), which harbored vestiges of paganism (Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy*); Leo III was attempting to purify religious doctrine and practice because God was punishing the Byz. for idolatry by sending Arab attacks and natural disasters, such as an earthquake on Thera in 726 (C. Mango in *Iconoclasm* 2f). Other scholars emphasize economic motives: the emperors used Iconoclasm to confiscate monastic and ecclesiastical property (M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, *Učenye zapiski Sverdlovskogo gosudarstvennogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 4 [1948] 48–110). More recently, scholars have stressed the role of imperial power: Iconoclasm was the climax of Caesaropapism (G. Ladner, *MedSt* 2 [1940] 127–49); the reestablishment of the traditional imperial cult (L. Barnard, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 13–29); or the effort of emperors to establish their authority in ecclesiastical matters at a time when they were under pressure to regenerate Byz. society and ward off its external enemies (J.F. Haldon, *BS* 38 [1977] 161–84). Another explanation considers Iconoclasm against the backdrop of the crisis of early Byz. cities: for the secular clergy, particularly bishops, the potentially centrifugal nature of the cult of saints—physically localized and emotionally privatized by holy men, icons, relics, and monasteries—threatened their ability to retain a centralized ecclesiastical authority that could define the holy and shore up the weakened structures of Byz. civic life (P. Brown, *EHR* 88 [1973] 31f).

Economic and political factors played important roles in the development of Iconoclasm, but the central issue of the controversy was the doctrine of salvation. By the 8th C. the Orthodox victory in the dispute over Christ's human and divine natures had affirmed the possibility of man's ascent to God, but without delimiting the instrumentality of salvation or the position of the holy in Byz. society. Iconoclasts were genuinely concerned that increasing devotion to icons, by effacing the distinction between the material image and its spiritual prototype, was encouraging idolatry (E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 8 [1954] 82–150) and thus blurring the crucial distinction between the sacred and the profane. The Iconoclasts accepted only the Eucharist, the church building, and the sign of the cross as being fully holy, because only those objects had been consecrated by God directly or through a priest and were thus capable of bringing human beings in contact with the divine, whereas icons and relics were illegitimately consecrated from below by popular veneration (Brown, *supra*).

The outcome of Iconoclasm was a partial victory for both sides. The Iconophiles, aided by thinkers such as John of Damascus, won the theological battle by formulating a theory of images that regarded icons as efficacious vehicles of the holy and having it formally endorsed as Orthodoxy. Yet the Iconophiles owed their triumph to sympathetic emperors, whose authority over church affairs was thereby strengthened. In particular, imperial jurisdiction over monasteries

was established: strong, centralized monasteries (see STOUDIOS) were undermined and increasingly replaced by smaller, less cenobitic monasteries under state patronage and control. Moreover, religious dissidents (see THEODORE OF STOUDIOS) failed in appeals to Rome to counter imperial efforts to dictate religious policy. The flight of many active monastic Iconophiles to the West permitted conformists like PHOTIOS and EUTHYMIOS to hold the patriarchate. Among other consequences, the Iconoclasts' reliance on nonrepresentational religious art contributed to the exaltation of the cult of the CROSS (J. Moorhead, *Byzantion* 55 [1985] 165–79), while in the West imperial support for Iconoclasm provoked denunciations from popes GREGORY II and GREGORY III and pushed the papacy further toward dependence on the Franks (see also LIBRI CAROLINI).

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Der byzantinische Bilderstreit: kritische Analyse der zeitgenössischen Meinungen und das Urteil der Nachwelt bis heute," *SettStu* 34.1 (1988) 319–407. A. Grabar, *L'iconoclasme byzantin: Le dossier archéologique*[2] (Paris 1984). D. Stein, *Der Beginn des byzantinischen Bilderstreites und seine Entwicklung* (Munich 1980). H. Hennephof, *Textus byzantinos ad iconomachiam pertinentes in usum academicum* (Leiden 1969). –P.A.H., A.C.

ICONODULES. See ICONOPHILES.

ICONOGRAPHY, the demonstrative subject matter of Byz. works of ART, imbued above all with Christianity and the cult of the EMPEROR. While HISTORY PAINTING, PORTRAITS, and PERSONIFICATIONS were inherited from antiquity and remained abiding subjects, in other areas of content marked changes are discernible. As early Christian concern with TYPOLOGY declined, Old Testament subjects tended to disappear save where themes such as the ARK OF THE COVENANT were newly interpreted. By the 6th C. a broad range of motifs from the New Testament and Apocrypha was in use, as well as an extensive hagiographical repertory. The 9th–11th C. saw new themes created under the influence of the LITURGY and homiletic sources; developments intensified in the 12th C. when special attention was paid to such motifs as the Melismos (see FRACTION) and pathetic aspects of Christology. A secular repertory drawing on classical mythology was used already in the 10th C., enriched with motifs taken from both everyday life and the West, esp. in the Komnenian era. The multiplication and extension of monumental cycles, often dependent on HYMNOGRAPHY, and the elaboration of PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, are marked characteristics of 13th- and 14th-C. art.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography* (Princeton 1968). G. Millet, *Recherches sur l'iconographie de l'évangile aux XIVe, XVe et XVIe siècles* (Paris 1916). C. Walter, *Art and Ritual of the Byzantine Church* (London 1982). S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes iconographiques dans la peinture monumentale du début du XIVe siècle," in *Symp. Gračanica* 29–38. –A.C.

ICONOPHILES (εἰκονοφίλεις, "lovers of images"), also iconodules (εἰκονόδουλοι, "servants of images"), a term apparently coined during the period of ICONOCLASM—it occurs as early as the 8th C. (Lampe, *Lexicon* 410)—to denote those who defended the holiness of ICONS and the propriety of icon veneration; they called their opponents iconoclasts (εἰκονοκλάσται, "image-breakers"). Among the most prominent iconophiles were Patr. GERMANOS I, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, STEPHEN THE YOUNGER, THEODORE GRAPTOS, and EUTHYMIOS OF SARDIS. Monks were the most ardent iconophiles and suffered particularly under Constantine V and at the hands of Michael LACHANODRAKON. –P.A.H.

ICONOSTASIS. See TEMPLON.

ICONS (sing. εἰκών, "image"). In its broadest sense an icon is any representation of a sacred personage, produced in many media and sizes, monumental as well as portable; in its narrowest sense icon most often refers to a painted wooden devotional panel (see "Painted Icons," below).

Icon Veneration and the Theory of Images. The term *eikon* was ambiguous, applied even to ancient statues, while other terms of pagan vocabulary, such as *stele* or *agalma*, could be used for images of Christ. On the other hand, the Byz. tried to contrast *eikon* with *eidolon* (idol), which was an embodiment of pagan cult; sometimes, however, the difference between them disappeared as in the story about a heathen *ektypoma* that turned out to be an image of the Archangel Michael (Malal. 78f).

Christianity inherited a hostile attitude toward

images from the Old Testament prohibition of Exodus 20:4 ("Thou shalt not make . . . any graven image") and from the era of persecutions, when Christians were forced to sacrifice in front of imperial images. Many early church fathers (e.g., EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus) disapproved of icons, esp. those of Christ, since he should be worshiped as an "image (*eikon*) of the invisible God." Nevertheless, Christians decorated their CATACOMBS and eventually their churches with images that were considered to be holy. Church fathers such as BASIL THE GREAT defended the veneration of images as offered not to the picture but to the prototype (PG 32:149C).

The dispute became acute in the 8th and 9th C. during the controversy over ICONOCLASM. The Iconoclasts argued that portrayal of Christ leads either to Nestorian separation of humanity from divinity or Monophysite confusion of humanity and divinity; they considered the eucharistic elements as the only proper "icon" of Christ. ICONOPHILES, the defenders of icon veneration (primarily JOHN OF DAMASCUS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Patr. NIKEPHOROS I), developed Basil's idea and elaborated the concept of three levels of image: Christ as the natural image of the Father; man as the divine image by adoption and imitation; and the icon as an artistic image of Christ or the saints. Consequently, they also developed a terminology to differentiate the veneration of icons: they distinguished the relative veneration (*timetike/schetike proskynesis*) of the icon and saints from the genuine worship (*latreia*) of the object depicted and stressed that the purpose of veneration was to arouse devotion. Attacking the Iconoclasts, they connected the latter's anti-iconic attitude with Manichaean (Paulician) and Jewish tenets. John of Damascus emphasized the didactic role of icons, esp. for the illiterate, whereas the LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS and saints' vitae describe the wondrous power of icons, which could heal the sick and bring retribution on assailants.

The principles of icon veneration were summarized at the Second Council of NICAEA (787), which, however, laid greater emphasis on the tradition of miracle-working icons (such as the MANDYLION and other ACHEIROPOIETA, likenesses "not made by human hand") than on theological subtleties. Doubts about icon veneration remained alive even after the defeat of Iconoclasm (J. Gouillard, *AnnEPHE*, 5e section, 86 [1977/8] 29–50).

LIT. G.B. Ladner, "The Concept of the Image in the Greek Fathers and the Byzantine Iconoclastic Controversy," *DOP* 7 (1953) 1–34. E. Kitzinger, "The Cult of Images in the Age before Iconoclasm," *DOP* 8 (1954) 83–150. Th. Nikolaou, "Die Ikonenverehrung als Beispiel ostkirchlicher Theologie und Frömmigkeit nach Johannes von Damaskos," *OstkSt* 25 (1976) 138–65. S. Gero, "Cyril of Alexandria, Image Worship, and the *Vita* of Rabban Hormizd," *OrChr* 62 (1978) 77–97. L. Barnard, "The Theology of Images," in *Iconoclasm* 7–13. M. Loos, "Einzige strittige Fragen der ikonoklastischen Ideologie," *BBA* 51 (1983) 131–51. P. Henry, "The Formulators of Icon Doctrine," in *Schools of Thought in the Christian Tradition*, ed. P. Henry (Philadelphia 1984) 75–89. –G.P., R.S.

PAINTED ICONS. The painted wooden panel is the most copiously preserved and longest-lived genre of that very distinctive form of Byz. art, the portable devotional icon. Its history can be studied best from the panels at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Sinai, the only comprehensive collection of Byz. examples that survives. The earliest preserved panel-painted icons—some 27, all at Sinai—belong to the 6th–7th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.1–B.31). All are on wood and are from 14 to 92 cm high. They use antique media, either encaustic (pigment suspended in wax) or tempera (pigment suspended in egg yolk, the medium found in most post-Iconoclastic panels). Their forms—likewise antique—include single rectangular panels, DIPTYCHS (derived from writing tablets), and TRIPTYCHS (recalling Late Antique devotional triptychs with images of the gods); no round examples survive, but they are depicted in other media and so may have existed. Their portrait compositions echo Late Antique commemorative PORTRAITS and imperial *lavrata*. Thematically varied, with New Testament theophanies, Old Testament scenes promising salvation, and full- and half-length portraits of Christ, the Virgin Mary, prophets, and major saints, they reflect not so much liturgical formulas as private devotions. Chronologically, these panels coincide with extensive evidence in other media and in saints' vitae of images mediating the holy. Thus they seem to reflect a significant stage in the development of the icon, as it moved from private use into more public visibility. The diverse subjects and formats of these earliest panels indicate that most came into the church as private VOTIVE donations, and their use remained extraliturgical, focusing individual devotions.

Panels of the 8th and 9th C.—surviving only at Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B.32–B.41)—



ICONS. Painted icon; late 13th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. St. Peter is depicted holding a scroll and a long-handled cross; his keys hang around his neck. Probably of Macedonian origin.

are exceedingly scant and probably of provincial origin. Examples of the 10th and 11th C. are less rare. They reflect the centralized character of the Byz. world at this time, as art was linked firmly to liturgy and the liturgy itself was regularized. Thematically, art was thoroughly coordinated with liturgy by exhibiting established liturgical feasts: images were attached to particular feasts and their compositions standardized to represent both the event or person commemorated and the feast itself. This set repertoire of liturgically determined representations was adopted in all media, including panel painting, displacing the earlier heterogeneous devotional imagery. Functionally, the painted panel—though never adopted into the actual liturgical ceremony—was similarly coordinated with liturgical practice when the church TEMPLON emerged as the focus for its public display. Normally stored on hooks in aisles or the sanctuary, panels were moved to the templon—or to a PROSKYNETARION in front of it—on the day of the feast they represented. Shifted in accord with shifting feasts, the panels remained portable, seldom exceeding the height of about one meter accommodated by the templon. In shape, however, they adapted to the rectangular intercolumniations of the templon, and only private panels retained the varied antique forms.

Panels of the mid-11th through 12th C. are characterized more by innovation and proliferation than by standardization. The liturgy, now thoroughly regularized, was enriched emotionally by the incorporation of evocative ceremonies, esp. those of HOLY WEEK. This opened the way for artistic invention within liturgical boundaries, generating new, emotionally charged images based on hymns and prayers: the MAN OF SORROWS, variants of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, Symeon Glykophilon (see HYPAPANTE), the major bilateral icons (see below). These new themes were suited to, and probably originated as, devotional panels. They coincided with an expanded use of panel-painted icons in both public and private devotion. Richer patterns for the disposition of panels in church and templon emerged, generating new and distinctively Byz. shapes: the long, narrow templon beam displaying a Great DEESIS or GREAT FEASTS cycle; the panels hung in the templon's intercolumniations, usually showing Christ, Mary, John the Baptist, or the church's patron saint; the holy (or "royal") doors in the templon adorned with the ANNUNCIATION; the Crucifixion mounted above the templon; the calendar icons, whose registers display the feast images for entire months; and the hagiographical or "vita" icons, showing a saint surrounded by scenes from his or her life. While such images may often have been made of precious materials in the churches of Constantinople, panel painting was generally adopted, proving preferable in scale, weight, adaptability, and affordability. Many more panel paintings survive from the 12th C. than from any earlier century. Sinai itself was fully furbished with panel-painted icons then, and panel painting began to take on a local cast in the byzantinizing cultures of Russia and Italy.

The climactic proliferation of panel painting came in Palaiologan art. The 14th is the first

century in which panel paintings dominate works in other media both numerically and artistically. More panels are preserved than icons in other media; for the first time they survive from all parts of the Orthodox world, reflecting numerous local traditions. Their imagery expands, embracing complex allegories and arcane New Testament and hagiographical events. Other media imitate them: MS illumination contracts to frontispieces resembling icons; monumental painting exhibits grids of iconlike rectangular pictures; in the realm of precious materials, the miniature mosaic (see "Mosaic Icons" below), which attempts to imitate the fluid modeling of panel painting, displaces the more abstract media like enamel. The templon develops into the *iconostasis*, the opaque screen of fixed icons, tier upon tier.

Little is known about icon painters. Though some were monks, others were clearly laymen, and many practiced in a variety of media (see ARTISTS).

LIT. Belting, *Bild und Kult* 11–330. M. Chatzidakis. "L'icône byzantine," *Saggi e memorie di storia dell'arte* 2 (1959) 9–40. W. Felicetti-Liebenfels, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Ikonenmalerei* (Olten-Lausanne 1956). Soteriou, *Eikones*. K. Weitzmann, "Icon Programs of the 12th and 13th Centuries at Sinai," *DChAE*[4] 12 (1984) 63–116. K. Weitzmann et al., *The Icon* (New York 1982). –A.W.C.

BILATERAL ICONS. The term *bilateral* is usually reserved for panel-painted icons of fair size, displaying thematically related compositions on both faces. Some 37 Byz. examples survive; the earliest is of the 11th C. The obverse generally shows the Pantokrator, the Virgin Mary, or a saint and the reverse a Christological or Marian feast, or scenes from the life of the saint. Most widespread is the pairing of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA and CRUCIFIXION. In fact, the Hodegetria icon in Constantinople seems to have originated the whole genre: being the object of special veneration on Good Friday, the Virgin icon was at some unknown point furnished with an image of the Crucifixion on its reverse. From this model, apparently, sprang the idea of pairing a church's patron saint with a GREAT FEAST and esp. the idea of pairing the Virgin prescient of her infant's death with an image of that death itself. The actual use of bilateral icons remains unclear; hung ordinarily on the templon screen, they were surely displayed on special occasions in processions or on stands (PROSKYNETARIA), where their conjunction of images could be appreciated. Though some icons, such as the great palladia—the Hodegetria and the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR—may have become bilateral as cult practices developed around them, other icons were bilateral from the start.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 89–97, 308–32. –A.W.C.

METAL ICONS. Vulnerable because their material could be reused, few icons in precious metals survive today. They were numerous in the Byz. era, however, in both public and private contexts. In private use, gold, silver, bronze, cloisonné ENAMEL, and CAMEOS were formed into icons for personal adornment on AMULETS, PENDANTS, BELTS, and RINGS. Byz. wills refer to devotional icons of silver and copper. Silver examples do not survive, though several small bronze panels seem to copy more costly silver models, just as the gilded bronze triptych in London reflects models in ivory (K. Weitzmann, *The Icon: Holy Images, Sixth to Fourteenth Century* [New York 1978], fig.E). In the public realm, cloisonné icons adorned not only imperial and ecclesiastical vestments and vessels, but also church furniture. The PALA D'ORO in S. Marco in Venice preserves Byz. enamels both from the church's 12th-C. *antependium* (altar front) and from the templon beam of the Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople. These represent Christ, apostles, angels, and GREAT FEASTS. Individual metal icons most often show single figures: Christ, the Virgin Mary, an archangel or a major saint (military saints, Nicholas of Myra). The most spectacular surviving examples are the two cloisonné and relief panels of St. MICHAEL in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco*, nos. 12, 19); the paired cloisonné plaques there (nos. 9, 14), now used as bookcovers, may originally have been used as devotional panels in Byz.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii (IX–XII vv.)* (Moscow 1978) 64–71. Eadem, *Byzantine Art in the Collections of the USSR* (Leningrad-Moscow 1966), pls. 159–63, 180–85. –A.W.C.

MOSAIC ICONS. Some 48 Byz. mosaic icons survive from the 11th through 14th C. Artistic hybrids of outstanding luxury, they unite the portability of panel paintings with the mosaic technique of mural art and the precious materials of metalwork. Wax or resin on wood serves as a setting bed for jewellike tesserae of solid gold and silver, semiprecious stones, ivory, and enamel flux. One



ICONS. Mosaic icon, early 14th C. Museo dell'Opera del Duomo, Florence. Right half of a diptych showing six of the Great Feasts: Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, Anastasis, Ascension, Pentecost, Dormition of the Virgin.

group, which includes the earliest examples, contains relatively large panels (23–34 × 62–92 cm) that reproduce greatly venerated single-figure prototypes, esp. of Christ and the Virgin Mary, and reflect the setting techniques of mural mosaic. Many of these originated on templon beams and were not initially portable. By the 12th C., the technique of this group came to be dominated by the diminutive, densely set tesserae and opulent colors developed for a second group. This second group, preeminently of 14th-C. examples, comprises tiny mosaics of 6–10 by 18–26 cm. Showing single saints or GREAT FEASTS and often set like gems in ornate silver frames, these tiny examples were surely made for private devotion, most probably in Constantinople. Of consummate craftsmanship, they use tesserae of 1 sq. mm, set so densely that they appear seamless and breathtakingly illusionistic. Sometimes their media are mixed, with molded haloes of gilded gesso around mosaic figures or mosaic highlights in painted fields (Florence diptych).

LIT. I. Furlan, *Le icone bizantine a mosaico* (Milan 1979). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 87–119. A.-A. Krickelberg-Pütz, "Die Mosaikikone des Hl. Nikolaus in Aachen-Burtschied," *Aachener Kunstblätter* 50 (1982) 56–141. –A.W.C.

IC XC NIKA, partly abbreviated form of the Greek Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νίκα, "Jesus Christ, conquer," or Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς νικᾷ, "Jesus Christ conquers" (*DOC* 3.1:231). Inspired by Constantine I's vision at the MILVIAN BRIDGE, the slogan was repeated during acclamations in the Hippodrome. The sigla occur on various objects, for example, on a commemorative inscription of 740–41 on the walls of Constantinople and cantoned within the arms of the cross on pages of the Paris Gregory and the Bible of Leo Sakellarios. In this form they served generally as invocatory or apotropaic signs at the entrances to houses and churches, on bread stamps, and on the backs of icons and ivories. On coins, a similar formula *ἐν τούτῳ νικᾷ* was introduced in 641 (*DOC* 2.1:101); although it was replaced by IC XC NIKA under Leo III, it reappears in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Frolow, "IC XC NIKA," *BS* 17 (1956) 98–113. –A.C.

IDACIUS. See HYDATIUS.

IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM, an individualized form of monastic life. The term *idiorrhythmia* (ἰδιο⟨ρ⟩ρυθμία), meaning "following one's own devices," is found as early as the 5th C. (Mark the Hermit, PG 65:1037A), but this type of MONASTICISM did not become at all common until the Palaiologan era and has a negative connotation throughout the Byz. period. In general, idiorrhythmic monasticism has been condemned by the Eastern church (as in the *typikon* for the monastery of AREIA, 249.13–14) because of its deviation from the traditional ideals of the KOINOBION, or cenobitism. Nonetheless, by the late 14th C. the idiorrhythmic regime appears to have become established in some monasteries on Mt. ATHOS as

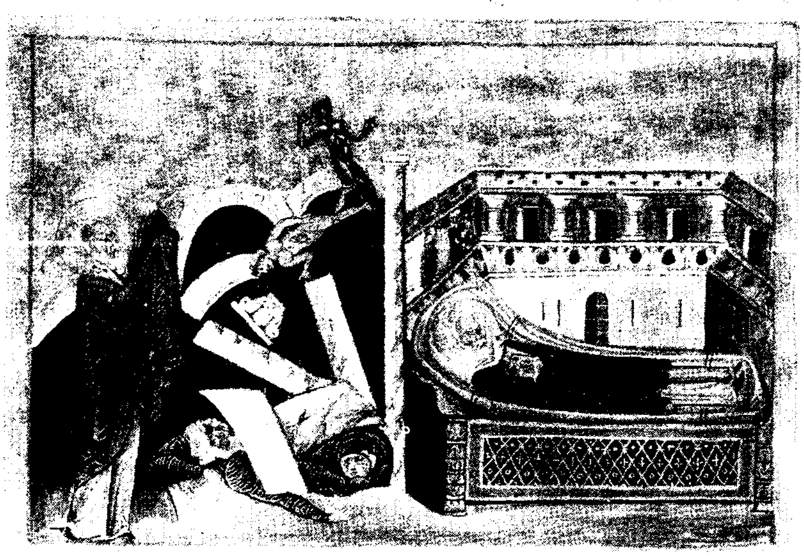
an alternative to the cenobitic or eremitic form of monasticism. Idiorrhythmic monks are permitted to acquire personal property; through their labor they earn income to purchase food and clothing. They take their meals separately in their cells rather than in a communal refectory and may eat meat. The organization of an idiorrhythmic monastery also differs from its cenobitic counterpart; instead of the absolute rule of a HEGOUMENOS elected for life, the affairs of the monastery are administered by an oligarchic council (*synaxis*) of *proistamenoi* who make decisions and two or three *epitropoi* who execute them.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 5, 27–30, 78–81, 291–98. E. Amand de Mendieta, *La presqu'île des caloyers: Le Mont-Athos* (Paris 1955) 45–47, 85–91. Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 57–64. –A.M.T.

IDOL (εἴδωλον), a generic disdainful term used by Christian apologists to characterize pagan gods and their images, idolatry being synonymous with pagan worship. The Christians emphasized that idols were dead and that their veneration was instigated by DEMONS. The term also designated phantoms, ghosts, and hallucinations, but it was applied to statues without derogatory connotation (Av. Cameron, J. Herrin in *Parastaseis* 31). The multiple meanings of the term became obvious during the dispute over ICONOCLASM when the Iconodules were accused of idolatry and had to elaborate a strict distinction between the dead idol that did not represent anything but itself—wood, stone, or metal—and the ICON that as the image of God, the Virgin Mary, or saints had to be distinguished from its material in the same way that the parchment, ink, and paint on manuscripts were distinguished from the word of the Lord. –A.K.

IDRĪSĪ, AL-, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Idrīsī, Arab geographer, cartographer, and botanist; born Ceuta (North Africa) 1100, died Ceuta ca.1165. Educated in Islamic Cordoba, he traveled throughout Spain and other parts of the Mediterranean world. In 1138 he was invited by ROGER II to settle in Palermo, where he led a team of cartographers and researchers that produced a spherical map and a world geography. The resulting *Yearning Man's Journey*, or *Book of Roger* (begun 1139, completed Jan. 1154, under Roger's official patronage), is perhaps the best work of medieval cartography, marking the climax of Arab geography and demonstrating

IDOL. St. Cornelius causing the destruction of a pagan temple and its idols. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.125). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. At the right, the death of the saint.



Norman Sicily's intellectual achievement. Al-Idrīsī wrote a summary of this for William I.

Besides his description of Sicily, Italy, Spain, northern Europe, and Africa, some of his material on Byz. is original, though he freely uses earlier Arab geographers. The assumption that he visited Constantinople or Asia Minor is based on a misreading of his statements. He adds new information on later developments, topography, towns, ports, and economic and commercial activity in Byz., Seljuk Asia Minor, Armenia, Trebizond, and the Balkans. His work on *Materia Medica* seems to distinguish between ancient and Byz. Greek.

ED. *Al-Idrīsī Opus Geographicum*, ed. E. Cerulli et al., 9 fasc. (Naples-Rome 1970–84), esp. fasc. 7 (1977). Fr. tr. P.A. Jaubert, *La géographie d'Edrisi*, vol. 2 (Paris 1840) 122–41, 286–319, 391–99.

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 281–96. B. Nedkov, *Bŭlgarija i sŭsednite ì zemi prez XII vek spored "Geografijata" na Idrisi* (Sofia 1960). K. Miller, *Weltkarte des Arabers Idrisi vom Jahre 1154*[2] (Stuttgart 1981). G. Oman, *EI*[2] 3:1032–35.

–A.Sh.

IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, writer; fl. 1389–1405. Ignatij (Ignatios) traveled from Moscow to Constantinople in 1389 in the entourage of Metr. Pimen. After Pimen's death (Sept. 1389) and the appointment of KIPRIAN, Ignatij remained in Constantinople at least until 1392 and probably in the Balkans and on Athos until ca.1405. The three works soundly attributed to him—a *Journey to Constantinople* (1389–92), a *Description of Thessalonike and the Holy Mountain*, and parts of an *Abbreviated Chronicle* to 1404—together form a selective diary of Ignatij's observations. The meticulous details and chronologies make Ignatij's works valuable and varied repositories of information. Topics on which he is the sole or main eyewitness source include the Don River route to Constantinople; the struggle for the throne between John VII and Manuel II in 1390–91, as reflected in the life of the capital; and the coronation of Manuel II in 1392. Ignatij also provides a list of churches in Thessalonike and the earliest Eastern Slavic description of Athos. His *Journey* relates his own visits to the sacred sites in chronological order; he neither presents a systematic itinerary nor details legends and stories about the monuments. He does, however, employ some of the formulas and phraseology of the "pilgrim book" genre.

ED. *Choždenie Ignatija Smol'njanina*, ed. N. Prokof'ev, in *Literatura drevnej Rusi, 2. Sbornik trudov* (Moscow 1978) 123–50. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 48–113, 388–436, with Eng. tr.

LIT. K. Seemann, "Zur Textüberlieferung der dem Ignatij von Smolensk zugeschriebenen Werke," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 345–69. M.N. Tichomirov, "Puti iz Rossii v Vizantiju v XIV–XV vv.," *VizOč* (1961) 4–10.

–S.C.F.

IGNATIOS, patriarch of Constantinople (4 July 847–23 Oct. 858; 23 Nov. 867–23 Oct. 877) and saint; baptismal name Niketas; born Constantinople ca.797/8, died Constantinople; feastday 23 Oct. He is sometimes called Ignatios the Younger (*ho neos*) to distinguish him from the 1st-C. church father Ignatios Theophoros. After the deposition of his father, Emp. Michael I Rangabe, in 813, Ignatios, together with his brothers, was castrated and forced to take monastic vows. He became *hegoumenos* of three monasteries that he had founded on the Princes' Islands. In the aftermath of the Iconoclast controversy, Empress THEODORA appointed him to succeed METHODIOS I as patriarch without convening an elective synod, since she wanted to avoid stirring up enmity between the Stoudites and the moderates. Ignatios found a *modus vivendi* with the Stoudites but aroused the opposition of the moderates led by Gregory ASBESTAS. The patriarch's position deteriorated when Caesar BARDAS took power and exiled Theodora; deprived of her support, Ignatios was forced to resign.

He was replaced by PHOTIOS, who had to give some guarantees to the former patriarch and his followers, but the guarantees were soon broken; the appointment of Asbestas to the see of Syracuse became the external cause of the clash. Ignatios, who had been temporarily exiled by Bardas to the island of Terebinthos, was allowed to return to his mother's palace in the capital. He remained moderate, but the Ignatians attacked Photios and attempted to draw Pope NICHOLAS I to their side. At first Nicholas was reluctant to support them, stating that Ignatios had been elected noncanonically, but eventually the pope used this conflict as a means to intervene in the affairs of the church of Constantinople.

In 867 Basil I, in his search for a Western alliance, restored Ignatios to the patriarchal throne and banished Photios, but Ignatios refused to yield to the papacy; he managed to draw Bulgaria into the Byz. ecclesiastical orbit and probably sub-

jected the young church in Moravia to Constantinople. This active anti-Western policy of Basil I and Ignatios made senseless their antagonism to Photios; the latter was released from exile, succeeded Ignatios after his death, and contributed to the sanctification of Ignatios. A unique mosaic portrait of Ignatios preserved in Hagia Sophia was probably created shortly after 886. The vita of Ignatios by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON is permeated by hatred for Photios and contains more derision of Photios than eulogy of Ignatios.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 444–55, 498–507. F. Dvornik, *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 7:351f. R. Janin, *DTC* 7 (1930) 713–22. P. Stephanou, "La violation du compromis entre Photius et les ignatiens," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 291–307. –A.K.

IGNATIOS OF NICAEA. See IGNATIOS THE DEACON.

IGNATIOS OF SMOLENSK. See IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK.

IGNATIOS THE DEACON, writer; born ca.770–80, died after 845, if the *kanon* on the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION (ed. V. Vasil'evskij, P. Nikitin, p.80.44) ascribed to "Ignatios" belongs to him and not to one of his numerous namesakes. A pupil and collaborator of Patr. TARASIOS, Ignatios was ordained by him deacon and became *skeuophylax*; after Tarasios's deposition (806) Ignatios sided with the Iconoclasts and was later elected metropolitan of Nicaea. He later regretted this change of heart. At some point he became a monk on Mt. Olympos.

The SOUDA lists his works, including the vitae of Tarasios and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, funeral elegies, letters, and (now lost) iambics against THOMAS THE SLAV. On a stylistic basis Ševčenko attributed to him the vitae of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS and GEORGE OF AMASTRIS (in *Iconoclasm* 121–25). Probably Ignatios also wrote several poetic works, such as verses on Adam (a dialogue between Adam, Eve, and the Serpent), verses on Lazarus and the rich man, moral sentences in alphabetical order; the existence of other Ignatioi prevents certain identification. A member of the generation that followed THEOPHANES and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Ignatios revealed interest in the ancient heritage, esp. in Sophocles and Euripides (R. Browning, *REGr* 81 [1968] 405–07), and emphasized the rhetorical adornment of his speech. Lipšic (*Očerki* 404–05) hypothesized that Ignatios was represented with Patr. John VII in a caricature in the Khludov PSALTER.

ED. For list of his works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 360–61.
LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "'De quibusdam Ignatiis,'" *TM* 4 (1970) 329–60. C. Mango, "Observations on the Correspondence of Ignatius, Metropolitan of Nicaea," *TU* 125 (1981) 403–10. –A.K.

IGNATIUS, PSEUDO-, conventional name for the author of the interpolations made perhaps ca.360–380 in the text of the letters of St. Ignatius, bishop of Antioch (died ca.107). The interpolations mainly concern the role of the bishop. The interpolator appears to be a follower of ARIANISM, and various candidates have been proposed, for example, Akakios of Caesarea (died 366), EUNOMIOS, Silvanos of Tarsos (O. Perler, *HistJb* 77 [1958] 73–82), and JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS. It is possible that he is to be equated with the author of the APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS.

ED. K. Lake, *The Apostolic Fathers*, vol. 1 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1959) 166–277, with Eng. tr.
LIT. J. Rius-Camps, *The Four Authentic Letters of Ignatius, the Martyr* (Rome 1980). R. Joly, *Le dossier d'Ignace d'Antioche* (Brussels 1979). –B.B.

IGOR, prince of Kiev, successor of OLEG; died 945. In 941 Igor led a fleet of small boats (*monoxyla*) against Constantinople. Byz. ships under command of the *patrikios* THEOPHANES met them at Hieron on 11 June and prevented Igor from attacking the capital. He probably left for Kiev after this failure, but the boats from Rus' remained in the area for two months, plundering the Bithynian coast (from Pontic Herakleia to the border of Paphlagonia, according to the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER). The government of ROMANOS I recalled some troops of John KOURKOUAS from the eastern frontier and dispatched Theophanes with a fleet; he used GREEK FIRE and on 15 Sept. destroyed the boats of the Rus' near the Thracian coast; the remnants of their army headed homeward by land. According to common scholarly opinion, in 943 or 944 Igor again launched his forces against Byz., but Byz. envoys met the army at the estuary of the Danube; after negotiations a new treaty was signed that provided Kievan merchants with less favorable conditions than

those established in the treaty signed by Oleg. Soon thereafter Igor was murdered while collecting tribute from the Drevljane, a neighboring tribe.

LIT. Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 128–71. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 209–58. N.Ja. Polovoj, "K voprosu o pervom pochode Igorja protiv Vizantii," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 85–104. G. Vernadsky, "The Rus' in the Crimea and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 945," *Byz-Metabyz* 1.1 (1946) 249–60. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "Les invasions russes dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 141–45. –A.K.

IKONION (Ἰκόνιον, now Konya), city of Pisidia in the mid-4th C., metropolis of Lykaonia from ca.370, incorporated into the Anatolikon theme in the 7th C. The execution of Isaurian prisoners in 354 at Ikonion provoked the great Isaurian revolt. St. Thekla was believed to have miraculously saved Ikonion from a later Isaurian attack. Its first metropolitan was St. Amphilochios. From the 8th to 10th C., Arabs frequently attacked Ikonion and its neighboring fortress, Kabala. Plundered by the Turks in 1069, Ikonion was the scene of the revolt of Roussel de Bailleul. It fell to the Seljuks in 1084 and flourished as their capital. The city was briefly occupied by the Crusaders in 1097, its suburbs were ravaged by Manuel I in 1146. Most of its Byz. monuments, including the 11th-C. Church of St. Amphilochios, have disappeared, but the Byz. fortress of Kabala and the rock-cut churches of Sille, both in the immediate vicinity of the city, survive.

LIT. *TIB* 4:176–78, 182f, 224f. G. Goodwin, EI^2 5:253–56. –C.F.

ILARION (Hilarion), author of *Discourse on Law and Grace* [*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*] (ca.1049) and a *Confession of Faith* (ca.1051?); metropolitan of Kiev (1051–ca.1054). The *Discourse*, the most sustained and erudite rhetorical work of Kievan Rus' (see Rus', Literature of), celebrates the conversion of Rus' within the context of sacred history: the Grace of Christianity superseded the Law of Moses, just as Sarah the free woman superseded Hagar the bondmaid, and reached Rus' through the divinely inspired free choice of Vladimir I. The homily ends with an *enkomion* to Vladimir and a prayer for the land of Rus'. The *Discourse*'s language, typology, style, and structure owe much to Byz. rhetoric and exegeses, leading to conjecture that Ilarion read Greek (F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 67–102). Influence from Czech literature is also possible (N.N. Rozov, *TODRL* 23 [1968] 71–85). The appointment of Ilarion, the first native metropolitan of Kiev, by Prince Jaroslav of Kiev and the composition of the *Discourse* are sometimes interpreted as anti-Byz. acts. The circumstances of Ilarion's election are unknown, however, and the *Discourse*, proclaiming Vladimir to be a "likeness of Constantine the Great," manifestly presents Byz. as the cultural prototype rather than as a political or ecclesiastical threat.

ED. L. Müller, *Des Metropoliten Ilarion Lobrede auf Vladimir den Heiligen und Glaubensbekenntnis* (Wiesbaden 1962). *Slovo o zakone i blagodati Iliariona*, ed. A.M. Moldovan (Kiev 1984). Eng. tr. N. Ickler, *Comitatus* 9 (1978) 19–54.

LIT. L. Müller, *Die Werke des Metropoliten Ilarion* (Munich 1971). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 41–60. E. Hurwitz, "Metropolitan Ilarion's *Sermon on Law and Grace*," *Russian History* 7 (1980) 322–33. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 84–87. –S.C.F., P.A.H.

ILIAD. See Homer; Troy Tale.

ILLEGITIMATE CHILDREN (νόθοι), also called *spourioi*, were, according to the *Codex Justinianus*, children born to a concubine (see Concubinage), an unmarried woman, or a prostitute (see Prostitution); progeny from the union of a free woman and slave were also considered illegitimate. Illegitimate children were legally deprived of the right to inherit from their father, but had the same relationship with their mother as legitimate children. The classical jurists did not give serious attention to this discrepancy; it was Justinian I who corrected the situation by making the father liable for supporting his children by a concubine. In novel 89 he considered ways of legitimizing *nothoi*: the most recommended method was to ascribe them to the curia; another valid method was to assign a "charter of dowry" to the mother of a *nothos*, whether she was freeborn or a freedwoman, or the testamentary statement of a man who had fathered only illegitimate children that they were his heirs. High-born mothers were prohibited by both civil and canon law from making gifts of any sort to their natural children; legitimate offspring were thus protected from any form of disinheritance (J. Beaucamp, *CahCM* 20 [1977] 158).

Later Byz. law essentially retained the rules established by Justinian. In the 13th C. illegitimate progeny still had no right to inherit if there were legitimate descendants, even if they were collateral descendants (A. Laiou, *FM* 6 [1984] 295f). Patr. Nikephoros I considered the case of a father's refusal to recognize his natural son (PG 100:468B); the tribunal had to determine whether they had a physical resemblance; if not, the child was proclaimed *ekphylos*, "without family."

Despite such disadvantages, some *nothoi* (usually the children of emperors and courtiers) reached high positions, like the *parakoimomenos* BASIL THE NOTHOS (son of Romanos I), and children of Manuel I and Andronikos I. Illegitimate sons might serve as important hostages, and several illegitimate daughters of emperors were married to foreign rulers as diplomatic pawns.

LIT. P.A. Yannopoulos, *La société profane dans l'Empire byzantin* (Louvain 1975) 232–36. H.J. Wolff, "The Background of the Postclassical Legislation on Illegitimacy," *Seminar* 3 (1945) 21–45. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Quelques notes sur l'enfant de la moyenne époque byzantine," *Annales DH* (1973) 80f. –A.K., J.H.

ILLOS (Ἴλλος), rebellious general of ZENO; died fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. An Isaurian by birth, Illos together with his brothers Aspalios and Trokoundos supported Zeno's rise to the throne. In 474 he fought successfully against the barbarians in Thrace; the same year, however, he switched his allegiance to BASILISKOS, who sent him to besiege Zeno in Sbide, an Isaurian stronghold; there he again changed sides (Theophanes explains this saying that Basiliskos failed to fulfill "promises") and helped Zeno recover his throne. He became *patrikios* and *magister militum* and, according to Malalas, administered the empire. Zeno's wife ARIADNE and mother-in-law VERINA conspired against Illos unsuccessfully in 477 and 478; as a result, Verina was banished. In 479 Illos suppressed the revolt of Verina's son-in-law Marcian. In the winter of 481/2 Ariadne organized a third plot against the general. During the assault on him, Illos lost an ear. In 482–84, while in Antioch, Illos prepared a revolt against Zeno; at this time he gained the support of Verina, who crowned his ally LEONTIOS. They were defeated by Zeno's *magister militum* John the Scythian in 484 and took refuge in the fort of Papyrios (J. Gottwald, *BZ* 36 [1936] 88f). Illos and Leontios held out for four years. They were eventually betrayed and executed. With regard to religious policy Illos appealed to the Orthodox against Zeno's Monophysite tendencies, but he was also sympathetic toward paganism. The soothsayer PAMPREPIOS was his adviser during the rebellion. A district in Constantinople was known as *ta Illou*, and his house there became a church of St. John.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:390–99. *PLRE* 2:586–90. P. Lemerle, "Fl. Appalius Illus Trocundus," *Syria* 40 (1963) 315–22. H. Hunger, "Die Bauinschrift am Aquädukt von Elaiussa-Sebaste," *Tyche* 1 (1986) 132–37. –T.E.G.

ILLUMINATORS of Byz. MSS are rarely documented in COLOPHONS or otherwise. The common term for an illuminator was *zographos*, "painter" (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 16 [1962] 245, n.6), but probably around the 9th C. another term, *chrysographos*, "one who writes in gold," appeared—first mentioned in an obscure author, MELETIOS THE MONK, from the theme of Opsikion (PG 64:1309B). A few illuminators are known by name: PANTOLEON and his team; Theodore of Caesarea, who wrote and illuminated the THEODORE PSALTER in 1066; Michael Koresis, who "wrote in gold" a Georgian Gospel book in the late 12th/early 13th C. (E. Takaichvili, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 659f). In verses accompanying a dedicatory miniature, the monk THEOPHANES claimed to be the donor, scribe, and illuminator of the Melbourne Gospels, but donors often took credit for making the object of their generosity. Finally, in the late 14th C. THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," described as an illuminator of books and a painter of churches, was asked to paint a leaf to be inserted in a MS. The practice had long been used by Byz. illuminators, but became increasingly frequent in the Palaiologan era. Generally the SCRIBE wrote the text of the MS, leaving space for the illuminator, who made a preliminary underdrawing, applied the gold ground, and then began to paint, concluding with the faces. (See also ARTISTS.)

LIT. Belting, *Illum. Buch* 3–17. –R.S.N.

ILLUSTRIS (ἰλλούστριος), the highest title of SENATORS in the late Roman Empire. The term was used as a vague epithet much earlier, but acquired a specific technical meaning in the last quarter of the 4th C. First it was bestowed on major officials such as PRAETORIAN PREFECT, UR-

BAN PREFECT, MAGISTER MILITUM, CONSULS, and PATRIKIOI, and eventually on all senators. In the 6th C. the most important *illustres* were called GLORIOSI. Not being a hereditary title (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:66f), it provided certain privileges, both fiscal (immunity from certain obligations) and ceremonial. The term remained in use in the 7th C. MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (PG 91:644D) addressed a correspondent as "magnificent *illustris*," and the Miracles of St. DEMETRIOS (ed. Lemerle 1:161.7) speak of the "so-called *illoustrioi*." The term *illustris* does not appear in the TAKTIKA, although both legal and hagiographic texts (until the 11th C.) equate the title PROTOSPATHARIOS with it (e.g., A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 355.12–13).

LIT. A. Berger, *RE* 9 (1914) 1070–85. Jones, *LRE* 1:528–36. –A.K.

ILLYRICUM (Ἰλλυρικόν), a Roman province in the northwestern part of the Balkans. In the 4th C. attempts were made to create a prefecture of Illyricum, encompassing PANNONIA, MACEDONIA, and DACIA. After 395 this vast territory was divided into *Illyricum occidentale* and *Illyricum orientale* with capitals at Sirmium (?) and Thessalonike, respectively. Latin was the lingua franca in western Illyricum. Beginning in the 2nd C. Christianity spread through western Illyricum, the two metropolitan sees, SALONA and Sirmium, being of principal importance.

In the 5th to 7th C. Illyricum underwent various invasions by Ostrogoths, Huns, Lombards, and Avars; Sklavenoi (second half of the 6th C.); Serbs and Croatians (7th C.); and, after 680, Bulgars, who began to play a decisive role in Illyricum. The ancient cities declined and assumed a rural character (V. Popović in *Palast und Hütte* [Mainz 1982] 545–66). Those townships that survived were forced to come to terms with new masters (by paying tribute). During the reign of Justinian I, western Illyricum was under the rule of Constantinople, with the center of Illyricum as a whole at JUSTINIANA PRIMA and, for a time, probably at Sirmium. According to the vita of DAVID OF THESSALONIKE the capital was transferred from Sirmium to Thessalonike; whether it was in fact from Sirmium (Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:50) or from Justiniana Prima (A. Vasiliev, *Traditio* 4 [1946] 115–47) is difficult to determine. It is unclear how long Illyricum continued to exist, but by the 9th C. it had been replaced by the theme of Thessalonike; the name *Illyricum* lost its precise meaning and was used as a descriptive designation for the region of DYRRACHION (as in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene), including Serbo-Croatian territory.

Ecclesiastically, the former *Illyricum occidentale* remained under the direct authority of the pope. In the 8th C., however, the Iconoclast emperors tried to subordinate it to Constantinople—according to M. Anastos (*StB* 9 [1957] 14–31) in 732/3, according to V. Grumel (*RechScRel* 40 [1952] 191–200) two decades later. The papacy never recognized this act. By the end of the 9th C. the Byz. founded the theme of Dalmatia, but they had to abandon the region by 1069; they briefly held it again from 1165 to 1180 (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 141–49).

LIT. R. Rogošić, *Veliki Ilirik (284–395) i njegova konačna dioba (396–437)* (Zagreb 1962). *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984). J.-R. Palanque, "La préfecture du prétoire d'Illyricum au IVe siècle," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 5–14. Lj. Maksimović, "L'administration de l'Illyricum septentrional à l'époque de Justinien," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 143–57. –O.P.

ʿIMĀD AL-DĪN, more fully Muḥammad ibn Muḥammad al-Kātib al-Iṣfahānī, Arab writer, poet, diplomat, and chronicler; born Iṣfāhān 1125, died Damascus 1201. In 1175, following a colorful career in the service of the ʿABBĀSIDS and of NŪR AL-DĪN, ʿImād al-Dīn joined SALADIN to become his ardent friend, counselor, chief diplomatic secretary, and chronicler. After Saladin's death, ʿImād al-Dīn returned to private life and devoted himself to literary work. His tomb adjoins that of Saladin.

ʿImād al-Dīn's books, *Qussian Eloquence on the Conquest of Jerusalem* and *The Syrian Lightning*, constitute firsthand sources on Saladin's wars and politics, with frequent references to his relations with the Byz. Although only the third and fifth parts of *The Syrian Lightning* have survived, its first (?) part is preserved in al-Bundārī's abridgment, *The Splendor of the Syrian Lightning*. Equally important is ʿImād al-Dīn's *The Assistance of the Weak*, the first history of the Great SELJUKS. It is based on the lost Persian memoirs of Anūshirvān ibn Khālid (died 1137), which ʿImād al-Dīn rendered into Arabic. Its precious information on

the Seljuk penetration and conquest of Asia Minor includes a lengthy account of the battle of MANTZIKERT. In addition to the full version, extant in a unique MS in the Bibliothèque Nationale, al-Bundārī's abridgment (1226) survives. ʿImād al-Dīn also produced a voluminous anthology of 12th-C. Arab poets. As a rule, a virtually untranslatable, overly flowery style characterized ʿImād al-Dīn's work. Al-Bundārī's abridgments strip away the stylistic redundancies but retain all the facts.

ED. *Histoire des Seldjoucides de l'Irâq par al-Bondârî, d'après Imâd ad-dîn al-Kâtib al-Isfahânî*, ed. M.Th. Houtsma (Leiden 1889). *Al-Fatḥ al-Qussī: Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Salaḥ ed-dîn*, ed. C. de Landberg, vol. 1 (Leiden 1888). Fr. tr., H. Massé, *Conquête de la Syrie et de la Palestine par Saladin* (Paris 1972). Al-Bundāri, *Sanā al-Barq al-shāmi*, ed. R. Şeşen, pt.1 (Beirut 1980).
LIT. H. Massé, EI^2 3:1157f. –A.S.E.

IMAGO PIETATIS. See MAN OF SORROWS.

IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA (Ἰμπέριος καὶ Μαργαρώνα), a romance of chivalry in just under 900 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, composed probably in the late 14th C. Surviving in five MSS that, despite barely reconcilable variants, derive from a single archetype, the romance continued to circulate widely in the post-Byz. period in a printed rhymed version. A free adaptation of the French prose tale, *Pierre de Provence et la belle Maguelonne* (widely known throughout Europe from the late 13th C. and serving as a foundation legend for the monastery of Maguelonne, France), *Imberios and Margarona* came in popular tradition to be used as a foundation legend for the monastery of DAPHNI. Attempts to provide a secure historical setting for *Imberios and Margarona* in 13th- and 14th-C. events in the Morea have failed to convince (see, e.g., M. Pichard, *REB* 10 [1952] 84–92 and R.-J. Loenertz, *Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 40–46). With its accounts of the hero's precocious youth, his prowess in tournaments, and the hazards endured with his beloved, *Imberios and Margarona* has much in common with the ACHILLEIS as well as with PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA. Its assumptions and descriptions reflect the mixed Frankish-Greek society of the Palaiologan Peloponnese.

ED. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 199–249.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 143–47. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*, pt.I (1971), 122–60. – E.M.J., M.J.J.

IMBROS (Ἴμβρος, mod. Imroz), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea that, along with TENEDOS, controls the entrance to the HELLESPONT. In late antiquity Imbros was part of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.2), and by the 9th C. it almost certainly was part of the theme of the Aegean Sea. Although not specifically mentioned in *De thematibus*, Imbros provided a primary line of defense for Constantinople against the Arabs. Assigned to the Latin Empire after 1204, it was effectively controlled by Venice; after 1354 it was in the hands of the Genoese descendants of Francesco GATTILUSIO. By the time CYRIACUS OF ANCONA visited Imbros in 1444, the island was again Byz. and his guide was the Imbriot Michael KRITOBOULOS. The latter asked Mehmed II to grant the island independence after 1453, but it was assigned to the Gattilusi of Lesbos. In 1460 Imbros was part of the appanage given to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. A bishop of Imbros, not mentioned previously, was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157); he was a metropolitan (21.75) after 1453.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Imbros," *MDAI AA* 33 (1908) 81–112. M. Karas, *He nesos Imbros: Symbole eis ten ekklesiastiken historian tes* (Thessalonike 1987) 35–41, 80–87. –T.E.G.

IMITATION (μίμησις) was considered by the ancient theoreticians as an important element of intellectual activity. The imitation of Attic culture was recommended both in late antiquity and in Byz. The Byz. rejected INNOVATION, and even great minds, such as JOHN OF DAMASCUS, emphasized the imitativeness of their works. Mimesis could have different aspects: direct imitation, such as the CHRISTOS PASCHON, which is a pastiche of existing verses by ancient poets; writing in the style of a predecessor, like dialogues imitating LUCIAN. Rhetorical exercises on ancient or biblical topics and borrowing of the stock elements of ancient literature or patristics or using overt or concealed citations were also practiced. Materials that were borrowed or imitated included not only writings of the remote past but works of more recent Byz. authors as well. Sermons, saints' vitae, and historical works teem with such stock elements and citations. The ideological underpinning of mimesis can be found in the declarations of ecumenical councils, such as that in Trullo, which embraced adherence to "the ancient types" (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:493.3).

The purposes of imitation were diverse: the author could, by engaging in imitation, demonstrate how well versed he was in literature; he could also, by referring to the knowledge of his audience, stimulate reminiscences and create allusions. He could, by making parallels with biblical or Roman history, stress the eternity of certain phenomena or contrast present times with the glorious (or infamous) past. Truly skillful imitation consisted in employing the same general pattern to emphasize certain details or distinctions or to produce, from the available "bricks," a completely new idea and image. Imitation could also have the force of PARODY. Byz. literature produced an enormous amount of purely imitative, plagiaristic material, but in talented hands mimesis could become a powerful vehicle of expression. Imitation, then, was not purely servile but an intrinsic part of Byz. CULTURE.

Even while it must be distinguished from customary observance of canonical forms, imitation in the visual arts was more central than in literature to the working methods of craftsmen and more pragmatic in purpose. Using established CHURCH PLAN TYPES, builders replicated venerable models, sometimes with the intention of evoking associations with *loca sancta* and pilgrimage sites. Painters such as Kallierges could copy entire compositions, yet adaptation and the "quotation" of elements, rather than wholesale appropriation, were more characteristic practices. When an ancient treasure like the PARIS PSALTER was tapped some 250 years after its creation, its miniatures were not merely copied but made the basis for the invention of new images.

LIT. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XV (1969–70), 17–38. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt.II (1975), 3–18. H.-G. Beck, "Antike Beredsamkeit und byzantinische Kallilogia," *AntAb* 15 (1969) 91–101. A. Kazhdan, "Looking Back to Antiquity: Three Notes," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 375–77.
–A.K., A.C.

IMMUNITY, a concept borrowed from the terminology of western European FEUDALISM to denote a privilege granted by the emperor that forbade state officials from entering the beneficiary's domains and performing certain fiscal, judicial, and administrative functions there. Ostrogorsky, among others, viewed EXKOUSSEIA as synonymous with immunity. On the basis of the EXEMPTION formulas found in documents, he concluded that, during the 10th–12th C., immunity implied fiscal rights, that is, freedom from taxation, and that only in the 14th–15th C. did judicial immunity develop, that is, the right for privileged landlords, lay and religious, to judge their PAROIKOI; Ostrogorsky limited this right, however, to low justice. While fiscal immunity did exist in Byz., though to an extent perhaps not as widespread as in the West, there is some question as to whether judicial immunity existed at all. Some scholars in fact consider the application of the Western medieval concept of immunity to Byz. as inappropriate and misleading and prefer the more limited concept of exemption.

LIT. P.A. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* (Juriev [Tartu] 1908). G. Ostrogorsky, "Pour l'histoire de l'immunité à Byzance," *Byzantion* 28 (1958) 165–254. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 433–36.
–M.B.

IMPERIAL CULT. Worship of the divinity of the EMPEROR, which had begun as a means for Greek cities to assimilate their relationship with the Roman Empire (S.R.F. Price, *Rituals and Power* [Cambridge 1984]), culminated in the adoption of Hellenistic divine kingship by the TETRARCHY. Constantine I's conversion excluded outright sacrifice to imperial divinity, although ambiguities persisted (e.g., the temple to his family erected at Hispellum [*ILS*, no.705]). On the local level, priests of the imperial cult probably shed religious functions but continued their political role in city and provincial assemblies well into the 5th and 6th C., esp. in Africa (F.M. Clover in *Romanitas-Christianitas* [Berlin 1982] 661–74). In the capital, the emperor's status as God's representative on earth maintained and even expanded aspects of the imperial cult, esp. the sacredness of imperial persons and institutions concretized by ceremony and by divinizing epithets. Although Constantine avoided *divus* for his person, his successors revived the custom, whence arose the Byz. usage of *theios* for the imperial person and institutions and *sakra* for documents. PROSKYNESIS of the emperor and his haloed image, the image's privilege of asylum and placement on church altars, the custom of receiving objects from the emperor with covered hands, silence, incense, and lighted candles in his presence stemmed ultimately from the imperial cult and characterized Byz. rulership. The church itself transformed and fostered the imperial cult, as posthumous *consecratio* gave way to elaborate Christian funerals (S. Price in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 56–105), imperial obits were commemorated in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*,

and the emperor obtained unique liturgical prerogatives reflecting his sacral status.

LIT. L. Bréhier, P. Batiffol, *Les survivances du culte impérial romain* (Paris 1920) 35–73. A. Chastagnol, N. Duval, "Les survivances du culte impérial dans l'Afrique du Nord à l'époque vandale," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne offerts à William Seston* (Paris 1974) 87–118. A. Wlosok, *Römischer Kaiserkult* (Darmstadt 1978). P. Schreiner, "Das Herrscherbild in der byzantinischen Literatur des 9. bis 11. Jahrhunderts," *Saeculum* 35 (1984) 132–51. –M.McC.

IMPOST BLOCK, a stone block shaped like an inverted, truncated pyramid, placed on the capitals of COLUMNS destined to carry an arcade. The impost block probably evolved from the Roman practice of projecting short ENTABLATURE spurs over capitals of columns placed in front of walls, as at the Porta Aurea of the Palace of Diocletian at Split. The capitals of the paired columns of S. Costanza, Rome, support a short entablature block that functions as an impost block. According to Deichmann, the mature form had its origin in the 5th-C. Greek East, but fully developed impost blocks appeared by ca.400 in Italy at S. Giorgio Maggiore in Naples and in the Basilica Ursiana in Ravenna. Impost blocks, often SPOLIA, were used in Byz. architecture as late as the 14th C. They were placed directly on column shafts in the cisterns of Constantinople and, on a smaller scale, appear directly on columns or posts dividing windows, e.g., at Daphni, Hosios Loukas, and on the exterior of the Holy Apostles, Thessalonike. The impost block is frequently decorated with elaborate patterns of ACANTHUS leaves and Christian symbols. In the 5th C., the impost block and capital merged to form the IMPOST CAPITAL.

LIT. F. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels im 5. und 6. Jahrhundert nach Christus* (Baden-Baden 1956) 41–45. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 20f, figs. 7, 12, 39. R. Olivieri Farioli, *La scultura architettonica* (Rome 1969) 77–91. –M.J., W.L.

IMPOST CAPITAL, a uniquely Byz. CAPITAL created possibly in Constantinople by merging the function of the IMPOST BLOCK with the mid-5th-C. forms of the Corinthian capital. The merger was facilitated by the development of the Corinthian capital into cup- and kettle-shaped forms, covered with abstract floral ornament incised and drilled, rather than carved, into the block; in both shape and decoration this late Corinthian capital approached the form of the more geometrically conceived impost block. Some impost capitals show a much diminished impost block on top; some exhibit small volutes at the base or at the top, faint reminders of the Ionic capital. The stages in this development from the mid-5th C. to its climax in Justinian I's Hagia Sophia have been traced by Strube (*infra*). The creation of the impost capital marks the end of the classic capital and the appearance of a new form that carries the eye more fluently from column shaft to the arches above.

LIT. C. Strube, *Polyeuktoskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984) 102–10, figs. 62–65, 80–88, 95–98. M. van Lohuizen-Mulder, "Early Christian Lotus-panel Capitals and other so-called Impost Capitals," *BABesch* 62 (1987) 131–52. –W.L.

IMRU' AL-QAYS. See QAYS.

INCANTATION (ἐπῳδή), a magic song recited over a person or a charm to effect a cure, fend off evil, transfer evil to another, or evoke an erotic response in a member of the opposite sex. Incantations were similar in format, whether of Christian, pagan, or syncretistic provenance. The reciter of the incantation invariably summoned an angel or *daimon,* without which the charm was believed ineffective. Byz. writers often mention incantations in connection with MAGIC, but seldom quote the actual words used. Canon 36 of the Council of Laodikeia (4th C.) forbade Christian clerics to invent or recite incantations. In the 12th C. Balsamon and Zonaras commented on the practice. Many examples of incantations survive on magical papyri, metal sheets, and small objects. An illiterate but dramatic 7th-C. incantation on an amulet calls upon Beliar, the inventor of the EVIL EYE, to flee in the name of Christ from the limbs of the owner (who was perhaps paralyzed?) (*CIG* 4, no.9065). Syncretistic incantations often used the names of apocryphal angels of Jewish tradition and "barbaric words." Pagan incantations are reported in Anatolia and Sicily as late as the 7th–8th C.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:239–49. H. Hunger, "Eine frühbyzantinische Wachstafel der Wiener Papyrussammlung," *Serta Turyniana* (Urbana 1974) 489–94. T. Schermann, *Spätgriechische Zauber- und Volksgebete* (Munich 1919). *Papyri graecae magicae*[2], ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74). –F.R.T.

INCARNATION (σάρκωσις or ἐνσάρκωσις) refers to the appearance of the Logos in the history of salvation (*oikonomia*), distinguished from his generation within the Godhead. It is the classical formula of those Christologies oriented toward John 1:14, "And the Word became flesh." It is distinguished from a Christology that lays emphasis on the Preexistent One "becoming man" (*enanthropesis*—cf. Gal 4:4). The Logos-*sarx* model, which distinguishes theologians in the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL, competed with the Logos-*anthropos* model of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL. When the two-natures formula of the Council of CHALCEDON was accepted by the imperial church, the difference lost meaning since flesh in this Christology no longer implied a theological devaluation of the soul and human freedom of CHRIST. It meant, rather, the full reality of human existence as it was assumed by the Logos without sin (Heb 4:15: cf. FREE WILL). *Sarx* refers not to the sinful, fleshly existence of fallen humanity (in the Pauline sense), but to human nature as such: to the *logos*, not the *tropos tes hyparxeos*. In some texts one encounters the view that this *sarx* is not an individual reality, but MANKIND as a whole. SOTERIOLOGY finds its basis in the incarnation, or assumption of the flesh, by the Logos. –K.-H.U.

Iconoclastic Views on Incarnation. Debate over the relevance of the Incarnation to the depiction of Christ on icons was a key feature of the polemic on ICONOCLASM. The Council at Hieria (754) declared that the "illicit" craft of the painter violated the doctrine of the Incarnation, attributing to artists the notion that they painted the image of the flesh alone (Mansi 13:256A), which, in truth, cannot be separated from the Logos. –A.C.

INCENSE (θυμίαμα), resins, esp. frankincense from the gum resin of the *boswellia* tree, that produce fragrant smoke when burned; also the smoke thereof. Incense, imported primarily from southern Arabia, held an important place in Roman medicine and in the imperial cult; it became therefore for Christians a symbol of pagan worship, and church fathers (Tertullian, Eusebios, Augustine) rejected its use (W. Müller, *RE* supp. 15 [1978] 761–64). A change in the Christian attitude toward incense began by the end of the 4th C. Ephrem the Syrian refers to it; John Chrysostom mentions its use in processions to martyrs' shrines and even in church; and Christian CENSERS of the 4th C. have been found. In the liturgy, incense is burned over charcoal in fixed burners or, more usually, in portable censers.

Christian use of incense is (1) fumigatory, as perfume, as at funerals; (2) honorific, when objects (such as icons, gifts, or the altar), or persons are censed in veneration; (3) exorcistic, chasing away evil spirits, as when the church is incensed at the beginning of a service; and (4) oblationary, when burnt in offering, as a sign of prayer or propitiation, a notion found esp. in the Syrian and Coptic traditions. In Byz. usage only ministers in major orders (deacon, priest, bishop) cense at services. In Constantinople incense was carried in processions at the EUCHARIST or a LITE, etc. At VESPERS incense is burned (in conjunction with Ps 140:2) as a sign of penance and prayer. At the SUNDAY resurrection vigil of festive *orthros* (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 280f, 288f) it symbolizes the service of the MYRROPHOROI.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 149–62. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 67–71. E. Fehrenbach, *DACL* 5.1:2–21. –R.F.T., A.K.

INCEST (αἱμομιξία, lit. "mixing of blood," a term unknown in ancient Greek; Lat. *incestus*) was treated in different manners in Roman and in Oriental law, the latter condoning matrimonial relations between close relatives. In the 3rd C. Roman jurists, yielding to the Oriental system, distinguished between marriages with lineal relatives that were considered illicit and collateral marriages that were permissible although not recommended (*Digest* 23:2.68). The attack on incestuous marriages began with Diocletian's law of 295 (F. Klingmüller, *RE* 9 [1916] 1248) who proclaimed them "barbarian monstrosities" and threatened execution as punishment. Diocletian's attitude toward incest was supported by the church fathers (for instance, BASIL THE GREAT, ep.160, ed. Y. Courtonne 2 [Paris 1961] 88–92, more closely defined by canon 54 of the Council in Trullo) and civil legislators; special attention was paid to consecutive marriages of a man to two sisters and a woman to two brothers as well as marriage to a niece. Though the threat of the death penalty appears in some laws (e.g., Constantius II in 342—*Cod.Theod.* III 12.1), other legislators lessened the punishment.

The extension of the concept of incest de-

pended on changes in the definition of consanguinity (see RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF): the church endeavored to extend this notion whereas the aristocracy tended to reduce it. Spiritual paternity was considered as a MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENT, and therefore sexual relations between a godfather and the widowed mother of his spiritual child were viewed as incestuous (canon 53 of the Council in Trullo). In real life people frequently neglected prohibitions of incest: the marriage of Herakleios to his niece MARTINA was viewed as scandalous but valid, and in the 12th C. both Manuel I and Andronikos I had nieces as mistresses. Even ecclesiastics were accused, rightly or wrongly, of incest, esp. with spiritual daughters.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 215–53. E. Mangenot, *DTC* 7 (1930) 1545–47. A.D. Lee, "Close Kin Marriage in Late Antique Mesopotamia," *GRBS* 29 (1988) 403–13.
–J.H., A.K.

INCISED WARE. See SGRAFFITO WARE.

INCUBATION. The practice of spending the night at a sacred precinct, pagan or Christian, until the god or saint of the shrine appears to the suppliant in a dream and cures him of disease, injury, or insanity, has continued from antiquity to the present day. Pagan temples often had dormitories, but Christian churches usually allocated an aisle of the basilica to those seeking cures. Pagan incubation endured throughout the 5th C. Constantine I suppressed the shrine of ASKLEPIOS at Aegae in Cilicia but other sites continued to function, among them the temple precincts at Epidaurus in Greece (at least until 354) and the temple of Isis at Menouthis on the Nile Delta (until the 5th C.). The temple, dormitory, and sacred spring of the Asklepieion in Athens probably housed a Christian healing cult from the second half of the 5th C., and the inscription "Saint Andrew" (J.S. Creaghan, A.E. Raubitschek, *Hesperia* 16 [1947] 29) permits the hypothesis that the basilica was dedicated to the apostle Andrew. Incubation became popular in Christian churches in the 6th C., as the Acts of Sts. KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS attest. Incubations at rural *martyria* developed as a social protest against the incompetence of, and high fees charged by, physicians. Among places where incubation was practiced in the 7th C. were the basilica of St. Isidore on Chios and the *martyrion* of St. ARTEMIOS in Constantinople. Miraculous HEALING by incubation is attested throughout the Byz. period; in the 14th C., for example, a man was exorcised of a demon by sleeping next to the coffin of the patriarch of Constantinople, Athanasios I (A.M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* [Brookline, Mass., 1983] 18f, 78–80).

LIT. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. Lawson, *Folklore* 45–63. N.F. Marcos, *Los Thaumata de Sofronio: Contribución al estudio de la Incubación Cristiana* (Madrid 1975).
–F.R.T.

INDIA (Ἰνδία) maintained both economic and political relations with the late Roman Empire. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA relates that Constantine I received ambassadors from India, allegedly as an acknowledgment that his sovereignty extended to the ocean; according to Philostorgios, Constantine dispatched a certain Theophilos to India, where he found some Christian followers of the apostle Bartholomew. The Indians also sent embassies to Emp. Julian—probably in connection with his preparations for war against Persia—and Malalas mentions an Indian ambassador to Constantinople ca.530. Late Roman coins, esp. those of Arkadios and Honorius, have been discovered in India.

Trade with India, testified to by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, took four routes: via the Euphrates and Persian Gulf to Taprobana (CEYLON); via the Red Sea to the Indian Ocean; by overland caravan routes via Persia; and by caravan travel north of the Caspian Sea and across Central Asia. The primary exports from India were spices, incense, and probably precious stones: "the wealth of India," according to the *Vita Basilii*, decorated the chapel of St. Clement in the Great Palace.

Kosmas provides some factual information about India, but from antiquity onward many legends were created about this distant land; India was portrayed as the home of pious and wise gymnosophists (a reflection of the Brahmans). NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS wrote an epic poem on the god DIONYSOS's expedition against India and his victory over the Indian king Deriades, achieved with the help of a fleet summoned from Arabia.

After the Arab conquest of the Near East in the 7th C., Byz. contacts with India were severed. Knowledge of India's location grew vaguer and it was often confused with ETHIOPIA ("the inner

India" of earlier sources). Byz. legends (BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, ALEXANDER ROMANCE, vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME) dwelt on the miraculous features and extreme piety of India, a country located somewhere near Paradise. JOHN OF KARPATHOS wrote a tract addressed to Indian monks, but for him India was a nebulous notion. Photios expressed an antiquarian interest in India by including in his BIBLIOTHECA (cod.72) the description of the country by the 5th-C. B.C. author Ktesias—full of legendary data such as the *mantichora*, a beast with a human face, and people with dogs' heads. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 2:10.2–5) ridiculed a man who allegedly traveled to Egypt, Ethiopia, and India. Some Indian influences reached Byz. via Persian, Syriac, or Arabic sources: thus Symeon SETH produced a Greek version of the *Kalīla wa-Dimna* and PLANOUDES a tract entitled *Calculation According to the Indians.*

Personifications of India or representations of its inhabitants have been recognized in floor mosaics and the BARBERINI IVORY. These are usually identified by their double-horned fillets; more certain attributes are the tigers that accompany the women on a silver plate in Istanbul (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.43).

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Vizantija i Indija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 66–71. J.W. M'Crindle, *Ancient India* (Westminster 1901) 156–216. E.H. Warmington, *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*[2] (London–New York 1974) 139f. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin 1969). C. Datema, "New Evidence for the Encounter between Constantinople and 'India,'" in *After Chalcedon* (Leuven 1985) 57–65. –A.K., A.C.

INDICTION (ἰνδικτίων or ἐπινέμησις), initially an extraordinary tax in produce imposed by the emperor in order to meet specific needs. It was regularized on a yearly basis by Diocletian (five-year cycle) and finally under Constantine I became a 15-year cycle (starting in Sept. 312) during which the amount of the indiction was to remain unchanged. In spite of this, extra indictions (*extraordinariae, superindictiones*) were occasionally imposed. Because the fiscal and calendar years coincided (1 Sept.–31 Aug.), the word indiction acquired a chronological meaning that it kept after losing its fiscal one: it indicated one year within the 15-year cycle, without specifying which cycle. According to K.A. Worp (*Archiv für Papyrusforschung* 33 [1987] 91–96), indiction-dating in the papyri was not a result of the edict of 472 but became mandatory after Justinian I's novel 47 of 537. In spite of its lack of absolute chronological precision, the Byz. used indictional dating in everyday life and in administration. In order to calculate the indiction corresponding to a given year of the Christian era, add 3 to the year, then divide the total by 15; the remainder is the indiction (if the remainder is zero, the indiction is 15).

LIT. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen* 138–41. Jones, *LRE* 451–56. Grumel, *Chronologie* 192–206. R.S. Bagnall, K.A. Worp, *The Chronological Systems of Byzantine Egypt* (Zutphen 1978) 2–35. –N.O.

INFAMY (ἀτιμία), the deprivation of honor, appears in Justinianic law as a PENALTY for wrong or unseemly conduct, such as not obeying trade regulations, disgraceful behavior in the army, misconduct in family relations, and certain criminal offenses. Infamy brought with it the restriction of certain rights or privileges, for example, the right to act as WITNESS. The *Ecloga* (2:8.1) considers as *atimos* the widow who enters a second marriage before completing the 12-month term of mourning—she would lose any right to her former husband's property. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (e.g., 18:5) punishes infringement of trade relations with flogging, cutting off the hair, a parade of infamy (*thriambos*), and exile. The public disgrace of infamy was used in political and religious struggles (e.g., to humiliate monks during Iconoclastic persecutions): the victims, sometimes made to ride backward on an ass or mangy camel, were preceded by a herald announcing their crime; their faces might be blackened, and they were ridiculed, beaten, or pelted with stones by the crowd. The parade could be followed by exile (e.g., Patr. Euthymios) or even execution (Emp. Andronikos I).

LIT. A.H.J. Greenidge, *Infamia: Its Place in Roman Public and Private Law* (Oxford 1894). Ph. Koukoules, "He diapompeusis kata tous Byzantinous chronous," *ByzMetabyz* 1.2 (1949) 75–101. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et le blason pénal du corps," *Du châtiment dans la cité* (Rome 1984) 416f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 135, n.12, 142f, 182, n.206. –A.K.

INFANCY OF CHRIST, specifically the period from the ANNUNCIATION through the FLIGHT INTO EGYPT (Mt 1:18–25, 2:1–23; Lk 1:26–55, 2:1–52; PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, chs. 11–21). Christ's infancy was illustrated esp. extensively during the centuries of the Christological contro-

versies (4th–7th C.): cf. S. Maria Maggiore in ROME (5th C.); Cathedra of MAXIMIAN and St. Sergius, GAZA (6th C.); Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE. These cycles include numerous apocryphal scenes from the Protoevangelion that enhance their miraculous, theophanic content. With the exception of churches in GÖREME and the huge, byzantinizing churches in KIEV, Norman SICILY, and VENICE with their vast wall spaces, the Infancy cycle was reduced in 10th- through 12th-C. monumental painting to its major liturgical feasts: Annunciation, NATIVITY, Presentation of Christ (HYPAPANTE). Likewise liturgically inspired is the 11th-C. Sinai icon conflating the many events celebrated on 25 Dec. (Nativity, story of the Magi), 26 Dec. (Flight into Egypt), and 29 Dec. (Massacre of the Innocents) (K. Weitzmann, *Icons from South Eastern Europe and Sinai* [London 1968] 23). Only certain densely illuminated Gospel and Lectionary MSS of the 10th–12th C. retained lengthy narrative cycles (FRIEZE GOSPELS; Athos, Dion. 587, 11th C.—*Treasures* I, figs. 247–52, 260). Palaiologan art saw a rich resumption of Infancy imagery in both monumental painting (CHORA) and the MSS illustrating the AKATHISTOS HYMN (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 671–702).

LIT. Grabar, *Martyrium*, see index, 2:380. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:197–241. –A.W.C.

INFANTRY (*πεζικόν*). Modestly equipped and slow to move, Byz. infantry nevertheless fulfilled an important defensive role in support of CAVALRY. It secured routes, guarded fortresses and encampments, and provided a mobile base for cavalry on campaign. Infantry was also indispensable for sieges and in terrain unsuited to cavalry. Foot soldiers were usually deployed in a square formation that they maintained in battle, on the march, and in CAMP. To judge from the totals given in the STRATEGIKA, infantry made up the bulk of the the army, outnumbering the cavalry by a ratio of 2:1 or 3:1. Three types of infantrymen are distinguished: heavy infantry armed with spears and swords, protected by corselets, caps, and shields; archers; and light infantry, armed with javelins and slings. A fourth type, *menaulatos*, armed with a heavy pike (see WEAPONRY), was created in the 10th C. for use against armored cavalry (E. McGeer, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 53–57). Byz. and Armenians were preferred as heavy infantry, while foreign MERCENARIES (such as the RUS') served as light infantry. The 10th-C. Escurial TAKTIKON mentions the *hoplitarches* or commander of the infantry force in expeditionary armies and his subalterns, the TAXIARCHAI (also *chiliarchai*), who commanded units of 1,000 men (Oikonomidès, *Listes* 335f).

The sources offer scant details about the economic status of infantrymen. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:506.3–8) lists them below CAVALRY and above SAILORS in levels of military service (STRATEIA); it seems likely that they were drawn from the poorer STRATIOTAI who could at least afford the simple equipment used by infantry (W.T. Treadgold in *Okeanos* 624f).

LIT. E. McGeer, "Infantry versus Cavalry: The Byzantine Response," *REB* 46 (1988) 135–45. –E.M.

INFERTILITY (*στείρωσις*) was considered by the Byz. as a terrible misfortune; there are abundant stories of barren couples who sought the help of physicians, holy men, shrines, or magic in order to overcome this condition. A passage in DIGENES AKRITAS (Grottaferrata version VII 180–88, ed. E. Trapp, p.342) evoked the grief of the childless Digenes and his wife Eudokia as they prayed daily for a baby. The vita of ANTONY THE YOUNGER indicates the enormous sums paid to doctors to cure barrenness. AMULETS were a popular means of increasing fertility. Men's sterility could also be remedied by a saint as evidenced by John Moschos's tale (PG 87:2977D–2980A) about a precocious baby who at the age of three weeks was able to point out his father, who was previously thought to be sterile. The biblical prototype of the barren Sarah rewarded with fertility only at a venerable age was often used in hagiographical texts.
–J.H., A.K.

INGOTS (*μᾶζαι, μαζία, massae*), fixed weights of metal cast into bars or related shapes for convenient transportation and distribution. Gold, silver, and copper COINS and bullion collected as taxes at provincial treasuries were melted and formed into ingots. These were weighed and stamped by officers of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM before being sent to MINTS for the striking of coins. As the SOLIDUS was struck 72 to the pound, it is supposed that mints were issued with gold bars of this weight. Numerous gold and silver ingots

survive from the late 4th C., particularly from the Western Empire; they often bear one or more stamps, similar to the SILVER STAMPS applied to objects. Occasionally found together with imperial anniversary dishes, these ingots may (like LARGITIO DISHES) have been used to pay military and other government personnel.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:436. Hendy, *Economy* 380–94. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IXe au XIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22.
–M.M.M.

INHERITANCE. See HEIR; SUCCESSION.

INITIALS, ORNAMENTAL. Compared with Latin scribes, Greek copyists, always more faithful to ancient traditions, were slower to enlarge and decorate initial letters. In the 6th C., small initials were filled with miscellaneous designs or outlined with dots. In contrast, the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY contains large jeweled and floriated initials, accompanied by birds and snakes, and an *epsilon* with a blessing hand, later a common motif. Small figural initials also appear in the period, but the apogee of the decorated letter was in the 11th and 12th C. The 11th C. saw inventive combinations of animals, but it was the influential painters of the 12th-C. MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS who established long-lasting conventions for zoomorphic initials. Figural initials began to depict narrative scenes as well as single figures of the text's author or narrator. Particularly in lectionaries, the person represented may belong to a larger group displayed about the page, thus pictorially uniting the entire surface. Figural initials are less common in the MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE and all but disappear in the Palaiologan period, but zoomorphic initials continue to be used for centuries.

LIT. C. Franc-Sgourdeou, "Les initiales historiées dans les manuscrits byzantins aux XIe–XIIe s.," *BS* 28 (1967) 336–54. C. Nordenfalk, *Die spätantiken Zierbuchstaben* (Stockholm 1970). Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339," 171–76.
–R.S.N.

INK (*μέλαν, μελάνιον*) in antiquity was made of soot; this durable black ink is still very well preserved on papyri. In Byz. MSS various kinds of inks with metallic components are to be discerned, a brown gallnut ink being one of the most widespread. For writing on purple codices, silver or gold ink was used. Sometimes other colors such as light blue or greenish also occur in MSS. Red ink serves to emphasize a heading (LEMMA), initials, or other prominent words, letters, or text passages. PURPLE ink has a particular function in imperial documents: the emperor signed with purple ink, and the head of the imperial chancery, the KANIKLEIOS, wrote *logos* in a designated spot, also using purple ink. This official therefore wore an ink bottle attached to his garment, as is sometimes seen in miniatures. Some antique ink bottles and a few Byz. ones have been preserved, among them a silver bottle with metrical inscription in the treasury of the cathedral at Padua.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:202–17. H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:477–79. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 28–31, 34–36. Hutter, *CBM* 3.1:392. M. de Pas, "Recherches sur les encres noires manuscrites," in *PGEB* 55–60. M. Zerdoun Bat-Yehouda, *Les encres noires au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 305–08.
–W.H.

INN. Privately owned inns (*pandocheia*, lit. "accepting everything") in both town and countryside provided accommodations for all kinds of travelers and their animals. John Chrysostom (PG 56:111.50–53) states that *pandocheia* were established everywhere along the roads so that travelers and beasts of burden could stop and rest. Nicholas Mesarites in the 12th C. vividly described an inn in the small *kastellion* of Kyr George near Nicaea (A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* [London 1973] 2.2 [1923] 40f): his companion awoke in the morning, kindled a fire in the hearth from the previous day's ashes, put an earthenware pot on an iron tripod, and began his breakfast, holding the meat in his left hand and cutting it into pieces with a knife, washing down the meat and bread with wine, while poor Mesarites suffered from the smoke that filled the room. Inns were not only places to sleep, eat, and drink, but also to find sexual pleasures: the mother of THEODORE OF SYKEON worked as a prostitute in a country inn (*Vita*, ed. Festugière, vol. 1, ch.3.6–14) and, according to legend, Helena, the future mother of Constantine I, was a whore in an inn owned by her father (*AB* 77 [1959] par.2.3). The vita of Andrew the Fool refers to brothels as "inns of fornication" (PG 111:652C).

The remains of a late Roman inn survive today,

17 km southwest of Urfa: there are three rock-cut caves, two of which were animal stables, and a cistern; the rooms for travelers were in a separate structure, now destroyed. An inscription, probably of the 3rd C., identifies the site as "an inn [*pandokeion*], well, and caves" built by Aurelius Dasius, governor of Osrhoene "so that travelers may enjoy refreshment and repose" (C. Mango, *Oxford Journal of Archaeology* 5 [1986] 223–31).

Distinguished from *pandocheia*, which were profit-making establishments, were XENODOCHEIA, guest-houses founded in a spirit of PHILANTHROPY to offer Christian hospitality. The MITATON for Syrian merchants in Constantinople was a type of inn as well. The world as a temporary abode was compared to an inn by Didymos the Blind (PG 39:780D) and other authors. –A.K., A.M.T.

INNOCENT II (Gregory Papareschi), pope (14 Feb. 1130–24 Sept. 1143). He was the scion of a noble Roman family, whose election to the papacy led to a schism within the curia; his adversaries elected antipope Anacletus II from a rival family of the Pierleone, who was supported by ROGER II of Sicily. Innocent sought German assistance, but CONRAD III was slow to act; the papal expedition against Roger ended in Innocent's defeat and capture and the treaty of Mignano (27 July 1139), in which the pope recognized Roger as king.

Innocent disapproved of the claims of Emp. John II Komnenos on Antioch; in a letter of 28 Mar. 1138 he excommunicated the emperor and prohibited Latins from serving in the Byz. army. Several months later, however, the pope changed his position and opened negotiations with John in an effort to establish friendly relations with Byz. No positive results were achieved.

LIT. J.G. Rowe, "The Papacy and the Greeks (1122–1153)," *ChHist* 28 (1959) 115–22, 126–30. –A.K.

INNOCENT III (Lothar of Segni), pope (from 8 Jan. 1198); born Anagni 1160/1, died 16 July 1216. The collapse of German power after the death of HENRY VI in 1197 allowed Innocent to accomplish the moral and administrative restructuring of the Roman church and to acquire great influence throughout the Western world. He also tried to expand papal jurisdiction over Armenia and Bulgaria. He worked toward union with the Greek church on condition that Byz. recognize papal PRIMACY, but in the beginning, at least, he was willing to discuss differences in rite.

The organization of the Fourth Crusade put the problem in a new light: at first Innocent apparently hoped to use the Crusader army against the Saracens in Sicily (E. Kennan, *Traditio* 27 [1971] 246–48). Even though the pope supported the German king Otto IV (1198–1218), the rival of PHILIP OF SWABIA, he accepted Philip's appointee BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT as leader of the expedition. The Crusaders' capture of ZARA created a new political and moral dilemma. The pontiff disapproved of the attack on a Christian city but recommended continued collaboration with the Venetians, whose resources were necessary to execute the plan (A. Andrea, I. Motsiff, *BS* 33 [1972] 6–25). M. Zaborov (*VizVrem* 5 [1952] 152–77) argued that diversion of the Crusade toward Constantinople was Innocent's own scheme; this may be an exaggeration, but the Latin seizure of Constantinople in 1204 seemed to be a political success for the reformed papacy.

Innocent's predecessors usually denied Constantinople's claim to the status of patriarchate. Now, with Constantinople in Western hands, Innocent endorsed the Greek concept of five patriarchates and associated Constantinople with the activity of the apostle John. However, he had to accede, although reluctantly, to the election of the Venetian THOMAS MOROSINI as Latin patriarch of Constantinople. The pope sent legates (PETER CAPUANO, Benedict) to Constantinople, where they had debates with the Greek clergy: although their words were conciliatory, they in fact demanded that the Greeks conform to Latin doctrine and rite. The Greek hierarchy was restructured and put under the jurisdiction of the Latin church, and Latin monastic orders expanded in the empire. These measures failed to achieve church union, however, and Innocent soon began to treat the Byz. as heretics and schismatics. In 1213 Innocent received letters from certain Greek monks who complained about the Cistercians. The latter had acquired the CHORTAITES MONASTERY, near Thessalonike, from Boniface of Montferrat; later, HENRY OF HAINAULT, the Latin emperor of Constantinople, installed Greek monks there, but in 1212 the Cistercians, armed with Innocent's mandate, expelled them. Although the pope ordered

Cardinal Pelagius of Albano to investigate the situation, the Chortaites monastery remained in Cistercian hands, and by 1223 its owners had even been granted the monastery of the Holy Archangel in Negroponte (E. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 78–81).

LIT. A. Luchaire, *Innocent III*, 6 vols. (Paris 1906–08). J. Gill, "Innocent III and the Greeks: Aggressor or Apostle?" *Relations Between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker (Edinburgh 1973) 95–108. G. Hagedorn, "Papst Innozenz III. und Byzanz am Vorabend des Vierten Kreuzzugs (1198–1203)," *OstkSt* 23 (1974) 3–20, 105–36. W. de Vries, "Innozenz III. (1198–1216) und der christliche Osten," *ArchHistPont* 3 (1965) 87–126. R.L. Wolff, "The Organization of the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople, 1204–1261," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 33–60. –A.K.

INNOCENT IV (Sinibaldo Fieschi), pope (from 25 June 1243); born Genoa ca.1200, died Naples 7 Dec. 1254. Innocent carried the war against Frederick II to its climax. In the summer of 1244 the pope fled to Lyons to organize a coalition against Frederick. In 1245 he convened the First Council of Lyons. His aim was to sever Sicily from the German kingdom, and in 1252 he tried to offer Sicily to Richard of Cornwall (son of King John of England) and to Charles I of Anjou. His Eastern policy was determined primarily by two factors: the need to protect the remnants of the Latin state in Palestine, esp. after the Crusaders' defeat at Gaza in 1239, and to secure assistance against Frederick. In March or April of 1245 Innocent sent Andrew of Longjumeau to negotiate with the Egyptian emir Fakhr al-Dīn; in a letter of 15 Aug. 1246, Fakhr al-Dīn claimed that atrocities in Jerusalem had been committed without the knowledge of the Ayyūbid sultan and promised to repair demolished buildings and to support pilgrimages, which were lucrative for the Ayyūbids (K.-E. Lupprian in *Das heilige Land im Mittelalter* [Neustadt an der Aisch 1982] 77–82).

Innocent also sought alliance with the Mongols (K.E. Lupprian, *ST* 291 [1981] 48–56). He worked for a union with "schismatics" and "heretics" under papal jurisdiction: in a letter of 22 Mar. 1253 he blamed the Catholics on the island of Melos for going too far in rapprochement with the Greeks, but he was ready to recognize some differences in rite if the Eastern church would accept papal primacy. The Nicene emperor John III Vatatzes was eager to reach an agreement and to receive the pope's assistance against the Latin empire of Constantinople (P. Žavoronkov, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 113–16), but the negotiations were interrupted by the deaths of John and Innocent in 1254.

LIT. W. de Vries, "Innozenz IV. (1243–1254) und der christliche Osten," *OstkSt* 12 (1963) 113–31. J.M. Powell, "Frederick II and the Church: A Revisionist View," *Catholic Historical Review* 48 (1963) 487–97. H. Marc-Bonnet, "Le Saint-Siège et Charles d'Anjou sous Innocent IV et Alexandre IV (1245–1261)," *RH* 200 (1948) 49–62. A. Franchi, *La svolta politica-ecclesiastica tra Roma e Bisanzio (1244–54)* (Rome 1981). –A.K.

INNOVATION (καινοτομία), in the narrow sense, as used by theologians, primarily of the 6th–7th C., described the new doctrine of the miracle of Incarnation. *Kainotomia* is defined by Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1313C) as Christ's assumption of "our flesh without semen" and the Virgin's giving birth without defloration. More often the word was used in a broader sense of novelty and breach of tradition and applied predominantly to heretical doctrines or even rebellions. According to Psellos (*Chron.* 1:103, par.27.14), many of his colleagues called the revolt against Michael V "a senseless *kainotomia*," while in Kekaumenos *kainotomia* designates illicit actions or illegal gain (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 156) rather than unexpected damage (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 36 [1974] 170). Accordingly, the expression *kainos theologos*, "new theologian," had a pejorative connotation (P. Wirth, *OrChr* 45 [1961] 127f), and Niketas Stethatos spoke ironically about new teachers or a new prophet (*neos prophetes*) (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 28 [1967] 4, n.8). The customary title "the New Theologian" given to the mystic Symeon is a misinterpretation—he was Symeon the Younger, the theologian (H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 46 [1953] 57–62).

Thus, the Byz. did not appreciate innovation and claimed to have stuck to tradition. Imitation or repetition of the standard authorities was praiseworthy. The idea of plagiarism did not exist. Reforms were usually couched in terms of the restoration of the past rather than of innovation: Psellos, while criticizing Isaac I Komnenos for drastic changes, referred to God who did not create the world instantaneously but took an entire week (*Chron.* 2:121, par.62.9–12). In the same vein Gregoras (Greg. 2:796.2–12) censored the Zealots in Thessalonike for their rule that had no precedents, aristocratic or democratic, and was

not even a "new species" derived from existing forms but emerged spontaneously as a "strange ochlocracy." This negative attitude toward innovation does not mean that Byz. culture totally lacked originality. For example, there were remarkable novelties of both content and style, esp. in MONUMENTAL PAINTING, in and after the 9th C.

LIT. Mango, *Byz. Image*, pt.III (1981), 48–57.
–A.K., A.C.

INSANITY, a DISEASE that was viewed by the Byz. in a contradictory manner: some people with abnormal behavior were proclaimed holy FOOLS, but insanity and esp. the epilepsy confused with it were interpreted as caused by DEMONS. Accordingly, the Byz. lost the classical definition of epilepsy as "holy disease," or *hiera nosos*, a term transferred to LEPROSY (A. Philipsborn, *Byzantion* 33 [1963] 223f).

Byz. theoreticians generally hearkened back to the notions of GALEN that madness was the result of too much black bile, causing the diseased imbalance of humors called melancholy (cf. Alex.Trall. 1:590–617). A second Galenic concept was the idea of the three *pneumata* (Vital, Psychic, and Natural) that also caused madness when balance among the three was disturbed; one meets continual reference to "passions" (esp. those of lust) as particularly engendering insanity. Galen's *Passions and Errors of the Soul* (ed. W. de Boer [Leipzig-Berlin 1937]) provided a model of sorts, from which many Byz. physicians derived their basic concepts of madness, although numerous cases of pure insanity had clear records of cure through religious miracles, not medical or pharmaceutical treatment. As treatment of insanity, saints used EXORCISM and INCUBATION in special churches.

LIT. M. Dols, "Insanity in Byzantine and Islamic Medicine," *DOP* 38 (1984) 135–48. H. Flashar, *Melancholie und Melancholiker in den medizinischen Theorien der Antike* (Berlin 1966) 118–33. W. Creutz, *Die Neurologie des 1.-7. Jahrhunderts* (Leipzig 1934) 50–81.
–J.S.

INSCRIPTIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INSCRIPTIONS, LAPIDARY, are incised or carved in relief on stone or marble, the letters sometimes heightened in color. They may be divided into two periods: the first from the 4th to the 7th C., the second from the 7th to the 15th. In the first period EPIGRAPHY continues to play the same role, closely tied to city life, that it had played under the pagan empire; in the second period its scope becomes more restricted. We may divide stone inscriptions (sing. τίτλος, τίτλον) into the following principal categories:

1. ***Funerary inscriptions*** are very numerous in the first period and are found on stelae, sarcophagi, loculi, and other forms of burial. Persons of high status are often commemorated in hexameter. There is a wide spread of lower-class epitaphs (artisans, shopkeepers, soldiers, minor clergy, etc.) recording the name of the deceased and his/her father; place of origin (often providing evidence of migration); occupation; length of life; date of death (day of the week, month, indiction), seldom in absolute terms (i.e., by consulship, regnal year, or local era in the Eastern provinces). Sometimes curses are added against anyone making unauthorized use of the tomb; the price paid for it may also be mentioned. There is a particularly full series of epitaphs from KORYKOS, another from TYRE. Constantinople with its environs, Corinth, and other places have also yielded a fair number.

In the second period epitaphs become much rarer and those of ordinary persons almost nonexistent, which suggests that they were buried in unmarked graves. This development may account for funerary graffiti, such as those scratched on the columns of the Parthenon in Athens, separated from the place of burial. As for persons of rank, there is a tendency toward longer and longer verse epitaphs, inscribed on the sarcophagus or on slabs attached to an *arcosolium*.

2. ***Honorific inscriptions*** on statue bases or accompanying the portrait of a prominent person (emperor, official, charioteer), usually in verse, were still fairly common in the first period (many preserved in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY), but absent in the second.

3. ***Building inscriptions*** appear on public monuments and works of fortifications, seldom on private houses. This category continued into the second period, while undergoing considerable contraction.

4. ***Inscriptions recording edicts and tariffs*** were practically absent in the second period, the latest known example perhaps being the grant of a salt pan to the Church of St. Demetrios at Thessalo-

nike by Justinian II (688/9). The conciliar "edict" of Manuel I of 1166 (C. Mango, *DOP* 17 [1963] 315–30) is essentially a religious text.

5. *Acclamations* addressed to emperors and circus factions are usually introduced by the formula *Nika he tyche.* They are absent in the second period.

6. *Boundary stones* are practically absent in the second period, except for those delimiting the Byz.-Bulgarian frontier (Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.46). MILESTONES along public roads appear to cease in the 5th C.

7. *Inscriptions regarding rights of ownership* or the place (*topos, thesis*) occupied by persons in a theater, a market, or even a church form another category. They are absent in the second period.

8. *Religious texts, invocations, and curses* are also the subject of inscriptions.

LIT. *Corpus inscriptionum graecarum*, 4 (Berlin 1877).

–C.M.

INSIGNIA (σημεῖα), characteristic emblems used to express symbolically the social and political position of an individual or an institution. Byz. only embryonically developed the heraldry of hereditary familial COATS OF ARMS so typical of Western feudalism, but it did establish systems of personal, institutional, and imperial insignia. The word *semeion* was also used to designate both a standard or banner (e.g., a Persian *semeion* placed on a tower—*Chron. Pasch.* 554.8–9) and a theological symbol, such as the sign of the cross, baptism, or a miracle.

Personal insignia are known primarily from SEALS that depict images of Christ, the Virgin, the cross, and various saints, the most popular of which were military saints (George, Demetrios, and Theodore), the Archangel Michael, and St. Nicholas; more developed scenes (e.g., the Annunciation) appear rarely. The saint is considered a patron (often the owner of the seal was named after him), but it is not yet clear to what extent the owner consistently used the image of his patron saint and accordingly whether the *semeion* should be considered a genuine emblem. Some patterns of usage are evident: thus, generals frequently adopted military saints as patrons, whereas civil functionaries preferred Michael and Nicholas. Seals reveal a certain consistency and continuity of *semeia* for local churches; thus, the metropolitans of Ephesus had as their patrons either the apostle John or the Virgin.

The emblems of officials are better known. The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM represents the insignia of important office holders ca.400; thus, the emblems of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum were the *codicillus* (diploma of appointment) with imperial portrait, the so-called *theca* (i.e., pen case and ink pot), and a horse-drawn state coach reserved for the use of the prefect (P.C. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* [New York–London 1981] 25–37). Later insignia are listed in such texts as *De ceremoniis* of Constantine VII or in pseudo-Kodinos.

Insignia can be divided into symbolic emblems (as represented in the *Notitia dignitatum* or on coins) and real objects. The latter encompassed COSTUME including footgear, the CROWN, weaponry and horse trappings, the THRONE, and symbols of authority or piety, such as the SCEPTER, SPHAIRA (orb), and AKAKIA. The form and color of these garments and objects differed, reflecting the hierarchical ladder. Thus, in pseudo-Kodinos, the *despotes* was granted the privilege of wearing the SKIADION covered with pearls, with a veil bearing the name of the owner embroidered in gold; the *sebastokrator* had a gold and red *skiadion* with gold embroidery (*syrmateinon*), but no pearls are mentioned; the *megas domestikos* wore a *klapoton* (not *syrmateinon*) *skiadion*, that is, one decorated with small golden squares in the shape of a nailhead; the *megas doux* wore a *klapoton skiadion*, but without a veil, and so on.

In the late 9th C. the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos divided all functionaries into two major categories: those who were invested with some form of insignia (*brabeion*), and those who were appointed by the word of the emperor. Among official insignia Philotheos mentioned the *charte* (codicil); a golden staff; the *fiblatorion*, a cloak secured with a FIBULA; a golden chain; a golden whip decorated with precious stones; and a sword ornamented with gold and ivory plaques.

Imperial regalia, partly developed from the insignia of Roman magistrates (e.g., consuls), partly derived from the East, partly created anew, were above all characterized by the exclusive right to use the color PURPLE (while green and blue were the colors of certain high-ranking officials). A special costume decorated with gold, pearls, and precious stones distinguished the emperor from

his entourage. The order in which the different elements of imperial costume (DIVETESION, CHLAMYS, SKARAMANGION, etc.) were put on was prescribed by court ceremonial, and the usage of a particular garment was usually linked with carrying particular objects (scepter, etc.). The ceremonial also prescribed a change in the imperial regalia at certain stages of processions and receptions. The different elements of the regalia varied in importance: the crown and *chlamys* always held pride of place, whereas the scepter and shoes (TZANGIA) probably assumed significance only by the 10th C. Different crowns and garments were employed for different festivities.

The Byz. saw a symbolic meaning in various insignia: the *sphaira* designated the universal power of the emperor, the *akakia* his mortality and subjection to Christ. A poem of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.30.12–26) gives an example of the symbolic interpretation of the insignia that belonged to the eparch of Constantinople: his *simikinthion* ("apron," probably the LOROS) symbolized the uninterrupted series of his good works; the tawny orange boots his divine paths; the white horse his shining virtue; and the brazen bosses of his horse trappings, which were alloyed with gold, symbolized his generosity, since he distributed gold and bronze among the needy.

LIT. K. Wessel, E. Piltz, C. Nicolescu, *RBK* 3:369–468. *DOC* 2.1:80–88; 3.1:127–142. P.E. Schramm, *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik,* vols. 1–4 (Stuttgart-Munich 1954–78). A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *MDAI RA* 50 (1935) 1–171. G. Galavaris, "The Symbolism of the Imperial Costume as Displayed on Byzantine Coins," *MN* 8 (1958) 99–112. A. Pertusi, "Symbolisme des insignes byzantines du pouvoir," *EtBalk* 14 (1978) no.2, 44–50. –A.K.

INSPIRATION commonly designates the workings of a (divine) spirit. In Christianity it refers particularly to the HOLY SPIRIT who acts on the authors of the BIBLE. Their works, according to 2 Timothy 3:16, are "inspired by God" (*theopneustos,* a Hellenistic term to indicate the phenomenon of "divine rapture," "divine emotion," and ecstasy) and an operation of divine *empneusis.* The books of the Bible are not the work of man, but prophecy (2 Pet 1:20–21): this is the term preferred by the church fathers to describe the Bible as the work of God. Therewith, inspiration also means the influence of God on the prophets, and then the Apostles (to be distinguished from the possession of the Spirit in Christ: Nicholas of Methone, ed. A. Demetrakopulos, *Ekklesiastike Bibliotheke,* vol. 1 [Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965] 199–218), and the saints; finally it includes all "charismas," inspirations of God, and esp. enthusiastic experiences. Certain writers, esp. hagiographers, emphasize that they are or are said to be humble sinners who function only as the tool of the Holy Spirit. The notion of inspiration serves primarily and largely to maintain authority, and so in Byz. one speaks of the inspiration of the councils, the church fathers, or the ecclesiastical canons. Finally, in the political sphere, there is inspiration of the emperor, who, crowned by the Holy Spirit, rules through the Holy Spirit's inspiration. (See also SOPHIA.)

LIT. H. Bacht, "Religionsgeschichtliches zum Inspirationsproblem," *Scholastik* 17 (1942) 50–69. J. Leipoldt, "Die Frühgeschichte der Lehre von der göttlichen Eingebung," *ZNTW* 44 (1952–53) 118–45. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* (Leipzig 1898). G. Bardy, "L'inspiration des Pères de l'Église," *RechScRel* 40 (1951–52) 7–26. -K.-H.U.

INSTITUTES. Promulgated by Justinian I through the constitution "Imperatoriam" of 21 Nov. 533 and compiled at his order by the law professors THEOPHILOS and DOROTHEOS, under the direction of TRIBONIAN, the *Institutes* are at once a textbook in four books and law. As a textbook they are closely modeled, in the arrangement of the material, on the *Institutes* of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), from which many of their texts are derived. The writings of the classical Roman jurists—mostly in their form as preserved in the DIGEST—and Justinian I's own constitutions also served as sources. Justinian explicitly endowed the *Institutes* with the force of law in the introductory constitution "Imperatoriam" (ch.7). A Greek paraphrase of the *Institutes* that resulted from the law course of Theophilos served as a "quarry" for later Byz. legal textbooks (PSELLOS, *Synopsis legum*) and legal *lexika* (*adet*), because of its pedagogical arrangement of the most important legal topics (*personae, res, actiones*) on the one hand, and its numerous explanations of Latin legal terms on the other. Various fragments from Greek revisions of the text of the *Institutes*—which are more or less similar to

the Theophilos text—are found in legal MSS and can even be detected in the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. P. Birks, G. McLeod (London 1987), with Eng. tr.
LIT. Wenger, *Quellen* 600–11, 682–86. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:417–21. O.F. Robinson, "Public Law and Justinian's Institutes," in *Studies in Justinian's Institutes in Memory of J.A.C. Thomas* (London 1983) 125–33. L. Burgmann, "Das Lexikon adet—Ein Theophilosglossar," *FM* 6 (Frankfurt 1984) 19–61. –M.Th.F.

INTAGLIO, conventional term denoting a subcategory of glyptics (carved hardstones), on which, in contrast to CAMEO, the design is incised. Preferred stones were jasper, carnelian, haematite, and rock crystal, for any of which glass might occasionally be substituted. The technique is most characteristic of ring bezels and cone SEALS, where it was essential to their sealing function, and of pendant AMULETS, where it was apparently valued for its beauty and, perhaps, for its similarity to Greco-Egyptian gem amulets (Bonner, *Studies*, nos. 294–97, 334–39). Intaglios were far less popular among the Byz. than among the Romans or Sasanians, and their technical quality relatively inferior. Monograms were preferred for sealing intaglios, while various biblical scenes, icons, or magical creatures or symbols might appear on the amulets. Relatively common during the 5th–7th C., gemstone intaglios are rare thereafter, although the occasional appearance of fine figural specimens from succeeding centuries attests to preservation of the tradition, probably among craftsmen who regularly incised metal, whether for ring bezels, cone seals, coin dies, or *boulloteria* (see SEALING IMPLEMENTS).

LIT. H. Wentzel, "Die Kamee der Kaiserin Anna," in *Festschrift Ulrich Middeldorf*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1968) 1–11. –G.V.

INTELLECT (νοῦς), the human mind, was conceived in accordance with ancient Greek metaphysics as the immaterial or spiritual cognitive faculty, referring to unity and transcending the differences of rational discourse, "reconciling all oppositions" (BASIL THE GREAT, ep.8.9, ed. Courtonne 1:33.11–13). Although the *nous* functioned in a different way from sensorial perception (Maximos the Confessor in scholia on pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE), ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux* 2.5.66–67) defined it as the "contemplative perception" (*aisthesis theoretike*) that brings forth the LOGOS in the unity of language and thought. Differentiated from the SOUL, *nous* is a divine spark in the soul possessing the capacity of knowing God. It is the instrument of contemplation that prepares the human way to perfection, but needs constant purification, since it can be obscured and coarsened by sin. *Nous* was metaphorically represented as light, eye, and charioteer.

Pseudo-Dionysios speaks of angelic intelligences or powers as *noes* (pl. of *nous*). The Byz. also employed the terminology of PLOTINOS who considered the divine Intellect as the first emanation of the One. The epithet *nous* was applied both to the Father whose Son was "the Logos of the Nous" and to the Son.

For the Origenists of the 6th C., Christ was the "self-alienating Nous" who is to come, at the end of time, for the salvation of fallen spirits "in various bodies and under various names." All intelligent beings or *noes*, before the aversion or disgust that is caused by their vision of God and leads them to apostasy, were but "one substance, one force, one energy," and they will acquire such status again at the end of time owing to their unity with God the Logos and the loss of any individuality. Only one *nous* had preserved his union with God the Logos in the vision of God, namely one that at the end of time will be revealed as Christ in multiple forms in order to initiate the *apokatastasis*, that is, the restoration of the original unity. In this teaching on the beginning and the end of time, the metaphysics of the intellect becomes a cosmological myth and drama; this teaching overlaps with Gnostic speculations that resolve the entire cosmos and all its species in a single undifferentiated unity; in other words, alienates them. A contrasting view is represented by the hierarchical world view of pseudo-Dionysios. In the tenets of Byz. mystics and in the doctrine of the Trinity one can see the merging of these two tendencies. –K.-H.U.

INTELLECTUALS in the late Roman period were connected primarily with the urban environment: they received their training in universities and occupied positions as teachers, lawyers, rhetori-

cians, physicians; they were members of the local aristocracy or belonged to its milieu. Alongside them two new groups of intellectuals developed, theologians and officials. The crisis of the late antique POLIS was accompanied by the disappearance of the urban "intelligentsia"—cultural activity ca.800 was concentrated around monasteries, not the curia as it was in antiquity. The ENCYCLOPEDISM of the 9th–10th C. contributed to the development of a secular intelligentsia, but through the 11th C. intellectuals were primarily state and church bureaucrats, closely connected with Constantinople and its administrative machinery. Professional intellectuals came to the fore in the 12th C., but even in this period their careers were often crowned by appointment to a bishopric. Nevertheless, intellectuals of the 12th C. argued that they held a specific social position and had a right to remunerations granted by the state, church, or private patrons. The increasing social importance of the medical profession (A. Kazhdan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 43–51) also reflects this shift. Ševčenko's analysis of the status of late Byz. literati (*infra*) demonstrated that the court of Constantinople continued to be the center of intellectual life, even though more than half of the writers can be assigned to the ecclesiastical sphere; only a few were of humble origin.

LIT. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I (1974), 69–92, rev. A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 89–97. H.G. Beck, *Das literarische Schaffen der Byzantiner* (Vienna 1974) 11f. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 101f. –A.K.

INTELLIGENCE, MILITARY AND POLITICAL. Surrounded by hostile powers and peoples, the Byz. state constantly required political and military intelligence to defend itself and to expand its influence beyond its borders. The DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO (10th C.) outlines the interests served by political intelligence, such as desirable alliances, trade routes, and diplomatic strategy, and by counterintelligence, used to awe foreign ambassadors with Byz. power and to withhold state secrets from them. Information was channelled to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU from many sources, including merchants, travelers, former prisoners of war, embassies, and Christian communities outside the empire.

Military men paid close attention to the equipment, skills, tactics, and character of various enemies; their observations were recorded in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (bk.11) and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (bk.18) with suggestions on how best to adapt to each one. The DE VELITATIONE (10th C.) describes the surveillance of the frontiers by local units, which monitored enemy invaders to ascertain their strength and intentions; the necessity of reconnaissance while on campaign is repeatedly emphasized in the STRATEGIKA. In preparation for offensive expeditions, merchants were sent into enemy lands to collect information (*De cer.* 657.3–12), and grudging tribute to their effectiveness comes from IBN ḤAWQAL, who criticized the Arab authorities' inattention to them (*Configuration de la terre*, tr. J.H. Kramers, G. Wiet, vol. 1 [Paris 1964] 193).

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Origins of Intelligence Services* (New Brunswick 1974) 121–87, 235–58. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977). G. Dagron, " 'Ceux d'en face': Les peuples étrangers dans les traités militaires byzantins," *TM* 10 (1987) 207–28. –E.M.

INTEREST (τόκος, lit. "child"). According to the law of Justinian I, there were two sorts of interest: based on a contract (agreement, stipulation); automatically owed by law in some kinds of transactions, such as interest on debts to minors or to the fisc or owed by an official of a society if he used the society's funds for his own purposes. The 8th-C. *Ecloga* does not mention *tokos*; in the early 9th C. Emp. Nikephoros I abolished all forms of interest (Theoph. 488.11) with the exception of interest due to *naukleroi* (probably on account of their occupational risk). Basil I also prohibited interest as contravening Christian ethical values. Leo VI, however, revoked this prohibition in novel 83, since "the average man is unable to attain such heights of morality and must abide by human, not divine laws."

Maximum interest was defined by *Basil.* 23.3.74 in accordance with Justinianic law: the normal rate of interest was set at 6 percent, but the *illoustrioi* could not ask more than 4 percent, whereas merchants were allowed 8 percent, increased to 12 percent if they were involved in maritime operations. In novel 83 Leo VI allowed only a standard 4 percent rate of interest. *Peira* 19.1 gives a higher rate: regular interest was 6 nomismata per pound (*litra*) of gold, while *argyropratai* could charge 8 nomismata; *protospatharioi* were limited to charging 4 nomismata. Since in

the 11th C. there were 72 nomismata to the pound, the rates were 8.3, 11.1, and 5.6 percent, respectively. Circa 1400 much higher rates of 15 and 26.6 percent are found in the decisions of Patr. Matthew I. (See also USURY.)

LIT. G. Cassimatis, *Les intérêts dans la législation de Justinien et dans le droit byzantin* (Paris 1931). N. Matzes, "Ho tokos en te nomologia tou patriarcheiou Konstantinoupoleos kata tous ID' kai IE' aionas," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 71–83. –A.K.

INTERIOR SPACE, the depiction of an enclosed area, was generally of little concern to artists in Byz. and was left to the spectator's understanding of a scene to supply. Thus in the ROSSANO GOSPELS no physical distinction is made between the room in which Judas returns the silver and the yard in which he hangs himself. Painters normally declined to define the area in which an event took place, even one specified in a text as occurring indoors. Scenes calling for an interior setting, such as the Last Supper or the DORMITION of the Virgin, were furnished with a summary architectural backdrop, occasionally supplemented with a swag, signifying an interior space, thrown over a wall or slung between piers. Other symbolic devices of this sort include open doors, thrones, altars, and tables. Even in the 14th C., when there is some evidence for the reuse of Late Antique motifs and of loans from the West, ancient Roman and new Italian PERSPECTIVE schemes were ignored; interior spaces became ever more elaborate and ever less rational.

LIT. T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 183–216. Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 88–90. –A.C.

INTERLACE, a regular pattern formed of two or more interwoven or plaited bands, usually as a filler or border ORNAMENT. In contrast with the technical precision achieved through the use of compass and ruler in many Latin examples, Byz. versions of interlace, particularly in MSS, seem to have been composed freehand. Again unlike Latin interlace, Byz. examples are usually symmetrically constructed along an axis. In this they also differ from the arabesque, an overall decorative pattern based on stylized leaf- and scrollwork developed by the Arabs that appears in Byz. by the 10th C. As a twisted rope pattern or in the form of large and usually regular medallions alternating with smaller circles, a simple interlace formed of two strands was ubiquitous throughout the Byz. period; multiple band interlace also appears, particularly in works produced in or influenced by Italy. Interlace was esp. popular in MSS, textiles, and metalwork.

Simple, two-strand interlace is often referred to by scholars as guilloche. It appears on capitals and moldings, as at the NEA MONE on Chios, as well as in MSS from the 6th C. (Vienna DIOSKORIDES) to the end of the Byz. period, as it was particularly popular as a text divider.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 50–54. Åberg, *Occident and Orient* 2:32–36. H. Bober, "On the Illumination of the Glazier Codex," in *Homage to a Bookman: Essays on Manuscripts, Books and Printing written for H.P. Kraus* (Berlin 1967) 31–49. –L.Br.

INTERPOLATIONES. When charging the compilers to assemble the DIGEST, Justinian I authorized them to make alterations, where necessary, to the texts of the classical jurists (*Cod.Just.* I 17.1.7). He also allowed "editorial" interventions of this sort in the compilation of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS ("Constitutio Haec," ch.2 = *CIC* 2, p.1). These interpolations into the original texts, though intentional, are discreet; they have promoted considerable research aimed at reconstructing the original versions of the texts. The writings of the ANTECESSORES occasionally aid in the detection of the interpolations both because they were sometimes based on older stages of the text (THALELAIOS) and because they were composed with knowledge of the pre-Justinianic legal situation. Conscious interpolations, which actually change the content of a text, are rarely encountered in Byz. legal literature after Justinian. In the BASILIKA the texts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS were incorporated usually without any intentional alterations. In some cases, however, interpolations of the original texts of Justinian can be observed in the *Basilika.* These interpolations correspond to several innovations in law that Leo VI decreed in his novels (M.Th. Fögen, *SubGr* 3 [1989] 23–35).

LIT. *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Digestis inesse dicuntur,* eds. L. Mitteis, E. Levy, E. Rabel, 3 vols. (plus supp. to vol. 1) (Weimar 1929–35). *Index interpolationum, quae in Iustiniani Codice inesse dicuntur,* ed. G. Broggini (Cologne-Vienna 1969). S. Riccobono, "Tracce di diritto romano classico nelle collezioni giuridiche bizantine," *Bul-*

lettino dell'Istituto di Diritto Romano 18 (1906) 197–222. Idem, "Il valore delle collezioni giuridiche bizantine per lo studio critico del 'Corpus Iuris Civilis,' " in *Mélanges Fitting,* vol. 2 (Montpellier 1908; rp. Aalen-Frankfurt 1969) 465–97.
–M.Th.F.

INTERPRETER (ἑρμηνευτής or διερμηνευτής), official on the staff of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU; in the Palaiologan period they were under the command of the *megas diermeneutes* and the *praitor tou demou.* Bury (*Adm. System* 93) identified them with the *interpretes diversarum gentium* in the *officium* of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. Some interpreters, such as the *protospatharios* Krinites in the mid-10th C., performed diplomatic duties. The corps of professional interpreters existed through the whole history of Byz., even though the sources rarely mention their participation in later embassies (I. Medvedev, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 132, n.18). The *gambros* and *diermeneutes* Loukas Notaras took part in negotiations with the Venetians in 1448 (*Reg* 5, no.3516; MM 3:224.16). Besides participating in embassies, interpreters served as translators for negotiations in Constantinople and compiled documents in foreign languages. The epithet *megas* was applied to the term in the 12th C. (first mention ca.1160) to designate the chief interpreter. On seals one finds the titles of the interpreters of the Romans, Bulgarians, Varangians, and English (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 469–71; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.706).

LIT. D.A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantion* 36 (1966–67) 449–58. Guilland, *Titres,* pt.XX (1968), 17–26. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 172f.
–A.K.

INTESTATE SUCCESSION (ἡ κληρονομία ἐξ ἀδιαθέτου) occurs when a deceased person has left no WILL. If the problems that necessarily arise in this case—the appointment of an HEIR and division of the inheritance—are resolved by the norms of inheritance law, then intestate succession is equivalent to legal inheritance. This was the situation in Byz., where, with the exception of a few small changes (as, e.g., the *trimoiria*), the late antique regulations on legal succession established in final form by Justinian I remained binding. These regulations provided that a deceased person be succeeded in the first place by his children, who took his place collectively and in equal shares. If there were grandchildren, they were excluded from the inheritance as long as their parents were living. If some or all of the children of the deceased had died, leaving children, the latter divided up the portion of the inheritance allotted to their parents. If the deceased had no descendants, then his parents and his siblings inherited equal portions. Grandparents of the deceased succeeded to the inheritance only if no siblings or parents survived. If there were no such (living) relatives left, the estate was divided among the stepsiblings of the deceased (who had only one parent in common with the deceased), followed by all collateral relations. Before the year 548 (*Nov. Just.* 127), spouses could inherit from their deceased partner only when there were no relatives at all. Thereafter, providing they had children and did not remarry, they were given equal ranking with the children, that is, they could inherit, together with the children, an *in capita* portion. Adopted children were treated like legitimate children. Illegitimate children inherited from their mother and, together with her, one-sixth of their father's estate, provided that the deceased did not leave a wife or descendants from a legitimate marriage. If there were no eligible heirs at hand, the inheritance fell to the state.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:497–512 (§287).
–D.S.

INTITULATIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INVECTIVE (ψόγος), with ENKOMION, constituted the genre of EPIDEICTIC oratory, according to the authors of rhetorical textbooks (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 58.15). Even though LIBANIOS produced several PROGYMNASMATA of invective, only APHTHONIOS (*Progymnasmata,* pp. 27–31) included a separate paragraph on the *psogos.* Later commentaries on both Aphthonios and HERMOGENES (e.g., Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 75.4–5) likened the pairing of *enkomion*-invective to judicial speeches of accusation and defense (APOLOGY). The term *psogos,* having a pejorative sense (blame or censure), was not employed for titles of invectives; thus, Libanios entitled his invective (or.46) simply "Against (*kata*) Florentios." The genre of invective was popular in Byz. society, the major subject of blame being inclination toward paganism (see also POLEMIC, RELIGIOUS), as in the pamphlet on Choi-

rosphaktes by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (1:200–12). The style of invective was sometimes very crude, consisting of accumulated curses, as in CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, who ardently formed very long composites, such as "Helleno-worshiper-Christ-blasphemer." Elements of invective could penetrate even hagiography; thus NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON transformed his vita of Patr. Ignatios into an invective against Photios. Twelfth-century invective (ANACHARSIS, the "biography" of a certain Bagoas by BASILAKES) had a moral rather than religious emphasis, and later invectives form a parallel to Italian humanist invectives of the 15th C. (P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 21–25).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:104–06. S. Koster, *Die Invektive in der griechischen und römischen Literatur* (Meisenheim an Glan 1980). –A.K.

INVENTORY. Inventories, variously termed BREBION, *apographe* (*Pantel.* no.7.4), *katastichon* (*Lavra* 3, no.146.42), etc., often accompanied wills and lists of donations. They contain important information on relics, icons, textiles, manuscripts, bookbindings, and a great variety of liturgical vessels. Among the most important inventories are the following:

- Inventory (5th–6th C.) of a church at Ibion, Egypt (H. Leclercq, *DACL* 7.1:1408–25)
- List of regalia and relics in the Church of the Pharos and other chapels in the Great Palace at Constantinople (*De cer.* 640.1–641.5)
- List of donations to the Great Lavra and to Karyes on Mt. Athos in a Georgian *Life* of Sts. John and Euthymios (late 10th C.): Lat. tr., P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 (1917–19) 25–27
- Will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059)
- *Diataxis* of Michael ATTALEIATES (1077)
- Inventory of the monastery of PETRITZOS in the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos
- Inventory of the monastery of S. Pietro in Spina, Calabria (after 1135), ed. Montfaucon, *Pal. Graeca* 403–07
- Inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, ca.1120–30
- Inventory of the Xylourgou monastery on Mt. Athos (1142), in *Pantel.*, no.7
- Two inventories (May 1192, 13 Oct. 1202) of the so-called Palace of BOTANEIATES near Kalybia, ed. MM 3:x–xv, 55–57
- Inventory of the monastery of St. John, PATMOS (1200), ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 (1981) 15–30
- Inventory of the possessions of the monastery of the Virgin at SKOTEINE in 1247
- Will (1330/1) listing bequests of Neilos, founder of the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. Athos, *Docheiar.*, no.17
- List of icons, Gospel books, and textiles in the monastery of the Virgin Gabaliotissa at Vodena, given to the Great Lavra on Mt. Athos in May 1375 (*Lavra* 3, no.147)
- Patriarchal inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (1397), MM 2:566–70
- Inventory of the Eleousa monastery at VELJUSA (1449), ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 (1900) 114–53

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 20–29, 36f, 88–91. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970) 113–23. J. Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscrits d'époque byzantine (XIe–XVe siècles)," in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81. –A.C.

INVOCATIO. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

INVOCATION. See EPICLESIS.

IOANNIKIOS (Ἰωαννίκιος), saint; born in the village of Marykaton, near Lake Apollonias, Bithynia, perhaps between 752 and 754, died in the monastery of Antidion, 3 Nov. 846 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 4 [1900–01] 75–80); feastday 3 or 4 Nov. He was probably of Slavic origin (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). As a peasant boy Ioannikios herded swine; at 19 he joined the army and later fought courageously in the battle of MARKELLAI (summer 792) against the Bulgarians. After the Byz. defeat, he withdrew to Bithynian Mt. Olympos, wandered across Asia Minor, lived in solitude, and finally took the monastic habit. An ardent Iconodule, Ioannikios was compelled by Leo V's persecutions to flee to Mt. Alsos. Later, Ioannikios supported METHODIOS I and helped him attain the patriarchate.

Ioannikios's vita is preserved in two versions and in a reworking by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. One hagiographer, Sabas (perhaps author of the Life of Peter of ATROA), claims to have known Ioannikios (*AASS* Nov. 2.1:370f) and inserts a number of chronological indications, not always sound (e.g., it is questionable that Ioannikios was already 40 at Markellai). Peter, the second ha-

giographer, is indebted for his information to Eustratios, who was the companion of Ioannikios for 50 years. Both stories have much in common, differing sometimes in the sequence of events. Unlike Sabas, however, Peter severely criticizes the monks of STOUDIOS for their opposition to Ioannikios (*Ibid.*, 405B, 422A). Both Lives are concerned with the upper class of society, mentioning Ioannikios's connections with emperors, *magistroi*, *patrikioi*, *koubikoularioi*, *hypatikoi*, and *spatharioi*.

Representation in Art. The saint is depicted as a monk, and in miniature paintings he is sometimes associated with the image of a mountain; in two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, this mountain is accompanied by the female personification of Mt. OLYMPOS.

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 2.1:332–435. PG 116:35–92.

LIT. *BHG* 935–37. C. Mango, "The Two Lives of St. Ioannikios and the Bulgarians," in *Okeanos* 393–404. S. Vryonis, "St. Ioannicius the Great (754–846) and the 'Slavs' of Bithynia," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 245–48. –A.K., N.P.Š.

IOANNINA (Ἰωάννινα), city of northern EPIROS, situated on a peninsula on Lake Ioannina; the unnamed "well-fortified *polis*" built by Justinian I for the citizens of ancient Euroia (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.1.39–42) can probably be identified as Ioannina. The name *Ioannina*, however, appears only in the 9th C. as a suffragan bishopric of Naupaktos (*Notitiae CP* 7:580). Anna Komnene mentions Ioannina three times without any comment. In 1082 it was temporarily taken by the Normans. After 1204 Venice claimed the city, but control fell to the despotate of Epiros, and the theme of Ioannina was created in 1225. Besieged by Nicaean troops after the battle of PELAGONIA in 1259, Ioannina remained in Epirot hands until 1318, when it was taken by the Byz. and raised to metropolitan status (E. Chrysos, *Dodone* 5 [1976] 337–48). In Feb. 1319 Andronikos II issued a chrysobull (*Reg* 4, no.2412) listing the privileges of the citizens of the *asty* Ioannina: elements of local administration, exemption from trade duties and military obligations outside the city, confirmation of city customs and of its possessions. This chrysobull is a unique document describing city IMMUNITY.

Ioannina fell to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan ca.1348 and passed to SYMEON UROŠ after 1355. THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ ruled in Ioannina from 1366/7 onward; his tyrannical reign is described in the CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA. In his struggle against the Albanians Preljubović called upon the Ottomans in 1380. Frightened by Albanian attacks, the citizens acknowledged Carlo Tocco as ruler, and he transferred his summer residence there. In 1430, however, soon after his death, Ioannina was ceded to the Turks.

Little is left of the Byz. monuments of Ioannina. According to K. Tsoures (*EpChron* 25 [1983] 132–57), the walls on the so-called acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion and the city walls were built in the 10th C.; the acropolis of Iç Kale in 1082; in 1204–15 the city walls and acropolis of the Demotikon Mouseion were reconstructed; in 1367–84 additional fortifications were erected, including a tower with the inscription of Thomas (evidently Preljubović).

LIT. *TIB* 3:165–67, with add. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *BalkSt* 24 (1983) 142f. L. Branouses, *Historika kai topographika tou mesaionikou kastrou ton Ioanninon* (Athens 1968). Ph.G. Oikonomos, *He en Ioanninois ekklesia apo tes hidryseos tes mechri ton kath'hemas chronon* (Athens 1966). O. Kresten, "Marginalien zur Geschichte von Ioannina unter Kaiser Andronikos III Palaiologos," *EpChron* 25 (1983) 113–32. –T.E.G.

IOASAF OF VIDIN, Bulgarian bishop and writer; fl. ca.1375–1400. Ioasaf was a monk in a monastery at or near Vidin. At the request of Prince Ivan Sracimir of Vidin, he was ordained metropolitan of VIDIN in Sept. 1392 in Constantinople by Patr. Antony IV. He was sent on a diplomatic mission to Tŭrnovo shortly after the city fell to the Ottoman Turks in 1393 and returned to Vidin with the relics of Sts. Philothea and Petka (Paraskeve). His panegyric on St. Philothea is preserved in the Rila Panegyrikon, copied in 1479 by Vladislav Gramatik. It follows the stylistic model of the panegyrics of EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO. Although the work contains many hagiographical clichés, it also provides much information on the condition of Bulgaria at the beginning of Turkish rule.

ED. E. Kałużniacki, *Aus der panegyrischen Litteratur der Südslaven* (Vienna 1901; rp. London 1971) 89–128.

LIT. N.S. Kiselkov, *Mitropolit Ioasaf Bdinski i slovoto mu za sv. Filotea* (Sofia 1931). G. Dančev, *Vladislav Gramatik: Knižovnik i pisatel* (Sofia 1969) 73. –R.B.

IOEL. See JOEL.

IONIAN SEA ('Ιόνιον ['Ιώνιον] πέλαγος), the closed waterway between Greece and Italy, separated from the Adriatic Sea on the north by the straits of Otranto. The Ionian Sea provided the major communication link between Byz. and the West: ships generally sailed up the coast of Greece, before either crossing west to Italy or continuing up the Adriatic to Dyrrachion, Ravenna, and Venice. In Italy the Ionian Sea bordered on Calabria and Apulia. The seven larger islands of the Ionian Sea, the so-called Heptanesos, were Kerkyra, Paxos, Antipaxos, Leukas, Ithaca, Kephalenia, and Zakynthos. In late antiquity Kerkyra and Leukas belonged to the administrative sphere of Epiros, Kephalenia and Zakynthos to the province of Achaia; accordingly, the northern islands were in the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Nikopolis, the southern islands under Corinth. It is probable that the theme of Kephalenia, established before 809 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 352, n.364), combined the islands of the Ionian Sea. The islands changed hands in the 13th–14th C. (despotate of Epiros, Manfred of Hohenstaufen, Charles I of Anjou) but from the end of the 14th C. the northern group was under Venice, while the southern group belonged to the house of the Tocco.

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 21f. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *RBK* 4:1–63. *TIB* 3:43–46. A. Sabbides, *Ta Byzantina Heptanesa, 11os–arches 13ou aionos* (Athens 1986). G. Schirò, "Contributo alla storia delle isole ioniche all'epoca dei Tocco," in *Praktika G' Panioniou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1969) 235–44. –T.E.G.

IPHIGENEIA, ancient Greek goddess of fertility, later a heroine, the daughter of King Agamemnon. According to pseudo-Nonnos (PG 36:989D-992A), Iphigeneia had to be sacrificed by the Greeks in Aulis in order for them to obtain favorable winds for their voyage to Troy; she was miraculously replaced, however, by a doe (*elaphos*; see Deer) and transferred to the Tauroi in Scythia where she ruled as the priestess of Artemis, sacrificing all foreigners to the goddess. The same myth is told by Nonnos of Panopolis and by Malalas, Nonnos (*Dionysiaka* 13:186) mentioning also "the empty barrow of Iphigeneia" near Athens.

The theme of Taurian inhospitality was popular in Byz. literature, the Tauroi/Tauroscythians usually being identified as the Rus'. The myth of Iphigeneia herself attracted some Christian literati; thus Gregory of Nazianzos, in his funeral panegyric of Basil the Great (PG 36:504B), after listing some legendary hunters (Artemis, Orion, Actaeon), mentions "the virgin replaced by a doe," a story that he is ready to accept as not completely fabulous. It is not clear why he used in this case such Christian terms as *parthenos* and *elaphos* (sometimes perceived as a symbol of Christ himself) and whether or not he had in mind the Old Testament legend of the sacrifice of Jacob. On the other hand, the phrase in his speech against Julian (PG 35:592A), "the sacrifice in Troy of the royal girl," has no Christian allusions and probably does not refer to Iphigeneia, who was sacrificed in Aulis.

An ivory panel of the 10th-C. Veroli casket (London, Victoria and Albert Museum) depicts the sacrifice of Iphigeneia at Aulis (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.214). The iconography is probably derived from an illustrated MS of the plays of Euripides.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, "Euripides Scenes in Byzantine Art," *Hesperia* 18 (1949) 199–209. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 18f, 169–74. –A.K., A.M.T.

IRAN, or Persia, a state that occupied territory from the frontier of the Roman Empire to the borders of India. Called the Parthian Empire under the Arsacid dynasty, it preserved a shaky balance of relations with the Roman Empire in the 1st–3rd C., the frontier being largely defined by the Euphrates. In 226 the dynasty of the Sasanians terminated the rule of the Parthian Arsacids and shaped a powerful empire that rivaled Rome and Constantinople until the 630s. Even though warfare dominated the relations between the two empires, there was also lively cultural exchange, active trade (see Silk Route), and exchange of envoys. Christianity (notably Nestorianism) was entrenched in Iran, Persian cults (esp. Mithraism) and ideological movements (Manichaeanism) penetrated into the Roman Empire, and certain features of the Roman fiscal system and court ceremonial can be attributed to the influence of the Persian administrative system.

After the Arab conquest of Iran (ca.633–50) the country was incorporated into the caliphate; subsequently, when the ʿAbbāsids established their capital in Baghdad (750), Iran became its core territory. The caliphate preserved the Sasanian

fiscal system and the old type of officialdom, but changed the language of bureaucracy to Arabic. By the end of the 10th C. Islam replaced Zoroastrianism as the religion of the majority of Persians. The political decline of the caliphate permitted the formation of independent Persian dynasties—the Ṭāhirids (810–73) in Khurāsān, the Ṣaffārids (867–900) in Seistan and Khurāsān, the Sāmānids in Bukhāra, and finally the Būyids (Buwayhids) in western Iran (935–1055) and Ghaznavids (977/8–1187) in the east. During the first half of the 11th C. most of these princedoms fell into the hands of the Great Seljuks of Baghdad. In the 13th C. the Mongols conquered the territory of the former Sasanian realm, and in 1258 Hūlāgu seized Baghdad, ending the rule of the ʿAbbāsids there and founding the state of the Īlkhāns, which paid nominal homage to the Great Khan in China. In 1335, with the death of the last Īlkhān, Abu Saʿīd, the Mongol dynasty of Persia came to an end and the country was divided between several minor dynasties. Timur again united it, but only temporarily; soon after his death, the Persian part of his enormous empire was occupied by the Turkomans before being conquered by the Ottomans.

The Palaiologan emperors of Constantinople and the emperors of Trebizond engaged in trade and diplomatic relations with various rulers of the former Persian territory, Īlkhāns, Timurids, and Turkomans, and Byz. scholars of the 13th–14th C., like Gregory Chioniades, had contacts with their Persian colleagues. (For the literature of medieval Iran, see Persian Literature.)

LIT. *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater et al., vols. 3–6 (Cambridge 1968–86). B. Spuler, *Iran in frühislamischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1952). Idem, *Die Mongolen in Iran*[2] (Berlin 1955). W. Barthold, *An Historical Geography of Iran* (Princeton 1984). V. Minorsky, *Medieval Iran and its Neighbours* (London 1982). –A.K.

IRENE (Εἰρήνη), feminine personal name (meaning "peace"). Irene, a daughter of Zeus, was the personification of peace in antiquity; the word was used, at least in Ptolemaic Egypt, as a personal name. In late Roman society the name was rare and had a mythological tinge: Justinian I dedicated to Irene (Peace) and Sophia (Wisdom) the greatest churches in Constantinople. There are many martyrs of this name, but it is difficult to determine when the accounts of their passions were produced; in the tale of Licinius's daughter Irene, who was baptized by Timotheos (St. Paul's pupil), it is clearly stressed that her given name was Penelope and she was christened Irene by an angel. Only one Irene is mentioned by Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 1:11.4–5), and that in a legendary context: her father, St. Spyridon, made her talk after her death and burial. No Irene is listed in *PLRE* 1–2 and Prokopios knows only the Church of Irene. The first Irene mentioned by Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 410.1) is the Khazar princess, who married Constantine V and was given the name Irene. Thereafter, the name became more frequent: Skylitzes names four Irenes, Niketas Choniates seven. In the late acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), 36 Irenes appear, and the name holds fourth place among women. As in the case of the wife of Constantine V, a number of foreign-born empresses took the name Irene upon their marriage to a Byz. emperor, perhaps to symbolize peaceful relations between the two nations (cf. Bertha of Sulzbach; Irene-Yolanda of Montferrat; Adelaide of Brunswick, married to Andronikos III). –A.K.

IRENE, empress (797–802); born Athens ca.752, died Lesbos 9 Aug. 803. In 768 Constantine V brought Irene to Constantinople, where she was crowned and married to Leo (IV). In 771 she gave birth to their only child, Constantine (VI). Irene was a devoted Iconophile: a rumor circulated that Leo discovered two icons in her possession and thereafter refused to sleep with her (Cedr. 2:19.17–20.3). After Leo's death in 780 Irene ruled as regent for Constantine for ten years. During this period Irene was cured of a hemorrhage by the waters of Pege; she presented rich gifts to the Church of the Virgin there and set up mosaic portraits of herself and her son (*AASS* Nov. 3:880BC). In 790, when the army refused Irene's demand for precedence over him, Constantine deposed her, and she resided in the suburban palace of Eleutherios until recalled in 792. In 797 she dethroned and blinded Constantine, thus becoming the first female Byz. autocrat, but was herself toppled by Nikephoros I in 802 and exiled to Lesbos.

During her regency and rule Irene relied on advisers like the eunuchs Staurakios and Aetios and weakened the empire militarily by removing

capable Iconoclastic *strategoi* (e.g., Michael LACHANODRAKON) who had been appointed by Constantine V. She faced significant opposition from supporters of Constantine VI and Caesar NIKEPHOROS, and from ELPIDIOS. Most notably, she restored icons by securing the election of Patr. TARASIOS in 784 and convening the Second Council of NICAEA in 787. She established good relations with Pope HADRIAN I, but, despite diplomatic exchanges with CHARLEMAGNE and a Byz. invasion of Italy in 788, the Franks advanced in southern Italy and took control of ISTRIA and BENEVENTO. Irene did little against constant Arab attacks and in 782 (see TATZATES) and 798 was forced to accept treaties with HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. The Bulgars continued to exert pressure, but Irene achieved some success against the Slavs in Greece by Staurakios's campaign in 782. The theme of MACEDONIA was probably created during her reign (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349). She engaged in philanthropy, building hospices, XENODOCHEIA, and a cemetery for the poor. Her financial measures, including a repeal of the municipal tax in Constantinople and lowered commercial tariffs at Abydos and HIERON, were popular but fiscally harmful. In the 9th C. her remains were transferred to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople. A 12th-C. vita is based almost entirely on Theophanes (W. Treadgold, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 237–51).

LIT. L. Burgmann, "Die Novellen der Kaiserin Eirene," *FM* 4 (1981) 1–36. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 60–126. J. Arvites, "The Defense of Byzantine Anatolia during the Reign of Irene (780–802)," in *Armies and Frontiers in Roman and Byzantine Anatolia,* ed. S. Mitchell (Oxford 1983) 219–37. –P.A.H., A.C.

IRENE, CHURCH OF SAINT. According to tradition, this church of Constantinople was already a Christian church before Constantine I enlarged it and gave it the name of Eirene (Peace). Before the inauguration of HAGIA SOPHIA in 360 it served as the cathedral of Constantinople. By the 5th C. the two churches were contained within the same precinct, served by the same clergy, and regarded as forming the complex of the patriarchate. Burned down in 532, St. Irene was rebuilt by Justinian I. Destroyed by the earthquake of 740, it was reconstructed, probably by Constantine V. The church was never turned into a mosque, but became an arsenal after the Turkish conquest. The second largest standing church of Constantinople, it has the form of a domed basilica with a flat, second dome covering the west bay. The lower part of the building is Justinianic, whereas most of the upper part dates from after the earthquake of 740. The Turks altered the colonnades. The apse contains a mosaic cross of the Iconoclastic period; further remnants of mosaic remain in the narthex and nonfigural painting is extant in the south aisle.

LIT. W.S. George, *The Church of St. Eirene at Constantinople* (London 1913). U. Peschlow, *Die Irenenkirche in Istanbul* (Tübingen 1977). –C.M.

IRENE DOUKAINA, wife of ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, empress (1081–1118); born Constantinople ca.1066, died 19 Feb. 1123 (W. Hörandner, ed., *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 188 and n.23) or 1133 (Skoulatos). Daughter of Andronikos (son of the caesar John DOUKAS) and Maria of Bulgaria, Irene married Alexios ca.1078. Between 1083 and 1098 she bore him Anna, Maria, JOHN II, Andronikos, Isaac, Eudokia, Theodora, Manuel, and Zoe (*Kleinchroniken* 1:55f). Although the marriage sealed the alliance of the Doukas and Komnenos families, at his accession Alexios (urged by his mother Anna DALASSENE, and perhaps attracted to MARIA OF "ALANIA") hesitated to crown Irene. After a week, demands by John Doukas and Patr. Kosmas I forced her coronation, but she remained overshadowed by Anna Dalassene until the latter's retirement. Although Anna KOMNENE draws an admiring picture of her parents' relationship, the fact that from 1105 Alexios frequently insisted that Irene accompany him on campaign shows that he hesitated to leave her to intrigue in Constantinople. When Alexios was on his deathbed, Irene pressed him to name Anna's husband Nikephoros BRYENNIOS as heir. After John II's accession, although she had not joined the conspiracy of Anna and Bryennios, Irene was forced to retire to her convent of KECHARITOMENE. Noted for her charity and intellectual accomplishments, she probably inspired Bryennios's history and patronized or corresponded with literary figures such as Manuel STRABOROMANOS, THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, MICHAEL ITALIKOS, and Theodore PRODROMOS. Her portrait appears on the PALA D'ORO.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 70–74. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 119–24. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 96f. –C.M.B., A.C.

IRENE OF CHRYSOBALANTON, 10th-C. abbess; saint; feastday 28 July. According to her anonymous hagiographer, she was born in Cappadocia ca.845 and died in Constantinople ca.940. The account of her life as presented in her vita is as follows: born to a rich and influential family (related to the Gouber family of Constantinople), she was sent as a girl to the capital to participate in a BRIDE SHOW designed to find a wife for Michael III. After arriving too late, she entered the convent of Chrysobalanton; within three years she became the *hegoumene*, despite her youth. She is depicted as an ideal ascetic, an efficient administrator of her convent, and as a preacher who attracted crowds, esp. women of the senatorial class. On one occasion she intervened with the emperor to save the life of a kinsman who was accused of a conspiracy against the throne. She reportedly died at age 97 without showing any signs of advanced age.

The vita of Irene (*BHG* 952) was probably produced in the late 10th C. during the reign of Basil II; Rosenqvist (*infra*), who points out inconsistencies in the chronology of events, concludes that the biography should be treated as a work of fiction and terms it a "hagiographic novel." The vita is an important source for Byz. magical practices and attitudes toward sexuality, since Irene had to deal with the frustrated passion of one of her nuns, who had abandoned her fiancé, as well as with a lovesick vinedresser. The Life depicts the triumph of image worship; churches were decorated with icons on their walls and on panels of bronze, silver, and gold. When Irene appeared to Emp. Basil I in a vision, he sent a *protovestiarios* to her convent with an artist to paint the abbess's portrait, so that the emperor could confirm that the woman in his vision was really the *hegoumene* of Chrysobalanton.

SOURCE and LIT. *The Life of St. Irene Abbess of Chrysobalanton*, ed. J.O. Rosenqvist (Uppsala 1986), with Eng. tr. –A.K., A.M.T.

IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT, second wife of ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS; born 1273 or 1274, died Drama 1317. Daughter of William VII of Montferrat, an anti-Angevin, and granddaughter of Alfonso X of Castile, Yolanda was married in 1284 or 1285 at age 11 to the widowed Byz. emperor and took the Greek name Irene. The match was particularly desirable for Andronikos because his bride brought as her dowry the title to the kingdom of Thessalonike. Irene produced three sons, John, Theodore, and Demetrios, and one daughter, SIMONIS. She was crowned empress after the birth of her first son in 1288/9.

According to Gregoras (Greg. 1:234f), Irene was ambitious for her children. Retaining Western feudal ideas, she tried to persuade Andronikos to divide the empire into appanages for her sons. When this tactic failed, she endeavored to secure their futures through marriage alliances, but most of her efforts were unsuccessful. Her greatest triumph was the marriage of Simonis in 1299 to STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN of Serbia. In 1306, Theodore married the Genoese Argentina Spinola and inherited the marquisate of Montferrat (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 386–410). In the early 14th C. Irene became estranged from the emperor and from 1310 until her death made her residence in Thessalonike, where she conducted independent diplomatic negotiations, esp. with her son-in-law Milutin.

LIT. H. Constantinidi-Bibikou, "Yolande de Montferrat, impératrice de Byzance," *Hellénisme contemporain* 4 (1950) 425–42. C. Diehl, *Figures byzantines*, 2e sér. (Paris 1938) 226–45. Papadopulos, *Genealogie* 35. –A.M.T.

IRON (σίδηρος), the commonest metal. M. Lombard (*Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* [Paris–The Hague 1974] 125, 149f) notes that the eastern part of the Roman Empire had two major centers of iron working: the region of Trebizond and Sinope and the area around Bostra, Damascus, and Tyre. After the latter region was lost in the 7th C., Byz. needed constantly to import iron. Another productive area was Noricum. Iron was a strategic metal that could not be exported (J.-P. Sodini, *Ktema* 4 [1979] 85). Unlike precious metals, however, small amounts of ore were available in many places. When Edessa was besieged in 502/3 each household was obliged to deliver 10 pounds of iron. In the 9th C. the *proasteion* of Tzampouros (in the Trebizond region) sent iron annually to the nearby monastery of St. Phokas (A.I. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 12 [1906] 140.10–12). Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's chrysobull of 1347 imposes a yearly payment of 600 INGOTS (*mazia*) of iron on local smithies or *siderokausia* (*Lavra* 3, no.128.33). As precious objects iron ingots are mentioned sometimes

in lists of monastic properties (five *siderou mazea*—*Pantel.*, no.7.28) or in wills (four *syderon komatia*—*Xerop.*, no.9A.15).

Iron could be worked with comparative simplicity. Traces of primitive iron METALLURGY have been found even in rural areas of the Crimea of the 8th–9th C. (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970] 164–68). It is unclear whether SMITHS knowingly hardened iron into steel by the addition of carbon; the tempering of iron by plunging it into water is mentioned in both classical and Byz. sources.

The most important use of iron was in the production of WEAPONS. Iron TOOLS, such as hammer, tongs, and anvil, were primarily used to work metal (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:218f); other tools were used for wood (borer, plane, etc.) and stone. Each household normally had wooden, bronze, and iron utensils (*Lavra* 1, no.59.49), and an inventory of 1142 lists various iron AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS belonging to the monastery of Xylourgou: hoes, plows, sickles, axes (*Pantel.*, no.7.27). Iron tie rods were employed to strengthen buildings (A.H.S. Megaw, *DOP* 18 [1964] 296). Doors and gates were made of iron, as well as anchors, chains, candlesticks, coin dies, SEALING IMPLEMENTS, and so on. Some minor iron objects have been found in excavations, for example, at St. POLYEUKTOS in Constantinople and in Corinth: locks and keys, nails, dowels, clamps, etc. (Davidson, *Minor Objects* 137–40, 199–203).

LIT. W. Gaitzsch, *Eiserne römische Werkzeuge* (Oxford 1980). –M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

IRRIGATION (*ἄρδευμα*). A hot climate and frequent droughts led to a constant concern in Byz. about water. A developed irrigation technique, which made use of various water-lifting devices (water screw, suction pump, compartmented wheel, bucket chain, etc.), existed in the Roman Empire, primarily in Egypt and, paradoxically, in the Western provinces (Oleson, *infra* 285–91); data referring to Syria, Palestine, or Greece are scanty—for instance, a water-driven wheel with compartmented rim on a mosaic of 469 from Apameia. The PRICE EDICT of Diocletian several times mentions water MILLS, but not water-lifting machines. Asia Minor and Greece relied more upon collecting water in cisterns than irrigating lands by canals and water-lifting gears, even though such terms as "conduit" (*amara*) and "water pipe" (*ochetos*) are common in Greek texts. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1345B), when speaking of *ardeuma*, means "the winter downpours." The *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery in BERA describes a complex construction for collecting water that went from the spring via a conduit to a receptacle protected from the sun and dirt. In other cases, as described in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE, a cistern might be filled by special water bearers. Water was used for irrigation (*ardeia*) of VINEYARDS and GARDENS (e.g., *Chil.*, no.54.30–31) or OLIVE groves, as well as for water mills; a case on Crete around 1118 describes a conflict between a mill owner and farmers tilling the "irrigated *choraphia*" (MM 6:96.14–22) who were deprived of water by construction of the mill.

The Byz. did not build great canal networks. Justinian dreamed of a canal project between the Melas, a tributary of the Sangarios, and the harbor of Nikomedeia, but the idea was abandoned (F.G. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10).

LIT. J.P. Oleson, *Greek and Roman Mechanical Water-Lifting Devices* (Toronto 1984). T. Schiøler, *Roman and Islamic Water-Lifting Wheels* (Odense 1973). Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni" 192f. –A.K., J.W.N.

ISAAC I KOMNENOS, emperor (1057–59); born ca.1007, died ca.1060 or 1061. After his elevation by fellow generals rebelling against MICHAEL VI, Isaac was crowned on 1 Sept. 1057. He rewarded his supporters. The populace obtained the desired officials for their organizations, and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS gained more authority. Isaac's purpose was to refill the treasury and so revive the army and the empire. A HISTAMENON (Grierson, *Byz. Coins*, no.919), representing him standing with unsheathed sword, gave great offense because it violated the tradition of the emperor as a man of God. Isaac regularized tax collections; he pitilessly pursued debtors to the state. Monastic landholding was restricted, and donations by previous emperors to individuals were annulled. He pruned the bureaucracy's excrescences. PSELLOS criticizes his haste and harshness. Salaries of officials, esp. senators, were reduced, yet Psellos asserts that Isaac had to rely on himself and other civil bureaucrats. Keroularios's challenge forced Isaac to remove him (8 Nov.

1058). He appointed as patriarch CONSTANTINE III LEICHOUDES, a leader of the bureaucrats who opposed the emperor. Militarily, Isaac's threats overawed the SELJUKS and Egyptians; he made peace with the Hungarians after an incursion (1059). A simultaneous PECHENEG attack was repelled. In Nov. 1059, while hunting, he became seriously ill. Feeling isolated by hostile bureaucrats and Keroularios's surviving supporters, Isaac accepted Psellos's suggestion that he abdicate (21/2 Nov. 1059—*Kleinchroniken* 1:160, 170). Passing over his relatives, he named CONSTANTINE X DOUKAS emperor. Isaac became a monk at STOUDIOS; his wife Aikatherine (daughter of JOHN VLADISLAV) and daughter Maria likewise entered religious life.

LIT. E. Stănescu, "Les réformes d'Isaac Comnène," *RESEE* 4 (1966) 35–69. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:41–47. J. Shepard, "Isaac Comnenus' Coronation Day," *BS* 38 (1977) 22–30. –C.M.B., A.C.

ISAAC II ANGELOS, emperor (1185–95, 1203–04); born ca.1156, died Constantinople 28/9 Jan. 1204. He had a bookish education (Nik.Chon. 365.72–74) but no deep intellectual interests. After he resisted the order of arrest issued by ANDRONIKOS I, he was acclaimed emperor by the people of Constantinople on 12 Sept. 1185. Despite his noble birth, Isaac relied on bureaucrats (notably Theodore KASTAMONITES, Constantine MESOPOTAMITES, and Demetrios TORNIKIOS) to support him against aristocratic rebels such as Alexios BRANAS. He sold governorships and other offices but also chose some officials on merit. His attempts to make his favorite monk, Dositheos, patriarch of Constantinople proved unsuccessful. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.33–443.82) expatiates on Isaac's "mad passion for erecting huge buildings." The emperor added baths and apartments to the Great Palace and Blachernai and created artificial islands in the Sea of Marmara, but he also razed the GENIKON and the monastery of MANGANA and looted the NEA EKKLESIA.

Isaac preferred a life of ease at court, yet willingly campaigned in person when necessary. After defeating the invasion of WILLIAM II of Sicily, he arranged to take Margaret, daughter of BÉLA III, as his second wife (his first is unknown). The tax levied for the wedding raised discontent among the VLACHS and Bulgarians, which PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I exploited. From ca.1186, Isaac was involved in continual warfare with them; he was repeatedly defeated. The section of the Third Crusade led by FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA did much damage as it passed through Byz.; only by timely concession did Isaac avoid an attack on Constantinople. He succeeded in making peace with Venice, Genoa, and Pisa. Around 8 Apr. 1195, near Kypsella, noble conspirators led by ALEXIOS III overthrew and blinded Isaac. After Alexios fled in 1203, the courtiers brought Isaac to rule jointly with his son ALEXIOS IV. He soon became senile or demented, and, conveniently for ALEXIOS V, died of natural causes.

LIT. Th. Vlachos, "Aufstände und Verschwörungen während der Kaiserzeit Isaakios' II. Angelos (1185–1195)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 155–67. Brand, *Byzantium* 69–116, 241–51. Ph. Malingoudis, "Die Nachrichten des Niketas Choniates über die Entstehung des zweiten bulgarischen Staates," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 73–134. –C.M.B., A.C.

ISAAC KOMNENOS, *basileus* of CYPRUS (1184–91); born ca.1155, died Ikonion 1195/6. Grandson of Isaac, brother of MANUEL I, he was sent (ca.1174/5) as governor to CILICIA, where the Armenians captured and imprisoned him. About 1182, he was passed to Bohemund III of Antioch. ANDRONIKOS I, influenced by his mistress Theodora, Isaac's aunt, ransomed him with the Templars' help. About 1183 or 1184, Isaac falsified imperial letters appointing him governor and went to Cyprus. Once accepted, he proclaimed himself *basileus*; his coinage shows him wearing imperial garb (Hendy, *Coinage* 136–42). The uniformly hostile sources charge him with tyrannical acts rivaling those of Andronikos I: murders, maimings, abuse of wives and virgins, confiscations of property, harsh taxation. About 1186 or 1187, ISAAC II ANGELOS dispatched a fleet to regain Cyprus, but Isaac Komnenos defeated the troops on land while his ally, the admiral Margaritone of Sicily, overcame the Byz. fleet. Cyprus's conquest by RICHARD I LIONHEART ended Isaac's tyranny. Released ca.1194 after imprisonment in Acre and Margat, Isaac went to IKONION; from that base he sought to arouse Turkish and Byz. opposition to ALEXIOS III. He was allegedly killed by poisoning.

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus* (Cambridge 1940) 1:312–21. W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, "L'empereur Isaac de Chypre et sa fille (1155–1207)," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 123–79. Th.

Vlachos, "Ho tyrannos tes Kyprou Isaakios Komnenos (1184–1191)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 169–77. –C.M.B.

ISAAC OF ANTIOCH, 5th-C. Syriac writer. His writings, of Monophysite cast, are often confused with those of Isaac of Amida, who was Orthodox and lived in the first half of the 5th C. (died before 461). More than 200 poetical works are attributed to the two Isaacs, but it is still unclear exactly which works are to be attributed to which Isaac. Isaac of Amida wrote works on the capture of Rome in 410, on the city of Constantinople (ca.441), and on the earthquake in Antioch in 459. Isaac of Antioch is particularly noted for a lengthy poem on the parrot who chanted the TRISAGION with the addition "Who was crucified for us"; he also wrote exhortations to monks on repentance and the perfect life.

ED. *S. Isaaci Antiocheni, doctoris Syrorum, Opera omnia,* ed. G. Bickell, 2 vols. (Giessen 1873–77). *Homiliae S. Isaaci Syri Antiocheni,* ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1903).

LIT. F. Graffin, *DictSpir* 7 (1971) 2010f. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*[2] (Rome 1965) 100–02. M. van Esbroeck, *DPAC* 2:1828. –A.M.T.

ISAAC OF NINEVEH, Syrian mystical theologian; fl. ca.680. Born in the region of Qatar on the Persian Gulf, Isaac became a Nestorian monk and eventually bishop of Nineveh (i.e., Mosul); five months later, however, he abdicated and went to live in solitude in the mountains of Ḥuzistan in southwestern Iran. He reportedly lost his sight during his studies. Isaac composed (in Syriac) treatises, dialogues, and letters on ascetical and mystical topics. Probably in the 9th C. some of his works were translated into Greek by the monks Patrikios and Abramios, of the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. The translators tried to make Isaac more acceptable to Orthodox readers by eliminating some of his references to suspect authors, such as EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, and replacing them with references to more official church fathers. Isaac presented the way of salvation as consisting of three stages: repentance, purification, and perfection. The fear of Hell serves as a strong stimulus in the search for righteousness. Isaac rarely thinks in terms of deification but speaks of seeing God as if in a mirror, an ancient image in Syriac religious writing. Prayer plays the major part in Isaac's ideal behavior. His works were used by some Byz. writers (e.g., Peter DAMASKENOS, SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, GREGORY SINAITES); later, some of them were included in the PHILOKALIA.

ED. *De perfectione religiosa,* ed. P. Bedjan (Paris-Leipzig 1909). Gr. ed.—*Tou hosiou patros hemon Isaak episkopou Ninevi tou Syrou ta heurethenta Asketika,* ed. Nikephoros Theotokes (Leipzig 1770; new ed. Athens 1895). *Mystic Treatises,* tr. A.J. Wensinck (Amsterdam 1923). *Oeuvres spirituelles,* tr. J. Touraille (Paris 1981).

LIT. J.B. Chabot, *De S. Isaaci Ninivitae vita, scriptis et doctrina* (Paris 1892). I. Popović, "He gnosiologia tou hagiou Isaak tou Syrou," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 206–23, 386–407. E. Khalifé-Hachem, *DictSpir* 7.2 (1971) 2041–54. S. Brock, "St. Isaac of Nineveh and Syriac Spirituality," *Sobornost*[7] 2 (1975) 79–89. Baumstark, *Literatur* 223–25. G. Bunge, "Mar Isaak von Ninive und sein 'Buch der Gnade,' " *OstkSt* 34 (1985) 3–22. –S.H.G., A.K.

ISAIAH (Ἡσαΐας), one of the four major (i.e., longer) PROPHETS. Much read and interpreted by the Byz., there are surviving commentaries on the Book of Isaiah attributed to, among others, Eusebios of Caesarea, Basil the Great, John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus. The major significance of Isaiah was seen in his prophecy, interpreted as foreseeing Christ's advent. "Isaiah is the most divine of all prophets," says Theodoret (PG 81:216A), ". . . since he clearly predicted everything—the benediction coming from Abraham and David, the birth of the Savior by the Virgin, various miracles and healing, the envy and rage of the Jews, the passion and the death, the resurrection from the dead, the ascent to heaven, the choice of the apostles, and the salvation of all nations." In contrast, Chrysostom mentions "Isaiah's prophecy about Christ" only in passing, but strongly emphasizes "the ready tongue and sublime character" of the prophet and his great concern for ordinary people with whom he sympathized and whose sufferings he shared (PG 56:11.12–25). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (9 May) included Isaiah as a martyr whose relics were allegedly brought to Constantinople and placed in the Church of St. Lawrence near Blachernai; here Isaiah worked miracles, esp., according to legend, for ordinary people—a laborer in a vineyard, a fisherman, a silversmith, etc. (H. Delehaye, *AB* 42 [1924] 257–65).

Representation in Art. Images of Isaiah among the Old Testament prophets are frequent in monumental art, where he is usually depicted as an old man, with long gray hair and beard. His principal appearances in a narrative context are

connected with the biblical ODES. In the PARIS PSALTER, for example, these are illustrated individually: the first (Is 26:9–20) literally, with Isaiah flanked by personifications of Night and Dawn; the second (Is 38:10–20) in a straightforward narrative supplemented by a personification of Prayer. Isaiah's martyrdom, based on an apocryphal legend, is represented in the PARIS GREGORY (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.49) and his prophetic vision (Is 6), in which a seraph places a hot coal upon his mouth, in MSS of Kosmas Indikopleustes.

LIT. M. Simonetti, "Uno sguardo d'insieme sull'esegesi patristica di Isaia fra IV e V secolo," *Annali di storia esegetica* 1 (1984) 9–44. H. Holländer, *LCI* 2:354–59. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. –J.I., A.K., J.H.L.

ISAURA (Ἴσαυρα, mod. Zengibar Kalesi near Bozkır), ancient capital of ISAURIA, flourished until the 4th C. when it lost its status as city and bishopric because it was a center of Isaurian unrest. Zeno restored both and assigned it a new name, Leontopolis. A mint was established at Isaura in 617/18 during the campaigns of Herakleios against the Persians. Thereafter Isaura disappears from history, but the bishopric still existed in the 11th C. The site contains Hellenistic fortifications that show Byz. repairs; four churches, including a large basilica with a tower and an octagonal church; and numerous inscriptions. Isaura is sometimes confused with Isauropolis on the north side of the Taurus.

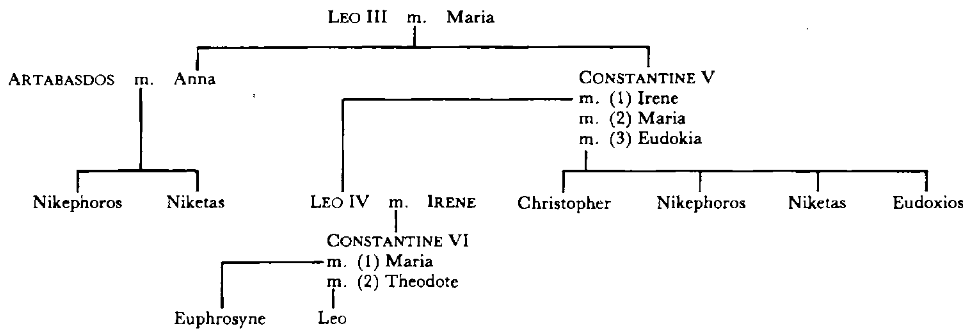
LIT. *TIB* 4:180f, 198–200. H. Swoboda et al., *Denkmäler aus Lykaonien, Pamphylien und Isaurien* (Vienna 1935) 62–93, 119–43. –C.F.

ISAURIA (Ἰσαυρία), mountainous district of southern Asia Minor, inhabited by tribes who lived in small towns, long resisted central control, and frequently descended to ravage the adjacent plains. Although the Constantinopolitan government considered these tribes barbarian and brigands, they formed the core of the imperial army in the 5th C. Isaurians were famed as builders who sent their teams as far away as Constantinople and Syria, and probably as gardeners, their most popular saint being Konon the Gardener. Diocletian joined CILICIA Tracheia to the Isaurian homeland to form the province of Isauria, whose capital was SELEUKEIA; the western part was detached in 370 and assigned to LYKAONIA. Because of constant danger from the tribesmen, Isauria was frequently governed by a military commander (*comes*); this situation became permanent after 535. The region was severely afflicted by revolts and military conflicts in the late 4th C., and in 403–06, after the Isaurian victory over Germanic mercenaries, the Isaurians spread throughout Asia Minor. Calm prevailed when an Isaurian chief, ZENO, was emperor (474–81) and Isauria saw much construction. Troubles resumed in the late 5th C., continuing until Anastasios I finally crushed the tribes in 497. These wars were the impetus for widespread fortification. The coast of Isauria was always important for trade, which was still active in the late 7th C., the date of seals of KOMMERKIARIOI of Isauria (one of them—Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.158—combined this office with the military position of *stratelates*). Thereafter, the coast suffered greatly from Arab raids. Isauria was absorbed in ANATOLIKON, then became a separate KLEISOURA called Seleukeia under Theophilos, as part of his efforts to strengthen the frontier. Romanos I promoted it to a THEME ca.930. Divided into coastal and interior regions, it had a garrison of 5,000. The ecclesiastical province of Isauria long survived, though called Pamphylia after the early 10th C.; the cult of the local saints THEKLA and Konon attracted pilgrims. According to legend, Leo III was an Isaurian, Konon by name.

LIT. F. Hild, *RBK* 4:182–88, 227–73. J. Rouge, "L'Histoire Auguste et l'Isaurie au IVe siècle," *REA* 68 (1966) 282–315. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," in *Polychronion* 358–65. –C.F.

ISAURIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 717 to 802 and included Leo III, Constantine V, Leo IV, Constantine VI, and Irene; it was so called because a probable interpolation in Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 391.6) says that its founder, Leo III, came from ISAURIA, although he was actually born in Syrian Germanikeia (K. Schenk, *BZ* 5 [1896] 296–98). The 19th-C. notion that the Isaurian dynasty was able to revive the empire as a result of its military and administrative reforms was questioned by Ostrogorsky (*infra*). The dynasty is most closely associated with imperial support for ICONOCLASM, which Leo III introduced, Constantine V enforced, and Irene suspended. Despite the siege of Constantinople by MASLAMA in 717 and the campaigns of HĀRŪN

GENEALOGY OF THE ISAURIAN DYNASTY



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 362.

AL-RASHĪD, the Isaurian dynasty resisted the Arabs and stabilized the border with the caliphate in eastern Asia Minor. In Italy, however, RAVENNA was lost to the Lombards, and the Franks successfully challenged waning Byz. authority.

LIT. F. Masai, "La politique des Isauriens et la naissance de l'Europe," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 191–221. G. Ostrogorsky, "Über die vermeintliche Reformtätigkeit der Isaurier," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 394–400. Ostrogorsky, *History* 147–82. Vasiliev, *History* 234–71. –P.A.H.

ISIDORE (Ἰσίδωρος), jurist, ANTECESSOR, one of the eight addressees of the Constitutio *Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He composed a Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, several fragments of which (esp. those of book 8, titles 53–56) have been preserved among the scholia to the BASILIKA. Also transmitted there under his name are fragments of a paraphrase of the DIGEST (concerning book 22, titles 3–5).

ED. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:61f, 64–69.
LIT. Scheltema, *L'enseignement* 29f, 40–42. –A.S.

ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS (Βούχειρ or Βούχειρας; cf. Tinnefeld, *infra* 160, n.1), Palamite patriarch of Constantinople (17 May 1347–Feb./Mar. 1350); born Thessalonike between ca.1300 and 1310, died Constantinople. Eldest of ten children, Isidore was educated in Thessalonike and then went to Athos to study with GREGORY SINAITES. Around 1325 Turkish attacks forced his return to Thessalonike, where for ten years he led a hesychastic circle. Circa 1335 he was tonsured by Gregory PALAMAS on Athos; he accompanied Palamas to the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). He was elected metropolitan of Monemvasia the same year but was never consecrated. In 1344 he was deposed and excommunicated by JOHN XIV KALEKAS because of his Palamite views.

With the victory of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS in 1347, Isidore was restored to favor: he was elected patriarch, performed the second coronation of John VI and the marriage of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS. He also appointed Palamas as metropolitan of Thessalonike. His brief patriarchate was uneventful; he was taken ill in Jan. 1350, composed a final testament, and died soon thereafter. Isidore was noted as a hymnographer, but none of his poetry has survived.

ED. MM 1:256–94. Germ tr. by W. Helfer, "Das Testament des Patriarchen Isidoros," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 76–83.
SOURCE. *Vita* by Philotheos Kokkinos—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 52–149.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2271–2310. *PLP*, no.3140. R. Guilland, "Moines de l'Athos, patriarches de Constantinople," *EEBS* 32 (1963) 50–59. F. Tinnefeld, *Demetrios Kydones: Briefe* (Stuttgart 1981) 158–63. –A.M.T.

ISIDORE OF KIEV, metropolitan of Kiev and all Russia (1436–39); born Monemvasia ca.1385, died Rome 23 (J. Gill, *LThK* 5 [1960] 788) or 27 April 1463 (Gill, *infra* 76). Educated in Constantinople, Isidore became a monk in the Peloponnesos. In 1417 he returned to the capital, where he was subsequently made *hegoumenos* of St. De-

metrios monastery. He served as ambassador for John VIII Palaiologos to the Council of Basel in 1434. After his elevation to the metropolitan see of Kiev, Isidore attended the Council of Ferrara-Florence and signed the decree of union. Shortly thereafter he was appointed cardinal and sent to Moscow as a papal legate. On his return to Moscow in 1440 (Krajcar, *infra* 387), however, Grand Duke Basil II (1425–62) imprisoned him for his Unionist sympathies. He managed to escape to the West, where he devoted his remaining years to various papal missions on behalf of the Union of the Churches. One such embassy brought him to Constantinople, where he proclaimed the union (12 Dec. 1452). When the city fell several months later, he was imprisoned but again escaped. In 1459 Pope Pius II (1458–64) appointed him Latin patriarch of Constantinople. His literary output, in contrast with his rather active ecclesiastical and diplomatic career, was small. Some of his correspondence and speeches (at Basel and Florence) have been published.

ED. *Scritti d'Isidoro il cardinale Ruteno,* ed. G. Mercati (Rome 1926). A.W. Ziegler, "Vier bisher nicht veröffentlichte griechische Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *BZ* 44 (1951) 570–77. Idem, "Die restlichen vier unveröffentlichten Briefe Isidors von Kijev," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 135–42. G. Hofmann, "Quellen zu Isidor von Kiew als Kardinal und Patriarch," *OrChrP* 18 (1952) 143–57.

SOURCE. M.A. Kazakova, ed. "Pervonačal'naja redakcija Choždenija na Florentijskij sobor," *TODRL* 25 (1970) 60–72. Germ. tr. G. Stöckl in *Europa im XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz 1954) 149–89.

LIT. A.W. Ziegler, "Isidore de Kiev, apôtre de l'Union florentine," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 393–410. Gill, *Personalities* 65–78. J. Krajcar, "Metropolitan Isidore's Journey to the Council of Florence. Some Remarks," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 367–87. –A.P.

ISIDORE OF MILETUS, architect associated with Anthemios of Tralles in the design and construction of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople; died before 558. He issued a revised edition of the works of Archimedes, wrote a commentary on Heron of Alexandria's treatise *On Vaulting* of the late 1st C., and invented a compass with which to construct parabolas. One of his students, Eutokios of Askalon, commented on Archimedes, while another added book 15 to the *Elements* of Euclid. Isidore consulted with Anthemios and Justinian I on the problem of flooding at Dara.

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:505–08. G. Downey, "Byzantine Architects," *Byzantion* 18 (1946–48) 112f. J. Warren, *Greek Mathematics and Architects to Justinian* (London 1976). –M.J., W.L.

ISIDORE OF PELOUSION, ascetic and writer; saint; born Alexandria between 360 and 370, died after 433; feastday 4 Feb. Isidore lived as presbyter and monk in a monastery near Pelousion on the Nile. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (PG 146:1249–53) calls him a pupil of John Chrysostom, which perhaps should not be taken literally. The *Souda* dubs him philosopher and rhetorician, while his Orthodoxy, erudition, and style are commended by Severos of Antioch and Photios (ep.207.18–19, ed. Laourdas-Westerink, 2:107). Much of this praise is merited by his 2,000 or so surviving letters, originally collected at the Akoimetoi monastery in Constantinople—according to U. Riedinger (*ZNTW* 51 [1960] 157), a pseudonymous work by some Akoimetoi monks. The prime interest of the letters is theological, revealing Isidore as a careful, rather than hysterical, opponent of heresy, rebutting Arianism and Manichaeanism in elegant Greek, while addressing Cyril of Alexandria on the hypostatic union and also warning against contemporary tendencies toward Monophysitism. Isidore is equally level-headed on biblical exegesis (resisting extreme allegorism) and on ascetic and moral principles. A lost work, *Against the Hellenes*, may have shown him in a less temperate mood. Some of his letters were translated into Church Slavonic (I. Dujčev, *BS* 23 [1962] 327f).

ED. PG 78:9–1674. Partial Latin tr.—*Quarante-neuf lettres de saint Isidore de Péluse*, ed. R. Aigrain (Paris 1911).

LIT. P. Evieux, "Isidore de Péluse, État des recherches," *RechScRel* 64 (1976) 321–40. C. Fouskas, *St. Isidore of Pelusium, His Life and His Works* (Athens 1970). A. Schmid, *Die Christologie Isidors von Pelusium* (Fribourg 1948). M. Kertsch, "Isidor von Pelusion als Nachahmer Gregors von Nazianz," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 113–22. –B.B.

ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, bishop of Seville (from ca.600); prolific author and churchman in Visigothic Spain; born in Byz. Spain? ca.570, died 636. His attitudes toward the Visigoths and Byz. appear to have been complex. In Constantinople, Leander, his brother and predecessor at Seville, had negotiated an alliance between Byz. and the Visigothic usurper Hermenegild (579–84) and become friends with the papal *apocrisiarius* Gregory (the future Gregory I the Great) as well as a correspondent of Patr. John IV Nesteutes. How far Isidore's *Etymologies*, or *Origines* (ed. W.M. Lindsay [Oxford 1911])—the basic encyclopedia of the medieval West—reflects contemporary

reality is controversial, but it certainly records the Visigothic destruction of Byz. CARTAGENA (15,1,67; cf. H.J. Diesner, *Philologus* 119 [1975] 92–97) and mentions the Byz. ship type *durcon* (*dorkon*, 19,1,10; cf. D. Claude, *Der Handel im westlichen Mittelmeer während des Frühmittelalters* [Göttingen 1985] 47). Both recensions of the aggressively pro-Gothic *The History of Goths, Vandals, and Suevi* narrate the Goths' confrontations with the Byz.—sometimes called simply *milites*—from the 4th to 7th C., particularly the contest for southern Spain. Events in the *History* are dated by the provincial era and the regnal year of Byz. emperors. Isidore cites the burden of Byz. TAXATION as a cause of loyalty to the barbarians (ch.15). His chronicle draws largely on VICTOR TONNENSIS but implicitly develops an anti-Byz. theme (M. Reydellet, *MEFR* 82 [1970] 363–400); its final section notes Byz. events from Justin II to Herakleios, including AVAR attacks, strife between FACTIONS, and the loss of "Greece" to the Slavs (P. Charanis, *BZ* 64 [1971] 22–25). The literary biographies of *Famous Men* treat Latin authors of Byz. Spain, Justinian I, JOHN OF BICLAR, Victor Tonnensis, and Patr. John IV of Constantinople.

ED. *Las historias de los godos, vandalos y suevos*, ed. C. Rodríguez Alonso (Leon 1975), with Sp. tr. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:267–303, 424–81. *Famous Men*—ed. C. Codoñer Merino (Salamanca 1964).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 86–88. J. Fontaine, *Isidore de Séville et la culture classique dans l'Espagne wisigothique*, vol. 2 (Paris 1959) 846–61, vol. 3 (1983) 1174–80. –M.McC.

ISIDORE OF THESSALONIKE. See GLABAS, ISIDORE.

ISIDORE THE YOUNGER, architect; fl. mid-6th C. He was the nephew of ISIDORE OF MILETUS and chief architect (*mechanopoios*) of the commission responsible for rebuilding the dome of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, after its first collapse in 557 (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.8.25; Agath. 5.9). Of his work there remain *in situ* 12 ribs in the north and south sectors of the present dome (the west sector exhibits the restoration of Trdat, 986–94; the east sector, the restoration of 1347–54). The younger Isidore's dome is about 6 m higher than the original; his work shows greater care and precision than was exercised in later restorations. Isidore the Younger collaborated with John of Constantinople in building new fortifications at ZENOBIA on the Euphrates, and he may be the Isidore named in an inscription of 550 from Chalkis ad Belum (*IGLSyr* 2 [1939] nos. 348–49).

LIT. M. Restle, *RBK* 3:508–10. W. Emerson, R.L. Van Nice, "Haghia Sophia, Istanbul," *AJA* 47 (1943) 404, 423–36. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 89–91. –W.L., M.J.

ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST. Attacks on Islam were written by both Christians living within the caliphate and those in Byz. territory. The polemic produced in Arab-controlled lands was predominantly apologetic and decreased after the 11th C. Byz. polemic, on the other hand, continued until the end of the empire, and its goal was refutation rather than apology. The amazing success of the Muslims in the 15th C., however, diverted the focus of the discussion; the defeat of the Christians was certainly to be explained not by the superiority of Islam but by the sins of the Greeks.

Vestiges of early polemic are attributed to the 8th C., but their MS tradition is questionable. The letter of Leo III to the caliph ʿUmar II (717–20) survives only in translation (the Armenian version is preserved in ŁEWOND), and among works on the subject by JOHN OF DAMASCUS only a chapter in his book *On Heresies* seems to be authentic, albeit interpolated. THEODORE ABU-QURRA tried to defend Christianity in a pragmatic form accessible to his Muslim audience. NIKETAS BYZANTIOS launched an attack on Islam; he was followed by the monk Bartholomew of Edessa. The most important polemicists of the later period were John VI Kantakouzenos, who composed a treatise against Islam, and Manuel II, who wrote a *Dialogue with a Persian.*

Earlier Byz. polemic relied primarily on hearsay information about Islam, and John of Damascus was content to ridicule outlandish legends. Niketas Byzantios, on the other hand, studied the QUR'ĀN, probably in a Greek translation. The discussion concentrated on theological, moral, and political problems. The central theological problem was the consistent monotheism of Islam that could not be reconciled with the Christian concept of the TRINITY and the incarnation of the Logos. The Christian apologists responded that such an approach deprives God of his reason (Logos) and spirit, and implicitly severs the link between mankind and the Godhead; Niketas called the God of Islam *holosphairos*, "all-spherical," or *holosphyros*, "solid," emphasizing matter as his essence. In the

field of morality, Christian apologists stressed the superiority of the Christian monogamous family over Islamic polygamy and sodomy; they also criticized the hedonistic tendencies of Islam as reflected in its image of Paradise. Another Christian argument was the defense of the thesis of free will against the belief in predestination that contributed so much to the idea of the Islamic holy war.

Politically, each side tried to demonstrate the lack of unity in its adversary: the Muslims criticized the Christians for being split into 72 races, while the letter of Leo III asserts that Islam is torn apart by schisms more serious than those that used to rage in the Christian world. While defending the truth of their religion, Christian apologists affirmed that MUḤAMMAD was a false prophet and a licentious man and that the Qur'ān was a false book. The Byz. church required Muslim converts to anathematize the God of Muḥammad, the prophet himself, the caliphs, and some tenets of Muslim dogma. Manuel I, who settled many Turks in Byz. territory, encountered strong resistance from the clergy when he tried to have the anathema of the "solid" (*holosphyros*) God of Muḥammad deleted from the catechetical books. With difficulty he prevailed and an anathema against Muḥammad and all his teachings was substituted (Nik.Chon. 213.51–219.70).

LIT. A.T. Khoury, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam* (Leiden 1972). J. Meyendorff, "Byzantine Views of Islam," *DOP* 18 (1964) 113–32. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine Attitudes toward Islam during the Late Middle Ages," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 263–86. O. Mazal, "Zur geistigen Auseinandersetzung zwischen Christentum und Islam in spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Miscellanea mediaevalia* 17 (1985) 1–19. R. Haddad, *La Trinité divine chez les théologiens arabes* (Paris 1985). –A.K.

ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART. Islam as a religion and political entity had an impact on Byz. as early as the mid-7th C., but it hardly affected the arts during the UMAYYAD CALIPHATE, which adopted Byz. forms rather than transmitting its own. Although scholarly opinion is divided on these issues, early Islam may also have had some effect on the changes in coinage introduced by Justinian II and on ICONOCLASM. No significant impact of a new Islamic art was in fact possible before the appearance of techniques, styles, and subjects that were consciously and formally new and different from Byz. ones or before the growth of centers of taste, production, and consumption that could compete with Constantinople and the other major cities of the empire.

The usually accepted time for the appearance of a coherent new Islamic art is the end of the 8th C. when BAGHDAD, the recently founded ʿAbbāsid capital, began to outstrip Constantinople in wealth and resources. Later, CORDOBA, Cairo (al-FUSṬĀṬ), and many other North African, Syrian, Mesopotamian, and Iranian cities developed as centers of artistic production competing with both Baghdad and Byz. The preponderant impact, however, would always be from the East, as the Islamic world inherited from Sasanian Iran the partly real and partly mythic function of representing to the Mediterranean world the exotic East and because more consistent—friendly or hostile—Byz. relationships existed with Eastern rather than Western Muslim societies. The most important post-ʿAbbāsid Islamic dynasties and periods for which significant official or commercial contacts with Byz. can be assumed or shown to have had artistic components are the FĀṬIMIDS, the SELJUKS, and, from the 13th C. onward, the Turkish *beyliks* of Anatolia, among whom the OTTOMANS became the most prominent.

A chronology or typology of the impact of Islamic art on Byz. is difficult to establish, but some specific examples outline its probable pattern.

One of the earliest examples is the palace of Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople with its wild animals, AUTOMATA in the shape of birds or lions, and garden of artificial trees made of precious metals. According to textual descriptions, this palace was similar to ʿAbbāsid palaces in Baghdad. Ruins of a palace on the Asian side of the Bosporos (possibly BRYAS) with a domed audience hall can also be related to a sequence of partly earlier Islamic palaces (S. Eyice, *CahArch* 10 [1959] 245–50). Possibly, however, these Byz. or Muslim examples and the stories around them simply derive from the same antique sources.

More complete series of objects with Islamic motifs appear during the Macedonian and Komnenian periods, and in fact down to the Latin conquest of 1204. Textiles, esp. SILKS, use roundels with animals or hunting scenes typical of Islamic and earlier Iranian designs, just as clothing, esp. official or expensive COSTUME, tends to adopt "oriental" cuts and motifs. CERAMIC vessels and TILES used for the decoration of buildings

pick up several techniques (SGRAFFITO, splash, luster imitation) developed in the Muslim world and at times even some of their motifs. ENAMELS used on the crown of Constantine IX and on the PALA D'ORO show dancers and hunters typical of Islamic objects, even though the technique itself is not Islamic. A rather remarkable series of silver objects with courtly and other scenes found in Central Russia has been interpreted as Byz. but contains many Islamic features (Darkević, *Svetskoe iskusstvo* 232).

The imitation of Arabic writing, esp. its angular style known as Kufic, becomes a common decorative motif in Greek churches; this type of ornament has been called "pseudo-Kufic." By 1200, according to Nicholas MESARITES, a palace known as the Mouchroutas (probably some misunderstanding of the Ar. *mahrūtah*, "cone") or "Persian house" stood to the west of the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS; it was covered by a stalactite dome with paintings. A curious glass cup looted by the Venetians in 1204, now in the Treasury of S. Marco in Venice, contains, next to beautifully copied antique motifs, the imitation of an Arabic inscription so well done that it seems legible (*Le trésor de Saint-Marc de Venise* [Paris 1984] 180–83). The underwater excavations at Serçe Liman off the coast of southern Turkey (G. Bass, *JGS* 26 [1984] 64–69) uncovered a Byz. ship, probably of the 11th C., carrying thousands of objects in GLASS and other techniques originating from the Byz. Empire as well as Iran, Syria, Egypt, and perhaps even China. As early as the 11th C., a donor in a Cappadocian church is represented wearing a turban (Thierry, *Nouvelles Églises*, pl.94).

Such examples could easily be multiplied and from the 9th C. onward traces of Islamic influences are found in Byz. Nevertheless, in comparison with the art of other Christian groups in western Asia (Armenians, Georgians, Syrians, Copts), who were under Islamic political domination, Byz. art was less consistently affected. Islamic influences hardly ever occur in religious art and never affect style and expression, the formal means by which Byz. art differentiates itself from other medieval traditions. In other words, Islamic forms played almost no role in the Byz. visual expression of Christianity.

Islamic themes are most apparent in the secular art of emperors and in many aspects of material culture. There are several explanations for this phenomenon. One is that, in the 8th–12th C., Islamic artisans and a Muslim patronage developed, originated, and sponsored a large number of technical inventions in ceramic, textiles, glassmaking, and METALWORK; these were, for the most part, easily transmissible and improved the quality of objects used in daily life. The ship of Serçe Liman was one example of a widespread trade in practical objects and, wherever these objects were made, they share the very Islamic objective of enhancing the potential of everyday activities. Both Byz. and Islam used the same Late Antique sources, and resemblances are therefore sometimes misleading. What Muslim princes introduced into the language of imperial art is an emphasis on representations of pleasure (dancing, singing, music, hunting) as an expression of power and wealth. Thus, the Islamic impact was first thematic, then functional or technical, and more rarely formal.

In a phenomenon somewhat similar to the impact of classical art, Islamic elements appear as significant components of Byz. art in the 9th–12th C., when the Byz. felt strong enough to incorporate such exotic themes as seemed interesting. Islamic influence is less immediately apparent in later times. When Byz. was weaker, its material culture more consistently shared with neighboring Turkish or turkified establishments; the maintenance of an unadulterated Christian art was an unwritten necessity for self-identity and survival.

LIT. Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 1:265–90. G.C. Miles, "Byzantium and the Arabs: Relations in Crete and the Aegean Area," *DOP* 18 (1964) 1–32. E. Coche de la Ferté, "Décors en céramique byzantine au Musée du Louvre," *CahArch* 9 (1957) 187–217. N.P. Ševčenko, "Some Thirteenth-Century Pottery at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 28 (1974) 353–60.

–O.G.

ISOCHRISTOI. See ORIGEN.

ISRAEL (Ἰσραήλ), the chosen people of the Bible. The etymology of the name was explained by the church fathers as either "seeing" ("the mind seeing God" in MAKARIOS THE GREAT, PG 34:800B) or "conquering" (Justin Martyr, PG 6:765D). The church fathers distinguished the old Israel, whose rejection of Christ caused their subsequent sufferings, from the new chosen people, the Christians; Israel became a designation of the church and also of the Byzantines. In Byz. rhetoric of the

12th C. the image of Israel often appears in a context of expectations: after present miseries "the new Israel" will be elevated by the "wise architect," just as the old Israel was liberated by Moses (e.g., Nikephoros BASILAKES, ed. Garzya 61.34–62.3). Niketas Choniates, while describing the defeat at Myriokephalon (Nik.Chon. 188.19–26), recalls "a seed left for Israel," so that God's inheritance should not utterly disappear.

In OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION the chosen people were often seen as allusions to Byz. ideology and current events. Triumphs and epiphanies experienced by leaders such as David, Moses, and Joshua frequently include assemblages of men, women, and children; elaborations upon their respective biblical accounts, these suggest the fortunes of the Byz. themselves. The CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, depicted in MSS such as the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, was interpreted as the living Christian's entry into the Promised Land through the grace of baptism. The ode (Ex 15:1) sung by the Israelites on this occasion is prescribed in *De cer.* (610.3–5) as appropriate to the celebration of triumphs over the Arabs and received special attention in aristocratic Psalter illustration. The theme is translated from a particular historical setting to a transcendental plane in the liturgy. Most developed among such biblical metaphors is the JOSHUA ROLL, which has been interpreted as an epic of Holy Land conquest by Nikephoros II Phokas or John I Tzimiskes (M. Schapiro, *GBA* 35 [1949] 161–76), even though neither of these emperors ever reached Palestine. –J.I., A.K., A.C.

IṢṬAKHRĪ, AL-, more fully Ibrāhīm ibn Muḥammad al-Iṣṭakhrī, geographer and cartographer of Persian origin who wrote in Arabic; born Iṣṭakhr (near ancient Persepolis) late 9th C., died Baghdad after 952. His *Routes and Kingdoms* (written 933–50) is the earliest surviving work of the systematic school of Islamic geography (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS). It is based partly on the now lost *Maps of the Regions* by al-Balkhī (died after 920), on written and oral reports as well as al-Iṣṭakhrī's own observations as a traveler throughout the Islamic East. Beginning with a map of the world, it then concentrates on Islamic territory, dividing it into 20 regions with maps, and includes a map and brief description of the Mediterranean. It is unclear whether he traveled in the Mediterranean regions. His first maps of Egypt and North Africa were criticized and updated by his junior continuator, ibn Ḥawqal. Several later cartographers redrew al-Iṣṭakhrī's maps. His work was extensively used by later Arab and, more particularly, by Persian and Turkish geographers.

His information on Byz., the frontier regions (prior to the Byz. capture of Melitene, 934), and the Mediterranean is less detailed than that of ibn Ḥawqal, the latter often entirely superseding it in this respect. It is, however, still valuable for Byz.'s northern neighbors, particularly the Khazars, Rus', Slavs, and Bulgarians.

ED. *Al-Masālik wa-l-Mamālik*, ed. M. al-Ḥīnī (Cairo 1961).
LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 196–98. A. Miquel, *EI*[2] 4:222f. –A.Sh.

ISTANBUL. See CONSTANTINOPLE.

ISTHMOS. See CORINTH; HEXAMILION.

ISTRIA (Ἰστρία), peninsula extending into the northeastern Adriatic Sea, part of the Roman *provincia Venetiarum et Histriae*, which bordered on DALMATIA to the south. The TABULA PEUTINGERIANA presents Istria as an area of numerous cities. The region lay south of the mainstream of barbarian raids and retained its Roman character until the end of the 6th C. Ostrogothic domination (493–539) did not leave substantial traces in the material culture, and excavations on the peninsula have uncovered both Byz. coins of the 6th C. and traditional Roman houses (G. Bordenache in *Rendiconti. Accademia d'Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti, Napoli* 34 [1959] 177–96). The restoration of Byz. rule in Istria in the mid-6th C. was of short duration: the LOMBARDS invaded it in 568 and gradually reduced Byz. territory to the littoral. In 680 the Lombards took Friuli and established the border between themselves and the empire; the remaining Byz. section formed a part of the exarchate of RAVENNA until the fall of the latter to the Lombards in 751. Thereafter Istria constituted an independent administrative unit under the authority of a local *tribunus* but was not a theme (Ferluga, *Byzantium* 68–70).

Archaeological excavation has revealed the precarious situation in Istria during the Lombard, Avar, and Slav invasions: on the one hand, tombs

of soldiers, for example, a cavalryman from Brežac of ca.600; on the other hand, strongholds with rural population, some of them episcopal centers (Pola, Parentium, Tergeste, etc.). In Parentium (Poreč), Bp. Eufrasius completed a complex of ecclesiastical buildings in the 6th C. The slavization of Istria began at the end of the century; there were two streams of Slavs—Slovenians (in the north) and Croatians. The Roman population maintained its position primarily in the region of Pola; while cemeteries of the 7th–8th C. are predominantly pagan, several churches were built during this period (e.g., St. Sophia in Dvograd dated by a lost inscription to 770).

In 788 Charlemagne took Istria and, in the treaty of Aachen (812), made Byz. formally renounce this territory. Eventually Istria became a base for Venetian penetration of the Balkans.

LIT. E. Klebel, *Über die Städte Istriens* (Lindau-Konstanz 1958). L. Bosio, *L'Istria nella descrizione della Tabula Peutingeriana* (Trieste 1974). B. Marušić, *Istrien im Frühmittelalter* (Pula 1960). M. Kos, *O starejši slovenski kolonizacii v Istri* (Ljubljana 1950). L. Margetić, *Histrica et Adriatica* (Trieste 1983). G. Cuscito, *Cristianesimo antico ad Aquileia e in Istria* (Trieste 1977). S. Mlakar, *Istra u antici* (Pula 1962).

–I.Dj.

ISTROS. See Danube.

ISTVÁN II (Stephen), king of Hungary (1116–31); born ca.1100/1, died 1 Mar. 1131. Son of Kálmán (Coloman, r.1095–1116), István was a rival of his uncle Álmos, who (with his infant son Béla) had been blinded by Coloman. At the start of István's reign, Álmos fled to Constantinople, where Alexios I and John II supported him. Around 1127, because of a trade dispute or because John refused to yield Álmos, the Hungarian king raided Byz. territory, destroying Belgrade, and plundering Niš (Naissus) and Serdica. Around 1128 John responded with an expedition that took Chramon (Kama) and the land between the Sava and the Danube and defeated the Hungarians north of the Danube. Once he had withdrawn, the Hungarians retook Chramon and destroyed Braničevo. John returned (ca.1129) and rebuilt Braničevo. Although István's plans were betrayed, John was forced to withdraw. Around 1129 or 1130 peace was concluded between István and John.

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:56–63. G. Moravcsik, *Byzantium and the Magyars* (Amsterdam 1970) 78f. –C.M.B.

ITACISM, incorrect representation in writing of the high front vowel *i*, and in a wider sense incorrect representation of vowels, in Medieval Greek. Greek orthography became fixed in the classical period and was not modified to take account of the radical phonological changes, particularly in the vowel system, which took place between Hellenistic and Byz. times. Papyrus documents show frequent confusion of ει and ι by the 2nd C. B.C. and of η and ι a little later. Confusion of οι and υ appears from the 1st C. A.D. Confusion of both of these with ι is infrequent before the 9th C. The outcome is that from the 9th C. ι, ει, η, ηι, οι, υ, and υι represented the same sound and were frequently substituted for one another in writing. In the same way ο and ω, αι and ε were confused. Manuals of Orthography laid down rules for correct spelling of words containing these phonemes. The ordinary man, however, cared less about accuracy than the schoolmasters, and incorrect substitution was common in documents, MSS, and even in inscriptions and on the seals of high officials throughout the Middle Ages and later. The reason is that most copyists carried their text from exemplar to copy in the form of an auditory image, which they then wrongly translated into visual symbols in the act of writing. Although these errors rarely gave rise to misunderstanding, occasionally they caused serious corruption, often worsened by the attempts of subsequent copyists to make sense of the text they found in their exemplars. Thus σὺν οἴστισιν becomes συνίστησιν, τί οὐ τῶν becomes τοιοῦτον, and δαῖτα becomes δὲ τά.

LIT. F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan 1976) 183–294. F.W. Hall, *A Companion to Classical Texts* (Oxford 1913) 184. N.A. Macharadse, "Zur Lautung der griechischen Sprache der byzantinischen Zeit," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 144–58.

–R.B.

ITALOS, JOHN. See John Italos.

ITALY (Ἰταλία). In the 4th–5th C. the *dioecesis Italiciana* consisted of two vicariates: the *regio annonaria* (with its capital at Milan), encompassing the provinces of Venetia-Istria, Emilia-Liguria, Alpes Cottiae, and Raetia, and the *regiones suburbicariae* (capital at Rome), composed of Tuscany-Umbria, Picenum-Flaminia, Campania, Samnium, Calabria-Apulia, Lucania-Bruttium, Sicily,



SARDINIA, and Corsica. The traditional assumption that Italy went through an economic crisis in the 4th–5th C. has been questioned; ancient *municipia* survived in Italy at least through the 6th C., and agricultural production remained stable in the Annonarian vicariate in northern Italy (L. Ruggini, *Economia e società nell' "Italia annonaria"* [Milan 1961]); K. Hannestad (12 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Belgrade 1964] 155–58) assumes that after the crisis of the 4th C. Italian agriculture flourished under Ostrogothic rule.

In the 4th and 5th C. ROME (and later MILAN) served as the residence of the Western Roman emperors. The Western emperor was at first the colleague and often the younger brother of the (senior) Eastern augustus (Maximian Herculius under Diocletian, Constans I under Constantius II, Valentinian I and Gratian under Valens, Honorius under Arkadios) but subsequently became an independently elected ruler. The authority of the Western Roman emperors in Italy ended in 476 with the overthrow of ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS by the Herulian ODOACER. Soon thereafter, in 488, the OSTROGOTHS invaded Italy;

by 493 they took RAVENNA and established their kingdom. Under THEODORIC THE GREAT the Ostrogoths enjoyed *de facto* independence of Constantinople but still acknowledged its suzerainty. The economic and social changes of the Gothic period (493–555) are as yet inadequately understood. Archaeological evidence in conjunction with the works of CASSIODORUS, however, indicates a general separation of Italy from the unified Mediterranean economy and the emergence of regional economies throughout the peninsula. Justinian I expended great effort to restore Byz. rule over Italy; his lengthy war against the Ostrogoths caused much hardship for the local population. After the Byz. reconquest, Justinian's measures, esp. the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA, were aimed at restoring the prewar situation and *latifundia* of Roman landowners, which had been partially seized and divided by the Goths and their Italian allies. Byz. rule in Italy was soon challenged; in 568 the LOMBARDS invaded Italy and quickly occupied its northern part. The Byz. retained Ravenna and VENICE in the north and Apulia, Calabria, Lucania, and Campania in the south. Sicily was able to repel the Lombard attacks and also stayed in Byz. hands. The remaining Byz. possessions formed an administrative unit—the EXARCHATE of Ravenna. Gradually, a third factor emerged on the scene—the PAPACY, which expanded its jurisdiction in Sicily and elsewhere.

The political makeup of Italy changed again during the 8th C. Byz. lost Ravenna to the Lombards in 751, but strengthened its position in southern Italy and esp. Sicily, transferring their ecclesiastical jurisdiction to Constantinople and confiscating the papal estates; the territory was substantially hellenized and firmly incorporated into the Byz. administrative system based on THEMES. The Lombard kingdom became decentralized, resulting in the establishment of several independent duchies (BENEVENTO, SALERNO, and later CAPUA); in the mid-8th C. its northern part was conquered by the FRANKS, who became a new factor in the struggle for hegemony in Italy. Relying on Frankish support, the papacy rejected Byz. suzerainty and gradually formed an independent state (by 800).

Arab raids, which began (in Sicily) as early as the mid-7th C., increased in the 8th and 9th C. and forced the Byz., popes, Franks, Lombard rulers, and semi-independent cities (NAPLES, AMALFI, GAETA, Venice) into an anti-Muslim alliance (although in some cases Italian cities and principalities preferred the support—or peace terms—granted by the Arabs). The alliance was not effective, however, and by the beginning of the 10th C. Sicily was essentially lost to the Arabs. In the 10th-C. political struggles, two major powers predominated in Italy: Byz., which retained firm control in southern Italy, and the Ottonians, who inherited Frankish claims and interests in Italy. Before 969 the Byz. KATEPANATE of Italy was created, later (ca.1040) replaced by the *doukaton* of Italy. The administrative term *Italia*, which was used in Greek sources synonymously with LONGOBARDIA, did not include Calabria and Sicily: thus ARGYROS, son of Melo, was titled "*doux* of Italy, Calabria, Sicily, and Paphlagonia" (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 48–63). At the same time the term could be applied to the whole peninsula (without Sicily) and to the Frankish kingdom of Italy.

Abundant Greek and Latin private documents reveal much about the southern Italian villages of the 9th–11th C. They did not employ the open field system; the peasantry paid rent predominantly in kind; free and semifree peasants were numerous; and villages often concluded contracts with the lords that fixed payment amounts and defined the rights of peasants (M.L. Abramson, *VizVrem* 7 [1953] 161–93).

In the 10th C. neither Germany nor Byz. was sufficiently successful at subjugating Italy; the early 11th C. saw a peaceful but unstable situation interrupted by the short-lived campaign of George MANIAKES. In the same century appeared a new power that replaced both the Byz. and the Arabs—the Normans, who established their state in southern Italy and Sicily. At the same time another new factor emerged, namely, the commercial cities of northern Italy (Venice, GENOA, PISA, etc.), which eventually came to dominate trade in the eastern Mediterranean. In the 12th C., Byz., for the last time, attempted to recover its possessions in southern Italy. The empire often had the support of Italian cities (ANCONA, Milan, Venice), but the Norman resistance, the lack of mutual understanding with the papacy, and esp. the powerful interference of the German emperors made the Byz. efforts fruitless.

The conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade in 1204 deprived Byz. of its status as a

world power, making any further intervention in Italy impossible. In contrast, Italian republics began to penetrate the territory of "Romania"; they had been granted commercial privileges and tax exemptions since the late 10th C., but during the 12th C. Byz. maintained control over the Italian colonies and skillfully played off their rivalries. The defeat of 1204 opened up the Levant to the Venetians, who together with the Genoese exercised domination over both Constantinople and the Byz. provinces. Sicily, esp. under CHARLES I OF ANJOU, served as a base for hostile operations against Byz. Both Italian trade domination and the transformation of Byz. into a source of food supply for Italy contributed to the empire's growing poverty, although individual Greek merchants and artisans maintained their activity and operated with substantial capital. Cultural contacts between Byz. and Italy developed in the 14th and 15th C., with Greek books and scholars penetrating the Italian intellectual milieu. The Ottoman threat fostered discussion of a political and religious alliance, but Italian military assistance remained insignificant and could not prevent the fall of the empire to the Turks.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, "L'administration du diocèse Italien au Bas-Empire," *Historia* 12 (1963) 348–79. T.S. Brown, "The Background of Byzantine Relations with Italy in the 9th C.," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 27–45. *I Bizantini in Italia*, ed. G. Cavallo et al. (Milan 1982). R. Hiestand, *Byzanz und das regnum italicum im 10. Jahrhundert* (Zurich 1964). G.A. Loud, "Byzantine Italy and the Normans," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 215–33. Lamma, *Comneni*. M. Balard et al., *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Rome 1957). –A.K.

ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM (Account of the Pilgrims' Journey), a Latin history of the Third Crusade probably written by an English Templar in the Holy Land (at Tyre?) between 1 Aug. 1191 and 2 Sept. 1192, and certainly before 1194 (H. Möhring, *Innsbrucker historische Studien* 5 [1982] 149–67). In addition to firsthand experience and oral sources, the author used a lost account of the Crusade of FREDERICK I. The *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* describes Frederick's crossing of the Byz. Empire and his difficulties with Isaac II's Pechenegs and Bulgars (291.20–296.7), insisting on Greek inferiority and their hatred of innocent Latins (292.12–293.9). It also treats the conflict with the Seljuk sultanate (296.11–300.6) and GREEK FIRE (323.20–324.18). Between 1216 and 1222, Richard, canon and later prior of Holy Trinity, London, revised the *Itinerarium Peregrinorum* and combined it with a Latin translation of the *Estoire de la guerre sainte* (History of the Holy War), material from ROGER OF HOVEDEN, and a lost English account of the Crusade to produce a new version (ed. W. Stubbs, *Chronicles and Memorials of the Reign of Richard I*, vol. 1 [London 1864; rp. 1964]).

ED. *Das Itinerarium peregrinorum*, ed. H.E. Mayer (Stuttgart 1962) 245–357.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, "Zur Verfasserfrage des *Itinerarium peregrinorum*," *ClMed* 26 (1965) 279–92. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 239f. –M.McC.

IVAJLO, Bulgarian tsar (1278–79). Known to the Byz. as Lachanas ("cabbage"), he was a swineherd who believed that he had a mission from God to save Bulgaria from the TATARS. A series of victories brought him broad popular support. He overthrew CONSTANTINE TICH in 1277, but Tŭrnovo held out under Tich's wife Maria (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 19–20, no.15). She preferred to marry Ivajlo and bring him to the throne, rather than allow her uncle MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS to impose his own nominee. She was overthrown while Ivajlo was away fighting the Tatars. He inflicted a series of defeats on the Byz. armies sent to support John Asen III (1279–80), but was forced to turn to the Tatars for help. Khan Nogay had him murdered at a banquet.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:543–75. D. Angelov, *Ivajlo* (Sofia 1954). P. Petrov, *Vŭstanieto na Ivajlo* (Sofia 1956). –M.J.A.

IVAN III, grand duke of Moscow and Vladimir (co-ruler from 1450, prince from 1462); born 22 Jan. 1440, died Moscow 27 Oct. 1505. Son of Basil II, Ivan substantially expanded Muscovite territory during his reign, annexing both Great Novgorod (1478) and the principality of Tver' (1485). In 1472 Ivan took as his second wife SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, niece of Emp. Constantine XI. Thereafter he occasionally called himself "tsar" and began to use the emblem of the two-headed EAGLE on his seals. In 1492 Metr. Zosima referred to Ivan as a "new Constantine" and called Moscow a "new city of Constantine." In the aftermath of the fall of Constantinople to the Turks, Ivan assumed the role of defender of Orthodox Christianity and declared (in 1470) that the patriarch of Constantinople had no jurisdiction over the church of Moscow. Current scholarship (Obolensky, *Commonwealth* 364–67; Meyendorff, *Russia*

274), however, rejects earlier theories that Ivan claimed to be the heir to the Byz. Empire.

LIT. G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn., 1959) 13–133. K.V. Bazilevič, *Vnešnjaja politika Russkogo centralizovannogo gosudarstva. Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1952). –A.M.T.

IVAN ALEXANDER, Bulgarian tsar (1331–71). Descended from the Asen dynasty on his mother's side, Ivan Alexander reached the throne as a result of a coup d'état supported by a faction among the boyars. Throughout his reign he strove to prevent formation of an anti-Bulgarian coalition in the Balkans. Allied from 1332 with STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, Ivan inflicted a severe defeat on the Byz. in that year and regained some territory south of the Balkan range. During the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 he supported John V Palaiologos against John VI Kantakouzenos and as a result added to his dominion a number of towns north of the Rhodope mountains, including PHILIPPOPOLIS. Later his hostility to Byz. led him to ally himself with the Ottoman Turks and with their help to recover several fortresses on the Black Sea coast. In 1365, however, he was defeated by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY and the Hungarians, both of whom supported papal plans for church union. He maintained good relations with Dubrovnik and Venice. His policy of giving parts of his kingdom as appanages to his sons contributed to the fragmentation of the Second Bulgarian Empire and to its inability to resist Turkish pressure. A notable patron of literature and art, Ivan made TŬRNOVO the seat of a flourishing Slavic literary culture, which later influenced the development of Russian culture. Several MSS written and illuminated for him survive. He was married twice, to Theodora, daughter of the Rumanian prince Ivanco Basarab, and later to Sarah-Theodora, a converted Jew.

LIT. P. Mutafčiev, *Istorija na bŭlgarskija narod*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1943) 241–87. Kosev et al., *Bŭlgarija* 1:218–41. I. Božilov, *Familijata na Asenevci (1186–1460)* (Sofia 1985) 149–78, 435–51. K. Mečev, "Car Ivan Aleksandŭr kato dŭržaven i kulturen stroitel," in *Veličieto na Tŭrnovgrad*, ed. A. Popov (Sofia 1985) 122–43. J. Andreev, "Ivan Alexandăr et ses fils sur la dernière miniature de la Chronique de Manassès," *EtBalk* 21.4 (1985) 39–47. –R.B.

IVANKO (Ἰβαγκός), nephew of ASEN I (Akrop. 1:21.1f) and founder of an independent Bulgarian principality; died after 1200. In 1196 Ivanko assassinated Asen. Niketas CHONIATES attributes this murder to Ivanko's involvement in a love affair with the sister of Asen's wife. He also suggests (Nik.Chon. 471.86) that Ivanko was possibly incited by the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos. Ivanko's attempt to establish his power in Tŭrnovo failed: Asen's brother, PETER OF BULGARIA, besieged the city, and, lacking assistance from Byz., Ivanko had to flee to Constantinople. There he was betrothed to the emperor's granddaughter Theodora and received the name Alexios. Alexios III appointed him governor of Philippopolis. Around 1198 or 1199 Ivanko proclaimed his territory independent, allied himself with KALOJAN, and assisted a Cuman raid into Macedonia. After some unsuccessful expeditions against Ivanko (during which the *protostrator* Manuel KAMYTZES was taken captive), Alexios III lured him into a trap (1200). Deceived by a false oath, Ivanko entered the imperial camp, where he was immediately seized. His brother Mitos (Mitja?) fled, and Ivanko's ephemeral principality in Rhodope was annexed by Byz.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:89–120, 132–34. Brand, *Byzantium* 125–31. –A.K., C.M.B.

IVERON MONASTERY, Iberian (Georgian) establishment on the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, approximately 4 km from Karyes. Until between 1010 and 1020 Iveron (Ἰβήρων) was called the "monastery of the Iberian" or "of Euthymios"; thereafter it was called the "lavra of the Iberians." The first Georgians to come to Athos were John the Iberian and his son EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN, who entered the Great Lavra of Athanasios in the 960s before moving to nearby *kellia.* In 979/80 the ascetic/general John TORNIKIOS, after winning a battle over the rebel Bardas SKLEROS and amassing vast amounts of booty, returned to Athos to found a new lavra for Iberians at the site of the monastery "tou Klementos." At this time Tornikios received the KOLOBOU MONASTERY from Emp. Basil II. Under the first *hegoumenoi*—John the Iberian (980–1005), Euthymios (1005–1019), and Euthymios's cousin George (1019–29)—a scriptorium was established for the translation of Greek religious texts into Georgian and the copying of Greek and Georgian MSS. Thereafter Iveron continued to be an important center of Byz.-Georgian cultural interaction and the dissemination of texts in Georgian. In the mid-11th C. the translator and hagiogra-

pher GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI served as *hegoumenos*. The number of monks at the monastery reportedly grew to 300, and Iveron initially owned more land than Lavra. In addition to extensive properties on Athos, Iveron had possessions in Chalkidike, the Strymon valley, and Thessalonike.

Throughout the Byz. period there was rivalry at Iveron between the community of Greek monks, who were in the majority, and the Georgians; the two groups celebrated the liturgy separately. The Georgians were in authority in the early period, and held their services in the *katholikon*, even though they were outnumbered. In the 14th C., however, the Greeks gained dominance at Iveron; an act of 1356 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2396), noting that the Greek monks were "more numerous and capable," stated that the *hegoumenos* was to be Greek and that the Greeks were entitled to hold their services in the principal church. Although it appears no *typikon* was ever written, chapters 34–70 of the vita of John and Euthymios, which describe the organization of Iveron, resemble a monastic rule.

The archives contain over 150 documents of Byz. date; those published to date (the earliest is of 927) deal primarily with sales and donations of property; they provide valuable information on the topography and prosopography of Macedonia. The will of Kale Pakouriane (of 1090) contains a long list of liturgical vessels and textiles given to the monastery. Iveron's library preserves a major collection of 337 Byz. MSS, in addition to 86 Georgian MSS, including unique hagiographical codices. The most important Byz. books are cod. 463, a lavishly illustrated 12th-C. copy of BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (*Treasures* 2:60–91, 306–23), and the 13th-C. Gospel book cod. 5 (ibid. 34–53, 296–303).

The *katholikon*, which has undergone numerous restorations and modifications, was originally built in 980–83 and is one of the oldest surviving Christian structures on Athos. Dedicated to the Virgin, it is a cross-in-square church, with side chapels added later. Its pavement probably dates to the mid-11th C.

SOURCES. J. Lefort et al., *Actes d'Iviron, I. Des origines au milieu du XIe siècle* (Paris 1985). Dölger, *Sechs Praktika*. Dölger, *Schatz*. 35–38, 43–47, 69–71, 153–170, 180–84, 193–209, 230–32, 234–50, 255–61, 263–79, 292–308. (For ed. of vita of John and Euthymios, see EUTHYMIOS THE IBERIAN.)

LIT. *BK* 41 (1983)—entire issue devoted to 1,000th anniversary of foundation of Iveron. Lampros, *Athos* 2:1–279. R. Blake, "Catalogue des manuscrits géorgiens de la bibliothèque de la laure d'Iviron au Mont Athos," *ROC*³ 8 (28) (1931–32) 289–361; 9 (29) (1933–34) 114–59, 225–71.

–A.M.T., A.C.

IVEROPOULOS, JOHN. See PETRITZOS MONASTERY.

IVORY (ἐλέφας), made from ELEPHANT tusks, the principal organic material used in the creation of ceremonial and useful objects, icons, and appliqués for furniture and doors. Dependent on commerce with Africa and India, the availability of ivory varied greatly, although the appeal of its exotic origin and lustrous nature never waned. Its reputation in late antiquity as an imperial material is indicated by the barbarian offering of a giant tusk on the BARBERINI IVORY. In fact, from the beginning of the 4th C. until at least the mid-6th, ivory was relatively cheap: in Diocletian's PRICE EDICT, its cost per pound is one-fortieth that of an equivalent weight in silver.

Abundant statuettes, CASKETS AND BOXES for medications and other items, and decorative plaques were carved in Egypt and exported, as were the 8 stools and 14 chairs sent by Cyril of Alexandria to the court of Theodosios II. Egypt as a source of worked ivory (as against BONE CARVING), which is attested by both papyri and excavations, had been contested but is now confirmed by finds at Abū Mīnā (J. Engemann, *JbAChr* 30 [1987] 172–186). By the 4th C. ivory was also carved in Constantinople. An edict of 337 (*Cod. Theod.* XIII 4.2) includes ivory workers in a list of artisans who were exempted from civil obligations so that they might improve their craft and teach it to their children—a clause that suggests the means by which techniques were transmitted. The widespread manufacture of ivory DIPTYCHS is apparent from an edict of 384 (ibid. XV 9.1) forbidding all but ordinary consuls to issue them. While many consular diptychs can be ascribed with certainty to Constantinople, the place of origin of the cathedra of MAXIMIAN and the so-called five-part diptychs remains disputed, as does that of the scores of surviving pyxides (see PYXIS) decorated with pagan or Christian subjects. While the consular diptychs can be precisely dated, other pre-Justinianic ivories cannot.

It is probable that Constantinople's access to ivory was disrupted in the late 6th and 7th C. There is no evidence for ivory carving in the

ensuing "Dark Age," although such activity has been claimed for Christian workshops in Syria-Palestine. When the ivory trade resumed—possibly no earlier than the reign of Leo VI—East Africa was in Arab hands. Thereafter, ivory was a coveted substance, used in the fabrication of far fewer types of objects than before the 7th C. and generally reserved for sacro-political emblems and ecclesiastical artifacts. The aulic connections of the material are epitomized in a relief in Moscow (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no. 35), apparently made in direct response to the beginning of Constantine VII's sole rule in 945. The dates of other pieces with imperial images and/or inscriptions are disputed, but their function is perhaps indicated by three relatively large TRIPTYCHS. Few in number compared to the more than 200 smaller icons that survive, they are much more elaborately carved and may have been revered in private chapels of the imperial court and the urban elite. The only ivory *staurotheke* (ibid., II, no.77) has a later inscription that says it was used by an emperor Nikephoros (Botaneiates?) to put the barbarians to flight.

Many ivories were sent to the West, where they were applied to the covers of books, the contents of which provide *termini ante quem* for these plaques. Such exports continued until ample Western access to raw ivory, occurring in and after the 11th C., put an end to this commerce. No Byz. pieces have been shown to belong to the 12th C., a period when emperors and other dignitaries commissioned their portraits in other expensive materials. This absence suggests that supplies of ivory were diverted at their source to the West. Substitutes were then prized: John Tzetzes records his gratitude for a "Russian-carved" inkwell (or inkstand?) made of walrus (or narwhal) tusk that he received from Leo, metropolitan of Dorostolon (J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 215–21). Only one object with imperial likenesses, a tiny circular box at Dumbarton Oaks that depicts members of the family of John VIII, can be attributed with confidence to Palaiologan craftsmen.

No ivories are listed in preserved wills and very few in monastic INVENTORIES and TYPIKA. Nothing is known of modes of production. Since the corpus of Goldschmidt and Weitzmann, pieces dated to the 10th and 11th C. have been divided into five groups, supposed to be the products of different ateliers, but there is no basis on which to assume the existence of workshops in this medium other than the fact that craft practices were transmitted to successive generations. That ivory workers also carved bone and STEATITE is a more plausible hypothesis, given the technical, iconographical, and formal resemblance between products in these three media. A late reference to ivory is made by Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:112.21f) who compares the grace of her mother's hands to ivory carved by some artificer. For this workman she uses the generic term *technites*, whereas in late antiquity this craft had been practiced by specialists known as *elephantourgoi*.

LIT. W.F. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten der Spätantike und des frühen Mittelalters*[3] (Mainz 1976). A. Goldschmidt, K. Weitzmann, *Die byzantinischen Elfenbeinskulpturen des X.–XIII. Jahrhunderts*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1930–34; rp. 1979). A. Cutler, *The Craft of Ivory* (Washington, D.C., 1985). J.-P. Caillet, "L'origine des derniers ivoires antiques," *Revue de l'Art* 72 (1986) 7–15.

–A.C.

IZBORNIKI (lit. "Selections") of 1073 and 1076, the two earliest extant dated nonliturgical MSS from Rus'; also known as the *Izborniki of Svjatoslav* (i.e., Jaroslavič of Kiev, 1073–76) from the eulogy in the 1073 MS and the colophon in the 1076 MS. The 1073 *Izbornik* (Moscow, Hist. Mus. Sinod. Sobr. 1043) contains a translation of a Greek FLORILEGIUM close to that of Vat. gr. 423 and Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 120. The 1073 MS is one of more than 20 MSS of this translation. The core of the work is a version of the *Erotapokrisis* ascribed to ANASTASIOS OF SINAI. This is flanked by briefer theological, rhetorical, and chronological articles by, for example, Michael Synkellos, Theodore of Raithou, George Choiroboskos, and Patr. Nikephoros I. Its prototype was Bulgarian: the *enkomion* to Svjatoslav was originally addressed to Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA (but cf. L.P. Žukovskaja, ed., *Drevnerusskij literaturnyj jazyk v ego otnošenii k staroslavjanskomu* [Moscow 1987] 45–62).

The 1076 *Izbornik* (Leningrad, Publ. Lib., Sobranie Ermitažnoe 20) is the only complete MS of its type and does not reflect an equivalent Byz. *florilegium*. Rather it contains extracts from previous Slavonic translations, at least in part via previous Slavonic compilations (including passages from the *florilegium* represented in the 1073 *Izbornik*). In character it is gnomic and hortatory, with substantial segments of, for example, *Ecclesiasticus*, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Gennadios I, the *Sententiae* ascribed to HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM, JOHN KLIMAX, AGAPETOS, and APO-

PHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Some of its sources are unidentified, and its provenance—Kievan or Bulgarian—is disputed.

ED. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 goda. Faksimil'noe izdanie* (Moscow 1983). *Izbornik 1076 goda*, ed. S.I. Kotkov (Moscow 1965).

LIT. *Izbornik Svjatoslava 1073 g.*, ed. B.A. Rybakov (Moscow 1977). H.G. Lunt, "On the Izbornik of 1073," in *Okeanos* 359–76. W.R. Veder, "The *Izbornik of John the Sinner*," in *Polata kŭnigopis'naja* 8 (June 1983) 15–37.

–S.C.F.

IZMARAGD (from Gr. σμάραγδος, "emerald"), a compendium of ethical instruction compiled in Rus', probably in the early 14th C., initially in 88 chapters. The precepts in *Izmaragd*, aimed mainly at laymen and priests, concern the life of a Christian in society: marriage, work, relations with authority, charity, and the blessings derived from reading. The sources of *Izmaragd* overlap with those of other Slavonic compilations (the IZBORNIKI of 1073 and 1076, ZLATOSTRUJ, *Zlatoust*) and include translated extracts from pseudo-Chrysostom, the *Centuria* ascribed to Patr. Gennadios I, the *Pandektes* of ANTIOCHOS and of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, EPHREM THE SYRIAN, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, pseudo-Athanasios, *Ecclesiasticus*, the vita of Niphon of Constantia, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. *Izmaragd* also contains works ascribed to KIRILL of Turov, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, and SERAPION OF VLADIMIR. A second version in 165 chapters probably dates from the late 15th C. It draws on a similar range of sources (though only 50 chapters are borrowed directly from the first version), with additional material from PALLADIOS, John MOSCHOS, and the *Dialogues* of GREGORY I THE GREAT.

LIT. V.A. Jakovlev, *K literaturnoj istorii drevnerusskich sbornikov. Opyt izslědovanija "Izmaragda"* (Odessa 1893; rp. Leipzig 1974). V.P. Adrianova-Perec, "K voprosu o kruge čtenija drevnerusskogo pisatelja," *TODRL* 28 (1974) 3–29. O.V. Tvorogov, "Izmaragd," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 249–53. Fedotov, *Mind* 2:36–112.

–S.C.F.

J

JABALA, the first attested GHASSĀNID chief in the service of Byz.; died ca.528. Around 500 he appeared as a warrior in occupation of the island of Iotabe, which had been captured in the reign of Leo I by AMORKESOS. After hard-fought battles, Romanos, the energetic *doux* of Palestine, was able to force Jabala out of Iotabe and restore Byz. rule. In the general settlement with the Arab tribes who attacked the frontier, Anastasios I concluded a peace with the Ghassānids in 502 that made them the dominant federate group in Oriens. Jabala remained the principal figure in Byz.-Arab relations for another quarter of a century. The Ghassānids became staunch Monophysites, a fact reflected in the appearance of the Monophysite firebrand Simeon of Beth-Arsham at Jabala's camp in Jābiya ca.520, invoking the extension of aid to the Christians of NAJRĀN and South Arabia. Jabala probably died at the battle of Thannuris (528) while fighting in the Byz. army against the Persians.

LIT. I. Shahid, *The Martyrs of Najran* (Brussels 1971) 272–76. –I.A.Sh.

JACOB BARADAEUS (Βαραδαῖος, Syr. Burde'ana, "man in ragged clothes"), Monophysite bishop of Edessa (from 542/3); born Tella, Osrhoene, ca.500, died Kasion, near the Syro-Egyptian frontier, 30 July 578. He was the organizer of the Monophysite church, called JACOBITE after him. In 527/8 the monk Jacob went to Constantinople, where he became a favorite of the empress Theodora and also gained the support of the Arab chieftain Ḥārith ibn-Jabala (ARETHAS). When Ephraim of Antioch (527–45) launched a severe attack against the Monophysites, Theodora urged Theodosios, Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria, to consecrate two bishops in Syria to counterbalance Ephraim's activities—Theodore in Bostra and Jacob in Edessa (542/3).

According to John of Ephesus (PO 19:154), Jacob's diocese extended over most of the East, where the Monophysite cause had been severely weakened by Justinian's persecution. Jacob was tireless in his missionary activity, appointing Monophysite bishops in many cities, including Chios, Ephesus, and Antioch. Although much of his work was in Asia Minor and along the coasts of the Mediterranean, most of the bishops were drawn from Syrian monasteries, giving the Monophysite hierarchy a distinctly Syrian character. Justinian attempted to arrest Jacob, but he was frequently in disguise (hence his sobriquet) and was never caught. Some of Jacob's letters, written originally in Greek, have survived in Syriac.

ED. See *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 7170–99.

LIT. H.G. Kleyn, *Jacobus Baradaeüs de stichter der syrische monophysietische kerk* (Leiden 1882). D.D. Bundy, "Jacob Baradaeus. The State of Research," *Muséon* 91 (1978) 45–86. E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (Louvain 1951) 157–245. A. van Roez in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:339–60. –T.E.G.

JACOBITES, Syrian MONOPHYSITES, followers of JACOB BARADAEUS. Although Monophysitism had individual followers from the time of the Council of CHALCEDON, the movement was not given firm institutional form until the missionary activity of Jacob Baradaeus beginning ca.542. The Jacobite church traced its roots to Patr. Theodosios of Alexandria (535–66), who consecrated Jacob. Although many Jacobite churches were established in Asia Minor and the Aegean Islands, the hierarchy of the church was made up largely of Syrian monks who brought with them their language and spiritual ideals. Jacobite missionaries spread their teachings as far as Persia, but their real centers were the villages and monasteries of Syria, and many bishops lived in desert monasteries rather than cities. The Jacobite church survived the Persian and Islamic conquests, although with decreased numbers, into modern times.

LIT. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 285–87, 318–20, 326. S.P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1955). –T.E.G.

JACOB OF SARUG (or Serugh), Syriac poet and theologian; born Curtam, near Sarug on the Euphrates, ca.451, died Batnan 29? Nov. 521. Edu-

cated in the Nestorian school of Edessa, he nevertheless became a follower of CYRIL of Alexandria. He served as *chorepiskopos* in the district of Sarug and in 519 was elected bishop of Batnan. Jacob's religious creed was attacked by his contemporaries: Nestorian chroniclers characterized him as a turncoat who accepted the beliefs of the ruling emperor (P. Krüger, *OstkSt* 13 [1964] 15–32); an anonymous Monophysite accused Jacob of falling at the end of his life into a horrible heresy, that is, the creed of Chalcedon (P. Krüger in *Wegzeichen* [Würzburg 1971] 245–52). In his works Jacob did not follow the final formula of Chalcedon but taught that the incarnate Christ was "one nature out of two."

A prolific author, Jacob left homilies in prose and verse as well as numerous letters; not all of these have survived. He interpreted Scripture in an allegorical or typological manner: Moses had to place a veil over his face after the Theophany on Mt. Sinai because the Israelites were not mature enough to receive the divine truth; it was removed, according to Jacob, after the Incarnation that allowed the world to see the Son of God openly (S. Brock, *Sobornost* 3 [1981] 70–85). The theme of the Incarnation attracted Jacob: he perceived it symbolically as "three wombs": Mary's womb, the womb of the Jordan (baptism), and the womb of Sheol (death, or the baptism on the cross), and discovered the prefigurations of these baptisms in the Old and New Testaments (S. Brock, *OrChrAn* 205 [1976] 325–47). A man of Christian culture, Jacob strongly opposed any remnants of classical civilization and sharply criticized theatrical performances (W. Cramer, *JbAChr* 23 [1980] 96–107).

ED. *Homiliae Selectae*, ed. P. Bedjan, 5 vols. (Paris 1905–10). *Six homélies festales en prose*, ed. F. Rilliet (Turnhout-Brepols 1986). *Epistulae*, ed. G. Olinder [= *CSCO, Scriptores Syri*, 57] (Paris 1937).

LIT. A. Vööbus, *Handschriftliche Überlieferung der Memre-Dichtung des Ja'qob von Serug*, 4 vols. (Louvain 1973–80). T. Jansma, "Die Christologie Jakobs von Serugh," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 5–46. P. Peeters, "Jacques de Saroug, appartient-il à la secte monophysite?" *AB* 66 (1948) 134–98. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 113–41. –T.E.G.

JACOB'S LADDER, a ladder ascending to heaven seen by the Hebrew patriarch Jacob during his dream (Gen 28:10–22). John Chrysostom (PG 59:454–55), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2 [Paris 1979] 216, ch.27.1.4–5), and others interpreted it as a metaphor for the ascent to God. As an image for the Virgin, it figures in the AKATHISTOS HYMN; the biblical account was read at the Great Feasts of the Virgin (Birth, Annunciation, Dormition).

Representation in Art. The ladder was illustrated already by the 4th C., for example, at Dura Europos and the Via Latina catacomb, and appears in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and the OCTATEUCHS. It was the explicit model for illustrations to the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, and icons based on this text. Jacob is shown ascending the ladder on the Brescia Casket (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), depicting the ascent to God rather than the details of the Old Testament account. In Palaiologan painting (e.g., in the CHORA) the ladder appears as a prefiguration of the Virgin (S. Der Nersessian in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:334–36).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:519–25. C.M. Kauffmann, *LCI* 2:370–83. M. Putscher, "Die Himmelsleiter. Verwandlung eines Traums in der Geschichte," *Clio medica* 13.1 (1978) 13–37. –J.H.L., C.B.T.

JAMES (Ἰάκωβος). Three individuals named James were associated with Jesus; as a result there has been confusion over their identities. (1) The apostle James Major ("the Great"), the son of Zebedee, was the elder brother of the apostle JOHN; he preached in Palestine, was beheaded, and was commemorated on 15 Nov. and 30 Apr. (2) The apostle James Minor ("the Less"), son of Alphaeus, was martyred by clubbing and was commemorated on 9 Oct. (3) James, the "brother of the Lord" (*adelphotheos*), was Christ's half-brother. He became the first bishop of Jerusalem, was martyred when the Jews pulled him from the height of the Temple, and was commemorated on 23 Oct. The last two Jameses are sometimes conflated.

The Epistle of St. James in the New Testament is usually attributed to James *adelphotheos*; John Chrysostom wrote a commentary on this epistle (PG 64:1039–52). Several other works were ascribed to this James: the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, a homily on the Dormition (actually a compilation of JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike [M. Jugie, PO 19 (1926) 344–438]), and a dialogue with John the Theologian on the departure of the soul (*Anecdota graeco-byzantina* [Moscow 1893],

ed. A. Vassiliev, 317–22). The ancient liturgy of St. James is also traditionally ascribed to the brother of the Lord. James was praised by various authors, including Andrew of Crete, Hippolytos of Thebes, and Niketas Paphlagon. The center of his cult in Constantinople was the Church of the Virgin Mary in Chalkoprateia.

Representation in Art. James the *adelphotheos,* although not an apostle, was conflated with them in artistic representations: James Major and James Minor often wear his episcopal robes, and his white hair sometimes replaces their brown hair. The figure of James Major—known with his brother, John, as "thunder-voiced"—illustrates Psalm 76:19 in several marginal PSALTERS; here, as in the scene of their calling, both are beardless youths. In the scene of the TRANSFIGURATION, James Major is brown-haired; it is as a mature man with brown hair and beard that he is shown preaching at Psalm 19 in the marginal Psalters and at his martyrdom in a MS in Paris (B.N. gr. 102—H. Kessler, *DOP* 27 [1973] pl.1).

LIT. R.A. Lipsius, *Die apokryphen Apostelgeschichten und Apostellegenden,* vol. 2.2 (Braunschweig 1883–84) 201–57. F. Halkin, "Une notice byzantine de l'apôtre saint Jacques, frère de saint Jean," *Biblica* 64 (1983) 565–70. *BHG* 763y–766i. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS (an unidentified monastery), the author, probably of the 12th C., of six homilies on the Virgin. Nothing is known of his life. A. Kirpičnikov (*Letopis'* 2 [1892] 255–80) identified him with another James, the author of letters addressed to the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE; this identification remains debatable. The homilies are devoted to the life of the Virgin from her conception to her visitation with Elizabeth. They are preserved in two deluxe MSS, Paris, B.N. gr. 1208 and Vat. gr. 1162, probably from the second quarter of the 12th C., which were profusely illustrated by the major atelier then active in Constantinople. Their numerous INITIALS, both floral and zoomorphic, and their elaborate HEADPIECES are hallmarks of this atelier, which also produced the CODEX EBNERIANUS.

ED. PG 127:543–700.

LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness: The Monk Iakovos," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 63–71. J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *DOP* 36 (1982) 83–114. Anderson, "Sinai. Gr. 339." –R.S.N., A.K.

JANISSARIES (γιανίτζαροι). According to the traditional etymology, a term deriving from the Turkish *yeni çeri,* "new army," which was the OTTOMAN sultan's personal army or Kapıkulları (lit. "slaves of the Porte"), the troops of the palace. The army of the Janissaries was the result of the *devshirme* (Turk. "collection, recruiting"), an Ottoman institution, namely the periodical levy of Christian boys living within the sultan's territories (*dhimmi*) for training to fill the ranks of the Janissaries and later to enter palace service or the administration. The same term is used in the earliest Ottoman sources with the meaning of *pencik,* that is, the collection of the fifth part of the prisoners, an old Islamic institution, called by the Byz. πέμπτον (Kantakouzenos) or πενταμοιρία (Chalkokondyles) and by the Latins *pendameria* (Veneto-Cretan text of 1402). The earliest reference to the *devshirme* as an institution applied to the sultan's subjects appears in the Life of St. PHILOTHEOS OF ATHOS, apparently composed in the second half of the 14th C. (B. Papoulia, *SüdostF* 22 [1963] 259–80), and in a sermon of Isidore GLABAS, metropolitan of Thessalonike, delivered in 1395 (S. Vryonis, *Speculum* 31 [1956] 433–43). The Greek term *gianitzaroi* also designated the Christian guards of the Byz. emperor ca.1437. In that case it probably constituted the Greek rendering of the Latin or neo-Latin *ginetari, gianetario, janizzeri,* etc.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:110f, 113. G.T. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. V.L. Ménage, *EI*² 2:210–13. Idem, "Some Notes on the Devshirme," *BSOAS* 29 (1966) 64–78. E.A. Zachariadou, "Les 'janissaires' de l'empereur byzantin," in *Studia turcologica memoriae Alexii Bombaci dicata* (Naples 1982) 591–97. –E.A.Z.

JARMĪ, AL-, more fully Muslim ibn Abī Muslim al-Jarmī, Arab official and warrior who wrote books on Byz. based on information obtained as a prisoner of war; fl. 9th C. His biography is only known from al-MASʿŪDĪ, who describes him as an eminent man in the Arab-Byz. frontier region. He was captured by the Byz. ca.837 and was released in 845. His writings on Byz. are now lost. They were used by IBN KHURDĀDBEH, QUDĀMA, and al-Masʿūdī (and probably ibn al-Faqīh, ca.900). According to al-Masʿūdī (*Tanbīh* 191), al-Jarmī was well informed on Byz. His writings dealt with historical, political, administrative, topographical,

and strategic matters as well as the northern neighbors of Byz. Al-Jarmī's description of Byz. THEMES and other aspects of the Byz. army and administration are extremely accurate and detailed, forming the core of practically all such accounts in Arab geographers. Of special importance are his descriptions of routes into Byz. Asia Minor and practical instructions on the suitable times for raids into Byz. territory.

LIT. W. Treadgold, "Remarks on the Work of Al-Jarmī on Byzantium," *BS* 44 (1983) 205–12. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Ǧarmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18–29. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xviii, 2:391–95. A. Shboul, *Al-Mas'ūdī and His World* (London 1979) 234. –A.Sh., A.M.T.

JAROSLAV (Ἰεροσθλάβος), prince of Kiev; son of VLADIMIR I of Kiev; baptismal name George; born 978, died Kiev 20 Feb. 1054. Victorious in his war for the succession, Jaroslav became the ruler of all Rus' in 1036. In 1037 he began to construct the new city of Kiev on the Constantinopolitan pattern, with its own "Golden Gate" and stone churches. The Cathedral of St. Sophia (see KIEV) contains a fragmentary fresco of the founder Jaroslav and his family. His victory over the PECHENEGS turned their main raids toward the DANUBE and the Byz. provinces. In 1043 he sent a naval expedition of about 400 vessels and up to 20,000 men against Constantinople; defeated in the Bosporos by the Byz. general THEOPHANES, the fleet returned home with serious losses. Six thousand warriors lost their boats, but reached shore and were taken prisoner; many were blinded. The attack on Constantinople can be seen as either a belated attempt to support George MANIAKES or a trade conflict. The peace treaty of 1046 restored the alliance, sealed by the marriage of Constantine IX's daughter to Jaroslav's son, VSEVOLOD.

In 1051, after Jaroslav nominated ILARION as metropolitan of Kiev, the bishops of the Russian eparchy elected and consecrated him, basing their action on the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES. Although they ignored the designative and consecratory rights of the patriarch of Constantinople, Byz. jurisdiction itself was not in question since, no later than 1054, a Greek named Ephraim who bore the title of *protoproedros ton protosynkellon* was metropolitan of Kiev.

LIT. Shepard, "Russians Attack." Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pts.IV (1981), 15–66; V (1972), 5–31. –An.P.

JEREMIAH (Ἰερεμίας), one of the four great PROPHETS, also considered to be the author of the Old Testament Book of Lamentations; feastday 1 May or 4 Nov. (Halkin, *infra* 111). ORIGEN wrote commentaries on both books (Jeremiah and Lamentations), offering an allegorical rather than a "historical" interpretation; thus in some cases (e.g., *Werke* 3^2 [1983] 5.8) he discarded the exegesis of Jeremiah as a reference to Christ and insisted on explaining his words as allusions to mankind's moral infamy. After John Chrysostom and esp. Theodoret of Cyrrhus, the image of Jeremiah as prophet of Christ's advent became entrenched in Byz. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and the imperial *Menologion* of the 11th C. (Halkin, *infra*) have Jeremiah announce to the Egyptian priests the fall of their idols and the birth of the Savior in the manger. Byz. legend ascribed to Jeremiah a miraculous power to expel asps (identified as crocodiles). He is described as a short man with a sharp-pointed beard. His memory was celebrated in the Church of Apostle Peter, near Hagia Sophia (Janin, *Églises CP* 398).

Representation in Art. Images of Jeremiah are found principally among the prophets in monumental art and in the PROPHET BOOKS. The depiction of Jeremiah with long dark hair and beard in Florence Laur. 5.9 (late 10th C.) is one of the most monumental images of Byz. illumination, but his book offered little to the repertoire of narrative iconography, even in contexts such as the *Sacra Parallela*.

LIT. *BHG* 777–79. Y. Congar, "Ecce constitui te super gentes et regna (Jér.1.10) 'in Geschichte und Gegenwart,'" in *Theologie in Geschichte und Gegenwart* (Munich 1957) 671–96. F. Halkin, "Le prophète 'saint' Jérémie dans le ménologe impérial byzantin," *Biblica* 65 (1984) 111–16. A. Heimann, *LCI* 2:387–92. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* (Wiesbaden 1979) 45. –J.I., J.H.L., A.K.

JERICHO (Ἰεριχώ, Hebr. Yeriho), ancient city in the southern Jordan Valley that flourished during the late Roman period: the MADABA MOSAIC MAP represents it with ramparts, gates, and palm trees. By 325 Jericho was a bishopric. After the earthquake of 551 Justinian I ordered the repair of its churches of Elisha and the Virgin; the latter is identified as a large 6th-C. basilica uncovered at Tell Ḥassan. The remains of successive churches of the 4th–9th C. were discovered at Khirbat en-Niṭla, as well as an 8th-C. synagogue. The city became a monastic center, with a hospital and

several hospices; a mosaic floor with a Nestorian inscription was found. Among the city's attractions for pilgrims was Elisha's spring.

Jericho was destroyed by Persian and Arab invasions and became a village: John PHOKAS (ch.20) describes the area as countryside covered with gardens and vineyards, but Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.280–87) saw only a stifling sandy valley. The Crusaders built a castle and Church of the Trinity at Jericho.

LIT. Abel, *Géographie* 2:359f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 928. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 160. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 72–75. *EAEHL* 2:570–75. –G.V., Z.U.M.

JEROME, more fully Eusebius Hieronymus, biblical exegete and translator, saint; born Stridon in Dalmatia 331 (Kelly) or ca.348, died Bethlehem 30 Sept. 420. Jerome was early exposed to both classical and Christian culture at Rome, being baptized and studying under the scholar Donatus. Years of travel and asceticism in the West and East followed. He learned Hebrew as a hermit in the Syrian desert. Jerome was ordained at Antioch, where he studied Greek and heard APOLLINARIS lecture. A visit to Constantinople in 381 acquainted him with GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Back in Rome he became secretary to Pope Damasus (366–384), also functioning as spiritual and worldly adviser to wealthy Roman ladies, such as MELANIA THE YOUNGER. After the death of Damasus, renewed travels ended at BETHLEHEM where he ruled a newly founded monastery and devoted himself to scholarship.

Jerome's translation of the Bible into Latin (Vulgate) is preeminent among his writings. Voluminous biblical commentaries are enriched by the secular learning brought to bear on sacred texts. Equally important for his contemporaries were his *De viris illustribus* (On Famous Men) of 392, a catalog of 135 Christian authors, both Greek and Latin, from St. Peter to himself, and his Latin paraphrase and expansion of the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, a world history from the birth of Abraham to 325, with much emphasis on chronology and synchronization of events. His many letters mirror the social and intellectual life of the times. He also wrote vituperative attacks on heresies and heretics, the fruit of his passionate involvement against Arianism, Origenism, and Pelagianism. Jerome's famous dream, in which God invited him to choose between Cicero and Christianity, crystallizes the dilemma of how to reconcile the old Roman culture with the new Christian religion.

ED. PL 22–30. *Opera*, ed. G. Morin, P. Antin, 2 vols. (Turnhout 1958–59). *Die Chronik des Hieronymus*, ed. R.W.O. Helm (Berlin 1956). *Hieronymus liber De viris inlustribus*, ed. E.C. Richardson (Leipzig 1896). *Select Letters of St. Jerome*, ed. F.A. Wright (London–New York 1933), with Eng. tr. *The Homilies of Saint Jerome*, tr. M.L. Ewald, 2 vols. (Washington, D.C., 1964–66). *Saint Jerome, Dogmatic and Polemical Works*, tr. J.N. Hritzu (Washington, D.C., 1965).

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Jerome: his Life, Writings, and Controversies* (London 1975). K. Sugano, *Das Rombild des Hieronymus* (Frankfurt 1983). D.S. Wiesen, *St. Jerome as a Satirist* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1964). A.S. Pease, "The Attitude of Jerome towards Pagan Literature," *TAPA* 50 (1919) 150–67. –B.B.

JERUSALEM (Ἱεροσόλυμα), the present Old City, lies near the summit of the Judaean Hills on a pair of rocky spurs sloping south toward the junction of two valleys, the Hinnom (Gehenna) to the west and south and the Kidron (Valley of Jehosophat) to the east. The eastern spur includes the ancient Temple Mount, now the Ḥaram al-Sharīf. The broader and higher western spur, in antiquity nearly bisected by a transverse valley, terminates in Mt. SION (Zion), towering above the Hinnom Valley.

In the late Roman period Jerusalem retained the plan and the name of Aelia Capitolina, a Roman colony founded by Hadrian between 130 and 135. On the existing street grid Hadrian had imposed two monumental colonnaded streets, one leading south from the main north gate (the present Damascus gate) along the western spur, and the other descending the Tyropoean Valley between the two spurs. The Temple Mount lay in ruins, and Aelia's principal temple, to Capitoline Jupiter, dominated the city from the higher western spur, adjacent to the colonnaded street. To the south of the temple opened the city's forum, part of it over the transverse valley, which Hadrian had filled in to provide the needed space. Another major street, perhaps not colonnaded, extended from the main west gate (now the Jaffa gate) east across the western spur and the Tyropoean Valley to the Temple Mount.

Roman Aelia's small Christian community had venerated caves in Bethlehem 9 km to the south, and at Gethsemane and on the Mount of Olives just east of the city. Outside the walls stood a house church and a small suburban community on Mt. Sion. The Christians played no role in the

city, of which the empire's Christians were scarcely aware.

This changed dramatically in 326 when, according to tradition, HELENA reached Jerusalem. The year before, Bp. Makarios of Jerusalem had secured permission from Constantine I at the Council of NICAEA to destroy the Capitoline temple. While removing the foundations, in Helena's presence, workmen uncovered an empty tomb which was identified as that of Christ. A rock nearby was taken to be Golgotha. This discovery created a sensation among Christians and quickly stimulated PILGRIMAGE from as far away as the western provinces. Constantine ordered a basilica (which became the city's episcopal see) constructed just to the east of the tomb.

Retaining its Roman plan, Aelia now became a Christian city and, in common parlance, was once again called Jerusalem or "the Holy City." An outpouring of public and private wealth gave the city's topography a Christian appearance. Besides the complex surrounding the Holy SEPULCHRE, Constantine built the Eleona church on the MOUNT OF OLIVES and a great basilica in BETHLEHEM. By the end of the 4th C. the Roman noblewoman Poimenia had financed the Ascension Church (Imbomon) near the Eleona, and unknown benefactors the Church of the Apostles on Mt. Sion and a church in Gethsemane. Bishops such as CYRIL of Jerusalem became the most powerful men in the city.

Constantine enforced Hadrian's edict excluding Jews from Jerusalem but permitted them entrance to mourn the destruction of the Temple—in Christian eyes salutary proof of Christianity's triumph. With similar symbolism but opposite intentions, Julian the Apostate lifted the Hadrianic ban and resolved to rebuild the Jewish Temple. Work began in 362/3 but was soon suspended. Christian pilgrims to the Temple Mount were shown the bloodstains of Zacharias there (*Protoevangelion of James* 23.2–3) as well as the standing Herodian retaining walls (of considerable height) and the various underground chambers said to belong to Solomon's palace.

By the end of the 4th C., virtually the entire pagan population had embraced the victorious faith. By 381–84, when EGERIA visited Jerusalem, asceticism had struck root, and monks and consecrated virgins, many from abroad, formed an important part of the populace. Mainly Western ascetic communities existed on the Mount of Olives by 375, and a decade later St. JEROME and his protégé Paula founded rival monasteries in Bethlehem. Immigrant ascetics like MELANIA THE YOUNGER helped the city's economy with generous endowments to churches, monasteries, and XENODOCHEIA.

Like PALESTINE as a whole, Jerusalem profited from traffic in RELICS. Rich in ordinary "blessings" (see EULOGIA), Jerusalem also possessed the wood of the TRUE CROSS; bits of it, acquired for a price, or stolen, or given as presents, soon made their way across Christendom. Similarly, Bp. JOHN II of Jerusalem took control of the relics of St. Stephen the Protomartyr, which came to light in 415. In 420 or 421 John's successor dispatched Stephen's right arm to Constantinople, in return for which Theodosios II sent money to Jerusalem and dedicated a gem-encrusted cross on Golgotha.

Melania influenced ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, consort of Theodosios, who first came to Jerusalem on pilgrimage in 438/9 and then, exiled from the court, settled permanently (ca.443–60). Eudokia endowed monasteries, founded hostels for pilgrims and the poor, and built churches to the Virgin at Siloam—on the south flank of Jerusalem's eastern spur—and perhaps at the Sheep Pool, the latter commemorating Mary's birth. Eudokia's Basilica of St. Stephen, north of the city, remained the largest church for a century. Above all, the exiled empress built a new fortification wall whose defensive perimeter finally incorporated Mt. Sion and the southern suburbs as far as Siloam. In the mid-5th C., Jerusalem reached a pinnacle of population and wealth unequaled since the Herodian period. Despite this, CAESAREA MARITIMA held primacy among the sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF).

After Constantine and Eudokia, Justinian I ranks as Jerusalem's third imperial benefactor. He built the Nea Ekklesia of Mary Theotokos, the city's largest church, and extended the main colonnaded street south to its west façade. This completed the urban plan of Jerusalem as depicted on the MADABA MOSAIC MAP.

In 614 the Persians besieged and captured Jerusalem with heavy destruction and loss of life, gave the city over to the Jews, and carried off the True Cross (*Expugnationis Hierosolymae AD 614 re-*

censiones arabicae, ed. G. Garitte, 2 vols. [Louvain 1974]). Herakleios forced the Persians to withdraw; the return of the city's talisman is variously dated to 629, 630, and 631 (V. Grumel suggests 21 March 631 [*ByzF* 1 (1966) 139–49]); within the decade, however, Jerusalem fell to the Arabs. About March 638, after a long siege, Patr. Sophronios surrendered Jerusalem to the Caliph ʿUmar, who refrained from praying at the Lord's Tomb and thus preserved the site for Christianity. The Muslims, who likewise called Jerusalem "the Holy City" (al-Quds), built their shrines, the Dome of the Rock and the al-Aqṣa Mosque, on the Temple Mount. Christian pilgrimage continued on a smaller scale. In 1009 the mad Fāṭimid caliph al-Ḥākim leveled the Holy Sepulchre, but Constantine IX soon restored it (R. Ousterhout, *JSAH* 48 [1989] 66–78).

The Crusaders entered Jerusalem in 1099 and established the Kingdom of Jerusalem (see Jerusalem, Kingdom of). Europeans ruled the city from 1099 to 1187 and from 1229 to 1243, gave the Church of the Holy Sepulchre its present form and built the Gothic Church of St. Anne. They turned the Dome of the Rock temporarily into a church, the *Templum Domini*, and the knightly Order of Templars established itself in al-Aqṣa. Despite subsequent rebuilding, the Old City today retains the urban plan of the Roman and Byz. periods.

In art, biblical exegesis, and theology a celestial Jerusalem paralleled and sometimes reflected the terrestrial city. Conforming to biblical prophecies about Jerusalem, this conception became an archetype of the human soul, of the Christian church, and of individual church buildings. It provided an image of paradise, as in Revelations 21–22 and the 10th-C. vision of the Monk Kosmas (*Synax.CP* 111–14), where the heavenly city with golden streets and a palace could equally be Constantinople, sometimes called by the Byz. the New Jerusalem.

Pilgrimage Sites. In addition to the Holy Sepulchre, six sites in Jerusalem were of special interest to pilgrims.

1. The ***House of Caiaphas,*** where part of Jesus' trial took place and Peter denied him (Mt 26:57–75), was east of Mt. Sion. Peter's repentance (Mt 26:75) was remembered there in the early stational liturgy of Holy Thursday. By the 6th C. at the latest, a church of St. Peter replaced "ruins" of at least the house and continued to be a focus of interest through the Latin Kingdom.

2. The ***Garden of Gethsemane,*** just east of the city, was the site where Jesus prayed (Mk 14:32–42) and was betrayed by Judas (Mk 14:43–50). Early pilgrims used Gethsemane as a place of prayer. By the late 4th C. a church was built there; probably the earthquake of 746 destroyed it. Sources refer to a rock or a cave of the betrayal. The Breviarius, Patr. Eutychios of Constantinople, and the Piacenza Pilgrim held that Jesus had a supper at Gethsemane; Eutychios distinguishes this "first supper" from the "second" meal at Bethany (Jn 12:2) and the "third," that is, the Last Supper (see Lord's Supper). A certain Theodosius set the Washing of the Feet at Gethsemane, which was also identified with the tomb of the Virgin's Dormition.

3. The ***Praetorium,*** or residence of Pontius Pilate (Mk 15:16), was in fact in the area of the Tower of David, but the place pointed out to Byz. pilgrims was in the Tyropoean Valley. A church existed there from the mid-5th C., decorated perhaps with murals depicting the narrative of Mark 15:16–20. From the 6th C., pilgrims were shown the stone (with footprints) upon which Christ stood during his trial, Pilate's seat, and a portrait of Christ.

4. The ***Sheep Pool*** (pool of Bethesda, John 5:2) was located near the east gate of the city. Excavations have shown that the site was originally a pagan healing shrine; porticoes enclosed its two pools during the Roman period. By the mid-5th C. a "Church of the Sheep Pool" was on the spot, with a courtyard overhanging the pools. It was the locus sanctus not only of the healing of the paralytic (and preserved his couch), but also of the birth of the Virgin.

5. ***Siloam*** was a pool on the south side of the city where Jesus sent the blind man to wash and be healed (John 9:7). A traditional healing shrine, it was enclosed by a square colonnade in Roman times, and, in the 5th C., marked by a church that attracted the sick (Piacenza Pilgrim, *Travels* 24) seeking the eulogia of the waters. Remains of both stages have been found by excavation.

6. The ***Tower of David,*** on the site of the present Citadel, is portrayed on the Madaba mosaic map as two towers to the right of the west entrance to the city. The name was applied generally to the originally three-towered fortress built there

by Herod the Great, where Byz. pilgrims believed David had composed or recited the Psalms.

LIT. J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels to the Holy Land*, rev. ed. (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*. H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jerusalem: Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie et d'histoire*, 2 vols. in 4 (Paris 1912–26). N. Avigad, *Discovering Jerusalem* (Nashville, Tenn., 1983) 205–46. –K.G.H., G.V.

JERUSALEM, ASSIZES OF, designation given to a group of treatises, chiefly of the 13th C., which record the procedures, customs, and laws of the kingdom of JERUSALEM; some of the royal laws ("assizes") incorporated data from the 12th C. The principal group of treatises, composed in Old French by Jean d'Ibelin and others, relates to the usages of the High Court of the kingdom, which judged cases involving the king and his barons. These represent Western feudal law, interpreted by the baronial jurists so as to weaken royal power. A second, smaller group of treatises records the practices of the Court of Burgesses, esp. that at ACRE, which tried cases involving nonnobles, chiefly merchants. Of these latter treatises, the *Livre des Assises des Bourgeois* was strongly influenced by a Provençal compilation ultimately deriving from the CODEX THEODOSIANUS. Because these codifications continued in use on Cyprus, parts of them were translated into Greek for the benefit of the formerly Byz. inhabitants. Jean d'Ibelin's treatise influenced the Assizes of ROMANIA.

ED. French—RHC *Lois*. Greek—Sathas, *MB* 6.
LIT. J. Riley-Smith, *The Feudal Nobility and the Kingdom of Jerusalem 1174–1277* (London 1973) 121–84. J. Prawer, *Crusader Institutions* (Oxford 1980) 343–468. –C.M.B.

JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF, Crusader state that existed from 1100 to 1187. Following the Crusaders' capture of Jerusalem in 1099, the kingdom was established with the coronation of Baldwin I, 25 Dec. 1100. Its kings claimed suzerainty over other Crusader leaders, the princes of ANTIOCH and the counts of EDESSA and TRIPOLI. While Byz. claimed sovereignty over some Crusader states in Syria-Palestine, only in the reign of Manuel I was an effort made to assert supremacy over the kingdom. In order to secure assistance against Nūr al-Dīn and Saladin, BALDWIN III and AMALRIC I sought an alliance with Manuel. The latter's patronage at Bethlehem is commemorated by the mosaicist EPHRAIM in a Greek inscription (1169). But Byz. exercised no real sovereignty over the kingdom. Initially, the Greek Christians of Palestine accepted Crusader rule. By 1187, however, those in Jerusalem were sufficiently alienated to be willing to help Saladin take the city (2 Oct. 1187). After the Third Crusade, the kingdom was reestablished at ACRE.

LIT. J.L. La Monte, "To What Extent Was the Byzantine Empire the Suzerain of the Latin Crusading States?" *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 253–64. R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* (Munich 1981). Prawer, *Royaume latin*, vol. 1. –C.M.B., A.C.

JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF. The see's prestige, as the original mother church of Christendom, was first formally recognized at NICAEA I (canon 7). The extensive building program and support of the emperors, beginning with CONSTANTINE I, were crucial in its eventual rise to patriarchal status. Despite Nicaea's acknowledgment, however, its incumbents remained subject to the metropolitan see of CAESAREA MARITIMA (under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH), which had precedence as the capital of the administrative province of Palestina Prima. Finally, at the Council of CHALCEDON, Jerusalem was ranked fifth as an independent patriarchate with power of jurisdiction over the three provinces of Palestine: Caesarea, Skythopolis, and Petra (cf. S. Vailhé, *ROC* 4 [1899] 44–57), comprising 59 bishoprics. The skillful diplomacy of Patr. JUVENAL was largely responsible for this change. Still, the new patriarchate never became a force in church politics or achieved the prominence of the other major sees. Its decline began with the Persian attack on the city (614) and its conquest by the Arabs (638), when most of the bishoprics disappeared. Vacancies, as in the other patriarchates under Muslim rule, were frequent, although in 1027 an agreement with the caliph allowed the installation of imperial candidates. Jerusalem kept direct relations with Rome, and, during and after the events of 1054, was not automatically anti-Latin. Nonetheless, with the arrival of the Crusades and the establishment of a rival LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM, relations with the Latins gradually deteriorated. Many of the patriarchs during this period lived as exiles in Constantinople.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym*. G. Fedalto, "Liste vescovili del patriarcato di Gerusalemme I. Gerusalemme e Pa-

lestina prima," *OrChrP* 49 (1983) 5–41. A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054–1090)* (Rome 1939). –A.P.

JESSE, TREE OF. See TREE OF JESSE.

JESUS PRAYER. See HESYCHASM.

JEWELER. The Byz. distinguished the goldsmith (*chrysochoos*) from the silversmith (*argyrokopos*) (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:225, 228). Often they used the word *chrysochoos* in the broad sense of a jeweler, for example, *chrysochooi* were ordered to make crowns (Kantak. 2:564.12–13). Sometimes (as in *TheophCont* 450.17–19) a clear distinction is made between craftsmen working in gold (*chrysostiktai*) and those working in silver (*argyrokopoi*). In the vita of Theodore of Sykeon, an *argyrokopos* seems to be an individual who sells silver vessels, but employs others to make them.

A passage in John Moschos (PG 87:3088CD) describes the production of JEWELRY and METALWORK in Constantinople: the artisan began his career as an APPRENTICE; after mastering the craft, he worked under the supervision of an *epistates* who directed clients to him. The precious materials were rigorously controlled and the object was weighed before the gems were set in the metal. The prestige of goldsmiths in the 6th C. is shown by their taking precedence over all other merchants and artisans in *adventus* ceremonies (*De cer.* 484.9). Some jewelers were clerics, such as the *argyrokopos* Romylos, a deacon of the church of Gethsemane, who worked in Jerusalem (CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, ed. Schwartz 184.21–23). Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33:349A) describes experienced *chrysochooi* who worked with minute tools and melted gold over a fire, while John TZETZES (*Hist.* 4:887–88) refers to their tiny clay smelting furnaces. He also states that *chrysochooi* made tar models that they then covered with silver or gold.

Some jewelers plied their craft in state workshops under the supervision of the *archon ton chrysochoeion* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:341–43), whom Oikonomides (*Listes* 317) likens to the *chrysoepsetes* mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and other texts. In an edict of 1202 (MM 3:57.27–28) the *archon ton chrysochoeion* is a high-ranking official titled *megalodoxotatos* who was the owner of several houses.

The chapter on the guild of the ARGYROPRATAI in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* refers frequently to *chrysochooi*; the relationship between the two terms is unclear. *Chrysochooi* were specifically prohibited from working in their own houses and had to set up their workshops on the MESE. They were also forbidden to purchase more than one pound of uncoined gold (bullion) at a time. Sjuzjumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 136) considered the *chrysochooi* jewelers and the *argyropratai* inspectors who controlled the sale of precious metals, jewelry, gems, and so forth, while Stöckle thought that the *argyropratai* were both jewelers and inspectors.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 20–22. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 6f. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 199–202. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 150–53. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 94–97. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 81f. –A.K., A.C.

JEWELRY (κόσμος, lit. "ornament"). Byz. jewelry continued Greco-Roman traditions but was also influenced by Eastern decorative and nonfigural types, with an admixture of local elements wherever in the empire it was produced. The forms of objects made by JEWELERS in Rome, Constantinople, Athens, Antioch, or Alexandria thus varied considerably. Byz. jewelry may generally be distinguished by its extensive use of color, usually achieved with GEMS or ENAMELS. In his preface to the best-known medieval handbook on artistic technique, the Western monk Theophilus (ca.1110–40) specifically associates color with the Greeks. This 12th-C. notice is late witness to a tradition reverting to the 3rd or 4th C., when NIELLO seems first to have been applied to gold and silver. But the association of gems and ornament with Byz. in the Western mind persisted at least down to the time when German envoys to Constantinople in 1196 pointed out that they were not "worshipers of ornaments and garments secured by brooches suited only for women" (Nik.Chon. 477.82–83).

Our knowledge of Byz. jewelry comes from examples found in TREASURES, accounts of items that have not survived, and illustrations in mosaics, painting, textiles, metalwork, and MS illumination. The procession of female saints in the mosaics of S. Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, shows matching sets of HAIR ORNAMENT, EARRINGS, NECKLACE, BRACELET, RINGS, and BELT FITTINGS. Gold plaques and gems were sewn on clothing, and antique coins were incorporated into other items

of personal adornment. The importance of precious stones is indicated by their frequent imitation in the borders of miniatures in MSS and on mosaic pavements and wall panels as much as by the jeweled walls in depictions of the heavenly cities of Bethlehem and Jerusalem, and gem-encrusted thrones, crosses, liturgical vessels, and book covers.

Byz. jewelry is further characterized by the extensive use of Christian iconography and sacred objects, worn thus for protection as well as ornament. These pieces could incorporate an inscription or symbol, an image, a cross or Christogram, or be carried in an ENKOLPION, an invention of the Byz. Jewelry was not only an outward symbol of faith or wealth but also served as a badge of office. Special FIBULAE, rings, and belt buckles, awarded by the emperor and often inscribed, indicated status within the civil service or the army. Belisarios rewarded his soldiers with ARMBANDS and TORQUES (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.1.8). Jewelry was also made to adorn and protect animals. FLOOR MOSAICS show race horses wearing jeweled trappings and hunting dogs with gem-studded collars. Apotropaic devices (e.g., ivy leaf, swastika, sunburst, crescent) as well as Christian symbols decorate charms and AMULETS worn by animals.

A great variety of techniques was used in the manufacture of jewelry. Gemstones were mainly polished. They might then be drilled and/or carved as a CAMEO or engraved as a SEAL. Metal might be cast or worked in repoussé, then have added niello, enamel, or engraving, or be cut into OPUS INTERRASILE. It could also be made into a simple wire, which was worked as filigree or drawn through successively smaller holes in a wooden or metal board. This wire was used in fine gold work and incorporated into textiles.

While members of the imperial court adorned themselves with crowns, necklaces, great ropes of pearls, and large gems, ordinary people also had access to the work of jewelers. Their products, known from archaeological excavation, were usually made of gilded bronze imitating gold or had colored glass paste simulating gems in rings and earrings. Bracelets in this category tend to be fairly plain; there are surprisingly few traces of necklaces, with the exception of fragments of chain and ornaments, such as amulets or crosses, that may have been suspended on the chain. Glass bracelets—a form of jewelry probably invented for the mass market in Roman times or intended as a substitute for ivory or precious metal—are found in large numbers, sometimes in contexts that suggest local manufacture.

Because of the mixture of styles in many pieces, dating is often hard to establish. Gems were often set into a new ring or even recarved. Antique coins included in jewelry provide only a *terminus post quem* for dating. An inscription on an item often helps, as may controlled excavation. Representations of jewelry in datable works of art can also provide a base for comparison.

In very broad, general terms, the evolution of Byz. jewelry was from simple to complex, from light to heavy, from small to large, but these criteria must be applied with care. Earrings started out in the 4th C. as simple hoops and, by the 10th–12th C., were open filigree work with multiple projections in a three-dimensional form. They were complex but light. Bracelets changed from narrow, solid, or cutwork bands to wide, hinged bands, sometimes worked in repoussé. Necklaces developed from simple chains or strands of beads, made of polished and drilled stones and pearls, to more complex forms with multiple hanging elements. Early gold and silver gem-mounts were made in an openwork technique; by the 11th–12th C. they were solid and rather heavy in appearance. In all cases, however, the combination of influences listed above must be studied along with techniques used in cutting stones by wheel or burin, types of enamel, working of metal (e.g., cast, *opus interrasile*, granulation), and methods of working links in a chain. The study of this technology is still at a very early stage. When sufficient context is lacking, as is often the case with "mass-produced" work—the so-called costume jewelry of gilded bronze and glass—one can only try to fit such pieces as far as possible into this general typology.

LIT. T. Hackens, R. Winkes, *Gold Jewelry: Craft, Style and Meaning from Mycenae to Constantinopolis* (Louvain 1983) 141–60. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Antiker Schmuck vom 2. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Bern 1961). L. Niederle, *Příspěvky k vývoji byzantských šperků ze IV.–X. století* (Prague 1930), with rev. M. Andreeva, *BS* 2 (1930) 121f. –S.D.C., A.C.

JEWISH ART AND ARCHITECTURE. The influence of Jewish art and architecture on the history of Byz. art is a much debated problem. The fact that, in spite of Exodus 20:4, Jews had

developed artistic practices by the 1st C. B.C. allows the possibility that Jewish models helped shape Christian art, which first arose only in the late 2nd/early 3rd C. Key to the whole discussion has been the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS (before A.D. 256), the only Jewish monument with an elaborate program of narrative and symbolic art. According to Weitzmann (K. Weitzmann, H.L. Kessler, *The Frescoes of the Dura Synagogue and Christian Art* [Washington, D.C., 1990]), the paintings at Dura were derived from an illustrated Septuagint, from which, in turn, came motifs and compositions in Christian art that strikingly resemble the Dura paintings. Since direct evidence of illustrated Jewish MSS in late antiquity is lacking, however, other scholars have inferred other means of transmission (oral or literary tradition, the tradition of monumental art itself, or of certain minor arts [finger rings], etc.) or have argued against the possibility of any influence at all. H. Brandenburg (9 *IntCongChrArch,* vol. 1 [1978] 331–60), for instance, has described the Christian and Jewish arts of Late Antiquity as arising out of the *koine* of the late Roman world, this common source accounting for their similarities. After the 6th C. evidence of Jewish artistic practices in Byz. virtually disappears.

LIT. *No Graven Images,* ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971). –W.T.

JEWISH LEGENDS, ILLUSTRATION OF. Ever since the discovery in the 1930s of the synagogue at DURA EUROPOS with its extensive decorative program of anthropomorphic religious scenes, art historians have enthusiastically debated the possible existence of biblical and nonbiblical illustration among hellenized Jews of late antiquity and its potential role in the formation of Early Christian Old Testament iconography. The accepted approach has been to isolate nonbiblical iconographic elements among Christian Old Testament picture cycles and to match them with their appropriate textual tradition within the vast body of Jewish legends. Thus, the hitherto unexplained "court official" going through a gate in the miniature of Joseph's promotion by Pharaoh in the Vienna GENESIS (ed. Gerstinger, pl.32) is identified on the basis of Jewish legendary texts as Potiphar hurrying home to tell his wife of Joseph's exaltation (O. Pächt in *Festschrift Karl M. Swoboda* [Vienna 1959] 219). Usually left unresolved, however, is whether the sources were visual or textual—that is, by way of lost JEWISH ART or by way of Jewish textual traditions adopted by and popularized among Christians. The Potiphar legend cited above, for example, is attested in several Christian authors whose works were popular at the time and in the region (Syria-Palestine, 6th C.) where the Vienna Genesis may have been produced (H. Näf, *Syrische Josef-Gedichte* [Zurich 1923] 73–75).

LIT. J. Gutmann, "Prolegomenon," in *No Graven Images: Studies in Art and the Hebrew Bible,* ed. J. Gutmann (New York 1971) xi–lxiii. R. Stichel, "Ausserkanonische Elemente in byzantinischen Illustrationen des Alten Testaments," *RQ* 69 (1974) 159–81. C.-O. Nordström, "Rabbinic Features in Byzantine and Catalan Art," *CahArch* 15 (1965) 179–205. –G.V.

JEWISH LITERATURE used by Byz. Jews and Christians included the Hebrew Bible, Hellenistic apocrypha—in Judeo-Greek translation—Jubilees (Little Genesis), and Old Testament and some New Testament pseudepigrapha. Along with the Greek works of JOSEPHUS and PHILO, these influenced subsequent Byz. language, style, and culture. After A.D.70, Jews wrote down and further developed their oral tradition, which was encyclopedic for internal Jewish intellectual and social concerns. This Hebrew and Aramaic literature included Mishnah (2nd-C. code) and Talmud (3rd–5th-C. commentary); *responsa;* midrash (ethical and historical folklore, e.g., "Throne and Hippodrome of King Solomon"); apocalypse (e.g., 10th-C. *Hazzon Daniel,* which comments on emperors from Michael III to Constantine VII); mystical works (e.g., *Eben Saphir,* a 14th-C. kabbalistic and Aristotelian commentary on the Bible that includes contemporary historical data); numerous commentaries on the Bible; and oral tradition by Rabbanite and Karaite Jews. This extensive literature contains valuable linguistic and historical material for Byz. studies, esp. the demotic translations of biblical books, bilingual dictionary aids, and extant marriage contracts. Of particular interest are *Megillat Aḥimaaz,* an 11th-C. family chronicle from southern Italy in rhymed prose; *Sepher Yosippon,* a unique 10th-C. history of ancient Israel based on the Vulgate and *Hegesippus,* which Judah ibn Moskoni of Ohrid reedited and expanded (ca.1356); a Hebrew translation of pseudo-Kallisthenes' Alexander Romance; and

abbreviated Hebrew translations of nonextant Byz. chronicles that preserve unique historical data. A prolific religious and secular poetic tradition followed Jewish patterns and contemporary styles. Secular studies include monographs on medicine, astronomy, mathematics, and philosophy, esp. by Shabbetai Donollo (913–ca.982) and Shemaryah Ikriti (1275–ca.1355), who castigated Byz. philosophers for failing to understand Creation. A number of valuable historical sources are extant, such as BENJAMIN OF TUDELA and Jacob ben Elia's unique account of 13th-C. persecutions in Epiros and Nicaea.

LIT. *Anthology of Hebrew Poetry in Greece, Anatolia, and the Balkans*, ed. L. Weinberger (Cincinnati 1975). E. Lieber, "Asaf's *Book of Medicines*, A Hebrew Encyclopedia of Greek and Jewish Medicine, Possibly Compiled in Byzantium on an Indian Model," *DOP* 38 (1984) 233–49. Starr, *Jews* 50–65. Bowman, *Jews* 129–70. Ankori, *Karaites*. T. Reinach, "Un contrat de mariage du temps de Basile le Bulgaroctone," in *Mélanges offerts à M. Gustave Schlumberger*, vol. 1 (Paris 1924) 118–32. –S.B.B.

JEWS (Ἰουδαῖοι, Ἑβραῖοι), also called Israelites, term used for the ancient inhabitants of Judah and Israel as well as for Byz. citizens who practiced JUDAISM. Byz. Jewish history has two aspects: the history of the Jews in Israel, where their autonomy was recognized, and that of the Jews of the Greek-speaking diaspora, where they formed an integral part of the Byz. population.

The Jewish Community of Israel. This community was organized under a bureaucracy of scholars headed by a *nasi*, called in Greek "patriarch of the Jews." After the destruction of Jerusalem (A.D.70), Jews established new administrative centers in the Galilee (Usha, Sepphoris, Tiberias), where they flourished until the 7th C. Christian-Roman legislation periodically restricted their right to hold slaves, proselytize, build new synagogues, work for the government, teach in public institutions, or serve in the army. These discriminatory laws, summarized in the codes of the 5th–6th C. and epitomized in the *Ecloga* and *Basilika*, were designed to limit the Jews' enfranchisement, separate them from Christians, and support the view that God rejected the Jews. Rabbinic leadership also erected social barriers to preserve the Jewish community. Christian imperial policy in Palestine paralleled these restrictions and emphasized the church's claim as the New Israel: churches and monasteries were built on biblical holy sites, and Hadrian's ban on Jewish settlement in Jerusalem or its environs was periodically enforced. During the Muslim conquest, SOPHRONIOS still argued that Jews had no right to settle in Jerusalem; they were allowed, however, to mourn one day a year (9th of Ab) at the ruins of the Temple (the Byz. city dump) as a demonstration of God's rejection of Old Israel.

The ability of the Jews to survive the Christian onslaught in their own land slowly deteriorated despite sporadic revolts (most important of which was in 351) and an attempt to rebuild the Temple with Julian's permission. In 429 the office of *nasi* was recognized as vacant by Theodosios II; as a result the autonomous central Jewish leadership in the empire was effectively abolished. Justinian I clashed with the Jews on many fronts. His Code repeated a number of Jewish liabilities and introduced new restrictions. He also interfered with Jewish religious practices (nov.146; Prokopios, *Buildings* 6:11.22). Jews fought alongside the Vandals and the Ostrogoths against Byz. attempts to reconquer the Western Empire; they participated also in the Nika revolt in Constantinople and the rioting of 580. Justinian ended their autonomous rule of Jotaba (ca.535), which had lost its independence under Anastasios I (498). They rebelled in 556, again in 578 (together with SAMARITANS), and assisted the Persian conquest of Palestine in 614–17. Herakleios slaughtered many in revenge after his reconquest and even forcibly baptized Jews, despite his promise to Benjamin of Tiberias not to harm them.

The Jewish Diaspora. The Jews flourished in both commercial and administrative centers and in smaller locales. Their quarter, called *Hebraike*, was usually located near the market and running water. Many of these communities dated from the Hellenistic period, for example, Berroia in Macedonia, Patras, Thessalonike, Crete; many are known from southern Italy: Bari, Oria, Siponto, Venosa, Otranto. Jews also lived in Ioannina, Ohrid, Kastoria, Adrianople, Serres, Mistra, Nicaea, Attaleia, Ephesus, and Philadelphia. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA visited some 25 Byz. Jewish communities and describes Patras, Krissa, Thebes (2,000 inhabitants), Corinth, Chalkis, Armylo, Drama, Kallipolis, Constantinople (2,500 inhabitants), and the islands of Lesbos, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Modern scholars extrapolate Benjamin's unique population data (approximately

9,000) to a Byz. Jewish population ranging from 12,000 to 100,000 based on differing interpretations of his numbers (individuals, heads of families, families, or guild members) and adding locales not mentioned. In Constantinople Jews lived at various times along either shore of the Golden Horn (e.g., *Hebraike skala* and Pera) and in the Chalkoprateia and Vlanka quarters. Under the Palaiologoi, some Byz. Jews obtained Venetian and Genoese privileges and lived in their quarters. Jews worked as dyers and weavers (silk and wool), tanners, furriers, smiths and glassmakers, wholesale and retail merchants both international and local, real estate agents, physicians, translators, scribes, and agriculturalists.

The Jewish communities, led by rabbis appointed with government consent, enjoyed autonomy in religious and social affairs. The rabbi was chief judge and spokesman for the community and in larger cities was assisted by various functionaries (e.g., teachers, ritual slaughterers) supported by a communal tax system. The community supplied social services: education, care of the sick, dowries for orphans, burial in a Jewish graveyard, etc. Part of the communal taxes went to the government, although whether there was a special Jewish tax is undetermined despite much scholarly speculation. Financial support to the *nasi* was diverted after 429 to the imperial treasury and called *aurum coronarium*. When and if this tax was abolished is uncertain. Jews contributed to the *archipherekitai* of the Sanhedrin in Israel, which flourished until the Muslim conquest, and to the 10th- and 11th-C. academies.

Jews regularly immigrated into the empire from Muslim and western Christian lands. These immigrants rapidly became culturally assimilated and strongly identified with Byz. culture, although there was occasional social tension with native Jews. There was close contact with Khazaria, whose Jewish kings welcomed refugees from Romanos I's persecution of Jews, and later with Crimean Karaites. The attitude of Jews toward Byz. was ambivalent. Predating Christianity in many Greek-speaking areas, they now lived among a triumphant, arrogant, and multiethnic Christian population whose literature, religion, liturgy, and art derived in part from Jewish sources. They experienced anti-Semitism through imperial policy, intellectual snobbery, and ecclesiastical polemic. Byz. religious art, save for canonical Old Testament figures and scenes, confined representations of Jews to such pejorative contexts as among the Damned in the Last Judgment. There were Jewish scholars with whom Christians (e.g., Plethon) studied privately and who occasionally responded through biblical commentary and liturgical verse; they were forbidden, however, to insult Christianity. Their doctors, skilled in Greek and Arabic medicine, treated the general population: an Egyptian Jew was physician to Manuel I. Yet Byz. ecclesiastics consistently denigrated Jewish doctors: even though 9th- and 10th-C. hagiography shows some respect for Jewish doctors, it expresses suspicion of their education and disdain for their religion.

Occasional debates with Christians are recorded; some may have led to conversion, which the church heartily encouraged. Still, few voluntary conversions are attested, the most famous being Constantine the Jew; Makarios, spiritual adviser to Manuel II; and possibly Romanos the Melode. The Byz. church consistently opposed forced baptism of Jews (such as those effected by Herakleios, Leo III, Basil I, Romanos I Lekapenos) for theological reasons and upheld the right of Jews to practice their ancestral religion. Jews replied to imperial persecution by identifying government with Esau/Edom, the biblical adversary of Israel. In nearly every century, but esp. during periods of international tension, there were messianic hopes for and occasional movements toward the repatriation of Jews to an independent Israel. The fall of Constantinople in 1453 was marked both by such messianic expectations and by a moving Hebrew lament for the city.

LIT. J. Juster, *Les Juifs dans l'empire romain*, 2 vols. (Paris 1914). M. Avi-Yonah, *The Jews under Roman and Byzantine Rule* (Jerusalem-New York 1984). Starr, *Jews*. Bowman, *Jews*. Ankori, *Karaites*. E. Werner, *The Sacred Bridge*, 2 vols. (New York 1959–84). Jacoby, *Société*, pt.II (1967), 167–227. *Greek Orthodox–Jewish Consultation* (*GOrThR* 22.1 [1977] = *Journal of Ecumenical Studies* 13.4 [1976]). –S.B.B.

JOB ('Ιώβ). To judge by the number of surviving MSS, the Book of Job, an account of the suffering of an innocent man, was read significantly more in Byz. than in the West. Origen led the church fathers in distinguishing three types of just man, represented by Noah, Daniel, and Job. A catena on Job was compiled, probably in the 6th-C. circle of Prokopios of Gaza. The Commendatio animae

includes Job, and references to him in hagiography were frequent. For instance, the Life of St. JOHN ELEEMON (ch.28) compared the saint to Job in his virtuous response to catastrophic loss. The monk Niketas patterned the opening of his Life of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL on the Book of Job (L. Rydén, 17 *CEB*, Major Papers [Washington, D.C., 1986] 542f).

Representation in Art. The scene of Job on his dung heap (Job 2:8) was widely illustrated, occurring already in the 4th C. (e.g., sarcophagus of Junius Bassus, died 359) and as the frontispiece to Job in the 7th-C. Syriac Bible of Paris (B.N. syr. 341) and the 10th-C. Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. It occasionally appears later in monumental art (e.g., Hagia Sophia, Trebizond). After the Psalter, Job was the most frequently illustrated Old Testament book in Byz. A large group of catena MSS were illustrated with an extensive cycle. These fall into an early group (Patmos 171; Vat. gr. 749; Venice, Marc. gr. 538, dated 905; Sinai gr. 3) and a more numerous group of 12th-through 14th-C. MSS. All contain a dense narrative illustration interspersed with the text of Job 1 and 2—the subject of lengthy comments in the catena—and a repetitive, formulaic treatment of Job's discussions with his visitors. The miniatures in the first group, esp. Sinai gr. 3, treat the setting illusionistically, which suggests an early model; the Patmos Job may be a product of the years of Iconoclasm.

Job is usually represented as a patriarchal figure with long white hair and beard, cut short in due course (Job 1:20). His youthful appearance in the Leo Bible may be explained as a misunderstanding of this shaven-headed type. Job may also appear as an ancestor of Christ, even as a king, owing to the SEPTUAGINT conflation of Job with Jobab, King of Edom (Job 42:17d, Gen 30:32–33).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:131–52. R. Budde, *LCI* 2:407–14. P. Huber, *Hiob. Dulder oder Rebell?* (Düsseldorf 1986). S. Papadaki-Ökland, "The Illustration of Byzantine Job Manuscripts" (Ph.D. diss., Heidelberg, 1979).
–J.H.L., C.B.T.

JOB (Ἰώβ), monk who wrote a Life of St. THEODORA OF ARTA and hymns for the Nativity, Epiphany, and Pentecost; fl. second half of 13th C. He has been identified with the monk Job IASITES, known from George PACHYMERES also as Iasites Melias, an adviser of Patr. JOSEPH I and author of a *tomos* against the Latins, written for that patriarch with the help of Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:487.10–17, 489.15–18). Job Iasites was punished in 1273 with Manuel HOLOBOLOS for opposing the Union and was exiled to Bithynia in 1275 (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:503.25–505.4, 535.1–3). Perhaps two exegeses, one on the Psalms (PG 158:1053–56) and one on the sacraments, which bear the name of Job Hamartolos, are to be ascribed to Job.

ED. Life of Theodora—PG 127:904–08. M. Petta, "Inni inediti di Iob monaco," *BollBadGr* n.s. 19 (1965) 81–139.
LIT. S. Pétridès, "Le moine Job," *EO* 15 (1912) 40–48. *PLP*, no.7959.
–R.J.M.

JOEL (Ἰωήλ), compiler of a world chronicle beginning with Creation and ending in 1204; fl. first half of the 13th C. The work is basically a list of rulers (Jewish, Oriental, Roman, and Byz.), their length of reign, and the cause of their death. The period from the reign of Alexios I Komnenos to 1204 is treated most briefly; the rapid changes in ruler from Manuel I's death to 1204 demonstrate the inevitability of the blow of divine justice in the form of the Latin conquest. Joel is perhaps also the author of an unpublished THRENOS on the Latin conquest of Constantinople.

ED. *Cronografia compendiaria*, ed. F. Iadevaia (Messina 1979).
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:476. Eu. Tsolakes, "He cheirographe paradose tou chronographikou ergou tou Ioel," *Byzantina* 8 (1976) 449–61. E. Kojčeva, "Srednovekovnata bŭlgarska istorija v svetlinata na edin neispolzuvan dosega istoričeski izvor," *IstPreg* 40 (1984) no.6, 84–89.
–R.J.M.

JOHN (Ἰωάννης), Semitic personal name (etym. "God's grace"). The name appears in the Old Testament in the form Ioanas (1 Chr 3:15, 26:3, etc.); in the New Testament, Johns play an important role, esp. JOHN THE BAPTIST and JOHN the apostle. From the end of the 4th C. onward we meet the name in Rome and Asia Minor (O. Seeck, *RE* 9 [1916] 1743–47; *PLRE* 1:459), at first infrequently—Ammianus Marcellinus does not mention a single John. Then the name acquired popularity. Sozomenos cites 11 Johns, including the Baptist and the Apostle—second only to EUSEBIOS (14); in Prokopios there are already 32 Johns, followed far behind by THEODORE (11) and PAUL (10). The name maintains its dominance in Theophanes the Confessor (67), but in Skylitzes

(48) and Anna Komnene (14) John is second to Constantine, with 60 and 15, respectively. In the acts of Athos, however, it remains dominant: *Lavra*, vol. 1, encompassing the 10th–12th C., lists 90 Johns ahead of NICHOLAS (42) and GEORGE (41), while *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.) includes 350 Johns and 275 Georges. John was the third most common imperial name and the most frequently used by patriarchs of Constantinople (14 individuals). In panegyrics the typical epithet of John was *charitonymos*, "named after grace"; another, "the son of thunder" (after Mk 3:18) was applied specifically to the apostle. By the 12th C., if not earlier, the composite Kaloioannes ("good John") was created. –A.K., A.M.T.

JOHN, apostle and saint; often called John the Theologian; feastdays 26 Sept., 8 May, and others. The son of Zebedee, he was considered to be the author of the fourth GOSPEL and of three epistles in the New Testament canon; already in the 3rd C. Dionysios of Alexandria had rejected the possibility of John's authorship of the APOCALYPSE (Book of Revelation). His Gospel was widely commented on: ORIGEN compiled a lengthy commentary in order to refute the views of the Gnostics; he was followed by DIDYMOS THE BLIND, JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, CYRIL of Alexandria, AMMONIOS of Alexandria, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. The major problem for EXEGESIS was the difference between John and the three synoptic gospels, so that some doubts concerning its authenticity were expressed, esp. by the so-called *alogoi*: EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus censured this heresy and tried to show that the Gospels did not disagree. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS compiled a metrical paraphrase of the Gospel of John. The epistles attracted less attention.

John was popular in hagiography and homiletics; numerous apocryphal acts as well as homilies survive, among others by pseudo-Chrysostom, ANDREW OF CRETE, Cyril of Alexandria, and later writers such as Constantine AKROPOLITES, PALAMAS, and Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS. Byz. legend made John a grandson of Joseph the Carpenter and thus nephew of Jesus; after Mary's Dormition he preached throughout Asia Minor and was exiled by Domitian to the island of PATMOS. Frustrated by the apostasy of his disciple (a local bishop who became a robber), John attempted suicide by poison, but the cross he wore negated its effect. From Patmos John went to Ephesus where he worked miracles and died peacefully. At least eight churches in Constantinople were dedicated to John (Janin, *Églises CP* 264–70).

Representation in Art. John has two guises in art: young and beardless as the beloved disciple; white-haired, balding, and long-bearded as the visionary evangelist. As the disciple, John appears in scenes of his calling, his mother's plea, the TRANSFIGURATION, Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER), CRUCIFIXION, and at Christ's tomb. In this guise, he is indistinguishable from the young disciple who witnesses Christ's actions in countless scenes. John barely figures in Acts illustration and his further imagery draws on apocrypha: his prominent role in the DORMITION of the Virgin; his voyage to Patmos (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol. 302v), where he dictated his Gospel under divine inspiration; and his self-burial at Ephesus (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II). As an evangelist, John is shown seated before a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS) or standing and dictating to his secretary, Prochoros—an image also drawn from his apocrypha. Consistently in the latter composition and sometimes in the former, the divine inspiration he receives is shown by an arc of Heaven or the HAND OF GOD. In Paris, B.N. gr. 93, the hill behind him becomes a mandorla, stressing his ecstatic condition. The frontispiece of a lectionary in the Skeuophylakion at Iviron, Athos, likens him to Moses on Sinai (Xyngopoulos, *infra*, pl.54). Only rarely (e.g., Moscow, Univ. Lib. 2280, fol. 347r, of 1078) is he portrayed as the author of the Apocalypse.

LIT. *BHG* 899–932t. M. Wiles, *The Spiritual Gospel* (Cambridge 1960). E. Junod, J.-D. Kaestli, *L'histoire des Actes apocryphes des apôtres du IIIe au IXe siècle: Le cas des Actes de Jean* (Geneva-Lausanne-Neuchâtel 1982). H. Buchthal, "A Byzantine Miniature of the Fourth Evangelist and Its Relatives," *DOP* 15 (1961) 127–39. A. Xyngopoulos, "Euangelistes Ioannes-Moüses," *DChAE* [4] 8 (1975–76) 101–08.
–J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

JOHN I, patriarch of Antioch (429–441/2). Before his elevation John had been a student at Antioch with NESTORIOS. Although John disapproved of his friend's repudiation of the title THEOTOKOS and even wrote to him counseling moderation, he supported him against CYRIL of Alexandria in the ensuing controversy over NES-

TORIANISM. John's unintentionally late arrival for the opening of the Council of EPHESUS (431) prompted Cyril to proceed with Nestorios's condemnation. This resulted in a countercouncil, in which the Antiochian delegation headed by John had Cyril condemned. The moderates of both parties, however, desired peace and, in 433, signed the so-called Symbol of Union that ended the schism. In effect, John implicitly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorios in return for Cyril's toleration of Antiochian terminology regarding the duality of the nature of Christ. Also, both men accepted the legitimacy of the term *Theotokos*. Nevertheless, their more extreme followers rejected the settlement. The resulting tension led directly to the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS (449) and the Council of CHALCEDON. Some of John's correspondence with PROKLOS of Constantinople, Cyril, and THEODOSIOS II dealing with the Nestorian dispute has survived.

ED. Letters—*ACO* I,1,1:93–96, 119; I,1,4:7–9, 33; I,1,5:124–35; I,1,7:84, 146, 151–61; III, IV, passim.
LIT. P.T. Camelot, *Éphèse et Chalcédoine* (Paris 1962).
–A.P.

JOHN I, pope (from 13 Aug. 523); born Tuscany, died Ravenna 18 May 526. In 525/6 the Ostrogothic ruler THEODORIC THE GREAT sent John to Constantinople as head of a delegation to protest imperial measures against the Arians. After the end of the AKAKIAN SCHISM Emp. Justin I sought rapprochement with Rome and arranged a spectacular welcome for the pope: the wording of the LIBER PONTIFICALIS *humiliavit se pronus* suggests that the emperor performed PROSKYNESIS. John celebrated the Easter liturgy in Constantinople, while Patr. Epiphanios (520–35) was relegated to a secondary role in the service. All of this made Theodoric suspicious, and, despite the success of John's mission, he detained the pope in Ravenna where he died several days later. The recorded details of John's imprisonment and martyrdom appear to be fictitious.

LIT. W. Ensslin, "Papst Johannes I. als Gesandter Theoderichs des Grossen bei Kaiser Justinos I.," *BZ* 44 (1951) 127–34. P. Goubert, "Autour du voyage à Byzance du Pape Saint Jean I," *OrChrP* 24 (1958) 339–52. H. Löwe, "Theoderich der Grosse und Papst Johann I.," *HistJb* 72 (1953) 83–100.
–A.K.

JOHN I, archbishop of Thessalonike, politician, writer, and local saint; died ca.630 (Stiernon) or ca.649 (Jugie). John participated in the defense of Thessalonike against the Avars and Slavs and was responsible for introducing the feast of the DORMITION to that city. He wrote the first version of the miracles of St. DEMETRIOS and several homilies, among which those on the Dormition were the most popular. In them John, having promised to remove all heretical elements from the narrative of Mary's death, placed an unusual emphasis on the filial affection of Christ for his mother. He also stressed St. Peter's primacy over the other apostles.

ED. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," PO 19.3:289–526.
LIT. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 778–80. M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la sainte Vierge* (Vatican 1944) 139–54. Idem, "La vie et les oeuvres de Jean de Thessalonique: son témoignage sur les origines de la fête de l'Assomption et sur la primauté de saint Pierre," *EO* 21 (1922) 293–307.
–A.K.

JOHN I DOUKAS, *sebastokrator* of Thessaly (1267/8?–1289?); born Epiros? ca.1240?, died 1289 or earlier. He was the illegitimate son of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and half-brother of NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. Married to the daughter of the Thessalian VLACH chieftain Taron, John led a contingent of Vlach troops to support his father at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). According to George Akropolites (Akrop. 170.5–9), John surrendered to the Nicene commander after the Epirot army fled in despair. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:119–21), on the other hand, relates that John treacherously agreed to attack the Latin forces after being insulted by WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN. After the battle John repented his actions and returned to his father.

Upon Michael II's death (1266 or 1268), John's rule over Thessaly was confirmed, with its capital at NEOPATRAS. Although MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS married his nephew to John's daughter and granted John the title *sebastokrator* in the effort to secure an alliance, John became an implacable enemy of the Byz. emperor. He defeated an imperial army sent to besiege Neopatras (1272–73), entered into commercial agreements with the Angevins, and ardently opposed the UNION OF THE CHURCHES. He convened a synod at Neopatras in 1277, attended by anti-Unionist exiles, which anathematized Michael VIII and Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS (R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 31 [1965] 374–408). It was on a campaign against John in 1282 that Michael VIII fell ill and died. The Church

of Porta Panagia near Trikkala, built by John in 1283, contains portraits of the *sebastokrator* and his family (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 8, 33–35).

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 154f, 172–81, 186–89. Nicol, *Epiros II* 9–11, 19–21, 31–36. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 64–73, 231. *PLP*, no.208. –A.M.T.

JOHN I TZIMISKES (Τζιμισκής), emperor (969–76); born Chozana, Armenia, ca.925, died Constantinople 10 Jan. 976. John was a general of Armenian origin; according to LEO THE DEACON (p.92.1–5), his name was an Armenian version of the Greek *Mouzakites*, meaning "of short stature." He was related to the KOURKOUAS family; his mother was the sister of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; and his first wife Maria was the sister of the *magistros* Bardas SKLEROS. John first distinguished himself under CONSTANTINE VII by capturing Samosata in 958. He was the staunchest supporter of Nikephoros II but later changed sides. Head of an aristocratic coup, he murdered the emperor on the night of 10/11 Dec. 969 with the help of Nikephoros's wife THEOPHANO. Yielding to the demands of Patr. POLYEUKTOS, John banished Theophano; he then married Theodora, Constantine VII's daughter and the aunt of the legitimate emperors, BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII. Acting in close concord with the church, John cancelled Nikephoros's legislation against church land ownership. Two rescripts (*sigillia*) of 974 and 975 manifest John's flexible policy toward monastic land ownership: although his fiscal functionaries proclaimed the necessity of restoring "to the emperor" state-controlled peasants who fled to the DYNATOI and onto church property, they permitted a number of peasants to remain on monastic *proasteia* "by virtue of previous chrysobulls."

John conducted an energetic foreign policy: he repelled SVJATOSLAV from Bulgaria (971), subduing part of this country; concluded an alliance with OTTO I (972); and fought successfully in Syria. In 970/1 the *patrikios* Nicholas, a eunuch, defeated the Fāṭimid army near Antioch (P. Walker, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 431–40), and in 975 John led a victorious campaign into Syria, forcing Damascus to pay tribute and capturing Beirut. The unsuccessful siege of Tripoli, however, was a setback, and John's claim of conquests in Palestine (in a letter to the Armenian king AŠOT III) does not find support in Arabic sources (P. Walker, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 301–27). MATTHEW OF EDESSA preserves a legend that at the end of his reign John returned the crown to Basil II and retired to a desert monastery (M. van Esbroeck, *BK* 41 [1983] 71); on the other hand, there were rumors that he had been poisoned by BASIL THE NOTHOS.

Apart from his coins, only one portrait of John is known. The Madrid SKYLITZES MS, however, richly illustrates his career with 41 miniatures, including his conspiratorial arrival at the BOUKOLEON palace, arranged by Theophano, and her subsequent expulsion—both by boat. John's triumphal entry into Constantinople in 971 (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, fig.221) shows him accompanied by a horse-drawn icon of the Virgin.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *L'épopée byzantine à la fin du dixième siècle*[2] (Paris 1925). Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie*, 11–19. V. Tŭpkova-Zaimova, "Les frontières occidentales des territoires conquis par Tzimiscès," *Recherches de géographie historique*, 2 (Sofia 1975) 113–18. N. Thierry, "Un portrait de Jean Tzimiskès en Cappadoce," *TM* 9 (1985) 477–84. – A.K., A.C.

JOHN II, bishop of Jerusalem (386/7–417), succeeding CYRIL of Jerusalem; born ca.356. He was a monk in Jerusalem before his election to the episcopate. His Origenist sympathies were denounced by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, both in a sermon delivered in his presence in Jerusalem in 392 and in two letters, one of which survives in a Latin translation made by JEROME. His pro-Origenist position also caused John to break with former friends such as THEOPHILOS of Alexandria when the latter switched from support to condemnation of that belief.

John may be the author of the five *Mystagogical Catecheses*, addressed to neophytes in Easter week, that form part of the collection of Cyril of Jerusalem's 24 catechetical lectures. One MS does attribute them to John, others give joint credit to Cyril. Possibly John revised these lectures, which Cyril had written and delivered.

ED. *Catéchèses mystagogiques*, ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1966), with Fr. tr. *St. Cyril of Jerusalem's Lectures on the Christian Sacraments*, ed. F.L. Cross (London 1951; rp. Crestwood, N.Y., 1977), with reproduction of Eng. tr. by R.W. Church (Oxford 1838).

LIT. E. Yarnold, "The Authorship of the Mystagogic Catecheses Attributed to Cyril of Jerusalem," *Heythrop Journal* 19 (1978) 143–61. –B.B.

JOHN II, metropolitan of KIEV (ca.1077–89), of Greek origin. A writer on canon law, John was praised in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET for his

erudition (*PSRL* 1:208); the belief that he was the uncle of Theodore PRODROMOS is probably incorrect (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 357f; S. Franklin, *BS* 45 [1984] 40–45). John addressed a letter (with a treatise on the AZYMES appended in the Greek version) to the (anti-)pope Clement III (1080–1100) and wrote a set of *Canonical Responses* to the monk James. The letter focuses on Latin "innovations," mainly as listed in the 867 encyclical of PHOTIOS (Saturday fasts; the eating of cheese, eggs, and milk during Lent; celibate clergy; confirmation exclusively by bishops; the *filioque*), but with additional emphasis on the azymes. The tone is firm but conciliatory. John's *Canonical Responses* treat miscellaneous practical difficulties encountered by the propagandists of Byz. Christianity in Rus': pagan customs in public and private life, marriages and other contacts with non-Orthodox foreigners, and the proper behavior and organization of the clergy. John's main source is the NOMOKANON OF 14 TITLES, but the suggestion that he was responsible for its translation (R.G. Pichoja, *ADSV* 11 [1975] 133–44) is tenuous. Some scholars believe that John composed the extant office to BORIS AND GLEB.

ED. *Tou hosiou patros hemon Ioannou, metropolitou Rosias, epistole pros Klementa, papan Romes*, ed. S.K. Oikonomos (Athens 1868). *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv latinjan*, ed. A.S. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 169–86. *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, ed. L.K. Goetz (Stuttgart 1905; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 114–70.

LIT. B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle* (Paris 1924) 32–41. J. Spiteris, *La critica bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome 1979) 38–44. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 174–77, 186f, 286f. –S.C.F.

JOHN II KOMNENOS, emperor (from 15 Aug. 1118); born Constantinople 13 Sept. 1087, died near Anazarbos 8 Apr. 1143. John succeeded his father Alexios I against the wishes of IRENE DOUKAINA and Anna KOMNENE; the latter conspired on behalf of Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Byz. historians describe John's reign only briefly. His domestic policy is little known. Austere in manner, John tried to regulate even the costume of his courtiers; he was nonetheless tolerant and eschewed maiming as a punishment. He entrusted military command to noble relatives but put civil administration in the hands of men of obscure origin, such as JOHN OF POUTZE and Stephen Meles, the *logothetes tou dromou*. John centralized the administration of the army and navy and for this purpose charged the state treasury with maintaining vessels and their crews, previously the burden of the maritime regions (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 234–36). He founded the monastery of the PANTOKRATOR and wrote its *typikon*. The dynastic sense that underlay this foundation also prompted other works, including a lost mosaic of John mourning his dead father whose victories were depicted (Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C.," 126–30). A mosaic in Hagia Sophia portrays John, his wife, Irene, and, to one side, his son, Alexios.



JOHN II KOMNENOS. Portrait of the emperor and his wife Irene; mosaic. Hagia Sophia, Istanbul.

John capitalized on Alexios I's military successes. Most of John's wars were in Anatolia, esp. against the DANIŞMENDIDS (he captured Kastamon and Gangra after the death of GHĀZĪ in 1134). He subdued the RUBENIDS of Cilicia (1137) and made RAYMOND OF POITIERS his vassal (1138), but the ensuing campaign from Antioch to inner Syria failed before the walls of Aleppo and Shayzar. In the northwest, John crushed the Pechenegs in 1122 (not 1123 as in B. Radojičić, *ZRVI* 7 [1961] 178) and defeated the Serbians and Hungarians in 1127–29 (not 1125 as in Radojičić, 182f). He attempted to annul Venice's privileges but in 1126 was forced to yield to a Venetian expedition. Theodore PRODROMOS was John's official eulogist. Allegedly John died in a hunting accident, but one cannot rule out the possibility of assassination (R. Browning, *Byzantion* 31 [1961] 229–35).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:1–193. Angold, *Empire* 150–60. A.P. Kazhdan, "Ešče raz o Kinname i Nikite Choniate,"

BS 24 (1963) 9–23. G. Ostrogorsky, "Autokrator Johannes II. und Basileus Alexios," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 179–83.
–C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

JOHN II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1280–97); born ca.1262/3, died Limnia, near Trebizond, 16 or 17 Aug. 1297. Son of MANUEL I KOMNENOS of Trebizond, John succeeded his brother GEORGE KOMNENOS as ruler of Trebizond. He initially incurred the anger of the Byz. emperor Michael VIII by styling himself "emperor and *autokrator* of the Romans." Michael sent frequent embassies to the "ruler (*archegos*) of the Lazes," as Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:270.9) calls John, to criticize his wrongful use of the imperial title. In 1282 John went to Constantinople and married Michael's daughter Eudokia, receiving the Byz. title *despotes;* he then changed his imperial title to "emperor and *autokrator* of all the East, the Iberians, and the transmarine provinces." The chief events of John's reign were the siege of Trebizond in 1282 by the Georgian king David IV (V) and the brief usurpation of the throne in 1284/5 by John's half-sister Theodora (M. Kuršanskis, *REB* 33 [1975] 187–210). John was a patron of the SOUMELA monastery.

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 27–32. *PLP*, no.12106. –A.M.T.

JOHN III, patriarch of Antioch (4 Oct. 996–July 1021). His surname Polites perhaps derives from the fact that he was a native of Constantinople. Originally *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia, he was elevated to the see of ANTIOCH by Emp. Basil II following the abdication of Agapios (978–96). Since John feared that, before he reached his see, his predecessor might attempt to recover the throne, he agreed to be consecrated in Constantinople and thus to renounce (in writing) his right to be ordained by the metropolitans of Antioch. This questionable act, by which Antioch became ecclesiastically subject to Constantinople, was later revoked by Patr. PETER III, but it is not known with what success. The practice probably continued.

During his tenure John also chose to surrender to Orestes, patriarch of Jerusalem (986–1006), the annual sum of money sent by the church of GEORGIA to Antioch for the preparation of the Holy Chrism, which the Georgians now received from Jerusalem. John did not, however, abandon his privilege of confirming the KATHOLIKOS of Georgia, or the right to be commemorated by the Georgian episcopate in the liturgy. An extract of John's only known work, *Responsa de baptismo,* addressed to Theodore of Ephesus, was published by Allatius. This reply was probably written while John was still *chartophylax*; normally, canonical questions requiring no synodical decision were referred to this official.

ED. L. Allatius, *De aetate et interstitiis in collatione ordinum* (Rome 1638) 215.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Les patriarches grecs d'Antioche du nom de Jean (XI^{e} et XII^{e} siècles)," *EO* 32 (1933) 281–84. Papadopoulos, *Antioch.* 837–39. –A.P.

JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (31 Jan. 565–31 Aug. 577); born Sirmis near Antioch ca.503 (L. Petit, *DTC* 8 [1947] 830), died Constantinople. First a lawyer (SCHOLASTIKOS) in Antioch, in 548/9 he was sent to Constantinople as *apokrisiarios* of the patriarch of Antioch. Justinian I, shortly before his death, selected John to replace EUTYCHIOS as patriarch. John crowned Justin II and supported his policy. John of Ephesus presents the patriarch as an eager anti-Monophysite who ordered persecution of the Monophysites through all the provinces; John of Nikiu, on the other hand, ascribed to him a book, *Mystagogia,* that allegedly dealt with a single substance of Christ, both divine and human (Beck, *Kirche* 423). Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.75) mentions a catechetical sermon of John on the Trinity, delivered in 567/8, that was refuted by John PHILOPONOS; the doubts of W. Kroll (*RE* 9 [1916] 1792) concerning this evidence are not valid. Probably while still in Antioch, John composed the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES. Haury (*infra*) identified him with John MALALAS on the basis of the similarity in names, origin, and scanty biographical data. Although possible (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:319f), the identification is far from certain.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 250–59. J. Haury, "Johannes Malalas identisch mit dem Patriarchen Johannes Scholastikos?," *BZ* 9 (1900) 337–56. Cf. E. Stein, *Jahresberichte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 184 (1920) 86f, no.232. L. Petit, *DTC* 8 (1947) 829–31. –A.K.

JOHN III VATATZES, emperor of Nicaea (from ca.15 Dec. 1221); born ca.1192, died Nymphaion 3 Nov. 1254. He married Irene, daughter of THEODORE I LASKARIS, and ca.1244 Constance

("Anna"), an illegitimate daughter of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN. His succession was opposed by Theodore's brothers, who had Latin backing. John defeated them at the battle of POIMANENON in 1224 and was able to drive the Latins out of northwestern Asia Minor, thus rounding off the Nicaean territories in Asia Minor. His bid to secure control of ADRIANOPLE, the key to Thrace, was thwarted by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. Only in 1234 was John able to establish a permanent bridgehead in Thrace, thanks to an alliance concluded with JOHN ASEN II. The latter's death left a power vacuum in the southern Balkans, which John was quick to exploit. An astute campaign made him master of the region in 1246 and brought him his greatest prize—the city of Thessalonike. His remaining years were devoted to protecting and extending his European territories and seeking ways of recovering Constantinople.

When alliance with Frederick II Hohenstaufen brought him little material reward, he turned to the papacy in 1248. He was willing to make unprecedented concessions over papal claims to PRIMACY in the hope that the papacy would withdraw its backing for the Latin Empire of Constantinople, but these plans came to nothing. Still, John had created the conditions that made the eventual recovery of Constantinople possible and had turned the Nicaean Empire into the strongest power of the region, with territories stretching from the Turkish frontier to Albania. At the end of his reign his relations with the aristocracy were soured by the need to secure the succession of his son THEODORE II LASKARIS. In 1252 he had the leader of potential aristocratic opposition, MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS, arraigned on a charge of high treason.

John III was a ruler of the highest ability and of great tenacity of purpose. Remembered as "a kind and gentle soul" (Akrop. 1:103.19–20), he was revered after his death as a saint by the Greeks of Asia Minor (D.J. Constantelos, *Kleronomia* 4 [1972] 92–104). He was buried in the monastery of Sosandra near Nymphaion.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 106–09, no.72. D.I. Polemis, "Remains of an Acoluthia for the Emperor John Ducas Batatzes" in *Okeanos*, 542–47. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 93–97. J. Langdon, "John III Ducas Vatatzes' Byzantine Imperium in Anatolian Exile, 1222–54," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif., Los Angeles, 1978). –M.J.A.

JOHN IV KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1429–1459/60?); born before 1403 (Kuršanskis) or ca.1404/5, died 1460. Son of ALEXIOS IV KOMNENOS and Theodora Kantakouzene, as a youth he murdered his mother's suspected paramour and rebelled against his father. He then fled to Georgia, where he married the daughter of King Alexander I (1412–42). In 1427 he went to Kaffa and in 1429 returned to Trebizond where, with Genoese assistance, he overthrew his father and had him assassinated (V. Laurent, *ArchPont* 20 [1955] 138–43). John's reign was preoccupied with defending Trebizond against the continuing onslaughts of the Turks, both Turkomans and Ottomans. He evidently favored union with Rome in hopes of Western assistance against the Turks (A. Bryer, *ArchPont* 26 [1964] 305f). After the fall of Constantinople, the Ottomans attacked Trebizond by land and sea in 1456 and forced John to pay tribute to MEHMED II. By his second wife, a Turk, John had a daughter Theodora whom he married to Uzun Hasan, chief of the White Sheep Turkomans, in exchange for the Turkoman pledge to defend Trebizond against the Ottomans (M. Kuršanskis, *ArchPont* 34 [1977–8] 77–87).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 81–96. Kuršanskis, "Descendance d'Alexis IV," 239–47. *PLP*, no.12108. K. Barzos, "He moira ton teleutaion Megalon Komnenon tes Trapezountos," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 270f. –A.M.T.

JOHN IV LASKARIS, emperor in Nicaea (1258–61); born Nymphaion? 25 Dec. 1250, died ca.1305. He was the only son and heir of THEODORE II LASKARIS, whom he succeeded in Aug. 1258. The boy's rights were progressively set aside by MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Once the latter had recovered Constantinople, he felt secure enough to have John blinded on Christmas Day 1261 and confined in the fortress of Dakibyze on the south shore of the Sea of Marmara. Patr. ARSENIOS AUTOREIANOS excommunicated Michael in protest. This prompted the people around Nicaea to rise up in support of a pretender claiming to be John. The rebellion was quickly crushed, but a strong current of support for the Laskarid cause endured, esp. in Asia Minor. When ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS visited Asia Minor in 1284, he found it politic to placate those with Laskarid sympathies by visiting John in his dungeon and begging forgiveness for what his father had done. With John's death, the Laskarid cause withered

away. A cult seems to have grown up around John; the Russian pilgrim Stefan of Novgorod recorded that in the mid-14th C. it was centered on the monastery of St. Demetrios at Constantinople, where his body was to be seen (I. Ševčenko, *SüdostF* 12 [1953] 173–75).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 111, no.76. –M.J.A.

JOHN IV NESTEUTES (Νηστευτής, "Faster"), patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 582–2 Sept. 595); born and died Constantinople. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP*, col. 7.22), he was a coinmaker by profession, then joined the clergy and was elected patriarch. The legend preserved by Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok., bk.7.6.4) described him as living in extreme poverty, owning only a wooden pallet, thin blanket, and plain cloak. John was very close to Emp. Maurice, whose son Theodosios was crowned at the age of four and a half by the patriarch. John fought against heresies and, despite Maurice's resistance, introduced capital punishment for magicians. His claims to the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH led to a conflict with Pope Pelagius II (579–90) and GREGORY I.

Little of his writing is preserved; his long speech on penitence, temperance, and chastity (PG 88:1937–78) is a collection of citations from John Chrysostom. Several penitentials are preserved under John's name (a *Kanonarion*, the *Akolouthia and Order for Penitents* [PG 88:1889–1918], and the *Indoctrination of Nuns*), but all three are spurious, having been written several centuries later.

ED. N. Suvorov, "Verojatnyj sostav drevnejšego ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 357–434; 9 (1902) 378–417. N.A. Zaozerskij, A.S. Chachanov, *Nomokanon Ioanna Postnika v ego redakcijach: gruzinskoj, grečeskoj i slavjanskoj* (Moscow 1902).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 264–72. Beck, *Kirche* 423–25. R. Janin, *DTC* 8 (1947) 828f. E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 71–127. –A.K.

JOHN IV (V) OXEITES, Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch (ca.1089–1100); died after 1100. All we know about John before his patriarchate is that he was a monk; the conclusions of Ch. Papadopoulos (*EEBS* 12 [1936] 361–78) should be treated with caution. Appointed patriarch before Sept. 1089, he remained in Constantinople until 1091. John's situation in Antioch under Seljuk rule was miserable, esp. during the Crusaders' siege of the city; after their victory he had under his jurisdiction both the Greek and Latin clergy of Antioch. Eventually he was charged with plotting to surrender the city to the emperor, left for Constantinople, and in Oct. 1100 officially renounced his patriarchate. John retired to the HODEGON monastery but incited the hatred of the monks and probably moved to the island of Oxeia (Princes' Islands), where he was later buried.

John's works had a clear political imprint. In 1085 or 1092 he issued a treatise on CHARISTIKIA, which he blamed for the decline of monasticism. He also wrote a diatribe accusing Alexios I of responsibility for all the internal and international problems of Byz. His invectives were addressed also against those who possessed "cities within the cities" (P. Gautier, *infra*) and esp. against tax collectors, whereas he lamented the plight of poor peasants, merchants, and craftsmen (p.33.19–22). John also wrote a treatise on AZYMES, possibly in connection with the Byz. dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO in 1112.

ED. P. Gautier, "Diatribes de Jean l'Oxite contre Alexis Ier Comnène," *REB* 28 (1970) 19–55. Idem, "Réquisitoire du patriarche Jean d'Antioche contre le charisticariat," *REB* 33 (1975) 91–131. B. Leib, "Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes au début du XIIe siècle," *OC* 2 (1924) 244–63.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Jean V l'Oxite, patriarche d'Antioche. Notice biographique," *REB* 22 (1964) 128–57. –A.K.

JOHN V KATHOLIKOS, patriarch of Armenia (897–925) and historian; born Drasxanakert mid-9th C., died Vaspurakan soon after 925. As *katholikos*, John (Arm. Yovhannes) played a role in diplomacy both between the BAGRATID Armenian kings and their Armenian rivals, and between Armenia and both Byz. and Muslim rulers.

The first third of his *History* is primarily a résumé of earlier sources. John developed the concept of the strong royal power of the Bagratid dynasty and justified it by reference to the Bagratids' succession from previous royal houses (M.O. Darbinian-Melikian, *IFŽ* [1982] no.3, 119–25). The *History* contains the earliest Armenian reference to Bagratid descent from King DAVID of Israel, although earlier MOSES XORENAC'I had claimed a Jewish origin for that family. The main part is an eyewitness account of John's own times and of his role in Armenian politics. It includes a letter to him from NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople, and one from John himself to

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, written in 914. The *History* is the most important source for the reigns of Smbat I and his son Ašot II.

ED. *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow 1853; Tbilisi 1912), rp. with introd. K. Maksoudian (Delmar, N.Y., 1980). *Histoire d'Arménie par le patriarche Jean VI* [sic] *dit Jean Catholicos*, tr. J. Saint-Martin (Paris 1841). –R.T.

JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1341–91); born Didymoteichon 18 June 1332, died Constantinople 16 Feb. 1391 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 80f, n. 214). During his 50-year reign John faced numerous rebellions and a civil war; he actually ruled only about 30 years. Nine years old at the death of his father ANDRONIKOS III (1341), John came under the control of his empress-mother ANNA OF SAVOY, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, and Alexios APOKAUKOS. The same year JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS was proclaimed emperor at Didymoteichon and began the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. After the victory of Kantakouzenos, John married the usurper's daughter Helena and remained in the background until he forced Kantakouzenos's abdication in 1354. Shortly thereafter his mosaic portrait was set up in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Mango, *Materials* 74–76, fig. 97).

During the 1350s and 1360s John attempted to gain Western assistance against the Turks. To this end he journeyed in 1366 to Hungary (J. Gill, *BS* 38 [1977] 31–38) and in 1369 to Rome, where he declared his personal conversion to Catholicism. On his way home he was detained in Venice because of his debts and was forced to promise the cession of TENEDOS to the Venetians (R.-J. Loenertz, *REB* 16 [1958] 217–32). After the Serbian defeat at MARICA (1371), John realized the necessity of seeking an accommodation with the Turks and became an Ottoman vassal. His remaining years were troubled by the rebellions of his son ANDRONIKOS IV (1373, 1376–79) and grandson JOHN VII (1390). To conciliate his heirs, John had to allocate to them appanages and divide the empire into semi-independent principalities, while he retained rule in the capital.

LIT. O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930). Barker, *Manuel II* 1–83. F. Tinnefeld, "Kaiser Ioannes V. Palaiologos und der Gouverneur von Phokaia 1356–1358," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 259–71. –A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, emperor (8 Feb. 1347–3 Dec. 1354 [A. Failler, *REB* 29 (1971) 293–302]); born ca.1295, died Mistra 15 June 1383. The son, probably posthumous, of a Peloponnesian governor of the aristocratic KANTAKOUZENOS lineage, John Kantakouzenos was about the same age as ANDRONIKOS (III) PALAIOLOGOS and was his close friend until the emperor's death in 1341. His first known title was that of *megas papias* (1320); he became *megas domestikos* ca.1325. He supported Andronikos's rebellion against his grandfather (1321–28) and was his principal general and adviser during his reign.

After Andronikos died, leaving a nine-year-old heir, JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, Kantakouzenos failed to secure the regency. His power struggle with ANNA OF SAVOY, Alexios APOKAUKOS, and Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS ended in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and Kantakouzenos was proclaimed co-emperor at Didymoteichon (26 Oct. 1341). Thanks to his extraordinary wealth (in land and livestock), the support of landed magnates in Thrace and Thessaly, and military aid from Serbs and Turks, Kantakouzenos eventually emerged victorious. On 21 May 1346 he was crowned at Adrianople and in Feb. 1347 entered Constantinople. He was crowned a second time (21 May) and married his daughter Helena to John V.

During his brief reign Kantakouzenos crushed the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike (1349) and supported PALAMISM at the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). The relatively peaceful relations between John V and John VI lasted until 1351; in 1352 a new civil war broke out. Although Kantakouzenos used Ottoman troops (who established themselves at KALLIPOLIS, their first European foothold), he was defeated by John V, who assumed sole power (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 21 [1982] 127–41). After his abdication Kantakouzenos became the monk Ioasaph, retiring first to the MANGANA monastery, then to CHARSIANEITES. He made at least two trips to MISTRA, where his son MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS was *despotes* (1347–80). He continued to influence both political and religious affairs until his death (cf. Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 119–93; J. Meyendorff, *DOP* 14 [1960] 147–77).

He also devoted himself to the preparation of his lengthy memoirs, the *Historiai*, one of the



JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. Portrait of the emperor at the Council of 1351. Miniature in a manuscript of his works (Paris gr. 1242, fol.5v); 14th C. Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris.

principal sources for the first half of the 14th C. In four books he treated events from 1320 to 1356, drawing on personal reminiscences and perhaps on a diary. The remarkable homogeneity of composition is a result of the subordination of the historical material to an overall structural theme. He used this very subjective work to justify his own actions and policies and to present himself as a tragic hero and as the central figure of events. At the same time his history is a useful complement to the account of Nikephoros GREGORAS. The bias of Kantakouzenos is offset by the author's first-hand knowledge of events, his precise chronology, and citation of original documents. His work is characterized by a belief in *ananke* (necessity) and TYCHE (fate or fortune); he believed that his eventual defeat was not caused solely by human factors, but by transcendent and cosmic forces. Kantakouzenos wrote in a simple style marked by the absence of rhetoric. His work was influenced by THUCYDIDES (T. Miller, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 385–95, and H. Hunger, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 181–93) and includes an unusual number of speeches.

Kantakouzenos also wrote treatises attacking Islam and Judaism, and pro-Palamite theological works, refuting John KYPARISSIOTES and Prochoros KYDONES. Portraits of Kantakouzenos as emperor and monk survive in a deluxe MS of his theological writings, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242, fols. 5v and 123v.

ED. *Historiarum Libri IV*, ed. L. Schopen, 3 vols. (Bonn 1828–32). Germ. tr. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, *Geschichte* (Stuttgart 1982). Theological works—PG 154:372–710. *Refutationes duae Prochori Cydonii et Disputatio cum Paulo Patriarcha Latino epistulis septem tradita*, ed. E. Voordeckers, F. Tinnefeld (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).

LIT. G. Weiss, *Joannes Kantakuzenos–Aristokrat, Staatsmann, Kaiser und Mönch–in der Gesellschaftsentwicklung von Byzanz im 14. Jahrhundert* (Wiesbaden 1969). Dölger, *Paraspora* 194–207. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 35–103. A.P. Kazhdan, "L'*Histoire* de Cantacuzène en tant qu'oeuvre littéraire," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 279–335. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:465–76. Beck, *Kirche* 731f. *PLP*, no.10973. –A.M.T.

JOHN VII, pope (1 Mar. 705–18 Oct. 707). Greek by birth, he was the son of a *curator sacri palatii* named Plato who moved to Rome from Constantinople. John inherited from his predecessors the problems of the canons of the Council in TRULLO, which Pope SERGIUS I had refused to sign. Emp. Justinian II took up the issue, sending copies of the canons to the pope and urging him to approve those that were acceptable and reject those that were not. John returned them without emendation or signature, causing the author of the LIBER PONTIFICALIS to accuse him of cowardice. A fresco in the Church of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, commissioned by John, may reflect his acceptance of the canons, however; instead of the Adoration of the Lamb of God, it represents Christ in human form. The canons of Trullo were not formally accepted in Rome until the pontificate of Constantine I (708–15). Both the frescoes in S. Maria Antiqua and the mosaics of John's oratory in Old St. Peter's are generally attributed to Byz. artists (M. Andaloro, *RIASA* 19–20 [1972–73] 183f). The latter program included John's portrait, today preserved in the Vatican grottoes, offering his foundation to the Virgin clad as a Byz. empress.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 211f. P.J. Nordhagen, *The Frescoes of John VII (A.D. 705–707) in S. Maria Antiqua in Rome*

[*ActaNorv* 3] (Rome 1968) with add. J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 (1972) 364–74. J.M. Sansterre, "Jean VII (705–707): idéologie pontificale et réalisme politique," in *Rayonnement grec* 377–88. –A.K., A.C.

JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS (the Grammarian), patriarch of Constantinople (21 Jan. 837?–4 Mar. 843 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 162–66, 506]); born Constantinople late 8th C., died western shore of Bosporos before 867. John was born to a family (perhaps of Armenian origin) whose name is variously given as Morokardanios, Morocharzamios, and Morocharzianos. He began his clerical career ca.811–13 as an *anagnostes* in the Hodegon monastery; according to PHOTIOS (homily 15, ed. Laourdas, 140.25–27) he was also an icon painter. Three letters addressed to him by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS are further proof of his original Iconodule position (V. Grumel, *EO* 36 [1937] 186). The epithet GRAMMATIKOS indicates that he was respected for his learning. By 814 he had become an Iconoclast and was chosen by Emp. Leo V to head a committee to collect a florilegium of patristic texts in support of ICONOCLASM, in preparation for the local council of 815 in Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which again condemned the veneration of images. He was rewarded with the post of *hegoumenos* of the Sergios and Bakchos monastery, which served as a center where recalcitrant Iconodules were "rehabilitated."

John had a reputation for persuasive rhetorical skills, and debates with him became a hagiographical *topos* of the second Iconoclastic period. Under Michael II, John tutored the crown prince THEOPHILOS and is usually credited with inculcating strong Iconoclastic sympathies in his pupil. Upon Theophilos's accession to the throne, John became *synkellos*, and went on an embassy to the Arab caliph al-MA'MŪN, probably in 829/30. Little is known of his actual patriarchate; he was deposed in 843 as a preamble to the restoration of images, excommunicated, and exiled from Constantinople. In some of the marginal PSALTERS, John is depicted as the principal adversary of the Orthodox patriarch NIKEPHOROS I who, as a pendant to St. Peter crushing Simon Magus, tramples John underfoot (Grabar, *Iconoclasme* 226–28, 287f, figs. 150, 155). John was probably the compiler of a collection of GNOMAI that served as the major source for the *Gnomologion* of John Georgides (A. Kambylis, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 95, n.1).

LIT. Lemerle, *Humanism* 154–68. V. Laurent, "Jean VII le Grammairien," *Catholicisme hier, aujourd'hui, demain*, fasc. 24 (Paris 1964) 513–15. Lipšic, *Očerki* 296–301. –A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1390); born ca.1370, died Thessalonike 22 (23?) Sept. 1408. According to E. Zachariadou (*DOP* 31 [1977] 339–42), he was also called Andronikos. Eldest son of ANDRONIKOS IV, as a small child he developed a grudge against his grandfather JOHN V, who partially blinded him and his father after the latter's rebellion. John viewed himself as rightful heir to the throne and opposed his uncle MANUEL II, who had "usurped" his claim to the empire. Upon Andronikos's death in 1385, John inherited his appanage in Selymbria. In April 1390 he seized Constantinople with Genoese and Turkish support and reigned briefly until his deposition in September. After a reconciliation with Manuel, John served as his regent from 1399 to 1403 and was entrusted with the defense of Constantinople against the siege of BAYEZID I. The capital was saved by Bayezid's defeat at Ankara in 1402; the next year (3 June 1403) John signed a treaty with the Turks whereby the Byz. regained Thessalonike. His triumphal entry into the city and his family may well appear on a tiny ivory at Dumbarton Oaks. Shortly after Manuel's return from the West, John was made "*basileus* of all Thessaly" and *despotes* of Thessalonike, where he spent his final years quietly.

John was married to Irene GATTILUSIO, daughter of Francesco II of Lesbos. The union produced one son, ANDRONIKOS V, who predeceased his father. John thus died without an heir, leaving the lineage of Manuel unchallenged in its claim to the throne.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Johannes VII., Kaiser der Rhomäer 1390–1408," *BZ* 31 (1931) 21–36, corr. by P. Wirth, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 592–600. Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 329–37. –A.M.T., A.C.

JOHN VIII, pope (14 Dec. 872–16 Dec. 882); of Roman origin. John was elected despite the future pope FORMOSUS's opposition, which continued during the first years of John's pontificate. John faced the Arab invasions of southern Italy, often

supported by the rulers of Gaeta and other small Lombard princedoms; the pope built a navy to deter the Arabs, and until the death of LOUIS II the anti-Arab war proceeded successfully. After 875, however, Emp. Basil I was the most effective ally. The situation was complicated since John actively tried to establish papal control over Moravia (by supporting METHODIOS), Croatia, and Bulgaria. At a council in Constantinople in 879/80, the pope's legates were coerced into yielding: they joined the rehabilitation of Photios (the legend of the "second Photian schism" under John is a forgery—F. Dvornik, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 425–36) and also had to accept Byz. claims over Bulgaria, although the pope still tried to influence the Bulgarian khan BORIS I. Defeats by the Arabs, who gained a stronghold at GARIGLIANO and burned MONTECASSINO, as well as failures in Bulgaria and Moravia, gave new impetus to the opposition to the pope. The *Annals of Fulda* preserve a rumor that John was murdered.

LIT. F. Engreen, "Pope John the Eighth and the Arabs," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 318–30. F. Dvorník, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode* (Prague 1933) 313–30. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:169–209. –A.K.

JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES (Χρυσοστομίτης), or Merkouropolos (Μερκουρόπωλος), patriarch in Jerusalem (ca.1098–1106/7?; on the name see B. Englezakis, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 506–08). Although his personality and patriarchate remain obscure, John must be identified with the anonymous metropolitan of Tyre who fled his own see to Jerusalem and was subsequently elevated to patriarch succeeding SYMEON II (cf. XANTHOPOULOS in PG 146:1196D). Despite the Crusaders' election of a Latin patriarch, John continued in his office. In 1107/8 he went to Constantinople, where he was recognized as the legitimate patriarch of Jerusalem (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.986). Grumel suggests that his patriarchate ended before 1122.

Of the three treatises on AZYMES attributed to him, only the last two are from his pen; the first is probably by EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. An unpublished work on the origins of the SCHISM of 1054 may be his, although this seems rather doubtful (cf. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 21 [1963] 54).

John is sometimes confused with John IX of Jerusalem, who was present at the local council of Constantinople of 1156–57—the only known evidence of his patriarchate (I. Sakkelion, *Patmiake bibliotheke* [Athens 1890] 327). Englezakis has tentatively suggested that it was John IX who was actually John Chrysostomites, the monk mentioned in the *typikon* of the monastery at Koutzovente in Cyprus. One of these two Johns wrote the "dual" vita of John of Damascus and KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, which includes a rare attempt to evaluate Kosmas's literary activity.

ED. Treatises on azymes—Dositheos of Jerusalem, *Tomos agapes* (Jassy 1698) 516–38. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:303–50; 5:405–07.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 394. Th. Detorakes, *Kosmas ho Melodos: Bios kai ergo* (Thessalonike 1979) 39–50. *BHG* 395. –A.P., A.K.

JOHN VIII PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1425–48); born 17/18 Dec. 1392 (cf. Barker, *Manuel II* 104 n.28), died Constantinople 31 Oct. 1448. Eldest son of MANUEL II and Helena Dragaš, he was made co-emperor before 1408 (Oikonomides, "Ivory Pyxis" 332–34) and became *autokrator* on 19 Jan. 1421 (F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 318f). He was the effective ruler during the final four years of Manuel's life and succeeded him in mid-1425. John took active part in two successful campaigns in the Peloponnesos. During his reign the Byz. regained control of most of the Morea and began to expand into Attica and Boeotia. Nonetheless, Thessalonike fell to the Turks in 1430 and, after the Turkish campaign of 1446, the Morea had to pay tribute to the sultan.

John pursued a policy of seeking rapprochement with the West in order to stave off further Ottoman advances. He was eager to achieve UNION OF THE CHURCHES and personally participated in the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, where he signed the decree of Union. After his return to Constantinople in 1440, however, he found much popular opposition to the decisions of the council. Moreover, the Crusade of 1444, a reward for the Union of Florence, never reached Constantinople, but was crushed by the Turks at VARNA. John died without ever implementing the Union. Despite three marriages, he was childless and was succeeded by his brother, CONSTANTINE XI.

John appears as co-emperor with his father in the Louvre MS of the works of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.93) and,

again identified as *basileus,* with his first wife, Anna of Moscow, on the so-called Large SAKKOS, probably sent to Moscow between 1411 and 1417. A number of portraits by Western artists (miniatures and bronzes) commemorate John's visit to Italy (ibid., figs. 21–22, 178–79).

LIT. Papadopulos, *Genealogie,* no.90. Gill, *Personalities* 104–24. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Inheritance of Eastern Europe* (London 1982), pt. X (1972), 141–446. C. Walter, "A Problem Picture of the Emperor John VIII and the Patriarch Joseph," *ByzF* 10 (1985) 295–302. –A.M.T.

JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS, patriarch of Constantinople (1 Jan. 1064–2 Aug. 1075); born Trebizond ca.1010, died Constantinople. John was born to the XIPHILINOS family, which was reportedly of humble origin. After an education in Constantinople, he joined the circle of John MAUROPOUS and PSELLOS and was granted the post of *nomophylax* of the law school in the capital. J. Cvetler's hypothesis (*Eos* 48.2 [1956] 297–328) that Xiphilinos composed the novel on the foundation of the law school does not prove valid. In the late 1040s Xiphilinos fell out of favor with Constantine IX and was attacked by a certain Ophrydas who accused him of "freethinking." Psellos defended Xiphilinos and praised his love of knowledge. When CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES was replaced as *mesazon* by the eunuch John ca.1050, Xiphilinos and friends were forced to leave Constantinople. Xiphilinos took the monastic habit and was—unlike Psellos—content with his new situation; he soon began to retreat from the "emancipated" ideals of his youth. This created a tension in his relations with Psellos, who, even in his *enkomion* of Xiphilinos (Sathas, *MB* 4:421–62), was unable to refrain from criticism, conventional though it may be.

After the death of Leichoudes, who had become patriarch (1059–1063), Emp. Constantine X (allegedly at the recommendation of Psellos) summoned Xiphilinos from Mt. Olympos and appointed him patriarch. Under the difficult conditions of the growing Seljuk menace, Xiphilinos tried to establish union with the Armenian church. He also abolished a decision of Patr. Michael I Keroularios prohibiting metropolitans who resided in Constantinople from electing in the capital new bishops for vacant sees (N. Oikonomidès, *REB* 18 [1960] 55–78). Xiphilinos wrote a number of legal works—according to W. Wolska-Conus (*TM* 7 [1979] 13–53), scholia to the BASILIKA, TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS, DE PECULIIS, and MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS. He also wrote the *Miracles* of St. EUGENIOS.

LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 3, nos. 893–906. K. Mpones, *Ioannes ho Xiphilinos* (Athens 1937). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 49–55. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.18. –A.K.

JOHN X, pope (Mar./April 914–June 928); born Tossignano in the Romagna, died Rome 929. He owed his elevation to the noble Roman family of Theophylact. The major problem he had to face was the Arab threat; to fight them John advocated an alliance of Rome, Lombard princedoms in Italy, and Byz. In Aug. 915 the allies captured the Arab stronghold of GARIGLIANO. In 920 John's legates attended the council in Constantinople where the TOMOS OF UNION was signed; the next year, the envoys of Romanos I Lekapenos and Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS were sent to the pope to suggest that contacts between Rome and Constantinople be reestablished (Nicholas, ep.53). John, however, taking advantage of the tense situation in the Balkans resulting from the war with SYMEON OF BULGARIA, tried to force papal influence on both Dalmatia and Bulgaria: in 925 TOMISLAV convened a synod in Split under John's direction (F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga naroda* [Zagreb 1962] 123); Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:507) surmised that the pope had promised to recognize Symeon's imperial title and the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church. John was deposed and imprisoned by Marozia, Theophylact's daughter.

LIT. T. Venni, "Giovanni X," *ASRSP* 59 (1936) 1–136. –A.K.

JOHN X KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (5 Aug. 1198–Apr./May 1206); died Didymoteichon June 1206. A member of the KAMATEROS family, John was related to the empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA, wife of Alexios III Angelos. Well versed in classical literature, his training included rhetoric and philosophy. After holding a series of ecclesiastical positions, he was *chartophylax* when chosen as patriarch to succeed George II XIPHILINOS. Between 1198 and 1200 he exchanged letters with INNOCENT III on the question of papal primacy; he attacked the FILIOQUE clause and asserted that Rome held first place in the pentarchy not on account of the

apostle Peter but because it was the imperial capital in the early Christian centuries. John intervened with Alexios III to gain the release of the banker KALOMODIOS. After Alexios's flight in July 1203, and the accession of Isaac II and Alexios IV, John continued to serve as patriarch. According to Western sources, he and Alexios IV submitted to the authority of Innocent III that same year. When Constantinople fell to the Crusaders in 1204, John took refuge at Didymoteichon. THEODORE I LASKARIS invited him to Nicaea to join the government-in-exile but John refused, perhaps because of old age.

ED. A. Papadakis, A.M. Talbot, "John X Camaterus Confronts Innocent III: An Unpublished Correspondence," *BS* 33 (1972) 26–41.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1193–1202. R. Browning, "An Unpublished Address of Nicephorus Chrysoberges to Patriarch John X Kamateros of 1202," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 37–68. –A.M.T.

JOHN XI BEKKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (26 May 1275–26 Dec. 1282); born Nicaea? between 1230 and 1240, died in fortress of St. Gregory on the Gulf of Nikomedeia, March 1297 (V. Laurent, *EO* 25 [1926] 316–19). First mentioned as *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia (1263–75), John twice served as Michael VIII's ambassador: to Stefan Uroš I in Serbia in 1268 and to Louis IX in Tunis in 1270 (L. Bréhier in *Mélanges offerts à M. Nicolas Iorga* [Paris 1933] 139f). At first John opposed plans for the UNION OF THE CHURCHES and in 1273 was imprisoned; after further study of the Latin fathers, he changed his views and was released from prison. He became head of the Unionist party and was soon chosen patriarch. Throughout his patriarchate John supported Michael VIII, but he urged the emperor to be more lenient toward his opponents. As a result of this dispute John temporarily withdrew from the patriarchate between March and August 1279. He was deposed after Michael's death and thereafter bore the brunt of attacks from the anti-Unionist party that then came to power: in Jan. 1283 a synod at Constantinople formally charged him with heresy and banished him to Prousa. He was again condemned at the Council of Blachernai in 1285 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), by the *tomos* of GREGORY II OF CYPRUS and imprisoned, together with Constantine Meliteniotes and George Metochites.

ED. PG 141:9–1032.

LIT. *PLP*, no.2548. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1424–1452. N.G. Xexakes, *Ioannes Bekkos kai hai theologikai antilepseis autou* (Athens 1981). Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 18–22, 48–57, 66–73. –A.M.T.

JOHN XIII GLYKYS, patriarch of Constantinople (12 May 1315–11 May 1319), writer, civil servant; born ca.1260, died Constantinople soon after May 1319. John studied in Constantinople with GREGORY (II) OF CYPRUS in preparation for a civil service career; ca.1282–1295/6 he was *epi ton deeseon.* He accompanied Theodore METOCHITES to Cyprus and Armenia in 1294 to find a bride for MICHAEL IX; his account of this embassy, the *Presbeutikos,* has been lost. He then served as *logothetes tou dromou* until 1315 when he was made patriarch, despite the fact that he was a married layman with several children. John was already ill when he ascended the patriarchal throne and after four uneventful years was forced to resign for reasons of health. He spent his final days in the monastery of Kyriotissa in Constantinople.

John was active as a writer and teacher; his pupils included Nikephoros GREGORAS. He corresponded with many contemporary literati, for example, Maximos PLANOUDES, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, and Metochites. His most important surviving work is a treatise on SYNTAX; his *enkomion* of Constantinople is not preserved. He was also a copyist of MSS. John is to be distinguished from the homonymous composer (*PLP*, no.4267).

ED. Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, pt.1:100–398, with Germ. tr. *Opus de vera syntaxeos ratione*, ed. A. Jahn (Bern 1849).

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "Ho logios oikoumenikos patriarches Ioannes IG′ ho Glykys," *EEBS* 41 (1974) 297–405. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2028–99. *PLP*, no.4271. –A.M.T.

JOHN XIV KALEKAS, patriarch of Constantinople (Feb. 1334–between 2 and 8 Feb. 1347); born Apros, Thrace, 1283, died Constantinople 29 Dec. 1347. John began his career as a married priest in the entourage of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS; he then became a member of the palatine clergy. Despite John's marital status, Kantakouzenos supported his election as patriarch in 1334, after first arranging his *pro forma* election as metropolitan of Thessalonike. He presided over the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which con-

demned BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and exonerated Gregory PALAMAS.

After the rebellion of Kantakouzenos and his coronation at Didymoteichon, the patriarch excommunicated his former patron and became regent for JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS, whom he crowned in Nov. 1341. He then turned against Palamas and threw his support to the anti-Palamite Gregory AKINDYNOS. In 1344 he excommunicated Palamas and deposed ISIDORE (I) BOUCHEIRAS from the see of Monemvasia. By 1346 the tide began to turn against John, after the murder of Alexios APOKAUKOS and Kantakouzenist victories in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. On 2 Feb. 1347, just before Kantakouzenos entered Constantinople, John was deposed by ANNA OF SAVOY and condemned by the synod (G. Dennis, *JÖB* 9 [1960] 51–55). He was briefly exiled to Didymoteichon but then returned to Constantinople, where he died.

ED. MM 1:168–242. P. Joannou, "Joannes XIV. Kalekas Patriarch von Konstantinopel, unedierte Rede zur Krönung Joannes' V.," *OrChrP* 27 (1961) 38–45.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2168–2270. *PLP*, no.10288.

–A.M.T.

JOHN AKTOUARIOS, or John Zacharias, chief physician at court of Andronikos II Palaiologos; born ca.1275, died after 1328. When first mentioned in 1299 in a letter from George LAKAPENOS, John was studying medicine in Constantinople; sometime between 1310 and 1323, he received the title of AKTOUARIOS. He corresponded with Michael GABRAS and taught astronomy to George OINAIOTES (S.I. Kourouses, *Athena* 77 [1978–79] 291–386; 78 [1980–82] 237–76).

One of John's teachers was JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER, to whom he dedicated his treatise *On the Workings and Illnesses of the Spirit of the Soul.* The last of the great Byz. physicians, John was well acquainted with the medical classics and Greek literature and philosophy. The *Method of Medicine*, written for his friend Alexios APOKAUKOS, is generally based on GALEN, but the work is innovative on colics from lead poisoning, whipworm infestations, and the combination of several techniques of bloodletting. John's *Urines*, a masterpiece of Byz. diagnostics, is divided into four basic parts: various urines and their physiological characteristics; diagnostics; etiology; and prognosis (K. Dimitriadis, *Byzantinische Uroskopie* [Bonn 1971] 55–64). John's meticulous gradations of colors, consistency, sediments, and floating substances in given levels of the urine flask (*amis*, Lat. *matula*) are in a MS diagram (Ideler, *infra* 2:22). Much of his work is still unpublished.

ED. *De spiritu animali*, *De urinis*, and *De diagnosi* in *PhysMedGr* 1:312–86; 2:3–192, 353–463.

LIT. A. Hohlweg, "Johannes Aktouarios: Leben—Bildung und Ausbildung—*De Methodo Medendi*," *BZ* 76 (1983) 302–21. Eng. version in *DOP* 38 (1984) 121–33. *PLP*, no.6489.

–J.S., A.M.T.

JOHN ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS. See ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS.

JOHN ANAGNOSTES, early 15th-C. writer. Nothing is known of his biography; the name ANAGNOSTES is probably not a family name but an indication of the clerical rank of reader. John lived in Thessalonike during the siege of MURAD II in 1430, and composed a brief eyewitness account (*Diegesis*) of the failure of the city's Venetian occupiers to resist the Turkish onslaught. The most recent editor of the *Diegesis*, G. Tsaras, believes that John's account breaks off suddenly with the entrance of the Turks into Thessalonike, and that it was completed ca.1453 by an editor who also composed the *Monody* on the fall of Thessalonike that has been attributed to John. The narrative is presented in literary language, but in a simple, straightforward manner, with precise details. A. Kazhdan (*BZ* 71 [1978] 301–14) has pointed out similarities between the account of John and the narrative of John KAMINIATES, which is traditionally assigned to the 10th C.

ED. G. Tsaras, *Diegesis peri tes teleutaias haloseos tes Thessalonikes. Monodia epi te halosei tes Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1958), with modern Gr. tr., rev. by J. Irmscher, *BZ* 52 (1959) 364–67. PG 156:588–632.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:484f. *PLP*, no.839. I. Tsaras, "Ho tetartos katholikos naos tes Thessalonikes sto Chroniko tou Ioannou Anagnoste," *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 165–85.

–A.M.T.

JOHN ASEN II, Bulgarian tsar (1218–41); born ca.1195/6, died 1241. John was the eldest son of ASEN I, one of the founders of the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1207, when the Bulgarian throne was seized by his cousin BORIL, John was forced to flee to Galicia (GALITZA), but he overthrew his rival in 1218. He was married to a Hungarian

princess and was content to allow the Bulgarian church to remain under papal auspices. On the strength of his Western ties he put himself forward in 1228 as a regent for BALDWIN II. The Latins of Constantinople rejected his offer, confident in the truce they had concluded with his erstwhile ally, THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS. This was the prelude to the latter's invasion of Bulgaria in 1230, but John defeated and captured him at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. An inscription John had erected at TŬRNOVO soon after recorded that his conquests stretched from Adrianople in the east to Dyrrachion in the west and set out his claim to the overlordship of Constantinople. He now styled himself tsar of the Bulgarians and the Greeks, reviving the claims of SYMEON of Bulgaria.

Seeking patriarchal status for the Bulgarian church, John turned to JOHN III VATATZES. The Nicaean emperor was willing to arrange this in return for a joint undertaking against the Latins of Constantinople. This alliance was sealed by the marriage of John's daughter Helena to THEODORE II LASKARIS, heir to the Nicaean throne. The head of the Bulgarian church was duly accorded patriarchal rank by a church council meeting at Kallipolis in 1235 (I. Tarnanidis, *Cyrillomethodianum* 3 [1975] 28–52). The allies launched an assault on Constantinople. Such concrete gains as there were, however, went to the Nicaeans. John was therefore happy to come to an understanding with the Latins of Constantinople, until the sudden death of his Hungarian consort in 1237 convinced him that he was guilty of perjury; he hastened to make peace with the Nicaeans. In yet another turnabout he married Irene, daughter of Theodore Komnenos Doukas, whom he allowed to return to Thessalonike. These vacillations were forced upon him by the large-scale settlement in his territories of CUMANS, seeking refuge from the Mongols. They presaged the collapse of the Bulgarian state which followed his death.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:323–418. I. Dujčev, *Tsar Ivan Asen II* (Sofia 1941). Idem, *Prinosi kŭm istorijata na Ivan Asienja II* (Sofia 1943). V. Gjuselev, "Bulgarien und das Kaiserreich von Nikaia (1204–1261)," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 143–54.

–M.J.A.

JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (Χρυσόστομος, "goldenmouth"), bishop of Constantinople (26 Feb. 398–20 June 404); saint; born Antioch between 340 and 350, died Komana 14 Sept. 407; feastday 13 Nov., translation of his relics 27 Jan. Born to a rich family, John received an excellent education, esp. under LIBANIOS and DIODOROS OF TARSOS. He became a monk and retired briefly to the desert, then returned to Antioch, where he was ordained deacon (381) and priest (386) and became a popular preacher. Invited to Constantinople to succeed NEKTARIOS as bishop, John became involved in a series of political struggles, acting in opposition to court favorites (EUTROPIOS), the growing power of the Arian Goth mercenaries (GAINAS), the increasing influence of Alexandria (THEOPHILOS), and Empress EUDOXIA. His invectives against the latter, whom he called "Jezebel" and "Herodias," proved fatal to his career; deposed at the Synod of the Oak at Chalcedon in Aug. 403, then briefly recalled after popular riots in the capital in his favor, he was banished in 404 to Koukousos in Armenia and died three years later during a move to a harsher exile.

John's reputation as orator was sustained throughout the Byz. millennium. Almost all of his voluminous writings have survived, in approximately 2,000 MSS; in addition a large number of spurious works bear his name. For example, the LITURGY attributed to Chrysostom is not his work. The greater bulk of his oeuvre consists of exegetical homilies on particular books of the Old and New Testaments, the majority of them belonging to his Antiochene period. The preserved texts are often from his stenographers' notes rather than his own hand and are sometimes accompanied by a later polished version. John emphasized the historical and literal meaning of biblical texts, disdaining allegorical interpretations; he was also concerned to show how they could furnish spiritual guidance for everyday life. He used these homilies, esp. those on the New Testament (in particular the 90 on Matthew), as vehicles for attacks on ARIANISM, also combatting the Anomaean views of EUNOMIOS in a series of sermons entitled *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God.* John was more distinguished as an orator than as a theologian. He used vague terms when discussing the hottest controversies of his time: thus he spoke of the unity of the natures in Christ without a clear definition of the union (*henosis*); he avoided the term *theotokos* although he stressed Christ's love of his mother; his attitude toward ORIGINAL



JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Icon of St. John Chrysostom; mosaic, early 14th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

SIN allowed both Pelagius and AUGUSTINE to consider him an ally.

John wrote much on morality, praising the ascetic life and virginity, and attacking the cohabitation of the sexes in ascetic communities and priestly homes. His criticism of the circus, THEATER, and other public entertainments was sharpened by the loss of his own congregation to these rival temptations; ironically, his own literary imagery teems with metaphors of the Hippodrome and chariot racing. An essay entitled *On the Education of Children* stresses the duty of parents to teach morality to their progeny by example and to prepare them for eternity rather than life. John's ideal was the nuclear family in which the *pater familias* would exercise mild and just authority in order to educate, not castigate, his children.

John had a strong sense of social justice. He emphasized the extremes of wealth and poverty at Antioch and contrasted the extravagance of public games with the virtues of almsgiving. He was not a radical social reformer, however, and never advocated the abolition of slavery as an institution. His 21 homilies titled *On the Statues*, rebuking the Antiochene mob for overthrowing the imperial effigies in 387 in protest against a new tax, complement the account by Libanios and are of great value to secular and social historians (R. Browning, *JRS* 42 [1952] 13–20).

The first biography of John (by PALLADIOS of Helenopolis?) appeared in 425, in the form of a fictitious dialogue in Rome between an anonymous Eastern bishop and the deacon Theodore (*BHG* 870). Several other vitae were also produced (F. Halkin, *Douze récits byzantins sur Saint Jean Chrysostome* [Brussels 1977]).

Illustration of the Homilies of Chrysostom. Unlike the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, those by John were never codified in a standard edition and reproduced in numerous illustrated versions. Consequently, illuminators approached their task independently. Illustrations may provide commentary (Athens, Nat. Lib. 211) but more often represent the subject of the sermon. As author, John is depicted in the pose of an evangelist and is sometimes represented as inspired by Paul or Luke, shown leaning over his shoulder. In a Palaiologan portrait added to a 12th-C. MS (Milan, Ambros. A 172 sup.), John's scroll changes into a stream of water for the faithful, an example of the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE used also for other church fathers in late frescoes and MSS. The characteristic features of John, his sunken cheeks and high forehead, became exaggerated in the Palaiologan period.

ED. PG 47–64. Eng. tr. P. Schaff, H. Wace, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, vols. 9–14 (New York 1889–93). For complete list of works, see *CPG* 2, nos. 4305–5197.

LIT. D.C. Burger, *A Complete Bibliography of the Scholarship on the Life and Works of St. John Chrysostom* (Evanston, Ill., 1964). P.C. Baur, *Der heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols. (Munich 1929–30). Eng. tr. M. Gonzaga, *John Chrysostom and His Time* (London 1959–60). Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 241–54. *Jean Chrysostome et Augustin: Actes du Colloque de Chantilly, 22–24 septembre, 1974*, ed. C. Kannengiesser (Paris 1975). T.E. Gregory, *Vox Populi* (Columbus 1979) 41–79. R. Hill, "Chrysostom as Old Testament Commentator," *Prudentia* 20 (1988) 44–56. S.P. Madigan, "Athens 211 and the Illustrated Sermons of John Chrysostom," (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Chicago, 1984). O. Demus, "Two Palaeologan Mosaic Icons in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 110–19. –B.B., A.K., R.S.N.

JOHN ELEEMON ('Ελεήμων, "the merciful"), Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (from 610); saint; born Amathous, Cyprus, died Cyprus 619/

20; feastday 12 Nov. Son of the governor of Cyprus, Stephen or Epiphanios (P. Pattenden, *JThSt* n.s. 33 [1982] 191–94), John received an appropriate education, married, and had children; both his wife and children soon died, however. At the instigation of the *patrikios* Niketas, who conquered Egypt for Emp. HERAKLEIOS, John became patriarch of Alexandria. He supported Orthodoxy against Monophysitism and the remnants of paganism, employing monastic organization as his instrument. Famous for his charity, he built seven hospitals in Alexandria and provided food to emigrés, esp. clergy, from territories occupied by the Persians (K. Galling, *ZDPV* 82 [1966] 46–56). Surrounded by intellectuals such as SOPHRONIOS and MOSCHOS, John was not without literary interests and himself compiled the Life of St. Tychon of Amathous (H. Delehaye, *AB* 26 [1907] 244–47). He left Alexandria on the eve of the Persian invasion and returned to Cyprus. Plots were hatched against him in both Alexandria and Cyprus, but they came to naught and he died peacefully.

Both Moschos and Sophronios wrote biographies of John, known only from their epitomes (H. Delehaye, *AB* 45 [1927] 19–74: E. Lappa-Zizicas, *AB* 88 [1970] 274–78). The major vita, by his younger contemporary LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS, presents John as having close contacts with Niketas and being involved in urban life with its trade, handicrafts, and financial transactions. ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated the Life into Latin.

Representation in Art. John, always clad as a bishop, may be shown in the act of distributing alms, accompanied by a personification of Mercy (THEODORE PSALTER, fol.23v) and of Alexandria (Venice, Marc. Z 351, fol.179v). From the 13th C. onward, he frequently appears in sanctuary frescoes, one of the procession of bishops shown approaching the altar.

SOURCE. *Léontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974) 257–637, with Fr. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 195–262, with Eng. tr. *Leontios' von Neapolis Leben des heiligen Iohannes des Barmherzigen*, ed. H. Gelzer (Freiburg im Breisgau–Leipzig 1893).

LIT. *BHG* 886–89. H.T.F. Duckworth, *St. John the Almsgiver Patriarch of Alexandria* (Oxford 1901). G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:82f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

JOHN GEOMETRES, or Kyriotes, poet of the second half of the 10th C. John was probably born to a noble family, but the traditional view that his father was the *patrikios* and *strategos* Theodore is the result of a misinterpretation. John received a good education and served in the army but retired and became a monk. His identification with John of Melitene, whose poem is in the chronicle of Skylitzes (Skyl. 282f), is wrong (M. Bibikov in *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* [Sofia 1980] 65f). John's epigrams contain abundant material concerning Byz. wars against Bulgaria and the Rus', as well as internal revolts. His favorite hero is NIKEPHOROS II. He describes JOHN I, who murdered Nikephoros and destroyed images of him, as transformed by this crime from a lion into a hare, trembling before his subjects and frightened by false dreams. This "Macbethian" theme of retribution is accompanied by a Christian indifference to the material world: after a few unhappy years of rule the emperor found rest in a grave only three cubits long.

John's general outlook is pessimistic: he foresees a political crisis, onslaughts of barbarians, peasant poverty, earthquakes, and a menacing comet. He praises his father but is very critical of conjugal ties. In his *enkomion* of the oak, the theme of a mother's love for her offspring is strongly emphasized (A. Littlewood, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 133–44). An erotic theme is treated allegorically: the lover whom a girl asked for some water symbolized Christ assuaging a moral thirst. Besides epigrams and PROGYMNASMATA, John produced hymns and orations dedicated to the Virgin and speeches on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and St. PANTELEEMON. The so-called *Paradeisos*, a collection of monastic epigrams, was apparently by John (P. Speck, *BZ* 58 [1965] 333–36). C.A. Trypanis hypothesized that a fresco in KALENDERHANE CAMII presents John's portrait (in *Meletemata ste mneme Basileiou Laourda* [Thessalonike 1975] 301f).

ED. PG 106:812–1002. *The Progymnasmata*, ed. A.R. Littlewood (Amsterdam 1972). See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 554.

LIT. F. Scheidweiler, "Studien zu Johannes Geometres," *BZ* 45 (1952) 277–319. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2:107–24. P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich vojn Svjatoslava," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 224–29. –A.K.

JOHN ITALOS (Ἰταλός), philosopher; born southern Italy ca.1025, died after 1082. John moved to Constantinople ca.1049, attended the lectures of PSELLOS, and polemicized with him. Supported by MICHAEL VII and some civilian

officials, he replaced Psellos as HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. He fell into disfavor under Alexios I, however, and was condemned at a trial in 1082. Although the anathemas of 1082 accuse John of heresy and paganism (Gouillard, "Synodikon" 57–61), his own works present a rather moderate philosophy; accordingly, some scholars (such as N. Kečakmadze) describe John as a radical reformer, whereas P. Joannou, P. Stephanou, and L. Clucas emphasize his Christian orthodoxy. Thus his condemnation may have been caused by John's bad character (stressed by Anna KOMNENE), political considerations, or his attention to classical philosophers, above all ARISTOTLE. Whatever John's own views were, his works and his trial demonstrate that he and his contemporaries discussed key philosophical problems such as the eternity of the cosmos, the existence of *universalia*, the existence of matter and *physis* ("nature"). John apparently also refuted the Neoplatonic thesis concerning the dialectic emanation of the world from the One.

ED. *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, ed. P. Joannou (Ettal 1956). *Opera*, ed. N. Kečakmadze (Tbilisi 1966).
LIT. P. Joannou, *Christliche Metaphysik in Byzanz* (Ettal 1956). P. Stephanou, *Jean Italos, philosophe et humaniste* (Rome 1949). L. Clucas, *The Trial of John Italos and the Crisis of Intellectual Values in Byzantium in the Eleventh Century* (Munich 1981). –A.K.



JOHN KLIMAX. Illustration from a manuscript of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax (Sinai, gr. 418, fol. 162v); 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. A depiction of Avarice: a rich man sits between a golden chest and a cupboard, while his servants drive away two beggars.

JOHN KLIMAX (or ὁ τῆς Κλίμακος, "of the Ladder"), also called Scholastikos or Sinaites, theologian and saint; born before 579, died ca.650 (F. Nau, *BZ* 11 [1902] 35–37); feastday 30 Mar. His biography is barely known. According to his encomiast Daniel of Raithou, John received a general (*enkyklios*) education (and possibly was a SCHOLASTIKOS), but at age 16 took monastic vows, lived as an anchorite at the foot of Mt. SINAI, and eventually became the *hegoumenos* of the Sinai monastery.

Klimax's major work, *The Ladder of Paradise*, or *The Heavenly Ladder*, summarizes the experience of the DESERT FATHERS as reflected in the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. It is an unsystematic presentation of vices and virtues, in scenes and more often in direct indoctrinations and definitions; they do not form a hierarchy of modes of behavior and are only superficially connected with the concept of the ladder. John ends by quoting 1 Corinthians 13:13, saying that the three greatest virtues are faith, hope, and *agape* (Christian love), of which *agape* is the worthiest. Even though the monastic status is considered as supreme, the layman is not excluded from salvation if he avoids theft, falsehood, hatred, etc. (PG 88:640C–641A). John refers to angels and demons and to biblical personages, but never mentions the Virgin (S. Rabois-Bousquet, S. Salaville, *EO* 22 [1923] 450). John's style ranges between enigmatic obscurity and aphoristic simplicity of presentation; almost hymnic is the cadence of his repetitive definitions ("Penitence is the revocation of baptism. Penitence is a contract with God concerning the second life," etc.—PG 88:764B). Metaphors and similes are abundant, often borrowed from animal mythology (e.g., a SNAKE struggling against a deer). The *Ladder* was extremely popular; the text was commented on by scholars including PHOTIOS (G. Hofmann, *OrChrP* 7 [1941] 461–79) and translated in the West and in the Slav countries.

Illustration of the *Ladder of Paradise*. Portraits of John appear occasionally in church decoration



JOHN KLIMAX. Icon of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax; 12th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai.

(Mouriki, *Nea Mone* 168f) and on icons, esp. those from Sinai. His text, however, was not illustrated in monumental painting. The *Ladder* was first extensively illustrated in MSS in the 11th C. The simplest versions show only the ladder's 30 rungs and sometimes the author, modeled on an EVANGELIST PORTRAIT. In Vat. gr. 394 and other MSS, the chapters receive detailed illustration that is noteworthy for its rendering of the abstract qualities of the text. Often included in MSS (e.g., Vat. gr. 1754, or the Haifa-Bucharest fragment) is a Penitential Canon that celebrates the deeds of the "holy criminals," described in ch.5 of the *Ladder* (T. Avner, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 5–25). While most MSS were presumably intended for a monastic audience, at least two have other associations. Milan, Ambros. B. 80. sup. has monograms of Andronikos DOUKAS, a brother of Michael VII (J.C. Anderson, *REB* 37 [1979] 229–38), and Paris, B.N. Coisl. 263, written in 1059 for Eustathios BOILAS, also contains his will in which he mentions that he owned two copies of the *Ladder*.

ED. PG 88:632–1209. Eng. tr. C. Luibheid, N. Russell, *The Ladder of Divine Ascent* (London-New York 1982).

LIT. W. Völker, *Scala Paradisi* (Wiesbaden 1968). E. von Ivanka, "Aufstieg und Wende," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 141–52. I. Hausherr, "The Monastic Theology of St. John Climacus," *American Benedictine Review* 38 (1987) 381–407. Iosef, metropolitan of New York, *Prepodobni Ioan Lestvičnik: Lestvica* (Sofia 1982). D. Bogdanović, *Jovan lestvičnik u vizantijskoj i staroj srpskoj književnosti* (Belgrade 1968). J.R. Martin, *The Illustration of the Heavenly Ladder of John Climacus* (Princeton 1954). –A.K., R.S.N.

JOHN LYDOS, scholar, bureaucrat, and writer; born Philadelphia (Lydia) 490, died ca.565?. Well versed in Latin in addition to his native Greek, John came to Constantinople in 511 in search of a post in the palace ministries; he attended philosophy lectures in the interim. He owed the first of several appointments to the praetorian prefect Zotikos, a fellow countryman. John served 40 years in the civil service, earning the admiration of Justinian I, which helped him acquire a professorial chair. After retirement (ca.551) he settled down to a literary life.

His major work is *On the Magistracies*, a history and description of late Roman BUREAUCRACY. The treatise is both interestingly antiquarian and a mirror of the social and intellectual life of his day, characterized by John's scholarly confidence (esp. his Latin expertise) and vicious attacks on high officials, notably JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, whose infamy he helped to secure. Continuity between the Roman past and the Byz. present is a major theme. The work is enriched by many digressions on scholarly matters, esp. philological. Also extant are *On the Months*, a history of calendars and feasts, again stressing continuity from Rome to Byz., and *On Omens*, a historical survey of divination and related matters that has earned John the label of last astrologer of the old world (Bandy, *infra*, xxix). Panegyrics on Zotikos and Justinian, a history of the latter's Persian war, and some poetry are lost.

ED. *De magistratibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1903). *On Powers*, ed. and tr. A.C. Bandy (Philadelphia 1983). *De mensibus*, ed. R. Wünsch (Leipzig 1898). *Liber de ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth (Leipzig 1897).

LIT. T.F. Carney, *Bureaucracy in Traditional Society: Romano-Byzantine Bureaucracies Viewed from Within* (Lawrence, Kansas, 1971), with Eng. tr. of *Magistracies*. C.N. Tsirpanlis, "John Lydos on the Imperial Administration," *Byzantion* 44

(1974) 479–501. J. Caimi, *Burocrazia e Diritto nel De magistratibus di Giovanni Lido* (Milan 1984). –B.B.

JOHN MERKOUROPOULOS. See JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES.

JOHN OF AMALFI (?), Latin monk and priest, one of several Latin translators active in Constantinople in the 11th C. (P. Chiesa, *StMed*³ 24 [1983] 521–44). Circa 1060–1100 John resided in the Greek monastery of "Panagiotum" (Panagiou?) in Constantinople, where, at the request of the Amalfitan aristocrat Pantaleon the *dishypatos*, he composed a *Book of Miracles* drawn from *The Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS, the legend of the Antiphonetes Icon, etc., arranged roughly according to theme and often concerning merchants. He also translated a sermon on St. NICHOLAS to complete the earlier work by JOHN OF NAPLES, and a Life of Irene, the latter in connection with the AMALFI colony's church in Constantinople, S. Maria Latina (A. Hofmeister, *Münchener Museum für Philologie des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* 4.2 [1924] 129–53).

ED. *Liber de Miraculis*, ed. M. Huber (Heidelberg 1913), rev. C. van de Vorst, *AB* 33 (1914) 363–65.

LIT. A. Hofmeister, "Der Übersetzer Johannes und das Geschlecht Comitis Mauronis in Amalfi," *Historische Vierteljahrsschrift* 27 (1932) 225–84, 493–508. –M.McC.

JOHN OF ANTIOCH, to be distinguished from John MALALAS, is a name to which many historical excerpts in various MSS are attached. That such an author lived is seemingly attested by John TZETZES (*Epistulae* 6; *Historiae* 6.556), but nowadays the name is thought to confound two individuals, one the 7th-C. author of a world chronicle from Adam to 610, the other a 10th-C. figure. Which excerpts belong to which writer is an often insoluble problem. Many are preserved in the EXCERPTA of Constantine VII; others derive from various quarters, including scholia to Homer's *Odyssey* (ed. W. Dindorf, vol. 1 [Oxford 1855; rp. Amsterdam 1862] 3–6). The earlier author is sometimes equated with JOHN I, the Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (631–49). Overall, the fragments dealing with late Rome and early Byz. both enhance and supplement other fragmentary sources, while Lampros's MS (*infra*) confirmed that the SOUDA and Maximos PLANOUDES used John's Roman Republic material. John was also a source for the *Epitome* of ZONARAS (M. diMaio, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 158–85).

ED. *FHG* 4:535–622, supp. *FHG* 5:27–38. S. Lampros, "Anekdoton apospasma Ioannou tou Antiocheos," *NE* 1 (1904) 7–31, 495–98; 2 (1905) 240f; 3 (1906) 124–26. Eng. tr. of frs. 191–214 in C.D. Gordon, *The Age of Attila*² (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1972).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:326–28. F.R. Walton, "A Neglected Historical Text," *Historia* 14 (1965) 236–51. –B.B.

JOHN OF BICLAR, bishop of Gerona and historian of the VISIGOTHS; born Santarem (Scallabis) in Lusitania, died Spain ca.621. John is said by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE to have been a Goth, but this is nowhere evident in his work. Having been educated in Greek and Latin at Constantinople, he returned ca.576 to Spain, where he fell foul of the Arian persecution of the Visigothic king Leovigild (568–86), resulting in ten years of exile and harassment. John subsequently founded a monastery at the now unidentifiable site of Biclar in Spain, drawing up the house rules for the brothers it attracted. He wrote a Latin chronicle, covering the years 567–90. Its narrative of Visigothic history is relatively impartial; in addition the chronicle is a valuable source for such matters as the military objectives of Justin II and Tiberios I and the former's religious policies (Av. Cameron, *SChH* 13 [1976] 53f).

ED. *Juan de Biclaro, obispo de Gerona: Su vida y su obra*, ed. J. Campos (Madrid 1960). *Chronica minora*, pt.2, ed. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:206–20.

LIT. A. Kollautz, "Orient und Okzident am Ausgang des 6. Jh. Johannes, Abt von Biclarum, Bischof von Gerona, der Chronist des Westgotischen Spaniens," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 463–506. Thompson, *Goths* 57, 80f. –B.B.

JOHN OF BRIENNE, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1231–37); born ca.1170, died Constantinople March 1237 (J.M. Buckley, *Speculum* 32 [1957] 315–22). This scion of a great French noble family enjoyed enough experience for several lifetimes: king of Jerusalem (1210–25), a leader of the Fifth Crusade, papal marshal, father-in-law and enemy of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, and finally emperor of Constantinople. Contemporaries admired his prowess and the elegant figure he cut. It was almost a matter of course that the barons of the Latin Empire of Constantinople should turn to him in 1228 when they were seeking a regent for BALDWIN II. John

agreed to take up the defense of Constantinople, on condition that he be made emperor, with Baldwin succeeding him on his death. Terms were duly ratified in April 1229 at Perugia; Venice provided him with transports for his expedition. He reached Constantinople in autumn 1231 and was crowned emperor. His arrival aroused extravagant hopes that he might be able to restore the fortunes of the Latin Empire. A strike into Asia Minor had some success, but it pushed JOHN III VATATZES into an alliance against him with JOHN ASEN II. John organized a successful defense of Constantinople over the years 1235–36, but died soon after.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 169–77. *HC* 2:216–21.
–M.J.A.

JOHN OF CAESAREA, or John the Grammarian, early 6th-C. priest and theologian. His biography is unknown, and it is not clear whether his Caesarea was located in Palestine or Cappadocia. John was the first NEO-CHALCEDONIAN. In 514–18 he wrote an *Apology* for the Council of Chalcedon in which he tried to harmonize Chalcedonian doctrine with the ideas of CYRIL of Alexandria. The book consists of three parts: John's conciliatory teaching; an analysis of Cyril's position; criticism of SEVEROS of Antioch. John rejected the Monophysite argument against the idea of two natures of Christ that allegedly implied that the whole Trinity would have to have been incarnated and introduced the concept of the "characteristic hypostasis" of Christ in which these two natures were united. Severos responded in a long *Refutation* that is preserved only in Syriac. Other works include tracts against the Akephaloi and APHTHARTODOCETISM, homilies against the MANICHAEANS, exegesis of the Gospel of John. He is probably to be identified with John the Orthodox, the author of a *Dialogue with a Manichaean.*

ED. *Opera minora,* ed. M. Richard (Turnhout-Louvain 1977).

LIT. C. Moeller, "Trois fragments grecs de l'Apologie de Jean le Grammairien pour le Concile de Chalcédoine," *RHE* 46 (1951) 683–88. R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924) 50–73.
–A.K.

JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA (Καππαδόκης), high-ranking official; born Caesarea (Cappadocia) probably before 500, died Constantinople after 548. When Justinian I first met him in 520, John was the clerk of a *magister militum praesentalis.* Named praetorian prefect before 30 Apr. 531, John held the position (except from 15 Jan. to mid-Oct. 532) until May 541. He was energetic, astute, and clever, yet critics denounced him as drunken, gluttonous, debauched, brutal, and unscrupulous. John was said to be corrupt and excessively powerful, esp. because he economized on the military budget by removing many soldiers from military registers; he largely suppressed Latin, reduced the *sportulae* (see SYNETHEAI) of bureaucrats, and allegedly supplied faulty provisions to a naval expedition against the Vandals. NIKA rioters forced John's temporary removal on 14 Jan. 532. He was consul in 538. In May 541 Empress THEODORA succeeded in deposing him and confiscating his fortune and palace. John was first banished to Kyzikos and ordained as a deacon, but was then accused of murdering Bp. Eusebios of Kyzikos. Ignominiously deported to Antinoopolis in Egypt, John was allowed to return to Constantinople after Theodora died in 548, but only as a priest. Despite his faults, John was a principal force in the smooth functioning of the bureaucracy, most notably the efficient collection of taxes and the imposition of fiscal control.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:435–49, 463–83. Bury, *LRE* 2:36–39, 41, 55–59. P. Lamma, "Giovanni di Cappadocia," *Aevum* 21 (1947) 80–100. A. Čekalova, "Senatorskaja aristokratija Konstantinopolja v pervoj polovine VI v," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 22.
–W.E.K.

JOHN OF DAMASCUS, theologian and saint; born Damascus ca.675 (according to J. Hoeck, ca.650), died Lavra of St. SABAS 4 Dec. 749 (S. Vailhé, *EO* 9 [1906] 28–30; this precise date is suspect) or more probably ca.753/4; feastday 27 March, with variations. His vita, written by JOHN VIII CHRYSOSTOMITES, patriarch of Jerusalem, or by John IX, describes him as a member of an influential Arabo-Christian family, the Manṣūr, who controlled the financial administration of the caliphate. John received an excellent education together with his adoptive brother KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. Both became monks of the Lavra of St. Sabas. Patr. John V of Jerusalem (705–35) ordained John priest.

John was the greatest Eastern systematizer of Christian dogma. His major work, *Pege gnoseos* (The Fountain of Knowledge), consists of a terminological introduction ("Philosophical chap-

ters"); a refutation of heretical teachings, including Islam and Iconoclasm; and an exposition of the Orthodox creed (*Expositio fidei*) concerning God, creation, Incarnation and Christology, and related topics (sacraments, Mariology, eschatology, etc.). The exposition is based primarily on THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, albeit reworked and expanded. Possibly the *Fountain* was produced in two versions, with the refutation of heresies and some smaller sections added later.

John wrote many polemical works, esp. against the Iconoclasts: accordingly the Council of HIERIA (754) anathematized him as a supporter of the Saracens and teacher of impiety. John developed the Orthodox theory of images by categorizing six types of ICON: the natural image as originating from the prototype; the idea (*ennoia*), preexisting in God, of things; man as imitation (*mimesis*) of God; visible objects aiming at the representation of the invisible; corporeal objects that symbolize and presage the future; and objects reminiscent of the past.

John also worked as moralist, exegete, hagiographer, author of sermons, and hymnographer. Some works ascribed to him are spurious, however, including a speech against Constantine V (actually by John of Jerusalem), the SACRA PARALLELA, and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. John was very popular in the West (J. de Ghellinck, *BZ* 21 [1912] 448–57), in Slavic lands, and in the Near East, where THEODORE ABU-QURRA continued his traditions. The Arabic vita of John was written at the end of the 11th C. by the monk and priest Michael; the oldest Greek Life, by John of Jerusalem, was probably produced in the first half of the 12th C., although B. Hemmerdinger dates it before 969 (*OrChrP* 28 [1962] 422f).

ED. PG 94–96. *Schriften*, ed. B. Kotter, 5 vols. (Berlin 1969–88). *Homélies sur la nativité et la dormition*, ed. P. Voulet (Paris 1961). Eng. tr. F.H. Chase, *Writings* (Washington, D.C., 1958; rp. 1970) and D. Anderson, *On the Divine Images* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1980).

LIT. *BHG* 884–885. J.M. Hoeck, *LThK* 5:1023–26. Beck, *Kirche* 476–86. A. Tsirpanlis, "The Anthropology of Saint John of Damascus," *Theologia* 38 (1967) 533–48; 39 (1968) 68–106. H. Menges, *Die Bilderlehre des hl. Johannes von Damaskus* (Münster i.V. 1938). V. Fazzo, "Rifiuto delle icone e difesa cristologica nei discorsi di Giovanni Damasceno," *VetChr* 20 (1983) 25–45. A. Siclari, "Il pensiero filosofico di Giovanni di Damasco nella critica," *Aevum* 51 (1977) 349–83. T.F.X. Noble, "John Damascene and the History of the Iconoclastic Controversy," in *Religion, Culture, and Society in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Honor of Richard E. Sullivan* (Kalamazoo 1987) 95–116. –A.K.

JOHN OF EPHESUS, Syriac historian, born near Amida ca.507, died Chalcedon 586 or 588 (P. Allen, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 10 [1979] 251–54). John was a Monophysite leader in Constantinople in the time of Justinian I, under whose orders he was sent in 542 as a missionary to the Ephesus region. Around 558 he was ordained bishop in Syria by JACOB BARADAEUS. John preached against Jews and Montanists in Asia Minor and in 545/6 upbraided pagans, aristocrats, and intellectuals in Constantinople. After Justinian's death John was jailed for anti-Chalcedonian activities.

John wrote an ascetical tract titled *Lives of the Eastern Saints*. It recounts the stories of 58 holy men and women who lived in the Syriac-speaking milieu in John's own day, affording a rare glimpse into the world of the religious life of the Monophysite community. Of his *Church History*, written from a Monophysite point of view, only the third part survives in its entirety, covering the years 571–86. Sections of the second part are recoverable from the excerpts quoted by pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAḤRĒ, MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, and ELIAS BAR SHINĀYĀ. The *History* contains important evidence, for instance, on Slav invasions (A. Djakonov, *VDI* [1946] no.1, 20–34).

ED. "Lives of the Eastern Saints," ed. E.W. Brooks, PO 17 (1923) 1–307; 18 (1924) 513–698; 19 (1926) 153–285, with Eng. tr. *Historiae Ecclesiasticae Pars Tertia*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. (Paris 1936; rp. Louvain 1952), with Lat. tr.

LIT. S.A. Harvey, *Asceticism and Society in Crisis: John of Ephesus and the "Lives of the Saints"* (Berkeley 1990). E. Honigmann, "L'histoire ecclésiastique de Jean d'Éphèse," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 615–25. Idem, *Évêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* (Louvain 1951) 207–15. –S.H.G.

JOHN OF EPIPHANEIA (Syria), 6th–7th-C. historian. John was variously a lawyer, *apo eparchon*, and an adviser to Gregory, patriarch of Antioch (570–93). John wrote a history in formal continuation of AGATHIAS, its main theme being the long war (572–92) between Byz. and Persia, culminating in the flight of CHOSROES II and his restoration by MAURICE. Only one fragment of this history survives, containing the introduction and beginning of the first book. EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, a kinsman (5.24), states that John's work was not yet available to him in the 590s when he was writing his own history; this may either mean

it was in progress or published but not yet physically accessible.

ED. *FHG* 4:273–76.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:312f. –B.B.

JOHN OF EUBOEA, mid-8th-C. writer. His biography is barely known; the only ascertained fact is that he wrote one of his sermons in 744 (PG 96:1504D). In the lemmata of his authentic works he is called "the monk and priest of Euboea (or Euoia)," whereas in some spurious texts he appears as a bishop of EUBOEA. Because no such bishopric existed, Dölger (*infra* 7–9) located John in Eupoia/Euaria, a bishopric near Damascus (or in Euroia in Epiros), but probably he was not a bishop (Halkin, *infra* 227).

John's oeuvre is not clearly determined. Some works by John of Damascus have been ascribed to him (J.M. Hoeck, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 38, n.2), and vice versa. He wrote some sermons on Gospel themes—Mary's conception, the resurrection of Lazarus, the massacre of the innocents—the last perhaps inspired by contemporary events. He also wrote the earliest extant legend of PARASKEVE. John's authorship of the so-called *Religious Dispute at the Court of the Sasanians* was rejected by E. Bratke (*TU* 19.3a [1899] 97).

ED. PG 96:1460–1508. F. Dölger, "Johannes 'von Euboia,'" *AB* 68 (1950) 5–26. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226–37.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 502f. –A.K.

JOHN OF GAZA, 6th-C. Christian grammarian. John wrote 703 hexameters (with iambic prologue) in the style of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, describing a mural in the winter baths of GAZA or ANTIOCH, built during Justinian I's reign and containing a Christian cross along with some 60 allegorical figures. An early example of Byz. EKPHRASIS, it is also notable as one of the first such works to describe PERSONIFICATIONS. John also penned six Anacreontic poems, their subjects ranging from roses and mythology to addresses and EPITHALAMIA to local grandees; he was one of the last to essay this ancient meter (T. Nissen, *Die byzantinischen Anakreonteen* [Munich 1940] 13–18).

ED. Ekphrasis—Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 135–213. Anacreontics—ed. T. Bergk in *Poetae Lyrici Graeci*[4], vol. 3 (Leipzig 1882) 342–48.
LIT. G. Downey, "John of Gaza and the Mosaic of Ge and Karpoi," in *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 2, ed. R. Stillwell (Princeton 1938) 205–12. C.A. Trypanis, *Greek Poetry from Homer to Seferis* (Chicago 1981) 401f, 407. –B.B.

JOHN OF KARPATHOS, theologian. His biography is unknown, his dates questionable. Because Photios's BIBLIOTHECA (cod. 201) mentions John's work, we know John lived before the 9th C. Some MSS (including the 9th-C. Jerusalem, Gr. Patr. Sabait. 408) call him bishop of Karpathos (an island between Crete and Rhodes). He may be the "John of Karpathos" who signed the decisions of the Council of 680. John had high repute, was sometimes characterized as a saint, and his works were included in the PHILOKALIA.

Besides spurious texts (some actually by ELIAS EKDIKOS), two collections of admonitions (*centuria*) bear John's name: *Consolations to the Monks of India* and *Theological and Gnostic Chapters*. John understood asceticism as a constant struggle against demons. Vices—such as vainglory, gluttony, avarice—dwell in the inferior parts of the soul, and the monk's task is to purge them and to develop his intellect (*logistikon* or *nous*): while the imperial treasury contains gold, the monk's treasure is his knowledge of the intelligible. Although he refers primarily to the Bible, John is familiar with Stoic terminology; he also quotes Plutarch and uses Pythagoras, "whom the Greeks admired more than any other philosopher," as an example of the virtue of silence.

ED. PG 85:1837–60 (this appendix is not in every copy). *A Supplement to the Philokalia: The Second Century of Saint John of Karpathos*, ed. D. Balfour (Brookline, Mass., 1989).
LIT. M.-T. Disdier, "Jean de Carpathos," *EO* 31 (1932) 284–303; 39 (1940–42) 290–311. P.V. Nikitin, "Ioann Karpafijskij i Pateriki," *Izvestija imperatorskoj Akademii Nauk*[6] vol. 5 (St. Petersburg 1911) 615–36. –A.K.

JOHN OF NAPLES, deacon and author ca. 900 of a continuation (762–872) of the *Deeds of the Bishops of Naples*. The *Deeds* mirrors the position of Naples between Byz. and the West as its focus shifts from events in southern Italy—particularly the Arab advance—to Constantinople. The *Deeds*' anonymous first section, composed sometime between about 834 and 849 according to Achelis (but cf. B. Bischoff, *Mittelalterliche Studien*, vol. 3 [Stuttgart 1981] 29, n.124), treats bishops and buildings from the beginnings to 754 using jejune

local sources augmented by the LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Paul the Deacon, GREGORY OF TOURS, etc. Although this author favored icons, his mutilated account of the Iconoclast Constantine V as a lion hunter, dragon slayer, and victor over ARTABASDOS is quite positive (S. Gero, *GRBS* 19 [1978] 155–59). Only a fragment survives of a second continuation by subdeacon Peter.

John's *Translatio S. Severini* (*BHL* 7658) and *Acta S. Januarii, Sosii et aliorum* (*BHL* 4134–35) describe the Arab depredations. He may also have written the *Acta Maximi Cumani*, and, with the help of an unknown Byz., he certainly adapted into Latin a number of Byz. hagiographical works, including the *Vita of Euthymios* by Cyril of Skythopolis (ed. F. Dolbeau, *MEFRM* 94.1 [1982] 315–36), a *Life of Nicholas* by Patr. METHODIOS I (ed. P. Corsi, *Nicolaus* 7 [1979] 359–80), and a *Passion* of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, offering eloquent testimony on the cultural orientation of Naples in his lifetime.

ED. G. Waitz, MGH *SRL* 402–36. *AASS* Jan.1:734–39. *AASS* Sept.6:874–84.
LIT. H. Achelis, *Die Bischofschronik von Neapel* (Leipzig 1930). Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 440–44. –M.McC.

JOHN OF NIKIU, Egyptian bishop and chronicler; fl. late 7th C. Little is known of his life save that as bishop of Nikiu he was appointed overseer of all the monasteries, but was suspended from the priesthood because he caused the death of a monk whom he had disciplined. Probably after this incident John wrote a chronicle along conventional Byz. lines, beginning with Adam and ending with the immediate aftermath of the Arab conquest of Egypt. Thought to have been originally written in Greek with some sections in Coptic, it survives in two late Ethiopic MSS. The Ethiopic text, translated from Arabic in 1602, is in deplorable condition. Sections are missing, and some chapter headings are unrelated to the contents of the chapters. How faithful the Arabic and Ethiopic translations are to John's original cannot be determined; the Ethiopic version indicates influence from traditional Arabic historiography. For the period of the Arab conquest, the *Chronicle* remains the earliest and only eyewitness account, antedating the earliest Arab accounts by almost 200 years.

ED. *Chronique de Jean, évêque de Nikiou, texte éthiopien*, ed. and tr. H. Zotenberg (Paris 1883). *The Chronicle of John, Bishop of Nikiu*, tr. R.H. Charles (London-Oxford 1916). –D.W.J.

JOHN OF POUTZE (ἐκ Πούτζης), tax collector; fl.1120s-1157. John served John II and Manuel I as general superintendent of revenue collection (*logistes megistos*—Nik.Chon. 54.76, probably *megas* LOGARIASTES) and *protonotarios* of the *dromos* (Kresten, "Styppeiotes" 84f). During John's reign, he was scrupulously upright and an unrelenting collector of revenue; he convinced John II to divest the taxes raised for the navy into the general treasury and pay for ships only when needed. To preserve his position under Manuel, John totally changed his style, greedily enriching himself and his family. The stories of his gluttony and avarice told by Choniates (56–58) reflect oral traditions that survived among the bureaucrats of Constantinople.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 230–33. –C.M.B.

JOHN OF RILA, Bulgarian monk and saint; born near Kjustendil between ca.876 and 880, died 18 Aug. 946; feastdays 1 July, 18 Aug., 17 Oct. After leaving the monastery where he had taken his vows, he lived for many years as a hermit in the Struma (Strymon) valley and on Mt. Vitoša. He founded a monastery at RILA in the mountains east of the upper Struma ca.930–31. In 941 he returned to the eremitic life near his monastery. His reputation for holiness spread far and wide during his lifetime and after his death; as a result his remains were taken first to Sofia, then to Hungary, and finally to Tŭrnovo, before being returned to Rila. Many vitae of John were written, but none is contemporary. The oldest Slavonic vita was composed before 1183. A mid-12th-C. Greek Life by George SKYLITZES survives only in Slavonic translation. The most widely copied Life is that by Patr. EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO, which makes critical use of earlier material. John's only surviving work was a spiritual testament establishing rules for his monastery (ed. Ivanov, 136–42). His cult is widespread in the Orthodox world, and he is represented in many Byz. and post-Byz. wall paintings and icons.

LIT. J. Ivanov, *Sv. Ivan Rilski i negovijat monastir* (Sofia 1917). I. Dujčev, *Rilskijat svetec i negovata obitel* (Sofia 1947). I. Fekeldžiev, *Narodni legendi za Ivan Rilski* (Sofia 1979). –R.B.

JOHN OF SARDIS, name of several metropolitans of the city. The first of them, a correspondent of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, participated in the Council of 815 (J. Pargoire, *EO* 5 [1901–02] 161). C. Foss (*Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass.-London 1976] 66) distinguishes him from John II, a victim of the Iconoclasts. In an unpublished text Demetrios of Kyzikos praises their homonym, who lived before 950, for his knowledge of divine and human sciences (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:263). Two seals of John are dated in the second half of the 11th C. Another John signed the minutes of the Council of 1147 (PG 147:500C).

It is unclear which of them, if any, can be identified with the author of the Commentary on the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS, which in the 14th-C. Vat. gr. 1408 is ascribed to John of Sardis. Beck (*Kirche* 510) sees in him the contemporary of Theodore, Foss identifies him with John II, whereas Rabe (*Commentarium*, xvi) places him in the second half of the 10th C. In any case this commentary was known to John DOXOPATRES (2nd half of the 11th C.), who also mentions John's scholia on HERMOGENES. In his commentary John used commentaries on Aristotle and *progymnasmata* produced in the 5th–6th C. According to Hunger (*Lit.* 1:78), this points to a survival rather than revival of the knowledge of antiquity; if, however, John lived ca.950, this thesis should be reconsidered. A John of Sardis also wrote hagiographical works (*BHG* 215i, 1334).

ED. *Commentarium in Aphthonii Progymnasmata*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1928). *Prolegomenon Sylloge*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1931) 2:351–60. –A.K.

JOHN OF SKYTHOPOLIS. See JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS.

JOHN PATRIKIOS, appointed by Emp. Leontios in 697 to lead a naval expedition against the Arabs in North Africa. John recaptured Carthage and several surrounding towns, but in 698 ʿABD AL-MALIK sent a superior fleet, forcing him to retreat for supplies and reinforcements to Crete, where mutinous supporters of TIBERIOS II killed him.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:80–84. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:278f. –P.A.H.

JOHN PETRIC'I (of Petritzos), the most notable translator of Greek philosophical texts into Georgian; died Georgia soon after 1125. John was educated in Constantinople, a pupil of PSELLOS and JOHN ITALOS. He spent approximately 20 years after 1083 at the Georgian monastery of PETRITZOS at Bačkovo. He then returned to Georgia, to the monastery and academy at GELAT'I founded by DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER. His translations include works of history (*Antiquities of* Josephus Flavius), theology (John Klimax), and most importantly numerous philosophical texts (Aristotle, *Topika* and *On Interpretation* [which have not survived], Nemesios, *On the Nature of Man*, and Proklos Diadochos, *Elements of Theology* [with an original commentary]). These are slavishly literal. John's desire to establish a Georgian tradition of philosophy, reconciling Aristotelian, Platonic, and Christian thought, ultimately failed because of the obscurity of his own writings and lack of interest among his countrymen, but his efforts had a significant impact on later Georgian philosophy. His translation and commentary on Proklos were rendered into Armenian in 1284.

LIT. Tarchnišvili, *Georg. Lit.* 211–25. E.R. Dodds, *Proclus: The Elements of Theology*[2] (Oxford 1963). N.V. Kiladze, *Filosofskaja leksika srednevekovogo Vostoka* (Tbilisi 1980). G. Tevzadze, "Aristoteles in Joane Petrizis Kommentaren," *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift, Georgien, Beiträge zur georgischen Literatur*, Friedrich-Schiller-Universität Jena, Gesellschafts- und Sprachwissenschaftliche Reihe, vol. 1 (Jena 1977) 51–61, no.1. –R.T.

JOHN ROGER. See ROGERIOS, JOHN.

JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS, Neo-Chalcedonian theologian, bishop of Skythopolis (ca.536–50). John tried to reconcile the statements of the Council of Chalcedon with the teaching of CYRIL of Alexandria but was attacked by a strictly dyophysite anonymous writer in a treatise with the title *Against Nestorios* that concealed its real purpose. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.95) suggests that the author was Basil of Cilicia; in a later passage (cod.107) Photios says that Basil was a Nestorian who borrowed from

DIODOROS OF TARSOS and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA but avoided a direct attack on Cyril. John answered the anonymous writer with a tract entitled *Against Those Who Have Cut Themselves off from the Church*, criticizing also EUTYCHES, DIOSKOROS, and other Monophysites. Since all of these works are known only in fragments, the real substance of the dispute is hard to establish (E. Honigmann, *Evêques et évêchés monophysites d'Asie antérieure au VIe siècle* [Louvain 1951] 80f). John was subsequently involved in Orthodox polemics against SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also the first scholiast on the writings of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (PG 4:15–432, 527–76), attempting to exploit him for Orthodox beliefs; his commentaries, translated into Syriac ca.800, were preserved along with those of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR.

ED. Mansi 10:1107, 11:437–40. F. Diekamp, *Doctrina Patrum* (Münster 1907; rp. 1981) 85f.

LIT. S. Helmer, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* (Bonn 1962) 176–84. H.U. von Balthasar, "Das Scholienwerk des Johannes von Scythopolis," *Scholastik* 15 (1940) 16–38. –B.B., A.K.

JOHN SIKELIOTES, orator; fl. ca.1000. At the order of Basil II, John Sikeliotes delivered in the Pikridion monastery a speech (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz 6:447.24–26) that is now lost. His identification with John DOXOPATRES was rejected by H. Rabe (*RhM* 62 [1907] 581, n.1). John is known primarily as a commentator of Hermogenes; his scholia to Ailios ARISTEIDES have also been discovered (F.W. Lenz, *Aristeidesstudien* [Berlin 1964] 99, 114).

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 6:56–504. –A.K.

JOHN SIKELIOTES, purported chronicler. Krumbacher (*GBL* 386–88) admitted reluctantly the existence of John, identifying him with the "Sikeliotes didaskalos" mentioned in the preface to Skylitzes (Skyl. 3.18). This second John Sikeliotes is, however, a result of palaeographical "corrections" by Andrew Darmarios in the 16th C.: Darmarios introduced John's name in the title of the chronicle by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and probably on the MS of the chronicle ascribed to Theodore SKOUTARIOTES as well.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 213–17. –A.K.

JOHN SMBAT (Ἰωβανεσίκης, Arm. Yovhannēs Smbat), son of GAGIK I; BAGRATID king of Armenia (ca.1017/20–1040/1). His authority was challenged from the start by his brother Ašot IV the Brave, with whom he was forced to divide the lands of the kingdom of ANI. Thanks to these quarrels, Giorgi I, the ruler of the newly united kingdom of ABCHASIA and Iberia, was able to capture John Smbat, whom he released only after the sack of Ani and the surrender of several border fortresses. When Emp. BASIL II advanced in 1022 to complete the Byz. annexation of the lands of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and laid waste to Iberia, John Smbat tried to conciliate the emperor: the childless king sent the *katholikos* Peter Getadarj to Constantinople with his testament in which he willed his realm to Byz., keeping only a life tenure with the title of *magistros*. The death of Basil II delayed the implementation of this agreement, but when John Smbat died, Emp. Michael IV demanded the immediate fulfillment of the testament, which became the legal basis for the Byz. annexation of the kingdom of Ani in 1045.

LIT. Grousset, *Arménie* 556–58, 566–69. J. Shepard, "Skylitzes on Armenia in the 1040s, and the Role of Catacalon Cecaumenos," *REArm* n.s. 11 (1975–76) 283–311. Juzbašjan, "Skilica." –N.G.G.

JOHN THE ALMSGIVER. See JOHN ELEEMON.

JOHN THE BAPTIST, precursor (*prodromos*) of Christ, the son of Zacharias and Elizabeth, a relative of the Virgin Mary. Three episodes of his life were held to have a special significance: the appearance of an angel predicting John's birth, his baptism of Jesus and prophecies concerning the role of Jesus, and his arrest by Herod and his beheading. In Christian tradition John occupies an exceptional place, his life being described in apocryphal gospels and acts, homilies, and hymns. In monastic literature John appears as an ideal type of monk. He was the object of great veneration. In Constantinople alone at least 36 churches and monasteries were dedicated to him, of which the most famous was the STOUDIOS; others were LIPS, the Prodromos in PETRA, in Sphorakion, etc. The monastery of PHOBEROU on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos was also dedicated to the Prodromos. Various relics were connected with the

cult of John, esp. his head (of which several examples are mentioned in various texts) and hand. Among authors who wrote on John were Sophronios of Jerusalem, Leontios of Constantinople, Theodore of Stoudios, John Mauropous, Maximos Holobolos, Thomas Magistros, Neilos Kabasilas, and Manuel II.

Feasts of John the Baptist. The conception (*syllepsis*) of John (Lk 1:5–25), commemorated 23 Sept., was the original Byz. civil New Year and beginning of the church CALENDAR until ca.462 when the INDICTION was shifted to 1 Sept. Not found originally in Jerusalem, the conception feast may be of Constantinopolitan origin and is undoubtedly the original feast of John in the capital. It initiated the course-reading of Luke in the EVANGELION. Neither this feast nor the Nativity (*genethlion*) of John on 24 June had any special liturgical solemnity.

More important was the 29 Aug. commemoration of his beheading (*apotome tes timias kephales*) described in Mark 6:14–29. Celebrated in Jerusalem ever since the 5th C. (Severos of Antioch, PO 36:358–66) and at the Stoudios monastery from the 10th C., this feast was to acquire greater solemnity than the other two with the gradual substitution of the Palestinian SABAITIC TYPIKA for the *Typikon of the Great Church* after 1204. The beheading is one of but two Byz. feasts that are also days of FASTING.

Representation in Art. Longhaired and progressively more haggard, John is generally represented in art wearing a prophet's pallium and often the fur mantle of Elijah since he was called a new Elijah (Mt 11:14). From the 11th C. onward, he manifests his role as ascetic exemplum by wearing the fur *melote* of the desert ascetic or the monastic MANDYAS. Depicted first in catacombs in scenes of the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY), he appears independently by the 6th C. (Cathedra of MAXIMIAN, where he displays a lamb, recalling Jn 1:36). Stories of his life, death, and relics were being depicted by the 9th C. (e.g., an icon described by Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:768AB). In post-Iconoclastic art, John is represented more frequently than anyone except Christ and Mary. Richly illustrated Gospel books depict his birth, naming, ministry, recognition, baptism of Christ, imprisonment, and death. *Evangelia* illustrate the discoveries (*inventiones*) of his relics; cycles of his ministry and baptisms accompany the homily on baptism of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and adorned the baptistery of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople (ca.1200); and semicanonical cycles of his life and relics were depicted in churches (Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 121, 138, 140, 162, etc.). John appears as the classic third member of the DEESIS and in scenes of the ANASTASIS. In Palaiologan art, narrative cycles of John are further elaborated, and when John is shown in Paradise, he is given angels' wings (M. Tatić-Djurić, *Zbornik Narodnog Muzeja* 7 [1973] 39–51).

LIT. E. Lupieri, "Felices sunt qui imitantur Iohannem (Hier. *Hom. in Io.*)," *Augustinianum* 24 (1984) 33–71. Idem, "John the Baptist, the First Monk," *Word and Spirit* 6 (1984) 11–23. R. Janin, "Les églises byzantines du Précurseur à Constantinople," *EO* 37 (1938) 312–51. K. Corrigan, "The Witness of John the Baptist on an Early Byzantine Icon in Kiev," *DOP* 42 (1988) 1–11. C. Walter, "The Invention of John the Baptist's Head in the Wall-Calendar at Gračanica," *ZbLikUmet* 16 (1980) 71–83.

–J.I., A.K., R.F.T., A.W.C.

JOHN THE EVANGELIST, MONASTERY OF. See PATMOS.

JOHN THE EXARCH, Bulgarian writer and translator; died probably between 917 and 927. His fine knowledge of Greek and his familiarity with Byz. theology and philosophy suggest that he was educated in Constantinople, where he may have been sent by Tsar Boris I. From the late 9th C. he was a member of the circle of intellectuals at Preslav under the patronage of Tsar Symeon and held the office of exarch of the Bulgarian church; the functions of this office are unknown.

By 893 he had already translated substantial excerpts from John of Damascus's *On the Orthodox Faith.* This entailed the creation of a new technical vocabulary and a means of expressing abstract concepts in Old CHURCH SLAVONIC, the difficulty of which he recognized and discussed perceptively. His *Šestodnev*, written somewhat later, was based on the *Hexaemeron* of Basil the Great and his Greek commentators, and the *On the Constitution of Man* of MELETIOS THE MONK. By adding much material of his own, John made the *Šestodnev* a kind of encyclopedia of medieval Orthodox cosmology and culture. It contains interesting information on Bulgaria in the author's time, such as the long description of Symeon's palace in book 6. He also wrote a series of festal sermons.

John helped create medieval Slavonic literature. His wide knowledge, his command of classical rhetoric, and his occasional poetic lyricism gave him great influence both on southern Slavic literature and on the early literature of Rus'.

ED. *Slova*, ed. D. Ivanova-Mirčeva (Sofia 1971). *Des Hl. Johannes von Damaskus, Ekthesis akribes tes orthodoxou pisteos in der Übersetzung des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. L. Sadnik, 4 vols. (Wiesbaden 1967–83), with Germ. tr. *Das Hexaemeron (Šestodnev) des Exarchen Johannes*, ed. R. Aitzetmüller, 7 vols. (Graz 1958–75), with Germ. tr.

LIT. I. Dujčev, "Zur Biographie von Johannes dem Exarchen," *Litterae slavicae medii aevi* (Munich 1985) 67–72. Idem, "L'Hexaéméron de Jean l'Exarque," *BS* 39 (1978) 209–23. A. Lägreid, *Der rhetorische Stil im Šestodnev des Exarchen Johannes* (Wiesbaden 1965). –R.B.

JOHN THE GRAMMARIAN. See JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS.

JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, politician; died Lesbos 13 May 1043. He was a eunuch and belonged to a family of money-changers (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 33 [1972] 39). Psellos (*Chron.* 1:44 no.18.5–7) says John advised Basil II. He supported ROMANOS III even before the latter's coronation. Romanos made him senator and *praipositos.* He aided the emperor in his conflicts with nobles such as Constantine DIOGENES and Constantine DALASSENOS. John promoted his brother to the throne as MICHAEL IV and thereby gained control of civil and military affairs, even though he was only ORPHANOTROPHOS (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII [1955] 329, n.1). ARISTAKES LASTIVERTC'I declares that John was entrusted with *pronoia* and legal documents of the palace (K. Juzbašjan, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 24–28); he probably became KOURATOR of Mangana. During a famine, John purchased grain from the Peloponnesos and Hellas for Constantinople. In 1037 he vainly attempted to dismiss ALEXIOS STOUDITES and to become patriarch himself. Skylitzes (Skyl. 397.52–57) preserves a story of his healing by Nicholas of Myra. Because of Michael IV's advancing epilepsy, John arranged the succession of MICHAEL V, but upon his accession Michael replaced John as imperial favorite by his brother Constantine, who then exiled John. The accession of CONSTANTINE IX finally ruined him. He was sent to Lesbos and blinded, and he soon died. The chroniclers emphasize John's greed and harsh taxation while Psellos depicted him vividly (Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.IV [1954] 15); closely following the text, the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 504–31) pays elaborate attention to John's domestic intrigues.

LIT. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 254f. R. Janin, "Un ministre byzantin: Jean l'Orphanotrophe (XI[e] siècle)," *EO* 30 (1931) 431–43. –C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

JOHN UGLJEŠA (Οὔγκλεσις in the Greek sources), Serbian *despotes* of Serres (from before 1366), called *autokrator* in a Greek act of 1369; died Černomen on the Marica River 26 Sept. 1371. The brother of VUKAŠIN, he began his career at the court of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, whom he probably served as *hippokomos* or groom. After Dušan's death in 1355, Uglješa served his widow Helena in Serres and became *de facto* ruler of the southeastern region of Dušan's empire, including Christoupolis, Philippi, Drama, and Zichna. Drama was probably the inheritance of his wife Helena, the daughter of Caesar Vojhna, who was governor of Drama. It is not clear if John Uglješa is to be identified with the grand *voivode* Ouglesis, who signed an act that is probably to be dated to 1358 (*Koutloum.*, App. IIC, p.231).

Mt. Athos was also within the territory controlled by Uglješa and he made lavish donations to several monasteries, esp. Hilandar, Koutloumousiou, and Vatopedi. In 1371 he reached a reconciliation with the patriarchate of Constantinople by agreeing to condemn the policy of Dušan, "the alleged autokrator of Serbia and 'Romania,'" who had unjustly seized cities belonging to the jurisdiction of the Byz. state and patriarchate (MM 1:562.11–25). In Jan. 1371, Sabas, *protos* of Mt. Athos, granted to Uglješa a small monastery (*monydrion*) called Makrou (or Makre) for the retirement of the *despotes,* bestowing upon this *monydrion* the rank of a great monastery (*Xénoph.*, no.31). Uglješa did not have the opportunity, however, to retire to Athos since he and his brother were defeated by the Turks that same year at the battle of MARICA, and both fell on the battlefield.

The Greek epitaph of his sister Helena, the spouse of the powerful Serbian lord Nicholas Radonja, survives in the chapel of St. Nicholas on Mt. Menoikeion (S. Subotić, S. Kisas, *ZRVI* 16 [1975] 161–81). Uglješa's wife Helena became the nun Jefimija, the first Serbian poetess.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 12–19. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 79–125. Soulis, *Dušan* 91–100. P. Lemerle, *Le monde*

de Byzance (London 1978), pt. XIX, 134–46, with add. in *Koutloum*, p.432f. V. Djurić, "Freske crkvice sv. Besrebrnika despota Jovana Uglješe u Vatopedu," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 125–38. –J.S.A.

JOHN VLADISLAV, ruler of Bulgaria (1015–18); died near Dyrrachion Feb. 1018. Son of Aaron, one of the KOMETOPOULOI, he survived the massacre of that branch of the family by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA on the intervention of Samuel's son Gabriel Radomir. After Samuel's death, Gabriel Radomir ruled what remained of Bulgaria, until he was killed by John, perhaps at the suggestion of Basil II. A truce between Basil and John was soon broken. John procured the murder of John Vladimir, ruler of Duklja (DIOKLEIA), Samuel's son-in-law. In a vain effort to seize Dyrrachion, John was killed. His wife Maria surrendered Ohrid, herself, her sons (Traianos, Radomir, and Kliment), and six daughters to Basil; three other sons, Prousianos, ALOUSIANOS, and Aaron, yielded later.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:753–90. S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire* (London 1930) 242–58. G. Györffy, "Zur Geschichte der Eroberung Ochrids durch Basileios II," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:149–54. Jo. Zaimov, *Bitolskijat nadpis na Ivan Vladislav samodŭržec bŭlgarski* (Sofia 1970). –C.M.B.

JONAH (Ἰωνᾶς), one of the 12 Minor PROPHETS. The Book of Jonah recounts his stay "for three days and three nights" in the belly of a great fish rather than his prophecy of days to come. Exegesis of the Book of Jonah was very popular in the 3rd–5th C., JEROME's commentary forming the peak of it; much later THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid interpreted the book of Jonah (PG 126:905–68). The explanation went two ways: an allegorical-anthropological approach explained the narrative as indicating the material wickedness of mankind (Jonah on his boat is the soul imprisoned in the body), the Christological approach emphasized the similarity of Jonah's fate and the story of Christ, Jonah being a prefiguration of Christ and of his descent to Hades. Different authors ascribed to Jonah different attitudes toward the Ninevites: in the sermon of Pseudo-Athanasios, Jonah is full of sympathy for the sinners of Nineveh, whereas Basil of Seleukeia makes him hate them and expect their chastisement.

Representation in Art. Artistic depictions of Jonah appear very early, as in the late 3rd-C. sculpture group in Cleveland (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 365–68). Representations of Jonah were esp. popular in the CATACOMBS and on SARCOPHAGI because of his role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. The theme remained well known through its repetition in PSALTERS, as an illustration to the ODE of Jonah. The soteriological content of the book and the typological parallel drawn by Jesus himself (Mt 12:40) ensured its continuing popularity in MSS of the 10th–14th C., including the *Menologion of Basil II* (W. Nyssen, *Frühchristliches Byzanz* [Trier 1978] 75–79, 160), MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (Kosm. Ind. 1:152, figs. 25–26, 2:222–25), and the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.20). Jonah also appears on the Brescia casket. Frequently Jonah is depicted among the prophets in monumental art, usually portrayed as bald, often with a short gray beard.

LIT. Y.-M. Duval, *Le livre de Jonas dans la littérature chrétienne grecque et latine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1973). J. Allenbach, "La figure de Jonas dans les textes préconstantiniens," in *La Bible et les pères* (Paris 1971) 97–112. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:647–55. J. Paul, *LCI* 2:414–21. B. Narkiss, "The Sign of Jonah," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 63–76. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. –A.K., J.H.L., C.B.T.

JORDAN (Ἰορδάνης), river in Palestine; more specifically, a LOCUS SANCTUS on the river about 8 km north of the Dead Sea, where two biblical events were commemorated: the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY) and the assumption of ELIJAH into heaven. Pilgrim veneration at the site included baptism and immersion: the PIACENZA PILGRIM observed this ritual on Epiphany. A pillar marked the spot, and a church founded by Emp. Anastasios I was nearby. John PHOKAS (ch.22), who calls Jordan "the holiest among rivers" in honor of the mystery of Christ's baptism, lists three monasteries in the area: those of Kalamon, of Chrysostom, and of John the Baptist, the last rebuilt by Manuel I. In contrast to Phokas, Constantine MANASSES (ed. K. Horna, *BZ* 13 [1904] 333.288–93) had a negative attitude toward the Jordan, criticizing its muddy and foul-tasting water.

Representation in Art. Male PERSONIFICATIONS of the river occur frequently in images of the Baptism of Christ and in the Joshua Roll and some Octateuchs containing scenes of Israelites carrying the ARK OF THE COVENANT across the Jordan; more rarely the personification of the

river appears in the context of Elijah's ascension. Like antique river-gods he often carries an urn; sometimes he is labeled merely *potamos* ("river"). Jordan assumes a variety of forms: on a 6th-C. medallion at Dumbarton Oaks he appears as two figures—his twin sources, Ior and Dan, emerging from shells. He may be represented as a youth, as on the cathedra of Maximian, or, as at Daphni, as a mature man. In the marginal Psalters Jordan is either a squatting, fully clothed individual or a half-naked divinity seen from the rear. In monumental painting of the 13th–15th C., he is more active, sometimes straddling one or more dolphins.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 162f. G. Beer, *RE* 9 (1916) 1903–07. G. Ristow, "Zur Personifikation des Jordan in Taufdarstellungen der frühen christlichen Kunst," in *Aus der byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1957) 120–26. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll* 10–12, 69f. –G.V., A.C.

JORDANES, Latin historian; died June/July 552?, according to Wagner (*infra* 29). Of partly Gothic origins, Jordanes was notary to Gunthigis-Baza, chieftain of the Goths. His later resignation from this position was probably connected with his "conversion," an event of debated significance: a switch from Arian to Orthodox views, taking of monastic vows, or simply retirement have all been suggested.

Circa 551 Jordanes produced a three-part history. The *Romana* is composed of two sections: the *De summa temporum* (now lost), a universal chronicle extending to the reign of Augustus; and a Roman history from Romulus to 550/1. It is dedicated to a certain Vigilius, probably not the pope of that name. Of much greater significance is the *Getica*, a history of the GOTHS up to 551, composed at the behest of a certain Castalius. Written in faltering Latin, the *Getica* is abridged from the lost *Gothic Histories* of CASSIODORUS and derived from many first- and second-hand sources, including PRISKOS of Panion and AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS (B. Baldwin, *RBPH* 59 [1981] 141–46). It is a fascinating source for barbarian history and society, including a notable portrait of ATTILA; it also offers (e.g., ch.143) brief but vivid glimpses of Constantinople. Jordanes writes with a clear pro-Byz. bias: for him Constantinople is the *urbs*, the East is *nostrae partes* ("our regions"), and Justinian I is eulogized as the conqueror of the Goths. The *Getica* concludes with a much-discussed passage hoping for reconciliation between the Gothic and Byz. royal families (B. Baldwin, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 489–92).

ED. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 5.1. Eng. tr. C.C. Mierow, *The Gothic History of Jordanes*[2] (Princeton 1915; rp. New York 1960). *Iordan. O proischoždenii i dejanijach getov*, ed. E. Skržinskaja (Moscow 1960), with Russ. tr.

LIT. W. Goffart, *The Narrators of Barbarian History (A.D. 550–800)* (Princeton 1988) 20–111. N. Wagner, *Getica: Untersuchungen zum Leben des Jordanes und zur frühen Geschichte der Goten* (Berlin 1967). –B.B.

JOSEPH, son of Jacob; biblical patriarch. In the Hellenistic apocryphal *Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs*, he became the type of the "good man" who both loves (and fears) God and loves his neighbor. Byz. literature presented Joseph primarily as a paragon of chastity, emphasizing his behavior toward the wife of Potiphar, whose advances he rejected; this topic is developed, among others, in a homily of Basil of Seleukeia (PG 85:112–25) and another ascribed to John Chrysostom (PG 56:587–90). A second theme connected with Joseph is the apocryphal confession of Joseph's wife, Asenath, the daughter of a different Potiphar (P. Batiffol, *Studia Patristica* [Paris 1889–90] 39–86).

Representation in Art. Depictions of Joseph arose from Byz. interest in the long narrative of his fluctuating fortunes (Gen 37:2–50:26), rather than his status as a patriarch. This is reflected in the uneven distribution of the material—extensive in 5th- and 6th-C. GENESIS MSS and on the cathedra of MAXIMIAN (S. Tsuji in *Synthronon*, 43–51), but sparse after Iconoclasm, with the exception of some cycles (as in the OCTATEUCHS) or scenes (e.g., the Khludov Psalter's illustrations to Ps 104:17, 21, 23) based on early sources. There are also some puzzling anomalies, such as the full-page miniature with a lengthy Joseph cycle in five registers in the PARIS GREGORY and the Joseph cycle in the narthex frescoes at SOPOĆANI. Joseph was esp. popular in Byz. Egypt.

LIT. *BHG* 177–179b, 2197–2201t. H.W. Hollander, *Joseph as an Ethical Model in the Testaments of the Twelve Patriarchs* (Leiden 1981). K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:655–65. G. Vikan, "Joseph Iconography on Coptic Textiles," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 99–108. K. Weitzmann, H. Kessler, *The Cotton Genesis*

(Princeton 1986) 102–24. G. Montanari, "Giuseppe l'Ebreo della Cattedra di Massimiano: Prototipi del buon governo?" *FelRav*[4] 1–2 (1984–85) 305–22. –A.K., J.H.L.

JOSEPH, husband of the Virgin Mary. In New Testament apocrypha, such as the Protoevangelion of James, Joseph plays a limited number of marginal roles. The church fathers mention him occasionally in the context of his marriage, which they praised. The story of Joseph the Carpenter is told in a Coptic devotional text of probably the end of the 4th C.; the original Greek version is lost (S. Morenz, *Die Geschichte von Joseph dem Zimmermann* [Berlin 1951]). A feast of Joseph was unknown in the Greek church, but he was commemorated on the Sunday after Christmas.

Representation in Art. Generally absent from early Christian art, Joseph assumed his peripheral, but thereafter abiding, place as spectator in images of the Nativity on 5th-C. ivories (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten,* no.119); the cathedra of Maximian enlarges this role to include his first dream and the Flight into Egypt. Based presumably on the Protoevangelion, scenes such as Joseph's flowering rod and trial by water appear in 10th-C. Cappadocia. Joseph is represented, unusually, with his sons and the tools of his trade in the illustrations of the homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos, which dwelt on Joseph's reproaches to the Virgin. Consistent with a passion for narrative detail, events involving Joseph in Mary's life down to the Annunciation were favored in Palaiologan painting. The fullest such cycles are in St. Clement, Ohrid, and in the Chora (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:184–94). –J.I., A.C.

JOSEPH I, patriarch of Constantinople (28 Dec. 1266–9 Jan. 1275; 31 Dec. 1282–Mar. 1283); died Constantinople 23 Mar. 1283. Joseph served as *anagnostes* for over 30 years (1222–54) and was married for eight. In 1259/60 he became superior of the Lazaros monastery on Mt. Galesios. He succeeded Arsenios Autoreianos as patriarch of Constantinople, after the latter refused to retract his excommunication of Michael VIII Palaiologos for the blinding of John IV Laskaris. Joseph, who was Michael's spiritual confessor, pardoned Michael in 1267, thus aggravating the Arsenite schism. He crowned Andronikos II as co-emperor in 1272 but would not agree to Michael's plans for Union of the Churches at the Council of Lyons. In 1273 he swore an oath never to accept Union under the conditions imposed by Rome (V. Laurent, *EO* 26 [1927] 396–407), and early in 1274 he retired to the Peribleptos monastery in Constantinople. He formally resigned the next year. After Michael's death and the deposition of the Unionist patriarch John XI Bekkos, Joseph returned briefly to the patriarchate but was soon forced to abdicate because of poor health. R. Macrides (*Byz. Saint* 79–81) rejects Laurent's claim that Joseph was "canonized" by Gregory II; he was recognized as "confessor" but never received popular veneration.

lit. *RegPatr,* fasc. 4, nos. 1383–1423, 1453–59. *PLP,* no.9072. V. Laurent, "L'excommunication du patriarche Joseph I[er] par son prédécesseur Arsène," *BZ* 30 (1929–30) 489–96. –A.M.T.

JOSEPH II, patriarch of Constantinople (21 May 1416–10 June 1439); born Bulgaria? ca.1360?, died Florence 10 June 1439. Of Bulgarian background, Joseph was allegedly John Asen, an illegitimate son of John II Šišman (1371–93), last tsar of Bulgaria (V. Laurent, *REB* 13 [1955] 131–34); I. Dujčev (*REB* 19 [1961] 333–39) suggests, however, that his father may have been Ivan Alexander. Because he restored the monastery of Christ Philanthropos in Constantinople, Laurent also hypothesizes that Joseph's mother was a Greek of the Philanthropenos family. Nothing certain is known of his biography until he was appointed metropolitan of Ephesus ca.1393. Patriarch under Manuel II Palaiologos and John VIII, he was a supporter of Union of the Churches. J. Nikolov (*BBulg* 4 [1973] 202–12) hypothesizes that Joseph attended the Council of Constance in 1416–17. Despite ill health, the long-bearded octagenarian was a major figure at the Council of Ferrara-Florence (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 5–60); his realistic portrait, possibly by an Italian artist, is attached to a list of patriarchs in Paris, B.N. gr. 1783 (Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.177). With regard to the controversial filioque clause and the Procession of the Holy Spirit, Joseph took the position that the prepositions διά and ἐκ were equivalent, and therefore the teachings of both churches were correct. He

died of dropsy before the end of the council and was buried in Florence at the Church of S. Maria Novella.

ED. *AASS* Aug. 1:185f.
LIT. Gill, *Personalities* 15–34. *PLP*, no.9073.
–A.M.T., A.C.

JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES (Ῥακενδύτης, "wearer of rags," one of the terms for a monk), also known as Joseph the Philosopher, learned monk and physician; born Ithaca ca.1260? (*PLP*) or ca.1280? (Stiernon), died Thessalonike ca.1330. Of modest background, he was a monk in Thessalonike and on Athos before coming to Constantinople ca.1307. In 1320 Joseph was an emissary from Andronikos III to Andronikos II. He was four times nominated as patriarch, but always declined. He belonged to a group of literati that flourished in Constantinople under Andronikos II and included among his friends and correspondents Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and Theodore METOCHITES, who wrote a funerary *enkomion* of him. Joseph was a man of wide-ranging concerns, including philosophy, rhetoric, physics, mathematics, astronomy, and theology. Like many 14th-C. intellectuals he was interested in medicine; he was the teacher of JOHN AKTOUARIOS and healed Michael GABRAS of an eye affliction. About 1324 he retired to a mountain near Thessalonike, where he spent his final years.

Joseph is best known for his *Encyclopedia*, a compendium of knowledge that included rhetoric, mathematics, music, and theology; only the section on rhetoric has been published. He also wrote hymns (G. Pentogalos, *Hellenika* 23 [1970] 114–18) and prayers.

ED. *RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 3:467–569.
LIT. M. Treu, "Der Philosoph Joseph," *BZ* 8 (1899) 1–64. R. Criscuolo, "Note sull' 'Enciclopedia' del filosofo Giuseppe," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 255–81. D. Stiernon, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1388–92. *PLP*, no.9078. –A.M.T.

JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, saint; born Sicily (Palermo, according to E. Tomadakes) between 812 and 818, died Constantinople ca.886 at age 70; feastday 3 Apr. The dates ca.810–83 have also been suggested, but Stiernon (*infra* 248–53) questions the traditional chronology of Joseph's life. Brought by his parents to the Peloponnese, Joseph fled to Thessalonike, became a monk, then moved to Constantinople. Captured by Cretan Arabs on his way from Constantinople to Rome, he managed to return from Crete to Constantinople. In the capital he founded the monastery of the apostle Bartholomew. As a supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS, he was exiled by PHOTIOS to the Crimea; after his return, he was appointed patriarchal *skeuophylax*.

Joseph belonged to the poetic school of STOUDIOS. He contributed much to the transformation of the KANON from loosely linked paraphrases of Old Testament canticles into a unity wherein a single thought is skillfully worked out and varied in all the odes. Joseph was among the first to reduce the number of stanzas in the KONTAKION compatible with acrostic poetry. Some of his hymns were dedicated to saints of his own time, such as his spiritual father GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS, Peter of Athos (D. Papachryssanthou, *AB* 88 [1970] 27–41), and THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE (*Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz [St. Petersburg 1902] 82–86). The authorship of the latter raises problems since Theodora died in 892, that is, after the traditional date of Joseph's death. Tomadakes (*infra* 273–85) established a list of approximately 400 works by Joseph; their attribution, however, is not always certain. Vitae of Joseph were written by his contemporary, Theophanes (whose identification with THEOPHANES OF SICILY has been disproved), and later by the deacon John; John's attitude is more pro-Photian than that of Theophanes (G. da Costa-Louillet, *Byzantion* 25–27 [1957] 822). A puzzle with regard to Joseph's biography is the silence about him in the Life of Gregory of Dekapolis, since Joseph's hagiographers present him as Gregory's closest friend.

Representation in Art. As a melode, Joseph appears at LAGOUDERA, a standing monk carrying a roll. In the *parekklesion* of the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, he occupies a pendentive and writes at a desk like an Evangelist; his scroll bears the words of his kanon for the Akathistos Hymn.

SOURCES. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Monumenta graeca et latina ad historiam Photii patr. pertinentia*, vol. 2 (Petersburg 1901) 1–14. PG 105:939–76.
ED. PG 105:983–1426.
LIT. *BHG* 944–947b. E. Tomadakes, *Ioseph ho Hymnographos* (Athens 1971), with criticisms by D. Stiernon, *REB* 31 (1973) 243–66. C. Van de Vorst, "Note sur s. Joseph l'Hymnographe," *AB* 38 (1920) 148–54. Beck, *Kirche* 601f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:208f. –A.K., D.C., N.P.Š.

JOSEPH THE PHILOSOPHER. See JOSEPH RHAKLNDYTES.

JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (Ἰώσηπος), Jewish priest, historian, and apologist; fl. ca.38–after 100. His works written in Greek (*Jewish War* and esp. *Jewish Antiquities*) were among the most important sources for the Byz. interested in the ancient history of Palestine. They were designated authoritative by Eusebios of Caesarea and broadly used by chroniclers; for John Chrysostom, Josephus was, after Plato, his favorite pagan author (S. Krawczynski, U. Riedinger, *BZ* 57 [1964] 8); in the section of Constantine VII's *Excerpta* titled *On Virtues and Vices* Josephus is quoted 119 times, while the *Souda* preserves over 200 citations. Greek MSS are known from the 10th C. onward, but Photios had already read several of Josephus's works in the 9th C. Probably in the 9th or 10th C. an epitome was compiled, later used by Zonaras. Josephus was considered a stylistic model by Photios, Gregory Pardos, and Theodore Metochites, and was imitated by some Byz. authors (e.g., Niketas Choniates). Several works were falsely ascribed to Josephus by church fathers and Photios, among them the so-called 4th book of the *Maccabees* and *On the Essence of the Whole* (Photios, *Bibl.*, cod.48).

Josephus was early translated into Latin; a translation of the *War* is ascribed to Rufinus, a translation of *Antiquities* was arranged by Cassiodorus; an epitome of the *War*, the so-called *Hegesippus* (4th C.), has been wrongly attributed to Ambrose. Latin versions of Josephus have survived inter alia in a papyrus of the 6th–7th C. and a 9th-C. parchment MS. A recension of Josephus, the so-called *Sepher Yosippon*, was produced in Hebrew. Syriac, Slavic, Armenian, Georgian, and Arabic translations are also known.

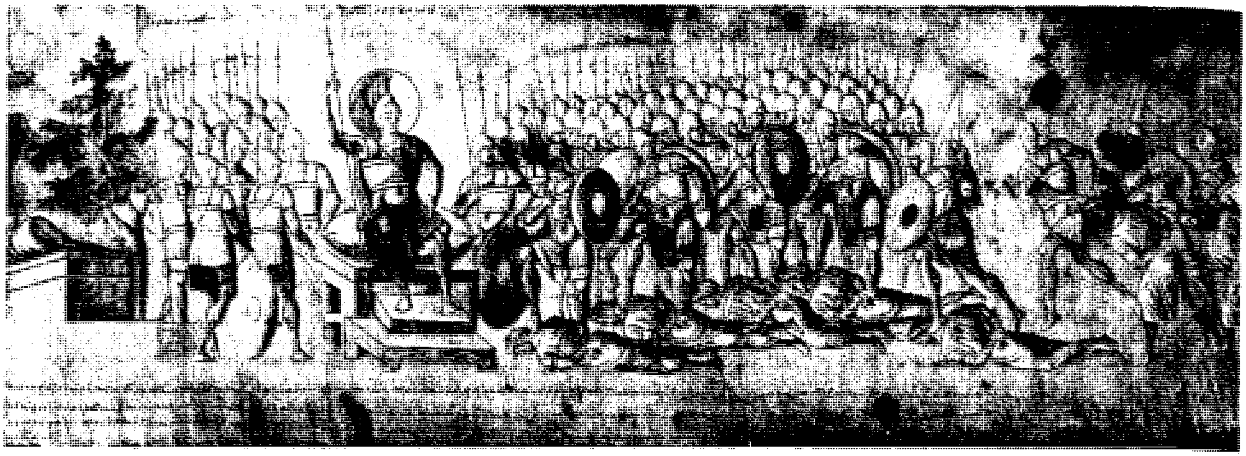
LIT. H. Schreckenberg, *Die Flavius Josephus-Tradition in Antike und Mittelalter* (Leiden 1972). R. Fishman-Duker, "The Works of Josephus as a Source for Byzantine Chronicles" (in Hebrew), in *Flavius Josephus: Historian of Eretz-Israel in the Hellenistic-Roman Period*, ed. U. Rappaport (Jerusalem 1982) 139–48. J. Schamp, "Flavius Josephe et Photios," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 185–96. S. Bowman, "Josephus in Byzantium," in *Josephus, Judaism and Christianity*, ed. L.H. Feldman, G. Hata (Detroit 1987) 362–85. –S.B.B.

JOSHUA, successor to Moses and archetypal military leader. The Old Testament book ascribed to his authorship was commented on by Origen (ed. W.E. Bährens, 7 [Leipzig 1921] 286–463), Theodoret of Cyrrhus (PG 80:457–86), and Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87.1:991–1042). The Book of Joshua did not attract the attention of later Byz. exegetes.

Representation in Art. Joshua's encounter with an archangel (interpreted as the *archistrategos* MICHAEL), his battles with the men of Ai, and his arrest of the sun's course at Jericho were all depicted in the OCTATEUCHS, while the first of these events is represented on a fresco surviving from the Theotokos church at HOSIOS LOUKAS. While the angel here is preserved only in fragments, the fully armed figure of Joshua parallels the emphasis on his generalship in the JOSHUA ROLL and on ivories of the 10th C. An equestrian statue in the Forum Tauri in Constantinople was held by some to represent Joshua's miracle at Jericho (Nik.Chon. 649.58–64).

LIT. L. Rost, W. Werbeck in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*³, vol. 3 (Tübingen 1959) 873f. –J.I., A.C.

JOSHUA ROLL (Vat. Palat. gr. 431), a unique 10th-C. example of a parchment ROLL (10.64 m long) with continuous horizontal illustration of episodes in the first 10 chapters of the Book of Joshua. The text, written along the bottom and often omitting words or phrases, is subservient to the miniatures. These are painted in a wash technique, unusual in Byz., that reserves much unpainted parchment. Against this neutral ground, LANDSCAPE, PERSONIFICATIONS, and above all the exploits of JOSHUA, the archetypal Old Testament general, are depicted in pastel-like color against trees and rocks painted in a soft-edged, almost Pompeian manner. This style, like the Palestinian setting of the iconography, could fit the manner of painting in the reign of either Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or Nikephoros II Phokas: the exploits of Joshua could allude to the exploits of Nikephoros II or John I Tzimiskes. Scenes of the Hebrew general's triumphs, including acts of *proskynesis* and *calcatio* required of the enemies of Israel, depict ceremonies imposed on Arab leaders in mid-10th-C. Constantinople (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 160–62). C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 126) and others suggest that the Joshua Roll is a copy of an original celebrating the victories of Herakleios. Previously believed to be a conscious imitation of a monument like the Column of Trajan, it has been interpreted by Mazal



JOSHUA ROLL. Portion of the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet XIV) depicting Joshua's triumph over the five kings of the Amorites. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

(*infra*) as an innovation intended to express in a classical manner the military ethos of the Macedonian era. On the verso of the MS are 13th-C. excerpts from church fathers and a later set of building accounts. The roll was in Padua by the early 15th C. and is today arbitrarily cut into 15 sheets.

ED. and LIT. O. Mazal, *Josua-Rolle: Faksimile, Kommentar*, 2 vols. (Graz 1984). K. Weitzmann, *The Joshua Roll* (Princeton 1948; rp. 1970). M. Schapiro, "The Place of the Joshua Roll in Byzantine History," *GBA*[6] 35 (1949) 161–76.
–A.C.

JOSHUA THE STYLITE, an Edessan of unknown date who was a priest and a monk at the monastery of Zuqnīn near Amida. He is known only through a scribal note of uncertain date in the 9th-C. MS Vat. Syr. 162, which contains the unique copy of the *Chronicle* of pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAḤRĒ. It has been suggested that Joshua is the author of a Syriac chronicle included *en bloc* in the *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios of Tell Maḥrē that covers the years 495–506, with some earlier events being mentioned, such as the revolt of ILLOS and LEONTIOS in 484. The chronicler wrote as an eyewitness, probably before 518. The independent *Chronicle of the Persian War*, as some scholars call it, carries its own title, *The History of the Time of Troubles in Edessa, Amida, and all Mesopotamia.* The subject matter is largely an account of battles between the Roman and Persian empires under Anastasios I and Kavād, and the work is an indispensable source for the history of Persia at this period. It is still unresolved whether Joshua was the author of the independent 6th-C. chronicle, or the author of the 8th-C. *Chronicle* of pseudo-Dionysios, or the scribe who copied the 9th-C. MS. It has been customary to adopt the first option and to speak of the *Chronicle of Joshua the Stylite*.

ED. *The Chronicle*, ed. W. Wright with Eng. tr. (Cambridge 1882). Russ. tr. N. Pigulevskaja, *Mesopotamija na rubeže V–VI vv. n.e.* (Moscow-Leningrad 1940).

LIT. S.P. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corporation* 5 (1979) 10–13. H. Gelzer, "Josua Stylites und die damaligen kirchlichen Parteien des Ostens," *BZ* 1 (1892) 34–49. E. Černousov, "Sirijskij istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 25 (1927) 24–32.
–S.H.G.

JOVIAN (Ἰουβιανός), more fully Flavius Jovianus, augustus (from 27 June 363); born near Singidunum 331, died Dadastana, Bithynia, 17 Feb. 364. Possibly of barbarian origin, he was commander of the *protectores et domestici* under Emp. Julian; he was well known among the soldiers as son of the *comes domesticorum* and son-in-law of the *magister militum.* After JULIAN died on his Persian campaign in 363 and the praetorian prefect Salutius refused the purple, Jovian was chosen emperor—according to Ammianus Marcellinus at the initiative of a small group of common soldiers. Although Jovian was able to repel Persian attacks, the situation of the army, suffering from hunger in the Tigris region, and the threat of political rivalry in Constantinople caused Jovian to sign a treaty with the Persians whereby

he surrendered Mesopotamia and the strategic cities of Nisibis and Singara. He died unexpectedly on his way back to Constantinople.

Jovian differed from the pagan Julian in both appearance and behavior: tall with blue eyes, he was a gourmand and enjoyed wine and women. His education was modest, although he tried to play the role of patron. He was a Christian but tolerant of pagan beliefs. The assertion of Christian writers that he abolished the anti-Christian legislation of Julian seems to be false. His peace treaty with the Persians was regarded as ignominious by pagan authors (e.g., Ammianus Marcellinus) and criticized by Christians in Antioch; more distant writers, however, from Gregory of Nazianzos to Augustine, considered it necessary or even a gift of Providence.

LIT. G. Wirth, "Jovian. Kaiser und Karikatur," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser* (Münster 1984) 353–84. A. Solari, "La elezione di Gioviano," *Klio* 26 (1933) 330–35. R. Turcan, "L'abandon de Nisibe et l'opinion publique," in *Mélanges André Piganiol*, vol. 2 (Paris 1966) 875–90.
–T.E.G.

JUDAISM, the religion of the JEWS, strictly monotheistic and primarily concerned with social justice, ethics, and family purity. Its liturgy at home and in the synagogue, based upon the Hebrew Bible and JEWISH LITERATURE, taught a political redemption by a messiah. Dietary laws required a painless slaughtering of domesticated animals, health inspection, and complete removal of blood; use of unleavened bread at Passover; separation of meat and milk; no pork; and close supervision of wine, cheese, and clothing. Males were circumcised eight days after birth. Biblical tradition required ritual ablutions and postmenstrual bath. The Jewish calendar (soli-lunar) celebrates every Sabbath and New Moon with liturgical and Pentateuchal readings. Annual holidays include New Year, Day of Atonement, Tabernacles, Passover, Pentecost, 9th of Ab (to mourn the destruction of the Temple), and Feasts of Maccabees and Esther. Byz. deprecated the observance and practices of Judaism, yet it was necessary to have practicing Jews to demonstrate that God rejected and abandoned them, and because their voluntary conversion was both a proof of the truth of Christianity and a prerequisite for Christ's return. The Bible was read in Hebrew and Aramaic until Justinian I responded to Jewish reformers (nov. 146) by mandating use of the Septuagint and vernacular translations. He also forbade *deuterosis* (oral commentary) and denial of Christian doctrines. Palestinian Jews responded by developing *piyyut* that poeticized oral laws and by muting potentially political expressions in the liturgy. Orthodox and heterodox Christians occasionally relied on the Jewish calendar to date EASTER: Justinian legislated that Passover follow Easter (Prokopios, *SH* 28.16–18). Biblical and postbiblical Judaism influenced the symbolism (Temple as prefiguration of the Church), theology, ecclesiastical calendar, liturgy, and practice of Byz. Christianity through borrowings and converts. The tradition of magic, apocalyptic, and mysticism in Judaism paralleled that of contemporary Christian society.

LIT. J. Mann, "Changes in the Divine Service of the Synagogue Due to Religious Persecutions," *Hebrew Union College Annual* 4 (1927) 241–310. Starr, *Jews* 173–80. E. Werner, "*Tribus Agathas* (The Good Way)," *GOrThR* 22 (1977) 143–54.
–S.B.B.

JUDAS ISCARIOT (Ἰούδας ὁ Ἰσκαριώτης), the apostle who betrayed Christ. Byz. tradition dealt with him primarily in commentaries on ACTS. He came to represent the epitome of treachery and of monetary greed; his suicide by hanging, accompanied by bloating limbs and the gushing out of his bowels, became the typical death of the sinner. Orthodox authors compared the end of Arius (although he did not commit suicide) with Judas's foul death. Sermons devoted to Judas are rare (e.g., a short homily by pseudo-John Chrysostom, PG 61:687–90); ROMANOS THE MELODE, however, wrote an emotional poem permeated with horror at the false disciple's impious action. Some clauses in charters appoint "the fate of Judas" as the punishment for breach of contract.

Representation in Art. Judas figures throughout Byz. art in the Lord's Supper, the Betrayal of Christ, and scenes of his attempts to return the silver and of his suicide (Mt 27:3–5). The Betrayal appears already in the very earliest Passion cycles on 4th-C. Roman sarcophagi. Scenes of his remorse, first depicted in the 5th C., become frequent in the 6th; also in the 6th C., the standard composition of the Lord's Supper first appears. In none of these is Judas vilified and the same temperance extends into later periods, when Judas is portrayed as slender and young. In the Last Supper, he is distinguished—if at all—only by his

gesture toward the food; the emotive intensity that mounts in depictions of the Betrayal from the 11th C. onward expresses the anguish of the moment and not outrage toward Judas. If temperately portrayed, however, Judas was nonetheless deplored. The savage Psalm 109:6, 8 is illustrated with Judas's suicide in the marginal PSALTERS, and a 12th-C. version of the Communion of the Apostles at ASINOU (see LORD'S SUPPER) shows Judas in profile, gobbling the sop as he hurries away.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:665–68. H. Jursch, "Das Bild des Judas Iscarioth im Wandel der Zeiten," 7 *IntCongChrArch* (1965) 565–70. –J.I., A.W.C.

JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF, term for the rocky and sparsely inhabited region south of Jerusalem and Jericho and west of the Dead Sea as far as Arad and Elusa, which became the principal area of monastic settlement in late antique Palestine. The first monastic founder in the area was St. Chariton in the 4th C.; other lavras were founded in the 5th C. by monks such as St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, from whose settlement Christianity spread among the Arab tribes of the Parembole (the region of Palaestina I, northwest of the Dead Sea); St. SABAS, whose monastery housed a famous library and scriptorium; Sts. Gerasimos, Choziba, Kalamon, and others. These monastic houses were the centers of the Greek and later Arabic literary and spiritual life of the Chalcedonian patriarchate of Jerusalem, and several benefited from imperial patronage. In the 5th–7th C. these monasteries and their monks were visited by writers, such as CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, John MOSCHOS, and others. They maintained their integrity in the face of Arab raids while under Roman rule, but after the Arab conquest of Palestine some were destroyed, while others changed the language of their culture from Greek to Arabic.

LIT. O. Meinardus, "Notes on the Laurae and Monasteries of the Wilderness of Judaea," *Studii Biblici Franciscani Liber Annuus* 15 (1964–65) 220–50; 16 (1965–66) 328–56. A. van der Heyden, "Monasteries of the Judean Desert," *Ariel* 65 (1986) 77–90. J. Patrich, R. Rubin, "Les grottes de al-'Aleiliyât et la Laure de Saint-Firmin," *RevBibl* 91 (1984) 381–87. Y. Hirschfeld, "The Judean Desert Monasteries in the Byzantine Period" (Ph.D. diss., Jerusalem 1987). –L.S.B.MacC.

JUDGE. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the generic term *kritai* designated several high-ranking officials who enjoyed judicial as well as administrative and financial rights: the EPARCH OF THE CITY, QUAESTOR, and EPI TON DEESEON, and their staffs. Some other functionaries had their own law COURTS and presided over litigation; since the ARCHONTES, as BALSAMON puts it, were often incompetent in legislation, special assessors (SYMPONOI), also called *kritai,* were attached to them. In 539 Justinian I tried to create a body of professional judges, *diaitetai* of the agora (nov. 82.1). This institution seems to have fallen into desuetude; in the ECLOGA the term *krites* appears only once, in a biblical quotation (164.74). The thematic judges of the 10th–11th C. were administrators of provinces, whereas *politikoi* and *litoi kritai* functioned as assessors. In the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, however, the college of professional judges, the *kritai tou Hippodromou* and *kritai* of the VELUM, reappeared, and soon thereafter Constantine IX Monomachos reintroduced legal education. These judges probably had their tribunal at the Hippodrome. The judge of the velum remained active through the later period, when new categories of professional judges, such as KRITAI KATHOLIKOI and KRITAI TOU PHOSSATOU, also appeared.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 1:499–507. Oikonomides, *Listes* 319–23. Bury, *Adm. System* 69–78. –A.K.

JUDICIUM QUINQUEVIRALE, a tribunal in the late Roman Empire consisting of the urban prefect and five senators chosen by lot; it was convened under special circumstances to determine whether senators were guilty of capital offenses. The *judicium quinquevirale* was still a living institution in Italy in 506, but did not exist in Constantinople, thus reflecting the greater social status of SENATORS in the West.

LIT. C.H. Coster, "The iudicium quinquevirale in Constantinople," *BZ* 38 (1938) 119–32. –A.K.

JUGUM (ζυγόν, lit. "yoke"), initially a unit for measuring land, supposedly according to the plowing capacity of a yoke of oxen (about 12,616 sq. m of first quality arable, about 15,104 sq. m of second quality). In the context of Diocletian's reform of the FISCAL SYSTEM, the *jugum* was a unit

of account used for taxing land in the system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. As a measure of tax liability for equitably distributing the *annona* obligations among taxpayers, *jugum* could correspond to surfaces varying according to the land's quality or to the kind of cultivation: for example, one fiscal *jugum* could correspond to 6,300 sq. m of vines, about 25,000 sq. m of first quality arable, or 50,000 sq. m of second quality arable, etc. (See also ZEUGARION.)

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 75, 78f. Goffart, *Caput* 32–35. –N.O.

JULIAN (Ἰουλιανός), sometimes called "the Apostate," emperor (from 361); born Constantinople May/June 332, died on campaign on the Persian frontier, 26 June 363. He was the son of Julius Constantius (half-brother of Constantine I) and the half-brother of GALLUS. In 337 his father and many relatives were murdered, probably at the order of Constantius II. Julian was sent to Nikomedeia and then to Cappadocia, where he grew up, entered minor Christian orders, and perhaps finally embraced paganism. As a young man he studied at Nikomedeia and Athens. In 355 Julian was summoned to court and made caesar; he was put in charge of the western provinces that were threatened by revolt and pressure from the Alemanni and Franks, against whom he was remarkably successful.

When Constantius ordered Julian to dispatch his troops to the eastern frontier in 361, they revolted and proclaimed Julian as emperor. Negotiations failed but Julian became sole emperor when Constantius died on 3 Nov. 361. Julian then set about to restore traditional Roman society and undo the innovations he associated with the house of Constantine. The most famous aspect of this policy was his attempted revival of PAGANISM. Julian's paganism was practical (it was to imitate the organization and social policies of contemporary Christianity), but also influenced by magic and charlatans like MAXIMOS OF EPHESUS. Julian's law excluding Christians from the teaching profession was condemned even by pagans. Julian's Persian expedition was initially successful, but he was unexpectedly struck and killed by a spear from an unknown assailant and his policies died with him.

To contemporary and later Christian authors Julian was the personification of evil. Gregory of Nazianzos, Cyril of Alexandria, and Ephrem the Syrian all wrote against him. Sozomenos records a thoroughly legendary account of his life, and Malalas, the *Chronicon Paschale,* and the *Life of St. Basil* (falsely attributed to Amphilochios of Ikonion) build upon the story. Attention to the apostate remained keen in the 9th C., when an extended sequence of miniatures in the PARIS GREGORY (fols. 374v, 409v) culminates in the legend (based on the *Chronicon Paschale*) that Julian was slain by St. MERKOURIOS.

Two statues in Paris and a head on Thasos, as well as ivory and bone statuettes and an engraved gem in Leningrad (H. von Heintze in *Studien Deichmann* 2:31–41), have been identified as likenesses of Julian. Contemporary sources describe Julian as short and heavy, with a thick neck, animated eyes, and a philosopher's beard, features that are confirmed by sculpture and numismatic portaits (Volbach, *Early Christian Art,* pls. 48f, 52). He is usually shown wearing a priestly diadem and a philosopher's mantle. Julian was the author of voluminous correspondence, and tracts such as the *Misopogon, Against the Galileans,* and the satirical dialogue *The Caesars.*

ED. *Works,* ed. W.C. Wright, 3 vols. (London–New York 1913; rp. 1930), with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976). G.W. Bowersock, *Julian the Apostate* (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). P. Athanassiadi-Fowden, *Julian and Hellenism* (Oxford 1981). E. Pack, *Städte und Steuern in der Politik Julians: Untersuchungen zu den Quellen eines Kaiserbildes* (Brussels 1986). N.H. Baynes, "The Death of Julian the Apostate in a Christian Legend," *JRS* 27 (1937) 22–29. M. Wegner, "Die Bildnisse des Julian," in H.P. L'Orange, M. Wegner, *Das spätantike Herrscherbild von Diokletian bis zu den Konstantin-Söhnen* (Berlin 1984) 159–64. –T.E.G., A.C.

JULIAN OF ASKALON, 6th-C. architect known only as the author of the treatise *On the Laws or Customs in Palestine.* It remains debatable whether Julian's treatise was an unofficial work or a collection of police prescriptions to regulate building activity. Julian defines the location of, and distances between, industrial buildings (bakeries, ceramic kilns, glass shops, etc.), bath houses, private buildings, stables, inns, etc.; regulates gutters and sewers and the planting of trees and vineyards. The main purpose of the tract was to preserve beauty and light in the city. The text is transmitted

in a Geneva MS, Bibliothèque publique et universitaire 23, in the appendix to the BOOK OF THE EPARCH. A similar MS evidently served HARMENOPOULOS, because the chapters from Julian's work incorporated into his *Hexabiblos* are inscribed—wrongly—with the word *eparchikon*. Harmenopoulos incorporated all of Julian's texts contained in Geneva 23, except for the *prooimion* (Harm. 2.4.13–23, 25–44, 47–51, 75–80, 82, 83, 85–88; all other chapters of title 2.4 are, contrary to prevailing opinion, excerpted from other sources). Individual chapters of Julian's treatise show similarities with the pre-Justinianic SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK, which did not, however, serve as a direct model.

ED. G.E. Heimbach, *Constantini Harmenopuli Manuale legum sive Hexabiblos* (Leipzig 1851; rp. Aalen 1969) 238–90.

LIT. C. Ferrini, *Opere I* (Milan 1929) 443–52. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O traktate Juliana Askalonita," *ADSV* 1 (1960) 3–34. D. Gkines, "To Eparchikon Biblion kai hoi Nomoi Ioulianou tou Askalonitou," *EEBS* 13 (1937) 183–91. H.J. Scheltema, "The Nomoi of Iulianus of Ascalon," in *Symbolae ad jus et historiam antiquitatis pertinentes Julio Christiano van Oven dedicatae* (Leiden 1946) 349–60. –M.Th.F.

JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS, primary exponent of APHTHARTODOCETISM; died Egypt soon after 527. A Monophysite, he collaborated with SEVEROS of Antioch against Makedonios II, patriarch of Constantinople (495–511), provoking an uprising in July 511 that gave Emp. Anastasios I an excuse to depose the patriarch. In 518, when the Orthodox faction gained the upper hand, Julian lost his see and together with Severos had to flee to Alexandria. In exile the alliance dissolved: Julian developed Aphthartodocetic ideas and entered into conflict with Severos, who asserted that Christ's body before his resurrection was corruptible. Moreover, while Severos taught that Adam was created corruptible and mortal, Julian viewed him as originally incorruptible and immortal, but as undergoing a transformation after his sin. Julian's treatises written against Severos are lost and known only from the latter's quotations. A commentary on the book of Job was falsely attributed to Julian (see *Hiobkommentar des Arianers Julian*, ed. D. Hagedorn [Berlin–New York 1973]).

LIT. R. Draguet, *Julien d'Halicarnasse* (Louvain 1924). P. Carrara, "I frammenti greci del *Contra additiones Iuliani* di Severo di Antiochia," *Prometheus* 11 (1985) 89–92. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:1603f. –T.E.G.

JULIAN THE EGYPTIAN, 6th-C. poet. Described in the lemmata of his epigrams as *apo hypaton* and *apo hyparchon* (APO EPARCHON), he has been identified by Av. and Al. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 12–14) with the praetorian prefect of 530–31. Julian may be the consul to whom PRISCIAN dedicated his *Institutiones grammaticae*. The GREEK ANTHOLOGY preserves about 80 of his epigrams, thanks to their inclusion in the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS; he may also have published a collection himself. Most of his poems are anathematic, sepulchral, and ekphrastic, only rarely erotic. They are conventional in subject and style but sometimes give tantalizing glimpses into contemporary events, notably the NIKA REVOLT of 532 and the attempted coup of HYPATIOS with whom Julian was somehow involved.

ED. *AnthGr*, see index. Eng. tr. in Paton, *Greek Anth.*, see index.

LIT. K. Hartigan, "Julian the Egyptian," *Eranos* 73 (1975) 43–54. Al. Cameron, "Some Prefects called Julian," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 42–64. –B.B.

JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," banker in RAVENNA and founder of the Church of S. Vitale; fl. second quarter of 6th C. He may have come from the East: from the form of a monogram in the gallery of this church, Deichmann (*infra*) deduced that Julianus was Greek or Greek-speaking. The banker's sponsorship is noted in several Latin inscriptions and Greek monograms in the church; Ecclesius, bishop of Ravenna (522–32), is named in these inscriptions as having ordered Julianus to construct and decorate S. Vitale. According to AGNELLUS of Ravenna (chs. 57–59), Julianus began this work after Ecclesius returned from an embassy to Constantinople (together with Pope John I) in 526. The same source reports that Julianus spent 26,000 solidi on the project, but also, improbably, relates that he founded the churches of S. Maria Maggiore and S. Stefano in Ravenna. Julianus was the patron of S. Apollinare in Classe, where an inscription records his sponsorship, and the now-destroyed S. Africisco in Ravenna that he cosponsored with a certain Bacauda, sometimes said to be his brother-in-law. The absence of any dignities attached to the banker's name in the inscription suggests that he acted as a private individual, not as an official of the church or state. For this reason he cannot be identified with the figure in court costume in the

bema mosaic of S. Vitale, standing between Justinian I and Archbp. MAXIMIAN, who dedicated the church in 546.

LIT. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2:3–33. Idem, "Giuliano Argentario: Il munifico fondatore di chiese ravennati," *FelRav* 56 (1951) 5–26. G. Bovini, "Giuliano Argentario," *FelRav* 101 (1970) 125–50. S.J.B. Barnish, "The Wealth of Iulianus Argentarius: Late Antique Banking and the Mediterranean Economy," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 5–38.

–A.C., A.K.

JULIUS NEPOS, the last Western emperor recognized by Constantinople (19 or 24 June 474–28 Aug. 475); died near Salona 9 May 480. Julius was the nephew of Marcellinus, the nearly independent ruler of Dalmatia. He was on good terms with Leo I and married a relative of the empress VERINA. Julius apparently inherited his uncle's power in 468 and was given the title of *magister militum* of Dalmatia. In 473/4 Leo I (or those acting for the minor Leo II) sent him to Ravenna to depose the usurper Glycerius, who had succeeded ANTHEMIOS. Glycerius was arrested near Rome or Ravenna. Overthrown by the *magister militum* Orestes, Julius fled to Dalmatia. Orestes then placed his young son ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS on the throne in Ravenna. Romulus was never recognized by the Eastern court, and Julius was therefore still the legitimate Western emperor. In 477 he tried to persuade Zeno to help him regain the throne, but the emperor was content with the rule of ODOACER in Italy and did not go beyond a symbolic gesture, being afraid of Julius's connections with Verina and BASILISKOS. There is a vague statement by Kandidos suggesting that after 476 Julius was accepted in Gaul as a legitimate ruler; at any rate he retained control of Dalmatia until his murder, which was probably arranged by Glycerius.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 16 (1935) 2505–11. Bury, *LRE* 1:404f. Kaegi, *Decline* 47–50. J.P.C. Kent, "Julius Nepos and the Fall of the Western Empire," in *Corolla memoriae Erich Swoboda dedicata* (Graz-Cologne 1966) 146–50.

–T.E.G.

JURA IN RE ALIENA, concept of Roman law denoting limited rights of OWNERSHIP. Roman law developed a system of these *jura in re* that encompassed servitudes (SERVITUS), USUFRUCT, SUPERFICIES, EMPHYTEUSIS, and several forms of limited *dominium* such as a husband's right to dotal land, conditional rights of owners (as in the case of heirs appointed under certain conditions), a right to an object of litigation, a right of the pledgee (if the debt was not paid), etc. The *jura in re* were based on CONTRACT or (infrequently) on an administrative act.

In post-classical law, since the notion of ownership became confused, the concept of *jura in re* was lost (Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.238 II), but the reality of a lesser degree of ownership evolved. Gorecki (*infra*) considers as *jura in re* five types of land (mostly abandoned) on which neighbors, the village community, or the state established temporary rights. Byz. documents mention the rights of neighbors to enter adjoining property to eat—but not remove—grapes and other fruit, to graze their livestock, to collect firewood, to fish, etc. Unlike Roman *jura in re,* these unsystematized Byz. rights were based not on contract but on custom—*ethos* or *synetheia* (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 39 [1989] 15–17).

LIT. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia 1951) 39–43. D. Gorecki, "Land Tenure in Byzantine Property Law, *iura in re aliena,*" *GRBS* 22 (1981) 191–210.

–A.K.

JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, prince of Suzdal'; son of VLADIMIR MONOMACH; born ca.1090, died Kiev 15 May 1157. Dolgorukij, or Long-Arm, is a sobriquet used only since the 16th C. Jurij (George) laid the foundations of the new principality between the Oka and Volga rivers. Byz., the princes of GALITZA, and the CUMANS supported his claim to the throne of Kiev. In a long struggle against his nephew, Izjaslav of Kiev, who was aided by Hungary, Jurij managed to reign in Kiev three times: 28 Aug. 1149–early summer 1150, Sept. 1150–March 1151, and from 20 March 1155. His second wife, whom he married in the 1150s, was possibly a Byz. Jurij rejected Metr. KLIM SMOLJATIČ, who backed his rival Izjaslav. When Klim was elected, the rights of the patriarch of Constantinople and *endemousa synodos* were ignored, and thus Jurij sought a new metropolitan in the Byz. capital. Constantine, an erudite theologian, was consecrated in fall 1155, arrived in Kiev in summer 1156, and, with Jurij's support, started to purge the clergy. The church of Rus' was effectively split until 1159 since some bishops did not recognize Constantine's jurisdiction.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istorija* 2:152–82. G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia* (New Haven-London 1948–49) 97f, 217–19, 262, 351. –An.P.

JURISTIC PERSONS, a conventional legal term, not found in Roman law, that applied the term *persona* (or *caput*) only to human beings. Nevertheless, both Roman and Byz. law had to deal with corporate bodies (microstructures) endowed with rights and liabilities: VILLAGE COMMUNITIES, *municipia*, and GUILDS. There are documents showing that the village community owned land and acted collectively in court; similar evidence concerning *municipia* and guilds is vague and questionable. Churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions also acted as juristic persons: they owned properties, could inherit movable and immovable property, sue, and be summoned to trial. More complex is the question of whether the emperor's *patrimonium* was considered a juristic person distinct from the state: the Byz. recognized a distinction between state (*demosios*) property and the emperor's (*basilikos*) property, treasury, etc., but it is unclear whether this difference in terms had any significance in everyday practice.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:103–07. Buckland, *Roman Law* 173–79. B. Biondi, *Il diritto romano cristiano* 2 (Milan 1952) 341f. –A.K.

JUSTIN I (Ἰουστῖνος), emperor (from 9 July 518); born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.450 or 452, died Constantinople 1 Aug. 527. The son of a poor peasant, Justin migrated to Constantinople ca.470, joined the army, and made a military career; he participated in wars against the Isaurians and Persians and helped to suppress the revolt of VITALIAN. After Anastasios I died, Justin was proclaimed emperor by the army and factions; Prokopios suggests that Justin's election was a result of his crafty use of money given to him to bribe soldiers to support another candidate, Theokritos. After his accession Justin executed a group of influential aristocrats, including Vitalian and Theokritos, deposed others, and brought back from exile those banished by Anastasios. Justin stopped Anastasios's imbalanced religious policy, accepted the Chalcedonian course, and put an end to the AKAKIAN SCHISM. Justin made an alliance with the papacy—Pope JOHN I visited Constantinople—and gained authority in the West. Relations with the Ostrogoths became strained in the last years of THEODORIC, however, and persecution of the Arians reached its peak in Byz. Justin enjoyed peaceful relations with the Persia of Kavād I but endeavored to surround Persia with Byz. allies such as Lazica, the Huns, the Arabs, and Ethiopia. In 526 he waged an unsuccessful war against Persia.

Prokopios presents Justin as dull, boorish, and illiterate (he allegedly used a stencil to sign documents); it is generally thought that Justin's nephew JUSTINIAN (I) was the actual master of the empire. Justin's wife was Lupicina Euphemia. The painter Marinos of Apameia depicted the story of Justin's arrival in Constantinople on the walls of a public bath.

LIT. A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). *PLRE* 2:648–51. G. Wirth, "Zur Datierung einiger Ereignisse in der Regierungszeit Justins I. ," *Historia* 13 (1964) 376–83. A. Solari, "La successione di Giustino in Bisanzio" and "La politica estera orientale durante l'impero di Giustino," in *AttiLinc, Rendiconti, Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 8.3 (1948) 339–49 and 350–59. –W.E.K., A.C.

JUSTIN II, emperor (from 15 Nov. 565); nephew of Justinian I; died Constantinople 4/5 Oct. 578. As a young man, Justin became *kouropalates;* his marriage to SOPHIA, Theodora's niece, strengthened his position. Justin's elevation (described in detail by CORIPPUS) was achieved by a narrow group of functionaries within the palace. After the election he probably authorized the execution of his rival Justin, son of GERMANOS. Justin's international policy was unsuccessful: he attempted to surround Persia with his allies (Turks, Ethiopians), refused to pay the stipulated tribute (H. Turtledove, *BZ* 76 [1983] 292–301), and waged a war against CHOSROES II in 572 that led to territorial losses. In the West the victory of the Avars and Lombards over the GEPIDS opened the Lombard way to Italy in 568; the Avars under BAIAN invaded the territory south of the Danube; in Spain the Visigoths seized some cities. Domestically, Justin tried to emulate Justinian, but his legislation was on a small scale; his most important law was the reinstitution of DIVORCE by consent. His artistic patronage suggests the coalescence of Christian ideology and the traditional imperial cult, a synthesis expressed in the much-restored silver cross that he sent to Rome, bearing portraits of the augusti flanking the Lamb (Rice, *Art of Byz.*,

pl.71). Because Justin suffered attacks of insanity (E. Kislinger, *JÖB* 36 [1986] 39–44), Sophia advised him to appoint TIBERIOS (I) caesar and his successor, advice that he followed. Justin's speech to Tiberios, preserved in several versions (V. Val'denberg, *IzvAN SSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnych nauk* [1928] no.2:111–40; Av. Cameron, *BS* 37 [1976] 161–67), served many generations as a mirror of the imperial ideal.

LIT. K. Groh, *Geschichte des oströmischen Kaisers Justin II* (Leipzig 1889; rp. Aalen 1985). Stein, *Studien* 1–55. Av. Cameron, "The Early Religious Policies of Justin II," *SChH* 13 (1976) 51–67. –W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

JUSTINIAN (Ἰουστινιανός), general; son of GERMANOS and Passara; born Constantinople after 525, died Constantinople 582. Justinian fought the Slavs in Illyricum in 552. In 572, he supported an Armenian rebellion against Persia. Three years later, as supreme commander of the army against the Persians, he won a great victory over CHOSROES I at Melitene; he seized enormous booty but was unable to retain Armenia. Apparently Justinian hoped to succeed Justin II, but was frustrated by TIBERIOS (I). Justinian participated in the intrigues of SOPHIA against Tiberios late in the reign of Justin II (578), but failed and, after contritely giving Tiberios 1,500 pounds of gold, made peace with him. Between 579 and 581 another conspiracy of Justinian was discovered, in which Sophia hoped to raise him to the throne. Germanos, who married Tiberios's daughter Charito, was raised to caesar by Tiberios, and may have been Justinian's son. Justinian was less successful at court intrigue than warfare in the field. He was a competent military commander, but his ambitions were a destabilizing element in the reigns of Tiberios and Maurice.

LIT. E. Stein, *RE* 10 (1919) 1310–13. –W.E.K.

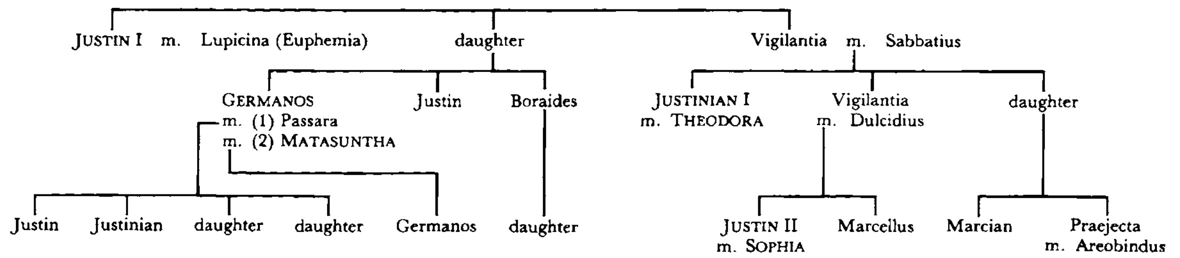
JUSTINIAN I, emperor (from 1 Aug. 527); given name Flavius Peter Sabbatios; born Bederiana (province of Dardania) ca.482, died 14 Nov. 565 (*PLRE* 2:648). The nephew of JUSTIN I, Justinian made a brilliant career under his uncle, who appointed him co-emperor on 1 Apr. 527. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA describes Justinian as an individual of medium height, with a round face ruddy even after two days of fasting (*SH* 8.12), an approachable and gentle man who never showed his anger and who, in a quiet voice, would order the death of thousands of innocent men (*SH* 13.1–3). Justinian was simple in his tastes, indifferent to splendor, able to work day and night, and crafty in displaying sympathy and even tears.

A man of low origin, Justinian came into conflict with the aristocracy. He was surrounded by energetic, unscrupulous, but loyal people who did not belong to the upper crust of society—his wife THEODORA, his nephew GERMANOS, the generals BELISARIOS and NARSES, and the administrators JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and TRIBONIAN. The aim of his policy was to create a strong empire, based on a unified administrative system and a single creed, encompassing the whole Mediterranean and ostensibly brilliant. To this end he promulgated the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. To increase the state's income, he often guided reform of the tax system: he developed the EMPHYTEUSIS, tried to eliminate the difference between *adscripticii* and slaves, and developed land ownership of the fisc. He also subsidized the development of trade and attempted to find new trade routes circumventing Persia. Among secrets acquired by the Byz. under Justinian was that of SILK production.

Justinian was personally involved in theological disputes; he sponsored the fifth ecumenical council and pressured Pope VIGILIUS. Proclaiming the principle that the emperor's will is law, Justinian suppressed political and ideological resistance, quashing the movement of the SAMARITANS and the NIKA REVOLT.

He built or reconstructed more than 30 churches in Constantinople alone (G. Downey, *ArtB* 32 [1950] 262–66) including that of the Virgin of PEGE, at the site of a spring whose waters he believed had cured him of a kidney ailment, and above all HAGIA SOPHIA, the altar cloth of which, according to PAUL SILENTIARIOS, bore images of hospitals and other foundations of Justinian. Legends concerning his role in the construction of the Great Church, including the revelation of its plan to him by an angel, are collected in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Justinian's equestrian statue stood in the AUGUSTAION; extant contemporary portraits of the beardless emperor are preserved in S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe in RAVENNA. A 9th- or 10th-C. mosaic in Hagia Sophia shows him bearded, presenting his foundation to the Virgin.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF JUSTINIAN I



Based on R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987) 8.

Justinian's international policy was intended to restore authority over the western part of the Roman Empire: North Africa was occupied in 533–34, Italy only after a long and costly war in 535–55; in Spain his army was able to occupy only some coastal areas. The situation in the East was more dangerous, and CHOSROES I managed to seize several regions; tactics on the Danube were defensive and the empire ensured peace by paying tribute and stationing troops on the frontiers to repel invading bands.

Justinian's evaluation has been contradictory since Prokopios, who sometimes debases Justinian and at other times praises him highly. The problem is whether Justinian attempted to retain obsolete institutions that wasted the resources of his country or established enduring values that laid the foundation for the long existence of a mighty empire. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:275–845. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987). B. Rubin, *Das Zeitalter Justinians*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1960). —W.E.K., A.K., A.C.

JUSTINIAN II, emperor (685–95 and 705–11); born Constantinople ca.668, died Damatrys 7 Nov. 711 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 51). He was son of Constantine V and Anastasia; an improbable tradition places his birth in Cyprus (*De adm. imp.* 47). He had a daughter by his first wife Eudokia. Justinian became emperor on Constantine's death, but may have been crowned coemperor as early 681/2. He soon sent LEONTIOS against the Arabs in Armenia and encouraged the MARDAITES to raid Lebanon, forcing ʿABD AL-MALIK to make peace in 688; in 693, however, the Byz. had to evacuate Armenia after being defeated in Asia Minor as a result of the desertion of the Slavic chief, NEBOULOS, and his troops. After campaigning in SKLAVINIA in 688 he formed the *kleisoura* of the Strymon and probably the HELLAS theme and resettled captives in the Opsikion. A fresco in the Church of St. Demetrios in Thessalonike may commemorate his arrival (acc. to A.A. Vasiliev, *OrChrP* 13 [1947] 355–68, but denied by J. Breckenridge, *BZ* 48 [1955] 116–22). His resettlement of KYZIKOS with Cypriots in 690/1 was part of grander colonization schemes (Charanis, *Demography*, pt. III [1961], 143f).

Ardently Orthodox, Justinian convoked a synod in 686/7 that confirmed the rejection of MONOTHELETISM. He also persecuted the PAULICIANS, tried to subordinate Armenia to Constantinople's jurisdiction in 689/90, collaborated with Patr. Paul III (688–94) to introduce reforms at the Council in TRULLO, and tried to arrest Pope SERGIUS I for rejecting the Trullan acts. Justinian introduced the first images of Christ on the coinage and moved the emperor's image to the reverse (J.D. Breckenridge, *Numismatic Iconography of Justinian II* [New York 1959]). His building projects included additions, such as the TRIKLINOS, to the Great Palace. Heavy taxation and excesses by the eunuch STEPHEN THE PERSIAN prompted Leontios to dethrone and mutilate Justinian in 695; thereafter he was nicknamed *rhinotmetos* ("cut-nose") and reportedly wore a gold nose. Exiled to CHERSON, he sought help from the Khazar khagan, whose sister married him in 703 and took the name Theodora.

Justinian regained the throne with help from TERVEL in 705, and crowned Theodora (the first foreign-born Byz. empress) and their infant son Tiberios. Through diplomacy he stayed friendly with the Lombards and Bulgars but, under MASLAMA, the Arabs invaded Asia Minor several times. Justinian cultivated good relations with the papacy, including JOHN VII (J.D. Breckenridge, *BZ* 65 [1972] 364–74). In 711 Justinian met Pope Constantine I (708–15) at Nikomedeia and supported him against a revolt in RAVENNA by the local archbishop and nobility. In 711 he launched an expedition against Cherson, perhaps to punish the city for ill-treating him in exile but more likely to halt Khazar advances in the CRIMEA. The fleet revolted and proclaimed as emperor PHILIPPIKOS, who forced Justinian to flee Constantinople for Asia Minor, where he was killed by ELIAS. His body was thrown into the sea, but his head was exhibited in Rome and Ravenna.

LIT. C. Head, *Justinian II of Byzantium* (Madison, Wis., 1972). F. Görres, "Justinian II und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432–54. I. Dujčev, "Le triomphe de l'empereur Justinien II en 705" in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:83–91. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:1–74, 103–82. –P.A.H.

JUSTINIANA PRIMA (Ἰουστινιανὴ Πρῖμα), city in the province of Dardania in Illyricum, founded by JUSTINIAN I near his birthplace of Tauresium. Although its location has been much discussed, it is now usually identified as the site of Caričin Grad, 45 km south of Niš. The city was deliberately chosen to become a great urban center; although it was off the major roads, its proximity to quarries facilitated large-scale construction. According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.1.17–27), Justiniana had an aqueduct, churches, great stoas, beautiful fountains, streets, baths, marketplaces, and shops. Justinian planned to transfer the seat of the praetorian prefect of Illyricum to his new city and promoted it to the ecclesiastical capital of western Illyricum. In 535 he made the archbishop of the city autocephalous, but in 545 he yielded to the protests of Pope AGAPETUS and accepted papal jurisdiction over his new foundation (B. Granić, *Byzantion* 2 [1925–26] 123–40). Justiniana was captured by the Avars and Slavs, who invaded the area in the early 7th C. The archbishopric of Justiniana is unknown after 602; in the 12th C. the bishops of VELBUŽD and then the archbishops of OHRID assumed the title of archbishop of Justiniana Prima (G. Prinzing, *BBulg* 5 [1978] 269–87).

The ruins at Caričin Grad extend over several acres of land, including an acropolis and a lower town. The polygonal acropolis contained the cathedral, an adjoining baptistery, and perhaps the bishop's palace. On the slope below, the unfortified town had a colonnaded main street, a circular piazza, bathhouses, and more churches. Most of the construction dates from the reign of Justinian, the acropolis being built ca.530, the lower town somewhat later. Despite the city's grandiose plan, column capitals from the site are crudely carved and in a style that was out of date by the time the city was founded (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 267). The latest coin hoard discovered at the site dates to 613, and the latest single coin to 615.

LIT. V. Kondić, V. Popović, *Caričin Grad* (Belgrade 1977). *Caričin Grad* I, ed. N. Duval, V. Popović (Belgrade-Rome 1984). Dj. Mano-Zisi, *Caričin Grad–Justiniana Prima* (Leskovac 1979). B. Bavant, "La ville dans le nord de l'Illyricum," *Villes et peuplement dans l'Illyricum protobyzantin* (Rome 1984) 272–85. –A.K., I. Dj., A.C.

JUST PRICE (δικαία τιμή, Lat. *justum pretium*). The concept of just price, like that of MONOPOLY, was derived from the general idea of state control of the economy: Diocletian introduced the term in a law of 285 (*Cod.Just.* IV 44.2) and established maximum prices of various goods in his PRICE EDICT. Control over PRICES and MEASURES formed a dominant characteristic of Byz. commerce, and the *Book of the Eparch* limited rates of PROFIT and prohibited merchants and artisans from raising prices above "the necessary level" (e.g., *Bk. of Eparch* 10:2). Especially substantial was the control over the price of GRAIN.

The Byz. did not develop the theory of just price to a point equivalent to that of Western teaching; nevertheless the concept permeated agrarian legislation of the Macedonian dynasty: the legislators indicate that many DYNATOI, partly by coercion, partly owing to the unsettled conditions in the wake of the famine of 927–28, had acquired lands of the poor either by ignoring legal restrictions (e.g., PROTIMESIS) or by paying a price below the one that was standard or "just." In such cases, the poor might recover their property within 40 years from the date of sale, and Basil II even abolished this 40-year prescription; in some cases a refund was required as reimbursement for im-

provements made upon the restored lands. The just price could be set on the basis of an official estimate, as in the case of KLASMA (N. Oikonomides, *FM* 7 [1986] 162f), or reflect market conditions.

LIT. Kazhdan-Constable, *Byzantium* 44f. –A.J.C.

JUVENAL (Ἰουβενάλιος), patriarch of Jerusalem (ca.422–58); saint; feastday 2 July. His lifelong ambition was to raise his suffragan diocese into a patriarchal see, independent of ANTIOCH and the metropolitan of CAESAREA MARITIMA, to which Palestine was canonically subject. Juvenal's appointment of the Arab chief Aspebetos (Peter)—at the request of St. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT—as the first bishop of an Arab camp (Parembolae), has sometimes been seen as a violation of the rights of Caesarea. Juvenal's claims for Jerusalem were rejected at the Council of EPHESUS (431) despite his alliance with CYRIL of Alexandria against the Antiochene NESTORIOS, patriarch of Constantinople. Although Cyril failed to support Juvenal strongly, Juvenal still sided with Egypt at the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS (449) by voting with the Alexandrian DIOSKOROS to restore EUTYCHES. At the Council of CHALCEDON (451), however, Juvenal sided with Constantinople by endorsing Dioskoros's deposition. As a result, the three PALESTINES were detached from Antioch to create the patriarchate of JERUSALEM. When Monophysite monks faithful to Dioskoros and Eutyches rebelled on Juvenal's return to the holy city, he was forced to call in imperial troops before he could enjoy his new status as Jerusalem's first patriarch.

LIT. E. Honigmann, "Juvenal of Jerusalem," *DOP* 5 (1950) 209–79. S. Vailhé, "Formation du patriarcat de Jérusalem," *EO* 13 (1910) 325–36. F.M. Abel, "St. Cyrille d'Alexandrie dans ses rapports avec la Palestine," *Kyrilliana 444–1944* (Cairo 1947) 214–20. –A.P.

K

KABALLARIOS (Καβαλλάριος), a family of high-ranking officials and courtiers active ca.1250–1350. The name, meaning "cavalryman, knight," must be of Latin origin. The connection of the Kaballarioi with Constantine Kaballourios, *strategos* of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 1043 (Skyl. 432.13–14), and Maria (?), sister of Constantine Kabaloures (E. Branousse, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 61.14), founder of the Strobelos monastery, mentioned in a charter of 1079, is unclear. Circa 1258/9 Basil Kaballarios belonged to the higher echelon of society: his marriage to Theodora Tarchaneiotissa was approved by Theodore II but annulled by Michael VIII. Alexios Kaballarios (or Kaballares), *domestikos* of the imperial table and governor of Thessalonike (died 1273/4 in battle), was Michael VIII's cousin; Michael Kaballarios was *megas konostaulos* ca.1277 when John I Doukas defeated him at Pharsala. Several Kaballarioi supported Andronikos II and were listed among his *oikeioi*: esp. Bardas Kaballarios, who participated in the proceedings against Andronikos III the Younger, and Bardas's son Mark, who insulted Andronikos III at the walls of Constantinople in 1327. Later, in 1343, Theodore Kaballarios, a partisan of John VI, was captured by Momčilo. The Kaballarioi were related to the Tzamblakones. The Kaballarioi are distinct from the Kaballaropouloi, who throughout the 14th C. served as civil functionaries (Constantine, a judge; George, an interpreter) and clergymen.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.127. *PLP*, nos. 10024–56. –A.K.

KABALLAROPOULOS. See Kaballarios.

KABASILAS (Καβάσιλας; etym. unclear), a noble lineage known from the reign of Basil II onward. The founder, Constantine, was a foreigner and Basil's servant. In 1042 Empress Theodora appointed him *strategos*. In the 11th C. several members of the family were governors: Nikephoros in Thessalonike ca.1022; Constantine (Theodora's protégé?), *doux* of the West in 1042; another Kabasilas, *doux* of Vaspurakan under Michael IV; and Alexander, *doux* of Skopje ca.1080 (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.125). Alexander supported Nikephoros III and in Alexios I's reign was demoted to a low position. From ca.1200 some Kabasilai were prominent church leaders, including a metropolitan of Dyrrachion, a bishop of Grebena, and an archbishop of Ohrid ca.1259, all of whom were named Constantine. In the 14th C. the Kabasilai occupied important court positions: Demetrios, *megas papias* in 1347–69; Theodore, *logothetes tou stratiotikou* ca.1317; Alexios, *megas konostaulos* ca.1339. The family produced several writers: Neilos Kabasilas, his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas, a scribe Demetrios Kaniskes Kabasilas. Intellectuals of this family often occupied ecclesiastical posts. The Kabasilai also served in provincial administration and possessed lands in Chalkidike, Thessalonike, and elsewhere.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Demetrios Doukas Kabasilas kai alla prosopographika ek anekdotou chrysoboullou tou Kantakouzenou," *Hellenika* 17 (1962) 1–23. *PLP*, nos. 10061–102. A. Angelopoulos, "To genealogikon dendron tes oikogeneias ton Kabasilon," *Makedonika* 17 (1977) 367–96. –A.K.

KABASILAS, NEILOS, theological writer; born Thessalonike? ca.1300, died 1363. Because Kabasilas evidently bore the baptismal name of Nicholas, he has sometimes been confused with his nephew Nicholas Chamaetos Kabasilas. Kabasilas taught in Thessalonike, where Demetrios Kydones was among his pupils; later he served in the government of John VI Kantakouzenos in Constantinople, and then became a hieromonk (after 1353). From 1361 to 1363 he was metropolitan of Thessalonike, but apparently never took up residence in his see.

Kabasilas wrote Palamite and anti-Latin theological treatises, including an *Antigramma* against Nikephoros Gregoras (ed. G. Papamichael, *EkklPhar* 11 [1913] 66–75) and an essay titled *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit*. In the latter treatise

Kabasilas attacked AQUINAS, whose work he knew through Kydones' translations, for applying to theology the methods of SCHOLASTICISM, esp. the excessive use of syllogisms (H.-G. Beck, *Divus Thomas*[3] 13 [1935] 3–22). Kabasilas's arguments were in turn refuted by Kydones in his (unedited) *Defense of Thomas Aquinas against Neilos Kabasilas* (M. Rackl, *Divus Thomas*[2] 7 [1920] 303–17).

ED. E. Candal, *Nilus Cabasilas et theologia S. Thomae de processione Spiritus Sancti* (Vatican 1945). A. Failler, "Une réfutation de Balsamon par Nil Kabasilas," *REB* 32 (1974) 211–23, with Fr. tr. For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 427.

LIT. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–95. *PLP*, no.10102.
–A.M.T.

KABASILAS, NICHOLAS CHAMAETOS, writer and theologian; born Thessalonike ca.1322/3 (Loenertz, *infra* 226), died Constantinople? after 1391. Born to a noble family, he adopted his mother's name of Kabasilas in preference to his patronymic Chamaetos. After beginning his studies in Thessalonike with his uncle Neilos KABASILAS, he moved to Constantinople for further education. He was a Palamite and Kantakouzenist, who joined the entourage of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS after the latter's victory in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. He may have been a candidate for the patriarchate in 1353. He never married; it is likely that he eventually became a monk (Angelopoulos, *infra* 69–74). His final years were devoted to theology and philosophy.

Kabasilas was a scholar of widely ranging interests, including rhetoric, astronomy, law, and theology. He had a fierce social conscience, as evidenced by his treatise titled *On Usury* addressed to ANNA OF SAVOY (ed. R. Guilland in *Eis mnemen Spyridonos Lamprou* [Athens 1935] 269–77), in which he used moral arguments to criticize the practice of usury (M. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 13 [1976] 83–96). His ideal monarch is based on Plato's ruler: he should be strong, educated, and just. Kabasilas is esp. vocal in the defense of the right to property and in his condemnation of injustice (M. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 12 [1975] 104–16). His *Discourse Concerning Illegal Acts of Officials against Things Sacred* attacks unspecified laymen who confiscated monastic property for defense needs, such as restoration of fortifications, construction of naval vessels, and recruitment of soldiers. Most scholars now accept I. Ševčenko's thesis that the latter discourse was not directed against the ZEALOTS in Thessalonike, as was earlier believed; the identity of Kabasilas's adversaries is, however, still under discussion. Kabasilas also wrote spiritual treatises, such as *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy* and *The Life of Christ.* He was a mystic who emphasized prayer (cf. G. Podskalsky, *OstkSt* 20 [1971] 17–42).

ED. P. Enepekides, "Der Briefwechsel des Mystikers Nikolaos Kabasilas," *BZ* 46 (1953) 18–46, corr. by R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 205–31, and I. Ševčenko, *BZ* 47 (1954) 49–59. Spiritual writings—PG 150:368–725. Eng. tr. J.M. Hussey, P. McNulty, *A Commentary on the Divine Liturgy* (London 1960). Discourse—ed. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.* pts. IV (1957), 81–171; V (1960), 181–201; VI (1962), 403–08.

LIT. A.A. Angelopoulos, *Nikolaos Kabasilas Chamaetos. He zoe kai to ergon autou* (Thessalonike 1970). M. Lot-Borodine, *Un maître de la spiritualité byzantine au XIVe siècle: Nicolas Cabasilas* (Paris 1958). Beck, *Kirche* 780–83.
–A.M.T.

KABBADION (καββάδι⟨ο⟩ν), a caftan, probably of oriental origin, called the "costume of the *ethnikoi*" by Philotheos in 899 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 177.32–179.1), but a standard article of imperial and court costume by the 14th C. Among the officeholders who wore the *kabbadion* were the *despotes*, the *megas doux*, the *megas logothetes*, and the *megas myrtaïtes* (pseudo-Kod. 146.2, 153.18, 154.16–17, 166.13–14). To judge by the portrait at CHORA of the *megas logothetes* Theodore METOCHITES, who is wearing a bluish-green caftan, the garment had long full sleeves, was belted, and had a gold-embroidered collar and borders along the sleeves and hem; unlike a tunic, the *kabbadion* apparently fastened down the front, and the twin front edges of the garment were also embroidered with gold. The *kabbadion* of Alexios Apokaukos in Paris, B.N. gr. 2144, fol.11r (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.96), has tight sleeves and is decorated with roundels containing heraldic lions. According to pseudo-Kodinos (pseudo-Kod. 146.2–3, 153.18, 274.13–14), a *kabbadion* could also be violet or red and adorned with pearls. The texts suggest that it was worn over the SKARANIKON.

LIT. P.A. Phourikes, "Peri tou etymou ton lexeon skaramangion, kabbadion, skaranikon," *Lexikographikon archeion tes meses kai neas hellenikes* 6 (1923) 463–66. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:42.
–N.P.Š.

KAFFA (Καφᾶς in *De adm. imp.* 53.170), ancient Theodosia, a strategic post on the southeastern

coast of CRIMEA along the passage from the Black Sea to the Azov Sea. Taken by the Huns in 380, it was ruled by the Alans in the 5th–6th C., by the Khazars in the 7th to 10th C., and then came under Cuman and (after 1223) Tatar rule. As a result of Genoa's alliance with Byz. (treaty of NYMPHAION, 1261) and with the approval of the TATARS (the allies of Byz.), ca.1266 the Genoese established a colony in Kaffa, which soon became the greatest trading center in eastern Europe, handling the traffic of Eastern and Western goods. By 1380 Kaffa had secured control over other Italian colonies in the region: Cembalo (Balaklava), Vosporo (BOSPOROS), Matraga (TMUTOROKAN), Lo Capa (on the estuary of the Kuban), and SEBASTOPOLIS.

The Genoese repelled the attempts of the empire of TREBIZOND to penetrate Kaffa: an attack of several Greek ships from Sinope and Trebizond in 1313 caused some damage to the merchants of Kaffa, and friction continued throughout the first half of the 15th C. The war with Venice (1350–56) was won by the Genoese who thus established their hegemony in the Black Sea. After the treaty of 1347 Kaffa enjoyed cooperation with the Tatar rulers of Crimea. Its prosperity decreased when TIMUR captured TANA, thus curtailing Kaffa's trade with the Caucasus, Central Asia, India, and China. By 1475, when it was taken by the Ottomans, Kaffa was still a large city numbering 8,000 households, that is, about 40,000 inhabitants.

Kaffa was a customs point and a center trading in commodities such as slaves, grain, hides, furs, silk, and fish. Besides Italians its mixed population included Greeks (there were Greek churches and two Greek monasteries in Kaffa), Armenians, Rus', Muslims, and Jews. Before 1437 an ecclesiastical metropolis subordinate to Constantinople was organized in Kaffa, but this soon passed into the hands of supporters of Union of the Churches (E. Zachariadou, *ArchPont* 29 [1968] 280–93).

LIT. M. Małowist, *Kaffa—kolonia genueńska na Krymie i problem wschodni w latach 1453–1475* (Warsaw 1947). Jakobson, *SredKrym* 108–18. V. Badjan, A. Čiperis, "Torgovlja Kaffy v XIII–XV vv.," in *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 174–89. G. Petti Balbi, "Caffa e Pera a metà del Trecento," *RESEE* 16 (1978) 217–28. –O.P.

KAINOTOMIA (*καινοτομία*, lit. "innovation"). In the context of law the word usually means new buildings that might interfere with another's rights or public interest. Already in classical Roman law various legal remedies were available to the neighbors of a person erecting a building to counter disturbances from building construction (cf. esp. *Basil.* 58.10). To these private legal remedies, which were intended for individuals, a constitution of the emperor Zeno (*Cod.Just.* VIII 10.12, *Basil.* 58.11.11) added a kind of general building regulation in the interest of public safety; it prescribed the distances between, and heights of, new buildings. Zeno's constitution was confirmed by Justinian I and extended to all cities of the empire (*Cod.Just.* VIII.10.13, *Nov.Just.* 63 = *Basil.* 58.11.12,14). The regulations involving distances between buildings, esp. with reference to a sea view, remained in force, as the *Peira* 50.5 shows. The treatise of JULIAN OF ASKALON contains numerous other safety regulations to be observed with regard to *kainotomia,* affecting industrial premises as well. The most extensive compilation of all Byz. building regulations is given in the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS (2.4). The word was also used to designate theological, fiscal, or political INNOVATIONS, usually with negative overtones. –M.Th.F.

KAINOURGION. See GREAT PALACE.

KAIOUMOS (Καϊουμός), theologian; first half of the 7th C. He is known only from an anonymous brief edifying story preserved in several MSS from the 11th C. onward. Reportedly Kaioumos was an anchorite who lived at the "bay of St. Antony," on the shore of the Red Sea near Klysma; he moved from there to Ammochostos, Cyprus, where he stayed in seclusion. He was summoned as an arbiter in the case of a certain Philentolos, son of Olympios: a rich and generous man, he helped the poor and even founded a hospital, but had "the passion of fornication." After his death, a local council was convened, presided by Archbp. Arkadios (before 625–641/2), to debate Philentolos's posthumous condition. According to Kaioumos, Philentolos was saved from Hell by his charitable deeds but was not admitted to Paradise because of his sin; his soul had to remain with those of unbaptized children. The status of the pious sinner was not considered provisional, and

Kaioumos did not introduce the idea of PURGATORY. Kyrris connects Kaioumos's explanation with some passages in the Qur'ān.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vision de Kaioumos et le sort éternel de Philentolos Olympiou," *AB* 63 (1945) 62–64.

LIT. C.P. Kyrris, "The Admission of the Souls of Immoral But Humane People into the 'Limbus Puerorum,' According to the Cypriot Abbot Kaioumos," *RESEE* 9 (1971) 461–77. –A.K.

KAISARIANE (Καισαριανή), monastery on Mt. Hymettos near ATHENS. In antiquity probably a sanctuary of Aphrodite, the site was converted to Christian use in the 5th or 6th C. The monastery must date to ca.1100, when the surviving church was built; it is mentioned in the correspondence of Pope Innocent III (T. Neroutsos, *DIEE* 3 [1889] 103–05) but apparently remained in Greek hands after the Fourth Crusade since in 1210 Michael Choniates addressed a letter to its Orthodox *hegoumenos* (Mich.Akom. 2:311). The *katholikon* is a cross-in-square with half-hexagonal apses; south of the church is a bath, apparently contemporary with the *katholikon* but later turned into an oil press. The narthex and frescoes in the *katholikon*, along with the other buildings of the monastery, are post-Byz. To the west are the remains of a large early Christian basilica with semicircular apses, over which a smaller domed church was built, apparently in the 10th–11th C. To the south of this are the ruins of a single-aisled church, probably built during the Frankish period.

LIT. Th. Chatzidakis, *The Monastery of Kaisariani* (Athens 1977). A.K. Orlandos, "Mesaionika mnemeia tes pediados ton Athenon," in *Eureterion ton mesaionikon mnemeion tes Hellados* 1.3 (Athens 1933) 158–64. L. Forrest, "The Monastery of Kaisariani: History and Architecture" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana Univ., 1990). Janin, *Églises centres* 313. –T.E.G.

KAISARIOS, PSEUDO-, name given to the author of four dialogues (*Erotapokriseis*) masquerading as the work of Kaisarios (died 369), who was the younger brother of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, holder of various official positions and a court doctor. They are dated by both Dujčev and Duprey (*infra*) to the first half of the 6th C. Many of the questions are of a religious nature, seeking greater understanding of the Holy Trinity and Scriptures in order to combat heresy. Pseudo-Kaisarios, a Monophysite, polemicizes against Jews, Arians, and Origenists and may be connected with SEVEROS of Antioch. Perhaps a quarter of the questions are on scientific matters, such as queries about thunder and lightning, rainbows, the nature of fire, and the changing length of days and nights. Several passages on the Slavs and other inhabitants of the Danube region are of particular interest, as perhaps the earliest written testimony about the Slavs (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:23–43).

The dialogues owe palpable debts to such authors as Epiphanios of Salamis, Cyril of Alexandria, Basil the Great, and Gregory of Nyssa. They also exist in a 10th-C. Slavonic translation, which contains more questions than the extant Greek text but also lacks some passages that survive in Greek.

ED. PG 38:851–1190.

LIT. R. Riedinger, *Pseudo-Kaisarios: Überlieferungsgeschichte und Verfasserfrage* (Munich 1969). P. Duprey, "Quand furent composés les 'Dialogues' attribués à Césaire de Nazianze?," *PrOC* 5 (1955) 14–30, 297–315. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:195–205, 604f. –B.B., A.M.T.

KAISERAUGST TREASURE, a group of silver objects and coins of the first half of the 4th C., unearthed in 1961–62 inside the fort of Castrum Rauracense at Augst (Augusta Rauricorum) near Basel. Now in the Römermuseum, Augst, it contains 64 domestic objects, one fragment (*Hacksilber*), three INGOTS with stamps of the usurper MAGNENTIUS applied at Trier after Jan. 350, and 186 coins and medallions dating between 294 and 350. Among the objects are 14 serving plates and bowls, four goblets, and 41 spoons and small implements (one with a Christogram). Other items include a gilt- and niello-inlaid extending lampstand, a statuette of Aphrodite, two plates with elaborately decorated central medallions and rims—one with an Achilles cycle in relief and the other with seaside and hunting scenes in gilt and niello inlay; a rectangular plate with inlaid panels depicting Ariadne, Bacchus, and Erotes. According to inscriptions on their bases, the Achilles plate was made in Thessalonike and a fluted plate in Naissos. An association of this opulent and pagan imagery with the emperor Julian was once supposed. Yet, some objects bear graffiti mentioning a P. Romulus and a Marcellianus, both identified as officers serving Magnentius, who perished at the battle of Mursa on 28 Sept. 351; the treasure is therefore thought to have been buried between Jan. 350 and Sept. 351.

LIT. *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst*, ed. H.A. Cahn, A. Kaufmann-Heinimann, 2 vols. (Augst 1984).
–M.M.M.

KALAMANOS (Καλαμάνος, Καλαμᾶνος), a noble family of Russo-Hungarian origin. The founder, Boris, was a son of the Hungarian king Coloman or Kálmán (1095–1116) of the house of ARPAD and Evfimija, the daughter of VLADIMIR MONOMACH. He arrived in Byz. from Rus' during the reign of John II and married a relative of the emperor (Arete Doukaina, according to V. Laurent). He died in battle in 1155. The *sebastos* Constantine Kalamanos, governor of Cilicia, was defeated and captured in 1164 by NUR AL-DĪN. Laurent (*Bulles métr.*, no.439) dated a seal of a Kalamanos, *sebastos* and *doux*, to the end of the 12th C. The family possessed a mansion in Constantinople, and ca.1200 one of them was a lord of the Sampson district. Thereafter no Kalamanos occupied any prominent position.

LIT. S.P. Rozanov, "Evfimija Vladimirovna i Boris Kolomanovič," *IzvAN SSSR, Otdelenie gumanitarnych nauk* (1930), no.8, 585–99; no.9, 649–71. V. Laurent, "Arétè Doukaina, la kralaina," *BZ* 65 (1972) 35–39. *PLP*, nos. 10221–23.
–A.K.

KALAMATA (Καλαμάτα, name derived from ancient Kalamai), city in Messenia with a fertile hinterland, near the Gulf of Messenia. It was located a little to the north of Kalamai and was built on the site of ancient Pharai. Unimportant in antiquity, Kalamata is generally ignored by the Byz. sources: only the vita of St. NIKON HO "METANOEITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch.31.7) mentions it. The 12th-C. geographer al-IDRĪSĪ describes it as a large and populous city. At least five surviving churches dating to the 11th–12th C. suggest considerable activity in this period: among these the Church of the Holy Apostles and another known under the name of St. Charalambos have a cross-in-square plan. Kalamata was conquered by William I of Champlitte in 1205 and given to Geoffrey I Villehardouin; William II Villehardouin was born and died there. The city was taken by the neighboring Slavs in 1293 or 1295; in the 14th C. its territory included the castles of Nesi and Maina. It remained a possession of the principality of ACHAIA until the end of the principality in 1428, when it came briefly under Byz. control. In the second half of the 15th C. and later it was contested between the Ottomans and Venetians. Kalamata is mentioned as a bishopric only in post-Byz. times.

The castle of Kalamata was the acropolis of ancient Pharai and was refortified sometime during the Byz. era; according to the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA (Greek version, ed. Schmitt, p.116.1711–14), it was not in a condition to withstand a siege in 1205. The Latins rebuilt the castle substantially, giving it a double circuit of walls.

LIT. A. Bon, "Églises byzantines de Kalamata," 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Paris 1950) 35–50. Idem, *Morée franque* 408–10, 666–68. Andrews, *Castles* 28–35.
–T.E.G.

KALAMBAKA. See STAGOI.

KALAMOS (κάλαμος, "reed"), a measure of length equal to the late Roman *akaina* (ἄκαινα) of 10 *podes* (see POUS). Later, the *kalamos* was used for measuring vineyards; originally one *kalamos* meant the simple distance between two vines, subsequently also the double or triple distance. According to the metrological treatises, vineyards were evaluated in two or three categories of quality: the worse the quality the greater the distances between two vines. From the time of Michael IV, 1/4 *basilike* SPITHAME was added to the *kalamos* used in measuring vineyards of the best quality.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 37–41, 81–91. –E. Sch.

KALAPHATES (καλαφάτης), caulker, a craftsman who made ships watertight by filling in their joints and seams with pitch. The term is unknown in classical antiquity but appears in papyri of the 6th–8th C. (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 1:727). Liutprand of Cremona uses this Greek word and defines it as a *navium compositor* (lit. "arranger" of ships—Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 44). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 675.4–6) distinguishes *naupegesis*, shipbuilding proper, from *kalaphatesis* of the same boats. Emp. Michael V, surnamed Kalaphates, was the son of a caulker, according to Psellos, who provides a precise description of this craftsman's work (*Chron.* bk.4, ch.26.12–15, vol. 1:69).

LIT. H. & R. Kahane, *RB* 1.4:410f. –A.K.

KALAVRYTA (Καλάβρυτα, "beautiful spring"; Colovrate, etc., in Western texts), city in the borderland between Achaia and Arkadia, located in a high and nearly inaccessible plain near ancient Kynaitha, unknown after the 3rd C. (E. Pieske, *RE* 11 [1922] 2479–82). The name *Kalobrita* appears first in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 219.47). In the mid-13th C. it formed a barony consisting of 12 fiefs; the baron of Kalavryta was in the list of 12 peers of the seigneur of Morea (Jacoby, *Féodalité* 24f); the barony of Kalavryta was in the hands of the family of Durnay. In 1270–74 Greeks again held Kalavryta, and by the end of the 13th C. the Greek nobles Jacob Zassy (Tzausios?) and his cousin Photios dominated the city. Around 1400 the HOSPITALLERS attempted to seize Corinth, Kalavryta, and Mistra, but the expedition failed because of the resistance of the local population. In the 15th C. Kalavryta served as one of the residences of the *despotai* of the Morea, and in 1429 the marriage between Thomas Palaiologos and Caterina, daughter of Centurione Zaccaria, took place at the village of Krastikoi near Kalavryta.

The Frankish castle of Tremola, mentioned by numerous sources, stands in a ruinous condition above the modern town; there is a single gate, no trace of flanking towers, a keep, and a subterranean chapel of St. John. A false tradition attributes foundation of the monastery of Hagia Lavra at Kalavryta to the 10th C., but it is probably post-Byz.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 466–70, 633f. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:158f; 2:91, 216. –T.E.G.

KALE (Καλή), feminine personal name (etym. probably "good"). The name is extremely rarely attested in early texts. A judicial decision of 952 mentions a woman "called Kale" (*Lavra* 1, no.4.11). A noble lady Kale, who as a nun took the name Maria, issued a will at the end of the 11th C. (*FGHBulg* 7 [1967] 70–78). In later centuries the name became very popular, esp. in the peasant milieu: vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* list 57 Kales, second only to Maria (69); the acts of Xeropotamou mention 75 Kales (compared with 95 Marias); in the acts of Esphigmenou there are 50 Kales, compared with 66 Marias. Noblewomen with this name are also known (e.g., *PLP*, nos. 10311–12). –A.K.

KALEKAS (Καλέκας), a family that in the 14th C. produced several intellectuals, such as JOHN XIV KALEKAS, patriarch of Constantinople, and the writer Manuel Kalekas (see KALEKAS, MANUEL). The dates of the ecclesiastical rhetorician Theophilos Kalekas have not been ascertained; his homilies are preserved in a 16th-C. MS. *Protopapas* of Kerkyra from 12 Aug. 1431, Michael Kalekas (died 1441) tried to secure the protection of the Venetian doge Francesco Foscari for the Orthodox church of Kerkyra (L. Zoes, *EEBS* 13 [1937] 180). The relationship of these intellectuals to the peasant families of Kalekas in the 14th and 15th C. is unclear.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 10286–90. –A.K.

KALEKAS, MANUEL, grammarian, rhetor, and theologian; born Constantinople, died Lesbos 1410. Born into an Orthodox family, Kalekas had an unsuccessful career as teacher in Constantinople, partly because of his opposition to PALAMISM. From 1391 to 1396 he was a disciple of Demetrios KYDONES and was introduced to the works of Thomas AQUINAS. In 1396 religious persecution forced Kalekas into voluntary exile in Pera; shortly thereafter he converted to Catholicism. After his sojourn in Pera (1396–99), he moved on to Crete (1400), Italy (1401–03?), and finally settled in Lesbos (1404–10), where he became a Dominican monk.

Kalekas was an active scholar and writer. In addition to his correspondence, addressed primarily to Latinophile friends such as Kydones, Maximos CHRYSOBERGES, and Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, he copied MSS; made Greek translations of Latin liturgical texts, Anselm of Canterbury, and BOETHIUS; and wrote treatises on theology. His earlier works were primarily anti-Palamite; his interests later shifted to Trinitarian theology and the Procession of the Holy Spirit. In his *Apologies* he defended his rupture with the Orthodox church and argued that the Turkish advance was caused by divine wrath at the deviation of the Greeks from the true faith.

ED. *Correspondance de Manuel Calécas*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz (Vatican 1950). PG 152:11–661; 154:864–958. For complete list, see Beck, *Kirche* 741.

LIT. Mercati, *Notizie* 62–117, 450–73. *PLP*, no.10289. –A.M.T.

KALENDERHANE CAMII, large church in Constantinople, situated near the east end of the so-called aqueduct of Valens. Built in part over a bath of the 4th/5th C., as revealed by archaeological investigation, it exhibits a complex structural history. Most of the standing structure (a cross-in-square covered by a dome) is of the late 12th C., but the east end is partly of the 6th and has yielded a wall mosaic of the Presentation of Christ in the Temple (6th/7th C.). An added chapel at the southeast corner is decorated in fresco and includes a fragmentary cycle of the life of St. Francis painted during the Latin Empire. Previous attempts to identify Kalenderhane with the Church of St. Mary Diakonissa or that of Christ Akataleptos have been abandoned. A fresco of the Virgin Kyriotissa over the central door between the two narthexes suggests a dedication to her.

LIT. C.L. Striker, Y.D. Kuban, "Work at Kalenderhane Camii in Istanbul," *DOP* 21 (1967) 267–71; 22 (1968) 185–93; 25 (1971) 251–58; 29 (1975) 306–18. –C.M.

KALLATIS (Καλλάτις), also Callatis, Greek city on the Black Sea, south of Tomis; mod. Mangalia, in the Rumanian district of Constanţa. Excavations have revealed the city wall of the late 3rd C. that served probably to the early 7th C. (F. Preda, *Universitatea Bucureşti, Analele, seria Istorie* 17 [1968] 27–36). The city seems to have flourished in the 4th–5th C. Near Kallatis, a necropolis was investigated: most of the tombs were of the 4th C. and more than 60 coins from the period of Constantine I through Theodosios I were found, whereas later finds were rare (one coin of Theodosios II and one of Justinian I). Ceramics, glass, belt buckles, and other objects were also primarily of the 4th C. There is no reason to date those burials without objects exclusively to the 6th C., as did C. Preda (A. Dierkens, *Latomus* 40 [1981] 466).

LIT. C. Scorpan, "Note sur les fouilles de sauvegarde de Callatis," *Pontica* 7 (1974) 191–97. C. Preda, *Callatis: necropola romano-bizantină* (Bucharest 1980). –A.K.

KALLIERGES, GEORGE, artist, called "the best painter in all Thessaly" in the dedicatory inscription (1315) of the Church of the Anastasis at Berroia in Macedonia. These frescoes suggest that Kallierges (Καλλιέργης) was familiar with the mosaics of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Thessalonike, where his presence is attested by a bill of sale (*Chil.*, no.84.63) dated 9 Oct. 1322. The attribution to Kallierges of frescoes at St. Nicholas Orphanos in Thessalonike, and of others on Mt. Athos, is less secure. Kallierges' name also occurs in the title of an epigram by Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 2:25, epigram 11).

LIT. S. Pelekanides, *Kallierges, holes Thettalias aristos zographos* (Athens 1973). *PLP*, no.10367. –A.C.

KALLIKANTZAROI. See Calends.

KALLIKLES, NICHOLAS, physician and poet; first half of the 12th C. Although Kallikles (Καλλικλῆς) is mentioned by several of his contemporaries (Theophylaktos of Ohrid, Prodromos, Gregory Pardos), all we know of his biography is the report of Anna Komnene that Kallikles attended Alexios I's deathbed in 1118. Kallikles' epitaph of John II was reportedly written before the emperor's demise, but probably close to 1142. Besides panegyrics of rulers (Alexios I, his wife Irene, John II), Kallikles produced epigrams praising various aristocrats: he stressed their wealth and noble origin, but eulogized martial prowess only in the epitaph of the *sebastos* Rogerios (no.19), who is explicitly said to have come "from the land of the Franks," i.e., Normans (M. Mathieu, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 137–40). Kallikles' contemporary Prodromos fully developed the genre of aristocratic poetic eulogy. Some of Kallikles' epigrams are dedicated to various artifacts, such as no.2 on an icon of Christ deposited in the Pantokrator monastery; accordingly some inscriptions preserved on reliquaries have been ascribed to Kallikles (E. Voordeckers, L. Milis, *Byzantion* 39 [1969] 456–88). E. Lipšic and R. Romano consider Kallikles as the probable author of the Timarion.

ED. *Carmi*, ed. R. Romano (Naples 1980).
LIT. R. Romano, "Sulla poesia di Nicola Callicle," *Annali di Facoltà di lettere e filosofia. Università di Napoli* 22 (1979–80) 61–75. A. Garzya, "Varia philologa XIII," in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 117–22. –A.K.

KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE (Καλλίμαχος καὶ Χρυσορρόη), romance in 2,807 unrhymed political verses, written possibly in the early 14th C. by a nephew of Michael VIII,

Andronikos Palaiologos, who also wrote a *Dialogue against the Jews* (an epigram of Manuel PHILES ascribes to Andronikos a romance very similar to *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe*). Though his language admits a number of loan words and VERNACULAR features, the author is well grounded in learned rhetorical practice (e.g., the use of anaphora). Describing the tribulations besetting a pair of lovers, *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* combines features from the romances of antiquity (particularly from the *Aithiopika* of HELIODOROS) and those of the 12th-C. revival (elaborate EKPHRASEIS of buildings and gardens) with elements of folk-tale: testing of three brothers, a *drakon* ("ogre"), a witch with a magic apple, etc. The author of *Kallimachos and Chrysorrhoe* has grafted a world of Byz. court ceremonial (PROSKYNESIS, court attendants, etc.) and official procedures onto a traditional fairy tale.

ED. *Le Roman de Callimaque et de Chrysorrhoé,* ed. M. Pichard (Paris 1956), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 117–20. H. Hunger, "Un roman byzantin et son atmosphère: Callimaque et Chrysorrhoè," *TM* 3 (1968) 405–22. P. Apostolopoulos, *La langue du roman byzantin "Callimaque et Chrysorrhoé"* (Athens 1984). A. Aleksidze, "Kallimach i Chrisorroja: problema žanra," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 93–99. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

KALLINIKOS (Καλλίνικος, also Leontopolis, Ar. al-Raqqah in modern Syria), Byz. city in OSRHOENE on the left bank of the Euphrates near the more ancient foundation of Nikephorion, which had declined by the 4th C. (Jones, *Cities* 221f). A well-fortified commercial city (Amm. Marc. 23.3.7), Kallinikos, together with NISIBIS and Artaxata, became a legally designated trading post with the Persians (*Cod.Just.* IV 63.4). Kallinikos was rebuilt by Leo I and received his name in 466. The city played an important part in the Persian wars. In 542 Chosroes I took Kallinikos and led its citizens to Persia, having razed the city walls (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.21.30–33), which Justinian I later rebuilt (idem, *Buildings* 2.7.17). A local tradition maintains that Empress Theodora erected a monumental column there and rebuilt a Monophysite monastery (MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, *Chronicle* 2:419–20). On retreat from their march to Ctesiphon in 580, Maurice and his army checked a Persian attack at Kallinikos (Theoph.Simok. 3.17.8–11). The Arabs took Kallinikos in 636–37 (Donner, *Conquests* 150f); in 772 the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Manṣūr built nearby the new city of al-Rāfiqah, on a horseshoe-shaped plan; remains of its walls still stand.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI*[2] 3:1108–10. F. Sarre, E. Herzfeld, *Archäologische Reise in Euphrat-und-Tigris Gebiet,* vol. 2 (Berlin 1920) 349–64; vol. 3 (Berlin 1911) pls. LXIII–LXX. M. al-Khalaph, K. Kohlmayer, "Untersuchungen zu ar-Raqqa-Nikephorion-Callinicum," *Damascenische Mitteilungen* 2 (1985) 133–62. –M.M.M.

KALLINIKOS (Καλλίνικος), traditionally but probably wrongly (H. Wada, *Orient* 11 [1975] 25–34) considered the inventor of GREEK FIRE. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 354.13–17), Kallinikos fled in 673/4 from Heliopolis in Syria (or perhaps Egypt) to Constantinople, where his use of "sea fire" was crucial in defending the city against the Arab siege of 674–78.

LIT. J.R. Partington, *A History of Greek Fire and Gunpowder* (Cambridge 1960) 12–14. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:34–36. –P.A.H.

KALLIPOLIS (Καλλίπολις, mod. Gelibolu, Gallipoli), city on the European shore of the Sea of Marmara at the north end of the HELLESPONT. In late antiquity it was a suffragan bishopric of Thracian Herakleia. In 324 the caesar CRISPUS defeated the fleet of Licinius off Kallipolis. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 102.24–26) relates that in the 5th C. ATTILA reached Kallipolis and Sestos and conquered all of the cities and fortresses in the area.

Justinian I restored the walls of Kallipolis, but little is known about the city thereafter until the Crusaders began to use it as the starting point for their expeditions to the East (An.Komn. 3:159.12–16). The town was not large—a 12th-C. historian (Kinn. 201.21) describes it as a coastal *polisma.* From the 13th C. onward, the crossing from Kallipolis to LAMPSAKOS became more common, replacing that of Abydos-Sestos. In 1205 the Venetians occupied Kallipolis, but in 1234/5 John III Vatatzes reconquered the Thracian coast.

In 1304 Kallipolis served as the headquarters of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; later Kantakouzenos found the town a convenient base from which to repel "barbaric" invasions. In 1331/2 UMUR BEG led an unsuccessful attack on Kallipolis. In 1352 the Ottomans took the fortress of Tzimpe, north of Kallipolis, and, after a violent earthquake on 2 March 1354, captured the city.

It was recovered in 1366 by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY who restored it to the Byz. on 17 June 1367; Andronikos IV returned it to the sultan, however, on 3 Sept. 1376. Kallipolis was the major Ottoman naval base crucial for their European operations; Venice endeavored on several occasions to capture it or to obtain free passage through the strait, but in vain.

LIT. Lemerle, *Aydin* 68–74. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 318–25. H. Inalcik, *EI*[2] 2:983–87. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 10 (1919) 1659f. –A.K.

KALLISTHENES, PSEUDO-. See ALEXANDER ROMANCE.

KALLISTOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (June 1350–14 Aug. 1353; 1355–63); died Serres Aug. 1363. Kallistos spent his early career as a monk on Athos; he was a disciple of GREGORY SINAITES and accompanied him on journeys to Constantinople and PARORIA. In the 1330s he was a hieromonk at the Athonite skete of Magoula; in the 1340s he moved to Iveron, where he eventually became *hegoumenos*. Elected patriarch in 1350 under John VI Kantakouzenos, he presided over the local council of Constantinople of 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which reaffirmed Palamite doctrine. In this capacity his portrait has been recognized in two MSS (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 90, 92). He remained loyal to John V Palaiologos; in spring 1353 he refused to perform the coronation of MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS and withdrew from the patriarchate. After his replacement by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, he joined John V on Tenedos. When John V regained the throne, Kallistos also resumed his patriarchate. He died during a mission to the Serbs to seek military assistance against the Turks.

Kallistos was a staunch defender of the privileges of the patriarchate of Constantinople; he excommunicated the Serbian patriarch ca.1352/3 for being too independent (V. Mošin, *Glasnik Srpske Pravoslavne Crkve* 9 [27] [1946] 192–206) and also forced the Bulgarian patriarch to recognize the supremacy of Constantinople in 1361/2 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2442). He wrote a number of works, including Lives of Gregory Sinaites and St. THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO; the latter survives only in a Bulgarian translation. He was also the author of homilies (64 according to Gones), among which is an *enkomion* for Patr. John IV Nesteutes. The homiliary attributed to Kallistos in Slavic translation is the work of Patr. John IX Agapetos (1111–34; D. Gones, *Palaeobulgarica* 6 [1982] no.2, 41–55; Č. Milovanović, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 149–63).

ED. MM 1:295–448. For list of other works, see Gones, *infra*.

SOURCE. A. Failler, "La déposition du patriarche Calliste I[er]," *REB* 31 (1973) 5–163, with Fr. tr.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2311–46, 2373–2460. *PLP*, no.10478. D.B. Gones, *To syngraphikon ergon tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Kallistou A'* (Athens 1980). –A.M.T., A.C.

KALOJAN (Lat. Calojoannes) or Ioannitza, younger brother of ASEN I and PETER; ruler of Bulgaria (1197–1207); died near Thessalonike Oct. 1207. In 1188 Kalojan was sent as a hostage to Constantinople but escaped to Tŭrnovo ca.1190; after Peter's assassination he inherited power. Beginning in 1199, he launched attacks against Byz.; he found support among independent "princes" such as IVANKO and DOBROMIR CHRYSOS as well as some rebellious Byz. magnates. Kalojan conquered Konstantia, Varna, and a major part of Macedonia. The treaty of 1202 with ALEXIOS III confirmed his acquisitions. For support against Byz., Kalojan turned to INNOCENT III and, in 1204, the pope's envoy Leo crowned Kalojan as king; Kalojan, however, assumed the title of emperor of Bulgaria and Vlachia. The Bulgarian church accepted Rome's jurisdiction and the archbishop obtained the title of primate. The Fourth Crusade changed the balance of power in the Balkans and compelled Kalojan to seek an alliance with the Greek aristocracy against the Crusaders. On 14 Apr. 1205 the allies, with Cuman help, destroyed the Latin army and captured Emp. BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. To exploit his success, Kalojan invaded Thrace; after the death of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, he besieged Thessalonike. The Cuman chieftain Manastras murdered Kalojan outside the city. The Byz. hated Kalojan, who called himself *Rhomaioktonos* or "killer of the Rhomaioi," for his cruelty in imperial territory (Akrop. 1:23.18–19). They gave him the name of *Skyloioannes* (John the dog) and claimed that Kalojan was slain by St. Demetrios himself. I. Dujčev (*infra* 180f), however, hypothesizes that Kalojan died of disease (pleurisy). His skeleton may be the one found in the Church of the Forty Martyrs, Tŭrnovo, with a signet ring inscribed in Cyrillic

"Kalojan's ring." There is also a seal of "Kaloen" the tsar of the Bulgarians (N. Mušmov, *BS* 4 [1932] 135–38).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:108–269. I. Dujčev, "La bague-sceau du roi bulgare Kalojan," *BS* 36 (1975) 173–83. Wolff, *Latin Empire*, pt.III (1949), 188–203. –A.K., C.M.B.

KALOMODIOS (Καλομόδιος), a money-changer or banker of Constantinople, also engaged in long-distance trade (Nik.Chon. 523f); fl. ca.1200. Officials of ALEXIOS III arrested Kalomodios to strip him of his wealth. Next morning a riotous crowd, presumably organized by his fellow bankers, forced Patr. JOHN X KAMATEROS to intercede for Kalomodios; he was released unharmed. –C.M.B.

KALOPHEROS, JOHN LASKARIS, rich merchant, landowner, and diplomat; a friend of Demetrios KYDONES; born between 1325 and 1330, died in Cyprus 1392. The connection of Kalopheros (Καλόφερος) with the house of LASKARIS is unclear. In contrast to Kydones, he sided with John V Palaiologos during the Civil War of 1341–47, but he later came into contact with the Kantakouzenos family and married Maria, daughter of Matthew I. The marriage so angered John V that Kalopheros was forced to flee from Constantinople in 1362/3. He had well-established links with Western courts and converted to Catholicism; his second marriage (1367?) to Maria de Mimars (died 1369/70), the widow of a noble Cypriot, John de Soissons, confirmed these ties. In concluding the nuptial agreement Kalopheros handed over to his wife the colossal sum of 243,567 besants of Cyprus (Jacoby, *infra* 191) and received in exchange the usufruct of her estates. Kalopheros served as political adviser and envoy in Rome and Venice and participated in military expeditions launched by the Cypriot king Peter I Lusignan, but he was arrested in Cyprus ca.1370 after Peter's death. In 1371 Kalopheros left Cyprus and settled down in Avignon to serve the pope. Nevertheless he retained connections with Greece, having married in 1372/3 Lucie le Maure, daughter of Erard, seigneur of Arkadia; he traveled several times to Rhodes, Cyprus, and Peloponnesos and continued his correspondence with Kydones. He acquired first Genoese and later (in 1388) Venetian citizenship; soon thereafter he left Venice for Cyprus, where he died. His brother Maximos was *protosynkellos* in Constantinople in 1365 and *hegoumenos* of the Diomedes monastery in 1374.

LIT. A. Eszer, *Das abenteuerliche Leben des Johannes Laskaris Kalopheros* (Wiesbaden 1969), with add. and corr. by R. Loenertz, *REB* 28 (1970) 129–39 and B. Krekić, *ZbFilozFak* (Belgrade 1974) 405–14. Jacoby, *Société*, pt.IX (1968), 189–228. *PLP*, nos. 10732–33. –A.K.

KALOPHONIC CHANT. See TERETISMATA.

KALOPODIOS (Καλοπόδιος, lit. "beautiful foot" [Irmscher, *infra*] or "boot-tree" [Aerts, *infra*]), an enigmatic functionary in the reign of Justinian I. Theophanes the Confessor and the *Chronicon Paschale* relate the so-called *Acta of Kalopodios* ("Acclamations against Kalopodios")—a dialogue in the Hippodrome between the imperial *mandator* and the Greens; the latter describe as their oppressor the *koubikoularios* and *spatharios* Kalopodios "who is at the boot-maker's shop (*tzangareia*)." Both chroniclers consider this dialogue a prelude to the NIKA REVOLT. P. Maas (*BZ* 21 [1912] 28–51), followed by Baldwin (*infra*), hypothesized, however, that the passage appeared in the wrong context in a source common to both chronicles and should be related to a later episode; A. Čekalova (*ADSV* 10 [1973] 225–28) linked it with the Nika revolt. Even though the name of Kalopodios appears in some contemporary texts (e.g., *praipositos* Kalopodios in 558/9), the relationship of the Kalopodios of the *Acta* to his namesakes cannot be ascertained. Kalopodios could be a pseudonym concealing a better-known individual: Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 87f, 107) saw NARSES in Kalopodios, Aerts recognized JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, but neither hypothesis can be proved.

LIT. P. Karlin-Hayter, "La forme primitive des *Akta dia Kalopodion*," *Texte und Textkritik* (Berlin 1987) 287–94 [= *TU* 133]. W.J. Aerts, "Who Was Kalopodios?" *Scripta archaeologica Groningana* 6 (1976) 1–13. J. Irmscher, "Akta dia Kalopodion," in *Orbis Mediaevalis: Festgabe für A. Blaschka* (Weimar 1970) 78–88. B. Baldwin, "The Date of a Circus Dialogue," *REB* 39 (1981) 301–06. –W.E.K., A.K.

KALOTHETOS, JOSEPH, Palamite apologist and hagiographer; died after 1355/6. Sometime before 1336 Kalothetos (Καλόθετος) became a monk at the Athonite monastery of ESPHIGMENOU, where he met Gregory PALAMAS and came under the

influence of his teachings. He lived later in Thessalonike and Constantinople, and became superior of an unspecified monastery. An ardent supporter of Palamas, he participated in the local council of Constantinople of 1341 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) against BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and wrote numerous treatises defending Palamite doctrine. His nine *Antirrhetics* were directed against Gregory AKINDYNOS, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS, Nikephoros GREGORAS, and a member of the Gabras family. He also wrote vitae of Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople and Gregory of Nikomedeia as well as an *enkomion* of ANDREW OF CRETE. Kalothetos emphasized the love of *hesychia* in these saints and portrayed them as forerunners of Palamas and the hesychastic movement. His writings abound with classical allusions; he even gave to Barlaam and Akindynos the names of characters from Plato's *Republic*.

ED. *Ioseph Kalothetou Syngrammata*, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1980).
LIT. *PLP*, no.10615. –A.M.T.

KALYMMA (*κάλυμμα*, lit. "cover"), a small cloth used in the liturgy as a veil for covering the eucharistic elements: the *diskokalymma* covers the PATEN, the *poterokalymma*, the CHALICE; *kalymmata* are also known as little AERES. The liturgical function of the *kalymma* and its association in liturgical commentaries with the swaddling clothes and winding sheets of Christ determined its physical appearance. Extant Byz. *kalymmata*, all gold and silk EMBROIDERIES, depict the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) and related themes: the *diskokalymmata* in Halberstadt (of the *sebastos* Alexios Palaiologos, ca.1185–95[?]) and Castell' Arquato (early 14th C.) show Christ administering the bread, while their corresponding *poterokalymmata* show him administering the wine. The Divine Liturgy is shown on the *kalymma* in the Benaki Museum, Athens (14th C.), and the *Melismos* (see FRACTION) on the Hilandar *kalymma* (14th C.). *Kalymmata* are often recorded in wills (e.g., that of Eustathios BOILAS) and INVENTORIES (e.g., Patmos); gold-embroidered *kalymmata* (*kalymmata chrysokladarika*) are mentioned in the Acts of Lavra (*Lavra* 3, no.147.10).

LIT. Soteriou, "Leitourgika amphia" 609f, 612. Millet, *Broderies* 72–76, pls. 154–58. Johnstone, *Church Embroidery* 25, 114–17. –A.G.

KAMACHA (*Κάμαχα*, sometimes Kamachon or Kamachos, mod. Kemah), a fortress of the upper Euphrates about 40 km west of KELTZENE, was important during the border wars between Byz. and the Arabs. First taken by the Arabs in 679, it frequently changed hands until the mid-9th C., after which it remained Byz. until 1071. According to Constantine VII, Kamacha was a *tourma* of KOLONEIA that Leo VI united with Keltzene to create the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Although Kamacha thereafter disappears from secular texts, it remained metropolis of a diocese called Armenia until the 11th C. The site contains a sizable castle with walls of several undated periods.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 56f. N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara 1959) 212–15. –C.F.

KAMĀL AL-DĪN. See IBN AL-ʿADĪM.

KAMARIOTES, MATTHEW, writer, scribe, and teacher; born Thessalonike, died Constantinople 1490. Kamariotes (*Καμαριώτης*) came to Constantinople during the final years of the Palaiologan dynasty and studied with GENNADIOS (II) SCHOLARIOS, who dedicated to him a treatise on Aquinas. His father, who was a priest, and his brother were killed during the Turkish conquest of the capital. Kamariotes became *megas rhetor* at the patriarchal school, where he taught philosophy and rhetoric. He wrote a variety of works, including a monody on the fall of Constantinople and the death of his father. His interests included astronomy (treatise on a solar eclipse, a commentary on the treatise of GREGORAS on the astrolabe), hagiography (*enkomion* of Sts. Basil, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom), and rhetoric (a summary of the *Progymnasmata* of APHTHONIOS and summary of HERMOGENES). He also attacked PLETHON. The commentary of Kamariotes on the letters of SYNESIOS of Cyrene is unpublished. He copied MSS of Aristotle, Proklos, Hermes Trismegistos, and the *Batrachomyomachia* (C. Astruc, *Scriptorium* 10 [1956] 100–02 and H. Saffrey, *Scriptorium* 14 [1960] 340–44).

ED. Monody—PG 160:1060–69. *Enkomion*—ed. K.I. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 10 (1933) 57–71. Rhetorical works—*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:121–26; 6:601–44. *Matthaei Camariotae Orationes II in Plethonem*, ed. H.S. Reimarus (Leiden 1721), with add. by C. Astruc, *Scriptorium* 9 (1955) 246–62. K. Mamone, "Anekdotos logos Matthaiou Kamariotou peri Poimantikes," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985/6) 261–72.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:88; 2:249, n.31. Beck, *Kirche* 772f. *PLP*, no.10776. A. Biedl, "Matthaeus Camariotes," *BZ* 35 (1935) 337–39. –A.M.T.

KAMATEROS (Καματηρός, fem. Καματηρά; etym. "hard-working," perhaps "a laboring ox"), a family of Constantinopolitan functionaries known from the 9th C., when the *spatharokandidatos* Petronas Kamateros supervised construction of the stronghold of SARKEL (ca.833). His identification with PETRONAS, the empress Theodora's brother, cannot be assumed. The 10th- and 11th-C. Kamateroi were predominantly judges and fiscal officials. The rise of the Kamateroi begins with Gregory, who, according to Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 9.16–22), was not of a noble or rich family but accumulated his wealth as a provincial tax collector. In 1094 he served Alexios I Komnenos as secretary; later he was *logothetes ton sekreton*. He married Irene Doukaina, a relative of the KOMNENOI. The 12th-C. Kamateroi occupied topmost positions: John the *sebastos* and *logothetes tou dromou* was Manuel I's favorite ca.1158; Andronikos the *sebastos* was eparch and *droungarios tes viglas* at least until 1176; his son Basil—*logothetes tou dromou* during Isaac II's reign—was still influential at the court of Theodore I Laskaris; Basil's sister EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA married Alexios III. Some Kamateroi were high ecclesiastical officials: Basil, patriarch of Constantinople (1183–86); JOHN X KAMATEROS, patriarch of Constantinople (1198–1206); John, archbishop of Bulgaria after 1183. Several were literati: the above-mentioned *sebastos* Andronikos was a theologian who wrote *Hiera Hoplotheke* (Sacred Panoply), a refutation of heresies; John Kamateros (same as the patriarch of Bulgaria?) wrote astronomical treatises (see KAMATEROS, JOHN); another John was a rhetorician at Isaac II's court. Many Kamateroi were literary patrons. An inscription mentions a certain Nikos (12th C. or later) as the founder of the monastery Tao-Pentele near Athens. Although loyal to the Komnenian dynasty, the Kamateroi became staunch supporters of Andronikos I. From the 13th C. onward, the Kamateroi played no political role.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Un sceau inédit du protonotaire Basile Kamatéros," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 253–72. G. Stadtmüller, "Zur Geschichte der Familie Kamateros," *BZ* 34 (1934) 352–58. Polemis, *Doukai* 125–33. *PLP*, nos. 10787–99. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 187f. –A.K.

KAMATEROS, JOHN, mid-12th-C. author of two astrological works in verse, dedicated to MANUEL I: *On the Zodiac* and *Introduction to Astronomy*. Although using primarily ancient sources (HEPHAISTION, JOHN LYDOS, and others), Kamateros includes some contemporary allusions, such as "a child of Branas" (S.G. Mercati, *BZ* 26 [1926] 286f), the sultan, and Saracens. His predictions often refer to catastrophic events such as civil wars, enemy invasions, wine shortages, low water levels in rivers, the fall of the powerful, famine, locusts. When prophesying good fortune, he emphasizes grants of *ktemata* (possessions), and esp. the career of a foreigner (*ek tes apodemias*) who will become famous and rich, receive imperial donations, marry a well-to-do woman, and find hoards (Weigl, *infra* 32.941–45). Kamateros's first book was produced for a classically oriented audience, the second is written in POLITICAL VERSE and contains vernacular expressions.

Identifying Kamateros is difficult, since the name is quite common. Usually he is understood to be the *kanikleios* John Kamateros who became archbishop of Bulgaria ca.1183. V. Laurent (*Byzantion* 6 [1931] 266f) identified him also with the rhetorician John Kamateros who addressed an emperor in a speech, probably in 1186. The latter includes a very important description of imperial imagery and its ideological significance (Regel, *Fontes* 244.21–245.10).

ED. *Peri zodiakou kyklou*, ed. E. Miller, *Notices et extraits des MSS. de la Bibliothèque Nationale* 23.2 (1872) 40–112; corr. M. Šangin, *IzvAN SSSR*[6] (1927), no.5–6, 425–32. *Eisagoge astronomias*, ed. L. Weigl (Leipzig-Berlin 1908).

LIT. L. Weigl, *Studien zu dem unedierten astrologischen Lehrgedicht des Johannes Kamateros* (Würzburg 1902). Browning, "Patriarchal School" 197f. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 46f. –A.K.

KAMELAUKION. See CROWN.

KAMINIATES, JOHN, author of the *Capture of Thessalonike*, a description of the Arab siege of the city in 904. Kaminiates (Καμινιάτης) claims to have been a cleric and *kouboukleisios* in Thessalonike and an eyewitness of the Arab attack. The book, preserved only in late MSS (15th-16th C.), consists of two sections: one on the city and its trade (R. Nasledova, *VizVrem* 8 [1956] 61–84) as well as the Slavic tribes in its vicinity (R. Nasledova, *VizVrem* 11 [1956] 82–97) and one on the

Arab attack. Vivid details and ironic presentation of his own behavior make Kaminiates' work unique among the literary compositions of the 10th C. (V. Christides, *BZ* 74 [1981] 7–10). Moreover, various inconsistencies in realia and chronology make Kaminiates' authenticity suspect: perhaps the *Capture of Thessalonike* was composed in the 15th C., on the eve of the Turkish capture of the city, or immediately after the Turks sacked it in 1430 when interest in the events of 904 must have been revived.

ED. *De expugnatione Thessalonicae*, ed. G. Böhlig (Berlin 1973). Germ. tr. G. Böhlig, *Die Einnahme Thessalonikes durch die Araber im Jahre 904* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1975). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova and I. Felenkovskaja in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki X veka* (Moscow 1959) 159–210, with articles by R. Nasledova and S. Poljakova.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:357–59. A. Kazhdan, "Some Questions Addressed to the Scholars Who Believe in the Authenticity of Kaminiates' 'Capture of Thessalonica,' " *BZ* 71 (1978) 301–14. G. Tsaras, *Ioannou Kameniatou sten alose tes Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1987) 11–30. –A.K.

KAMISION. See TUNIC.

KAMOULIANAI (Καμουλιαναί), bishopric in Cappadocia (*Notitiae CP* 1.77); according to Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:685.2) a village in Cappadocia. A legend known from ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE and a sermon of pseudo-Gregory of Nyssa (probably ca.600–750) describes the appearance of an ACHEIROPOIETOS image of Christ in Kamoulianai. Zacharias says that it was found (at an unspecified date) floating in a fountain by a pagan woman named Hypatia; pseudo-Gregory reports that Christ himself, accompanied by all the heavenly powers, appeared to Bassa-Aquilina, wife of the *toparches* of Kamoulianai (in the reign of Diocletian), washed and dried his face, and disappeared, leaving behind his image on a towel. Zacharias refers to two *acheiropoietoi* copies of the image—one in Caesarea of Cappadocia, another in the village of Dioboulion, near Amaseia; in contrast, pseudo-Gregory relates that the image was transferred from Kamoulianai to Caesarea under Theodosios I.

Kedrenos states that in 574 the image was brought from Kamoulianai to Constantinople. Probably during the reign of Herakleios there appeared in Constantinople another *acheiropoietos* that had been brought from Melitene: according to a later legend, it was given to a widow, the *patrikia* Maria. One of these *acheiropoietoi* served as the imperial palladium and was carried into battle against the Persians by the generals Philippikos and Priskos.

SOURCE and LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 40–60, 123*–34*, 3**–28**. Belting, *Bild und Kult* 66–69. –A.K.

KAMPAGIA. See FOOTWEAR.

KAMYTZES (Καμύτζης), a family name of unclear etymology: N. Bees (*EkklPhar* 3 [1909] 234f) derived the name from Gr. *kammyo*, "close the eyes," but it could also be of Turkish origin. P. Gautier considered Kamyres, an envoy of the Seljuk sultan SULEYMAN to Alexios I in 1083, as a founder of the family (*REB* 27 [1969] 256, and with a slight change in his "Blachernes" 259). The first incontestable Kamytzes (according to Gautier, either Kamyres himself or his son or nephew) was Eustathios, *chartoularios* of the stables in 1094 and later *doux* of Nicaea. Theodore PRODROMOS dedicated an epitaph to Constantine Kamytzes, whose wife was Maria Komnene, daughter of Constantine Angelos and granddaughter of Alexios I. Manuel the *protostrator*, Maria's son, was a cousin of Isaac II and Alexios III; Andronikos I's general, Manuel eventually supported Isaac II with lavish donations and fought against Alexios BRANAS. In 1199 he was captured by IVANKO; rather than ransom Manuel, Alexios III used this opportunity to confiscate his wealth. Ransomed by DOBROMIR CHRYSOS, Manuel joined his revolt against the emperor. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE mentioned the estates of the Kamytzai, who were among the four greatest landowners. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:93.12) included the Kamytzai in his list of the noblest families of the 13th C., but no Kamytzes is known to have held a high post at this time except for George Kammytzoboukes, *doux* of the Thrakesian theme in 1241. A Hilandar inventory (A. Soloviev, *SemKond* 10 [1938] 32) mentions an enigmatic Kamytzes Komnenos (dates unknown).

The name was still in use in the 14th–15th C., but not in an aristocratic milieu: a certain Kammytzes illegally received a considerable sum of money after the death of a *megas oikonomos* of Docheiariou; supposedly he was a citizen of Thes-

salonike ca.1361 (*Docheiar.*, no.34). Manuel Kamytzes was a priest in 1394.

LIT. *PLP,* nos. 10817, 10846, 10849–51. A.G.C. Savvides, "To kinema tou Manouel Kam[m]ytze-Kamytse ste BD Makedonia kai ste Thessalia stis arches tou 130u ai.," *Thessaliko Hemerologio* 12 (Larissa 1987) 145–57. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 313f. –A.K.

KANABOUTZES, JOHN, 15th-C. writer. Kanaboutzes (Καναβούτζης) was a teacher and corresponded with John EUGENIKOS. In 1446 he guided CYRIACUS OF ANCONA around Palaia Phokaia. He is best known for a commentary on Dionysios of Halicarnassus dedicated to Palamede GATTILUSIO, lord of Ainos and Samothrace (1431–55), and his brother Dorino, lord of Mytilene. Kanaboutzes emphasized the role played by Samothrace in the foundation of ancient Rome. He also compiled a table of the length of days throughout the year, calculated for the latitude of Palaia Phokaia (A. Diller, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 257f).

ED. *Joannis Canabutzae magistri ad principem Aeni et Samothraces in Dionysium Halicarnasensem commentarius,* ed. M. Lehnerdt (Leipzig 1890).
LIT. A. Diller, "Joannes Canabutzes," *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 271–75. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:537. *PLP,* no.10871. –A.M.T.

KANANOS, JOHN, known only as the author of a vivid eyewitness account of the siege of Constantinople in 1422 by the sultan MURAD II. Kananos (Κανανός) begins with conventional apologies for his inadequate education and the deficiencies of his style; he notes that his narrative is not for scholars, but for ordinary people like himself. Indeed for the most part his account is couched in simple and colloquial language, including a number of Western military terms. Kananos provides a precise chronology of the assault as well as detailed descriptions of Ottoman techniques of siegecraft and Byz. methods of defense. He attributes to the intervention of the Virgin the failure of the major assault launched on 24 Aug., and claims that even the Turks saw her defending the ramparts.

ED. *Johannis Canani De Constantinopolis obsidione,* ed. E. Pinto (Naples 1968), with Ital. tr. (2nd ed. Messina 1977).
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:482–84. *PLP,* no.10891. –A.M.T.

KANANOS, LASKARIS, 15th-C. Byz. traveler who left a very brief vernacular account of his journey to northern Europe. The three pages preserved in a 16th-C. MS (Vienna, ÖNB, hist. gr. 113, fols. 174r-175r) may be a fragment of a larger work. Kananos's trip probably took place in 1438/9, and may have had some connection with the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. His particular interest in the silver coinage of Stockholm and the alleged barter economy of Bergen suggests that he may also have been a merchant.

Kananos traveled to major Baltic seaports, such as Danzig, Copenhagen, Stockholm, and Bergen, where he noted the continual daylight in summer. He also visited Livonia and Latvia. From England he sailed to Iceland, which he described as the "island of fish-eaters," and suggested that it should be identified with Ptolemy's land of Thule.

ED. *Smärre byzantiniska skrifter utgifna och kommenterade,* ed. V. Lundström, no.1 (Uppsala-Leipzig 1902) 14–17. Germ. tr. F. Grabler, *Europa in XV. Jahrhundert von Byzantinern gesehen* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1954) 101–05.
LIT. *PLP,* no.10892. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:519. –A.M.T.

KANDIDATOS (κανδιδᾶτος, from Lat. *candidus,* "white"), a DIGNITY. In the late Roman Empire the term denoted a member of a unit of imperial bodyguards who wore white uniforms—*candida turba,* a white band, as CORIPPUS describes it (*In Praise of Justin* 3.161). The CHRONICON PASCHALE attributes the origin of the term to Gordian III (238–44), but the first reliable mention comes from 350 (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 1468). Justinian I began his career as a *kandidatos.* Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 8.3) spoke of *kandidatos* as a dignity (*axia*), and in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *kandidatos* occupies the place below the STRATOR. On seals the title of *kandidatos* is usually connected with subaltern offices both in the army and in the civil service. The title disappeared, according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 298), after the mid-11th C.; the title SPATHAROKANDIDATOS continued in use up to the 12th C.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres,* pt.II (1966), 210–25. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 240–42. M. Whitby, "On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople," *Historia* 36 (1987) 463–68. –A.K.

KANDIDOS (Κάνδιδος), secretary (*hypographeus*) to some leading Isaurians, historian; born Isauria "Tracheia," fl. 5th–6th C. He composed a *History* in three books of the period 457–91, of which only a summary by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.79) is pre-

served. It stressed Eastern events but no doubt contained an account of the expedition of 468 against the Vandals mentioned by the SOUDA. As is to be expected, Kandidos provides useful information on the Isaurian emperor ZENO (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 8 [1893] 209–38). He emphasized intrigues and conspiracies at court. Some scholars assign to Kandidos a number of fragments in the *Souda* that are anonymous or credited to MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA. Photios lambasts Kandidos's style for its linguistic and syntactical innovations, its complex sentences, wild etymologies, and overall harshness and dissonance but approves of his orthodox defense of the Council of Chalcedon.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:71–74, 2:464–73, with Eng. tr. Dindorf, *HistGr* 1:441–45.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:285. B. Baldwin, "Malchus of Philadelphia," *DOP* 31 (1977) 89–107. –B.B.

KANIKLEIOS (κανίκλειος), also *epi tou kanikleiou* or *chartoularios tou kanikleiou,* one of the emperor's private secretaries; the post is known from the 9th C. onward. Anastasius Bibliothecarius (see Dölger, *infra* 50) defines *praepositus caniculi* as warden of the imperial inkstand with purple ink. This seemingly menial duty gave the *kanikleios* the opportunity to intervene in the formulation of imperial CHRYSOBULLS and in actual decisions. Therefore the position was often held by important officials. Under Michael III, THEOKTISTOS was *kanikleios* and *logothetes tou dromou;* Nikephoros OURANOS held the post of *kanikleios* in the 10th C., as did Theodore STYPPEIOTES under Manuel I; Styppeiotes was a very influential official (O. Kresten, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 49–103). The *kanikleios* Nikephoros CHOUMNOS was characterized by Gregoras (Greg. 1:241.1–5) as MESAZON. The last known *kanikleios* was Alexios Tzamplakon ca.1438. It is generally assumed (Bury, *Adm. System* 117) that the *kanikleios* had no staff; Kresten (69f), however, notes that in the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS served as *grammatikos* of the *kanikleios.*

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 50–65. M. Nystazopoulou, "Ho epi tou kanikleiou kai he ephoreia tes en Patmo mones," *Symmeikta* 1 (1966) 76–94. –A.K.

KANISKION (κανίσκιον, "small basket"), a "voluntary" donation by PAROIKOI to their lord, esp. to a monastic institution. Some 11th-C. documents identify a *kaniskion* as a round loaf of bread, a half-measure of wine, and a *modios* of barley (*Pantel.*, no.3.31, cf. *Esphig.*, no.5.32). By the late 13th C., Christmas, the day before Lent, and Easter were the recognized times of giving *kaniskia* (*Esphig.*, no.7.9). Ostrogorsky suggests that by this time *kaniskion* could be transformed into a payment in cash.

In ecclesiastical usage *kaniskia* were the various donations of money, grain, wax, and other items offered by the faithful on specific occasions such as requiems and festival days (Balsamon, PG 137:41C). These optional gifts had also become obligatory. The gift mentioned in a lost *typikon* of Constantine IX (*Reg* 1, no.923) should probably be identified with *kaniskion*: on the occasion of their wedding, the groom had to pay the bishop one nomisma, and the bride had to give 12 *pecheis* or cubits (see PECHYS) of cloth. *Kaniskion* differed markedly from the general binding tax known as KANONIKON.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 359–60. E. Herman, "Das bischöfliche Abgabenwesen im Patriarchat von Konstantinopel vom XI. bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *OrChrP* 5 (1939) 460–63. –A.P.

KANKELLARIOS (καγκελλάριος, from Lat. *cancellarius*), a late Roman official, the assistant of a PRAETORIAN PREFECT. In existence probably from ca.400 onward, by the 6th C. *kankellarioi* became the most influential officials in the prefect's bureau (O. Seeck, *RE* 3 [1899] 1456–59). In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *kankellarioi* as well as the *protokankellarioi* fulfill modest secretarial functions in various central departments—those of the eparch of the city and quaestor, in the *genikon* and *sakellion.* According to the *De ceremoniis, kankellarioi* used to recite Latin chants during the emperor's procession to Hagia Sophia; Bury (*Adm. System* 77) suggests that this was because of their familiarity with Latin. The seals of *kankellarioi* are dated to the 6th–8th C., while in the 9th–11th C. *protokankellarioi* and *basilikoi kankellarioi* are known. A 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 200.88–201.89) considered *kankellarios* a Western term and equated it with the Greek LOGOTHETES.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:648–51. –A.K.

KANNABOS, NICHOLAS, emperor for a few days in 1204. Chosen emperor by the populace

of Constantinople ca.27 Jan. 1204, while ALEXIOS IV ruled at Blachernai, Kannabos (Κανναβός)—an intelligent and warlike youth, says Niketas Choniates—held Hagia Sophia. After the fall of Alexios IV, popular favor swung to Alexios V. Around 2/3 Feb., the latter's troops seized and imprisoned Kannabos. –C.M.B.

KANON (κανών), a term with several meanings in Byz. Greek.

Hymnographic Term. The *kanon* was a set of verse paraphrases that during the 8th C. gradually replaced the nine biblical canticles previously chanted during the ORTHROS; at the same time the *kanon* ousted the KONTAKION from its dominant position in that service. A *kanon* is theoretically made up of nine odes (or more usually eight, since the second ode is used only during Lent), each providing a poetic variation and meditation on the theme of the equivalent canticle (e.g., ode 1 reflects on Moses' song of thanksgiving, Ex 15:1–19; ode 9, the THEOTOKION, reflects on the Theotokos's hymn of praise [the Magnificat] in Lk 1:46–55, 68–79). Each ode is made up of an *heirmos* (see HEIRMOLOGION) and several additional stanzas (TROPARIA) that follow the melody and rhythmic pattern of the *heirmos*; a different *heirmos* is used for each ode. The odes are often linked together by an ACROSTIC relevant to the day on which the *kanon* was to be sung. The *kanon* was sung in three sections (odes 1–3, 4–6, 7–9) with additional hymns, including the abbreviated *kontakion*, between the sections. Why the *kanon* with its elaborate and varied musical settings should have replaced the more straightforward *kontakion* is still not clear. Although ANDREW OF CRETE (died 740) is often considered the originator of this form, several *kanones* can be attributed to Patr. GERMANOS I, an older contemporary. Other notable writers of *kanones* include JOHN OF DAMASCUS, author of the Easter Kanon; KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER; and JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER. *Kanones* continued to be written until the last years of Constantinople.

ED. W. Christ, M. Paranikas, *Anthologia Graeca Carminum Christianorum* (Leipzig 1871; rp. 1963). G. Schirò, *Analecta Hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris*, 13 vols. (Rome 1966–83).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 198–239. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 2:1–230. –E.M.J.

Fiscal Term. This type of *kanon* (δημόσιος κανών, δημόσιον) was the basic tax on land and on those who cultivated it (see DEMOSIOS). In order to calculate the *kanon*, officials first established the theoretical "value" of the land or person to be taxed and then determined the *kanon*, which was 1/24 (4.166 percent) of the value. Thus one gold nomisma was the *demosion* of 24 *modioi* of land of first quality, or of 48 of second quality, or of one farmer owning a pair of oxen, a ZEUGARATOS (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 59.22–60.7). To the *kanon* were added the appropriate PARAKOLOUTHEMATA and thus was calculated the final amount of the tax (*arithmion*) to be paid in CHARAGMA. One-twelfth of the normal tax (*libellikon demosion*) was claimed for lands that, having been abandoned for 30 years, had become the property of the state (KLASMA) and were sold for development. Exemption from this basic tax was granted very rarely and only through a special procedure (involving the inscription of a special entry in the fiscal records, sometimes done with the red ink reserved to the emperor). In the 14th C. the basic tax on land (TELOS) was calculated at a flat rate of 1 hyperpyron for 50 *modioi* of land (regardless of its quality, except for extreme cases) or for 6 *modioi* of vines (Lemnos, 15th C.). Between 1404 and 1415 the *telos* was replaced in Chalkidike by the burdensome *harac*, a tax that survived in the region from the earlier Ottoman occupation (Oikonomides, "Ottoman Influence" 1–24).

(For *kanon* as a type of law, see CANON LAW and CANONS.)

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 54–57. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–91. J. Lefort, "Fiscalité" 315–52. K. Chvostova, *Količestvennyj podchod v srednevekovoj social'noekonomičeskoj istorii* (Moscow 1980) 93–164. –N.O.

KANONIKON (κανονικόν), an ecclesiastical tax first mentioned in the 11th C., levied annually on all LAITY in the diocese for the bishop's maintenance. Under Alexios I the amount of produce and money due from each village was determined by the number of hearths in it (*Reg* 1, no.1127). Although the tax due was precisely defined by imperial legislation, it was not always possible to collect it, as Balsamon indicates (PG 138:1005D). Resistance to the tax (in addition to hard times or famine) may have been the reason; for until then such tributes from the faithful—essentially the

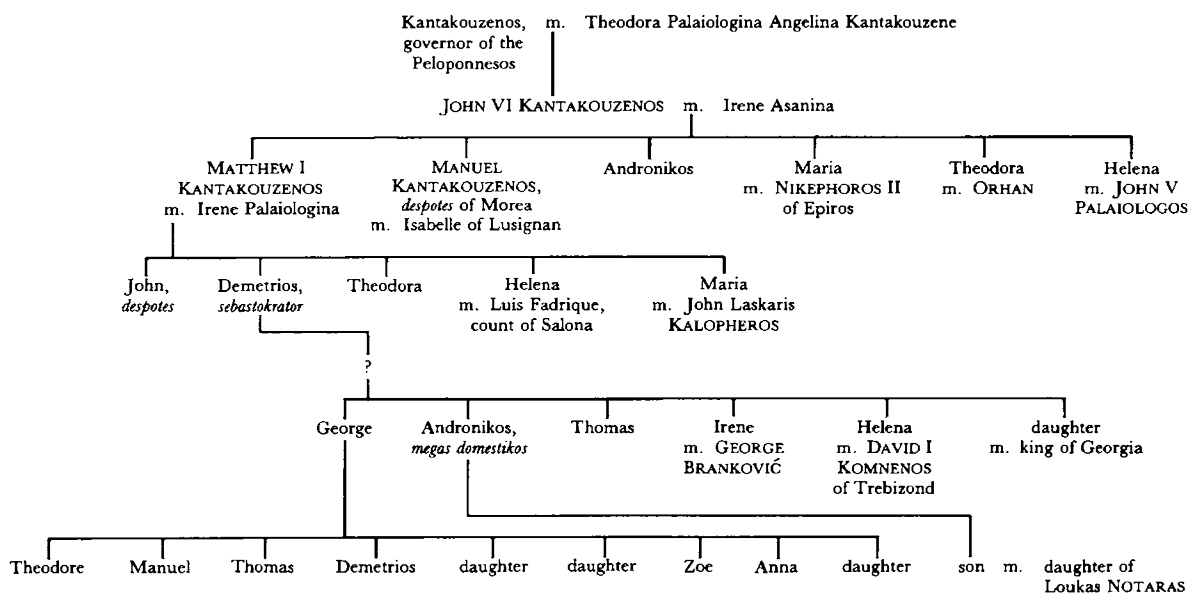
offering of the first fruits—were largely voluntary. Frevious imperial and canonical legislation had emphasized the spontaneous, noncompulsory nature of such contributions. The *kanonikon* was also imposed on priests (the levy was one NOMISMA annually) and eventually on all monasteries except stauropegiac foundations (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1179, 1180, 1185). A consecration tax was a further source of episcopal revenue; in the 11th C. a precise scale of tariffs for each ordination was established (*RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.851).

LIT. E. Herman, "Das bischöfliche Abgabenwesen im Patriarchat von Konstantinopel vom XI. bis zur Mitte des XIX. Jahrhunderts," *OrChrP* 5 (1939) 434–513. –A.P.

KANSTRESIOS. See KASTRESIOS.

KANTAKOUZENOS (Καντακουζηνός, fem. Καντακουζηνή), a noble lineage whose name derived from the toponym Kouzenas near Smyrna. The first known Kantakouzenos was Alexios I's general who campaigned against the Cumans in 1094. The 12th-C. Kantakouzenoi were predominantly military commanders endowed with high titles such as *sebastos* (John, killed at Myriokephalon, 1176; Andronikos, *doux* of Mylassa and Melanoudion ca.1175) and caesar (John, married to Isaac II's sister Irene). None is known as a civil servant or church official. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE names the Kantakouzenoi among the greatest landowners. They flourished again after 1250: Michael, *megas konostaulos* (died 1264), was Michael VIII's general; the *sebastokratorissa* Irene Kantakouzene married Constantine, the emperor Michael's younger brother; another Kantakouzenos served as governor of the Peloponnesos ca.1286–94. His son became Emp. JOHN VI. John's son MATTHEW (I) was also proclaimed emperor; MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, the second son, was granted the title of *despotes* and administered Constantinople in 1348–49 and the Peloponnesos from 1349 to 1380. Helena (1333–96), John VI's youngest(?) daughter, married John V Palaiologos and became empress. The *despotes* John and *sebastokrator* Demetrios, Matthew's sons, apparently succeeded Manuel as rulers of the Peloponnesos and disputed control over this region with the

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE KANTAKOUZENOS FAMILY
IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*.

Palaiologoi. John was childless, but the progeny of one of his brothers played an important role in the 15th C.: George (who also assumed the Turkish name Sachatai) served the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos (the future Constantine XI) but eventually settled in Serbia; George's brother Andronikos, the last *megas domestikos*, was killed soon after the capture of Constantinople in 1453; their sister Irene (died 1457) married George Branković, and the third brother, Thomas (died 1463), also served the ruler of Serbia; another sister, Helena (died 1463), was the second wife of David I Komnenos of Trebizond (1458–61); the third sister (name unknown) may have become queen of Georgia.

The Kantakouzenoi were related to many aristocratic families such as Palaiologos, Asan, Philanthropenos, Raoul, Tarchaneiotes, and Phakrases. In the 14th–15th C. the Kantakouzenoi were active primarily as military commanders and landowners. Some are known as patrons of arts and letters, for example, the *despotes* Manuel Kantakouzenos (*PLP*, no.10981) who founded the Church of Christ Zoödotes at Mistra. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos*, with add. and corr. in *DOP* 27 (1973) 309–15. I.A. Papadrianos, "He protostratorissa Kantakouzene," *Byzantina* 1 (1969) 159–65. P. Wirth, "Manuel Kantakuzenos Strategopulos," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 345–48. K. Chrysochoides, "Anekdote monodia ston 'oikeion' tou autokratora Georgio Kantakouzeno," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 361–72. *PLP*, nos. 10928–87. –A.K.

KAPER BARADA (Brad in mod. Syria), large village (*kome*) in the province of Syria I under jurisdiction of Antioch. Situated northeast of Telanissos (Qalʿat Seʿmān) in the Jabal Seman, part of the northern Syrian limestone massif that lies north of the Antioch-Chalkis-Berroia road, Kaper Barada stands on a principal north-south route crossing the Jabal. Olive presses and warehouses indicate the source of prosperity of this village (2 sq. km), which contained, in addition to craft workshops, urbanlike amenities of the 2nd–3rd C. (bath, inn, meeting house [*andron*], shops) and imposing buildings of the 4th–6th C. (three churches [one replacing a temple], two monasteries, a large residence). Although evidence cited by Tchalenko to suggest that Kaper Barada was a civil administrative center in the 5th–6th C. is ambiguous, the village undoubtedly dominated its region as a commercial center, comparable with Kaper Pera to the south.

LIT. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:90, 296f, 387f, 398, 430; 2, pl. CXXXIII. –M.M.M.

KAPER KORAON TREASURE, a group of 56 silver liturgical vessels of the 6th–7th C. that has been reconstructed from four separate treasures known by the names of Ḥamāh (29 objects), Stuma (five objects), Riha (five objects), and Antioch (17 objects including the Antioch "Chalice"), all found ca.1908 southwest of Aleppo in northern Syria. Several pieces are inscribed with dedications naming the Church of St. Sergios of the village of Kaper Koraon, which has been identified with the modern village of Kurin, 5 km from the well-attested find-spot at Stuma. Four objects now in the Istanbul Museum were confiscated by the Ottoman authorities; antiquities dealers at Aleppo acquired the rest of the hoard, which they divided. The Hama and Antioch Treasures were thus created for sale ca.1910 and the remaining items found separate buyers. Today the objects from Kaper Koraon are dispersed in museums in Baltimore, Washington, New York,

Kaper Koraon Treasure. Silver paten ("Riha" paten) from the Kaper Koraon Treasure; between 565 and 578. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The paten is decorated with the scene of the Communion of the Apostles.



Istanbul, Bern, Jerusalem, London, Paris, and a private collection in Washington; three pieces have disappeared.

The dedicatory inscriptions name up to 50 donors, including a KOURATOR of an imperial domain, an ARGYROPRATES, and a *magistrianos* (see AGENTES IN REBUS). Fifteen objects have SILVER STAMPS that date the majority of the donations to 540–640. Although some objects from Kaper Koraon are well decorated, nearly all are very lightweight (hence relatively cheap) and therefore similar to contemporaneous silver TREASURES from other villages.

LIT. M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore 1986). –M.M.M.

KAPER PERA (Ar. al-Bāra in modern Syria), large village (*kome*) in SYRIA II under APAMEIA on the Orontes. Situated in the Jabal Zāwiya, part of the northern Syrian limestone massif north of Apameia, Kaper Pera stood on an east-west route joining Seleukeia ad Belum, on the Mediterranean, and Arra, at the edge of the eastern Syrian plain. The expansion of Kaper Pera in two centuries to a populous site 1,000 by 500 m in size was explained by Tchalenko in terms not just of its varied agricultural yield (wheat, vines, olives) but of its success as a regional processor and international exporter of olive OIL. Its 5th- and 6th-C. buildings include at least five churches and four monasteries, a large market, multistoried oil factories, oil reservoirs, well-decorated houses, and impressive tombs. Kaper Pera retained its importance until the end of the Crusades.

LIT. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:388–90, 430f; 2, pl. CXXXVII. –M.M.M.

KAPNIKARIOS (καπνικάριος, from KAPNIKON). This rare term, synonymous with AKTEMON, appears only in the 1073 *praktikon* for Andronikos Doukas (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.311–15) that distinguishes two groups of *kapnikarioi*: those with donkeys who, as EXKOUSSATOI, paid 1/2 nomisma for the SYNONE and *kapnikon* and those without donkeys who paid 1/4 nomisma (i.e., apparently they paid only the *kapnikon*). In an abbreviated form, *nicarius,* the term survived in 14th-C. Frankish Morea (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 32 [1971] 258), where *nicarii* had a more precarious position than *paroikoi*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 52, n.5. Longnon-Topping, *Documents* 263. –M.B.

KAPNIKON (καπνικόν, from *kapnos*, "smoke"; in Malal. 246.18, "smoke-hole, hearth"); a tax that was identified by some scholars (e.g., Dölger, *Beiträge* 51) as late Roman CAPITATIO; this identification, however, does not prove valid. It is first mentioned by Theophanes (Theoph. 487.1) as a levy collected from the *paroikoi* of charitable institutions and monasteries. In the 9th C. the so-called *kapnikon* was paid in the insignificant amount of 2 miliaresia, possibly from a household (*TheophCont* 54.3–7). In some sources of the 10th–11th C. it appears together with SYNONE, which itself is an obscure tax. The cadaster of 1073 establishes that well-off *paroikoi* had to pay 1 nomisma for their *synone* and *kapnikon* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.312–13), but the poorer peasants seem to have paid 1/2 nomisma for *kapnikon* only (e.g., no.50.142–47). In the lists of exemptions, however, *kapnikon* appears with or without *synone*, but in the context of supplementary charges such as OIKOMODION, AERIKON, KASTROKTISIA, etc. (*Lavra* 1, nos. 38.37, 44.30). Manuel I's chrysobull of 1153 exempted Hagia Sophia from *kapnikon, metretikon* (charge for measuring), and "other charges levied for the sake of tax collectors" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:379.44–46). *Kapnikon* is defined in the edict of 1158 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:384.29–31, 453.36–38) as a charge for ANAGRAPHEIS and PRAKTORES. It is impossible to prove that the rare tax called *kapnologion* in later documents is the same tax as *kapnikon*. (See also HEARTH TAX.)

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 451f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 53–65. –M.B.

KARABISIANOI (Καραβισιάνοι; from *karabos*, "ship"), name of the first regular and permanent fleet of Byz., probably established by Constantine IV after the Arab siege of Constantinople (672–78). It is first mentioned in the *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS, ca.680, in a context that shows that it could be deployed rapidly in the Aegean. It was commanded by a *strategos* (also called *strategos ton ploïmaton*) whose headquarters may have been on the island of Keos; his sphere of activity extended to the Mediterranean and the Black Sea and his

subordinates included the *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI. The Karabisianoi are last mentioned in 711; they apparently proved inadequate during the Arab siege of Constantinople in 716–17 and were replaced by a new naval organization, the Kibyrrhaiotai theme. Karabisianoi never constituted a theme.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 19–31. Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:154–62. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance* (Paris 1966) 63–98. –C.F.

KARAHISAR GOSPELS. See GOSPEL BOOK.

KARAHISAR SCRIPT. See DECORATIVE STYLE.

KARAITES ("Scripturalists"), Jewish sect that emerged in Babylonia from the followers of Anan ben David, an alleged 8th-C. descendant of King David. In principle they rejected the Talmud of normative Jewry, resurrected prerabbinic customs and absorbed Islamic influence. Therefore Byz. Jews denigrated them as foreigners and condemned their differing rules for calculating holidays, for marriage and divorce, and for the ritual slaughter of animals. Karaites rejected until after 1453 the use of candles to light the Sabbath eve. Individual Karaites who immigrated to Byz. after the 10th-C. reconquest of Syria were generally treated as Jews by the Byz., who however recognized Karaite autonomy by allowing them to have separate neighborhoods. Tobias ben Moses (mid-11th C.) was the first intellectual leader of Byz. Karaites. Their literature, for example, Judah Hadassi's *Eshkol Ha-Kopher*, polemicizes against rabbinic Jews and the Byz. government, which they identified with their ancestral enemy Edom (which Jewish tradition long equated with Rome). Karaite literature of the 12th C. shows a familiarity with Greek scholarship and contemporary philosophy and contains important glosses on Byz. society and language. Later leaders included Aaron ben Joseph (ca.1250–1320), a Crimean physician, biblical commentator, and editor of Karaite liturgy; Aaron ben Elijah of Nikomedeia (ca.1328–56), philosopher, codifier, and biblical commentator; and Elijah ben Moses Bashyachi (ca.1420–90), whose law code *Addereth Eliahu* manifested a rapprochement with rabbinite Jews. Karaites maintained strong intellectual and economic ties with coreligionists in the Crimea.

LIT. Ankori, *Karaites*. S. Poznanski in *Hastings Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* (New York 1951) 7:662–72. –S.B.B.

KARAMAN, the oldest Turkish emirate in Asia Minor, named after its founder Karaman (Καραμάνος), who emerged ca.1260 in Ermenek, when confusion prevailed in Anatolia after the Mongol invasion and the resulting internal strife in the SELJUK sultanate. During the war between the MONGOLS and the MAMLŪKS of Syria and Egypt, in which the former were defeated near Elbistan in 1277, the emir of Karaman, who had allied with the Mamlūks, conquered IKONION, established a Seljuk prince there and became his vizier. For the first time Turkish was used as the official language in this short-lived state abolished by the Mongols. Despite persecution by the Mongols, the Karamanids were able to push back the Cypriot king Henry II "of Lusignan" (1285–1324), who tried to capture Alanya at the end of the 13th C. After the collapse of the Mongol regime in Anatolia, the Karamanids made Ikonion their capital and considered themselves heirs of the Seljuks. Most probably ca.1375 they put an end to the Armenian kingdom of CILICIA. At approximately the same time a struggle began between them and the OTTOMANS for supremacy over Anatolia, which brought the Karamanids into contact with the Ottomans' enemies, the Byz. and other Christians. In 1448 the Karamanids captured Korykos, a possession of the king of Cyprus. After repeated campaigns the Ottomans finally annexed Karaman in 1475.

LIT. F. Sümer, *EI*² 4:619–25. C. Cahen, "Quelques mots sur Şıkārī," *WZKM* 70 (1978) 53–64. B. Flemming, *Landschaftsgeschichte von Pamphylien, Pisidien und Lykien im Spätmittelalter* (Wiesbaden 1964). Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:151f. –E.A.Z.

KARANTENOS, MANUEL, deacon and *magistros* of philosophers; fl. ca.1200. In his treatise *On Philosophy and Rhetoric*, Karantenos (Καραντηνός) restricted the role of rhetoric to the technical means for presentation of arguments and expressed doubts as to its moral value; he himself used his speech in memory of St. John the Evan-

gelist to praise the saint's homonym, Patr. JOHN X KAMATEROS. The works of Karantenos, studded with banalities, show but superficial knowledge of ancient authors. He wrote letters (to Constantine Kaloethes), fables, poems (one ascribed in a different MS to PRODROMOS). It still remains questionable whether Karantenos can be identified with the *grammatikos* Manuel Sarantenos, the author of an oration delivered at the festival of LAZARUS SATURDAY, and subsequently with Patr. Manuel I Sarantenos (1217–22), an identification accepted by Laurent and Criscuolo.

ED. U. Criscuolo, "Un'inedita didascalia di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno," *BollBadGr* 30 (1976) 142–46. Idem, "Un opuscolo inedito di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno," *EEBS* 42 (1975–76) 218–21. Idem, "Altri inediti di Manuele Karanteno o Saranteno," *EEBS* 44 (1979/80) 151–63.
LIT. R. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 198–200. *RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1220–32. —A.K.

KARASI (Καρασῆς), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It is named after its founder, about whom very little is known: according to a funerary inscription found in Tokat, Karasi claimed descent from the DANIŞMENDIDS. The emirate emerges in historical evidence in 1303–04: during the troublesome evacuation of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY from Asia Minor, an emir of the Karasi region, Halil Ece, followed the Catalans to Thrace and in alliance with them fought the Byz. A few years later the emirate of Karasi extended from the gulf of Atramyttion to the Dardanelles. Its main urban centers were Pergamon, Palaiokastron/Balıkesir, and Pegai/Biga. According to the 14th-C. Egyptian encyclopedist, al-ʿUmarī (*Notices et extraits* 13 [1838] 366), the emirs of Karasi used their fleet to attack Byz. territories; they sold the inhabitants as slaves. In 1328 Andronikos III Palaiologos concluded a treaty with Timurkhan Karasi-oğlu. In 1334 another emir of Karasi, Yahşi, was defeated by the crusading fleet in the gulf of Atramyttion. Just before the mid-14th C. the OTTOMANS annexed the emirate; it became one of their oldest provinces (*sancak*). Karasi produced silk and laudanum.

LIT. I. Artuk, "Karesi-oğulları adına basılmış olan iki sikke," *Tarih Dergisi* 33 (1980–81) 283–90. C. Cahen, *EI*² 4:627f. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin* 16, 32f, 64, 126, 161. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:152. —E.A.Z.

KARBEAS (Καρβέας), PAULICIAN leader of the mid-9th C; died probably in 863 at the Byz. victory of Po(r)son. Karbeas began his career as a *protomandator* of Theodotos MELISSENOS, the *strategos* of Anatolikon, but fled to Asia Minor ca.843 with some 5,000 followers from the persecution of the empress Theodora. He established himself on the upper Euphrates, probably collaborated with the Muslim emir of Melitene, and founded a separate principality that comprised the centers of Amara, Argaous, and TEPHRIKE as capital. The end of Karbeas's career is not recorded, and scholars have expressed doubts on the participation of Karbeas in the disastrous war of 863 with Byz., which destroyed the emirate. The epic of DIGENES AKRITAS may have preserved his memory in the figure of the Muslim Karoes, the uncle of Digenes' father the emir, but this is impossible to prove.

LIT. Lemerle, "Pauliciens" 85–96. Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy* 125–28. —N.G.G.

KARĪM AL-DĪN, more fully Maḥmūd ibn Muḥammad Karīm al-Dīn of Aksaray, Anatolia, high fiscal official in the late Seljuk divan and author of the history *Musamarat al-ahbar* (Entertainment of the Chronicles); fl. 1300. This historical work, in Persian, of which only part four is original and important, continues the court chronicle of IBN BĪBĪ. As an eyewitness and high fiscal official he chronicled the series of events that led to the political and economic collapse of the SELJUKS of Rūm in the early 14th C. The decline was accompanied by the rise of nomadism, the weakening of Īlkhānid suzerainty, and the proliferation of "armies" of tax farmers. The upheaval was frequently accompanied by physical destruction and the flight of urban and rural populations. Though all segments of sedentary society in Anatolia suffered, the damage to the Christian communities was irreparable; their consequent decline as reflected in the patriarchal synodal acts is explained in this very perceptive Muslim source. He notes that the rapacious tax farmers who destroyed the Seljuk fiscal system did not even know what the *jizya* (poll tax on non-Muslims) was, even though it had been the single largest source of revenue in the land. He also speaks extensively of the Greek element in the court of ʿIzz al-Dīn Kaikā'us II in the mid-13th C.

ED. *Al-Aksarai, Karim al-Din Mahmud ibn Muhammad, Müsameret ül-ahbar,* ed. O. Turan (Ankara 1944). Turkish tr. M.N. Gençosman in *Selçuki devletleri tarihi,* vol. 2 (Ankara 1943). M.F. Köprülü, "Anadolu Selçukluları tarih'inin yerli kaynakları," *Turk tarih Kurumu Belleten* 7 (1943) 389–91.
LIT. Vryonis, *Decline* 183, 224f, 243–48, 464f. –S.V.

KARIN. See THEODOSIOUPOLIS.

KARIYE CAMII. See CHORA MONASTERY.

KARS (Κάρς), Armenian fortress and town in the district of Vanand in northeast Anatolia. It was founded in antiquity, but first became important as one of the successive BAGRATID capitals (928–61). Conflict over its control first arose in 937 when the prince of ABCHASIA attempted unsuccessfully to have its new cathedral consecrated according to the Orthodox rather than the Armenian rite (ASOŁIK, 3:7). In 962 AŠOT III granted Vanand to his brother Mušeł, who established a secondary Bagratid dynasty with Kars as its capital. The city grew rich on trade between ANI and Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) and became an important cultural center under its last king, Gagik-Abas (1029–65), whose portrait has been preserved in the Gospel illustrated for him (Jerusalem, Arm. Patr. 2556; S. Der Nersessian, *Armenian Art* [London 1982] pl.75) The Seljuk threat, however, caused Gagik-Abas to cede the city to Byz. in 1064/5 in exchange for estates in Cappadocia, and the kingdom of Vanand was added to the theme of IBERIA. The Turks retook Kars, however, before the empire could establish control over it.

LIT. R. Hewsen, *DMA* 7:221. W. Barthold, C.J. Heywood, EI^2 4:669–71. J.-M.Thierry, *La cathédrale des Saints-Apôtres de Kars* (Louvain 1978). –N.G.G.

K'ART'LIS CXOVREBA. See GEORGIAN CHRONICLES.

KARYES (Καρύες, Καρέαι, lit. "nut trees"), now a small village in the center of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS; it was the site of the PROTATON and served from the 10th C. as center of the monastic federation. In the vicinity of Karyes were a large number of KELLIA, some belonging to the Protaton, others to Athonite monasteries. This ensemble of *kellia* was called the *laura ton Kareon*, with its central church being a 10th-C. basilica dedicated to the Virgin.

Among the *kellia* was a group founded by St. SAVA OF SERBIA to house monks coming from HILANDAR to Karyes on official business. One *kellion*, dedicated to the Palestinian St. SABAS, was designated for two or three monks. In a *typikon* of 1197 or 1199 (ed. Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 184–87) Sava of Serbia specifically exempted the *kellion* from the jurisdiction of the PROTOS of Athos or *hegoumenos* of Hilandar to assure the security of its sacred furnishings. The *typikon* also provided that the *hegoumenos* and monks at Hilandar were to elect the *epistates* or supervisor of the *kellion*. Although brief, the *typikon* includes dietary and liturgical regulations, with emphasis on recitation of the Psalter.

LIT. *Prot.* 116f, 120f. –A.M.T.

KARYTAINA (Καρύταινα, name either of Slavic origin or derived from Arkadian Gortyna), city and powerful fortification above the Alphaios River commanding the major routes through the interior of the Peloponnesos. There is little evidence of Karytaina before the 13th C.: reused architectural material has led Moutsopoulos (*infra*) to suggest a 12th-C. church inside the castle. Under Frankish domination, however, Karytaina was the major center of Skorta, one of the great baronies of the principality of Achaia. The first baron was probably Renaud de Briel, followed by his brother Hugues, whose son Geoffrey was the lord of Karytaina featured prominently in the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, and whose possession of Karytaina allowed him to defy the prince of Achaia. The castle fell to the Byz. of MISTRA by 1320 and lost its military importance thereafter, although the city on the hillside flourished in later centuries.

The castle crowning the impressive hilltop is completely Frankish in date. Above an extensive circuit wall the fortress itself forms a large triangle; it has a single entrance with barbican, flanked by a tower. On the interior is the palace, a rather simple structure of three rooms built over an enormous cistern. A fortified tower-habitation south of the fortress has been dated to the mid-15th C. The surviving bridge across the Alphaios below Karytaina was probably built by the Franks

but renewed by a certain Raoul Manouel Melikes (*PLP*, no.17788) in 1439/40.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 105, 366–69, 629–33, 679f. N.K. Moutsopoulos, "Apo ten Byzantine Karytaina," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985–86) 129–202. –T.E.G.

KASANDRENOS, or Kassandrenos (Κασ⟨σ⟩ανδρηνός), a family name that probably originated from the toponym KASSANDREIA; the name is frequent among peasants of the region (*Lavra* 4:284). The landowner Kasandrenos in Chalkidike is attested in a charter of Iveron ca.1094; a charter of 1112 (*Docheiar.*, no.3.13–14) mentions two Kasandrenoi, evidently members of the local administration in Thessalonike: the *proedros* Leo and *magistros* Theodore. The family was still connected with Thessalonike in the 14th C.: a rich Thessalonian, Alexios Kasandrenos, corresponded with Demetrios KYDONES ca.1355; another Kasandrenos, *logariastes* of the court in 1317–20, possessed lands in the vicinity; Demetrios Kasandrenos, a native of the region (died 1362 or a little later), supported John VI and Matthew I Kantakouzenos; in 1359 he moved to Mistra. He and his daughter, Maria Kanabina Kasandrene, were active patrons of literature and art; Demetrios ordered a Plutarch MS (Milan, Ambros. D 538 inf.), and Maria was a patron of the Brontocheion monastery in Mistra and the Mangana monastery in Constantinople (D. Bassi, *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 26 [1898] 394–96). An *archon* Manuel Kasandrenos was active ca.1381, and Kasandrenos Palaiologos (died 1439 on Euboea) participated in the Council of Ferrara-Florence.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 11309–21. –A.K.

KASSANDREIA (Κασ⟨σ⟩άνδρεια). In the late Roman period Kassandreia was a *polis* and bishopric on the site of ancient Potidaia in the Macedonian CHALKIDIKE at the neck of the Kassandra/Pallene peninsula. It was sacked and destroyed by the Huns in 539/40. Justinian I built a cross-wall at the entrance to the peninsula as the bulwark of the region (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.21–25). By the 10th C. it reappears in the sources as a town (*polichnion—Ivir.*, no.10.9, later *kastron*—Dionys., p.118), probably under the command of an *archon* (*Ivir.*, no.10.13–14) and a bishopric suffragan of Thessalonike (*Notitiae CP* 7.301). The fertile land of the peninsula attracted both the citizens of Thessalonike and the monks of Mt. Athos who established estates there and exported grain and other products by sea. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:245.11–13) characterized Kassandreia as a *polis* that used to be famous but at his time was abandoned. Kassandreia was temporarily occupied by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY and served as their operational base in the winter of 1307/8. Before 1407 John VII built walls "over the old foundations" to protect the peninsula (*Lavra* 3, no.159.15–20) and conferred upon several monasteries a part of the state income from land there. In 1419 the *kephale* of Kassandreia, Stephen Radenos, returned to the monastery of St. Panteleemon a village in the peninsula (*Pantel.*, no.18). During the Venetian occupation of Thessalonike, ambassadors from Kassandreia included among their complaints to the Republic that the peninsula had not been sufficiently fortified (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:59, no.272). It was probably seized by the Turks ca.1430.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* supp. 4 (1924) 877f. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:108–10. D. Papachryssanthou in *Xénoph.* 31–33. –T.E.G., A.K.

KASSIA (Κασσία), also Kassiane, Eikasia, and other forms of the name, poet; born 800 or 805 (Rochow) or ca.810 (Beck, *Kirche* 519), probably in Constantinople, died between 843 and 867. According to a legend preserved in SYMEON LOGOTHETE she competed in the BRIDE SHOW to select the wife of THEOPHILOS but lost to THEODORA. Rochow rejects this legend but believes that the letters of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS to "*kandidatissa* Kassia" were addressed to the poet; if this identification is correct, then Kassia staunchly supported icon veneration. She was a nun and founder of a convent in Constantinople.

Various liturgical hymns are preserved under Kassia's name; it is not always clear whether they belong to her or to other hymnographers such as KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER (G. Schirò, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 303–14). Her troparion *To the Harlot* (included in the TRIODION) is dedicated to the passionate repentance of the sinful woman (E. Catafygiotu Topping, *GOrThR* 26 [1981] 201–09). A series of iambic *gnomai* deals with ethical ideals and weaknesses (friendship, foolishness, etc.) as well as with specific feminine qualities, including beauty; they ignore the norms of ancient

prosody (P. Maas, *BZ* 10 [1901] 54–59) and stress personal antipathies. "I hate," Kassia reiterates; she hated particularly the illiterate fool who claimed to be knowledgeable, esp. if this fool were "a youth of royal house" (perhaps alluding to her rejection by the young Theophilos).

ED. K. Krumbacher, "Kasia," *SBAW* (1897) no.1:305–70.

LIT. I. Rochow, *Studien zu der Person, den Werken und den Nachleben der Dichterin Kassia* (Berlin 1967). E. Catafygiotu Topping, "Women Hymnographers in Byzantium," *Diptycha* 3 (1982–83) 107–10. –A.K.

KASTAMON (Κασταμών, mod. Kastamonu), a fortress commanding the upper Amnias valley in northern Paphlagonia; never a bishopric. The ancestral home of the Komnenoi (Alexios I's grandfather Manuel Erotikos had his estates in the neighborhood), Kastamon first appears in history when Isaac I Komnenos was proclaimed emperor in 1057. When Alexios I visited Kastamon in 1075, however, the site was desolate from Turkish attacks. It fell to the DANIŞMENDIDS before 1101, when the Crusaders were defeated nearby. Kastamon was a frequent goal of the campaigns of John II Komnenos, which briefly restored Byz. rule, but it fell permanently to the Turks in the second half of the 12th C. The substantial castle of Kastamon contains stretches of Byz. walls.

LIT. N. Sevgen, *Anadolu Kaleleri* (Ankara 1959) 197–207. C.J. Heywood, *EI*[2] 4:737–39. –C.F.

KASTAMONITES (Κασταμονίτης), a family name. The name, and perhaps the family itself, originated from the town of KASTAMON. The first firmly dated Kastamonitai lived during Alexios I's reign, but certain family members known from 11th-C. seals (the *protospatharios* Theodore, the *patrikios* Nikephoros, the *vestes* Constantine) probably preceded Alexios. The Life of St. MELETIOS THE YOUNGER mentions Michael Kastamonites, an affluent late 11th-C. proprietor in Hellas, but is silent about his titles or offices. At least one Kastamonites, Niketas, was Alexios I's general, *doux* of the fleet; involved in a plot against Alexios, he lost his position. His identification with the *protoproedros* Niketas Kastamonites of 1094 (Gautier, "Blachernes" 257) is not certain. Sometime in the 11th C. an unknown family member founded the KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY on Mt. Athos. Their position declined in the 12th C.: Leo was a dependent *anthropos* of Isaac Komnenos in 1152; John Kastamonites served as a patriarchal secretary; another Kastamonites participated in the embassy of 1170 to Pope ALEXANDER III and to Genoa. The Kastamonitai reached their zenith in the late 12th C. because of their relationship with the Angeloi. Theodore Kastamonites, Isaac II's uncle, served as *logothetes ton sekreton*; Constantine was *parathalassites* ca.1203 (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.60.35–36); and Eustathios was imperial *vestiarites* sometime between 1195 and 1199 (nos. 56.16, 59.13). They apparently possessed lands in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 170f), at least by 1234, and served in the local ecclesiastical hierarchy, for example, Stephen Kastamonites, *chartophylax* of Smyrna from 1257 to 1267 (*PLP*, no.11374). Later Kastamonitai are rare; some may have acquired their name from the Kastamonites monastery.

LIT. N. Oikonomides in *Kastam.* 1, n.1. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 231f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 848, 1047. *PLP*, nos. 11370–74. –A.K.

KASTAMONITOU MONASTERY, located in the interior of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, between the monasteries of Docheiariou and Zographou. Virtually no documents survive from the Byz. period, so little is known of its history. Dedicated to St. Stephen, Kastamonitou (Κασταμονίτου) was founded in the mid-11th C., probably by a native of Kastamon in Paphlagonia or a member of the Kastamonites family. Until the 14th C. it was a modest establishment, inhabited by Greek monks. After a fire in the 1420s, Kastamonitou was restored through the generosity of the Serbian general Radić, attracted numerous slavophone monks, and remained prosperous until ca.1500. The present monastery is of modern (18th or 19th C.) construction, and officially called *mone tou Konstamonitou.* The library contains 40 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:36–42). The dates of three supposedly Byz. wonder-working icons in the monastery's church have not yet been established.

SOURCE. *Actes de Kastamonitou*, ed. N. Oikonomides (Paris 1978).

LIT. P. Nasturel, "A propos d'un document de Kastamonitou et d'une lettre patriarcale inconnue de 1411," *REB* 40 (1982) 211–14. –A.M.T., A.C.

KASTORIA (Καστορία, "place of beavers," orig. name of a lake), fortified *polis* (Skyl. 355.25) or *kastron* (An.Komn. 2:41.7–12) in western Mace-

donia or Thrace. Anna Komnene described it as located on the top of a hill, on a promontory projecting into the lake of the same name. The city appears first in the description of Bulgaro-Byz. wars at the end of the 10th C. By 1018 it was occupied by Basil II. Kastoria was probably founded near late antique Diokletianoupolis, built by Diocletian. According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.1–4), Diokletianoupolis was situated near Lake Kastoria; since it was destroyed by barbarian assaults, Justinian I transferred the city to the mountainous and narrow promontory "and gave it an appropriate name." Whether this name was Justinianoupolis is not clear from Prokopios. As Diokletianoupolis the city appears in Hierokles and (anachronistically) in Constantine Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.38, ed. Pertusi 88).

In 1082/3 the Normans occupied Kastoria but in Dec. 1093 Alexios I recaptured the fortress. In the 13th–14th C. the "great *polis*" Kastoria (Kantak. 1:451.1–2) was at the center of political struggle in the Balkans. First, as a possession of the despotate of EPIROS, Kastoria was attacked by the Nicaeans; John III Vatatzes took it temporarily in ca.1252 but Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epiros reconquered it ca.1257. Michael VIII won a skirmish near Kastoria in 1259 and seized it after the battle of PELAGONIA. In the beginning of the 14th C. Kastoria was in the hands of John II of NEOPATRAS; he titled himself *doux* of "Great Vlachia and Kastoria." Then (until 1332/3) Kastoria was within the "fief" of GABRIELOPOULOS. Andronikos III managed to annex the city but SYRGIANNES in 1334 surrendered it to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. It was finally taken by the Serbs in 1342/3 (Fine, *Late Balkans* 301), and the truce of 1350 (*Reg* 5, no.2967) lists Kastoria among the holdings of Dušan. After Dušan's death SYMEON UROŠ made Kastoria the center of his principality. THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ and the Albanian family of Musachi claimed rights to Kastoria, but in the mid-1380s it was captured by the Ottomans.

Kastoria had a significant Jewish population; the Jewish scholar Tobia ben Elieser of Kastoria wrote a commentary on the Torah during the reign of Alexios I (J. Perles, *BZ* 2 [1893] 574f). A. Epstein (*Gesta* 21 [1982] 21–29) surmises that the frescoes in the Mavriotissa monastery near Kastoria reflect anti-Semitic sentiment.

The bishopric of Kastoria is known from the 10th C. Its bishop was *protothronos*-suffragan of Ohrid.

Monuments of Kastoria. The relative wealth of this regional trading center is reflected in the number of medieval churches preserved from the late 9th/early 10th C. onward. No dated dedicatory inscriptions survive. The chronology of Kastoria's monuments depends on masonry techniques and the style of the surviving frescoes; it must therefore remain tentative. The Koumpelidike, a domed triconch, Hagios Stephanos, and the Taxiarchs, both minute basilicas, may be ascribed to ca.900. The Anargyroi, another basilica, appears to have been built and first decorated in the early 11th C. and then redecorated at the end of the 12th C. by a patron named Theodore Lemniotes. One of the painters involved in phase two of the decoration apparently also worked at KURBINOVO. Nikephoros Kasnitzes, *magistros*, funded the construction and decoration of the single-naved church of St. Nicholas in the 3rd quarter of the 12th C. The nave has a cycle of the GREAT FEASTS as well as a handsome PROSKYNESIS icon of the patron saint of the church with the portrait of the donor. A cycle of the life of St. NICHOLAS appears in the narthex. Shifts in painting style suggest that metropolitan trends were familiar to painters working in Kastoria. The particularities of the cloisonné BRICKWORK used in the construction of all these churches, however, reflects the strength and continuity of the local building tradition.

LIT. A.D. Keramopoulos, "Orestikon Argos-Diokletianoupolis-Kastoria," *BNJbb* 9 (1930–32) 55–63. R. Janin, *DHGE* 11 (1949) 1457f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:327–29. V. Beševliev, "Wo lag der Bischofssitz Diokletianopolis in Thrakien?," *Linguistique balkanique* 9 (1964) 49–56. A.K. Orlandos, "Ta byzantina mnemeia tes Kastorias," *ABME* 4 (1938) 3–215. S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria I. Byzantinai toichographiai* (Thessalonike 1953). T. Malmquist, *Byzantine 12th Century Frescoes in Kastoria: Agioi Anargyroi and Agios Nikolaos tou Kasnitzi* (Uppsala 1979). A.W. Epstein, "Middle Byzantine Churches of Kastoria," *ArtB* 62 (1980) 190–207. S. Pelekanides, M. Chatzedakis, *Kastoria* (Athens 1985). E.N. Tsigaridas, "La peinture à Kastoria et en Macédoine grecque orientale vers l'année 1200," in *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988) 309–18. –T.E.G., A.J.W.

KASTRESIOS (καστρήσιος, Gr. equivalent of Lat. *comes et castrensis sacri palatii*), imperial courtier, usually a eunuch, in charge of the emperor's quarters and provisioning. The post is mentioned first in 319 and last in 612. The vita of DANIEL THE STYLITE (26.20–21) describes a certain Gelanios, who was *kastresios* of the divine table (*trapeza*)

under Leo I; he possessed an estate near Constantinople. The *kastresios* of the imperial table reappears in the *De ceremoniis*. W. Seibt (*BZ* 72 [1979] 38) suggests that in the 7th C. the EPI TES TRAPEZES assumed the main duties of the *kastresios*.

The *kanstresios* should probably be distinguished from the *kastresios*; in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Beneševič (Oikonomides, *Listes* 251.23), he is listed as a patriarchal official between the *protonotarios* and *referendarios*. He occupies the same position in the synodal lists of the 12th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 100) and kept functioning as a member of the patriarchal chancery to the end of the empire.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 3 (1899) 1774f. –A.K.

KASTROKTISIA (καστροκτισία, lit. "construction of fortresses"), a fiscal charge, one of the EPEREIAI, according to a chrysobull of 1349 (*Docheiar.*, no.25.10). It is first attested in the charter of John Chaldos of 995 (*Ivir.*, no.8.13) exempting the monks of Kolobou from *kastroktisia*, MITATON, providing forage and *prosodion* (?), and other *epereiai*. In chrysobulls of the late 11th C. *kastroktisia* is cited along with the construction of roads and bridges (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.36, *Lavra* 1, no.38.38) and probably designated an actual state corvée. It is unknown when it replaced the late Roman *munera*, which were levied primarily in specie.

Although frequent in later chrysobulls, *kastroktisia* is rarely mentioned in *praktika*. A fragment of a *praktikon* from the end of the 13th C. (*Esphig.*, no.7.8) mentions *kastroktisia* of 1.5 nomismata, that is, 1.7 percent of the OIKOUMENON. Forced labor was probably employed in the construction work: in describing Stefan Uroš IV Dušan's refortification of Berroia in Macedonia in 1350, John Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:124.21–24) states that more than 10,000 men worked there; the historian adds that they were assembled from the entire country of the Serbian kral'. To what extent this Serbian episode can be applied to Byz. remains unclear. By the 14th C., however, *kastroktisia* probably began to lose its technical meaning: lists of privileges sometimes include it in a paramilitary context, together with shipbuilding, *mitaton*, and APLEKTON (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.118.190–92), sometimes with PSOMOZEMIA and ANGAREIA (*Xerop.*, no.8.17–18), but sometimes it is associated with nonmilitary and nonconstruction charges such as ORIKE and ENNOMION (*Esphig.*, no.22.32). On the other hand, a different charge, the *phloriatikon*, known in the Peloponnesos in the 15th C., was used for the reconstruction of fortresses (E. Vranoussi, *EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.4:81–83), and the revenue from the ABIOTIKION could be used to repair a city (D. Bagiakakos, *Athena* 65 [1961] 199f).

LIT. S. Trojanos, "Kastroktisia," *Byzantina* 1 (1969) 39–57. –A.K.

KASTRON (κάστρον), also *kastellion* and *phrourion*, fortress or citadel. Since FORTIFICATIONS became the main external sign of CITIES, the term *kastron* came to denote the city as a whole. It was applied even to such relatively large places as Ephesus, but never to Constantinople. In the strict sense, *kastron* designated a fortified settlement, usually on a hilltop, distinct from the open lower town or EMPORION. *Kastra*, however small, played an important role in Byz. defense; the state paid particular attention to them, requiring the population to build and maintain them (KASTROKTISIA). In the 11th C., when the need for defense against the Turks was paramount, *kastra* were assigned for life to individuals who assumed the obligation of maintaining and defending them. On the death of the concessionaire, the *kastron* returned to imperial control; normally it was put in the charge of a KASTROPHYLAX.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "The Donation of Castles in the Last Quarter of the 11th Century," in *Polychronion* 413–17. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 145–48. –C.F.

KASTROPHYLAX (καστροφύλαξ), commander of a stronghold, appointed by the emperor; he was responsible for the maintenance and repair of a KASTRON and for preserving order (*apobiglisis*) within its walls (Sathas, *MB* 6:644.19–23). A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 188.20–22) lists them, together with PROKATHEMENOI, as administrators of *poleis*. The office is attested from the second half of the 11th C. (N. Oikonomides in *Polychronion* 417, n.12), but is more frequently mentioned from the 13th C. onward. Some *kastrophylakes* presided over small *kastra* (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.70.20); others administered cities such as Smyrna, Thessalonike, and Serres. Their functions are poorly documented in available sources; in 1230 a *kastrophylax* of Smyrna assisted the *prokathemenos* in a civil trial. Their social po-

sition was not of a high rank, and even the *kastrophylakes* of Thessalonike (Demetrios Talapas—*Docheiar.*, no.48 verso, 5) and Serres (Leo Azanites—Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.34.65–66; Demetrios Arethas—*Koutloum.*, no.33.90) did not come from families of the high nobility. They were sometimes landowners (*Lavra* 2, no.90.122).

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 266f. –A.K.

KATAKALON (Κατακαλών, more rarely Κατακαλός), a noble lineage, known from ca.900, when Leo Katakalon was *domestikos* of the *scholae*. In the 10th–11th C. some were governors: Katakalon, *strategos* of Thessalonike; Demetrios Katakalon, *katepano* of Paradounavon. Probably some family members assumed the name of Maurokatakalon (the "Black Katakalon"); they were military commanders in the 11th C. and esp. in the reign of Alexios I (e.g., Nicholas, his son Marianos, Gregory). As a result of intermarriage with a number of aristocratic families, many members of the Katakalon family bore double names: KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS and Katakalon Klazomenites in the 11th C., Katakalon Bryennios and Katakalon Euphorbenos in the 12th C. An anonymous epitaph praised John Bryennios Katakalon, a soldier related to the KOMNENOI and married to a daughter of a *sebastos* of the lineage of PALAIOLOGOI and DOUKAI. Constantine Katakalon Euphorbenos, among the most prominent of Alexios I's generals, was *doux* of Cyprus ca.1100. His son Nikephoros married Maria, Alexios I's daughter. Two of their sons, Alexios and Andronikos, occupied high posts in the mid-12th C.; ca.1162 Andronikos became governor of Cilicia. Another Andronikos Katakalon served as military commander of Alexios III. Later the family declined into obscurity (*PLP*, nos. 11413–29).

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 171f. N. Bănescu, "Sceau de Démétrius Katakalon, katépano de Paradounavon," *EO* 39 (1940) 157–60. D. Polemis, "Anepigraphoi stichoi eis ton thanaton Ioannou Bryenniou tou Katakalon," *EEBS* 35 (1966–67) 107–16. –A.K.

KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS (Κατακαλὼν Κεκαυμένος), general; died after 1057. He was originally from Koloneia and was not an aristocrat by birth (Skyl. 483.15f). His identification with KEKAUMENOS, author of memoirs, is not established. Apparently sent to Sicily with MANIAKES in 1038, he defended Messina. In 1042 Michael V appointed Katakalon commander of troops combatting an uprising in Constantinople. He was *vestes* and *archon* of the Danubian cities ca.1043, governor of Ani and Iberia, *stratelates* of the East ca.1050, and *doux* of Antioch ca.1056. In 1043 he defeated the remnants of the expedition of JAROSLAV of Kiev against Constantinople. Anonymous verses call him "the light of the Thessalians" and praise him as victor over the Scythians and Hungarians (K. Dyobouniotes, *NE* 16 [1922] 53–56). He eagerly supported the uprising of ISAAC I in 1057 for which he received the title of *kouropalates*. G. Litavrin (*RESEE* 7 [1969] 455–68) surmises that Isaac appointed him *strategos* of Koloneia. Katakalon is the hero of the last section of Skylitzes' chronicle (Skyl. 406–500—A. Kazhdan, *IFŽ* [1975] no.1, 207f; J. Shepard, *REArm* 11 [1975–76] 269–311), and Katakalon's recollections may have served as a source for Skylitzes.

LIT. N. Bănescu, "Un duc byzantin du XI^e siècle: Katakalon Kekaumenos," *BSHAcRoum* 11 (1924) 25–36. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 31f. –C.M.B., A.K.

KATAPETASMA (καταπέτασμα), a veil or curtain separating the sanctuary from the nave. Use of *katapetasmata* is confirmed from the 6th C. in Egypt and Syria (cf. G. Khouri-Sarkis, *Orient syrien* 5 [1960] 363–84; 7 [1962] 277–96; 8 [1963] 3–20). The Byz. practice of suspending *katapetasmata* over the TEMPLON door developed from a monastic custom attested from the 12th C. (NICHOLAS OF ANDIDA, PG 140:445C); occasional references to the *katapetasma* in the sources, esp. INVENTORIES, indicate its slow acceptance. Except for some early Coptic textiles, which might have served as *katapetasmata*, all extant *katapetasmata* date after 1453. The decorative CIBORIUM curtains represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II and elsewhere can also be called *katapetasmata* (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:341C).

LIT. C. Schneider, "Studien zum Ursprung liturgischer Einzelheiten östlicher Liturgien: I. Katapetasma," *Kyrios* 1 (Königsberg-Berlin 1936; rp. Graz 1969) 57–73. Mathews, *Early Churches* 162–71. Taft, *Great Entrance* 411–16. –A.G.

KATAPHLORON (Καταφλῶρον), a family name that possibly originated from a monastery of St. Phloros (Florus); the formerly accepted spelling

Kataphloros has been rejected by P. Wirth (*BZ* 56 [1963] 235f; idem, *Eustathiana* [Amsterdam 1980] 5f), but is retained by V. Laurent in *Corpus*, vol. 2. The first known Kataphloron was probably John, *protospatharios* and commander (*archegetes*) of the West, whose seal is usually dated to the epoch of the Komnenoi (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:394); the title of PROTOSPATHARIOS, however, died out by the early 12th C., and its application to the commander of the Western army indicates an earlier date, perhaps the 10th C. A certain Kataphloron was appointed governor of Mesopotamia in the late 1030s; Psellos's information (Sathas, *MB* 5:459.18–20), however, does not indicate whether he was a judge or a *strategos*. John Kataphloron served in 1079 as *anagrapheus* of Smolena, Thessalonike, and Serres (*Lavra* 1, no.39.1); the editors considered him a *strategos*, an office that does not accord properly with his fiscal duties; Dölger (*Diplomatik* 348, n.4) read *strateutes* (soldier). Other known members of the Kataphloron family were not in the military: one was *praktor* in 1089 (*Lavra* 1, no.50.36–37); another, Nicholas, was *magistros ton rhetoron* (P. Wirth, *ClMed* 21 [1960] 213f); Mark was patriarch of Jerusalem ca.1190–95. John went to Venice in 1195 as Alexios III's envoy; in 1199 he or his namesake served as *grammatikos*. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE was probably Nicholas Kataphloron's nephew (V. Laurent, *REB* 20 [1962] 218–21). Seals of the 11th–12th C. record an *asekretis* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 109, 115) and a *mystolektes* (no.156) of this family. –A.K.

KATAPHRAKTOS (*κατάφρακτος*, from *καταφράσσω*, "cover up"), an armored horseman mounted on an armored horse. *Cataphractarii* or *clibanarii* were created by the Romans during the 3rd–4th C. in response to their SASANIAN enemies (J.W. Eadie, *JRS* 57 [1967] 161–73). The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE portrays 6th-C. heavy cavalrymen, equally adept with lance or bow, wearing knee-length coats and riding horses protected by thick felt coverings (*Strat. Maurik.* 1.1–2, pp. 74–84). Nothing is heard of them again until the 10th C. when Nikephoros II Phokas developed heavy cavalry anew. His PRAECEPTA MILITARIA describes *kataphraktoi* wearing lamellar or mail coats bolstered by padded surcoats, gauntlets, leg-guards, and iron helmets, with an iron mace or a saber as their main weapon. Their horses were protected by carapaces made of felt or thick hides. The *kataphraktoi* were deployed in a wedge-like formation of 400–500 men with mounted archers in the middle. They identified the location of the enemy commander and aimed their charge at a steady pace directly at him, while regular cavalry units on their flanks followed up the attack. Al-Mutanabbī gives a vivid description of the *kataphraktoi* in a poem about a battle of 954 (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:333) and Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 78.21) refers to Phokas's preparation of "all-iron horsemen," noting their effect at Tarsos in 965 (59.2–22) and in the Balkan campaigns of John I Tzimiskes in 971 (140.10–13).

Heavy cavalry are not specifically attested during the 11th C. but in the 12th C. Manuel I Komnenos enthusiastically adopted the panoply and tactics of European knights (who charged in line with their lances leveled at the enemy) and staged Western-style tournaments (Nik.Chon. 108.53–110.94; cf. S. Lampros, *NE* 5 [1908] 15–18); the practical effect of these horsemen against the evasive Turks was minimal (R.P. Lindner, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 207–13). Byz. heavy cavalrymen continue to appear in the 13th–14th C., but Western mercenaries supplied the bulk of such cavalrymen in Nicaean and Palaiologan armies.

LIT. J.M. Diethart, P. Dintsis, "Die Leontoklibanarier," in *Byzantios* 67–84. J.F. Haldon, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 11–47. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.VIII (1960), 2–24. M.P. Speidel, "Catafractarii clibanarii and the Rise of the Later Roman Mailed Cavalry," *Epigraphica Anatolica* 4 (1984) 151–56. –E.M.

KATARTARIOS (*καταρτάριος*, from *katartismos*, "furnishing"), craftsman involved in the manufacture of SILK. According to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.7), *katartarioi* prepared (*katartizein*) *metaxa*, but their precise function is unclear since the meaning of *metaxa* in this passage is uncertain: if it means cocoons, then the work of *katartarioi* was reeling, that is, bringing together the filaments from several cocoons to form uniform strands called "raw silk"; if it designates the raw silk itself, then the *katartarioi* were responsible for the next stage of silk production, forming the raw silk threads into more substantial yarn. Subsequent degumming or scouring gave the silk fibers a brilliant, pearly sheen. R.S. Lopez (*Speculum* 20

[1945] 16) translates *katartarioi* as "silk spinners," E.H. Freshfield (*Roman Law in the Later Roman Empire* [Cambridge 1938] 23f) as "raw silk dressers."

The functions of *katartarioi* overlapped to a certain extent with those of SILK MERCHANTS (*serikopratai*), who sometimes permitted *katartarioi* to purchase *metaxa* directly from foreign merchants. This privilege was extended only to wealthy *katartarioi*; those who were poor (as well as *metaxarioi*, whose status is unclear) had to buy their raw materials from silk merchants. The sale of *metaxa* was strictly controlled by the eparch: *katartarioi* had to be listed in the eparch's register and provide the authorities with testimony concerning their status and moral rectitude. The guild of *katartarioi* occupied a lower rank than that of the silk merchants, and some *katartarioi* strove to gain admittance to the guild of silk merchants; to achieve this goal they had to promise to stop manufacturing silk.

LIT. D. Simon, "Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte," *BZ* 68 (1975) 24–33. –A.K.

KATASKEPENOS, NICHOLAS, author of the Life of CYRIL PHILEOTES; fl. first half of the 12th C. Under the name of Kataskepenos are also preserved some KANONES and letters.

ED. See list in Beck, *Kirche* 639.
LIT. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:457–59. –A.K.

KATASYRTAI (Κατασύρται), a battle site in Thrace near Constantinople. In the fall of 917, after the Byz. defeat at ACHELOUS, the *domestikos ton scholon* Leo PHOKAS attempted to organize resistance there to the approaching army of SYMEON OF BULGARIA. The Byz. were again routed, and the way to Constantinople was open for the Bulgarians. Symeon, however, did not continue his attack but withdrew in order to punish the Serbian prince Peter, a Byz. ally. The defeats at Achelous and Katasyrtai accounted for the fall of the administration of ZOE KARBONOPSINA and the *parakoimomenos* Constantine in 918; ROMANOS (I) LEKAPENOS, whom many contemporaries blamed for the defeat at Achelous, assumed control of the government as *basileopator.* Probably at that time Symeon issued the demand that Romanos be deposed and he himself be elected as co-emperor with CONSTANTINE VII (A.Kazhdan, *EtBalk* n.s. 12.3 [1976] 98–100). When this demand was rejected, Symeon assumed the title of tsar of the Bulgarians.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:391–401. Runciman, *Romanus* 56. –A.K.

KATECHOUMENA. See GALLERY.

KATEPANATE, or catepanate, a conventional scholarly term to designate the Byz. territories in APULIA that were placed under the administration of the KATEPANO. The katepanate was established by Basil BOIOANNES after his victory over Melo in Oct. 1018 and existed until Feb. 1042, when ARGYROS, son of Melo, was proclaimed *princeps* and *dux Italiae.* The Normans who began to penetrate this region in 1041 referred to it as Capitanata.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 57–60. Guillou, *Studies,* pt.I (1967), 13–19. –A.K.

KATEPANO (κατεπάνω, deriving from the Gk. adverb *epano,* "above" [A. Jannaris, *BZ* 10 (1901) 204–07]), a term used from the 9th C. to designate certain officials: the *katepano* of the BASILIKOI in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the *katepano* of the marines on a 10th-C. seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.962), the *katepano* of imperial workshops, the *katepano* of imperial titles (*axiomata*) in the 11th C., etc. Constantine VII's identification of the *katepano* as *magister militum* (*De adm. imp.* 27.69–70) is a mere anachronism. The term was often used to denote a commander of a military unit, such as MARDAITES, and was identical with STRATEGOS. By the end of the 10th C., *katepano* became primarily the designation of governors of major provinces, esp. Italy (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 46–59) and Mesopotamia, in the 11th C. Bulgaria (Litavrin, *Bolgaria i Vizantija* 264–73), Antioch, etc. The term in the sense of the governor-DOUX disappears after 1100, but it continued as a name for local officials, at least in Smyrna in the 12th C. and in Trebizond in the 14th. Accordingly, the term *katepanikion,* known in both Macedonia and Asia Minor, was used for small administrative units. The term *katepanate,* often employed in scholarly literature, is not found in Byz. sources, although the Normans created the word *Capitanata* as a designation for southern Italy.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 64–67. J. Ferluga, "Niže vojno-administrativne jedinice tematskog uredjenja," *ZRVI*

2 (1953) 74–76. G. Theocharides, *Katepanikia tes Makedonias* (Thessalonike 1954). –A.K.

KATHEDRA (καθέδρα, lit. "seat"). In addition to its original meaning of THRONE, *kathedra* was a term designating a farmhouse or mansion. In documents *kathedra* appears in association with a courtyard (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.77.46) and in a figurative sense could be used for "abode" (*Lavra* 2, no.100.2). The expression "*kathedra* of a *chorion*" also denoted the center of a village, the point from which a fiscal description (*periorismos*) of a *chorion* began (Schilbach, *Met. Quellen* 13f). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.14–18), in explaining the difference between a village and a hamlet (*ktesis*), states that a village has a single *kathedra* (i.e., is centrally oriented), whereas in hamlets there are multiple *kathedrai* and the houses of peasants are dispersed.

LIT. Ju. Vin, "Social'no-ekonomičeskoe soderžanie termina *kathedra* vizantijskich dokumentov," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 202–11. –A.K.

KATHISMA (κάθισμα, lit. "sitting, seat"). Five meanings of this term are significant in Byz. studies. (1) A TROPARION inserted after the third or sixth ode of a KANON during the ORTHROS, and during the singing of which it is permitted to remain seated. (2) One of the 20 sections, consisting of from one to five psalms, into which the psalter is divided; each *kathisma* is further subdivided into three *staseis*, or portions. (3) A generic term for a small monastic habitation housing only a few monks and dependent on a larger monastery. The term is used from the beginnings of monasticism, but is found esp. frequently in Athonite documents from the mid-14th C. onward (e.g., *Prot.* 120f). (4) A service exemption of uncertain nature that is mentioned in several chrysobulls of the second half of the 11th C.—the beneficiary was exempted from "the *kathisma* of high-ranking officials." A chrysobull of 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.58–59) has a more elaborate formula granting an exemption from "the *kathisma* and reception of *archontes*," thus permitting the hypothesis that *kathisma* was a forced accommodation of imperial dignitaries. (5) Additionally, the term for the emperor's box in the HIPPODROME of Constantinople.

–E.M.J., A.M.T., A.C., A.K.

KATHOLIKON, modern Greek term for the main church in a monastic complex; the term does not appear in Byz. sources, although the term *katholike ekklesia* is occasionally found (*Prot.*, no.14.17; *Ivir.*, no.15.44). The Byz. normally referred to the principal church as the NAOS or *ekklesia.* Since the liturgy could be said only once a day in any given church, monasteries often contained several small churches and chapels in addition to the centrally located *katholikon*, which was usually dedicated to the patron of the monastery. The Council in TRULLO, canon 59, required baptisms to be celebrated only in *katholikai ekklesiai;* here the term seems to mean the principal churches of a diocese, as it does in Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 116.35). –K.M.K., W.L.

KATHOLIKOS (adj. καθολικός, universal), Greek term that as noun designated in the 6th C. the archbishop of Persia (KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES 2.2.14–15, ed. Wolska-Conus 1:307). In Syriac and Armenian the term appears already in the 5th C.: in the acts of the Council of Seleukeia-Ctesiphon of 410, the bishop of Seleukeia is named *katholikos*, as is the bishop of Arsacid Armenia in the vita of MESROP MAŠTOCʻ. The heads of the churches of Georgia, Caucasian Albania, and esp. Armenia as well as the Nestorian patriarch were called *katholikoi.* From the 12th C. onward, certain Armenian bishops (of AŁʻTʻAMAR, Sis) claimed this title.

The term was applied also to the superior ("the general abbot," ARCHIMANDRITE) of a group of monastic communities, e.g., in the region of Amaseia (Beck, *Kirche* 137); in the early 4th C. it was used to denote secular superintendents of finances of large territorial units, DIOCESES (Eusebios, *VC* 4.36.3, ed. F. Winkelmann, p.134.12).

LIT. K.H. Maksoudian, *DMA* 7:226f. –A.K.

KATRARES, JOHN, writer and scribe from Thessalonike; fl. 1309–22. It can be deduced from his writings that Katrares (Κατράρης, Κατράριος) was interested in classical philology and was a member of the literary circle that flourished in the early 14th C. around Demetrios TRIKLINIOS and THOMAS MAGISTROS. He specialized in the copying of ancient works, such as Homer's *Iliad*, Proklos's commentary on the *Timaeus* of Plato, the

works of Strabo, and Theon's commentary on the *Canons* of Ptolemy.

Katrares composed a satirical poem of 222 ANACREONTIC verses attacking the Bulgarian writer Neophytos Momitzilas or Prodromenos (*PLP*, no. 19254). He called Neophytos a *Boulgar-albanitoblachos* and criticized his ignorance of classical literature, his greed, and his ambition to become patriarch. The poem includes some Slavic and perhaps also some Albanian words as examples of the barbaric speech of Neophytos. Katrares also wrote a play in dodecasyllabic verse, of which unfortunately only a short 37-line fragment survives; this literary effort, highly unusual in Byz., was clearly modeled on EURIPIDES. F. Jürss (*BZ* 59 [1966] 275–84) has established that Katrares was not the author of three dialogues (*Hermippos, Hermodotos,* and *Mousokles*) that had been attributed to him in the past.

ED. Verses—ed. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 130–50. Drama—G. de Andrés, J. Irigoin, W. Hörandner, "Johannes Katrares und seine dramatisch-poetische Produktion," *JÖB* 23 (1974) 201–14.
LIT. Turyn, *CodVat* 124–30. *PLP*, no. 11544. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:510; 2:95, 147f, 251. –A.M.T.

KAUSSIYEH CHURCH. See ANTIOCH.

KAVĀD (Καβάδης), king of Persia (488–531), father of Chosroes I; born 449, died 13 Sept. 531. He succeeded his uncle Valas as king, but from 496 to 498 lived in exile among the EPHTHALITES. He fought a largely unsuccessful war against Byz. (502–06), ended by a seven-year truce negotiated by KELER. Kavād sought the support of Justin I in securing the succession of Chosroes I by having the emperor adopt him. After this plan failed, relations with Byz. deteriorated in disputes concerning Lazika and Iberia. War broke out in 527 and lasted until Kavād's death. According to Prokopios (*Wars* 1.6.19), he governed Persia well since "in shrewdness and action he was second to none."

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 326–62. R. Frye, *The History of Ancient Iran* (Munich 1984) 322–25. K. Synelle, *Hoi diplomatikes scheseis Byzantiou kai Persias heos ton ΣΤ' aiona* (Athens 1986) 73–83. –T.E.G.

KAVĀD-SHĪRŪYA (Καβάδης Σιρόης), Persian king (Feb.–Sept./Oct. 628), died Ctesiphon from poison or in an epidemic. The son of CHOSROES II, Kavād-Shīrūya connived to imprison and murder his father and immediately sent an ambassador to Herakleios's military camp in Ganzak (arrived on 3 Apr.). The new king asked for peace and promised to release the prisoners of war and to send back the fragments of the True Cross; some sources even present him as a crypto-Christian (Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 109f). His premature death and the succession of his young son, Ardashīr III, weakened Byz. influence in Persia and impelled Herakleios to use SHAHRBARĀZ as a tool of Byz. interests.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 497f. N. Oikonomides, "Correspondence between Heraclius and Kavadh-Široe in the Paschal Chronicle (628)," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 269–81. –W.E.K.

KAVALLA. See CHRISTOUPOLIS.

KAY-KHUSRAW I, Ghiyāth al-Dīn (Γιαθατίνης), Seljuk sultan of IKONION (1194/5–97 and 1205–11); died near Antioch on the Meander 1211. Youngest son (by a Greek mother) of KILIC ARSLAN II, Kay-Khusraw received SOZOPOLIS ca. 1188, then briefly held Ikonion. In 1196 he ravaged the Meander Valley and carried off about 5,000 captives. Driven from Ikonion, the sultan sought refuge at the court of ALEXIOS III. He married a daughter of Manuel MAUROZOMES and resided with him; Akropolites (Akrop. 1:14.14) says he was baptized. Regaining his throne, he created a principality on the Meander for Maurozomes and helped THEODORE I LASKARIS consolidate his rule (Akrop. 1:11.2–4). Pressing toward the Mediterranean, he took Attaleia in Mar. 1207. Around 1209, Kay-Khusraw allied himself with HENRY OF HAINAULT. Around 1210 he was joined by the refugee Alexios III and used the latter's claim to the Nicaean throne as a pretext to attack Theodore. Early in 1211, Kay-Khusraw pushed down the Meander but was intercepted by Theodore I with an army strengthened by 800 Latin knights. While most of the Latins fell, Theodore slew the sultan in a duel reported in a contemporary oration by Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 172.1–10).

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*[2] 4:816. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 55–59, 82–88, 94–105. –C.M.B.

KAYSERI. See CAESAREA.

KEBRA NAGAST ("Glory of the Kings"), an Ethiopic collection of legends compiled in the 14th C. by a certain Isaac of whom nothing is known. According to the colophon, Isaac translated this work from his Arabic copy, which, in turn, had been translated from Coptic. Budge (*infra*) assigns the composition of the Coptic original to the 6th C. The work summarizes many biblical books (with particular emphasis on the queen of Ethiopia and her marriage to Solomon) and contains some data concerning the events of the 6th C., for example, the Ethiopian alliance with Justin I, who allegedly met ELESBOAM in Jerusalem; Shahid (*infra*) suggests that these events are presented in the *Kebra Nagast* in a manner similar to the version of the BOOK OF THE ḤIMYARITES. Monophysite in its core, the *Kebra Nagast* preserves a hostile attitude toward "Rome" (Constantinople) for having deserted the right faith and prophesies that a Persian king will destroy Rome and carry away the apostate together with his horse.

TR. W. Budge, *The Queen of Sheba and Her Only Son Menyelek* (London 1922).

LIT. I. Shahid, "The Kebra Nagast in the Light of Recent Research," *Muséon* 89 (1976) 133–78. Th. Papadopoullos, "Stoicheia diagraphes tou byzantinoaithiopikou politistikou chorou," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 691f. –A.K.

KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, founded in Constantinople in the early 12th C. by the empress IRENE DOUKAINA, wife of Alexios I Komnenos. Dedicated to the Theotokos Kecharitomene (Κεχαριτωμένη, "full of grace"), the convent was located in the northern section of Constantinople, adjacent to the male monastery of Christ Philanthropos, which Irene also founded (before 1107). The two institutions were separated by a wall but shared a common water system. The convent is known primarily from the lengthy and detailed *typikon* drafted ca.1110 on the model of the *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. Kecharitomene was originally designed to house 24 nuns; the possibility of an expansion to 40 nuns was foreseen. The rule was strictly cenobitic; the nuns did not have separate cells, but slept in a common dormitory. Irene imposed a rigorous rule of enclosure; absolutely no men were permitted to enter the convent except for two priests, the *oikonomos*, and the spiritual confessor (all four of whom had to be eunuchs), and the physician, who had to be a eunuch or elderly. Adjacent to the nunnery Irene built comfortable apartments to serve as a residence for female members of the imperial family; they were permitted to have servants. It was here that Anna KOMNENE retired after the death of her husband and wrote the *Alexiad.* The convent continued to function as late as the 15th C. when it was visited by the Russian deacon ZOSIMA. No buildings survive.

SOURCE. P. Gautier, "Le typikon de Theotokos Kécharitôménè," *REB* 43 (1985) 5–165.

LIT. L. Oeconomos, *La vie religieuse dans l'empire byzantin au temps des Comnènes et des Anges* (Paris 1918) 166–92. Janin, *Églises CP* 188–91. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 298. –A.M.T.

KEDRENOS, GEORGE, 12th-C. historian; his biography is unknown. The chronicle of Kedrenos (Κεδρηνός), *Synopsis historion*, encompasses history from the creation of the world to 1057. It is a compilation based on pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS, THEOPHANES, and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS; from 811 onward Kedrenos slavishly follows John SKYLITZES; until the recent publication of Skylitzes, Kedrenos was used by scholars as a substitute.

ED. *Georgius Cedrenus*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1838–39).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:393f. K. Schweinburg, "Die ursprüngliche Form der Kedrenchronik," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 68–77. R. Maisano, "Sulla tradizione manoscritta di Giorgio Cedreno," *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–79) 179–201. Idem, "Il codice Sinaitico della 'Cronaca' di Giorgio Cedreno," *SBNG* 69–77. –A.K.

KEGEN (Κεγένης), a PECHENEG ally of Byz.; died 1050. A tribal leader, he quarreled with Tyrach, the Pecheneg chief. Around 1045 or 1046 Kegen became an ally of CONSTANTINE IX. He was baptized and made a *patrikios.* He and his supporters received three Danubian fortresses and used the opportunity to plunder Tyrach's followers. After crossing the Danube (apparently 15 Dec. 1046–13 Jan. 1047), Tyrach and his tribes were defeated and settled near Serdica (before Apr. 1047). His followers rebelled (1048) and occupied an area between the Danube, the Balkan range, and the Black Sea, while Kegen's people kept themselves separate. To deal with the crisis, Constantine summoned Kegen and his army to Constantinople. There three Pechenegs assaulted him. They later convinced Constantine that Kegen had intended to plunder the city, and the emperor had him

imprisoned. In 1050, after repeated Pecheneg victories over imperial forces, Constantine released Kegen and sent him to divide and conquer his compatriots. No sooner had he arrived than he was cut to pieces.

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Once More About the 'Alleged' Russo-Byzantine Treaty (ca.1047) and the Pecheneg Crossing of the Danube," *JÖB* 26 (1977) 65–77. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303. –C.M.B.

KEKAUMENOS (Κεκαυμένος), author of a book of advice; born southern Macedonia? between 1020 and 1024, died after 1070s. His biography is little known. Kekaumenos's identification with the general KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS is now rejected by the majority of scholars. He was of mixed Armenian and Slavic origin. In 1041 he participated in an expedition against Peter DELJAN, in 1042 he witnessed the deposition of Michael V, and eventually he held an administrative position in Greece. The thesis that he belonged to the military aristocracy, as recently emphasized by Litavrin (*infra*), cannot be proved.

Kekaumenos wrote a unique moralistic work known under the conventional titles *Strategikon* or *Precepts and Anecdotes* and sometimes considered to be composed of two independent pieces. It is an indoctrination in "proper" behavior, addressed both to his sons and to those in various positions in society: emperors, generals, civil functionaries, patriarchs, provincial magnates, toparchs. The social orientation of Kekaumenos's advice remains under discussion. According to Litavrin, he expressed the views of the military aristocracy; according to Kazhdan, those of civil officials. The main tendency of his ethics is circumspection and apprehension: man lives in a dangerous and hostile world and cannot trust anyone; neither friends nor servants are reliable. Abstract admonitions are combined with vivid stories (often the experiences of Kekaumenos's relatives) about military ruses (in their style very close to John SKYLITZES) and everyday cunning. The work also contains abundant information on political events, esp. in the Balkans, Armenia, and on the Byz.-Arab frontier.

ED. G.G. Litavrin, *Sovety i rasskazy Kekavmena* (Moscow 1972), rev. by A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 36 (1974) 154–67, with response by Litavrin, 167–77. Germ. tr. H.G. Beck, *Vademecum des byzantinischen Aristokraten*[2] (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1964).

LIT. P. Lemerle, *Prolégomènes à une édition critique et commentée des "Conseils et Récits" de Kékauménos* (Brussels 1960). R.M. Bartikian, "Nekotorye zamečanija o 'Sovetach i rasskazach' ('Strategikone') Kekavmena," *Vestnik obščestvennych nauk AN Arm.SSR* (1974), no.2, 71–88, also ibid. (1975), no.6, 55–61. L. Margetić, "Kekaumenos' Dobronja—ein Kroatischer Herrscher des XI. Jahrhunderts," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 39–46. A. Savvides, "The Byzantine Family of Kekaumenos," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 12–27. –A.K.

KELER (Κέλερ), or Celer, official of Illyrian origin, consul (508); died after 520. *Magister officiorum* (503–18), he was named commander in the East with AREOBINDUS and HYPATIOS. He conducted several years of successful campaigning, freeing Roman cities and devastating Persian territory. He was the principal negotiator of a seven-year truce, signed in 506, the reward for which was undoubtedly the consulship. In 511 he supported Anastasios I against Patr. Makedonios II (496–511) and put down crowds opposed to the emperor's Monophysite policies. Keler reluctantly accepted the accession of Justin I in 518, did not attend the emperor's elevation (A. Vasiliev, *Justin the First* [Cambridge, Mass., 1950] 82), and had to retire from the post of *magister officiorum*. In 519/20, however, he corresponded with Pope HORMISDAS concerning the end of the AKAKIAN SCHISM. He is an example of a talented and loyal official, competent in both civil and military matters, upon whom the emperor could depend (see JOHN LYDOS, *De mag.* 3.17).

LIT. *PLRE* 2:275–77. C. Capizzi, *L'imperatore Anastasio I (491–518)* (Rome 1969) 183f, 214. –T.E.G.

KELLIA (Κελλία, lit. "cells"), the largest Early Christian monastic settlement in Egypt, near the western edge of the Nile Delta. Approximately 1,600 individual dwellings have been identified; most of them were built from the 6th to 8th C., and inhabited until about the 9th C. Each unit contains separate rooms for two monks, an oratory, a reception room, and a kitchen. Usually there is also a well and a garden, all surrounded by a wall. Many have their own defense tower (*jawsaq*), and some even a small church. In the two main settlements, two large complexes (Qaṣr Wakhāyda and Kūm ʿĪsā South I) have been excavated, regular units which later served as community centers of the LAVRA. They have towers, refectories, and several churches. The earliest church, a single-aisled chapel of ca.400, stood in

Kūm ʿĪsā South I. By the late 8th C. most of the monks had abandoned their little cells and moved into these larger units. The site of Kellia is rapidly disappearing, threatened by encroaching agriculture.

LIT. F. Daumas, A. Guillaumont, *Kellia I* (Geneva 1968). R. Kasser, *Kellia: topographie*, 3 vols. in 4 pts. (Geneva 1972). Idem, *Survey archéologique des Kellia (Basse-Egypte)*, 2 vols. (Louvain 1983). *Le site monastique copte des Kellia*, ed. P. Bridel (Geneva 1986). –P.G.

KELLION (κελλίον) or *kella* (κέλλα, κέλλη), interchangeable terms for several types of monastic cell. (1) A cell in a KOINOBION, housing one or two (*Typikon* of EUERGETIS MONASTERY, ed. P. Gautier, 67.917) monks. In their cells monks slept, prayed, and read; recited certain offices privately; and, where appropriate, did handwork. They were forbidden to eat or keep food in their cells. Aristocrats who retired to a monastery sometimes had a suite of *kellia* (*Typikon* of KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, ed. P. Gautier, 137.2102). (2) A monastic cell at a LAVRA; a monk who lived in a lavra (in contrast to a *koinobion*) was frequently called a *kelliotes*. (3) The cell of a HERMIT. (4) A small MONASTERY, as on Mt. Athos, the *kellia* of the late Antony (*Prot.* 86, n.245).

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 70–72, 99f, 309f. –A.M.T.

KELTZENE (Κελτζηνή, mod. Erzincan), a fortress and region (anc. Kelisene) on the north branch of the Euphrates in eastern Anatolia. A *tourma* of CHALDIA, Keltzene was combined with KAMACHA by Leo VI to form the theme of MESOPOTAMIA. Keltzene was a base of Romanos IV during his expedition against the Turks, to whom it fell after the battle of Mantzikert (1071). Its bishop, attested in the late 9th C. as "suffragan of Kamachos," became metropolitan by the end of the 10th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.60); his see contained 21 suffragans. In the 14th C., under an independent Muslim ruler whose subjects were mostly Armenian, Keltzene was in frequent relation with the empire of Trebizond.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 198–210. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 139. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 171–73. –C.F.

KENARIOS (κηνάριος), an official whom Seibt considered as a subaltern to the EPI TES TRAPEZES or a stage in the transformation of the KASTRESIOS to *epi tes trapezes*. The *kenarios* is mentioned in very few documents: a seal from ca.800, a letter of 836. According to Seibt, an Armenian David (Dawit), a translator of Greek in the first half of the 9th C., was also *hypatos* and *kenarios* of the imperial *trapeza*.

LIT. W. Seibt, "Kenarios—ein 'neuer' Würdenträger am Hof des byzantinischen Kaisers," *HA* 88 (1974) 369–80. –A.K.

KENCHREAI (Κεγχρεαί), eastern port of CORINTH on the Saronic Gulf. The site flourished in late antiquity, reflecting the volume of trade between Corinth and the East. Particularly significant is a building identified as a temple of Isis on the southern harborworks; according to the excavators this building was being lavishly restored when the city was devastated by an earthquake, probably in 375. A series of Egyptian glass panels in OPUS SECTILE had been brought to the site, perhaps for decoration of the Isis temple, but the warehouse in which they were stored sank in the earthquake and the panels were never used. They depicted Nilotic scenes and two remarkable portraits of Homer and Plato. A passage in CLAUDIAN (*In Rufinum* 2:199) suggests that both the harbors of Corinth were burned by Alaric. Later a Christian basilica was constructed near the former temple. Coin hoards found at Kenchreai have been taken as evidence of the Slavic invasions in the 580s (R.L. Hohlfelder, *Hesperia* 42 [1973] 89–101; *East European Quarterly* 9 [1975] 251–58). The so-called Iconoclast notitia seems to list Kenchreai as a bishopric (*Notitiae CP* 3.736: Kiknipeos in the text, a correction suggested by N. Bees), but this is unlikely. Scattered references show that the harbor continued to be used as late as the early 15th C.; Manuel II used it as his base for reconstruction of the HEXAMILION. Pottery from the excavations spans the entire Byz. period and the latest coin find is a Venetian issue of the doge Antonio Venerio (1382–1400).

LIT. *Kenchreai: Eastern Port of Corinth*, 5 vols. (Leiden 1976–81). –T.E.G.

KENTARCHOS (κένταρχος), subaltern officer in the army and fleet. The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (4.11) defines the *kentarchos*, or *hekatontarchos* (Lat. *centurio*), as commander of a hundred men; the same

definition is given in the NAUMACHIKA of the *parakoimomenos* Basil (ed. A. Dain, 4.2, pp. 66f). The first mention of the term is in an early 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 287.7), who states that Phokas was *kentarchos* in 602 when he revolted against Maurice; the chronicler's source, Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok. 296.13), however, called Phokas *hekatontarchos*. The term was in use in the 9th and 10th C. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions the *kentarchos* in various military contingents and themes, under the command of the DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS, as well as civil *kentarchoi* in the VESTIARION. They served also in the fleet. Nikephoros OURANOS (*Naumachica*, ed. A. Dain, 7, p.73) mentions the *kentarchos* of a DROMON, and a seal of the 10th C. belonged to Christopher, *spatharios* and *kentarchos* of the imperial fleet (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.988). The word *kentarchia* (*Taktika of Leo VI* 16.4) designated a military unit. Basil II, in his novel of 996 (Zepos, *Jus* 1:265.25), while accepting the definition of the DYNATOI suggested by Romanos I, added to their number also the *protokentarchoi*—"as a matter of fact, we recognize them as *dynatoi*."

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 169. –A.K.

KENTENARION (κεντηνάριον), a weight of Roman origin (*centumpondium, centenarium*) equal to 100 *logarikai* LITRAI [= 32 kg]. The term *talanton* was used synonymously in some classicizing texts. From the mid-6th C. *kentenarion* often meant a quantity of 100 *logarikai litrai* of gold or gold coins. Rarely, *kentenarion* was used as a unit of 100 MODIOI or as a synonym with *litra*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 109, 174. G. Dagron, C. Morrisson, "Le *Kentènarion* dans les sources byzantines," *RN*[6] 17 (1975) 145–62. –E. Sch.

KEOS (Κέος, mod. Kea), island in the Aegean Sea southeast of Attica; in late antiquity it was part of the province of Achaia. Mention of Keos in Byz. times is rare. In 710/11 when Pope Constantine I was journeying toward Constantinople, Byz. officials gathered on the island *quae dicitur Caea* to meet him; among them was Theophilos, *strategos* of the fleet (*Caravisiani*) (*Lib.pont.* 1:390). Michael CHONIATES, who found refuge on Keos after 1204, described resistance to the Venetians by inhabitants of the island; Keos remained independent until 1211. Soon after 1261 the *protostrator* Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS attacked several Aegean islands, including Keos, and ca.1279/80 LICARIO of Karystos, a Byz. mercenary, captured it (Jacoby, *Féodalité* 69). The Venetians retook Keos by 1301, and the island was divided among noble families (Giustiniani, Ghizi, Sanudi) under the suzerainty of Venice. They held Keos until 1566.

A three-aisled Early Christian basilica has been discovered, probably constructed on the site of a temple of Demeter (Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens* 202). The major settlement was at the ancient site of Ioulis, where a fortress was constructed in the 13th C., and probably rebuilt in the 15th C. (J.-C. Poutiers, *ByzF* 11 [1987] 389). The Church of the Holy Apostles at Kato Meria has frescoes of the 13th C. The bishop of Keos was a suffragan of Athens (*Notitiae CP* 3.689).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 308–57. I. Psyllas, *Historia tes nesou Keas* (Athens 1921). Ch.P. Demetropoulos, *Hoi ekklesies tes Keas* (Thessalonike 1982–83). –T.E.G.

KEPHALAIA. See CHAPTERS.

KEPHALAION (κεφάλαιον, chapter, item, or article). In addition to referring to the literary genre of CHAPTERS, *kephalaion* was a fiscal term designating articles of taxation in general. Lexical similarity with the Latin CAPITATIO led some scholars (e.g., G. Ostrogorsky, *SemKond* 5 [1932] 320) to believe that *kephalaion* was the POLL TAX. Although the term could be used for taxes in general ("no new *kephalaion* must be introduced"—*Xénoph.*, no.29.21) or for the description of the entire amount of taxes paid by a monastery (*Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev [St. Petersburg 1913; rp. Amsterdam 1975] no.6.13–15), there is no evidence of its use to mean poll tax. Nor did its cognates such as *kephalaiographon* (MM 4:318.19) or *kephaletion* (a special tax imposed upon Jews?) have this meaning. *Kephalaia* were also "chapters" of fiscal cadasters (KODIX) in which a single tax unit was registered.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 49f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 147–49. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 21f. –A.K.

KEPHALAS (Κεφαλᾶς, from κεφαλή, "head"), a family known from the early 10th C., although

not in the elite: a priest Constantine Kephalas compiled an anthology (see KEPHALAS, CONSTANTINE). Nothing links later members of the Kephalas family to him. Leo Kephalas, son of Alexios I's *doulos,* became a prominent military commander and ca.1086 *katepano* of Abydos. Alexios I endowed him with lands that were transmitted by a chrysobull of 1089 to Leo's children. In 1115 Nikephoros, Leo's son, donated his lands to the Lavra of St. Athanasios on Athos; Nikephoros's relative, Theodore Kephalas, was *hegoumenos* of the Lavra. A certain Kephalas was an influential provincial functionary in the 1180s. The family was still active but not prominent in the 14th C.: a Kephalas was *kommerkiarios* in 1332; Gregory Kephalas was first *ostiarios* in 1285; Kephalas Laskaris is called imperial *doulos* in 1373. Charters connected with Leo Kephalas's estates are published in *Lavra* 1, nos. 44–45, 48–49, 60. The reading of Keph[alas] on an 8th-C. seal of a certain Basil (Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 158) is questionable.

LIT. G. Rouillard, "Un grand bénéficiaire sous Alexis Comnène: Léon Képhalas," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 444–50. *PLP,* nos. 11667–80. –A.K.

KEPHALAS, CONSTANTINE, compiler of a collection of epigrams; fl. ca.900. His biography is unknown; he is identified with *protopapas* (palace chaplain) Constantine Kephalas mentioned by chroniclers (e.g., *TheophCont* 388.24) as active in 917. For his collection Kephalas (Κεφαλᾶς) used ancient ANTHOLOGIES, some epigrams (AGATHIAS), and texts that the *magistros* Gregory of Kampsa (in Macedonia) copied down from inscriptions during his travels in Greece and Macedonia. The work is typical of 10th-C. encyclopedism (Lemerle, *Humanism* 310). Kephalas's collection was frequently used in the SOUDA and enlarged by the anonymous editor of the Anthologia Palatina (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). The original version of Kephalas's collection is not preserved.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:56f. Wilson, *Scholars* 138. –A.K.

KEPHALE (κεφαλή, lit. "head, chief"), from the second half of the 13th C. through the end of the empire, a term of colloquial origin denoting the highest functionary of provincial administration. From the middle of the 13th C. the office of *kephale* (*kephalat⟨t⟩ikion*) gradually replaced that of the DOUX. By the 14th C., the *kephale* was the combined civil and military administrator of the primary provincial administrative unit, no longer the THEME but a much smaller area called a *katepanikion,* usually no larger than the immediate environs of a KASTRON. The title *kephale,* found almost exclusively in documentary sources, remained an epithet of function—hence, the participial common forms, *ho kephalit⟨t⟩ikeuon* and *ho eis kephalen heuriskomenos*—and never became a courtly, hierarchical rank; thus, most *kephalai* also possessed courtly ranks. While most *kephalai* were governors of *kastra,* their jurisdictions varied, sometimes extending over islands or groups of villages. On the other hand, during the 14th C., perhaps as an attempt to maintain central control over the provinces, some *kephalai* (*katholikai* ["general"] as distinguished from *merikai* ["local"] *kephalai*) had jurisdiction over larger areas, sometimes entire provinces. These *katholikai kephalai* were usually related to the emperor or were members of very prominent families. During the later 14th C. the *katholikai kephalai* generally disappeared as the areas where they were found, the Morea, Thessaly, and Thessalonike, became APPANAGES.

LIT. Maksimović, *ByzProvAdm* 117–66. –M.B.

KEPHALENIA (Κεφαλ⟨λ⟩ηνία, also Kephalonia), island in the IONIAN SEA. In late antiquity it was part of the province of Achaia and metropolitan see of Epiros I. Its political significance increased after Byz. had lost northern Italy, since Kephalenia became the major base of communication with Sicily and southern Italy and a strategic center against Arab attempts to penetrate the Ionian Sea. Information about the administrative structure of Kephalenia is confused, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 50.85–87) asserting that Kephalenia was a *tourma* of Longobardia until Leo VI (?) transformed it into a *strategis*; he also affirmed (*De them.* 7.1–2, ed. Pertusi 91) that Kephalenia had never been a theme. On the other hand, all the TAKTIKA, beginning with that of Uspenskij, list the *strategos* of Kephalenia, a Latin chronicler mentions its *strategos* Paulos in 809 (MGH *SS* 1:196f), and various seals of its *strategoi* are preserved, some of which are dated to the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 919, 2657, 3200). Other functionaries in Kephalenia

were the *kommerkiarios* of Hellas, the Peloponnesos, and Kephalenia (no.1865); the *protonotarios* (no.1561); and the *tourmarches* (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.96)—all attested in the 9th C. By that time a group of the MARDAITAI was resettled in Kephalenia (*De cer.* 668.8–10) and the island served as a place of exile for political prisoners (Theoph. 372.8).

The final Byz. retreat from Italy diminished the role of Kephalenia. The island was administered by a judge-*krites* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.674). In 1085 the Normans unsuccessfully besieged the main city, in 1126 it was plundered by the Venetians, and in 1185 taken by William II of Sicily and lost to the empire. The Orsini held it as a fief from Venice, in 1357 it came definitively under the power of the Tocco. The Turks occupied Kephalenia in 1479, but in 1500 it was seized by Venice.

In antiquity there were four cities on the island and these survived into late antiquity: Samos presumably as capital and Panormos (mod. Phiskardo) with civic status. From circa the 8th C., the main settlement had moved to Hagios Georgios, a defensible site near the center of the island. A survey of the island drawn up for the Latin bishopric in 1264 provides many details of topography and agrarian relations (ed. Th.S. Tzannetatos, *To praktikon tes Latinikes episkopes Kephallenias tou 1264 kai he epitome autou* [Athens 1965]).

LIT. *TIB* 3:175–77. D. Zakythenos, "Le thème de Céphalonie et la défense de l'Occident," *HellCont* 8 (1954) 303–12. D. Antonakatou, "Ereunes kai symperasmata gyro apo te mesaionike Kephalonia me base to praktikon tou 1264," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 291–356. N. Phokas-Kosmetatos, *To kastro Hagiou Georgiou Kephallenias* (Athens 1966). –T.E.G.

KERAMION (*κεράμιον*) or *keramidion* (*κεραμίδιον*), the Holy Tile, a relic that had the features of Christ impressed on it through contact with the MANDYLION; it is a unique example of one ACHEIROPOIETOS producing another. Legends about its origin vary, one deriving it from Edessa, the other from HIERAPOLIS in Syria; in both cases the Mandylion was hidden away between tiles, which received the miraculous impression. According to various traditions, either Nikephoros II Phokas in 966 or John I Tzimiskes in 974 removed the Holy Tile from Hierapolis (N. Elisséeff, *EI*[2] 6:379) and took it to Constantinople where it was housed in the Pharos chapel of the GREAT PALACE. The Keramion, an early representation of which occurs at LAGOUDERA, was never a common theme; it generally serves as a pendant to the Mandylion, often between the pendentives of a church, or side by side with it, as in a 12th-C. MS of JOHN KLIMAX (Martin, *Heavenly Ladder*, fig.231). It does not occur on icons, probably because it had no feast in the church calendar.

LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 168. T. Raff, "Das 'heilige Kerámion' und 'Christos der Antiphonetés,'" in *Festschrift L. Kretzenbacher* (Munich 1983) 145–49. –N.P.Š.

KERASOUS (Κερασοῦς, mod. Giresun), city of the Black Sea coast, west of Trebizond, important as a port and the terminus of a road to KOLONEIA and the interior of Asia Minor. Kerasous was seat of a *kommerkiarios* (usually of Lazika, Kerasous, and Trebizond) in the late 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 164, 178f) and of the imperial *kommerkia* in the 730s (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.250). In the 11th C. it may have had a local scriptorium that produced the Kerasous Gospels, whose illustrations show some Armenian characteristics. Under the empire of Trebizond, Kerasous was the headquarters of a BANDON and the western bastion against the Turkomans. In Sept. 1301 the Trapezuntine emperor Alexios II Komnenos defeated them at Kerasous; his victory was eulogized by Stephen Sgouropoulos who also mentions the construction of the local fortress. The fortifications show two main periods, the first probably of 1301; they were maintained until the Turkish conquest in 1461.

Kerasous was a suffragan bishopric of NEOKAISAREIA, first attested in 431; by 1079 it was a metropolis without suffragans. Its church was in close contact with that of Alania (N. Bees, *ArchPont* 16 [1951] 255–62).

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 126–34. –C.F.

KERATION (*κεράτιον*, Lat. *siliqua*), lit. the seed (bean) of the carob or locust tree (*Ceratonia siliqua*). It was widely used in the Near East as a unit of weight, with slight variations of standard from one region to another. The Greco-Roman *keration* was 0.189 g and the pound (see LITRA) was reckoned at 1,728 *keratia*, that is, 12 OUNGIAI of 144 *keratia* each. The SOLIDUS, 1/72 of the pound

and 1/6 of the ounce, weighed 24 *keratia* so that the *keration* became, as 1/24 of the solidus, a unit of account. It was also a unit of fineness for gold, that is, the English *carat* or 1/24 part, since the solidus was of pure gold and therefore 24 carats fine. –Ph.G.

KERČ. See BOSPOROS, CIMMERIAN.

KERIMADDIN OF AKSARAY. See KARĪM AL-DĪN.

KERKYRA (Κέρκυρα, Corfu, with many variants, archaistically known as Phaiakia, etc.), island (and its primary city) in the IONIAN SEA. The ancient city, on the east central coast, was an important way-station in the journey between Constantinople and the West; it was destroyed by the Goths in the 6th C. but was probably resettled soon thereafter (I. Papademetriu, *StB* 6 [1940] 340). Constantine Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 7.5, ed. Pertusi, p.92) mentions only Homeric Kerkyra, the kingdom of Alcinous. Some legendary data are preserved in the vita of St. Arsenios of Kerkyra, probably compiled by George BARDANES, which mentions a "Scythian" attack on Kerkyra in the mid-10th C. Skylitzes (Skyl. 385.57–58) relates that in 1033 the Saracens burned Kerkyra. According to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:57.14–15), Robert Guiscard seized the "well-fortified *polis* of Korypho" in 1081, but the island resisted the Normans and probably remained semi-independent, under the command of its *doux*; at any rate, Bohemund, after his flight from the East, felt secure on Kerkyra. During the expedition of 1147 the Normans, supported by a local population irritated by heavy taxes, again captured Kerkyra. After a long siege Manuel I took Kerkyra in 1149, hoping to use it as a base for an attack on Sicily. In 1204 the Venetians seized the island. In 1214 Kerkyra fell under the control of the despotate of EPIROS and in 1246 the *despotes* Michael II Komnenos Doukas renewed an earlier grant of considerable autonomy to a collegium of 33 priests, maintained by most of the island's Western rulers. In 1259 Michael II granted Kerkyra as dowry to MANFRED of Sicily and by 1272 the island was under the control of CHARLES I OF ANJOU. In 1382 Kerkyra was in Navarrese hands and in 1386 it was ceded to Venice. After the fall of Constantinople and the Morea many Byz. fled to Kerkyra.

According to legend (*Synax.CP* 633.6–18), the church of Kerkyra was founded by two disciples of St. Paul, Jason of Tarsos and Sosipatros of Achaia, who erected there a shrine of Stephen the First Martyr; its bishops participated in councils from 325 to 787. They were suffragans of Nikopolis, then of Kephalenia. In the 11th C. Kerkyra was elevated to the rank of metropolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:618); the seals of several metropolitans from the 11th to 13th C. are preserved. A Latin archbishop is attested first in 1228; the Orthodox were meanwhile under the authority of a *protopapas*.

In the ancient city, about 2 km south of the modern center, are the remains of the five-aisled basilica of Jovian (Iobianos), dated to the 5th C., rebuilt in the 12th C. as a single-aisled church, and several other churches of various dates. The cross-in-square Church of Jason and Sosipatros, *katholikon* of a monastery, was built ca.1000. Approximately 17 km northeast of the town is the Chapel of St. Merkourios, dated by an inscription of 1074/5 ascribing construction and decoration to the patronage of the *droungarios* Nicholas and his brothers. P. Vocotopoulos (*CahArch* 21 [1971] 151–80) saw in the frescoes of this and other churches on the island elements of the style of HOSIOS LOUKAS, reflections of Kerkyra's role as a station between Greece and Italy. Fortifications at Angelokastron on the west coast have been dated to the 11th/12th C.

LIT. *TIB* 3:107, 178–81. D. Triantaphyllopoulos, *RBK* 4:1–63. A.A. Longo, "Per la storia di Corfù nel XIII secolo," *RSBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 209–43. –T.E.G., A.C.

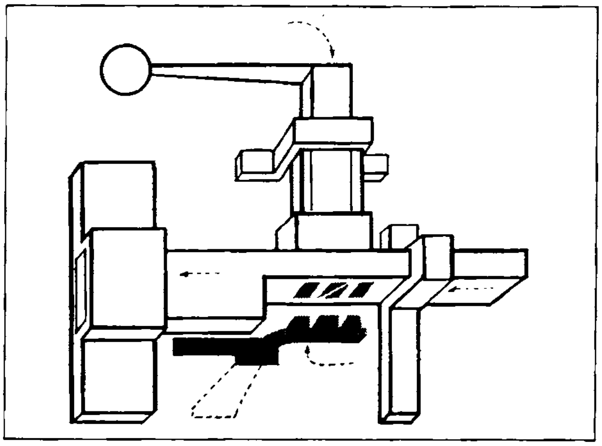
KEROULARIOS (Κηρουλάριος), a family name meaning "CANDLEMAKER." P. Gautier (*REB* 27 [1969] 342) suggested that Keroularios was not a family name but merely the sobriquet of a single man; the name, however, was applied to several family members, and the patriarchal catalog (V. Laurent, *EO* 35 [1936] 76f) describes Patr. MICHAEL I as belonging to the Keroularioi—as Constantine III belonged to the Leichoudai. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1:318f) praised the family (perhaps ironically) as an ancient lineage, the descendants of Herakles. The first known Keroularios was a high financial official in the early 11th C. Two of

his sons plotted against Emp. Michael IV in 1040 and were exiled; one eventually became Patr. Michael I. *Peira* 65:2 relates a litigation between a certain Keroularios and his brother's widow; since *Peira* is very unlikely to reflect a case after 1040, this Keroularios must not be the patriarch but rather an older relative (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 12 [1987] 71f). Two of the patriarch's nephews were high-ranking civil officials. One of them, Constantine, Psellos's correspondent, was *megas droungarios tes viglas* and acquired the title of *sebastos*; Psellos knew him also as a land and slave owner. The case of his will was under investigation by Nikephoros III (*Reg* 2, no.1054). Constantine and his brother Nikephoros supported Isaac I Komnenos in 1057. EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA was the patriarch's niece, and her husband, Constantine Doukas, has also been called the patriarch's nephew. Michael, Constantine Keroularios's son, was like his father *droungarios tes viglas*; he was Alexios I's *gambros* (by a niece); he seized his father's fortune, to the detriment of his younger brothers, and Alexios sanctioned his actions in 1082. Several documents of the period, including a charter of 1109, mention Michael, *sebastos* and *logothetes* (*Lavra* 1, no.58.24); Tzetzes also mentions him. According to Tzetzes, Constantine's daughter married a tax collector named George, Tzetzes' own grandfather (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 217–19). Although the Keroularioi appear to have been mostly civil functionaries, an epigram ridicules a *strategos* Keroularios, son of a candle merchant (K. Dyobouniotes, *NE* 16 [1922] 45.13–14).

LIT. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058)," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 96f. –A.K.

KETOS. See JONAH.

KEYS. Two kinds of key-lock systems, sliding and turning, were used in Byz. The sliding key-lock system was the earlier and mechanically more complex. Its distinguishing feature is a bit composed of raised teeth attached at right-angles to a rectangular shaft. The bit is passed in a rotating motion through the lower extremity of an L-shaped hole in the lock plate. It is then raised until its projecting teeth displace from the bolt a series of pins or tumblers held in place by a spring. Once engaged in the perforations, the key



KEYS. Schematic drawing of a sliding key.

is used to draw the bolt along horizontally, out of its seating. A high level of security was afforded by the fact that only a bit with teeth precisely matching the perforations in the bolt could be raised into those holes and thereby force out the restraining pins. Such locks were esp. preferred and popularized by the Romans, with whom they are customarily associated. That they remained in use in Constantinople at least until the 6th C. is clear from the marble doors in the South Gallery of Hagia Sophia; their carefully sculpted lock plates reveal a sliding key mechanism of surprising accuracy and detail.

The turning key, simpler than the sliding key, was the more popular key-lock system in Byz.; in appearance and mechanics it resembled the old-fashioned skeleton key still in use today. The turning key is inserted through a narrow vertical slit in the lock plate and then rotated so that its panel or bit will lift, release, and ultimately advance or retract a bolt that is held in place by a spring. Only a bit of the proper height and depth will successfully engage the bolt; occasionally, restraining bars or "wards" are set within the lock chamber that further require that the bit have corresponding notches in order to rotate. Nearly all surviving turning keys are bronze, with a movable joint between barrel and hoop. Hoops vary in design (including quatrefoils, zoomorphic motifs, and beads), as do bits, although the technical simplicity of the latter presupposes the use of seals for additional security. Indeed, some turning key hoops bear ring bezels with incised sealing devices. (See also LOCKS AND PADLOCKS.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 2–5. –G.V.

KHAČATUR (Χατατούριος, Χατατούρης in Greek sources, Arm. Xač'atur), Byz. general, Armenian by birth, whom Romanos IV appointed *doux* or *katepano* of Antioch in 1069. After the deposition of Romanos, Khačatur sided with him against Michael VII but fought unsuccessfully, was taken captive by Andronikos Doukas, son of Caesar John, and probably perished in 1072. His identification with the Armenian Pekht or Bekht (*doux* of Antioch in 1065 according to MATTHEW OF EDESSA, in 1069/70 according to IBN AL-ʿADĪM) has not been proved. H. Grégoire (*AIPHOS* 2 [1934] pt.1, 459–63) suggested that reminiscences of Khačatur were reflected in the image of Asator in the fifth book of the Turkish epic *Said Battal*.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La chronologie des gouverneurs d'Antioche," *MélUnivJos* 38 (1962) 245–48. J. Laurent, "Le duc d'Antioche Khatchatour, 1068–72," *BZ* 30 (1929/30) 405–11. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 126. –A.K.

KHAGAN (χαγάνος), title used by Central Asiatic peoples to designate the holder of supreme political authority. According to some scholars the word was borrowed by the Turkic peoples from the Juan-Juan (a group of Asiatic Avars) with this specific sense. Byz. authors use this title to refer to the rulers of the Avars, Turks, Khazars, and Bulgarians; in the Latin *Annales Bertiniani, sub anno* 839, the term is applied to the prince of the Rus'. It is also utilized in the corpus of the so-called Orkhon inscriptions of the Gök Turks. Mongols used a version of this word, and it was adopted by the Ottoman sultans as well.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:332–34. J.A. Boyle, *EI*² 4:915. –S.V.

KHĀLID (Χάλεδος), more fully Khālid ibn al-Walīd; a prominent early Muslim commander and conqueror of Byz. Syria who was known as "the Sword of God." An early opponent of MUḤAMMAD, Khālid converted to Islam in 627 or 629. He participated in an expedition to Mu'ta in 629, where the Byz. commander Theodore defeated him. According to Arabic sources, ABU BAKR sent Khālid to conquer al-Ḥīra in Iraq in 633, which he accomplished, but non-Muslim tradition knows nothing of this conquest. Khālid crossed the desert to assist beleaguered Muslim armies in Syria in 634. He surprised the Byz. defenses and conquered Bostra, contributing to the Muslim victory at Ajnādayn and the first Muslim conquests of Damascus and Emesa. He participated in the battle of the YARMUK and in the second and final conquests of Damascus and Emesa. ʿUMAR removed him from supreme command, but he participated in other expeditions against the Byz. in northern Syria.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 115–51. P. Crone, *EI*² 4:928f. J. Wellhausen, *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin 1899) 6:37–68. –W.E.K.

KHĀQĀNĪ, more fully Afḍal al-Dīn Ibrāhīm Khāqānī, a panegyric poet who wrote in Persian; born Azerbaijan 1121/2 or 1126, died Tabrīz 1199. His mother was for a while an adherent of the Nestorian creed, and Khāqānī displayed an interest in and knowledge of Christianity that was unusual in the East. He lived in Shirwan, which was under the supreme rule of Georgian kings, and in an ode he praised the king of Georgia, Demetrios I (O. Vil'čevskij in *Issledovanija po istorii kul'tury narodov Vostoka* [Moscow-Leningrad 1960] 56–60). He traveled much, but his career was not successful. In 1159 he was put in prison. In 1184 he fled from Shirwan, hoping to go to Khurāsān, but was forced to return to Tabrīz, where he spent his remaining years.

In a poem addressed to Manuel I Komnenos, Khāqānī mentions his visit to Constantinople and describes the religious discussions that took place in the Byz. capital ca.1166 concerning the relationship of the Father and the Son. When Andronikos (I) Komnenos came as an exile to Georgia and participated in the battle of 1173 against the Rus', Khāqānī praised his high qualities and offered him his services.

LIT. B. Reinert, *EI*² 4:915f. J. Rypka, *History of Iranian Literature* (Dordrecht 1968) 202–28. O. Vil'čevskij, "Chakani," *Sovetskoe vostokovedenie*, no.4 (1957) 63–76. V. Minorsky, "Khaqani and Andronicus Comnenus," *BSOAS* 11 (1943–46) 550–78. –A.K.

KHAZARIA (Χαζαρία), the land of the KHAZARS. The term was applied to the Khazar khaganate, which Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos places near RHOSIA, ZICHIA, Alania, Black Bulgaria, the land of the UZES, and Lebedia where the Hungarians had dwelt. In the episcopal notitias the term designates a Khazar bishopric under either the metropolitan see of Gothia (see *Notitiae CP*,

no.3.777–79), or possibly under the guidance of the archbishop of Cherson; the latter is mentioned in a letter of Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.68.12–21). In Greek texts of the 14th and 15th C. Khazaria means the "CRIMEA" and, accordingly, Italian documents call the peninsula "Gazariae." Skylitzes' evidence (Skyl. 354.90–94) that in 1015/16 Basil II sent a fleet to Khazaria and, with the help of the Rus', captured "the *archon* of the land," George Tzoules, refers not to the Khazars (thus Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:82f), but to a revolt in Cherson (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 6 [1953] 266f). –O.P.

KHAZARS (Χάζαροι), the name of the ruling tribe (from the mid-7th C.) in the northern Caucasus; the Byz. usually called them TOURKOI. Information concerning the early political history of the Khazars (their conquest of Armenia and Georgia) is anachronistic. If the Khazars were active in the Caucasus in the 6th C. they were subject to the SABIRI and AVARS. As an independent force "the eastern Turks who are called Chazareis" are mentioned (Theoph. 315.15–16) as allies of Herakleios against the Persians in 625/6. The nucleus of the Khazar khaganate was in Dagestan and on the Lower Volga, with capitals at Semender and Balanjar. The population was diversified economically (both seminomadic tribes and traders with the Far East), linguistically, ethnically, and in religion. Some Greeks settled among the Khazars, and a Greek see was established, but the 9th-C. mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and an attempt to convert the Khazars to Christianity failed.

The Khazars were natural allies of Byz., first against the Persians and Avars, then the Arabs. Herakleios suggested his daughter as a wife for the *khagan*; Justinian II married the *khagan*'s sister; Constantine V also married a Khazar princess (the famous *Čiček*, lit. "flower"), and his son, Leo IV, was nicknamed "the Khazar." There was some friction in the relationship; the Khazars established their power in Crimea and accepted Judaism as the dominant religion. Nonetheless, Theophilos helped the Khazars build the fortress of SARKEL, and Khazar contingents fought in the army of Leo VI against the Bulgarians.

When SVJATOSLAV of Kiev inflicted a heavy blow upon the Khazars in 965, the Byz. switched to an alliance with the Rus'. Around 985 VLADIMIR I destroyed the remnants of the Khazar khaganate.

LIT. N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1982). P. Golden, *Khazar Studies*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1980). D.M. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars* (Princeton 1954). M. Artamonov, *Istorija Chazar* (Leningrad 1962). S.A. Pletneva, *Chazary* (Moscow 1976). O. Pritsak, "The Khazar Kingdom's Conversion to Judaism," *HUkSt* 2 (1978) 261–81. A.P. Novosel'zev, "Chazarija v sisteme meždumarodnych otnošenij VII–IX vekov," *Voprosy istorii* 2 (1987) 20–32. –O.P.

KHLUDOV PSALTER. See PSALTER.

KIBOTOS. See NOAH'S ARK.

KIBYRRHAIOTAI (Κιβυρραιῶται). First and most important of the naval themes, Kibyrrhaiotai originally designated part of the fleet of the KARABISIANOI under a *droungarios* attested in 698. With the dissolution of that fleet, Kibyrrhaiotai became a THEME; its *strategos* is first mentioned in 734. Kibyrrhaiotai comprised the coasts of Asia Minor from Miletos to Cilicia, together with the interior of CARIA, LYCIA, PAMPHYLIA, and parts of ISAURIA. This region provided raw materials, supplies, and recruits for the thematic fleet, which protected the coast and was used for campaigns against the Arabs. The coast of Kibyrrhaiotai was so devastated by Arab attacks that large areas became depopulated and only a few fortified cities and naval bases (ATTALEIA, SYLLAION, SELEUKEIA) survived. The *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai was a naval commander whose main subordinates were the *katepano* of the MARDAITES, the *ek prosopou* of Syllaion, and the *droungarios* of Kos. He commanded 70 ships and about 3,000 men from his headquarters, which was apparently at Attaleia; his salary was 10 pounds of gold. The fleet of Kibyrrhaiotai, which declined in importance with the expansion of the central fleet of Constantinople, is last mentioned in 1043. Subsequently Kibyrrhaiotai denoted a civil province under a *krites* or, in the late 12th C., a *doux*. The theme of MYLASA AND MELANOUDION replaced it in the reign of Manuel I. Most of its territory (except Lycia) had fallen to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 81–85, 131–35. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 149–53. –C.F.

KIEV (Κίοβα, Κίαβος, Κύ(γ)εβον, Κίεβος, etc.), town on the middle DNIEPER. Constantine VII mentions Kiev (which he also calls Sambatas in *De adm. imp.* 9.8–9; A. Archipov, *Voprosy russkogo jazykoznanija* 5 [Moscow 1984] 220–40) as the main base for the expeditions of the RUS' to Constantinople. Exports from Constantinople and the CRIMEA to and through Kiev included coins, glass, and amphoras with wine and oil. From the mid-10th to the mid-12th C. Kiev was in effect the capital of the Rus' and the main channel for political, economic, and cultural contacts with Byz.: the metropolis of "Rhosia" was established at Kiev in 988–89; the seals of the princes and metropolitans were inscribed in Greek; Greek builders constructed a number of churches (see below). Kievan writers also produced a substantial proportion of the extant literature of Rus' (see RUS', LITERATURE OF) during this period. From the mid-12th C. the political authority of Kiev was generally limited to its own principality: Izjaslav II (1146–54) was an ally of Géza II of Hungary against Manuel I, GALITZA, and SUZDAL'. Kiev retained its status as the ecclesiastical capital, however, even after its sack by the MONGOLS (1240) and the rise of LITHUANIA and MOSCOW.

Monuments of Kiev. Several churches in Kiev were the work of Greek builders: St. George, St. Irene, the Annunciation, and the Church of the Dormition (1073–76) in the monastery of the Caves. The Cathedral of St. Sophia was begun by JAROSLAV in 1037 at an intersection in front of the city's main public square. Poppe (*infra*) showed that the original mosaic and fresco decoration was completed by the time of its first consecration in 1046. An elaboration of a Byz. cross-in-square CHURCH PLAN, St. Sophia was a five-aisled building with 13 domes. Local features included the superimposed (and originally open) external galleries, the tall drums of the domes and two towers to the west, painted with unusual scenes of hunting and the HIPPODROME. The church was much enlarged in the 17th C. Without textual evidence, Lazarev (*infra*) ascribed St. Sophia's iconographical scheme to ILARION. The mosaic PANTOKRATOR in the dome and the full-length Virgin above the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) in the apse are normal components of a Byz. CHURCH PROGRAM OF DECORATION, while the figure of Pope Clement I is due to relics obtained by VLADIMIR I. Lazarev suggested that the mosaic of Christ as a tonsured priest was included in response to a heresy that denied the authority of the ecclesiastical hierarchy of Rus', but the same image is found at NEREZI. The frescoes include portraits of the founder and his family and scenes from the life of St. George, Jaroslav's patron.

LIT. M.K. Karger, *Drevnij Kiev*, 2 vols. (Leningrad 1958–61). Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 303–22. P.P. Toločko, *Drevnij Kiev* (Kiev 1983). J. Callmer, "The Archaeology of Kiev to the End of the Earliest Urban Phase," *HUkSt* 11 (1987) 323–64. A.I. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zodčestvo konca X–načala XII v.* (Moscow 1987) 168–236. H. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* (Kiev 1971). V.N. Lazarev, *Mozaiki Sophii Kievskoj* (Moscow 1959). A. Poppe, "The Building of the Church of St. Sophia in Kiev," *JMedHist* 7 (1981) 15–66.

–S.C.F., A.C.

KILIC ARSLAN I, Seljuk sultan of Anatolia (ca.1092–1107); died on the Khabur River 3 June 1107. Son of SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTULMUŞ, Kılıc Arslan (Κλιτζασθλάνης) ruled Iznik (NICAEA) and other possessions of his father. He concentrated his efforts on the east, leaving Il Khan and TZACHAS to oppose the Byz. While Kılıc Arslan was combatting Danişmend (see DANIŞMENDIDS) in eastern Anatolia, the First Crusaders and Byz. took Nicaea. Kılıc Arslan's wife, a daughter of Tzachas, fell into Alexios I's hands. The Crusaders defeated Kılıc Arslan at Dorylaion. Alexios seized western Anatolia, and the sultan made IKONION his capital. Kılıc Arslan joined with Danişmend to destroy the Crusade of 1101 as it marched through Anatolia. Hostility to BOHEMUND drew the sultan and Alexios together and, in 1106, Kılıc Arslan sent Turkish troops to assist Alexios against the invading Normans. The death of Danişmend enticed Kılıc Arslan to renew his aggression in eastern Anatolia, and he died fighting Sultan Muḥammad, son of Malikshāh.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*[2] 5:103f. –C.M.B.

KILIC ARSLAN II, Seljuk sultan of IKONION (1155–92); born ca.1115, died 1192. Son of MASʿŪD I, Kılıc Arslan and his TURKOMANS harassed the withdrawal of MANUEL I from Antioch (1159). Manuel's efforts at revenge (1159–60) proved ineffectual and in 1161 the rulers made peace. In 1161 or 1162 Kılıc Arslan was magnificently entertained in Constantinople. After the Seljuk sultan acquired most of the DANIŞMENDID territories, Manuel, urged by the refugees Dhu'l-Nūn (a Dan-

işmendid) and Shāhīnshāh (Kılıc Arslan's brother), renewed hostilities; he fortified DORYLAION and CHOMA. Rejecting the sultan's offer of peace, in 1176 Manuel advanced to besiege Ikonion. Kılıc Arslan severely defeated him at MYRIOKEPHALON. Although the peace treaty required him to demolish Soublaion and Dorylaion, Manuel preserved the latter. Until his death, Manuel defended the Meander Valley and Klaudioupolis against Turkomans. Thereafter, Kılıc Arslan's forces seized SOZOPOLIS, sacked KOTYAION, and ravaged the Kayster (Küçükmenderes) Valley. They were with difficulty repelled from ATTALEIA.

LIT. C. Cahen, *EI*[2] 5:104. Vryonis, *Decline* 121–29. H. and R. Kahane, "L'énigme du nom de *Cligès*," *Romania* 82 (1961) 113–21. –C.M.B.

KILNS (*κεραμεικοὶ φοῦρνοι*) for the production of CERAMICS have been discovered at Byz. sites of all periods, both by chance and in controlled excavation (list in R.M. Cook, *BSA* 56 [1961] 67, supplemented by Megaw and Jones, *infra* 236, n.3). Most kilns were cylindrical structures made of clay and broken tiles, with a crude dome; the firepit was underneath the firing chamber, the two sections being separated by a floor pierced with numerous holes to allow the heat to rise and fire the pots. Excavated examples show that pottery was left to harden before being placed in the kiln, and it was commonly fired twice. Many pots contain marks that show how they were stacked in the kiln. From the 14th C. onward, tripod kiln (or stacking) supports were commonly used to separate pieces; they leave telltale marks on the bottom of the vessels.

LIT. Morgan, *Pottery* 14–25. A.H.S. Megaw, R.E. Jones, "Byzantine and Allied Pottery: A Contribution by Chemical Analysis to Problems of Origin and Distribution," *BSA* 78 (1983) 235–46. A.L. Jakobson, "Srednevekovye gončarnye peči v rajone Sudaka," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta istorii mater'jal'noj kul'tury* 60 (1955) 102–09. –T.E.G.

KINDA, an Arab tribe that moved in the orbit of the Ḥimyarites in South Arabia and in the 5th–6th C. appeared as the dominant power in central and north Arabia. Although primarily an Arabian peninsular power, Kinda had strong connections with Byz. from ca.500 until the Muslim conquests. The tribe's first recorded contact with Byz. occurred at the battle of Baradān (5th C.) between the Kindite Ḥujr and the ṢALĪḤID chief Ziyād ibn-al-Habūla, who was a client of Byz. Around 500 the Kindite Arethas mounted an offensive against Byz. through his sons Maʿdi-Karib and Ḥujr, and in 502 he concluded a treaty or *foedus* with Byz. In the 520s the same Arethas appears as the PHYLARCH of Palestine who, after quarreling with the *doux* Diomedes, was killed in north Arabia in 528. Ultimately QAYS became phylarch of two of the three Palestines. Thus, the Kindites formed part of the Arab phylarchate of Oriens and maintained federate status until the Muslim conquests. The foremost poet of pre-Islamic Arabia was a Kindite prince, also named Qays, one of whose most famous odes records his journey through Oriens to Constantinople.

LIT. G. Olinder, *The Kings of Kinda* (Lund-Leipzig 1927). I. Kawar, "Byzantium and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 57–73. –I.A.Sh.

KINGS, BOOKS OF. The two Books of Kings that follow the two Books of Samuel are sometimes grouped together as the four Books of Kings. Thus, 1–2 Samuel of the RSV is 1–2 Kings of the Septuagint, and 1–2 Kings of the RSV is 3–4 Kings in the Septuagint. A single illustrated Byz. MS of all four Books of Kings survives—Vat. gr. 333, from the third quarter of the 11th C., with 104 images. (Only three other Byz. MSS devoted entirely to Kings survive—Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* 382–85). The text of Kings includes the DAVID narrative, illustrations of which are widespread in Byz. art at all dates, and certain other popular scenes, such as the Ascent of ELIJAH. Vat. gr. 333 may thus be the sole survivor of a once-flourishing genre of illustrated MSS of Kings, from which the popular scenes are derived (thus, Weitzmann, *Studies* 55–57), or a *hapax*, exploiting well-known scenes and stock formulas.

The fragments of a 5th-C. Latin MS of Kings, the Quedlinburg Itala, with full-page miniatures interspersed with the text, is often cited as a parallel. The interpretation of this MS, however, is also problematic, for it contains detailed instructions to the artist that may imply that its cycle was invented ad hoc. Further, most of the Itala cycle is unrelated iconographically to Vat. gr. 333. The system of illustration in Vat. gr. 333 is at first consistent, with one miniature per chapter, but

3–4 Kings are sparsely illustrated with only a few commonplace scenes. In comparison, in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS the three surviving frontispieces to Kings are all well-known compositions: the anointing of David, the coronation of Solomon, and the Ascent of Elijah. Three hands have been identified in the miniatures of Vat. gr. 333, including the "pseudo-OPPIAN Master," suggesting its origin in a major center in Constantinople (J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 175–96).

LIT. Lassus, *Livre des Rois*. I. Levin, *The Quedlinburg Itala* (Leiden 1985). –J.H.L.

KINNAMOS, JOHN, historian, *grammatikos* (secretary) of MANUEL I, participant in several of Manuel's campaigns; born before 1143, died after 1185. Niketas Choniates (Nik. Chon., p.331.1) mentions his involvement in theological discussions at the time of Andronikos I. The title of the book of Kinnamos (Κίνναμος) is corrupt (P. Wirth, *Byzantion* 41 [1971] 375–77): Kinnamos himself calls it *chronikai* (p.220.22); the ending is missing in the single 13th-C. MS (copied several times in the 16th–17th C.), which probably presents an impaired version of the original. Kinnamos's history encompasses the period 1118–76; his portrait of John II's reign closely resembles that of Choniates; later, however, the two historians diverge (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 24 [1963] 4–31). Kinnamos is Manuel's panegyrist and supporter of the idea of the universal empire (M. Frejdenberg, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 50); accordingly, he is more intolerant toward the Crusaders than Choniates. His philosophy of history is strictly deterministic. Nothing, he says, depends on men (p.24.2–4), and *tyche* ("necessity or providence") appears in his narration as arbitrarily determining events. Kinnamos is strangely lukewarm toward aristocratic qualities (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 41f) but very attentive to military technique, stressing that Manuel's reforms in this area made "Roman warriors" better than the Germans or Italians (p.125.13). Kinnamos also wrote an *Ethopoiia*, probably under the influence of Nikephoros BASILAKES.

ED. *Epitome*, ed. A. Meineke (Bonn 1836). Eng. tr. C. Brand, *Deeds of John and Manuel Comnenus* (New York 1976). Fr. tr. J. Rosenblum, *Chronique* (Paris 1972). *Ethopoeia*, ed. G. Bánhegy (Budapest 1943).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:409–15. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:324–28. C. Asdracha, "L'image de l'homme occidental à Byzance: le témoignage de Kinnamos et de Choniatès," *BS* 44 (1983) 31–40. F. Hörmann, *Beiträge zur Syntax des Johannes Kinnamos* (Munich 1938). –A.K.

KIPRIAN (Cyprian), metropolitan of "Rhosia" (1375–1406); born ca.1330, died 16 Sept. 1406. Kiprian was one of the leading figures in the cultural movement generally associated with HESYCHASM. Bulgarian by origin, Kiprian was a monk on Athos and friend of EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO; he became closely associated (as *oikeios kalogeros*, ca.1370) with Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, who appointed him legate to LITHUANIA (1373), then metropolitan of "Kiev, Rhosia, and Lithuania" (1375) resident in Kiev. On the death of Metr. Alexios in Moscow (1378), Kiprian tried to assert his claim to a single metropolitanate "of all Rhosia." He was accepted in Moscow briefly in 1381–82 and permanently in 1389. In Moscow his activities on behalf of Byz. included raising funds for the defense of Constantinople (1398, 1400) and insisting that the emperor be mentioned in the diptychs (1393). In the cultural sphere, Kiprian sponsored a thorough reform of church books: he introduced the *Diataxis* of Philotheos Kokkinos for the liturgy of pseudo-Chrysostom, undertook a revision of the *Nomokanon*, and imported the *Jerusalem Rule*. He personally copied, translated, or caused to be translated works important in hesychast spirituality: JOHN KLIMAX (copied by Kiprian in 1387 from a Serbian translation) and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE as well as prayers and hymns by Philotheos (G. Prochorov, *TODRL* 37 [1983] 286–304). Kiprian's own writings include personal letters, numerous official documents, probably parts of a chronicle, a narrative on the putative metropolitan Michael (Mitjaj), a *Testament*, and, most notably, a vita (ca.1381) and *enkomion* (ca.1397–1404; see R. Sedova, *TODRL* 37 [1983] 256–68) of Metr. Peter (1308–26).

ED. *Povest' o Mitjae: Rus' i Vizantija v epochu Kulikovskoj bitvy*, ed. G. Prochorov (Leningrad 1978) 193–224. N. Dončeva-Panajotova, "Neizvestno 'Pochvalno slovo za mitropolit Petŭr' ot Kiprian Camblak," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 2 (1977) 136–55.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Russia* 200–60, 292–302. G. Prochorov, "Kiprian," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 53–71. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 173–200. –S.C.F.

KIRIK OF NOVGOROD, monk of St. Anthony's monastery in NOVGOROD; born 1110. Kirik is the author of a tract on chronology dated 1136 and perhaps of the chronological data in the *Novgorod Chronicle*'s entry for the same year. The tract consists of a summary of the years since Adam, based on a Byz. short CHRONICLE using the ALEXAN-

DRIAN ERA; a guide to paschal computation based on the Constantinopolitan era; a section on the division of hours, possibly a later accretion (but see E. Piotrovskaja, *TODRL* 40 [1985] 379–84); and an autobiographical colophon, which includes synchronic data from the year 1136 and in which the "Greek tsar" (JOHN II KOMNENOS) is mentioned before the local prince.

Kirik is probably also to be identified with the Kirik who, in the mid-12th C., recorded the responses of various bishops in RHOSIA on questions of canon law. The responses indicate the practical problems of applying Byz. precepts to local life. They chiefly concern ritual and behavior. The major source is the Bulgarian translation of the NOMOKANON OF 14 TITLES, with further material derived from pseudo-JOHN IV NESTEUTES and other penitentials (F.J. Thomson, *Palaeobulgarica* 11 [1987] 23–45).

ED. "Učenie imže vedati čeloveku čisla vsech let," ed. V. Zubov, in *Istoriko-matematičeskie issledovanija* 6 (1953) 173–90. S. Smirnov, *Materialy dlja istorii drevnerusskoj pokajannoj discipliny* (Moscow 1912) 1–27.

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:179–201. R. Simonov, *Kirik Novgorodec* (Moscow 1980). –S.C.F.

KIRILL (Cyril), bishop of Turov; died before 1182?. Kirill is thought to be the author of didactic homilies in Slavonic on ecclesiastical and monastic life, a cycle of sermons for the period from Palm Sunday to the Sunday after Ascension Day, a weekly cycle of prayers, and a *kanon*. In his works Kirill amplifies, with florid and emotive rhetoric, themes from his Byz. reading. For example, for the Sunday after Easter he adapts allegories of spring from Gregory of Nazianzos (A. Vaillant, *RES* 26 [1950] 34–50; Ju. Begunov, *Zbornik istorije knijiževnosti* 10 [1976] 269–76), while his allegories for monasticism in the homiletic *Epistle to Basil* are derived from BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (I.N. Lebedeva, *Povest' o Varlaame i Ioasafe* [Leningrad 1985] 85–88). Most of Kirill's identifiable sources can be traced to extant Slavonic translations, though there is disagreement as to whether he also knew and used Greek texts (Ju. Begunov, *BS* 35 [1974] 186f; F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 66–69). Oblique allusions in Kirill's homily *On the Soul and the Body* (an allegorical expansion on the theme of "the lame and the blind") imply that Kirill took the side of Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES against the ecclesiastical initiatives of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO (ca.1165–69).

ED. I. Eremin, "Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo," *TODRL* 11 (1955) 342–67, 12 (1956) 340–61, 13 (1957) 406–26, 15 (1958) 331–48. *Kirill von Turov. Gebete* [= Slavische Propyläen 6] (Munich 1965).

LIT. Fedotov, *Mind* 1:62–83, 136–41. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 96–101, 149–59, 240–46. –S.C.F.

KITI, 7 miles southwest of Larnaka in CYPRUS, site of the Church of Panagia Angeloktistos. The main body of the church is a domed, cruciform structure of the 11th C., built on the remains of an earlier basilica of which the apse is the main surviving part. The conch of the apse still houses the fragment of a 6th/7th-C. mosaic decoration, the best preserved of the three apse mosaics on the island (with the Panagia tes Kyras near Livadia and LYTHRANKOMI). The mosaic shows the standing Virgin holding the Christ child in her left arm, and flanked by the archangels Michael (on the left) and Gabriel (on the right) who appear to be walking towards her with orb and scepter in hand. The figures, all nimbed, stand against a gold ground framed at the edge of the apse with a border of fountains emerging from acanthus clusters flanked by ducks, parrots, and stags. Unusually, the Virgin is identified in an inscription as "Hagia Maria."

LIT. F.I. Šmit, "Panagia Angeloktistos," *IRAIK* 15 (1911) 206–39. A.H.S. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture and Decoration in Cyprus," *DOP* 28 (1974) 74–76. –W.T.

KITROS (Κίτρος), fortress and bishopric in Macedonia, on the site of ancient Pydna. The original name was used by Byz. authors who wrote in an antiquarian vein: for example, Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 259.74) mentions the truffle (*hydna*) from Pydna (a play on words) as a delicacy for monks. Little is known of the secular history of Kitros; according to a 14th-C. historian (Kantak. 2:382.11), there was a *pyrgos* and a garrison in "Pydna."

Kitros was under the ecclesiastical jurisdiction of Thessalonike; although it was in last place ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 3.276), by the 10th C. Kitros (or Pydna) was listed as the first suffragan of Thessalonike (*ibid.* 7.297). The earliest known bishop was Germanos in 879. An anonymous bishop of Kitros corresponded with Theophylaktos of Ohrid. John of Kitros was a canonist of the late 12th or early 13th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 172–74). The *ecclesia Citrensis* and its officials are men-

tioned several times in the correspondence of Pope Innocent III.

LIT. R. Janin, *DHGE* 12 (1953) 998f. G.L.F. Tafel, *De Thessalonica eiusque agro* (Berlin 1839) 57f, 86. P. Gautier in *Théophylakte d'Achrida: Lettres* (Thessalonike 1986) 57–60. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:341f. –A.K.

KLADAS, JOHN, an important and prolific composer; fl. late 14th–early 15th C. He is frequently cited in MSS as either John the Lampadarios or simply the Lampadarios (see SINGERS). In his treatise, Manuel CHRYSAPHES mentions Kladas (Κλαδᾶς) as the last of five major Byz. composers of *kalophonic oikoi* (see TERETISMATA). His chants first appear in musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*) copied toward the end of the 14th C. and become even more numerous in MSS from the early 15th C. His compositions appear in almost all collections of music for the liturgy and HOURS. They are considerably longer and have a wider vocal range than do settings by earlier 14th-C. composers.

LIT. G.I. Papadopoulos, *Symbolai eis ten historian tes par'hemin ekklesiastikes mousikes* (Athens 1890) 274f. Conomos, *Communion*, 77f, 184–86. *PLP*, no.11739. –D.E.C.

KLASMA (κλάσμα, lit. "fragment"), real property escheated to the fisc because of the disappearance of its taxpaying owner. The term appears in documents from the 10th C., when it was already a component of well-established fiscal procedures, through the early 12th C., after which it was superseded by the analogous term EXALEIMMA. Since in the 10th and 11th C. the state was interested in maintaining the integrity of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, property on which taxes had ceased to be paid did not immediately devolve to the fisc; rather, the land was granted a SYMPATHEIA for a 30-year period after which time, unless ORTHOSIS took place, the land became *klasma*, was fiscally separated from the village community, and was disposed of as the state wished, through sale, donation, lease, etc. The *klasma* that had been granted to cultivators, while under *sympatheia*, was sold at its normal price and the new owner henceforth paid the tax on the property at 1/12 the normal assessment; *klasmata* located in depopulated areas, lacking labor, or which needed to be recleared before cultivation, sold at a reduced price, taxed at 1/24 the normal assessment for 15 years, then raised permanently to 1/12.

Even with these inducements, the significant capital outlay needed to acquire *klasma* meant that although peasants could invoke the right of PROTIMESIS in sales of *klasma* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:203.3–33; 4:18.12–14), there was a tendency for DYNATOI and monasteries to acquire such land, thereby contributing to the decline of the village community and an independent peasantry. There are several documents on sales of *klasma* in the area of Thessalonike in the 10th C.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Das Verfalland im 10.–11. Jahrhundert," *FM* 7 (1986) 161–68. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 81f, 160–64, 184–86. K. Osipova, "Sistema klasm v Vizantii v X–XI v.," *VizOč* 1 (1961) 174–85. –M.B.

KLEISOURA (κλεισούρα, lit. "defile"), a territorial unit, usually smaller than a THEME, sometimes part of a theme, but preserving a certain independence; the commander of a *kleisoura* was a *kleisourarches*. Most *kleisourai* were located in the East (Seleukeia, Charsianon, Sozopolis, etc.)—in the West only Strymon was called a *kleisoura*. Normally the status of *kleisoura* was transitional and former *kleisourai* became themes. The first mention of *kleisoura* as an administrative unit is from 698/9: Tiberios II sent a *monostrategos* "to the area of Cappadocia and of the *kleisourai*" (Theoph. 371.11–12). They are not mentioned after the 10th C.

LIT. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 71–85. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 81f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 342. –A.K.

KLERIKATON (κληρικᾶτον), defined in the late 12th C. as the liturgical office to which a cleric was ordained as priest, deacon, or *anagnostes*, as distinct from the administrative post (*archontikion*) to which he might also be appointed (BALSAMON, ed. Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:386.1). The term was commonly used in later centuries to designate a piece of church property (also called *klerikostasion, klerikotopion*), which such a cleric held, as *klerikoparoikos*, from the bishop in return for his liturgical services. The institution, if not the terminology, existed from at least as early as the beginning of the 11th C. and provided the basic living of the lower "parish" and cathedral clergy. Roughly analogous to the Western *beneficium*, the *klerikaton* differed in that its recipient paid a modest rent (*telos*) and might receive a salary. Since, moreover, he was likely to be married, there was

a constant tendency for *klerikata* to pass to non-clerical heirs and thus to become alienated from the church's estate.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 85. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 412–18. E. Papagiannes, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 186–216. –P.M.

KLETORION (κλητόριον, from *klesis*, "invitation"), term designating both a banquet (esp. in the imperial palace) and a hall where a banquet was to take place. The word *deipnokletorion* was occasionally used as a synonym.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 27, n.29. –A.K.

KLETOROLOGION OF PHILOTHEOS. See PHILOTHEOS, KLETOROLOGION OF.

KLIM SMOLJATIČ, monk; metropolitan of KIEV (27 July 1147–55, 1159); and a figure of controversy in Russo-Byz. ecclesiastical and cultural relations. In the ecclesiastical controversy Klim (Clement) was elected metropolitan, at the instigation of Izjaslav of Kiev, by a synod of local bishops and without confirmation by the patriarch of Constantinople. The rift with the patriarchate lasted until JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ took Kiev and Klim was replaced by the Greek Constantine. The cultural controversy concerns Klim's *Epistle* to a certain Thomas, in which he refutes the charge that he had pursued vainglorious "philosophy" by citing Homer, Aristotle, and Plato rather than Scripture. The charge is probably a polemical *topos*, rather than evidence for any direct knowledge of the classics in Rus' (apart from translated extracts in *florilegia*). His own exegetic demonstration draws chiefly on THEODORET OF CYRRHUS and other translated commentaries, though it has been suggested that Klim shows an awareness of Byz. SCHEDOGRAPHIA and that the label "philosopher" (cf. also *PSRL* 2:340) implies that he was educated in Constantinople. His *dubia* include homilies and some of the canonical responses recorded by KIRIK OF NOVGOROD.

ED. N.K. Nikol'skij, *O literaturnych trudach mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča, pisatelja XII v.* (St. Petersburg 1892) 103–36, 161–223.

LIT. D. Obolensky, "Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations," *DOP* 11 (1957) 21–78. E.E. Granstrem, "Počemu mitropolita Klimenta Smoljatiča nazyvali 'filosofom'," *TODRL* 25 (1970) 20–28. S. Franklin, "Echoes of Byzantine Elite Culture in Twelfth-Century Russia?," in *Byzantium and Europe*, ed. A. Markopoulos (Athens 1987) 177–87. –S.C.F.

KLIMA (κλίμα, "region"), a word that could designate a district in a city, a part of a province (GEORGE OF CYPRUS, for example speaks of four *klimata* in Isauria), or an ecclesiastical diocese. Specifically, the proper, plural form Klimata denoted the theme of CHERSON: the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij explicitly refers to the "*strategos* of the Klimata," and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos speaks twice of the "*kastra* of the Klimata" near Cherson (*De adm. imp.* 42.8, 72). The TOPARCHA GOTHICUS, in an enigmatic passage, mentions the town of Klimata, the localization of which has been hotly debated (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 25 [1971] 155–60).

From ancient geographers and astrologers the Byz. inherited the concept of seven *klimata*, or zones of the earth, each of which was dominated by a corresponding planet. The CHRONICON PASCHALE gives an elaborate list of the *klimata*: (1) Libya; (2) Egypt; (3) Mauritania, Judaea, Arabia; (4) Syria, Mesopotamia, Medeia; (5)Italy, Greece, Asia Minor, Armenia; (6) Gallia, Dalmatia, Thrace, Trebizond; (7) the region around the Borysthenes (Dnieper). KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES rejected the idea of seven *klimata* as contradicting Christianity, but attempts to reconcile astrology and Christian faith in questions pertaining to the *klimata* continued well into the 13th and 14th C. (Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, John KATRARES).

LIT. E. Honigmann, *Die sieben Klimata und die poleis episemoi* (Heidelberg 1929) 6f, 81–102. M. Nystazopoulou, "Note sur l'Anonyme de Hase," *BCH* 86 (1962) 324f, n.7. –A.K.

KLIMENT OF OHRID, Bulgarian writer (probably a native of Macedonia); saint; fl. late 9th–early 10th C.; feastdays 27 July, 22 Nov. A pupil of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS and thoroughly familiar with Byz. ecclesiastical literature, he accompanied them to Moravia where he spent some 20 years, perhaps interrupted by a visit to Rome in 867–69. Returning to Bulgaria in 885, he was sent by Tsar Boris I to Kutmičevica in Macedonia (exact location uncertain) as bishop and remained there until retiring

in 915. The date of his death is uncertain. Kliment's writings include a collection of panegyric and edificatory homilies in Church Slavonic and probably also the longer Lives of Constantine the Philosopher and Methodios. He may have invented the Cyrillic alphabet, which replaced GLAGOLITIC in the reign of Tsar Symeon. Kliment was active as a teacher, primarily of future clergy: he is said to have had 3,500 pupils. If this figure is to be taken seriously, it implies institutionalized rather than individual teaching. Kliment was among those who laid the foundations of Slavonic literature. The main sources for his life are the Greek Lives by THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and Demetrios CHOMATENOS, both of which draw on lost Slavonic sources, though they tend to superimpose a Byz. point of view.

SOURCE. A. Milev, *Grŭckite žitija na Kliment Ochridski* (Sofia 1966).
ED. *Kliment Ochridski. Sŭbrani sŭčinenija*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1971–77).
LIT. *Kliment Ochridski (916–1966). Sbornik ot statii po slučaj 1050 godini ot smŭrtta mu* (Sofia 1966). E. Georgiev, *Razcvetŭt na bŭlgarskata literatura prez IX–X vek* (Sofia 1962) 87–155. I. Bogdanov, *Trinadeset veka bŭlgarska literatura*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1983) 66f. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 8–33. –R.B.

KLIMOVO, village in the region of Perm', U.S.S.R., where in 1908 a treasure was found containing Byz. and Sasanian objects; it is now in the Hermitage Museum, Leningrad. Among the Byz. vessels is a silver dish depicting a shepherd with his dog and goats (with stamps of the reign of Justinian I), a dish with control stamps of the reign of Phokas, and another silver dish of the 7th C. In the same area several other hoards of Byz. and Persian silver vessels were discovered. A group of objects found at Sludka in 1780 includes a 6th-C. plate representing Athena judging the struggle between Ajax and Odysseus for the armor of Achilles and another one with stamps of Herakleios. A silver dish from the village of Kalganovka found in 1878, datable to 613–629/30, represents a dancing Silenus and a maenad. These vessels and several others are all now in the Hermitage.

LIT. *Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, nos. 129f, 132, 134f. *Silbergefässe* 38f. L. Maculevič, "Argenterie byzantine en Russie," in *L'art byzantin chez les Slaves, l'ancienne Russie, les Slaves catholiques*, vol. 2 (Paris 1932) 292–301. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 9, 36, 51, 55, 68, 70, 100. –A.K., A.C.

KLOKOTNICA, battle that took place on 9 March 1230 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:342), close to the present-day town of Khaskovo in Bulgaria, on the main road from Adrianople to Philippopolis. Although THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS had made a treaty on oath with JOHN ASEN II, the Greek ruler invaded Bulgaria in order to secure his northern flank. The Bulgarian tsar opposed him with a scratch force of CUMANS, but spurred on by belief in his moral superiority—he reportedly hung Theodore's written oath on his standard—he won a complete victory, capturing Theodore along with his chief men. He then made a triumphal progress through Theodore's territories. John Asen II returned in April to Tŭrnovo, where in gratitude for his victory he founded the Church of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA, on whose feastday the battle occurred. He sent out governors and tax-collectors to administer his extensive conquests, but left the more distant parts in the hands of local lords. Although Thessalonike eluded him, for the time being Bulgaria was the dominant power in the Balkans.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:338–43. Nicol, *Epiros I* 109–11. –M.J.A.

KNEELING (γονυκλισία), a posture of PRAYER. Kneeling was originally considered penitential, as distinct from standing (*stasis*), a sign of the Resurrection (*anastasis*). Kneeling was thus prohibited on Sunday, later on Saturday, and from Easter through the end of PENTECOST vespers, at which time it recommences with the special *gonyklisia* rite. This rite, of Palestinian origin, goes back to the 5th C.; it is unknown to the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, though found in the later SABAITIC TYPIKA.

Kneeling or prostration (PROSKYNESIS, *metanoia*) for prayer after psalmody, standard practice in cathedral VIGILS and monastic HOURS from the 4th C. onward, was also considered an important element in ascetic exploits: hagiographers describe their heroes prostrating innumerable times in succession. It was imposed as an EPITIMION; thus Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1661CD) requires laymen who communicate with heretics to kneel 50 times in a row—rated a minor *epitimion*.

LIT. M. Arranz, "Les prières de la Gonyklisia," *OrChrP* 48 (1982) 92–123. –R.F.T., A.K.

KOCHLIAS. See Hippodromes.

KODINOS, PSEUDO-, conventional name of the anonymous author of the *Treatise on the Dignities and Offices,* compiled, according to Verpeaux (*infra* 27–30), between 1347 and 1368. The treatise presents the hierarchy (*taxis*) of functionaries' titles and offices, a description of their costumes and functions, of the feasts celebrated at the court and of the ceremony of coronation as well as the duties and the ceremony of promotion of certain dignitaries (domestikos, adnoumiastes, sebastokrator, etc.). The chapters on ecclesiastical offices were arbitrarily added by Andrew Darmarios in the 16th C. Along with official information pseudo-Kodinos included some personal recollections or those of his informants as well as passages derived from various chronicles. More complex is the question of several sections very close to the work of John VI Kantakouzenos; Verpeaux suggests the use of common sources. Two works of different centuries were also (falsely) attributed to Kodinos: the main version of the Patria of Constantinople and a chronicle terminating in 1453 (*Kleinchroniken* 1:121–55)—all three of these works are often transmitted in the same MSS.

ed. *Traité des offices,* ed. J. Verpeaux (Paris 1966).

lit. A. Grabar, "Pseudo-Codinos et les cérémonies de la Cour byzantine au XIVe siècle," *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 193–221. J. Verpeaux, "Hiérarchie et préséances sous les Paléologues," *TM* 1 (1965) 421–37. –A.K.

KODIX (κῶδιξ, from Lat. codex), cadastral register in book form drafted by the office of the genikon. The term appears in Basil II's novel of 996 establishing the validity of only those land delimitations (*periorismoi*) that are based on the *kodikoi* (*sic*) of the *genikon* or on other appropriate documents (Zepos, *Jus* 1:267.11–14). They formed tax lists of particular regions (*enoriai*), divided into kephalaia (chapters), each *kephalaion* dealing with a subregion (a village), itself divided into a succession of stichoi. They were revised at perhaps 30-year intervals. Individuals and institutions dispensed copies of *kodikes*, the so-called *isokodika* (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.1.18, 26). Some extracts from *kodikes* survive: the so-called cadaster of Thebes (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 11–19), fragments from a cadaster of Boleron and Strymon (*Ivir.*, no.30; Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65), a quotation from a cadaster of Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.39.5–8), an extract from a cadaster of Trebizond (*Vazelon*, no.106) from the end of the 13th C.

The term *kodix* disappeared after 1204, being replaced by praktikon, which was considered a copy "from the imperial book of the *thesis* compiled by the apographeis" (*Zogr.*, no.44.40, 66–67) or of the grand *thesis* (*Dionys.*, no.21.2). The *Chronicle of the Morea* (ed. I. Schmitt, vv. 1908–10) also mentions a "book that listed everyone's tenures granted in ownership and possession."

lit. Dölger, *Beiträge* 97–102. –M.B.

KOIMESIS. See Dormition.

KOINE (κοινὴ διάλεκτος, "the common language"), the common Greek of the Hellenistic world, which displaced the old local dialects as the language of administration and of prose literature. In origin a variety of expanded Attic, with many Ionic and other elements, Koine was used as a lingua franca between city states in the 4th C. b.c. It became the current language of the cities founded by Alexander and his successors in Asia and Africa, and the normal vehicle for prose literature until the rise of Atticism in the late 1st C. b.c. and the 1st C. a.d. The Septuagint and the New Testament were written in Koine. Technical writing often continued to use Koine, which underwent progressive changes including restructuring of phonology (see Phonetics and Phonology) and morphology and extension of vocabulary by derivation, composition, and linguistic borrowing, esp. from Latin. In the Byz. world Koine continued to be used for subliterary writing: popular saints' Lives such as those of Cyril of Skythopolis (6th C.); anecdotes of ascetics such as *The Spiritual Meadow* of John Moschos (early 7th C.); chronicles such as those of John Malalas and Theophanes the Confessor; archival works such as the De administrando imperio and De ceremoniis of Constantine VII; and medical and other technical treatises. Koine represents one pole of Byz. diglossia, of which the other is represented by Atticism. The normal spo-

ken language of all classes in informal situations, Koine is the direct ancestor of modern demotic Greek and of the Modern Greek dialects.

LIT. A. Meillet, O. Masson, *Aperçu d'une histoire de la langue grecque*[8] (Paris 1975) 251–342. A. Debrunner, A. Scherer, *Geschichte der griechischen Sprache II: Grundfragen und Grundzüge des nachklassischen Griechisch* (Berlin 1969). J. Frösén, *Prolegomena to a Study of the Greek Language in the First Centuries A.D.: The Problem of Koine and Atticism* (Helsinki 1974). F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods*, 2 vols. (Milan 1976–80). L.R. Palmer, *The Greek Language* (London 1980). Browning, "Language." –R.B.

KOINOBION (*κοινόβιον*, lit. "common life"), monastery housing a community of monks or nuns and emphasizing a communal and egalitarian way of life. *Koinobia* in their earliest form were created by PACHOMIOS in Egypt, for example, at TABENNISI. Basil the Great greatly preferred cenobitic MONASTICISM to eremitism, stressing the advantages of a mutual support system and the possibility of economic self-sufficiency. He required stricter discipline for the monks, and insisted on manual labor. Five novels of Justinian I established the *koinobion* as the norm but did permit eremitism for the chosen few. THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS continued to emphasize the importance of the cenobitic tradition. In the later centuries of Byz., however, *koinobia* tended to develop into communities of landowners rather than of working brethren.

In a cenobitic MONASTERY all of the monks theoretically followed the same schedule for working, praying, eating, and sleeping, with variations permitted only to accommodate the different types of work each performed. They slept in individual cells or (rarely) in a common dormitory but were all supposed to eat the same food in the refectory. Clothes, tools, and other items were owned in common and distributed as necessary. The cenobitic life stressed obedience to the superior or HEGOUMENOS, and adherence to the rules of the TYPIKON, including regular attendance at services and avoiding contact with the outside world (esp. members of the opposite sex). The *koinobion* resembled a spiritual family, in which the monks or nuns were linked by a spirit of brotherhood or sisterhood.

Contemporary critics of Byz. monasticism, like Eustathios of Thessalonike, Balsamon, and Patr. Athanasios I, reveal the conflicts between individualism and the cenobitic ideal. *Hegoumenoi* in particular were accused of eating special food and living in luxury; Balsamon (PG 138:176CD) commented that nuns surpassed their male brethren in "observing communal diet and habitation," and that true cenobitism was rare in male monasteries. Although virtually all nuns and many monks did obey the principle of monastic STABILITY and remained in the same monastery for life, some holy (and not so holy) men in search of more rigorous ASCETICISM viewed their residence in a *koinobion* only as training and preparation for the more arduous life of a hermit. Throughout the Byz. era there continued to be discussion over which form of monastic life was superior; the *typika*, for example, strongly favored cenobitism.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 4. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 2:3091–175. A. Kazhdan, "Hermitic, Cenobitic and Secular Ideals in Byzantine Hagiography of the Ninth–Twelfth Centuries," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 473–87. J. Leroy, "Le cénobitisme chez Cassien," *Revue d'ascétisme et mysticisme* 43 (1967) 121–58. –A.M.T.

KOINONIKON (*κοινωνικόν*), the CHANT that accompanies the rite of COMMUNION. Originally a responsorial psalm, it later acquired elements, such as the final DOXOLOGY and refrain, called *apolytikion* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285.313–14), of ANTIPHONAL psalmody. The entire cycle of *koinonika*, 26 texts each assigned to one or more occasions in the liturgical year, was almost fully developed by the 9th C.: its scope and function are indicated in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. However, the music for these chants is documented only from the 12th C. onward, though there is reason to believe that the three Church Slavonic music books known as the Uspenskij, Blagoveščenskij, and Sinodal'nyj Kondakaria preserve Byz. melodies of a more archaic form than any transmitted in Byz. MSS.

LIT. Conomos, *Communion* 1–51. T. Schattauer, "The Koinonicon of the Byzantine Liturgy," *OrChrP* 49 (1983) 91–129. –D.E.C., R.F.T.

KOIRANIDES. The *Koiranides* (*Kyranides*) was a collection of magical recipes compiled in the 3rd or 4th C. that remained in use throughout the Byz. era; in the 14th C., for example, their use was condemned by Patr. ATHANASIOS I (ep.69.81) and by the synod of 1371 (MM 1:544.17–18); the synodal decision of 1371 also mentions a *tetradion*

by an astrologer, Demetrios Chloros (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2572), compiled on the basis of the "*Koirannis*" and containing invocations of demons, magical formulas, and magical names.

LIT. D. Kaimakis, *Die Kyraniden* (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). –F.R.T.

KOITON (*κοιτών*, Lat. *cubiculum*), bedchamber, esp. of the emperor. The "chief of the *koiton*" became the designation of the chamberlain: thus PALLADIOS of Galatia addressed his sponsor Lausos as "the *praipositos* of the most pious *koiton*" (PG 34:1259A), the Greek translation of PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. Basil the Great (ep.79.11, ed. Y. Courtonne, vol.1 [Paris 1957] 181) speaks of two "great officials"—the eparch (praetorian prefect) and *ho peri ton koitona*, the latter probably to be identified as the *castrensis sacri palatii* Demosthenes (*PLRE* 1:249). PHILOSTORGIOS (*HE* 10.6, ed. Bidez 127.23) mentions servants "in the *koiton*," a term synonymous with KOITONITAI. By the 9th C. the chief of the *koiton* was called the PARAKOIMOMENOS. Oikonomides (*Listes* 301) distinguishes *hoi epi tou koitonos*, the servants of the imperial bedchamber proper, and those of the *cubiculum*, the corps of eunuchs of the palace. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 50.51–53) uses the phrase "the *koiton* guarded by God" for the treasury in which the PAKTON of Slav tribes was deposited. –A.K.

KOITONITES (*κοιτωνίτης*), courtier whose function was to serve in the KOITON, the emperor's bedchamber. The distinction between the *koitonites* and the KOUBIKOULARIOS is not clear. Guilland (*Institutions* 1:269) asserts that the *koitonites* existed at least from the end of the 8th C.; he bases this on a 19th-C. scholar's chronology for a seal (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 526) that is in reality of the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.780). The duty of the *koitonites* was to lock the door of the *koiton* (Leo Gramm. 250.22–23). Oikonomides (*Listes* 305) considers *koitonitai* as subalterns of the PARAKOIMOMENOS. On seals of the 11th C. one finds *koitonites* (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.217) and much more often *epi tou koitonos*; the latter combined his title with various court or civil offices (*praipositos* [see PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI], LOGOTHETES, *eidikos* [see EIDIKON], JUDGE, etc.). A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 176.6–11) relates that the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* was the chief of the servants of the imperial bedchamber and of the *koitonarioi*; probably the latter term replaced *koitonites*. –A.K.

KOKKINOBAPHOS, JAMES OF. See JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS.

KOLLOUTHOS (Κόλλουθος), poet; born Lykopolis in Egypt, fl. 5th–6th C. According to the *Souda* he lived in the reign of Anastasios I (491–518), who may well have been the recipient of one of his lost verse panegyrics. Lost also are his epics, the *Kalydoniaka* in six books, and the *Persika*, the latter perhaps contemporary in theme. His surviving work is the *Rape of Helen*, 394 hexameters influenced more by the language than the metrics of NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. In the 15th C. one of its MSS (Milan, Ambros. Q 5 sup.) was rediscovered by BESSARION in the monastery of St. Nicola di Casole near Otranto (L. Labowsky, *Bessarion's Library and the Biblioteca Marciana* [Rome 1979] 9, 11f). One matter of accidental interest is his presumed use of Latin poets, notably Catullus.

ED. *Tryphiodori et Colluthi carmina*, ed. W. Weinberger (Leipzig 1896). *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (London-New York 1928) 541–71, with Eng. tr. *L'enlèvement d'Hélène*, ed. P. Orsini (Paris 1972), with Fr. tr., rev. G. Giangrande, *ClRev* n.s. 24 (1974) 129–31.

LIT. G. Giangrande, "Colluthus' Description of a Waterspout: An Example of Late Epic Literary Technique," *AJPh* 96 (1975) 35–41. M. Nardelli, "L'esametro di Colluto," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 32–33. –B.B.

KOLLYBA (*κόλλυβα*), boiled wheat, which, along with raw vegetables, constituted the diet of 5th-C. monks who refused to touch bread (pseudo-Palladios, *Vita Chrysostomi*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton, p.127.3–4). It was recommended that everyone eat *kollyba* on the first Saturday in Lent. The term also refers, as it did in antiquity, to special cakes made of boiled wheat with sugar, dried raisins, pomegranate seeds, nuts, herbs, etc.; these symbolized the human body and were distributed to the congregation, usually in remembrance of the dead (e.g., the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 119.1767). The *typikon* of the Pantokrator monastery (ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 43.241–42) indicates that three baskets of *kollyba* were required for a single distribution. In vernacular

literature, *kollyba* are sometimes called the proper food for priests (*Imberios and Margarona,* ed. Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1 [1880] 308.690).

It is possible that Christian *kollyba* are connected with the pagan *basynias,* a cake used for religious offerings. Two inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 645, 728) mention a *basymniates,* the baker of *basynias*: one invokes "the only immortal God," the other depicts the cross in a circle.

LIT. L. Petit, "La grande controverse des colybes," *EO* 2 (1898–99) 321–31. A. Scordino, "I còliva nel tipicòn di Messina," *Studi meridionali* 3 (1970) 271–75.
–F.R.T., A.K.

KOLOBOU MONASTERY, founded by the monk John Kolobos (Κολοβός) between 866 and 883. It was situated near HIERISSOS, just outside the precinct of the Holy Mountain of ATHOS, on the isthmus that links the peninsula with the mainland, but its fortunes were closely linked with the development of Athonite monasticism. John Kolobos was one of the early anchorites on Athos and an associate of St. EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER. Circa 866, when the danger from Arab attacks increased, Kolobos led a group of disciples to refuge on the mainland, first to Siderokausia, and then near Hierissos. Here he founded the monastery that bore his name and was dedicated to St. John the Baptist. It was apparently the first KOINOBION in the immediate vicinity of Athos, anticipating by almost a century the advent of cenobitic monasticism to the Holy Mountain itself. The monastery of Kolobou is first mentioned in 883 in a *sigillion* of Basil I that guarantees the rights of its monks. The monastery owned substantial estates and was involved in frequent property disputes with the inhabitants of Hierissos and Athonite monks. Its prominence continued until 979/80, when it was absorbed by the newly founded IVERON MONASTERY.

LIT. *Prot.* 27–53, 177–97. J. Lefort in *Ivir.* 28–32.
–A.M.T.

KOLONEIA (Κολώνεια). There were two cities of this name in Anatolia.

1. *Koloneia on the Lykos in interior Pontos.* Now Şebinkarahisar, Koloneia was a stronghold on a main route to the east; rebuilt by Justinian I, it was attacked by the Arabs in 778 and 940. Koloneia appears as a military district commanded by a *doux* Kallistos ca.838 (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 56 [1986] 155f) and a *strategos* by 863; a seal of the 9th/10th C. calls the commander of Koloneia *archon.* For Constantine VII Koloneia was a small theme, named for its powerful and steep fortress, the *polisma* of Koloneia. In 1057, the *tagmata* of Koloneia and Chaldia supported the revolt of Isaac I Komnenos, and in 1068 Koloneia was controlled by the rebel Crispin. It fell to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071 but was briefly retaken by the Byz. in 1106. Koloneia was a bishopric under Sebasteia; by 879 it became autocephalous and in the 11th C. was made a metropolis. The region was the center of the PAULICIANS in the 7th–9th C. The site contains an imposing fortress with citadel and keep of several periods from Roman through Ottoman.

2. *Koloneia in Cappadocia.* Located at the edge of the central Anatolian plateau, this Koloneia, now Aksaray, was important as a road junction and APLEKTON where armies gathered for expeditions to the south and east. Koloneia was a suffragan bishopric of MOKISSOS through the 11th C.; it preserves no Byz. remains.

LIT. **1.** Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 145–51.
LIT. **2.** *TIB* 2:207f.
–C.F.

KOLOSSAI. See CHONAI.

KOLYBAS, SERGIOS, *protonotarios* and imperial secretary, rhetorician; fl. late 12th C. Kolybas (Κολυβᾶς) wrote two speeches addressed to ISAAC II and delivered in 1193 (not in 1186 as they are dated by Dujčev), almost at the same time as the speech of George TORNIKIOS. Kolybas's speeches concern the revolt of ASEN I and PETER OF BULGARIA; he stressed that Peter concluded a truce with Byz., whereas Asen was still fighting against the empire.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 280–300.
LIT. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 77–81.
–A.K.

KOMENTIOLOS (Κομεντίολος), general; died Constantinople 27 Nov. 602. Komentiolos started his career under Maurice in 583, as a member of an embassy to the Avars, then as military commander. In 584 he defeated Slav troops under Ardagastos; Komentiolos moved less successfully the next year against the Avars. In 588/9 Maurice

sent him against the Persians as a replacement for PHILIPPIKOS, and Komentiolos gained a decisive victory at Sisarbanon, near Nisibis; he captured the fortress of Akbas. When CHOSROES II fled to the empire, Komentiolos and DOMITIANOS were in charge of the king, and Komentiolos restored him to the throne. Recalled to the Balkans, Komentiolos was routed in 598 by the Avars and fled to Drizipetra (Thrace), where the citizens prevented his entry; thereafter the city succumbed to the barbarians. Together with PRISKOS he held command in the area of the Danube; they were unable to stop the Avar invasion. During the revolt of PHOKAS, Komentiolos was assigned to defend the walls of Constantinople but was seized and executed.

Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, the main source on Komentiolos, is hostile to him, describing the general as a coward and even a traitor: thus the battle near Drizipetra is presented as a treacherous act to punish unruly soldiers. To be distinguished from Komentiolos is another Komentiolos, a brother of Phokas; he revolted against Herakleios (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 311–23).

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 108–12. M. Nystazopoulou-Pelekidou, "Symbole eis ten chronologesin ton Abarikon kai Slabikon epidromon epi Maurikiou (582–602)," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 175–82. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 97–105, 139–50. –W.E.K., A.K.

KOMES. See COMES.

KOMES HYDATON (*κόμης ὑδάτων*, lit. "count of the waters"), subaltern official of the GENIKON mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. The *komes hydaton* was in charge of AQUEDUCTS, as is clear from the letter of Theodore of Kyzikos to Constantine VII in which the bishop asked the *komes* to provide him with "wintry water" to satiate his "summery thirst" (*NE* 19 [1925] 276.18–20). Dölger (*Beiträge* 90, n.9) surmises that his duty was to collect the tax on canals and aqueducts, which is mentioned in the *Basilika* (*Basil.* 16.1.27). He is perhaps to be identified with the LOGOTHETES TON HYDATON. –A.K.

KOMES TES KORTES (*κόμης τῆς κόρτης*), official on the staff of a STRATEGOS, probably a civil official with judicial and police duties. Constantine VII (*De cer.* 489.17–21) states that the name originates from the word *korte* (tent), since the duty of the *komes* was to pitch the imperial tent during a campaign. The author of the vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS (ed. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3:45.5–16) calls him "the shield-bearer of the *korte*" and stresses the Italian origin of the term. Several seals of this *komes* are preserved, dated mostly to the 8th and 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1422, 1495, 1530A); the legends on certain seals indicate the province in which the *komes tes kortes* served: Peloponnesos (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.936), Macedonia, Chaldia, and so on. The earliest mention of the *komes tes kortes* in narrative sources is a letter of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS (PG 99:1232A) of 817/18; the vita of Theodore reports that Leo V ordered the *strategos* of Anatolikon to send the *komes tes kortes* to flog the holy man (PG 99:296B). In the vita of George of Amastris the *komes tes kortes* has responsibility in a criminal case, and Constantine VII mentions the *komes* together with PROTONOTARIOI (*De cer.* 489.2–3). *Komites tes kortes* appear in the lists of provincial functionaries from 995 (*Ivir.*, no.8.10) to 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.61), usually after the CHARTOULARIOI of the *dromos* and of themes. The last references to *komites tes kortes* are in the 12th C. in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene and in a letter of 1116.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 43. E. Vranousse, *Komiskortes ho ex Arbanon* (Ioannina 1962). –A.K.

KOMES TES LAMIAS (*κόμης τῆς λαμίας*), an enigmatic functionary of the GENIKON mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; the name has been connected with the Latin *lamina/lamna*, meaning, among other things, gold or other precious metals, and interpreted as one who "had to do with bullion and mines" (Bury, *Adm. System* 89). The usual opinion that the *komes tes lamias* is to be identified with the *comes metallorum per Illyricum* first mentioned in 365 and known to the *Notitia dignitatum* (O. Seeck, *RE* 4 [1901] 659) cannot be either proven or rejected. On seals of the 9th through the 11th C. the *komes tes lamias* bears the titles of *spatharios*, *strator*, or *protospatharios*, and sometimes combines his office with that of the *epi ton oikeiakon* (see OIKEIAKOS) or the *megas chartoularios* of the *genikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 401–06; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.829).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 593, n.978. –A.K.

KOMES TON TEICHEON (*κόμης τῶν τειχέων, τειχῶν*, or *τοῦ τείχους*, lit. "count of the walls"), commander of a military body responsible for the defense of the LONG WALL and the adjacent area. Bury (*Adm. System* 68) without convincing proof connects this office with the *vicarius* of the Long Wall who was introduced by Justinian I and soon replaced by the Justinianic praetor for Thrace. The first mentioned *komes ton teicheon* (named *archon tou teichiou* by Theoph. 401.1 or *ton teicheon* by Nikeph. 56.4–5) was Niketas Anthrax who was executed in 718/19. The term seems not yet established in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C.; in the late 9th C. the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS calls him sometimes *domestikos* and sometimes *komes*. A 10th-C. historian (Genes. 4.46–47) describes him as "one entrusted with the care of the Walls." The functions of the *komes ton teicheon* are not clearly defined: he belonged to the DOMESTIKOI and could even combine his post with that of the DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON. The *komes ton teicheon* supervised the PRISON of Chalke and participated in guarding the palace. The office of *domestikos ton teicheon* is mentioned by pseudo-KODINOS in the 14th C., but the last known *komes ton teicheon* was probably the 11th-C. *patrikios* Melias, whom CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. Kurtz, no.16.27) calls the *archon* of the walls. Oikonomides (*Listes* 337) surmises, contrary to Guilland, that the office is mentioned also in the PEIRA. The staff of the *komes ton teicheon* was identical to that of the *domestikos ton Noumeron*.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XIX (1964), 17–25. –A.K.

KOMES TOU STAULOU (*κόμης τοῦ σταύλου*, lit. "count of the stable"), one of the STRATARCHAI, a high-ranking official responsible for the horses and mules needed by the army and the court, a duty he shared with the LOGOTHETES TON AGELON. In the late Roman Empire the *comites* (or *tribuni*) *sacri stabuli* administered the levying of horses from the provinces; this levy was later commuted, and in 367 Valens ordered that procurators of the imperial estates should pay to the government 23 solidi per horse assessed (Jones, *LRE* 1:625f). In the 6th C. the title of *archon* of the imperial *hippokomoi* (grooms) was conferred on leading generals such as Belisarios (Prokopios, *SH* 4.39) or Konstantianos (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.7.26). Badouarios, Justin II's brother, is called *komes* of the imperial stable (*ton staulon*) by a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 246.12–14). In the TAKTIKA and esp. in the *De ceremoniis* the *komes tou staulou* is an officer responsible for horses in Constantinople (at the court?) and in the estates of Malagina; his staff, omitted in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, included CHARTOULARIOI, *komites* of Malagina, and several others (EPEIKTES, *saphramentarios*, etc.) whose functions are not clearly defined; a *chartoularios* of the stable still existed at the end of the 11th C. (PG 127:973B). By the 13th C. the KONOSTAULOS seems to have replaced the *komes tou staulou*, although in the 14th C. pseudo-KODINOS mentions the *komes* of the imperial horses, a courtier who, together with the PROTOSTRATOR, held the horse while the emperor mounted. At the end of the 13th C. Chadenos, who was the *komes* of the imperial horses (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:47.10), was given important political assignments.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 113f. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:469–71. Oikonomides, *Listes* 338f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:487–97. –A.K.

KOMETOPOULOI (Κομητόπουλοι), the sons of the *comes* Nicholas and his wife Ripsime—David, Moses, Aaron, and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA. ASOŁIK plainly says that the Kometopouloi ("Komsajagk") were Armenians from the district of Derjan. They headed a revolt in Bulgaria against Byz. power. Where and when this revolt began are the subject of discussion. An 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 255.73–80) says that the sons of PETER OF BULGARIA, Boris II and Romanos, left Constantinople ca.970 in order to oppose the revolt of the Kometopouloi; JOHN GEOMETRES in a poem titled *On the Kometopouloi*, playing on the word for comet and the name of Kometopouloi, connects the revolt with the appearance of a comet (perhaps in 968) and the death of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS in 969 (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 42 [1972–73] 410f). Nevertheless W. Seibt thinks it impossible that the revolt started in 969; he refers to another passage in Skylitzes (Skyl. 328f) in which the revolt of the Kometopouloi is set at the time of the death of JOHN I TZIMISKES in 976. Also disputed is whether the revolt encompassed only Macedonia or took place in northeastern Bulgaria, eventually to be united with the movement in western Bulgaria. P. Petrov (*BBulg* 1 [1962] 137–42) hypothesized that the account by the 15th-C. Polish historian

Długosz about the revolt of Peter and Bojan in Bulgaria in 976 is to be connected with the activity of the Kometopouloi. David and Moses died soon after 976, and Aaron, probably, on 14 June 987 or 988. Samuel remained alone at the helm of the Bulgarian state.

LIT. W. Seibt, "Untersuchungen zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der 'bulgarischen' Kometopulen," *HA* 89 (1975) 65–100. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 345–54. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Les 'Comètopoules et l'état de Samuel,'" *Byzantion* 39 (1969) 497–500. –A.K.

KOMMERKIARIOS (κομμερκιάριος), a fiscal official, probably the successor of the late Roman *comes commerciorum,* the controller of trade on the frontier. The NOTITIA DIGNITATUM mentions only three *comites commerciorum*: for Oriens, for the area on the Danube and the Black Sea, and for Illyricum (O. Seeck, *RE* 4 [1901] 643f). The first mention of *kommerkiarios* is found in fragmentary inscriptions of a law promulgated by Anastasios I. The seals of *kommerkiarioi* show that they were stationed in many places on the frontier, apparently supporting the statement of Prokopios (*SH* 25.5) that Justinian I installed customs stations "at each strait" and sent two *archontes* to each location to collect tolls. G. Millet's attempt (*Mélanges offerts à m. Gustave Schlumberger,* vol. 2 [Paris 1924] 303–27) to consider the early *kommerkiarioi* as the emperor's merchants is questionable.

The [*genikos*] *kommerkiarios* farmed out his office at public auction for one or two years; his functions have been understood as those of a duty collector or of a quartermaster general of the army or of an entrepreneur (or association of entrepreneurs) who obtained the monopoly of SILK trade and silk production, initially for all the empire, then for one or more provinces. The *kommerkiarioi* had special seals for their merchandise, displaying the image of the emperor(s), the INDICTIONS for which each seal was valid (ranging from 673/4 to 832/3), and naming the warehouses (*apothekai,* concentration and redistribution points) of the province(s) under their jurisdiction. For a short period in 695–97 and permanently from 730/1 to 832/3, these special seals do not mention individual *kommerkiarioi* but rather bear the impersonal expression "of the imperial *kommerkia,*" presumably because these were offices run by state employees who may have exercised general control over the merchandise and collected duties. After the mid-8th C. these offices appear only in Thrace and Macedonia. From the end of the 7th C. the significance of *kommerkiarioi* decreased; the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS cites them only as subaltern officials in the GENIKON. These new officials, called [imperial] *kommerkiarioi,* had jurisdiction over themes or ports as well as the function of controlling imports and exports and collecting some duties.

On seals of the 9th to 11th C., *kommerkiarioi* are seen to control larger territorial units, such as Chaldia or Cyprus, or to operate in trade centers such as Abydos, Erythrai, and Cherson; sometimes, like Joseph, *abydikos* and *kommerkiarios* of Thessalonike and Kephalenia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1075), they functioned simultaneously in towns far removed from each other. Some *kommerkiarioi,* such as the *kommerkiarios* of the Bulgarians (ibid., no.910) and *kommerkiarios* of Preslav (no.1043), were inspectors of trade in the northern Balkans. They held court titles, such as *mandator* or *protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, but could have specifically "commercial" offices such as *metretes* or "measurer" (no.627). A seal of a *megas kommerkiarios* of the West, titled *spatharokandidatos,* is datable to the second half of the 10th C. (no.809).

At least until 1196 (*Lavra* 1, no.67.61), *kommerkiarioi* appear in chrysobulls as collectors of KOMMERKION, but the author of the vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par.10.13–15) already identified a *kommerkiarios* as the Byz. equivalent of PRAKTOR.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 157–91. C. Morrisson, W. Seibt, "Sceaux de commerciaires byzantins du VIIe siècle trouvés à Carthage," *RN*[6] 24 (1982) 222–40. Oikonomides, *Dated Seals,* nos. 2–15, 17, 19–22, 27, 29–30, 40, 42, 46. Idem, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 33–53. –A.K., N.O.

KOMMERKION (κομμέρκιον), a term with two meanings in Byz.

1. *Commercium* was the late Roman name of some frontier cities where exchanges with foreign merchants were authorized; their activities were supervised by the *comes commerciorum.*

2. *Kommerkion* was a tax on merchandise that appears in the sources around the year 800. It has been understood as a circulation and sales tax, paid at the CUSTOMS and a replacement of the OCTAVA; it was collected on all merchandise

imported into the empire (including some prisoners of war destined to be sold as slaves) and, inside the empire, on merchandise reaching Constantinople by sea. Its rate was 10 percent *ad valorem* (thus also called *dekate*), until the mid-14th C., when John VI reduced it to 2 percent.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 174, 282f, 592, 594, 596–98. –N.O.

KOMNENE, ANNA, historian; born Constantinople 2 Dec. 1083, died ca.1153/4. Eldest daughter of ALEXIOS I, Anna Komnene (Κομνηνή) was betrothed to Constantine Doukas, son of MICHAEL VII, who was regarded as the heir to the throne; after his premature death she married Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. In 1118, with the support of IRENE DOUKAINA, she schemed in order to obtain the throne for her husband, but the success of JOHN II forced her to retire to the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY, although she became a nun only on her deathbed.

In the monastery Anna was a patron of scholarship and wrote (after 1148) the *Alexiad,* a long panegyric of her father, whose reign she contrasted to the rule of her nephew MANUEL I. As in Bryennios's history, Anna started with the background of Alexios's victory; Bryennios, however, praised the leading noble families equally, while Anna concentrated on her father's deeds. Proud of the ancient heritage of Byz., she was very conservative and disapproved of the radical ideas of both JOHN ITALOS and the BOGOMILS. Although Anna's chronology is inconsistent (Ja. Ljubarskij, *VizVrem* 23 [1963] 47–56), and the facts sometimes distorted, the *Alexiad* is an important source, esp. for the history of Alexios's wars and international relations. A talented writer, Anna often created images (e.g., for ROBERT GUISCARD) of depth and complexity; many scenes are emotionally vivid. The *Alexiad* was paraphrased in the vernacular. Anna's eulogy by George TORNIKIOS provides us not only with her moral characterization, but also with a physical portrait.

ED. *Alexiade*, ed. B. Leib (with P. Gautier), 4 vols. (Paris 1937–76), with Fr. tr.; Eng. tr. E.R.A. Sewter (Baltimore-Harmondsworth 1969); Russ. tr. Ja. Ljubarskij (Moscow 1965). H. Hunger, *Anonyme Metaphrase zu Anna Komnene, Alexias XI–XIII* (Vienna 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:400–09. G. Buckler, *Anna Comnena* (Oxford 1929). Ja. Ljubarskij, "Mirovozzrenie Anny Komniny," *Učenye zapiski Velikolukskogo pedinstituta* 24 (1964) 152–76. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. –A.K.

KOMNENE, IRENE, *sebastokratorissa,* wife of the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos (Manuel I's brother); born ca.1110, died Constantinople? soon after 1151/2. After her husband's death in 1142, the ambitious Irene came into conflict with the young Manuel I. She was exiled to the Princes' Islands, and her enormous fortune was confiscated. When she returned, she was then accused of being involved in a plot against Manuel I (in 1148) and after a short banishment was placed in the Pantokrator monastery. Irene was the patron of literati in the capital (Prodromos, Manganeios Prodromos, Tzetzes, Manasses) and corresponded with the monk Jacob. The poets praised her wealth, beauty, cleverness, and her courageous independence in opposition to Manuel I. Irene's sons John and Alexios became Manuel's favorites, and Alexios Komnenos controlled the government during Alexios II's minority; her daughter Theodora was married to Henry of Babenberg, another daughter Eudokia was Andronikos I's mistress.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:360–79. E. Jeffreys, "The Sevastokratorissa Eirene as Literary Patroness," *JÖB* 32/3 (1982) 63–71. O. Lampsidis, "Zur Sebastokratorissa Eirene," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 91–105. –A.K.

KOMNENE, MARIA (the Porphyrogennete), daughter of MANUEL I and BERTHA OF SULZBACH; born Constantinople Mar. 1152, died Constantinople July 1182/early 1183. She was heiress-presumptive until ALEXIOS II was born. About 1163 she was betrothed to the future BÉLA III of Hungary. Despite the betrothal, in 1166 or 1167 Manuel offered her hand to WILLIAM II of Sicily, whose regents declined the offer. After Alexios II's birth, her engagement to Béla was terminated. In 1171 or 1172 Manuel betrothed her to William II, but she never left for Italy. In 1177 or 1178, Manuel offered her hand to confirm an alliance with the Montferrat family; early in 1180 RENIER OF MONTFERRAT married her. She received the title *kaisarissa* (i.e., wife of the caesar); with her forceful personality, she easily dominated him. After Manuel's death, dissatisfied by her lack of influence on the regency for Alexios II, Maria started a conspiracy (Feb. 1181). When it was detected in March, she and her husband fled to

Hagia Sophia, whence she waged war on the regency's soldiers. She urged the future ANDRONIKOS I KOMNENOS to advance on Constantinople. In May the patriarch arranged peace and she and Renier returned to the palace. After Andronikos took Constantinople, she allegedly was poisoned.

LIT. J. Parker, "The Attempted Byzantine Alliance with the Sicilian Norman Kingdom (1166–7)," *BSR* n.s. 11 (1956) 86–93. Brand, *Byzantium* 34–37. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:439–52. –C.M.B.

KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, family that ruled from 1081 to 1185. The first of the KOMNENOI to ascend the throne was ISAAC I, but the dynasty really commenced with his nephew ALEXIOS I. Exceptionally in the history of Byz. the first three members of the dynasty, Alexios, JOHN II, and MANUEL I, held power for a full century. The 12th C. was comparatively stable. Alexios quashed political and ideological resistance and, apart from the rivalry within the family of the Komnenoi, the century did not see serious rebellions or riots. The minority of ALEXIOS II and the usurpation of ANDRONIKOS I, however, reopened political conflict. The Komnenoi stabilized the international position of the empire despite severe pressures from Seljuks, Normans, the Crusaders, and Venice. The economy revived; art and literature flowered even if the term Komnenian RENAISSANCE cannot be used without qualification. Evaluation of the dynasty is contradictory. On the one hand, V. Vasil'evskij propounded a theory (developed by G. Ostrogorsky and modified by P. Lemerle) that, by accepting Western feudalism, the Komnenian dynasty destroyed original Byz. institutions and caused the decline of the empire, while on the other, A. Kazhdan and R.-J. Lilie emphasize the positive effect of Komnenian policy.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Zagadka Komninov," *VizVrem* 25 (1964) 53–98. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 309–12. R.-J. Lilie, "Des Kaisers Macht und Ohnmacht," in *Varia*, vol. 1 (Bonn 1984) 9–120. –A.K., C.M.B.

KOMNENODOUKAS. See DOUKAS.

KOMNENOS (Κομνηνός), name of a noble lineage, deriving from village of Komne (Psellos in Sathas, *MB* 4:407.20–21); K. Amantos (*Thrakika* 10 [1938] 232f) located it in Thrace despite the explicit evidence of Attaleiates (Attal. 58.11–13) that they were among those who were noble and famous in the East; in the mid-11th C. their estates were situated in the KASTAMON region. The Komnenoi are known from the reign of Basil II onward: the *protospatharios* Nikephoros governed Vaspurakan, the *patrikios* Manuel Komnenos Erotikos was *strategos autokrator* of the East. His son ISAAC (I) became emperor in 1057. In the 11th C. Komnenoi were landowners (cf. *Peira* 44.1) and military commanders: John, Isaac I's brother, was *domestikos ton scholon*, as was his son Isaac; another son Manuel was *protostrator*; the third son, ALEXIOS (I), became emperor in 1081. The Komnenoi were intermarried with aristocratic families (Dalassenoi, Doukai) and foreign dynasties—Bulgarian and Georgian.

After the establishment of the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY, the Komnenoi and families related to them by marriage acquired almost all of the highest military posts and were granted the highest dignities newly invented by Alexios I: according to a very approximative calculation, 90 percent of the topmost elite from 1118 to 1180 consisted of Komnenoi and their relatives (I. Sorlin, *TM* 6 [1976] 374). The Komnenoi were also active as provincial governors in Cilicia and the Balkans. Only rarely were they in the civil service: the *parakoimomenos* John reportedly administered "the state affairs" under John II; Stephen was *megas droungarios*; Alexios and Constantine served as imperial *pinkernes*. These civil servants were all distant relatives of the emperors. Only one relative was in the church hierarchy: Adrianos, Alexios I's nephew, who after a career as ruler of the "Chalybes," a tribe on the eastern frontier, became archbishop of Bulgaria in 1143 under the name of John; Hilarios, *protos* of Athos ca.1110, who is called a relative of Alexios I, is a very obscure figure.

The role of the Komnenos family in cultural life was limited: Anna KOMNENE received her education against her parents' will; the only other writers in the family were a certain *sebastokrator* Isaac (or Isaac Porphyrogennetos—see KOMNENOS, ISAAC), who composed several theological works, and Alexios I, who produced some poems. More important was the role of the Komnenoi as patrons, esp. certain women, such as Anna and the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE. Great landowners, they founded several churches and monasteries: Kosmosoteira at BERA, KECHARITOMENE,

and PANTOKRATOR in Constantinople. A 12th-C. epigram states that a John Komnenos, son of a *sebastokrator*, built a monastery instead of a mansion (Lampros, "Mark. kod." [1911] nos. 50–51); the *protostrator* Alexios is called the founder of the Church of St. Nicholas in Manastir (F. Barišić, *ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 20f).

The role of the Komnenos family declined in the late 12th C. due to the anti-aristocratic policy of ANDRONIKOS I; his contemporary, David Komnenos, governor of Thessalonike in 1185, was treated by Eustathios of Thessalonike and Niketas Choniates as a symbol of cowardice and lack of martial prowess (K. Barzos, *Makedonika* 20 [1980] 30–47). Nonetheless, the name of Komnenos retained its spell and was broadly used as a sort of royal title by various dynasties from the late 12th C. onward: ANGELOI, VATATZES, and the rulers of Trebizond (GRAND KOMNENOI) who claimed affinity with the Komnenoi. In the second half of the 13th C. several members of the Komnenos family held relatively modest posts, for example, the *megas domestikos* Theodore Angelos Komnenos ca.1287 and a *sebastos* George Doukas Komnenos mentioned on a 13th-C. seal. A branch of the family was established at this time in Ikonion and is attested by an inscription (P. Wittek, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 505–15). (See genealogical table.)

LIT. K. Barzos, *He Genealogia ton Komnenon*, 2 vols. (Thessalonike 1984). A. Hohlweg, *Beiträge zur Verwaltungsgeschichte des Oströmischen Reiches unter den Komnenen* (Munich 1965). B. Katsaros, "To 'problema tes katagoges' ton Komnenon," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 111–22. *PLP*, nos. 12050–123. H. Omont, "Portraits de différents membres de la famille des Comnène," *REGr* 17 (1904) 361–73. –A.K.

KOMNENOS, ISAAC, older brother of ALEXIOS I; born ca.1050, died between 1102 and 1104 (D. Papachryssanthou, *REB* 21 [1963] 250–55). About 1071 or 1072 MICHAEL VII married him to Irene, cousin of MARIA OF "ALANIA," who bore him four sons and four daughters. About 1073, while *domestikos* of the East, he was captured by the Turks, then ransomed; sent ca.1074 as *doux* of Antioch, he repressed disturbances there. He was again taken by the Turks and ransomed by the Antiochenes. During the reign of NIKEPHOROS III, Isaac enjoyed imperial favor, while using his friendship with Maria of "Alania" to further his and Alexios's goals. When the brothers rebelled (Feb. 1081), Isaac placed the purple boots on his brother's feet. Thereafter, he enthusiastically assisted Alexios, who created the title of SEBASTOKRATOR for him. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:11.27) calls him "emperor without the purple" and Alexios's equal. During Alexios's absences, Isaac aided Anna DALASSENE, esp. in prosecuting JOHN ITALOS. To finance Alexios's wars against the NORMANS and PECHENEGS, Isaac confiscated precious ecclesiastical objects. He thus opposed Metr. LEO OF CHALCEDON and played a leading part in his condemnation. Patristic texts assembled by Isaac for this trial survive. When, ca.1094, Isaac's son John was accused of treason, Isaac rode hastily to Philippopolis to defend him. Late in life, he helped entrap BASIL THE BOGOMIL. Isaac apparently held lands near Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1:269–71).

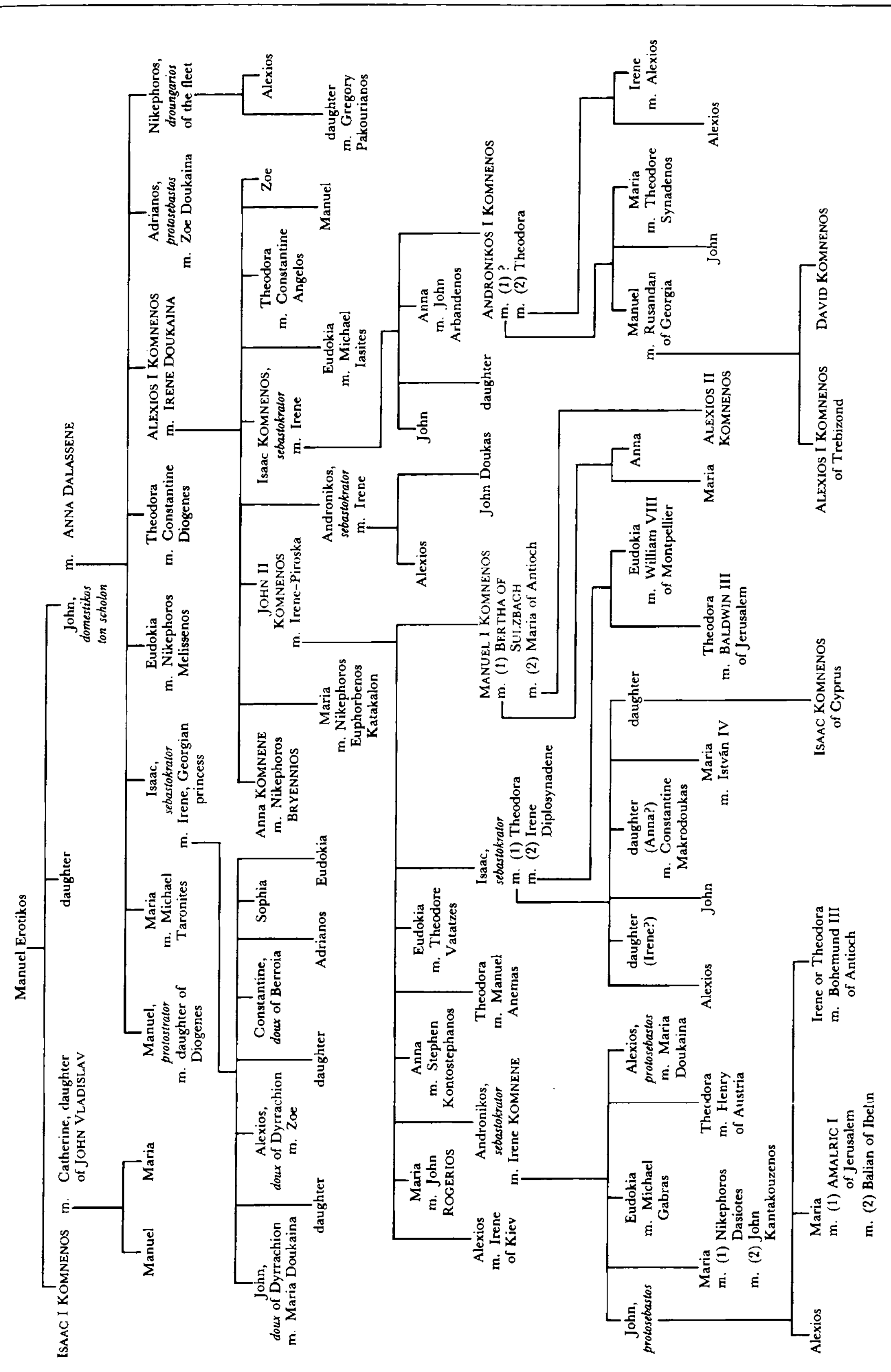
ED. *Procli Diadochi tria opuscula*, ed. H. Boese (Berlin 1960).

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 124–30. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:67–79. P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (fin 1094): Etude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971) 221–26. –C.M.B.

KOMNENOS, ISAAC, the name of a writer or of two writers of the 12th C. (1) Under the name of Isaac Komnenos the Sebastokrator have survived three philosophical treatises. They are based on works of PROKLOS that are preserved only in the Latin translation of WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE. Proklos—and following him, Komnenos—studied problems of providence, evil, and necessity. (2) A certain Isaac Komnenos the Porphyrogennetos was the author of two short works on HOMER. In the first (*The Omissions of Homer*), Komnenos laments that Homer did not mention some episodes of the Trojan War; the second essay, *On the Characters of the Hellenes and Trojans Who Were at Troy,* characterizes the war's heroes. Probably the author used the same sources as did TZETZES, such as MALALAS.

Identification of these writers is difficult since in the 12th C. there were several men named Isaac Komnenos the *sebastokrator,* and some of them were born in the purple. Because the *sebastokrator* Isaac, brother of Alexios I (see preceding entry), commissioned a florilegium of patristic writings in refutation of LEO OF CHALCEDON (Beck, *Kirche* 612), authorship of the philosophical treatise has sometimes been attributed to him. Isaac, the son of Alexios I, has been proposed by F.

GENEALOGY OF THE KOMNENOS FAMILY



Based on Barzos, *Genealogia*.

Uspenskij (*IRAIK* 12 [1907] 29f), followed by O. Jurewicz (*Andronikos I. Komnenos* [Amsterdam 1970] 33f), as the author of the Homeric commentaries. This identification is based on the statement in Isaac's *typikon* for Kosmosoteira that he composed (*syntetacha*) a book including verses and *ekphraseis* (see KOMNENOS, ISAAC THE PORPHYROGENNETOS), and the alleged stylistic similarities between the commentaries and the *typikon*, but neither Uspenskij nor Jurewicz gives examples for comparison. The question remains open.

ED. 1. *Proclus, Trois études sur la providence*, ed. D. Isaac (Paris 1977, 1979) 1:153–223, 2:99–169. *Isaak Sebastokrator's "Peri tes ton kakon hypostaseos" (De malorum subsistentia)*, ed. J.J. Rizzo (Meisenheim an Glan 1971).
LIT. 1. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:79, 253.
ED. 2. *Polemonis declamationes*, ed. H. Hinck (Leipzig 1873) 57–88. *Isaac Porphyrogenitus, Praefatio in Homerum*, ed. J.F. Kindstrand (Uppsala 1979).
LIT. 2. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:51, 2:58. Browning, *Studies*, pt. XVIII [1975], 28. –A.K.

KOMNENOS, ISAAC THE PORPHYROGENNETOS, the third son of Alexios I; born Constantinople 16 Jan. 1093, died soon after 1152. Caesar during his father's reign, Isaac was granted the title of *sebastokrator* by his brother John II whom he supported in the latter's conflict with their mother Irene Doukaina and sister Anna Komnene in 1118. The alliance of the brothers, however, was of short duration: ca.1130 (according to Kurtz, in 1122) Isaac, together with his sons Andronikos (the future emperor) and John, fled to Amīr Ghāzī, the Danişmendid sultan of Ikonion (died 1134) and attempted to create a broad coalition against John II including the Turks, Constantine Gabras of Trebizond, Leo I of Cilician Armenia, and Foulques of Anjou, the king of Jerusalem (1131–43). Isaac also went to Palestine and visited some pilgrimage sites in the Holy Land. When the coalition failed, Isaac negotiated with John II and returned to Constantinople in 1138, but the peace was soon broken: in 1139 Isaac's son John again fled to the Turks and Isaac was exiled to Herakleia Pontike. After John II's death in 1143, Isaac supported his nephew, the *sebastokrator* Isaac, but this proved to be the wrong choice, and it was another nephew, Manuel I, who managed to seize the throne. Isaac (the son of Alexios I) continued, however, to dream of imperial power, and according to Kinnamos (Kinn. 53f) he tried to take advantage of Manuel's difficulties and assume his place on the throne. After 1150 Manuel forced Isaac to go into retirement; in 1151/2 Isaac founded the monastery of Kosmosoteira at BERA for which he wrote a *typikon*.

Isaac is represented on a mosaic in the church of the CHORA MONASTERY (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:45–48, no.6): it is believed (R.G. Ousterhout, *The Architecture of the Kariye Camii in Istanbul* [Washington, D.C., 1987] 21) that he was the *ktetor* of Chora and had a tomb built there for himself before removing it to the church of the Kosmosoteira (N.P. Ševčenko, *GOrThR* 29 [1984] 135–40). The date for Isaac's reconstruction of Chora suggested by Ousterhout (ca.1120) is based on Kurtz's date of his flight from Constantinople and is probably too early. Isaac also restored the Church of St. Stephen in Constantinople and made it into a hospice for the monks of the Kosmosoteira who visited the capital (Janin, *Églises CP* 473).

During the short period of peace between John II and Isaac, Theodore PRODROMOS addressed to Isaac an *enkomion* (E. Kurtz, *BZ* 16 [1907] 112–17) and a eulogy in hexameters (ed. Hörandner, no.42); some verses were written as if spoken by Isaac (Hörandner, nos. 40–41, cf. also E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 5 [1926–27] 44–46). Isaac has been identified as the paraphraser of the *Letter of Aristeas* (a preface to the Old Testament) preserved in the Seraglio Octateuch, and as the patron of this deluxe MS (J. Anderson, *DOP* 36 [1982] 84–86). In his *typikon* (ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 69.6–8) Isaac states that he "composed (*syntetacha*) a book with hexameter, iambic, and political verses, in addition to letters and *ekphraseis*," a passage normally interpreted as alluding to his authorship of the book, although it could conceivably refer rather to a compilation. He may have been the author of commentaries on Homer ascribed to an enigmatic Isaac Komnenos the Porphyrogennetos (see the preceding entry on KOMNENOS, ISAAC).

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:238–54. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 159f. O. Jurewicz, *Andronikos I. Komnenos* (Amsterdam 1970) 28–35. –A.K.

KOMNENOS, JOHN, or John the Fat (Παχύς), usurper on 31 July 1200 (not 1201, as previously believed). He was the son of Alexios AXOUCH and Maria Komnene (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:117–35), who was a granddaughter of John II. Contrary

to V. Laurent (*EO* 32 [1933] 52f), Pachys was John's sobriquet, not a family name; he had nothing in common with an undistinguished Pachys family known predominantly from 14th-C. sources. John was involved in a plot, probably organized by Alexios Mourtzouphlos (the future Alexios V). Conspirators broke into Hagia Sophia, swore an oath to restore the empire to its former borders, and acclaimed John as emperor; thereafter the crowd pillaged the palace and churches. Alexios III Angelos, who at that time resided in the Blachernai Palace, sent troops under the command of Alexios Palaiologos; they sailed in boats to the Great Palace and easily cleared the Hippodrome of John's supporters. He surrendered and was executed on the spot. The unsuccessful usurpation served as the subject of several contemporary orations by Nicholas Mesarites, Nikephoros Chrysoberges, Euthymios Tornikios, and Niketas Choniates.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 122–24, 347f. –A.K.

KONOSTAULOS (κονοσταῦλος, from Lat. *comes stabuli*, "count of the stable," Fr. *connétable*), a term that entered Byz. in the 11th C. under Norman influence. A 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 2:28.5–7) speaks of a Latin *phalangarches* Bryenne "called *konostaulos*." Guilland (*Institutions* 1:471) mistakenly ascribes a seal of an *anthypatos* Isaac (?) to a *konostaulos* of the 11th C.; in fact, the seal belonged to a komes tou staulou (St. Maslev, *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 20 [Sofia 1955] 452f, no.3; Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.924). The office/title, predominantly in the form *megas konostaulos*, is known only from the 13th C. onward. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:37.4–7) defines him as the commander of Italian mercenaries. The first *megas konostaulos* mentioned in the sources is Michael Komnenos Palaiologos under John III Vatatzes (Akrop. 1:134.10–11). In the hierarchy of pseudo-Kodinos the *megas konostaulos* follows the *megas* primikerios. From the 13th to the 15th C. members of noble families (Palaiologoi, Tarchaneiotai, Monomachoi) held this post as did Western seigneurs such as Licario of Verona; the title was also conferred on Leonardo Tocco.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:471–74. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 54. –A.K.

KONSTANTIA. See Constantia.

KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI (Constantine the Philosopher), Bulgaro-Serbian teacher and writer; born Kostenеć (on the Marica River)? ca.1380, died after 1431. He studied at the Petritzos monastery under Evtimij of Tŭrnovo and his pupil Andronikos. After the Turkish sack of Plovdiv (Philippopolis) in 1410, Konstantin migrated to Serbia, where the *despotes* Stefan Lazarević welcomed him. He devoted himself to teaching and writing, interrupted by a visit to the Holy Land and diplomatic missions to Timur and Ottoman sultans. Konstantin encouraged the reform of Serbian Slavonic in accordance with the principles established by Evtimij. He wrote a treatise on orthography, surviving in two redactions; a Life of Stefan Lazarević which is rich in historical, geographical, and ethnographical information (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:366–71); and a *Pilgrimage to Palestine* that is mainly derivative of *hodoiporiai to Edem*, Greek travel guides for pilgrimage. Konstantin also translated Theodoret of Cyrrhus's *Commentary on the Song of Songs* and possibly other Greek texts. Konstantin introduced to Serbia the rigorous philology and literary sophistication which his teachers had learned from 14th-C. Byz.

ED. *Sŭbrani sŭčinenija*, ed. K. Kuev and G. Petkov (Sofia 1986).

LIT. Ju. Trifonov, *Život i dejnost na Konstantin Kostenečki* (Sofia 1943). K. Kujew, *Konstantyn Kostenecki w literaturze bulgarskiej i serbskiej* (Krakow 1950) and rev. I. Dujčev, *BS* 13 (1952–53) 328–34. I. Dujčev, "Za knižovnoto tvorčestvo na Konstantin Kostenečki," *Izvestija na Instituta za bŭlgarska literatura* 2 (1954) 223–31. S. Stanojević, "Die Biographie Stefan Lazarević's von Konstantin dem Philosophen als Geschichtsquelle," *Archiv für slavische Philologie 18* (1896) 409–72. –R.B.

KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA, a native of Serbia, captured by the Turks at Novo Brdo in July 1455 and forced into military service as a janissary until the Hungarians recaptured him in 1463. Konstantin also claims to have participated in the siege of Constantinople in 1453, as one of the Serbian contingent sent by the *despotes* George Branković. His *Memoirs* were probably written in Serbian, though they survive only in Czech and Polish versions in MSS and printed editions dating from the 16th C. onward. The Czech version is probably closer to the original; the Polish is translated from the Czech (A. Danti, *RicSlav* 16 [1968–69] 126–62). Chapter 26 treats the siege of 1453. Konstantin's account con-

centrates on the Turkish maneuvers, particularly the feats of engineering in conveying ships across land and in breaching the walls. He stresses the "treachery" of Mehmed II in breaking his truce with Constantine XI.

ED. *Konstantin Mihailović, Memoirs of a Janissary*, Czech text with Eng. tr. B. Stolz (Ann Arbor 1975). *Memoiren eines Janitscharen oder Türkische Chronik*, tr. R. Lachmann (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1975). -S.C.F.

KONSTANTIN OF PRESLAV (Constantine of Bulgaria), medieval Bulgarian writer and bishop of Preslav; late 9th–early 10th C. A pupil of Methodios and thoroughly familiar with the Greek language and Byz. religious culture, he may have been among the pupils of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS sold into slavery and ransomed by a Byz. official. Konstantin lived in Bulgaria from before 893 to ca.910. His works include a translation of Athanasios of Alexandria's homilies against the Arians (906), a Gospel commentary (*Učitel'noe evangelie*) consisting mainly of translations of homilies of John Chrysostom and Cyril of Alexandria, a short explanation of church organization and liturgy based largely on the works attributed to Patr. Germanos I, a world chronicle from Adam to 893 drawing entirely on Byz. sources (Bulgaria is mentioned only in connection with the death in battle of Emp. Nikephoros I), an edifying acrostic poem, the earliest surviving Old CHURCH SLAVONIC poetic text, an Office in honor of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodios, and several liturgical hymns. Konstantin displays little originality of thought, but considerable skill in adapting Church Slavonic to the expression of theological, philosophical, and other abstract ideas, as well as some poetic feeling. His works were influential in Serbia and later in Russia.

ED. *Azbučnata molitva v slavjanskite literaturi*, ed. K.M. Kuev (Sofia 1974). V.N. Zlatarski, ed. "Naistarijat istoričeski trud v starobŭlgarskata knižnina," *Spisanie na Bŭlgarskata Akademija* 27 (1923) 132–82.

LIT. Antonin, *Konstantin, episkop bolgarskij, i ego Učitel'noe evangelie* (Kazan 1885). E. Georgiev in *Istorija na bŭlgarskata literatura*, vol. 1, ed. P. Dinekov (Sofia 1962) 112–26. K. Kuev in *Rečnik na bŭlgarskata literatura* (Sofia 1977) 2:238f. T.G. Popov, *Triodni proizvedenija na Konstantin Preslavski* (Sofia 1985). -R.B.

KONTAKION (κοντάκιον), a sermon in verse, usually celebrating major feasts and saints. From the late 5th to 7th C. it was chanted during the ORTHROS by a preacher or *psaltes* (SINGER) and choir. It consists of an introduction (the *prooimion* or *koukoulion*), followed by a varying number of OIKOI (stanzas) connected to the *prooimion* by a refrain; the *oikoi* are linked by an ACROSTIC as well as by their shared and complex metrical structure, which is based on patterns of corresponding stressed syllables. An HEIRMOS (model stanza) begins each *kontakion* and indicates its melody and metrical pattern, which differ for the *prooimion* and for the *oikoi*.

Though antecedents for several of the *kontakion*'s most striking features can be found in Greek homiletic practice of the 3rd–4th C., the first authors of the *kontakion* were drawing on Syriac forms of poetic sermon (the Memra, a metrical sermon; the Madrasha, which used a refrain and acrostic; and the Sugita, a sermon in dialogue form), particularly as developed by EPHREM THE SYRIAN, whose work also existed in Greek versions. The high point in the composition of the *kontakion* was reached in the mid-6th C. by ROMANOS THE MELODE. The AKATHISTOS HYMN may also date from this period. Other writers of *kontakia*, older contemporaries of Romanos, include Kyriakos and Domitios, of whom little is known but their names.

The dominant form of HYMN, the *kontakion* was gradually superseded during the 8th C. by the recently devised KANON. *Kontakia* continued to be written until the 9th C. (e.g., by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER), but the vigor had gone; eventually the *kontakion*, reduced to its *prooimion* and first *oikos* only, became simply a hymn to be inserted after the sixth ode of the *kanon*. At their liveliest, *kontakia* use bold imagery and vivid, almost theatrical dialogue that dramatically recreates the scriptural texts set in the liturgical calendar.

ED. C. Høeg, *Contacarium Ashburnhamense* (Copenhagen 1956).

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 171–353. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode* (Paris 1977) 3–156. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 1:111–81. P. Maas, "Das Kontakion," *BZ* 19 (1910) 285–306. -E.M.J.

KONTOSTEPHANOS (Κοντοστέφανος, "short Stephen," fem. Κοντοστεφανίνα), a noble family the first known member of which was Stephen, *domestikos* of the West under Basil II, whose nickname was "due to his short stature" (Skyl. 331.33–34). Involved in intrigues, Stephen fell victim to

Basil's wrath and was beaten by the emperor. Nothing more of the Kontostephanos family is recorded until 1080, when the Turks captured Isaac, a military commander. The Kontostephanoi played an important role throughout the 12th C., predominantly as commanders of the fleet: admiral (*thalassokrator*) Isaac fought unsuccessfully in 1107/8; Stephen fell during the siege of Kerkyra (1149); Andronikos, *megas doux* of Manuel I, led the fleet against Egypt in 1169; John was the admiral (*nauarchos*) of Isaac II. They also served as governors of Crete (Alexios ca.1167, Stephen in 1193, Nikephoros in 1197) and of several other provinces. The Kontostephanoi intermarried with Komnenoi, Doukai, Angeloi, and other noble families and possessed large estates. There is no evidence of their participation in cultural life. Their position declined after 1204, although they are mentioned in the list of noble families in the poem on Belisarios. They owned property in Constantinople, on Lemnos, and elsewhere, were related to noble families such as Laskaris, and obtained some government positions: for example, a certain Kontostephanos was commandant of the fortress of Garella in Thrace in 1343. Among later Kontostephanoi were a teacher (John, ca.1358), a scribe (Phlamoulios, ca.1413–16), and a monk (Dionysios, ca.1365).

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques," *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique* 52.3 (1909) 152–66. Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 57–62. *PLP*, nos. 13111–27. –A.K.

KONYA. See Ikonion.

KORAN. See Qur'ān.

KORIUN. See Mesrop Maštoc'.

KORMČAJA KNIGA (lit. "The Pilot's Book" according to current etymological interpretation, cf. Gr. *pedalion*), a term attested from the 13th C. for Slavic collections of ecclesiastical and secular law of both Byz. and Slavic origin. Three or four "families" of Kormčaja are distinguished, named after their most important or most familiar MSS or after their place of origin (not in all cases undisputed).

1. The Old Slavonic (or "Bulgarian") Kormčaja, the best MS of which is the Efremovskaja Kormčaja of the 12th C. (*Drevneslavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij*, ed. V.N. Beneševič, vol. 1 [St. Petersburg 1906, rp. Leipzig 1974]; vol. 2 [Sofia 1987]). Its core is the *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* without commentary.

2. The "Serbian" redaction, translated by Sava of Serbia ca.1219? (complete text—Raškij MS of 1305), with variants in the Rjazanskaja Kormčaja of 1284, which includes the commentated *Synopsis canonum*.

3. The "Russian" (Novgorodskaja or Sofijskaja) Kormčaja of the 13th C., which has the complete text of the canons with commentary.

As a fourth family some cite the Ustjužskaja (or "Moravian") Kormčaja (*Magnae Moraviae fontes historici*, ed. J. Vašica et al., vol. 4 [Brno 1971] 147–98, 205–363), which contains selected passages from the Synagoge of Fifty Titles in translation. The Russian Kormčaja was widely disseminated in Russia and was supplemented by numerous original Slavic texts.

LIT. Ja.N. Ščapov, *Vizantijskoe i južnoslavjanskoe pravovoe nasledie na Rusi v XI–XIII vv.* (Moscow 1978). I. Žužek, *Kormčaja kniga: Studies on the Chief Code of Russian Canon Law* (Rome 1964). S.V. Troicki, *Kako treba izdati Svetosavsku Krmčiju* (Belgrade 1952). –L.B.

KORONE (Κορώνη, Coron, anc. Asine), city in the southeast corner of Messenia in the Peloponnesos. The city had civic status in late antiquity (Hierokl. 647.15), and a fragment of Diocletian's Price Edict was discovered there. By the time of the Slavic invasions the site was probably strongly fortified. At some undetermined date the people of ancient Korone (modern Petalidi) moved to Asine, and the name was changed. By the early 9th C. a bishop of Korone is attested as a suffragan of the archbishop of Patras (*Reg* 2, no.371), and Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, no.646) dates to the 9th C. the seal of Prokopios, bishop of Korone. Like Methone, Korone profited from the pilgrimage traffic and the growth of east-west trade from the 11th C. onward. After the Fourth Crusade Korone was granted first to Geoffrey I Villehardouin, who ceded it to Venice in 1209; ca.1300 it was under the authority of Monemvasia. The Greek peasants of the hinterland of Korone seem to have had a favorable status in comparison with their counterparts in the Morea: they could hold land, in addition to their unfree tenure (*stasia*), and

could dispose of this land freely without recourse to the commune.

The imposing fortress on the sea, although substantially rebuilt by Venice, is essentially Byz., probably to be assigned to the 6th–7th C. Within the fortress are the remains of a basilica, presumably of the same date.

LIT. Andrews, *Castles* 11–23. A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, "He episkope Korones stis arches tou IG′ aiona," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985–86) 376–84. C. Hodgetts, "Land Problems in Coron 1298–1347," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 135–57. –T.E.G.

KORYKOS (Κώρυκος), coastal city of CILICIA whose rich architectural and epigraphical record compensates for the deficiencies of the late antique sources, which state only that Justinian I restored the local bath and poorhouse. Five major churches, richly decorated basilicas of varying style, reflect considerable activity ca.480–550, and 636 funerary inscriptions, of which 393 name occupations, allow the social and economic structure to be reconstructed. The population included manufacturers and sellers of a vast range of products. As an important port near the frontier, Korykos became headquarters of a *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI; one such *droungarios*, Apsimar, became emperor as Tiberios II. The troops from Korykos were called Kourikiotai (Theoph. 370.24, Nikeph. 40.2). Korykos was later incorporated in the theme of SELEUKEIA. Circa 1100, after a brief Turkish occupation, Alexios I rebuilt Korykos, which was described by his historian daughter (An.Komn. 3:45.22–30) as formerly well fortified but recently ruined. By that date the city consisted of a castle whose concentric walls occupied a small part of the ancient site. It was lost to the Armenians in the late 12th C. The castle manifests several stages of construction, some perhaps as early as the 7th C.

LIT. E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (Manchester 1930). H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:210–22. Idem, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 242–49. A. Gurevič, "Iz ekonomičeskoj istorii odnogo vostočno-rimskogo goroda," *VDI* (1955) no.1, 127–35. –C.F.

KOS (Κῶς), island in the Dodekanese north of RHODES. In late antiquity it was second city of the province of the Islands. The bishop of Kos was suffragan of Rhodes; bishops of Kos participated in various councils from that of NICAEA I (325) onward (R. Janin, *DHGE* 13 [1956] 927). An 8th-C. seal of a bishop of the island of Kos is known (Zacos, *Seals*, 1, no.1948). The island was administered by a *droungarios*; a seal of Leo, *droungarios* of Kos, is dated to the 8th or 9th C. (V. Laurent, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 789). In the 11th and 12th C. Kos seems to have become more important: Nikephoros MELISSENOS began his revolt there (Bryen. 301.1–6); in the mid-12th C. Nikephoros Komnenos, a grandson of Anna Komnene, governed the island (E. Kurtz, *VizVrem* 17 [1910–11] 288f). An *anagrapheus* of Kos signed a document of 1089 (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.54.24–25).

After 1204 the island was controlled by the Genoese, although it was seized temporarily by John III Vatatzes after 1224 (Greg. 1:29.2). Circa 1325 Kos nominally belonged to the "kingdom" of Martino ZACCARIA but probably was in the hands of the Turks. Circa 1337 the HOSPITALLERS recaptured it and used it as a stronghold for protecting Rhodes: the preceptor of Kos had to maintain 25 Hospitallers, 10 Latin soldiers, 100 "Tourkopouloi," and a doctor with an apothecary. Kos fell to the Turks soon after 1 Jan. 1523.

A three-aisled basilica with elaborate mosaic decoration has been found at Mastikari, and another has been discovered in the town of Kos (A.K. Orlandos, *ArchEph* [1966] 4–98).

LIT. *HC* 3:283–93. A. Maiuri, "I Castelli dei Cavalieri di Rodi a Cos e a Budrum (Alicarnasso)," *Annuario della Regia Scuola archeologica di Atene* 4–5 (1921–22) 275–343. H. Balducci, *Basiliche protocristiane e bizantine a Coo (Egeo)* (Pavia 1936). –T.E.G.

KOSMAS I, Chalcedonian patriarch of Alexandria (from ca.727); died 768. After the Arab invasions, the Chalcedonian see of Alexandria remained vacant until the accession of Kosmas. He had the approval of both the emperor and the Muslim ruler. In 742/3, according to Theophanes (Theoph. 416.13–16), Kosmas abjured the doctrine of MONOTHELETISM, which had held sway in Alexandria since the time of HERAKLEIOS. It is, however, doubtful that the patriarch himself had been a Monothelete. The chronicler's brief account may be a confused reference to the formal recognition of Alexandria as an Orthodox see by the other patriarchates.

LIT. M. Le Quien, *Oriens Christianus* (Paris 1740; rp. Graz 1958) 2:457–61. A. Jülicher, "Die Liste der alexandrinischen Patriarchen im 6. und 7. Jahrhundert," in *Festgabe Karl Müller* (Tübingen 1922) 7–23. –A.P.

KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, also called the ANARGYROI, legendary saints. The cult of Kosmas and Damianos apparently developed by the 5th C. in Constantinople, where, according to local tradition, two churches (in Zeugma and Kosmidion) were dedicated to them ca.440 (Janin, *Églises CP* 284–89). According to certain sources (e.g., *Synaxarion of Constantinople* and John XIPHILINOS the Younger, nephew of Patr. John VIII), there were three pairs of *anargyroi* doctors called Kosmas and Damianos: (1) the sons of a certain Theodote from Asia, who died natural deaths and were buried in Pherema (feastday 1 Nov.); (2) the saints executed by Carinus (283–85) in Rome (1 July); and (3) the saints who originated from Arabia and were martyred in Cilicia under Diocletian and Maximian (17 Oct.).

Numerous authors produced stories of miracles performed in Constantinople by Kosmas and Damianos that were used by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, such as the sick being healed by INCUBATION in the church atrium and porticoes. The patients included people whose piety and morals seemed questionable: a Jewess, an ardent fan of the Hippodrome, and a dissolute woman. The veneration of Kosmas and Damianos spread beyond Constantinople; their legends were rewritten by various writers such as ANDREW OF CRETE, PETER OF ARGOS, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and a certain Maximos ca.1300. The legends are preserved also in Syriac, Coptic, Georgian, Armenian, and Latin.

Representation in Art. Portraits of the two saints abound, standing side by side, often in the company of other *anargyroi* such as PANTELEEMON; they are mature men with spare dark beards, clad in tunics and *phelonia* and carrying the tools of their trade. One composition shows them facing each other and receiving the gift of healing in the form of a medical bag offered by the hand of Christ (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.152); at the Holy Anargyroi church at KASTORIA, a similar composition depicts Christ extending them crowns. Few narrative cycles of their lives have survived, though there is a vita icon with 12 scenes that comes from their church at Kastoria, some frescoes in that church and at MISTRA, and occasional miracle scenes in lectionaries or *menologia*. The Arabian pair celebrated Oct. 17 are shown with turbans or being beheaded (MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.120).

SOURCES. L. Deubner, *Kosmas und Damian* (Leipzig-Berlin 1907). E. Rupprecht, *Cosmae et Damiani sanctorum medicorum vita et miracula* (Berlin 1935). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges* (Paris 1971) 83–213. M. van Esbroeck, "La légende 'romaine' des SS. Côme et Damien (BHG 373d) et sa métaphrase géorgienne par Jean Xiphilin," *OrChrP* 47 (1981) 389–425; 48 (1982) 29–64.

LIT. *BHG* 372–392, 2021. A. Wittmann, *Kosmas und Damian* (Berlin-Bielefeld-Munich 1980). M. van Esbroeck, "La diffusion orientale de la légende de sts. Cosme et Damien," *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés* (Paris 1981) 61–77. –A.K., N.P.Š.

KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS MONASTERY, also known as the Kosmidion. The original church, dedicated to the martyrs KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, was built during the reign of Theodosios II in the suburbs of Constantinople; numerous miracles were ascribed to this shrine. An attached monastery is first attested in the 6th C. Because of its vulnerable location outside the walls, in present-day Eyüp, the church was destroyed in the Avar attack of 626. It was, however, restored by the 8th C. In the 11th C. Emp. MICHAEL IV PAPHLAGON was responsible for major improvements at the monastery; he provided bathhouses, lawns, and fountains, in addition to commissioning the rebuilding of the church and its decoration with mosaics and marble revetment (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:72f). It was to this monastery that, suffering from terminal illness, he retired in Dec. 1041; he received the monastic habit on the day of his death. He was buried in the church he had restored. The monastery of Kosmas and Damianos is mentioned frequently in sources of the Palaiologan period and apparently survived until 1453. It should be distinguished from the contemporary nunnery dedicated to the same saints, which was restored in the late 13th C. by the Dowager Empress Theodora, widow of Michael VIII.

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 331–33. Janin, *Églises CP* 285–89. –A.M.T.

KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, Alexandrian merchant and (perhaps) later a monk, who traded in ETHIOPIA and the RED SEA, possibly also in INDIA and Taprobana (CEYLON); fl. first half of 6th C. These travels are described in his *Christian Topography*, a work that provides much valuable information about Byz. trade with Africa and Asia, Christianity in Persia, and exotic flora and

fauna. His central purpose is to refute both Ptolemaic astronomy and the contemporary synthesis of Christianity and Aristotelianism in favor of a system that permitted the literal acceptance of the Bible, the world being shown to resemble the tabernacle of Moses. Kosmas wrote as a Nestorian follower of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA at the apogee of the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, tilting primarily at John PHILOPONOS. Given the involvement of Justinian I, the book comports a political undertone. Because Kosmas alludes in his text to illustration, a 6th-C. prototype is assumed for three richly illustrated MSS: Vat. gr. 699 (9th C., ed. Stornajolo), Sinai gr. 1186 (11th C., P. Huber, *Heilige Berge* [Zurich 1980] 56–115), and Florence, Laur. plut. 9.28 (11th C.). Although their pictorial content varies, each contains more than 50 miniatures invaluable for the study of COSMOLOGY, ASTRONOMY, and ZOOLOGY. Biblical sequences emphasize the equipment of the Temple, the Exodus itinerary, and the PROPHETS. Kosmas also wrote a commentary on the SONG OF SONGS in four books, to which a few fragments on the Psalms might belong.

ED. *Topographie chrétienne*, ed. W. Wolska-Conus, 3 vols. (Paris 1968–73), with Fr. tr. *The Christian Topography of Cosmas*, tr. J.W. McCrindle (London 1897).

LIT. W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962). M.V. Anastos, "The Alexandrian Origin of the *Christian Topography* of Cosmas Indicopleustes," *DOP* 3 (1946) 73–80. C. Stornajolo, *Le miniature della Topografia cristiana di Cosma Indicopleuste* (Milan 1908). –B.B., A.C.

KOSMAS MAGISTROS, jurist; died after 946. Kosmas was the nephew of Photios and probably was the compiler of Romanos I's novel of 934. Two statements (*psephoi*) of Kosmas have survived as an appendix to the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM. The first, a regulation pertaining to the division of land, has been erroneously interpreted as proving there were periodical distributions of peasants' allotments in Byz.; in fact, it deals with resolving litigation over land (Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 40f). Some monastic acts (*Prot.*, no.6.7–8, of 943; *Ivir.*, no.4.27, of 982) make reference to this *psephos* of Kosmas. The second *psephos* is a definition of the rights of PAROIKOI who settled on the land of a bishopric: the *paroikoi* had no right to alienate or hand down the land granted to them and on their departure could claim only the construction materials of their houses. Weiss (*infra*) considers this definition proof of the continuity of the status of the late antique *coloni liberi*. Kosmas was in correspondence with ARETHAS and NIKETAS MAGISTROS and was sent with John Kourkouas in 946 to negotiate with the Arabs of Tarsos for the return of prisoners (*TheophCont* 443.1–12).

ED. F. Uspenskij, V. Beneševič, *Vazelonskie akty* (Leningrad 1927) xxxv–vi.

LIT. G. Weiss, "Die Entscheidung des Kosmas Magistros über das Parökenrecht," *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 477–500. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 177–80. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros: Lettres d'un exilé (928–946)* (Paris 1973) 136. –A.K.

KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER, poet and saint; according to Detorakes, born Damascus ca.675, died Maiouma ca.752; feastday 15 Jan., later shifted to Oct. Adopted by the father of JOHN OF DAMASCUS, he was educated together with John by a certain *asekretis* (also Kosmas by name?), a captive from Constantinople. A monk (in the Lavra of St. SABAS), Kosmas was elected bishop of Maiouma, near Gaza, ca.734/5. Together with John, Kosmas defended icon veneration.

Under the name of Kosmas are preserved various hymns on church festivals (PG 98:459–524), a *kanon* on the Elevation of the Cross (H. Tillyard, *BZ* 28 [1928] 29–32), a *kanon* on St. GEORGE (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 14 [1905] 520–25), as well as scholia on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (PG 38:341–680). Th. Detorakes (*EEBS* 44 [1979–80] 223–30) emphasizes that Kosmas was influenced not only by Gregory but also by ROMANOS THE MELODE. Kosmas liked to use cosmic images (abyss, fire, clouds) and sharp contrasts; his language teems with archaic words—all leading to an impression of lofty solemnity. Kosmas enjoyed a high reputation and was praised in various vitae (sometimes together with John of Damascus), *akolouthiai*, and epigrams.

From the 14th C., the portrait of Kosmas, along with those of John and two other hymnographers, sometimes adorns one of the pendentives of a dome. Seated in the pose of an EVANGELIST, writing his hymns into a book, Kosmas is clad as a monk, not a bishop, and often wears a sort of turban characteristic of images of Palestinians (e.g., Underwood, *Kariye Djami*, vol. 3, pl.225). He has a full, dark beard.

LIT. *BHG* 394–95. Th. Detorakes, *Kosmas ho Melodos, Bios kai ergo* (Thessalonike 1979). –A.K., N.P.Š.

KOSMAS THE PRIEST, Bulgarian writer of the second half of the 10th C. Nothing is known of his life, but he probably lived and worked in Preslav. He wrote a treatise against the BOGOMILS. In the first book he sets out critically the religious and social views of the new heretics and seeks to refute them. In the second book he attacks the higher clergy, the monks, and the rich, whose neglect of their religious and social duties, he declares, encourages the spread of the heresy. Kosmas's treatise is a priceless contemporary source on the early development of Bogomilism. It also contains valuable observations on the changing economic and social structure of Bulgaria at that time. He is an intelligent and observant critic, a sharp polemicist, and a vivid and colorful writer. His treatise was much read in medieval Rus', where it provided a model for polemics against local heresies.

ED. *Le traité contre les Bogomils de Cosmas le Prêtre,* ed. A. Vaillant, H. Puech (Paris 1945).

LIT. M. Popruženko, *Kozma Prezviter, bolgarskij pisatel' X veka* (Sofia 1936). C. Backvis, "Un témoignage bulgare du Xe siècle sur les Bogomiles: le 'Slovo' de Cosmas le Prêtre," *AIPHOS* 16 (1961–62) 75–100. F.P. Thomson, "Cosmas of Bulgaria and His Discourse Against the Heresy of Bogomil," *SlEERev* 54 (1976) 262–69. –R.B.

KOSMAS VESTITOR (Κοσμᾶς Βεστίτωρ), writer. According to Beck, he lived between 730 and 850, but A. Wenger (*REB* 11 [1953] 299f) dates him in the mid-8th C. He wrote an *enkomion* of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM (K. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 16 [1940] 151–55) and five *enkomia* on the translation of Chrysostom's relics to Constantinople (K. Dyobouniotes, *EEBS* 2 [1925] 55–83). In the fourth of these *enkomia* Kosmas emphasized that THEODOSIOS II was forced by Patr. PROKLOS to return Chrysostom's body from exile and to apologize before the *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see DIDASKALOS) for the long delay. The Virgin was also of interest to Kosmas. He dedicated a discourse to her parents Ioakeim and Anna (PG 106:1005–12) and produced four homilies on the Dormition, preserved only in a 10th-C. Latin MS, probably of Italian provenance. Although Kosmas borrowed some passages from Patr. GERMANOS I, he differs from him in details and emphasizes the parallelism of the earthly lives of Mary and Christ; he includes later legends such as the translation of Mary's robe, the famous talisman of Constantinople, to her church at Blachernai.

ED. A. Wenger, *L'Assomption de la T.S. Vierge dans la tradition byzantine du VI^e aux X^e siècle* (Paris 1955) 315–33.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 502. A. Wenger, "Les homélies inédites de Cosmas Vestitor sur la Dormition," *REB* 11 (1953) 284–300. –A.K.

KOSMIDION. See KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS MONASTERY.

KOSMOSOTEIRA MONASTERY. See BERA.

KOSOVO POLJE (Πεδίον Κόσοβον), "Field of the Blackbirds," a valley in southern Serbia between Priština and the Laba River; site of two battles, in 1389 and 1448.

On 15 June 1389 a coalition of Serbs, Bosnians, Albanians, and others under command of the Serbian prince LAZAR fought a battle there against the Turkish army of MURAD I that had invaded Raška; possibly some Greek vassals of the sultan were summoned. According to the contemporary Florentine *Cronaca volgare,* Murad's army was 140,000 men strong while Lazar had only 70,000 soldiers. The actual course of the battle is shrouded in legend and contradictory historical narratives. A Russian traveler, the deacon IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, in his diary written a few years after the battle noted only the rumors that both Lazar and Murad were killed. Demetrios KYDONES, in a letter to Manuel II (ep.396), alluded to this event; S. Ćirković (*ZRVI* 13 [1971] 213–19) hypothesized that in another letter (ep.398) Kydones celebrated this battle as a victory over the Turks. The *Cronaca volgare* gives a detailed description of the battle: the author says that Lazar together with some valiant men penetrated the Turkish camp; one of them wounded Murad, and the sultan died on the third day, after ordering the execution of Lazar and his companions. The chronicler presents the war as a defeat for the Turks who fled home after the battle. King Tvrtko of Bosnia, in his letters, described Kosovo as his victory and praised "twelve loyal lords" who assassinated the sultan. Serbian chroniclers and hagiographers concentrate on the heroic deeds of Lazar.

In contrast, the Turkish sources of the 15th C. (A. Olesnicki, *Glasnik srpskog naučnog društva* 15 [1935] 59–98) characterize the battle as won by the Turks—either by Murad (they place the as-

sassination of Murad at the very end of the battle, with the assassin rising from among the corpses and taking the sultan by surprise) or by his son Bayezid after the father's assassination. Only in the 15th-C. sources does the name Miloš Kobilić appear as the sultan's assassin. Byz. historians of the 15th C. give disparate descriptions of Kosovo: Sphrantzes briefly presents the Turkish version, Doukas eulogizes the assassin of the "tyrant," and Chalkokondyles analyzes the distinction between the Turkish and Greek views of Kosovo.

Although the battle is usually described as a Turkish victory, both armies suffered enormous losses, and scholars such as Fine (*Late Balkans* 408–11) and Emmert (*infra*) regard the battle as more of a draw. The immediate consequences of the battle were that Serbia became an Ottoman vassal state (by the end of 1389) and the Balkan peninsula was opened to further Ottoman expansion. Probably shortly after the battle the Serbian epic tradition began to take shape, praising and lamenting Lazar and Miloš, and transforming the events into a noble moral victory, the source of subsequent Serbian resistance against the Turks.

The second battle of Kosovo, on 17–19 Oct. 1448, resulted in a victory by Murad II over HUNYADI a few years after the defeat of the crusading expedition at VARNA.

LIT. T.A. Emmert, *Serbian Golgotha: The Battle of Kosovo* (New York 1990). D. Bogdanović, *Knjiga o Kosovu* (Belgrade 1986). M. Braun, "*Kosovo*" (Leipzig 1937). G. Škrivanić, *Kosovska bitka* (Cetinje 1956). N. Radojčić, "Die griechischen Quellen zur Schlacht am Kosovo Polje," *Byzantion* 6 (1931) 241–46. –A.K., S.W.R.

KOTYAION (Κοτυάειον, mod. Kütahya), city of Phrygia, at a strategic road junction; site of an exceptionally powerful fortress. A city of the OPSIKION theme, Kotyaion occasionally appears in history as a place of refuge or exile; Romanos IV was blinded there in 1072. Byz. lost it ca.1082 but recovered it for a brief while. A suffragan bishopric of Synnada, Kotyaion was made metropolis in the early 9th C. It rose to greater prominence after its recapture by the Seljuks in 1182 or 1183. The extensive fortifications of Kotyaion, with more than 70 towers, are well preserved. Their first stage, of the early 9th C., consisted of a double wall that made extensive use of *spolia*. This was replaced by more massive structures of ashlar with bands of brick, apparently of the 12th C. No other Byz. remains survive.

LIT. C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia I: Kütahya* (Oxford 1985). C.E. Bosworth, EI^2 5:539. –C.F.

KOUBIKOULARIOS (κουβικουλάριος, from Lat. *cubicularius*), a general term to designate palace EUNUCHS who waited upon the emperor, the servants of the *sacrum cubiculum*. Guilland (*infra* 269) distinguishes them from the KOITONITAI, suggesting that the *koubikoularioi* were noble personages. In the late Roman Empire they were emancipated slaves imported primarily from Persia or the Caucasus. They were very numerous. In the 6th C. Empress Theodora's retinue consisting of *patrikioi* and *koubikoularioi* was estimated at 4,000 (Malal. 441.9–10). They stood under the command of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and *primicerius* (Jones, *LRE* 1:566–70).

Abundant seals of the 7th–9th C. present the *koubikoularioi* as fulfilling specific duties at court, those of PARAKOIMOMENOS, PRIMIKERIOS, EPI TES TRAPEZES, and OSTIARIOS. They were engaged in financial administration as SAKELLARIOI and CHARTOULARIOI; especially indicative is the 8th-C. seal of an anonymous *koubikoularios* of the imperial bedchamber (KOITON) and *chartoularios* of the imperial VESTIARION (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1093); *koubikoularioi* also served the ORPHANOTROPHOI, KOURATORES, and so on. They played an important role in imperial ceremony. At the same time *koubikoularioi* received posts as governors and army commanders as well as diplomatic assignments. Special *koubikoularioi* were attached to the empress (sometimes female *koubikoulariai* are mentioned) and co-emperors. It seems that Pope Leo I introduced the office of ecclesiastical *cubicularius*, in imitation of the imperial *koubikoularios*, to celebrate the cult of the apostles Peter and Paul (M.A. Cavallaro, *Athenaeum* 50 [1972] 158–75). Guilland (*infra* 280) thinks that the office of *koubikoularios* existed until the 13th C. but Oikonomides (*Listes* 301) asserts that it disappeared by the second half of the 11th C. The term *spatharokoubikoularios* was a combination of *spatharios* and *koubikoularios*; his function was to escort the emperor. Some seals of this dignity are dated to the 11th/12th C. (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.44).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 120–22. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:269–85. E. Honigmann, "Le cubiculaire Urbicius," *REB* 7 (1949) 47–50. –A.K.

KOUBOUKLEISIOS (κουβουκλείσιος), imperial title conferred on patriarchal chamberlains. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (151.19–21), they follow the emperor's KOUBIKOULARIOI, thus forming an ecclesiastical parallel to the latter. The title is first mentioned in the minutes of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787 (Mansi 13:213E) and often appears on seals of the 9th–11th C.; it probably did not survive the 11th/12th C. The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Beneševič distinguishes two groups of *kouboukleisioi*: priests and deacons. As an honorific title, *kouboukleisios* sometimes appears in combination with the offices of *chartophylax*, *skeuophylax*, *oikonomos*, etc.; some *kouboukleisioi* were monks. In the 9th C. the emperor granted the title; under MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS the patriarch bestowed it. Sometime between 1052 and 1056 Keroularios gave the title to a deacon of Antioch (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 860–61).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 39–44. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:119–47; 3:37–42. –A.K.

KOUKOULION. See COSTUME.

KOUKOUZELES, JOHN, composer, theoretician, singer, teacher, scribe, MAISTOR, monk at the Lavra on Mt. Athos, and saint; born Dyrrachion late 13th/early 14th C., died before ca.1341; feastday 1 Oct. His vita has survived in various recensions, the earliest being Thessalonike, Blatadon 46 (1591). There is evidence that his last name was Papadopoulos, Koukouzeles (Κουκουζέλης) being a nickname, and that his mother was Bulgarian. Most frequently, however, he is referred to simply by the epithet, "the *maistor*." Two copies of Koukouzeles' edition of the HEIRMOLOGION, dated 1302 and 1309, survive. His famous didactic chant, "Ison, oligon . . . ," is first recorded in Athens, Nat. Lib. 2458 (1336) and has been transcribed by G. Dévai; it exists also in many later MS versions.

Most of his music is transmitted in musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*; see PAPADIKE). His compositions demonstrate new and innovative features: melodic expansion, troping (textual and/or musical additions to a preexisting verse or verse-setting), textual expansion, and greater vocal ranges. Forming a bridge from the musical tradition of the 13th C., his work appears to have provided the impetus for a new repertory and for musical developments that were to be continued by his contemporaries and successors.

LIT. R. Palikarova Verdeil, *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du IXe au XIVe siècle)* (Copenhagen 1953) 193–210. G. Dévai, "The Musical Study of Koukouzeles in a 14th-Century Manuscript," *ActaAntHung* 6 (1958) 213–35. *PLP*, no.13391. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:203–09. E. Trapp, "Critical Notes on the Biography of John Koukouzeles," *BMGS* 11 (1987) 223–29. A. Jakovlević, "Ho megas maistor Ioannes Koukouzeles Papadopoulos," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 357–72. –D.E.C.

KOUPHISMOS (κουφισμός, lit. "alleviation"), a temporary tax-relief on property owned by a member of a VILLAGE COMMUNITY. The term appears in only two sources. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 119.19–30) describes *kouphismos* as a well-established fiscal procedure, which a tax inspector could perform when a member of the village community abandoned his STICHOS. If the individual was known to be living nearby and was expected to return eventually to his property and if the tax inspector thought other villagers would simply abandon their *stichoi* if required to shoulder the tax burden of the member who had fled, the inspector could temporarily reduce the tax burden on the abandoned *stichos* until the original owner returned, at which time the property's full tax liability was restored. The principal differences between *kouphismos* and SYMPATHEIA were that *kouphismos* involved only a partial reduction of the tax, and that, if the owner returned, the property's full tax liability was immediately restored. Further, unlike *sympatheia*, *kouphismos* had no time limit for the owner's return, nor does *kouphismos* appear to lead to KLASMA. As with *sympatheia*, property that had received *kouphismos* could not be sold or confiscated. The brief explanation of *kouphismos* in the 11th-C. (?) Zavorda *Treatise on Taxation* (J. Karayannopulos in *Polychronion* 323.63–67) is unclear.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 26f, 78f. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 120. –M.B.

KOURATOR (κουράτωρ), term that in the late Roman Empire was still applied to a city magistrate (*curator civitatis*); it was eventually replaced by the DEFENSOR CIVITATIS (E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 [1901] 1809–11). From the 6th C. the term acquired the meaning of the manager of imperial

estates (probably KOURATOREIA); the first known *kourator* was Anatolios in 557. This functionary seems to have administered imperial domains that were previously under the direction of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM. *Kouratores* of the late 6th C., esp. Magnos, who controlled the domain of Marina (near Attaleia) and of Hormisdas (near Antioch), seem to have been very influential people (D. Feissel, *TM* 9 [1985] 465–76). In the 9th C. the management of domains was divided among several independent *kouratores*: the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. mention the *megas kourator* and *kourator* of the MANGANA. Eventually the *megas kourator* was replaced by the *oikonomos* of "pious houses" or *euageis oikoi* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 318), who is still known in the 10th C. (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 155.90).

In the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was applied to the heads of individual *kouratoreiai*: 11th-C. seals belong to the *megaloi kouratores* of Eleutherion (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1019), MYRELAION (no.1017), or Kanikleion (no.132). Imperial charters from the 11th C., however, mention simple *kouratores* "of the house of Eleutherion and of Mangana." A *kourator* of the palace of the lord Romanos is known from a seal (V. Laurent, *BZ* 33 [1933] 351f); also on a seal a *kourator* of the New Estate (*Ktema*) is named (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.184).

A seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.813) belonged to a *megas kourator* [of the properties?] of Antiochos, probably of one of two districts in Constantinople of this name or of local churches. Some *kouratoreiai* were connected not with pious institutions but with particular territories: an imperial *kourator* of Tzouroulon is mentioned in an inscription of 813 (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 564–74); a seal of the *megas kourator* of Mitylene (Mytilene) is dated in the first half of the 11th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.252).

Kouratores of the domains of the augusta are also known (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 193f). Some *kouratores* were in the *logothesion* of the DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 485–88). *Kouratores* continued to exist in the 12th C., since Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES prohibited the clergy from holding *kouratoreiai* and overseeing the estates of the *archontes* (PG 138:89A). The staff of the *megas kourator* included clerks, simple *kouratores* of palaces and estates, XENODOCHOI, and EPISKEPTITAI.

The term *kourator* also designated the ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION; *kouratores* of imperial ateliers, esp. those dealing with silk production, are known from seals of the 9th–11th C. Ecclesiastical *kouratores* are mentioned on seals (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5, nos. 1620–22) and in charters, for example, Michael, "bishop's *kourator*" in 1071 (*Lavra* 1, no.35.59).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 39–41. Bury, *Adm. System* 100–03. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 131–34. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 304. –A.K.

KOURATOREIA (κουρατωρεία), also *kouratorikion*, term used from the second half of the 6th C. to designate a particular group of imperial DEMESNES. Probably the simplification of the administration of imperial demesnes encouraged use of a term to refer to this administration as a whole. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 487.2–4) accuses Emp. Nikephoros I of confiscating the best lands of the EUAGEIS OIKOI and transferring them to "the imperial *kouratoreia*" while the taxes remained on the pious institutions. The office of the *megas* KOURATOR is known from the end of the 6th C. through the 10th C. (Oikonomides, *Listes* 318). From the mid-9th C. onward, the administration of the crown lands expanded and grew more complex. Basil I founded the office of the *kourator ton Manganon*, which was obliged to provide the emperor's household with necessary goods. In 934 a *kouratoreia* of Melitene was created; a *kouratoreia* of Trychina was located in Lydia (*De cer.* 462.7). Other 10th–11th-C. *kouratoreiai* were Eleutherion, Myrelaion (identical with that of the palace of the lord Romanos [I]?), Kanikleion, New Estate. Probably other heads of imperial estates (provincial *kouratores*, *ephoros* of imperial *kouratoreiai*, EPISKEPTITAI, KTEMATINOS) were connected with this institution. On the other hand, the directors of certain imperial workshops were also called *kouratores*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 39–47. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 131–34. I. Ševčenko, "Inscription Commemorating Sisinnios 'Curator' of Tzurulon (AD 813)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 568–72. –A.K.

KOURION. See CYPRUS.

KOURKOUAS (Κουρκούας), a family name of Armenian origin (Arm. Gurgen). Theophanes Continuatus relates that a certain Kourkouas—first name, Romanos (Skyl. 140.44)—a wealthy

and arrogant man, plotted against Basil I. John Kourkouas was *domestikos ton Hikanaton* (*TheophCont* 426.20); his grandson, also John, became *domestikos ton scholon* in 923 and successfully fought the Arabs: he captured Melitene on 19 May 934 and in 944 took Edessa. His brother Theophilos was also a general. John's son Romanos was *domestikos ton scholon* in the West. Romanos's son John, *domestikos ton scholon* in the East, fell in battle against the Rus' in 971. Theophilos's grandson, JOHN (I) TZIMISKES, became emperor. Another John Kourkouas was *katepano* of Italy in 1008. Intermarried with the PHOKAS and SKLEROS families, the Kourkouas family belonged to the highest echelon of the military aristocracy. After Basil II their role declined: Romanos, who married the daughter of the last Bulgarian tsar, was accused of plotting against Constantine VIII and blinded. The family shifted to the civil service (*Mich. Ital.* 53–56) and in the 12th C. held important ecclesiastical posts: Michael (II) Kourkouas became patriarch of Constantinople (1143–46).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 13f. B. Blysidou, "He synomosia tou Kourkoua sto 'Bio Basileiou,'" *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 53–58. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 175. –A.K.

KOURKOUAS, JOHN, general, the closest supporter of ROMANOS I; died after 946. After serving as d*roungarios tes viglas,* he was promoted ca.921 to the post of *domestikos ton scholon* and sent to subdue the rebellion in Chaldia (Adontz, *Études* 217f). From 926 on Kourkouas fought on the eastern frontier; despite several defeats, mostly by SAYF AL-DAWLA, he managed to seize MELITENE (19 May 934). His invasion of Mesopotamia in 942/3 led to the siege of Edessa in 944. This siege had enormous political and religious significance, since Kourkouas received the MANDYLION in Edessa and sent it to Constantinople. Kourkouas was dismissed after Romanos I's deposition. His military exploits were praised by a certain *protospatharios* and judge Manuel in a historical work (now lost) in eight books; Kourkouas was considered "a second Trajan or Belisarios."

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 135–50. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:261–73, 283–95. –A.K.

KOUROPALATES (*κουροπαλάτης*), a high-ranking DIGNITY. In late antiquity the *cura palatii* designated a subaltern official in charge of construction and order in the palace; his rank in the 5th C. was *spectabilis*, rarely *illustris*. The situation changed when Justinian I appointed his nephew, the future emperor Justin II, to this post; thereafter *kouropalates* became a title conferred primarily on members of the imperial family and foreign princes (Armenian, Georgian, etc.). In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. *kouropalates* follows the CAESAR and NOBILISSIMOS; it retained its exceptional character in the 10th C. when Emp. Nikephoros II granted this title to his brother Leo PHOKAS. In the 11th C. it was conferred on several generals outside the imperial family, for example, KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS. The significance of the title declined considerably in the 12th C. when the dignity of the *protokouropalates* was introduced. Although pseudo-KODINOS, himself a *kouropalates*, mentions the title, it was not widely used in later centuries. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the insignia of the *kouropalates* was a red chiton with a cloak and girdle; at the beginning of the 9th C. the color associated with this dignity seems to have been purple, by the end of the 11th C. green (Oikonomides, *Listes* 96, n.49). A seal of the *kouropalatissa* Maria is dated by Seibt in the early 12th C.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.III (1970), 187–249, with corr. by A. Stratos, *Byzantina* 5 (1973) 49–56. Stein, *Histoire* 2:739–46. Bury, *Adm. System* 33–35. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 242–49. M. Whitby, "On the Omission of a Ceremony in Mid-Sixth Century Constantinople," *Historia* 36 (1987) 468–76. –A.K.

KOURTIKIOS (Κουρτίκιος), also Kourtikes, a family name of Armenian origin (K'urdik). The family founder surrendered his town, Lokana, to Basil I and settled in Byz. territory; in 913 another Kourtikios, "the Armenian," supported the revolt of Constantine DOUKAS. Michael Kourtikios, imperial admiral (*nauarchos*) in Attaleia, participated in the rebellion of Bardas SKLEROS (976–79) and commanded the rebel fleet. Basil Kourtikios was among the *oikeioi* of another usurper, Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, in 1077; later he became Alexios I's general. The family belonged to the topmost aristocracy of the 11th C.: the Kourtikioi intermarried with DOUKAI, PALAIOLOGOI, and KOMNENOI. Constantine Kourtikios is said to have been betrothed to Theodora, Alexios I's daughter. This union was dissolved, however, and ca.1105 a certain Kourtikios was involved in the plot of ANEMAS against Alexios I. The family's position declined

in the 12th C.: except for a seal devoid of information (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.64), only Nicholas Kourtikes is known, a modest functionary in the Mylassa theme (MM 4:329.20–21), active in 1143 (according to Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 128f) or possibly at the end of the 12th C. In the 12th C. a branch of the family is attested in Armenian Cilicia. The Kourtikai recovered for a short period in the 13th C. John Doukas Kourtikes, a relative of John III, served as governor of the Thrakesian theme in the 1230s. The family possessed lands in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, *supra* 140f). In 1271 Nicholas Kourtikes was *kastrophylax* on Kos (*PLP*, no.13597).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 14–17, with add. in Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1179. *PLP*, nos. 13594–97. –A.K.

KOUTLOUMOUSIOU MONASTERY, located near Karyes on Mt. ATHOS and dedicated to Christ the Savior. Although a forged document in its archives claims that Alexios I founded Koutloumousiou (Κουτλουμουσίου, Κουτουλμουσίου) in 1082 (P. Lemerle, *BCH* 58 [1934] 221–34), the monastery is first mentioned in a document of 1169, and appears to be a 12th-C. foundation. The monastery's unusual name, derived from the Turkish patronymic Kutulmuş, suggests that a christianized descendant of the Seljuk prince Kutulmuş (died 1063) may have retired to Athos and established a monastic complex. The monastery was small and poor in resources until the 14th C. when it increased to 40 monks and acquired substantial properties in Macedonia (near Serres and on Chalkidike) and in Wallachia. It reached its peak under the *hegoumenos* Chariton (ca.1362–ca.1381), who attracted the patronage of Wallachian *voivodes*, which was to continue well into the period of Turkish rule. As a concession to the Wallachian monks who came to reside at Koutloumousiou, Chariton was forced ca.1371 to institute an IDIORRHYTHMIC regime that lasted until 1856. In 1393 Koutloumousiou became a patriarchal monastery. In 1428 the monks of Koutloumousiou took over the virtually abandoned buildings of the nearby monastery of Alopou (Alypiou). Thereafter, the two monasteries were united under one *hegoumenos*.

The archives preserve 47 documents of Byz. date (1012–1447?), mostly of the 14th C., while the library contains ca.187 MSS of the 15th C. or earlier (Lampros, *Athos* 1:270–318; Politis, *Katalogoi* 1–71).

SOURCE. P. Lemerle, *Actes de Kutulmus*[2] (Paris 1988).
LIT. *Treasures* 1:236–309, 451–70. A. Kambylis, "Zu den Urkunden des Athosklosters Kutlumusiu," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 82–90. –A.M.T.

KRATEMA. See TERETISMATA.

KRITAI KATHOLIKOI (κριταὶ καθολικοί, lit. "universal judges"), a college of judges, secular and ecclesiastical, which served as a supreme court in the Palaiologan period. In 1296 Andronikos II created a tribunal of 12 members consisting of ecclesiastics and senators; its decisions could not be appealed. In 1329 Andronikos III replaced this tribunal with the college of four judges called *kritai katholikoi*; one of them was supposed to be a bishop (Greg. 1:437.23). The first four *kritai katholikoi* are known by name: Joseph, bishop of Apros; the archdeacon and *dikaiophylax* Gregory Kleidas; the *megas dioiketes* Glabas; and the literatus (?) Nicholas Matarangos. In 1336/7 a scandal erupted, the *kritai katholikoi* were accused of corruption, and only Matarangos was acquitted; the scandal is reflected in a letter by the *protasekretis* Leo Bardales (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.VIII [1949], 247–59) and in an apology of the condemned judges (G.J. Theocharides, *BZ* 56 [1963] 69–100).

In 1398 (?) Manuel II formulated the principles of their activity: all subjects and all cases came under their jurisdiction; the plaintiff was obliged to present his case in written form; after the hearing the judges had to deliberate in seclusion and to follow the opinion of the majority; if necessary, the judges could request the participation of experts. Under their authority were TABOULARIOI, who were not allowed, however, to act independently (E. Schilbach, *BZ* 61 [1968] 44–70). Besides the imperial *kritai katholikoi*, provincial *kritai* eventually appeared, in the Morea (Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:129–31), Lemnos, Thessalonike, Serbia (G. Ostrogorsky in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet*, vol. 2 [Poitiers 1966] 1317–25), and Trebizond.

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Le juge général des Grecs et la réforme judiciaire d'Andronic III," *Mém. L. Petit* 292–316, and add. in *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 29–44. –A.K.

KRITES. See JUDGE.

KRITES TOU PHOSSATOU (κριτὴς τοῦ φωσσάτου, lit. "judge of the moat"), a military judge, an office known from the end of the 13th C. when the *sebastos* Constantine Cheilas occupied this post (MM 4:272.13–14); his seals are preserved (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1193–94). Guilland suggests that the *krites tou stratopedou* (office held by Michael ATTALEIATES) was the predecessor of the *krites tou phossatou.* In pseudo-Kodinos the *krites tou phossatou* is a modest functionary following the AKOLOUTHOS on the hierarchical ladder; his duty was to make decisions in cases of disputes of soldiers over horses, weapons, or booty (pseudo-Kod. 184.25–31). In reality, this judge's functions were broader: on the one hand, *kritai* such as Constantine Cheilas presided over cases related to land, while on the other, the *krites* could be a military commander promoted, like Alexios Diplobatatzes, to the post of *megas hetaireiarches* (*PLP*, no.5510). A certain Maurophoros is identified in 1348 as the *krites tou phossatou* of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.18.68–69). No *krites tou phossatou* is known after the mid-14th C.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:528f. –A.K.

KRITOBOULOS, MICHAEL, historian; died Constantinople? ca.1470. Kritoboulos (Κριτόβουλος) first appears in the sources in 1444, when CYRIACUS OF ANCONA visited him on the island of Imbros. Kritoboulos recognized the inevitability of the Ottoman conquest of Byz. and sought an accommodation with the new rulers of the Aegean. In 1456 MEHMED II made him governor of Imbros; he remained in this position until 1466, when he fled to Constantinople after the Venetian occupation of the island. He survived the plague of the following year, but probably died soon thereafter.

His *History* in five books covers the period 1451–67 and focuses on the Turks; it begins with the reign of Mehmed II and is dedicated to the sultan. Kritoboulos gives a flattering portrait of Mehmed, whose deeds he compares with those of Alexander the Great. Kritoboulos regularly referred to the sultan as *basileus* and *autokrator;* he emphasized Mehmed's interest in classical antiquity to make him a worthy successor of the Byz. emperors. Kritoboulos used THUCYDIDES as a model for his *History* (P.D. Mastrodemetres, *Athena* 65 [1961] 158–68), which is full of classical allusions and archaizing language. It is possible that the historian Kritoboulos is to be identified with the religious writer Michael Kritopoulos, who composed an unpublished homily on the Passion of Christ.

ED. *Critobuli Imbriotae Historiae*, ed. D.R. Reinsch (Berlin-New York 1983). Eng. tr. C.T. Riggs, *History of Mehmed the Conqueror* (Princeton 1954). Germ. tr. D.R. Reinsch, *Mehmet II. erobert Konstantinopel* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1986).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:499–503. *PLP*, no.13817. V. Grecu, "Kritobulos aus Imbros," *BS* 18 (1957) 1–17. G. Emrich, "Michael Kritobulos, der byzantinische Geschichtsschreiber Mehmeds II.," *Materialia Turcica* 1 (1975) 35–43. Z. Udal'cova, "K voprosu o social'no-političeskich vzgljadach vizantijskogo istorika XV v. Kritovula," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 172–97. –A.M.T.

KROIA. See ALBANIANS; SKANDERBEG.

KRUM (Κροῦμος), Bulgarian khan (ca.802–14); died Pliska? 13 Apr. 814. Early in his reign Krum, himself from a Pannonian clan, exploited Charlemagne's destruction of the AVARS to consolidate the northwestern region of BULGARIA. Hostilities with Byz. flared in 807, when Emp. Nikephoros I conducted an abortive campaign into Thrace; in 808, when a Bulgar force ambushed a Byz. army at the Strymon; and in 809, when Krum captured Serdica. In 811 Nikephoros invaded Bulgaria, despite Krum's entreaties for peace, and on 20 July sacked PLISKA, plundering Krum's own palace. On 26 July, however, Krum trapped and destroyed the Byz. army in a mountain pass; Nikephoros was slain (Krum reportedly made his skull into a drinking cup), and his son STAURAKIOS was mortally wounded. Krum soon captured Develtos and resettled its population in Bulgaria. In the summer of 812, he seized numerous Macedonian and Thracian towns and forts, including Anchialos, Berroia, and Philippopolis. Krum urged Michael I to renew the treaty of 716 between TERVEL and Theodosios III and stormed Mesembria upon the emperor's refusal. In 813 he returned to Thrace, on 22 June routing the Byz. army at VERSINIKIA. Krum then marched on Constantinople, where he was wounded in an assassination attempt organized by Leo V. Enraged, Krum devastated Constantinople's environs and captured Adrianople, deporting its inhabitants to Bulgaria; Byz. hagiographical and liturgical texts commemorate the martyrdom of 377 captives (E. Follieri, I. Dujčev, *Byzantion* 33 [1963] 71–106, V. Beševliev in *Polychronion* 90–104). Death from a

hemorrhage ended preparations by the "new Sennacherib" for an assault on Constantinople in 814.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:247–92, 408–24. N.P. Blagoev, "Knjaz Krum," *GSU JuF* 19 (1924) 1–91. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 235–66. J. Wortley, "Legends of the Byzantine Disaster of 811," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 533–62. J. Karayannopoulos, "Kroumos kai Philippoi. Hoi byzantino-bulgarikes epicheireseis sta 812–814," in *Festschrift Stratos* 101–09. –P.A.H.

KTEMATINOS (κτηµάτινος), a functionary probably responsible for management of imperial estates (*ktemata*). The evidence—in narrative sources of the 10th C. and on a seal (St. Maslev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 20 [1955] 446, no.2)—is scanty. Perhaps the office was created when the *megas* KOURATOR began to lose his significance and his department was divided into several independent bureaus.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 318, n.180. –A.K.

KTETOR (κτήτωρ), founder (*ktistes*), PATRON, or owner of an ecclesiastical institution (a church, monastery, GEROKOMEION, PTOCHOTROPHEION, etc.) and its properties. The *ktetor*'s right (*ktetorikon dikaion*) could originate with the foundation itself (whether he built the institution from scratch or merely restored it), be inherited, or be acquired as a privilege; it could be held for a lifetime or for two or three generations. The *ktetor* (who under certain circumstances might also be called EPHOROS, PRONOETES, *epikouros*, *authentes*, etc.) could be a layman, a clergyman, or an ecclesiastical institution. The conditions of the *ktetorikon dikaion*—drawn up in a "contract" called a TYPIKON, *diataxis*, or *diatyposis*—included spiritual rights (the performance of memorial services, the name of the *ktetor* being included in the BREBION of the church), administrative privileges (e.g., the right to appoint the *hegoumenos*), and revenues as well as obligations: maintenance and embellishment of the premises, providing oil for the lamps, care of the sacred vessels, etc.

Recognized in Justinianic law and papyri, the *ktetorikon dikaion* was popular in Byz. since it met both pious requirements and the need for a relatively stable form of investment, church property being less vulnerable to CONFISCATION than secular estates. Nikephoros II Phokas in 964 tried unsuccessfully to limit the founding of new monasteries, ordering that pious donations instead be channeled into the repair of older, run-down institutions. The system of CHARISTIKION, common in the 11th and 12th C., was an offshoot of the *ktetorikon dikaion*. *Ktetor* rights existed down through the 15th C., long after the term *charistikion* had fallen into disuse.

LIT. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987). Zhishman, *Stifterrecht*. A. Steinwenter, "Die Rechtsstellung der Kirchen und Klöster nach den Papyri," *ZSavKan* 19 (1930) 1–50. E. Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine," *OrChrP* 6 (1940) 293–375. –A.K.

KUFIC, PSEUDO-. See ISLAMIC INFLUENCE ON BYZANTINE ART.

KUMLUCA TREASURE. See SION TREASURE.

KURBINOVO, site in Macedonia of the Church of St. George. Nothing is known about the patrons of this church, but an inscription on the back of the altar indicates that the decoration of the monument was begun on 25 April 1191. A wooden roof covers the single nave; there is an apse at the east and a narthex at the west. The mortared rubble fabric of the building was externally plastered and painted in imitation of the cloisonné BRICKWORK found, for example, at KASTORIA. The interior is elaborately painted with the GREAT FEAST cycle. The Kurbinovo master was probably one of the artists who worked on the second phase of decoration in the Church of the Anargyroi in Kastoria. The style of the paintings conforms to the sinuous forms characteristic of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, although the exaggerated features of the figures and the stark tonal contrasts of their flesh lend the images an expressive intensity lacking in painting of this period outside of Macedonia.

LIT. Hadermann-Misguich, *Kurbinovo*. –A.J.W.

KÜTAHYA. See KOTYAION.

KUVRAT (Κοβρᾶτος, according to Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:161f), khan of the Onogur Bulgars; died after 642. Patr. Nikephoros I mentions his revolt against the Avars and alliance with HERAKLEIOS; Kuvrat was granted the title of *pa-*

trikios. John of Nikiu relates that Kuvrat was brought up and baptized in Constantinople, and staunchly supported MARTINA. V. Beševliev (*BBulg* 5 [1978] 229–36) tried to separate these pieces of evidence and saw in a second Kuvrat a commander of the troops in Cappadocia. Theophanes the Confessor calls Kuvrat the ruler of Great Bulgaria (occupying the steppe north of the Black Sea); Nikephoros lists his sons, one of whom was ASPARUCH. H. Grégoire (*Byzantion* 17 [1944–5] 88–118) identified Kuvrat with the Kouber (Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:143–60) who revolted against the Avars; this revolt, however, should be dated in 680–85 and does not fit Kuvrat's chronology. It also remains unclear how Kuvrat could "revolt" against the Avars, whose territory lay farther to the west. Werner (*infra*) hypothesizes that Kuvrat was buried near Poltava and that the hoard of precious objects found at MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA belonged to him.

LIT. P. Charanis, "Kouver, the Chronology of His Activities and Their Ethnic Effects on the Region around Thessalonica," *BalkSt* 11 (1970) 229–47. I. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow 1980) 112–14, 174–76. P. Lemerle, "Où en est la 'Question Kuber'?" in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:51–58. J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Munich 1984). –W.E.K., A.K.

KYDONES, DEMETRIOS, statesman, scholar, and translator; born Thessalonike ca.1324, died Crete ca.1398. Dispossessed of his family's wealth by the uprising of the ZEALOTS in his native city, Kydones (Κυδώνης) entered the service of John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347 and held the position of *mesazon* until the emperor abdicated in 1354. After a brief retirement his political career continued during the reigns of John V and Manuel II, whose mentor he became. Kydones consistently supported a policy of resistance to the Ottoman Turks and sought a military alliance with the rulers of western Europe through the mediation of the papacy.

Kydones opposed the theology of Gregory PALAMAS and wrote several anti-Palamite treatises. He studied Latin and translated into Greek theological works by AUGUSTINE, Anselm of Canterbury, and Thomas AQUINAS, as well as Ricoldo da Monte Croce's *Refutation of the Koran*. After studying and translating Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* and parts of his *Summa theologiae*, Kydones became a defender of Thomism. His brother, the hieromonk Prochoros KYDONES, also translated parts of the *Summa theologiae* and used Thomist arguments in his refutations of Palamas's theology.

Kydones converted to Roman Catholicism ca.1357 and supported John V's profession of faith made in Rome before Pope URBAN V in 1369. His pro-Latin and Thomist sympathies were shared by a number of younger followers, many of whom became DOMINICANS.

Despite his preference for a theology based on Aristotle, Kydones admired the works of PLATO. He successfully imitated the Platonic idiom, esp. in his correspondence, an important source containing over 450 letters. His other writings include several political speeches, apologias, sermons, and polemical works dealing with theology.

ED. *Correspondance*, ed. R.-J. Loenertz, 2 vols. (Vatican 1956–60). *Briefe*, tr. F. Tinnefeld (Stuttgart 1981).

LIT. *PLP* 13876. R.-J. Loenertz, "Démétrius Cydonès," *OrChrP* 36 (1970) 47–72; 37 (1971) 5–39. F. Kianka, "Byzantine-Papal Diplomacy: The Role of Demetrius Cydones," *International History Review* 7 (1985) 175–213. M.A. Poljakovskaja, "Žisn' i smert' v ponimanii Dimitrija Kidonisa," *ADSV* 21 (1984) 109–19. –F.K.

KYDONES, PROCHOROS, monk and anti-Palamite theologian; born Thessalonike ca.1333/4, died Constantinople 1369/70. Younger brother of Demetrios KYDONES, he went to Athos as a youth and took monastic vows at the Great Lavra. Circa 1364 he became a priest. After the return of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS to the patriarchate in 1364, Kydones became embroiled with the superior of the Lavra because of his opposition to PALAMISM and was expelled from the monastery in 1367. He went to Constantinople, where he was formally condemned by the permanent synod in 1368 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2541), defrocked, and excommunicated. He died shortly thereafter.

Kydones knew Latin, and made accurate and elegant Greek translations of works of AUGUSTINE, BOETHIUS (D. Niketas, *Hellenika* 35 [1984] 275–315), and part of the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas AQUINAS (A. Glycofridou-Leontsini, *Nicolaus* 3 [1975] 429–32). His principal work, *On Essence and Energy*, was the first Byz. treatise to be strongly influenced by Aquinas; it was attacked by John (VI) Kantakouzenos in (his unedited) *Antirrhetics*. Kydones also wrote an *Apologia*, which was directed to Philotheos, and other anti-Palamite works.

ED. *On Essence*—(bks. I-II) PG 151:1191–1242; (bk. VI) ed. M. Candal, "El libro VI de Prócoro Cidonio (Sobre la luz tabórica)," *OrChrP* 20 (1954) 247–97. *Apologia*—ed. Mercati, *Notizie* 296–313. H. Hunger, ed., *Prochoros Kydones Übersetzung von acht Briefen des Hl. Augustinus* (Vienna 1984).

LIT. G. Mercati, *Notizie di Procoro e Demetrio Cidone, Manuele Caleca e Teodoro Meliteniota* (Vatican 1931). *PLP*, no.13883. Beck, *Kirche* 737–39. –A.M.T.

KYNEGETIKA. See OPPIAN.

KYNOKEPHALOI (Κυνοκέφαλοι), men with dogs' heads, a fabulous tribe located by ancient geographers either in Libya or in India. A detailed description of Kynokephaloi was given in the *Indika* by Ktesias, a summary of which is preserved in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (cod.72). Following this account, they appear in MS illustration as associates of HEKATE. Christian authors also used the legend of the Kynokephaloi—for example, the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME, the *Alexander Romance*, and TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:705–07), who directly refers to Ktesias and calls the Kynokephaloi righteous people. According to the vita of Makarios (ed. A. Vassiliev, p.139.22–30), they were gentle, wore no clothes, and lived with their children and wives in animal dens, under rocks. The *Alexander Romance* states only that the Kynokephaloi were able both to speak and to bark (thus differing from Ktesias who says they were unable to use human speech) and that Alexander killed several of them. –A.K., A.C.

KYPARISSIOTES (Κυπαρισσιώτης), a family name probably derived from the toponym Kyparission, found in both Constantinople and the provinces. The earliest Kyparissiotes was apparently Leo, *spatharios* and *strategos* of Chios (Schlumberger, *Sig.*, p.196); the combination of the title of *spatharios* and the office of *strategos* does not permit a date later than the 10th C. In 1088 the *protonotarios* John and his son (also a *protonotarios*) served in the department of the *genikon* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:49G.305). The family is again attested in the 14th C.: John Kyparissiotes was a philosopher and writer (see KYPARISSIOTES, JOHN); another Kyparissiotes, an *oiketes* of Matthew I Kantakouzenos, is mentioned as a good-for-nothing soldier but an educated man. The family still belonged to the intelligentsia in the 15th C., when Kosmas Kyparissiotes was active as a hymnographer ca.1403.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 13898–901. –A.K.

KYPARISSIOTES, JOHN, anti-Palamite theologian; born Kyparissia (Messenia) or Constantinople? ca.1310, died 1378 or shortly thereafter. A supporter of GREGORAS, Kyparissiotes became the principal theoretician of the opponents of PALAMISM. He was eventually forced to flee from Constantinople to Cyprus, where Demetrios KYDONES sent him a letter (ep.35) in 1371. He then moved to Rome; in 1376/7 he traveled from Avignon to Rome as a member of the entourage of Pope Gregory XI (1370–78) and received an average monthly stipend of ten florins (A. Mercati, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 496–501). He may have converted to Catholicism at this time and came under the influence of SCHOLASTICISM. It is not clear whether Kyparissiotes is the "*kalos* Ioannes" described by Kydones (ep.190) as returning to Constantinople in 1378/9; if not, he probably died in Rome.

Kyparissiotes wrote two major works: the *Elementary Exposition of Theological Texts,* preserved only in the 16th-C. Latin translation of Francisco Torres, and five books titled *Against the Heresy of the Palamites.* Nine hymns to the Divine Logos are also attributed to him.

ED. Lat. tr. of *Elementary Exposition*, ed. B.L. Dentakes, *Theologia* 29 (1958) 115–24, 301–11, 411–20, 437–47; 30 (1959) 492–502; 32 (1961) 437–54, 605–23. *Palamite Heresy*, Logoi 1, 4—PG 152:663–738. *Hoi eis ton Ioannen Kyparissioten apodidomenoi ennea hymnoi eis ton tou Theou Logon*, ed. B.L. Dentakes (Athens 1964).

LIT. B.L. Dentakes, *Ioannes Kyparissiotes ho sophos kai philosophos* (Athens 1965). M. Candal, "Juan Ciparisiota y el problema trinitario palamitico," *OrChrP* 25 (1959) 127–64. *PLP*, no.13900. –A.M.T.

KYPSELLA (τὰ Κύψελλα), ancient city in Thrace, mod. Ipsala, where the Via EGNATIA met the HEBROS River, not far from the sea. A bishopric by 553, it became an autocephalous archbishopric in the 7th C. It appears in Byz. sources of the 12th C. as the "valley of Kypsella" (Kinn. 191.8), a place where nobles and the emperor went hunting (Nik.Chon. 280.31–33, 450.58–62) and stayed in tents (p.369.60). A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:229.6–7) calls Kypsella a *polichnion*. It was prob-

ably the emperors' hunting residence where important meetings could take place. Thus, in Kypsella occurred the refusal of the demands of Peter of Bulgaria and Asen I that led to the revolt of the Bulgarians and Vlachs in the late 12th C. Isaac II was deposed and blinded in Kypsella.

The valley of Kypsella played a significant strategic role during the Pecheneg invasions (An.Komn. 2:107f) and esp. during the conflict with the Bulgarians and Vlachs at the end of the 12th C. In the winter of 1208/9 the army of the Latin emperor Henry of Constantinople crossed the frozen Hebros near Kypsella (Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 46). Later writers barely mention the place.

Nevertheless, Kypsella preserved its position in the ecclesiastical hierarchy. Demoted to the status of simple bishopric during the Latin occupation and adjoined to the metropolis of Rosion in the late 13th C. (V. Laurent, *EO* 26 [1927] 146, no.18), it reappears as an archbishopric in the 14th C. In 1324 the archbishop of Kypsella was obliged to pay 16 hyperpera annually to the patriarchate of Constantinople (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP* 1 [1981] 508.69).

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 12 (1925) 117f. R. Janin, *DHGE* 13 (1953) 1161f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:651f. -T.E.G.

KYPTIKON. See Parakyptikon.

KYRA MARTHA NUNNERY, founded in Constantinople in the latter part of the 13th C. by Maria (Martha as a nun) Palaiologina, sister of Michael VIII and widow of the *megas domestikos* Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes. According to Stefan of Novgorod (1348/9), the church was located on a hill south of the Church of the Holy Apostles. Originally connected with the Palaiologan dynasty, the convent seems to have passed eventually into the hands of the Kantakouzenos family. In 1342 it was the burial place of Theodora Kantakouzene, mother of John VI, and in 1354 provided a refuge for John's wife, Irene, after his abdication from the throne. Irene's daughters, Maria and Helena, also became nuns at the convent after the death of their husbands. At the end of the 14th C. it was one of the larger nunneries in Constantinople (Sphr. 34.22–24). It was visited by several Russian pilgrims, who noted in the church the relics of John Eleemon, Mary Kleophas, and St. Theodosia the Virgin. No building or *typikon* survives.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Kyra Martha," *EO* 38 (1939) 296–320. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 306–09. Janin, *Églises CP* 324–26. -A.M.T.

KYRANIDES. See Koiranides.

KYRIAKOS (Κυριακός), author of a *kontakion* on the Raising of Lazarus; fl. 6th C.? Kyriakos was probably an older or younger contemporary of Romanos the Melode, whose hymns his resemble in style and treatment. S. Pétridès (*EO* 4 [1900] 282–84) identified him with the *anachoretes* Kyriakos (448–556), an equation that has not found much support.

ED. C.A. Trypanis, *Fourteen Early Byzantine Cantica* (Vienna 1968) 79–85.

LIT. K. Papadopoulos, *Hagios Kyriakos, anachoretes kai hymnographos* (Phlorina 1966). -B.B.

KYROS (Κύρος), poet and official; born Panopolis, Egypt, died 457. When Kyros came to Constantinople during the reign of Theodosios II, he was already well known for his literary accomplishments. Probably through the patronage of the empress Athenais-Eudokia he was appointed urban prefect ca.435 and praetorian prefect by Dec. 439, holding both prefectures simultaneously for two years. Kyros rebuilt much of the capital after a disastrous earthquake in 437, arranged for the illumination of major city streets and shops, and attended to the fortifications of the city; he built a church of the Theotokos in a region of the city called *ta Kyrou* after him (Janin, *CP byz.* 378f). Kyros also conducted negotiations with the Ephthalites and Armenians. The religious belief of Kyros has been the subject of some dispute, but he apparently became a Christian and followed the religious orientation of Patr. Proklos. Circa 443 he earned the enmity of the eunuch Chrysaphios. He was deposed and consecrated bishop of Kotyaion. The sources are divided about the later career of Kyros and whether he continued as bishop. He was a devotee of Daniel the Stylite. Kyros's poetry is highly classicizing; he laments in his verses that he was a

man of affairs rather than a simple shepherd and complains of the "harmful drones" who harassed him. His fame as a poet and wise man survived in later Byz. times.

LIT. Al. Cameron, "The Empress and the Poet: Paganism and Politics at the Court of Theodosius II," *YCS* 27 (1982) 217–89. D.J. Constantelos, "Kyros Panopolites, Rebuilder of Constantinople," *GRBS* 12 (1971) 451–64. T.E. Gregory, "The Remarkable Christmas Homily of Kyros Panopolites," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 317–24. –T.E.G.

KYROS (Κύρος), patriarch of Alexandria (from 631); died Alexandria 21 Mar. 642. Bishop of Phasis in Kolchis, he was one of the initiators of MONOENERGISM. Herakleios and Patr. Sergios promoted him, and in 631 he came to Alexandria as Chalcedonian patriarch and *dioiketes* of Egypt. He reached an accord with some Monophysites on the basis of the formula of Monoenergism, despite the resistance of SOPHRONIOS, the future patriarch of Jerusalem (synod of Oct. 631—Butler, *infra* 183). This aroused discontent among both Monophysites and Chalcedonians and even led a group of the Gaianites (supporters of APHTHARTODOCETISM) to attempt to assassinate Kyros. Theophanes the Confessor accuses Kyros of paying annual tribute to the Arabs (after the battle at Yarmuk?) to preserve Egypt from invasion. When ʿAMR advanced against Egypt, Kyros fled to the island of Rawḍa (Roda) and reluctantly agreed to submit to the Muslims. Herakleios recalled him and rejected the treaty. Kyros returned to Alexandria with a fleet on the orders of MARTINA (14 Sept. 641) and arranged a treaty with ʿAmr on 8 Nov. 641. The overthrow of Martina and the sufferings of Egypt under the Muslims showed Kyros the failure of his policy and may have contributed to his death.

LIT. Butler, *Arab Conquest*, lxv–lxvii, 175–93, 303–32. A. Grohmann, "Al-Muḳawḳas," *EI* 3:712–15. F. Winkelmann, "Ägypten und Byzanz vor der arabischen Eroberung," *BS* 40 (1979) 170–74. –W.E.K., A.K.

KYROS AND JOHN, healing saints; feastday 30/31 Jan. Supposedly Kyros was a physician in Alexandria, John a soldier attracted to Egypt by Kyros's fame; they were executed during Diocletian's reign. There is no evidence of them until the 5th C., when CYRIL of Alexandria found their relics, which he transferred from Alexandria to Menuthis. SOPHRONIOS described their cures and claimed to have been healed by the pair. According to him the local cult of Isis disappeared and her temple sank into the sand, whereas Kyros and John were successful. They worked their miracles inside the church by INCUBATION; sometimes they recommended the local bath. Some contemporaries expressed doubts concerning their sanctity; a certain Athanasia noted that their martyrdom was not documented; the physician Gesios asserted that their healings were not miraculous but conformed to the prescriptions of Hippocrates and Galen. Sophronios made Kyros and John reject both ancient values and ancient medicine; he represents them as more hostile to the medical profession than KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS (T. Nissen, *BZ* 39 [1939] 355f), and some of their remedies are ostentatiously antimedical. After the Arab conquest of Egypt in the 7th C., their cult shifted to Constantinople and Rome; an Arabic legend treats the saints' healings in Monemvasia (P. Peeters, *AB* 25 [1906] 233–40), unless the Monufasia in the Arabic MS is a distorted form of Menuthis.

Representation in Art. Kyros is depicted sometimes middle-aged, as one of the ANARGYROI, sometimes as an elderly monk holding a little white jar; John is middle-aged, clad in court costume.

SOURCES. *Los Thaumata de Sofronio*, ed. N. Fernandez Marcos (Madrid 1975). Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Sainte Thècle, saints Côme et Damien, saints Cyr et Jean (extraits), saint Georges* (Paris 1971) 238–56. PG 87:3677–96. T. Nissen, "De SS. Cyri et Iohannis Vitae formis," *AB* 57 (1939) 68–70.

LIT. *BHG* 469–479i. P. Maraval, "Fonction pédagogique de la littérature hagiographique d'un lieu de pèlerinage: l'exemple des Miracles de Cyr et Jean," *Hagiographie, cultures et sociétés* (Paris 1981) 383–97. R. Herzog, "Der Kampf um den Kult von Menuthis," in *Pisciculi: Studien zur Religion und Kultur des Altertums, Franz Joseph Dölger . . . dargeboten* (Münster 1939) 117–24. J. Duffy, "Observations on Sophronius' *Miracles of Cyrus and John*," *JThSt* n.s. 35 (1984) 71–90. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 5:2f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

KYZIKOS (Κύζικος, now Balkız near Erdek), city on the southern coast of the Sea of Marmara, at the head of routes leading into Asia Minor. Diocletian made Kyzikos metropolis of the province of Hellespont, headquarters of a legion, and site of an imperial mint. The usurper PROKOPIOS took it in 365; an earthquake destroyed half the city in 539. The Arabs occupied Kyzikos from 671 to 678 during their attack on Constantinople. To repair the devastation, Justinian II installed Cyp-

riot refugees there in 688 and named the settlement Nea Ioustinianoupolis. In 1078, Kyzikos was base for the attack of Nikephoros BRYENNIOS on Constantinople, and in 1090 and 1113 it briefly fell to the Turks. After ravaging the area in 1204, the Latins rebuilt Kyzikos in 1206; John III Vatatzes recaptured it around 1225. Kyzikos was headquarters of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1303–04. ORHAN captured it soon after 1335. Kyzikos was the metropolitan bishopric of Hellespont. Its region contained numerous monasteries, notably Megas Agros, the home of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 27 [1973] 248–67).

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 192–205. Janin, *Églises centres* 192–214. –C.F.

L

LABARUM (λάβαρον, perhaps derived from Celtic *llafar*, "eloquent," or rather *laureum* [*vexillum*], laurel standard), Christian military standard first attested by Eusebios of Caesarea (Eusebios, *VC* 1.31) and characterized as a "cross-shaped sign." This may have been the standard devised by Constantine I prior to the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, as ambiguously described by Lactantius (Lactant. *De mort. pers.* 44.4–5; see Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 306, n.146). The colossal statue of Constantine in the Basilica of Maxentius may have held the labarum (Eusebios, *HE* 9.9.10 and *VC* 1.40.2; see A. Alföldi, *The Conversion of Constantine and Pagan Rome* [Oxford 1948] 42). In later representations the labarum was generally shown as a standard with CHRISTOGRAM, or, as held by Honorius on an ivory diptych (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.1), with an inscription alluding to Constantine's victory.

LIT. J.-J. Hatt, "La vision de Constantin au sanctuaire de Grand et l'origine celtique du labarum," *Latomus* 9 (1950) 427–36. H. Grégoire, "Encore l'etymologie de 'labarum,'" *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 277–81. M. Green, J. Ferguson, "Constantine, Sun-Symbols and the Labarum," *Durham University Journal* 80 (1987) 9–17. –T.E.G., A.C.

LABIS. See SPOONS.

LABOR (*πόνος*, also *ἐργόχειρον*) was ambivalently viewed by the Byz. On the one hand, it was considered suffering or punishment for the ORIGINAL SIN of their ancestors; on the other hand, those who labored were blessed by Christ. Two main perceptions of labor were developed in Byz.

1. Labor was considered an ascetic discipline, as a means of self-subjugation and as a path to spiritual enlightenment. Monastic communities—in the rules of Basil the Great and Theodore of Stoudios, in monastic *typika*, in hagiographical writings—praised labor from this viewpoint. We can question whether such an attitude toward labor was actually characteristic of monks—at any rate, criticism of monks for their idleness is not infrequent in Byz. literature (e.g., Eustathios of Thessalonike)—but such was the theoretical view.

2. A "rationalistic" perception was elaborated by such writers as Michael Choniates and Eustathios of Thessalonike. For Michael Choniates, labor is valuable not in itself but for its results; the beauty is in creation or in gain but not in the work itself. Eustathios speaks of labor as the natural condition of mankind, satisfying both bodily and spiritual needs; men work to avoid the hunger which is the reward of idleness, yet this same labor is pleasing to God. St. PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION, he stresses, happily worked with his own hands and considered "noble toil" as a worthy pursuit for man. In the aristocratic ideal of behavior, however, there was a place for war, hunting, games, and cultural pleasures, but not for work.

LIT. T. Teoteoi, "Le travail manuel dans les typika byzantins des XIe–XIIIe siècles," *RESEE* 17 (1979) 455–62. H. Dörries, "Mönchtum und Arbeit," *Forschungen zur Kirchengeschichte und zur christlichen Kunst* (Leipzig 1931) 17–39. *Spiritualità del lavoro nella catechesi dei Padri del III–IV secolo*, ed. S. Felici (Rome 1986). A. Quacquarelli, *Lavoro e ascesi nel monachesimo prebenedettino del IV e V secoli* (Bari 1982). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 162f. –A.K.

LABOR DISPUTES can be divided into two categories: (1) broadly, the collective actions of workers as a pressure group and (2) in a narrower sense, disagreements between an employer (*ergodotes*) and his contractors (*ergolaboi*), who in the 10th C. were equated with *technitai*. Examples of pressure groups are the *fabricenses* of imperial FACTORIES in the 4th C. who were politically very active (L.C. Ruggini, *SettStu* 18 [1971] 163–76). In later centuries the workers in state factories were also sometimes used as a political force, as when imperial weavers helped to foil the usurpation of the *kouropalates* Leo Phokas in 971 (Leo Diac. 146.20–147.3).

The second kind of labor dispute involved arguments over the quality of the work performed (the worker was responsible for defects caused by his incompetence or negligence), work stoppages

(contractors had to pay a fine for the suspension of work), poor working conditions, and esp. WAGES. Since a portion of the wages could be advanced, some contracts (e.g., P.Grenf. II, 87, a.602) required that the advance payment be returned with INTEREST if the workers did not complete the given task. Conflicts were to be resolved through the expertise of arbitrators (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.22.2), but in case of a deadlock workers used strikes as their last resort. An inscription from Sardis of 459 testifies to such a strike of construction workers. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 204.5–6) mentions that the MISTHIOI in Rhaidestos demanded a salary increase during the inflationary period under Michael VII. An ordinance by Emp. Zeno of 483 prohibited contractors and workers in Constantinople from organizing a boycott of an employer; this law was extended by Justinian I to the provinces in 531 and later included in the *Basilika*; the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* also punishes work stoppages.

LIT. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Trudovye konflikty v Vizantii," *VizOč* (Moscow 1971) 26–74. W.H. Buckler, "Labour Disputes in the Province of Asia," in *Anatolian Studies Presented to W.M. Ramsay* (Manchester 1923) 27–50. B. Hemmerdinger, "Marx et Engels sur une grève à Constantinople," *Belfagor* 27 (1972) 478–80. –A.K.

LACHANODRAKON, MICHAEL, general; died Markellai 20 July 792. Appointed *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme in 766/7 by Constantine V, Lachanodrakon (Λαχανοδράκων) actively supported ICONOCLASM and esp. persecuted its monastic opponents. In 771, "imitating his teacher" Constantine (Theoph. 445.3–4), he summoned to Ephesus monks and nuns from his theme and threatened to blind and exile those who refused to marry. In 772 he confiscated all monastic property in the Thrakesion and gave proceeds from its sale to Constantine, punished those who possessed relics, and ultimately prohibited anyone in the theme from being tonsured. Lachanodrakon was a talented general. In 778 he commanded a multi-theme army (including the troops of TATZATES) that invaded Syria and besieged Germanikeia, although Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 451.19–20) says that Lachanodrakon was bribed by the Arabs to withdraw. In 780 he ambushed an Arab army in the Armeniakon and in 782 destroyed at Darenos in the Thrakesion one-third of the army of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. His Iconoclastic sympathies may have led Irene to remove him as *strategos* (Bury, *LRE* 2:485). Lachanodrakon was a close adviser to Constantine VI and in Dec. 790 helped him depose Irene by securing the support of the Armeniakon army. As a *magistros* (Theoph. 468.1) Lachanodrakon died at the battle of MARKELLAI while campaigning with Constantine against the Bulgarians.

LIT. Gero, *Constantine V* 125f, 154. –P.A.H.

LACTANTIUS, more fully Lucius Caecilius Firmianus Lactantius, Latin Christian writer and teacher; born probably in Africa ca.240, died ca.325. A pupil of Arnobius, Lactantius was appointed by DIOCLETIAN to teach rhetoric at Nikomedeia. Already a Christian when the persecution of 303 began, he lost his position, leaving ca.305 to spend some years in Gaul or Africa. When very old he was asked by Constantine to tutor his son Crispus, a post that gave Lactantius some court influence. Of his two most important extant works the *Divine Institutes* seeks to persuade men of letters of the moral superiority of Christianity; it is the earliest systematic account of Christian morality in Latin. The other, *On the Deaths of the Persecutors*, covers the period from Nero to Galerius and Maximinus Daia. Its extreme celebration of divine vengeance is new to classical literature, while its combination of secular narrative and praise of God is reminiscent of 2 Maccabees (J. Rougé, *StP* 12 [Berlin 1975] 135–43). The work, chronologically sound and sometimes citing imperial edicts verbatim, is a particularly important source for the period 303–13. Lactantius's essays, *The Workmanship of God* and *On the Wrath of God,* also survive. Perhaps he wrote the poem *Phoenix*. Ten books of letters and some possibly pagan pieces—*Symposium, Grammaticus,* and a verse account of his trip from Africa to Nikomedeia—are lost.

ED. *Opera omnia*, ed. S. Brandt, G. Laubmann, 3 vols. in 2 (Vienna 1890–97). *Minor Works*, tr. M.F. McDonald (Washington, D.C., 1965). Tr. eadem, *The Divine Institutes, books 1–7* (Washington, D.C., 1964). *De mortibus persecutorum*, ed. J.L. Creed (Oxford 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Perrin, *L'homme antique et chrétien: L'anthropologie de Lactance, 250–325* (Paris 1981). R.M. Ogilvie, *The Library of Lactantius* (Oxford 1978). *Lactance et son temps*, eds. J. Fontaine, M. Perrin (Paris 1978). O.P. Nicholson, "The Source of the Dates in Lactantius' *Divine Institutes,*" *JThSt* n.s. 36 (1985) 291–310. –B.B.

LAGOUDERA, in the Troodos mountains of CYPRUS, site of the Church of the Panagia tou Arakos. This structure of three bays, a central dome, and a single apse follows a plan common among the small mountain churches of the island. The pointed arches suggest a construction date in the second half of the 12th C.; the narthex and heavy protective roof are not part of the original structure. The first phase of the fresco decoration includes a Virgin and Child and two registers of frontal bishops in the apse and the lower fragments of a figure enthroned between angels on the south wall of the nave. The second phase includes the rest of the sanctuary and all of the nave (the group on the south wall was overpainted). Dedicatory inscriptions indicate that the second phase was completed in December 1192, through the patronage of Leo tou Authentou (or tou Authentos). Leo's special veneration for the Virgin is evident not only in the dedicatory verse accompanying the fresco icon of the Theotokos tou Arakos, but also in the emphasis on her life in the decoration of the nave. On the basis of a fragmentary inscription and stylistic traits, Winfield identified the painter of the second phase of decoration as Theodore APSEUDES. These frescoes exhibit the stylistic characteristics of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

LIT. D. Winfield, C. Mango, "The Church of the Panagia Arakos, Lagoudera: First Preliminary Report," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 377–80. Idem, "Reports" 262–64. A.H.S. Megaw, "Background Architecture in the Lagoudera Frescoes," *JÖB* 21 (1972) 195–201. D. Winfield, *Panagia tou Arakos, Lagoudera* (Nicosia, n.d.). –A.J.W.

LAITY (pl. λαϊκοί from *laos*, people), term denoting the nonclerical element of the Christian community, in contrast to its CLERGY. Unknown in the New Testament, the term was used by Clement of Alexandria, and in the 3rd C. the laity was differentiated not only from the clergy but also from the ordinary faithful: they formed an elite of males married only once who were allowed to baptize and officiate in the absence of clergy. When the monastic movement started, the monks were at first considered laymen. Some ministerial functions (esp. those of ANAGNOSTES) were assigned to the laity. In the 4th–5th C. the distinction between the laity and clergy became sharper. First, the monks formed a special category separate from the laity; then the formal rite of ordination drew a stronger line of demarcation between the clergy and laymen: the latter received a special place in church and were prohibited from entering the sanctuary; they were forbidden to baptize and discouraged from teaching. Gradually, all groups of Christians except the clergy and monks were subsumed into the category of laity.

The differentiation between the laity and clergy in Byz. remained less sharp than it was in the West: CELIBACY was a requirement only for the higher clergy; the consecrated wine was never forbidden to the laity; country *klerikoi* were barely distinguishable from PAROIKOI in terms of their social status. The church prohibited the clergy from performing military service and from fulfilling state offices, but the ban was often ignored in practice. On the other hand, some imperial dignitaries held ecclesiastical offices, while laymen, as *charistikarioi* and *ktetores,* exercised authority over ecclesiastical institutions.

LIT. A. Faivre, *Les laïcs aux origines de l'Église* (Paris 1984). G. Tabancis, *Die "Laien" in Kirche und Offentlichkeit nach griechischen Zeugen des 4. Jhs, besonders des Johannes Chrysostomos* (Münster 1977). I. de la Potterie, "L'origine et le sens primitif du mot 'laic,'" *Nouvelle Revue théologique* 80 (1958) 840–53. –A.P., A.K.

LAKAPENOS, GEORGE, writer and grammarian; fl. ca.1297–1310/11, died before 1315. Lakapenos (Λακαπηνός) was probably a pupil of Maximos PLANOUDES and was active in literary circles in Constantinople under Andronikos II. About 20 of his letters survive, accompanied by EPIMERISMS and addressed to Andronikos and John Zarides, Michael GABRAS, and the physician JOHN AKTOUARIOS. This collection was preserved in a number of MSS because it was used for instructional purposes. He also prepared a selection of 264 of the letters of LIBANIOS, and wrote grammatical notes and commentary on books I and II of the *Iliad* and on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus.

ED. *Georgii Lacapeni Epistulae X priores cum epimerismis editae*, ed. S. Lindstam (Uppsala 1910). Idem, *Georgii Lacapeni et Andronici Zaridae epistulae XXXII, cum epimerismis Lacapeni* (Göteborg 1924).

LIT. S.I. Kourouses, "To epistolarion Georgiou Lakapenou kai Andronikou Zaridou," *Athena* 77 (1978–79) 291–386. Idem, "Ho aktouarios Ioannes Zacharias paraleptes tes epistoles I′ tou Georgiou Lakapenou," *Athena* 78 (1980–82) 237–76. *PLP*, no.14379. –A.M.T.

LAKEDAIMON (Λακεδαίμων), ancient name applied by Byz. authors to both the region of La-

konia (Lakonike) in the southern PELOPONNESOS and to its capital, ancient Sparta (A. Basilikopoulou-Ioannidou, *LakSp* 4 [1979] 4–6). The extensive expanse of Roman Sparta was contracted in late antiquity and a limited area (ca. 650 × 300 m) was fortified; the foundations of three churches of this period have been found (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] 621f), as have various objects, including clay lamps of the 6th C. (A. Oikonomou, *LakSp* 9 [1988] 286–92). The *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 647.8) lists Lakedaimon as the "metropolis of Lakonike."

The CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA (ed. Dujčev, 12.95–96) is the only text that reports that the Lakones (variant Lakedaimonitai) left their city under pressure of the Slavic invasions and settled in Sicily; Nikephoros I rebuilt the *polis* of Lakedaimon and had a "mixed population"—Thrakesioi, Armenians, and the enigmatic Kapheroi (*ibid.*, 22.196–99)—settle there. The early history of the bishopric of Lakedaimon is puzzling: the first known bishop, Hosios, is attested in 458; then, in 681, when the city was supposedly abandoned, a bishop "of the *polis* of Lakedaimonioi" is mentioned (Mansi 11:674C). In the notitiae the bishopric of "Lakedeon" in the Peloponnesos (*Notitiae CP* 3.744) appears ca.800, and the later *Synodikon of Lakedaimon* begins probably ca.843 (R. Jenkins, C. Mango, *DOP* 15 [1961] 236).

The vita of the 10th-C. saint NIKON HO "METANOEITE," who lived in Lakedaimon, provides rich information about the city and its environs, including the existence of a Jewish community and pagan Slavs; it is, however, not certain whether the evidence of the vita can be taken at face value. At any rate, the identification of a church excavated in Sparta with one built by Nikon is probably incorrect (P. Vocotopoulos in *Praktika tou A' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnesiakon spoudon* [Athens 1976] 273–85). The 12th-C. geographer al-IDRĪSĪ described the city as large and flourishing. A new bridge in the *kastron* of Lakedaimon is mentioned in an inscription of 1027 (D. Zakythenos, *Hellenika* 15 [1957] 99.4–5), a bath of the 11th–12th C. has been excavated in Sparta (Ch. Bouras, *ArchEph* [1982] 99–112), and coins of Constantine VII and polychrome ceramics have been found on the acropolis (A. Stauride, *Peloponnesiaka* 15 [1982–84] 186). Lakedaimon was elevated to the status of metropolis on or about 1 Jan. 1083 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 136–39).

In the early 13th C. the Franks took Lakedaimon, apparently without any difficulty, and it came under the control of the principality of ACHAIA; William II Villehardouin spent the winter of 1248–49 there and in 1249 began construction of the castle at MISTRA, west of the city. Lakedaimon remained the urban center until warfare beginning in 1263 caused the inhabitants to flee to the greater safety of Mistra. Lakonian frescoed churches include St. George at Longaniko, dated 1375 (A. Orlandos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 461–81), and St. Nicholas at Agoriane, built ca.1300 (M. Emmanouel, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1989] 107–50) and painted by Kyriakos Phrangopoulos (as attested by an inscription). According to the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Lakedaimonia was a large town with towers and a good city wall. Under the Franks there was a Catholic bishop, last attested in 1278, when he was forced to flee, just as the Orthodox bishop of Lakedaimon moved his residence to Mistra.

LIT. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 60, 68. P. Ch. Doukas, *He Sparte dia mesou ton aionon* (New York 1922) 433–599. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:478–82, 624f. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

LAKHMIDS, the Arab dynasty that flourished in ḤĪRA on the lower Euphrates for three centuries before the rise of Islam. Through their clientship to Persia, the Lakhmids became involved in the Byz.-Persian wars and in those of the various Arab FOEDERATI who were clients of Byz. One of their 4th-C. kings, Imru' al-Qays, went over to Byz. and was installed in the province of Arabia; another, al-Nuʿmān, visited St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder in Syria ca.413–20. His son, Mundhir, fought against Byz. in the Persian war of 421–22. Toward the end of the 5th C. al-Nuʿmān's operations against Byz. served as a prelude to the Persian war (502–05) of Anastasios I. It was ALAMUNDARUS, however, who posed the greatest threat to Byz. for some 50 years (503–54); ca.530 Justinian I centralized federate GHASSĀNID power in the Orient to rival him. Alamundarus's successors sent embassies to Justin II and Tiberios I in Constantinople. Originally pagans, by the end of the 6th C. the Lakhmids had become Nestorians. The dynasty ended ca.600, and Ḥīra fell to Muslim arms in 633.

LIT. G. Rothstein, *Die Dynastie der Lahmiden in al-Ḥīra* (Berlin 1899; rp. Hildesheim 1968). J.C. Trimingham,

Christianity among the Arabs in the Pre-Islamic Times (London–New York 1979) 188–202. –I.A.Sh.

LAKONIA. See LAKEDAIMON.

LAMB OF GOD. Sheep and lambs figure among Christianity's earliest symbols. In 3rd-C. funerary art, they represent believers or believers' souls: pastoral images of Paradise inherited from antiquity and Christ's designation of his followers as sheep together served to make sheep a widespread image of the Christian's desire to be a lamb in Christ's celestial fold. Common symbols by the 4th C., sheep sometimes act out biblical scenes in works of the 4th–6th C. Because Christ himself had been likened by John the Baptist to the sacrificial "Lamb of God" that takes away the sins of the world (Jn 1:29) and was the Lamb of the Apocalypse (Rev 14–21), he, too, is shown as a lamb from the 4th C. onward. Signifying the eternal triumph achieved through his sacrifice, the image of Christ as the Lamb of God is first found below triumphal scenes like the TRADITIO LEGIS or Christ acclaimed by the Apostles; the Lamb stands on the mount of Paradise flanked by apostle-lambs, forming a symbolic, celestial counterpart to the figural scene above. Slightly later, as the focus of larger cycles, the Lamb of God appears enclosed in the wreath of eternal triumph. In Western art from the 5th C. onward, Christ as lamb is incorporated into Apocalyptic imagery. In Byz. art, the Lamb of God is rarer and adheres to the passage in John. It vanishes after the 7th C., presumably because the council in TRULLO explicitly proscribed it. (See also AMNOS.)

LIT. F. van der Meer, *Maiestas Domini: Théophanies de l'Apocalypse dans l'art chrétien* (Vatican 1938) 29–174. F. Gerke, "Der Ursprung der Lämmerallegorien in der altchristlichen Plastik," *ZNTW* 33 (1934) 160–96. –A.W.C.

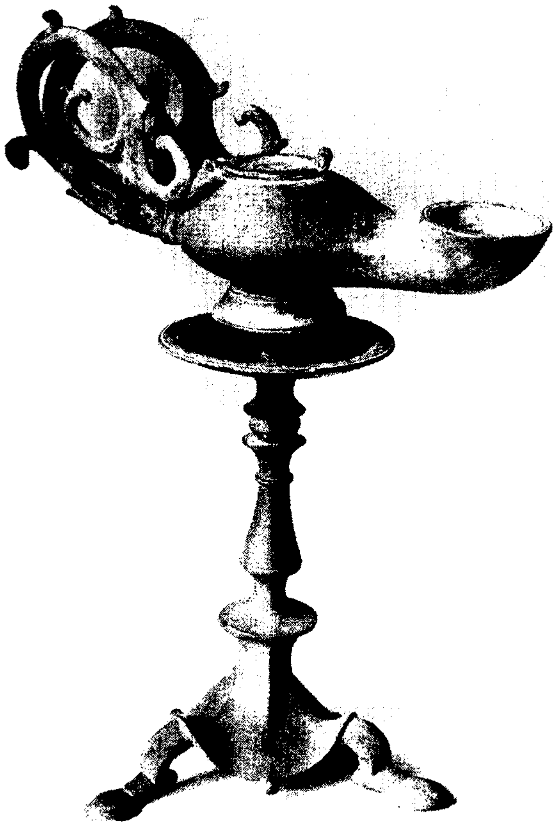
LAMBOUSA TREASURE. See CYPRUS TREASURE.

LAMIA (Λάμια), ancient city in southern Thessaly, whose name still survives in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.42, ed. Pertusi, p.88). Some remains of the late antique city (a basilica, coins, and an inscription of the 4th C., a marble slab of the 7th C., etc.) were found on the acropolis and in its vicinity; the remains of city walls on the acropolis are thought to be Justinianic. But already at that time Lamia was in decline, and the *Tabula Peutingeriana* does not mention it. The bishopric of Lamia, suffragan of LARISSA, is known from 431 onward.

Occupied by the Slavs, Lamia reappears from the 9th C. under the name of Zetounion, probably of Slavic origin (from *žito*, "grain": Vasmer, *Slaven* 105). Lamia-Zetounion was an important fortress guarding the approach to Thermopylai: Basil II chanced to observe there the traces of a bloody battle between Nikephoros OURANOS and SAMUEL OF BULGARIA (Skyl. 364.76–78). In the 12th C. Benjamin of Tudela counted 50 Jewish families in Zetounion. After 1204 the Templars temporarily held the city and rebuilt its ramparts. By 1259 it was again in Greek hands, but in 1318 the city was seized by the Catalans, who seem to have retained it until 1391. The ACCIAJUOLI dominated Zetounion for several years, but BAYEZID I demolished it in 1394. In 1403–26 the Byz. held the fortress, then the Turks recaptured it. A short chronicle (*Kleinchroniken* 1:251, no.49) says that in 1444 Constantine (XI) Palaiologos captured Thebes and attacked Zetounion.

LIT. *TIB* 1:283f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 141–43. –A.K.

LAMPS. Ceramic lamps of essentially ancient type are attested in considerable number from the 4th to 7th C. These were generally mold-made, of oval shape, with a filling hole for OIL in the center top and a wick hole at one end opposite the handle. The surfaces of the lamps were commonly decorated, normally with simple motifs, but occasionally with Christian symbols and scenes: crosses, Christograms, David and Goliath, or Christ trampling the beasts (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 352, 471). Until the 7th or early 8th C. clay lamps represented the most common LIGHTING device (C. Mango, *JÖB* 32.1 [1982] 254f) in both private houses and cemeteries, where they have been found in abundance. Lamps were often left on TOMBS, either as part of the burial ceremony or as votives that were left burning. They were widely exported, above all from North Africa (A. Ennabli, *Lampes chrétiennes de Tunisie* [Paris 1976]). Lamps from Asia Minor, Attica, Palestine, and Sicily did not travel as far, but all were imitated by local workshops; molds, too, were exported and also



LAMPS. Lamp and lampstand; bronze, 6th or 7th C. Benaki Museum, Athens.

made from imported lamps. In addition to shapes, even the marks of foreign potters were reproduced (K.S. Garnett, *Hesperia* 44 [1975] 173–206).

In the 8th C. the ancient tradition of lampmaking died out and lamps of a different type became predominant. These were either hung by a cord or equipped with a stand, in which case the lamp was a simple open cup, pinched at one end for the wick, placed on a ceramic stand, usually conical or cylindrical, sometimes with a drip cup below; these lamps/lampstands were usually glazed.

Glass lamps were also popular but, being very fragile, have left little trace in the archaeological record. Lamps of bronze and silver were used in wealthy households and esp. in churches (see LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL).

LIT. O. Broneer, *Terracotta Lamps* [*Corinth 4.2*] (Cambridge, Mass., 1930) 122–26, 292–96. J. Perlzweig, *The Athenian Agora, 7. Lamps of the Roman Period, First to Seventh Century After Christ* (Princeton 1961). H. Williams, *The Lamps* [=*Kenchreai* 5] (Leiden 1981). N. Poulou-Papadimitriou, "Lamps paléochrétiennes de Samos," *BCH* 110 (1986) 583–610. –A.C., T.E.G.

LAMPSAKOS (Λάμψακος), ancient city on the eastern shore of the HELLESPONT facing KALLIPOLIS. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 4.29, ed. Pertusi, p.69) names it among the notable *poleis* of OPSIKION, but this is evidently anachronistic. Lampsakos was a bishopric suffragan to KYZIKOS and perhaps an emperor's EPISKEPSIS (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 198); it left no trace in secular history, however, until the 13th C., when John III Vatatzes, after reconquering this district from the Latins, constructed a harbor in Lampsakos. The Latins and the empire of Nicaea fought over the city, but in 1235 John III firmly established Greek authority there. The Turks seized it, but in 1359 the papal legate Peter Thomas destroyed the fortress of Lampsakos with Venetian and Rhodian galleys and Greek assistance.

A Latin survey of Lampsakos composed in 1218–19 gives a detailed description of the town, the categories of its inhabitants, and the taxes they paid to their Venetian lords. According to this survey there were 173 households in Lampsakos—60 urban and 113 peasant; the urban households paid only 24 percent of all land taxes; in addition they probably paid taxes for mills, salt pans, boats, and fishing nets. Nothing is known of manufacturing in Lampsakos; Islamic sources testify to its export of ceramics (Vryonis, *Decline* 13, n.60).

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Provincial'nyj vizantijskij gorod na rubeže XII–XIII vv.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 17–29. Angold, *Byz. Government* 110, 222f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:255f. –A.K.

LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca.1847 at LAMPSAKOS on the Dardanelles. Now divided among museums in Istanbul, London, and Paris, it is composed of 25 silver objects and two pieces of gold jewelry. The formation of this treasure of domestic silver PLATE over the period of a century is indicated by the six objects dated by SILVER STAMPS: a lampstand (527–65) similar to one in the MYTILENE TREASURE, a *polykandelon* (577), and four bowls (613–30) akin to the set in the SUTTON HOO TREASURE.

The bowls bear the monogram of a certain Menas, probably a late owner of the treasure. The find included silver furniture revetments (table rim and stool, the latter similar to one in the CONCEŞTI TREASURE), a large niello-inlaid plate decorated with a personification usually said by scholars to be of India but probably that of Africa, and two sets of spoons: one with names of the Apostles and another, of elegant design, with quotations from Vergil inscribed in Latin as well as the "Sayings of the Seven Sages" and witticisms, in Greek.

LIT. O.M. Dalton, *British Museum: A Guide to the Early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities*[2] (London 1921) 175. A. de Ridder, *Catalogue sommaire des bijoux antiques* (Paris 1924) nos. 2049–50. –M.M.M.

LAND LEASE (ἔκδοσις), agreement by which a lessor (a private individual, an institution, or the state), usually in return for RENT, conveyed immovable property to a lessee. H. Comfort collected data on 163 land leases from Egypt between 425 and 658, which dealt primarily with arable land. Among the documents that indicate conditions of the lease, 60 are of limited term, 25 at the lessor's pleasure, while only two are leases for life. Later documents on land lease are rare (e.g., *Xénoph.*, nos. 6 [a.1303] and 7 [a.1306]), though three examples are included in a collection of FORMULARIES (Sathas, *MB* 6:620–23). The usual terms are *ekdoterion engraphon, tes ekdoseos engraphon*, or *aktos ekdoseos*; the term *ekdosis*, however, could also designate a donation, as in *Xerop.*, no.9A.66–67 (a.1270–74), that reflects a confusion between a long-term lease and a complete alienation of property. The *Ecloga* 13:1 established that a land lease, whether oral or written, could not exceed 29 years. Byz. law preserved the Justinianic norms allowing the cancellation of the land lease if the lessee stopped paying rent for two years (three years in canon law—I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakes periousias* [Athens 1979] 199). The formularies recommend as rent for a vineyard 1/2 the wine produced, for a CHORAPHION 1/3 the harvest, and for a garden a cash payment at the end of each six-month period plus a weekly payment (*opsonia*) in vegetables. (See also MISTHOSIS.)

LIT. H. Comfort, *Studies in Late Byzantine Land-Leases* (Haverford, Pa., 1939). J. Lefort et al. in *Ivir.* 1:107f. Ch. Maltezou, "Ho horos *metacherissi* stis agrotikes misthoseis tes benetokratoumenes Kretes," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985—86) 1135–47. –M.B.

LAND ROUTES. Both Asia Minor and the Balkans were traversed by a number of major routes that formed a communications network used by the army, the *demosios* DROMOS (public post), traders, and travelers. Smaller ROADS led to the major routes. In the Balkans, there were two major routes, one from Belgrade to Niš (Naissos) and then either through Sofia and Philippopolis to Constantinople or through Skopje to Thessalonike. The other major route was the Via EGNATIA, running from Dyrrachion to Ohrid to Thessalonike and eventually to Constantinople. With minor variations, these were the routes taken by the Crusaders. According to al-IDRĪSĪ, it took six days to travel from Dyrrachion to Ohrid and seven days from Ohrid to Thessalonike. In the 10th C., a leisurely journey from Thessalonike to Belgrade took eight days (*De adm. imp.* 42.15–18).

The major Asia Minor routes ran from northwest to southeast, while secondary roads ran from north to south. The most important military road led from Nicaea to Malagina to Dorylaion to Saniana, where it divided into three branches, eventually leading to Tarsos, Nikopolis and Koloneia, Theodosioupolis, and Melitene. The second traverse road went from Malagina to Dorylaion to Ikonion to the Cilician Gates. While these routes were of great military importance, those leading from north to south were also significant for TRAVEL and COMMERCE. (See also SEA ROUTES and SILK ROUTE.)

LIT. A.P. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni Vizantii xi–xii vv.," *VizOč* 2 (1971) 174–76. Vryonis, *Decline* 30–33. Hendy, *Economy* 602–13. L. Dillemann, "La Carte Routière de la Cosmographie de Ravenne," *BJb* 175 (1975) 165–70. K. Gagova, "Pŭtna sistema v Severna Trakija prez XIII–XIV v.," *IstPreg* 39.1 (1983) 89–100. P. Schreiner, "Städte und Wegenetz in Moesien, Dakien und Thrakien nach dem Zeugnis des Theophylaktos Simokates," in *Spätantike und frühbyzantinische Kultur Bulgariens zwischen Orient und Okzident* (Vienna 1986) 25–35. Koder, *Lebensraum* 62–75. F. Hild, *Das byzantinische Strassensystem in Kappadokien* (Vienna 1977). D. Winfield, "The Northern Routes across Anatolia," *Anatolian Studies* 27 (1977) 151–66. –A.L.

LANDSCAPE AND BUCOLIC IMAGERY. Compared to those of Roman wall paintings and FLOOR MOSAICS, early Byz. landscapes present fragmented images of reality. On silver PLATES of

the 6th and 7th C. the countryside is divided into discrete planes, while the GREAT PALACE pavement juxtaposes pastoral and urban scenes without division. From the 6th C. landscape no longer existed for its own sake, but as the context for sacred events; thereafter mountains are either terraced massifs or series of *coulisses*, and rivers are controlled by personifications or angels, as in the Miracle at CHONAI, but not by gravity. Conventional rocks and trees serve as framing devices, while serried ranks of improbable plants decorate rather than characterize a panorama. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II identical caves represent the grotto of the NATIVITY and that of the SEVEN SLEEPERS of Ephesus. Even in such secular MSS as the pseudo-OPPIAN in Venice, a quickly drawn tree and a serpentine groundline serve to indicate the setting of a hunt; vegetation tends to grow above or below but rarely out of the features of a landscape. The bucolic miniatures in illustrated copies of the homilies of JOHN OF EUBOEA and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS likewise subscribe to these formulae and lack the paradisiacal connotations that such imagery had in the CATACOMBS or on sarcophagi. In late Byz. monumental and miniature painting, mountains become more precipitous and vegetation even more unearthly. Carrying such tendencies to the extreme, in the Pantanassa at MISTRA the human presence is dwarfed by landscapes, just as in ritual and domestic settings it is overwhelmed by fantastic architecture.

LIT. H. Brandenburg, "Überlegungen zum Ursprung der frühchristlichen Bildkunst," 9 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 (Vatican 1978) 331–60. P. Angiolini Martinelli, "Realtà e fantasia negli sfondi paesistici ed architettonici delle argenterie paleobizantine del Museo dell'Ermitage di Leningrado," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 49–62. D. Stutzinger, ". . . anbiguis fruiter veri falsique figuris. Maritime Landschaften in der spätantiken Kunst," *JbAChr* 30 (1987) 98–117.
–A.C.

LAND SURVEY (γεωδαισία). In the late Roman period the measurement (*metresis*) of land was the basis for imperial tax assessment and for the determination of land ownership and yield capacity. Professional *geometrai*, chiefly from Egypt whence comes most of our preserved evidence, are abundantly attested in papyri and *ostraka* (e.g., *SB* I 5174.19 [dated 512] and *SPP* III 83.2). They sometimes worked at public expense (*demosios geometres*) and in tandem with the tax assessor (*gnoster: P.Cair. Pres.* 8.3–4 [dated 323]); customary payments by surveyors to the tax collector (*pagarches*) are also attested (*P.Ant.* II 96.4–5). Surveyors measured with the same type of rope (*schoinion*) as had been noticed by Herodotus (bk.2, ch.6), and with a square quadruple-plumb-bob device, an example of which survives in the London Science Museum (O.A.W. Dilke, *The Roman Land Surveyors* [Newton Abbot 1971] 49). They apparently worked less according to the theoretical treatises of the *agrimensores* than by rules of thumb for adding up measured fractions of an area to give a total area (U. Wilken, *Griechische Ostraka* [Munich 1899; rp. Amsterdam 1970] 1:774–80). Results survive in two papyrus CADASTERS from the 4th C. and one from the 6th C. According to Justinianic law (*Nov.Just.* 128.4), the measurements (*demosiai apographai*) determined the amount of tax liability, which was transferable with the land.

The Byz. did not continue to use the Roman system of precise measurement of land: even though Heron's treatise on geodesy was known in Byz., the work of John PEDIASIMOS shows how poorly Heron was understood. To measure the borders of an allotment, the Byz. used either a rope (*schoinion*) made of hemp or a *kalamos*, an instrument of reed or wood. Neither had a standard size: the *schoinion* could be of 10 or 12 ORGYIAI, while the *kalamos* varied in length from 6 to 14 imperial SPITHAMAI. The application of different measures depended on local traditions and, in theory, on the character of the land under survey (arable land, vineyard, etc.). Lefort calculates, on the basis of the survey of RADOLIBOS in 1103, that correct estimates of the area of allotments occurred in only 16 percent of the cases. Two principal methods were used by ANAGRAPHEIS. In the first system, called *en katatomais*, the land was divided into a series of smaller parcels, each of approximately regular form. The sides of each were calculated in *schoinia*, and the result was calculated by the formula $(a + c)(b + d)/8$ where a and c are upper and lower boundaries, called *kephale* (head) and *pous* (foot), respectively, and b and d side boundaries (*pleurai*). The individual results were then totaled, giving the area in modioi. Another method was *kata to hologyron*, in which the entire length of the boundary was measured, and 1/10 was subtracted from the total; the remainder was divided by 4, and the quotient

multiplied by itself. Lefort's observations show that only square parcels/allotments could be measured correctly.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 83–87. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 233–48. J. Lefort, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269–313. G. Litavrin, "Nalogovaja politika Vizantii v Bolgarii v 1018–1185 gg.," *VizVrem* 10 (1956) 101–03.
–A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

LANGUAGE. The later Roman Empire was a multilingual society. LATIN was both the vernacular and the official language in the West, though pockets of non-Latin speech survived in the Pyrenees and elsewhere. In the East the situation was more complex. The imperial administration and the army used Latin. Greek was the vernacular tongue in most regions and was, in general, the language of culture and civic administration. In Syria-Palestine and Mesopotamia, Syriac, Aramaic, and Arabic were widely spoken, and in Egypt, apart from Alexandria, Coptic (see COPTIC LANGUAGE AND LITERATURE) was spoken by most people. On the fringes of the empire other languages such as Armenian, Arabic, and Berber were spoken. Bilingualism was common. With the loss of most of the Western Empire to Germanic states in the 5th C., the role of Latin steadily diminished in the East, until by the early 7th C. Greek had replaced it as the imperial language. A generation later the Arab conquests removed most of the Syriac, Arabic, and Coptic speakers, and eventually the Latin speakers of North Africa, from Byz. control and left Greek as the dominant language in all domains of public and private life. Byz. society was never monoglot, however. In Constantinople and other cities Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Syriac, Slavonic, and Arabic and, in the later period, Italian, French, and other western tongues were heard. Armenia, annexed in the 10th–11th C., retained its own language (see LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK).

Byz. Greek, like other languages of high culture, functioned at different levels. The language spoken by all classes in informal situations, and by the uneducated majority in all situations, was, like other spoken languages, subject to slow but continuous change. Many of the patterns of Modern Greek phonetics and phonology, morphology, and syntax were already established by the late 6th C., and most of them by the 10th. On the other hand, all official, public, or written communication, including LITERATURE, was in an archaizing, imitative, and fossilized form of Greek, which owed its prestige to its classical and patristic models and was maintained by a highly conservative educational tradition. In principle literary Greek had two levels: one a version of the KOINE Greek of the Roman Empire, often used in technical writing, the other an imitation, successful to varying degrees, of either the language of Attic literature of the 5th/4th C. B.C. or of the ATTICISM of rhetoricians of the SECOND SOPHISTIC (the two models were not always clearly distinguished). A recent study (I. Ševčenko, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289–312) proposes a threefold classification of Byz. literary language. Ability to use archaizing Greek, esp. its atticizing variety, was a mark of both intellectual and social distinction. Clearly the uneducated only partly understood much of this Byz. literary Greek, often because of the content and style as well as the linguistic form. However, the communication gap must not be exaggerated. VERNACULAR and literary Greek were varieties of the same language, not different languages.

The principal changes in spoken Greek during late antiquity and the early Middle Ages may be divided among four main categories.

1. PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY: loss of many distinctions between vowel phonemes and of distinctions of vowel length; development of voiced and aspirate plosives into voiced and unvoiced fricatives; and supersession of tonal accent by stress accent. In addition traditional ORTHOGRAPHY, which ignored these changes, became historic rather than phonetic.
2. MORPHOLOGY: restructuring of consonant-stem noun paradigms as vowel-stem paradigms; restructuring of personal pronouns; fusion of middle and passive voices; loss of the optative mood and of the perfect and pluperfect tenses; replacement of the future tense by periphrastic constructions; some restructuring of personal endings of verbs; and loss of the dual number in nouns and verbs.
3. SYNTAX: replacement of the dependent infinitive by subordinate clauses; growth of parataxis as an alternative to subordination; construction of all prepositions with the accusative case; loss of the dative case; and development of a range of compound prepositions.
4. Vocabulary: development of new derivational

suffixes and obsolescence of many in earlier use; proliferation of new compound nouns, adjectives, and verbs, including types of compound infrequent or absent in earlier Greek; loss of many older vocabulary items; adoption of many loanwords, initially from Latin and later from Italian and French as well as occasional borrowings from Arabic, Slavic, etc.

The conservative purpose of Byz. language teaching by GRAMMATIKOS and rhetor emerges from treatises on orthography and prosody, from the extensive commentaries on the *Grammar* of DIONYSIOS THRAX, from the EPIMERISMS on Homer and on the Psalms, and from prescriptive LEXIKA of "Attic" words, as well as from the critical observations of Byz. writers. Photios in his *Bibliotheca* regularly censured writers who in his view were insufficiently "Attic." Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos criticized a work on court ceremony because the writer's knowledge of Greek was inadequate. Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON suppressed a Life of St. PARASKEVE, arguing that it was written "in vulgar language by some peasant." SYMEON METAPHRASTES organized the rewriting of many earlier saints' Lives in archaizing language for liturgical use. Nikephoros CHOUMNOS proclaimed imitation of ancient models—among which he included the works of the church fathers—as the only path to literary excellence. Writers who used a less than rigorously purist Greek often defended their choice on the ground that they were addressing uneducated readers, that their subject was not sufficiently elevated, that their work was for private use or that they themselves had not had a literary education. Examples are LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS in his Life of St. John Eleemon, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in his *De administrando imperio*, Theophanes CHRYSOBALANTES in his medical encyclopedia, Michael PSELLOS in his introductory treatises in 15-syllable verse, KEKAUMENOS in his *Strategikon*, PHILIP MONOTROPOS in his *Dioptra*, and John KANANOS in his narrative of the siege of Constantinople in 1422.

From the 13th C. educators increasingly emphasized the importance of archaizing and imitative Greek. New textbooks and commentaries on classical authors and new prescriptive *lexika* were composed. A new and critical interest was displayed in the linguistic and literary heritage of ancient Greece. At the same time, however, some earlier literary texts, such as the *Mirror of Princes* of AGAPETOS and the Histories of Anna KOMNENE and Niketas CHONIATES were paraphrased in a level of language closer to the spoken Greek of the period. More significantly, for the first time a body of literature, mostly anonymous, appeared in a language which eschewed ARCHAISM and reflected, though neither faithfully nor systematically, the speech of the urban society of the empire. It is mostly literature of entertainment—ROMANCES, pseudohistory, animal allegories, ANIMAL EPICS, popular moralizing and devotional works—and is almost exclusively in 15-syllable POLITICAL VERSE, for which no classical model existed. All serious literature and most prose was the preserve of the archaizing literary tongue. A reading—or listening—public that no longer valued archaism must have existed, however. These two apparently contradictory tendencies, purism and the use of the vernacular, were part of the reaction of Byz. intellectuals and Byz. society to the dismemberment, impoverishment, and humiliation of the empire after the Fourth Crusade. They represent a new emphasis on Hellenic identity and culture in the face of the growing power of Westerners and Turks (see HELLENISM).

Within the general framework of Byz. Greek diglossia, professional and other groups had their own special languages, sometimes marked by extensive lexical borrowing from other languages (see BORROWING, LINGUISTIC). Thus, long after serious knowledge of Latin had become rare, lawyers used many fossilized words and phrases of legal Latin. Sailors in the late Byz. period evidently took over many Italian maritime terms and so laid the foundation of the post-Byz. lingua franca. Medical writers of the 14th–15th C. often interlarded their texts with Arabic and Persian loan words, thus reflecting the growing prestige of Muslim medicine. Local DIALECTS existed, but little is known about them in the Byz. period.

In spite of the obsession with linguistic purism shown by teachers and writers from the 9th C. onward, inscriptions in churches and other public places and on the personal seals of lay and ecclesiastical officials, as well as both official and private documents, often display gross errors of orthography and grammar. Atticism was the concern of men of letters. Men of power could dispense with it.

LIT. R. Browning, *Medieval and Modern Greek*[2] (New York–Cambridge 1983). P.S. Costas, *An Outline of the History of the Greek Language, with Particular Emphasis on the Koine and*

the Subsequent Stages (Chicago 1936). Zilliacus, *Weltsprach.* Dagron, "Langue." C. Fabricius, "Der sprachliche Klassizismus der griechischen Kirchenväter," *JbAChr* 10 (1967) 187–99. H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. Browning, "Language." E. Kriaras, "Diglossie des derniers siècles de Byzance," 13 *CEB* (Oxford 1967) 283–99. H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. G. Matino, *Lingua e pubblico nel tardo antico: Ricerche sul greco letterario dei secoli IV–VI* (Naples 1986). –R.B.

LANGUAGES, NON-GREEK, were important in the polyethnic late Roman Empire. LATIN was not only spoken throughout the western Mediterranean but remained the language of bureaucracy in Constantinople until the 6th C. and of the army even later. Syriac, Coptic, Armenian, and Georgian had their areas of indigenous population, and bilingualism remained a common phenomenon. In the 7th C., when the Syriac- and Coptic-speaking provinces were lost to the Arabs, and most Latin-speaking regions in the West passed from Byz. control, the use of Latin in administration was abandoned. At the same time Slavic settlers occupied most of the northern Balkans and much of mainland Greece. The Slavs in Greece were largely hellenized by the 10th C., but those further north retained their linguistic separateness even after these regions were reincorporated in the empire. Armenian immigration into Asia Minor and Constantinople became massive after the Arab conquest of Armenia in the mid-7th C. and continued for centuries. Yet the idea of the superiority of the Greek language remained dominant, and non-Greek languages were often treated as barbaric. Unlike western Europe, however, Byz. never embraced the concept of an exclusive language.

Literature in non-Greek languages was written in Byz. territory, and the Byz. church permitted the use of Slavonic, Georgian, Syriac, and other tongues in the liturgy. Certain ethnic and religious groups (Jews, Italians, and others) lived dispersed among the Greek populace but retained their languages within their communities. Knowledge of foreign languages by educated Greek speakers was more common in frontier zones, such as Cherson, Thessalonike, and Antioch, than in Constantinople; despite the boasting of John TZETZES, his knowledge of Latin, Persian (Turkish), Scythian (perhaps Cuman), Alan, Arabic, Slavic, and Hebrew was very poor. Some revival of the knowledge of foreign languages is evident from the 11th C. Latin was studied in law schools and by diplomats. Several scholars studied and translated Arabic, Syriac, and Persian, and professional INTERPRETERS participated in embassies and in the receptions of foreign potentates at the court of Constantinople. (See also TRANSLATION: Other Languages into Greek.)

LIT. P. Charanis, *Studies in the Demography of the Byz. Empire* (London 1972). Mango, *Byzantium* 13–31. J. Koder, *Der Lebensraum der Byzantiner* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1984) 135–50. Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:227–640. J. Kramer, *Glossaria bilinguia in papyris et membranis reperta* (Bonn 1983). –R.B., A.K.

LANX. See PLATES, DISPLAY.

LAODIKEIA (Λαοδίκεια), name of two cities in the eastern Mediterranean region, one in Anatolia, the other on the coast of Syria.

LAODIKEIA IN PHRYGIA, city at a strategic road junction near modern Denizli in Turkey, made capital of PHRYGIA Pacatiana in the early 4th C. Laodikeia was a major center of textile production and seat of a council in 380. Inscriptions and a sparse archaeological record suggest continuity through the late 6th C. Laodikeia, a city of the THRAKESION theme, was taken by the Seljuks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. It became an important frontier post after its recapture by the Byz. in 1096 and was the goal of frequent, sometimes successful, Turkish attacks. John II Komnenos retook it in 1119 and built new walls; at the time of the Second Crusade in 1148 it was isolated in territory controlled by the Turks and administered by a *doux.* When Manuel I recaptured it in 1160, the city was not densely populated or well fortified, but spread out in villages (Nik.Chon. 124.13–15). The Third Crusade of 1190 found Laodikeia surrounded by the Turks; it was the last Byz. outpost on the road east or south. Laodikeia was apparently the capital of the ephemeral theme of Meander, mentioned in 1198 and 1203. In 1206 it was taken by Manuel MAUROZOMES, ally of the Seljuk sultan, and remained under Turkish control until 1256, when it was surrendered to Byz., which held it only a few years. Laodikeia was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Phrygia "Kapatiane" (Byz. form of Pacatiana).

LIT. Ramsay, *Cities* 1:15–25. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 484. –C.F.

LAODIKEIA IN SYRIA (Ar. al-Lādhiqīyah [or Lattakia]), seaport in northern Syria; Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.8) lists Laodikeia, Apameia, and Seleukeia as the most prosperous cities in Syria. It was famous for its linen industry, book production, and the skill of its charioteers. Justinian I separated Laodikeia from Syria I and made it the capital of the province of THEODORIAS. Bishops of Laodikeia are known from the 3rd C. onward; by the 5th C. it was an autocephalous metropolis, but even after Justinianic reform it remained under the ecclesiastical administration of Antioch. Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.9.31) mentions the city's Church of John the Baptist, rebuilt under Justinian.

Laodikeia was taken ca.640 (?) by a lieutenant of Abū ʿUbayda al-Jarrah, sent from Emesa (Donner, *Conquests* 154). The inhabitants had to pay a fixed tax and retained their church. In 718/19 a Byz. fleet attacked Laodikeia and burned it. Nikephoros II Phokas seized the city in 968. Basil II appointed a certain "Karamaruk" governor of Laodikeia in 980, but he was captured by the Muslims and beheaded in Cairo. Michael Bourtzes suppressed a Muslim revolt in the city. At the end of the 11th C. the Seljuks occupied Laodikeia, but in 1098 it fell to RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, who delivered it to Alexios I Komnenos (Ljubarskij, *VizVrem* 23 [1963] 49f). It changed hands several times thereafter; in the treaty of DEVOL (1108) TANCRED handed over Laodikeia to Byz. Throughout the 12th C. the city was the object of contention between Crusaders and Muslims. From 1197 to 1275 it remained in the hands of the Franks and then fell under Egyptian rule.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 12 (1925) 715–18. N. Elisséeff, *EI*² 5:589–93. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:381–84. G. Saadé, "Exploration archéologique de Lattaquié," *AnnArchSyr* 26 (1976) 9–36. J. Sauvaget, "Le plan antique de Laodicée-sur-Mer," in *Mémorial J. Sauvaget*, vol. 1 (Damascus 1954) 101–45. –M.M.M.

LAPARA (Λάπαρα), a place in Cappadocia (identified [in *TIB* 2:224] as LYKANDOS). According to Skylitzes (Skyl. 319.89), it took its name from the Greek word "fertile" (*liparos*). Lapara was the site of a battle between the armies of BASIL II and the rebel Bardas SKLEROS late in 976. When Skleros revolted, the *strategos* Sachakios BRACHAMIOS took his side, headed toward Lapara, and seized it in three days. (N. Adontz improperly identified this *strategos* with a Sachakios who was an official under John I [*Études* 149f].) The *stratopedarches* Peter, eunuch and former slave of a Phokas (cf. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:172f), besieged Lapara, and Skleros also moved his troops there. The latter employed a ruse to win victory: he pretended to arrange a meal for his army, so that Phokas also ordered his men to be fed. Unexpectedly Skleros attacked, routed the imperial army (Michael BOURTZES was the first to retreat), and took the adversary's camp. Peter fell in the battle. –A.K.

LAPITHES, GEORGE, Cypriot writer and opponent of Gregory PALAMAS; fl. ca.1340–49. Lapithes (Λαπίθης), whose name was said to derive from the river Lapithos, was a wealthy property owner who used some of his personal fortune to ransom Christian prisoners from the Turks. He knew Latin and, seeking to refute Catholic doctrine, engaged in theological debate at the court of Hugues IV de Lusignan (Greg. 3:27–38). He was a versatile writer, with interests in astronomy, theology, philosophy, and ethics. Among his few works that have survived is a lengthy poem in political verse on man's duty toward the state, society, and his family.

Although geographically separated from the protagonists in the Palamite controversy, Lapithes used the power of his pen to support Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and other anti-Palamites. He also corresponded with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA, to whom he addressed a series of philosophical questions or *aporiai* (R.E. Sinkewicz, *MedSt* 43 [1981] 151–217).

ED. Poem—PG 149:1009–46.

LIT. E. Tsolakes, "Ho Georgios Lapithes kai he hesychastike erida," *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 84–96. A. Hero, *Letters of Gregory Akindynos* (Washington, D.C., 1983) 376–87, 412–15. *PLP*, no.14479. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119, 165. Beck, *Kirche* 717, 722. –A.M.T.

LARGESS (λαργιτίων from Lat. *largitio*), the ceremonial distribution of gifts, esp. by the emperor. The term *largitio* designated every kind of generosity. A law of Constantine I of 321 (*Cod.Just.* V 16.24) mentions an object received by a wife due to the *largitio* of her husband. The term was expanded to imperial PHILANTHROPY in general, and a special department of largess was created under the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. This department dealt with the distribution of coins

among the populace, and special coins with the legend *liberalitas Augusti* (on a coin of Constantius II and one of Magnentius the legend reads *largitio*) were minted. On the occasion of the emperor's succession to the throne, birthday, or TRIUMPH, the emperor or his officials distributed coins (the ceremony of *sparsio*) to the public; sometimes largess was tossed from a chariot to people in the streets or in the Hippodrome. Special silver LARGITIO DISHES might also be handed out by the emperor on special occasions; they are attested from the 4th to 7th C. At the new year, consuls distributed SYNETHEIAI of ivory DIPTYCHS and silver vessels containing gold solidi. Gradually the church assumed the function of care for the needy, although some traces of state largess remained: thus, in the 11th C. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.30.23–26) proclaims that the bronze *phalara* on an eparch's horse reflect the generosity of the man who hands out bronze and gold among the poor. Imperial largess was confined primarily to the palace and its officials, however; the patriarch, clergy, senate, and army were granted presents at coronations and other feasts.

Representation in Art. Depictions of ceremonies of *largitio* and *sparsio* have a long tradition in Roman imperial art and continued to be used from the 4th to 6th C. On the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome, in one of the contemporary frieze scenes facing the Forum Romanum, the emperor is shown handing out coins to senators assembled around him. The people receive their allotment from government officials. There are also two gold solidi, one of Constantius II (ca.355) and the other of Valentinian I (364), that represent the *sparsio*: the emperor riding in a chariot scatters coins that are shown falling from his right hand. Consular distribution of largess to the populace is suggested by the sacks of gold coins shown on 5th-C. diptychs; on 6th-C. examples slaves pour such sacks into the arena where the consular games took place. Later Byz. art does not depict scenes of public largess but represents the emperors' gifts to God, that is, the church. On two mosaics in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, for example, the emperors Constantine IX Monomachos and John II Komnenos appear holding a money bag and offering it to Christ and the Virgin, respectively (for ill., see JOHN II KOMNENOS).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 835f. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 228–30. R. Brilliant, *Gesture and Rank in Roman Art* (New Haven 1963) 170–73. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 66–70. –A.K., I.K., A.C.

LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER, type of object manufactured by or for the state for distribution as LARGESS by the emperor on certain state occasions. By law, at imperial accessions, from at least 360 until 527, each soldier received five SOLIDI and one pound of silver, the latter being in the form of INGOTS or dishes, both of which could bear imperial SILVER STAMPS. *Largitio* dishes were decorated with the name and/or image of the emperor whose accession, anniversary, or victory was being celebrated. Surviving examples include several series of up to six identical plates or bowls made for Licinius in five different cities (see also MUNICH TREASURE) as well as various dishes issued by Constantius II, Valentinian I, and Theodosios I. Among the two bearing the image of this last emperor is the "Missorium" (dated 388), now in Madrid, which is thought to have been made in Thessalonike. While no imperial *largitio* dishes survive from the 5th–6th C., their distribution—like that of MEDALLIONS—continued, as

LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER. *Missorium* of Theodosios I (388); silver. Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid. Theodosios is shown handing a codicil to an official. To the emperor's right sits his son Valentinian II, to his left his son Arkadios.



is witnessed by CORIPPUS (ed. Av. Cameron, 4.105–12, 142–47, 186–90) in connection with Justin II's consulship of 566. Silver plates celebrating the consulships of Flavius Eusebius (347 or 359) and Ardabur Aspar (434) (*PLRE* 1:308; 2:135; *DACL* 4.1, fig.3784 [cols. 1189–90]) have also been found. The sizes and, to a certain extent, weights of the DAVID PLATES correspond to those of *largitio* dishes, and they may have been distributed by Herakleios ca.630 to celebrate his victory over the Persians in 628.

LIT. Baratte, "Ateliers." Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 20–25, 104–12. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22. –M.M.M.

LARISSA (Λάρισσα), administrative and ecclesiastical center of THESSALY, located on the right bank of the Peneios River, at the junction of major Thessalian routes. The city suffered from an attack by the Ostrogoths at the end of the 5th C. but was rebuilt under Justinian I. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.41, ed. Pertusi, p.88) lists Larissa as one of 17 *poleis* in the *eparchia* of Thessaly; in the 8th–9th C. it functioned as the metropolis of Hellas (*Notitiae CP* 2.40). In the 10th C. it fell victim to Bulgarian attacks; in 986 Samuel captured Larissa and carried away to Prespa the relics of St. Achilleios (allegedly the first bishop of Larissa). An inscription of 1006/7 mentions the *patrikios* Gregory, *strategos* of Macedonia and Larissa; G. Litavrin (in Kek. 415) thinks that Gregory administered Hellas and Macedonia, whereas Oikonomides (*Listes* 358) relates this evidence to another Larissa, a *tourma* of SEBASTEIA in Cappadocia. Larissa was involved in the rebellion of 1066; in 1082/3 Bohemund besieged Larissa but failed. After 1204 Boniface of Montferrat gave the city to the Lombards; a rebellion there in 1209 was quelled by Emp. Henry of Constantinople. After 1204 Larissa was seat of a Latin archbishop, but by 1222 a Greek, Kalospites by name, was elected Orthodox bishop; Patr. Manuel I Sarantenos, residing in Nicaea, did not acknowledge the election by the local clergy. In the 13th C. Larissa belonged to the despotate of Epiros, but by 1393 it had fallen to the Turks.

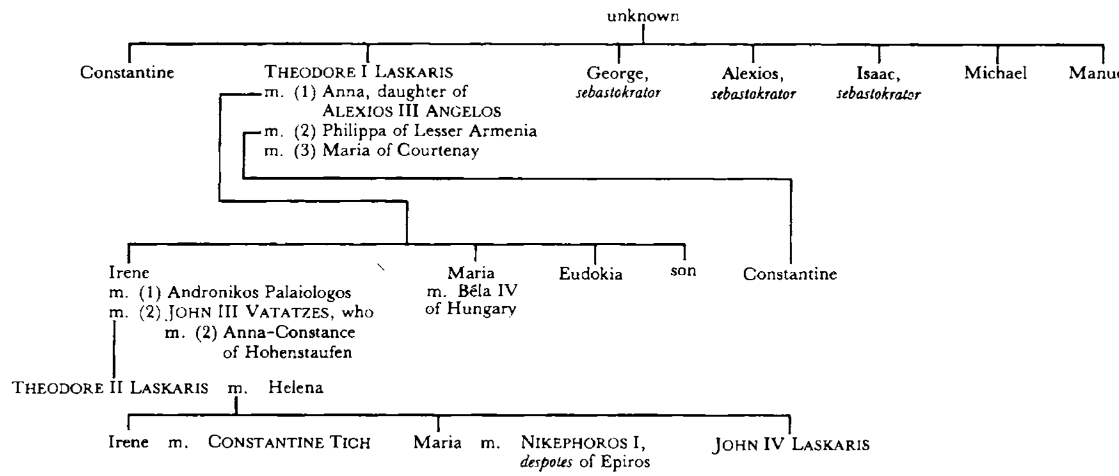
Larissa on the Peneios should be distinguished from Larissa Kremaste in Phthiotis, near the sea, which became an episcopal see named Gardikion. A Byz. castle has survived on the ancient acropolis; nearby is Frankekklesia, with remains of a Latin church of the 13th C. (F. Stählin, *RE* 12 [1925] 840–45). (For Larissa in Syria, see SHAYZAR.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:198f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 191–95. –A.K.

LASKARIS (Λάσκαρις, fem. Λασκαρίνα), a family name known from the mid-11th C.; also called Tzamantouros (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:91.21). The most probable etymology of Laskaris is from a Persian word meaning "warrior" (F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch* [Marburg 1895; rp. Hildesheim 1963] 183), but the first known members of the Laskaris family, mentioned in the will of Eustathios BOILAS (1059), were simple peasants. In 1180 Michael Laskaris was one of the most influential inhabitants of Thessalonike (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 215, no.8B.2); another Michael Laskaris, perhaps his descendant, conspired in 1246 in Thessalonike against DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS (Akrop. 1:79.26). The connection of these individuals, of both rural and urban background, with THEODORE I LASKARIS is unclear. The Laskarid dynasty reigned from 1208 to 1258 over the empire of Nicaea, but in fact JOHN III VATATZES was Theodore I's son-in-law, not a direct heir. Naturally, Theodore I's brothers played an important role: Constantine, who in 1204 was considered a candidate for the throne, probably perished in 1211; his brothers George, Alexios, and Isaac were granted the title of *sebastokrator* (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 171–74). Other brothers, Michael and Manuel, exiled by John III, regained their influence at the court of Theodore II; later the *protosebastos* Manuel was imprisoned by Michael VIII Palaiologos, but Michael Laskaris retained the new emperor's favor and even received the nominal title of *megas doux* (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:548). In 1234 or 1249 a certain Constantine Laskaris was *doux* of Thrakesion (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 145).

In the 14th–15th C. their role diminished, although Manuel was *domestikos* of the Western *scholae* ca.1320 and Alexios *megas hetaireiarches* in 1369/70; more frequently members of the Laskaris family appear as local governors, imperial courtiers, and great landowners. Neither their role in ecclesiastical administration nor their cultural contribution was significant: John Pegonites Laskaris was a composer (see LASKARIS, JOHN);

GENEALOGY OF THE LASKARIS DYNASTY OF NICAEA



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 365.

the writers John Ryndakenos Laskaris and Constantine Laskaris were active in Italy in the second half of the 15th C. The funerary portrait of a late member of the family, Manuel Laskaris Chatzikis, is found in an arcosolium in the narthex of the Pantanassa at Mistra, dated by inscription to 1445. He is shown full-length, wearing a skiadion (G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* [Paris 1910] pl.152.4; idem, *BCH* 23 [1899] 138–40, no.XXXV). (See genealogical table; see also Byzantium, History of: Empire of Nicaea.)

lit. *PLP*, nos. 14487–556. E. Trapp, "Downfall and Survival of the Laskaris Family," *Macedonian Studies* 1.2 (New Delhi 1983) 45–49. –A.K., A.C.

LASKARIS, JOHN, composer and musical theorist; fl. Crete first half 15th C. Venetian archives yield some biographical details about Laskaris: he was born possibly in Constantinople and trained there as a singer, but moved to Crete (probably between 1410 and 1420), where he maintained a school and taught singing to young boys. Laskaris also wrote a short theoretical treatise entitled *The Interpretation and Parallage of the Art of Music*, which discusses the Byz. modal system. Although he was not a prolific composer, his works were copied in MSS down to the 19th C.

lit. M. Velimirović, "Two Composers of Byzantine Music: John Vatatzes and John Laskaris," in *Aspects of Medieval and Renaissance Music: A Birthday Offering to Gustave Reese*, ed. J. LaRue (New York 1966) 818–31. C.J. Bentas, "The Treatise on Music by John Laskaris," *SEC* 2 (1971) 21–27. *PLP*, no.14535. –D.E.C.

LAST JUDGMENT (κρίσις), the main event of the Second Parousia or Second Coming of Christ. Although Byz. theology emphasized the theosis (deification) of redeemed man rather than reward for ethical behavior, it elaborated—in polemics against Stoicism and Gnosticism and their concept of self-salvation—the idea of cosmic judgment at the end of time. This idea, however, created problems of correlation with individual judgment after death, esp. from the 7th C. onward: thus, Andrew of Crete (PG 97:1289C) states that it is beyond our capacity to investigate the status of the soul after its separation from the body.

The Last Judgment presupposes the resurrection of all men in their body and their reward in accordance with their sins or virtues: those who have followed the divine way are united to God in their adopted sonship and will dwell in Paradise, whereas sinners are doomed to Hell. Some Greek authors (Romanos the Melode, Gregory

the hagiographer of Basil the Younger) depicted the second *parousia* as a *dies irae*, emphasizing the punishment and the suffering of sinners, whereas others expressed the expectation that God's mercy would forgive at least some of our sins: thus Anastasios of Sinai (PG 89:1112–16) believed that a sincere and tearful repentance on the deathbed could redeem even a robber. Gregory of Nazianzos stressed that a man was condemned not by an external authority but by his own sins (PG 35:944D–945A). Christ will be the judge whose terrifying visage will urge all to tell the truth; apostles will assist him; the judgment is to take place in the valley of Josaphat, between the Temple and the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. Manifold portents will precede the judgment and when the dead are resurrected the angelic trumpets will summon them to the tribunal. Based on the heavenly ledgers, the deeds of each person will be evaluated, and souls will be weighed on the balance scales. Then the sheep will be separated from the goats, and the righteous will enjoy eternal bliss while sinners are condemned to eternal suffering. The image of the Last Judgment is evidently derived from real judiciary proceedings; its resemblance to public trials was adduced, for example, by John Chrysostom (PG 58:554.53).

In patristic and Byz. literature the Last Judgment is sometimes represented as preceded by the psychomachia, the struggle between the demons and angels for the soul of the deceased. According to Cyril of Alexandria (PG 77:1073C–1076A), the soul passes five *teloneia* (tollhouses) and gives account for its sins to the *phorologoi* (taxcollectors), that is, demons; at the same time, angels are supplicating for the man's exemption from trial and condemnation (pseudo-Athanasios, PG 27:665C). Accordingly, Gregory of Nyssa buried his parents next to the tombs of the Forty Martyrs, hoping that these saints would intervene with God on their behalf on the day of resurrection (PG 46:784B).

The artistic representation of the Second Coming and the Last Judgment was considered instrumental for conversion, since it prompted in viewers a fear of eternal damnation (*TheophCont* 164.8–16). A variety of routes and dates have been proposed for the development of this iconography in art. Its evolution was essentially complete by the 11th C., when it appears in the Paris Frieze Gospel (B.N. gr. 74, fol. 51v) as well as in mosaic and fresco decoration (Panagia ton Chalkeon, Thessalonike).

lit. J. Rivière, *DTC* 8 (1925) 1765–1804. P. Adnès, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 1577–80. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 28–103. D. Stiernon, "La vision d'Isaie de Nicomédie," *REB* 35 (1977) 30–36. B. Guerguiev, "Le Jugement dernier et le Triode du Carême," *Cahiers balkaniques* 6 (1984) 281–88. –G.P., A.C.

LAST SUPPER. See Lord's Supper.

LÁSZLÓ I, also known as Ladislas (Βλαδίσλαβος in Kinn. 9.24), king of Hungary (from 1077); Catholic saint; born Poland 1046/7, died Nitra 29 July 1095; feastday 27 June. Having acquired military laurels as a duke under his brother King Géza I, László was elected king and soon thereafter had to deal with the insurrection of his young cousin, Salamon. The latter found support first in Germany and then with the Cumans; defeated and forced to resign, Salamon participated in a Pecheneg expedition against Byz. in the spring of 1087. László fought successfully against the Cumans and acquired a popular image that was, in many aspects, influenced by that of Byz. military saints. His annexation of old Croatia (down to the Adriatic Coast) in 1089, after the death of the Croatian king, brought László into contact with Byz. Dalmatia was temporarily rescued from Hungarian expansion because, in 1091, Alexios I urged the Cumans to invade Hungary, so that László had to return from the south. In that same year an attack of the Norman fleet, encouraged by Alexios I and under the command of Gottfried of Melf, occupied Cetina and Krk in Dalmatia. Synods held under László strengthened Roman observances in the Hungarian church. Kinnamos mistakenly speaks of Álmos and István II as László's sons—Álmos was the brother and István the son of Kálmán (Coloman), László's nephew and successor. Kinnamos also relates that László's daughter Piroska (Irene) married John II and praises her virtue. She was regarded as the founder of the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople.

lit. T. von Bogyay, J. Bak, G. Silagi, *Die heiligen Könige* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1976) 122–65. Gy. Moravcsik, *Szent László leánya és a Bizánci Pantorkrator-monostor* (Budapest 1923). I. Kapitánffy, "König Ladislaus und Byzanz," in *Homonoia* (Budapest 1979) 73–96. –J.B., A.K.

LATERAN SYNOD, convened by Pope MARTIN I in Rome's Lateran Basilica in October 649 to denounce MONOTHELETISM. The synod's Latin acts bear the signatures of 106 bishops who condemned the EKTHESIS and the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II. Riedinger has shown, however, that the Latin acts were translated from the Greek original. This suggests the acts were essentially a fraud prepared in Rome, probably in the circle of the Greek-speaking pope Theodore I (642–49) and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR; the Latin acts were presumably presented to the synod for ratification by Theodore's successor Martin I as an attack on the patriarch of Constantinople and, indirectly, CONSTANS II.

ED. R. Riedinger, *ACO*^{2} 1.
LIT. R. Riedinger, "Die Lateranakten von 649—ein Werk der Byzantiner um Maximos Homologetes," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 517–34. –M.McC.

LATERCULUS. See POLEMIUS SILVIUS.

LATIN was in late antiquity the language of the army, law, and central administration throughout the Roman Empire as well as the vernacular in the western provinces and in the Balkans northwest of a line running from the Adriatic near Dyrrachion to the Danube delta. The foundation of Constantinople as the new capital brought many Latin speakers to the East and made the study of Latin for a time an attractive alternative to a Greek literary education and a path to an official career. THEODOSIOS II established public professorships of Latin in Constantinople. Refugees from Ostrogothic Italy and Vandal Africa strengthened the Latin element in Constantinople in the late 5th C. The grammarian and poet PRISCIAN, the historian MARCELLINUS COMES, and the poet CORIPPUS all belong to this Constantinopolitan Latinity.

As the Western world passed out of Byz. control, however, knowledge of Latin became less relevant and rarer in the East. Though the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and DIGEST were published in Latin, most of Justinian's NOVELS are in Greek, and Greek translations of the *Codex* and *Digesta* were made for teaching purposes in his lifetime. Herakleios in the early 7th C. abandoned Latin for Greek in the imperial titulature. Lawyers preserved some knowledge of Latin, often superficial, from the 8th to 11th C., and Constantine IX's novel establishing a law school in Constantinople prescribes the teaching of Latin. From the 11th C. onward, closer, if sometimes hostile, contact with the West led to increasing knowledge of Latin in leading Byz. circles; Romanos III spoke Latin and PSELLOS claimed some knowledge of it. Still, cultural arrogance usually marked Byz. attitudes to the West and its language.

The Fourth Crusade and the division of the empire between Western powers strengthened Greek antipathy to Western culture. A few intellectuals and statesmen, however, began to see that Byz. had something to learn from the West. Maximos PLANOUDES translated works of Cicero, Ovid, Augustine, and Boethius, and Demetrios and Prochoros KYDONES in the later 14th C. translated the two summae of Thomas AQUINAS. Latin inscriptions occur widely in illuminated MSS of the 13th C., although the best known of these have been linked to a LECTIONARY of 1298 rather than to the period of the Latin conquest of Constantinople as previously supposed. Latin incipits of the Gospels appear on codices held by Evangelists depicted in a number of 13th-C. books (Chatzinicolaou-Paschou, *CBMG* 2, no.5). Bilingual Gospel books and a richly illustrated psalter (C. Havice, *Jahrbuch der Berliner Museen* 26 [1984] 79–142) are also preserved. By the 15th C. some knowledge of Latin was common in Constantinople and widespread in regions under Western rule such as Crete, Cyprus, Chios, Attica, and the Ionian islands, but religious dissension and bitter historical memories precluded deeper understanding except among a limited group of Byz. intellectuals.

LIT. Zilliacus, *Weltsprach.* Dagron, "Langue." H. and R. Kahane, *RB* 1:345–640. Idem, "Decline and Survival of Western Prestige Languages," *Language* 55 (1979) 183–98. H. Mihăescu, *La langue latine dans le sud-est de l'Europe* (Bucharest 1978). B. Baldwin, "Latin in Byzantium," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* (Prague 1985) 237–41. –R.B., A.C.

LATIN CHURCH IN CONSTANTINOPLE. See DOMINICANS; FRANCISCANS; LATIN EMPIRE; THOMAS MOROSINI.

LATIN EMPIRE, name conventionally applied to the political successor of the Byz. state founded at Constantinople on 13 Apr. 1204 by the LATINS

of the Fourth Crusade; it lasted until 25 July 1261. Contemporaries called it ROMANIA or Imperium Constantinopolitanum. The Latin Empire claimed sovereignty over all former Byz. territory. While it sought to control its vassal states established in Greece (the kingdom of THESSALONIKE, the principality of ACHAIA, the duchy of ATHENS), it rarely exercised authority outside of Bithynia and eastern Thrace.

After the capture of Constantinople, a committee of 12 electors (six Venetian, six others) chose as emperor BALDWIN OF FLANDERS; when he vanished into a Bulgarian prison (1205), his brother HENRY OF HAINAULT became regent, then (once Baldwin's death was known) emperor. The most capable of the Latin rulers, Henry secured the allegiance of Thessalonike, Athens, and Achaia and conciliated his Greek subjects. Upon his death (1216), the barons selected PETER OF COURTENAY, husband of Henry's sister YOLANDE, but Peter, captured (1217) by Theodore Komnenos Doukas, perished in an Epirote prison. Yolande ruled until her death in 1219. She was eventually succeeded by her son ROBERT OF COURTENAY (1221–28). His successor was his brother BALDWIN II; because Baldwin was too young to rule, JOHN OF BRIENNE became emperor (1231–37). As emperor, Baldwin II (1240–61) had to spend much of his time in western Europe in quest of assistance. (See table for a list of rulers of the Latin Empire.)

The Latin Empire retained many Byz. institutions. Wearing purple boots, the emperor was crowned in Hagia Sophia according to a modified Byz. ritual. He bestowed Latin versions of Byz. titles, such as *cesar, sevastocrator,* and *protovestiarius,* along with Western dignities such as seneschal and constable (B. Hendrickx, *Byzantina* 9 [1977] 187–217). In reality, the Latin Empire was a feudal state. Three documents formed a "constitution," which each new emperor was required to uphold: a treaty between the Venetian and non-Venetian Crusaders (Mar. 1204) that provided for election of a Latin emperor and division of the spoils; the PARTITIO ROMANIAE (Sept./Oct. 1204); and a treaty (Oct. 1205) that regulated the Venetians' relations to the emperor. A council of Venetian and other barons had an effective veto over the emperor's actions.

To succeed, the Latin Empire needed to reconcile the Greek population to its rule. Constantinople and the smaller towns were for the most part inhabited by Greeks, who initially welcomed the Crusaders. A few Byz. nobles joined the Latins: briefly, MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, before leaving to found his state in Epiros; permanently, Theodore BRANAS, influenced by his relationship with AGNES OF FRANCE. Emp. Henry won the affection of the Greeks. The fairness of his decisions was celebrated. He appointed Branas ruler of Didymoteichon and Adrianople and tolerated Orthodoxy. His Greek subjects even fought for him against Byz. armies. Later emperors ignored the Greeks; Baldwin II vigorously repudiated the charge of having any Greek members in his council. The emperors relied on their Western vassals—chiefly French, who owed military service for their holdings—and on mercenaries.

Within the Latin Empire, VENICE occupied a special position. Although entitled to extensive territories, Venice concentrated its rule on the islands and principal ports. A substantial portion of Constantinople belonged to Venice, which regained all the rights and exemptions it had enjoyed under Byz. Thus, the Venetians paid no commercial taxes, although those who held fiefs were obligated to the usual feudal duties. The Venetians were governed in Constantinople by a podestà and council who, with the leading barons, formed the emperor's council. The Venetians' power to veto imperial actions was reinforced by their near-monopoly of commerce and their control of the only fleet that could provide naval support for the Latin emperors. The podestà was closely controlled by the government of Venice.

Under the preconquest agreement of Mar. 1204, whichever party, Venetian or non-Venetian, did not gain the office of emperor was entitled to choose the patriarch of Constantinople. Thus, in 1204 the Venetians designated their own clerics to form a cathedral chapter for Hagia Sophia; the clerics then elected THOMAS MOROSINI as patriarch. Pope INNOCENT III presently approved this election and granted papal recognition (previously denied) to Constantinople as a patriarchate. He and his successors sought to loosen Venetian control over the church in the Latin Empire, and until 1261 most later patriarchs were designated by the pope. Although the higher clergy was Latin, the parish priests largely remained Greek. Many refused to recognize the Latin patriarch but turned to the Orthodox patriarch of Constantinople re-established at Nicaea. The FRANCISCANS and Do-

MINICANS won some converts and sponsored some church decoration, notably a cycle of the life of St. Francis at KALENDERHANE CAMII.

In its early decades, the principal foes of the Latin Empire were to its west. When the Bulgarian KALOJAN offered alliance to the victorious Crusaders, the Latins arrogantly rejected him. Kalojan defeated and captured Baldwin I, then killed Boniface of Montferrat in battle. Kalojan's death allowed Emp. Henry to maneuver among the rival Bulgarian claimants BORIL, Slav, and Strez; Henry married his illegitimate daughter to Slav and ca.1213 or 1214 himself married a daughter of Boril. The Greek rulers of Epiros were usually rivals, sometimes allies, of the Latin Empire. In 1224 Theodore Komnenos Doukas took Thessalonike, only to fall victim to the revived Bulgaria of JOHN ASEN II. The latter appropriated most of the Latin Empire's European territories and boasted in an inscription at Tŭrnovo that the empire survived only by his permission.

Initially, the Crusaders despised the Byz. state re-created at Nicaea; they repeatedly defeated Theodore I Laskaris. But after John Asen's death (1241), John III Vatatzes acquired the territory the Bulgarians had taken from the Latin Empire; his domains enveloped the Latins to the east and west. Only transfusions of funds from western Europe, papal support, and the Venetian fleet preserved Constantinople. Unable to hire sufficient knights, the Latin Empire became so debilitated that even Pope INNOCENT IV was prepared to accept a Byz. recovery of Constantinople if Vatatzes would acknowledge papal supremacy. When in July 1261 the Venetian fleet departed for an expedition in the Black Sea, the army of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS was admitted to Constantinople by the citizens. Constantinople again became the Byz. capital, and Baldwin II fled to the West, where the empty title of Latin Emperor lingered through most of the 14th C.

LIT. A. Carile, *Per una storia dell' Impero latino di Costantinopoli*² (Bologna 1978). J. Longnon, *L'empire latin de Constantinople et la principauté de Morée* (Paris 1949). Gerland, *Geschichte*, vol. 1. B. Hendrickx, "Les institutions de l'empire latin de Constantinople (1204–1261)," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 85–154. Idem, "The Main Problems of the History of the Latin Empire of Constantinople (1204–1261)," *RBPH* 52 (1974) 787–99. Idem, "Régestes des empereurs latins de Constantinople (1204–1261/1272)," *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 7–221. R.L. Wolff, *Studies in the Latin Empire of Constantinople* (London 1976).
–C.M.B., A.C.

Rulers of the Latin Empire

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
BALDWIN OF FLANDERS	1204–1205
HENRY OF HAINAULT	1206–1216
PETER OF COURTENAY	1217 (–1219?)
YOLANDE	1217–1219
ROBERT OF COURTENAY	1221–1228
JOHN OF BRIENNE	1231–1237
BALDWIN II	1240–1261

LATIN PATRIARCHATE OF JERUSALEM, established by the Crusaders in 1099 because the Orthodox patriarch Symeon II had fled. Westerners regarded the patriarch as the primate of the kingdom, subject to the pope's supervision, rather than as an independent patriarch in the Eastern tradition (Y. Katzir in *Crusade and Settlement* [Cardiff 1985] 169–75). A line of Orthodox patriarchs of Jerusalem continued at Constantinople. Orthodox monasteries, notably St. SABAS, survived in Palestine. By ca.1164, as a result of Manuel I's alliance with the kingdom of JERUSALEM, Orthodox clerics reappeared at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre beside the Latin canons (H.E. Mayer, *Bistümer, Klöster und Stifte im Königreich Jerusalem* [Stuttgart 1977] 406f). That they outlasted Manuel's death is doubtful. After the Third Crusade, the Latin patriarch of Jerusalem resided at Acre.

LIT. H.E. Mayer, *Probleme des lateinischen Königreichs Jerusalem* (London 1983) pt.VI (1978), 188–92. B. Hamilton, *The Latin Church in the Crusader States* (London 1980).
–C.M.B.

LATIN RITE, conventional denomination of the religious usages, liturgical, canonical, monastic, etc., of the Roman Catholic churches, fully Latin only when the gradual shift from Greek to Latin was completed in Rome in the second half of the 4th C. Rome had a more pluralistic liturgical policy than the Byz. church, and there were several Latin rites besides the Roman, which originally prevailed only in the area around Rome, in southern Italy, and the islands (Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica). The rest of Italy had distinct local uses, not only in metropolitan sees like Milan (the Ambrosian rite) and Aquileia but also in over 40 other

centers. Roman uses gradually came to predominate throughout Europe in the 8th–9th C. under the Carolingian and Ottonian emperors.

Within the territory of the Byz. Empire the Latin church predominated in Byz. Italy (except for the very south), in North Africa west of Cyrenaica up to the Arab conquest, and in Pannonia, Illyricum, and Thrace. There were Latin churches in Constantinople and environs, Latin monasteries in Jerusalem, even an Amalfitan monastery on Mt. Athos. The Latin rite continued in peaceful coexistence with the BYZANTINE RITE until the 11th C., when the Norman descent into Byz. Italy and the Crusades, esp. the imposition of a LATIN EMPIRE and church at Constantinople in 1204–61, made the Latin rite a threat to the Byz. (C.A. Frazee, *BalkSt* 19 [1978] 33–49). But even in times of tension, Latin churches had usually remained open at Constantinople and Catholics and Orthodox were admitted to communion in each others' churches right through the 12th C. Eastern clergy in Palestine, Italy, and Cyprus submitted to Latin jurisdiction, and Latin priests could be ordained by Greek bishops even after 1204 (PG 119:959–64).

The Byz., more concerned with ritual uniformity than the Westerners, first impugned Armenian and Roman uses at the council in TRULLO: for example, Saturday FASTING (par. 55—Mansi 11:969 AB). The dispute over the FILIOQUE arose in the 9th C., but more acrimonious still was the controversy over AZYMES in the time of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Michael induced Bp. LEO OF OHRID to write a letter to Bp. John of Trani fiercely attacking such Latin practices as Saturday fasting, azymes, and not singing alleluia in Lent (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.862). In a letter to Patr. Peter of Antioch, Keroularios expanded the list of accusations: the Latins shave, they eat strangled things, their monks eat meat, they sing the Great DOXOLOGY wrongly, they add the *filioque* to the Creed, they allow two brothers to marry two sisters, they put salt in the candidate's mouth at baptism, they impose clerical celibacy, their bishops wear rings, etc. (ibid., no.866). To all this one can add the dispute over whether salt should be used in baking the eucharistic bread (Latins yes, Byz. no [PG 120:837BC; 126:233D, 236A; 155:265]). The azyme dispute remained alive until the end of Byz., providing a large corpus of Byz. polemical writings (J.M. Hanssens, *Institutiones Liturgicae de Ritibus Orientalibus*, vol. 2 [Rome 1930] 141–56).

In the 14th C. a new dispute arose, over whether the formula of the eucharistic consecration in the ANAPHORA was the Words of Institution ("This is my body, this is my blood") or the EPICLESIS. Though a far graver issue, this dispute provoked much less polemical writing than had the azyme controversy. It was dealt with by Mark Eugenikos (PO 17:426–34), Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:733–40), and, most masterfully and objectively, by Nicholas KABASILAS in *Explanation of the Divine Liturgy*, chs. 29–31. But in spite of the polemics, contacts between the two rites were frequent, and Latins studied, translated, and even adopted Byz. liturgical texts for their own use (S. Gero, *GOrThR* 23 [1978] 81f).

Actually, the differences between the rites were more those of language, form, and ethos; more of ceremonial and its mystagogic interpretation than of substance. Both rites had Eucharist—but the Latin rite anaphora had no consecratory epiclesis to the Holy Spirit, and the Latins used azymes, did not add ZEON to the chalice, from the 12th C. refused the chalice to the laity, and then gradually abandoned giving communion to infants. Both rites celebrated the other SACRAMENTS—but the Latins admitted baptism by aspersion and pouring, whereas the Byz. required triple immersion. The Latin rite also separated confirmation from baptism, did not marry by crowning, did not have seven priests to celebrate UNCTION, ordained to more minor orders, etc. Both had the full cycle of hours, but the Latin rite office had a monastic stamp, centered on the recitation of the PSALMODY, where the Byz. hours had received a massive infusion of liturgical poetry in the period after the first phase of Iconoclasm. The Latin rite is viewed as extremely sober and conservative (cf. E. Bishop, *Liturgica historica* [Oxford 1918] 1–19); the Byz. rite underwent far more development and change. Whereas the Byz. rite had undergone theological enrichment as a result of the early dogmatic controversies over the divinity of Christ and the Holy Spirit and had a decided Trinitarian thrust (L. Gillet, *Questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 9 [1924] 81–90), the Latin rite remained more Christological in its orientation.

LIT. T. Klauser, *A Short History of the Western Liturgy* (London 1969). C. Vogel, *Medieval Liturgy* (Washington, D.C., 1986). –R.F.T.

LATINS (Λατῖνοι, *Latini*). *Latini* was a term originally describing ethnic origin (the inhabitants of Latium) that was adopted by Roman law to designate certain groups of people with restricted legal rights; thus Junian *Latini* were manumitted slaves who were free during their lifetime but reverted to slavery at death, so that their property went to their patrons as PECULIUM. Justinian I abolished the status of *Latini* in 531 (A. Steinwenter, *RE* 12 [1925] 922).

The Greek term *Latinos*—in a different meaning—reappears in Byz. sources from the 11th to 12th C.: absent from Theophanes or Skylitzes, it is found frequently in Anna Komnene, John Kinnamos, and Niketas Choniates. A patriarchal decision of July 1054 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.869) normally uses the phrases "Italian language" and "Italian characters," and only in a section translated from Latin does the term *Latinos* appear. *Latinoi* became a generic appellation for Western peoples. The introduction of the term in Byz. Greek reflects a new Byz. perception of the unity of the Western world that had been treated in earlier centuries as a conglomeration of *ethne*, tribes, each having its place within the empire. The granting of Byz. court titles (see DIGNITIES AND TITLES) to foreign princes (Western, Slavic, Caucasian, etc.) symbolized this worldview. The assumption of the imperial title by CHARLEMAGNE in 800 signaled the first crack in the concept of the universal Roman Empire; first the emperors of the Franks, then the rulers neighboring the Byz. (Germans, Bulgarians) came to rival the *basileus*, and the popes asserted their PRIMACY over the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH.

Late Roman ideology cherished the image of a united MEDITERRANEAN, even though an economic and cultural breach began to develop as early as the 4th C., and by the 7th C. the linguistic unity was totally disrupted. Contacts between East and West continued in the form of embassies and pilgrimage, whereas commercial, literary, and artistic exchange became sporadic. Only in a few regions (primarily in Italy) did the two cultures meet on a regular basis.

In the 11th and 12th C. the interconnections between Byz. and the "Latin" world intensified. The colonies of Italian merchants on Byz. soil became sizable. Eustathios of Thessalonike counted 60,000 Latins in Constantinople (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 34.2–3); they received concessions more significant than those the Rus' had enjoyed in the 10th C. Western MERCENARIES occupied an important position in the Byz. army, and the NORMANS (as well as the English and Germans) replaced contingents from Rus'. Matrimonial connections between the Byz. and Latins became more frequent: the genealogical tables published by Grumel (*Chronologie* 363f), although incomplete, demonstrate a drastic difference between the matrimonial policy of the Macedonian dynasty (867–1056) and that of the Komnenoi (1081–1185). In the first table only two foreign marriages are recorded—with a Bulgarian and a Kievan ruler. The second table has 15 foreign marriages, of which only one (the earliest) is with an eastern princess (from the Caucasus). The others are with Latins: six with nobles from the Crusader states, three with France (and Montferrat and Montpellier; the two marriages of AGNES OF FRANCE are counted as one), three from Hungary, one each from Germany and Austria. Cultural exchange also became regular, esp. in the sphere of theology that contributed so much to the definition of "national" identity. Literary interchange is less evident: however, the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS was known in the West, and the mutual influence of Western and Byz. erotic ROMANCES is plausible. In the realm of art, Byz. impact on the West intensified from the 10th C. on, esp. in the period of the Crusades (see ART AND THE WEST).

After the capture of Constantinople in 1204 by the Fourth Crusade (the Norman invasion of 1185 prepared the way), the era of a peaceful, if unstable, balance of power ended. The Latins came to be viewed as oppressors of the Byz. From the Latin viewpoint, Byz., which in the 12th C. had seemed to be a country of great wealth, was perceived from the 14th C. onward as impoverished and unable to pay its debts. Byz. was an easy prey for bold invaders or even discontented mercenaries such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY. The divergency in religious belief and practice, focusing more and more on questions of rite, increased. A *modus vivendi* with the Latins could not be reached despite individual attempts to relieve tensions; the cohabitation of Greeks and Latins and emergence of mixed population groups (e.g., GASMOULOI) in areas such as the MOREA; the active literary interaction that resulted in such works as the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, and Greek chivalric romances; and an urgent

need for Western military assistance against the Ottoman invasion.

The stereotype of the Latins as it was established by 1204 included such features as religious divergence (esp. with regard to the FILIOQUE and AZYMES but also differences in vestments and haircut of the clergy, fastdays, etc.), arrogance and greed, military prowess, and disdain for literacy. A few Byz., however, were sufficiently enlightened to distinguish the "good" Latins from the "bad" ones, and in the 14th C. a strong current of pro-Latin sentiment developed in some cultural circles (e.g., around the KYDONES brothers).

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *RB* 1:126–69. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Darmstadt 1964). P. Lamma, *Oriente e Occidente nell'alto medioevo* (Padua 1968). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 167–96. K. Setton, *Europe and the Levant* (London 1974), pt.II (1966), 388–430. J. Koder, "Zum Bild des 'Westens' bei den Byzantinern in der frühen Komnenenzeit," in *Deus qui mutat tempora*, ed. E.-D. Hehl et al. (Sigmaringen 1987) 191–201. –A.K.

LATOMOU MONASTERY. See HOSIOS DAVID.

LATRINES (sing. ἀφεδρών). The building of latrines, together with the installation of PLUMBING, such as sewers, gutters, and water pipes, was subjected to strict regulations that were introduced to ensure public and private amenities. The legend of ARIUS described his death in a latrine (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 38 [1968] 105–11), in some versions in a public toilet. John MOSCHOS (PG 87.3:2897) relates that the archbishop of Thessalonike, Thalelaios, also died in a latrine, and his partisans found him with his head down the hole (*solen*). The legend of the building activity in Constantinople of the architect EUPHRATAS portrayed him as concerned with sewage systems. According to a vita of Constantine I (*AB* 77 [1959] 87.30–36), a system of sewers was built in Constantinople through which was channeled "the waste from latrines and slaughterhouses."

Legal texts give evidence that in private homes latrines were built in the courtyard and each was provided with drain pipes and gutters. Harmenopoulos in the *Hexabiblos* (Harm. 2:4.78), repeating the building regulations of JULIAN OF ASKALON (cf. Ja. Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 1 [1960] 3–34), described two types of cesspool (*koprodocheion*): one with thick stone walls; the other simply dug out of the earth. The first type had to be at least 3 ells (PECHEIS) distant from a neighbor's wall; the second no less than 6.5 ells. Washing facilities (*christeria*) could be constructed in a courtyard, provided they caused no harm to neighbors (Harm. 2.4.79). In crowded apartment houses sanitary conditions were poorer. The law (Harm. 2:4.71) forbade throwing human waste from upper floors, yet John TZETZES, who was living on the second floor of a three-story building, complained that the 12 children and the pigs of a deacon who lived upstairs "urinated so much that they produced navigable rivers" (ep.18, p.33.5–16). For chamber pots the Byz. used special vessels (*amis*, etc.) made of clay, glass, and even silver and gold (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:76). Dreams about latrines occupy an important place in the *Oneirokritikon* of ACHMET BEN SIRIN (pp. 30.11–28, 62.3–63.21): images of urinating or evacuating one's bowels in various places were interpreted as portents of good or bad fortune.

Archaeological Evidence. The large public latrines of Roman and late Roman date continued in use until the 6th–7th C., but apparently not beyond (Scranton, *Architecture* 68). At Corinth a private house of the 6th–7th C. had a latrine located immediately off the main room (ibid. 19–21), while simple unlined pits, probably in courtyards or behind houses, have been identified as Byz. latrines. Latrines are frequently found in towers and under stairs of fortifications, and elaborate arrangements were often made for them in CRUSADER CASTLES (e.g., at Saranda Kolones in PAPHOS).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, "Peri apopaton, bothron kai hyponomon," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 335–52. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:309–11. –Ap.K., A.K., T.E.G.

LATROCINIUM. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: "Robber" Council.

LATROS (Λάτρος), anc. Latmos, monastic center in Caria, northeast of Miletos. Its numerous forts, fortified monasteries, and hermits' caves were located on islands in the lake of Herakleia (Bafa) and immediately to the east on the slopes of Mt. Latros (Beşparmak); most remain anonymous. The early history of Latros is obscure. According to local tradition, Latros was settled in the 7th C. by monks fleeing the Arab invasion of the Sinai. The

hegoumenos Isidore attended the Second Council of Nicaea in 787. When the monk Paul, later called PAUL OF LATROS, came to the region in the early 10th C., three monasteries already existed there: Kellibara, the Savior, and Karya. Paul founded the Stylos (named probably in honor of the apostle Paul, the "pillar" of the church), which was dedicated to the Theotokos. Leo VI granted the monastery a *proasteion* and other lands (MM 4:324.11–15). A fragment of the Latros cartulary containing about 15 documents from 987 to the mid-13th C. has survived (MM 4:290–329; B. Pančenko, *IRAIK* 9 [1904] 142–45). These acts deal with the monastery's land holdings; especially important is the case of the peasants of the village of Sampson (MM 4:290–95, a.1217—see *Reg* 3, no.1693), which sheds some light on the institution of MORTE.

In the 11th C. CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS was *hegoumenos* of Stylos as well as PROTOS of Latros's monastic confederation. Latros flourished during the empire of Nicaea; in 1222, 11 monasteries were under the authority of its *kathegoumenos* and ARCHIMANDRITE (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1231), a title disputed between the superiors of Stylos and Kellibara. By the end of the 13th C., however, Latros was in decline as a result of Turkish encroachment; Kellibara with only nine monks was merged with Michael VIII's new foundation of St. Demetrios in Constantinople. By the 14th C. Latros disappears from the sources.

Restle (*Wall Painting* 3, pls. 542–43) has assigned a mid-9th-C. date to the wall paintings in the so-called Pantokrator Cave. Painted Gospel cycles in a cave chapel at Yediler—probably to be identified with Kellibara—and in the Stylos have been variously dated in the 11th–13th C. The Stylos also contains scenes of the funeral of Paul and other scenes from the saint's life.

LIT. T. Wiegand, *Der Latmos* (Berlin 1913). P.A. Vokotopoulos, "Latros," *EEBS* 35 (1966–67) 69–106. Janin, *Églises centres* 216–40, 441–54. Restle, *Wall Painting* 1:78–81; 3, figs. 542–51. G. Schiemenz, "Die Malereien der Paulus-Höhle auf dem Latmos," *Pantheon* 29 (1971) 46–53. –A.M.T., A.J.W.

LAUGHTER (γέλως) was defined by MELETIOS THE MONK (PG 64:1137B) as "agitated movement of the facial muscles or a broadening of [the same] muscles caused by the motion of internal organs." While antiquity accepted laughter as a positive EMOTION and considered it a proper quality of Homeric gods, the church fathers, esp. JEROME and BASIL THE GREAT, rejected laughter. Laughter, for Jerome, was a sign of ungodliness and would be punished on the Day of Judgment. According to Basil (PG 31:961C), it was incompatible with a Christian vocation—Christ, he said, never laughed. More tolerant of laughter was JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who distinguished between permissible and excessive laughter. Monastic communities were particularly hostile to laughter. The church fathers, however, accepted laughter as an expression of spiritual joy and as derision of the pagan world and of mundane objects.

Despite all these invectives against laughter by the ecclesiastical establishment, the Byz. enjoyed a good laugh at their banquets (with professional MIMES as entertainers) and elaborated such genres of HUMOR as SATIRE, PARODY, and PUNS. They believed that laughter possessed magic power; for example, late Byz. vernacular literature depicted the dance of laughter as a magical means against death. Thomas Magistros includes the expression "broad laughter" (i.e., not thundering) in his *Lexicon* (*Ecloga vocum atticarum* [Hildesheim–New York 1970] 293.4).

LIT. N. Adkin, "The Fathers on Laughter," *Orpheus* 6 (1985) 149–52. F. Dölger, "Lachen wider den Tod," *Pisciculi* (Münster in Westfalen 1939) 80–85. –A.K.

LAUSIAC HISTORY. See PALLADIOS.

LAUSIAKOS (Λαυσιακός), a hall (*triklinos*) in the GREAT PALACE constructed under Justinian II. It was located near the TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN and the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS and was connected by a bronze gate with the kitchen, situated probably under the private chambers of the emperor. The *aristeterion*, the emperor's private dining room, was also located nearby. The connection of the Lausiakos with the banquet-kitchen area suggests that the OIKEIAKOI of Lausiakos were involved in the organization of banquets. The Lausiakos played a role in the palace ceremonies as a place through which various processions passed. Some emperors (Leo V, Theophilos) used it for administrative meetings and theological discussions. Manuel I is said to have restored and adorned the Lausiakos.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:154–60. –A.K.

LAVRA (λαύρα), a type of MONASTERY. The word originally meant a narrow lane or an alley in a city (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:764B); Eustathios of Thessalonike, who was often critical of monasticism, adds that the word *spodesilaura* (lit. "streetwalker") meant a whore (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 152). EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 1:21, ed. Bidez-Parmentier, 29.24–25) defines a *lavra* as a monastery in which everyday life (*diaita*) is individual, but social life (*politeia*) is directed to the common purpose of loving God.

In a *lavra* a group of dispersed monastic cells (KELLIA) was associated with a central complex containing a church, refectory, common hall, and various outbuildings (storerooms, stables, bakery). The monks lived as solitaries during the week, occupied with prayer and manual labor, but owed obedience to a *hegoumenos* and assembled on weekends at the *lavra* to attend services together and to obtain food and materials for their handwork. A *lavra* thus represented a compromise between eremitic and cenobitic monasticism.

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, when describing Palestinian monasticism, usually contrasts the *lavra* and the KOINOBION, although he sometimes notes the transformation of a *lavra* into a *koinobion* "in accordance with God's will" (p.58.29). By the 8th C., however, the difference between the terms seems to have disappeared. In later centuries, on Mt. ATHOS, the term *lavra* was applied to the larger monasteries (Great Lavra, Iveron, and Vatopedi) and to Karyes. *Lavrai* were almost invariably established in remote rural locations, but on rare occasions the sources refer to urban and suburban monasteries as *lavrai*, e.g., the *lavra* of Kaisarios in 9th-C. Rome (*AASS* Nov. 4:662F) and the monastery of St. Michael at Anaplous, referred to as *he tes lavras tou archistrategou mone* (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:203.6).

LIT. D. Papachryssanthou, "La vie monastique dans les campagnes byzantins du VIIIe au XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 166–80. Meester, *De monachico statu* 7, 72, 100. J.M. Sansterre, "Une laure à Rome au IXème siècle," *Byzantion* 44 (1974–75) 514–17. –A.M.T., A.K.

LAVRA, GREAT (ἡ μεγίστη Λαύρα), also called the Lavra of Athanasios, monastery located near the southeastern tip of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS. It was founded by ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS in 963, with the financial assistance of the general and future emperor Nikephoros (II) Phokas, who intended to retire to the Holy Mountain. Although called a LAVRA, the monastery was really a KOINOBION with which a limited number of hesychasts were associated. Athanasios's *typikon* permitted only five monks to live in KELLIA outside the Lavra. As soon as the *ktetor* Nikephoros became emperor, in July 963, the Lavra obtained the status of an imperial monastery. In 964 Nikephoros issued three chrysobulls on behalf of Lavra, guaranteeing its independence from ecclesiastical authorities, limiting the number of monks to 80, and providing it with an annual grant (SOLEMNION) of 244 gold pieces and a quantity of wheat. Athanasios supervised the construction of a large monastic complex, including a Church of the Theotokos, cells, a kitchen, refectory, hostel, and waterworks.

The number of monks soon increased to 120, and by mid-11th C. reached 700. In 1045 the *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos specified that the *hegoumenos* of Lavra had precedence over all other *hegoumenoi*, even the *protos*; Lavra retained this primacy in perpetuity. Lavra remained an imperial monastery: in 1052 the monks of Lavra asked Constantine IX to appoint an influential patron to the monastery in order to protect it from any new fiscal burdens (*kainotomiai*, EPEREIAI) that might be imposed by local *archontes* (*Lavra* 1, no.31.24–25). In response the emperor sent a *praipositos*, the chief of the *koiton*, and the *kanikleios* John to carry out the mission.

The increase in Lavra's estates, which were significant in the 11th–12th C., came to a halt under Latin rule. After the mid-13th C., however, the monastery continued to acquire further property: in 1259 Michael VIII confirmed all the properties of Lavra and added the village of Toxompous; Andronikos II was even more generous to the monks. At the same time Patr. Athanasios I attempted to put Lavra under the control of the patriarchate. Lavra was evidently involved in the political and religious conflicts of the second quarter of the 14th C., having as its *hegoumenoi* such luminaries as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and Gregory PALAMAS. On the other hand, some dissident elements penetrated into the monastery, although the information about their activity is obscure: thus Andrew Palaiologos, one of the Zealot leaders, ceded a portion of his property to Lavra; the Latinophile Prochoros KYDONES was connected with the monastery; and in the 1360s the case of a certain Moses Phakrases (a favorite of Philotheos Kokkinos) shook the community

and required the patriarch's intervention; unfortunately, we do not know the basis of the charges against him. The internal problems were aggravated by military threats: the raids of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY were followed by the Serbian occupation of Mt. Athos, and then the brief establishment of Ottoman authority in 1387. In the early 15th C. Manuel II still had some prerogatives over Lavra and levied a third of the *charatzion* (the Turkish tax *harac*). In 1430, Thessalonike and all of Mt. Athos were finally conquered by the Ottomans.

The rich library of Lavra contains over 2,000 MSS, of which about 800 are of Byz. date. The archives of Lavra are also a precious resource for the Byzantinist, since they contain 172 acts dating before 1453.

SOURCES. P. Lemerle et al., *Actes de Lavra*, 4 vols. (Paris 1970–82). Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 101–40. *Vitae duae antiquae Sancti Athanasii Athonitae*, ed. J. Noret (Turnhout 1982).
LIT. P. Dumont, "L'higoumène dans la règle de Saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:121–34. Spyridon Lauriotes and S. Eustratiades, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Lavra on Mount Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1925), with add. by Panteleemon Lauriotes, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 87–203. –A.M.T., A.K.

Architecture of the Lavra. The KATHOLIKON of the Lavra, begun in 962/3, consists of a cross-domed core enlarged into a triconch by the addition of apses to the cross-arms. The naos is covered by a dome on piers. Two PAREKKLESIA flank a deep narthex that, in 1814, replaced the original inner and outer narthexes. The church's bronze doors were made in Constantinople ca.1002 (Ch. Bouras, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 229–50). The exterior of the church is rather austere with little embellishment. Directly in front of the church and sharing its axis is a PHIALE and, further away but still on the same axis, the refectory or TRAPEZA. The CHURCH PLAN TYPE used here for the first time, and called the Athonite type by some scholars, was emulated in later monastic churches in northern Greece and the Balkans.

LIT. F.W. Hasluck, *Mount Athos* (London 1924) 180–85. P.M. Mylonas, "Le plan initial du catholicon de la Grande-Lavra au Mont-Athos et la genèse du type du catholicon athonite," *CahArch* 32 (1984) 89–112. Idem, "La trapéza de la Grand Laura au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. –M.J.

Art Treasures of the Lavra. The Lavra possesses the richest collection (about 30) of icons of Byz. date on the peninsula: outstanding are panels of St. Panteleemon of the first half of the 12th C. and an early 14th-C. mosaic icon of John the Evangelist (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.18). A double-sided icon of the Anastasis and Pentecost is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.473). The monastery's collection dates back at least to the early 11th C., when Kosmas, a former *ekklesiarches* of the Lavra, ordered a portrait of St. Athanasios from the Constantinopolitan painter PANTOLEON. The treasury also contains a silver cross supposedly donated by Nikephoros II Phokas (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 19 [1969] 99–125), the so-called Phokas lectionary (K. Weitzmann, *SemKond* 8 [1936] 83–98), and a gold paten of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. The luxurious late 11th-C. *evangelion* in the Lavra treasury or *skeuophylakion* (K. Weitzmann, *Byzantine Liturgical Psalters and Gospels* [London 1980] pt.XI [1936], 83–98) has full-page miniatures of three of the Great Feasts within wide ornamental borders. It may have been an imperial gift, though not, as tradition has it, from Nikephoros II Phokas. The Lavra library includes many other illustrated Gospel books and *evangelia* of the 11th and 12th C.

LIT. *Treasures* 3:12–117, 217–61. M. Chatzidakis, "Anciennes icônes de Lavra d'après un texte géorgien," in *Rayonnement grec* 425–29. Idem, "Chronologemene byzantine eikona ste mone Megistes Lavras," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:225–41. –A.C., N.P.Š.

LAVRATON. See PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE: Imperial Portraits.

LAW, CANON. See CANON LAW.

LAW, CIVIL, the totality of the laws and rules of the empire; it comprised private law (the law of persons, things, succession, obligations) as well as criminal law and public LAW. Justinian I (*Institutes* 1:2.1) distinguishes *jus civile*, as a system of laws established in a particular state, from the *jus naturale* that is common for all mankind; the idea of natural law was not disregarded by the Byz., but their major categories were civil law and CANON LAW.

The foundation of Byz. civil law was the Justinianic CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, which summarized the achievements of Roman jurisprudence. Written mostly in Latin, the *Corpus* was paraphrased in Greek by the ANTECESSORES, and their translations were used in the later legislative books EPANAGOGE, PROCHIRON, and BASILIKA. Another set of legislative works diverged to some extent

from the *Corpus*—thus the ECLOGA introduced a new approach to the laws of marriage and to criminal law, and the NOVELS OF LEO VI tried to change regulations that were obsolete and contradicted contemporary reality. The legislators of the 10th C. (Romanos I through Basil II) tackled problems arising from the contemporary situation in the countryside. Later emperors dealt with new issues, such as the marriage of slaves (Alexios I), or tried to reorganize legal procedure.

The works of jurists stayed mostly within the framework of the *Corpus*: they produced indices (*synopseis*) to the *Basilika* (e.g., TIPOUKEITOS), excerpts, treatises on specific questions (e.g., DE PECULIIS, DE ACTIONIBUS), and general surveys (HARMENOPOULOS). Some jurists, however, illustrated the general principles of the *Basilika* with examples drawn from their own practice (PEIRA) or described their cases at length (Demetrios CHOMATENOS, John APOKAUKOS).

Unlike Western countries, Byz. had very few texts devoted to customary law (see CUSTOM): to this category belonged the FARMER'S LAW and the BOOK OF THE EPARCH as well as miscellaneous texts regulating fiscal and administrative activity (treatises on TAXATION, TAKTIKA). Byz. customary law is reflected primarily in documents, such as CONTRACTS and purchase deeds, in monastic TYPIKA, in WILLS, in the decrees of emperors and their officials, in patriarchal charters, etc. The scarcity of available information means that literary sources, such as patristic texts, later romances (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 189–221), or hagiography (G. Bourdara, *To dikaia sta hagiologika keimena* [Athens 1987]), assume a considerable importance.

The study of Byz. civil law has hitherto focused on the Justinianic *Corpus*; later legal texts are used primarily to fill in gaps in the *Corpus* tradition or to clarify difficult passages. The analysis of Byz. civil law as actually practiced is still rudimentary, and the legal significance of surviving documents has been appreciated only for the papyri and the acts from Byz. Italy (M. Amelotti in *SBNG* [Galatina 1983] 184). The general assumption, then, has been that the Byz. regulated their lives by the norms of Roman law, an assumption that is supported by the tendency of the Byz. themselves to treat both the *Basilika* and the *Corpus* as valid legislative collections. However, under the cover of Roman law some more or less substantial changes were taking place in the following areas:

1. Emphasis was put on the decisive role of the state and the emperor as its representative. The emperor was proclaimed not only "the living law" (as early as Justinian I) but also the sole source of all administrative authority (thus the scholion to *Basil.* ser. B, 9:3833, abrogating *Basil.* 60:46.1). He acquired supreme right to the land so that any parcel that he entered could be declared imperial property (PG 114:1156A).

2. The principles of public law prevailed over those of private law. Thus, ownership came to be treated as an accessory to the tax payment, and freedom interpreted as exemption from taxation.

3. The role of the church increased. Its rules became moral obligations, esp. as civil law began to converge with canon law. Its right to succession was confirmed, and the church was granted—like the state—a third of an intestate inheritance (ABIOTIKION). The *Epanagoge* even suggested the concept of two equal powers, that of emperor and patriarch; at any rate, the patriarchal court was given the right of appeal over civil court decisions.

4. The bonds of MARRIAGE were strengthened, and the formality of MARRIAGE RITES increased.

5. SLAVERY was moderated: not only did the church encourage MANUMISSIONS, but the family of a slave was given legal status.

6. The rights of neighbors were developed—both as PROTIMESIS and as a responsibility for the taxes of the neighboring allotments; the Roman principle *superficies solo cedit* ceased to exist. At the same time various forms of PARTNERSHIP were encouraged.

7. Elements of semifeudal law were introduced—in the division of property (PRONOIA, CHARISTIKION) and in the status of the dependent peasantry (PAROIKOI).

8. The written form of contract tended to replace the oral form; STIPULATIONS degenerated into a vague kind of written guarantee; the number of WITNESSES deemed necessary increased.

9. Legal procedure lost its flexibility, and rigid lists of PENALTIES were introduced.

10. Many subtleties of Roman law were forgotten, and its strict terminological distinctions obscured; jurists repeated traditional Roman legal terms often without understanding their significance.

The history of Byz. civil law can be tentatively divided into several periods: from the 4th to the early 7th C. Roman law dominated; in the 7th to

early 9th C., the period of the *Ecloga* and the *Farmer's Law*, there were attempts to attach some customary, biblical, and Near Eastern rules to the remnants of Roman law; the mid-9th–10th C. was the period of encyclopedism and "accumulation"—"pure" Roman law was restored in the *Basilika* and similar legislative books, and numerous treatises were issued to regulate court life, military organization, trade activity, and the fiscal system; during the 11th–13th C. there was a revival of legal activity in the form of commentaries on normative texts—the most independent legal minds of the period were Eustathios RHOMAIOS, BALSAMON, and CHOMATENOS—and the need for scrutinizing practical cases was appreciated. In the final period, the tendency toward systematization again prevailed.

LIT. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:341–480. Van der Wal-Lokin, *Historiae.* S. Troianos, *Hoi peges tou byzantinou dikaiou* (Athens 1986). Idem, "He metabase apo to romaiko sto byzantino dikaio," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 211–35. Zachariä, *Geschichte.* B. Biondi, *Il diritto Romano cristiano*, 3 vols. (Milan 1952). D. Simon, "Die Epochen der byzantinischen Rechtsgeschichte," *Ius Commune* 15 (1988) 73–106. –A.K.

LAW, PUBLIC. The 6th-C. principle, "public law is that which concerns the affairs of the Roman state, private law that which concerns the interests of individuals" (*Digest* 1.1.1.2 = *Basil.* 2.1.1), was a distinction made in the law schools with few theoretical or practical implications; nor can a requirement for a legal-theoretical clarification of the relationship of public law and private law that is of any significance be established for the following period. The lack of such reflection is explicable from the circumstance that the precise demarcation of public law from the entire mass of norms is only considerable when consequences are connected with it, that is, with regard to legislative competence, jurisdiction, justiciability, and the friction of private law and public law. As long as every legal norm drew its legitimacy from the emperor, and he was not restricted with regard to the composition and execution of norms—as was the case in the entire Byz. period—then any division of Byz. law into public and private law was artificial. A consideration of Byz. law with regard to the existence of public law can therefore make use of no concepts that are specific to the Byz. period but can employ only the terminology in use since modern times. The latter understands by public law: (1) the law of state organization, that is, the distribution of the areas of supreme command (taxation, police, army, jurisdiction, economic control, etc.) among certain "organs" of the state; (2) administrative law, that is, the rules governing the execution of laws through these designated organs.

If the fundamental principles of both these areas are laid down in law, this definition is called a "constitution." In these areas the late Roman period up to and including Justinian I was legislatively the most productive. Book 1, titles 14–57, and books 10–12 of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, as well as approximately half the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I, are concerned with the subject of public law. This legalization of political measures, which is based on the motto *(armis et) legibus gubernare* and relies on the efficiency of the administrative apparatus executing the law, did not persist in Byz.: the emperors increasingly renounced the legislative regulation of state organization and administration. Notable legislative undertakings are represented by the BOOK OF THE EPARCH and titles 2–11 of the EPANAGOGE (which remained an experiment). For the rest, apart from sporadic legislative attempts in the area of public law, only jurisdiction remains of lasting interest.

The diminishing legislative activity in the area of public law does not mean that Byz. had no normative notions concerning good state government and state administration. Such concepts are rather to be reconstructed from sources such as the MIRRORS OF PRINCES, the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the TAKTIKA, the DE CEREMONIIS and DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO as well as the admittedly rare deliberations of jurists such as Chomatianos. Whether the normative concepts transmitted in this matter should be entitled an (unwritten) "constitution" is still under discussion.

LIT. P. Pieler, "Verfassung und Rechtsgrundlagen des byzantinischen Staates," 16 *CEB* (Vienna 1981) 213–31. D. Simon, "Princeps legibus solutus," in *Gedächtnisschrift für Wolfgang Kunkel* (Frankfurt am Main 1984) 449–92. Beck, *Jahrtausend* 33–86. –M.Th.F.

LAW, ROMAN, heavily oriented towards practice, was determined and developed first by professional jurists and later increasingly by the legal statements of the imperial chancery. By the order of Justinian I this law was made definitive in the so-called CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Both this *Corpus*

and the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I make claim—at least in the sphere of private law—to reproducing a uniform law of the empire that is firmly bound to Roman tradition and that in principle recognizes neither regional nor time-specific peculiarities. This conservative and exceedingly reverent attitude toward Roman law was assumed by later Byz. emperors in their legislation and by jurists in their composition of law books. In spite of certain deviations from the Roman tradition—sometimes conscious, sometimes involuntary (e.g., the regulation of CUSTOMS by Leo VI or the creation of really new law through the agrarian legislation of the 10th C.)—there never ensued any fundamental criticism of Roman law. On the contrary, efforts can be observed to reappropriate this temporarily (esp. in the 7th and 8th C.) forgotten or neglected law.

The discrepancy between "official" Byz.-Roman law and the law as practiced is most obvious during the last two centuries of Byz. The charters reveal that fundamental concepts of Roman law had over the course of time either become virtually meaningless (e.g., SERVITUS) or were misunderstood or reinterpreted (e.g., OWNERSHIP, POSSESSION). Roman law lived on as a theoretical claim and in its terminology, but with the changed conditions of life and the disappearance of a highly professional class of jurists, the original meaning of its terminology and the specifically juristic thinking in these categories was largely lost.

Reception of Roman Law. The reception of Roman law is an expression that designates the discovery and revision of Roman law—in the form of the *Corpus Juris Civilis*—in the states of western Europe from the 12th C. onward, as a result of which Roman law became the basis of their legal system. There was no comparable reception of Roman law in this sense in Byz., where it had never been entirely lost and was assumed to be continuously present and valid. Nevertheless, a kind of "reappropriation" of Roman law, which had been translated into Greek in the 6th C., did take place, in two significant steps: first, through the *anakatharsis ton palaion nomon* (Schminck, *Rechtsbüchern* 33–38, 65f), that is, the preparation of the complete text in the BASILIKA; and second, through a substantial reworking of the content, particularly in the 11th C. The latter was achieved through a decision-making practice reflecting Roman legal dogma (PEIRA); through reinforced use of the oldest available law texts, namely the writings of the ANTECESSORES, which were inserted as scholia to the *Basilika* text; through the transmission of the Latin juristic language in teaching (PSELLOS) and in Latin-Greek legal *lexika* (GLOSSAE—*Lexica juridica byzantina*, ed. L. Burgmann et al. [= *FM* 8 (1990)]); as well as through the systematic presentation of the rules of Roman law in treatises (DE PECULIIS, MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS, TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS).

LIT. F. Schulz, *History of Roman Legal Science*² (Oxford 1953). W. Kunkel, *Introduction to Roman Legal and Constitutional History*² (Oxford 1973). H.F. Jolowicz, J.K.B.M. Nicholas, *Historical Introduction to the Study of Roman Law*³ (Cambridge 1972). Buckland, *Roman Law*. Kaser, *Privatrecht*. —M.Th.F.

LAW, VULGAR, an expression coined by the legal historian E. Levy to characterize the law of the late Roman Empire in the West. The expression refers not only to the formal elements of a legal principle (its outward, linguistic form) but also to its substance (the consistency and precision of the regulation). It derives its notional content as a "low level of style" from a notional opposition to a "higher level of style," initially that of classical Roman law. The expression has been extensively adopted by legal/historical scholarship and serves to characterize varying phenomena. Thus, it is used to contrast rural provincial phenomena of a linguistic or material kind from the legal standard of the capital ("provincial law": e.g., the law of the Byz. provinces in Italy); to designate special ethnic law ("folk law": forms of law of the Slavs and Armenians living on Byz. territory) as opposed to state and imperial law; to contrast simply structured reflections on law with the complex works of more exacting, educated men (e.g., the SYNOPSIS MINOR versus the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM); and to compare different levels of legal culture (e.g., the ECLOGA versus the law of Justinian I). Since the term *vulgar* is both vague and, as a rule, used in a perjorative sense, its application should be accompanied by a statement of the criterion for evaluation and an exact description of the related phenomena.

LIT. D. Simon, "Marginalien zur Vulgarismusdiskussion," in *Festschrift für Franz Wieacker zum 70. Geburtstag* (Göttingen 1978) 154–74. Idem, "Provinzialrecht." M. Talamanca, "L'esperienza giuridica romana nel tardo-antico fra volgarismo e classicismo," *La trasformazione della cultura nella tarda antichità* (Rome 1985) 27–70. —D.S.

LAW IN ITALY, BYZANTINE. With the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA of the year 554 (Appendix 7 to the NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I [= CIC 3:799–802]), the validity of the Roman-Byz. law contained in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS was extended to the reconquered Italian regions. In the course of the later history of southern Italy and Sicily the continued existence of Byz. law is documented in various types of sources. The Byz. origin of the material is most evident in the PROCHIRON LEGUM, which was produced on Italian soil. Whether other law books, esp. the *Ecloga ad Prochirum mutata*, also originated in Italy is disputed. Nevertheless, that many Byz. legal texts were at least known in medieval Italy is attested by the large number of legal MSS of southern Italian provenance. The use of Byz. law by the Greek-speaking population of southern Italy is indicated by the fact that the documents share a set of institutions (e.g., HYPOBOLON, THEORETRON, PROTIMESIS) with the law of the Byz. Empire. Other institutions used both in Byz. and in southern Italy and Sicily may merely have a common basis in Roman LAW. As for Norman-Staufen legislation, both the Assises of Ariano of 1140 (L. Burgmann, *FM* 5 [1982] 179–92) and the constitutions of Melfi of 1231 (cf. T. von der Lieck-Buyken, *Die Konstitutionen Friedrichs II.* [Cologne-Vienna 1978]) are based on Roman law, but the latter esp. shows clear traces of post-Justinianic Byz. law (e.g., nose-cutting as punishment for adultery; the prohibition against the acquisition of land by monasteries; formal regulations for marriage).

LIT. M. Amelotti, "Per lo studio del diritto bizantino in Italia," *Studi bizantini e neogreci* (Galatina 1983) 183–99. A. d'Emilia, "Il diritto bizantino nell'Italia meridionale," in *L'Oriente cristiano nella storia della civiltà* (Rome 1964) 343–78. G. Cavallo, "La circolazione di testi giuridici in lingua greca nel mezzogiorno medievale," *Scuole, diritto e società nel mezzogiorno medievale d'Italia*, vol. 2 (Catania 1988) 87–136. D. Liebs, *Die Jurisprudenz im spätantiken Italien 260–640 n.Chr.* (Berlin 1987) 124–26, 195–282. –M.Th.F.

LAW IN SLAVIC COUNTRIES, BYZANTINE. Byz. law was introduced into Slavic lands along with Orthodox dogma and liturgy in the wake of Byz. missionary work in the area. In Great Moravia part of the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES was translated into Slavonic by METHODIOS himself. The ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM may date from the same time, even if its place of origin remains controversial. Bulgaria and later the Slavic monasteries on Mt. Athos must have played a large role as centers for the translation of legal literature. From the 11th C. onward, most texts were reaching Rus', where they were assembled in collections such as the KORMČAJA KNIGA and supplemented in time by additional translations. The Byz. legal literature available there ultimately included the commentaries of the canonists of the 12th C., the *Pandektai* of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, numerous novels, synodal acts and treatises (esp. on marriage law), the so-called MOSAIC LAW, and, from the sphere of secular law, the ECLOGA, the PROCHIRON (*Zakon gradskij*), and the FARMER'S LAW (*Zemledel'českij zakon*). Under STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, who proclaimed himself "Tsar of the Serbs and Greeks," Byz. legislation was imitated in Serbia and translations were made of the *Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES as well as of the short compilation of civil law known as the "law of Justinian."

LIT. A. Soloviev, "Der Einfluss des byzantinischen Rechts auf die Völker Osteuropas," *ZSavRom* 76 (1959) 432–79. M. Andreev, "La reception du droit byzantin dans le droit des peuples balkaniques," *Actes du IIe Congrès international des études du sud-est Européen* (Athens 1981) 299–309. M. Andreev, Gh. Cronţ, *Loi du jugement: Compilation attribuée aux empereurs Constantin et Justinien* (Bucharest 1971). Ja.N. Ščapov, "Le droit romain oriental en Russie jusqu'au XVIe s.," *Popoli e spazio romano tra diritto e profezia* (Naples 1986) 487–95. –L.B.

LAW IN THE EAST, BYZANTINE. A part of early Byz. CANON LAW survived among the Eastern churches after their separation from the church of Constantinople in the 5th C. But with the exception of Georgia, where an adaptation of the NOMOKANON OF THE FOURTEEN TITLES was made in the 12th C., the new post-Chalcedonian canons were received in the East only with great reservation. The oldest Syriac translations of Byz. secular law texts likewise stem primarily from pre-Justinianic sources, namely the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK and the *Sententiae Syriacae*, two collections of Roman provincial law of Eastern origin dating from the 5th C.; the Greek originals are lost. The Syro-Roman lawbook was widely disseminated in the Christian East in several languages. Moreover, Byz. legal texts of secular content were received almost everywhere. At the end of the 12th C., NERSĒS OF LAMBRON made an Armenian translation of the ECLOGA with its Appendix as well as the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS and the so-called Mo-

SAIC LAW. Coptic ecclesiastical law collections of the 13th and 14th C. contained, among other things, the *Ecloga* with Appendix and the PROCHIRON; the date of composition of the Arabic translations is uncertain, as is the possibility that they were transmitted via the MELCHITES.

LIT. C.A. Nallino, "Libri giuridici bizantini in versioni arabe cristiane dei sec. XII–XIII," *Rendiconti della Accademia nazionale dei Lincei: Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche* 1 (1925) 101–65. H. Kaufhold, "Zur Übernahme byzantinischer Rechtsbücher durch die Armenier," *HA* 90 (1976) 591–614. –L.B.

LAW SCHOOLS. The system of private EDUCATION in law typical of the early Roman Empire was replaced, during the late Roman Empire, by a system of state universities. Theodosios II, in the constitution of 27 Feb. 425, prohibited legal education "within private walls" and organized a law school in Constantinople supported by the state. There was another reputable law school in BERYTUS. Some professors of these law schools are known by name: THEOPHILOS, DOROTHEOS, THALELAIOS, and so on. The program of legal education, as prescribed by Justinian I, included a year for the study of the INSTITUTES, three years more for the DIGEST, and the fifth year for the CODEX JUSTINIANUS. Since knowledge of Latin was declining in Constantinople, the teachers (ANTECESSORES) suggested the *Indices*—Greek adaptations—and translations of these texts provided with *protheoriai* (examples or digressions); *paragraphai*, or notes; and finally interpretation of "the books themselves," paraphrased in Greek. The method of EROTAPOKRISEIS was widely used.

From the 7th C. onward, this elaborate system was abandoned, even though some scholars (e.g., W. Wolska-Conus, *TM* 8 [1981] 531–41) claim uninterrupted continuity of legal education. The *Book of the Eparch* refers to NOMIKOI and teachers within the framework of a corporation of notaries. While knowledge of law was often claimed to be something every Rhomaios had to possess, and professional LAWYERS are known at least in the 11th and 12th C., jurisprudence remained an element of general (primarily urban) culture rather than professional erudition. The state-sponsored schools in Constantinople (those of JOHN [VIII] XIPHILINOS and Michael PSELLOS in the mid-11th C.), probably parts of the so-called UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, appear to have been short-lived, connected with an individual scholar, rather than with an institution.

LIT. Scheltema, *L'enseignement*. I. Medvedev, "Pravovoe obrazovanie v Vizantii kak komponent gorodskoj kul'tury," in *Gorodskaja kul'tura*, ed. V. Rutenburg (Leningrad 1986) 8–26. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 223–43. P.I. Zepos, "He byzantine nomike paideia kata ton 7′ aiona," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:735–49. –A.K.

LAWYER (συνήγορος, Lat. *advocatus*). *Advocati* (sometimes called SCHOLASTIKOI) acted as legal advisers, while NOMIKOI drew up contracts. In the late Roman Empire, *advocati* formed associations in major cities (Constantinople, Alexandria, etc.). The membership in these colleges was limited; thus, Leo I decreed (*Cod.Just.* II 7.17) that the prefecture of Illyricum should have 150 lawyers. Their honorarium was fixed in Diocletian's PRICE EDICT as 250–1,000 denarii. Ammianus Marcellinus wrote an angry tirade against *advocati* who "sow the seeds" for all sorts of quarrels and "sharpen their venal tongues to attack the truth" (Amm.Marc. 30.4.9–19), underscoring not only the rivalry between lawyers but their clashes with JUDGES. It has been conjectured (by R. Taubenschlag in *Festschrift Fritz Schulz* [Weimar 1951] 192) that the role of lawyers was reduced as that of judges grew.

From the 11th C. onward, however, Greek texts again often mention lawyers. Constantine IX's novel on the law school in Constantinople prescribes the formation of two categories of jurists—NOTARIES (*taboularioi*) and *synegoroi*; Balsamon states that *synegoroi* are organized into a college led by a *primikerios* and receive their salary (*siteresia demosiaka*) from the state (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 1:160.15–21). A novel of Manuel I expresses indignation at the endless speeches in court of *synegoroi*, which delay the proceedings (R. Macrides, "Justice" 126.54–59); the same novel calls for *synegoroi* to be assigned to the courts (138.217–26, 180, n.208). Sometimes there was rivalry between lawyers and canonists (M.T. Fögen in *Cupido legum* 65). The term *nomotriboumenoi* in Chomatenos apparently refers to those who are experts in legal knowledge.

LIT. D. Simon, "Nomotriboumenoi," in *Satura Roberto Feenstra oblata* (Freiburg 1985) 273–83. T. Honoré, *Emperors and Lawyers* (London 1981), rev. F. Millar, *JRS* 76 (1986) 272–80. –A.K.

LAZAR, prince of Serbia (from 1371); born Prilepac near Novo Brdo ca.1329, died Kosovo Polje 15 June 1389. Son of Pribac Hrebeljanović, *logothetes* of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, Lazar married Milica, a descendant of Stefan Nemanja's son Vukan, and gained control over northern Serbia following the death of STEFAN UROŠ V. Using diplomacy, dynastic marriage, and military force (in alliance with the Bosnian *ban* Tvrtko), Lazar expanded his principality to Braničevo, Niš, Kruševac, and Novo Brdo, gaining control also over the mines of Rudnik. These victories, however, made him a vassal of Hungary. In 1375 reconciliation with the Byz. church in Constantinople was achieved over the matter of the separate Serbian patriarchate, which had been proclaimed at PEĆ in 1346. Lazar refused to acknowledge the suzerainty of Hungary in 1382 and attacked and plundered Belgrade, which was under Hungarian control. He had, however, to avoid a confrontation with Sigismund of Hungary when the Ottoman threat to Serbia worsened. Murad I invaded Serbia and defeated Lazar in 1389 at the battle of KOSOVO POLJE, in which both rulers lost their lives. As a result the Ottomans gained suzerainty over Serbia.

The cult of Lazar as martyr commenced shortly after his death. In Serbian popular tradition, the historical prince Lazar and the legendary martyr of Kosovo are intertwined. The Kosovo cycle glorifying the victory of the heavenly over the earthly kingdom is the finest of epic poetry. Lazar built St. Stephen's church (Lazarica) at Kruševac (ca.1375) and the Ravanica monastery (1381) as his mausoleum. His best preserved portrait is in the Ljubostinja monastery, the foundation of his wife.

LIT. *O knezu Lazaru: Naučni skupu Kruševcu 1971* (Belgrade 1975). D.J. Trifunović, *Srpski srednjovekovni spisi o knezu Lazaru i Kosovskom boju* (Kruševac 1968). R. Mihaljčić, *Lazar Hrebeljanović, istorija, kult, predanje* (Belgrade 1984). Fine, *Late Balkans* 387–89. –J.S.A.

ŁAZAR OF P'ARPI or Łazar P'arpec'i, Armenian historian; born in P'arpi below Mt. Aragats, fl. second half of the 5th C. Brought up with Vahan MAMIKONEAN in Georgia after the suppression of the Armenian revolt of 450/1, Łazar later wrote a *History of Armenia* dedicated to Vahan, who in 485 was appointed governor (*marzpan*) of Armenia by the shah of Iran, Balāsh.

Łazar presents his work as the "third" history of Armenia, following those of AGATHANGELOS and pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND. It falls into three sections: the life and work of MESROP MAŠTOC', a version of the war against Persia parallel to the account of EŁIŠE, and the career of Vahan Mamikonean from the Armenian defeat of 451 to his appointment as *marzpan* in 485—the prime source for this period.

The original version is extant only in fragments, the complete surviving text being a revision of uncertain date. A letter addressed to Vahan (of uncertain authenticity) describes Łazar's Greek education.

ED. *Hayoc' ew T'ult' ar Vahan Mamikonean*, ed. G. Ter-Mkrtč'ean, S. Malxasean (Tbilisi 1904; rp. Delmar, N.Y., 1985). *Collection des historiens anciens et modernes de l'Arménie*, tr. V. Langlois, vol. 2 (Paris 1869) 253–368.

LIT. K.N. Juzbašjan, "Lazar Parpeci," *IFŽ* (1983) no. 4, 179–93. G. Garitte, "La Vision de S. Sahak en grec," *Muséon* 71 (1958) 255–78. C. Sanspeur, "Trois sources byzantines de l'*Historie des Arméniens* de Lazare de P'arpi," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 440–48. Idem, "Note sur l'édition du fragment de l'*Histoire* de Lazare de P'arpi, découvert dans le MS. A 82 de Leningrad," *HA* 94 (1980) 13–22. –R.T.

LAZAROS, painter, a Khazar according to the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 147); saint; died Rome after 28 Sept. 865, although Janin (*infra*) questions this date; feastday 17 Nov. The entry in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 231–34) describes Lazaros as a monk and painter from an early age; a defender of images, he became a victim of Iconoclast persecution when he was punished by having his hands burned. Released at the behest of Empress THEODORA, he fled to the monastery of the Prodromos tou Phoberou where he painted an icon of John the Baptist. After Theophilos's death he painted the icon of CHRIST CHALKITES, according to Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 103.19–21). A supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS, Lazaros played the role of diplomat: he participated in a mission to Pope Benedict III (855–58). According to the *Synaxarion*, he died during a second mission to Rome. J. Raasted (*Cahiers de l'Institut du moyen-âge grec et latin* 37 [1981] 124–38) identified him with a certain Lazaros, who sent a letter (after 858) to his "spiritual lord master." The attribution by M. Ščepkina (*Miniatjury* 297–99) to Lazaros of the illustrations in the Khludov PSALTER lacks any documentary support.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Apse Mosaics of St. Sophia at Istanbul," *DOP* 19 (1965) 144f. R. Janin in *Bibl.Sanct.* 7:1152f. –A.C., A.K.

LAZAROS, patriarch of Jerusalem; died after Apr. 1368. Soon after his election to the patriarchate (date unknown), Lazaros left for Constantinople to have his appointment confirmed by ANDRONIKOS III. In his absence, however, the monk Gerasimos slandered him and succeeded in having himself elected patriarch. When Andronikos died, the matter had not yet been decided. Nevertheless, during the Civil War of 1341–47 that followed, Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS recognized Gerasimos. For his part, Lazaros favored Kalekas's opponent, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and was responsible for crowning him emperor (21 May 1346) in Adrianople (Kantak. 2:564.10–18). After Kantakouzenos's victory, Lazaros was recognized (sometime between May and Aug. 1347) as the lawful incumbent. Still, only in the second half of 1349, when Gerasimos was expelled from Jerusalem, was Lazaros able to take possession of his see.

LIT. Papadopoulos, *Hierosolym.* 425–34. P. Wirth, "Miszellen zu den Patriarchaten von Konstantinopel und Jerusalem," *JÖB* 9 (1960) 47–50. Idem, "Der Patriarchat des Gerasimos und der zweite Patriarchat des Lazaros von Jerusalem," *BZ* 54 (1961) 319–23. –A.P.

LAZAROS OF MOUNT GALESIOS, saint; baptismal name Leo; born near Magnesia on the Meander, died Mt. GALESIOS 7 Nov. 1053. His birthdate, usually calculated as ca.972, is questionable: MS Moscow, Hist. Mus. 369/353, fol.220, indicates that Lazaros died at age 72 and thus would have been born ca.981. Lazaros was born to a peasant family; after completing his elementary education, he fled to Attaleia, where he took the monastic habit, and then to the Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine. After his return he founded three monasteries at Mt. Galesios near Ephesus, where he lived atop a pillar. His community was based on individualistic principles, with the cell being the center of monastic activity; monk-craftsmen were allowed to earn a private income (*AASS* Nov. 3:566A–D).

Lazaros's disciple, the *kellarites* Gregory, recorded his biography; it has few supernatural miracles but many vignettes rich in everyday details: the young Lazaros escaped sexual seduction in the house of a girl whom he accompanied to Chonae; Lazaros's corpse, with the help of the monk Cyril, signed the *diatyposis* for the monks; many thefts and quarrels, travels, and visits are described. Gregory focuses on local events, while Constantinople is depicted as a remote city teeming with danger. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS reworked the vita.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 3:508–606.
LIT. *BHG* 979–980e. I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.VI (1979–80), 723–26. O. Lampsides, "Anekdoton keimenon peri tou hagiou Lazarou Galesiotou," *Theologia* 53 (1982) 158–77. E. Malamut, "A propos de Bessai d'Ephèse," *REB* 43 (1985) 243–51. –A.K.

LAZARUS SATURDAY, a FEAST celebrated on the Saturday before PALM SUNDAY in commemoration of the raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1–45). Together with Palm Sunday, Lazarus Saturday separates LENT from HOLY WEEK. EGERIA describes a procession on this day leading from Jerusalem to Bethany with two stations: one at a church on the road, where the bishop's procession is met by the monks and people, and the second at Lazarus's tomb in Bethany. Surprisingly, neither the lections at these stations nor Egeria herself make reference to the actual raising of Lazarus. Talley (*Liturgical Year* 176–89, 203–14, 234) argues convincingly that this theme on Lazarus Saturday in Constantinople cannot be traced to Jerusalem, but probably originated in Alexandria instead.

On Lazarus Saturday, the emperor and his court went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where the emperor gave out palms and silver crosses (*De cer.* 170f). In the 14th C. he celebrated the feast at the monastery of St. Lazarus instead (pseudo-Kod. 246:13–20). Teachers in the Patriarchal School of the 12th C. delivered *enkomia* of the patriarch on this day.

One of four occasions for BAPTISM in Constantinople, Lazarus Saturday was characterized by a complete baptismal liturgy performed in Hagia Sophia (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:62–65). At the conclusion of *orthros* the reading of Acts began and the patriarch descended to the baptistery where he baptized the candidates and anointed them with chrism. Then a psalmist intoned Psalm 31 and led the neophytes into the church to the chant of the psalmody, for the continuation of which he mounted the ambo. At a signal from the deacon

the psalmody was broken off and the reading resumed with Acts 8:26, after which the liturgy began with the ANTIPHONS.

Representation in Art. The standard Byz. composition of the Raising of Lazarus first emerged in the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.1r): with Lazarus's sisters Mary and Martha at his feet and disciples behind him, Christ is shown gesturing toward the shrouded corpse of Lazarus, which stands at the mouth of a cave or small building (*aedicula*) at the right, surrounded by onlookers. One, holding his nose against the stench, supports Lazarus while another holds the sarcophagus lid. This composition displaces an earlier one—showing a youthful Christ waving a thaumaturgic wand toward a shrouded corpse in an *aedicula*—that recurs more than 100 times in funerary art of the 3rd to 5th C. The Byz. composition underwent some modifications: 11th- through 12th-C. versions may show an embroidered hood over Lazarus's head or a sarcophagus at Lazarus's feet, and the noseholder may be shown unwrapping Lazarus; some 13th-C. examples show Lazarus sitting or lying in the sarcophagus; and 14th-C. renditions combine Lazarus in his sarcophagus with cave and *aedicula*. In some 11th- through 12th-C. MSS and mural paintings, Lazarus appears as a bishop, reflecting the legend that he became bishop of Kition in Cyprus (C. Walter, *REB* 27 [1969] 197–208). The TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH of Constantinople calls Lazarus "friend of Christ," and homilies present him as proof of the rewards to be had from friendship judiciously conferred.

LIT. T.J. Talley, "The Origin of Lent in Alexandria," *StP* 17.2 (1982) 594–612. Millet, *Recherches* 232–54. M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106 et sa contribution à l'iconographie* (Brussels 1966) 22–27. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

LAZIKA (Λαζική), at first the southwest region of ancient Colchis lying along the east shore of the Black Sea and including the mouth of the PHASIS River; Lazika hence has often been confused with Tzanika. In the 4th C., the Lazes extended their suzerainty northward toward ABCHASIA and Svaneti (SUANIA) to form a kingdom, with Archaiopolis as capital, which commanded some of the Caucasian passes. Lazika then came to the attention of Byz. and trade was initiated; the Laz kings received their regalia (see INSIGNIA) from Byz. even though they paid no tribute (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.15.2). Increasing Byz. interference in the region and the building of the fortress of Petra on the coast of Lazika provoked the Persians to invade the country in 542 and capture Petra. The protracted Lazic war (549–56) ended with the reestablishment of Byz. control in the area under the terms of the Peace of 562 (MENANDER PROTECTOR, fr.6.1, ed. Blockley, 80.474); the Laz tribes gradually moved southwestward, however, so that the toponym Lazika was increasingly identified with the southeast shore of the Black Sea as far as TREBIZOND. Byz. maintained control of Lazika until the revolt of the *patrikios* Sergios in 697 opened the way for the Arab invasion of Lazika early in the 8th C., their capture of Archaiopolis, and the islamization of the previously Christian Lazes. The diocese of Trebizond was officially named that of "entire Lazika" through the 14th C. (*Notitiae CP* no.20.33).

LIT. A. Bryer, "Some Notes on the Laz and Tzan," *BK* 21–22 (1966) 174–95; 23–24 (1967) 161–68. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 191–98. Bury, *LRE* 2:113–23. –N.G.G.

LEAD (μόλυβδος), probably from Trebizond, Macedonia, and northern regions of the Balkans, was broadly employed in Byz. In a list of craftsmen supplementing Constantine I's law of 337 (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 4.2, *Cod.Just.* X 66.1) are mentioned workers in lead (*plumbarii*) that in the Greek translation is rendered *molybdourgoi*, even though *ploumarioi* (*sic*) are named as well (*Basil.* 54.6.8). Lead was added to copper alloys to improve their casting properties (B. Iatrides, *Archaiologia* 1 [Nov. 1981] 73f). The metal's low melting temperature also allowed simple lead objects to be produced domestically: thus in Cherson in the 9th and 10th C. fishermen made weights for their nets at home, and lead blanks were found in several other houses (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Chersones* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 322–25). The softness of lead made it a perfect material for SEALS, and its weight lent itself to carpenter's plummets. Scribes used it to make RULING PATTERNS on MSS.

Lead was used for ROOFING to protect domes and vaults (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1908] 59.33–34) from rain and for manufacturing water pipes. It strengthened the piers of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.53). Lead sarcophagi with Christian motifs were produced in Syria/Palestine from the 4th C. onward, continu-

ing an older industry based in Sidon. Lead was used by goldsmiths in repoussé work and for the production of cheap AMULETS and CROSSES (Harrison, *Saraçhane,* nos. 621–23) as well as for pilgrimage AMPULLAE (Ch. Bakirtzes, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 523–28).

LIT. K.B. Hofmann, *Das Blei bei den Völkern des Altertums* (Berlin 1885). R.J. Forbes, "Silver and Lead in Antiquity," *Jaarbericht van het Vooraziatisch-Egyptisch Gezelschap 'Ex Oriente Lux'* 7 (1940) 489–524. Idem, *Studies in Ancient Technology* 8 (Leiden 1964) 193–245. –M.M.M., L.Ph.B., A.C.

LEARNING. Erudition was divided in Byz. into two categories: "our" *paideia,* that is, Christian doctrine; and "outside" (*exo, thyrathen*) *sophia,* the classical (pagan, Hellenic) erudition. Attitudes toward EDUCATION were ambivalent. On the one hand, church fathers and authors of saints' vitae in high style disparaged secular wisdom, and writers such as Symeon the Theologian contrasted the knowledge attained through reading with the revelation granted by God, and were suspicious even of knowledge of the Holy Writ (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 37). Knowledge was not included among the four basic virtues that should adorn the ideal emperor, according to the BASILIKOS LOGOS; its place was taken by good sense (*phronesis*). On the other hand, the same ecclesiastics who criticized secular wisdom tried to show their familiarity with that wisdom; learning also formed an essential part of the system of secular values, and higher education was often a prerequisite for an administrative career.

The Byz. CURRICULUM encompassed primarily the classical language (grammar), eloquence (rhetoric), and philosophy or logic; the QUADRIVIUM included the complementary disciplines of arithmetic, geometry, music, and astronomy. Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:352.6–10) claimed to have studied every science (*mathema*), that is, rhetoric, geometry, music, rhythmic, arithmetic, stereometry (*sphairike*), law, the sacred science (*hieratike*), theology. Prodromos, however, in the vita of MELETIOS THE YOUNGER of Myoupolis (ed. Vasil'evskij 42.16–21), contrasted the study (*paideia*) of Holy Scripture with "unnecessary" disciplines—the "outside" philosophy, rhetoric, physics, astronomy, geometry, and arithmetic. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS distinguished between two major divisions of secular knowledge, logic and physics (PG 142:381A). –A.K., I.Š.

LEASE. See MISTHOSIS.

LEATHER. The processing of leather does not seem to have attained much importance in antiquity. Not only are terms for leatherworkers in Egyptian papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 29f) infrequent and of uncertain meaning, but most of the artisans listed by Fikhman as working with leather are in fact furriers, saddlers, and shieldmakers. In Rome of the late 3rd to early 4th C. only a few inscriptions mention the guild of TANNERS—*corarii* (E. Kornemann, *RE* 4 [1901] 458).

In Byz., on the other hand, leather processing and the manufacture of leather products became one of the most widespread artisan professions. Leather was used not only for footgear but also for certain types of cloaks, harnesses, tents and shields (for the army), and PARCHMENT. New words for leatherworkers, such as *skytergates* (PG 92:1377A) and *skytoergos* (PG 37:1235A) appear in the vocabulary of 4th–7th-C. authors. The division of labor was relatively elaborate, comparable only to the complexity of silk production. The Stoudios monastery in the 9th C. had TANNERS (*byrseis*), leather processors (*dermatopoiountes*), SHOEMAKERS (*skyteis* and similar terms), *hypodematorrhaphoi* (sandalmakers?), dyers of footgear (*skytodeusopoiountes*), and makers of parchment (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412f). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* strictly distinguishes between harnessmakers (LOROTOMOI), tanners, and *malakatarioi* ("softeners"), but omits shoemakers.

In the Palaiologan period Constantinopolitan Jews played a major role in leather processing. Italian merchants brought hides and furs to Constantinople for processing, and leather goods were produced for export. In the 14th C. Constantinopolitan leatherworkers were allowed to work in Dubrovnik, one of the main centers of trade in cattle and sheep (B. Krekić, *Dubrovnik [Raguse] et le Levant au Moyen-Age* [Paris 1961] 217).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 232f. Matschke, *Fortschritt* 96f. –A.K.

LEBOUNION, MOUNT, site of a battle on 29 Apr. 1091. Lebounion (Λεβούνιον) was a hill located near the mouth of the Marica (HEBROS) River; the plain at its base was the scene of a decisive victory of ALEXIOS I over the PECHENEGS. The CUMANS supported Alexios. When he de-

layed battle, awaiting the arrival of Western reinforcements, the Cumans insisted on immediate engagement; since Alexios feared a Pecheneg-Cuman alliance, he was forced to fight. The Byz. and Cumans advanced at dawn in a crescent against the Pechenegs, who sheltered themselves and their families behind their covered wagons. At the outset the Pechenegs were weakened by desertion to the Cumans. The conflict lasted much of the day; neighboring peasants brought water to relieve the thirst of the Byz. soldiers. The struggle ended, according to Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:142f), in a terrible massacre, including women and children, although some prisoners were taken. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:740f) records that the surviving Pechenegs were settled in the MOGLENA theme. Pecheneg power was broken; Anna Komnene reports a fragment of a popular song: "For lack of one day, the Scyths missed seeing May."

LIT. M. Gyóni, "Le nom de *Vlachoi* dans l'Alexiade d'Anne Comnène," *BZ* 44 (1951) 241–52. –C.M.B.

LECHAION. See CORINTH.

LECTIONARY, a general term for various LITURGICAL BOOKS containing LECTIONS intended for reading in liturgical services. Most have lists appended indicating the feasts, both fixed and mobile, of the church CALENDAR, with their proper lections. A true lectionary gives the full text of the lections, not just *incipit-desinit* tables (tables of beginning and concluding phrases).

The earliest complete lectionary covering the entire liturgical YEAR is that of Jerusalem, transmitted through the 5th-C. Early Syriac lectionary (F.C. Burkitt, *ProcBrAc* 10 [1921–23] 301–39), the 5th-C. Armenian lectionary (A. Renoux, PO 35–36), the 5th–8th-C. Georgian redactions (M. Tarchnischvili, *CSCO* 188–89), and the 6th-C. Palestinian Syriac lectionary of the Old Testament and Epistle lections (A.S. Lewis, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectionary* [London 1897]). This Jerusalem lectionary is of major importance for the history of Byz. FEASTS, calendar, and lectionaries. The Byz. calendar, fixed probably before 700, gave rise to a new disposition of lections based largely on the Jerusalem system, rather than the earlier lection system of Antioch (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 1:25–35).

The oldest Byz. lectionary MSS are from the 9th C. The two major types of lectionary were the EVANGELION, which contains Gospel passages, and the PRAXAPOSTOLOS for the other New Testament passages. Other lectionaries were the PROPHETOLOGION for the Old Testament lections; the *apostoloevangelion*, containing both Epistles and Gospel readings; and the *anagnostikon*, a rare book containing all the Old and New Testament lections, found in Philotheou 6, an 11th-C. MS on Mt. Athos (Lampros, *Athos* 1:151, no.1769).

LIT. Y. Burns, "The Historical Events that Occasioned the Inception of the Byzantine Gospel Lectionaries," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 119–27. A. Baumstark, *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Münster 1921). A. Rahlfs, "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen*, vol. 1.5 (Berlin 1915) 119–230. Y. Burns, "The Lectionary of the Patriarch of Constantinople," *StP* 15 (1984) 515–20. –R.F.T.

LECTIONS (ἀναγνώσματα), liturgical readings, drawn exclusively from the Bible for the Eucharist, for other services drawn occasionally also from hagiographical (see SYNAXARION of Constantinople) or patristic writings and conciliar decrees. Lections, collected into various types of LECTIONARIES, are a major component of liturgy, esp. of VIGILS. Byz. HOURS had no daily scripture lections; the lections were added on feasts in accordance with Palestinian practice.

Developed lection systems first appear in the 5th-C. lectionary of Jerusalem. The Byz. system, based originally on that of Antioch, later underwent Jerusalem influence. This synthesis took place probably before 700. At first there were lections only for Saturdays and Sundays. Weekday readings were added as Eucharist was extended to weekdays, not earlier than the 7th C., and then only in monastic usage. The TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH still lacks these weekday lessons, and the earliest Byz. lectionaries (9th C.) have no weekday lessons outside the Easter season.

Lections were either "select," that is, chosen for their suitability to the feast—this system was used esp. for the fixed feasts, the MENAION cycle—or "continuous," that is, lessons read day after day more or less in the order in which they occur in the Bible text. This latter system was used for most of the mobile cycle of the church CALENDAR.

In cathedral services, the Gospel was usually

read by the deacon, other lections by the ANAGNOSTES; though on some more solemn occasions (Easter and other solemn vigils; sometimes at LITE), the patriarch or bishop or, in his absence, the priest, proclaimed the Gospel. At monastic hours, readings were done by the monks themselves, most of whom were not ordained.

LIT. P.-M. Gy, "La question du système des lectures de la liturgie byzantine," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro*, vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 251–61. I.M. de Vries, "The Epistles, Gospels and Tones of the Byzantine Liturgical Year," *Eastern Churches Quarterly* 10 (1953–54) 41–49, 85–95, 137–49, 192–95. R. Zerfass, *Die Schriftlesung im Kathedraloffizium Jerusalems* (Münster 1968). –R.F.T.

LECTOR. See ANAGNOSTES.

LEGAL SCIENCE. In order to speak of Byz. legal science one must allow to be considered as science the production of texts that have as their subject the meaning of legal norms and their relation to each other. There was a legal science of this kind among those individuals attached to LAW SCHOOLS and to the judiciary. Excluded from legal science, on the other hand, are the producers of norms (legislation), the collectors of norms (authors of law books), or the producers of normative models (production of *formulae*: the NOTARIES). Legal science pursued either a pedagogical purpose (teaching) or served the decision-making process (judgments, legal statements). For all the periods of the empire in which such a legal science can be demonstrated (4th–6th and 10th–13th C.), it is characterized by the following methodological features: stringent "philological" commitment to the basic text; a marked use of "juristic logic," that is, deductions that can be reconstructed by formal logic, whose premises are not secured and are susceptible to rhetoric (e.g., analogy and inverted deduction); the use of hermeneutic techniques (etymology, explanation according to significance and object of the norm); and the use of rhetorical figures of speech and models of presentation. Since the legal scholars were also familiar with juristic dogma—understood as the sum of the transmitted and accepted legal statements both legislative and judicial in origin—the differences between these and today's European or Anglo-Saxon juristic techniques are minor. –D.S.

LEGATARIOS (ληγατάριος), subaltern official in several departments both civil and military; neither TAKTIKA nor the *De ceremoniis* define his functions. More is known about the *legatarios* of the EPARCH OF THE CITY who had to oversee the foreign merchants in Constantinople. The attempts to identify the latter *legatarios* with either the SYMPONOS or the LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU (e.g., M. Ja. Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 249) are not correct; these two officials were the emperor's appointees, while the *legatarios* was appointed by the eparch (Oikonomides, *Listes* 314, n.156). The *legatarios* is known also in the *sekreton* of the LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU and under some military commanders.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 90–92. –A.K.

LEGATON (λεγάτον), in contrast to the appointment of an HEIR, was the separate donation of single pieces or portions of the deceased's estate, with the consequence that the heir (or heirs) was charged with the distribution of the legacy. Any heir, including the church and pious institutions as well as such *incertae personae* as "the poor," could be the recipient of a *legaton*. The *legaton* was executed by the legatee at the expense of the heirs by means of a lawsuit. The heirs were protected by the LEX FALCIDIA against the overburdening of the estate with *legata*. In the post-Justinianic period, esp. in practice, exact distinctions were often no longer made between the appointment of an heir and the apportioning of a *legaton*, so that the question of who was to be considered the heir and who the legatee cannot always be clearly answered. A further consequence is that the *Lex Falcidia* and the legal expedients that safeguarded against exclusion from a WILL (the right to a legitimate portion) merge with one another to a great extent. The process of this development has not yet been the subject of detailed research. The term *legaton* also acquired the specific connotation in Byz. of a gift given to manumitted slaves (e.g., *Lavra*, no.1.22 [a.897]) and as such appears in several saints' lives that describe pious acts of MANUMISSION.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:555–62 (§298). –A.K.

LEGES FISCALES, conventional name for a collection of regulations concerning taxes and the rights of holders of adjacent properties. Compiled

from the Greek versions of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS, it was divided into five titles, with 233 chapters in all. Apart from the PROCHIRON and the collection of novels by Theodore of Hermoupolis (end of the 6th C.), its immediate sources are uncertain; the *Basilika* were probably not used. The *intitulatio,* which mentions Leo VI and his brother Alexander, offers a trustworthy basis for the dating of the collection to the early 10th C. but does not prove it was an official promulgation.

ED. L. Burgmann, D. Simon, "Ein unbekanntes Rechtsbuch," *FM* 1 (1976) 73–101. –L.B.

LEGES MILITARES. See NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS.

LEGITIMACY, POLITICAL. Roman constitutional vagueness encouraged Byz. inventiveness in justifying the possession of political power, the main themes of which permeate imperial PROPAGANDA. Despite their stability, the weight accorded to each theme changed, reflecting ideology and the POLITICAL STRUCTURE. Six forms of legitimacy proved most enduring.

1. ***Legitimacy based on military success*** (e.g., TRIUMPHS), reckoned as revealing divine approval, was fostered by political survival and the emperor's original connection with military command.

2. ***Civic legitimacy*** came from the emperor's political civility (e.g., the ostentatious refusal of minor perquisites of absolute power), as long as Roman republican traditions still carried weight. This legitimacy was transformed in the emperor's role as lawgiver and benefactor, for example, in his PHILANTHROPY.

3. ***Historical legitimacy*** derived from the Roman character of Byz., combined with the Byz. mentality's attachment to the old and to TAXIS.

4. ***Dynastic legitimacy*** emerged as aristocratic lineages coalesced. It explains the epithet PORPHYROGENNETOS, commemorative coinage of the Isaurians (*DOC* 3.1:9) or Anna of Savoy, and the use by John III Vatatzes of the DOUKAS surname and his treatment of Andronikos I as his grandfather.

5. ***The unique status of Constantinople*** made into a source of legitimacy the possession of the capital itself and all that went with it in terms of resources and the legitimizing power of the CEREMONY. For example, failure to take Constantinople doomed the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV, and Kekaumenos (Kek. 268.8–13) insisted victory belonged to the emperor who controlled the capital.

6. ***Religious legitimacy*** was indispensable. Divine election justified USURPATION or its repression, and the emperor's personal piety and ORTHODOXY confirmed and allowed his Christomimetic rulership. This development peaked in late Byz. with, for example, the appearance of ANOINTING at the CORONATION.

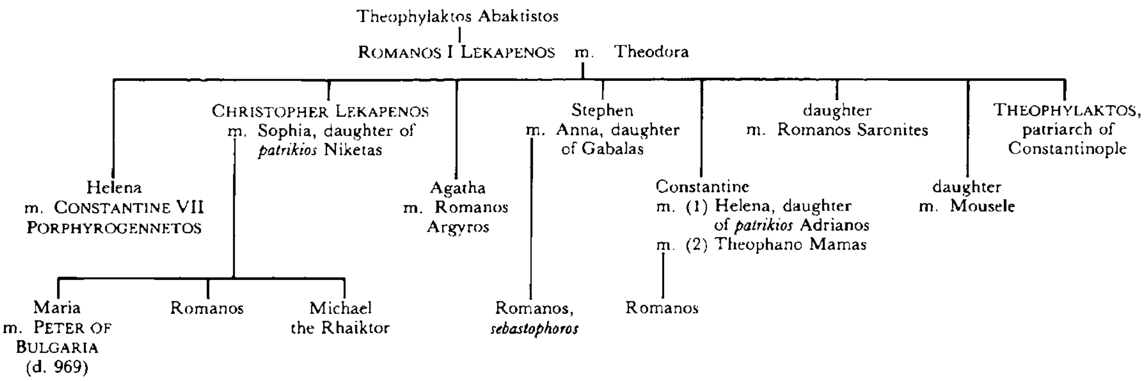
Components of legitimacy often converged: for example, lineage, Romanness, and religion combined when emperors claimed genealogical descent from St. Constantine (e.g., BASIL I) or ancient Roman nobility (e.g., the Doukai, anonymous preface to Bryen. 67.21–69.4).

LIT. F. Dölger, "Johannes VI. Kantakuzenus als dynastischer Legitimist," *SemKond* 10 (1938) 19–30. Av. Cameron, "The Construction of Court Ritual: the Byzantine *Book of Ceremonies*," in Cannadine-Price, *Rituals* 106–36. –M.McC.

LEISURE (σχολή), as a form of philosophical behavior, designated in antiquity both scholarly discussion and scholarly speculation on nature and "origin." Church fathers renounced the ancient concept of philosophical leisure: Basil the Great (PG 29:429A) condemned "the evil leisure of the Athenians" that was still being imitated by his contemporaries, who were trying to invent new concepts and thus fell within the embraces of "dirty and evil spirits." He contrasted this leisure to "a good and beneficial *schole*," which was, in the words of Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 27:216D), "the cognizance of God." *Schole* was thus transformed into an emphasis on contemplation, which became an important part of ascetic exercises. –A.K.

LEKAPENOS (Λεκαπηνός, fem. Λεκαπηνή), or Lakapenos, a family of Armenian stock. Its founder, Theophylaktos Abaktistos or Abastaktos, rescued Basil I in a battle in 872 and was rewarded with a piece of imperial land, perhaps in the region of Lakape that gave the family its new name. Theophylaktos's son became Emp. ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, his sons were proclaimed coemperors, and the youngest, THEOPHYLAKTOS, was appointed patriarch. The oldest brother, CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS, died in Aug. 931; on 16

GENEALOGY OF THE LEKAPENOS FAMILY IN THE TENTH CENTURY



Adapted from S. Runciman, *The Emperor Romanus Lecapenus and His Reign* (rp. Cambridge 1988), app. IV.

Dec. 944 Stephen and Constantine deposed their father, but they were in turn arrested on 15 June 945, exiled, and eventually murdered. For several decades the Lekapenoi maintained a leading position: Romanos I's illegitimate son Basil the Nothos, the *parakoimomenos*, administered the empire during Basil II's youth, and Christopher's son, Michael the Raiktor, gained the high title of *magistros*. Thereafter their role declined: from the 11th C. only a single family member is known—Constantine, whose seal mentions neither his title nor office (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.446). In the 14th C. George Lakapenos was a writer, landowner, teacher, and official of a mediocre rank. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus* 63f, 77–79, 232–37. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 11–13. J. L. van Dieten, *RB* 1:1f. –A.K.

LEKAPENOS, GEORGE. See Lakapenos, George.

LEMBIOTISSA (Λεμβιώτισσα), or Lembos, a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, located halfway between Smyrna and Nymphaion. It existed by 787 when Theodore, *hegoumenos* of Lembos, signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea; its history thereafter until the 13th C. is obscure. Restored and richly endowed by John III Vatatzes, it flourished until 1307, when it was apparently attacked by the Turks and burned.

A kodix or cartulary of Lembiotissa survives in a Vienna MS (ÖNB, hist. gr. 125) that preserves copies of about 200 private and official acts dating from 1192 to 1294 (Dölger, *infra* 295) or probably even from as early as 1133 (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 128). This collection permits the establishment of the list of Lembiotissa's *hegoumenoi* between 1223 and 1293 (Dölger, *infra* 302–06) and contains data concerning the topography and administration of the Smyrna region, the activity of the episcopal chancery, and esp. the structure of the village-estate. The possessions of Lembiotissa were located in Smyrna and in several villages. In no case was Lembiotissa the sole owner of these villages. In the villages can be found properties of various secular and ecclesiastical landowners, independent and dependent peasants (e.g., a *paroikos* who had two masters simultaneously, peasants under *pronoia*); some allotments were tiny (1–3 *modioi*), and many owners held property in several different villages. The *kodix* also provides data about the price of fields and vineyards, taxes, and rent, esp. the epiteleia.

SOURCE. MM 4:1–289.

LIT. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und Prosopographisches zur byzantinischen Geschichte des 13. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 27 (1927) 291–320. A. Fontrier, "Le monastère de Lembos près de Smyrne," *BCH* 16 (1892) 379–410. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 24–27, 56–60, 98–100. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 236–44. D. Angelov, "Prinos kŭm pozemlenite otnošenija vŭv Vizantija prez XIII vek," *GSU FIF* 2 (1952) 3–103. –A.M.T., A.K.

LEMMA (λῆμμα), designation (occasionally attested already in antiquity) of the title usually placed at the head of a work or a chapter. It is often written in characters different from those of the text (i.e., in MINUSCULE MSS the lemmata are often written in UNCIAL, and vice versa) and also in INK of a different color (usually red). Sometimes a scribe forgot to add the lemma (and initial letters) to a text so that the work remained without title (*anepigraphos*) until a later copyist invented a new one.

Normally the lemma contains the author's name (sometimes, however, only in the formula *tou autou*, "by the same," which can be misleading) and details about contents, occasion, and (esp. in the case of letters) the addressee. Sometimes the lemma provides the only information at our disposal about the writer and the historical context of the work, Byz. texts being mostly tacit in this respect. On the other hand the reliability of the lemma is always relative, because it is not formulated by the author himself, except in the case of autographs. Cases of pseudepigraphy occur time and again; they are often due to the attempt to gain a higher price for the MS by means of an attractive author attribution.

LIT. O. Kresten, "Phantomgestalten in der byzantinischen Literaturgeschichte," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 207–22. H. Hunger, "Minuskel und Auszeichnungsschriften im 10.–12. Jahrhundert," in *PGEB* 201–20. –W.H.

LEMNOS (Λῆμνος), island in the northern Aegean Sea that controlled the passage between Constantinople and Thessalonike; its capital was Hephaisteia. In late antiquity it was listed among the cities of the province of ACHAIA (Hierokl. 649.1); by the 9th C. it was part of the theme of the AEGEAN SEA. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 127, n.6) hypothesized that in the 10th C. Lemnos was under the command of the *strategos* of Thessalonike, but her reference to Skyl. 368.78 does not support this view. Neither do we have any proof that Lemnos was an important shipyard: a donation of 1016 (*Lavra* 1, no.20.79) only mentions a certain Andrew, a homeowner or former EPEIKTES of the island, and a purchase deed of 993 identifies the *protospatharios* and *exartistes* ("rigger") Michael as a friend of Athanasios of Athos (*Lavra* 1, no.10.23–25)—his whereabouts are not indicated.

The island was sacked by the Saracens in 902 and remained for several years a focus of anti-Arab naval operations. After 1204 Lemnos was placed under the authority of the Latin Empire but was reconquered by Michael VIII (Greg. 1:98.16). The loss of Asia Minor made Lemnos important as a source of food (monasteries of Mt. Athos had properties on Lemnos), as a political force (the inhabitants of Lemnos supported Andronikos III against Andronikos II—Kantak. 1:150f), and as a prize in the struggle for power (John VI Kantakouzenos gave it first to his brother Manuel, then to his son Matthew Kantakouzenos—Kantak. 3:312.1–8). The island was demanded by Alfonso V of Aragon (1416–1458) as the price of his aid for Constantinople, and offered by Constantine XI to GIUSTINIANI LONGO if he would help to repulse the Turks. After 1453 Lemnos was given briefly to the Gattilusi of Lesbos, then granted as part of an appanage by Mehmed II in 1460 to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea. It was finally conquered by the Ottomans in 1479.

The bishop of Hephaisteia attended the Council of Nicaea in 325. A part of Eastern Illyricum, the island was under the jurisdiction of Rome until the 8th C. Lemnos became an archbishopric in the 9th C. and metropolis during the Civil War of 1341–47. The Latin conquest seems not to have affected the position of the Greek bishops of the island.

LIT. C. Fredrich, "Lemnos," *MDAI AA* 31 (1906) 246f, 249f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:657f, 3:161f. J.F. Haldon, "Limnos, Monastic Holdings and the Byzantine State: Ca. 1261–1453," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine Society* (Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986) 161–215. –T.E.G.

LENT (*τεσσαρακοστή*, lit. "fortieth [day]"), a period, ideally 40 days in duration, of PENANCE and FASTING in preparation for Easter. This period is also called "Great Lent" to distinguish it from the three lesser Byz. lents, those preceding the NATIVITY of Christ, the DORMITION of the Virgin Mary, and the feast of Sts. Peter and Paul on 29 June (the last Lent extends from the Monday following the Sunday after Pentecost until the vigil of the Apostles' feast).

The first sure evidence of Lent occurs in Festal Letter II of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, from 330. By the end of the 4th C. a prepaschal Lent was in practice almost everywhere, an outgrowth of the preparation for BAPTISM at Easter. Lent later

became also a penitential preparation for the reconciliation of penitents during Holy Week. But growth was not uniform, as evidence from Jerusalem, Rome, and Egypt shows: Egypt, for instance, once had a six-week post-Epiphany fast in imitation of Jesus' postbaptismal fast.

The duration of Lent and the ways of calculating it have also varied. Originally the whole period lasted six weeks. Where Saturdays and Sundays were not fast days (except for Holy Saturday), this amounted to only 36 days of fasting in Lent plus Holy Week; thus these days were called "the tithe of the year." Soon literalism and the desire to have 40 actual fast days led in the 6th–7th C. in Constantinople to the addition of another, pre-Lenten *tyrine*, or "Cheesefare Week" of fasting that, with the six weeks of Lent plus Holy Week, makes a total of eight weeks, each with five fast days, 40 in all.

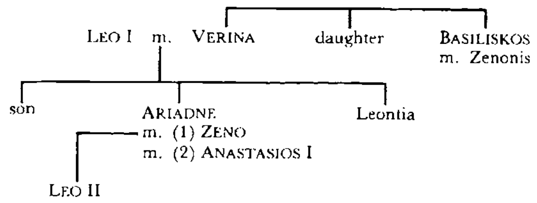
Lenten liturgical legislation first appears in canons 45 and 49–52 of the Council of Laodikeia in 380 (Mansi 2:571CE), and Lenten liturgy is already highly developed in Jerusalem by 384, as the diary of EGERIA reveals; other evidence is provided by the contemporary homilies of CYRIL of Jerusalem and by the 5th-C. Armenian LECTIONARY. Byz. Lenten liturgy, later codified in the liturgical book called the TRIODION, is seen in the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, in later monastic TYPIKA as well as in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and other ceremonial books (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 28–30; pseudo-Kod. 221–24). Many Lenten sermons have survived: the preacher usually used the season of Lent to expose the vices of his flock and to suggest ways for moral improvement.

LIT. K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aussätze zur Kirchengeschichte*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1928) 155–203. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 163–230. —R.F.T.

LEO (Λέων, lit. "lion"), personal name. Although well known in antiquity (W. Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] [Braunschweig 1863–70] 793f), it was apparently rare in the 4th C.: *PLRE* 1:498 cites only two Leos alongside 24 Leontioi. It became more popular in the 5th C.: in *PLRE* 2:661–66 there are about 12 Leos, but still fewer than Leontioi (30). The relative frequency changed by the time of Theophanes the Confessor, who lists 18 Leos and only two Leontioi. The name reached its peak in Skylitzes, who has 38 Leos, more than THEODORE and BASIL; in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Leo is numerous (26), even though here the name is a little behind Theodore (30) and Basil (29); in *Iviron*, vol. 1 (10th–11th C.), Leo (11) is ahead of Theodore (9), but behind Basil (20). In the later period the name lost popularity: in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), Leo is in twelfth place with 31 instances, fewer than Athanasios (35) and Kyriakos (34), and far fewer than fashionable names like JOHN (350) and others of its ilk. The frequency of the name in the acts of Docheiariou is higher: Leo is more frequent than Athanasios or Kyriakos, but far behind Theodore. As an imperial name Leo was popular between the 5th and 10th C. Since the name Leo was borne by several Iconoclast emperors (Leo III–V), their adversaries used the expression "wild beast" to designate a "heretic" emperor; on the other hand, the lion as a royal animal could serve as a symbol or epithet of a "pious" Leo. —A.K.

LEO I, called the "Butcher" (Μακέλλης) or the "Great" (probably not because of his piety but to distinguish him from Leo II, the "Little," his grandson), emperor (from 7 Feb. 457); of Bessian origin, born in Illyrian Dacia ca.400, died 18 Jan. 474. A low-ranking officer commanding a garrison in Selymbria and a personal servant (*kourator*) of ASPAR and his son, he was chosen by Aspar as emperor upon Marcian's death. Aspar saw Leo as a compliant tool through whom he could exercise power. Leo was crowned by Patr. Anatolios (449–58)—the first case of imperial coronation by a patriarch. Leo's reign witnessed natural disasters (a fire in Constantinople in 465, earthquakes) and religious conflicts (TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS in Alexandria, the attempt of PETER THE FULLER to seize the see of Antioch). He was forced to lower taxes and curb official abuses. Aspar defeated the Huns in 468, and the Danubian provinces enjoyed relative prosperity; the situation in the East was quiet. Attempts to control Italy led to military coups when the army, commanded by RICIMER, proclaimed as augusti MAJORIAN, ANTHEMIOS (both Leo's nominees), and Glycerius (whom Leo refused to recognize and replaced with JULIUS NEPOS). The maritime expedition of 468 against the Vandals failed due to the incompetence of its commander BASILISKOS.

THE HOUSE OF LEO I



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 361, with modifications.

By 468 Leo started to liberate himself from the control of Aspar and the Goths, using the Isaurians under ZENO as a counterweight to them. Leo married his daughter ARIADNE to Zeno. In 471 Aspar and his son ARDABOURIOS were murdered. Orthodox tradition depicts Leo and his wife VERINA as pious sovereigns devoted to the cult of the Virgin. Thus, in a 10th-C. MS (ed. A. Wenger, *REB* 10 [1952] 54f), they are said to have ordered a gold SOROS for a relic of the Virgin's clothing (here *peribole*; see MAPHORION), placing above it an image of Mary enthroned and adored by members of their family. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:314–23. W. Ensslin, *RE* 12 (1925) 1947–61. Kaegi, *Decline* 31–48. A. Kozlov, "Osnovnye napravlenija političeskoj oppozicii pravitel'stvu Vizantii v 50–načale 70–ch gg. V v.," *ADSV* 20 (1983) 29–39.
–T.E.G., A.C.

LEO I THE GREAT, pope (from 29 Sept. 440) and saint; born end of 4th C.? in Volterra? Tuscany, died Rome 10 Nov. 461; Greek feastday 18 Feb. Leo contended with barbarian assaults on Italy: in 452 he participated in an embassy to ATTILA and persuaded him to withdraw from Italy; in 455, while PETRONIUS MAXIMUS tried to flee from besieged Rome, Leo negotiated with the Vandal GAISERIC and convinced him to spare the city from fire. Another problem was the growing power of the Eastern churches—Leo joined Constantinople against Alexandria. He opposed NESTORIANISM and in an epistle to Patr. FLAVIAN of Constantinople defended the thesis of the two natures of Christ. The main problem he faced, however, was the relationship of the church to the state: Leo propagated the idea of close collaboration between the two authorities and emphasized the divine principles of the imperial power. He developed the concept that authority and obedience were dialectically interwoven and that the emperor, while obedient to God, was to be the master of his subjects (H. Arens, *Die christologische Sprache Leos des Grossen* [Freiburg im Br. 1982] 698f).

Loyal to Valentinian III, Leo sought the support of Constantinople, where he established his *apocrisiarius* as intermediary between Rome and the emperor. Leo did not approve of the idea of convening the Council of CHALCEDON, but he submitted to the emperor's will and worked supportively; he only required unconditionally that his legates should preside over the council (M. Wojtowytsch, *Papsttum und Konzile von den Anfängen bis zu Leo I.* [Stuttgart 1981] 331f). Leo developed the idea of PRIMACY but supported canon 28 of the Council of Chalcedon. The ICONOPHILES respected Leo, and in the 9th C. THEODORE GRAPTOS composed a *kanon* in his honor (E. Bouvy, *EO* 1 [1897–98] 172). His Greek vita, vague in its contents (C. Van den Vorst, *AB* 29 [1910] 400–408), was probably compiled on the basis of a poem in political verse (R. Goossens, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 427–32). Leo's lengthy letter dated 11 June 453 to THEODORET OF CYPRUS where the pope vouchsafes the orthodoxy of Theodoret's views is, probably, a mid-6th-C. forgery produced in the vein of Western reaction to the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS, or a revision of the authentic text (R. Schieffer in *Antidoron. Hulde aan Dr. Maurits Geerard* [Wetteren 1984] 81–87).

LIT. T. Jalland, *The Life and Times of St. Leo the Great* (London 1941). P. Stockmeier, *Leo I. des Grossen. Beurteilung der kaiserlichen Religionspolitik* (Munich 1959). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna* (Rome 1967) 311–22. W. Ullmann, "Leo I and the Theme of Papal Primacy," *JThSt* n.s. 11 (1960) 25–51.
–A.K.

LEO II, "the Little" (ὁ μικρός), emperor (473–74); born ca.467, died Constantinople 17 Nov.? 474. Since LEO I had no sons, he of necessity looked to his grandson Leo, the child of his daughter ARIADNE and her husband ZENO, to continue his line. In the fall of 473, shortly before Leo I died, he proclaimed his six-year-old grandson as caesar and then augustus. Early the next year, immediately after the death of Leo I, the child emperor crowned his father Zeno in the Hippodrome, with the approval of the senate (Feb. 474); the boy died a few months later. Latin

writers (Victor Tonnensis, Isidore of Seville) accuse Zeno of murdering his son. In any case, after the boy's death a conspiracy developed against Zeno in which Leo I's widow, VERINA, played an active role; she then changed her mind, however, and warned Zeno about the plot.

LIT. A. Lippold, *RE* 2.R. 10 (1972) 157–60. *PLRE* 2:664f. –A.K.

LEO II/I (Arm. Lewon), successor of his brother Ruben III as RUBENID prince Leo II (1187–1198/9), then first king of Armenian CILICIA as Leo I (1198/9–1219). Leo successfully fought the Turkomans and the Seljuks and allied himself with the Crusaders through his successive marriages to Isabel of Jerusalem and Sybil of Cyprus. The consolidation of his principality and the failure of ecclesiastical discussions with Byz. after the death of Emp. Manuel I led him to turn for recognition to the Holy Roman Empire. Although the death of Frederick I Barbarossa and cautious negotiations with Rome toward a union of churches were setbacks, Leo was crowned king at Tarsos on 6 Jan. 1198/9 (the date is still disputed) in the presence of both the local Byz. metropolitan and the archbishop of Mainz; from the latter he received the royal insignia in the name of Emp. HENRY VI of Germany. This investiture was apparently approved by Alexios III Angelos who also sent Leo a crown.

The reign of Leo marked the political apogee of the Cilician kingdom, as he gained the support of the HOSPITALLERS and the Teutonic knights to whom he granted extensive domains. He likewise encouraged Western traders, who enriched the country. Relations with the Crusader states deteriorated, however, as a result of his protracted and vain attempts to secure the princedom of ANTIOCH for his half-Latin grandnephew Raymond-Ruben. Soon after Leo died, the resentful Armenian nobles murdered his Latin son-in-law and forced Leo's daughter Zabel to marry Het'um I, which initiated the new HET'UMID dynasty in 1226.

LIT. Ł. Alishan, *Léon le Magnifique premier roi de Sissouan ou de l'Arméno-Cilicie* (Venice 1888). Boase, *Cilician Armenia* 15–22. –N.G.G.

LEO III, emperor (717–41); founder of the ISAURIAN DYNASTY; born Germanikeia ca.685, died Constantinople 18 June 741. His baptismal name was perhaps Kònon. Some scholars accept Byz. reports that place Leo III's early career in the East, but most believe Theophanes the Confessor's account (Theoph. 391.5–11) that Leo was reared in Mesembria, where his family had been resettled under Justinian II. Theophanes also reports that in 705 he was entitled *spatharios* after donating 500 sheep to Justinian and that he followed Justinian to Constantinople and rose to prominence, being sent to the Caucasus to secure the Alans against the Arab-backed Abchasians (M. Canard, *REArm* 8 [1971] 353–57). Leo was named *strategos* of the Anatolikon by Anastasios II, after whose deposition he joined forces with ARTABASDOS to force the abdication of Theodosios III. Leo entered Constantinople on 25 Mar. 717 and secured his throne by resisting the siege of MASLAMA and suppressing revolts by the Sicilian *strategos* (718) and Anastasios (719).

Throughout his reign, Leo was concerned with the defense, organization, and unity of the empire. He raised taxes to repair the land walls of Constantinople (Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 53, 82, 100). He campaigned against the Arabs in alliance with the KHAZARS and Georgians; his victory at AKROINON in 740 ended their advance in Asia Minor. Leo's administrative actions included the creation of the THRAKESION and KIBYRRHAIOTAI themes, and the droungariate of the AEGEAN SEA; he may also have raised CRETE to the status of theme. His ECLOGA was an important revision of Justinianic law. Possibly raised as a Monophysite, Leo as emperor insisted on Chalcedonian religious uniformity, persecuting Montanists and Jews to the point of forcible conversion. In 726 he inaugurated imperial support for ICONOCLASM (Anastos, "Leo III's Edict" 5–41) and in 730 convoked a *silention* to ratify an edict condemning icons. This provoked Patr. GERMANOS I, whom Leo deposed. It also brought conflict with popes GREGORY II (see EUTYCHIOS, exarch of Ravenna) and GREGORY III. The origins of Leo's Iconoclasm are obscure. There is no evidence that Muslim actions (see YAZĪD II) or Jewish circles stimulated these views, as hostile Byz. writers charged. He had the support of some high clerics, esp. in Asia Minor, but their degree of influence is unknown. He himself referred to biblical prohibitions against images.

Leo increased taxes in Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum in 732/3; he may have transferred these territories from papal to Byz. jurisdiction (M. An-

astos, *SBN* 9 [1957] 14–31), although this more likely occurred under Constantine V (Ostrogorsky, *History* 170, n.1). He also had to subdue a revolt from HELLAS and the Cyclades (Th. Korres, *Byzantiaka* 1 [1981] 37–49). He crowned his wife Maria in 718 and their son Constantine (V) in 720.

LIT. S. Gero, *Byzantine Iconoclasm during the Reign of Leo III* (Louvain 1973). K. Schenk, *Kaiser Leon III* (Halle 1880). –P.A.H.

LEO III, pope (26/7 Dec. 795–12 June 816); probably of humble origin. Beck refutes the theory that Leo's father Atzupios was a Greek (*Ideen*, pt.VII [1969], 131–37), suggesting the man's Arab origin. Leo scrupulously respected Frankish sovereignty over Italy: he immediately notified CHARLEMAGNE—not the Byz. emperor—of his election and, no later than 798, went beyond HADRIAN I by adding the Frankish ruler's regnal years to his own in dating documents. On 25 Apr. 799 a faction including Hadrian's relatives attacked Leo, who escaped to Charlemagne at Paderborn. Restored by the Franks, Leo crowned Charlemagne *imperator* in St. Peter's on 25 Dec. 800; his action, which perhaps reflected Frankish rejection of Empress IRENE's legitimacy, resulted in the creation of a rival empire in the West with lasting political implications. The ensuing controversy with Constantinople was settled only in 812 when the envoys of Emp. Nikephoros I accepted a new treaty issued jointly by Charlemagne in Aachen and Leo in Rome, and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I was finally allowed to send Leo the customary SYNODIKA. Leo did not act on the suggestion of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS that he convene a council with regard to the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, but Theodore's biographers credit the pope with a role in its resolution. When ca.807 a dispute about the FILIOQUE arose in Jerusalem between Frankish and Greek monks and Charlemagne's court backed the Franks, Leo accepted the Greek view and sought theological support from the patriarch of Jerusalem. MICHAEL SYNKELLOS was sent to Leo ca.813 by Patr. Thomas of Jerusalem, but the embassy was detained in Constantinople.

LIT. P. Classen, "Karl der Grosse, das Papsttum und Byzanz," in *Karl der Grosse. Lebenswerk und Nachleben*, ed. H. Beumann (Düsseldorf 1965) 1:537–608. M. Borgolte, "Papst Leo III., Karl der Grosse und die Filioque-Streit von Jerusalem," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 401–27. W. Mohr, "Karl der Grosse, Leo III. und der römische Aufstand von 799," *Bulletin du Cange* 30 (1960) 39–98. V. Peri, "Il 'filioque' nel magistero di Adriano I e di Leone III," *RivStChIt* 41 (1987) 5–25. –M.McC., A.K.

LEO IV THE KHAZAR, emperor (775–80); born Constantinople 25 Jan. 750, died Strongylon 8 Sept. 780. He was the son of Constantine V and his Khazar wife, Irene, and was thus nicknamed "the Khazar." Crowned co-emperor in 751, Leo was married to IRENE in Dec. 769. Soon after his accession Leo crowned their son Constantine VI as co-emperor, prompting a conspiracy in favor of his five half-brothers (including Caesar NIKEPHOROS), which he easily suppressed. Little is known of Leo's reign. He was active against the Arabs, sending campaigns into Syria in 776 and 778 under the command of Michael LACHANODRAKON but could not prevent major incursions into Asia Minor in 776, 779, and 780 (the last by HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD). Leo supported ICONOCLASM but actively persecuted ICONOPHILES only in Aug. 780, when he had a number of court officials beaten, tonsured, and imprisoned. He died of a fever while campaigning against the Bulgarians.

LIT. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978) 1:53–103, 2:423–92. Ostrogorsky, *History* 175–77. W. Treadgold, "An Indirectly Preserved Source for the Reign of Leo IV," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 69–76. –P.A.H.

LEO V THE ARMENIAN, emperor (813–20); died Constantinople 25 Dec. 820. He was the son of the *patrikios* Bardas (Genes. 26.75), who was of Armenian descent (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 151). Raised in the Anatolikon theme, Leo served in 803 under *strategos* BARDANES TOURKOS, possibly as *protostrator*. He deserted Bardanes for Nikephoros I, who named him commander of the FOEDERATI and gave him two palaces in Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 137, 331f). Nikephoros later exiled him, perhaps because Leo had enriched himself illegally or perhaps because Leo sympathized with the rebel ARSABER, whose daughter Theodosia Leo had married. Michael I recalled Leo and named him *hypostrategos* of the Armeniakon theme, then *strategos* and *patrikios*.

Leo was acclaimed emperor after the battle of VERSINIKIA and crowned by Patr. NIKEPHOROS I on 22 July in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The accession of the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG and the death of the ʿAbbāsid caliph HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD permitted Leo to rebuild towns and defenses in Thrace. He restored ICONOCLASM by appointing

a preparatory commission under John (VII) Grammatikos, deposing Patr. Nikephoros, and convoking, in 815, a local council in Constantinople (see under Constantinople, Councils of) that renounced the Council in Trullo and rehabilitated the Council of Hieria (P. Alexander, *DOP* 7 [1953] 35–66). Because of his Iconoclasm, Byz. sources are hostile to Leo, accusing him, among other things, of stoning the recently restored image of Christ at the Chalke and thus of emulating Leo III. He was, however, an excellent general and enjoyed a reputation for fairness and honesty. He made competent military appointments, including Michael (II), Thomas the Slav, and Manuel. He also fortified Constantinople's walls at Blachernai. Leo was assassinated in church on Christmas Day by supporters of Michael II; his body was publicly exposed in the Hippodrome before being buried on Prote.

lit. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 196–225. V. Grumel, "Les relations politico-religieuses entre Byzance et Rome sous le règne de Léon V l'Armenien," *REB* 18 (1960) 19–44. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 125–47. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 159–83. Bury, *ERE* 43–76. –P.A.H., A.C.

LEO VI, co-emperor (from 6 Jan. 870), emperor (30 July 886–912); born Constantinople? 19 Sept. 866 (V. Grumel, *EO* 35 [1936] 331–33), died Constantinople 11 May 912. Second son of Basil I, Leo was called the Wise or Philosopher (Dölger, *Byzanz* 201, n.13). An educated man who dabbled in literature, he was perceived by the next generation as a prophet and a sage. The officialdom of the capital supported him, his major counselors

Leo VI. Emp. Leo VI the Wise on his deathbed. Miniature from the illustrated manuscript of the Chronicle of John Skylitzes in Madrid (Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26-2, fol.116v); 12th C. Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid.



being ZAOUTZES, the eunuch SAMONAS, and the eunuch Constantine; Leo sought the support of aristocratic families such as PHOKAS and DOUKAS, but also tried to keep them at bay, thus provoking serious conflicts (e.g., the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS). His ecclesiastical policy was parallel: Leo was supported by patriarchs such as his brother Stephen (886–93), Zaoutzes' nominee ANTONY II KAULEAS (893–901), and Leo's spiritual father EUTHYMIOS, whereas he deposed PHOTIOS and was in conflict with NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, esp. over his fourth marriage. Leo hoped for political reconciliation: he delivered a speech praising his father but at the same time arranged a solemn translation of the body of MICHAEL III to Constantinople. Leo's administration was active in codification and in establishing political "order"; the BASILIKA, the NOVELS OF LEO VI, the BOOK OF THE EPARCH, and the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS were published; and under Leo's name a book on military tactics, the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI, was produced. The lack of a male heir and the premature death of his first three wives, THEOPHANO, Zoe (daughter of Zaoutzes), and Eudokia Baiane, undermined Leo's search for stabilization. When finally his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA gave birth to CONSTANTINE VII, instead of stabilization a severe struggle over the TETRAGAMY of Leo resulted.

Leo's international policy was more or less unsuccessful: in 896 SYMEON OF BULGARIA defeated the Byz.; in 902 Taormina was lost and in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI sacked Thessalonike; the Rus' prince OLEG attacked Constantinople in 907; and in 912 the fleet of HIMERIOS was annihilated. Leo did not trust aristocratic generals and preferred to negotiate with his neighbors by sending envoys such as Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES. He was compelled to accept the papacy's intervention into domestic church affairs.

The Madrid SKYLITZES MS richly illustrates the events of Leo's reign (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 242–72). In the Paris Homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XVI), Leo is portrayed as a youth of about 15 with his mother EUDOKIA INGERINA and brother ALEXANDER. The best known and most controversial image of Leo is over the central door of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, where he appears in PROSKYNESIS at Christ's feet. N. Oikonomides has argued that this mosaic is an image of penitence, set up at the order of Nicholas Mystikos following the council of 920, which posthumously pardoned Leo's tetragamy (*DOP* 30 [1976] 151–72).

ED. PG 107:1–298 (see Ch.Astruc, *AB* 100 [1982] 463–68). A. Vogt, I. Hausherr, *Oraison funèbre de Basile Ier par son fils Léon le Sage* (Rome 1932; corr. Adontz, *Études* 111–23).

LIT. N. Popov, *Imperator Lev VI Mudryj* (Moscow 1892). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:115–216. Vogt, "Léon VI". C. Mango, "The Legend of Leo the Wise," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 59–93. J. Irmscher, "Die Gestalt Leons VI. des Weisen in Volkssage und Historiographie," in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.-11. Jahrhundert* (Prague 1978) 205–24. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 97f, 256f, fig.63. R. Cormack, "Interpreting the Mosaics of S. Sophia at Istanbul," *Art History* 4 (1981) 138–41. –A.K., A.C.

LEO IX (Bruno of Egisheim), pope (from 2 Dec. 1048, crowned in Rome 2 Feb. 1049); born Alsace 21 June 1002, died Rome 19 Apr. 1054. Leo strove to create a strong and independent papacy based on a reformed clergy; among his advisers were Hildebrand (later Pope GREGORY VII), HUMBERT (later cardinal of Silva Candida), and Peter Damiani. A relative of the imperial house, Leo was nominated as pope by Henry III of Germany, but it is unclear how long this collaboration continued; at any rate, Germany did not help Leo against the Normans, and Leo had no choice but to seek the support of Byzantium and the Byz. governor in South Italy, ARGYROS, son of Melo (D. Nicol, *infra* 8). In May 1053 Leo himself led a small expedition against the Normans, but before Argyros could join him the pope was defeated at Civitate (18 June) and captured; the Normans kept him prisoner for 9 months. While in captivity in Benevento, Leo corresponded with Emp. Constantine IX and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, and in Jan. 1054 a Roman embassy left for Constantinople in an attempt to create an anti-Norman coalition. The history of this embassy is obscure and the nature of related Latin documents, including the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE and their Greek translations, is questionable (H.-G. Krause in *Aus Kirche und Reiche: Festschrift für Friedrich Kempf*, ed. H. Mordek [Sigmaringen 1983] 131–58). The mission failed despite Constantine IX's desire to reach an agreement; it is probable that Argyros played a treacherous role by inciting the Byz. authorities against the pope. Leo returned to Rome on 12 Mar. 1054 a broken man, and died before the abrupt end of negotiations (see SCHISM). The

question of whether his vita was written by Humbert (H. Tritz, *StGreg* 4 [1952] 246–72) or not (H.-G. Krause, *DA* 32 [1976] 49–85) is under discussion.

LIT. A. Garreau, *Saint Léon IX, pape alsacien* (Paris 1965). L. Sittler, P. Stintzi, *Saint Léon IX, le pape alsacien* (Colmar 1950). Gay, *Italie* 477–500. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 733–831. D. Nicol, "Byzantium and the Papacy in the Eleventh Century," *JEH* 13 (1962) 1–20. H. Houben, "Il papato, i Normanni e la nuova organizzazione ecclesiastica della Puglia e della Basilicata," *AStCal* 53 (1986) 15–32. –A.K.

LEO GRAMMATIKOS. See SYMEON LOGOTHETE.

LEONARD OF CHIOS, Dominican eyewitness to the fall of Constantinople; born Chios 1395/6, died probably Genoa, 1459. After studies in Italy, Leonard became archbishop of Mytilene (1 July 1444), where he enjoyed close relations with the GATTILUSIO lords of Lesbos, as reflected in his *De vera nobilitate* (On True Nobility [Avellino 1657]). He joined ISIDORE OF KIEV and a papal delegation at Chios and arrived with them at Constantinople on 26 Oct. 1452 to realize ecclesiastical union. Although captured by the Turks in the conquest, he managed to escape to Chios, whence he dispatched a report to Pope Nicholas V (16 Aug. 1453) that describes the conquest in a fashion hostile to the Byz. and Venetians but favorable to the Genoese. It survives in the Latin original and a Venetian (G. Lanuschi, *Excidio e presa di Costantinopoli*, ed. G.M. Thomas, *SBAW* 2 [1868] 1–38) as well as a vernacular Greek translation (ed. G.Th. Zoras, *Chronikon peri ton Tourkon Soultanon* [Athens 1958] 79.17–94.3; cf. Gy. Moravcsik, *BZ* 44 [1951] 428–36). Leonard returned to Italy ca.1458 to work for a counteroffensive against the Turks and probably died there.

ED. L.T. Belgrano, *Documenti riguardanti la colonia Genovese di Pera* (Genoa 1888) 233–57. PG 159:923–41. Excerpts with Ital. tr.—Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:125–71. Tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 11–41. –M.McC.

LEONTIOS, (Λεόντιος), Eastern usurper; born Dalisandos, Isauria, died at the fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, 488. A military commander (*magister militum*), whom Emp. Zeno sent to oppose the rebellion of ILLOS in 484, he was persuaded to join the rebels. Leontios was crowned at Tarsos on 19 July 484 by the empress VERINA, who claimed the right to nominate the emperor. The rebels were defeated by Zeno's troops at Antioch in Sept. 484 and were besieged at the fort of Papyrios. After a four-year siege they were betrayed and executed.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:397f. *PLRE* 2:670f. –T.E.G.

LEONTIOS, presbyter of Constantinople and homilist; fl. 5th or 6th C. He is to be distinguished from the 6th-C. theologian LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as well as from Leontios the monk who lived sometime between the 6th and 8th C. and wrote a homily on the birth of John the Baptist (C. Datema, P. Allen, *Byzantion* 58 [1988] 188–229). Nothing is known of the biography of Leontios the presbyter, although Datema and Allen lean towards placing him in the mid-6th C. In the MS tradition 11 homilies are attributed to him; the editors assign another three to his pen on the basis of stylistic and lexical arguments. His homilies were written for specific feast days, on such topics as Job, the birth of John the Baptist, Palm Sunday, and Pentecost. He wrote in a vivid style, making use of monologues and dialogues; his vocabulary is rich and varied, including numerous rare or unattested words. His works are distinguished more by their rhetorical skill than for their theological subtlety.

ED. *Homiliae*, ed. C. Datema, P. Allen (Turnhout-Leuven 1987).
LIT. L. Perrone, *DPAC* 2:1931. –A.M.T.

LEONTIOS, emperor (695–98); died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. A *patrikios* of Isaurian origin, Leontios was appointed *strategos* of Anatolikon, apparently by Constantine IV. In 686 Justinian II sent him against the Arabs in Armenia and Georgia, where he campaigned effectively but with great cruelty. In 692 Justinian imprisoned him in Constantinople, perhaps as punishment for Arab victories in Asia Minor. In 695 he was released and appointed *strategos* of Hellas but, aided by the Blue FACTION, whose extermination Justinian was rumored to be plotting, and Patr. Kallinikos I (693–705), he seized the throne. Byz. sources call him Leontios but his coinage and references in Western sources indicate that he ruled officially as Leo. Little is known of his activities as emperor. When the Arabs cap-

tured Carthage in 697, he dispatched a fleet under JOHN PATRIKIOS to recapture North Africa. He was clearing Constantinople's Neorion harbor of debris in 698 when the bubonic plague struck. He was overthrown that year by TIBERIOS II, who mutilated his nose and imprisoned him in the DALMATOU monastery. After retaking Constantinople in 705, Justinian II paraded Leontios through the city and beheaded him in the Hippodrome.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:24–26, 69–87. –P.A.H.

LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM, theologian; died ca.543. Establishing his biography depends on a series of identifications: one of them, as LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, is now rejected; another, as a collaborator of St. SABAS who traveled with his teacher to Constantinople in 531 and from whom Sabas separated when he learned of Leontios's Origenist inclinations, is strongly supported by Evans (*infra*). Scholars differ in their judgment of the doctrine of Leontios: traditional opinion is that Leontios was a staunch supporter of the Chalcedonian creed, whereas Evans views Leontios as a follower of ORIGEN and esp. EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS. The focal point of Leontios's theology was the search for a solution to the problem of the two natures and two hypostases in the incarnate Christ: in his book *Against the Nestorians and Eutychians*, Leontios rejected both the Nestorian and the Monophysite concepts. Even though his search for a philosophical definition of relation and substance harked back to Origen and Plato (A. de Halleux, *RHE* 66 [1971] 983–85), Leontios's perception of Christ differs from that of Evagrios: in Evagrios the intellect is not united with flesh in essence, in Leontios the person is the ontological principle of union of both natures (S. Otto, *BZ* 66 [1973] 97). Leontios frequently used the term *enhypostatos*, "existing in an hypostasis," to characterize the status of the natures of Christ, saying, "There is no nature that is not hypostatized." For Leontios the being-in-hypostasis is not a relation (as in Evagrios) but a reality.

Leontios also wrote two treatises, *Solution of the Arguments of Severos* and *Thirty Chapters*, which attack SEVEROS of Antioch. A pamphlet entitled *Against the Forgeries of the Apollinarians* is of disputed authenticity. The tract *On Sects*, ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, has also been attributed to THEODORE OF RAITHOU and to THEODORE ABU-QURRA.

ED. PG 86:1185–2016.

LIT. D.B. Evans, *Leontius of Byzantium: An Origenist Christology* (Washington, D.C., 1970). S. Rees, "The Literary Activity of Leontius of Byzantium," *JThSt* n.s. 19 (1968) 229–42. S. Otto, *Person und Subsistenz: Die philosophische Anthropologie des Leontios von Byzanz* (Munich 1968). M. van Esbroeck, "La date et l'auteur du *De Sectis* attribué à Léonce de Byzance," in *After Chalcedon: Studies in Theology and Church History* (Louvain 1985) 415–24. –B.B., A.K.

LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, ecclesiastical writer; born ca.485, died ca.543. Leontios used to be confounded with his contemporary, LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM, but is now generally recognized as a separate person. It is probable that this Leontios, a moderate Chalcedonian monk, attended as spokesman for his fellow Palestinian brethren the meeting convoked at Constantinople ca.532 by Justinian I in search of reconciliation with SEVEROS of Antioch and the Monophysites. He was also present in the same capacity at the council of 536 in the capital that anathematized Severos, Anthimos, and other Monophysite leaders. He is now acknowledged to be the author of two tracts, *Against the Nestorians* and *Against the Monophysites*; these are the works of a neo-Chalcedonian whose Christology was frequently expressed in the language of CYRIL of Alexandria and also of moderate Monophysites.

ED. PG 86.1–2:1399–1901.

LIT. C. Moeller, "Textes 'monophysites' de Léonce de Jérusalem," *Ephemerides Theologicae Lovanienses* 27 (1951) 467–82. Richard, *Opera minora* 3: no. 59, 35–88. K.P. Wesche, "The Christology of Leontius of Jerusalem: Monophysite or Chalcedonian?" *SVThQ* 31 (1987) 65–95. –B.B.

LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS (on Cyprus), bishop; 7th-C. hagiographer. His dates of birth and death are unknown. Leontios penned both a Life of St. JOHN ELEEMON (in 641–42), based on materials collected by John MOSCHOS and SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem, and one of St. SYMEON OF EMESA; another biography, that of the Cypriot saint Spyridon, is lost. A conflated text of the Lives of John by Moschos-Sophronios and Leontios was used by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. Leontios's professed intention in the Life of John was to stress items omitted by Moschos and Sophronios, also to provide an account in a Greek style plain enough for

uneducated readers to understand. Some notice is taken of secular events of the time, although Mango (*infra*) warns against using it as a historical source. The chief importance and pleasure of the Life is its information on everyday life in Egypt in the 7th C. Also preserved are some fragments of his *Speech Against the Jews* (PG 93:1597–1609), in which veneration of icons is shrewdly upheld by appeal to Old Testament texts against Jewish objections (L. Barnard in *Iconoclasm* 8, 11).

ED. *Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre,* ed. A.-J. Festugière, L. Rydén (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. Life of John—Eng. tr. in Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 199–262.

LIT. C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," in *Byz. und der Westen* 25–41. H. Gelzer, *Ausgewählte kleine Schriften* (Leipzig 1907) 1–56. L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis* (Uppsala 1970). –B.B.

LEONTIOS SCHOLASTIKOS, 6th-C. author of about 24 epigrams (some individual ascriptions are uncertain) in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY via the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. There has been much speculation over the precise identity and career of Leontios (Λεόντιος), rendered largely fruitless by the plethora of Leontioi in the period; a sample possibility is to equate him with the lawyer Leontios who helped TRIBONIAN in the compilation of Justinian's *Digest.* His short poems (six lines at most), unremarkable in language and meter, mirror various aspects of Byz. society, esp. what have been called the permitted pleasures of BATHS, CHARIOTEERS, and MIMES; only one epigram is erotic. His descriptions of works of art include important testimony on PORTRAITS of officials, for example, an EPARCH of Constantinople and a KOUBIKOULARIOS (bk.16, nos. 32–33). Al. and Av. Cameron (*JHS* 86 [1966] 15) take the Peter of one poem (bk.7, no.579) to be PETER PATRIKIOS; if this identification is correct, Leontios provides an account of that dignitary's death from a fatal fall in the theater.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Leontius Scholasticus and his Poetry," *BS* 40 (1979) 1–12. R.C. McCail, "The *Cycle* of Agathias: New Identifications Scrutinised," *JHS* 89 (1969) 91f. –B.B., A.C.

LEO OF CATANIA, bishop and saint; born Ravenna; feastday 21 Feb. The dates of his life are unclear; one version of his vita makes him contemporary with the joint rule of Constantine IV and Justinian II (681–85), another with Leo IV and Constantine VI (775–80). Leo's vita must have been written before the 10th C., when a summary of it was included in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople.* The vita, which is preserved in several versions, is a unique text in Byz. hagiography. Its core is not the pious exploits of Leo, but the story of his antihero, a certain Heliodoros, who with the help of a Jewish magician sold his soul to the Devil and became a mighty sorcerer. He instantaneously transported an official to Constantinople from a bathhouse in Catania; he transformed stone and wood into gold and silver; he used a staff to draw a "ship" on the sandy beach and then traveled on this contraption to the capital. Finally, Leo used his *omophorion* to tie up Heliodoros, thus depriving him of his magic power; when Leo stepped with him into a fire, the sorcerer burned to a cinder while the bishop remained unharmed. This legendary story was rewritten in verse (preserved in a MS of 1307).

ED. V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 12–28. D. Raffin, "La vita metrica anonima su Leone di Catania," *BollBadGr* 16 (1962) 33–48.

LIT. *BHG* 981–981e. A. Amore, *Bibl.Sanct.* 7 (1966) 1223–25. Beck, *Kirche* 799. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 205–08. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:390f. –A.K.

LEO OF CHALCEDON, a prelate who, between 1081 and 1091, opposed the secularization and the melting down of church treasures by Alexios I Komnenos. Leo's opposition forced the emperor to back down temporarily (1082). The resumption of confiscations and the leniency of the patriarch and other bishops toward imperial policies led Leo to break communion with the patriarchate (1084). In 1086 the synod indicted and deposed him. The emperor published a decree (*semeioma*) justifying the secularization (*Reg,* vol. 2, no.1130). Eventually, Leo was reconciled with the church at the local council of Constantinople of 1094, held at Blachernai (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

The debates of the case involved the decree of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) about "worship" (*latreia*) due to God alone, and the "relative veneration" (*proskynesis schetike*) due to images. This "veneration" was seen as ultimately directed to the "prototypes," not the materials out of which

images were made. Leo maintained, however, that a secular use of the material was equivalent to blasphemous disrespect for the image, and therefore the prototype. By assuming a body, the Logos had assumed a "form," represented materially on an icon. The "form" was thus integrated in his divine person. Leo finally accepted the position that since "worship" was not addressed to the material image, the urgent needs of the state could be met at the expense of church treasures.

ED. Letters—ed. Alexander Lavriotes, *EkAl* 24 (1900) 403–07, 414–16, 445–47, 455f.
LIT. A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris* (Thessalonike 1972). *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 940–41, 955, 967–68. P. Stephanou, "Le procès de Léon de Chalcédoine," *OrChrP* 9 (1943) 5–64. Idem, "La doctrine de Léon de Chalcédoine et de ses adversaires sur les images," *OrChrP* 12 (1946) 177–99. -J.M.

LEO OF CONSTANTINOPLE, APOCALYPSE OF, text written in the tradition of DANIEL and preserved in late MSS (from the 14th C. onward). One MS (Venice, Marc. gr. II,101) identifies the author as Patr. Leo Stypes (1134–43), whereas another calls him the priest Leo. The *Apocalypse of Leo* reflects the views of a monastic milieu—the monks are the only social group that as a whole will enter paradise. Maisano (*infra*) distinguishes two versions of the *Apocalypse*: one of the 9th C., another of the 12th C. (he denies the authorship of Leo Stypes). The first version is anti-Iconoclastic, but at the same time very critical of Empress Irene, whose pious successor Constantine was not her son but a newcomer from Arabia. The second version contains some anti-Bogomil polemic (e.g., the rejection of their view of Enoch and Elijah as emanations of the Old Testament God). It remains questionable whether the first version was in fact a 9th-C. work.

ED. and LIT. R. Maisano, *L'Apocalisse apocrifa di Leone di Costantinopoli* (Naples 1975), rev. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 231–33. -A.K., J.I.

LEO OF OHRID, 11th-C. polemicist. A former *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, he became autocephalous archbishop of OHRID after 1025. He was the spokesman of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS in debates between Byz. and Latin clergy in southern Italy, giving the controversies a universal dimension. In a letter (1053) sent to the Italian bishop John of Trani, but addressed "to all the bishops of the Franks and to the most respected pope," Leo for the first time shifted the religious estrangement between East and West toward liturgical and disciplinary issues, basing his attack either on Scripture (the Latins were eating strangled meat, with blood, contrary to Acts 15:20), or on the canons of the Council in TRULLO (fasting on Saturdays), or on simple differences of usage (chanting Alleluia during Lent). His major argument, however, was directed at the Latin use of AZYMES in the Eucharist. Two other letters of Leo expand on the same issues. Transmitted to Rome, the first letter of Leo provoked a sharp answer, written by Cardinal HUMBERT, initiating a whole series of exchanges, including the fateful mission of Humbert to Constantinople, and mutual anathemas (1054).

ED. *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita extant*, ed. C. Will (Leipzig-Marburg 1861; rp. Frankfurt 1963) 52–64. *Kritičeskie opyty po istorii drevnejšej greko-russkoj polemiki protiv Latinjan*, ed. A. Pavlov (St. Petersburg 1878) 146–51. *EkAl* 9 (1886) 421–27; 10 (1886–87) 150–62.
LIT. L. Bréhier, *Le Schisme oriental du XIe siècle* (Paris 1899) 93–102, 118f, 151–53. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 2 (Paderborn 1930) 123–37, 282–94. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Cambridge 1955) 41f, 46f. E. Petrucci, "Rapporti di Leone IX con Costantinopoli," *StMed* 14 (1973) 751–69. -J.M.

LEO OF SYNADA, metropolitan, *synkellos*, diplomat, and writer; born ca.940. His biography is known only from his letters. These are addressed to the emperor (Basil II), whom Leo calls the Scythian and "antarctic" (ep.54.12), alluding to his Bulgarian campaigns, and also to various church and secular officials (ep.13 is addressed to the *kanikleios* who is at the same time *strategos*, i.e., to Nikephoros OURANOS). Darrouzès dates the letters to the 990s, but if his identification of the addressee of Letter 25 with CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE is valid, then some of the letters must be later. Mild humor and sarcasm fill the letters and esp. Leo's will, written at the age of 66 (in which he calculates the number of his sins at 48,180). The most important part of Leo's correspondence describes his embassy in 996–98, together with a certain Kalokyros, to Rome, where in his own view Leo acted boldly in support of the antipope (whom Leo calls Philagathos), although he despised him personally. In his letter to Patr. Sisinnios (996–98), he boasts that Rome is now in the

hands of the "great emperor" (ep.11.18–19). Leo mentions also his mission to "Frankia" (Aachen, according to Schramm) to negotiate a political marriage. One letter to the emperor (ep.43) is valuable for his description of agriculture in the SYNADA region, where neither olive trees nor grapes grew, and instead of wheat the soil produced barley.

ED. *The Correspondence of Leo, Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus*, ed. M.P. Vinson (Washington, D.C., 1985), with Eng. tr. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 165–210.

LIT. P.E. Schramm, "Neun Briefe des byzantinischen Gesandten Leo von seiner Reise zu Otto III. aus den Jahren 997–998," *BZ* 25 (1925) 89–105. –A.K.

LEO OF TRIPOLI (Arabic names Rasiq al-Wardāmi and Ghulām Zurāfa), probably a MARDAITE from Attaleia, who was taken captive by the Arabs, converted to Islam, and became a commander of the Arab fleet. In 904 Leo set off against Constantinople. The suggestion that he captured Attaleia en route to Constantinople is an error arising from Arab sources' confusion of Thessalonike and Attaleia. After taking Abydos, Leo diverted from his original goal and led his fleet toward Thessalonike; after a three-day siege in July (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 71 [1978] 302), he sacked and pillaged the city. In 912 Leo and another Arab admiral, Damian, annihilated the fleet of HIMERIOS; in 921/2 Leo headed again for the Aegean Sea and devastated Lemnos, but was defeated by John Radenos, *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet.

LIT. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:163–81, 214, 249. H. Grégoire, "Le communiqué arabe sur la prise de Thessalonique (904)," *Byzantion* 22 (1952) 373–78. –A.K.

LEO SAKELLARIOS, addressee of two letters from the Anonymous TEACHER (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 161f) whose student he was; died before 943?. Browning (*Studies*, pt.IX [1954], 434) suggests that the last datable letter in the collection is of 931, but C. Mango (*infra*) dates the letters to Leo shortly after 940. Mango identifies him as Leo, *patrikios, praipositos,* and *sakellarios,* the patron of the illuminated BIBLE in the Vatican (Vat. Reg. gr. 1). The MS is a very large (41.0 × 27.0 cm) codex with 18 full-page miniatures intended as frontispieces to the books of Genesis through Psalms; some are, however, misplaced, and Canart (*infra*) has stressed the lack of overall planning and the uneven relationship between the miniatures, illuminated initials, and text. Each of the miniatures is enclosed in a border containing epigrams referring to the scene within. T.F. Mathews (*OrChrP* 43 [1977] 94–133) sees a close theological relationship between the epigrams and the miniatures, some of which are related to pictures in the PARIS PSALTER and the OCTATEUCHS. The dedication miniatures show Leo, a eunuch, presenting his book to the Virgin (fol.2v), as well as a *kathegoumenos*, Makar, and Leo's brother Constantine, founder of the monastery for which the Bible was most likely intended, in *proskynesis* before St. Nicholas (fol.3r).



LEO SAKELLARIOS. Leo Sakellarios offering a Bible to the Virgin Mary. Prefatory miniature in the Leo Bible (Vat. Reg. gr. 1, fol.2v). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

LIT. *Die Bibel des Patricius Leo*, introductory vol. by S. Dufrenne, P. Canart (Zurich 1988). C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaNorv* 4 (1969) 121–26. –A.C.

LEO THE DEACON, historian; born ca.950 in Kaloe at Tmolos (Asia Minor), died after 992 or 994. Leo received his education in Constantinople and became a palace deacon. His *History* encompasses 959–76 and includes some episodes from the beginning of Basil II's reign, e.g., the disastrous expedition against Bulgaria in 986 in which Leo participated. His sympathies lie with NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS: quite possibly Leo, like SKYLITZES, used a chronicle of the Phokas family that is now lost. The *History* criticizes BASIL II (S. Ivanov, *VizVrem* 43 [1982] 74–80), whereas an *enkomion* of Basil attributed to Leo is full of flattering phrases (M. Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 138f); the difference can be explained either by the conventions of genre, by a change in Leo's attitude, or by the existence of two homonyms at Basil's court.

Leo's worldview in the *History* is pessimistic: Providence determines success and righteousness, TYCHE is made responsible for failures and injustice. Antiquity interests Leo: his paradigm is AGATHIAS rather than THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR. His ethnography is archaic: the empire of the Romans seems to him surrounded by Huns, Scythians, Mysians, even Troglodytes, and the Rus' are descendants of Achilles. Leo is bold enough not merely to compare his heroes to ancient personages but to equate them: Nikephoros II is a new Herakles, John I a new Tydeus. Leo rejected the contrast of the hero and villain. Three major personae of his story—Nikephoros, John, and SVJATOSLAV—are not embodiments of either virtue or evil but courageous warriors who nonetheless have their failings. The narrative is not a survey of sequential events but a unity of momentous episodes graphically presented. Leo tends to describe not only the actions but also the physical appearance of his major heroes. His history concentrates on men's affairs; women, even THEOPHANO, are pushed to the background.

ED. *Historiae libri X*, ed. C.B. Hase (Bonn 1828). Germ. tr. F. Loretto, *Nikephoros Phokas "Der bleiche Tod der Sarazenen" und Johannes Tzimiskes* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1961). I. Sykoutres, "Leontos tou Diakonou anekdoton enkomion eis Basileion ton B'," *EEBS* 10 (1933) 425–34.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:367–71. N. Panagiotakes, *Leon ho Diakonos* (Athens 1965). A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 2," *VizVrem* 20 (1961) 106–28. –A.K.

LEO THE KOUROPALATES. See PHOKAS, LEO.

LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, or Leo the Philosopher, scholar; born ca.790, died Constantinople? after 869. After years of education (on Andros) and travels, Leo became a teacher in Constantinople. He came to prominence due to the interest of the caliph MA'MŪN in his studies; although invited to Baghdad, Leo remained in Constantinople. He constructed a system of BEACON lights to carry messages about Arab raids (V. Aschoff in *Deutsches Museum, Abhandlungen und Berichte* 48.1 [Munich 1980] 1–28). The cousin (or nephew) of the Iconoclastic patriarch JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, Leo was elected metropolitan of Thessalonike (840–43). After the defeat of Iconoclasm, he taught at the MAGNAURA school; CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER may have been one of his pupils (I. Ševčenko, *AHR* 79 [1974] 1533).

Leo assembled a library of which we know partly from his epigrams, partly from his notes on several MSS (Ptolemy, Archimedes, Plato); he encouraged the study of ancient MATHEMATICS and philosophy. V. Laurent proposed Leo as the author of a homily on the Annunciation that is full of antiquarian details (*ST* 232 [1964] 281–302). The central episode of the homily, however, the healing of a deaf-mute Jewish girl by the Virgin and St. DEMETRIOS (whom she recognized since she had seen their icons displayed in a baptistery [p.301.146–49]), is inconsistent with Leo's role as an Iconoclast bishop. Legends preserved by GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, SYMEON LOGOTHETE, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and others present Leo as an astrologer able to predict the future who knew how to raise abundant crops, played a significant part in the surrender of AMORION in 838, and built the AUTOMATA adorning the imperial palace. Contemporaries regarded Leo as a "Hellene." The attribution of the work of Leo and his namesakes, LEO VI and Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES, is sometimes difficult.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 79–84. Lemerle, *Humanism* 171–204. Lipšic, *Očerki* 338–66. –A.K.

LEO THE PHILOSOPHER. See LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN.

LEO THE PHYSICIAN, medical encyclopedist; traditionally dated to 9th C. but possibly as late as 12th–13th C. (cf. R. Renehan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 159, n.5). Leo is known for two works, *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, culled from a similiar tract by MELETIOS THE MONK, and *Epitome of Medicine*, a rather good summary in seven books of medical theory, therapeutics, and surgery (cf. Bliquez, "Surgical Instruments" 190f). Only occasionally does one detect Hippocrates and GALEN in the latter work, and information is reduced to an extremely clipped format.

ED. *Epitome on the Nature of Man*, ed. and tr. R. Renehan (Berlin 1969). *Conspectus medicinae*, ed. F.Z. Ermerins, in *Anecdota medica graeca* (Leiden 1840; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 79–221.

LIT. R. Renehan, "On the Text of Leo Medicus. A Study in Textual Criticism," *RhM* 113 (1970) 79–88. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:305. –J.S.

LEO TUSCUS, official translator (*imperatoriarum epistolarum interpres*); fl. between 1160 or 1166 and 1182. A Pisan, brother of the theologian and author Hugo ETERIANO, Leo was in Constantinople during Manuel I's controversy with DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. While accompanying Manuel on campaign in Bithynia and Lykaonia (ca.1173–76) Leo sent his brother his translation of the dream book of ACHMET BEN SIRIN. About 1173–78, Leo translated the liturgy of St. John Chrysostom with texts from the HOROLOGION and the Apostolos for the use of the Aragonese envoy Ramón de Mon(t)cada; he intended to make the Orthodox service comprehensible to the Western visitor.

ED. A. Jacob, ed., "La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome par Léon Toscan: Edition critique," *OrChrP* 32 (1966) 111–62.

LIT. A. Dondaine, "Hugues Ethérien et Léon Toscan," *Archives d'histoire doctrinale et littéraire du moyen âge*, 19 (1952) 67–134. A. Strittmatter, "Notes on Leo Tuscus' Translation of the Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom," in *Didascaliae: Studies in Honor of Anselm M. Albareda*, ed. S. Prete (New York 1961) 409–24. –C.M.B.

LEPROSY (λέπρα, ἱερὰ νόσος). PAUL OF AEGINA (bk.4.1–2) presents the fullest Byz. account of "leprosy," although his description includes psoriasis and related skin diseases as well as what modern medicine would call leprosy. Often believed by clerical writers to be punishment for sins (esp. for visiting brothels), leprosy was widely thought to be engendered by sexual lust (e.g., John Moschos, PG 87:2861C). Paul refers to leprosy as *elephas* (elephantiasis), deriving his description from Aretaeus of Cappadocia (fl. ca.98–117) and agreeing with his Roman predecessor that *elephas* is incurable. Paul notes that even Hippocrates had classed this ailment as incurable, and its causes were both black bile and yellow bile in excess and overheated. Yet patients in the early stages could be cured, and Paul details treatment for those who retained fingers and toes, who had foul ulcers on their faces only and not covering the body, and those who did not exhibit the hard pustules characteristic of late stages of the disease.

The Byz. fear and loathing of leprosy is reflected in depictions of the healing of lepers in the New Testament (Lk 17:12–19) and the more frequent representation of the cleansing of the single leper (Mt 8:1–4), which is commonplace among the MIRACLES OF CHRIST. (Images of lepers vary from spotted nudes to figures shrouded in long tunics.) Still, the Christian Byz. viewed lepers more sympathetically than did their pagan forebears (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:865A); the term *hiera nosos*, which meant epilepsy in ancient Greek, came to refer to leprosy by the 4th C. Numerous leper hospitals were founded, of which the best known were the leprosarium of St. Zotikos, founded by Constantius II, and the one established by John II Komnenos as part of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (A. Philipsborn, *BZ* 54 [1961] 359–61). Byz. pharmacy did not know chaulmoogra oil (from the seeds of *Hydnocarpus heterophyllum* Kurz.), long known in Chinese medicine and the only effective herbal cure for leprosy; Arab physicians were apparently far more concerned with the disease than were their Byz. counterparts.

LIT. A. Philipsborn, "*Hiera nosos* und die Spezial-Anstalt des Pantokrator-Krankenhauses," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 223–30. –J.S., A.M.T., A.C.

LEPTIS MAGNA (Λεπτίμαγνα, also Lepcis Magna; mod. Lebda east of Tripoli in Libya), city on the north coast of Africa. The leading city of TRIPOLITANIA, Leptis maintained its prosperity until attacks by the nomadic Austuriani (see MAURI) ca.363–78 and the negligence of the *comes Africae*,

Romanus, sent it into slow decline. During the 5th C. the city endured the encroachment of sand dunes, heavy winter flooding, and the destruction of its walls by the VANDALS. In 523 Leptis was sacked by the tribe of Leuathai. When Byz. forces entered the city in 533 it was partially covered by sand dunes and virtually depopulated. Justinian I made Leptis the seat of the *dux* of the *limes* of Tripolitania and constructed a new defensive wall that enclosed the port and old forum quarter. He is also credited with rebuilding the "palace" of Septimius Severus, probably the Severan forum, dedicating a church to the Mother of God (undoubtedly the 6th-C. church erected in the Severan basilica), and constructing four smaller churches (one of which is perhaps the 6th-C. church on the north side of the circular piazza, another the church erected in an early 2nd-C. temple). It was at a banquet at Leptis that the DOUX Sergios slew the chieftains of the Leuathai, precipitating a second major conflict between the Byz. and Mauri (543–48). As part of the reorganization of the prefecture of AFRICA (ca.585–91), Tripolitania, including Leptis, was attached to the diocese of Egypt. The subsequent history of Leptis is unknown, although it was perhaps abandoned by the time of the first Arab invasion of Tripolitania (643), since it is not mentioned in any accounts of the Muslim conquest.

LIT. A. Demandt, "Die Tripolitanischen Wirren unter Valentinian I," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 333–63. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:335–68. Pringle, *Defence* 208–12. R.G. Goodchild, J.B. Ward-Perkins, "The Roman and Byzantine Defences of Lepcis Magna," *BSR* 21 (1953) 42–73. —R.B.H.

LESBOS (Λέσβος), island in the northeastern AEGEAN SEA; its major cities were Mytilene (also Mitylene, a name also used for the entire island) and Methymna. Archaeological evidence reveals that in late antiquity Methymna had shrunk and shifted from the seashore to a position near the walls of the acropolis. In 802 the empress Irene was exiled to Lesbos, where she died. An important point on the sea lanes to Constantinople, Lesbos served as the gathering place for the fleet of THOMAS THE SLAV (*TheophCont* 55.20–21). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 17.24, ed. Pertusi, p.83) considered Lesbos part of the theme of the Aegean Sea; in the 11th C. it was under the command of the *kourator* of the *dioikesis* of Mytilene (An.Komn. 2:110.18–19). TZACHAS occupied Mytilene, but Methymna remained a base for resistance against him. In the 12th C. the Venetians plundered Lesbos several times. After 1204 it was granted to BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Reconquered by John III Vatatzes after 1224, the island was in 1354 given to the Genoese corsair Francesco GATTILUSIO, whose descendants ruled Lesbos until 1462. Archbishops of Mytilene and of Methymna are listed as autocephalous (*Notitiae CP* 1.51, 1.58, etc.); Mytilene was raised to metropolitan status by the early 10th C. (7.678) and Methymna by the 12th C. (13.785).

Lesbos is esp. rich in the remains of churches from late antiquity: S. Charitonides (*ArchDelt* 23 [1968] 10–62) recorded some 54 individual churches from this period. The castle of Mytilene is largely Byz. in date (B. Petrakos, *ArchDelt* 31 [1976] 152–65).

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 313–53. I.D. Kontes, *Lesbiako Polyptycho* (Athens 1973) 136–75. H.G. Buchholz, *Methymna* (Mainz 1975) 232–43. I.G. Kleombrotos, *Synoptike historia tes ekklesias tes Lesbou* (Mytilene 1984). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:573–81, 622f, 646–48; 3:127f, 133. —T.E.G.

LESNOVO MONASTERY. See GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO.

LESSER ARMENIA. See CILICIA, ARMENIAN.

LETTER. See EPISTOLOGRAPHY.

LETTER OF THE THREE PATRIARCHS, an iconodulic Greek text that has survived in several MSS, the earliest of which is in uncial script of the 9th C. (Patmos 48). A lemma to this letter states that it was compiled by Christopher of Alexandria (805–36), Job of Antioch (813/14–844/5), and Basil of Jerusalem (820–45, other dates have also been suggested) and sent to Emp. Theophilos in Constantinople; it was supposedly written in Jerusalem during a major council in Apr. 836 attended by 185 bishops, 17 *hegoumenoi,* and 1,153 monks and was devoted to the question of icon worship. In the 10th-C. *Narration on the Image of Edessa*, the *Letter* is mentioned but the names of the patriarchs are confused: Job is said to be "of Alexandria," Christopher "of Antioch." The authors of the *Letter* claim the apostolic origin of holy icons created earlier than the Gospels and describe miracles worked by a mosaic of the Adoration of the Magi in Bethlehem (ed. Duchesne,

infra 283f) and by icons in Alexandria, Cyprus, Constantinople, and on Lemnos.

The improbably large number of alleged participants in the council of 836, the unrestrained praise of the victorious emperor Theophilos (Iconoclast though he was), and the overly expressed desire to reunite the patriarchates with Byz. (all three being under the authority of the caliph) make the authenticity of the *Letter* dubious. It was probably a political document created in the 9th C., after Theophilos's death (when a tendency to rehabilitate him emerged), at a time when several victories over the Arabs contributed to the illusion of an imminent reconquest of the lost eastern provinces. EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA was not familiar with the *Letter* but spoke instead of an epistle sent to Theophilos by Sophronios I, patriarch of Alexandria (836–59).

ED. L. Duchesne, "L'iconographie byzantine dans un document grec du IXe siècle," *Roma e l'Oriente* 5 (1912–13) 222–39, 273–85, 349–66, with Ital. tr.

LIT. *BHG* 1386–87. A. Vasiliev, "The Life of St. Theodore of Edessa," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43) 216–25. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic" 173–78. R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York-London 1985) 121–24. –A.K.

LEVIATHAN, mythical sea-monster defeated by Yahweh and thrown to the sharks; according to Psalm 73(74):14, it was many-headed; in Job (41:13–29), fire issues from the mouth of this scaly, insuperable monster. Origen, referring to Psalm 103:26, explains that Leviathan means "dragon" in Hebrew, and HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM (PG 93:1241D), commenting on Psalm 73, notes that the dragon, or sea-monster, designates any hostile power, in part because of its lethal venom, in part because of its role in original sin. Even though Hesychios identifies the dragon-Leviathan with the Serpent of Paradise, he links it with the sea-monster, while adding that Christ crushed the heads of dragons "in the water" during his baptism.

Illustrations of Psalm 73:14 in several marginal PSALTERS depict a fire-breathing Leviathan beneath the Baptism and in one instance link it with the Egyptians drowned in the Red Sea. The mortal struggle of Leviathan and Behemoth (Job 40:15–24) was given an eschatological interpretation and represented, according to Drewer (*infra*), in the battle between the crocodile and ox on the ceiling of the Church of St. CATHERINE at Sinai and in the floor mosaics of both synagogues and churches of the 5th and 6th C.

LIT. O. Kaiser, *Die mythische Bedeutung des Meeres in Ägypten, Ugarit und Israel* (Berlin 1962) 140–52. J.L. McKenzie, "A Note on Psalm 73(74):13–15," *TheolSt* 11 (1950) 275–82. L. Drewer, "Leviathan, Behemoth and Ziz," *JWarb* 44 (1981) 148–56. –A.K., A.C.

ŁEWOND, or Leontios, Armenian historian; fl. late 8th C. Nothing is known of him save that he was an eyewitness of events after 774 and wrote a *History* covering the period 632–789. It was commissioned by the BAGRATID Sapuh, son of Smbat, governor of Armenia 761–75. Although the *History* concentrates on Muslim control over Armenia, it also contains valuable information on the Byz.-Arab conflict in the 7th–8th C. The *History* includes a long letter, supposedly sent by Emp. Leo III to the caliph ʿUMAR II, which defends the Christian faith. This version of the letter is an Armenian composition added later (Gero, *Leo III* 153–71).

ED. *Patmut'iwn*, ed. K. Ezean (St. Petersburg 1887). *History*, tr. Z. Arzoumanian (Wynnewood, Pa., 1982). –R.T.

LEX AQUILIA (Ἀκουίλιος νόμος), a plebiscite initiated by a certain Roman tribune, Aquilius, probably in the 3rd C. B.C., which in the course of time developed into a comprehensive law regarding injury to things (including animals and slaves) and, eventually, bodily injury to free men. The (private) ACTION based on the Lex Aquilia was aimed at simple compensation or, when the perpetrator denied the charge, double compensation (*Institutes* 4.3; *Digest* 9.2; *Cod.Just.* 3.35; *Basil.* 60.3). Special regulations applied in cases where the injury was caused by a slave or an animal (see NOXAL ACTIONS). Although the "Akouilios" (as the Lex Aquilia came to be known) was maintained in learned legal literature, in the rural sphere liability for the injury or death of animals was regulated differently and varied according to the case (see esp. FARMER'S LAW).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:437–39. Simon, "Provinzialrecht" 102–16. –L.B.

LEX FALCIDIA, a law of the Roman republic (40 B.C.) that was intended to secure for the HEIR or heirs a certain portion of a testator's property. To this end the encumbrance of the deceased's

estate with LEGATA was permitted only to the extent of three-quarters of the value of the inheritance, so that one-quarter remained for the heirs. If the testator had encumbered this quarter as well, all *legata* were proportionately reduced. As "heirs" in the legal sense, they were considered the heirs instituted by the testator in a WILL. Following the dissolution of Roman family order from the 3rd C. onward, increasingly only children, parents, and siblings were still accepted as heirs. At the same time the limitations on the arrangements of the testator were gradually extended to all arrangements "in case of death," that is, besides the *legata*, mainly to FIDEICOMMISSA and gifts *mortis causa*. The *quarta Falcidia* thereby became a legitimate portion. Justinian I regulated the law of legitimate portion thoroughly and thereby increased it for children (*Nov. Just.* 18, 115). It is unclear whether the legitimate portion for parents was to remain one-quarter and whether the portion for siblings was to be maintained at all.

Later sources deal almost exclusively with the legitimate portion for children, which was practically the only important inheritance portion, now called *ho Phalkidios*; it amounts to a third of the parental estate if there are up to four children; if five or more, half of the parental estate is divided. The net fortune (*kathara ousia*) serves as a basis for calculation. The portion of the property that comes under assessment (1/3 or 1/2) is divided according to the number of children. If the testator had undertaken many arrangements, difficult problems of calculation could occur, for which Byz. legal literature has left a series of special treatises, most of them still unedited.

LIT. K. Triantaphyllopoulos, *Ho Phalkidios nomos en to byzantino dikaio* (Athens 1912). Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:514–23 (§290). F. Sitzia, "Un trattatello giuridico bizantino in versi," *BullIstDirRom* 18 (1976) 143–53. –D.S.

LEXICON VINDOBONENSE. See LOPADIOTES, ANDREW.

LEXIKA, lists of Greek words, often rare or unusual, with explanation of their meanings. The earliest Byz. *lexikon,* falsely attributed to CYRIL of Alexandria and probably compiled in the 5th/6th C., exists in many different recensions (M. Naoumides, *ICS* 4 [1979] 94–135). It includes words from classical literature and biblical words, and was primarily intended for use in the teaching of RHETORIC.

The 9th-C. revival of learning led to the compilation of the earliest ETYMOLOGIKA and the *Lexikon* of PHOTIOS, which drew both on commentaries on classical texts and on the debris of *lexika* from classical antiquity. These latter were of three main types: (1) descriptive lists of rare words or meanings occurring in classical literature (e.g., the *Lexikon* of HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA); (2) prescriptive lists of "correct" words or meanings drawn up by Atticists such as Aelius Dionysius, Pausanias, Phrynichos, and Moiris; and (3) etymological lists explaining the true meanings of words by their supposed derivation, based on the assumption that the structure of language reflects that of the universe. Byz. lexicographers used all three types. The SOUDA is a combination of *lexikon* and biographical dictionary compiled from a wide variety of classical and later sources. The longest Byz. *lexikon* and the most frequently used and copied—more than 100 MSS survive—is that of pseudo-ZONARAS, compiled in the first half of the 13th C., perhaps by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, for educational use. The renewed classicism of the late 13th and early 14th C. stimulated the compilation of new prescriptive Atticist *lexika*, one attributed to Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, the other by THOMAS MAGISTROS.

In addition to general *lexika*, the Byz. used and compiled short specialist *lexika* (e.g., botanical, geographical), as well as a *Lexikon of Synonyms* by pseudo-Ammonios, which distinguished between words of similar meaning. Byz. *lexika* are of interest both for their information on Byz. attitudes and for the fragments of lost classical and later works which they contain.

ED. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:273–454.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:33–50. Lemerle, *Humanism* 263–65, 343–45. A.B. Drachmann, *Die Überlieferung des Cyrillglossars* (Copenhagen 1936). W. Böhler, "Zur Überlieferung des Lexikons des Ammonios," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 531–50. R. Tosi, "Prospettive e metodologie lessicografiche," *RSBS* 4 (1984) 181–203. –R.B.

LEX RHODIA. See RHODIAN SEA LAW.

LIBADARIOS (Λιβαδάριος, fem. Λιβαδαρέα), a family considered by Pachymeres as one of the greatest in the mid-13th C. Their connection with

the Libadas family, one of whom, Demetrios, was an official (in the department of the *megas logariastes*?) in 1186 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1:92–94), is unclear. The Libadarioi held high court and military posts. A certain Libadarios, related to the MOUZALON family, was appointed *pinkernes* by Michael VIII, and his daughter married Michael's son, Theodore PALAIOLOGOS. Another Libadarios, *megas chartoularios* and *strategos* of TRALLES, was defeated by the Turks ca.1280. A different Libadarios was *protovestiarites* and later *megas stratopedarches* and governor of NEOKASTRA near Smyrna ca.1295; he fought successfully against Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS. Some Libadarioi were patrons of monasteries: Libadarea, wife of a *megas stratopedarches*, founded a nunnery in Thessalonike before 1326; ca.1300 Theodore Komnenos Libadarios established a monastery dedicated to the Virgin, which Manuel PHILES praised, and also commissioned the painted decoration of a monastery of St. George near Servia. The Libadarioi should probably be distinguished from the Limpidares/Limpidarios family, known as commanders of the army and fleet in the 14th C. (*PLP*, nos. 14940–41).

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 14856–62. –A.K.

LIBADENOS, ANDREW, ecclesiastical and imperial official in Trebizond and writer; born Constantinople between 1308 and 1316, died after 1361. After schooling in Constantinople, Libadenos (Λιβαδηνός) had the opportunity at age 12 to serve as undersecretary on an embassy to the Mamluk sultan in Egypt (sometime before 1328). During this journey he also made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. At some point after his return to Constantinople he was appointed *apographeus* of the island of Tenedos. About 1335, motivated by the desire to study ASTRONOMY, he went to Trebizond, where he spent most of his remaining years in the service of the metropolitan (as *chartophylax*) and of the Grand Komnenoi (as a notary). His career was troubled by bouts of ill health and the civil strife that plagued the Trapezuntine Empire. Libadenos is last mentioned in 1361.

The primary source for his life history is the autobiographical *Periegesis* (Geographical Description), which relates events down to 1355. He also composed an *enkomion* of St. Phokas, verses to the Virgin, and a HOROSCOPE for the year 1336. His writings reveal some familiarity with ancient authors and abound in citations of the Old Testament, New Testament, and church fathers.

ED. O. Lampsides, *Andreou Libadenou bios kai erga* (Athens 1975). Horoscope—ed. F. Böll, *CCAG* 7 (1908) 152–60.

LIT. O. Lampsides, "Symbolai eis ton bion kai ta erga Andreou tou Libadenou," *ArchPont* 29 (1968) 162–279. *PLP*, no.14864. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:518; 2:252. Beck, *Kirche* 794. –A.M.T.

LIBANIOS (Λιβάνιος), rhetorician and teacher; born Antioch 314, died Antioch ca.393. Libanios was educated at ANTIOCH and Athens. After brief professorial tenure in Athens, Constantinople, and Nikomedeia, he returned in 354 to an official teaching post in Antioch for the rest of his life. He accepted an honorary praetorian prefecture from Theodosios I in 383. Nostalgic for what then passed as classical culture, he clung to paganism and was devastated by the premature death of Emp. JULIAN, about whom he wrote sympathetic orations. Libanios preferred coexistence to confrontation and taught and mixed with men of both faiths, including BASIL THE GREAT, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Outside the political mainstream by choice, he championed many an individual and municipal cause in 64 speeches (the first was his autobiography) and 1,600 letters. He was an eloquent spokesman for the material and cultural aspiration of the curiales, but also a critic of social oppression. More pedagogical are his school declamations and similar model exercises. Libanios tried to write in pure Attic, with results that are now viewed as tortuous but were much admired by Byz. stylists.

ED. *Opera*, ed. R. Foerster, 12 vols. in 13 (Leipzig 1903–27; rp. Hildesheim 1963). *Selected Works*, ed. A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1969–77), with Eng. tr. *Libanius' Autobiography (Oration 1)*, ed. A.F. Norman (Oxford 1965), with Eng. tr. *Briefe*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Munich 1980), with Germ. tr.

LIT. J.H.W.G. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IV^e siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955). *Libanios*, ed. G. Fatouros, T. Krischer (Darmstadt 1983). G. Fatouros, T. Krischer, D. Najock, eds., *Concordantiae in Libanium* (Hildesheim–New York 1987). –B.B.

LIBELLESIOS (λιβελλήσιος or λιβελλίσιος), according to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS a subaltern official in the department of the QUAESTOR.

Bury (*Adm. System* 77) thought that the *libellesios* was a successor of the late Roman *libellensis*, who performed secretarial functions in the *scrinium libellorum* and in other bureaus (A. von Premerstein, *RE* 13 [1927] 24–26). In the 10th C. the term *libellos* designated a document connected with assignment of a KLASMA (e.g., *Prot.*, no.5.37) and it is probable that the *libellesios* had specific notarial duties: a seal of the 11th C. belonged to a certain John, *libellesios* and imperial notary (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.210). Dölger (*Diplomatik* 63) hypothesized that the *libellesios* made notes on petitions addressed to the emperor, while Ljubarskij (*Psell* 275) surmised that he composed imperial acts; neither of these theories has any substantive basis. The *libellesios* played a role in palace ceremonial, serving as the mouthpiece of the AUGUSTA (*De cer.* 418.20–22). There were also provincial *libellesioi*-notaries: for example, Nicholas, *libellesios* and *symbolaiographos* in 897 (*Lavra* 1, no.1.34); Nicholas, *kouboukleisios* and *libellesios* of Thessalonike in 982 (*Ivir.* 1, no.4.79); Stephen, *libellesios* and *primikerios* of the *taboullarioi* in Thessalonike in 1097 (*Lavra* 1, no.53.42). In contrast to this evidence, the anonymous *libellesios* addressed by Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:451.26) was a high-ranking functionary of the civil administration. Peter Libellisios, a well-educated inhabitant of Antioch in the second half of the 11th C., mastered both Greek and Arabic learning, but it is not clear whether *libellesios* was his job or his family name.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322. –A.K.

LIBER DIURNUS (lit. "day book"), anonymous collection of papal letter formulas and documents from the 6th to 8th C. preserved in three slightly distinct MS versions from the early 9th and 10th C. Many formulas recur wholly or partially in letters of contemporary and later popes, and the formulation and topics of the letters shed much light on ecclesiastical affairs of Byz. Italy and relations between the PAPACY and Constantinople. Much like the DE CEREMONIIS, the *Liber diurnus* includes a list of addresses and subscriptions appropriate to papal correspondence with the emperor and high officials of Constantinople and the provinces (ed. Foerster, *infra* 181f). A number of the documents reveal the local historical situation, reflecting for instance the care of bishoprics disorganized by enemy action (82f), or procedures for petitioning the emperor (112f) or the EXARCH (113–21) for confirmation of papal elections, as well as attesting local bishops' anti-MONOTHELETISM and loyalty to the emperor (136f; cf. 138) or prayers for his triumph (e.g., 164).

ED. *Liber diurnus romanorum pontificum*, ed. H. Foerster (Bern 1958).

LIT. L. Santifaller, *Liber diurnus: Studien und Forschungen* (Stuttgart 1976). J.M. Sansterre, "La date des formules 60–63 du *Liber diurnus*," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 226–43. –M.McC.

LIBERIUS, pope (from 17 May 352); died Rome 24 Sept. 366. The pontificate of Liberius coincides with the upsurge of Arianism supported by CONSTANTIUS II. The Arians required Liberius to condemn ATHANASIOS of Alexandria. After a long struggle Constantius achieved this condemnation at the Council of Milan in 355; since Liberius refused to submit, he was exiled to Berroia and replaced by Felix II (355–65). Liberius finally yielded and after a time was allowed to return to Rome as Felix's colleague—the witty Romans exclaimed that they now had two parties and two colors, as in the circus (Theodoret of Cyrrhus, *HE* 2.17.5–6). The death of Constantius in 361 allowed Liberius to retreat and find common ground with the HOMOIOUSIANS, who leaned toward a slightly revised formula of the creed of the Council of Nicaea. Liberius was popular in Rome, esp. as founder of the Basilica of Santa Maria Maggiore. In the hagiography of the 6th C., however, he is presented as a traitor, while Felix II is depicted as a firm supporter of Orthodoxy.

LIT. Caspar, *Papsttum* 1:166–95. M. Goemans, "L'exil du pape Libère," in *Mélanges offerts à Mademoiselle Christine Mohrmann* (Utrecht-Anvers 1963) 184–89. –A.K.

LIBER PONTIFICALIS (Pontifical Book), prime source on Byz., the PAPACY, and Italy that records pontificates from Peter to the late 9th C. The initial section was compiled in the 6th (Duchesne) or early 7th C. (Mommsen), relying on general historical sources whose value ranges from poor (down to GELASIUS I and from VIGILIUS to Benedict I) to excellent (Anastasius II to Silverius). The *Liber pontificalis* consistently drew from papal archives information on munificence by and under each pope from SILVESTER onward, whence

splendid data on Byz. monuments of ROME (H. Geertman, *More veterum* [Groningen 1975]) and imperial grants from Constantine I to Constantine V (*Reg* 1, no.310). From Pope Honorius I, biographies were composed by contemporaries in the papal entourage (e.g., ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) and even published during the subject's lifetime. While the structure of each biography remains essentially the same (name, geographical origin, parentage, length of reign, writings, significant historical events, constructions, gifts, death, burial), the length, detail, focus, and reliability vary greatly from life to life (e.g., O. Bertolini in *La storiografia altomedievale* [= *SettStu* 17] [Spoleto 1970] 387–455) or even within different parts or recensions of the same life. Thus one recension of the Life of GREGORY II pays more attention to Byz. than the other, supplying details on the future pope's theological discussion with Justinian II (ed. Duchesne, *infra* 1:396.8–11), Byz. cooperation with the LOMBARDS, and the usurpation of Tiberius Petasius (ibid. 407.19–409.3). Countless later historians of religious institutions, such as AGNELLUS and the deacon JOHN OF NAPLES, took the *Liber pontificalis* as their model. The continuations from Pope JOHN VIII to Urban II, the so-called *Liber pontificalis* of Pierre Guillaume (ed. J.M. March [Barcelona 1925]), rarely touch on Byz.

ED. *Le Liber pontificalis*, ed. L. Duchesne, 3 vols. (Paris 1886–1957). Partial ed., *The Book of the Popes*, tr. L.R. Loomis, vol. 1 (New York 1916).

LIT. Wattenbach, Levison, Löwe, *Deutsch. Gesch. Vorzeit u. Karol.* 58f, 455–62. C. Vogel, "Le 'Liber pontificalis' dans l'édition de Louis Duchesne: Etat de la question," in *Monseigneur Duchesne et son temps* [= *Collection de l'École française de Rome* 23] (Rome 1975) 99–127. –M.McC.

LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE (*Λίβιστρος καὶ Ῥοδάμνη*), an anonymous romance (about 4,500 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, in the longest of several discrepant MSS). Because both Theodore MELITENIOTES (died 1393) and MAZARIS (*Journey to Hades*, ca.1415) refer to the poem, it must be dated to the 14th C. *Libistros and Rhodamne* is formally the most sophisticated of the Byz. "popular" verse romances of chivalry: a first-person narrative by Klitobos, traveling companion to Libistros, starts *in medias res* and covers both the adventures that Libistros describes to him and also the hazards he and Libistros experience together as they seek for Rhodamne. Although written within the tradition of the novels of late antiquity and those of the 12th C., *Libistros and Rhodamne* has much in common with KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE and BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA including elaborate EKPHRASEIS of buildings, witches, and magic horses as well as Latin princes and Frankish hairstyles that reflect a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that of the MOREA.

ED. *Le Roman de Libistros et Rhodamné*, ed. J.A. Lambert (Amsterdam 1935). *Libistro e Rodamne: romanzo cavalleresco bizantino*, tr. V. Rotolo (Athens 1965).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 122–28. M.K. Chatzigiakoumes, *Ta mesaionika demode keimena: Symbole ste melete kai sten ekdose tous* (Athens 1977) 31–165. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

LIBRA. See LITRA.

LIBRARY (*βιβλιοθήκη*). Libraries underwent a substantial change during late antiquity: municipal libraries disappeared and the public libraries organized by Constantius II (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 1:84–87) and Theodosios II were state institutions. Byz. libraries could be imperial (such as the one in 15th-C. Constantinople described by Pero TAFUR), patriarchal, monastic, or private. As Wilson (*infra* 281) stresses, "the university of Constantinople has left no trace of a central library," though Constantine IX's foundation charter for the School of Law makes provision for one. Some libraries had inventories, several of which (e.g., the catalog of the library of the monastery on PATMOS) have survived. The BOOKS had shelfmarks (e.g., at the library of the Great LAVRA on Athos) and were placed on shelves accordingly. Some libraries had their own SCRIPTORIA and professionals to repair and bind books (L. Politis in *Wandlungen* [Waldsassen-Bavaria 1975] 285–92). Data concerning the size of libraries are rare: in the early 13th C. the Patmos library had approximately 330 books; the library of Lavra possessed about 960 MSS. Most libraries, esp. private ones, were much smaller (e.g., the library of Eustathios BOILAS in the late 11th C. contained 81 books).

The contents of libraries differed significantly: a 6th-C. papyrus list of ten books given to a monastery contains a chronicle and biblical, patristic, and hagiographical texts (R. Dostálová, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 535–47); the inventories of

later monastic libraries were similar. The library of the patriarchate of Constantinople reportedly possessed a special chest of heretical books. The private library varied according to the individual: men like Libanius read widely in classical poets and rhetoricians (A. Norman, *RhM* 107 [1964] 158–75); the bibliophile ARETHAS OF CAESAREA acquired primarily secular classics. John Komnenos Synadenos (late 13th C.), son-in-law of Michael VIII's brother and uncle of John VI Kantakouzenos and Andronikos III, collected religious books. George Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (mid-15th C.) owned a library at Kalavryta that included Herodotus and Prokopios. (See also MOUSEION AND LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA.)

LIT. N. Wilson, "The Libraries of the Byzantine World," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 276–309. K. Manaphes, *Hai en Konstantinoupolei bibliothekai* (Athens 1972). B. Fonkič, "Biblioteka Lavry sv. Afanasija na Afone v X–XIII vv.," *PSb* 17 (1967) 167–75. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 412–15. E. Gamillscheg, "Zur Rekonstruktion einer Konstantinopolitaner Bibliothek," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 283–93. J. Bompaire, "Les catalogues de livres-manuscrits d'époque byzantine (XIe–XVe s.)," in *Mél.Dujčev* 59–81. O. Volk, *Die byzantinischen Klosterbibliotheken von Konstantinopel, Thessalonike und Kleinasien* (Munich 1955). –A.K., R.B.

LIBRI CAROLINI (Books of Charles), treatise containing a violent theological attack on the Second Council of NICAEA of 787 and the cult of ICON veneration, prepared ca.790–93 in the name of CHARLEMAGNE by his entourage, particularly Theodulf of Orleans. The *Libri Carolini* was evidently revised and then abandoned because of the reluctance of Pope HADRIAN I to condemn the council. The aggressively formulated refutation of the Byz. council survives in the original MS (Vat. lat. 7207) and still bears in the margins what may be notes of Charlemagne's oral comments (A. Freeman, *Speculum* 46 [1971] 608–12). The *Libri Carolini* expresses polemical outrage at the relics of the IMPERIAL CULT embedded in Byz. etiquette and official jargon (1.1–4) and assails the role of imperial PORTRAITS in Byz. public life (3.15). The treatise was motivated in part by imperfect Latin translation of the original Greek acts (*latreia* [worship] of God and PROSKYNESIS of icons were both rendered as *adoratio*, whence the charge of idolatry) and in part by political and military competition with Constantinople, perhaps aggravated by a perceived rapprochement between the PAPACY and Constantinople (G. Arnaldi in *Culto cristiano, politica imperiale carolingia* [Todi 1979] 61–86; cf. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI*, vol. 1 [Munich 1978] 163–65, 185f).

ED. H. Bastgen, MGH *Concilia* vol. 2, supp. (1924).
LIT. A. Freeman, "Carolingian Orthodoxy and the Fate of the *Libri Carolini*," *Viator* 16 (1985) 65–108. S. Gero, "The *Libri Carolini* and the Image Controversy," *GOrThR* 18 (1973) 7–34. –M.McC.

LICARIO (Ἰκάριος of Greek sources), Italian adventurer in the service of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS; dates of birth and death unknown. From a Veronese family that settled in NEGROPONTE (Euboea), Licario incurred the displeasure of the Lombard rulers of the island through his liaison with a noble widow and fled to a castle near Karystos. The chronology of his career is uncertain; Loenertz (*ByzFrGr I* 558–70) has proposed the following sequence of events: in 1271 Licario offered his services to the Byz., became an imperial vassal, and seized several castles on Euboea. After taking Karystos in 1276–77, he was rewarded by Michael VIII with the whole island as a fief and with a noble Greek wife. He eventually conquered all Euboea except for Chalkis and restored to Byz. control a number of Aegean islands: Skopelos, Skyros, Skiathos, Amorgos, Keos, Santorini, and Lemnos. In 1276 Licario was appointed *megas konostaulos*, the next year *megas doux*. In 1279/80 he captured John I de la Roche, duke of Athens, and Giberto da Verona, triumvir of Euboea, and brought them triumphantly to Constantinople. Thereafter he disappears from the sources.

LIT. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1973) 47–50. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 235–37, 295–300. *PLP*, no.8154. E. Branopoulos, "Ho hippotes Likarios," *Archeion Euboikon Meleton* 7 (1960) 127–33. –A.M.T.

LICINIUS (Λικίνιος), more fully Valerius Licinianus Licinius, augustus (308–324); born Dacia ca.265, died Thessalonike spring 325. Friend and perhaps praetorian prefect of GALERIUS, he was named augustus at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308 and held power in the East. In the succeeding civil wars Licinius allied with Constantine I and married his half-sister Constantia in 313. He proclaimed toleration of Christians in his territory at an early date (see EDICT OF MILAN), and the struggle with MAXIMINUS became a contest

between monotheism and polytheism. Just before going into battle Licinius had his men recite a prayer to the "Great Holy God"; he was then victorious. After May of 313 Licinius was supreme in the East as Constantine was in the West. By 316 relations between the two emperors had deteriorated and there was open war in the Balkans. From this time onward Licinius sought the support of pagans and openly harassed Christians in his domain. War broke out again in 324. Licinius was defeated, first in Thrace, then at Chrysopolis in Bithynia on 18 Sept. Licinius abdicated the next day. He was sent into exile in Thessalonike, where he was subsequently executed.

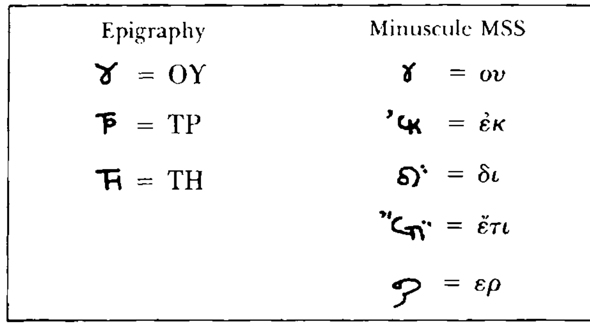
LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 43f. M. Fortina, "La politica religiosa dell'imperatore Licinio," *Rivista di classica* 7 (1959) 245–65; 8 (1960) 3–23. F. Corsaro, "L'imperatore Licinio e la legislazione filocristiana dal 311 al 313," *Studi Cesare Sanfilippo* 3 (Milan 1983) 155–86. –T.E.G.

LIFE EXPECTANCY. The evidence of skeletal material from archaeological excavations suggests a mean age at death of about 35 years for the Byz. population. Women usually died earlier than men, primarily because of the higher mortality associated with childbirth and, possibly, poorer food. The anthropological findings are corroborated by the evidence of funerary epitaphs (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 95–100) and *praktika* (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 296). Byz. longevity was comparable to that of Iron Age Greece and lower than that of classical Greece, when the mean age at death was 45 years for men and 36 for women. Nevertheless, the Byz. definition of old AGE (*geras*) was similar to the modern conception; it began about 60. Anyone living into his 70s was considered to have exceeded the allotted biblical life span of 70 (Ps 90:10) and to have entered "extreme old age." Literary evidence indicates that many Byz. did have long lives. Thus, the average life span of the Komnenian emperors was 61, of the Macedonian 59, and of the Palaiologan 60. Scholars also tended to live into their 60s or 70s (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 116f). Saints reputedly lived longest, often into their 80s or 90s; in fact there seems to be a correlation between old age and sanctity.

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "Old Age in Byzantium," *BZ* 77 (1984) 267–78. –A.M.T.

LIGATURE, term used in PALAEOGRAPHY and EPIGRAPHY. It describes the linking together of letters to save space and time. Gardthausen (*Palaeographie* 2:53) classifies ligatures into primary, secondary, and tertiary examples. In primary ligatures, letters are combined but preserve their essential elements; in secondary ligatures two letters are united so that they share a common element; in tertiary ligatures three letters are joined. In epigraphy there are examples of eight letters combined together. Occurring relatively infrequently in uncial MSS, ligatures became common in cursive and minuscule script.

–A.M.T., A.K.



LIGATURE. Sample ligatures.

LIGHT (φῶς). Byz. terminology for light can be classified into two distinct areas: liturgy and spirituality, which of course are interdependent. From the time of Justin the Philosopher and Ignatius of Antioch baptism was designated primarily as "illumination" (*photismos*). EPIPHANY, the preferred day of baptism, bore the name "Festival of Lights" or "Lights" (J. Ysebaert, *Greek Baptismal Terminology* [Nijmegen 1962] 157–78). The light (the Sun) is naturally Christ, as expressed in the thanksgiving hymn of the eucharistic liturgy (PHOS HILARON) and in Christmas hymns. Every weekday should be concluded with a thanksgiving for the light. The illumination of spiritual man through Christ is the favorite theme of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE and SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN. JOHN KLIMAX (*Scala paradisi* 26, PG 88:1020D) described the angels as the light of the monk, and monastic life as the light of all men, while Gregory PALAMAS incorporated the vision of the (transfigured) light in his doctrine of ENERGIES and assigned it first rank in spiritual life.

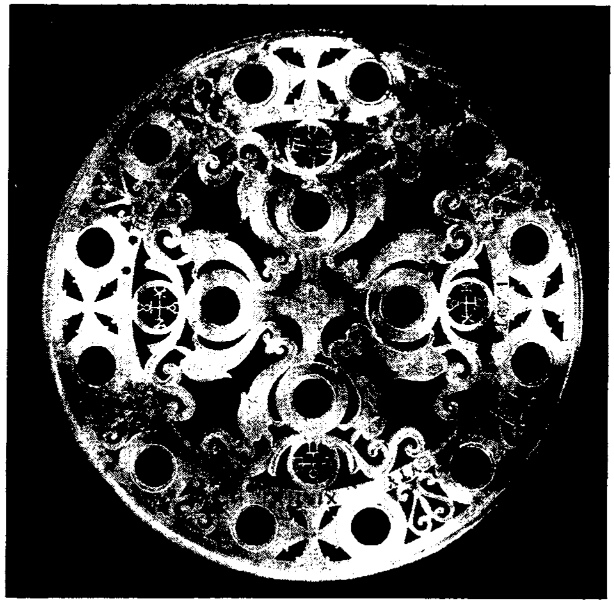
Light in Art. In the visual arts light is not so much the medium of visual perception as a token of sanctity or majesty. Illumination is almost always an emanation from a divine source, created by God (Gen 1:3) or projected by a sacred figure.

As in the narthex mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, the enthroned Christ often carries an inscription identifying him as the Light of the World (Jn 1:9) and he is invariably treated as a source of light, even if this is conveyed by reflections from his skin and brilliant vestments. The SUN AND MOON, when represented, rarely cast light, although an arc of heaven, inhabited or not, frequently illuminates the upturned face of a holy man (e.g., in the *Menologion of Basil II* [Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 230]). Recipients of sacred light are shown blinded (St. PAUL), bowled over (the apostles in the TRANSFIGURATION), or, like the face of MOSES, reflecting the glory of God. The marked 14th-C. interest in the depiction of light has been connected with Palamite vision.

Formally, light is as often a decorative device spun over the surfaces of objects as an element contributing to their substantiality. In mosaic and fresco its impact is registered by the liberal use of white; on silver and ivory its effects are heightened by burnishing. In sacred pictures light normally descends from above, illuminating the upper surfaces of the faces and limbs of figures. But there is no suggestion of a specific source, and the various parts of an image are lit independently. The play of light and shade is determined more by conventional means of suggesting PLASTICITY than by the search for a consistent effect. During and after the 11th C. the drapery of sacred figures is enlivened with chrysography (see ILLUMINATORS), brilliant splashes of GOLD emitting rays over adjacent surfaces of the fabric. The highlights on faces, hands, and drapery in early Palaiologan painting are later broken into short parallel strokes; vestments seem to crackle electrically. This is part of an apparent effort to give physical form to radiance, an attempt most palpable in images of the Ascent of Elijah and of the Transfiguration.

LIT. P.-T. Camelot, *DictSpir* 9 (1976) 1149–58. G. Podskalsky, "Gott ist Licht," *Geist und Leben* 39 (1966) 201–14. V. Lossky, *Essai sur la théologie mystique de l'Eglise de l'Orient* (Paris 1944) 215–34. P. Plank, *Phos hilaron: Christushymnus und Lichtdanksagung der griechischen Christenheit* (Würzburg 1986). Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 35f. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963). V.V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 99–101. –G.P., A.C.

LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL (φωταψία, λυχναψία). Associated with the symbolic values of LIGHT, church lighting, beyond its practical purpose, often carried a wide range of connotations (G. Galavaris, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 69–78). Though the church fathers tried to restrict the lavish display of lights in churches, it is evident from accounts in the *Liber pontificalis* that by the late 4th C. ecclesiastical lighting had become remarkably elaborate. A novel of Justinian I of 538 (67 pr.) stressed the importance of providing revenues for the maintenance of lighting in a church. Textual evidence and dedicatory inscriptions show that many lighting fixtures were the votive offerings of both church officials and laymen.



LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL. *Polykandelon;* silver, ca.550–565. From the Sion Treasure. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Polykandela with glass lamps were the dominant lighting devices before the 8th C. The earliest types are crown-shaped with dolphin-brackets supporting glass lamps (*Greece and the Sea* [Amsterdam 1987] no.150). Three other sorts of silver *polykandela* are found in the SION TREASURE: circular, cross-shaped, or in the form of a rectangular tray. Openwork silver lamps (*kaniskia*) were employed in churches along with lamps of solid metal; the altar was illuminated with floor candelabra and lampstands as well (Mango, *Silver* 96–101). In Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, cross and disk-shaped *polykandela* are recorded, along with boat-shaped lamps and tree-shaped chandeliers (PAUL SILENTIARIOS).

From the 9th C. onward, ecclesiastical lighting

increasingly relied on CANDLES. *Polykandela*, some of them in silver, continued in use. In the 12th C. the *choros*, a polygonal structure carrying *polykandela* or lamps and candles, was introduced in domed churches. Floor candelabra in pairs (*manoualia*) were employed in front of votive icons, sometimes furnished with disks with extra candleholders for the major feasts. Metal beams carrying candleholders (*lamnai*) were employed over the TEMPLON epistyle and ICON FRAMES. Oil lamps with one or more lights (*kandelai*) were suspended before votive icons of Christ and the Virgin, under the dome, over the holy altar, and before the bema doors. Lanterns enclosing as many as ten lamps were employed for the illumination of open spaces around the church during processions. A number of monastic TYPIKA provide explicit instructions for the lavish illumination of churches on major feasts and the anniversaries of the deaths of the founders.

LIT. L. Bouras, "Byzantine Lighting Devices," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 479–91. T. Gerasimov, "Rannovizantijski srebŭrni sveščnici ot Sadovec," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 30 (1967) 200–05.
–L.Ph.B.

LIGHTING IN EVERYDAY LIFE. Private houses were illuminated by small WINDOWS (*photagogia*) by day, and lighting devices (*lychnia(i)*) after dusk. *Lychnia*, along with a couch and table, were considered the most essential furnishings of a house (vita of Basil the Younger, ed. Vilinskij, 1:300.32–33). In the late Roman period, the LAMP (of clay, metal, or glass) remained the major lighting device. Even though literary texts continue to mention lamps through the entire Byz. period, archaeological evidence shows that clay lamps practically disappeared after the 7th C. They were replaced by CANDLES. Certainly palaces and rich houses were brightly illuminated, esp. during banquets. Monastic authorities disapproved of candles in cells—thus Lazaros of Mt. Galesios regarded a monk who lit a candle in his cell as dead in the eyes of God (*AASS* Nov. 3:549AB); John Moschos tells the legend of a monk who did not need artificial light because he was able to read in the dark (PG 87:2908A).

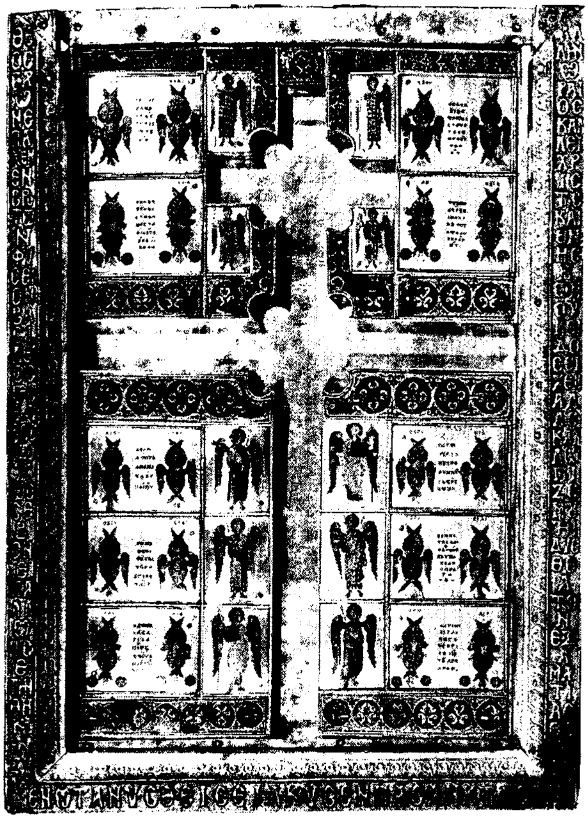
Streets in large cities of the 4th–6th C. had artificial lighting: KYROS, the prefect of Constantinople, installed lighting devices on major thoroughfares of the capital after 437, and Theodosios II imposed a tax on houses and shops in the area of the Baths of Zeuxippos to maintain the *luminaria* (*Cod.Just.* VIII 11.19). Apparently, the system fell into decay even in Constantinople: the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 231.35–39) records that near Hagia Sophia it was so dark that people needed a torch to walk at night. The *Book of the Eparch* (*Bk. of Eparch* 19.3) required shopkeepers to switch off lighting devices (*lebetia*) in the evening; legend has it that Leo VI was arrested and beaten by a watchman when he decided to walk at night. Yet lights were used in public buildings (bathhouses, amphitheaters) and in special situations—in lighthouses, on boats, for optical signals (see BEACONS), and in warfare.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 132f. C. Mango, "Addendum to the Report on Everyday Life," *JÖB* 32.1 (1982) 254–57.
–A.K., L.Ph.B.

LIKANDOS. See LYKANDOS.

LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY, the most resplendent extant example of a Byz. *staurotheke*, that is, a container for a fragment of the TRUE CROSS. It consists of two chronologically distinct parts unified, however, by the common use of silver-gilt, ENAMEL, and gems. The front displays images of the Deesis, developed to include the archangels Michael and Gabriel, the 12 apostles and military saints, as well as an inscription in which BASIL THE NOTHOS is given the title of *proedros*, thus indicating a date after 963. Basil claims responsibility for the work in verses that relate its splendor to the beauty of Christ who died on the wood contained in the RELIQUARY. In the same spirit, the back is decorated with a foliate cross. The relic itself was set within an inner, cruciform compartment, surrounded by seraphim, cherubim, and other heavenly powers represented on the lids of compartments labeled for relics of Christ (such as the towel with which he washed the apostles' feet), of the Virgin, and of St. John the Baptist. An inscription on the frame for the Cross names two emperors, Constantine (VII) and Romanos (probably I, but possibly II). They are said to have crushed the barbarians as Christ shattered the gates of Hell. In 1207 the reliquary was brought from Constantinople to the West by the Crusader Heinrich von Ülmen.

LIT. Frolow, *Relique*, no.135, pp. 233–37. Frolow, *Reliquaires* 96. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.*



Limburg an-der-Lahn Reliquary. Interior of the box with the setting for the cross reliquary and compartments for various other relics. Cathedral Treasury, Limburg an-der-Lahn.

(Moscow 1978) 28–32. J. Rauch, "Die Limburger Staurothek," *Das Münster* 8 (1955) 201–33. J.M. Wilm, "Die Wiederherstellung der Limburger Staurothek," ibid. 234–40. W. Michel, "Die Inschriften der Limburger Staurothek," *Archiv für Mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte* 28 (1976) 23–44. –M.E.F., A.C.

LIMES, a Roman term designating the boundary, esp. the system of frontier fortifications that was developed in Britain, Upper Germany, Raetia, the Danubian provinces (Pannonia, Scythia Minor), the eastern provinces (Syria, Palestine), and Africa from the 2nd C. onward. Different in different areas and periods, the fortifications of the *limes* have not yet been properly categorized. Their major elements include palisades, earthen walls, ditches, wooden towers, and forts. Under Diocletian (or earlier) appeared the *castella,* or *quadriburgia,* of the so-called Diocletianic type—relatively small forts, square in plan, with square angle- and interval-towers that saddle the curtain walls (J. Lander in *Roman Frontier Studies,* ed. W.S. Hanson, L.J.F. Keppie, vol. 3 [Oxford 1980] 1051–60). On the Middle Danube, Valentinian I organized active construction of new fortifications but, after the catastrophe at Adrianople in 378, the *limes* was restructured: forts became smaller, while towers of smaller size were abandoned and replaced by larger ones (S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* [Munich 1985] 98f). Attempts to fortify the frontier took place again under Anastasios I and Justinian I; among the new forts and walls erected at this time were the Long Wall in Thrace and the fortification in southwestern Crimea. New forts were constructed on the Lower Danube in the second half of the 10th C.

From the 4th C. onward, the settled garrisons of limitanei were placed along the *limes.* Farming communities were transplanted to the *limes* to guarantee the upkeep and provisioning of forts (M. Gichon in *StMilRoms* 1 [1967] 191f). Eventually, the *limitanei* themselves became settled farmers. The *limes* was also a factor in the increased activity of artisans in the frontier districts (A. Rădulescu in *StMilRoms* 2 [1977] 387–92).

lit. E. Fabricius, *RE* 13 (1927) 572–671. J. Garbsch, *Der spätrömische Donau-Iller-Rhein-Limes* (Stuttgart 1970). *The Roman Frontier in Central Jordan,* ed. S.T. Parker (Oxford 1987). G.W. Bowersock, "*Limes Arabicus,*" *HStClPhil* 80 (1976) 219–29. –A.K.

LIMISA (Ksar Lemsa), site of one of the best-preserved Byz. *quadriburgia* (four-towered forts) in North Africa. Its position on the Oued Maarouf along the southeastern slope of the Tunisian dorsal served to guard against Mauri incursions into the province of Africa Proconsularis. The fort itself is undated. Diehl (*L'Afrique* 205–10) proposed a Justinianic date. Pringle (*infra*), drawing attention to an inscription referring to the construction of a *turris* in the reign of Maurice and found 1 km east of Ksar Lemsa, suggested that inscription and fort belong together (in which case *turris* would refer to the fort itself). P.-A. Fevrier (*Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 [1983] 35), however, rejected the link between the two on the grounds that the inscription refers to a singular *turrim,* unlikely to be anything more than an isolated tower. Apart from a reference to

an *episcopus Limmicensis* at the council of 646, nothing else is known of the settlement's history.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 43, 212–14, 330 Inscr.36. K. Belkhodja, "Ksar Lemsa," *Africa* 2 (1968) 313–47. –R.B.H.

LIMITANEI (from Lat. LIMES), late Roman Empire frontier soldiers, as opposed to the mobile army of the COMITATENSES. The origin of *limitanei* is unclear: the HISTORIA AUGUSTA (ed. Hohl, 1:298.5–6) asserts that Severus Alexander (222–35) assigned conquered land to the *limitanei*, but O. Seeck (*RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 917) rejects this statement as a forgery. A 6th-C. historian (Malal. 308.17–19) says that Diocletian built fortresses on the eastern frontier and stationed *limitanei* there. The term *ripenses*, or *riparienses*, was used between 325 and 400 for frontier soldiers on the Danube, from Scythia to Pannonia Secunda, but from 363 onward (*Cod.Theod.* XII 1.56) the term was replaced by *limitanei*. Cavalry and infantry *limitanei* formed units under the command of a *dux* (see DOUX), with normally two legions in each province, while auxiliary troops were under the command of the governor of the PROVINCE. Less privileged than *comitatenses*, the *limitanei* had to serve 25 years; they received ANNONA in kind for nine months a year and money for three months; from the second half of the 4th C. the entire *annona* was commuted to cash. Officers tried to secure most of the pay for themselves and, according to THEMISTIOS (ed. Schenkl, Downey, 1:207.1–19), urged soldiers to make their living by plundering the vicinity. *Limitanei* were peasant soldiers, and Justinian (*Cod.Just.* I 27.8) describes their duty as "defending the castles and towns of frontier districts and tilling the soil." Enrollment in the border troops was hereditary, from father to son. By the 6th C. the *limitanei* grew inefficient, and PROKOPIOS (*SH* 24.12–13) reports that Justinian deprived them of the "name of warriors." The system disappeared after the old *limes* was overrun by barbarians, and the last mention is probably for 586.

LIT. D. van Berchem, *L'armée de Dioclétien et la réforme constantinienne* (Paris 1952) 19–32. Haldon, *Recruitment* 21–28. –A.K.

LINCOLN COLLEGE TYPIKON. See BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY.

LINE AND CONTOUR, the essential means by which form is defined in the artistic theory of the church fathers and later Greek writers. Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 20:1545C) objected to the making of holy images on the grounds that delineations (*skiagraphiai*) and the COLORS added thereafter are inanimate; John Chrysostom (PG 51:247.43) describes the creation of imperial portraits in terms of white lines sketched around their figures. "Shadowy outline" (*apokrisma*) was, for Andrew of Crete (PG 97:1213C), the first step that painters took before applying color. According to Ignatios the Deacon in his vita of TARASIOS (418.10–14), additions were the work of the master and his companions after the master had drawn the black sketch that "announced the design." These views accord with practice. A standard technique of MOSAIC decoration was the outlining of figures with courses of tesserae; wall painters imitated this method. Ivory craftsmen defined carved figures with contours before cutting away superfluous material, while the technique of ENAMELING called for both contour and interior lines. This emphasis on linearity militated against PLASTICITY and substituted for the classical aesthetic a manner that was characteristically Byz.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, "Les procédés de la stylisation linéaire dans la peinture byzantine des X–XII siècles et leurs sources," 25 *Congrès International des Orientalistes* [= *Doklad na XXV Meždunarodnom kongresse vostokovedov*] (Moscow 1960) 1–18. F. Angiolini Martinelli, "Linea e ritmo nelle figure umane ed animali sugli argenti dell'Ermitage di Leningrado dei secoli V–VII," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 19–47. –A.C.

LINEAGE. The nuclear FAMILY became the cornerstone of Byz. society by the 8th C.; even earlier the Roman concept of *gens*, with its inner links and family NAMES, was in a state of decline. The extended family, living together in a single household (e.g., the three-generation family of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL) continued to exist, but on the other hand there is no evidence of the concept of lineage as a community based on kinship and mutual support. So far as can be judged by the history of the Heraklian dynasty in the 7th C., family links were considered dangerous and burdensome rather than supportive. The reappearance of lineage can be dated to ca.1000; after this date family names are abundant in sources; certainly some lineages (Skleros, Phokas, Doukas) were established a century earlier.

From the end of the 11th C., lineages became the basis of political organization and, unlike the 7th-C. emperors, the Komnenoi and later Palaiologoi were supported by an expanded network of kinship. The Byz. lineage of the 12th–15th C. remained, however, a loose social grouping: it was not strictly patrilinear—the relatives on the maternal side were not excluded from the lineage; it had no common property; the tracing of lineage to a common ancestor (going back to the traditional heroes of Greek legends or Roman aristocratic families) and not to mythical founders of the particular lineage was in an incipient phase. The concept of princely rule as the "property" of a lineage (the principle of the Merovingians or Kievan Rus') was never developed in Byz. -A.K.

LINEN. Even though the cultivation of flax is hardly mentioned in the *Geoponika* (2.40.3), it played a significant role in Byz. agriculture: stored in the *proasteion* of Baris, for example, in 1073 were wheat, barley, beans, and flax seeds, or *linokokkoi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.119–20), a term that frequently appears in later documents (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.11.27; P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 219.27). The seeds were processed in special *ergasteria*, called *linelaiotribika* (*Lavra* 3, no.168.4–5), and made into OIL (*linelaion*). A chrysobull of 1088 distinguishes the seeds from the *linarion*, or flax fibers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.55), whereas a chrysobull of 1086 considers *linarion* as a kind of seed (*Lavra* 1, no.48.41–42).

The fibers of flax were used to produce TEXTILES. In the late Roman period Egypt was the traditional center of the linen industry: the spinning of linen thread was often a household industry there (e.g., PALLADIOS, *Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 21.19–20, 86.10–12). The linen thread was then given to linen weavers, *linoÿphoi* (e.g., T. Nissen, *BZ* 38 [1938] 367.27–28). After Egypt fell to the Arabs in the 7th C., linen cloth was imported to Constantinople primarily from Bulgaria and the regions of Strymon, Pontos, and Kerasous. The linen merchants, *othoniopratai* (also called *mithaneis*), purchased the linen cloth and resold it to either VESTIOPRATAI or any would-be purchaser on condition that the linen would not be sold yet again. The *othoniopratai* also dealt in *bambakina* (cotton?) tunics. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.9) distinguishes the *othoniopratai* from linen weavers, who were prohibited from selling their wares in *ergasteria* but had to carry them around "on their shoulders" to peddle them. The profession of linen merchant was evidently held in some contempt—a 12th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 484.63) was indignant that some of these merchants (along with money changers) were granted noble titles.

Linen cloth was used primarily for tunics and burial shrouds but could be of varied quality and function. Some fine linen was used to make tablecloths (*TheophCont* 200.1–2); a court decision of 1384 lists various objects used in a bedchamber, including a red linen pillowcase (*linokoukoulon*) whose value was estimated at 4 hyperpers (*Docheiar.*, no.49.29); Niketas Choniates (74.43–44) mentions "gold-laced" linen produced in Thebes. In the 9th C. the widow DANELIS reportedly brought various textiles from the Peloponnesos: among them were *linomalataria* (fine fabrics) and plain soft linen as well as tissues "finer than cobwebs," each of which could be folded and fit inside a bulrush (*TheophCont* 318.15–18).

The place where flax was worked was called *linobrocheion*, and it is possible that in the 13th–15th C. the use of the lord's *linobrocheion* became a coercive obligation, a BANALITY.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 34–36. *Bk. of Eparch* 190–202. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 224f. -A.K.

LIONS (sing. λέων) were rare in Byz., esp. after the loss of the southern provinces in the 7th C. In the early centuries they were exhibited in the Hippodrome, and tame lions performed in street shows (John Chrysostom, PG 54:591.35–40), earning money for their keepers; in the later period we hear of lions with iron collars kept in cages (Nik.Chon. 349.94–95). The taming of a lion was a typical subject of early hagiography: lions were represented not only as caring for holy men and women in the desert, but even digging a hermit's grave after his solitary death (*Deux versions grecques inédites de la Vie de Paul de Thèbes*, ed. J. Bidez [Gand 1900] 28–33).

Despite its rarity, the lion, "the fierce and imperial beast" (PG 54:699.10–11), played an important role in Byz. imagery. Although it is doubtful that the Byz. actually hunted lions after the 7th C., the HUNTING and slaughter of lions were standard topics in imperial iconography, a tradi-

tion that joined with David's killing of the lion (1 Sam 17:34–36) to produce the perennial theme of the Old Testament shepherd-king protecting his flock: one of the DAVID PLATES and much PSALTER illustration are the best-known examples of this confluence. The victories over lions (or panthers?) by Digenes and his father, described in the *Digenes Akritas*, have rather legendary features. Traditional proverbs and sayings based on the Bible, Aesop, and other texts present the lion as a mighty beast that, however, could suffer from a mosquito or whose fangs could be broken. The Byz. perception of the lion was ambivalent: on the one hand, it was the symbol of Christ and the *basileus* as powerful victors; on the other hand, it was a roaring beast, the symbol of impurity, particularly associated with the Iconoclast emperors, Leo III and Leo V. In the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON the lion, as the ruler of the animal kingdom, is the protector of predators.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:422f. –Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

LIPARI (Λίπαρις), main island of the Aeolian archipelago, port on the route from Sicily to Rome. According to archaeological material (ceramics, coins, inscriptions), the island seems to have been quite well populated until the end of the 5th C. The lack of later material may be attributed to the partial desertion of the island following the eruption of the local volcano in the late 7th or 8th C. The Arabs conquered and devastated the island in 835–38. Seat of a bishop, suffragan of the metropolitan of SYRACUSE, Lipari was a famous place of pilgrimage because of the relics of the apostle BARTHOLOMEW, venerated there from the 6th C. onward. It was also a place of banishment for political exiles from late antiquity to the early 9th C. No Byz. monument survives in Lipari.

LIT. L. Bernabò-Brea, *Le isole Eolie dal tardo antico ai Normanni* (Ravenna 1988). –V.v.F.

LIPARITES (Λιπαρίτης), a family name of Iberian (Georgian) origin. The founder of the family, Liparit IV, duke of Trialeti, was the chief Caucasian ally of Byz., who in 1048/9 commanded the Iberian troops that fought together with the Byz. army against the Seljuks. Taken captive, Liparit was soon released by TUGHRUL BEG. After long involvement in Georgian feuds, he was encouraged to leave Georgia, went to Constantinople, took the monastic habit under the name of Antony, and died between 1062 and 1064. His sons Ivane and Niania served the empire (Niania died in Ani, whereas Ivane returned to Georgia), but later some descendants of Liparit joined the Seljuks. One branch of the Liparites family, however, remained in Byz.: in 1177 Basil Liparites was a judge; an anonymous 12th-C. epigram mentions Bardas Liparites; according to Laurent (*Coll. Orghidan*, no.248), Constantine Liparites served as *kommerkiarios* in the 11th C.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskie Liparity," *Vizantinovedčeskie etjudy* (Tbilisi 1978) 91f. Guilland, "Curopalate" 208. –A.K.

LIPS (Λίψ, lit. "the southwest wind"; also Libes/Libas [on a seal]), the last name or a sobriquet of a 10th-C. family of Constantinopolitan dignitaries. There is considerable confusion about the biography and chronology of the best-known member of the family, Constantine Lips. According to the chroniclers, Constantine was a contemporary of Leo VI and restored a monastery in Mardosangaris (a region of Constantinople) near the Church of the Holy Apostles. A legend has it that he invited the emperor to the inauguration (ENKAINIA) of the monastery, but a "wind called *lips*" blew up, destroying houses and churches and forcing the guests to scatter (Leo Gramm. 280.7–14). The monastery restored by Constantine has been identified as Fenari Isa Camii (see LIPS MONASTERY), whose 10th-C. church preserves a fragmentary verse inscription stating that a certain Constantine dedicated the church to the Mother of God. C. Mango and E. Hawkins (*DOP* 18 [1964] 299–301) supplied the additional words "*hetaireiarches* Lips" in their conjectural reconstruction of one of the fragments. The traditional date of the inauguration, 907/8, is arbitrary, based on the fake chronology of pseudo-Symeon Magistros. Constantine participated in the revolt of Constantine Doukas in 913 and fell in the battle at Achelous in 917.

Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.42–76) describes a Constantine, the son of Lips, who was *protospatharios* and *domestikos* of the *hypourgia* (an assistant of the *epi tes trapezes*) and (by 952?) *anthypatos* and *megas hetaireiarches*; he went at least three times as an envoy to the Armenians and

married his daughter to an Armenian notable who bore the Arabic name of Abu Ghanim. Mango (*supra*) argues that Constantine Porphyrogennetos has erroneously made this man his own contemporary and that the passage refers to the Constantine Lips of the early 10th C.

According to the *Patria of Constantinople*, the Lips who was *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet founded a monastery and a *xenon* during the reign of Romanos I and Constantine VII; Mango again suggests that the patriographic tradition is in error and that this refers to the events of 907.

The *patrikios* Bardas, the son of Lips, conspired against Romanos II in 962 (Skyl. 250.65–66). Thereafter the name disappears.

LIT. S. Runciman in *De adm. imp.* 2:162f. Adontz, *Études* 222–25. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:188f. Janin, *Églises CP* 307.
–A.C., A.K.

LIPSANOTHEK, a conventional term applied to a small number of surviving objects thought to have contained RELICS, thus functionally indistinguishable from RELIQUARIES. The word is most frequently used of a late 4th-C. (?) ivory box in Brescia (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), the lid and sides of which are carved with scenes from the Old Testament, New Testament, and Apocrypha. Neither its form nor iconography requires that it was originally used for relics. A smaller box in Venice (ibid., no.120), with liturgical scenes, has perhaps a better claim: from the 4th C., the Eucharist was celebrated over relics kept under the altar. This box was found, with relics, below the altar of a church at Samagher, near Pola. A composite icon, formerly known as the Stroganov Lipsanothek (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.538), was equipped in the 11th C. and later with scenes of the Passion in enamel, portraits of saints in gilded silver, and now-empty compartments, inscribed with the names of St. John Prodromos, John Chrysostom, and others, intended for relics.

LIT. J. Kollwitz, *Die Lipsanothek von Brescia* (Berlin-Leipzig 1933).
–A.C.

LIPS MONASTERY (Fenari Isa Camii), founded in the Lycus valley in the western part of Constantinople probably by Constantine LIPS; it is traditionally believed to have been inaugurated in June 907. Whether the 10th-C. monastery was for monks or nuns is not known. The sophisticated church of 907, dedicated to the Virgin, is related in design to the NEA EKKLESIA. Its cross-in-square naos (see CHURCH PLAN TYPES) has five domes (the main one supported on now-missing columns), and lateral chapels. Fragmentary inlaid icons found at the site may have served in the additional chapels of the upper story. The interior was decorated with mosaic (now lost), glazed tile, and some of the most important surviving examples of 10th-C. SCULPTURE—the apse mullions, cornices, corbels, etc. Some of these employed "orientalizing" motifs in relief on marbles, of which many are SPOLIA (reused tombstones, etc.).

The Dowager Empress Theodora Palaiologina (died 1303), widow of MICHAEL VIII, restored the monastic complex, attaching a second church, dedicated to St. John the Baptist, to the south side of the 10th-C. church, as a mausoleum for the Palaiologan family, including Theodora herself, her mother, a daughter, and a son (ANDRONIKOS II). This church is wider than the 10th-C. building and boasts a much more ornate exterior, its multifaceted apses adorned with round-headed niches and decorative brickwork. Its interior has been much altered, but the dome, supported on piers at the corners of the naos with intervening pairs of columns, and 16 ARCOSOLIA survive. The graves are distributed through the naos, the narthex, and the groin-vaulted ambulatory that wraps around the south flank of the newer church and connects it at the west to that of Lips. This pretentious complex was built to emulate the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, the mausoleum of the Komnenoi.

The *typikon* of Theodora (composed between 1282 and ca.1300), which survives in a deluxe MS (London, B.L. Add. 22748), indicates that the 13th-C. monastery was designed to house 50 nuns. Sphrantzes (Sphr. 34.22–24) notes that in the late 14th C. Lips was one of the larger nunneries in Constantinople. Theodora and her mother endowed the convent with substantial properties in Asia Minor (near Pergamon and Smyrna), Thrace, Macedonia, and Constantinople itself, with certain revenues specified for the upkeep of an attached, 12-bed HOSPITAL with a staff of 21, including a priest, three doctors, and three pharmacists.

SOURCE. H. Delehaye, *Deux typica byzantins de l'époque des Paléologues* (Brussels 1921) 106–36.

LIT. T. Macridy, "The Monastery of Lips (Fenari Isa Camii) at Istanbul," *DOP* 18 (1964) 249–315. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 309–12.
–A.C., A.M.T.

LIRIS. See GARIGLIANO.

LITANY (λιτανεία), a series of short liturgical petitions, usually voiced by a deacon, that precede an oration, and to which the congregation replies with a fixed response, most commonly *Kyrie eleison*, one or more times. Litanies first appear in late 4th-C. Greek texts in the region of Antioch. Structurally they are a development of the primitive invitation to prayer (Taft, *East & West* 154–56), in which the diaconal biddings are addressed to the praying community and the prayer to God is the people's response. There are three Byz. litanic types, all known as early as the 4th C.: the *synapte*; the *synapte meta ton aiteseon* (with demands), which has the concluding "angel of peace" biddings, originally a litany of dismissal, to conclude a service or part thereof; and the *ektene*, or "intensive litany," originally used in stational processions (LITE).

LIT. Mateos, *Typicon* 2:279, 293, 304, 320. Taft, *Great Entrance* 311–49. –R.F.T.

LITE (λιτή), a liturgical procession of clergy and people to a designated church or "station" for the celebration of a FEAST. In Jerusalem, these processions were limited to HOLY WEEK; in Rome they occurred during LENT; in Constantinople they were spread throughout the church year and connected with saints' days and major events in the history of the capital and were accompanied by ANTIPHONS and LITANIES. Initially, *litai* served to combat heresy or plead for some special favor: the remission of sins, cessation of an earthquake, the lifting of a siege, a miracle, or to commemorate the original *litai* on the day when these favors were granted. There is evidence for *litai* in Constantinople as early as the 4th C., when John Chrysostom introduced nocturnal processions to counter those of the Arians (Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 171–73).

In the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, there are 68 *lite* days, with the emperor participating in 17 of them, and the patriarch in 32. These services had a major influence on the development of the Byz. LITURGY (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 43 [1977] 360–69). The term *lite* can also refer to a short service comprising a litany and prayers celebrated during a procession of this kind.

LIT. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome 1987) 167–226. –R.F.T.

LITERACY was more widespread in Byz. than in the medieval West, esp. in cities, where elementary EDUCATION was widely available, and in monasteries, where a knowledge of reading was required of choir brothers and sisters. Functional literacy was usually a prerequisite for any administrative or spiritual career. During late antiquity, attitudes toward the BOOK changed drastically: instead of being a vocational necessity, it became a tool of religious education and a symbol of power (G. Cavallo in *L'imperatore Giustiniano* [Milan 1978] 235). Egyptian papyri show more illiterate persons in the 6th than in the 5th C., but the difference is primarily due to the insignificant number of 5th-C. documents (R. Calderini, *Aegyptus* 30 [1950] 15). Even some monastic superiors in the 6th C. were unable to sign their names (R. Merkelbach, *ZPapEpig* 39 [1980] 291–94). This explains why Justinian I's novels prohibit an illiterate person from being elected bishop (Beck, *Ideen*, pt.III [1966], 72). Documents from the Athos archives, which sometimes bear crosses instead of signatures, indicate the existence of illiteracy, but a statistical analysis has not yet been done (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 42 [1988] 167–78). Despite this general esteem for literacy, two emperors (Justin I and Basil I) were reportedly illiterate, and several illiterates climbed high on the bureaucratic ladder: for instance, when Leo VI appointed the brave sailor Podaron *protospatharios* of the *phiale*, the emperor ordered a judge of the hippodrome to assist him, since Podaron was illiterate (*De adm. imp.*, 51.100–102). Especially in the countryside, "where education and knowledge were on a low level," illiteracy created difficulties for the functioning of law and administration; thus Leo VI, in his novel 43, permitted the use of oral testimony in villages to authorize wills.

LIT. R. Browning, "Literacy in the Byzantine World," *BMGS* 4 (1978) 39–54. –A.K.

LITERATURE. The Byz. term closest in meaning to our concept of literature was *logoi*, denoting the totality of texts written in artful language; hence these texts would compose the totality of knowledge, that is, they might include scientific,

legal, medical, and other texts. This perception of Byz. literature as inclusive of all forms of writing (*pis'mennost'*, *Schrifttum* in Russian and German terminology) is retained by the best modern scholars, such as Krumbacher, Hunger, and Beck. Attempts have been made, however, to distinguish between the entire body of writing produced in the Byz. era and literature in the narrower sense (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 1–21; J.-L. van Dieten, *HistZ* 231 [1980] 101–09).

Traditionally, Byz. literature has been divided into three categories: secular works in the "pure" (artificial) LANGUAGE, literature in VERNACULAR, and theological literature. This categorization is illogical, however, because it is based on two different principles (language and contents), and because the distinction between secular and theological literature or between pure and vernacular dialect is often too conventional. For example, the classification of hagiography as a theological genre and the *Digenes Akritas* and *Stephanites and Ichnelates* as vernacular works is debatable. I. Ševčenko (*JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289–312) suggested a different classification, whose core is the existence of three levels of STYLE (high, middle, and low), reflecting social and educational levels of writers and their public. Ševčenko's levels of style, however, are too close to the levels of grammar, and therefore limited, neglecting questions of imagery, composition, characterization of the hero, etc.; and these levels of style remain static throughout time.

Questions of language, geographical distribution, and chronology also need to be considered in treating Byz. literature. Traditionally, the framework of Byz. literature has encompassed works written in medieval Greek regardless of the place of their creation, that is, including Arab Syria (John of Damascus) and Norman Italy (Eugenios of Palermo). The mid-6th C. is sometimes chosen as a starting point, mainly on the formal and technical ground that 19th-C. textbooks on ancient literature extended their coverage to ca.550. This date does not coincide, however, with the traditional periodization of Byz. history (see BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF) or art. In this article, Byz. literature is defined as having been written between the early 4th and mid-15th C.

Until recently, Byz. literature was considered to have had little aesthetic value and was viewed either as an inferior continuation of its Greco-Roman and patristic or biblical models, or (as far as vernacular works are concerned) praised for the qualities that made it a predecessor of modern Greek literature. In fact, medieval authors in both East and West did develop new ethical values and aesthetic approaches, for example: (1) "objectivization" of the AUTHOR, whose external MODESTY and avowed lack of cultivation stood in sharp contrast to his proud self-conception as possessing final truth; (2) a shift from the spoken word toward the BOOK, that is, from public oral presentation toward individual reading, that led to the extinction of the THEATER, a predominant genre of classical literature, and the limitation (at least temporary) of RHETORIC; (3) presentation of the *dramatis personae* as allegorical rather than "real" figures, so that the hero became an embodiment of all moral values and the antihero a bearer of all vices; (4) sympathy for humankind, which transformed the author from a dispassionate observer of human deeds and errors, virtues and vices into one deeply involved with human sorrows and sufferings; and (5) the idea of the stability and immutability of the cosmos and man, which was reflected in the preservation of obsolete and artificial language, in IMITATION (*mimesis*), in the consistent relating of the present to the past, so that the events and personalities described were interpreted as reproductions of ancient events, biblical or patristic models. These principles were connected with general trends of Byz. CULTURE. They were neither created in an instant at the beginning of Byz. history, nor did they remain unchanged or unopposed during the thousand years of the empire, but they formed the mainstream of Byz. literature.

Although some ancient GENRES survived, the system of genres was restructured. Ancient drama was criticized for immorality and replaced by the emphatically repetitive world of LITURGY; POETRY, also a predominantly oral form of literature, was either attached to liturgical purposes (HYMN) or remained, at least after the 7th C., at the fringe of literary life, mainly as EPIGRAM. EPIC gradually vanished. The tendency to inculcate official moral and political values fostered the flourishing of genres such as SERMON, HAGIOGRAPHY, GNOMAI, and ADMONITIONS. The sphere of personal human relations remained underdeveloped, and accordingly EPISTOLOGRAPHY was consistently restricted to trivial formulas and standardized situations, and lyrical poetry was limited. HISTORIOGRAPHY,

the other hand, flourished: the Byz. were more interested in clashes of collective forces (Iconoclasts, Turks, etc.) than individuals (AUTOBIOGRAPHY was a rare genre).

Byz. literature can be divided into the following phases of development:

1. ***Predominance of antique traditions*** (4th–mid-7th C.), including such genres as lyrical poetry (Gregory of Nazianzos) and epic as well as elements of PAGANISM. Literary works were created in several languages (Greek, LATIN, SYRIAC), and Greeks such as Ammianus Marcellinus or Claudian happened to be the most significant Latin writers of the period, while Romanos the Melode, a Syrian or Jew, made a major contribution to the development of ecclesiastical poetry by using some oriental literary techniques. The major goal of the greatest writers (John Chrysostom, pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, Prokopios of Caesarea) was to express new approaches, a new vision of the universe and man, of society, and expectations for the future in traditional literary forms bequeathed by the glorious past; among others Nonnos of Panopolis (or a contemporary of his) tried to reconcile Christianity with the inherited poetical forms in a poetic paraphrase of the Gospel of St. John. Less spectacular but more innovative were attempts in hagiography and chronicles to produce "modest" stories of miracles and miracle-workers who acted partly in a completely new setting, the desert (APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM), and partly in the traditional milieu of the urban community, whose values, however, they rejected (SYMEON OF EMESA).

2. ***Period of relative silence***, the "dark ages" (mid-7th C.–ca.800), when some significant theologians were still active (Maximos the Confessor, Germanos I), esp. in Syria after the Arab conquest (John of Damascus), whereas hardly any historiography and hagiography were produced.

3. ***Revival of the 9th–10th C.*** (see ENCYCLOPEDISM), starting with the development of MINUSCULE handwriting and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS written in uncial. Its first stage (800–850) was predominantly monastic and ecclesiastic, represented by such writers as Theophanes the Confessor, Theodore of Stoudios, Ignatios the Deacon, Niketas of Amnia, and the poet Kassia, even though some figures of the revival such as Patr. Tarasios and Nikephoros I began their careers as lay officials. After George Hamartolos, however, there was no monastic writer of importance until Symeon the Theologian (ca.1000), and lay and ecclesiastical functionaries dominated the field. The most conspicuous feature of the period is the assembling of the ancient heritage: the edition of old masters such as Homer, Plato, Aristotle, and the tragedians; issuing collections of texts (GREEK ANTHOLOGY) or excerpts (sponsored by CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS), LEXIKA, and bibliographical entries (the BIBLIOTHECA of Photios). Even hagiography was put in order, both externally, by the assemblage of texts for liturgical purposes (Symeon Metaphrastes); and internally, when to the eccentric heroes of early vitae (desert fathers, prostitutes, women in male disguise, holy fools, stylites, etc.), which continued to be read, were added a few new types of hero, such as the generous almsgiver Philaretos the Merciful, the good matron Mary the Younger, and monks and nuns indoctrinating and obediently submitting to monastic discipline (Theodora of Thessalonike, Irene of Chrysobalanton). Theophanes the Confessor attempted to create a new type of historical writing: he adhered to the annalistic principle, and presented history as an eternal conflict between Good and Evil.

4. ***Period of the 11th–mid-13th C.***, here conventionally called pre-Renaissance (see RENAISSANCE), seems to be a contradictory period: on the one hand, the literati reacted against the encylopedistic emphasis on order and were involved in a search for personal and even mystical experience (Symeon the Theologian); on the other hand, ancient tradition was used, not only as a source of excerpts, but as a means for understanding reality (Eustathios of Thessalonike). The idea of expressing the author's personal experience was reborn (Psellos, Prodromos), and writers began to be openly proud of their talents. A new image of man was introduced, as one who united in a single person the positive qualities of the hero and negative qualities of the antihero (Psellos, Niketas Choniates). Topics of SEXUALITY, including love and nudity, were presented (even if rarely) side-by-side with officially sanctioned chastity, and from the 12th C. onward the genre of ROMANCE was revived, following Hellenistic models. A new chivalric ideal was developed, both in official rhetoric (Theophylaktos of Ohrid) and historiography (esp. Nikephoros Bryennios) and in the epic of *Digenes Akritas*. A new type of literati emerged: neither

monk nor bureaucratic functionary, but a professional poet or intellectual, claiming poverty (Prodromos, Tzetzes), or a "university" teacher (Michael Italikos, Eustathios). Vernacular began to be used sparingly as a language of literature. Some old genres, including hagiography, went temporarily out of fashion. The Byz. were becoming less "serious"—mild HUMOR, PUNS, self-mockery on the part of the author are all encountered in the period. Even the problems of artistic creativity were hotly discussed (Michael Choniates).

5. *Final period* (13th–15th C.) characterized by a revival of hagiography, an increasingly tragic perception of history (Chalkokondyles), a sense of incompetence in comparison with antique predecessors (Metochites), and introduction of the topic of failure and the defeat of the hero (John VI Kantakouzenos). Former confidence in God's perpetual assistance and in final victory over the barbarians was lost. Contacts with Western literature increased: the late Byz. romance was influenced by Western chivalrous literature. The heroes of works produced in regions of Latin domination (Peloponnesos, Epiros, Crete) were Latins or heavily latinized seigneurs (CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO). A small group of authors, mostly converts to Catholicism, learned Latin and began the TRANSLATION of both ancient and medieval Latin writers into Greek; a few emigrated to Italy, where they taught Greek and encouraged the translation of ancient Greek literature (primarily philosophy) into Latin. The perception of social injustice became sharper (Alexios Makrembolites), esp. in vernacular FABLES. A tendency to bring narrative "closer to the earth" led to the poetization of human weakness and vices (Stephen Sachlikes). On the other hand, the tendency to preserve the "dead" language along with classical stylistics remained quite strong, and the authors of this vein (Plethon, Bessarion) had great influence upon the Italian Renaissance.

LIT. K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur*[2] (Munich 1897). H. Hunger, *Die hochsprachliche profane Literatur der Byzantiner*, 2 vols. (Munich 1978). Beck, *Kirche* 371–798. Idem, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Volksliteratur* (Munich 1971). S.S. Averincev, *Poetika rannevizantijskoj literatury* (Moscow 1977). A.P. Kazhdan, S. Franklin, *Studies on Byzantine Literature of the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Cambridge-Paris 1984). Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I (1971), 69–92. –A.K.

LITERATURE, DIDACTIC, works written to instruct or convey facts (rather than to entertain—as in historiography, hagiography, or romance—or fulfill a ceremonial purpose); of necessity a large and diverse group. Categories of writing that can be classed under this heading include handbooks written for use in the schoolroom on, for example, grammar or meter (cf. SCHEDOGRAPHIA, EPIMERISMS, EROTAPOKRISEIS, PROGYMNASMATA, LEXIKA) as well as on music, legal terms, etc.; a number of these were in POLITICAL VERSE (for example, by Michael PSELLOS and John TZETZES) or the rhythms of religious literature (e.g., the grammatical KANONES of Niketas of Serres), presumably as a mnemonic device. Also to be classed as didactic are works written on such subjects as ASTRONOMY, MATHEMATICS, MEDICINE, PHILOSOPHY, and natural science.

LIT. A. Garzya, "Testi litterari d'uso strumentale," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 272–83. –E.M.J.

LITHOSORIA (*τὰ Λιθοσώρια*), battle site of unknown location. In Oct. 774 Constantine V learned that the Bulgar khan TELERIG had dispatched an army of 12,000 to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. Berzitia's whereabouts and ethnic composition are unknown; the inhabitants may have been Slavs dwelling in Byz. territory. Constantine promptly raised a large army (reportedly 80,000 strong) and fell on the Bulgars at Lithosoria, winning a "great victory" (Theoph. 447.23) and returning to Constantinople in triumph. It is unclear whether the name Lithosoria ("stone piles") indicated an actual town, a natural landmark, or an artificial marker of the border between Byz. and Bulgaria.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:227–33. V. Beševliev, "Die Feldzüge des Kaisers Konstantin V. gegen die Bulgaren," *EtBalk* 7.3 (1971) 15f. Idem, *Geschichte* 225f. –P.A.H.

LITHUANIA (Λιτβᾶ, τὰ Λίτβαδα) originated as a state in the mid-13th C. It expanded under Gedymin (1316–41) and Olgerd (1345–77) into the principalities of SMOLENSK and KIEV, becoming a rival to Moscow and Tver' for control over Russia, and under Vitovt (1392–1430) expanded further along the lower DNIEPER to the BLACK SEA. Byz. policy focused on the issue of church organization. Until 1386 Lithuania was officially pagan: Byz. sources refer to its inhabitants and

esp. the king as fire-worshipers (e.g., Greg. 3:514.7–9; MM 2:12.21, 117.32–33), and in 1364 Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS canonized victims of Olgerd. There was, however, an Orthodox population. A metropolis may have been established as early as 1299–1300, although the only well-attested incumbents are Theophilos (ca.1315–30), Theodoret (1352–54), Romanos (1355–62), and KIPRIAN (1375–81). Such appointments split the see of "Kiev and all Russia," of which Lithuania began to be considered an independent part, characterized in the title of the Polish king as Litborhosia, i.e., Lithuania-Rossia (MM 2:280.22). In an *ekthesis* of Andronikos II it was stated that Andronikos and Patr. John XIII Glykys transformed *ta Litbada*, the district (*enoria*) of "Great Rossia," into a metropolis (*Notitiae CP*, no.17.83). This action could be seen as antagonistic toward Moscow. In 1386 Lithuania and POLAND came under the sole rule of Jagiello (1377–1432), who converted to Catholicism. Laonikos Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:125.3–19) described Lithuania as a vast Catholic country with a distinctive language (Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 96f).

LIT. R. Misiunas, "The Orthodox Church in the Lithuanian State," *Lituanus* 14.3 (1968) 5–28. Meyendorff, *Russia* 55–61, 161–72, 182–99. I.B. Grekov, *Očerki po istorii meždunarodnych otnošenij Vostočnoj Evropy XIV–XVI vv.* (Moscow 1963) 74–118. –S.C.F.

LITOS (λιτός, "simple"), term applied to a certain category of titled dignitaries. In describing the future emperor Marcian as a *stratiotes litos*, Theophanes (Theoph. 104.2) uses the word in a nontechnical sense of "common, plain." In the TAKTIKA of the 9th C. and 10th C. the term appears as a synonym of the APRATOS to characterize a dignitary without function. In descriptions of MSS, the term *litos* seems to describe UNCIAL script.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:153f. –A.K.

LITRA (λίτρα, Lat. *libra*), unit of weight of various sizes.

1. The most important Byz. measure of weight was the *logarike litra* ("pound of calculation"), established by Constantine I in 309 or 310 as the basis of the monetary system: 1 *logarike litra* of gold = 72 SOLIDI or EXAGIA = 12 OUNGIAI = 1,728 KERATIA = 6,912 SITOKOKKA = 1/100 KENTENARION. The exact weight of the *logarike litra* is disputed; its theoretical norm seems to have been slowly debased from approximately 324 g to 319 g. The *logarike litra* is normally simply called *litra*, but it could also be termed *chrysaphike* (gold) or *thalassia* (maritime) *litra*; sometimes in classicizing texts it is called *mna* or even *talanton*. The *logarike litra* could also be a measure of land: 1 *logarike litra* = 1/40 *thalassios* MODIOS.

2. The *soualia litra* was a special unit reserved for weights of oil or wood = 4/5 *logarike litra* = 256 g; 30 *soualiai litrai* of olive oil = 1 *thalassion* METRON.

3. In regions such as Cyprus and Trebizond, which had regular contact with Islamic lands, a special *argyrike* (silver) *litra* of 12.5 *logarikai oungiai* (= 333 g) existed alongside the other units. It was apparently related to the Arab *raṭl* of 337.6 g.

4. In the later period various "pounds" of local circulation were in use, partly of Arab, Italian, or Turkish origin.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 277f. –E. Sch.

LITTLE ENTRANCE (ἡ μικρὰ εἴσοδος), ritual procession that introduces the LITURGY of the Word, in which the deacon, accompanied by the priest(s) and servers, carries the EVANGELION from the altar into the nave and through the TEMPLON back to the altar. It symbolizes Christ's coming as Logos and is a ritual remnant of the entrance of clergy and people into church at what was once the beginning of the liturgy. At first accomplished in silence, this procession was embellished in the 6th C. with a prayer and antiphonal PSALMODY with two refrains, first the TRISAGION, then, under Justinian I, the MONOGENES.

At the solemn pontifical Eucharist, celebrated by the patriarch or a bishop, the Little Entrance remained a true introit procession until at least the 12th C. (Taft, "Pontifical Liturgy" 105–10): the patriarch, waiting in the narthex, recited the introit prayer evoking the vision of the heavenly sanctuary as the Imperial Doors of Hagia Sophia stood open before him and he gazed down the nave. The entrance of the patriarch, accompanied by the chanting of the introit antiphon (Ps 94), sung as the procession moved forward, presaged the appearance among the people of the Heavenly Celebrant himself.

On entering the sanctuary, the patriarch kissed the ENDYTE and reverenced the altar with candles

and incense while the *Trisagion* was sung; he then went to his throne in the apse for the LECTIONS. When the emperor participated, he joined the patriarch in the narthex and proceeded with him down the nave of the church and into the sanctuary where he offered gifts (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.9, ed. Reiske 64f). An imperial entrance procession of this sort has been depicted in the mosaics of San Vitale in RAVENNA.

Called by Maximos the Confessor "entrance of the people with the bishop" (PG 91:688D) and by Patr. Germanos I "entrance of the Gospel" (Germanos, *Liturgy*, par.24), it was only later called "Little" Entrance (Diataxis of PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, *Hai treis leitourgiai kata tous en Athenais kodikas*, ed. P. Trempelas [Athens 1935] p.6) to distinguish it from the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 27f, 71–90. Taft, *East & West* 170–77. –R.F.T.

LITURGICAL BOOKS are of two kinds: books that contain liturgical texts actually used in the services, and books that regulate how those texts are to be used. The texts themselves comprise fixed and variable elements.

Books of the "ordinary," or invariable, part of the LITURGY are the *archieratikon* and EUCHOLOGION, for the use of the bishop and presbyter; the DIAKONIKON, for the deacon; and the HOROLOGION, for monks, choir, or *anagnostes* at the liturgical HOURS. Books of the variable, or "proper," parts include the various types of LECTIONARY; anthologies of SERMONS (*panegyrikon*, MENOLOGION); and the SYNAXARION and the Psalter (the *antiphonarion* and *psalter*[*ion*], see PSALMODY), used for the eucharistic service and for liturgical hours by deacon, *anagnostes*, and the SINGERS. The OKTOECHOS, TRIODION, and PENTEKOSTARION, books for the mobile feasts of the church CALENDAR, are hymn books for the use of the choir, as is the MENAION for the fixed feasts.

These last four books are the result of liturgical changes in the post-Iconoclastic period, when new texts composed for the developing poetical form, the KANON sung during ORTHROS, supersede older compositions such as the acrostic KONTAKION. The separate liturgical books that contained these older compositions, namely the *kontakarion*, STICHERARION, *tropologion*, and HEIRMOLOGION, were thus rendered obsolete.

The liturgical TYPIKON governs the services and, when the multiple "propers" conflict, regulates which is to prevail. The DIATAXIS is a book of rubrics, telling the celebrants what to do when, esp. at the celebration of Eucharist. The distinction between liturgical books is often blurred, that is, material in one book may appear in another as well. Other liturgical books are but extracts of those already mentioned (for *leitourgikon*, *hieratikon*, *hagiasmaterion*, see EUCHOLOGION).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 246–62. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des Neuen Testamentes*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1900) 327–478. –R.F.T.

LITURGICAL DIPTYCHS. See DIPTYCHS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL HOURS. See HOURS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL PLATE. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

LITURGICAL ROLLS. See ROLLS, LITURGICAL.

LITURGICAL VESSELS (*σκεύη λειτουργικά*) and related objects formed part of the church treasures. From at least the 4th C. onward they comprised several main categories of objects used for the rites of the EUCHARIST (CHALICE, PATEN AND ASTERISKOS, SPOONS, ewers for wine and water) and BAPTISM (basin for water, flask for oil). Other objects (e.g., the RHIPIDION, Gospel BOOK COVER, RELIQUARY, CROSS, CENSER, CHERNIBOXESTON, and LIGHTING fixtures)—often of valuable materials—used in the church were not essential to the performance of the liturgy. Although liturgical vessels are known in glass, precious stones, and marble, they were most often made of precious metal, sometimes gold but mainly silver, the earliest extant set in the latter metal being the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure from Roman Britain (K.S. Painter, *The Water Newton Early Christian Silver* [London 1977]). By the 10th–11th C., chalices and patens were also made of tinned copper (e.g., *DOCat* 1, nos. 89–90).

While liturgical vessels and objects of the 4th–7th C. bore dedicatory inscriptions, those made

later often had scriptural legends instead. The most elaborate surviving examples are spoils of the Fourth Crusade, now in the Treasury of S. Marco, Venice. The two 10th-C. chalices inscribed with the name Romanos and a matching paten rank among the remarkable achievements of the Byz. minor arts (M.E. Frazer in *Treasury S. Marco* 129–40, 168–70). The inventory of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, of 1396 still lists chalices of semiprecious stone or rock crystal mounted in gilt silver and several others of repoussé silver (MM 2:566.21–22). Most church inventories refer to more than one set of liturgical vessels (e.g., *Pantel.*, no.7.13, 45). Even though canon law considered liturgical vessels to be inalienable, churches could be coerced (as under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos) to give up their treasures in times of extreme political danger.

LIT. J. Braun, *Das christliche Altargerät in seinem Sein und in seiner Entwicklung* (Munich 1932). M. Mundell Mango, *Silver from Early Byzantium: The Kaper Koraon and Related Treasures* (Baltimore 1986). A.A. Glabinas, *He epi Alexiou Komnenou (1081–1118) peri hieron skeuon, keimelion kai hagion eikonon eris (1081–1095)* (Thessalonike 1972) 54–61.

–M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

LITURGICAL VESTMENTS. See ENCHEIRION; EPIGONATION; EPIMANIKIA; EPITRACHELION; OMOPHORION; ORARION; PHELONION; POLYSTAURION; STICHARION.

LITURGICAL YEAR. See YEAR, LITURGICAL.

LITURGY (λειτουργία, lit. "service"), in the New Testament a life of service modeled on Jesus' self-giving; also, church services (SACRAMENTS, esp. EUCHARIST, BAPTISM; other AKOLOUTHIAI) that memorialize this mystery in obedience to Jesus' command.

Liturgical ceremonies involve the symbolic use of sensible objects such as BREAD, WINE, water, OIL, salt, CANDLES, INCENSE, ICONS, furnishings (ALTAR, baptismal FONT), vesture (ecclesiastical COSTUME, baptismal robe), edifices (church, BAPTISTERY, *skeuophylakeion*), and ritual GESTURES or actions such as ANOINTING, blessing, signing, bathing or washing, imposition of hands, touching, kissing, dressing or stripping, eating, processions, PROSKYNESIS, KNEELING, and other postures. These objects and signs have an agreed-upon meaning expressed in the formulas that accompany the ritual. Though rooted in natural symbolism, the prime significance of liturgical symbols derives from their New Testament transformation into signs of God's saving work in Jesus (e.g., the LORD'S SUPPER, the bath of baptism). Secondary symbols and gestures (e.g., the baptismal anointings) were added later to explicate this core.

The liturgy was usually presided over by a minister in priestly orders (bishop or presbyter) and directed by a deacon who regulated the gestures and posture of the congregation via instructions (DIAKONIKA) and announced the intentions of their prayer (LITANY). The liturgical system of a church, comprising the totality of its particular rites and usages, is also called a "rite" (LATIN RITE, BYZANTINE RITE).

Liturgical ceremonies contain both fixed and variable elements. The "ordinary" is the basic skeleton that remains invariable regardless of the day, feast, or season. The texts of the ordinary express a service's changeless purpose; for example, VESPERS is always evening prayer. The "proper" comprises those pieces (LECTIONS, HYMNS, PSALMODY, refrains, etc.) that vary with the day, feast, or season. Christmas Vespers is evening prayer in commemoration of the Nativity. The texts of the proper are contained in a variety of different LITURGICAL BOOKS.

In Byz. the term *liturgy* refers specifically to the ritual of the Eucharist, often called the Divine Liturgy (*he theia leitourgia*) of which there were two parallel Constantinopolitan formularies, attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who seemingly elaborated an existing anaphora of the Apostles, and to BASIL THE GREAT, who is believed to have authored at least one of the redactions of the anaphora named for him (A. Raes, *REB* 16 [1958] 158–61; G. Wagner, *Der Ursprung des Chrysostomusliturgie* [Münster 1973]). Each formulary comprises 19 PRAYERS (*euchai*), the main one a borrowed Antiochene-type ANAPHORA (Chrysostom's from Antioch, Basil's from Cappadocia), elaborated and embedded in a common ritual setting and structure of *diakonika*, lections, psalmody, and CHANTS. Ten of these prayers are later additions common to both liturgies.

The liturgy of Basil predominated in Byz. until ca.1000, when that of Chrysostom took over; the liturgy of Basil was thereafter celebrated only ten times a year (Sundays of Lent; 1 Jan.; Thursday

and Saturday of HOLY WEEK; and the VIGILS of Nativity and Epiphany, the two feasts with *paramone*). Byz. authors claim, dubiously, that this change occurred because the Chrysostom liturgy was shorter.

In its full form, largely complete by the 12th C., the liturgy had four major parts: (1) the PROTHESIS rite, or preliminary preparation of the bread and wine; (2) the *enarxis,* or introductory service of three ANTIPHONS, litanies, and prayers (Mateos, *La parole* 27–90); (3) the Liturgy of the Word, which opened with the LITTLE ENTRANCE and TRISAGION, comprising scripture lections interspersed with psalmody and concluding by litanies and prayers (ibid., 91–173); (4) the Liturgy of Eucharist, which opened with the GREAT ENTRANCE and included the preanaphoral rites, anaphoral dialogue, anaphora, precommunion (including FRACTION, ZEON), COMMUNION, thanksgiving, and DISMISSAL.

The early liturgy, described in the homilies of John Chrysostom at Constantinople in 397–404 (van de Paverd, *Messliturgie* 425–535), was a classical late antique Eucharist whose texts had been marked by the Arian controversy and the definitions of the First Council of Nicaea. In the 5th–6th C., esp. with the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, the liturgy became "imperial," acquiring greater ritual splendor. This period witnessed the addition of the Creed and three important chants: Trisagion, MONOGENES, CHEROUBIKON.

In the 5th–7th C. the liturgy was esp. marked by the developing Constantinopolitan system of stational services (J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* [Rome 1987] 167–226). In such a system the entire city was "liturgical space," and the principal liturgy of a feast, held at a predetermined "station" (SYNAXIS), was preceded by a procession (LITE) up to 10 km long. Though frequent in the 6th–7th C., such processions later took place in Constantinople only on certain important occasions. Several elements of the first half of the liturgy, however—the opening of the *synapte* litany, the three antiphons, the *Trisagion* and its accompanying prayer, and the *ektene* litany after the Gospel—derive from these processions.

Other developments include the addition of litanies to cover the priests' silent recitation of the prayers and, in the 9th–12th C., the evolution of the prothesis rite and the addition of certain formulas to the preanaphoral rites. Much of this later development was the retroinfluence of mystagogic interpretations of the liturgy as a representation of Jesus' early life (see COMMENTARIES).

Especially characteristic of the liturgy are the introits, or entrances, which open and symbolize the two major parts of the service. The Little Entrance symbolizes Christ's coming as Word (Logos); the Great Entrance prefigures his coming in the sacrament of his body and blood. Both these foreshadowings are fulfilled in two later appearances—when the deacon proceeds to the ambo for the proclamation of the Gospel, and when the priest comes out to distribute the consecrated gifts in communion—thus completing the symbolic structure of the liturgy.

As the liturgy underwent increased monastic influence, esp. after Iconoclasm and after the Latin occupation of Constantinople, these ritual processions were gradually compressed; once functional entrances, they were increasingly confined to the interior space of a church and reduced to purely symbolic ritual turns that end where they began. The churches themselves became smaller and smaller, and the ritual more private, retreating into the enclosed sanctuary, as the TEMPLON evolved into the iconostasis. The SYNTHRONON, once elevated so that the clergy could see and be seen, disappeared from the apse; lections and SERMONS became a ritualized formality, and communion, the point of the whole liturgy, became a dead letter as fewer and fewer communicants approached to receive the sacrament.

The STOUDITE TYPIKA introduced into the liturgy some usages from the monastic hours (e.g., the *typika* [see PRESANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF THE] and the *apolysis,* or dismissal); the mid-14th-C. *diataxis* of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS and the SABAITIC TYPIKA fixed the final ceremonial and use of the liturgy in Byz.

ED. F.E. Brightman, *Liturgies Eastern and Western I. Eastern Liturgies* (Oxford 1896). Eng. tr. *The Divine Liturgy according to St. John Chrysostom with Appendices* (New York 1967).

LIT. H.-J. Schulz, *The Byzantine Liturgy* (New York 1986). Taft, *East & West,* esp. 167–92. G. Dix, *The Shape of the Liturgy* (New York 1945; rp. 1982). –R.F.T.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (also Liuzo and other forms), Lombard statesman and historian; born ca.920, died before 20 July 972 (?), certainly

before 5 Mar. 973. Liutprand was raised at the court of Hugh, king of Italy (927–47), became a deacon at Pavia, and served in Berengar II's (950–61) chancery before defecting to OTTO I and probably joining his chapel (958–61; homily delivered there, ed. B. Bischoff, *Anecdota novissima* [Stuttgart 1984] 24–34). Liutprand accompanied Otto to Italy, received the bishopric of Cremona, helped depose two popes, and figured prominently in Otto's service (962–70; cf. his *Book of the Deeds of Otto*). Liutprand knew a surprising amount of Greek (J. Koder, *infra*, against B.S. Karageorgos, *Lioutprandos ho episkopos Kremones hos historikos kai diplomates* [Athens 1978]); Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. CLM 6388 suggests that Liutprand or members of his milieu were among the first Westerners to use Greek MINUSCULE. Liutprand's father and stepfather had conducted embassies to Constantinople (927 and 942), and Liutprand visited Byz. at least three times (Koder, *infra* 60). His embassy (17 Sept. 949–31 Mar. 950 or later) on Berengar's behalf brought him familiarity with the Byz. court and friendship with CONSTANTINE VII; Liutprand may have supplied data for *De administrando imperio*, ch.26 (*De adm. imp.* 108–12; cf. R.J.H. Jenkins, ibid., 2:83–87). His second embassy (4 June–2 Oct. 968), which was supposed to settle relations in Italy and obtain from NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS a Byz. bride for Otto II, was a failure. Whether Liutprand participated in the embassy of 971 that brought THEOPHANO to Otto II is unknown.

Liutprand's knowledge, acute observation, and literary talent combine with a quicksilver personality and polemical or humorous distortions to produce a penetrating—but often disingenuous—account of Byz. diplomacy, court politics and ceremonial, and daily life. His *Antapodosis* (Tit for Tat), an unfinished history of Byz., Germany, and Italy (888–949) composed between 958 and 962, began as literary retribution against Berengar. Despite muddled chronology, its anecdotal account is rich in Byz. data. Descriptions of events from before Liutprand's lifetime derive from oral sources—possibly in Constantine VII's milieu—or lost written sources shared with surviving Byz. historians. The *Antapodosis* reports, for example, the claim that the Nea Ekklesia was Basil I's expiation for murdering Michael III (bk.1, ch.10 [ed. Becker, p.9.1–20]; cf. bk.3, chs. 33–34 [pp. 89.21–90.5]), the nocturnal security of Constantinople (1,11 [pp. 11.3–13.6]), Byz. relations with Italy (2,45 [pp. 57.17–58.7]; 2,52–54 [p.62.4–25]; 3,22–38 [pp. 82–92]; 5,9 [pp. 134.33–135.9]; 5,14–15 pp. 137.8–139.4, esp. on the Rus'), and with Romanos I (5,20 [pp. 141.16–145.19]), while book 6 (pp. 152–58, apparently incomplete) glowingly describes Liutprand's first embassy to Constantinople.

Liutprand's *Relatio de legatione Constantinopolitana* (Narrative of an Embassy to Constantinople) testily depicts the second embassy in a report to Otto I (possibly intended as propaganda against Byz.—M. Lintzel, *Studien über Liudprand von Cremona* [Berlin 1933] 35–56; cf. W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 54 [1961] 28–52). Its accurate portrait of daily life (e.g., food, ch.20 [p.186.15–21]), Nikephoros II, his court, its acclamations, ceremonies (e.g., the Pentecost procession and banquet, chs. 8–13 [pp. 180.14–183.12]), and personalities (Leo Phokas, Basil the Nothos) is infused with sarcasm and malevolent interpretation, perhaps inspired in part by Liutprand's earlier warm relations with Constantine VII.

ED. J. Becker, *Die Werke Liudprands von Cremona* [MGH *SRG* 41] (Hannover-Leipzig 1915). Tr. F.A. Wright, *The Works of Liudprand of Cremona* (London 1930).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 1:318–21. O. Kresten, "*Pallida mors Sarracenorum*," *Römische historische Mitteilungen* 17 (1975) 23–75. J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1980). M. Rentschler, *Liudprand von Cremona* (Frankfurt am Main 1981). –M.McC.

LIVESTOCK. The Byz. raised HORSES, oxen, water buffalo, CAMELS, donkeys, mules, SWINE, SHEEP, and GOATS. Cadastral records of the late Roman Empire suggest a serious understocking, in some regions at least (C.E. Stevens, *CEH* 1:95). Later the situation changed: already in the FARMER'S LAW cattle breeding apparently took priority over the cultivation of the soil. In the 12th C. the pilgrim DANIIL IGUMEN was astonished at the amount of stock he saw on Patmos, Rhodes, and Cyprus, and the Norman jongleur AMBROISE emphasized the abundance of victuals, cattle, fowl, and wine on Cyprus (M.J. Hubert, J.J. La Monte, *The Crusade of Richard Lion-Heart* [New York 1941] 92, 106f). Especially rich in cattle and flocks were lands in Anatolia east of the Sangarios (Paphlagonia, Cappadocia, Lykandos, etc.) and in Bulgaria. The evidence of bones found in excavations in Bulgaria indicates that by the 12th C. there

was, at least in some areas, an increase in the percentage of cattle among the livestock, which suggests a higher level of agricultural production (Ž. Vŭžarova, *Slavjano-bŭlgarskoto selišče kraj selo Popina* [Sofia 1956] 89). LEO OF SYNADA (ep.54.28–34) reports that Pylae in Asia Minor was a center of livestock trade in the 10th C.; it was choked with pigs, asses, cattle, horses, and sheep—all destined for the capital. As late as the 14th C. great landowners such as John VI Kantakouzenos possessed enormous herds in Thrace.

Livestock were used for dairy products (esp. CHEESE) and MEAT, for pulling CARTS and PLOWS, and as BEASTS OF BURDEN. The animals also provided valuable manure for enriching the soil. In certain areas of Asia Minor, as attested by Leo of Synada (ep.43.9–11), dung mixed with straw was burned in place of wood.

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 54–56. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:310–30. –J.W.N., A.K.

LIZIOS (λίζιος), liege; a Byz. term appropriating the Western feudal concept of liege-homage, applied during the 12th and 13th C. to Westerners with whom the emperor established a personal bond, yet not used in his relationships with Greek subjects of the empire. The first Greek source to use the term *lizios* is the *Alexiad* (An.Komn. 3:125.28–30). In the account of the treaty of Devol in 1108 between Alexios I and the defeated Norman prince Bohemund, the latter promised to be faithful to the emperor as "the liege-man (*lizios anthropos*) of your scepter" and to give him assistance against all enemies of the empire, as was his duty as a vassal (*oiketes kai hypocheirios*). In recognition of this, the principality of Antioch was granted to Bohemund as an imperial fief (R.-J. Lilie, *Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten* [Munich 1981] 67–69). Among the *lizioi* of the 12th C. were princes such as RAYMOND OF POITIERS and Ladislas of Bohemia and high-ranking functionaries such as Roger "Sclaus" and THEORIANOS; in the 13th C. the wealthy *kaballarios* Syrgares (possibly Sir Harry), a *pronoia* holder in the area of Smyrna, was titled *lizios*. The term could be used for a designation of collective vassalage: thus the citizens of Ancona acknowledged themselves as *lizioi* of Manuel I (Nik.Chon. 201.13); in 1273 Michael VIII recognized the Genoese of Galata as "his men (*idioi*) or *lizioi*, as one of them might say" (Pachym., ed. Failler 2:471.8). The term seems to have disappeared thereafter.

LIT. J. Ferluga, "La ligesse dans l'empire byzantin," *ZRVI* 7 (1961) 97–123. –M.B.

LOAN (δανεῖον), the conveyance of money or other movable things on the understanding that the recipient will return to the donor analogous objects in the same quantity. The loan differs from a loan for use (CHRESIS, COMMODATUM), which had as its object the mere use of things (movable or immovable) given on condition that they be returned as such. Moreover, the loan for use was free of charge, while the loan proper had to be repaid. Technically speaking, a MISTHOSIS (*locatio-conductio*) fell between a loan and a loan for use, since, in that case, a remuneration (*misthos*) was paid for a transmission of use that did not lead to ownership. Justinianic law preserved these older Roman distinctions quite exactly, as did the legal texts of the 9th–11th C. (e.g., *Basilika, Prochiron,* Michael Attaleiates) and Constantine Harmenopoulos. However, as the dearth of surviving loan-formulas shows, practice appears to have been otherwise. The actual situation is unfortunately poorly understood, since the Byz. credit system which was closely connected with loan contracts, has been examined only from papyri down to the 7th C. It is therefore unclear to what extent the circumstances assumed by Justinian I in novel 136 (a.535) on bankers' contracts actually held true for later periods. The regulations found in the *Book of the Eparch* for jewelers (ch.2) and bankers (ch.3) yield scarcely any information about business transactions. The 11th-C. TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS deals less with the nature of credit than with rules governing the precedence of various claims secured by PIGNUS (e.g., claims on the dowry or claims of the state, etc.) and is, moreover, completely academic. Yet a case handled by Demetrios Chomatenos (no.92) shows that the practice of obtaining a loan to cultivate a field in the 13th C. differs little from that found in the Hellenistic papyri. The remuneration paid for a loan was called INTEREST (*tokos*).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:369–73 (§262). –D.S.

LOCKS AND PADLOCKS. In addition to sliding and turning key-lock systems to secure doors and cabinets, the Byz. made extensive use of portable

padlocks. Only a limited number survive, but many are represented near the broken doors of Hades in images of the ANASTASIS. Most are "spring padlocks," so-called because the bolt is held in place by iron flange-springs that expand inside the lock chamber until, like barbs on an arrow, they cannot be removed. The bolt-flanges are compressed and the lock opened by means of a sliding KEY, which consists of an open circular or rectangular bit attached at right angles to a long, narrow shaft. The bit is fitted over the end of the flange and then pressed forward to compress it and release the bolt. Most spring padlocks are barrel-shaped, although some are adapted to animal forms (e.g., bulls and horses).

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 6f. –G.V.

LOCULUS, the shelflike grave often found carved into the walls of the corridors and cubicula of CATACOMBS. The *loculi* of the Roman catacombs were usually no larger than the space needed to set one body parallel to the wall; on occasion, however, *loculi* were intended to house more than one burial. In the catacombs and tombs of the eastern Mediterranean, and often in the Jewish catacombs, *loculi* were set perpendicular rather than parallel to the wall. After the burial of the body, the *loculus* was covered with a marble or terra-cotta plaque, usually bearing a prayer and an identifying inscription, and sealed with cement.

LIT. P. Testini, *Le catacombe e gli antichi cimiteri cristiani in Roma* (Bologna 1966) 135f. –W.T.

LOCUS SANCTUS (ἅγιος τόπος), literally, a "holy place"; practically, the goal of the pilgrim; the term *hagios topos* is attested on pilgrims' AMPULLAE. Because sanctity was believed to be physically transferable, and objects or places thus sanctified were deemed worthy of adoration and contact, Christians were impelled toward PILGRIMAGE. A *locus sanctus* might be the site of a biblical event—those of the Old Testament greatly outnumbering those from the New Testament—or the home of a famous RELIC or a SAINT; some holy sites, like that of St. MENAS, were popular healing shrines, with only loose religious associations. The most famous *loca sancta* were those in Palestine associated with the birth, miracles, and esp. the Passion of Christ, although lesser sites in great variety dotted the entire eastern Mediterranean. With the expansion of pilgrimage in the 5th–6th C., the choice and sequence of *loca sancta* to be visited in and around JERUSALEM came to be fixed. Indeed, the visit itself involved a kind of protocol, which would typically include prayers, Bible readings, physical contact, and, when possible, participation in the appropriate stational liturgy. The entire process would be facilitated by local guides, guide books and maps, and, perhaps, by an *Onomastikon* (such as that of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA), a volume giving the local names for biblical sites. *Loca sancta* influenced art in two ways: through the often grand and innovative architectural monuments that sprang up along the pilgrims' routes, and through the various EULOGIAI which the travelers brought home with them.

LIT. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensberg 1950). G. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982). –G.V.

LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS, conventional label for a closely interrelated series of 6th- and 7th-C. octagonal gold marriage rings bearing scenes from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE on the facets of the hoop. All but one show on the bezel the crowning of the bridal couple by Christ and the Virgin (see RINGS, MARRIAGE; MARRIAGE CROWNS). That they served as AMULETS—probably directed toward successful procreation—is suggested by their octagonal design (Alex. Trall. 2:377.20), by their Christological cycle (traditionally associated with amuletic pilgrimage EULOGIAI), and by the inscription from Psalm 5 on one example, "Thou hast crowned us with a shield of favor." (See also MARRIAGE BELTS.)

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 83. –G.V.

LOGARIASTES (λογαριαστής), financial official who functioned primarily as controller of expenses. The term is not mentioned in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. and is first attested in 1012 (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 140). Guilland (*infra* 102) refers to a seal of a *logariastes* of the 10th/11th C., but the date is later (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.400). *Logariastai* served in various departments—the VESTIARION, the *sekreton* of the SAKELLARIOS (on seals of the 12th C.), in the GENIKON (in an act of 1088), etc. *Logariastai* also served in provincial administration, in monasteries, and on

the estates of private individuals. The office of the *megas logariastes* was created by Alexios I and is mentioned for the first time in 1094; at the beginning he served as the general controller, along with the *sakellarios*, but eventually replaced him. In two documents of 1196 (*Lavra* 1, nos. 67–68) the *dikaiodotes* and *megas logariastes* Nicholas Tripsychos acts as the president of an important tribunal (P. Lemerle, *REB* 19 [1961] 264f). *Logariastai* are known up to the 15th C., the *megas logariastes* until the 14th. In the 14th C. a special *logariastes* of the *aule* (court) had the task of paying salaries to certain courtiers. The duties of the enigmatic *logariastes* of the chrysobulls (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.229) are unclear.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXI (1969), 101–17. Dölger, *Beiträge* 17–19. –A.K.

LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA (lit. "the old and new [methods of tax] accounting"), a treatise on TAXATION that has survived in a single MS of the late 12th C. (Paris, B.N. gr. 1670). It was written after the death of Alexios I, either between 1118 and 1120 (Hendy, *infra* 50) or in 1134/5 (Svoronos, *infra* 108, n.2). The treatise consists of two sections. The first describes the method of estimation of surtaxes (PARAKOLOUTHEMATA) in proportion to the sum levied as *demosion* (KANON); the second part contains several reports (*hypomnestika*) of the fiscal officials of the early 12th C. and Alexios's *lyseis*, or responses (RESCRIPTA). The task of the fiscal department as reflected in the treatise was to reconcile the actual situation in the provinces with the new principles created by the monetary reform of Alexios I. He required that instead of the miliaresion a nomisma had to be collected, the so-called *trachy palaion*, which served as the basis for estimating the *parakolouthemata*; the latter could be collected in copper coins.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:326–40.
LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 50–64. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–118. –A.K.

LOGIC, a philosophical discipline concerned with distinctions between types of arguments (syllogisms) and their constituent elements (terms and propositions or premises) and with the conditions for formal validity in arguments. It developed in Byz., as it had in late antiquity, essentially in the form of glosses, commentaries on, and paraphrases of the logical corpus of ARISTOTLE, the *Organon* (including the *Categories*, *On Interpretation*, *Prior* and *Posterior Analytics*, *Topics*, and *On Sophistical Refutations*). NEOPLATONISM had already made substantial contributions to the field. PORPHYRY wrote an influential introduction (*Eisagoge*) to the *Organon*; his commentaries (which included elements of Stoic logic), together with the commentaries produced esp. by members of the Neoplatonic school of Alexandria (in particular AMMONIOS, John PHILOPONOS, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA) on various parts of the corpus, constituted, with the commentaries by Alexander of Aphrodisias and the paraphrases by THEMISTIOS, the foundation of work on Aristotelian logic. A long series of Byz. commentators and paraphrasers contributed to this scholarly tradition, among them Photios, Michael Psellos, Michael of Ephesus, Eustratios of Nicaea, Theodore Prodromos, Sophonias (late 13th C.), Theodore Metochites, Leo Magentenos (14th C.), George Pachymeres, John Pediasimos, and Manuel Holobolos. Because much of the Byz. material has not been properly edited or examined, it is not possible at present to write the history of the Byz. contribution to the science of logic.

Logic was considered by the commentators of the Alexandrian School as the instrument (*organon*) of philosophy and was thus taught at the beginning of the CURRICULUM. This remained the case in Byz.: a training in philosophy would normally include (and sometimes go no further than) study of the elements of logic. Didactic summaries were therefore produced by the Alexandrian commentators; those by David and Elias esp. were distilled further in the *Dialectics* of John of Damascus and in Photios's *Amphilochia*. Later Byz. synopses of logic include those by Psellos, John Italos, Blemmydes' *Compendium of Logic*, and the collections of Joseph Rhakendytes and John Chortasmenos.

As logic clearly belonged to pagan philosophy, the Byz. attitude to it was as to PHILOSOPHY in general. The teaching and use of logic could be justified on the grounds of the New Testament teaching that "every perfect gift is from above" (Jas 1:17) and that logic in particular is useful in the refutation of error. This approach, suggested by John of Damascus, was exemplified later in Eustratios of Nicaea's claim that Christ used syl-

logisms. Logic also suffered, however, from movements of rejection of pagan learning, esp. in the context of conflict with a Latin Scholastic theology characterized by logical formalism. Some Byz. intellectuals, however, found merit in such theological use of logic. The logic of Latin SCHOLASTICISM was made available in Planoudes' translation of Boethius and Gennadios II Scholarios's translation of Peter of Spain. Byz. thinkers influenced by Neoplatonism stressed the inapplicability of logic to transcendent realities and in particular to God. For speaking of God another kind of "logic" was appropriate, the logic of negation (apophatic logic) as formulated by pseudo-Dionysios, which went beyond the limits (and principles) of logic properly speaking.

LIT. S. Ebbessen, *Commentators and Commentaries on Aristotle's Sophistici Elenchi* (Leiden 1981). T.S. Lee, *Die griechische Tradition der aristotelischen Syllogistik in der Spätantike* (Göttingen 1984). M. Roueché, "A Middle Byzantine Handbook of Logic Terminology," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 71–98. K.-H. Uthemann, "Zur Sprachtheorie des Nikephoros Blemmydes," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 123–53. L. Benakis, "Commentaries and Commentators on the Logical Works of Aristotle in Byzantium," in *Gedankenzeichen: Festschrift für Klaus Oehler*, ed. R. Claussen, R. Daube-Schachat (Tübingen 1988) 3–12. –D.O'M.

LOGOS (λόγος, lit. "word, reason"), a philosophic concept, broadly used in STOICISM and by PHILO and accepted by early Christian theologians, interpreting Christ as the Logos of John 1:1–8. ORIGEN took over the concept of the Logos as a mediator standing between the creator and the created world, "the idea of ideas," that was elaborated in Platonism (see Krämer, *infra*) and corresponded to Philo's Logos and the image of the divine INTELLECT in PLOTINOS. The "Word of the Father" was equated with the Son of God (the second person of the TRINITY), the term Logos having various connotations and associations: primarily, the idea of revelation, reason, and will as well as creation and redemption.

The concept of the Son-Logos, however, produced certain difficulties: was the Son's SUBSTANCE the same as the Father's? How could one reconcile the idea of the Logos being generated by the Father with the thesis of the preexistence of the Logos? What was the relation between the divine Logos and the human nature of the incarnate Christ? Is the Logos-reason the property of the Godhead (as in MONARCHIANISM) or a distinct HYPOSTASIS? If the Logos is distinct from the Father, does it mean that the Godhead could have been construed without the Logos-reason? After long disputes these problems found their solution in the concept of the TRINITY and of Christ's possession of two NATURES in one hypostatic union.

Some pre-Nicaean theologians, and sometimes later ones (e.g., SEVERIANOS OF GABALA), interpreted the Logos's work of redemption in categories of priesthood: the Logos, in his capacity of high priest, would offer sacrifice to God. On this basis, in the 12th C., Soterichos PANTEUGENOS rejected the traditional formula concerning the Eucharist as implying that the Logos was both offering and receiving the sacrifice; in contrast, NICHOLAS OF METHONE responded that the hypostatic union allows us to consider God as performing the human act of offering and the divine act of receiving.

LIT. H. Boeder, "Der frühgriechische Wortgebrauch von Logos und Aletheia," *Archiv für Begriffsgeschichte* 4 (1959) 82–112. A. Aall, *Geschichte der Logosidee in der griechischen Philosophie*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1896–99). W. Kelber, *Die Logoslehre von Heraklit bis Origenes* (Stuttgart 1958). H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*[2] (Amsterdam 1967). –K.-H.U.

LOGOTHESION (λογοθέσιον), the bureau of a LOGOTHETES. In the 6th C., however, in Justinianic legislation (nov.128.17–18), the term referred to municipal income outside the control of the praetorian prefect. By the beginning of the 9th C. the word acquired the meaning of a bureau: the vita of Niketas of Medikion (died 824) mentions a clerk of "the so-called *logothesion*" (*AASS*, Apr. 1, p.XX D [see back of vol.]). Usually the term was accompanied by a specification, such as *logothesion* of the GENIKON (Theoph. 367.23). Seals of CHARTOULARIOI of the *logothesion* of the *genikon* are known from the 8th C. onward (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 354–55); the *logothesion* of the *stratiotikon* is also common on seals, while the *logothesion* of the DROMOS and of the "herds" (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON) are mentioned infrequently. Charters of the 10th and 11th C. mention *logothesia* but there is no evidence that the term survived much after this date. The usual designation of a department in 12th-C. charters is SEKRETON. In the ecclesiastical administrative system, according

to a *prostagma* of 1094, the "five *logothesia*" were supreme offices of the patriarchate (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 59). –A.K.

LOGOTHETES (λογοθέτης), generic term that in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. designated a high official (one of the SEKRETIKOI) at the head of one of many departments with primarily but not exclusively fiscal functions. The origin of the office is unclear: it has been connected by various scholars with Roman *numerarii, scrinarii,* or *rationales*; the term was used in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:133) and by church fathers for subaltern officials and auditors. The *Notitia dignitatum* does not include the term, but it was common in the 6th C. as a designation for fiscal controllers on various levels of the administrative ladder. The seals of simple *logothetai* are dated predominantly to the 6th or 7th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 269–71). A radical change in their status occurred around the 7th C. when the office of PRAETORIAN PREFECT lost its importance and individual departments became independent; the chiefs of some of these (DROMOS, GENIKON, *stratiotikon*, and *agelai*) were called *logothetai* (see LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU, LOGOTHETES TON AGELON). Alexios I tried to coordinate the civil administration under the control of a single official—the *logothetes ton sekreton* who was later replaced by the *megas logothetes.* The bureau (SEKRETON) of a *logothetes* was called a LOGOTHESION through the 11th C. The term *logothetes* was used for other functionaries, such as the LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU. Patriarchal *logothetai* acquired special importance after the 12th C. (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 359–62). Metropolitan *logothetai* seem to have had judicial functions (MM 6:99.14–15, a.1118; *Esphig.*, no.28.22, a.1387).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 5–10. A. Semenov, "Über Ursprung und Bedeutung des Amtes der Logotheten in Byzanz," *BZ* 19 (1910) 440–49. –A.K.

LOGOTHETES TON AGELON (λογοθέτης τῶν ἀγελῶν), supervisor of the state herds of horses and mules. The office is first mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, while some seals of *logothetai ton agelon* are dated by Laurent to the 8th–9th C. It is generally agreed that the *logothetes ton agelon* succeeded the *praepositus gregum* of the 4th C., although there is no direct evidence of the link. According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, estates in Asia (i.e., western Asia Minor) and Phrygia were under the control of the *logothetes* of the herds. Strangely enough, Philotheos included the *logothetes ton agelon* in the category of STRATARCHAI rather than as a SEKRETIKOS like the other *logothetai.* The role of the logothete of herds probably increased during the 10th C. and reached its zenith by the end of the 13th C. when several men of importance, including Theodore METOCHITES, held the post in turn. The staff of the logothete of the herds in the 9th–10th C. consisted of *protonotarioi* of Asia and of Phrygia, administrators of *mitata* (estates), and *komites*; seals also mention the *ek prosopou* and *chartoularioi* of the department.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 71–75. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:289–99. –A.K.

LOGOTHETES TON HYDATON (λογοθέτης τῶν ὑδάτων, lit. "*logothetes* of the waters"), an obscure functionary mentioned only once: a late 11th-C. historian (Attal. 167.15–16) relates that the *logothetes ton hydaton* Basil Maleses was taken captive at Mantzikert in 1071. The functions of this *logothetes* are not clear; Ahrweiler (*Structures,* pt.II [1961], 250) identified him with the PARATHALASSITES, Oikonomides (*Listes* 314, n.153) seems to equate him to the KOMES HYDATON.

LIT. N. Duyé, "Un haut fonctionnaire byzantin du XIe siècle: Basile Malésès," *REB* 30 (1972) 167–78, and objections by A. Kazhdan-Ja. Ljubarskij, *BS* 34 (1973) 219f. –A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ δρόμου), head of the *sekreton* of the DROMOS, known since the 8th C. D.A. Miller (*infra* 469) identifies the first *logothetes tou dromou* as Leo, ca.762, while Guilland (*infra* 46) suggests that Gregory, an ambassador to the caliph in 742, was also *logothetes tou dromou.* The office derived from the *curiosus cursus publici praesentalis,* a subaltern official under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM in charge of the public post. When the LOGOTHESION of the *dromos* became an independent department, probably in the 7th C., its chief acquired new duties: some

officials (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 412, 450) served in both the *dromos* and the *agelai* (see LOGOTHETES TON AGELON). The responsibilities of the *logothetes tou dromou* included ceremonial duties, protection of the emperor, collection of political information, and general supervision of foreign affairs. Miller (*infra* 439) stresses, however, that (at least after 781) the *logothetes tou dromou* did not personally conduct negotiations beyond the empire's borders. The role of the *logothetes tou dromou* expanded by the 12th C., when he often became the closest adviser of the emperor, but declined after creation of the post of *logothetes ton sekreton*; pseudo-KODINOS was familiar only with the name of the office. It remains unclear whether the *logothetes tou dromou* and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* were different functionaries, or whether *oxys* was simply an ornamental epithet. V. Laurent distinguishes between the *logothetes* of the ordinary (*platys*) *dromos* (*Corpus* 2:196–215) and the *logothetes* of the rapid (*oxys*) *dromos* (pp. 234–37). The staff of the *logothetes tou dromou* consisted of clerks (that is, PROTONOTARIOS and CHARTOULARIOI) and functionaries of the *sekreton* such as EPISKEPTITAI, INTERPRETERS, and the *kourator* of the *apokrisarion*, that is, of the hostel for foreign envoys; it also included the bureau "of the barbarians."

LIT. D.A. Miller, "The Logothete of the Drome in the Middle Byzantine Period," *Byzantion* 36 (1966/7) 438–70. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 31–70. Oikonomides, *Listes* 311f. –A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU PRAITORIOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ πραιτωρίου), coadjutor of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. The office is mentioned in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, but not in later *taktika*. A 10th-C. historian (*TheophCont* 470.13–17) relates that Romanos II appointed as the eparch's assistants two SYMPONOI, the second of whom (the *spatharokandidatos* and judge Joseph) is also called *logothetes tou praitoriou*. The last *logothetes tou praitoriou* mentioned in literary texts is the *asekretis* Leo in 1023 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933, with an incorrect date). Seals give a broader chronological range for the existence of the *logothetai tou praitoriou*—from a John of the 7th/8th C. to Constantine Bringas of the 11th C. The title of the *logothetes tou praitoriou* was usually *spatharios* or *spatharokandidatos*; since the Praitorion was one of the major PRISONS of Constantinople, the *logothetes* presumably assisted the eparch on police and judicial matters.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 71. Oikonomides, *Listes* 320. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:599–603. –A.K.

LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU (λογοθέτης τοῦ στρατιωτικοῦ), a high-ranking official. The only direct evidence for his functions is in a 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 698.13–15), according to which the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* controlled exemptions and reimposition of taxes on the households of soldiers. The hypothesis (of, e.g., E. Stein, *Traditio* 7 [1949–51] 149) that this logothete dealt with the levy of troops, the construction of fortifications, and military expenditure cannot be proved. The first attested *logothetes tou stratiotikou* was Julian, a participant in the Third Council of Constantinople in 680; the logothete Eustathios, known from a seal (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.529) probably lived earlier, at the beginning of the 7th C. The commonly accepted view that a *logothetes tou stratiotikou* is mentioned in the *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 721.8) under the year 626 is a mistake—the text speaks of the *patrikios* Theodosios as a *logothetes* in general, not specifically as a logothete of "soldiers." The early *logothetai tou stratiotikou* seem to have fulfilled fiscal duties; in any case the *patrikios* Eulampios was *logothetes* of the *sakelle* (see SAKELLION) and of the *stratiotikon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.533). By the 11th C. *logothetai tou stratiotikou* combined their functions with those of a judge. The office disappeared after 1088. Among the known *logothetai tou stratiotikou* was SYMEON LOGOTHETE (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969/70] 215f). The staff of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* included CHARTOULARIOI of the central bureau and of the themes and the *tagmata*, LEGATARIOI, MANDATORES, and various clerks (the *protonotarioi* attested on seals probably correspond to the *protokankellarioi* of the *taktika*); on seals from the end of the 10th C. appears the *megas chartoularios* of the *logothetes tou stratiotikou* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos.554–58), who is unknown to the *taktika*.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 25–31. Bury, *Adm. System* 90f. D. Xanalatos, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens im Mittelalter* (Munich 1937) 44–55. –A.K.

LOMBARDS (Λαγγοβάρδαι in Prokopios, Λαγούβαρδοι and Λογγίβαρδοι in Constantine Porphyrogennetos), a west-Germanic people who occupied PANNONIA in the early 6th C. Their king, Audoin, allied with Justinian I ca.540, and 5,500 Lombards served under the general NARSES in 552. In 568, under pressure from the AVARS, King ALBOIN led the Lombards into Italy. Their rapid early conquests slowed down in the 570s because of internal dissension and Byz. counteroffensives, but under Agilulf (590–616) they established a strong romanizing kingdom and made a truce with the Byz. exarch ca.605. Relations with Byz. remained tense, esp. under Rothari (636–52), who conquered Liguria, and Grimoald (662–71), during whose reign Constans II's expedition against BENEVENTO was repulsed. However, a treaty was concluded ca.680 and conversions produced an influx of Byz. missionaries and artists. Attacks on imperial territories resumed under Liutprand (712–44); in 751 Aistulf captured RAVENNA and the PENTAPOLIS. This and their hostility to the PAPACY contributed to a series of Frankish invasions, which culminated in their conquest by CHARLEMAGNE in 774.

In the south the largely autonomous duchy of Benevento conquered most of Byz. APULIA and CALABRIA by the late 7th C. and became an independent principality after 774. Prince Arechis and his successors sought to resist Frankish pressure by offering nominal allegiance to Byz. By the mid-9th C. political disintegration led to civil war and the creation of separate principalities of first SALERNO and later CAPUA. An appeal by the Lombards of BARI for aid against the Arabs in 876 helped Byz. to conquer much of Apulia by ca.891. The absorption of the Lombard principalities into the Byz. sphere of influence was reflected in gifts to rulers and monasteries, grants of titles, and the spread of Byz. artistic and cultural influences. Lombard cities flourished, in part, as a result of Byz. economic ties and a general toleration of the Latin church. In the 11th C., however, Lombard discontent facilitated infiltration by the NORMANS and their takeover of Byz. Italy. (See also LONGOBARDIA.)

LIT. P. Delogu, A. Guillou, G. Ortalli, *Longobardi e Bizantini* (Turin 1980). J. Jarnut, *Geschichte der Langobarden* (Stuttgart 1982). V. von Falkenhausen, "I Longobardi meridionali," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II*, 249–326. F.E. Wozniak, "Byzantine Diplomacy and the Lombard-Gepidic Wars," *BalkSt* 20 (1979) 139–58. –T.S.B.

LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO (*ἡ τοῦ μακροῦ χρόνου παραγραφή*, lit. "exception taken [on the basis of too] long a time"), possession by prescriptive right, a legal basis for the ACQUISITION of another person's property. The *longi temporis praescriptio* was originally the objection countering a plaintiff's claim for the return of his property from the possessor, if the plaintiff had failed to make his claim valid in time. By the period of Justinian I, the *longi temporis praescriptio* had changed from a procedural objection to an independent ground for acquisition through POSSESSION (*dia tes chronias nomes despozein*), equivalent to *usucapio*. With the constitution *Cod.Just.* VII 31.1 (*Basil.* 50.10.4), Justinian stipulated that movable THINGS can be acquired by *longi temporis praescriptio* after three years of possession, immovable things after ten years, or, in the absence of the owner, after 20 years. In special cases the time limit is extended to 30 or 40 years. According to Justinian's novel 9 (a.535), things that belong to the church, monasteries, and pious institutions—as long as they do not come under the *res religiosae* and are thereby completely excluded from possession by prescriptive right—can be acquired only after 100 years; according to novel 111.1 (a.541) and novel 131.6 (a.545), however, this can be done after 40 years. The 40-year *longi temporis praescriptio* was incorporated into the *Basilika* (5.2.14, 5.3.7).

The other prerequisites of possession by prescriptive right also remained binding in the following centuries: in order to be able to make the *longi temporis praescriptio* valid, the possessor must be in good faith, that is, consider himself the rightful owner, and the object must have come into his possession lawfully, that is, not through theft, use of force, or arbitrary seizure.

LIT. D. Nörr, *Die Entstehung der longi temporis praescriptio* (Cologne-Opladen 1969). –M.Th.F.

LONGOBARDIA (Λογγιβαρδία, Λαγουβαρδία), Byz. geographic term that designated those parts of Italy dominated by the LOMBARDS. Theophanes (Theoph. 464.4–5) distinguished between Longobardia (the principality of BENEVENTO) and Great (Megale) Longobardia, the Lombard kingdom. Constantine VII emphasized that "all of Longobardia was in the possession of the Romans when Rome was the imperial capital" (*De adm. imp.* 27.3–

6) and that Basil I again conquered "all of Longobardia," which in Constantine's time belonged to the emperors of the Rhomaioi (*De them.*, ch. 11.42–44, ed. Pertusi, 98). The term was used ambiguously: in the strictest sense of the word, Longobardia was a Byz. theme that comprised roughly the modern province of Apulia and the northeastern parts of the Basilicata, but in a broader sense it also encompassed the Lombard principalities of Benevento, CAPUA, and SALERNO as well as the duchies of NAPLES, AMALFI, and GAETA. These were practically independent states, governed by their own princes and *duces*; they recognized the Byz. emperor as their suzerain, but they did not pay taxes to Byz. and were not administered by Byz. officials. The origin of the Byz. theme of Longobardia is not clear: N. Oikonomides (*REB* 23 [1965] 118–23) hypothesized that from 876 on Longobardia was a *tourma* of the theme of KEPHALENIA and that by 891/2 it was under the command of a *strategos* who jointly administered several regions (Macedonia, Thrace, and Kephalenia as well as Longobardia). A distinct *strategos* of Longobardia is attested from 911 onward. In 938 and 965 Longobardia seems to have been united (temporarily?) with Calabria. The theme of Longobardia was abolished ca.965 and replaced by the katepanate of Italy.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 31–41. A. Guillou, "L'Italia bizantina dalla caduta di Ravenna all'arrivo dei Normanni," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 8f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 75f, 351f. Pertusi in *De them.* 180f. –V.v.F., A.K.

LONG WALL (Μακρὸν Τεῖχος), also called the Long Walls or the Wall of Anastasios I (Theoph. 233.9), a system of fortifications erected west of Constantinople and extending a distance of two (Prokopios) or four (Ibn Khurdādhbeh) days' journey. The remains of walls that lie about 65 km from Constantinople and that extended from Selymbria to the Black Sea have been identified as the Long Wall; R.M. Harrison (*infra*) calculates their length as 45 km. The southern half has disappeared, but the well-preserved central and northern sections indicate that the wall was 3.30 m thick, and the height in the best preserved parts is up to 5 m. The wall was made of hard, pinkish mortar with nodules of brick in a technique markedly different from that used to build the walls of 5th-C. Constantinople (no use of brick courses, a continuous arcade of several blind arches built into the rear face). The wall had towers (rectangular and polygonal), forts with gateways (in the area of fort D several 6th-C. stamped bricks were found), and an outer moat. The date of construction is under discussion: B. Croke (*infra*) asserts that the Long Wall was originally constructed by Anastasios, whereas M. Whitby (*infra*) suggests that it was first built after 447, damaged by the earthquake of 478, and repaired by Anastasios between 495 and 505. The wall proved ineffective (probably because of its length and the lack of a sufficient garrison to man it) and was many times penetrated by invaders, beginning in 559. According to the preface to novel 26 of Justinian I, there were two *vicarii* of the Long Walls: one for military affairs, the other for civil administration. In later centuries the commander responsible for the defense of the wall was the KOMES TON TEICHEON.

The term *Long Walls* was also used of other fortifications, possibly of the Chersonese in Thrace and the *limes Tauricus* in the Crimea (A.L. Jakobson, *Srednevekovyj Krym* [Moscow-Leningrad 1964] 153f).

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 262f. R.M. Harrison, "To Makron Teichos: The Long Wall in Thrace," *Roman Frontier Studies 1969* (Cardiff 1974) 244–48. B. Croke, "The Date of the 'Anastasian Long Wall' in Thrace," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 59–78. M. Whitby, "The Long Walls of Constantinople," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 560–83. –A.K.

LOPADION (Λοπάδιον, now Ulubad), fortress in northwestern Asia Minor on the Rhyndakos River, about 20 km south of the Sea of Marmara. Lopadion was important for its bridge that carried the main highway eastward from KYZIKOS. It first appears as the site of a *xenodocheion* in the letters of Theodore of Stoudios. A strategic point and substantial market town, Lopadion was the scene of fighting between Alexios I and the Turks; it rose to prominence in 1130, when John II built a powerful fortress that became the base for his campaigns in Asia Minor. The French and German contingents of the Second Crusade met there in 1144; the Latins held it in 1204 and 1211–20. In the early 14th C. it was a frontier post against the Ottomans; ORHAN took it in 1335. Lopadion, not previously attested as a bishopric, became an archbishopric in the early 12th C. The surviving walls are the work of John II Komnenos.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 78–83. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 159–61. –C.F.

LOPADIOTES, ANDREW, man of letters and teacher in Constantinople; fl. ca.1300–30. Apparently a pupil or colleague of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Lopadiotes (Λοπαδιώτης) was the addressee of 14 letters (Florence, Laur. S. Marco 356) probably written by George OINAIOTES. Lopadiotes was the author of a panegyric, now lost, of an epigram on the crucifixion, and of a LEXIKON of Attic Greek, conventionally called the *Lexicon Vindobonense.* Although a mediocre compilation mainly from Harpokration, the SOUDA, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and the *Lexikon* of pseudo-ZONARAS, it nonetheless contains otherwise unknown fragments of Sophocles and Pherekrates as well as quotations from Maximos of Tyre and HIMERIOS, which show better texts than those of the surviving MSS. These must have been taken from some now-lost *lexikon* or gnomology. Used by Varino Favorino in 1523 for his Greek-Latin dictionary, the *Lexicon* was lost sight of until 1851.

ED. *Lexicon Vindobonense*, ed. A. Nauck (St. Petersburg 1867; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lampros, *NE* 14 (1917) 404–06.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:43f. *PLP*, no.15038. A. Guida, "Il codice viennese del lessico di Andrea Lopadiota," *Prometheus* 5 (1979) 1–20. –R.B.

LORD'S SUPPER. Christ's celebration of the EUCHARIST was commemorated in three different images.

1. The ***Last Supper*** (*Deipnos*) depicts the Gospel narrative; it shows Christ and his disciples reclining around a semicircular "sigma" table (RAVENNA, Sant'Apollinare Nuovo; ROSSANO GOSPELS, fol.3r), with Christ at the table's left cusp, often with John leaning against him, and Judas reaching for food. This image survived with few alterations throughout Byz. art.

2. The ***Communion of the Apostles*** (*Metalepsis kai Metadosis ton Apostolon*), a liturgical composition, presents the 12 Apostles standing to either side of an altar table and receiving communion from Christ, who is often depicted twice, offering bread to one group and wine to the other. Found initially on 6th-C. patens (KAPER KORAON TREASURE) and MSS (Rossano Gospels, following the Last Supper), this composition adorns the wall of the altar chamber in churches after the 11th C. (Kiev, St. Sophia; Hagia Sophia in OHRID). When deacon angels join the scene, it becomes not only Christ's establishment of the Eucharist, but the archetypal, celestial Eucharist celebrated in Heaven by the angels, of which the earthly meal is a reflection.

3. The ***Divine Liturgy*** (*Theia Leitourgia*) elaborates the celestial Eucharist. First seen in an 11th-C. liturgical roll (A. Grabar, *DOP* 8 [1954] 174, pl.10) and incorporated from the 13th C. into cupola imagery, the Divine Liturgy shows Christ officiating at an altar to which throng angels, some bearing chalices and balancing patens on their heads as do the deacons in the GREAT ENTRANCE.

LIT. E. Dobbert, "Das Abendmahl Christi in der bildenden Kunst bis gegen den Schluss des 14. Jahrhunderts," *RepKunstw* 14 (1891) 451–59. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 184–221. –A.W.C.

LOROS (λῶρος, from *lorion,* a strip of leather), a long scarf, esp. the heavy stole about 5 m long and studded with precious stones worn by both the emperor and empress. A vestige of the Roman *trabea triumphalis* (the TOGA of consuls), the *loros* was arranged in an X over the upper body; one section then fell straight down the front, while the other came from behind the right shoulder to cross the chest and drape over the left arm (as on the coins of Justinian II). In the 10th–11th C. the garment was provided with a hole and could be pulled on over the head, though the long end was still brought horizontally across the body in front and draped over the left arm (P. Grierson, *DOP* 20 [1966] 248f). The emperor wore the *loros* on certain festive occasions (e.g., Easter), over the DIVETESION. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, the *loros* symbolized the cross as the instrument of Christ's victory (*De cer.* 638.5–9); its circumvolutions eventually led to its symbolizing the winding sheet of Christ.

The term *loros* occurs in the 6th C. as a gilded shoulder-strap (JOHN LYDOS, *De mag.* 2.2, p.84.13); in the 14th C. the word was still used on occasion to designate leather (e.g., leather whips in pseudo-Kod. 181.30). The "*palle*" that Robert de Clari states was worn by Baldwin of Flanders for his coronation in the Church of Hagia Sophia in 1204 was probably a *loros,* even though the Byz. emperor was not himself in the habit of wearing the *loros* at his own coronation.

A *loros* could be worn also by certain very high

dignitaries on the occasion of the Easter banquet (Philotheos, ed. Oikonomides, *Listes* 201.24); ARCHANGELS in attendance upon Christ are thus often represented wearing the *loros.* Scarves of lighter material could also be referred to as *loroi,* for example, the *loros* that constituted the badge of authority of an EPARCH.

A special arrangement of the empress's *loros,* evident in 11th-C. imperial portraits, gives it a shieldlike shape over the lower body (M. Soteriou, *EEBS* 23 [1953] 524–30). This section was once mistakenly thought to be a separate garment, specifically the *thorakion* mentioned in texts (W.H. Rudt de Collenberg, *MEFRM* 83 [1971] 263–361).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:78–80; 3.1:120–25. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–44. K. Wessel, ibid. 480–83. E. Condurachi, "Sur l'origine et l'évolution du loros impérial," *Arta şi archeologia* 11–12 (1935–36) 37–45. –N.P.Š.

LOROTOMOS (λωροτόμος, "thong-cutter"), craftsman who worked in LEATHER. The word appears, although rarely, in late Roman papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 30). In the 5th C. (?) the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria explained the term as being synonymous with *skytotomos,* shoemaker, but according to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch,* the *lorotomoi* produced not footgear but harnesses and saddles. The harnessmakers were subordinate (*hypotassomenoi*) to the eparch and fulfilled services for the *demosion* or state (ch.14.1); on the other hand, they were exempted from certain payments. If they were required for the emperor's service, they were put under the command of the *protostrator,* but in this case they were entitled to some remuneration (*kerdos*) from the imperial treasury. It is not clear whether these statements reflect the particular status of the guild or only the specific approach of the legislator in this chapter.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 41f. –A.K.

LOUIS II (Λοδόϊχος), Frankish emperor (854–75); born ca.822, died Brescia 12 Aug. 875. Crowned king of the Lombards by Pope Sergius II (844–47) in 844, Louis spent almost his entire adult life in Italy. He greatly influenced papal affairs, including the election of NICHOLAS I, and concentrated on repulsing the Saracens, whom he defeated in 847 and 852 near Benevento. In 866 Louis issued a capitulary announcing a general anti-Saracen campaign. Lacking a fleet, he sought naval help from Basil I, possibly using ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS as his negotiator in Constantinople. A proposed marriage between Basil's son Constantine and Louis's daughter Irmengard sealed an alliance, and in 869 a Byz. fleet of 200 ships temporarily came to his aid. Louis captured BARI in Feb. 871, but his encroachments on such Byz. clients as Naples and Calabria angered Basil, who complained in a letter that also rejected Louis's use of the imperial title (*Reg 1,* no.487). In a response likely written by Anastasius Bibliothecarius in 871, Louis claimed the title "emperor of the Romans," called Basil only "emperor of the new Rome," asserted that Basil's line of rulers had deserted Rome and now represented heterodoxy ("or rather cacodoxy"), accused Byz. troops of cowardice at the siege of Bari, and yet asked Basil for a fleet to cut the Saracens off from their bases in Sicily (ed. W. Henze, MGH *Epistolae Karolini aevi,* vol. 5 [Berlin 1928] 385–94). A few scholars consider the letter spurious (R. Poupardin, *Le moyen âge*[2] 7 [1903] 185–202), but it accurately reflects contemporary Western assertions that the papacy had the power to anoint Roman emperors.

LIT. L. Halphen, *Charlemagne and the Carolingian Empire* (Amsterdam 1977) 281–92. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:14–21. J. Gay, *L'Italie méridionale et l'Empire byzantin depuis l'avènement de Basile Ier jusqu'à la prise de Bari par les Normands (867–1071)* (Paris 1904). O. Harnack, *Das karolingische und das byzantinische Reich in ihren wechselseitigen politischen Beziehungen* (Göttingen 1880) 76–87. –P.A.H.

LOUIS VII (Λοδόϊκος), king of France (1137–80); born 1120 or 1121, died Paris 18 Sept. 1180. He was a leader of the Second Crusade (1147–49). Taking with him Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine (whom the Byz. called "Gold-Foot"), he followed CONRAD III through the central Balkans. While Louis's army was encamped outside Constantinople, Bp. Godfrey of Langres suggested capturing the city. Unlike Conrad, Louis met formally with MANUEL I in the palace at Constantinople. After Louis's soldiers attacked the tables of the money-changers set up for the Crusaders' use east of the Bosporos, Manuel demanded homage from the French nobles and pledges to restore any conquered, formerly Byz. towns in Asia. In return, Manuel offered gifts, supplies, and guides. Reluctantly, Louis allowed the oaths (Oct. 1147).

The French blamed the Byz. for Turkish attacks in Anatolia. When Louis returned from Palestine (spring 1149) on a Sicilian ship, his vessel joined a Sicilian fleet raiding the Peloponnesos. Intercepted by the Byz., Louis's ship escaped capture only by displaying the banner of the French king, a Byz. ally; Eleanor and others were briefly held captive by the Byz. In 1180, Louis's daughter AGNES married Manuel's heir, ALEXIOS II.

LIT. M. Pacaut, *Louis VII et son royaume* (Paris 1964) 49–51, 54f. V.G. Berry, *HC* 1:463–512. Brand, *Byzantium* 22f. –C.M.B.

LOUIS OF BLOIS, count of Blois, Chartres, and Clermont; born 1171, died near Adrianople 14 Apr. 1205. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 539.90 and elsewhere) purposely metathesized the name from Λοδόϊκος to Δολόϊκος, from *dolos*, treachery. Among the first to enroll in the Fourth CRUSADE, Louis was one of its leaders. He favored the diversion to Constantinople and participated in the conflicts of 1203. During the attacks on Constantinople in Apr. 1204 he was confined to bed with fever, but was able to participate in the coronation of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS. Louis received Nicaea as a duchy and sent his vassals PETER OF BRACIEUX and Payen d'Orléans to occupy it, while remaining in Constantinople. When KALOJAN invaded Thrace, Louis fell in battle against him.

LIT. Longnon, *Compagnons* 79–84. –C.M.B.

LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, patriarch of Constantinople (between Aug. and Oct. 1157–between 19 Nov. 1169 and Jan. 1170); died Constantinople. A member of the CHRYSOBERGES family, Loukas was a monk before his election to the patriarchate. Gregory ANTIOCHOS, in an unpublished speech, relates that Manuel I took Loukas from the monastery of Pege (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 197f). As patriarch, Loukas had to cope with various ideological movements; he participated in the second synod on the case of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS, and Antiochos claims that Loukas achieved a reconciliation. Then he tried to curb the popular heresy of DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. He presided over several sessions of the local council of Constantinople of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) to confirm Manuel I's edict on the discussion of the statement of John 14:28, "My Father is greater than I"; several theologians (the deacon and *kastrinsios* Samuel, the deacon Basil of *ta Hagiopanta*, etc.) were condemned and deposed. Loukas attempted to restrict the lease of ecclesiastical lands, prohibited the combination of secular and ecclesiastical offices in a single person (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 81), and tried to expand church jurisdiction over certain cases involving laymen (e.g., control over illegal BETROTHALS). Unlike ALEXIOS STOUDITES, Loukas in 1166 prohibited marriages between relatives of the seventh degree (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 24 [1964] 84–90; D. Simon, *FM* 1 [1976] 123–25), a decision that could be used against the intermarriages of noble families. Documents presenting negotiations between Loukas and ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO concerning the establishment of a metropolitan see in Vladimir survive only in late Russian versions (N. Voronin, *VizVrem* 21 [1962] 29–50).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1045–1108. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. A. Schmink, "Ein Synodalakt vom 10. November 1167," *FM* 3 (1979) 316–22. –A.K.

LOUKAS THE STYLITE, saint; born in the village of Attikom, Anatolikon, traditional date 879, but probably ca.900, since he was about 30 during the great famine (of 927/8?), died Chalcedon 11 Dec. 979. Born to a well-to-do family of peasant-soldiers, at age 18 Loukas participated in an unsuccessful military campaign against the Bulgarians; at 24 he became a priest but remained several years more in the army. Loukas aspired to an extreme asceticism, not only rejecting family and friendship but also despising the earth and life itself (Delehaye, *infra*, 198.20–23); he ate only wild herbs, slept on the ground, and wore chains. He retired to the monastery of St. Zacharias on Olympos; later he moved to Constantinople, where he spent his final 42 or 44 years standing on the column of Eutropios in Chalcedon.

The author of Loukas's Life claims to have known the "earthly angel" for 27 years, and the vita (preserved in a single 11th-C. MS) may have been produced very soon after Loukas's death. The hagiographer is fascinated by Constantinople and its churches but is far removed from the Constantinopolitan elite; he mentions people of high rank only rarely (Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS, the *magistros* Basil Peteinos). Loukas's associates were

predominantly clerics, merchants, low officials, fishermen, and *naukleroi*; special attention is paid to medical services (e.g., the hospital of Euboulos), which allegedly could not compete with Loukas's healing gift.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Loukas are rare: he is probably the anonymous stylite whose image, unaccompanied by any text, follows that of Daniel the Stylite in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.238). The saint's column is built on a sort of platform out in the water, evidently a reference to the Bosporos. His church is visible on the shore.

SOURCE. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 195–237.

LIT. *BHG* 2239. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 839–52. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 146–48. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:465.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

LOUKAS THE YOUNGER (of Stiris), saint; born in village of Kastorion, Phokis, before 900, died Stiris 7 Feb. 953. Born to the family of a well-to-do peasant, Loukas soon came into conflict with his relatives, who could not accept his generous habit of giving away all he could to the poor. After his father's death he ran away to Athens, where he became a monk. He lived as a hermit in several different places in the Peloponnesos and Phokis: Bulgarian and Hungarian raids often forced him to move. A *hegoumenos* even criticized his penchant for "rustic" (*agroikikos*) manners and avoidance of ecclesiastical organization (ed. Kremos 32.II.5–10); Loukas applied to an archbishop of Corinth for permission to celebrate the Eucharist in his hermit's cell without a priest (ed. Kremos 41.I.37–41). His Life was written after 961, probably during Basil II's reign; the anonymous author focuses on the provinces: although he mentions some monks traveling to Italy (ed. Kremos 34.I.8, 53.II.19–20), Constantinople remains beyond the scope of his attention. The hagiographer deals much with illnesses and miraculous healings and strongly emphasizes the saint's asexuality: once during a winter storm Loukas let two women sleep in his cave with him and his disciple Pankratios and was as unaffected as a stone or log or a boy with his mother; another time Loukas sent Pankratios to cure a sick woman by rubbing a special ointment on her naked body (ed. Kremos 55f). Neighboring peasants covered Loukas's grave with bricks; after six months the monk and eunuch Kosmas adorned the place. Later the monastery of HOSIOS LOUKAS was built on the site.

Representation in Art. Though portraits of Loukas are rare, the portrait type seems to have been established soon after the saint's death: he appears in the narthex of the Church of Hosios Loukas as an orant monk in a *koukoullion*, or hood, with a rich brown beard; he is again shown as a relatively young man in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Messina, Bibl. Univ., San Salvatore 27, fol.58v).

SOURCES. PG 111:441–80, with add. E. Martini, *AB* 13 (1894) 81–121. G.P. Kremos, *Phokika* (Athens 1874).

LIT. *BHG* 994. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho hosios Loukas ho 'Neos,'" *Theologia* 13 (1935) 193–223. R. Janin, *Bibl.Sanct.* 8 (1966) 222f. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:464f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

LOVE. Besides *philia*, FRIENDSHIP, the Byz. mainly used two words to designate love: *eros* and *agape*. EROS had a pagan connotation, as the name of a mythological god of love, and the term played a substantial role in Platonic and Neoplatonic philosophy. *Agape*, on the contrary, was connected with a Christian milieu (S. West, *JThSt* 20 [1969] 228–30). The Byz., however, did not see the distinction between *eros* and *agape* as one of carnal and divine love, respectively; both *eros* and *agape* could express positive (divine) or negative (diabolic) qualities. The Byz. condemned carnal love (see SEXUALITY) as inspired by the Devil, esp. forms of sex such as PROSTITUTION and HOMOSEXUALITY, and recommended limitations in conjugal sex, but they expanded the terminology of love (passion, desire, wedding, marriage) to describe the relationship between God and man, thus making possible the allegorical interpretation of erotic ROMANCE as the soul's yearning for God. The term *eros* could designate God's love as a suprasensible quality that binds together "dissimilar similarities" (Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite, PG 3:144A); it could also mean man's passionate love ("fire") for God and divine beauty. *Agape*, comprising both these meanings, had also the special connotation of charity and of the community based on love (i.e., of the Church).

Many Byz. texts praised fraternal love, love between parents and children, and conjugal love, although the lyrical expression of passion is rare (e.g., Prodromos, ed. E. Legrand, *REGr* 4 [1891] 72). The extremes of love and of jealousy were usually condemned, but many cases of extramarital love (e.g., Constantine IX and Skleraina, Andronikos I Komnenos and Theodora) were de-

scribed by contemporaries with warmth and sympathy.

LIT. C. Spicq, *Agapè* (Louvain 1955). J.M. Rist, *Platonism and its Christian Heritage* (London 1975), pt.I (1970), 156–73, 406–09. E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge 1976) 210–13. J. Chryssavgis, "The Notion of 'Divine Eros' in the Ladder of St. John Climacus," *SVThQ* 29 (1985) 191–200. –A.K.

LOVEČ (Λοβιτζός; Old Slavonic Lovŭc; Lat. Melta), city on the upper course of the river Osŭm (Assamus) in northern Bulgaria, on the route from the Danube to the Mediterranean via the Trojan Pass and PHILIPPOPOLIS. During the uprising of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I (1185–87), Loveč was an important fortified position defending the approaches to TŬRNOVO. The Byz. besieged it unsuccessfully for three months; by a treaty signed there in 1187, they formally recognized the Second Bulgarian Empire. A colony of Dubrovnik at Loveč is evidence of its role in Balkan trade. Ruins of a 13th- or 14th-C. basilica survive. In 1393 Loveč was captured by the Ottoman Turks and by 1430 was capital of a vilayet. The nearby monastery of the Virgin was a center of transmission of Old Slavonic literature.

LIT. J. Čangova, "Bazilikata v Loveškata krepost," *Archeologija* 10.2 (1968) 36–43. Eadem, "Srednovekovnijat Loveč," *Vekove* 5.1 (1976) 26–31. –R.B.

LUCANIA (Λουκανία), province bounded, according to Diocletian's reform, by SALERNO and the rivers Bradano and Lao. Together with the *ager Bruttius* (the present CALABRIA) Lucania formed Regio III of Italy, governed by a *corrector*, who was resident in REGGIO-CALABRIA. The territory was conquered by the LOMBARDS during the late 6th–7th C. After the Byz. recovered Italy in the late 9th C., the eastern part of Lucania was integrated into the new theme of LONGOBARDIA, whereas the western part continued to belong to the principality of Salerno. Originally the area was not densely populated, but because of Arab raids on Calabria during the second half of the 10th C. many Greeks from the south migrated to Lucania. In 1042, for the first and only time, a Byz. *strategos* of Lucania is mentioned, active in the *kastron* of MERKOURION in the Lao valley. The extent of his theme, the name of its capital (Cassano, Ionio, or Tursi?), and the date of its creation are unknown. The NORMANS conquered the territory ca.1045–60; their administration did not preserve a province called Lucania.

LIT. Guillou, *Byz. Italy*, pt.X (1965), 119–49. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 65–72. A. Russi, "Lucania," in *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* (Rome 1973) 1881–1984. –V.v.F.

LUCIAN (Λουκιανός), Greek sophist and satirist; born Samosata ca.120, died ca.180. He is the author of some 80 pieces, chiefly in dialogue form, which have survived in more than 150 MSS. The earliest MS, containing a 6th-C. Syriac translation of *On Calumny*, dates from the 8th or 9th C. The *Souda*, incorrectly dating him to the time of Trajan and calling him a blasphemer, slanderer, and atheist, says that he was killed by dogs and would burn in Hell for slandering Christ. He is further reviled in the scholia by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, who heaps abusive epithets on him. By contrast, Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.128) praises him for ridiculing the pagan gods and for his clear and expressive style. His works were much admired and imitated by later Byz. writers. Three Byz. imitations of Lucian, the PHILOPATRIS, CHARIDEMOS, and the TIMARION, are included in many MSS of the 15th–16th C. as works by Lucian himself. His works were influential in the development of three popular literary genres: satirical dialogue, the imaginary voyage, and the dialogue of the dead. The *Journey* of MAZARIS contains elements of all three genres. Of the 53 epigrams ascribed to Lucian, all but one are preserved only in the *Greek Anthology*.

ED. *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1906; rp. Stuttgart 1971).

LIT. E. Mattioli, *Luciano e l'umanesimo* (Naples 1980). C. Robinson, *Lucian and His Influence in Europe* (Chapel Hill 1979). –K.S.

LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH, presbyter of Antioch, martyr, and saint; died Nikomedeia 312; feastday 15 Oct. One of the pupils at the theological school that he founded in Antioch was ARIUS; hence Lucian is credited with being an inspiration of the Arian heresy. In this connection, the second of four creeds proposed at the local council of ANTIOCH of 341 may go back to him. Only fragments of his own writings survive; one in the CHRONICON PASCHALE attests to Byz. interest. Lucian's most enduring work was his revision for style and content of the Greek Bible, and his version of the

New Testament is generally thought to be embodied in the one used in Byz. A vita of Lucian was written by PHILOSTORGIOS (*Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, F. Winkelmann [Berlin 1981] 184–201).

ED. M.J. Routh, *Reliquiae Sacrae*, vol. 4 (Oxford 1846) 3–17.
LIT. G. Bardy, *Recherches sur saint Lucien d'Antioche et son école* (Paris 1936). B.M. Metzger, *Chapters in the History of New Testament Textual Criticism* (Leiden 1963) 1–41.
–B.B.

LUKE, saint; feastday 18 Oct. According to Byz. tradition, he was the author of the third GOSPEL (written under the direct inspiration of the Holy Spirit) and of the ACTS. Luke's Gospel was commented upon by Origen, Titus of Bostra, and Cyril of Alexandria; some commentaries—those of Eusebios of Caesarea (D.C. Wallace-Hadrill, *HThR* 67 [1974] 55–63), Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Herakleia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Photios—are known primarily from later CATENAE, one of which was compiled by NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA. The commentaries of Euthymios Zigabenos and Theophylaktos of Ohrid, surviving in a direct tradition, are compilations.

Eulogies of Luke were produced by various writers, including Andrew of Crete, Niketas Paphlagon, and Philagathos. A certain Gregory of Syracuse (in the 7th C.?) wrote a *kontakion* on Luke (E. Mioni, *BollBadGr* n.s. 1 [1947] 208f) and Symeon Metaphrastes included Luke's vita in his collection. Luke's biography does not contain abundant miracles or dangerous travels—he is presented as a well-educated man who, in Greece and Egypt, studied disciplines such as grammar, poetry, rhetoric, logic, and ethics, but was never strong in philosophy (PG 115:1129B). He was a physician and painter, who died peacefully in Achaia; his relics are said to have been transferred to Constantinople by St. Artemios, under Constantius II. Antony of Novgorod mentions a Church of St. Luke in Constantinople. Legend has it that Luke was the first artist to paint the Virgin's portrait. The monasteries of HODEGON and SOUMELA claimed that the icons of Mary in their possession were Luke's work.

Representation in Art. Although white-haired in the 6th-C. Cambridge Gospels (F. Wormald, *The Miniatures in the Gospels of St. Augustine* [Cambridge 1954] pl. II), Luke appears in most Byz. author portraits as a youth with brown, curly hair, hollow cheeks, and a wispy beard. He is usually shown writing in front of a desk (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). He is occasionally accompanied by PAUL who supposedly inspired his Gospel, and more often by Theophilus, his patron. In some MSS, his portrait prefacing his Gospel is paired with a miniature of the birth of JOHN THE BAPTIST or the ANNUNCIATION; that preceding the Acts may be accompanied by the ASCENSION (CODEX EBNERIANUS, fol.231v). Traditionally numbered among the APOSTLES, Luke is occasionally represented as suffering a martyr's death (K. Weitzmann in *Books & Bookmen*, fig. 56).

ED. and LIT. *BHG* 990y–993t. J. Reuss, *Lukas-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1984). J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* (Leipzig 1902). M. Aubineau, "Les 'Catenae in Lucam' de J. Reuss et Cyrille d'Alexandrie," *BZ* 80 (1987) 29–47. Friend, "Portraits." Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–91. –J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

LUPERCALIA (Λουπερκαλία), a festival of the Roman imperial and late antique periods, celebrated 15 Feb. at the Lupercal, a cave on the Palatine Hill in Rome. The Lupercalia lasted through the 5th C. and beyond. In a letter of 494, Pope Gelasius I denounced a certain Andromachus who, along with other residents of Rome, celebrated the Lupercalia "according to the primeval custom." Gelasius alludes to men performing sacrifices, a procession of boys dressed in the skins of sacrificed goats, and general debauchery. Andromachus, though a Christian, believed the cult practice would aid the fertility of the soil; to counter this conviction, Gelasius cites the plague that struck Rome when Emp. ANTHEMIUS (467–72) arrived in the city in the wake of the Lupercalia. The Lupercalia never became firmly established in Constantinople; it is last mentioned there by JOHN LYDOS, who refers to it as a fertility ceremony for "increasing the fruits" (*De Mensibus*, ed. R. Wuensch, 83.7–8).

SOURCE. Gelasius I, *Lettre contre les lupercales et Dix-huit messes du sacramentaire léonien*, ed. G. Pomarès (Paris 1959) 161–89, with Fr. tr.
LIT. Y.M. Duval, "Des Lupercales de Constantinople aux Lupercales de Rome," *Revue des études latines* 55 (1977) 222–70. A.W.J. Holleman, *Pope Gelasius and the Lupercalia* (Amsterdam 1974). –F.R.T.

LUPUS PROTOSPATHARIUS. See ANNALS OF BARI.

LUSIGNANS (Λουζουνίας), a noble family from the county of Poitou. The younger sons of Hugh VII of Lusignan, Aimery and Guy, gained importance in the kingdom of JERUSALEM in the 1180s. Guy became king in 1186 as the husband of Sibyl, daughter of Amalric I. In 1187 he was defeated and captured by Saladin. In 1192 Richard I Lionheart made him regent of CYPRUS, recently taken from ISAAC KOMNENOS. Guy died in 1194. He was succeeded by his brother Aimery, who was crowned king of Cyprus in 1197 and king of Jerusalem in right of his wife Isabel (daughter of Amalric I and Maria KOMNENE). Aimery's descendants (by a previous wife) ruled Cyprus until 1489. In the 13th C. several were also kings of Jerusalem and retained that title after 1291.

SOURCE. J. Richard, ed., *Chypre sous les Lusignans: Documents chypriotes des Archives du Vatican (XIV^e et XV^e siècles)* (Paris 1962).

LIT. G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vols. 2–3 (Cambridge 1948). R.C. Smail, "The Predicaments of Guy of Lusignan, 1183–87," in *Outremer* 159–76. *PLP*, nos. 15059–87. –C.M.B.

LUXOR (Πόλις κάστρων), Pharaonic temple in Upper Egypt that Diocletian turned into a military camp in 297. The headquarters (*principia*) occupied a room behind the hypostyle hall, in which are preserved traces of several TETRARCHIC wall paintings with military scenes and, in the apse (often misunderstood as the apse of a church), the deified emperor with his three colleagues. The camp was apparently in use until the Persian invasion (616–20). The earliest church in Luxor dates from the late 6th C. and is built outside the camp directly beside the main gate. It is a typical Egyptian basilica with a tripartite sanctuary and a secondary triumphal arch.

LIT. P. Grossmann, "Eine vergessene frühchristliche Kirche beim Luxor-Tempel," *MDAI K* 29 (1973) 167–81. J.G. Deckers, "Die Wandmalerei im Kaiserkultraum von Luxor," *JDAI* 94 (1979) 600–52. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, "The Imperial Chamber at Luxor," *DOP* 29 (1975) 225–51. –P.G.

LUXORIUS, author of approximately 90 poems (some individual ascriptions are debatable) in the *Latin Anthology*; fl. 5th–6th C. Their internal evidence suggests that he lived in or near Carthage during the reigns of the last Vandal kings Hilderic (523–30) and GELIMER, although some scholars put Luxorius earlier. Superscriptions to two poems contain the titles *vir clarissimus* and *spectabilis*, perhaps honorary in acknowledgment of his status as *grammaticus*. Luxorius may be identifiable with the Lisorius who wrote a treatise on orthography. His poems, in different meters on various subjects, owe much to their classical models, notably Martial, whose taste for physical deformity and moral perversion Luxorius often reproduces. Overall, however, they provide a valuable glimpse into the VANDAL society overthrown by the Byz. reconquest of Africa, esp. with his epigrams on CHARIOTEERS and MIMES.

ED. *A Latin Poet among the Vandals*, ed. M. Rosenblum (New York 1961), with Eng. tr.

LIT. D.R. Shackleton Bailey, *Towards a Text of 'Anthologia Latina'* (Cambridge 1979) 42–56. E.S. Bouchier, *Life and Letters in Roman Africa* (Oxford 1913) 111. –B.B.

LUXOR TREASURE, dated to the 5th–7th C. and discovered in 1889 in a small church built inside the Temple at LUXOR. Now in the Egyptian Museum, Cairo, it is composed of ten silver objects (a cross, three patens, fragments of five vessels, and a chain). While the processional cross is similar to contemporary examples found elsewhere (e.g., KAPER KORAON TREASURE, PHELA TREASURE), the patens, formerly described by Strzygowski as book boxes but correctly identified by Hellenkemper, are unusual in being rectangular (like the secular *lanx* [see PLATES, DISPLAY]), rather than circular like a PATEN AND ASTERISKOS. Two of the three dedicatory inscriptions, on the cross and two patens, mention, in addition to the donors, a priest and two different bishops, the latter perhaps successive holders of the see with authority over the village of Luxor.

LIT. J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* [*Catalogue général des antiquités Egyptiennes du Musée du Caire*] (Vienna 1904) nos. 7201–10. H.G. Hellenkemper, "Byzantinischer Schatzbesitz im Arabersturm," 17 *CEB, Abstracts of Short Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 141f. –M.M.M.

LYCHNIKON. See VESPERS.

LYCIA (Λυκία), the rugged southwestern region of Asia Minor, characterized by forested mountains and a long coastline. Because of its numerous harbors and its location on the sea route

between Italy or Constantinople and the east, Lycia prospered from trade. It contained numerous small cities, but never supported a large population. Lycia became a separate province under Constantine I, with its metropolis at MYRA. It was esp. prosperous in the 6th C.; an abundance of remains (e.g., HOLY SION) attests growth in city and country at that time, notably in the regions of Myra and MAKRE. At the same time, however, banditry and other disturbances afflicted the interior. In the 7th C., Lycia became part of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme, but continued to exist as an administrative and customs unit through the early 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals*, 1, no.225). Mentions of Lycia after the 8th C. refer to the ecclesiastical province or the geographical region. Prosperity ended with the onset of Arab raids in 655 and their continuation through the 9th C. Many coastal towns were abandoned; others became fortresses. Recovery in the 10th C. produced the remarkable church of DERE AĞZI, but most settlements remained small. Lycia flourished briefly under the Komnenoi before falling to the Turks in the late 12th C.

LIT. R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels in Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 117–51. Idem, "Upland Settlements in Early Medieval Lycia," *Actes du Colloque sur la Lycie antique* (Paris 1980) 109–18. E. Frézouls, "Exploration archéologique et épigraphique en Lycie Occidentale," *III. Araştırma Sonuçları Toplantısı* (Ankara 1985) 449–61. R.M. Harrison, G.R.J. Lawson, "An Early Byzantine Town at Arif in Lycia," *Yayla. Second Report of the Northern Society for Anatolian Archaeology* (1979) 13–17. –C.F.

LYDDA. See DIOSPOLIS.

LYDOS, JOHN. See JOHN LYDOS.

LYKANDOS (Λυκανδός), also Likandos, fortress in the Antitaurus Mountains, southeast of Elbistan. When MELIAS assumed command of the area in 903, he found the castle in ruins and the adjacent plain deserted. He rebuilt the castle, which became the headquarters of a *kleisoura* in 908 and of a theme by 916. Its strategic location, commanding a route through the mountains, gave Lykandos considerable importance in the foreign and civil wars of the 10th C. Its administration was sometimes combined with that of MELITENE or TZAMANDOS. "Retainers (*agouroi*) of Likantos" are mentioned in DIGENES AKRITAS (p.203.1968). The area had an Armenian population. Although effectively lost to Byz. after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Lykandos formed part of the territory granted by Alexios I to Bohemund in 1108. Lykandos was apparently never a bishopric. It contains remains of a substantial castle, probably the work of Melias.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 143–46. *TIB* 2:224–26. –C.F.

LYKAONIA (Λυκαονία), the southern part of the central Anatolian plateau, an arid, treeless plain bounded by hills and mountains. The country is generally unproductive and had a sparse population whose main centers were around the edges of the plain. It contains, however, much grassland suitable for pasture, and the adjacent mountains are rich in minerals. In the reforms of Diocletian, the north of Lykaonia was assigned to PISIDIA and the south to ISAURIA. Lykaonia became a separate province ca.370, with its civil and ecclesiastical metropolis at IKONION. As a result of Isaurian raids, Leo I appointed a *comes* as military commander of Lykaonia beside the civil governor. When this proved inadequate, Justinian I in 535 created a praetor with full civil and military powers. This, too, failed, and in 553 a *dux*, or *biokolytes*, was appointed as military governor to maintain order. The civil province of Lykaonia was absorbed in the ANATOLIKON theme, though KOMMERKIARIOI of Lykaonia were still active at the end of the 7th C. A *tourmarches* of Lykaonia and PAMPHYLIA is attested in the late 9th C. Lykaonia contains many Byz. monuments, notably the churches of BINBIRKILISE and an extensive network of fortresses.

LIT. *TIB* 4:54–57. –C.F.

LYKOSTOMION (Λυκοστόμιον), a town (*chora*) in the estuary of the Danube mentioned in some portulans from the 14th C. onward (P. Năsturel, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 296f). Its location is uncertain; O. Iliescu (*RevIst* 25 [1972] no.3, 435–62) located Lykostomion in Periprava, on the river-branch Kilia. Ahrweiler (*Mer* 89, rev. by P. Năsturel, *RESEE* 4 [1966] 649f) identified it with the Lykostomion to whose *archon*, Thomas, Photios ded-

icated his *Lexikon*; she concluded that in the 9th C. Lykostomion was a harbor for the Byz. fleet in the area, a function taken over in the 10th C. by DEVELTOS. Tăpkova-Zaimova (*infra*), on the contrary, argues that Lykostomion became an important port only in the 11th–12th C.

LIT. V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, "Quelques observations sur la domination byzantine aux bouches du Danube," *StBalc* 1 (1970) 79–86. Şt. Papacostea, "La fin de la domination génoise à Licostomo," *Annuarul Institutului de istorie şi arheologie* 22.1 (1985) 29–42. P. Diaconu, "Kilia et Licostomo ou Kilia–Licostomo?" *Revue roumaine d'histoire* 25 (1986) 301–17. –A.K.

LYONS, SECOND COUNCIL OF. This council was convened (7 May–17 July 1274) to establish UNION OF THE CHURCHES and liberate the Holy Land. Actually, this "union" was little more than the consummation of a political deal between Pope GREGORY X and Emp. MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS. Rome was to receive the ecclesiastical submission of the Byz. church, while in return Michael was to be rid of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and his threat to reconquer Constantinople. Michael's three representatives swore obedience to the Roman church and its faith by accepting papal PRIMACY, PURGATORY, and the FILIOQUE. (Ironically, the last issue, which had divided the churches for centuries, was first pronounced dogma at the Council of Lyons.) The Byz. church, strictly speaking, was never a participant in the negotiations. The Byz. delegates at the council simply acknowledged a profession of faith previously signed by the emperor alone. Predictably, most of the Byz. population actively opposed the union. Despite Michael's ruthless persecution and his imposition of JOHN (XI) BEKKOS as Unionist patriarch, the resistance drew from all sections of society, including monks, laity, and clergy; ARSENITES (for religious but also for dynastic reasons); and even members of the imperial family. Equally hostile were the separatist Greek states, Serbia, and Bulgaria, to which the emperor's own anti-Unionist sister had fled. These regions quickly became centers of anti-Unionist propaganda. Still, the settlement survived until Michael's death, when the local council of Constantinople of 1285, under Patr. GREGORY II, officially repudiated it (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF).

ED. A. Franchi, *Il concilio II di Lione (1274) secondo la Ordinatio concilii generalis Lugdunensis* (Rome 1965). J. Gill, "The Church Union of the Council of Lyons (1274) Portrayed in Greek Documents," *OrChrP* 40 (1974) 5–45. V. Laurent, J. Darrouzès, *Dossier grec de l'Union de Lyon 1273–1277* (Paris 1976).

LIT. B. Roberg, *Die Union zwischen der griechischen und der lateinischen Kirche auf dem II. Konzil von Lyon (1274)* (Bonn 1964). *Actes du Colloque international du Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique: 1274 Année charnière. Mutations et continuités* (Paris 1977). H. Evert-Kappesova, "La société byzantine et l'Union de Lyon," *BS* 10 (1949) 28–41. Eadem, "Une page de l'histoire des relations byzantines-latines," *BS* 13 (1952–53) 68–92; 16 (1955) 297–317; 17 (1956) 1–18. D.M. Nicol, "The Byzantine Reaction to the Second Council of Lyons, 1274," *SChH* 7 (1971) 113–46. –A.P.

LYRIC, poetry in song form, originally intended to have an instrumental accompaniment. Scant use was made in Byz. of the wide range of complex lyric meters, based on syllable quantity and not stress, developed in the classical world (the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS, a parody of the ancient tragic form, is a partial exception). Only ANACREONTICS were employed to any extent in their classical form (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene), but they soon became a stressed eight-syllable line used largely for ecclesiastical purposes, as in the odes of SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem. Vernacular lyrics in POLITICAL VERSE exist independently in the EROTOPAIGNIA (Love Songs) and were also incorporated in romances such as LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE and the ACHILLEIS. –E.M.J.

LYTHRANKOMI, 34 miles northeast of Famagusta, CYPRUS, site of the Church of Panagia Kanakaria. The church is a three-aisled, three-apsed basilica preceded by a narthex, with domes over the central bay of the narthex, the third and fourth bays of the nave, and the bema. Narthex, aisles, and nave are otherwise barrel-vaulted. After the original structure, with only one apse and a timber roof, was completed—probably at the end of the 5th C.—the church underwent three extensive renovations. Traces of wall painting dating from the 9th/10th C. to ca.1500 are found in narthex, nave, and aisles (scenes of Christ's life, St. George), but the true glory of the edifice was the mosaic in the apse (dating between 525 and 550), one of the three apse mosaics on the island

to have survived until modern times (with KITI and the Panagia tes Kyras near Livadia). Unfortunately it was recently detached from the apse of the church and partly destroyed. The mosaic showed the seated Virgin and Child in the center of the conch, isolated in a great MANDORLA and flanked by palm trees and archangels; busts of the apostles in medallions form the principal outer border. The program of the apse has been explained by Megaw in terms of the Chalcedonian doctrine of the dual nature of Christ—with the boldly frontal and axial Theotokos embodying the human nature of Christ, and the enveloping mandorla expressive of the divine—and is thought to have been derived from Constantinople.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, E.J.W. Hawkins, *The Church of the Panagia Kanakaria at Lythrankomi in Cyprus* (Washington, D.C., 1977). –W.T.

M

MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found ca.1945 in a village just south of Maʿarat al-Nuʿmān, southwest of Aleppo (BERROIA) in northern Syria, is composed of five objects and about 14 plaquettes, all of silver. It is now divided among museums in Paris, Baltimore, and Toledo, Ohio. This heterogeneous collection of objects (two crosses, a spoon, a box, a plaque) does not represent the essential LITURGICAL VESSELS of a church and may be part of a treasure, unlike other contemporary church silver TREASURES that seem to be complete. Of interest, however, are the large VOTIVE plaque portraying one of the Symeon the Stylites and the set of tiny votive plaques, the use of which may continue a pagan custom of offering *ex-votos* to Asklepios in thanksgiving for healing.

LIT. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 67–72. –M.M.M.

MABBUG. See HIERAPOLIS.

MACCABEES (Μακκαβαῖοι), Jewish family that led a revolt against the Syrians in the 2nd C. B.C. The Byz. included all four Books of the Maccabees in the Old Testament, thus giving special emphasis to the expansive account of the torture and death of Eleazar, seven unnamed brothers, and their mother (4 Macc 5–18, and cf. 2 Macc 6:18–7:41). The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 859f) names Eleazar, the mother Solomonis, and his brothers Abibos, Antoninos, Gourias, Eleazar, Eusebonas, Samonas, and Markellos. All nine, loosely termed the Maccabees, were regarded as saints and protomartyrs in Byz. (cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 35:912–33). Churches were dedicated to the Maccabees, for example, two in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 313f), and they appear already in the 7th-C. frescoes at S. Maria Antiqua, Rome. The feast of their martyrdom was celebrated on 1 Aug. and included by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, taking 4 Maccabees as a text. The feast was illustrated both in calendar-based icons and MSS. An illustrative cycle is found in many MSS of Gregory's homilies, but follows the biblical account (in 4 Macc), not the homily text. In the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS the frontispiece to Maccabees was placed not at the start of the book, but facing 4 Maccabees. In the 4th C. a *martyrion* of the Maccabees was built in Constantinople, just outside GALATA.

LIT. Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 109–17. J. Paul, W. Busch, *LCI* 3:144f, 8:343f. –J.H.L., C.B.T.

MACEDONIA (Μακεδονία), in antiquity a region between THRACE and EPIROS comprising the watersheds of the Haliakmon and VARDAR rivers. Central Macedonia is a large plain dominated by the city of THESSALONIKE, with SERRES and PHILIPPI in the east and KASTORIA, BERROIA, OHRID, and PRESPA in the west. In the 4th C. Macedonia was a province in the diocese of MOESIA; by the time of the *Notitia Dignitatum* it was divided into Macedonia Salutaris and Macedonia II. This administrative structure was retained in the 6th C: HIEROKLES calls Thessalonike the capital of Macedonia I and STOBI that of Macedonia II. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos anachronistically described Macedonia I as an *eparchia* (under a *consularis*) containing 32 cities and Macedonia II (under a *hegemon*) as having eight cities.

In the late 6th–7th C. much of Macedonia was occupied by Slavs, resulting in cultural bifurcation: Slavs controlled the countryside and upland regions while Byz. retained possession of most of the towns. Byz. reconsolidation began in the 8th C. A new administrative unit, the theme of Macedonia, was created in 797–801, according to P. Koledarov (*IzvInstBŭlgIst* 21 [1970] 219–43). Theophanes (Theoph. 475.22) mentions a *monostrategos* in Thrace and Macedonia active in 801/2. At the same time, a 9th-C. seal of Leo, *spatharios* and *tourmarches* of Macedonia (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2147), shows that Macedonia was first a *tourma* of Thrace. In 813, however, the *patrikios* John Aplakes served as *strategos* of Macedonia. Several seals of various *strategoi* of Macedonia belong to the 9th C. The office of the *strategos* of Macedonia

is mentioned in the earlier *taktika* but not in the *Taktikon of the Escurial* of 971–75 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 355); the theme of Macedonia was probably replaced by that of LARISSA—at any rate, a *strategos* of "Larisa and Makaidonia" in 1006/7 founded a church in Tao (K. Juzbašjan in *Ellinističeskij Bližnij Vostok, Vizantija i Iran* [Moscow 1967] 115).

In Byz. terminology of the 10th-12th C. the name *Macedonia* was applied to Thrace: thus, Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 6.22–24) calls ADRIANOPLE one of the richest and strongest *poleis* of Macedonia, and Basil I, born in Thrace, was founder of the "Macedonian" dynasty. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 23.3–16) lists PHILIPPOPOLIS, HERAKLEIA, RHAIDESTOS, and many other Thracian *poleis* as located in Macedonia. On the other hand, a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:524.18, 3:99.15, 100.7) distinguishes Thrace from Macedonia, and Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:104.20) sees Macedonia as a region that included Thessalonike (N.P. Andriotes, *BalkSt* 1 [1960] 147).

After 1204 all of Macedonia fell under the control of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, king of Thessalonike. The area was invaded by KALOJAN and conquered by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros in 1222, then by John III Vatatzes ca.1242. The CHALKIDIKE became a base for the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307–08 and much of Macedonia fell to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN ca.1345. The Ottomans conquered Macedonia in the late 14th C., although some cities held out into the early 15th C. The metropolitans of Macedonia were the bishops of Thessalonike and Philippi; they were under the authority of the papacy until 732/3, afterward under that of Constantinople.

Culturally, Macedonia formed a single unit, although the settlement of Slavs created some division, and the successive Bulgarian and Serbian states contested political control with Byz. Thessalonike dominated the south and Ohrid, from the 9th C., the north. Macedonia was the center from which Byz. culture reached the Slavs of the Balkans. Both Thessalonike and Ohrid developed cultural forms of their own, and one may speak of distinctly Macedonian styles of architecture and painting, although these were always strongly influenced by Constantinople and individual styles developed in many rural parts of Macedonia.

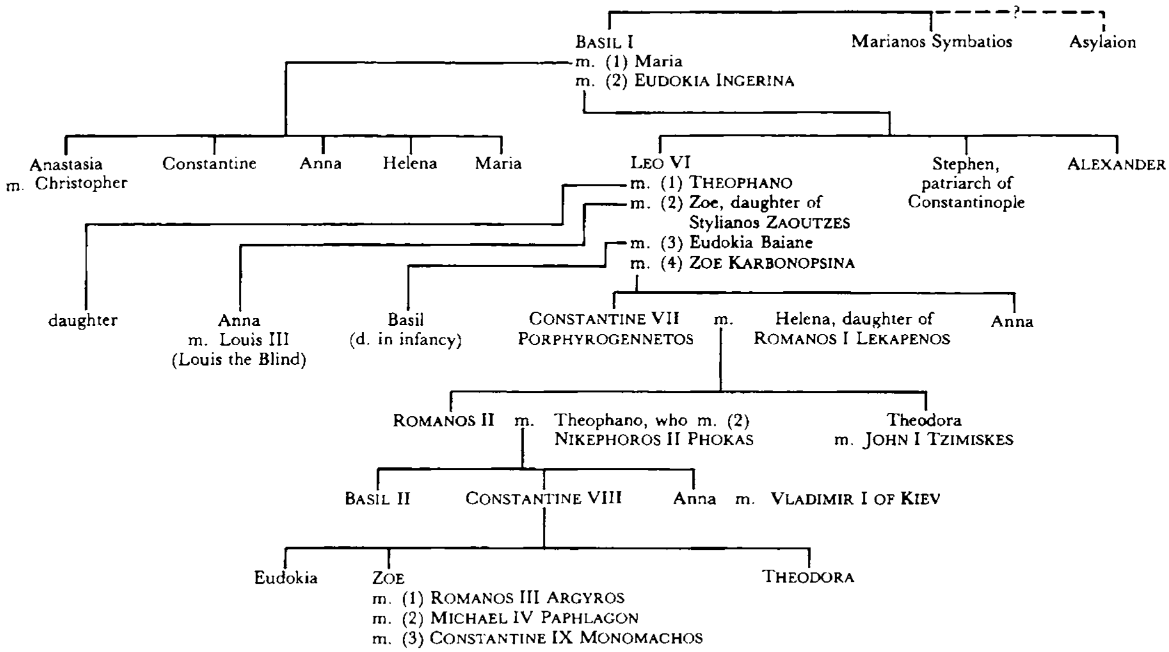
LIT. G. Theocharides, *Historia tes Makedonias kata tous mesous chronous 285–1354* (Thessalonike 1980). J. Lefort, *Paysages de Macédoine* (Paris 1986). Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Byzantine Makedonia," *Byzantina* 12 (1983) 9–63. A. Konstantakopoulou, *Historike geographia tes Makedonias* (Ioannina 1984). S. Antaljak, B. Panov, *Srednovekovna Makedonika*, 3 vols. (Skopje 1985). –T.E.G.

MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (867–1056), Byz. dynasty founded by BASIL I, who came from an Armenian family that settled in Thrace or Macedonia. According to a legend, originated probably by PHOTIOS, the family was descended from the Arsacids, but in fact Basil's parents were simple peasants. He advanced rapidly thanks to his extraordinary physical strength and boldness, murdering his rival, Caesar BARDAS, and then his protector MICHAEL III, whose former mistress EUDOKIA INGERINA was Basil's wife.

The Macedonian dynasty included direct male descendants of Basil I: his sons LEO VI and ALEXANDER, a grandson CONSTANTINE VII, a great-grandson ROMANOS II, and Romanos's sons BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII. During the minority of Constantine VII the imperial functions and the emperor's title were assumed by ROMANOS I, who tried to establish his own dynasty, that of the LEKAPENOI; his attempt failed. During the minority of Basil II and Constantine VIII imperial power and the emperor's title were bestowed upon NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS and JOHN I TZIMISKES. Although Constantine VIII died in 1028 without a male heir, the dynasty was continued by a series of emperors, ROMANOS III ARGYROS, MICHAEL IV, MICHAEL V, and CONSTANTINE IX, all of whom were related to the Macedonian dynasty through ties of marriage to or adoption by Constantine VIII's daughter, ZOE. This emphasis on continuation of the dynasty demonstrates the strength of the ruling family in the 10th and 11th C. Michael V's attempt to depose Zoe led to his overthrow; the dynasty became extinct only after its last member, THEODORA, died childless. (See genealogical table; on the achievements and policies of the Macedonian emperors, see "Age of Recovery and Consolidation" under BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF.)

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 47–109. E. Kislinger, "Eudokia Ingerina, Basileios I. und Michael III.," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 119–36. G. Ostrogorsky, "Brat'ja Vasilija I," *Sbornik v pamet' na Petr Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 342–50. W. Ohnsorge, "Zur Frage der Töchter Kaiser Leons VI.," *BZ* 51 (1958) 78–81. Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 112–22. –A.K.

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (867–1156)



Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 363.

MACEDONIAN RENAISSANCE. See ENCYCLOPEDISM; RENAISSANCE.

MACHAIRAS, LEONTIOS, Cypriot chronicler attached to the court of the LUSIGNANS; born Cyprus ca.1380, died after 1432. In 1401 Machairas (Μαχαιρᾶς) was secretary to Jean de Nores (*PLP*, no.20722), in 1426 he was responsible for wine distribution in Cherokitia (in southern Cyprus), and in 1432 he went on an embassy to the Turkish ruler in Laranda in Asia Minor.

The prose chronicle that Machairas composed on the history of CYPRUS begins with a summary of ecclesiastical history from Constantine I onward. His account becomes much more detailed with the reign of Peter I Lusignan of Cyprus (1359–69) and continues to 1432. The chronicle of Machairas was derived from a combination of Western and Greek written sources, oral tradition, and personal reminiscences. It reflects the viewpoint of a patriotic and Orthodox Cypriot, who was at the same time a great admirer of the Lusignans, while despising the Genoese. Machairas was bilingual and wrote in a 15th-C. Cypriot dialect with numerous loanwords, esp. from French. His work bears few traces of the learned Byz. language or literary tradition, but contains elements of folklore and popular storytelling.

ED. *Leontios Makhairas. Recital Concerning the Sweet Land of Cyprus entitled 'Chronicle,'* ed. R.M. Dawkins, 2 vols. (Oxford 1932), with Eng. tr.; corr. by K. Chatzepsaltes, *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 209–14.

LIT. R.M. Dawkins, *The Nature of the Cypriot Chronicle of Leontios Makhairas* (Oxford 1945). P. Tivčev, "Tendances patriotiques dans la 'Chronique chypriôte' de Léontios Machaeras," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 147–74. *PLP*, no.17517.

–A.M.T.

MACHAIRAS MONASTERY, founded in the mid-12th C. on a mountain near Tamasos (or Tamasia) in central Cyprus; it continues to function at the present. The early history of the monastery of Machairas (Μαχαιρᾶς, "swordmaker"), which was dedicated to the Theotokos tou Machaira, is known only from the *typikon* (*typike dia-*

taxis) composed in 1210 by Neilos, bishop of Tamasia. It began as a hermitage established by two Palestinian monks, Neophytos and Ignatios. After the death of Neophytos, Emp. Manuel I granted Ignatios the mountain and an annual income of 50 nomismata to build a small monastery and chapel; the independence of Machairas was guaranteed (Tsiknopoullos, *infra* 11f). After 1172 the complex was greatly enlarged under the leadership of Ignatios's disciple Neilos, who accumulated considerable property and received a tax exemption and 24 *paroikoi* from Emp. Alexios III Angelos (Tsiknopoullos, *infra* 17.1–4). Neilos also founded a nunnery in Tamasia and provided it with a rule that has not survived.

The *typikon*, modeled on that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople, begins with instructions for the celebration of services; it then provides a detailed description of the administrative structure of Machairas. An unusual feature was the appointment of two OIKONOMOI, one to supervise internal affairs and the other to supervise agricultural activity on its estates. Other monastic officials included two *docheiarioi*, an *ekklesiarches*, a cellarer, and a disciplinary officer (*epistemonarches*). Neilos devoted particular attention to record keeping and other provisions to guard against fraud. He specifically forbade the entrance of women and the education of lay children at the monastery.

SOURCE. *Kypriaka Typika*, ed. J. Tsiknopoullos (Nikosia 1969) 1–68, corr. K. Manaphes, *EEPhSPA* 20 (1969) 155–68.

LIT. S. Menardos, *He en Kypro hiera mone tes Panagias tou Machaira* (Piraeus 1929). Galatariotou, "Typika" 130f.

–A.M.T.

MACROBIUS, more fully Ambrosius Theodosius Macrobius, Latin writer of 4th/5th C., perhaps the Theodosius who was praetorian prefect of Italy in 430 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 56 [1966] 25–38). His *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, a Neoplatonist exposition of Scipio Africanus's epiphany in Cicero's *De re publica*, was very influential in medieval times. The *Saturnalia*, whose dramatic date is 17–19 Dec. 384, although itself perhaps not published until after 410, comprises seven books (with lacunae at the beginning and end of some) of antiquarian polymathy, couched in the traditional form of a symposium. Hosts and participants include prominent pagans (e.g., SYMMACHUS) and the Vergilian commentator Servius. VERGIL himself is the central topic, cast in the superhuman form that anticipates his role in Dante. The *Saturnalia* is a piece of classical and pagan nostalgia, studiously ignoring Christianity and contemporary troubles. A third work, *On Dissimilarities and Similarities between Greek and Latin Words*, survives only in medieval excerpts.

ED. *Saturnalia* and *Commentarii in somnium Scipionis*, ed. J. Willis, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1970). *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio*, tr. W.H. Stahl (New York 1952; rp. 1966). *Saturnalia*—Eng. tr. P.V. Davies (New York 1969). *On Dissimilarities*, frags.—*Grammatici Latini*, ed. H. Keil, vol. 5 (Leipzig 1868; rp. Hildesheim 1881) 599–655.

LIT. J. Flamant, *Macrobe et le néo-platonisme latin à la fin du IVe siècle* (Leiden 1977). M.A. Elferink, *La descente de l'âme d'après Macrobe* (Leiden 1968).

–B.B.

MADABA (Μήδαβα, Ar. Mādabā in modern Jordan), city and bishopric in the province of Arabia, under the jurisdiction of BOSTRA; it flourished in the 6th–7th C. Lying to the east of the pilgrimage site of Mt. NEBO, Madaba itself had at least 12 churches. Subjects of the numerous floor mosaics uncovered in Madaba include a map of the Holy Land (MADABA MOSAIC MAP), Hippolytos and Phaedra, Achilles and Patroklos, Herakles, a Dionysiac procession, hunting scenes, city Tyches, and a personification of Thalassa (the last in a Church of the Holy Apostles of 578). An inscription records the restoration of a cistern by Justinian I. Other dated inscriptions of building and paving are of 562 and 603/4 (the cathedral), 595/6–607/8, and 663 (the Church of the Virgin, by the "people of this *polis* of Madaba").

LIT. *IGLSyr* 21.2 (1986) nos. 125–52. M. Piccirillo, *Madaba: Le chiese e i mosaici* (Milan 1989).

–M.M.M.

MADABA MOSAIC MAP, a late 6th-C. topographical pavement depicting the Holy Land, set into the transept of a church at MADABA in Jordan. The major surviving fragment (10.5 × 5 m) shows the area from the Jordan Valley to the Nile; dominating its center is Jerusalem, directly in front of the apse. Based on a Roman road map and the *Onomastikon* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, supplemented by a few Jewish and later Christian sources, the mosaic provides a graphic guide to Old and New Testament sites. Although small towns are represented only by conventional structures, larger cities are laid out with surprising

detail in bird's-eye view; in Jerusalem five of the ten churches shown can be identified. There are indications of vegetation as well, and, in many cases, enough information to judge the relative importance of the various LOCA SANCTA in the 6th C.

LIT. H. Donner, H. Cüppers, *Die Mosaikkarte von Madeba* (Wiesbaden 1977). M. Avi-Yonah, *The Madaba Mosaic Map* (Jerusalem 1954). H.G. Thümmel, "Zur Deutung der Mosaikkarte von Madeba," *ZDPV* 89 (1973) 66–79. –G.V.

MAENADS, ecstatic and frenzied women in DIONYSOS's retinue, who in their madness dance and devour raw flesh. Allusions to maenads are found in late Roman literature both pagan and patristic: thus, Basil the Great (PG 31:189BC) in his list of women's vices speaks of maenadic misbehavior—drunkenness, fornication, insolence, etc., while the vita of John Klimax (PG 88:600B) describes the sword of obedience as extinguishing maenadic tyranny. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, in the *Dionysiaka*, presents maenads as zealous warriors in the great Indian war launched by Dionysos, but he also describes them (34:352–56) as discarding their manly character and once more becoming women who refuse to do battle and return to the distaff and spindle. Christian authors explained their *omophagia* (devouring raw flesh) as merely a commemorative rite, in commemoration of the day when, according to the legend, Dionysos was torn to pieces (E.R. Dodds, *HThR* 33 [1940] 165). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 321.20–26) compares Andronikos I Komnenos and his courtesans to Dionysos and the maenads.

By the 10th–11th C. the maenad had become a generic figure in art, adapted to a specific situation by the attributes that she holds (Weitzmann, *infra*, figs. 114, 157). Thus divorced from their original context, they lent their form to the dancers on the crown of Constantine IX (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, fig.134).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 129f, 179f. –A.K., A.C.

MAGI. See ADORATION OF THE MAGI.

MAGIC (*μαγεία*). In Byz. usage synonymous with sorcery (*goeteia*), magic was a normal phenomenon in the life of late Roman society. It served two major goals: to explain "supernatural" forces (dreams, visions, extraordinary natural phenomena, constellations of celestial bodies) and to influence them (or prevent their effect) through special prayers, AMULETS, and the assistance of DEMONS. The position of Christianity toward magic and DIVINATION was ambivalent: on the one hand, holy objects (RELICS, icons, liturgical objects) and holy persons (both living and dead) were granted the ability both to explain and to control the activity of supernatural powers. On the other hand, traditional magic was condemned and perpetrators of magic could be burned alive (e.g., A. Leroy-Molinghen in *Rayonnement grec* 286f).

The church distinguished between the holy man or woman who relied upon divine aid, and the magician who, however powerful, acted with demonic assistance. Magic was to prove inferior in any confrontation with genuine divine power: magical creatures dissolved before the sign of the CROSS, the books of the Holy Writ, or a sincere prayer, and sorcerers (like medical doctors) had to yield to the greater power of a saint. Another distinction, an internal one, lay in the nature of the act performed: the sorcerer concentrated on fulfilling sexual desires, producing ludicrous situations or objects, creating fake riches or secular knowledge, and inflicting harm, whereas the saint acted as healer and protector of men and animals, and countered the eruption of the evil forces of the cosmos (earthquakes, flood, locusts, etc.). The struggle against magic is one of the main topics of HAGIOGRAPHY (H.J. Magoulias, *Byzantion* 37 [1967–68] 228–69).

The ambivalent attitude toward magic was typical even of intellectuals: Niketas Choniates records numerous cases of the efficient exercise of sorcery (the magic power of letters and words, hypnotic effects, knowledge of the future) but condemns them as futile, unchristian activities. The church fought against sorcery until the very end of the empire (e.g., C. Cupane, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 237–62), but various forms of magic were nonetheless accepted in Byz. daily life (the idea of beneficial and harmful days, dream interpretation, fortune-telling) and even in criminal procedure (ordeal by hot iron, the examination of an alleged thief by a "magic eye").

SOURCE. *Papyri graecae magicae*[2], ed. K. Preisendanz, 2 vols. (Stuttgart 1973–74).

LIT. P. Brown, *Religion and Society in the Age of St. Augustine* (New York 1972) 119–46, and criticism, J.O. Ward,

Prudentia 13 [1981] 93–108. M. Smith, "How Magic was Changed by the Triumph of Christianity," *Graeco-arabica* 2 (1983) 51–58. Trombley, "Paganism" 341f, 344. Troianos, "Mageia kai dikaio sto Byzantio," *Archaiologia* 20 (1986) 41–44. A.A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1964) 100–25. D. Abrahamse, "Magic and Sorcery in Hagiography of the Middle Byzantine Period," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 3–17. –A.K., F.R.T.

MAGICIANS (*μάγοι*), sorcerers (*goetai*), and witches existed in both urban and rural society and in all social and economic classes of the late Roman Empire; pagans and Christians alike appealed to them for help: the vita of George of Choziba (7th C.) mentions a wrestler who resorted to a magician to alleviate the effects of poison, and the sorcerer Albicerius helped the young St. Augustine find a silver spoon. Political trials, esp. numerous in the 4th C., were often interwoven with accusations of sorcery, and political biographies of this period frequently include a magician's attack.

In the Hippodrome of Constantinople (5th–9th C.), members of the factions paid magicians to destroy the charioteers of their enemies. High officials suffering from maladies attributed them to the sorcery of magicians hired by their competitors for rank and promotion in the imperial administration; these officials recuperated at monasteries like that of St. Hypatios at ROUPHINIANAI in Bithynia, where the saint's blessings and EULOGIAI were thought to counteract sorcerers.

The nature of INCANTATIONS (preserved in Egyptian papyri), inscribed AMULETS, and magic books all presuppose literacy among sorcerers. Their ability to procure papyrus and metal for amulets suggests the financial viability of their profession. In popular belief, magicians were usually, but not always, connected with Egypt.

Christianity viewed the magician as a rival of the holy man, and hagiography encouraged the negative image of the sorcerer, usually described as a Jew, heretic, or heathen, who might direct hordes of locusts against tilled fields, practice poisoning, make love potions, and own magic books full of spells against men, animals, and houses. Nevertheless, practitioners of sorcery were active until the end of the empire. Tradition endowed even some biblical personages (SOLOMON) with witchcraft and power over DEMONS. The Iconoclast JOHN (VII) GRAMMATIKOS was proclaimed magician par excellence, and in the Khludov marginal PSALTER he is shown being trampled by Patr. Nikephoros I, just as the nearby figure of the sorcerer Simon Magus is trampled by St. Peter (fol.51v). – F.R.T., A.C.

MAGISTER EQUITUM. See MAGISTER MILITUM.

MAGISTER MILITUM (*στρατηλάτης*), commander in chief of the armies in the late Roman Empire. According to a historian of the 5th–6th C. (Zosim. bk.2.33.3), Constantine I removed the PRAETORIAN PREFECT from military command, entrusting the SCHOLAE PALATINAE to the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM and the regular army to the STRATELATAI of the cavalry and of the infantry; the Latin terms, *magister equitum* and *magister peditum*, are known only from the period after Constantine. The distinction between the two kinds of troops, mounted and foot, was more theoretical than real. Constantius II created three posts of local *magistri militum* for both troops: for Oriens (350/1), Gallia (355), and Illyricum (ca.359). The next step in the division of military power occurred in 364, when the empire and the army were split between Valentinian I and Valens.

Thereafter several *magistri militum* existed in both the West and East, some at court (*magistri praesentales*) and some in the provinces (A. Hoepffner, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 483–98). Theodosios I tried to reduce the number of *magistri militum*, and Arkadios attempted to abolish them altogether, placing military power in the hands of the eunuch EUTROPIOS, but the post was soon reestablished. The distinction between cavalry and infantry disappeared by 370, when the title of *magister utrius militiae* was introduced, although the former designations continued to exist; in the West the *magister peditum* seems to have dominated.

The *magistri militum* were recruited mainly from Germanic peoples, in the 4th C. often from the lower strata, in the 5th primarily from princely families. Besides direct military functions and the right of conscription, *magistri militum* possessed judicial authority over their officers. Western *magistri militum* (like STILICHO) held supreme power; in the 5th C. they either appointed emperors or gained the throne themselves. In the East the

omnipotence of *magistri militum* was crushed, some of their functions being assigned to the QUAESTOR and the *magister officiorum*. In the 6th–7th C. the title *stratelates* was depreciated and later lost its technical significance (J. Durliat, *BZ* 72 [1979] 306–20).

The service costume of *magistri militum* in the 5th C. consisted of a sword, lance, *chlamys* (a richly embroidered tunic), and, at least on the diptych of Stilicho, a shield decorated with the emperors' busts.

LIT. A. Demandt, *RE* supp. 12 (1970) 556–790. D. Hoffmann, "Der Oberbefehl des spätrömischen Heeres im 4. Jahrhundert n. Chr.," *Actes du 9e Congrès international d'études sur les frontières romaines* (Bucharest-Cologne 1974) 381–97. A.E.R. Boak, "The Roman *Magistri* in the Civil and Military Service of the Empire," *HStClPhil* 26 (1915) 117–64. –A.K., A.C.

MAGISTER OFFICIORUM (*μάγιστρος τῶν ὀφφικίων*), master of the offices, the head of the central civil administration in the late Roman Empire. The office (first mentioned in 320) was created by Constantine I with the aim of restricting the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. Originally, the *magister officiorum* had under his control three chief *scrinia* (bureaus), the AGENTES IN REBUS, and the SCHOLAE PALATINAE, although he never exercised military functions. The increasing role of the *agentes* and the imperial bodyguards enabled the *magister officiorum* to become the central figure at court, a member of the CONSISTORIUM with control over the *cursus publicus*, the state police, diplomatic negotiations, and armament factories.

The master of offices had judicial powers and some authority over everyday affairs in the palace, tending the lamps and introducing people to the *consistorium*. To some extent he collaborated with the QUAESTOR but had no influence over fiscal services. The attempt to assign military functions to the *magister officiorum* failed in the West, but in the East he acquired control over the LIMITANEI and the border strongholds. Under Justinian I the struggle between the praetorian prefect (JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA) and *magister officiorum* (TRIBONIAN to 535) ended in the defeat of the latter official. In the 7th C. the *magister officiorum* was shorn of most functions (Bury, *Adm. System* 29); the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON assumed command over the bodyguard, and the office of *magister officiorum* eventually involved only the conduct of imperial ceremony. Although in the late 9th C. Stylianos ZAOUTZES was occasionally called *magistros ton ophphikion*, from the 9th C. the office of *magister officiorum* in reality ceased to exist and MAGISTROS became merely a title.

LIT. M. Clauss, *Der magister officiorum in der Spätantike* (Munich 1980). Boak-Dunlap, *Two Studies* 1–160. G. Purpura, "Il 'magister officiorum' e la 'schola agentium in rebus,'" *Labeo* 25 (1979) 202–08. –A.K.

MAGISTER PEDITUM. See MAGISTER MILITUM.

MAGISTROS (*μάγιστρος*), a high-ranking DIGNITY. The word is etymologically connected with the Latin MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, but the Byz. *magistros* had nothing in common with the late Roman functionary. The first certain mention of *magistros* as a title is in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, who places *magistros* above the ANTHYPATOS. Bury (*Adm. System* 30) notes the omission of *magistros* from the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij, but Oikonomides (*Listes* 47) considers this a scribal error. There were several *magistroi*, one of whom was called *protomagistros*: Stylianos ZAOUTZES, among others, was granted this title. The number of *magistroi* was fewer than 12 at the beginning of the 10th C. but reached 24 by the time of the embassy of LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA. Simultaneously, the title began to lose its significance. It probably disappeared by the mid-12th C.; a 14th-C. ceremonial book in verse (in pseudo-Kod. 338.124) mentions it among obsolete dignities. One of the last *magistroi* bore the name of Rousopoulos, indicating his ethnic origin (Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.124). The female title *magistrissa* is also known—a seal of the *magistrissa* Maria Bryennissa is dated by Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no.119) to ca.1080. The term *magistros*, usually in the vernacular spelling MAISTOR, was also used to designate a craftsman or teacher.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: L'ordre (taxis) des Maîtres," *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 14–28. –A.K.

MAGNAURA (*Μαγναύρα*, from Lat. *magna aula*), ceremonial hall situated on the periphery of the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, east of the Augustaion. It had the form of a basilica with apses

to the east and two lateral aisles supporting galleries. In the central apse stood Solomon's Throne flanked by lions. The west façade opened onto a courtyard planted with alleys of trees. The Magnaura had, therefore, approximately the same situation and the same architectural form as the SENATE HOUSE rebuilt by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.10.6–9), and one may wonder whether they were one and the same, the more so as the Senate House is never mentioned after the reign of Justinian.

The Magnaura was restored by Herakleios after 628 (*AnthGr* 9:655). It was later used for receptions of foreign ambassadors, who were impressed by the hall's AUTOMATA. In the reign of Michael III the Magnaura became the seat of a school. It was also the normal venue on occasions when the emperor addressed the people. These considerations indicate that the Magnaura was easily accessible from outside the palace. Another Magnaura was located in the suburb of HEBDOMON.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 68–76. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:141–50. Mango, *Brazen House* 57f. –C.M.

MAGNENTIUS (Μαγνέντιος), more fully Flavius Magnus Magnentius, usurper (from 18 Jan. 350) and augustus (from 1 Mar. 350); born Amiens ca.303, died Lyons 10/11 Aug. 353. Of Germanic origin, Magnentius rose in the army to the position of *comes rei militaris* in charge of the palatine legions. He conspired with the *comes rei privatae* Marcellinus and overthrew and killed Constans I. Gaul, Britain, and Spain joined him. Taking advantage of the absence of Constantius II on the Eastern frontier, Magnentius marched toward Illyricum. The Roman aristocracy tried to organize resistance, proclaiming Nepotianus as emperor on 3 June 350. In Illyricum the general Vetranio was elevated on 1 Mar. 350 as *"salvator rei publicae"*; he attempted to negotiate between Magnentius and Constantius. Magnentius defeated Nepotianus and had him executed. He enacted some measures against the wealthy that caused senators to flee to Constantius and Vetranio. Although himself a pagan, Magnentius planned an alliance with the Orthodox in Egypt against the Arian Constantius.

In 351 Constantius appeared in Illyricum, where he gained the support of Vetranio. His attempt to enter northern Italy failed and in the summer of 351 Magnentius marched via Siscia to Sirmium, near which, at Mursa, he was defeated in a bloody battle on 28 Sept.; 54,000 soldiers reportedly perished. Magnentius then withdrew to Gaul, where Constantius again defeated him (end of summer 353) at the battle of Mons Seleucus. Magnentius soon thereafter took his own life. The empire was united under Constantius II.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:138–41. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 445–52. J. Šašel, "The Struggle between Magnentius and Constantius II for Italy and Illyricum," *Živa antika* 21 (1971) 205–16. P. Bastien, *Le monnayage de Magnence*² (Wetteren 1983). –T.E.G.

MAGNESIA (Μαγνησία, now Manisa), city of Lydia in western Asia Minor, at the foot of Mt. Sipylos. Magnesia became important in the 12th C. It developed further under the Laskarids when it was functionally capital of the empire of NICAEA, whose rulers resided nearby at NYMPHAION and maintained their treasury and mint at Magnesia. In the 13th C. Magnesia was a market for local and foreign trade and site of an imperial palace. It was the center of a rich agricultural district that contained the important monastery of Sosandra founded by John III Vatatzes. Theodore II received the Seljuk sultan at Magnesia in 1257, and Michael VIII was there confirmed in power in 1258. By the late 13th C., Magnesia was increasingly exposed to attack. It was the base of Michael IX's campaign against the Turks in 1302, during which it withstood a long siege. In 1304, Magnesia was used by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, who so oppressed the citizens that the gates were shut against them; the city resisted their consequent attack. In 1313, the Turks of SARUHAN took the city. Magnesia was a suffragan bishopric of Ephesus, frequently contested with Smyrna. Remains of the walls and citadel appear to be the work of John III.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 44–47. C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Foundations in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 306–09. –C.F.

MAINA (Μαίνη in the *Chronicle of the Morea*, Fr. le Grande Magne), castle in the MANI region in southern Greece. Although the castle is mentioned frequently in texts of the 13th–14th C. and was one of the major strongholds ceded to

the Byz. by the treaty of Constantinople in 1262, its precise location is still disputed (P. Kalonaros, *HellCont* 3 [1939] 375–80). Some have identified it with Zarnata, but this seems unlikely, while others have suggested Tigani on the west coast (N.B. Drandakes et al., *PraktArchEt* [1978] 183–91).

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 502–07. –T.E.G.

MAISTOR (*μαΐστωρ*), one of several vernacular forms of the classical *magistros* (Lat. *magister*). While *maistros* was used (by authors or by later scribes) to describe the MAGISTER MILITUM or MAGISTER OFFICIORUM, *maistor* was understood (e.g., in the *Souda*) to mean teacher. The word was extended to designate the leader of an atelier or team of ARTISANS: thus it is applied to Gerontios, a woodworker and "the best of his profession," by Theodoret of Cyrrhus. Texts included in the *Patria of Constantinople* mention *maistores* and their apprentices (MISTHIOI). The term *protomaistor* designated the head of a GUILD. It could also refer to an expert performer and teacher of sacred chant (pseudo-Kod. 190.7, 359.20); the most famous of them, John KOUKOUZELES, is frequently cited in the MSS simply as "the *maistor*." *Megas maistoras* was the Greek translation of the title of the head of a Western monastic order.

LIT. E. Kriaras, *Lexiko tes mesaionikes Hellenikes demodous grammateias* 9 (Thessalonike 1985) 270, 285f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111f. –A.K., A.C., D.E.C.

MAISTOR TON RHETORON (*μαΐστωρ τῶν ῥητόρων*), "master of the rhetoricians," one of the DIDASKALOI of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL in Constantinople. It is not quite clear when the office was introduced; the novel of Alexios I of 1107 mentions only three didascalic positions and does not include the *maistor* of the rhetoricians. In the late 11th C., however, Theophylaktos of Ohrid is attested as *maistor* before becoming archbishop, if indeed the lemma to the vita of Clement is authentic. The first *maistor* mentioned in an official list is Basil in 1166, whereas the list of 1156 does not include this office (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 529.13). Browning ("Patriarchal School" 39) lists several *maistores* before 1166, some questionable but two more or less certain. Choniates (Nik.Chon. 211.92–93) describes MICHAEL RHETOR as "adorning the rhetorical throne." A certain "Mouzalon" (Browning, ibid. 14) is called in the title of his speech "a rhetorician under [an unspecified] patriarch Nicholas." In the second half of the 12th C. many *maistores* are named, including writers such as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE and Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES. The *maistor* was considered to be a deacon and a member of the group of five patriarchal teachers, but unlike his colleagues he was an imperial appointee. A Moscow MS (Moscow, Hist. Mus. 53/147) published by Čičurov defines the functions of the "rhetorician" as producing encomiastic speeches in honor of the *basileus* on Christmas Day and on the "bright Sunday" (Easter); the oratorical samples contain the speeches of the *maistor* primarily at Epiphany (for the emperor) and Lazarus Saturday (for the patriarch).

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926) 40f. I.S. Čičurov, "Novye rukopisnye svedenija o vizantijskom obrazovanii," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 238–42. –A.K.

MAJESTAS DOMINI (Lat., lit. "Majesty of the Lord"), the conventional name for a highly synthetic visual image showing Christ's majesty at the end of time. Blending elements from the various apocalyptic and prophetic VISIONS (Is 6:1–4, Ezek 1:4–28, Rev 4:2–9), it shows CHRIST—youthful, mature, or as the Ancient of Days—right hand raised in speech and book in left hand, enthroned on a rainbow in a MANDORLA from which project the four beasts and often the wings studded with eyes, the fiery chariot, and angels. It is first seen in the apse of HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike, where prophets witness to Christ in a paradisiac landscape; in BAWĪṬ (Chapels 26, 51); at SAQQĀRA; and on an icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.16). The inscriptions used in these early versions indicate that the image owes its particular blend of elements to invocations of Christ's majesty in the liturgy. Popular in the 9th–10th C., the image appears in Cappadocian apse compositions of the Prophetic Vision, reflecting the Iconophile emphasis on visions as proof of the visibility of God. Komnenian Gospel books use the image as a frontispiece, invoking the Gospel prefaces that discuss "him who sits upon the Cherubim." The *Majestas Domini* recurs in Palaiologan miniature and icon painting in versions showing both the youthful

Christ with prophets, as at Hosios David, and the lone, mature Christ.

LIT. Ihm, *Apsismalerei* 42–51. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Theophanies-visions auxquelles participent les prophètes dans l'art byzantin après la restauration des images," in *Synthronon* 135–43. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 55–73. –A.W.C.

MAJORIAN (Μαιορῖνος), more fully Flavius Julius Valerius Majorianus, Western emperor (1 Apr. 457–2 Aug. 461); died Liguria 7 Aug. 461. Of an Italian senatorial family, Majorian served in the army under AETIUS, but retired temporarily before 451. In 454 Valentinian III recalled Majorian to court. After the emperor's murder he was considered a possible successor. He served as a high military commander under PETRONIUS MAXIMUS and EPARCHIUS AVITUS and cooperated with RICIMER in the overthrow of Avitus in 456. In 457 he was appointed *magister militum,* probably by Leo I, then acclaimed by his troops as augustus, and on 28 Dec. recognized by the senate in Ravenna. Leo I accepted him as emperor by May 458. Majorian tried to support the urban curiae, improve the system of taxation, and enhance the old Roman virtues. He had to deal with a threat in Gaul, where he found strong opposition (B. Czúth, *Acta classica Universitatis scientiarum Debreceniensis* 19 [1983] 113–22), and in Africa, which had been conquered by the Vandals; Prokopios preserved a legend that Majorian visited the court of GAISERIC incognito (G. Max, *BS/EB* 9 [1982] 58–63). Majorian prepared expeditions against the Vandals in 460 and 461, but in both cases Gaiseric attacked the Roman ships before they set out and the attempts failed. In 461 Majorian was deposed and executed by order of Ricimer.

LIT. Kaegi, *Decline* 31–35. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 584–90. H. Meyer, "Der Regierungsantritt Kaiser Majorians," *BZ* 62 (1969) 5–12. –T.E.G.

MAJUSCULE. See UNCIAL.

MAKARIOS/SYMEON, or pseudo-Makarios, monastic writer who probably lived in Mesopotamia or eastern Anatolia at the end of the 4th and beginning of the 5th C. Makarios/Symeon has become the conventional name for this author, whose works include 50 *Spiritual Homilies* that were attributed to the 4th-C. Egyptian monk MAKARIOS THE GREAT in some MSS. Certain pieces by this author have also been assigned in the MS tradition to "Symeon," identified by Dörries (*infra*) with the Symeon who was the leader of the MESSALIAN heresy condemned by the Councils of Side (390) and Ephesus (431).

In addition to the homilies Makarios/Symeon wrote the *Great Letter, erotapokriseis,* and collections of *logia.* His works emphasize the constant spiritual struggle toward perfection and the supreme importance of prayer. Messalian elements (others prefer Gnostic) have been detected in the mystical nature of the *Homilies,* esp. as there are verbal accords with the Messalian *Ascetic Book.* Makarios/Symeon was also influenced by Basilian monasticism and by Gregory of Nyssa. The works of Makarios/Symeon were translated into Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, Latin, and Church Slavonic.

ED. PG 34. *Oeuvres spirituelles,* ed. V. Desprez, vol. 1 (Paris 1980). Eng. tr. G.A. Maloney, *Intoxicated with God: The Fifty Spiritual Homilies of Macarius* (Denville, N.J., 1978). *Epistola magna,* ed. R. Staats (Göttingen 1984). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 2410–27.

LIT. H. Dörries, *Symeon von Mesopotamien: Die Überlieferung der messalianischen "Makarios"-Schriften* (Leipzig 1941). Idem, *Die Theologie des Makarios/Symeon* (Göttingen 1978). V. Desprez, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 20–43. W. Strothmann, *Die syrische Überlieferung der Schriften des Makarios* (Wiesbaden 1981). –B.B., A.M.T.

MAKARIOS OF PHILADELPHIA. See CHRYSOKEPHALOS, MAKARIOS.

MAKARIOS OF ROME, saint; principal feastdays 23 Oct., 19 Jan., and others. Son of a Roman senator named John, Makarios ran away from home during his wedding, which had been arranged by his father. According to his Life, the angel Raphael led him to the ends of the earth, where he lived in a cave in peace with wild beasts. Makarios's vita takes the unusual form of a traveler's romance: three monks—Theophilos, Sergios, and Hygieinos—set off from a monastery in Mesopotamia to see the edge of the sky "at the iron pillar." The sober description of their route via Jerusalem to Ctesiphon gives way later to images of fabulous rivers, mountains, animals, and people in India and farther east. Finally they encountered Makarios, his body hidden by his white hair, his fingernails and toenails as long as a leopard's claws. He briefly told the monks his story and explained that they were not allowed to

proceed further, since 20 miles from Makarios's cave were two walls—one of iron and another of bronze—surrounding Paradise. Many MSS from the 11th C. onward preserve the legend; the editor, A. Vassiliev, proposed a dubious *argumentum ex silentio*—that the legend originated in the 5th–6th C. since it does not mention the Arabs. The legend is very important for reconstructing early medieval geographic perceptions.

Representation in Art. One of the very rare portraits of this saint is that in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.334), where he appears as an elderly monk standing alongside MAKARIOS THE GREAT; the two are celebrated together on 19 Jan.

SOURCES. *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, ed. A. Vassiliev (Moscow 1893) 135–65. Russ. tr. Poljakova, *Viz. leg.* 37–45.

LIT. *BHG* 1004–1005p. J. Trumpf, "Zwei Handschriften einer Kurzfassung der griechischen Vita Macarii Romani," *AB* 88 (1970) 23–26. F. Halkin, "Une rédaction inconnue de la légende de s. Macaire le Romain," *AB* 92 (1974) 344. S. Kimpel, *LCI* 7:479f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MAKARIOS THE GREAT, or Makarios the Egyptian (to distinguish him from Makarios the Alexandrian or Politikos), saint; born Upper Egypt ca.300, died Sketis ca.390; feastday 15 or 19 Jan. He became the leader of an eremitic group in Sketis (WADI NATRUN) in which the monks lived in separate shelters and gathered only for worship and guidance from the leader. He was ordained in 340. As a supporter of the Nicene policy of ATHANASIOS, he was exiled under Loukios, the Arian bishop of Alexandria.

The anecdotes about Makarios stress his strict asceticism and ability to work miracles. His ascetic practice aimed at complete detachment from bodily functions: for example, PALLADIOS (*Lausiac History* 18.28) recorded that Makarios had not spat since he was baptized. Many writings in Greek as well as in Syriac, including the works of pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, were incorrectly attributed to him.

LIT. *BHG* 999g–999y. G. Quispel, *Makarius, das Thomasevangelium und das Lied von der Perle* (Leiden 1967). E. Lanne, "La 'prière de Jésus' dans la tradition égyptienne," *Irénikon* 50 (1977) 163–203. –J.A.T.

MAKEDONIOS CONSUL, 6th-C. poet. The GREEK ANTHOLOGY preserves 43 of his epigrams, coming from the *Cycle* of AGATHIAS. They are mainly anathematic, ekphrastic, erotic, and satirical, largely unremarkable in subjects and style. J.A. Madden (*Mnemosyne*[4] 30 [1977] 153–59) detects evidence of Christian belief in one poem (bk.9, no.649), but the sentiment is entirely neutral and commonplace (B. Baldwin, *Mnemosyne* 37 [1984] 451–53). Makedonios (Μακεδόνιος) has been identified both with a former referendarios reported by MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR to have been purged for paganism in 529, and with a *vir illustris* who was an imperial official of 531; reconciliation of the two is not impossible. Since his name is not in the official *fasti*, his consulate must have been honorary.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "The Fate of Macedonius Consul," *Eranos* 79 (1981) 145f. –B.B.

MAKĪN, AL-, more fully Jirjis al-Makīn ibn al-ʿAmīd, Christian Arab historian; born Cairo 1205 (or 1203?), died Damascus 1273. Following in the footsteps of his Coptic father, al-Makīn became a civil servant of the Ayyūbids in Damascus. After a long and eventful service (he was twice thrown into prison), al-Makīn spent the rest of his life in that city. He composed a universal chronicle in Arabic entitled *The Blessed Collection.* The first part of this work begins with Adam and ends with the eleventh year of the rule of HERAKLEIOS. The second part covers the period of Islam, beginning with Muḥammad and ending with 1260. It refers to Muslim contacts with the Byz., e.g., the confrontation at MANTZIKERT, which consists of an abbreviated version of the account found in SIBṬ IBN AL-JAWZĪ (C. Cahen, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 618). The work of al-Makīn was used by the famous Egyptian Muslim historian al-MAQRĪZĪ as his main source of information about the Christians.

TR. C.F. Seybold, "Zu El Makīn's Weltchronik," *ZDMG* 64 (1910) 140–53. T. Erpenius, *Historia Saracenica* (Leiden 1625).

LIT. Graf, *Literatur* 2:348–51. C. Cahen, R.G. Coquin, *EI*[2] 6:143f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:188–91. –A.S.E.

MAKRE (Μάκρη, anc. Telmessos, now Fethiye), coastal city of western LYCIA. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 14.16, ed. Pertusi 78) still knew it as the "famous *polis* Telmisos," but in a notitia of ca.800 it appears as "Telmissos or Anastasioupolis" (*Notitiae CP* 2.310). The name *Telmissos* disappears from notitias by the 10th C., when the name *Makre* emerges (*Notitiae CP*, p.

76), but already in 451 a bishop of the *polis* of Telme and of the island of Makra attended the Council of Chalcedon (Mansi 7:433D).

The history of Byz. Makre is unknown. In al-Idrīsī and in Latin texts of the 13th C. it appears as an important commercial center, and in 1106 Daniil Igumen described it as a center of production of perfumed essences. At the end of the 12th or in the 13th C. the area fell to the Turks.

Preserved at the site are fortifications of the 8th C., enlarged in the 12th. The center of a coastal region, Makre's remains attest considerable growth and prosperity in late antiquity, the result of its location on the main trade routes between Constantinople and the East. Numerous sites in the vicinity preserve the remains of churches and houses but few civic buildings; most are datable to the 6th C. and were abandoned in the 7th/8th C. (R. Carter, *Archaeology* 38.3 [1985] 16–21).

LIT. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* (1982) 193–95. W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter* (Vienna 1891) 43–45. –C.F., A.K.

MAKREMBOLITES (Μακρεμβολίτης, fem. Μακρεμβολίτισσα), a family of civil functionaries, probably of Constantinopolitan origin; Makros Embolos ("Long Portico") was a district in Constantinople. The first known Makrembolites, whose death LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS predicted (*AASS* Nov. 3:539E), apparently lived in Constantinople. John Makrembolites, a conspirator against Michael IV in 1040, belonged to the aristocracy of the capital: he married the sister of MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, and his daughter, EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, wed Constantine X Doukas. The Makrembolitai remained influential in the 12th C.: Demetrios was Manuel I's envoy to Conrad III and Louis VII in 1146–47; John served as *megas droungarios tes viglas* in 1157; Eumathios, *sebastos* and eparch (died ca.1185), was a grandson of Eudokia's nephew, according to his epitaph by Theodore Balsamon (K. Horna, *WS* 25 [1903] 182f). Both John and Eumathios are known by their seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 896, 1041). Theophylaktos of Ohrid corresponded with a certain Makrembolites, *archon* of Prespa (on his name, G. Litavrin, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 14–15 [1964] 521), and characterized him as a man who skillfully acquired alien property. Some family members also held high ecclesiastical posts: Theodore was metropolitan of Methymna in the early 12th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.3, no.1798). The Makrembolitai corresponded with some *literati*. Eustathios or Eumathios Makrembolites wrote the romance *On Hysmine and Hysminias*. Alexios Makrembolites was a writer in the 14th C. (see MAKREMBOLITES, EUSTATHIOS and MAKREMBOLITES, ALEXIOS).

LIT. *PLP*, nos.16351–53. –A.K.

MAKREMBOLITES, ALEXIOS, writer; died after 1349 or 1353. All that is known of his life is that he was in the service of the *exisotes* Patrikiotes (a financial adviser of John VI Kantakouzenos) and was a teacher and member of a group of literati. His works include orations on the Genoese War of 1348–49 and anti-Jewish and anti-Islamic polemics. His worldview is tragic, portraying a society torn between the poor and wealthy people, whose moral principles are perverse (M.A. Poljakovskaja, *ADSV* 8 [1972] 95–107; 10 [1973] 251–54); the Genoese exploit the empire, the Turks incessantly attack it, and gloomy omens portend the imminent end of the world (Eadem, *ADSV* 18 [1981] 135–40; 11 [1975] 87–98). A realist who was well aware of the decline of Byz., Makrembolites attributed the success of the Ottomans to their moral character, in contrast to the sinful Byz., who oppressed the poor. Makrembolites' language is rhetorical, and concrete interpretation of his work is difficult. Lj. Maksimović (*ZRVI* 20 [1981] 99–109) suggests that "the rich" in Makrembolites' *Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor* (of 1343) are financiers in the milieu of Alexios APOKAUKOS. At any rate, the *Dialogue* is not a revolutionary manifesto, and Makrembolites looks to intermarriages between rich and poor as the solution for social inequality. Eschatological lamentations about the plight of the empire in his *threnos* on the collapse of the dome of Hagia Sophia are harmonized with the expectation of the advent of Christ. Makrembolites drew on the Bible rather than classical authors for literary allusions. In his commentary on *Lucius or the Ass* of LUCIAN he allegorically interprets the text as a story of salvation through toil and purification (M.A. Poljakovskaja, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 137–40).

ED. and LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Alexios Makrembolites and his 'Dialogue between the Rich and the Poor,'" *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 187–228, with Eng. tr. S.I. Kourouses, "Hai antilep-

seis peri ton eschaton tou kosmou," *EEBS* 37 (1969–70) 223–40. E.V. Maltese, "Una fonte bizantina per la storia dei rapporti tra Costantinopoli e Genova alla metà del XIV sec.: il 'Logos Historikos' di Alessio Macrembolite," *Atti e Memorie della Società Savonese di storia patria* 14 (1980) 55–72. *PLP*, no.16352. –A.K., A.M.T.

MAKREMBOLITES, EUSTATHIOS, or Eumathios (Georgios, according to Dölger [*Diplomatik* 31]), *protonobilissimos,* writer. Usually he is dated in the second half of the 12th C., but S.V. Poljakova endeavored to demonstrate that he lived before Nikephoros BASILAKES and Theodore PRODROMOS (*VizVrem* 30 [1969] 113–23; 32 [1971] 104–08), i.e., in the late 11th or early 12th C. His identity with the eparch Eumathios Makrembolites, the addressee of BALSAMON (ca.1185?), cannot be proved. His prose romance (*drama*) *Hysmine and Hysminias,* although imitating ACHILLES TATIUS, introduced significant innovations in narrative technique: according to Poljakova (in *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* [Moscow 1972] 380–86), he simplified the plot, rejected everyday scenes, and attained sublimity and abstraction; in contrast, M. Alexiou sees his originality in the bold eroticism, humor (even parody), and psychological insight (*BMGS* 3 [1977] 23–43). An important role in the romance is played by *ekphraseis,* esp. of the garden of a certain Sosthenes with figures of the 12 months represented as a *stratiotes,* shepherd, peasants, man in a bathhouse, etc., symbolizing Time in general and various stages of life. Under the name of Makrembolites is also preserved a collection of RIDDLES. Identification of Makrembolites with EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (A. Heisenberg, *RhM* 58 [1903] 430) is not valid, nor is an attempt to see in Makrembolites the author of a version of DIGENES AKRITAS (A. Chatzes, *Athena* 54 [1950] 134–76; 55 [1951] 189–224).

ED. *Erotici scriptores graeci*, ed. R. Hercher (Leipzig 1859) 159–286. *De Hysmines et Hysminiae amoribus libri XI.* ed. I. Hilberg (Vienna 1876). Russ. tr. S.V. Poljakova, *Vizantijskaja ljubovnaja prosa* (Moscow-Leningrad 1965) 46–110. *Quae feruntur aenigmata,* ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1893).

LIT. Poljakova, *Roman.* Hunger, *Lit.* 2:137–42. A.C. Palau, "La tradition manuscrite d'Eustathe Makrembolitès," *RHT* 10 (1980–81) 75–113. –A.K.

MAKRES, MAKARIOS, sometimes called Asprophrys ("with white eyebrows"); monk and writer; born Thessalonike ca.1383, died Constantinople 8 Jan. 1431. His biography is known from the vita written by an anonymous monk (ed. Argyriou, *infra* 185–236). After receiving a secular education, Makres (Μακρῆς, Μακρύς) went to Athos at age 18 and became a hieromonk at the Vatopedi monastery. He and his second spiritual director, David, were invited by MANUEL II to Constantinople, where they remained for two years (1419–21). Makres returned briefly to Athos, but was then recalled to the capital by the emperor in 1422; shortly thereafter, apparently at the instigation of George SPHRANTZES (ed. Grecu, 48–50), he became superior of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY and *protosynkellos* of the patriarchate (1424). Although he was accused of being a Latinophile by Patr. JOSEPH II, he remained in the confidence of Emp. JOHN VIII. Circa 1429/30 he went on an embassy to Pope Martin V (1417–31) in Rome and proposed the convocation of an ecumenical council. He died shortly after his return to Constantinople.

Makres wrote on a variety of topics, including *ekphraseis* of icons (H. Hunger, *JÖB* 7 [1958] 125–40), funeral orations, and polemics against Latins and Muslims. He had a special interest in hagiography and wrote *enkomia* or vitae of David of Thessalonike, Andrew of Crete, Maximos Kausokalybites, and Gabriel, archbishop of Thessalonike. Many of his works remain unpublished. The attribution of some of his works is still debatable; a number of them had been erroneously ascribed to Manuel II (R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 15 [1949] 185–93).

ED. A. Argyriou, *Macaire Makrès et la polémique contre l'Islam* [= ST 314] (Vatican 1986). *Enkomion* of David—ed. V. Latyšev, *Zapiski imp. Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 30 (1912) 236–51. Vita of Andrew of Crete—ed. B. Laourdas, *KretChron* 7 (1953) 66–74. For complete list, see Argyriou, 10–25.

LIT. *PLP*, no.16379. –A.M.T.

MAKRINITISSA MONASTERY, a 13th-C. Thessalian foundation dedicated to the Theotokos tes Oxeias Episkepseos ("of swift visitation"). Only fragments of the original buildings now survive in the village of Makrinitsa on the slopes of Mt. Pelion near Volos. The monastery of Makrinitissa (Μακρινίτισσα) was established in the early 13th C. by Constantine MALIASENOS, the ruler of Demetrias, and is first mentioned in a document of February 1215. The monastery's status as a STAUROPEGION was challenged on several occasions by

the bishops of Demetrias but reaffirmed by Patr. Germanos II and Arsenios. Constantine eventually became a monk at Makrinitissa and died there ca.1256. His son, Nicholas Maliasenos (*PLP*, no.16523), succeeded him as second KTETOR and by 1266 had retired to Makrinitissa as the monk Ioasaph. The monastery flourished in the 13th C., acquiring several METOCHIA, including the Hilarion monastery at Halmyros.

In 1271/2 Nicholas also founded the Nea Petra monastery at nearby Dryanoubaina, together with his wife Anna Komnene Doukaina Maliasene. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist (Prodromos), it was also located on the slopes of Mt. Pelion, above the modern village of Portaria. Nea Petra was originally a nunnery, to which Anna retired between approximately 1274 and 1276 as the nun Anthousa, but within a few years it was converted into a male monastery. The monastic complex still survives, but the original Byz. church has been replaced by a 19th-C. structure. The monastery was a *stauropegion* under patriarchal jurisdiction; it was exempted from paying taxes and from the jurisdiction of the bishop of Demetrias.

A deluxe illuminated MS of 1282–86 (Turin, cod. gr. 237), which preserved a copy of the charters of both monasteries, was destroyed by fire in 1904; it contained a portrait of Nicholas-Ioasaph and his wife (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 188f, 248, figs. 141–42). The cartulary provides important information on the properties of the Maliasenoi and on sales and donations of land to the two monasteries, in addition to recording their disputes with the bishops of Demetrias (B. Pančenko, *IRAIK* 9 [1904] 173–81).

ED. Acts—MM 4:330–430.

LIT. F. Barišić, "Diplomatar tesalijskih manastira Makrinitisa i Nea Petra," *ZRVI* 16 (1975) 69–103. B. Ferjančić, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 31–48. N.I. Giannopoulos, "Hai para ten Demetriada byzantinai monai," *EEBS* 1 (1924) 210–40; 2 (1925) 227–41. Idem, "Les constructions byzantines de la région de Démétrias (Thessalie)," *BCH* 44 (1920) 181–209. –A.M.T.

MALAGINA (Μαλάγινα, later Μελάγγεια), district of BITHYNIA in the central Sangarios valley. Malagina first appears in history when Empress Irene sent an army there against the Arabs in 786. In 798 Arabs captured the royal saddle and horses at Malagina; they attacked again in 860 and ca.875. Malagina was the site of the main imperial stables where mounts were obtained for campaigns in the east. The first APLEKTON on the road to the frontier, it was where the *strategoi* of THRAKESION and OPSIKION joined imperial expeditions. In 1074 John DOUKAS had his palace in the vicinity, and in 1145 Manuel I restored its central fortress of Metabole after a Turkish attack. Manuel gathered troops at Malagina for his attack on DORYLAION in 1175. Its people supported the pseudo-Alexios against Alexios II. Malagina became the center of a province adminstered by a *doux kai stratopedarches* in the late 12th C. (Angold, *Byz. Government* 245). Attested as an archbishopric in the 12th C., Malagina became a metropolis under the Laskarids. Its powerful fortifications, overlooking the Sangarios near Pamukova, show two periods, probably of the 7th and 12th C.

LIT. S. Şahin, "Studien über die Probleme der historischen Geographie des nordwestlichen Kleinasiens, II: Malagina/Melagina am Sangarios," *Epigraphia Anatolica* 7 (1986) 153–66. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 140, 148f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 338f. –C.F.

MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA TREASURE, a group of more than 200 gold and silver objects as well as weapons and clothing, found in 1912 on the banks of a tributary of the Dnieper River, near Poltava in the Ukraine. The finds included Byz., Sasanian, and Avar pieces and others of disputed origin. The oldest Byz. object is a silver paten with control stamps of Anastasios I and an inscription noting that it was "renovated" by Bp. Paternos, possibly the early 6th-C. bishop of Tomis (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no.142). Other finds included silver utensils with stamps of Emp. Maurice, a massive gilded silver amphora (early 7th C.?), and 69 solidi from Maurice to Constans II (V. Kropotkin, *Klady vizantijskich monet na territorii SSSR* [Moscow 1962] no.250), indicating a date after the mid-7th C. for the burial of this diverse assemblage. Effenberger (*infra*) suggested that the objects came from a grave rather than a hoard; others have argued for and against the thesis that it belonged to a Khazar or Bulgar leader such as KUVRAT.

LIT. *Sŭkrovište na chan Kubrat* (Sofia 1989) 42–53. M. Kazinski, J.-P. Sodini, "Byzance et l'art 'nomade,'" *RA* (1987) 71–83. A. Effenberger in *Silbergefässe* 33–35. B.I. Maršak, K.M. Skalon, *Pereščepinskij klad* (Leningrad 1972). J. Werner, *Der Grabfund von Malaja Pereščepina und Kuvrat, Kagan der Bulgaren* (Munich 1984), rev. M. Schulze-Dörrlamm, *BJb* 187 (1987) 852–54. K. Horedt, "Die Völker

Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Probleme und Ergebnisse," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich-Berlin 1987) 11–26. –A.C.

MALAKES, EUTHYMIOS, metropolitan of Neopatras (from before 1166), writer; born Thebes ca.1115, died before 1204. Malakes (Μαλάκης) was related to the TORNIKIOI (his sister probably married the *logothetes* Demetrios). He belonged to the circle of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL in Constantinople and was closely connected to intellectuals such as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, whose monody Malakes eventually wrote, and Michael CHONIATES. In his speeches he praised the military exploits of MANUEL I and the heroism of Alexios KONTOSTEPHANOS; he ridiculed those who climbed the social ladder without acquiring the values of friendship and love for motherland and family (Bonis [1937], *infra* 62f); he criticized the "chief tax collector" (*architelones*) Bardas for his cruelty (p.50.23–25). As a metropolitan, he tried to impose discipline on the monks of his diocese. Malakes' rhetoric remained conventional, although he introduced some vivid features in his portrait of Manuel: the emperor carried stones for the construction of Dorylaion; during expeditions he slept on straw, using his shield for a pillow and his armor for a blanket (Bonis [1941–48], *infra* 533.25–28, 538.1). Darrouzès ("Notes" 155–63) attributed to Malakes three speeches published by Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*Noctes Petr.* 142–87) under the name of Euthymios TORNIKIOS, Malakes' closest friend and author of a monody on Malakes.

ED. *Ta sozomena*, ed. K. Bonis (Athens 1937). K. Bonis, "Euthymiou tou Malake metropolitou Neon Patron (Hypates) dyo enkomiastikoi logoi," *Theologia* 19 (1941–48) 524–58.
LIT. G. Stadtmüller, *Michael Choniates, Metropolit von Athen* (Rome 1934) 306–12 [184–90]. –A.K.

MALALAS, JOHN, chronicler; born ca.490, died 570s. The name *Malalas* (Μαλάλας) means *rhetor* or *scholastikos* in Syriac. Malalas was educated in Antioch and evidently worked there as a bureaucrat; he probably moved to Constantinople in the 530s or soon after 540. The city of Antioch figures prominently in his *Chronicle*, an 18-book world history covering the Creation to the era of Justinian I. The sole Greek MS breaks off in 565; the narrative may have subsequently been extended to 574 (E. Chrysos, *JÖB* 15 [1966] 147–52). Book 18, which describes the reign of Justinian, shows more interest in Constantinople and fewer hints of Monophysite sympathies than the rest of the chronicle; it seems grafted on, either by the author himself, with his views and residence changed, or by another. The suggestion of J. Haury (*BZ* 9 [1900] 337–56) that the author be identified with JOHN III SCHOLASTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople, is now rejected.

The work is important as the first Byz. universal CHRONICLE; as such it exercised great influence, as it was also translated into Church Slavonic (M. Černyševa, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 221–26) and Georgian. It is of great linguistic interest, written largely in an undemanding vernacular (presumably for a popular audience), a refreshing change from Atticist pretensions. One positive aspect of the chronicle is the constant and unusual citing of sources by name, esp. in books 1–14, although many look secondhand. Books 15–18 derive more from oral sources and the author's personal experience. Greek MYTHOLOGY is constantly rationalized. The Justinianic section seems often to be based on imperial propaganda, giving the official point of view (R.D. Scott, *DOP* 39 [1985] 99–109).

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. L. Dindorf (Bonn 1831). Books 9–12—ed. A. Schenk von Stauffenberg, *Die römische Kaisergeschichte bei Malalas* (Stuttgart 1930). Eng. tr. E. & M. Jeffreys, R. Scott, *The Chronicle of John Malalas* (Melbourne 1986). Eng. tr. of Slavonic tr.—M. Spinka, G. Downey, *Chronicle of John Malalas, Books VIII–XVIII* (Chicago 1940).
LIT. *Studies in John Malalas*, ed. E. Jeffreys, B. Croke, R. Scott (Sydney 1990). E. Jeffreys, "The Attitudes of Byzantine Chroniclers Towards Ancient History," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 199–238. Z.V. Udal'cova in *Kul'tura Vizantii* (Moscow 1984) 248–60. E. Hörling, *Mythos und Pistis: Zur Deutung heidnischer Mythen in der christlichen Weltchronik des Johannes Malalas* (Lund 1980). A.-J. Festugière, "Notabilia dans Malalas," *RPhil*[3] 52 (1978) 221–41; 53 (1979) 227–37. –B.B.

MALATYA. See MELITENE.

MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA (probably in Syria), successful sophist in Constantinople; fl. 5th–6th C. Malchos (Μάλχος) wrote a history called *Byzantiaka*, whose contents are uncertain. Most of the extant fragments come from the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine VII (see EXCERPTA). Other fragments from the SOUDA, with and without his name, are variously ascribed to Malchos or to KANDIDOS ISAUROS, whose his-

tory covered Leo I and Zeno. The surviving extracts, emphasizing Eastern events, do much to justify the enthusiasm of PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.78), who thought Malchos a paradigm of historical writing in style and content. Photios was, however, cool towards Malchos's religious position, observing that he was "not outside the Christian faith," a comment that has led various scholars to label Malchos a Neoplatonist, a pagan, or a flirter with heresies, but that may only mean that he was studiedly neutral on all religious issues.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:71–85, 124–27; 2:402–62, with Eng. tr. *Frammenti: Malco di Filadelfia*, ed. L.R. Cresci (Naples 1982), with Ital. tr.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Malchus of Philadelphia," *DOP* 31 (1977) 89–107. M. Errington, "Malchos von Philadelphia, Kaiser Zenon und die zwei Theoderiche," *MusHelv* 40 (1983) 82–110. –B.B.

MALEINOS (Μαλεΐνος), a family probably originating from Charsianon (Ch. Loparev, *VizVrem* 4 [1897] 358–63), although S. Papadimitriou considered the name non-Greek (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 734). In 866 the first known Maleinos, the general Nikephoros, crushed the mutiny of Smbat, a close relative of Caesar Bardas (*TheophCont* 680.15–20). Eustathios Maleinos was also a general; his grandson evidently administered Cappadocia for many years in the mid-10th C. (L. Petit, *ROC* 7 [1902] 551.6–9). Constantine's brother Michael Maleinos was an influential church leader and the spiritual adviser of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, his nephew (see MALEINOS, MICHAEL). Another Eustathios, one of the richest Byz. magnates, fought in 976 against Bardas SKLEROS but in 986 effectively supported Bardas PHOKAS. Basil II, impressed by his wealth, took Eustathios to Constantinople, confined him, and after his death confiscated the Maleinos estates. Eustathios is thought to be the patron of a silver-gilt SION, a shrine or reliquary now in the cathedral treasury at Aachen; only the first name is inscribed. According to E. Honigmann (*AIPHOS* 4 [1936] 268–71), Arab itineraries for Asia Minor note the Maleinos estates that stretched from Klaudioupolis to the Sangarios River for about 115 sq. km. Several seals of the Maleinoi of the 11th C. have survived; they bore titles of *patrikios* and *proedros*; Niketas Maleinos was *hypatos* and *strategos* in the mid-11th C. (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 274f). Thereafter the Maleinoi lost the role of military commanders: in 1084 Stephen Maleinos was a modest landowner in Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.45.8), and, under Andronikos I, Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess. *Capture* 56.15) described a certain Maleinos as noble, although Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 296.76–78) considered him neither noble nor rich.

A branch of the family existed in Calabria: a *protospatharios* Gregory Maleinos, perhaps a relative of NEILOS OF ROSSANO, served in the Byz. administration in the 10th C.; family members were landowners, administrators, and church leaders in 11th- and 12th-C. Calabria (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 154f). The family is unknown in late Byz.

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 191. –A.K., A.C.

MALEINOS, MICHAEL, saint; baptismal name, Manuel; born Charsianon ca.894, died Mt. Kyminas, Bithynia, 12 July 961. Born to the noble MALEINOS family, he received the title of *spatharokandidatos* at an early age. At 18, however, he left the imperial court and retired to the monastery of Kyminas, where he served as a waiter (*trapezites*). After his father's death Maleinos ceded his vast property to his brother Constantine and lived several years on a rock and then in an isolated location. In 921 he returned to cenobitic life: first in the monastery of Xerolimne, then ca.925 in Kyminas, where he became priest and *hegoumenos*. He had great influence on NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, who was his nephew, and on ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

His Life was written by a Theophanes, whom L. Petit identified with the Theophanes mentioned in the Life as a calligrapher and the disciple of Maleinos for 40 years; at any rate, the Life was apparently written by a contemporary. The author eulogizes the aristocracy: he criticizes ROMANOS I and describes with pride the Maleinos genealogy. He depicts social conflicts, such as an attempted murder of Maleinos by the monk Kyriakos. Theophanes included several visions, one of which concerned the Byz.-Bulgarian war; since the victory in the dream is ascribed to the black dog and the man in black dress (i.e., to Bulgarians), it is probable that Theophanes wrote before the Byz. victories over the Bulgarians under JOHN I TZIMISKES.

SOURCE. L. Petit, ed., "Vie de saint Michel Maléinos," *ROC* 7 (1902) 543–68.

LIT. *BHG* 1295. Ch. Loparev, "Opisanie nekotorych grečeskich žitij svjatych," *VizVrem* 4 (1897) 358–63. –A.K.

MALIASENOS (Μαλιασηνός, fem. Μαλιασηνή), a 13th-C. noble family in Thessaly, confused by some scholars with the MELISSENOI. The Maliasenoi may have been related to the *sebastos* Nicholas Maliase[s?], a participant in the council of 1191. Constantine Maliasenos supported MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros and married his daughter. Constantine's son Nicholas changed sides, married Anna Palaiologina, Michael VIII's niece, ca.1267, and became imperial *gambros*. Nicholas (monastic name Ioasaph) and Anna built or rebuilt several monasteries and churches in Thessaly, including MAKRINITISSA and Nea Petra. In 1274 Anna became a nun under the name of Anthousa; she died probably before 1276. Slabs from her elaborate sarcophagus, identified by its inscription, are preserved at Nea Petra and at Ano Volos. A portrait of Nicholas and Anna in a collection of monastic charters (Turin, cod. gr. 237) was destroyed by fire in 1904 (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 188f, 248, figs. 141–42).

LIT. B. Ferjančić, "Porodica Maliasina u Tesaliji," *ZbFilozFak* 7.1 (1963) 241–49. Idem, "Posedi porodice Maliasina u Tesaliji," *ZRVI* 9 (1966) 33–48. *PLP*, nos. 16521–23. –A.K., A.C.

MALIKSHĀH (Μελίκης), Seljuk sultan (1073–92); born Aug. 1055, died Baghdad Nov. 1092. Son of ALP ARSLAN, Malikshāh ruled Iran, Iraq, and northern Syria and claimed control over the Turkomans in Anatolia. In 1074 MICHAEL VII, seeking an alliance, exchanged embassies with Malikshāh, while Psellos wrote a treatise on the Incarnation addressed to Malikshāh, praising his tolerance. The alliance proved ineffective. About 1086 or 1087, after Abu'l-Ḳāsim had secured possession of Nicaea, Malikshāh sent Bursuk with an army against him. He also sought alliance with ALEXIOS I, who, however, chose to support Abu'l-Ḳāsim. In 1092 Malikshāh sent Buzan to Anatolia to subdue Abu'l-Ḳāsim and proposed the marriage of the sultan's son to a daughter of Alexios, restoration of Byz. territory in Anatolia, and aid against the Turkomans. Alexios declined the marriage proposal; his embassy to Malikshāh was frustrated by the latter's death. The ensuing fragmentation of Seljuk territories allowed the First Crusade's success and the Byz. reconquest of parts of Anatolia.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Un aspect des relations byzantino-turques en 1073–1074," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:15–25. P. Gautier, "Lettre au Sultan Malik-Shah rédigée par Michel Psellos," *REB* 35 (1977) 73–97. C.E. Bosworth, *EI*[2] 6:273–75. –C.M.B.

MALTA (Μελίτη), island lying 80 km off the southeast coast of SICILY. Probably ruled by the Vandals from ca.455 until it was taken over by the Ostrogoths at an uncertain date. It was conquered by the Byz. ca.535. By 592 it was the seat of a bishopric within the Sicilian province, initially under papal jurisdiction, but transferred to the patriarchate of Constantinople ca.756. Although attached to the administration of Sicily, it had its own *doux* by 637 (Nikeph. 25.23). G. Schlumberger's association of the seal of an *archon kai droungarios* (*REGr* 13 [1900] 492, no.203) with Malta has led to the suggestion that, owing to its strategic position and excellent harbor, a fleet was stationed there. Archaeological evidence is scanty and in Byz. sources Malta figures most often as a remote place of exile. Probably after a series of Arab attacks it fell to the Aghlabids from North Africa on 29 Aug. 870. Destruction of Christian sites and near complete Islamicization followed; a Byz. attempt at reconquest ca.1050 failed. Even after its conquest by the Norman count ROGER I in 1090 the Islamic presence remained strong.

LIT. T.S. Brown, "Byzantine Malta: A Discussion of the Sources," in *Medieval Malta*, ed. A.T. Luttrell (London 1975) 71–87. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 87. M. Talbi, *L'émirat aghlabide, 184–296 (800–909): Histoire politique* (Paris 1966) 475f. –T.S.B.

MAMAS (Μάμας), saint; feastday 2 Sept. The earliest panegyrics by BASIL THE GREAT (PG 31:589–600) and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (PG 36:620f) are devoid of factual information: they only call Mamas a poor shepherd; Gregory reports that Mamas, who used to milk the deer, "now pastures the people of a metropolis." The so-called encyclical *passio*, preserved only in Latin (although the authors assert that it was written in Greek), develops the theme of Mamas's pastoral life among animals: when he was arrested and thrown to wild beasts, the lions and leopards knelt at his feet. The *passio* locates Mamas in time and space: supposedly *puer* (servant?) of T[h]aumasios,

an absolutely unknown bishop of Caesarea in Cappadocia, he was about 17 when he was discovered in the wilderness, brought to trial, and executed in the reign of Aurelian (270–75). A Greek legend describes Mamas as born in Gangra, son of a senator named Theodotos, and martyred at age 15. The legend of Mamas is also known in Syriac and Armenian versions.

Representation in Art. There are several different types of images of Mamas, the type varying with the context in which the portrait appears. Plain portraits show him clad in a short tunic and long cape, with a crook or a knife in his hand, sometimes standing among sheep. In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.5) and other CALENDAR CYCLES, the martyrdom of Mamas is chosen (he is speared in the stomach). In illustrated MSS of the works of Gregory of Nazianzos, Gregory's homily on Mamas is frequently accompanied by the image of the shepherd boy, kneeling to milk a doe or merely seated among animals on a hillside (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 100–03). The images of Mamas astride a lion may reflect EULOGIAI distributed at his shrine (A. Marava-Chatzenikolaou, *DChAE* 2 [1960–62] 131–36).

SOURCE. H. Delehaye, "Passio sancti Mammetis," *AB* 58 (1940) 126–41.

LIT. *BHG* 1017z–1022. A. Marava-Chatzenikolaou, *Ho hagios Mamas* (Athens 1953), rev. F. Halkin, *AB* 71 (1953) 467–69. N. Klerides, "Prolegomena kai keimenon tes akolouthias tou hagiou endoxou megalomartyros Mamantos tou thaumatourgou," *KyprSp* 15 (1951) 91–145. G. Kaster, *LCI* 7:483–85. S. Gabelić, "Predstave sv. Mamanta u zidnom slikarstvu na Kipru," *Zograf* 15 (1984) 69–75.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

MAMAS, MONASTERY OF SAINT, located in the southwestern section of Constantinople near the gate of Xylokerkos. Byz. tradition assigned the original foundation of the monastery variously to Pharasmanes, a chamberlain of Justinian I (Zon. 3:300.23–26), or to Gordia, the sister of Emp. Maurice (Preger, *Scriptores* 3:274.4–5). The church served as a private mausoleum for the family of Maurice, containing the tomb of the murdered emperor and his wife.

By the late 10th C. Mamas had fallen into decline and was restored under SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN. According to tradition, he served as *hegoumenos* for 25 years; ca.996–98, however, a group of monks briefly rebelled against his authority. By the mid-12th C. the condition of the monastic complex had deteriorated once again, reportedly on account of the abuses of *charistikarioi*. It was rescued by the *mystikos* George Kappadokes, who rebuilt the monastery and secured a chrysobull from Emp. Manuel I Komnenos declaring its independent and self-governing status. In 1158 the *hegoumenos* of Mamas, Athanasios Philanthropenos, composed a *typikon* of 48 chapters based largely on the 11th-C. *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. Although the monks were theoretically limited in number to 20, 29 signed the *typikon*. The monastery is last attested in 1399.

SOURCE. S. Eustratiades, "Typikon tes en Konstantinoupolei mones tou hagiou megalomartyros Mamantos," *Hellenika* 1 (1928) 245–314, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 7 (1930) 399–405 and V. Laurent, *EO* 30 (1931) 233–42.

LIT. J. Pargoire, "Les Saint-Mamas de Constantinople," *IRAIK* 9 (1904) 261–316. Janin, *Églises CP* 314–19.

–A.M.T.

MAMAS, REGION OF. See BOSPOROS.

MAMIKONEAN (Μαμακουνιανός), leading family of early ARMENIA, said to have been descended from the Čenk'. The latter were traditionally identified with China, but recent scholarship has identified them with either the Tzans of the Caucasus or an Asiatic group in the vicinity of the Jaxartes. During the 4th and 5th C., the Mamikoneans were hereditary commanders-in-chief (*sparapetk'*) of the Armenian forces and royal tutors (*dayeakk'*). As such, they were able to play kingmaker for the dynasty of the ARSACIDS (pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND, bk. 5, chs. 37–44) and were Persian viceroys after the fall of the dynasty. Their domains included TAYK'/TAO and TARŌN and they inherited lands belonging to the Church at the death in ca.438 of the last hereditary patriarch, through the marriage of his only daughter to Hamazasp Mamikonean.

Politically, the Mamikoneans usually sided with Byz. despite occasional compromises with the Persians and the Arabs. In 368/9, Mušeł Mamikonean collaborated with imperial troops to replace PAP on the Armenian throne. The 5th- and 6th-C. revolts of Vardan I and II Mamikonean served Byz. interests because they were directed against Persia and because Vardan II sought refuge in Constantinople after his defeat, even though Justin II's promised help had not come. Vardan's unsuccessful revolt and flight were repeated by

Grigor Mamikonean in 748, during his revolt against the Arabs.

From the 7th C. onward, the power of the Mamikoneans waned. They lost command of the army and their lands to the rival BAGRATIDS. The death of Mušeł Mamikonean in battle against the caliphate ca.772, the subsequent murder of his sons, and the marriage of his daughter to the Arab freebooter Jahhaf marked the end of the main line in Armenia, though some minor branches survived.

Even though Greek texts do not employ the family name of Mamikonean, many scholars (e.g., Toumanoff, Adontz) have suggested that certain Byz. noble families of Armenian origin (MOSELE, ARTABASDOS, even PHOKAS) were descendants of the Mamikoneans. The Mamikonean connection was also ascribed to some emperors, such as Herakleios and Philippikos, Empress Theodora, and her brother caesar BARDAS. Attractive though it is, this thesis cannot be proven for want of sources.

LIT. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 209–11. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian*, ed. and tr. N.G. Garsoïan (Lisbon 1970) 183–251. K. Mlaker, "Die Herkunft der Mamikonier und der Titel *Cenbakur*," *WZKM* 39 (1932) 133–45. –N.G.G.

MAMISTRA. See MOPSUESTIA.

MAMLŪKS (Μαμελοῦκοι, from Ar. *mamlūk*, "slave"), a dynasty of sultans that ruled over Egypt from 1250 to 1517 and in Syria from 1260 to 1516. The Mamlūks originally were Turkish slaves who formed the bodyguard of the AYYŪBID sultan in Cairo. Taking advantage of the crisis caused by the Crusade of Louis IX (1249–50), the Mamlūks murdered the last Ayyūbid sultan Tūrānshāh in 1250 and seized effective political control; for a period of ten years, however, they installed a series of nominal Ayyūbid rulers, among them a woman Umm Khalil Shadjar al-Durr. The real founder of the Mamlūk sultanate was al-Zahīr Baybars (1260–77), who established his position by defeating the invading Mongol army of Hulagu at ʿAyn Jalut, near Nazareth, in 1260. Baybars and his immediate successors subjugated independent lords in Syria, conquered Crusader fortresses such as Caesarea and Antioch, and finally drove the Crusaders from their last stronghold at Acre (ʿAkka) in 1291. The sultanate remained a great power through the mid-14th C., when al-Nāṣir Ḥasan (1341–51, 1354–61) tried to play the role of an autocratic ruler; thereafter incessant usurpations and Turco-Mongol attacks created a precarious situation, and in the early 16th C. the sultanate fell to the Ottomans.

The Mamlūk sultans were natural allies of Byz. in the confrontation with the Latins and Turks. The treaty of 1281 (M. Canard, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 669–80), signed by Michael VIII and Kalāwūn (1279–90), established eternal peace between Constantinople and Cairo and guaranteed security of both envoys and merchants. Exchanges of ambassadors continued under Andronikos II Palaiologos; Andrew LIBADENOS served as undersecretary on one of these embassies, sometime before 1328. In 1349 John VI dispatched to al-Nāṣir Ḥasan an embassy led by Lazaros, patriarch of Jerusalem, and Manuel Sergopoulos, asking for the reestablishment of a Greek quarter (Hārat al-Rūm) in Cairo, protection of the Christians in Jerusalem, release of captives, etc. (*Reg* 5, no.2950). Sometime between 1425 and 1428 John VIII corresponded with the sultan Barsbay (1422–38), seeking an alliance against the Ottomans (Gy. Moravcsik, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 105–15). Nonetheless there was occasional persecution of Christians in Mamlūk lands. At the beginning of the 14th C. Theodore METOCHITES wrote a *Logos* (no.12) on the neomartyr Michael who had been recently executed in Egypt, just at the time of a Byz. embassy (ed. H. Delehaye, *AASS* Nov. 4 [1925] App. 670–78).

LIT. D. Ayalon, P.M. Holt, EI^2 6:314–31. H. Lammens, "Correspondances diplomatiques entre les sultans mamlouks d'Egypte et les puissances chrétiennes," *ROC* 9 (1904) 151–87, 359–92. F. Dölger, "Der Vertrag des Sultans Qalā'ūn von Ägypten mit dem Kaiser Michael VIII. Palaiologos (1281)," in *Serta Monacensia: Franz Babinger zum 15. Januar 1951 als Festgruss dargebracht* (Leiden 1952) 60–79. P. Schmid, "Die diplomatischen Beziehungen zwischen Konstantinopel und Kairo zu Beginn des 14. Jahrhunderts" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Munich 1956). P. Schreiner, "Byzanz und die Mamluken in der 2. Hälfte des 14. Jahrhunderts," *Der Islam* 56 (1979) 296–304. –A.K., A.M.T.

MAMRE, OAK OF (Μαμβρῆ ἡ δρῦς, also called Τερέβινθος, lit. "turpentine tree"), the LOCUS SANCTUS near Hebron associated with the PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM when he provided hospitality to the three angels. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*Demonstr. evang.* 5.9.7, ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke*

6:232.5–8) mentions that Terebinthos was considered holy by the local people. Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 2.4.2–4) describes an annual fair (*panegyris*) at the site in which Jews, pagans, and Christians participated equally. The feast included libations, incense, and animal sacrifice. The celebrants dwelt in communal tents but strictly abstained from sex and disorderly behavior. According to Eusebios (*VC* 3.53.2), Constantine I ordered the altar there destroyed and statues burned and had a church built on the spot, which was also marked by the sacred oak beneath which the angels sat. Remains of this 4th-C. basilica, later rebuilt, have been excavated.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 173f. *EAEHL* 3:776–78. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 131–33. –G.V., Z.U.M., A.K.

MA'MŪN (Μαμοῦν), caliph of the ʿABBĀSIDS (813–33); born Sept. 786, died Tarsos 7 Aug. 833. He was the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Under Ma'mūn the study of ancient Greek works enriched the caliphate's flourishing cultural life. Ma'mūn esp. patronized philosophy and science, funding translations of such authors as Aristotle and Ptolemy into Syriac and Arabic and sending to Constantinople and Sicily for MSS. He unsuccessfully attempted to have LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN visit Baghdad (Lemerle, *Humanism* 174f). For most of his reign Ma'mūn avoided direct attacks on Byz., although he supported the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV. In 829/30 he received the embassy of JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS. Hostilities flared in March 830, when Ma'mūn led an army into Byz. territory, probably pursuing the general MANUEL and reacting against Byz. support for the Khurramites led by Bābak (J. Rosser, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 265f). With his brother MUʿTAṢIM in 831 Ma'mūn launched another invasion, during which his son al-ʿAbbās defeated Emp. Theophilos. Ma'mūn refused the emperor's peace entreaties and in July 833 invaded Asia Minor, where he died, having proclaimed Muʿtaṣim his successor.

LIT. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI* 3:221–23. P.K. Hitti, *Makers of Arab History* (New York 1968) 76–94. Kennedy, *Abbasid Caliphate* 164–75. –P.A.H.

MANASSES, CONSTANTINE, writer at the courts of the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE and of Manuel I, eventually metropolitan of Naupaktos; born Constantinople ca.1130, died ca.1187. Manasses (Μανασσῆς) wrote various conventional panegyrics (eulogies of Manuel I and the *logothetes* Michael Hagiotheodorites, a monody on Nikephoros Komnenos, etc.), and *ekphraseis*. His erotic verse romance, *Aristandros and Kallithea*, is preserved only in fragments. Manasses also wrote the *Hodoiporikon*, a verse description of his participation in the embassy of the *sebastos* John Kontostephanos to Palestine in 1160; his personal impressions and observations permeate the entire narrative. In an *ekphrasis* of bird hunting, Manasses concentrated on the elderly and bold leader who looked fierce and behaved disgracefully (L. Sternbach, *Eos* 7 [1901] 181–86). One can hypothesize that Manasses was alluding to ANDRONIKOS I, esp. because he reportedly caught the whole flock of birds, so that no messenger (Angelos) remained.

Manasses created a new genre of verse chronicle, his *Chronike synopsis* that encompasses the period from Adam to 1081. He followed ZONARAS primarily but omitted the reign of Alexios I (treated so critically by Zonaras), proclaiming himself unable to present the exploits of the Komnenoi. The sympathies of Manasses lie with the nobility, and he condemns Nikephoros III for his support of smiths, woodcutters, merchants, and other "craftsmen" (vv.6706–13). Manasses stresses the erotic element in the relations of Zoe with the young Michael the Paphlagonian. The playful approach of the *Chronicle* is emphasized by the abundance of Homeric images, by the rhetorically artificial vocabulary, and by uncouth expressions. The *Chronicle* was very popular; besides a great number of MSS of the original, there is a vernacular paraphrase, a continuation, and a 14th-C. Bulgarian translation with rich illuminations.

ED. *Breviarium historiae metricum*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1837). PG 127:219–472. I. Bogdan, *Die slavische Manasses-Chronik* (Munich 1966). K. Horna, "Das Hodoiporikon des Konstantin Manasses," *BZ* 13 (1904) 325–47. O. Mazal, *Der Roman des Konstantinos Manasses* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1967). See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 495–97.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:419–22. O. Lampsidis, "Die vier Handschriften der Ausgaben der Chronike Synopsis von K. Manasses," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 654–59. *Demosieumata peri ten Chroniken Synopsin Konstantinou tou Manasse* (Athens 1980). Jeffreys, "Chroniclers" 199–238. O. Lampsidis, "Zur Biographie von K. Manasses und zu seiner Chronike Synopsis," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 97–111. I. Dujčev, *Miniatjurite na Manasievata letopis* (Sofia 1962). –A.K.

MANAZKERT. See MANTZIKERT.

MANBIJ. See HIERAPOLIS.

MANDAEANS (from Aramaic *manda* [γνῶσις], "knowledge"), a sect whose teachings are based on GNOSTICISM, also known as Nasoreans or St. John Christians; it apparently already existed in Syria in the 1st and 2nd C. and still survives today in Iraq and Iran. Teachings of the Mandaeans, contained in works such as the *Ginza* (Treasure), are DUALIST and resemble MANICHAEANISM: the soul is imprisoned in the body and will be freed by *Manda d'Hayyē*, a personification of the "Knowledge of Life." Mandaeans stressed frequent baptism and paid special honor to John the Baptist, causing some scholars to argue that they were disciples of the Baptist. The Mandaeans were opposed to practices such as celibacy and baptism in still water. Their historical importance lies in their survival as a group, allowing insight into a living Gnostic tradition that is otherwise largely extinct.

ED. *Ginza, der Schatz oder das grosse Buch der Mandäer*, ed. M. Lidzbarski, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1925). E.S. Drower, *The Canonical Prayerbook of the Mandaeans* (Leiden 1959), with Eng. tr.

LIT. E.S. Drower, *The Secret Adam* (Oxford 1960). K. Rudolph, *Die Mandäer*, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1960–61). *Der Mandäismus*, ed. G. Widengren (Darmstadt 1982).

–T.E.G.

MANDATE (ἐντολή, *mandatum*), a transaction whereby an authorized person (the mandatary) was empowered and obligated to act for another. A mandate was issued when the mandatary was to appear, on behalf of the person who authorized him, before a court, state authorities, or at a transaction. There seems to have been no attempt to work out any theory of legal representation. Therefore, the distinction is fluid between the representative in court (*entoleus*, cf. *Nov. Just.* 71) who appeared for a single case and the administrator of an estate (*epitropos, procurator*) who served for a long time or even continuously on another's behalf in various ways. The custom of entrusting by will a close relative or spouse with the administration of the estate for the survivors led in the post-Justinianic period to a type of mandatary known as an *epitropos*, whose role must be variously interpreted according to context: as guardian, administrator, or executor of a will (see *Peira*, 15; *Ivir.* 1, no.12.8–12, a.1001; *Lavra* 3, no.160. 1–2).

–D.S.

MANDATOR (μανδάτωρ), subaltern official employed for special missions. The TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. distinguish between imperial *mandatores* and those of high-ranking military and civil functionaries; a seal records the *mandator* of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.472). The term *mandator* is first used in a 9th-C. chronicle (Theoph. 182f) for Justinian I's spokesman during the Nika Revolt of 532. *Mandatores* also had police functions—according to the (late 10th-C.?) vita two of them were sent to arrest MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (PG 90:109C). The seals of imperial *mandatores* are of the 7th–9th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 257–68); *mandatores* are also mentioned in the mid-9th-C. *taktikon* of Uspenskij and in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. In chrysobulls of the end of the 11th C. *mandatores* of the *dromos* function as guides for foreign envoys (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.48.45). The chief of the *mandatores* was called *protomandator*; a seal of the *protomandator* George Pekoules is dated to the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.256). The office of *mandator* disappeared thereafter; according to Guilland (*Institutions* 1:597), it was replaced by TZAOUSIOS.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 113.

–A.K.

MANDORLA (It., lit. "almond"), a conventional term for the aureole shown surrounding an entire figure to indicate the presence of the power of God. Usually almond-shaped, it may be round for seated figures. Seen first in 5th-C. art—Old Testament scenes at S. Maria Maggiore, Rome; apse of HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike—it then envelops Christ in scenes of his TRANSFIGURATION and ASCENSION and the Virgin in Glory in 6th-C. art. Rooted in Jewish and Antique literary images, the mandorla unites ideas of enveloping light and enveloping, protective cloud. Applied initially to varied instances of the "glory of God" (Septuagint *doxa*—W. Loerke, *Gesta* 20 [1981] 15–22), it was eventually restricted to Christ and the Virgin Mary as a sign of their celestial glory. It surrounds the figure of Christ in the ANASTASIS from the 10th C. onward and in the DORMITION from the late 12th C. In Palaiologan art, the mandorla was

understood primarily as light and was extravagantly developed in images associated with HESYCHASM, as in, for example, the miniature of the Transfiguration in Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Rice, *Art of Byz*, pl.39).

LIT. O. Brendel, "Origin and Meaning of the Mandorla," *GBA*[6] 25 (1944) 5–24. –A.W.C.

MANDYAS (μανδύας), originally a light Roman cloak (attested from ca.200), resembling the CHLAMYS. Both Hesychios of Alexandria and Eustathios of Thessalonike assert that it originated with the Persians. The term came to designate the long, dark, plain cloak worn over the monastic tunic by both men and women. Hanging from the shoulders, it opens in front and stretches down to the knees; it is fastened at the neck and below the waist by drawstrings. According to monastic *typika*, a new *mandyas* was distributed to monks every two years (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.610). The term *mandyas* can also refer to the cloak that is worn by a bishop except when he dons the OMOPHORION to celebrate the liturgy; the episcopal *mandyas* may be more elaborate, with embroidered panels at its four corners from which spread rays called *potamoi* ("rivers"). In the 14th C., the emperor donned a gold *mandyas* during the coronation (pseudo-Kod. 261.3).

LIT. F. Kolb, "Römische Mäntel: *paenula, lacerna, mandye*," *Römische Mitteilungen* 80 (1973) 69–167. Walter, *Art and Ritual* 30. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 136. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:450. –N.P.Š.

MANDYLION (μανδύλιον), the Holy Towel, a precious ACHEIROPOIETOS said not only to have been an authentic likeness of Christ but one which Christ himself willingly produced. It was thus often cited both as proof of the reality of his incarnation—as it had been in contact with his body—and as justification for the ICONOPHILE position: Christ thereby endorsed the making of his images.

The existence of the Mandylion is first mentioned in the 6th C. According to one of several versions of the story, Abgar, a 1st-C. king of EDESSA, had fallen ill and begged Christ to come and cure him; instead, Christ gave the King's messenger a towel that he had pressed to his face and that retained the impression of his features. (In some reports Christ sent a letter instead. Both relics were honored in Edessa.) The king was cured by the miraculous image, which, after being lost and then miraculously rediscovered, remained in the city even after its conquest by the Arabs. In 944, John KOURKOUAS besieged Edessa and obtained the Mandylion as a condition of his withdrawal. The Mandylion was carried in a triumphal procession to Constantinople that same year to the Pharos chapel in the GREAT PALACE. Its arrival is described in the *Story of the Image of Edessa* (PG 113:421–54) attributed to Emp. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, and the event was celebrated thereafter annually on 16 Aug. (V. Grumel, *AB* 68 [1950] 135–52). The Mandylion may have been one of the relics purchased by King Louis IX in 1247 and taken to Paris; these were housed in the Ste. Chapelle until lost during the French Revolution.

The extent of the influence exerted by the relic on other images of Christ after its arrival in Constantinople remains to be explored. Its original aspect can be reconstructed through its many copies. Although Christ's features on the Mandylion are those of the Pantokrator, the Mandylion image is not a bust: it shows the nimbed head of Christ and part of his neck, but not his shoulders. The face is painted as though imprinted on a horizontal fringed strip of white cloth, which is sometimes woven with a diaper pattern or stripes of ornament. The earliest surviving example is on a 10th-C. icon at St. Catherine's monastery, Sinai, celebrating the Abgar story (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons* B.58).

As the *Story of the Image* was incorporated into the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, some 11th-C. illustrated MSS of the *menologion* also contain images of the Mandylion and even short narrative cycles illustrating the story of the relic and of its arrival in the capital. Longer cycles appear in the 14th C.: on a scroll in the Morgan Library (S. Der Nersessian, *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 10 [1936] 98–106; *Illuminated Greek MSS*, no.56), on ten silver panels that frame a 14th-C. painted icon of the Mandylion in Genoa (Grabar, *Revêtements*, no.35), and in the Serbian church of Matejić (V. Petković, *PKJIF* 12 [1932] 11–19). A curious miniature in the Madrid Skylitzes MS shows Emp. Romanos I receiving and embracing the Mandylion, here represented not as a piece of im-

printed cloth but as the disembodied head of Christ resting on a towel (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* fig.158).

In monumental painting, the Mandylion was a popular theme in all quarters of the empire and beyond, including Cappadocia (N. Thierry, *Zograf* 11 [1980] 16–18) and Georgia (T. Velmans, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 74–78). It has no fixed place in church decoration, but often forms a pendant to the KERAMION. The Mandylion image was also known in the West where, with certain differences of detail (Christ's neck is not included, the crown of thorns is eventually added), it developed as the "Veronica."

LIT. Dobschütz, *Christusbilder* 102–96, 158–249*, 29–129**. Av. Cameron, "The History of the Image of Edessa: The Telling of a Story," *Okeanos* 80–94. J.M. Fiey, "Image d'Edesse ou Linceul de Turin," *RHE* 82 (1987) 271–77. K. Weitzmann, "The Mandylion and Constantine Porphyrogenitus," *CahArch* 11 (1960) 163–84. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 134–46. A. Grabar, *La Sainte Face de Laon* (Prague 1931). –N.P.Š.

MANFRED, king of Sicily (1258–66); born 1232, died Benevento 26 Feb. 1266. The illegitimate son of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN, Manfred was elected king of Sicily in 1254 after the death of his half-brother Conrad IV. He was not crowned until 1258, however, after overcoming papal opposition. Manfred continued his ancestors' policy of conquest of the Balkans. Although his sister Constance-Anna was married to JOHN III VATATZES, Manfred abandoned his father's alliance with the empire of NICAEA after the death of THEODORE II LASKARIS and formed a coalition with the despotate of EPIROS. On 2 June 1259 he married Helena, daughter of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros (M. Dendias, *EpChron* 1 [1926] 219–94). Michael confirmed Manfred's possession of coastal lands that he had previously seized in Albanian Epiros. Manfred joined the anti-Nicene alliance of Michael and WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN and sent 400 German knights to fight at PELAGONIA, but did not himself participate in the battle (D.J. Geanakoplos, *DOP* 7 [1953] 101–41). After the defeat of the coalition, the victorious MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS offered to marry Manfred's sister Anna, but she refused. Manfred was killed at Benevento in battle against CHARLES I OF ANJOU, who succeeded him as king of Sicily. Manfred's daughter Constance was married to Peter III of Aragon, thus providing the latter with a claim to Sicily (see SICILIAN VESPERS).

LIT. E. Merendino, "Manfredi fra Epiro e Nicea," 15 *CEB* 4 (Athens 1980) 245–52. M. Dendias, "Le roi Manfred de Sicile et la bataille de Pélagonie," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:55–60. *PLP*, no.16779. Nicol, *Epiros I* 166–82, 192–94. B. Berg, "Manfred of Sicily and the Greek East," *Byzantina* 14 (1988) 263–89. –A.M.T.

MANGANA, region of Constantinople, named after a depot of military engines (*μάγγανα*), situated on the east declivity of the Acropolis hill. The family of Michael I Rangabe owned a mansion there, transformed by Basil I into a crown domain with far-flung landed possessions to defray the expenses of the imperial table. Constantine IX Monomachos developed the area: he built a monastery of St. George, a palace (later destroyed by Isaac II), and a hospital, and established a law school there. The monastic church, cloister, and surrounding garden were constructed on a lavish scale by Constantine, who was subsequently buried there in 1055. The imperial court visited the church annually on 23 Apr., the feast of St. GEORGE. Constantine IX granted the "*pronoia* of Mangana" to the future patriarch CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, but the meaning of the term PRONOIA here is debatable (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 291–94).

After brief occupation by Latin monks during the 13th-C. Latin Empire of Constantinople, the monastery was restored to the Greeks under Michael VIII. JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS lived at Mangana for a while after his abdication. Greek monks continued to inhabit Mangana until 1453, when Turkish dervishes occupied it. Soon thereafter the monastic complex was destroyed to accommodate the fortified circuit of the seraglio. Archaeological exploration has revealed a complex of substructures among which the remains of the Church of St. George are recognizable.

During the 14th C. the monastery housed the relics of Christ's Passion, which attracted numerous visitors, including pilgrims from Rus'. It held second place in the hierarchy of Constantinopolitan monasteries. A number of MSS have survived from its library; at least two were copied at Mangana in the 14th C.

LIT. R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* (Paris 1939). Janin, *Églises CP* 70–76. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 273–83. N. Oikonomides, "St. George of the Man-

gana, Maria Skleraina and the 'Malyj Sion' of Novgorod," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 239–46. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 366–72. E. Malamut, "Nouvelle hypothèse sur l'origine de la maison impériale des Manganes," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:127–34. –C.M., A.M.T.

MANGLABITES (μαγ⟨γ⟩λαβίτης), member of the *manglabion* (lit. "cudgel"), a detachment of imperial bodyguards (along with the HETAIREIA). *Manglabitai* preceded the emperor at ceremonies and had to unlock certain gates of the palace every morning. They were armed with swords (*De cer.* 576.1). The first mention is in the 9th-C. vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL—his son John was *spatharios* and *manglabites.* The etymology is under discussion: M. Canard (*Byzantion* 21 [1951] 405, n.1) has associated the word with the Arabic *mijlab*, a whip, while others have suggested the combination of Lat. *manus*, "hand," and *clava*, "cudgel" (*De adm. imp.* 51.61–62); the verb *manglabizo* was used for flogging (Ph. Koukoules, *Thessalonikes Eustathiou ta laographika* [Athens 1950] 2:114, n.6). The term *rabdouchoi*, "bludgeon-carriers," in the vita of IGNATIOS THE DEACON (PG 105:529C), was probably a synonym for *manglabitai.*

Manglabitai fulfilled special assignments, sometimes to kill or capture an imperial adversary; because of their closeness to the ruler they would occasionally be involved in conspiracy against him. Their commanders, sometimes called *epi tou manglabiou* or *protomanglabitai*, held a high position in the 10th C., whereas a simple *manglabites* could be illiterate (*Lavra* 1, no.16.49, a.1012). According to Oikonomides (*Listes* 328), imperial *manglabitai* disappeared by the end of the 11th C. On the other hand, *manglabitai* of the Great Church are known only from seals of the 11th–13th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 142–43).

LIT. A. Vogt, *Constantin Porphyrogénète, Le livre des cérémonies. Commentaire*, vol. 1 (Paris 1935) 32. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 206–09. Schlumberger, *Sig.* 537–43. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:200. –A.K.

MANI (Μάνη, Μαΐνη), the mountainous central "finger" of the Peloponnesos extending southward into the Cretan Sea and terminating in Cape Tainaron (Matapan). The region has an unusually rough and rocky terrain formed by the southern reaches of Mt. Taygetos, which plunges sheer into the sea at many points; as a result it tended to be isolated from the rest of the peninsula, and its population has a tradition of resistance to control by a central authority.

In the 4th and 5th C. the Mani was ravaged by invasions of Goths and Vandals, and also suffered from severe earthquakes. In the late 6th C. began the invasions of the Slavs, some of whom settled permanently and came to be known as the EZERITAI and MELINGOI. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.*, 50.71–75), the Maniots were ethnically Greek ("the descendants of the ancient Romans who even to this day are called 'Hellenes' by the local inhabitants") and retained their allegiance to the Byz. Empire during the period of the Slavic invasions. Byz. political control over the Mani was reasserted in the 9th C.; the Mani was part of the theme of the Peloponnesos. In the 13th C. the Mani was briefly under the control of the Franks who constructed great castles at Passava and MAINA; the Byz. recovered Mani by the treaty of 1262, but their authority over the region remained nominal. The Ottomans added Mani to their territory after the fall of Mistra in 1460.

Christianity penetrated into Mani by the 5th C. and at least four churches built there in the 5th and 6th C. are known. Nonetheless, there must have been considerable reversion to paganism during the time of Slavic settlement in the peninsula, and Constantine VII states that Maniots were considered by some [Christian] "local inhabitants" as idol worshipers; he says that they were converted to Christianity by Basil I. Strangely enough, the conversion of the Maniots is not mentioned in the VITA BASILII, and missionaries (notably NIKON HO "METANOEITE") were active in the Mani in the 9th and 10th C. The churches built in the 10th C. and thereafter are remarkable for their number and their state of preservation, although it is unclear whether this should be attributed to the wealth of the area in Byz. times or to its modern isolation. Most of these churches are small versions of the cross-in-square plan although local features, such as the vault of the nave projecting into the narthex, are evident, as at St. Theodore, Vamvaka, dated by inscription to 1075. Among the most elaborately painted are the Church of Hagios Strategos at Voularioi (12th C.) and St. Nicholas at Kambinari near Platsa, whose first program of decoration was commissioned by Constantine Spanes, military governor (*tzaousios*) of the region in 1337.

LIT. D.E. Rogan, *Mani, History and Monuments* (Athens 1973). P. Calonaros, "A travers le Magne: Les châteaux francs de Passava et du Grand Magne," *HellCont* 3 (1938) 375–80. N.B. Drandakes et al. in *PraktArchEt* (1979) 156–214; (1980) 188–246; (1981) 449–578. N.B. Drandakes, *Byzantinai toichographiai tes Mesa Manes* (Athens 1964). H. Megaw, "Byzantine Architecture in Mani," *BSA* 33 (1932–33) 137–62. D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens 1975).

–T.E.G., A.C.

MANI (Μάνης), religious leader and founder of MANICHAEANISM; born Babylonia 14 Apr. 216, died 2 Mar. 274 or 26 Feb. 277. According to a legend, he was flayed alive by authorities of the Sasanian state and his "passion" or "crucifixion" lasted 26 days. The Byz. had a negative view of Mani and regarded him as a particularly noxious heretic rather than as the founder of a separate religion; some theologians (e.g., APHRAHAT) admitted, however, that he did recognize the unity of the Godhead. His name was derived by the Byz. from the verb *mainomai*, "to be furious or mad" (e.g., Titos of Bostra, PG 18:1077B). The Byz. legend of Mani, differing from that of Muslim sources, is developed in the ACTA ARCHELAI; some details were added by Epiphanios of Salamis, Cyril of Jerusalem, Kedrenos, etc. According to this legend, Mani's real name was Skythianos; in the days of the apostles, he settled among the Saracens; his wife, an Egyptian prostitute, urged Mani to go to Egypt, where he met a certain Terebinthos who became his disciple and recorded Mani's doctrines in four books—*Mysteries, Chapters, Evangelion,* and *Treasure*. Epiphanios relates that Mani-Skythianos was killed when a roof fell on his head; Cyril locates his death in Judea; Sokrates (*HE* 1.22.4) states that Terebinthos assumed the name of Buddha.

LIT. G. Widengren, *Mani and Manichaeanism* (London 1965) 23–58. H.C. Puech, *Le manichéisme. Son fondateur, sa doctrine* (Paris 1949). O. Klíma, *Manis Zeit und Leben* (Prague 1962) 217–400. C. Riggi, *Epifanio contra Mani* (Rome 1967).

–T.E.G., A.K.

MANIAKES, GEORGE, general and usurper; died Ostrovo near Thessalonike between Apr. and early June 1043 (Shepard, "Russians Attack" 174, n.4). Of low birth, Maniakes (Μανιάκης) impressed even his opponents by his great size, courage, and military skills. In 1030, as *strategos* of TELOUCH, he saved his town from Arab attack; in 1031 or 1032, as *strategos* of the cities of the Euphrates (Samosata in Yaḥyā—V. Rozen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca* [St. Petersburg 1883] 72), he won Edessa and sent to Constantinople Jesus' purported letter to Abgar (see MANDYLION). He governed Vaspurakan ca.1034 or 1035. About 1037 Michael IV sent him to Italy as *strategos autokrator*. In 1038 he attacked Sicily with forces that included VARANGIANS (with HAROLD HARDRADA) and 500 Normans. Maniakes conquered eastern Sicily. But in 1040, falsely accused, he was recalled and imprisoned in Constantinople. Released by Michael V, he went as *katepano* to subdue the Normans in southern Italy (arrived Apr. 1042), where he behaved with great cruelty. His feud with Romanos SKLEROS (their estates abutted in Anatolia) culminated when the latter influenced Constantine IX to recall Maniakes (Sept. 1042). Outraged, Maniakes rebelled, crossed to Dyrrachion (Feb. 1043), and marched on the Byz. capital. He fell at the moment of victory; his head was paraded through Constantinople. Maniakes' career is depicted at length in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* nos. 500f, 519–21, 545–47). Descendants of his former troops, called Maniakatai, are attested in the late 11th C. (An.Komn. 2:117.3); a *protospatharios* George Maniakes (the same or a grandson?) held land in central Greece (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 69). K. Konstantopoulos (*EEBS* 9 [1932] 123–28) denies that the seal published by G. Schlumberger (*L'epopée byzantine* [Paris 1905] 3:457) belonged to Maniakes.

LIT. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 60, 74, 95f. A. Poppe, "La dernière expédition russe contre Constantinople," *BS* 32 (1971) 14–21. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:107f.

–C.M.B., A.C.

MANIAKION. See TORQUE.

MANICHAEANISM, a system of belief that spread throughout the Roman Empire, the Near East, and as far east as China: the remnants of Manichaean writings have been found in Tebessa (Theveste), North Africa (P. Alfaric, *Revue d'histoire et littérature religieuses* 6 [1920] 62–98), in Fayyūm, and in northwestern Turkestan (E. Chavannes, P. Pelliot, *JSav* 18 [1911] 499–617). The system was allegedly formulated by the Persian religious leader MANI. It was uncompromis-

ingly DUALISTIC and grew out of ZOROASTRIANISM; the latter, however, presented the primeval conflict between Light and Darkness primarily as that of the forces of nature, whereas Manichaeanism emphasized the struggle of ethical principles—Good and Evil; while Zoroastrianism was optimistic, Manichaeanism tended toward pessimism. It was influenced, at least in its western manifestation, by GNOSTICISM and Judeo-Christianity.

The search for the roots of EVIL made Manichaeanism popular: even Augustine was temporarily an adherent (A.I. Sidorov, *VDI* [1983] no.2, 145–61). According to Manichaean teaching, the history of the cosmos consists of three periods: the past when the Spirit was not yet mixed with Matter; the present when these two principles are mixed, creating tension and conflict; the future when Evil (Darkness) and Good (Light) will be separated in two different zones, Good in the north and Evil in the south. Each of the two principles has its king—the Father of Light and the Prince of Darkness; the Prince of Darkness is surrounded by demonic forces, whereas Light sends its divine emanations—the Mother of Life, the Friend of Life, the Friend of Light, or Demiurge, the Messenger of Salvation, the Longing of Life, Jesus the Luminous, who suffered on earth and whose apostle Mani opened the final way to salvation. Adherents of Manichaeanism were divided into grades (the Elect and the Hearers), each professing different levels of asceticism. Manichaeanism maintained eschatological expectations: the sect was to spread and prosper until all light (except for a tiny bit) was liberated and this would be followed by a universal conflagration lasting 1,468 years and leading to the triumph of Good.

Manichaeanism met strong opposition from both Zoroastrianism and Christianity. The Neoplatonist Alexander of Lykopolis (ca.300) wrote a treatise against Manichaeanism and many Christian theologians followed suit: Serapion of Thmuis, Titos of Bostra, Epiphanios, Germanos I, John of Damascus, and others; the ACTA ARCHELAI was the major refutation of the sect. Christian criticism of Manichaeanism was based on the idea that there can be only one principle, *monas*, and not two; Evil is not a being but the lack of existence, and Matter is not necessarily evil since it brings forth good fruit: otherwise, as John of Damascus points out (*Contra Manichaeos* 76.3–6, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:392), the Pantokrator would surely have destroyed it. The Christian law codes regard Manichaeanism as the most noxious of heresies, but the testimony of St. Ephrem and Mark the Deacon show that Manichaeanism remained strong in Syria and Mesopotamia. The Byz. systematically identified later dualistic movements (BOGOMILS, etc.) as Manichaean, although there was probably no direct link between them.

SOURCE. Alexandre de Lycopolis, *Contre la doctrine de Mani*, ed. A. Villey (Paris 1985).

LIT. M. Tardieu, *Le manichéisme* (Paris 1981). S.N.C. Lieu, *Manicheism in the Later Roman Empire and Medieval China* (Manchester 1985). I. Rochow, "Zum Fortleben des Manichäismus im byzantinischen Reich nach Justinian," *BS* 40 (1979) 13–21. P. Brown, "The Diffusion of Manichaeanism in the Roman Empire," *JRS* 59 (1969) 92–103.

–T.E.G., A.K.

MANIERA GRECA. See ART AND THE WEST.

MANKAPHAS, THEODORE, nicknamed "Morotheodore" ("Theodore the Fool"); fl. ca.1188–1205. Apparently a prominent personage of Philadelphia, ca.1188 Mankaphas (Μαγκαφᾶς) secured the allegiance of its inhabitants and neighboring provincials, took the imperial title, and minted silver coinage. I. Jordanov attributed a series of billon trachy coins found in Bulgaria to Mankaphas, but E. Pochitonov (*BS* 42 [1981] 52–57) assigns these to the contemporary Peter of Bulgaria. Grierson (*Byz. Coins* 235f) and Hendy (*Economy* 439) ascribe them to Mankaphas.

Isaac II besieged Mankaphas in Philadelphia (June 1189), but the advance of Frederick I forced a compromise: Mankaphas gave up his imperial title and offered hostages but retained control in Philadelphia. Basil Vatatzes, *doux* of Thrakesion, forced Mankaphas ca.1193 to flee to Kay-Khusraw I at Ikonion. The sultan allowed him to recruit Turks with whom he ravaged southwestern Anatolia. Isaac persuaded the sultan ca.1194 to sell him Mankaphas, on condition that Mankaphas suffer no corporal punishment. Mankaphas was imprisoned, but by 1204 free and again powerful in Philadelphia. Following the Fourth Crusade, he created an independent state around Philadelphia. Mankaphas brought a large force to counter HENRY OF HAINAULT, who had occupied Atramyttion, but was defeated on 19 Mar. 1205. Mankaphas soon lost his territories to Theodore I Laskaris.

LIT. J. Hoffmann, *Rudimente von Territorialstaaten im byzantinischen Reich (1071–1210)* (Munich 1974) 66–68, 99f. Savvides, *Byz. in the Near East* 60–63. J.-C. Cheynet, "Philadelphie, un quart de siècle de dissidence, 1182–1206," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 45–54. –C.M.B.

MANKIND. The unity of the human race is the presupposition in Byz. theology for Christology, SOTERIOLOGY, and the doctrine of THEOSIS. The prototypes of this unity are Adam and Christ who, along with CREATION and the INCARNATION, are cited as the inner basis for the unity of the human race. In some Christological texts one encounters the view that the "human reality" (commonly called *sarx*) of Christ assumed by the Logos is the "full human nature," that is, humanity as a whole, and not a particular human individual. The latter would be considered a person, but one cannot present the humanity of Christ as a human person without falling into NESTORIANISM.

LIT. H.C. Baldry, *The Unity of Mankind in Greek Thought* (Cambridge 1965). –K.-H.U.

MAN OF SORROWS (*ἡ ἄκρα ταπείνωσις*, lit. "the peak of humiliation," from Is 53:8). Known in the West as the Imago Pietatis, or the Christ of Pity, this image shows the upper body of Christ naked, upright in a sarcophagus, arms visible only to the elbow and hanging down at his sides (or, from the 14th C., crossed), eyes closed, his head bent in death. The cross is placed directly behind him in the background. Essentially a combination of elements drawn from scenes of Christ's PASSION, particularly his deposition and entombment, the theme existed as a separate image as early as the 12th C. (e.g., an icon from Kastoria [*Holy Image*, no.9]) and was a response to developments taking place in the HOLY WEEK liturgy, notably that of GOOD FRIDAY, over the course of the 11th and 12th C. The importance of the Virgin and her laments in this liturgy inspired a pendant image, that of the mourning Virgin; often the two were paired as wings of a diptych or on either side of a bilateral icon, esp. in the 14th C. The association of the icon type with Good Friday is reflected in images of St. PARASKEVE THE ELDER, who holds an icon of the Man of Sorrows. The image of the Man of Sorrows was used in MSS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group to accompany the Gospel passages read on Good Friday and decorated some EPITAPHIOS textiles. It was also used in monumental painting in a more strictly Eucharistic context, for example, in the PASTOPHORIA, esp. the *prothesis* (S. Dufrenne, *REB* 26 [1968] 297–310). It appears on mosaic ICONS; one of the earliest of these (ca.1300), housed in Santa Croce in Rome, gave birth to the long tradition of the image in the West.

LIT. H. Belting, "An Image and Its Function in the Liturgy: The Man of Sorrows in Byzantium," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 1–16. Idem, *Das Bild und sein Publikum im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1981) 142–98. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 197–289. –N.P.Š.

MANOUALION. See LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL.

MANPOWER. It is generally accepted (even though there is no direct data from DEMOGRAPHY) that the economic crisis of the later Roman Empire was caused by a decrease in manpower that affected both military institutions and the economy. It is argued that the government tried to solve the former problem by recruiting foreigners, primarily Germanic mercenaries and FOEDERATI; it dealt with the insufficiency of farmers, craftsmen, etc., by attaching the COLONI to the soil, the tradesmen to their GUILDS, and the CURIALES to their cities. It is also generally accepted that in the 7th–9th C. the crisis of manpower was overcome and that by the 10th C. the empire had "an ample demographic reservoir" (Vryonis, *infra*); the hypothesis of Russian Byzantinists (V. Vasil'evskij, etc.), who proposed that this demographic upsurge was a result of the settlement of the Slavs in Byz., is now rejected for lack of evidence. One can affirm, however, a significant shift of population by the mid-7th C. from the city to the countryside that may have contributed to the increase of manpower within the fiscal and agricultural sector.

It is also assumed that from the 11th C. onward a new crisis of manpower developed as a consequence of social (the growth of great landownership) and ethno-geographical (primarily, the Turkish invasion) causes. This assumption can be challenged, however, since the growth of urban centers in this period seems certain, whereas the desertion of the countryside is questionable, at least up to the 14th C., when the *praktika* provide the earliest dependable data for southern Mace-

donia. Even in the 14th C., however, the land was not less valuable than the workers, and the great landowners tended to acquire rather than dispose of deserted or escheated fields. The constant influx of foreigners and refugees from the regions occupied by the Turks helped to preserve a certain balance of manpower.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry and M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 126–40. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 223–98. Jacoby, *Société* pt.III (1962), 161–86. –A.K.

MANṢŪR IBN SARJŪN, high-level administrator in Damascus; a member of a prominent Syrian Melchite family; died after 636. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 365.23–24) mentions a certain Sergios, son of Manṣūr, "general *logothetes*" in the reign of Justinian I. Probably promoted to a high post by Maurice, Manṣūr (Μανσούρ) retained his position at the time of the Persian occupation of Damascus in 613. When Herakleios entered Damascus in 630, he required Manṣūr to pay again "100,000 dinars" that the city had already given in taxes to the Persians. Manṣūr's dislike of Herakleios intensified from that moment. According to Eutychios of Alexandria, Manṣūr still held his position at the time of the Muslim invasions in 635. The Byz. general Vahan attempted to secure provisions from Manṣūr in the summer of 636. Manṣūr claimed that the city's resources were insufficient. Eutychios says that Manṣūr subsequently created a ruse, using noisy civilians in the night to frighten encamped Byz. soldiers. In that case, Manṣūr contributed to the disorder of the Byz. army on the eve of the battle at Yarmuk. Possibly, however, this incident is confused with a different group of military actions prior to the first Muslim capture of Damascus in 635. Manṣūr surrendered Damascus to the Muslims, for which he was allegedly excommunicated. His son Sarjūn ibn Manṣūr was public and private secretary to Caliph Muʿāwiya and a friend of Caliph ʿAbd al-Malik. Manṣūr's grandson was John of Damascus.

LIT. Caetani, *Islam* 3:368–76. J. Nasrallah, *St. Jean de Damas* (Paris 1950) 14–29. –W.E.K., A.K.

MANTIC ARTS. See Divination.

MANTZIKERT (Μαντζικίερτ, Arm. Manazkert), city north of Lake Van. Already an important episcopal see in the 4th C., Mantzikert was the site of a council of union between the Armenian and the Syrian churches in 725/6 and is still recorded as an episcopal see in the 11th C. The 9th–10th C. marked the apex of Mantzikert's prosperity as a military and trade center and as the site of a mint under the Arab Kaysite emirs. In 968/9, however, the Byz. retook and razed the city, later granting it to David of Tayk'/Tao. It reverted to the empire at his death in 1000.

LIT. S. Favoglu, *EI*[2] 6:242f. B. Coulie, "Manzikiert ou Mantzikiert? Note sur le De Administrando imperio," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 342–48. –N.G.G.

MANTZIKERT, BATTLE OF (Aug. 1071), the first encounter of the Byz. with the regular army of the Seljuk sultan Alp Arslan. The battle is described in various Greek sources (primarily Attaleiates and Nikephoros Bryennios) as well as by oriental (Michael the Syrian, Matthew of Edessa, Sibt ibn al-Jawzī) and even Western historians (William of Apulia); their information is, however, contradictory. After victories in skirmishes with separate Turkish bands, the emperor Romanos IV in the spring of 1071 led an enormous expedition into Anatolia to clear the eastern provinces of the Seljuks. His army included numerous foreign contingents (Franks, Rus', Pechenegs, Uzes, Caucasians) and was, according to the late Muslim historians, 200,000–400,000 strong; Cheynet (*infra*) lowers this figure to roughly 60,000. For Alp Arslan's army the Muslim sources give 15,000. The armies met on 19 or 26 Aug. someplace on the road between Mantzikert and Chliat (mod. Ahlat).

Romanos evidently underestimated his adversary. He divided his forces and sent the Norman general Roussel de Bailleul and Joseph Tarchaneiotes to Chliat; they did not participate in the battle, however, but fled westward as soon as the fighting began. The first phase of the battle was a cavalry attack by the Byz. The Turks retreated, feigning flight, then suddenly turned, entrapping and annihilating their pursuers; the main portion of the Byz. army attacked the Seljuks, forced them to withdraw, and safely returned to their camp. The next day Alp Arslan

managed to attract some contingents of the Uzes to his side, but he was far from victory and suggested a truce; Romanos's conditions, however, were unacceptable to the Turks. When fighting resumed, the Byz. army advanced in the center, under command of Romanos himself; but at that moment Andronikos Doukas, the emperor's old rival, spread the rumor that Romanos had been defeated. Doukas then fled from the battlefield and caused a general retreat. Romanos was surrounded and fought desperately but was taken captive. One reason for the Turkish victory was their skillful use of mounted archers (W. Kaegi, *Speculum* 39 [1964] 105f).

The battle itself was not such a great disaster as it is usually presented by modern historians. The Byz. had insignificant losses, and Romanos was chivalrously treated by Alp Arslan and signed an honorable peace. His enemies in Constantinople, however, took advantage of Romanos's captivity to proclaim a new emperor, Michael VII Doukas. The uncertainty of the political situation enabled the Seljuks to occupy rapidly the larger part of Asia Minor.

LIT. C. Hillenbrand, *EI*² 6:243f. Vryonis, *Decline* 96–104. A. Friendly, *The Dreadful Day* (London 1981). C. Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974), pt.II (1934), 628–42. J.C. Cheynet, "Mantzikert: Un désastre militaire?" *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 410–38. –A.K.

MANUEL (Μανουήλ), contracted form of the biblical Emmanuel (lit. "God is with us"), whose birth was prophesied by Isaiah (7:14). In Matthew (1:22–23) Isaiah's words are applied to Christ and, accordingly, Byz. rhetoricians considered Manuel as *christonymos*, "Christ-named" (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 100). As a personal name Manuel appeared relatively late: *PLRE*, vols. 1–2, does not have it; Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 338.20–27) mentions only one Manuel, an Armenian, who under Herakleios was the governor (*augustalis*) of Egypt. Theophanes Continuatus mentions several Manuels: one of them was definitely of Armenian extraction (*TheophCont* 110.1–3); another belonged to the Armenian lineage of Kourtikios; we may assume that the third Manuel in this chronicle, author of a book on the exploits of John Kourkouas, was also Armenian. The name, whether or not it was of Armenian origin, was not among the most fashionable, although Skylitzes mentioned 11 Manuels, Anna Komnene four, and Niketas Choniates eight. In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), only eight Manuels are to be found, as many as Niketas; in the more numerous acts of vols. 2–3 of *Lavra*, (13th–15th C.), they number 62 (compared with 350 Johns) and hold the ninth place among male names. The emperors and patriarchs who bore this name are of the 12th–15th C. –A.K.

MANUEL, Armenian general who served both Byz. and the Arabs; died 27 July 838 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 182f). Manuel was *protostrator* under Michael I; Leo V appointed him *patrikios* and *strategos* of the Armeniakon theme, where he apparently served also under Michael II. In late 829, after the accession of Theophilos (not before, as suggested by E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 10 [1901] 297), Manuel fled to the Arabs, apparently fearing court intrigues. In 830 he campaigned for Ma'mūn with Byz. captives against the Khurramites. The embassy of John VII Grammatikos to Ma'mūn in winter 829/30 was likely intended to recall Manuel, who returned to Byz. territory in autumn (J. Rosser, *BS* 37 [1976] 168–71). Theophilos made him *magistros* and *domestikos ton scholon*. Manuel campaigned with Theophilos in 837, when they took Zapetra. Wounded on 22 July 838 at the disastrous battle of Dazimon, Manuel died five days later and was buried in his palace in Constantinople by the cistern of Aspar (Janin, *CP byz.* 384). Some scholars, identifying Manuel with a *magistros* Manuel who was apparently the uncle of Empress Theodora, believe that Manuel survived the battle, became *protomagistros* of the army, served as tutor to Michael III, and died ca.860 after saving Michael's life in another battle at Dazimon (rejected by F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 9–11).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:436f. Grégoire, "Études" 520–24. Idem, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183–204. –P.A.H.

MANUEL I KOMNENOS, emperor (1143–1180); born Constantinople 28 Nov. 1118 (Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:205, n.13), died Constantinople 24 Sept. 1180. Youngest son of John II and the Hungarian princess Irene, Manuel was proclaimed heir to the throne in Cilicia, even though his elder brother

Isaac was still alive. Manuel reached Constantinople on 27 June but required time to establish his rights; he was probably not crowned until 28 Nov. One of the most contradictory figures among the Komnenoi, chivalrous and courageous, Manuel imitated a Western way of life and therefore contemporaries considered him a Latinophile. He used Latins as soldiers and diplomats rather than as generals, however; some of his military commanders were of Turkish origin. His willingness to appease the Turks is revealed in his negotiations with KILIC ARSLAN II and in his attempts to find a conciliatory formula relating to "the god of Muḥammad."

At the same time Manuel endeavored to entrench himself on the Mediterranean coasts in Cilicia and Antioch. In 1158–59 he subdued T'OROS II and Renaud of Châtillon. Efforts to gain suzerainty over the kingdom of JERUSALEM became meaningless after the failed siege of Damietta (1169). The Second CRUSADE caused Byz. difficulties but did not change the situation in Asia Minor. Thereafter Manuel had to face a coalition of Normans, Serbs, Hungarians, and Kievans. Manuel experienced some successes. He allied himself with CONRAD III against the Normans, placed BÉLA III on the Hungarian throne, and, probably with the support of JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ, gained a footing on the Sea of Azov (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 346–48). His temporary success aroused opposition in the West, esp. when FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA succeeded Conrad. Although a Byz. invasion of Italy failed (1155–57), Manuel financially supported the Lombard League against Frederick (1167) and negotiated with the pope for the Western imperial crown (P. Classen, *Ausgewählte Aufsätze* [Sigmaringen 1983] 147–70, 176–83). Relations with Venice worsened: Manuel favored Pisa and Genoa (G. Day, *Journal of Economic History* 37 [1977] 289–301; idem, *Byzantion* 48 [1978] 393–405) and on 12 March 1171 he arrested Venetians throughout the empire, confiscating their property. An expedition against Kılıc Arslan also failed. Manuel was defeated at MYRIOKEPHALON. He repelled attacks on the Meander valley and Klaudioupolis in 1180 (P. Wirth, *BZ* 50 [1957] 68–73), but lacked resources for a new, large-scale war.

Manuel's domestic policy experienced difficulties. He had to contend with rivalry within his own "clan." His brother Isaac, the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE (widow of another brother), and esp. the future Emp. ANDRONIKOS I caused trouble. Manuel sought support in the church, helping its struggle against heretics such as Soterichos PANTEUGENOS and DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE. His piety is suggested by a MS of the acts of the council of 1166, devoted to the nature of Christ, in which the emperor and empress are portrayed (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.155). As a sort of Christological pun on his name, Manuel placed the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins. He reestablished the office of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON as an intellectual censor. But Patr. MICHAEL III would not tolerate his pro-Western inclinations, and the emperor had to give in (at least according to the *Dialogue* between him and the patriarch), as later he had to compromise on his attempt to conciliate potential Muslim converts. Many contemporary writers, esp. John KINNAMOS and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, glorified Manuel, whereas Niketas CHONIATES, while praising his energy, stressed his failures and immorality. At the end of Manuel's reign, the seeds of a crisis were sown; the minority of his heir, Alexios II, troubled by hostile factions, brought catastrophe closer.

Manuel was married twice: to BERTHA OF SULZBACH and after her death to MARIA OF ANTIOCH. Manuel was the greatest patron of art of his dynasty. Creations such as the refectory in the monastery of St. Mokios, Constantinople, decorated with images of his ancestors, and the *triklinia* he built at the Blachernai and in the Great Palace, both filled with HISTORY PAINTING, epitomize the Komnenian use of art for political and dynastic purposes.

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:195–663. Angold, *Empire* 161–243. P. Lamma, *Comneni e Staufer*, 2 vols. (Rome 1955–57). Magdalino-Nelson, "Emp. in 12th C.," 132–51, 162–77. R. Hiestand, "Manuel I. Komnenos und Siena," *BZ* 79 (1986) 29–34. – C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

MANUEL I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1237/8–Mar. 1263). Although data concerning his reign are scarce, it is plausible that Manuel, like his contemporary John III Vatatzes of Nicaea, was successful in fortifying his small state. PANARETOS calls him warlike and fortunate, while Joinville, a historian of Louis IX (1266–70), describes Manuel as great and rich (*Histoire de Saint Louis*, ed. N. de Wailly [Paris 1867] 346f). Even though Manuel was compelled to pay tribute

to the Seljuks, and after 1243 to the Mongol Ilkhans, TREBIZOND remained independent; Manuel minted coins and styled himself *autokrator*. In 1253 when Manuel's envoys met Louis IX at Sidon, the French king attempted to attract the Trapezuntine emperor to an alliance with the Latin Empire against Vatatzes. Manuel refused, however, to join the Latins. By 1260 he agreed to a tentative compact with Nicaea, gaining such privileges as the right of the Trapezuntine metropolitan to appoint local bishops (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1351).

Manuel married three times. Two of his wives, Anna Xyloloe (died 1245 or 1250) and Irene Syrikaina (who survived him), were of local noble families that evidently supported Manuel, while Rusudan (died before 1253) was a Georgian princess. Anna bore to him Andronikos II, his successor (1263–66); Rusudan produced Theodora, who usurped the throne in 1284/5; and Irene gave birth to GEORGE KOMNENOS and JOHN II KOMNENOS.

The date when Manuel built the Church of Hagia Sophia near Trebizond is unknown. A fresco portrait, sometimes identified as the emperor, survived in the church until the 19th C.

LIT. K. Barzos, "Hoi treis gamoi kai ta tekna tou Manouel (A') Megalou Komnenou," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 55–74. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija* 152f. S. de Vajay, "Essai chronologique à propos de la famille du Grand Comnène Manuel (1238–1263)," *ByzF* 6 (1979) 281–91. L. Petit, "Acte synodal du patriarche Nicéphore II sur les privilèges du métropolitain de Trébizonde (1er janvier 1260)," *IRAIK* 8 (1903) 163–71. *PLP*, no.12113. –A.K., A.C.

MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1391–1425); born Constantinople 27 July 1350, died Constantinople 1425 probably on 21 July (Barker, *infra* 383f, n.161). Second son of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and Helena Kantakouzene, Manuel was named co-emperor and heir to the throne in 1373 after the rebellion of his older brother ANDRONIKOS IV. When Andronikos again rebelled and seized the capital, Manuel was imprisoned in Constantinople from 1376 to 1379, together with his father and younger brother THEODORE (I) PALAIOLOGOS. In 1381 John V was forced to recognize Andronikos IV as his heir. Manuel, excluded from the succession despite his loyalty to his father, established himself as independent emperor in Thessalonike (1382–87). He defended the city against the Turks until it was forced to surrender in Apr. 1387. When JOHN VII claimed the throne after the death of his father Andronikos IV, Manuel again supported John V and succeeded him as emperor in 1391; the next year he married Helena Dragaš and was formally crowned (cf. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 416–36).

Manuel's career was marked by alternating policies of accommodation with the Turks and the search for Western military aid to fight them. As an Ottoman vassal he had to accompany sultan BAYEZID I on campaign in Anatolia in 1391. From 1399 to 1403 Manuel visited western Europe, seeking assistance against the Turks who were besieging Constantinople (1394–1402). His search was fruitless, but the Turks withdrew after the defeat of Bayezid by TIMUR at Ankara (1402). Manuel was an energetic ruler who went on campaigns, conducted diplomatic negotiations, and supervised the reconstruction of the HEXAMILION at the Isthmus of Corinth (1408, 1415). He suffered a stroke in 1422 and died three years later as the monk Matthew.

Manuel had a penchant for study and literary discussion and left a significant corpus of writings: correspondence, theological treatises, rhetorical exercises (including a description of a tapestry in the Louvre), a funeral oration for his brother Theodore (Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 309), etc. His 68 surviving letters are of particular interest; although rhetorical in style, they provide information on the Turkification of Asia Minor, the campaigns of Bayezid, Manuel's visit to Europe, and contemporary literary circles and criticism. Manuel, Helena Dragaš, and their sons John (VIII), Theodore, and Andronikos are depicted in the MS Louvre, Ivoires 100, a copy of the works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 139–43). According to its colophon, written by Manuel CHRYSOLORAS, the emperor sent the book to the monastery of St. Denis, near Paris, in 1408, a few years after his visit there. He is also portrayed in the manuscript of the funeral oration for his brother (ibid. 233f).

ED. *The Letters of Manuel II Palaeologus*, ed. G.T. Dennis (Washington, D.C., 1977). E. Trapp, *Manuel II. Palaiologos, Dialoge mit einem "Perser"* (Vienna 1966). Fr. tr. T. Khoury, *Manuel II Paléologue: Entretiens avec un Musulman: 7e Controverse* (Paris 1966). For full bibl., see Barker, *infra* 426–39, 554f.

LIT. J. Barker, *Manuel II Palaeologus (1391–1425)* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1969). G.T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel*

II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387 (Rome 1960). Ostrogorsky (1958), *Byz. Geschichte* 235–44. –A.M.T., A.C.

MANUEL III KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (20 March 1390–1416); born 16 Dec. 1364, died 5 Mar. 1417? (Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 208 n.191). Son of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, Manuel was connected with the Georgian royal family by his first marriage in 1377 (M. Kuršanskis, *BK* 34 [1976] 118–21) to Koulkan-Eudokia (died 1395), daughter of David VII, and with the Byz. nobility through his second marriage to Anna Philanthropene. Manuel ruled the empire of Trebizond during the troubled years of the Mongol invasion of Anatolia. In 1402 he provided the Mongol khan TIMUR with 20 galleys to support his campaign against the Ottomans. After Timur defeated BAYEZID I at the battle of Ankara that same year, he did not annex Trebizond but forced it to pay tribute, as noted by the Castilian envoy CLAVIJO during his visit to the city in 1404. Manuel was on good terms with the Venetians, confirming their trade privileges in 1391; relations with the Genoese were less amicable. In 1401 Patr. Matthew I censured Manuel for simony because he tried to secure the election of the hieromonk Symeon as metropolitan of Trebizond (*RegPatr,* fasc. 6, no.3236). About 1409/10 Emp. MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS of Constantinople sent Manuel of Trebizond a copy of some of his writings (ep.53, ed. Dennis, 150–53).

LIT. Miller, *Trebizond* 61, 70–79. *PLP,* no.12115. –A.M.T.

MANUEL ANGELOS, emperor at Thessalonike (1230–ca.1237); born 1186 or 1188, died ca.1241. A younger brother of THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he escaped capture at the battle of KLOKOTNICA in 1230 and secured control of Thessalonike with the connivance of the victor JOHN ASEN II, whose illegitimate daughter, Maria Beloslava, Manuel had married in 1225. He held the rank of DESPOTES, but affected the imperial title and prerogatives, which laid him open to ridicule. To protect the church of Thessalonike from Bulgarian claims, he first sought papal backing, but then turned to the Nicaean patriarch. In 1232 the longstanding breach with the church in Nicaea was healed (A.D. Karpozilos, *The Ecclesiastical Controversy between the Kingdom of Nicaea and the Principality of Epiros (1217–1233)* [Thessalonike 1973] 87–95). John Asen II released Theodore ca.1237. In vain Manuel looked for help from GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN, prince of Achaia, whose suzerainty he was willing to recognize. Forced into exile in Attaleia, Manuel was able to return in 1239 with Nicaean backing. He recovered control of parts of Thessaly and came to terms with his brother, but died soon afterward.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 113–27. Polemis, *Doukai* 90, no.43. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:637–56, no.169. –M.J.A.

MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, *despotes* of the Morea (25 Oct. 1349–10 Apr. 1380); born ca. 1326?, died Mistra. Second son of John VI Kantakouzenos, he served briefly as governor of Berroia (1343–47) and Constantinople (1348). In 1348 Manuel was named ruler of the despotate of MOREA, newly created by his father. He assumed his duties in late 1349 upon his arrival in the Peloponnesos. He was a capable and conscientious governor who successfully established order among the rebellious local Greek *archontes,* who both fought each other and joined in revolt against the *despotes.* When John VI abdicated in late 1354, John V Palaiologos attempted to replace Manuel with two governors, Michael and Andrew Asan. Manuel, however, successfully resisted their efforts to take control of the Morea and was eventually confirmed in his position by John V. He maintained amicable relations with his Latin neighbors in the Peloponnesos, esp. with the principality of ACHAIA. In the 1360s he even joined a Greco-Latin alliance to combat the ever-increasing danger of Turkish attack on the Peloponnesos. Manuel encouraged the immigration of ALBANIANS to settle as farmers in the depopulated Morea and to serve as mercenary soldiers. He sponsored the construction of the Church of Hagia Sophia at MISTRA.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:95–113, 335–38. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 122–29. *PLP,* no.10981. –A.M.T.

MANUELATON (*νόμισμα μανουηλᾶτον*), one of several terms (cf. TRIKEPHALON) used in the late 12th and early 13th C. for the one-third HYPERPYRON or electrum TRACHY, a denomination last struck in any quantity under Manuel I and taking its name from him. It is more common in its Latin form (*manuellatus* or variant) than in Greek.

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 19f, 23, 27, 225f. –Ph.G.

MANUMISSION (ἀπελευθέρωσις, also *eleutheria psycharıou*). The concept of emancipation was well developed in classical Roman law, to which late Roman emperors introduced some alterations: thus Constantine I (*Cod.Theod.* IV 7.1) simplified manumission by allowing masters to give liberty to their slaves by making a public statement in a church (*in ecclesia*); Justinian I established that all valid manumissions made slaves *cives Romani*; according to another Justinianic law, the slave became a citizen if a will appointed him heir to his master even if it did not mention his liberation. Justinian stressed that emancipation was irrevocable. Slaves who became priests or monks, undertook military service, received imperial dignities, suffered from certain cases of mistreatment, or informed against a master's murder or a counterfeiter had to be freed.

Byz. law preserved the Roman principles of manumission. Acts of emancipation are known from formularies (Sathas, *MB* 6:617f), charters of manumission (A. Kazhdan, *Srednie veka* 17 [1960] 319f), wills (e.g., of Eustathios BOILAS, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE), and hagiographical texts. They usually stressed that SLAVERY is an institution contrary to the law of nature and that freedmen were transformed by emancipation into Roman citizens with freedom to travel; sometimes acts of manumission also provided slaves with LEGATA. In practice, freedmen remained in a state of dependency on their former masters, although some emancipated slaves (esp. those of the emperor) might climb high on the social ladder.

LIT. W.W. Buckland, *The Roman Law of Slavery* (Cambridge 1908) 449–701. A. Dain, "Une formule d'affranchissement d'esclave," *REB* 22 (1964) 238–40. P. Mpoumes, "He apeleutherosis ton doulon," *EEThSA* 24 (1980) 695–708. –A.J.C.

MANUSCRIPT. See BOOK ILLUSTRATION AND ILLUMINATION; CODEX; PALAEOGRAPHY.

MANUSCRIPT TRADITION, term describing the systematized relationship between extant MSS of a given text. The purpose of the study of MS tradition is to approach as closely as possible the original form of the text, and to study the history of the copying and editing of the text in the Byz. and immediately post-Byz. periods. The author's original is scarcely ever available, except in the case of charters and similar documents and very occasional autograph copies of works by Byz. authors. The study of the MS tradition proceeds by elimination of MSS that can be demonstrated, by internal or external evidence, to be copied directly or indirectly from other extant MSS; it then goes on to try to construct a "family tree" or STEMMA of the latter based on shared textual variants and finally aims to reconstruct the common ancestor or archetype of all surviving MSS.

Some texts have been preserved in almost uniform copies with only minor deviations and scribal errors; others show a complex MS tradition, sometimes reflecting different versions by the author as well as reworkings by later scholars or copyists (variant recensions or redactions). Documents may survive in the original, in official copies close to the original, in private and often much later copies (the text of which may have been deliberately "doctored"), and in paraphrases in narrative sources. Inscriptions sometimes survive only in later copies or paraphrases. The indirect MS tradition includes translations into foreign languages, sometimes made from an original much older or better than surviving MSS, CATENAE, and quotations; polemical works may contain citations from "nonconformist" texts later destroyed or lost. The results of the study of the MS tradition are usually presented in the form of a *stemma codicum*, a list of MSS to be eliminated, and a critical apparatus, in which the variant readings of significance for the constitution of the text are recorded.

LIT. G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Florence 1952). B.A. van Groningen, *Traité d'histoire et de critique des textes grecs* (Amsterdam 1963). A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*[2] (Paris 1964). *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1, ed. H. Hunger (Zürich 1961) 423–510. A. Diller, *Studies in Greek Manuscript Tradition* (Las Palmas 1983). –A.K., R.B.

MAP, WALTER, Welsh courtier and raconteur; born ca.1140, died 1 Apr. 1209/10. Map studied at Paris, became a royal clerk to Henry II (1170s), participated in Lateran Council III (1179), and was chancellor of Lincoln by 1186, canon at St. Paul's, London (1192), and archdeacon of Oxford (1196/7). From ca.1181 to ca.1193 he composed *De nugis curialium* (Courtiers' Trifles), a collection of entertaining anecdotes and satirical tales. The semimythical Byz. that emerges is rich in silk and gold (bk.5, ch.5 [ed. James et al., p.450]) but degenerate. A garbled, unfinished history of the

later Komnenoi describes how Andronikos I (his wickedness outdid Nero: 5,3 [p.410]) gained access to Constantinople through the "gate of the Dacians" and criticizes the Byz. knightly class for having lost its prowess after the Trojan War; Western emigrés at Constantinople are "fugitive phalanxes" of inborn vice (2,18 [pp. 174–78]). Map retells the legend of the "whirlpool of Satalia" (Attaleia) apparently brought back by Crusaders (cf., e.g., ROGER OF HOVEDEN, *Gesta*, ed. Stubbs, 2:195–96), in which the necrophiliac Byz. knight appears as the "haunted shoemaker of Constantinople" who, to win his love, became a robber baron and emperor (4,12 [pp. 364–68]).

ED. M.R. James, C.N.L. Brooke, R.A.B. Mynors, *Walter Map, De Nugis Curialium: Courtiers' Trifles* (Oxford 1983), with Eng. tr. –M.McC.

MAPHORION (*μαφόριον*), a garment covering the head and shoulders, mentioned in papyri of the 4th–6th C. (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:55); the term was occasionally used for an element of monastic dress for men and women (PG 34:1220A, 87:3688A). A civil official, such as the *praipositos* of the Senate, could wear a *maphorion*, which apparently covered his head and entire body (*De cer.* 529.20–22). The inventory of the Petritzos monastery (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 123.1736–37) lists seven *maphoria*, some of silk and one bearing an image (outlined?) in pearls.

A distinguishing feature of the costume of noble women, the *maphorion* became the traditional attire given the Virgin Mary and holy women in artistic representations. The Virgin's *maphorion* or "veil," usually blue, brown, or purple, may be decorated with gold dots or pellets in the form of a cross; the *maphorion* of Eve is generally red.

Whether the *maphorion* of the Virgin is the same article of clothing as the Virgin's "robe" is unclear. George Hamartolos (ed. de Boor 2:617.5–10) says that the Virgin's robe (*esthes*) was found in Jerusalem by a pious Jewess and deposited in the Blachernai Church during the reign of Leo I. The deposition of the honorable robe was celebrated annually in Constantinople on 2 July (*Synax.CP* 793.5–9). In the text of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, the pious Jewess was replaced by two *patrikioi* and Jerusalem by a village in Galilee. Pseudo-Symeon Magistros, in the 10th C., relates that it was the *maphorion* preserved at Blachernai that Photios used in 860 as a talisman to repel an attack of the Rus' (*TheophCont* 674.23), whereas other versions of the chronicle (*Leo Gramm.* 241.8, *TheophCont* 827.6) have OMOPHORION instead. In the 14th C., Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos was familiar with the version of the *Synaxarion* but characterized the relic of Blachernai as a shroud—*entaphia spargana* (PG 147:69D), *peristolia* (401D)—that was preserved there alongside a part of her girdle and headgear.

LIT. *DOC*, ed. Grierson, 3.1:170. Oppenheim, *Monchskleid* 78, 132f. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:473. Janin, *Églises CP* 163, 169. –N.P.Š., A.K.

MAPPA (*μάππα*), a badge of consular authority, the white handkerchief that the consul tossed as a signal to begin the circus games; the word was also transferred to the games or races themselves (e.g., Malal. 412.13). On consular DIPTYCHS the consuls are often depicted holding the *mappa* in their right hand and a SCEPTER in their left (e.g., Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, pls. 2, 6, 16, 20, etc.). A special official, the *mapparios*, was introduced; his role was to strike a gong (*semantron*) as the signal to begin the games (pseudo-Chrysostom, PG 59:570.7–8). Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:297.15–19) states that the *mapparios* picked up the cloth after the consul threw it. In a burlesque presentation of games ca.1200, the *mapparios* was responsible for starting the foot races (Nik.Chon. 509.10–13).

By the 6th C. the emperor assumed the consular function of giving the signal to start the games, and thus the *mappa* became a symbol of imperial authority: on coins of Phokas and Constans II the emperors are depicted holding the *mappa* in a raised hand as if ready to throw it (*DOC* 2.1:87). A. Alföldi (*MDAI RA* 50 [1935] 34–36) hypothesized that the transfer to the emperor of the function of throwing the *mappa* was connected with the change of the circus factions from sporting organizations into political bodies. By the 8th C. the *mappa* was replaced by the AKAKIA in representations on coins (*DOC* 3.1:133).

LIT. M. Restle, *Kunst und byzantinische Münzprägung* (Athens 1964) 143. –A.K.

MAPS. See CARTOGRAPHY; MADABA MOSAIC MAP.

MAQDISĪ, AL- (al-Muqaddasī), more fully Muḥammad ibn Aḥmad al-Maqdisī, traveler and Arab geographer of the systematic school (see ARAB GEOGRAPHERS); born Jerusalem 946, died ca.1000. His *Best Classification for the Knowledge of Regions* (published 986, revised 989) is a comprehensive regional, economic, and human geography of the Islamic world. It is based mostly on his observations and interviews during extensive travels in Muslim lands; he only infrequently incorporates material from earlier geographers, despite his familiarity with these and his "extensive research in various royal libraries." His varied experience included witnessing Byz.-Arab naval warfare.

Although his scheme deliberately excludes non-Muslim lands, he refers to Byz., "for some Muslims reside in Constantinople and knowledge of routes thereto is needed for envoys, ransoming of prisoners, military expeditions, and trade." He refers to Byz. treatment of Muslim PRISONERS OF WAR: if skilled, they would be forced to work; they could also attend races in the Hippodrome as spectators. He describes several routes through Asia Minor including two through "the country of the MALEINOS family." He considers Constantinople as possibly smaller than Baṣra, reiterates certain popular notions about the Byz. capital, and contemptuously calls the emperor "the dog of the Rūm." He ignores Tarsos and the other towns, "since they are in Byz. hands."

ED. *Aḥsan al-Taqāsīm fī-Maʿrifat al-Aqālīm*², ed. M. de Goeje [= *BGA* 3 (1906)]. Partial Fr. tr.—A. Miquel, *La meilleure répartition pour la connaissance des provinces* (Damascus 1963).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 210–18. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxxiv, 313–30. –A.Sh.

MAQRĪZĪ, AL-, more fully Taqī al-Dīn Abū'l-ʿAbbās al-Maqrīzī, Arab writer, teacher, jurist, and preacher; born Cairo 1364, died there 9 Feb. 1442. In the 1420s, following a multifarious public career in Egypt and Syria, al-Maqrīzī retired to Cairo and devoted the rest of his life to extremely prolific literary activities. Thorough analysis and copious quotations from earlier authorities characterize his works. They cover a wide chronological and topical range mainly focused on Islamic Egypt. Best known is his monumental work, *Admonitions and Observations on the History of the Quarters and Monuments.* It deals with the historical geography and archaeological legacy of Egypt, placing special emphasis on the topography of its capital cities. No less important are al-Maqrīzī's contributions in the field of political history, for example, his history of the FĀṬIMIDS and his chronicle of Egypt from 1181 to 1436, which refer to Egyptian contacts with the Byz., the Crusaders, and other non-Muslim peoples. His literary legacy also includes major biographical works and specialized treatises dealing with economic crises in Egypt, numismatics, and metrology.

TR. *Description topographique et historique de l'Egypte*, tr. U. Bouriant, P. Casanova, 4 pts. in 4 vols. (Paris-Cairo 1895–1920). *Histoire d'Egypte*, tr. E. Blochet (Paris 1908).

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur*, 2:47–50. F. Rosenthal, *EI*² 6:193f. –A.S.E.

MARAŞ. See GERMANIKEIA.

MARBLE (*μάρμαρον*), generic name for any number of limestone varieties in crystalline state capable of taking a high polish. Hard, durable, and costly, marble was the favorite material for ostentatious architecture and sculpture in antiquity. Diocletian's Price Edict lists 19 varieties (M.H. Ballance, *JRS* 60 [1970] 134–36). The most important and popular marble in Byz. times came from the quarries of PROKONNESOS. It is characterized by its white color, with bluish-grayish veining, and was shipped throughout the Mediterranean world (see MARBLE TRADE). Following Roman practice, the Byz. continued to use multicolored marbles, most impressively in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople. This spectacular display captivated PAUL SILENTIARIOS, who devoted much space to the description of different types of marbles and their sources. Production and widespread use of marble declined after the 6th C. but never disappeared, while the use of SPOLIA became common. Aesthetic fascination with polychrome marble interiors continued to be attested, as, for example, by the description in the *Vita Basilii* of the so-called Kainourgion built by Basil I in the GREAT PALACE. Equally telling is the widespread practice in and after the 11th C. of using fresco to emulate marble REVETMENTS.

LIT. R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana* (Rome 1988) 10–25, 35–54, 81–94. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Roman Garland Sarcophagi from the Quarries of Proconnesus (Marmara)," in *Smithsonian Report for 1957* (Washington, D.C., 1958) 455–

67. A. Dworakowska, "Rozdział *De marmoribus* edyktu Dioklecjana o cenach maksymalnych," *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 3 (1984) 399–406. –S.Ć.

MARBLE TRADE. Difficulties of shipping heavy material such as MARBLE required above all that QUARRIES be located near rivers, coast, or on islands. Half-finished sarcophagi, architectural elements (basket capitals), and even statues have been found at PROKONNESOS; these partially worked marbles were exported in specially built boats. The shipment of prefabricated marble is remarkably attested by the cargo of columns, capitals, etc. contained in a wreck off Marzamemi, Sicily (G. Kapitän, *Archaeology* 22 [1969] 122–33). Both underwater ARCHAEOLOGY and texts (e.g., Lemerle, *Miracles* 239.18–240.13) inform us of ships carrying prefabricated marble furnishings for churches and stopping at North African ports. In much of the central and western Mediterranean, the Roman marble trade had come to an end by the mid-7th C., but Phrygian onyx and Thessalian verd antique, among other stones, still supplied Justinian I's huge building programs, and as late as ca.670 a North African bishop was able to buy an ambo, a ciborium, and other marbles for his church from ships trading along the coast (ibid., 1:235f). Similar imports are reported in the *Vita Basilii* but, thereafter, claims of such imports all but vanish from the sources. Only objects such as the "serpentine" (i.e., Lakonian green porphyry) medallion, inscribed with the name of (Nikephoros) Botaneiates and now in London (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.208), support the belief that small amounts of semiprecious stones may have continued to be transported. Outside such luxuries, the medieval marble trade consisted largely of SPOLIA, most notoriously in the case of Venetian loot from Constantinople in and after 1204.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Dalmatia and the Marble Trade," *Disputationes Salonitanae*, ed. Z. Rapanić (Split 1975) 38–44. Idem, "Nicomedia and the Marble Trade," *BSR* 35 (1980) 23–69. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain," 110f. Idem, "Le commerce des marbres à l'époque protobyzantine," in *Hommes et richesses dans l'Empire byzantin, I. IVe–VIIe siècle* (Paris 1989) 163–86. –A.C.

MARCELLINUS COMES, 6th-C. Latin chronicler; born Illyria, perhaps near Skopje. After coming to Constantinople to seek his fortune, Marcellinus served Justinian I as *kankellarios* before the latter's accession in 527 and subsequently received the rank of *comes* and title of *vir clarissimus*. These honors may have been rewards for his writing. He composed a chronicle extending initially from 379 to 518 in formal continuation of JEROME, later adding a sequel down to 534; a second supplement to 548 is not by him. The viewpoint of his chronicle is eastern, its focus Constantinople. Apart from providing many interesting and important details, Marcellinus stands out as seemingly the first perpetrator of the notion of the fall of Rome in 476 (B. Croke, *Chiron* 13 [1983] 81–119). CASSIODORUS, who recommends Marcellinus's chronicle as the best of the Jerome continuators, also mentions two lost works, *The Description of Constantinople and Jerusalem*, an apparent travelogue, and *On the Nature of Eras and on the Locations of Places*, of uncertain subject, but pronouncedly Christian.

ED. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:37–108.

LIT. O. Holder-Egger, "Die Chronik des Marcellinus Comes und die oströmischen Fasten," *Neues Archiv der Gesellschaft für ältere deutsche Geschichte* 2 (1877) 49–109. A. Vaccari, *Scritti di erudizione e di filologia* 2 (Rome 1958) 33f. B. Croke, "Marcellinus on Dara: A Fragment of His Lost *De Temporum Qualitatibus et Positionibus Locorum*," *Phoenix* 38 (1984) 77–88. –B.B.

MARCIAN (Μαρκιανός), emperor (from 25 Aug. 450); born Thrace ca.392, died Constantinople 27 Jan. 457. A common soldier, Marcian rose in the ranks, becoming *tribunus* and then *domestikos* under ASPAR. Upon the death of Theodosios II, his sister PULCHERIA offered Marcian the throne and her hand. Marcian was an efficient administrator and left a full treasury at his death. His policy favored the senatorial class. He abolished the land tax, the so-called *collatio glebalis*, and reduced the payments that high-ranking officials made at their investiture. Marcian supported Orthodoxy against the Monophysites; he convoked and presided over the Council of CHALCEDON, provoking resistance esp. in Egypt and Palestine. Relations with Italy were tense and his accession was officially recognized in Rome only on 30 Mar. 451. After Valentinian III's death Marcian did not acknowledge either PETRONIUS MAXIMUS or EPARCHIUS AVITUS. His foreign policy was otherwise successful: peace on the eastern frontier was interrupted only by victorious skirmishes with the Blemmyes and Saracens; Constantinople intervened in internal rivalry in Lazika. While Italy suffered from Van-

dal raids, Marcian limited himself to sending an embassy to the Vandals asking for the return of Eudoxia, Valentinian III's widow, and her children who had been captured by the Vandals. He refused to send tribute to ATTILA and managed to divert him westward; after Attila's death Marcian's generals defeated Hunnic troops and settled peoples that had been subjugated by the Huns on the northern frontier of the empire.

The Byz. preserved a favorable impression of Marcian's reign: as a pious ruler he was compared to Constantine I and Theodosios I; Theophanes the Confessor describes his rule as a golden age. Legends relate predictions Marcian received that he would be emperor. His marriage with Pulcheria was praised for the preservation of her virginity. He reportedly participated on the very eve of his death in a 10-km religious procession.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:236–39. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 1514–29. B. Croke, "The Date and Circumstances of Marcian's Decease, A.D.457," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 5–9. P. Devos, "Saint Jean de Lycopolis et l'empereur Marcien," *AB* 94 (1976) 303–16. R.L. Kohlfelder, "Marcian's Gamble. A Reassessment of Eastern Imperial Policy toward Attila AD 450–453," *American Journal of Ancient History* 9 (1984) 54–69. –T.E.G.

MARDAITES (Μαρδαῖται), a people inhabiting the Amanus mountains and the Taurus region in the 7th C.; called Jarājima in Arabic sources (M. Moosa, *Speculum* 44 [1969] 597–608). The origins and ethnic composition of the Mardaites are obscure; they may have been Armenian (Bartikjan, *infra*) or Persian. They were Christian, probably Monophysite or Monothelite. In the late 630s the Arabs hired the Mardaites to guard the border north of Antioch, but they more often served Byz. interests. In 677 their invasion of Syria "as far as Jerusalem" (Theoph. 355.7), probably directly supported by Constantine IV, forced MUʿĀWIYA to raise his siege of Constantinople and agree to a disadvantageous treaty. A decade later the Mardaites, encouraged by Justinian II, again invaded Syria and compelled ʿABD AL-MALIK to renew Muʿāwiya's treaty, but ʿAbd al-Malik stipulated that Justinian resettle them in Byz. territory. They were likely removed to Epiros, Kephalenia, the Peloponnesos, and Asia Minor, where they later served prominently in various thematic fleets (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 399f). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 363.19–20) condemned Justinian for evacuating the border regions, but many Mardaites remained and continued to raid Arab territory. In 707/8 MASLAMA captured their stronghold of Jurjūma and resettled numerous survivors throughout Syria. He allowed them to remain Christian but pressured them into the army: the Mardaites fought under him in Iraq in the early 720s.

LIT. Hr. Bartikjan, "He lyse tou ainigmatos ton Mardaiton," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:17–39. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:40–48. M.A. Cheira, *La lutte entre Arabes et Byzantins* (Alexandria 1947) 150–76. M. Canard, *EI²* 2:456–58. –P.A.H.

MARGARIT (from Gr. *μαργαρίτης*, "pearl"), a collection of homilies by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM in Slavonic translation, esp. popular in Eastern Slavic territory. Greek collections of patristic "pearls" vary in their composition, but the Slavonic *Margarit* is consistently based on a stable group of 30 homilies, supplemented in some redactions. The homilies are from Chrysostom's *On the Incomprehensible Nature of God* (PG 48:701–48), *Against the Jews* (PG 48:843–56, 871–942), *On Lazarus* (PG 48:963–1016), *On David and Saul* (PG 54:675–708), and the possibly spurious *On Job* (PG 56:563–82). The earliest extant Eastern Slavic MSS of the *Margarit* are from the 15th C., though the translation is thought to date from at least the 13th or 14th C.

ED. *Velikie Minei Četii. 14–24 Sent.*, ed. Makarij (St. Petersburg 1868) cols. 773–1193.

LIT. A. Gorskij, K. Nevostruev, *Opisanie slavjanskich rukopisej Moskovskoj Sinodal'noj biblioteki*, 5 vols. (Moscow 1855–1917; rp. Wiesbaden 1964) 2.2:119–31. V. Istrin, "Zamečanija o sostave Tolkovoj palei," *IzvORJaS* 3 (1898) bk.2:478–91. T.V. Čertorickaja, "Margarit," *TODRL* 39 (1985) 258–60. –S.C.F.

MARGINAL PSALTERS. See PSALTER.

MARIA (Μαρία), Mary (in the New Testament also Mariam), feminine personal name derived from Hebrew. Frequently used in the New Testament (VIRGIN MARY, MARY MAGDALENE, and some others), it means "she who commands," according to JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Expos.fid.* 87.50, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:200). Rare in the 4th C. (*PLRE* 1:558), it became more common in the 5th (*PLRE* 2:720–22), esp. among ladies of Spanish, African, and Italian connections. E. Patlagean (in *Byz. Aristocracy* 25f) notes that the name was rare

in early provincial epitaphs. Theophanes the Confessor mentions only three Marias (including the Virgin), but later the name became the most popular: eight Marias in Skylitzes (more than THEODORA and IRENE) and seven in Niketas Choniates (as many as Irene and more than Theodora). In the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3, Maria holds uncontested first place. –A.K.

MARIA OF "ALANIA," more correctly, of Georgia, Byz. empress (1071/3–81); born ca.1050, died after 1103. Born Martha, daughter of Bagrat IV of Georgia, and distinguished for her beauty, Maria came to Constantinople ca.1066 to wed the future MICHAEL VII. The marriage, between ca.1071 and 1073 or earlier, produced one child, Constantine DOUKAS. On Michael VII's fall, Maria fled with her son to the Petrion monastery and then, to protect his position, agreed to marry NIKEPHOROS III. Her favor was sought by Isaac and Alexios Komnenos (the future ALEXIOS I); she adopted the latter and rumor magnified their relationship. When Nikephoros disinherited Constantine Doukas, she supported the Komnenoi, who promised to restore her son's rights. Her warning (Feb. 1081) that their plot had been discovered precipitated their revolt. When Alexios occupied Constantinople, she remained in the palace a week, until the coronation of IRENE DOUKAINA. Although adopting a nun's habit, Maria apparently maintained a court at the Mangana Palace; she patronized THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid and EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. Anna KOMNENE was in her care (ca.1090–94) as her son's betrothed. Alexios ignored the part Maria had in Nikephoros Diogenes' plot to kill Alexios in Maria's villa (early 1094). Thereafter she may have entered a convent; Theophylaktos wrote to her at Prinkipo. In 1103 a Georgian synod offered her greetings. Maria appears with her first husband in a psalter in Leningrad, on the Khakhouli triptych, possibly executed for her coronation, and with either Michael VII or Nikephoros III in the rich Chrysostom MS in Paris, B.N. Coislin 79 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs.10f).

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 188–92. M. Mullett, "The 'Disgrace' of the Ex-Basilissa Maria," *BS* 45 (1984) 202–11. I.M. Nodija (misprinted "Hogus"), "Gruzinskie materialy o vizantijskoj imperatricy [sic] 'Alanki' Marii," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:138–43. –C.M.B., A.C.

MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Byz. empress (from 1161); born 1140s, died Constantinople 1182/3. Daughter of Raymond of Poitiers and Constance of Antioch, called "Maria" by William of Tyre, but "Marguerite" in the *Lignages d'Outremer* (RHC *Lois* 2:446), Maria was sought in marriage by MANUEL I after the death of BERTHA OF SULZBACH. The marriage, 25 Dec. 1161, cemented his alliance with ANTIOCH. After Manuel's death, Maria nominally became a nun, Xene, but, as principal regent for her son, ALEXIOS II, effectively ruled the empire. Despite her beauty, her foreign origin and devotion to Latins alienated the populace of Constantinople. Still youthful, she chose Alexios KOMNENOS the *protosebastos* as her chief minister and allegedly her lover. After the victory of ANDRONIKOS I, Maria sought help from BÉLA III of Hungary. Andronikos used her letters to Béla to secure her condemnation. Once her son signed her death warrant, she was strangled.

LIT. Barzos, *Genealogia* 1:459f, 2:461–67. Brand, *Byzantium* 28–32, 45–47. –C.M.B.

MARICA. See HEBROS.

MARICA, BATTLE OF (26 Sept. 1371), crucial victory of Ottoman Turks over the Serbs. After the unsuccessful attempt of the Byz. emperor John V to obtain Western military assistance, despite his personal conversion to Catholicism in Rome in 1369, Patr. Philotheos Kokkinos proposed an anti-Ottoman alliance of the Orthodox states—Byzantium, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Russia. This plan was welcomed by the Mrnjačević brothers, king VUKAŠIN of Macedonia, and the *despotes* JOHN UGLJEŠA of Serres, as their territories were directly endangered by the Turkish advance. Uglješa sent an embassy to Constantinople to negotiate a joint campaign against the Turks, but Byz. delays forced Uglješa and Vukašin to set out alone against the Turks in Sept. 1371, with armies numbering perhaps 70,000 men. Approaching from two directions—Vukašin following the Marica valley and Uglješa crossing the Rhodope mountains—they camped on the right bank of the Marica (HEBROS) River at Černomen (modern Ormenion in Greek Thrace), some 25 miles upstream from Adrianople. During the night of 25–26 Sept. the *beylerbey* of Rumelia, Lala Şahin, made a surprise attack on the Serbian army. After a

fierce battle, the Serbs were totally routed; Vukašin and Uglješa were among the many who fell on the battlefield.

The consequences of the Serbian defeat at Marica were of far-reaching importance: for the Serbs, the principality of Serres ceased to exist and Vukašin's heir MARKO KRALJEVIĆ became a Turkish vassal; for the Turks, it opened the way to the West and made possible their eventual conquest of Serbia and Bulgaria; for the Byz., it was a turning point shortly after which John V Palaiologos became a vassal of the sultan and the empire a tributary state of the Ottomans.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 127–46. Soulis, *Dušan* 96–101. -J.S.A.

MARINA (Μαρῖνα), known as Margaret in the West, late 3rd-C. martyr and saint; feastday 17 July. Marina was executed under Diocletian in Pisidian Antioch. Her legend ascribes to Marina victories over a dragon and Satan.

Representation in Art. The virgin martyr Marina is easily recognized by her bright red *maphorion*; scenes from her life appear on Cypriot icons and Cappadocian frescoes (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 32 [1962] 251–59; L. Hadermann-Misguich, *AIPHOS* 20 [1968–72] 267–71).

SOURCE. *Acta S. Marinae et S. Christophori*, ed. H. Usener, in *Festschrift zur fünften Säcularfeier der Carl-Ruprechts-Universität zu Heidelberg* (Bonn 1886) 3–53.

LIT. *BHG* 1165–69d. M.C. Ross, G. Downey, "A Reliquary of St. Marina," *BS* 23 (1962) 41–44. S. Kimpel, *LCI* 7:494f. -A.K., N.P.Š.

MARINA, in Greek versions Maria, legendary saint; feastday 8 or 12 Feb. According to the legend, after her mother's death Maria followed her father Eugenios to a cenobitic monastery, where she lived disguised as a boy named Marinos. When sent on assignment with three other monks, Marina was accused of impregnating the daughter of an innkeeper. Marina did not deny her "guilt," accepted the punishment, and raised the infant. Only when she died did the monks learn that "abba Marinos" was a woman.

The origin of the legend is obscure. Clugnet (*infra*) hypothesized that the original was Latin and that Maria lived in the 5th C. in the area of Tripoli, Syria. Richard (*infra*), on the other hand, considered the Greek *vita antiqua* as the closest to the original; it bears a strange title—*The Life and Deeds of Eugenios and his daughter Maria.* The original redaction appeared in a written form, Richard thinks, between 525 and 650. It was translated into Syriac, Latin, and probably Armenian, whereas the Coptic, Arabic, and Ethiopic versions are based on oral tradition and differ substantially from the Greek original. Richard established the existence of several revised Greek versions: the *vita rescripta*, the *vita aucta*, etc. Contrary to the opinion of Clugnet, none of them was Metaphrastic. A Sicilian vita of the 12th C. calls the heroine Marina (as do Latin texts) and places her birth in 1062 in the "poor village of Skanion" (Sicily).

Representation in Art. The death of Marina and the revelation it brought is depicted in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.394) and in the "imperial" *menologion* MS in Moscow (Hist. Mus. gr. 183, fol.47r).

SOURCES and LIT. *Vie et office de sainte Marine*, ed. L. Clugnet in *BHO* 8 (Paris 1905). Richard, *Opera minora* 3, no.67, pp. 83–115. *Martirio di Santa Lucia. Vita di Santa Marina*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1959) 73–107. *BHG* 614–615d, 1163, 1165–70. Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XI (1976), 601f. -A.K., N.P.Š.

MARK, saint; author of the second GOSPEL; feastday 25 April. Early tradition presents him as Peter's translator, who wrote the Gospel "according to Peter's instruction" (Eusebios, *HE* 6.25.5); in later tradition, he is "Peter's son and companion of the keeper of heavenly keys" (PG 100:1189A). Church fathers commented little on Mark. Probably after 500 a certain Victor of Antioch compiled a commentary on Mark that is, in fact, a collection of exegetical explanations on Matthew and Luke by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, TITUS of Bostra, CYRIL of Alexandria (to whom, in some MSS, the whole work is attributed), THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, and others. Acts 15:39 links Mark to BARNABAS and his mission to Cyprus.

Byz. legends connect Mark primarily with Egypt: he worked wonders and healing miracles in Alexandria, became the first bishop there, and died as martyr at an Easter festival (PG 115:168C). The cult of Mark in Alexandria is attested in the 4th C. In 828 two Venetian merchants transferred Mark's relics to VENICE (only his head is said to have remained in Egypt), where the basilica of San Marco was erected in his honor; Mark became the patron of Venice. In Constantinople Theo-

dosios I built a Church of St. Mark, which was reconstructed by Romanos I. Several sermons were devoted to Mark; among their authors are a deacon and *chartophylax* Prokopios (9th C.?) and Symeon Metaphrastes. Hagiographers describe Mark as a man of modest stature, with a long nose, thick eyebrows, and large beard; "the virtue of his soul outshone his physical quality" (*Synax.CP* 630.6–11).

Representation in Art. Mark is depicted most often in the context of EVANGELIST PORTRAITS as a robust, mature man with dark brown hair and beard. Occasionally shown standing or *en buste,* he is usually seated and writing, dipping his pen, or pausing with his hand on the lectern rising from his desk (see WRITING DESK). Sometimes a second figure joins him; after the 9th C., the accompanying figure is PETER. In 16 surviving codices, a miniature of the Baptism of Christ (see EPIPHANY) accompanies Mark's portrait. His martyrdom is depicted in cycles of the deaths of the APOSTLES. Scenes of his life are rare outside of VENICE, but a group of ivories representing aspects of his biography has been considered to be 8th-C. Byz. work (Weitzmann, "Grado Chair" 43–91).

LIT. *BHG* 1035–1038t. F. Spadafora, A. Niero, *Bibl.sanct.* 8:711–38. F. Halkin, "Saint Marc dans l'hagiographie byzantine," *StVen* 12 (1970) 29–34. H. Smith, "The Sources of Victor of Antioch's Commentary on Mark," *JThSt* 19 (1918) 350–70. Friend, "Portraits." J. Weitzmann-Fiedler, "Ein Evangelientyp mit Aposteln als Begleitfiguren," in *Adolph Goldschmidt zu seinem 70. Geburtstag* (Berlin 1935) 30–34. O. Kresten, G. Prato, "Die Miniatur des Evangelisten Markus im Codex Purpureus Rossanensis: Eine spätere Einfügung," *RömHistMitt* 27 (1985) 381–99.
–J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

MARKELLAI (Μαρκέλλαι), a stronghold near the Bulgaro-Byz. border; it is variously called a *phrourion* (Nikeph. 56.26–27) or *kastron* (Theoph. 467.28). Its exact location is under dispute, although it can probably be identified with the ruins of Hisarlŭk, near Karnobad in Bulgaria (Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 19). The stronghold played an important role during the Bulgaro-Byz. wars of the 8th and 9th C.: Constantine V defeated the Bulgars there in 756, in 792 Constantine VI fortified it but was routed by the khan Kardamos, and in 811 Emp. Nikephoros I reached Markellai during his march to Pliska. It is probable that sometime thereafter Markellai was destroyed; a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 2:105.27–29) mentions a valley between IAMBOL and Goloe where the Pechenegs pitched their tents near "the so-called Markella."

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:57–62, 670. V. Beševliev, "Ein verkannter thrakischer Ortsname," *Izvestija na Institut za Bŭlgarski ezik* 16 (1968) 75–77. G. Taverdet, "Au sujet du toponyme 'Marcellai-Marcellae,' " *RESEE* 7 (1969) 397–99.
–A.K.

MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, bishop of Ankyra (by 314) and opponent of ARIANISM; born ca.280, died ca.374. While Markellos (Μάρκελλος) was a stalwart Nicene in 325, his attack a decade later on the Arian Asterios the Sophist included charges against EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, who responded at once with counteraccusations of SABELLIANISM. A synod at Constantinople in 336 condemned, deposed, and exiled Markellos. Over the next decade the ensuing theological seesaw had him restored in 337, deposed in 339, restored in 343 after proving his orthodoxy to the councils of Rome (340) and Serdica (343), and finally deposed and exiled in 347. He was condemned as a heretic in 381 in canon 1 of the First Council of Constantinople.

Little remains of the voluminous writings ascribed to him by JEROME (*De viris illustribus* 86). The *Profession of Faith* required of him for the council at Rome survives, but only fragments of the diatribe against Asterios. He is probably the author of the tract *On the Holy Church* ascribed to ANTHIMOS OF NIKOMEDEIA (Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.33). Markellos attacked Arianism as polytheistic, himself expounding the theory that the Logos was only in God before the Creation and will likewise be only in God at the redemption, being consubstantial with the Father but ungenerated and not a person, unlike Christ the Son.

ED. *Profession of Faith* and fragment of attack on Asterios—ed. E. Klostermann, G.C. Hansen in *Eusebius Werke,* ed. I.A. Heikel, vol. 4^2 (Berlin 1972) 183–215. "Anthimi Nicomediensis episcopi et martyris de sancta Ecclesia," in G. Mercati, *Note di letteratura biblica e cristiana antica* (Rome 1901) 87–98.

LIT. J.T. Lienhard, "Marcellus of Ancyra in Modern Research," *TheolSt* 43 (1982) 486–503. T.E. Pollard, "Marcellus of Ancyra, a Neglected Father," in *Epektasis: Mélanges J. Daniélou* (Paris 1972) 187–96. M. Tetz, "Zur Theologie des Markell von Ankyra," *ZKirch* 75 (1964) 217–70; 79 (1968) 3–42; 83 (1972) 145–94.
–B.B.

MARKELLOS THE AKOIMETOS, saint; born in Syrian (?) Apameia ca.400, died near Constantinople before 484; feastday 29 Dec. Born to a

family of noble birth (*eupatrides*), Markellos was educated in Antioch and worked as a calligrapher in Ephesus. He was invited to Constantinople by ALEXANDER, founder of the wandering community of AKOIMETOI, the "sleepless monks"; when the group settled at Irenaion on the Bosporos, Markellos became archimandrite of the Akoimetoi monastery (before 448). He became involved in political and religious struggles and fought against Monophysites and Arians; with Patr. GENNADIOS I, Markellos headed the demonstration in the Hippodrome ca.470 against an attempt to proclaim Patrikios, son of ASPAR, caesar and heir to the throne (Dagron, *infra* 316–18). In 463 Markellos helped to found the STOUDIOS MONASTERY.

The anonymous Life of Markellos, written in the mid-6th C. according to Dagron (p.278f), tends to play down the involvement of the Akoimetoi and Markellos in MESSALIANISM and NESTORIANISM, and to emphasize his orthodox activity. The author describes Markellos's role as an organizer of monastic life; helped by a generous grant by a certain Pharetrios, "the first in the great council," he built a spacious chapel, lodgings for the brethren, a hostel for strangers, and hospitals (p.297.12–18). The service according to the rite of the Akoimetoi (*akolouthia ton akoimeton*) was broadly spread at this time. Markellos worked many miracles, for example, assisting the wife of the deacon Eugenios during a difficult childbirth. SYMEON METAPHRASTES (PG 116:705–46) slightly retouched the original Life.

SOURCE. G. Dagron, "La vie ancienne de saint Marcel l'Acémète," *AB* 86 (1968) 271–321.

LIT. *BHG* 1027z–1028. —A.K.

MARKET (ἀγορά), also *phoros*. The term *market* in modern, Western economic parlance denotes both the area in which buyers and sellers meet and the establishment of prices through the forces of supply and demand. The Byz. terms designate the place where transactions occur, either in a specific, geographic sense, or in the more general sense of marketplace; they can also refer to an occasion for carrying out transactions. Thus, according to a chronicle (*TheophCont* 87.16–17), the emperor Theophilos went through the *agora* checking on the price of commodities; Basil I built a church for the use of those who frequented the "*agora* that was named Phoros" (ibid. 339.1–5). In the general sense of marketplace, the term is employed, for instance, in Attaleiates (Attal. 270.8), where Nikephoros III Botaneiates is acclaimed by, among others, the most important people of the *agora*, or in Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 223.38–40), where he accuses some monks of frequenting the *agora* more than the church.

The term is frequently encountered in the sense of an occasion for carrying out transactions. Noteworthy in this respect is the fact that markets could be impermanent, occasional, or periodic. Kekaumenos (Kek. 184.12 and 32) uses the term *phoros* interchangeably with *panegyris* to denote a market established on a single occasion. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH talks specifically of the "established market-days" (2.3, cf. 9.7), on which transactions are to take place. While the distinction between market and FAIR is blurred in such cases, the terms for market generally denote a more permanent and more frequent institution than the fair.

Byz. cities had specific areas where commercial activities were concentrated. In Constantinople, the main market was along the Mese (Guilland, *Topographie* 2:69–79).

The role of the market as a mechanism of PRICE formation was considerably tempered by the fact that, for much of Byz. history, the price of important commodities was regulated. While there is evidence of negotiated price formation in every period, it was certainly in the Palaiologan period, and probably also in the 11th–12th C., that the regulatory role of the state decreased and prices were, to a considerable extent, formed in the marketplace. Attaleiates (Attal. 200–04) suggests that grain prices in Rhaidestos were being formed through the mechanism of supply and demand before the reforms of NIKEPHORITZES, while some evidence of reaction to prices by sellers and buyers may be found in a text by Psellos (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 550). —A.L.

MARKIANOPOLIS (Μαρκιανούπολις), Roman city in Bulgaria at Reka Devnia, about 30 km west of VARNA on the road to the Danube. In the late 4th C. Markianopolis was a base in the war against the Visigoths and was for four years the residence of VALENS. Two fierce battles were fought outside its walls in 376 and 377. Justinian I restored the

city walls as part of the defenses of the northern Balkans. Captured and sacked by the Avars in the third quarter of the 6th C., Markianopolis seems to have remained a military post until its final abandonment at the end of the century. The site was never reoccupied. There are substantial remains of a single-naved basilica of the 4th or 5th C., rebuilt and enlarged in the 6th, and of several churches of the Justinianic period.

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 154–56, 267f. B. Gerov, "Marcianopolis im Lichte der historischen Angaben und der archäologischen, epigraphischen und numismatischen Materialien und Forschungen," *Studia Balcanica* 10 (1976) 49–72. –R.B.

MARKIANOS OF HERAKLEIA (in the Pontos), geographer, probably of the 4th to early 5th C. His biography is unknown. He himself names three of his works: *Periplous of the Outer Sea*, an epitome of Artemidorus of Ephesus, and an epitome of Menippus of Pergamon, the last two being ancient geographers who had described the Inner Sea (Mediterranean). Markianos depended heavily upon his classical predecessors. In the *Periplous of the Outer Sea*, after some general deliberations about the size of the tripartite world (Asia, Libya, and Europe), he describes the "right" sections of the world, from the "Arabian Gulf" to the Indian Ocean, and then the "left" sections, from the Persian Gulf via India to the gulf of the "fish-eating Sinai," that is, the Chinese (*GGM* 1:537.15). The second half of the book deals with the ocean from Spain to Britain. Of Markianos's other works only fragments survive.

ED. *GGM* 1:515–76.
LIT. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Oxford 1952) 147–50. F. Gisinger, *RE* supp. 6 (1935) 271–81. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:528. –A.K.

MARKO KRALJEVIĆ (lit. "king's son"), eldest son of the Serbian *kralj* (king) VUKAŠIN and popular folk hero; died Rovine 17 May 1395. Following Vukašin's death in 1371 at the battle of MARICA, Marko inherited his father's title and his territories in western Macedonia. At the same time he was forced to become an Ottoman vassal; as such he took part in the battle of ROVINE against Mircea of Wallachia and fell together with CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ. He was the *ktetor* of Markov Manastir near Skopje and the Holy Archangels Church near his capital Prilep; portraits of Marko and of his father are preserved at both sites.

Although the historical sources on Marko are rather limited, he became the most famous hero of the epic poetry of the Serbians (and other Balkan Slavs). Endowed with supernatural strength, valor, fearlessness, and a sense of justice, he and his single-handed victories are the subject of hundreds of folk songs and ballads. A number of toponyms in the Balkans also bear his name.

LIT. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 162–84. Fine, *Late Balkans* 379–83. T. Popović, *Prince Marko, the Hero of South Slavic Epics* (Syracuse 1988). –J.S.A.

MARK THE DEACON, a disciple of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA and allegedly his hagiographer; fl. 5th C. According to the vita of Porphyrios, Mark was originally from the province of Asia. He came to Jerusalem, where he supported himself by working as a calligrapher. After entering the service of Porphyrios, in 395 he accompanied the newly appointed bishop to Gaza, where he himself became deacon. Thereafter he was the constant companion of Porphyrios in his struggle to convert the pagans of GAZA and close their temples.

There has been considerable discussion of the authorship of the vita of Porphyrios. According to its most recent editors, Grégoire and Kugener, its compiler was not Mark, but someone who worked much later, ca.600, virtually copied the preface to the *Religious History* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and suppressed Porphyrios's heretical sympathies with Pelagianism. The compiler did, however, use a diary written by Mark and preserved the true pattern of events. Whoever the author, the biography is valuable for its description of pagan-Christian tensions, as well as social life and backstairs intrigue at court and church. It is lucidly and vividly written, almost novelistic. The vita is known in a Georgian version, which, according to P. Peeters (*infra*), derives from a lost Syriac original. Mark claims (ch.88) to have commemorated Porphyrios's debate with the Manichaeans in a separate book, but no such work survives.

ED. *Marc le Diacre: Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza,* ed. H. Grégoire, M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1930), with Fr. tr.; rev. by F. Halkin, *AB* 49 (1931) 155–60 and F. Nau, *ROC* 27 (1929–30) 422–41. Eng. tr. G.F. Hill, *The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon* (Oxford 1913). P. Peeters, "La vie géorgienne de Saint Porphyre de Gaza," *AB* 59 (1941) 65–216. –B.B., A.K.

MARK THE HERMIT, or Mark the Monk, ascetic writer to whom at least 14 works are ascribed in Greek and oriental (Syriac and Arabic) tradition; it is still unclear whether they were works of a single or different authors. Even though Mark was often cited by the church fathers (Dorotheos of Gaza, John of Damascus, Theodore of Stoudios, etc.), his biography is unknown. George Hamartolos (599.5) names the ascetic Mark, together with Neilos and Isidore of Pelousion, among the pupils of John Chrysostom—but this evidence seems suspicious. On the basis of his works Mark has been variously dated between the end of the 4th and the 6th C. and situated in Palestine or Egypt; however, there are no data for a convincing conclusion.

The most important point of Mark's doctrine is his rejection of Messalianism, even though he retained some vocabulary of pseudo-Makarios/Symeon; he esp. underlined the perfect nature of baptism in the spiritual struggle against sin. A treatise *On Melchizedek* or *Against the Melchizedekites* denounces a sectarian view widespread in Egypt and Phrygia that claimed Melchizedek was the son of God rather than human (O. Hesse, *OrChr* 51 [1967] 72–77). Mark's tract *Against the Nestorians* maintains the notion of hypostatic union; though recognizing the Nestorians as heretical, his tone is one of compromise between Orthodoxy and its opponents. Some later theologians, including Photios, accused Mark of Monophysite leanings.

ED. PG 65:893–1140. *Against the Nestorians*—ed. J. Kunze, *Marcus Eremita* (Leipzig 1895). Germ. tr. O. Hesse, *Asketische und dogmatische Schriften* (Stuttgart 1985).

LIT. J. Gribomont, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 274–83. O. Hesse, *Markos Eremites und Symeon von Mesopotamien* (Göttingen 1973). H. Chadwick, "The Identity and Date of Mark the Monk," *EChR* 4 (1972) 125–30. K.T. Ware, "The Sacrament of Baptism and the Ascetic Life in the Teaching of Mark the Monk," *StP* 10 (Berlin 1970) 441–52.

–B.B., A.K.

MARMARA, SEA OF (Προποντίς), a small sea between Thrace and Asia Minor. Two straits, the Bosporos and the Hellespont, link it with the Black Sea and the Aegean, respectively. The transformation of ancient Byzantion into Constantinople, capital of the empire, increased the significance of the Sea of Marmara as a trade route and the importance of the ecclesiastical centers on its shores. Thracian Herakleia and Selymbria on the northern shore and Lampsakos and Kyzikos on the southern shore were important harbors and customs points on the way to Constantinople. Of the Marmara islands the most important were Prokonnesos (whose marble quarries gave the sea one of its names) and the Princes' Islands. A group of churches and monasteries (the Archangels at Sige/Syke, Medikion, Pelekete, Polichnion/Polychronia, etc.) survived on the southern shore. In the 9th C. the enigmatic office of "*archon* of the monasteries on Propontis" (PG 105:532B) existed or was created by Photios for one of his favorites. In Feb. 764 Theophanes the Confessor observed an unusual phenomenon—the Sea of Marmara was covered with ice so that children could walk to its islands.

LIT. F.W. Hasluck, "The Marmara Islands," *JHS* 29 (1909) 6–18. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "L'archipel de Marmara comme lieu d'exil," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 27–34 (expanded Polish version in *Polska—Niemcy—Europa* [Posen 1978] 33–44). C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 235–77.

–A.K.

MARONEIA (Μαρώνεια), city in Thrace on the Aegean Sea near Lake Ismaris, midway between the Nestos and Hebros rivers. Mentioned by Ammianus (Amm.Marc. 27.4.13) as the second city of Rhodope, it appears anachronistically in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.36, ed. Pertusi, p.88) as a city in the theme of Macedonia. The data on Byz. Maroneia are scanty: a lead seal of the 11th–12th C. defines it as a *kastron* (K.M. Konstantopoulos, *Thrakika* 4 [1933] 35–39). More is known about the ecclesiastical history of Maroneia: it was an autocephalous archbishopric of Rhodope at least from the 7th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 1.45); a notitia indicates that after the death of Andronikos III, "in the time of havoc," it was transformed into a metropolis (17.122.23). It changed status thereafter, being called an archbishopric in a document that may date to 1365 (MM 1:471.12), but a metropolis in 1405 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3270). A mutilated document, perhaps of 1371, referring to the invasions of "godless peoples" that ravaged and burned "the beautiful land" of Maroneia relates that the archbishop of Maroneia was transferred to the "widowed" metropolis of Mesembria (MM 1:594.2–19). Some seals of archbishops of Maroneia have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.819; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.546).

S. Reinach (*BCH* 5 [1881] 88) noted Byz. and Genoese buildings and a fortification made of bricks and *spolia* near the sea, preserved to a height of 4 m. More recent excavations have revealed late Roman and Byz. remains in Maroneia and nearby, on the acropolis of St. George: towers, an underground passageway, bathhouse, ceramics, mosaic floor of an early basilica, and sculptural and architectural fragments.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 115–17. Eu. Tsimpides-Pentazos, "Archaiologikai ereunai en Thrake," *PraktArchEt* (1971 [1973]) 86–118. –T.E.G.

MARONITES, a Christian sect in Lebanon. Their early history is obscure. P. Dib believes that they originated from the disciples of the priest and anchorite Maron who lived in Syria II and corresponded with John Chrysostom ca.405; Maron's exploits are described by THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. In contrast, M. Moosa asserts that this Maron of the early 5th C. had no connection with the future Maronites; he also denies that a letter of 10 Jan. 518 signed by Alexander, priest and archimandrite of St. Maro, and describing an attack of "rustics" sent by SEVEROS of Antioch against his monastery, is related to the early phase of the Maronite movement. The first indisputable data concerning the Maronites come from DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAḤRĒ (9th C.) and EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (10th C.) who speak of their activity in the 7th and late 6th C., respectively. John of Maron, who may have been the first Maronite patriarch, lived in the 7th C. (sometime between 630 and 707), according to Breydy (*infra* [1985] 76). Many of his works in Syriac survive.

It is plausible that the Maronite politico-religious community was established in the period of the Persian invasion and subsequent Arab conquest of northern Syria when the patriarchs of Antioch sought refuge in Constantinople. The religious affiliation of the Maronites is also under discussion: Dib insists on their orthodoxy, their support of the Chalcedonian creed, and their alliance with Rome, whereas Moosa considers them to be predominantly Monothelite. The Maronites supported the Crusaders' effort to gain control of the Holy Land. WILLIAM OF TYRE relates that they abandoned their ancient Monothelite "heresy" and united with the Latin patriarchate of Antioch in 1187—evidence rejected by Dib.

SOURCE. Jean Maron, *Exposé de la foi et autres opuscules*, ed. M. Breydy, 2 vols. (Louvain 1988).

LIT. P. Dib, *L'église maronite*, vol. 1 (Paris 1930). M. Moosa, *The Maronites in History* (Syracuse 1986). M. Breydy, *Geschichte der Syro-Arabischen Literatur der Maroniten vom VII. bis XVI. Jahrhundert* (Opladen 1985). –A.K.

MAROULES, or Maroulles (Μαρούλ⟨λ⟩ης, fem. Μαρουλίνα), a family name that according to V. Laurent (*EO* 30 [1931] 481–84) was of vernacular origin, signifying a vegetable merchant (cf. *maroulion*, "lettuce"). The first known Maroules ("the son of Maroules") was *domestikos ton Hikanaton* under Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 389.5); Skylitzes conveys his first name, Olbianos (Skyl. 203.88). Another Maroules was *katepano* of Italy in 1060/1 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 98f). The family did not hold military offices in the 12th C.: the *protonotarios* Basil attended the council of 1143; John owned a seal that calls him *doulos* of Manuel I. Several family members served in church administration: Constantine was in charge of a patriarchal *sekreton* (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.135); another Constantine (?) Maroules was metropolitan of Thessalonike (*Corpus* 5.1, no.458); John (or Constantine) was exarch in Miletos (MM 6:153.17; cf. *Patmou Engrapha* 2:142f) in the beginning (Laurent: the second half) of the 13th C.; Alexios was chief of the *sakellion* in Smyrna in 1274 (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 114). The 14th-C. members of the Maroules family were generals and courtiers: the *megas archon* Maroules led an army against the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:424.2); a purchase deed of 1312 mentions the *sebastos* Maroules as a landowner (*Xerop.*, no.16.9); Phokas Maroules was *domestikos* of the imperial table ca.1328–41; he also founded a convent of the Theotokos in Constantinople before 1341 (MM 1:221–26; 2:424.16–18). A charter of 1384 names John Maroules *archon* (*Docheiar.*, no.49.10). Demetrios Maroules was an "honorable physician" in Thessalonike ca.1322. Peasants of several Athonite monasteries often bore the related name of Maroulas.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 17128–63. –A.K.

MARRIAGE (γάμος). In Roman law marriage was originally a relationship based on the husband's domination over the wife (*manus*) and later a relatively "free marriage" (i.e., union of equals in which divorce was permissible). The radical

Christian sects (Marcionites, Gnostics) attacked marriage as contrary to the Gospels, as fornication, and as the work of the devil. Mainstream Christianity had to work out a compromise between the complete rejection of marriage and the Roman legal concept of "free marriage" following St. Paul's dictum that "it is better to marry than to burn" (1 Cor 7:9). Late Roman legislation shifted back and forth on the question of the permanence of marriage and the possibility of DIVORCE; Justin II in a novel of 566 still maintained the traditional view that divorce could be allowed with the agreement of the two partners. The principal changes occurred (probably under the influence of customary law) by the 8th C., and were formulated in the *Ecloga*. The major aspects of the change were restriction of divorce, strengthening bonds of property within the family, and balancing the rights of the mother and father regarding their children. Later came the prohibition of CONCUBINAGE.

Church fathers considered marriage a divine institution established for the procreation of children and the prevention of fornication. The consent of the bride and groom, and often of their parents or guardians, was necessary for marriage, although in romances marriages were sometimes performed without parental approval. A formal MARRIAGE RITE or WEDDING was required for the conclusion of a marriage; eventually under Alexios I, the distinction between marriage and BETROTHAL was limited. The minimum age for marriage was puberty, reckoned as age 12 for girls and 14 for boys; normally, the husband was older than the wife. Second marriages were permitted (for lay persons), while a third was undesirable and required an *epitimion* (see REMARRIAGE). The marriage of EUNUCHS was prohibited by Leo VI, and the marriage of slaves was considered illegal until the 11th C. (see SLAVERY). There were various MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS, based on reasons of religion, consanguinity, or affinity. Although highly regarded, marriage was considered inferior to VIRGINITY, and canon law required CELIBACY of monks and bishops; second marriages were prohibited for priests.

The metaphor of marriage was frequently used in Byz. imagery: the church was identified as the bride of Christ, and individual women committed themselves in marriage to the immortal bridegroom Christ (Brock-Harvey, *Women* 71,165).

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Vienna 1864). A. Schmink, "Der Traktat *Peri Gamon* des Johannes Pediasimos," *FM* 1 (1976) 126–74. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 55–105. J. Dauvillier, C. de Clerque, *Le mariage en droit canonique oriental* (Paris 1936). Ritzer, *Mariage* 127–213. A. Laiou, "Consensus facit nuptias—et non," *RJ* 4 (1985) 189–201. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XI (1967), 305–25. E. Patlagean in Veyne, *Private Life* 1:597–604. D. Simon, "Zur Ehegesetzgebung der Isaurier," *FM* 1 (1976) 16–43. O. Kresten, "Datierungsproblem isaurischer Ehe-rechtsnovellen I. Coll. I 26," *FM* 4 (1981) 37–106. M. Angold, "E byzantine ekklesia kai ta problemata tou gamou," *Dodone* 17 (1988) 179–95. -J.H., A.K.

MARRIAGE BELT, apparently one of the customary gifts from groom to bride. Unlike the marriage RING and MARRIAGE CROWN, it was associated with the nuptial chamber, rather than the wedding ceremony (A. Amiaud, *La légende syriaque de saint Alexis, l'homme de Dieu* [Paris 1889] 12f). Two gold specimens survive, at Dumbarton Oaks (*DOCat* 2, no.38) and in the de Clercq Collection; both date to the later 6th/7th C. and are said to have been found in Syria. Each consists of repoussé medallions—many small ones with Dionysiac figures or TYCHAI (de Clercq) and two large ones at the center that depict the *dextrarum junctio* (see MARRIAGE RITE). Their iconography is that of marriage rings, with Christ as officiating priest,

MARRIAGE BELT. Marriage belt; gold, late 6th to 7th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.



as are their inscriptions; the Dumbarton Oaks example bears "From God, Harmony, Grace, Health," while the de Clercq medallion is inscribed "Wear in Good Health (*Hygienousa phori* [sic]), Grace of God." Their emphasis on health and their association with the bridal chamber suggest that these marriage belts had an amuletic role in facilitating conception and childbirth.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "On the Golden Marriage Belt and the Marriage Rings of the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 1–16. –G.V.

MARRIAGE CROWNS were usually designated by the generic term for CROWNS, *stephanoi*. A. Vogt's (*De cer.*, vol. 1.2:25) strict distinction between imperial crown (*stemma*) and nuptial crown (*stephanos*) does not prove valid: in the chapter on the marriage (*stephanoma*) of the augusta, the DESPOTAI are said to have been crowned with the *stemma* (bk.1, ch.50[41], vol. 2:17.15). The habit of crowning newlyweds was known by the end of the 6th C.; describing the marriage of Maurice, Theophylaktos Simokattes (Theoph.Simok. 57.17–19) notes that *stephanoi* were employed. Wedding crowns appear on the bezels of 6th- through 7th-C. marriage rings as well as in later MS illumination (e.g., the marriage of Constantine IX and Zoe in the Madrid SKYLITZES—Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.542). Generally, they appear to be wide, simple bands (of metal?), which is consistent with the only known surviving set, in the Byzantine Museum, Athens (P.A. Drossoyianni, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 529–38). These tin-plated copper crowns have an arch bearing a cross over the forehead; each carries an invocation and a quotation from a psalm sung as part of the marriage ceremony. The so-called *Akolouthia of Betrothal and Marriage* (preserved in MSS from the 10th C. onward) prescribes that two crowns be set on the altar, together with a glass wine cup that the bride and groom were to share; after they express their wish to marry, the priest girds a sword around the waist of the groom and puts crowns on the heads of the pair as symbols of imperial power (P.N. Trempelas, *Theologia* 18 [1940] 120–23). The crowns would be hung over the marriage bed for seven days.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:108, 118f, 136–39. C. Walter, "Marriage Crowns in Byzantine Iconography," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 83–91. –G.V.

MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS. Marriage with certain categories of people was prohibited; enumerated in Byz. law books mainly under the rubric "On Forbidden Marriages," these people included Jews, heretics, clerics, guardians, rapists, adulterers, those marrying for the third and fourth time (see TOMOS OF UNION), and, above all, relatives. Impeded relatives were at first defined by their kinship designations on a case by case basis. From the 11th C. onward the general rule prevailed that all blood, adoptive, and spiritual relatives to the 7th degree of relationship (see RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF) were prohibited categories (to the 6th degree for those related by marriage). Important sources for the development of the topic are canons 53, 54, and 98 of the Council in Trullo, title 2 of the *Ecloga*, and acts of the patriarchs Sisinnios II, Alexios Stoudites, Michael I Keroularios, and John VIII Xiphilinos, as well as novels of the emperors Alexios I and Manuel I Komnenos. That the topic was of great relevance is attested by the existence in many MSS of various different treatises dealing with it; John PEDIASIMOS and Matthew BLASTARES were esp. concerned with the subject.

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 212–600. K.G. Pitsakes, *To kolyma gamou logo syngeneias hebdomou bathmou ex haimatos sto byzantino dikaio* (Athens-Komotini 1985). –A.S.

MARRIAGE RITE (στεφάνωμα, lit. "crowning") consisted of two separate parts: BETROTHAL (*mnesteia*), and crowning, originally with a garland, later with a MARRIAGE CROWN of precious metal, which is the marriage proper. Crowning was a traditional element of pre-Christian weddings; hence Christians first discouraged it as pagan, but accepted it by the 4th C., interpreting it in a Christian sense as the crown of victory over concupiscence (John Chrysostom, PG 62:546.51–52). Crowning became a customary part of the ecclesiastical ceremony by the end of the 6th C. (Ritzer, *Mariage* 136). After the rite of BETROTHAL, *stephanoma* follows with the *synapte*, three prayers, the crowning itself, lections (Eph 5:21–33, Jn 2:1–11), the *ektene* litany, another prayer, the *synapte* with *aiteseis*, Our Father, a prayer, the ritual procession, removal of the crowns, concluding blessing, and prayers. Some early MSS also have a blessing of the nuptial chamber. The nuptial blessing and crowning were restricted to first marriages up until the 8th C., when the prohibition

against second marriages was relaxed and the church extended its control over all Christian marriages. Only in this period does the ritual take shape. Gradually the church's nuptial blessing became the only acceptable Byz. form of marriage, extended even to slaves by the 11th C. The legislation accompanying these developments is an important part of Byz. jurisprudence (Ritzer, *Mariage* 127–213). From the 11th C. onward, legislation reserved nuptials to the bishop or, with his permission, a priest, though the stipend went to the bishop according to the *typikon* of Constantine IX Monomachos (*Reg* 2, no.923). There is a commentary on the rite by Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:503–16).

Representation in Art. The earliest depictions of Christian marriage appear in the 5th C. They show the couple with joined right hands, the gesture of the *dextrarum junctio* common in Roman rite, which symbolized *concordia*. The celebrant is now Christ, replacing the personification of Concordia. He places his arms around the shoulders of the couple. A solidus of Pulcheria and Marcian with this image was struck to commemorate their marriage. The same composition appears on marriage RINGS and a MARRIAGE BELT of the 6th–7th C. in Dumbarton Oaks (E. Kantorowicz, *DOP* 14 [1960] 1–16). On the 7th-C. DAVID PLATE on Cyprus, Saul stands as the celebrant between David and Michal, but he is no longer embracing them. From the 11th C. onward the celebrant places crowns on the heads of the couple, for example, Saul marrying David and Michal in the Psalter MS, Vat. gr. 752 (fol.2v: E. De Wald, *The Illustrations in the Manuscripts of the Septuagint*, vol. 3.2 [Princeton 1942] pl.4). When Christ is placing his hands on the crowns of imperial couples, it cannot be determined from the images alone whether a marriage or a coronation is commemorated. Certain scenes in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES are unambiguously marriage ceremonies. The essential elements in these scenes are the bishop or patriarch who is celebrating the marriage rite, the couple, and the MARRIAGE CROWNS (*stephanoi*) either already on the heads of the couple or about to be placed there by the bishop. In the miniature of the marriage of Zoe and Michael IV Paphlagon (fol. 206v) the marriage crowns are joined by a cloth band. Michael also holds Zoe by the wrist, a late example of the *dextrarum junctio*. (For the secular celebration of marriages, see WEDDING.)

ED. P. Trempelas, *Mikron Euchologion*, vol. 1 (Athens 1950) 7–96. A. Raes, *Le mariage dans les églises d'Orient* (Chevetogne 1958).

LIT. D. Gelsi, "Punti di riflessione sull'ufficio bizantino per la 'incoronazione' degli sposi," *La celebrazione cristiana del matrimonio*, ed. G. Farnedi (Rome 1986) 283–306. G. Passarelli, "Stato della ricerca sul formulario dei riti matrimoniali," *SBNG* 241–48. C. Walter, "The Dextrarum Junctio of Lepcis Magna in Relationship to the Iconography of Marriage," *Antiquités Africaines* 14 (1979) 271–83.

–R.F.T., I.K.

MAR SABA MONASTERY. See SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF.

MARTIN I, pope (July 649–17 June 653) and saint; born Todi, Tuscany, died Cherson 16 Sept. 655; feastday in the Greek calendar 13 Apr. Martin served as papal *apocrisiarius* in Constantinople, where he supported MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR against official Monotheletism (W. Peitz, *HistJb* 38 [1917] 213–36, 429–58). When he was elected pope, Martin did not receive confirmation from Emp. CONSTANS II. Martin immediately took steps to find backing in Palestine by dispatching John of Philadelphia as his vicar; he summoned the LATERAN SYNOD in 649 to reject the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II. Constans considered these actions political treason and sent the exarch OLYMPIOS to arrest the pope. Olympios, however, made peace with Martin and soon proclaimed himself emperor. The new exarch Theodore Kalliopas entered Rome with an army and forced Martin to submit; the pope was brought to Constantinople on 17 Sept. 653 and tried on 19 Dec., charged with conspiring with Olympios and sending money to the Arabs who were attacking Sicily. His attempt to discuss the *Typos* was not permitted. Condemned to death, Martin was instead exiled to Cherson, whence he sent letters lamenting his fate. The Greek church proclaimed Martin a martyr: the history of his ordeal was described probably by Theodore Spoudaios (R. Devreesse, *AB* 53 [1935] 49–80).

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 186–91. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:553–73. R. Riedinger, "Papst Martin I. und Papst Leo I. in den Akten der Lateran-Synode von 649," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 87f.

–A.K.

MARTINA (Μαρτῖνα), empress; second wife of HERAKLEIOS; born ca.598, died probably Rhodes, after 641/2. The niece of Herakleios, Martina

married him after the death of Fabia/Eudokia in 613/14. Patr. SERGIOS I protested that the marriage was incestuous, and the Greens insulted the emperor when he appeared with Martina in the Hippodrome. Martina produced perhaps ten children, some of them retarded, a fact her enemies interpreted as evidence of God's wrath. Martina was Herakleios's supporter, adviser, and assistant, accompanying him on military expeditions and exercising important influence on his policy. His will left her co-ruler with his son by his first marriage, HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE, and Martina's son HERAKLONAS, but the people refused to acknowledge the will of Herakleios. Herakleios Constantine's premature death and Heraklonas's minority gave Martina the reins of power, but she was unable to suppress the opposition of the senate and army: the revolt of VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI led to her deposition. She was accused of poisoning Herakleios Constantine, her tongue was slit, and she was banished to Rhodes.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:95f, 2:204f. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 65–73. –W.E.K., A.K.

MARTYR (*μάρτυς* "witness"), a SAINT who gave his or her life for the Christian faith. Despite the obvious similarity between the Christian image of martyrs, on the one hand, and Jewish veneration of the just or certain Greek mythological themes, on the other hand, the cult of martyrs was a new phenomenon developed by the early church. Moreover, the New Testament use of the word "witness" is not directly linked to the later tradition (N. Brox, *Zeuge und Märtyrer* [Munich 1961]); the traditional meaning of the word was apparently established by the late 2nd C., whereas the first epistle of Clement still uses the verb *martyrein* in the sense of "testify." Tertullian (ca.150–ca.230) and Cyprian (ca.200–58) stressed the difference between red and white (bloodless) martyrdom, between martyr and CONFESSOR, while the literary genre of MARTYRION emphasized the ordeal and execution of martyrs. The cult of martyrs was a reaction to persecution, and its purpose was the heroization of real and legendary victims. Emp. JULIAN tried to compromise the cult of martyrs, presenting it as an imitation of pagan cults. Later, Byz. theologians expanded the concept of martyr (or martyrlike attitude and martyrlike glory) to other types of holy man (D. Balfour, *Sobornost* 5.1 [1983] 20–35).

Representation in Art. A saint was designated as a martyr in art by holding a small cross in one hand. Scenes of martyrdom (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION), frequently preceded by scenes of torture, are esp. developed in CALENDAR CYCLES, where, along with routine beheadings, there are depictions of death by beating, stoning, drowning, crucifixion, incineration, dismemberment, etc., all rendered with considerable devotion to detail.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les origines du culte des martyrs*[2] (Brussels 1933). F. Halkin, *Martyrs grecs IIe–VIIIe s.* (London 1974). T. Baumeister, *Die Anfänge der Theologie des Martyriums* (Münster 1980). C. Pietri, "Les origines du culte des martyrs (d'après un ouvrage récent)," *RACr* 60 (1984) 293–319. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MARTYRION (*μαρτύριον*), a term that refers both to a martyr's shrine (Eng. *martyry*) and to an account of a martyr's life.

Shrine. A *martyrion* was a building or shrine erected over the grave of a MARTYR or on a site connected with the life of Christ or a saint. The earliest *martyria*—Christian successors to pagan *heroa*—were simple shrines erected at the graves of martyrs, such as the aedicula at the supposed tomb of St. Peter on the Vatican Hill in Rome. Monumental *martyria* appeared ca.300 as in the large baldachinlike structure that sheltered the "Tomb of St. John" at EPHESUS. After 312, monumental *martyria* were erected in large numbers throughout the Christian world. Grabar (*infra*) showed that the architectural form of *martyria* derived largely from that of Roman funerary monuments. Many *martyria* were centrally planned—circular, as in the Anastasis rotunda in JERUSALEM; octagonal, as in the structure sheltering the Grotto of the Nativity in BETHLEHEM; or cruciform, as in the Martyrion of St. Babylas near ANTIOCH. The basilica form was also used for *martyria*, for example, the Holy SEPULCHRE basilica in Jerusalem; at the Constantinian Church of St. Peter in Rome, the transept functioned as a *martyrion*. *Martyria* continued to be erected in later periods, as in the case of St. EUPHEMIA in Constantinople, actually a palace converted into a chapel to accommodate the saint's relics in the early 7th C. The distinction between *martyria* and regular churches was gradually lost, beginning in

the mid-4th C., with the first translations of relics to churches that were not specifically built as *martyria.*

LIT. A. Grabar, *Martyrium,* 2 vols. (Paris 1946). J.B. Ward Perkins, "Memoria, Martyr's Tomb and Martyr's Church," *JThSt* n.s. 17 (1966) 20–37. –M.J.

Literary Genre. A *martyrion* (Lat. *passio*) was also the term for a story of a martyr or a group of martyrs. The *martyrion* was a particular genre of HAGIOGRAPHY, presenting not the life of a saint but rather his or her passion: that is, the saint's questioning by the authorities (Roman, Persian, Arab), torture, and execution. Most *martyria* are placed within the chronological framework of the late Roman Empire (2nd–4th C.); accounts of martyrs of Iconoclasm and the Arab and Turkish invasions are relatively rare. Interpretation of early *martyria* varies from an acceptance of their complete authenticity (Th. Ruinart, 17th C.) to the rejection of their credibility (P. Bezobrazov, *VizObozr* 1 [1915] 117–224; 2 [1916] 1–96, 177–294). The earliest form of *martyrion* seems to be a letter from a Christian community reporting a saint's execution; later, *martyria* acquired the form of a dramatic scene with a liturgical purpose. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA collected a number of *martyria* for his *Church History.* Although *martyria* are often allegedly based on the minutes of the trial (*acta*) and conform to Roman laws of procedure (G. Lanata, *Gli atti dei martiri come documenti processuali* [Milan 1973]), many of them are legendary, and the very existence of certain saints (GEORGE, BARBARA) is doubtful.

ED. *The Acts of the Christian Martyrs,* ed. H. Musurillo (Oxford 1972), with Eng. tr.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les passions des martyrs et les genres littéraires* (Brussels 1921). G. Lazzati, *Gli sviluppi della letteratura sui martiri nei primi quattro secoli* (Turin 1956). S. Pezzella, *Gli Atti dei Martiri* (Rome 1965). D. Wendebourg, "Das Martyrium in der Alten Kirche als ethisches Problem," *ZKirch* 98 (1987) 295–320. S. Ronchey, *Indagine sul Martirio di San Policarpo* (Rome 1990). –A.K.

MARTYROPOLIS (Μαρτυρόπολις, Ar. Mayyāfāriqīn, mod. Silvan in Turkey), city northeast of Amida. Its identification with Tigranocerta, ancient capital of Armenia, is disputed. According to a late legend (J.M. Fiey, *AB* 94 [1976] 35–45), it was founded by Bp. Marutha, an imperial envoy to Persia who, for Byz. propaganda purposes, named it after the Christian martyrs of Persia whose Acts and relics he brought back with him; their relics were reportedly placed in the city walls. Martyropolis was the administrative center of the province of Sophanene in the 5th C. and of Armenia IV from 536. The Sasanian king KAVĀD took Martyropolis in 502 and held it for several years, but the Byz. reconquered the city, and Justinian I refortified it; according to Prokopios, he doubled the height of the inner enceinte and erected an outer wall. In May 589 the Persians again occupied Martyropolis, their entry enabled by the treason of a subaltern. Although the Byz. besieged the city, they could not take it until CHOSROES II, threatened by a usurper, had to ask Maurice for support; Martyropolis's surrender to the Byz. in 591 is commemorated by a long Greek inscription put up in the name of Chosroes. The city was again under Persian rule from 602 to 622.

The Arabs conquered Martyropolis in 640. The Byz. began to invade the district in the 9th C., and in Oct.–Nov. 863 they defeated the Arab governor of Armenia, whose troops included people from Martyropolis. In Oct.–Nov. 942 John KOURKOUAS temporarily seized Martyropolis, and in June 958 John (I) Tzimiskes invaded the region. Circa 976 the emir of Martyropolis acknowledged his dependence on Byz. During his revolt in 979, Bardas SKLEROS sought refuge in the city. George MANIAKES took Martyropolis in 1032 after the emir of the city had stolen its wealth, including that of the Great Church, and carried it away on camels (Skyl. 387.3–6).

The city walls, which were restored by Islamic rulers, are partially preserved. Marutha's large basilica of 410–20 (?) and a domed church, perhaps of the 6th C., disappeared during the 20th C.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 123–30. C. Mango, "Deux études sur Byzance et la Perse sassanide," *TM* 9 (1985) 91–104. J.M. Fiey, "Martyropolis syriaque," *Muséon* 89 (1976) 5–38. –M.M.M.

MARWAZĪ, AL- (Marvazi), more fully Sharaf al-Zamān Ṭāhir al-Marwazī, Arab author and court physician of MALIKSHĀH; fl. late 11th–early 12th C. His *Properties of Animals* (written ca. 1120) contains a brief chapter on Byz., among other nations. Based partly on earlier Arabic reports, it refers to the Byz. military hierarchy. His descrip-

tion of Constantinople—its walls, gates, statues, Hagia Sophia, imperial palace, role of the empress, sports in the Hippodrome—supplements that of HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ. He also refers to Byz.'s northern and western neighbors and the survival of Hellenistic learning. His reference to Muslim merchants, rather than prisoners, at Constantinople seems indicative of the contemporary situation.

ED. V. Minorsky, "Marvazi on the Byzantines," in his *Medieval Iran and its Neighbours* (London 1982), pt.VIII (1950), 455–69.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur*, supp. 1:903. C.E. Bosworth, *EI*² 6:628. –A.Sh.

MARY MAGDALENE ("of Magdala"), saint, one of the MYRROPHOROI; main feastday 22 July. Her tomb was located in either Jerusalem or Ephesus, whence her relics were transferred to Constantinople at the order of Emp. Leo VI. Her cult in Byz. never attained the stature it had in the West, where Mary was identified with both Mary of Bethany (sister of LAZARUS) and the anonymous sinner of Luke 7. She was praised, however, by numerous authors, from Gregory of Nyssa to Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos, and most highly in the Greco-Italian tradition of pseudo-Theophanes Kerameus (probably PHILAGATHOS), which celebrates Mary as the first to see the risen Christ and thus as the "apostle of apostles." In art as in literature, the earliest Eastern works singling out Mary from the other Myrrophoroi have Western associations (*Noli Me Tangere* on the Crusader façade of the Holy Sepulchre, JERUSALEM, and in MS Kiev, Academy of Sciences, gr. 25, [Carr, *Byz. Illumination*, fig.12B11] where it is paired as in Western literature, including pseudo-Theophanes, with the Doubting of Thomas). From the early 13th C. onward (MILEŠEVA), Byz. art gives Mary a central place in images of the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS. Her softly colored garments do not distinguish her from the other Myrrophoroi.

LIT. BHG 1161x–1162c. V. Saxer, "Les Saintes Marie Madeleine et Marie de Béthany dans la tradition liturgique et homilétique orientale," *RSR* 32 (1958) 1–37. V. Saxer, M. Celletti, *Bibl. sanct.* 8:1078–1107. –A.W.C., A.K.

MARY OF EGYPT, saint; feastday 1 Apr. Her chronology cannot be established. A singer in the Church of the Anastasis in Jerusalem, Mary fled to the desert, taking a basket of vegetables that lasted 17 years, according to the Life of Kyriakos by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. E. Schwartz 233f; Fr. tr. A.J. Festugière, *Les moines de Palestine* [Paris 1963] 50f). Before her death Mary told her story to the monk John, who showed her grave to Cyril. MOSCHOS tells a similar tale (PG 87:3049). The story was reworked by SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem (his authorship is denied by Beck, *Kirche* 435), who dramatized the story, apparently using the Life of Paul the Hermit by JEROME. John was replaced by another narrator, Zosimas; Mary became a licentious woman from Alexandria who suddenly converted to Christianity when a supernatural force prevented her entrance into the Church of the Anastasis; a lion appeared to dig her grave. The author retained certain details; for example, his Mary survived 17 years on three small loaves. This legend stressed the vital topic of repentance, absent in the earlier version. The story of Mary was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES and retold by many writers, for example, Manuel HOLOBOLOS and Manuel II. The legend is known also in Syriac, Armenian, Latin, and other versions.

Representation in Art. The figure of Mary is distinctive: gaunt and bony, with long unkempt white hair and no headcovering, she is sometimes depicted without any clothes at all, and her body is covered with hairs or sores. In church programs she appears either among the holy women or opposite the bishop Zosimas, who holds a paten and a spoon with which he offers her communion. The latter scene often occupies a position near the apse (e.g., at ASINOU). In the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.68r), Zosimas extends to her his mantle.

SOURCES. PG 87:3697–726. F. Halkin, "Panégyrique de Marie l'Égyptienne par Euthyme le protasecretis," *AB* 99 (1981) 17–44.

LIT. *BHG* 1041z–1044e. F. Delmas, "Remarques sur la vie de Sainte Marie l'Égyptienne," *EO* 4 (1900–01) 35–42, and add. in *EO* 5 (1901–02) 15–17. J. Noret, "La vie de Marie l'Égyptienne (BHG 1042) source partielle d'une prière pseudo-Éphrémienne," *AB* 96 (1978) 385–87. A. Stylianou, "The Communion of St. Mary of Egypt and her Death in the Painted Churches of Cyprus," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 435–41. S. Radojčić, "Una poenitentium. Marija Egipatska u srpskoj umetnosti XIV veka," *Zbornik Narodnog muzeja u Beogradu* 4 (1954) 255–65. K. Kunze, *LCI* 7:507–11. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MARY THE YOUNGER, saint; born Armenia (?) before 866 (?), died Bizye ca.902/3; feastday 16 Feb. Mary was the youngest daughter of an Ar-

menian family that moved from Armenia to Constantinople during the reign of Basil I. She married a certain Nikephoros, *droungarios* and eventually *tourmarches*, and followed him to BIZYE. The intrigues of Nikephoros's relatives made him jealous of Mary; finally he beat her fatally.

Mary's anonymous Life, preserved only in 14th-C. MSS, was probably written at her monastery in Bizye. Its date of composition is usually assigned to the 11th C., since the hagiographer refers to Basil II; Beck (*Kirche* 565), however, places it soon after 903; in this case, the reference to Basil II is an interpolation. The hagiographer also dwells on the fate of two of Mary's sons and describes miracles performed at her tomb. The Life conveys important information about Byz.-Bulgarian relations up to the death of Symeon. A new type of saintly woman, Mary is a modest matron and housewife who apparently worked no miraculous deeds while alive; rather, the author stresses her works of charity. The hagiographer, quite reasonably, comments that many people may doubt Mary's sanctity; he insists, however, that posthumous miracles at her tomb demonstrate her sainthood. The Church of Hagia Sophia in Bizye had an inscription mentioning the "life-containing tomb" of Mary (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 11f); probably it was the cathedral church in which Mary's corpse supposedly remained uncorrupted for 25 years until transferred to a private chapel. The Life describes Mary's appearance in a vision to an artist in Rhaidestos; she ordered him to paint an icon of her. The icon was sent to Bizye, and the hagiographer stresses its resemblance to Mary (p.699BC).

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4:692–705.

LIT. *BHG* 1164. P. Peeters, *Recherches d'Histoire et de Philologie orientales*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1951) 129–35. R.M. Bartikjan, "Razmyšlenija o Žitii sv. Marii Novoj," in *Rec. Dujčev*, 62–64. –A.K.

MASLAMA (Μασαλμᾶς), son of ʿAbd al-Malik and brother of the caliphs Walīd I (705–15), Sulaymān (715–17), and YAZĪD II (720–24); died between 733 and 744. An exceptional general, in 709 Maslama was appointed governor of Armenia, from where he moved against and took Tyana (710), Amaseia (712), and Melitene (714). In 715–16 Maslama led a great army across Asia Minor to Constantinople, which he besieged with Sulaymān's navy in August 717. Maslama's forces suffered greatly from GREEK FIRE, famine, and a Bulgarian attack by TERVEL; in Aug. 718 ʿUMAR II ordered him to lift the siege. In 720 Yazīd appointed Maslama governor and sent him to Iraq. A 13th-C. Syrian source states that Yazīd also entrusted him with promulgating his decree against images. Maslama renewed his attacks on Byz. in the late 720s, taking Caesarea in Cappadocia (726), but subsequently devoted more energy to campaigning in Armenia and Khazaria.

LIT. M. Canard, "Les expéditions des Arabes contre Constantinople," *Journal asiatique* 208 (1926) 80–102. R. Guilland, *Études byzantines* (Paris 1959) 109–33. –P.A.H.

MASON (λιθοξόος), worker in stone or marble. In late Roman texts the term *lithoxoos* designated both a stoneworker and a stonecutter in a QUARRY, but primarily had the connotation of sculptor (and in a Christian context specifically a maker of idols). Gregory of Nyssa (PG 46:737D) referred to a carpenter who made wooden statues of animals and a *lithoxoos* who carved stone plaques as if they were soft silver. In inscriptions the term *lithoxoos* designated both a workman who installed decorative stonework and a builder (Robert, *infra* 33). In the 5th–6th C. Isaurian masons were esp. famous: they built the Church of St. Sabas ca.501, the monastery of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger between 541 and 551, and repaired the dome of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople ca.558. They formed teams that traveled considerable distances and were a close-knit group, caring for their companions if they fell ill (see BUILDING INDUSTRY). Inscriptions from Cilicia mention marble masons: *marmarios* once (*MAMA* 3, no.683) and frequently *marmararioi*; esp. noteworthy is the epitaph of the *marmararios* Stephen, the son of the *marmararios* Konon (*MAMA* 3, no.721). They are also attested in inscriptions from Greece, Cappadocia, Lydia, and other places. From ordinary masons should be distinguished experienced marbleworkers, such as a certain Leontios who worked in a luxurious house in Antioch ornamenting walls with marble plaques and setting a beautiful, perhaps multicolored marble floor (vita of St. THEKLA, ed. Dagron, ch.17.3–6, p.334).

The scanty evidence from later centuries indicates that a *lithoxoos* was an ordinary craftsman: thus Symeon the Theologian (*Traités théologiques et éthiques* 2 [Paris 1967] 166.142–48) lists a *litho-*

xoos (ed. reads *linoxoos*) side by side with other such artisans as a jeweler and a smith and equates him with a *tekton* (carpenter). In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.22.1) *marmarioi* were regular construction workers.

LIT. C. Mango, "Isaurian Builders," in *Polychronion* 358–65. L. Robert, "Epitaphes et acclamations byzantines à Corinthe," *Hellenica* 11–12 (1960) 28–39. Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 75–78. –A.K.

Masons' Marks. Masons incised letters, MONOGRAMS, and nonverbal signs on blocks of stone and other architectural members either in the quarry or at the time of their use in construction projects. The collection, let alone the study, of such masons' marks is in its infancy, for example, most of the ca.1500 such marks found by R. van Nice at Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, remain unpublished. Marks served a variety of purposes, more often functioning as invocations or records of the name or place of origin of a mason or his workshop than as assembly marks. There were also stamps on BRICKS, probably having a similar function.

LIT. J.-P. Sodini, "Marques de tâcherons inédits à Istanbul et en Grèce," in *AAPA* 2 (1987) 503–18. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2:206–30. –A.C.

MASONRY. See ASHLAR; BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

MASSACRE OF THE INNOCENTS. See INFANCY OF CHRIST.

MASTOTS. See MESROP MAŠTOC'.

MASʿŪD I, Seljuk sultan of IKONION; died between Apr. and Sept. 1155. Son of KILIC ARSLAN I, Masʿūd (Μασούτ) deposed his brother Shāhānshāh (between 1116 and 1118) but had to flee to Constantinople (ca.1125/6) from his brother ʿArab. Restored with Byz. aid, Masʿūd received Byz. refugees: Isaac, brother of JOHN II (after 1130), temporarily, and Isaac's son John (1140), permanently. Overshadowed by the DANIŞMENDIDS, Masʿūd emerged after 1140 or 1142 as the leading Anatolian Muslim ruler. When, in response to Turkish ravaging in western Anatolia, MANUEL I attacked Ikonion (1146), Masʿūd's forces outside the city prevented a siege. Masʿūd and Manuel made peace (1147) to confront the Second CRUSADE. In 1152–54, Masʿūd received Byz. subsidies to attack T'OROS II in Cilician Armenia, but was unsuccessful. –C.M.B.

MASʿŪDĪ, AL-, more fully Abū'l-Ḥasan ʿAlī ibn al-Ḥusayn, al-Masʿūdī, Arab historian; born Baghdad 893?, died al-Fusṭāṭ Sept./Oct. 956. Concerned with the broader theoretical implications of social and cultural phenomena, al-Masʿūdī spent much of his life traveling. He journeyed east to India, visited Arabia and East Africa, and spent his last 30 years in Syria and Egypt, where he did most of his writing. He gathered much information on other lands and cultures during these travels.

Only two of his 36 Arabic works survive: *The Meadows of Gold and Mines of Gems*, a discursive world history from Creation to 947, and *Elucidation and Overview*, a historical and geographical digest. Both books range over many topics and reflect his keen interest in other cultures. Of these, Byz. is of first importance, due to Masʿūdī's intense interest in Christianity and his admiration for the empire's political power and venerable tradition of institutions and administration. Masʿūdī speaks at length about the imperial and ecclesiastical history of Byz., describes Constantinople and the empire's lands, lists the themes and other administrative divisions, and discusses Byz. relations with the Muslim world, the Bulgars, Khazars, Rus', and the West. He treats matters of commerce and culture, as well as the usual military and diplomatic affairs. His accounts, remarkably objective, are well informed and esp. important for events of his own times.

ED. *Les prairies d'or*, ed. C. Barbier de Meynard, Pavet de Courteille, 9 vols. (Paris 1861–77) with Fr. tr. Corr. C. Pellat (Beirut 1966–79). Incomplete tr. *Kitâb al-tanbîh wa'l-ischrâf*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1894; rp. Beirut 1965). *Le Livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, tr. B. Carra de Vaux (Paris 1896–97).

LIT. T. Khalidi, *Islamic Historiography: The Histories of Masʿūdī* (Albany, N.Y., 1975) 94–98. A.M.H. Shboul, *Al-Masʿūdī and His World* (London 1979) 227–28. Sezgin, *GAS* 1:332–36. –L.I.C.

MATASUNTHA (Ματασοῦνθα), Ostrogothic queen; daughter of AMALASUNTHA; born ca.518, died after 551. While a young girl, she was married against her will to VITIGES in 536/7. More

Roman than Goth in upbringing and culture, Matasuntha became the center of the senatorial opposition to Vitiges, whom she disliked. In 538 she started negotiations with John, the Byz. commander in Ariminium. Rumor even accused her of burning Ravenna's grain when BELISARIOS besieged the city. After Ravenna fell, Vitiges and Matasuntha were brought to Constantinople as prisoners of war. When he died, she married the widowed GERMANOS; this marriage was intended to symbolize the unity of Justinian's court and the AMALI. Wroth (*Western & Provincial Byz. Coins*, xxxvi–xxxvii) attributed to Matasuntha some silver and bronze coins with monograms; these, he surmised, were struck in Constantinople in 550 during the preparation for Germanos's expedition to Italy. These coins are now considered (W. Hahn, *FelRav*[4] 1 [1979] 64) to have been issued by Mastinas, the client king of Mauretania (ca.535).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2180. Wolfram, *Goths* 343f. P. Grierson, "Matasuntha or Mastinas: A Reattribution," *NChron* 19 (1959–60) 119–30. –W.E.K.

MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS, TEXTBOOKS OF. The earliest collections of problems in MATHEMATICS appear in Byz. in a series of epigrams preserved in the *Greek Anthology* under the name of Metrodoros, a grammarian of the early 6th C. (Heath, *Mathematics* 2:441–43); this is followed by a 7th- or 8th-C. papyrus found at AKHMĪM.

The only other known Byz. mathematical problem books were written under the influence of an oriental tradition that goes back to India. These works are an anonymous collection of the early 14th C. and a "letter" of 1341 to Theodore Tzabouches from Nicholas RHABDAS. Another anonymous treatise, written after 1453, also belongs to this oriental tradition. The late Byz. problem books deal with cases of construction work, financial transactions, etc., and contain substantial data for economic history (K.-P. Matschke, *Jahrbuch für Geschichte des Feudalismus* 3 [1979] 181–204), as well as for the history of language (E. Kriaras, *ByzF* 3 [1968] 141–56).

ED. *Le papyrus mathématique d'Akhmīm*, ed. J. Baillet (Paris 1892). *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts*, ed. K. Vogel (Vienna 1968). *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des 15. Jahrhunderts*, ed. H. Hunger, K. Vogel (Vienna 1963).

LIT. H. Hermelink, "Arabic Recreational Mathematics as a Mirror of Age-Old Cultural Relations between Eastern and Western Civilizations," *Proceedings of the First International Symposium for the History of Arabic Science*, vol. 2 (Aleppo 1978) 44–52. –D.P., A.K.

MATHEMATICS in Byz. encompassed four fields: arithmetic (including notation), geometry, optics and catoptrics (that portion of optics dealing with reflected light), and metrology. The Byz. used mathematics in their studies of ASTROLOGY and ASTRONOMY, for the COMPUTUS (to establish the date of Easter), and for financial transactions and architectural construction (see MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS, TEXTBOOKS OF). The Byz. placed great importance on NUMBER SYMBOLISM, esp. in the spheres of theology, art, and architecture.

Arithmetic. Teachers at Alexandria, like AMMONIOS and John PHILOPONOS, used the *Introduction to Arithmetic* of Nikomachos of Gerasa (fl. ca.100) as their text. This work also provided the basis for the arithmetical portions of the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8 (with the addition of Euclid) and of that by George PACHYMERES; it continued to be widely read in the Palaiologan period. Nikomachos's book (but not its Byz. commentaries) was translated into Latin by BOETHIUS and into Arabic by Thābit ibn Qurra.

The only other early Byz. work on arithmetic, a reaction against Nikomachos, is the 5th-C. *Handbook of the Introduction to Arithmetic*, composed by Domninos of Larissa (in Syria), who together with PROKLOS had studied with Syrianos. Domninos also wrote a brief tract on removing one ratio from another, the *Pos esti logon ek logou aphelein*.

Thereafter there is a gap in the tradition until the 9th-C. scholar LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, who studied arithmetic (among other subjects) with a teacher on Andros, and later taught arithmetic and geometry in Constantinople. According to Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 185–90), his fame reached the Arab caliph al-Ma'mūn, who consulted him on problems of geometry and astronomy. His library included works of Euclid, Apollonios of Perge (on conics), PROKLOS the Neoplatonist (on geometry), and Archimedes (Lemerle, *Humanism* 195–204).

In the 10th–12th C. the only traces left of the study of arithmetic are in the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8, which should remind us that arithmetic was always included in the school curriculum even if no original treatises were being composed, and from the mid-11th C. a short piece by PSELLOS,

the *On Numbers*. Unlike astronomy and astrology, Byz. mathematics in this period seems not to have experienced any influence from Islam.

During the Latin occupation of Constantinople, however, there was written in 1252 a treatise on the use of Indian numerals entitled *The So-called Great Computation according to the Indians* (A. Allard, *RHT* 7 [1977] 57–107). It is not clear whether this is based directly on an Arabic source (it transliterates some Arabic technical terms and uses the epoch of the Hijra in an example) or on some Latin version of one, such as the *Book of the Abacus* of Leonardo of Pisa (who is known to have visited Constantinople). In any case, this anonymous text was the main source of *The So-called Great Computation according to the Indians* of Maximos PLANOUDES, to which supplements were added by Nicholas RHABDAS and Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS (ed. A. Allard, *Le grand calcul selon les Indiens* [Louvain-la-Neuve 1981]).

The last arithmetical tradition in Byz. was that of the *Arithmetic* of Diophantos of Alexandria, which deals with problems we now classify as algebraic. The commentary of HYPATIA on the *Arithmetic* is now lost but may be the source of Psellos's letter concerning Diophantos. There now survive only six of the original 13 books in Greek; four others have recently been discovered in an Arabic translation by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā (see J. Sesiano, *Books IV to VII of Diophantus' Arithmetica* [New York 1982]), which shows that a more complete MS survived until at least the late 9th C. Nikephoros BLEMMYDES had read Nikomachos and as much of Diophantos as his teacher understood; Pachymeres paraphrased the beginning of the *Arithmetic* in his *Quadrivium*; Planoudes commented on the first two books, and in the 14th C. both Rhabdas and Demetrios KYDONES refer to Diophantos. (For further scholia, see A. Allard, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 664–760). One should also note the treatise on magic squares, *Exposition for Finding Square Numbers*, addressed by Manuel Moschopoulos to Rhabdas, and the treatise of Isaac ARGYROS on finding square roots.

Geometry. The tradition of Byz. studies of geometry was, of course, based on EUCLID. The *Elements* were commented on by Pappos (bk.10), Proklos (bk.1), Simplikios (bk.1), and Isaac Argyros (bks. 1–6), while BARLAAM OF CALABRIA wrote an arithmetical explanation of book 2. The *Data* was commented on by Marinos. Both of these works of Euclid were revised by THEON. The *Elements* was the basis for the geometrical sections of the *Quadrivium* of 1007/8 and for that by Pachymeres.

From the corpus of ARCHIMEDES, the *On the Sphere and the Cylinder*, *On the Measurement of a Circle*, and *On Plane Equilibria* were commented on by EUTOKIOS, who also explained books 1–4 of Apollonios's *Conics*. Also largely in the form of explications of the theories of earlier mathematicians is the *Collection* of Pappos. A younger contemporary of Pappos, Serenos of Antinoeia, also wrote a commentary on Apollonios's *Conics*, but it is unfortunately lost. There do survive from his hand two related treatises, *On the Section of a Cylinder* and *On the Section of a Cone*. Also in the tradition of conic sections is Anthemios of Tralles' *On Burning Mirrors* of which we possess only a fragment.

Aside from the numerous scholia, esp. on the *Elements*, virtually the only other known Byz. treatise on geometry is a work on triangles, based on Heron, that Isaac Argyros composed in 1367/8. It is remarkable that none of the brilliant advances in geometry made by the Arabs ever reached Byz.

Optics and Catoptrics. The principal Byz. texts on these subjects are Theon's recension of Ptolemy's *Optics* and the pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics*, which Heiberg (*infra*) conjectured to be the work of Theon. The *Quadrivium* of Pachymeres (3, 59–76) used the original Euclidean form of the *Optics*. An older contemporary of Theon was Damianos, the son (or pupil) of Heliodoros of Larissa, who composed the *Chapters of Optical Hypotheses*.

Metrology. The mathematical aspects of METROLOGY derive from the traditions of Heron's *Geometry*, *Stereometry*, and *On Measures*. These include the pseudo-Heronian *Geodesy*, the *Synopsis of Measurement and Division of the Earth* of John PEDIASIMOS, Isaac Argyros's *Method of Geodesy*, and George the Geometer's *On Geodesy* as well as several anonymous texts (see J.L. Heiberg, *Heronis Alexandrini Opera*, 5 [Leipzig 1914] lxvi–cxi). A large number of other metrological texts exist, including a poem attributed to Psellos (ed. Schilbach, *Quellen Met.* 116–25).

LIT. Heath, *Mathematics* 2:355–555. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:221–60. –D.P.

MATINS. See ORTHROS.

MATRIMONIAL LEGISLATION. From the 4th C. onward MARRIAGE, more than any other institution, was the subject of both secular and ecclesiastical regulations. The two generally complemented one another and conflicted only in exceptional cases. Most of the norms of matrimonial legislation originate in Roman law and are widely expounded in all parts of the *Corpus Juris Civilis* and in the *Basilika* (books 28–30) as well as in minor compendia. Collections of relevant canons were assembled, esp. in the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES (9.28–30, 13.2–4), the commentaries on which also include other relevant material. The principal concerns of matrimonial legislation were the age of the betrothed couple (see BETROTHAL), MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS (title 2 of the *Ecloga*), DIVORCE, REMARRIAGE, and new MARRIAGE RITES (title 16 of the *Epanagoge*). Even if the main principles of matrimonial legislation were apparently widely known and respected, the legal rules were presumably often and easily disregarded through OIKONOMIA.

LIT. J. Zhishman, *Das Eherecht der orientalischen Kirche* (Vienna 1864). P. Goria, *Tradizione romana e innovazioni bizantine nel diritto privato dell'Ecloga privata aucta. Diritto matrimoniale* (Frankfurt 1980). –A.K.

MATTER (ὕλη). The problem of the relationship between God and matter was important for both philosophers and theologians—heretical and orthodox—during the entire period of the late Roman Empire. While PLOTINOS rejected Aristotle's concept of neutral matter and considered lower matter as the end product of the emanative process and the principle of EVIL, PROKLOS emphasized the origin of matter from the supreme principle; matter was not evil but only deprived of good (R. Beutler, *RE* 23 [1957] 242). Christian writers insisted that matter was created: Origen criticizes those who impiously assume "matter to be uncreated (*ingenitam*) and coeternal with uncreated God" (*De principiis* 2.4.1, ed. P. Koetschau [Leipzig 1913] 110.16–17). The concept of preexisting matter from which God created all sensible objects was refuted by Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:100A) and other fathers; John PHILOPONOS lent a scientific foundation to this idea by demonstrating that celestial matter is as corruptible as solar-lunar matter and is not a link in the Proklean divine emanation. The idea of two equal and warring principles, the divine and material, present already in GNOSTICISM, became the core of various DUALIST heresies: Orthodox polemics (e.g., John of Damascus in his tract *Against Manichaeans*, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:351–98) stressed the incongruity of two principles (*archai*)—*arche*, affirms John of Damascus, can only be the monad not dyad; blind matter, which lacks *taxis*, cannot launch a successful war against the realm of light; the cosmos reveals the divine order and cannot be evil, etc. –A.K.

MATTHEW (Ματθαῖος), named Levi before his conversion; evangelist and saint; feastday 16 Nov. Author of the first GOSPEL, he was one of the APOSTLES and preached to the Jews in their native tongue, according to Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 3.24.5–6); Eusebios (*HE* 6.25.4) quotes Origen to the effect that Matthew had written his gospel "in the Hebrew language." Matthew's Gospel was the object of lengthy exegesis, esp. by Origen and John Chrysostom; *catenae* also include fragments of Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Cyril of Alexandria, Photios, and several other theologians. Later, Euthymios Zigabenos and Theophylaktos of Ohrid compiled commentaries on Matthew. Matthew's biography was developed in APOCRYPHAL acts of apostles and in homilies (among the authors are Niketas Paphlagon and Symeon Metaphrastes); hagiographers paid special attention to Matthew's transformation from a tax collector (an abominable profession) into a disciple of Christ. They describe his widely ranging travels, which included Persia and Ethiopia. More modestly, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 227–30) limits Matthew to a journey to Hierapolis in Syria; he is said to have died there peacefully. Matthew's cult in Byz. did not flourish: he had no shrine of his own in Constantinople, and his memory was celebrated in the Church of St. Peter, near Hagia Sophia.

Representation in Art. In EVANGELIST PORTRAITS Matthew is depicted as a vigorous graybeard. Usually he is shown writing before a desk (see WRITING DESK), but sometimes he stands (Nelson, *infra*, figs. 62–63), a posture used in some MS illuminations to distinguish Matthew and JOHN, who were disciples of Christ, from MARK and LUKE, who were not. Matthew may be accompanied by an angel or image of Christ—the latter *en buste* or as the MAJESTAS DOMINI (Nelson,

infra, fig. 40)—to indicate that Christ inspired the Gospel, or by a youth, perhaps JAMES the brother of Christ, who supposedly translated Matthew's Gospel into Greek. In 17 MSS, a miniature of the NATIVITY accompanies the portrait of Matthew. The scene of his conversion (Mt 9:9, Lk 5:27–31) is illustrated in several densely illuminated MSS and occasionally in wall painting. His ministry and martyrdom appear in cycles of the lives and deaths of the apostles.

ED. J. Reuss, *Matthäus-Kommentare aus der griechischen Kirche* (Berlin 1957).
LIT. *BHG* 1224–1228d. F. Spadafora, *Bibl.sanct.* 9:110–25. Friend, "Portraits." Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 75–90.
–J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

MATTHEW I, patriarch of Constantinople (Oct. 1397–1402; 14 June 1403–10 Aug. 1410); born ca.1360 or earlier, died Constantinople. At age 15 Matthew entered the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY in Constantinople under the spiritual guidance of the *hegoumenos* Markos (*PLP*, no.17017) and of his successor NEILOS KERAMEUS, the future patriarch. After Neilos's death (1388), Matthew succeeded him as superior of the monastery. In 1387 Matthew was made *proedros* of Chalcedon but not consecrated; he was then appointed metropolitan of Kyzikos (MM 2:108–11). Thus, when he became patriarch, he was attacked by his enemies, Matthew of Medeia and Makarios of Ankyra, for unlawfully holding the position of bishop three times. He was also accused of negotiating with the Turks during their siege of Constantinople in order to secure his own position, a charge that Matthew rejected as slander (MM 2:463–67). He was briefly deposed (summer 1402–June 1403) by a synod composed of four metropolitans but reinstated by MANUEL II upon his return from Italy (G.T. Dennis, *ByzF* 2 [1967] 100–06). Matthew remained *hegoumenos* of the Charsianeites monastery throughout his patriarchate and in 1407 wrote a *typikon* for the monastery as part of his last will and testament (H. Hunger, *BZ* 51 [1958] 294–303).

ED. MM 2:296–570. I.M. Konidares, K.A. Manaphes, "Epiteleutios boulesis kai didaskalia tou oikoumenikou patriarchou Matthaiou A' (1397–1410)," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 472–510.
LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 3059–3285. *PLP*, no.17387. V. Laurent, "Le trisépiscopat du patriarche Matthieu Ier," *REB* 30 (1972) 5–166.
–A.M.T.

MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS, co-emperor (1353–57); born ca.1325, died Mistra 1383 or 1391. Eldest son of JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, Matthew in 1341 married Irene Palaiologina, granddaughter of Andronikos II. He followed a military career and supported his father during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Angered when John VI failed to recognize him as heir after his own coronations in 1346 and 1347, Matthew declared his independent rule over eastern Thrace. John then granted him this territory as an appanage. John finally agreed to grant Matthew the title of co-emperor in April 1353. Patr. KALLISTOS I resigned in protest. The coronation was performed in Feb. 1354 by a newly elected patriarch, PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. Tensions between Matthew and his brother-in-law JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS increased after John VI's abdication in Dec. 1354. The rivals for the throne were at war in 1355–56. In 1356 Matthew was captured by Serbs and handed over to John V, who held Matthew until he renounced his title of emperor at Epibatai in 1357. In 1361 Matthew moved to the Morea, where he spent his remaining years (A.C. Hero in *Okeanos* 280–87). He assisted his brother, the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS (1349–80), in the administration of the province and briefly succeeded him as *despotes* in 1380–81. He wrote some insignificant commentaries and addressed two treatises on religion and philosophy to his daughter.

ED. "Matthaiou basileos tou Kantakouzenou Logoi anekdotoi dyo," ed. I. Sakkelion, *DIEE* 2 (1887) 425–39. For further list, see Beck, *Kirche* 791.
LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 108–22. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:114–17, 337–40. *PLP*, no.10983.
–A.M.T.

MATTHEW OF EDESSA (Matt'eos Urhayec'i), Armenian historian, priest in the large Armenian population of EDESSA. Of his life nothing is known, save that he was an eyewitness of events in the Crusader principality of Edessa in the early 12th C. His detailed *Chronicle* begins in 952 and reaches 1136. It is of prime importance for Byz.-Crusader-Turkish history in Cilicia and northern Syria. Gregory the Priest (otherwise unknown) continued the narrative to 1162.

Matthew says that he took eight years to compile his work from written and oral sources, which he does not identify. The narrative proceeds strictly chronologically, events being grouped together

year by year according to the Armenian calendar. Like many Armenians, Matthew was ambivalent toward Byz. He praises individual emperors (notably Basil II) for their policies or characters but blames the Greeks for destroying the unity of Armenia and thus causing Turkish success in Anatolia. The attempts of the Byz. to impose Chalcedonian orthodoxy he denounces, yet he calls Constantinople a city under divine protection.

ED. *Patmut'iwn* (Jerusalem 1869; Vałaršapat [Ejmiacin] 1898). *Chronique de Matthieu d'Edesse*, tr. E. Dulaurier (Paris 1858).
LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 141–47. A. Lüders, *Die Kreuzzüge im Urteil syrischer und armenischer Quellen* (Berlin 1964) 17–21. –R.T.

MATTHEW OF EPHESUS. See GABALAS, MANUEL.

MATTHEW OF KHAZARIA, late 14th-C. poet. A hieromonk from the monastery of Kyrizou (in Constantinople or Bithynia), Matthew was sent to CRIMEA in Aug. 1395 by Patr. ANTONY IV as exarch of KHAZARIA (MM 2:492.26–29). He wrote a poem of 15-syllable verses on the "city of Theodore," most probably DORY. It takes the form of a dialogue between a visitor to Crimea (the poet) and the "city of Theodore." The stranger praises the city's site and splendid buildings, but asks why the place seems deserted. The city replies that she has suffered for years from enemy attack and siege (probably the campaigns of TIMUR). The poet concludes with edifying reflections on the transience of material things; therefore man should concentrate on his spiritual salvation. The poem is couched in literary language, but frequently lapses into vernacular syntax, morphology, and vocabulary, esp. when necessary to conform to the meter.

ED. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:385–98. Partial Eng. tr. A. Vasiliev, *The Goths in the Crimea* (Cambridge, Mass., 1936) 189f.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:148. *PLP*, no.17309. –A.M.T.

MATZOUKA (Ματζοῦκα), BANDON of the empire of TREBIZOND, consisting of the valleys immediately south of the coast that control routes to the interior. The region was dominated by the landholdings of the monasteries of Peristera, SOUMELA, and VAZELON and inhabited by Greek-speaking peasants. These tough mountaineers saved Trebizond from Turkish attack in 1283 and 1361 and retained considerable independence after its fall. Besides the great monasteries and numerous castles, remains consist of modest village churches in a vernacular late Byz. style, many of them decorated with paintings of conventional types. The region is important for providing a great range of unpretentious buildings that illustrate rural conditions.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 251–98. A. Bryer, "Rural Society in Matzouka," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 53–95. –C.F.

MAUREX (Μαύρηξ), also Maurix, Maurikas, a Byz. family that flourished in the 11th and 12th C. Its founder, whose first name is unknown, was a common sailor from Herakleia Pontike. According to Italian chroniclers, in 1066 and 1067 a certain Ma(m)brica commanded a fleet attacking Robert Guiscard; WILLIAM OF APULIA (p.240.99) calls him *dux* of Alexios I's fleet. Bryennios (Bryen.197.19–24) says that his naval experience made Maurex indispensable and the emperors conferred upon him enormous wealth; he controlled a local militia consisting of his slaves and servants. In 1082 he was in charge of the navy dispatched to intercept Norman communications between southern Italy and the Balkans (An. Komn. 1:148.30–31). He is usually identified as the Michael Maurex who was titled *strategos* of Chios, *magistros*, *katepano* of Dyrrachion, etc., on several seals of the 11th C. (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 168–71), but narrative sources do not confirm that the naval commander Maurex held these ranks.

In the 12th C. Constantine Maurikas was *praitor* of the Peloponnesos and Hellas (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.305); John Maurikas, in the mid-12th C., was a *kouropalates* (Guilland, "Curopalate" 209). More complicated is the case of a certain Mauresius, a servant (*familiaris*) of Manuel I who was granted special powers during the expedition of Andronikos Kontostephanos to Egypt in 1169; William of Tyre (PL 201:791A) states that at the end of his life Manuel I entrusted him with the administration of the empire. No Greek source confirms this, nor is it known whether Mauresius belonged to the Maurex family. The traces of later family members are scanty: in 1280/1 a cer-

tain Demetrios Maurikas founded a monastery on Naxos (*PLP*, no.17421).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 162f. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 204. Bon, *Péloponnèse* 196. -A.K.

MAURI (Μαυρούσιοι), Moors. From the 3rd C. onward this term was used primarily to designate the semiromanized peoples in North Africa who inhabited the area extending from the Syrtic Gulf to the Atlantic Ocean (Austuriani, Baquates, Leuathai, Mazikes, Musones, Quinquegentanei, Tyndenses, etc.). Mauri was also used in late Roman military jargon as a synonym for rebels. Both senses of the term are employed by PROKOPIOS and CORIPPUS in their accounts of the 6th-C. wars between the Byz. army and Mauri tribes in the North African provinces of TRIPOLITANIA, BYZACENA, and NUMIDIA.

The conflicts were precipitated by Byz. efforts to wrest control over the southern parts of these provinces from various Mauri tribal coalitions that, in some instances, had formed a series of loosely defined Mauri-Roman "kingdoms" during the 5th and early 6th C. Although generally successful militarily, the Byz. were unable to establish full control over the Mauri, and in 547 the Mauri crushed the army of John TROGLITA. To offset this, treaties of alliance and friendship, grants of administrative autonomy, and other diplomatic measures were employed to ensure the loyalty of the tribes. To protect against razzias the Byz. also constructed numerous fortifications in towns on the edge of Mauri-controlled areas and along seasonal north-south migration routes used by the pastoral tribes (e.g., LIMISA). Finally, efforts were made to convert those tribes that were still pagan.

The relative success of Byz. efforts to assimilate the Mauri was demonstrated during the Arab invasions of Africa in the 7th and 8th C. when, according to the Arab sources, the Barbar (the Arabic term for the Mauri, from which the word Berber is derived) were frequently found in alliance with the RŪM (i.e., Romans). Indeed, there is a growing body of epigraphic, archaeological, and numismatic evidence that points to a substantial Romano-Christian element among the Mauri in the 6th and 7th C.

LIT. G. Camps, "*Rex Gentium Maurorum et Romanorum*. Recherches sur les royaumes de Maurétanie des VIe et VIIe siècles," *AntAfr* 26 (1984) 183–218. Pringle, *Defence* 13–16, 22–43. -R.B.H.

MAURICE (Μαυρίκιος), emperor (13/14 Aug. 582–23 Nov. 602); born Arabissos ca.539, died Chalcedon 27 Nov. 602. A legend makes him Armenian (P. Charanis, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 412–17), but the question of his ethnic origin remains unresolved. Maurice came to Constantinople as a notary and made a career as military commander; TIBERIOS I appointed him caesar (in summer 582) and heir to the throne. After his predecessor's death Maurice married Tiberios's daughter Constantina. Evagrios describes Maurice as simple in private life and undemanding in his diet; however, yielding to the taste of the Constantinopolitan population, Maurice arranged splendid festivities at his wedding and upon entering the consulate. In the Karianos portico that he had built in 571 (Theoph. 261.13–15) at the BLACHERNAI, Maurice had painters depict his life story up to the time of his accession. In 596 he set up his statue in a courtyard at the MAGNAURA.

Maurice tried to diminish Justinianic centralization: he introduced the EXARCHATES and in 597 wrote a will, planning to divide the empire among his three sons. The circus factions revived after long inactivity (Y. Janssens, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 499–515). Maurice used able generals (PHILIPPIKOS, PRISKOS, KOMENTIOLOS) and diplomats (DOMITIANOS) and was so successful in the war against Persia that CHOSROES II acknowledged dependence on Constantinople. In the West the situation was worse: the Lombards continued to encroach upon Italy, and under GREGORY I the papacy grew more independent; attempts to ally with the Franks against the Lombards failed. The situation on the Danube border became dangerous because of Avar pressure and rebellious armies that felt themselves underpaid and overburdened. The revolt of PHOKAS led to the overthrow of Maurice, his execution, and that of his male relatives.

LIT. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam*, vols. 1–3. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian*. Kaegi, *Unrest* 101–19. V. Grumel, "La mémoire de Tibère II et de Maurice dans le Synaxaire de Constantinople," *AB* 84 (1966) 249–53. -W.E.K., A.C.

MAURITANIA (Μαυριτανία). From the 1st C. A.D., Mauritania designated that part of North Africa extending from the border of Numidia (the Ampsaga River) to the Atlantic. Originally, Mauritania was divided into two provinces: Caesariensis to the east and Tingitana to the west, the

border between the two formed by the Mulucha (mod. Moulouya) River. Diocletian detached the eastern part of Caesariensis to form the new province of Sitifensis. Following the Byz. reconquest of Africa (533), Justinian I called for the reestablishment of the "two Mauritanias." The fact that Mauritania Sitifensis was not recovered militarily until 539 led Pringle (*infra*) to argue that the second Mauritania was Gaditana, the northern coastal strip of Tingitana around SEPTEM, which was held by the Byz. after 533. This hypothesis, however, overlooks the fact that Justinian's rescript was intended to serve primarily as a blueprint for the future, not as a reflection of the existing extent of Byz. control in Africa in 534. Moreover, since the prefecture of AFRICA was modeled on the Diocletianic diocese of the same name, which included Sitifensis but not Tingitana (the latter attached to the Spanish dioceses), it is arguable that Sitifensis was the second Mauritania.

A further problem in the case of Sitifensis arises from Prokopios's inclusion of Sitifis in NUMIDIA (*Buildings* 6.7.9), thereby leading Y. Duval (*Latomus* 29 [1970] 157–61) to conjecture that by 554 Sitifensis had been absorbed into Numidia. There is no evidence, however, that Sitifensis was ever more than a civil province (see Prokopios, *Wars* 2.20.30). As with parts of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, it is more likely to have formed part of the large military province under the *dux Numidiae*. Byz. control of Caesarea and Rusguniae in Caesariensis is attested in the late 6th C., but beyond that time nothing is known; Septem in Gaditana remained in imperial hands until seized by the Arabs in 711.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 23, 64f. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955) 170, 174f. Lepelley, *Cités* 1:49–57. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 107–11, 254–66. –R.B.H.

MAUROKATAKALON. See KATAKALON.

MAUROPOUS, JOHN, writer; born Paphlagonia ca.1000, died Constantinople after ca.1075–81, according to Ja. Ljubarskij (*BBulg* 4 [1973] 50f). Mauropous (Μαυρόπους) was a teacher in Constantinople, a court rhetorician under Constantine IX, metropolitan of Euchaita (ca.1050–75), then a monk in the monastery of Prodromos in PETRA in Constantinople. He claimed the leadership of young intellectuals (such as his pupil PSELLOS), who tried to direct the policy of Constantine IX; in 1047 Mauropous courageously petitioned the emperor to acquit the participants in the rebellion of Leo TORNIKIOS. The chronography Mauropous wrote was destroyed because of its political heterodoxy (Lagarde, no.96). Socially, Mauropous was antimilitaristic: he contrasted imperial justice and omnipotence with the frenetic activity of barbarians and rebellious generals doomed to lose in the end. Mauropous paved the way for the use of rhetoric as a means of political influence. His speeches dealt with the most important events of political life. After being forced to leave Constantinople ca.1050, Mauropous concentrated on religious topics, producing *kanones* and saints' lives; his antiaristocratic tendencies are revealed in his praise of the foot soldier St. THEODORE TERON whose festival was celebrated in Euchaita. A forerunner of Psellos, Mauropous sought to introduce vivid images into his speeches, letters, and epigrams and eagerly defended ancient writers, such as Plato and Plutarch, against charges of atheism (Lagarde, no.43). His speeches are also a valuable source for the history of Byz. relations with their northern neighbors, even though their vague imagery makes some of their data disputable (e.g., J. Shepard, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 61–89; A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 65–77). Psellos's very conventional *enkomion* of Mauropous (*Encomio per Giovanni piissimo metropolita di Euchaita*, ed. R. Anastasi [Padua 1968]) is lacking in concrete information.

ED. "Quae in codice Vaticano graeco 676 supersunt," ed. P. de Lagarde, *Abhandlungen der Göttinger Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* 28 (1881) 1–228. *The Letters of Ioannes Mauropous, Metropolitan of Euchaita*, ed. A. Karpozilos (Thessalonike 1990).

LIT. A. Karpozilos, *Symbole ste melete tou biou kai tou ergou tou Ioanne Mauropodos* (Ioannina 1982). J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 265–303. R. Anastasi, "Su Giovanni d'Euchaita," *SicGymn* 29 (1976) 19–49. –A.K.

MAUROZOMES (Μαυροζώμης), a noble family of the 12th C. The etymology of the name is "black broth" (Koukoules, *Bios* 6 [1957] 494); the name is preserved in the toponymy of the Peloponnesos, and it is possible that the family originated from this area. Theodore Maurozomes was one of the favorite generals of Manuel I and was briefly chief of the imperial secretaries under Andronikos I; John Maurozomes led an army from

the Peloponnesos to the relief of Thessalonike in 1185 (Brand, *Byzantium* 59, 61, 165).

Circa 1200 Manuel Maurozomes was, according to IBN BĪBĪ (tr. Duda 30), one of the great "caesars" of Byz. When the Seljuk sultan KAY-KHUSRAW I went into exile in Constantinople, he married the daughter of "a great *patrikios*" (according to Rashīd ad-Dīn and GREGORY ABŪL-FARAJ); the name of the sultan's father-in-law, Manuel Maurozomes, is provided by Niketas Choniates and ibn Bībī. Probably before the fall of Constantinople in 1204, the sultan fled to the "island" or "fortress" of Manuel and from there went to Ikonion; both Kay-Khusraw and Manuel were stopped in Nicaea, since the "basileus" (Constantine Laskaris or Theodore I Laskaris?) had already signed a treaty with the Seljuk ruler. They managed to escape, and eventually Kay-Khusraw resumed power and appointed Manuel to a high position. Manuel fought unsuccessfully against Theodore I, but under Seljuk pressure the emperor acknowledged the jurisdiction of Maurozomes (as a Turkish vassal) in the basin of the Meander, including Chonai and Laodikeia. The family, although Christian, retained influence in Ikonion at least until 1297, when the funerary inscription of a certain John Komnenos Maurozomes was erected there (P. Wittek, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 505–15).

LIT. P. Wittek, "Von der byzantinischen zur türkischen Toponymie," *Byzantion* 10 (1935) 24–30. C. Cahen, "Une famille byzantine au service des Seldjuqides d'Asie Mineure," in *Polychronion* 146. P. Žavoronkov, "U istokov obrazovanija Nikejskoj imperii," *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 32–36. –A.K.

MAUSOLEUM (*ἡρῷον*), a monumental tomb. Late Antique mausoleums, like those of Diocletian at Split and Helena at Rome, were domed structures with centralized plans, providing space for visitors and for memorial services. Mausoleums of pagan rulers were freestanding while those of Christian rulers were generally attached to a church. Three centrally planned 5th-C. mausoleums survive in Constantinople (Eyice, *infra* 117–30). The tradition of building such structures continued at least into the early 7th C., when four small, polygonal mausoleums were attached to the newly completed Church of St. EUPHEMIA (R. Naumann, H. Belting, *Die Euphemia-Kirche am Hippodrome zu Istanbul und ihre Fresken* [Berlin 1966] 49–53). The most important mausoleums in the Byz. world were those of the emperors attached to the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople. Four imperial mausoleums adjoined the church: the Mausoleum, or "Heröon," of Constantine I, a domed rotunda; the "North Stoa" and "South Stoa," two small mausoleums of uncertain form completed by ca.405; and the cruciform Mausoleum of Justinian I. With the change in custom to burials within narthexes and PAREKKLESIA sometime after the 6th C., the practice of erecting separate buildings as mausoleums was abandoned. The function of the so-called Mausoleum of Galla Placidia in Ravenna is debated.

LIT. M. Johnson, "Late Antique Imperial Mausolea," (Ph.D. diss., Princeton University, 1986). P. Grierson, "The Tombs and Obits of the Byzantine Emperors," *DOP* 16 (1962) 1–63. S. Eyice, "Les églises byzantines à plan central d'Istanbul," *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 115–49. –M.J., W.L.

MAVIA (*Μαυία*), queen of the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. and wife of an anonymous federate king; he was probably a TANŪKHID. After her husband died (ca.375), the treaty or *foedus* with Byz. automatically lapsed and Mavia revolted. She was an Orthodox Christian and her revolt against the Arian emperor Valens assumed religious aspects. She took the offensive, attacking Phoenicia and Palestine. In pitched battles she twice defeated Byz. generals, and Valens sued for peace, agreeing to the consecration of an Arab, St. MOSES, as the bishop of Mavia's *foederati*. Her daughter married Victor, the *magister equitum* for Oriens; subsequently Mavia sent troops that participated in the Gothic war in Thrace and successfully defended Constantinople against the Goths after the battle of Adrianople (378). Difficulties arose with Theodosios I and, after a second revolt, RICIMER crushed the Arabs in 383, when Mavia's rule probably ended. Two Christian inscriptions, found outside Anasartha in Syria, may refer to Mavia and her daughter. Arabic odes composed on the occasion of Mavia's victories are the first recorded Arabic poetry in Oriens.

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th C.)* 138–202. G.W. Bowersock, "Mavia, Queen of the Saracens," in *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte: Festschrift Friedrich Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 477–95. P. Mayerson, "Mauia, Queen of the Saracens—A Cautionary Note," *IEJ* 30 (1980) 123–31. –I.A.Sh.

MAXENTIUS (*Μαξέντιος*), more fully Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maxentius, son of MAXIMIAN and emperor (306–12); born ca.286, died Rome 28 Oct. 312. Although ignored by the arrange-

ments of DIOCLETIAN for the succession in 305, he married Maximilla, daughter of GALERIUS. After Constantine I's assumption of the imperial title in 306 Maxentius was proclaimed by the praetorian guard and the people of Rome. At first he avoided the title augustus, but assumed it by early 307. Maxentius called on the assistance of his father, who returned from retirement and aided in the defeat of Severus, after which Maxentius controlled Italy and Africa. He initially allied with Constantine, who was married to his sister Fausta. The alliance was broken, however, when Maximian denounced his son and fled to Constantine's court. Left out of the reconstituted TETRARCHY at the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, Maxentius faced revolt from DOMITIUS ALEXANDER and the threat of LICINIUS, who had been appointed to accomplish his suppression. Maxentius attempted to win popular support through religious toleration and an active building program, but military needs forced heavy financial burdens on inhabitants of territories he controlled. Although he was certainly not the tyrant pictured in later Constantinian propaganda, his rule became more arbitrary and unpopular. In 312 Constantine anticipated Licinius and invaded Italy; Maxentius was defeated at the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, during which he perished. The villa at PIAZZA ARMERINA in Sicily was probably built by Maxentius.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 29–43. D. de Decker, "La politique religieuse de Maxence," *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 472–562. –T.E.G.

MAXIMIAN, full name Marcus Aurelius Valerius Maximianus, Diocletian's co-ruler and caesar (285), augustus (286–305); born Sirmium (?) between 240 and 250, died Massilia 310 (before 21 July). Born to a peasant family, Maximian (Μαξιμιανός) was fellow-soldier with Diocletian and made a military career under Aurelian and Probus. His wife was Eutropia, a Syrian. Diocletian elevated him to the dignity of emperor, and Maximian ruled in the West, his residence being Milan. He was faced with barbarian incursions across the Rhine, a revolt of Bagaudae in Gallia, and the revolt of his subordinate Carausius, who occupied Britain and northern Gallia but was defeated in 293.

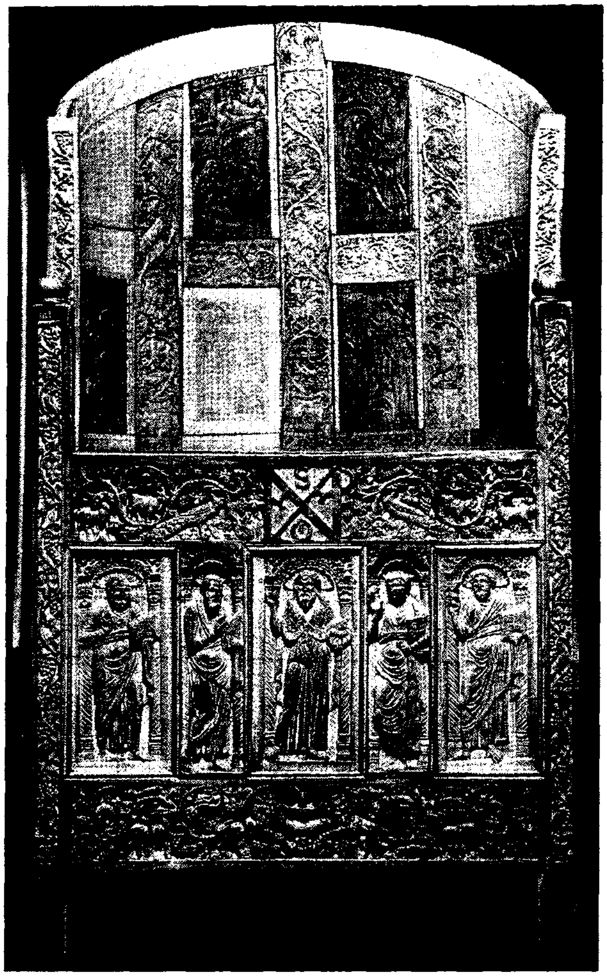
In May 305 Maximian was persuaded by Diocletian to abdicate; he was succeeded by CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS. The death of the latter in July 306 created a shaky situation in the West and allowed Maximian's interference in the political situation. First he assisted his son MAXENTIUS (proclaimed emperor in Rome) against the Augustus Severus, who fled to Ravenna but soon surrendered (before 1 Jan. 307?); then he sought an alliance with Constantine I the Great (married to Maximian's daughter Fausta) against Maxentius. Constantine, however, did not recognize Maximian's claims to the title of augustus, so Maximian took advantage of Constantine's preoccupation with a war against the Franks and revolted in 310. His rebellion was unsuccessful, however. He was forced to retreat to Massilia, where he surrendered; soon thereafter he was found hanged.

Later tradition was hostile to Maximian. He suffered *damnatio memoriae* and his statues were destroyed. Christian legends present him as persecutor of the faithful, even though the persecutions in the West were not as severe as those in the East under Diocletian.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2486–2516. A. Pasqualini, *Massimiano Herculius* (Rome 1979). C.E.V. Nixon, "The Panegyric of 307 and Maximian's Visits to Rome," *Phoenix* 35 (1981) 70–76. E.A. Sydenham, "The Vicissitudes of Maximian after his Abdication," *NChron*[5] 14 (1934) 141–65. –T.E.G.

MAXIMIAN, archbishop of RAVENNA (546–553); born Pola 498, died Ravenna 22 Feb. 553. From his native city, where he was a deacon, Maximian went to Constantinople. Shortly after his consecration on 14 Oct. 546 by Pope Vigilius at the orders of Justinian I and Theodora (Deichmann, *Ravenna*, 1:14), Maximian dedicated the Church of S. Vitale in RAVENNA, where he is portrayed in mosaic. He had built a church at Pola and, during his tenure of the see of Ravenna, built a Basilica of St. Stephen near S. Vitale and another of St. John outside Ravenna; he dedicated the Church of Sant'Apollinare in Classe on 9 May 549. The *Liber pontificalis* of AGNELLUS records Maximian's donation of vessels for chrism, an ENDYTE, and other gifts to the see of Ravenna.

Cathedra of Maximian. The CATHEDRA is a thronelike object preserved in the Archiepiscopal Museum, Ravenna, and the only nearly complete piece of ivory furniture to survive from the Byz. era. It is now generally accepted as having been made for Maximian because of a monogram on the front that resolves as MAXIMIANUS EPIS-



MAXIMIAN. Cathedra of Maximian; ivory. Archepiscopal Museum, Ravenna. Beneath the monogram of Maximian are figures of the four evangelists and John the Baptist.

COPUS. The cathedra originally contained 39 panels, some double-sided, others framed by inhabited RINCEAUX. Twelve are lost and the arrangement of the others disturbed by frequent restoration, esp. the panels with the infancy and miracles of Christ on the dossal and back. Below the monogram and between the Evangelists is John the Baptist, a prominence that may indicate that the cathedra was intended for the baptistery. Ten scenes from the life of Joseph on the sides could allude to the archbishop's role as "overseer" before the establishment of the EXARCHATE of Ravenna. Alexandria, Constantinople, and Ravenna have each been suggested as the cathedra's place of manufacture. The depth of relief and other aspects of style vary greatly from one group of panels to another. Its size (124 cm high) and manner of construction—the ivory panels were attached to one another without the often postulated wooden core—imply that the object could scarcely have functioned as an episcopal THRONE. It has also been suggested that it served as a display stand for a Gospel book. Nothing is known of the cathedra's presence in Ravenna before the 17th C.

LIT. C. Cecchelli, *La cattedra di Massimiano ed altri avori romano-orientali*, 5 vols. (Rome 1936–44). F. Jurgensen, "Die 'Stile' und der Umkreis der Maximians-kathedra in Ravenna" (Ph.D. diss., Hamburg, 1972). –A.C.

MAXIMINUS DAIA, or Caius Galerius Valerius Maximinus (Daia was part of his original name and was not used in his official title), augustus (from 310); born Illyricum ca.20 Nov. 270, died Tarsos summer 313. The nephew of GALERIUS, Maximinus (Μαξιμῖνος) was named by DIOCLETIAN as caesar on 1 May 305. He ruled the prefecture of Oriens. At the Conference of Carnuntum in 308, despite the protests of Galerius, Maximinus was not elevated in rank, but was proclaimed augustus by his troops in 310 (on 1 May according to C.H.V. Sutherland, *Roman Imperial Coinage* 6 [London 1967] 15f). His proclamation, along with that of Constantine I, meant the effective end of the TETRARCHY. Upon the death of Galerius he seized Asia Minor, gaining popularity there through tax relief. Despite Galerius's edict of toleration, Maximinus continued to persecute the Christians. He formed an alliance with MAXENTIUS, and, after the battle of the MILVIAN BRIDGE, Constantine ordered him to cease the persecution. In 313 Maximinus attacked LICINIUS. He was defeated in Thrace. He fled eastward and then committed suicide.

LIT. Barnes, *New Empire* 39. H. Castritius, *Studien zu Maximinus Daia* (Kallmünz 1969). R. Grant, "The Religion of Maximin Daia," in *Studies for Morton Smith at Sixty* 4 (Leiden 1975) 143–66. S. Filosi, "L'ispirazione neoplatonica della persecuzione di Massimino Daia," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 41 (1987) 79–91. –T.E.G.

MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES (Καυσοκαλυβίτης), saint; born Lampsakos 1270 or 1285, died Mt. Athos, 13 Jan. 1365 or 1380. Maximos was an Athonite hermit who carried to an extreme the monastic ideal of poverty. He was reputed to

own only the clothes on his back and to have foraged for his food. His epithet, the "hut-burner," derives from his practice of periodically burning down his thatch hut and moving to another site.

Maximos first took monastic vows on Mt. GANOS at age 17. There followed years of restless wandering and pilgrimages to the shrines of Constantinople and Thessalonike. In Constantinople he refused to enter a monastery and became a holy FOOL living in the streets. He finally settled on Mt. Athos; after a few years of submission to the cenobitic discipline of LAVRA, he lived as a solitary until his death at 95. Maximos's astonishing prophecies and feats of asceticism attracted to Athos disciples and famous visitors, including the emperors John V and John VI, Patr. KALLISTOS I, and GREGORY SINAITES. He was a staunch hesychast and opponent of Gregory AKINDYNOS. Four different vitae of Maximos were composed during the century after his death (*BHG* 1236z-1237f); the most detailed is that of Theophanes, *prohegoumenos* of Vatopedi; another was written by the monk NIPHON. The Athonite skete of Kapsokalyvia, founded in the 18th C., is named after him.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 54 (1936) 38–112.

LIT. K. Ware, "St. Maximos of Kapsokalyvia and Fourteenth-Century Athonite Hesychasm," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley 1988) 409–30. –A.M.T.

MAXIMOS OF EPHESUS, Neoplatonist philosopher; born Smyrna? ca.300, died Antioch 371/2. He was confused in the *Souda* with an almost unknown Maximos of Epiros or Byzantion. Maximos, who belonged to the school of IAMBLICHOS, contributed much to the introduction of elements of divination and wonder-working into philosophy. His colleagues called him a "theatrical miracle-monger" and related how he made a statue of Hekate laugh and caused the torches she held in her hands to burst into flame (*Eunapius*, ed. Wright, *infra* 434.4–19). His works have not survived; from incidental references we know that he commented on Aristotle. Maximos's attempt to deliver public declamations proved a failure. He did not adhere to the ideal of the philosopher-hermit, but preferred interaction with people and making money.

The young JULIAN chose Maximos as his teacher and developed his belief in Platonism under the influence of Maximos. After Julian's accession to the throne, Maximos joined the emperor in Constantinople, became his favorite, acquired enormous wealth, and accompanied him on the Persian expedition. Julian's death curtailed the career of Maximos: he was brought before a court and sentenced to an exorbitant fine; he considered suicide, but was frightened after his wife poisoned herself. Partially rehabilitated, he began lecturing on philosophy and thus recovered much of his wealth and his reputation as fortune-teller. His interpretation of an oracle as predicting for Emp. Valens a strange death without burial resulted in Maximos's arrest and execution.

SOURCE. *Philostratus and Eunapius, The Lives of the Sophists*, ed. W.C. Wright, with Eng. tr. (London–New York 1922) 426–59.

LIT. K. Praechter, *RE* 14 (1930) 2563–70. R. Browning, *The Emperor Julian* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 55–58, 213. E.R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 59. –A.K.

MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, theologian and saint; baptismal name Moschion; born 580. According to the 10th-C. *enkomion* by a Stoudite monk, Michael Exaboulites (W. Lackner, *AB* 85 [1967] 312), Maximos was born in Constantinople, whereas his Syriac biography by Maximos's contemporary George of Reš'aina, a hostile document but concrete in detail, places his birth in the village of Hefsin east of Lake Tiberias. Maximos died on 13 Aug. 662 in the *kastron* Schiomaris, near the frontier with Alania (R. Devreesse, *AB* 46 [1928] 42). Michael calls him the son of noble and pious parents (PG 90:69A), but George describes his father as a Samaritan merchant and his mother as a Persian slave girl. After his stay in the monastery of "Palaia Lavra," Maximos was part of the entourage of SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem and eventually became *asekretis* at the court of Herakleios (W. Lackner, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 64). Condemned for his religious views, Maximos fled to Africa ca.630 and energetically fought against MONOTHELETISM. He supported Pope MARTIN I in 649 and was accused by Constans II of treason. He was exiled in 655 to Bizye in Thrace and in 662 to Lazica, where he died. His feastday was celebrated on 21 Jan., the translation of his relics to Constantinople on 13 Aug.

Maximos was a prolific author. His major works are *Mystagogy, The Book of Asceticism, Questions to Thalassios,* and *The Chapters on Love.* He was influenced first by ORIGEN (whom he later refuted), then by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. The idea of the perfect human nature in Christ forms the core of the theology of Maximos; it allows the deification of man—the ultimate goal of man's creation. Man as microcosm has a middle position between the extremes of creation; his task, interrupted by the Fall, is to overcome the trichotomy of mind, soul, and body, to ascend via the image of God to likeness with God. The human will plays a decisive role in man's ascent to God by suppressing the vices of self-love, gluttony, fornication, etc. (Maximos developed the hierarchy of vices of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS), and by achieving the state of virtuousness and reintegration with Christ.

The anthropocentric theology of Maximos is reflected in his concept of the Church: it is not only the "type" and icon of God, but also of "the spiritual man," man in his turn being "the mystical church" (PG 91:684A). Unlike pseudo-Dionysios, Maximos did not emphasize the hierarchical structure of the church, but its hypostatic unity: the church is a single house, "not divided into its constituent parts" (PG 91:668D). These concepts of the atomization of the human will and the unity of the COSMOS made Maximos one of the most "Byzantine" philosophers; his works, nevertheless, were translated in the West (I. Boronkai, *ActaAntHung* 24 [1976] 307–33).

ED. PG 90–91. *Quaestiones ad Thalassium,* ed. C. Laga and C. Steel (Louvain 1980). *Quaestiones et dubia,* ed. J.H. Declerck (Louvain 1982). Eng. tr. *The Church, the Liturgy and the Soul of Man,* tr. Dom J. Stead (Still River, Mass., 1982). *The Ascetic Life: The Four Centuries on Charity,* tr. P. Sherwood (Westminster, Md., 1955). *Selected Writings,* tr. G. Berthold (Mahwah, N.J., 1985).

LIT. *BHG* 1231–36d. S. Brock, "An Early Syriac Life of Maximus the Confessor," *AB* 91 (1973) 299–346. Beck, *Kirche* 436–42. *Maximus Confessor: Actes du Symposium,* ed. F. Heinzer and C. Schönborn (Freiburg 1982). L. Thunberg, *Man and the Cosmos: The Vision of St. Maximos the Confessor* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1985). F. Heinzer, *Gottes Sohn als Mensch* (Freiburg 1980). A. Riou, *Le monde et l'Église selon Maxime le Confesseur* (Paris 1973). –A.K.

MAXIMUS (Μάξιμος), more fully Magnus Maximus, usurper (383–88); died Aquileia 28 Aug. 388. Of Spanish origin, he was perhaps related to Theodosios I. He rose in the army and commanded troops in Britain under Gratian. He was proclaimed augustus by his troops probably in the spring of 383 (V. Grumel, *REB* 12 [1954] 18f). The assassination of Gratian followed soon after; as a result all of Gaul came under the control of Maximus. Theodosios I and the court of the young emperor Valentinian II at first acceded to the rule of Maximus. The new augustus posed as a champion of Orthodoxy and had his praetorian prefect conduct a hearing that led to the condemnation of the heretic PRISCILLIAN and his followers, a process that was attacked by AMBROSE of Milan and Martin of Tours as inappropriate for the state. Tempted by the weakness of Valentinian II, he invaded Italy in 387, forcing the court to flee to Thessalonike. Theodosios I finally marched westward and defeated Maximus in two battles. The rebel was apprehended and killed at Aquileia.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:194–207. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2546–55. H.R. Baldus, "Theodosius der Grosse und die Revolte des Magnus Maximus—das Zeugnis der Münzen," *Chiron* 14 (1984) 175–92. –T.E.G.

MAYYĀFĀRIQĪN. See MARTYROPOLIS.

MAZARIS (Μάζαρις), author of a satirical dialogue entitled *Journey to Hades,* addressed probably to THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS; fl. ca.1414/15. Mazaris was associated with the court of MANUEL II before 1399 but then fell into disgrace. In imitation of LUCIAN, the satire describes conversations in Hades with recently deceased imperial courtiers. The first part of the work, composed between Jan. and July 1414, is primarily a dialogue between Mazaris and Manuel Holobolos, a former imperial secretary who had been dismissed. Mazaris heaps abuse not only on garrulous, adulterous bureaucrats and corrupt judges, but also on incompetent doctors and immoral monks and nuns. Part II of the satire, written in 1415 after Mazaris moved to the Peloponnesos, attacks the various nationalities that comprised the Moreote population, including "greedy" Italians, "bloodthirsty" Slavs, "contentious" Jews, and "deceitful" Albanians. He also satirizes the rebellious local toparchs. Besides providing valuable prosopographical data, the satire contains information on Manuel's reconstruction of the HEXAMILION in 1415. S. Lampros (*BZ* 5 [1896] 63–73)

suggested that Mazaris might be identified with the monk Maximos Mazaris, who wrote grammatical canons, and/or with Manuel Mazaris, who composed a legend of St. Irene (*PLP*, nos.16121–22).

ED. *Mazaris' Journey to Hades*, with Eng. tr. (Buffalo, N.Y., 1975).

LIT. *PLP*, no.16117. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:155–58. R. Walther, "Zur Hadesfahrt des Mazaris," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 195–206. –A.M.T.

MAZDAK, Persian heresiarch; born Madariya? or Nisa ca.450, died 528/9 or, according to O. Klíma (*Charisteria orientalia* [Prague 1956] 135–41), in 524. The movement that took his name originated in the preaching of Zarādusht, whom Christensen (*infra*) identified as a certain Bundos who lived in late 3rd-C. Rome and then returned to Iran; Klíma, however, placed Zarādusht in the 5th C. Mazdakism attained its greatest political success through its influence on the Sasanian ruler KAVĀD and on some of his social legislation. Mazdak evidently became the head of a Mazdakite "church," and took an active part in the dynastic politics between Kavād's sons, Kāvūs and Chosroes. Simultaneously the radical social doctrines of the sect, which attacked the strict caste system and the established power of the ZOROASTRIAN clergy, brought about violent social uprisings in which the peasantry violated the purity of the social classes and the property of the wealthy nobility. This led to brutal retribution; Mazdak and the Mazdakite leaders were slaughtered and the movement was dispersed. It went underground, however, and survived the destruction of the Sasanian Empire. Many Greek historians (Prokopios of Caesarea, Agathias, Theophylaktos Simokattes, Theophanes) wrote about this movement, which they described as MANICHAEANISM without mentioning the name of Mazdak.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 316–62. Idem, *Le règne du roi Kawadh I et le communisme mazdakite* (Copenhagen 1925). *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater 3.2 (Cambridge 1983) 991–1022. O. Klíma, *Mazdak* (Prague 1957). N. Pigulevskaja, "Mazdakitskoe dviženie," *Izv AN SSSR, serija istorii i filosofii*, no.4 (1944) 171–81. –S.V.

MC'XET'A, capital of GEORGIA (4th C. B.C.–A.D. 5th C.), and an important Georgian religious center. Many of its churches commemorate St. Nino's trials and miracles and her role in the conversion of King Mirian (265–342) to Christianity. A 4th-C. (?) chapel commemorates Nino's refuge in the governor's garden. The Samt'avro (lit. "governor's residence") monastery, with an impressive 11th-C. domed cruciform *katholikon*, was built around this chapel. The Church of Džvari ("cross") replaced the large cross Nino had erected on a mountain overlooking Mc'xet'a. It is a tetraconch like St. Hrip'simē at VAŁARŠAPAT and dates sometime between 586 (or 587) and the late 7th C., depending on the identity of the donor, Stephen, lord of K'art'li (W. Djobadze, *OrChr* 44 [1960] 114–27).

The church of Sveti C'xoveli (lit. "light-giving pillar") is a domed basilica (begun in 1010) that replaced at least three earlier churches; its name refers to a cedar pillar that miraculously glowed and floated into place in the first church at Mc'xet'a after originally proving impossible to move. Reliefs of bulls' heads (5th-C.?) are incorporated in its 18th-C. gateway.

LIT. R. Gverdciteli, *Mccheta* (Tbilisi 1962). –A.T.

MEASURES. Byz. units of length, surface, volume, weight, and time originated in late antiquity. Although through the 6th C. some measures were in widespread use (e.g., the LITRA, MODIOS, and *sextarius*), there was no coherent system throughout the whole empire. Rather the systems that had existed historically in the various regions were employed. A coherent system of specifically Byz. measures developed gradually in the period after Justinian I, owing to the requirements of the central fiscal system. The authorities constantly emphasized that official measures be used properly, and standard measures were frequently set up in towns and villages for public observation. From the 12th C. Italian merchants were allowed to use their own measures in the Latin quarters of cities.

Three measures were of central importance. The basic measure of weight was the *logarike litra* of approximately 320 g, the primary unit of length was the POUS of 31.23 cm, and the main measure of volume was the MEGARIKON of 102.5 liters. For measuring the surface of fields, the Byz. used measures such as ZEUGARION (yoke) and *modios* (a unit of grain capacity), along with linear measures such as SCHOINION or ORGYIA. In theory, measures formed a strict system, but in practice their interrelations varied within a wide range.

Parallel to the official measures were units of only local validity whose origin often cannot be determined. In part, these were special measures, developed by the necessities of trade or craft, for example, special measures for the salt trade, different yards for the woolen, cotton, or silk industries. Often these local measures were introduced through contacts with foreign peoples, esp. Muslims and Italians. With the advance of the Ottomans, some Turkish measures were introduced, just as Byz. measures were adopted in the Ottoman Empire. (See also METROLOGY.)

LIT. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970). Idem, "Das byzantinische Masssystem in seinen Grundzügen und seine Herkunft," *Travaux du Ier Congrès International de la métrologie historique*, vol. 1 (Zagreb 1975) 34–49. –E. Sch.

MEAT (κρέας) constituted a substantial part of the Byz. DIET; from the 7th C. onward it is probable that the proportion of BREAD decreased, whereas meat and dairy products acquired greater importance (A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 8 [1982] 117–20). The most popular kind of meat was lamb (see SHEEP); Symeon SETH recommended particularly the meat of year-old animals. GOAT meat is mentioned, among others, by Liutprand of Cremona (J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* [Vienna 1980] 90f), who did not enjoy the "fat goat" served at the imperial court in Constantinople. Pork was considered a coarse food, whereas the chine of beef appears in Niketas Choniates as a staple of imperial banquets and of the Crusaders. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH, with its special chapters on BUTCHERS and vendors of SWINE, shows the extent of the meat trade in Constantinople. The meat of domestic animals (see LIVESTOCK) and domestic FOWL was supplemented by fish from FISHING and meat obtained through the HUNTING of wild animals—esp. venison (although it was not recommended during summertime) and the flesh of hare and wild boar.

Meat was roasted (sometimes over an open fire) or boiled. It might be served with various sauces, usually vinegar and honey or wine and honey. Lamb or mutton was sometimes cooked in a casserole with garlic, onion, and leeks. Pseudo-KAISARIOS describes a special cooking method allegedly used by herdsmen who would put meat into a glass vessel enclosed in dried dung and leave it in the sun (PG 38:928.39–45). To preserve meat for storage or transportation, it was dried, smoked, salted, or pickled. The Byz. also made lard and prepared sausages (*neura*) that were sold in the shops of GROCERS.

Ascetics avoided eating meat at any time; it was never consumed in monasteries by monks. Abstinence from meat was enjoined for laymen on days of FASTING. Canon law forbade the consumption of BLOOD and of animals killed by strangling.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:46–66. –A.K., Ap.K., J.W.N.

MEDALLIONS, a term customarily applied to coins of the Roman Empire through the 6th C. that are exceptional either in their types, or in being of unusually fine workmanship, or in lacking some feature of normal coins (e.g., the S C for *Senatus Consultu* on bronze coins of the early empire), or through being multiples of more frequently used denominations. Those of the early empire are for the most part of bronze, but from the late 3rd C. onward medallions are normally of gold or silver. Either they are high denominations of current coins, so that some scholars prefer to term them multiples, or they perpetuate some obsolete denomination, such as the aureus struck 60 to the pound in contrast to the SOLIDUS struck 72 to the pound, presumably because the entitlement of some official to receive such a coin had been established when it was in normal use. Money medallions reached their heyday in the 4th C., with great variety in thematic content; in the 5th and 6th C. they became rarer and none later than the reign of Phokas is known. The field of the obverse was reserved for a depiction of the emperor, customarily a head or half-bust in profile. A range of reverse types is found: the emperor standing alone, between captives, on horseback, or in a quadriga; the seated figures of Roma and Constantinopolis; or a seated figure of either of these alone.

It was formerly believed that all medallions were made specifically for presentation to individuals or for distribution on such occasions as accession, anniversaries, and victory or consular celebrations. Some were certainly made for such purposes and have often survived elaborately mounted in pectorals or other pieces of jewelry. Others, however, are found mixed in hoards with ordinary coins and clearly were part of the regular currency.

LIT. F. Gnecchi, *I medaglioni romani*, 3 vols. (Milan 1912). J.M.C. Toynbee, *Roman Medallions* (New York 1944; rp. 1986). P. Bastien, C. Metzger, *Le trésor de Beaurains* (Wetteren 1977). A. Jeločnik, "Les multiples d'or de Magnence découverts à Emona," *RN*[6] 9 (1967) 209–35.
–Ph.G., J.W.N.

MEDALLION STYLE. See ORNAMENT.

MEDICAL SERVICES, MILITARY. Soldiers wounded in battle were rescued by men specially appointed for this task. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* 2.9, pp. 126–28) instructs that eight to ten unarmed men be reserved to follow each unit to help unhorsed or wounded soldiers. Called *depotatoi*, these men attached an extra stirrup to their saddles to enable both rider and injured man to mount the horse and ride to safety. They also carried flasks of water to relieve the thirst of the wounded men. The *depotatoi* received one nomisma for each man saved. The 10th-C. DE RE MILITARI assigns the task of transporting wounded men back to Byz. territory to one of the army's service units (ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 324.20–21), but exactly where the wounded were taken and what care they received is not recorded.

PHYSICIANS (*therapeutai* or *iatroi*) are listed among the nonmilitary personnel accompanying the army in 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA. Sections of the medical treatises of ORIBASIOS and PAUL OF AEGINA cover military medicine, esp. fractures and extractions; Prokopios (*Wars* 6.2.25–32) describes the skillful extraction of an arrowhead from a wounded man by military surgeons.

LIT. *Histoire de la médecine aux armées.* 1: *De l'Antiquité à la Révolution* (Paris 1982) 177–90. –E.M.

MEDICINE. Byz. PHYSICIANS inherited the tradition of Greco-Roman medicine; Hippocrates and GALEN were always considered basic sources of medical knowledge in Byz. Scholars such as ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES, and PAUL OF AEGINA created medical encyclopedias that both demonstrated their knowledge of classics and prepared for an anthological approach to the tradition. When in the 9th C. a new interest in ancient science became evident (Wilson, *Scholars* 85–88), medical MSS were not among the most popular; Lemerle (*Humanism* 341) places the revival of the genre of medical treatises in the 10th C. Even though post-7th-C. medical authors—MELETIOS THE MONK, LEO THE PHYSICIAN, Symeon SETH, Theophanes CHRYSOBALANTES, Nicholas MYREPSOS, and JOHN AKTOUARIOS, to name only a few—are unavailable in reliably edited texts, and thus it is premature to pronounce final judgment, clearly Byz. doctors did not simply parrot and transmit their written sources verbatim, but used them carefully, rearranging, truncating, and supplementing them with contemporary experience. Close examination of Aetios of Amida's use of Galen's notions of drug theory, for example, shows how Aetios chose precisely those passages that would explicate the Galenic idea of "drugs by degrees," a classification system of pharmaceuticals that would be standard in medicine until the 18th C. Greco-Roman was a predominant, albeit not the only, tradition of Byz. medicine; among others, Seth shows traces of Arabic experience, and Myrepsos's treatise contains some recipes from Salerno and others of Eastern origin.

Practical medicine was on a high level according to medieval standards: HOSPITALS existed not only in Constantinople, but also in the provinces. Thanks to Byz. PHARMACOLOGY, many diseases received sophisticated treatments, and the medical tracts of Alexander of Tralles and Paul of Aegina show the variety of drugs prescribed for ailments of the chest, heart, digestive system, and other organs. Byz. SURGERY also existed on a high plane; listings of SURGICAL INSTRUMENTS suggest specialized expertise, perhaps derived from the known instances of dissections and autopsies performed by Byz. physicians and surgeons (L.J. Bliquez, A. Kazhdan, *BHM* 58 [1984] 554–57; R. Browning, *BHM* 59 [1985] 518–20). Byz. medicine knew professional specialization, including as separate branches obstetrics and gynecology, ophthalmology, dermatology, and dentistry. Practicing physicians worked sometimes in the mold of ancient traditions, sometimes in adaptations of those traditions to newer theories, esp. in innovative aspects of medical diagnosis such as uroscopy (John Aktouarios) and pulse lore.

Nonprofessional medicine existed alongside medical theory and practicing professionals. Oribasios was not the first to prepare a simplified summary of medicine for a friend, but his *Synopsis for Eunapios* suggests the range of drugs and elementary remedies available to the nonphysician in the 4th C. Various nonmedical authors

throughout the long history of Byz. also show comprehension and an interest in the best medicine of their day: for example, PROKOPIOS describes the PLAGUE in the reign of Justinian I (542); PHOTIOS summarizes several medical authors, including DIOSKORIDES, certain works of Galen, Aetios of Amida, and Ctesias; PSELLOS in his *Chronography* recounts the illness and death of ROMANOS III, with details based on personal knowledge of technical medical theory as well as a close acquaintance with the approaches of practicing physicians in the 11th C. Similarly the account by Anna KOMNENE of the death of Alexios I shows a long-standing awareness of therapeutics and medical theory; the writings of John TZETZES contain much classical medicine and medical theory embedded as analogy, allegory, and allusion; many of the jokes in the collection called the PHILOGELOS are medically informed; and many ecclesiastical writers could be added to this list of secular authors who indicate that interest in medicine permeated all levels of Byz. society.

Magical means were also valued, not only at the quasi-Christian HEALING shrines, but also in the writings of the finest physicians, exemplified by the occasional prescriptions of AMULETS by Alexander of Tralles (6th C.) for certain illnesses. Astrological medicine enjoyed many centuries of respect, as documented in the texts collected as the *Catalogus codicum astrologorum graecorum*. Many of these works are paralleled by those of pure medical MAGIC in the *Papyri graecae magicae*, generally in Greek, Coptic, and demotic from late Roman and Byz. Egypt.

The rich panoply of Byz. medicine has its counterpart, very poorly known, among the Sasanians before their collapse in the Arab conquest of Mesopotamia in the 7th C.; although classical Arabic medicine derived many of its precepts from the Byz., the links through Syriac remain only murkily understood, much as the later borrowings in medieval Armenian medicine from Byz. practice and sources reside in partially edited Armenian MSS. In western European medieval medicine, Byz. influence came in the form of redactions and truncated translations of specific topics, esp. uroscopy, the theory of pulses, and distilled Greco-Roman medical concepts ultimately derived from the Hippocratics and Galen.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:287–320. J. Scarborough, ed., *Symposium on Byzantine Medicine* [= *DOP* 38] (Washington, D.C., 1984). O. Temkin, "Byzantine Medicine, Tradition and Empiricism," *DOP* 16 (1962) 95–115. L.G. Westerink, "Philosophy and Medicine in Late Antiquity," *Janus* 51 (1964) 168–77. *CMH* 4.2:288–92. –J.S.

MEDIKION MONASTERY, a center of resistance to ICONOCLASM in Asia Minor. Medikion (Μηδίκιον) was founded in the 780s by the monk Nikephoros, .5 km south of the Bithynian village of Trigleia (Turk. Tirilye) and 2 km from the Sea of Marmara. Nikephoros restored a ruined Church of St. Michael at the site; when he signed the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea in 787, however, he referred to the monastery as "St. Sergios of Medikion." The monastery reached its peak under the saintly Nikephoros (died 813) and his successor, St. Niketas (died 824), an iconodule confessor. Both *hegoumenoi* were buried in the narthex of the Church of St. Michael. In the 11th C. when Medikion was granted to Michael PSELLOS as a *charistikion*, it was also called the monastery of the Holy Fathers (Hagion Pateron).

Although Medikion disappears from literary sources after the 11th C., it continued to function as a monastery until the modern period. The basilican church, the north aisle of which was separated from the nave by square piers, was razed in the mid-20th C.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vie de Saint Nicéphore," *AB* 78 (1960) 396–430.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 240–42, 274–76. Janin, *Églises centres* 165–68. –A.M.T.

MEDIMNOS. See MODIOS.

MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS (Μελέτη περὶ ψιλῶν συμφώνων, lit. "Essay on Bare Contracts," i.e., on informal agreements), a legal treatise composed in the mid-11th C. Its anonymous author, probably the *Basilika* scholiast Nikaeus (H.J. Scheltema in *Études offertes à Jean Macqueron* [Aix-en-Provence 1970] 595–97), argues against an adversary, probably JOHN (VIII) XIPHILINOS, for the higher merit of the writings from Justinianic times (esp. the *Digest* and the scholia of the jurist STEPHEN that elucidate it), over the *Basilika*. The treatise, which was presumably occasioned by a real lawsuit between a monastery and a *protospatharios* over the binding force of an informal

agreement (*nudum pactum*, see PACTA), is of great importance for the question of the exclusive validity of the *Basilika* in the 11th C.

ED. H. Monnier, G. Platon, in *Études de droit byzantin*, ed. H. Monnier (London 1974), pt.III (1913–14), 5–246, with commentary.

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "L'école de droit et l'enseignement du droit à Byzance au XIe siècle," *TM* 7 (1979) 37–53. Troianos, *Peges* 131f. –A.S.

MEDITERRANEAN SEA. As late as the 4th C. the Mediterranean continued to be an "inner sea," totally surrounded by the territory of the Roman Empire. It was the only sea for Greeks, the *eso thalassa* (Aristotle) as opposed to the *exo thalassa* or ocean; for the Latins the *mare internum, intestinum,* or *nostrum*. The term *mare mediterraneum* did not appear until the 3rd C.; Isidore of Seville used it in the early 7th C. (O. Maull, *RE* 15 [1932] 2222). The Byz. did not have a general term for the Mediterranean, although they used special names for its parts—the Aegean, Ionian, Tyrsenikon (or Tyrrhenian), Sikelikon, Kretikon *pelagos*.

Roman control of the region of the Mediterranean began to disintegrate in the 5th C. when the Germanic tribes—VISIGOTHS, VANDALS, and OSTROGOTHS—occupied the western parts of the OIKOUMENE. Politically independent, the Germanic kingdoms retained, to a certain extent, the feeling of belonging to a cultural entity through Latin language, court ceremonial, some features of municipal organization, visual art, and coinage. The *renovatio imperii Romani* by JUSTINIAN I was based on the continuing perception of Mediterranean unity. As late as 663 Constans II attempted to transfer his capital from Constantinople to Syracuse, in the middle of the Mediterranean. His murder, accompanied by the mutiny of MEZIZIOS, manifested the end of Byz. sovereignty over the Mediterranean. Two factors enforced the disruption of the former unity: the ARAB conquests and increasing Arab domination of the sea, and the proclamation of a second—Frankish—empire in the West (see FRANKS). Until the end of the Byz. Empire the Mediterranean was an area of rivalry between various political forces, including the Normans, Italian republics, the papacy, Spain, and even distant England.

LIT. F.G. Maier, *Die Verwandlung der Mittelmeerwelt* (Frankfurt a.M. 1968). H. Pirenne, *Mahomet et Charlemagne*[3] (Paris 1970). R. Hodges, D. Whitehouse, *Mohammed, Charlemagne & the Origins of Europe* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1983). *L'homme méditerranéen et la mer*, ed. M. Galley, L.L. Sebai (Tunis 1985). –A.K.

MEGALOSCHEMA. See SCHEMA.

MEGARIKON (μεγαρικόν), also *magarikon* (MM 6:244.1) and *madarikon* (*Xerop.* no.9A.16), the name of a large clay vessel, originally probably made in Megara, in charters usually juxtaposed with *pithoi*. *Megarika* of honey (*Lavra* 1, no.54.14) and of wine (*Lavra* 1, no.34.34) were used as fiscal units; in an act of 1196 (*Lavra* 1, no.67.81–82) the customs toll for the transportation of wine (given in *megarika, pithoi,* or barrels) to Constantinople is established as every tenth vessel. Metrological treatises define a *megarikon* as 6 *thalassioi* MODIOI (= 102.503 liters), but emphasize that in trade *megarika* of different volumes were used as well. A *megarikon* may be either a liquid measure or a dry measure of grain. The imperial *kalathion*, mentioned in a charter of 1339, may perhaps be identified with a *megarikon* of grain.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 100–02, 113. N. Bees, "Megara-Magara," *BNJbb* 15 (1939) 203. Idem, "Näheres zu Megara-Magara und verwandten Wörtern," *BNJbb* 17 (1944) 50. –E. Sch.

MEGAS DOMESTIKOS (μέγας δομέστικος), supreme military commander (after the emperor). The origin of the office is not clear; apparently the *megas domestikos* replaced the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, but both offices existed side by side for a time. The date of this replacement is also unclear. The title of a certain Galenos, *primikerios* of the *megas domestikos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.945), on a seal of the 9th–10th C. is suspicious. Guilland doubts that *domestikos major* (the term applied by Liutprand of Cremona to Nikephoros [II] Phokas) was an official title, but in the SCRIPTOR INCERTUS (339.20–21) the *magistros, megas domestikos*, "and other *patrikioi*" form the closest entourage of the emperor. By the mid-11th C. the titulature was well established, and John, the brother of Isaac I Komnenos, bore this title.

Henceforth the office of *megas domestikos, megas domestikos* of the *scholai*, and *megas domestikos* of the army are regularly mentioned; Laurent (*Corpus* 2:499f), however, denies that it was a permanent rank before 1204. In the 11th–12th C. the *megas*

domestikos could command the separate armies of West or East, but it seems that in the 13th C. this distinction was abolished. The place of the *megas domestikos* in the hierarchy is also unclear: in the 13th C. it seems to have been below the *protovestiarios* and *megas stratopedarches*, but in the 14th-C. pseudo-Kodinos it is one of the highest ranks, following directly after CAESAR. The *megas domestikos* also had an aulic function, waiting on the emperor at banquets. The office-title existed until the end of the empire.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:405–25. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 50–52. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 57, n.7. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 142f. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 93–111. –A.K.

MEGAS DOUX (*μέγας δούξ*), or *megadoux*, commander of the fleet. The office of DOUX of the fleet (*stolos*) was probably created by Alexios I Komnenos after 1085 and replaced by that of *megas doux* ca.1092. The innovation was connected with the abolition of thematic naval forces and concentration of the whole NAVY under the command of a single admiral; the (*megas*) DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU became the deputy of the *megas doux*. The first *megas doux* was probably John Doukas, Alexios I's brother-in-law, who led large-scale operations on sea and land. Until 1453 the post remained one of the highest in the hierarchy; in the 14th C. pseudo-KODINOS placed him between the PROTOVESTIARIOS and PROTOSTRATOR. Many important personages held the post: in the 12th C. the family of KONTOSTEPHANOI dominated the office. From the 13th C. onward, the difference between *megas doux* and *protostrator* became unclear, since either general could command on sea or land. The office (or title?) of *megas doux* was sometimes conferred on foreigners: in 1207 the Genoese Filocalo Navigajoso received from the Latin emperor of Constantinople the island of Lemnos and the hereditary title of *megas doux*, and in the early 14th C. the title was conferred on ROGER DE FLOR.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:542–51. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 209–11. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 56–58. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:527–31. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 147. –A.K.

MEGAS ________. See also under latter part of term.

MEHMED I (Μαχουμέτ; Μεχεμέτ in Doukas), Ottoman sultan (from 1413); born 1389?, died Edirne 21 May 1421. A younger son of BAYEZID I, he was sultan of Ottoman Rumeli and Anatolia (1413–21). After the battle of ANKARA on 28 July 1402, Mehmed established himself at Amaseia. He officially attained his father's throne only in 1413, after a series of struggles with his brothers Isa (died 1403), SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI (died 1411), and MUSA (died July 1413). His sovereignty was again challenged in 1416, when Mustafa (allegedly his brother) and Cüneyd (*beylerbeyi* of Rumeli) led an abortive rising in Rumeli.

Mehmed's relations with Constantinople from early 1411 to his death were usually peaceful. MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS aided him in his war against Musa, and in 1413 a pact was concluded in which Mehmed evidently reaffirmed the terms of the 1403 treaty. Thereafter serious tensions arose only in 1415, when Manuel rebuilt the HEXAMILION Wall in the Morea, and again in 1416, when Manuel gave asylum to the refugees Mustafa and Cüneyd.

Mehmed's image in contemporary Byz. sources is far from negative. The historian Doukas, for example, lauds his friendship with the Palaiologoi as genuine and states that he was sympathetic to Christians.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 247–50, 281–89, 318–20, 340–54. I. Djurić, *Sumrak Vizantije* (Belgrade 1984) 195–233. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 286–309. –S.W.R.

MEHMED II (Μουχαμέτ and similar forms), seventh Ottoman ruler (1451–81) and conqueror of Constantinople, whence his epithet Fatih (conquerer); born Edirne 30 Mar. 1432, died near Gebze 3 May 1481. He was the third son of MURAD II and his slave Hatun bint Abdullah. Mehmed doubtless ascended the throne with dreams of taking Constantinople, something his kinsmen BAYEZID I, MUSA, and Murad II had attempted but failed. Still, he preserved amicable relations with CONSTANTINE XI into autumn 1451. Then, however, Constantine hardened Mehmed's resolve by threatening to support the claims of Orhan, a grandson of SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI, and the emperor's ward in Constantinople. Soon thereafter Mehmed systematically prepared for his assault on Constantinople, beginning with the construction of Rumeli Hisar (Apr.–Aug. 1452).

Mehmed began the siege on 6 Apr. 1453 and directed it with energy and tactical ingenuity (see CONSTANTINOPLE, SIEGE AND FALL OF). After Constantinople fell to the besiegers on 29 May 1453, Mehmed allowed his troops a day of plundering and then assumed full control. He immediately began "the greater war"—transforming the ravaged city into a vital new capital, a project that engaged him the rest of his life.

As sultan in Istanbul, Mehmed established there a court and pattern of society fully consonant with developed Turco-Islamic tradition. The conquered were fitted into that framework. Greeks remained prominent in Mehmed's Istanbul; indeed, many of the communities he forcibly transferred to Istanbul throughout the period 1453–79 were Greek. Largely to assure their stability and to cultivate their loyalty, he secured the election of the staunchly anti-Unionist GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS as patriarch (Jan. 1454). Mehmed evidently had an eclectic curiosity about the culture of the Greeks. He discussed Christian precepts with Gennadios and was interested in the history and monuments of Constantinople. Greek MSS, including Homer's *Iliad*, were copied in his scriptorium (J. Raby, *DOP* 37 [1983] 15–34).

Precisely how Mehmed's installation in Istanbul changed his self-perception as a ruler is speculative. The conquest certainly heightened his sense of himself as a great military hero, akin to Achilles and Alexander the Great, whom he admired. It is implausible, though, that he regarded himself as heir or successor to the Christian Roman emperors. More likely he viewed his victory in terms of the prophesied triumph of Muslims over Christians in Kostantiniye (Ar. name of Constantinople)—his rule therefore supplanting rather than continuing the previous tradition. Few conquered Greeks, reciprocally, conceived of Mehmed as a new "emperor of the Romans" in the spirit of AMIROUTZES, who lauded the sultan as such in his 1466 letter. Contemporary Greeks, whether pro- or anti-Unionist, typically regarded Mehmed's conquest of Constantinople as a catastrophe and like DOUKAS viewed the sultan as a consummate *tyrannos* at best, and Antichrist at worst. His conquest of the despotate of MISTRA in 1460 and of TREBIZOND in 1461 sealed that perception. On the contrary, KRITOBOULOS highly praised Mehmed for his personal qualities (justice, generosity, courage) as well as for his patronage of trade, craftsmanship, and building activity (Z. Udal'cova, *VizVrem* 12 [1957] 172–83).

LIT. F. Babinger, *Mehmed the Conqueror and his Time*, tr. R. Manheim (Princeton 1978). E. Werner, *Sultan Mehmed der Eroberer und die Epochenwende im 15. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1982). H. İnalcık, *Fatih Devri Üzerinde Tetkikler ve Vesikalar*, vol. 1 (Ankara 1954) 69–136. Idem, "The Policy of Mehmed II toward the Greek Population of Istanbul and the Byzantine Buildings of the City," *DOP* 23–24 (1969–70) 231–49.

–S.W.R.

MELANIA THE YOUNGER, saint; born Rome 383, died Jerusalem 31 Dec. 439; feastday 31 Dec. Born to a rich and noble family, Melania (Μελάνη) was married at age 13 or 14 to Valerius Pinianus, son of a former Roman prefect. Perhaps influenced by her grandmother, Melania the Elder (see F.X. Murphy, *Traditio* 5 [1947] 59–77), Melania pursued ascetic ideals, and, after the early death of two children, the couple decided to live in chastity. The decision of Melania and Pinianus in 404 to sell their enormous properties (located in Italy, Spain, Sicily, Africa, etc.) met resistance from both the senate and the slaves of their Roman *proasteia* (*Vie*, pars. 10–11), but Melania finally received permission to liquidate her estates, with the help of Serena, wife of Emp. Honorius. After 406 Melania and Pinianus left for Sicily, Africa, and then Jerusalem, where Melania built a cell for herself on the Mount of Olives as well as a nunnery and monastery. Melania had personal contacts with Egyptian monks and with great ecclesiastical leaders such as AUGUSTINE, PALLADIOS of Helenopolis, CYRIL of Alexandria, and PAULINUS of Nola. In 436 she visited Constantinople and urged her uncle Volusianus to convert to Christianity.

Her Life was probably written by an ardent Monophysite, Gerontios (died 485), who supervised Melania's monasteries in Jerusalem after her death. It survives in Greek and Latin versions, which probably derived from a common Greek prototype (A. d'Alès, *AB* 25 [1906] 448–50). It was reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES. The activity of Melania and her family is attested by many contemporary observers, primarily by Palladios of Helenopolis. John Rufus also mentions her in his Syriac Life of PETER THE IBERIAN. Melania is usually portrayed in art as a nun.

SOURCES. *Vie de sainte Mélanie*, ed. D. Gorce (Paris 1962)—Lat. version in *AB* 8 (1889) 19–63, Germ. tr. S. Krottehthaler in *Griechische Liturgien*, ed. R. Storf (Kempten-Munich 1912) 1–54. Eng. tr. E.A. Clark, *The Life of Melania the Younger* (New York 1984).

LIT. *BHG* 1240z–1242. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MELANOUDION. See MYLASA AND MELANOUDION.

MELBOURNE GOSPELS. See THEOPHANES.

MELCHITES (Μελκῖται, from Syriac *mălkāyā*, "imperial"), or Melkites, members of the Chalcedonian church in Syria and Egypt, areas generally dominated by MONOPHYSITES. Between the murder of Proterios, the first Chalcedonian bishop of Alexandria, in 457 and ca.537/8 there was only an irregular Chalcedonian presence in the Syrian and Egyptian ecclesiastical hierarchy, but from the time of Justinian I until the Arab conquest Chalcedonian patriarchs were normally resident in Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Usually supported by imperial troops, the Melchite clergy ministered to a largely urban and Greek-speaking populace, while the countryside was mostly Monophysite. After the Arab conquests of the 7th C. the Melchites lost most of their official support; frequent vacancies in the hierarchy occurred and bishops often lived in Constantinople. The Melchite communities were, however, given a special position under Islam and were regarded as Byz. enclaves within the caliphate. During the Crusades and the subsequent Latin domination of Syria and Palestine many bishops fled their sees. Among Melchite authors were George of Martyropolis and Constantine and Leo of Harran; on the whole, however, Melchites contributed little to SYRIAC LITERATURE, which was dominated by Monophysites (A. van Roey, *Orientalia Lovaniensia Periodica* 3 [1972] 125–53).

LIT. R. Janin, *Les Églises orientales et les rites orientaux* (Paris 1955) 146–71. C. Charon, *Histoire des patriarcats melkites*, 2 vols. (Rome 1910–14). S. Runciman, "The Byzantine 'Protectorate' in the Holy Land," *Byzantion* 18 (1948) 207–15. H. Husmann, "Die melkitische Liturgie als Quelle der syrischen Qanune iaonaie, Melitene und Edessa," *OrChrP* 41 (1975) 5–56. H. Kennedy, "The Melkite Church from the Islamic Conquest to the Crusades: Continuity and Adaptation in the Byzantine Legacy," 17 *CEB* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 325–43. –T.E.G.

MELCHIZEDEK (Μελχισέδεκ), priest-king of Salem who welcomed ABRAHAM with bread and wine (Gen 14:18–20). Church fathers interpreted Melchizedek as the prefiguration (*typos*) of Christ and used this image in their polemics with Jews in order to show the superiority of the priesthood of Jesus over the Hebrew priesthood. His offer of bread and wine to Abraham received a eucharistic explanation. On the other hand, Melchizedek became a central figure in the mythology of the heretical Melchisedekianoi, who considered him a celestial power superior to Christ or identified him with the Holy Spirit. The dogma of the Melchisedekianoi was refuted by Epiphanios of Salamis and by Theodoret of Cyrrhus.

Representation in Art. Images are found already at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40) and at S. Vitale in Ravenna (ca.540). The former is literal: Melchizedek advances with a basket of loaves of bread toward Abraham and his army. The latter is allegorical: Melchizedek offers the bread at an altar on which is the chalice of wine. Cycles of GENESIS illustration placed the scene in a narrative context.

LIT. G. Bardy, "Melchisédech dans la tradition patristique," *Revue Biblique* 35 (1926) 496–509; 36 (1927) 25–45. F.L. Horton, Jr., *The Melchizedek Tradition* (Cambridge 1976). G. Seib, *LCI* 3:241f. S.R. Robinson, "The Apocryphal Story of Melchisedech," *Journal for the Study of Judaism* 18 (1987) 26–39. –A.K., J.H.L.

MELEAGER, in Greek mythology a mighty hero. Malalas (Malal. 165f), referring to a play of "the wise Euripides," relates that Meleager killed a terrifying boar that ravaged the land of Calydon and gave its skin to Atalanta, whom he loved. Meleager's father Oeneus became enraged and threw into the fire a twig of olive upon which—magically—Meleager's life depended. TZETZES (*Hist.* 7:61–70), who quotes Homer and a certain Soterichos, evidently knew only the first part of the myth—the killing of the Calydonian boar.

An image of Meleager and Atalanta at rest after a hunt on a silver plate of Herakleian date in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no.136) lacks any reference to the boar. Atalanta is shown hunting boars with Orion in a miniature in Venice, Marc. gr. 479 (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 115f, fig.131). –A.K., A.C.

MELENIKOS. See MELNIK.

MELETIAN SCHISM. There were two Meletian schisms in the 4th C., one in Egypt, the other in Syria.

Meletian Schism in Egypt. This schism, sometimes called the First Meletian Schism, was incited by Meletios of Lykopolis in Upper Egypt (died after 325). During the persecution of 306 he condemned Christians who hid from the authorities; in defiance of the state, he demanded the resumption of the liturgy. He founded a "church of martyrs" that excluded the *lapsi* (the "fallen," i.e., those who yielded in the face of persecution), was thrown into jail, and released only after the toleration edict of 311. His moral authority enabled Meletios to attract many partisans—by 325, 28 bishops supported him and he was able to challenge the position of the patriarch of Alexandria. The struggle against Arianism prompted Alexander of Alexandria to a policy of reconciliation with the Meletians, but Athanasios of Alexandria took a strong stand against the dissidents. The argument was political rather than ideological, and soon the Arians began to side with the Meletians; thus Pistos, a friend of Arius, was consecrated a Meletian bishop; the new allies accused Athanasios of beating Meletian bishops, murdering one of them, and using a Meletian liturgical vessel for secular purposes. The significance of the Meletians decreased in the 5th C., but some trace of them is still distinguishable in the 8th C.

LIT. L.W. Barnard, "Athanasius and the Meletian Schism in Egypt," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 59 (1973) 281–89. Idem, "Some Notes on the Meletian Schism in Egypt," *StP* 12.1 (1975) 399–405. W. Telfer, "Meletius of Lycopolis and Episcopal Succession in Egypt," *HThR* 48 (1955) 227–37. –T.E.G.

Meletian Schism in Syria. The second Meletian Schism originated in Antioch, where in the mid-4th C. the community was split between the Arians and the supporters of the Council of Nicaea; the latter were, in turn, divided into two parties. Both orthodox groups united around Meletios, who was elected bishop of Antioch in 360, but was soon deposed and exiled by Constantius II. In his absence the Nicaeans (called "Eustathians" after Eusthathios of Antioch), with the strong support of Athanasios of Alexandria, elected in his stead the priest Paulinos; when Julian allowed Meletios to return to Antioch, three bishops claimed the see.

A theological difference emerged between the Meletians and Eustathians: according to the Eustathians *ousia* and hypostasis were identical and God possessed one *ousia*/hypostasis and three *prosopa*, which the Meletians regarded as Sabellianism (see Monarchianism); in their view God was one *ousia* in three hypostases, a position that the Eustathians equated with Arianism. The Cappadocian Fathers sided with Meletios, and his two banishments by Valens only contributed to his authority. Rome and Alexandria supported Paulinos and his successor Evagrios. Meletios presided over the First Council of Constantinople in 381, which approved his formula. Reconciliation with the Eustathians took place in 413.

LIT. F. Cavallera, *Le schisme d'Antioche* (Paris 1905). W.A. Jurgens, "A Letter of Meletios of Antioch," *HThR* 53 (1960) 251–60. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:2205f. –T.E.G., A.K.

MELETIOS THE MONK, physician and medical writer; his dates are unknown, but he is usually dated to the 9th C. He lived no earlier than the 7th C., and perhaps as late as the early 13th C. (M. Morani, *La tradizione manoscritta del De natura hominis di Nemesio* [Milan 1981] 147–55). He was a monk at the monastery of the Holy Trinity in Tiberioupolis (in the Opsikian theme). *On the Constitution of Man* (*Peri tes tou anthropou kataskeues*) is his treatise on human anatomy and physiology, composed almost entirely of excerpts from earlier authors such as Galen, Gregory of Nyssa, and Nemesios; his latest source is Maximos the Confessor. Much of his importance lies in his preservation of passages from the lost works of ancient medical writers such as the 2nd-C. Soranus of Ephesus (R. Renehan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 159–68). The treatise survives in a number of MSS and was highly regarded in the late Byz. period.

ED. *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium*, ed. J.A. Cramer, vol. 3 (Oxford 1836, rp. Amsterdam 1963) 1–157. PG 64:1069–1310.

LIT. G. Helmreich, *Handschriftliche Studien zu Meletius* (Berlin 1918). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:304f. –A.M.T.

MELETIOS THE YOUNGER, also called Meletios of Myoupolis, saint; born in village of Moutalaske, Cappadocia, ca.1035, died in monastery of Myoupolis, Boeotia, ca.1105; feastday 1 Sept. At age 15 he left his village for Constantinople, where he took the monastic habit; he then moved

to Boeotia to live in the *eukterion* of St. George near Thebes. After long pilgrimages to Palestine, Rome, and perhaps Spain, he moved to Mt. Myoupolis, on the border between Boeotia and Attica, and Patr. NICHOLAS III consecrated him priest. By ca.1081 Meletios acquired the Symboulon monastery (HOSIOS MELETIOS) nearby and received from Alexios I an annual donation of 422 gold coins.

Meletios's biography was recorded by NICHOLAS OF METHONE and Theodore PRODROMOS; both Lives are rich in political events and emphasize Meletios's connections with members of the elite. The two authors do not always agree in their facts and chronology, and their approaches differ. Thus Nicholas stresses Meletios's concern for his community: he protects the monastery from fire and drives rabbits from the monastery garden. Prodromos introduces more entertaining elements, for example, a more elaborate description of Meletios's travels; he alone tells of a noble Theban lady who attempted to seduce Meletios; only Prodromos describes (and criticizes) the extreme mortification of the flesh by a certain Noah, son of a Constantinopolitan noble.

SOURCE. V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Nikolaja episkopa Mefonskogo i Feodora Prodroma pisatelej XII stoletija žitija Meletija Novogo," *PPSb* 6.2 [17] (1886) 1–69.

LIT. *BHG* 1247–48. Ch. Papadopoulos, "Ho Hosios Meletios ho Neos (1035–1105)," *Theologia* 13 (1935) 97–125. –A.K.

MELIAS (Μελίας; Ar. Maliḥ al-Armani, Arm. Mleh-mec [Mleh the Great]), general; died 934. Melias was an Armenian prince who moved to Byz. during the reign of LEO VI, participated in the battle at BOULGAROPHYGON, and served thereafter in Asia Minor. He probably supported Andronikos DOUKAS in his rebellion, and after the failure of the insurrection sought refuge with the emir of Melitene. Circa 908, when Leo pardoned the participants in the aristocratic conspiracy, Eustathios Argyros was appointed *strategos* of Charsianon, and Constantine DOUKAS came back from the caliphate. Melias returned, too, with a group of Armenian chieftains, became *tourmarches* of "Euphratia," and eventually founded the *kleisoura* of LYKANDOS, which served as a base for operations against the Arabs. In 912 he successfully repelled an Arab attack on the "fortress of Maliḥ al-Armani," in 915 invaded Arab territory as far as Maraş, and ca.930 temporarily occupied Melitene. The descendants of Melias wielded power in the same area until the late 10th C.; the *domestikos ton scholon* Melias participated in the campaigns of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES and was killed at the walls of Amida in 973.

In the Cappadocian church known as the Pigeon House at ÇAVUŞIN, an inscription mentions the *magistros* Melias (a contemporary of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS), apparently the same person. He is shown as a nimbed, equestrian figure with a long spear. It is uncertain whether Melias here is to be understood as a patron of the church or merely as an aide to Nikephoros Phokas and his family, who are depicted in the north apse. It has been suggested that the figure of Melias "the Great" was reflected in the personage of the *apelates* Melementzes mentioned in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Notes épigraphiques, VII," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 79–88. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:216–17, 231, 258 n.2, 267–68. H. Bartikian, "La conquête de l'Arménie par l'empire byzantin," *REArm* 8 (1971) 328–30. L. Rodley, "The Pigeon House Church, Çavuşin," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 301–39, fig.6. –A.K., A.C.

MELINGOI (Μηλιγγοί), also Milingoi, one of two groups of SKLAVENOI in the Peloponnesos. Both their origin and the etymology of their name are obscure (D. Georgacas, *BZ* 43 [1950] 301–27). The Melingoi lived on the western slope of Mt. Taygetos, near the EZERITAI. They are first mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 50) as paying 60 nomismata in tribute; after they rebelled, in the reign of Romanos I, their payment was increased to 600. The author of the vita of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" (ed. Sullivan, ch.62.4–5) identifies them as the ancient Myrmidones (whom the Byz. often connected with the Scythians). The CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA relates that William II Villehardouin bestowed on the "great *droungos* of the Melingoi," as a proud mountain people, the right to EXKOUSSEIA from any service except military assistance (A. Vasiliev, *VizVrem* 5 [1898] 434f). Inscriptions of the 14th C. in this area mention the Melingoi: an inscription of 1331/2 from Oitylon (Vitylo) in Lakonia speaks of the founding of the Church of St. George by Constantine Spani and Larinkas Slabouri who were Melingoi; Constantine Spanes (evidently the same person) founded another church in 1337/8 according to an inscription at Kampinari located nearby—he was the *tzaousios* of the *droungos* of the

Melingoi. Thus the Melingoi preserved an independent enclave although they adopted the Greek language, espoused Christianity, and fulfilled some services to the emperor as well as, from the 13th C. onward, to Frankish lords.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.XV (1962), 1–10. S. Kougeas, "Peri ton Melinkon tou Taÿgetou," *Pragmateiai Akademias Athenon* 15.3 (1950) 1–34. D. Mouriki, *The Frescoes of the Church of St. Nicholas at Platsa in the Mani* (Athens 1975) 14–18. –O.P.

MELISENDE, PSALTER OF. See CRUSADER ART AND ARCHITECTURE.

MELISMOS. See FRACTION.

MELISSA (Μέλισσα, lit. "Bee"), a ghost title of a sacro-profane FLORILEGIUM compiled probably in the 10th or 11th C. in two books and 176 *logoi* (chapters). The author drew upon an interpolated copy of the 10th-C. *florilegium* of pseudo-Maximos the Confessor and a version of the SACRA PARALLELA. For secular *sententiae* he used a *gnomologium* of Democritus-Isocrates-Epictetus and GNOMAI of Theognis; the source of the last five chapters is unknown. In each chapter the quotations are presented in hierarchical order: Old Testament, New Testament, church fathers, secular authors. The first book focuses on the themes of virtue and vice and of pious behavior (attitudes toward ALMSGIVING, HUMOR, etc.); the second deals with political roles (emperors, bishops, judges) and social structures (lords and slaves, family, etc.). Traditionally, *Melissa* is considered to be the work of a certain ascetic, Antony, allegedly called Melissa (Beck, *Kirche* 643); Richard (*infra*) demonstrated that the first editor (C. Gesner in 1546) invented both the name and title, the *Bee* being a common designation of anonymous *florilegia* of proverbial sayings. In the surviving MSS, all incomplete, the work is anonymous or attributed to JOHN OF DAMASCUS. The *Melissa* was translated into Slavonic with the title of PČELA.

ED. PG 136:765–1244.
LIT. M. Richard, "Florilèges spirituels grecs," *DictSpir* 5 (1962) 492–94. –E.M.J., A.K.

MELISSENOS (Μελισσηνός, fem. Μελισσηνή), a noble family for which two questionable genealogies were produced in the 16th and 17th C. Makarios Melissenos in his chronicle traced the family from Michael Melissenos, *patrikios* and relative of Emp. MICHAEL I RANGABE (Sphr. 270.12–20); a treatise probably written by the metropolitan Nikephoros Melissenos describes in detail all the descendants of Michael's son, the *magistros* Leo (S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 191–202). According to more dependable sources, the first known Melissenos was the *patrikios* Michael, governor of Anatolikon under Constantine V. His son, Theodore Kassiteras Melissenos, became patriarch of Constantinople as THEODOTOS I. From the 9th through 11th C. the Melissenoi were primarily military commanders and governors of themes (Koloneia, Anatolikon, Philippopolis, Antioch); Leo (I. Jordanov, *BBulg* 8 [1986] 183–87) and Theognostos participated in the rebellion of Bardas PHOKAS. The family remained in power in the mid-11th C.: Theognostes Melisinos [*sic*] served as *katepano* of Mesopotamia (D. Theodoridis, *BZ* 78 [1985] 363f), and Maria Melissene held the title of *zoste patrikia* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 260–62). Nikephoros Melissenos, who married Eudokia Komnene, belonged to the family through the maternal line. In 1080 he rebelled against Nikephoros III but submitted to Alexios I Komnenos, who gave him the title of caesar; he had possessed estates around Dorylaion, but later Alexios allowed him to settle in Thessalonike; he was called DESPOTES both by THEOPHYLAKTOS, the archbishop of Ohrid, and on a seal. The 12th-C. Melissenoi served in the civil administration. According to later sources, Andrew Melissenos moved during Alexios I's reign to Crete, where he founded a local branch of the family. The 13th-C. Melissenoi were known as landowners in the Smyrna region (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 172). Nothing is said of their role in cultural life. (See also MELISSENOS, MAKARIOS.)

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 152f, 182. *PLP*, nos. 17795–825. N.A. Bees, "Der Berliner Traktat über die Melissinoi ist keine Fälschung von Konstantin Simonidis," *BNJbb* 14 (1937–38) 131–37. –A.K.

MELISSENOS, MAKARIOS, metropolitan of Monemvasia; died Naples 1585. A rich landowner in the Morea, Makarios Melissourgos was involved in an anti-Ottoman plot after the battle of Lepanto (1571) and was forced to flee to Naples to the Spanish court of Philip II. There Makarios changed his name to Melissenos and produced a series of forged documents, such as a chrysobull

of Andronikos II listing the privileges of MONEMVASIA and a list of bishops of Monemvasia. In collaboration with Andrew Darmarios, he also revised the *Chronicon Minus* of George SPHRANTZES, compiling between 1573 and 1575 what is now known as the *Chronicon Majus*, which encompasses the period 1258-1477. For his revision Melissenos used George AKROPOLITES (for the preface), GREGORAS, pseudo-DOROTHEOS OF MONEMVASIA, and other sources. He also incorporated a list of the members of the MELISSENOS family and a lengthy excursus on Monemvasia. Book 3 of the *Majus* is an important account, purportedly by an eyewitness, of the last days of Constantinople; whether it is based on an expanded (but now lost) version of Sphrantzes' *Minus*, on another eyewitness account (e.g., that of LEONARD OF CHIOS), or is a product of Melissenos's ingenuity is still debatable. Although Melissenos is frequently dismissed as a scurrilous forger, his literary creation, written with considerable verve, attracted a wide and continuing readership.

ED. *Pseudo-Phrantzes: Macarie Melissenos, Cronica 1258-1481* in *Georgios Sphrantzes. Memorii 1401-1477*, ed. V. Grecu (Bucharest 1966) 149-591, with Rumanian tr. Book 3 only—*A Contemporary Greek Source for the Siege of Constantinople 1453; The Sphrantzes Chronicle*, tr. M. Carroll (Amsterdam 1985).

LIT. I.K. Chasiotis, *Makarios, Theodoros kai Nikephoros, hoi Melissenoi (Melissourgoi)* (Thessalonike 1966). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:496-98. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 371-83. E. Džagacpanjan, "Bol'šaja chronika psevdo-Sfrandzi v istoriografii," *Vestnik Erevanskogo universiteta, Obščestvennye nauki* (1979) no.2:153-62. —E.M.J., A.K.

MELITENE (Μελιτηνή, mod. Malatya), city of eastern CAPPADOCIA at the head of routes leading from Asia Minor to Mesopotamia. The Roman legionary base was the core of an extensive city, which ca.400 became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Armenia II. Anastasios I began construction of a wall around the civil settlement; Justinian I completed it. In 575, Melitene was captured and burnt by Chosroes I. The Arabs first attacked Melitene in 635 and took it in 656. It changed hands for a century, then remained under Arab control from 757 to 934. It was one of the main fortresses of the Arab frontier and the base for attacks against Asia Minor. Melitene saw significant ethnic changes: Armenians were settled in the area, perhaps by Emp. Philippikos; and Constantine V, who temporarily recaptured Melitene, transferred Syrians and Armenians from the area to Thrace. After its recapture and destruction by John KOURKOUAS in 934, Melitene became a KOURATOREIA under the *doux* of Mesopotamia; by 971, a *strategos* (later *katepano*) of Melitene appears. Nikephoros II Phokas repopulated the devastated region with Syrians. Thereafter, Melitene had both Orthodox and Jacobite archbishops. Bardas Skleros was proclaimed emperor here in 976 and 987. After the Turks plundered and burned Melitene in 1058, its walls were rebuilt in 1063, but it was lost to the empire after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site preserves remains of the wall of Justinian.

LIT. *TIB* 2:233–37. E. Honigmann, *EI*[2] 6:230f. A. Palmer, "Charting Undercurrents in the History of the West-Syrian People: The Resettlement of Byzantine Melitene after 934," *OrChr* 70 (1986) 37–68. —C.F.

MELITENIOTES, THEODORE, patriarchal official and writer; died 8 Mar. 1393. By 1360 Meliteniotes (Μελιτηνιώτης) had held the positions of deacon, *didaskalos ton didaskalon,* and *megas sakellarios*; from 1368 to 1393 he was also archdeacon of the palatine clergy. Meliteniotes was Palamite and anti-Latin; in 1368 he signed the *Tomos* condemning Prochoros KYDONES. He corresponded with Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS (R. Walther, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 223–27), Joseph BRYENNIOS, and Demetrios KYDONES.

Meliteniotes was a prolific writer with wide interests. He compiled a manual of astronomy based on PTOLEMY, THEON, and Persian sources, titled the *Three Books on Astronomy* or *Tribiblos*, of which only the preface has been published (PG 149:987–1001). He also wrote a gargantuan and derivative commentary on the harmony of the Gospels (*Diatessaron*) in nine volumes, of which three are preserved (C. Astruc, *TM* 4 [1970] 411–29). It has been calculated that the entire work would have run to 2,500 folios. F. Dölger hypothesized (*AlPHOS* 2 [1933–34] 315–30) that Theodore Meliteniotes was also the author of a lengthy allegorical poem, *On Temperance*, by a certain Meliteniotes. The poem, in 3,062 15-syllable verses, contains echoes of Byz. romances such as DIGENES AKRITAS (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 67 [1974] 1–63) and LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE.

ED. *Diatessaron*, Book 4—PG 149:883–988. *On Temperance*—ed. E. Miller, "Poëme allégorique de Méliténiote," *Notices et extraits* 19.2 (1858) 1–138, corr. by S. Lampros,

NE 12 (1915) 7–24, and A. Kambylis in *Philtra. Timetikos Tomos S.G. Kapsomenos* (Thessalonike 1975) 227–42.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 792. Idem, *Volksliteratur* 125, 147. *PLP*, nos. 17848, 17851. N. Polites, "He kata Theodoron Meliteniotes agoge," *EEBS* 45 (1981–82) 365–78. C. Cupane, "Note di iconografia tardo-bizantina: Tyche, Bios e Thanatos in Teodoro Meliteniotes," in *Mél.Dujčev* 109–19. R. Leurquin, "La *Tribiblos astronomique* de Théodore Meliténiote (*Vat.gr.* 792)," *Janus* 72 (1985) 257–82. –A.M.T.

MELKITES. See MELCHITES.

MELNIK (Μελνῖκος, Μελένικος, mod. village of Melnik in southwestern Bulgaria), a fortress in the eastern valley of the Strymon River in Macedonia. The name is of Slavic derivation, although S. Kyriakides (*Makedonika* 3 [1953–55] 404–7) has attempted to connect it with an (unknown) eponym, Melenikos. Melnik is first mentioned by an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 351.83–87), who states that in 1014 it was a Bulgarian *phrourion* in Zagoria, built upon a rock and well fortified.

Melnik acquired particular significance after the Crusade of 1204. Kalojan captured it and resettled Greek inhabitants of Philippopolis in Melnik; soon afterward, probably in 1207, Alexios SLAVOS, governor of Melnik, proclaimed the town independent of Bulgarian rule; Henry of Hainault conferred upon him the title of *despotes*. Alexios supported first the Latins in their war against Bulgaria; later he switched his allegiance to THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Thessalonike. In the second quarter of the 13th C. Melnik's position became difficult because of conflicts between Bulgaria, Epiros, and the Latin Empire. Alexios disappears from the sources after 1229, and the town was evidently recovered by the Bulgarians.

In 1246 John III Vatatzes took the fortress and appointed the future emperor Michael (VIII) Palaiologos as its governor. A revolt in Melnik, led by a Bulgarian named Dragota, was quelled by Theodore II Laskaris in 1255—with the supernatural help of the two Sts. Theodore, according to a legend preserved by Theodore PEDIASIMOS (F. Dölger, *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 16 [1950] 275–79). Little is known of the later history of Melnik. In the mid-14th C. it belonged to the Serbs and was a metropolis.

Some medieval buildings survive in Melnik, including a private aristocratic house (S. Georgieva, D. Serafimova, *Palaeobulgarica* 3.2 [1979] 37–54) and the Church of St. Nicholas (L. Mavrodinova, *Cŭrkvata sveti Nikola pri Melnik* [Sofia 1975]) in which a wall painting of the 13th C. and a Greek inscription of the *sebastos* Vladimir, brother of the *sebastos* Frankos, were preserved. These frescoes are now in the Archaeological Museum in Sofia. Two coins found in the church have been attributed to Manuel I. Two other churches in Melnik have dated fresco programs of the late 13th C.

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:651–64. Th. Vlachos, *Die Geschichte der byzantinischen Stadt Melenikon* (Thessalonike 1969), rev. by G. Prinzing, *BZ* 64 (1971) 119–23 and F. Hild, *JÖB* 20 (1971) 347–50. B. Cvetkov, "Vodosnabdjavane na Melničkata krepost," *Archeologija* 22.2 (1980) 39–46. Z. Pljakov, "Die Stadt Sandanski und das Gebiet von Melnik und Sandanski im Mittelalter," *BBulg* 4 (1973) 189–98. S. Gergov, *Melnik* (Sofia 1976). –A.K.

MELODIA (Μελῳδία), PERSONIFICATION of Melody, usually shown as a companion of DAVID the musician. In aristocratic Psalter illustration she appears in the guise of a Muse seated on a rock beside the Psalmist and appearing to inspire him. The same figure in the 11th-C. Psalter, Venice, gr. 565, is inscribed *he synesis* ("intelligence").

LIT. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, nos. 9, 27, 32, 37, 39, 44, 45. –A.C.

MELOTE. See JOHN THE BAPTIST.

MEMNON (Μέμνων), bishop of Ephesus (ca.428–40), dominant figure at the Council of EPHESUS in 431 as ally of CYRIL of Alexandria and opponent of NESTORIOS. He closed the churches of Ephesus to the supporters of Nestorios and helped to organize massive demonstrations in favor of Alexandrian theology. Although temporarily deposed and arrested by imperial troops, Memnon retained his see after the reconciliation between Cyril and John of Antioch in Apr. 433 (see NESTORIANISM). A determined supporter of the rights of his church against the encroachments of Constantinople, he maintained his own position against potential rivals partly through terror.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 19 (1931) 654. L. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (Milan 1974) 206–43. –T.E.G.

MEMORY as an ability to enrich one's knowledge was underpinned by an educational system oriented toward memorizing the Psalms and other biblical texts; the learning of liturgical responses

and prayers also trained the memory. Antiquity highly valued memory, and accordingly Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 16.5.8) praised Julian for his enormous "jar of memory." The Byz. tendency toward IMITATION (*mimesis*) and topos favored the use of memory, and literati often boasted of their incredible powers of recall: Psellos bragged that he had memorized the whole of Homer, and Tzetzes stated that after having sold his library he was still able to quote its books from memory. Even the works of contemporary writers were memorized: Michael Italikos informed Prodromos that he had met a priest who knew by heart all the prose writings and iambics of Prodromos (R. Browning, *BBulg* 1 [1962] 282). Inexact quotations of the Bible and classics probably can be explained by the fact that they were cited from memory. -A.K.

MENAION (*μηναῖον*, from *μήν*, "month"), a set of 12 liturgical books, one for each month, containing the variable hymns and other texts (LECTIONS, SYNAXARION notices, KANONES) proper to VESPERS and ORTHROS of each feast of the fixed cycle, that is, those feasts that fall on a fixed date in the church CALENDAR. Although the cycle of feasts itself had been established since the 10th C., and earlier rudimentary "propers" had been contained in the *tropologion*—of which several 11th-C. MSS are extant (A. Wade, *OrChrP* 50 [1984] 451–56)—and in collections of *stichera* and *kanones*, the first systematic *menaia* with hymnography for each day of the year appear only in MSS of the 11th–12th C.

When a movable feast lands on a day with a fixed feast, the *menaion* "propers" have to compete with those of the TRIODION, the PENTEKOSTARION, and the OKTOECHOS (comparable hymn books for the mobile cycle). Their relative precedence in such cases is regulated by the liturgical TYPIKON.

ED. *Menaia*, 6 vols. (Rome 1888–1901); 12 vols. (Venice 1895). *Ménée de décembre*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1980); *janvier, août* (1981); *septembre* (1982); *novembre, mars* (1983); *octobre* (1985).

LIT. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Festal Menaion*[2] (London 1977). M.F. Mur'janov, "Mineja kak tip srednevekovoj knigi," *Sovetskoe slavjanovedenie* (1985) no.5, 64–78. -R.F.T.

MENANDER OF LAODIKEIA. See MENANDER RHETOR.

MENANDER PROTECTOR historian; born Constantinople?, fl. late 6th C. Described by the sources as PROTIKTOR, he was probably a *protector domesticus* or palace guardsman. Menander (*Μένανδρος*) himself says (fr.1) that he preferred the pleasures of Constantinople to the legal career planned and financed for him by his father but was rescued for historiography from involvement in the circus FACTIONS by the accession of MAURICE and the rewards open to men of letters. He produced a *History* for the period 558–82, in formal continuation of AGATHIAS. More than 70 fragments are preserved in the *Excerpta de legationibus* of Constantine VII (see EXCERPTA) and the SOUDA; several unattributed notices in the latter may also belong to him. Though exhibiting some of the vices of the age and the genre, and perhaps unduly concerned with Eastern events at Western expense, his work has considerable virtue, esp. a willingness to research documentary sources and reproduce them without excessive Atticism: fragment 6.1 provides a detailed account of the negotiations for the peace treaty of 561 between Justinian I and Chosroes I. As a scholiast on Strabo noted (Paris, B.N. gr. 1393), Menander is good on Persian ethnography. Closer to home, he is balanced on Justin II, informatively favorable to Tiberios I, an encomiast of Maurice. His aggressive Christianity is manifest in an epigram on the Persian martyr Isbozetes (fr.13.3, also *Greek Anth.* 1.101); a possible new fragment describes importing relics of the True Cross to Constantinople.

ED. *The History of Menander the Guardsman*, ed. R.C. Blockley (Liverpool 1985), with Eng. tr. F. Halkin, "Un nouvel extrait de l'historien byzantin Menandre?" in *Zetesis: Album amicorum E. de Strycker* (Antwerp-Utrecht 1973) 664–67.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Menander Protector," *DOP* 32 (1978) 99–125. O. Veh, *Beiträge zu Menander Protektor* (Fürth 1955). V. Valdemberg, "Le idee politiche di Procopio di Gaza e di Menandro Protettore," *SBN* 4 (1935) 65–85. -B.B.

MENANDER RHETOR, or Menandros of Laodikeia (on the Lykos River), fl. late 3rd C. According to the SOUDA, Menander's works included commentaries on HERMOGENES and Minucianus. Two treatises on EPIDEICTIC oratory survive in incomplete form under his name, though they were probably written by different authors. These give rules for speeches on formal occasions, dealing with topics not included in Hermogenes' text-

books but nevertheless very important in the schools of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and later. The first treatise, *Division of Epideictic Speeches*, discusses hymns to the gods and heroes, and ENKOMIA of cities and states. The second and more influential, *On Epideictic Speeches*, contains the rules for the BASILIKOS LOGOS, EPITHALAMION, PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS, MONODY, etc. Speeches of this sort were central to Byz. ceremonial RHETORIC.

Despite a relatively limited MS tradition, Menander's treatises, with their slightly cynical sense of what was appropriate, remained a fundamental rulebook and influenced Byz. authors of all periods. A private letter of the 5th/6th C. (P. Berol. 21849) lists Menander's *techne* among some books required (H. Maehler, *GRBS* 15 [1974] 305–11). Both CHORIKIOS and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA were indebted to Menander, and later rhetoricians, such as JOHN OF SARDIS, John DOXOPATRES, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES (in the *Synopsis of Rhetoric*) all draw on Menander's treatises. Further evidence of Byz. attitudes toward Menander comes from the MSS: in the second treatise they present the chapters in varying sequences, suggesting divergent practice in different Byz. schools. Substantial textual variants in some MSS are best taken as proof that later teachers of rhetoric thought it worthwhile to try to improve Menander's text.

ED. D.A. Russell, N.G. Wilson, *Menander Rhetor* (Oxford 1981), with Eng. tr. –E.M.J., N.G.W.

MENAS (Μηνᾶς), legendary saint; feastday 11 Nov. According to ROMANOS THE MELODE, Menas was an Egyptian who served in the army in Phrygia under Diocletian, proclaimed himself Christian in a theater, and was executed. Both Krumbacher and Delehaye (*infra*) assume that Romanos used an earlier, now lost *passio*. Several versions of Menas's martyrdom survive, one ascribed to ATHANASIOS of Alexandria; to embellish the story, one hagiographer used the homily of BASIL THE GREAT on Gordios. In these panegyrics Menas is variously said to have been martyred in Kotyaion, Phrygia, in the second year of Diocletian (295) or in Alexandria under Maximinus. In a later legend the idea of Menas's noble origin was introduced (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 667–71). The cult of Menas originated in Egypt, but spread beyond its boundaries. A collection of tales, some of which are ascribed to Timothy, patriarch of Alexandria, relates Menas's posthumous miracles, including the story of a virtuous Jew (P. Devos, *AB* 78 [1960] 275–308). Another legend reports that Menas's coffin swiftly floated to Constantinople; the relics were allegedly rediscovered at the time of Basil I. Menas was venerated particularly as a protector of pilgrims and merchants. Another Menas is celebrated on 10 Dec. along with Hermogenes and Eugraphos.

Representation in Art. Images of Menas have been preserved in stone and ivory as well as on the MENAS FLASKS; probably all reflect originals in his shrine at ABŪ MĪNA. Menas is portrayed as a young ORANS in a short tunic, flanked by two camels. His martyrdom by the sword and his effigy standing within his shrine receiving pilgrims are carved on a 6th-C. ivory pyxis in the British Museum (*Age of Spirit.*, no.514). In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.174), he is celebrated along with three other martyrs—Viktor, Vikentios, and Stephanis—and beheaded; in illustrations to the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, all the men are shown wearing court costume, while Stephanis is omitted.

SOURCES. K. Krumbacher, *Miszellen zu Romanos* (Munich 1907) 44–77. I.V. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie prep. Paisija Velikogo i Timofeja, patriarcha aleksandrijskogo, povestvovanie o čudesach sv. velikomučenika Miny* (St. Petersburg 1900) 62–89, and rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 7 (1900) 736f. H. Delehaye, "L'invention des reliques de saint Ménas à Constantinople," *AB* 29 (1910) 117–50. *Apa Mena*, ed. J. Drescher (Cairo 1946).
LIT. *BHG* 1250–1271d. R. Miedema, *De heilige Menas* (Rotterdam 1913). G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:3–7. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MENAS, patriarch of Constantinople (13 Mar. 536–24 Aug. 552) and saint; born Alexandria, died Constantinople; feastdays 25 and 27 Aug. Menas began his career as a priest and *xenodochos* of the hospice of SAMPSON in Constantinople. A legend ascribes to him the healing of Justinian I from a dangerous disease. He was ordained by Pope AGAPETUS I and tried to preserve good relations with Rome, fighting against the Monophysites and the Origenists. In 544 Menas supported Justinian's edict against the THREE CHAPTERS and was temporarily excommunicated by Pope VIGILIUS's legate in Constantinople. By 547–48 the pope agreed to condemn the Three Chapters and the pope's name was restored to the diptychs of Constantinople ahead of the name of Menas (Malal. 484.11–13). In 550, however, Vigilius again excommunicated Menas. Menas was

titled ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (S. Vailhé, *EO* 11 [1908] 66f) and archbishop of "Constantinopolitan Rome" (Dölger, *Byzanz* 94, n.37). Menas supported Justinian in his building activity: he came in an imperial carriage to dedicate both Hagia Sophia and the Church of the Holy Apostles and dedicated the Church of St. Irene in Sykai together with Apollinarios, patriarch of Alexandria.

To Menas was ascribed a speech addressed to Vigilius concerning the one will of Christ that was used by adherents of MONOTHELETISM; at the Council of 680 the codex was investigated and proclaimed a forgery (F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* [Münster in Westfalen 1899] 69). The short vita of Menas (*BHG* 1272) is anonymous and lacking in information. Beck (*Kirche* 408) hypothesizes that it was written by a contemporary.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 232–43. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 9:318f. –A.K.

MENAS FLASKS, the largest subcategory of pilgrims' AMPULLAE, issued from the 5th to the 7th C. at the famous complex of St. MENAS at ABŪ MĪNĀ. Made of clay, with a round, flat body, a projecting neck, and a pair of large handles, these crude, mass-produced vessels were used by pilgrims to carry home miracle-working EULOGIA waters, which were dispensed from cisterns at the shrine. Examples have been discovered throughout the Byz. Empire and beyond its frontiers. Most are between 6 and 15 cm in height and bear figural compositions impressed on the front and back. Menas is usually shown in the ORANS attitude, flanked by a pair of kneeling camels. A workshop for the production and storage of such flasks was discovered at the site.

LIT. C. Metzger, *Les ampoules à eulogie du Musée du Louvre* (Paris 1981). C.M. Kaufmann, *Zur Ikonographie der Menas-Ampullen* (Cairo 1910). –G.V.

MENOIKEION, MOUNT, located east of SERRES. Menoikeion (τοῦ Μενοικέως) was the site of a monastery of the Prodromos, founded ca.1275 by the monk Ioannikios (died ca.1300), future bishop of Ezivai (Ezeva). He was succeeded as superior by his nephew, the *hieromonachos* Ioakeim (died 1333), who eventually became bishop of Zichnai. Ioakeim enlarged the complex, adding the church and refectory, obtained patriarchal status for the monastery (1321), and greatly increased its properties so that it became one of the wealthiest in Macedonia. In 1304 he enlisted the patronage of SIMONIS, wife of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN of Serbia; in 1332 *megas domestikos* JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS succeeded her as patron. STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN was also a benefactor of the monastery after his conquest of Serres in 1345. Though in debt and disrepair under Ottoman domination, the monastery survives to this day.

The *typikon* of Ioakeim, revised in 1332, stressed the cenobitic life and denied anchorites entrance to the monastery. Under its unusual collegial system of administration, the *hegoumenos* acted in concert with a council of monks. The early archives of the monastery are preserved in 19th-C. copies of two 14th-C. cartularies (I. Dujčev, *REB* 16 [1958] 169–71). About 50 charters (primarily privileges conferred by Andronikos II, Andronikos III, and Dušan) as well as Greek translations of Turkish documents survive: they give lists of the monastery's properties and reveal the history of its acquisitions. Of special interest are data concerning OIKONOMIAI in the region and the prosopography of local landowners. Numerous MSS produced in the monastery's scriptorium also survive (L. Politis in *Wandlungen, Studien zur antiken und neueren Kunst* [Waldsassen 1975] 278–95).

The *katholikon*, a domed basilica, was built in the early 14th C. The frescoes in the naos date from the period of Dušan and his successors, particularly JOHN UGLJEŠA, *despotes* of Serres (1365–71). A portrait of Dušan and his family together with the *ktetor* Ioakeim, who was shown offering a model of his church to a winged John the Baptist, survived in the exonarthex until at least 1761. The chapel of St. Nicholas that contains the grave of Uglješa's sister, Helen, was decorated with frescoes commissioned by her husband Nicholas Radonja between 1358 and 1364. I. Djordjević and E. Kyriakoudis (*Cyrillomethodianum* 7 [1983] 167–234) proposed that these paintings, as well as others in the outer narthex and some frescoes in the chapel (behind the apse of the *katholikon*) representing the Prodromos and his father, Zacharias, were executed by artists from Thessalonike who went on to work at Hilandar and Vatopedi on Mt. Athos.

SOURCES. M. Jugie, "Le Typicon du monastère du Prodrome au mont Ménécée, près de Serrès," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 25–69. A. Guillou, *Les archives de Saint-Jean-Prodrome*

sur le Mont Ménécée (Paris 1955). Facs. ed. I. Dujčev, *Cartulary A of the St. John Prodromos Monastery* (London 1972).

LIT. A. Xyngopoulos, *Hai toichographiai tou katholikou tes Mones Prodromou para tas Serras* (Thessalonike 1973).

–A.M.T., A.C.

MENOLOGEM (*μηνολόγημα, μηνολόγιον*), a formula for dating certain types of ACTS. It consists of a date (month and INDICTION) that serves also as signature, all in the hand of the signatory. The red *menologem* was reserved to the emperor (until the end of the 13th C., to the main emperor only); the black *menologem* was used by the patriarch and by some high prelates, such as the metropolitans of Thessalonike (14th C. onward). According to Dölger-Karayannopulos (*infra*), the *menologem* was used from the 7th C. (the first example in a letter of Constantine IV) to 1394, when the custom was abolished by Manuel II (*Reg* 5, no.3246).

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 53, 110f.

–N.O.

MENOLOGION (*μηνολόγιον*, from *μήν*, "month," and *λόγος*, "catalog"), a collection of VITAE arranged according to the date of each saint's celebration in the church CALENDAR. Although the terminology is by no means consistent in the sources (J. Noret, *AB* 86 [1968] 21–23), a *menologion* should be distinguished both from a SYNAXARION, a collection of simple notices or very short biographies of the saints, and a MENAION, which contains liturgical poems and prayers for the saint's annual celebration. In addition to the vitae, many of considerable length, the *menologion* often contains a few homilies as well, to be read at the same commemorative service. A. Ehrhard (*infra*, 1:21) claims that the mention by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS of a collection of MARTYRIA in 12 *deltoi* (PG 99:912B) is the first real evidence for a *menologion*, though it is unclear whether the texts were arranged in any chronological sequence. The earliest surviving *menologia* MSS date from the 9th C. Though various equivalent projects may have been afoot in both the 10th and 11th C. (N.P. Ševčenko, *infra* 3, 216, n.16), the late 10th-C. collection of nearly 150 texts in ten volumes compiled by SYMEON METAPHRASTES was to become the standard edition of the *menologion*; its regular use in monasteries (the texts were read aloud at ORTHROS) is attested by the 12th C.

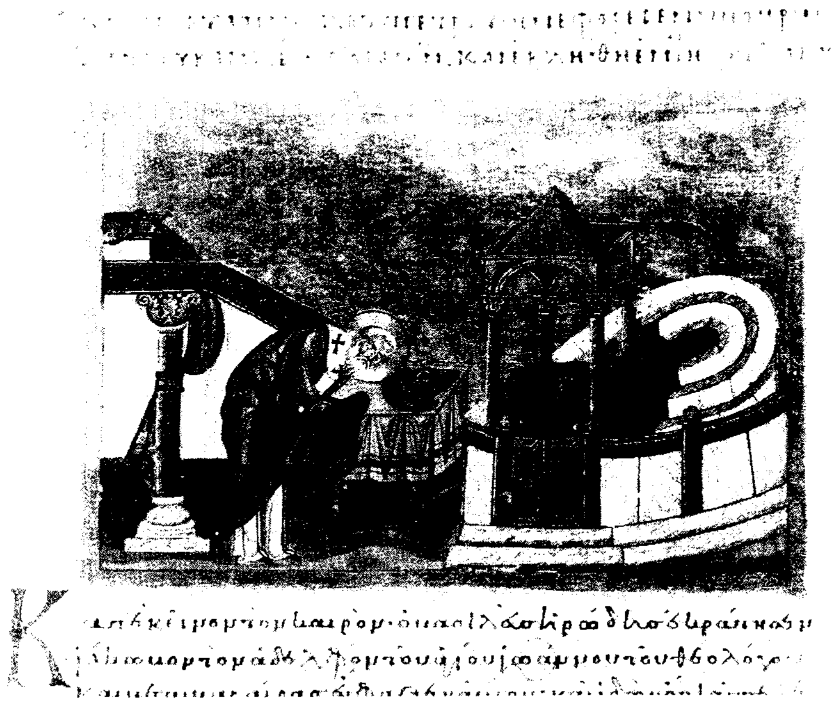
Symeon's texts, many reworked or abridged, were reassembled once more in the 11th C., to form the so-called "imperial" *menologion*. In this version, each vita is followed by a set of verses acclaiming the emperor; the acrostic of these verses in each case spells "Michael P," thought to be the emperor Michael IV Paphlagon. Some MSS of the "imperial" *menologia* were illustrated in the 11th C.; the illustrations are careful copies not of the miniatures found in MSS of Metaphrastes' *menologion*—the source for the texts—but of those in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (S. Der Nersessian in *Sbornik . . .V.N. Lazareva* 94–111).

ED. "Imperial" *menologion*—B. Latyšev, *Menologii anonymi byzantini* (St. Petersburg 1912; rp. Leipzig 1970). F. Halkin, *Le ménologe impérial de Baltimore* (Brussels 1985). F. Halkin, A.-J. Festugière, *Dix textes inédits tirés du ménologe impérial de Koutloumous* (Geneva 1984). F. Halkin, "Les moines martyrs de Sinai dans le ménologe impérial," in *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière. Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey (Geneva 1984) 267–73. Idem, *Hagiologie byzantin* (Brussels 1986) 31–46. N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Editions of the Metaphrastian Menologion* (Chicago 1990).

LIT. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1937–52).

–N.P.Š.

MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (Vat. gr. 1613). This MS, the most lavishly illustrated of all Byz. liturgical MSS, was made sometime after 979 (S. Der Nersessian, *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 104–25) for the emperor Basil II, whose name appears in a dedicatory poem on p.XIII. Its text is not in fact a MENOLOGION at all, but a version of the SYNAXARION of Constantinople for the months of September through February. It has 430 miniatures, one on nearly every page, all with gold background; 15 miniatures lack textual notices and two both their text and title. The absolute balance here between text and image is unparalleled in any other CALENDAR CYCLE: each occupies half a page, and just as each miniature, regardless of content, has been composed to fit a prescribed space, so each Synaxarion text has been modified so as to take up exactly 16 lines on the page. The miniatures include several illustrations of the GREAT FEASTS, the translation of relics, and figures of prophets and saints standing before elaborate architectural settings or in exquisite landscapes. But the vast majority are scenes of martyrdom and torture, astonishing as much for their level of violence as for their extreme refinement of execution and the absence of caricature.



MENOLOGION OF BASIL II. Miniature from the *Menologion of Basil II* (p.324). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The veneration of the chains of St. Peter; miniature by the artist George.

Each miniature is accompanied in the margin by a name in the genitive case; these names, eight in all, are often preceded by the words *tou zographou* ("by the painter") and are presumed to be names of the artists (PANTOLEON, George, Menas, Symeon, Michael the Younger, Nestor, Michael of Blachernai, and Symeon of Blachernai). If this Pantoleon is identical to the painter Pantoleon attested elsewhere, then the *Menologion* would date to the early 11th C. and be contemporary with the Psalter of Basil II (Venice, Marc. gr. 17, now dated to ca.1005 by A. Cutler, *Arte Veneta* 31 [1977] 9–15).

The illustrated "imperial" *menologia* of the 11th C. were clearly meant to imitate the *Menologion of Basil II*. Their miniatures are exact copies of those in the Basil MS, attached to a different set of texts.

ED. *Il Menologio di Basilio II*, 2 vols. (Turin 1907).

LIT. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XI (1962), 244–76, and objections A. Frolow, *BS* 26 (1965) 404–08. C. Barsanti, "Le architetture 'ad limitem' del Menologio di Basilio II (Cod. Vat. Greco 1613) e la miniatura con la commemorazione del Patriarca Ignazio," *Commentari* 28 (1977) 3–25. P. Angiolini Martinelli, "La mano di Simeone nel Menologio di Basilio II," *CorsiRav* (1977) 21–42. –N.P.Š.

MENOUTHIS. See KYROS AND JOHN.

MENTESHE (Μανταχίας, Μενδεσίας), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM. It occupied the fertile plain of the river Meander and extended up to the cape of Makre (Fethiye); its main cities were Miletos, Mylassa, and Mugla. The emirate was probably founded by a certain Sal(am)pakis, who fought successfully against the Byz. and ca.1280 conquered Tralles. His successor was probably Masʿūd, who allied with the Genoese and attacked the Hospitallers on Rhodes and the surrounding islands in 1311. In the 1330s Menteshe, after repeated naval raids, reduced the lords of many Aegean islands and territories to the status of tribute-paying vassals. The emirate established commercial relations with Venetian Crete ca.1300 and concluded with it at least seven treaties, which mention several exported staple goods: agricultural products (mainly cereals), livestock and related products connected with the nomads (cattle, horses, hides), and slaves. During the Crusades against the Aegean emirates (in 1333/4 and in

1343/4), Menteshe appeared more willing to side with the Christians than with its Turkish neighbors. The emirate was temporarily annexed by the OTTOMANS from 1390 to 1402 and permanently in 1421.

LIT. P. Wittek, *Das Fürstentum Mentesche* (Istanbul 1934). Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. –E.A.Z.

MERARCHES (μεράρχης), military officer, mentioned in military treatises of the 6th C. He commanded a cavalry division (*meros*) in the assault line. In the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (86.12), the *merarches* is ranked between the STRATEGOS and DOUX. The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 109.9) equates *merarches* with TOURMARCHES, as does the *Taktika of Leo VI* (ch.4.8; PG 107:701C). In effect the two offices were merged. Bury (*Adm. System* 42) suggests that in a theme, in addition to two *tourmarchai*, there was a *merarches* who commanded the third brigade but had no geographical district under his administration. The seal of a *merarches* of Knossos (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 201) contradicts this hypothesis.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 109, n.65. –A.K., E.M.

MERCENARIES (μισθοφόροι) were hired by the Byz. throughout their history to secure needed manpower or skills. Germanic mercenaries, attracted by wages and the prospect of advancement, had played an influential role in the late Roman army, and cash taxes obtained from the population in lieu of military service were used to pay for them (Jones, *LRE* 619–23). The expense, coupled with the RECRUITMENT of the provincial armies (*themata*) from local and transplanted populations, reduced the demand for mercenaries between the late 7th and 9th C. The 10th and 11th C., however, witnessed the partial transformation of the Byz. army from an indigenous to a mercenary force. This change in manpower is attributed to the commutation of personal military service (STRATEIA) into cash taxes used to hire mercenaries and the loss of Anatolia in the 11th C., depriving Byz. of its prime source of soldiers.

The multinational armies of the 10th C. amazed the Arabs (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:333, 339); 11th-C. chrysobulls list a wide range of peoples, now including Western soldiers (J. Shepard, *Traditio* 29 [1973] 53–92), in Byz. service, while Turkish mercenaries became prominent in Komnenian and Nicaean armies. Food and other necessities (perhaps also lodging) were obtained for them from the empire's population through the MITATON. So widespread was the use of mercenaries that in the 12th C. BENJAMIN OF TUDELA declared that the Greeks no longer participated in warfare. In the 14th C. Byz. hired companies of soldiers (such as the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY) and attempted to retain their services by bestowing rights of PRONOIA (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 8 [1981] 353–71).

Mercenaries served in separate corps and used their own weaponry and methods of warfare, although the Byz. sought to keep these troops under their overall command. The most famous corps was composed of the VARANGIANS who served Basil II as an expert fighting force; foreign corps also served as BODYGUARDS for emperors who could not trust their own soldiers.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine and Turkish Societies and their Sources of Manpower," in *War, Technology and Society in the Middle East*, ed. V.J. Parry, M.E. Yapp (London 1975) 126–40. –E.M.

MERCHANT (ἔμπορος), also *pragmateutes*, denoting a middleman, that is, one who made his living primarily through buying and selling merchandise (*Cod.Theod.* XIII 1.13). In the period through the 6th C., the sources show the existence of a considerable number of merchants engaged in both wholesale and retail trade; recent scholarship has stressed the importance of differentiating between independent middlemen and traders who acted as agents of the state or of the large landowners who disposed of their surplus directly to the consumer. In this period, some rich merchants are attested, both in Alexandria (where one of them is said to have had a fortune of 275 pounds of gold) and in other parts of the empire, as, for example, the merchant from Askalon mentioned in John Moschos (PG 87:3068AB). Merchants, however, occupied a relatively low social position; they were not allowed to hold important offices. The size of their enterprises and their capital was also small relative to that of great landlords. Patristic sources are suspicious of the profession of the merchant, since they consider trade an occasion for sin (e.g., John Chrysostom, PG 64:436C).

In the 7th–10th C. the tendency toward self-sufficiency reduced the role of the merchant, although there is no doubt of the continued existence of middlemen, such as the rich merchant

from Chios mentioned in the Miracles of St. Artemios. The RHODIAN SEA LAW (ch.11.11) shows merchants sailing with their wares and even gives evidence of large and precious cargoes being sent by ship. The BOOK OF THE EPARCH (ch.11.1) reveals the close connection between trade and manufacturing; CANDLEMAKERS, for example, sold their wares in their own shops. The state controlled some prices and legislated against "unreasonable profit" (ibid., ch.10.2). By the time of Basil II, merchants in regional and local markets appear significant enough to give rise to legislation concerning their participation in FAIRS (*Reg* 1, no.783). Their formal social status remains low, the *Basilika* (6:1.23) forbidding them access to the senate.

In the 11th C. the merchants of Constantinople acquired both wealth and, for a while, important social status. They were clearly a powerful group, courted by emperors such as Constantine IX, Constantine X, and Nikephoros III Botaneiates; they gained access to the senate, a privilege soon rescinded by Alexios I Komnenos. In the 12th C. merchants had no share in political power; nevertheless, some continued to prosper, as, for example, the money-changer KALOMODIOS. According to Benjamin of Tudela, Byz. merchants in this period sailed as far as Barcelona and Montpellier; they were in search of profit, as noted by Constantine MANASSES (ed. Mazal, bk.9, fr.178). The competition of Italian merchants and the changes brought about by the Fourth Crusade also modified the position and the role of the Byz. merchant.

In the Palaiologan period Byz. merchants engaged primarily in local and medium-distance trade, sometimes independently and in competition with the Italians, sometimes in cooperation with them. Unlike earlier periods, the aristocracy participated heavily in trade, both as investors and as merchants. Women were important as retail traders (A. Laiou, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 233–60), esp. in cloth, but also in alimentary products. They are attested in that role almost continuously, from the time of John Chrysostom until that of IBN BAṬṬŪṬA (p.160) who wrote that in the "bazaars" of Constantinople "the majority of artisans and sellers . . . are women." In the Palaiologan period, we also find women investing in shops and in relatively long-distance trade.

LIT. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Greek Merchant of the Palaeologan Period: A Collective Portrait," *AkadAthPr* 57 (1982) 96–132. W. Ceran, " 'Emporoi' we wczesnobizantyńskiej Antiochii," *Acta Universitatis Lodziensis, Folia historica* 23 (1986) 17–28. C.R. Whittaker, "Late Roman Trade and Traders," in P. Garnsey, K. Hopkins, C.R. Whittaker, *Trade in the Ancient Economy* (London 1983) 163–80. N. Svoronos, "Remarques sur les structures économiques de l'empire byzantin au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 63–67. N. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires grecs et latins à Constantinople (XIIIe–XVe siècles)* (Montreal 1979). K.-P. Matschke, "Byzantinische Politiker und byzantinische Kaufleute im Ringen um die Beteiligung am Schwarzmeerhandel in der Mitte des 14. Jh.," *Mitteilungen des Bulgarischen Forschungsinstitutes in Österreich* 2.4 (1984) 75–96. Koukoules, *Bios* 2:204f. –A.L.

MERIAMLIK (now Ayatekla), site of the shrine of St. THEKLA outside SELEUKEIA in Isauria. EGERIA, on her pilgrimage in 384, noted several monasteries and the church of the saint, all surrounded with walls for protection against the Isaurians, whose attacks in the early 5th C. caused the church treasure to be removed to Seleukeia for safekeeping. The site contains two major churches: a richly decorated basilica built over the cave where St. Thekla allegedly descended into the earth, dated to ca.375 with redecoration in the 6th C., and a rectangular church with a central tower and an atrium with a large exedra. This latter church, similar in plan to ALAHAN MANASTIRI and others of the region, was apparently dedicated by Emp. ZENO. Meriamlik also contains a necropolis basilica, a bath, and remains of fortifications. Its history after the 6th C. is unknown.

LIT. E. Herzfeld, S. Guyer, *Meriamlik und Korykos* (Manchester 1930). H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:228–41. –C.F.

MERISMOS (μερισμός, lit. "division, apportionment"), term used in the Farmer's Law, par.8, in which the review was permitted of a *merismos* that had turned out to "wrong certain people in their lots (*skarphia*) or lands." The text has been interpreted (among others by Lipšic, *infra*) as evidence of the periodic redistribution of land in village communities of the 7th and 8th C. KOSMAS MAGISTROS, however, in the 10th C. applied the term to the division of lands that had been previously used by villagers in common (e.g., as pastures); this interpretation is supported by a charter of 943 referring to the judgment of Kosmas Magistros (*Prot.*, no.6.7–8) and regulating the border between Mt. Athos and Hierissos. E. Lipšic (in

Zemledel'českij zakon, ed. I. Medvedev [Leningrad 1984] 148) suggests that the changes made between the 8th and 10th C. were so significant that it is impossible to apply Kosmas's judgment to the interpretation of the Farmer's Law. Even from the Farmer's Law, however, one cannot conclude that there was periodic redivision of the land: on the contrary, par.32 of this document speaks of the *merismos* of "an undivided place."

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 41–46, 178f. E. Lipšic, "Vizantijskoe krest'janstvo i slavjanskaja kolonizacija," in *VizSb* 119f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 80–83. –A.K.

MERKOURION, mountainous area in northern Calabria. Merkourion comprised the valley of the Lao, one of whose confluents is still called Mércure. The *kastron* of Merkourion, which no longer exists, gave the name to the homonymous *eparchia*, which might have been a *tourma* of LUCANIA. In the 10th C. the area was famous for its monastic settlements—"a new Thebaid"—which are mentioned in several Calabrian saints' Lives.

LIT. S. Borsari, *Il monachesimo bizantino nella Sicilia e nell'Italia meridionale prenormanne* (Naples 1963) 47–58, 69f. A. Guillou, *Saint-Nicolas de Donnoso (1031–1060/1061)* (Vatican 1967) 7–9, 37, n.2. –V.v.F.

MERKOURIOS (Μερκούριος, Mercurius, Mar Qurios), saint; feastdays 25 and 26 Nov. His cult is attested by Theodosios Archidiaconos (6th C.) in Caesarea, Cappadocia (*Itinera Hierosolymitana*, ed. P. Geyer [Leipzig 1898] 144). By that time a legend had spread (narrated in Malalas, John of Damascus, and Eastern sources) that ascribed to Merkourios the posthumous exploit of killing Emp. JULIAN. The Greek *passiones* preserved in 10th-C. and later MSS present Merkourios as a courageous warrior whom the emperor Decius appointed *stratopedarches* for his heroic deeds against the barbarians (SYMEON METAPHRASTES calls them Scythians); later Decius executed Merkourios for his Christian beliefs. The legends about Merkourios's martyrdom and his assassination of Julian were united only by Nikephoros GREGORAS. Some Syriac texts regard Merkourios as one of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA. In the West the cult of the Cappadocian Merkourios seems to have been conflated with that of Mercurius of Aeclanum, Apulia (feastday 26 Aug.), whose relics were transferred to Beneventum in 768 (H. Delehaye in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, vol. 1 [Liège 1908] 17–24).

Representation in Art. Merkourios was one of the most popular MILITARY SAINTS; his portraits in full armor abound in wall paintings and appear on 10th-C. ivories. In MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, he is more commonly dressed in court costume. He is young, with short brown curly hair and an incipient beard. His martyrdom by beheading is occasionally depicted in *menologia*, and his assassination of Julian (who has fallen from his horse and is speared by the mounted Merkourios) appears in the 9th C., in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.409v).

SOURCES. S. Binon, *Documents grecs inédits relatifs à s. Mercure de Césarée* (Louvain 1937). Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 234–48. *Passione e miracoli di S. Mercurio*, ed. T. Orlandi. Ital. tr. S. Di Giuseppe Camaioni (Milan 1976).

LIT. *BHG* 1274–1277a. S. Binon, *Essai sur le cycle de saint Mercure* (Paris 1937). W.H.C. Frend, "Fragments of an Acta Martyrum from Q'asr Ibrim," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 66–70. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:10–13. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MEROBAUDES, FLAVIUS, 5th-C. general, senator, and Latin orator. Of Frankish origin, Merobaudes evidently moved to Spain, near the Baetis River. By 435 he was in Ravenna, where he achieved literary and military distinction at the court of Valentinian III. The inscription on an honorific statue at Rome (435) records his titles (*vir spectabilis, comes sacri consistorii*), honoring also his eloquence and military achievements. Merobaudes himself speaks of attaining the *maximus honor*, either the patriciate (which would have involved a trip to Constantinople) or an honorary consulate. In 443 he began successful campaigns against rebels in Spain but was recalled because of hostile court intrigues. Apart from the *De Christo* (*Anthologia latina*, ed. F. Buecheler, A. Riese, vol. 1.2 [Leipzig 1906] no.878), probably though not certainly his, his occasional pieces in prose and verse honor mainly his patron AETIUS and Valentinian, the imperial family being celebrated in *ekphraseis* of mosaics that depicted them. These *ekphraseis* survive primarily in a damaged palimpsest MS of the 5th/6th C. Now his work is valued more for its historical information about Aetius and Ravennate art than for its literary quality.

ED. F. Vollmer in MGH *AuctAnt* 14:3–20. *Merobaudes et Corippus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1836) 3–18.

LIT. F.M. Clover, *Flavius Merobaudes: A Translation and Historical Commentary* (Philadelphia 1971). S. Monti, "Per

l'esegesi dei carmi 1 e 2 di Merobaude," *Rendiconti dell'Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti di Napoli* 41 (1966) 3–21. –B.B.

MESARITES, NICHOLAS, writer; born ca.1163/4, died after 1214. By 1200 Mesarites (Μεσαρίτης) held high ecclesiastical office—*skeuophylax* at the Pharos church in Constantinople. He left the capital for Nicaea after his brother John died (5 Feb. 1207) and became metropolitan of Ephesus and exarch of Asia. In 1214 he headed an embassy to Constantinople for talks with Cardinal PELAGIUS; the dialogues with the Latins ascribed to him in this connection appear to be forgeries (G. Spiteris, *OrChrAn* 204 [1977] 181–86). Mesarites belonged to the "school" that questioned the traditional values of Byz. rhetoric and tried to create new aesthetic principles. His speech on the revolt of John KOMNENOS the Fat differed drastically from those of other contemporary orators (Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES, Euthymios TORNIKIOS, and Niketas CHONIATES) as a result of his interest in vivid details and in his own role in the events. In the preamble he parodied the conventions of Byz. writing, including the traditional theme of working under pressure from a friend: according to Mesarites, he wrote his work because people in the street wearied him with their incessant inquiries. In the same way Mesarites described his journey from Pylae to Nicaea, or the fine food with which he was regaled in Constantinople. In his picture of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES he depicted Christ and his disciples in motion and asserted that he even sensed the smell of the sea—in sharp contrast with the conventional, rigid, and motionless presentation by his predecessor CONSTANTINE OF RHODES. Mesarites respected education deeply and described the school at the Holy Apostles in detail, but he disliked pedantry, abhorred the brutality of teachers, and derided the "quotational" method of argument.

ED. *Die Palastrevolution des Johannes Komnenos*, ed. A. Heisenberg (Würzburg 1907). "Nikolaos Mesarites: Description of the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," ed. and tr. G. Downey, *TAPhS* n.s. 47 (1957) 855–924. A. Heisenberg, *Quellen und Studien zur spätbyzantinischen Geschichte* (rp. London 1973), pt.II.1 (1922), 16–75; pt.II.2 (1923), 15–56; pt.II.3 (1923), 6–54.

LIT. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 236–55. A. Epstein, "The Rebuilding and Redecoration of the Holy Apostles in Constantinople: A Reconsideration," *GRBS* 23 (1982) 79–92. G.J.M. Bartelink, "Homerismen in Nikolaos Mesarites' Beschreibung der Apostelkirche in Konstantinopel," *BZ* 70 (1977) 306–09. –A.K.

MESAZON (μεσάζων), the emperor's confidant entrusted with the administration of the empire. The word in the plural form *mesiteuontes* and with a nontechnical sense of "principal administrators" is used first by a 10th-C. historian (Genes. 61.90–91). In the 11th–12th C. the term *mesazon* became a semiofficial designation, CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES being the first to hold the rank. The title could be bestowed on any high official, such as the *logothetes ton sekreton* or *kanikleios*. Under the Palaiologoi the office of *mesazon* was institutionalized, even though pseudo-KODINOS does not assign it a specific rank on the hierarchical ladder; he knows, however, that the *megas logothetes* was supposed to fulfill the *mesastikion*, the duty of *mesazon*. A 15th-C. historian identified the *mesazon* with the Turkish *vezir* (Douk. 141.26). Describing the appointment of Demetrios KYDONES in 1354, Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:285.5–9) emphasized that he lived within the palace not only because of imperial favor but also because, as *mesazon*, he was needed by the emperor "day and night." Among the *mesazontes* of the 13th–14th C. were Theodore MOUZALON, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Theodore METOCHITES, and John APOKAUKOS. The last known *mesazontes* in Constantinople were Loukas NOTARAS and Demetrios Palaiologos Kantakouzenos (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 193) in the 15th C. The office existed also at the courts of Morea, Epiros, and Trebizond; the *mesazon* of Trebizond acquired the epithet *megas*.

LIT. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 441–65. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII (1955), 309–38. J. Verpeaux, "Contribution à l'étude de l'administration byzantine: ho mesazon," *BS* 16 (1955) 270–96. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 169f. –A.K.

MESE (Μέση, lit. "middle [road]"), the central avenue of CONSTANTINOPLE. It started from the Milion, the initial MILESTONE of the empire. The Milion was located on the AUGUSTAION square, in front of HAGIA SOPHIA (its precise location has not yet been determined). A grandiose structure with a dome supported by four arches, it was adorned with imperial statues, including Constantine I and Helena holding a cross and guarded by the Tyche of the city; nearby were the equestrian statues of Trajan and Theodosios II (Janin, *CP byz.* 103f). In the part of the Mese called Philadelphion (according to tradition in honor of Constans I and Constantius II, whose statues were erected there), the street forked: one branch continued northwest, parallel to the GOLDEN HORN,

toward the Gate of Adrianople; another angled southwest, ending at the GOLDEN GATE; one section of this avenue branched off (after the walls of Constantine) and led to the Gate of the Source (PEGE).

The Mese connected the major public squares (forums or AGORAI) of the city: after the Augustaion came the Forum of Constantine (sometimes simply called the Phoros), which was not rectangular like Roman forums but, according to the *Patria*, imitated the shape of the Ocean or of Constantine's tent, that is, it was circular in shape. The Phoros was adorned with a marble arch, porphyry columns, and statues, including Constantine and Helena holding a cross, and the Tyche of the city holding the MODIOS as a symbol of correct weight (or perhaps the MODIOLOS crown as conjectured by Dagron, *CP Imaginaire* 185, n.115). Michael I Rangabe ordered the hands of the Tyche to be cut off as a deterrent to popular revolts. Next came the Forum Tauri or the square of Theodosios [I] with the emperor's statue atop a column and various other monuments; the remains of a marble structure (probably the triumphal arch of Theodosios) were found during the excavations of the square. The location of the Forum Amastrianum has not yet been identified. The texts place it between Philadelphion and the next square, the Forum Bovis (of the Bull), that is, at the beginning of the southwestern branch of the Mese. It contained many pagan statues, among others Zeus-Helios on a chariot of marble, and a pyramid with two bronze hands holding the *modios*. The Forum Bovis (on the southwestern branch of the Mese) took its name from an enormous bronze head of a bull brought from Pergamon and placed there; the square was adorned with porticoes and statues, among which were again Constantine and Helena with a cross. The last forum, the square of Arkadios, was located on the Xerolophos hill and adorned with a column, surmounted by a statue of Arkadios, and surrounded by the statues of other rulers (Theodosios II, Marcian, etc.).

Along the entire Mese were numerous churches and monasteries, of which the best known were the HOLY APOSTLES, St. John Prodromos of PETRA, CHORA, KECHARITOMENE, and Christ Philanthropenos (on the northwest branch), and St. Mokios, STOUDIOS, and DALMATOU (in the area of the southwest branch). Various public buildings (e.g., BASILIKE), baths (of ZEUXIPPOS), palaces, and mansions were constructed along the Mese. Fountains, cisterns, porticoes, statues, and other monuments (e.g., the ANEMODOULION) also lined the course of the Mese. At the same time, the Mese was the main commercial center of the city, with depictions of the *modios* indicating the state control over merchants: workshops of jewelers, candlemakers, fur-merchants, and bakers (Artopoleia), and so forth were located in its vicinity, while the Makros Embolos connected the Artopoleia (between the Forum of Constantine and the Forum Tauri) with the harbors of the Golden Horn. Some squares (Amastrianos, Forum Bovis) functioned as marketplaces and also as places of execution.

The avenue (esp. its southwest branch) served as the major artery for imperial processions and triumphs. The emperor usually entered the city through the Golden Gate and then paraded toward Hagia Sophia, being acclaimed at several "stations," mainly the forums. For these processions the GUILDS were obliged to decorate the Mese and clean the streets and strew them with flowers.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 36–40, 62–72. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 207–17. Müller-Wiener, *Bildslexikon* 269f. –A.K.

MESEMBRIA (Μεσημβρία; Bulgarian Nesebŭr), city on the Bulgarian Black Sea coast, 35 km northeast of Burgas, on a small rocky peninsula linked to the mainland by a narrow causeway. Prosperous in Hellenistic times but declining under Roman rule, in the 7th–8th C. Mesembria became an important Byz. naval and military base, a place of exile, and the seat of a bishop. From this period or earlier can be dated two basilicas, including the three-aisled Old Metropolis built of coursed rubble with brick arcades. Captured by KRUM in 812, Mesembria had returned to Byz. allegiance by 860 and continued to play a significant role as a Byz. base. In 1078 a revolt broke out in the city, led by one Dobromir, presumably a Bulgarian. At the end of the 12th C. Mesembria was incorporated in the Second Bulgarian Empire but frequently changed hands in the following two centuries. Despite political instability, the city developed economically; the many late Byz. churches—some built under Byz. patronage, some under Bulgarian—bear witness to its prosperity. Mesembria remained in Bulgarian hands until in 1367 it was captured, sacked, and returned to Byz. control by AMADEO VI OF SAVOY. Thereafter it remained a Byz. city until 1452, when Constan-

tine XI ceded it to Janos HUNYADI. In Feb. 1453 Mesembria surrendered to the Ottoman Turks, only three months before the capture of Constantinople.

Many medieval buildings survive, including the two basilicas and seven churches dating from the 11th to 14th C. Especially notable is St. John Aleitourgetos, which, like other churches at Mesembria, is elaborately decorated on the exterior with ceramic ornament in the manner of Apokaukos's church at SELYMBRIA. A cross-in-square building, its ruined BEMA and prothesis chamber retain fragmentary frescoes depicting liturgical scenes. Many of the late Byz. defense works are still visible.

LIT. I. Gŭlŭbov, *Nesebŭr i negovite pametnici* (Sofia 1961). *Nessèbre*, eds. T. Ivanov, V. Velkov, 2 vols. (Sofia 1969–80). A. Rašenov, *Mesemvrijski cŭrkvi* (Sofia 1932). V. Gjuzelev, "Die mittelalterliche Stadt Mesembria (Nesebăr) im 6.-15. Jh.," *BHR* 6.1 (1978) 50–59. N. Oikonomides, "Mesembria in the Ninth Century: Epigraphical Evidence," *BS/EB* 8–12 (1981–86) 269–73. –R.B., A.C

MESOPOTAMIA (Μεσοποταμία, "land between the rivers"), geographical name of all the territory between the Euphrates and Tigris rivers. The name was also used to refer to both a province and a theme in the Byz. Empire.

PROVINCE OF MESOPOTAMIA. From the 4th to 7th C., Mesopotamia was a civil and ecclesiastical province of the diocese of ORIENS. It extended from the province of OSRHOENE north and east toward the Tigris and Chaboras rivers. The capital of the province and seat of the *doux* of Mesopotamia with authority over the local *limitanei* was NISIBIS until the mid-4th C. Following Julian's defeat, Jovian ceded to Persia by the treaty of 363 Nisibis, Singara, and lands beyond the Tigris that had been gained by Diocletian in 296–97. Thenceforth the provincial capital was AMIDA and the *doux* of Mesopotamia was stationed at either CONSTANTINA or, later, DARA; other cities included MARTYROPOLIS and Kephas.

War with Persia resumed under KAVĀD, thus compelling Anastasios I to found DARA and fortify other cities; the work continued under Justinian I. In the early 6th C. Mesopotamia was subdivided into three civil and/or ecclesiastical provinces: to the north was Armenia IV, with its capital at MARTYROPOLIS; south of the Tigris was Mesopotamia, with its capital at Amida; and below that was southern Mesopotamia, whose capital was at Dara and which had jurisdiction over the TUR ʿABDIN. Maurice's alliance with Chosroes II in 591 allowed Byz. to recover certain territories (including Dara) lost to Persia in 573, but the new war (from 605 on) led to further territorial losses until Herakleios destroyed the power of Persia between 623 and 628. Between 633 and 640 the region fell to the Arabs.

LIT. L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris 1962). J.B. Segal, "Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 109–39. –M.M.M.

THEME OF MESOPOTAMIA. The Byz. THEME of Mesopotamia was organized to the northwest of the province of Mesopotamia. The date of its formation is unclear: it is usually accepted that Mesopotamia was created between 899 and 911 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 349). There is, however, a seal of the *strategos* of Mesopotamia probably dating from 825/6 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.284). Still called a *strategos* in the 10th-C. *Taktikon* of Beneševič, the commander of the theme became DOUX before 971 or 975. In the 11th C. the theme was commanded by Armenians (GREGORY MAGISTROS and his son Vahram); Michael VII tried to reestablish Greek administration in Mesopotamia (Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 198). By the end of the 11th C. the Seljuks had conquered the region.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 69f. W. Brandes, "Überlegungen zur Vorgeschichte des Thema Mesopotamien," *BS* 44 (1983) 171–77. –A.K.

MESOPOTAMIA TES DYSEOS (Mesopotamia "of the West"), Byz. military district mentioned in the Escorial TAKTIKON (Oikonomides, *Listes*, p.269.16). It was probably situated in the Danube delta and/or between the lower Danube and the Dniester, comprising territory conquered from Svjatoslav by John I Tzimiskes in 971. Partly reconquered by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, the territory was later incorporated in the new Byz. theme of PARISTRION. The name may be a translation of "Atelkouzou" (*De. adm. imp.* 38.30, 40.24; i.e., Old Hungarian *Etelküzü*, "between the rivers"). The Byz. fortresses of CAPIDAVA and PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE probably formed part of its defenses. Its capital may have been Little PRESLAV.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Recherches sur l'histoire du Bas-Danube aux Xᵉ–XIᵉ siècles: La Mésopotamie de l'Occident,"

RESEE 3 (1965) 57–79. I.A. Božilov, "Kŭm vŭprosa za vizantijskoto gospodstvo na dolnija Dunav v kraja na X vek," *Proučvanija po slučaj II Kongres po balkanistika* (Sofia 1970) 75–96. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:77. –R.B.

MESOPOTAMITES (Μεσοποταμίτης, fem. Μεσοποταμίτισσα), a family probably originating from Mesopotamos in Epiros (Moritz, *Zunamen* 2:34, n.1) or a place called Mesopotamia. The family became prominent in the late 11th C. as military commanders: Basil, Alexios I's general, was praised by WILLIAM OF APULIA as an experienced warrior; George was *doux* of Philippopolis. Manuel I's contemporary, Nicholas Mesopotamites, was extolled by an anonymous poet for adorning the Virgin's icon (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 185, no.366.16). In the late 12th C. the Mesopotamitai occupied important posts in the civil administration: Constantine the *kanikleios*, Isaac II's favorite, was eulogized by Nikephoros CHRYSOBERGES in an unpublished speech (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 226f). As a result of the protection of Empress EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA, Constantine acquired the highest place in the administration of Alexios III, along with his two (unnamed) brothers; Constantine had an ecclesiastical career as well, and Patr. George II XIPHILINOS granted him special permission to serve both state and church. Later he fell from imperial favor and ca.1196–98 was appointed metropolitan of Thessalonike to remove him from the court; he remained metropolitan until sometime between 1222 and 1228. Several Mesopotamitai were civil officials at the end of the 12th C., including Michael, *protonobelissimohypertatos* in 1195. Joseph Mesopotamites was imperial secretary, close to the circle of the Crown Prince Theodore Laskaris, but in 1253 he fell into disgrace and came under investigation (Angold, *Byz. Government* 163). The Mesopotamitai played a substantial role in church administration: Mesopotamites Konstomeres was metropolitan of Neopatras in the early 13th C.

Some Mesopotamitai bore the name not because they belonged to this family, but because they were monks of the Mesopotamon monastery in Epiros, which is attested in the 11th C. G. Astruc-Morize (*Scriptorium* 37 [1983] 105–59) suggested that Isaac Mesopotamites, the owner of several MSS produced in the mid-13th C. and metropolitan of Smyrna ca.1261, was a monk at Mesopotamon.

LIT. V. Laurent, "La succession épiscopale de la métropole de Thessalonique dans la première moitié du XIIIe siècle," *BZ* 56 (1963) 284–96 (and his *Corpus* 5.1, no.464), with corr. V. Grumel, *BZ* 59 (1966) 395. P. Lamma, "Un prostagma inedito attribuito a Isacco II^{o} l'Angelo," *Accademia di scienze, lettere ed arti di Modena. Atti e memorie*[5] 10 (1952) 248. Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 173–75. *PLP*, nos. 17954–58. –A.K.

MESOTHYNIA. See BITHYNIA.

MESROP MAŠTOC', inventor of the Armenian script; born Tarōn mid-4th C., died Vałaršapat 17 Feb. 439 or 440. He is known as Maštoc' in the earliest sources and as Mesrop in the 8th C. and later. Modern writers often combine the names.

After an early career at the Armenian court Mesrop Maštoc' became a hermit. By the end of the century he was engaged in missionary activity in outlying areas, accompanied by a group of disciples. Encouraged by King Vram-Shapuh and Patr. Sahak, he sought help in northern Syria to compose a script. Circa 400, with the help of a Greek calligrapher, Rufinus, he created the Armenian alphabet at Samosata. This was based on the Greek alphabet with extra letters intercalated. The first book translated was the *Proverbs of Solomon.* (See ARMENIAN LITERATURE.)

According to his pupil and biographer Koriun, Mesrop Maštoc' also invented scripts for Georgian and Caucasian Albanian; this is not confirmed by non-Armenian sources. Mesrop Maštoc' spent the rest of his life in missionary activity and in organizing with Sahak the first groups of translators.

SOURCE. Vita by Koriun—*Vark' Maštoc'i*, ed. M. Abełean (Erevan 1941). Eng. tr. by B. Norehad (Delmar, N.Y., 1985).

LIT. P. Peeters, "Pour l'histoire des origines de l'alphabet arménien," *REArm* 9 (1929) 203–37. *Banber Matenadarani* (Erevan) 7 (1964). P.N. Akinian, *Der heilige Mashtotz Wardapet, sein Leben und sein Wirken* (Vienna 1949). –R.T.

MESSALIANISM, the ascetic and pietistic movement of the Messalians (Μεσσαλιανοί, from Syriac *mṣlyn'*, "praying people"), also termed Euchitai; it probably originated in Mesopotamia in the 4th C. and spread to Syria, Egypt, and Asia Minor. The Messalians never formed an institutionalized sect, nor did they develop any doctrine or create a hierarchy (J. Gribomont in *Epektasis* [Beauchesne 1972] 611). They expressed the feelings

of radical groups within Christianity: they believed that a demon is encamped in man's soul and that neither baptism nor other sacraments suffice to expel him; only the "baptism of fire" or spiritual purification can liberate men from the power of evil (A. Guillaumont in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* [Paris 1974] 517–23); the instrument of purification is first and foremost PRAYER, through which man attains freedom from passions and the Holy Spirit descends upon him. The leading exponent of Messalianism was MAKARIOS/SYMEON.

Attitudes toward Messalians were ambivalent: on the one hand they were criticized by Ephrem the Syrian, Epiphanios, and later theologians such as John of Damascus and Euthymios Zigabenos; they were condemned by local councils in Side and Antioch in 390 and at the Council of Ephesus in 431. On the other hand, some church fathers such as Eustathios of Sebasteia and Gregory of Nyssa described them with sympathy; extreme monastic asceticism in Syria and Mesopotamia had much in common with Messalian practice.

Both names, Messalians and Euchitai, appear in later antiheretical polemics: Psellos composed a dialogue against Euchitai in Thrace who worshiped Satan (M. Wellenhofer, *BZ* 30 [1929–30] 477–84), and Patr. John XIV Kalekas attacked the "modern Messalians" (Beck, *Kirche* 712). Evidently, these Messalians had no direct connections with the extremist movement of the 4th–7th C.

LIT. I. Hausherr, *Etudes de spiritualité orientale* (Rome 1969) 64–96. A. Louth, "Messalianism and Pelagianism," *StP* 17.1 (1982) 127–35. H. Dörries, "Die Messalianer im Zeugnis ihrer Bestreiter," *Saeculum* 21 (1970) 213–27. R. Staats, *Gregor von Nyssa und die Messalianer* (Berlin 1968). –T.E.G.

MESSENIA (Μεσσηνία), a region in the southwestern Peloponnesos bordering on Elis, Arkadia, and the Taygetos mountain chain. The data from the period of the Roman Empire are scarce; among a few inscriptions with names of emperors, the latest is what may be a milestone from Haliartos mentioning Constantine I and his sons (*Inscriptiones Graecae* 5.1 [Berlin 1913] no.1420); some large estates existed in the western valley (U. Kahrstedt, *Die wirtschaftliche Gesicht Griechenlands in der Kaiserzeit* [Bern 1954] 220–34). The name of the city of Messene is still to be found in HIEROKLES, and the Peloponnesian bishopric of "Mossina" appears in a notitia (*Notitiae CP* 3:766). In the 7th–8th C. the territory was invaded by the Slavs, who left some traces of their language in local toponymy. Thereafter the name *Messenia* disappears from the sources, with the exception of certain archaizing writers such as pseudo-Sphrantzes, who speaks of the Messeniac Bay (Sphr. 278.23, 280.4–5). KORONE, METHONE, and, to a lesser extent, KALAMATA were the most important cities; remains of several Byz. and Frankish monuments survive there and elsewhere in Messenia. The most significant fresco program is that at the Church of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege at Samarina, painted ca.1200 in a style that is already emerging from late Komnenian formulas (C. Scheven-Christians, *Die Kirche der Zoodochos Pege bei Samari in Messenien* [Bonn 1980]).

LIT. A. Orlandos, "Ek tes Christianikes Messenes," *ABME* 11 (1969) 87–114. D. Georgacas, W. McDonald, *Placenames of Southwest Peloponnesus* (Minneapolis 1967). –A.K., N.P.Š.

MESSINA (Μεσήνη), from antiquity a port city at the northeastern tip of Sicily controlling the Straits of Messina, the principal crossing from the island to southern Italy. During the Gothic war of Justinian I, Totila occupied Messina briefly in 550, but it remained in Byz. hands through the mid-9th C. Messina acknowledged the ecclesiastical authority of the popes until the 730s; accordingly, the 7th-C. seal of its bishop Theodore bears a Latin legend, while the seal of the 8th-C. bishop Paul is in Greek (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 899–900). The Arabs, acting in alliance with Naples, conquered Messina in 842/3. In 901 a Greek fleet, trying to cut off Arab forces in Calabria from their Sicilian bases, reached Messina, but the Byz. were defeated and lost 30 ships. The Byz. managed to capture the city ca.976 but were unable to hold it. In 1025, Basil Boioannes led an expedition to Messina but was recalled before he achieved his goal. In 1038 George MANIAKES took Messina, routed the Arabs at nearby Rametta, and occupied several cities including SYRACUSE; he was also recalled, however, and all his acquisitions save Messina were lost. In 1061 the Norman adventurer ROGER (I), brother of Robert Guiscard, seized the city. According to a later account, the Normans were summoned by the Christians in Messina, but, in reality, the garrison of Messina sought

Muslim support against Roger (Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:192–96).

Greeks continued to play a role in Messina after the Norman occupation: the archives of the monastery of S. Maria di Messina contain Greek documents beginning with a deed of purchase dated 1076/7 as well as Latin acts, the earliest of which is the grant of bishop Robert of Troina and Messina of 1103. The *typikon* of the monastery of the Savior (S. Salvatore) in Messina was compiled in Greek by the archimandrite Loukas in 1131. In the 13th and 14th C. merchants from Messina were active traders in the East.

Monuments of Messina. Destroyed by an earthquake in 1908 and by bombardment in World War II, Messina has only a few extant medieval monuments. The earliest survivors are S. Annunziata dei Catalani (12th C.?) and, outside the city, S. Maria near Mili San Pietro, founded by Count Roger I around 1092. On the site of the destroyed Basilian monastery of S. Salvatore is the Museo Regionale, displaying objects from the buildings ruined in 1908, including byzantinizing mosaics from S. Gregorio (13th C.); the sarcophagus of Loukas, archimandrite of the PATIR monastery (died 1175); and a marble icon of the Hodegetria copied from an 11th-C. exemplar in Istanbul.

SOURCES. A. Guillou, *Les actes grecs de S. Maria di Messina* (Palermo 1963). M. Arranz, *Le typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine* (Rome 1969).

LIT. M. Alibrandi, "Messinesi in Levante nel Medioevo," *AStSic*³ 21.2 (1971–72) 97–110. S. Prestifilippo and T. Saitta, *Messina artistica e monumentale* (Messina 1974). G. Consoli, *Messina, Museo Regionale* (Bologna 1980). V. Lasareff, "Early Italo-Byzantine Painting in Sicily," *Burlington Magazine* 63 (1933) 279–87. –A.K., D.K.

METALLURGY, the extraction of metals from their ores, normally at sites near MINES. The metal was then formed into INGOTS (*mazia*) which were sold to SMITHS for fabrication into metal objects.

Iron. Ironmaking in the Roman period was often divided into two states, roasting and smelting. Crushed iron ore was roasted in open furnaces, with wood as fuel, to remove excess water or carbon dioxide. The roasted ore was then smelted, at a higher heat, in small furnaces, using charcoal as fuel. The resulting spongy mass of IRON was then alternately hammered and heated to produce ingots. Remains of furnaces and slag heaps have been found at numerous archaeological sites, for example, in the Crimea (A. Jakobson, *Srednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1979] 164–68), and in Capidava, Păcuiul lui Soare, and Dinogetia (E. Zah, *Pontica* 4 [1971] 191–207). It is sometimes said that before the 14th C. only wrought iron was made, and that the temperatures in the furnaces could not be raised sufficiently high to produce molten cast steel. In the 5th or 6th C. the lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria explained the word *kalathos* as a vessel in which iron was melted (R. Halleux, *Le problème des métaux dans la science antique* [Paris 1974] 197).

Copper. After being smelted from its ore, it was alloyed with tin to form BRONZE or with zinc to form brass.

Silver and Gold. SILVER and GOLD were extracted from lead and other base metal ores by a process called cupellation. They were heated in a furnace to a temperature of about 1,000 degrees centigrade and oxidized with air from a bellows. The extracted metal was very soft and hence was usually alloyed with copper. Sometimes gold nuggets could be panned from streams and needed no further refinement.

LIT. J. Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique des anciens* (Brussels 1977). D. Strong, D. Brown, *Roman Crafts* (London 1976) 12, 127–40. –A.M.T., A.K.

METALWORK. The metals most used in Byz. were GOLD, SILVER, BRONZE, LEAD, and IRON. Imitations of gold and silver were obtained by applying gold, silver, and tin leaf to other metals. Related metallic effects were gained by glazes and glosses added to CERAMICS, while GLASS objects copied those in metal—eventually, perhaps, replacing some domestic gold and silver PLATE. Precious metals were sometimes counterfeited, and therefore a touchstone was used by the silversmith to test for purity. Metals were obtained from MINES but were also recycled, particularly for COINS. At least in the 4th C., metals were transported by the state in the form of INGOTS. State metalworking extended to gold, silver, and bronze coins, gold MEDALLIONS, LARGITIO DISHES, JEWELRY, WEAPONS, and ARMOR (including ceremonial armor embellished in gold and silver by the BARBARICARII) and, apparently, from the 4th to the 7th/8th C., certain silver objects marked with imperial SILVER STAMPS. Lead SEALS were produced for civil, military, and ecclesiastical officials of all

ranks. Public and private metalworking establishments functioned simultaneously: the *Book of the Eparch* (*Bk. of Eparch* 2.1, 11) refers to the independent ERGASTERIA of silver- and goldsmiths in Constantinople and stipulates that the *chrysochooi* be grouped together on the Mese. Coppersmiths (see SMITH) were apparently located near the CHALKOPRATEIA church.

Byz. metalwork generally preserved Roman techniques, with the notable exception of the manufacture of large-scale bronze statuary, which had ceased by the early 7th C. Techniques that did continue included the application of hammered sheets of gold, silver, and bronze to furniture and architectural members as metal REVETMENTS and the related treatment of DOORS. The survival of advanced metalworking techniques is suggested by the existence of AUTOMATA. Smaller scale Byz. metalwork included the production of gold plates used from the 8th C. onward in making ENAMELS; domestic plate, household fittings (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS), UTENSILS, and LITURGICAL VESSELS in silver and bronze produced by both hammering and casting techniques; and forged iron TOOLS. Gold and silver objects display diverse techniques of decoration, for example, raising decoration from the reverse (repoussé) or from the front (engraving and chasing) and openwork (as on the ANTIOCH "CHALICE"); embellishments, included gilding and inlaying of details in NIELLO and encrustation with gems or enameled plaques. Techniques used for jewelry were likewise varied.

In contrast to the investigation of 4th–7th C. silver and bronze, so far very little scientific research has been undertaken on works of the 9th C. and later (M. Cagiano de Azevedo, *BICR* 9–10 [1952] 23–40). It is clear, however, that the size and weight of cast bronzes was reduced and silver usually employed only in thin sheets after the 9th C.; in the 15th C. Bessarion complained that metalwork was no longer to be expected in Byz. The account in *De ceremoniis* of the preparation for the Cretan campaign of 960–61 is extremely useful for the list of implements and weapons it provides, for some information about their cost and the quantity, as well as for the cost of lead, copper, and tin valued in the ratio of 4:18:34 (*De cer.* 675.14–15, 676.2–3). Alchemical MSS may someday provide clues to the composition of alloys, methods of refining metals, and casting and gilding; for the time being they have been insufficiently studied. (See also METALLURGY.)

LIT. *Argenterie romaine et byzantine*, ed. F. Baratte (Paris 1986). *Roman Crafts*, ed. D. Strong, D. Brown (London 1976). Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 71–119. M. Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* (Paris–The Hague 1974) 9–73, 124–50. –M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

METAMORPHOSIS. See TRANSFIGURATION.

METANOIA (Μετάνοια), female PERSONIFICATION of Repentance (see PENANCE), associated with David's remorse for his sin with Bathsheba (2 Sam 12). Metanoia occurs in the PARIS PSALTER and related MSS (Buchthal, *Paris Psalter*, figs. 8, 54) and embodies the sentiment physically conveyed by the king's attitude of PROSKYNESIS. Metanoia is depicted as a classicizing figure, garbed in a chiton and raising one hand to her chin in the Antique gesture of meditation or mourning. –A.C.

METAPHOR (μεταφορά, lit. "transference"), a compressed SIMILE in which two objects are juxtaposed by analogy. Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 4:523 [1242.33–35]) states that poetry requires "unusual imagery" (*terastion*), citing as an example *Iliad* 21:388, "heaven trumpeted." "Had [Homer] said 'heaven thundered,' it would not have the effect of a paradox," comments Eustathios. In the wake of antique classification, the Byz. used metaphors aimed at the animation of the material world (*apo empsychon eis apsycha*), so that, for example, arrows would be called bloodthirsty. Especially important was metaphor in relation to religious objects or persons worthy of veneration: the Virgin was the new Eve, *ekklesia*, a well, crown, rose, burning bush, rod of Aaron, closed garden, and so on; the cross (according to Germanos II) was the throne of God, a ladder to heaven, the imperial scepter, the altar, the couch of the Lord, and so on (PG 140:637B–640A). The effect of metaphors was enhanced by their agglomeration, exaggeration, and conjunction with puns. On the other hand, traditional and "stable" metaphors (e.g., "time rides by") were not perceived as such. Vestiges of popular everyday metaphors, including references to sexual and bodily functions, are infrequent in "pure"

literary texts; an example is found in Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 473.58–59) who makes Ivanko complain about his young bride, "Why do you give me a suckling kid to cover when I am in need of a full-grown goat?"

LIT. S. Mrozek, "Les phénomènes économiques dans les métaphores de l'antiquité tardive," *Eos* 72 (1984) 393–407. Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:285–91. –A.K.

METATORION (*μητατώριον*; also *mitatorikion*, etc.), a room in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and perhaps other churches. The term first appears in THEODORE LECTOR (127.26–27), who relates that some conspirators attacked Patr. Euphemios (489–95) "in front of the *metatorion*." According to the *Narrative on the Construction of Hagia Sophia* (Preger, *Scriptores* 104.1–3), Justinian I erected a *metatorion*, that is, a chamber (*koiton*), paneled with gold, where he "might rest whenever he went to the church." In the *Book of Ceremonies* Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos often mentions the *metatorion* as a chamber in the Great Church that "the lords" enter during great feasts (*De cer.* 566.1–4); after taking communion in a chapel, the emperor moved into the *metatorion* (88.10–11); here he changed his clothes (192.18–19) and took breakfast together with his *megistanes* and senators (18.2–4). This implies that the *metatorion* was a substantial space housing a suite consisting of a narrow *triklinos* (the place for breakfast), the *metatorikion* proper, and a *koiton* (109.21–23). The precise location of the *metatorion* is not clear: Constantine variously describes it as situated near the bema and altar (17.12, 145.16–17), behind the gate of the narthex (64.4–5), or in the gallery (157.16); even more enigmatic is the evidence of chroniclers (e.g., *TheophCont* 370.18–20) that when Nicholas I Mystikos prohibited Leo VI from entering Hagia Sophia, the emperor went to the *metatorion* "via the right side."

This diversity of evidence in the sources has resulted in diversity of scholarly opinions: there is disagreement as to whether there were one, two (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 256, n.192), or even three (Strube) *metatoria*; and whether it was housed in the southeast exedra (Majeska, *Travelers* 228) or in the south nave (Strube), or inside or outside the church (D.F. Beljaev, *Byzantina* 2 [St. Petersburg 1893] 128). In the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes the term is attached to a domed structure in which Leo VI reads Samonas's attack on icons (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.268). Attempts to identify certain parts of excavated churches as *metatoria* (D. Pallas, *EEBS* 20 [1950] 295–307) are highly hypothetical (P. Lemerle, *REB* 10 [1952] 185).

LIT. Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* 72–81. J.B. Papadopoulos, "Le mutatorion des églises byzantines," in *Mém.L.Petit* 366–72. –A.C.

METEORA (from *μετέωρος*, "floating in the air"), a group of monasteries built on rocky spires in northwestern Thessaly near STAGOI. The spectacular outcrops of this region, from 200 to 300 m high, are formed of eroded conglomerate and riddled with caves that provided shelter for the hermits who first settled there. Organized monasticism developed quite late at Meteora; its first attested establishment was the early 14th-C. skete at Doupiane under the supervision of a PROTOS. A number of Athonite monks moved to Meteora to escape Turkish pirate raids. The oldest surviving church is the *katholikon* in the rock-cut monastery of the Hypapante, built, according to a later inscription, in 1366/7. Its well-preserved decorative program (T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du Moyen Age* [Paris 1977] 201f) includes sainted local bishops such as Achilleios of Larissa and Oikoumenios of Trikkala. The most important monastery at Meteora was the Great Meteoron, dedicated to the Transfiguration and founded by ATHANASIOS OF METEORA in the late 14th C. The second founder of the Meteoron was John-Ioasaph Uroš (1373?–1423?), son of SYMEON UROŠ, "emperor" of the Serbs and Greeks in Thessaly; he eventually became head or "father" of the Meteoron. The cross-in-square church that he founded in 1388 now serves as the bema for the 16th-C. *katholikon*. The monasteries of St. Stephen and St. Nicholas Anapausas were also founded in the late 14th C., Hagia Trias in 1476; the Church of St. Nicholas Anapausas, built in 1527, has frescoes by Theophanes of Crete. Other monasteries, including Barlaam, Rousanou, and Prodromos, were post-Byz. foundations of the 16th C. when the Meteora were at the height of their prosperity and provided a bastion of Orthodoxy during the Turkish occupation of Greece.

SOURCES. N.A. Bees, "Symbole eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *Byzantis* 1 (1909) 191–332. S. Lambros, "Symbolai eis ten historian ton monon ton Meteoron," *NE* 2 (1905) 49–156.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, *Meteora, The Rock Monasteries of Thessaly* (London 1975). N.A. Bees, *Ta cheirographa ton Meteoron kodikon ton apokeimenon eis tas monas ton Meteoron* (Athens 1967). G.A. Soteriou, "Hai monai ton Meteoron," *EEBS* 4 (1927) 382–415. N. Nikonanos, *Meteora. Ta monasteria kai he historia tous* (Athens 1987). –A.M.T., A.C.

METER. Though the distinction between long and short syllables in Greek had been disappearing since at least the 2nd C. B.C., educated writers of POETRY in the first Byz. centuries still seemed able to appreciate the difference and the ancient metrical patterns based on it. The number of meters used, however, was reduced to HEXAMETER, elegiac couplet (hexameter + pentameter), iambic trimeter, and ANACREONTIC. SYNESIOS of Cyrene was the last poet to make extensive use of the other classical meters. In the surviving meters there was also a tendency to regulate the number of syllables and the position of some word-accents, particularly at the ends of lines. In the 6th C. the wide use of these meters was clearly archaizing, but seems to represent the last throes of a dying tradition, rather than the revival of a dead one. The use of the hexameter after the 7th C., however, appears to be a purely artificial genre exercise. Iambic trimeters and Anacreontics evolved in the same way, but more gradually.

The archaic meters were replaced by two kinds of rhythmical forms, based on word-accent rather than length of syllable: the ecclesiastical (esp. in the KONTAKION and the KANON, showing responsion of rhythmical patterns between whole strophes) and the rhythmical line. The three most common repeated lines are of 15, 12, and 8 syllables, forming POLITICAL VERSE, the DODECASYLLABLE, and the Byz. Anacreontic, respectively. Political verse has some similarities with the late hexameter, but is unlikely to have developed from it; the other two forms clearly grow out of the ancient iambic trimeter and Anacreontic. As the influence of the rhythmic meter first began to be felt, the poets remained anxious to keep up the ancient patterns—what has been called the "historical orthography of versification," a meaningless symbol of poetic proficiency. Thus much 12- and 8-syllable verse of the 9th to 12th C. tries to satisfy the archaic demands for a pattern of long and short syllables, and also to place word-accents correctly for the contemporary ear. Only political verse, and some later 12- and 8-syllable verse, was written without serious regard for the pattern of syllable quantities.

LIT. P. Maas, *Greek Metre*, tr. H. Lloyd-Jones (Oxford 1962). F. Dölger, "Die byzantinische Dichtung in der Reinsprache," *Eucharisterion* (Thessalonike 1961) 1–63. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:89–97. –M.J.J.

METHODIOS, bishop of Olympos in Lycia, perhaps also of Patara, Philippi, and Tarsos; saint (martyred ca.311); feastday 20 June. His one extant work is the *Symposium* or *On Chastity*, a dialogue in which ten maidens extol their purity, in contrast to the celebration of Eros in Plato's *Symposium* (T. Miller in *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 175–94). Two main themes are Origenist asceticism and Irenaean recapitulation. Attached as postlude is his *Partheneion* (Maidens' Song—the Greek title perhaps deliberately recalls Alcman), a hymn to Christ, Mary, and the Church (virginity again the connecting theme), in iambic strophe with acrostics and refrain, the first Greek forerunner of the KONTAKION. Methodios was also an active polemicist, attacking Origenist notions of the human body and time in a treatise on the resurrection (*Aglaophon*) and Gnostic fatalism in an essay on free will (I. Dujčev, *Balcanica* 8 [1977] 115–27); extracts from the Greek text survive. His Plotinian view of time and his development of a dualism between historical and eternal existence, akin to Plato's form-matter dichotomy, have been seen as a critical influence on the theology of the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS (B. Otis, *DOP* 12 [1958] 118–20). Other works, mainly scholarly exegesis of Old Testament lore, survive only in Church Slavonic translations. The lost work most to be regretted is probably his refutation of PORPHYRY. (See also METHODIOS OF PATARA, PSEUDO-.)

ED. PG 18:9–408. *Le Banquet*, ed. H. Musurillo, V. Debidour (Paris 1963), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. H. Musurillo, *The Symposium* (Westminster, Md., 1958).

LIT. H. Musurillo, *DictSpir* 10 (1980) 1109–17. V. Buchheit, *Studien zu Methodios von Olympos* (Berlin 1958). Idem, "Das Symposium des Methodios arianisch interpoliert?" in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen*, ed. F. Paschke (Berlin 1981) 109–14. C. Riggi, "Teologia della storia nel Simposio di Metodio di Olimpo," *Augustinianum* 16 (1976) 61–84. –B.B.

METHODIOS, missionary to the Slavs and saint; born Thessalonike ca.815, died 6 Apr. 885; feastday 6 Apr. His baptismal name was perhaps Michael. The brother of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER, Methodios began his career as an administrator, serving as *archon* of a "Slavic prin-

cipality" in Macedonia. About 850 he abandoned his wife and withdrew to Mt. OLYMPOS in Bithynia, where he eventually became *hegoumenos* of the "Polychron" (= Gr. Polychronios?) monastery and perhaps was ordained a priest. He may have accompanied Constantine on his trip to Khazaria in 861. Emp. Michael III sent Methodios and Constantine to MORAVIA in 863. The extent to which Methodios helped Constantine create the GLAGOLITIC alphabet and translate Greek texts into CHURCH SLAVONIC is unclear. He journeyed with Constantine to Rome in 867, and in 869 Pope HADRIAN II consecrated him bishop.

Returning to Pannonia and Moravia in 870, Methodios was arrested by the Franks, tried, and imprisoned in Swabia. After being released in 873, he worked hard to organize a native church in Moravia, despite pressure from the Franks, who forced him to go to Rome in 879 to defend his orthodoxy. He returned to Moravia in 882 via Constantinople, where he obtained support for his efforts from PHOTIOS. According to his Life, probably written by KLIMENT OF OHRID, in 884 he completed translating the Bible. Other translations attributed to him after Constantine's death include "patristic books," the SYNAGOGE OF 50 TITLES of John III Scholastikos (see NOMOKANON), and a *kanon* for the office of St. Demetrios. The many liturgical works available in Church Slavonic after his death, including the Triodion, Heirmologion, and Oktoechos, may have been translated under his direction. He may also have composed Constantine's vita.

SOURCES. *Vita* in T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantina i Metodego* (Poznań 1959) 97–121. F. Grivec, F. Tomšić, *Constantinus et Methodius Thessalonicenses: Fontes* (Zagreb 1960).

LIT. K. Bonis, "Ein weiterer Beitrag zur Frage der Abstammung der Slawenapostel Kyrillos und Methodios," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:41–57. A.A. Alekseev, "K opredeleniju ob"ema literaturnogo nasledija Mefodija," *TODRL* 37 (1983) 229–55. K. Gamber, "Der Erzbischof Methodius von Mähren vor der Reichsversammlung in Regensburg des Jahres 870," *OstkSt* 29 (1980) 30–38. *Methodiana* (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1976). I. Dujčev, "Zur Biographie des Erzbischofs Methodios," in *Serta Slavica in memoriam Aloisii Schmaus* (Munich 1971) 140–43. See also bibl. for CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. –P.A.H.

METHODIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (4 Mar. 843–14 June 847) and saint; born Syracuse second half of 8th C., died Constantinople; feastday 14 June. A son of influential parents, Methodios went to Constantinople to continue his education but instead entered the CHENOLAKKOS MONASTERY in Bithynia; he subsequently became *hegoumenos* either there or in another monastery. After 815 Methodios traveled to Rome, probably as a representative of the deposed patriarch NIKEPHOROS I; upon his return in 821, he was arrested and exiled by the Iconoclast government. Released in 829 he assumed importance at the court of Theophilos; elected patriarch after the latter's death, Methodios was instrumental in the restoration of icon veneration in 843 (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Difficult political problems ensued: while Methodios tried to be moderate toward former Iconoclasts, the radical Stoudites urged him to inflict severe punishments on heretics; they criticized Methodios for his defense of the opportunistic patriarchs TARASIOS and Nikephoros. These attacks by the extremists forced Methodios to excommunicate and confine some intransigent monks (I. Doens, C. Hannick, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 93–102). The patriarch's attitude toward the West is poorly known; it is worth attention that his name was inscribed in the Reichenau *Liber confraternitatum* alongside that of the local abbot Heito who resigned in 822/3 (H. Lowe, *DA* 38 [1982] 341–62).

A well-educated man, Methodios is known as a copyist of MSS (P. Canart in *Palaeographica, Diplomatica et Archivistica* 1 [Rome 1979] 343–53) and a writer; his own writings include polemical, liturgical, and hagiographical works (e.g., biographies of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and EUTHYMIOS OF SARDIS), poetical *kanones*, and homilies. The authorship of some works attributed to Methodios (e.g., a vita of St. Nicholas) remains contested. The vita of Methodios (*BHG* 1278) is anonymous and poor in information.

ED. For list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexicon* 524f.

SOURCE. *Vita Methodii*—PG 100:1243–62.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 414–43. V. Laurent, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1597–1606. J. Darrouzès, "Le patriarche Méthode contre les iconoclastes et les Stoudites," *REB* 45 (1987) 15–57. V. Grumel, "La politique religieuse du patriarche saint Méthode," *EO* 34 (1935) 385–401. A. Frolow, "Le Christ de la Chalcé," *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 107–20. –A.K.

METHODIOS OF PATARA, PSEUDO-, pseudepigraphic author of an APOCALYPSE. The text was attributed to the 4th-C. bishop of Patara in Lycia (martyred in 311) but was actually written in the 7th C. It is preserved in Syriac, Greek, Latin, and Old Slavonic versions. The text consists of two parts: historical, from Adam to the foundation of the Byz. Empire (which is linked to

relatives of Alexander the Great); and prophetic, describing the Arab conquest and their future defeat by the Byz. The consensus is that the text was written in Syriac (even though Syriac MSS are of later origin), probably in Mesopotamia, although M. Krivov (*VizVrem* 44 [1983] 215–21) hypothesizes that it was produced in a milieu of Syrian refugees in Byz. Apocalyptic in its essence, the text is hostile toward the Arabs and full of anticipation of their defeat. The major difficulty in its interpretation is the statement that the Byz. victor over the Arabs will issue forth from the Ethiopian sea: M. Krivov (*VizVrem* 38 [1977] 120–22) interprets this as an indication of a Greco-Ethiopian alliance against the Arabs, P. Alexander (*ADSV* 10 [1973] 21–27; *AHR* 73 [1968] 1006f) as a replacement of the traditional expectation of Ethiopian triumph by the hope of Byz. victory. The Latin version is known from MSS of the 8th C. In Byz. the prophecy became esp. popular from the 14th C. onward—the Greek version survives in four redactions in 14th–17th-C. MSS.

ED. *Die Apokalypse des Ps.-Methodios*, ed. A. Lolos (Meisenheim am Glan 1976). *Die dritte und vierte Redaktion des Ps.-Methodios*, ed. A. Lolos (Meisenheim am Glan 1978).

LIT. F.J. Martinez, "Eastern Christian Apocalyptic in the Early Muslim Period," vol. 1 (Ph.D. diss., The Catholic Univ. of America, 1985). G.J. Reinink, "Ismael, der Wildesel in der Wüste," *BZ* 75 (1982) 336–44. –J.I., A.K.

METHONE (Μεθώνη), or Modon, city of MESSENIA in the far southwest corner of the Peloponnesos, an important naval station on the route between the Aegean Sea and Italy. Attested as a city in late antiquity (Hierokl. 647.17), it was visited by Belisarios on his way to North Africa in 533. Methone apparently survived the Slavic invasions more or less intact, and it was undoubtedly strongly fortified. The city suffered considerably from Arab devastation in the 9th–10th C., although it did receive refugees from other parts of the empire; in 881 the Byz. admiral NASAR donated the booty he took from the Arabs to the church of Methone (*TheophCont* 304.13–14). The city apparently prospered during the 11th–12th C., but it also became the lair of pirates, and the Venetians attacked it in 1125 and destroyed the walls. Methone played a crucial role in east-west trade and it was one of the ports that Alexios III opened to Venetian traders in 1198. To many of the Crusaders the Peloponnesos was known as the *isle de Modon* (ROBERT OF CLARI 111), reflecting the central role the city played for many Westerners; GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN landed at Methone in 1204 and began his conquest of the Peloponnesos there. The PARTITIO ROMANIAE, however, granted Methone to Venice and, along with KORONE, Methone remained under Venetian control (despite struggles with the despotate of the MOREA) until 1500, when it fell to the Ottomans.

The bishop of Methone was originally subject to Corinth (*Notitiae CP* 3.762), but by the 10th C. he was a suffragan of PATRAS (7.551). The best known bishops were St. Athanasios of Methone (late 9th–early 10th C.) and NICHOLAS OF METHONE, who provided an interesting contemporary description of the city (J. Dräseke, *BZ* 1 [1892] 445). The Venetian overlords retained the Greek bishop of Methone, who in 1301 was under the jurisdiction of Monemvasia (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:482).

The walls of Methone are primarily Venetian in date, but they are mostly built on Byz. foundations and many Byz. *spolia* are used in them. Near the city is a Christian catacomb of St. Onouphrios, similar to some in Sicily and southern Italy, dating from the 4th C. (D. Pallas, *ArchEph* [1968] 119–73).

LIT. N.G. Kotsires, *Symbole sten historian Methones* (Athens 1977). G. Soulis, "Notes on Venetian Modon," *Peloponnesiaka* 3–4 (1958–59) 267–75. S.B. Luce, "Modon—A Venetian Station in Mediaeval Greece," in *Classical and Mediaeval Studies in Honor of E. Kennard Rand* (New York 1938) 195–208. Ph. Euangelatou-Notara, "He Methone, stathmos sta taxidia byzantinon autokratoron ste Dyse," *Peloponnesiaka* 16 (1985/6) 97–107. Andrews, *Castles* 58–83. –T.E.G.

METHYMNA. See LESBOS.

METOCHION (μετόχιον), a monastic establishment (usually small), subordinate to a larger independent monastery. The word is not found in papyri and was probably not in use before the 9th C. *Metochia* were frequently founded in the countryside near monastic properties located at some distance from the monastery, to facilitate the supervision of the estates. They were also established in cities as an urban base of operations for the monastery and as a residence for monks visiting the city for business or other purposes.

As few as one or two monks might live in a *metochion* on a permanent basis; they were under the jurisdiction of the *hegoumenos* of the controlling monastery and followed its rule. A *metochion* had its own church or chapel, and sometimes, as at the SKOTEINE MONASTERY, owned a significant number of liturgical books and sacred vessels. Especially in the later period, a monastery in decline might be transformed into the *metochion* of a more prosperous monastery; an example is the monastery *tou Hagiopatitou*, which was transformed in 1257 into an *agros* belonging to another monastery (*Koutloum*, no.2.8).

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 8, 100, 192, 313f. S. Vailhé, *DTC* 3 (1939) 1418. M. Freidenberg, "Monastyrskaja votčina v Vizantii XI–XII vv.," *Učenye zapiski Velikolukskogo pedinstituta* 4.2 (1959) 62f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 67f. –A.M.T.

METOCHITES (Μετοχίτης), an important family of the Palaiologan era whose name derived from METOCHION (cf. also modern Greek *metochites*, "monk of a *metochion*"). George Metochites (born ca.1250) was archdeacon in Constantinople (1276–82) and went as an ambassador to several popes between 1275 and 1278. A supporter of the UNION OF THE CHURCHES and friend of Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS, he was dismissed and imprisoned in early 1283. While in prison, where he died in 1328, he wrote several theological works, including the so-called *Dogmatic History*, in which he relates the theological controversies that followed the Council of Lyons in 1274.

His son Theodore (see METOCHITES, THEODORE), the renowned statesman and writer, had five sons, who also took part in administration, esp. as governors and generals: Demetrios Angelos Metochites (fl.1326–55); Nikephoros Laskaris Metochites (*megas logothetes*, 1355–57); Michael Laskaris (ca.1326); Alexios Laskaris Metochites (*megas domestikos*, 1355–69); and the fifth son whose name is unknown. Theodore's daughter Irene married John Palaiologos (caesar, after 1325). The exact relationship of some other, later members of this family is unknown: Manuel Raoul Metochites in Mistra (1362–80), correspondent of the writer Manuel RAOUL; Laskaris Metochites (*megas chartoularios* in Thessalonike, 1373–76); Andronikos Metochites (*archon* in Thessalonike, 1421); and Demetrios Palaiologos Metochites, *megas stratopedarches* (1444–53) and governor of Constantinople, who died together with his sons during the Turkish conquest of 1453.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 5972, 17976–86. V. Laurent, "Le dernier gouverneur byzantin de Constantinople: Démétrius Paléologue Métochite, grand stratopédarque," *REB* 15 (1957) 196–206. –E.T.

METOCHITES, THEODORE, statesman, scholar, and patron of the arts; born 1270, died Constantinople 1332. Son of the pro-Unionist George METOCHITES, he followed his father into exile in Asia Minor in 1283. Despite this serious handicap to a future government career, Metochites, who maintained orthodox views, came to the attention of Emp. ANDRONIKOS II in 1290 because of his unusual scholarly attainments and entered imperial service. The *cursus honorum* of Metochites included the positions of *logothetes ton agelon*, *logothetes ton oikeiakon* (1295), *logothetes tou genikou* (1305), and *megas logothetes* (1321). He was also

METOCHITES, THEODORE. Portrait of Metochites as a donor; mosaic. Inner narthex of the Church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.



entrusted with the delicate negotiations for the marriage of MICHAEL IX to Rita-Maria of Armenia (1295) and of the child-princess SIMONIS to the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN (1298/9). From 1305 onward Metochites held the important office of MESAZON, or prime minister, replacing his rival Nikephoros CHOUMNOS. Because of his close ties with Andronikos II, he shared in the elderly emperor's downfall in 1328. He was imprisoned, his palace destroyed, and his vast wealth confiscated. After a miserable period of exile in Didymoteichon, he returned in 1330 to Constantinople, where he ended his days as the monk Theoleptos at the monastery of CHORA.

Statesman by day, Metochites devoted his evenings to scholarly pursuits. He was a prolific and versatile author, who wrote commentaries on Aristotle, miscellaneous essays, an *Introduction to Astronomy*, orations, hexameter poems, and hagiographical *enkomia*. All of his writings except his letters are preserved; much remains unpublished, however, because of his notoriously obscure style. Metochites devoted much attention to classical antiquity, writing essays on ancient Greek history and comparing DEMOSTHENES to Ailios ARISTEIDES. He was somewhat overwhelmed by the ancient heritage, arguing that nothing was left for his generation to write about. He was conscious of the decline of the empire, realizing that Byz. was one in a series of world empires; like a living organism it had periods of growth, prosperity, and decay. He emphasized the instability of human life, but hoped to gain immortality through his literary endeavors.

Metochites was an avid collector of books. The scope of his library is reflected in the allusions to more than 80 ancient authors in his writings. He donated his library to the Chora monastery, whose church he restored between 1316 and 1321. His mosaic portrait is preserved in a lunette panel in the church's inner narthex.

ED. *Miscellanea philosophica et historica*, ed. C.G. Müller, T. Kiessling (Leipzig 1821; rp. Amsterdam 1966). *Dichtungen des Gross-Logotheten Theodoros Metochites*, ed. M. Treu (Potsdam 1895). R. Guilland, "Les poésies inédites de Théodore Métochite," *Byzantion* 3 (1926) 265–302. For further ed., see Hunger, *Lit.* 1:192f, 2:248f.

LIT. H.-G. Beck, *Theodoros Metochites: Die Krise des byzantinischen Weltbildes im 14. Jahrhundert* (Munich 1952). I. Ševčenko, *Etudes sur la polémique entre Théodore Métochite et Nicéphore Choumnos* (Brussels 1962). Idem, "Theodore Metochites, the Chora, and the Intellectual Trends of His Time," in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:17–91. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite: Une réévaluation* (Amsterdam 1987). –A.M.T.

METROKOMIA (μητροκωμία, lit. "mother-village," perhaps formed on the model of *metropolis*); a rare term that designated a type of rural district. Interpretation of the term varies: a privileged village (Gelzer, *Verwaltung Ägyptens* 75, 78), administrative center of a region-*pagus* (A.C. Johnson, L.C. West, *Byzantine Egypt* [Princeton 1949] 325), tax district (Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 8, n.2). The term is known from inscriptions in Syria (e.g., Dittenberger, *Orientis* 2, no.609) and Egypt (no.769, the reign of Diocletian) but not from papyri. The edict of 415 (*Cod.Theod.* XI 23.6) established that only fellow villagers (*convicani*) could possess lands there and no PATROCINIUM could be imposed upon *metrokomiai*. The term reappears in 10th-C. legislation: a novel of Romanos I (Zepos, *Jus* 1:201.5–8) refers to an "old law" (probably that of 415) forbidding sales of land to persons other than the inhabitants of the same *metrokomia*; a novel of Constantine VII of 947 (1:217.15–18) allows the purchase of land only by fellow villagers (*synchoritai*) and, in case of emergency, by villages (*choria*) of the same *metrokomia* or *kometoura*. The term was not employed in charters. –M.B.

METROLOGY, the study of the MEASURES used for length, surface, volume, weight, and time, along with the relationships among these. This study is based on various literary texts, including both theoretical works and practical texts, and on surviving items such as coins, weights, and buildings (all of which presuppose standards of measurement). A primary problem in the interpretation of the texts is the use of one term for different measures and, vice versa, the use of different terms for the same measure; in addition, it is frequently difficult to distinguish between theory and practice and to determine which standards were actually in effect at a given time. This is exacerbated by the existence of numerous local systems, many of which had no connection with the official standard. In addition, Byz. systems of measurement grew out of ancient practice, and many ancient names survived when the medieval reality had changed totally. The state maintained control over measures and, although standard measures were commonly made available to the

public to facilitate trade and commerce, they are not always easy to determine today.

SOURCES. F. Hultsch, *Metrologicorum scriptorum reliquiae*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1864–66). E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische metrologische Quellen*² (Thessalonike 1982).
LIT. E. Schilbach, *Byzantinische Metrologie* (Munich 1970). –E. Sch.

METRON (μέτρον), measure of capacity of liquids; synonymous terms are *mistaton, mitro*, and *mirro* (It.). Different *metra* were used depending on whether wine and water or oil was being measured and on the purpose of measuring.

1. From the 9th C. onward the most important wine measure was the *thalassion metron* (generally called simply *metron*), of 1/10 MEGARIKON (= 10 *minai* = 10.25 liters), which can be filled with 30 *logarikai* LITRAI of white wine or 32 *logarikai litrai* of water. Besides this standard measure, other *metra* are preserved: the *annonikon metron* (= 2/3 *thalassion metron* = 6.8 liters), the *monasteriakon metron* (= 4/5 *thalassion metron* = 8.2 liters), and other *metra* of local validity.

2. For oil the *thalassion metron*, sometimes called *elaïkon metron* or simply *metron* (= 1/12 *megarikon* = 1.5 *lagenia* = 8.52 liters), can be filled with 30 *soualiai litrai* or 24 *logarikai litrai* of olive oil. Its ratio to the corresponding wine measure is 5:6.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 141–53. –E. Sch.

METROPHANES (Μητροφάνης), politician and writer; metropolitan of Smyrna (ca.857–80). A staunch supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS, Metrophanes was exiled in 860. According to F. Dvornik (in *New Catholic Encyclopedia* 9 [1967] 758), Metrophanes went to Cherson, where he met CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS on their way to Khazaria; he eventually informed ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS that Constantine had discovered St. Clement's relics. Restored after PHOTIOS was deposed, Metrophanes refused to recognize Photios in 879/80 and was excommunicated by the pope's legates. His letter to Manuel, *logothetes tou dromou*, is an important source for the struggle between Photios and Ignatios (Dvornik, *Photian Schism* 43f). Metrophanes also wrote an *enkomion* of St. Polykarp of Smyrna, several exegetical works (the *Commentary on Ecclesiastes* is preserved only in Georgian), an Anacreontic hymn on the Trinity (Mercati, *CollByz* 1:443–51), etc.

ED. Mansi 16:413–20. For list of other works, see Beck *infra*.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 543f. –A.K.

METROPOLITAN (μητροπολίτης), the head of the episcopate in an ecclesiastical territory normally coinciding with a civil *provincia* (*eparchia*). The title, first employed by NICAEA I, is derived from the capital (*metropolis*) of the province, in which the metropolitan-bishop resided. This administrative division of the church (already fully developed by the 4th C.) was officially sanctioned at Nicaea I. The same council also legitimized the metropolitan's right to confirm all episcopal elections within his territory (canon 4). The ordination itself was to be performed by all the bishops of the province. As supervisor of his territory, the metropolitan convoked and presided over the provincial synod, which as a rule was held twice yearly (cf. Nicaea I, canon 5). Some bishops without suffragans were nevertheless given the title metropolitan, and some metropolitans (e.g., of Athens, Thessalonike, Ephesus) were also called ARCHBISHOPS.

LIT. G.M. Rhalles, "Peri tou axiomatos ton metropoliton," *AkadAthPr* 13 (1938) 755–67. E. Herman, "Appunti sul diritto metropolitico nelle Chiesa bizantina," *OrChrP* 13 (1947) 522–50. P. Giduljanov, *Mitropolity v pervye tri veka christianstva* (Moscow 1905). –A.P.

MEZIZIOS (Μιζίζιος, Arm. Mžēž), an Armenian probably of the princely Gnuni house (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 135); *patrikios* and *komes* of the Opsikion; usurper. He accompanied CONSTANS II to Italy and in Sicily was proclaimed emperor following Constans's murder in 668. The revolt of Mezizios ended in early 669, but scholars disagree on the circumstances. Most accept the report of Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 352.4–7) that Constantine IV personally led a fleet to Sicily, where he captured and executed Mezizios and his father's murderers. Others (following E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 17 [1908] 455–59) believe the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:346) that troops from Italy and Africa suppressed the rebellion and sent Mezizios's head to Constantinople. Mezizios's son John also revolted against Constantine IV but was defeated and killed.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:8–14. W. Hahn, "Mezezius in peccato suo interiit," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 61–70. P. Grierson, "A Semissis of Mezezius (668–69)," *NChron* 146 (1986) 231f. –P.A.H.

MICE (sing. $\mu\hat{\upsilon}\varsigma$) were treated in Byz. literature as despicable and abhorrent. Their skin was ugly (vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Veselovskij 2:143.14–15); they spoiled food and destroyed books and even works of art (CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, epigram 103; Michael GABRAS, ep.359). Eustathios of Thessalonike, with mild irony, described the bold foraging of mice that he was unable to stop. Mice belonged to the underworld, where they prospered, according to the *Timarion*. In the *Katomyomachia* (War of the Cat and the Mice), by Theodore PRODROMOS, they represented the political underworld with its vocal demagogues. Mice are treated in a different, philosophical vein in the oriental material included in BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (ed. G.R. Woodward, H. Mattingly, 188.9–13): two mice—one white and the other black, symbolizing day and night—gnaw the roots of the tree of human life.

The appearance of a mouse, weasel, or SNAKE in a house was viewed as an omen in ancient times (PG 36:1024A), but firmly rejected by John Chrysostom (PG 64:741A). The author of the *Geoponika* (1:3.13) believed that the squeaking of mice forecast a storm; he was also familiar with the magical prescription against an invasion of mice (one had to glue to a rock a sheet of paper with a special appeal to mice), but he did not believe in its effectiveness. There is also a 15th-C. treatise on getting rid of mice (E. Kakoulides, *Hellenika* 16 [1958–59] 119–25).

LIT. H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1968) 53–63. –Ap.K., A.K.

MICHAEL (Μιχαήλ), Hebrew personal name (lit. "who is like God"). It occurs in the Old Testament as a common name, but in the New Testament only twice—for the archangel. Unknown in Greek and Roman antiquity, the name appeared in the second half of the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:762f) but remained extremely rare. Prokopios of Caesarea mentions only the archangel Michael, and in Theophanes the Confessor there are but five Michaels, including the archangel. No saints of this name are known before the period of Iconoclasm. From the 9th C. onward the name became popular: in Skylitzes there are 44 Michaels, following only CONSTANTINE (60) and JOHN (48); it holds fourth place in Anna Komnene, after GEORGE; fifth place, after THEODORE, in Niketas Choniates. It retains fifth place in the acts of *Lavra*: in those of the 10th–12th C., the name Michael stands between Constantine and NIKEPHOROS, and in later ones between NICHOLAS and Theodore. From the 9th to the 13th C. it was a popular imperial name; nine emperors were called Michael. Four patriarchs of the 11th through early 13th C. bore this name. –A.K.

MICHAEL, archangel and saint, feastdays 6 Sept. (Miracle at Chonai) and 8 Nov. (Synaxis ton Asomaton). Michael is mentioned twice in the Old Testament (Dan 10:21, 12:1) as the helper of the people of Israel; he is called an angel (or *archon* in a variant reading). He also appears twice in the New Testament, in the Epistle of Jude (v.9), where he is described as disputing with the devil over the body of Moses, and in Revelations 12:7–9 where he fights a dragon; in Jude he is specifically referred to as an ARCHANGEL.

In Byz. Michael was venerated, primarily in western Asia Minor, as a wondrous healer whose activity was closely associated with sacred springs: a church dedicated to Michael in GERMIA was famous for its healings with "holy waters." Even more famous was Michael's church at CHONAI, a center of pilgrimage, connected with the miracle performed there by Michael (see CHONAI, MIRACLE AT). At Pythia, not far from Constantinople, Justinian I enlarged a church of Michael built on the site of a temple of Apollo famous for its hot spring (Janin, *Églises centres* 85). There were nearly two dozen sanctuaries of Michael in and around the capital, many of them going back to the 6th C. (Janin, *Églises CP* 337–50).

From the 9th C. onward, Michael was esp. venerated as the commander (*archistrategos, taxiarchos*) of the heavenly host who brought his troops to the aid of the imperial armies; hence he was particularly cultivated by the emperor in the latter's role as military commander. The classic visual image of this aspect of Michael is his appearance before JOSHUA in military garb on the eve of Jericho (e.g., JOSHUA ROLL, sheet IV). A victory attributed to the intervention of Michael is related in the Latin *Apparitio S. Michaelis in monte Gargano,* translated into Greek by the 10th C. (S. Leanza, *VetChr* 22 [1985] 291–316).

In monumental painting, Michael stands as an archangel with GABRIEL, both dressed in imperial

robes, alongside Christ or the Virgin or flanking a doorway. Michael is also presumably the angel shown weighing souls in images of the LAST JUDGMENT.

Many incidents of angelic intervention in the Old and New Testaments came to be attributed to Michael, and eventually a cycle of miracles was developed, for example, the 9th-C. narration of the deacon Pantoleon (*BHG* 1286; cf. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins* [Brussels 1963] 147–52). Illustrated cycles of the miracles of St. Michael, attested from at least the 11th C. (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:120–41), were essentially biblical cycles involving the ANGELS and archangels to which were added more recent miracles performed by Michael (S. Koukiares, *Ta thaumata-emphaniseis ton angelon kai archangelon sten byzantine techne ton Balkanion* [Athens 1989]). In 1076 the Church of St. Michael at Monte Sant'Angelo in Italy ordered bronze DOORS from Constantinople to be adorned with 23 scenes involving Michael and Gabriel; an equally lengthy cycle devoted entirely to Michael adorns the bronze doors of the 13th-C. Church of the Virgin at SUZDAL.

LIT. *BHG* 1282–94C. C. Mango, "St. Michael and Attis," *DChAE*[4] 12 (1984–86) 39–62. O. Meinardus, "Der Erzengel Michael als Psychopompos," *OrChr* 62 (1978) 166–68. J.P. Rohland, *Der Erzengel Michael. Arzt und Feldherr* (Leiden 1977). D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:44–47. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MICHAEL I ANGELOS. See MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS.

MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, patriarch of Constantinople (25 Mar. 1043–2 Nov. 1058); born between 1005 and 1010, died Hellespont, 21 Jan. 1059. A member of the senatorial family of KEROULARIOS, Michael was involved in 1040 in a plot against Emp. Michael IV; to avoid a greater punishment, he became a monk. He was restored to imperial favor by Constantine IX, who appointed him patriarch after the death of ALEXIOS STOUDITES. Keroularios, who inherited the rigorism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, was in conflict with liberal intellectuals like PSELLOS and his companions while enjoying the strong support of the Constantinopolitan population; the downfall of the "liberal" faction vindicated his position.

In the early 1050s the tension between Byz. and Rome increased. The controversy centered around the question of the AZYMES. The papacy tried to attract to its side PETER III, patriarch of Antioch, but he, albeit more moderate than Keroularios, supported the Byz. point of view. When the papal legate HUMBERT arrived in Constantinople for negotiations, Constantine IX was anxious for an alliance that was necessary to resist the Norman penetration into southern Italy, but neither Humbert nor Keroularios was ready to agree. Niketas STETHATOS served as the patriarch's mouthpiece, and a collection of texts, the so-called *Panoplia*, was produced, attributed to Keroularios by A. Michel (but see Tinnefeld, *infra* 109–14). The tract *On the Azymes* also does not belong to him (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 25 [1967] 288–91). The conflict reached its peak in the reciprocal excommunications of Humbert and Keroularios (16 July 1054). After the rupture Keroularios started using the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH on his seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.16), but the SCHISM was not yet final.

Through his victory over Constantine IX in this conflict, Keroularios acquired exceptional influence in Constantinople: Empress Theodora wanted to depose him, but was powerless. Keroularios ran the government under Michael VI and achieved the transfer of power from Michael VI to Isaac I Komnenos. Soon his relations with Isaac worsened, and the patriarch even threatened to destroy the emperor "like an oven he had made." Isaac had the backing of the military, however, and easily attracted the support of intellectuals who were at odds with the unyielding patriarch. Isaac ordered the arrest of Keroularios and his deportation from the capital (where Keroularios could count on the support of the population). When Keroularios refused to abdicate he was put on trial, with Psellos acting as his main accuser. The trial was supposed to take place outside of the capital in an unknown location in Thrace, but Keroularios died on the way. It has been suggested that the silver revetment of a cross in the Dumbarton Oaks collection was commissioned by Keroularios (R. Jenkins, E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 21 [1967] 233–49), but C. Mango (*CahArch* 36 [1988] 41–49) has rejected this hypothesis.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 856–86. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, 2 vols. (Paderborn 1924–30). E. Amann, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1677–1703. M.H. Smith, *And Taking Bread* (Paris 1978). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 79–90. F. Tinnefeld, "Michael I. Kerullarios, Patriarch von Konstantinopel (1043–1058)," *JÖB* 39 (1989) 95–127. –A.K.

MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS (more commonly but imprecisely called Michael I Angelos), ruler of Epiros (1205–15); died Berat, Albania, 1215. An illegitimate son of the *sebastokrator* John Doukas, Michael was a cousin of the emperors Isaac II and Alexios III Angelos, but never used the Angelos family name himself. He is first mentioned in 1190 as a hostage of Frederick I Barbarossa. Before 1204 he was *doux* and *anagrapheus* of the theme of Mylassa and Melanoudion. After the fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade, Michael briefly entered the service of BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, but then went to EPIROS to lead the resistance of the Greek inhabitants against the Latins. He acted as an autonomous ruler but did not assume the title of *despotes,* as used to be thought (Nicol, *Epiros II* 2f). It is not clear whether the Michael who was defeated by the Franks at a battle in southern Messenia in 1205 was Michael of Epiros (R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 377–81, 388f). From his capital at ARTA, he expanded his territory into Thessaly, taking Larissa in 1212. By 1214 he had recovered Dyrrachion and Kerkyra from the Venetians. At the time of his murder in 1215 Michael controlled all of northwest Greece from the Gulf of Corinth up into Albania, thus laying the groundwork for what would become the despotate of EPIROS.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 11–46, corr. L. Stiernon, *REB* 17 (1959) 90–126 and Nicol, *Epiros II* 1–4. Polemis, *Doukai* 91f. G. Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas," *EpChron* 24 (1982) 73–120, 25 (1983) 37–112. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 49f. –A.M.T.

MICHAEL I RANGABE (Ῥαγγαβέ), emperor (811–13); died 11 Jan. 844 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 56, n.168). Son of the *patrikios* Theophylaktos (PG 105:489C), Michael became *kouropalates* under Emp. Nikephoros I, having married (before 794) the emperor's daughter Prokopia. She bore him three sons—Theophylaktos, Staurakios, Niketas (see IGNATIOS)—and two daughters—Georgo and Theophano (PG 105:492AB). After campaigning with Nikephoros in July 811 and surviving the disastrous encounter with KRUM, Michael became emperor on 2 Oct., when his brother-in-law STAURAKIOS abdicated in his favor. The elevation was engineered by the *domestikos ton scholon* Stephanos with the blessing of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, who made Michael vow in writing to uphold Orthodoxy and respect clerics.

"Completely honest and equitable but incapable of managing matters" (Theoph. 499.32–500.1), Michael undertook a reaction against Emp. Nikephoros I, reversing his fiscal austerity with lavish donations to churches, monasteries, and charities and recalling his exiled opponents, including Leo (V). Although rejecting the claims of CHARLEMAGNE to the imperial title, in return for captured Byz. territory in Italy Michael recognized the Frankish ruler as *basileus* and tried to marry Theophylaktos to one of Charlemagne's daughters. Michael was keenly interested in religious affairs, ending the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY and urging Patr. Nikephoros to correspond with Pope LEO III. He was heavily influenced by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, who convinced him in 812 not to make peace with Krum. His failure to check the Bulgars gave rise to a conspiracy on behalf of Caesar NIKEPHOROS, which Michael easily suppressed, but after his defeat at VERSINIKIA he abdicated in favor of Leo V on 11 July. His sons were castrated, and Michael became a monk on the Princes' Islands, taking the name Athanasios. His son Niketas, after becoming the patriarch Ignatios, transferred Michael's body to the monastery of St. Michael at Satyros in Bithynia.

LIT. Th. Korres, "Scheseis Byzantiou kai Boulgarias sten periodo tes basileias tou Michael A' Rankabe," *Byzantina* 11 (1982) 141–56. Guilland, *Titres,* pt. III (1970), 199f. Bury, *ERE* 17–42. –P.A.H.

MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, Jacobite patriarch of Antioch (from 1166); historian; born Melitene 1126, died 1199. Prior to his election Michael was a monk and the archimandrite of the monastery of Bar Ṣaumā. His major work is the fullest, most comprehensive chronicle in Syriac, surviving in a single MS of 1598. The *Chronicle* is composed of 21 books in chronological order from Creation to 1195. There are three columns per page, presenting religious history, secular history, and extraordinary events, respectively. At the end are lists of kings, priests, patriarchs, emperors, and Muslim rulers as well as chronological tables. For the earlier parts Michael used as sources such chroniclers as pseudo-DIONYSIOS OF TELL MAḤRĒ and JOHN OF EPHESUS. Michael provides abundant

data on Byz.-Arab rivalries after the rise of Islam and about the course of events in the Eastern patriarchates, esp. in the 12th C. when he was an eyewitness. His data on Byz. relations with Armenia, Syria, and Crusaders are also important.

ED. *Chronique*, ed. J.-B. Chabot, 4 vols. (Paris 1899–1924; rp. Brussels 1960), with Fr. tr.
LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 298–300. P. Kawerau, *Die jakobitische Kirche im Zeitalter der syrischen Renaissance* (Berlin 1960) 4–6. –S.H.G.

MICHAEL II, emperor (820–29); founder of the AMORIAN DYNASTY; born Amorion, died Constantinople 2 Oct. 829 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 56). Born of humble parents, Michael advanced through an army career in the Anatolikon, marrying Thekla, the thematic commander's daughter, who bore him Theophilos. In 803 he served under BARDANES TOURKOS but deserted to Nikephoros I, who appointed him *komes tes kortes* and gave him a palace in Constantinople. During the reign of Michael I, Leo (V) made Michael the Amorian his own *protostrator*. Once Leo became emperor, he named Michael *domestikos* of the *exkoubitoi* with the rank of *patrikios*; Leo was also godfather to one of Michael's sons, probably Theophilos. Yet in Dec. 820 Leo arrested Michael on charges of treason and sentenced him to death. Michael escaped execution when his fellow conspirators assassinated Leo and acclaimed him emperor. Michael was crowned by Patr. Theodotos on 25 Dec.

As emperor Michael weathered the revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV with help from OMURTAG, but he could not prevent the Arabs from taking CRETE between 824 and 827 and invading SICILY ca.827. In 824 he supported ICONOCLASM in a letter to Louis the Pious (Mansi 14:417–22); opponents accused him of favoring ATHINGANOI and of being a Sabbatian. Yet he prohibited public discussion of Iconoclasm and restored ICONOPHILES (but not Patr. NIKEPHOROS I) whom Leo V had attacked; he persecuted only the future patriarch METHODIOS (I), who had conveyed to Michael a letter of Pope Paschal I defending images. Michael's marriage ca.823 to Euphrosyne, the daughter of Constantine VI and then a nun, was denounced as uncanonical by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 223–62. B. Lewis, "An Arabic Account of a Byzantine Palace Revolution," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 383–86. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:22–88, 437–38. Bury, *ERE* 77–119. –P.A.H.

MICHAEL II ANGELOS. See MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS.

MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS (called Michael Angelos in narrative sources), ruler of Epiros and Thessaly (from ca.1230); born ca.1206, died between Sept. 1266 and Aug. 1268 (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 29–32). A bastard son of MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he went into exile after his father's murder. He established himself as ruler of EPIROS after the capture of his uncle THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS in 1230 at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. Marriage to Theodora Petraliphaina (see THEODORA OF ARTA) brought him the support of the powerful PETRALIPHAS family, which favored closer ties with the empire of NICAEA. This culminated in 1238 with the personal visit by Patr. GERMANOS II to Arta and with the grant of the rank of DESPOTES by JOHN III VATATZES ca.1249 (Nicol) or 1252 (Ferjančić).

In 1256, as the price of the marriage of his son Nikephoros Angelos to a Nicaean princess, he was forced to surrender the key positions of Servia and Dyrrachion. It was too high a price. Thereafter Michael sought to check the Nicaean advance. One by one he recovered the towns and fortresses lost to the Nicaeans. The recovery of Thessalonike seemed to be within his grasp. To this end he allied with MANFRED of Sicily and WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN. Mutual suspicion wracked the alliance. A Nicaean army defeated the allies completely at the battle of PELAGONIA (1259). Although Michael had to flee to the Ionian islands, the Nicaean occupation of Epiros was so unpopular that he was soon able to return and drive the conquerors out. He finally came to terms with MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS in 1264. His achievement was largely negative: he insured that Epiros would never be fully reincorporated in the restored Byz. Empire. He was buried in the monastery of the Blachernai, just outside ARTA.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 128–95. R. De Francesco, *Michele II° Angelo Comneno d'Epiro e la sua discendenzh* (Rome 1951). P. Lemerle, "Trois actes du despote d'Epire Michel II concernant Corfou connus en traduction latine," *Prosphora eis Stilpon Kyriakiden* (Thessalonike 1953) 405–26. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 63–68. –M.J.A.

MICHAEL III, emperor (842–67); born 19 Jan. 840 (L. Rydén, *Eranos* 83 [1985] 182, n.30), died Constantinople 23/4 Sept. 867. Son of Theophilos and THEODORA, Michael was crowned co-emperor as an infant in 840 but had no real authority under Theodora's regency (842–56). In 855 Theodora arranged a BRIDE SHOW and married him to EUDOKIA INGERINA. At age 16, with help from Caesar BARDAS, Michael deposed the regents Theodora and THEOKTISTOS and became sole ruler on 15 Mar. 856 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 190). Byz. sources, writing largely to justify Basil I's murder of Michael, portray him as a dissolute emperor engaging in drinking bouts, horse races, and religious burlesques, while ignoring state affairs. Yet modern scholars have shown that he was not inactive, esp. in military affairs, and, with capable advisers such as Bardas, Patr. PHOTIOS, PETRONAS, and Basil, his reign had important achievements (A.A. Vasiliev, *ByzMetabyz* 1 [1946] 237–48; Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. I [1948], 71–77).

Under Michael III the Arabs were held in check. In 859, during his first military campaign, he unsuccessfully besieged SAMOSATA. In 860 an attack on Constantinople by the RUS' forced him to break off a campaign in Asia Minor, but in 863 he played an important role in defeating ʿUMAR, emir of Melitene (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 443–50). He rebuilt ANKYRA and refortified NICAEA. He sponsored the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to Moravia and the baptism of BORIS of Bulgaria. Yet he was easily influenced by associates: Michael permitted Basil to assassinate Bardas in 865 and crowned him co-emperor in 866, but shortly thereafter Basil had him murdered in his bedroom at the palace of St. Mamas. Michael's body was buried in Chrysopolis, but Leo VI (perhaps Michael's son by Eudokia Ingerina) removed it to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 57).

The revival of monumental painting in Michael's reign has generally gone unrecognized. Theophanes Continuatus credits him with having "the empress's wardrobe" in the Great Palace decorated with religious images. Michael's own likeness was set up in the Chrysotriklinos, along with those of Christ and the Virgin (*AnthGr*, bk. 1, no.106). The inscription around the apse mosaic of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, implies his participation in this major enterprise.

LIT. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Der Kaiser als Mime," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 39–50. Karlin-Hayter, *Studies*, pt. IV (1971), 452–96. T. Wasilewski, "Studia nad dziejami panowania cesarza Michała III," *Przegląd historyczny* 61 (1970) 359–80. H. Grégoire, "Inscriptions historiques byzantines," *Byzantion* 4 (1927–28) 437–68. Idem, "Michel III et Basile le Macédonien dans les inscriptions d'Ancyre," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30) 327–46. –P.A.H., A.C.

MICHAEL III, patriarch of Constantinople (Jan. 1170 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 258]–Mar. 1178); died Constantinople. A relative of the metropolitan of Anchialos (his customary designation "of Anchialos" is incorrect), he made an ecclesiastical career in Constantinople as the chief of the patriarchal chancery and then *protekdikos*. Around 1165–67 he was promoted to the post of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON; in his inaugural speech (which is incidentally important as a source for Byz.-Hungarian relations [Browning, *Studies*, pt.IV (1961), 173–214]), Michael emphasized as his purpose the struggle against rationalistic ("heretical") views. As patriarch he continued condemnation of the non-Orthodox interpretations of John 14:28 that had been rejected by the Council of 1166 under Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES. He tried to improve the discipline of the clergy: he confirmed the strict division between civil and ecclesiastical offices (V. Laurent, *EO* 33 [1934] 309–15), forbade bishops to ordain clerics from other dioceses, and established—according to the principle of OIKONOMIA—*siteresia* for deposed deacons lest they become wandering beggars (S. Troianos, *FM* 6 [1984] 205–18). Loyal to Manuel I, Michael published on 24 Mar. 1171 a *tomos* prescribing the oath of fidelity to the emperor's heir.

Michael's attitude toward Rome is a subject of discussion: traditionally (e.g., V. Grumel, *EO* 29 [1930] 258–64) the *Dialogue* of Manuel I and Michael on the UNION OF THE CHURCHES, in which Michael expresses consistently anti-Latin views, has been considered authentic; J. Darrouzès (*REB* 23 [1965] 79–82), however, redated the text to the 13th C., probably without sufficient foundation. Negotiations with Pope ALEXANDER III continued but were unsuccessful, even though the pope reduced conditions for reunion to a minimum. R. Ljubinković (*Starinar* 20 [1969] 191–

204) attributed to Michael's patriarchate the MS Paris, B.N. gr. 880, which has an evident anti-Latin tendency. Negotiations with regard to union with the Armenian church by Michael's envoy THEORIANOS also failed.

LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 3, nos. 1109–50. V. Laurent, *DTC* 10 (1929) 1668–74. Beck, *Kirche* 627. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 117, 119–22. –A.K.

MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN (Σίσμανος), Bulgarian monarch, son of Šišman, *despotes* of Vidin; born before 1292, died Velbužd after 28 July 1330 (?). Elected tsar by a council of boyars after the death of Georgij Terter II (1322), he brought the war against Byz. to a successful conclusion. In 1324 Michael married Theodora, daughter of Michael IX and widow of Tsar THEODORE SVETOSLAV. In the Byz. civil war of the 1320s he first supported Andronikos III against his grandfather Andronikos II in 1327 but in the following year changed sides and besieged Constantinople. After the defeat of Andronikos II, Michael concluded an alliance with Andronikos III, directed against the growing power of Serbia. Defeated and captured at the battle of VELBUŽD, Michael died of his wounds. Shortly afterward he was succeeded by his nephew IVAN ALEXANDER who reversed Michael's policy by making a lasting alliance with Serbia.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 268–73. A. Burmov, "Istorija na Bŭlgarija prez vremeto na Šišmanovci," *GSU FIF* 43.1 (1946–47) 1–58. –R.B.

MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS, patriarch of Constantinople (from 20 March 1208); died Nicaea 26 Aug. 1214. Educated in both the Christian and classical tradition, Michael was a member of the literary circle of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. In Constantinople he held the post of *megas sakellarios*. In the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade he was chosen patriarch by THEODORE I LASKARIS, who wished to establish the ecumenical patriarchate in exile in Nicaea to bolster his own imperial claims. The patriarchate had been vacant for two years since the death of JOHN X KAMATEROS (1206), who had refused to come to Nicaea because of old age. Michael, who performed Theodore's coronation, supported his claim to be sole emperor by asserting that there can be only one emperor, since the earthly kingdom is in the likeness of the kingdom of heaven. Michael took the unusual step of pledging forgiveness of sins for all Nicene soldiers who died in battle; this initiative, which was contrary to Byz. tradition, evidently soon fell into abeyance. Michael engaged in theological arguments with Nicholas MESARITES (Heisenberg, *Neue Quellen* 3:14.31–33).

ED. N. Oikonomides, "Cinq actes inédits du patriarche Michel Autôreianos," *REB* 25 (1967) 113–45.
LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 4, nos. 1203–18. –A.M.T.

MICHAEL IV PAPHLAGON, emperor (1034–41); died Constantinople 10 Dec. 1041. Member of a family of money-changers of Paphlagonian origin, he was introduced to the Empress ZOE by his brother, JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS. Michael became Zoe's lover and, when ROMANOS III was murdered, he was proclaimed emperor (12 Apr. 1034). The short-lived resistance of Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES was ended by a generous donation. Michael, an honest and unsophisticated man who suffered from epilepsy, was pushed into the background by John, whose policy favored the highest civil functionaries. John aimed to increase the state's monetary income: the AERIKON was introduced, and taxation in kind in Bulgaria was replaced by payment in specie. Morrisson ("Dévaluation" 6) stressed that the devaluation of Byz. coinage began in Michael's reign. These policies incited resistance of both the aristocracy (Michael faced the opposition of Constantine DALASSENOS and plots of the KEROULARIOI) and the provincial population, esp. the rebel Peter DELJAN. The military successes of George MANIAKES collapsed after his recall from Sicily, and Stefan VOISLAV established the independence of Duklja (Diokleia). Michael actively supported the church, partly in hope of a cure for his epilepsy. John strove to retain the predominance of the Paphlagonian family; childless, Michael proclaimed as heir his nephew, the future MICHAEL V. With immense personal effort, Michael led a successful expedition against Deljan; soon after celebrating a triumph in Constantinople, he resigned, received the tonsure, and died. His conspiracies and death are illustrated in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 505–06, fig.243).

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 23–41. J.M. Hussey, *CMH* 4.1:196–98. G. Litavrin in *Istorija Vizantii* (Moscow 1967)

2:264–66. S. Caruso, "Michele IV Paflagone in una fonte agiografica italo-greca," in *Studi albanologici, balcanici, bizantini e orientali in onore di Giuseppe Valentine* (Florence 1986) 261–84. –A.K., C.M.B., A.C.

MICHAEL V KALAPHATES (Καλαφάτης, i.e., "the Caulker"), emperor (1041–42). Son of Stephen, a caulker (whence Michael's nickname), and the sister of MICHAEL IV, he was adopted by ZOE and named CAESAR and heir ca.1035. Three days after Michael IV died, Zoe proclaimed Michael emperor, while he pledged to respect her. Once in power, he banished JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS, released John's opponent Constantine DALASSENOS, and sent George MANIAKES to Italy as KATEPANO. He enforced strict justice. Relying on the advice of his uncle, the *nobelissimos* Constantine, Michael determined to exile Zoe. He confirmed his popularity with the masses in several processions (Easter, 11 Apr. 1042, and the following Sunday). Once Zoe had left, he claimed that she had plotted against him. On 19 Apr. a widespread popular uprising occurred. Houses and chapels built by his relatives were destroyed and the Great Palace besieged. Despite aid from his uncle and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS, the mob broke through the walls. At dawn, 21 Apr., Michael and Constantine fled from the palace to STOUDIOS, whence both were soon dragged, blinded, and dispatched to monasteries. CONSTANTINE IX sent Michael to Chios.

LIT. S. Vryonis, "Byzantine *DEMOKRATIA* and the Guilds in the Eleventh Century," *DOP* 17 (1963) 303–08. G.G. Litavrin, "Vosstanie v Konstantinopole v aprele 1042 g.," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 33–46. *Kleinchroniken* 2:143–46. –C.M.B.

MICHAEL VI STRATIOTIKOS (called "the Old"), emperor (ca.22 Aug. 1056–30 Aug. 1057 [J.Shepard, *BS* 38 (1977) 26f, 30]); died ca.1057. Already elderly, a member of the BRINGAS family (*Kleinchroniken* 1:160), Michael served in the *stratiotikon* (see LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU), perhaps as its *logothetes* (Attal. 52.21—see Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 33, n.16). When Empress THEODORA was dying, her eunuchs and officials selected him for his pliability. Leo PARASPONDYLOS remained chief minister. Michael continued negotiations with the German emperor for an alliance against the NORMANS (Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 333–41). While Michael lavished promotions on officials, he neglected to conciliate the populace and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS was driven to rebellion. At Easter 1057, when conferring salaries and rewards on officials, Michael rejected the demands of the eastern generals, led by the future ISAAC I KOMNENOS and KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS. Following a second rejection, they revolted, acclaimed Isaac emperor (8 June 1057), and defeated Michael's forces near Nicaea. Michael attempted negotiations, offering Isaac the rank of CAESAR, adoption as heir, and approval of all his measures. As Isaac advanced, a conspiracy of senators, popular leaders, and the patriarch forced Michael to abdicate. According to Psellos, he died soon afterward.

LIT. M.D. Spadaro, "La deposizione di Michele VI: un episodio di 'concordia discors' fra chiesa e militari?" *JÖB* 37 (1987) 153–71. –C.M.B.

MICHAEL VII DOUKAS, emperor (1071–78); born ca.1050, died Constantinople ca.1090. Eldest son of CONSTANTINE X, he ruled as co-emperor with EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA and ROMANOS IV DIOGENES. After the latter's capture, the caesar John DOUKAS put Michael on the throne. Possibly slow mentally, Michael was an inactive ruler. He was a pupil of PSELLOS, who composed treatises for the emperor and ends his *Chronographia* with a eulogy of Michael and his family. In Michael's name, an alliance was made (ca.1074) with ROBERT GUISCARD, whose daughter Olympias (Helena in Byz.) was betrothed to Michael's son Constantine. In 1073–74 negotiations with Pope GREGORY VII for reunion came to nothing. Administrative power passed to NIKEPHORITZES, whose severe fiscal policies made Michael unpopular. Plundering Turks beset Anatolia, while rebels (Nestor, ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL, Nikephoros BRYENNIOS, and the future NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES) devastated Asian and Balkan provinces. Consequently, Michael's coinage was seriously adulterated (Morrisson, "Dévaluation" 8–12), while the diminution of the MODIOS of grain by a PINAKION, without a reduction in price, earned Michael the nickname "Parapinakes." When Botaneiates' victory became certain, Michael abdicated (31 Mar. 1078) and entered a monastery; his wife MARIA OF "ALANIA" married the victor. Michael was subsequently named metropolitan of Ephesus but paid only one brief visit there before returning to his mon-

astery. Numerous portraits of Michael survive, the most important on the enamels of the Khakhouli triptych (with his wife) and on the Holy Crown of Hungary (with his son); these objects exemplify Michael's use of art as dynastic propaganda (Wessel, *Byz. Enamels*, nos. 37–38).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 42–46. A. Tuilier, "Michel VII et le pape Grégoire VII: Byzance et la réforme grégorienne," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:350–64. V. von Falkenhausen, "Olympias, eine normannische Prinzessin in Konstantinopel," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia: Raccolta di studi in memoria di Agostino Pertusi* (Milan 1982) 56–72. –C.M.B., A.C.

MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, emperor (1259–1282); born 1224 or 1225, died in village of Pachomios, Thrace, 11 Dec. 1282. Son of the *megas domestikos* Andronikos Palaiologos, Michael descended from three imperial families and founded the long-lived dynasty of the PALAIOLOGOI (1259–1453). He embarked on a successful military career, but his loyalty to the Nicene emperors JOHN III VATATZES and THEODORE II LASKARIS was questioned on several occasions. Michael took advantage of the power vacuum left by Theodore's premature death (Aug. 1258) to usurp the throne. After joining an aristocratic conspiracy to murder George MOUZALON, regent for the child emperor JOHN IV LASKARIS (Sept. 1258), Michael succeeded Mouzalon as regent and was named *megas doux* and, on 13 Nov. 1258, *despotes.* He was crowned co-emperor in Nymphaion sometime after 1 Jan. 1259 (P. Wirth, *JÖB* 10 [1961] 91). He further secured his position by his victory at PELAGONIA over an anti-Nicene coalition (summer or fall 1259) and the recovery of Constantinople from the Latins by his general Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS in July 1261. On 15 Aug. 1261 Michael entered Constantinople and soon received a second coronation. After ordering the blinding of John IV (Dec. 1261), he became sole emperor, but was excommunicated by Patr. ARSENIOS.

The early years of Michael's reign were devoted to efforts to repopulate the capital and to begin the restoration of damaged churches, monasteries, and public buildings. He also set about the construction of a fleet and strengthening of the fortifications of Constantinople, esp. the sea walls. The considerable expense of his program of reconstruction necessitated a devaluation of the hyperpyron. His concern for justice is shown by a *prostagma* threatening appropriate punishment for imperial officials found guilty of maladministration (L. Burgmann, P. Magdalino, *FM* 6 [1984] 377–90).

Michael's foreign policy focused on the use of skillful diplomacy to ward off Latin attempts to regain Constantinople. His primary motive in agreeing to UNION OF THE CHURCHES at LYONS (1274) was to forestall the projected invasion of the empire by CHARLES I OF ANJOU. At the end of his reign, in 1282, Michael again averted Charles's imminent attack on Constantinople by helping instigate the anti-Angevin rebellion known as the SICILIAN VESPERS. Michael also formed an alliance with the Mongol khan Hulagu against the Mamlūk ruler Baybars and Berke of the Golden Horde. After Berke defeated the Byz. in 1264–65, however, Michael was forced to join the alliance of the Golden Horde and Egypt (G. Vernadskij, *SemKond* 1 [1927] 73–84). Although Michael was responsible for several important military and diplomatic accomplishments, he neglected his Anatolian frontier, permitting the TURKS to increase their strength; moreover, his Unionist religious policy alienated his subjects and the majority of the clergy. At his death he was refused the final rites of the Orthodox church.

ED. *Typikon* for monastery of St. Michael—Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1.1:769–94. Autobiography—ed. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 447–76, with Fr. tr.

LIT. D. Geanakoplos, *Emperor Michael Palaeologus and the West, 1258–1282* (Cambridge 1959). Dölger, *Paraspora* 178–88. Angold, *Byz. Government* 80–93. –A.M.T.

MICHAEL IX PALAIOLOGOS, co-emperor (1294/5–1320); born 1277, died 12 Oct. 1320 (cf. R.-J. Loenertz, *OrChrP* 29 [1963] 333). Eldest son of ANDRONIKOS II by his first wife, Anna of Hungary, he was named co-emperor in 1281, but not crowned until 21 May 1294 (J. Verpeaux, *REB* 17 [1959] 168–73) or 1295 (P. Schmid, *BZ* 51 [1958] 83). After the failure of marriage negotiations with Catherine I of Courtenay, titular heiress to the Latin Empire of Constantinople, Michael married Rita, sister of Het'um II of Armenian Cilicia, in Jan. 1296 (I. Ševčenko in Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:25 n.36). Rita, who took the Greek name Maria, bore four children: ANDRONIKOS III, Manuel, Anna, and Theodora.

Although Michael was a brave and energetic soldier, his military campaigns were notoriously

unsuccessful, with the exception of some victories over the Bulgarians in 1304. He opposed ROGER DE FLOR, leader of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY, and may well have arranged his assassination in Apr. 1305. Two months later Michael suffered a humiliating defeat at Apros at the hands of the vengeful Catalans. After being defeated again in 1311, this time by the Turks, Michael was relieved of responsibility for the defense of Thrace. He predeceased Andronikos II, dying at the age of 43, reportedly of grief over the accidental murder of his son Manuel (Greg. 1:286.6–12). Michael died in Thessalonike, where he had restored the basilica of St. Demetrios.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 48–53, 90–93, 145–48, 158–67. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.59. *PLP*, no.21529.
–A.M.T., A.C.

MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, two, or possibly three, wall-painters working in Macedonia and Serbia, ca. 1295–1317. The names of Michael and Eutychios are preserved in inscriptions in four churches: the Virgin Peribleptos (now St. Clement) at OHRID, the Bogorodica Ljeviška at PRIZREN, St. NIKITA at Banjani, and St. George at STARO NAGORIČINO. Some scholars distinguish Michael, who signed with Eutychios in the last two of these churches, from Astrapas, who so signed his name at Prizren. But the inscription "the hand of Michael tou Astrapa" appears on the sword of St. Merkourios at the Peribleptos and it is possible that Astrapas ("lightning") was merely the nickname of a speedy painter. However that may be, the hands of Michael and Eutychios are effectively indistinguishable, the style of both exhibiting strong chiaroscuro and heavy drapery marked by hard folds. The painter John Astrapas, mentioned by Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, is thought to be a member of the same family, supposedly of Thessalonican origin. Michael and Eutychios also painted icons (P. Miljković-Pepek, *JÖB* 16 [1967] 297–303).

LIT. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Deloto na zografite Mihailo i Eutihij* (Skopje 1967). S. Kissas, "Solunska umetnička porodica Astrapa," *Zograf* 5 (1974) 35–37. *Serb. und Mak.* 3:12–14, 178–80. *PLP*, nos. 1595, 6353, cf. 19057.
–A.C.

MICHAELATON (*νόμισμα μιχαηλᾶτον*, Lat. *michelatus* in southern Italian documents), a (gold) coin struck by any emperor named Michael. The term *michaelata* is known to have been used in the mid-11th C. to refer to HISTAMENA of Michael IV. In late 11th- and 12th-C. sources, where the term is normally found, it means a histamenon of Michael VII Doukas, the last coin of reasonably good quality (approximately 16 carats) to be struck before the collapse of the nomisma under Nikephoros III and in the early years of Alexios I. It was particularly acceptable in Italy because of its virtual identity in fineness with the Sicilian TARI.

LIT. C. Morrisson, "Le michaélaton et les noms de monnaies à la fin du XIe siècle," *TM* 3 (1968) 369–74.
–Ph.G.

MICHAEL GRAMMATIKOS, *hieromonachos*, poet of uncertain date and unknown biography. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*BZ* 20 [1911] 131) identified him with Michael GLYKAS; S. Lampros (*NE* 14 [1917] 4) considered him as a contemporary of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE; S.G. Mercati (*infra* 127) hypothesized—with some hesitation—that he lived "not much later than the 10th-11th C." In some of his epigrams Michael treated religious subjects (e.g., the Second Coming). Some are addressed to or mention certain contemporaries who lived in western Asia Minor: Leo (or Lykoleon, "Wolf-Lion") Vestes, metropolitan of Ephesus; an anonymous *proedros* of Philomelion; Philip, *proedros* of Amorion. Mercati (*infra* 137f) also ascribed to him a poetical lamentation on Adam and Paradise.

ED. S.G. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:114–43.
–A.K.

MICHAEL ITALIKOS, writer; died before 1157. Michael taught rhetoric and philosophy in Constantinople and was later appointed the *didaskalos* of physicians; probably in 1126 or 1137 he participated in an embassy to Rome. He also taught the Gospels in the Patriarchal School. After 1143 he became metropolitan of Philippopolis where, in 1147, he successfully reconciled CONRAD III with the Byz. A paradigm of the Byz. intellectual, Michael proudly assured Empress Irene Doukaina that administrative offices were better filled by intellectuals than by illiterate "*logariastai* and *pronoetai*" (Gautier, *infra* 94f). He mocked the fashion of tracing genealogies back to mythological Greek kings (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 48f) and praised "logical feasts" at which "philosophical venison" would be served along with "physiological hare" and "musical swan" (Gautier, 156.4–

8). Michael corresponded with members of the ruling elite, with intellectuals such as Theodore PRODROMOS, and with several physicians. His speeches addressed to JOHN II KOMNENOS (see U. Criscuolo, *Annali della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università Macerata* 5–6 [1972–73] 541–52) and MANUEL I convey important information on contemporary political events.

ED. *Michel Italikos, Lettres et discours*, ed. P. Gautier (Paris 1972). See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 369f.

LIT. K. Manaphes, "Philologikai paratereseis eis to ergon tou Michael Italikou," *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 464–75. C. Morrone, "La clausola ritmica in Michele Italico," *JÖB* 32.3 (1982) 355–63. –A.K.

MICHAEL OF EPHESUS, philosopher and commentator on ARISTOTLE. His biography is obscure and his dates disputed. K. Praechter (*BZ* 31 [1931] 1–12) asserted that Michael lived before 1040. If, however, "the wise man from Ephesus," who worked on Aristotle until he ruined his eyesight, can be identified with Michael (Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 283.9–11 and n.70), then the date of his life should be shifted to ca.1100. Probably a member of the circle of Anna KOMNENE, he was instrumental in the revival of Aristotelianism in Constantinople in the 11th and 12th C.

Michael commented on Aristotle's zoological works (Michael's commentary on the *Generation of Animals* was wrongly attributed to John PHILOPONOS—*CAG* 14:3) as well as the *Nicomachean Ethics, Politics, Rhetoric, Sophistical Refutations* (wrongly attributed to Alexander of Aphrodisias; *CAG* 2:3) and the short psychological works (i.e., *Parva naturalia*). The commentary of pseudo-Alexander on the *Metaphysics* is doubtless Michael's as well (Preus, *infra* 12). His commentaries contain allusions to the contemporary situation, including criticism of the emperor (E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* [Oxford 1957] 140f) and a discussion of education in Constantinople where, lacking guidelines for the teaching of youth, fathers taught them according to their own understanding (*CAG* 20:610.11–13).

ED. *CAG* 2:3; 14:3; 20:461–620; 22:1–3. *Aristotelis Politica: Scholia*, ed. O. Immisch (Leipzig 1909) xvi–xx, 293–327. *Aristotle and Michael of Ephesus "On the Movement and Progression of Animals,"* tr. A. Preus (New York 1981).

LIT. B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* [= *Histoire de la philosophie*, ed. E. Bréhier, supp. 2] (Paris 1949) 215f. K. Oehler, "Aristotle in Byzantium," *GRBS* 5 (1964) 139. –A.K., M.W.T.

MICHAEL RHETOR, mid-12th-C. writer, nephew or protégé of a metropolitan of Thessalonike, perhaps BASIL OF OHRID. He made a career as a teacher at the Patriarchal School at Constantinople (*didaskalos* of the Gospels and *magistros ton rhetoron*) and patriarchal *protekdikos*. In 1156 he supported Soterichos PANTEUGENOS and was condemned with Nikephoros BASILAKES but soon thereafter submitted a confession "of his errors" (ed. L. Allatius, *De ecclesiae occidentalis et orientalis perpetua consensione* [Cologne 1648] 691). Michael delivered three speeches to Manuel I with important information about the coalition of the Normans and Hungarians and imperial warfare against Serbia; he mentions the Second Crusade and conveys unique evidence about Manuel I's plans for an expedition to the Azov Sea (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 345–47). Since it mentions a Sicilian attack on the "northern shores of the Roman empire" (Regel, *Fontes* 156.13), one speech may have been delivered after 1158 when the Normans approached Constantinople, i.e., after Michael's confession. Michael's description (*ekphrasis*) of Hagia Sophia (the end of which is lost) presents the architectural and sculptural elements (not mosaics) and interprets the building symbolically as a reflection of the cosmos: the beholder is invited to see the entrance, the "heaven" above, the sides of sparkling stone, and the floor which is a "sea, out of which the holy sanctuary has been scooped."

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 131–82. C. Mango, J. Parker, "A Twelfth-Century Description of St. Sophia," *DOP* 14 (1960) 233–45, with Eng. tr. J. Lefort, "Prooimion de Michel neveu de l'archévêque de Thessalonique, didascale de l'évangile," *TM* 4 (1970) 383–93.

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 12–14. P. Wirth, "Michael von Thessalonike?" *BZ* 55 (1962) 266–68, with add. in *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 421f. –A.K.

MICHAEL SYNKELLOS, homilist, grammarian, and saint; born Jerusalem ca.761, died Chora monastery in Constantinople 4 Jan. 846. Of "Persian" (Arab) origin according to his vita, Michael entered the Lavra of St. SABAS ca.786 and was ordained a priest; ca.811 he became SYNKELLOS of the patriarch of Jerusalem. Patr. Thomas sent Michael to Rome ca.815 to solicit financial assistance and to discuss theological and political problems. En route Michael was arrested in Constantinople as an Iconodule and suffered persecutions under Leo V and then under Theophilos, as a

close associate of THEODORE GRAPTOS and THEOPHANES GRAPTOS (S. Vailhé, *ROC* 6 [1901] 313–32, 610–42). In 843 Michael became *synkellos* of Patr. METHODIOS and *hegoumenos* of Chora.

In Edessa ca.811–13 Michael wrote a treatise on SYNTAX, based on ancient grammarians; the earliest Byz. book preserved on the subject, it is divided into eight chapters, from the noun to the conjunction. Michael treated the problem of the word, rather than the relation between words. His terminology is sometimes determined by extragrammatical influence—thus the noun is defined as "essence (*ousia*) acting or suffering" (par.6). Especially popular from the 13th C. onward, Michael's work survives in approximately 100 MSS. Besides the *Treatise*, Michael composed homilies and *enkomia* on saints (his authorship of the story of the FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION is questionable); a polemical account of the origins of Islam incorporated in the *Chronicle* of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (697.12–702.9) may be his work. He also wrote liturgical hymns and an anacreontic poem on the restoration of images. Michael was eulogized by an anonymous contemporary hagiographer, and later by Nikephoros GREGORAS.

ED. *Le Traité de la construction de la phrase de Michel le Syncelle de Jérusalem*, ed. D. Donnet (Brussels-Rome 1982). *Die byzantinische Anakreonten*, ed. T. Nissen (Munich 1940) 48–52.

SOURCE. Vita, ed. F. Šmit, *IRAIK* 11 (1906) 227–59.

LIT. *BHG* 1296f. Beck, *Kirche* 503–05. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:15. D. Donnet, "Michel le Syncelle, *Traité de la construction de la phrase*: Les manuscrits de l'Athos," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 174–80. S.H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 117–38. –R.B., A.K.

MICHAEL VIŠEVIĆ (τοῦ Βουσεβούτζη), prince of ZACHLUMIA from ca.910; died ca.932? or after 949. He was the ally of SYMEON OF BULGARIA in his struggle against Byz. CONSTANTINE VII reports that his relatives came from the area of the river Visla (*De adm. imp.* 33.16–18). In 912 Michael arrested Peter, son of the Venetian doge Orso II, who was returning from Constantinople with rich presents, and sent him to Symeon. In 917 Michael informed Symeon about the mission of the *strategos* of Dyrrachion, Leo Rhabdouchos, who was trying to form a broad coalition against Bulgaria; Symeon acted promptly and won the battle at ACHELOUS. In 926 Michael crossed the Adriatic and sacked Siponto (10 July) in Byz. Italy. He also sought an alliance with the papacy; in 924 papal legates summoned a council in Spalato (SPLIT) and addressed Michael and TOMISLAV of Croatia, condemning the use of the Slavonic language in liturgy. After Symeon's death (or before, according to Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:479), Michael was reconciled with Byz., acknowledged the sovereignty of the empire, and was granted the titles of *anthypatos* and *patrikios*.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:394f. Runciman, *Romanus* 212f, 218. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 298f. M. Lascaris, "La rivalité bulgaro-byzantine en Serbie et la mission de Léon Rhabdouchos," *RHSEE* 20 (1943) 202–07. –A.K.

MICROCOSM (μικρὸς κόσμος, lit. "small world"), the world in miniature. In patristic literature man is described as a microcosm in that he possesses in himself all the elements of the macrocosm; a unity of visible and invisible components, of body and soul. The latter is conceived as the essence "lying on the borders" (*methorios*) between the spiritual and the material, which serves as the mediator of a natural synthesis (Maximos the Confessor) and as "the bond (*syndesmos*) of the entire creation" (Kosmas Indikopleustes). Created by God, man is like the world, "a miniature world within the larger one" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 26.25–26, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:76), a unity of elements subject to the law of transience (JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.70, ed. Joannou, p.118). The doctrine of the microcosm represents the attempt to develop an ANTHROPOLOGY in the framework of a metaphysic of participation and sympathy, in cooperation with a holistic psychological conception; as Proklos states, "The essence of man is found in his soul" (*In Alcibiadem* 1.18.4, ed. L.G. Westerink, 8). –K.-H.U.

The Church Building as Microcosm. The concept of microcosm in Byz. was extended to the church building, and thus the domed church as a reflection of the universe is a leitmotif in liturgical exegesis and *ekphrasis*. Following a cluster of Syriac commentaries (EPHREM THE SYRIAN, JACOB OF SARUG), the Byz. interpretation of this relationship is fully articulated in the so-called church history of Patr. GERMANOS I ("the church is a heaven on earth") and implicit in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION in and after the 9th C. –A.C.

LIT. A. Meyer, *Wesen und Geschichte der Theorie vom Mikro-Makro-Kosmos* (Bern 1901). R. Allers, "Microcosmus from

Anaximandros to Paracelsus," *Traditio* 2 (1944) 319–407. Balthasar *Kosmische Lit.* 171–75, 384–86. E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm," *DOP* 37 (1983) 91–121. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 14–29.

MICROSTRUCTURES, small social groupings, a modern scholarly term for classifying those societal units that were relatively stable and locally limited, conscious of their existence, and thus determined by law or ritual. Byz. microstructures included FAMILY, LINEAGE, VILLAGE COMMUNITY, GUILD, CONFRATERNITY, MONASTERY, and, to some extent, town community. A special feature of Byz. microstructures was their "atomistic" character: the family was the main social unit, while the links of lineage, guild, or *polis-municipium* remained relatively loose.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Small Social Groupings (Microstructures) in Byzantine Society," 16 *CEB*, vol. 2.2 (Vienna 1982) 3–11. J.F. Haldon, "On the Structuralist Approach to the Social History of Byzantium," *BS* 42 (1981) 203–11. P.H. Stahl, *Sociétés traditionelles balkaniques* (Paris 1979). –M.B.

MILAN (Μεδιόλανος, Lat. Mediolanum), residence of the praetorian prefect of Italy and of certain emperors (Maximianus, Gratian, Valentinian II, and Theodosios I) in the 4th C. Ausonius praised Milan as the fifth-largest city of the world after Rome, Constantinople, Carthage, and Trier. In Feb. 313 Constantine and Licinius met in Milan to elaborate common religious policy. Milan became ecclesiastical metropolis of most of northern Italy, its most famous bishop being AMBROSE. The city declined following the transfer of the imperial court to RAVENNA in 402; the see lost part of its jurisdiction to Ravenna and AQUILEIA. A major mint in the late 4th C., its coin production declined ca.404, ceased completely ca.420, and resumed on a much reduced scale from the last years of Valentinian III to 498.

The city was sacked by the HUNS in 452 and was contested by the forces of ODOACER and THEODORIC THE GREAT between 489 and 491 but recovered under the OSTROGOTHS. In 538 Milan's leading citizens declared in favor of the Byz. cause, and in retaliation the Ostrogoths razed it in 539. Following Frankish raids in the 550s Milan was restored by NARSES but fell to the Lombards on 3 Sept. 569; its bishop fled to Genoa, where his successors remained until ca.650. Under Carolingian and later Ottonian rule, Milan remained a connecting point with Byz.: in 1001 its archbishop Arnulf was sent to Constantinople by OTTO III. It is possible that the Pataria movement of 11th-C. Milan originated under the impact of Byz. dualist sects. In 1112 Peter GROSSOLANO, archbishop of Milan, visited Constantinople to discuss the FILIOQUE and other theological problems. In the 1160s, while involved in war against FREDERICK I, Milan sent two legates to Constantinople for negotiations; Emperor Manuel I promised financial support for Milan's restoration but required an oath of *fidelitas*.

Monuments of Milan. In the 4th and 5th C. Milanese art and architecture were more inventive and diverse than those of any other Western city, even ROME. S. Lorenzo, a uniquely ambitious tetraconch related in plan to 5th-C. churches in Syria, was probably an imperial foundation and is to be identified with the "Basilica Portiana," sequestered from St. Ambrose by Valentinian II. The niches of its octagonal chapel of S. Aquilino contain late 4th- to early 5th-C. mosaics that depict Christ as philosopher and as HELIOS; in the vestibule are fragments of a large apocalyptic composition. Churches sponsored by St. Ambrose were materially more modest but interesting for their symbolism. The Basilica Apostolorum (rebuilt as S. Nazaro) was a cross-shaped cemetery basilica that signified the faith in general resurrection for all who were buried in Christ. In the octagonal baptistery of the cathedral, Ambrose added a verse inscription that explained the regenerative symbolism of the number eight. A portrait of Ambrose is included in the 5th- to 6th-C. mosaics in the chapel of S. Vittore in Ciel d'oro at S. Ambrogio; although posthumous, it is a highly individualized image that clearly attempts to "portray" him in the modern sense.

LIT. *Storia di Milano*, vols. 1–4 (Milan 1953–54). *Milano, una capitale da Ambrogio ai Carolingi*, ed. C. Bertelli (Milan 1987). –T.S.B., D.K.

MILDENHALL TREASURE, dated to the 4th C. and found in 1942 near Mildenhall in Suffolk, England. Now in the British Museum, it represents a medium-size collection of domestic silver PLATE. The treasure is composed of 27 silver objects (four plates, eight bowls, two goblets, five ladles, eight spoons), many elaborately decorated and some (goblets, ladles) bearing a resemblance

to pieces in the CARTHAGE TREASURE. The mixture of pagan and Christian elements in the decoration resembles much domestic silver of the period: a set of three plates (one large, two small) displays Dionysiac scenes; three bowls have emblemata with Alexander the Great, his mother, and a hunter, respectively, while three spoons are inscribed with a CHRISTOGRAM. The names Pascentia and Papittedo appear on two spoons and that of Eutherios is scratched on a plate. It has been suggested that the last-mentioned individual was Emp. Julian's *praepositus sacri cubiculi* of that name (355–61 [*PLRE* 1:314]) who, as owner of the treasure, presented it to Lupicinus, the *magister equitum* for Gaul (ibid. 1:520), before the latter's departure for Britain in 360.

LIT. K.S. Painter, *The Mildenhall Treasure* (London 1977). –M.M.M.

MILEŠEVA, a monastery in southwestern Serbia, near Prijepolje, founded ca.1220 by Prince Vladislav, son of King STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED. The *katholikon,* dedicated to the ASCENSION, has a Byz. ground plan: a nave with short cross arms for the choir, a single dome on pendentives, and three semicircular apses. The frescoes were probably executed before 1228; they reflect a standard Byz. church program, though the selection and distribution of the scenes is unusual. Along with portraits of the founder and his ancestors, the narthex contains a portrait of an unidentified Byz. emperor, possibly John III Vatatzes, standing near Constantine I the Great and Helena, his holy forebears; this is the only example in a Serbian church of a Byz. emperor thus acknowledged as overlord. Two artists were responsible for the frescoes; both were probably Greek, for they used a technique for rendering volume—the juxtaposition of red and green tones—otherwise employed only by the most sophisticated and classicizing Byz. painters. The backgrounds are either blue or ochre, the latter covered by gold leaf with imitation mosaic cubes drawn upon it. These frescoes are important for any study of the antecedents of Palaiologan painting, as few Byz. monuments have survived from this period. The marble sarcophagus of Vladislav is preserved in the nave beneath his portrait; an exonarthex with two side chapels and frescoes of the Last Judgment was added ca.1236 to house the tomb of St. SAVA OF SERBIA.

LIT. S. Radojčić, *Mileševa* (Belgrade 1963). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 47–50. D. Nagorni, "Bemerkungen zum Stil und zu den Meistern der Wandmalerei in der Klosterkirche Mileševa," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 159–72. *Mileševa u istoriji srpskog naroda. Medjunarodni naucni skup povodom 750 godine postojanja* (Belgrade 1987). –G.B.

MILESTONE (*μίλιον*, Lat. *miliarium*), a stone post placed on a highway to indicate distance. Thousands of Roman milestones have been found from North Africa to Britain to Arabia; they were cylindrical columns made of limestone, granite, etc., usually 2–3 m high and set on a square base. They regularly bear inscriptions in Latin or Greek, some in praise of emperors, including those of the 4th and 5th C. (e.g., a milestone erected under Theodosios II and Valentinian III in 435—*CIL* 17.2, no.53). Apparently no milestones of the 6th C. or later have survived. The marking of distances, measured in MILIA (about 1,480 m), started from the Milion in Constantinople (see MESE). Milestones are an important source not only for studying the system of ROADS, but also for late Roman imperial propaganda. After the triumph of Christianity in the 4th C. certain milestones were provided with Christian symbols (e.g., the CROSS) and inscriptions.

ED. G. Walser, *Miliaria imperii Romani* [*CIL* 17.2] (Berlin–New York 1986).

LIT. K. Schneider, *RE* supp. 6 (1935) 395–431. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, tr. N.H. Field (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 39–47. L. Gounaropoulou, M.B. Hatzopoulis, *Les milliaires de la Voie Egnatienne entre Héraclée des Lyncestes et Thessalonique* (Athens 1985). P. Collart, "Les milliaires de la via Egnatia," *BCH* 100 (1976) 177–200. P. Salama, *Bornes milliaires d'Afrique Proconsulaire* (Rome 1987). –A.K.

MILETOS (Μίλητος), city on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor, now Balat (from Gr. Palatia). Its excavated remains show that Miletos flourished in the time of Diocletian, when much building and restoration took place, then fell into a decline; ancient buildings collapsed and small, shoddy structures, which disregarded the regular urban plan, were constructed over and within the ruins. The reign of Justinian I brought recovery as shown by a new cathedral, restored baths, and drainage of the harbor, works owed to the influence at court of a native son, HESYCHIOS of Miletos. New fortification walls of the 7th–8th C., which excluded much of the ancient city and used the theater as their citadel, indicate a drastic contrac-

tion; small houses were built over the ruins within the circuit. Eventually, perhaps in the 12th C., Miletos withdrew entirely within its ancient theater, which was provided with a new citadel. It consequently took the name Palatia, for the people of the time thought the theater had been a palace. Miletos, which was originally a city of the THRAKESION theme, was briefly occupied by the Turks after Mantzikert and after the reconquest assigned to the theme of MYLASA AND MELANOUDION in the 12th C. By then it was a small township referred to as a *chora* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, nos. 64.15, 73.3) or even *ktema*, "estate" (*op.cit.* 2, no.66.1); it possessed no separate administration except for fiscal officials called *praktores*. It fell to the Turks of Menteshe ca.1285.

Suffragan of APHRODISIAS, Miletos became an autocephalous archbishopric by 536, and a metropolis under Manuel I. The monastic center of LATROS was northeast of Miletos.

LIT. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 477–79. W. Müller-Wiener, "Das Theaterkastell von Milet," *IstMitt* 17 (1967) 279–90. Idem, "Die 'Grosse Kirche' (sog. Bischofskirche) in Milet," *IstMitt* 23–24 (1973–74) 131–34. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 126, 137f. –C.F.

MILIARESION (*μιλιαρήσιον*, from Lat. *miliarensis*), a name applied in the 4th C. to silver coins struck 72 to the pound and having in terms of bronze coins a value of 1,000 half-scripula or obols (J.-P. Callu, *RN*[6] 22 [1980] 126–30). Byz. sources of the 7th–11th C. use it for the basic Byz. silver coin reckoned 12 to the SOLIDUS. Thus, *miliaresion* was the Byz. name for the HEXAGRAM in the 7th C., and, afterwards, for the coins of a broad, thin fabric introduced by Leo III in 720 and characteristic of the 8th–11th C. (Numismatists, however, generally use the term *miliaresion* for the latter coin only.) These coins seem initially to have been struck 144 to the pound, giving them a theoretical weight of 2.27 g, but in the Macedonian period they were heavier, probably 3.03 g (108 to the pound). Miliaresia ceased to be struck in 1092, as a result of Alexios I's coinage reform, but the name survived as a money of account, 1/12 of the nomisma. The denomination was subsequently revived as the BASILIKON. Western documents apply the derivative term *millarès* to various types of Muslim silver coin.

LIT. H.L. Adelson, "A Note on the Miliarense from Constantine to Heraclius," *MN* 7 (1957) 125–35. Idem, "Silver Currency and Values in the Early Byzantine Empire," *Centennial Publication of the American Numismatic Society*, ed. H. Ingholt (New York 1958) 1–26. *DOC* 2:17–21, 3:62–68. –Ph.G.

MILION (*μίλιον*), a measure of distance originally meaning 1,000 Roman double-steps (*passus*), also called *stathmos* or *semeion*. Byz. metrological tables calculate 1 *milion* as 7 or 7.5 *stadia*, respectively 4,200 and 4,500 "feet" (see POUS), that is, approximately 1,312 m and 1,404 m; the figure of 7.5 *stadia* is also given in the *Treatise on Taxation* (Dölger, *Beiträge* 113.8–9), but John TZETZES gives 4,600 "feet." On the other hand, both the *Treatise on Taxation* and Constantine HARMENOPOULOS define 1 *milion* as 750 geometrical or 840 simple ORGYIAI (= 1,581 and 1,574 m, respectively). As longer measures of distance, an *allage* of 6 *milia* and *hemeresios dromos* of approximately 30 *milia* were used. The classicizing *stadion* and *parasanges*, although mentioned in the *Treatise on Taxation*, were not employed in everyday life.

(For the Milion in Constantionople, see MESE.)

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 32–36. –E. Sch.

MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES on a regular basis date from the early 4th C., when Constantine I granted his Christian soldiers leave to attend Sunday liturgy. By the mid-5th C. military chaplains are found in the army (Jones, *LRE* 632f), and priests are commonly listed among the army's nonmilitary personnel in 6th- and 10th-C. STRATEGIKA; St. Loukas the Stylite (10th C.), for example, was a military chaplain who conducted services for soldiers each Sunday (Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 201.14–25). Liturgical books were brought along on imperial campaigns (*De cer.* 467.4).

Religious rituals were an integral part of the army's daily routine. According to the 10th-C. PRAECEPTA MILITARIA, matins and vespers were held daily, and the soldiers sought repentance through prayer and tears; anyone failing to participate was severely punished. Before battle the soldiers were enjoined to resolve their differences, to fast, and to confess their sins before taking communion—measures intended to reinforce morale, to dispel anxiety and the fear of death, and to secure God's favor. Other prebattle rituals included the blessing of standards and weapons. After battle, proper services for the dead were

observed and thanksgiving for victory was offered, esp. following such notable successes as the triumph of John I Tzimiskes over the Rus' in 971 (Skyl. 300.65–67).

SOURCES. Th. Detorakis, "Un office byzantin inédit pour ceux qui sont morts à la guerre," *Muséon* 101 (1988) 183–211. A. Pertusi, "Una acolouthia militare inedita del X secolo," *Aevum* 22 (1948) 145–68.

LIT. J.-R. Vieillefond, "Les pratiques religieuses dans l'armée byzantine d'après les traités militaires," *REA* 37 (1935) 322–30. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 237–52. –E.M.

MILITARY SAINTS, a group of SAINTS (including GEORGE, DEMETRIOS, NESTOR, THEODORE TERON, THEODORE STRATELATES, MERKOURIOS, PROKOPIOS) conceived and represented as armed soldiers. The evolution of the image of military saints consisted in the militarization of their roles: from civic official to warrior, from soldier to general, from foot soldier to mounted knight. The chronology of this development, however, cannot be established with precision. Some earlier martyrdoms contained the theme of the Christian's renouncing the military profession and proclaiming himself a fighter for the king of heaven; later this "antiwar" attitude disappeared. The MIRACLES worked by military saints included, besides "normal" ones, actions such as the defense of cities and providing assistance to armies. The military saints cannot, however, claim an exclusive prerogative to military deeds: the VIRGIN MARY, the apostle ANDREW, and some other saints were also active as military protectors of the Byz. The military aristocracy often chose military saints as patrons and placed their images on SEALS; the KOMNENIAN DYNASTY introduced figures of Demetrios, George, and Theodore on coins.

LIT. Delehaye, *Saints militaires*. A.F.C. Webster, "Varieties of Christian Military Saints: From Martyrs under Caesar to Warrior Princes," *SVThQ* 24 (1980) 3–35. L. Kretzenbacher, *Griechische Reiterheilige als Gefangenenretter* (Vienna 1983). –A.K.

MILL (μύλος). A mill powered by oxen, *mylikon ergasterion zoökineton* (*typikon* of PETRITZOS monastery, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 43.392–93), was the predominant device for grinding GRAIN in the Roman Empire. In a law of 364 an average bakery is described as having animals and slaves. This form of mill continued to exist in later centuries: the 10th-C. BOOK OF THE EPARCH (ch.18.1) also mentions the animals that turn the millstones, and in the 11th C., on the ground floor of the Constantinopolitan mansion of Michael ATTALEIATES, was a mill driven by a donkey. The *typikon* of the Kosmosoteira monastery at BERA (p.60.25–26) forbade strangers access to the monastery's *onomyloi*, mills powered by donkeys.

The hand mill (*cheiromylon*) was also known: a thief stole the quern that Loukas the Younger kept in his hut (E. Martini, *AB* 13 [1894] 103.30–31); such querns were carried in the wagon trains of campaigning armies (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 5.6). A most unusual example is the geared mill turned by Samson in an illustrated Octateuch (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r [II]).

Water mills (*hydromylones*) were used in late antiquity: a 5th-C. mill was excavated at the agora of Athens. The axle ran between the sockets from the wheelrace to the pit in the mill room; on the shaft, where it crossed the pit, a vertical tympanum was set, meshing with the larger horizontal tympanum whose vertical shaft moved the millstone. In Rome, mills on the Janiculum powered by water from an aqueduct are attested in the 4th–6th C.; when the Goths in 537 stopped the flow of water through the aqueduct, the Romans tried to set up floating mills on the Tiber. In Byz. texts water mills are common from the FARMER'S LAW to the documents of the Palaiologan period; evidently they became the principal type of mill. Water mills were of two types, the winter mills that worked only when streams were in full spate and the "year-round *ergasteria*" (e.g., MM 4:7.7). A water mill is included in the floor mosaic of the Great Palace at Constantinople (*Great Palace, 1st Report*, pl. 41).

Windmills (*anemomylones*) appear infrequently in documents, but they evidently existed in the 14th C.: thus, a *praktikon* of 1304 mentions a windmill located near a water mill (*Lavra* 2, no.99.39). The same *praktikon* indicates that peasants could own shares of a windmill (ibid., no.99.54, 152).

LIT. O. Wikander, "Water-Mills in Ancient Rome," *Opuscula Romana* 12 (1979) 13–36. A.W. Parsons, "A Roman Water-Mill in the Athenian Agora," *Hesperia* 5 (1936) 70–90. G. Brett, "Byzantine Water-Mill," *Antiquity* 13 (1939) 354–56. G. Demetrokalles, "Hoi anemomyloi ton Byzantinon," *Parnassos* 20 (1978) 141–44. – A.K., J.W.N., A.C.

MILUTIN. See STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN.

MILVIAN BRIDGE, span over the river Tiber in Rome, site of the battle of 28 Oct. 312 where CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT defeated MAXENTIUS. Prior to the battle, according to both Eusebios of Caesarea and Lactantius, Constantine had some sort of religious experience, attributed at least in later times to the Christian God. The emperor put signs on his troops' shields or devised standards (LABARUM) that reflected that experience. Maxentius cut off the approaches to Rome, including the Milvian Bridge, but constructed a temporary bridge of boats and came out to fight. Constantine's victory and the death of Maxentius made him sole emperor in the West and consolidated the position of Christianity (see EDICT OF MILAN); it was also an important precedent for Christian concepts of TRIUMPH. The battle is depicted on the Arch of Constantine; a relief from Caesarea in Mauritania often said to show the battle probably does not. The patristic comparison between the battle and the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA was exploited on sarcophagi and preserved in Byz. art. In the PARIS GREGORY (fol. 440r), the miniature depicting Constantine's victory places the bridge over a Tiber painted red.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 42–45. A. Alföldi, "Cornuti: A Teutonic Contingent in the Service of Constantine the Great and its Decisive Role in the Battle at the Milvian Bridge," *DOP* 13 (1959) 169–79. –T.E.G., A.C.

MIME (μῖμος), a term designating an ACTOR. Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:415.5–9) distinguishes *mimoi*, *skenikoi*, and *thymelikoi*; the *thymelikoi* were respectable people who performed EPITHALAMIA to the accompaniment of musical instruments, but *mimoi* and *skenikoi* were buffoons (*paigniotai*) who played the roles of slaves, soldiers, and women and engaged in slapstick. Mimes and jesters provided amusement at imperial banquets: at the court of Leo VI the *skenikos* Lampoudios crudely taunted Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 43.23–27); a *mimos* named Chaliboures entertained Isaac II and his guests (Nik.Chon. 441.24), etc. The satiric image of Michael III in historiography of the 10th C. represented the emperor as involved in theatrical (*skenika*) activity (Ja. Ljubarskij, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 39–50). –A.K.

MIMESIS. See IMITATION.

MINERALOGY. Contrasted with the careful classification of "stones" in Theophrastos's work of ca.300 B.C., Byz. lapidaries concentrated almost always on their magical and medical properties, a tendency foreshadowed by sections of the Hippocratic corpus as well as the record of medical stones and metals by DIOSKORIDES. When AETIOS OF AMIDA wrote his medical encyclopedia, the topic of medical stones had become subsumed within a large, popular genre of magical and mythological lapidaries, represented in the extant texts of "Orpheus," called *On Stones* (*Orpheos lithika*, ed. G.N. Giannakes [Ioannina 1982]). Under the name of Zoroaster survive fragments of lapidaries, closely related to certain passages in the magical papyri (*The Greek Magical Papyri in Translation*, ed. H.D. Betz [Chicago 1986] vol. 1) as well as to *On Stones* by PSELLOS. Also related are some of the Greek works on ALCHEMY. The astrological properties of "stones" are linked with seasonal herbs, likewise of major importance, in some tracts purported to be by HERMES TRISMEGISTOS as well as many sections in the texts of Byz. ASTROLOGY. Byz. authors sought to discover the connections of "stones" and their growth in the earth with PHARMACOLOGY and MAGIC; although precious and semiprecious gems were emphasized, the study of "things mined" (including coral, magnetite, and amber as well as the expected opal, topaz, emerald, GOLD, SILVER, and copper) entailed an ever more detailed collection of data, used to provide efficacy in astrological or alchemical medicine and pharmacy. (See also GEMS, AMULET, and MINES.)

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:277f. *Les mages hellénisés. Zoroastre, Ostanès et Hystaspe*, ed. J. Bidez, F. Cumont (Paris 1938) 2:197–206. J. Riddle, "Amber in Ancient Pharmacy," *Pharmacy in History* 15 (1973) 3–17. –J.S.

MINES (μέταλλα) operated in various areas of the Roman Empire and are often mentioned and described in the sources; some of them ceased to function, at least temporarily, in the late 3rd C. (J. Ramin, *La technique minière et métallurgique des anciens* [Brussels 1977] 13). For the late Roman period, there is information about both public and private mining operations throughout the empire. Edmondson (*infra*) has argued that at this time larger mining districts declined, the emphasis changed to smaller-scale exploitation of mines, and there was less direct government control of mining operations. Although many miners were

freemen (Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 101), widespread use was made of criminals (and prisoners of war), since legislation of the 4th and 5th C. prescribed work in the mines as punishment (*in metallum damnare*). This legislation, preserved primarily in the *Codex Theodosianus*, was repeated in the *Basilika* and by Harmenopoulos, but these later repetitions may be anachronistic. In the Balkans in late antiquity mines were under the supervision of the *comes metallorum* for Illyricum. There is very little information on Byz. mines from the 7th to 12th C., much more data (primarily from non-Byz. sources) for the 13th–15th C. Vryonis *(infra)* has argued that the silence of the Byz. sources does not mean that mines ceased to function on Byz. soil, but that Byz. historians did not consider this sort of information important.

IRON was widely available: mines are attested in Syro-Palestine, Anatolia (Trebizond, Sinope), the Crimea, the eastern Danube region (Capidava, Păcuiul lui Soare, Dinogetia), Macedonia, and Noricum. In the Roman period major centers of copper production were located in the West (M. Lombard, *Les métaux dans l'ancien monde du Ve au XIe siècle* [Paris–The Hague 1974] 13–15); the mines of Euboea were exhausted, and those of Sinai and neighboring areas ceased to be exploited after the 3rd C. Among the sources of copper after the 6th C. were Cyprus, Pontos, and the Caucasus; old BRONZE was also recycled. A decrease in bronze coinage is evident from the beginning of the 7th C. but it is hard to determine to what extent this was connected with a decline in copper mining.

The ancient sources of GOLD in Macedonia, Thrace, and Asia Minor were practically exhausted by the 6th C. even though the traditional expression "the gold-rich Pactolus" (in Lydia) was still used proverbially. Gold was brought to Byz. from Armenia: in the 6th C. Prokopios (*Wars* 1.15.18) cites the strongholds of Bolon and Pharangion in Persarmenia as places where the metal was extracted, and in the 9th C. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 179.7) speaks of golden mines *(chrysorychia)* in the Armenian mountains. Gold came also via AXUM: Kosmas Indikopleustes (2:51f) describes how Axumite merchants visited the land of Sasou (Yu. Kobiščanov, *PSb* 11 [1964] 94–112) to exchange meat, salt, and iron for gold ingots called *tanchara*. Gold was also mined on Mt. Pangaion in Thrace, and nuggets were found in the auriferous streams of the Rhodope Mountains.

SILVER was likewise mined in widespread regions of the empire. The mines in Attica (at Sounion, Laurion, and Thorikos) were in operation in the 5th–6th C. (G. Fowden, *JHS* 108 [1988] 55 and n.43). In the 6th C. PAUL SILENTIARIOS (vv. 679–80) noted that silver used in the decoration of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, came from Sounion and Mt. Pangaion. Other silver mines were located in Armenia and Cyprus; esp. in the late Byz. period silver was obtained from the Caucasus and Serbia (e.g., at Novo Brdo).

Numerous toponyms of small settlements deriving from the terms for iron and copper—for example, Sidera (*Xénoph.*, no.19.35), Sidereas (*Lavra* 2, no.111.11), Sideropetra (*Lavra* 2, no.90.210), Siderokastron (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no. 28.44), Siderokauseia (*Esphig.*, no.15.19, etc.), Siderionin (*Vazelon*, no.12.3), Chalkobounon *(Xénoph.*, no.4.17), Chalkopagas (*Lavra* 3, no. 122.12)—probably reflect the expansion of medieval mining; it is noteworthy that toponyms connected with gold and silver (save for large towns like Chrysopolis) are extremely rare—for example, the rivulet Argyroba (*Lavra* 2, no.108.899).

LIT. S. Vryonis, "The Question of the Byzantine Mines," *Speculum* 37 (1962) 1–17; rev. A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 25 (1964) 259–61. J.C. Edmondson, "Mining in the Later Roman Empire and Beyond," *JRS* 79 (1989) 84–102. V. Velkov, "Rudodobivane i minno delo v drevna Trakija," *Godišnik na Nacionalnija politechničeski muzej* (1973) no.2, 23–40. D. Samsaris, "Les mines et la métallurgie de fer et de cuivre dans la province romaine de Macédoine," *Klio* 69 (1987) 152–62. O.Ju. Belous, "Ob upravlenii gornymi predprijatijami v pozdnej Rimskoj i rannej Vizantijskoj imperijach (IV–VI vv.)," ADSV 24 (1988) 143–51.

–A.K., A.M.T.

MINORITES. See FRANCISCANS.

MINTS. Byz. COINS were at some periods minted only at Constantinople, but more often there were one or more provincial mints as well. Only in the early period (4th–8th C.) were the mints commonly indicated on the coins. Where explicit mintmarks are absent, identification is highly conjectural.

The pattern of minting in the later Roman Empire was set by Diocletian, who brought all mints under the direct control of the state. The great size of the empire made the centralized

manufacture of coins impossible, so provincial mints were created, patterned closely upon the civil dioceses. Minting was controlled through the praetorian prefectures, but the directors of the mints (*procuratores monetarum*) came under the jurisdiction of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. Closely geared to the needs of the state and army, minting was to some degree sporadic, gold and silver coins in great quantity being required at intervals for accession donatives and quinquennial distributions.

A mint-mark forming part of the design on a coin identified the mint by abbreviating its name (e.g., RM for *Roma*), often adding SM (for *Sacra Moneta*) or the standard abbreviation for the technical term for refined gold (OB, *obryzum*) or silver (PS, *pusulatum*). Also, as most mints were divided into OFFICINAE, this was indicated as well, normally as a Greek numeral (from A to I = 1–10). In the third quarter of the 4th C. the minting of gold was centralized in the palatine officium of the *comes sacrarum largitionum,* so that coins of this metal were struck only when and where the emperor was in residence. After the accession of Arkadios, the eastern emperor rarely left Constantinople; in consequence the formulae CON and CONOB (COMOB in the West) became the distinctive mark of gold coins, used even when the gold was minted elsewhere. This was notably the case after Justinian I's reconquest of the West, for this resulted in the opening or reopening of imperial gold mints at Carthage, Ravenna, and Rome. The little silver that was then being struck came from the same mints. At the same time there were many provincial mints for copper, with mints and *officinae* normally identified on the coins as they had been in the 4th C.

The reign of Herakleios saw a change, for in 628–29 all provincial mints other than Alexandria were closed. Whether such a situation could have lasted, given the difficulty of transporting heavy copper coins over large distances, is impossible to say, for Syria and Egypt were lost to the Arabs within a few years. But dies were occasionally sent out from Constantinople to enable minting to be carried out at Thessalonike, and in the West a plethora of mints existed down to the time of the loss of these provinces.

In later centuries the bulk of coins was struck at Constantinople. Nicholas MESARITES vividly describes the dirt and noise in which the mint employees worked in his account of their role in the revolt of John KOMNENOS in 1200 (Mesarites [ed. Heisenberg] 25.32–26.9). Provincial mints were opened from time to time, as administrative or military needs dictated, but since mint-marks were no longer employed—even CON did not last beyond the reign of Leo III—their products can be separated from those of the capital only by iconographic or stylistic differences, and the locations of the mints themselves can be determined only by the evidence of find spots or, in the case of coins struck by usurpers, by our knowledge from other sources of where these usurpers were in power (e.g., Isaac Komnenos in Cyprus). The main provincial mint was normally Thessalonike, to which Hendy would assign all copper FOLLES with rulers' names struck between 1059 and 1092 (leaving the Anonymous Folles to Constantinople). This mint was supplemented in the 12th C. by one in central Greece, perhaps at Thebes. Later coins can sometimes be attributed to Thessalonike by their peculiarities in style or fabric, confirmed occasionally by a preference for representations of St. Demetrios or of an emperor, or an emperor and another saint, holding a building inscribed with the name of the city. Trebizond was a mint under the GABRADES and again from the 13th C. onward under the emperors of Trebizond; Nicaea and Magnesia were imperial mints at various times in the 13th C. The mark ΦΛΔΦ identifies a group of 14th-C. trachea struck at Philadelphia—Pegolotti refers to *perperi di Filadelfe* (S. Bendall, *Schweizer Münzblätter* 34 [1984] 3–8).

LIT. Hendy, *Economy* 371–447. –Ph.G.

MINUSCULE, the script used from ca.800 to copy MSS. It evolved in the 7th or 8th C. from the CURSIVE script. The oldest dated minuscule MS is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK from 835. In book production the minuscule had such advantages over the UNCIAL as greater compactness and greater speed of writing, combination of letters by LIGATURE, and (later) frequent ABBREVIATIONS. The use of accents and breathings (at first intermittent, later regular) led to greater legibility and more reliable texts. In the 9th–10th C. it served for the TRANSLITERATION (*metacharakterismos*) of Greek uncial MSS, including antique works: examples of *metacharakterismos* are the codices com-

missioned by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, e.g., the Euclid MS of 888 (Oxford, Bodl. D'Orville 301), or the Plato of 895 (once on Patmos, now Oxford, Bodl. Clarke 39). The hypothesis that minuscule script originated in the STOUDIOS MONASTERY in Constantinople has been met with skepticism by N. Wilson (*Scholars* 66). The new Sinai finds (1975) suggest that an early form of minuscule was in wide use in the Palestine region between 800 and 850.

Minuscule is written without regard for the regular separation of words; it is contained within four parallel lines, with upstrokes and downstrokes. Among the typical features of early minuscule are (1) the angular breathings (in the form of a truncated eta; (2) the iota adscriptum (i.e., written on the line next to the preceding letter), a feature that continues into the 11th C.; and (3) writing the letters on the ruling line (later, the letters are written under the line). As early as the late 9th C. letters from the majuscule alphabet, for example, gamma and kappa, were reintroduced into the minuscule, at first at the end of lines. H. Hunger has proposed the term "pearl script" to characterize the style of minuscule that flourished esp. in the 10th and 11th C. (H. Hunger in *PGEB* 202). In the 12th C. the enlargement of the circumflex and certain letters changed the appearance of the written page. In the second half of the 13th C. was introduced a cursive form of minuscule (called beta-gamma style by N. Wilson and *Fettaugenmode* ["blob of fat style"] by H. Hunger), alongside the traditional or archaizing minuscule, which imitated 11th-C. models. The bookscript of the 14th C. is characterized by a more calligraphic style, called "Metochites style" by Hunger after the style of deluxe MSS containing works by this author (e.g., Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 95), and by the development of the HODEGON style. The earliest Greek printed books (and to a great extent modern ones as well) adopted the 15th-C. minuscule letters for their type.

LIT. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, 10 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1934–39). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 30–35. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 94–107. *PGEB* 139–65, 175–80, 191–99, 221–39, 283–90, 303–21. E. Granstrem, "K voprosu o vizantijskom minuskule," *VizVrem* 13 (1958) 222–45. C.M. Mazzucchi, "Minuscole corsive e librarie," *Aegyptus* 57 (1977) 166–89.

–E.G., I.Š.

MIRABILIA. See PARADOXOGRAPHY.

MIRACLES (sing. θαῦμα), extraordinary events, either beyond the range of corporeal nature or extremely unlikely. Perceptible to the senses, miracles were believed to have been produced by God or—with divine support—by a SAINT as a sign of the supernatural. A miracle is to be strictly distinguished from extraordinary phenomena produced by DEMONS or MAGIC. The miracles caused directly by God were viewed primarily as punishing humans for their sins (fire and brimstone poured on Sodom and Gomorrah, the Egyptian plagues, drowning the Pharaoh in the Red Sea) or predicting danger, whereas the Virgin Mary and the thaumaturgic saints were thought to work a broader range of miracles: HEALING (including EXORCISM); rescues from shipwreck, captivity, or enemy attack; creating abundance instead of shortage (of bread, wine, and oil); assistance in travels (esp. in crossing rivers); entering or escaping from locked buildings; sending messages and documents with extraordinary speed; prophecy; revealing men's concealed thoughts and actions (esp. theft); incorruptibility of the corpse.

The saints work miracles thanks to the grace they have received from God who distributes among them aspects of his power, sometimes allotting a saint a geographical region and a particular field of action; they usually act in response to human petition and prayer. "This world of saints," says G. Dagron (*Vie et Miracles de sainte Thècle* [Brussels 1978] 95), "is closely modeled on the empire ⟨served by⟩ functionaries." Saints differ from pagan gods and miracle workers in that they do not need material objects to achieve their goals—they act primarily by purely spiritual force and psychic contact, by word (prayer), gaze, and gesture.

Collections of miracles are usually divided into those worked during the saint's life and posthumous ones; the latter are either described at the end of the VITA or form special treatises (*miracula*), such as those of Sts. GEORGE, DEMETRIOS, and NICHOLAS.

The Byz. sometimes evinced a critical attitude toward miracles—not in principle, but in specific cases. Some extraordinary phenomena, such as EARTHQUAKES, found a natural explanation, and hagiographers often complained of their audience's scepticism about miracles; contemporaries, for instance, questioned both the authenticity and divine character of the miracles of KYROS AND JOHN.

Representation in Art. When a miracle performed by a saint parallels a Gospel event, the biblical iconography was adopted with a minimum of alteration (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION). Depictions of exorcisms or healings performed by holy men, for example, generally show the saint standing before the afflicted person and raising one hand in a sign of blessing; the visual association with the figure of Christ is far from coincidental. Miracles that are not paralleled in the Bible were less apt to be chosen for illustration; where they do exist, the complex events were often reduced to what could be rendered by means of simple formulas. Miraculous or posthumous appearances are not signaled in any particular way: the saint just turns up in person to take part in the scene. Woven into the fabric of regular vita cycles, miracle scenes are rarely illustrated independently. One exception, however, is a templon beam at the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai, which illustrates a sequence of posthumous miracles of St. Eustratios.

LIT. H.C. Kee, *Miracle in the Early Christian World* (New Haven–London 1983). H. Delehaye, "Les recueils antiques de miracles des saints," *AB* 43 (1925) 5–73. J. Moorhead, "Thoughts on Some Early Medieval Miracles," *ByzAus* 1 (1981) 1–11. B. Flusin, *Miracle et histoire dans l'oeuvre de Cyrille de Scythopolis* (Paris 1983) 155–214. –A.K., N.P.Š.

MIRACLES OF CHRIST. Of all the episodes of Christ's ministry, his miracles are the most frequently depicted. The earliest Christian art of the CATACOMBS draws almost exclusively on his INFANCY and miracles. Especially widespread are the Marriage at CANA and the FEEDING OF THE MULTITUDE, often paired as prefigurations of the Eucharist; the water miracles (Jn 4:5–30; 5:2–9; 9:1–7, see healing of the BLIND MAN), associated with Baptism; and the healing miracles, associated with conversion. By the 6th C., the miracles had been assembled into cycles (Sant' Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA). The 10th-C. GÖREME churches of Tokalı Kilise and St. Theodore, Sousam Bayrı (Restle, *Wall Painting* 2, figs. 71, 88–91, 105; 3, figs. 374–84) retain such sequences, but few miracles are represented in the following century and a half other than those that became major liturgical feasts, such as the miracle of the Raising of Lazarus (Jn 11:1–46; see LAZARUS SATURDAY), or those included in the FRIEZE GOSPELS. Miracle scenes reappear in the later 12th C. and become prominent again in the discursive imagery of the Palaiologan period: CHORA; Athos, Iveron 5 (*Treasures* II, figs. 11–39); monastery of St. NIKITA at Čučer; STARO NAGORIČINO.

LIT. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst," *JbAChr* 1–9 (1958–66). Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:250–72, 280–302. –A.W.C.

MIRCEA THE ELDER, or Mircea the Great (called Myrxas [Μύρξας] or Miltzes in Byz. sources), prince of WALLACHIA (from 1386); died 31 Jan. 1418. In Byz. terminology he was referred to as *voivod* of Blachia, *archegos* of the Mysoi or "Moesians" (Doukas), or *tyrannos* of Dacia (Chalkokondyles). Mircea joined the anti-Turkish alliance but was defeated at KOSOVO POLJE. When BAYEZID I invaded Wallachia, Mircea organized a partisan war against him (Chalk. 1:73f) and on 17 May 1395 routed the Turks and their Slavic vassals at ROVINE. Despite the victory, Mircea had to acknowledge the suzerainty of the sultan. The next year Mircea, in alliance with Sigismund of Hungary, marched against the Turks, but the allies lost the battle at NIKOPOLIS on the Danube. Mircea had to give up DOBRUDJA, which he had recently annexed. The Turkish defeat at the battle of ANKARA in 1402 reversed the situation: Mircea formed a coalition with Sigismund and STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ against the Turks, in 1404 supported the revolt of Constantine and Fružin in Bulgaria (P. Petrov, *IzvInst-Bŭlgist* 9 [1960] 187–214), and again occupied Dobrudja. The Ottoman prince MUSA sought Mircea's support against his brother SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI and until Musa's death in 1413 Wallachia enjoyed relative security. It was surrendered to the Turks either in the last years of Mircea or, according to R.-Ş. Ciobanu (*RevIst* 39 [1986] 764–73), after 1419/20.

LIT. R.W. Seton-Watson, *A History of the Roumanians*[2] (n.p. 1963) 31–34. N. Iorga, *Histoire des Roumains*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1937) 317–411. V. Montogna, *Politica externă a lui Mircea cel Bătrîn* (Gherla 1924). N. Pienaru, "Relaţiile lui Mircea cel Mare (1386–1418) cu Mehmed I Çelebi (1413–1421)," *RevIst* 39 (1986) 774–94. –A.K.

MIRROR OF PRINCES, conventional term borrowed from Western medieval literature to describe a text offering advice to a ruler. Although drawing on common principles of statecraft, Mirrors are distinct from BASILIKOI LOGOI, because they offer elements of criticism rather than pure adulation. Hunger (*infra*) considers the speech of SYNESIOS titled *On Kingship* as the earliest Byz.

Mirror. The Mirrors fall roughly into two groups: the short and gnomic, their chapters sometimes linked by an acrostic; and the more discursive. AGAPETOS established, based on MENANDER RHETOR, the traditional paradigm of the emperor, which was developed later in the treatise attributed to Basil I (addressing his son Leo): the ruler should combine sound moral principles with Christian virtues and a godlike philanthropy. In the 11th C. two new virtues were added to the imperial ideal, those of noble origin and of personal military prowess: while KEKAUMENOS still clung to the image of a "civilian" *basileus*, for THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid martial character was indispensable (A. Kazhdan in *Byz. Aristocracy* 43–57). Byz. authors (cf. SPANEAS, BLEMMYDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS) used pseudo-Isocrates' *Demonikos* and other classical examples to develop the imperial paradigm. Elements of the Mirror penetrate various strains of Byz. literature, from BARLAAM AND IOASAPH to historical works (e.g., VITA BASILII, Michael ATTALEIATES) to *Stephanites and Ichnelates* by Symeon SETH.

ED. For editions, see individual authors. Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:157–65. K. Emminger, *Studien zu den griechischen Fürstenspiegeln*, 3 vols. (Munich 1906–13). I. Čičurov, "Gesetz und Gerechtigkeit in den byzantinischen Fürstenspiegeln des 6.–9. Jahrhunderts," in *Cupido legum* 33–45. Ibid., "Tradicija i novatorstvo v političeskoj mysli Vizantii konca IX v.," *VizVrem* 47 (1986) 95–100. R. Romano, "Retorica e cultura a Bisanzio: due Fürstenspiegel a confronto," *Vichiana* 14 (1985) 299–316. –E.M.J., A.K.

MISKAWAYH, Abū ʿAlī Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad, Arab historian; born ca.942, died 16 Feb. 1030. Of obscure background, a secretary under the vizierate of the ʿAbbāsids, he later served the Būyids in Rayy, where he held several positions, including curatorship of a private library. An enormously learned man, he was esp. interested in philosophy, medicine, and alchemy. He wrote on medicine, philosophy, and religion and was a respected littérateur and poet. He disdained the contemporary Greeks but admired the classical thinkers and firmly advocated religious toleration.

His best-known work is *The Experiences of the Nations*, a history from Creation to 980. Its first volumes are based on Miskawayh's predecessors. As he sometimes preserves material from works now lost, his accounts of the Persian wars under Maurice and Herakleios and of the Arab conquests in Syria are of interest. From 951 on he provides original material informed by keen critical observation and access to extensive library resources and official circles. He repeatedly relates Byz. successes in the frontier wars of the 10th C., and also describes diplomatic negotiations and contacts, in particular the magnificent reception for Byz. AMBASSADORS in Baghdad in 917.

ED. *Tadjáribo 'l-Omami, auctore Ibn Maskowaih*, ed. M.J. de Goeje (Leiden 1869–71; rp. Baghdad 1964) vol. 2. *The Tajārib al-umam or History of Ibn Miskawayh*, ed. L. Caetani (Leiden-London 1909–17) vols. 1, 5, 6. *The Concluding Portion of the Experiences of the Nations*, ed. and tr. H.F. Amedroz, D.S. Margoliouth, in their *The Eclipse of the ʿAbbāsid Caliphate*, vols. 1–2 (Oxford 1920–21).

LIT. M.S. Khan, "The Eye-Witness Reporters of Miskawaih's Contemporary History," *Islamic Culture* 38 (1964) 295–313. Idem, "The Personal Evidence in Miskawaih's Contemporary History," *Islamic Quarterly* 11 (1967) 50–63. Idem, "Miskawaih and Arabic Historiography," *JAOS* 89 (1969) 710–30. –L.I.C.

MISMĪYAH. See PHAINA.

MISSIONS. Christianity was a missionary religion from the time of the apostles, esp. St. Paul. Missionary activity received added importance in the 4th C. when the concept developed that the late Roman Empire and christianized territory were co-terminous (see OIKOUMENE); hence, the conversion of non-Christians was a boon to the empire. Thus, the state was frequently involved in missions and often used missionaries as agents of imperial policy. Byz. missions can be divided into three categories: those in which military intervention was used to support the spread of Christianity, those that were part of a diplomatic effort, and those conducted by individuals, who were sometimes officially supported, sometimes on their own.

In the 4th–5th C. Orthodox bishops such as PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA spread Christianity among pagans, but missions to people outside the empire were undertaken largely by Arians, Nestorians, and Monophysites, whose activities within Byz. were limited; ULFILAS was the primary missionary to the Goths while Nestorian missionaries traveled as far as China. The great age of Orthodox missionary activity began in the 9th C., inspired in part by the Rus' attack on Constantinople in 860, and leading directly to the mission dispatched by

Photios to BORIS I of Bulgaria and that of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to the Moravians. Missionary centers were established at OHRID, PRESLAV, and other cities, where Slavic priests were trained in Byz. Christianity. Missionaries were also sent to the Alans and other peoples of the northern Caucasus and to Hungary. The greatest success of Byz. missionaries was the conversion of VLADIMIR I of Kiev in 988. Missionaries such as St. NIKON HO "METANOEITE" worked within the frontiers of the empire for the conversion of pagan peoples settled there.

Characteristically, Byz. missionary activity worked "from the top down" by focusing first on the rulers and leaders of society who then arranged the conversion of their people en masse, although missionaries also worked consistently among the people after the "official" conversion. The traditional view that Byz. missionaries normally operated on the premise that people should be addressed in their own language, and hence the Scripture, liturgy, and writings of the Fathers were translated into local languages, has recently been questioned (I. Ševčenko, *infra* 19 and n.38). Forced hellenization was sometimes attempted, esp. when Byz. achieved direct political control over the missionary area. Byz. practice, however, led in most places to the emergence of native "national" Christianity, strongly influenced by Byz. models but culturally and administratively separate.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Religious Missions Seen from Byzantium," *HUkSt* 12–13 (1988–89) 7–27. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.IV (1967), 649–74. C. Hannick, "Die byzantinischen Missionen," in *Kirchengeschichte als Missionsgeschichte, II, 1. Die Kirche des frühen Mittelalters* (Munich 1978) 279–359. F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Missions among the Slavs. SS. Constantine-Cyril and Methodius* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). Obolensky, *Byz. Commonwealth* 83–97, 103f, 136–53, 173–201. –T.E.G., I.Š.

MISSION TO THE APOSTLES refers to two distinct Gospel episodes: Christ's mission to the newly assembled 12 APOSTLES (Mt 10:1–42, Mk 6:7–11, Lk 9:1–5) and his farewell to the 11, recounted in Luke 24:50 as a parting blessing and elsewhere (Mt 28:18–20, Mk 16:15–18) as a final mission. Two compositions existed, one showing a frontal Christ flanked by two groups of six disciples, the other showing him to one side. Each composition could be applied to either episode, although, where both compositions appear in the same MS, the accompanying text reveals that the symmetrical one is meant to represent the farewell. This is confirmed in the wall paintings in Cappadocia (Tokalı Kilise, GÖREME—Restle, *Wall Painting* 2, pl.108), where the ASCENSION is conflated with the symmetrical image of the Mission. PAUL often appears as one of the disciples, and the farewell scene always depicts 12, not the canonical 11, to show that the scene signifies Christ's mission to his Church. Miniatures of the Mission preface certain 11th- through 12th-C. Gospel books, illustrating the call to evangelize that the Gospels fulfill. Unknown before the 9th C., the image becomes rare again in Palaiologan art.

LIT. A.W. Carr, "Gospel Frontispieces from the Comnenian Period," *Gesta* 21 (1982) 10–11. Colwell-Willoughby, *Karahissar* 2:363. –A.W.C.

MISSORIUM. See PLATE, DOMESTIC SILVER AND GOLD.

MISTHIOS (μίσθιος), also *misthotos* (from *misthos*, wage), terms that in papyri denoted hired workers (Fikhman, *Egipet* 109). *Misthotos* appears once in the FARMER'S LAW (par.34) as a designation of a hired shepherd, and hagiographers, drawing upon John 10:12, often speak of a *misthotos* who, unlike a good shepherd, abandons the sheep and runs away. The *Book of the Eparch* describes *misthioi/misthotoi* as journeymen in the guilds of *metaxopratai* and *serikarioi*: they signed contracts with their masters for not longer than a month. In the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.41) as well as in the vita of Basil the Younger, a *misthios* is a peasant who resides and works in a PROASTEION in which the owner does not live. St. Christodoulos of Patmos, in the *typikon* of 1091, is probably referring to this category of people when he speaks of laymen who work five days a week for his monastery and return home for the weekend. *Ecloga* 8:2 applies the term *misthios* to the poor freeman who worked to repay debt or ransom. Late Roman texts contrasted *misthios/misthotos* with *misthotes*, tenant or contractor, but Byz. jurists confused these terms: the *Basilika* used the word *misthotos* for both contractor and free *colonus* (E. Popescu in *Beiträge zur byzantinischen Geschichte im 9.–11. Jahrhundert* [Prague 1978] 109f).

The terms are infrequent in later documents and appear usually in conjunction with *douleutes*

(e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.62.7, a.1221–36) or *proskathemenos* (no.68.54, a.1263), implying their transformation into dependent peasants. The derivatives *mistharnoi* and *mistharnountes* are also accompanied by the definition "*proskathemenoi*" (e.g., *Xénoph.*, no.4.5, a.1300). The author of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE describes a hired gardener as *misthotos* (v.1985), *misthargos* (v.1672, etc.), and *misthargoutzikos* (v.2352).

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Raby i mistii v Vizantii IX–XI vv.," *Učenye zapiski Tul'skogo pedinstituta* 2 (1951) 78–84. E. Lipšic, *Byzanz und die Slaven* (Weimar 1951) 78–82. V.A. Smetanin, "Naemnye rabotniki pozdnevizantijskoj derevni," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 55–60. –M.B., A.K.

MISTHOSIS (μίσθωσις), a form of lease. Byz. legal sources designate as *misthosis* a series of legal transactions involving the transference of something or the performance of a job for pay (*misthos*). The term corresponds to the Roman/Justinianic *locatio-conductio* and to the Hellenistic *misthosis*. The tenure of a vineyard, the rent of a house, and the completion of a piece of work are all accordingly designated as *misthosis*. Since the labor of an individual can also be given over to another person in exchange for payment, the service and work CONTRACT was also classified as *misthosis*. The term (cf. *Digest* 19.2) is maintained in the *Basilika* (20.1) and even into the 14th C. (cf. Harm. 3.8) in collections of legal norms.

In practice, however, this uniformity quickly dissolved; the notion of ownership was not distinctly outlined, so that by the post-Justinianic period the distinction between *misthosis* and a LOAN was difficult to establish and *misthos* and *tokos* (see INTEREST) became interchangeable. Not only LAND LEASE in general but also its specific form, EMPHYTEUSIS, could, as the *Peira* 15.17 shows, be characterized as *misthosis*. Even CHARISTIKION could be treated in this way (*Peira* 15.9), although there the absence of payment meant the transaction was closer to a loan. The collapse of the old concept was finally caused, on the one hand, by the great number of new transactions of transmission—which fluctuated between privilege, donation, transferral of rent-collection rights, among other things—and, on the other, by the reduction of free contracts for paid labor on account of the numerous institutional dependent and bondage relationships.

In place of *misthosis* new terms appeared such as PAKTON, *aktos paktotikon* (Sathas, *MB* 6:622.23), or *paktotike symphonia* (624.2–3), or nonspecific older words such as *ekdosis* or *homologia*. Only *misthos* held its ground as a term for "rent" (*Dionys.* no.14.5), for "payment for a job" (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 105.5f), for "salary" (*Prot.* no.7.115), etc. In the 13th–15th C. the Byz. probably still distinguished between credit, tenure relationships, and service contracts as phenomena in their everyday life. However, it cannot be said at the present time whether in the consciousness of the jurists a uniform "act of transmission" had taken the place of the differentiated contract-typology or whether simply a collapse of the tradition of legal culture had occurred. –D.S.

MISTRA (Μιστρᾶς or Μυστρᾶς), fortress and city in the Peloponnesos, on a hill west of Sparta, at the foot of Mt. Taygetos; it was capital of the despotate of MOREA. Mistra first appears in the sources in the 13th C. WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN built a castle there shortly after his capture of MONEMVASIA; its purpose was to secure the plain of Lakonia from the Slavs of Taygetos. In 1262, after the battle of PELAGONIA, Mistra was surrendered by the Franks to Byz. From 1262 to 1348 Mistra was ruled by a *strategos*, called KEPHALE, who initially changed every year (until 1308) and who ruled all the Byz. Peloponnesos. During this period, and esp. after the Frankish victory at the battle of Makryplagi (1264?), there was considerable insecurity in the region and the inhabitants of LAKEDAIMON moved for greater safety to a city built under the fortress at Mistra. From 1348 to 1460 Mistra was seat of the *despotes* of the Morea. The city witnessed a remarkable cultural renaissance, including the teaching of PLETHON (at Mistra ca.1407–52), and attracted artists and architects of the highest quality. The city surrendered to Mehmed II on 31 May 1460.

The castle at Mistra is perched at the top of a hill that has precipitous slopes except on the east. The circuit wall has only one tower, above the ascent, and a single entrance. The keep occupies the height of the hill. The castle seems entirely Frankish in construction, but the walls of a chapel in the keep do not bond with the surrounding masonry; this may be evidence of earlier Byz. construction on the site (N.B. Drandakes, 10 *CEB* 1 [Athens 1954] 154–66). The city is surrounded



MISTRA. Ruins of the city, viewed from the west.

by a fortification wall and divided into two sections, an upper and a lower, each pierced by several gates.

The palace of the *despotai* was located on one of the few flat spaces at Mistra, in the upper city at the highest point where running water was available. It is composed of an L-shaped complex of buildings constructed in several stages from the 13th to 15th C., all arranged around a monumental open space (S. Sinos, *Architettura* 17 [1987] 105–28).

The oldest part, perhaps inaugurated already by the Franks, was a rectangular block with a single barrel-vaulted room on the ground floor and painted windows above. To this was attached a two-story residential section built in the second half of the 14th C., with six contiguous rooms on the second floor and an arched portico along the rear, the roof of which formed a balcony overlooking the wide valley. In the early 15th C. a new wing was built at right angles to the previous structures; it had a large audience hall on the upper floor and a two-story external portico along the wall facing the square.

The houses at Mistra are among the best-preserved examples from Byz. (A. Orlandos in *Art et société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* [Venice 1971] 75–82). The great houses resemble the palace, with large halls on the upper floor and storerooms at street level; many of them have balconies looking out over the plain.

Churches of Mistra. Seven of the town's churches, dating from the late 13th to the early 15th C., have been preserved. Their plans are varied and show an awareness of contemporary trends in Constantinople, though one particular plan survives nowhere else and may be a local invention. Their masonry, for the most part a sober cloisonné (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS), exhibits in some cases lively patterns of a Constantinopolitan type. Much of the interior stone carving consists of *spolia*, mostly medieval, robbed probably from buildings in the city of Sparta. Frankish elements appear frequently in such architectural details as pointed windows but do not affect the actual church plans; similarly, Western elements invade individual frescoes but never the overall program of decoration. The latter follows the general course of late Byz. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, with a growing emphasis on liturgical themes and extended secondary cycles, esp. those of Christ and the Virgin, at the expense of hagiographical cycles and the isolated portrait.

The earliest of the surviving churches is that of St. Demetrios, the metropolitan church built in the second half of the 13th C. as a wooden-roofed

basilica. A marble inscription suggests the involvement (in 1291/2?) of the metropolitan Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS, but the church and some frescoes at its eastern end may actually precede him (M. Chatzidakis, *DChAE*[4] 9 [1977–79] 143–79). The church was renovated (in the 15th C.?) to adapt its elevation to the model of a nearby church, the Afendiko. Its original fresco program, though severed in its upper reaches by the renovation and not absolutely uniform in date, shows a standard feast cycle in the central part and more discursive cycles (miracles of Christ, life of St. Demetrios, miracles of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos) in the aisles and *pastophoria*.

Roughly contemporary are the two churches of the Brontocheion monastery founded by the *protosynkellos* Pachomios, who became the monastery's *hegoumenos*. One, dedicated to the Sts. Theodore, was begun between 1290 and 1295; it is the latest in date of the surviving octagon churches represented by DAPHNI and HOSIOS LOUKAS and was inspired perhaps by the Church of Hagia Sophia at MONEMVASIA. Considerably more space is allotted to fresco decoration than is usually the case in the churches of this type: there is a feast cycle, a Passion cycle, and a Virgin cycle. A second church, known as the Aphendiko, was built in the monastery shortly afterward (by 1311); it is dedicated to the Virgin Hodegetria. This building was to exert a great influence on later church design at Mistra. Its plan is that of a cross-in-square superimposed on a basilica with galleries: one large dome covers the center bay of the nave, with four smaller domes over the four corners of the galleries and another over the narthex. The plan has affiliations with earlier plans such as those of BIZYE or DERE AĞZI, but whether it represents a conscious revival of earlier forms, is a late survivor of a lost genre, or even an innovation peculiar to Mistra, is hard to determine (H. Hallensleben, *Marburger Jahrbuch für Kunstwissenschaft* 18 [1969] 105–18).

The church was surrounded on three sides by porticoes; this and certain other architectural and masonry details (such as the marble dado inside) reveal a debt to contemporary works in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The fresco decoration shows a fine sensitivity to the various elements of the church plan and makes a clear division between the primary program (in the cross-in-square parts) and the secondary cycles (miracles and Passion of Christ, liturgical themes), which are relegated to the aisles, narthex, and galleries. A fresco of the Baptism is esp. rich in vignettes of daily life (D. Mouriki in *Okeanos* 459–61). In a room at one end of the narthex are painted texts of CHRYSOBULLS in favor of the monastery.

The Church of the Virgin Peribleptos was built into the face of the cliff, at the opposite end of town from the Brontocheion. Though there are portraits of the founders inside the church, the figures are not named, and there are no other documents or inscriptions by which to date it or explain its location. It is generally attributed to the third quarter of the 14th C. Its architecture, which had to be adjusted to the uneven terrain, is essentially a traditional cross-in-square, with the dome resting on two, instead of four, columns; the fresco program is characterized by a preponderance of eucharistic themes spreading from the main apse into the *pastophoria*, by an unusually extensive cycle of the childhood of the Virgin, and by multifigured feast compositions in dramatic landscapes.

Two other two-column cross-in-square churches are also 14th C. in date. Hagia Sophia, which inscriptions reveal was founded by the *despotes* MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS, probably as a palace church, later became the *katholikon* of a monastery, possibly the patriarchal monastery of Christ Zoodotes known from a document of 1365. The Evangelistria Church (late 14th–early 15th C.) differs from others of this type in having a galleried narthex, and, unlike most other churches in Mistra, it preserves a good deal of contemporary sculptural decoration.

A large number of these churches have separate chapels attached to the main body of the church. The generally funerary character of these chapels is evinced by the tombs they house and the fresco portraits of noble families adorning them.

The latest of all the churches is the Virgin Pantanassa. The church (or at least its altar) was consecrated in 1428; various inscriptions in the church name the *protostrator* and *mesazon* John PHRANGOPOULOS as its founder. The architecture imitates that of the Aphendiko, but the corner domes barely project above the roof. Festoons decorate the apses, pointed arches frame some windows; and further signs of Frankish influence can be seen in the prominent bell tower. The fresco decoration, based on that of the Periblep-

tos, survives in its original state only in the upper stories; it involves familiar feast compositions richly enhanced by genre details, some deriving from antique formulas and others, especially townscapes, showing considerable Western influence.

LIT. S. Runciman, *Mistra* (London 1980). G. Millet, *Monuments byzantins de Mistra* (Paris 1910). Bon, *Morée franque* 639–42. I.P. Medvedev, *Mistra* (Leningrad 1973). M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras* (Athens 1985). S. Dufrenne, *Les programmes iconographiques des églises byzantines de Mistra* (Paris 1970). –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

MITATON (*μιτᾶτον*, also *μητᾶτον*, from Lat. *metor*, "to measure off," "pitch camp"), a term with several meanings in Byz. Greek.

Kind of Inn. In the minutes of the councils of 536 and 681, *mitaton* designated "lodgings." In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.5), where the term is also rendered *oikos ton mitaton*, the word *mitaton* acquired a specific meaning—the inn in Constantinople for Syrian merchants where they stored their goods after having paid a rental fee, ENOIKION. At the *mitaton* the textile merchants (PRANDIOPRATAI) divided up the wares that they had purchased collectively from the Syrians. LINEN merchants, on the other hand, were forbidden to buy cloth "from the *mitata*." Sjuzjumov suggests that *mitata* were transformed into trading stations of foreign merchants.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 155f. R. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 34. –A.K.

Fiscal Term. *Mitaton* was also a kind of EPEREIA, the character of which remains under discussion. The word appears with this sense in a Justinianic novel (130.9), and later in documents, most commonly chrysobulls, from ca.974 to 1384/5, in which privileged landowners are exempted from this burden. The earlier texts speak of the KAINOTOMIA of *mitaton* (*Lavra* 1, no.6.23, *Ivir.*, no.2.33), then the more neutral term "imposition" (*epithesis* or *katathesis*) emerges. In all periods, evidence for its active imposition is rare. The term usually seems to mean the obligation on private individuals to quarter military and state officials (e.g., in the *diataxis* of Attaleiates, ed. P. Gautier, *REB* 39 [1981] 105.1425–26). However, passages in Andronikos II's 1319 chrysobull for Ioannina (MM 5:82.22–5) and his 1307 chrysobull for the sees of Berat and Kanina (P. Alexander, *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 181.79–81) led Maksimović (*ByzProvAdmin* 157–60) to conclude that, at least in the 14th C., *mitata* were forced sales of grain, at a price below that which was customary, for the needs of KEPHALAI and perhaps for armies in transit.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "State Demands for the Billeting of Soldiers in Late Byzantium," *ZRVI* 26 (1987) 115–20. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 60f. G.T. Kolias, "Peri metatou," *Athena* 51 (1941–46) 129–42. –M.B.

Kind of Ranch. In Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 458.19), the term *mitaton* refers to state-supervised ranches located in "Asia and Phrygia" that supplied mules and horses for the imperial army. The officials in charge were called the *dioiketai* of the *metata* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.593), *protonotarios* of the *metaton* of Asia (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3077A), or *protonotarios* and *episkeptites* of Phrygia (no.3115).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 111. –M.B.

MITHRAISM, the cult of the Iranian sun-god Mithra. The first traces of Mithraism in the Hellenistic world (Egypt, Kommagene) date to the 3rd–2nd C. B.C.; it spread widely across the Roman Empire, esp. in the frontier provinces (North Africa, Pannonia, Dacia, Syria, etc.). The cult of Mithra, popular among soldiers, was supported by Aurelian and Diocletian, but then declined despite an attempt to revitalize it under Julian. After ca.400 it disappeared, even though the erudite Michael Psellos evoked the name when accusing monks of Chios of having introduced alien rites and mysteries.

The Mithraic cult was celebrated in temples (*mithraea*), usually subterranean, which were ornamented with reliefs showing Mithra slaying a bull. The ritual comprised banquets of bread and wine, as well as baptism through water and blood. The birthdate of Mithra was given as 25 Dec., after the winter solstice. Attempts at a rapprochement between Mithraism and Christianity were already being made in late antiquity (e.g., by PORPHYRY), but the similarity between the two is superficial, as Mithraism was predominantly a nature religion in which the idea of resurrection and salvation remained undeveloped.

SOURCE: F. Cumont, *Textes et monuments relatifs aux mystères de Mithra*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1896).

LIT. F. Cumont, *Les mystères de Mithra*[3] (Brussels 1913). R. Merkelbach, *Mithras* (Meisenheim-Königstein Ts. 1984). A.D. Nock, "The Genius of Mithraism," *JRS* 27 (1937)

108–13. R. Turcan, *Mithras Platonicus* (Leiden 1975). Lj. Zotović, *Mitraizam na tlu Jugoslavije* (Belgrade 1973). –F.R.T.

MITRA (*μίτρα*) in both classical and Byz. usage could designate a headband or headdress; Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 297.6) uses the expression "*mitra* of Ares" as a metaphor for troops surrounding a city. Isidore of Seville (*Etymologies* 19.31.4) defined a *mitra* as a Phrygian hat; this interpretation of a *mitra* as a tall spherical hat is preserved in a *scholion* to the *Chiliades* of TZETZES (1:236, p.548) in which the commentator mentions a headdress in the form of a *mitra*. Nonnos of Panopolis used the verb *mitroomai* in the sense of "to band the hair," a fashion used by women. The word retains this meaning of feminine headgear in Western sources of the 9th C. The term *mitra* was also applied to the Turkish turban. Finally, since the word is frequently used in the Old Testament, esp. for the headcovering of a high priest, it came to denote episcopal HEADGEAR, such as the veil of the patriarch of Constantinople, and specifically the papal tiara.

LIT. P.E. Schramm, "Die geistliche und die weltliche Mitra," in his *Herrschaftszeichen und Staatssymbolik*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1954) 51–68. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 21f, 70–72. –A.K.

MIXOBARBAROI (*μιξοβάρβαροι*, Lat. *semibarbari*), an ancient term that, according to Hesychios of Alexandria, designated men who were neither HELLENES nor BARBARIANS but had qualities of both. The term was widely used by Byz. authors of the 11th–12th C. (Attaleiates, Anna Komnene, Niketas Choniates) to denote populations of the Danubian region that spoke several languages. Anna specifically stressed that *mixobarbaroi* could speak Scythian or Turkish. Some of them, for example, Alexios I's general Monastras, entered imperial service and achieved high positions. There is insufficient data to support E. Stănescu's view that the *mixobarbaroi* were VLACHS and the forerunners of the Rumanians.

LIT. E. Stănescu, "Les 'mixobarbares' du Bas-Danube au XIe siècle," *Nouvelles études d'histoire* (Bucharest 1965) 45–53. N. Ş. Tanaşoca, "Les mixobarbares et les formations politiques paristriennes du XIe siècle," *Revue Roumaine d'histoire* 12, no.1 (1973), 61–82. V. Tŭpkova-Zaimova, *Dolni Dunav* (Sofia 1976) 126–31. –A.K.

MODALISM, a modern concept in the history of dogma, used from the 19th C. onward to designate a form of MONARCHIANISM that sharply distinguishes between the mode of God's manifestation in the history of salvation (OIKONOMIA) and the one wholly transcendent God; Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are understood as different persons or manifestations of God. The Father is depicted as the creator and lawgiver of the Old Covenant; the Son as the redeemer; and the Spirit as the paraclete and perfecter. –K.-H.U.

MODE (*ἦχος*), a system of melodic formulas for Byz. CHANT, the OKTOECHOS being the collection of eight modes that forms the compositional framework of Greek and Latin medieval music. Each mode has a restricted set of melody types peculiar to it that can be employed in many different combinations and variations. Byz. theorists refer to the eight sets as Modes I–IV Authentic and I–IV Plagal, a terminology borrowed in early Western treatises.

The origins of the *oktoechos* are obscure. It appears to have little in common, apart from nomenclature, with the ancient Greek tonal system. Some scholars have speculated that its beginnings lie in Near Eastern musical and philosophical traditions. The authenticity of an 11th-C. MS of John of Maiuma's *Plerophoriai* (ca.515), which alludes to "the music of the *oktoechos*," is questionable. Also doubtful is the allegation that an anthology of hymns by Patr. SEVEROS of Antioch was an *oktoechos*. It does seem certain, however, that by the late 7th C. the eight-mode system had become established within the Greek liturgical world, and the attribution of its organization to JOHN OF DAMASCUS, while not totally accurate, may contain some historical fact. In any event, he contributed significantly to the formation of a liturgical book called the *oktoechos* that contains the variable hymns of the HOURS throughout the church year, beginning with the first week after Easter.

LIT. H.J.W. Tillyard, "The Modes in Byzantine Music," *BSA* 22 (1916–18) 133–56. Strunk, *Essays* 3–36. –D.E.C.

MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS. Literary sources suggest that painters employed earlier works of art as models for their creations. Basil the Great (PG 31:493A) speaks specifically of artists who

"copy icons from icons," while Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 116:657B) uses the image of skilled painters depending upon an archetype. Such texts do not explain the transfer of design from a mosaic or fresco *in situ* to another mosaic or fresco geographically far removed, nor the recurrence in miniatures of designs executed earlier in monumental art. Accordingly, scholars have suggested the use of model-books, motif-books, and iconographical guides. The oldest surviving example of this last genre, the *Painter's Manual* (*Hermeneia*) of Dionysios of Phourna (*infra*), written ca.1730–34, may incorporate Byz. practices, as may the working drawings of post-Byz. painters (L. Bouras in *Holy Image* 61–63). Cartoons (*anthibola*), the preparation of which Dionysios describes, were made from existing works and may bear some relationship to drawings from the periphery of the empire that are said to reproduce Byz. works of art (Buchthal; Der Nersessian, *infra*). Like the descriptions of OULPIOS the Roman, some such sketches may be based on, rather than be the basis of, images. But identification of their function raises even more difficult problems than the fact of their rarity.

The use of model-books by Late Antique floor-mosaicists has been vigorously denied (P. Bruneau, *RA* [1984] 241–72). Yet Paulinus of Nola and Sulpicius Severus exchanged *picturae* for use in the decoration of churches that they were building. Hagiographical allusions to architects' sketches abound and the 8th-C. vita of St. Pankratios of Taormina has its hero set out for the West from Palestine equipped with *chartia* (panels? papyri?) and two volumes containing the "pictorial story (*eikonike historia*) of the Old and New Testaments." Both general iconographical guides and sets of specific motifs have been suggested as means whereby images were disseminated in the 12th C. (E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* [Palermo 1960] 56f, 84). Use of the Cotton GENESIS as a source by the mosaicists of the narthex of S. Marco in Venice remains the only plausible example of a richly illuminated MS serving as a guide to the creation of a monumental cycle.

ED. Dionysios of Fourna, *Hermeneia*, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus (St. Petersburg 1909). Tr. P. Hetherington, *The "Painter's Manual" of Dionysius of Fourna* (London 1974).

LIT. H. Buchthal, *The "Musterbuch" of Wolfenbüttel and its Position in the Art of the Thirteenth Century* (Vienna 1979) 13–18. S. Der Nersessian, "Copies de peintures byzantines dans un carnet arménien de 'modèles,' " *CahArch* 18 (1968) 111–20. V. Grecu, "Byzantinische Handbücher der Kirchenmalerei," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 675–701. –A.C.

MODESTY, TOPOS OF, a typical feature of authors' self-characterization in the prefaces (rarer in the closing parts) of their works; it is also found in the COLOPHONS of scribes. The topos was well known in antiquity: Quintilian advocated its use, Lucian made fun of it, Menander Rhetor gave its rules. The Byz. used various epithets of modesty (ταπεινότης) or self-deprecation: *hamartolos* (sinner), *athlios* (wretched), *akathartos* (dirty), *amathestatos* (illiterate), *agroikos* (boorish), and so on; even an author as excellent as Basil the Great might deplore his *astheneia* (weakness). George Hamartolos calls himself worthless and states that he has no knowledge "of scientific inquiry and systematic treatment of secular [affairs]" (ed. C. de Boor, 1:1.11–14); Theophanes the Confessor admits his ignorance (Theoph. 4.2–3); the author's incompetence is mentioned in the preface of almost every saint's vita.

This modesty, however, is only one side of the coin: it is introduced as an ANTITHESIS to the truth and clarity that are the author's major objective. The same George "the Sinner" forgets his modesty when he states that his "poor booklet" presents the unadorned truth in concise and clear form (p.2.6–8). The anonymous hagiographer of Loukas the Stylite takes a further step: after complaining of his weakness and faintheartedness and expressing his desire to remain silent, he boldly announces that his vita is "a work of divine force and a gift granted by the superior power" (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 195.7–17). The modest and untutored writer considered himself a tool in the hands of the Holy Spirit. From the 11th C. onward we sometimes encounter the author's frank appraisal of his talent, for example, in Psellos and Tzetzes, but the topos of modesty continued in scribal colophons and other writers.

LIT. C. Wendel, "Die *tapeinotes* des griechischen Schreibermönches," *BZ* 43 (1950) 259–66. –A.K., I.Š.

MODIOLOS (μοδίολος, lit. "little pot"), a gold imperial CROWN mentioned by several 10th-C. authors and, after a long interval, by Patr. Germanos

II in the 13th C. (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 38 [1988] 339f). According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 414.17, 432.15), this type of crown was offered to Leo I in 457 and to his grandson Leo II in 473. It was also worn by empresses (Genes. 5.64–67). If the emendation of Dagron (*CP imaginaire* 185, n.115) is correct, the statue of Tyche in Constantinople bore a *modiolos* as well. The scanty source evidence does not permit a clarification of the constitutional role of the *modiolos;* most probably, it was given by the senate to the emperor during the coronation ceremony.

LIT. P. Charanis, "The Imperial Crown Modiolus and its Constitutional Significance," *Byzantion* 12 (1937) 189–95, with discussion by F. Dölger, *BZ* 38 (1938) 240 and P. Charanis, *Byzantion* 13 (1938) 377–81. *DOC* 3.1:129, n.395. –A.K.

MODIOS (*μόδιος*), a unit of measurement for both grain and land, of varying quantity. A normal Roman (or Italic) *modius* equaled 20 *librae* (LITRAI, pounds) of wheat, the *modius castrensis* in the 4th C., 30 *librae.* There were various kinds of *modioi* in Byz. The sea (*thalassios*) or imperial (*basilikos*) *modios* equaled 40 *logarikai litrai,* or 17.084 liters; the monastic (*monasteriakos*) *modios,* 32 *logarikai litrai,* or 13.667 liters; the revenue (*annonikos*) *modios,* 26.667 *logarikai litrai,* or 11.389 liters. E. Schilbach assumes that the so-called large (*megas*) *modios* equaled 4 sea *modioi* and identifies the cross-signed (*staurikos*) *modios* with the revenue *modios.* He also assumes that there was a special *modios* for trade, which he identifies with the public (*politikos*) *modios* mentioned in Byz. sources and with the Italian *moggio (mozo) di Romania.* He equates this with 18 sea *modioi.*

The sea *modios* was mostly used as a measurement for the land *modios.* Synonymous terms are sowing (*sporimos*) *modios* and geometric (*geometrikos*) *modios.* The following equation is established: 1 *modios* = 2 sq. SCHOINIA = 40 *logarikai litrai* of wheat seed = 200 sq. ORGYIAI, that is, 888.73 sq. m; in some cases 1 *modios* is equated with 288 sq. *orgyiai,* or 1,279.78 sq. m. From the 13th C. STREMMA was synonymous with *modios.* In some classicizing texts the term *medimnos* was used instead of *modios.*

Use in Documents. Both treatises on taxation and acts recording actual practices (cadasters, charters) measure land in *modioi* without specifying what type of *modios* was in use. Another difficulty that Byz. land surveyors faced was the transition from linear measurements to *modioi* as square measures (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 10 [1956] 101–03). Some inconsistencies in measurement force scholars to assume that in certain cases large *modioi* were employed, in other instances small *modioi* (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 128, n.1). Difficulties sometimes appeared insurmountable: thus officials who compiled the *praktikon* of Kephalenia confessed that they were unable to "measure in *modioi*" (*modiologesai*) 36 small pieces (*komatia*) of land (Th. Tzannetatos, *To praktikon tes Latinikes episkopes Kephallenias tou 1264 kai he epitome autou* [Athens 1965] 47.253); in other cases a *komatis* could be expressed in *modioi* (e.g., MM 6:159.8–9). Definition of an allotment as *komatis* ("piece") or *loris* ("strap") is typical of Trebizond (e.g., F.I. Uspenskij, V. Beneševič, *Vazelonskie akty* [Leningrad 1927] no.143), where they were sometimes calculated in *psomiaria*; Schilbach (*Metrologie* 127) identified *psomiarion* as the sea *modios.* The capacity of boats was also measured in *modioi* (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.7.14), likewise without specification.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 56–59, 72f, 95–108. R.P. Duncan-Jones, "The Size of the modius castrensis," *ZPapEpig* 21 (1976) 53–62. –E. Sch., A.K.

MODON. See METHONE.

MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY (from *μοιχεία,* "adultery"), a religious, political, and legal dispute (795–811) over the second marriage of CONSTANTINE VI. In 795 Constantine divorced his wife Maria to marry his mistress Theodote, Maria's *koubikoularea.* Constantine's mother Irene reportedly encouraged him in order to undermine his authority; Constantine claimed that Maria had tried to poison him. Patr. TARASIOS initially opposed the marriage, since no emperor had ever divorced his wife, but acceded when Constantine threatened to restore ICONOCLASM (PG 99:1048–53). The wedding, performed in Sept. 795 by Joseph, *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia and superior of the Kathara monastery, angered many churchmen, who considered the marriage uncanonical and broke off communion with Tarasios. Constantine tried to appease PLATO OF SAKKOUDION and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, but in 797 he had them beaten and exiled. After Constantine's de-

thronement that same year, the monks returned and were reconciled with Tarasios, who then deposed Joseph of Kathara.

In 806 Patr. NIKEPHOROS I revived the issue by rehabilitating Joseph, probably because Emp. Nikephoros I wished to reward him for mediating during the revolt of BARDANES TOURKOS in 803. By 808 Archbp. Joseph of Thessalonike (Theodore's brother) refused to communicate with the emperor and patriarch. In 809 a synod confirmed Joseph of Kathara's restoration, anathematized those who refused to apply OIKONOMIA to the affair, and reduced Archbp. Joseph to priest. The monks of the STOUDIOS monastery rejected the "adulterous" synod and were persecuted. Michael I ended the affair in 811 by restoring the Stoudites and deposing Joseph of Kathara. The Moechian Controversy greatly enhanced the prestige of the monastic clergy and further differentiated "rigorists" from those who favored *oikonomia* in theological disputes.

LIT. J. Fuentes Alonso, *El divorcio del Constantino VI y la doctrina matrimonial de San Teodoro Estudita* (Pamplona 1984). P. Henry, "The Moechian Controversy and the Constantinopolitan Synod of January A.D. 809," *JThSt* 20 (1969) 495–522. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 80–101. A.P. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen studijskij*, vol. 1 (Odessa 1913) 350–590. –P.A.H.

MOESIA, Roman province on both banks of the Lower Danube. When, in the 3rd C., the territory north of the Danube was evacuated by the Romans, Aurelian created DACIA Ripensis between Moesia I (formerly Superior) and Moesia II (Inferior); later, SCYTHIA MINOR was separated from Moesia II and Dardania from Moesia I. Diocletian developed the system of forts and watchtowers in Moesia I, so that in the 4th C. the province was relatively quiet, the mainstream of barbarian invasions moving through neighboring PANNONIA. Mócsy (*infra*) hypothesizes that the 4th C. in Moesia I was a period of growth for larger estates that belonged to urban landowners; they were situated farther south from the LIMES than the smaller villas of the previous period. The pressure of the HUNS made part of the Roman population abandon Moesia I and search for refuge in the mountainous areas in the south. By the mid-5th C. NAISSUS replaced the Danubian towns as the center of trade with the Huns.

Archaeological investigation of Roman cities in the territory of Moesia II (IATRUS, NOVAE, etc.) shows that urban life in this area ceased to exist by the mid-7th C., sometimes as a result of a catastrophe (invasion of the Avars and Slavs), sometimes of a slow decline. Byz. authors of the 11th–15th C. applied the ethnic term *Mysoi* primarily to the Bulgarians, but also to the Pechenegs and Hungarians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:207–09).

LIT. A. Mócsy, *Pannonia and Upper Moesia* (London-Boston 1974) 266–358. V. Kondić, "Ergebnisse der neuen Forschungen auf dem obermoesischen Donaulimes," 9 *CEFR* (1974) 39–54. S. Vaklinov, "Za kontaktite meždu starata i novata kultura v Mizija i Trakija sled VI v.," *IzvIstDr* 29 (1974) 177–88. –A.K.

MOGLENA (Μόγλενα), a region in southeastern Macedonia. Circa 1015 Moglena was a Bulgarian territory administered by an *archon* Elitzes (Skyl. 352.33–34). Captured by Basil II, it formed a theme first attested in 1086 (*Lavra* 1, no.48.6) and a bishopric mentioned in a chrysobull of 1020. The Lavra of Athanasios obtained lands in Moglena and ca.1196 had a dispute with local *stratiotai* and the bishop of Moglena's *paroikoi* when they refused to pay rent (*dekateia*) to the monastery (*Lavra* 1, no.69). Another conflict arose ca.1181 when the monastery contested the rights of Cumans who were granted *pronoiai* in Moglena (*Lavra* 1, no.65). In 1205 Moglena was conquered by Kalojan.

LIT. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 1:72. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 48–53. –A.K.

MOKIOS (Μώκιος), legendary saint whose memory was celebrated on 11 May, the day of the foundation of Constantinople. According to his *martyrion* (written probably after the 6th C.), Mokios was born in Amphipolis, fought against idolatry, suffered during Diocletian's persecutions, and was decapitated at the decision of the curia (*bouleuterion*) of Byzantion. His cult became popular in Constantinople at an early date; by the 5th C. Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 8:17.5) mentions his shrine there. Later tradition ascribes the foundation of the church to Constantine I himself, who allegedly constructed it on the site of the temple of Zeus (or Herakles).

The location of the church and the monastery of St. Mokios is not yet precisely established. It was probably situated near the cistern of Mokios

built on the seventh hill, beyond the walls of Constantine and not far from the GOLDEN GATE. It is questionable that the church collapsed in the reign of Leo III, as alleged, but a section of it was destroyed in the 9th C. and sumptuously restored by Basil I. It was a place of important court ceremonies; on 11 May 903, during a customary procession to St. Mokios, Leo VI was attacked and wounded in the church. The memory of various martyrs was celebrated at St. Mokios, which also housed the relics of St. EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER. Still splendid at the beginning of the 13th C., the church was in ruins at the end of the 14th C. when John V used its stones to repair the walls near the Golden Gate.

SOURCE. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AB* 31 (1912) 163–87. F. Halkin, *Martyrs Grecs: IIe–VIIIe s.* (London 1974), pt.XII (1965), 5–22.
LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 354–58. –A.K.

MOKISSOS (Μωκισσός, now Viranşehir), a city in western Cappadocia at the foot of the Hasan Dağ southeast of KOLONEIA. Justinian I rebuilt the ruined city, renamed it Justinianoupolis (a name last attested in 692), and elevated it to the rank of ecclesiastical (though not civil) metropolis, with an *eparchia* that stretched south of the Halys River. The bishopric survived under its original name through the Byz. period, without playing any role in history. The extensive site, which lies in a protected valley, contains the remains of nine churches (mostly standard basilicas, one cruciform), streets, and unidentified civic buildings.

LIT. *TIB* 2:238f. M. Restle, *Studien zur frühbyzantinischen Architektur Kappadokiens* (Vienna 1979) 26, 46–48. –C.F.

MOLDAVIA (called Pogdania or Bogdania [Βογδανία] by the 15th-C. Greek historians Sphrantzes and Chalkokondyles, probably from the name of the mid-14th-C. prince Bogdan [H. Ditten in *BBA* 5 (1957) 94f]), geographic term designating the territory north of the Lower Danube, in the basin of the Dniester, Prut, and Siret rivers. The term *Moldabia* is found in vernacular texts, such as the *Chronicle of the Turkish Sultans*, and Moldoblachia appears in ecclesiastical nomenclature (*Notitiae CP*, no.21.181); both terms are probably later than 1453.

In late antiquity Moldavia was populated by DACO-GETANS and remained in the sphere of Roman economic and cultural influence. From the 4th C. onward, Moldavia was a passage zone for many barbarian tribes (Germanic, Hunnic, Avar, etc.); at the end of the 6th C., Slavs began to settle there. Byz. impact diminished and the area seems to have been cut off from the empire until the 10th C., when Byz. coins and objects penetrated into Moldavia. Archaeologically distinct in the 7th C., the autochthonous and Slavic cultures were probably merged in the 8th C. Byz. coin finds decrease again in the 11th C., as first the Pechenegs and then the Cumans became the dominant factor on the Lower Dniester. It is possible that Rus' tribes of Tivertsians and Ulichians gained control of the area, whereas the ethnic origin of the Brodniks (who are mentioned in the same area in the 12th–13th C.) is still controversial.

In the mid-13th C. Moldavia was occupied by the Tatars and lost its connections with Byz. In the 14th C., Hungary established its power over Moldavia and between 1359 and 1365 the country achieved independence.

LIT. N.A. Mochov, *Moldavija epochi feodalizma* (Kišinev 1964) 57–119. D.G. Teodor, *The East Carpathian Area of Romania in the V–XI Centuries A.D.* (Oxford 1980). V. Spinei, *Moldavia in the 11th–14th Centuries* (Bucharest 1986). Idem, *Realităţi etnice şi politice în Moldova meridională în secolele X–XIII: Români şi Turanici* (Iaşi 1985). I.A. Rafalovič, "K voprosu o stepeni vlijanija Vizantii na material'nuju kul'turu naselenija Karpato-Dnestrovskich zemel' v VI–IX vv.," in *Karpato-Dunajskie zemli v srednie veka* (Kišinev 1975) 7–19. –A.K.

MOMČILO (Μομιτζίλος), Bulgarian soldier who fought on both sides in the Byz. CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 and was rewarded with the titles of *despotes* (by Anna of Savoy) and *sebastokrator* (by John VI Kantakouzenos); died Peritheorion 7 June 1345 (Bartusis, *infra* 209). In his youth Momčilo was a *hajduk* (bandit) who plundered both Byz. and Bulgarian territories. He then served in the army of Andronikos III, but fled to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and then joined the rebel Kantakouzenos in the early winter of 1343/4, at the time of his unsuccessful siege of PERITHEORION. Kantakouzenos entrusted to Momčilo the Merope district, where he raised 300 horsemen and about 5,000 foot soldiers. He turned against Kantakouzenos, however, forcing him to flee. He briefly aided the loyalist forces of the regency, changed allegiance again, and then in the summer of 1344 pro-

claimed his independence. He captured Xantheia and assembled an army of 3,000 horsemen. He was soon defeated at Peritheorion, however, by Kantakouzenos and his Turkish ally UMUR BEG, and died in this battle. Momčilo became a hero of South Slav epic, a brigand of monumental proportions, victorious in legendary battles against the Turks.

LIT. M. Bartusis, "Chrelja and Momčilo: Occasional Servants of Byzantium in Fourteenth Century Macedonia," *BS* 41 (1980) 206–21. V. Gjuzelev, *Momčil junak* (Sofia 1967). Lemerle, *Aydin* 169f, 204–06, 210–15. –J.S.A.

MONARCHIANISM (from *μοναρχία*, "one rule, monarchy"), a term designating certain theologies of the 2nd and 3rd C. The term *monarchia* was used already before the Christian era, esp. by Philo, and then chiefly by the Apologists to designate the theistic view of MONOTHEISM. Generally, a distinction is made between "dynamic" and "modalistic" Monarchianism. The former is a characterization of ADOPTIANISM, while the latter is used to describe so-called Sabellianism. The Sabellian heresy eventually becomes that which is generally understood by the terms Monarchianism and MODALISM. It is consciously opposed to the doctrine of the Logos presented in the Gospel of John and the Apologists, and esp. to the notion of mediator (subordinationism) that was applied in the middle-Platonic doctrine or theology of principles encountered, for example, in Origen. Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are simply different modes by which the one God appears in the history of salvation (OIKONOMIA). The proponents of this effort to interpret the data of the New Testament in the framework of Hellenistic concepts of divine epiphanies, so as to preserve the monotheism inherited from the Judaic tradition, were Sabellios, Noetos of Smyrna, and Epigonos (called Praxeas in the West).

In the genealogies of heresies so common in Byz., 4th-C. theologians connected MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA with Monarchianism, while in the 6th C., the same charge was made against SEVEROS of Antioch and the JACOBITES. Protestant dogmatists of the 19th and early 20th C. largely overestimated the significance of modalistic Monarchianism and presumed a background of religious ideas directed against the philosophical tradition.

LIT. M. Simonetti, "Sabellio e il sabellianismo," *Studi storico-religiosi* 4 (1980) 7–28. –K.-H.U.

MONARCHY. See AUTOKRATOR; TAXIS.

MONASTERY (*μονή*), complex of buildings housing MONKS OF NUNS (see also NUNNERY). The term is used primarily for a KOINOBION, LAVRA, or an IDIORRHYTHMIC monastery. Byz. monastic architecture was standardized at a fairly early date, with many of the common elements appearing at SOHAG in Egypt, QAL'AT SEM'ĀN in Syria, and St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai. A monastery was often contained within strong defensive walls, along the inside of which were located the dormitories of the monks, stables, workshops, and storage buildings. These surrounded an open space, with the principal church (the KATHOLIKON) at its center. In front of the church was the PHIALE. One side of the enclosure, most commonly that facing the church, was occupied by the refectory (TRAPEZA). Other buildings could include a BATH and an infirmary.

Monasteries varied greatly in size, ranging from a minimum of three (later eight to ten) monks to several hundred (A.-M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 4f, 18–20). They were located in both town and countryside but were most numerous in Constantinople and the HOLY MOUNTAINS such as Mt. Olympos and Mt. Athos. A. Bryer estimated that about 1,000 different monasteries are recorded in the Byz. sources (*SChH* 16 [1979] 219f, n.3), about one-third of them in Constantinople (a statistic perhaps skewed by the nature of the available sources).

There were no monastic "orders" as in the West; thus the organization of each monastery varied and was prescribed by its TYPIKON. There were nonetheless some connections between monasteries, for example, between those on the same holy mountain or between a monastery and its smaller affiliated establishments, the METOCHIA. The *typika* of some monasteries were closely modeled on those of earlier foundations. Monasteries were variously classified as imperial, patriarchal (see STAUROPEGION), or episcopal, and as private or independent.

In general each monastery had a superior (HEGOUMENOS), steward (OIKONOMOS), sacristan (EKKLESIARCHES), and other officials charged with supervision of the refectory, treasury, and archives. Most monasteries possessed agricultural lands and other properties that provided food for the monks and revenues to maintain the buildings

and operations of the monastery. (See also MONASTICISM.)

LIT. A.K. Orlandos, *Monasteriake architektonike* (Athens 1926; 2nd ed. 1958). S. Mojsilović-Popović, "Secular Buildings in Medieval Serbian Monasteries," *Zograf* 16 (1985) 19–25. P.M. Mylonas, "Research on Athos," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 529–44. –M.J., A.M.T.

MONASTERY, DOUBLE (*διπλοῦν μοναστήριον*), a monastery housing two separate but adjacent communities of men and women, under the direction of the same superior, and supported by the same sources of income. Because of the dangers posed by such close proximity of monks and nuns, double monasteries were officially prohibited as, for example, by novel 123.36 of Justinian I (546). The inefficacy of his legislation is demonstrated by the continuing existence of double monasteries, such as the one presided over by St. Anthousa in the 8th C., which allegedly housed 900 monks and nuns (C. Mango, *AB* 100 [1982] 401–09). The Second Council of Nicaea (787) forbade any future foundations of this sort (can. 20). Circa 810 Patr. Nikephoros I went a step further and closed all double monasteries.

The Palaiologan period saw a resurgence of these institutions. Some of the foundations, such as the monastery of Philanthropos Soter established in Constantinople by Irene CHOUMNAINA, were designed so that the family of the founder could remain close even in monastic seclusion (R. Trone, *BS/EB* 10 [1983] 81–87). Patr. Athanasios I attacked the practice (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1747) but is known to have founded two double monasteries himself, Nea Mone on Mt. GANOS and the monastery on the hill of Xerolophos in Constantinople. Because of disputes over the division of labor, the latter monastery was partitioned in 1383 by Patr. Neilos Kerameus and its property distributed to the two communities of monks and nuns (MM 2:80–83).

LIT. S. Hilpisch, *Die Doppelkloster: Entstehung und Organisation* (Münster 1928) 5–24. J. Pargoire, "Les monastères doubles chez les Byzantins," *EO* 9 (1906) 21–25. R. Janin, "Le monachisme byzantin au moyen âge: Commende et typica (Xe–XIVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 42–44. Beck, *Kirche* 138. –A.M.T.

MONASTICISM (from *μονάζειν*, "to live alone"), a life devoted to worship, practiced by MONKS and NUNS. Monasticism was an essential part of the social and religious fabric of the empire, affecting the life of every Byz. and playing a spiritual, economic, philanthropic, and cultural role. Initially a lay movement, monasticism first appeared in the late 3rd C. when Christians began to retire to the Egyptian DESERT for solitary lives of ASCETICISM and PRAYER. Among these early DESERT FATHERS was ANTONY THE GREAT, whose biography by Athanasios of Alexandria provided a model for future generations of monks. In the 4th C., as the HERMITS attracted disciples, communities of monks and nuns developed. PACHOMIOS wrote a rule for these semicenobitic Egyptian monastic communities (see PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES), which added to the celibacy and poverty of the hermits the virtue of obedience to a superior. He also emphasized regular religious services and manual labor. From Egypt monasticism spread to the LAVRAS of Syria and Palestine (Wilderness of JUDAEA) and to Anatolia, where BASIL THE GREAT composed the Long Rules, which were to provide the basic foundation of Byz. monasticism. Basil strongly favored cenobitic monasticism (see KOINOBION) over eremetism and advocated that the MONASTERY should be a community of self-sufficient working monks. He urged moderation in asceticism and endorsed the establishment of urban monasteries.

The first monastery in Constantinople was DALMATOU, founded in the late 4th C. Thereafter monastic institutions proliferated rapidly in both town and countryside. By 536 there were almost 70 monasteries in the capital. A number of HOLY MOUNTAINS developed, where both eremitic and cenobitic forms of monasticism were practiced. The tradition of the monastery as a working community was realized in its most ideal form at the STOUDIOS MONASTERY in the early 9th C., thanks to the reforms of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS.

Late Roman emperors, esp. Justinian I, conferred upon monasteries particular economic privileges (the right to inherit from private citizens, the prohibition against confiscation of their properties, beneficial forms of renting out their lands), but, nevertheless, until the 9th C. monasteries remained predominantly modest landowners, more often rewarded by SOLEMNIA than actual land donations; it is plausible to surmise that during Iconoclasm many monasteries even lost their buildings and liquid assets. In the 10th C. monasteries began to acquire substantial amounts

of immovables. They accumulated fields, vineyards, pastures, livestock, mills, fishponds, saltworks, urban rental properties, and workshops through purchase and through the donations of emperors and private pious benefactors. Monasteries also received gifts of cash and precious liturgical objects from the faithful in exchange for old-age pensions (ADELPHATA) or posthumous commemoration. Monastic wealth was further increased because of the customary exemption of monasteries from payment of state taxes (EXKOUSSEIA).

NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, who endorsed the concept of the "poor monastery" and strongly supported Athanasios's foundation of the Great Lavra on Mt. ATHOS, tried unsuccessfully to curb the growth of monastic estates. In 964 he issued an edict restricting further acquisition of land, esp. by monasteries that lacked sufficient manpower to cultivate the estates they already owned. His decree was overturned, however, by his successor John I Tzimiskes, and monasteries continued to expand their possessions. However, in the PARTITIO ROMANIAE of 1204 only the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople is listed among the major landowners of the empire. There are copious documents from the end of the 13th C. to the 15th C. recording monastic acquisitions of land in southern Macedonia, Trebizond, on Aegean islands, etc.—but since almost all of these documents survived in monastic archives, the result is a distorted perception of the exclusive role of monastic landownership in late Byz. In reality, the state managed to curb the growth of monastic estates, and after 1371 distributed a substantial part of monastic lands among soldiers.

One feature of Byz. monasticism was the individualism of many monks and their disregard of the canonical principle of monastic STABILITY; this was esp. true of holy men, many of whom moved frequently from one monastery to another or alternated between a cenobitic monastery and a hermit's KELLION. Another manifestation of this trend was the development of IDIORRHYTHMIC MONASTICISM in the 14th C. Unlike the West, there were no established "monastic orders"; rather, each monastery was a unique foundation with its own rule or TYPIKON, although some monastic rules imitated earlier models.

The most important function of monasteries was to provide a haven from the world where pious men and women could devote themselves to the VITA CONTEMPLATIVA (*theoria*) in the search for their own salvation and the salvation of those for whom they prayed. Monasteries also played a philanthropic role, by offering a refuge to social outcasts or those in need of assistance: orphans, the elderly, the maimed or disfigured, the mentally ill, battered wives. (They also served as a place of imprisonment or exile for deposed emperors and patriarchs, and unsuccessful rebels or political rivals.) In addition to accepting people in distress as members of their community, monasteries used some of their resources to run philanthropic institutions, increasingly performing functions that had been in the purview of the state. A number of monastic complexes included HOSPITALS, GEROKOMEIA, and XENODOCHEIA; they also regularly distributed food, money, and clothing to the needy. Owing to the relative stability of monastic property, many KTETORES considered monastic institutions a convenient place for "investment" and granted them lands in exchange for certain rights (sometimes hereditary). On the other hand, emperors and patriarchs endowed upon some lay people or ecclesiastical institutions benefits similar to those enjoyed by *ktetores* (CHARISTIKION).

In contrast to the West, EDUCATION was not a function of the Byz. monastery, except for the training of a few children destined for the monastic life. Monasteries did, however, play an integral role in the intellectual and cultural life of the empire. Establishments like the Stoudios and HODEGON monasteries in Constantinople housed SCRIPTORIA that produced manuscripts for both internal and external use. A. Cutler (*BZ* 74 [1981] 328–34) has estimated that in the 10th and 11th C. about 50 percent of scribes were monks, in the 14th C. about 25 percent. Although most monastic LIBRARIES were modest in size and restricted in scope to the Scriptures, hagiography, patristics, theology, and liturgy, a few, like CHORA, had some secular holdings. LITERACY was required of choir brothers and sisters; many devoted themselves to study of the Scriptures, and a number became writers, esp. of hymnography, hagiography, and theology. In the first half of the 9th C. monks and nuns formed the majority of literati; for the 14th C., I. Ševčenko (*Society*, pt.I [1974], 72) has calculated that more than 25 percent of the literati were monks.

Monasteries had a significant impact on the development of Byz. THEOLOGY and spirituality. Many leading theologians and churchmen who wrote on doctrine, liturgy, and mysticism were monks. Monks played a key role in the ecumenical councils of the 4th and 5th C.; they were prime supporters of icons in the debate over ICONOCLASM and defended Orthodoxy against attempts at Union of the Churches. The mysticism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN in the early 11th C. and the HESYCHASM of the monks of Athos in the 14th C. profoundly affected the evolution of Orthodox tradition. A number of monks had a chance to influence ecclesiastical policy through their promotion to a bishopric or the patriarchate (see CONSTANTINOPLE, PATRIARCHATE OF).

Even though monks were the leading force in defending icon veneration in the 8th–9th C., there is little firm evidence to link monks with the production of art. Normally, teams of outside architects and ARTISTS were hired to build and decorate monastic complexes, and in many cases even MSS copied in monastic scriptoria were illuminated elsewhere, esp. when the miniature was on a separate page. Nonetheless, monasteries were great patrons of art and architecture. Most surviving Byz. churches were once monastic churches, and many icons, MSS, liturgical vessels, and the like were originally made for monasteries or were eventually donated to and preserved in monasteries.

LIT. Mango, *Byzantium* 105–24. A. Failler, "Le monachisme byzantin aux XIe–XIIe siècles: Aspects sociaux et économiques," *Cahiers d'Histoire* 20 (1975) 279–302. I. Konidares, *To dikaion tes monasteriakes periousias* (Athens 1979). A. Papadakis, "Byzantine Monasticism Reconsidered," *BS* 47 (1986) 34–46. A.-M. Talbot, "An Introduction to Byzantine Monasticism," *ICS* 12 (1987) 229–41. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskij monastyr' XI–XII vv. kak social'naja gruppa," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 48–70. –A.M.T.

MONEMVASIA (Μονεμβασία, lit. "single entrance," Malvasia and Malmsey in Western sources), a fortified city on an isolated rock that lies just off the coast of the southeastern Peloponnesos. It is called a *kastron* by PAUL OF MONEMVASIA in the 10th C. (*AASS* May 5:426B). Evidence for its early history is scanty. It is mentioned first by HUGEBURC, who described it as located in a "Slavic land." Theophanes (Theoph. 422.29–30) speaks of Monemvasia only once, relating that the plague of 746/7 arrived there from Sicily and Calabria. A colophon of the MS Vat. Palat. gr. 44 mentions a certain Leo who was "*taboularios* of Monobasia" in 898 (P. Nikolopoulos, *LakSp* 5 [1980] 227–46). On the other hand, later legends, preserved in the CHRONICLE OF MONEMVASIA, pseudo-Sphrantzes, and other sources, claim that Monemvasia was founded ca.582/3 (P. Schreiner, *TM* 4 [1970] 471–75) and that it obtained metropolitan status from Maurice. In fact, however, a simple bishopric of Monemvasia is known from 787; it was probably a suffragan of Corinth and not Patras, as a literary tradition asserts (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:430). In the 12th C. Monemvasia served as a naval station in wars against the Normans, who in 1147 failed to seize it.

Monemvasia was the last stronghold in the Peloponnesos to acknowledge the supremacy of the Franks in the aftermath of the Fourth Crusade: it fell to WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN in 1248 after a two-year siege. In 1262 the Byz. recovered Monemvasia as a result of the Treaty of Constantinople and the next year the Byz. fleet secured control of the surrounding territory; as a naval base it was administered by a *komes* (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 361). Michael VIII granted certain privileges to Monemvasia, but the authenticity of Andonikos II's chrysobull of 1301 is questionable (P. Schreiner in *Praktika B' Diethnous synedriou Peloponnesiakon spoudon* 1 [1981–82] 160–66). Michael VIII elevated Monemvasia to a metropolis that was later moved from the 34th place in the hierarchy to the 10th; the 16th-C. list of the metropolitans of Monemvasia is evidently a forgery (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 383f). In 1384 Theodore I Palaiologos, *despotes* of the Morea, offered the city to Venice, but the powerful Mamonas family prevented the donation. In 1460 Monemvasia came under papal authority, in 1462/3 it was ceded to Venice (B. Krekić, *ZRVI* 6 [1960] 131–35), and in 1540 it fell to the Turks.

The impressive walls of Monemvasia are largely Venetian, but they are everywhere built on Byz. foundations. The Church of Hagia Sophia in the upper citadel has a breathtaking location at the edge of a sheer cliff. It is a domed octagon of the type and scale of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI; it was probably constructed ca.1150, though E. Stikas (*LakSp* 8 [1986] 271–376) argues that it was founded by Alexios I. It has frescoes of the 13th C.

An important 14th-C. icon of the Crucifixion

was removed from the Helkomenos Church to the Byzantine Museum in Athens (A. Xyngopoulos, *Peloponnesiaka* 1 [1955] 23–49; Catalog of the *Ekthese gia ta hekato chronia tes Christianikes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* [Byzantine Museum, Athens, 1984] no.8). The church itself preserves a carved lintel of ca.1000.

LIT. W.R. Elliott, *Monemvasia, the Gibraltar of Greece* (London 1971). W. Miller, "Monemvasia," *JHS* 27 (1907) 229–41. P. Schreiner, "I diritti della città di Malvasia nell'epoca tardo-bizantina," in *Miscellanea di studi storici* (Genoa 1983) 91–98. A.D. Katsore, *Monembasia* (Athens 1976). H. Kalliga, "The Church of Hagia Sophia at Monemvasia," *DChAE*[4] 9 (1977–79) 217–21. M. Panayotidi, "Les églises de Géraki et de Monemvasie," 22 *CorsiRav* (1975) 349–55.
–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

MONEY-CHANGER. See BANKER.

MONGOLS (Μουγούλιοι), also called TATARS, an Asian people who, under the leadership of Genghis Khan (died 1227) and his successors, created an empire stretching from the Baltic to the Pacific Ocean. While its capital was in Karakorum, two appanages separated from it in the west: the Golden Horde (with a center at Saray on the Volga) and the empire of the Ilkhans in Persian territory. In the north the Mongols defeated the CUMANS in 1223 and obliged them to seek a refuge in Byz.; they conquered Kievan Rus' by 1240 and penetrated DOBRUDJA. In the south the Mongols captured Baghdad in 1258, but were halted by the MAMLŪKS at ʿAyn Jālūt on 3 Sept. 1260.

In Anatolia, Trebizond had to acknowledge its dependence on the Mongols and pay tribute to them, while the empire of Nicaea retained a more independent stance. At first, the Nicaean emperor John III Vatatzes supported the SELJUKS of Rūm against the Mongols, but, after the Seljuk defeat at Kösedağ on 26 June (or 2 July) 1243, he tried to maintain friendly relations with both powers. His successors continued this ambivalent policy. In 1265 Michael VIII Palaiologos sent his natural daughter Maria to Karakorum as a wife of the great khan Hülegü; the khan died before her arrival, however, and Maria was married to his son Abaqa. The monastery of the Theotokos Panagiotissa in Constantinople, of which Maria was a patron (Janin, *Églises CP* 213f), became known as "St. Mary of the Mongols." Another Maria, illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, married Toktay, khan of the Golden Horde, toward the end of the 13th C. It is probably this Maria, rather than Michael's daughter, who appears as the nun Melania in the Church of the CHORA MONASTERY (Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:46f), where she is described as "the lady of the Mongols." Despite this intimacy, Mongols are never represented in Byz. art, in contrast with CRUSADER ART, where distinctly Mongol features are given to one of the Magi on an iconostasis beam at the St. CATHERINE monastery on Sinai (K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 20 [1966] 63f). Michael VIII also managed to preserve friendly relations with NOGAY in the north. Nuptial connections continued in the 14th C.: Andronikos III gave his daughter in marriage to Özbeg, the khan of the Golden Horde. The Mongols remained tolerant toward the Christian church and, in Saray, a bishopric was established under the jurisdiction of Constantinople.

TIMUR temporarily united the Mongol Empire. He crushed both the Mamlūks and Ottomans, and his victory at the battle of ANKARA in 1402 postponed the Ottoman conquest of Constantinople. After Timur's death the empire dissolved. Its last vestige in contact with Byz. was the khanate of the Crimea, founded ca.1430, which was supported by the Genoese of Kaffa. After 1475 the southern coast of the Crimea came under direct Ottoman administration.

LIT. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford 1986). B. Spuler, *History of the Mongols* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1972). R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970). P.I. Žavoronkov, "Nikejskaja imperija i Vostok," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 93–101. M.A. Andreeva, "Priem tatarskich poslov pri Nikejskom dvore," in *Recueil d'études dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov* (Prague 1926) 187–200. J.J. Saunders, *Muslims and Mongols* (Christchurch, N.Z., 1977).
–O.P., A.C.

MONK (μοναχός), a man who renounced the world in order to devote himself to a life of ASCETICISM and PRAYER. In Byz. there were various types of monks: (1) the cenobites, who lived and ate together in a communal society, the KOINOBION; (2) the *lavriotai* or *kelliotai*, who lived in separate cells but came together for common worship (see LAVRA, KELLION); (3) IDIORRHYTHMIC monks; (4) anchorites or HERMITS, who lived alone in an isolated location; and (5) wandering monks. The minimum age for adoption of the habit varied from monastery to monastery but averaged around 18; many men, however, became monks

at a later stage in life, often after being widowed. Some categories of individuals (e.g., eunuchs, young boys, fugitive slaves) were denied or limited permission to become monks. After a novitiate that could range from six months to three years, the NOVICE took vows of poverty, celibacy, and obedience. The monastic profession was symbolized externally by the TONSURE, the monastic habit (SCHEMA), and the adoption of a monastic name (which usually, but not necessarily, began with the same initial letter as one's baptismal name). In theory monks were supposed to remain in the same monastery for life (see STABILITY, MONASTIC), but in practice many of them wandered from one monastery to another, or left a *koinobion* to become a hermit (often as a temporary stage).

A monastery had two sorts of monks: the literate choir brothers, responsible for singing the daily offices, and the uneducated brethren who were servants (*diakonetai*) and did much of the manual labor. This hierarchical division of the monks into two classes was also reflected in their different food and dress, their seating in the refectory, even their place of burial in the cemetery. Members of the nobility who entered monastic life were frequently accompanied by servants and lived in a suite of rooms rather than a single cell. Prospective monks customarily made substantial donations to the monastery at the time of their admission; despite their vows of poverty they were allowed to retain some personal property after they took the monastic habit. In addition to the daily round of prayers and manual labor, monks might engage in intellectual endeavors such as study of the Scriptures, copying of MSS, or composition of hymns and hagiographical works.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu.* P. Charanis, "The Monk as an Element of Byzantine Society," *DOP* 25 (1971) 61–84. D. Savranis, *Zur Soziologie des byzantinischen Mönchtums* (Leiden-Cologne 1962). –A.M.T.

MONOCONDYLE, a conventional scholarly term formed from the classical Greek adjective μονοκόνδυλος, "having but one joint" (said of the thumb). The term designates a word or a short sentence written in a single, uninterrupted line drawn without lifting the pen from the parchment or paper. The monocondyle sometimes deliberately obscures the name or signature. Synodal decisions were signed by bishops in the form of a monocondyle (examples survive primarily from the post-Byz. period); the imperial chancellery used monocondyle notes written over two glued-together sheets of a document to prevent the addition of forged insertions.

LIT. L. Politis, *Paléographie et littérature byzantine et néo-grecque* (London 1975), pt.V (1957), 318–20. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 247f, n.4. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 36f. –A.K.

MONOCYCLIC AND POLYCYCLIC, terms central to RECENSION THEORY, specifically as it is applied to the study of illuminated MSS. The former designates a MS whose miniature CYCLE coincides both in substance and extent with the limits of its accompanying text. A polycyclic MS, on the other hand, is one whose original set of pictures has been supplemented by one or more series of images, each originally created for its own text and having its own recensional history. Each may also carry traces of the style of the model from which it was drawn. Weitzmann labels as polycyclic a number of the finest extant Byz. MSS, including the PARIS GREGORY, whose original, comparatively small set of homily pictures, he suggests, was enriched by excerpted picture cycles deriving ultimately from, for example, an illustrated Genesis, a Book of Kings, a Gospel book, etc.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Roll & Codex* 193–205. –G.V.

MONODY (μονῳδία), a short unrelieved lament, intended to comfort the bereaved by sharing their grief. It differs from EPITAPHIOS in not being part of the actual funeral ceremony.

LIT. A. Sideras, "Byzantinische Leichenreden," in *Leichenpredigten als Quelle historischer Wissenschaften*, ed. R. Lenz, vol. 3 (Marburg 1984) 17–49. –E.M.J.

MONOENERGISM (from μόνος and ἐνέργεια, "one energy"), a conventional scholarly term to describe a theological movement of the 7th C. Its core was the assumption that Christ had a single ENERGY attributed to his individual hypostasis. This idea was implied in MONOPHYSITISM (one nature presumes a single "activity"), but even pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3:1072C) spoke of a "new theandric activity (*theandrike energeia*)" in Christ, a phrase that was broadly used (misused, from the Orthodox point of view) by the

Monothelites. The Neo-Chalcedonians (see Neo-Chalcedonism) seem to have been close to the development of the notion of a single activity, but the movement fully arose as an attempt at political unification of the Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the face of the Arab threat.

Kyros of Alexandria attempted in 633 to reconcile the two parties on the basis of the formula "the single Christ and Son operating as God and man in the single theandric activity" (Mansi 11:565D). Sophronios, the future patriarch of Jerusalem, remonstrated against this formula, and during his discussions with Patr. Sergios I of Constantinople they came to a compromise: both phrases "single activity" and "two activities" were prohibited—instead, one had to speak of "the single Son acting upon both divine and human [things]." Both parties assumed that Christ was *theokinetos*, "moved by God." Pope Honorius approved of the compromise and in his letter to Sergios spoke of "*una voluntas*" of Christ. Sophronios soon rekindled discussion, but since the Ekthesis issued by Emp. Herakleios in 638 banned the *energeia* formulas, the debate subsequently focused on the problem of the single will (Monotheletism).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 292–94. F. Winkelmann, "Die Quellen zur Forschung des monenergetisch-monotheletischen Streites," *Klio* 69 (1987) 515–59. P. Galtier, "La première lettre du pape Honorius," *Gregorianum* 29 (1948) 42–61. P. Parente, "Uso e significato del termine *theokinetos* nella controversia monotheletica," *REB* 11 (1953) 241–51. –T.E.G.

MONOGENES, HO (ὁ *μονογενής*, "the only-begotten"), troparion that sums up the teaching of the early councils on the Christian economy of salvation in terms drawn from their creeds (J.H. Barkhuizen, *BZ* 77 [1984] 3). It was probably unknown in Constantinople before 519, for it is not mentioned in the disputes that year over the theopaschite clause, "One of the Trinity was crucified," which it paraphrases.

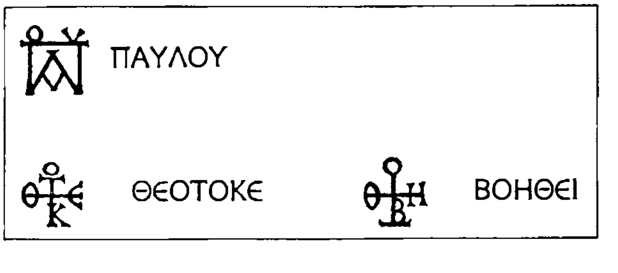
Justinian I introduced the *Monogenes* into the liturgy of Constantinople in 535/6 (Theoph. 216.23–24). The Orthodox attributed its text to Justinian himself; the Monophysites to Severos of Antioch. Both Orthodox and Monophysite churches used it, probably from the attempted reconciliation of 533/4.

Found at the beginning of the Eucharist in Armenia, Syria, and Egypt, its first certain attestation in the Byz. Eucharist is in the 9th-C. Latin version of the so-called *Church History* of Patr. Germanos I by Anastasius Bibliothecarius (actually a commentary on the liturgy). It served as refrain of the third antiphon on ordinary days; on feasts the *Monogenes* was a variant refrain of the second antiphon (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:308, 313f). It was intoned by singers standing beneath the ambo of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

ED. Brightman, *Liturgies* 365.33–366.9.
LIT. V. Grumel, "L'auteur et la date de composition du tropaire *Ho monogenes*," *EO* 22 (1923) 398–418. Mateos, *La parole* 50–52. –R.F.T.

MONOGRAM, the combination of a number of letters that form, when read in the correct order, a name, a title (or name *and* title), or an invocation. The Byz. monogram normally contains all letters of the name or word(s) in question (a repeated letter, however, is only used once). Sometimes abbreviations are used, as in the case of the Christogram, and the symbols for authors' names in marginal notes in MSS. Monograms are found on elements of architecture, silver objects—here both to identify the donor by name and title and to serve as control stamps (see Silver Stamps)—ornaments, ivories, coins, and esp. seals. They occur abundantly from the 6th to 8th C., become rare in the 9th to 12th C., and reappear again in increasing number in the Palaiologan period, in MSS, on book bindings, and esp. on architectural elements. The most common forms are the block or box-type monogram where the letters are joined together in the form of a quadrangle, and (from ca.550 onward) the cruciform monogram where the letters are placed at the extremities of a cross.

Monogram. Sample monograms. Above: block or box-type monogram signifying "of Paul"; below: cruciform monograms signifying "Mother of God, help."



The arrangement of the letters seems to follow primarily aesthetic principles; attempts to discover underlying rules have failed. Hence the decipherment often proves difficult and in many cases remains ambiguous.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 2:54–56. Idem, *Das alte Monogramm* (Leipzig 1924). W. Fink, "Das frühbyzantinische Monogramm," *JÖB* 30 (1981) 75–86. Idem, "Neue Deutungsvorschläge zu einigen byzantinischen Monogrammen," in *Byzantios* (Vienna 1984) 85–94. V. Laurent, "Monogrammes byzantins pour un hommage," *EEBS* 39–40 (1972–73) 325–41. –W.H.

MONOMACHOS (Μονομάχος, lit. "fighting in single combat," fem. Μονομαχίνα), the name of a family of functionaries, perhaps related to the Monomachatoi and Monomachitoi. The first occurrences of the name are questionable. The 9th-C. Life of IOANNIKIOS refers to an Iconoclast bishop of Nikomedeia whom it calls "*monomachos* or rather *theomachos*" (*AASS* Nov. 2.1:432B), that is, a fighter against God; *monomachos*, which prompted a pun, is here to be taken as a proper name. A *patrikios* Niketas, during Irene's reign, took the sobriquet Monomachos. An addressee of Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES was a son of patrician Niketas Mon[omachos]; unfortunately, the reading of the name is conjectural. Another Monomachos, a functionary who supervised monasteries ca.921, was mentioned by NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.96.3). The family flourished in the 11th C. when the son of a judge Theodosios became Emp. CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS. The Monomachoi had property in Constantinople and functioned primarily as judges (e.g., Pothos, *protospatharios* and judge of the Hippodrome). Despite their warlike name and the frequent use of the image of St. George on their seals, the only member of the family who is known to have been connected with the military administration was George Monomachatos, *doux* of Illyricum (Dyrrachion) during the reign of Nikephoros III; Alexios I dismissed him, and George fled to Serbia but eventually was granted amnesty. A female relative of Constantine IX (Maria or Anastasia?) was married to a prince of Rus' and gave birth to VLADIMIR MONOMACH.

The family played no role under the dynasty of the Komnenoi, but emerged again at the end of the 12th C.; George Monomachos, for example, was an official of maritime administration (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.59.27). The family is attested in Asia Minor from the beginning of the 13th C. A John Monomachos lost his fortune in Philadelphia when it was besieged by the Turks in 1304; he then moved to Thessalonike, where he exercised military functions and belonged to the entourage of Nikephoros CHOUMNOS; later he became intimate with Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and accompanied him to Philadelphia in 1324 (H. Ahrweiler in *Philadelphie et autres études* [Paris 1984] 9–16). The Monomachoi were still active in the first half of the 14th C., when George Monomachos and esp. his brother Michael, eparch and grand *konostaulos*, were generals. In Jan. 1333 Michael received a *praktikon* granting him the *oikonomia* of 50 hyperpera in the villages of Chantax and Nision—an exceptional case of a recorded donation of a PRONOIA to a secular person (*Zogr.*, no.29). He died before 1346. Another George Monomachos was an architect (*oikodomos*) in Thessalonike ca.1421 (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.102).

LIT. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 155. V.L. Janin, G.G. Litavrin, "Novye materialy o proischoždenii Vladimira Monomacha," *Istoriko-archeologičeskij sbornik* (Moscow 1962) 204–21, with add. A. Soloviev, *Byzantion* 33 (1963) 241–48. F. Barišić, "Michailo Monomach, eparch i veliki konostavl," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 215–34. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 112–22. *PLP*, nos. 19286–309. –A.K.

MONOPHYSITISM, religious movement that originated in the first half of the 5th C. as a reaction against the emphasis of NESTORIANISM on the human nature of the incarnate Christ. The term Monophysite (Μονοφυσίτης), from *monos* (one) and *physis* (nature), is, however, of later origin: it appears in ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (7th C.) and JOHN OF DAMASCUS (8th C.) when the heat of the Monophysite dispute was long over. On the other hand, some roots of Monophysite views can be found before the 5th C., for example, in APOLLINARIS OF LAODIKEIA. As a theological doctrine, Monophysitism was an attempt to find a solution to the problem of the God-Man relationship in Christ: if before the Incarnation the divine nature of the Logos existed separately, it came into contact or union with the human nature after the Incarnation. What kind of union was thus created? Was the divine nature only in an apparent unity with the man in Christ while the human nature prevailed? Was it a real mixture? Did the divine nature engulf the human nature so that only one *physis* remained? Philosophically and

theologically the questions were difficult to answer. The Monophysites suggested two responses: the so-called real Monophysites (the followers of EUTYCHES) inclined to accept the doctrine of the union of natures, whereas the moderate or "verbal" Monophysites (the partisans of SEVEROS of Antioch) construed the *physis* as close to the concept of *prosopon* or hypostasis and saw in Christ a new *physis*, possessing both perfect divine and perfect human qualities.

The Monophysite dispute began in the 440s. The initiators of the movement were Eutyches and DIOSKOROS, patriarch of Alexandria, who developed some formulations originally made by CYRIL of Alexandria. After a short-lived victory at the so-called Robber Council of Ephesus (449), the Monophysites were condemned at the Council of Chalcedon (451) that elaborated the dyophysite (or Chalcedonian) formula. The movement continued with varying degrees of success, Emp. Anastasios I supporting the Monophysites, Justin I favoring the Chalcedonians, and Justinian I vacillating between the two dogmas. The controversy was accompanied by severe persecutions of both parties, banishment of leaders, destruction of churches, etc. In the 7th C. the state and church tried to find a compromise in the form of MONOTHELETISM.

Theological and philosophical differences were exacerbated by political, social, and cultural factors: the most evident of them was the rivalry of Alexandria with Constantinople and Rome. It seems also that the rural population of Egypt and Syria supported Monophysitism partly as a protest against oppression, partly due to local traditions: the belief in a deity who died and was then resurrected was well entrenched in Egypt and Syria, and in these provinces the addition to the TRISAGION ("We believe in God who died for us") was received sympathetically. Monophysitism in its earlier stages seems to have been allied with the state, and only from the late 6th C. onward did the increasing persecutions alienate the Monophysites and make them potential supporters of foreign enemies, like the Arabs. As a symbol of local independence the Monophysite churches that were established in Syria and Egypt, and the separation of Christians into the MELCHITE and JACOBITE sects intensified political and cultural dissension in these lands. Monophysitism was accepted by the Armenian church.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, *The Rise of the Monophysite Movement* (Cambridge 1972). Idem, "The Monophysites and the Transition between the Ancient World and the Middle Ages," *Passagio dal mondo antico al medio evo da Teodosio a San Gregorio Magno* (Rome 1980) 339–65. M. Jugie, *DTC* 10 (1929) 2216–2306. R.C. Chesnut, *Three Monophysite Christologies* (Oxford 1976). F. Winkelmann, "Nekotorye zamečanija k ocenke roli monofisitstva v Egipte v poslejustinianovskuju epochu," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 86–92. L. Perrone, *La chiesa di Palestina e le controversie cristologiche* (Brescia 1980). –A.K.

MONOPOLY (*μονοπώλιον*), the exclusive privilege of trading specific goods, existed in Byz. in two forms: state monopolies and rights granted (or farmed) to particular persons/organizations. Leo I prohibited officials from granting monopolies in any place or city for any kind of goods except SALT (*Cod.Just.* IV 59.1, a.473); Zeno outlawed monopolistic production of clothing, fish, and other commodities and underlined the illegality of collusion among construction workers, teachers of crafts (*ergodidaskaloi*), and bath attendants (*Cod.Just.* IV 59.2, a.483; *Basil* 19.18.2).

The question of state monopolies has been hotly disputed: J. Nicole (*Le livre du préfet* [Geneva 1904] 292–94), who developed a concept of Byz. as a paradise of monopolies and privileges, viewed monopolies as a factor that helped destroy the Byz. economy; in contrast, both A. Andreades (*Byzantion* 9 [1934] 171–81) and G. Mickwitz (*Die Kartellfunktionen der Zünfte* [Helsinki 1936] 207f) denied the existence of state monopolies and acknowledged only a state regulation over commerce that was allegedly beneficial for tradesmen. Prokopios twice (*Wars* 2:15.11, *SH* 26.36) mentions "the so-called monopolies" established by governors on the frontier with Lazika and in Alexandria: the governors prohibited all trade activity by merchants and acted as *kapeloi* of all goods. While "all goods" is apparently an exaggeration, in some spheres (esp. the SILK trade) the existence of a state monopoly is probable; N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 40 [1986] 33–50) assumes that by the 9th–10th C. this monopoly loosened. ALBERT OF AACHEN (RHC *Occid.* 4:311D) testifies to the presence of state monopolies at the end of the 11th C., saying that only the emperor could sell wine, olive oil, wheat, barley, and other victuals throughout the entire empire; Attaleiates' description of the monopoly in Rhaidestos (Attal. 202.5) likewise reveals state privilege in the grain trade. On the other hand, the report (Skyl. 277.44–

5) that Nikephoros II Phokas traded in "imperial grain" during a famine is not sufficient to assert the existence of a monopoly at that time. Other state monopolies included the emperor's exclusive rights over objects of PURPLE and GOLD as symbols of his power and the production and use of some types of weapons (e.g., GREEK FIRE).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 302–04. Hendy, *Economy* 174, 626–34, 654–62. G. Brătianu, "Une expérience d'économie dirigée," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 643–62. –A.J.C.

MONOTHEISM in Christianity was perceived as a refutation of polytheism ("Hellenic deception") and Judaic absolute or consistent monotheism (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 7.28–30, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:17). The rejection of polytheism was a relatively easy task, even though NICHOLAS OF METHONE still found it necessary to discard Proklos's polyarchy of gods, and PLETHON attempted the revival of Olympic deities. Disassociation from Judaic absolute monotheism was a more difficult problem, solved by the concept of the TRINITY. Absolute monotheism created an unbridgeable gap between God and mankind, whereas the triune God, one in substance and numerical in hypostases, provided the possibility for intercourse with humans, a possibility realized in the double nature of Christ that formed the cornerstone of the doctrine of salvation. Besides the Trinitarian and Christological controversies that required sophisticated definitions of substance and hypostasis, the concept of the Trinity implied a danger of confusion with "TRITHEISM." Nicholas of Methone (*Anaptyxis*, p.10.13–16) pointed out that pagan gods are a multitude (*plethos*) and differ from each other, whereas within the Trinity there is no difference (*diaphora*) but one *ousia*, power, energy, will, glory, kingdom.

In modern times Peterson (*infra*) argued that monotheism was a political ideology closely connected with the idea of the unique Roman Empire; the introduction of the concept of the Trinity brought an end to this connection. Although plausible for the West, this alleged disruption did not occur in Byz. (F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 225f) where the concepts of monarchy and monotheism remained interwoven, even though in some cases political slogans could be perverted, as happened during the riot of 668 when the army, referring to the Trinity, demanded that Constans II establish the collective rule of three brothers. –A.K.

The Monotheistic Structure of the Trinity. The Byz. concept of God was monotheistic; nevertheless they believed in the Trinity, that is, in God the Father, the Son or LOGOS, and the HOLY SPIRIT, who were of common SUBSTANCE, although of three hypostases. The "common" (*koinon*) substance or substance "shared in common" was understood as follows in the theology of the Cappadocian Fathers: that in thought or in contemplation there was a difference (*diaphora*) and not a distinction (*diairesis*) between the persons of the Trinity. Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 36:348A) emphasized that the term *diairesis* had to be applied with caution lest their unity and their difference be obscured. The "difference" was a sufficient condition for countability or number (*arithmos*), the concept developed by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR (Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 104–09). "We venerate monarchy," said Neilos KABASILAS (ed. M. Candal, *OrChrP* 23 [1957] 252.17–20), "We believe in one God, one not numerically—this would be a Judaic baseness—but one by nature; numerically God is not one but three." When the Byz. spoke of "one Godhead and one *ousia*," they meant a monad that stood beyond any number, that is, was not countable (e.g., JOHN ITALOS, *Quaestiones quodlibetales*, par.63, ed. Joannou, p.87.95).

After Trinitarian monotheism was established in disputes against ARIANISM, in opposition to the notions of MONARCHIANISM and ADOPTIANISM, it faced a challenge from DUALISM, which posed the question of the limits of God's power: if there is only one Lord of the created world, what is the cause of evil? Byz. theologians had to refute the old idea expressed particularly by the MANICHAEANS and some heresies possibly drawing upon them (PAULICIANS, BOGOMILS) that there is an opposition between the realm of light (or God) and that of darkness (or matter); the anti-Manichaean arguments and the principles of monotheism were formulated, among others, by JOHN OF CAESAREA in his *Dialogue with a Manichaean* (*Opera* 58f, 245f).

LIT. Prestige, *God* 97–111, 242–64. E. Peterson, *Der Monotheismus als politisches Problem* (Leipzig 1935); rp. in his *Theologische Traktate* (Munich 1951) 45–147. *Monotheismus als politisches Problem?*, ed. A. Schindler (Gütersloh 1978). –K.-H.U.

MONOTHELETISM (from μόνος and θέλημα, "one will"), scholarly term designating a 7th-C.

theological movement. It inherited the problems raised by MONOENERGISM after the ban of the *energeia* formulas in 638. The new phrase, "a single will (*thelema*) in Christ," was suggested by Patr. SERGIOS I of Constantinople and developed by his supporters such as Makarios of Antioch and PYRRHOS. The emperor Herakleios saw Monotheletism as a means of compromise between Chalcedonians and Monophysites and proclaimed it in the EKTHESIS of 638. The main opponent of Monotheletism was MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR who elaborated the concept of a variety of wills: the natural will, he argued, is a property of nature, and therefore desires good; FREE WILL (*proairesis*) means a choice and therefore presupposes the possibility of error or sin; finally, *boulesis* is imaginative desire (*phantastike orexis*—PG 91:13B). Christ, having two natures, had to have two natural wills.

The TYPOS OF CONSTANS II (648) forbade discussion of the controversy, but Maximos defied the edict. He was exiled, as was Pope MARTIN I who supported him. The Council of Constantinople in 680 condemned Monotheletism and its adherents. Emp. Philippikos repudiated this condemnation and tried to revive Monotheletism, but when he was overthrown the movement finally disappeared.

LIT. M. Jugie, *DTC* 10 (1929) 2307–23. V. Grumel, "Recherches sur l'histoire du monothélisme," *EO* 27 (1928) 6–16, 257–77; 28 (1929) 19–34, 272–82; 29 (1930) 16–28. P. Verghese, "The Monothelite Controversy—a Historical Survey," *GOrThR* 13 (1968) 196–211. S. Brock, "A Monothelite Florilegium in Syriac," in *After Chalcedon* (Louvain 1985) 35–45. –T.E.G.

MONREALE, Sicilian town 18 km southwest of Palermo, site of the abbey church of a monastery, chartered by WILLIAM II on 15 Aug. 1176; also a cathedral. It is essentially a magnified version of his grandfather's Cappella Palatina in PALERMO, which Monreale overlooks. The figural mosaics in the nave, aisles, transept, and three apses are generally ascribed to Byz. craftsmen because their style is similar to that of late 12th-C. MONUMENTAL PAINTING in Cyprus, Macedonia, and other centers of Byz. art. According to Demus (*infra*), so huge a body of decoration would have taken 50 mosaicists five to six years to complete, and new scenes had to be invented to extend the standard repertoire. The decoration includes an unusually detailed Old Testament narrative in the nave; MIRACLES OF CHRIST in the aisles and transept; and in the main apse a bust of the PANTOKRATOR, the Virgin Panachrantos, apostles, and saints. Some of the miracle scenes were composed on Greek rhetorical principles and may directly reflect the sermons of PHILAGATHOS (Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 80–83). In the sanctuary are two portraits of William in imperial dress, crowned by Christ and again, as in a Byz. donor PORTRAIT, offering his foundation to the Virgin.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, *The Mosaics of Monreale* (Palermo 1960). W. Krönig, *The Cathedral of Monreale and Norman Architecture in Sicily* (Palermo 1966). Demus, *Norman Sicily* 91–177. –D.K., A.C.

MONTANISM, the heresy of the Montanists (Μοντανισταί), also called Kataphrygians, followers of a certain Montanus who preached in Phrygia in the 2nd C. Their theology did not differ substantially from Orthodoxy, although some church fathers (e.g., Didymos, PG 39:881B) accused "thick-witted Montanists" of teaching the doctrine of the identity of the members of the Trinity. The main particularities of Montanism were: an emphasis on the exclusive role of the "new prophets" (Montanus and two women, Priscilla and Maximilla); attacks on the established church and its concessions to the pagan state; stress on asceticism and rejection of marriage; eschatological expectations; and veneration of a deserted city, Pepouza in Phrygia, as the new Jerusalem. John of Damascus (*Haeres.* 49, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:33f) noted the role of women among the Kataphrygians—not only did they dominate the group and serve as priests, but Priscilla taught that she had had a vision of Christ "in a female shape." According to EPIPHANIOS of Cyprus (*Panarion* 48.14.2), Montanists were numerous in Cappadocia, Galatia, Phrygia, Cilicia, and Constantinople; they were also known in the West, as far as North Africa and Spain.

Both state and church persecuted the Montanists. JOHN OF EPHESUS reportedly went to Pepouza where he burned their place of assembly and destroyed the relics of Montanus and the two prophetesses (S. Gero, *JThSt* 28 [1977] 520–24). According to a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 401.22–27), Leo III ordered that Montanists be forcibly baptized in 721/2; they responded by gathering "in the houses of their deviation" and burning themselves to death. Montanism may have survived in Byz. into the 9th C.

LIT. W.H.C. Frend, "Montanism: Research and Problems," *Rivista di storia e letteratura religiosa* 20 (1984) 521–37. P. de Labriole, *La crise montaniste* (Paris 1913). A. Strobel, *Das heilige Land der Montanisten* (Berlin–New York 1980). –T.E.G.

MONTECASSINO (μονὴ τοῦ Κασίνου), monastery south of Rome, founded in 529 by St. Benedict of Nursia. After destruction by the Lombards (581) and the Arabs (883), the monastery was finally reestablished by Abbot Aligernus ca.950. Though officially patronized by the Western emperors and not in Byz. territory, the abbey, which owned possessions in Apulia, was favored throughout the 10th–11th C. by the *strategoi* of Longobardia, the *katepano* of Italy, and the Byz. emperors themselves. Montecassino was closely associated with Greek monasticism: ca.980–95 NEILOS OF ROSSANO lived with some 60 disciples in Valleluce, a *metochion* of Montecassino; some Benedictine monks from Montecassino migrated to Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, and Mt. Sinai. A Greek monk from Calabria, Basil, was abbot of Montecassino from 1036 to 1038. During the Norman conquest of southern Italy Abbot Desiderius (1058–87) actively supported the invaders, who bestowed lavish donations on the monastery. Nevertheless, between 1076 and 1112, Michael VII and Alexios I sent sumptuous gifts to the abbots of Montecassino, hoping for their mediation in the conflict with Rome and with the Crusaders (*Reg* 1, nos. 1006, 1207f, 1262–64). In 1206, after the Latin conquest of Constantinople, Montecassino was given the monastery of S. Maria de Virgiottis (*tes Euergetidos*) outside the walls of Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 181).

Monuments. Montecassino is one of the few places in Italy where written sources attest the activity of Byz. craftsmen. According to the chronicler Leo of Ostia, when Desiderius rebuilt its main church (1066–71), he sent to Constantinople for mosaicists to decorate the sanctuary vaults and the pavement; perhaps ca.1070 a monk was dispatched to Constantinople to commission precious fittings and liturgical furniture, including the elements of a bronze and silver templon (J. Shepard, *BS/EB* 9 [1982] 233–42) and a gold and enamel altar frontal. The new basilica also incorporated bronze DOORS that Desiderius had commissioned in Constantinople for the old church ca.1065. Of these expensive Byz. objects only some pieces of the nave pavement and 15 plaques from the bronze doors survive; nevertheless, much has been written about Montecassino as a source of Byz. artistic influence in Rome and southern Italy (see SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS; SALERNO), and certain illuminated MSS made in the monastery's scriptorium have been said to reflect the work of Byz. artists (H. Toubert, *MEFRM* 83 [1971] 187–261).

Leo of Ostia wrote that "since *magistra latinitas* had left uncultivated the practice of these arts for more than 500 years," Desiderius had a number of young monks trained in mosaic-making and in the arts of silver, bronze, iron, glass, ivory, wood, alabaster, and stone. It is not clear whether all of these arts were considered Byz. or taught by Byz. craftsmen, and it is usually overlooked that Amatus of Montecassino attributes the pavement to "Greeks *and Saracens*." Unquestionably Montecassino was a unique showcase of imported Byz. objects in southern Italy; yet modern scholars may have overestimated its role as a center of diffusion of Byz. artistic practice.

LIT. H. Bloch, *Monte Cassino in the Middle Ages*, 3 vols. (Cambridge, Mass., 1986). F. Newton, "The Desiderian Scriptorium at Monte Cassino: The Chronicle and Some Surviving Manuscripts," *DOP* 30 (1976) 35–54. –V.v.F., D.K.

MONTH (μήν). Ancient local systems and local names of months (Egyptian, Syriac, Attic, Macedonian, etc.) continued well into the late Roman period, but from the 5th C. onward they were replaced by Roman names; only on the outskirts of Byz. civilization were other denominations and systems in use—Armenian, Jewish, and Islamic. In Egypt, Egyptian month names were used until 641; their use by Christians continued even after the Arab conquest. Late Byz. antiquarians (PACHYMERES, Theodore GAZES) tried to revive Attic names of months (with slight variations), but this scholarly conceit never extended to documents and was rarely used by historians. In the Roman/Byz. calendar the reconciliation of the cycle of lunar months with the 365-day solar year was achieved by having 12 fixed months of uneven length and by intercalating one day to a given month every four years. PLETHON suggested a reform of the calendar, introducing numerical designations for the months (instead of Roman or Attic names): the first was to begin after the winter solstice; the year was to be composed of 12 months, a 13th month being intercalated

whenever the 12th month did not extend to the winter solstice (M. Anastos, *DOP* 4 [1948] 188–90). Plethon also suggested the division of the month into four parts to simplify the institution of new holy days invented by him. Within each month individual days were sometimes designated according to the traditional Roman calendar as being a certain number before three fixed points in the month—Kalends (1st), Nones (5th or 7th), and Ides (13th or 15th). However, the continuous reckoning system (1st, 2nd, etc.) eventually became the norm.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 166–80. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 11:1624–48. –B.C., A.K.

MONTHS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF. In the literary sphere a series of texts appears from the 12th C. onward, describing the personified months and the actions (mainly agricultural) appropriate to them; these texts fall into two groups according to whether or not dietary regulations are included. The chief representative of the first group is a set of DODECASYLLABLES attributed to Theodore PRODROMOS (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 55), in which the months address the reader directly, giving equal space to seasonal activities and to diet (the rules for which derive from the medical handbook of Hierophilos of Alexandria, 3rd C.). The chief example of the second group is the set of short EKPHRASEIS found in the romance *Hysmine and Hysminias* (at 4.5–18) of Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, where the months are described in terms of the Late Antique culture, which Eustathios is apparently recreating (March wears military dress, carries sword and bow, etc.). Both groups are reflected in subsequent shorter texts lacking the pseudo-antiquity of Makrembolites; these are usually in verse and anonymous, though one set of dodecasyllables was written by Manuel PHILES. The most significant of the later texts are the vernacular descriptions in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE (ed. J. Lambert, [Ms E, 1017–1107] pp. 116–23), influenced by Makrembolites, and *Ta eidea ton dodeka menon* (The Forms of the Twelve Months), in turn influenced by *Libistros* and accompanied by illustrations. In most of the texts the year begins in March, though in some (e.g., *Ta eidea*) it starts in September.

Representation in Art. While Late Antique images of the months drew on astronomy, local cults, and folklore, Byz. cycles were generally much more restricted. Certain ancient symbols were retained: the consul representing January in floor mosaics at Argos (G. Akerström-Hougen, *The Calendar and Hunting Mosaics of the Villa of the Falconer in Argos* [Stockholm 1974]) and GERASA is also preserved in the Vatican PTOLEMY (Vat. gr. 1291). By the 11th C. this image had been replaced by one of feasting on a boar, as in OCTATEUCH illustration, where the Months are shown beside tombs to suggest the longevity of Abraham's descendants. In Late Antique art such personifications occurred in many media, whereas in Byz. they were confined to MSS, appearing as marginal vignettes in the Vatican MS of JOHN KLIMAX (Vat. gr. 394) or as *atlantes* decorating CANON TABLES in Gospel books. Here these figures represent labors, corresponding to descriptions of the Months in Eustathios Makrembolites. Novel variations on this iconography occur as late as the illustrations in the *typikon* of the Church of St. Eugenios, Trebizond (Athos, Vatop. 1199), written in Feb. 1346 (Strzygowski, *infra*).

LIT. B. Keil, "Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst in spätgriechischer Literatur," *WS* 11 (1889) 94–142. B. Voltz, "Bemerkungen zu byzantinischen Monatslisten," *BZ* 4 (1895) 547–58. H. Eideneier, "Ein byzantinisches Kalendergedicht in der Volkssprache," *Hellenika* 31 (1979) 368–419. Poljakova, *Roman* 177–89. J. Strzygowski, "Die Monatscyclen der byzantinischen Kunst," *RepKunstw* 11 (1888) 23–46. H. Stern, "Poésies et représentations carolingiennes et byzantines des mois," *RA* 45 (1955) 167–86. Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 24. –E.M.J., A.C.

MONTPELLIER, commercial center in Languedoc, founded in the 10th C. The first significant contact between Montpellier and Byz. was the marriage of William VIII of Montpellier and Eudokia, the niece of Manuel I Komnenos, in 1178 (Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:346–59; W. Hecht, *REB* 26 [1968] 161–69). The arrangement was not part of the emperor's original plan: Manuel had hoped to marry his niece to the brother of Alfonso II of Aragon (see CATALANS) but, to the surprise of the imperial embassy that arrived in the kingdom, he was found to be already wed. It was probably on the advice of Alfonso that William was proposed as an alternative bridegroom. The marriage was ultimately a failure for all of the concerned parties but particularly for Manuel, since Montpellier was at that time a minor political power far too immersed in its own local affairs to advance Byz. diplomatic policy.

The only other evidence of significant interaction between Montpellier and Byz. is found in a series of notarial acts from Montpellier dating between 1293 and 1348 that reveal considerable commercial activity between Montpellier, Constantinople, and unspecified ports in "Romania." The major item of export from Montpellier to the empire was Languedocien and French cloth, particularly woolen items. The Genoese at Pera seem to have acted at times as intermediaries in the process. In return for cloth, the Montpellierains sought luxury products as well as alum, skins, and wax. In 1327–28 and 1333, when poor harvests occurred, Montpellier also imported grain from the Black Sea area. The absence of notarial sources after 1348 is probably a reflection of a decline in commerce between Montpellier and the empire caused by internal problems within the empire, the economic depression in the West brought on by the onset of the Hundred Years War in 1337, and the arrival of the Black Death at Montpellier in 1348.

LIT. K.L. Reyerson, "Montpellier and the Byzantine Empire," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 456–76. –R.B.H.

MONUMENTALITY, a quality of massiveness and, by implication, of realism normally associated with renderings of the human figure. Primarily a function of SCALE and proportion, in Byz. painting it was achieved also through PLASTICITY and a sense of setting in SPACE. Monumentality is not necessarily absent in relief sculpture, the minor arts, or book illustration: it is found in many ivories and MS illustrations of the 6th and 9th–10th C. Nor is a progressive chronological decline from the truly monumental—still apparent in much Late Antique ivory and silver—to its negation in late Byz. art an acceptable view of stylistic development, since monumentality is strikingly evident in, for example, the massive figures, drapery, and architectural settings at SOPOĆANI. But such works constitute exceptions. As most EKPHRASEIS make clear, to the Byz. eye the monumental was the result not of classical techniques but of a work's brilliance and ability to engage the emotions of the spectator. –A.C.

MONUMENTAL PAINTING in Byz., comprising frecoes and mosaics, can be divided into three periods: the 4th–8th C., the 9th–12th C., and the 13th–15th C.

First Period (4th–8th C.). If there was a theme common to the development of monumental painting in the 4th–8th C.—a period of great artistic diversity—it is the adaptation of Roman modes of decoration to the new contexts and imagery of Christianity. Style and medium were transformed, and MOSAIC became the preferred form of mural decoration. The scarcity of evidence, with random chronological concentrations and geographical distribution, makes understanding the period as a whole difficult. Most evidence survives in two main functional contexts: in churches and their ancillary structures such as chapels and baptisteries, and in tombs, esp. the CATACOMBS; important remains also survive in a number of houses and palaces.

The invention of a variety of schemes for ornamenting the surfaces of a room ranging from the naturalistic or illusionistic to the fantastic and abstract was an important contribution of ancient Roman wall painting. Painters continued in the 4th–8th C. to use many of these methods, with emphasis given to one style or another at certain periods. At the beginning of the 4th C., and in contrast to the immediately preceding era, dominated by a highly abstract style of wall design, the preferred mode of wall painting was illusionistic, with the fictive architectural membering of walls and ceiling (columns, coffering) and the imitation of OPUS SECTILE. An important document of the period survives in Trier (ceiling traditionally dated to the time of Constantine I) where the figures, too, have a tangible, natural quality that has earned them the label "classical" (I. Lavin, *DOP* 21 [1967] 97–113). Much painting also survives in Rome (Via Latina Catacomb; Catacombs of Domitilla, Petrus, and Marcellinus); scattered remains are found elsewhere (AQUILEIA, EPHESUS).

The simple and rational architectural systems of the early 4th C., however, became progressively more complicated and illogical (with painted coffers curiously out of joint as, for instance, at STOBI) in the later 4th and 5th C. Similarly the depiction of the human form gradually lost its organic unity. In late 5th-C. ROME, RAVENNA, and THESSALONIKE, walls and ceilings frequently bore ornamental strips or a lattice of lines and complex patterns drawn from textiles (Rotunda of St.

George, Thessalonike). During this period a formula for the decoration of the BASILICA emerged that would prove vastly influential in the Middle Ages (a single large image in the conch focused on the figure of Christ or the Virgin; files of narrative scenes in rectangular panels in the nave).

In the era of Justinian I the framework of mural decoration was richly articulated with floral and geometric motifs (S. Vitale, Ravenna) in an attempt to evoke illusionistic schemes of the past but with curious contradictions (regarding, for instance, the distinction between frame and field—Kitzinger, *infra* 81–98). A more severe, abstract mode soon replaced this richly ornamental style (St. CATHERINE on Sinai, S. Apollinare in Classe, Ravenna). In the Church of St. DEMETRIOS, Thessalonike, and S. Maria Antiqua, Rome, of the 7th and 8th C., the subdivisions of walls—often no more than thin strips of color—were determined more by the needs of individual figures and scenes (monumental icons) than by a sense of the framework as a unified composition.

The Early Christian use of vault mosaics persisted into the 4th C., as in the Mausoleum of Constantia, Rome, but with the lower reaches of the wall reveted in opus sectile. The mausoleum clearly illustrates how the progressively less logical schemes of decoration of the period used the unique resources of the medium: patterns of strewn flowers and fruit on the ambulatory vault, first developed for FLOOR MOSAICS, here appear in mosaic on the ceiling (H. Stern, *DOP* 12 [1958] 157–218).

Probably from the time of Constantine onward, mosaics decorated the apses and perhaps even the entrance walls of great basilicas of Rome (S. Sabina). Often though not always (S. Maria Maggiore), wall paintings covered the nave walls. The preference for mosaic owed in no small part to the luminous qualities of the medium, deemed particularly appropriate to the depiction of the heavenly realm. Consequently, gold emerges as a dominant element of decoration particularly for the conch, as if sheathing the curved surface of the apse with light. Contemporary inscriptions (as at S. Stefano Rotondo, Rome) often commented on the effect. In many later churches, such as S. Vitale in Ravenna, mosaic was limited to the BEMA.

Regarding secular mural decoration in the 4th–8th C., little is known. Some houses of the period, painted notably with imitation *opus sectile*, survive in Ostia and Ephesus. The wall decoration of the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople is known only from literary descriptions. The two paired images of the Anastasis and the Virgin and Child in the corridor beside the nave of S. Maria Antiqua in Rome, dated to the reign of Pope JOHN VII, may have been painted as part of the redecoration of the palatine palace, which John VII assumed as his residence, and may reflect contemporary palace decoration in the East (P.-J. Nordhagen, *BZ* 75 [1982] 345–48).

During the period of ICONOCLASM (726–843), painting of sacred images was forbidden; it is known from both literary sources and surviving decoration that in some churches the figures of holy personages and biblical events were replaced by pictures of trees, flowers, birds, and animals as well as crosses.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, *Byzantine Art in the Making* (London 1977). J. Kollwitz, "Die Malerei der konstantinischen Zeit," 7 *IntCongChrArch* (Vatican-Berlin 1969) 29–158. V.M. Strocka, *Die Wandmalerei der Hanghäuser in Ephesus* (Vienna 1977). –W.T.

Second Period (9th–12th C.). A sequence of dominant metropolitan monumental painting styles can be observed between the restoration of images in 843 and the fall of Constantinople in 1204. Of course, a range of stylistic alternatives was always available to Byz. artists.

A number of post-Iconoclastic figural mosaics from the late 9th/early 10th C. surviving in HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, show stoutly proportioned, flatly patterned figures that have an eminently legible presence. These are found in the room over the vestibule (870s?), the bishops in the nave tympanums (3rd quarter of the 9th C.?), the lunette of the central portal (900?), and the portrait of Emp. Alexander (ca.912). The figures in the Ascension in the dome of HAGIA SOPHIA in Thessalonike are similar. Frescoes in this style found in the provinces indicate the artistic hegemony of the capital (e.g., Ayvalı Kilise in GÜLLÜ DERE; Hagios Stephanos, KASTORIA; S. Pietro, OTRANTO). No extant monumental works in Constantinople can be dated with assurance to the mid-10th C. The lavish wall paintings of the New Church of Tokalı Kilise in GÖREME suggest, however, that the highly classicizing style found in manuscripts such as the PARIS PSALTER and the JOSHUA ROLL had a monumental equivalent.

A series of mosaic programs from the early and

mid-11th C. (Hosios Loukas, the Nea Mone on Chios, and St. Sophia in Kiev) suggest that a style characterized by simple, organically articulated figures isolated on a plain ground developed in the capital concurrently with the Great Feast cycle (see Church Programs of Decoration). A very similar style is found in the crypt frescoes of Hosios Loukas (early 11th C.). Frescoes elsewhere in the empire continue to reflect the responsiveness of the provinces to metropolitan developments, as indicated in the dramatically hard-edged figures in monuments such as the Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessalonike and the apse decoration of Eski Gümüş. The notion that this is a particularly "monastic" style has been appropriately dismissed (C. Mango in *Habitat, strutture, territorio* [Galatina 1978] 45–62).

From the mid-11th C., the dogmatic clarity of monumental images is dramatized by a new emotional content. The master of the frescoes of Hagia Sophia, Ohrid, lent his images intensity through the expressions of his figures and his juxtaposition of contrasting shades. Whether this master had metropolitan connections, as did his presumed patron Leo of Ohrid, is debated. The imprint of the same aesthetic is, nevertheless, found in other parts of the empire and in Italy, contemporaneously at Karabaş Kilise in Soğanli, later at Asinou and, with less sophistication, in the Mavriotissa at Kastoria and in Sant'Angelo in Formis. The mosaics of the main porch and main apse of S. Marco in Venice, dated by Demus to the late 11th/early 12th C., show a similar formal clarity though they lack emotional expressiveness. The mosaics at Daphni suggest a concurrent revival of a classicizing figural style. Not only are the figures organically convincing, but there are intimations of a pictorial middle ground, a novelty in post-Iconoclastic painting. Classicizing conventions of figural representations appear in the frescoes of Veljusa and in the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and the Martorana in Palermo and of Cefalù, which, like the Venetian mosaics, have been ascribed to Byz. artists.

In the second half of the 12th C. an elaborate, linear manner developed. No monumental examples survive in Constantinople with the exception of a fragmentary angel in Kalenderhane Camii. The Annunciation icon at St. Catherine's on Sinai ascribed to ca.1170–80 has been treated as a metropolitan representative of this style. Its chronological position may be suggested by datable frescoes in the provinces. The painted figures at Nerezi refine the emotional expressiveness introduced earlier in the frescoes at Ohrid. At Nerezi the forms are elongated and their drapery elaborated with multiple complex folds, while the settings for the narrative images remain uncluttered. In the frescoes at Kurbinovo and phase two of the Anargyroi in Kastoria, this elegant expressiveness is carried to an extreme. Less emotionally wrought versions are found contemporaneously elsewhere: Monreale in Sicily, the Enkleistra of St. Neophytos and Lagoudera in Cyprus. The relatively homogeneous development of monumental painting in Byz. between the late 9th and late 12th C. as well as the restricted programmatic framework within which stylistic change evolved reflect the highly centralized nature of the empire. The decentralization of the empire that was to result from the conquest of Constantinople by the Latins in 1204 would fundamentally disrupt the traditions of craftsmanship and patronage that informed Byz. art.

LIT. Lazarev, *Storia* 124–272. Mouriki, "Stylistic Trends." V.J. Djurić, "La peinture murale byzantine: XIIe et XIIIe siècles," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1979) 159–252. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "La peinture monumentale tardo-Comnène et ses prolongements au XIIIe siècle," ibid. 255–84. K.M. Skawran, *The Development of Middle Byzantine Fresco Painting in Greece* (Pretoria 1983). Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*.

–A.J.W.

Third Period (13th C.–1453). Though few monuments survive, written sources testify to the existence of considerable artistic activity in Constantinople in the years between the restoration of the Byz. Empire in 1261 and 1300. Some older churches were restored (St. Andrew in Krisei), and others, such as the church dedicated by the empress Theodora Palaiologina to St. John the Baptist (south church of the Lips monastery) or the north church of the Virgin Pammakaristos, were built anew. The churches founded by Nikephoros Choumnos and his daughter, Irene Choumnaina, and by the patriarch Athanasios I are not preserved, nor are the wall paintings in the Church of the Theotokos ton Magoulion or the works of Modestos, the painter who decorated the *katholikon* of the Theotokos tes Panagiotisses (1266). Nothing survives of the mosaic portraits of Emp. Michael VIII and his family that once adorned the Church of the Virgin Peribleptos in Constantinople.

The DEESIS mosaic in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, however, preserves the basic features of what may be called the "first Palaiologan style": the larger scale of figures, the three-dimensionality, the rich shading of each particular form. The use of earlier classicizing models in this period results in a more convincing depiction of space and a better knowledge of anatomy. Drawing their inspiration from works as old as the 5th–6th C., the artists of Constantinople created a distinctive stylistic vocabulary in works such as the MS of the Acts and the Epistles in the Vatican (Vat. gr. 1208) or the Gospels produced before 1300 in a scriptorium patronized by a "Palaiologina" (Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage*). The new style was immediately developed in monuments at some distance from the capital, such as the frescoes of SOPOĆANI in Serbia (1263–68).

The next generation concentrated less on monumental forms and complementary colors and more on the dramatic aspect of their subjects. The frescoes of the PROTATON monastery on Mt. Athos, of the Virgin Peribleptos at OHRID, or the mosaics of the Paregoretissa at ARTA (1290) announce the main features of the so-called second or mature Palaiologan style, which reached its full development only in the second decade of the 14th C. in the mosaics and frescoes of the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople and in the mosaics of the HOLY APOSTLES in Thessalonike, and the frescoes of the Church of Christ in BERROIA. This "mature" Palaiologan style is marked by the introduction of a multitude of figures into each composition, an intensity of feeling conveyed by gesture and movement, a new sense of plasticity achieved by gradually lightening the tone of a color on the drapery, and a new sense of space enhanced by elaborate background architecture. The artists of this period also loaded their images with multiple narrative and symbolic meanings. Such painted metaphors and allusions, used rarely in Komnenian painting, became the standard mode of expression after 1300. Other important extant monuments of this period are found in MISTRA and in the churches painted by MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS. The style also appears in both painted and mosaic ICONS as well as in miniature painting.

The style was not accepted everywhere, however, and it was not easily mastered by provincial artists. While artists trained in the larger urban centers followed more classical traditions, mannerist exaggerations appeared in provincial monumental painting toward the middle of the 14th C. (cf. esp. some frescoes from Lesnovo, near Štip, and some Greek island churches).

After the civil wars of 1321–1328 and 1341–1347 ended, artists of Constantinople tried to impose a new, "heroic" style featuring monumental figures of saints with powerfully rendered bodies, whose cheeks were covered by tiny white parallel lines to symbolize a transcendental LIGHT. These idealizing portraits of calm and powerful saints should perhaps be viewed as a response to the growing threat of Ottoman domination. The frescoes in the Peribleptos and Pantanassa churches at Mistra, in the naos of Dečani, and at Andreaš (1389) probably most closely reproduce the style as it was practiced in the capital. Some icons also are painted in this manner (i.e., the Great Deesis in the Hilandar monastery on Athos of ca.1360, the Pantokrator in Leningrad of 1363, the Thauma tou Latomou in Sofia of ca.1371, and the Pantokrator on Lesbos of the third quarter of the 14th C.). This late Palaiologan style did not spread quite as widely as had the previous ones, but characterizes the monuments of the "Morava" school in Serbia, the Church of Calendžicha in Georgia (painted by Manuel EUGENIKOS), and the works of THEOPHANES "THE GREEK". During the 15th C. a new artistic center emerged in Candia (CRETE), where Byz. masters produced vast quantities of icons and frescoes based on early 14th-C. models.

LIT. Lazarev, *Storia* 273–442. M. Chatzedakis, "Classicisme et tendances populaires au XIVe siècle," 14 *CEB* (Bucharest 1971) 97–134. T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du moyen âge*, vol. 1 (Paris 1977). *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle (Symposium de Gračanica)* (Belgrade 1978). *L'art de Thessalonique et des pays balkaniques et les courants spirituels au XIVe siècle* (Belgrade 1987).

C.B.

MONZA AMPULLAE. See AMPULLAE, PILGRIMAGE; MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF.

MONZA AND BOBBIO, TREASURIES OF. The Cathedral of St. John the Baptist at Monza, founded by Theodelinda, queen of the LOMBARDS, and the abbey of St. Columban at Bobbio, built by her husband Agilulf (r.590–615) and his

son Adaloald possess important collections of PILGRIM TOKENS and AMPULLAE from the Holy Land. The lead flasks, formed in molds, were made to contain oil from lamps that burned in the Christian sanctuaries of Jerusalem and the region of Bethlehem; such provenances determine their description as pilgrimage ampullae. They are decorated with images of the Virgin enthroned, scenes from Christ's infancy, ministry, and Ascension, as well as symbolic representations of the Crucifixion and the memorial *aedicula* on Golgotha. Although the Bobbio fragments are less well preserved than those at Monza, they are of interest because their iconography includes such unusual subjects as the "Navicella" (the ship, emblematic of the Church, from which the apostles watched Christ walk on the water). Sun-baked clay pilgrim tokens illustrate the Flight of Elizabeth (Bobbio) and the Virgin at the spring (Monza).

At Monza three lead boxes contain fragments of wood and bone; 25 glass flasks and a small black glazed amphora from Rome are said to have held oil from lamps in the catacombs. Five palm-shaped purses may also have contained relics. Finally, Pope Gregory I sent Theodelinda's infant son Adaloald a gold True Cross reliquary of which the original niello and gold low-relief panels may survive under a modern crystal cover. Gregory probably received the reliquary when he was *apocrisiarius* at the Byz. court. Three late antique ivory diptychs at Monza include one representing STILICHO, his wife, and their son.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Les ampoules de Terre Sainte* (Paris 1958). M. Frazer in *Il Duomo e i suoi tesori*, ed. R. Conti (Milan 1988) 15–48. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 20–25. –M.E.F., A.C.

MONZA VOCABULARY, a list of some 65 Latin or Italian words with the Greek equivalents, written in the Latin alphabet, added on the final page of a 10th-C. Latin MS in the Biblioteca Capitolare of Monza, near Milan. The Monza vocabulary is written in a rough Carolingian minuscule of approximately the same date as the MS to which it is appended. Difficult to read, and often more difficult to interpret, the Monza vocabulary is important because of the early Italian and vernacular Greek forms that it records. It was apparently constituted through questioning of a Greek speaker, perhaps a clergyman in northern Italy. No evidence links the Monza vocabulary with the Greek spoken in southern Italy. Like the bilingual Psalters and similar texts, the Monza vocabulary attests to interest in and elementary knowledge of Greek in the West in the early Middle Ages.

ED. B. Bischoff, H.-G. Beck, "Das italienisch-griechische Glossar der Handschrift e 14 (127) der Biblioteca Capitolare in Monza," in *Medium Aevum Romanicum: Festschrift für Hans Rheinfelder* (Munich 1963) 49–62.

LIT. W.J. Aerts, "The Monza Vocabulary," in *Studia Byzantina et Neohellenica Neerlandica* (Leiden 1972) 36–73. –R.B.

MOORS. See MAURI.

MOPSUESTIA (Μο(μ)ψουεστία, Crusader name Mamistra, Turk. Misis), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA II (under Antioch). Justinian I rebuilt Mopsuestia's bridge over the Pyramos and in 550 called a council whose records reveal the exceptional power of the imperial representative, the *comes* (or *stratelates*). The city is said to have been destroyed by Herakleios when the Arabs advanced (they first took Mopsuestia in 637), leaving a no-man's-land between Antioch and Mopsuestia. The region remained desolate from raids of the MARDAITES. In 703, the Arabs took Mopsuestia and transformed it into a base against Byz., whose attacks it frequently met. John (I) Tzimiskes captured Mopsuestia in 965. In 1085, it became part of the ephemeral state of Philaretos BRACHAMIOS; from 1097 to 1133, Mopsuestia was generally controlled by the Crusaders, who appointed a Latin archbishop. John II captured Mopsuestia in 1137, but Manuel I had to reconquer it in 1159, when it became his main base in Cilicia. Soon after, the Armenians gained control of Mopsuestia, first as Byz. vassals, then (after 1173) as independent princes.

The most remarkable Byz. remains are the elaborate mosaics of a probably 5th-C. building—a church rather than a synagogue. These include NOAH'S ARK and a unique cycle of the deeds of Samson (E. Kitzinger, *DOP* 27 [1973] 133–44).

LIT. E. Honigmann, *EI* 3:521–27. H. Hellenkemper, *RBK* 4:202–06. G. Dagron, "Two Documents Concerning Mid-Sixth Century Mopsuestia," in *Charanis Studies* 19–30. L. Budde, *Antike Mosaiken in Kilikien*, vol. 1 (Recklinghausen 1969). –C.F.

MORA, or Morrha (Μόρρα), also called Achridos, a mountainous region in the eastern RHODOPE. The toponym Achrido appears in the *Alexiad*

(An.Komn. 1:151.23), while Mora is a later appellation, esp. frequent in Kantakouzenos. The area was dotted with fortresses—called *astea*, *phrouria*, or *polichnia* in the Greek sources (Černomen on the Marica, Ephraim, Oustra, CONSTANTIA, and others). According to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:251.19–22), the inhabitants of Mora bred livestock and took their herds to CHALKIDIKE for the winter. Achridos-Mora, together with MELNIK, probably formed a part of the principality of the *despotes* Alexios SLAVOS but was then conquered by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1255 Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos, leading a Nicaean army, captured a stronghold in Achridos (not near Ohrid, as stated by Polemis, *Doukai* 168), and was appointed the commander of garrisons in Achridos and Tzepaina (Akrop. 1:119.11–16). Mora was a point of contention during the civil wars of the mid-14th C.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 148–54. B. Končev, "Le château médiéval Oustra dans les Rhodopes," *BS* 25 (1964) 254–60. A. Razboinikov, "Za krepostta Efrem," *Archeologija* 7.3 (1965) 39–42. C. Ćirković and B. Ferjančić in *VizIzvori* 6:469, n.358. –A.K.

MORAVIA (Μοραβία, also in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos as Great [*Megale*] Moravia and the country of Svjatopluk), state that arose in Pannonia in the early 9th C. after the dissolution of the AVAR khaganate. It reached its apex under the princes RASTISLAV and Svjatopluk but was crushed by the Hungarians in 906.

Archaeologists have discovered in Moravia remnants of at least 18 churches of the 9th C. (e.g., those of "Na Valách" and "Na Špitálkách" in Staré Město), some of which are of the Byz. inscribed-cross type, with a dome over the nave; Byz. jewelry and silk; and a gold coin of Michael III. It is quite plausible that some economic and political relations between Moravia and Constantinople began in the first half of the 9th C.

Excavations at Mikulčice show that the Moravians were pagan in the 7th–8th C. but thereafter converted to Christianity. The first missionaries active in Moravia were monks from Bavaria ca.800. Prince Rastislav, who was probably fearful of growing German influence in his country and a possible Germano-Bulgarian alliance, requested missionaries from Constantinople in 862. The Byz. sent CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in response. After Constantine's death and the departure of Methodios, an "archbishop of Moravia" named Agathon (probably a supporter of Patr. Ignatios) was active in the country ca.873–79, but Latin missionaries came to dominate there. Constantine VII erroneously calls Moravia unbaptized (*De adm. imp.* 40.33). Byz. retained some ecclesiastical connection with Moravia even after Hungarian settlement there.

LIT. J. Dekan, *Moravia Magna* (Bratislava 1980). V. Vavřínek, B. Zástěrová, "Byzantium's Role in the Formation of Great Moravian Culture," *BS* 43 (1982) 161–88. Z.R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia* (Groningen 1962). E. Honigmann, "Un archevêque ignatien de Moravie, rival de S. Méthode," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45) 163–82. J. Poulík, B. Chropovský, *Grossmähren und die Anfänge der tschechoslowakischen Staatlichkeit* (Prague 1986). –A.K.

MOREA (Μορέα), alternative name for the PELOPONNESOS. The origin and etymology of the name is obscure, and attempts to derive it from Slavic *more*, the sea, were rejected by Vasmer (*Slaven* 2). Others see in the name a Latin corruption of the Greek Romaia, "land of the Romans." The most common derivation is from the name of the mulberry tree (*morea*), whose leaf is similar to the shape of the peninsula. The bishopric of Moreon first appears in a notitia of the 10th C. (*Notitiae CP* 7.554) or in an addition to this text; at any rate, a seal of Theodore, a bishop of Moreon, is dated by Laurent (*Corpus* 5.1, no.656) in the 11th C. V. Laurent's conjecture (*REB* 20 [1962] 186) that the bishopric was created by Nikephoros III is purely hypothetical. The bishopric of Moreon was a suffragan of Patras. Its location is uncertain, probably in Elis, near the promontory Ichthys (A. Chatzes, *BNJbb* 9 [1932] 65–91). It remains unclear whether and how the local toponym Moreon was transformed into Morea and from the 13th C. onward became the designation of the Peloponnesos as a whole, or specifically of its western coastal regions. In the 15th C. MAZARIS jokingly and artificially connected the name, which he reads as Mora, with words such as *moros*, death.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 306–14. D. Georgakas, "The Post-Classical Names Designating the Peninsula of the Peloponnesus (MOREAS)," *Studia onomastica Monacensia* 3 (1961) 302–07. –T.E.G.

MOREA, DESPOTATE OF (1349–1460). As a result of the Fourth Crusade, the Frankish conquest of the Peloponnesos (or MOREA), and the establishment of the principality of ACHAIA, the Byz. lost all control over southern Greece from

1205 to 1262. After William II Villehardouin's defeat at PELAGONIA, however, and his cession of several fortresses to the Byz. by the Treaty of Constantinople (1262), the Byz. regained a foothold in the Peloponnesos. During the ensuing century the Greeks reconquered the southern portion of the peninsula from the principality.

Soon after he ascended the throne, John VI Kantakouzenos created the despotate of Morea as an autonomous province under imperial suzerainty. He sent his son MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS to the Morea as its first *despotes* in 1349 to reestablish order in a province troubled by dissident *archontes*. Manuel's long rule brought a measure of peace and prosperity to the region. Shortly after Manuel's death in 1380, John V Palaiologos made his son THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS *despotes;* thereafter the despotate was an appanage ruled by a member of the Palaiologan family. By 1429 the despotate gained control of the entire Peloponnesos by a combination of warfare and marriage diplomacy and eliminated the principality of Achaia. Its final years (1429–60) were marked by conflict among the sons of Manuel II (THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, and DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS) over the rule of the despotate and devastating attacks by the Ottoman Turks, who were only temporarily thwarted by the construction of the HEXAMILION wall (1415) to defend the Isthmus of Corinth. After 1447 the *despotes* of Morea became a tribute-paying vassal of the Ottoman sultan. The despotate briefly survived the Turkish conquest of Constantinople; its capital of Mistra fell to the Ottomans on 29 May 1460. (See table for a list of the *despotai* of Morea.)

The economic basis of the despotate was agriculture (esp. wine, olives, and raisins) and the production of salt and silk. An influx of ALBANIAN immigrants provided the manpower for farming in the region, which was severely depopulated by constant fighting. The Albanians also served as mercenaries in the army. Trade was controlled by the Venetians, who also defended the coasts. The despotate of Morea was the site of the final flowering of Byz. culture, esp. at MISTRA, where many churches were built and decorated with frescoes. The court of the *despotes* attracted numerous intellectuals, most notably the philosopher-reformer Gemistos PLETHON.

Despotai of the Morea

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
MANUEL KANTAKOUZENOS	1349–1380
MATTHEW KANTAKOUZENOS	1380–1381?
THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS	1381?–1407
Demetrios Kantakouzenos	1383–1384
THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS	1407–1443
alone	1407–1428
with brothers Constantine and Thomas	1428–1443
CONSTANTINE (XI) PALAIOLOGOS and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS	1443–1449
Thomas Palaiologos and DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS	1449–1460

Source: Based on Grumel, *Chronologie* 373, and Zakythinos, *Despotat.*

LIT. D. Zakythinos, *Le despotat grec de Morée*[2], 2 vols. (London 1975). J. Longnon, "La renaissance de l'hellénisme dans le despotat de Morée," *JSav* (1954) 111–33. M. Kordoses, "Historika-topographika Moreos kata ten proten ekstrateia tou Mechmet B'," *Peloponnesiaka* 15 (1982/4) 153–60. M. Andreeva, "Torgovyj dogovor Vizantii i Dubrovnika i istorija ego podgotovki," *BS* 6 (1935/6) 114–18. T. Tzortzakes, *He dikaiosyne ton Palaiologon sto despotato tou Mystra* (Athens 1980). –A.M.T.

MORPHOLOGY, study of the structure of words; in Greek, the study of nominal and verbal inflections and paradigms. Byz. grammarians adopted the analysis and classification of these features worked out by Alexandrian grammarians and given canonical form by HERODIAN and did not take into account the changes in Greek morphology over the centuries. This traditional prescriptive morphology is represented by the *Canons* of Theodosios of Alexandria (4th–5th C.) and THEOGNOSTOS (9th C.), the *epimerisms* of George CHOIROBOSKOS, and the *erotemata* of late Byz. grammarians. Meanwhile radical changes occurred in the morphology of spoken Greek. In noun paradigms most consonantal stems were restructured as vowel stems, for example, μήτηρ was replaced by μητέρα, declined like χώρα; thus the ancient third declension was virtually eliminated (H.-J. Seiler, *Glotta* 37 [1958] 41–67). In verb paradigms the personal endings of imperfect, first aorist, and second aorist became identical, the future was replaced by various periphrases, the perfect and pluperfect became aorist equivalents and were gradually eliminated, the

optative survived only in fossilized clichés, the middle and passive voices were amalgamated, the infinitive was preserved only in certain periphrastic tenses, the active participles were gradually eliminated in favor of an indeclinable gerund (A. Mirambel, *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 56 [1961] 46–79), and many anomalous verbal forms were replaced by more regular equivalents. These changes are reflected in occasional lapses by writers using the traditional learned language in documents, in rare verbatim quotations of speech, and more comprehensively in the VERNACULAR literature which appeared from the 12th C. onward.

LIT. S. Kapsomenos, "Die griechische Sprache zwischen Koine und Neugriechisch," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 2.1:1–39. A. Mirambel, "Essai sur l'évolution du verbe en grec byzantin," *Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris* 61 (1966) 167–90. W. Dressler, "Vom altgriechischen zum neugriechischen System der Personalpronomina," *Indogermanische Forschungen* 71 (1966) 39–63. H. Ruge, *Zur Entstehung der neugriechischen Substantivdeklination* (Stockholm 1969). S.M. Cole, *Historical Development of the Modern Greek Present Verbal Classes* (Urbana, Ill., 1975). Browning, *Greek* 56–87. –R.B.

MORTAR, a bonding material made of slaked lime, sand, and crushed brick (ranging from dust to small pieces) used in thin beds to bind courses of ASHLAR blocks or in thick beds to bind courses of bricks. Mortar was also mixed with irregular pieces of stone to form the concretelike core of walls faced on both sides with ashlar blocks and brick. When used with BRICKWORK, mortar beds are normally 5–6 cm thick. Since Byz. brick is 4 cm thick, a Byz. brick structure has more mortar than brick—the reverse of Roman brick construction. This lavish use of mortar probably contributed to the excessive warping and settling of the structure as the mortar dried. The "rubble" mortar used as the core of walls is friable and weak; it was thus avoided in piers designed to carry great weight. In the 6th C. the pointing of mortar beds resulted in smooth concave surfaces recessed behind the leading edge of the brick; later pointing created a flat surface more deeply recessed above than below.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 11–20. J.B. Ward-Perkins in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 55–57. F.W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden 1956) 19–40. P.L. Vocotopoulos, "The Role of Constantinopolitan Architecture during the Middle and Late Byzantine Period," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981) 551–73. –W.L.

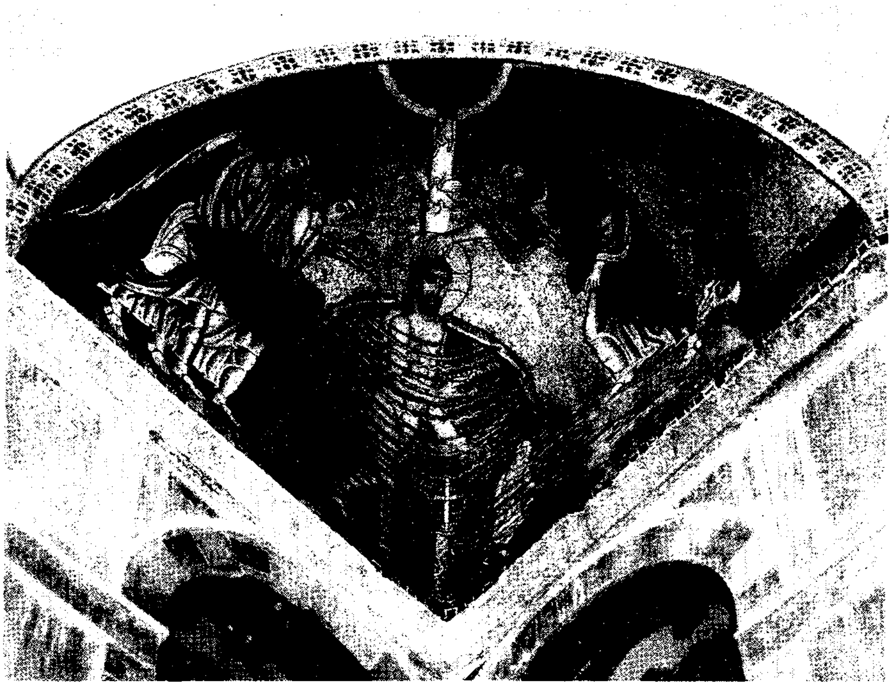
MORTARIA (ὅλμοι). Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 3:168.11–14) defined a *mortarium* as "a round cylindrical [*sic*] stone or a hollow vessel made of stone or wood, in which pulse or other objects were ground." In addition to their use in the preparation of food, *mortaria* were employed to manufacture drugs and colors, or to mix metallic powder; querns or "hand mills" for grinding grain were also known. Roman clay *mortaria* are found throughout the West, but in the eastern Mediterranean they seem to have been replaced by vessels of stone and marble. However, a group of large clay *mortaria* (diam. approximately 50 cm; weight approximately 11 kg) of the 3rd and 4th C. has been found in Syria. All share the same basic form—flat base, high flaring wall, broad, slightly downturned rim with spout—and all are stamped on the rim with a maker's name or trademark (e.g., "of Kassianos"; see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL). The center of manufacture has been archaeologically identified as Ras el-Basit, on the Syrian coast north of Laodikeia.

LIT. J.W. Hayes, "North Syrian Mortaria," *Hesperia* 36 (1967) 337–47. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:103. –A.K., G.V.

MORTE (μορτή, lit. "portion"), a term denoting the (usually) in-kind RENT paid by a PEASANT on agricultural land belonging to the state or to a private landowner. The land leased was called *hypomortos ge* (*Chil.*, no.92.162). *Morte* is found predominantly in 13th- and 14th-C. documents referring to monastic and state lands in Asia Minor. It may be equivalent to PAKTON and the more common terms *dekateia* (see TITHE) and *dekaton* ("tenth"), although in some 15th-C. *praktika* the *dekateia* appears to be a fixed levy in specie, based on the total land owned (i.e., not merely leased) by monastic PAROIKOI, which was paid to the monastery that held them (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:170, n.650). In the 13th C. the difference between ownership and renting for *morte* was obscured, and tribunals had to investigate whether peasants were paying tax or *morte*; the "contract" of *morte* could pass from one generation to another (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 129f).

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 216–21. H. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *JÖB* 6 (1957) 55–67, 96–99. Angold, *Byz. Government* 134f. –M.B.

MORTUARY CHAPEL. See PAREKKLESION.



MOSAIC. The Baptism of Christ; mosaic, early 11th C. Northwest squinch of the *katholikon* of the monastery of Hosios Loukas, Phokis.

MOSAIC (ψηφιδωτόν, μουσαϊκόν), the most elaborate and expensive form of mural decoration (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING) employed by the Byz. With the toleration of Christianity in the 4th C. and the beginning of the construction of churches, the use of small cubes (tesserae) as an artistic medium was no longer limited to FLOOR MOSAICS. It was deemed more appropriate for depictions of sacred personages and biblical events to be placed on the walls and ceilings of churches than on floors where they might be walked on. The gradual shift to mosaic for mural decoration made possible the use of a greater variety of more fragile materials for the tesserae; in addition to the multicolored stone and marble typical of floor mosaic, artists used brick or terra cotta, semiprecious GEMS, and opaque colored GLASS. Gold and silver tesserae were produced by sandwiching foil between layers of translucent glass. Tesserae varied much in size, the smallest being used for modeling faces and other important details. Often following preliminary, painted guidelines, the mosaicists impressed these tesserae into a setting bed, itself laid over previous plaster strata. While tesserae could be produced in a small local workshop, as at Masada in the early 5th C. (Y. Yadin, *IEJ* 15 [1965] 102), mosaic decoration on a large scale presupposes huge financial investment and industrial organization. The mosaic in the apse of HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople required almost 2.5 million tesserae "smeared," as Photios said, "with gold" (Cutler-Nesbitt, *Arte* 106). Depending on the size of the tesserae used, a mosaicist could cover up to four square meters per day (I. Logvin, *Kiev's Hagia Sophia* [Kiev 1971] 16).

In contrast to FRESCO TECHNIQUE, mosaic is an essentially additive medium, contributing materially to the dominance of LINE AND CONTOUR. This inherent linearism could be overcome only by the use of microscopic cubes, such as are found in miniature mosaic ICONS of the 11th C. and later. Despite this limitation, mosaic was, at its best, a medium of great subtlety, involving hundreds of shades of COLOR.

In late antiquity, wall mosaics were subordinate in extent to floor mosaics and were restricted to such surfaces as domes and the conches of apses until the 6th C. During the reign of Justi-

nian I a new model was established at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, paved in marble but with its upper surfaces sheathed with "the glitter of cut mosaic" (Paul Silentiarios—ed. Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 245.647). Mosaic was more widely used in this period than it was to be ever again; the finest 6th-C. examples survive at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai, POREČ, and RAVENNA; others are found at DYRRACHION, GAZA, and at several sites on CYPRUS. Mosaic was soon to become an important Byz. export. Thus in the early 8th C. the Arabs imported from Constantinople "40 loads of mosaic cubes" and a number of workmen for the decoration of the Umayyad Mosque in DAMASCUS (H.A.R. Gibb, *DOP* 12 [1958] 225–29), while Pope JOHN VII seems to have employed Byz. mosaicists for his oratory in St. Peter's, Rome (P. Nordhagen, *ActaNorv* 2 [1965] 121–66).

By the late 8th C., holy figures executed in mosaic were a common feature of sacred decoration: the author of the vita of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER complained that the images of birds and beasts set up by Iconoclasts in the Church of the BLACHERNAI to replace a Gospel cycle left the building "altogether unadorned" (PG 100:1120C). The economic revival of the 9th and 10th C. saw the frequent use of mosaic in the churches and private chapels of Constantinople. It was also the model of luxury in PALACE decoration, attested for the Kainourgion at the GREAT PALACE built by Basil I (*TheophCont* 332.14–335.7) and in the epic of DIGENES AKRITAS.

Mosaic was the technique chosen for imperial PORTRAITS in Hagia Sophia for three centuries (9th–11th) and was favored in the 12th C. by Manuel I for scenes of HISTORY PAINTING (Nik.Chon. 206.48–52). In emulation of the empress Helena, the same emperor may have sent mosaic cubes and even craftsmen such as EPHRAIM to Bethlehem for the Church of the Nativity. CLAVIJO describes mosaics (of the 12th or 13th C.?) in both the church and cloister of the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY in Constantinople, as at St. George of MANGANA. It is also known that large areas of the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople were decorated by EULALIOS in the 12th C. The 11th and 12th C. in general represent a high watermark in work in this medium. The decorations of HOSIOS LOUKAS, the NEA MONE on Chios, and DAPHNI witness to the transport of artists and materials over great distances. In the early 11th C. smalt and mosaicists were sent to KIEV for the embellishment of St. Sophia (A. Poppe, *JMedHist* 7 [1981] 41–43), and local workmen were taught the craft. A similar importation probably prevailed during the protracted decoration of San Marco in VENICE, and mosaicists figure among the other craftsmen brought from Constantinople in the 11th C. by Desiderius of MONTECASSINO. The extent to which Byz. artists participated in the 12th-C. mosaic decoration of PALERMO and MONREALE remains in question.

From the 13th C. onward mosaic was used only in the most lavish enterprises at Constantinople and, exceptionally, at ARTA. While the mosaic of the DEESIS in Hagia Sophia (late 13th C.) may have been an imperial commission, later programs, such as those at the CHORA and PAMMAKARISTOS in Constantinople and the HOLY APOSTLES in Thessalonike, were generally sponsored by the bureaucratic or ecclesiastical elite, often in conjunction with fresco decoration. The last major mosaic undertaking in the capital was at Hagia Sophia following the partial collapse of the dome in 1346. Shortly after 1355 the Pantokrator in the dome was restored, and images of John V Palaiologos, John the Baptist, and the Virgin were installed on the great eastern arch (Mango, *Materials* 66–76, 87–91). The mosaics on the eastern arch, covered by plaster for centuries, were rediscovered in 1989.

LIT. P.J. Nordhagen, C. Bertelli in *Il Mosaico,* ed. C. Bertelli (Milan 1988) 45–163. H.P. L'Orange, P.J. Nordhagen, *Mosaics from Antiquity to the Middle Ages* (London 1966). A. Diem, "Techniken des Mittelalters zur Herstellung von Glas und Mosaik," *SettStu* 18.1 (1971) 623.32.

–A.C.

MOSAIC LAW, more fully titled "Excerpts from the Law Given by God through Moses to the Israelites," a collection of passages from Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy that is preserved in dozens of MSS from the 11th C. onward, usually as an appendix to the ECLOGA. The compilation cannot be earlier than the 8th C. Out of the 50 chapters of the compilation, about 20 deal with marital and sexual problems; among other topics are theft, murder, witnesses, loans, just weights and measures, charity, etc. The

compilation uses terms such as *paroikos* (11:2) and *misthotos* (7:1). Unlike the much earlier (ca.5th C.?) Latin *Collatio legum Mosaicarum et Romanarum*, the Greek Mosaic law contains no direct comparison of biblical and Roman legislation.

ED. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, "Nomos Mosaïkos," *FM* 3 (1979) 126–67.

LIT. P.E. Pieler, "Lex Christiana," *Akten des 26. Deutschen Rechthistorikertages* (Frankfurt am Main 1987) 485–503. S.N. Troianos, "Zum Kapitel 45 der russischen Kormčaja Kniga: Ursprung und Wesen des Nomos Mosaikos," *Cyrillomethodianum* 11 (1987) 1–8. –A.K.

MOSCHABAR, GEORGE, a second name possibly Psyllos (Ψύλλος) or Psyllates (Ψυλλάτης), a relentless opponent of UNION OF THE CHURCHES; fl. second half of the 13th C. Moschabar (Μοσχάμπαρ) is attested in 1281 as *didaskalos tou Evangeliou*, and from 1283 to 1286 as *chartophylax*. Before Michael VIII died, Moschabar fought against Union anonymously. His *Dialogue with a Dominican on the Procession of the Holy Spirit* (1277–78), another work on the same subject, still unpublished, and the *Antirrhetic Chapters* that refute the work of Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS date from this time. After the restoration of Orthodoxy, Moschabar openly opposed Bekkos and his supporters (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:98.18–99.3). His relations with the new patriarch GREGORY II OF CYPRUS deteriorated quickly. Moschabar was instrumental in bringing about Gregory's resignation in 1289 and wrote a certification of Gregory's Orthodoxy in exchange for the abdication (PG 142:129AB).

ED. *Antirrhetics*, partial ed. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Orthodoxos Hellas* (Leipzig 1872) 60–62.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 677f. V. Laurent, "La vie et les oeuvres de George Moschabar," *EO* 28 (1929) 129–58. Idem, "A propos de Georges Moschampar, polémiste antilatin," *EO* 35 (1936) 336–47. Papadakis, *Crisis in Byz.* 106–12, 133f. *PLP*, no.19344. –R.J.M.

MOSCHOPOULOS, MANUEL, writer and philologist; nephew of the bibliophile Nikephoros MOSCHOPOULOS; born ca.1265?, fl. Constantinople ca.1300. A student of Maximos PLANOUDES, Moschopoulos (Μοσχόπουλος) became a commentator on and perhaps editor of classical Greek poets. Virtually nothing is known of his biography, except that in 1305/6 he became involved in a plot, fell into political disgrace, and was imprisoned.

Moschopoulos was a versatile scholar, who wrote a book on Greek grammar (*Erotemata grammatika*) with an appendix on SCHEDOGRAPHIA (J.J. Keaney, *BZ* 64 [1971] 303–13) and an unpublished work, *Discourse Against the Latins*, to which the Unionist George METOCHITES responded (PG 141:1307–1406). At the request of Nicholas RHABDAS, he composed a treatise on magic squares (P. Tannéry, *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 [Paris-Toulouse 1920] 1–19). He is best known, however, for an edition of the *Olympian Odes* of PINDAR, scholia on the *Ploutos* of ARISTOPHANES (J.J. Keaney, *Mnemosyne*[4] 25 [1972] 123–28) and the *Batrachomyomachia*, and for his paraphrase of the *Works and Days* of HESIOD and the first two books of the *Iliad*. His commentaries are grammatical notes or explications of the text at a fairly basic level. The question of whether he produced new recensions of some of the plays of Sophocles (as assumed by A. Turyn, *TAPA* 80 [1949] 94–173) and Euripides is still under discussion. J.J. Keaney (*BZ* 64 [1971] 314f) rejects the previous attribution to Moschopoulos of an Attic dictionary (*Onomaton Attikon sylloge*). Eight of his letters survive, addressed to contemporary literati such as Theodore METOCHITES, Constantine AKROPOLITES, and JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

ED. Letters—Ševčenko, *Soc. and Intell.*, pt.IX (1952), 133–57. L. Levi, "Cinque lettere inedite di Emanuele Moscopulo," *StItalFCl* 10 (1902) 55–72. "Le traité du Manuel Moschopoulos sur les carrés magiques," ed. P. Tannéry, in *Mémoires scientifiques* 4 (Paris-Toulouse 1920) 27–60, with Fr. tr. Paraphrases of *Iliad*, Books I-II—ed. S. Grandolini in *Studi in onore di Aristide Colonna* (Perugia 1982) 131–49 and in *Università degli Studi di Perugia. Annali della Facoltà di lettere e filosofia* n.s. 18 (1980/1) 5–22. For complete list of ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 539.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 244–47. *PLP*, no.19373. E. Melandri, "La parafrasi di Manuele Moscopulo ad Hom. AB 493," *Prometheus* 9 (1983) 177–92. –A.M.T.

MOSCHOPOULOS, NIKEPHOROS, bibliophile and bishop during the reign of Andronikos II; died between 1322 and 1332. He was named titular metropolitan of Crete by 1285, but could not reside in his see because of the Venetian occupation of the island. He was subsequently made PROEDROS of Lakedaimon (Sparta) ca.1289. In 1291/2 he restored the Cathedral of St. Demetrios at MISTRA (M.I. Manousakas, *DChAE*[4] 1 [1959] 70–79). He also built windmills and planted vineyards and olive groves in the countryside nearby. Whenever possible, however, Moschopoulos preferred to live in Constantinople. In

1296 the emperor sent him to Venice on a diplomatic mission; in 1303 he served as imperial emissary to Patr. John XII Kosmas, who had just resigned his throne. In 1305 Patr. ATHANASIOS I forced him to return to Mistra.

Like his more famous nephew, the philologist Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, Nikephoros was a scholar and admirer of classical literature. He possessed a library so extensive that it took four horses to transport it; he copied some codices himself (E. Gamillscheg in *Byzantios* 95–100), commissioned the copying of others, and was generous in his donations of MSS to monasteries. Among his books were a copy of the *Odyssey* and a 10th-C. MS of the homilies of Chrysostom. Moschopoulos apparently also engaged in hymnography; E. Papaeliopoulou-Photopoulou attributed to him an *akolouthia* on John CASSIAN (*Diptycha* 2 [1980–81] 119–45).

LIT. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Nikephoros Moschopoulos," *BZ* 12 (1903) 215–23. M.I. Manousakas, "Nikephorou Moschopoulou epigrammata se cheirographa tes bibliothekes tou," *Hellenika* 15 (1957) 232–46. *PLP*, no.19376. –A.M.T.

MOSCHOS, JOHN, sometimes nicknamed "Eukratas"; monk and writer; saint; born Cilicia (P. Pattenden, *JThSt* 26 [1975] 41, n.1) between 540 and 550 (S. Vailhé, *EO* 5 [1901–02] 108), died Rome Sept. 619 or more probably Constantinople in 634. The prologue to his book, written by a contemporary, records that Moschos (Μόσχος) lived in and visited various monasteries and ascetic centers in Judea, Syria, and Egypt. After the Persian capture of Jerusalem (614), he sailed to the "great city of the Rhomaioi," that is, Constantinople, where he lived as patriarch-in-exile of Jerusalem. Before his death he entrusted the incomplete version of his book, *The Spiritual Meadow* (*Leimon* or *Leimonarion*) to his pupil and fellow traveler, SOPHRONIOS, the future patriarch of Jerusalem (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* n.s. 25 [1974] 41–74). This work, which was dedicated to Sophronios, consists of short edifying anecdotes about monks and hermits, in the tradition of the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM. Its contents and pleasantly unaffected Greek ensured the wide later circulation described by Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.199), who mentions variously sized EKDOSEIS. Translations were made into Arabic, Latin, and Church Slavonic. As with other similar hagiographies, the work provides a wealth of information both for linguists (E. Mihevc-Gabrovec, *Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos* [Ljubljana 1960]) and for those interested in the social and intellectual history of his day. It also innocently spotlights, sometimes horribly, the emotional and sexual repressions of its ascetic subjects. Together with Sophronios, Moschos produced a revision of the vita of JOHN ELEEMON.

ED. PG 87.3:2851–3112, with add. T. Nissen, *BZ* 38 (1938) 354–72. E. Mioni, *OrChrP* 17 (1951) 61–94, rev. E. Kriaras, *Hellenika* 12 (1952) 188–94. Fr. tr. M.-J. Rouët de Journel, *Le pré spirituel* (Paris 1946). Ital. tr. R. Maisano, *Giovanni Mosco: Il prato* (Naples 1982).

LIT. E. Mioni, *DictSpir* 8 (1974) 632–40. N.H. Baynes, "The 'Pratum Spirituale,'" *OrChrP* 13 (1947) 404–14. K. Rosemond, "Jean Mosch, patriarche de Jérusalem en exil (614–634)," *VigChr* 31 (1977) 60–67. –B.B.

MOSCOW (Μοσκόβιον), town in the Volga-Oka basin, capital of a principality that, though subject to the MONGOLS, emerged in the 14th C. as the major rival to Tver' and LITHUANIA for control over Russia. Moscow was in contact with Byz. from the early 14th C., though it is not mentioned explicitly in Byz. sources until 1380 (MM 2:12.12), when Ivan II (1353–59) was designated the great *rhex* of Moscow and all Russia, while Symeon of Moscow (1341–53), in a letter of John VI Kantakouzenos in 1347, is called the great *rhex* of all Russia (MM 1:263.27). The route from Moscow to Constantinople via the Don and the AZOV SEA is described by IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK. Muscovite princes contributed regularly toward the repair of monuments in Constantinople (e.g., in 1347, 1364, 1398; cf. Greg. 3:199.24–200.9). Byz.-Muscovite diplomatic activity focused on the metropolis "of KIEV and all Russia." Metr. Peter (1308–26) transferred his actual residence to Moscow, and most of his successors followed suit. The official residence, however, was moved in 1354 at the order of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS from Kiev only to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma, which was regarded as the senior principality (Greg. 3:514.14–17). Philotheos and ANTONY IV used their involvement with the metropolis to sustain the semblance of Byz. authority, an authority that was lost when Moscow rejected the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE. Byz. artists (THEOPHANES "THE GREEK"), worked in Moscow from the mid-14th C., as did writers associated with the Hesychast movement (KIPRIAN, EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ, PACH-

OMIJ LOGOFET). Moscow ceased paying tribute to the Mongols in 1480, and in the early 16th C. the claim arose that Moscow was the "Third Rome," the successor to Constantinople.

LIT. Obolensky, *Byz. and the Slavs*, pt.VII (1965), 248–75. G.M. Prochorov, *Povest' o Mitjae: Rus' i Vizantija v epochu Kulikovskoj bitvy* (Leningrad 1978). Meyendorff, *Russia*. –S.C.F.

MOSELE (Μωσηλέ), or Mousele, a family name of Armenian origin. In 791 Alexios Mosele, the first known DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS, supported Constantine VI against his mother Irene and was rewarded with the post of *strategos*, but was soon arrested and blinded. Theophilos proclaimed another Alexios Mosele heir to the throne, married him to his daughter Maria, and made him caesar. After military successes in Italy, Alexios was accused of a conspiracy against Theophilos and soon retired to a monastery. The family maintained its importance in the 10th C., when another Alexios Mosele served as *droungarios tou ploimou* under Romanos I, and Romanos Mosele obtained the high title of *magistros* under Constantine VII. Basil II, however, mentioned in an edict that Romanos's descendants had fallen into extreme poverty. Family members of the 11th C. are known only from several uncertain seals, one of which belonged to the imperial notary John Mosele (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.208); in the 12th C. Michael Mosele married a noble lady related to the families of MELISSENOS and XEROS. In Constantinople there were both an *oikos* and a monastery of Mosele; H. Delehaye (*AB* 14 [1895] 161–65) suggested that a school was located in the *oikos*, a hypothesis rejected by Lemerle (*Humanism* 283, n.6); the monastery existed until the 14th C.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 10f. Janin, *Églises CP* 358f. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 155f, 176f, 184f. –A.K.

MOSES (Μωϋσῆς), biblical legislator and prophet; the ideal king, according to PHILO; feastday 4 Sept. One of the tasks of Christian theologians was to demonstrate that Christ was much more than "a new Moses": Moses not only predicted the advent of Christ but "using obscure riddles shed some light on the Trinity" (pseudo-Basil of Seleukeia, PG 85:136C). Human history was construed as consisting of three stages: a period of natural law, one of Mosaic law, and one of Grace and the New Testament. God sent Moses, says Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 17f), and Moses issued "a better law" that his contemporaries were unable to grasp in full. Gregory of Nyssa wrote a Life of Moses (ed. Simonetti, *infra*): its first book is a historical commentary on the events related in Exodus and Numbers, stressing the miraculous, rejecting naturalistic explanation, and suppressing shocking detail; the second, much longer, book is an allegorical and spiritual reading of the life of Moses as the soul's journey to liberation. The Byz. also found the story's romancelike details attractive: Moses' miraculous rescue from the river, the wonders he worked, his flight to the country of Madiam, and his military success. Moses' CROSSING OF THE RED SEA was interpreted as a prefiguration of the triumph of Christianity and paralleled Constantine I's victory at the MILVIAN BRIDGE.

Representation in Art. Images of Moses are found in many contexts. As the protagonist in events of Exodus and Deuteronomy, Moses recurs in narrative art, such as the OCTATEUCHS and two excerpted passages: the Odes of Moses (Ex 15:1–19; Dt 32:1–43) included and illustrated in PSALTERS. A New Testament setting is provided by the TRANSFIGURATION account (esp. Mt 17:3), in which Moses and Elijah appear beside Christ. Moses is represented as an idealized beardless youth (e.g., in the Vatican MS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES) and as a white-bearded patriarch (e.g., apse mosaic of St. Catherine's, Sinai). A single 12th-C. icon at Sinai with 20 narrative scenes from the life of Moses in the frame is probably to be explained by a local cult (Weitzmann in *Place of Book Illum.*, figs.20–21). A characteristic 12th-C. innovation is a woeful Moses with sunken cheeks (e.g., Soteriou, *Eikones*, no.161), a type further developed in the 13th C. by the addition of a short beard and heavily lined features to create an entirely different portrait type (ibid., no.179).

LIT. Gregory of Nyssa, *La vita di Mosè*, ed. M. Simonetti (Venice 1984) xiv–xxxvi. H. Schlosser, *LCI* 3:282–97. *La figure de Moïse* (Geneva 1978) 99–127. –A.K., J.I., J.H.L.

MOSES, Arab saint of second half of 4th C.; feastday 7 Feb. According to Sozomenos (Sozom., *HE* 6.38.5), he was a holy man and miracle worker who lived in the desert. When the Orthodox Arab queen MAVIA revolted againt the Arian Valens

ca.375–78, she insisted during negotiations with the emperor that the Orthodox Moses be consecrated as the bishop of her *foederati*. Valens finally agreed to this condition, and Moses was taken to Alexandria to be consecrated by Loukios, the Arian bishop of the city. Moses refused, however, to be consecrated by an Arian, and was subsequently taken to the "mountain" where the rite was performed by Orthodox bishops in exile. Moses then returned to Mavia's *foederati* and engaged in missionary activity among the Arabs. By some scholars he is identified with Moses the Black (J.M. Sauget, *Bibl.Sanct.* 9:652–54).

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th C.)* 152–57, 185–87.
–I.A.Sh.

MOSES DASXURANC'I (or Kałankatuac'i), Armenian historian (fl. 10th C.?) of whose life nothing is known. His *History of the Caucasian Albanians* ends with the attack of the Rus' on Partaw in 914. Although based on many previous Armenian sources, this *History* is valuable as a prime source for Caucasian ALBANIA and its relations with Armenia, Iran, and Georgia.

Moses focuses on the history of the church in that area of the Caucasus; he claims Albania was converted no later than Armenia. References to Byz. are few, but the campaigns of Herakleios, the schism of the Eastern churches after the Council of CHALCEDON, and the travels to Constantinople and Rome of Stephen (later bishop of Siwnik') are given some prominence. Also included is a lengthy description from about 660 of the holy sites in Jerusalem (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 11 [1896] 93–97).

ED. *Patmut'iwn Ałuanic'*, ed. M. Emin (Moscow 1860; Tbilisi 1912). *The History of the Caucasian Albanians*, tr. C.J.F. Dowsett (London 1961).

LIT. F. Mamedova, *"Istorija Alban" Moiseja Kalankatujskogo kak istočnik po obščestvennomu stroju rannesrednevekovoj Albanii* (Baku 1977). R. Hewsen, "On the Chronology of Movsēs Dasxurançi," *BSOAS* 27 (1964) 151–53. –R.T.

MOSES OF BERGAMO, or Moses de Brolo, Latin translator from northern Italy who was in imperial service at Constantinople ca.1130; died after 1157?. Moses probably participated in John II Komnenos's Danubian campaigns, lived near Constantinople's Venetian quarter, and was selected over BURGUNDIO OF PISA and James of Venice to interpret the debate of ANSELM of Havelburg with Niketas, metropolitan of Nikomedeia (10 Apr. 1136). His treatise on Greek expressions in Jerome's biblical prefaces discusses Homeric imitations of Scripture (ed. G. Cremaschi, *Mose del Brolo e la cultura a Bergamo nei secoli XI–XII* [Bergamo 1945] 163–95). Moses probably wrote his poem on Bergamo (ed. G. Gorni, *StMed*³ [1970] 440–56) before leaving home, although a marginal note associates it with the Byz. emperor. He translated a treatise on Christ's disciples ascribed to EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (Moses alone preserves the authentic text [*CPG* 3780–81], ed. F. Dolbeau, *AB* 104 [1986] 299–314]) and a Trinitarian *florilegium* (partially ed. G. Cremaschi, *Bergomum* 47.4 [1953] 29–69). One letter (C.H. Haskins, *BZ* 23 [1914–20] 133–42), written "ex Dacia" (1128?) apparently to his brother Peter at Bergamo, treats Greek accentuation (and incidentally coinage terms). The letter of indiction 8 (1130?), certainly addressed to Peter, survives in the original (ed. G. Gorni). It mentions how fire in Constantinople's Venetian quarter destroyed Moses' expensive library of Greek MSS and shows him finagling a 15-bezant payment from the *vestiarion* for a worthless relative; Moses discusses his personal finances, the ease of travel from Venice to Constantinople, and the purchase of Byz. liturgical furnishings for Bergamo churches. –M.McC.

MOSES XORENAC'I ("from Xorean [or Xoren]," an unknown town), in Armenian tradition, "the father of history." The reliability and date of his *History* are still debated. This important work, the first attempt to give a coherent account of Armenian history from the settlement of the country in the days of the giants down to the death of MESROP MAŠTOC' in 439, became the standard version.

In book 1 Moses correlates the legends about the origins of ARMENIA (also found in SEBEOS as the "Primary History") with the biblical genealogies and the events of world history as known from the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. In book 2 the role of Armenia between Rome and Parthia is expounded; here the *Jewish War* of JOSEPHUS served as a prime source. Based on the works of AGATHANGELOS and pseudo-P'AWSTOS BUZAND the narrative continues to the death of TRDAT, first Christian king of Armenia. Book 3 describes the predicament of Armenia between

the Byz. emperors and the shahs of Sasanian IRAN. It ends with a lament over the end of the ARSACID monarchy and the removal of the patriarchate from the family of GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR.

The author claims to have been a pupil of Maštocʿ and to have studied in Alexandria and Constantinople. If so, the *History* contains many anachronisms. Nor is it quoted or mentioned until after 900. Its emphasis on the preeminent role of the BAGRATIDS and the down-playing of the MAMIKONEANS has led many to believe that it was written when the former rose to power and the latter declined—in the 8th C.

Moses (whoever he was) was very widely read in Greek theological and secular literature, but he used Armenian renderings of nearly all foreign sources. As a historian Moses was the first Armenian to develop an explicit philosophy of historiography. He speaks of himself as an "antiquarian," anxious to preserve information about past deeds of great men. His values are those of a landed aristocracy where valor is assessed on the basis of martial accomplishments, and rank depends on hereditary standing. Frequently Moses speaks of the importance of veracity and elegance in historical writing, and emphasizes that "there is no true history without chronology," but he had no hesitation in interpreting his sources quite tendentiously.

Several other works have been attributed to Moses Xorenacʿi. Among them a unique *Geography* dates to the 7th C.; based on PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, it briefly describes the entire world, with expanded information on the provinces and political geography of Armenia (R. Hewsen, *REArm* n.s. 4 [1967] 409–32; S.T. Eremyan, *Hayastane est Ašxarhacʿoycʿe* [Erevan 1963]). A book of rhetoric (*chreiai*) said to be by Moses is more difficult to date. It is based on APHTHONIOS and other Greek rhetorical writers, but adduces biblical and Christian examples to illustrate traditional Greek themes (A. Baumgartner, *ZDMG* 40 [1886] 457–515; R. Sgarbi, *Rendiconti, Accademia di scienze e lettere, Classe di lettere e scienze morali e storiche, Istituto Lombardo* 103 [1969] 78–84).

ED. *Patmutʿiwn Hayocʿ*, ed. M. Abełean, S. Yarutʿiwnean (Tbilisi 1913; rp. Delmar, N.Y., 1981). *History of the Armenians*, tr. R.W. Thomson (Cambridge, Mass., 1978). *Géographie*, ed. A. Soukry (Venice 1881), with Fr. tr. *Matenagrutʿiwnkʿ* (Venice 1865) 341–616.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "On the Date of the Pseudo-Moses of Chorene," *HA* 75 (1961) 467–76. –R.T.

MOSQUE (*μασγίδιον*), Muslim building for worship. The earliest mosques are difficult to identify because they may lack definitively distinguishing architectural features; the *miḥrāb* niche begins to be present only with the caliphate of al-Walīd in the early 8th C. A possible north Syrian or Coptic/Ethiopian Christian influence on early mosque architecture is much debated.

In areas newly conquered from Byz. some churches were converted to mosques, or possibly even divided, temporarily, into areas for Muslims and Christians. A 6th-C. guest house in the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai was converted into a mosque; it contains a *minbar* dated by inscription to 1106. Some of the earliest surviving mosques on former Byz. territory include that at BOSTRA as well as the controversial and rebuilt so-called Mosque of ʿAmr in Fusṭāṭ (Old Cairo). In areas that Byz. recaptured from Muslims, mosques were usually closed and the Muslim population ousted or annihilated.

In Constantinople a mosque was protected by treaties with the FĀṬIMIDS in the 10th–11th C. (M. Canard, *Journal Asiatique* 208 [1926] 94–99); epigraphical evidence raised the question of similar Fāṭimid protection for a possible mosque in Athens (G.C. Miles, *Hesperia* 25 [1956] 329–44). A mosque in Constantinople is again mentioned in the 14th and early 15th C. Which Muslim sovereign's name would be mentioned in prayers at this mosque was always controversial.

LIT. O. Grabar, *The Formation of Islamic Art* (New Haven 1973) 104–38. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*^{2} (Oxford 1969) 1–497, 518–21. J. Pedersen, E. Diez, "Masdjid," *EI* 3:315–89. –W.E.K., A.C.

MOSYNOPOLIS (Μοσυνόπολις), town in Thrace on the Via EGNATIA; it is called a *kastron* in the *typikon* of Pakourianos, "cité" or "ville" by Villehardouin. It was built on the site of late Roman Maximianoupolis (ancient Porsulae) at the foot of Mt. Papikion. The archbishop of Maximianoupolis is listed in the notitias of the early 10th C. as suffragan of Traianopolis (*Notitiae CP* 7.598). Basil II used Mosynopolis as an operational base for his Bulgarian wars. In the 11th C. the town was a *bandon* of BOLERON. Anna Komnene knew

Mosynopolis as a center of Manichaean activity. It played an important part in military operations at the end of the 12th through the beginning of the 13th C.: the Normans took it in 1185, and it was ravaged by Kalojan. Whether the town recovered after this blow remains unclear: its name appears as part of the title of the theme of Boleron and Mosynopolis in 1317 (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.7.26), and a synodal decison of 1347 mentions the return of the bishopric of Mosynopolis from the jurisdiction of Xantheia to that of Traianopolis (MM 1:260.18–21). Asdracha (*infra* 106) argues that Mosynopolis was in ruins by the 14th C., identifying it with the "old *polis* of Mesene, destroyed many years ago" mentioned by Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:429.14–15).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 104–09. Lemerle, *Philippes* 129, 176–81. –T.E.G.

MOTION (κίνησις), the term by which the Byz. designated various forms of activity: movement from place to place, GESTURE, mental impulses (EMOTIONS) and, in theology, divine energy (*energetike kinesis*). Although Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:253AB) asserts that motion as such is not to be identified with evil, and church fathers distinguished *trope* (deviation, mutability) from motion directed toward good, Byz. ETHICS contrasted motion as a disquieting activity with immovability as a paradigm of good behavior. Thus, John MAUROPOUS stressed that the pious emperor is immovable while the barbarian and rebel are in ceaseless motion (J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 285–87). The ideal expressed by Byz. BODY LANGUAGE was statuesque repose. Barbaric "nomadism," the rapid movement of mounted warriors across the immeasurable spaces of the steppe, was connected by the Byz. with their ignorance, boorishness, and violence.

Representation in Art. Indications of movement, antithetical to the idea of majesty, either celestial or earthly, are designedly missing from much Byz. imagery. Similarly, portraits and many icons embody the virtues of fixity. Motion is required of the spectator's eye, not of the object of his vision in the *ekphrasis* tradition. Yet in scenes such as the Miracles of Christ the efficacy of the Savior is emphasized by the contrast between his dynamic attitude and the inertness of his patient audience. Despite the Aristotelian notion that movement denotes life (see MOTION, THEORY OF), motion in human forms is generally confined to gesture or simple torsions of the body on its own axis. Rapid or energetic movement is usually left to ANGELS and animals; occasionally the figure of Symeon in scenes of the Presentation of Christ is shown, for emotive effect, rushing toward the object of his desire. Mobility is frequently limited to the less important figures in a scene, be they the children present at the Baptism of Christ or the Egyptians drowned during the Crossing of the Red Sea. –A.K., A.C.

MOTION, THEORY OF. The theory of motion developed in antiquity primarily by ARISTOTLE was modified by the Byz. in several ways. First, John PHILOPONOS rejected the Aristotelian theory that a moving missile was pushed by both the thrower and by the surrounding air that was forced into motion by the agent; instead he introduced the theory of impetus, or "kinetic power," which was transferred from the thrower to the projectile (S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* [London 1962] 74–76). Then, JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Dial.* 45.9–19, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 1:129f) suggested a detailed categorization of types of motion: in essence—birth and destruction; in size—growth and decrease; in quality—alteration; in space—circular and linear movement.

The theological concept of motion was developed in the struggle against PROKLOS, who considered the First Principle as immovable and the soul as self-moving, *autokinetos*. In contrast, the church fathers saw in the Trinity the source of all motion. There were two main theological concepts of motion: one, still connected with Neoplatonic emanationism, construed motion in terms of rest (*mone*), procession (*proodos*), and return (*epistrophe*); NICHOLAS OF METHONE (*Anaptyxis* 43.3–4), however, perceived return not as a circular energy (as Proklos) but going the same way as the *proodos*. He also emphasized the ethical element in *proodos-epistrophe*: the creature that is to return not to itself (as in Proklos) but to God has FREE WILL to act according to nature or to go against nature and to join Satan and his demons who have no access to *epistrophe*. Another view is presented by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, who replaced the Proklean terminology with another triad—being, power, and energy (or action)—thus stress-

ing the category of rest to which both being and action belong (Armstrong, *Philosophy* 492–505). –A.K.

MOUNTINITZA. See Boudonitza.

MOUNT OF OLIVES (Ἐλαιών, ὄρος τῶν Ἐλαιῶν). On this steep hill overlooking Jerusalem from the east is located the cave associated with the Ascension teachings of Christ, where he "prayed with his disciples and handed down to them the mysteries of perfection" (Eusebios of Caesarea, *Demonstr. evang.* 6.18.23, ed. Heikel, *Eusebius Werke* 6:278.25–28); from the nearby hillock, with its "divine footprints," it was believed that Christ rose into heaven (Egeria, *Travels* 43.5). Constantine I built a basilica here, the apse of which incorporated the cave. By the late 4th C. a circular, colonnaded structure open to the sky marked this locus sanctus where pilgrims could collect eulogia dust. In the vicinity were many lesser churches, monasteries, and nunneries. Golgotha and the Mount of Olives reportedly were the scene of the vision of the Cross in 351 on the eve of the victory of Constantius II over the usurper Magnentius in Pannonia.

lit. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 166f. L. Heidet, *DictBibl* 14:1779–93. –G.V., Z.U.M.

MOUSAIOS (Μουσαῖος), poet; born Egypt?, fl. 5th–6th C. Mousaios is described in some of his MSS as a grammarian (*grammatikos*). Nothing else is known of him, though he might be the Mousaios addressed in two letters from Prokopios of Gaza. An epyllion *Hero and Leander* is extant, which shows Mousaios to be a follower of Nonnos of Panopolis and influenced by Proklos. Gelzer (*infra* [1967] 136) interprets the poem as a Christian Neoplatonist allegory, but this position is not universally accepted. Mousaios's presumed use of the *Heroides* of Ovid is of interest in the tracing of Byz. awareness of Latin literature. The attribution to Mousaios of the anonymous poem on Alphaeus and Arethusa (*AnthGr*, bk.9, no.362) is debatable.

ed. *Hero et Leander*, ed. E. Livrea, P. Eleuteris (Leipzig 1982). Ed. with Eng. tr. by T. Gelzer, C.H. Whitman, in C.A. Trypanis, *Callimachus: Aetia, Iambi, etc.* (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1975) 291–389.

lit. D. Bo, *Musaei Lexicon* (Hildesheim 1966). T. Gelzer, "Bemerkungen zu Sprache und Text des Epikers Musaios," *MusHelv* 24 (1967) 129–48; 25 (1968) 11–47. O. Schönberger, "Zum Aufbau von Musaios' 'Hero und Leander,'" *RhM* 121 (1978) 255–59. E. Livrea, "Geschichte der Textüberlieferung des Musaios zwischen Byzanz und Renaissance," *JÖB* 32.4 (1982) 23–29. K. Kost, *Mousaios und Ovid* (Cologne 1975). –B.B.

MOUSEION AND LIBRARY OF ALEXANDRIA. The Mouseion was a center of scholarship and letters; its members received a stipend and many engaged in teaching. The Library, with its librarian and staff, was probably housed in separate premises. Both were founded and funded in the 3rd C. b.c. by Ptolemy II Philadelphos. They continued to enjoy official support throughout the Hellenistic and Roman periods. The Library was reputed to contain 400,000 volumes, that is, papyrus rolls (L.E. Lögdberg, *Eranos* 3 [1899] 166). Its history in the later Roman Empire is obscure. Probably the collection of the "great library" was moved by the 4th C. to a "daughter" branch in the temple of Serapis; at the end of the century it was visited and described by Aphthonios. It remains under dispute whether the Mouseion was destroyed in 391/2 when the temple of Serapis was razed to the ground (J. Schwartz in *Essays in Honor of C. Bradford Welles* [New Haven, Conn., 1966] 97–111); at any rate, the Mouseion is not mentioned by any writer after Aphthonios. The final destruction of the Library may have been caused by ʿAmr ibn al-ʿĀṣ, the Arab general, when he conquered Alexandria in 642. One must view as apocryphal, however, the story that ʿAmr, in reponse to John Philoponos's plea that it be spared, observed that if the books agreed with the Qur'ān they were superfluous, and if they disagreed with it they were pernicious and had to be destroyed.

lit. P.M. Fraser, *Ptolemaic Alexandria* (Oxford 1972) 1:305–35, 2:462–94. E.A. Parsons, *The Alexandrian Library* (London 1952) 344–429. P. Casanova, "L'incendie de la bibliothèque d'Alexandrie par les Arabes," *CRAI* (1923) 163–71. G. Furlani, "Giovanni il Filopono e l'incendio della biblioteca di Alessandria," *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie* n.s. 6 (1925) 58–77. J. Thiem, "Library of Alexandria Burnt: History of a Symbol," *Journal of the History of Ideas* 40 (1979) 507–26. –A.K., R.B.

MOUZALON (Μουζάλων, fem. Μουζαλώνισσα), a family whose first member is known from an 11th-C. seal—Theodora Mouzalonissa, "*archon-*

tissa of Rhosia" (Ch. Loparev, *VizVrem* 1 [1894] 160). She has sometimes been considered the wife of Oleg Svjatoslavič, prince of TMUTOROKAN, but possibly her husband was a Byz. governor of RHOSIA on the Cimmerian Bosporos. In the 12th C. the family produced NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON, patriarch of Constantinople, and Constantine, a patriarchal notary (Beneševič, *Opisanie* 1:290.3–5). The Mouzalon family reached its zenith in the 13th C. when they were regarded as originating from Atramyttion (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:41.10): Theodore II Laskaris appointed his childhood friend, George Mouzalon, *megas stratopedarches*, his brother Andronikos *megas domestikos*, and another brother, Theodore, *protokynegos*; after Theodore II's death George became regent for John IV Laskaris but was overthrown by Michael VIII Palaiologos; both George and Andronikos were murdered in 1258 (see MOUZALON, GEORGE). Only Theodore retained influence with Michael VIII and the post of *logothetes ton genikon*, but since he disagreed with the emperor on religious policy, he was flogged (by his own brother). Later he became Andronikos II's adviser and favorite; his daughter married the emperor's son Constantine. The Mouzalons regained their position in the army: Stephen Mouzalon was *megas droungarios* and led the negotiations with the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; George Mouzalon, *hetaireiarches*, commanded a troop of Alans but was defeated by the Turks at BAPHEUS in 1302.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 19430–48. Polemis, *Doukai* 148f. –A.K.

MOUZALON, GEORGE, regent of the empire of Nicaea (1258); born ca.1220, died Nymphaion 25 Aug. 1258. He and his brothers were the boyhood companions of THEODORE II LASKARIS. They were by all accounts of non-noble origin. As emperor, Theodore raised them to the highest offices of state, making George *megas domestikos* first, and then *protovestiarios, protosebastos,* and *megas stratopedarches.* Imperial favor earned them the hatred of the great court families, which intensified when they were given aristocratic brides. George married into the KANTAKOUZENOS family. Appointed regent by Theodore II for his young son JOHN IV, George faced the hopeless task of trying to placate the aristocracy led by MICHAEL (VIII) PALAIOLOGOS. Latin mercenaries under Michael's command murdered George along with his brothers during a commemoration service for the late Theodore at the monastery of Sosandra near Nymphaion.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 76–85. Polemis, *Doukai* 148f. –M.J.A.

MOUZALON, NICHOLAS. See NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON.

MUʿĀWIYA (Μαυΐας) ibn Abū Sūfyan, caliph (661–80) and founder of the UMAYYAD CALIPHATE; born Mecca between 600 and 610, died Damascus Apr. 680. A brilliant administrator and general, Muʿāwiya served as a secretary to the prophet Muḥammad and then participated in the conquest of Syria, notably the capture of Caesarea Maritima (640/1). As governor of Syria and Palestine, Muʿāwiya retained the native bureaucracy: Greek continued as the language of record; Byz. images and inscriptions appeared on coins minted in Damascus; and Christians occupied leading offices, esp. those concerning finances. Yet he aggressively attacked Byz. by aiding rebels like SABORIOS and conducting direct assaults. He sent annual raids into Asia Minor and Armenia, leading some himself, and received permission from Caliph ʿUTHMĀN to build a fleet, with which he captured Cyprus (649), Rhodes (654), and Kos (654), and in 655 defeated Constans II in the "Battle of the Masts" at Phoenix (mod. Finike in Turkey). Muʿāwiya's struggle with ʿAlī for the caliphate forced him in 659 to sign a three-year truce with Constans requiring weekly payments of 1,000 solidi, one slave, and one horse (*Reg* 1, no.230).

After becoming caliph Muʿāwiya's renewed conquests—Kyzikos (670) and Smyrna (672)—culminated in a great siege of Constantinople (674–78). Byz. use of GREEK FIRE and attacks by the MARDAITES forced him to withdraw and negotiate a 30–year treaty stipulating annual Byz. payments of 3,000 solidi, 50 hostages, and 50 horses (*Reg* 1, no.239). As caliph, Muʿāwiya was tolerant of Christians and rebuilt the ruined cathedral of Edessa (679).

LIT. H. Lammens, *Études sur le règne du calife omaiyade Moʿawia Ier* [= *MélUnivJos* 1–3] (Beirut 1906–08). A. Stratos, "Siège ou blocus de Constantinople sous Constantin IV," *JÖB* 33 (1983) 89–107. Idem, "The Naval Engagement at Phoenix," in *Charanis Studies* 229–47. –P.A.H.

MUḤAMMAD (Μουάμεδ, Μωάμετ, etc.), prophet of Islam; born Mecca, tribe of Quraysh, ca.570, died Madīna, 8 June 632. Among the most controversial aspects of Muḥammad's life and thought is the extent to which he had contact with Christians and was influenced by them and by Christian (and Jewish) ideas. In *sūra* 30 of the QUR'ĀN, titled al-Rūm, Muḥammad showed concern for and expressed optimism about the survival and welfare of Byz. in its war with Persia. Muslim traditions allege that Muḥammad dispatched messengers to various contemporary sovereigns, including HERAKLEIOS, to call them to Islam. Muḥammad's first expedition against Byz. territory ended in the battle of Mu'ta (628), a serious Muslim defeat. The earliest reference to Muḥammad in a Byz. source is found in DOCTRINA JACOBI NUPER BAPTIZATI, ca.634–35. The aims and reasons for Muḥammad's policy against Byz. late in his life are poorly documented and controversial. His conception of Christians as "people of the Book" enabled his successors to concede them protected status. Hostile and inaccurate traditions about Muḥammad exist in Byz. sources, even though some may draw on Christian Oriental and even Muslim texts.

LIT. W.M. Watt, *Muhammad at Mecca* (Oxford 1953). Idem, *Muhammad at Medina* (Oxford 1956). M.A. Cook, *Muhammad* (Oxford 1983). –W.E.K.

MULES. See BEASTS OF BURDEN.

MUNDHIR, AL-. See ALAMUNDARUS.

MUNICH TREASURE, dated to the 4th C. and found ca.1973 at an undetermined site "in the eastern [Roman] empire." Now belonging to the Bayerische Hypotheken- und Wechsel-Bank in Munich, it is composed of nine silver objects (eight bowls and one plate), five of which are LARGITIO DISHES made ca.321/2 in three different centers and noteworthy as the only such collection yet found in the East. Three bowls have in their centers struck, coinlike portraits—one of LICINIUS and two of his son Licinius II, the caesar, inscribed with acclamation of the latter's fifth anniversary. Two of these bowls (one of the emperor and one of his son) have SILVER STAMPS thought to refer to a mint workshop of Nikomedeia. The third such bowl, of the son, has a comparable stamp for the mint of Antioch. Two other bowls have incised inscriptions: one acclaiming the tenth anniversary as caesar of CRISPUS and CONSTANTINE II and the other bowl the fifth anniversary of Licinius II. The former bowl has a pointillé inscription referring to Naissus and the latter, one of Antioch. As Naissus had no mint, Baratte (*infra*) suggests that the bowl was manufactured in a state treasury. The close similarity of objects made in different centers for different emperors—and their ownership by one individual—indicates a tightly organized system of *largitio* manufacture and distribution. The owner is thought to have been an official who buried the objects at the time of the overthrow of Licinius by Constantine I in 324.

LIT. B. Overbeck, *Argentum Romanum* (Munich 1973). Baratte, "Ateliers" 202–12. –M.M.M.

MUNICIPAL ADMINISTRATION was inherited by the late Roman Empire from antiquity, but by the 4th C., imperial administration came to predominate, and civic self-government was restricted to small hereditary oligarchies, the CURIALES. Their organ was the *boule* (Lat. CURIA), the city council, which consisted of *curiales* and exercised certain rights of justice; administered city estates; and oversaw food supply, building activity, public games, education, and medical care. It was also responsible for paying imperial taxes. During the 5th and 6th C. all of these forms of urban administration fell gradually into the hands of the emperor's agents. In the 7th C. municipal administration declined as the CITY ceased to be the leading social institution; this change was reflected later by a novel of Leo VI abrogating the *boulai*. At the same time the local bishop became responsible for certain aspects of urban affairs. In the 11th and 12th C. some forms of self-government were reestablished in provincial towns. Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 92.1–58) mentions an annually elected magistrate who was constantly active in the marketplace and city council (*bouleuterion*), and Michael Choniates describes with some derision noisy ASSEMBLIES that discussed common affairs. Under the Palaiologoi certain cities, such as IOANNINA, Kroia, Phanarion, and MONEMVASIA, received imperial charters that guaranteed their privileges, including elements of

municipal administration. In Byz., however, the conduct of urban affairs was strictly limited not only by imperial administrative omnipotence but also by the power of local landowners and the church.

LIT. J. Liebeschuetz, *Antioch: City and Imperial Administration in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 50–56. Lj. Maksimović, "Charakter der sozial-wirtschaftlichen Struktur der spätbyzantinischen Stadt," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 173–78. –A.K.

MURAD I (Μουράτ, 'Αμουράτης, etc.), Ottoman sultan (1362–89); son of ORHAN and his Greek wife Nilüfer Hatun; born 1326?, died Kosovo Polje 15 June 1389. Under Murad the Ottoman beylik evolved into an empire stretching from the Balkans to central Anatolia. As this transpired, the Palaiologoi one by one became Murad's tributary princes—partly to avert total conquest, partly to gain his aid in times of dynastic struggle. John V became Murad's vassal ca.1372–73, following the Turkish conquest of Adrianople (1369) and the battle of the MARICA (1371). Murad's posture toward John vacillated opportunistically. In 1373 Murad and John V cooperated closely in crushing the joint rebellion of their sons SAVCI BEG and Andronikos IV. In 1376, however, Murad aided Andronikos in unseating John V and Manuel II, receiving in turn KALLIPOLIS (1377), which the Turks had lost in 1366. When John V and Manuel recovered power in 1379, it was likewise with Murad's aid, for which he received larger annual tribute. Murad's later relations with John V and Andronikos IV (installed as Murad's vassal in Selymbria 1382–85) were generally stable.

Throughout the period 1383–87, Murad's chief Byz. antagonist was Manuel, who was ruling in Thessalonike and refusing accommodation with the Turks. This hostility ended in 1387 when the Thessalonians surrendered to Hayreddin Pasha, and Manuel later made his submission to Murad. THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, Manuel's brother and *despotes* of Mistra, also became Murad's vassal in 1387. At that point, the sultan regarded all the leading Palaiologoi as coordinate members of his state and as sources of revenue and military manpower. Having this network of control, Murad never attempted direct conquest of Constantinople. The Palaiologoi preserved their alignment with Murad in his final years and did not participate in the uprising of the *knez* LAZAR. This uprising led to the Battle of Kosovo POLJE, during which Murad was assassinated.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 248–60. Barker, *Manuel II* 17–67. I. Beldiceanu-Steinherr, "La conquête d'Andrinople par les Turcs," *TM* 1 (1965) 439–61. İnalcık, "Edirne." –S.W.R.

MURAD II (Μουράτης and other forms), Ottoman sultan (1421–51); eldest son of MEHMED I; born Amasya (AMASEIA) 1404, died Edirne (Adrianople) 3 Feb. 1451. In his reign Murad had important dealings with Emps. MANUEL II, JOHN VIII, and CONSTANTINE XI. Murad's relations with Manuel were chronically tense. In Aug. 1421 Manuel failed to restrain John from launching Düzme Mustafa in a revolt against Murad. Düzme Mustafa claimed to be a son of BAYEZID I and had been imprisoned in Constantinople since 1416. John expected in return territorial concessions, esp. Kallipolis. In Jan. 1422, however, Murad crushed Düzme Mustafa and then moved to chastise the Palaiologoi, opening attacks upon Thessalonike and Constantinople in June. After his 24 Aug. general assault on Constantinople failed, Murad soon lifted that siege. Meanwhile Manuel attempted to undermine Murad by supporting the claims of Murad's brother in Anatolia, Küçük Mustafa. Murad eliminated this Mustafa sometime in 1423 and retaliated by dispatching Turahan Beg to ravage the Morea (late May-June). The continuing siege of Thessalonike so reduced its citizens that the *despotes* Andronikos surrendered the city to Venice (formalized July 27, 1423), further enraging Murad. Early in 1424, Manuel finally concluded peace with Murad, conceding territory and promising tribute of 100,000 hyperpyra yearly.

Murad's relations with Byz. were more stable throughout the period 1424–46. John VIII formally abided by the 1424 pact. Murad's 1430 conquest of Thessalonike strengthened his hold over Macedonia and then Epiros, but thereafter he conducted his European campaigns in the northern Balkans. John's frequent maneuverings for Western help in the 1430s and his absence from 1437 to 40 to attend the FERRARA-FLORENCE Council provoked Murad's suspicions but occasioned no breach. The emperor, moreover, played no visible role in the Crusades that Murad faced in 1443–44; indeed, John dutifully congratulated Murad following his victory at VARNA. Murad's

posture stiffened after 1444, however, when the *despotes* of Mistra Constantine (XI) Palaiologos rendered Murad's vassal, duke Nerio II ACCIAJUOLI of Athens, tributary to himself. Murad replied in 1446 by invading the Morea, after which Constantine became tributary to Murad.

In the turmoil following John VIII's death (Oct. 1448), Murad supported the *despotes* Constantine's succession, and concluded a peace pact with him in March 1449. This pact governed their relations down to Murad's death in 1451.

LIT. H. İnalcık, *İA* 8:598–615. Barker, *Manuel II* 354–79. Babinger, *Mehmed* 3–63. –S.W.R.

MURDER (φόνος). Byz. law retained the criterion for murder of Roman law, which required evidence of intention to kill, determined by the weapon used (*Basil.* 60.39.5,13,17). Punishment for the intentional killer differed according to his social status: for the *entimoi* (persons of rank), banishment and confiscation of property; for the *euteleis* (commoners), death. The intentional killer of this law corresponded to the category of *hekousios phoneus* of Byz. legal texts, but Byz. law also introduced divisions within this category (Troianos, *Poinalios* 6–10). There were several mitigating factors in the application of the death penalty for intentional killers. The murderer could avoid prosecution for the crime by paying a settlement to the victim's family (*Basil.* 11.2.2; 60.53.1). Further, the church saved the lives of intentional killers through ASYLUM. A few cases of killing preserved in excerpted form in the *Peira* (66.24–28) show that the murderers who had not sought asylum received corporal punishment or the death sentence (commuted to hard labor in the mines), while those who were under the church's protection had their property divided between their family and the victim's family.

Better sources for the circumstances in which murders occurred are the confessions preserved in the writings of Demetrios CHOMATENOS and John APOKAUKOS from 13th-C. Epiros. These are cases of spontaneous attacks provoked by trespassing on property or insults to personal honor. Although they do not provide a full range of murder cases, they do give examples of everyday murder in rural communities and show that even the innocent needed protection from civil officials, who moved in and confiscated property at the first opportunity (see PHONIKON).

LIT. R.J. Macrides, "Killing, Asylum, and the Law in Byzantium," *Speculum* 63 (1988) 509–38. –R.J.M.

MUSA (Μωσῆς, Μουσῆς, etc.), more fully Musa Çelebi, younger son of BAYEZID I; died near Sofia 5 July 1413. Between 1410 and 1413 Musa attempted to establish himself as Ottoman sultan at the expense of his brothers SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI and MEHMED (I). In 1410–11, he eliminated Süleyman and gained control of Rumeli. After campaigning in Serbia, he waged war on Byz. to punish MANUEL II for having supported Süleyman and to recover losses suffered in the peace of 1403. Both Thessalonike and Constantinople were besieged, the latter probably from spring 1411 to summer 1412. In response, Manuel first tried to undermine Musa by supporting the claims and maneuvers of Süleyman's son, Orhan. This failed, and by summer 1412 Manuel had allied with Musa's brother Mehmed, who was based in Anatolia. Musa foiled Mehmed's first efforts to crush him, but on 5 July 1413 was defeated, captured, and then strangled at Mehmed's command south of Sofia. By this victory, Mehmed reunited Ottoman territories in Rumeli and Anatolia and ended the dynastic strife that had weakened the Ottomans vis-à-vis Byz. and others since 1402.

Byz. sources depict Musa as intensely anti-Christian and notoriously cruel. His siege of Constantinople evoked renewed outpourings of devotion to Mary, the city's patron; among these is Manuel II's dolorous *Hymn to the Theotokos*. According to the historian Doukas, Musa assaulted Constantinople out of religious zeal and a desire to wreak vengeance on the Palaiologoi for having incited TIMUR to liquidate Musa's father, Bayezid.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 281–88. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 297–99. M. Tekindağ, *İA* 8:661–66. P. Wittek, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *REI* 12 (1938) 1–34. –S.W.R.

MUSIC. Apart from the ACCLAMATIONS, no music survives from Byz. that is not directly connected with the liturgy. Secular music is frequently described by Christian authors and historiographers (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS; MUSICIANS; and SINGERS), but its styles, genre, and form are unknown. Hence, modern scholars use the phrase

"Byz. music" to refer to the medieval sacred unaccompanied CHANT of Christian churches following the Eastern Orthodox rite and to a certain group of ceremonial songs in honor of the emperor, the imperial family, and high dignitaries of the Orthodox church. This music is undeniably of composite origin, drawing on the artistic and technical productions of antiquity as well as on Jewish music, and was inspired by the plainsong that evolved in Alexandria, Antioch, and Ephesus.

MSS with symbols to indicate melodic movement (see NEUMATA and NOTATION) appeared only from the 9th C. onward, so our knowledge of the earlier period has to be gleaned from TYPIKA, patristic writings, and medieval historians. The evidence suggests that HYMNS and psalms were originally syllabic or near-syllabic in style, stemming as they did from congregational recitatives. Later, as monasticism developed—first in Palestine and then in Constantinople—and with rites and ceremonies taking place in magnificent new edifices (such as HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople), trained choirs of singers, each with its own leader (the *protopsaltes* for the right choir, the *lampadarios* for the left—offices common in Byz. churches but unknown at Hagia Sophia before 1453 [see SINGER]) and soloist (the DOMESTIKOS or *kanonarches*), assumed full musical responsibilities. Consequently, after ca.850 the tendency arose to elaborate and to ornament the music, leading to a radically new melismatic and ultimately kalophonic style (see TERETISMATA).

Byz. musical notation passed through several stages of evolution before the fully diastematic system (which indicated step by step the direction of the melody) emerged ca.1175. Earlier forms were memory aids, cuing the singer along a familiar melodic path; they remain undeciphered today. The mature, diastematic Round Notation, readily convertible into the modern system, represented a highly ingenious complex of interrelationships among a handful of symbols that enabled composers to convey a great variety of rhythmical, melodic, and dynamic nuances.

The OKTOECHOS provided the compositional framework for Byz. psalmody and hymnody. For all practical purposes, this system of modal organization was the same for Latins, Greeks, and Slavs in the Middle Ages. Each MODE is characterized by a deployment of a restricted set of melodic formulas peculiar to that mode, which constitutes the substance of the hymn. While these formulas may be arranged in many different combinations and variations, most of the phrases of any given chant are nevertheless reducible to one or another of this small number of melodic fragments.

Psalmody and hymnody are represented in Byz. MSS by both florid and syllabic settings. Byz. syllabic psalm-tones display extremely primitive features, such as the rigidly organized four-element cadence, which is mechanically applied to the last four syllables of the verse, regardless of accent or quantity. The florid psalm verses, such as those for the Eucharist, which first appeared in 12th- and 13th-C. choir books, demonstrate a simple uniformity in motifs that transcends modal ordering and undoubtedly reflects early congregational recitative.

A special position, however, was accorded to nonbiblical hymnody, within which the generic term TROPARION came to signify a monostrophic stanza, or one of a series of stanzas, in poetic prose of irregular length and accentuation. The development of larger forms began in the 5th C. with the rise of the KONTAKION, which found its apogee in the work of ROMANOS THE MELODE. In the second half of the 7th C., the *kontakion* was supplanted by a new type of hymn, the KANON, initiated by ANDREW OF CRETE and developed by JOHN OF DAMASCUS and KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER.

Another kind of hymn, important both for its numbers and for the variety of its liturgical uses, was the STICHERON. Proper *stichera*, accompanying both the fixed psalms at the beginning and end of vespers and the psalmody of Lauds in the *orthros*, exist for all the feasts of the year, the Sundays and weekdays of Lent, and the recurrent cycle of eight weeks in the order of the modes, which begins with Easter. Their melodies, preserved in the STICHERARION, are moderately elaborate and varied, contrasting with the more rigidly syllabic tradition of the HEIRMOLOGION. Nevertheless, all forms and styles of Byz. music, as exhibited in the early sources, are strongly formulaic in design. Only in the final period of its development did composers abandon this procedure in favor of the highly ornate *kalophonic* style. The most celebrated of them, one entirely representative of the new school, was John KOUKOUZELES, who organized the new chants into larger anthologies called *Akolouthiai* (see PAPA-

DIKE). This final phase of Byz. musical activity provided the main thrust that was to survive throughout the Ottoman period and still dominates current Orthodox musical practice.

There exist a few Byz. theoretical documents on music, which are usually philosophical, frequently speculative, and rarely concerned with specific problems. The more conservative ones simply reproduce late classical statements on harmony and symphony from the writings of Plato, Aristoxenos, and Ptolemy, without acknowledging contemporary practice; such are the *Quadrivium* of George PACHYMERES and the three-volume *Harmonika* transmitted under the name of Manuel BRYENNIOS. Other treatises are simply catalogs of *neumata* and melodic formulas. The oldest of these, found in the 10th-C. MS Athos, Lavra Γ.67, lists rudiments of the tonal and modal systems together with the names and graphic representations of early musical signs. Of the discursive statements, the earliest, known as the *Hagiopolites* (12th C.), contains observations about the modes and the intonation formulas. It is followed by a *Papadike*, the dialogue attributed to JOHN OF DAMASCUS that begins *Ego men o paides*, the treatises of John LASKARIS, Manuel CHRYSAPHES, and GABRIEL HIEROMONACHOS.

LIT. E. Wellesz, *A History of Byzantine Music and Hymnography* (Oxford 1961). Strunk, *Essays*. —D.E.C.

MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS (*μουσικὰ ὄργανα*). The number, kind, and function of musical instruments in Byz. is not fully understood. No instrumental music survives and the nature of accompaniment for songs—whether it followed the vocal line faithfully or indulged in heterophonic embroidery—is unknown. Written texts give lists of names, rather than descriptions of musical instruments, and it is difficult to establish the relation between the terms and the pictorial evidence preserved in MSS, ivories, and metalwork. John Chrysostom (PG 55:532f; 62:112.12–14) mentions various terms, all known from ancient sources: *kymbalon* (cymbal), *aulos* (flute), *tympanon* (drum), *salpinx* (trumpet), *psalterion* (harp), *kithara* (harp), *syrinx* (pipe). In Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 379.7, 381.11) are cited *cheirokymbalon* (cymbal) and *pandoura* (lute); in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 172.9–20), *anakara* (cymbals) as well as horns and trumpets made of silver; LIBYSTROS AND RHODAMNE (ed. J. Lambert, p.315.3168) adds *seistron* (metallic rattle) and *boukinon* (trumpet). The distinction between some of these terms is unclear.

Pictorial data are provided mostly by mythological scenes (flutes, harps, cymbals, etc.); by the illustrations of the Psalms (e.g., Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters* 39, 49, 73f), in which David is often represented playing a harp or a lyre; and esp. (if it is indeed of Byz. origin) by the 12th-C. silver vase from Berezovo (V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* [Moscow 1975] 163–77), the medallions of which show musicians playing stringed instruments (both plucked and bowed), flutes, trumpets, cymbals, and a drum.

Musical instruments played little if any role in liturgy, but occupied an important place in palace ceremonial, noble entertainment (as described in *Digenes Akritas*), and as accompaniment to dances. At wedding celebrations, such as those described in the dialogue ANACHARSIS (260:965–67) and by Choniates (Nik.Chon. 494.7–8), string and wind instruments (including the *kithara*, *pektides* [angle harps], lyre, and *aulos*) and cymbals were played. The description in a 14th-C. ceremonial book of the Christmas Eve procession in Constantinople reveals the existence of a small imperial band (pseudo-Kod. 197.12–19). The MUSICIANS (*paigniotai*), who stood behind the clergy and were separated from the crowd by standard-bearers, consisted of trumpeters (*salpinktai*), horn players (*bykinatores*), cymbal players (*anakaristai*), and pipers (*souroulistai*). According to pseudo-Kodinos, musicians using "smaller instruments" were not part of the band. Horns, trumpets, and cymbals—played singly or in concert—were used in battles (*Strat.Maurik.* 2.17; Nik.Chon. 381.31–32), as were *tympana* (Leo Diac. 24.17, 36.6).

Both the repertory and construction technique of Byz. musical instruments were heavily based on ancient tradition, although some innovations were made under Eastern and/or Western influence, such as use of drums and bowed string instruments. One of the most imposing instruments was the ORGAN.

Actual examples of Byz. musical instruments are extremely rare. In Corinth the wooden body of a lyre (10th or 11th C.) has been discovered; the bowl would have been covered by a sound-

board (of leather or wood), on which strings would be fastened; neither has survived (Ph. Anogeianakes, *DChAE* 3[4] [1962/3] 115–25).

LIT. S. Karakases, *Hellenika mousika organa* (Athens 1970) 42–81. W. Bachmann, *The Origins of Bowing and the Development of Bowed Instruments* (London 1969) 34–40. J. Braun, "Musical Instruments in Byzantine Illuminated MSS," *Early Music* 8 (1980) 312–27. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:239–44.
–D.E.C., A.K.

MUSICIANS (*μουσικοί*). While vocal music and SINGERS were sponsored and encouraged in ecclesiastical circles, instrumental musicians in Byz. were accorded little recognition. Indeed, most references to instrumental music-making in the early period condemn the practice. Rhetorical outbursts by church fathers, such as John Chrysostom ("Where *aulos* players are, there Christ is not," PG 62:389.52–53), were strengthened by strict ecclesiastical legislation. Legal tradition denied baptism to *aulos* and *kithara* players unless they renounced their trade (APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS 8:2.9; Epiphanios of Salamis, PG 42:832A), and a 4th-C. Alexandrian law set excommunication as the penalty for a cantor who learned to play the *kithara*. This vehemence against instrumental musicians is primarily explained by the association of MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS with sexual license, luxurious banquets, and the immorality of the THEATER (J. McKinnon, *Current Musicology* 1 [1965] 69–82). Nothing more is known about the social status of musicians and no names of players have been preserved. Descriptions of musical performances at receptions and processions in the writings of Constantine VII and pseudo-Kodinos (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS) suggest that, in later periods, musicians were given certain official duties, though nothing about their training or the scope of their activities is known. In the dialogue ANACHARSIS (218–25), the art of instrumental performance is considered a feature of noble breeding. Finally, while the folk music tradition must have been vigorous, no source describes the musician's role in it. The most interesting representations of Byz. musicians are on the medallions of the silver vase from Berezovo (in the Urals), now in the Hermitage (Inv. ω 3) (V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* [Moscow 1975] nos. 117–33).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 91–97. –D.E.C.

MUTANABBĪ, AL-, more fully Abū-al-Ṭayyib Aḥmad ibn al-Ḥusayn al-Mutanabbī, Arab poet and warrior; born Kūfa 915, died Iraq 965. He joined the entourage of SAYF AL-DAWLA at Aleppo from 948 to 957, and accompanied the ḤAMDĀNID ruler on most expeditions, including the almost annual campaigns into Byz. territory between 950 and 957. Thereafter, court intrigue forced him to leave Aleppo, and his unfulfilled ambition to become governor of some province led him to the courts of Egypt and Persia. He was killed by marauders on his way to Baghdad.

His odes on Sayf al-Dawla's war against Byz., besides their artistry, are valuable historical documents. Of his almost 300 known poems, about 20, some fairly long, are devoted to Sayf's Byz. campaigns, and two or three refer to Byz. envoys or otherwise bear on Byz.-Arab relations. Though containing poetic hyperbole, his poems, with historical notes by various commentators, provide valuable and often specific details of campaigns and their sequence of events, itineraries, toponymy, names of Byz. personages, actual battles, and the reactions of combatants, as with the battle of Adata (al-Ḥadath), 30 Oct. 954. In addition, he often throws light on the strength and weakness of Ḥamdānid war efforts and public relations, and supplements the reports of historians and other literary sources on the Byz.-Arab encounter.

ED. *Dīwān al-Mutanabbī* [Collected Poems], with ʿUkbarī's Commentary, ed. M. Saqqa et al., 4 vols. (Cairo 1936; rp. 1971). Fr. tr. of extracts in Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:304–48.

LIT. M. Canard, "Mutanabbi et la guerre byzantino-arabe," in *Al Mutanabbi* (Beirut 1936) 1–16. R. Blachère, *Un poète arabe du IVe siècle de l'Hégire (X^{e} siècle de J.-C.): Abou ṭ-Ṭayyib al-Motanabbî* (Paris 1935). Sezgin, *GAS* 2:484–97.
–A.Sh.

MUʿTAṢIM (Ἀβησάκ in the story of FORTY-TWO MARTYRS OF AMORION), caliph of the ʿABBĀSIDS (833–42); born between 795 and 797, died 5 Jan. 842. He was the son of HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Under his brother MA'MŪN, Muʿtaṣim campaigned against Byz. in Asia Minor. After his accession in Aug. 833 he defeated the Khurramites, who fled to Theophilos with THEOPHOBOS. He sought peace with Byz., but Theophilos sacked Zapetra (reportedly Hārūn's birthplace) in 837. In 838 Muʿtaṣim led a great expedition into Asia Minor that defeated Theophilos at Dazimon on 22 July,

seized Ankyra, and on 12 Aug. captured AMORION (the birthplace of Theophilos's father, Michael II). Many captives were sold as slaves, but a group of murdered officers became celebrated in hagiography as the Forty-two Martyrs of Amorion.

LIT. J.B. Bury, "Mutasim's March through Cappadocia in A.D. 838," *JHS* 29 (1909) 120–29. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:124–90. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI* 3:785. –P.A.H.

MUTILATION. Like all bodily punishments, mutilation was economical to execute and in addition stigmatized the person punished without actually violating taboos against killing. It was so commonly used in late Roman criminal justice—which left the choice of PENALTY largely to the appropriate officials—that Justinian I was compelled to forbid its abuse (*Nov.Just.* 134.13), without entirely renouncing it. It became a crucial part of the penal system of the ECLOGA: in cases of major THEFT, counterfeiting, and the infliction of severe bodily harm, the culprit's hand was cut off; in cases of perjury, the tongue. For sacrilege the punishment was BLINDING; for BESTIALITY, castration; for ADULTERY, cutting off the nose. Many of these punishments more or less reflected the nature of the offense. In the 7th C. mutilation was widely used in political struggles to prevent a possible usurper from seizing the throne; the case of Justinian II shows, however, that this preventive measure was not always successful. In the case of saints, mutilation of the body, whether voluntary or inflicted by persecutors, might actually have served to sanctify it. In certain cases the wealthy were fined for crimes for which the poor were given corporal punishment. Corporal punishment was also applied as an administrative measure—for refusal to pay taxes or violation of trade regulations.

Mutilation is in obvious discord with Christian morality. Some scholars, however, considered its application as a humanitarian act allegedly substituting for the capital punishment of pagan Roman law.

LIT. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht* 18–22. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et le blason pénal du corps," *Sodalitas* 6 (Rome 1984) 405–26. –A.K.

MYLASA AND MELANOUDION (Μυλά⟨σ⟩σα, Μελανούδιον), theme of southwestern Asia Minor first attested in 1143 as the theme of Mylasa. Under Manuel I, when it replaced the parts of KIBYRRHAIOTAI still under Byz. control, it received the name Mylasa and Melanoudion. It also comprised the region of MILETOS. The theme, commanded by a *doux*, is frequently mentioned in the documents of the LEMBIOTISSA MONASTERY; it survived until Byz. rule in the area ended in the late 13th C. In 1259, Theodore Kalothetos was *doux* of Mylasa as well as THRAKESION (Ahrweiler, *infra* 146f). The theme was well defended; it preserves the remains of numerous Byz. fortresses (W. Müller-Wiener, *IstMitt* 11 [1961] 8–24), notable among them the walls of Melanoudion, ancient Heracleia *ad Latmum*, which date to the 13th C., and the fortified monasteries of LATROS. The town of Mylasa, now Milas, contains no significant Byz. remains.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 127–30. –C.F.

MYRA (Μύρα, now Demre), metropolis of LYCIA. Myra flourished in late antiquity: walls were constructed under Marcian (*AnthGr*, bk.15, no.2), and the whole city was rebuilt by Justinian I after the earthquake of 529. Although the civic monuments of Myra are poorly known, remains of its port, Andriake, indicate substantial growth in the 6th C. Myra was subject to often devastating Arab raids during the 7th–8th C. Building activity in city and port indicate recovery in the 11th C., interrupted by Turkish and Latin attacks, then yielding to desolation and Turkish conquest in the late 12th C. Myra's major monument, the Church of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA, was a cross-domed basilica built over the ruins of a Justinianic church, perhaps in the 8th C. During the 11th–12th C., when it was an important pilgrimage center, it was redecorated and enlarged. The fortress on the acropolis shows two periods, probably of the 7th–8th and 12th C. The region of Myra contains numerous stone churches (notably the monastery of Holy SION), chapels, and entire villages that indicate considerable prosperity in the 6th C. and general decline or abandonment thereafter.

LIT. J. Borchhardt, *Myra* (Berlin 1975). R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 117–51. –C.F.

MYRELAION, MONASTERY OF (Bodrum Camii), located west of the Forum Tauri in Constan-

tinople (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). The origins of Myrelaion (Μυρέλαιον), allegedly named after an icon of the Virgin that exuded myrrh, are obscure. Before 920 it came into the possession of ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, who either built or acquired a mansion constructed over the remains of a vast 5th-C. rotunda (R. Naumann, *IstMitt* 16 [1966] 199–216). Romanos added a church (probably between 920 and 922) and converted the complex into a nunnery; he himself and several members of his family were buried there, contrary to the practice of previous emperors, who were buried at the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES. Endowed with estates in Asia Minor and Greece, the Myrelaion convent housed several illustrious inmates, including the wife and daughter of Isaac I. By 1315 it had evidently been converted into a male monastery (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, no.10.106–07). It is last mentioned in Byz. sources in 1400.

Constructed entirely of brick, the Myrelaion church is a cross-in-square structure built over a lower story so as to bring it to the same level as the mansion. In the Palaiologan period the substructure of the church was used for burials. Myrelaion was transformed into a mosque, probably under Bayezid II (1481–1512), and took its name, Bodrum Camii ("cellar mosque"), from the substructure of the church. Badly restored in 1964–65, Myrelaion was recently refurbished for use as a mosque.

LIT. C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* (Princeton 1981). D. Talbot Rice, "Excavations at Bodrum Camii," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 151–74. Janin, *Églises CP* 351–54. –C.M., A.M.T.

MYREPSOS. See PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS.

MYREPSOS, NICHOLAS, probably the author of a late Byz. compilation of pharmaceutical recipes, collected into a work called the *Dynameron* and attributed to "Nicholas." Nicholas Myrepsos (Μυρεψός, lit. "preparer of unguents") has been traditionally identified with the Nicholas who was chief physician (AKTOUARIOS) at the court of JOHN III VATATZES in 1241 (Akrop. 63.13–15). Modeled after the much more modest *Antidotarium* of Nicholas of Salerno (just under 150 recipes), the *Dynameron* has 2,656 recipes, arranged in 48 classes based on pharmaceutical properties; of particular interest are the 87 *kollyria*, "eye salves" (E. Savage-Smith, *DOP* 38 [1984] 183f), 51 enemas, 98 ointments, 12 recipes for narcotics, and 15 recipes for powders and salves to repel insects. As in the *Properties of Foods* by Symeon SETH, one observes Arabic influence in the *Dynameron*: musk, camphor, and senna are mentioned frequently. This text became the major source of Byz. pharmacy and PHARMACOLOGY available in western Europe; Nicholas of Reggio translated it into Latin (14th C.). A copy of the *Dynameron*, together with botanical and astrological texts, was completed in Aug. 1339 by the priest Kosmas Kamelos, exarch of the metropolitan of Athens, for the physician Demetrios Chloras (Paris, B.N. gr. 2243). Its miniatures include a doctor holding a vial, his patient on crutches, a pharmacist and an assistant mixing drugs (Spatharakis, *Corpus*, no.251, fig.451).

ED. Lat. tr. only—*Medicamentorum opus in sectiones quadragintaocto digestum*, ed. L. Fuchs (Basel 1549).

LIT. P.G. Kritikos and S.N. Papadaki, "Contribution à l'histoire de la pharmacie chez les Byzantins," *Veröffentlichungen der Internationalen Gesellschaft für Geschichte der Pharmazie e.V.* n.s. 32 (1969) 19f, 58f. F. Held, *Nikolaos Salernitanus und Nikolaos Myrepsos* (Leipzig 1916). *PLP*, no.19865. –J.S., A.C.

MYRIOBIBLION. See BIBLIOTHECA.

MYRIOKEPHALON (Μυριοκέφαλον), site in Phrygia east of CHOMA that gave its name to a battle of 17 Sept. 1176 between Byz. and the Seljuks. After strengthening the frontier by refortifying DORYLAION and Soublaion (see CHOMA), Manuel I Komnenos decided to break the power of KILIC ARSLAN I. He set out with a huge army in the summer of 1176, marching past Laodikeia, Chonai, Choma, and the ruined fortress of Myriokephalon. The sultan, whose offer of peace had been rejected, occupied the long and narrow pass of Tzibritze on the route of the Byz. army. Meanwhile he sent irregular troops to harass the Byz. forces and scorched the earth before them. When Manuel and the army entered the pass on 17 Sept., they were overwhelmed by the Turks, who descended from the heights and inflicted such catastrophic losses that Manuel contemplated abandoning the army in secret flight. Since Turkish losses were also considerable, the sultan made peace, demanding only that Manuel's new fortifications be dismantled. The battle was de-

scribed in detail by Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 178–191), who blamed the emperor for the defeat, and by Manuel himself in a letter to the English king Henry II. Manuel's account tried to soften the effect of the disaster, which had shaken the West and allowed Frederick Barbarossa to assume an insolent position toward the weak "king of the Greeks."

In the last years of his reign, however, Manuel I managed to improve the situation: he did not dismantle Dorylaion (as he had promised after the battle), and he successfully repelled Turkish attacks such as that against the city of Klaudioupolis (P. Wirth, *BZ* 50 [1957] 68–73). Nonetheless, the battle had decisive effects: Byz. plans to gain supremacy over the Seljuks were abandoned; the frontier was seriously weakened (Dorylaion and KOTYAION, its major bastions, were in Turkish hands by 1182); and the whole area was exposed to raids and nomadic occupations that made it Turkish by the end of the century. The battle is incorrectly named, for it was fought not at Myriokephalon but in the pass of Tzibritze, whose location has been established north of Lake Eğridir in Pisidia.

LIT. E. Eickhoff, "Der Ort der Schlacht von Myriokephalon," *VIII. Türk Tarih Kongresi*, vol. 2 (Ankara 1982) 679–87. A. Vasiliev, "Manuel Comnenus and Henry Plantagenet," *BZ* 29 (1929–30) 238–44. –C.F.

MYRROPHOROI (*μυροφόροι*, lit. "unguent-bearers"), a term sometimes applied to the half-dozen women who placed themselves at the service of Christ (cf. *Synax.CP* 789.7–18) but more usually confined to the women who brought spices to Christ's tomb on Easter morning. According to Matthew 28:1–9, Mary Magdalene and Mary, the mother of James, came to look at Jesus' grave. The resurrected Christ met them and greeted them saying *Chairete*, and they clasped his feet, falling prostrate before him. In art, the Myrrophoroi are depicted most often at the empty tomb. In Early Christian art, the tomb is usually shown as a round structure recalling the rotunda of the Anastasis at the Holy SEPULCHRE, and there may be two women (Mt 28:1–7; SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY) or three (Mk 16:1–10; Baptistery at DURA EUROPOS). Thereafter, except in rare instances illustrating John 20:1–2, there are but two. The round tomb is replaced after the 8th C. by a cave: the angel sits on a stony block before it, often with soldiers at his feet and grave clothes visible in the entryway, while the women huddle at the left. Sometimes one woman turns to flee, suggesting the vivid emotions found in the description by Nicholas MESARITES of a mosaic in the Holy Apostles in Constantinople. The Myrrophoroi appear in certain other scenes: sitting mourning on the ground beside Christ's sarcophagus, prostrate before the risen Christ, or—very rarely—in the scene of Christ's encounter with MARY MAGDALENE in the garden. (See also APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION.)

LIT. Millet, *Recherches* 517–54. –A.W.C.

MYRTAÏTES (*μυρταΐτης*), an enigmatic office or title mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-KODINOS: the *myrtaïtes* occupied a low rank on the hierarchical ladder, between the *sebastos* and *prokathemenoi* of towns, whereas the *megas myrtaïtes* followed the *domestikos* of the Western themes; their functions are not defined. The *myrtaïtes* is rarely mentioned in other sources: the *myrtaïtes* George Doukopoulos probably signed an act of donation of 1311 (*Docheiar.*, p.117); in 1328 Maria, wife of the *myrtaïtes* George Prokopios, concluded an agreement with the monks of Hilandar (*Chil.*, no.117); MAZARIS twice refers to wise statements of a certain *myrtaïtes* Andronikos (ed. A. Smithies [1975] pp. 10.14, 26.3) who died before 1414.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 148f. –A.K.

MYSTAGOGIA. See COMMENTARIES.

MYSTERION (*μυστήριον*), term used to designate any of a number of secret cults of Greco-Roman antiquity, such as the Eleusinian mysteries, MITHRAISM, and veneration of Isis. Enormously varied, *mysteria* included three major features: worship of the divine Mother Earth (as Demeter at Eleusis), the tendency to replace rigid dogma with the "religion of sentiment," and the search for salvation. Even though rooted in primitive and oriental cults, later mystery religions formed an atmosphere in which early Christianity developed. The notable similarities between Christianity and the mysteries were early recognized and indignantly rejected by early Christian authors: Tertullian accused *mysteria* of imitating Christianity. A more

sophisticated position was taken by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, who summoned believers to join the new mysteries of the Logos. Despite the difference between pagan secret cults and the Christian mysteries of the Trinity, Incarnation, and Salvation, the terminology of mysteries, as used by the church fathers, esp. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, served to describe the ineffability of God and the salutary interventions of God in history. This terminology was applied to LITURGY ("frightful mystery"), SACRAMENTS, and revelation, and permeated Christian symbolism with its images of the mysteries of the cross (esp. exalted in the apocryphal Acts of the apostle Andrew), of BAPTISM, of the symbolic presentation of Christ as HELIOS and the Church as Selene, the moon.

LIT. H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zurich 1945) 21–224. M.J. Scheeben, *The Mysteries of Christianity* (St. Louis 1946). –A.K.

MYSTICISM in Byz. is a notion of immediate experience or intuitive knowledge of the divine that surpasses rational, logical perception and knowledge as well as "normal" religious consciousness. Apart from the title *Mystical Theology* and formulas derived therefrom in pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, the term *mystikos*, in contrast to the Western tradition, is not used as a technical term in the East. In ORIGEN (*In Johannem* 1,30.29), the Cappadocians, and later church fathers, however, it occurs in the context of apophatic theology, and its attainment is seen as an intellectual or "ecstatic" act. The reference point of the Byz. mystic was intellectual "vision" attained through pure prayer by mature individuals (*monachos, monotropos*) who have surpassed the two stages of practice and contemplation (*theoria physike*). This is exemplified in EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS whose influence on monastic spirituality, particularly in the tradition of Sinai, persisted in spite of his condemnation as an Origenist and his intellectualism, which contrasted with the Areopagite's "mystical theology," involving ecstatic union granted through grace. These facts are firmly rooted in the synthesis of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, which integrated the Evagrian "movement out of the world and out of the self" (*ekdemia*) with the ecstatic experience of the Areopagite.

In the 11th C., with SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, a new element comes to the fore in the history of Byz. mysticism. Following DIADOCHOS of Photike and JOHN KLIMAX, Symeon developed the doctrine that divine activity can be spiritually and sensually perceived; without experience and feeling, the mental and spiritual life dies. What had been casually treated by his predecessors became for Symeon the basis of his spirituality. This spirituality prevailed on Athos in the 14th C. owing to the influence of GREGORY SINAITES and led in HESYCHASM to the belief that "vision" or "mysticism" can be learned by everyone; it also resulted (in contrast to tradition) in a high esteem for the visionary elements, esp. of certain experiences of light, attainable through concentration and breathing techniques. From the time of Symeon onward, particularly in texts on the hesychastic "method of prayer," meditation receives scant attention, but in the sacramental mysticism of Nicholas KABASILAS it finds its appropriate place once again.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "Les grands courants de la spiritualité orientale," *OrChrP* 1 (1935) 114–38. V. Lossky, *The Mystical Theology of the Eastern Church* (London 1957). J.M. Rist, "Mysticism and Transcendence in Later Neoplatonism," *Hermes* 92 (1964) 213–25. Beck, *Jahrtausend* 192–203. J. Daniélou, *Platonisme et théologie mystique. Essai sur la doctrine spirituelle de saint Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1944). J. Vanneste, *Le mystère de Dieu: Essai sur la structure rationnelle de la doctrine mystique du Pseudo-Denys l'Aréopagite* (Paris 1959). H. Lewy, *Chaldean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. Paris 1978). –K.-H.U.

MYSTIKOS (*μυστικός*, lit. "secret, private"), high-ranking functionary. The office is known from the second half of the 9th C., when Leo CHOIROSPHAKTES was *mystikos* of Basil I (G. Kolias, *Léon Choirosphactès* [Athens 1939] 127.96). Dölger (*Diplomatik* 64) considered the *mystikos* as a secretary for the emperor's private correspondence, whereas Oikonomides (*Listes* 324) viewed the *mystikos* as a judicial official; in any case, the *mystikos* was very close to the emperor and could also carry out the duties of *protasekretis*, judge, and chief of the imperial KOITON. Known *mystikoi* include several well-educated people such as the future patriarch NICHOLAS [I] MYSTIKOS and Theodore DAPHNOPATES. The office existed until the 15th C.

The term served as a basis for the formation of the names of additional offices: in 1057 the *protomystikos* John Xeros was assigned to preside over a legal case (*Pantel.*, no.5.8); the terms *mystographos*

and *mystolektes* are often found on seals. The *mystographos*, who follows the *mystikos* in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, may have been the assistant of the *mystikos*; he also fulfilled notarial and judicial duties. First mentioned in an inscription of 911/12 (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.302), this office seems to have disappeared after 1100. Among *mystographoi* there were also scholars such as John MAUROPOUS. *Mystolektai*, known primarily from seals of the 11th–12th C., served also as courtiers (*primikerios* and *koitonites*), notaries, and judges.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: Le mystique ho mystikos," *REB* 26 (1968) 279–96. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:50–76. P. Magdalino, "The Not-So-Secret Functions of the Mystikos," *REB* 42 (1984) 229–40. –A.K.

MYTILENE. See LESBOS.

MYTILENE TREASURE, dated to the 7th C. and found in 1951 at Krategos, on the island of Lesbos, 8 km south of Mytilene. Now in the Byzantine Museum, Athens, the treasure is an example of domestic silver PLATE made up as a set, unlike the First and Second CYPRUS TREASURES and the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, which were formed over several generations of owners. The Mytilene Treasure is composed of 17 silver objects (four plates, two TRULLAE, a ewer, a lampstand, a lamp, eight spoons), 21 pieces of gold jewelry, a bronze stamp with two monograms, 32 gold coins of Phokas and Herakleios, and bronze coins of 565–610. Except for the spoons, the vessels all bear SILVER STAMPS of 605–630. Although occasionally described as LITURGICAL VESSELS, the large naked APHRODITE on one *trulla* handle is sufficient to indicate a profane use for the whole treasure, given the homogeneity of craftsmanship and date.

LIT. A.K. Vavritsas, "Anaskaphe Krategou Mytilenes," *PraktArchEt* (1954) 317–29. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 32, 40–43, 48–50. –M.M.M.

N

NABLUS. See NEAPOLIS.

NAG HAMMADI, site near the Nile north of Luxor where a collection of Coptic MSS produced in the 4th C. was discovered in 1945. The MSS are now in the Coptic Museum in Cairo. The collection consists of 52 tractates in 12 papyrus codices plus part of a thirteenth. The book covers were stiffened with papyrus letters and documents, some dated, and these indicate that the collection was buried ca.400. All tractates were translated from Greek into Coptic. Gnostic thought, Hermetic and popular philosophy, and orthodox Christian devotion are represented in the collection.

The collection constitutes the most important single source for the study of GNOSTICISM without the filter of Christian heresiologists. The burial of the MSS close to an important monastic center (PBOW, the monastery of PACHOMIOS) may also illuminate the mixture of orthodox and heterodox belief in early monasticism. Wisse (*infra*) has argued that the common thread in the tractates is a belief in ASCETICISM as the highest expression of religious faith.

ED. *Nag Hammadi Studies* (Leiden 1971–). *The Nag Hammadi Library in English*[3] (San Francisco–Leiden 1988).

LIT. J.M. Robinson, "From the Cliff to Cairo: The Stories of the Discoverers and the Middlemen of the Nag Hammadi Codices," in *Bibliothèque copte de Nag Hammadi,* vol. 1 (Quebec 1981) 21–58. F. Wisse, "Gnosticism and Early Monasticism in Egypt," in *Gnosis: Festschrift für Hans Jonas,* ed. B. Aland (Göttingen 1978) 431–40. C. Colpe, "Heidnische, jüdische und christliche Überlieferung in den Schriften aus Nag Hammadi X," *JbAChr* 25 (1982) 65–101.
–J.A.T.

NAGYSZENTMIKLÓS (now Sînnicolau Mare, Rumania, close to the Tisza and Maros rivers), a place where in 1799 a treasure of 23 gold vessels (jugs, bowls, etc.) ornamented with reliefs was found; the objects are now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum, Vienna. Both the original provenance (Avar, Bulgarian, Hungarian?) and the date (700–900?: Z. Kadar, *Folia Archaeologica* 13 [1961] 117–28) of this domestic PLATE are debated; the pieces probably came from different workshops. Traces of the Greek world are few: scenes probably from Greek mythology (e.g., Zeus carrying off Ganymede) on two jugs; Christian symbols (the cross) on several bowls; Greek inscriptions; and a Turkic inscription in Greek letters. Byz. techniques such as granulation, filigree, and niello are absent.

LIT. Gy. László, I. Rácz, *The Treasure of Nagyszentmiklós* (Budapest 1984). A. Alföldi, "Études sur le trésor de Nagyszentmiklós," *CahArch* 5 (1951) 123–49; 6 (1952) 43–53; 7 (1954) 61–67. K. Horedt, "Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert, Probleme und Ergebnisse," in *Die Völker Südosteuropas im 6. bis 8. Jahrhundert* (Munich-Berlin 1987) 11–26.
–A.K., A.C.

NAISSUS (Ναΐσσος, Serb. Niš), Roman city on the river Nišava, near modern Niš in southeastern Yugoslavia. In describing Naissus, Priskos of Panion considered it a *polis* of Illyria, while under Justinian I the city belonged to *Dacia mediterranea.* Constantine I often stayed in Naissus and adorned it with many buildings. In the mid-4th C. it was an important center in the imperial power struggle: in 350 the *magister peditum* Vetranio was proclaimed emperor in Naissus, and in 361 Julian briefly stopped there before his march on Constantinople. In 441 the Huns destroyed the city. Justinian I allegedly restored Naissus, but it was seized and ravaged by the Avars. According to numismatic evidence, the city fell to the Avars ca.613/14 (V. Popović, *CRAI* [1980] 248). At Jagodina mala, near Niš, a necropolis of the 4th–5th C., containing hundreds of tombs with sarcophagi and inscriptions, and a basilica have been found.

In the medieval period, the city is called Nais(s)os or Nisos (e.g., in Niketas Choniates). In donations of Basil II, it is termed a Bulgarian bishopric. In 1072 CONSTANTINE BODIN made the city the center of his anti-Byz. struggle. Located on important routes leading to Hungary and to Serbia, Naisos was "rich and populous" in the 12th C. (Kinn.

204.17); al-Idrīsī describes it as a city rich in agricultural products. Anna Komnene refers to the city as the capital of a theme, while Kinnamos states that it was the center of the *doukaton* of Naisos and BRANIČEVO (Kinn. 124.21). Manuel I Komnenos brought the arm of the martyr Prokopios to the city from Sirmium. Under Manuel, Naisos was the operational center in wars against the Hungarians and esp. the Serbs. Stefan Nemanja planned to make the city, now called Niš, his capital, and in 1202 his son Vukan ruled in the region of Niš.

After 1204 Niš was on the frontier between Bulgaria and Serbia and changed hands several times. It was acquired by the Serbs after their victory at VELBUŽD in 1330. From the end of the 14th C. Niš became the object of Turkish attacks—they occupied and plundered it in 1386 and in 1428. In Jan. 1444 HUNYADI routed the Turks at the walls of Niš, but his victory was negated by his subsequent defeat at Varna.

LIT. J. Kalić, "Niš u srednjem veku," *Istorijski časopis* 31 (1984) 5–40. M. Fluss, *RE* 16 (1935) 1589–99. *Tabula imperii Romani. Naissus* (Ljubljana 1976) 89f. Lj. Zotović, "Izvestaj sa iskopovanja kasnoantičke nekropole u Nišu," *Limes u Jugoslaviji*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1961) 171–75. V. Laurent, "Une métropole serbe éphémère sur le rôle du Patriarcat oecuménique: Nisos-Niš au temps d'Isaac II Ange," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 43–56. L. Mirković, "Starohrišćanska grobnica u Nišu," *Starinar* n.s. 5/6 (1954–55) 53–72.
–A.K.

NAJRĀN, major caravan city in western Arabia that mediated trade between South Arabia and the Mediterranean. The christianization of Najrān in the 5th C. drew it spiritually into the orbit of Byz., and Monophysite Christianity finally prevailed in the city; a Monophysite bishop is attested in the early 6th C. Around 520 the Ḥimyarite king Yūsuf persecuted the city, but a Byz.-Axumite military expedition avenged ARETHAS and the other martyrs of Najrān and made South Arabia a Christian country for some 50 years. The city's *martyrion* was an important place of pilgrimage. The rise of Islam signaled the decline of Najrān. Around 630 a deputation of Najrānites came to Muḥammad at Medina and concluded a treaty, which left them free to practice their Christianity but made them pay tribute. Later, the caliph ʿUmar ordered the Najrānites to evacuate their city; most of them settled in Syria and Iraq.

LIT. L. Massignon, *Opera Minora* (Beirut 1963) 1:550–72. I. Shahid, "Byzantium in South Arabia," *DOP* 30 (1979) 24–94.
–I.A.Sh.

NAKOLEIA (Νακώλεια, mod. Seyit Gazi), an ancient and medieval city in the highlands of PHRYGIA. The river Parthenios (mod. Seyit Su) made the area fertile, and it is plausible that in the 3rd C. there were imperial estates nearby (C.H.E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia*, vol. 1 [Princeton, N.J., 1971] 185). The city played an important political role in the 4th C.: in 366 Valens defeated the usurper PROKOPIOS at Nakoleia and forced him to take refuge in the woods (the area was later deforested); in 399 Nakoleia was the center of the revolt of TRIBIGILD. In 782 the *kastron* of Nakoleia was temporarily seized by the Arabs (Theoph. 456.5–22).

Constantine, bishop of Nakoleia, was one of the initiators of Iconoclasm in the reign of Leo III. Soon thereafter, Nakoleia was evidently elevated to the rank of archbishopric—it has this status in the notitia of Nicholas I Mystikos (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.82). A metropolitan of Nakoleia is listed among the participants in the council of 1066 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.896) but is in last place among the metropolitans. As a metropolis without suffragans, Nakoleia existed through the 14th C. (*Notitiae CP*, no.19.86).

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 16 (1935) 1600–04. Gero, *Leo III* 85, n.5.
–A.K.

NAMAAN (Νααμάνης, Ar. al-Nuʿmān), 6th-C. GHASSĀNID king, the son and successor of ALAMUNDARUS; not to be confused with the last Lakhmid king, al-Nuʿmān (580–602). In 582, after the exile of Alamundarus, four of his sons, the eldest of whom was Namaan, revolted and ravaged imperial territory. Emp. Maurice attempted to install a brother of Alamundarus in the phylarchate, but the candidate died almost immediately. Maurice tried to persuade Namaan to renounce Monophysitism and resume the war against the Persians, offering to recall his father from exile in return. Upon Namaan's refusal to change his doctrinal position, Maurice ordered his arrest and had him join his father in Sicilian exile. When news of Namaan's misfortune reached the Arab *foederati*, they divided into 15 groups, each under

a PHYLARCH, and some even joined the Persians. Thus, religious sectarianism finally brought about the downfall of the Ghassānids and destroyed the effectiveness of the defense system in the East.

LIT. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 256–59. -I.A.Sh.

NAMES, FAMILY. See PROSOPOGRAPHY.

NAMES, PERSONAL. A rough division can be made into three categories: family names (patronymics), given or baptismal names, and monastic names. In the late Roman period the ancient custom of accepting a kinship name (*nomen gentile*), such as Aelius or Flavius, survived. However, this tradition was sharply criticized by Christian writers: John Chrysostom (*Sur la vaine gloire et l'éducation des enfants*, ed. A.M. Malingrey [Paris 1972] 146.648–53) urged Christians to give their children the names of saints, rather than of ancestors. I. Kajanto (in *L'onomastique latine* [Paris 1977] 419–28) has demonstrated that after the 4th C. the *nomen gentile* disappeared from inscriptions (with the exception of some areas in Africa). Family names are absent in Theophanes the Confessor and are exceptionally rare on seals of the 8th–10th C. (A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 52f). A few names of aristocratic LINEAGES (e.g., SKLEROS, DOUKAS) are known from the 9th C., but as a typical phenomenon they appear only after 1000. The inheritance of family names was never strictly established and children could bear not only their mother's patronymic, but also that of their maternal grandmother; in some noble families brothers might each bear a different family name.

From the period of the 11th–12th C. we know primarily the family names of the ruling lineages. They can be divided into two groups: the military aristocracy and the civil nobility. The family name of military aristocrats often originated from relatively obscure toponyms (villages, fortresses) in Asia Minor and Syria (BOTANEIATES, ARBANTENOS, DALASSENOS, DOKEIANOS, etc.), whereas among the civil nobility we encounter names derived from trade professions (PANTECHNES), quarters of Constantinople (AKROPOLITES, MAKREMBOLITES), provincial towns (CHONIATES), and monasteries (Manouelites). Also typical of this group are names emphasizing positive qualities, such as Aoinos ("drinking no wine"), Kaloethes ("of good character"), or Eirenikos ("peaceful"), as if the nobility of second rank tried to compensate itself. Peasant names are preserved mostly in PRAKTIKA of the 14th C. from Macedonia (A. Laiou, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 71–95). Sometimes commoners assumed pompous names, such as Komnenos or Synadenos, probably reflecting their (former?) links of dependency. Usually, however, their names differed from those of noble lineages: some have a Slavic or Vlach origin, some are derived from crafts (Chalkeus, "smith"; Raptes, "tailor"; etc.).

It is not always possible to draw a line between the given and family name, since some given names (both foreign and native) were transformed into family names (e.g., Roger, ROGERIOS). In the earlier period the distinction between the given name and the *nomen gentile* appeared blurred. In any case, in the 4th C. old names were frequent—among the most popular names in Ammianus Marcellinus are Claudius, Florentius, Severus, Ioulianus, Marcellus, Maurus, Maximus, and Sallustius; only one name, EUSEBIOS, can be interpreted as Christian. The situation changed by the time of Prokopios of Caesarea, in whom the most frequent names are JOHN, THEODORE, PAUL, Theodosios, PETER, Leontios, and Alexander. In the late Roman period, given names were primarily of biblical origin or indicated piety or other virtues—esp. Eusebios, but also Akakios, Euphemia, or Theodore. In subsequent centuries, however, few biblical and "virtuous" names of the late Roman period remained popular; John and Theodore were the most striking exceptions, while Eusebios, Paul, and Peter lost their popularity. The names of other apostles (Luke, Andrew, Matthew, Thomas, etc.), were never frequently used.

On the other hand, the group of "imperial" names grew more and more fashionable: BASIL and LEO—imperial by etymology—as well as CONSTANTINE and later ROMANOS, ALEXIOS, and MANUEL. The names GEORGE and DEMETRIOS were probably used on a more "democratic" level; in any case, in vols. 2–3 of the acts of *Lavra* (13th–15th C.) John, George, and Demetrios are the most frequent names. Among feminine names (the number of registered cases is much lower, and therefore conclusions even more difficult) MARIA became the most popular, probably after the 9th C. The formation of new names contin-

ued—the feminine name KALE became fashionable in the late centuries; also several feminine names ending with the letter *omega* (Ioanno, Leonto, etc.) were introduced. Among masculine names, later formations such as Xenos, Peros, Stamates, Stanos, Panagiotes, and Straboioannes never became very popular.

Pachymeres (ed. Bekker 2:276f) describes a procedure for selecting the name for a newborn baby. Andronikos II already had several sons when a daughter was born to him. A group of experienced and pious women were delegated to choose the most appropriate and protective name. They set out the icons of the twelve apostles and lit candles of equal size in front of each. Since the candle of the apostle Simon burned longer than others, the girl was christened SIMONIS, a very rare name.

Certain families favored specific given names: the KONTOSTEPHANOI liked Stephen, Alexios was esp. popular with the KOMNENOI, Michael with the BOURTZES family, etc. It is unclear, however, whether the baptismal name was transferred from grandfather to grandson or from uncle to nephew, or whether there was no strict rule of transmission.

Assumption of the monastic habit was accompanied by the alteration of names. Usually the monastic name began with the same letter as the baptismal name, for example, Andronikos II Palaiologos assumed the monastic name Antony. However, this principle was not mandatory: Constantine PSELLOS became the monk Michael. It is quite plausible to suggest that many names were used almost exclusively as monks' names, at least in the later centuries; thus in *Lavra,* vols. 1–3, Bartolomaios, Gabriel, Gerasimos, Dionysios, Isaias, Theodoulos, Iakobos, Ioannikios, Leontios, Makarios, Meletios, Nikodemos, Niphon, and Sabas are names limited to monks. Some early emperors changed their names at the time of their coronation to a more imperial name (e.g., Artemios became ANASTASIOS II). It was also customary for foreign princesses to take new Greek and Orthodox names when they married Byz. emperors; examples are BERTHA OF SULZBACH and Adelaide of Brunswick (wife of Andronikos III), both of whom became IRENE.

LIT. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme einer byzantinischen Prosopographie des 8. und 9. Jahrhunderts," *BBA* 51 (1983) 121–29. E. Trapp, "Probleme der Prosopographie der Palaiologenzeit," *JÖB* 27 (1978) 181–201. E. Patlagean, "Les débuts d'une aristocratie byzantine et le témoignage de l'historiographie: système des noms et liens de parenté aux IXe-Xe siècles," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 23–43. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 185–96. H. Hunger, "Byzantinische Namensdeutungen in iambischen Synaxarversen," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 1–26. –A.K.

NAOS (ναός, lit. "temple"), a church, strictly speaking the core of a Byz. church; it was commonly domed. From the symbolic point of view, the naos was the earthly embodiment of the Christian universe. Functionally, the naos was the area where the congregation assembled for services and where sermons were delivered from the AMBO. Though descended from the nave of 4th- through 6th-C. basilicas, the naos is distinguished from it by its form, function, symbolism, and CHURCH PROGRAM OF DECORATION. The naos is frequently preceded by a NARTHEX and separated from the BEMA by a TEMPLON screen. It was often flanked by subsidiary spaces such as aisles, ambulatories, or lateral CHAPELS.

LIT. K.E. McVey, "The Domed Church as Microcosm: Literary Roots of an Architectural Symbol," *DOP* 37 (1983) 91–121. K. Kallinikos, *Ho christianikos naos kai ta teloumena en auto*[3] (Athens 1969). Mathews, *Early Churches* 117–25. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic.* –S.C.

NAPLES (Νεάπολις), from antiquity a city and port in CAMPANIA. It apparently remained prosperous in the 4th and 5th C. (J. d'Arms, *Romans on the Bay of Naples* [Cambridge 1970] 116–64). Constantine I repaired both the forum and aqueduct; Valentinian III built a new system of fortifications in 440, when the city center evidently shifted to the northeast, away from the sea. In the mid-5th C. Bp. Nostrianus built a bath bearing his name that was still standing in the 9th C. In the same period Bp. Vincentius added a dining hall (*accubitum*) to the episcopal palace. On the other hand, imports to Naples from the Near East and Africa declined during the later 5th and 6th C.

Naples suffered during the Gothic war of Justinian I. In Nov. 536 Belisarios captured and sacked the city; subsequently it was besieged by Totila and surrendered in 543. After Narses' victory over Teia (end of 552), Naples and its region came under the control of Constantinople. The city was threatened by the Lombards, who appeared at its walls in 581 but could not capture

it. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 27.49), Naples, as well as Gaeta and Amalfi, escaped occupation by the Lombards. During this period, control of some of the city's secular buildings passed, at least temporarily, into the hands of the bishop: in 598 Pope GREGORY I (ep.9.76) wrote to the bishop of Naples ordering him to return control of the city gates and aqueduct (which was still functioning) to secular officials.

In the 7th–8th C. the administration of Naples underwent a militarization, the *iudex Campaniae* being replaced by the *dux*. Naples enjoyed autonomy without formally renouncing allegiance to Constantinople. The Neapolitan mint replaced the image of the emperor on its coins with that of the local saint Januarius, and in 763 the city acknowledged the ecclesiastical supremacy of Rome. The seals of 8th-C. archbishops of Naples have Latin, not Greek legends (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 918–19).

In 838 Naples concluded an alliance with the Arabs and assisted them in capturing Messina in 842/3. The Normans did not conquer Naples until 1139; the city played an important role in the Norman state, eventually becoming capital of the kingdom of Sicily.

Naples has several catacombs, the largest of which is S. Gennaro (St. Januarius) on Capodimonte, featuring a representative series of 3rd- through 10th-C. frescoes and mosaics rivaling those of Rome. The baptistery of the old Cathedral of S. Restituta, S. Giovanni in Fonte, is decorated with important mosaics that most scholars attribute to Bp. Soter (362–408).

LIT. *Storia di Napoli* 2.1–2 (Naples 1969). C. De Seta, *Storia della città di Napoli* (Rome-Bari 1973) 38–66. S. Borsari, "I domino bizantino a Napoli," *ParPass* 25–27 (1952) 358–69. A. Garzya, "Napoli e Bisanzio," *Colloqui* (Jan. 1976) 1–8. H. Achelis, *Die Bischofschronik von Neapel* (Leipzig 1930). P. Arthur, "Naples: Notes on the Economy of a Dark Age City," in *Papers in Italian Archaeology* 4.4 [BAR Int. Ser. 246] (Oxford 1985) 247–59. U.M. Fasola, *Le catacombe di S. Gennaro a Capodimonte* (Rome 1975). J.-L. Maier, *Le Baptistère de Naples et ses mosaïques* (Fribourg 1964).
– A.K., R.B.H., D.K.

NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE. Originally composed in Armenian ca.700, this text is known in its entirety only in a Greek translation made before the 11th C., the *Diegesis*. It describes from a pro-Chalcedonian viewpoint the relations between the Armenian and Greek churches: the Council of NICAEA, the rejection of the Council of CHALCEDON by the Council of DUIN in 555, attempts at reunion in the 6th and 7th C., and their final failure. The 9th-C. Georgian *katholikos* Arsen used it in a work on the Armeno-Georgian schism. It was known to later Armenian writers, but the original (which does not represent the "official" Armenian position) has been lost.

ED. G. Garitte, *La Narratio de rebus Armeniae* (Louvain 1952).
-R.T.

NARRATIONES, more fully *narrationes animae utiles* (διηγήσεις ψυχωφελεῖς), conventional designation of a subgenre of hagiographical literature. They originated in the eremitic milieu of the Egyptian desert, primarily among Coptic-speaking monks. J. Wortley (in *Kathegetria. Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* [Camberley 1988] 313) estimates that 700–800 tales were produced between ca.375 and 650. Then there was a gap until the mid-10th C. when PAUL OF MONEMVASIA wrote a series of edifying stories. Some anonymous novelettes can also be included in this group, such as the story of Sergios, a *demotes* (member of a *demos*) in Alexandria (ed. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie* [Paris 1987] 125–37). The last stories of this genre were produced ca.1000.

LIT. G. Schirò, "Un significato sconosciuto di demotes," *Rivista di cultura classica e medievale* 7 (1965) 1006–16.
–A.K., A.M.T.

NARSAI OF EDESSA, or Narses, Nestorian theologian; born region of Maʿalta, near Mosul, ca.399, died Nisibis? between 502 and 507. He was later called "the tongue of the Orient" and "the harp of the Holy Spirit." Narsai studied and taught in Edessa, but after the death of IBAS of Edessa (in 457) the climate in the city changed, and eventually (in 471?) he was driven out by hostility to his Nestorian views. He then took refuge in NISIBIS, where he taught in the "academy" at the invitation of its bishop BARSAUMA. A Syriac catalog by ʿABDĪSHŌʿ BAR BERĪKĀ attributes to Narsai exegetic works on the Old Testament, a liturgical treatise, and 360 sermons in verses (*memre*). The authenticity of his exegetic and liturgical works is questionable, but of his *memre* more than 80 are known in Syriac (not all yet published). These sermons

treat biblical, liturgical, moral, and theological problems; one of them was devoted to great teachers—Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, and Nestorios. The theology of Narsai is not original, being based primarily on THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA—his role was to compile and clarify the essence of Nestorian tenets. His work probably influenced KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES and Nestorian writers of the 9th and 10th C.

ED. *Homélies de Narsaï sur la création*, ed. P. Gignoux [PO 34] (Turnhout-Paris 1968) 415–716, with Fr. tr. *Narsai's Metrical Homilies on the Nativity, Epiphany, Passion, Resurrection and Ascension*, ed. F.G. McLeod [PO 40] (Turnhout 1979) 3–193, with Eng. tr. *The Liturgical Homilies of Narsai*, tr. R.H. Connolly (Cambridge 1909; rp. Nendeln [Liechtenstein] 1967). *Homiliae et carmina*, ed. A. Mingana (Mosul 1905).
LIT. A. Vööbus, *History of the School of Nisibis* (Louvain 1965) 57–121. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*² (Rome 1965) 115–18. –A.K., B.B.

NARSES (Ναρσῆς), general; born Persarmenia 480 (AGNELLUS, ch.95, but see Stein, *Histoire* 2:356) or 490 (A. Lippold, *infra* 870), died Rome 574. After early life at court, Narses, a eunuch, participated in the suppression of the NIKA REVOLT. As imperial commissioner to Alexandria, he removed and exiled Gaianos and restored his rival Theodosios as patriarch in 535. Justinian I promoted him to *praepositus sacri cubiculi* in 538 and sent him to Italy with a large army to vanquish the OSTROGOTHS. Rivalries with BELISARIOS permitted the Ostrogoths to retake Milan and resulted in the recall of Narses to Constantinople. In 545 he campaigned against the ANTAE in Thrace. Six years later he received supreme command of all Byz. forces in Italy. He brought to Italy another large army, which included Herulians he had recruited, fatally crushed TOTILA at BUSTA GALLORUM in 552, and pursued the retreating Ostrogoths and their new king TEIA south to Mons Lactarius, where he decisively defeated them and systematically reduced remaining Ostrogothic strongholds. In 553–54 Narses repulsed a Frankish-Alemannic invasion of Italy by the chieftains Leutharis and Butilinus. Narses occupied northern Italy, organized its defenses, and concluded operations against external foes by 562. In 566 he suppressed a Herulian rebellion. In 567 he was removed from military command, yet he probably remained in Italy until his death. Narses was diplomatically skillful, operationally and tactically efficient, and, in religious sympathies, probably Monophysite.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:356–60, 599–616. A. Lippold, *RE* supp. 12 (1970) 870–89. –W.E.K.

NARSES, general; died Constantinople 605/6. After serving as commander at Constantina in 588, Narses was appointed by Emp. Maurice to lead the expedition to aid the restoration of CHOSROES II in 591 after the deposition of the previous Byz. commander, KOMENTIOLOS. Narses defeated the Persian rebel Bahram and remained *magister militum* of the East until Germanos replaced him in 600. Narses was military commander in Byz. Mesopotamia when Phokas overthrew Maurice. Narses revolted against Phokas in late 603, seized Edessa, and wrote to Chosroes II, encouraging him to open hostilities against Phokas. The relationship of Narses to the false THEODOSIOS, son of Maurice, is uncertain. It appears that there was no unanimity of support for Narses at Edessa: Severos, bishop of Edessa, opposed this rebellion and was therefore killed by mob action. Narses' revolt seriously embarrassed Phokas, who first sent Germanos against both Narses and the Persian forces of Chosroes II. After an initial Persian victory over Germanos, who perished, Phokas sent the eunuch Leontios against Narses, but he failed to quell the rebellion; Persian successes, however, caused Narses to flee to Hierapolis. Phokas replaced Leontios with his nephew Domentziolos, *kouropalates* and *magister militum* of the East, who successfully negotiated Narses' surrender on sworn promise of personal safety. Domentziolos handed Narses over to Phokas, who had him disgraced in the Hippodrome and burned alive.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 140f. Olster, "Politics of Usurpation," 188–90. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:59f. –W.E.K.

NARSES. See also NERSĒS.

NARTHEX (νάρθηξ), a vestibulelike space preceding the NAOS in a Byz. church. Functionally and formally distinct, the interior walls of the narthex were commonly embellished with a special decorative program. This often emphasized the funerary function of these spaces. From the 4th through 6th C. the narthex was a large oblong

hall in which the preparation of the liturgical entrances into the naos took place. After the 9th C. the narthex became proportionally reduced in size, but the number of its functions, including baptism and commemoration of the dead, increased. In the 13th and 14th C. the narthex was often the site of church councils. Not every Byz. church had a narthex, but it appears to have been a common feature. Occasionally a narthex was added to an existing church; in a limited number of cases a second narthex was added in front of the first, as in monastic churches from the 11th C. on (e.g., the south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople; the main church of the NEA MONE on Chios; the main church of HOSIOS LOUKAS). In such cases, in contrast to the exonarthex the inner narthex is referred to as the endonarthex or esonarthex.

LIT. C. Strube, *Die westliche Eingangsseite der Kirchen von Konstantinopel in justinianischer Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1973). Mathews, *Early Churches* 138–52. N.B. Teteriatnikov, "Burial Places in Cappadocian Churches," *GOrThR* 29 (1984) 143–48. S. Ćurčić, "The Twin-Domed Narthex in Paleologan Architecture," *ZRVI* 13 (1971) 333–44. –S.Ć.

NASAR (Νάσαρ), *patrikios* and *droungarios* of the fleet under BASIL I; his name was Basil according to the vita of ELIAS THE YOUNGER (p.36.481f). In 880 (Vasiliev) or 879 (Guilland) the emperor sent Nasar with an enormous fleet to repel Arab ships pillaging in the KEPHALENIA and Zakynthos region; Arab sources calculated his fleet at 140 battleships, whereas the vita of Elias puts the figure at 45. When many of his rowers deserted, Nasar was forced to halt at Methone; however, severe measures taken by Basil I restored discipline. Nasar attacked the enemy and won a night battle (probably along the western shore of Greece), and then moved to Sicily; he captured so many Muslim boats with precious merchandise that the price of olive oil in Constantinople fell sharply. Nasar supported successful operations of Prokopios and Leo Apostyppes in southern Italy and routed an Arab squadron at Cape Stelai. His success contributed much to the restoration of Byz. authority in southern Italy, although Sicily was lost after the fall of SYRACUSE in 878. A brilliant Greek victory over the Arabs is mentioned in a letter of Pope JOHN VIII dated 30 Oct. 880.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:171f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:96–99. –A.K.

NATIVITY (ἡ γέννησις), the birth of Jesus, or Christmas, 25 Dec., one of the 12 Byz. GREAT FEASTS, seen first in the West at the beginning of the 4th C. By the 4th–5th C. it was celebrated everywhere except by the Armenians. In the East Jesus' birth was originally commemorated at EPIPHANY, but the Nativity was celebrated in Antioch and environs by 376, in Constantinople by 380, and in Asia Minor by the end of the 4th C., though Palestine adopted it definitively only in the 6th C. (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 86 [1968] 368–71).

The Nativity is one of the most splendid feasts of the church calendar. It is solemnized by the

NATIVITY. The Nativity of Christ; mosaic, late 11th C. Southeast squinch in the church at Daphni. Below the scene is a lunette with the bust of St. Gregory, bishop of Akragas. Under the arch to the left is the figure of the holy deacon St. Euplos.



two Sundays preceding the feast and the following Sunday and has a 40-day preparatory fast; a five-day forefeast, the longest in the Byz. calendar; a *paramone* VIGIL as at Easter and Epiphany; a following SYNAXIS 26 Dec.; and an afterfeast of six days. The 10th-C. Nativity festivities in Hagia Sophia, which included the *pannychis* vigil, are outlined in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:134–36, 145–70).

The Nativity was also one of the most heavily charged days of the imperial ceremonial (*De cer.* 128–36), filled with receptions, visits of dignitaries and factions, promotions, the veneration of relics, honors rendered with CANDLES at various sanctuaries, all done in solemn procession, the final one to Hagia Sophia, where the emperor joined the patriarch in the narthex and made the LITTLE ENTRANCE with him. The day's ceremonies continued with various visits in the company of the patriarch.

Byz. sermons for the Nativity stress that it celebrates not a past event but the ever-present mystery of salvation first manifested in Jesus' birth. Jesus must be born in each Christian, each one must receive him in communion as the manger received him in Bethlehem.

Representation in Art. Initially including just child, manger, ox, and ass (the beasts variously interpreted but always present), the image of Christ's birth developed by the 6th C. into a presentation of his Incarnation as an epiphany uniting human and divine. Two compositions emerged, both associated with the Holy Land. One, drawing on imperial imagery, showed the enthroned Virgin and Child between acclaiming Magi or shepherds and Magi (Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE). The other, more narrative (SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY), showed the star (not the star of the Magi but of Num 24:17), Joseph and the midwife Salome as witnesses (see PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES), the reclining Virgin, and the Child in a masonry manger before a cave, recalling the block altar and cave setting at BETHLEHEM. Slowly, the narrative version incorporated the imperial elements. By the 8th C., Salome was displaced by the motif of the infant's bath, traditional in pagan and imperial nativity scenes (P. Nordhagen, *BZ* 54 [1961] 333–37), and at CASTELSEPRIO, the acclaiming shepherds were added to the scene at the cave. The cave scene became standard after the 9th C., with the addition of choirs of angels and the ADORATION OF THE MAGI, in accord with their liturgical celebration on Christmas Day.

LIT. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 79–162. M. Dubarle, *Noël, Épiphanie, retour du Christ* (Paris 1967). J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, "Les représentations de la Nativité du Christ dans l'art de l'Orient chrétien," in *Miscellanea codicologica F. Masai dicata*, ed. P. Cockshaw et al., vol. 1 (Ghent 1979) 11–21. K. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 36–39. – R.F.T., A.W.C.

NATURAL PHENOMENA (sing. σημεῖον, θεοσημεῖον), such as ECLIPSES of the sun and moon, the appearance of COMETS and brilliant STARS, EARTHQUAKES, floods, etc., were recorded by Byz. historians and chroniclers, who considered them important events and therefore provided significant details about their occurrence and the effect they had on people. Generally such phenomena were attributed to divine providence. Comets, eclipses, dust storms, etc., were believed to be portents of impending catastrophes or of political and dynastic change—the death of a ruler, a rebellion, military defeat, and the like. On such occasions the faithful were called to repentance in order to appease the divine wrath (cf. John MAUROPOUS, or.185, ed. Lagarde 165–78). Alongside the popular beliefs and the superstitions connected with them, there were also attempts to provide a scientific explanation, such as in the *Peri diosemeion* by JOHN LYDOS (*De ostentis*, ed. C. Wachsmuth [Leipzig 1897]) and the *Synopsis ton physikon* of Symeon SETH (ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:16–89). Still greater popularity was enjoyed by the various practical handbooks (such as *Seismologia*, on earthquakes, or BRONTOLOGIA, on thunderstorms), which dealt with the prognostic element in natural phenomena.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:269–71. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:218–26. S. Lampakes, "Hyperphysikes dynameis, physika phainomena kai deisidaimonies sten Historia tou Georgiou Pachymere," *Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 77–100. –Ap.K.

NATURE (φύσις). The terminology of the ancient Greeks survived in Byz. in the term *physis*, which is everything in the world that belongs to the realm of matter insofar as it is provided for man, and not something created by man (through his *techne*, or culture, customs, and laws). Therefore, it also includes everything that actually exists, the totality of objects and the state of affairs to which any judgment must exactly conform.

The term not only designates everything that exists, that grows or takes place in the "natural world" apart from human intervention, but it can also be used to designate the process of production itself.

The early church rejected the Stoic view that nature is the creative cause and principle of the world. This implies that nature has been reduced to a theological concept, inasmuch as it is nothing other than creature or the result of God's CREATION. Nonetheless, if when speaking about nature one focuses on its power to generate, then this can easily become a *natura naturans* in which the reference to God is no longer essential, but redundant; nature is an unseen force that can be grasped by the mind only. It is conceived, as in Aristotle's *Physics*, as the dynamic principle of reality, a concept encountered, for example, in Michael PSELLOS (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.57). The synthesis of Plato and Aristotle, together with the view of nature as the demiurge, led for JOHN ITALOS only to difficulties (*Quaestiones quodlibetales*, pars. 65–66, 93, ed. Joannou, pp. 99–101, 149f) that he judged to be the result of a failure to distinguish between *natura naturans* (*physis heautes poietike*) and *natura naturata* (*physis* as *apoteloumenon* (*eidos*)). If one conceives nature as immaterial, "then one speaks not of nature, but of the soul," namely, of the World-soul or the third hypostasis of Plotinos, which cannot be accepted by Christianity as a principle of COSMOLOGY. On account of the difficulties resulting from the concept of nature he outlined, Italos asserted that only the concept of nature presented by the church fathers remained (i.e., nature is conceived as SUBSTANCE and species). But if nature is defined as *dynamis*, it means the Platonic program of mathematical description of the world, that is, its actual scientific description (John Italos, ibid., 42, p.53). In a specific sense the term *physis* was applied to the divine "nature," the "common denominator" of the Godhead encompassing three hypostases: accordingly Christ, after the Incarnation, was construed as possessing both divine and human natures—the concept denied by the Monophysites. (For nature in the sense of the material world surrounding man, see ENVIRONMENT.)

LIT. D.S. Wallace-Hadrill, *The Greek Patristic View of Nature* (New York 1968). C. Cupane, "'Natura formatrix': Umwege eines rhetorischen Topos," in *Byzantios* 37–52.
–K.-H.U.

NAUKLEROS (*ναύκληρος*, Lat. *navicularius*). By the 4th C., transport of passengers and goods by sea was arranged through *navicularii*, or state-employed shipowners, who financed the construction, manning, repair, and operation of merchant vessels. Men of means sufficient to bear these costs were attracted by the privileges and tax/toll exemptions granted to *navicularii*, since freight itself paid only a low percentage of the profit. Apart from private commerce, *navicularii* saw to such state requirements as the shipping of grain to Rome and Constantinople or the delivery of foodstuffs and supplies for the army. They belonged to a state guild and received government reimbursement for ship or cargo losses honestly incurred.

By contrast, the Byz. *naukleros* appears in 7th-C. sources as an independent ship's captain, or sometimes simply a merchant, who commissioned ships, hired crews, and was responsible for shipping tolls (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 61); he had no state-imposed obligations. Legal texts note that the *naukleros* contracted cargo and passengers (for which he received freight and carrying charges) and was liable to merchants and passengers for damage, risk, or losses (W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea Law* [Oxford 1909] cxxx–cxxxvii).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 827–30. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 241f. R.S. Lopez, "The Role of Trade in the Economic Readjustment of Byzantium in the Seventh Century," *DOP* 13 (1959) 79–85.
–E.M.

NAUMACHIKA (Ναυμαχικά). Five treatises on naval warfare in Milan, Ambros. B 199 sup., form the corpus of *Naumachika*, comprising book 19 on naval warfare and a few excerpts from book 20 of the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI; instructions on fording rivers from the *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* bk.12B, ch.21); a 6th-C. treatise on naval tactics attributed to Syrianos Magistros; and a short outline of naval terminology and tactics dedicated in a prefatory poem to the *parakoimomenos* BASIL THE NOTHOS. The dedication to Basil, commemorating his successful expedition against Samosata (C.M. Mazzucchi, *Aevum* 52 [1978] 304–06), fixes the date of the compilation of the *Naumachika* as 959. The paraphrase of Leo and Syrianos by Nikephoros OURANOS in his *Taktika* rounds out Byz. writing on naval warfare.

The *Naumachika* show that the tactics of the Byz. NAVY were elementary and not much differ-

ent from classical practice. The Byz. put their heavy ships in the center of the line and lighter ships on the wings, advancing in a crescent-shaped formation. They aimed both to break through the enemy line in the center (*diekplous*) and envelop it from the outside (*periplous*), using GREEK FIRE, archers, and ballistic weapons to disable enemy crews before boarding their ships.

ED. A. Dain, *Naumachica* (Paris 1943).

LIT. A. Dain, "Les stratégistes byzantins," *TM* 2 (1967) 342, 350, 365f. E. Eickhoff, *Seekrieg und Seepolitik zwischen Islam und Abendland* (Berlin 1966) 158–70. F. Lammert, "Die älteste erhaltene Schrift über Seetaktik und ihre Beziehung zum Anonymus Byzantinus des 6. Jahrhunderts, zu Vegetius und zu Aineias' Strategika," *Klio* 33 (1940) 271–88. V. Christides, "Two Parallel Naval Guides of the Tenth Century: Qudāma's Document and Leo VI's Naumachica: A Study on Byzantine and Moslem Naval Preparedness," *Graeco-Arabica* 1 (1982) 51–103. –E.M.

NAUM OF OHRID, Bulgarian priest, scholar, and saint; born ca.830, died Sveti Naum 23 Dec. 910; feastdays 20 June, 17 July (Bulgaria), 27 July (Russia). A close companion of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in their mission to Moravia, Naum was ordained priest in Rome by Pope Hadrian II in 868. When Constantine the Philosopher died in Feb. 869, Naum returned to Moravia with Methodios. After Methodios's death and the collapse of the Byz. mission, Naum was imprisoned, but finally made his way, along with KLIMENT OF OHRID and Angelarius, to Bulgaria in 886. Naum directed a group of translators and writers in Preslav. In 893 he succeeded Kliment as teacher and evangelist in Macedonia, first at Devol, then ca.900 in Ohrid, and finally ca.905 in the monastery that he founded on the southeastern shore of Lake Ohrid, now Sveti Naum. He became a monk on his deathbed. It is difficult to identify Naum's personal share in the early Slavonic translations and original works produced in Preslav and in Macedonia. The authenticity of a *kanon* on the apostle Andrew is indicated by an acrostic. A 10th-C. Slavonic Life of Naum and a somewhat later Greek Life as well as a Greek *akolouthia* by Constantine KABASILAS (13th C.) survive.

SOURCES. "Žitija sv. Nauma Ochridskogo i služba emu," ed. P. Lavrov in *IzvORJaS* 12 (1907) no.4, 1–51.

LIT. M. Kusseff, "St. Nahum," *SlEERev* 29 (1950) 139–50. S. Kožucharov, "Pesennoto tvorčestvo na starobŭlgarskija knižovnik Naum Ochridski," *Literaturna Istorija* 12 (1984) 3–19. E. Trapp, "Die Viten des hl. Naum von Ohrid," *BS* 35 (1974) 161–85. S. Bŭrlieva, "Prostrannoto grŭcko Žitie na Naum Ochridski," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 129–44. Z. Hauptová, "Staroslověnské legendy o Naumovi," *Slovo* 36 (1986) 77–84. –R.B.

NAUPAKTOS (Ναύπακτος, Venetian Lepanto), city on the western part of the north shore of the Gulf of Corinth, commanding the entrance into the gulf. In the 4th C. it was the most important harbor between Corinth and Oxaea (W.A. Oldfather, *RE* 16 [1935] 1994); in the *Tabula Peutingeriana* Naupaktos and Evanthia/Oiantheia are the only cities named in western Lokris. It was a bishopric suffragan to Corinth, then probably to Athens, and after 900 an independent metropolis. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 5.12, ed. Pertusi, p.89) lists it as a *polis* of the theme of Hellas, Skylitzes (Skyl. 411.57) as a site in the theme of Nikopolis. Naupaktos was the seat of a *strategos* ca.1025; its *strategos* George died during a revolt and all his property was seized by the inhabitants; Constantine VIII punished the rebels and blinded the metropolitan (Skyl. 372.73–80). In 1040 Naupaktos was the only city of the theme that survived the attack of DELJAN and his army. There is little information on its economy: in the 12th C. Benjamin of Tudela found a community of 100 Jews there; a seal of an *exartistes* ("rigger," man in charge of a wharf?) of Naupaktos of the 9th C. is known.

After 1204 Naupaktos formed part of the despotate of EPIROS, but in 1294 it was given to PHILIP I OF TARANTO, beginning the city's long period of Western domination. In 1361 Naupaktos fell into the hands of the Catalans, and the city passed from one Western power to another for several decades until the Venetians conquered it in 1407; thereafter they used Naupaktos to safeguard their trade through the gulf against the growing power of the Turks. They strongly fortified the city, but it surrendered to Bayezid II in 1499.

The present walls of the acropolis, of the lower city, and of a small harbor are works of the Venetians, built on ancient and Byz. foundations. A possibly five-aisled basilica has been excavated in the lower city, and another can be surmised from the various marble fragments discovered in the acropolis. Additional Byz. sculpture and inscriptions have been found throughout the city, but, aside from these, little of Byz. Naupaktos survives.

LIT. *TIB* 3:210f. G. Athanasiades-Nobas, "He Naupaktos hos limen tou Byzantiou kata ton I' aiona," 9 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Athens 1956) 289–95. –T.E.G.

NAUPLIA (Ναύπλια, also Nauplion, medieval Anapli, in Western texts Napoli in Romania), city in the ARGOLID, port of Argos. Through most of its history it shared the fate of Argos; under the later Roman Empire it had no independent status. The acropolis was fortified, and its main gate to the lower town, built into later walls, still survives. The city rose to prominence by the 11th C., undoubtedly as a result of its maritime position; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 386.60) reports that ca.1033 a *strategos* resided there (Bon, *Péloponnèse* 78, n.2; cf. D.A. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 17 [1941] 250f). Prosperity at Nauplia is suggested by the large number of churches built in the vicinity in the 12th C., although regulations drafted by Leo, bishop of Argos and Nauplion, for Hagia Mone at AREIA show that ca.1143 the area around the city was threatened by pirates. Nauplia was one of the cities in which the Venetians were given special trading privileges in 1198. The fortifications of Nauplia allowed it, like Argos, to hold out against the Franks until 1212. Nauplia fell under the nominal control of the duchy of Athens, and came under Venetian rule in 1388.

Nauplia shared a bishopric with Argos, as is stated in both the vita of PETER OF ARGOS (ed. Ch. Papaoikonomos, par.9, p.64.1–9) and a letter of Theodore of Nicaea to Basil of Corinth (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 7:43.16–18, p.315).

Nerio ACCIAJUOLI bequeathed a monastery to the local bishop at Nauplia and a sum of money for the construction of a hospital, but these buildings are otherwise unknown. Habitation at Nauplia during the medieval period was probably concentrated in the upper city, with a port and harbor facilities in the lower area. The spacious western fortifications, built on ancient foundations, probably represent the Byz. city; to the east is an area added by the Crusaders, while the easternmost part of the fortifications as well as the wall around the lower town were erected by the Venetians. The remains of a probably Byz. church have been excavated on the citadel, and the Church of Hagia Sophia just under the walls may date to the Frankish period.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 486f, 492, 676f. M. Lambrynides, *He Nauplia apo ton archaiotaton chronon mechri ton kath'hemas* (Athens 1898). G. Gerola, "Le fortificazioni di Napoli di Romania," *Annuario della Regia Scuola archaeologica di Atene* 13–14 (1930–33) 347–410. W. Schaefer, "Neue Untersuchungen über die Baugeschichte Nauplias im Mittelalter," *AA* (1961) 158–214. –T.E.G.

NAVARRESE COMPANY, army of professional mercenaries from Navarre and Gascony that controlled part of Greece from 1378/9 to 1402. Originally in the service of Don Luis of Evreux, brother of Charles II (the Bad) of Navarre (1349–87), the band occupied DYRRACHION in 1376 to support Don Luis's claim to Albania. After Don Luis's death (1376), the Navarrese sold their services to a variety of claimants to power in Greece. Two companies briefly entered the service of the HOSPITALLERS in 1378 and went to Morea. One of these units, led by John de Urtubia, took THEBES and Livadia from the CATALANS in 1378 or 1379 (G. Dennis, *OrChrP* 26 [1960] 42–50) but failed to conquer Athens. The Navarrese invasion seriously weakened the Catalans, however, so that Athens fell ten years later (1388) to the ACCIAJUOLI.

Most of the Navarrese entered the service of Jacques de Baux, claimant to Achaia (1373–83), to press his claims to the Morea. They succeeded in conquering the western Peloponnesos, from Vostitsa (Aigion) to Kalamata. After Jacques's death, the Navarrese effectively controlled the principality of ACHAIA under the vicars-general Mahiot de Coquerel as imperial bailie (1381–1386/7) and Pierre Lebourd (Peter Bordo) de St. Superan as imperial vicar (1387–96); from 1396 to 1402 the latter bore the title of prince of Achaia. The Navarrese fought principally against the Acciajuoli and THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS for control of the Peloponnesos. In 1401 Pierre de St. Superan joined the Turks for raids against Korone and Methone. The history of the Navarrese in Greece ends with the death of Pierre de St. Superan (1402).

LIT. *HC* 3:147–60, 215f. A. Luttrell, "Appunti sulle compagnie navarresi in Grecia: 1376–1404," *RSBS* 3 (1983) 113–27. Setton, *Catalan Domination* 125–48. Longnon, *Empire latin* 334–36, 339–47. A. Rubio y Lluch, *Los Navarros en Grecia* (Barcelona 1886). Bon, *Morée franque* 1:254–75. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 329–69. –A.M.T.

NAVICULARIUS. See NAUKLEROS.

NAVIGATION was restricted by CLIMATE and Byz. control of the sea; naval technology remained limited. Since the Byz. SHIP was usually small with a shallow keel, designed essentially for coastal cruising, the Byz. remained cautious mariners, "touching dry land with the oars" (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, ed. Gautier, 2:139.28–29). Sailing speeds reached 6 to 8 knots. The introduction of the triangular lateen sail by the 7th C. provided easier handling in bad weather and greater flexibility in catching the wind, but steering by compass, developed in the 13th C., and the stern rudder, important innovations in deep-sea sailing, came into widespread use after the decline of the Byz. navy. ASTROLABES were discussed in theoretical treatises, but their practical application is unattested.

As in antiquity, sailing was normally restricted to the good weather months between April and October. The prevailing northerly winds made sailing north to south fairly rapid and easy, but approaching Constantinople from the south was often difficult and time consuming. A series of way stations (*hormeteria, topoi skalomatos*) dotted the Byz. littoral for fleets in need of provisions or awaiting favorable conditions (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–25). Sailors steered point to point, by landmarks, beacons, and ports, or by sun and stars when out of sight of land. Naval commanders required knowledge of the winds, seasons, and stars to navigate the fleet (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 19.2). *De cerimoniis* (467.9–12) lists books on the seasons and weather compiled for sailors (R.H. Dolley, *Mariner's Mirror* 37 [1951] 5–16) and supplies a table of distances between Constantinople and Crete (G. Huxley, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 295–300), but local pilots were also used; in 960 Nikephoros Phokas relied on sailors from the island of Karpathos to guide his invasion fleet over the open seas to Crete from his last way station in Asia Minor (Attal. 224.14–22). Other guides to navigation were the PERIPLOUS and PORTULAN.

LIT. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Études d'histoire maritime de Byzance: A propos du "thème des Caravisiens"* (Paris 1966) 26–29. –E.M.

NAVY (πλώϊμον). In the 6th C., Byz. WARSHIPS gained control of the sea by recapturing Carthage and destroying the VANDAL fleet; the navy became a police force operating from Constantinople and Mediterranean bases. In the mid-7th C., however, the incursion of Slavic pirates and the development of Arab seapower by MUᶜĀWIYA forced a naval reorganization; the fleet of the KARABISIANOI was created to defend the Byz. littoral and the approaches to Constantinople. Following its dissolution under Leo III, regional fleets whose costs were borne independently by the naval STRATEIA were organized in the exclusively maritime themes of KIBYRRHAIOTAI (by 732), AEGEAN SEA (by 843), and SAMOS (by 899). The imperial fleet (*basilikon ploimon*) was based at Constantinople under the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU to protect the Byz. capital; it also undertook expeditions to which the thematic fleets contributed ships and men. The navy achieved its greatest successes in the 10th C., esp. in the destruction of the fleet of the Rus' in 941 and in the reconquest of Crete (961) and Cyprus (965).

The navy declined during the 11th C. The thematic fleets disappeared; by the 12th C. naval command, financing, and recruitment had been centralized at Constantinople (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 146f), where a small flotilla still patrolled. Under John II Komnenos, taxes raised for maintaining the navy were diverted into the imperial treasury; from then on, fleets of varying sizes were constructed on an *ad hoc* basis, and alliances (see, e.g., NYMPHAION, TREATY OF) were sought with Venice and other naval powers to obtain ships and manpower for expeditions. Although the Komnenian and Nicaean navies enjoyed several successes, the Venetians and Genoese steadily took control of the Aegean until even the Byz. themselves acknowledged the superior seamanship of the Italians. The last major Byz. fleet was built by Michael VIII Palaiologos but disbanded by his successor Andronikos II Palaiologos. Later, however, Andronikos III's small navy, under the command of the *megas doux* Alexios APOKAUKOS, enjoyed success against the Genoese, and John VI Kantakouzenos built a small flotilla, but complete control of the seas had passed to the Italians and Turks by the end of the 14th C.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, *Byzance et la mer* (Paris 1966). L. Bréhier, "La marine de Byzance du VIIIᵉ au XIᵉ siècle," *Byzantion* 19 (1949) 1–16. F.H. van Doorninck, "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 330–641," in *A History of Seafaring*, ed. G.F. Bass (New York–London 1972) 133–58. E. Malamut, "Les insulaires des 10ᵉ–12ᵉ siècles: marins ou soldats?" *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 63–72. –E.M.

NAXOS (Νάξος, also Naxia), island in the central Aegean Sea, in late antiquity part of the province

of the Islands (Insulae). Its later fate is poorly known: texts of the 10th C. mention Naxos as a station on the way from Constantinople to Crete (e.g., *AASS* Nov. 4:227E); according to John KAMINIATES (59.67), it paid *phoroi* to "the inhabitants of Crete." Naxos may have been capital of an ephemeral theme of Dodekanese in the later 12th C. In 1205–07 Marco Sanudo seized Naxos and the adjoining islands, creating the duchy of Naxos (or duchy of the Archipelago) that was considered as held from the Latin Empire. In 1248 suzerainty over Naxos was ceded to WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN; the Byz. reconquest of the Aegean islands in 1263–76 under the command of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS failed at Naxos, and after 1278 the *dux* became a vassal of Charles I of Anjou. The duchy remained independent until the Turkish conquest in 1566 (with short periods of Venetian tutelage: 1494–1500 and 1511–17). The Latin occupation of Naxos led to the introduction of feudal law based on the assizes of ROMANIA; nevertheless, as late as the 16th C., the indigenous population continued to use Byz. laws of marriage and ownership, while the impact of Italian law was limited to terminology.

The bishop of Naxos was originally a suffragan of RHODES (*Notitiae CP* 1:429). In 1083 the see was united with that of Paros (as Paronaxia: *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.929) and shortly thereafter was raised to metropolitan status (*Notitiae CP* 11.84).

Remains of early Christian basilicas are found throughout the island, representing a wide variety of architectural styles, and there are even more churches of the 9th–14th C. (Pallas, *Monuments* 207–15; B.K. Lamprinoudakes, *PraktArchEt* [1982] 253–59); many have full fresco programs, with esp. fine examples dated from the 13th C. Nonrepresentational decoration in some churches has led to their identification as Iconoclastic (A.G. Basilake, *DChAE*⁴ 3 [1962–3] 49–74; but see D.I. Pallas, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 306).

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 161–77. Jacoby, *Féodalité* 271–93. A.E. Kasdagli, "Peasant and Lord in 15th-C. Naxos," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 347–55. M. Chatzidakis, N. Drandakes et al., *Naxos* (Athens 1989). G. Demetrokalles, *Symbolai eis ten meleten ton Byzantinon mnemeion tes Naxou*, vol. 1 (Athens 1972).

–T.E.G.

NAZARETH (Ναζαρέθ), village in Galilee in which the Virgin reportedly received the ANNUNCIATION from the angel Gabriel, and where Jesus spent his childhood. The area remained completely Jewish at least up to the reign of Constantine I, when it was noted that the town had no Christian population and no church (EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, *Panarion*, 30.11.9–10). Excavations at Nazareth have uncovered the remains of a basilica dedicated to the Virgin (later the Annunciation) and dated to the beginning of the 5th C. Below the basilica were fragments of a synagogue. EGERIA saw at Nazareth only "a big cave in which Mary had lived" incorporating an altar, and a garden "in which the Lord used to dwell." The PIACENZA PILGRIM indicates that in his time the house of Mary was a basilica. He describes the area as exceptionally fertile.

Nazareth was conquered by the Arabs in 636, but al-Masʿūdī mentions a church held in great veneration. This building is described at length by later pilgrims, such as DANIIL IGUMEN and John PHOKAS: within the church was an entrance to a cave incorporating a cell where the Virgin was said to have lived with the Child. At the site of the Annunciation a black stone cross was set in white marble. Under the Crusaders Nazareth remained a small town, but church building continued. Some architectural fragments of the 12th-C. Church of the Annunciation have survived, including five well-preserved capitals. In 1187 Saladin seized Nazareth. Legend has it that the house of Mary was miraculously transferred from Nazareth to Fiume on 10 May 1291, and in 1295 to the town of Loreto in Italy.

The term *Nazaraios* or *Naziraios*, meaning "Nazarene" or "man of Nazareth" (cf. Mt 2:23), was applied to Christians in general, and specifically to Christ and monks, esp. hesychasts (cf. SOUDA, 3:434).

LIT. B. Bagatti, *Gli scavi di Nazaret*, 2 vols. (Jerusalem 1967–84). P. Viaud, *Nazareth et ses deux églises* (Paris 1910). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 165. J. Folda, *The Nazareth Capitals and the Crusader Shrine of the Annunciation* (University Park, Pa.–London 1986).

–G.V., A.K.

NAZIANZOS (Ναζιανζός, now probably Nenezi), a minor station (*stathmos*) on the highway that led across Anatolia to Palestine; according to Sokrates (Sokr., *HE* 4:11.9), "a shabby polis" near Caesarea. It became a bishopric ca.325. After its bishop Gregory died in 374, his son, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, administered the see. The bishopric was suffragan of Caesarea, then TYANA, eventually MOKISSOS. Romanos IV transformed Nazianzos

into a metropolis. It fell to the Turks after the battle of MANTZIKERT in 1071. Remains of the site are insignificant.

LIT. *TIB* 2:244f. W. Ruge, *RE* 16 (1935) 2099–2101. P. Gallay in *Grégoire de Nazianze. Lettres*, vol. 1 (Paris 1964) viii–xiv. –C.F.

NEA ANCHIALOS, modern name for Thessalian or Phthiotic Thebes (Θῆβαι Φθιώτιδες), a city in central Greece on the Pagasitic Gulf south of Volos. In late antiquity it was the third city of the province of Thessaly and its major port. The ancient city centered on the upper acropolis, while the early Christian city lay in the plain near the sea on the site of ancient Pyrasos. The city prospered from the 4th to the 7th C. when it was the dominant town on the Pagasitic Gulf. It was destroyed by a great fire at the end of the 7th C.; there is evidence of some rebuilding immediately after the fire and again in the 9th C., but the city never fully recovered and its place was later taken by HALMYROS. The bishop of Thessalian Thebes, amply attested in the epigraphic and documentary evidence, is last mentioned in the 8th/9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 3.672). The latest evidence of Nea Anchialos is a coin hoard of the early 9th C.

Nea Anchialos is best known because of the many churches excavated there (nine basilicas have been found). Basilica A, dedicated to St. Demetrios, was the episcopal church, a three-aisled basilica similar to the ACHEIROPOIETOS CHURCH in Thessalonike, with an atrium possibly flanked by towers; it was built sometime in the late 5th or early 6th C. Basilica B, the so-called Elpidios Basilica, has a similar chronology; Basilica G, called the "church of the *archiereus* (bishop) Peter" on the basis of an inscription of the mid-6th C. discovered at the site, has elaborate floor mosaics and is part of a vast ecclesiastical complex; its earliest phase dates to the late 4th or early 5th C. Basilica D, dated to the 7th C., was a cemetery church located outside the city walls. Excavation of the harbor revealed places for anchorage (P. Lazarides, *PraktArchEt* [1973] 33). A burial epitaph for a Jew, written in Greek letters, has been found (E. Deïlake, *ArchDelt* 29.2 [1973–74] 548).

LIT. G.A. Soteriou, *Hai Christianikai Thebai tes Thessalias* (Athens 1931). P. Lazarides, "Anaskaphe Neas Anchialou," *PraktArchEt* (1982) 95–104. *TIB* 1:271f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 150–56. –T.E.G.

NEA EKKLESIA (lit. "new church"), built in the GREAT PALACE by Basil I and completed in 880. Situated a short distance east of the Chrysotriklinos, the Nea was covered by five domes, probably one in the center and one each over the four corners. It was dedicated to Christ, the archangel Michael (and Gabriel?), the prophet Elijah, the Virgin, and St. Nicholas, which implies four chapels in addition to the main altar. The decoration was particularly sumptuous: the chancel screen, *synthronon*, and altar table were revetted with silver, the floor was of opus sectile, the domes were roofed with bronze tiles. The atrium was adorned with two fountains of precious marble (*TheophCont* 325–29). The church had its own clergy and played an important part in palatine ceremonies. Converted into a monastery by the 12th C., the Nea was robbed of many of its ornaments by Isaac II. During the Latin occupation it served as a palatine chapel. It survived the Turkish conquest and was probably destroyed in 1490.

The New Church was described in detail by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos or someone from his milieu in the VITA BASILII. Beginning with F. Combefis, scholars had believed that the *ekphrasis* of an unnamed church in the 10th homily of Photios referred to the Nea until Jenkins and Mango (*infra*) demonstrated that the 10th homily could not have been produced later than 864 and was related to the consecration of another church, that of the Virgin of the Pharos. E. Bolognesi (*StMed* 28 [1987] 381–98), however, reassigned Photios's *ekphrasis* to the Church of the Virgin Hodegetria. The problem needs further investigation.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 130–35. R.J.H. Jenkins, C. Mango, "The Date and Significance of the Tenth Homily of Photius," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 125–40. Janin, *Églises CP* 361–64. P. Magdalino, "Observations on the Nea Ekklesia of Basil I," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 51–64. –C.M.

NEAI PATRAI. See NEOPATRAS.

NEA MONE (Νέα Μονή, "new monastery"), the name of several Byz. monasteries. Two of the most important were on Chios and in Thessalonike.

NEA MONE ON CHIOS, dedicated to the Virgin, was founded shortly before 1042 by the local hermits Niketas and John (and, according to tradition, Joseph). Constantine IX, the monastery's

principal benefactor, conferred abundant privileges and lands on Nea Mone. His chrysobulls and *sigillia*, as well as the charters of later emperors (the last of Andronikos II in 1289), are important for the study of large landownership, *exkousseia*, status of peasants, and the taxation of Jews, primarily in the 11th C. Outside of Chios, the monastery owned property in Asia Minor and Thessaly. Nea Mone was exempted from episcopal jurisdiction and was granted the right to invite any bishop for the ordination of priests and deacons.

According to tradition (confirmed by architectural analysis), the present church was built during the reign of Constantine IX. Within walls built in recessed-brick technique, the naos is laid out as a small square below a tall segmented dome (now restored) on an octagonal drum. Outer and inner narthexes and a low bema form distinct parts of the structure. All except the first are internally sheathed with local red marble and mosaics that, like the overall design, are said to be of Constantinopolitan origin. Mouriki (*infra*) suggests that the mosaic decoration was begun after 1049 and finished before Constantine's death. Less restored than those of HOSIOS LOUKAS and DAPHNI, the mosaics atypically include an orant Virgin in the apse and eight GREAT FEASTS in the deep squinches of the drum. The inner narthex cupola contains the oldest known example of the Virgin guarded by military saints and martyrs. The monastery's defense tower and cistern are also of the 11th C. The refectory contains a TABLE inlaid with marble of probably the same period.

SOURCES. *MM* 5:1–13, 440–49. M. Gedeon, "Byzantina chrysoboulla kai pittakia," *EkAl* 4 (1883–84) 403–06, 411–13, 428–31, 444–48.

LIT. Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni on Chios: History and Architecture* (Athens 1982). D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics of Nea Moni on Chios* (Athens 1985). P.A. Jakovenko, *Issledovanija v oblasti vizantijskich gramot: Gramoty Novogo monastyrja na ostrove Chiose* (Juriev [Tartu] 1917). –A.C., A.K.

NEA MONE IN THESSALONIKE was founded between 1360 and 1370 by Makarios CHOUMNOS on the site of the earlier imperial palace, south of the Arch of Galerios. G.I. Theocharides has identified it with the church now dedicated to St. Elias (*Makedonika* 5 [1961–63] 1–14). Originally dedicated to the Theotokos, it housed 15 monks, two novices, and two postulants at the time of its foundation. Sometime before 1374 Makarios was summoned to Constantinople to serve as *hegoumenos* of the STOUDIOS MONASTERY. He was succeeded at Nea Mone by his disciple, the hieromonk Gabriel, who would later become *hegoumenos* of the CHORA MONASTERY, metropolitan of Chalcedon and then Thessalonike. Gabriel supervised the completion of the construction of the church. Nea Mone was granted the status of an imperial and patriarchal monastery and was thus exempt from the jurisdiction of the local metropolitan. According to IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, who visited in 1405, Nea Mone was one of the most flourishing monasteries in Thessalonike. At this time its monks were also involved in bitter disputes over property with the AKAPNIOU MONASTERY in Thessalonike. Nea Mone is known to have survived until at least 1432. Although the monastery's archive is preserved at the Great LAVRA of Athos, there is no proof that Nea Mone became a METOCHION of the Lavra, as Theocharides asserted.

SOURCE. V. Laurent, "Ecrits spirituels inédits de Macaire Choumnos († ca.1382), fondateur de la 'Nea Moni' à Thessalonique," *Hellenika* 14 (1955) 40–85.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Une nouvelle fondation monastique des Choumnos: La *Nea Moni* de Thessalonique," *REB* 13 (1955) 109–30. G.I. Theocharides, "He Nea Mone Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 3 (1953–55) 334–52. Idem, "Dyo nea engrapha aphoronta eis ten Nean Monen Thessalonikes," *Makedonika* 4 (1955–60) 315–51. Janin, *Églises centres* 398f. –A.M.T.

NEA PETRA MONASTERY. See MAKRINITISSA MONASTERY.

NEA PHOKAIA. See PHOKAIA.

NEAPOLIS (Νεάπολις, biblical Sichem, Nablus in Israel), city in the province of Palestina I under CAESAREA MARITIMA and bishopric under the patriarch of Jerusalem, noted for its Church of the Theotokos built on top of Mt. Garizim, site of an ancient Samaritan shrine. At the request of Bp. Terebinthios, this large octagonal church was erected by Emp. Zeno after the Samaritan uprising of 484 and garrisoned. A *tetrapyrgion* circuit wall was added by Justinian I after another uprising in 529, when he also provided for the restoration of five shrines. A cruciform church surrounding Jacob's well at Neapolis was sketched by the pilgrim Arculf (see ADOMNAN) in 670.

LIT. A.W. Schneider, "Römische und byzantinische Bauten auf dem Garizim," *ZDPV* 68 (1946–51) 217–34. J.W.

Crowfoot, *Early Churches in Palestine*[2] (College Park, Md., 1971) 89–94. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 157, 165f. –M.M.M.

NEBO, MOUNT, mountainous region in Jordan (called Abarim in Dt 32:49) overlooking the Dead Sea's north shore, a place of PILGRIMAGE. Early Christians identified its ridge, called Siyagha ("monastery") in Aramaic, as the place where Moses viewed the Promised Land before his death (Dt 34:1–6). In 384 EGERIA saw only a small church "with a place for a tomb" (*Egérie, Journal de Voyage*, ed. P. Maraval [Paris 1982] ch.12.1, p.172), no doubt the 4th-C. triple-apsed memorial chapel (*cella trichora*) excavated by Saller (Saller-Schneider, *infra*). About 470 PETER THE IBERIAN (*Life*, ed. Raabe, 82f) visited a large church surrounded by cells, which is probably the three-aisled basilica and monastery complex—one of the largest in the region—likewise exposed by Saller. Circa 600 a Theotokos chapel and baptistery were added. Mosaic pavements display geometric, floral, and animal motifs, and a panel before the apse of the Theotokos chapel has a unique mosaic plan of the Jewish Temple. In 1976 Piccirillo (*infra*) discovered an earlier pavement, dated 531, beneath the basilica's *diakonikon*, this one with pastoral and hunting scenes.

The town of Nebo (Khirbet el-Mekhayyat), about 4 km southeast of Siyagha, had four 6th- and 7th-C. churches with spectacular mosaic pavements; surviving portions depict scenes of daily life, allegories, and donor portraits. One shows Earth personified as a woman.

LIT. S.J. Saller, H. Schneider, *The Memorial of Moses on Mount Nebo*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1941–50). M. Piccirillo, "Campagna archeologica nella basilica di Mosè profeta sul monte Nebo-Siyagha," *Liber annuus* 26 (1976) 281–318. S.J. Saller, B. Bagatti, *The Town of Nebo* (Jerusalem 1949). –K.G.H.

NEBOULOS (Νέβουλος), military commander of Slavic or perhaps Bulgar origin (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:210). In 693 Justinian II formed a special force of 30,000 troops from the Slavs settled in OPSIKION in 688. As its ARCHON he appointed Neboulos, chosen "from the nobles" (Nikeph. 36.24), and campaigned with this army against the Arabs at Sebastopolis "by the sea" (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 18 [1909] 154–56). After initial success Justinian was defeated when Neboulos, bribed by the Arab commander, deserted with most of his troops. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 366.21–23), Justinian retaliated by massacring the remaining Slavs and their families. The Arabs settled Neboulos and his men in Syria.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:34–38. –P.A.H.

NECKLACE (περιδεραῖον). As opposed to the TORQUE, which was worn by men, women's necklaces consisted of several kinds of chains, from simple loops to complex braids, either undecorated or with additional elements. PENDANTS might be added, similar to those used in earrings. Gold coins or medallions were often reused in necklaces, but until the 7th C. the commonest type seems to consist of beads of cut gemstones, glass paste, or pearls, interspersed with single loops of chain. Contemporaneous, and gradually becoming more common, were more complex chains, esp. types with openwork gold disks or links (Brown, *infra* [1984], pls. 1–6, 12–18). The construction of the jeweled collars—worn, for example, by the female saints in S. Apollinare Nuovo and by Theodora's companions in S. Vitale, RAVENNA—is difficult to identify: although necklaces with *cloisons* (thin strips of gold) containing single large gems were made in the Hellenistic period, the form seems to disappear until the 11th or 12th C. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 443.78–80) accused Isaac II of making necklaces and torques with jewels taken from crosses and Gospel books.

LIT. K.R. Brown, "The Mosaics of San Vitale: Evidence for the Attribution of Some Early Byzantine Jewelry to Court Workshops," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 57–62. Eadem, *The Gold Breast Chain from the Early Byzantine Period in the Römisch-Germanisches Zentralmuseum* (Mainz 1984). –S.D.C., A.C.

NEGEV (Ναγέβ), area of PALESTINE III (Salutaris) extending south of the Dead Sea to the Gulf of ʿAqabah. Its territory included PETRA (the capital); the cities of Mampsis, Birosaba, and Elusa; and the settlements of NESSANA, Sobata (Shivta), and Oboda. Despite the scarcity of narrative sources, the economy and culture of Negev in late antiquity has been well studied on the basis of archaeological remains, inscriptions, and the NESSANA PAPYRI. Agriculture flourished in Negev in

the 4th–7th C., thanks to irrigation. The land produced grapes, wheat, barley, olives, dates, and almonds. There were three types of landowners: the church, individual farmers, and LIMITANEI. The region also benefited from the trade route that led north from Aela on the Gulf.

From ca.300 active fortification of the sites helped to protect them from Bedouin attack. Christianity penetrated the Negev by the 4th C., but Elusa is the only bishopric attested by external sources—its bishops participated in some councils of the 5th and 6th C. The region was thoroughly christianized, however, in part under the influence of the neighboring SINAI peninsula. Numerous churches of the 5th–9th C. have been excavated in Mampsis, Nessana, Oboda, and Sobata. The earlier churches have a single apse, while churches with three apses are a later development; some were decorated with floor mosaics and reliefs.

The area began to decline, at least at Mampsis, ca.500. Building activity in Oboda had stopped by the beginning of the 7th C. In 636 the Arabs conquered Negev. Urban life continued in some places until ca.700, then died out, and the desert replaced orchards and vineyards.

LIT. K.G. Gutwein, *Third Palestine* (Washington, D.C., 1981). A. Negev, *Tempel, Kirchen und Zisternen* (Stuttgart 1983) 159–245. B. Bagatti, *Antichi villaggi cristiani della Giudea e del Neghev* (Jerusalem 1983) 185–208. P. Mayerson, "The Ancient Agricultural Regime of Nessana and Central Negev," *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, vol. 1 (London 1962) 211–63. A. Segal, *The Byzantine City of Shivta (Esbeita), Negev Desert, Israel* (Oxford 1983). –M.M.M.

NEGROPONTE, Italian name for EUBOEA, probably originating from Euripos via a distorted form of Egripos. In 1204 the Venetians gained control of the ports of Karystos and CHALKIS, while the rest of the island was first given to a Frankish baron, James II of Avesnes. After his death Negroponte was partitioned, in 1209, among three Veronese lords, who in turn acknowledged Venetian suzerainty. Venetian power grew on the island, but the rough terrain allowed considerable independence for the minor Frankish nobility, while Venice used Negroponte as a base for its operations in the Aegean. Pirates from Negroponte ravaged much of the east coast of Greece in the 13th to 14th C. From 1332 onward, the Turks began to attack isolated areas on Negroponte, and in July 1470 the island fell. Under Latin domination the church of Negroponte was an important outpost of papal power. The name Negroponte was indiscriminately applied to the entire island, to its capital Chalkis, to the Frankish lordship, and to the Venetian administrative unit.

LIT. J. Koder, *Negroponte* (Vienna 1971). Jacoby, *Féodalité* 95–113. A. Sabbides, "He Euboia kata ta tele tou IB'—arches tou IG' ai. m.Ch.," *Archeion Euboïkon Meleton* 24 (1981–82) 313–23. –T.E.G.

NEIGHBOR (γείτων, πλησιάζων), a person or JURISTIC PERSON owning or holding property in close spatial proximity to another property, or a member of the same fiscal unit, as opposed to a stranger (*xenos*). In Byz. it was a well-established principle that neighbors enjoyed specific privileges such as the right of PROTIMESIS by reason of *anakoinosis*, "enclave" (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.30.11) or *plesiasmos*, "coming near" (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.43.12), as well as JURA IN RE ALIENA. On the other hand, neighbors as members of the same fiscal unit (METROKOMIA, VILLAGE COMMUNITY) shared collective tax liabilities (EPIBOLE, ALLELENGYON). One of the most common ways of identifying properties in the PRAKTIKA was by naming the owners of neighboring properties (e.g., *choraphion plesion tou Basileiou*).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 62, n.1; 71; 90–93. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 162. –M.B.

NEILOS KERAMEUS (Κεραμεύς), patriarch of Constantinople (Mar./Apr. 1380–1 Feb. 1388); baptismal name Neophytos; born Thessalonike, died Constantinople 1 Feb. 1388. An ardent Palamite, Neilos took the monastic habit at the CHARSIANEITES MONASTERY in Constantinople in 1354; his spiritual master was the *hegoumenos* Markos (*PLP*, no.17017), for whom he drafted a monastic rule. After Mark's death, Neilos succeeded him briefly as superior before being made patriarch. He apparently continued to serve as *hegoumenos* throughout his patriarchate. Shortly before Neilos's death, he bequeathed the monastery to the future patriarch MATTHEW I.

Around 1380 Neilos and the synod drafted an important document defining imperial rights in ecclesiastical affairs (V. Laurent, *REB* 13 [1955] 5–18). In 1383 he divided the double monastery

of Patr. ATHANASIOS I (MM 2:80–83). A collection of 43 of his homilies (heavily influenced by John Chrysostom) remains unedited. He also wrote *enkomia* of Gregory PALAMAS and Anthimos of Crete.

ED. *Das Homiliar des Patriarchen Neilos und die chrysostomische Tradition*, ed. H. Hennephof (Leiden 1963) 107–48. PG 151:655–78. K.J. Dyobouniotes, "Ho Athenon Anthimos kai proedros Kretes ho homologetes," *EEBS* 9 (1932) 56–79. MM 2:1–108. For list of works, see Hennephof, op. cit. 4–6.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 6, nos. 2696–843. *PLP*, no.11648.

–A.M.T.

NEILOS OF ANKYRA, also called Neilos the Ascetic, theologian and saint; died ca.430; feastday 12 Nov. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 217.4–6) and Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos (PG 146:1256A), he served as eparch of Constantinople under Theodosios I and then left for Sinai together with his son Theodoulos. These data are now considered as legendary; they are based on a romance, entitled *Diegemata* (*Narrations*), which describes the adventures of Neilos and Theodoulos on the Sinai peninsula. Various works have survived under the name of Neilos (*CPG* 3:6043–84), both in Greek and other languages (Syriac, Armenian, Latin, etc.). Distinction between the different Neiloi is difficult, but it is usually accepted that there were two of them—one the author of the ostensibly autobiographical *Narrations*, and another who wrote letters, treatises on monastic life, commentaries on the *Song of Songs* (R. Browning, *REB* 24 [1966] 107–14), etc. A number of "heretical" writings, notably those of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, have been preserved under his name.

Two of the works ascribed to Neilos are the most important and the most controversial: the *Narrations* and a corpus of 1,061 letters. The *Narrations* contains rich ethnological data about barbarian tribes that lived between Arabia and Egypt and knew no craft, trade, or agriculture, sustaining themselves only by the sword (ch.3.1, ed. Conca, p.12.3–5). J. Henninger (*Anthropos* 50 [1955] 81–148) considered Neilos's ethnological observations untrustworthy, whereas V. Christides (*Byzantion* 43 [1973] 39–50) argued that his data on Bedouin stoneworship and sacrifices of camels and humans are accurate. The corpus of letters has suffered from editorial corruption, perhaps in the 6th C. when it was well known; many of the titles of the letters addressed to illustrious officials have now been unmasked as anachronistic additions. Al. Cameron (*GRBS* 17 [1976] 181–96) considers the bulk of the correspondence genuine, even though edited by an admirer of Neilos, while Ringshausen (*infra*) sees in the correspondence the work of a different author. The major themes of his letters are the imitation of Christ as the way to perfection, practical advice for seekers of spiritual guidance, and allegorical interpretations of biblical texts; discussions of Christology and refutations of ARIANISM also appear. Letter 4.61, to Olympiodoros the eparch, praises the value of depicting biblical scenes on church walls to instruct the illiterate but criticizes the use of hunting scenes (H.G. Thümmel, *BZ* 71 [1978] 10–21).

ED. PG 79. *Gli scritti siriaci di Nilo il solitario*, ed. P. Bettiolo, with Ital. tr. (Louvain-le-Neuve 1983). P. van den Ven, "Un opuscule inédit attribué à S. Nil," in *Mélanges Godefroid Kurth*, vol. 2 (Liège 1908) 73–81. *Narratio*, ed. F. Conca (Leipzig 1983).

LIT. Quasten, *Patrology* 3:496–504. H. Ringshausen, *Zur Verfasserschaft und Chronologie der dem Nilus Ancyranus zugeschriebenen Werke* (Frankfurt 1967). K. Heussi, *Untersuchungen zu Nilus dem Asketen* (Leipzig 1917). F. Degenhart, *Neue Beiträge zur Nilusforschung* (Münster-Aschendorff 1918).

–B.B., A.K.

NEILOS OF ROSSANO, also known as Neilos the Younger, saint; born ROSSANO in Calabria ca.910, died GROTTAFERRATA 26 Sept. 1004. An orphan from an illustrious family, after a chaotic youth Neilos abandoned secular life (and his child) for the ascetical life of Italy's "New Thebaid." He came under the guidance of PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER in the region of Merkourion. He secured the monastic habit despite governmental prohibitions, which may evidence the antimonastic attitude of ROMANOS I after the novel of 934. In the early 950s Neilos returned to the neighborhood of Rossano, where he founded the monastery of St. Adrian. Around 980, fleeing admirers and Muslim raiders, he moved north to MONTECASSINO, where he and his followers lived about 15 years at the daughter house of Valleluce. Then, disenchanted by laxity, Neilos and many of his monks moved to Serperi, near Gaeta. Shortly before his death he founded the monastery of S. Maria di Grottaferrata.

Neilos's career marks the high point of Italo-

Greek monasticism. He was a talented scribe. His hymns are elegant. A disciple commemorated him in a vita that is remarkable for its style and substance, describing not only Neilos's rigorous asceticism but also Italo-Greek monasticism in general. By vividly contrasting Neilos with Byz. notables, the Montecassino monks who greeted him as "another Benedict," the decadent Lombard princess Aloara, and Emperor OTTO III, the vita reveals not only the saint's charismatic power but also the power of Byz. culture.

ED. D.S. Gassisi, ed., "Innografi italo-greci: Poesie di S. Nilo Iuniore e di Paolo Monaco, abbati di Grottaferrata," *OrChr* 5 (1905) 26–81.

SOURCES. *AASS* Sept. 7:262–320. *Bios kai politeia tou hosiou patros hemon Neilou tou Neou*, ed. G. Giovanelli (Grottaferrata 1972). With It. tr. in idem, *S. Nilo di Rossano, Fondatore e patrono di Grottaferrata* (Grottaferrata 1966).

LIT. *BHG* 1370. E. Morini, "Eremo e cenobio nel monachesimo greco dell'Italia meridionale nei secoli IX e X," *Rivista di storia della Chiesa in Italia* 31 (1977) 358–74. O. Rousseau, "La visite de Nil de Rossano au Mont-Cassin," *La Chiesa greca in Italia dall'VIII al XVI secolo* 3 [= Italia Sacra 22] (Padua 1972) 1111–37. Garzya, *Storia*, pt. IV (1969), 77–84. E. Follieri, "Due codici greci già cassinesi oggi alla Biblioteca Vaticana: Gli Ottob. Gr. 250 e 251," in *Paleographica diplomatica et archivistica: Studi in onore di Giulio Battelli*, vol. 1 (Rome 1979) 215–19. J.M. Sansterre, "Les coryphées des Apôtres, Rome et la papauté dans les *Vies* des saints Nil et Barthélemy de Grottaferrata," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 516–43. –J.M.H.

NEILOS THE ASCETIC. See NEILOS OF ANKYRA.

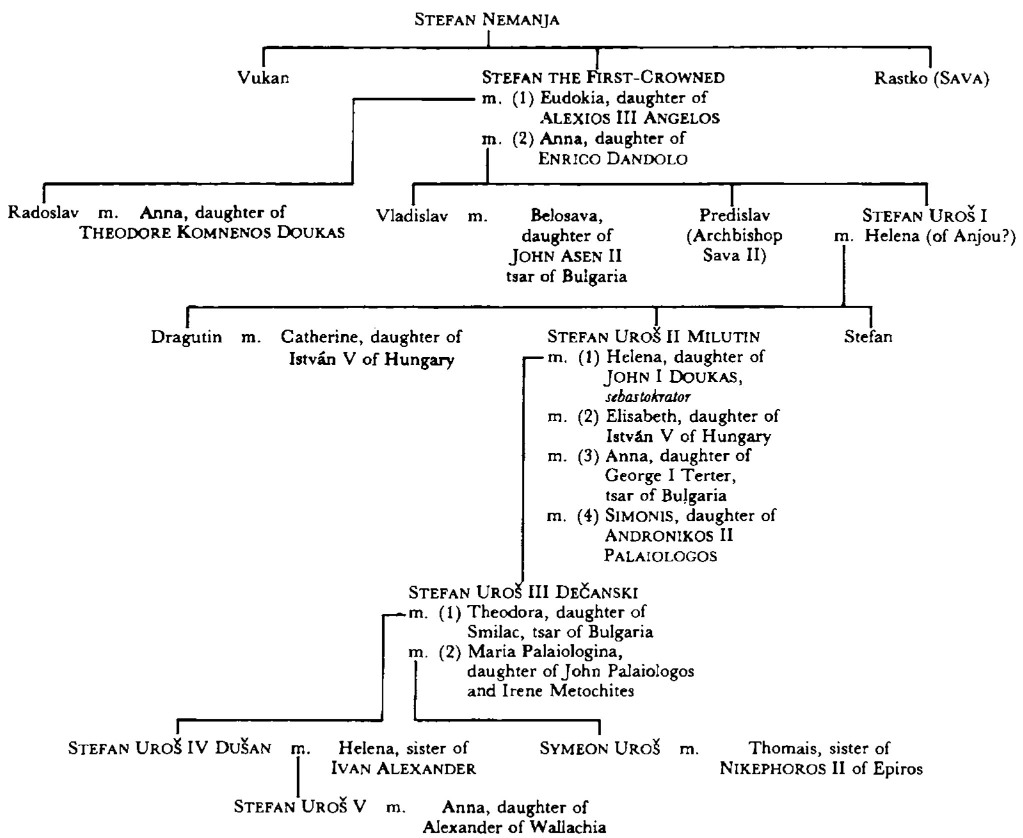
NEKTARIOS, bishop of Constantinople (June 381–27 Sept. 397); born Tarsos. He was a member of the senate when Gregory of Nazianzos retired from the see of Constantinople; DIODOROS OF TARSOS included Nektarios in the list of candidates presented to Theodosios I, who selected Nektarios despite the fact that he had not yet been baptized and stood at the very bottom of the candidate list (Sozom. *HE* 7.8.1–6). Nektarios was a politician rather than a church leader and worked in close contact with Theodosios. He presided over the Council of 381 in Constantinople that condemned the Arians (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), but thereafter Nektarios endeavored to achieve reconciliation. He tried to increase the authority of Constantinople without entering into a conflict with Rome and Alexandria: even though the Eastern bishops refused to participate in a council planned by Pope Damasus in 382, Nektarios appeased the pope by subscribing to Western theological tenets. In 394 the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch peacefully attended a local synod in Constantinople. Nektarios probably extended the jurisdiction of Constantinople over Thrace; bishops of Asia Minor and even distant Bostra began to seek his arbitration in their litigations. Nektarios reformed the system of PENANCE, abolishing the office of a permanent confessor and permitting a believer to partake of the sacraments from a priest of his/her choice.

A homily on St. Theodore is preserved under the name of Nektarios (PG 39:1821–40). PALLADIOS of Galatia (*Laus. Hist.*, ch. 38, ed. Butler, 117.5–6) characterized him as "the most dialectical [in disputes] against all the heresies." An *enkomion* of Nektarios by an unknown *grammatikos*, Leo of Sicily, is preserved in an unpublished 14th-C. MS (*BHG* 2284).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 1–12. Dagron, *Naissance* 453–63. –A.K.

NEMANJID DYNASTY, Serbian royal family (ca.1165/68–1371). Its founder was STEFAN NEMANJA. The ten successive rulers increased in stature from *župan* of RAŠKA to emperor of the Serbs and Greeks, in the person of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. The branch of Nemanja's son Vukan ruled in ZETA. During the 200 years of Nemanjid rule, the borders of Serbia expanded into Byz. territory as far south as the Gulf of Corinth. Through marriage, the Nemanjids became related to dynasties in Constantinople, the despotate of Epiros, the Bulgarian Empire, the kingdom of Hungary, and the kingdom of Naples and to the doges of Venice. The opening of silver mines in the 13th C. secured economic prosperity, which provided the financial base for military success. The Serbian church became an independent archbishopric, first headed by Nemanja's youngest son SAVA OF SERBIA. All the Nemanjids built ecclesiastical foundations, churches, and monasteries such as Djurdjevi Stupovi, Žiča, STUDENICA, HILANDAR, MILEŠEVA, Morača, SOPOĆANI, Gradac, ARILJE, GRAČANICA, Dečani, PEĆ, Holy Archangels near Prizren, and Matejić. The genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty, styled after the Tree of Jesse, is painted

GENEALOGY OF THE NEMANJID DYNASTY (ca.1167-1371)



Information provided by J. S. Allen.

Rulers of the Nemanjid Dynasty

Ruler	*Reign Dates*
STEFAN NEMANJA	ca.1165/68–1196
STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED	*župan* 1196–1217
	king 1217–ca.1228
Stefan Radoslav	ca.1228–ca.1234
Stefan Vladislav	ca.1234–1243
STEFAN UROŠ I	1243–1276
Stefan Dragutin	1276–1282
STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN	1282–1321
STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI	1321–1331
STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN	king 1331–1345
	tsar 1345–1355
STEFAN UROŠ V	1355–1371

in the churches at Gračanica, Dečani, Peć, and Matejić. (See table for a list of Nemanjid rulers; see also genealogical table.)

LIT. *Istorija srpskog naroda,* vols. 1–2 (Belgrade 1981–82). S. Radojičić, *Portreti srpskih vladara u srednjem veku* (Skopje 1934). –J.S.A.

NEMESIOS (Νεμέσιος), late 4th-C. bishop of Emesa in Syria, a successor of EUSEBIOS OF EMESA. His treatise on ANTHROPOLOGY, entitled *On the Nature of Man,* in which he attempts to fuse a Platonizing doctrine of the soul with Christian revelation, was much exploited by JOHN OF DAMASCUS in his *Exposition of the Orthodox Faith* (bk.2, chs. 12–29) and by MELETIOS THE MONK in his synopsis of Christian and pagan ideas on the

human constitution. The treatise was translated into Armenian and Latin; Thomas AQUINAS was a notable Western user. The content is more philosophical and scientific than theological, albeit the exegetical methods of the Antiochene School come through, and there is an obtruded mention of contemporary controversy over hypostatic union. Nemesios's use of classical Greek science is highly eclectic, adopting or rejecting Plato and Aristotle according to the needs of the moment; many other sources are adduced, notably scientific writers from Epicurus to Galen.

The tract of Nemesios is an exalted praise of the human being as a perfect creature between the corporeal and incorporeal worlds, a microcosm (*mikros kosmos*, "little universe"). The human being possesses both the incorporeal soul—the major part of which is reason and which is preexistent (like Plato's idea) and eternal—and the body, consisting of perishable matter. Its most beautiful member is the eye. Optimistically, Nemesios stresses free will, creativity, wisdom, and the ability to foresee the future, and admonishes man not to fear death, since only sinful death is evil.

ED. *De natura hominis*, ed. M. Morani (Leipzig 1987). *Cyril of Jerusalem and Nemesius of Emesa*, ed. W. Telfer, with Eng. tr. (London 1955) 201–466.

LIT. A. Siclari, *L'antropologia di Nemesio di Emesa* (Padua 1974), with add. in *Aevum* 47 (1973) 477–97. A. Kallis, *Der Mensch im Kosmos: Das Weltbild Nemesios' von Emesa* (Münster 1978). R.W. Sharples, "Nemesius of Emesa and Some Theories of Divine Providence," *VigChr* 37 (1983) 141–56. –B.B.

NEO-CHALCEDONISM, a conventional scholarly term to designate a theological movement of the 6th C. The goal of the Neo-Chalcedonians was to overcome the problems posed by the Christological formula accepted at the Council of CHALCEDON in 451; this dyophysite formula, which stressed the existence of two natures in Christ, did not sufficiently clarify the character of the union between the divine and the human in the incarnate Logos. Whereas NESTORIANISM shifted eastward, to Persia and the Syrian borderlands, the Monophysites maintained an active presence within the empire and kept accusing the strict Chalcedonians, predominantly those of Constantinople, of Nestorian tenets. Some theologians, such as Nephalios (C. Moeller, *RHE* 40 [1944–45] 73–140), JOHN OF CAESAREA, and LEONTIOS OF JERUSALEM, tried to find a compromise between Chalcedonians and moderate ("verbal") Monophysites; although they accepted the 12 anathemas of CYRIL of Alexandria and the statement that "one of the Trinity has suffered," they tried not to separate the human principle from the divine *physis* of Christ but emphasized the *synthesis* ("combination," the term also used by the "verbal" Monophysites) and hypostatic (but not "natural") unity of the two principles.

Political considerations (the search for reconciliation) brought into the Neo-Chalcedonian camp both ecclesiastical leaders, such as the patriarchs of Antioch Anastasios (559–69) and Gregory (569–93) (P. Allen, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 13–16), and emperors, such as Justinian I. The official acceptance of their views at the Council of Constantinople in 553 was followed by an "anti-Nestorian" reaction—the condemnation of the THREE CHAPTERS. A compromise with the Monophysites, however, was not achieved.

LIT. S. Helmar, *Der Neuchalkedonismus* (Bonn 1962). Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.56, pp.156–61. C. Moeller, "Le chalcédonisme et le néo-chalcédonisme en Orient de 451 à la fin du VIe siècle," in *Das Konzil von Chalkedon*, vol. 1 (Würzburg 1951) 666–96. P. Gray, "Neo-Chalcedonianism and the Tradition: From Patristic to Byzantine Theology," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 61–70. –A.K.

NEOKAISAREIA (Νεοκαισάρεια, Turk. Niksar), city of Pontos in the Lykos Valley on one of the main northern routes across Anatolia. Famed for its first bishop, Gregory the Thaumaturge, Neokaisareia became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Pontus Polemoniacus. Although struck by earthquakes in 344 and 449, Neokaisareia's powerful fortress remained suitable as a refuge when Chosroes I attacked SEBASTEIA in 575. Thereafter its history is obscure until the 11th C., when it was attacked by the Turks, who first sacked it in 1068 and captured it after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The GABRADES restored Byz. power in the 1080s, but by the end of the century Neokaisareia fell to DANIŞMEND. The Turkish epic DANIŞMENDNĀME preserves the memory of these struggles. The imprisonment of BOHEMUND here provoked the unsuccessful Crusade of 1101. After failing to take Neokaisareia in 1140, John II Komnenos brought back many inhabitants of the region and settled them in securely Byz. lands. Neokaisareia contains a mas-

sive and well-preserved fortress, some of whose walls are certainly Byz.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 107–10. –C.F.

NEOKASTRA (Νεόκαστρα), one of the themes in the empire of Nicaea. Its origins are obscure: Niketas Choniates applies this term, meaning "new castles," to a group of *phrouria* (CHLIARA, PERGAMON, and ATRAMYTTION) in northwestern Asia Minor that stood under command of a *harmostes* sent from Constantinople; they paid taxes to the imperial treasury (Nik.Chon. 150.53–56). On the other hand, the chrysobull of Alexios III of 1198 and the PARTITIO ROMANIAE list the "provincia" of Neochastron/Neocastri separately from Atramyttion, Chliara, and Pergamon. George Akropolites (Akrop. 28.3–8) describes Neokastra as a theme along with Kelbianon, Chliara, Pergamon, Magidia, and Opsikion. He includes in Neokastra the village of Kalamos (in the north?), but Ahrweiler's thesis (*infra*) that it encompassed also Magnesia and Sardis is only hypothetical (Pachym. [ed. Bekker, 2:220f] contrasts Neokastra and Sardis). Neokastra was administered by a *doux*; one of these administrators, Libadarios, supported Andronikos II against Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1296. Ahrweiler suggests that Constantine Nestongos was the last known *doux* of Neokastra ca.1304.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 133–37, 163–65. Angold, *Byz. Government* 246. C. Foss, "The Defenses of Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 186–89. –A.K.

NEOPATRAS (Νεόπατρας, also Neai Patrai, anc. and mod. Hypate), Thessalian city in the Spercheios Valley, east of LAMIA. The name *Hypate* was used by Prokopios and Hierokles; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.42–43, ed. Pertusi, p.88) knew it as Hypate "which is now called Neai Patrai." In the 12th C. Basil of Ohrid (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:393.1–2) stated that Symeon, bishop of Neopatras, was transferred to Laodikeia "in the days of Leo VI and Photios (*sic*)," but we do not know whether the new name was used in 9th-C. documents or only applied by Basil. The seal of Euthymios MALAKES designates the bishopric as "Patrai Helladikai" as distinguished from Patrai Katotero (i.e., of the Peloponnesos: Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.763).

The city was perhaps abandoned at the time of the Slavic invasions and until 1204 is known only as an ecclesiastical center—by the 10th C. it was already a metropolis with one suffragan, increased to 12 in the 12th C. It played a greater role after 1204, first under Latin control, then within the despotate of Epiros. After the battle of PELAGONIA Neopatras fell to Byz., but by the end of the 13th C. it was under the authority of independent Thessalian *doukes*. Circa 1309 John II of Neopatras married Irene, the illegitimate daughter of Andronikos II, and styled himself "the lord of the lands of Athens and Neai Patrai and the *doux* of KASTORIA" (Nicol, *Epiros II* 74f). The CATALANS seized Neopatras in 1319 and retained the city when almost all their possessions had been lost. In 1394 the Ottomans captured Neopatras.

Remains of the largely 13th-C. castle with keep are south of the modern town, on the site of the ancient acropolis. In the town are remains of a three-aisled basilica and in the Church of St. Nicholas *spolia* of Byz. buildings with an inscription of *proedros* Demetrios KATAKALON, the *ktetor* of the Church of Hagia Sophia (P. Lazarides, *ArchDelt* 16 [1960] B 164–66).

LIT. *TIB* 1:223f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 143–45, 199–201. Ferjančić, *Tesalija* 141–51. Fine, *Late Balkans* 398f, 430. –T.E.G.

NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS (Νεόφυτος Ἐγκλειστος), Cypriot monastic writer and saint; born Leukara, Cyprus, 1134, died after 1214; feastday 24 Jan. At age 18, he left his poor family and was tonsured at the monastery of John Chrysostom on Mt. Koutzoubendes; there he worked five years in the vineyard, received some education, and became subsacristan (*parekklesiarches*). Then he left the monastery and traveled through Palestine. After his return to Cyprus, when he was about to journey to Latros, Neophytos was arrested, robbed of two nomismata (the price of the fare), and barely escaped imprisonment. He endeavored to become a solitary hermit but had difficulty getting permission: in 1159, when he withdrew to a cave near Paphos, the local bishop ordered him to receive disciples. Although Neophytos spent some time as a recluse (ENKLEISTOS), he was closely connected with the monastery of Enkleistra, which he had founded and provided with a *typikon* (second version in 1214). He wrote various books on ecclesiastical subjects (panegyrics, catecheses,

homilies, commentary on the Song of Songs, etc.) but was also interested in contemporary events. He described the plight of the Cypriots under the rule of RICHARD I LIONHEART and produced vivid autobiographical pictures both in his *typikon* and in smaller works, such as the *Divine Sign* (*Theosemeia*). In the latter he narrated an accident: an enormous stone rolled upon him, and his rescue required long and painful efforts by his community.

ED. Survey of Neophytos's works—I. Tsiknopoulos, "To syngraphikon ergon tou hagiou Neophytou," *KyprSp* 22 (1958) 67–214. See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 550.

LIT. L. Petit, "Vie et ouvrages de Néophyte le Reclus," *EO* 2 (1898–99) 257–68. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Chypre," *AB* 26 (1907) 274–97. I. Tsiknopoulos, "He thaumaste prosopikotes tou Neophytou presbyterou monachou kai enkleistou," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 311–413. –A.K.

NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS, ENKLEISTRA OF, near Paphos, CYPRUS. NEOPHYTOS ENKLEISTOS carved the tomb, cell, and oratory of his Enkleistra (hermitage) in the side of a cliff in 1159/60. The Enkleistra became a monastery after Neophytos's sanctity attracted disciples. The original, simple white-ground fresco decoration of the cell and sanctuary was covered with highly refined paintings by Theodore APSEUDES in 1183, under the patronage of Basil Kinnamos, bishop of Paphos. Except for the Annunciation, all Christological scenes come from the PASSION cycle. Monastic saints holding scrolls with didactic phrases occupy much of the sanctuary. The unusual monastic and eschatological tenor of the decoration as well as the two portraits of Neophytos that appear in this phase perhaps indicate that the founder of the monastery rather than the PATRON determined the program. The nave of the Enkleistra was enlarged and decorated with additional saintly ascetics and scenes from the Passion at the end of the 12th or beginning of the 13th C.

LIT. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "The Hermitage of St. Neophytos and Its Wall-Paintings," *DOP* 20 (1966) 119–206. Winfield, "Reports" 264. A.W. Epstein, "Formulae for Salvation: A Comparison of Two Byzantine Monasteries and their Founders," *ChHist* 50 (1981) 385–400. –A.J.W.

NEOPLATONISM, a modern term for the philosophy of PLOTINOS and of the philosophical schools that he inspired, which flourished principally at Athens and Alexandria through the 6th C. Like his immediate predecessors ("middle" Platonists), Plotinos sought in the dialogues of PLATO a systematic philosophy. Taking advantage of Aristotelian and Stoic ideas, he reached conclusions of some originality and cogency. The material world he saw as a unified whole, organized and sustained by soul (*psyche*), which acts as the transmitter to matter of form inspired by models found in another radically different type of reality corresponding to Plato's realm of Forms (or Ideas). This is a reality from which soul itself derives; it is outside space, time, and body and is the object of thought and the very activity of a transcendent divine INTELLECT or mind (*nous*). This intellect and its object of thought, as multiple, presuppose in turn a first principle, the "One," which as prior to ("beyond") being (the Forms) and intellect transcends the knowable and the speakable; at the same time it must also be that from which all else, in descending hierarchical order (*nous*, *psyche*, material world), must derive its existence, each level existing from and in orientation (*epistrophe*) to the level above it.

The lowest level, matter, although ultimately derived from the One, as that which receives form, must remain impassible and is therefore absolute evil, according to Plotinos. It also gives rise to moral evil in souls that become engrossed in the material world and forget their original nature and mission as a progression outward from the realm of divine intellect as expression of the perfection and power of the One. Man's happiness depends on orientation toward and a return (ascent) to the One; PHILOSOPHY is the method required for achieving this "assimilation to God" (Plato, *Theaetetus* 176b). This flight from the world is balanced, however, by a desire to communicate perfection and reform the lesser, a desire that can show itself in political as well as personal life.

Plotinos's pupil PORPHYRY did much to publicize this philosophy and also to antagonize Christian leaders (on the difficult relations between Neoplatonism and Christianity, see PHILOSOPHY). Porphyry's pupil IAMBLICHOS founded a school in Syria that influenced Emp. Julian and stimulated a revival of Platonism at Athens, the principal figures of which were Syrianos, PROKLOS, DAMASKIOS, and SIMPLIKIOS. Proklos's pupil AMMONIOS became head of the Neoplatonic school at Alexandria, with which were associated Asklepios, John PHILOPONOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and

STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA. The Neoplatonic schools developed Plotinos's philosophy in various ways, integrating much of Aristotle's logic, physics, and ethics in the curriculum, elaborating and modifying Plotinos's metaphysics and "harmonizing" it with the revelations of the CHALDEAN ORACLES (which included theurgical rites) of the Egyptians, Orphics, Homer, and Hesiod. In 529 Justinian I severely curtailed the activity of the ACADEMY OF ATHENS and provoked a temporary exile of seven philosophers at the court of Chosroes I in Persia. The school at Alexandria continued, however, possibly thanks to some cooperation with church authorities. Besides determining the form in which philosophy (and in particular LOGIC) was taught in the earlier part of the Byz. period, as exemplified by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Neoplatonism was later revived as a philosophy by Michael PSELLOS and by PLETHON.

LIT. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 195–325. R.T. Wallis, *Neoplatonism* (London 1972). *Neoplatonism and Christian Thought*, ed. D.J. O'Meara (Norfolk, Va., 1982). J. Whittaker, *Studies in Platonism and Patristic Thought* (London 1984). J.M. Rist, *Platonism and Its Christian Heritage* (London 1985).

–D.O'M.

NEREIDS, sea NYMPHS, daughters of the sea god Nereus, one of whom was Thetis, mother of ACHILLES. They are often mentioned in late Roman epic: thus, QUINTUS OF SMYRNA (3:662) speaks of the "deathless Nereids" and frequently alludes to Thetis and other Nereids plunging into the depths of the sea. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS calls Ino "a Nereid who has charge of untumultuous calm" (*Dionysiaka* 10:124–25), alluding to the nymphs' function as helpers at sea. Elsewhere he describes a Nereid seated upon a dolphin and paddling with her wet hand (*Dionysiaka* 1:72–75) or a Nereid in long flowing robes who drives unbridled the bull of Zeus, which walks upon the waters (1:101–03). In Byz. hagiography the function of helping at sea was transferred from Nereids to plain dolphins, as, for example, in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER.

In modern Greek folklore, Nereids have assumed an important role, and their name is linked to the vernacular *nero*, "fresh water." In contrast to "bodiless" angels Nereids are imagined in corporeal form, working mischief upon men, women, and children. Byz. sources reveal neither the date nor the manner of this transformation of Nereids into water demons.

LIT. Lawson, *Folklore* 130–46.

–A.K.

NEREZI, site in Macedonia of the Church of St. Panteleemon. According to an inscription over the entrance, the church was founded in 1164 by Alexios KOMNENOS, son of Theodora Porphyrogennete and scion of the ANGELOS family (Ostrogorsky, *Byz. Geschichte* 166–82). The building, constructed of irregularly cut stone and brick laid in thick mortar beds, has a domed cruciform core. Arches, vaults, and ornamental details are realized in brick. The corner bays to the west are separate chapels opening from the narthex; those to the east function as PASTOPHORIA. Frescoes of the original foundation were discovered on the walls of the church when it was cleaned in 1923. Included among the scenes from the cycle of the PASSION OF CHRIST is one of the earliest examples of the Threnos in monumental painting. In the narthex and narthex chapels are sequences of HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION. The expressive temperament of the frescoes, like those at KURBINOVO and KASTORIA, is characteristic of Macedonian MONUMENTAL PAINTING in the later 12th C.

LIT. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Nerezi* (Belgrade 1966).

–A.J.W.

NERSĒS. See also NARSES.

NERSĒS I THE GREAT, saint, great-great-grandson of GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, and hereditary patriarch of Armenia (353?-373?). Nersēs was a dominant figure in the history of the ARMENIAN CHURCH, though the precise dates of his pontificate are still debated. Consecrated at Caesarea in Cappadocia, as were most of his predecessors, Nersēs may have been known to his contemporary, St. BASIL THE GREAT, with whom he is occasionally confused in Armenian sources. The council called by him at Aštišat (ca.354) introduced a number of Byz. usages into the Armenian church. Nersēs is particularly renowned for his many charitable foundations possibly influenced by those of Eustathios of Sebaste. Nersēs probably headed the embassy sent to negotiate a peace



NEREZI. Church of St. Panteleemon. Frescoes on the west and north walls (above: Deposition from the Cross, Lamentation [*threnos*]; below: monastic saints).

between the Persians and Byz. in 358, but his opposition to the arianizing policy of Constantius II and of the Armenian kings led to a long exile from ca.359 and his eventual murder. The tradition that he was present at the First Council of Constantinople (381) is clearly apocryphal. The refusal of Caesarea to consecrate the successor of Nersēs presumably broke the link between it and the Armenian church.

LIT. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pts. V–VII. –N.G.G.

NERSĒS OF LAMBRON, Armenian churchman, author, and translator; born 1153 at Lambron in the western Taurus, died Cilicia 1198. Son of the lord of Lambron and a member of the HET'UMID family, at age 22 he became Armenian archbishop of Tarsos. He was important in the ecclesiastical and political life of Armenian CILICIA, and promoted friendly relations with the Greeks and Crusader states. The *Oration* he delivered at the Synod of Hrom-klay (the patriarchal see) in 1179 reflects this irenic spirit. In 1190 Prince LEO II/I Rubenid sent him to meet Frederick I Barbarossa, but the emperor had drowned before Nersēs reached Seleukeia, and his heir, Henry VI, was reluctant to crown Leo. Alexios III Angelos, anxious to prevent an Armenian entente with the Latins, promised the crown to Leo, and in 1197 Nersēs traveled to Constantinople for preliminary negotiations but was disillusioned by the Byz. A scholar and literary figure, he sought out texts as yet unavailable in Armenian, notably in the Greek and Latin monasteries on the Black Mountain. His translations include the Benedictine Rule, the SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK, and a version of the Revelation of John. His more noteworthy original compositions include commentaries on the Psalms, Proverbs, Ecclesiasticus, 12 Minor PROPHETS, the liturgy; an elegy on NERSĒS ŠNORHALI; letters; and homilies.

ED. See list in B.L. Zekiyan, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 123–28.
LIT. N. Akinean, *Nersēs Lambronac'i* (Vienna 1956). J. Mécérian, "La Vierge Marie dans la littérature médiévale de l'Arménie: Saint Grégoire de Narek, Saint Nersès de Lampron," *Al-Machriq* 48 (1954) 346–79. –R.T.

NERSĒS ŠNORHALI ("gracious") or Klayec'i ("from Hrom-klay," the patriarchal see in Armenian Cilicia); born Covk' (near mod. Elazig) 1102, died Hrom-klay 15 Aug. 1173. A member of the Pahlavuni family, he was a brother of the *katholikos* Gregory III (1113–66) and himself became *katholikos* (1166–73).

In 1165 Nersēs initiated discussions with the *protostrator* Alexios AXOUCH, concerning union of the Greek and Armenian churches. The exchange of views between Cilicia and Constantinople was continued on the Greek side by THEORIANOS, and after Nersēs's death by his nephew GREGORY TŁAY on the Armenian side, but eventually came to nothing.

Nersēs is esp. renowned for his religious poetry. His longer works include *Lament on the Fall of Edessa* (to ZANGI in 1144), *Jesus the Son*, and *On Faith*. His *Encyclical Letter* is irenic toward the Greek church, and his letters are important for their exposition of the Armenian theological tradition.

ED. *Opera*, ed. and tr. J. Cappelletti, 2 vols. (Venice 1833). *Jésus Fils unique du Père*, tr. I. Kéchichian (Paris 1973). *La complainte d'Edesse*, tr. I. Kéchichian (Venice 1984).

LIT. H. Bartikian, "Les Arewordi (Fils du soleil) en Arménie et Mésopotamie et l'épître du Catholicos Nersès le gracieux," *REArm* n.s. 5 (1968) 271–88. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 11–33, 73–121. B.L. Zekiyan, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 134–50. –R.T.

NESEBŬR. See MESEMBRIA.

NEŞRI, Ottoman poet and historian; teacher in Bursa; born in Karaman?, died Bursa? between 1512 and 1520. Neşri was the author of the *Kitāb-i cihan-nümā*, a universal history written in Turkish prose after Arabic and Persian models. Surviving is the sixth section, which deals primarily with Ottoman history from its origins to 1485. Here Neşri synthesized AŞIQPAŞAZADE with a few other sources (now lost), adding minimally from his own knowledge and experiences. Consequently, his information about Byz. largely duplicates or parallels Aşiqpaşazade.

For Byz. studies, the value of Neşri is now mainly historiographic. His work was first transmitted to European scholars by Leunclavius, in his *Historiae Musulmanae Turcorum de monumentis ipsorum exscriptae libri XVIII* (Frankfurt 1591). Thereafter Neşri's materials were repeatedly used—in one form or another, and in conjunction with the post-Byz. Greek historians—to construct narratives about late Byz./early Ottoman history. Present understanding of the value of Neşri as a source dates to 1922, when P. Wittek demonstrated its relationship with Aşiqpaşazade and Leunclavius's texts.

ED. *Kitâb-i Cihan-Nümâ*, ed. F. Unat, M. Köymen, 2 vols. (Ankara 1949, 1957).

LIT. P. Wittek, "Zum Quellenproblem der ältesten osmanischen Chroniken (mit Auszügen aus Nešrī)," *Mitteilungen zur Osmanischen Geschichte* 1 (1921–22) 77–150. V. Ménage, *Neshrī's History of the Ottomans* (London 1964). –S.W.R.

NESSANA (ʿAuja al-Hafir in Israel), settlement in the NEGEV situated on a trade route between Gaza and Sinai; it was fortified and garrisoned (421–22?) with "very loyal Theodosians" by Theodosios II (?). An inscription records that another building was constructed there under Justinian I and Theodora. Churches were built there in the 5th and 6th C., and the excavators believe that the fort of Nessana was converted to a monastery in 598–605. In 601/2 three more churches were built with the donations of various laymen whose names are inscribed on individual architectural elements. Excavators also found the NESSANA PAPYRI, literary papyri, and several archives dating from the 6th to late 7th C.

LIT. *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, 3 vols. (London-Princeton 1950–62). –M.M.M.

NESSANA PAPYRI, Greek, Latin, and Arabic documents and literary material found in 1935–37 at NESSANA in the Negev, constituting one of the few papyrus finds outside Egypt. Nessana was a Byz. military and ecclesiastical outpost, located on the trade and pilgrimage routes; the town remained prosperous until well after the Arab conquest. The papyri date from the early 6th to the late 7th C., although there is a gap ca.600–70. The documentary papyri come from the archives of the garrison, the noble families of church dignitaries, and the later Arab administration. They include contracts, accounts, receipts, requisitions, sales, loans, documents of family law, and ecclesiastical and private letters. The literary papyri comprise school texts including a bilingual Vergil glossary and Latin *Aeneid* codex, a legal text, and theological works including New Testament books, the "Abgar letter," hagiography, homilies, and catechetical writings. Presumably they were studied in the monastic school at Nessana. As a whole the Nessana papyri illustrate the flourishing of a Byz. Palestinian town and its decline in later Umayyad times.

ED. L. Casson, E.L. Hettich, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 2 (Princeton 1950). C.L. Kraemer, *Excavations at Nessana*, vol. 3 (Princeton 1958).

LIT. *Excavations at Nessana*, ed. H.D. Colt, vol. 1 (London 1962). H.-J. Wolff, "Der byzantinische Urkundenstil Ägyptens im Lichte der Funde von Nessana und Dura," *Revue International des Droits de l'Antiquité*[3] 8 (1961) 115–54.
–L.S.B.MacC.

NESTONGOS (Νεστόγγος), a family of probably Bulgarian origin that entered Byz. service after 1018. Some seals of 11th- and 12-C. Nestongoi are known, including the nun Xene (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.3, no.2014). The family is also mentioned in the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople. Although they were related to JOHN III VATATZES, two of them conspired against the emperor: Andronikos escaped to the Turks, but his brother Isaac was arrested, blinded, and mutilated. However, the Nestongoi retained prominence: Theodore II reportedly planned to make George Nestongos his son-in-law.

Under the Palaiologoi the Nestongoi held important posts and possessed much landed property. The family intermarried with the DOUKAI; many of its notable members bore the combined name of Doukas Nestongos, such as Alexios (governor of Thessalonike and *pinkernes* in 1267), Constantine (*parakoimomenos tes megales sphendones* and governor of Nyssa ca.1280–84), a *megas hetaireiarches* (first name unknown) and *primikerios tes aules* in 1304, Roger de Flor's enemy. Another Doukas Nestongos served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 93). Several other Nestongoi are known, from Michael (a relative of Michael VIII, *protosebastos* and great enemy of the ARSENITES) to Laskaris Nestongos (an official in 1385). Eudokia Nestongonissa, the wife or widow of a *megas papias*, appeared in 1315 as an aunt of Andronikos II. The hymnographer Nestegon, who composed an office on PALAMAS, may have belonged to the family.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 20195, 20197–20202. Polemis, *Doukai* 150–52. I. Dujčev, *Proučvanija vŭrchu srednovekovnata bŭlgarskata istorija i kultura* (Sofia 1981) 27–37. –E.T., A.K.

NESTOR, monk of the Kievan Caves monastery (from ca.1074); born ca.1050s, died early 12th C. He wrote vitae of BORIS AND GLEB ca.1080 and of FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA before 1089 (A. Poppe, *Slavia orientalis* 14 [1965] 287–305). Nestor created literary images of the first holy men of Rus' by using traditional Byz. hagiographic techniques to narrate specifically Kievan stories. Although his two vitae differ somewhat in form and focus (Boris and Gleb are portrayed as martyrs, Feodosij as the ideal monk and superior), both are carefully conventional in structure, content, and language. Nestor draws widely from Byz. hagiography in Slavonic translation, including PATERIKA; Cyril of Skythopolis' vitae of SABAS and THEODOSIOS KOINOBIARCHES; and vitae of EUSTATHIOS Placidas, ROMANOS THE MELODE, and ANTONY THE GREAT. The traditional view that Nestor was also the initial compiler of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET lacks firm foundation in the chronicle's MS tradition (D. Ostrowski, *HUkSt* 5 [1981] 28f) and does not resolve the major stylistic and factual contradictions between the chronicle and Nestor's vitae (A.G. Kuz'min, *Načal'nye etapy drevnerusskogo letopisanija* [Moscow 1977] 133–54).

LIT. S.A. Bugoslavskij, "K voprosu o charaktere i ob"-eme literaturnoj dejatel'nosti prep. Nestora," *IzvORJaS* 19 (1914), no.1:131–86; no.3:153–91. F. Siefkes, *Zur Form des Žitije Feodosija* (Hamburg-Berlin-Zurich 1970). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 11–40. A. Giambelluca Kossova, "Per una lettura analitica del *Žitie Prepodobnago Feodosija Pečerskago* di Nestore," *RicSlav* 27–28 (1980–81) 65–99.
–S.C.F., P.A.H.

NESTORIANISM (Νεστοριασμός—THEODORE LECTOR, *HE* 111.1), theological doctrine developed in the first half of the 5th C. by NESTORIOS (who gave the name to the movement), supported by DIODOROS OF TARSOS and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Nestorianism was directed against the partisans of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia; the Nestorians also considered CYRIL of Alexandria as an Apollinarist, and probably the most dangerous one. While the Monophysites (see MONOPHYSITISM) emphasized the union of two natures in Christ, a union in which the human nature seemed to have been engulfed by the divine *physis*, the Nestorians underscored the human principle in Christology. Although they repeatedly asserted (and to some extent believed in) their adherence to "the Orthodoxy of Pope Leo the Great and Patr. Flavian," they preferred the term *synapheia* (conjunction) to the Orthodox *henosis* (unity) to designate the relationship between the two natures in Christ; they denied the hypostatic unity of Christ, accepting only the prosopic unity—two hypostases in one *prosopon*; they rejected the epi-

thet THEOTOKOS for the Virgin, replacing it with Christotokos, the mother of Christ.

Opponents accused the Nestorians of acknowledging the existence of two distinct Sons of God—a charge that they justifiably denied—but they evidently put more stress on Christ's humanity than did the Chalcedonians. Accordingly they paid greater attention to the problems of will and ethics in their soteriology, which resembled PELAGIANISM; man's active role in overcoming his sinfulness was so striking in Nestorian belief that their opponents ascribed to them the view that Christ did not lack the capacity to sin but liberated himself by the effort of his will.

Defeated and condemned at the Council of Ephesus in 431, the Nestorian bishops rejected the alliance concluded by Cyril of Alexandria and John of Antioch in Apr. 433 and the election of ATTIKOS to the see of Constantinople; they established a separate church, which received its form and its name at the Synod of Seleukeia-Ctesiphon in 486 (W.F. Macomber, *OrChrP* 24 [1958] 142–54). The Nestorian church gained a firm foothold in Persia and in some regions of Syria and spread its influence to northern Arabia and eastward to India, Central Asia, and China; it probably was popular among merchant communities in the Persian and later the Arab world and beyond. Their main theological schools were active in Seleukeia and NISIBIS. The Nestorian synod of 612 formulated a doctrine incompatible with the tenets of Chalcedon, since it accepted two hypostases in Christ but a single *prosopon* and rejected the term Theotokos. The ideologists of Nestorianism developed the concept of seven sacraments but did not include marriage in this number; they did consider the "sign of the cross," however, as a sacrament.

LIT. F. Loofs, *Nestorius and his Place in the History of Christian Doctrine* (New York 1914). E. Amann, *DTC* 11 (1931) 288–313. R. Macina, "L'homme à l'école de Dieu: d'Antioche à Nisibe, profile herméneutique, théologique et kérygmatique du mouvement scoliaste nestorien," *PrOC* 32 (1982) 86–124, 266–301; 33 (1983) 39–103. A. Ziegenaus, "Die Genesis des Nestorianismus," *Münchener theologische Zeitschrift* 23 (1972) 335–53. T. Mousalimas, "The Consequences of Nestorios' Metaphysics," *GOrThR* 32 (1987) 279–84. –A.K.

NESTORIOS (Νεστόριος), bishop of Constantinople (10 Apr. 428–22 June 431); born Germanikeia ca.381, died Egypt after 451. Nestorios entered the monastery of St. Euprepios at Antioch and may have studied with THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. In Antioch he earned a reputation as an orator and was summoned by Emp. Theodosios II to Constantinople. There he acted as a rigorous moralist, preaching against games and theaters; in his criticisms he offended PULCHERIA. He showed himself to be a fierce opponent of Arians and Novatians but supported PELAGIAN bishops deposed in Italy. The major controversy incited by Nestorios resulted from his objection to the term THEOTOKOS for the Virgin: he pointed out the difficulty in accepting the idea that Mary gave birth to God, but he was opposed by CYRIL of Alexandria and Pope Celestine, who stressed soteriological concerns rather than exactness of philosophical definition (H.J. Vogt in *Konzil und Papst* [Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1975] 97). The Council of Ephesus in 431 condemned both sides, trying in vain to suppress the controversy, stimulating instead the movements of NESTORIANISM and MONOPHYSITISM. Nestorios was exiled to his monastery at Antioch, then to Petra, and finally to the Oasis in Upper Egypt. Before his death he accepted the decisions of the Council of Chalcedon.

Sokrates (Sokr. *HE* 7.32) asserted that Nestorios only appeared to be eloquent and educated but that he did not understand "the ancients." In general, Nestorios was a victim of his Monophysite and Orthodox adversaries and his works were destroyed within the empire; only a Syriac translation of his *Bazaar of Herakleides* and some fragments (in Greek, etc.) exist, although GENNADIUS OF MARSEILLES knew many of his writings. Whether Nestorios was essentially Orthodox (M.V. Anastos, *DOP* 16 [1962] 117–39) or not (G. Jouassard, *RHE* 74 [1979] 346–48) is still under dispute.

ED. F. Loofs, *Nestoriana* (Halle 1905). G.R. Driver and L. Hodgson, *The Bazaar of Heraclides* (Oxford 1925).

LIT. L.I. Scipioni, *Nestorio e il concilio di Efeso* (Milan 1974), with rev. P. Kannengiesser, *RHE* 73 (1978) 669–72. H.E.W. Turner, "Nestorius Reconsidered," *StP* 13.2 (1975) 306–21. M. Jugie, "L'episcopat de Nestorius," *EO* 14 (1911) 257–70. L. Abramowski, *Untersuchungen zum Liber Heraclidis des Nestorius* (Louvain 1963). R.C. Chesnut, "The Two *prosopa* in Nestorius' *Bazaar of Heraclides*," *JThSt* n.s. 29 (1978) 382–409. –T.E.G.

NESTOR OF THESSALONIKE, saint executed by Maximian in Thessalonike; feastday 26 or 27 (*Synax.CP* 167) Oct. According to a legend in-

cluded in the *passio* of St. Demetrios of Thessalonike, Nestor, a Christian youth, killed in single combat Lyaios, Maximian's favorite, with the help of the "god of Demetrios," thus infuriating the emperor and causing his and Demetrios's execution. Strangely enough, Nestor plays an active part in the early *passio* of Demetrios, whereas Demetrios himself is restricted to a passive role. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 167f) and the Menologion of Basil II (PG 117:129AB) include short notices on Nestor. Some *enkomia* (one by Joseph of Thessalonike [762–832]) on Nestor are preserved.

Representation in Art. Nestor's association with Demetrios (his feast is independent but celebrated on the same day) means that his portrait is sometimes included when only that of Demetrios is actually warranted (e.g., *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 6, fol.3v). A depiction of his beheading accompanies his notice in the Menologion of Basil II (p.141 of facs. ed.), while other episodes of his life, such as his murder of Lyaios, are illustrated in Demetrios cycles. Nestor, a young man with somewhat unruly dark hair, is reckoned one of the military saints, and dressed accordingly.

LIT. *BHG* 2290–92. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 104–06.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

NEUMATA (*νεύματα*, sing. *νεῦμα*), graphic symbols (see Notation) representing one or more musical notes attached to sacred words. The use of signs to designate melodic movement for Byz. liturgical texts may be traced back at least to the 9th C. The ekphonetic signs, those in lectionaries, are used sparingly, usually at the beginnings and endings of sentences. They indicated the manner of recitation without specifying actual pitch or offering further details about the melodic contour.

Other neumatic signs evolved and developed in the 10th–15th C. Two stages may be distinguished: (1) *neumata* of the 10th–12th C., believed to originate in the prosodic signs or accents of the Alexandrian grammarians (recent scholarship has divided this stage into two types—the so-called Chartres notation using complex signs to stand for entire groups of notes and the so-called Coislin notation designating each melodic step by a separate sign); and (2) *neumata* of the 12th–15th C., in which each sign specifies the precise interval between one note and its neighbor. The *neumata* that move in steps are called *somata* ("bodies") and those that leap are called *pneumata* ("spirits").

LIT. M. Haas, *Byzantinische und slavische Notationen* (Cologne 1973). C. Floros, *Universale Neumenkunde*, 3 vols. (Kassel 1970).
–D.E.C.

NEW TESTAMENT (Καινὴ Διαθήκη), the second part of the Bible, consisting of the Gospels, Acts, the Epistles of Paul and other apostles (James, Peter, John, and Judas [the so-called catholic epistles]), and the Apocalypse attributed to John. The New Testament canon was formed during the 2nd–4th C. and its contents were finally established by Athanasios of Alexandria in his 39th Easter letter of 367; dispute concerning the canon (esp. Apocalypse) nonetheless persisted. The text of the New Testament was preserved primarily in parchment codices, either together with the Old Testament, as a separate book, in its separate parts (Gospel book, etc.), or in the form of the lectionary.

Church fathers understood the word *diatheke* to mean a covenant between God and his people. The old covenant established by Moses culminated in the work of John the Baptist. Christ established a new covenant that passed from Israel to the "new Israel," the Christian community. Thus the New Testament, without annulling Mosaic law, reflected a higher level of relation between God and man. John Chrysostom (PG 51:284.2–5) compared the Old Testament with a mother's milk and elementary education, while the New Testament offered solid food and philosophy. In the words of Maximos the Confessor (PG 90:677CD), the Old Testament raised the body to the soul, thus impeding the mind's descent to the body; the New Testament led the body to God, purifying it by fire.

LIT. P. Feine, J. Behm, W.G. Kümmel, *Einleitung in das Neue Testament*[14] (Heidelberg 1965) 349–406. K. & B. Aland, *The Text of the New Testament* (Leiden 1987). K. Aland, *Kurzgefasste Liste der griechischen Handschriften des Neuen Testaments* (Berlin 1963). G.A. Kennedy, *New Testament Interpretation through Rhetorical Criticism* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 1984).
–J.I., A.K.

NEW TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION. New Testament imagery forms the basis of Byz. art as we know it. Within the New Testament, the Gospels predominate. The Apocalypse, accepted as

canonical only in the 14th C., never entered the liturgy, and its imagery was rarely exploited. The Epistles were illuminated at most with portraits of the various authors and an occasional scene from their lives. ACTS had a coherent tradition of illustration, but this survives in only three Byz. cycles. Imagery from the Gospels was enriched by the APOCRYPHA, not only the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, which narrated the early life of the Virgin, but also the 7th-C. homilies based on the *Transitus Mariae* (a group of texts on the DORMITION of the Virgin) describing the PASSION and ANASTASIS, the lives of those APOSTLES treated sparsely in Acts, and the apocalyptic texts associated with Peter and EPHREM THE SYRIAN.

The most distinctive creation of Byz. New Testament illustration was the depiction of the GREAT FEASTS, each one the image of an event designed to stand not only for the event itself but for the Church feast that—by celebrating it—made it perennially present. Fully developed by the 10th C., these images constituted a ready pool of stable, well-understood compositions available for use in countless contexts. The feasts are the staple of monumental painting; along with the single figure, they dominate icon painting; they appear on ivories and steatites used for private devotion; they adorn jewelry. They provide the most consistent body of material for illuminated MSS, accompanying the texts for each feast in liturgical books of all kinds, in homiletic compilations and in Gospel books, even though several of these images—notably the Anastasis for Easter—draw primarily on apocryphal texts. They signal the importance of the liturgy for the shaping of Byz. art.

First Period (4th–6th C.). Historically speaking, New Testament imagery is rooted in the pan-Mediterranean art of early Christianity and is inseparable from it. In DURA EUROPOS no less than in Rome, New Testament imagery was at first limited to laconic scenes, primarily of the MIRACLES OF CHRIST, that served along with Old Testament vignettes of salvation from death as signs of the saving power of the Christian faith. The triumph of the Church in the early 4th C. generated a wave of eschatological images analogous in their iconography to imperial triumphal art. These gave new focus to scriptural imagery, presenting Christ's life as a triumphant victory over death and a path to sovereignty. The ensuing century saw a radical expansion not only in subject matter, which now embraced both Gospels and Acts, but in physical setting, as a public, monumental art began to emerge. The eschatological themes moved up into apses and domes ("Tomb" of GALLA PLACIDIA in RAVENNA; Rotunda of St. GEORGE and HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike). The Gospel episodes were gathered into coherent cycles. First among these was the INFANCY OF CHRIST, followed by his Miracles; the PASSION, still usually without the CRUCIFIXION, developed by the early 6th C. in response to an emerging emphasis on the sacrificial as well as the triumphal aspect of Christ's humanity.

Second Period (6th–7th C.). In the eastern Mediterranean, ample material survives to allow focused study of 6th–7th-C. Byz. art. By this time, New Testament imagery was quite fully developed. With few exceptions, the thematic material of all subsequent compositions had been established; lengthy Gospel cycles already appeared in MSS and monumental painting. Narrative was not the primary function even of the lengthy cycles, however. TYPOLOGY is overt—witness the prophets who accompany the scenes in the Sinope and ROSSANO GOSPELS; the scenes of the Infancy of Christ are amplified by apocryphal vignettes emphasizing the union of human and divine; at Sant'Apollinare Nuovo, RAVENNA, the cycles reflect both liturgical usage and Christological thought. The miniatures of the RABBULA GOSPELS, some simple and some richly interpretative, also reflect the multiplicity of levels on which this art is intended to function. Significant for the future in this respect are the compositions of Christ's EPIPHANIES found on the Monza and Bobbio AMPULLAE. Incorporating elements of the pilgrimage sites, they connoted the sites themselves; they also conveyed theological messages; above all, they stood for the theophanies represented—to see one was to see the event's divine meaning revealed. In several cases, they inaugurated imagery that would eventually become standard for the depiction of the Great Feasts.

Third Period (8th–12th C.). The quantity of surviving Eastern Christian material dwindles during the Arab expansion and Iconoclasm, and an extensive artistic tradition reasserts itself only in the later 9th C. The intervening centuries, labeled the era of ICONOCLASM, produced a slow, fundamental realignment of Byz. that goes far beyond Iconoclasm itself. The Byz. culture that emerged was dominated intellectually by a small,

Constantinopolitan aristocracy; its art served the interests of the highly centralized church and state, whose patterns the provinces echoed. This centralization is reflected sharply in the 10th-C. codification of liturgical books and the attendant development of the powerful liturgical icons. A new, courtly composition of the LAST JUDGMENT emerged. Small, usually vaulted, private churches were in favor; the extensive Gospel cycles of the old, congregational churches, though retained in some cases, suited these interiors less well than condensed cycles; by the 11th C. one finds the "classic" system of condensed imagery: the hierarchic decoration based primarily on the feast icons. The plenitude of Early Christian Gospel and Acts imagery was, however, maintained in MSS that became a reservoir for the variations that constantly vitalized the classic system.

Throughout the arts, imagery focused ever more sharply on the life of Christ, esp. his human death in the Passion and its reenactment in the liturgy. The exegetic intellectuality of MSS like the PARIS GREGORY gave way to an expressive devotional imagery of strong personal appeal. This developed in conjunction with the affective amplification of HOLY WEEK ceremonies in the liturgies of private monasteries. To the Passion cycle were added emotive extrabiblical scenes (THRENOS, MAN OF SORROWS), and episodes in the Infancy of Christ were invested with poignant foreshadowings of his death. Mary acquired new prominence. This development must have taken place to a fair extent in MSS and above all in icon painting, which expanded in both numbers and iconography in the 12th C. Later 12th-C. monumental cycles also abandoned the classic repertoire of feast scenes in favor of more sacramental themes.

Fourth Period (13th–15th C.). Like Gothic art, the imagery of the Palaiologan period is visually detailed and intellectually intricate. Few of the images are actually new, though they are used in new contexts. Thus familiar scenes of the life of the Virgin now illustrate the AKATHISTOS HYMN for the first time. The Akathistos appears more often in monumental painting than in MSS; this is not surprising, as the illuminated MS nearly vanished as a vehicle for New Testament imagery in the 14th and 15th C. Monumental painting, by contrast, displays cycles of unprecedented length and detail. These, again, draw largely on extant images, but assemble and amplify them. Long, coherent cycles develop around secondary themes like the ministry of JOHN THE BAPTIST, the trial of Christ, or the preparation for the Crucifixion; analogies such as that between Christ's descent into the humility of the cave at birth, into the depths of the sea at EPIPHANY, and into the darkness of Hell at death are visualized more vividly; and typological parallels like the Prefigurations of the Virgin are developed with unprecedented fullness. Perhaps most distinctive in Palaiologan imagery is its use of allegory, as in the image of the Virgin Zoodochos Pege (see PEGE). Rare in Byz. art before the 14th C., allegory becomes a major Palaiologan contribution to post-Byz. iconography.

LIT. Millet, *Recherches*. A. Grabar, *Christian Iconography: A Study of Its Origins* (Princeton 1968). Demus, *Byz. Mosaic*. Weitzmann, *Studies* 247–70. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz: Der Ritus—das Bild* (Munich 1965).
–A.W.C.

NICAEA (Νίκαια, mod. Iznik), city in BITHYNIA. One of the greatest Byz. cities, capital of an empire in the 13th C., and seat of two ecumenical councils (see NICAEA, COUNCILS OF), Nicaea prospered from its location on major trade and military routes and its control of an extensive fertile territory. In late antiquity, it was a large, powerfully fortified city filled with civic and private buildings laid out on a regular plan. It was a major military base—site of the proclamation of Valens as emperor and of the revolt of PROKOPIOS—and seat of an imperial treasury where tax revenues were deposited. Earthquakes in 363 and 368 combined with the growth of Constantinople provoked decline; many civic buildings fell into ruin, to be rebuilt by Justinian I. During these centuries, the church of Nicaea flourished: Valens made it a metropolis independent of its ancient rival NIKOMEDEIA; conflicts between the two sees flared at the Council of Chalcedon, originally planned to meet in Nicaea.

After a period of obscurity, Nicaea frequently appears in the 8th C. and later as a powerful fortress: in 715, it was the refuge for Emp. ANASTASIOS II, and in 716 and 727 it resisted Arab attack; the city was a major bulwark on the highway that led to Constantinople. Damage from the siege of 727 was compounded by an earthquake in 740. Nicaea, base for the revolt of ARTABASDOS, became capital of OPSIKION in the 8th C. In the 10th C., Nicaea was a center of administration and trade, with a Jewish community and an im-

perial *xenodocheion.* Rebels sought to control it as a strong point near Constantinople: Bardas SKLEROS, ISAAC I KOMNENOS, NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES, and Nikephoros MELISSENOS all fought in and around Nicaea. When Melissenos joined Alexios I in the West in 1081, he left Nicaea to his Turkish allies, who soon assumed control. Nicaea was thus capital of the first Turkish state in Asia Minor until the First Crusade captured it in 1097 after a long siege, their first victory in Asia and the only time in history that Nicaea succumbed to direct assault rather than blockade. Alexios I took control of Nicaea from the reluctant Crusaders and defended it against the Turks. In 1147, Nicaea was the supply base for the abortive Second Crusade and in 1187 unsuccessfully revolted against Andronikos I.

After the fall of Constantinople in 1204, Nicaea at first took an independent position, but recognized THEODORE I LASKARIS in 1206; he was crowned there in 1208. From that date until 1261 Nicaea served as capital of the empire (see BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: Empire of Nicaea), although JOHN III VATATZES resided in NYMPHAION and MAGNESIA; it was also the seat of the patriarch and home of many illustrious refugees, notably Niketas CHONIATES, Nicholas MESARITES, and Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. Laskarid Nicaea was the scene of frequent synods, embassies, and imperial weddings and funerals and became a center of education, notably under THEODORE II LASKARIS, who founded and endowed an imperial school. After the recapture of Constantinople, Nicaea declined in importance and prosperity. Neglect of the eastern frontier provoked a serious revolt in the region in 1262, and in 1265 the whole city panicked on rumor of a Mongol attack. In 1290 Andronikos II arrived on a tour of inspection and restored the walls, but the region remained defenseless against a new foe, OSMAN. Nicaea held out until 1331, when it fell to the Ottomans after a long blockade. When Gregory PALAMAS visited Nicaea in 1354, its Christian population was severely depleted.

The well-preserved walls of Nicaea, completed in 270, manifest numerous styles of construction representing constant rebuilding, notably in the 8th, 9th, 12th, and 13th C. Originally a single rampart 5 km long with 80 towers, built of rubble and brick, the walls were raised and strengthened before being transformed by John III, who added an outer wall and a moat. The most noted of Nicaea's churches was the monastery of Hyakinthos, known in modern times as the Church of the Dormition. A rectangular structure with a cruciform nave surmounted by a dome on massive pillars and separated from the aisles by arcades, it manifests affinities with a group of cross-domed basilicas and appears to date to the late 6th C. The church was decorated with mosaics whose images, replaced by the Iconoclasts, were restored after 843. It was rebuilt and redecorated after the earthquake of 1065 and stood until 1924. The surviving basilica of Hagia Sophia in the center of the city, probably site of the council of 787, preserves traces of its elaborate marble decoration. Most renowned in the 13th C. was the Church of St. Tryphon, scene of a miracle in which lilies bloomed out of season on the annual festival of the saint, Nicaea's patron. The recently discovered ruins of the church are no longer in evidence. Surviving remains of two other 13th-C. churches have not been identified. Civic buildings have not been preserved, with the exception of the Roman theater, abandoned and used as a quarry and dump after the 7th C. The 13th-C. city is known in some detail, from the *enkomia* of Theodore Laskaris, delivered before John III ca.1250, and of Theodore METOCHITES, addressed to Andronikos II in 1290. Although the speeches are filled with extravagant rhetoric, they give an image of the city in its regional context and show that churches, monasteries, charitable institutions, palaces, and houses shared the area within the walls with extensive open spaces.

LIT. A.M. Schneider, *Die römischen und byzantinischen Denkmäler von Iznik-Nicaea* (Berlin 1943). R. Janin, "Nicée. Étude historique et topographique," *EO* 24 (1925) 482–90. A.M. Schneider, W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Iznik (Nicaea)* (Berlin 1938). L. Robert, "La titulature de Nicée et de Nicomédie," *HStClPhil* 81 (1977) 1–39. E. Trapp, "Die Metropoliten von Nikaia und Nikomedia in der Palaiologenzeit," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 183–92. T. Shmit, *Die Koimesis-Kirche von Nikaia* (Berlin-Leipzig 1927). H. Grégoire, "Encore le monastère d'Hyacinthe à Nicée," *Byzantion* 5 (1930) 287–93. C. Foss, J. Tulchin, *Nicaea: A Byzantine Capital and Its Praises* (Brookline, Mass., 1990). –C.F.

NICAEA, COUNCILS OF. Two ecumenical councils were convened in Nicaea.

NICAEA I. The first ecumenical council (20 May or 19 June–ca.25 Aug. 325) was convened by Emp. CONSTANTINE I to deal with the controversy

over ARIANISM. No account of its proceedings survives except a list of 20 canons issued by the council, its creed, and a synodal letter excommunicating ARIUS. The exact number of bishops in attendance is unknown. Various authors give figures between 200 and 300, while church tradition fixes the number at 318 (E. Honigmann, *Byzantion* 11 [1936] 429–49; idem, *Byzantion* 20 [1950] 63–71). The council's creed—probably a revision of the baptismal formula used in Jerusalem—was the first dogmatic definition of the church to have more than local authority. Rejecting Arius's ontological subordination of the Son to the Father, the council defined the incarnate Logos as consubstantial or HOMOOUSIOS with the Father. This definition's implication is vital: for if Christ were not fully divine, as Arianism proclaimed, then man could not hope to share in divine life or salvation. Even so, the nonscriptural *homoousios* clause adopted by the council was to cause doctrinal disunity down to 381. The council also dealt with the computation of EASTER by ordering its celebration on the Sunday after the full moon following the vernal equinox. Finally, among its disciplinary regulations, canon 6 is important for its recognition of the jurisdiction of Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. This canon, in effect, marks the origin of the PATRIARCHATES.

SOURCES. Mansi 2:635–1082. *Urkunden zur Geschichte des arianischen Streites*, ed. H.G. Opitz, 3:1.1 (Berlin-Leipzig 1934).

LIT. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Nicée et Constantinople* (Paris 1963). E. Boularand, *L'Hérésie d'Arius et la 'Foi' de Nicée*, 2 vols. (Paris 1972). C. Luibhéid, *The Council of Nicaea* (Galway 1982). –A.P.

NICAEA II. Under the patronage of Empress IRENE and the presidency of Patr. TARASIOS, this council (24 Sept.–13 Oct. 787) of 350 bishops, including two papal legates, brought to an end the first period of ICONOCLASM. Irene's plan to reverse her predecessor's policy, however, was momentarily thwarted when soldiers sympathetic to Iconoclasm dissolved its first meeting in Constantinople (31 July 786). Only in the following year (24 Sept.) did the council meet again, this time in Nicaea, where all sessions took place, except its eighth and last formal session held in Constantinople in the MAGNAURA palace. Its dogmatic decree condemned the "pseudo-council" of HIERIA (754) and formally defined the degree of veneration due to images. Its justification of the cult was based, above all, on the reality of Christ's historic incarnation: the visible and paintable incarnate Christ permitted and, indeed, required pictorial representation. The council carefully distinguished between legitimate veneration due to ICONS (*proskynesis*) and absolute worship (*latreia*) due to God (Mansi 13:377D-E). The latter, if directed to images, was declared unlawful, a form of idolatry. Indeed, even in the case of *proskynesis*, the true object of honor was never the image, but that which was depicted. Unlike Pope HADRIAN I, who approved the council, CHARLEMAGNE, for ulterior political motives (though the faulty Latin translation of the *Acta* did not help), had it condemned at Frankfurt in 794. Final approval by the West was given in 880. The council is the seventh and last ecumenical council to be recognized as such by the Byz. church.

SOURCE. *Acta*—Mansi 12:951–1154, 13:759–820. Partial Eng. tr. D.J. Sahas, *Icon and Logos* (Buffalo 1986).

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73–87. P. Van den Ven, "La patristique et l'hagiographie au concile de Nicée de 787," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 325–62. G. Dumeige, *Nicée II* (Paris 1978). P. Henry, "Initial Eastern Assessments of the Seventh Oecumenical Council," *JThSt* n.s. 25 (1974) 75–92. J. Darrouzès, "Listes épiscopales du concile de Nicée (787)," *REB* 33 (1975) 5–76. *Nicée II, 787–1987, douze siècles d'images religieuses*, ed. F. Boespflug, N. Lossky (Paris 1987). M.-F. Auzépy, "La place des moines à Nicée II (787)," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 5–21. –A.P.

NICAEA SCHOOL OF MANUSCRIPTS. See DECORATIVE STYLE.

NICANDER. See NIKANDER.

NICCOLÒ DA MARTONI, a notary from Campania, the author of Latin memoirs recounting his trip to Jerusalem (June 1394–May 1395). His description is precise and full of personal observations, although his accounts of historical events are sometimes confused. Niccolò visited Cyprus, islands in the Aegean Sea, Alexandria, Mt. Sinai, Jerusalem, Athens, Corinth, Patras, Corfu, and other locales. He describes trade, the quality of wine, ancient monuments (e.g., the Acropolis of Athens), churches, relics, feasts, and legends.

ED. L. Le Grand, "Relation du pèlerinage à Jérusalem de Nicolas de Martoni," *ROL* 3 (1895) 566–669.

LIT. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:37–52. C. Enlart, "Notes sur le voyage de Nicolas de Martoni en Chypre," *ROL* 4 (1896) 623–32. –A.K.

NICHOLAS (Νικόλαος), personal name. Known in Greek antiquity, the etymology is evidently "victorious people" or "victorious with the people," but in the Roman period the word was used to designate a variety of date sent from Syria, allegedly by Nicholas of Damascus, to Emp. Augustus (Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistai,* bk.14:652a). The name was infrequently used in the secular milieu of the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:783), one of the few examples being the rhetorician NICHOLAS OF MYRA. It was more popular with the clergy, esp. in Lycia of the 5th and 6th C. (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 360f). Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.6.4) mentions a church of Priskos and Nicholas in Constantinople, but not a single man of this name. Nicholas does not appear in Malalas either, but Theophanes the Confessor has three: the saint of Myra, a former deacon, and a "heretical" hermit. After the 9th C. the frequency increased: Skylitzes has 13 Nicholases, Anna Komnene six, and in acts Nicholases are even more numerous. In *Lavra,* vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Nicholases (42) are second only to JOHN and in *Lavra,* vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), they hold fourth place, ahead of MICHAEL and THEODORE. No emperor bore the name, but four patriarchs between the 10th and mid-12th C. were called Nicholas. –A.K.

NICHOLAS I, pope (from 24 Apr. 858) and saint; born between 819 and 822, died Rome 13 Nov. 867; feastday 13 Nov. He was born to a noble Roman family. As pontiff, Nicholas resolved to establish papal primacy over secular and ecclesiastical power in both the West and East. As his ideological vehicle Nicholas used the pseudo-Isidorian *Decretals* and effectively exploited political crises in Lorraine, France, Italy, and Byz. In 861 Nicholas managed to depose John of Ravenna (H. Fuhrmann, *ZSavKan* 75 [1958] 353–58). The conflict between the Byz. patriarchs IGNATIOS and PHOTIOS gave the pope an excuse to interfere in the internal struggles of the Byz. church. Nicholas sent Zacharias of Anagni and Radoald of Porto to Constantinople to investigate the matter; at the Council of 861 in Constantinople they sided with Photios but failed to secure the return of Sicily, Calabria, and Illyricum to Roman jurisdiction. In 863 Nicholas changed his policy, accused Radoald and Zacharias of exceeding their authority, and proclaimed that Photios was uncanonically elected. In its turn, the Council of 867 at Constantinople deposed the pope. Nicholas attempted to take advantage of the success of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS in Moravia and invited them to Rome. Nicholas also tried to attract the support of BORIS I of Bulgaria; ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS was the pope's staunchest supporter, although it is questionable to what extent he dictated Nicholas's policy. Evaluations of Nicholas range from an enthusiastic panegyric (J. Roy) to the debunking of his policy as a complete failure (J. Haller).

LIT. F. Norwood, "The Political Pretensions of Pope Nicholas I," *ChHist* 15 (1946) 271–85. J. Roy, *St. Nicholas I* (London 1901), with Eng. tr. Y. Congar, "S. Nicolas Ier († 867): Ses positions ecclésiologiques," *RivStChIt* 21 (1967) 393–410. E. Perels, *Papst Nikolaus I. und Anastasius bibliothecarius* (Berlin 1920). J. Haller, *Nikolaus I. und Pseudoisidor* (Stuttgart 1936). –A.K.

NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (1 Mar. 901–1 Feb. 907, and May 912–May 925); born Italy 852, died 15 May 925. A friend of PHOTIOS, Nicholas fell into disfavor after Photios's dismissal in 886 and sought refuge in the monastery of St. Tryphon, near Chalcedon. LEO VI, his former schoolmate, brought him out of the monastery, appointed him MYSTIKOS, and eventually made him patriarch. Soon, however, Nicholas proved recalcitrant: he opposed the TETRAGAMY OF LEO and supported the rebel Andronikos DOUKAS. Replaced by EUTHYMIOS as patriarch, Nicholas was exiled to his own monastery of GALAKRENAI, near Constantinople, but later returned to the patriarchal throne, probably before Leo's death on 11 May 912. Regent after ALEXANDER died in 913, he parted company with the Doukai and after some vacillation sided with ROMANOS I. Nicholas's restoration as patriarch incited a fierce struggle within the church between his supporters and those of the deposed Euthymios; reconciliation was finally achieved in 920, with the TOMOS OF UNION.

Nicholas's correspondence is a first-rate source for the history of ecclesiastical affairs and of Byz. relations with southern Italy, with Bulgaria under SYMEON OF BULGARIA, and with the Caucasus region. Nicholas also wrote several canonical works and a very conventional homily on the capture of Thessalonike by the Arabs in 904. Like Photios, Nicholas was a man of critical mind who dared to reject the authority of Old Testament quotations (ep.32.459–64) and to limit the Byz. principle that

the emperor is an unwritten law (ep.32.89–92,304–05). But he lacked originality in his theology and ethics, stressing the traditional view of the instability of the world and praising traditional values such as righteousness, moderation, and caution.

ED. *Letters*, ed. R. Jenkins, L. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1973). *Miscellaneous Writings*, ed. L. Westerink (Washington, D.C., 1981).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2:598–624, 630–784. I. Konstantinides, *Nikolaos A' ho Mystikos* (Athens 1967). J. Gay, "Le patriarche Nicolas le Mystique et son rôle politique," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:91–100. Ja. Ljubarskij, "Zamečanija o Nikolae Mistike v svjazi s izdaniem ego sočinenij," *VizVrem* 47 (1987) 101–08. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 59–101. A. Kazhdan, "Bolgaro-vizantijskie otnošenija v 912–925 gg. po perepiske Nikolaja Mistika," *EtBalk* (1976) no.3, 92–107.
–A.K.

NICHOLAS III (Giovanni Gaetano Orsini), pope (from 25 Nov. 1277); born Rome ca.1216 (according to R. Sternfeld, *Der Kardinal Johann Gaëtan Orsini* [Berlin 1905] 315f), died Sorano 22 Aug. 1280. CHARLES I OF ANJOU was the major threat to the security of papal territory, and Nicholas dealt with him circumspectly. Accordingly, he pursued a cautious policy toward Emp. Michael VIII; thus he refused to excommunicate the allies of Charles in Thessaly and Epiros, but at the same time prevented Charles from attacking Constantinople. After receiving the embassy that the emperor had sent to Nicholas's predecessor John XXI (1276–77), the pope gave the envoys several letters addressed to Michael, his son Andronikos (II), and Patr. JOHN XI BEKKOS. While praising the Byz. for accepting union at the Council of Lyons in 1274, Nicholas imposed new requirements; he insisted on a truce between Byz. and Charles. The orders dictated to the pope's *nuntii* were even harsher—Nicholas was very negative toward the Byz. position of maintaining the Greek rite. Runciman argues that Michael made an agreement with Peter III of Aragon (1276–1285) against Charles and bribed Nicholas to join this alliance. Anti-Union resistance in Byz. grew, but Michael dispatched a new mission to Rome to continue negotiations; when the envoys arrived, however, Nicholas was already dead.

LIT. A. Demski, *Papst Nikolaus III.* (Münster in Westfalen 1903). S. Runciman, "Pope Nicholas III and Byzantine Gold," in *Mélanges offerts à Étienne Gilson* (Toronto-Paris 1959) 537–45; criticism by V. Laurent, *BZ* 53 [1960] 211.
–A.K.

NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS, patriarch of Constantinople (Aug. 1084–Apr./May 1111); died Constantinople. According to an unpublished *enkomion* by Nicholas MOUZALON, Nicholas Grammatikos was educated in Constantinople and lived in Pisidian Antioch (where he probably took the monastic habit). He left this city ca.1068 when it was endangered by Turkish raids (J. Darrouzès, *TM* 6 [1976] 163, n.4). In Constantinople he founded the monastery dedicated to John the Baptist and called *tou Lophou* (Janin, *Églises CP* 418f). After several years Alexios I chose him to replace the deposed patriarch Eustratios Garidas (1081–84). Nicholas inherited several difficult problems: he sided with the emperor in the case of LEO OF CHALCEDON and in the struggle against heretics, esp. the BOGOMILS, but he was more cautious in the conflict between provincial metropolitans and the central administration (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 53f, 65). Despite the vehement opposition of the clergy of Hagia Sophia, he supported NIKETAS OF ANKYRA against the emperor's right to promote metropolitans and he tried to restrict the influence of the CHARTOPHYLAX. Nicholas was also concerned about ecclesiastical discipline: he ordered the eviction of the VLACHS from Mt. Athos and dealt diligently with the regulation of FASTING (J. Koder, *JÖB* 19 [1970] 203–41).

The political situation prompted Nicholas to seek a union with Pope URBAN II. V. Grumel (*EO* 38 [1939] 104–17), however, ascribed to Nicholas a letter addressed to Symeon II of Jerusalem in ca.1089, in which the patriarch refuted the Latin views concerning the *filioque*, azymes, and primacy. On the contrary, J. Darrouzès (*REB* 23 [1965] 43–51) considers it a fake as well as the letter devoted primarily to disciplinary differences such as marriage of priests, fasting on Saturday, portable altars with relics, etc. (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 28 [1970] 221–37).

Some images previously identified as representing Theodore of Stoudios may depict Nicholas.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 938–98. Beck, *Kirche* 660f. A. Maraba-Chatzenikolaou, "Parastaseis tou patriarche Nikolaou III tou Grammatikou se mikrographies cheirographon," *DChAE*[4] 10 (1980–81) 147–60. R. Janin, *DTC* 11 (1931) 614f.
–A.K., A.C.

NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON, patriarch of Constantinople (Dec. 1147–March/April 1151), born ca.1070, died 1152. A member of the MOUZALON

family, Nicholas probably began his career as *didaskalos* of the Gospels (BASILAKES, *Orationes* 79.16–19). Alexios I sent him to Cyprus as archbishop but in ca.1110 Nicholas abdicated. He spent 37 years in the Kosmidion monastery (see KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, MONASTERY OF SAINTS). Nicholas addressed to Alexios I a treatise on the Procession of the Holy Spirit (Zeses, *infra* 309–29) in which he refuted the concept of the FILIOQUE. Nicholas's election as patriarch aroused a fierce dispute about the canonical validity of occupying a second see after resigning a first. Basilakes (not an anonymous rhetorician—as Zeses asserts, p.238) and NICHOLAS OF METHONE defended Nicholas's election, whereas ZONARAS opposed it. Forced to retire from the see of Constantinople, Nicholas died soon thereafter. As patriarch Nicholas succeeded Kosmas II (1146–47), who was involved in (or accused of) BOGOMILISM, and tried to suppress popular influence on ecclesiastical culture, e.g., he ordered the burning of the vita of PARASKEVE OF EPIBATAI. Although in principle he supported the strict prohibition of marriages between close relatives, Nicholas was lenient with regard to aristocratic families (*RegPatr,* fasc. 3, no.1029). Besides theological works he wrote a poetic defense of his abdication from the see of Cyprus that contains vivid pictures of both his journey to Cyprus and the tragic situation on the island.

ED. S. Doanidou, "He paraitesis Nikolaou tou Mouzalonos apo tes archiepiskopes Kyprou," *Hellenika* 7 (1934) 109–50 (cf. E. Pezopoulos, *EEBS* 11 [1935] 421f; P. Maas, F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 2–14).

LIT. *RegPatr,* fasc. 3, nos. 1027–35. Th.N. Zeses, "Ho patriarches Nikolaos IV Mouzalon," *EEThSPTh* 23 (1978) 233–330. –A.K.

NICHOLAS V (Tommaso Parentucelli), pope (from 6 Mar. 1447); born Sarzana 15 Nov. 1397, died Rome 24 Mar. 1455. The conquest of Constantinople by the Turks occurred during his pontificate, and some of his contemporaries (e.g., Enea Silvio Piccolomini, the future Pope Pius II) accused Nicholas of insensitivity toward the fate of the Eastern Christians and the mighty stronghold on the Bosporos. The pope's position was determined by several factors: his involvement in a war in Italy, the indifference of European rulers, and a general perception of the Greeks as schismatics. The last Greek mission, headed by Manuel Angelos Palaiologos, arrived in Venice in Nov. 1452. In response, Nicholas wrote to Constantine XI on 29 Jan. 1453 stating that aid was conditional on Byz. acceptance of UNION OF THE CHURCHES (W. Deeters, *QFItArch* 48 [1968] 365–68). The papacy did, however, make certain gestures: in May 1452 Nicholas dispatched ISIDORE OF KIEV to Constantinople with 200 men; on 28 Apr. 1453 the pope appointed Jacopo Veniero commander of a fleet intended to rescue the besieged Constantinople. The ships had not yet left Venice, however, when Constantinople fell. The negotiations about organizing an expedition against the Turks continued, but the majority of European princes ignored the summonses occasionally issued by the pope or the German emperor. A Renaissance pope, Nicholas collected many Greek MSS and supported Greek scholars who had immigrated to Italy.

LIT. K. Pleyer, *Die Politik Nikolaus V.* (Stuttgart 1927). C. Marinescu, "Le pape Nicholas V (1447–1455) et son attitude envers l'Empire byzantin," 4 *CEB* (Sofia 1935) 331–42. R. Guilland, "Les appels de Constantin XI Paléologue à Rome et à Venise pour sauver Constantinople (1452–1453)," *BS* 14 (1953) 226–44. –A.K.

NICHOLAS OF ANDIDA (in Pamphylia; Beck [*Kirche* 645] suggested Sandida), late 11th-C. theologian. He wrote a treatise on AZYMES probably as a result of a dispute he had had with the Latins on Rhodes (ca.1095–1099?). He also wrote a liturgical work, *Protheoria,* a shorter version of which is preserved under the name of Theodore of Andida. In the *Protheoria* Nicholas constantly referred to the liturgical usage of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, which he tried to imitate in his diocese. Interpreting the liturgy symbolically, he wanted to see in it the representation not only of the passion, death, and resurrection of Christ but also of all the acts of his life, both public and private. Nicholas also insisted on the polyvalence of liturgical ceremonies, each of which, according to Nicholas, could signify two or three different facts. A short verse summary of the *Protheoria* is attributed in several MSS to PSELLOS (P. Joannou, *BZ* 51 [1958] 3–9); Darrouzès, however, questions this attribution.

ED. PG 140:417–68. J. Darrouzès, "Nicolas d'Andida et les azymes," *REB* 32 (1974) 207–10.

LIT. R. Bornert, *Les commentaires byzantins de la divine liturgie du VII^e au XV^e siècle* (Paris 1966) 181–213; rev. J. Darrouzès, *REB* 25 (1967) 286. –A.K.

NICHOLAS OF KERKYRA, writer, metropolitan of Kerkyra; fl. ca.1100. He was a participant in the council of 1117 concerning EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. Nicholas wrote a lengthy commentary on MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, with a verse prologue. His letter of abdication (a genre developed by Patr. NICHOLAS IV) presents the author as an honest man in a rotten world whose only hope is life in a desert. In enigmatic lines (p.33.76–78) Nicholas contrasts himself, an objective writer, with "the daughter of the emperor," who praises everything; did he mean Anna KOMNENE? Nicholas describes human nature bitterly, dwelling particularly on the perfidy of a false friend (p.37.202–03). Lampros identified Nicholas with the anonymous bishop of Kerkyra to whom THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid addressed two letters; these, dated in 1105–08, describe military and domestic difficulties in the Balkans.

ED. S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* (Athens 1882) 23–41.

LIT. P. Gautier in *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonike 1986) 88–90. –A.K.

NICHOLAS OF METHONE, theologian, bishop of Methone (from ca.1150); born early 12th C., died between 1160 and 1166. His life remains obscure. As panegyrist of MANUEL I, Nicholas consistently developed the concept of unity of state and church; not only a victorious general in the east, north, west, and at sea (*Logoi dyo*, p.6.7–8), but a benefactor of the church as well (p.45.17–20), Manuel himself resembled vigilant saints (p.43.17–20). Nicholas dreamed that Manuel would unite the Western and Byz. churches (p.8.23–27). Unity within the church was Nicholas's focal concern. He criticized the BOGOMILS and strictly opposed the transfer of NICHOLAS IV from the see of Cyprus to Constantinople. Nicholas fought for the perception of the unity of God: he polemicized against the FILIOQUE, fearing it would lead to denigration of the Second Person of the Trinity, and he emphasized the equality of the Holy Spirit with regard to the divine essence. He rejected the innovations of Soterichos PANTEUGENOS. Stressing the unity of Christ in the act of the EUCHARIST, Nicholas reproached Soterichos for raising the dispute at a time of danger from barbarians (p.44.1–4,70–72). Nicholas opposed Neoplatonist philosophy; in his refutation of PROKLOS (J. Dräseke unjustifiably questioned Nicholas's authorship of this work—*BZ* 6 [1897] 55–91), his method of argumentation was an appeal to the Fathers rather than logic. Optimistic despite all the dangers, Nicholas believed that "our time" could produce genuine piety and dedicated a vita to a contemporary saint, MELETIOS THE YOUNGER.

ED. *Refutation of Proclus' Elements of Theology*, ed. A.D. Angelou (Leiden 1984), with rev. A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 64 (1989) 196–99. *Logoi dyo*, ed. A. Demetrakopoulos (Leipzig 1865). Idem, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke* (Leipzig 1866; rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1:199–380. L. Benakis, "Neues zur Proklos-Tradition in Byzanz," in *Proclus et son influence*, ed. G. Boss, G. Seel (Zurich 1987) 247–59. See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 625.

LIT. A. Angelou, "Nicholas of Methone: The Life and Works of a Twelfth-Century Bishop," *Classical Tradition* 143–48. G. Podskalsky, "Nicholas von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 509–23. –A.K.

NICHOLAS OF MYRA, legendary saint; feastday 6 Dec. His cult is mentioned several times in the vita of NICHOLAS OF SION, who lived near Myra (chs. 8.9, 57.25–26, 76.1–2); the latter's death is conventionally dated to 10 Dec. 564, even though MSS give different and inconsistent dates. Many of Nicholas's miracles are the subject of separate stories: for example, *On the Three Stratelatai* (or *stratopedarchai*), which was cited already by the priest Eustratios of Constantinople at the end of the 6th C.; and *On the tax*, in which the administrative and fiscal terminology (chrysobull, *sympatheia*, *protonotarios*, *chartoularios*) that is used indicates probably a date of composition in the 9th or 10th C. Sometimes legends about Nicholas's miracles are combined in groups, as the so-called *Three Miracles*. Some stories link Nicholas with Constantine I the Great, thus placing the saint's activity around 300: he appeared to Constantine in a vision and convinced him to release three *stratelatai* who had been falsely accused of treason and sentenced to death; he visited Constantine on behalf of Myra and received from the emperor a chrysobull exempting the city from taxation (A. Kazhdan in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:135–38). One of the *Three Miracles* reflects the raids of Cretan Arabs in the Aegean and should be dated to the 9th or even 10th C. (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 176–82).

Surprisingly, a saint who was not martyred for his faith, left no theological writings, and was almost unknown before the 9th C. thereafter



NICHOLAS OF MYRA. Vita icon of St. Nicholas of Myra; late 12th or early 13th C. Monastery of St. Catherine, Sinai. Around the bust of the saint are sixteen scenes from his life.

achieved great prominence, second only to the Virgin (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 22). The first attempt at a biography was the so-called *Vita per Michaelem*, according to G. Anrich (*infra* 2:261), but I. Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt.V [1975], 17f) suggests that Michael derived it from the vita written by Patr. METHODIOS—a text strangely silent on icons. From Byz. the cult of Nicholas spread to southern Italy: in 1087 Nicholas's relics were stolen by Italian sailors and transferred to Bari.

Representation in Art. The saint's distinctive features, a balding head and a trim, round beard, were not fully developed before the 11th C., from which time he regularly appears in the procession of bishops in church apses. His isolated portrait was often accompanied by the much smaller figures of Christ and the Virgin, with Christ handing him a Gospel book and the Virgin the OMOPHORION, probably originally a reference to the circumstances attending the elevation of Nicholas of Sion to the rank of bishop. Cycles of the life of Nicholas, some comprising 16 or more scenes, were very popular in monumental painting and on icons from the 12th C. onward. They emphasize scenes of consecration, the miracle at sea (from the life of Nicholas of Sion), and various episodes of the story of the three generals, a story that revealed the remarkable powers of Nicholas as intercessor.

ED. G. Anrich, *Hagios Nikolaos*, 1–2 (Leipzig 1913–17).
LIT. BHG 1347–1364n. N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of St. Nicholas in Byzantine Art* (Turin 1981). –A.K., N.P.Š.

NICHOLAS OF MYRA, rhetorician; born Myra ca.430 (not between 410 and 412, as previously believed), died after 491. Nicholas belonged to the school of GAZA and was a teacher in Constantinople, where his brother held a high administrative position. There is no evidence that Nicholas was Christian. The *Progymnasmata* is his sole surviving work; his other works (*Declamations*, *The Rhetorical Skill*) are known only by title. Nicholas was used, directly or indirectly, by some Byz. commentators on RHETORIC, such as JOHN OF SARDIS, John DOXOPATRES, and Maximos PLANOUDES.

ED. *Progymnasmata*, ed. J. Felten (Leipzig 1913).
LIT. W. Stegemann, *RE* 17 (1937) 424–57. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 66–69. –A.K.

NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO, southern Italian writer and diplomat; abbot of the monastery of St. Nicholas in Casole (from 1219/20); born Otranto between ca.1155 and 1160, died Casole 9 Feb. 1235. His monastic name was Nektarios. Nicholas served as interpreter to Benedict, legate of Innocent III to Byz. in 1205–07, and to cardinal PELAGIUS OF ALBANO in 1214/15. His third visit to Byz. is known only from a letter of his friend George BARDANES. On that occasion Nicholas traveled to Nicaea, probably in 1225 on behalf of Frederick II (G. Weiss, *BZ* 62 [1969] 363). Nicholas was a Grecophile who wrote in Greek such works as *The Art of the Scalpel* (a collection of writings on astrology and geomancy); an anti-Jewish dialogue; three anti-Latin *syntagmata*, treatises on the differences between the Greek and Latin churches with regard to the FILIOQUE, AZYMES, etc.; letters; and poems. He also translated some Greek liturgical texts into Latin and corresponded with Greek ecclesiastics. In his dealings with Rome he defended the Greek clergy in Apulia and Calabria. Another Nicholas of Otranto, a Greco-Italian poet and son of Nicholas's friend and disciple

John Grasso (A.A. Longo, A. Jacob, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 371–79), is to be distinguished from him.

ED. A. Jacob, "La traduction de la Liturgie de saint Basile par Nicolas d'Otrante," *Bulletin de l'Institut historique belge de Rome* 38 (1967) 49–107. A. Garzya, "Il proemio di Nicola d'Otranto alla sua 'Arte dello scalpello,'" *Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Milan 1982) 117–29, with Ital. tr.

LIT. J.M. Hoeck, R.J. Loenertz, *Nikolaos-Nektarios von Otranto, Abt von Casole* (Ettal 1965). F. Cezzi, *Il metodo teologico nel dialogo ecumenico* (Rome 1975).

–A.K.

NICHOLAS OF SION, saint; born in the village of Pharroa, Lycia, died Myra 10 Dec. 564. When Nicholas turned 19, his uncle entrusted him with the shrine of Holy SION in Lycia, where Nicholas's two brothers joined him as disciples. He journeyed twice to Jerusalem and at the end of his life was ordained bishop of Pinara (in western Lycia). He performed many healing miracles during his lifetime.

Nicholas's vita was written, according to its editors, in the 6th C. by a member of his entourage on the basis of personal recollections as well as the records of the Sion monastery. There is, however, no data about the hagiographer in the vita, and the possibiity of its having been written in the 7th C. cannot be excluded. The narration is vivid and rich in details of everyday life, with some elements influenced by the New Testament and Psalter (the hagiographer's usage of the first person plural may originate with the NT). Particularly noteworthy passages are the descriptions of the plague of the 540s (ch.52), the felling of a "sacred tree" in which an idol supposedly lived (chs. 15–19), and perilous sea voyages (chs. 27–31). The milieu described is predominantly rural: at least 17 villages are specifically named in this vita, whereas urban life is hardly mentioned.

Later (by the 10th C.) the cult of Nicholas was engulfed by that of NICHOLAS OF MYRA, and some miracles worked by Nicholas of Sion were transferred into tales about his namesake from neighboring Myra.

Representation in Art. By the time portrait types were being established, the two saints were already merged, so that there remain no independent images of Nicholas of Sion. Those events in his life that were taken over for the life of Nicholas of Myra (esp. the sea miracles and the felling of the cypress of Plakoma) were illustrated quite frequently but only in cycles devoted to the latter saint.

ED. I. and N.P. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984), with Eng. tr. –A.K., N.P.Š.

NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS, monk, politician, and saint; born Kydonia, Crete, 793, died Constantinople, 4 Feb. 868. Educated in a school directed by the STOUDIOS monastery, Nicholas became a staunch supporter of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, whom he accompanied into exile in Metopa in 815. After the restoration of icon veneration in 843, Nicholas was appointed *hegoumenos* of Stoudios (846–49), but as a result of ecclesiastical struggles he had to retire. He was then recalled (853) but retired again in 858 in protest against the election of PHOTIOS as patriarch. He lived in various places, refusing any reconciliation with the Photians. After reinstating Patr. IGNATIOS, Basil I entrusted Nicholas once more with the leadership of Stoudios (867).

Nicholas was a renowned scribe. He copied several MSS, including the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK of 835 (Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 219), the oldest dated minuscule MS. His vita, which was written by an anonymous Stoudite monk ca.915–30, contains substantial information about the second period of Iconoclasm, the struggle between the Photians and Ignatians, and the rebellion of THOMAS THE SLAV. It also includes Nicholas's prediction of the defeat of Nikephoros I by the Bulgarians in 811 and the story of a pupil of Nicholas who participated in this campaign; contrary to I. Dujčev (in *FGHBulg* 4 [1961] 25–27), there is not sufficient reason to identify Nicholas of Stoudios with a different Nicholas, the *stratiotes,* whose legend is contained in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople.* E. von Dobschütz (*BZ* 18 [1909] 71f) considered the vita anti-Photian and biased, whereas F. Dvornik (*Photian Schism* 240) found that it exuded "an atmosphere of peace."

SOURCE. PG 105:863–925.

LIT. *BHG* 1365. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 794–812. A. Phytrakes, "Hagios Nikolaos ho Kydonieus," *Pepragmena tou B' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou* 3 (Athens 1968) 286–303. F.-J. Leroy, "Un nouveau manuscrit de Nicolas Stoudite: le Parisinus Graecus 494," *PGEB* 181–90. –A.K.

NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, CHURCH OF SAINT, early 14th-C. church located in the northeastern part of Thessalonike just inside the eastern walls. It was presumably named after its founder or patron, who is otherwise unknown. The original church, now surrounded by later aisles on three

sides, was a simple single-aisled building with a gabled roof and coursed stone and brick construction; brick decoration was used, esp. in the upper parts of the eastern and western ends. Earlier impost capitals were reused in the interior and the original carved templon survives. The interior is almost completely covered with frescoes contemporary with the construction of the church; these include feast scenes, scenes from the Passion, the lives of St. Gerasimos and St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 42f, pl.23.0–23.13), and liturgical cycles such as illustrations of the AKATHISTOS HYMN and a CALENDAR CYCLE. To the west of the church are remains of the entrance to the monastery to which it once belonged.

LIT. Ch. Tsioume-Mauropoulou, *Ho Hagios Nikolaos ho Orphanos* (Thessalonike 1970). A. Xyngopoulos, *Hoi toichographies tou Hagiou Nikolaou Orphanou Thessalonikes* (Athens 1964). –T.E.G.

NICODEMUS, GOSPEL OF, an apocryphal gospel or commentary (*hypomnemata*), produced in the 5th C. or even after 555, attributed to Nicodemus. Nicodemus, a Pharisee, is mentioned in the Gospel of John (Jn 3:1–10, 7:50–51) as having shown some support for Jesus. The Gospel consists of two independently written parts: the *Acts of Pilate* and *Christ's Descent into Hell.* The first section, known already to EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, was produced probably in the 4th C. to counter the fake *Acts of Pilate* issued as anti-Christian propaganda by MAXIMINUS DAIA; Pilate is made to witness the trial, Crucifixion, and interment of Christ. His *Acts* are accompanied by a description of the meeting of the Sanhedrin (in which Nicodemus played an active part) that testified to the reality of the Resurrection. The second section presents Christ's victory over Satan and Hades, the liberation of Adam, and Adam's encounter in Paradise with Enoch and Elijah, who are granted eternal life and are prepared to fight and kill the ANTICHRIST. The question of the original language is under discussion; Greek, Latin, Syriac, Coptic (the Coptic church praised Pilate as a saint and martyr), Georgian, Slavonic, and other versions have survived. The notion of an early Byz. illuminated Nicodemus cycle and the long-supposed derivation of the ANASTASIS image from it have recently been rejected (A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* [Princeton 1986] 10–16).

ED. C. Tischendorf, *Evangelia apocrypha*[2] (Leipzig 1876; rp. Hildesheim 1966) 210–432.

LIT. W. Schneemelcher, *Neutestamentliche Apokryphen,* vol. 1 (Tübingen 1987) 395–424. A. Vaillant, *L'évangile de Nicodème* (Paris 1968). G.C. O'Ceallaigh, "Dating the Commentaries of Nicodemus," *HThR* 56 (1963) 21–58. –J.I., A.C.

NIELLO (Lat. *nigellus*), a mixture of sulphur and silver or other metal. It was used for coloristic effect on metal objects, esp. silver domestic and display PLATE, finger RINGS, liturgical vessels, etc. Niello's black color contrasts effectively with gold, bronze, and silver to create salient linear effects and inscriptions. Although usually replaced by ENAMEL in and after the 10th C., it was in use as late as the 14th C. (*Treasury S. Marco,* no.28). If the term *enkausis* is correctly translated as niello, this medium was also employed on a large scale on the beaten silver floor of Basil I's Elijah chapel in the Great Palace (*TheophCont* 330.14). –A.C.

NIGHT (*νύξ*). In patristic vocabulary "night" was a metaphor for spiritual darkness and, in a broader sense, for sin, misfortune, and uncertainty. John Chrysostom (PG 59:309.28–41), referring to the apostle Paul (Rom 13:12), considered the present time as night "since we dwell in darkness" and tried to demonstrate that Paul's saying did not contradict the words of Christ (Jn 9:4), who spoke of the present as daytime and of the future as night, "when no one can work."

Representation in Art. The PERSONIFICATION labeled Night depended not upon patristic imagery but on Antique models. The Late Antique form of an aged female with wings and a black cloak, found in the Ambrosian *Iliad,* is replaced in PSALTER illustration with a younger woman holding a star-girt veil over her head (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters,* figs. 155, 177, 253). In this guise, as in Octateuch illustration, she supervises the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA. Night appears in the PARIS PSALTER and elsewhere as the partner not of Day but of Dawn (Orthros), who is depicted as a child: Dawn holds her blazing torch upright while Night lowers hers. The figure of Night here resembles Antique images of Selene and Hekate (Buchthal, *Paris Psalter,* fig.40) and is blue-skinned. Her identity is sometimes indicated in Job MSS by a dark aureole. –A.C., A.K.

NIKA REVOLT, uprising in Constantinople (11–19 Jan. 532); the name (lit. "Conquer!") was the cry of the rioters. The Greens started the mutiny at the Hippodrome; it remains questionable, however, whether the "Acclamations against Kalopodios" (see KALOPODIOS) refer to this event. The riot was provoked by Justinian I's severe fiscal policy and the extortions of his advisers; at the core of the discontent lay fear of a general tendency toward centralization and an assault on the traditional privileges of the factions and the senate (A. Čekalova, *VizVrem* 32 [1971] 24–39). Soon the Blues joined the Greens, and many senators supported the riot. Justinian ordered arrests of some members of both factions, but this drove the crowd to violence. The rioters attacked and burned government buildings, slew guards, and released the imprisoned; among the destroyed edifices were Hagia Sophia, the Chalke, the Church of St. Irene, the baths of Zeuxippos, and a part of the Augustaion. Urged to yield, Justinian removed the hated JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA, TRIBONIAN, and Eudaimon, prefect of Constantinople. As the unrest continued, Justinian ordered BELISARIOS and a troop of Goths to attack the mob, but they could not quell the movement. On 18 Jan., Justinian tried to negotiate with the mutineers from his *kathisma* in the Hippodrome, but the crowd rejected his promises and arranged the coronation of HYPATIOS, Anastasios I's nephew. In consternation Justinian was ready to leave Constantinople but was stopped by Empress THEODORA, who urged him to act. Belisarios and Moundos attacked the Hippodrome and bloodily crushed the revolt. According to Prokopios of Caesarea and Malalas, 30,000–35,000 people were killed. Hypatios and his brother Pompeios were executed on 19 Jan.; thereafter many others were killed or exiled, their property confiscated. The races were stopped perhaps until 537, and, until the reign of Constantine V, the activity of the circus factions remained largely ceremonial.

LIT. A. Čekalova, *Konstantinopol' v VI-om veke. Vosstanie Nika v 532 godu* (Moscow 1986). J.B. Bury, "The Nika Riot," *JHS* 17 (1897) 92–119. Cameron, *Circus Factions* 277–80. J. Evans, "The 'Nika' Rebellion and the Empress Theodora," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 380–82. –W.E.K.

NIKANDER, didactic poet of the 2nd C. B.C. who composed the *Theriaka*, concerning remedies for bites from poisonous animals, and the *Alexipharmaka*, about poisons and their antidotes. The earliest and best MS of Nikander is Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 247, written and illustrated in the 10th C. Most images depict directly the subject matter of the texts, snakes, scorpions, and plants, and plausibly derive from early sources. Human figures, incorporated into some compositions, demonstrate the effects of the poison or illustrate the author's mythological allusions. Thus the mention of Orion occasions a representation based upon the constellation figure. The text, popular in Byz., was paraphrased in illustrated MSS of DIOSKORIDES in Vienna and New York and accompanied by scholia in some MSS (M. Geymonat, *Scholia in Nicandri Alexipharmaca* [Milan 1974]). PLANOUDES produced a MS containing both poems.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Roll & Codex* 144f, 167. J. Weitzmann-Fiedler in *Age of Spirit*. 248f. –R.S.N.

NIKE (Lat. Victoria), in Greek mythology the winged goddess of victory. Late Roman authors (e.g., HIMERIOS, ed. A. Colonna, or.65:29–30; NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, *Dionysiaka* 2:205–07) call her a daughter of Zeus. In Rome Victoria became a symbol of the emperor's victorious might. The triumph of Christianity led to a heated controversy about the ALTAR OF VICTORY, which was finally destroyed in 382; the image of Nike turned out, however, to be resilient. At the beginning of the 5th C. the cult of Victoria was still alive in Rome, as attested by Claudian (Al. Cameron, *Claudian* [Oxford 1970] 237–41). On coins of Herakleios (Grierson, *DOC* 2.1 [1968] 269) is the *globos* with Nike, who crowns the emperor, and Grierson suggests (*DOC* 3.1 [1973] 227) that the inscription "Jesus Christ conquers" on 8th-C. coins is a conscious adaptation of the "Victoria Augusti" of earlier solidi.

It is plausible that the ANGEL replaced the winged Nike in Christian imagery and that the idea of the victorious cross replaced that of the victorious emperor (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 4, n.12). The attitudes and costumes of Nikai on such monuments as the Arch of Constantine are faithfully reproduced in the angels on the BARBERINI IVORY and similar compositions.

LIT. S. Weinstock, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1958) 2540f.
–A.K., A.C.

NIKEPHORITZES, correctly Nikephoros (allegedly nicknamed because of his youthfulness among the officials of CONSTANTINE IX), principal minister of MICHAEL VII; born BOUKELLARION, died Prote 1078. During the reign of CONSTANTINE X, Nikephoritzes, a eunuch, was twice sent away from court to govern Antioch, allegedly because he had slandered EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA. During Eudokia's reign, he was imprisoned; ROMANOS IV released him and sent him to Hellas as *praitor*. Upon Michael VII's accession, Nikephoritzes was appointed *logothetes tou dromou*. He soon displaced other ministers, even the caesar John DOUKAS. Nikephoritzes' administrative ability was grudgingly recognized by contemporaries; he was admired only by KEKAUMENOS. ATTALEIATES, who suffered from Nikephoritzes' policy of fiscal severity, retails stories of his greed, corruption, and disregard for the empire's well-being. In establishing a central warehouse (*phoundax*) at RHAIDESTOS, Nikephoritzes planned to assure Constantinople's grain supply, tax the grain trade, and provide places for his supporters. Attaleiates' claim of consequent inflation and scarcity seems exaggerated (I. Karayannopoulos, *Byzantina* 5 [1973] 106–09). Nikephoritzes recreated the corps of ATHANATOI and employed the Turks against ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL. His *charistikion*, the HEBDOMON monastery, became the focus of his personal estate and revenues. At the accession of NIKEPHOROS III, he fled to Roussel. He was seized and tortured to death lest he regain power.

LIT. Angold, *Empire* 98–102. G.I. Brătianu, "Un expérience d'économie dirigée: Le monopole du blé à Byzance au XI[e] siècle," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 643–62. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 300–02.
–C.M.B.

NIKEPHOROS (Νικηφόρος), personal name. As an epithet meaning "victorious" or "bringing victory," it was applied to several deities or personifications of ancient Greek mythology and also used, although rarely, as a given name. It remained infrequent in the secular milieu of late antiquity: *PLRE* gives only one example (2:781), Nikephoros the *koubikoularios*, on an inscription from Lydia of the 5th–6th C. At the same time, at least two bishops of this name are known (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 312). Prokopios does not mention a single Nikephoros, but in Theophanes the Confessor they are relatively numerous (12), as many as Sergios, Theodosios, and Andrew. The name reached seventh place in Skylitzes, right behind BASIL and THEODORE, and fifth place in Anna Komnene, after MICHAEL. Relatively frequent in the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), where Nikephoros edges out Basil and Theodore, the popularity of the name plummeted to eighteenth place in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (only 20 individuals). Even more indicative is the case of the collection of acts of Docheiariou: it contains only six Nikephoroi of the 12th–14th C., all of them belonging to the upper echelon of society. In the acts of Esphigmenou, four Nikephoroi, monks of the 11th C., are listed; in addition, we find in the

praktikon of ca.1300 widows of two Nikephoroi (peasants) and a boy of this name. -A.K.

NIKEPHOROS, caesar; died on island of Aphasia in the Sea of Marmara after 812. Son of Constantine V by his third wife Eudokia, and half-brother of Leo IV, Nikephoros was crowned caesar in 769. Along with his full brothers—the caesar Christophoros and the *nobilissimi* Niketas, Anthimos, and Eudokimos—Nikephoros was often the center of opposition to Leo, Irene, and their son Constantine VI. In 776 Leo crowned Constantine as co-emperor and extracted a general oath that Constantine alone would be accepted as emperor. Bypassed in the succession, Nikephoros and his brothers mounted a conspiracy but were denounced to Leo, who spared them.

After Leo's death in 780 several senior officials, including the *logothetes tou dromou* Gregory, favored Nikephoros over Constantine, but Irene arrested and exiled them and forced the caesars and *nobilissimi* to be tonsured, ordained, and made to celebrate the liturgy publicly. Discontent with Irene's return to power and Constantine's defeat at MARKELLAI in 792 spurred imperial guards to elevate Nikephoros, but Constantine blinded him, slit his brothers' tongues, and imprisoned them in the monastery of Therapeia. After Irene deposed Constantine in 797 they sought sanctuary in Hagia Sophia and were there proclaimed emperors, but Irene's adviser AETIOS persuaded them to surrender and exiled them to Athens. In 799 Akameros, "the *archon* of the Slavs in Belzetia," and thematic troops from Hellas hoped to elevate one of the five, but Irene imprisoned Nikephoros on Panormos island near Constantinople and blinded his brothers. Fearing a pro-Iconoclastic conspiracy on their behalf, in 812 Michael I moved them to an island in the Sea of Marmara, where they eventually died.

LIT. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI* (Munich 1978). Bury, *LRE* 2:458f, 478–83. -P.A.H.

NIKEPHOROS I, emperor (802–11); born Seleukeia ca.760, died 26 July 811. Nikephoros was of Arab ancestry, according to an oriental source (E.W. Brooks, *EHR* 15 [1900] 743). He began his career as *patrikios,* senator, and *logothetes tou genikou* under Irene. On 31 Oct. 802 Nikephoros was proclaimed emperor by several high civil officials. In deposing Irene, the conspirators may have wanted to prevent her proposed marriage to CHARLEMAGNE, but more likely they were seeking to block the ambitions of Irene's adviser AETIOS. Although an excellent administrator whose economic and military policies strengthened the empire, Nikephoros is characterized by Theophanes as avaricious, lecherous, tyrannical, even heretical. The "evil notions" of Nikephoros included a general increase in taxes, the extension of the KAPNIKON to *paroikoi* of ecclesiastical institutions, the abolition of Irene's tax remissions, a tax on slaves purchased beyond Abydos, the implementation of the ALLELENGYON, taxes on inheritances and treasures, and a state monopoly on loans with interest. He raised more troops by requiring village communities to underwrite poorer peasants' military service and stabilized sailors' income by requiring them to purchase uncultivated land. His financial measures permitted a building and refortification program. He established his own law court at the MAGNAURA to expedite judicial proceedings.

Nikephoros hellenized Greece by transplanting families from Asia Minor to SKLAVINIA in 810 (Charanis, *Demography,* pt. XIII [1946], 75–92) and extended Byz. administration westward by creating the themes of Thessalonike, Dyrrachion, Kephalenia, and possibly Peloponnesos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 350, 352). The election of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I and the revival of the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY provoked religious opposition, esp. from THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The policies of Nikephoros sparked rebellions (by BARDANES TOURKOS and ARSABER); in 807 he dispatched a fleet to quell a revolt in VENICE. He could do little against the Arabs and signed a humiliating treaty with the ʿAbbāsid caliph HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. He rejected Charlemagne's claims to the imperial title, but could not stop the capture of Venice by Pepin in 810. He took the field several times against the Bulgarians and was killed in battle with KRUM. Nikephoros was succeeded (very briefly) by his son STAURAKIOS and then by his son-in-law Michael I Rangabe, who was married to his daughter Prokopia.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 126–95. P.E. Niavis, *The Reign of the Byzantine Emperor Nicephorus I* (Athens 1987). Idem, "He basileia tou Nikephorou A´ kata tis Anatolikes peges," *Byzantinos Domos* 1 (1987) 161–70. E. Frances, "L'Empereur Nicéphore Ier et le commerce maritime byzantin," *BS* 27 (1966) 41–47. G. Brătianu, *Études byzantines d'histoire économique et sociale* (Paris 1938) 185–216. G. Cas-

simatis, "La dixième 'vexation' de l'empereur Nicéphore," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 149–60. –P.A.H.

NIKEPHOROS I, patriarch of Constantinople (12 Apr. 806–13 Mar. 815), historian, and saint; born Constantinople ca.750 (Beck, *Kirche* 489) or 758 (Alexander, *infra* 54), died monastery of St. Theodore near Chrysopolis 5 Apr. 828. Son of the *asekretis* Theodore, Nikephoros followed to Nicaea his father, who had been exiled by Constantine V for icon veneration. When Nikephoros returned to the capital, he served as the secretary "of the emperors" (probably Irene and Constantine VI); then he retired, left Constantinople, and founded several monasteries on the eastern shore of the Bosporos. Circa 802 he came back and was appointed director of "the largest poorhouse" in Constantinople.

After his election as patriarch in 806, Nikephoros faced serious problems: he had to appease THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and his supporters who took advantage of the continuing MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY to undermine imperial authority. Nikephoros failed, and the state applied radical means to silence the stubborn Stoudites. In 815, yielding to Stoudite pressure, Nikephoros had to move to a more consistent stand; he refused to sign the decisions of the Iconoclast council and was exiled to one and then to another of the monasteries he had founded. He wrote several books defending the cult of icons, ca.814 the *Apologeticus minor,* and in 818–20 three *Antirrhetics.* His major task was refutation of those texts that the Iconoclasts used as the basis of their tenets. Nikephoros dismissed the authenticity of the passages they cited from EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA and EPIPHANIOS of Salamis. Like Theodore of Stoudios, Nikephoros looked to the pope for support against the emperor.

The *Historia Syntomos* (*Breviarium*) of Nikephoros (written probably between 775 and 787) exists in two versions. It describes the events of 602–769 and forms a parallel to the *Chronography* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; like Theophanes, Nikephoros presents events from an anti-Iconoclastic viewpoint. Nikephoros, however, does not follow an annalistic system. His geographical terminology is more precise than that of Theophanes, and Nikephoros pays less attention to Constantinople. Nikephoros's brief *Chronographikon* is a list of rulers from the creation of the world to 829; it was very popular and was translated into Latin (by ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) and into Slavic languages (E. Piotrovskaja, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 247–54). The vita of Nikephoros was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON, who praised his hero's policy of compromise.

ED. *Opuscula historica,* ed. C. de Boor (Leipzig 1880). *Short History,* ed. C. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1990) with Eng. tr. PG 100:205–850. See also list in Beck, *Kirche* 490f.
SOURCE. Vita (*BHG* 1335) in de Boor, 139–217.
LIT. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford 1958). P. O'Connell, *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I* (Rome 1972). J. Travis, *In Defense of the Faith: The Theology of Patriarch Nikephoros of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:344–47. C. Mango, "The Breviarium of the Patriarch Nicephorus," in *Festschrift Stratos* 2:539–52. –A.K.

NIKEPHOROS I, metropolitan of Kiev (Dec. 1104–Apr. 1121). He was of Greek origin, but his early career in Byz. is unknown. In RUS' Nikephoros was conspicuous in nurturing the local church and in advising the local rulers. In 1108 he added FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA to the *synodikon* and on 2 May 1115 he helped translate the relics of BORIS AND GLEB. Four works are ascribed to him, all probably written in Greek, though only Slavonic versions survive (cf. Metr. JOHN II). Nikephoros himself admitted to not speaking Slavonic. The works are (1) a homily for the Sunday before Ash Wednesday (perhaps in fact by Nikephoros II, ca.1183–1201); (2) a letter to Prince Jaroslav Svjatopolkovič listing the errors of the Latins; (3) a letter to VLADIMIR MONOMACH on the same topic, largely reproducing a list attributed to Metr. George (ca.1065–76); and (4) a Lenten epistle to Vladimir Monomach, in which Nikephoros discourses on the three properties of the soul (reason, feeling, will) and on its servants, the five senses. The philosophical exposition turns into an allegory for princely rule and then into practical instruction for Vladimir. Nikephoros is also conjecturally associated with Vladimir in an inscription in St. Sophia in KIEV (S.A. Vysockij, *Srednevekovye nadpisi Sofii Kievskoj* [Kiev 1976] 48f). V.L. Janin attributes to him Greek seals of "Nikephoros of Rhosia" with the effigy of the Virgin (*Aktovye pečati drevnej Rusi X–XV vv.*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1970] 48f).

ED. Makarij, *Istorija russkoj cerkvi*[3] (St. Petersburg 1889; rp. Düsseldorf 1968) 2:336–52. K. Kalajdovič, *Pamjatniki rossijskoj slovesnosti XII veka* (Moscow 1821) 157–63. A. Dölker, *Der Fastenbrief des Metropoliten Nikifor an den Fürsten Vladimir Monomach* (Tübingen 1985), with Germ. tr.

LIT. A.N. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyj obzor drevnerusskich polemičeskich sočinenij protiv latinjan* (Moscow 1875; rp. London 1972) 99–118. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt.IX (1969), 107–14. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 93, 146–49, 177–79, 287.
–S.C.F.

NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, of the Angelos family, ruler of Epiros (ca.1266/8–ca. 1296/8); born ca.1240, died Epiros between 3 Sept. 1296 and 25 July 1298 (D.M. Nicol, *RSBS* 1 [1981] 251–57). Eldest son of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, he was granted the title of *despotes* by John III Vatatzes ca.1249–53 and in 1256 married John's granddaughter Maria (died 1258). He accompanied his father to the battle of PELAGONIA and resisted Michael VIII's encroachment on the Balkans. After Michael II's death Nikephoros divided EPIROS with his half brother JOHN I DOUKAS, retaining for himself "Old Epiros" from Ioannina to Naupaktos together with the islands of Kerkyra, Kephalenia, and Ithake. Despite his second marriage to Anna, a niece of Michael VIII, in 1264/5, Nikephoros remained an adversary of the emperor, acting in alliance with CHARLES I OF ANJOU, whose vassal Nikephoros acknowledged himself to be (14 Mar. 1279). At the beginning the war against Michael VIII had some limited success. Nikephoros recovered Butrinto, which he delivered to Charles, but in 1281 the allies were defeated at Berat. Michael's death reopened hope for reconciliation, and the *basilissa* Anna traveled to Constantinople to negotiate a truce. By that time, however, a substantial part of Nikephoros's possessions were already in the hands of the Italians and the rest under the sway of Constantinople. Nikephoros's daughter Thamar (Caterina) married PHILIP I OF TARANTO in 1294.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 8–50. Idem, "The Relations of Charles of Anjou with Nikephoros of Epiros," *ByzF* 4 (1972) 170–94. Polemis, *Doukai* 94f. *PLP*, no.223. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 68–72.
–A.K.

NIKEPHOROS II, *despotes* of Epiros (1356–59) and *komes* of Kephalenia; born ca.1328/9, died in Achelous region, spring 1358 (Soulis, *Dušan* 113–15) or 1359 (Nicol, *Epiros II* 136f, n.47). Son of John II Orsini (ruler of Epiros 1323–ca.1337) and Anna Palaiologina, Nikephoros was a child when his mother poisoned his father and assumed the regency for her son. When the Byz. launched a campaign to recover Epiros (1338), Nikephoros took refuge in the Morea with Catherine II of Valois, titular Latin empress of Constantinople (1308–46). After his return to Epiros, however, he was forced to capitulate to JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS. He was betrothed (1340) to John's daughter, Maria, and received the title of *panhypersebastos* from ANDRONIKOS III. The marriage took place in 1342. Nikephoros was given the title of *despotes* by John VI in 1347 and in the following year commanded a cavalry unit that defended Constantinople against Genoese attack. In 1351 he was appointed governor of the Thracian Hellespont.

After John V regained control of the empire in 1355, Nikephoros succeeded in recovering his ancestral dominions in Epiros and Thessaly. Sometime after 1355 he briefly repudiated his wife for a politically expedient marriage with a sister of Helena, widow of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, but then recalled Maria. Soon thereafter he was killed in battle with the Albanians.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 107–38. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 42f, 130–33. Soulis, *Dušan* 111–15. Polemis, *Doukai* 99f. *PLP*, no.222.
–A.M.T.

NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS, emperor (963–69); born ca.912, died Constantinople 11 Dec. 969. Son of Bardas PHOKAS, Nikephoros replaced his father in 954 as *domestikos ton scholon* and led the Byz. offensive in northern Syria; in 957 he captured and razed Hadat. In 960 he attacked Crete and in March 961 seized CHANDAX from the Arabs. After ROMANOS II died prematurely, Nikephoros claimed the throne but was opposed by the civilian officialdom, headed by Joseph BRINGAS; in April 963 Nikephoros withdrew from Constantinople to Cappadocia, where he was proclaimed emperor on 2 July at the instigation of JOHN (I) TZIMISKES. Nikephoros's army, the military aristocracy, the church hierarchy under Patr. POLYEUKTOS, and the people of Constantinople supported him. After breaking Bringas's resistance, Nikephoros entered Constantinople on 16 Aug. 963.

Nikephoros's policies reflected the interests of the army and military aristocracy. In 967 he restricted the peasants' right of PROTIMESIS, which had been introduced by ROMANOS I. In another novel he increased threefold the minimum size of the holding of a STRATIOTES, linking this change with the introduction of heavy armament. He considered KATAPHRAKTOI the core of the new army. On the other hand, he tried to limit the

wealth of the church and in 964 prohibited land donations to ecclesiastical institutions; he supported ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, whom he mistakenly regarded as a proponent of the "poor church." Nikephoros continued his offensive against the Arabs: in 965 he took Cyprus, Tarsos, and Mopsuestia; in 969 Michael BOURTZES seized Antioch, and soon thereafter the Byz. captured Aleppo. Nikephoros attempted reconciliation with OTTO I THE GREAT, but refused to pay tribute to Bulgaria and attempted to crush his neighboring rival with the assistance of SVJATOSLAV of Kiev. At the end of his reign he lost popular support, in part owing to the strict fiscal policy of Leo PHOKAS; nonetheless the image of Nikephoros as the "people's king" and genuine hero remained in contemporary literature, such as PHILOPATRIS or JOHN GEOMETRES. Nikephoros was murdered by an aristocratic plot of his former supporters (John Tzimiskes, Michael Bourtzes) with the help of his own wife THEOPHANO. Apart from coins, the only known portrait of Nikephoros is in a 15th-C. Cretan (?) MS (S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 61).

LIT. Schlumberger, *Phocas*. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 100–03, 128–31. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 395–99, 411–15. E. Turdeanu, *Le dit de l'empereur Nicéphore II Phocas et de son épouse Théophano* (Thessalonike 1976). E. Vranoussi, "Un 'discours' byzantin en l'honneur du saint empereur Nicéphore Phokas transmis par la littérature slave," *RESEE* 16 (1978) 729–44. R. Morris, "The Two Faces of Nikephoros Phokas," *BMGS* 12 (1988) 83–115. –A.K.

NIKEPHOROS III BOTANEIATES, emperor (1078–81); born 1001/2, died ca.1081 (E. Tsolakes, *Hellenika* 27 [1974] 150f). Originating in Phrygian Lampe, Nikephoros claimed kinship with the PHOKAS family. From the reign of CONSTANTINE IX on, he was an active general, aiding the uprising of ISAAC I KOMNENOS. When Nikephoros BRYENNIOS rebelled in the Balkans, Botaneiates revolted in Anatolia ca. Oct. 1077; he had active supporters within Constantinople. With Turkish aid, he advanced and defeated the troops of MICHAEL VII near Nicaea; after Michael abdicated, he entered Constantinople (3 Apr. 1078) and received the imperial insignia. His coronation followed on 2 July (2 June, according to Polemis, "Chronology" 71). About 1179 he married his predecessor's wife, MARIA OF "ALANIA" (B. Leib, 6 *CEB* [Paris 1950] 1:129–40). Already elderly, Nikephoros was ineffectual; he relied on his freedmen Boril and Germanos and on Isaac and Alexios Komnenos. Nikephoros's extravagant generosity to his supporters (praised by his eulogist ATTALEIATES) compelled him to reduce official salaries and debase the NOMISMA to 8–9 carats (Morrisson, "Dévaluation" 8, 15f). While Turks plundered the Asian suburbs of Constantinople, Nikephoros was preoccupied with the rebellions of Bryennios, Nikephoros BASILAKES, Nikephoros MELISSENOS, and finally the Komnenoi. When ALEXIOS (I) KOMNENOS seized Constantinople, Nikephoros abdicated (4 Apr. 1081) and entered the PERIBLEPTOS monastery, which he had restored. He is identified by inscription as the emperor receiving the sumptuous Chrysostom MS, Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 79; I. Spatharakis (*Portrait*, fig.69) argued that the inscription is secondary and that the portrait originally depicted Michael VII.

LIT. G.P. Begleres, *Ho autokrator tou Byzantiou Nikephoros ho Botaneiates* (Athens 1916). J. Gouillard, "Un chrysobulle de Nicéphore Botaneiatès à souscription synodale," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 29–41. –C.M.B., A.C.

NIKERITES, LEO, late 11th- to early 12th-C. general and patron of the arts. A eunuch, Nikerites (Νικερίτης) was brought up among soldiers (An.Komn. 2:93.17–18). He rose through the ranks, first as *anthypatos* and *strategos* of the Peloponnesos. He is described as *protoproedros* and *anagrapheus* of the same theme on a seal (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.110). After defeating the Pechenegs at LEBOUNION in 1091 he was made *doux* of Paristrion. The colophon of the richly illustrated JOB MS (Vat. gr. 1231) that Nikerites commissioned names him as *nobelissimos*, *megas doux*, and *apographeus* of Cyprus. A lost OCTATEUCH, produced to his order in Nov. 1103, calls him *protonobelissimos* and *oikeios anthropos* (of Alexios I). He was still alive in 1117, fighting the Turks at LOPADION.

LIT. A. Kazhdan, "Sostav gospodstvujuščego klassa v Vizantii XI–XII vv. VI," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 190f. A.W. Carr, "A Group of Provincial Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century," *DOP* 36 (1982) 64f. –A.C.

NIKETAS (Νικήτας), personal name. The similar form Niketes (lit. "winner") that was bestowed upon Julian as an epithet (*SIG* 2:906B: an inscription from Magnesia) is attested in Greek antiquity. In the mid-4th C. the name Niketes was still found (*PLRE* 1:629); in the 5th C. the form Niketas appeared (*PLRE* 2:781f), but infrequently. Like NICHOLAS and probably NIKEPHOROS, Niketas seems to have been popular in the late Roman

ecclesiastical, rather than the secular, milieu (W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 [1937] 317). Only one Niketas is listed in Prokopios, but Theophanes the Confessor has 11 and Skylitzes 16 Niketases. The name is rare in acts, esp. of the later period. The name was borne by two patriarchs of Constantinople, but by no emperor. –A.K.

NIKETAS, general; died 629. A cousin of HERAKLEIOS, Niketas commanded troops in the rebellion (609) that reconquered Cyrenaica and Egypt from PHOKAS. In Egypt Niketas decisively defeated Phokas's general Bonosos, who fled in early 610. Then Niketas invaded Palestine. He became *patrikios* and praetorian prefect, and *doux* in Egypt; in effect he was civilian governor until 619, when the Persian conquest forced him to flee to Constantinople. Niketas befriended Patr. JOHN ELEEMON of Alexandria. From Palestine Niketas brought the Holy Sponge and the Holy Lance to Constantinople, where they were venerated in ceremonies on, respectively, 14 Sept. and 28 Oct. 612. Herakleios appointed Niketas *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* on 5 Dec. 612 and sent him to replace general PRISKOS at Caesarea. The Persians defeated Niketas in the vicinity of Antioch in 613. He returned to Africa, where he was exarch from 619 to 628/9. Herakleios was fond of Niketas and erected a statue to him. Niketas's daughter Gregoria married HERAKLEIOS CONSTANTINE. The last exarch of Africa, GREGORY, probably was a son of Niketas.

LIT. C. Mango, "A Byzantine Hagiographer at Work: Leontios of Neapolis," in *Byz. und der Westen* 35–37. Kaegi, "New Evidence" 325–29. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:83–87. –W.E.K.

NIKETAS BYZANTIOS, surnamed also Philosopher and Teacher (*didaskalos*), theologian of second half of 9th C. His life remains obscure. Under his name are preserved several polemical works: against the MONOPHYSITISM of the Armenians, against Islam, and against the FILIOQUE. Niketas's anti-Latin polemics are relatively mild.

ED. J. Hergenröther, *Monumenta graeca ad Photium ejusque historiam pertinentia* (Regensburg 1869; rp. Farnborough 1969) 84–138. PG 105:588–841.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 530f. H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937) 49–51. A.-Th. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam*[2] (Louvain-Paris 1969) 110–162. –A.K.

NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, writer of the late 9th to early 10th C. Despite attempts to distinguish several writers of this name (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 126f), it now seems established that he was a single but very prolific author (A. Kazhdan in *Dve vizantijskie chroniki* [Moscow 1959] 125f; Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.IX [1965], 241–47). A pupil of ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, he joined his teacher in opposing the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI; in a letter (ep.87) he describes the pressure exerted by Pope NICHOLAS I to persuade him to support the emperor. When Arethas, after some resistance, accepted the dispensation, Niketas distributed his goods to the poor and fled to Thrace. He was arrested, brought back to Constantinople, and imprisoned. Freed at the initiative of EUTHYMIOS, he lived two years in seclusion, probably under Euthymios's control.

Niketas wrote about 50 *enkomia* of saints, a treatise on the calculation of the approaching end of the world, a *Commentary on the Psalms*, and other works. In his *Commentary* Niketas introduced original features, e.g., moral exhortations attached to every psalm. Although drawing upon pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, he reduced the complex hierarchy of the world to a simple contrast between the humble position of man and the omnipotence of God. Typical of Niketas is his animosity toward musical instruments. In hagiography, Niketas deviated from the traditional laudation: his vita of IGNATIOS is a pamphlet against PHOTIOS; he was also accused of issuing a pamphlet against Leo VI and Euthymios. Moreover, he was charged with heresy for allegedly proclaiming himself God or Christ; this probably means that, contrary to his *Commentary*, he emphasized the divine nature of man.

ED. PG 105:16–581. *The Encomium of Gregory Nazianzen*, ed. J.J. Rizzo (Brussels 1976). G. Dorival, "Le *Commentaire sur les Psaumes* de Nicétas David (début du 10e siècle)," *REB* 39 (1981) 272–300. L.G. Westerink, "Nicetas the Paphlagonian on the End of the World," in *Meletemata ste mnemen Basileiou Laourda* (Thessalonike 1975) 177–95. Letters—ed. L.G. Westerink in Arethas, *Scripta minora* (Leipzig 1972) 2:149–82. F. Halkin, "Le panégyrique du martyr Procope de Palestine par Nicétas le Paphlagonien," *AB* 80 (1962) 174–93.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 548f. *Vita Euthym.* 217–19. –A.K.

NIKETAS MAGISTROS, high-ranking official, writer; born Larissa, Thessaly, ca.870, died after 946. Westerink hypothesizes that his last name

was Eladikos or Helladikos. In 919 Niketas supported ROMANOS I and married his daughter Sophia to Romanos's son CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS. In 928, accused of plotting to replace Romanos with Christopher, he was exiled to Hellespont, where he owned land. From there he sent letters to Constantine VII and various members of the elite (such as KOSMAS MAGISTROS). The letters are very conventional and poor in information. One interesting reference is to the iron ore carried by the Hermos River to the sea, which casts it onto the shore; the local people produce iron from this "sand" (ep.5.12–24). His correspondence is full of allusions to ancient mythology and literature; thus, Homer is quoted more frequently than the Old Testament. Westerink identifies Niketas with the author of the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS. A line of an unknown *grammatikos* Euphemios, quoted in *De Thematibus* (*De them.* p.91.37–42), refers to Niketas as having "an arrogant Slavic face."

ED. *Lettres d'un exilé*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Paris 1973). –A.K.

NIKETAS OF AMASEIA, canonist and metropolitan (second half of 10th C.). His life remains obscure. At the end of the 10th C. Niketas wrote a treatise on the election of METROPOLITANS, probably to refute an anonymous treatise dated 963–69. Contrary to the anonymous writer, Niketas defended the primacy of the patriarch of Constantinople over metropolitans and his right to preside over their elections. Where the anonymous writer interpreted canon law literally, Niketas appealed to Byz. reality: he contrasts the metropolitan "who does not even have a *droungarios* under his power" with the patriarch who rules the capital and is the father of the emperors and the senate (p.160.10–16). This discussion is an important reflection of the struggle between centripetal and centrifugal forces within the church.

ED. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 160–75, with Fr. tr.
LIT. J. Darrouzès, "Un discours de Nicétas d'Amasée sur le droit de vote du patriarche," *ArchPont* 21 (1956) 162–78. –A.K.

NIKETAS OF ANKYRA, 11th-C. canonist and metropolitan, mentioned in two documents of 1038 and 1072 (although it is not sure that both refer to the same person). Darrouzès ascribed to him five anonymous treatises: *On Ordination, On Councils, On Elections, On the Right of Resignation,* and *On Prohibited Marriages.* The attribution is questionable (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 30 [1969] 283), esp. since a marginal note ascribes one of these pieces to another 11th-C. author, Demetrios of Kyzikos. The first four treatises, unlike the one on marriages, develop a consistent theme: the power of the bishop is higher than that of the emperor (p.214.5–8). The author—whoever he was—also criticizes the patriarch, whom he calls an octopus clinging to rocks (p.200.23–24), whereas he should be a mother concerned for her children, the metropolitans. The author's ideal is a council of metropolitans and lay *archontes* to advise the emperor (pp.202.30–204.6).

ED. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 176–275. –A.K.

NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, theologian; born ca.1050, died after 1117 (not 1030–1100, as stated in Beck, *Kirche* 651). Neither his career nor the exact composition of his oeuvre is yet established. He was nephew of a metropolitan of Serres and held the post of *didaskalos* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. In 1117 Niketas, already metropolitan of Herakleia, was among the accusers of EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. He corresponded with THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid; J. Darrouzès has proved that Niketas did not correspond with Niketas STETHATOS (*Nicétas Stéthatos, Opuscules et lettres* [Paris 1961] 19–21). Niketas's main work is CATENAE to the Gospels of Matthew, Luke, and John as well as a commentary on GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. Niketas also wrote several grammatical poems and possibly 13 canonical responses addressed to Constantine of Pamphilon, a suffragan of Herakleia (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 2 [1895] 160–76).

ED. Ch.Th. Krikones, *Synagoge pateron eis to kata Loukan euangelion* (Thessalonike 1973), rev. A. Fourlas, *Wort in der Zeit* (Leiden 1980) 268–74. B. Corderius, *Symbolarum in Matthaeum tomus alter* (Toulouse 1647). *Nicetae Heracleensis Commentariorum XVI orationum Gregorii Nazianzeni fragmenta*, ed. R. Constantinescu (Bucharest 1977) 170–98. Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 54–65, 276–309. See also list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 565.
LIT. J. Sickenberger, *Die Lukaskatene des Niketas von Herakleia* (Leipzig 1902). A. Tovar, "Nicetas of Heraclea and Byzantine Grammatical Doctrine," in *Classical Studies Presented to Ben Edwin Perry* (Urbana 1969) 223–35. Č. Milovanović, "Tria genera rhetorices u komentaru Nikite Iraklijskog uz Grigorija Teologa," *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 59–73. –A.K.

NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA" (or rather a nephew of the bishop of Maroneia in Thrace), theologian; fl. first half of the 12th C. Niketas served as *chartophylax* of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople and from 1132/3 on as archbishop of Thessalonike. He wrote six dialogues between a Greek and a Latin on the procession of the Holy Spirit, in which he, as a supporter of the imperial tendency to UNION OF THE CHURCHES, defended the Western point of view. The dialogues, mentioned already by Hugo ETERIANO, were used and refuted by later authors; according to BESSARION, Niketas was fighting for the "donkey's shadow," since he accepted the idea of FILIOQUE, but refused to make a corresponding addition to the symbol of the creed (PG 161:329A). The possibility of identifying Niketas with Niketas of Thessalonike, author of several canonical responses and a short treatise on the marriage of slaves, remains open. Even less probable is his identification with the author of the Life of St. DEMETRIOS (11th C.?), suggested by A. Sigalas (*EEBS* 12 [1936] 317–60).

ED. N. Festa, "Niceta di Maronea e i suoi dialoghi sulla processione dello Spirito Santo," *Bessarione* 16 (1912) 80–107, 266–86; 17 (1913) 104–13, 295–315; 18 (1914) 55–75, 243–59; 19 (1915) 239–46. Canonical works: PG 119:997–1002. A. Pavlov, "Kanoničeskie otvety Nikity, mitropolita Solunskogo (XII veka?)," *VizVrem* 2 (1895) 381–87.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 621f. M. Jugie, "Notes de littérature byzantin," *EO* 26 (1927) 408–16. D. Giorgetti, "Un teologo greco del sec. XII precursore della riunificazione fra Roma e Costantinopoli: Niceta di Maronea, arcivescovo di Tessalonica," *Annuario 1968 della biblioteca civica di Massa* (Lucca 1969) 129–48 (see D. Stiernon, *REB* 28 [1970] 292f).

–A.K.

NIKETAS OF MEDIKION, Iconodule monk; saint; born Caesarea in Bithynia ca.760, died near Constantinople 3 Apr. 824; feastdays 3 Apr., 6 Oct. After a short period of eremitic life, Niketas joined the small Bithynian monastery of MEDIKION, which had been founded by a certain Nikephoros of a well-to-do Constantinopolitan family. Niketas became a priest and, after the death of Nikephoros in 813, was made *hegoumenos.* At the beginning of the second period of Iconoclasm, Leo V exiled him to the *kastron* of Massalaia, but Niketas soon reconciled with the Iconoclast patriarch THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS; criticized by Theodore of Stoudios, Niketas recanted and was banished anew to the island of Glykeria. Michael II released Niketas, but he did not return to Medikion. After his death his body was brought to Medikion to repose in the tomb of Nikephoros.

A certain Theosteriktos wrote his vita, probably between 829 and 840; E. von Dobschütz (*BZ* 18 [1909] 81–83) hypothesizes that this vita was revised in the Stoudite milieu and was intended to celebrate the ideological victory of Theodore over Niketas. Although conventional and badly informed about the activity of Niketas, this vita contains precious evidence about ICONOCLASM (Constantine V's comparison of the Virgin, after she gave birth to Jesus, with an emptied purse [ch.28]; Leo V's discussion with the Iconophiles). The author of the second vita is an unknown John of the monastery of St. Elias. In *synaxaria* Nikephoros and Niketas are sometimes confused (F. Halkin, *AB* 88 [1970] 13–16).

Representation in Art. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.94) contains a portrait of Niketas. He is depicted as a monk holding the round icon of Christ that he had refused to let the emperor burn.

SOURCES. *AASS* Apr. I:xviii–xxvii (at end of vol.). F. Halkin, "La Vie de Saint Nicéphore, fondateur de Médikion en Bithynie (813)," *AB* 78 (1960) 396–430.

LIT. *BHG* 1341–42b. Alexander, *Patr. Nicephorus* 129–32. Janin, *Églises centres* 165–68. –A.K., N.P.Š.

NIKETAS OF THESSALONIKE. See NIKETAS "OF MARONEIA."

NIKITA, MONASTERY OF SAINT, situated northeast of Skopje between the villages of Banjani and Čučer. The monastery was restored by the Serbian king STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN; its church was begun before 1303 and was offered to the Hilandar monastery on Athos before 1308, according to charters of Milutin and a letter of Andronikos II (M. Živojinović, *HilZb* 6 [1986] 60–72). The church is constructed of stone and brick in cloisonné (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES), its façade richly ornamented with niches and brick arches; it has a cross-in-square plan, with a single dome. The frescoes preserved in the lower zones may date before 1308 or be as late as 1320; the names of two artists, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, are inscribed on the shield of St. Theodore Teron on the south wall. P. Miljković-Pepek (*Mihail i Eutihij* 51–56) believes the two merely supervised the work. The program is essentially Byz.: scenes in the nave include the miracles and parables of Christ, and standing figures

of saints (including STEFAN NEMANJA and SAVA OF SERBIA). The figures are more elongated and drier than in other works by these masters, and the compositions are more complicated, incorporating numerous participants and highly developed architectural backgrounds (esp. the Miracle of Cana and the Expulsion of the Money Changers from the Temple). The damaged frescoes on the vaults were restored in 1483/4 by Greek painters.

LIT. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* 98–102. Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 70. –G.B.

NIKLI (Νίκλι), city in Arkadia, in a fertile plain, on the site of ancient Tegea. Both the etymology and the origin of Nikli are uncertain: the name may be derived from the bishopric of Amykleion (under the jurisdiction of PATRAS) mentioned in notitiae (*Notitiae CP* 13.536) and in the vita of NIKON HO "METANOEITE." On the other hand, the Aragonese version of the *Chronicle of the Morea* claims that William II Villehardouin founded it in the mid-13th C. Nikli was the center of a Frankish barony; the "Women's Parliament" of 1261, following the battle of Pelagonia, met there. The Byz. destroyed Nikli in 1296 but did not occupy the area immediately, and the city was not restored. The population retreated to the mountains where two strongholds were created, Mouchli and Cepiana (Tsepiana).

The remains of at least four Early Christian churches have been investigated in the area of ancient Tegea. A fine mosaic floor, probably of the late 5th C., once adorned the basilica built by a certain Thyrsos. It represents the terrestrial world, and includes images of the Four Rivers of PARADISE and personifications of the MONTHS (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 24–28). Few remains of the medieval city survive; in the late 19th C. traces of a rectangular fortification wall were still visible (H.F. Tozer, *JHS* 4 [1883] 222f), but these have disappeared. The Church of the Dormition, built in the 11th or 12th C. and crudely restored in 1888, is a cross-in-square with five domes, unusual in the Peloponnesos at this date. The parliament of 1261 met in this church. There is no evidence that Nikli had a palace. In Mouchli there are remains of a small fortress, houses of the 14th–15th C. (N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 321–53), and several ruined churches including a 14th-C. Church of the Virgin (idem, *Peloponnesiaka* 3–4 [1958–59] 288–309). Cepiana has a Church of the Panagia Gorgoepekoos similar to that of the Virgin at Mouchli.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 182, 522–25. B. Konte, "Symbole sten historike geographia tes Arkadias," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 112–14. A.K. Orlandos, "Palaiochristianika kai byzantina mnemeia Tegeas-Nikliou," *ABME* 12 (1973) 3–176. –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

NIKOMEDEIA (Νικομήδεια, now Izmit), city of BITHYNIA, the residence of Diocletian and his successors until 330. The foundation of Constantinople brought decline, but Nikomedeia remained a provincial capital and seat of a philosophical school headed by LIBANIOS. Ruined by the earthquake of 358, Nikomedeia never really recovered, though Justinian I restored some public buildings and the highway eastward. The vita of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON reveals many details of local topography and economy; Nikomedeia had a group of influential *scholarii*, a weapons factory (founded by Diocletian), a poorhouse, and numerous churches and monasteries. Its location on the main road to the capital made Nikomedeia a major military base: it played a role in the campaigns of Herakleios, Justinian II, Leo III, and Artabasdos and was defended against Arabs and Paulicians. As a commercial center Nikomedeia was headquarters of *kommerkiarioi* in the 8th–9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1411A, 1599). Its bishop Theophylaktos (ca.800–15) built a complex of poorhouse and monastery, and an imperial *xenodocheion* was established by the 9th C. Nikomedeia became the capital of OPTIMATOI but was described by IBN KHURDĀDHBEH as ruined, no doubt because the huge ancient city by the harbor had been abandoned as Nikomedeia withdrew to a defensible hilltop. As the Turks advanced toward Constantinople after their capture of Nicaea in 1081, Nikomedeia was the base for Alexios I's attempts to retain control of the coastal regions. The First and Second Crusades both stopped there; ODO OF DEUIL described it as a city whose lofty ruins were overgrown with thorns and brambles.

Nikomedeia saw much fighting after 1204. At first it was controlled by Theodore I Laskaris, who defeated David Komnenos of Trebizond nearby; by 1206, however, the city fell to the Latins, who, finding its walls in ruins, fortified the Church of Hagia Sophia as their main castle. A treaty of 1207 returned Nikomedeia to Theodore and its fortifications were demolished, but the

Latins regained it and held it until ca.1240. Nikomedeia was exposed to the attacks of OSMAN, who inflicted a severe defeat on the Byz. at nearby BAPHEUS in 1302; after that, the agricultural population took refuge within the walls and the Turkomans ravaged the district. In 1304 and 1330, Nikomedeia was blockaded and threatened by starvation; on the latter occasion JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS rescued it with his fleet. The city finally fell to ORHAN in 1337. Nikomedeia preserves much of its fortifications, the long city walls of Diocletian, and the medieval hilltop fortress, which appears to be of the 12th–14th C.

As a metropolitan bishopric Nikomedeia played a major role under EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA, but later yielded in importance to NICAEA.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 77–104. –C.F.

NIKON "HO METANOEITE" (*μετανοεῖτε*, "you should repent"), saint; born in district of Polemoniake, Armeniakon, ca.930, died Sparta ca.1000; feastday 26 Nov. Son of a provincial landowner, Nikon (*Νίκων*) ran away from home and spent 12 years as a monk at the monastery of Chryse Petra (between Pontos and Paphlagonia). After wanderings in the "eastern regions," he went to Crete in 961; he spent seven years preaching Christianity to the island's inhabitants, many of whom had converted to Islam during the Arab occupation. He then traveled in Greece, finally settling down, probably in the early 970s, in Sparta. There he founded a monastery next to the marketplace and near a stadium. Nikon's view of life was pessimistic: he stressed the vanity of existence, compared life with smoke and childish games, and called for repentance as the seminal way to salvation.

His vita, probably written in the mid-11th C., consists of two parts, the biography and posthumous miracles. The hagiographer, a *hegoumenos* of Nikon's monastery, may have known the holy man personally and may have witnessed some of the miracles. The vita is consistently provincial in approach: predominantly local nobles or minorities (Spartan Jews, MELINGOI, etc.) are mentioned, and the central authority is condemned for entrusting power in the provinces to the worst and cruelest functionaries (ch.58, ed. Sullivan, p.184.18–20). The vita contains valuable information about church construction and decoration, as well as the legend of a Constantinopolitan artist commissioned by a Peloponnesian grandee, John Malakenos, to paint a posthumous portrait of Nikon; the artist found himself unable to paint the icon solely on the basis of a verbal description and only supernatural assistance helped him. The hagiographer has borrowed from the 10th-C. Life of LOUKAS THE YOUNGER.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Nikon, found most frequently in Greek churches, begin to appear not long after his death (e.g., at HOSIOS LOUKAS), and are probably based on the icon commissioned by Malakenos. The saint is characterized by monastic clothing, dark slightly windblown hair low over his forehead, and a full dark beard.

SOURCE. D.F. Sullivan, *The Life of Saint Nikon* (Brookline, Mass., 1987), with Eng. tr. O. Lampsides, *Ho ek Pontou Hosios Nikon ho Metanoeite* (Athens 1982).

LIT. *BHG* 1366–68. D.F. Sullivan, "The Versions of the *Vita Niconis*," *DOP* 32 (1978) 157–73. N. Drandakes, "Eikonographia tou Hosiou Nikonos," *Peleponnesiaka* 5 (1962) 306–19. –A.K., A.M.T., N.P.Š.

NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, Melchite ecclesiastical writer; born Constantinople ca.1025, died in monastery of St. SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, near Antioch, between ca.1100 and 1110 (Nasrallah, *infra* 152) or in monastery of Roidiou (Solignac, *infra* 319). According to his own testimony in the *Taktikon*, Nikon was born to a family of *archontes* and served in the army under Constantine IX. He then retired from the world, was tonsured by Luke, former metropolitan of Anazarbos, and settled in the monastery that Luke had founded on the Black Mountain north of Syrian Antioch. After Luke's death, Nikon met with hostility from the other monks when he attempted to impose monastic discipline, and he was eventually forced to leave. After attempting to found his own monastery, he settled in the monastery of Symeon the Younger on the Wondrous Mountain. When the Seljuks conquered Antioch in 1084, he moved to the monastery of the Virgin of the Pomegranate (Theotokos tou Roidiou).

Nikon compiled the *Pandektai*, a collection of statements by the councils and church fathers concerning canon law that was to serve as a compendium for wandering monks. His *Taktikon*, in 40 chapters, is also a collection of authoritative texts on canonical and liturgical problems and includes a *typikon* for the monastery of Roidiou.

Nikon's works were soon translated into Arabic and Church Slavonic.

ED. *Taktikon*, ed. V. Beneševič, vol. 1 (Petrograd 1917). *Pandektai*—fragments in PG 127:513–16, 527–32; 86:69–74; 106:1359–82. Fr. tr. C. de Clercq, *Les textes juridiques dans les Pandectes de Nicon de la Montagne Noire* (Venice 1942).

LIT. J. Nasrallah, "Un auteur antiochien du XIe siècle: Nicon de la Montagne Noire (vers 1025–début du XIIe s.)," *PrOC* 19 (1969) 150–61. Graf, *Literatur* 2:64–69. A. Solignac, *DictSpir* 11 (1982) 319f. –A.K.

NIKOPOLIS (Νικόπολις, lit. "city of victory"), the name of several cities and a theme.

NIKOPOLIS IN EPIROS, on the Ambrakian Gulf, in late antiquity capital of Old Epiros (Hierokl. 651.4). In 362 the rhetorician and high official (consul) Claudius Mamertinus lamented the decline of Nikopolis and praised Emp. Julian for its restoration. The city flourished in the 5th and 6th C. The walls of the city, constructed at the end of the 5th C., are well preserved and stand in some places to nearly their full height. Five Early Christian basilicas have been uncovered, all of the 5th–6th C. Basilica A (Doumetios Basilica) is a three-aisled structure with transept; it has mosaics representing the Earth surrounded by Ocean, with many varieties of flora and fauna and inscriptions (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 21–24). Basilica B, the so-called Alkison Basilica with five aisles, has mosaics, one of which (in an annex east of the church) names the bishop Alkison. Attacked by the Vandals in 474/5 and the Ostrogoths in 551, Nikopolis was restored by Justinian I. Its fate at the time of the Slavic invasions is uncertain. Constantine AKROPOLITES, in the vita of St. Barbaros, describes an attack of the Hagarenes on Aitolia and the *polis* Nikopolis "that is called locally Maza" (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:408.16) during the reign of Michael II, but the accuracy of this late hagiographic evidence is doubtful. Nikopolis is identified as a metropolis in earlier notitiae, but seals of the 8th–9th C. refer only to an archbishop (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 670–72).

LIT. *TIB* 3:213f. E. Kitzinger, "Studies in Late Antique and Early Byzantine Floor Mosaics. I. Mosaics at Nikopolis," *DOP* 6 (1951) 83–122. *Nikopolis*, ed. E. Chrysos, vol. 1 (Preveza 1987). –T.E.G.

THEME OF NIKOPOLIS, located in southern EPIROS and AITOLIA, founded probably between 843 and 899 (it is first mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos), possibly after 886; its capital was NAUPAKTOS. The seal of a *tourmarches* of Nikopolis (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2576) must have preceded the creation of the theme; another seal, of Joseph, *epoptes* of Nikopolis and an official in the Peloponnesos (no.2068), suggests that the region (*tourma*?) of Nikopolis was part of the Peloponnesos before the creation of the theme. Seals of the *strategoi* of Nikopolis are also known, the earliest dating to the second half of the 9th C. (no.2620). Nikopolis was a maritime base in the struggle for southern Italy, and the troops of the MARDAITAI were stationed there, at least in the 10th C. Nikopolis fell within the Bulgarian orbit in the 10th C.: ca.930 the Bulgarians invaded the theme; in 1040 its population revolted against Constantinople, murdered a tax collector, and joined Peter DELJAN. A chrysobull of 1198 mentions the "provincia" of Nikopolis and specially notes the existence in it of EPISKEPSEIS belonging to private persons, churches, and monasteries. After 1204 the region from DYRRACHION to Naupaktos came under Venetian control; by 1214 it was conquered by Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros and became part of the despotate of Epiros.

LIT. *TIB* 3:53–61. D. Triantaphyllopulos, "Monumente und Quellen," *BalkSt* 24 (1983) 135–61. –T.E.G.

NIKOPOLIS ON THE DANUBE, Nikopolis ad Istrum or ad Haemum (the Balkans) was a Roman city in MOESIA south of IATRUS on the Danube, located near the modern Bulgarian village of Nikjup. Constantius II settled in the Nikopolis region a group of baptized Goths (*Goti minores*) who remained loyal to the empire during the 4th–5th C. Its bishops are recorded in 458 and 518. Justinian I is said to have rebuilt the city, and it is mentioned in both Hierokles and Simokattes. Archaeological excavations, however, have revealed the abandonment of ancient Nikopolis already by the 6th C.—ceramics later than the 4th C. are rare; roughly built structures were constructed in the agora in the 4th C.; only one building inscription can be dated in the 4th–5th C.; and coins of the 6th C. are absent. The old city territory of 21.55 hectares was abandoned in favor of a fortification of 5.7 hectares with strong towers erected along the south wall of ancient Nikopolis. Within this "annex" there are indications of only two small buildings. After Simokattes, Nikopolis disappears from written sources.

The name was transferred to a town on the Danube, modern Nikopol. A Hungarian legend ascribed its foundation to Herakleios (G. Seure,

RA 10 [1907] 257 n.3), and modern Bulgarian scholars (e.g., *Istorija na Bŭlgarija*, vol. 2 [Sofia 1981] 350f) consider Nikopolis—without any source evidence—as one of the largest towns on the Danube in the 10th–11th C. It appears, however, only in later texts (e.g., Douk. 149.24). In 1396, when it had become an Ottoman fortress, it was the site of a great battle in which a large crusading army was defeated by Bayezid I (see NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF).

LIT. A. Poulter, "Nicopolis ad Istrum, Bulgaria," *The Antiquarian Journal* 68 (1988) 69–89. Idem, "Nicopolis ad Istrum, a Roman Town but a Late Roman Fort?" *BHR* 11 (1983) no.3, 89–103. T. Ivanov, "Nicopolis ad Istrum: Römische und frühbyzantinische Stadt in Nordbulgarien," *BHR* 16.2 (1988) 48–72. –A.K.

NIKOPOLIS, CRUSADE OF, a great international expedition in 1396 designed to free the lands of eastern Christendom from Muslim occupation. This Crusade was mounted primarily at the instigation of Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437) in reaction to the Ottoman conquest in 1390 of VIDIN, which was under Hungarian suzerainty. The Crusade was given added impetus by the appeals of MANUEL II for Western aid (Douk. 79.15–81.10) after BAYEZID I began the siege of Constantinople in 1394. In Feb. 1396 Manuel and Sigismund signed an anti-Turkish alliance; the Byz. emperor promised to send ten galleys to the Danube to assist the expedition. In the end, however, the Byz. played no military role in the Crusade because of the blockade of their capital.

In Sept. 1396, a multinational Christian army besieged the key Ottoman fortress of NIKOPOLIS on the south shore of the Danube. The number of Crusaders was variously reported, between 16,000 and 130,000; the lower figure is probably correct (Rosetti, *infra* 633–35). A battle ensued on 25 Sept. when Bayezid arrived to relieve the siege. The Crusaders were decimated. Only a few notables escaped by ship or were released afterward by the Turks in exchange for ransom. The failure of the Crusade was a bitter disappointment for the Byz., as Bayezid intensified his blockade of Constantinople soon after.

LIT. A.S. Atiya, *The Crusade of Nicopolis* (London 1934). Barker, *Manuel II* 129–39. R. Rosetti, "Notes on the Battle of Nicopolis (1396)," *The Slavonic Review* 15 (1937) 629–38. S. Papacostea, "Mircea la Nicopol (1396)," *Revista de istorie* 39 (1986) 696–98. –A.M.T.

NILE (Νεῖλος), Egypt's only river; hence in Greek and Coptic texts sometimes referred to simply as "the River" (e.g., Ex 7:15–18). It was identified with the biblical river Gihon, the river of PARADISE that flows through the land of the Ethiopians (*Chron. Pasch.* 1:52.14; Zon. 1:22.6–8; Cedr. 1:24.6). The source of the Blue Nile in the highlands of Ethiopia, where annual rains accounted for the inundation of Egypt, was known (e.g., ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, *Life of Antony*, ch. 32). The source of the White Nile was said to be in mountains farther south, probably based on information gathered from indigenous traders. No Byz. traveler records visiting either site. OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (ed. Blockley, fr.35) explored the Nile in Lower NUBIA, and Prokopios (*Wars* 1:19.28–29) describes its distance from Axum and mentions the stone gorge (Baṭn al-Ḥagar) south of the Second Cataract. The EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI (descr. 34–36) describes the Nile valley as provider of grain to Constantinople and extols the benefits of the annual inundation for agriculture. In view of the importance of the yearly inundation, measured by the Nilometers, the Egyptian church (both Monophysite and Chalcedonian) conducted special annual liturgies to bless the Nile waters and pray for a good level of flooding (L. MacCoull, *JThS* 40 [1989] 129–35).

Often depicted in art, the Nile appears on textiles (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 150, 172), floor mosaics (no.252), and in *opus sectile* (Ibrahim et al., *infra* nos. 1–12) as a swamp peopled with nereids, dolphins, and nude boys hunting water fowl, with the occasional crocodile or hippopotamus. On early reliefs (*Age of Spirit.*, no.157) and an ivory pyxis (no.170), the river is embodied as a bearded male figure against a background of lotus. Chorikios of Gaza (Chorik.Gaz. 40.18–23) stresses that the Nile is depicted at St. Stephen's at Gaza not as a personification, "the way painters portray rivers," but with "distinctive currents and symbols." Practical aspects of the Delta are represented by a water wheel on a tomb fresco in Alexandria (*Age of Spirit.*, no.250) and a Nilometer on a TRULLA in Leningrad with control stamps of Emp. Anastasios I (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.1). In medieval art the swamp is replaced by a rushing stream. The 12th-C. Octateuchs (e.g., Vat. gr. 746, fol.153r, unpub.) show the stream in which the infant Moses was found as attended by a woman in a *maphorion*, while in the atrium mosaic of St. Mark's at Venice

(Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco*, vol. 2, pl.313) it flows vertically downward from the standard male 11th–12th-C. personification of rivers.

LIT. A. Hermann, "Der Nil und die Christen," *JbAChr* 2 (1959) 30–69. D. Bonneau, *La crue du Nil* (Paris 1964). E. Drioton, *Les sculptures coptes du Nilomètre de Rodah* (Cairo 1942). L. Ibrahim, R. Scranton, R. Brill, *Kenchreai, Eastern Port of Corinth, 2: The Panels of Opus Sectile in Glass* (Leiden 1976) 120–44. –D.W.J., A.C.

NIMBUS (Lat., lit. "cloud"), a halo. In literary texts the term turns up infrequently; in the 4th C., Servius, in his commentary on VERGIL, defined nimbus as divine brilliance, and later ISIDORE OF SEVILLE described nimbus as light surrounding the heads of angels (K. Keyssner, *RE* 17 [1937] 598f). The Greek term, *phengeion* (from φέγγος, "radiance"), may refer to metal nimbi that were applied to icons from the 12th C. onward. Thus, an inventory of VELJUSA MONASTERY describes a large icon of the Virgin and Child that had two enamel and silver-gilt haloes (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 118.23–119.1) as well as other icons with silver haloes. In 1365 a priest was condemned for removing and selling a *phengeion* from an icon of the Theotokos (MM 1:475.9–10). In the 15th C. Symeon of Thessalonike spoke of circle-like *phengia* that on holy icons emphasized the grace, brilliance, and *energeia* of God (PG 155:869B); according to Symeon (col.408D), the EAGLE, one of Byz.'s important symbols, could also bear the *phengeion*.

Representation in Art. Artists depicted the nimbus as a colored disk encircling the head of a prominent figure. Christian art inherited it from antiquity, where it had distinguished gods, heroes, personifications, and—from Constantine I onward—the emperor, displacing the rayed corona of SOL INVICTUS. The nimbus enters Christian art slowly, and during the 4th C. is restricted almost exclusively to Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, the PHOENIX, and the emperor. In the 5th C., its use is extended to angels, prophets, the Virgin Mary, and apostles. Simultaneously, Christ's nimbus is ever more consistently differentiated by a cross or a CHRISTOGRAM. By the 6th C., saints, too, were awarded the nimbus, as were certain patrons and bishops (7th C.); some prominent living persons were depicted with a square nimbus. By the 9th C., it had clearly become a sign of sanctity rather than mere prominence and had vanished from any but sacred figures and emperors. Though nimbus means cloud, it was not shown as nebulous. Sharply delineated, it was usually conceived as light and gilded, though it could also be brightly colored, jeweled, or even highly decorated.

LIT. M. Collinet-Guérin, *Histoire du nimbe des origines aux temps modernes* (Paris 1961) 273–436. G. Ladner, "The So-Called Square Nimbus," *MedSt* 3 (1941) 15–45. –A.W.C., A.K.

NIPHON (Νίφων), patriarch of Constantinople (9 May 1310–11 Apr. 1314 [cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 13 (1955) 138f]); born Berroia, died 3 Sept. 1328 (cf. Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 3:377). Niphon was *hegoumenos* of the Lavra on Mt. Athos in 1294 (V. Laurent, *REB* 28 [1970] 101) and then became metropolitan of Kyzikos sometime before 1303, when he led that city's defense against the Turks. Although ca.1309 he was accused of theft and simony by Patr. ATHANASIOS I, he was chosen to succeed Athanasios on the patriarchal throne because of his moderate position on the ARSENITE controversy (V. Laurent, *BSHAcRoum* 26 [1945] 251–56). Indeed, the schism was healed at the beginning of his patriarchate. Niphon greatly increased patriarchal revenues by appropriating the administration of several wealthy sees, after deposing their bishops on charges of simony (V. Laurent, *REB* 27 [1969] 219–28). In 1314, however, Niphon was himself deposed on charges of simony and retired to the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. He took his revenge on Andronikos II, who had failed to rally to his defense, when in 1328 he advised Andronikos III to force his grandfather to retire. *Contra* Tafrali (*Thessalonique* 87), he was never archbishop of Thessalonike but was a patron of the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, constructed there during his patriarchate (J.M. Spieser, *TM* 5 [1973] 168–70, nos. 20–22).

SOURCE. Nikephoros Choumnos, "Elenchos kata tou kakos ta panta patriarcheusantos Niphontos," ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:255–83.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2000–27. *PLP*, no.20679. M. Rautman, "Notes on the Metropolitan Succession of Thessaloniki," *REB* 46 (1988) 153–59. –A.M.T.

NIPHON, monk who spent most of his life in hermitages on the Holy Mountain; saint; born Loukovi, Epiros, 1315, died Mt. Athos 1411; feastday 14 June. Son of a priest, he demonstrated a

proclivity for monasticism even as a young child. At age 10, he left home to be trained by his paternal uncle, a monk at the monastery of St. Nicholas of Mesopotamon (in Epiros). After receiving the tonsure and ordination as a priest, a desire for HESYCHIA led Niphon to Mt. Athos. There he lived in a succession of isolated retreats, at first as a disciple of an elderly hermit, later himself attracting youthful disciples. For a few years (ca.1360) he shared his solitary existence with MAXIMOS KAUSOKALYBITES, whose vita he later composed. This work reveals Niphon as an author of little training and no literary talent.

Niphon represents a common type of late Byz. holy man, who eschewed the cenobitic life, preferring the challenge of the hermitage. Allegedly endowed with the gift of prophecy and miraculous powers, he was reputed to have lived to the venerable age of 96. An anonymous vita of Niphon (*BHG* 1371) was written by a contemporary Athonite monk.

ED. F. Halkin, "Deux vies de S. Maxime le Kausokalybe, ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 54 (1936) 42–65.
SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La vie de Saint Niphon ermite au Mont Athos (XIVe s.)," *AB* 58 (1940) 5–27. –A.M.T.

NIPSISTIARIOS (νιψιστ(ι)άριος), a eunuch whose function was to give the emperor a basin to wash his hands in before he left the palace or before other ceremonies. The basin was of gold with precious stones; the *nipsistiarios* wore a robe with a design (?) of a basin (*schemati phialiou*) as a symbol of his service. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *nipsistiarios* holds the lowest position among the palace eunuchs, but the vita of Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 51.4–7) describes SAMONAS as rising from the post of KOUBIKOULARIOS to *nipsistiarios*. The earliest mention of *nipsistiarios* is on a seal of the 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.873). The post is not included in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:266–68. Oikonomides, *Listes* 301. –A.K.

NIŠ. See NAISSUS.

NISIBIS (Νισίβις, Ar. Naṣībīn, now Nusaybin in Turkey), city in MESOPOTAMIA on the Mygdonios (mod. Jaghjaghah) River. A bone of contention between the Romans and Persians, Nisibis also became the major center of Roman trade with the Sasanians and, from 540, with the pre-Islamic Arabs (Stein, *Histoire* 2:519f). It was the strongest fortress on the frontier, and the Persians repeatedly stormed it in vain. According to legend, it was saved in 338 by the prayers of its bishop Jacob, who incited swarms of insects against the besiegers. In 350 the Persians dammed the Mygdonios and assaulted the walls from their ships; they attempted to send elephants and cavalry through breaks in the ramparts, but the animals became stuck in the muddy river bottom. Jovian's peace treaty of 363 surrendered Nisibis, empty of its inhabitants (as stipulated by the treaty), to Persia. Despite Byz. attempts to regain Nisibis during the 6th C., the city remained Persian. It was taken by the Arabs in 639. The Byz. reappeared in the area in the 10th C.: John KOURKOUAS took Nisibis in 942; the Armenian general Mleh (see MELIAS) captured it on 12 Oct. 972 (D. Anastasiević, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 403f). It continued to change hands up to the Ottoman conquest.

Until 363 the administrative metropolis of the province of Mesopotamia, Nisibis was the seat of the *doux* of Mesopotamia, a bishopric under the jurisdiction of AMIDA, and a center of Christian culture, even though pagan cults apparently survived there under Persian rule. EPHREM THE SYRIAN was active at Nisibis but had to move to Edessa in 363. In 489 the School of EDESSA was expelled by Zeno and reestablished at Nisibis, where a small school was already present. Its statutes, which survive in Syriac, reveal its character: the core of the curriculum was historical exegesis of the Bible on the principles laid down in the Nestorian interpretation of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Written sources record church construction: Jacob of Nisibis built the Great Church (i.e., cathedral) in 313–20; its baptistery with elaborate sculpture—erected, according to its Greek dedicatory inscription, in 359 under Bp. Volagesos—survives.

LIT. J. Sturm, *RE* 17 (1937) 739–57. E. Honigmann, *EI*[2] 3:858–60. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* 142–45. J.M. Fiey, *Nisibe, métropole syriaque orientale et ses suffragants des origines à nos jours* (Louvain 1977). A. Vööbus, *The Statutes of the School of Nisibis* (Stockholm 1962). N. Pigulevskaja, "Istorija Nisibijskoj akademii," *PSb* 17 (1967) 90–109. –M.M.M.

NIẒĀM AL-MULK, originally known as Abū ʿAlī al-Hasan, Persian statesman; born near Ṭūs in Khurāsān 10 Apr. 1018, murdered 14 Oct. 1092 near Siḥna, on the way from Iṣfāhān to Baghdad. As supreme vizier of the Seljuk court he supplied to the Seljuks, who had only recently arrived in

Iraq, the older political traditions and wisdom that the new conquerors needed to rule their empire. At the request of the sultan Malikshāh, he composed, ca.1091, in Persian, the political treatise *Siyāsatnāma* (The Book of Government), intended as a guide for the running of the state, the management of the nomads, and suppression of religious heresy. Organizing his work around 50 chapters/principles, the author draws on a bewilderingly rich historical repertoire that includes Achaemenids, Alexander, Sasanians, and the Islamic and Turkic worlds in order to illuminate the principles of political conduct. Of particular interest for Byzantinists is his description of the GHULĀM or page system. Niẓām al-Mulk also relates a legend about the caliph MUᶜTAṢIM (833–42), who allegedly was taken captive to Rūm but later led a successful expedition, routed a "caesar," sacked and burned Constantinople (?, probably Amorion), founded a mosque there, and released a thousand men from captivity.

ED. *Siasset Namèh*, ed. C. Schefer, 2 vols. (Paris 1891–97). *The Book of Government or Rules for Kings*, tr. H. Darke (London 1960).

LIT. K.E. Schabinger, *Nizamulmulk. Reichskanzler der Saldschuquen 1063–1092 n. Ch.* (Munich 1960), esp. 1–95.
–S.V.

NOAH (Νῶε), biblical patriarch; hero of the story of the FLOOD and builder of the Ark. Noah was a righteous man and the progenitor of a new race, according to PHILO. He was interpreted by the church fathers as a prefiguration of Christ: Cyril of Jerusalem speaks of Christ as "the true Noah" (PG 33:981A) and Cyril of Alexandria as "the truest Noah," baptism being the antitype of the flood (PG 69:65B). In the same vein, Asterios of Amaseia (PG 40:448C) exclaimed that Christ in the tomb resembled Noah in his ark and thus put an end to the flood of impurity and granted us the baptism of resurrection. Another episode of Noah's life, his drunkenness and self-exposure, became a classical example of the evils of wine. Some church fathers, however, excused Noah: AMBROSE (ep.28:12) says that Noah was not ashamed of his nakedness because he experienced spiritual joy. The episode was elsewhere used as an anti-Jewish polemic: Ham's attitude toward his father's drunkenness was identified with the Jewish treatment of the Cross, while Shem and Japheth symbolized the Gentiles who honored Jesus. Some elements of Noah's story are reflected in the First Book of ENOCH.

Representation in Art. Noah was more often represented in terms of the events of his life than those of his character or personality. In the CATACOMBS, as in floor mosaics of the 5th–6th C., emphasis was placed on NOAH'S ARK. Simultaneously, however, other events of his life appear in the basilicas of St. Peter and St. Paul in Rome and in the Cotton and Vienna GENESIS MSS. Later cycles, such as in the OCTATEUCHS or the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and Monreale in Sicily, probably reflect early models of related type.

LIT. J.P. Lewis, *A Study of the Interpretation of Noah and the Flood in Jewish and Christian Literature* (Leiden 1968) 156–82. R. Daut, *LCI* 4:611–20. Weitzmann-Kessler, *Cotton Gen.* 63–68.
–J.I., A.K., J.H.L., A.C.

NOAH'S ARK (κιβωτὸς τοῦ Νῶε), the ship built by Noah at the time of the FLOOD, on which he saved humankind and all species of animals from extinction (Gen 6–9). It was early seen as a prefiguration of the church, which provided the means of salvation (e.g., Didymos the Blind, PG 39:696A–B). The tripartite division of the Ark (Gen 6:16) was considered a reference to the Trinity (e.g., by Athanasios, PG 28:1064A). That it carried within it Noah, the righteous man judged worthy of salvation, led to a further connection of the Ark, like the ARK OF THE COVENANT, with the Virgin (e.g., Theodore of Stoudios, PG 96:689B), for the Virgin brought forth Christ, the new Noah. This symbolism was visualized in the lost Kosmas/*Physiologos* MS of Smyrna (Kosm. Ind., 1:96f), where the image of the Ark on the waters was combined with the Virgin and Child enthroned.

The Ark is depicted as a chestlike structure in the Cotton GENESIS, and also in the OCTATEUCHS, in which, however, it appears as a boat under construction. Its tripartite division is emphasized in the monumental zigguratlike Ark of the Vienna Genesis, and in a simpler version with sloping sides found in the Vatican MS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. In the floor mosaic at MOPSUESTIA the Ark appears as a flat-topped chest with four legs (H. Buschhausen, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 57–71, fig.2).

LIT. H. Hohl, *LCI* 1:178–80. Stichel, *Die Namen Noes*.
–J.H.L., C.B.T.

NOBELISSIMOS (νωβελίσσιμος), a high-ranking DIGNITY. The Latin equivalent *nobilissimus* appeared in the 3rd C. as an imperial epithet; according to a 5th-C. historian (Zosim. bk.2.39.2), Constantine I introduced it as a title for some

members of his family, ranking below that of CAESAR. In disuse for some time under Justinian I (who was himself *nobelissimos* under Justin I), it was applied again to Herakleios's son Martin and later to Niketas, son of Constantine V. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS *nobelissimos* occupied the place between caesar and KOUROPALATES. While a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 444.5–6) described his costume as consisting of a golden cloak (*chlaina*) and diadem (*stephanos*), the later sources do not mention a diadem and the *De ceremoniis* ascribes to him a green or red cloak (Oikonomides, *Listes* 97, n.51). Until the mid-11th C. the dignity of *nobelissimos* was reserved for members of the imperial family (e.g., Michael V's uncle Constantine), but from the end of the 11th C. it was given to supreme military commanders; the future emperor Alexios I was the first among them. In 1074 the title was promised and eventually conferred on ROBERT GUISCARD. Inflated through the 12th C., the title served as the basis for new formations such as *protonobelissimos* and *protonobelissimohypertatos* (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 288–97). The title was in use in the 12th C. and survived—contrary to Dölger's hypothesis—until the Palaiologan period (V. Laurent, *EO* 38 [1939] 362–64).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 17 (1937) 791–800. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 26–33. Bury, *Adm. System* 35f. –A.K.

NOGAY (Νογᾶς), a MONGOL prince, commander in the expeditions of the Golden Horde against Persia in 1262 and 1266; born first half of 13th C., died 1299 near the Dnieper. In 1265, summoned by the Bulgarian tsar CONSTANTINE TICH to help fight the Byz., Nogay crossed the Danube; the army of Michael VIII Palaiologos fled in panic, and the Mongols ravaged Thrace. Michael had to seek Mongol support and gave his illegitimate daughter Euphrosyne as wife to Nogay, a match that probably allowed Michael to retain some authority in DOBRUDJA. Nogay helped the Byz. overthrow the popular Bulgarian leader IVAJLO in 1279. In Bulgaria Nogay established *de facto* Mongol rule. In Nogay's day the Mongols, Byz., and MAMLŪKS formed an alliance opposed to both the Latins and Persia. Nogay was tolerant toward Christianity.

Nogay perished amid internal strife in the Golden Horde: he had placed Toktay on the throne in 1290, but in 1297 Toktay rebelled against the omnipotent prince. After initial success Nogay was defeated in battle and killed by a soldier of Rus'.

LIT. R. Grousset, *The Empire of the Steppes* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1970) 398–403. G. Vernadsky, "Zolotaja orda, Egipet i Vizantija v ich vzaimootnošenijach v carstvovanie Michaila Paleologa," *SemKond* 1 (1927) 73–84. –A.K.

NOMIKOS (νομικός), a scribe or secretary. The *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS gives the name of *nomikos* to subaltern officials of the EPARCH OF THE CITY; according to the BOOK OF THE EPARCH (1.13) the *nomikos* or *paidodidaskalos nomikos* was the teacher of law elected by the *taboularioi*. *Nomikoi* are often mentioned in an ecclesiastical context; e.g., John Moschos speaks of a *nomikos* of the church of Alexandria (PG 87:3073AB). In acts of the 11th–14th C., ecclesiastical *nomikoi* appear preparing documents, esp. deeds of purchase. There was probably a local distinction of terminology—*taboularioi* were primarily scribes in the bureaus of Constantinople, Thessalonike, and Serres, whereas in Hierissos, Miletos, and Smyrna *nomikoi* were more common. *Nomikoi* fulfilled various ecclesiastical offices, some connected with their notarial duties (*protekdikos*, archdeacon, *bibliophylax*, etc.). They are known also as scribes of books (e.g., J. Darrouzès, *REB* 8 [1950–51] 180). A. Dain (*REB* 16 [1958] 166f) published a formulary for the appointment of an ecclesiastical *nomikos*.

LIT. G. Ferrari, *I documenti greci medioevali di diritto privato dell'Italia meridionale* (Leipzig 1910) 78–83. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 120. K.A. Worp, J. Diethart, *Notarunterschriften in byzantinischen Ägypten* (Vienna 1988). –A.K.

NOMINA SACRA. See ABBREVIATIONS.

NOMISMA (νόμισμα), a word meaning "coin" generally, but specifically used of the standard gold coin of 24 KERATIA which formed the basis of the late Roman and Byz. monetary system. It was thus identical with the coin called in Latin a SOLIDUS. From the late 11th C. onward the standard gold coin was more commonly termed an HYPERPYRON. –Ph.G.

NOMODIDASKALOS. See NOMIKOS.

NOMOKANONES (νομοκανόνες), compilations of secular laws (*nomoi*) and ecclesiastical regulations (*kanones*; see CANONS), the two most important components of CANON LAW. Such compila-

tions, for which the terms *nomokanon* (and *nomokanonon*) are attested from the 11th C., were undertaken over and over again from the time of Justinian I into the post-Byz. period. By far the most important collection of this kind was the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES. Much less frequently copied is the *Nomokanon of Fifty Titles*, in which the SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES is enlarged by the inclusion of excerpts from the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. These excerpts derive mainly from the COLLECTIO 87 CAPITULORUM; several fragments are also taken from the paraphrase of the Justinianic novels by Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa. This *nomokanon* was compiled possibly toward the end of the 6th C. in Antioch. Among the other *nomokanones*, the *Syntagma kata stoicheion* of Matthew BLASTARES is particularly notable.

ED. *Nomokanon of 50 Titles*—ed. G. Voellus, H. Iustellus, *Bibliotheca Iuris Canonici Veteris*, vol. 2 (Paris 1661) 603–60.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones." Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov* 292–321. J. Gaudemet, *RE* supp. 10 (1965) 417–29.
–A.S.

NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES, the most frequently copied of all *nomokanones* and the most important source of CANON LAW. Zachariä von Lingenthal conjectured that the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* proper was preceded by a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* compiled ca.580, which included only the material contained in the CANONS but had the COLLECTIO TRIPARTITA as an appendix. According to E. Honigmann (*Trois mémoires posthumes* [Brussels 1961] 49–64), this *Syntagma* was compiled by the patriarchs EUTYCHIOS and JOHN IV NESTEUTES. It is commonly believed that the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* proper was created in the time of the emperor Herakleios by ANONYMOUS, "ENANTIOPHANES," who integrated into this *Syntagma* parts of the *Collectio tripartita* and other texts going back to the *Corpus Juris Civilis*. In a second prologue, composed by PHOTIOS and dated to 882/3, it is stated that the canons that had been issued in the interval would be taken into account; most of these are in fact contained in this reworking.

At first the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* merely made reference to the canons; their full texts, arranged in chronological order, were given only in a section following the *Nomokanon*. Later, however, the full texts were sometimes integrated into the *Nomokanon*. According to a third prologue composed by a certain Theodore (Bestes) and dated 1089/90, he added secular law texts from the *Basilika* and other sources that had hitherto been cited in the *Nomokanon of Fourteen Titles* only in part. Familiar with this reworking, Theodore BALSAMON composed—probably in 1177 and the following years—a similarly structured "commentary" (introduced by a fourth prologue) in which he mainly addressed the question as to whether the law texts cited in the *Nomokanon* had been taken over into the *Basilika*. Of the various versions mentioned, that of the 9th C. in particular was translated into Slavonic at an early date.

ED. I.B. Pitra, *Iuris ecclesiastici graecorum historia et monumenta*, vol. 2 (Rome 1868; rp. 1963) 433–640.
LIT. Zachariä, "Nomokanones" 622–30. Idem, *Kleine Schriften* 2:145–85. V.N. Beneševič, *Kanoničeskij Sbornik XIV titulov so vtoroj četverti VII veka do 883 g.* (St. Petersburg 1905; rp. Leipzig 1974). Idem, *Drevneslavjanskaja kormčaja XIV titulov bez tolkovanij* (St. Petersburg 1906; rp. Leipzig 1974). M.M. Petrović, *Ho Nomokanon eis ID' titlous kai hoi byzantinoi scholiastai* (Athens 1970). –A.S.

NOMOPHYLAX (νομοφύλαξ, lit. "the guardian of law"), an office originated by Constantine IX in 1043 (E. Follieri in *Studi in onore di Edoardo Volterra*, vol. 2 [Milan 1971] 657–64), 1045 (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 134), or, more probably, 1047 (J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 284). The future patriarch John (VIII) Xiphilinos was the first to hold the office. Constantine IX created the *nomophylax* as president of the law school in Constantinople; enrolled him among SENATORS; gave him the "chair" right after the EPI TON KRISEON; and established his annual *roga* at 4 *litrai* plus a silk robe, imperial presents on Palm Sunday, and undefined benefits or *siteresia* (A. Salač, *Novella constitutio saec. XI medii* [Prague 1954] 25, par.11). He could be demoted only in a few strictly limited cases. Psellos describes him as the president of the court, the *strategos* of the judges, and the leader of the laws (N. Oikonomides, *FM* 7 [1986] 190).

The office quickly changed character after its creation, and, according to Darrouzès (*Offikia* 314), became a position between the state and church administration. In the 12th C. the post was held by several renowned canonists such as Alexios ARISTENOS, Neilos DOXOPATRES, Theodore BALSAMON, and in the 14th C. Constantine HARMENOPOULOS. In the 14th C. there were both civil and ecclesiastical *nomophylakes*; the ecclesiastical *nomophylax* occupied a position equal to the DIKAIOPHYLAX.

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schule von Konstantinopel in Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926) 25–27. Beck, *Kirche* 116. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:483–85; 5.3:26f. –A.K.

NOMOS GEORGIKOS. See FARMER'S LAW.

NOMOS NAUTIKOS. See RHODIAN SEA LAW.

NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS (Νόμος Στρατιωτικός; Lat. *Leges militares,* "Soldier's Law"), a collection of approximately 55 regulations, mainly penal and disciplinary, for soldiers.

Manuscript Tradition. The extensive MS tradition offers numerous recensions from which the original text cannot be reconstructed with certainty; the source-references for the headings are unclear ("Rufus"), imprecise ("Taktika"), or incomplete ("49th book of the *Digest,* title 16"). One sequence of 15 chapters, which occurs in a nearly identical form in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (1.6–8), forms a unit; the rest of the chapters originate in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Two groups can be distinguished: the first compiled possibly as early as the end of the 6th C., the other attached only later, certainly by the middle of the 8th C. The *Nomos stratiotikos* is found in one variant version of the Appendix of the ECLOGA and appears in the supplements to later law books, often alongside the FARMER'S LAW and the RHODIAN SEA LAW. A few MSS of the TAKTIKA preserve a recension of the *Nomos stratiotikos* wherein the collection is expanded and provided with references to the BASILIKA.

Content of Regulations. The code embodies the basic principles of military law: to enforce discipline and to expel or reject undesirables. Crimes committed in wartime, such as insubordination, desertion, cowardice, or looting (see BOOTY) were punishable by death. Punishment for crimes in peacetime or violations of conditions of service were lighter, often entailing expulsion from the army with the attendant loss of privileges associated with military service. Anyone guilty of a civil offense was deemed ineligible for enlistment. The code effectively defines the reach of military as opposed to civil jurisdiction—only in cases of adultery were soldiers turned over to civil authorities.

ED., TR., and LIT. P. Verri, *Le leggi penali militari dell'impero bizantino nell'alto Medioevo* (Rome 1978). W. Ashburner, "The Byzantine Mutiny Act," *JHS* 46 (1926) 80–109. G. Famiglietti, *"Ex Ruffo leges militares"* (Milan 1980). E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Roman Law: The Ecloga* (Cambridge 1926) 122–29. V.V. Kučma, "Nomos stratiotikos," *VizVrem* 32 (1971) 276–84. C.E. Brand, *Roman Military Law* (Austin-London 1968) 128–44. –L.B., E.M.

NONNOS, THEOPHANES. See CHRYSOBALANTES, THEOPHANES.

NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, one of the many poets who came from late Roman Egypt. The life of Nonnos (Νόννος) is obscure; his career is usually dated to the first half of the 5th C. (B. Baldwin, *Eranos* 84 [1986] 60f). His major work is the *Dionysiaka,* detailing in 48 hexameter books the exploits of DIONYSOS in India. The composition of the *Dionysiaka* is "linear," with each episode connected to the next without any coherence in space and time (M. Riemschneider, *BBA* 5 [1957] 68–70); situations and images recur steadily. The epic is unified by a consistent perception of the world as manifold (*poikilos*), changing, and unstable (W. Fauth, *Eidos poikilon* [Göttingen 1981]). The agglomeration of synonyms and riddlelike metaphors creates the impression of an enigmatic world, and, according to Averincev (*Poetika* 136–49), resembles the style of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Nonnos was interested in the founding of cities (he tells the story of Kadmos, mentions Byzas, the eponym of Byzantium); he relates the foundation-myth for the law school of BERYTUS and expresses his faith in the civilizing mission of Rome. Themes of ASTROLOGY, prophecy, and eros permeate his work. Nonnos possibly composed a hexametric paraphrase of the Gospel of John (see K. Smolak, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 1–14).

ED. *Dionysiaca,* ed. R. Keydell, 2 vols. (Berlin 1959). *Les Dionysiaques,* ed. F. Vian, P. Chuvin, 4 vols. (Paris 1976–85), with Fr. tr. W.H.D. Rouse, *Dionysiaca,* 3 vols. (London-Cambridge, Mass., 1940–42), with Eng. tr. *Paraphrasis s. Evangelii Ioannei,* ed. A. Scheindler (Leipzig 1881).

LIT. W. Peek, *Lexikon zu den Dionysiaka des Nonnos,* 4 vols. (Berlin 1968–75). V. Stegemann, *Astrologie und Universalgeschichte* (Leipzig-Berlin 1930). G. d'Ippolito, *Studi Nonniani* (Palermo 1964). B. Abel-Wilmanns, *Der Erzählaufbau der Dionysiaka des Nonnos von Panopolis* (Frankfurt am Main 1977). M. Riemschneider, "Die Rolle Ägyptens in den Dionysiaka des Nonnos," in *Probleme der koptischen Literatur,* ed. P. Nagel (Halle 1968) 73–83. –B.B., A.K.

NONNOSOS (Νόννοσος), writer of the first half of the 6th C. Nonnosos wrote a narrative (now lost), perhaps in the form of a memoir, recounting his adventures in ETHIOPIA and central and south-

ern ARABIA during a diplomatic mission for Justinian I (530/1); his father and grandfather had been similarly employed by Anastasios I (502) and Justin I (524). Nonnosos's specific task was to bring to Constantinople a certain Qays, ruler of KINDA (I. Kawar, *BZ* 53 [1960] 57–73); Nonnosos subsequently journeyed to AXUM. According to Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.3), sole source for his book's existence, Nonnosos emphasized his own courage during hair-raising adventures. Arabian religion, the local patois, elephants, and pygmies were some of the features of his narrative. His work may have been used by MALALAS and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (Theoph. 141–44).

ED. *FHG* 4:178–80.
LIT. R. Laqueur, *RE* 17 (1936) 920f. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:303. –B.B.

NORICUM, Roman province northwest of PANNONIA, divided by 304/5 into two: Noricum Ripense (major centers, Lauriacum and Ovilava) and Noricum Mediterraneum (capital, Virunum). Noricum Ripense, bordering on the Danube, had a more military character than Noricum Mediterraneum, which was protected on the north by the Alps. The *dux* of Noricum Ripense directed both civil administration and the garrisons along the LIMES. The 4th C. was a period of relative prosperity: Noricum had flourishing villas (some survived until the end of the 5th C.), mines were exploited, and new buildings were constructed in Virunum and other places. Christianity penetrated into the province, but pagan shrines (esp. that of Isis Noreia) remained active. In the 5th C. the area was systematically plundered by barbarians; the population sought refuge in fortified castles. EUGIPPIUS in his vita of St. SEVERINUS described the precarious situation of Noricum at this time. Nevertheless, Christianity became firmly established and many small churches were built throughout the region.

Noricum Ripense was abandoned by the "Romans" in 488, but ODOACER retained control over southern Noricum. In the 6th C. the Franks and Lombards competed for dominance in the area and Justinian I had to cede it to the Lombards; at the beginning of the 7th C., the Avars and Slavs penetrated Noricum and urban life ceased. Evidence of urbanism can be found only in Celeia and even there it is on a very limited level.

LIT. G. Alföldy, *Noricum* (London-Boston 1974) 198–227. G. Winkler, *Die Reichsbeamten von Noricum und ihr Personal bis zum Ende der römischen Herrschaft* (Vienna 1969). M. Pavan, "Stato romano e comunità cristiana nel Norico," *Clio* 9 (Rome 1973) 453–96. G. Cuscito, "La diffusione del cristianesimo nelle regioni alpine orientale," in *Aquileia e l'arco alpino orientale* (Udine 1976) 299–345. –A.K.

NORMANS ("Northmen"), western European term for Nordic people, known as VIKINGS in Scandinavia, VARANGIANS in Kievan Rus', and FRANKOI in Byz. From the end of the 8th C. to the 11th C. the Normans plundered and often settled in various countries from Iceland to Kievan Rus'. In 860 Normans sacked Pisa and, according to legend, seized and burned Luni, which they mistook for Rome.

The Norman occupation of southern Italy began in 999 or 1016/17. They first penetrated there from Normandy as mercenaries of Byz. or Lombard princes, then formed several principalities that ROGER II united into a kingdom. Despite the successes of Byz. generals such as Basil BOIOANNES and George MANIAKES, the Normans occupied Byz. themes in Italy between 1040 and 1071. From 1060 to 1072 the Normans conquered Sicily. Their victory in Italy was the result of a turbulent situation in which various forces (Greeks, Germans, Arabs, the papacy, Lombard rulers of Salerno, Capua, etc.) were contending and also the strength of the Norman army. Still peasants under their chieftains in the 10th C., the Normans at the same time acquired the military techniques of knights. Norman alertness and their use of ruses often impressed their adversaries.

The Normans in Italy were closely connected with Byz. During the first century of Norman rule large sectors of their administration were run by Greeks, even former Byz. officials. Many Norman nobles entered Byz. service: in the 11th C. some acted as semi-independent military commanders (HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS, ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL), whereas in the 12th C. they penetrated the Byz. aristocracy, some (ROGERIOI, PETRALIPHAI, RAOUL) even marrying into the imperial family. In the 12th C. Normans constituted the most populous group of Westerners in the Byz. elite (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 214). On the other hand, the Normans exploited Byz.'s precarious situation and tried to establish their command in the Balkans—first in 1081–85 under ROBERT GUISCARD, who was finally defeated by Alexios I. BOHEMOND unsuccessfully attacked Dyrrachion in 1107–08 and had to sign the treaty of DEVOL acknowledging his

Norman Rules of Sicily

Ruler	Reign Dates
ROGER I, brother of Robert Guiscard, count of Sicily	1072–1105
ROGER II, count of Sicily	1101/5–1127
duke of Apulia and Calabria	1127–1130
king of Sicily	1130–1154
WILLIAM I	1154–1166
WILLIAM II	1166–1189
TANCRED OF LECCE	1189–1194
William III (died ca.1198)	1194

allegiance to Byz. During the constant wars of the 12th C. Normans even sent a fleet against Constantinople; in 1147–48 Roger II's fleet devastated central Greece and the Peloponnesos, and the Normans carried off many Byz. silk weavers to Sicily. The Normans' major success was the capture of Thessalonike in 1185, but they were soon routed by Alexios BRANAS. Another region in which the Normans attempted to create a principality was ANTIOCH, reconquered during the First Crusade. At the end of the 12th C. relations between the Normans and Byz. improved as a result of common animosity toward Germany: the Byz. supported TANCRED OF LECCE against Henry VI of Germany until Tancred's death; in 1194 Henry (husband of Roger II's daughter Constance and therefore a legitimate heir to the throne) was crowned king of Sicily, thus ending the rule of the Norman dynasty.

LIT. P. Aubé, *Les Empires normands d'Orient, XI–XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1983). F. Chalandon, *Histoire de la domination normande en Italie et en Sicile*, 2 vols. (Paris 1907; rp. New York 1960, 1969). S. Tramontana, "La monarchia normanna e sveva," in Guillou et al., *Bizantini a Federico II* 435–657. D.M. Nicol, "Symbiosis and Integration: Some Greco-Latin Families in Byzantium in the 11th to 13th Centuries," *ByzF* 7 (1979) 113–35. W.B. McQueen, "Relations between the Normans and Byzantium 1071–1112," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 427–76. –A.K.

NORTH AFRICA, MONUMENTS OF. The northern portions of Algeria, Tunisia, and Libya preserve substantial remains of ecclesiastical, civil, and military construction dating primarily from the 5th and 6th C. Multiaisled basilicas (Tipasa, CARTHAGE), double churches (DJEMILA), and double-apsed basilicas (SUFETULA) are common in the 5th C. Altars are generally placed in the nave. The cult of martyrs was practiced in basilicas. Most were buried in accessible crypts under the altar or apse. Freestanding, centrally planned *martyria* are rare. Churches of the 6th C. often feature paired columns, vaulted aisles, and galleries. After the reconquest of Justinian I the LIMES was heavily fortified (Haïdra, THAMUGADI). FLOOR MOSAICS are found in many private residences and, less commonly, in public baths (Acholla) and churches (Sabratha, Djemila). The use of *spolia* is rare. Local stone is the primary building material; *opus africanum* (small ashlars and rubble between large ashlars set vertically) takes it name from its frequent use in this region. *Tubi fitili*, hollow ceramic tubes, are commonly used for vaulting.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 198–206. P. MacKendrick, *The North African Stones Speak* (Chapel Hill 1980) 91–109, 261–83. N. Duval, *Sbeitla et les églises africaines à deux absides*, 2 vols. (Paris 1971–73). K. Dunbabin, *The Mosaics of Roman North Africa: Studies in Iconography and Patronage* (Oxford 1978). –W.L., K.M.K.

NOTARAS, LOUKAS, *megas doux* (1449–1453); born Constantinople, died Constantinople June 1453. Son of Nicholas Notaras (Νοταρᾶς), a wealthy courtier and ambassador of Manuel II, Loukas Notaras served the last three Byz. emperors and was related by marriage to the imperial family. He called himself GAMBROS of the emperor. S. Runciman (*Polychronion* 447–49) has suggested that his wife was a daughter of John VII. In 1424, Notaras accompanied George SPHRANTZES on an embassy to Murad II; he served as MESAZON under John VIII and Constantine XI (J. Verpeaux, *BS* 16 [1955] 272). In 1441 he commanded the ship on which Constantine sailed to Lesbos to marry Caterina GATTILUSIO. Notaras did business with Italian merchants, entrusted his money to Italian bankers, and became a citizen of Genoa and Venice (Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 19f, 120f). Despite his Italian ties, he was a rabid anti-Unionist and was recorded by a hostile source (Douk. 329) as preferring Turkish conquest to Union of the Churches. Notaras took an active part, however, in the defense of Constantinople during the Ottoman siege of 1453. According to pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 406, 432–34), Notaras was accused of treachery by GIUSTINIANI LONGO and sought an accommodation with the sultan after

the fall of Constantinople; nonetheless, he and his sons were executed. In 1470 a certain John Moschos wrote a eulogy of Notaras attempting to vindicate him from charges of treason (ed. E. Legrand, *DIEE* 2 [1885/86] 413–24).

ED. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:117–58. PG 160:747–68.
LIT. S.A. Koutibas, *Hoi Notarades sten hyperesia tou ethnous kai tes ekklesias* (Athens 1968) 23–39. H. Evert-Kappesowa, "La tiare ou le turban," *BS* 14 (1953) 245–48. A.E. Bakalopoulos, "Die Frage der Glaubwürdigkeit der 'Leichenrede auf L. Notaras' von Johannes Moschos (15. Jh.)," *BZ* 52 (1959) 13–21. *PLP*, no.20730. –A.M.T.

NOTARY, an official whose duty was to register transactions and certify documents. He bore various names (e.g., *notarius* [Lat.], *taboullarios, tabellion, symbolographos, nomikos*), which changed their meaning over the course of time. Late Roman *notarii* were primarily stenographers who recorded the minutes of important meetings, while *taboullarioi* were officials found in numerous departments in the capital and the provinces, often involved in fiscal operations. "Imperial *taboullarioi*" appear on seals of the 6th–7th C. (e.g., Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.914).

From the 6th C. onward, however, the major function of *taboullarioi* became the preparation of documents (a function reflected in the term *symbolographos*), and the guild of *taboullarioi*, as described in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.1), was a private body under the control of state authorities. The *taboullarioi* were required to have a legal education, excellent command of Greek, and good handwriting. Their guild was more closely involved than others in the state hierarchy: the dean of the notaries was called PRIMIKERIOS; *taboullarioi* were given ranks of precedence and their participation in imperial processions was clearly emphasized, but their clientele was private, including noble families, monasteries, *euageis oikoi*, and old-age homes.

From *taboullarioi* should be distinguished *notarioi* (sometimes with the epithet "imperial"), who are known primarily from seals and who served in various government departments (*genikon, vestiarion, dromos*, etc.) as scribes and secretaries. In the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.414) a figure identified as a *notarios* is shown writing a letter dictated by John I Tzimiskes. Probably by the 14th or 15th C. *notarioi* assumed the role of public notaries rather than that of secretaries, even certifying state treaties.

In the 13th C. and later the NOMIKOI, who had previously been lawyers and teachers of law, drafted documents. They probably differed from *taboullarioi* only in that they were located in provincial chanceries, *taboullarioi* primarily in Constantinople and some other large cities.

LIT. E. Sachers, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 1969–84. H.C. Teitler, *Notarii and exceptores* (Amsterdam 1985). B. Nerantze-Barmaze, "Hoi byzantinoi taboullarioi," *Hellenika* 35 (1984) 261–74. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 172f. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Notes on a Prosopography of the Byzantine Notaries," *Medieval Prosopography* 9.2 (1988) 21–49. –A.K., A.C.

NOTATION. Until the introduction of musical signs (NEUMATA) in the 9th C., the church relied on oral tradition for the transmission of its chant repertory. Initially, musical notation was used as only an aid to oral transmission, to establish continuity between the oral and written traditions. The question of why musical notation appeared at that particular time has no simple answer, but surely the rapid growth in HYMNOGRAPHY and the concern for preserving ancient practices were contributing factors.

Two varieties of Byz. notation were developed to accommodate two different styles of chanting. One, a lectionary or ekphonetic notation for the biblical lessons, was in use by the 8th or 9th C. and continued until the 12th or 13th C. Simply a memory aid, it supplies only a part of the information needed to reconstruct the melodies. Unless an explanatory manual is found, this notation will continue to defy precise transcription. The other, a melodic notation for HYMNS and psalms, is found in the following important collections: the HEIRMOLOGION, the STICHERARION, the ASMATIKON, the PSALTIKON, and the *Akolouthia* (or PAPADIKE).

Before ca.1175, Byz. melodic notation was stenographic; the singer was expected to interpret the signs by applying certain established rules (generally unknown to us, but absolutely familiar to him) in order to provide an accurate and acceptable rendition of the music. After ca.1175, the more complex and explicit notation, operating on mathematical principles, rather than on melodic conventions, provided the singer with all the graphic material necessary to execute the chant correctly.

LIT. O. Strunk, *Specimina notationum antiquiorum* (Copenhagen 1966). Tardo, *Melurgia* 145–331. Wellesz, *Music* 246–310. –D.E.C.

NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, a (probably) official list of all civil and military offices of both halves of the late Roman Empire. The purpose of the *Notitia* seems to have been to order the precedence of officials, but it records offices actually held rather than honorary titles. The *primicerius* of the notaries in each half of the empire was supposed to update the *Notitia,* but changes were not made consistently and partial revisions resulted in substantial contradictions in the surviving text. The exact date of the extant version is debated: Hoffmann assigns the military lists of the Western section to the reign of Honorius and those of the Eastern part to Theodosios II; Clemente distinguishes three strata, that of Theodosios I, a revision at the time of Stilicho, and another ca.425–29 (see also W. Seibt, *Instituts für österreichische Geschichtsforschung, Mitteilungen* 90 [1982] 339–46). Many sections of the *Notitia* contain shield emblems (INSIGNIA) of various offices that are usually thought to represent an official pictorial register, although R. Grigg (*JRS* 73 [1983] 132–41) demonstrated their inaccuracy and questioned their official character.

ED. O. Seeck, *Notitia dignitatum* (Berlin 1876).
LIT. G. Clemente, *La "Notitia Dignitatum"* (Cagliari 1968). D. Hoffmann, *Das spätrömische Bewegungsheer und die Notitia Dignitatum,* 2 vols. (Düsseldorf 1969–70). Jones, *LRE* 2:1417–50. P. Berger, *The Insignia of the Notitia Dignitatum* (New York 1981). –A.K.

NOTITIAE EPISCOPATUUM (sing. τάξις or ἔκθεσις), lists of ecclesiastical dioceses. The dioceses are arranged in hierarchical order: first metropolitan sees, then autonomous archbishoprics, and finally bishoprics in clusters, each of which makes up a metropolis. The earliest surviving notitia of Constantinople is that of pseudo-Epiphanios, probably compiled during the reign of Herakleios. Three others belong to the 8th and 9th C., several to the 10th C., and the latest (twenty-first) notitia in the edition of Darrouzès (*infra*) is of the Turkish period. Gerland (*infra*, 18) hypothesized that the original document, called by him the *Urnotitia,* might have been created by the end of the 4th C. The lost notitia of the patriarchate of Antioch was reconstructed by E. Honigmann (*BZ* 25 [1925] 60–88) on the basis of later Greek, Latin, and Eastern sources. The lists of notitiae are not always consistent with the signatures in the minutes of church councils—in the 12th C. the discrepancies are insignificant, in the 14th C. more substantial owing to the general political unrest of the period; one can conclude that the lists of notitiae were traditional and lagged behind actual changes in the hierarchy.

Attempts have been made to interpret the lists in terms of political and economic history: K. Amantos (11 *CEB*, *Akten* [Munich 1960] 21–23) emphasized that the notitias reflect the decline of Christianity, esp. in the East, during the Arab and Turkish invasions; Ostrogorsky (*Byz. Geschichte* 109–13) asserts that the notitias "correspond fairly closely to the actual situation" and demonstrate the survival of urban centers in Asia Minor in the 7th C. and later. On the other hand, I. Snegarov (*IsvInstBŭlgIst* 6 [1956] 647–55) is very cautious in assessing the usefulness of notitias to clarify the process of christianization of the Balkans in the 7th C.

ED. *Notitiae episcopatuum Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae,* ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1981).
LIT. E. Gerland in *Corpus notitiarum episcopatuum Ecclesiae Orientalis Graecae* (Kadiköy-Istanbul 1931). G. Konidares, *Hai metropoleis kai archiepiskopai tou oikoumenikou patriarcheiou kai he 'taxis' auton* (Athens 1934). J. Darrouzès, "Listes synodales et notitiae," *REB* 28 (1970) 57–96. Beck, *Kirche* 148–56. –A.K.

NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE, an anonymous Latin description of Constantinople compiled ca.425–30 during the reign of Theodosios II. It consists of a preface, a list of 14 regions indicating the most notable buildings and local officials, and a recapitulation stating that Constantinople possessed 5 palaces, 14 churches, 8 public baths and 153 private bathhouses, 4 squares (*fora*), 5 warehouses (*horrea*), 2 theaters, 2 mime theaters (*lusoria*), a hippodrome (*circus*), 4 cisterns, 322 *vici* ("wards"), 4,388 houses (*domus*), 17 docks (*gradus*), and 5 slaughterhouses; also mentioned are 2 senate houses, the Augustaeum, Capitolium, a colosseum, and so on. The local officials named include 13 *curatores* (the 14th region had no *curator*), 14 slave-policemen (*vernaculi*), 560 volunteer firemen (*collegiati*), and 65 night guards (*vicomagistri*). This notitia is the document on which calculation of the population of 5th-C. Constantinople is primarily based.

ED. *Notitia dignitatum,* ed. O. Seeck (Berlin 1876) 227–43. Germ. tr. F.W. Unger, *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* (Vienna 1878) 102–09.

LIT. Dagron, *Naissance* 97, 233f, 525–27. Jacoby, *Société* pt.I (1961), 99–102. –A.K.

NOUMERA. See DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON.

NOUS. See INTELLECT.

NOVAE (Νόβας), a Roman city of MOESIA II, on the right bank of the Danube; it was located near mod. Svištov in Bulgaria. Archaeological excavations reveal a change in the urban plan in the early 4th C., probably after the rebellion of soldiers in 316/17 (T. Sarnowski, *Archeologia* 30 [Warsaw 1979] 119–28): the central square with its *principia* (headquarters) was transformed into a forum, but the Roman network of streets and public buildings with porticoes continued to determine the shape of Novae. Coin finds are esp. abundant between 330 and 378 (K. Dimitrov, *Pulpudeva* 3 [1978] 199–203), but economic activity was substantial through the 5th C.: from the end of the 4th C. onward, at least four basilicas were constructed (S. Parnicki-Pudełko, *Archaeologia Polona* 21–22 [1983] 269). By 430 Novae was a bishopric. Justinian I tried to maintain the city, but after ca.600 the name Novae disappears from written sources; a seal with a nimbate bust and the monogrammatic name (possibly Celtic) *METR[O]NOU* or *MERT[I]NOU* (L. Mrozewicz, *Archeologia* 32 [Warsaw 1981] 82, no.19) is probably to be dated in the second half of the 6th C. (not the 6th–8th C.).

LIT. M. Chichikova, "Fouilles du camp romain et de la ville paléobyzantine de Novae," *Ancient Bulgaria*, vol. 2 (Nottingham 1983) 11–18. K. Ilski, "Biskupstwo w Novae a zagadnienie chrystianizacji Mezji Dolnej," *Balcanica Posnaniensia: Acta et studia* 1 (1984) 305–10. –A.K.

NOVATIANISM, a rigorist Christian sect, named after Novatianus (died 257/8), a Roman priest. He refused the readmission of *lapsi*, those who had renounced their faith in the face of the Decian persecution (250–51); his followers formed a separatist community. Calling themselves *katharoi* (the pure), groups of Novatians sprang up throughout the empire, but they were particularly strong in Africa, Asia Minor, and Constantinople. More schismatics than heretics, the Novatians modeled themselves closely on the practice of the contemporary church, although they continued to hold that serious sin after baptism could not be forgiven. They agreed with the Orthodox on the question of Arianism, and the emperors generally hesitated to persecute the sect, whose members were commonly admired for their piety. In the 4th C. the Novatian leadership apparently became more lax, and some sect members separated from the group, calling themselves Protopaschites because of their method for calculating the celebration of Easter. Novatianism lost much of its vigor in the 5th C., but the sect survived at least until the early 7th C.

LIT. H.J. Vogt, "Coetus Sanctorum: Der Kirchenbegriff des Novatian und die Geschichte seiner Sonderkirche," in *Theophaneia: Beiträge zur Religions- und Kirchengeschichte des Altertums* 20 (Bonn 1968) 37–56. T.E. Gregory, "Novatianism: A Rigorist Sect in the Christian Roman Empire," *BS/EB* 2 (1975) 1–18. –T.E.G.

NOVEL (*νεαρά*, Lat. *novella* [*constitutio*], lit. a "new [decree]"), the term for an imperial edict. Known from the 4th C. onward, it was specifically applied to ordinances issued after the CODEX THEODOSIANUS and then to the Justinianic Novels (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I) promulgated after the CODEX JUSTINIANUS. The term fell out of use after Justinian I, but reappeared at the time of the "reception" of Justinianic law and was used in the collection of laws issued by Leo VI (see NOVELS OF LEO VI). The emperors of the 10th C., from Romanos I (*Reg* 1, nos. 595, 628) to Basil II (*Reg* 1, nos. 772, 783), used the term relatively often; less frequent in the 11th to first half of the 12th C., it became popular with Manuel I (*Reg* 2, nos. 1341, 1398, 1467, 1535). From this time onward, more general expressions, such as novel or edict (see EDICTUM) were replaced by specific terms, such as CHRYSOBULL, PROSTAGMA, HORISMOS (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 122). If we disregard the two cases in which the archaizing historian Pachymeres used this term (*Reg* 3, no.2040; 4, no.2159), the only novel known from the late Byz. period is the law of Andronikos II of 1306 on ABIOTIKION, regulating intestate succession (*Reg* 4, no.2295).

LIT. A. Steinwenter, *RE* 17 (1937) 1162–71. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 75, n.8. N. van der Wal, "*Edictum* und *lex edictalis*: Form und Inhalt der Kaisergesetze im spätrömischen Reich," *Revue internationale des droits de l'antiquité* 28 (1981) 277–313. –A.K.

NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I. The laws published by Justinian I after the completion of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS were designated as *novellae constitutiones* or new constitutions. In contrast to the other

parts of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS they were issued for the most part in Greek, and, in contrast to the concise language of the DIGEST and INSTITUTES, they are accompanied by a considerable use of rhetoric and extensive justifications and legitimations. Justinian intended to publish the novels as an "official" compilation; this did not occur, however, perhaps due to the death of TRIBONIAN. The novels are thus transmitted only in private collections; the most extensive, which contains 168 novels (some of which are by Justinian's successors) as well as 13 edicts, is the basis of modern editions. Recensions of the novels from the 6th or 7th C. exist in Latin in the so-called *Authenticum* and the *Epitome Juliani*, in Greek in the SYNTAGMA of novels by Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa, and the collection of novels by THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS. The greater part of the texts of the Justinianic novels was incorporated into the BASILIKA.

ED. *CIC*, vol. 3.

LIT. F.A. Biener, *Geschichte der Novellen Justinians* (Berlin 1824; rp. Aalen 1970). P. Noailles, *Les collections de Novelles de l'empereur Justinien*, 2 vols. (Paris 1912–14). N. van der Wal, *Manuale Novellarum Iustiniani* (Groningen 1964).
–M.Th.F.

NOVELS OF LEO VI, a collection of 113 undated imperial ordinances issued by Emp. LEO VI and addressed mostly to Stylianos ZAOUTZES. The first novels are devoted to ecclesiastical affairs, then follow the laws involving individuals (marriage, dowry, manumission, adoption). After novel 66 no system can be ascertained. It is unclear whether they were published as an entire corpus or one after another; in any case, a 10th-C. MS containing only 12 novels has been recently discovered (N. van der Wal, *Tijdschrift* 43 [1975] 257–69). Since Zaoutzes died in 899, the novels must have been issued before this year. N. van der Wal and J. Lokin (*Historiae iuris Graeco-Romani delineatio* [Groningen 1985] 86) suggest that they were published after the BASILIKA, although they contain no direct references to the *Basilika*. M.Th. Fögen (*SubGr* 3 [1989] 23–35) argues instead that the novels were issued one by one, while the codification of the *Basilika* was in progress, to meet problems which arose from the discrepancies between Justinianic law and contemporary needs and CUSTOMS.

The purpose of the novels was to "cleanse" the legal system and abrogate legislation that had become obsolete (G. Michaélidès-Nouaros in *Mnemosynon Perikleous Bizoukidou* [Thessalonike 1960–63] 27–54). It is not yet clear to what extent it was a real program and to what extent an academic exercise. M. Sjuzjumov (*VizVrem* 15 [1959] 33–49) viewed the novels as coherent legislation directed at the needs of large flourishing cities, encouraging private ownership, trade, loans, and partnerships, but ignoring the situation in the countryside.

ED. P. Noailles, A. Dain, *Les Novelles de Léon VI le Sage* (Paris 1944), with Fr. tr. C.A. Spulber, *Les Novelles de Léon le Sage* (Cernăuţi 1934) 3–121, with Fr. tr.

LIT. H. Monnier, *Les Novelles de Léon le Sage* (Bordeaux-Paris 1923). K. Fledelius, "Competing Mentalities: the Legislator Leo VI at Work," 17 *CEB, Abstracts* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 116f.
–A.K.

NOVGOROD (Νοβογράδιον or Νεβογαρδάς), town on the upper Volchov; initially a northern base for the RUS' (earliest reference: *De adm. imp.* 9.4) and a prosperous commercial center until the end of the 15th C. A 15th-C. historian (Chalk. 1:122.18–21) speaks of Novgorod as an *aristokratia*, more prosperous than the other Russian cities. Direct and transit trade with Constantinople was most intense in the 10th–12th C. (esp. exports to Novgorod of glass, walnuts, boxwood, and amphorae of wine and oil). The bishopric was founded ca.990 and its incumbents gradually acquired a status somewhat apart from the other bishops of Rus'; the title "archbishop" was used sporadically from the mid-12th C.; in 1385 Novgorod refused the metropolitan of KIEV the right to overrule judgments of the archbishop, a right that KIPRIAN—supported by ambassadors from Patr. ANTONY IV—tried unsuccessfully to reclaim. Cultural ties with Byz., however, were close: the Cathedral of St. Sophia (1045–50) was built by Byz. craftsmen, and it probably included doors made in Constantinople (one of two sets of doors erroneously labeled "Chersonian"—see S. Beljaev in *Drevnjaja Rus' i slavjane* [Moscow 1978] 300–10); the 12th-C. bishops had their seals inscribed in Greek; Byz. liturgical silver from Novgorod is preserved, as are the working notes of a Greek icon painter active in Novgorod ca.1200 (B. Kolčin et al., *Usad'ba novgorodskogo chudožnika XII v.* [Moscow 1981]); and travelers and pilgrims from Novgorod produced accounts of the holy places of Constantinople (e.g., ANTONY of Novgorod).

LIT. E. Rybina, *Archeologičeskie očerki novgorodskoj torgovli X–XIV vv.* (Moscow 1978). H. Birnbaum, *Lord Novgorod the Great* (Columbus, Ohio, 1981). Ditten, *Russland-Excurs* 35–38, 147–53. –S.C.F.

NOVICE (ῥασοφόρος), in the earlier period also called *archarios* or *neopages*, a person undergoing a period of probation before receiving the TONSURE and taking the monastic habit. In the earliest years of monasticism both PACHOMIOS and BASIL THE GREAT prescribed a brief but unspecified trial period for those wishing to take the monastic habit. The legislation of Justinian I (novs. 5, 132.5) and canon law (canon 5 of the Council of Constantinople of 861) ordained that this probationary period should range from six months to three years; some *typika* specify that the length of the trial period depended on the social rank, age, and experience of the future monk or nun, being shortest for members of the nobility. In the case of gravely ill novices, the trial period was waived and tonsure was immediate.

The minimum age for entrance into a monastery was about 16–18; in some cases younger boys and girls could be admitted. Thus, the *typikon* of CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS allowed boys (*paidia*) to be brought up at the monastery; if they decided to take permanent vows, they could later be tonsured (MM 6:83.10–12). Usually beardless youths were not allowed to live in the monastery and resided in monastic *proasteia*. Other categories of individuals who could be denied admission to a monastery were eunuchs, fugitive slaves, and criminals; some *hegoumenoi* were reluctant to admit children seeking to enter monastic life against the will of their parents. On the other hand, a lavish donation (*apotage, prosenexis, anathema*, etc.) might enhance one's chances of admittance, although Balsamon protested against the practice of tonsuring in exchange for a gift of money (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:632.19–28).

The novice sometimes continued to wear secular garb until the time of his or her tonsure; Blastares even imposed a fine on those who donned the monastic habit before the end of the novitiate. Balsamon prohibited a *rasophoros* to return to secular life and to marry (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:746.13–14). Novices were usually assigned to an experienced monk or nun (*anadochos*) as a spiritual mentor: when Symeon the Theologian entered the Stoudios monastery, he placed all his possessions at the feet of his PATER PNEUMATIKOS and was given a place to sleep under the stairs near his master's cell.

LIT. P. de Meester, "Le rasophorat dans le monachisme byzantin," *IzvIstDr* 16–18 (1940) 323–32. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 88–97. Meester, *De monachico statu* 88–93, 349–62. Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 51–70. –A.K., A.M.T.

NOVIODUNUM (Νοβιοδοῦνος, mod. Isaccea in Rumania), a Roman naval station in MOESIA II, on the right bank of the Danube. Archaeologists have discovered the north wall of the fortress, with one large rectangular and seven semicircular towers; a second rampart was built in the 4th C. Baths (one from the 4th C.) and a basilical building were also excavated. Several Christian martyrs are connected with Noviodunum, among them Menerius or Menedemus (E. Polaschek, *RE* 17 [1937] 1194). A series of coins dated through the reign of Emp. Phokas confirms the functioning of the stronghold to the beginning of the 7th C. It was rebuilt during the reign of John I Tzimiskes. Byz. coins of the late 10th–13th C. have been found as well as seals, including one with the name "*despotes* Isaakios," probably Isaac II (G. Ştefan, *Dacia* 9–10 [1941–44] 482). Near Isaccea, an 11th–12th-C. cemetery was excavated that yielded Byz. coins (of Romanos III and Michael IV) and Byz. glass, bronze, and silver objects (I. Vasiliu, *Peuce* 9 [1984] 107–41). Noviodunum seems to have been an important point on the Byz. defensive system of the Danube in the 11th–12th C. Tatar coins and objects of the 13th–14th C. testify to their presence in Noviodunum.

LIT. I. Barnea, B. Mitrea, "Săpăturile de salvare de la Noviodunum," *Materiale şi cercetări arheologice* 5 (1959) 461–73. I. and A. Barnea, "Săpăturile de salvare de la Noviodunum," *Peuce* 9 (1984) 97–105. A.S. Ştefan, "Noviodunum," *Buletinul monumentelor istorice* 42 (1973) 3–14. A. Kuzev, "Prinosi kŭm istorijata na srednovekovnite kreposti po Dolnija Dunav," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 7 (1971) 77–87. –A.K.

NOVYE SENŽARY, a town near Poltava in the Ukraine where in 1928 a "hoard" (in fact, objects from a tomb) was found; the objects disappeared during World War II. The "hoard" contained seven solidi (the latest dating to Constans II, probably before 646), weapons and armor fragments (from a saber and a coat of mail), arrowheads, harness items, a glass goblet and bowl, and gold and silver revetment. The glass vessels and a gold ring were probably of Byz. provenance. The location of this tomb, perhaps that of a nomad

warrior, is very close to that of the "hoard" of MALAJA PEREŠČEPINA.

LIT. A.T. Smilenko, "Nachodka 1928 g. v g. Novye Senžary," *Slavjane i Rus'* (Moscow 1968) 158–66. –A.K.

NOXAL ACTIONS (*νοξαλίαι ἀγωγαί*, from Lat. *actiones noxales*), suits against the owner of a delinquent slave, in which the owner—providing the DELICT had occurred without his knowledge or consent—could avoid paying compensation or penalties by surrendering the slave (*noxae datio*) to the person who had suffered the damage. The same option existed in cases of DAMAGE BY QUADRUPEDS (*Institutes* 4.8–9; *Digest* 9.1,4; *Basil.* 60.2,5). Whether the option was actually exercised in Byz. remains in doubt (despite the evidence of *Peira* 61.5).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:430–33. –L.B.

NUBIA, general designation for the region on Egypt's southern border beginning at Syene (Aswan) and following the NILE and Blue Nile basins to an undetermined point above Soba where it bordered on the kingdom of AXUM. Circa 530, the "kinglet" (*basiliskos*) Silko consolidated power in the north by subduing the BLEMMYES. In the 6th C., Nubia was divided into three kingdoms: Nobatia in the north, Makuria in the middle, and Alodia in the south. Both Justinian I and Theodora sponsored separate Orthodox and Monophysite missions to convert Nubia between 530 and 580. The readiness to accept missions from Byz. may have stemmed from efforts to check Axum, whose Christian ruler, a sometime Byz. ally, had devastated the earlier Meroitic kingdom. The Nubian kingdoms were subject to strong influences from the emerging Coptic church of Egypt, but not to the utter exclusion of Greek Orthodoxy. The Arab conquests cut off Nubia from further contact with Byz., but Greek continued to be used in inscriptions and Byz. influences on church art are generally acknowledged. The two northern kingdoms, united ca.710, remained independent and Christian until 1323. The kingdom of Soba survived until the 15th C. Islamization followed upon their conquests.

Robert de Clari relates that at the court of Isaac II and Alexios IV he saw a Nubian king ("li rois de Nubie") who visited Jerusalem and Constantinople and was planning to continue to Rome and Spain. He ruled over a Christian people who dwelt far south of Jerusalem, baptized their children, and branded with a hot iron the sign of the cross on their brows. This pilgrimage took place ca.1203, and the king can probably be identified as Lalibela, the Ethiopian ruler of the second half of the 12th C. known for his pilgrimage to Jerusalem and active construction of churches (B. Hendrickx, *Byzantina* 13.2 [1985] 893–98; cf. B. Rostkowska in P. van Moorsel, *New Discoveries in Nubia* [Leiden 1982] 113–16).

LIT. P. Shinnie, "Christian Nubia," in *CHAfr* 2:556–88, 764–66. D.G. Letsios, *Byzantio kai Erythra Thalassa* (Athens 1988). –D.W.J., A.K.

NUDE, THE. Unlike classical authors the Byz. tried to avoid describing the naked body: a typical example of Byz. caution is Niketas Choniates' reference to the statue of Athena in Constantinople, which he praises for being covered with a heavy garment. Byz. COSTUME concealed rather than exposed the body. Contrary opinions were rare: thus SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, in a hymn, proclaimed that Christ is present in every limb of the human body, even in the genitalia, and that therefore we should not be ashamed of our bodies. The *History* of Choniates contains no less than 17 words for various organs of the body connected with SEXUALITY and excretory activity. Hagiographical texts often describe the apprehension experienced by pious men before the naked female body and praise holy men who showed themselves indifferent toward nakedness: John Moschos tells a story about a priest who was unable to baptize a beautiful Persian girl until John the Baptist sealed his body from the navel down with the sign of the cross; the priest then baptized the girl without even noticing that she was female (PG 87:2853D-2856B). Suppressed interest in the human body is sometimes revealed by criticism of classical and Islamic imagery.

In Byz. art, the nude is marked less by its rarity than by its cautious treatment. The nude form that is customary in Greek and Roman art survived in late antiquity—as on an ivory diptych in Ravenna (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten,* no.125) where Jonah is shown naked and fully sexed under the gourd—but in Byz. art was employed in greatly reduced numbers or else dressed, as in the same scene in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p. 59). Similarly, Christ appears naked in the baptistery

mosaics of Ravenna, his genitals visible through the Jordan, while in and after the 9th C. his groin is obscured. No matter what the period, it is the identity and function of the nude that seems to have determined the frankness with which the body was treated. Some images of female martyrdom, for example, depict mutilated breasts, and women in Last Judgments are suckled by snakes or frogs.

The pudenda are usually concealed by other parts of the body or by foliage in Creation scenes; where they are exposed, as on a ivory-clad casket in Cleveland, Adam and Eve, expelled from Paradise, have identical genitalia. The Byz. knew Hellenistic works of art with naked *erotes*, such as the Tetrapleuron (Nik. Chon. 648.52–54) preserved until the 15th C. in Constantinople; putti on some Byz. boxes are shown fully exposed.

Nudity could suggest an equation with sin and sickness: JOB is covered with sores until he finds the true path. Similarly, the desolation of the Good Samaritan in the ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.7v) is denoted by his nakedness. Conversely in a scene that called for nudity, the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA are normally shown half-clothed. Generally, the naked body is treated diagrammatically, emphasizing such linear features as the spine and the diaphragm, though in deliberately classicizing works such as the silver Meleager and Atalanta plate, dating from the reign of Herakleios, its volumetric qualities are observed.

LIT. J. & D. Winfield, *Proportion and Structure of the Human Figure in Byzantine Wall Painting and Mosaic* [= *BAR* Int. Ser. 154] (Oxford 1982) 41–47. A. Kazhdan, "Der Körper im Geschichtswerk des Niketas Choniates," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 91–105. –A.C., A.K.

NUʿMĀN, AL-. See NAMAAN.

NUMBERS. The Greek notation used to represent numbers consisted of the 24 normal letters of the Greek alphabet plus three archaic letters. The 27 resulting characters were arranged in three series of nine numbers each: units, tens, and hundreds. The three archaic letters were digamma (normally written in MSS as ϛ and from this form known as stigma), koppa, and sampi (see Table). The addition of diacritical marks produced further sets of three series of higher orders. Thus each of the above 27 numbers is multiplied by 1,000 by the addition of a stroke to the lower left; e.g., $\lower{}_{,}\bar{\alpha}$ = 1000 and $_{,}\bar{\omega}$ = 800,000. In this way numbers of any magnitude could, in theory, be expressed symbolically. In fact, the highest numbers normally in use were products of the members of the first set and 10,000. In order to express these products one wrote the smaller number above the letter M; for example, $\overset{\epsilon}{M}$ = 50,000 and $\overset{\omega}{M}$ = 8,000,000.

The Greek Mathematical Notation System

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
units	$\bar{\alpha}$	$\bar{\beta}$	$\bar{\gamma}$	$\bar{\delta}$	$\bar{\epsilon}$	ϛ̄	$\bar{\zeta}$	$\bar{\eta}$	$\bar{\theta}$
tens	$\bar{\iota}$	$\bar{\kappa}$	$\bar{\lambda}$	$\bar{\mu}$	$\bar{\nu}$	$\bar{\xi}$	$\bar{o}$	$\bar{\pi}$	ϙ̄
hundreds	$\bar{\rho}$	$\bar{\sigma}$	$\bar{\tau}$	$\bar{\upsilon}$	$\bar{\phi}$	$\bar{\chi}$	$\bar{\psi}$	$\bar{\omega}$	ϡ̄

Fractional numbers were written as unit fractions in the manner of the Egyptians, except for 2/3, Γ^{β}. There was also a special symbol for 1/2, ∟′ or [symbol]. Since the numerators of the fractions were always 1, they did not need to be expressed. An integer number was often distinguished from a unit fraction by placing a bar over the integer, an acute accent after the fraction; e.g., $\bar{\delta}$ = 4 and δ' = 1/4. Fractions whose numerators were not 1 were analyzed as the sum of several unit fractions; e.g., $\delta'\eta' = 1/4 + 1/8 = 3/8$.

From antiquity the Greeks had also employed their letter numbers for 1 through 59 to express the sexagesimal place value system introduced into astronomy by the Babylonians. In this system each place represents a power of 60, a positive power to the left of zero and a negative to the right. The absence of a number in any place was represented by the symbol ō; in pure sexagesimal writing this could not be confused with the integer number represented by omicron, 70, since no number higher than 59 could ever be written in any place. Thus, the motion of Saturn in 30 days, for instance, would be written: $\bar{\alpha}\bar{o}\ \bar{\iota}\bar{\varsigma}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\varepsilon}\ \bar{\mu}\bar{\delta}\ \bar{\kappa}\bar{\varepsilon}\ \bar{\lambda} = 1 + 0 \times 60^{-1} + 16 \times 60^{-2} + 45 \times 60^{-3} + 44 \times 60^{-4} + 25 \times 60^{-5} + 30 \times 60^{-6}$.

In the middle of the 13th C. the Indian decimal place value system was introduced into Byz. together with the ten symbols necessary for writing it. The older systems coexisted with this new one until after 1453; and, of course, the sexagesimal system continued to be used in ASTRONOMY, horology, and trigonometry. –D.P.

NUMBER SYMBOLISM AND THEORY. Numbers played an important part in Pythagorean and Neoplatonic philosophy, and Christian theologians inherited the problem of the transition from the monad of God to the multitude in the created world. The mystery of the TRINITY (three hypostases of one nature) and the mystery of Christ (two natures united in one hypostasis) formed the bridge from the One to the cosmos and multifarious mankind. Then the question arose whether the number as such was a substance or only the form/measurement. JOHN OF DAMASCUS, in his polemics against the Monophysites (*Aceph.* 4.3–6, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:412), rejects the idea that number is the principle (*arche*) of division; it is rather a "heaping up" or "pouring forth" of individual "monads," and thus union and not division (*Jacob.* 50.2–3, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:124). John used the argument to support the doctrine of the unity of two natures in Christ.

The Byz. ascribed a particular significance, sometimes mysterious or magical, to various numbers, esp. one (one God, one cosmos, one *basileus*), two (two natures in Christ), and three: besides the Trinity, they observed an angelic hierarchy divided into three orders, the three days of Christ's entombment, triple immersion at baptism, three kinds of law (of nature, of Moses, and of grace), etc. Four characterized the elements, quarters of the world, and cardinal virtues; seven indicated perfection (seven virtues); eight, as the cube of two, was an ideal number. For JOHN LYDOS and many astrologers thereafter the numbers three, nine, and forty defined the stages of conception, mortality, the progress of the soul, and liturgical commemoration (G. Dagron in *Temps chrétien* 419–30). Symbolic interpretation was popular in rhetoric and used for political propaganda. For instance, at the beginning of Constantine IV's reign, the army demanded that he proclaim his brothers Tiberios and Herakleios emperors; the request was justified in terms of number symbolism. The soldiers announced, "We believe in the Trinity, we will crown three rulers" (Theoph. 352.15f).

Number symbolism also played a pervasive role in art and architecture: obvious allusion to the Trinity is made in triple apses, naves, and doors. Biblical descriptions of the four corners of the world, rivers of Paradise, and winds were staples of book illustration, and fivefold symmetry an essential aspect of the NEA EKKLESIA and the PENTAPYRGION. The varying number of apostles at different times in Christ's earthly life was interpreted in a hymn on the cathedral of Edessa as underlying the architectural form of its members. Eight sides, symbolizing the Resurrection, were traditional for baptismal FONTS, while the ideal church, according to the 5th-C. *Testamentum Domini*, included a baptistery 21 cubits long "for the total number of the prophets" and 12 cubits wide "for a type of those . . . appointed to preach the Gospel."

LIT. F. Dornseiff, *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1925; rp. Leipzig 1975). E. Reiss, "Number Symbolism and Medieval Literature," *MedHum* n.s. 1 (1970) 161–74. –A.K., A.C.

NUMIDIA (Νουμιδία), a province situated to the west and south of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS. Under Diocletian, Numidia was divided into two provinces: Numidia Militana, comprising the military frontier in the south, and Numidia Cirtensis, the Tell and High Plains around Cirta. In 314 this arrangement was abandoned and the province reunited. Numidia was remote and not particularly wealthy. This atmosphere bred in the province a fervent conservatism and resistance to central authority, manifested by the DONATIST movement and within it the Circumcellions. In 435 Numidia was ceded to the VANDALS. Although returned to the imperial government in 442, the eastern and southern parts of Numidia evidently remained under Vandal control. In the late 5th C. MAURI tribes from the Aures Mountains sacked THAMUGADI and frequently raided as far as Cirta, renamed Constantina.

Byz. authority over the province was established through a series of campaigns (534–41) under Justinian I. The *dux* of Numidia exercised a substantial circumscription, which probably included parts of MAURITANIA and the proconsular province. The military importance of Numidia is evidenced by the fact that some holders of the office went on to become *magistri militum* of Africa. Numerous forts were built under Justinian to secure Numidia against the largely autonomous tribes, although no conflicts are recorded after ca.571. A Latin inscription from Thamugadi mentions the construction of a church, sometime between 642 and 647, by Gregory *patricius* (presumably GREGORY, the exarch) and John, *dux* of Tigisis,

the last reference to Byz. official activity in Numidia. The first Arab incursion in 682 resulted in a Mauri-Byz. victory at Thabudeos, but by then imperial authority in Numidia was in name only.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 61f. Diehl, *L'Afrique* 237–54. M. Janon, "L'Aures au VIe siècle: Note sur le récit de Procope," *AntAfr* 15 (1980) 345–51. –R.B.H.

NUMISMATICS (from νόμισμα), the study of COINS and of coinlike objects such as coin weights (EXAGIA), tokens, jettons, and medals. In practice, Byz. numismatics is limited to coins and coin weights, for there are no Byz. medals or jettons, and while objects have been published that may have served as tokens, their nature is uncertain and they have yet to be systematically studied. In like manner the discipline does not include Byz. gold and lead *bullae,* although these resemble coins in metal composition and in design; bullae form the domain of SIGILLOGRAPHY. Byz. coins become available to scholars through COIN FINDS, the study of which is almost a specialized subject in itself.

Byz. numismatics is in one respect simple, since for most periods coins have survived in large numbers and the great majority can be assigned to specific emperors. Many of the copper coins from 539 to the end of the 7th C. even bear regnal or indictional dates, and this is occasionally the case for coins of other metals. But the scholar is hampered by the total absence of MINT records and the paucity of commercial documents, so that it is often not known how the coins of different metals were related to each other or even what some of them were called. A statistical study of the proportions of coins struck by the same dies in particular samples of coin allows one to determine, within a wide margin of error, the number of dies originally used for issues and, consequently, their comparable sizes. The attempts, however, of some numismatists (e.g., O. Metcalf, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 288–95) to turn these into absolute figures with the help of coin-output information from other countries and periods has not met with universal acceptance.

Coins of a single denomination and issue were theoretically uniform in weight and fineness. Weight was originally defined in terms of the number (e.g., 72 for the SOLIDUS) struck to the Romano-Byz. pound (see LITRA). As absolute uniformity was impossible in practice, coins were always a little above or below the average figure; the limits of authorized variation were probably very small in the case of gold coins, less for silver, and probably undefined for copper, where individual specimens of the same issue and in good condition can vary by as much as 50 percent. Original weights are best ascertained by constructing a frequency table of the weights of a number of actual specimens and determining where the largest concentration occurs, but because surviving coins are always worn, even if only slightly, the result will fall short of the original theoretical weight. A further allowance, necessarily somewhat subjective in character, has consequently to be made for wear. Figures for fineness are usually difficult to ascertain. The purity of gold was in the past usually checked by the touchstone, and specific gravity methods, commonly used today, give results sufficiently accurate for scholarly purposes, but more refined procedures (neutron activation, X-ray fluorescence) are employed when possible. Direct chemical analysis is usually avoided, except for copper and silver coins of little value, because of the inevitable injury to the coins.

Because the state issued the coins, their inscriptions and designs could be used for propaganda purposes and they sometimes throw light on imperial claims or policy. (See also "Thematic Content" and "Language" under COINS.) One may instance the introduction of the full title *basileus Romaion* on the silver miliaresion after Michael II recognized Charlemagne as *basileus* (but not *Romaion*) in 812, and that of the title *orthodoxos* on coins of Michael VI (1056–57) and Isaac I (1057–59) in the decade following the breach with Rome in 1054. The way in which emperors were represented shows the way in which they wished their subjects to see them and elucidates the evolution of imperial costume and insignia (G.P. Galavaris, *MN* 8 [1958] 99–117). From the 9th C. onward coin types often consisted of representations of Christ and of the Virgin and other saints, and because these can be dated with greater certainty than most other works of art, the variety of types used and their evolution can be of great value to the art historian.

LIT. P. Grierson, "Byzantine Coins as Source Material," 13 *CEB* (Oxford 1966) 317–33. Idem, *Numismatics* (London 1975) 140–61. *DOC* 3:94–97, 106–76. C. Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé. I. Purification et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Paris 1985). –Ph.G.

NUMMUS (*νουμμίον*), a Latin term meaning "coin" but often used for a specific denomination. In the period of the Tetrarchy it was apparently the official name of the large bronze coins of approximately 10 g, which numismatists have long been accustomed to term *folles*. In the 5th–6th C., *nummus* was the name of the lowest denomination in circulation, a tiny, ill-struck copper coin weighing approximately 1 g that in a document of 445 was reckoned 1/7,200 of the SOLIDUS but more frequently was 1/6,000 or 1/12,000. The usual reverse type was an imperial monogram, but its identity as a unit is shown by some nummi of Justinian I bearing instead the letter *A* (= 1). The denomination ceased to be struck at Constantinople in the late 6th C. and in North Africa during the 7th C., but it remained notionally in use as a money of account, 1/6,000 of the solidus, or sometimes as a generic term for small change (*νοῦμμοι λεπτοί*—Psellos in PG 122:956A).

LIT. H.L. Adelson, G.L. Kustas, *A Bronze Hoard of the Period of Zeno I* (New York 1962). J.D. MacIsaac, "The Weight of the Late 4th and Early 5th Century Nummus (AE 4)," *MN* 18 (1972) 59–66. Hendy, *Economy* 475–90. –Ph.G.

NUN (*μοναχή, καλόγραια*), a woman who renounced the world and entered a cenobitic NUNNERY. As was the case with MONKS, women could become nuns at several stages of life, as young maidens or as middle-aged and elderly widows. Women donned the monastic habit for many reasons: a true vocation, gratitude for a miraculous cure, loneliness, or illness. It was quite usual for women to take vows when they were widowed or when their husbands were confined in a monastery; in the convent they found both spiritual and material support for their old age.

Rules on the duration of the novitiate (see NOVICE) varied from convent to convent; the canonical length was three years, but this was reduced to six months or a year for mature and experienced women of proven character. The minimum age for final profession was normally 16. At the time of her vows it was customary for a nun to take a new name, usually beginning with the same letter as her given Christian name, for example, Theodora–Theodoule. The nun's habit consisted of a black tunic (the *himation*), an outer cloak (the *mandyas*), and veil or headcovering (the *skepe*). Nuns were divided into two classes: the literate were assigned to service as choir sisters; those unable to read were responsible for housekeeping duties.



NUN. Nuns of the convent of the Virgin Bebaias Elpidos. Miniature in the *typikon* of the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35, fol.12r); 14th C. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "Late Byzantine Nuns: By Choice or Necessity?" *ByzF* 9 (1985) 103–17. R. Janin, "Le monasticisme au moyen âge. Commende et typika (Xe–XVe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 36–42. –A.M.T.

NUNNERY (*γυναικεία μονή, γυναικωνῖτις*). The development of female MONASTERIES paralleled that of their male counterparts. Among the earliest 4th-C. convents were a large nunnery in Egypt organized in accordance with the precepts of PACHOMIOS and a nunnery founded in Asia Minor by Makrina, based on the rule of her brother, BASIL THE GREAT of Caesarea. Nunneries represented a relatively small proportion of Byz. monasteries, perhaps 15 percent, and in later centuries were concentrated in Constantinople,

where they esp. attracted women from aristocratic and imperial families. Convents were prohibited on ATHOS and METEORA and discouraged on the other HOLY MOUNTAINS.

Typika are preserved for six nunneries, including KECHARITOMENE, LIPS, BEBAIAS ELPIDOS, and the convent founded by Neilos DAMILAS; their rules are similar to those of male monasteries, and emphasize the ideal of the KOINOBION. The *typika* enjoin strict enclosure and segregation of the sexes, and a twofold division of the community of NUNS into choir sisters and those responsible for housekeeping duties. The officials are also similar, for example, superior (*hegoumene*; see HEGOUMENOS), steward (OIKONOMOS), cellarer, and treasurer. In contrast to monasteries that had resident HIEROMONACHOI to conduct services, nunneries had to bring in priests from outside. Unlike male establishments, nunneries supported few intellectual or artistic pursuits (A.M. Talbot in *Okeanos* 604–18). The important function of convents was the refuge and support they provided to women with a true vocation, and to the sick, widowed, and elderly. (See also MONASTERY, DOUBLE.)

LIT. A.M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," *GOrThR* 30 (1985) 1–20. A. Weyl Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 1–15. F. Dölger, "Aus dem Wirtschaftsleben eines Frauenklosters in der byzantinischen Provinz," in Dölger, *Paraspora* 350–57. E. Papagianne, "Oi klerikoi ton Byzantinon gynaikeion monon kai to abato," *Byzantiaka* 6 (1986) 75–93. –A.M.T.

NŪR AL-DĪN (Νουραδίν), *atabeg* of Aleppo and (from 1154) Damascus and (from 1169) nominal ruler of Egypt; born Feb. 1118, died Damascus 15 May 1174. Son of ZANGĪ, he succeeded his father at Aleppo and devoted himself to fighting the CRUSADER STATES. In 1151 he and MASʿŪD I seized the remnants of the county of EDESSA, which belonged to MANUEL I. In Nov. 1158 Nūr al-Dīn's envoys attended Manuel's humiliation of Renaud of Antioch at Mopsuestia; Manuel sent a friendly embassy that reached Nūr al-Dīn in Mar. 1159. Manuel needed Nūr al-Dīn to oppose the Crusaders in the princedom of ANTIOCH, so that the latter would rely on Byz. aid. Thus, while in Apr.–May 1159 Manuel, Baldwin III, and Renaud advanced toward Aleppo, negotiations with Nūr al-Dīn continued. In May 1159 Nūr al-Dīn released several Crusader leaders and thousands of other captives. He and Manuel agreed to support the DANIŞMENDIDS against KILIC ARSLAN II; cooperation continued until 1161. In 1164 Nūr al-Dīn crushed an alliance, which included Constantine KALAMANOS (Byz. governor of Cilicia), and captured Kalamanos.

LIT. N. Elisséeff, *Nūr ad-Dīn, Un grand prince musulman de Syrie au temps des croisades (511–569 H./1118–1174)*, 3 vols. (Damascus 1967). –C.M.B.

NYMPHAEUM (νυμφαῖον), a monumental fountain set against a wall articulated with niches, often decorated with columns and statuary. The *nymphaeum* was adopted from Roman architecture, though its original association with pagan nymphs was lost by the late 4th C., when the term meant no more than a fountain. The NOTITIA URBIS CONSTANTINOPOLITANAE of ca.425 list four *nymphaea* in Constantinople. Of these the most important was the Nymphaeum Maius, which functioned as the termination of the Aqueduct of Valens in the Forum Tauri; it survived as late as the mid-16th C. In addition to decorating public places, *nymphaea* were sometimes incorporated into the ATRIA of churches. A large *nymphaeum* occupied the west side of the atrium of Basilica A at Philippi (ca.500), taking over the function of the traditional smaller *kantharos* (fountain).

LIT. S. Settis, "'Esedra' e 'ninfeo' nella terminologia architettonica del mondo romano," *ANRW* 1.4 (Berlin 1973) 661–745. Janin, *CP byz.* 200f. –M.J.

NYMPHAION (Νύμφαιον, now Kemalpaşa [formerly Nif]), city of Lydia in western Asia Minor. Nymphaion is first mentioned by Anna Komnene in connection with the operations of Eumathios PHILOKALES against the Turks in 1108. It became important as the favorite residence of the Laskarid emperors, esp. John III Vatatzes, who regularly wintered at Nymphaion and died there. Theodore II and Michael VIII, both proclaimed emperor at Nymphaion, also spent winters there. In 1261, the Byz. signed a treaty there with the Genoese (see NYMPHAION, TREATY OF). The city became a major base for defense against the Turks in the late 13th C.; Andronikos II resided there between 1292 and 1294, and in 1296 Nymphaion was headquarters for Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS. It fell to the Turks of SARUHAN in 1315. A bish-

opric since the 12th C., Nymphaion became archbishopric in the 13th C. The council of 1234 convoked in Nicaea to discuss church union was transferred to Nymphaion (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1273–76).

Nymphaion contains the well-preserved palace of the Laskarids, a rectangular structure of four stories, built outside the city, apparently by John III. Its first floor, which has large windows and three rooms, was evidently the main reception area; upper floors, similar in plan, were reached by a monumental exterior stairway. The palace was built of rubble faced with regularly alternating ashlar and brick bands; it was roofed with timber. The castle above the town is Byz. with several phases of construction, mostly of the 13th C.

LIT. C. Foss, "Late Byzantine Fortifications in Lydia," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 309–12, 316–20. H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *ibid.* 263–68. T. Kirova, "Un palazzo ed una casa di età tardo-bizantina in Asia Minore," *FelRav* 103–04 (1972) 275–305. –C.F.

NYMPHAION, TREATY OF. This agreement between Byz. and GENOA was signed in Nymphaion on 13 March 1261 and ratified in Genoa on 10 July 1261 (just one month before the Byz. reconquest of Constantinople). The text has survived only in two Latin versions. Main articles of the treaty established a permanent alliance of the two powers, and both parties vowed not to conclude separate peace with VENICE; a Genoese flotilla of up to 50 battleships was to be placed at the disposal of the emperor but at his expense; the Genoese received trade privileges, including marketplaces in Ephesus, Smyrna, Atramyttion, and—after the reconquest—in Constantinople; their property received legal protection (also in case of a shipwreck); their conflicts were to be judged by Genoese consuls.

The treaty was directed against Venice and was advantageous for the Genoese, who before 1261 had not done much business with Byz. but traded actively with northern Africa, Provence, and the Levant. In the 1250s their commercial position in these regions became endangered and Genoa was in search of new markets—the alliance with Byz. opened up to them not only Asia Minor and eventually the Balkans, but also the Black Sea and new routes east and north. Michael VIII Palaiologos, who was striving to recover Constantinople from the Latins, was ready to pay a high price for naval support of his attack, choosing to disregard the fact that Genoa was gaining more from the treaty than it was giving in return. In fact, however, Michael VIII did not need Genoese help to recover Constantinople. The treaty of Nymphaion marks the beginning of a strong Genoese presence in the Byz. Empire and the Black Sea area.

ED. C. Manfroni, *Le relazioni fra Genova, l'impero bizantino e i Turchi* (Genoa 1896) 791–809.

LIT. *Reg* 3, no.1890. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 81–91. M. Balard, *La mer Noire et la Romanie génoise: XIIIe–XVe siècles* (London 1989), pt.I (1966), 486–89. –A.K.

NYMPHS, in Greek mythology female spirits of nature, esp. of water and trees. Faithful to classical mythology, HIMERIOS, in his *epithalamios* to Severos (ed. A. Colonna, or. 9:255–58), introduces a band of nymphs dancing together with NEREIDS (the sea nymphs) and dryads (the tree nymphs), with SATYRS, PAN, DIONYSOS, and APHRODITE herself. Nymphs, esp. naiads (water nymphs that live in springs and streams) and hamadryads (wood nymphs), frequently appear in the *Dionysiaka* of Nonnos. As early as the 4th C. (Himerios, or.66.12–13) tree nymphs (dryads and hamadryads) began to be equated with "mountain-haunting demons," and later the image of the nymph as a beautiful female spirit disappeared from Byz. literature. In painting she is almost as rare, appearing only in the most classicizing of contexts: a blue-skinned nymph spies on David the musician in the PARIS PSALTER (fol.1v).

However, the Greek word *nymphe* also meant bride, and the image of the bride (the Church as Christ's *nymphe*) occupied an important place in Christian symbolism. Visual transformations of this sort include the midwives at Christ's nativity modeled, according to Weitzmann (*Gr.Myth.* 206), on the nymphs who wash the newborn Dionysos. –A.K., A.C.

NYSSA (Νύσσα), name of two cities notable in Byz. times.

1. *City in northwest Cappadocia,* south of the Halys near the village of Harmandali. This city entered history when GREGORY OF NYSSA was its bishop (372–76, 378–ca.386). Nyssa was de-

stroyed by the Arabs in 838 but was restored by the time Leo VI transferred the *topoteresia* (garrison post?) of Nyssa from Cappadocia to CHARSIANON. The Turks took it after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The site contains only some remains of its fortifications. Many bishops and one archbishop are mentioned on seals of the 7th–11th C.; they may have come from this Nyssa or Nyssa in Lydia (see below).

2. ***City in Lydia*** on the north bank of the Meander, now Sultanhişar. A bishopric throughout the Byz. period, it played no role in history, but preserves substantial remains of the late antique city as well as fortifications that appear to be of the 7th/8th C. It fell to the Turks ca.1282.

LIT. **1.** *TIB* 2:246–48.
LIT. **2.** W. von Diest, *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (Berlin 1913).
–C.F.

O

OATH (ὅρκος). As an assertion of the truth, a strengthening of an agreement, or a guarantee of future conduct, the oath was widely used in the private and public life of the Byz. Theological discussions concerning the New Testament prohibition against oaths (Mt 5:33–37) appear to have resulted merely in the avoidance of "superfluous" oaths, in the use of oathlike formulas, and the release of the higher clergy from having to swear oaths. In the area of "state law," oaths of office and the closely related oaths of fealty were routinely administered. Emperors required the latter from individuals as well as from social organizations or groups: the oath of fealty often served not only to secure the power of the reigning senior emperor but also to establish dynastic succession (cf. Theoph. 449f). From the Crusaders came oaths of allegiance. The emperor himself often resorted to oaths to strengthen political and even international agreements; the corresponding documents were sometimes referred to as *horkomotika.* In the area of trial law the Romans used a profuse variety of oaths, some of which fell into disuse; yet Empress Irene's pious attempt at abolishing the witness-oath ultimately failed. The oath laid upon one party to a litigation by the other or imposed by the judge was deemed an indispensable form of proof. As a rule an oath was sworn on a Gospel book, often inside a church. The oath formula varied; there were specific oaths for Jews (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XIV [1965], 137–56). Perjury was considered a serious crime whose punishment was sometimes left to God as the injured party, sometimes threatened in full severity by the earthly powers.

LIT. Svoronos, *Etudes*, pt.VI (1951), 106–42. Oikonomides, *Documents*, pt.III (1963), 101–28. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 399–425. S.N. Troianos, "Symbole eis ten ereunan ton hypo ton Byzantinon autokratoron parechomenon enorkon engyeseon," *Epeteris tou kentrou ereunes tes historias tou Hellenikou dikaiou tes Akademias Athenon* 12 (1965) 130–68. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:346–75. Pryor, "Oaths" 111–41. E. Chrysos, "Henas horkos pisteos ston autokratora Anastasion," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:5–22. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 335f. –L.B.

OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS, conventional name for the Egyptian obelisk of Tuthmosis III (1490–1436 B.C.) brought to Constantinople from Karnak no later than the reign of Constantine I and erected on the *spina* (central axis) of the HIPPODROME in 390 under Theodosios I. It rests on a late 4th-C. sculpted marble base, which is slightly more than 7 sq. m. Reliefs on all four sides of the main part of the pedestal show the emperor and his court attending the games. The emperor's central position, and the frontally or symmetrically disposed guards, prisoners, and spectators about him all suggest a ceremonial rather than a realistic intent for the imagery. On the lower part of the base Greek and Latin inscriptions relate how the obelisk was raised in 32 days when Proklos was eparch of the city, probably to mark Theodosios's victory over MAXIMUS and Victor (*extinctis tyrannis*) in 389; other reliefs on this part of the base depict the mechanics of its erection (H. Wrede in *IstMitt* 16 [1966] 178–98). As the best-preserved secular monument of its period in the city, the obelisk base is usually treated as a key work of the Theodosian "Renaissance" (see SCULPTURE). Its political interpretation has been less developed by scholars, although M. McCormick (*Eternal Victory* 45f, 116) has placed its erection and inscriptions in the context of imperial TRIUMPHS.

LIT. E. Iversen, *Obelisks in Exile*, vol. 2 (Copenhagen 1972) 9–33. G. Bruns, *Der Obelisk und seine Basis auf dem Hippodrom zu Konstantinopel* (Istanbul 1935). Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 65f, 71f. J. Kollwitz, *Oströmische Plastik der theodosianischen Zeit* (Berlin 1941) 115–21. Grabar, *Sculptures* I, 25–28. –A.C.

OBLATION. See PROSPHORA.

OBLIGATION (ἐνοχή), in Roman law, the relationship between two people in which one (*debitor*) was obliged to furnish some sort of payment or other effects to the other (*creditor*). Grounds for an obligation were initially classified according to categories of basic human interaction (peaceful or

aggressive) into obligations that had been agreed upon (*ex contractu*) and those that resulted from an injury (*ex delicto*). Through the definitions and distinctions worked out by the jurists, this initial concept was developed into a general liability scheme for CONTRACT and DELICT obligations, whose fundamental idea is that not every case of damage should require compensation nor should every agreement lead to contractual responsibilities. The limitation is accomplished technically through the establishment of certain acts and the corresponding right to bring suit (ACTION). Byz. legal science preserved this concept in principle in the Justinianic period (whether—and, in that case, how—it also differentiated and transformed it is extremely controversial) and revived it again in the 10th–11th C. Juridical practice, not at all unsupported by imperial legislation (e.g., *Cod. Just.* VIII 37.10; *Nov. Leo VI* 72), went, at least in the area of contract obligation, in another direction and finally decided to recognize the binding nature and enforceability of every contract whose agreement and nonfulfillment were demonstrable (*pacta sunt servanda*). The delict obligations degenerated, since Byz. criminal law recognized not only public punishment but also the payment of compensation, and because civil and criminal procedures were handled according to very similar regulations and before the same judicial bodies.

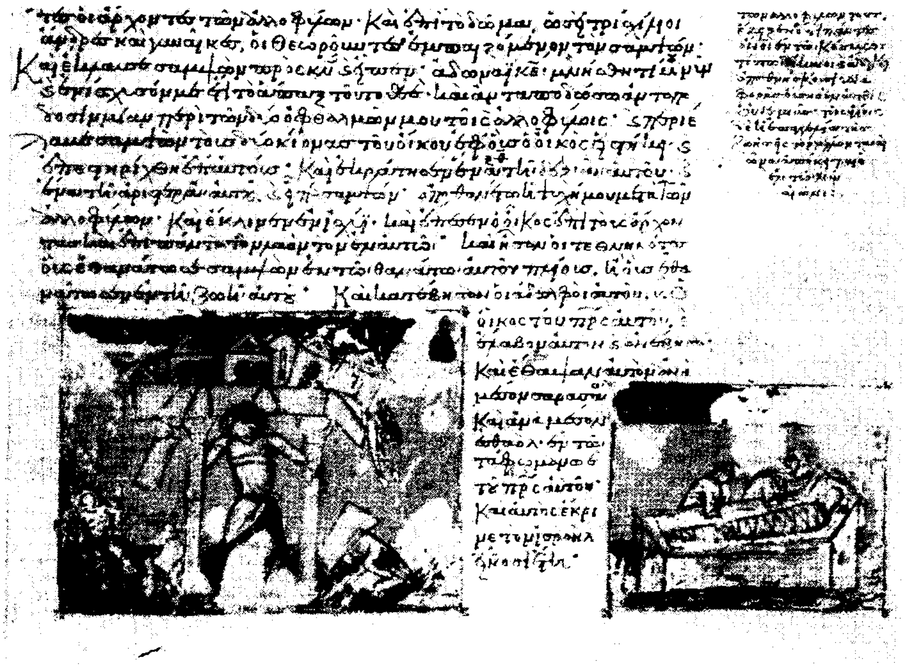
LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:322–440 (§253). Zachariä, *Geschichte* 283–322. Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 292–301.

–D.S.

OBOL. See FOLLIS.

OCTATEUCH (Ὀκτάτευχος, lit. "eight-book"), the first eight books of the OLD TESTAMENT comprising the Pentateuch together with Joshua, Judges, and Ruth. These existed as a separate volume from at least the 9th/10th C., the date of the earliest, unillustrated example preserved. Six illustrated Octateuchs survive, one of which, the 11th-C. Florence, Laur. Plut. 5.38, has miniatures only as far as Genesis 3 (Expulsion from Paradise) and is not closely related to the other five MSS. They were made in the mid-11th C. (Vat. gr. 747), the 12th (formerly Smyrna A.1, Istanbul Topkapı gr. 8, Vat. gr. 746), and the late 13th (Athos, Vatop. 602). Their importance lies in their

OCTATEUCH. Miniatures from an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol.251r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The miniatures depict Sampson destroying the temple of the Philistines and the death of Sampson.



extensive cycle of about 375 miniatures, distributed throughout the eight books, but most numerous in GENESIS. They range from common scenes, such as the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, to unique illustrations of obscure texts, such as the Daughters of Zelophehad Given Their Inheritance (Jos 17:3–6) in which the land is surveyed and measured with chains. Some scenes may offer visual clues to the realities of EVERYDAY LIFE in Byz.

The relationship of the MSS to one another and to the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL is complex and controversial. Around the Octateuch MSS, Weitzmann arranged examples of related iconography to create a recension, often referred to in studies of OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION. He believes it existed already by the date of the paintings at DURA EUROPOS and derived from the milieu of hellenized Judaism. It is questionable, however, whether the early existence of one or even several scenes related to the Octateuch, as at S. Maria Maggiore in Rome (432–40), should be taken to imply the existence of the entire Octateuch cycle, as exemplified in the surviving MSS. Detailed studies of small groups of scenes in the Octateuch MSS have been made (e.g., those of the CREATION and those related to the KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES MSS—C. Hahn, *CahArch* 28 [1979] 29–40), but an investigation of the entire cycle is still awaited. Two of the MSS, Vat. gr. 746 and 747, remain largely unpublished.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Joshua Roll*. J. Lowden, "The Production of the Vatopedi Octateuch," *DOP* 36 (1982) 115–26. F. Ouspensky, *L'Octateuque de la bibliothèque du Sérail à Constantinople* (Sofia 1907). D.-C. Hesseling, *Miniatures de l'Octateuque grec de Smyrne* (Leiden 1909). J.C. Anderson, "The Seraglio Octateuch and the Kokkinobaphos Master," *DOP* 36 (1982) 83–114. –J.H.L.

OCTAVA (ὀκτᾶβα, from Lat. "the eighth part"), a tax mentioned in several laws of the *Codex Justinianus* from 227 to 457–65. The term must designate a charge of 12.5 percent, but it is difficult to determine whether it was a tax levied in the *portorium* (harbor), that is, a predecessor of the later KOMMERKION, or, as Millet (*infra*) suggested, a sales tax. Another difficulty is the high rate of the *octava*: Millet, contradicting his own theory, demonstrated that the regular sales tax in Egypt was only 2 percent; the normal customs tax in the Roman Empire was also 2 or 2.5 percent (F. Vittinghoff, *RE* 22 [1953] 380), significantly lower than the *octava*. Antoniadis-Bibicou (*infra* 73) theorizes that in the late Roman Empire the difference between the tax on merchandise and customs duties was confused and the same official was entrusted with the collection of both. A tax collector called *octavarius* or *oktabereos* appears in laws and in an inscription of the 4th–5th C. (Grégoire, *Inscriptions*, no.10) in which he seems to be somehow connected with the storage (?) of *kommerkion*.

LIT. G. Millet, "L'octava: Impôt sur les ventes dans le Bas-Empire," in *Mélanges Gustave Glotz*, vol. 2 (Paris 1932) 615–43. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 59–74, 163f. –A.K.

ODE. See KANON; ODES.

ODELJAN, PETER. See DELJAN, PETER.

ODES, certain songs or prayers in song form (i.e., Odes/Canticles), principally from the Old Testament, were central in the liturgy and offices. They are gathered together at the end of PSALTER MSS, emphasizing the liturgical/devotional character of that book. The selection of odes varies, but includes a basic nine (Ex 15:1–19; Dt 32:1–43; 1 Kg 2:1–10; Hab 3:2–19; Is 26:1–20; Jon 2:3–10; Dan 3:26–45, 52–88 [LXX numbering]; Lk 1:46–55, 68–79). Why further odes such as those of Hezekiah (Is 38:10–20) and Manasses (apocryphal) were added in certain MSS is unclear, although it implies a variety of liturgical usage. Some illustrated MSS, such as the Khludov Psalter, show by the minuscule rescript (12th C.?) of the original 9th-C. text of selected odes that the book's usage changed over time.

Illustration. The illustration of odes is an important aspect of Byz. Psalter illustration. Weitzmann has suggested that the illustrations to the odes, like the texts themselves, were taken over from their original context, i.e., in MSS with illustrations to Exodus, Deuteronomy, etc. The subjects selected for representation are usually popular narrative compositions (e.g., CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, THREE HEBREWS in the Fiery Furnace), or single figures of the "composer" of the song (e.g., Hannah, Habakkuk) making a gesture of speech or prayer.

LIT. H. Schneider, "Die biblischen Oden im christlichen Altertum," *Biblica* 30 (1949) 28–65, 239–72, 433–52 [title varies]. K. Weitzmann, "The Ode Pictures of the Aristocratic Psalter Recension," *DOP* 30 (1976) 65–84. -J.H.L.

ODESSOS. See VARNA.

ODOACER (Ὀδόακρος), also Odovacer, ruler of Italy (from 23 Aug. 476); born ca.433, died Ravenna 16 March 493. Of Hunnic or Skirian origin (B. Macbain, *ClPhil* 78 [1983] 323–27), he became leader of the rebellious Germanic troops who overthrew ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS in 476. His position, domestic and foreign, was controversial. He was proclaimed king (*rex*) by the barbarians, but on the official inscription commemorating restoration of the Coliseum the title is omitted. Odoacer wanted to receive the recognition of Constantinople and sent Zeno the regalia of the deposed Western emperor, but Zeno was reluctant to give his approval, remembering Odoacer's earlier correspondence with the rebel ILLOS. Thus, Zeno gave Odoacer the title *patrikios*, but advised him to accept the authority of JULIUS NEPOS. The murder of Julius Nepos relieved the ambiguous situation, and Odoacer punished the assassins and seized control of Dalmatia. Zeno tried to incite the Rugians against Odoacer, but in a preemptive attack (487) Odoacer defeated them and sent gifts from the booty to Zeno, still hoping for a reconciliation (M. McCormick, *Byzantion* 47 [1977] 212–22). Zeno then invited THEODORIC to invade Italy; the Ostrogoth leader defeated Odoacer in a difficult campaign and besieged him in Ravenna. The two antagonists seem to have agreed to share the rule of Italy, but Theodoric had Odoacer murdered. Odoacer and his wife Sunigild were Arians (W. Lackner, *Historia* 21 [1972] 763f).

LIT. A.H.M. Jones, "The Constitutional Position of Odoacer and Theoderic," *JRS* 52 (1962) 126–30. J. Moorhead, "Theoderic, Zeno and Odovacer," *BZ* 77 (1984) 261–66. A. Chastagnol, *Le Sénat romain sous le règne d'Odoacre* (Bonn 1966). -T.E.G.

ODO OF DEUIL, French Benedictine monk; born ca.1100, died 8 Apr. 1162. Of modest origins, Odo became Abbot Suger's confidant and abbot of St. Corneille in Compiègne (1150) and St. Denis (1151). He served Louis VII as secretary and chaplain on the Second Crusade, during which he composed *De profectione Ludovici VII in Orientem* (On the Journey of Louis VII to the East), a history filled with sharp observations of Byz. laced with religious hostility (e.g., pp. 54–56, 68–70). The account was intended as a guide for future expeditions, whence his careful attention to Byz. food supplies (e.g., pp. 28–30, 76–82) and his insistence that Byz. treachery ruined the Crusade (e.g., pp. 12–14). His position made him privy to confidential deliberations, e.g., on negotiations with Manuel I (pp. 26–28) or an assault on Constantinople (pp. 58, 68–72). He records differences between Byz. and French etiquette and costume (pp. 24–26; *proskynesis*, called *polychronia*, is performed for all Byz. grandees, p.56), music (p.68), and coinage and exchange rates (pp. 40, 66). He describes the Latin suburb of Philippopolis (p.42), the imperial pleasure pavilion outside BLACHERNAI (p.48), and Byz. magnates' richly decorated private chapels (pp. 54–56). He also gives a magnificent description of Constantinople (pp. 64–66).

ED. *De profectione Ludovici VII in orientem*, ed. V.G. Berry (New York 1948; rp. 1965), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:436f. Zaborov, *Krest.poch.*, 125–36. -M.McC.

ODYSSEUS, in Greek mythology king of Ithaca and the central figure of the *Odyssey*. After the Trojan War he wandered many years in hostile seas, endured hardships, and was finally reunited with his wife, Penelope. Church fathers gave an allegorical interpretation to the voyages of Odysseus as a journey of the soul across the earthly sea; Odysseus bound to the mast (while exposed to the songs of the Sirens) was compared to Christ on the Cross. The adventures of Odysseus were the subject of many Byz. interpretations (MALALAS), paraphrases (A. Ludwich, *Zwei byzantinische Odysseus-Legenden* [Königsberg 1898]), and vernacular poetry (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 191). In the 12th C. Byz. writers started to emphasize the cunning and versatility (*poikilia*) of Odysseus, in addition to his endurance. For Niketas Choniates, Odysseus exemplifies the talented and wretched Andronikos I Komnenos, while EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 2:540.3–14) gives a similar characterization of Odysseus: he is not just "inventive," not only a boxer and wrestler, but also a peasant wielding the sickle, helmsman, carpenter, hunter, diviner, cook, provider of medicine (or poison), rhetorician, and astrono-

mer—qualities that appear in the portrait of Andronikos by Choniates.

LIT. H. Rahner, *Griechische Mythen in christlicher Deutung* (Zurich 1945) 414–86. A. Basilikopoulou, "Andronikos ho Komnenos kai Odysseus," *EEBS* 37 (1969–70) 251–59. –A.K.

ODYSSEY. See HOMER.

OFFERTORY. See PROSPHORA.

OFFERTORY TABLE (*τράπεζα προσφορῶν*), a round, rectangular, or lunate *sigma*-shaped slab, already in pagan times used as a secondary ALTAR or for sepulchral purposes; in Christian use these tables were often inscribed with the names of martyrs. Between the 3rd and early 7th C. most were carved in marble or colored stone (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 194–206). *Sigma*-shaped tables derived from the traditional shape of Roman banquet TABLES and were decorated with friezes showing scenes of HUNTING and ANIMAL COMBAT. Christian versions emphasized soteriological themes such as Jonah, the sacrifice of Isaac, and the Raising of Lazarus; these are thought to reflect examples in precious metals. Another important group of sigma tables is characterized by a border of 6–17 lobes (*Age of Spirit.*, no.576). The general form of these slabs is retained in examples in the refectories of the Great Lavra and Vatopedi on Mount Athos (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.*, figs. 64–67).

LIT. O. Nussbaum, "Zur Problem der runden und sigmaförmigen Altarplatten," *JbAChr* 4 (1961) 18–43. G. Roux, "Tables chrétiennes en marbre découvertes à Salamine," *Salamine de Chypre IV* (Paris 1973) 133–96. C. Metzger, "Rebords de tables ornés de reliefs du Musée du Louvre," *CahArch* 26 (1977) 47–62. –L.Ph.B.

OFFICES (*ἀξίαι διὰ λόγου*, also *ὀφφίκια*, *ἀρχαί*, *ζῶναι*), high administrative positions, to be distinguished from DIGNITIES (titles), although sometimes the borderline is difficult to draw and some offices were in fact transformed into titles. The late Roman offices are listed in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM; the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS records 60 offices that he divides into seven groups: STRATEGOI, DOMESTIKOI, JUDGES, SEKRETIKOI, *demokratai* (leaders of DEMOI), STRATARCHAI, and "others." *Strategoi* and *domestikoi* had primarily military functions; judges, *sekretikoi*, and *demokratai* were civil officials; while various *stratarchai* and "others" had military, police, or civil duties. Some offices were only honorary titles. An additional group of offices was held by the court EUNUCHS who kept order in the palace. The term *offikialios* that in the late Roman Empire designated only subaltern officials was by the 9th C. expanded to include all functionaries, probably with the exception of *strategoi*. The term *offikion* was in use also within the ecclesiastical hierarchy, where it denoted the administrative charge as opposed to the clerical order granted by a sacramental ordination.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 36–39. Oikonomides, *Listes* 302–04. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 1. –A.K.

OFFICES, MONASTIC. See HOURS, LITURGICAL.

OFFICINA, a Latin word meaning "workshop" and in a technical sense a subdivision of a MINT. Many late Roman and Byz. coins of the 3rd–8th C. bear numerals or other marks showing, presumably for control purposes, in which *officina* they were struck. Such a mark, when the system became fully organized in the course of the 4th C., usually took the form of a Greek NUMBER placed either at the end of the reverse legend or in the field. These marks vary in number according to the importance of the mint and the metal of the coins; the 6th-C. mint at Constantinople, for example, had ten *officinae* for gold SOLIDI but only five for coins of copper. The use of numbered *officina* marks ended in the 8th C.; although in the 12th–15th C. some coin series bear privy marks in the form of letters or symbols in the field, or exhibit small differences in design that seem to indicate subdivisions of a mint, it is unclear how far these corresponded to the *officinae* of earlier times. On one issue of folles of Constans II of 642–43 the *officina* numerals are accompanied by the letters ΟΦΑ, presumably for *ὀφικίνα* (*ophikina*), although this Greek form of the word is not otherwise known.

LIT. E. Babelon, *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines*, 1 (Paris 1901) 970–1044. *DOC* 2:33–53, 3:77–81. Hendy, *Coinage* 157–87. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 26. –Ph.G.

OGHUZ. See TURKOMANS; TURKS; UZES.

OHRID ('Αχρίς), city in southwestern Macedonia, located on the northeastern shore of a large lake. Archbishop Theophylaktos of Ohrid (died 1108) wrote that ca.900 the city was a center of the building activity of Kliment of Ohrid, but no independent source verifies this late evidence. The city is first mentioned in 11th-C. sources: a Byz. historian (Skyl. 353.61–62) wrote that the palace of the Bulgarian *basileis* was erected there. Ohrid was probably the capital of the empire of Samuel of Bulgaria and of the Bulgarian patriarchate. In 1019/20 Basil II occupied it and made it one of four *kastra* (together with Prespa, Mokros, and Kitzabis) of the autocephalous Bulgarian archbishopric (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 42.13)—but the name "metropolis of Achris" emerges only in a late notitia (*Notitiae CP* 17.30). The 12th-C. author Anna Komnene (An. Komn. 3:84.13–14) considered the name Ohrid as a barbarous term for the ancient lake of Lychnidos; neither she, however, nor Michael of Devol, in his supplement to Skylitzes (Skyl. 358.94–95), who mention both the lake and the city of Lychnidos, equate Ohrid with the city of Lychnidos, which was a bishopric in the 4th–5th C., replaced in the 6th C. by Justiniana Prima (it is unknown after 519—M. Fluss, *RE* 13 [1927] 2114f). Another—evidently fictitious—12th-C. tradition claimed Ohrid as the successor of Justiniana Prima (G. Prinzing, *BBulg* 5 [1978] 269–87). In the 13th C. Ohrid was contested between Bulgaria and Epiros; returned to Byz. control, it was then conveyed to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan by the treaty of Aug. 1334 and fell to the Turks in 1394.

The letters of the city's two most prominent archbishops, Theophylaktos and Demetrios Chomatenos, reflect the changing situation of the church in Ohrid: in the 11th C. the archbishop tried in vain to secure imperial support against the local officials; in the 13th C. his successor defended the privileges of the archbishopric against the patriarchate in Nicaea.

LIT. S. Vailhé, *DHGE* 1 (1912) 321–32. I. Snegarov, "Grad Ohrid," *Makedonski pregled* 4 (1928) 91–138. B. Panov, "Ohrid vo krajot na XI i početokot na XII v.," *Arheološki Muzej na Makedonija. Zbornik* 6/7 (1975) 181–95. P. Angelov, "Demografskijat oblik na grad Ohrid XIII–XIV vv.," *Vekove* 10 (1981) no.5, 16–22. V. Laurent, "Un prélat fantôme. L'archevêque d'Ochrida Anthime Métochite," *REB* 15 (1957) 207–11. –A.K.

Monuments of Ohrid. The Cathedral of St. Sophia in Ohrid, perhaps originally built in the 10th C. by Boris II, seems to have been rebuilt as a domed basilica and redecorated in the 11th C. by the archbishop Leo of Ohrid. A Great Feast cycle decorates the nave; in the conch of the apse an enthroned Virgin holds Christ in a shieldlike mandorla; Christ officiates at the Proskomide below. The liturgical nature of the bema program is emphasized by the unusual sequence of scenes from the lives of Abraham and Sts. Basil the Great and John Chrysostom on the bema walls (A. Epstein, *JÖB* 21 [1981] 315–29). In the chapel above the *diakonikon* are scenes of the martyrdom of the Apostles and on the exterior west wall of the nave is a scene of the Philoxenia of Abraham (12th C.?). The outer narthex-portico with its flanking domed bays was added in 1313/14.



Ohrid. Church of the Virgin Peribleptos. Fresco on the west wall depicting the Dormition of the Virgin.

The Church of the Virgin Peribleptos (now St. Kliment), was built by the *megas hetaireiarches* Progonos Sgouros and his wife Eudokia in 1294/5, according to a fresco inscription over the entrance (J. Ivanov, *Bŭlgarski starini iz Makedonija*[2] [Sofia 1931; rp. 1970] 38, no.8). The domed cross-in-square plan includes a tripartite sanctuary and a narthex covered by a central domical vault flanked by groin vaults. The masonry consists of alternating stone and brick courses, the latter arranged in lively decorative patterns; the main apse has niches. The program of wall paintings contains, along with scenes typical of contemporary Byz. church decoration, a Passion cycle and Gospel scenes in the upper zones, the life of the Virgin in the lower zone of the nave, and the life of John

the Baptist in the *diakonikon*. On the walls and vaults of the narthex are PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin, the Vision of Christ as Angel (based on the Easter Homily of Gregory of Nazianzos), an image of the winged John the Baptist, and illustrations of the Nativity Hymn attributed to John of Damascus. In the wall painting in the south vault of the narthex the souls of the righteous are held in the HAND OF GOD. The frescoes are the first documented work of the artists MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, whose names are inscribed on depictions of military saints painted on the west dome piers.

The large number of small-scale scenes and the extended narratives (e.g., the DORMITION), the developed compositions involving elaborate architectural backgrounds, and the numerous participants with their exaggerated gestures mark a mature Palaiologan style, although the crude red and blue colors and the over-voluminous bodies reveal a provincial variant. The same painters were responsible for icons made for the iconostasis at a somewhat later date (Ascension, Dormition, etc.); these are now housed in the nearby Gallery of Icons. During the later 14th C. the church was enlarged with side chapels and outer aisles (ambulatory wings) and adorned with new frescoes and icons (V. Djurić in *ZbLikUmet* 8 [1972] 143–45). The remains of St. KLIMENT OF OHRID were transferred here at the end of the same century.

Other surviving medieval monuments in Ohrid include the Virgin Bolnička (14th and 15th C.), the Virgin Čelnica (9th C.?), St. John the Theologian-Kaneo (1270s or 80s?), Old St. Clement (14th C.), Sts. Constantine and Helena (1365–67), St. Naum (originally a triconch of the 9th C., rebuilt as a cross-in-square church), and St. Nicholas Bolnički (14th C.).

LIT. D. Bošković, K. Tomovski, "L'architecture médiévale d'Ohrid," *Zbornik na trudovi* (Ohrid, Naroden Muzei), ed. D. Koco (Ohrid 1961) 71–100. R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* 2.3 (Giessen 1963), pls. 1–28, 160–81. V. Djurić, *The Church of St. Sophia in Ohrid* (Belgrade 1963). Miljković-Pepek, *Mihail i Eutihij* 43–51, 183–88 and pls. 1–49. Djurić, *Byz.Fresk.* 22–25. –A.J.W., G.B.

OIKEIAKOS (οἰκειακός), properly "belonging to the household," a term often interpreted as "private" (Bury, *Adm. System* 120f). As an epithet it was applied to the PARAKOIMOMENOS, *vestiarion*, or PROTOSPATHARIOS; in the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. it was used as a noun to designate a category of courtiers or functionaries; the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS defines some of them as *oikeiakoi* of the LAUSIAKOS. Their functions are unclear—only Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 149.17) lists some *oikeiakoi* as judges. R. Guilland (*REB* 29 [1971] 95–110) suggested that in the 11th C. the *epi ton oikeiakon* replaced the *eidikos* (see EIDIKON) as chief of the imperial private treasury; on the other hand, N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 136) considered him a functionary who administered the land of the fisc. It is not clear when the office of chief of the *oikeiakoi* appeared. It obviously existed ca.1030 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 92), but it could have been created earlier since Laurent dates the seals of this official predominantly to the 10th C. His duties varied: they could be combined with those of the KOMES TES LAMIAS in the department of the GENIKON (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.404), the enigmatic chief of the barbarians (nos. 523–27), or with judicial duties (no.852). He also fulfilled various fiscal functions. In the 13th–14th C. he became *logothetes* of the *oikeiakon* who usually served as a diplomat and judge, e.g., Glabas, *logothetes* of the *oikeiakon*, was KRITES KATHOLIKOS in 1344 (*Docheiar.*, no.23.8–9).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 43–45. –A.K.

OIKEIOS (οἰκεῖος), a term used in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 191.27) for the emperor's close relatives. It is probable that the epithet *oikeios* was linked to the honorific title DOULOS: a man titled *oikeios* would call himself the *doulos* of his majesty. By the end of the 12th C. it became a semiofficial title; thus, in 1196 a *logothetes ton sekreton* is called *oikeios* of the emperor (*Lavra* 1, no.67.24). It was in use through the 15th C., applied primarily to civil dignitaries such as the *papias* (*Dionys.*, no.2.11), *krites* (*Xerop.*, no.26.29), or *megas chartoularios* (*Docheiar.*, no.23.7). Sometimes it was employed as sufficient characterization without additonal titulature (*Docheiar.*, no.49.1; *Dionys.*, no.3.5). Maksimović (*ByzProvAdmin* 22–25) considers *oikeioi* as men in a kind of vassalage to the ruler.

LIT. J. Verpeaux, "Les oikeioi," *REB* 23 (1965) 89–99. –A.K.

OIKETES. See DOULOS.

OIKISTIKOS (οἰκιστικός), an enigmatic functionary of the GENIKON mentioned in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial. E. Stein (*ZSavRom* 49 [1929] 506), who previously connected the *oikistikos* with the late Roman *numerarius scrinii operum*, later rejected this view, indicating that the word *oikistikon* was used in the papyri in the sense of "account." A treatise on TAXATION (Dölger, *Beiträge* 91) describes the *oikistikos* as an official who had among his duties the registration of tax exemptions (*logisima*); in this connection an 11th-C. seal names a certain *protovestes* Stephen, "*oikistikos* of the new ORTHOSEIS" (Nesbitt, *infra,* no.4). Oikonomides (*Listes* 313) suggests that the *oikistikos* was connected with the administration of the *oikoi* (imperial domains). By the 11th C. the *oikistikos* became chief of an independent department, perhaps called *oikistike sakelle,* mentioned on a seal of the 11th/12th C. (V. Laurent, *BZ* 33 [1933] 356f; cf. *Ivir.* 1:160). *Oikistikoi* and their protonotaries are mentioned in the lists of officials in 11th-C. chrysobulls, for the last time in 1088 (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.67). Both seals and charters (MM 4:316.8) show that the 11th-C. *oikistikos* had judicial functions in various themes (Thrakesion, Boukellarion, Armeniakon, Chaldia).

LIT. J.W. Nesbitt, "The Office of the Oikistikos," *DOP* 29 (1975) 341–44. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:188–90. –A.K.

OIKOMODION (οἰκομόδιον, Slavic *komod*), a tax probably originating from the principal tax of the Bulgarian fiscal system under Samuel of Bulgaria (one modios of wheat and one of millet per household possessing a pair of oxen: Skyl. 412.67–73), which was continued in Bulgaria by Basil II. From the 11th C. onward (first mention 1019), it is attested throughout Byz. and appears to have been a regular yearly SECONDARY TAX; in the 14th C. it was roughly proportionate to the main land tax (TELOS) (1/2 modios of wheat [Gr. *sitos*] and 1/2 modios of barley [Gr. *krithe*] for an annual *telos* of 1–3 hyperpyra: hence the name SITOKRITHON). It is often mentioned together with the OINOMETRION, which must have had a similar meaning but concerned wine.

LIT. J. Bompaire, "Sur trois termes de fiscalité byzantine," *BCH* 80 (1956) 625–31. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 153f. G. Cankova-Petkova, *Za agrarnite otnošenija v srednovekovna Bŭlgarija XI–XIII v.* (Sofia 1964) 91–95. –N.O.

OIKONOMIA (οἰκονομία, lit. "husbandry"), a term with three primary meanings in Byz. First, it referred to the wise or responsible management, "stewardship," or administration of something, sometimes synonymous with PRONOIA. Second, *oikonomia* was that component of doctrine dealing with the divine plan of salvation or Incarnation history (Eph 1:9–10), in contrast with the study of the Trinity, which is *theologia* proper. The theological concept of *oikonomia* was based on the idea of relationship between righteous God and sinful man that required God's dispensations of GRACE and mercy culminating in the "economic" sacrifice of the Son. God's *oikonomia* operated through sacraments and revelations. Western theology emphasized God's justification in the action of *oikonomia* (via grace), whereas the Orthodox stressed man's participation in the divine being, deification (THEOSIS), the direct encounter of man with the Holy Spirit, the mystical redemption, rather than the principles of Roman law that attracted early Western theologians (A.E. McGrath, *Iustitia dei,* vol. 1 [Cambridge 1986] 3f).

Finally, *oikonomia* referred to moral concession as opposed to the rule of order or TAXIS (Ahrweiler, *Idéologie* 129–47). In Byz. canonical literature *oikonomia* is understood as the canonical power of the church by which, under certain circumstances, the strict letter of ecclesiastical law was relaxed. Its purpose was to avoid the severity of the law, to eliminate the obstacle to salvation caused by a rigid legalistic implementation. Thus it was not understood as a legal norm, as *dispensatio,* the Latin Western translation of the term denoting simple exception or dispensation from a law. Indeed *oikonomia,* according to NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, was ultimately an "imitation of the divine mercy" (ep.32, 236.379–80). This prudent disposition of church stewardship, which aims at the general well-being of the Christian community and each individual—as long as doctrine or truth is not compromised—prompted the church to recognize the episcopal dignity of repentant Iconoclast bishops (except those who had initiated the heresy) and to receive them to its communion (Mansi 12:1030); or, as in the case of the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, to "economize" by accepting Leo as a penitent following his fourth marriage, to Zoe Karbonopsina (*RegPatr,* fasc. 2, nos. 625–29).

There were frequent debates concerning the meaning of *oikonomia* (e.g., during the MOECHIAN

CONTROVERSY and the "tetragamy" affair). Monastic rigorists, like THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, maintained that *oikonomia* could be admitted only in connection with repentance of the transgressor and a formal cancellation of the act, performed uncanonically. Others adopted a more lenient attitude, but the principle of *oikonomia* was never denied by anyone.

LIT. P. Raï, "L'économie dans le droit canonique byzantin des origines jusqu'au XIe siècle," *Istina* 18 (1973) 260–326. J.H. Erickson, "*Oikonomia* in Byzantine Canon Law," in *Law, Church, and Society: Essays in Honor of Stephan Kuttner*, ed. K. Pennington, R. Somerville (Philadelphia 1977) 225–36. H. Thurn, *Oikonomia von der frühbyzantinischen Zeit bis zum Bilderstreit* (Munich 1961). J. Horn, "Oikonomia," in *Oikonomie*, ed. T. Stemmler (Tübingen 1985). G.G. Blum, "Oikonomia und theologia," *OstkSt* 33 (1984) 281–301. A. de Halleux, " 'Oikonomia' in the First Canon of St. Basil," *PBR* 6 (1987) 53–64. C. Cupane, "Appunti per uno studio dell'oikonomia ecclesiastica a Bisanzio," *JÖB* 38 (1988) 53–73. –A.P.

OIKONOMOS (*οἰκονόμος*), a cleric, usually a priest, responsible for managing the property, income, and expenditure of a see or religious foundation. The Council of Chalcedon (451) required every bishop to appoint an *oikonomos* from his clergy and not to administer the affairs of his see in person (canon 26). The ruling was repeated and elaborated by the Second Council of Nicaea (787), which extended the requirement to monasteries (canon 11).

Under Justinian I, the Great Church of Constantinople was served by nine *oikonomoi*, each with a subordinate staff of CHARTOULARIOI (*Cod.Just.* I 2.24). Of the nine, it was presumably the head of the "home office" (*enoikion skrinion*) who evolved into the single patriarchal *oikonomos* of the 9th C. and later. By the 10th C., the appointment came increasingly under imperial control, being granted even to laymen until Isaac I formally renounced the right to appoint. By this time the epithet *megas* had become attached to the title. Byz. lists of patriarchal OFFICES always name the *megas oikonomos* as the patriarch's highest-ranking subordinate; however, this precedence was not uncontested and became something of an honorable anachronism after 1204, with the decline and occasional redundancy of the office.

Oikonomoi were also attached to large public churches of Constantinople such as St. Mokios (*TheophCont* 365.21–23). The institution was also widespread among imperial foundations, both monastic and otherwise. The NEA EKKLESIA had its own *oikonomos* and the PANTOKRATOR complex had four.

The *oikonomos* or steward of a monastery was a senior monk responsible for the management of its properties, esp. agricultural estates, and the maintenance of monastic buildings. He was usually ranked second in the hierarchy of a monastery and often became *hegoumenos*. The *oikonomos* of a convent might be a eunuch priest (KECHARITOMENE), a layman (LIPS), or a nun (DAMILAS, BEBAIAS ELPIDOS). The *oikonomos* at Lips was paid an annual salary of 36 gold pieces, plus an allotment of wheat, barley, and wine.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 100, 106f, 133. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 16f, 35–39, 303–09. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos.49–59. Meester, *De monachico statu* 159f, 281–83. –P.M., A.M.T.

OIKOS (*οἶκος*), a term with a number of meanings, primarily referring to the house and household, but also used in a hymnographic context.

1. *Oikos as a Fiscal and Economic Term.* The basic meaning HOUSE was applied in a broader sense to the aristocratic mansion in urban and rural areas (such as the *oikos* of DIGENES AKRITAS), in contrast to *oikema*, the term regularly employed in *praktika* and other documents for a peasant dwelling; when used in this manner, *oikos* is virtually synonymous with PROASTEION. J. Gascou (*TM* 9 [1985] 28–37) views the 5th–6th-C. Egyptian *oikos* as a "semipublic institution," representing a delegation of the state's fiscal authority, whereas later Byz. law emphasized the privacy of the *oikos*: "No one can be dragged out of his private *oikos*," states the scholiast to the *Synopsis Basilicorum* K. II:45 (Zepos, *Jus* 5:323.17). *Oikos* might also mean household, the house of God (i.e., a church), or an imperial (*theios*) estate. EUAGEIS OIKOI were pious institutions. Metaphorically, the word could be applied to the entire community of the faithful: "We are one *oikos*," says SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (*Hymn* 15:127), "the house of David" (15:118).

2. *Oikos in an Astrological Context.* In this sense, *oikos* means the domicile of a planet, or planetary house. According to Malalas (Malal. 175.6–9), the mythical Erichthonios constructed a hippodrome that reflected the structure of the cosmos, that is, had the sky, the earth, and the sea; its 12 gates conformed to the 12 *oikoi* of the Zodiac. Hephaistion of Thebes often speaks of *oikoi* of planets

(Mars, Venus, etc.), indicating their correspondence with the signs of the Zodiac. –A.K.

3. *Oikos as a Hymnographic Term.* Finally, *oikos* also meant a stanza of a KONTAKION; the initial letters of each *oikos*, which were built on the same metrical pattern throughout the *kontakion*, normally formed an ACROSTIC, either alphabetic or giving the author's name. Originally meaning any stanza of the 20 to 30 forming the complete text, the term eventually referred to the second element of the reduced form of the *kontakion* (consisting only of the *koukoulion*, or prooimion, and one stanza, the *oikos*). This combination of *kontakion* and *oikos* was sung after the sixth ode of the KANON during the ORTHROS.

LIT. 1. P. Magdalino, "The Byzantine Aristocratic *Oikos*," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 92–111. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 272–83. Oikonomides, "Évolution" 138–41. –A.J.C.

LIT. 3. Wellesz, *Music* 241f. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 217–30. –E.M.J.

OIKOUMENE (οἰκουμένη, lit. "the inhabited [earth]"), an ancient concept that had various meanings in Byz. The word *oikoumene* was used, as in antiquity, to designate the earth as a whole: thus Eustathios of Thessalonike (*Eust.Comm.Il.* 2:496.16–17) stated that Poseidonios and Dionysios Periegetes envisaged the *oikoumene* as spherical, Demokritos considered it elongated, and Hipparchos trapezoidal. Byz. ASTRONOMY accepted the concept of a spheroid earth, and PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.36) defended—against KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES—the image of a spherical COSMOS.

Oikoumene also referred to the inhabited or civilized world, an area identical with the Roman Empire or the region of the MEDITERRANEAN SEA; remote areas were described as located beyond the *oikoumene* (e.g., Greg. 2:992.15–16). Already in patristic literature the word acquired a specific Christian connotation: the *oikoumene* was the world as the scene of Christ's activity and of the celebration of the Christian sacraments, which were performed not in a single city or in a single "theater" but in the whole *oikoumene* (Photios, ep.284, ed. Laourdas-Westerink 3:69.2300–02). Accordingly, the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH (*oikoumenikos patriarches*), adopted by the archbishop of Constantinople in the 6th C., expressed his claim to PRIMACY in the Christian church that led to a serious conflict with Rome. Fewer political repercussions arose from the title *oikoumenikos didaskalos* (see DIDASKALOS), arrogantly assumed by one of the principal teachers of theology in Constantinople.

LIT. A. Mastino, "*Orbis*, kosmos, oikumene: Aspetti spaziali dell'idea di impero universale da Augusto a Teodosio," in *Popoli e spazio romano* (Naples 1986) 63–162. –A.K.

OIKOUMENIOS (Οἰκουμένιος), 6th-C. biblical exegete, author of the earliest Greek commentary on the APOCALYPSE. The text of his exegesis was not discovered until 1901 by F. Diekamp. He was identified by S. Pétridès (*EO* 6 [1903] 308f) as the *comes* Oikoumenios who was the addressee of two letters of SEVEROS of Antioch. He is called rhetor and philosopher in the MSS of his commentary. He notes at the beginning that he wrote his commentary more than 500 years after the completion of the Apocalypse, that is, ca.550. His identification with the 10th-C. bishop Oikoumenios of Trikka in Thessaly is now rejected.

His interpretation of the Apocalypse is mostly metaphorical and oriented to the future, but in some passages he refers to the events of Christ's life: thus the sun-clothed woman who gives birth to a male child is interpreted by Oikoumenios (as by many others) as the symbol of the Virgin and Jesus. More original (and distinct from the exegesis of ANDREW of Caesarea) is his interpretation of the thousand-year reign of Christ. It is construed not as a period in future but as a metaphorical description of the day of the first *parousia*: only then, says Oikoumenios, was the devil fettered, but after Christ's crucifixion he was again set free. Unlike Origen and Eusebios, Oikoumenios did not consider Augustus as a peacemaker but rather as "the beast," that is, the devil; Oikoumenios believed that the new era of human history began with "the pious Constantine."

ED. *The Complete Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse*, ed. H.C. Hoskier (Ann Arbor 1928).

LIT. G. Podskalsky, *Byzantinische Reichseschatologie* (Munich 1972) 84–86. A. Spitaler, "Zur Klärung des Ökumeniusproblems," *OrChr* 31 (1934) 208–15, with add. J. Schmid, ibid. 216–18. C. Durousseau, "The Commentary of Oecumenius on the Apocalypse of John," *Biblical Research* 29 (1984) 21–34. A. Monaci Castagno, "I Commenti di Ecumenio e di Andrea di Cesarea," *Memorie dell'Accademia delle scienze di Torino: Classe delle scienze morali* 5 (1987) 303–426. –B.B.

OIKOUMENON (οἰκούμενον), a fiscal term, synonymous with TELOS, *stoichikon telos* (e.g., *Zogr.*, no.29.76), or *oikiakon telos* (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.35.42, 45); sometimes *telos* designated an in-

dividual payment while *oikoumenon* meant the sum charged to a fiscal district.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 311f. –A.K.

OIL (ἔλαιον), usually made from OLIVES, was one of the most important ingredients of the DIET; vegetables were eaten with oil or cooked in oil: thus, Symeon SETH speaks of lentils cooked with oil, garum (a fermented fish sauce), and salt (115.16–17), and of truffles cooked in oil with pepper and garum (109.7–8). Strict ascetics are said to have abstained from oil; normally oil was avoided on fastdays or as penance (Theodore of Stoudios in PG 99:1724C). In addition to its use in food preparation, oil was employed in the concoction of medicines and ointments and as a fuel for LAMPS (in the illumination of churches, palaces, houses, etc.); Eustathios of Thessalonike (PG 136:640A) relates that in lighthouses wax and oil were burned in glass vessels that protected them from the wind. Sailors followed the custom of pouring oil onto stormy seas to calm them (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:338, 380).

The word *elaion* was expanded to include "fish" oil (from dolphins) and mineral oil. The *Geoponika* (9.18.1–2) mentions *elaion* produced from terebinth, sesame seeds, and nuts. Oil was also pressed from flax seeds (see LINEN) and from various fruits and flowers (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 267).

In liturgical practice ANOINTING with sacramental oil was administered before or after baptism, and the sacrament of UNCTION entailed anointing of the sick for healing and/or the forgiveness of sins. Individuals seeking miraculous HEALING often anointed themselves with oil sanctified by proximity to a saint's relics or tomb; anointment was also part of the ritual of CORONATION. The development of the symbolism of oil was enhanced by the similarity of the word *elaion* to *eleos*, mercy: thus it symbolized mercy and grace, and related concepts such as cheerfulness, good works, spiritual riches.

LIT. E. Jeanselme, L. Oeconomos, *Aliments et recettes culinaires des Byzantins* (Anvers 1923) 4, 13. –A.K., A.M.T.

OINAIOTES, GEORGE, writer of first half of 14th C. Together with his older kinsman George GALESIOTES, he prepared a vernacular paraphrase of the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. Oinaiotes (Οἰναιώτης) was identified by S.I. Kourouses (*Gabalas* 99–121) as the anonymous author of the so-called Florentine collection of 179 letters (Florence, Laur. S. Marco 356). His correspondents included Theodore METOCHITES, Andrew LOPADIOTES, and John GABRAS. To date only four of the letters have been published (G.H. Karlsson, G. Fatouros, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 207–18). Although many of his letters are rhetorical exercises, others describe topics such as his illnesses, his vineyards, his problems as a landlord, a trip to Mt. GANOS (where he had close ties to the monks), and his intellectual pursuits, such as borrowing books by JOHN XIII GLYKYS. His classical education is reflected in frequent citation of ancient authors, esp. Homer, Plato, and Aristotle. Oinaiotes was interested in ASTRONOMY and received instruction from a physician (*aktouarios*), perhaps JOHN AKTOUARIOS, according to S.I. Kourouses (*Athena* 78 [1980–82] 260–69).

ED. Paraphrase—ed. Hunger-Ševčenko, *Blemmydes* 19–117, 149–206.

LIT. J.E. Rein, *Die Florentiner Briefsammlung (Codex Laurentianus S. Marco 356)* (Helsinki 1915). Hunger, *Lit.* 1:206. *PLP*, no.21026. –A.M.T.

OINOMETRION (οἰνομέτριον, lit. "a measure of wine"), a secondary tax mentioned in several *praktika* of the early 14th C. A chrysobull of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan of 1346 issued for the monastery of Iveron exempted the monks from "the recently introduced *oinometrion*" (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.6.42), thus indicating a relatively late date for its appearance. The *oinometrion* was levied in proportion to the tax called TELOS (usually one METRON [local measure] for each nomisma of the tax) and is listed in the *praktika* together with the OIKOMODION. Dölger (*Byzanz* 258f) hypothesized that both surtaxes were collected by tax officials for their services in measuring grain and wine, respectively; his hypothesis was rejected by J. Bompaire, who considered *oinometrion* as a rent for vineyards. It may also have been a rent in kind imposed on peasants, the amount of which depended not only on the size of their vineyards but on intangible factors. A fragment of a *praktikon* of the late 13th C. (*Esphig.*, no.7.8) calculates *oinometrion* in cash and places it after KASTROKTISIA, not *oikomodion*; it should perhaps be interpreted as evidence that in the early 14th C. the tax changed its nature, and payment in kind replaced that in money.

LIT. J. Bompaire in *Xerop.* 151. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 119f. –A.K.

OKTOECHOS (ὀκτώηχος, lit. "eight-toned"), a LITURGICAL BOOK containing the hymns of daily ORTHROS, VESPERS, EUCHARIST, and Saturday *mesonyktikon* (see HOURS) for the mobile cycle for every day of the year except for Lent, Easter, and Pentecost, which are covered by two other books, the TRIODION and the PENTEKOSTARION. A "proper," or set of hymns for each of the seven days of the week in each of the eight different musical MODES, that is, 56 "propers" in all, the *oktoechos* cycle takes eight weeks to complete, one mode per week, and is repeated throughout the year from All Saints' Day (the first Sunday after Pentecost) until progressively replaced by the *triodion* during Lent. This complete cycle of the "Great" or "New" *Oktoechos* is now known as the *Parakletike*, the term *oktoechos* being reserved for the Sunday hymns. When the *oktoechos* cycle overlaps with the MENAION or the *triodion*, the liturgical TYPIKON regulates which hymns will be sung.

The name *oktoechos* was used for these hymns from at least the 11th C. The oldest *oktoechos* poetic pieces were originally scattered in disparate collections of KANONES, STICHERA, and KATHISMATA, of which MSS of the 8th–9th C. have survived. Anthologies of *oktoechos* hymns for Sundays date from the 8th C.; those of the weekday cycle were added later. Though St. JOHN OF DAMASCUS contributed to the *Oktoechos* and is often named as its author, the book was completed only after his death. There is only one surviving illustrated *Oktoechos*, a MS of the DECORATIVE STYLE group (Messina, San Salvatore 51). Its eight miniatures, all of which include the figure of John of Damascus, accompany the *stichera anastasima*.

TR. *Paraclitique ou Grande Octoèque*, tr. D. Guillaume, 2 vols. (Rome 1977–1979). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 365–67.
LIT. *Dimanche, office selon les huit tons: Oktoéchos* (Chevetogne 1972). A. Cody, "The Early History of the Octoechos in Syria," in *East of Byzantium* 89–113. A. Weyl Carr, "Illuminated Musical Manuscripts in Byzantium: A Note on the Late Twelfth Century," *Gesta* 28 (1989) 41–52. –R.F.T., N.P.Š.

OLD KNIGHT (Ὁ Πρέσβυς Ἱππότης), 14th-C. poem, possibly written in Cyprus. This anonymous compilation in Greek unrhymed POLITICAL VERSE of the opening episode of the French prose romance *Guiron le Courtois* was drawn probably from the compilation of Rusticiano da Pisa (1272–98). Only 306 lines, at a purist language level, survive. The episode describes the arrival of Brannor le Brun (the Old Knight) at King Arthur's court and his challenge to the younger knights of the Round Table—Palamedes, Gauvain, Galahad, Tristan, etc.

ED. "La 'table ronde' en Orient: Le poème grec du vieux chevalier," ed. P. Breillat, *MEFR* 55 (1938) 308–40.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 138. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

OLD TESTAMENT (Παλαιὰ Διαθήκη), the first part of the BIBLE. It was inherited by Christians from the Jews and available to them in the so-called Septuagint, the translation by 70 (or 72) "wise men"; other translations (by Theodotion, Aquila, Symmachos, etc.) survive only in insignificant fragments. The Greek Old Testament includes the Hebrew canonical books (the PENTATEUCH; historical books; poetic books, such as the PSALTER and Proverbs of SOLOMON; and the books of PROPHETS) and the so-called deuterocanonical books. The authority of these last works was questioned by major church fathers such as Jerome and John of Damascus, but the Western church accepted the canon in full. Jugie (*infra*) demonstrated that, down to the Council of Ferrara-Florence, the Byz. did not reject the canonicity of the deuterocanonical books; at least this point never emerged as a subject of discussion between the two churches.

The text of the Old Testament survives in complete editions (sometimes together with the NEW TESTAMENT; esp. famous are the 4th-C. uncial MSS, Codex Vaticanus, Sinaiticus, and Alexandrinus) and in separate collections (OCTATEUCH, historical books, Psalter, Prophets). The validity of the Old Testament was questioned by certain heretics, but the official church emphasized its inspired character. Its prohibition of idolatry created special difficulties for the ICONOPHILES. The Old Testament occasioned broad exegeses, homilies, and paraphrases as well as APOCRYPHA. Among many others, Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS wrote poems on the Old Testament and on the later history of the Jews, while Matthew of Ephesus (Manuel GABALAS) used several of its books (JOB, Proverbs, Ecclesiastes) for "the moral education of the soul" (S. Kourouses, *Manouel Gabalas* [Athens 1972] 167).

LIT. E. Würthwein, *Der Text des Alten Testaments* (Leiden 1979). A. Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis der griechischen Handschriften des Alten Testaments* (Berlin 1914). M. Jugie, *Histoire du canon de l'Ancien Testament dans l'église grecque et l'église russe* (Paris 1909; rp. Leipzig 1974). M. Roberts, "The First Sighting Theme in the Old Testament Poetry of Late Antiquity," *ICS* 10 (1985) 139–55. M. Simonetti, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *VetChr* 14 (1977) 69–102. –J.I.

OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION. Study of the Byz. contribution to Old Testament illustration raises both practical and theoretical problems. The material is widely dispersed and still only partially known; despite the existence of photographic collections a significant part remains relatively inaccessible. This situation makes it difficult to gain a thorough knowledge of even the surviving material. In addition, what has been published has sometimes been selected on the basis of theories that have influenced the choice of illustrations, as well as interpretations drawn from them.

The Byz. illustrated some scenes and figures of the Old Testament because these had already been adopted, like the text itself, by the Christians of the first centuries. Thus many of the most familiar Old Testament scenes, such as the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA or JONAH and the Whale, were already widely known by the 3rd or 4th C. These compositions remained substantially the same throughout the Byz. period. That some of these illustrations originated in JEWISH ART has been strongly argued, and that some contain elements of Jewish exegesis is certain; but the syncretistic nature of religious cults, esp. in this crucial period, and the possibility of parallel developments, must be taken into account, esp. in view of the fact that later synagogue FLOOR MOSAICS sometimes reflect the decoration of churches. Clearly many Old Testament scenes and figures (as those of the New Testament) were derived quite simply from formulas in contemporary Hellenistic-Roman art, along with other visual sources.

Some Old Testament scenes—esp. those cited in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE—were popular initially in funerary contexts, such as catacombs or sarcophagi, as suitable images of a hoped-for salvation in Christ. This is characteristic of the 4th–6th C., and to a large extent they were replaced by Christological resurrection scenes. In early monumental art the Old Testament was also important, notably in the great basilicas of Rome, where scenes were selected to prefigure and parallel the New Testament story. In the 9th C. and later, this monumental role almost disappears, with the exception of anomalies such as the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina at PALERMO and MONREALE, where the basilical nave was probably used in a deliberately archaizing way. The one distinctively Byz. development of the scheme was in the use of the Old Testament PROPHETS in the upper parts of churches as hierarchically arranged foretellers of the Gospel.

The situation in MSS is rather different. With the exception of GENESIS illustration, the pre-9th C. evidence is scanty and restricted, though thereafter it is relatively full and diverse. This body of illustration can be further enriched if account is taken of Old Testament scenes that have, metaphorically speaking, migrated from the Old Testament itself to MSS such as the *Christian Topography* of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES or the SACRA PARALLELA. The origin of such scenes, however, remains controversial.

To judge from the MS evidence, which is the most plentiful, the Byz. rarely if ever thought in terms of a unit of text, or of illustration, called the Old Testament. Only a single MS survives that suggests an overall plan for its illustration: the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. Typically the Byz. thought in terms of smaller units: the OCTATEUCH, PSALTER, PROPHET BOOK, or JOB, for example. These represent the convenient volumes in which the Old Testament circulated. They were illustrated, and probably used, in different ways.

Traced over the centuries, the illustration of narrative themes from the Old Testament seems to follow two curves with contrasting profiles. In the public domain, exemplified by the decoration of the walls of churches and monasteries, the 4th–6th C. probably represents a peak, the 9th–12th C. certainly was a trough, and the 13th–14th C. a second peak. This is to be explained by the emphasis after Iconoclasm on large-scale images of the principal events of Christ's life, whereas those in the 13th–14th C. preferred far more numerous images on a smaller scale, as exemplified by the JOSEPH cycle in the narthex at SOPOĆANI and the ELIJAH cycle in the prothesis at Morača. By way of contrast, in the private domain represented by the illustration of books, it is the

9th–12th C. that represents the peak of popularity. This fluctuation suggests that the Byz. perception of Old Testament illustration would have been significantly different in, for example, the 5th, 10th, or 14th C., even if its iconography remained substantially the same. That there is any direct connection between the decline of interest in Old Testament illustration in monumental art and its rise in MSS is improbable. It appears to be part of the general pattern of Byz. art.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 45–75. Idem, "The Study of Byzantine Book Illumination: Past, Present, and Future," in *The Place of Book Illumination in Byzantine Art* (Princeton 1975) 1–60. Idem, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex, a Study of the Origin and Method of Text Illustration*[2] (Princeton 1970). –J.H.L.

OLEG, ruler of Rus'; died after 911. Norman by birth, Oleg succeeded Rurik in Novgorod (in 879 according to the *Primary Chronicle*) and later subdued the territories to the south. KHAZAR documents relate that Oleg (named *HLGW* in the texts), incited by Romanos Lekapenos (?), sacked TMUTOROKAN (N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents of the Tenth Century* [Ithaca-London 1982] 104–05). Golb and Pritsak (pp.61–71) questioned the traditional opinion that Oleg captured Kiev and dated this event to the time of IGOR, ca.930. The *Primary Chronicle, sub anno* 907, describes Oleg's expedition against Constantinople and the treaty concluded between him and Byz.; the text of the treaty is also cited later in full and dated in 911/12. (The majority of scholars now reject the assumption of two separate treaties.) The treaty guaranteed the rights of Rus' envoys, merchants, and mercenaries in Byz.; exchange of captives; and extradition of state criminals.

The silence of the Greek sources about Oleg's expedition has caused a heated discussion of its historicity: H. Grégoire insisted on the legendary character of the chronicle's evidence (*La Nouvelle Clio* 4 [1952] 281–87), whereas G. Ostrogorsky (*SemKond* 11 [1940] 47–62) and many other scholars considered it reliable. R. Jenkins interpreted a passage in pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS describing the "Ros-dromitai" as referring to Oleg's expedition (*Speculum* 24 [1949] 403–06), but the passage is too vague to warrant any firm conclusion.

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980) 83–180. V.D. Nikolaev, "Svidetel'stvo chroniki Psevdo-Simeona o Rusi-dromitach i pochod Olega na Konstantinopol' v 907 g.," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 147–53. A. Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *DOP* 6 (1951) 161–225. A. Karpozilos, "Hoi Ros-Dromitai kai ho mythos tes ekstrateias tou Oleg," *Dodone* 12 (1983) 329–46. Idem, "Ros-Dromity i problema pochoda Olega protiv Konstantinopolja," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 112–18. –A.K.

OL'GA, princess of Kiev (Ἔλγα in Greek sources, Christian name Helena); died 11 July 969. Wife and, from 945, heiress of IGOR, Ol'ga tried to develop trade and political relations with Byz.; both her baptism and her journey to Constantinople should be placed within this framework. The evidence concerning both events is, however, contradictory. Her journey took place in 946, according to G. Litavrin (*Istorija SSSR* [1981] no.5, 173–83), or in 957, according to the traditional view. G. Ostrogorsky (*Byzanz und die Welt der Slawen* [Darmstadt 1974] 35–52) suggested that Ol'ga was already Christian when she traveled to Constantinople and was received by CONSTANTINE VII; so she must have been baptized in Kiev in 954/5. D. Obolensky (*GOrThR* 28 [1983] 157–71) and J.-P. Arrignon (in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* [Paris 1979] 167–84) hypothesize that Ol'ga's baptism took place in Kiev after her return from Constantinople; B. Pheidas (*EEBS* 39–40 [1972–73] 630–50) insists that she was baptized in Constantinople during her journey, although Constantine VII, who described her visit in detail (*De cer.* 594–98), did not mention the fact. In any case, Ol'ga's visit to Constantinople did not lead to a strong alliance; in 959 she sent envoys to OTTO I THE GREAT, and Libutius was appointed bishop in the country of the Rus'.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Putešestvie russkoj knjagini Ol'gi v Konstantinopol'. Problema istočnikov," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 35–48. O. Pritsak, "When and Where was Ol'ga Baptized?" *HUkSt* 9 (1985) 5–24. –A.K.

OLIVE (ἐλαία). Olives provided a staple food, and, when crushed in an OLIVE PRESS, yielded cooking OIL and oil for lamps. Until the Arab conquest, Syria was the major area of olive production, replaced from the 7th C. onward by a narrow strip along the Aegean littoral in Asia Minor and Greece as well as southern Italy, but not in Anatolikon (LEO OF SYNADA, ep.43.7–8). English historians of the 12th C. report that no other place in the world produced so many olives

as the southern Peloponnesos (H. Lamprecht, *Untersuchungen über einige englische Chronisten des zwölften und des beginnenden dreizehnten Jahrhunderts* [Torgau 1937] 117). The Farmer's Law does not mention the olive tree. In the acts of Athos, olive trees are infrequent, the climate of Macedonia being too severe for olive cultivation (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 26), and the *praktika* only rarely mention 2–6 trees in single households. More numerous were olive trees in the Smyrna region; thus, a small monastery of St. Panteleemon in 1232/3 possessed 150 olive trees located both inside and outside the monastery walls (MM 4:57.15–16); a donation and a sale of 44–46 trees are mentioned (MM 4:116.30–31, 137.26); in the theme of Mylassa and Melanoudion an entire "olive *proasteion*" is attested (MM 4:320.22). Olive trees can be grown in poor soil and on rocky terrain; sometimes soil under them was irrigated (MM 4:130.13–15), although they can be grown without IRRIGATION. Besides restrictions caused by temperature, the olive tree has other disadvantages: its fruit is produced only in alternate years and, when picked, is easily bruised.

LIT. J.W. Nesbitt, "Mechanisms of Agricultural Production on Estates in the Byzantine Praktika" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Wis., 1972) 9–12. –A.K., J.W.N.

OLIVE PRESS. The production of oil from OLIVES was fairly complicated, involving removal of the kernel (which, if crushed, imparts a distasteful flavor) and the separation of OIL and dregs. Several oil presses discovered in Syria illustrate the type used in the 5th–7th C. One featured a horizontal beam extending from a niche in a wall across the room and over successive vats to a tall π-shaped housing for a winch. The beam was suspended from the center of the housing and was attached to the winch below. In front of the winch was a vat with two stone rollers at the end. The olives were first piled into this vat and then crushed with the rollers. The lees were collected and removed to a nearby vat. The olive paste was collected in round baskets that were placed in the second vat, one on top of another, under the horizontal beam. By tightening the rope of the winch, the beam was lowered and the olive paste was crushed, the oil flowing into the vat below. The oil was then drawn into another vat, situated to one side and filled with water. Impurities fell to the bottom while the oil came to the surface and was then drawn off into another vat. Given the complex methods involved, the final product was probably often of inferior quality, retaining impurities such as skin and parts of the kernel.

LIT. K.D. White, *Farm Equipment of the Roman World* (Cambridge 1975) 225–33. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:363–71. O. Callot, *Huileries antiques de Syrie du Nord* (Paris 1984). I. Bojanovski, "Antička uljara na Mogorjelu i rekonstrukcija njenog torkulara," *Naše Starine* 12 (1969) 27–54. –J.W.N.

OLIVER, JOVAN, semiautonomous Serbian prince; died after 1355, probably as the monk John Kalybites, whose death on 20 Jan. was noted in a 14th-C. Serbian Gospel (R. Grujić, *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 11 [1932] 233–37). Of Greek origin, Oliver (ὁ Λίβερος) held a series of positions at the Serbian court that he described in a Serbian inscription in the Lesnovo monastery (see GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO): grand *kephale* (*čelnik*), grand "servant" (*sluga*), grand *stratopedarches* (*voevoda*), grand *sebastokrator,* and grand *despotes* "of the entire Serbian land and of Pomorie" by the will of Kralj (King) Stefan (probably STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN). The date when he received the title of *despotes* has been a matter of discussion: J. Fine (*Late Balkans* 343, n.3) argues that the title was granted ca.1340 by Dušan, while B. Ferjančić (*Despoti* 159–66) prefers 1347 and John VI Kantakouzenos. It has been suggested that by 1340 Oliver married Maria (Mara) Palaiologina, widow of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. He obtained control over the province of Ovče Polje, on the border between Byz. and Serbia, was the ally of Kantakouzenos during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, and acted as his patron at Dušan's court. On some of Oliver's coins his name is accompanied by that of Dušan or of STEFAN UROŠ V; others bear his name alone, suggesting that after Dušan's death Oliver gradually gained independence.

LIT. J. Radonić, "O despotu Jovanu Oliveru i njegovoj ženi Ani Mariji," *GlasSAN* 94 (1914) 74–109. –A.K.

OLYMPIAS (Ὀλυμπιάς), saint; born Constantinople between 361 and 368, died Nikomedeia 25 July 408; feastdays 24, 25, and 29 July. Born to an aristocratic family, in 386 Olympias married Nebridios, prefect of Constantinople, who soon died. When she refused to take as a second husband Elpidios, a relative of Theodosios I, the state

confiscated her property, restoring it in 391. Olympias possessed estates in Thrace, Galatia, Cappadocia, and Bithynia, as well as mansions in Constantinople, and used her wealth to support the church and esp. JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. Ordained deaconess by Patr. Nektarios, she founded a convent near Hagia Sophia. After Chrysostom's exile, Olympias refused to accept his successor. She herself was banished to Nikomedeia, where John wrote her several letters of consolation before her death (*Lettres à Olympias*, ed. A. Malingrey [Paris 1947]). She was buried at the monastery of St. Thomas of Brochthoi on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos.

Destroyed during the NIKA REVOLT of 532, Olympias's convent was rebuilt by Justinian I and inaugurated in 537. Under the pressure of an early 7th-C. Persian invasion, Sergia, *hegoumene* of the convent, received permission from Patr. SERGIOS I to transfer Olympias's remains to her nunnery; she then wrote an account of the translation of the relics. The fate of the convent is unknown. The deeds of Olympias are briefly narrated by PALLADIOS in both his *Lausiac History* and the *Dialogue* on Chrysostom's life; her anonymous vita was based on the same sources.

SOURCES. H. Delehaye, "Vita Sanctae Olympiadis et narratio Sergiae de eiusdem translatione," *AB* 15 (1896) 409–23; 16 (1897) 44–51. Fr. tr. J. Bousquet, *ROC* 11 (1906) 225–50; 12 (1907) 258–68. Eng. tr. E.A. Clark, *Jerome, Chrysostom, and Friends* (New York 1979) 107–57.

LIT. *BHG* 1374–76. *PLRE* 1:642f. Janin, *Églises CP* 381. Dagron, *Naissance* 501–06. –A.K.

OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, Neoplatonist philosopher; born ca.500, died after 564/5. A pupil of AMMONIOS, Olympiodoros (Ὀλυμπιόδωρος) taught philosophy in Alexandria and achieved fame as the "Great Philosopher." His commentaries on Plato's *First Alcibiades*, *Gorgias*, and *Phaedo* survive in the form of students' lecture notes, as do those on Aristotle's *Categories* and *Meteorologica*. He is also thought to be the author of the commentaries on the astrological work of PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA ascribed to a certain Heliodoros (L. Westerink, *BZ* 64 [1971] 6–21). It is less likely that he wrote an extant treatise on an alchemical text of ZOSIMOS. Olympiodoros was later thought to be a Christian because ANASTASIOS OF SINAI confused him with another Olympiodoros, an early 6th-C. deacon who wrote a series of commentaries on the Bible.

ED. *Commentary on the First Alcibiades of Plato*[2], ed. L.G. Westerink (Amsterdam 1982). *The Greek Commentaries on Plato's Phaedo*, ed. idem, vol. 1 (Amsterdam–New York 1976). *In Platonis Gorgiam commentaria*, ed. idem (Leipzig 1970). *CAG* 12.1 (Berlin 1902), 12.2 (Berlin 1900).

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena*, xv–xix. –B.B.

OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES (in Egypt), 5th-C. historian, poet, and philosophy enthusiast. For 20 years Olympiodoros traveled adventurously around the world with a parrot that could dance, sing, and speak his name. In 412 he went on an embassy to the Hunnish king Donatus; the latter's subsequent death has raised suspicion that Olympiodoros procured it. The next decade saw him in Athens and back in Egypt. His secular history, written in Greek, was a source for PHILOSTORGIOS, SOZOMENOS, and (evidently) ZOSIMOS. It covered the period 407–22 in 22 books and was dedicated to Theodosios II. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.80), the sole source of the extant 46 fragments, is harsh on Olympiodoros's lack of style and form; nor did his militant paganism endear him to the patriarch. Olympiodoros certainly violated some classicizing canons, notably by including unadorned Latinisms. His preference for facts and figures over stylistic flights, making him the most scientific of late Roman historians, can hardly be praised too much. Possible samples of his poetry are the line quoted in fragment 43 and the contemporary epic *Blemyomachia*, preserved in P. Berol. 5003; he is known (fr.35.2) to have visited the BLEMMYES.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 2:151–220, with Eng. tr. *Frammenti storici*, ed. R. Maisano (Naples 1979), with It. tr. *Blemyomachia*, ed. E. Livrea (Meisenheim an Glan 1978), with It. tr.

LIT. F. Paschoud, "Le début de l'ouvrage historique d'Olympiodore," in *Studia in honorem Iiro Kajanto* (Helsinki 1985) 185–96. B. Baldwin, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *AntCl* 49 (1980) 212–31. E.A. Thompson, "Olympiodorus of Thebes," *CQ* 38 (1944) 43–52. F.M. Clover, "Olympiodorus of Thebes and the Historia Augusta," in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1979/81* (Bonn 1983) 127–56. –B.B.

OLYMPIOS (Ὀλύμπιος), exarch of Ravenna (from 649); he was a *koubikoularios* sent to Italy by CONSTANS II with orders to secure approval of the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II and, if possible, to arrest

Pope MARTIN I. Olympios arrived in Rome by 1 Nov. 649 and found the LATERAN SYNOD still assembled. Despite his coercion, the bishops refused to confirm the Typos. According to the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:339), when the frustrated Olympios tried to have Martin assassinated at mass, God blinded his *spatharios* at the crucial moment; Olympios was consequently reconciled with Martin. His subsequent actions are obscure, but later accusations against Martin suggest that Olympios rebelled against the emperor. Perhaps in 651 Olympios reached an accord with the Lombard king Rothari (L. Hartmann, *Geschichte Italiens im Mittelalter*, vol. 2.1 [Gotha 1900] 244). The *Liber pontificalis*, however, says only that some time after making peace with Martin, Olympios collected his army and "set off to Sicily against the Saracens dwelling there," that his army was devastated (perhaps by plague), and that Olympios himself died from disease. Most scholars believe that in 652 Olympios crossed over to Sicily to oppose Arab invaders. When and if he actually reached the island is unclear, and Stratos (*JÖB* 25 [1976] 63–73), pointing out the problems of an Arab presence in Sicily at this time, proposed that in fact Olympios intended to attack Byz. forces in southern Italy.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:104–11, 275f. –P.A.H.

OLYMPOS, MOUNT, in Bithynia, modern Ulu Dağ, alt. 2,327 m, a HOLY MOUNTAIN southeast of Prousa that was an important monastic center, esp. in the 8th–10th C. It is occasionally called the "mountain of the monks" (*oros ton kalogeron*). The term *Olympos* (Ὄλυμπος) was sometimes extended to include monastic communities in the plain of Prousa, primarily to the north and west as far as the Sea of Marmara. During the first centuries of Christianity Olympos was inhabited only by a few hermits; the first monastery was established by the 5th C. Over the centuries the region is known to have included about 50 monasteries, only one of which (Peristerai) appears to have been female. The monasteries had no formal connection and, with the exception of Agauros, which had four or five dependencies or METOCHIA, were quite independent of each other. Unlike Athos and Latros, it was not a monastic federation headed by a PROTOS or ARCHIMANDRITE.

The monks of Olympos were active in the struggle against ICONOCLASM; many of the signatories of the acts of the Second Council of Nicaea (787) were *hegoumenoi* of monasteries in this region. As a result a number of the communities suffered persecution, esp. under Leo V, and were forced to disperse, at least temporarily. Because of their isolation the monasteries of Olympos suffered from Arab raids in the 9th C. An important group of monasteries continued to function on Olympos in the 10th C., and it occupied first place in the lists of holy mountains established by historians of this period (Genes. 58.21–22, *TheophCont* 418.23, 430.18–19). Romanos I sent two kentenaria of gold to the monks of Olympos (*TheophCont* 440.3–4). Leo VI and his son Constantine (VII) made a pilgrimage to the mountain (*TheophCont* 463f); in the 11th C. disgraced officials (e.g., the *protovestiarios* Symeon during the reign of Michael IV [Skyl. 396.28–32] and Michael PSELLOS in 1054) retired to Olympos. The growth of ATHOS and the invasion of the Seljuks inflicted a blow on Olympos, but separate monasteries in this area were still known in the 14th C.

Among the monasteries of the region were ATROA, MEDIKION, PELEKETE, CHENOLAKKOS, HELIOU BOMON, Sakkoudion, and the lavra of Symboloi(a). Many monastic saints, such as PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, IOANNIKIOS, the patriarch of Constantinople METHODIOS, and EUTHYMIOS THE YOUNGER spent part or all of their careers at Olympos.

LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 127–92. B. Menthon, *Une terre de légende. L'Olympe de Bithynie* (Paris 1935). –A.M.T.

OLYNTHOS (Ὄλυνθος), city in the CHALKIDIKE, north of Potidaia. The late antique and medieval periods are known primarily from excavations. A coin of Justinian I suggests that the settlement survived at least through the 6th C. Late Roman remains were also discovered nearby, at Hagios Mamas south of Olynthos (D. Robinson, G. Mylonas, *AJA* 43 [1939] 69), including a fine undated column decorated with reliefs, and at Mariana, north of Olynthos (a coin of Constantius II, a tower, traces of a wall: D. Robinson, *AJA* 37 [1933] 602). The settlement revived in the 11th C.: coins, pottery of the 11th–14th C. similar to that of Thessalonike (*infra* 5:285–91), and iron objects

have been discovered. The 12th-C. Church of St. Nicholas had mosaic pavement.

LIT. *Excavations at Olynthus*, ed. D. Robinson, vol. 9 (Baltimore 1938) 360f; vol. 12 (1946) 318–22; vol. 14 (1952). –T.E.G.

OMAR. See ʻUMAR.

OMOPHORION (*ὠμοφόριον*), a long scarf, a vestment that only bishops were permitted to wear. It was about 3.5 m long, made of white wool, linen, or silk, and decorated with embroidered crosses. It was worn over the PHELONION, looped loosely over the shoulders so that one end hung down in front and one in back. It was said as early as the 5th C. (letter I.136 of Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78:272C) that the *omophorion* must be made of wool, not linen, since it represented fleece of the lost sheep that Christ the GOOD SHEPHERD raised on his shoulders to carry back home—the bishop thus assuming the role of Christ among his flock. Hence, at that point in the liturgy when the text of the Gospel was to be read, the bishop was required to take off the *omophorion* out of respect for the voice of Christ, the true shepherd.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 664–74. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 133f. Papas, *Messgewänder* 212–50. Walter, *Art and Ritual* 9–13. –N.P.Š.

OMURTAG (Ὀμουρτάγ), Bulgar khan (814/15–ca.831), son of KRUM. Omurtag ended Krum's hostilities, most probably in 816 (W. Treadgold, *RSBS* 4 [1984] 213.20), by concluding with Leo V a 30–year peace treaty; its contents are partially preserved in a PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTION (no.55) erected by Omurtag. The agreement defined the boundary between Byz. and Bulgaria; required the temporary evacuation of frontier fortresses, probably to permit construction of the "Great Fence of Thrace" (J. Bury, *EHR* 25 [1910] 283); stipulated the Byz. surrender of Slavic fugitives from Bulgaria; and arranged for the exchange of captives. Michael II probably revalidated the treaty, perhaps in 820 (Proto-Bulgarian inscription no.43) or possibly later, in return for Omurtag's decisive intervention in 822 on Michael's behalf against THOMAS THE SLAV (*TheophCont* 65.7–13). Despite evidence that he martyred Byz. captives taken in 813, Omurtag enjoyed harmonious relations with Byz. and instead contended successfully with the Franks for control of the Slavs in Pannonia. During his reign Byz. influence on Bulgarian court culture increased: Omurtag's inscriptions are written in Greek, often containing Byz. titles and formulations as well as the INDICTION dating system; his ambitious building program, including the reconstruction of PLISKA, reflects Byz. architectural schemes and techniques.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:292–331. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 275–88. I. Dujčev, "A propos du traité byzantino-bulgare de 814/815," in *Studia in honorem Veselini Beševliev* (Sofia 1978) 500–03. –P.A.H.

ONEIROKRITIKA (*ὀνειροκριτικά*), eight popular handbooks on dream interpretation surviving from the Byz. era. Two are anonymous (Paris, B.N. gr. 2511 [ca.1400], Paris, B.N. suppl. gr. 690 [11th C.]), while others are ascribed to the prophet DANIEL, ASTRAMPSYCHOS, ACHMET BEN SIRIN, Germanos (I or II?), and Manuel II; another is assigned to Patr. Nikephoros I, although the same work is attributed to both Gregory of Nazianzos (Milan, Ambros. O 94 Sup.) and Athanasios of Alexandria (Venice, Marc. gr. 608). These fictitious designations of authorship are designed to lend credibility and prestige. The handbooks date from the 9th to 13th C., although the dream book attributed to Daniel may be as early as the 4th C.

Reflecting the Byz. belief in the divinatory and divine nature of dreams, the *oneirokritika* played an integral role in Byz. MAGIC, superstition, and DIVINATION. The masses used the dream books, while the upper classes consulted professional dream interpreters (for such sessions, *erotemata*, see *oneirokritikon* of Achmet, 15f). The format in all *oneirokritika* is uniform: the listing (usually alphabetical) of dream symbols, followed by their various interpretations. The reader selected the proper interpretation by comparing the dream's content with his circumstances, for instance, social status, occupation, and physical condition. The interpretations derived from literary motifs, mythology and religion, cultural traditions, hypothetico-deductive reasoning, antinomies, puns, and, most importantly, the interpreter's unconscious associations, based on his cultural values and conditioning. Accordingly, these interpretations provide a wealth of information on Byz. culture and society, for example, popular natural science,

medicine (S.M. Oberhelman, *BHM* 61 [1987] 47–60), religion, sexual mores, class prejudice, and attitudes toward women.

LIT. S.M. Oberhelman, "Prolegomena to the Byzantine *Oneirokritika*," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 487–504. Idem, *The Oneirocriticon of Achmet* (Binghamton 1989), chs. 1–2. Idem, "The Interpretation of Dream-Symbols in Byzantine Oneirocritic Literature," *BS* 47 (1986) 8–24. D. Gigli, "Gli onirocritici del cod. Paris Suppl. Gr. 690," *Prometheus* 4 (1978) 65–78, 173–88. R.G.A. van Lieshout, *Greeks on Dreams* (Utrecht 1980) 165–216. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.2:123–276. – S.M.O.

ONOMASTICS. See NAMES, PERSONAL; PROSOPOGRAPHY.

ONOUPHRIOS (Ὀνούφριος), saint; a hermit who is believed to have lived ca.400; feastday 12 June. According to the legend he started his spiritual career as a monk in a cenobitic monastery in Hermopolis, near Egyptian Thebes; then he fled to the desert, lived 60 years in solitude, and died there. The author of his Life presents himself as Paphnoutios, a monk who allegedly wandered in the desert and came across Onouphrios, a naked and hairy man who told Paphnoutios the story of his life and deeds. It remains uncertain whether he can be identified with the anachorete Paphnoutios who lived in the region of Herakleopolis, near Thebes (Festugière, *Hist. monachorum* 102–10). The Life is poor in concrete data; the author emphasizes that during his long stay in the desert Onouphrios received "the immaculate communion" from an angel (p.28D). Later Onouphrios was praised by a certain Nicholas Sinaites (perhaps in the 9th C.) and by THEOPHANES OF SICILY, Manuel PHILES, and Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS. Coptic, Arabic, Armenian, and Latin versions of Onouphrios's Life also survive.

Representation in Art. The desert father with his immensely long white beard is generally depicted naked, his entire body covered with hair or with some desert plant shielding his private parts. Sometimes he wears a loincloth made out of palm fronds. His encounter with Paphnoutios is illustrated in a 12th-C. fresco at VELJUSA.

SOURCE. *AASS* June 3:24–30. F. Halkin, "La vie de saint Onuphre par Nicholas le Sinaïte," *RSBN* 24 (1987) 7–27.

LIT. *BHG* 1378–1382c, 2330–2330a. J.M. Sauget, M.C. Celletti, *Bibl.Sanct.* 9 (1967) 1187–1200. G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:84–88. –A.K., N.P.Š.

OPHELEIA (ὠφέλεια, lit. "aid"), a secondary tax mentioned primarily in *praktika* of the 14th C. and once in a chrysobull of Michael VIII of 1275 (*Xerop.*, no.10.43). In documents the term *opheleia* usually followed the OIKOUMENON and was equivalent to 10 percent of it, although a lower rate was possible: thus a *praktikon* of 1321 established the *opheleia* at 1 nomisma and the *oikoumenon* at 35, that is, only 3 percent (*Xénoph.*, no.15.21–22). The purpose of *opheleia* is not indicated in the *praktika*: Dölger (*Schatz.* 191) hypothesized that it was introduced for the use of public roads and equipment; he also identified *opheleia* with SITARKIA and ZEUGARATIKION (Dölger, *Byzanz* 257, n.88). Neither theory can be proved.

LIT. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 99–101. Dölger, *Sechs Praktika* 31. J. Lefort in *Esphig.* 101. –A.K.

OPISTHOTELEIA (ὀπισθοτέλεια), a rare term designating deferred payment, back taxes. The term was first used by a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 489.27) who related that in 810 Emp. Nikephoros I demanded *opisthoteleiai* from *archontes* for eight years. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. J. Karayannopulos, *infra* 322.30–38) describes the method of imposition: if in the process of conducting an ORTHOSIS an EPOPTES granted a tax alleviation (SYMPATHEIA) and deleted several STICHOI from the cadaster, his successor after a certain lapse of time could suggest to the peasants of the same *chorion* that ownership be restored; in this case they had to agree to pay *opisthoteleia* for three years. If they refused, the fiscal official (*epoptes*?) gave ownership of the land in question to a third person (a higher bidder?). The payment of *opisthoteleia* could be substantial in a litigation over an estate (*Peira* 36.24, 58.5). After the 11th C. only Harmenopoulos mentions this type of arrears.

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 328f. G.G. Litavrin, "OPISTHOTELEIA (K voprosu o nadelenii krest'jan zemlej v Vizantii X–XII vv.)," *VizVrem* 39 (1978) 46–53. –A.K.

OPPIAN, author of the *Halieutika*, a didactic epic on fishing; born Korykos in Cilicia, fl. late 2nd C. GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS (431.2) rightly dates Oppian to the reign of Marcus Aurelius. Oppian was a school author, widely read and fairly often quoted

by the Byz. In the 5th C. a prose paraphrase of *Halieutika* appeared. There was considerable interest in Oppian in the 12th C. PTOCHOPRODROMOS (4:215–24), for example, criticized his family for advising him to read Oppian rather than becoming a baker. John TZETZES wrote a commentary on Oppian (A. Colonna in *Lanx satura Nicolao Terzaghi oblata* [Genoa 1963] 101–04) as perhaps did EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (A.R. Dyck, *ClPhil* 77 [1982] 153f). Constantine MANASSES composed a *Life of Oppian* in 15-syllable verse, which is considered the oldest surviving vita (A. Colonna, *BollCom* 12 [1964] 33–40). It includes anecdotal material preserved in Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* praef. 6), where the emperor Caracalla offered Oppian a golden coin for each verse of his poem. In the Palaiologan period Maximos PLANOUDES included Oppian in his collection of epic poetry (Florence, Laur. gr. 32.16).

The Byz. attributed to Oppian two more didactic epics as well (*Souda* 3:547.15–20), the *Kynegetika* (on hunting) and the *Ixeutika* (on catching birds with birdlime), which were actually written by pseudo-Oppian (born in Apameia on the Orontes in Syria, fl. early 3rd C.). The *Ixeutika* is now lost, but the *Kynegetika* is preserved among others in a richly illuminated MS of the third quarter of the 11th C. (Venice, Marc. gr. 479—J.C. Anderson, *DOP* 32 [1978] 192–96). The majority of the miniatures illustrate specific aspects of HUNTING, but a smaller group have mythological subjects and attest to medieval attitudes toward ANTIQUITY. This MS belonged to BESSARION. Two post-Byz. copies in Paris (B.N. gr. 2736, 2737) are dependent upon it.

ED. *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (New York 1928) xiii–531, with Eng. tr. *Anonymou paraphrasis eis ta Oppianou Halieutika*, ed. M. Papathomopoulos (Ioannina 1976). U.C. Bussemaker in F. Dübner, *Scholia in Theocritum* (Paris 1878) 243–375, 426–49.

LIT. Furlan, *Marciana*, vol. 5. R. Keydell, *RE* 18 (1939) 702f, 707f. D. Robin, "The Manuscript Tradition of Oppian's *Halieutica*," *BollClass* 2 (1981) 28–94. F. Napolitano, "Esegesi bizantina degli 'Halieutica' di Oppiano," *Accademia di archeologia, lettere e belle arti, Rendiconti*, n.s. 48 (Naples 1973) 237–54. Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* 93–151. I. Spatharakis, "The Working Methods of the Artist of ps.-Oppian's Cynegetica," *Diptycha* 4 (1986–87) 28–48.

–P.A.A., R.S.N.

OPPIDO (Ὄππιδον), a town and Greek bishopric in the TOURMA of Salines in Calabria. A rich archive of Greek charters of 1050–64/5 from this bishopric, also named Hagia Agathe, contains 47 documents that shed light on the administration, ethnic character, and economy of this region of Byz. Italy: the *tourma* was divided into *droungoi*; the center of a DROUNGOS was a CHORION protected by a tower (PYRGOS). Oppido itself is described as an *asty* or KASTRON. The population bore primarily (70 percent) Greek names; these "Greeks" included Armenians and probably Turks. Latin names made up 17 percent and Arabic names 13 percent of the total. The economy of the region was agrarian, the acts listing fields, vineyards, fruit trees, mulberry trees; the production of salt is also mentioned. The cultivation of olives was unknown. There is some evidence of a village community. Each landholder's possessions were scattered, but it remains disputable whether such scattered holdings were often (or ever) extensive (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 273).

LIT. A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathé (Oppido) (1050–1064/1065)* (Vatican 1972). –A.K.

OPSAROLOGOS (Ὀψαρολόγος, lit. "Fish Book"), a short anonymous ANIMAL EPIC in prose, of uncertain date and context, satirizing late Byz. legal processes. King Whale presides over a court before which Mackerel has been denounced for conspiracy; Mackerel is found guilty and shorn of his beard. Surviving in one MS only (Escorial Ψ IV 22), this FABLE, with its knowledge of technical terminology for court procedures, has much in common linguistically and thematically with the PORIKOLOGOS.

ED. *Das mittelgriechische Fischbuch*, ed. K. Krumbacher, *SBAW* (1903) 345–80, with Germ. tr.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 178f. –E.M.J.

OPSIKION (Ὀψίκιον), one of the four original THEMES of Asia Minor in the 7th C., derived its name from the Latin *obsequium*, denoting a body of *comitatenses*. Their headquarters was ANKYRA, from which their *komes* commanded the troops of all northern Asia Minor from the Dardanelles to the Halys. The theme, perhaps attested in 626, certainly existed by 680. Opsikion played a major role in history from the 7th to the 9th C.: in 715 it revolted and installed Theodosios III as emperor; it was the base for the revolt of ARTABASDOS, its former commander, in 742; its *komes* David suffered blinding for opposing Constantine V in

766; and its troops supported Michael II against THOMAS THE SLAV in 821. In the mid-8th C., OPTIMATON and BOUKELLARION were detached to become separate themes. Thereafter, Opsikion stretched from the Dardanelles to the edge of the central plateau, its capital was NICAEA, it had an army of 6,000, and its general was paid 30 pounds of gold. In the 12th C., the western part was called "Opsikion and Aigaion"; the theme apparently survived under the Laskarids.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 127–30. *TIB* 4:59–62. Angold, *Byz. Government* 244f. –C.F.

OPSONION (ὀψώνιον). In addition to their pay (ROGA) soldiers on campaign received provisions in kind (*TheophCont* 265.8–12), called either *opsonia* or *siteresia* (Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 201.14–18), together with fodder for their horses (*chortasmata*). These provisions were distributed monthly (Skyl. 426.19; Kek. 276.24–278.1) or at the beginning of a campaign (*De cer.* 695.2–3). *Opsonion* or *siteresion* referred also to a provisions allowance granted in cash to soldiers; an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 487.34–38) relates how Michael VI Stratiotikos sent Nikephoros Bryennios and John Opsaras to the Anatolikon theme with money to be distributed among the soldiers as their *siteresion.* In a wider sense, *siteresia, stratiotika opsonia, opsonismos* (and other terms) came to mean soldiers' salaries (Attal. 60.19) or, in effect, the entire expenditure necessary to equip and sustain a soldier (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 149). However, *opsonia* or *siteresia* were not restricted to the military but could also mean payments in cash or kind to monasteries (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.7.39–40, 62.13) or the salaries of civil officials.

LIT. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 260–64. Haldon, *Praetorians* 314. –E.M.

OPTIMATOI (Ὀπτιμάτοι), theme of northwestern Asia Minor, comprising the region opposite Constantinople, including both sides of the Gulf of Nikomedeia (L. Robert, *JSav* [1979] 286–88) and stretching inland past the Sangarios. Its capital was NIKOMEDEIA. Optimatoi derived its name from the Latin *optimates,* a term used in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE to designate an elite corps of FOEDERATI, perhaps of Gothic origin. Originally part of OPSIKION, Optimatoi appears as a separate theme in the late 8th C. According to 9th-C. Arab geographers, it contained the city of Nikomedeia and three fortresses, and had a force of 4,000. These were not regular troops but were employed to serve the army, caring for pack animals and mules (*De cer.* 475f). When the imperial troops of Constantinople went on campaign, an *optimatos* was assigned to each. Constantine VII consequently describes Optimatoi as having nothing in common with the other themes. Its commander was a *domestikos* who ranked below all the thematic *strategoi.* Seals of the 8th and 9th C. give him the title *strator, spatharios,* or *protospatharios;* in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos he is, however, *anthypatos patrikios.* Unlike the other themes, Optimatoi was not divided into *tourmai* and *droungoi.* The theme long survived: John III Vatatzes reconstituted it after retaking the region from the Latins in 1240.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 130–33. Haldon, *Praetorians* 96–100, 213. Angold, *Byz. Government* 244f. –C.F.

OPUS ALEXANDRINUM. See PAVEMENT.

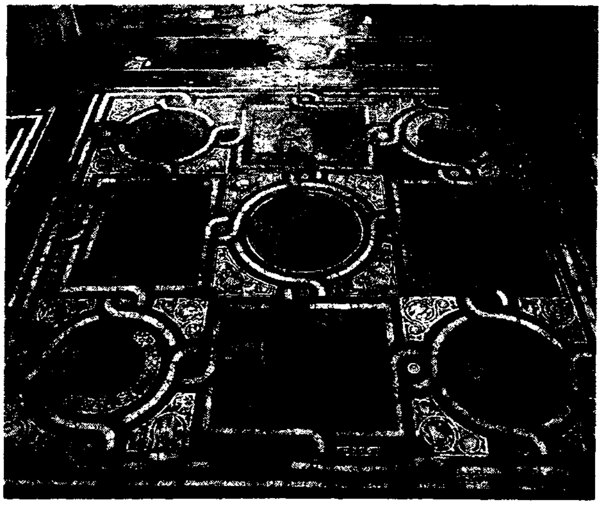
OPUS INTERRASILE (lit. "pierced work"), a means of fashioning gold and silver akin to fretwork or filigree. The craftsman started with a solid band of metal and cut away part of the material. The cutting pierced the band to produce an openwork design, often displaying simple geometric forms, busts, or figural scenes. The technique is known from at least the 3rd C. and was particularly popular for BRACELETS and PENDANTS. It was also used for small plaques intended to be sewn on clothing or a piece of fabric.

LIT. D. Buckton, "The Beauty of Holiness: *Opus interrasile* from a Late Antique Workshop," *Jewellery Studies* 1 (1983–84) 15–19. Kent-Painter, *Wealth* 57. E. Coche de la Ferté, *Les bijoux antiques* (Paris 1956) 93f. –S.D.C.

OPUS LISTATUM. See BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

OPUS MIXTUM. See BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES AND PATTERNS.

OPUS SECTILE (σκούτλωσις, συγκοπή, μαρμάρωσις), inlay—usually of marble, but sometimes mother of pearl and/or glass—cut into shapes following a geometric or figural design, applied to walls and floors. Elaborate figured wall deco-



OPUS SECTILE. Pavement; 12th C. South church of the Pantokrator monastery, Istanbul.

ration in this medium was used in the 4th C. (G. Becatti, *Edificio con opus sectile fuori Porta Marina* [= *Scavi di Ostia* 6] [Rome 1969]), and crates of glass *opus sectile* for a sanctuary of Isis were found at KENCHREAI. HAGIA SOPHIA (Constantinople) preserves vast expanses of *opus sectile* in RINCEAU patterns; an *opus sectile* panel with a jeweled cross is located above the west door. Wall decoration in this expensive medium was, however, usually geometric, as in the bemas of S. Vitale, RAVENNA, and POREČ (A. Terry, *DOP* 40 [1986] 147–64). Painted imitation of *opus sectile* was ubiquitous on walls in provincial buildings.

From the 4th to the 6th C. *opus sectile* was more widespread, if less varied, on floors than on walls. It was usually laid in rectangular panels of simple geometric designs in colored marbles or white marble and slate. More luxurious than FLOOR MOSAIC, *opus sectile* frequently paved sanctuaries, while mosaic was used in less important areas of the church.

Wall decoration in *opus sectile* appeared only occasionally after the 6th C., for example, at DAPHNI and the CHORA MONASTERY, although its painted imitation was widespread. An 11th-C. *opus sectile* icon of St. Eudokia was found at the LIPS MONASTERY. *Opus sectile* floors were common in major Byz. churches of the 10th–12th C., such as the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople. They differ from earlier floors in having large scale curvilinear designs, parts of which are filled in with intricately laid small pieces and sometimes figures.

LIT. P. Asimakopoulou-Atzaka, *He technike 'opus sectile' sten entoichia diakosmese* (Thessalonike 1980). U. Peschlow, "Zum byzantinischen *opus sectile*-Boden," in *Beiträge zur Altertumskunde Kleinasiens: Festschrift für Kurt Bitte*, ed. R. Boehmer, H. Hauptmann (Mainz 1983) 435–47. S. Eyice, "Two Mosaic Pavements from Bithynia," *DOP* 17 (1963) 373–83. –R.E.K.

ORACLES (χρησμοί), divinely inspired prophecies or individuals who uttered oracular responses. Oracles were still being given in the 4th C. Theodoret of Cyrrhus notes that Emp. Julian consulted the oracles at DELPHI, DELOS, Dodona, and elsewhere before his invasion of Persia (T. Gregory, *Classical World* 76 [1982–83] 290f). Porphyry in his lost treatise *On the Philosophy of the Oracles* collected many anti-Christian oracular utterances, among them a prediction that the cult of Christ established by St. Peter would last only 365 years (H. Chadwick in *Mémorial A.J. Festugière* [Geneva 1984] 125f). An oracle at Didyma (HIERON), declaring that it could give no truthful utterance until unimpeded by Christians, served to justify the persecutions of Diocletian. Porphyry, as well as other Neoplatonists, found in the so-called CHALDEAN ORACLES (*logia*) the foundation of their world view. Christianity rejected the pagan oracles, claiming them to be the work of witches and demons, but tried to appropriate the tradition of renowned oracles: churches were erected on the sites of ancient temples famous for their oracles and Christian writers circulated bogus oracles, such as the one in which the Apollo of Kyzikos confessed that his temple was now the house of the Theotokos. The Jewish SIBYLLINE ORACLES were revised to convey a Christian message. A set of oracles attributed to Emp. Leo VI was popular in Byz. (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 6 [1960] 59–93), and Byz. apocalypses made use of the genre.

Oracles mentioned in sermons or commentaries on homilies attributed to GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and JOHN OF EUBOEA (or John of Damascus) were depicted as statues in MSS of the 11th and 12th C.; these include the figure of Apollo (that at Dodona and of the Kastalian spring at Delphi), and the oracle consulted by King Cyrus in the Persian capital. One, called the Despoina Pege and prefiguring the Virgin, is represented as a

Byz. empress. Sometimes clusters of oracle figures are shown dancing, playing instruments, or falling in the manner of IDOLS. Thoroughly medieval in detail, these images still suggest some awareness of classical statuary.

LIT. J. O'Meara, *Porphyry's Philosophy from Oracles in Augustine* (Paris 1959). K. Buresch, *Klaros* (Leipzig 1889). Trombley, "Trullo" 6. K. Weitzmann, "Representations of Hellenic Oracles in Byzantine Manuscripts," in *Mél.Mansel* 1:397–410. –F.R.T., A.K., A.C.

ORANS, or *orant* (Lat., lit. "praying"), the name given to the early Christian posture of prayer: the body upright and frontal, and the open hands lifted to shoulder height to either side. Used to represent piety on many 3rd-C. pagan and Christian sarcophagi, the posture was adopted for innumerable catacomb figures, whether tomb owners or Old Testament characters (e.g., DANIEL) depicted at the moment of their salvation from death. Though rare after the 8th C., when prayer was shown by the inclined profile posture of PROSKYNESIS, the *orant* posture was retained throughout Byz. art for the Virgin Mary in the form often known as the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA or VIRGIN PLATYTERA.

LIT. T. Klauser, "Studien zur Entstehungsgeschichte der christlichen Kunst II," *JbAChr* 2 (1959) 115–45. –A.W.C.

ORARION (*ὀράριον, ὠράριον*), a narrow white stole of silk (originally linen) worn as a vestment by deacons when officiating; it rests on the left shoulder and hangs down in front and back. Its name derives probably from the Latin *orarium*, a cloth for wiping the brow. Its liturgical use is attested by the late 4th C. (Council of Laodikeia, canons 22 and 23, ed. P.-P. Joannou, *Fonti. Fascicolo IX. Discipline générale antique [IVe–IXe s.] 1:2. Les canons des Synodes Particuliers* [Grottaferrata 1962] 139f), though we have no sure artistic representations before the 9th C. (PARIS GREGORY). The *orarion* symbolized the humility of Christ, who washed the feet of the disciples and dried them with a towel (Isidore of Pelousion, PG 78:272C), and at the same time the wings of angels. A homily attributed to John Chrysostom describes deacons running in the church with fine linen cloth on their left shoulder in imitation of angels; they expelled catechumens who were not allowed to see the fatted calf being eaten (PG 59:520.17–27). The *orarion* often had woven into it the words of the deacons' pronouncement from the TRISAGION, "Hagios, hagios, hagios." Its two ends also symbolized the Old and New Testaments. In the modern rubrics for the liturgy attributed to Chrysostom, the deacon is required to present the *orarion* to the priest before vesting and to kiss it while putting it on.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 601–20. D. Pallas, "Meletemata leitourgika-archaiologika 1. To orarion tou diakonou," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 158–84. –N.P.Š., A.K.

ORB. See SPHAIRA.

ORDEAL. The use of ordeal as a means to prove the guilt or innocence of an individual is mentioned in sources of the 13th C.: Demetrios CHOMATENOS (Zepos, *Jus* 7:531f) and John APOKAUKOS (M.T. Fögen, *RJ* 2 [1983] 85–96) testify to its use in private cases, while George AKROPOLITES and PACHYMERES mention the use of ordeal at the treason trial of the future emperor Michael VIII. There were two major kinds of judicial ordeal: single combat and holding a red-hot iron. Ordeal by combat is also mentioned in the romance of PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (P. Pieler, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 216f). Before enduring ordeal by hot iron the suspect had to spend three days in fasting; his hands were bound to prevent the application of ointments. The ordeal consisted of walking three paces while holding a piece of red-hot iron. Ordeal was considered a barbaric practice and was probably borrowed from Westerners (either before or after 1204).

Appeal to divine judgment was also common in Byz. in the case of the election of a bishop or *hegoumenos* or solution of a theological controversy and often took the form of depositing two or three pieces of paper (inscribed with names or statements) in a church or on a saint's relics. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:166.14–23) relates that during a religious dispute in Atramyttion (1283?) the parties agreed to determine the truth by setting fire to two documents containing their creeds; each party expected its *biblos* to remain undamaged but both burned to cinders.

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 172–74. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 21–26. Gy. Csebe, "Studien zum Hochverratsprozesse des Michael Paläologos im Jahre 1252," *BNJbb* 8 (1931) 59–98. –A.K.

ORDERIC VITALIS, Benedictine historian; born Shropshire 16 Feb. 1075, died St. Evroul, Normandy, on 3 Feb., in 1142 or later. Orderic's *Historia ecclesiastica,* initially a history of his abbey, grew into a universal chronicle focusing on Norman achievements; the original MSS show how Orderic continuously (ca.1114/15–1141) revised the text. Orderic had access to wide-ranging information and strove for accuracy, although chronological mistakes were made. He conflates traditions on the Norman establishment in southern Italy (2:56–64, 98–104), but his information improves after monks from St. Evroul migrated to St. Eufemia in Calabria (e.g., 2:100–02). He described Anglo-Saxon emigration to Constantinople and connected Michael VII's fall with resentment of the power of the senate (2:202–04). His monastery provided oral sources (e.g., on the pilgrimage of Abbot Thierry [1050–57] to the Levant, 2:68–74; on Normans with family ties to St. Evroul who participated in Robert Guiscard's war with Byz., 4:10–38). Independent recasting of oral testimony may explain a parallel with Anna KOMNENE (4:36–38; cf. *Alexiad* 1:156.15–157.2). For the First Crusade he depends mostly on Baudry of Bourgueil, but, despite semilegendary overtones, Orderic adds details attributable to personal connections (e.g., on Nicaea, 5:50–59; Hugh Bunel's service with Alexios I, 5:156–58; Alexios's role in releasing Arpin of Bourges from prison thanks to Byz. merchants in Cairo, 5:350–52). He also treats Bohemund's siege of Dyrrachion (6:100–02), Constantinople's relations with the Crusader states (6:128–32, 502–08), and an insurrection on Byz. Cyprus (6:130–32).

ED. M. Chibnall, *The Ecclesiastical History of Orderic Vitalis,* 6 vols. (Oxford 1969–80), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Chibnall, *The World of Orderic Vitalis* (Oxford 1984). –M.McC.

ORDERS, MINOR. See ACOLYTE; ANAGNOSTES; SUBDEACON.

ORDINATION. See CHEIROTHESIA; CHEIROTONIA.

ORGAN (ὄργανον). The organ was not used in the Byz. church, but did play an important part in imperial ceremonies, such as banquets, chariot races, weddings, and processions (cf. the organ depicted in the miniature, Entry of the Ark into Jerusalem, in the Vatican Book of Kings [Lassus, *Livre des Rois,* fig.85]). For these purposes the instrument was decked out in gold and costly decoration. Most sources refer to the bellows-type organ. An Arabic source (al-MASʿŪDĪ) suggests that three (or two) bellows fed air into a large reservoir below the pipe-chest. The Blue and Green FACTIONS at court each had an organ, but the instrument otherwise remained a rarity. At his palace the emperor had both AUTOMATA and true organs, in which at least one emperor (Theophilos) took an interest. Nothing is known of the pipework, sound, compass, precise function, or repertory of the organ in the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS of the Great Palace or indeed of any others, though one 9th-C. source, the Arab HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, does refer to "60 copper pipes" in what appears to have been a large table organ. Byz. organs sent as gifts to the West helped revive interest in the instrument. Organs became objects of visual as well as aural show, eliciting wonder for their intricate technology and respect as extravagant diplomatic gifts or signs of royal power—a notable example being the organ sent to the Frankish king Pepin in 757.

LIT. P. Williams, *A New History of the Organ: From the Greeks to the Present Day* (London 1980) 29–33. J. Perrot, *The Organ from Its Invention in the Hellenistic Period to the End of the Thirteenth Century* (London 1971) 169–83. –D.E.C., A.C.

ORGYIA (ὀργυιά), name of several units of length and measures of land.

1. The shorter *orgyia* of 6 *podes* (= 96 DAKTYLOI = 1.87 m) had its origin in the ancient Greek *orgyia* of 1.89 m. Called also *haple* (simple) *orgyia,* it was used in commerce and handicraft.

2. A longer *orgyia* of 9 *basilikai* SPITHAMAI (= 108 *daktyloi* = 2.10 m) was commonly used in the measurement of land. This *orgyia* had its origin in the ancient Philetairic *orgyia* of 2.10 m. Out of concern for the taxpayers, Michael IV ordered the use of a longer *orgyia* (9.25 *basilikai spithamai* = 111 *daktyloi* = 2.17 m) for fields of best and middle quality, while the *orgyia* of 9 *spithamai* was retained for fields of poor quality. The *orgyia* used in measuring land was sometimes called *geometrike* or *basilike orgyia.*

3. From the 14th C. onward the use of different *orgyiai* of local validity can be demonstrated, sometimes called *kanna* (It. *canna*).

On the basis of setting marks for the columns

in the Church of St. John at the Stoudios monastery, and other calculations, T. Thieme (in *Le dessin d'architecture dans les sociétés antiques* [Leiden 1985] 291–308) suggested that the basilica had been planned using two modules within a system of *orgyia* and *daktyloi*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 22–26. –E. Sch., A.C.

ORHAN ('Ορχάνης), second Ottoman ruler (1326–62); born 1281?, died 1362. During 1326–27, Orhan incorporated what remained of Byz. Bithynia north and west of the Sangarios River. As his father OSMAN lay dying, Orhan conquered PROUSA (6 Apr. 1326), henceforth his capital. He then began a general northeastern advance, which Andronikos III tried but failed to oppose in June 1329. NICAEA surrendered to Orhan (2 Mar. 1331), but NIKOMEDEIA held out until 1337.

After 1345 Orhan was often entangled in Byz. dynastic politics. In May 1346, he married Theodora, daughter of John VI, and remained an ally of the Kantakouzenoi until 1357. Four times he dispatched Turkish troops into Europe to assist them (1348, 1350, 1352, 1356). During the final conflicts between Matthew I Kantakouzenos and John V Palaiologos from 1352 to 1356, Orhan simultaneously supported the initiatives of his eldest son, Süleyman Pasha, in conquering and settling southeastern Thrace. During 1357–59, Orhan adopted a conciliatory policy toward John V to gain his help in rescuing Halil, his youngest son by Theodora, from Phokaian pirates. Orhan favored an engagement between Halil and John V's daughter Irene, which occurred in Constantinople in summer 1359, following the boy's ransom. This liaison, however, produced no lasting peace (İnalcık, "Edirne" 189–95). With Orhan's assent, Turkish expansion in Thrace resumed late in 1359 and continued throughout the rest of his reign.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 197–201, 232–48. G. Arnakis, *Hoi protoi Othomanoi* (Athens 1947) 162–97. –S.W.R.

ORIBASIOS ('Οριβάσιος), physician; born Pergamon ca.325, died after 395/6. Oribasios received early training from Zeno of Cyprus, a famous iatrosophist, as EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS relates in his short biography of Oribasios. While young JULIAN was confined to Asia Minor, Oribasios became a close friend of the future emperor. In 355, Julian took Oribasios to Gaul with him as personal physician and librarian. An extant letter from Julian to Oribasios (358/9) shows that Oribasios supported Julian's religious policies. A Byz. legend, found in the vita of Artemios and in Kedrenos, records that Oribasios brought from Delphi to Julian an "oracle" describing the desperate situation of the shrine (T. Gregory, *GRBS* 24 [1984] 355–66). Julian had ordered Oribasios to summarize GALEN, a task completed after 361; these *epitomai* have not survived. Oribasios also composed a medical synopsis, partially extant. He accompanied Julian on the Persian expedition (363) and was present at the emperor's deathbed; later Oribasios recorded events of that campaign in a private *Synopsis for Eunapios*. Emperors in the following decade forced Oribasios into exile, but he returned to Constantinople by the mid-370s.

Oribasios established the method for using ancient medical authors: quoting verbatim from carefully cited works and pairing each quotation with another of similar content, not necessarily from the same tract or author, as is seen in his streamlining of Galen's writings. Oribasios's version of Galen generally was followed by AETIOS OF AMIDA and PAUL OF AEGINA and was the form in which PHOTIOS knew Galen's works. Arabic physicians used Oribasios in translation, and by the 5th C. he was rendered into Latin. Oribasios ensured Galen's enormous influence on later Byz., western medieval, and Arabic medicine.

ED. *Collectionum medicarum reliquae*, ed. I. Raeder, 4 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin 1928–33).

LIT. H. Schröder, *RE* supp. 7 (1940) 797–812. J. Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology," *DOP* 38 (1984) 221–24. B. Baldwin, "The Career of Oribasius," *Acta Classica* 18 (1975) 85–97. S. Faro, "Oribasio medico, quaestor di Giuliano l'Apostata," in *Studi in onore di Cesare Sanfilippo* 7 (Milan 1987) 263–68. –J.S.

ORIENS ('Εῴα), diocese of the Eastern Prefecture from the 4th to 7th C., administered by the *comes Orientis* at ANTIOCH and comprised of the provinces of Syria I and II, Theodorias, Phoenicia Maritima and Libanensis, Arabia, Palestina I, II, and III, Isauria, Cilicia I and II, Euphratensis and southern Euphratensis, Osrhoene, Mesopotamia and southern Mesopotamia, Armenia IV, and, until 536, Cyprus. Egypt was removed from Oriens and made a separate diocese by Valens. Oriens was an important military, commercial,

industrial, and agricultural region that also included notable intellectual and university centers, esp. in Syria and Palestine. Oriens ceased to exist as an administrative unit in the 7th C., with the disappearance of the office of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT and the reorganization of provinces into THEMES.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 373f. Jones, *Cities* 540–47, tables XXVIII–XLI. –M.M.M.

ORIGEN (Ὠριγένης), surnamed Adamantios, theologian; born Alexandria? ca.185, died Tyre? probably 254. A professor of the ALEXANDRIAN SCHOOL from ca.202, he was excommunicated in 231/2 but found refuge in Caesarea Maritima, where he continued his teaching career. His traditional identification with the Neoplatonist Origen, a disciple of AMMONIOS, is not valid (K.O. Weber, *Origenes der Neuplatoniker* [Munich 1962]).

Origen was a very prolific writer (Jerome claims that Origen produced 2,000 works), but because of the later condemnation of his teachings most of his works survive only in fragments or in Latin translation. Origen laid the foundations for the further development of Christian theology by introducing such concepts as HOMOOUSIOS, *theanthropos* (God-man), and HYPOSTASIS. He treated the questions of SACRAMENTS and ESCHATOLOGY and the doctrines of angels and demons, the soul, and sin. He developed allegorical or typological exegesis of Scripture and in polemics against Celsus defended the truth of Christianity. His *First Principles* is the first systematic treatment of Christian theology, and the *Dialogue with Herakleides* is a rare case of a stenographic record reporting a lively discussion of the Father-Son relationship. Unlike CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, Origen proceeded from the idea of God, not the Logos, and he understood the Trinity hierarchically, so that Jerome accused him of subordinationism (a charge that ATHANASIOS of Alexandria refuted); he emphasized the unity of the soul and the human body in Christ after the Incarnation so that Christ's soul lost the possibility of sin; he taught the preexistence of souls and the eschatological *apokatastasis* (restoration) when all individuals will be purified.

Discussions about Origen's theology began immediately after his death, and his student Pamphilios of Caesarea defended Origen from his critics. Then, ca.400, Epiphanios of Salamis and Theophilos of Alexandria attacked him, while John of Jerusalem and Rufinus of Aquileia supported him. In addition to being accused of subordinationism, Origen was attacked for believing in the preexistence of souls and for terminological inconsistency. Some of his tenets were accepted by Egyptian and Palestinian monks who stressed the ascetic and mystical elements of his teaching; extreme supporters of his ideas claimed that in the final account each intellect is equal to Christ (hence their name *isochristoi*); a more moderate group (*protoktistoi*) taught that Christ is above other intellects; their opponents claimed that the *protoktistoi* introduced Christ's humanity as the fourth *hypostasis* in the Trinity. In 542/3 Justinian I issued an edict condemning Origen and his work, and anathemas were signed by Pope VIGILIUS and certain patriarchs. The *isochristoi* were condemned by the Council of Constantinople of 553; Origen was also named by the council, linked not to the *isochristoi* but to the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS.

ED. *Origenes Werke*, ed. P. Koetschau et al., 9 vols. (Leipzig 1899–1959). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 1, nos.1410–1525.

LIT. H. Crouzel, *Bibliographie critique d'Origène* (The Hague–Steenbrugge 1971–80). Idem, *Origène* (Paris 1985). Quasten, *Patrology* 2:37–101. P. Nautin, *Origène: sa vie et son oeuvre* (Paris 1977). –T.E.G.

ORIGINAL SIN (προπατορικὴ ἁμαρτία), the hereditary sin to which every human being is subject at conception as the result of the sinful choice of ADAM AND EVE. Because of the ancestral fall of man, predisposition to EVIL is already present in infants and can increase as the person matures, owing to his or her personal guilt (an idea particularly stressed by AUGUSTINE). As a result of original sin, all humanity remained excluded from PARADISE until the "original virginity" (the expression of a certain John the Monk, sometimes confused with John of Damascus, PG 96:1405C) of mankind was restored by the INCARNATION. In individual cases it is BAPTISM that cleanses man from the defilement of original sin (e.g., pseudo-Athanasios, PG 28:636A).

From the legal point of view the Byz. church accepted the same teaching about original sin as did the Latin church, and the canonists Zonaras and Balsamon formulated the doctrine in accordance with Augustine. Byz. theologians, however, with rare exceptions (e.g., Prochoros KYDONES),

provided different emphases. In strong contrast to GNOSTICISM and esp. MANICHAEANISM, they (esp. JOHN OF DAMASCUS) stressed that man's nature remained, even after the Fall, an image or icon of God, whereas the likeness (*homoioma*) to God, based on GRACE, was lost and could be recovered only by ascetic purification and union with God. Adam's sin had an impact on all members of the human race, not in terms of personal guilt but as a punishment imposed collectively on mankind for the generic human sinfulness revealed in individual sins. Photios even considered the concept of original sin heretical (J. Gross, *BZ* 52 [1959] 304–20), while Symeon the Theologian interpreted it as removing oneself from the vision of God and from deification (J. Gross, *BZ* 53 [1960] 47–56). All in all, the concept of original sin was elaborated in Byz. less systematically than in the more legalistic West.

LIT. A. Gaudel, M. Jugie, *DTC* 12.1 (1933) 317–63, 413–32, 606–24. J. Gross, *Geschichte des Erbsündendogmas*, vols. 1–3 (Munich 1960–71). –G.P.

ORIKE (ὀρ⟨ε⟩ικῄ), a supplementary or secondary tax of uncertain nature mentioned in many chrysobulls of the 14th C. In 1318 Andronikos II granted a certain George Troulenos ownership of an estate in the region of Serres and exempted *xenoi* ("aliens") and ELEUTHEROI settled on this land from all state EPEREIAI save for SITARKIA, KASTROKTISIA, *orike*, *phonos* (PHONIKON), and TREASURE TROVE (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.8.15–17). A series of documents conferred upon the monastery of MENOIKEION, mostly by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, exempts the monastery from *orike*, as well as *sitarkia*, *kastroktisia*, and (sometimes) ENNOMION; Dušan's chrysobull of 1345 (no.39.31–34) contains a longer list that also includes *ennomion* on beehives, the tithe on sheep and swine, and PARTHENOPHTHORIA. Charters from other archives sporadically mention the *orike*: in 1327 Andronikos II exempted the monastery of St. Nicholas near Serres from payment of *sitarkia*, *kastroktisia*, *orike*, and MITATON on their yokes of oxen (*doulika zeugaria*), adding, however, that *sitarkia* must be paid to the fisc (*Chil.*, no.113.28–33). Dušan exempted the monasteries of Philotheou (*Actes de Philothée*, ed. W. Regel, E. Kurtz, B. Korablev [St. Petersburg 1913; rp. Amsterdam 1975] no.9.75), Esphigmenou (*Esphig.*, no.22.32), and Iveron (Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje*, no.7.92) from *orike*; the *orike* is always listed together with *kastroktisia*. Finally, the chrysobull of 1342 issued at the request of the Bulgarian tsar Ivan Alexander abolishes the payment of *sitarkia*, *orike*, and *kastroktisia* levied in the amount of 50 hyperpera (*Zogr.*, no.31.21–25). It is thus plausible to hypothesize that the *orike* was a charge somehow connected with Slav territories. There is no direct evidence that it was a tax on hilly pastures (so Dölger, *Schatz.* 146f), an interpretation based solely on etymology.

A *praktikon* of 1321 mentions a (different?) charge called *oreiatikion* (*Lavra* 2, no.109.970,985) that was paid by the whole district (*perioche*) together with *ennomion*. The sum seems to have been insignificant.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 473f. –A.K.

ORNAMENT (κόσμος). The most important categories of ornament in Byz. are floral patterns (including "inhabited" vine and acanthus rinceaux), animal figures, interlace, and the medallion style, originally a special case of interlace, in which tangent or interlaced circular medallions enclose other motifs, often human or animal figures. While these types are to some extent characteristic of every Byz. art form, except perhaps icon painting (though icons often received elaborately ornamented metal covers), the most lavish and innovative ornament is found in floor mosaics, textiles, and architectural sculpture. The major achievements in these areas date from the 5th to 6th and 10th to 12th C., but through their influence on other media and in later centuries, they effectively set the pattern for the historical development of Byz. ornament.

FLOOR MOSAICS of the 4th–6th C. display a repertory of floral and geometric forms essential to the development of INTERLACE, which reached an advanced level of complexity in the 5th C., as in the Church of the Nativity at Bethlehem. Complex interlace seems to have lost popularity in the 6th C. but survived to influence the 8th-C. development of Islamic ornament. Another important mosaic pattern was the inhabited RINCEAU, frequently used in borders, and, in the 6th C., as a large-scale floor decoration in its own right (C. Dauphin, *Art History* 1 [1978] 400–23). Medallion compositions, which the most stylized of the rinceaux closely resemble, first appear in the 6th C.

at Beth Sh'an (see SKYTHOPOLIS) and Kabr Hiram, although they derived from earlier forms of interlace. The medallion style occurs in almost every medium, exercised a major influence on the arts of western Europe and the Islamic world throughout the Middle Ages, and was transmitted to China and Japan. Its influence is explained by its extreme adaptability, in terms of purpose as well as medium: not only a pattern in itself, it was a way of incorporating figures or even entire scenes into an ornamental scheme without diminishing their pictorial integrity.

Tessellated pavements passed out of fashion by the 7th C. and OPUS SECTILE became and remained the favored technique of luxurious floor decoration. *Opus sectile* preserved many of the interlace and medallion patterns developed in floor mosaics (PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople); it was instrumental in transmitting these patterns to the West (S. Marco, VENICE). The fullest expression of the medallion style is to be found, however, in SILK textiles. In TEXTILES, as in mosaics, the medallion style derived from interlace patterns traceable at least as far back as the 4th C. Coptic tapestries display a variety of ornament, including floral and interlace patterns that closely parallel those found in mosaics.

The ornament of architectural members as well as of borders and HEADPIECES in illuminated MSS was largely floral, sometimes in the form of GARLANDS or PALMETTES. Although its formal basis was once again Greco-Roman, antinaturalistic tendencies predominated. By the 6th C. the dominant style was close textured and often deeply undercut, with strong contrasts of light and shadow and an emphasis on delicately carved forms that combined sharpness with fluidity (St. POLYEUKTOS and HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople; S. Vitale, RAVENNA). Even further conventionalized by the 10th C., these forms were then freely combined with interlace and medallion patterns (HOSIOS LOUKAS, Theotokos church and *katholikon*).

A uniquely Byz. contribution to architectural ornament was the use of rectangular stone plaques with motifs in low relief (T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* [Munich 1969]). The motifs included lozenges and other simple geometric shapes, crosses, small-scale interlace and medallion compositions, and ANIMAL COMBATS featuring both real or exotic creatures; these animals also appeared singly or symmetrically paired. The earliest examples date from the 6th C. but derive from 4th- and 5th-C. RELIEF sculpture, and ultimately from Roman sarcophagi and architectural decoration. Originally applied to parapets and chancel screens, in later centuries both older and contemporary plaques were set in the walls of buildings, such as the old Metropolis church in Athens and S. Marco in Venice (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, pls. LXV–LXX, XLVIII–LII). These carvings embody what is perhaps the most important principle of Byz. ornament: that a pattern need not cover and transform an entire surface but could be set off from its surroundings as a self-contained unit in the manner of a picture. Both figures and rather complex interlace patterns were treated in this way, recalling earlier floor mosaics in which interlace was confined to panels rather than carpeting the entire floor.

This restraint, together with the popularity and longevity of the medallion style, suggest, if not a rejection of intricacy as the basis of ornamental design, a tendency to subordinate it to an easily readable scheme. Nevertheless, despite a general tendency toward greater elaboration and fantasy beginning around the 12th C., containment and comprehensibility characterize much of Byz. ornament throughout its history. Indeed, they are arguably the features which most clearly distinguish Byz. ornament from the contemporary styles of western Europe and the Islamic world.

What we see in Byz. ornament is not necessarily what the Byzantines themselves saw. They valued craftsmanship and luxurious materials, but seem to have had a special regard for naturalistic effects. These were achieved in two ways: through actual representations, as of flowers or vines, and through the materials themselves, esp. the colored marbles used in *opus sectile*. The latter were not only praised for their intrinsic beauty, but frequently evoked comparison with rivers, gardens, and other natural features.

Many Byz. ornamental themes demand, or at least admit, a symbolic interpretation. The eucharistic and scriptural significance of the grapevine (Jn 15:1–7) helps explain the prominence of vine rinceaux in church decoration. The same motif was used, however, in synagogues, and to a lesser extent in secular buildings, including private dwellings. SHEEP and DEER had obvious religious connotations (Ps 42:1; Jn 10:7–18), but other

creatures used in ornamental contexts may lack overt significance. No convincing interpretation has yet been advanced for the many scenes of animal combat found esp. in architectural sculpture. Not in itself symbolic, the medallion style with its series of linked frames allowed the incorporation of religious imagery into ornamental patterns. This potential was realized first in the 6th-C. Annunciation and Nativity silk in the Vatican, and thereafter in every ornamental medium throughout the history of Byz. art.

LIT. J. Trilling, *The Medallion Style* (New York–London 1985). O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenweberei* (Berlin 1913). –J.T.

OROPOS (Ὠρωπός, Rupo, Ripo), settlement and fortress on the east coast of ATTICA. Although Oropos was an ancient site, little is known of the medieval settlement until around 1200, when it is attested as belonging to the church of Athens. The fortress may have been built ca.1204. The site flourished in the 13th C., when it had close connections with both Athens and EUBOEA. The fortification was probably destroyed ca.1400, when it fell briefly into the hands of Albanians. It remained in Athenian control (until 1456) and was taken by the Turks in 1460. No remains of the fortification survive, but there are many churches in the vicinity, most dating from the period of Frankish domination (A.K. Orlandos, *DChAE*[2] 4 [1927] 29–41; M. Chatzedakes, *DChAE*[4] 5 [1969] 57–103).

LIT. *TIB* 1:229. –T.E.G.

OROSIUS, PAUL, Latin theologian and writer; born probably Braga, northern Portugal, died after 418. Around 412 Orosius migrated to Hippo, where he met AUGUSTINE, who sent him to JEROME at Bethlehem. While in Palestine Orosius, who had already made a theological mark with his *Commonitorium* against the Priscillianists and Origenists, combatted PELAGIANISM at a Jerusalem synod in 415, subsequently defending his own orthodoxy in the *Apology*. Back in Africa, Augustine set him to work on what is now known as the *History against the Pagans*, seven books of world history from the Creation to 417. This work was designed to reinforce the argument of the *City of God* that pagan charges that Rome's problems were the result of deserting the old gods were unfounded. The work is plainly written, but inevitably derivative (not always honestly) and of little independent value until Orosius reaches his own times. Its influence was ubiquitous (approximately 200 MSS survive), being sufficiently regarded in Byz. for Romanos II to present in 959 a copy to Caliph ʿAbd al-Raḥman III in Spain, who commissioned an Arabic translation.

ED. PL 31:663–1216. C. Zangemeister in *Corpus scriptorum ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna 1882). *The Seven Books of History against the Pagans*, tr. R.J. Deferrari (Washington, D.C., 1964).

LIT. B. Lacroix, *Orose et ses idées* (Montreal 1965). F. Fabbrini, *Paolo Orosio: Uno storico* (Rome 1979). H.-W. Goetz, *Die Geschichtstheologie des Orosius* (Darmstadt 1980). D. Koch-Peters, *Ansichten des Orosius zur Geschichte seiner Zeit* (Frankfurt am Main 1984). –B.B.

ORPHANAGES (ὀρφανοτροφεῖα). As part of their spirit of PHILANTHROPY, Byz. showed particular compassion for orphans as well as for widows, the sick, poor, and elderly. Some orphans were provided for through ADOPTION, others were cared for in monasteries or in orphanages, which were either independent or administered by a monastery. The director of an *orphanotropheion* was usually called an ORPHANOTROPHOS. The earlier *orphanotropheia* served not only as orphanages proper, but also as hostels, and the boundary between them and XENODOCHEIA was not clearly fixed (Justinian, nov.131.15). The most famous orphanage in Constantinople was that of St. Paul in the Acropolis region, which was in existence by the 6th C. Alexios I Komnenos restored it on a grand scale; the complex also included a school for orphans and refuges for the blind, crippled, and elderly. Orphans stayed in orphanages until old enough to marry; state legislation protected their rights. The sources also refer to a *brephotropheion*, or "foundling home," in Constantinople.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 13–15, 241–56, corr. Dagron, *Naissance* 512. Janin, *Églises CP* 567–69. –A.M.T., A.K.

ORPHANOTROPHOS (ὀρφανοτρόφος), director of an ORPHANAGE. The term *orphanotrophos* is first mentioned in Leo I's novel of 469 as an office invented by the *patrikios* Zotikos. The earlier *orphanotrophoi* belonged to the clergy, and two 5th-C. patriarchs (one of them AKAKIOS) were former *orphanotrophoi*. In the provinces the office still re-

mained in the hands of priests and monks, such as the humble monk Kandidos in 1162 (*Lavra* 1, no.64.30). In the capital, however, *orphanotrophoi* became members of the secular hierarchy; in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij *patrikios* and *orphanotrophos* follows the *chartoularios* of the VESTIARION. In the Palaiologan period, Manuel Philes defined *orphanotrophos* as "the treasurer of imperial means" (Philes, *Carmina*, ed. A. Martini, no.43.59). Some *orphanotrophoi* were influential personages: an addressee of Theodore of Stoudios was the *patrikios* and *orphanotrophos* Leo; at the end of the 10th C. the *orphanotrophos* John was simultaneously judge (*krites*) of the Armeniakon; JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS administered the empire under Romanos III, Michael IV, and Michael V; Michael Hagiotheodorites was *orphanotrophos* and *logothetes tou dromou* in 1166–70, and at the beginning of the 13th C. John Belissariotes was *orphanotrophos* and *logothetes ton sekreton.* Thereafter, the office was in decline, and a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 185.17–20) notes that the *orphanotrophos* had no particular functions.

According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the staff of the *orphanotrophos* included the CHARTOULARIOI of two orphanages (probably those of Zotikos and of St. Paul in Constantinople), the *arkarios* (cashier), and KOURATORES. The *orphanotrophos* is mentioned in formulas of exemption.

LIT. R. Guilland, "Études sur l'histoire administrative de l'Empire byzantin: L'Orphanotrophe," *REB* 23 (1965) 205–21. –A.K.

ORPHEUS, mythical musician. In late antiquity Christian apologists like Tatian, Theophilos, and Justin attacked Orpheus as a "false" singer. He was made into a pupil of Moses, who ultimately accepted the God of Israel. On the other hand the story of Orpheus charming wild animals with his song was interpreted as a prefiguration of Christ (Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikon* 7.74.3–6) in his role as the Good Shepherd (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *De Laud. Const.* [p.244.14–31]), the new Orpheus outshining the old one. F. Halkin argues that the vitae of St. MAMAS and esp. St. Zosimos of Anazarbos pattern the saints after Orpheus: both saints prefer animal to human company; a lion, taught by Zosimos, instructs the persecutor Domitian in Christianity (*AB* 70 [1952] 249–61). The Byz. also viewed Orpheus as one of the ancient *sophoi* and quoted often from surviving Orphic fragments (Malal. 72.16–76.9).

In Byz. literature Orpheus and his lyre are used as a metaphor for the power of poetry and music (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, ed. Gautier, 1:353.3). Furthermore, a praised addressee (ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, *Scripta Minora* 2:5.27–6.3) or lamented deceased (Psellos, *In Mariam Scleraenam,* ed. M. Spadaro [Catania 1984] vv. 103, 111) is favorably compared with Orpheus. Various authors, though, use the Orpheus simile in an unusual way to surprise their listeners. Niketas CHONIATES (*Orationes* 129.26–9), for example, in praising THEODORE I LASKARIS says that the bronze statue of Orpheus, symbolizing the Muses, sweated to praise Alexander's deeds, thus equating the Macedonian king with the emperor and Orpheus with himself; the story is taken from Arrian. Anna Komnene intends to surpass Orpheus, because he moved only stones, while she will move her readers to tears (An.Komn. 1:7.14–20).

A standard figure in floor mosaics of the 3rd–6th C., Orpheus is found in catacomb painting and on Christian sarcophagi—stages in his eventual assimilation to Christ. The potent singer probably also served as a source for images of DAVID the musician, as in the PARIS PSALTER. From the 9th C. onward, miniatures in MSS of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, figs. 82–84) show Orpheus as a lyre-player or harpist without reflecting the scorn attached to him in the text (PG 35:653AB). Likewise on CASKETS AND BOXES he ranks among mythological figures without ulterior motive.

LIT. K. Ziegler, *RE* 18.1 (1939) 1313–16. J.B. Friedman, *Orpheus in the Middle Ages* (Cambridge, Mass., 1970) 13–85, 147–56. A. Boulanger, *Orphée* (Paris 1925). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 45–52. P. Prigent, "Orphée dans l'iconographie chrétienne," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 64 (1984) 205–21. –P.A.A., A.C., C.B.T.

ORTHOGRAPHY, the correct writing of words, including both letters and prosodical signs. The sweeping changes in Greek PHONOLOGY that took place from Hellenistic to late Roman times were not accompanied by corresponding changes in the writing of the language. Hence the correspondence between letters and phonemes was upset: the same sound could often be written in different ways and the same sign occasionally read in different ways. Byz. grammarians therefore com-

posed prescriptive treatises on orthography. They all drew directly or indirectly on HERODIAN, particularly on passages concerning the correct writing of long and short vowels and diphthongs. Of the *Orthography* of Oros (5th C.) only a small fragment survives, and that of John Charax (6th C.) is still unpublished. The *Canons* of the grammarian THEOGNOSTOS and the partially preserved *Orthography* of George CHOIROBOSKOS are indicative of the revived cultural interest in the 9th C. NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA set out the rules of orthography in the form of parodies of liturgical hymns as aids to memory (mainly unpublished). Many brief anonymous treatises on orthography for school use survive from the Palaiologan period, the latest being by the future Patr. GENNADIOS II. The erratic spelling of inscriptions in churches and on seals, as well as in documents, suggests that Byz. society attributed much less importance to correct orthography than its teachers would have wished. The most common of these errors are ITACISM and confusion between *υ* as a second element in a diphthong and *β*.

LIT. Egenolff, *Orthog.* C. Wendel, *RE* 18 (1942) 1437–56. –R.B.

ORTHOSIS (ὄρθωσις, lit. "making straight, correction"), a fiscal procedure of reestablishing taxes on land that had temporarily been exempted from payment. If the heir returned within a 30-year period to the land declared SYMPATHEIA, the tax had to be restored gradually, in three stages. If 30 years had already passed and the *sympatheia* had been transformed into a KLASMA, the *orthosis* would not take place. The procedure was performed by the EPOPTES or probably by a special functionary called *orthotes*. The data on *orthosis* and *orthotai* are preserved in documents of the 10th to 12th C., primarily in the treatise on TAXATION published by Ashburner and then by Dölger.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 141. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 45. G. Litavrin, "Ešče raz o sympafijach i klasmach nalogovych ustavov X–XI vv.," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 89f. –A.K.

ORTHROS (ὄρθρος), Byz. matins, a daybreak service to consecrate the day to God. Along with VESPERS, *orthros* was one of the two principal and original HOURS of both the cathedral and monastic offices.

In cathedral usage (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA), the service of *orthros* began in the NARTHEX and proceeded to the BEMA in stages (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:xxiii–iv; 2:309–10). After several ANTIPHONS of psalms and canticles (eight on weekdays, four on Sundays), each preceded by a prayer, the ministers entered the nave to the chant of a TROPARION. The cathedral PSALMODY of lauds, comprising the *Benedicite* canticle of Daniel 3:57–88 (festive), Psalm 50(51) with *troparion*, Psalms 148–150, the Great DOXOLOGY (festive), and the TRISAGION, was celebrated at the AMBO. At solemn festive *orthros*, during the singing of the *Trisagion* the patriarch made his solemn entrance and went to the bema for the Gospel LECTION and concluding LITANIES.

The *orthros* of the Palestinian monastic HOROLOGION, gradually adopted by the Stoudite monks of Constantinople from the 9th C. onward, is characterized by its poetic KANON of nine odes based on the ten biblical canticles. Originally the canticles themselves were chanted, but the poetic *kanon* ultimately supplanted them outside of Lent, except for canticle nine, the Magnificat (Lk 1:46–55). The full *kanon* was meant to be chanted only at the Sabaitic *agrypnia* or Saturday all-night VIGIL, but eventually became a fixed element of daily *orthros* outside of Lent. In Stoudite usage the *kanon* was interrupted after the third or sixth ode for a lection from the church fathers or Lives of the saints (Arranz, *Typicon* 381f).

In the final stage of its development, this hybrid office, a fusion of cathedral and monastic usages, was further modified in the SABAITIC TYPIKA, esp. in the distribution of the psalmody. Characteristic of Sabaitic *orthros* is the reading of the entire Psalter plus all nine odes of the *kanon* at the *agrypnia*.

LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours* 273–81. J. Matéos, "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *PrOC* 11 (1961) 17–35, 201–20. M. Arranz, "Les prières presbytérales des matines byzantines," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 406–36; 38 (1972) 64–115. –R.F.T.

OSMAN (Ἀτμάν, Ὀτμάνης, etc.), son of the Turkoman *beg* Ertoghrul and progenitor of the dynasty of the OTTOMANS; died Söğüt 1326. Osman succeeded Ertoghrul ca.1282 as leader of a mixed following of Kayı clansmen and other ghazis (see TURKS), whose territory centered on Eskişehir (formerly Dorylaion) and Söğüt (south of the San-

garios River) and whose economy was still substantially pastoral. In the early years of his rule, Osman's posture toward the neighboring, largely autonomous Greek lords varied between peaceful coexistence and conflict. By the late 1280s and 1290s, however, Osman and his warriors were conducting more determined assaults into the interior of Byz. Bithynia. The smaller fortresses of southern Bithynia were variously captured or incorporated, and by 1301 Osman was besieging Nicaea and harrying Prousa. This provoked a counteroffensive led by the *hetaireiarches* MOUZALON, whom Osman defeated on 27 July 1302 at BAPHEUS (in Turkish sources, Koyun-hisar). This victory assured a Turkic settlement in Bithynia, but did not result in his speedy conquest of its strategic centers. Osman's pressures on Prousa, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia continued intermittently throughout the next quarter century. Shortly before his death, Prousa capitulated to his son, ORHAN.

Osman welded his inheritance and conquests into a powerful principality, with Turco-Islamic institutions deriving from the Seljuk legacy. It quickly came to rival the other Anatolian *beyliks*, and by the death of MURAD I in 1389 had evolved as a Eurasian empire.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 193–98. G. Arnakis, *Hoi protoi Othomanoi* (Athens 1947) 120–61. M. Gökbilgin, *İA* 9:431–43. H. İnalcık, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2.2 (1981–82) 75–79. R. Lindner, *Nomads and Ottomans in Medieval Anatolia* (Bloomington, Ind., 1983) 1–50. –S.W.R.

OSRHOENE (Ὀσροήνη), civil and ecclesiastical province of the diocese of ORIENS from the 4th to 7th C.; it extended east from the Euphrates River as far as the province(s) of MESOPOTAMIA. The name of Osrhoene is that of the kingdom of a local Arab dynasty (ca.130 B.C.–A.D. 214 or 240—Segal, *infra* 9–15) and is thought to derive either from their tribe, the Osrhoeni (Jones, *Cities* 215f) or their capital, Orhay (Edessa). The relatively flat land of Osrhoene was cultivated and also offered grazing for herds belonging to Arab nomads. The province was crossed by trade and military routes, and its 4th–7th-C. history was dominated by the Byz.-Persian wars. In addition to its capital, EDESSA, it contained 18 cities including CONSTANTINA, KALLINIKOS, Kirkesion, and Batnae/Sarug as well as Carrhae/Harran. The last remained a center of paganism into the 9th C. (Jones, *Cities* 206).

LIT. L. Dillemann, *Haute Mésopotamie orientale et pays adjacents* (Paris 1962) 88f, 105–10. J.B. Segal, *Edessa, The Blessed City* (Oxford 1970) 9–15, 117, 133f. Idem, "Mesopotamian Communities from Julian to the Rise of Islam," *ProcBrAc* 41 (1955) 109–28. –M.M.M.

OSTIARIOS (ὀστιάριος, from Lat. *ostiarius*, "doorkeeper"), a palace eunuch whose function was to introduce dignitaries to the emperor or empress; at the same time, the term was used as a title. A legend preserved in the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE mentions a certain *ostiarios* Antiochos as a contemporary of Justinian I; a seal of the 7th C. bears the name of the *koubikoularios* and *ostiarios* Theodosios (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2939), and John, an imperial *ostiarios* and *logothetes* of the *stratiotikon*, participated in the council of 787 (Mansi 12:1051D). The title of *ostiarios* was conferred on various functionaries, in the 11th C. often on notaries and protonotaries: Psellos sent a letter to John, *ostiarios* and *protonotarios* of the *dromos* (Sathas, *MB* 5:373.1–2); the *ostiarios* Bardas Olyntianos was imperial *protonotarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.172). At the end of the 11th C. a certain Nicholas in Calabria was first *ostiarios* and later *protonotarios* (C.A. Garufi, *AStSic* 49 [1928] 32f). Although some earlier editors had dated certain lead seals of *ostiarioi* as late as the 13th C., Oikonomides (*Listes* 300) thinks that the office did not survive the end of the 11th C. The ecclesiastical *ostiarios* was a deacon: John of Kitros (ca.1200) denied that the post could be held by an *anagnostes* (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 539). There could also be *ostiarioi* in the service of high dignitaries.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:286–89. Bury, *Adm. System* 122. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 167–71. –A.K.

OSTRAKA (sing. ὄστρακον), pottery shards (and sometimes limestone flakes) used as writing material, most often for short texts such as tax receipts and private letters between monks. They also carried accounts, orders for payment, lists of names, memoranda, commodity labels, and writing exercises. The archives of the bishops Pesynthios of Coptos and APA ABRAHAM contain numerous *ostraka* bearing requests for ordination from clerics in minor orders. *Ostraka* were also

used for biblical, patristic, and other literary texts (e.g., the homilies in W.E. Crum, H.E. Winlock, *The Monastery of Epiphanius*, vol. 2 [New York 1926] 56–66), liturgical texts, hymns, prayers, and magical texts. Cheap and ubiquitous, *ostraka* thus provide evidence both for the extent of literacy and for economic and social history throughout late antiquity.

ED. J.F. Oates, R.S. Bagnall, W.H. Willis, *A Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[3] (Atlanta 1985). A.A. Schiller, "A Checklist of Coptic Documents and Letters," *Bulletin of the American Society of Papyrologists* 13 (1976) 99–123. –L.S.B.MacC.

OSTROGOTHS (Οὐστρίγοτθοι), a branch of the GOTHS, earlier known as the Greuthingi, who occupied the lower Don basin in the 4th C. Their king, Ermanaric, committed suicide when attacked ca.375 by the HUNS, of whom they remained tributaries in PANNONIA until 454. In the late 5th C. their kings Valamer, Thiudimir, and THEODORIC THE GREAT alternated between being loyal *foederati* of the empire and ravaging ILLYRICUM. After besieging Constantinople in 488 they were sent to Italy by Zeno to overthrow ODOACER, after whose death in 493 Theodoric became the most powerful ruler in the West with his capital at RAVENNA. The Ostrogothic regime achieved peace and prosperity and, despite their ARIANISM, maintained good relations with the Roman senate and papacy until ca.523. After the death of Athalaric in 534, the murder of his mother AMALASUNTHA by THEODAHAD gave Justinian I a pretext to invade Italy. In a long, bitterly fought war they suffered initial losses under Witigis, then recovered most of the Byz. gains under TOTILA. Their main forces were defeated by NARSES in 552. Some survivors were deported to the East, while others made common cause with the LOMBARD invaders of Italy.

LIT. T.S. Burns, *A History of the Ostrogoths* (Bloomington 1984). H. Wolfram, *History of the Goths* (Berkeley 1988). E.K. Chrysos, *To Byzantion kai hoi Gotthoi* (Thessalonike 1972). –T.S.B.

OTRANTO (Ὑδροῦς), port in southern APULIA, commanding the shortest route across the ADRIATIC SEA to AVLON. During the Gothic War Otranto was an important garrison town and naval staging post. A bishop is recorded in 595 and a tribune in 599. It remained Byz. throughout the 7th C., fell to the LOMBARDS sometime after 710 and at some point after its recovery by the Byz. in 758 was the residence of a DOUX. In the 9th C. Otranto withstood Arab attacks, but after the reconquest of the rest of Apulia in 876 it lost its administrative role to BARI. It remained important as a port of entry for troops and officials as well as an autocephalous archbishopric, probably created soon after 876, which lacked suffragans until allocated Acerenza, Gravina, Matera, Tricarico, and Tursi in 968. Otranto's Jewish community was sizable; archaeological finds, including glazed wares and coins, suggest a flourishing economic life. Until 1055 Otranto resisted the Norman advance. Recaptured in 1060, it fell again in 1064 and was finally taken in 1068 by Robert GUISCARD, who used it as a base for operations against Byz. territory. Although a Latin archbishop was installed by 1067, the Greek clergy and rite remained preponderant until the late 14th C. and the Terra d'Otranto continued to be a center of MS copying and literary production. Particularly important was the monastery of S. Nicola at CASOLE, which was founded in 1099 and whose most distinguished abbot (from 1219) was the scholar NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO. Both city and monastery were sacked by the Turks in 1480.

Monuments of Otranto. The Church of S. Pietro at Otranto is a good example of Byz. provincial art. In plan it resembles the Calabrian cross-in-square churches at STILO and ROSSANO, but it differs in elevation, having a single dome rather than five. Corner bays are covered by east-west barrel vaults. It was decorated with frescoes, of which there are at least two layers. The later paintings may be 12th-C.; H. Belting (*DOP* 28 [1974] 12–14, 22) dates the earlier ones to the 10th C., stressing their *retardataire* quality and attributing them to the same workshop as the cave paintings at nearby CARPIGNANO SALENTINO.

LIT. G. Gianfreda, *Otranto nella storia* (Galatina 1972). G. Cavallo, "Libri greci e resistenza etnica in Terra d'Otranto," *Libri e lettori nel mondo bizantino: Guida storica e critica*, ed. G. Cavallo (Rome-Bari 1982) 155–78, 223–27. –T.S.B., D.K.

OTTO I THE GREAT, German king (936–62), emperor (2 Feb. 962–973); born 23 Nov. 912, died Memleben 7 May 973. After stabilizing the situation in Germany, Otto invaded Lombardy in 951; later, under the pretext of helping Pope

John XII (955–64), he entered Rome, where he was proclaimed emperor. His Italian policy and esp. his proclamation as emperor raised the political problem of the relationship between the German and Byz. empires: that is, which could rightly claim to be the successor of the Roman Empire. Vying with Byz., Otto intended to build up the town of Magdeburg as a rival to Constantinople (H. Gringmuth-Dallmer, *BBA* 49 [1983] 26–29). He attracted former Byz. allies in southern Italy, Salerno, and Benevento and tried to invade the theme of Longobardia. Nikephoros II Phokas tried to solve the conflict by peace negotiations and sent Otto an embassy in the winter of 966/7. After the negotiations failed, Nikephoros led an army against the Germans in the summer of 967; Otto, afraid of impending war, sent the Venetian envoy Domenico to Constantinople to ask for peace (S.A. Ivanov, *VizVrem* 42 [1981] 94–96). Otto was acknowledged as *basileus* of the Franks (not Romans), and the political alliance was confirmed by the betrothal in 972 of Otto's heir, Otto II, to the Byz. princess Theophano. Otto's expedition against southern Italy in 968 proved a failure.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, "Konstantinopel im politischen Denken der Ottonenzeit," in *Polychronion* 388–412. Idem, "Die Anerkennung des Kaisertums Ottos I. durch Byzanz," *BZ* 54 (1961) 28–52. Idem, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983). P.E. Schramm, "Kaiser, Basileus und Papst in der Zeit der Ottonen," *HistZ* 129 (1924) 424–75. –A.K.

OTTO III, king of Germany (crowned Aachen 25 Dec. 983) and Western Emperor (crowned Rome 21 May 996); born near Cologne July 980, died Paterno near Civita Castellana, north of Rome, 23 Jan. 1002. Son of Otto II and Theophano, Otto (Ὦτος) was guided by his mother from Otto's death (983) until her own. He esteemed ascetics highly, esp. Neilos of Rossano. He valued his Byz. heritage and styled himself *Imperator Romanorum*, a translation of the Byz. emperor's title. Widukind of Corvey had earlier expressed German claims to imperial majesty which Otto sought to realize. He proclaimed a *Renovatio Imperii Romanorum*, while adopting Byz. court ceremonial and Byz. forms for his documents and seals. He was the only German emperor who tried to make Rome his capital. He rejected the Donation of Constantine as a forgery, in order, in Byz. fashion, to assert his superiority to the papacy. Thus he appointed his cousin Gregory V as pope and his former tutor as Sylvester II (999–1003). Otto sought a Byz. bride; the embassy of Leo of Synada failed but a subsequent envoy brought a princess (possibly a daughter of Constantine VIII), who reached Bari at the time of Otto's death.

LIT. R. Holtzmann, *Geschichte der sächsischen Kaiserzeit (900–1024)*[3] (Munich 1955) 292–382. P.E. Schramm, *Kaiser, Rom und Renovatio* (Leipzig-Berlin 1929) 1:87–187, 2:17–35. Ohnsorge, *Abend. & Byz.* 255–60, 288–99. –C.M.B.

OTTOMANS (Ἀτμάνες, Ὀθμάνοι), a Turkish dynasty ruling first over an emirate, later over an empire that replaced Byz. Its name derives from its founder Othman (Osman). The earliest contemporary reference to him appears in Pachymeres, who reports that in 1302 a Turkish chieftain, "Atman," defeated a Byz. army at Bapheus and invaded the region near Nikomedeia with his troops. A silver coin struck by Osman confirms later sources that give his father's name as Ertoghrul. The cradle of the Ottomans was the Söğüt region, west of the Sangarios River; established there during the dissolution of the Seljuk state, they began to wage holy war (*jihād*) against the Byz. In 1326 they captured Prousa, which they made their capital; Nicaea fell in 1331, and Nikomedeia in 1337/8. Annexing the emirate of Karasi gave them access to the Aegean Sea ca.1348.

During the Civil War of 1341–47, Osman's successor, Orhan, offered military aid to John VI Kantakouzenos, married his daughter, and largely contributed to his victory, but Orhan's uncontrolled troops devastated Byz. territory. In March 1354, when an earthquake destroyed the walls of Kallipolis, the Ottomans occupied this strategically important fortress; with it as a base, they expanded into the Balkans. In 1366 Amadeo VI of Savoy sailed to assist Byz. and expelled the Ottomans from Kallipolis, which was restored to the Byz.; but in 1371 the Ottomans defeated the southern Serbs at the battle of Marica, and soon reduced the Byz. emperor to a tribute-paying vassal. Around this time Murad I appointed a military governor (*beylerbey*) of the European territories and established him in Philippopolis. In 1376 Murad compelled Andronikos IV to surrender Kallipolis. The Ottomans undertook large-scale operations in the Balkans in 1383, conquered Sofia with its surrounding territory ca.1385, and overran Macedonia, with Thessalonike sur-

rendering in 1387. Finally they defeated the Serbians and Bosnians at KOSOVO POLJE in 1389. (Some scholars, however, consider the battle at Kosovo a draw.)

Systematic colonization followed the conquest; Turkish colonists were settled among the old local population, nomads were transferred from Anatolia to Europe, Islamic religious foundations (*waqf*) were established, and the sultan granted lands to cavalry officers as *timar* (the approximate equivalent of the Byz. PRONOIA).

In 1390 BAYEZID I annexed the Turkish Anatolian emirates of AYDIN, SARUHAN, MENTESHE, and others, and the city of PHILADELPHIA. In 1391 he conquered the Kastamon region and marched against Sebasteia; he used his Christian vassals in campaigns directed against Muslims. Attacks against his European frontier obliged him to cross to the Balkans, where he undertook several military operations, mainly against the HUNGARIANS. He besieged Constantinople and in 1396 annihilated a crusading army at NIKOPOLIS. Returning to Anatolia, he continued his conquests, which, esp. after the occupation of the caravan city of KELTZENE, provoked the intervention of the Mongol khan TIMUR; the latter's army defeated the Ottomans at the battle of ANKARA and captured the sultan in 1402. Timur restored the Turkish emirates occupied by the Ottomans, while Bayezid's son SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI, established in Adrianople, concluded a treaty with Byz. and other local Christian powers, which involved important territorial concessions on the part of the Ottomans.

After ten years of dynastic strife, Sultan MEHMED I restored unity in 1413. Social turmoil continued as shown by the revolt of *sheyh* Bedr ed-din, who preached equality between Christian and Muslim. The Venetians profited from this and destroyed the Ottoman fleet at Kallipolis in 1416, but the Ottomans conquered the strategically important port of AVLON (1417), campaigned successfully against Wallachia (1417), and reannexed some of the Anatolian emirates. Under MURAD II Timur's successors exercised pressure in Anatolia and protected the emirate of KARAMAN, which resisted Ottoman supremacy successfully. In the Balkans the Ottomans' main opponents remained the Hungarians under King Sigismund. In 1430 the Ottomans retook Thessalonike and annexed the city of Ioannina. In 1439 they occupied Serbia, including the silver-producing region of Novo Brdo. They twice defeated the Hungarians under HUNYADI, at VARNA (1444) and Kosovo Polje (1448). These victories consolidated Ottoman power and prepared for the conquest of Constantinople by Murad II's successor, MEHMED II, in 1453.

From the early years the bases of the Ottoman state were the religion of Islam and the dynasty of Osman. Christian slaves converted to Islam played a most important role: they constituted the sultan's personal guard (JANISSARIES); if proved worthy, they gained the highest offices in the imperial palace and the administration. Most of the sultans' mothers were slave girls of non-Muslim origin. The Byz. disapproved of the easy social ascent among the Ottomans, but high Ottoman officials were proud of their humble beginnings.

The Byz. generally scorned the Ottomans as adherents of a false religion (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST) and as cultural inferiors (S.Vryonis, *GRBS* 12 [1971] 263–86). The Ottoman impact on late Byz. institutions and cultural patterns was minimal, just as Byz. influence on Ottoman institutions and elite culture was circumscribed. Cultural interchange at the folk level, however, was more extensive, esp. during the *Tourkokratia* period (S. Vryonis, *DOP* 23–24 [1969–70] 253–308).

LIT. H. Inalcik, *CHIsl* 1:263–91. Idem, "The Question of the Emergence of the Ottoman State," *International Journal of Turkish Studies* 2.2 (1981–82) 71–79. P. Wittek, *The Rise of the Ottoman Empire* (London 1938). Idem, "De la défaite d'Ankara à la prise de Constantinople," *REI* 12 (1938) 1–34. I. Artuk, "Osmanli beyliğinin kurucusu Osman gazi'ye ait sikke," in *First International Congress on the Social and Economic History of Turkey, Hacettepe University 1977* (Ankara 1980) 27–33. A. Kuran, *The Mosque in Early Ottoman Architecture* (Chicago-London 1968). –E.A.Z.

OTTO OF FREISING, Latin churchman and historian; born between ca.1111 and 1116, died 22 Sept. 1158. Half-brother of CONRAD III and uncle of FREDERICK I, Otto studied at Paris (ca.1127/8–1133), became a Cistercian (1132), was named abbot of Morimond and bishop of Freising (1138), and participated in the Second Crusade. In his *Historia de duabus civitatibus* (History of the Two States, 1143–46) Otto interpreted the history of Byz. in an Augustinian way as the translation of the empire from Rome to the Greeks (Byz.) to the Franks. He describes there various events of the period, for example, the campaign of John II

Komnenos against Antioch (ed. Hofmeister, pp. 354f) and an Armenian embassy to the pope (pp. 360–63).

Otto undertook the *Chronica*, or *Gesta Frederici*, at Frederick's request and finished the first books by summer 1158; his chaplain and secretary Rahewin (died before 11 Apr. 1177), who completed Otto's work (bks. 3–4; before Feb. or June 1160), pays less attention to Byz. The *Chronica* describes the Byz. embassy on the marriage of BERTHA OF SULZBACH to Manuel I and the embassy of WIBALD, the attack of ROGER II on Greece (1,35 [pp. 53f]), the Second Crusade (1,35–47 and 62–64 [pp. 54–67, 88–91]), Byz. subversion in southern Italy (2,49–52 [pp. 156–59]), a Hungarian victory over Manuel (2,53 [pp. 159f]), and the plot of a *kanikleios* (Theodore Styppeiotes) against him (O. Kresten, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 61f).

ED. *Chronica sive Historia de duabus civitatibus*, ed. A. Hofmeister [= MGH *SRG* 45] (Hannover 1912). Tr. C.C. Mierow, *The Two Cities* (New York 1928). *Gesta Friderici I. imperatoris*, ed. G. Waitz, B. von Simson [= MGH *SRG* 46] (Hannover 1912). *Die Taten Friedrichs*, ed. F.J. Schmale (Darmstadt 1974), with Germ. tr. by A. Schmidt. Tr. C.C. Mierow, R. Emery, *The Deeds of Frederick Barbarossa* (New York 1953).

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:48–66. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:436. H.W. Goetz, *Das Geschichtsbild Ottos von Freising* (Cologne-Vienna 1984).

–M.McC.

OULPIOS (Οὔλπιος), or Elpios, "the Roman" (fl. sometime between 828 and 993), author of the lost work *Antiquities of Church History*, fragments of which have been preserved in two MSS; the earliest of them, Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 100 (Vladimir 108) was copied in 993. The fragments are entitled "On physical images [of God-bearing fathers]" and contain descriptions of Adam, the biblical prophets, Christ, the apostles Peter and Paul, Dionysios [the Areopagite], church fathers (primarily of the 4th C.), and two patriarchs of Constantinople, Tarasios and Nikephoros. The author describes their height (Adam was 4.5 *pecheis* high); head shape (e.g., *makrokephalos*); facial coloring, hair, and beard; the form of nose, ears, eyes, and eyebrows; and expression ("kindly" for Gregory of Nazianzos, "fierce" for Basil the Great). Tarasios is said to resemble Gregory the Theologian, while Nikephoros resembles Cyril of Alexandria. Iconoclastic views are not mentioned, but Manichaean "futile nonsense fantasy" concerning the Lord's Incarnation is expressly rejected.

The traditional characterization of the fragments as a set of models for artists (e.g., H. Delehaye in *Synax.CP*, p.lxvi) was rejected by J. Lowden (*infra*) who suggests that Oulpios's descriptions depended upon narrative texts (e.g., Malalas) and/or monumental painting.

ED. & LIT. M. Chatzidakis, "Ek ton Elpiou tou Romaiou," *EEBS* 14 (1938) 393–414. Lowden, *Prophet Books* 51–55, 61f, 122f. F. Winkelmann, "Über die körperlichen Merkmale der gottbeseelten Väter," in *Festtag und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing, D. Simon (Munich 1990) 107–27.

–A.C., A.K.

OUNGIA (οὐγγία), unit of weight derived from Lat. *uncia* = 1/12 LITRA. Accordingly, the *oungia*, as 1/12 of the *logarike litra* of 320 g, weighed 26.7 g, and the *oungia*, as 1/12 of the *soualia litra* of oil (256 g), weighed 21.3 g. Many WEIGHTS representing an *oungia* or its multiples have been preserved.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 181f. –E. Sch.

OURANOS, NIKEPHOROS, official and writer; died after 1007. Ouranos (Οὐρανός) was involved in the negotiations between Constantinople and Baghdad over Bardas SKLEROS; a contemporary Arab report describes him as an intimate of Basil II and an enemy of BASIL THE NOTHOS (H. Amedroz, D. Margoliouth, *The Eclipse of the Abbasid Caliphate*, vol. 6 [Oxford-London 1921] 23–35). He was a civil functionary (*kanikleios*) and held the title of *magistros*; the *diatyposis* of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS records his appointment as lay guardian of the Lavra. It was his military career that made him famous. As *archon* of the West he annihilated the forces of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA at the river Spercheios in 997, and as governor of Antioch after 999 he repulsed unruly Arab tribesmen (1000/1), campaigned in Armenia (1001/2), and fought the rebel al-Asfar (1005–07).

Some of his surviving letters are devoted primarily to the topics of service to the emperor, friendship, and family affairs—mother, sister, and younger brother, but not wife or children—and contain occasional details of his military activities. LEO OF SYNADA, who sent him a letter, belonged to the same circle of civil functionaries (ed. M.P. Vinson, ep.13 and commentary p.102). Ouranos's

Taktika (written ca.1000), still only partly edited, is largely a paraphrase of earlier sources, but chapters 56 through 65 represent a revised and expanded version of the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA, including firsthand material based on his campaign experience along the eastern frontier. A. Dain wrongly considered chapters 63 through 74 to have been copied from a part of the *Praecepta militaria* now missing. Ouranos also composed poetic and hagiographical works.

ED. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 217–48. J.-A. de Foucault, "Douze chapitres inédits de la *Tactique* de Nicéphore Ouranos," *TM* 5 (1973) 281–312.

LIT. J.H. Forsyth, "The Byzantine-Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1977) 393–416, 502–15, 557–60. A. Dain, *La "Tactique" de Nicéphore Ouranos* (Paris 1937). –E.M.

OUSIA. See SUBSTANCE.

OVČE POLE (Εὐτζάπολις), called Neustapolis by George Akropolites, a district in Macedonia, in the basin of the Upper Vardar. It is first mentioned by an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 459.82), who relates that in 1048 the governor of Bulgaria, Basil the Monk, settled thousands of Pechenegs in the valleys of Serdica, Niš (Naissus), and Ovče Pole. They later participated in a military expedition in Asia Minor but revolted against Byz. (J. Shepard, *JÖB* 24 [1975] 77). In the mid-13th C. Ovče Pole acknowledged the supremacy of the empire of Nicaea, but at the end of the century it was in Serbian hands: Stefan Uroš II Milutin acquired this territory, and it is cited in his treaty with Charles of Valois (brother of the French king Philip IV) of 1308. Later it belonged to the principality of Jovan OLIVER and, after Dušan's death, was governed by Constantine Dejanović. In 1395 the area was occupied by the Turks.

LIT. T. Tomoski, "Ovče Pole vo sredniot vek," *Filozofski fakultet na Univerzitet Skopje, Godišen zbornik* 30 (1978) 243–65. –A.K.

OVID (Publius Ovidius Naso), Roman poet; born 43 B.C., died A.D. 17. His mythological epic *Metamorphoses* influenced directly or indirectly a number of late antique poets, such as MOUSAIOS and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. Malalas mentions that Ovid wrote on Phaethon. In the 13th C. interest in Ovid was revived. Maximos PLANOUDES made complete prose translations of the *Metamorphoses* and *Heroides* (entitled *Epistolai*, or *Letters*). His master copies (in part autograph) are preserved in Vat. Reg. gr. 132 and 133. A 14th-C. MS in Naples (Bibl. Naz. 2 C 32) contains excerpts from Ovid's amatory works, possibly based on a complete translation produced by Planoudes himself or by one of his pupils. Some words in the text that could be considered obscene were modified. Despite this "moral" censorship, the works of Ovid found readers: in PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (ed. Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 183 [p.144]) the hero learns much from the *Book of Love*, probably by Ovid (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 140, n.3), and some stories from the *Metamorphoses* penetrated into Greek folktale (E. Kenney, *Mnemosyne* 16 [1963] 57).

ED. *Metamorphoseon libri XV graece versi a Maximo Planoude*, ed. J.F. Boissonade (Paris 1822). *Maximou Planoude metaphrasis ton Obidiou epistolon*², ed. M. Papathomopoulos (Ioannina 1976). *Ovidiana graeca*, ed. P.E. Easterling, E.J. Kenney (Cambridge 1965).

LIT. W.O. Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 138f. J. Irmscher, "Ovid in Byzanz," *BS* 35 (1974) 28–33. E.J. Kenney, "A Byzantine Version of Ovid," *Hermes* 91 (1963) 213–27. I.O. Tsabare, "He metaphrase ton Metamorphoseon tou Obidiou apo ton Maximo Planoude," *Dodone* 3 (1974) 385–405. –P.A.A.

OWNERSHIP (δεσποτεία) denotes the full right to dispose of a thing at will; in other words, not only to have it and to use it (as in POSSESSION) but also—unlike possession—to be able to dispose of it during one's lifetime or at death. Ownership can be obtained by various means of ACQUISITION. The owner can demand the return of the object from a third party with an *in rem actio* (*he epi to pragmati agoge*); this procedure is called *rei vindicatio* (Gr. *ekdikesis*) (*Basil.* 15.1).

Although the dogmatic principles of Roman law regarding acquisition and the return of property were maintained in Byz., at least in their Justinianic version, when it comes to the sale of property entirely new regulations for plots of land (immovable THINGS) were introduced by the agrarian legislation of the 10th C. Furthermore, as the documents from the 13th C. onward reveal, the concept of property had effectively changed, despite the continuation of the old legal rulings. Where property rights over a piece of land had once been absolute and indivisible, there were now several proprietorial-like arrangements involving various persons or institutions (the state, landlords, PAROIKOI) in its sale or inheritance.

Limitations on Ownership. Roman law imposed various limitations on ownership (such as SERVITUTES), and Byz. law took a further step in restriction of individual ownership. These limitations had various characteristics: state ownership or, at least, a broad range of fiscal restrictions was superimposed over individual ownership; neighbors, relatives, and the VILLAGE COMMUNITY enjoyed certain rights over individually owned land; the church—at least, in the later centuries—acquired certain rights such as a part in the ABIOTIKION; the lands of peasants (such as *paroikoi*) were subject to the control of great landowners. The complicated net of overlapping rights obscured the strict distinction between ownership and possession typical of Roman and Byz. law. Accordingly, the alienation of land was subject to serious limitations: the state prohibited the alienation of certain categories of land (e.g., those of the *stratiotai*); it introduced the concept of the just PRICE; relatives and neighbors were granted the right of PROTIMESIS; the transfer of ownership required confirmation. Even though acts of confirmation are rarely mentioned, cases are known in which a functionary confirmed the transaction of free possessors/owners as well as cases in which the lord confirmed peasant transactions.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:177–215. E. Levy, *West Roman Vulgar Law: The Law of Property* (Philadelphia 1951). A. Kazhdan, "Do We Need a New History of Byzantine Law?" *JÖB* 39 (1989) 14–28. C. Avila, *Ownership: Early Christian Teaching* (Maryknoll, N.Y., 1983). K.-P. Matschke, "Grund- und Hauseigentum in und um Konstantinopel im spätbyzantinischer Zeit," *Jahrbuch für Wirtschaftsgeschichte* (1984) no.4, 103–28. –A.K.

OXYRHYNCHUS (Ὀξύρυγχος, Bahnasa, Coptic Pemje), town in Upper Egypt, a bishopric from 325, famous for its sculpture and numerous papyri (see OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE). The city, a center of both classical and monastic culture, was home to the APION dynasty. Today it is a desolate area, with many modern houses built of reused ancient material.

Historical sources mention a large number of churches and monasteries in Oxyrhynchus and its environs, of which none can be identified save for a few funerary chapels. Excavations in the cemetery have yielded many decorated limestone blocks from several different tombs; there are capitals, niche-heads, friezes, archivolts, etc., all roughly datable to the 5th and early 6th C. Recently the remains of a small monastic settlement were found in nearby Kūm Nadūra (northwest of Samalūt). It contained a three-aisled church, probably of the 7th C., and several small houses.

LIT. Timm, *Ägypten* 1:283–300. W.M. Flinders Petrie, *Tombs of the Courtiers and Oxyrhynkhos* (London 1925). H.-G. Severin, "Gli scavi eseguiti ad Ahnas, Bahnasa, Bawit e Saqqara," *CorsiRav* 28 (1981) 303–09. –P.G.

OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI, many thousands of Greek, Latin, Coptic, and Arabic literary and documentary texts found in the rubbish mounds of OXYRHYNCHUS (Bahnasa) in Middle Egypt, beginning with the excavations of Grenfell and Hunt in 1897. Dating from the first Ptolemies to well after the Arab conquest, they constitute the richest single find of papyri known. Besides previously unknown works of classical literature, the Oxyrhynchus pieces include the sayings of Jesus from the *Gospel of Thomas*; a history (the *Hellenica Oxyrhynchia*); Old and New Testament books and apocrypha; Christian hymns, prayers, and liturgical texts; and a 6th-C. calendar of saints' feasts (*P.Oxy.* XI.1357). Documents illustrating the Byz. period include the archive of the APION family. Documentary texts come from every genre: letters, accounts, tax rolls and receipts, petitions, sales, leases, wills, and items from every aspect of public and private life. As well as illustrating social, economic, and religious history, they show the changing nature of Greek as it was written and spoken in Egypt during late antiquity.

ED. *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri*, 55 vols. (London 1898–1988). R.A. Coles, *Location-list of the Oxyrhynchus Papyri* (London 1974).

LIT. J. Gascou, "Les grands domaines, la cité et l'état en Egypte byzantine," *TM* 9 (1985) 1–89. I.F. Fikhman, *Oksirinkh: Gorod papirusov* (Moscow 1976). P. Pruneti, *I centri abitati dell' Ossirinchite* (Florence 1981). –L.S.B.MacC.

OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE, conventional term applied to a large body of limestone carvings—for the most part architectural in origin and pagan in iconography—from in or near OXYRHYNCHUS in Egypt. Most come from a vast pagan (later Christian) necropolis outside the city; early pieces (3rd–4th C.) are grave stelae, usually with a standing or seated boy, while 5th–6th-C. pieces tend to be niche heads, arches, capitals, and other items from underground grave chapels. DIONYSOS

(with grapevines) was esp. popular, being employed within an eschatological context fundamentally similar to that of earlier Roman sepulchral art (apotheosis of a mortal; anticipated joys of afterlife). Stylistically, however, these pieces are typically Coptic in their technical simplicity and crude expressiveness (see COPTIC ART AND ARCHITECTURE). Many pieces are displayed in the Greco-Roman Museum, Alexandria; some of the numerous chance finds, which are now in American and European museums, have been substantially restored.

LIT. E. Breccia, *Le Musée gréco-romain: 1925–31* (Bergamo 1932) 60–63. Idem, *Le Musée gréco-romain: 1931–32* (Bergamo 1933) 36–47. A. Gonosová, "A Note on Coptic Sculpture," *JWalt* 44 (1986) 10–15. T. Thomas, "An Introduction to the Sculpture of Late Roman and Early Byzantine Egypt," in *Beyond the Pharaohs*, ed. F. Friedman (Providence, R.I., 1989) 54–64. –G.V.

P

PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES, a group of monasteries for men and women. They were founded by PACHOMIOS in the first half of the 4th C. in Upper Egypt, first in TABENNESI, then in PBOW, which became the center of the community. Monasteries possessed lands, as shown in many papyri, and paid taxes. According to the *Rules* attributed to Pachomios (but written, probably, in the next generation), the monks formed KOINOBIA and divided their time between divine service (with celebration of the eucharist twice a week, on Saturday and Sunday) and productive work; the large monasteries were separated into "houses" and groups of artisans (linen weavers, tailors, carpenters, cobblers, etc.). The organization of labor was strictly centralized and controlled from above. Rich landowners joined the community, such as Petronios, the first successor of Pachomios, and Theodore (died 368), another of Pachomios's associates and later the superior of the community. Reading and the copying of books were encouraged (C. Scholten, *JbAChr* 31 [1988] 144–72).

The community prospered in the late 4th and 5th C., gradually replacing the charismatic leadership by a formal organization, but declined under Justinian I. It exercised substantial influence on monastic communities in Palestine, Asia Minor, and Italy.

LIT. J.E. Goehring, "New Frontiers in Pachomian Studies," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 236–57. Idem, *Chalcedonian Power Politics and the Demise of Pachomian Monasticism* (Claremont, Calif., 1989). F. Ruppert, "Arbeit und geistliches Leben im pachomianischen Mönchtum," *OstkSt* 24 (1975) 3–14. H. Bacht, *Das Vermächtnis des Ursprungs: Studien zum frühen Mönchtum* 2: *Pachomius—Der Mann und sein Werk* (Würzburg 1983). P.B. Steidle, "Der heilige Abt Theodor von Tabennesi," *Erbe und Auftrag* 44 (1968) 91–103.
–A.K.

PACHOMIJ LOGOFET, or Pachomios the Logothete, hagiographer; born ca.1405, died before 1484?. Of Serbian origin, Pachomij was a monk on Athos until he moved (ca.1429–38) to Rus', where he spent the rest of his life working mainly in Novgorod, Moscow, the Trinity monastery of St. Sergej, and the Monastery of St. Kirill of Beloozero. Most of Pachomij's voluminous writings are vitae and eulogies of eastern Slavic holy men. Very few, however, were initially composed by Pachomij himself (a notable exception being his vita of Kirill of Beloozero): usually he revised the work of others (e.g., the vita of Sergej of Radonež by EPIFANIJ, the vita of Varlaam Chutynskij). Most modern assessments accuse Pachomij of vacuous verbosity and of preferring generalized rhetoric to particular evocation or description. Nonetheless, his versions survive in vast numbers of MSS: he helped to establish the cults of several native saints and to produce a "standard" style for hagiography in Rus'. Pachomij was also a scribe: autograph copies survive of a Psalter (1459), a *Paleja* of 1445 (see PALAIA), and a translation from Symeon the Theologian (1443).

ED. *Pachomij Serb i ego agiografičeskie pisanija,* ed. V. Jablonskij (St. Petersburg 1908) appendix; rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Pachomij Logofet: Werke in Auswahl* (Munich 1963).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the Baroque* (The Hague 1971) 180–84. L.A. Dmitriev, *Žitijnye povesti russkogo severa kak pamjatniki literatury XIII–XVII vv.* (Leningrad 1973) 28–35, 123–28.
–S.C.F.

PACHOMIOS (Gr. Παχόμιος, from a Coptic word meaning "eagle"), leader of the earliest cenobitic Christian monasteries in Egypt and saint; born Upper Egypt ca.290, died Pbow 346; feastday 14 May in West, 15 May in East, 9 May in Coptic church. Born to pagan parents, Pachomios was conscripted into the army (312/13), where he encountered Christians and converted. After leaving the army, he sought guidance in asceticism from an experienced monk, Palamon. Then Pachomios gathered a group of disciples who, at first, followed the eremitic pattern of separate work and devotions. A charismatic leader, both a visionary and a gifted organizer, Pachomios imposed more structure in the monks' work by assigning them specific tasks; he also required attendance at pray-

ers at specific times. Fully communal life was established in nine monasteries for men and two for women in TABENNESI and vicinity. In 330 he founded a monastery at PBOW, which later became the administrative center for the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES.

The letters of Pachomios are preserved in a Latin translation by JEROME; Greek versions of some letters and Coptic fragments are known as well. Jerome also translated the *Rules* ascribed to Pachomios, though the text now available was probably produced after Pachomios's death. Pachomios remained indifferent toward Trinitarian discussions of the 4th C.; his relationship with the Gnostic community of NAG HAMMADI (located near Tabennesi and Pbow) is unclear.

His vitae have survived in three traditions: a Sahidic text, the so-called *Vita Prima* in Greek, and the Latin translation by DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS from another Greek Life (*Vita Altera*). Lefort (*infra*) suggested that they were based on a lost Coptic vita; Halkin (*infra*) considered the *Vita Prima* as the only text chronologically close to the time of Pachomios.

ED. *Oeuvres de s. Pachôme et de ses disciples*, ed. L.T. Lefort, 2 vols. (Louvain 1956). *Die Briefe Pachoms*, ed. H. Quecke (Regensburg 1975). Eng. tr. A. Veilleux, *Pachomian Koinonia* 2–3 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1981–82).

SOURCES. F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de Saint Pachôme* (Geneva 1982), with Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière. *Sancti Pachomii Vitae Graecae*, ed. F. Halkin (Brussels 1932). *The Life of Pachomius (Vita Prima Graeca)*, tr. A.N. Athanassakis (Missoula, Mont., 1975). *Pachomian Koinonia* 1 (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1980). *CPG* 2 (1974) 2353–58.

LIT. F. Ruppert, *Das pachomianische Mönchtum und die Anfänge klösterlichen Gehorsams* (Münsterschwarzach 1971). P. Rousseau, *Pachomius: The Making of a Community in Fourth-Century Egypt* (Berkeley 1985). J.E. Goehring, "Pachomius' Vision of Heresy: The Development of a Pachomian Tradition," *Muséon* 95 (1982) 241–62. –J.T., A.K.

PACHYMERES, GEORGE, patriarchal official and historian; born Nicaea 1242, died Constantinople? ca.1310. After receiving his early education in Nicaea, Pachymeres (Παχυμέρης) went in 1261 to the capital, where he studied with George AKROPOLITES. He became a deacon and member of the patriarchal clergy. In 1277 he served as *didaskalos tou apostolou*. Eventually he received the ecclesiastical position of *protekdikos* and the civil post of *dikaiophylax*.

Pachymeres is best known for his detailed—and for the most part reliable—history of the reigns of MICHAEL VIII and ANDRONIKOS II, covering the period 1260–1308. Much of his account is based on eyewitness observation; he places special emphasis on the ecclesiastical controversies that divided the empire. The archaizing style of Pachymeres is notoriously difficult to comprehend; he is noted for reviving the use of Attic names for the months (cf. G.G. Arnakis, *BNJbb* 18 [1945–49] 144–53). His chronology has occasioned problems for modern researchers (cf. A. Failler, *REB* 38 [1980] 5–103; 39 [1981] 145–249). Pachymeres is generally regarded as an objective historian, but he does reveal his own opinions. Thus, he was critical of Michael VIII, singling out his irascibility and hypocrisy, and hostile to Patr. Athanasios I of Constantinople because of his intolerance and rigidity, traits shared by his monastic supporters (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:148f). Pachymeres was a perspicacious observer who fully realized the pathetic condition of the declining empire and was interested in the motives of the protagonists and the causation of events. He believed that TYCHE was the determinant force of history (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:228.15–229.1).

Pachymeres was also a scholar and writer of wide-ranging interests, including philosophy, rhetoric, mathematics, and law. He composed PROGYMNASMATA (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 1:549–96) and 13 *meletai* on rhetoric (ed. J.F. Boissonade, *Georgii Pachymeris Declamationes XIII* [Paris 1848; rp. Amsterdam 1966]). In addition he wrote a compendium of Aristotle and a quadrivium.

ED. *Georgii Pachymeris De Michaele et Andronico Palaeologis*, ed. I. Bekker, 2 vols. (Bonn 1835). Books 1–6 only—*Georges Pachymérès. Relations historiques*, ed. A. Failler, 2 vols. (Paris 1984), with Fr. tr. by V. Laurent. *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère*, ed. P. Tannery, E. Stephanou (Vatican 1940).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:37, 94, 96, 98f, 447–53. A. Failler, "La tradition manuscrite de l'Histoire de Georges Pachymère (livres I-VI)," *REB* 37 (1979) 123–220. A. Lampsakes, "Hyperphysikes dynameis, physika phainomena kai deisidaimonies sten Historia tou Georgiou Pachymere," *Symmeikta* 7 (1987) 77–100. –A.M.T.

PACTA (πάκτα, from Lat. *pactum*). In the Roman system of OBLIGATION by CONTRACT, *pacta* assumed the important function of denoting the mass of agreements from which no obligations resulted (*pacta nuda*). Justinianic legislation and the jurisprudence of that time still proceeded in principle from this concept. In the meantime, however, the quantity of nonbinding ("nude") *pacta*

had been reduced to a negligible number, so that the decisive practical difference between *pactum* and contract, namely actionability, had virtually disappeared, and the differentiation appears artificial. Nevertheless, the concept of *pacta* was revived as late as the 11th C. and was supported in a manner faithful to the textual transmission (see MEDITATIO DE NUDIS PACTIS). In contractual practice the *pacta* converged with the (written) contract of the law of obligations mainly because the classical STIPULATION degenerated into a mere clause used for all kinds of agreements. Consequently and symptomatically, under Leo VI the qualification *nudum pactum* was applied to documents that have no penal stipulation (nov.72). Leo's measure, which allowed the penal clause to be replaced by other means of achieving the desired effect—for example, by affixing the sign of the cross or an invocation—was revised by Romanos II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:244–46), but the theory of *pacta* did not thereby regain its practical relevance.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:363–65 (§261). Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 402–07. –D.S.

PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, a Byz. fortress on a Danubian island east of DOROSTOLON in southwestern DOBRUDJA (near mod. Ostrov in Rumania); its Byz. name is unknown. Evidence of late Roman habitation is scanty. The latest coin found is one of Maurice; the settlement was evidently abandoned ca.600. John I Tzimiskes restored the fort and constructed a harbor, probably to defend Dorostolon from attacks by the Kievan fleet. Excavations discovered a strong wall (6 m broad at the foundation), the material for which was brought from several quarries in the area (P. Diaconu, E. Zah, *Dacia* 15 [1971] 289–306). The poorly preserved ruins include a large ashlar stepped landing on the southeast side, flanked by two square towers. To the northeast a tower, with one curved side and one straight side at an obtuse angle, presents the least possible obstacle to ice floes. Soon Păcuiul lui Soare lost its military character and the population concentrated in a smaller area.

The town flourished during the 11th C.—more than 500 Byz. coins from Romanos III to Alexios I have been found on its territory; thereafter, only sporadic coins of Alexios III, John III Vatatzes, and Andronikos II are recorded as well as some of Epirot and Latin rulers. People lived in semisubterranean habitations and were engaged in fishing and trading activity. A potter's kiln of the 11th C. (S. Baraschi, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 461–72) and various arms and household utensils of bone, also of the 11th C. (P. Diaconu, S. Baraschi, *Dacia* 17 [1973] 351–59), demonstrate the local craftsmanship. Of Byz. origin are some ceramics, glass vessels, and *enkolpia*; on some amphoras there are potter's stamps as well as Cyrillic graffiti. Some objects found in Păcuiul lui Soare are of Kievan and Pecheneg origin. Probably at the end of the 11th C. a fire destroyed the town and in the 12th C. it was severed from Byz. In the 13th and 14th C. Bulgarian (and from the end of the 14th C. onward Rumanian) coins dominate among the finds.

P. Diaconu (*Byzantina* 8 [1976] 407–47) identified Păcuiul lui Soare with VICINA, P. Năsturel (*RESEE* 3 [1965] 17–36) identified it tentatively with Little PRESLAV. In contrast, I. Božilov (*IzvNarMusVarna* 9 [1973] 324f) thinks that the site was an insignificant harbor.

LIT. P. Diaconu, D. Vîlceanu, S. Baraschi, *Păcuiul lui Soare*, 2 vols. (Bucharest 1972–77). –A.K., E.C.S.

PAENULA (φαινόλης, φελόνης), a heavy cape or traveling cloak made usually of linen or wool, pulled on easily over the head like a poncho. Sometimes it had an attached hood. Originally a garment worn primarily by slaves, peasants, and soldiers, its simplicity and practicality assured it such popularity in the late antique period that it ultimately replaced the TOGA as an everyday costume and was worn even by senators in late 4th-C. Constantinople (*Cod.Theod.* XIV 10.1). The mosaic figures in the Rotunda of St. GEORGE in Thessalonike are shown wearing the *paenula*. It is considered to be the source of one important liturgical vestment whose use was reserved to priests and bishops, namely the PHELONION, the chasuble of the Latin church.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 244–46. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 118f. –N.P.Š.

PAGANISM was a living force in the 4th-C. empire, supported by some parts of the senatorial aristocracy (primarily Western), intellectuals, and the rural population, whereas the main strength

of Christianity came from the lower and middle classes of the city. Although it is hard to generalize, it seems indicative that in Kyzikos the city council asked Emp. Julian to restore Hellenic temples, but the workers of the state woolen factories and the "*technitai* of coins" supported the local bishop (Sozom. *HE* 5:15.4–6). There were three main streams in the paganism of the late Roman Empire: political, intellectual, and cultic. Political paganism stemmed from the religious indifference of the army, a constant influx of Germanic and related warriors, and the influence of the senatorial aristocracy.

The most overt resurgence of paganism took place under JULIAN. Its political power became evident in the case of the ALTAR OF VICTORY and in the revolt of EUGENIUS. Quite a number of pagans were active at the imperial court in the 4th and 5th C.: THEMISTIOS, SYMMACHUS, FLAVIANUS, and the eparch KYROS, to name only a few. Intellectual paganism flourished in the 5th C., which produced such scholars as PROKLOS and PAMPREPIOS, the historians OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES and ZOSIMOS, and the poet CLAUDIAN. A series of decrees issued by Emp. THEODOSIOS I, culminating with the edict of 392, attempted to crush paganism by prohibiting sacrifices and other cult practices. This caused the closing and/or destruction of many temples. Pagan cults continued to survive, however, esp. in the countryside, despite these prohibitions.

In the 5th C. ISIDORE OF PELOUSION (PG 78:344A) asserted that in his era "Hellenismos" had disappeared, defeated by the passage of time, by many efforts and weapons, and by reason. His statement was premature, however, and Justinian I still had to struggle against paganism. He tried to eradicate paganism at the intellectual level by closing the pagan ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529 and attempted to stamp out remnants of pagan religious practice, esp. by using inquisitionary missions such as that of JOHN OF EPHESUS (J. Irmscher, *Klio* 63 [1981] 683–88). Thereafter paganism survived either as a component of Christianity, in the form of classical tradition or as an educational vehicle, or in the form of cult tradition. Christian churches were built, for example, on the location of former pagan shrines and the cult of saints was continued at sites of pagan healing.

At the end of the 7th C. paganism as such was preserved predominantly at the level of everyday life, as "pagan" habits—FEASTS, MAGIC, and ASTROLOGY, theatrical performances, and pagan oaths—and in the clothing of law students (I. Rochow, *Klio* 60 [1978] 495f). Some forms of pagan cult are attested to in 9th-C. Maina (*De adm. imp.*, 50.71f), and vestiges of "pagan" habits were criticized by 12th-C. canonists and by the 14th-C. patriarch Athanasios I (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1738). These vestiges of paganism may have been reinforced by Byz. contacts with nonbaptized peoples, such as the Pechenegs. On the other hand, accusations of paganism were an effective method of attacking intellectuals involved in the study of antiquity.

LIT. *The Conflict between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963). R. MacMullen, *Paganism in the Roman Empire* (New Haven–London 1981). L.C. Ruggini, "Un cinquantennio di polemica antipagana a Roma," in *Paradoxos politeia: Studi patristici in onore di Giuseppe Lazzati* (Milan 1979) 119–44. T. Gregory, "The Survival of Paganism in Christian Greece: A Critical Essay," *AJPh* 107 (1986) 229–42. W. Kaegi, "The Fifth-Century Twilight of Byzantine Paganism," *ClMed* 27 (1966) 243–75. –A.K., A.M.T.

PAGOMENOS. See PEPAGOMENOS.

PAIDEIA (παιδεία), term that in the Hellenistic and Roman world designated education or training; church fathers (e.g., Methodios of Olympos, Eusebios of Caesarea) retained it to denote pagan education, often in contrast to Christian education based on the Gospels (PG 18:137B). In the wake of the Septuagint and New Testament semitizing usage, they also employed the term in the sense of chastisement or corrective training: God would chastise the Christians for the purpose of their moral discipline. From patristic times onward, authors distinguished between "our" (Christian) *paideia* as moral and religious training (cf. A. Moffatt, in *Iconoclasm* 87) and "external (*exo, thyrathen*) *paideia*," meaning secular education (Lemerle, *Humanism* 39). The word *thyrathen* itself could be used as a noun, (e.g., Nik.Chon. 307.77). At the same time, the Byz. inherited from the Second Sophistic the expression *enkyklios paideia/paideusis* with a more technical, if polyvalent, meaning: George Akropolites (Akrop. 1:46.13–15) equated it with the study of grammar; Psellos (Sathas, *MB* 5:147.12–14), on the other hand, speaks of *enkyklios paideia* as elementary education preceding the study of grammar.

LIT. Marrou, *Education* 95–101. –A.K.

PAINTERS' GUIDES. See MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS.

PAINTING. See FRESCO TECHNIQUE; HISTORY PAINTING; ICONS; MONUMENTAL PAINTING.

PAKOURIANOS (Πακουριανός, Arm. Bakourean, Georg. Bakuriani), aristocratic Byz. family that made its first appearance in 988 in the army of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO and occupied important administrative positions down to the 13th C. The best-known member is Gregory Pakourianos, who took part in the defense of ANI against the Seljuks in 1064. His career as an imperial *doux* in the East was cut short by the Turkish advance, but his support of Alexios I earned him the office of *megas domestikos* of the West and the title of *sebastos,* with vast estates in the Balkans. He founded a Georgian monastery at PETRITZOS and supported the monastery of IVERON on Athos. Gregory defended the Balkans against the Normans and died in battle against the PECHENEGS in 1086. The facts that the sources sometimes call him an Armenian and sometimes an Iberian; that the *typikon* for his monastery was composed in Greek, Georgian, and Armenian; and that he signed it in "Armenian characters," while referring to himself as an Iberian have led to heated debate over the origin of the family. The most likely explanation is that it belonged to the mixed Armeno-Iberian Chalcedonian aristocracy, which dwelt in the border district of TAYK'/TAO.

ED. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du Sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984) 5–145.
LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 58–65. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978). Lemerle, *Cinq études* 115–91. A. Chanidzé, "Le grand domestique de l'Occident, Gregorii Bakurianis-dzé et le monastère géorgien fondé par lui en Bulgarie," *BK* 28 (1971) 133–66. –N.G.G.

PAKTON (πάκτον, from Lat. *pactum,* "contract, agreement, treaty"), a word with several meanings in the Byz. era. (1) The term was used to describe an agreement between rulers, esp. a treaty (usually in the plural: e.g., *pakta tes eirenes,* "peace treaty"). (2) It also referred to tribute (e.g., *pakta chrysiou*), such as that paid by Byz. to neighboring rulers, and was most commonly used in this sense by Byz. historians of the 9th through 11th C. (3) Also called *choropakton,* the term is found in documents and denotes the yearly RENT or rental fee, normally in specie, paid to the owner or possessor of property (land, fishing rights, mills [*mylopakton*], etc.) for the use of that property. The term *pakton* was employed in regard to LAND LEASES between private parties as well as between a private individual (lessee) and the state (lessor). When the state was landlord the distinction between *pakton* and TELOS blurred. (For rates of the *pakton,* see RENT.)

The term *ampelopakton,* ostensibly a rent on vineyards, is encountered frequently during the 13th and 14th C., usually in connection with *xenoparoikoi,* that is, new or alien cultivators. There was an official called *paktotes,* for example, on the seal of Nicholas, *chartoularios* and *paktotes* of Paphlagonia (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.619).

LIT. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:57, n.1, 67–75. J. Karayannopoulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamtem," in *Polychronion* 324–26. Dölger, *Beiträge* 143, 155. –M.B.

PALACE (παλάτιον), an official residence, such as the residence of the emperor. The term derives from the Palatium complex on the Palatine Hill in Rome, the only official dwelling of the Roman emperors until the late 3rd C.; subsequently the term entered general use.

Imperial Palaces. During the Tetrarchy and on into the 4th C., establishment of new capitals (ANTIOCH, MILAN, Trier) brought about the proliferation of imperial palaces. The GREAT PALACE in Constantinople, begun by Constantine I, is the final product of that age. Other, later palaces built in CONSTANTINOPLE included the 5th-C. Boukoleon and Hormisdas palaces, the 10th-C. MYRELAION palace, the 11th-C. MANGANA palace, the 12th-C. BLACHERNAI palace, and the late 13th-C. TEKFUR SARAYI. Emperors also built palaces away from Constantinople: for example, the 6th-C. Rhegion palace (A.M. Mansel, 6 *CEB*, vol. 2 [Paris 1951] 255–60) and the 9th-C. BRYAS palace (S. Eyice, *Belleten* 23, no.89 [1959] 79–111).

On the basis of archaeological and textual evidence, the historical development of palace architecture is marked by characteristic changes in the relationship between the building and its urban setting. Initially (4th–6th C.), the complex was open toward the city, continuing Roman practice. Decline of cities (7th–8th C.) brought about the emergence of the fortified palace, reflecting a growing concern for security provided not only by city walls but also by those of the complex



PALACE. Palace of the Despots, Mistra. View of the palace complex, looking north.

itself. In the 13th and 14th C. the urban palace-block made its appearance. Probably under Western influence, in Byz. (e.g., MISTRA) the type was characterized by continued segregation of the building from the urban environment.

Palaces of the Nobility. It is not clear when the nobility began to build palacelike mansions: one 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:767.6–8) inveighs against the relatives of Alexios I who erected OIKOI as large as a *polis* and luxurious as a palace, while another (Kinn. 266.7–9) relates that dignitaries decorated their mansions with HISTORY PAINTING and scenes representing the emperor's hunting exploits. The palace described in the poem DIGENES AKRITAS was an elaborate complex that included a large garden, bathhouse, church, and main building, which was decorated with biblical and classical figures rather than an "imperial" program.

LIT. F. Dirimtekin, "Les palais impériaux byzantins," *CorsiRav* 12 (1965) 225–45. E. Mamboury, T. Wiegand, *Die Kaiserpaläste von Konstantinopel* (Berlin 1934). L.A. Hunt, "Comnenian Aristocratic Palace Decoration," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 138–57. K. Swoboda, *Römische und romanische Paläste*[3] (Vienna-Cologne-Graz 1969) 133–84. N. Duval, "Palais et cité dans la pars Orientis," *CorsiRav* 26 (1979) 41–51. S. Runciman, "The Country and Suburban Palaces of the Emperors," in *Charanis Studies* 219–228. –S.Ć., A.K.

PALACE CHURCH, a CHAPEL associated with a residence (esp. that of an emperor) and generally designated for private use by its owner or occupants. The tradition of palatine church architecture may have begun with Constantine I, though the matter is controversial in modern historiography (F.W. Deichmann, *BZ* 65 [1972] 40–56; Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 76–78). The debate has been brought into an even sharper focus over Justinian I's Church of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople (C. Mango, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 189–93; T.F. Mathews, *Revue de l'art* 24 [1974] 22–29; R. Krautheimer, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 251–53; C. Mango, *BZ* 68 [1975] 385–92).

While the typology of palace churches may be in doubt, their functional identity is not. From the time of Justinian I onward, they constituted regularly identifiable components of Byz. PALACES. The archaeological evidence for such buildings is meager, but the literary sources are abundant. A large number of churches is recorded within the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople between the early 9th and mid-11th C.: those of Christ, the Virgin, and the Archangel Michael are referred to as having been built by Emp. Theophilos, while the palace church of St. Anne is attributed to Leo VI. Palace chapels of the Savior, Prophet Elijah, Archangel Michael, St. Peter, St. Paul, St. John the Evangelist, St. Barbara, and the NEA EKKLESIA were built by Basil I. A 12th-C.(?) description of an imaginary palace also locates a chapel—dedicated to St. Theodore—in its midst (*Digenes Akritas,* ed. Trapp, 334, G VII 104–05 [3242–43]). The Church of St. George, next to the monastery and palace of Mangana in Constantinople, was built by Constantine IX (Psellos, *Chron.*, vol. 2:61, par. 185.3); its remains have been archaeologically ascertained (R. Demangel, E. Mamboury, *Le quartier des Manganes* [Paris 1939] 19–37). The Bodrum Camii in Istanbul has been identified as the chapel of Romanos I Lekapenos; it stood next to his Myrelaion palace, no longer extant (C.L. Striker, *The Myrelaion (Bodrum Camii) in Istanbul* [Princeton 1981]).

LIT. S. Ćurčić, "Some Palatine Aspects of the Cappella Palatina in Palermo," *DOP* 41 (1987) 125–44. –S.Ć.

PALACE GUARD. See HETAIREIA.

PALA D'ORO. A *pal(l)a* was the cloth that covered an altar in early Christian and medieval churches. Also called an *antependium*, it was sometimes replaced by panels in precious metals, either covering the four sides of the altar or attached only to the altar's front face. In 1105 Doge Ordelafo Falier (1102–18), one of the founders of San Marco in VENICE, ordered the ENAMEL Pala d'Oro from Constantinople for the main altar of his church, perhaps as a replacement for the 10th-C. silver and gold *antependium* of Doge Pietro I Orseolo (976–78). By 1209, when six feast scenes and the archangel Michael were added to the top, the Pala (measuring 2.1 × 3.5 m) was placed on the main altar, perhaps in imitation of the gold, jeweled (and enameled?) panel on the high altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, that ROBERT DE CLARI described after seeing it in 1204. In 1342–45 the Pala was remounted in its present Gothic frame.

The imagery on Falier's Pala is arranged in typically Western fashion. Christ is enthroned in a large tondo within an inscribed frame, surrounded by the four evangelists. Above, angels and tetramorphs honor the Hetoimasia; the Virgin and the Pala's patrons—Falier and an Empress Irene (whose identification has been the subject of much discussion)—are placed below, between two inscription panels of 1342–45 that describe the work's history. It is likely that, originally, Irene was accompanied by her husband. The "wings" display three tiers of prophets, apostles, and angels paying homage to Christ. Twenty-seven "framing" panels depict the lives of Christ and St. Mark and portraits of six locally venerated deacons—Lawrence, Vincent, Stephen, Eleutherius, Peter of Alexandria, and Fortunatus.

The program of imagery resembles the decoration of palatine chapels of the Komnenian era, beginning perhaps in an expanded decoration of the chapel of the Virgin (of the Pharos?) in the GREAT PALACE of Constantinople, and imitated elsewhere, often with Latin adaptations, in the royal churches of Norman Sicily, esp. the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO. When Falier ordered the Pala, he seems to have intended to set such an imperial program on the main altar of his palatine chapel.

LIT. M. Frazer, "The Pala d'Oro and the Cult of St. Mark in Venice," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 273–79. S. Bettini in *Treasury S. Marco* 35–64. –M.E.F.

PALAEOGRAPHY (lit. "ancient writing"), like CODICOLOGY, is an autonomous field of study, as well as an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE of philology and history. It studies the development of the Greek script in Byz. MSS and documents (see DIPLOMATICS) in its cultural context. It takes its name from the pioneering monograph of B. de Montfaucon, *Palaeographia graeca* (Paris 1708; rp. 1970). Gardthausen (*infra*) divided palaeography into *Buchwesen* and *Schriftwesen*; the recent tendency is to replace the term *Buchwesen* by codicology, with the emphasis on the place of the BOOK in Byz. civilization. A sound knowledge of palaeography

enables a text editor to read and date Byz. MSS and to establish the STEMMA of a given work.

The reading of MSS presents certain difficulties, such as the need to decipher ABBREVIATIONS, contractions, and LIGATURES; TACHYGRAPHY, MONOGRAMS, and PALIMPSESTS create additional problems. In most MSS, esp. early ones, words were not separated, accents and breathings were omitted or used intermittently, and punctuation was apparently arbitrary. Other problems in deciphering or reconstructing texts are damaged MSS, with FOLIOS or parts of folios missing, worm-holes, ink blots, and even modern tape repairs.

The script of Byz. MSS can be roughly divided into two categories, the UNCIAL, or majuscule, and the MINUSCULE, subdivided into the CURSIVE and minuscule intended as calligraphy. An obstacle to the study of the development of uncial script is the lack of any securely dated MSS for the formative period (4th–8th C.); the only firmly dated uncial text (which is also the earliest dated book MS) is the Vat. gr. 1166 of the year 800. Thus the reconstruction of the development must be hypothetical.

After the introduction of minuscule as a book script, uncial survived until the 11th C., but it became specialized for scriptural and liturgical texts. It was used continuously for LEMMATA (headings) and sections to be emphasized.

Minuscule scripts differ in levels of formality and elegance, ranging from that of a scholar's autograph copy for private use to that of a deluxe CODEX skillfully written by a professional SCRIBE. Minuscule MSS are more likely to bear a date (the earliest dated one is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK, Leningrad, Publ. Lib. gr. 219, of 835); their COLOPHONS sometimes have precise chronological indications, sometimes only certain elements of a date (INDICTION, month, etc.). Those MSS that are securely dated help reconstruct the evolution of the script and thus indirectly determine the chronology of undated MSS. Palaeographers have attempted to classify bookscripts into certain styles that can be roughly dated, for example, "pearl script" (10th–12th C.), "Fettaugenmode" (13th C.), and "Metochites style" and "Hodegon style" (14th C.). The use of an archaizing script, which revives or preserves features typical of an earlier period, may, however, complicate the dating of some MSS; for instance, the calligraphy of some late 13th-C. codices imitates the "pearl script" that flourished earlier. Statistical methods have been used to evaluate the reintroduction of uncial letters into minuscule at the very end of the 9th C., but the usefulness of these statistics for dating is still open to question. Another problem in dating MSS is the conservative character of codices copied in the provinces. Paper MSS can be dated more precisely through their WATERMARKS.

Another objective of palaeography (and codicology) is to establish the MS's provenance. Individualized handwriting was rare in Byz., and relatively few MSS have colophons identifying particular scribes. The minuscule script is strongly formalized up to the 12th C.; more individual features begin to appear only in the 13th C., at the end of which period it becomes possible to recognize the autographs of Byz. scholars such as Maximos PLANOUDES, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Nikephoros GREGORAS. The method of attribution of hands is in general the same as that used for dating: listing MSS of individual scribes and comparing unsigned MSS with those whose copyist is known.

Some MSS are known to have been copied in particular SCRIPTORIA, and again the similarity of production (format of the book and page, composition of QUIRES, RULING PATTERNS, type of handwriting, illuminations) permits the assignment of a MS to a specific scriptorium. The palaeographer must be cautious, however; typical features in the script or codicological features, such as the ruling patterns, may not be restricted to one region. In contradistinction to Latin palaeography, where the study of regional writing is advanced, Byz. palaeographers have not been able to establish many centers of book production, owing mostly to the dearth of evidence. Only for southern Italy and Cyprus, from where a large number of codices have survived, is it possible to study special regional characteristics on preserved MSS.

A part of the palaeographer's task is the study of peripheral information contained in the MS: some of it comes from the scribe himself (e.g., colophon, table of contents, some SCHOLIA); some, esp. on autograph MSS, from the author, who thereby reveals, for example, his methods of commenting and his practice of textual criticism. Remarks from scribes, readers, and owners sometimes convey data on the production of the book (such as its price) or its history (such as changes of ownership); they may also express a reader's attitude to a work. On occasion, successive owners

and readers of the book made marginal notes or additions on blank folios that have an independent value.

LIT. V. Gardthausen, *Griechische Palaeographie*², 2 vols. (Leipzig 1911–13). R. Devreesse, *Introduction à l'étude des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1954). A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*³ (Paris 1975). H. Hunger, "Antikes und mittelalterliches Buch- und Schriftwesen," in *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich 1961) 25–147. E.M. Thompson, *Handbook of Greek and Latin Palaeography*² (London 1894). *La paléographie grecque et byzantine* (Paris 1977). –E.G., I.Š.

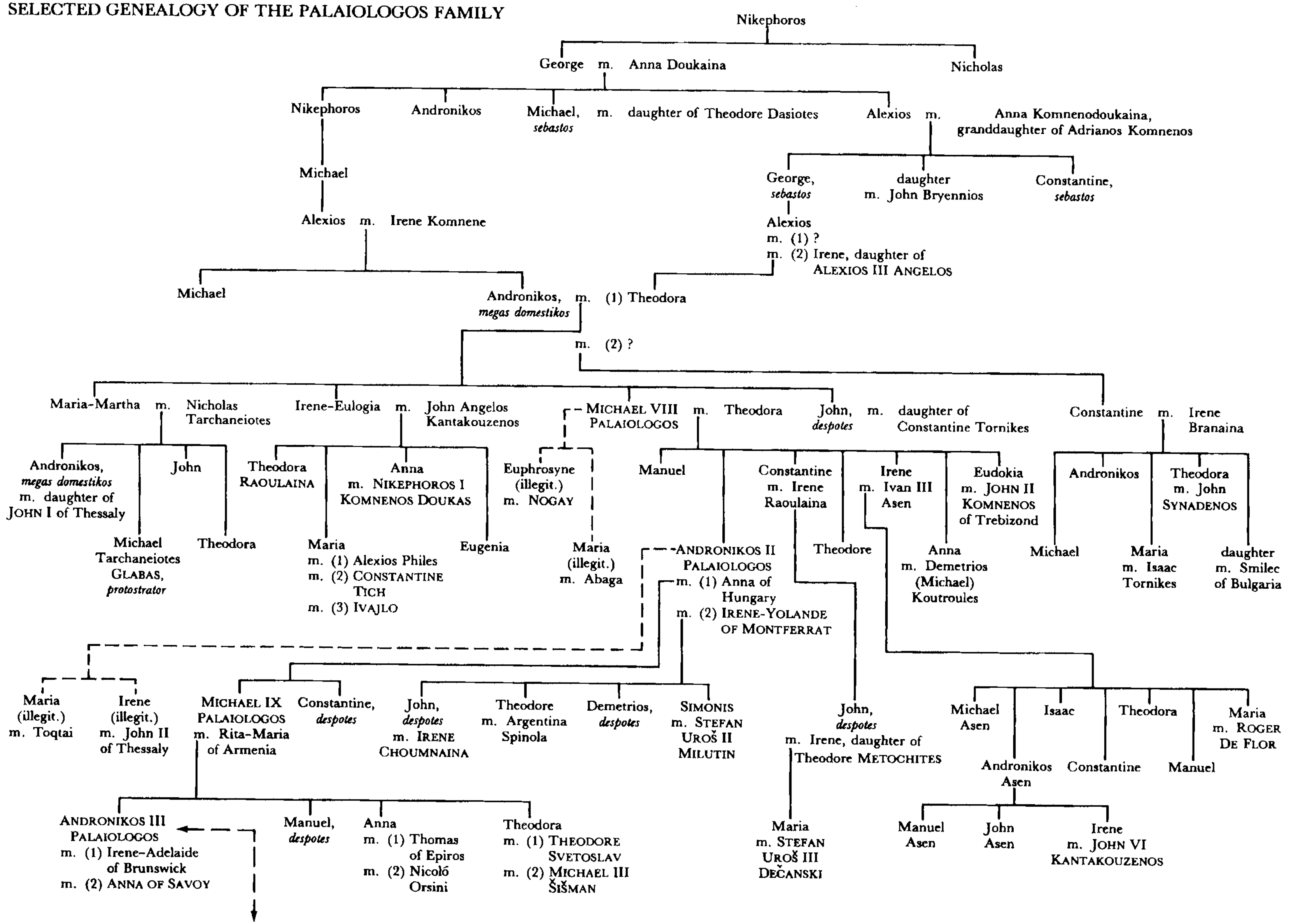
PALAIA (παλαιά, "old," *paleja* in Slavonic), a narrative of events from the Creation to Daniel, based on paraphrased and apocryphal versions of Old Testament episodes and supplemented with passages from, in particular, JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS, GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, ANDREW OF CRETE, and THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The *Palaia* was therefore compiled not earlier than the 9th C. Similar in concept to the Latin "historiated" Bibles (cf. M. Gaster, *Ilchester Lectures on Greeko-Slavonic Literature* [London 1887] 147–208), the *Palaia* is often termed "popular," though few Greek MSS survive (Krumbacher, *GBL* 398, 1139). It was evidently more widespread among the Slavs. Three Slavonic translations of the *Palaia*, all entitled *Paleja*, survive: two are Bulgarian, one is Serbian, though most of the extant MSS are Eastern Slavic and derive from a lost 13th-C. Bulgarian version. The name *Paleja* was transferred to an unrelated and larger Slavonic compilation that includes extensive commentaries (*Paleja tolkovaja*) and that in some versions continues the historical narrative down to the death of ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Paleja chronografičeskaja*). This additional narrative is mainly derived from the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS and is cited in the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

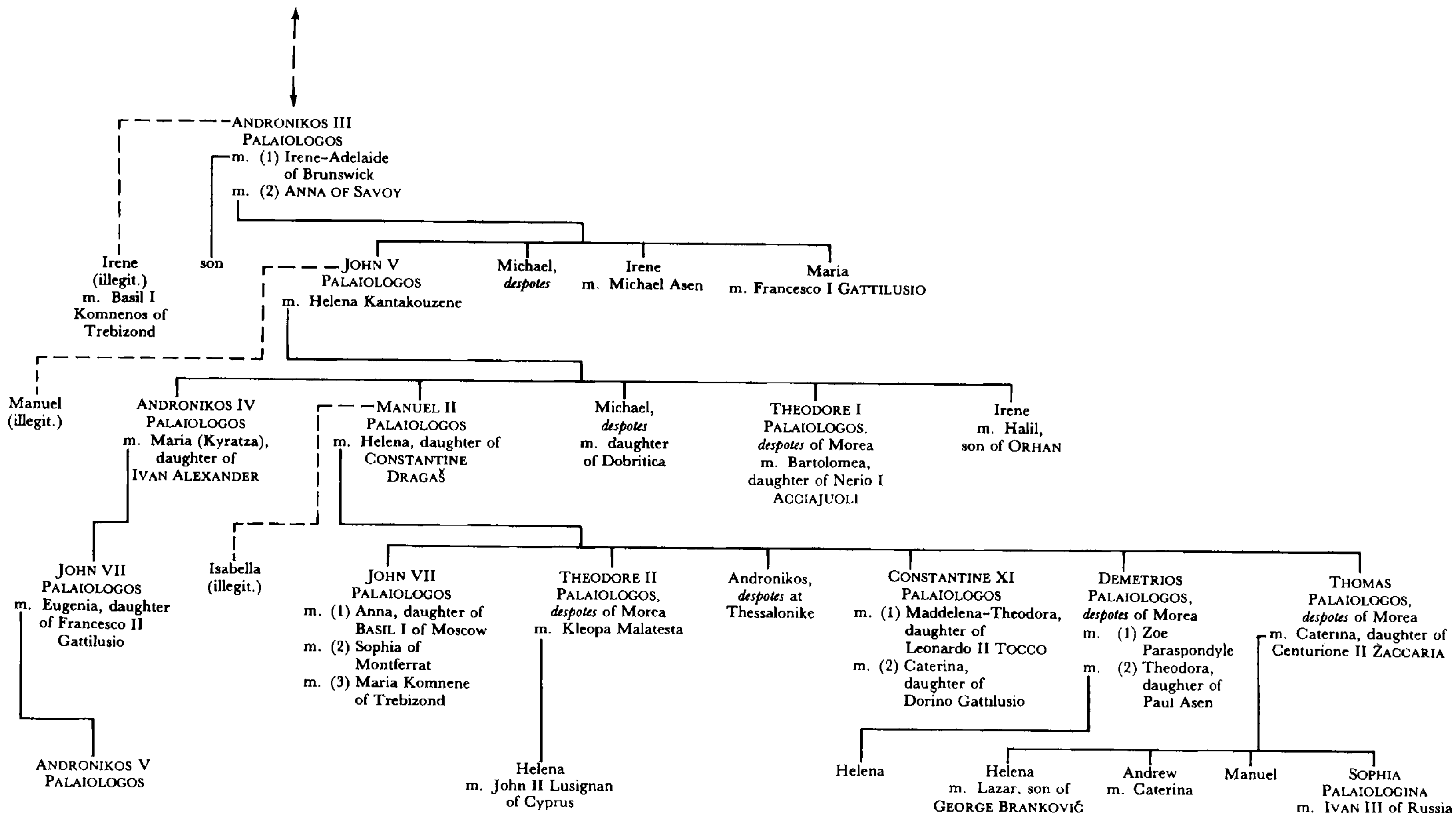
ED. *Anecdota graeco-byzantina*, ed. A. Vassilev (Moscow 1893) xlii–lvi, 188–292.
LIT. M.N. Speranskij, *Iz istorii russko-slavjanskich literaturnych svjazej* (Moscow 1960) 104–47. E. Turdeanu, "La *Palaea* byzantine chez les Slaves du Sud et chez les Roumains," *RES* 40 (1964) 195–206. T. Sumnikova, "K probleme perevoda Istoričeskoj Palei," in *Izučenie russkogo jazyka i istočnikovedenie* (Moscow 1969) 27–39. –S.C.F.

PALAIOLOGOS (Παλαιολόγος, fem. Παλαιολογίνα), a noble family; although *palaiologos* meant "junkman," the Byz. believed that the family possessed ancient ancestors. The first known Palaiologos was Nikephoros, general and governor of Mesopotamia under Michael VII; his son George, an experienced military commander, was the staunchest supporter of Alexios I. The 12th-C. Palaiologoi were primarily generals (George, *megas hetaireiarches* in 1166 [O. Lampsides, *Byzantion* 40 (1970) 393–407], Alexios-Antony, *megas doux*) and governors of provinces (Michael of Thessalonike in the first half of the 12th C., Nikephoros of Trebizond ca.1180); it is possible that the *hetaireiarches* George's father was Alexios and held the post of *megas domestikos* at the end of Alexios I's reign. None of the Palaiologoi served in the civil administration. They were wealthy, but little is known of their estates; they acted, however, as monastic patrons. George was praised as the sponsor of a monastery close to Triaditza-Sofia in which he ordered the depiction of the archangel Michael; he and his son the *sebastos* Alexios were also portrayed there (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 143, no.213 tit.). The Palaiologoi were interrelated with the Komnenoi, Doukai, and Angeloi; Alexios Palaiologos (perhaps George's son?) married Irene, Alexios III's daughter; he subdued the rebellion of 1200 in Constantinople and was proclaimed *despotes* and heir to the throne.

The Palaiologoi retained their high position after 1204; Andronikos, Alexios's son, was *megas domestikos*, and in 1259 his son became emperor as MICHAEL VIII and founded the Palaiologan dynasty. After the reconquest of Constantinople in 1261, the extensive family took possession of vast estates throughout the empire. Their mightiest rivals, the KANTAKOUZENOI, were defeated by JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS by 1354, and by 1382 they were ousted from the Peloponnesos. A fierce struggle for power ensued, however, within the house of Palaiologos. In 1376 ANDRONIKOS IV rebelled against his father John V and arrested him; only on 1 July 1379 did John V and his heir MANUEL II manage to reconquer Constantinople. Andronikos IV and his son JOHN VII were recognized as legitimate rulers over Selymbria and several other districts but were not appeased; on 17 Sept. 1390 John VII again seized Constantinople but had to yield to Manuel II. The Peloponnesian branch of the Palaiologos family was loyal to Constantinople but independent: by the time of JOHN VIII, the Peloponnesos was ruled by three of his brothers, the *despotai* THEODORE II, CONSTANTINE (XI), and THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS; since John VIII died childless (Theodore died

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE PALAIOLOGOS FAMILY





Based on Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes* 186; table at end of Nicol, *Last Centuries*, with modifications; and *PLP*.

before him), Constantine succeeded him as the last Byz. emperor; he was killed during the Ottoman assault on Constantinople.

The Palaiologoi searched desperately for a Western alliance: they attempted to restore the unity of the church and favored marriages with Western princes and princesses; ANDRONIKOS II married Anna of Hungary and then IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; ANDRONIKOS III married Irene (Adelheid) of Braunschweig and ANNA OF SAVOY; Andronikos II's son Theodore married Argentina Spinola and became marquis of Montferrat in 1305 (A. Laiou, *Byzantion* 38 [1969] 386–410). The Palaiologoi also married their children to the rulers of Serbia, Bulgaria, Trebizond, and Epiros. SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA, daughter of Thomas Palaiologos, became the spouse of IVAN III of Moscow. (See genealogical table; see also BYZANTIUM, HISTORY OF: "Empire of the Straits.")

LIT. Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes* 123–87. A.Th. Papadopulos, *Versuch einer Genealogie der Palaiologen, 1259–1453* (Munich 1938; rp. Amsterdam 1962). B. Ferjančić, "Posedi pripadnika roda Paleologa," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 127–64. Dölger, *Paraspora*, 178–88. *PLP*, nos. 21337–538. P. Magdalino,"Notes on the Last Years of John Palaiologos, Brother of Michael VIII," *REB* 34 (1976) 143–49. M. Živojinović, "O Jovanu Paleologu, bratu Mihaila VIII," *ZbFilozFak* 14.1 (1979) 103–22. A. Carile, "Manuele Nothos Paleologo, Nota prosopografica," *Thesaurismata* 12 (1975) 137–47. A. Sideras, "Neue Quellen zum Leben des Despotes Andronikos Palaiologos," *BZ* 80 (1987) 3–15. –A.K.

PALAISTE (παλαιστή, lit. "palm of the hand"), a unit of length = 4 DAKTYLOI = 1/4 POUS = 7.8 cm. Synonymous terms are *gronthos*, *pygme*, *tetarton* (as 1/4 *pous*), and *triton* (as 1/3 imperial SPITHAME).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 18. –E. Sch.

PALAMAS, GREGORY, theologian, archbishop of Thessalonike (1347–59), and saint, canonized in 1368; born Constantinople ca.1296, died Thessalonike 14 Nov. 1359. Though destined by his aristocratic background for imperial service, Palamas (Παλαμᾶς) chose the monastic life instead and went to Athos in 1316. After a brief stay at Vatopedi and then at Lavra he joined the *skete* of Glossia. In 1326 Palamas was ordained a priest. He then continued the life of prayer, which the hesychasts of Athos had taught him, in a number of hermitages. In 1336 he entered into an exchange of letters with BARLAAM OF CALABRIA. His objections to Barlaam's syllogistic reasoning quickly became a matter of controversy involving both church and society, esp. after Barlaam attacked Palamas and the monastic spirituality of HESYCHASM on Athos. Most of Palamas's literary production is devoted to this cause (often referred to as PALAMISM) that the church supported and endorsed in the Constantinople local councils of 1341, 1347, and 1351 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). In addition to the monks of Athos and numerous bishops, Palamas's staunchest supporters included JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS and the patriarchs ISIDORE I, KALLISTOS I, and PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (the last mentioned wrote an *enkomion* of Palamas).

Still, during the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, Palamas was imprisoned by Patr. JOHN XIV KALEKAS and his ideas condemned. This censorship, however, was primarily politically motivated, for Palamas was a known sympathizer of Kantakouzenos. Indeed, he was initially unable to enter the city of Thessalonike, to which he had been appointed archbishop (1347), because anti-Kantakouzenist ZEALOTS still occupied it. Generally, the party opposed to Palamas was confined to some bishops, the humanist Nikephoros GREGORAS, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and the later small circle of Byz. Thomists led by the KYDONES brothers.

In addition to his two *Apodeictic Treatises*, the *Hagiorite Tomos*, and his *Triads* in defense of hesychasm, Palamas wrote numerous tracts, letters, and sermons dealing with hagiography, liturgy, asceticism, and prayer. The detailed account of his brief captivity (1354–55) among the Turks of Asia Minor and his conversations with them and the so-called *Chionai* is striking for its impartial view of Christians living under Turkish rule and of the Turks themselves (cf. A. Philippidis-Braat, *TM* 7 [1979] 109–222).

ED. *Gregoriou tou Palama Syngrammata*, ed. P. Chrestou, 3 vols. (Thessalonike 1962–70). *Grégoire Palamas: Défense des saints hésychastes*², ed. J. Meyendorff, 2 vols. (Louvain 1973). *The One Hundred and Fifty Chapters*, ed. R.E. Sinkewicz (Toronto 1988), with Eng. tr.

SOURCE. Enkomion by Philotheos—ed. D. Tsames, *Hagiologika erga*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1985) 425–91.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Palamas*. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 231–341. H.G. Beck in *Handbuch der Kirchengeschichte*, ed. H. Jedin, vol. 3.2 (Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1968) 600–07. –A.P.

PALAMEDES. See OLD KNIGHT.

PALAMISM, the teaching of Gregory PALAMAS. Its characteristic feature is the distinction between the inaccessible and unknowable essence of God and his uncreated energies. Its goal—expressed most fully in Palamas's *Triads*—was to give an objective theological foundation to the theory and practice of monastic contemplation or HESYCHASM. Palamism affirms that the aim of contemplative prayer is the vision of the uncreated light of God, exemplified by the light that shone about Christ at his Transfiguration on Mt. Tabor (Lk 9:28–36; cf. *Triads* 3, ed. Meyendorff, 574–83). By means of this deifying light or energy, SALVATION or deification (THEOSIS) is realized. Because the contemplative is able to experience God's own uncreated grace (*energeia*), as distinct from his essence which is unknowable, the hesychast encounters the living God directly (*Triads* 1:115.4–5). Therefore, communion with God himself—knowledge of him through his authentically divine operations or energies—is possible and, indeed, accessible to human experience (*Triads* 3:599.22–23). Man, though a creature, was made to participate in God.

This affirmation places Palamism squarely within the development of Byz. theology and its quest for salvation. For both Palamism and Greek patristic theology are soteriologically determined. This is clear from the great Christological debate of the 4th–5th C. with its insistence that the gulf between God and man had been bridged by the Incarnation. Indeed, the focus of this controversy was not theological speculation but salvation, with man's ascent to God and communion with him—made possible through the hypostatic union of the incarnate Word. That is, Christ's assumption of the fullness of our humanity makes deification possible. In Byz. theology (as with Palamism) real and immediate knowledge of God in Christ is thus ultimately rooted in the Orthodox Christology of CHALCEDON (*Triads* 1:193.4–18). Hence the 14th-C. Byz. church approved the Palamite distinction, despite the formal Aristotelian objections of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA that the distinction was an innovation incompatible with the divine simplicity. Hence, too, the Palamite rejection of the opposition of Nikephoros GREGORAS, since this also was based on a formal "rationalism" shared in part with Barlaam.

Palamas's essentially apophatic approach to theological truth has often been viewed as incompatible with Thomism—or as an obscurantist mysticism systematically opposed to secular learning. Palamas, however, was only insisting that knowledge of God could not be reduced to a rational exercise alone, that is, to the dialectic reasoning of SCHOLASTICISM with its exclusive endorsement of Aristotle. He held that only the mind transfigured or illuminated by grace can know God. Palamas, quite simply, found unacceptable the degree of authority assigned by scholasticism to Greek philosophy—"its pretension to be adequate to the Christian mystery" (Meyendorff, *Palamas* 240).

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie de la lumière chez saint Grégoire de Thessalonique," *Dieu Vivant* 1 (1945) 93–118. G. Florovsky, "Saint Gregory Palamas and the Tradition of the Fathers," *Sobornost*[4] 4 (1961) 165–76. H.-G. Beck et al., "Humanismus und Palamismus," 12 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1963) 63–82, 321–30. C. Journet, "Palamisme et thomisme," *Revue Thomiste* 60 (1960) 429–52. M.A. Fahey, J. Meyendorff, *Trinitarian Theology East and West: St. Thomas Aquinas—St. Gregory Palamas* (Brookline, Mass., 1977).

–A.P.

The Dispute over Palamism. Palamism was established in the mid-14th C. as the official teaching of the Byz. church in spite of strong opposition from men such as Barlaam of Calabria, Gregory AKINDYNOS, and Nikephoros Gregoras. The basic philosophical differences (K. Ware, *EChR* 9 [1977] 46–51), both ontological and epistemological, could be expressed in two questions frequently discussed by church fathers: how could the gap between God and man be bridged, and how could the incomprehensible God be known by man. An excessive simplification of the problem by some hesychasts of the early 14th C. (including influential Athonite monks), who asserted the possibility of seeing the divine uncreated light, led to criticism by Barlaam who identified hesychasm as MESSALIANISM, as eliminating the distinction between the Creator and his creation. Barlaam's emphasis on the distinction between God and man endangered the concept of deification and consequently of salvation; Palamas had to defend the traditional view by introducing certain innovative definitions.

Akindynos, another critic of Palamism, denied the existence of a middle being (a "noncreated minor [deity] or inferior noncreated [being]") and stressed the simplicity of God who admits of no distinctions except the properties of the three PERSONS. John KYPARISSIOTES affirmed that Palamas had introduced a fourth nature (*physis*), and

Barlaam treated the light of Tabor as an image, *indalma.* Up to this point the Palamite dispute remained within the sphere of Greek theology; Prochoros KYDONES, however, employed in the anti-Palamite discussion the means of Latin scholastics and tried to prove that in a perfect being *ousia* should coincide with *energeia.*

In response to this criticism the Palamites attempted to modify some flawed formulations of their teacher in order to circumvent the accusation that Palamism introduced higher and lower deities and in order to stress the simplicity of God. Philotheos KOKKINOS emphasized the patristic tradition of the concept of uncreated GRACE, in order to invalidate the identification of Palamism as Messalianism; he states that the real Messalians are those who assumed the possibility of a union with God without such grace, who viewed grace only as a property of the thinking nature. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS accepted this modified form of Palamism.

The social and political role of Palamism has not yet been elucidated: M. Sjuzjumov's (*VizVrem* 23 [1963] 262–68) interpretation of Palamism as the voice of the masses against Italian commercial exploitation is evidently simplistic, but Palamas's alliance with Kantakouzenos and his supporters deserves attention.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 323–32. V. Lossky, *Vision de Dieu* (Neuchâtel 1962) 127–40. A. de Halleux, "Palamisme et Tradition," *Irénikon* 48 (1975) 479–93. B. Schultze, "Zur Gotteserkenntnis in der griechischen Patristik," *Gregorianum* 63 (1982) 525–58. –A.K.

PALATIA. See MILETOS.

PALEJA. See PALAIA.

PALERMO (Πάνορμος), from antiquity a city of northwest Sicily, originally on the coast. During the Middle Ages the sea level retreated, and the old city walls are now relatively far from the sea. The city fell to the Vandals in 440 and to the Ostrogoths in 491. During Belisarios's reconquest of Sicily in 535/6, Panormos was the only city that effectively resisted siege by land, but the Goths surrendered when the fleet from Constantinople was about to attack (Prokopios, *Wars* 5.5.12–16). It remained in Byz. hands until the 9th C. A seal of a Byz. *horreiarios* of Panormos has been published by Zacos and Nesbitt (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.634), but it is unclear whether it refers to Sicilian Panormos or to another location of the same name. The bishop of Panormos was suffragan of SYRACUSE; Neilos DOXOPATRES gives this hierarchy in his notitia (*Notitiae CP*, no.14.48–49), although it was anachronistic by his time.

Palermo was one of the first Sicilian cities to be taken by the Arabs (in Aug.–Sept. 831). It flourished under the Muslims and maintained its status as capital of Sicily after the Norman conquest of 1072. IBN ḤAWQAL provides a detailed description of Palermo (Balarm) at the end of the 10th C.

Monuments of Palermo. Two foundations in Palermo demonstrate the Siculo-Norman court's ambivalent admiration (colored by rivalry) for the imperial artistic culture of 12th-C. Constantinople: the Cappella Palatina (lit. "palace chapel") of ROGER II and the Church of St. Mary built by Admiral George of Antioch. The latter came to be called "La Martorana" after the nearby Benedictine nunnery founded by Gaufredus de Marturanu. The extensive MOSAIC decoration in both churches must have been at least begun by imported Byz. craftsmen, as Sicily had no contemporary tradition of the craft.

The Cappella Palatina has a southern Italian architectural design (a triple-apsed basilica with a cupola on stepped squinches before the main apse) and an Islamic *muqarnas* ceiling in the nave. The cupola mosaics depict the standard Byz. PANTOKRATOR with ranks of angels below; they are dated by a Greek inscription to 1143. The chronicle attributed to ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno, mentions mosaics made under WILLIAM I: these may be the Old and New Testament scenes in the nave and aisles, which Demus and others attribute to Sicilian pupils of Roger II's Byz. craftsmen.

La Martorana, while characteristically Sicilian in silhouette, is entirely Byz. in plan: a four-columned cross-in-square, with a dome on squinches over the central bay. Influenced by the mosaics of the Cappella Palatina and perhaps by those of CEFALÙ, the decoration of the Martorana dates between 1143 and 1151, when George of Antioch died. The program includes a seated Pantokrator in the dome with four angels in *proskynesis*, the Nativity and Dormition on a lower vault, and founders' panels showing George of Antioch and Roger II.

Maguire (*infra*) has shown that the choice and

position of scenes in both churches were affected by Byz. rhetorical conventions, familiar from homilies. B. Cappelli (*BollBadGr* n.s. 16 [1962] 77–93) proposed the intervention specifically of PHILAGATHOS, but for this, as noted by Kitzinger, there is no proof.

LIT. G. Agnello, *Palermo bizantina* (Amsterdam 1969). Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:129f. Demus, *Norman Sicily* 25–90. Kitzinger, *Art of Byz.* 290–326, 394. Maguire, *Art and Eloquence* 66, 89f. F. Basile, *L'architettura della Sicilia normanna* (Catania 1975) 70–82. –A.K., D.K.

PALESTINE (Παλαιστίνη) in the 4th–6th C. included the coastal plain from Mt. Carmel south to Raphia on the Egyptian frontier, the Galilee and the Golan in the north, the Jezreel valley, the hill country of Samaria and Judaea, and the Great Rift valley of the Jordan and the Dead Sea. When Diocletian reorganized the LIMES in this region, he moved the Tenth Legion from Aelia Capitolina (see JERUSALEM) to Aila at the head of the Gulf of Aqaba and transferred the southern part of the province of Arabia, including PETRA and the NEGEV desert, to Palestine. The *dux Palaestinae* commanded the Tenth Legion and other forces of the *limes Palaestinae*. At first a single consular stationed at CAESAREA MARITIMA headed the civil administration, but by 358 the former parts of the province of Arabia had been separated to form Palaestina Salutaris. After another subdivision ca.400, Salutaris became Palaestina III, with its capital at Elusa; the Galilee, the Golan, the Jezreel valley, and several trans-Jordanian cities belonged to Palaestina II (capital at SKYTHOPOLIS); and the rest was renamed Palaestina I (capital at Caesarea). A consular governed each province until 536, when Justinian I promoted the governor at Caesarea to proconsul (ANTHYPATOS), gave him supervision over the two remaining consulars, and regulated his relations with the *doux* (nov.103, pr., par.1).

Justinian promoted the governor because he presided over "the province in which our Lord Jesus Christ . . . appeared on earth," a factor that likewise explains why Palestine prospered under the Christian Empire. More farm sites and villages were inhabited than ever before, and the volume of pottery recorded in archaeological surveys exceeds that of any other period. The imperial journey of HELENA in 326 created enthusiasm for PILGRIMAGE, esp. among the wealthy. In the 5th C. prominent refugees (e.g., MELANIA THE YOUNGER, ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA) settled permanently, devoting their fortunes to hospitals and churches. The emperors too made generous donations; the sale of RELICS brought in further funds. In creating prosperity, this infusion of new capital overshadowed other economic developments, such as the colonization of the Negev and the booming market for Gaza wine.

The cities of Palestine (e.g., Caesarea Maritima, Jerusalem, Skythopolis, NEAPOLIS, GAZA) generally reached their peak in population and built-up area in the late Roman period, while maintaining a classical appearance with new colonnaded streets, civic basilicas, and aqueducts. The density of construction was extraordinary, even in the towns and villages. Most churches were single- or triple-apsed basilicas, but in the 5th–6th C. some centrally planned churches were modeled on the Church of the Anastasis at the Holy SEPULCHRE in Jerusalem.

The schools of Byz. Palestine—at Caesarea, Gaza, even Elusa in the Negev—produced famous rhetoricians. AINEIAS OF GAZA, CHORIKIOS OF GAZA, JOHN OF GAZA, and PROKOPIOS OF GAZA influenced epistolography, panegyric, and *ekphrasis*. ORIGEN established a tradition of Christian scholarship at Caesarea continued by Pamphilos and his pupil EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA. Jerome used Origen's *Hexapla* at Caesarea. In historiography, GELASIOS OF CAESAREA and SOZOMENOS of Bethelea (near Gaza) continued Eusebian ecclesiastical history, while PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, trained in Caesarea and (perhaps) Gaza, wrote classicizing history. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS was a notable hagiographer.

Before Constantine, there had been only isolated Christian communities in Palestine, notably at Caesarea, where martyrdoms had taken place under Diocletian and his successors, and at Jerusalem. Bp. CYRIL of Jerusalem (died 387) led the christianization of his city. St. Hilarion (mid-4th C.) encouraged the spread of monasticism and brought the new religion to the Negev. By the 5th C. monasteries were numerous but most influential were the Judaean desert *lavrai* of Sts. EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT, SABAS, and others described by Cyril of Skythopolis. These holy men also converted the many ARABS of Palestine to Christianity, both the desert Bedouin and the Arab villagers.

The metropolis of Caesarea ranked first among the approximately 50 sees of Palestine until 451, when Bp. JUVENAL of Jerusalem secured primacy in Palestine and the patriarchate (see JERUSALEM, PATRIARCHATE OF) by adopting the Christological formula of CHALCEDON. This incensed the largely Monophysite monks, whose revolt, supported by the exiled Empress Eudokia, had to be put down by force.

After St. PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA destroyed the Zeus Marnas temple at Gaza (probably in 402), little is heard of paganism but, despite conversion and the influx of foreigners, Christians may have remained a minority in the Holy Land until the Muslim conquest. SAMARITANS were concentrated around Neapolis and their sacred mount, Gerizim, but were also numerous in other parts of Palestine. According to Prokopios (*SH* 11.27–30) most of the tenant farmers in Caesarea's territory were Samaritans. Excluded from Jerusalem and most of Judaea, the JEWS inhabited the coastal plain and esp. the Galilee, the Golan, and a belt extending from the Dead Sea to the Mediterranean. Numerous SYNAGOGUES have been excavated, many of them basilicas with niches for the Torah shrine oriented toward Jerusalem, modeled on Christian churches. Despite sporadic imperial legislation against them, both groups prospered in Byz. Palestine, the Jews sufficiently to create the culture reflected in the Palestinian Talmud and other rabbinic literature. Nonetheless, persecution and legal disabilities caused Jewish revolts in 351–52 and again ca.440. The Samaritans, although they were assimilated readily enough to enter the army and civil service in large numbers, rebelled in 484, when ZENO destroyed their synagogue at Mt. Gerizim, and again in 529 and 555. The authorities crushed these rebellions, deporting many Samaritans to the Persian Empire, but in 578 both Jews and Samaritans revolted once more.

When the PERSIANS invaded Palestine in 614, the Jews and other minorities welcomed them; most cities, with the notable exception of Jerusalem, opened their gates. Renewed Byz. administration, following the end of Persian rule in 628, lasted only a decade. The Muslims first attacked Palestine in 634 and defeated the imperial forces decisively on the YARMUK River in 636. Jerusalem fell in 638, Caesarea not until 640 or 641/2.

The Muslims abolished Palaestina III, but Palaestina I survived as the Jund Filasṭīn and Palaestina II as the Jund al-Urdunn. Ramla, a new city, became the capital. Many Christians fled, but neither those who remained nor the Jews were persecuted. Pilgrimage continued on a reduced scale except for brief episodes of repression in the 11th C. under the caliph al-Ḥākim and the SELJUKS. In 975 JOHN I TZIMISKES claimed to have penetrated Palestine and briefly occupied some northern cities, including Caesarea but his army did not penetrate so far south. In 1099 the Crusaders seized the Holy City and established the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem (see JERUSALEM, KINGDOM OF).

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "The Economics of Byzantine Palestine," *IEJ* 8 (1958) 39–51. Idem, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 322–30, 407–54. F.-M. Abel, *Géographie de la Palestine*, 2 vols. (Paris 1933–38). Idem, *Histoire de la Palestine* (Paris 1952). Y. Dan, *The City in Eretz-Israel during the Late Roman and Byzantine Periods* (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. Y. Tsafrir in *Eretz Israel from the Destruction of the Second Temple to the Muslim Conquest*, ed. Z. Baras et al., vol. 2 (Jerusalem 1984), in Hebr. –K.G.H.

PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE, conventional name for a series of nine scenes from the life of Christ found in various degrees of completeness on a variety of 6th–7th-C. pilgrim EULOGIAI, as well as on several types of contemporary AMULET. The cycle includes the Annunciation, Visitation, Nativity, Adoration of the Magi, Presentation in the Temple, Entry into Jerusalem, Crucifixion, the Myrrophoroi, and the Ascension. It appears on pilgrimage AMPULLAE, the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY, and (as individual scenes) on PILGRIM TOKENS; it is also found on contemporary silver amuletic ARMBANDS, octagonal gold marriage RINGS, and (as individual scenes) on gold FIBULAE and PENDANTS. The cycle documentated the sacred origin of the *eulogia* contained in the *ampullae,* reliquary boxes, etc., and it was thought to give magical power to the amulets. Some scenes, such as the ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM, were developed from traditional Roman iconographical *topoi,* while others, like the MYRROPHOROI, were specifically Palestinian, insofar as they reproduce details associated with specific LOCA SANCTA.

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 75, 81–83. J. Engemann, "Palästinensische Pilgerampullen im F.J. Dölger-Institut in Bonn," *JbAChr* 16 (1973) 5–27. –G.V.

PALIMPSEST (παλίμψηστος), a PARCHMENT MS used for a second (or even third) time in copying a text. The reason for reusing the parchment was the dearth of writing material. The parchment leaves were washed and the old text scraped off. The *scriptura superior* was written either parallel to the *scriptura inferior* or at a right angle to it; in the latter case the reading of the *scriptura inferior* is easier. Sometimes PALAEOGRAPHERS use ultraviolet light to aid in deciphering a palimpsest MS. The *scriptura superior* provides a *terminus ante quem* for the erased text and indicates the literary preferences of the later SCRIBE or SCRIPTORIUM. Replacement of a classical or a secular Byz. author by a Christian text is the rule (e.g., Ephrem over the *De Ceremoniis* of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos), but the opposite occurs as well (e.g., Pindar over a *sticherarion*). Many palimpsests have a southern Italian origin, owing to the poverty of southern Italian centers of book production.

LIT. A. Dold, *Palimpsest-Studien*, 2 vols. (Beuron 1955–57). Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 14–16. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 37f. M. Formentin, "I palinsesti greci della Biblioteca Nazionale Marciana e della Capitolare di Verona," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 146–86. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario "De scientia politica dialogus,"* ed. C. M. Mazzucchi (Milan 1982). –E.G.

PALLADAS (Παλλάδας), epigrammatist, grammarian, and teacher at Alexandria; born 319 (Bowra) or 360 (Franke), lived at least 72 years. Numerically at least, he dominates the GREEK ANTHOLOGY with approximately 150 epigrams (he is variously assigned and denied some anonymous items), partly because he assembled a collection of his own work. His poems portray a poor schoolmaster driven to misogyny by a nagging wife. His nihilism and habit of lampooning important officials may have gotten him into some trouble with the authorities. His talent is for the short poem (18 lines at most) in elegiacs, iambics, and hexameters; he was an inveterate punster. Both pagan and Christian sentiments have been detected in him (M. Bowra, *ProcBrAc* 45 [1959] 255–67), but overall he may be described as a poet between the two worlds of dying paganism and triumphant Christianity, equally uncomfortable in both.

ED. *AnthGr, passim*, esp. bks. 9–11. Partial Eng. tr. T. Harrison, *Palladas: Poems* (London 1975).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Palladas of Alexandria: A Poet Between Two Worlds," *AntCl* 54 (1985) 267–73. Al. Cameron, "Notes on Palladas," *CQ* n.s. 15 (1965) 215–29. A. Franke, *De Pallada epigrammatographo* (Leipzig 1899). J. Irmscher, "Pallad," *VizVrem* 11 (1956) 247–70. –B.B.

PALLADIOS (Παλλάδιος), writer, bishop of Helenopolis in Bithynia (ca.400–406), bishop of Aspuna in Galatia (from ca.412); born Galatia ca.363, died Aspuna ca.431. A pupil of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, he spent the years 388–400 in Alexandria, Nitria, Kellia, and Palestine. Exiled from Bithynia in 406 as a supporter of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, he traveled the next few years in Egypt, Palestine, and perhaps India before returning to his new bishopric. His account of early Egyptian MONASTICISM, the *Lausiac History*, is so named from its dedicatee Lausos, *koubikoularios* of Theodosios II. Written ca.419, it combined the traditions of biography and the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM into an engaging mixture of the credulous and the critical (W. Telfer, *JThSt* 38 [1937] 379–83). Palladios is candid on monkish weaknesses and does not harp on asceticism. The work was translated into Latin by RUFINUS of Aquileia and into Oriental languages, including Coptic. The authorship of his other major work, the *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, written ca.408, is questioned; it is modeled after Plato's *Phaedo* and defends John against THEOPHILOS of Alexandria. Also surviving under his name is a treatise titled *On the Races of India and the Brahmans*, the first of whose four sections, describing an Egyptian scholar's journey to INDIA, may be genuinely Palladian (B. Berg, *Byzantion* 44 [1974] 5–16).

ED. *The Lausiac History*, ed. C. Butler, 2 vols. in 1 (Cambridge 1898–1904; rp. Hildesheim 1967). Tr. R.T. Meyer (Westminster, Md., 1965). *Dialogue on the Life of St. John Chrysostom*, ed. R.T. Meyer (New York 1985), with Eng. tr. *Palladius de Gentibus Indiae et Bragmanibus*, ed. W. Berghoff (Meisenheim am Glan 1967).

LIT. E. Magheri Cataluccio, *Il Lausaïkon di Palladio tra semiotica e storica* (Rome 1984). –B.B.

PALLIUM. See HIMATION.

PALMETTE, ORNAMENT derived from vegetal forms consisting of petals radiating from a calyx-like base, used alone or repeated to form a border or frieze. Palmettes were sometimes elaborated with hearts, additional petals or tendrils, and often combined with floral motifs such as the lotus. The simple palmette, continuing a classical Greek form, was a standard feature of architectural ornament

as well as of decorative borders in wall mosaics, monumental painting, and sumptuary arts of all periods. A rounded form with large petals, often termed the "Sasanian" palmette, was perhaps derived from Near Eastern art. It frequently appears in TEXTILES and is extremely common in 10th-C. MSS and ENAMELS. The "split palmette" is a related motif with two symmetrically branching floral elements extending from a central stem and often enclosing other motifs.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 57–63.

–R.E.K.

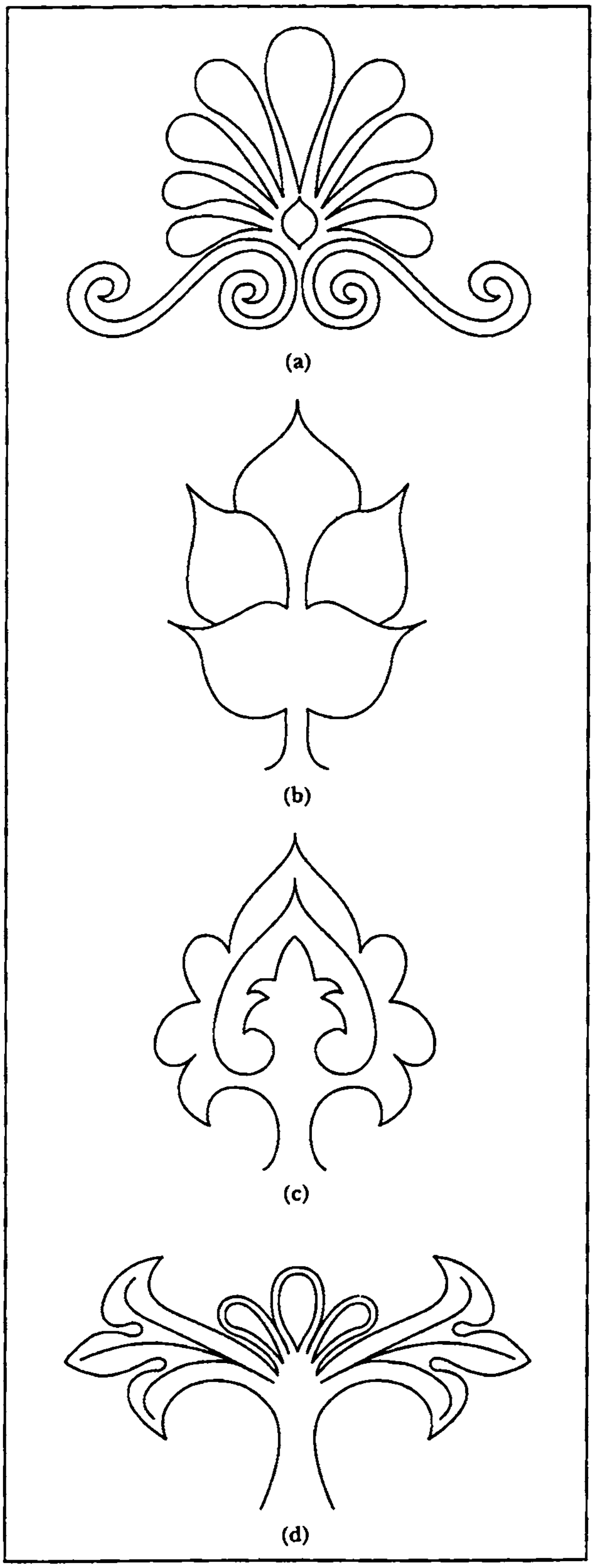
PALM SUNDAY (Κυριακὴ τῶν βαΐων), the Sunday before Easter. One of the dominical GREAT FEASTS, Palm Sunday commemorates Jesus' triumphal ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM and the beginning of his PASSION. The event was solemnized in 4th-C. Jerusalem with a procession of the faithful bearing palms or other branches, a usage that had passed to the rest of the East by 518 and is still attested in the 10th-C. *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:66). Later Byz. practice generally has only a blessing and distribution of branches and candles at *orthros* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:542.10–11).

The imperial ceremony for this feast was elaborate. On the eve, the emperor went to the Church of St. Demetrios, where he distributed palm branches and silver crosses to members of the senate and others before entering the palace church, the Virgin of the Pharos, for vespers. In this latter church he took part in the liturgy on the day of the feast; he also held a banquet in the Chrysotriklinos (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 31–32; Philotheos, *Kletor.* 197.6–26). According to a 14th-C. ceremonial book, the gallery along which the emperor passed on the way to *orthros* was festooned with branches of myrtle, laurel, and olive (pseudo-Kod. 224.5–226.21).

SOURCE. Mother Mary, K. Ware, trs., *The Lenten Triodion* (London-Boston 1978).

LIT. A. Baumstark, "La solennité des palmes dans l'ancienne et la nouvelle Rome," *Irénikon* 13 (1936) 3–24.

–R.F.T.



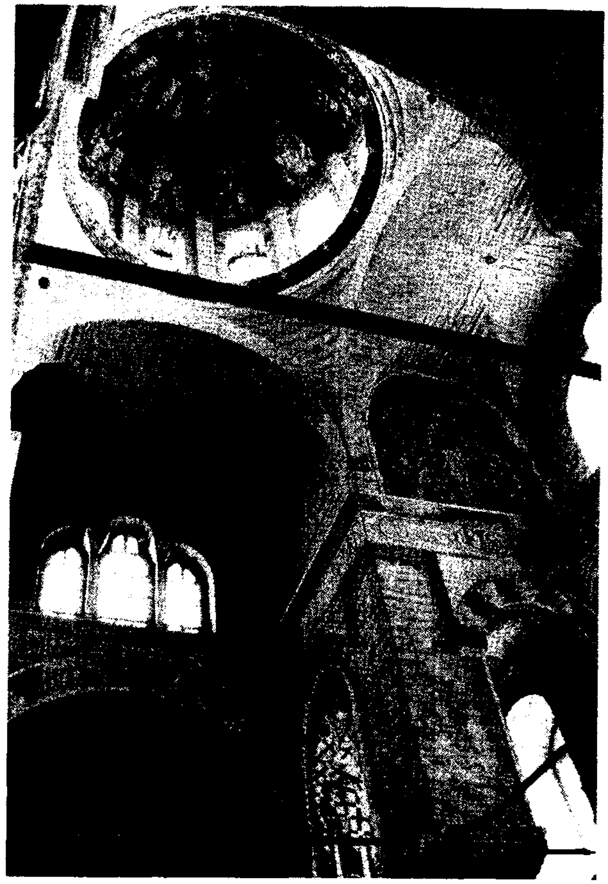
PALMETTE. Common palmette designs. (a) classical palmette; (b) "Sasanian" palmette (Vat. Barb. gr. 449, a.1153); (c) split palmette (Escorial Ω-I-16, a.1293); (d) split palmette (St. Polyeuktos, Istanbul).

PALMYRA (Πάλμυρα, Syriac Tadmor, Ar. Tadmur), city and bishopric situated in an oasis in eastern Syria, in the province of Phoenicia Libanensis. Palmyra was formerly the capital of the ephemeral kingdom of the Arab queen Zenobia, which the Romans conquered in 273. Thereafter it lost out to NISIBIS as a principal trading center. The city was restored between 293 and 303 by Diocletian as a military stronghold of the eastern frontier, which it remained until the 7th C. In 527 Justinian I restored Palmyra, including its churches and public buildings (*demosia*), and placed there the *doux* of EMESA with a garrison (Malal. 426.1–5). According to Prokopios (*Buildings* 2.11.10–12), the emperor ordered repairs to the walls (H. Seyrig, *Syria* 27 [1950] 239–42) and the provision of an adequate water supply. There are in Palmyra the remains of two basilical churches (A. Gabriel, *Syria* 7 [1926] 88–90) and of Christian paintings in the temple of Bel, which, like that of Baalshamin, was converted into a church in the 5th or 6th C. (J. Leroy, *CahArch* 15 [1965] 17–20). Excavations in the military area known as the "Camp of Diocletian" reveal on that side of the city a decline in urban life in the late 6th or early 7th C. The wide "Via Praetoria" was encroached upon by humble dwellings and reduced to a narrower (3.7 m) road (K. Michałowski, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1963] 41), and public squares such as the Roman Tetrapylon were transformed into residential areas (Idem, *Palmyre* [Warsaw 1962] 54f). Palmyra fell to the Arabs in 633 or 634 (Donner, *Conquests* 121–26), but Byz. coins continued to circulate there for some years, as indicated by a hoard of gold coins ranging from Phokas to Constans II (641–68).

LIT. K. Michałowski, *Palmyre: Fouilles Polonaises 1960* (Warsaw 1962) 54–77. M. Gawlikowski, *Palmyre* 8 (Warsaw 1984). R. Fellmann, "Le 'Camp de Dioclétien' à Palmyre et architecture militaire du Bas-Empire," in *Mélanges d'histoire ancienne et d'archéologie offertes à P. Collart* (Lausanne-Paris 1976) 173–91. *Palmira. Geschichte, Kunst und Kultur der syrischen Oasenstadt* (Linz 1987). –M.M.M.

PALUDAMENTUM. See CHLAMYS.

PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA (Turk. Fethiye Camii), monastic church at Constantinople, probably founded in the 12th C. by a John Komnenos. After 1261 it came into the possession of the *protostrator* Michael Tarchaneiotes GLABAS (died ca.1305), who was buried there in the south *parekklesion* built in his memory by his widow Maria. Around 1455 Gennadios II Scholarios chose the Pammakaristos as the seat of the Greek patriarchate; it remained such until 1587, when the Turks confiscated it and converted it into a mosque. A document of the second half of the 16th C. describes a number of tombs and relics there, as well as inscriptions of the 12th–13th C. (P. Schreiner, *DOP* 25 [1971] 220–41). As preserved today, the building consists of the main church of the 12th C., greatly altered, the south chapel of ca.1305–10, and a U-shaped



PAMMAKARISTOS, CHURCH OF HAGIA MARIA. Dome, east bay, and south bay of the *parekklesion*, Church of Hagia Maria Pammakaristos, Istanbul. In the lunette, a mosaic of the Baptism of Christ. The bishop is St. Gregory Thaumatourgos.

ambulatory that contained many of the tombs. The chapel is decorated with mosaics; remnants of wall painting in the south arm of the ambulatory preserve typological allusions to the Virgin, including the CLOSED DOOR.

LIT. H. Belting, C. Mango, D. Mouriki, *The Mosaics and Frescoes of St. Mary Pammakaristos (Fethiye Camii) at Istanbul* (Washington, D.C., 1978). –C.M.

PAMPHYLIA (Παμφυλία), the coastal plain of southern Asia Minor, ca. 100 km long, surrounded by an arc of the Taurus Mountains. This well-watered and fertile area, prosperous from olives, sheep, and trade along the coast and with the interior, supported several large cities (ATTALEIA, SIDE, SYLLAION). Constantine I made Pamphylia a separate province with Perge as its capital. Leo I appointed military commanders in Pamphylia to resist attacks of the ISAURIANS. The ecclesiastical structure was more complicated, with intercity rivalry provoking a 5th-C. division into two provinces with Side and Perge as metropolitan sees. Pamphylia was absorbed into the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme in the 8th C., but remained a separate military and administrative unit: the *tourmarches* of Pamphylia and LYKAONIA appears in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, and 9th-C. seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2198, 3228) mention a *tourmarches* and an *ek prosopou* of Pamphylia. Extensive remains indicate considerable prosperity, esp. in the 6th C. Subsequent Arab attacks severely afflicted the cities of Pamphylia; some were abandoned, others became fortresses. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Byz. control rarely extended beyond ATTALEIA.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 18.3 (1949) 354–407. –C.F.

PAMPREPIOS (Παμπρέπιος), scholar and statesman; born Panopolis 29 Sept. 440, died at fortress Papirios, Isauria late Nov. 484. Up to age 32 Pamprepios was a poor poetry-writing grammarian in Egypt. Emigration to Athens brought him a more lucrative post as well as association with the pagan Neoplatonists. A fistfight (to which he was prone) caused him to move in 476 to Constantinople, where his pretensions to learning and magic impressed many, notably Zeno's high official ILLOS, who procured him public funds and students. The titles of quaestor, *patrikios*, and (honorary) consul followed in 479. A lucky prediction further endeared him to Illos, whose favorite he became. In 484 he encouraged and joined Illos's revolt against Zeno. Upon their defeat he hid with the other rebels who, exasperated by the now high failure rate of his predictions and suspecting him of treachery, executed him. His career, commemorated by (among others) DAMASKIOS, ultimately belies the ascription to him by MALCHOS OF PHILADELPHIA of great political acumen. Accusations of licentiousness, treachery, unscrupulousness, and vanity may partly be a pious reaction to his militant paganism. The *Souda* credits him with various epic poems. Surviving hexameter fragments on the patrician Theagenes and a spring or autumn idyll may well be his; other ascriptions are insecure.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. E. Livrea (Leipzig 1979). *Select Papyri 3: Literary Papyri*², ed. D.L. Page (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1962) 560–87, with Eng. tr.

LIT. R. Asmus, "Pamprepios, ein byzantinischer Gelehrter und Staatsmann des 5. Jahrhunderts," *BZ* 22 (1913) 320–47. R.C. McCail, "P. Gr. Vindob. 29788C: Hexameter Encomium on an Un-named Emperor," *JHS* 98 (1978) 38–63. A. Delatte, P. Stroobant, "L'Horoscope de Pamprepios, professeur et homme politique de Byzance," *BAcBelg*⁵ 9 (1923) 58–76. –B.B.

PAN, in Greek mythology, a god of flocks and pastures who is usually depicted in the company of NYMPHS and SATYRS. NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 42:258–61) relates the myth of Pitys, the nymph of the fir-tree, who fled over the mountains to escape marriage with Pan. Eventually, Pan assumed a universal significance. Servius, the 4th-C. commentator on Vergil, states that Pan is the god of all nature (wherefrom allegedly comes his name meaning in Greek "all"): he has horns, the symbols of sun rays; the spotted fawnskin of his breast designates the starry sky; and his goatlike legs indicate the stability of the earth (R. Herbig, *Pan* [Frankfurt am Main 1949] 67). His cult in the Egyptian desert is testified to by Roman inscriptions up to the 4th C. (A. Bernard, *Pan du désert* [Leiden 1977] 271).

The church rejected with indignation the worship of the divine half-goat with whom various lascivious stories were connected: PHILOSTORGIOS (*HE*, ed. Bidez-Winkelmann, 41.5–16) hypothesizes that the ancient Greeks must have developed their conception of Pan (as a combination of a goat and monkey) from seeing a hybrid monster

like the one sent to Emp. Constantius II by the king of the Indians.

For painters Pan was the embodiment of lust. He appears as an ithyphallic IDOL (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.* fig.89) or as a horned, goat-legged, and winged demigod in the act of accosting Aphrodite (Furlan, *Marciana* 5, fig.48b). –A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

PANAGIA. See VIRGIN MARY.

PANAGIARION (*παναγιάριον*, from *παναγία*, "the all-holy [Virgin]"), a small liturgical paten (see PATEN AND ASTERISKOS) 5–15 cm in diameter, decorated with a representation of the Virgin, often in an ORANS attitude. *Panagiaria* were intended to carry the bread offered to the Virgin by monks during a meal or in the course of the ORTHROS service (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:661–64). The earliest known example, in the HILANDAR MONASTERY on Mt. Athos, is made of jasper and has been attributed to the 10th–11th C. (B. Radojković, *Les objets sculptés d'art mineur en Serbie ancienne* [Belgrade 1977] 11). A *panagiarion* of gold is recorded in the will of Theodore Sarantenos of 1326 (G.I. Theocharides, *Makedonika* supp. 2 [Thessalonike 1962] 20.53). Examples of the 14th C. display the Virgin surrounded by prophets, angels, or apostles in compositions evoking the INCARNATION (Kalavrezou, *Steatite* 204–08). In the 15th C. the *panagiarion* was transformed into a PYXIS or pendant made of two shallow disks, one of them showing the Virgin and the other the Trinity. This form of *panagiarion* is often worn by high church officials. –L.Ph.B.

PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, church in Thessalonike. The Panagia ton Chalkeon (Παναγία τῶν Χαλκέων, lit. "Virgin of the bronze-smiths"), was constructed in 1028 (and not in 1044) by Christopher, governor (*katepano*) of the theme of Longobardia, his wife, son, and two daughters, as indicated by an inscription over the west door. An arcosolium in the middle of the north wall was probably originally Christopher's tomb. Another inscription inside the church says that the founder had constructed the building "for the forgiveness of his sins."

The church is of the cross-in-square type, on four columns; there are three domes, one central and two over the double-storied narthex, all rather high in elevation. The exterior of the church is built entirely of brick, with rectangular pilasters on the lower level, rounded half-columns above. The roofline of the west end of the church is scalloped, while the other arms of the church have gabled roofs. All the arched openings and blind arches have two, three, or four setbacks, enhancing the sculptured effect of the exterior. The church has connections with Constantinople (e.g., the exterior decoration recalls the MYRELAION church) and with central Greece (e.g., interior, window treatment), but the overall style is probably local. In the interior is preserved much of the original carved marble decoration as well as frescoes of the 11th and the 14th C. The 11th-C. ASCENSION in the dome, LAST JUDGMENT in the narthex, and positioning of the CRUCIFIXION and ANASTASIS scenes near the tomb develop the funerary character of the program (A. Tsitouridou, *JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 435–41). The 14th-C. frescoes include an illustration of the AKATHISTOS HYMN (A. Xyngopoulos, *DChAE*[4] 7 [1973–74] 61–77).

LIT. D. Evangelides, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1954). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 373f. K. Papadopoulos, *Die Wandmalereien des 11. Jahrhunderts in der Kirche Panagia ton Chalkeon in Thessaloniki* (Graz-Cologne 1966). Janin, *Églises centres* 383f. A. Tsitouridou, *He Panagia ton Chalkeon* (Thessalonike 1975). –T.E.G.

PANARETOS, MICHAEL, chronicler of the GRAND KOMNENOI of Trebizond; born Pontos? ca.1320, died ca.1390. Panaretos (Πανάρετος) spent his career in the service of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS and by 1363 held the titles of *protosebastos* and *protonotarios*. He participated in numerous military campaigns with the emperor and twice visited Constantinople, in 1363 and 1368. His personal involvement with the court of Trebizond ended in 1379.

The chronicle of Panaretos is the unique narrative source for the history of the empire of TREBIZOND; it covers the period 1204–1390. The events of 1340–90, to which Panaretos was an eyewitness, are more detailed than those covered in the early pages of the chronicle. The narrative concentrates on the events of official life: weddings, burials, military expeditions. The manner of storytelling is annalistic, with serious attention to chronology and official titulature. The simple

language is close to the vernacular. The author sometimes mentions his own involvement in affairs (e.g., *sub anno* 1361 "I was among the archons"), but tries to avoid personal interpretation of events. Since the data provided by Panaretos are unique, verification of his reliability is difficult. A 15th-C. writer added to his chronicle a very brief description of events between 1390 and 1426.

ED. *Michael tou Panaretou peri ton megalon Komnenon,* ed. O. Lampsides (Athens 1958).
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:480f. *PLP,* no.21651. –A.M.T.

PANDEKTES. See ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS.

PANEAS. See PANIAS.

PANEGYRIC. See ENKOMION.

PANEGYRICI LATINI, general title for a dozen addresses to emperors preserved in the MS discovered by Giovanni Aurispa in 1433. First is Pliny's panegyric of Trajan, clearly the school model for later efforts. The other 11 all relate to Gaul, nine from the period 289–321, the remaining two datable to 362 and 389, thus suggesting that some Gallic rhetorician assembled the collection in the late 4th C. In chronological order (modern enumerations vary with different editions) these are, by name: two addresses by Mamertinus to MAXIMIAN, at Trier in 289 and 291; Eumenius from Autun to CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS in 298 in gratitude for his appointment as professor of rhetoric and school organizer; Nazarius's encomium on the absent CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT in 321; another Mamertinus's thanks to JULIAN for his consular appointment in 362 at Constantinople; Drepanius honoring the victory of Theodosios I over MAXIMUS. The other addresses, mainly delivered to Constantine in Trier, are anonymous, perhaps by Eumenius, and datable to the years 297, 307, 310, 312, and 313. Apart from Mamertinus's somewhat poetical address to Julian, the overall style is Ciceronian *à la* Pliny. Their tone is uniformly unctuous, every ruler being a superhuman hero. Yet as with modern propaganda, solid history can be teased out of them, while taken together they constitute a mirror of provincial classicism.

ED. *Panégyriques latins,* ed. E. Galletier, 3 vols. (Paris 1949–55), with Fr. tr. *XII Panegyrici latini,* ed. R.A.B. Mynors (Oxford 1964).
LIT. C.E.V. Nixon, "Latin Panegyric in the Tetrarchic and Constantinian Period," in Croke-Emmett, *Historians* 88–99. R. Seager, "Some Imperial Virtues in the Latin Prose Panegyrics," *Papers of the Liverpool Latin Seminar* 4 (1983) 129–65. T. Janson, *A Concordance to the Latin Panegyrics* (Hildesheim 1979). –B.B.

PANEGYRIS. See FAIR.

PANHYPERSEBASTOS (πανυπερσέβαστος), title created by Alexios I. It was conferred on several members of noble families such as Katakalon-Euphorbenoi, Kontostephanoi, and Taronitai (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 223, n.12). A seal of John Dalassenos (before 1136) calls him *despotes* and *panhypersebastos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2721). A 14th-C. ceremonial book places the *panhypersebastos* immediately after the *megas domestikos* and notes that the two were equal (pseudo-Kod. 136.1–2). Before he became emperor, John (VI) Kantakouzenos was *panhypersebastos.* The Komnenoi and their successors introduced other epithets and titles based on the root of SEBASTOS, such as *pansebastos, pansebastohypertatos,* and even *protopansebastohypertatos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2747). –A.K.

PANIAS (Πανιάς, also Paneas, Ar. Bāniyās), rarely called Caesarea Philippi (i.e., the Caesarea of Philip, son of Herod), ancient city in Phoenicia southwest of Mt. Hermon, near an old sanctuary of Pan. Pilgrims were attracted to Panias by a sculptural group thought to represent Christ healing the woman with the issue of blood. Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 7:18.2–4) describes the bronze statue as a genuflecting woman stretching her hands toward a man in an elaborate cloak at whose feet grew a strange plant with the power to cure all diseases. Reportedly the woman herself had erected this image. More likely the group represented a pagan divine healer reclaimed by the Christians (G. Hölscher, *RE* 18 [1949] 599f). Eusebios also mentions painted images of Christ, Paul, and Peter in Panias. The fate of the bronze group is often mentioned by later writers. According to Sozomenos (Sozom. *HE* 5.21.1–2), Julian replaced it with his own statue, which was destroyed by fire from heaven. Philostorgios (Philostorg., *HE* 7.3, p.79.1–7) relates that the inhabitants of

Panias pulled down the statue; its head was hidden by pious people. Malalas, on the other hand, narrates (Malal. 239.11–14) that the statue was transferred from the city square to a chapel and stood there until his time.

The bishopric of Panias belonged to the patriarchate of Antioch. Under the Arabs the city was an administrative center; the sculpture was probably destroyed even though its legend is mentioned by some authors of the 10th C.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 167. J. Sourdel-Thomine, *EI*[2] 1:1017. –G.V., A.K.

PANION (Πάνιον), also Panidon, late antique city on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara near Rhaidestos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.50, ed. Pertusi, p.86) lists it among the *poleis* of Thrace or Europe. A bishop of Panion or Theodosioupolis (Nova) was known in 536 (*ACO* 3:116.53). In Byz. sources Panion appears either as a *polis* or *kastron* (e.g., *TheophCont* 615.2; Attal. 249.4). In 813, when Krum ravaged Thracian towns, Panion was one of the few that the Bulgarians were unable to conquer (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 573). The people of Panion participated in the revolt of Thomas the Slav and did not surrender even after Thomas's death; the city was captured only after an earthquake destroyed its walls. In 1064/5 Panion again suffered from an earthquake (Attal. 90.1). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 621.1–2) relates that Venetian ships plundered Panion in 1205. In the Partitio Romaniae the *civitas* Panido was ascribed, together with Rhaidestos, to the district of Chalkidike and handed over to the Venetians. In 1206 Kalojan destroyed Panion and resettled its inhabitants on the banks of the Danube (Akrop. 23.10–14).

LIT. J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 601. Lemerle, *Philippes* 171. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275f; 3 (1940) 241f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:222–29. –A.K.

PANKALEIA (Παγκάλεια), a plain northeast of Amorion, scene of one or two battles (978–79) during the revolt of Bardas Skleros. Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 169f) says Bardas Phokas first encountered Skleros's army at Pankaleia, a "plain fit for cavalry." Phokas was defeated, but in a subsequent conflict he triumphed (locale unspecified). Skleros was forced to flee to the Arabs. Psellos (*Chron.* 1:5–7) describes a battle with a single combat that resulted in Skleros's flight. Skylitzes (Skyl. 324–27) reports a first defeat for Phokas near Amorion and a subsequent one at Basilika Therma. Then, with Georgian forces supplied by David of Tayk'/Tao, Phokas overcame Skleros at Pankaleia, which Skylitzes wrongly places near the Halys. The battle featured a duel between the generals in which Skleros was wounded; his bloody horse, dashing through his own men, so alarmed them that they took flight. Skleros withdrew to the Arabs. P.M. Tarchnichvili (*BK* 17–18 [1964] 95–97) has shown that contemporary Georgian sources located the decisive battle at Sarvenis (which he identifies as Aquae Saravenae or Basilika Therma, north of Kaisareia). Skylitzes' final battle at Pankaleia (duel included), he argues, is a fictionalized duplication of the first one. But Aquae Saravenae (mod. Kırşehir, northwest of Kaisareia and near the Halys) must be distinguished from Basilika Therma (mod. Sarıkaya) (F. Hild, M. Restle, *TIB* 2:143f, 156f). Yaḥyā (ed. Kratchkovsky and Vasiliev, PO 23.3:375, 399) gives the date of the first battle as 19 June 978 and of the second as 24 Mar. 979.

LIT. K. Belke, *TIB* 4:212. S.A. Kamer, "Emperors and Aristocrats in Byzantium, 976–1081" (Ph.D. diss., Harvard Univ., 1983) 549–52. –C.M.B.

PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA, a legendary disciple of St. Peter, the first bishop of Taormina; martyr and saint; feastdays 9 Feb. and 9 July. The existence of his cult in Sicily is attested by Gregory I the Great, who relates that in 591 a church in Messina was dedicated to "Pancratius." According to the vita of Pankratios (Παγκράτιος), written by a certain Evagrios (otherwise unknown), Pankratios was originally from the Antioch region, lived in a village in Pontos, accompanied St. Peter on his journeys, and came to Sicily, where he converted the governor of the province to Christianity and was eventually murdered by pagans. Evagrios describes an episode that seems to reflect the struggle over icon veneration: the apostle Peter reportedly summoned a painter, Joseph by name, and ordered him to make icons of Christ, Peter himself, and Pankratios; Pankratios then used these icons in his mission. The episode with the painter Joseph was known to Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:1135A) and employed in his defense of icons. Whereas Patlagean

(*Structure*, pt.XIII [1964], 587–89) dates the "romance of Pankratios" to the second half of the 8th C., Ševčenko (*Ideology*, pt.V [1975], 28, n.2) prefers the second period of Iconoclasm. The text of the vita is published only in excerpts.

LIT. *BHG* 1410–12. V. Veselovskij, "Iz istorii romana i povesti, I," *Sbornik Otdelenija Russkogo jazyka i slovesnosti Imperatorskoj Akademii nauk* 40.2 (1886) 65–128. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* 4 (Leipzig-Berlin 1913) 417–21. –A.K.

PANNONIA (Παννονία), Roman territory south of the Middle Danube that was divided between 293 and 296, under Diocletian, into four provinces: Pannonia I (capital, Savaria), Pannonia II (capital, SIRMIUM), Savia (capital, Siscia), and Valeria (capital, Sopianae). Archaeological data indicate that the 4th C. was a period of flourishing estates, when large-scale grain production began; from the end of the 3rd C. onward wine was also produced. The uniformity of the construction of new villas prompts the hypothesis that they were imperial properties (M. Biró, *ActaArchHung* 26 [1974] 52–54). Building activity, predominantly of military character, continued through the time of Valentinian I, although the political role of the Pannonians in the empire seems to have decreased (J. Fitz, *L'administration des provinces pannoniennes* [Brussels 1983] 91).

Starting at the end of the 4th C., Pannonia lay open to barbarian invasions. A part of the Roman population emigrated southward. The minting of coins stopped after 395. The cities were in decline, as shown by systematic excavations carried out in ancient Gorsium: already some 4th-C. graves were located on the site of older houses. Sopianae has a church with a fresco painted probably after 380, but traces of the 5th–6th-C. settlement are insignificant (Gy. Székely, *ActaAntHung* 21 [1973] 340–42). The first waves of invasion merely passed through Pannonia en route to Italy, but the Huns lingered in the region a while, according to the treaties of 425 and 433 as FOEDERATI. In 434–41 ATTILA occupied Pannonia. In 455 EPARCHIUS AVITUS restored Roman power in Pannonia II. Excavations show that Roman customs still continued in some parts of the province until the 6th C., when the AVARS settled in Pannonia. Eventually, the territory formed a part of MORAVIA and finally was occupied by the HUNGARIANS.

LIT. L. Várady, *Das letzte Jahrhundert Pannoniens* (Amsterdam 1969), rev. by J. Harmatta, *ActaAntHung* 18 (1970) 361–69 and T. Nagy, *ActaAntHung* 19 (1971) 299–345. A. Alföldi, *Der Untergang der Römerherrschaft in Pannonien*, 2 vols. (Berlin-Leipzig 1924–26). Ja. Tejral, *Morava na sklonku antiky* (Prague 1982). S. Soproni, *Die letzten Jahrzehnte des pannonischen Limes* (Munich 1985). E. Tóth, "Bemerkungen zur Kontinuität der römischen Provinzialbevölkerung in Transdanubien (Nordpannonien)," in *VölkSüdost* 251–64. –A.K.

PANOPOLIS. See AKHMĪM.

PANSELINOS, MANUEL, wall-painter sometimes associated with the decoration of various monasteries on Mt. Athos and esp. with that of the PROTATON, ca.1300. This tradition is no older than the 17th C.; in the 18th C., Dionysios of Phourna claimed that Panselinos (Πανσέληνος) was from Thessalonike and that rules for the proportions of figures in his *Hermeneia* (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) derived from Panselinos. Panselinos has recently been tentatively identified with MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) or a member of his family, but there is no substantive evidence for the artist's existence.

LIT. A. Embiricos, "Manuel Panselinos," in *Mill. Mont Athos* 2:263–66. P. Miljković-Pepek, "L'atelier artistique proéminent de la famille thessalonicienne d'Astrapas," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 491–94. –A.C.

PANTECHNES, CONSTANTINE, metropolitan of Philippopolis; fl. ca.1191. He was the author of an EKPHRASIS in which he vividly described HUNTING with hounds, falcons, and tame leopards.

ED. E. Miller, "Description d'une chasse à l'once par un écrivain byzantin du XII^e siècle de notre ère," *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques* 6 (1872) 47–52; 7 (1873) 133f. K. Horna, "Die Epigramme des Theodoros Balsamon," *WS* 25 (1903) 209.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:186. –A.K.

PANTELEEMON (originally Pantoleon or Pantaleon), saint, one of the ANARGYROI; born Nikomedeia, died ca.305; feastday 27 July. Theodoret of Cyrrhus first mentions a feast in honor of Panteleemon, though not all MSS preserved Panteleemon's name (PG 83:1033B). According to a later *passio*, Pantoleon was the son of a pagan senator, Eustorgios, and studied medicine with a famous physician, Euphrosynos. A Christian priest, Hermolaos, persuaded him that neither Asklepios nor Hippocrates nor Galen nor "other gods worshipped by the emperor Maximian" (Latyšev, *infra*

41.16–17) had ever existed; Pantoleon was taught to heal the sick by invoking Christ's name. Pantoleon's miraculous cures brought him fame as well as Maximian's anger. Supernaturally aided, he endured tortures: when he stepped into a vat of boiling lead the fire was immediately extinguished and the lead cooled; wild beasts in the arena knelt at his feet, and the executioners' swords melted like wax. Because he prayed for his torturers, he received a new name (Παντελεήμων), "all-merciful." When he was finally beheaded, milk, not blood, gushed from his neck, and the olive tree under which he was murdered became covered with fruit "from the roots to the crown." Panteleemon's cult was popular in both West and East: his *passio* was translated into Latin, Syriac, Coptic, and Armenian; in Byz. ANDREW OF CRETE (or NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON), JOHN GEOMETRES, SYMEON METAPHRASTES, and Constantine AKROPOLITES eulogized Panteleemon.

Representation in Art. Portraits of Panteleemon abound in church decoration; his adolescent features recall those of St. GEORGE, but he holds a little pyramidal PHYSICIAN'S BOX and a scalpel instead of a lance (e.g., at NEREZI). Various cycles of scenes from his life have been preserved (at Nerezi, on a Sinai vita icon, and in MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes), but the choice of scenes and their iconography differs from monument to monument, so that it seems unlikely that any widespread iconographic tradition was ever in existence.

SOURCES. V.V. Latyšev, *Neizdannye grečeskie agiografičeskie teksty* (St. Petersburg 1914) 40–75. L. Sternbach, "Ioannes Geometrae carmen de S. Panteleemone," *Dissertationes classis philologicae Academiae litterarum Cracoviensis* 16 (1892) 218–303 (corr. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *VizVrem* 6 [1899] 156–63). PG 115:448–77.

LIT. *BHG* 1412z-1418c. J.-M. Sauget, A.M. Raggi, *Bibl. Sanct.* 10 (1968) 108–18. K. Welker, *LCI* 8:112–15. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 151f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PANTELEEMON (painter). See PANTOLEON.

PANTELEEMON MONASTERY, also called Rossikon, a Rus' establishment on Mt. Athos. The present large complex of the Rossikon, situated north of Daphne on the southwest shore of the Athonite peninsula, is of modern construction. Rossikon had its origins in two Byz. monasteries, the Theotokos of Xylourgou and St. Panteleemon (Παντελεήμων), also called "of the Thessalonican," which merged in the 12th C. The Xylourgou monastery (present-day SKETE of Bogoridica or Theotokos) was located in the northwest part of the peninsula and inhabited in the 11th C. by monks from Rus'. The monastery of St. Panteleemon (present-day Palaiomonastero), located halfway between modern Rossikon and KARYES, was founded in the late 10th C., probably by Leontios of Thessalonike. It owned a dock and tower (*pyrgos*) at the site of modern Rossikon. St. Panteleemon fell into decline in the 12th C. and was virtually deserted by 1169, when it was occupied by the Rus' monks of Xylourgou. The *protos* of Athos gave St. Panteleemon to the Rus' on condition that they restore and fortify the complex. The Rus' *hegoumenos* assumed the leadership of both St. Panteleemon and of Xylourgou, which was designated an annex (*paramonasterion*). The reorganized monastery took the name of "the monastery of the Rus' honored with the name of St. Panteleemon" (*mone ton Rhoson eis onoma timomene tou hagiou Panteleemonos*). Panteleemon prospered, esp. during the period of Serbian domination over Athos, receiving substantial estates from Serbian princes (cf. M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 23 [1984] 167–69). Many of these properties were lost, however, after the Turkish conquest of Macedonia in the 15th C.

The archives contain 20 Byz. acts (dating between 1030 and 1430), 15 Serbian documents (1349–1429), as well as later Russian and Moldavian acts. The acts include a detailed inventory of 1142 listing the movable properties, for example, sacred vessels, of the Xylourgou monastery (*Pantel.*, no.7.44–59); a chrysobull of Andronikos II (1311) confirming the Panteleemon monastery's title to properties in Thessalonike and Chalkidike, and guaranteeing certain fiscal immunities; and a chrysobull of John V (1353) granting the monastery properties in the Strymon region. Panteleemon also owned lands on Lemnos. Approximately 169 Greek MSS of Byz. date are preserved in the library (Lampros, *Athos* 2:280–461), most notably cod. 6, a richly illustrated copy of the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. The church formerly possessed a steatite PANAGIARION inscribed with the name of Alexios III of Trebizond (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.132).

SOURCES. *Actes de Saint-Pantéléèmon*, ed. P. Lemerle, G. Dagron, S. Ćirković (Paris 1982).

LIT. A. Soloviev, "Histoire du monastère russe au Mont-Athos," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 213–38. V. Mošin, "Russkie na

Afone i russko-vizantijskie otnošenija v XI–XII vv.," *BS* 9 (1947) 55–85; 11 (1950) 32–60. P. Nastase, "Russes et Bulgares à l'Athos," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 284–97. *Treasures* 2:144–97, 347–59. A.E.N. Tachiaos, *The Slavonic Manuscripts of St. Panteleimon Monastery (Rossikon) on Mt. Athos* (Thessalonike 1981). –A.M.T., A.C.

PANTELLERIA. See PATELLARIA.

PANTEPOPTES MONASTERY, located on the fourth hill of Constantinople overlooking the Golden Horn. Founded before 1087 by Anna DALASSENE, the Pantepoptes (Παντεπόπτης, "all-seeing") was dedicated to Christ. Although it was a male establishment, the founder retired to private apartments there shortly before her death. Patr. THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES was confined there temporarily in 1181 after the revolt of RENIER OF MONTFERRAT. In 1204, during the final Crusader attack on Constantinople, Alexios V Mourtzouphlos used the Pantepoptes as his headquarters because of its useful vantage point. In 1206 the monastery was taken over by Benedictine monks, but Greeks returned after 1261. The Pantepoptes continued to function until at least 1453, although it is apparently not mentioned by Russian pilgrims in the Palaiologan period; after the Turkish conquest its church became the still-extant mosque of Eski Imaret Camii. The church has a cross-in-square plan and an unusual U-shaped gallery over the narthex. An outer narthex was added probably in the Palaiologan period. The exterior brickwork includes such decorative features as maeander patterns and sunbursts.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 513–15. Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 59–70. –A.M.T.

PANTEUGENOS, SOTERICHOS, 12th-C. theologian. A deacon of the Great Church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, then patriarch-elect of Antioch, Panteugenos (Παντευγενός) became the major figure in theological debates on the nature of Christ's sacrifice. A statement (*semeioma*) by a synod meeting on 26 Jan. 1156 directed a condemnation against those who affirmed that the sacrifice of Christ was offered to the Father alone, and not to the other two persons of the Trinity (PG 140:153C). Dissatisfied with the decision, Panteugenos published a *Dialogue* defending the views condemned in 1156; he faced, however, a refutation by NICHOLAS OF METHONE.

A new synod, presided by Emp. MANUEL I, was held at the Blachernai Palace on 12 May 1157. The earlier decision was confirmed (PG 140:192A), and Panteugenos renounced his previous position. The SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY included five anathemas against the condemned doctrines. The synod affirmed that the hypostasis of the incarnate Logos "offered" the sacrifice according to the humanity assumed by him and "received" it according to his divinity, together with the Father and the Spirit. The decision referred to a prayer of the Byz. liturgy addressed to Christ as "the one who offers and the one who is offered."

ED. PG 140:140–48. I. Sakkelion, *Patmiake Bibliotheke* (Athens 1890) 328–31.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1038, 1041–43. Gouillard, "Synodikon," 210–15. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 40. –J.M.

PANTOKRATOR (παντοκράτωρ, lit. "all-sovereign"), an epithet of God. Used in the Apocalypse of John and by some early theologians (F. Bergamelli, *Salesianum* 46 [1984] 439–72), it was employed by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria in his polemics against the Arians, who considered the Son of God as a DYNAMIS and denied him the title of Pantokrator (PG 25:472B, 26:80AB). In Byz. the term was applied both to God in general and separately to the individual persons of the Trinity, esp. to the Father; the epithet emphasized rule over the whole, in contrast to the *kosmokrator* or "world-ruler," the title of the DEVIL. When applied to Christ, the concept of Pantokrator was closely interwoven with the image of the kingship of Christ who was Pantokrator both by nature, as the Son, and—against the Arians—by his role as redeemer. The term is often used in symbols of the CREED (PG 28:1581B, 1589A) and in liturgical texts. Strangely enough, the term is lacking in the list of divine names compiled by Theodore II Laskaris (PG 140:764–70) that includes almost 700 epithets, but there are many synonyms. (For the Pantokrator in art, see CHRIST: Types of Christ.)

LIT. F. Buri, *Der Pantokrator: Ontologie und Eschatologie als Grundlage der Lehre von Gott* (Hamburg 1969). C. Capizzi, *Pantokrator: Saggio d'esegesi letterario-iconografica* (Rome 1964), rev. K. Wessel, *BZ* 58 (1965) 141–47, J. Myslivec, *BS* 27 (1966) 427–32. K. Wessel, "Das Bild des Pantokrator," in *Polychronion* 521–35. C.P. Charalampidis, "A propos de la signification trinitaire de la main gauche du Pantokrator," *OrChrP* 38 (1972) 260–65. –G.P.

PANTOKRATOR, MONASTERIES OF. Several Byz. monasteries were dedicated to Christ as Pan-

tokrator, the most important being in Constantinople and on Mt. Athos.

Pantokrator Monastery in Constantinople, a large monastic complex founded in Constantinople by Emp. John II Komnenos east of the Church of the Holy Apostles on the slope of the fourth hill. The three parallel and contiguous church buildings survive to the present under the Turkish name Zeyrek Kilise Camii. One of the churches, dedicated to St. Michael (the Asomatos), was intended as a funerary chapel for members of the Komnenos family. John II and his wife Irene were buried there, as were his son Manuel I and daughter-in-law Bertha of Sulzbach. In front of Manuel's tomb was the slab on which it was believed Jesus had lain after the Deposition from the Cross, brought by Manuel from Ephesus in 1169/70. Two Palaiologan emperors, Manuel II and John VIII, also found their final resting place at Pantokrator.

The south church, dedicated to the Pantokrator, is the most important four-column, cross-in-square church preserved in the capital. The huge columns of red marble, probably *spolia,* are lost today, as is most of the stained glass, which was supposedly in its east window; much of the figured opus sectile pavement remains. Panels in its templon screen came from the Constantinopolitan Church of St. Polyeuktos. The slightly smaller north church, where women were admitted, was dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa. Here faint traces of the original mosaic decoration are preserved.

John II's *typikon,* composed in Oct. 1136, provides explicit directions for the ceremonial in the three churches (e.g., ecclesiastical lighting, commemorations of the deceased), and the administration of the monastery (election of *hegoumenos,* diet and clothing of monks, etc.). It housed 80 monks, of whom 50 were choir brothers and 30 serving brothers. The complex included a 50-bed hospital and a gerokomeion for 24 elderly men. The emperor also constructed a leprosarium at some distance from the monastery. Pantokrator was richly endowed with estates in Thrace, Macedonia, the Peloponnesos, the Aegean and Anatolia, and six smaller monasteries in the Asiatic suburbs of the capital.

The monastery was occupied by the Venetians between 1204 and 1261; it was then restored to Orthodox monks and continued to function until 1453. Only a few of its *hegoumenoi* are known, including Makarios Makres.

source. P. Gautier, "Le Typikon du Christ Sauveur Pantocrator," *REB* 32 (1974) 1–145.

lit. A.H.S. Megaw, "Notes on Recent Work of the Byzantine Institute in Istanbul," *DOP* 17 (1963) 335–64. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 289–95. Janin, *Églises CP* 515–23, 564–66. –A.M.T., A.C.

Pantokrator Monastery on Athos. Dedicated to the Transfiguration, this monastery is located on the northeast coast of the peninsula, halfway between Vatopedi and Iveron. Although its foundation has traditionally been attributed to the reign of Alexios I Komnenos or to the 13th-C. general Alexios Strategopoulos, the monastery is not mentioned in any sources until the second half of the 14th C. It was evidently founded in 1357 (Gones, *infra* 89f) by the brothers Alexios (a *megas primikerios* in 1357, who became *megas stratopedarches* in 1358) and John (*protosebastos* in 1357, promoted to *megas primikerios* in 1358); their family name is unknown, but they were related to the Palaiologoi. Ostrogorsky's (*Sabrana dela,* vol. 4 [Belgrade 1970] 615–24) identification of John with the *megas primikerios* John who was the son of Demetrios Palaiologos has now been rejected (*PLP,* no.21484). The huge icon of Christ that they presented to the monastery is now in Leningrad (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 3, no.947). By 1394 the monastery held 15th place in the Athonite hierarchy. Sometime before Jan. 1394 Pantokrator was destroyed by fire and subsequently rebuilt with the assistance of Emp. Manuel II. In 1396 Patr. Antony IV reconfirmed its status as a patriarchal monastery.

Pantokrator had properties on Thasos, Lemnos, and Chalkidike, and a *metochion* called Beltzistha near Serres. The 13 documents published by L. Petit range in date from 1357 to 1398 (plus an earlier act of 1107) and include the testament of the founder John (1384). The library of Pantokrator preserves 120 Byz. MSS, including the famous 9th-C. marginal psalter, Pantokr. 61 (Dufrenne, *L'Illustration* I). From this collection, too, came the Psalter and New Testament of ca.1084, now Washington, Dumbarton Oaks 3 (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters,* no.51). In the *katholikon* are some frescoes of the 14th C., including a Deesis, the Dormition, and some figures of saints.

source. *Actes du Pantokrator,* ed. L. Petit, *VizVrem* 10 (1903) supp. 2.

LIT. D.B. Gones, "Ho chronos hidryseos tes mones Pantokratoros tou Hagiou Orous," *Antidoron Pneumatikon: Timetikos Tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* (Athens 1981) 80–95. Lampros, *Athos* 1:91–113. Polites, *Katalogoi* 139–77. *Treasures* 3:120–57, 263–87. E. Tsigaridas, "Toichographies kai eikones tes mones Pantokratoros Hagiou Orous," *Makedonika* 18 (1978) 181–206. –A.M.T., A.C.

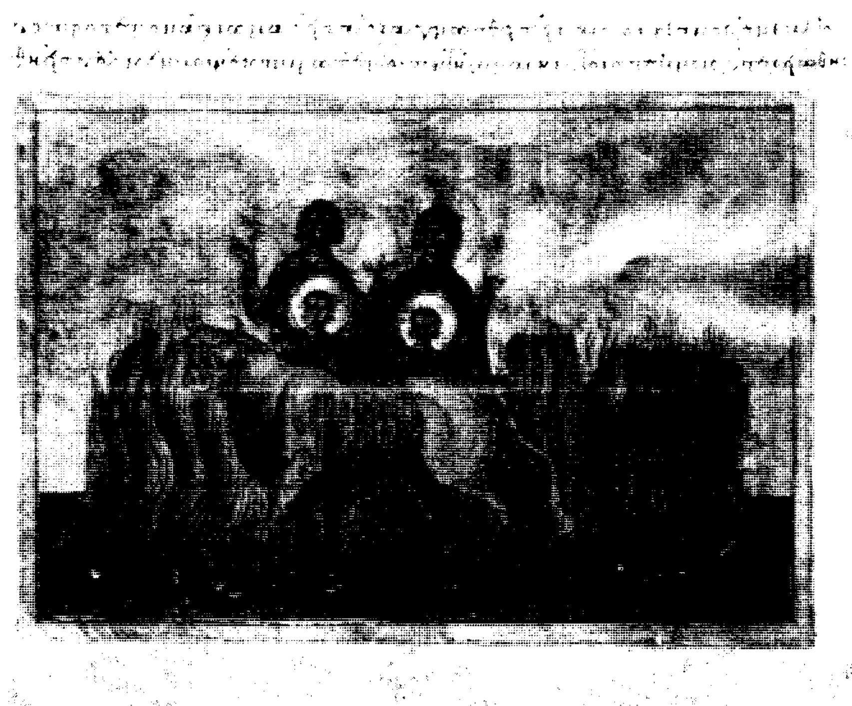
PANTOLEON, painter; fl. 1001–16. Pantoleon's name occurs more frequently than that of any other artist beside the miniatures in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II; he was perhaps head of the atelier that decorated this MS. Cutler suggested that Pantoleon's hand is also apparent in a Psalter (Venice, Marc. gr. Z 17) prepared for the same emperor. Pantoleon is mentioned in both versions of the Life of St. ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, A par.254.3–36; B par.78.24–33) as a resident of Constantinople who painted two icons of the saint probably for Antony, later *hegoumenos* of the Panagiou monastery. In this account, Pantoleon is said to have been at work on an imperial commission.

LIT. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XII (1972), 241–49. A. Cutler, "The Psalter of Basil II," *ArtVen* 30 (1976) 9–19. –A.C.

PANTOLEON (saint). See PANTELEEMON.

PAP (Lat. Para), ARSACID king of Armenia (368/9–374), son and successor of ARŠAK II/III. This is probably not the Papa mentioned in the *Letters* of Basil the Great as was once thought. Pap was educated under Roman auspices at NEOKAISAREIA, where he had taken refuge at the time of the Sasanian conquest of Armenia ca.363. Valens sent him back to Armenia with an army commanded by the *dux* and *comes rei militaris* Terentius. Once reestablished on the Armenian throne, Pap apparently continued to support the Romans against the Sasanians, whom his armies thrice defeated, but he quarreled with the powerful nobles of his own kingdom and esp. with the clergy, which opposed his arianizing policy. Pap contrived the murder of the patriarch NERSĒS I THE GREAT and was murdered in return, apparently with the con-

PANTOLEON. Miniature by Pantoleon in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.53). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The miniature depicts the martyrdom of St. Eustathios and his family.



nivance of the Roman commander. Latin and Armenian sources disagree sharply on his character: he is praised by AMMIANUS MARCELLINUS who bewails his murder as an unspeakable crime, while the Armenian sources portray him as dedicated from birth to the powers of evil.

LIT. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 300–11. Garsoïan, *Armenia*, pt.IV (1967), 297–320; pt.VII (1983), 145–69. Grousset, *Arménie* 143–52. –N.G.G.

PAPACY, bishopric of Rome. Early Christian communities used the term PAPAS (father) as a title of affectionate respect, esp. for priests and bishops; from the 4th to 7th C., the term was often used for the patriarch of Alexandria and other bishops. The title is on record in Rome from the 4th C.; from the 6th it was increasingly used specifically for the bishop of Rome.

By the 4th C., the papacy was the West's leading bishopric and the only one included among the five major sees that formed the PENTARCHY. The First Council of Constantinople, held in 381 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), explicitly recognized the papacy's PRIMACY, and the popes took advantage of the struggle between Alexandria and Constantinople to gain supremacy within the church hierarchy. Pope LEO I, in particular, advanced Rome's claims to primacy throughout the empire in the 5th C.

With JUSTINIAN I's reconquest of Italy in the mid-6th C., Rome entered the Byz. political and cultural sphere, where it remained until the mid-8th C. While papal claims to ecclesiastical primacy continued, the ability of the papacy to thwart Constantinople's political and religious policies decreased. Byz. emperors deposed Pope Silverius in 537 and convicted MARTIN I of treason in Constantinople in 653/4; in the 6th C. the bishop of Constantinople assumed the title ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. While the *apocrisiarius* represented the papacy in Constantinople, in Italy the EXARCH usually confirmed papal elections of the 7th and 8th C. (see LIBER DIURNUS).

Persian and Arab invasions of the early 7th C. triggered large-scale immigration of the Eastern ecclesiastical elite into Italy, causing a substantial hellenization of Rome's clergy, with the result that from 678 to 752, 11 of 13 popes were Greek-speaking. Theology (see LATERAN SYNOD), art (see ROME), liturgy (see SERGIUS I), and literature (see ZACHARIAS) reflect the new Greek orientation, as the papacy developed a Byz.-style bureaucracy and court. In the 8th C., papal opposition to ICONOCLASM, combined with resistance to increased taxation, provoked Byz. confiscation of the papal estates in southern Italy and Sicily and subordination of ILLYRICUM to the patriarchate of Constantinople. Constantinople's grip on central Italy loosened, however, and increasing LOMBARD pressure forced the papacy to seek an alliance with the Carolingians. When Pope LEO III conferred the imperial crown upon CHARLEMAGNE in 800, it symbolized Rome's independence from Byz. control.

The LIBER PONTIFICALIS records imperial grants that contributed to the landed wealth of the papal patrimonies in the 4th to 8th C. (from CONSTANTINE I to CONSTANTINE V). Originally encompassing estates in Africa, Gaul, Sardinia, and Corsica as well as Italy, their administration became highly centralized under GREGORY I. Loss of the overseas territories and Lombard encroachment fostered concentration of papal lands in central Italy, expanded by Carolingian grants under HADRIAN I. By the 9th C., the papacy was one of Italy's most powerful princedoms and a major factor in international relations. NICHOLAS I effectively exploited the situation, trying to subordinate the newly baptized Slavs of Moravia and Bulgaria to Rome, to regain jurisdiction over Illyricum, and to establish control over the church of Constantinople.

This active policy of the 9th-C. popes was short-lived: Nicholas met an energetic opponent in Patr. PHOTIOS, while Arab incursions and the weakening of Frankish power again forced his successors to seek alliance with Byz. Involved with domestic difficulties, the 10th-C. papacy temporarily ceased efforts to claim primacy over the Eastern churches.

By the mid-11th C. the papacy believed itself strong enough to reassert universal claims, although the papacy and Constantinople were natural allies against the NORMANS. The first step in this papal expansion was the conflict between Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS and Cardinal HUMBERT in 1054; more dramatic than substantial, the conflict did not cause a real SCHISM, although the dispute highlighted essential theological, administrative, and ritual differences between the Eastern and Western churches.

Church reform, moral improvement of the

clergy, and the development of effective administration in the late 11th to 12th C. significantly enhanced the political influence and ideological authority of the papacy. The power of the German kings in Italy was curbed (partially with the help of the growing Italian communes), and in 1095 Pope URBAN II proclaimed a CRUSADE intended to unify Western Christianity against the infidel Muslims. Despite serious friction, Byz. was at first an ally of the Crusaders, and theological dialogue, frequently in a spirit of reconciliation, occurred. A definitive rupture came only in 1204 when the Fourth Crusade unexpectedly turned against Constantinople. The role of INNOCENT III in this event is uncertain, although the capture of Constantinople and the establishment of Latin rule was beneficial for the papacy, which had long sought to establish control over the Balkans.

This success, however, was undermined by various forces and did not last. On the one hand, papal power in the West was weakened after the 13th C., when it had to face not the universal aspirations of the German emperors, but the nascent national states, which were able to exploit the same elements that the papacy had used in its own behalf: the growing medieval towns and the local church. The external sign of papal defeat was the "Babylonian captivity" of 1309 to 1377, when the popes were exiled to Avignon, where they came under French control. Another factor was the growth of Turkish power: the Crusaders were losing their foothold in the Levant, and Byz. territory was drastically shrinking. The war against the infidel required enormous amounts of money and manpower, while the Crusading movement was declining. Finally, the papacy underestimated Byz. resistance to UNION OF THE CHURCHES and was not willing to yield any significant point to win the sympathy of the Greek people. The condition for union was the full subjugation of Byz. to papal jurisdiction, theology, and rite; a few emperors were willing to accept these terms, but failed to gain popular support for their policies. The Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1439 brought only superficial unity and minimal assistance from the West: the papacy was not able, and did not seriously try, to save Constantinople in 1453.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Geschichte des Papsttums von den Anfängen bis zur Höhe der Weltherrschaft*, 2 vols. (Tübingen 1930–33). J. Richards, *The Popes and the Papacy in the Early Middle Ages* (London 1979). K.M. Setton, *The Papacy and the Levant*, vols. 1–4 (Philadelphia 1976–84). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1984). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Munich 1963) 7–73. W. Ullmann, *The Papacy and Political Ideas in the Middle Ages* (London 1976) pts. 1–5.
–A.K., M.McC.

PAPADIKE (Παπαδική), a late Byz. anthology of musical settings, both simple and florid, for HYMNS, psalms, and other CHANTS used in the liturgy and the liturgical HOURS. John KOUKOUZELES is believed to have first edited this kind of volume, which also bears the name of *Akolouthia, Mousikon, Anthologion*, or *Psaltike*. Along with compositions by Palaiologan composers, the earliest 14th-C. *papadikai* preserve vestiges of 12th- and 13th-C. Constantinopolitan repertories; a handful of these, both early and late, contain musical treatises. Fourteen MSS of the *Papadike* from the 14th C. and nearly three times that number from the 15th C. are extant. Chants in the kalophonic style predominate. This style is chiefly recognizable by its use of the meaningless TERETISMATA and by its demanding virtuosity.

In modern scholarship, the term *Papadike* usually refers to a short, elementary manual of musical NOTATION that introduces the musical anthologies of chant from the 14th C. onward. The text underwent many modifications; by the 15th C., at least four different versions of the *Papadike* existed, varying in completeness and order of contents. Typically, the manual consists of lists showing (1) the NEUMATA and their interval value; (2) the "great *hypostases*" (subsidiary ornamental signs); (3) the PHTHORAI; and (4) small musical examples describing the function and value of the *neumata*. Following this may be various diagrams undoubtedly intended for use when teachers introduced their students to the neumatic and modal systems. Many sources also include a varying number of short, ad hoc exercise melodies that served as a bridge between the theory and its application to actual singing.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 284–310. Tardo, *Melurgia* 151–73.
–D.E.C.

PAPAS (πάπας, παπᾶς, πάππας, "father"), used widely in the Byz. church as a title of respect and affection for the clerical rank of PRIEST (e.g., Malal. 361.8, 362.5). It emphasizes the spiritual relationship between priest and congregation. As early as the 3rd C., however, the word was also commonly

applied to bishops in both East and West (Gregory Thaumaturgus, PG 10:1020A). In Egypt the bishop of Alexandria was regularly styled *papas* (PG 20:648C), possibly as early as 231 (PG 111:982D–983A). Only gradually was the term applied solely to the bishop of Rome (see PAPACY). Although it is attested for the Roman bishop in the 4th C., only in the 6th C. does the custom become more general. Even then, however, *papas* was still occasionally used for other Western bishops as well (cf. Avitus of Vienne, PL 59:239). It was indeed not until the 11th C. that the title was for the first time restricted exclusively to the bishop of Rome by Pope Gregory VII.

LIT. P. de Labriolle, "Une esquisse de l'histoire du mot 'Papa,'" *Bulletin d'ancienne littérature et d'archéologie chrétiennes* 1 (1911) 215–20. Idem, "Papa," *Bulletin du Cange* 4 (1928) 65–75. –A.P.

PAPER, writing material that gradually came to replace PARCHMENT. Considered inferior to parchment because it was less durable, paper came into wide use because it was cheaper. Palaeographers distinguish between two kinds of paper imported into Byz., oriental or bombycine (*βαμβύκινον, βομβύκινον, βαγδατικόν*, the names coming from the cities of Membij and Baghdad, respectively) and occidental. Both types of paper were made from rags or vegetable fibers. Oriental paper was smooth, brownish, glued with starch, and had no watermarks; Western paper was yellowish or white, thick, rough, glued with gelatin, and had WATERMARKS. The size of the two kinds of paper and the pattern of wires used in the manufacture also differed. The question of whether paper was manufactured in Byz. itself is still open; N. Oikonomides argues that papermakers are attested in Constantinople ca.800 (in *PGEB* 397f).

Paper was introduced to the Byz. world by the Arabs, who had learned the secret of its manufacture from Chinese prisoners of war captured at Samarkand in 751. The oldest preserved Greek MS written on oriental paper is Vat. gr. 2200, copied ca.800, probably in Damascus; this paper, however, did not come into common use in Byz. territory until the 11th C. The inventory of the library of the monastery of ATTALEIATES, for example, lists eight books on paper and six on parchment. The earliest surviving paper MS copied in Byz. is from 1105 (Vat. gr. 504). Paper was also used for documents; the earliest preserved example is a chrysobull of 1052. The latest Byz. MSS on oriental paper date from ca.1350.

Occidental paper was first imported to Byz. in the 13th C. from Italy, where the oldest paper mill was at Fabriano (in Ancona). By the late 14th C. Italian paper had completely supplanted its oriental counterpart. The dimensions of a sheet of occidental paper average 290 × 450 mm. FOLIOS were formed by folding these sheets in two, four, eight, etc. Stocks of paper were used soon after purchase (3–5 years), which helps to date books on paper provided with watermarks. Modern technology (e.g., analysis by electron microscope, neutron activation, and betagraphy) can also assist in dating.

LIT. J. Irigoin, "Papiers orientaux et papiers occidentaux," in *PGEB* 45–54. Idem, "Les premiers manuscrits grecs écrits sur papier et le problème du bombycin," *Scriptorium* 4 (1950) 194–204, rp. in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 132–43. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 38–40. –E.G., A.M.T., I.Š.

PAPHLAGONIA (Παφλαγονία), region of northern Asia Minor between GALATIA and the Black Sea, consisting of a narrow coastal strip and isolated but rich interior valleys that produced timber and grain; its metropolis was GANGRA. Diocletian created a separate province of Paphlagonia. In 535, Justinian I merged Paphlagonia and the adjacent Honorias, assigning them to a praetor with civil and military powers. Persian, then Arab attacks reached Paphlagonia occasionally in the 7th–8th C. After being part of OPSIKION, Paphlagonia became a separate theme in the early 9th C. Its *strategos* commanded 5,000 men and five fortresses; he was paid 10 pounds of gold. A *katepano* was apparently in charge of the fleet. Most of Paphlagonia was lost to the Turks after Mantzikert in 1071; the Crusade of 1101 met disaster in Paphlagonia; the campaigns of John II, 1130–35, were more successful, but brought no lasting gains. The coast remained Byz.: in 1205, David Komnenos of Trebizond established a realm called Paphlagonia, which stretched from SINOPE to HERAKLEIA Pontike. Theodore I Laskaris seized the western parts as far as AMASTRIS in 1214; they became the Laskarid province of Paphlagonia. The region was lost to the Turks or Genoese by the late 14th C.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 136f. –C.F.

PAPHOS. See CYPRUS.

PAPIAS (παπίας, word etymologically connected with παπᾶς, father, priest), eunuch in charge of the buildings of the palace. The first mention in narrative sources is for the year 780, when a certain Jacob, *protospatharios* and *papias*, was arrested by Leo IV (Theoph. 453.10–11; Bury, *Adm. System* 124f, however, treated this *papias* as a proper name). The seal of the *papias* Peter has been dated by the editors (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2821) to 550–650. The *papias* was primarily the janitor of the palace—his duty was to keep the keys and open the gates; he also kept the keys of the palace prison (Kinn. 234.10–12). The cooperation of the *papias* was important for any conspiracy: thus, the *papias* played a decisive role in the plot of Michael II against Leo V. When Basil I plotted Michael III's murder, the *hetaireiarches* Artabasdes snatched the keys from the *papias* and let in the conspirators.

The *papias* was responsible for the maintenance of the buildings. His staff consisted of *diaitarioi* or *hebdomarioi* (who served in weekly relays in charge of various rooms of the palace), *loustai, kandelaptai, kamenades*, and *horologoi*, who were responsible for the baths, lighting, heating, and *horologia*, respectively, and *zarabai* (functions not clear). To this personnel, presented in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, Oikonomides (*Listes* 306, n.100) adds the *minsourator*, who was in charge of the emperor's tent during military expeditions. The *papias* was assisted by the DEUTEROS. He also played a part in imperial ceremony, both inside and outside the palace; thus, on 1 Aug. he carried a cross (from the palace treasury) through the streets of Constantinople, visiting houses of the wealthy and collecting from them a fee of some sort (*De cer.* 723.17–19). In addition to the *papias* of the Great Palace there were *papiai* of the Magnaura and Daphne palaces; the latter was created by Michael III. From the 13th C. onward *megas papias* became an honorific title conferred on members of noble families, including the future emperor John VI Kantakouzenos.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 126–28. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:251–65. D. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vol. 1 (St. Petersburg 1891) 145–63. Mercati, *CollByz* 1:659–61. –A.K.

PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA, mathematician and geographer; fl. Alexandria ca.320. His *Commentary on the Almagest*, of which only books 5 and 6 survive, provides the only known date in Pappos's life: his computation of a partial solar ECLIPSE visible at Alexandria on 18 Oct. 320 (bk.6, ch.4). Another computation of the longitude of the sun on 5 Jan. 323, recorded by THEON (*Commentary on the Almagest*, bk.3, ch.8), may be derived from Pappos's lost commentary on *Almagest* 3.

Pappos's other work surviving in Greek, the *Collection*, is imperfectly preserved in a 10th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 218 (Jones, "Papal Manuscripts" 16–31); the first book and part of books 2 and 8 are now lost. Of varied contents, it included discussions and summaries of works and theorems of early Greek mathematicians such as Apollonios, ARCHIMEDES, Eratosthenes, EUCLID, Heron, Nikomedes, and Theodosios. After the 6th C. it was rarely cited by Byz. scholars.

Some of Pappos's works have been preserved only in Arabic translations: the *Mechanical Introductions*, perhaps based on book 8 of the *Collection* (D.E.P. Jackson, *Islamic Quarterly* 16 [1972] 96–103 and *CQ* n.s. 30 [1980] 523–33) and his commentary on book 10 of Euclid's *Elements*; part of a Latin version of this commentary is also extant. Fragments of Pappos's *Chorography of the Inhabited World* are preserved in an anonymous Armenian work on geography (R.H. Hewsen, *Isis* 62 [1971] 186–207).

ED. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, vol. 1 (Vatican 1931). *Pappi Alexandrini Collectionis quae supersunt*, ed. F. Hultsch, 3 vols. (Berlin 1875–78; rp. Amsterdam 1965), with Lat. tr. *Book 7 of the Collection*, ed. A. Jones, 2 vols. (New York 1986), with Eng. tr. *The Commentary of Pappus on Book X of Euclid's Elements*, ed. W. Thomson, G. Junge (Cambridge, Mass., 1930; rp. New York 1968).
LIT. Heath, *Mathematics* 2:355–439. –D.P.

PAPYRI. See ANTINOÖPOLIS PAPYRI; APHRODITE PAPYRI; APOLLONOS ANO PAPYRI; ARABIC PAPYRI; NESSANA PAPYRI; OXYRHYNCHUS PAPYRI; RAVENNA PAPYRI.

PAPYROLOGY, an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dealing with texts written on PAPYRUS (and OSTRAKA), most often in Greek, Latin, and Coptic. (Hieroglyphic and demotic texts are usually dealt with by Egyptologists, as they come largely from periods earlier than the Greco-Roman; on the other hand, Syriac, Aramaic, Arabic, and Pahlavi papyri usually fall to specialists in Semitic, Christian Oriental, or

Persian philology.) As most papyri originate in Egypt, papyrology often becomes largely synonymous with study of the history and culture of late Roman Egypt.

In the 18th and much of the 19th C. the occasional papyri found by *sebakh* (fertilizer) diggers or hunters for Pharaonic treasure in Egypt were regarded merely as curiosities. With the great Fayyūm finds of the late 1870s (brought to the Archduke Rainer collection in Vienna) interest in these documents arose. In the 1880s and 1890s papyrology really began, with excavations by Petrie and Grenfell and Hunt specifically intended to search for papyri. Their spectacular success brought to light classical literature, unknown sayings of Jesus (from the *Gospel of Thomas*), and countless administrative and taxation records, as well as documents of daily life. Nearly continual discovery of papyri since then has augmented the raw material of the field and sparked its growth into an international discipline, producing ongoing publications of source material and historical interpretation.

Papyrology is founded above all on the reading of papyrus texts. Often the papyrus needs conservation before its surface can be read: flattening sheets, unrolling rolls, even taking apart cartonnage (the "cardboard" that mummy cases are made of) by means of enzymes, or, as in the case of the Tebtunis papyri, unstuffing mummified crocodiles. The papyrologist acquires palaeographic skill through practical immersion in texts written in all sorts of hands. Papyrology has greatly enlarged our knowledge of Koine and biblical Greek, of the Latin used by Roman soldiers in the provinces, and of the several dialects of Coptic, both in everyday usage and in literature.

The types of papyrus document are as numerous and as varied as the activities that helped keep society functioning. They can be public documents, such as imperial rescripts, tax rolls, CADASTERS, registered property declarations, birth and death certificates, or transactions executed by a government official. Even more numerous are private documents, such as transactions of family law (marriage and divorce CONTRACTS, WILLS, inheritance arbitrations), sales, leases, loans, labor contracts, pledges and deposits, orders for payment, and of course letters. The great abundance of these documents provides an unparalleled depth and breadth of knowledge of late Roman Egypt. Both the factual content and the phraseology of papyrus documents illuminate the historical milieu from which they came, providing material for both administrative and religious history. Bureaucracy, the differing legal systems, the interrelationship of city and countryside, and the preoccupations of both pagan and Christian religion are vividly alive in the papyri.

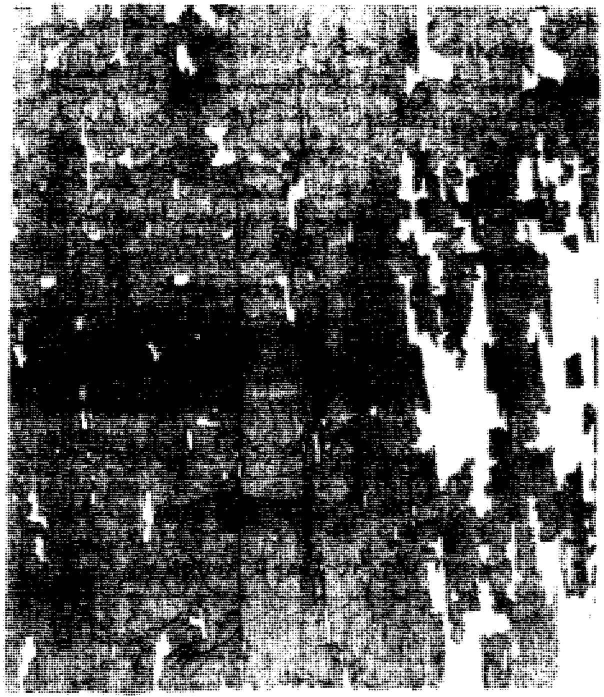
Literary papyri are likewise natural witnesses to the state of culture in Egypt at any given point. Classical authors, scriptural, liturgical, and patristic literature, practical science and magic—all fall within the domain of the literary papyrologist. The state of education can be gathered from school exercises, while the presence of literary papyri in the midst of documentary archives (e.g., the Cairo Menander codex) attests to the reading preferences of the literate bureaucrat and the ordinary citizen. Biblical papyri form a field all their own, being by far the earliest textual witnesses available to the critic, and reflecting the different families of texts and the early versions and lines of transmission. The Gnostic papyrus codices from NAG HAMMADI and the Manichaean literature from Egypt have given rise to specialties of their own.

Papyrology has by now its own working tools, including lexica, dictionaries of proper names, handbooks and standard collections, palaeographical albums, compilations of corrections to previously published texts, and specialized periodicals and monograph series. The data of papyrology are helping to revise our understanding of such fields as chronology, comparative Roman and Greek law, the economic history of the 4th–5th C., and the religious history of early Christianity, Gnosticism, and Manichaeanism. There are still many more extant papyrus texts than there are editors to make them available to historians and students.

ED. J.F. Oates et al., *Checklist of Editions of Greek Papyri and Ostraca*[3] (Atlanta 1985). R.A. Pack, *The Greek and Latin Literary Texts from Greco-Roman Egypt*[2] (Ann Arbor 1965).

LIT. E.G. Turner, *Greek Papyri*[2] (Oxford 1980). O. Montevecchi, *La papirologia* (Turin 1973). A. Bataille, *Les Papyrus* (Paris 1955). H.C. Youtie, *The Textual Criticism of Documentary Papyri*[2] (London 1974). I.F. Fikhman, *Vvedenie v dokumental'nuju papirologiju* (Moscow 1987). –L.S.B.MacC.

PAPYRUS, the principal writing material of the ancient world and late antiquity, made from strips of the pith of an Egyptian reed plant (*Cyperus papyrus*). The manufacture and sale of papyrus was a large-scale industry in Egypt throughout its



PAPYRUS. The papyrus P. Leidensis Z, col. I. Rijksmuseum van Oudheden, Leiden.

history, until well after the Arab conquest. Papyrus came in all grades and was used for every purpose, official and private, and in every format, from ROLL to CODEX. It provided a tough and long-lasting writing surface. Most extant texts, literary and documentary, on papyrus were preserved in Egypt (though not all were written there); other discoveries have been made at Dura Europos and in Israel. Some medieval papyrus was produced in Sicily. Papyrus was not superseded in the West by PARCHMENT until the later 9th C. or in the East by PAPER until about the 10th C. It continued to be used by the papal chancery until the 12th C. and by the imperial chancery at least until the mid-9th C. (F. Dölger, *BZ* 48 [1955] 467–70). The discipline that studies texts on papyrus is called PAPYROLOGY.

LIT. N. Lewis, *Papyrus in Classical Antiquity* (Oxford 1974). –L.S.B.MacC.

PARABALANI (παραβαλανεῖς, "bath attendants," sometimes, incorrectly, παραβολᾶνοι, "those who disregard their lives"), hospital attendants and minor clerics who were often fanatically loyal to their ecclesiastical superior. Because their work with the sick exposed them to constant danger, the *parabalani* were often drawn from desperate elements in society; they were occasionally used by bishops in violent encounters with their opponents. They are best known at Alexandria but appear to have been organized also at Constantinople and probably elsewhere. They were evidently involved in the murder of HYPATIA in 415 and provided much of the violence used by DIOSKOROS at the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS in 449. Because of the danger they posed to public order, their numbers were limited by law, first to 500 and later to 600 (*Cod. Theod.* XVI 2.42 and 43 [*anno* 416, 418 = *Cod. Just.* I 3.18]).

LIT. A. Philipsborn, "La compagnie d'ambulanciers 'parabalani' d'Alexandrie," *Byzantion* 20 (1950) 185–90. W. Schubart, "Parabalani," *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 40 (1954) 97–101. –T.E.G.

PARABLE (παραβολή). In the theory of rhetoric, a comparison that differs from an example by including within its scope both animate and inanimate nature (Martin, *Rhetorik* 122). The term could designate a simple SIMILE as in Theodoret (PG 80:581 A-B): "He delivered a parable . . . calling himself a dead dog." The word was applied to Christ's fables, which were told to illustrate his teaching of the heavenly kingdom and were broadly interpreted by several church fathers, esp. Origen and John Chrysostom. According to Origen, Christ used parables of which the popular masses were apt to understand only the external form, whereas the disciples perceived the internal significance. Therefore, the parable acquired the sense of a spiritual truth expressed in the form of a riddle or a short story, esp. of a saying that contained a hidden meaning and required an interpretation. –A.K., E.M.J.

PARADISE (παράδεισος, lit. "garden"), Eden, a place created by God for ADAM AND EVE from which they were later expelled. According to Byz. legends, it was situated in the east, far beyond India and even beyond the Ocean. Pseudo-Basil the Great (PG 30:64B) describes it as a place of marvelous beauty, brilliance, and security, knowing neither winds nor hail, free from humidity, heat, and cold. Hagiography and related texts preserve numerous VISIONS of paradise, which

variously appears as a garden surrounded by a high gilded wall with marvelous gates (vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, ed. Veselovskij, 1.46.5–9) or as a palace full of light and fragrance (vita of Andrew the Fool, PG 111:736C), with traditional Byz. court ceremonial (Mango, *Byzantium* 151–53). In art, paradise was represented as a garden set against a starry sky, with flowers, animals, and sometimes a jeweled cross at its center. Although the Bible presumes that Adam and Eve, before the Fall, dwelt naked in paradise, some 12th-C. Octateuch MSS show the ancestors of mankind clothed before the Fall, for example, in the scene of the naming of the animals (H.R. Broderick, *Byzantion* 55 [1985] 250–54). Paradise is also termed (and depicted in painting) as the heavenly Jerusalem, and, as a component of the LAST JUDGMENT, as a site in which sit the Virgin and Abraham with the souls of the elect around him. Admission, through a gate guarded by a seraph, was granted by St. Peter.

A traditional view, represented by, among others, ANASTASIOS OF SINAI and PHOTIOS, depicts paradise as a happy and blessed place where the pious live in the expectation of the realm of heaven, which will be established after the Second Coming of Christ (PAROUSIA). Some church writers, however, distinguished paradise from the earth and located it either in heaven or between earth and heaven. Niketas STETHATOS in a special treatise titled *On Paradise* and in related letters (ed. J. Darrouzès, 154–291) asserted that after the Incarnation the earthly paradise ceased to exist, that Christ dwells not in paradise but in heaven, and that we can speak only of an intelligible paradise whose spiritual plants give us the sensation of delight.

LIT. E. Patlagean, "Byzance et son autre monde," in *Faire croire* (Rome 1981) 201–21. J. Daniélou, "Terre et Paradis chez les Pères de l'Église," *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 433–72. A. Wenger, "Ciel ou Paradis," *BZ* 44 (1951) 560–69. A. Grabar, "L'iconographie du Ciel dans l'art chrétien de l'Antiquité et du haut Moyen âge," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 5–24. –G.P., A.K., A.C.

PARADISE, RIVERS OF. Genesis 2:10–14 describes four rivers in Paradise: Pison, Gihon, Hiddekel (or Tigris), and Euphrates. Flowing from a verdant landscape, the four appear frequently in 4th- through 6th-C. art, serving to situate in Paradise such symbolic images of Christ's kingship as the TRADITIO LEGIS, Christ appearing in Glory (apse mosaic, S. Vitale, RAVENNA), and Majestas Domini (HOSIOS DAVID, Thessalonike). As life-giving streams, they flow from the foot of the Cross on some Monza AMPULLAE (nos. 9, 11) and from the FOUNTAIN OF LIFE in a floor mosaic in North Africa (Iunca, Tunisia). Represented more rarely after the passing of Early Christian eschatological compositions, the rivers recur occasionally in later Byz. miniatures of Paradise: illustrations for Genesis in the OCTATEUCHS, maps of the cosmos in MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES, and images of Paradise adorning the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS. Though a widespread scribal colophon refers to the Evangelists as the four rivers of the Word, this literary image was not given visual form.

LIT. P.A. Underwood, "The Fountain of Life in Manuscripts of the Gospel," *DOP* 5 (1950) 47, 71–74, 106–07, 114–16, 118–31. Ihm, *Apsismalerei*, Index, s.v. "Paradies Vierstromberg," "Paradiesflüsse." –A.W.C.

PARADOUNAVON. See PARISTRION.

PARADOXOGRAPHY, an ancient literary genre devoted to descriptions of *mirabilia*, marvelous or miraculous objects. The word *paradoxographos* was invented by TZETZES (*Hist.* 2.154), who placed the *paradoxographos* ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES (6th C.) on a par with scientists such as Archimedes and Heron. The genre of *mirabilia* existed in antiquity and continued into the 4th or 5th C. Philo of Byzantium wrote a short rhetorical tract on the seven wonders of the world (W. Kroll, *RE* 20 [1941] 54f).

From the 7th C. onward the Byz. maintained an interest in paradoxography. Claudius AELIANUS was often quoted, and several collections of ancient paradoxographers were made, such as Vat. Palat. gr. 398 (10th C.) and the compilations of several anonymous paradoxographers, conventionally called *Paradoxographos Vaticanus*, *Paradoxographos Florentinus*, and *Paradoxographos Palatinus*. Original Byz. works of this genre are not numerous: Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES produced a dialogue entitled *On Various Problems of Nature*, in which he discussed some memorable phenomena of zoology and alchemy; similar questions were treated in his collection of letters. The *Paradoxical Readings* by Psellos is related to paradoxography

only by its title, being rather a collection of prescriptions against pain, conception, theft, and snakes.

Elements of paradoxography can be found in different genres: hagiography (esp. the vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME), historiography (e.g., the description of exotic ANIMALS, such as that of the ELEPHANT and giraffe by Attaleiates), treatises on geography (A. Delatte, *BAcBelg* 18 [1932] 189–222), and commentaries such as one on Gregory of Nazianzos ascribed to KOSMAS THE HYMNOGRAPHER. The Byz. developed a negative attitude toward famous ancient marvels; thus, Eustathios of Thessalonike asserted that piety is more precious than the foolishness of the Colossus of Rhodes and the pyramids that only cast long shadows (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 193.38–50).

LIT. A. Giannini, *Paradoxographorum graecorum reliquiae* (Milan 1966) 7–10. K. Ziegler, *RE* 18 (1949) 1137–66. –A.K.

PARADYNASTEUON (παραδυναστεύων), semiofficial term derived from antiquity (probably Thucydides) and designating an imperial favorite placed at the head of an administrative unit. Used in late Roman texts in a vague sense of "having great authority" (e.g., Philostorg., *HE* 3.12; THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *HE* 2.12.1), it preserved the same meaning in Theophanes the Confessor (e.g., Theoph. 76.23). It is not found in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C. but is applied by 10th-C. chroniclers to such men as Stylianos ZAOUTZES or John Mystikos ca.913. The term is common during the Komnenian period and continued to be used by antiquarian writers such as Constantine Akropolites and Nikephoros Gregoras, but was then replaced by MESAZON.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XIII (1955), 330–32. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 442f. –A.K.

PARAKOIMOMENOS (παρακοιμώμενος, lit. "sleeping at the side [of the emperor]"), the guardian of the emperor's bedchamber, the highest office conferred on EUNUCHS; he probably replaced the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI. The origin of the office is obscure: the story of the *parakoimomenos* EUPHRATAS, an adviser of Constantine I, is legendary. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 285.17) mentions a *parakoimomenos* of Maurice, but this may be anachronistic. It is also uncertain whether Stephen, *sakellarios* and "the first eunuch" under Justinian II (not Maurice, as in Guilland, *infra* 204), was *parakoimomenos*. The first secure reference is Theophanes' mention of KOUBIKOULARIOI and *parakoimomenoi* in 780 (Theoph. 453.11–12); at that time there were several *parakoimomenoi* simultaneously and their position was not very elevated. Under Theophilos, the *parakoimomenos* Scholastikos also held the modest title of OSTIARIOS. Some seals (earliest, 650–750, Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1395) show that the duties of the *parakoimomenos* were usually combined with those of the EPI TES TRAPEZES (no.2394) or *koubikoularios* (nos. 2379, 2529; Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.52); at least one of these *parakoimomenoi-koubikoularioi* was appointed *strategos* (of Sicily).

The situation began to change in the mid-9th C., and in the 10th C. the office acquired enormous significance, when men such as SAMONAS, Joseph BRINGAS, and BASIL THE NOTHOS were *parakoimomenoi*. The post continued to be important in the 11th C., when the eunuch Nicholas was *parakoimomenos* and DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The office seems to have declined in the 12th C. The position was entrusted primarily to eunuchs, though there were some exceptions in all periods: the future emperor Basil I held this post and in the 12th C. some *parakoimomenoi* were bearded. In the 14th C. the office was divided: the *parakoimomenos* of the *koiton* preserved the old functions of the emperor's bodyguard, while the *parakoimomenos* of the SPHENDONE controlled the state seal. The latter played an important administrative role; among others, Alexios APOKAUKOS held the post. There is no information about *parakoimomenoi* in the 15th C. A seal (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1699) attests a female *parakoimomene*, evidently a servant of the empress.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:202–15. Boak-Dunlop, *Two Studies* 242f. –A.K.

PARAKOLOUTHEMATA (παρακολουθήματα), generic term indicating the surtaxes that were added to the KANON. Their amounts varied with time; all started as exceptional contributions and were later incorporated in the main tax. (1) *Dikeraton*, i.e., an increase of two keratia (1/12) for every nomisma of *kanon*; this surtax, first invented by Leo III in order to repair the walls of Constantinople, was regularized by Nikephoros I. (2)

Hexafollon, a surtax of six folleis per nomisma (an increase of about 1/48, liable to variation depending on the amount of the basic tax), may have been initiated under Leo VI. (3) SYNETHEIA, a *sportula* initially imposed for the benefit of the tax collector: it was 1/12 of the *kanon*, but the percentage decreased when the tax grew. (4) ELATIKON, a flat and relatively low contribution destined to cover the expenses of the tax collector's suite. The last two were incorporated in the tax in the early 12th C. Moreover, the tax collector and his suite received from each taxpayer a "basket" (KANISKION) in kind (one loaf of bread, one *modios* of barley, one chicken, 1/2 measure of wine—or multiples of the above—according to 11th-C. rates).

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 81–83. –N.O.

PARAKYPTIKON (παρακυ(μ)πτικόν, lit. "fit for peeping through"), an imperial loge, a place from which the emperor could observe the area beneath him. In the *De ceremoniis*, the term "*parakymptikon* of the altar" (*De cer.* 88.5) of the Church of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos refers to a vantage point in the gallery from which the emperor could observe the service; in the plural, *parakyptika* (342.2–3, 364.19–20), it designated a loggia in the KATHISMA of the HIPPODROME from which the emperor watched the games.

LIT. Strube, *West. Eingangsseite* 81–86. –A.K.

PARALYTIC, HEALING OF THE. See MIRACLES OF CHRIST.

PARAMONARIOS. See PROSMONARIOS.

PARAMYTHETIKOS (παραμυθητικὸς λόγος), a speech of consolation, intended to comfort the bereaved by praising the dead (see EPITAPHIOS). –E.M.J.

PARAPHYLAX (παραφύλαξ), "chief guardian" (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1232B). The *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 161.15) mentions *paraphylakes* of *kastra* among officers of low rank. They also appear in 11th-C. lists of exemptions as functionaries of the fisc or of the commonwealth (*koinon*), either among low-ranking military officers (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.61) or those involved in provisioning the army (?), such as *synonarioi* and *oreiarioi* (e.g., *Lavra* 1, nos. 33.97–98, 36.32–33). *Paraphylakes* are mentioned on numerous seals of the 7th–9th C., e.g., *paraphylakes* of Crete, Thessalonike, Nicaea, of the "Theologian" (probably Ephesus), and esp. Abydos. A functionary of low rank (titled *apo eparchon* on earlier seals, and then *hypatos*, *strator*, or *spatharios*), he combined his function with that of the *kommerkiarios*, less frequently with the *chartoularios* of the *genikon* and with *archon*. There is no reason to identify the *paraphylax* as a *kommerkiarios* or *abydikos*—his duty was probably to command irregular forces in provincial towns and to supervise public order.

LIT. Zacos, *Seals* 1:1199–1201, 1205. Treadgold, *Byz. State Finances* 34. –A.K.

PARASKEVE OF EPIBATAI, or Paraskeve the Younger, Slavic name Petka; saint; feastdays 13, 14 Oct. She is believed to have lived in the 10th C. Her Life, written by a peasant, possibly in the vernacular, was ordered burned by Patr. NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON; he commissioned a certain deacon Basilikos to create an official version of the saint's Life. Church Slavonic texts, including the vita by EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO, may preserve traces of this official version. Using Evtimij's text, Matthew of Myra wrote the Greek Life of Paraskeve in 1605–20. The legend's central episode concerns a certain George who saw a vision of Paraskeve as an enthroned queen and was ordered to bring her relics from the Church of the Apostles in Epibatai to a new location in Tŭrnovo, a mission that he fulfilled ca.1230. An inscription with the name of Paraskeve found in Carevac, Tŭrnovo, makes it possible to locate a church dedicated to her.

LIT. *BHG* 1420z–1421. E. Kałuzniacki, *Zur älteren Paraskevaliteratur der Griechen, Slaven und Rumänen* (Vienna 1899). R. Janin, I. Dujčev, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:331–33. U. Knoben, *LCI* 8:120f. –A.K.

PARASKEVE OF IKONION, the "great martyr"; feastday 28 Oct. She was a predominantly Russian saint, the patron of brides and family life. The origin of her cult remains obscure.

LIT. K. Onasch, "Paraskeva-Studien," *OstkSt* 6 (1957) 121–41. –A.K.

PARASKEVE THE ELDER, saint; feastdays 26 July, 8 and 9 Nov. Paraskeve (lit. "Friday") supposedly lived in the 2nd C., propagating Christianity and even converting the emperor Antoninus. JOHN OF EUBOEA wrote a *passio* of Paraskeve, and later Constantine AKROPOLITES composed her eulogy. She is represented in a miniature accompanying an Easter homily in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY (fol.285r; S. Der Nersessian, *DOP* 16 [1962] 202, pl.3), standing alongside HELENA; she carries symbols of the Passion of Christ (lance, sponge, nails, and a container for the vinegar), an early reference to GOOD FRIDAY and the cult of the cross.

SOURCE. F. Halkin, "La passion de sainte Parascève par Jean d'Eubée," in *Polychronion* 226–37.
LIT. *BHG* 1419z–1420x. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:328–31. U. Knoben, *LCI* 8:118–120. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PARASPONDYLOS, LEO, high-ranking official; died after 1057. The name Paraspondylos (Παρασπόνδυλος, or, in Skyl. 479.16, *Strabospondylos*, "a crook") is probably a sobriquet. Seemingly, Leo sprang from the family of the Spondyloi, one of whom, Michael, served as *doux* of Antioch and participated in the campaign of George MANIAKES in Sicily (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 74). An official under Michael IV, Paraspondylos became the chief of civil administration with the titles of *synkellos* and *protosynkellos* during the reigns of Theodora and Michael VI. When Paraspondylos rejected the demands of the leading generals in 1057, a rebellion developed that led to the deposition of Michael VI and accession of Isaac I. Paraspondylos was dismissed and probably tonsured. Attaleiates (Attal. 52.1–10) lauds him as an excellent administrator who contributed greatly to the establishment of good government. PSELLOS (*Chron.* 2:74, ch.6.15–19) was more restrained in his judgment of Paraspondylos, emphasizing primarily his uncourtly speech yet eloquent gestures. While Paraspondylos was in disfavor, Psellos supported him and on his behalf addressed Paraspondylos's principal enemies—Isaac I and Patr. Michael I Keroularios.

LIT. Ljubarskij, *Psell* 90–97. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 90. –A.K., C.M.B.

PARASTAS (παραστάς, lit. "standing beside"), term usually meaning PILASTER, anta, or jamb. Eusebios (*VC* 3:37) uses the term *parastades*, however, to describe the twin aisles on each side of the nave of the Golgotha basilica in JERUSALEM (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem* 2.1–2 [Paris 1914] 160f). –N.E.L.

PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (lit. "Brief Historical Notes"), an anonymous work describing the monuments of Constantinople. The work is preserved in a single MS (Paris, B.N. gr. 1336) of the 11th C. The text is often corrupt and hard to understand. *Parastaseis* has traditionally been dated between Leo III (717–41), who is named in the text, and 829; the text, however, mentions an "emperor of our day" who must be one of Leo's successors, and 829 is based only on an *argumentum ex silentio*. Cameron and Herrin date the work to the beginning of the 8th C. and consider it as a kind of scholarly work; both conclusions are questionable. The book is a collection of grotesque anecdotes with references to nonexistent or anachronistic sources (e.g., Herodotus as the source for the story that Constantine I murdered his son Constantine—instead of Crispus, who was actually killed). *Parastaseis* should rather be interpreted as a political pamphlet directed against the cult of Constantine I that was being developed under the Iconoclast emperors and their successors; at the same time it reflected the dispute over icons, telling numerous stories about the miraculous power of pagan statues (occasionally called "icons"), which—unlike Orthodox icons—did not work beneficial miracles but brought injury and death.

ED. Av. Cameron, J. Herrin, *Constantinople in the Early Eighth Century* (Leiden 1984).
LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 29–48. –A.K.

PARATHALASSITES (παραθαλασσίτης, lit. "by the sea"), a judge in control of those sailing on the sea (*Peira* 51.29); the *parathalassites* was in charge of the seashore and the port of Constantinople, esp. of the import of goods and the payment of tolls. According to the obscure evidence of an anonymous chronicle (F. Cumont, *Anecdota Bruxellensia* [Ghent 1894] 27.11–12), Justinian I introduced the KOMMERKION of the straits and the office of *parathalassites*. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.22) the *parathalassites* appears as a low-ranking functionary in the bureau of the EPARCH OF THE CITY.

LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 3.26) mentions a *parathalassites* among the offices filled by Romanos I after his victory over Leo PHOKAS—*parathalassites* is last in the list, below *spatharioi* and *spatharokandidatoi*. The seals of the 11th–12th C. confer on the *parathalassites* higher ranks—up to *protoproedros* and *kouropalates*—probably indicating the increasing importance of the office. Ahrweiler surmised that the *parathalassites* disengaged himself from the control of the eparch of the city and in the 11th C. attained equality with the eparch and the *logothetes* of the GENIKON, while Laurent (*Corpus* 2:625) was very cautious on this point. By the end of the 12th C. the office became collegial. The *parathalassites* is not mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos. In addition to the *parathalassites* of Constantinople there were also provincial *parathalassitai* (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 6 [1976] 133, n. 44).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.II (1961), 246–51. –A.K.

PARCHMENT (*μεμβράνα, περγαμηνή, σωμάτιον, διφθέρα, δέρμα, χάρτης*), writing material prepared from the skin of animals such as the cow, sheep, goat, or donkey. The skin was washed in lime, cleaned, stretched in a form, and scraped. The hair side and flesh side of the skin had different colors. The kind of animal skin used and the various techniques of treatment explain the divergent appearance of various parchments. A coarse parchment distinguishes southern Italian MSS. Maximos PLANOUDES preferred parchment that was thin and very white, but not treated with egg white (eps. 100, 106). Parchment dyed with purple was reserved for the emperor.

Expensive and scarce, parchment was sometimes unavailable. An animal skin yielded only two *bifolia* (i.e., eight pages), and the supply of parchment was seasonal, being more abundant in spring when lambs were slaughtered. ARETHAS OF CAESAREA paid between 6 and 8 nomismata for sufficient parchment to produce a volume of about 400 folios (N. Wilson in *Books & Bookmen* 1–4). This scarcity prompted the reuse of parchment MSS as PALIMPSESTS.

The oldest preserved large Greek parchment codices are dated to the 4th C.; they are Gospel and Old Testament MSS, the Codex Sinaiticus (London, B.L. Add. 43725), and the Codex Vaticanus (Vat. gr. 1209). From the 13th C. onward, PAPER increasingly replaced parchment as writing material, but parchment MSS continued to be produced for rich patrons.

LIT. K.J. Lüthi, *Das Pergament: Seine Geschichte, seine Anwendung* (Bern 1938). Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 34–37. P. Schreiner, "Zur Pergamentherstellung im byzantinischen Osten," *Codices manuscripti* 9 (1983) 122–27. E.E. Granstrem, "Diphthera-differa-'malaja rizica' ili 'kniga'?" *ADSV* 10 (1973) 158–60. –E.G., A.M.T.

PARDOS, GREGORY, writer, metropolitan of Corinth after 1092 (V. Laurent, *REB* 21 [1963] 290f); baptismal name probably George; born ca.1070, died 1156 (but cf. U. Begares, *BZ* 81 [1988] 247f). Pardos compiled several works on rhetoric and grammar: *On Dialects, Commentary on Hermogenes, On Speech Construction, Introduction to Speechwriting* (D. Donnet, *Bulletin de l'institut historique Belge de Rome* 37 [1966] 81–97). The treatise *On Tropes*, published under his name, should be attributed rather to the 1st-C. B.C. Tryphon (M.L. West, *CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230–48). The traditional view that Pardos lacked originality is now to be rejected (J. Glucker, *Mnemosyne* 23 [1970] 137f). Pardos applied the technique of SCHEDOGRAPHIA, using a section of a "set text" progressively for examples, as he explained the principles of grammar; he referred to contemporary poets such as KALLIKLES, PRODROMOS, and TZETZES. Pardos also produced commentaries on religious poetry as well as his own religious epigrams.

ED. G. Schäfer, *Gregorii Corinthii et aliorum grammaticorum libri De dialectis linguae graecae* (Leipzig 1811). *RhetGr*, ed. Walz 7:1090–1352, 8:761–78. D. Donnet, *Le traité "Peri syntaxeos logou" de Grégoire de Corinthe* (Brussels 1967). H. Hunger, "Gregorios von Korinth, Epigramme auf die Feste des Dodekaorton," *AB* 100 (1982) 637–51.

LIT. A. Kominis, *Gregorios Pardos metropolites Korinthou kai to ergon autou* (Rome-Athens 1960). G. Bolognesi, "Sul *peri dialekton* di Gregorio di Corinto," *Aevum* 27 (1953) 97–120. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 19f. Beck, *Kirche* 606. –A.K.

PAREKKLESION (*παρεκκλήσιον*), generic name for a subsidiary CHAPEL. Such chapels appear in ecclesiastical architecture of the 4th–5th C. with a great variety of forms, functions, and dispositions. From the 10th to 12th C., the number of chapels in churches increased. These have a variety of plans, usually occur in symmetrically disposed pairs, and are carefully integrated into the overall architectural scheme. From the 13th to 15th C., *parekklesia* were not as elegantly planned and were often no more than large rooms attached to the flanks of existing churches. Such is

the case at the church of the CHORA MONASTERY, a long, apsed rectangular structure built for funerary purposes. Another important example of the period, also sepulchral in nature, was built in the form of a small cross-in-square church on the south flank of Hagia Maria PAMMAKARISTOS.

–M.J.

PARENZO. See POREČ.

PARIS, son of Priam, Greek mythological hero famous for his judgment of three goddesses—Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite—and his subsequent abduction of Helen, which led to the TROJAN WAR. This mythological episode was completely reinterpreted by MALALAS (or, more probably, his source), who presented Paris as a young man of proper upbringing who wrote a hymn praising Aphrodite as an allegory of *epithymia,* "desire." Desire, says Malalas, produces everything—children, wisdom, prudence, and the arts. This allegorical interpretation of the Judgment of Paris was developed by TZETZES, who treated the mythological episode as utter nonsense. MANASSES, however, knew the allegorical version, although he did not care for it. The poem of HERMONIAKOS on the Trojan War reflects the attitudes of both Tzetzes and Manasses to this episode.

LIT. E.M. Jeffreys, "The Judgement of Paris in Later Byzantine Literature," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 112–31. C. Bevegni, "Anonymi Declaratio Paridis ad Senatum Troianum," *StItalFCl* 3.4 (1986) 274–92. –A.K.

PARIS GREGORY (Paris, B.N. gr. 510), an illustrated MS containing the *Homilies* of St. GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS plus some of his letters, a few miscellaneous writings, and Gregory the Presbyter's vita of the saint. It was produced between late 879 and 883 in Constantinople for Basil I, probably as a gift from PHOTIOS. Five miniatures preface the volume; of its 52 texts most were originally preceded by miniatures, and all by elaborate headpieces. In addition, the MS has over 1,600 gold or decorated letters, the oldest surviving examples of Byz. painted INITIALS.

The miniatures, often composed of three or four rows of images, incorporate over 400 different scenes. Few illustrate Gregory's sermons literally: most provide commentaries on the text, either pictorial exegesis (mostly typological) or visual polemic connecting the theme of the sermon with contemporary events (the textually unmotivated image of the First Council of Constantinople [381] buttressed the Greek position in the *filioque* debate with Rome during the patriarchate of Photios). Some miniatures flatter the imperial recipient of the MS (the Joseph page should be read as an analogy of Basil's ascent to the throne), while others echo specific interests of Photios and his circle.

Though the exegetical role for the images was one favored in this period, the Paris Gregory provides unusually sophisticated examples. The iconography of the individual scenes, on the other hand, remains generally conservative, and there was no attempt to make the miniatures stylistically homogenous.

LIT. Omont, *Miniatures,* pls. XV–LXbis. S. Der Nersessian, "The Illustrations of the Homilies of Gregory of Nazianzus, Paris gr. 510," *DOP* 16 (1962) 195–228. L. Brubaker, "Politics, Patronage, and Art in Ninth-Century Byzantium: The *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzus in Paris (B.N. gr. 510)," *DOP* 39 (1985) 1–13. –L.Br.

PARIS PSALTER (Paris, B.N. gr. 139), the best-known example of Byz. PSALTER illustration, long supposed to be typical of the genre but now recognized as being exceptional in size (approximately 37 × 26.5 cm) and in the beauty of its script and wealth of full-page illumination. Beyond the text and CATENAE, it now contains eight miniatures devoted to the life and person of DAVID and six (originally nine?) illustrations of the ODES. The David pictures emphasize the virtues of the ideal emperor, often through the presence of PERSONIFICATIONS, both classical and Christian: H. Buchthal (*JWarb* 37 [1974] 330–33) proposes that the book was made for the future emperor Romanos II at the behest of his father, Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos. The hypothesis that it is a copy remains unproven, but there is no doubt that the MS stands at the head of a long line of smaller and later books that emulate its body of illustration. The Psalter's ornament is most closely related to a MS in Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 60 (= Vladimir 140), of the year 975. The long-standing thesis that its miniatures are later insertions has recently been challenged (J. Lowden, *ArtB* 70 [1988] 250f). Certainly the book as we now have it was available ca.1300 when some of its minia-

tures were adapted for Psalters now at the Vatican and Mt. Sinai (H. Belting, *JÖB* 21 [1972] 17–38). It was acquired by the French ambassador in Constantinople in 1557–59.

LIT. H. Buchthal, *The Miniatures of the Paris Psalter* (London 1938). Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, no.39. Weitzmann, *Grundlagen*. –A.C.

PARISTRION (Παρίστριον), a designation of the territory south of the Lower Danube, used in narrative texts of the 11th and early 12th C. Skylitzes (Skyl. 457.32) relates that a certain Michael was *archon* of the *Paristriai poleis*; the Continuator of Skylitzes (*SkylCont* 166.16–17) speaks of a *vestarches* Nestor "who was called *doux* of Paristria," and Anna Komnene mentions Paristrion four times in connection with invasions of the Pechenegs and Cumans in DOBRUDJA. Official documents, however, use the term *Paradounabis*, as on the seals of the *vestes* Symeon (V. Zlatarski in *Šišičev zbornik* [Zagreb 1929] 143–48) and of Katakalon (N. Bănescu, *EO* 35 [1936] 405–08) and the will of Eustathios BOILAS of 1059 (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 41), while Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:155.8) gives the title *doux* of Paradounabon to Leo Nikerites.

The origin of the administrative unit (*katepanaton* or *doukaton*) of Paristrion-Paradounavis is obscure. Bănescu was inclined to think that Paristrion existed from the time of John I Tzimiskes, whereas Zlatarski thought that it was created only in the mid-11th C. In any event, it did not exist at the end of the 12th C., when Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 127.89) applied the name *Paristrion* to the region of BRANIČEVO and Belgrade.

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgaria i Vizantija* 250–88. V. Zlatarski, "Ustrojstvo Bolgarii i položenie bolgarskogo naroda," *SemKond* 4 (1931) 61–67. N. Bănescu, "La question du Paristrion ou Conclusion d'un long débat," *Byzantion* 8 (1933) 277–308. T. Wasilewski, "Le katepanikion et le duché de Paristrion au XI^e s.," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 641–45. –A.K.

PARODY. In the sense of a humorous mimicking of serious actions, parody is represented by burlesque performances in the Hippodrome and elsewhere. Examples are a scene staged by some clowns, with a ship on wheels, before the emperor's box in the Hippodrome in imitation of the ceremony celebrating the anniversary of the foundation of Constantinople (*Patria of Constantinople*, ed. Preger, *Scriptores* 232f), or the comic imitation of horse races presented by young aristocrats at the court of Alexios III (Nik.Chon. 508f).

In the more usual and narrower sense of a humorous imitation of a serious literary work, parody is not uncommon in later Byz. literature. Examples are a 12th-C. parody of a court decision involving a case of cannibalism (R. Macrides in *Cupido legum* 137–168), a 14th-C. invective against a certain Diplovatatzes in the form of a decree of the *boule* and *demos* of an ancient city (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XXII [1969], 96.10), the 12th-C. *Katomyomachia* (probably by Theodore Prodromos) in the form of a scene from classical tragedy, and various parodies of parts of the liturgy. A special case is the presentation for mnemonic purposes of lists of ancient gods, grammatical terms, and so forth, in the form of liturgical hymns (Krumbacher, *GBL* 681f). Much Byz. SATIRE is in the form of parody. –A.K., R.B.

PAROIKIA (παροικία), a "local" church and its district, under the authority of a BISHOP. The term was in use from the 3rd C. to designate both an episcopal district and a parish of the Western type.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 83. –P.M.

PAROIKOS (πάροικος, lit. "one who lives nearby," "stranger" in the Septuagint), the general name for the dependent PEASANT in Byz. from the 10th C. through the end of the empire, analogous, but not identical, to the serf (see SERFDOM) of medieval western Europe. While the word *paroikos* is of classical origin, it appears only infrequently in Byz. sources before the 10th C., thus rendering the word's evolution far from clear. The New Testament employs *paroikos* to mean a temporary resident or foreigner, and consequently, through the 11th C., the word often implied a recent settler. Since a constitution of Anastasios I (*Cod.Just.* I 34.1) speaks of *georgoi* (see COLONI), *paroikoi*, and *emphyteutai* (see EMPHYTEUSIS), while a novel of Justin II (Zepos, *Jus* 1:2.8–9) speaks of *georgoi*, *misthotai*, and *emphyteutai*, there is perhaps an equivalence between *paroikos* and *misthotes* (see MISTHIOS). Anastasios (*Cod.Just.* I 2.4) forbade application of the *paroikikon dikaion* ("law of the *paroikoi*") to church property; in the Latin version

of Justinian I's novel 7.1, this is rendered as *colonarium jus.* The reference in Theophanes (Theoph. 486.30) to the *paroikoi* of charitable foundations, churches, and imperial monasteries suggests that *paroikoi* were settlers on the properties of large landowners.

From the mid-10th C. onward, references to *paroikoi* become very common, with *paroikoi* appearing as a growing section of the peasantry, gradually overtaking the previously dominant independent peasant of the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. According to a decision of KOSMAS MAGISTROS and the PEIRA (15.2–3), *paroikoi* were peasants who received land to cultivate based on an agreement with the proprietor; they could neither alienate the land, nor make any claim on it should they leave or should the proprietor ask them to leave; after 30 (or 40) years they could not be removed from the STASIS, though this heralded no change in their status or obligations to the proprietor. On the other hand, evidence from the 11th C. onward indicates that the status of *paroikoi* was becoming hereditary, and the obligation of *paroikoi* to their lords usually appears less as a simple rent, than as a collection of state charges and CORVÉES required by the lord instead of by the fisc. The nature of the dependent status of *paroikoi* remains ambiguous. During the 13th and 14th C., when almost all peasants appear to have been *paroikoi*, there is still evidence of communities of *paroikoi* acting as a corporate entity and of individual *paroikoi* often acquiring and alienating GONIKON land.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 41–74. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 142–58. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 166–88, 232–48. V. Smetanin, "O statuse nekotorych kategorij parikov v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 7–11. N. Oikonomides, "He Peira peri paroikon," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:232–41. –M.B.

PARORIA (Παρόρια, lit. "borderlands"), site of a group of monastic communities that flourished in the 14th C. on the frontier between Byz. and Bulgaria. The location of Paroria has been much disputed; the tendency of recent scholarship is to identify Paroria with the Strandža mountain range on the border between present-day Turkey and Bulgaria, although F. Halkin (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 119, n.1) argues that it is impossible to specify a precise site. GREGORY SINAITES moved to Paroria ca.1330 and founded four lavras, the largest on Mt. Katakekryomene. Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER became the patron of this lavra, providing funds to build a church, cells, and tower. Gregory brought with him the Athonite tradition of HESYCHASM, which he transmitted to both the Greek and Slavic monks who flocked to the region (A.-E.N. Tachiaos, *Cyrillomethodianum* 7 [1983] 118–22). Among the distinguished monks who had their spiritual formation at Paroria were David DISHYPATOS, THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO, ROMYLOS of Vidin, and the future patriarch KALLISTOS I.

LIT. G. Gorov, "Mestonachoždenieto na srednovekovnata Parorija i Sinaitovija manastir," *IstPreg* 28.1 (1972) 64–75. –A.M.T.

PAROS (Πάρος), island in the Cyclades, west of NAXOS, separated from the small island of Antiparos by a narrow strait. Under Diocletian Paros formed part of the province of the Islands. It was famous for its marble (K. Fiehn, *RE* 2.R. 3 [1929] 2263). Inscriptions of the late 3rd and 4th C. describe Paros as a "splendid *polis*" and mention city officials such as the *protos* of the *polis* and the *gymnasiarchos* (O. Rubensohn, *RE* 18 [1949] 1830f). The bishop of Paros was suffragan of RHODES; seals of its 11th-C. bishop Constantine have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 710–11). At the end of the 11th C. a combined metropolis of Paronaxia (Paros and Naxos), without suffragans, was established (*Notitiae CP* 11.84).

Paros suffered from Arab attacks in the 9th C., and in the early 10th C., according to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, it was deserted and visited only by hunters. There seems to have been revival by the 12th C.—at least a hoard of Byz. copper coins from Manuel I to Alexios IV was found at Naoussa (S.McA. Mosser, *A Bibliography of Byzantine Coin Hoards* [New York 1935] 57). After 1204 the island fell to the Venetian Marco I Sanudo and became part of the duchy of Naxos; despite an attack by the fleet of Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS in 1263, Paros remained part of the duchy until its dissolution ca.1579.

Abundant remains testify to the prosperity of the island in late antiquity (e.g., A.K. Orlandos, *PraktArchEt* [1960] 245–57); the most important church is the Virgin Hekatontapyliane in Paroikia, perhaps built in the 4th C. with four freestanding cross-arms and rebuilt in the 6th C. with a dome (A.K. Orlandos, 6 *IntCongChrArch* [Vati-

can 1965] 159–68). Frankish castles are preserved at Naoussa and Paroikia and on Antiparos.

LIT. H.H. Jewell, F.W. Hasluck, *The Church of Our Lady of the Hundred Gates in Paros* (London 1920). Ph. Apostolou, *To kastro tes Antiparou* (Athens 1978). W. Hoefner, H. Schmidt, "Mesaionikoi oikismoi Kykladon neson Antiparou-Kimolou," *Kimoliaka* 8 (1978) 3–45. –T.E.G.

PAROUSIA (*παρουσία*, lit. "advent," sometimes *δευτέρα παρουσία*), Christ's Second Coming, presented (and described) in connection with Matthew 24 by CYRIL of Jerusalem (PG 33:869–916) and others. Although parallel to the first advent (the INCARNATION), the Second Parousia differs from it in that it will be Christ's coming in glory, a victory over the ANTICHRIST, the "restoration" of the cosmos, and resurrection of the dead. Special signs will distinguish Christ from the Antichrist, esp. "the brilliant sign of the cross" that was formerly the instrument of the crucifixion, while angels with trumpets serve as heralds, ceremonial attendants, and escorts. The main event of the Parousia will be the LAST JUDGMENT.

In his sermon, Cyril criticized MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, who denied that Christ would reign "after the end of the world," since the Logos who had proceeded from the Father and then had returned to him ceased to exist as an individual being. Accordingly, the First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) added to the Confession of Faith a sentence—directed against Markellos—that "the kingdom of Christ will have no end." Later homilies combined the theme of the Parousia with a portrayal of the Last Judgment and/or HELL or with exhortations to do good works.

In artistic representations Parousia found its expression in the image of the HETOIMASIA, or the throne prepared for Christ's coming.

LIT. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 55–75. E. Peterson, "Die Einholung des Kyrios," *Zeitschrift für systematische Theologie* 7 (1929) 682–702. V. Christe, *La vision de Matthieu (Matth. XXIV–XXV): Origine et développement d'un image de la seconde Parousie* (Paris 1973). –G.P.

PARRHESIA (*παρρησία*), literally, "freedom of speech." In a secular context this came to mean (from the 4th C. onward) the license allowed a privileged official or orator to offer cautious advice or reproof to an emperor, and so, by extension, the right to have access to the emperor (cf. MIRROR OF PRINCES). In a religious context the term comes to mean a confidence in dealing with God and men that is drawn from faith and a righteous life, and that belongs in particular to saints.

LIT. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik* (Munich 1980) 376f. G. Scarpat, *Parresia, storia del termine* (Brescia 1982). –E.M.J.

PARTHENOPHTHORIA (*παρθενοφθορία*, lit. "corruption of virgins"), a judicial fine, considered a part of AERIKON, ostensibly imposed for RAPE, probably of unmarried girls, and perhaps for related crimes (abduction, etc.). The term appears almost exclusively in the exemption clauses of chrysobulls from the second half of the 13th through the 14th C. as one of a very small number of rights and privileges (sometimes called *demosiaka kephalaia* ["public chapters"] and including PHONIKON and the TREASURE TROVE) that the state usually reserved for itself and did not grant to landowners.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 477–79. –M.B.

PARTITIO ROMANIAE, one of the fundamental documents of the LATIN EMPIRE, published Sept.–early Oct. 1204 (Heyd, Zakythinos, Carile) or 12 Apr.–9 May 1204 (Oikonomides). After the Fourth Crusade's conquest of Constantinople, a committee of 24 (12 Venetians, 12 non-Venetians) apportioned lands to the Latin emperor, the Venetians, and other Crusaders. The emperor was to have a quarter of the empire, the others three-eighths each. Each party received territory in both Thrace and more remote lands. The list of places and districts in the *Partitio Romaniae* derives from Byz. documents, esp. tax registers, as is demonstrated by its use of Byz. technical terms. The *Partitio* lists separately the lands of some great landowners: the Kontostephanoi and Kamytzai in the Meander valley, the Raoul near the Kallipolis peninsula, and the Branas and Kantakouzenos families in the Peloponnesos. Lands belonging to Empress Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera (in Thessaly) and to her daughter Irene (in the Peloponnesos) are also mentioned. Oikonomides argues that the *Partitio* was created on the basis of the final tax-levies received by Alexios IV (Sept. 1203) and that the areas omitted in the text were already outside imperial control in 1203.

ED. "Partitio terrarum Imperii Romanie," ed. A. Carile, *StVen* 7 (1965) 125–305.
LIT. N. Oikonomides, "La décomposition de l'Empire byzantin . . . A propos de la 'Partitio Romaniae,'" 15 *CEB, Rapports et co-rapports*, 1.1 (Athens 1976). –C.M.B.

PARTNERSHIP (*κοινωνία*). In Roman and Justinianic law (*Digest* 17.2) *societas* or *koinonia* referred to the partnership of two or more people entered into by private CONTRACT, founded for the realization of common profits and for division of losses. It is carefully distinguished (*Digest* 17.2.31) from *communio* (common ownership, *Digest* 10.3), which could come into being through a *societas* (when there was newly acquired property or profit) or without it (e.g., where there were several survivors after a death who shared the inheritance). Later law did not introduce a Greek term to correspond to *communio* and spoke only of *to koinon pragma* (cf. *Basil.* 12.1,2). In spite of the risk of confusion—since the individual partner as well as the individual owner of common property was called a *socius* (*koinonos*)—later law appears to have maintained consistently the difference between partnership and common ownership (cf. *Ecloga* 16.2; *Nov. Leo VI* 103; *Peira* 21). In particular, various other forms of common ownership such as the VILLAGE COMMUNITY, guild community, or monastic community (e.g., the *koinotes tou Hagiou Orous*) were not treated according to the rules of the law of partnership or common ownership, indicating that the norms cited for the *koinonia* were important mainly for partnerships for commercial gain, while the old proscriptions on sharing remained in force for common ownership. A formula for the division of pieces of land has survived (Sathas, *MB* 6:631f). In monastic documents *koinonia* and its derivatives appear only in the sense of "togetherness."

Examples of Partnerships. Some evidence for Byz. partnership is preserved in several papyri of the 6th C. and in various later documents, some of them Italian. A contract between two carpenters of 568 establishes a partnership of labor, not capital; the partners had to share the profits equally after deducting their expenses; they also agreed to work with the efficiency expected of craftsmen of Antinoe. Partnerships of the 14th–15th C. involved a workshop, a boat, salt-pans (in Thessalonike); these partnerships were of limited character and of relatively short duration; the partners kept separate accounting books. Textbooks of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS often deal with the foundation and dissolution (*dialysis*) of trade associations.

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:409–15 (§267). Fikhman, *Egipet* 110–14. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 68–83. A. Steinwenter, "Aus dem Gesellschaftsrechte der Papyri," in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1936; rp. Aalen 1974) 502–04. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Ekonomičeskie vozzrenija L'va VI," *VizVrem* 15 (1959) 41f. –A.K.

PASCHAL II (Rainerius), pope (from 13/14 Aug. 1099); born Bieda di Galeata, Romagna, died Rome 21 Jan. 1118. The main problem during Paschal's pontificate was the struggle against the German kings Henry IV and Henry V. The pope was taken prisoner in 1111 and was forced to submit; he later repudiated his decision and was compelled to leave Rome, to which he returned to die a week later. When Paschal fought for papal primacy, it was against the Western emperor and the councils (U.-R. Blumenthal, *ArchHistPont* 16 [1978] 67–92) rather than Constantinople.

The evidence concerning Paschal's relations with Alexios I is preserved in Western chronicles in a legendary form. According to them, Paschal supported BOHEMUND of Antioch against Byz.—whether he acted consciously or was deceived by Bohemund remains unclear. ALBERT OF AACHEN reports that in 1102 a certain Manasses, bishop of an unknown Barzenona, denounced Alexios before the pope. This prepared the way for Bohemund's arrival in 1105, when his desire to start a new crusade met with enthusiastic response from Paschal. Bohemund's expedition directed against Byz. failed in 1108. The *Chronicle* of MONTECASSINO reports that in 1112 the Byz. emperor suggested UNION OF THE CHURCHES to Paschal in exchange for his coronation with the crown of the Western Empire, for which he was ready to enter Rome. P. Classen (*JMedHist* 3 [1977] 207–12) denies the historicity of the *Chronicle*. Some negotiations did occur, however, and Paschal's utter humiliation by Henry V and his negotiations were followed by the mission of Peter GROSSOLANO to Constantinople.

LIT. C. Servatius, *Paschalis II.* (Stuttgart 1979). J.G. Rowe, "Paschal II, Bohemund of Antioch and the Byzantine Empire," *BullJRylandsLib* 49 (1966–67) 165–202. Idem, "Pascal II and the Relation between the Spiritual and Temporal Powers in the Kingdom of Jerusalem," *Speculum* 32 (1957) 470–501. –A.K.

PASCHAL CHRONICLE. See CHRONICON PASCHALE.

PASSIO. See MARTYRION.

PASSION OF CHRIST, a term encompassing the last episodes of his life from the AGONY IN THE GARDEN of Gethsemane to the CRUCIFIXION. The Passion (πάθος, "suffering") was a sacrifice that Christ accepted voluntarily, and it resulted in the redemption of mankind from the damnation of ORIGINAL SIN. Having rejected at an early period the docetic teaching that the Passion was only an appearance of suffering, Christian thought encountered the problem of whether it was the human or divine nature of Christ that experienced the Passion. Pseudo-Athanasios of Alexandria, in his *Dialogue on the Holy Trinity* (PG 28:1253D–1256A), refuted the views of APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia that it was the Logos who had suffered and proclaimed the concept that Christ (Logos) had borne the Passion "not by his nature but by *oikonomia*," or because of his sympathy with mankind. Some Old Testament images—the paschal lamb, the sacrifice of Isaac, Daniel in the lions' den, Jonah and the whale—served as PREFIGURATIONS of the Passion, and ritual FASTING was perceived as a preparation for the Passion. The cult of the CROSS emphasized the liberating role of the Passion, and martyrdoms were construed as imitations of Christ so that it is often difficult to distinguish the historical event of martyrs' deaths from hagiographical interpretation of the acts of MARTYRS as a repetition of Christ's suffering. Christ's Passion incited manifold literary works (P. Pseutonkas, *Hai peri staurou kai pathous tou Kyriou homiliai* [Thessalonike 1975]), e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON.

Representation in Art. The events of Christ's Passion—including all of Holy Week (ENTRY INTO JERUSALEM through ANASTASIS) or only Holy Thursday through Easter (Last Supper through Anastasis)—were depicted less frequently in Early Christian art than either the INFANCY OF CHRIST or his MIRACLES, but they constitute the very heart of post-Iconoclastic imagery. Initially, Passion scenes emphasized Christ's triumph over death and entry into kingship, as on 4th-C. "Passion" sarcophagi, where scenes of his betrayal, arrest, and trial accompany triumphal motifs like the cross flanked by birds, the Entry into Jerusalem, or the TRADITIO LEGIS. Sacrificial scenes, esp. the Crucifixion, appear only in the 5th C., and then sparingly. Passion cycles of the 6th C. (ROSSANO GOSPELS; Sant'Apollinare Nuovo in RAVENNA), though dwelling on Christ's humanity, omit the Crucifixion, and the Monza AMPULLAE show the crucified Christ in the triumphal form of an *imago clipeata.* The fully developed Crucifixion scene appears late in the 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.13r). Three icons at Sinai dated to the 7th–8th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* nos. B32, B36, B50) isolate Christ, Mary, and John in a composition thereafter standard for Crucifixion icons. Christ is shown dead, emphasizing his sacrifice.

The theme of God's human death dominates post-Iconoclastic Passion imagery, generating compositions of great physical and emotional poignancy. Monumental cycles of the 10th and 11th C. focus on the GREAT FEASTS, but MSS, ivories, and panel paintings develop a rich vocabulary of satellite images. The marginal PSALTERS are esp. interesting, showing already in the 9th C. the elevation of the cross, Christ receiving the vinegar, the lance-thrust, and—in the 11th C.—Christ ascending the cross. Other powerful compositions created in the 10th–11th C. were inspired by sermons and hymns: the DEPOSITION FROM THE CROSS, the Holy Women mourning Christ's body (see MYRROPHOROI), the Virgin's lament over it (the Threnos), its anointment on the stone of unction, Mary fainting beneath the cross. Such imagery was incorporated in the 11th-C. monastic liturgies, which in turn generated the great Komnenian Passion icons: the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, the MAN OF SORROWS, the VIRGIN OF THE PASSION. During the 12th C., emotionally charged scenes like the Deposition, Threnos, and Entombment penetrated the liturgically focused monumental cycles (see NEREZI), and late 12th-C. Gospel books assembled extensive Passion cycles. Yet lengthier cycles emerged in Palaiologan mural painting, esp. in Serbian churches, where the Passion unfolds in some 20 scenes.

LIT. D. Pallas, *Die Passion und Bestattung Christi in Byzanz* (Munich 1965). I. Hausherr, "L'imitation de Jésus-Christ dans la spiritualité byzantine," in *Études de spiritualité orientale* (Rome 1969) 217–45. Millet, *Recherches* 255–554. Maguire, "Depiction of Sorrow." –G.P., A.W.C.

PASTOPHORIA (*παστοφόρια*). In the singular form, in the Old Testament, the term denoted the treasury and the priests' quarters in the temple of Solomon. Pastophoria are first mentioned in the 4th-C. *Apostolic Constitutions* (2.57.3) and described as a sacristy consisting of two parts located at the eastern part of the church building.

In scholarly literature the term is used to designate two auxiliary chambers within a church building used as sacristies, the *diakonikon* (or *skeuophylakion*) and the PROTHESIS. They commonly flank the apse and sometimes form with it the tripartite sanctuary. This arrangement appears to have had its origins in northern Syria. The term *diakonikon*, found in authors from the 4th C. onward, designated the sacristy where sacred vessels were kept; it was used by deacons, thus explaining its name. In the early period it could be a separate building, as in the vita of Sabas by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (102.4). The term *skeuophylakion* (lit. "place to keep the vessels") appears by the 7th C.; it may also have originally been a separate building. The *prothesis* was the eucharistic bread, the table on which the offertory was performed, and the sacristy on the north side of the bema where the eucharistic elements were prepared. The name *diakonikon* came to be restricted to the corresponding sacristy south of the apse, used for purposes that varied from place to place. Liturgical commentaries interpreted the *prothesis* rite as representing the self-emptying of Jesus (*kenosis*: Phil 2:5–11) in his birth and death, and the *prothesis* chamber as an analogue of Bethlehem and Calvary (PG 140:429C–432A; 155:348AC). In Palaiologan art, accordingly, it was sometimes decorated with an image of the dead Christ or MAN OF SORROWS. Pastophoria were accessible from the aisles of the church and communicated directly with the apse or bema. They account for the triple apses typical of Byz. churches from the 9th C. onward.

LIT. G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983). Mathews, *Early Churches* 105–07, 155–62. Taft, *Great Entrance* 178–91, 200–203. Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 61–65. –R.F.T., W.L., M.J.

PATELLARIA (Πατελλαρία, mod. Pantelleria), volcanic island about 100 km southwest of Sicily. Between the late 7th and the 8th C. the classical name Cossyra was changed to Patellaria, a word probably derived from *patella*, a concave dish used for the production of salt. During the 8th and early 9th C. Patellaria served the Byz. government as a place of exile. In that period, a Byz. monk, John, perhaps a refugee from Iconoclasm, founded a Greek monastery on Patellaria. The monastery's *typikon*, only part of which is preserved in Church Slavonic translation (I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav'* [*tipik'*] [Moscow 1885] 442–45), is mainly based on the monastic rule of Pachomios. John and his successor Basil were locally venerated as saints. The Arabs conquered the island between 836 and 864, and Byz. never recovered it.

LIT. G. Scalia, "Le Kuriate e Pantelleria," *Bulletin du Cange* 43 (1984) 65–100. A. Acconcia Longo, *Analecta hymnica Graeca e codicibus eruta Italiae inferioris, x: Canones Iunii* (Rome 1972) 163–76, 375–81. –V.v.F.

PATEN AND ASTERISKOS (δίσκος, ἀστερίσκος, lit. "little star") were essential LITURGICAL VESSELS: the first was a flat plate with high sides, which held the bread of the EUCHARIST, while the second was a raised metal "star," which stood on the plate and supported a protective veil (*diskokalymma*) over the sacrament. The author of the church history ascribed to GERMANOS I compared the paten to the hands of Joseph of Arimathea and Nikodemos who removed Christ's body from the cross and to "the circle of heaven . . . enclosing Christ the intelligible sun" (ed. N. Borgia, ch.38, p.31.11–16). The earliest extant example of the paten is in the 4th-C. Durobrivae Treasure, of the *asteriskos* in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE. Many silver patens bearing prominent dedicatory inscriptions and large engraved crosses survive in the BETH MISONA TREASURE, the KAPER KORAON TREASURE (which also has two patens showing the Communion of the Apostles), and other treasures. The paten also functioned with the CHALICE with which it was verbally linked—as a *diskopoterion*—from at least the 7th C., when an archdeacon is known to have obtained such a set in Constantinople for the monastery of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON (vita, ch.42.1–5).

Patens from the 10th C. onward often display a lobed border reminiscent of early Christian offering TABLES (*Treasures* 3:20) and a eucharistic inscription quoted from the Liturgy of St. Basil. A gold paten found in Preslav is decorated with a cross, while others depict Christ, the Last Sup-

per, the Crucifixion, the Man of Sorrows, or a church's patron saint. An elaborate example in Venice (*Treasury S. Marco,* no.18) is carved in alabaster and mounted in gilded silver with enamel, rock crystals, and pearls. A superb paten in Halberstadt Cathedral is made of repoussé silver (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, no.136), while ordinary examples were of beaten bronze with engraved decoration. Gold or silver gilded *asteriskoi* are recorded together with patens in INVENTORIES. Other *asteriskoi* were of bronze.

LIT. Mango, *Silver* 78–86, 159–76, 253. *DOCat* 1, nos. 89–90. A. Grabar in H.R. Hahnloser, *Il Tesoro di San Marco* (Florence 1971) nos. 67, 69, 70.
–M.M.M., L.Ph.B.

PATERIK (from Gr. PATERIKA), Slavonic name for any of various hagiographic and apophthegmatic collections. The translated *pateriki* include versions of the *Spiritual Meadow* of John MOSCHOS (*Sinajskij Paterik*), the *Lausiac History* of PALLADIOS of Galatia (*Egipetskij Paterik*), and anonymous APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM (*Skitskij Paterik* and *Azbučno-Ierusalimskij Paterik*; see M. Capaldo, W. Veder in *Polata kŭnigopis'naja* 4 [March 1981] 26–78). In the literature of Rus' (see RUS', LITERATURE OF) the *Paterik* of the Kievan Caves monastery contains tales of the monastery's history and inhabitants; it was ostensibly compiled as a correspondence between Bp. Simon of Vladimir and the monk Polikarp in the mid-1220s. Polikarp cited *Sinajskij Paterik* and *Skitskij Paterik*, and the work also echoes motifs of other translated *pateriki*, as well as EPHREM THE SYRIAN and perhaps some pseudepigrapha (G. Lenhoff, *Russian History* 10 [1983] 141–53). The Kievan *Paterik* gives some information on Greeks in Kiev, esp. those hired from Constantinople to build and decorate the monastery's Church of the Dormition (founded 1073); it also refers occasionally to Byz. internal affairs (e.g., on JEWS in the empire). Despite its reliance on Byz. literary models, the Kievan *Paterik* contains substantial quasi-historical narratives dealing with specifically Kievan society.

ED. *Kyjevo-Pečers'kyj Pateryk*, ed. D.I. Abramovyč (Kiev 1931); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Das Paterikon des Kiever Hohlenklosters* (Munich 1964). *The 'Paterik' of the Kievan Caves Monastery*, tr. M. Heppell (Cambridge, Mass., 1989).

LIT. F. Bubner, *Das Kiever Paterikon: Eine Untersuchung zu seiner Struktur und den literarischen Quellen* (Heidelberg 1969). W. Gesemann, "Vergleichende Analyse der Originalität des Kievo-Pečersker Paterikons," in *Slavistische Studien zum IX. internationalen Slavenkongress in Kiev 1983*, ed. R. Olesch (Cologne-Vienna 1983) 129–43.
–S.C.F.

PATERIKA (πατερικά, usually as an adjective with βιβλία, "[the books about] the fathers"), a designation of hagiographical texts often of apophthegmatic type without special differentiation; the term was in use by the 7th C., when LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS related that John Eleemon "read many *paterika*." According to Theophanes the Confessor, Constantine V burned many monastic books and *paterika*, as well as relics. The *Typikon of St. Sabas* mentions *paterika* for the whole year. The term was taken over by Church Slavonic as PATERIK.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Leontios von Neapolis* (Freiburg-Leipzig 1893) 184f.
–A.K.

PATER PNEUMATIKOS (πατὴρ πνευματικός), spiritual father or confessor. In principle, only priests and HIEROMONACHOI were permitted to hear CONFESSION, but in fact simple monks also served as confessors, as is emphasized in the *Letter on Confession* of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN (ed. K. Holl, *Enthusiasmus und Bussgewalt beim griechischen Mönchtum* [Leipzig 1898] 110–27). Thus in the mid-10th C. PAUL OF LATROS heard a peasant's confession and imposed on him a penitence of three years (vita, ch.32, pp.142f). It was customary for the HEGOUMENOS of a male monastery to serve as confessor to his monastic community, even if he was not a priest (although this latter practice was contrary to canon law). At nunneries, on the other hand, the *hegoumene* was prohibited from hearing confession (even though in the *typikon* for the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY [ed. Gautier, 53.600] she is termed *meter pneumatike*), and a priest came from outside to hear the nuns' confessions. The Kecharitomene *typikon* (p.59.721–26) specified that all the nuns were to have the same confessor and that he should be a EUNUCH. He was also responsible for conducting the election of a new *hegoumene*. At the LIPS nunnery the confessor (who could be either a solitary or a cenobitic monk) usually came once a month for three days, but would make extra visits if the need arose (*Typikon*, ed. Delehaye, chs. 11–13). At this

convent the spiritual father was also charged with the investigation of an incompetent or unworthy mother superior. The relationship between a highborn nun and her *pater pneumatikos* is well illustrated by the correspondence between Irene CHOUMNAINA and her two successive spiritual directors in the 14th C.

Symeon the Theologian strongly emphasized the role of the *pater pneumatikos* and promoted the veneration of his spiritual father, Symeon the Eulabes. This cult of individual, personal, extrahierarchical relations between the spiritual father and son elicited criticism from the patriarch of Constantinople, and Symeon the Theologian was temporarily sent into retirement. Some monks served as the spiritual advisers of secular dignitaries and emperors, for example, Ioannikios in the case of Alexios I Komnenos (An.Komn. 1:32.3–5).

LIT. J. van Rossum, "Priesthood and Confession in St. Symeon the New Theologian," *SVThQ* 20 (1976) 220–28. H. Delehaye, *Mélanges d'hagiographie grecque et latine* (Brussels 1966) 101f. –A.M.T., A.K.

PATIR (*τοῦ Πατρός*; cf. W. Holtzmann, *BZ* 26 [1926] 341.32), site in Italy of the Greek monastery of S. Maria, about 8 km west of ROSSANO; usually called the New Hodegetria of Rossano. It was founded during the early years of the 12th C. by the Calabrian monk Bartholomew of Simeri, whose vita (*BHG* 235) describes the life of anchorites in the mountains near Rossano and the establishment of Patir. The patron of the monastery was the admiral Christodoulos, a high official of Greek descent at the Norman court of Sicily who was titled *protonobelissimos*. Despite the resistance of the Greek archbishop of Rossano, Nicholas Maleinos, Bartholomew placed the new foundation under the protection of Rome and was granted privileges by Pope PASCHAL II (in 1105) as well as by Norman authorities. Nevertheless Bartholomew did not sever all ties with Byz.; his hagiographer relates that he visited Alexios I in Constantinople and received there gifts—icons, MSS, and sacred vessels. The hagiographer also reports that a rich *patrikios* donated the monastery of St. Basil on Mt. Athos to Bartholomew.

Throughout the 12th C. Patir had an important Greek scriptorium. Many MSS from the monastery are now in the Vatican Library. The documents from Patir's archive (the earliest is of 1083) are scattered through various collections. The monastery functioned until 1806.

Art and Architecture. The church of Bartholomew's monastery survives. It is characteristically Norman, with three basilicas. A 16th-C. description mentions frescoes in the central cupola, which seems to have been since replaced. The fragmentary mosaic pavement is dated by the inscription of the mid-12th-C. Abbot Blasius.

SOURCE. *AASS* Sept. 8:810–26.

LIT. P. Batiffol, *L'abbaye de Rossano* (Paris 1891). L.R. Ménager, "Notes et documents sur quelques monastères de Calabre à l'époque normande," *BZ* 50 (1957) 333–53. S. Lucà, "Rossano, il Patir e lo stile rossanese," *RSBN* 22–23 (1985–86) 93–170. C.A. Willemsen, D. Odenthal, *Kalabrien: Schicksal einer Landbrücke* (Cologne 1966) 101–06. –V.v.F., D.K.

PATMOS (*Πάτμος*), island in the Dodekanese, near the coast of Asia Minor. Little known in antiquity, Patmos was reputedly the place where the exiled St. John the Apostle (also called the Theologian) wrote the APOCALYPSE (Rev 1:9–10) and, according to one tradition, the Fourth Gospel (N. Ševčenko, in *I. Mone Hagiou Ioannou tou Theologou—900 Chronia istorikes martyrias* [Athens 1989] 169–78). In the 10th C. (?) John KAMINIATES (57.10–13) described Patmos as a waterless island where the Arab fleet stopped on its way back from Thessalonike. In 1088 Alexios I gave Patmos to CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS, who founded the monastery of St. John the Theologian there (see below). A land survey of the late 11th C. calculates the area of Patmos as 3,860 *modioi* (an incredibly low figure), of which only 627 *modioi* were arable and only 160 could be plowed by oxen (Dölger, *Beiträge* 86f).

From the end of the 11th C. onward Patmos was the object of many attacks, e.g., of TZACHAS ca.1090 and of Spanish Arabs during the reign of Manuel I. The *Diegesis* of a Patmian monk, Theodosios, relates that Philip II of France stopped at Patmos in 1191 and offered 30 golden Arabic coins as a gift to the monks. Patmos was taken by the Venetians in 1207. Following the fall of Constantinople, the Ottoman sultan Mehmed II in Aug.–Sept. 1454 granted privileges to "Matyos" (Matthew), metropolitan of Myra and *kathegoumenos* of Patmos, delegating him to collect the island's taxes. In 1461 the monastery came under papal patronage (G. Hofmann, *OC* 11 [1928] 48f).

Monastery of St. John the Theologian. Despite the official encouragement and privileges granted to Christodoulos by Emp. Alexios I, the initial settlement of monks on the uninhabited and waterless island in 1088 was troubled. Christodoulos immediately began the construction of the monastery and its high defensive walls on a mountain peak dominating a view of the harbor. He composed three sets of rules for his new foundation: the *Hypotyposis* (1091), the *Diatheke* (Testament), and the *Kodikellos* (1093). Discontent among his followers, however, led him to abandon the island in 1092 and move to Euboea. Only after his death in 1093 did monks return with his body and resume work on the monastery. The earliest structures, the domed cross-in-square *katholikon* and the refectory, are unpretentious in design and masonry and use a considerable amount of early Christian *spolia*; none shows any signs of imperial involvement. The monastery, which had become stauropegial by 1132, began to flourish in the 12th C., aided by the customs exemptions granted to its boats, the revenues from its properties in Asia Minor, Crete, and nearby islands, and the growing fame of St. Christodoulos's relics, which reportedly possessed healing power. Its *hegoumenoi* went on to high posts elsewhere (Leontios became patriarch of Jerusalem between 1174 and 1176). The monastery's increased connection with larger metropolitan centers in this period is confirmed by the sophisticated style and program of the fresco decoration of the refectory and of the chapel that was built ca.1185 onto the south flank of the church and dedicated not to the Virgin but to Leontios (D. Mouriki, *DChAE*[4] 14 [1987–88] 205–63). Around this time the refectory was vaulted and repainted (still other frescoes there belong to the late 13th C.), the esonarthex of the church was built, and possibly also the exonarthex and the tomb chapel of St. Christodoulos off its south end. An INVENTORY drawn up in 1200 attests to the existence of the monastic library in this period: about 330 MSS are listed, along with numerous icons, metalwork objects, and ecclesiastical vestments (ed. C. Astruc, *TM* 8 [1981] 15–30). Other catalogs also survive, from 1355 and 1382. The monastery apparently had its own scriptorium. The rich archive of the acts of Patmos contains many imperial privileges, land surveys, and private acts revealing the economic growth of the monastery in the 12th–13th C.

A cave located down the hillside from the monastery came to be associated with the writings of St. John and gradually emerged as a second focus of interest on the island. A fresco in the cave showing John dictating to Prochoros dates from the late 12th C.

Though the wealth of the monastery and the fame of Christodoulos's relics drew the attacks of pirates, Arabs, Turks, and various Westerners, and though the monastery underwent hard times in the late 13th–15th C., it was never taken by force; this, plus its renewed prosperity in Ottoman times, has meant that its rich archives, dating back to the 11th C., and its collections of relics, icons, church treasures, and MSS have been preserved to a remarkable degree.

SOURCE. *Patmou Engrapha*, vols. 1–2.

LIT. T. Stone, *Patmos*[2] (Athens 1984). J. Schmidt, *RE* 18 (1949) 2174–91. E. Malamut, *Les îles de l'Empire byzantin. VIII^e–XII^e siècles*, vol. 2 (Paris 1988) 446–53. A. Komines, ed., *Patmos, Treasures of the Monastery* (Athens 1988). Idem, *Patmiake Bibliotheke* (Athens 1988). S. Papadopoulos, *The Monastery of Saint John the Theologian*[4] (Patmos 1987). A. Orlandos, *He architektonike kai hai byzantinai toichographiai tes mones tou Theologou Patmou* (Athens 1970). M. Chatzidakis, *Eikones tes Patmou* (Athens 1977). –T.E.G., N.P.Š.

PATRAS (Πάτραι), city in the northwestern Peloponnesos, at the mouth of the Gulf of Corinth. Its location, astride important east-west commercial routes, and the cult of St. ANDREW gave it significance. It apparently survived the Slavic invasions, remaining in Byz. hands; ca.805 the city was saved from an attack by Arabs and Slavs, reputedly through the intervention of St. Andrew; thereafter the Slavs were obliged to maintain officials and envoys passing through Patras so that the metropolis was exempted from this burden (*De adm. imp.* 49.65–75). The noble widow DANELIS accumulated a considerable fortune there and possessed numerous slaves. She greeted Basil (I) as the future emperor when he was sent to Patras by Michael III on state business (*TheophCont* 226–28).

The bishop of Patras, originally suffragan of Corinth, was elevated to metropolitan rank, perhaps ca.805; from that time he is identified as metropolitan of ACHAIA (*Notitiae CP* 2.39) and he was able to contest control of the Peloponnesos with his former superior. By the early 10th C. the bishops of Sparta, Methone, Korone, and Bolaine

were subject to Patras (7.549–55). The bishop also had unusual political and economic power.

The Crusaders took Patras in 1205 and created a barony there under the jurisdiction of the principality of Achaia. The Latin archbishopric of Patras was established ca.1207. In 1267 the last baron, William II Aleman, sold his fief to the Latin archbishop of Patras for 16,000 hyperpers. From then until the early 15th C. the bishop was effectively an independent prince. At that time Venetian influence grew and they temporarily held the city; Constantine (XI) Palaiologos took Patras in 1430, but in 1460 it fell to the Turks.

Near the modern Church of St. Andrew is a subterranean fountain decorated with polychrome marbles; coins of the 4th C. and a tomb were found associated with it. Also known in Patras are a *hagiasma* of the 15th C. and an Early Christian basilica. The fortification of the citadel was probably carried out by the 6th C., although there was considerable rebuilding in the 13th and 15th C.

LIT. H. Saranti-Mendelovici, "A propos de la ville de Patras aux 13e–15e siècles," *REB* 38 (1980) 219–32. V. Laurent, "La date de l'érection des métropoles de Patras et de Lacédémoine," *REB* 21 (1963) 130–36. K.N. Triantaphyllou, "Hellenes monachoi tes N. Italias kataphygontes eis Patras ton ennatou aionos," *La Chiesa greca in Italia*, vol. 3 (Padua 1973) 1085–94. E. Gerland, *Neue Quellen zur Geschichte des lateinischen Erzbistums Patras* (Leipzig 1903). Andrews, *Castles* 116–29. –T.E.G.

PATRIA (πάτρια), the name of a literary genre devoted to local topography, monuments, history, and legends. The term appears first in Kallinikos of Petra, who lived under Diocletian and wrote *On the Patria of Rome,* fragments of which have survived. The 5th–6th-C. *patria* of Tarsos, Anazarbos, Berytus, and Nicaea (by a certain Claudian), those of Thessalonike, Miletos, Tralles, Aphrodisias, and Nakle in Syria (by CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS), *patria* of Hermoupolis and of Alexandria by Hermias of Hermoupolis and Horapollon, respectively, are mentioned in various sources (Photios, the *Souda*) but lost. Several *Isaurika* were composed by Pamprepios, Kandidos, Christodoros, and Kapiton. Traces of works of this genre can be found in Agathias, Malalas, and some other writers. After the 6th C. the genre of provincial *patria* disappeared, but the local chronicle of the capital seems to be represented by the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE.

LIT. Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 9–13. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:802f, 960. –A.K.

PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, or *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum*, conventional titles of a collection of texts devoted to the history and the monuments of Constantinople. It contains the PATRIA of Constantinople by the "illustris" HESYCHIOS of Miletos, revised in the 10th C.; the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI; the *Patria* of ca. 995; the *Story of the Construction of Hagia Sophia*, written between the reign of Justin II and 995, probably in the 9th C.; and a topographical survey dedicated to Alexios I. To this group is related a post-Byz. text called "A Miraculous Story," probably by John Malaxos, about the column of Xerolophos in Constantinople (J. Paramelle, G. Dagron, *TM* 7 [1979] 491–523). The *Patria* contains unique information about the origins of Constantinople and about its monuments, but sometimes fact is difficult to distinguish from Constantinopolitan legend. According to Dagron, the political purpose of the *Patria* was to glorify the city and to debase the emperor, who does not appear in these texts either as the master of the Hippodrome or of Hagia Sophia, two major imperial strongholds according to *De ceremoniis*. In the *Patria* the emperor is portrayed not in the midst of sumptuous ceremonial but as a private, "domesticated" individual whose main function is as a chronological indicator.

ED. *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum,* ed. T. Preger, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1901–07; rp. New York 1975). *Vizantijsko-slavjanskie skazanija o sozdanii chrama Sv. Sofii Caregradskoj,* ed. S.G. Vilinskij (Odessa 1900).

LIT. G. Dagron, *Constantinople imaginaire* (Paris 1984). E. Vitti, *Die Erzählung über den Bau der Hagia Sophia in Konstantinopel* (Amsterdam 1986). R. Marichal, "La construction de Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople dans l'Anonyme grec (Xe siècle?) et les versions vieux-russes," *BS* 21 (1960) 238–59. –A.K.

PATRIA POTESTAS (ἐξουσία). Under Roman law, the descendants of a *pater familias,* even if of age, remained under his authority until the father died or until he emancipated them. In the Byz. period, the personal aspect of the *patria potestas* was essentially reduced to the principle that an *hypexousios* (i.e., someone subject to authority) can marry only with the father's consent (cf., e.g., *Peira* 1.1), but when it came to property rights, the principle was maintained that those subject to

authority could not acquire their own property except for a part of the PECULIUM (cf. *Ecloga* 16, *Epanagoge* 31, *Prochiron* 22, *Tractatus de peculiis*). The post-Justinianic sources provide no certain information on the manner, the reason, and time of the release from *patria potestas*, though they suggest that the *patria potestas* ends with the attainment of majority. Whether marriage brought with it the release from *patria potestas* remains controversial: the *Prochiron* (26.7) repeats the old law, by which even a married (minor?) son was still subject to the *patria potestas*, but novel 25 of Leo VI defines a son of the house as already emancipated if he lives an independent life with the (tacit) agreement of the person in authority; this should hold even when he is not married. At marriage a daughter is transferred from the *patria potestas* of her father (cf. *Peira* 49.9) to that of her husband, from which she is released if her husband goes bankrupt (cf. *Peira* 25.9 and 38.6) or if the marriage is terminated (cf. *Peira* 38.9 and 45.8).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 106–15. –M.Th.F.

PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL, sometimes called the "Patriarchal Academy," modern term for an academic institution organized in Constantinople in the 12th C. Its foundation was laid in 1107 by Alexios I, who established three positions for DIDASKALOI: the teachers of the Gospel, of the Apostle, and of the Psalter. These presumably taught theology, mainly to future clergy or monks. Probably by the mid-12th C. the office of the MAISTOR TON RHETORON was added. The Patriarchal School was located in Hagia Sophia; it is not clear whether some adjacent church schools, in which grammar *inter alia* was taught, were connected with it. The *didaskaloi,* who belonged to the corps of deacons of Hagia Sophia, often ended their careers as bishops in the provinces.

The question of the existence of the Patriarchal School prior to 1107 has been hotly debated. Some scholars (e.g., Dvornik) assume the uninterrupted existence of a theological academy from the days of Constantine I to 1453. As Lemerle (*Humanism* 105–07, 211–14) has demonstrated, however, the evidence for an earlier foundation of the Patriarchal School, such as the use of the term *oikoumenikos didaskalos,* is questionable; so too is Dvornik's hypothesis of a Photian reorganization of a previously established Patriarchal School (*AB* 68 [1950] 108–25). Moreover, the story of Leo III's execution of 12 *didaskaloi* has been shown to be an iconodule legend. Darrouzès thinks that the Patriarchal School flourished in the 12th C., but that some didascalic offices were previously in existence. Clearly the patriarchate must have had some institution for training clergy, though its nature may have changed through time.

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School." Darrouzès, *Offikia* 66–79. Beck, *Ideen,* pt.III (1966), 69–81. Speck, *Univ. von KP* 74–91. F. Dvornik, "Photius' Career in Teaching and Diplomacy," *BS* 34 (1973) 211–18. –A.K., R.B.

PATRIARCHATES. The term and its cognate "patriarch" were originally used to designate prominent and respected members of the episcopate (PG 36:485B). In the 6th C., the title of "patriarch" acquired its precise canonical sense by being applied particularly to the incumbents of the five major sees (JUSTINIAN I, nov.123.3). The term *patriarchate* (*πατριαρχεῖον*) designated in the 6th C. the residence of a patriarch (Malal. 468.7) and, thereafter, patriarchal see (e.g., pseudo-John of Damascus, PG 95:332C-D).

A general trend toward ecclesiastical centralization—the practice of grouping several provinces under one central authority—began in the 4th C. The bishops of ROME, ALEXANDRIA, and ANTIOCH were in fact exercising supra-METROPOLITAN jurisdiction beyond the limits of their own frontiers or adjoining provinces before 300. The status of these sees, however, was first recognized *de jure canonico* by NICAEA I (canon 6). In 381, at Constantinople I (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) this list was modified to include the DIOCESES of Thrace (Herakleia), Pontus (Caesarea in Cappadocia), and Asia (Ephesus) headed by "exarchs of dioceses." Likewise, the council decided to place Constantinople, as the newly emerging capital of the empire, second after Rome in order of precedence (but without extending its jurisdiction), while Alexandria was given third place (canon 3). In effect, the church was modeling its own organization on the civil diocesan division of the empire—the principle of political accommodation sanctioned earlier by Nicaea (canon 4). In the words of the church historian SOKRATES, the council had "constituted patriarchs" (Sokr. *HE* 5.8). This terminology was premature, since the primates of these dioceses were

in fact called EXARCHS. Besides, even though the canonical foundations for the erection of patriarchates had been laid, the system was not yet fully in place. This was achieved at the Council of CHALCEDON (451) when Thrace, Pontus, and Asia were placed under the jurisdiction of Constantinople, while JERUSALEM was added to the list (canon 28). The number of patriarchates was thus restricted to five and a precise order of precedence established: Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem.

The decision of 451 resolved the bitter struggle for hegemony among the sees; nonetheless, it also created a new rivalry. Alexandria had not in fact abandoned its claims to preeminence in the East. Hence its repeated and often successful attempts to thwart the rise of Constantinople. Therefore, canon 28, confirming Constantinople's jurisdiction over its neighboring territories, was a *de facto* challenge to Egypt's pretensions. Scholars are equally agreed (Dvornik, Hermann, Jugie, Meyendorff) that the canon was not intended to deny Rome's honorary PRIMACY among the patriarchates. Even so, a new rivalry, between Rome and Constantinople, was now generated. Fearing that Constantinople's new status might undermine its own position, Rome refused to ratify the canon. The Roman position emphasized that the "Petrine" criterion of apostolicity alone, that is, the founding of a see by Peter, was to determine patriarchal status. The idea of hierarchy of patriarchates was accepted by the secular authority, and Justinian I (nov. 131.2) placed Rome at the first place and Constantinople at the second, without mentioning other patriarchal sees. The struggle for primacy between Rome and Constantinople grew stronger, when the bishop of Constantinople claimed the epithet of the ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH. Political independence of Rome from Byz. contributed to its success in the struggle for primacy, however; therefore, by the 11th C. Byz. theoreticians elaborated the theory of PENTARCHY—the nominal equality of five patriarchates—even though by this time oriental patriarchates (Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem) had lost their significance and could not compete with Rome and Constantinople.

Besides the five traditional patriarchates, some new ones were created. In the West the title of patriarch was only a solemn epithet, and the patriarch of AQUILEIA/GRADO (since the 6th C.) was not the pope's rival. In the East new patriarchates emerged either in non-Orthodox churches (e.g., Armenian) or in Orthodox lands as a symbol of their political independence from Constantinople, as in Bulgaria (mid-13th C.) and Serbia under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966). J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au Concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82. T.A. Kane, *The Jurisdiction of the Patriarchs of the Major Sees in Antiquity and in the Middle Ages* (Washington, D.C., 1949). W. de Vries, *Rom und die Patriarchate des Ostens* (Freiburg-Munich 1963). –A.P., A.K.

PATRIKIA ZOSTE. See ZOSTE PATRIKIA.

PATRIKIOS (πατρίκιος), high-ranking DIGNITY etymologically connected with the Roman status of *patricius*. The dignity of *patrikios* was introduced by Constantine I as an honorific title without specific administrative functions; according to a 5th-C. historian (Zosim., bk.2.40.2), the *patrikios* was placed above the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. The importance of the *patrikios* increased in the West, where the title was bestowed in the 5th C. on powerful MAGISTRI MILITUM and in the 8th C. on Frankish kings. It had less importance in the East, where Justinian I made it available to all ILLUSTRES. In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. it occupies the place between *anthypatos* and *protospatharios*; in the 8th–10th C. this dignity was granted to the most important governors and generals. Depreciated thereafter, *patrikios* disappeared after the beginning of the 12th C.

Theodosios II tried to disqualify eunuchs from this title but in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 137.18) eunuch *patrikioi* hold a high place, before the *strategoi.* The insignia of the *patrikios* was an inscribed ivory tablet. The title of *protopatrikios* is attested between 364 and 711 (A. Karamaloude, *Symmeikta* 5 [1983] 161–68). The title *patrikia* designated the spouse or widow of a *patrikios* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 258–60), with the exception of ZOSTE PATRIKIA, which was a specific female dignity.

LIT. W. Heil, *Der konstantinische Patriziat* (Basel-Stuttgart 1966). Guilland, *Institutions* 2:132–69. Guilland, *Titres*, pts. VII–XIV. –A.K.

PATRIOTISM (φιλοπατρία). Local patriotism was inherited from the Roman Empire, persisted in hagiography's literary conventions (vitae sometimes praise a saint's birthplace), and spurred

rhetorical *ekphraseis* early and late in the empire's history, for example, Prokopios of Gaza and the *Nikaeus* of Theodore Metochites. It possibly nourished the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE, which may be a local Constantinopolitan reaction to imperial power (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 17–19), and may underlie geographic family names. Awareness of ROMANIA, a new cultural-political identity, fostered a second, transregional patriotism that drew on loyalty to the emperor, antibarbarism, a sense of Byz.'s atemporal universality closely connected with its christianizing mission, and shared cultural traditions. While the emperor's primordial role remained constant—the dialogue PHILOPATRIS (The Patriot) is mostly concerned with loyalty to an emperor, not to Byz.—the contribution of the other elements changed; for example, the Christian component merged with antibarbarism and became a militant hatred of "infidels" like Jews and Muslims (e.g., the "Christ-loving *tagmata*" of Constantine VII, ed. R. Vári, *BZ* 17 [1908] 75–85) and later of Latin or Armenian Christians.

The West perceived Byz. "Greekness" from the 8th C. and, refurbished by the Macedonian revival, HELLENISM slowly gained strength in Byz. patriotism. Sheer survival against overwhelming odds added a providential dimension: Byz. was "the only empire God has fixed indissoluble on earth" (Nicholas I Mystikos, ep.25.105–07). This combined with a sense of divine election and cultural superiority—theirs was the language of the Apostles and Homer—to swell Byz. arrogance toward the *barbaroi* (see BARBARIANS), even Orthodox ones. Expressions of patriotism peaked during crises (e.g., after Alaric's sack of Rome or the Latin sack of Constantinople), but late Byz. decline provoked a crisis in patriotism—how could the chosen people of an eternal empire be so maltreated by God (C.J.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73)? The response came in Plethon's relativizing the destiny of the empire (limited for Plethon to Greece and the capital, according to Beck, *Ideen*, pt.VI [1960], 91f) and the more traditional view of catastrophe as chastisement for sin. The latter reinforced Orthodoxy as a kind of surrogate patriotism allied with Greek culture, which, by its anti-Latin hatred, undermined the emperors' diplomatic efforts to seek union with the West in order to halt the Turkish advance.

LIT. K. Lechner, "Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner," (Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität, Munich, 1954). F. Paschoud, *Roma aeterna: Études sur le patriotisme romain dans l'Occident latin à l'époque des grandes invasions* (Rome 1967). H. Ahrweiler, *L'idéologie politique de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1975). –M.McC.

PATROCINIUM VICORUM (lit. "protection of estates"), a specific type of social PATRONAGE whereby a rural cultivator placed himself under the protection of a powerful patron (*patronus*), who received in exchange cash or (more commonly) possession of his client's land. It developed out of (and by the 4th C. largely displaced) the urban *patrocinium civitatis*. Patrons included military officials, civil bureaucrats, large landowners, and CURIALES; clients generally comprised free peasants or free COLONI (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.1), although ADSCRIPTICII and even slaves are also attested (*Cod.Just.* XI 54.1). Clients enjoyed patrons' influence in law courts, and *coloni* invoked their protection in disputes with landlords (Libanios, *On Patronage* [ed. Harmand 17–20]). Above all, patrons could reduce their clients' tax liabilities by pressuring officials of the fisc or—in the case of *curiales*—by controlling local assessment. The exact nature of the *patrocinium vicorum* remains the subject of considerable discussion, in particular whether it led to the transformation of free peasants into serfs of their patron or simply signified the transfer of properties that had been under the control of *curiales* to great landowners not restricted by urban organization (A. Kazhdan, *VDI* [1953] no.3, 102f).

The central government initially refused to accept the legality of *patrocinium vicorum*, instead prohibiting it as a form of tax evasion (*Cod.Theod.* XI 24.4). Consequently, ties of patronage often assumed the guise of a (nominal) sale of land to the patron who, in turn, leased it back to his client; after the client's death, however, his holding normally reverted to the patron, while his heirs became *coloni* (Salvian, *De gubernatione dei* in MGH *AuctAnt* 1:62f). Emp. Honorius legalized possession of lands acquired *sub patrocinio* prior to 397 and made patrons responsible for their clients' CAPITATIO. They were barred, however, from obtaining new lands in rural villages, and this prohibition was periodically renewed as late as Justinian I (nov.17).

LIT. P. Petit, *Libanius et la vie municipale à Antioche au IVe siècle après J.-C.* (Paris 1955) 372–82. I. Hahn, "Das bäuerliche Patrocinium in Ost und West," *Klio* 50 (1968) 261–76. A.R. Korsunskij, "Byli li *patrocinia vicorum* v Zapadnoj Rimskoj imperii?" *VDI* (1959) no.2, 167–73. –A.J.C.

PATRONAGE, SOCIAL (*προστασία*, Lat. *patrocinium*). A system of patron-client relationships developed in the late Roman Empire; Libanios delivered a special oration *On Patronage*, while imperial legislation vainly endeavored to prohibit the practice (see PATROCINIUM VICORUM). The word *prostasia* was also employed with the nontechnical meaning of support and protection (e.g., the vita of Patr. Eutychios, PG 86:2349D) and, metaphorically, for the protection of ANGELS.

In later centuries there is evidence for the existence of various forms of patronage (usually not designated by the term *prostasia*), such as the dependency of ANTHROPOI, FRIENDSHIP (*philia*), and esp. bureaucratic and imperial favoritism: thus Eustathios BOILAS calls the local governor and his family "patrons or lords" (*authentai*); Psellos considered a man without influential patrons to be insignificant and boasted of the patronage he exercised for his friends. Clienteles might also form a private "army" or HETAIREIA, although Byz. retinues seem to have been looser and less stable than their Western counterparts. The terminology of patronage was largely modeled on servile (DOULOI) or household (OIKEIOI) relations. The term *prostasia* itself survived into the late Byz. period, being applied primarily to the supervision of ecclesiastical and monastic institutions (*Docheiar.*, no.6.72, after 1118; *Lavra* 3, no.138.16, a.1360).

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XI (1965), 1–32. H. Ahrweiler, "Recherches sur la société byzantine au XIe siècle," *TM* 6 (1976) 108–10. Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 23–53. –A.J.C., A.K.

PATRONS AND PATRONAGE. No Byz. equivalent existed for these terms, although epithets such as donor (*doter*) and entrepreneur (*entalmatikos*) are occasionally found; in modern usage, the concept of patron implies much more than the legal status of the term KTETOR. The provision of funds to build or decorate a monument, to construct a charitable institution, or copy a MS may have been a gesture little different from a grant of land, but this in no way disqualifies patronage as an activity considered significant in its own time and as a field of modern study. Patrons made major contributions to ART, ARCHITECTURE, LITERATURE, and social welfare (PHILANTHROPY) throughout the history of the empire. The term *patron* is used here to denote an individual who conceived of a work, paid for its manufacture, or fundamentally affected its design. Yet founder and funder were by no means always the same person, so that the term patron may apply to one or more of the stages of creation.

Patronage of Art and Architecture. Beyond the expense of a monument and thus its degree of elaboration, it is often hard to identify the nature of the patron's intervention. Reflecting a cultural attitude toward production, literary sources attribute the creation of a work not to the architect or artist, but to an individual in political or monastic authority (THEODORE PSALTER) or to the purveyor of funds necessary to its undertaking. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II credits the emperor, rather than its scribe or painters, with "having created a book truly like unto heaven." Similarly, in an inscription at KASTORIA, the patron Theodore Lemniotes, addressing the *anargyroi* to whom his church was dedicated, declares "I paint the pictures of your miracles."

The patron was not always the source of ideas, much less of the details in a work. A donor's wishes were more likely to be expressed in its content than in its manner of fabrication. BASIL THE NOTHOS sponsored MSS in radically different "styles." Particularly in small communities, where commissions were insufficient to justify a resident artist, a patron would have to rely on distant craftsmen or itinerant artists who, albeit ready to adapt schemes of decoration to his wishes, brought with them their own manners of working. Even on objects for personal use, subject matter did not always reflect an individual's choice. The iconography of lead seals—the most "private" of commissioned objects—could be and was dictated in part by the tradition of a family and social group. In monumental painting, the presence of locally revered saints might indicate regional rather than personal devotion. Images containing the PORTRAIT of the patron—a favorite means of advertising an act of donation, veneration, or supplication—were as much determined by social convention as by the taste of an individual. Communal and cooperative patronage, phenomena observed in 6th-C. Palestine, 11th-C. Cappadocia and southern Italy, and 14th-C. Crete, might efface all but a donor's name from the work that resulted.

Nonetheless, the wishes of a mighty patron could carry great weight. The size and splendor of Jus-

tinian's Hagia Sophia, it has been suggested, were a response to ANICIA JULIANA's Church of St. Polyeuktos, while the Persian-looking sculpture found at the latter site might as well be an expression of personal taste as proof of the influx of foreign craftsmen.

The PERSONIFICATIONS of Megalopsychia ("magnanimity") and Love of Foundation (*pothos tes philoktistou*) in Anicia's DIOSKORIDES MS reflect Aristotelian ideas of VIRTUE, in which acts of patronage are duties required of the powerful. Similar attitudes are found in Gregory of Nazianzos's funeral oration on his father, a builder. But, progressively, Christian notions of philanthropy supplemented and then replaced classical impulses. By the 6th C., when the perpetuation of one's name was recognized as a main incentive to church building (proem to Justinian, nov.67), visions and miracles (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.6.6) were as likely to impel creation of a building as love of earthly renown.

Whatever its cause, widespread construction of churches and monasteries stimulated employment and the circulation of goods (Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 196–203). Professed motives for patronage—penance for a sin, thanksgiving for a cure, the desire for saintly intercession, or hope of one's own and one's relatives' salvation—display remarkable consistency whatever the medium, place, or period in which they were expressed. Widely as well as personally felt, such sentiments led to buildings and objects in which, material value aside, social distinctions are virtually invisible. Whether a man was a member of the civil or military aristocracy, whether a dignitary came from the eastern provinces or the capital, his rank and origin were revealed not in the work that he sponsored, but in the inscriptions that it might bear. Conventionally these subscribe to the topos of MODESTY and often show that a sponsor was content to be identified as a "restorer" or "second founder" (*anakainistes*). On the other hand, Eumathios Philokales and others were proud to confess responsibility for building a church "from the very foundations."

Patronage ran in families. Between ca.540 and 640 the lineal descendants of four or five clans continued to offer silver to their church at KAPER KORAON. From the 10th C. onward, deceased family members were assembled in mausoleums (in Constantinople, for example) as they had foregathered in life. In 12th-C. Kastoria successive generations of Lemniotai beautified the foundations of their predecessors. Beyond these microstructures, ethnic and other narrow groupings focused patronage at a particular site: Gregory PAKOURIANOS excluded Greeks from his foundation; Andronikos PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Thessalonike, supported the cloister of DIONYSIOU on Mt. Athos because he saw it as "a monastery of our kindred." Since conspicuous veneration was a socially approved habit, such displays entailed both ethical and paradigmatic consequences. Local priests seem always to have emulated their metropolitan superiors in this respect; from the 11th C. onward provincial magnates did likewise. When, in the 14th C., imperial sponsorship of art and architecture all but disappeared, its place was taken by commissions of aristocrats, bureaucrats, and monks. From the 12th C. onward, women, usually of noble birth, emerged in number as patrons.

The donations that funded construction or embellishment varied widely in scale. "Even the poorest" member of a congregation was expected to offer at least one pound of silver, according to SEVEROS of Antioch (PO 22:247). Almost contemporaneously, JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS" spent 26,000 solidi on S. Vitale in Ravenna. The exceptional sum of 288,000 solidi expended on Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, in 532 is put into perspective by the fact that his first consulship (521) cost Justinian the same amount and by the supposition that a "normal church" was built for 14,400 solidi (Hendy, *Studies* 201); a small provincial church might cost much less (100 solidi: *AASS* Mai. III:9*B). By no means were all offerings monetary: the people of Sparta collected building materials for a church for NIKON HO "METANOEITE," while local *archontes* hired masons and gave him land and two antique columns. Some founders actually supervised the construction of their buildings, a scruple that led to the death of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

The role of most patrons in their commissions is usually undetectable and, where recorded, often mythical. Direct complicity is probable in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, where the man's verses as well as his likeness are prominent. Yet the degree to which PHOTIOS or LEO OF OHRID participated in the works associated with their names remains problematic. The desire of Khan BORIS I for a hunting scene is plausible; his change of mind

and the picture of the Second Coming that ensued are best explained by Theophanes Continuatus (*TheophCont* 163.19–164.17) as the result of divine intervention. Part of the obscurity attaching to the creation of works of art, as against those of literature, lies in the nature of the medium: unlike writers, painters left no author's dedications or expressions of gratitude.

Patronage of Literature. The role of the patron of literary texts is relatively well known, thanks to their dedications and COLOPHONS. The emperor is often supposed to have played a leading role; in hagiographical texts there are many hints that they were commissioned by *hegoumenoi* of monasteries dedicated to particular saints. A change in the nature of patronage is evident in the 9th and 10th C.: patrons such as ARETHAS were more concerned with copying of MSS than with original creativity. In the 11th and esp. the 12th C., with the shift from the author-functionary (both secular and ecclesiastical) to the professional but begging author, the question of patronage acquired special significance: the uppermost echelon of the aristocracy assumed this role, alongside the emperor. It remains uncertain whether patrons of the 12th C. (many of them noblewomen, such as Anna KOMNENE or the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE) were surrounded by circles of literati or acted strictly as individuals (Mullett, *infra*); at any rate, relations between a poet and his patron often lasted for years and reveal an enduring fealty, as in the case of Manganeios PRODROMOS. In the 14th C. the emperor's and court's monopoly of patronage was challenged by provincial aristocrats (Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.I [1971], 69–92).

LIT. R. Cormack, "Patronage and New Programs of Byzantine Iconography," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 609–38. A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society: Motive Forces of Byzantine Patronage," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 759–87. M. Mullett, "Aristocracy and Patronage in the Literary Circles of Comnenian Constantinople," in *Byz. Aristocracy* 173–201. –A.C., A.K.

PAUL (Παῦλος, Lat. Paulus), a cognomen primarily in the Roman *gens Aemilia*, later a personal name. The transformation of the persecutor Saul into the apostle Paul in the New Testament signified the christianization of the name. It was widely used in the 4th (*PLRE* 1:683–85) and esp. 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:849–56); *PLRE* 2 includes 40 instances of this name, to which several known clergymen and monks should be added. Four early patriarchs of Constantinople (4th–8th C.) were called Paul, but no emperor. Sozomenos has nine Pauls (third only to EUSEBIOS [14] and JOHN [11]) and Prokopios lists ten Pauls, following John (32) and THEODORE (11). In Theophanes the Confessor, Paul retains only seventh place with the same number of individuals (19) as STEPHEN. Thereafter, the name quickly lost its earlier popularity, and Niketas Choniates mentions only one Paul, the apostle. In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Paul plunges to thirteenth place (16 cases), equal to Athanasios and Euthymios, while the later acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.), list a tiny number of Pauls, only five. The acts of Esphigmenou contain three or four Pauls of the 11th C. and only one peasant, Paul Sgouros, of ca.1300; the acts of Xeropotamou include five Pauls of the 10th–11th C. and only two of the later period (14th–15th C.). –A.K.

PAUL, formerly named Saul; apostle and saint; feastday 29 June. He was considered in Byz. as the author of 14 epistles included in the NEW TESTAMENT. These epistles were broadly commented on by John Chrysostom and Theodoret of Cyrrhus (their texts survive in full) and by many writers whose exegeses of Paul are known only from catenae (Didymos of Alexandria, Eusebios of Emesa, Apollinaris of Laodikeia, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Severianos of Gabala, etc.). The eventful life of Paul—his execution of Stephen the First Martyr, conversion on the road to Damascus, travels, martyrdom—inspired various apocryphal works: forged correspondence with Seneca, acts, and homilies. The major problem concerning Paul's reputation in Byz. was his relationship with PETER, who early became a symbol of Rome and the papacy. The Byz. insisted on their equality, called them both *koryphaioi* (princes of the apostles), and celebrated their feasts together; in addition to their common feastdays, Paul was celebrated on 1 Sept., in honor of his vision and conversion. On the other hand, Paul was esp. respected by sectarians, such as the Marcionites and PAULICIANS. Niketas Choniates stressed that Andronikos I was particularly fond of Paul's epistles and quoted them often.

Hagiographical tradition presents Paul as a bald man, three cubits tall, with gentle eyes and a white

complexion. John Chrysostom devoted several homilies to him to show that he was more significant than the heroes of the Old Testament: unlike NOAH, he built his ark not of planks but epistles and saved not his family but the whole *oikoumene*. Other eulogies of Paul were compiled by Proklos of Constantinople, Leo VI, Niketas Paphlagon, etc.

Representation in Art. Bearded, brown-haired, and balding, Paul joins Peter as the first of the APOSTLES to exhibit a distinct iconographic type. He appears with Peter *en buste* on 4th-C. commemorative medals and gold glass as well as in scenes of his arrest and of the TRADITIO LEGIS on "Passion" sarcophagi. Scenes involving Paul but not Peter first appear in the 5th C.: Florence, Carrand Diptych (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten,* no.108); murals in San Paolo fuori le Mura (ROME). His presence among the apostles, esp. in depictions of episodes preceding his conversion (e.g., APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION, ASCENSION, PENTECOST), signals the symbolic rather than historical function of the apostles as an image of the church. Paul figures extensively in Byz. ACTS cycles. These canonical scenes often recur in other contexts: his presence at the stoning of Stephen, his conversion and baptism, his preaching, the episodes at Lystra. He also appears alone or with Timothy in New Testament MSS before the texts of his epistles and occasionally in evangelist portraits of LUKE. Noncanonical scenes are rare, although his beheading occurs in cycles of the apostles' martyrdoms, and his ecstatic meeting with Peter seems to have become an image of brotherly accord, appearing independently of other Pauline scenes. Monumental cycles of Paul's life are known only in Norman Sicily (Cappella Palatina, PALERMO; MONREALE), where Western influence is strong.

ED. and SOURCES. K. Staab, *Pauluskommentare aus der griechischen Kirche*[2] (Münster in Westfalen 1984). *Jean Chrysostom, Panégyriques de S. Paul,* ed. A. Piédagnel (Paris 1982). A. Vogt, *Panégyrique de St. Pierre, Panégyrique de St. Paul* (Rome 1931).

LIT. *BHG* 1451–1465x. J.M. Huskinson, *Concordia apostolorum* (Oxford 1982). P. Gorday, *Principles of Patristic Exegesis* (New York 1983). E. Dassmann, "Zum Paulusverständnis in der östlichen Kirche," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 27–39. K. Shelton, "Roman Aristocrats, Christian Commissions: The Carrand Diptych," *JbAChr* 29 (1986) 166–80. L. Eleen, *The Illustrations of the Pauline Epistles in French and English Bibles of the Twelfth and Thirteenth Centuries* (Oxford 1982) 1–31. K. Kreidl-Papadopoulos, "Die Ikone mit Petrus und Paulus in Wien: Neue Aspekte zur Entwicklung dieser Rundkomposition," *DChAE*[4] 10 (1980–81) 339–56.

–J.I., A.K., A.W.C.

PAUL I, bishop of Constantinople (ca.337–39; end of 341–beginning of 342; and beginning of 346–Sept. 351) and saint; born Thessalonike ca.300, died Koukousos 351?; feastday 6 Nov. Scholars differ in their evaluation of Paul: for Telfer, he is a figure equal in significance to AMBROSE of Milan, whereas Dagron attributes to Paul a minor role in events that was subsequently magnified by hagiographical legend. Paul was elected to the see of Constantinople ca.337, but soon replaced by the Arian EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA. After the death of Eusebios, Paul was reelected but ran into resistance from the Arians; the conflict resulted in a popular rebellion in 342 during which the *magister equitum* Hermogenes, the representative of Emp. Constantius II, was killed in a skirmish. Consequently, Paul was exiled to Pontos, as ATHANASIOS of Alexandria testifies, or to Thessalonike, as Dagron suggests. Thereafter Paul went to Italy in search of the support of Pope Julius, Athanasios of Alexandria, and the Western emperor Constans I. Under pressure from the West, Paul was reinstated but could not get along with the Arian government. It was probably after the death of Constans that Paul was accused of complicity in the usurpation of MAGNENTIUS (350–53) and exiled to Koukousos; Dagron hypothesizes that it was the same exile as his deportations to Singara and Emesa mentioned in Athanasios. In exile Paul was strangled—as the legend has it, by Arians. The cult of Paul had developed already by the 5th C., as a Constantinopolitan counterpart of Athanasios. A summary of his vita is included in Photios's *Bibliotheca* (cod. 257); it was reworked by Symeon Metaphrastes.

LIT. *BHG* 1472–1473h. W. Telfer, "Paul of Constantinople," *HThR* 43 (1950) 30–92. D. Stiernon, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:286–93. Dagron, *Naissance* 422–35. –A.K.

PAUL I, pope (29 May 757–28 June 767); born and died in Rome. Brother and successor to Pope Stephen II (752–57), Paul completed his brother's attempt to reduce Rome's dependence on Byz. and establish a system of Frankish protection. His consecration was delayed because of the opposition of a faction supporting the Byz. alliance, but Paul immediately notified Pippin III, king of the

Franks (751–68), about his election and pledged his loyalty to the pact that Pippin had concluded with Pope Stephen. In Italy, Desiderius, king of the Lombards (757–74), subjugated Spoleto and Benevento and was the major threat to the papacy. Paul tried to convince Pippin to intervene; the Franks, however, avoided military confrontation but by diplomatic means forced Desiderius to return to the pope some lands he had conquered. The threat of a Byz.-Lombard alliance was also real: Emp. Constantine V hoped to attract to this coalition a pro-Byz. party in Rome and some elements in the church of Ravenna, and he started negotiations with Pippin as well. The conflict between Rome and Constantinople focused on the question of ICONOCLASM. Paul was an unyielding opponent of Iconoclasm; he supported eastern Iconophiles who emigrated to Rome, and he accommodated Greek monks in the monastery of Sts. Stephen and Silvester, founded in 761. The Byz. attempt to attract the Franks to Iconoclasm failed in 767 when the local synod of Gentilly approved of the Roman concept of the image.

LIT. M. Baumont, "Le pontificat de Paul Ier (757–767)," *MEFR* 47 (1930) 7–24. D.H. Miller, "Byzantine-Papal Relations during the Pontificate of Paul I," *BZ* 68 (1975) 47–62. –A.K.

PAUL II. See under PYRRHOS.

PAULICIANS (Παυλικιάνοι, Arm. Pawłikeankʿ), sect of Armenian origin that threatened the eastern provinces of Byz. between ca.843 and 879. At this time, the Paulicians had a separate state, with TEPHRIKE as its capital. Under KARBEAS and then CHRYSOCHEIR, they collaborated with the Muslims, raided as far afield as Nicaea, and sacked Ephesus in 869/70. The later history of the Paulicians from the establishment of the state to its destruction by Emp. Basil I and the migration of many Paulicians to Syria, southern Italy, and the Balkans (where they were still found in the reign of Emp. Alexios I) is reasonably well known. In contrast, their earlier history, dates, leaders, and the details of their doctrine remain unclear and highly controversial; some documents are suspect and Byz. and Armenian sources differ. Scholars agree that the sect was Armenian in origin, that it was the probable precursor of the TONDRAKITES, that it was violently iconoclastic, and that it rejected the authority and sacraments of the official clergy to follow its own leaders and practices; everything beyond this is still disputed.

On the basis of the Greek sources, Runciman, Lemerle, and a number of others have traced the Paulicians to a succession of leaders who first appeared in Asia Minor in the 7th C. and established a number of communities and churches and ultimately an independent state. These scholars see the Paulicians as DUALISTS, heirs of MANICHAEANISM, adherents to a Docetic Christology in which the Incarnation was thought to be illusory. As such, they were accepted as a link in the transmission of these beliefs from the ancient Near East to the BOGOMILS of the Balkans and the CATHARS of southern France.

The Armenian sources do not, however, sustain these conclusions, although they do confirm the Iconoclastic beliefs of the Paulicians. These sources know nothing of later Paulician history under Byz. According to them the Paulicians, who are considered followers of Bp. Paul of Samosata (condemned in 280), should be traced back to at least the 5th C. and were "Old Believers" following early Syrian traditions that preceded the hellenization of the ARMENIAN CHURCH in the 4th C. In no way Dualists, they were adherents of an Adoptianist Christology (see ADOPTIANISM), which claimed Jesus had been adopted as son of God at baptism; their leaders, none of whom bore the same names as those listed in Greek sources, were thought to have been adopted in the same way and were worshiped as Christs. This original Adoptianist Paulicianism is shown to have survived in Armenia to the 19th C. Byz. Docetic and Dualist "Neo-Paulicianism" was thus a secondary, divergent form developed in the 9th C., probably under Sergios/Tychikos and under the influence of Byz. ICONOCLASM.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Medieval Manichee* (Cambridge 1947; rp. 1955). Lemerle, "Pauliciens." F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy.* –N.G.G.

PAULINUS, more fully Meropius Pontius Paulinus, bishop of Nola (near Naples) from 409, Latin writer and saint; born Bordeaux 353?, died Nola 22 June 431. Paulinus being of a rich and noble family, his first career was secular, rising from (seemingly) advocate to governor of Campania

(ca.380). He then retired, first to Bordeaux, where he was baptized in 390, then to Spain, where he married Therasia. Personal conviction allied to the grief occasioned by the deaths of his son and brother led him into a fully religious life. After disbursing his and Therasia's fortunes for charity, he was ordained in Barcelona in 394—a sensation according to AMBROSE of Milan—and subsequently migrated to Nola, where he served as bishop until his death.

His letters are mainly on religious topics, such as correspondence with several Christian luminaries, including JEROME, AUGUSTINE, and Ausonius. In his poems, various in meter and themes, including a series on the festival of St. Felix, he helped pioneer the distinction between form and content in classical literature, jettisoning mythology for biblical matter, but adopting and adapting the old style. His language can be difficult, but an affecting individualism and seriousness shine through.

ED. *Opera*, ed. W. Hartel, 2 vols. (Vienna 1894). *Letters of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh, 2 vols. (Westminster, Md., 1966–67). *The Poems of St. Paulinus of Nola*, tr. P.G. Walsh (New York 1975).

LIT. W. Frend, "Paulinus of Nola and the Last Century of the Western Empire," *JRS* 59 (1969) 1–11. J.T. Lienhard, *Paulinus of Nola and Early Western Monasticism* (Cologne 1977). R.P.H. Green, *The Poetry of Paulinus of Nola* (Brussels 1971). P. Fabre, *Saint Paulin de Nole et l'amitié chrétienne* (Paris 1949). A. Lipinsky, "Le decorazioni per la basilica di S. Felice negli scritti di Paolino da Nola," *VetChr* 13 (1976) 65–80. –B.B

PAULINUS OF PELLA, Latin poet; born Pella (in Macedonia) 376/7, died ca.460. Of consular family and a grandson of Ausonius, Paulinus moved as a young child to Carthage, Rome, and Bordeaux in the wake of his father's career. He was educated at Bordeaux in both the Greek and Latin classical authors. After the Visigothic sack of Bordeaux (406 or 414?), he went to Bazas, where he (by now married to a rich heiress) negotiated the lifting of an Alanic siege. Under Attalus, Paulinus was *comes privatarum largitionum* (414–15), a sinecure. Baptized at the age of 45, he was discouraged by his wife from becoming a monk. Paulinus lived many years in reduced circumstances near both Marseilles and Bordeaux. In 459, at age 83, he summed up his own life and times in the *Eucharisticon*, or *Thanksgiving to God in the Form of My Memoirs*. This hexameter poem is a philosophic acceptance of life's vicissitudes in an uneasy fusion of Vergilianisms and the new Christian style of self-revelation. This distinctive autobiography comports the aristocratic philosophy of the time, lamenting the collapse of traditional values, but without blaming God or the Germans.

ED. *Poème d'action de grâces et prière*, ed. C. Moussy (Paris 1974), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. in *Ausonius*, ed. H.G. Evelyn White, vol. 2 (London–New York 1921) 293–351.

LIT. J. Lindsay, *Song of a Falling World* (London 1948; rp. Westport, Conn., 1979) 190–99. P. Courcelle, "Un nouveau poème de Paulin de Pella," *VigChr* 1 (1947) 101–13. J. Vogt, "Der Lebensbericht des Paulinus von Pella," *Studien zur antiken Sozialgeschichte. Festschrift für F. Vittinghoff* (Cologne-Vienna 1980) 527–72. P. Tordeur, *Concordance de Paulin de Pella* (Brussels 1973). –B.B.

PAUL OF AEGINA, physician; born Aegina, died after 642. Paul spent much of his life in Alexandria, remaining there to teach and practice after the Arab invasion (642). Islamic sources ascribe to Paul three works on gynecology, toxicology, and medical practices and procedures. Only the third, a seven-book summary, has survived, usually called the *Epitome of Medicine*. Paul intended his *Epitome* as a general encyclopedia of medicine, borrowing liberally from ORIBASIOS and GALEN; in his preface, Paul outlines the important parts of medicine: hygiene and dietetics, the lore of fevers, diseases arranged in a "head-to-toe" manner, diseases that afflict various parts of the body, wounds and bites of poisonous creatures, antidotes for poisons, surgery, and simple and compound drugs. The *Epitome*'s pharmacy and PHARMACOLOGY (bk.7), derived mainly from DIOSKORIDES, presents precise synopses of 90 minerals and metals, about 600 botanicals, and approximately 170 animal products employed as pharmaceuticals (J. Scarborough, *DOP* 38 [1984] 228–32). Greatly valued in Islamic medicine, the *Epitome* was rendered into Arabic by Ḥunayn ibn Isḥāq in the 9th C. Book 6 on SURGERY (Bliquez, "Surgical Instruments") had esp. widespread influence and is embedded in a similar summary by al-Zahrāwi (Albucasis) in the 11th C. Book 3 was translated into Latin in northern Italy ca.800.

ED. *Paulus Aegineta*, ed. I.L. Heiberg, 2 vols. (Leipzig-Berlin 1921–24). *The Seven Books of Paulus Aegineta*, 3 vols., tr. F. Adams (London 1844–47).

LIT. I. Brotses, *Ho byzantinos iatros Paulos ho Aiginetes* (Athens 1977). M. Tabanelli, *Studie sulla chirurgia bizantina. Paolo di Egina* (Florence 1964). I. Bloch, *HGM* 1:548–56.

Hunger, *Lit.* 2:302. K. Dimitriadis, "Ein siebenbändiger Paulos von Aegina *Peri ouron* und wie er zustande kam," *Fachprosa-Studien. Beiträge zur mittelalterlichen Wissenschafts- und Geistesgeschichte* (Berlin 1982) 313–17. –J.S., A.M.T.

PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA, astrologer; fl. Alexandria 378. Paul was the author of an elementary handbook of ASTROLOGY entitled *Introduction*, which he addressed to his son Cronamon. The surviving version appears to be the first edition of the treatise to which has been attached the preface of a second edition. In chapter 20 he gives an example for "today, 20 Mecheir 94 Diocletian," or 14 Feb. 378. Because of its brevity Paul's work was a favorite introduction to astrology for Byz. A course of lectures was delivered on it at Alexandria in the summer of 564, almost certainly by OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA (L.G. Westerink, *BZ* 64 [1971] 6–21). LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN studied the *Introduction* in the 9th C., and numerous scholia on it exist, some of which were compiled in the 12th C. Chapter 28 was translated into Syriac in the early 6th C. by SERGIOS OF REŠʿAINA (*Inedita Syriaca*, ed. E. Sachau [Vienna 1870] 125f), and chapters 1–2 into Armenian by ANANIAS OF ŠIRAK in the late 7th C. (A.G. Abrahamyan, *Anania Širakacʿu Matenagrutʿyune* [Erevan 1944] 327–30).

Several scholars have contended that there is a relation of direct dependence between the geographical list in Acts 2:9–11 and Paul's astrological geography; this view has been refuted by B.M. Metzger (in *Apostolic History and the Gospel*, ed. W.W. Gasque, R.P. Martin [Exeter 1970] 123–33). Another Paul of Alexandria of the 5th C. was known as an astrologer by Abū Maʿshar (D. Pingree, *Centaurus* 14 [1969] 172).

ED. *Elementa apotelesmatica*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1958). *Heliodori, ut dicitur: In Paulum Alexandrinum Commentarium*, ed. E. Boer (Leipzig 1962). –D.P.

PAUL OF KALLINIKOS, early 6th-C. Monophysite bishop of Kallinikos in Osrhoene. He actively advanced the cause of the Jacobite churches by translating a number of the most important works of SEVEROS of Antioch into Syriac. The one specific date known from Paul's life is the notice at the end of his translation of Severos's *Against Julian of Halicarnassus*, to the effect that Paul completed the translation in the year 528 at Edessa (Vat. Syr. 140, fol.146). Other works of Severos that Paul translated into Syriac are the *Philalethes* (Lover of Truth), *Against the Impious Grammarian*, and some homilies and epistles, esp. correspondence with Sergios the Grammarian.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 160. –S.H.G.

PAUL OF LATROS, or Paul the Younger, saint; born Elaia, near Pergamon, died LATROS 15 Dec. 955. Paul was the younger son of Antiochos, *komes* of the fleet. After his parents' death, he suffered from poverty and worked as a swineherd. After receiving the tonsure he lived in solitude in a cave on Mt. Latros; for a brief period he retired to Samos. Paul gained the respect of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos and PETER OF BULGARIA (r. 927–69), who both sent him letters; he was supposedly famous among the "Cretans, Scythians (the Rus'), and Romans." Paul struggled against the "Manichaeans" active in Miletos and the area of Kibyrrhaiotai, and imposed strict discipline upon his disciples, slapping their faces if necessary. Before his death, Paul wrote a monastic rule (a will) for his community.

A vita compiled soon after his death cites numerous eyewitnesses; it also mentions Paul's "diary," *biblos ton praxeon* (Delehaye, *infra* 58.6–7). A charter of 1196 (MM 4:306.24–27) ascribes this Life to SYMEON METAPHRASTES and reveals that it was used as evidence during a trial. The anonymous author of the Life emphasizes the theme of food and starvation: Paul is constantly presented as suffering from hunger, eating acorns, or mixing milk with other foods to mask their pleasant taste. The Life also has rich information on cattle breeding, provincial administration, and local lords such as Theophanes of Samos.

SOURCE. [H. Delehaye,] "Vita S. Pauli Iunioris in Monte Latro," *AB* 11 (1892) 5–74, 136–82, with Lat. tr. Also in T. Wiegand, *Milet* 3.1 (Berlin 1913) 105–57.

LIT. *BHG* 1474–1474h. F. Halkin, "Une vie prétendue de saint Athanase l'Athonite," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 242f. –A.K.

PAUL OF MONEMVASIA, bishop of Monemvasia in the second half of the 10th C., the author of a series of brief edifying stories, conventionally titled NARRATIONES. They are modeled on JOHN

KLIMAX (to whom Paul specifically refers). The particularity of their form consists in their structure: they are stories within a story (similar, e.g., to the vita of THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS), and the narrator of each appears only as a vehicle for reporting the tale of his hero or heroine. The chronological framework of the novelettes is contemporaneous with the author, the emperors Leo VI, Alexander, and Constantine VII being mentioned; the action takes place primarily in Constantinople, rarely in provincial towns (Monemvasia, Larissa in Thessaly); typical characters are monks and nuns, as well as imperial functionaries, foreigners (e.g., an unbaptized Scythian), slaves, and the poor. The stories frequently feature miracles, from resurrection to marvelous birds carrying fruit to a convent. The themes of sexual chastity and of honesty in commercial transactions also occur, and confession of sinful intentions plays an important role.

ED. J. Wortley, *Les récits édifiants de Paul, évêque de Monembasie et d'autres auteurs* (Paris 1987).

LIT. J. Wortley, "Paul of Monembasia and his Stories," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley 1988) 303–15. A. Kominis, "Paolo de Monembasia," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 231–48.

–A.K.

PAUL SILENTIARIOS, 6th-C. poet and courtier (SILENTIARIOS). AGATHIAS, his friend and admirer (and perhaps his son-in-law), reports that Paul was from a noble and immensely wealthy family. His most important poem is the description of HAGIA SOPHIA, a lengthy hexameter poem with a rare double iambic prologue celebrating Justinian's restoration of the church, both most probably delivered on 6 Jan. 563 (M. Whitby, *CQ* n.s. 35 [1985] 215–28). Our fullest account of the decoration of the church in his time, it provides unique information on its LIGHTING, TEMPLON, figured ENTABLATURE, and ENDYTE, all now lost. Even more detailed is Paul's description of the AMBO of the Great Church, also in hexameters with iambic preface. This poem, filled with compound adjectives, is invaluable for its account of materials and techniques employed in the construction.

In a very different vein are his 80 or so EPIGRAMS preserved via the *Cycle* of Agathias in the GREEK ANTHOLOGY. Paul's generic range is wide, but the erotic predominates, with many critics regarding him as the most sensual of Agathias's contributors. These poems are fantasies rather than autobiographic fact, but Paul's combination of Christian and pagan themes is a salutary warning against inferring a poet's faith from his poems. His possible use of Roman poetry is of interest in tracing Byz. awareness of Latin literature (J.C. Yardley, *CQ* 30 [1980] 239–43).

ED. Friedländer, *Kunstbeschreib.* 227–65; rp. with Germ. tr. in appendix to *Prokop/Bauten*, ed. O. Veh, W. Pulhorn (Munich 1977) 306–75. Partial Eng. tr. in Mango, *Art* 80–96. *Epigrammi*, ed. G. Viansino (Turin 1963) with It. tr.

LIT. R. Macrides, P. Magdalino, "The Architecture of *Ekphrasis*: Construction and Context of Paul the Silentiary's *Ekphrasis* of Hagia Sophia," *BMGS* 12 (1988) 47–82.

–B.B., A.C.

PAUSANIAS, Greek geographer of the 2nd C., originating perhaps from Lydia or Damascus. His *Periegesis* (Description) of Greece encompasses Attica, the Peloponnesos, Boeotia, and Phokis; in addition to historical and geographical data, it contains some elements of myth and PARADOXOGRAPHY. According to Diller (*infra* [1956]), he was not popular in antiquity. Circa 535 STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM discovered an early apograph of his text, which he transcribed and used. The uncial text made by Stephen was in turn found centuries later by ARETHAS OF CAESAREA and ca.900 copied in minuscule (this suggestion has been challenged by Lemerle [*Humanism* 268, n.111]); it is also possible that Arethas compiled some scholia to Pausanias. Some excerpts from Pausanias are included in the *Souda*, and a citation of Pausanias, possibly an interpolation, is found in Aelianus. The source of the *Souda* and Aelianus fragments remains unclear. In the Palaiologan period the codex commissioned by Arethas was known to Planoudes and also read by Nikephoros Gregoras in the library of the Chora monastery. Circa 1400 the codex was brought to Italy and eventually deposited in the San Marco library in Venice. It served as the base for four or five apographs, none of which is earlier than 1450 (A. Diller, *TAPA* 88 [1957] 169–88).

ED. Scholia—*Graeciae descriptio*, ed. F. Spiro, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1903; rp. Stuttgart 1959) 218–22.

LIT. A. Diller, "Pausanias in the Middle Ages," *TAPA* 87 (1956) 84–97.

–A.K.

PAVEMENT (λιθόστρωτον, ἔδαφος). Byz. paving materials vary in size: marble slabs more than 70 cm in length set in MORTAR or fresh cement; terracotta tiles, a few cm thick, ranging from 10 to 70 cm on a side and set in a masonry bed; or nearly cubic paving blocks ranging from 10 to 25 sq. cm at the surface. The term FLOOR MOSAIC is reserved for pavements whose elements measure less than 10 cm on a side. Types of pavement popular around the Mediterranean from Hellenistic times continued to appear in Byz. buildings: OPUS SECTILE; *opus tessellatum*, in which the tesserae are cut to uniform shape and size (5–10 sq. cm) and desired patterns are achieved by color and by delineating the contours of figures with courses of tesserae; the so-called *opus vermiculatum* in which tesserae are cut to varied shapes, very small in size (often less than 5 mm), which allows pictorial decoration similar to fresco painting. An edict of Theodosios II of 427 (*Cod.Just.* I 8) forbade use of the image of the cross on floors. The white Prokonnesian marble pavement of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, was interpreted as representing Earth, the green porphyry as the rivers (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308). –W.L.

PAVLOVKA, village in the region of Rostov, U.S.S.R., where a rich, late 4th-C. tomb was discovered in 1898. It contained an iron sword, a gold buckle, gold ornaments from a belt or harness, and a silver bowl with a stamp depicting a Tyche holding a scepter and orb (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.82). These objects are now in the State Historical Museum, Moscow.

LIT. V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdelija v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow 1970), no.733. –A.K.

PAWN. See PIGNUS.

P'AWSTOS BUZAND, PSEUDO-, also Faustus of Byzantium, Faustus Buzanta/Podandos, traditional names for the putative author to whom a *History of Armenia* of the second half of the 5th C. was attributed. Controversies over the identity and date of the author and the original language of the work have now led to the conclusion that neither the name of the author nor the traditional title of his work is correct. Malχasyanc' and Perikhanian's analyses (*infra*) of the actual title, *Buzandaran Patmut'iwnk'* (Epic Histories), later altered to *Patmut'iwn Hayoc'* (History of Armenia), have shown that the first term, *buzand-aran*, does not contain the toponyms Byzantium or Buzanta at all, but is rather a term of Iranian origin referring to bardic recitations, followed by the suffix of place *-aran*. The name of the author is not given. The work is then an anonymous compilation originally composed in Armenian on the basis of local oral tradition, entitled *Epic Histories*. It dates most probably from the 470s. This compilation, the first attempt to relate Armenian history, covers the period of the later ARSACID dynasty and its relations to Byz. and the Sasanians (from ca.330 to the partition of Armenia between these two powers in ca.387). The work is epic rather than strictly historical in character but has preserved otherwise unknown material on the iranized social structure of early medieval Armenia, on the ARMENIAN CHURCH, and on the all but lost oral literary tradition. Despite its value, the *Epic Histories* was not adopted as part of the Armenian received tradition and has been largely ignored until recent times.

ED. [*Pseudo*] *P'awstosi Buzandac'woy Patmut'iwn Hayoc' ie č'ors dprut'iwns*[4] (Venice 1933).

LIT. St. Malχasyanc', *P'awstos Buzand*[3] (Erevan 1968) 5–61. A. Perikhanian, "Sur Arménien *būzand*," in *Armenian Studies in Memoriam of Haïg Berbérian* (Lisbon 1986) 653–57. Garsoïan, *Epic Histories* 1–55. –N.G.G.

PBOW, cenobitic monastery east of the Nile, about 60 km north of Luxor. Established in 330, Pbow was the second monastery founded by PACHOMIOS (*Life of Pachomius*, ch.54) and became the administrative center of the order. The Pachomian monks gathered there twice a year: to celebrate Easter and, in Aug., to review business at the individual monasteries (ibid., chs. 78, 83). It has recently been hypothesized that the library of Pbow was the place of origin of many Greek and Coptic biblical, Gnostic, and literary MSS.

Excavations at Pbow have revealed the remains of a large 5th-C. basilica (36 × 72 m). The five aisles were separated by rose granite columns, the floor paved with uneven limestone slabs. Underneath, the remains of a 4th-C. basilica were discovered. The basilicas are the oldest and the largest in Egypt (J.E. Goehring in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 252–57).

LIT. H.E. Winlock, W.E. Crum, *The Monastery of Epiphanius at Thebes*, vol. 1 (New York 1926) 120. B. van Elderen, "The Nag Hammadi Excavation," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 225–31. –J.T., A.K.

PČELA (The Bee), the name for three separate Slavonic translations of the Byz. MELISSA. The first and most influential translation was produced in Rus', most likely in Kiev or Galitza in the late 12th or early 13th C. Widely copied and cited, it spread to Serbia by the 14th C. and remained popular in Muscovy until the 17th C. The text derives from an interpolated and abbreviated version of the *Melissa*, shorter than that attributed to Antony (PG 136:765–1244) and arranged in 71 chapters (cf. the *Capita theologica* ascribed to Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:719–1018). The closest Greek parallels to this redaction are found in comparatively late MSS. Each chapter of *Pčela* consists of a string of citations on a particular topic (e.g., virtue, wisdom, rulers, women). The citations are arranged in hierarchical order: first the Gospels, then Acts and Epistles, next the wisdom books of the Old Testament, then patristics, and finally sayings of the "external philosophers" of the ancient world. These meager and corrupt extracts from the classics were virtually the only classical writings to reach medieval Rus'. *Pčela* also survives in a Bulgarian translation (probably 14th C.) and in a second eastern Slavic translation dated 1599.

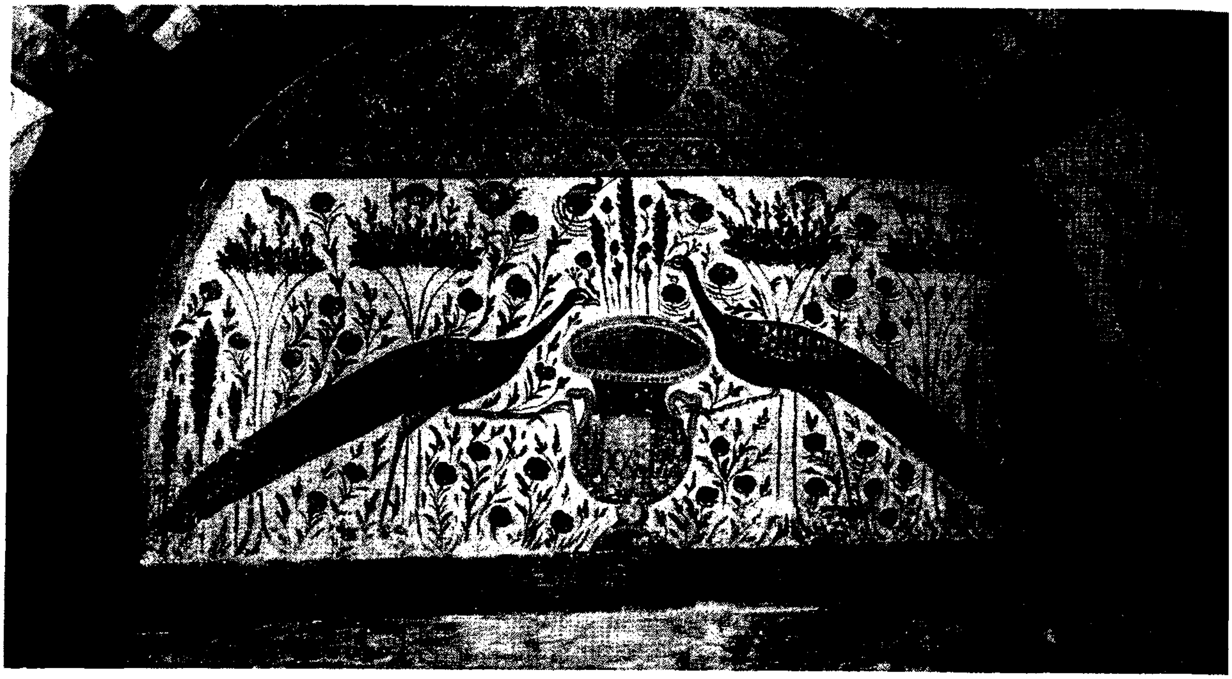
ED. *Drevnjaja russkaja Pčela po pergamennomu spisku*, ed. V. Semenov (St. Petersburg 1893); rp. with introd. by D. Čiževskij, *Melissa* (Munich 1968).

LIT. M.N. Speranskij, "Perevodnye sborniki izrečenij v slavjano-russkoj literature," *Čtenija v Imperatorskom obščestve istorii i drevnostej rossijskich* (1905) no.1:155–392. –S.C.F.

PEACE AND WAR. To the Byz., peace and nonviolence were ideals rooted in the teachings of the New Testament and church fathers (esp. St. Basil), but in reality they rarely knew prolonged periods of peace. The Byz. considered war evil, but their attitude was tempered by the recognition of its necessity in defending their Christian empire and brethren; thus courage, prowess in arms, and good generalship were praiseworthy attributes in historical figures such as Herakleios and Basil II, or in such legendary figures as Digenes Akritas. The Byz. also bestowed praise, however, on emperors such as Alexios I Komnenos, who avoided unnecessary bloodshed by sparing conquered enemies and using diplomacy to resolve conflicts. Although divine favor in war was sought through MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES, the cults of warrior saints (see MILITARY SAINTS), and prayers for the success of imperial expeditions (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 146, 149), Byz. churchmen deplored war, esp. between Christians, and refused to sanction killing; Patriarch Polyeuktos countered the petition of Nikephoros II Phokas to have his slain soldiers declared martyrs with St. Basil's ruling that soldiers who had killed in battle could not receive communion for three years. The concept of holy war, as practiced by their Muslim enemies and the Crusaders, remained largely foreign to the Byz.; only once was a plenary remission of sin granted to a Byz. army (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 25 [1967] 115–20, 131–35).

LIT. L.J. Swift, *The Early Fathers on War and Military Service* (Wilmington, Del., 1983). R. Daly, "Military Service and Early Christianity: A Methodological Approach," *StP* 18.1 (Kalamazoo 1985) 1–8. V. Laurent, "L'idée de guerre sainte et la tradition byzantine," *RHSEE* 23 (1946) 71–98. –E.M.

PEACOCKS (sing. ταώς, ταῶς), splendidly feathered birds considered Oriental ("Persian") or Hungarian ("Paeonian") and used for food (Koukoules, *Bios* 5:70, 408f) or to adorn rich gardens. Represented in the earliest Christian funerary art, the peacock brought multiple connotations from antiquity: of splendid, even paradisiac gardens; of springtime and renewal, since their feathers regenerate in the spring; and of the imperial, as peacocks had been Juno's bird and bore empresses' souls to their APOTHEOSIS. Used at first simply to give tombs the aura of paradisiac gardens, peacocks were accorded stricter symbolic meanings in 4th-C. art (as spring, paradise, redemption). In the 5th C. they flanked imperial triumphal symbols like the CHRISTOGRAM to create a Christian imperial imagery of eternal triumph in heaven. As images of heavenly splendor, peacocks strut in ornament in every medium of Byz. art; that they continued to carry aulic connotations is shown by the peacock represented in Ioakeim's garden in a CHORA mosaic, which signals the regal as well as the saving role of Mary. Peacock feathers were also used to represent the many-eyed wings of SERAPHIM and often CHERU-



PEACOCKS. Peacocks drinking; fresco in a painted tomb, 4th C. Iznik (Nicaea).

BIM and ARCHANGELS. Accordingly, silver RHIPIDIA were often edged with incised peacock feathers and likened to angels' wings, which emit prayers as they move.

LIT. E.T. Reimbold, *Der Pfau: Mythologie und Symbolik* (Munich 1963) 37–43. –A.W.C.

PEASANT. In Byz. peasants were never a homogeneous group. Constantly evolving social and economic conditions created many categories of peasants; thus, it is not a matter of what types of peasants existed in any particular era, but rather what their dominant status was and what the evolutionary trend was in regard to peasants in any era. The leading view is that during the 4th–6th C. there was a decline of the small-holding, free peasant; because of the great demand for MANPOWER, peasants were increasingly tied to the soil as unfree COLONI and ADSCRIPTICII. On the contrary, P. Vinogradov (*Srednevekovoe pomest'e v Anglii* [St. Petersburg 1911] 98) suggested that the 4th and 5th C. witnessed improvement of conditions for peasants; new sources, for example, the Egyptian papyri and excavations of rural sites in northern Syria, seem to confirm Vinogradov's theory (A. Kazhdan, *VDI* [1953] no.3, 89–104). At any rate, in the 7th–10th C. there were free peasants who paid their taxes to the fisc. By the 10th C. peasants were becoming increasingly dependent upon large landowners. The sources of the 10th–12th C. show a great diversity in the terminology describing peasants and their status.

Though the full significance of many of these terms is still obscure, peasants were categorized in accordance with the property, if any, in their STASIS (as ZEUGARATOI, *boïdatoi*, KAPNIKARIOI, AKTEMONES, APOROI) and on the status of dependency, either on a private landowner (as PAROIKOI, DOULOPAROIKOI) or on the state itself (as DEMOSIARIOI, EXKOUSSATOI). In the 13th–15th C., while almost all peasants were *paroikoi* (although other terms such as PROSKATHEMENOI, ELEUTHEROI, etc. were in use), there was substantial variance in the sizes of their holdings and degree of personal FREEDOM.

Identified by their short tunics, ornamented leggings, and manual labor, peasants engage in harvesting, fruit farming, fowling, and similar rural pursuits in 5th–6th C. mosaics of the SEASONS and the miniatures of the Venice *Kynegetika* (see OPPIAN) as well as in the homilies of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Quelques problèmes d'histoire de la paysannerie byzantine* (Brussels 1956). G. Litavrin, "Krest'janstvo Zapadnoj i Jugozapadnoj Bolgarii v XI–XII vv.," *UčZapInstSlav* 14 (1956) 226–50. V. Smetanin, "Kategorii svobodnogo krest'janstva v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizOč* (1971) 75–85. P. Zepos, "Kalliergetai xenes ges eis to Byzantinon kratos," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 27–44. –M.B., A.C.

PEĆ (Πέκιον), town in modern state of Kosovo-Metohija, in southern Yugoslavia, on the Bistrica River. First mentioned in the early 13th C. as a village in the *župa* (district) of Hvostno, Peć was transformed in 1346 into a patriarchate. Constantinople evidently did not acknowledge this title, even after the restoration of the union of the Byz. and Serbian churches in 1375; the EKTHESIS NEA calls the Serbian prelate "archbishop of Peć and of all Serbia" (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 27 [1969] 40.20–21), but places him separately from other archbishops, immediately after the patriarch of Tŭrnovo. Peć was the major center for the production of SERBIAN LITERATURE as well as an important commercial center where a colony of merchants from Dubrovnik lived.

Preserved in Peć is a complex of ecclesiastical buildings, the Patrijaršija, the oldest of which is the Church of the Holy Apostles, erected around the 1230s at the instigation of Arsenios, *hegoumenos* of Žiča. He is credited in an inscription in the apse with sponsoring the wall painting. These frescoes—notably the Deesis in the conch—seem to reflect the intention of SAVA OF SERBIA that the church be a mausoleum for Serbian archbishops. The decoration of the patriarchal complex received special attention during the reign of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, when portraits of the Nemanjids were painted in the former narthex, and again ca.1330 when the genealogy of this dynasty was depicted in the form of a Tree of Jesse (Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.*, fig.58) for Archbp. DANIIL II. The same prelate erected the Church of the Virgin shortly before 1337. The fourth church in the complex, that of St. Dimitrije, built before 1324, was not decorated until ca.1345 under Archbp. Joanikije. The Byz. scheme of representing ecumenical COUNCILS was here supplemented by images of two Serbian synods.

LIT. F. Barišić, "O izmirenju Srpske i Vizantijske crkve 1375," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 159–82. V. Laurent, "L'archevêque de Peć et le titre de patriarche après l'union de 1375," *Balcania* 7 (1944) 303–10. P. Mijović, *Pećka Patrijaršija* (Belgrade 1960). Dj. Bošković, "Osiguranje i restauracija crkve manastira sv. Patrijaršije u Peći," *Starinar* 8–9 (1933) 90–165. R. Ljubinković, *L'église des Saints-Apôtres de la Patriarchie à Peć* (Belgrade 1972). G. Subotić, *The Church of St. Demetrius in the Patriarchate of Peć* (Belgrade 1964). M. Ivanović, *The Virgin's Church in the Patriarchate of Peć* (Belgrade 1972). – A.K., A.C., J.S.A.

PECHENEGS (Πατζινάκοι), a nomadic people of disputed origin who moved from Central Asia to the basin of the Volga where they appeared in the late 9th C. After clashes with the KHAZARS and HUNGARIANS they settled in the steppe between the Don and the Lower Danube. Byz. diplomacy paid great attention to the Pechenegs as commercial middlemen between CHERSON and northern sedentary peoples, and as a military force able to check dangerous neighbors of the empire such as the Bulgarians and Rus'. Yet sometimes the Pechenegs changed sides and attacked Byz. SYMEON OF BULGARIA persuaded the Pechenegs to march against the Hungarians during the war of 894–96 with Byz., thus securing the rear against an attack. Around 917 Bogas, the *strategos* of Cherson, organized a coalition with the Pechenegs against the Bulgarians, but the Pechenegs deserted even before the battle at ACHELOUS. Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.9.100–112) indicates that Symeon sought an alliance with the Pechenegs and proposed several intermarriages. The Pechenegs supported IGOR and SVJATOSLAV of Kiev in their expeditions against Byz. but, finally, the Byz. bought their assistance; the Pechenegs crushed and killed Svjatoslav.

The Pecheneg danger increased in the mid-11th C. Around 1045 a group of Pechenegs, commanded by KEGEN, settled in Bulgaria; they served as mercenaries but revolted and were expelled ca.1050. In 1046/7 another horde crossed the Danube and plundered Thrace but was defeated (A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 71–77). In 1059 Isaac I Komnenos routed the Pechenegs. In 1078 they pillaged the district of Adrianople and in 1087, acting in concert with the Uzes and Cumans, they reached the Sea of Marmara. Alexios I Komnenos crushed the Pechenegs at Mt. LEBOUNION in 1091 and John II struck the final blow in 1122. A special feast celebrating the victory over the Pechenegs was established in Byz. (Nik.Chon. 27–29). By the 13th C. they disappeared as an independent entity.

LIT. O. Pritsak, *The Pečenegs* (Lisse 1976). Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 1:1–175. P. Diaconu, *Les Petchénègues au Bas-Danube*

(Bucharest 1970). S. Pletneva, "Pečenegi, Torki i Polovcy v južnorusskich stepjach," *MatIssArch* 62 (1958) 151–226. –O.P.

PECHYS (πῆχυς, lit. "forearm"), the cubit, a unit of length, of which two variations are attested. The shorter cubit of 24 DAKTYLOI (= 1.33 *podes* [see POUS] = 46.8 cm) was used esp. in construction with stone and wood, and was therefore called also *lithikos* (stone), *xylopristikos* (wood sawing), *pristikos* (sawing), *tektonikos* (builder's), or generally *demosios* (public) *pechys*. The longer cubit of 32 *daktyloi* (= 2 *podes* = 62.5 cm) was used for the measurement of fields by the fisc and was therefore called *geometrikos* or *basilikos pechys*. At the same time, many other *pecheis* of local validity were used for measuring various materials (cotton, wool, linen, or silk).

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 20f, 43–55. –E. Sch.

PECULIUM (πεκούλιον), term designating the property of persons under another's authority. Sons of the family, i.e., persons who remained under PATRIA POTESTAS, and slaves could not, in principle, own property. Nevertheless, the person in authority over them could allot a special kind of property to them, the *peculium*; it remained the property of the person in authority to the extent that he could revoke it, but it was given to the son of the family or slave to administer. Whatever he earned by means of the *peculium* reverted to the *peculium* and, hence, to the property of the person in authority. In addition to this basic type of *peculium*, the so-called *peculium paganum*, another type of *peculium* developed: the *peculium (quasi) castrense*, the son's income as a soldier (see PECULIUM CASTRENSE), as a servant in imperial service, as a cleric, or as the heir of his siblings. The son had property rights over the *peculium (quasi) castrense*—in contrast to the *peculium paganum*—as well as the use of it and right of bequeathal. A son could also acquire the so-called *aprosporista*, which included donations from his mother's property as well as income from his own work.

Thus the property of the person under another's authority could consist of three categories, each managed differently. The son managed the *peculium paganum* to the benefit and burden of the father, and he managed the *peculium (quasi) castrense* like a person free of authority. The *aprosporista* constituted "dead" capital until he gained freedom from authority. The legal rulings on the subject of *peculium* are contained in the treatise DE PECULIIS.

LIT. J.A.C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (Amsterdam–New York–Oxford 1976) 239–43. B. Biondo, "Il peculium dei palatini costantiniani," *Labeo* 19 (1973) 318–29. –M.Th.F.

PECULIUM CASTRENSE (στρατιωτικὸν πεκούλιον). The 8th-C. ECLOGA (16.1) defines *peculium castrense* as goods (i.e., wages, BOOTY, legacies, etc.) acquired while in military service, which were the soldier's own to bequeath or dispose of as he wished. It was his right to keep these goods separate from all other income and patrimonial inheritance with no obligation to share them with family or dependents. These privileges and testamentary rights dated from the time of Augustus and were extensively discussed in Roman law (*Digest* 49.17).

The *Ecloga* (16.2), however, modifies the exemptions traditionally associated with the *peculium castrense*, stating that a brother in military service must divide his wages (ROGA) equally among the household revenues generated by his brother(s) remaining at home in case they decide to separate. Only after 13 years was the soldier entitled to keep any wages he had saved; but equipment, booty, and endowments were still exclusively his from the beginning of his service.

LIT. J.A.C. Thomas, *Textbook of Roman Law* (Amsterdam–New York–London 1976) 416f. A. Dain, "Sur le 'Peculium castrense,'" *REB* 19 (1961) 253–57. Haldon, *Recruitment* 67–72. N. Oikonomides, "Middle Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament," in *Gonimos* 121–30. –E.M.

PEDIADITES, BASIL, writer, metropolitan of Kerkyra (from 1201); died Kerkyra ca.1219. Browning ("Patriarchal School" 21) proposed the identification of Basil Pediadites (Πεδιαδίτης) with Basil Hagiopanton, a teacher at the grammatical school of St. Paul, whom a later note calls metropolitan of Kerkyra: Basil Hagiopanton was deprived of his rank as deacon on 24 Jan. 1168 on account of some blasphemous poems he had written, which are now lost (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1077). Pediadites' rhetorical activity belonged to a later period: an *enkomion* of Patr. Chariton (1178-79), a speech to Patr. Niketas Mountanes (1186-89),

and a speech to an unspecified patriarch, perhaps Basil II Kamateros (1183-86)—all still unpublished. From his Kerkyra period we have a letter to Constantine STILBES describing the difficult conditions on the island (S. Lampros, *Kerkyraika anekdota* [Athens 1882] 42-49) and an epistle to Pope INNOCENT III (ed. K. Manaphes, *EEBS* 42 [1975-76] 435-40) protesting against the convocation of an ecumenical council (i.e., Lateran 1215) without the participation of the patriarch of Constantinople.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 78-85. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 229f. –A.K.

PEDIASIMOS (Πεδιάσιμος; etym. "inhabitant of a valley"), a family name. They are known from the end of the 10th C., when Leo Pediasimos supported John I Tzimiskes. Seals, mostly of the 11th–12th C., represent several Pediasimoi, including Basil, *protos* of an unnamed monastery (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1308). Apparently in the 14th C. the family lived in the Serres region, where Niketas Pediasimos signed a charter in 1366 as a high-ranking imperial official (*Chil.* 1, no.151.149–50). The writer Theodore Pediasimos was closely connected with Serres, while John Pediasimos, *chartophylax* of Ohrid, was active in the neighboring region (see PEDIASIMOS, THEODORE and PEDIASIMOS, JOHN).

LIT. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 327–31. *PLP*, nos. 22233–36. –A.K.

PEDIASIMOS, JOHN, known also by the name Pothos; teacher and writer; born ca.1250, died early 14th C. Pediasimos studied in Constantinople, possibly first under Manuel HOLOBOLOS, but certainly under George AKROPOLITES, together with George of Cyprus (later Patr. GREGORY II). Shortly thereafter Pediasimos was appointed *hypatos ton philosophon.* A letter of George of Cyprus indicates that Pediasimos also taught at Ohrid, where he was *chartophylax* by ca.1280. If the identification of Pediasimos with the deacon John Pothos, *megas sakellarios* of the metropolis of Thessalonike, is correct, then Pediasimos was in that position by 1284. Probably for pedagogical reasons, he wrote a wide range of works on subjects such as mythology, syllogistic, geometry, music, astronomy, and medicine. His treatise on prohibitive degrees of marriage, written while *chartophylax* in Ohrid, draws on the work of his predecessor Demetrios CHOMATENOS.

ED. A. Schminck, "Der Traktat *Peri gamon* des Johannes Pediasimos," *FM* 1 (1976) 126–74. V. de Falco, *Ioannis Pediasimi in Aristotelis Analytica scholia selecta* (Naples 1926).

LIT. Constantinides, *Education* 117–25. A. Turyn, *Dated Greek MSS of the Thirteenth and Fourteenth Centuries in the Libraries of Italy* (Urbana-Chicago-London 1972) 75–77, 123. –R.J.M.

PEDIASIMOS, THEODORE, writer; fl. early 14th C. Pediasimos received a classical education in Thessalonike and spent at least part of his life in SERRES, which may have been his birthplace. His oeuvre includes both secular and religious compositions: *enkomia* of the sun and summer; an *enkomion* of JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER (*BHG* 947), which is based not on the 13th-C. version of John the Deacon, but on a certain Theophanes; and letters to friends such as Nicholas KABASILAS, Andronikos Zarides, and Sophianos. His most interesting works are a brief but detailed *ekphrasis* of the cathedral of Serres, which was dedicated to his patron saints, THEODORE STRATELATES and THEODORE TERON (A. Orlandos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 259–71), and an account of contemporary miracles wrought by the two Theodores (*BHG* 1773), which mentions the expedition of THEODORE II LASKARIS to rescue MELNIK (F. Dölger, *IzvBŭlg-ArchInst* 16 [1950] 275–79) and the joint Turco-Catalan attack on Serres in 1307.

ED. *Theodori Pediasimi eiusque amicorum quae extant*, ed. M. Treu (Potsdam 1899) 1–38, rev. by P.N. Papageorgiu, *BZ* 10 (1901) 425–32.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 700. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:132, 183, 193, 236. –A.M.T.

PEGAI (Πηγαί, now Karabiga), city on the southern shore of the Sea of Marmara. Although mentioned in the 9th C., Pegai only rose to prominence in the late 12th C., when it had a large Latin population and was a major trading port. The Latins of Constantinople took Pegai in 1204 with the help of local inhabitants. In 1211, they defeated an attempt of Theodore I Laskaris to regain the city, but it fell to John III in 1225. The Latins briefly recaptured it in 1233. In 1306, when it was blockaded by the Turks, Pegai had received so many refugees that it suffered an outbreak of

plague and famine (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:415.4–7). It nevertheless held out until 1363 as the last Byz. outpost on the coast of Asia Minor. Pegai, not previously attested as a bishopric, became a metropolis under the Laskarids. In 1354 the metropolitan of Pegai, whose church was in serious straits because of Turkish attacks, extended his jurisdiction over the vacant see of Sozopolis (MM 1:330f). The powerful walls that protect the peninsula of Pegai are well preserved; they are apparently the work of John III.

LIT. Hasluck, *Cyzicus* 98–100. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 154f. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2357. –C.F.

PEGE (Πηγή, Turk. Balıklı), ancient sanctuary of the Virgin, located outside the Theodosian Walls of Constantinople, opposite the Silivri gate. It was planted with trees and had a source of water (*pege*) that came to be regarded as miraculous. There Justinian I built a church and monastery of the Virgin, which later tradition attributed to Leo I. Empress Irene was healed of a hemorrhage by drinking from the source and made rich offerings to the church, including a mosaic representing herself and her son Constantine VI; after the earthquake of 869 Basil I rebuilt the church and decorated it with a cycle of mosaics (*AnthGr* 1:109–14). Burned by Tsar Symeon of Bulgaria in 924, the church was soon repaired and was regularly visited by the emperor on the feast of the ASCENSION (*De cer.* 108.13–114.9, 774.19–775.6). Next to the church was a palace. The miracles of the "Life-containing Source" (Zoodochos Pege) continued until the 14th C., and were recorded by Nikephoros Kallistos XANTHOPOULOS; he also describes in some detail the church's fresco decoration (Bénay, *infra* 225, 227). Xanthopoulos himself wrote an *akolouthia* for the feast of its dedication, celebrated in his time on the Friday after Easter, and Manuel PHILES and others composed epigrams on the sanctuary and its paintings. In 1422 Sultan Murad II made it his headquarters while besieging Constantinople. The church disappeared thereafter and was rebuilt only in the 18th C. The legend of the half-fried fish that jumped into the source during the siege of 1453 is of late origin.

Liturgical references to the Virgin from the 9th C. onward as the Zoodochos Pege led to the creation of a complex icon designed expressly to convey the meaning of the epithet. Perhaps based on the silver image of the Virgin "epi tes phiales" in the imperial bath area at Blachernai (*De cer.* 554.22–23), the image, which first appears in the 14th C., comprises the bust of the Virgin *orans* with the Christ Child before her chest (see VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA), here placed into a sort of basin from which flow two streams of water. The flourishing of the icon type is surely connected with that of the monastery of Pege in this period; at Pege the miraculous spring water flowed into a marble basin accessible by staircases inside the church. The monastery itself came to be known as the Zoodochos Pege in the 14th C.

SOURCES. "De sacris aedibus deque miraculis Deiparae ad Fontem" in *AASS*, Nov. 3:878–89. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos in PG 147:72–77.

LIT. S. Bénay, "Le monastère de la Source à Constantinople," *EO* 3 (1899) 223–28, 295–300. Janin, *Églises CP* 223–28. T. Velmans, "L'iconographie de la 'Fontaine de Vie' dans la tradition byzantine," in *Synthronon* 127–34. D. Medaković, "Bogorodica Živonosni istočnik' u srpskoj umetnosti," *ZRVI* 5 (1958) 203–05. –C.M., N.P.Š.

PEGOLOTTI, FRANCESCO BALDUCCI, Florentine merchant, employee of the Company of the Bardi ca.1310–ca.1340, politician, "banner bearer" in 1331, and "banner bearer of Justice" in 1346; born Florence before 1290, died after 1347. Pegolotti was the author of the *Book of Descriptions of Countries and of Measures of Merchandise*, more commonly known by the title of the first edition, *La Pratica della Mercatura.* The book was compiled over a long period of time, between 1310 and 1340. While the author was active mostly in western Europe, he was in Cyprus from 1324 to 1329, and again in the 1330s, and became well acquainted with the conditions of trade in the eastern Mediterranean as well as with the route to China. The book provides information about trade with China before the breakdown of the *Pax Mongolica.*

Pegolotti's book is not the only commercial handbook surviving from the Middle Ages, but it is the most complete. It gives information about the merchandise to be found in various ports of the Mediterranean and the Atlantic, its provenance and quality, about the means of exchange used in various markets, about the exchange rates, and about the weights, measures, and customs duties that were used in each place. There is also discussion of the manufacture of ALUM in PHOKAIA

and sugar in Cyprus. An indispensable source for the history of medieval trade, Pegolotti's book is an equally important guide to the trade and economic activities of the ports of Constantinople, Pera, the Black Sea, and Asia Minor.

ED. *La Practica della Mercatura*, ed. A. Evans (Cambridge, Mass., 1936).

LIT. P. Grierson, "The Coin List of Pegolotti," in *Studi in onore di Armando Sapori*, vol. 1 (Milan 1957) 483–92.

–A.L.

PEGONITES (Πηγωνίτης), family name of unclear etymology, perhaps connected with the modern Greek *pegouni*, "chin." The first known Pegonites is Niketas, *doux* of Dyrrachion under Basil II, who fought successfully against the Bulgarians in 1018. C. Mango (*AA* 81 [1966–67] 414) identified him with the *strategetes* of Dyrrachion mentioned in an inscription from the Istanbul Archaeological Museum. Psellos wrote the epitaph of his daughter Irene. Probably under Romanos III he commanded Rus' and other contingents on the eastern frontier of Byz.; H. Grégoire's hypothesis (*Byzantion* 12 [1937] 291) that he participated in Isaac Komnenos's revolt of 1057 is less plausible because of the chronological gap. Another Pegonites was *doux* of Edessa ca.1065; an 11th-C. seal names Leo Pegonites *strategos* of Great Preslav (N. Bănescu, P. Papahagi, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 602–04). In the mid-12th C. two Pegonitai held fiscal positions: one was *praktor* of Samos before 1157; another, Constantine, was tax collector somewhere on the Black Sea coast, probably on the Cimmerian Bosporos, ca.1180. The family regained military positions by the late 12th C.: Alexios, *doux* of Thessalonike, signed a charter of 1180 (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 4 [1927] 216, no.8B.15); his namesake held the same post ca.1230; and Constantine Pegonites was *doux* of Berroia ca.1220. –A.K.

PEIRA (Πεῖρα, lit. "experience"), a mid-11th-C. collection of excerpts from the statements of verdict (*hypomnemata*) and special treatises (*meletai*) of Eustathios RHOMAIOS. The compendium was compiled by an unknown colleague of Eustathios. The author cut up the texts of Eustathios that were at his disposal—some of which must have been of considerable length—into small fragments that he divided into 75 titles. The titles, which do not follow any identifiable system, contain, in a loosely associated progression, precepts, definitions, and solutions to problems from all spheres of civil and criminal law. Since the author's intention was to write a textbook (*didaskalia*), he was particularly concerned with the arrangement and formation of rules. He therefore not only carefully excerpted the laws cited by Eustathios but also tried to deduce a simple rule from the arguments of the judge and to place it at the head of the text fragments. Controversial issues, on the other hand, he summed up only in a cursory fashion, and to a high degree he suppressed the individual features of the cases. It is perhaps precisely for this reason that the *Peira* was greatly valued in the following period, as one can see from the citations in the scholia to the BASILIKA and in the works of CHOMATENOS and HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 4:11–260.

LIT. Simon, *Rechtsfindung*. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht." D. Simon, "Die Melete des Eustathios Rhomaios über die Befugnis der Witwe zur Mordanklage," *ZSavRom* 104 (1987) 559–95. A. Schminck, "Vier eherechtliche Entscheidungen aus dem 11. Jahrhundert," *FM* 3 (1979) 221–322. S. Vryonis, "The Peira as a Source for the History of Byzantine Aristocratic Society," in *Near Eastern Numismatics, Iconography, Epigraphy, and History: Studies in Honor of G.C. Miles* (Beirut 1974) 279–84. –D.S.

PELAGIANISM, theological system introduced by Pelagius (born Britain? ca.354, died Egypt? ca.420–27) and developed by Celestius and Julian of Eclanum. In the 380s Pelagius was in Rome where he served as the spiritual adviser of the ANICII; according to P. Brown (*JThSt* 19 [1968] 93–114), his tenets reveal aristocratic tendencies. He attacked the concept of predestination as Manichaean and supported the concept of human FREE WILL, the freedom to choose evil or good. Thus, he placed responsibility on man himself, while both grace and ecclesiastical institutions played only an accessory role in the process of salvation. Accordingly, Pelagius required a high moral standard of the Christian community as the union of the elect. Pelagianism was criticized by Augustine, Jerome, and Orosius; Augustine argued that divine grace and the sacraments were the major instruments of salvation. North Africa was the focal point of anti-Pelagian action; Rome's position was undecided and Pope Zosimus wavered between acceptance and condemnation of Pelagianism.

Circa 412 Pelagius moved to Palestine where he spent the rest of his life. There and in Syria Pelagius found support, partially because of Syrian asceticism and the theological ideas expressed, among others, by APHRAHAT (L. Barnard, *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 35 [1968] 193–96). In 415 Palestinian bishops acquitted Pelagius after he had mildly denounced the extreme teachings of Celestius. Julian of Eclanum and other Italian Pelagians were supported by NESTORIOS, but at the Council of Ephesus of 431 both Nestorians and Cyril's partisans accused each other of Pelagianism, and the Roman envoys were able to secure the condemnation of its teachings; by the 6th C. the sect had disappeared.

LIT. J. Ferguson, *Pelagius* (Cambridge 1956). R.F. Evans, *Pelagius. Inquiries and Reappraisals* (London 1968). W.H.C. Frend, *Saints and Sinners in the Early Church* (London 1985) 118–40. O. Wermelinger, *Rom und Pelagius* (Stuttgart 1975). W. Liebeschuetz, "Did the Pelagian Movement Have Social Aims?" *Historia* 12 (1963) 227–41. –T.E.G.

PELAGIA OF TARSOS, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia, who was of noble birth, underwent baptism and gave away her cloak to the poor. The son of Diocletian, who hoped to marry her, committed suicide in despair at the news of her conversion, and Diocletian ordered Pelagia to be burned in a bronze bull. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.96) illustrates Pelagia (there commemorated 7 Oct.) being roasted inside the brazen bull. Usener (*infra*) considered the legend of Pelagia a Christian version of the pagan myth of Aphrodite, the goddess of the sea (*pelagos*) and love, an interpretation rejected by H. Delehaye (*Les légendes hagiographiques*[3] [Brussels 1927] 187–94).

SOURCE. *Legenden der hl. Pelagia*, ed. H. Usener (Bonn 1879) x–xi, xx–xxiv, 17–28.
LIT. *BHG* 1480. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:153. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIA THE HARLOT, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia was a famous actress of Antioch, who instantly converted to Christianity under the influence of a legendary bishop Nonnos (of Edessa?), distributed her wealth, and ended her life disguised as the eunuch Pelagios, in a cell on the Mount of Olives in Jerusalem. The author of her 5th-C. Life pretended to be Jacob, Bp. Nonnos's attendant and Pelagia's contemporary. Pseudo-Jacob's work was translated into Syriac, Arabic, Armenian, Georgian, and other languages. The Christian concept of repentance is crucial for his story, but the legend was also influenced by pagan romance (Z. Pavlovskis, *Classical Folia* 30 [1976] 138–49) and myth. Chrysostom tells a similar story about an unnamed converted actress who was famous throughout Phoenicia, Cilicia, and Cappadocia, and even captivated the brother of the empress (PG 58:636f). Conversions were typical of the period, but the two stories do not coincide completely. Symeon Metaphrastes also wrote a vita of Pelagia.

In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.98), which calls her a harlot rather than an actress, she is shown twice, first in her extravagant clothes talking to Bp. Nonnos, and then clad as a nun, standing in prayer.

SOURCE. *Pélagie la Pénitente*, ed. P. Petitmengin, 2 vols. (Paris 1981–84).
LIT. *BHG* 1478–1479m. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:152f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIA THE VIRGIN, saint; feastday 8 Oct. Pelagia was a young virgin from Antioch who, fearful of being raped by persecutors who came to arrest her, threw herself from a roof. Her death was placed in the reign of Numerianus (283–84). EUSEBIOS OF EMESA mentioned her, and JOHN CHRYSOSTOM dedicated a homily to her (PG 50:579–84). In the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.97) she is shown praying while two men with spears approach her.

LIT. *BHG* 1477–1477d. L. Schütz, *LCI* 8:152. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PELAGIUS OF ALBANO, or Pelagius Galvani, cardinal-bishop of Albano near Rome (from 1213); died Montecassino, probably 30 Jan. 1230. His early life is unknown. He was most likely of Spanish (or Portuguese) origin. Auditor and judge at the curia of Popes Innocent III and Honorius III, in 1214–15 Pelagius came to Byz. as papal legate, with NICHOLAS OF OTRANTO as his interpreter. He aroused the hostility of the Greek population of Constantinople by closing their churches, an action countermanded by the Latin emperor Henry. Nicholas MESARITES, who represented the Nicaean empire at negotiations between the Eastern and Western churches, left a

detailed description (probably fictitious, according to G. Spiteris, *OrChrAn* 204 [1977] 181–86) of the discussions that took place in Constantinople and then continued (probably under Pontius, bishop of Ilerda) in Herakleia Pontike, where Theodore I Laskaris addressed the participants. Major issues were theological and liturgical differences (FILIOQUE and AZYMES), Pelagius's harsh treatment of Greek monks who refused to acknowledge papal PRIMACY, and protocol (Pelagius refused to rise when receiving Mesarites, and the Latins referred to the patriarch as "archbishop of Nicaea" or "of the Greeks"). Despite Theodore I's desire for peace, the embassy achieved no results.

In 1218 Honorius III sent Pelagius as papal legate to join the Fifth Crusade. After the initial success and the capture of Damietta (1219), Pelagius arrogantly rejected the peace proposal of the Ayyūbid sultan al-Kāmil (the return of Jerusalem to the Crusaders in exchange for their retreat from the Nile Delta); eventually, the discord in the Crusaders' camp led to their defeat and evacuation of Damietta in 1221.

LIT. *HC* 2:402–26, 435–37. J.P. Donovan, *Pelagius and the Fifth Crusade* (Philadelphia 1950). H.L. Gottschalk, *Al-Malik al-Kāmil von Egypten und seine Zeit* (Wiesbaden 1958) 58–115. D. Mansilla, "El Cardenal hispano Pelayo Gaitán (1206–1230)," *Anthologica annua* 1 (1953) 11–66. –A.K.

PELAGONIA (Πελαγονία, mod. Monastir/Bitola), alternative name applied in antiquity to the city of Herakleia Lynkestis in western Macedonia and to the area around it, on the Via EGNATIA west of Thessalonike. Pelagonia is listed among the *poleis* of Macedonia II in Hierokles (Hierokl. 641.5) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 2.40, ed. Pertusi p.88). In 11th- and 12th-C. texts it appears as a valley (*ta pedia*: e.g., Skyl. 354.77) or region (William of Tyre 2:13, PL 201:163) suitable for cavalry encampments and for spying on hostile tribes (Nik.Chon. 101.60–64) rather than as a city. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 78.21) considers it a *chorion*. Near Pelagonia, in Boutele, the Bulgarian tsar Gabriel Radomir (1014–15) built his palace, which was burned by Basil II in 1014 (Skyl. 351.2–4).

The bishop of Herakleia Lynkestis was suffragan of Thessalonike in a notitia of ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 3.260). In the list of Bulgarian bishoprics promulgated in 1020 he is replaced by the bishop of Boutelis, who was granted possessions in Pelagonia, PRILEP, and some neighboring locations (H. Gelzer, *BZ* 2 [1893] 42.27–29); a correspondent and suffragan of Theophylaktos of Ohrid is identified as bishop of Pelagonia, and a notitia, probably contemporary with Theophylaktos, describes Herakleia or Pelagonia (*Notitiae CP* 13.840) as suffragan of Justiniana Prima.

In the 13th C. Pelagonia was contested among various powers: DOBROMIR CHRYSOS held it ca.1201; the Latins in alliance with Michael I Komnenos Doukas of Epiros defeated the Bulgarian Strezos in the valley of Pelagonia in 1212 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:307); John Asen II subdued it, and John III Vatatzes occupied Pelagonia. In 1259, Pelagonia was the site of a battle in which the forces of the empire of Nicaea defeated an alliance of Epiros, Achaia, and Manfred of Sicily (see PELAGONIA, BATTLE OF). Later writers (e.g., Kantak. 1:281.20–22) also consider Pelagonia as a district in which various *polichnia* were located.

LIT. P. Gautier in *Théophylacte d'Achrida, Lettres* (Thessalonike 1980) 60f. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, *VizIzvori* 6 (1986) 330, n.101. E. Maneva, "Rezultati ot zaštitnite iskopuvanja 'extra muros' vo Herakleja," *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 7–8 (1981–82; publ. 1987) 125–45. –T.E.G.

PELAGONIA, BATTLE OF, decisive encounter in the valley of Pelagonia, between the forces of the empire of NICAEA and a triple alliance of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN of Achaia, and MANFRED of Sicily (who did not participate personally, but sent 400 German knights). The battle took place in early summer (D.M. Nicol, *BZ* 49 [1956] 68–71) or fall of 1259 (Geanakoplos). The Western coalition was formed in an attempt to thwart the rising power of MICHAEL VIII PALAIOLOGOS, the new Nicene emperor. The alliance was strained, however, by rival ambitions in the Balkans and fell apart on the eve of the battle. According to Gregoras (Greg. 1:74.7–21), Michael II and his son Nikephoros abandoned their allies and fled with many troops, while another son, John the Bastard, joined the Nicene forces. Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler 1:119) adds that John deserted because Villehardouin had taunted him about his illegitimate birth. Thus the Nicene army, commanded by the *sebastokrator* John Palaiologos, brother of Michael VIII, was able to crush the weakened forces of the allies and capture Villehardouin and 30 Frankish barons. The Nicene

victory freed Michael VIII from a threat from the West and enabled him to concentrate on the reconquest of Constantinople from the Latins. Furthermore, in order to gain his release Villehardouin had to agree to the Treaty of Constantinople of 1262, whereby he paid Michael a ransom of three key fortresses, MISTRA, MONEMVASIA, and MAINA, the kernel of the future Byz. despotate of MOREA.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 175–82. D.J. Geanakoplos, "Greco-Latin Relations on the Eve of the Byzantine Restoration: The Battle of Pelagonia—1259," *DOP* 7 (1953) 99–141. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić in *VizIzvori* 6 (1986) 157–62. J.L. van Dieten in *Nikephoros Gregoras, Rhomäische Geschichte*, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1973) 236, nos. 114–19. –A.M.T.

PELEKANOS (Πελεκάνος), site (*chorion*) in BITHYNIA on the Gulf of Nikomedeia in the plains below Dakibyza (mod. Gebze). In the 10th and 11th C. Pelekanos contained a monastery of the Theotokos and nearby, in Mesampelos, a monastery of St. George. During the First Crusade, Godfrey of Bouillon made his camp there, and Alexios I used it as his base during the siege of Nicaea (An.Komn. 2:226.20, 235.26). Pelekanos was the site of a decisive defeat of the Byz. by ORHAN on 10 June 1329. The battle is described by JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS (Kantak. 1:342–63). When news of the Turkish blockade of Nicaea reached the capital, Andronikos III determined to relieve the city. The Byz. forces under the emperor and Kantakouzenos met the Turks at Pelekanos and were at first successful in a series of skirmishes. As the army withdrew to its camp, however, the Turks attacked and gained a signal victory when the Byz. panicked at news that the emperor had been wounded. The remnants of the army took refuge in the nearby fortress of Philokrene. This failure of the last Byz. attempt to retain control of Bithynia enabled Orhan to capture Nicaea in 1331 and to gain supremacy in the region opposite the capital.

LIT. Arnakis, *Othomanoi* 179–85. Janin, *Églises centres* 88, 94f. –C.F.

PELEKETE MONASTERY, a provincial center of image worship in western Asia Minor during the controversy over ICONOCLASM in the 8th–9th C. Its name, *Pelekete* (Πελεκητή, "hewn with an axe"), derived from its location upon a steep rock. The date of its foundation is unknown; it clearly was in existence by 763 or 764 when Michael LACHANODRAKON, governor of the theme of THRAKESION, attacked the monastery because of its iconodulic stance and burned it to the ground. Some monks, including the *hegoumenos* Theosteriktos, were tortured; 38 were arrested and subsequently buried alive at Ephesus. Pelekete was restored by the end of the 8th C., when a certain Makarios served the monastery as scribe, *oikonomos*, and eventually *hegoumenos* (*BHG* 1003). With the second outbreak of Iconoclasm ca.814, Makarios was forced to leave Pelekete and suffered imprisonment and exile; his monks, however, continued their opposition to Iconoclasm even without his leadership. After the 9th C. Pelekete disappears from the Byz. sources.

Most scholars locate Pelekete in Bithynia, 5 km west of Trigleia (Turk. Tirilye), where there are ruins of a monastery of Pelekete, dedicated to St. John the Theologian. It is a rectangular cross-in-square church, with a central apse containing traces of a *synthronon* and domically vaulted *pastophoria*.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Some Churches and Monasteries on the Southern Shore of the Sea of Marmara," *DOP* 27 (1973) 242–48. Janin, *Églises centres* 170–72. –A.M.T.

PELOPONNESOS (Πελοπόννησος), southernmost peninsula of GREECE, also known from the Frankish period as the MOREA. In late antiquity part of the province of ACHAIA, the Peloponnesos retained its urban character: HIEROKLES counted 26 cities in the Peloponnesos. From the late 6th C., however, building activity in the peninsula practically stopped: it is still unclear whether this economic decline resulted from hostile invasions, primarily Slavic, or "was also caused by a more general phenomenon of decline" (Lemerle, *infra* 343). The question of the Slavic invasion has been hotly discussed. Slavic penetration in the Peloponnesos is indicated by the evidence of toponyms—M. Vasmer (*Slaven*) counted 429 place names of Slavic origin in the Peloponnesos, although some dozens could be disputed. The Slavs seem not to have occupied the eastern cities, however, and they underwent rapid hellenization, even though in the 14th C. there were independent Slavic communities in the peninsula.

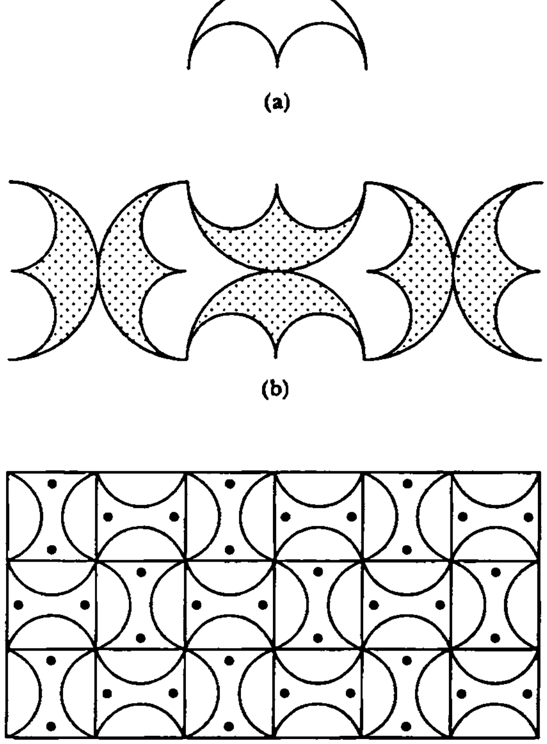
From the late 7th C. the Peloponnesos was part

of the theme of HELLAS, and from the early 9th C. it was a theme in its own right, with its capital at CORINTH: Leo SKLEROS may have been the first *strategos*. The coasts of the Peloponnesos were ravaged by Arab pirates in the 9th and 10th C. until the Byz. reconquest of CRETE in 961. After that the peninsula prospered, with plentiful evidence of rich agricultural production, commerce, and industry in cities such as Corinth and PATRAS. Beginning in 1205 the leaders of the Fourth Crusade, notably WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE and GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN captured most of the Peloponnesos without serious struggle, and the land was divided into baronies, loosely under the authority of the principality of ACHAIA. The conquest was completed by 1248, but the Frankish defeat at the battle of PELAGONIA in 1259 and the surrender of MISTRA and other territories with the Treaty of Constantinople in 1262 initiated the revival of Byz. power in the Peloponnesos—henceforth divided between the despotate of the MOREA and the various Frankish states. The Turks first entered the peninsula in 1446 and, except for Venetian strongholds such as NAUPLIA and METHONE, conquered the entire Peloponnesos by 1460.

The bishop of Corinth, originally metropolitan of Hellas and of the Peloponnesos, was challenged, esp. by the metropolitan of PATRAS. Over time the bishops of LAKEDAIMON, ARGOS, and CHRISTIANOUPOLIS also gained metropolitan status.

LIT. A. Bon, *Le Péloponnèse byzantin jusqu'en 1204* (Paris 1951). Idem, *La Morée franque* (Paris 1969). P. Lemerle, "Une province byzantine: Le Péloponnèse," *Byzantion* 21 (1951) 341–53. G. Huxley, "The Second Dark Age of the Peloponnesos," *LakSp* 3 (1977) 84–110. Ph. Malingoudis, "Toponymy and History," *Cyrillomethodiana* 7 (1983) 99–111. –T.E.G.

PELTA (πέλτη, "small shield"), a term conventionally applied to a crescent-shaped ORNAMENT with two arch-shaped cutouts meeting at an apex on the inner border. In art such shields are traditionally depicted with Amazons, as in a floor mosaic from APAMEIA. A row of *peltai* decorate the top of the pediment above the *augusti* on the *missorium* of Theodosios I (see LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER). Often repeated to form a border or frame, the *pelta* is common from the 4th to the 6th C., for example, in the CALENDAR OF 354 (H. Stern, *Le calendrier de 354* [Paris 1953] 329–31). *Pelta* was a traditional pattern in OPUS SECTILE and FLOOR MOSAICS where it is often repeated to form quatrefoils, whorls, waves, or colonnades. It is rare after the 6th C., except in a small, closely related group of 13th-C. MSS, such as Paris, B.N. gr. 54, where it is repeated in borders to form a "double axe" motif. –R.E.K.



PELTA. Common pelta designs. (a) simple pelta; (b) paired peltas; (c) "double axe" motif (Paris, B.N. gr. 54).

PEN (κάλαμος, γραφίς). In antiquity the main writing instruments were the *stilus* (*graphis*) for writing on wax tablets (with a pointed end for engraving and a flattened one for erasing) and the *kalamos* for writing on papyrus. While in the West the *kalamos* began to be replaced by the goose quill from the early Middle Ages onward, in Byz. it remained dominant, and it is possible that goose quills were never used in Byz. The

kalamos is a piece of reed with an incision at the sharpened end, resembling in this respect modern metal pens. *Kalamoi* made of metal or bone have survived from antiquity and are also attested in Byz. texts. The *kalamos* was kept in a penholder (*kalamarion*). In miniatures the evangelists are very often represented with *kalamos* in hand, either writing or dipping or sharpening (H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:461–63). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 594.90–91) reports that in 1204 the Crusaders mocked the Byz. as secretaries, by holding reed pens (*grapheas donakas*) and inkwells and pretending to write in books.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:182–202. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 40–43. P. Odorico, "Il calamo d'argento," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 65–93. –W.H.

PENALTIES (*τιμωρίαι, ποιναί*). There were many different penalties in Byz. law, ranging in severity from fines and corporal punishment (whipping, shaving the head, BLINDING, MUTILATION, TORTURE), to EXILE and various forms of the death penalty. Confinement in PRISON was viewed by the law only as military arrest or as detention pending investigation; internment in a monastery was regarded as a form of relegation (milder exile). Often different kinds of punishment were combined; CONFISCATION and INFAMY were generally associated with other penalties. In many cases the law allowed for differentiation in the type and degree of penalty according to the social or financial position of the offender. The final choice of penalty was often left to the appropriate official. A coherent penal system was developed only in the ECLOGA; it competes, in the later legal collections, with the penal prescriptions of the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. The death penalty, after a high point in late antiquity, was awarded with considerable restraint. Nevertheless, beheading, hanging on a stake (*furca*), and even burning were applied in some cases of ROBBERY, rebellion, conspiracy, or grave heresy. Under religious influence, crucifixion as a death penalty was prohibited. The enforcement of penalties was supposed to rest in the hands of the state. When the church, which prescribed its own EPITIMIA, overstepped the strict bounds of its jurisdiction, it tried to forbid the imposition of additional state punishment.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 330–34. Sinogowitz, *Strafrecht* 17–39. J. Gaudemet, "De la responsibilité pénale dans la législation post-classique," in *Sodalitas: Scritti in onore di A. Guarino* 6 (Naples 1984) 2569–74. Troianos, *Poinalios*. –L.B.

Depiction of Punishment in Art. Penalties visited on the enemies of Israel in such MSS as the JOSHUA ROLL and the Istanbul Octateuch (Uspenskij, "Seral'skij kodeks," nos. 238, 244, 253) include hanging on crossed stakes (*didyma xyla*), stoning, and crushing with rocks. The means by which the martyrs meet their end in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II are various, and include spearing, roasting, dismemberment, beheading, and drowning. –A.C.

PENANCE (*μετάνοια*, lit. "change of mind"), refers both to the ecclesial discipline that ultimately evolved into the SACRAMENT of penance or confession (*exomologesis*) of sins, and to the penitential act (EPITIMION) imposed upon penitents in satisfaction for SIN. Though MONTANISM and NOVATIANISM had rejected the possibility that grave sin could ever be forgiven once baptism had taken place, this view was condemned at the First Council of Nicaea. Penance was formally recognized by the Byz. as a sacrament at the Council of LYONS.

The penitential discipline of "canonical penance" was developed esp. for those Christians who had lapsed under the persecution in the 3rd C. In this system, modeled on the CATECHUMENATE, those guilty of serious crimes (murder, idolatry, fornication) confessed their guilt, were enrolled in the class of penitents (a class with several grades in some areas like Asia Minor), excluded from COMMUNION in the Eucharist and prayers, prayed over and dismissed from services before the prayers of the faithful, and did penance, often for many years, before being publicly reconciled at the end of LENT and received again into communion at Easter.

Monastic practices of CONFESSION and spiritual direction by a PATER PNEUMATIKOS led to the spread of private "tariff penances" in which each sin was assigned an appropriate penance. Some Byz. PENITENTIALS containing lists of sins and the corresponding *epitimia* have survived.

Early EUCHOLOGIA provide penitential prayers, but a complete confession rite for the use of monks and laity under the spiritual guidance of

monks—such as the *Nomokanon* falsely attributed to Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES (E. Herman, *OrChrP* 19 [1953] 80)—evolved only toward the end of the 10th C. and came into general use gradually thereafter. One penitential KANON of uncertain date was richly illustrated, ode by ode, in a MS of the 12th–13th C. (Vat. gr. 1754, Martin, *Heavenly Ladder* 128–49, figs. 246–77).

Fasting, prayer, alms, forgiveness of one's enemies, renunciation of judgment and retaliation, or more generally, love of neighbor and of God were commonly recommended as means of *metanoia*. The gift of tears of CONTRITION for men of all classes occupied a special place in this list. NIKON HO "METANOEITE" made the appeal to repentance the cornerstone of his tenets.

Representation in Art. Penitence did not acquire an established iconography in early Christian art despite its sometimes highly dramatic ceremonial, and it remained iconographically indeterminate thereafter. The greatest scene of penitence in the Bible, David rebuked by Nathan, was depicted as an act of PROSKYNESIS in Psalter illustration; the same posture is assumed by the emperor in the mosaic above the imperial door at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, interpreted as LEO VI penitent about his fourth marriage (N. Oikonomides, *DOP* 30 [1976] 170–72). *Proskynesis* was in no sense limited to penitence, however, and penitents could assume other poses as well. The monk observing his soul's judgment in the Psalter MS Athos, Dion. 65, hunches in terror (*Treasures* I, fig.118); the figures of monks accompanying the Penitential Kanon in certain 12th-C. MSS of John Klimax's *Heavenly Ladder* engage in self-mortifying activities (T. Avner, *Byzantion* 54 [1984] 5–25). It is impossible in the countless images of crouched or praying monks and donors to distinguish penitence as such from a more general imploring.

LIT. A. Almazov, *Tajnaja ispoved' v pravoslavnoj vostočnoj cerkvi* (Odessa 1894). Arranz, "Rites d'incorporation" 68–70. R. Taft, "Penance in Contemporary Scholarship," *Studia Liturgica* 18 (1988) 2–21. F. Leduc, "Péché et conversion chez S. Jean Chrysostome," *PrOC* 26 (1976) 38–58; 27 (1977) 15–42; 28 (1978) 44–84. G. Wagner, "Bussdisziplin in der Tradition des Ostens," in *Liturgie et remission des péchés* (Rome 1975) 251–64. R. Barringer, "The Pseudo-Amphilochian Life of St. Basil: Ecclesiastical Penance and Byzantine Hagiography," *Theologia* 51 (1980) 49–61. D. Kristoff, "A View of Repentance in Monastic Liturgical Literature," *SVThQ* 28 (1984) 263–86. C. Vogel, *Le pécheur et la pénitence dans l'église ancienne* (Paris 1982). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 53–110, esp. 80–91. N. Suvorov, "Verojatnyj sostav drevnejšgo ispovednogo i pokajannogo ustava v Vostočnoj cerkvi," *VizVrem* 8 (1901) 357–434; 9 (1902) 378–417.
–R.F.T., G.P., A.W.C.

PENDANT (*κρεμαστάριον*). The term may generally refer to anything worn on a chain around the neck or suspended from a ring, such as an ENKOLPION, a seal, cameo, amulet, or small reliquary. More specifically, the term is used for hanging elements of court insignia and regalia. A gold medallion of Constantius II and the mosaic of Justinian I in S. Vitale, RAVENNA, show the emperors wearing a *fibula* with three pendants of gold or pearls, which identifies their imperial status. A pendant from a 6th-C. Byz. crown, now in the Walters Art Gallery, Baltimore (ed. A. Garside, *Jewelery: Ancient to Modern* [New York 1980], no.421), consists of a strip of gold foil with repoussé ornament and inset gems. All images of Justinian and Theodora and many later imperial portraits in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, show them wearing crowns with pendant jewels. GLASS PENDANTS were an inexpensive form of jewelry.
–S.D.C.

PENDENTIVE (*τρίγωνον*), an architectural element used to form the transition between a square and a circle. Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.1.43–46) saw the pendentive as a spherical triangle presenting its concave face to the center of a square area covered by a DOME. Pendentives, constructed of stone or brick, provide surfaces of continuous curvature between arches spanning adjacent sides of the area. Rising to the crowns of these arches they form a horizontal circle on which a DRUM and dome can be erected. The advantage of the pendentive over such alternative methods as a SQUINCH lies in the purity of its geometric shape, the concavity of its surface (ideal for mosaic tesserae), and the apparent simplicity with which it joins square and circle. Although pendentive domes (i.e., domical vaults of continuous curvature from the base of a pendentive to the crown of a dome) are known in cut stone from the 2nd C. (Gerasa, West Baths; A. Boëthius, J. Ward-Perkins, *Etruscan and Roman Architecture* [Baltimore 1970] 438, pl.229) and in brick masonry from the early 5th C. (Mausoleum at Side: A.M. Mansel, *JDAI* 74

[1959] 364–78), pendentives as defined above appear to be a creation of the 6th C., most notably at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople. In churches of the 10th C. and after, the surfaces of pendentives were usually decorated with EVANGELIST PORTRAITS or scenes from the life of Christ.

LIT. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 251–53, 536. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 162–66, 208–10. M. Rumpler, *La coupole dans l'architecture byzantine et musulmane* (Strasbourg 1956) 101–04. –W.L., N.E.L.

PENITENCE. See PENANCE.

PENITENTIAL, a work that instructs the confessor on what kind of EPITIMIA he should impose on the penitent for specific SINS. With the increasing ecclesiastical control over social life there appeared parallel to the state penal system (see PENALTIES) an ecclesiastical penitential system (see PENANCE) that was based on the penitential CANONS of councils and church fathers—esp. those of the 4th C. These penitential canons, usually somewhat altered, were collected in lists that are transmitted anonymously or pseudonymously under the names of, for example, the Apostles, Basil the Great, and Theodore of Stoudios.

According to Herman (*infra*), the so-called *kanonarion*, probably dating to the first half of the 9th C., is the oldest (preserved) penitential. It begins with general statements on penitence and continues with a long-winded exposition on sins, mostly sexual; it tends to shorten what were previously very long penitential periods. Perhaps as early as the 9th C. this text was expanded to include an "*Akolouthia* and *Taxis* for Confessants" (PG 88:1889–1918), a "*Logos* for One Who is to Confess to His Spiritual Father" (*ibid.* 1919–32), and a "*Didaskalia* of the Fathers Concerning Those Whom It Behooves to Confess Their Sins" (N. Suvorov, *VizVrem* 8 [1901] 398–401). The *Nomokanon* traditionally ascribed to Patr. JOHN IV NESTEUTES, a further reworking datable at the latest to the early 10th C., contains for the first time penitential prescriptions for nuns.

Penitential texts, sometimes called *Kanonika*, and again falsely attributed to John IV Nesteutes (cf. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1.1, no.270), were occasionally designated in the 11th C. as not binding (M.V. Strazzeri, *FM* 3 [1979] 334f) but apparently still remained in use, as an excerpt produced by Matthew BLASTARES proves (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:432–46), and as does the large number of surviving MSS (still insufficiently researched). There are also translations into Georgian (11th C.) and into Old Slavonic.

ED. Kanonarion—I. Morinus, *Commentarius historicus de disciplina in administratione Sacramenti Poenitentiae tredecim primis seculis in Ecclesia occidentali, et huc usque in orientali observata* (Paris 1651) Appendix, 101–117.

LIT. E. Herman, "Il più antico penitenziale greco," *OrChrP* 19 (1953) 71–127. A. Raes, "Les formulaires grecs du rite de la pénitence," in *Mélanges en l'honneur de Monseigneur Michel Andrieu* (Strasbourg 1956) 365–372. J.H. Erickson, "Penitential Discipline in the Orthodox Canonical Tradition," *SVThQ* 21 (1977) 191–206. D. Simon, "Die Bussbescheide des Erzbischofs Chomatian von Ochrid," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 235–75. –A.S.

PENTAKOUBOUKLON (πεντακούβουκλον), a room divided in an unspecified manner into five bays, perhaps a tetraconch built around a central space. A "great *triklinos*" of this name was added by Basil I to the GREAT PALACE, where it adjoined the Portico of Marcian (*TheophCont* 335.9–10). Two chapels were attached to it—one of St. Paul, the other of St. Barbara. The epic of DIGENES AKRITAS (ed. E. Trapp, 328, G VII 51–52 [3189–90]) describes, in the hero's palace, cross-shaped halls and strange "*pentakoubouk1a* [ornamented] with extremely bright and brilliant marble."

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:291, n.76. –A.C., A.K.

PENTAPOLIS (Πεντάπολις, "Five Cities"), name applied to two groups of cities, one in Italy, the other in North Africa.

PENTAPOLIS IN ITALY, a military province in Italy established in the late 6th C. incorporating parts of the civil provinces of Flaminia and Picenum and ruled by a *dux* based in Rimini. It extended from the river Marecchia north of Rimini to the river Musone south of Osimo; in the west its probable boundary was the Apennine watershed, although it included part of the road corridor south to Rome and at times Perugia. Its name appears to derive from its two groups of cities: Rimini, Pesaro, Fano, Senigallia, and ANCONA in the north; Urbino, Fossombrone, Iesi, Cagli, and Gubbio in the south. Hence, references occur to two provinces (Pentapolis *maritima* and Pentapolis *annonaria*) and to Decapolis. Its social and political institutions were closely linked to

those of the exarchate of RAVENNA, whose exarch appears to have exercised some direct authority over it. Most of Pentapolis was occupied by the Lombard king Liutprand between 726 and 743 and all of it was conquered by Aistulf in 751. Although incorporated into the papal patrimony soon after, the archbishop of Ravenna retained considerable lands and influence.

LIT. N. Alfieri, "La Pentapoli bizantina d'Italia," *CorsiRav* 20 (1973) 7–18. A. Guillou, *Régionalisme et indépendance dans l'Empire byzantin au VIIe siècle* (Rome 1969). –T.S.B.

PENTAPOLIS IN NORTH AFRICA, the five Greek *poleis* on the coast of the Djebel Akhdar plateau in northeastern Libya. Under Diocletian they were formed into the province of Libya Pentapolis or Libya Superior. Between 390 and ca.450, the province was subjected to frequent attacks by local tribes, particularly the Austuriani (see MAURI), leading to the construction of additional frontier fortifications and the repair of urban defenses. The chronic warfare also contributed to the creation of an independent *dux* of Libya Pentapolis by no later than ca.470. Although considerable damage was inflicted on the province by the tribal razzias, the letters of SYNESIOS of Cyrene and a recent archaeological survey suggest surprising continuity in the local agrarian economy (see CYRENAICA), perhaps owing to increased ecclesiastical ownership of rural estates. In the late 5th or early 6th C. the provincial capital was evidently transferred from water-starved Ptolemais to APOLLONIA. Raiding by the Mazikes in the same period prompted Anastasios I and Justinian I to further strengthen urban and frontier fortifications. Some indication of the military stability achieved in the province by the mid-7th C. is revealed by the support given to Herakleios in his revolt against Phokas by both the governor and local tribes.

The church of Pentapolis was subordinate to the patriarch of ALEXANDRIA. The metropolitan of Ptolemais did, however, have the authority to call provincial councils. The bishops of the Pentapolis were strong supporters of Arianism in the 4th C. and Monophysitism in the 5th C. The province was conquered by the Arabs between 642 and 645.

LIT. D. Roques, "L'économie de la Cyrénaïque au Bas-Empire," in *Cyrenaica in Antiquity*, ed. G. Barker, J. Lloyd, J. Reynolds (Oxford 1985) 387–94. R.G. Goodchild, *Libyan Studies* (London 1976). P. Romanelli, *La Cirenaica Romana (96 a.c.–642 d.c.)* (Rome 1971). A. Laronde, "La vie agricole en Libye jusqu'à l'arrivée des Arabes," *Libyan Studies* 20 (1989) 127–34. –R.B.H.

PENTAPYRGION (*πενταπύργιον*), a construction with five towers or domes, the central member of which is taller than the four minor domes or towers at the corners. The earliest example is found in the 4th-C. Church of S. Lorenzo in Milan. In the 9th C. the five-domed type appeared in the NEA EKKLESIA in Constantinople, emulated in numerous later churches. The form also appears in MSS illustrations and in reliquaries and furniture: most notably, a large cupboard crowned with five towers, built for Emp. Theophilos (829–42), was used to display precious objects in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1956) 193–96. J. Ebersolt, *Le Grand Palais de Constantinople* (Paris 1910) 82. –M.J.

PENTARCHY (*πενταρχία*, "the power of the five"). According to the theory of pentarchy, particular authority in the church was invested in five principal sees of Christendom, with honorary PRIMACY attributed to Rome, followed in order of precedence by Constantinople, Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. Ultimately, retention of membership in the pentarchy depended on a see's orthodoxy, not on any divine right. The conciliar documents establishing the status of these sees consider their authority the result of ecclesiastical legislation or law (cf. Council of Chalcedon, canon 28). By the reign of Justinian I, when the theory received the endorsement of civil law, the church was already conceived as being governed by a pentarchy of PATRIARCHATES; together they summed up the whole Catholic church (cf. nov.109, prooemium). In the words of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, this collective earthly authority constituted the supreme pentarchic power of the church (PG 99:1417C). Significantly, he applied the text of Matthew 16:19 equally to all five patriarchs and even described them as the Apostles' five *diadochoi*, "successors." The same verse, however, could also be applied to all bishops.

Although Rome's special position within the union was never denied—its *presbeia*, "privileges," were always respected—the common authority of the other sees was equally essential. The Byz. view

that a council was ecumenical when all the patriarchates were represented was founded on this principle (Maximos the Confessor, PG 91:352D). The Council of HIERIA was thus denied ecumenicity and dogmatic authority by NICAEA II because it lacked this criterion. The absolute equality of all five patriarchs, expressed subsequently by PETER III of Antioch and Neilos DOXOPATRES, was a variation of the same idea. Behind it lay the concept of collective primacy enunciated earlier.

LIT. G.I. Konidares, "He theoria tes pentarchias ton patriarchon kai tou proteiou times auton eis tas 'Notitias episcopatuum,' " *Les Paralipomènes* (Alexandria 1954) 121–43 (cf. H.-G. Beck, *BZ* 49 [1956] 208). P. O'Connell, *The Ecclesiology of St. Nicephorus I (758–828): Pentarchy and Primacy* (Rome 1972). W. de Vries, "The College of Patriarchs," *Concilium* 8 (1965) 65–80. V. Peri, "La pentarchia: Istituzione ecclesiale (IV–VII sec.) e teoria canonico-teologica," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 209–318. J.A. Siciliano, "The Theory of the Pentarchy and Views on Papal Supremacy in the Ecclesiology of Neilos Doxapatrius and His Contemporaries," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 167–77. –A.P.

PENTATEUCH (Πεντάτευχος, the "five books" or the Law), the first section of the OLD TESTAMENT containing the books of Genesis, Exodus, Leviticus, Numbers, and Deuteronomy. Their authorship was ascribed to MOSES. The Pentateuch was esp. respected by the Jews, and Greek theologians (e.g., Origen, Theodoret of Cyrrhus) devoted substantial space to it in their Old Testament commentaries. The beginning of Genesis attracted particular attention and was interpreted in many HEXAEMERA. Cyril of Alexandria, on the other hand, wrote a commentary (*Glaphyra*) on the five books of Moses as a whole; its major purpose was to interpret this text as a prediction of Christ's coming (PG 69:16AB). At the end of the 11th C., Tobia ben Elieser of Kastoria wrote a Hebrew commentary on the Pentateuch, in which he inserted some Greek phrases transliterated in Hebrew letters; he mentions the First Crusade and the Crusaders' cruelty toward German Jews (J. Perles, *BZ* 2 [1893] 574f).

LIT. O. Plöger, W. Werbeck, in *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*^{3}, vol. 5 (Tübingen 1961) 211–17. –J.I., A.K.

PENTECOST (Πεντηκοστή, lit. "the fiftieth [day]"), the day of the descent of the Holy Spirit on the Apostles, according to Acts 2. Pentecost refers both to the 50-day period from Easter to Whitsunday inclusive and to Whitsunday itself.

Pentecost celebrated not an event but a mystery of salvation manifested in several events. The primitive sense of Pentecost as a season symbolic of the new age ushered in by the paschal victory of Christ, in which his glory was manifested, comprised the themes of Jesus' resurrection, ascension, session at the right hand of the Father, and *parousia*, as well as the descent of the Spirit. The Pentecost season was like a 50-day-long "Great" SUNDAY and "Eighth Day," and it retained elements characteristic of Sunday and Easter liturgy: there was no FASTING, KNEELING was forbidden, EUCHARIST was celebrated daily, and BAPTISM was administered (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:97–139). Mid-pentecost (*mesopentekoste*) on Wednesday of the fourth week after Easter received a special commemoration; on this day the emperor went in procession to the Church of St. MOKIOS (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.17).

The feast's original components eventually split into separate historical commemorations, ASCENSION and Pentecost Sunday, with emphasis on the latter as feast of the event of Acts 2, a development first noted in the 5th C. Pentecost Sunday, celebrated in all churches of Constantinople, was preceded by a VIGIL with *paramone* and *pannychis*. Then, after *orthros* the patriarch administered baptism and chrismation in the baptistery of Hagia Sophia. According to the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 211–13), on both these days the emperor went in solemn procession to liturgy and banqueted following it. The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.9) provides a lengthy description of the imperial celebration of Pentecost.

Kneeling recommenced with the *gonyklisia* rite. From the 14th C. onward, the liturgy of the Pentecost season, originally contained in the TRIODION, was codified in the PENTEKOSTARION.

Representation in Art. The earliest images of the Pentecost are of the 6th C. (RABBULA GOSPELS, fol.14v; Monza AMPULLA, no.10—Grabar, *Ampoules*, pl.17, p.26f). They show rays descending on the 12 Apostles, who stand to either side of the Virgin, her presence signaling the event's significance in Church history. The Pentecost assumed a different form after Iconoclasm, its meaning as an image of the Church conveyed now by the seating of the Apostles on a *synthronon*-like, semicircular bench with PETER and PAUL in the center. The rays emanate from an arc of heaven that sometimes encloses the HETOIMASIA. Below the Apostles stand groups of armed or

exotically clad people representing the "tribes" and "tongues" (*phylai* and *glossai*). From the 13th C. onward, the Virgin occasionally reappears (MILEŠEVA). The *phylai* and *glossai* are often replaced by a crowned personification of Kosmos. The Pentecost is depicted on icons; in monumental painting, where it became a major dome composition (HOSIOS LOUKAS); in monastic chapter houses (Cutler, *infra*); and in MSS—accompanying Psalm 66 in marginal PSALTERS, Homily 41 of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, and either Acts 2:1–4 or John 7:37 in LECTIONARIES and GOSPEL BOOKS.

LIT. R. Cabié, *La Pentecôte* (Tournai 1965). J. Gunstone, *The Feast of Pentecost* (London 1967). P. Regan, "The Fifty Days and the Fiftieth Day," *Worship* 55 (1981) 194–218. Talley, *Liturgical Year* 57–70. A. Cutler, "Apostolic Monasticism at Tokalı Kilise in Cappadocia," *AnatSt* 35 (1985) 57–65. G. Schiller, *Ikonographie der christlichen Kunst* (Gütersloh 1966) 4.1:14–18; 3:pl.460. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

PENTEKOSTARION (*πεντηκοστάριον*), liturgical book of hymnody, continuation of the TRIODION. The *pentekostarion* contains the "propers" or variable elements for the 50-day PENTECOST season, including Pentecost week and its following Sunday, All Saints' Day. The name *pentekostarion* first appears in MS Serres 84, dated 1348.

ED. H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Pentecostarium* (Copenhagen 1960). *Pentecostaire,* tr. D. Guillaume, 2 vols. (Rome 1978).
LIT. P. de Meester, *Riti e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario* (Padua 1943). –R.F.T.

PEPAGOMENOS (Πεπαγωμένος, fem. Πεπαγωμένη), on seals frequently Pagomenos, a family of civil functionaries known from the late 11th C., when some Pepagomenoi were granted the high titles of *sebastophoros* and *rhaiktor*. The Pepagomenoi were primarily judges (John in 1082, a participant in the trials of JOHN ITALOS; John in 1196, a judge of the *velum*) and notaries (Nikephoros, a notary in the *sekreton* of the sea in 1188–99; Nikephoros, imperial *grammatikos*, an envoy to Genoa in 1192). They still held modest posts in the civil administration in the 14th C.: Theodore, *prototaboularios* in 1366; a *logothetes ton agelon* (first name unknown). The Pepagomenoi served also in church administration: Nikephoros BLEMMYDES sent a letter to Pepagomenos, bishop of Nikomedeia; John (?) was *chartophylax* of the bishopric of Hieron in 1214 (MM 6:167.13–14); a *megas ekklesiarches* and a (patriarchal?) *protonotarios* were active in the 14th C. A Greek inscription from the Ancona region mentions Theodore Pepagomenos (1141–86) who took the monastic habit (as Theosteriktos) in a local monastery. Some Pepagomenoi of the 13th–15th C. belonged to the intelligentsia: John Pagomenos, an artist on Crete (see ARTISTS); correspondents of PALAMAS and GREGORAS (Nicholas Pepagomenos, perhaps the author of an *enkomion* of the martyr Isidoros) and of HYRTAKENOS and CHORTASMENOS (see, e.g., PEPAGOMENOS, DEMETRIOS); and several scribes.

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Eine griechische Grabinschrift aus dem Jahr 1186 in Corridonia," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 149–60, with add. A. Kazhdan, *ADSV* 10 (1973) 60–63. *PLP*, nos. 21283–87, 22339–71. –A.K.

PEPAGOMENOS, DEMETRIOS, writer; fl. first half of 15th C. A member of the PEPAGOMENOS family, Demetrios Pepagomenos was a doctor who lived in Constantinople and corresponded with John CHORTASMENOS, John EUGENIKOS, and BESSARION. In 1415/16 Pepagomenos accompanied Emp. Manuel II on a journey to the Peloponnesos, serving as secretary. He wrote treatises on gout, HAWKING, and DOGS as well as a monody on the death (1433) of Kleope Palaiologina (the former Cleopa Malatesta), wife of THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of the Peloponnesos. The unnamed emperor addressed in Pepagomenos's works was falsely identified by Vergetius, Pepagomenos's 16th-C. editor, with Michael VIII Palaiologos. Subsequent scholarship has mistakenly asserted the existence of a 13th-C. Demetrios Pepagomenos.

ED. G. Schmalzbauer, "Eine bisher unedierte Monodie auf Kleope Palaiologina von Demetrios Pepagomenos," *JÖB* 20 (1971) 223–40.
LIT. A. Diller, "Demetrius Pepagomenus," *Byzantion* 48 (1978) 35–42. *Chortasm.* 57–59, 113–17, 199–203. –R.J.M.

PERA. See GALATA.

PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS. The word *myron* (*μύρον*) encompasses a variety of products—perfumes, sweet oils, and unguents—usually characterized by their fragrance. The production of perfume was well developed in antiquity and the terms *myrepsos* and *myropoles* are frequently attested (H. Blümner, *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern*, vol. 1 [rp. Hildesheim 1969] 361). In EVAGRIOS



PERFUMES AND UNGUENTS. Perfume production. Miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 747, fol. 114r); 11th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

SCHOLASTIKOS (*HE* 2.3), a *myrepsos* was a craftsman who made fragrant substances. The Council in Trullo prohibited copies of the Holy Scriptures from being handed over to booksellers and *myrepsoi* for destruction (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:463f), but it is not clear how the *myrepsoi* would destroy the books—by burning them as fuel or by using them to wrap unguents.

In 10th-C. Constantinople the *myrepsoi* formed a guild; they traded in spices, incense, musk, myrrh, amber, aloes, wood, and dyestuffs that were brought primarily from Chaldia and Trebizond (where they evidently had been imported from the Middle East) and that they sold from *abbakia* (counters) and *kadia* (barrels) located between the Chalke Gate and the Milion. The *Book of the Eparch* (ch.10), however, mentions neither their workshops nor any processing of unguents or perfumes. Psellos describes how the empress Zoe, who had a passionate interest in the production of COSMETICS and perfumes, set up a "household workshop" in the palace and made her servants toil over hot braziers in her chambers summer and winter (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:148, par.64.7–12). Patr. Loukas Chrysoberges considered the profession of perfumer dishonorable, since the workshops of *myrepsoi*, like bathhouses, teemed with deception and greed (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 6:343.19–21).

Myrepsika ergasteria or perfume workshops are mentioned in several documents of the late Byz. period (*Lavra* 3, no.123.110; MM 2:525.21). In Thessalonike *myrepsoi* evidently formed a guild: a document of 1320 refers to their exarch (Dölger, *Schatz.* no.111.30–31).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 36–38. *Bk. of Eparch* 202–08. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 111. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:206f.
–A.K.

PERGAMON (Πέργαμον, now Bergama), city of northwestern Asia Minor. In the 4th C. Pergamon was an important intellectual center where Aidesios taught Neoplatonic philosophy and "Chaldean wisdom" was popular; MAXIMOS OF EPHESUS and EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS worked there, and Julian came to study. Otherwise the city seems not to have flourished in late antiquity. Pergamon withdrew to its hilltop acropolis, fortified by Constans II, and became a city of the THRAKESION theme. It had an Armenian community and was the home of the emperor PHILIPPIKOS. It was attacked by the Arabs in 663 and 716. After attacks by the Turks in 1109 and 1113, Pergamon was rebuilt by Manuel I ca.1170 and probably became the capital of NEOKASTRA. Pergamon fell to the Turks of Karasi soon after 1302. It was a suffragan of Ephesus, elevated to metropolis in the 13th C.

Excavations reveal that the city of the 12th–13th C. consisted of small houses, with a few public buildings and churches, built along narrow streets on the slopes of the acropolis. Theodore II Laskaris, who visited Pergamon before 1254, described the insignificance of the buildings of his day compared with the great works of antiquity. Pergamon preserves the remains of its two circuits of walls and of the medieval town.

LIT. H. Gelzer, *Pergamon unter Byzantinern und Osmanen* (Berlin 1903). Foss, "Twenty Cities" 479–81. W. Radt, "Die byzantinische Wohnstadt von Pergamon," in *Wohnungsbau im Altertum*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1979) 199–223. –C.F.

PERGE. See Pamphylia; Syllaion.

PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY, a monastic community dedicated to the Theotokos *he Peribleptos* (Περίβλεπτος, "celebrated"), located in the southwestern part of Constantinople. The church was built between 1030 and 1034 by Emp. Romanos III Argyros, who spared no expense in its construction (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:41–43). Both Romanos and Nikephoros III Botaneiates, a later benefactor of the monastery, were buried in the church. In the 11th and 12th C. the Peribleptos monastery was involved in the Bogomil controversy; Euthymios of Akmonia, who denounced the Phoundagiagites, was a monk at Peribleptos. In 1143 the monk Hilarion, who was condemned for Bogomilism, was confined at Peribleptos. Greek monks continued to occupy the monastery during the first years of the Latin occupation of Constantinople but were replaced by Latin monks some time after 1206.

The Peribleptos was restored by Michael VIII after his recovery of Constantinople, and played a significant role throughout the Palaiologan period. The imperial court visited the church annually on the feast of the Presentation in the Temple. It possessed numerous relics, notably the hand of St. John the Baptist and the head of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, which attracted Russian pilgrims and Western visitors. In 1403 Clavijo tells of paintings on the exterior of the church, (unidentified) imperial portraits in the interior, and the representation of 30 castles and towns in the monastery's domain. Its refectory contained Christological mosaics and the cloister an image of the Tree of Jesse.

Greek monks remained in the monastery until 1643, when the Ottoman sultan granted the monastic complex to the Armenians for the site of their patriarchate; it then took the name of St. George of Psamathia or Sulumanastir. The original 11th-C. church was burned twice, in 1782 and 1872; the present structure is completely modern.

lit. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 276–83. R. Janin, "Le monastère de la Théotocos Peribleptos à Constantinople," *BSHAcRoum* 26 (1945) 192–201. Janin, *Églises CP* 218–22. –A.M.T., A.C.

PERINTHOS. See Herakleia.

PERIODEUTES. See Chorepiskopos.

PERIORISMOS. See Praktikon.

PERIPLOUS (περίπλους, lit. "sailing around"), a collection of sailing directions, belonging to an ancient documentary genre that survived in late antiquity and was eventually continued in the portulans. The *periploi* contain data on shorelines, harbors, market towns, and neighboring tribes and their wares. Evidence concerning their authorship and date is usually rare: thus pseudo-Arrian's *Periplous of the Erythrean (Red) Sea* is usually dated in the 3rd C., but A. Dihle (*Umstrittene Daten* [Cologne-Opladen 1965] 9–35) asserts that the trade with India described therein was not typical of the 3rd C. and suggests an earlier date. Some *periploi*, like those of Markianos of Herakleia, were compilative. The *Periplous of the Euxine (Black) Sea* (not earlier than the first half of the 6th C.) was a mélange of three ancient geographic texts—Menippus, Arrian, and an anonymous *periegesis* addressed to king Nikomedes; quite rarely the author of the *Periplous of the Euxine Sea* added a contemporary name for a people or a site. The *Periplous of the Euxine Sea* gives the distances not in Greek *stadia* but in Roman miles. The Expositio totius mundi can be considered as a *periplous* but it is more original and richer in economic data. Another genre of guidebooks, *hodoiporiai*, are brief and strongly influenced by Christian tradition; they claim to represent the route from Paradise via India to Rome.

ed. and tr. G.W.B. Huntingford, *The Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (London 1980). L. Casson, *The Periplus Maris Erythraei* (Princeton 1989).

lit. F. Gisinger, *RE* 19 (1938) 841–50. A. Diller, *The Tradition of the Minor Greek Geographers* (Oxford 1952) 102–46. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1969) 100–09. –A.K.

PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES, an anonymous tract on political theory partially preserved in a Vatican palimpsest and dating from the reign of Justinian I. It is plausibly, though not certainly, equated with the anonymous treatise *Peri Politikes*, reviewed by Photios (*Bibl.* cod.37); older identifications of one or both of these with the *Peri politikes katastaseos* of Peter Patrikios are now rejected. The text described by Photios was a dialogue in six books between the *patrikios* Menas

and the *referendarios* Thomas; it advocated, with some criticism of Plato's *Republic,* the classical Peripatetic theory of the mixed constitution, a combination of the best elements of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. Only parts of books 4 and 5 survive, dealing with military and political issues. Its emphasis on the SENATE as repository of the best men has been taken to reflect that body's revival in the 6th C., with connections made with the relevant opinions expressed by JOHN LYDOS and PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA. The treatise is esp. notable for its use of and familiarity with Latin texts, above all Cicero's *De Republica* (C.A. Behr, *AJPh* 95 [1974] 141–49); the elder Cato (A.S. Fotiou, *ClMed* 33 [1981–82] 125–33), Juvenal, Livy, and Seneca are also adduced.

ED. *Menae patricii cum Thoma referendario, De scientia politica dialogus,* ed. C. Mazzucchi (Milan 1982). Partial Eng. tr. E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium* (Oxford 1957) 63–75.

LIT. A.S. Fotiou, "Dicaearchus and the Mixed Constitution in Sixth Century Byzantium: New Evidence from a Treatise on 'Political Science,'" *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 533–47. Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley 1985) 248–52. G. Fiaccadori, "Intorno all'anonimo vaticano Peri politikes epistemes," *ParPass* 34 (1979) 127–47.

–B.B.

PERI STRATEGIKES, conventional title for an anonymous treatise on STRATEGY perhaps written around the mid-6th C. during the reign of Justinian I (Dennis) or later (Baldwin). The beginning of the pamphlet and possibly some other sections are missing; 47 chapters are preserved. An initial brief analysis of class divisions delineates the multitiered structure of Byz. civilian society and defines the function of each group; this account can be linked with such contemporary discussions as those of AGAPETOS and the anonymous PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES. The author then embarks upon a much lengthier discussion of strategy, both offensive and defensive. Drawing both on classical manuals and his own military experience, the anonymous writer, perhaps a retired army engineer, treats such topics as tactics, signal fires, fortifications, siege machinery, armor, and weaponry.

ED. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 1–135.

LIT. B. Baldwin, "On the Date of the Anonymous *Peri strategikes,*" *BZ* 81 (1988) 290–93.

–B.B., A.M.T.

PERITHEORION (Περιθεώριον), a stronghold erected on a hill in the Rhodope Mountains by the shore of Lake Porou. The *bandon* and the *kastron* of Peritheorion (in the theme of BOLERON) are mentioned in the *typikon* of Gregory Pakourianos (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 37.299–303). The bishopric of Peritheorion or Datos, under the jurisdiction of Traianoupolis, is known from the 10th C. onward (*Notitiae CP* 7.602). A 14th-C. historian (Kantak. 2:197.9–10) asserts that the town (*polis*) was previously called Anastasioupolis and was renamed Peritheorion by Andronikos III; this identification is evidently incorrect, since Peritheorion had been known earlier and esp. since notitiae of Nicholas I Mystikos listed two separate bishoprics—Peritheorion and Anastasioupolis.

Peritheorion in the 11th C. was an agricultural town. Pakourianos's brother maintained a household (*aule*) there and Vatopedi possessed a *metochion.* It was also involved in commerce, and the Venetians had trading privileges in Peritheorion. Like many other Thracian centers, Peritheorion was destroyed by Kalojan in 1206 and its inhabitants were resettled along the banks of the Danube. It reappeared by the 14th C., became a metropolis after 1341 (when Andronikos III fortified it), and played an important role in the civil wars of the mid-14th C. In 1345 MOMČILO was defeated outside its walls (M. Bartusis, *BS* 41 [1980] 209f). The expansion of swampland around Peritheorion forced its citizens to desert the town, probably after 1431, when BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE noted its strategic position when he passed through the area.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 98–104. C. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 6:260, n.113; 455, n.316.

–A.K.

PERNIK (Πέρνικος), Bulgarian fortress on the upper Struma, on the hill "Krakra," commanding one of the routes from Niš to Sofia. In the 4th–6th C. it was a modest, unfortified town; remains of churches dating from that period have been found. It survived to the time of Justin II. In the 8th C. a Slav village was located on the hill; in the 9th C. it was surrounded by a wall. Contacts with Byz. are indicated by coins from Basil I onward. In the reign of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA Pernik was held by the boyar Krakra, who withstood sieges by Basil II in 1004 and 1016 but surrendered Pernik in 1018. The fortress seems to have flourished in the 11th–12th C., when several churches were built; Byz. coins of emperors up to Alexios III have been found in Pernik as well as seals of

Nikephoros III and several high-ranking officials. The army of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA passed through Pernik in 1189; at the end of that year STEFAN NEMANJA captured and plundered the fortress. It never fully recovered, although a cemetery of the 13th–14th C. shows that life on the hill continued.

LIT. *Pernik*, ed. T. Ivanov, D. Ovčarov, 2 vols. (Sofia 1981–83). –R.B.

PERSAI (Πέρσαι), "Persians," the classical ethnic term that designated the population of IRAN. The term was used by the authors of the 4th–7th C., who were contemporaries of the Byzantino-Persian wars (PROKOPIOS, GEORGE OF PISIDIA, etc.), and by later writers, such as THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR who often speaks of "inner Persia," identifying it as Khurāsān (Theoph. 366.27, 484.4). The Byz. knew that the Arabs conquered the territory of the Persians, who subsequently rebelled frequently against their masters, but there is no confusion between the Arabs and Persai in Byz. texts. An 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 442.90–91) clearly notes that the Saracens took over the power of the Persai. From the 11th C. onward, the term was transferred to the Turkic peoples (e.g., SELJUKS, OTTOMANS) and also MONGOLS; some literati emphasized the identity of the Persai and Turks (e.g., Attal. 105.11), but later (in Eustathios of Thessalonike, Niketas Choniates, John VI Kantakouzenos, etc.) the term *Persai* was indiscriminately applied to the Turks, whereas the term TOURKOI acquired a different meaning. Various related terms were derived from Persai: Persanax or Persarches, the ruler of the Seljuks; Persarmenioi, the Turks under the rule of the DANIŞMENDIDS; Persotourkoi/Tourkopersai; Persoscythians, etc. Manuel II's anti-Muslim treatise bears the title "Conversations with a certain Persian."

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:252–55. –A.K.

PERSEPHONE, or Kore (Lat. Proserpina), in Greek mythology the only daughter of Demeter, whom Hades or Pluto carried off to the netherworld; Demeter was able to liberate her on the condition that Persephone would remain underground part of the year. Another myth is related by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 6:155–76): Zeus, in the form of a dragon, entered the bedchamber of the "virgin Persephone" and she bore to him Zagreus, the horned baby; Zagreus was murdered and dismembered by the Titans, but he was miraculously resurrected and began his new life as DIONYSOS. The core of this myth, the triumph of nature over death, contributed to its assimilation by Christianity: the scene of Pluto carrying off Persephone in a chariot while she tries to free herself from his embraces appeared on a Christian sarcophagus.

The rape of Persephone is depicted in a miniature in Paris, B.N. Coisl. gr. 239 (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.51), in which Pluto drags Persephone into a chasm.

LIT. A. Gotsmich, *Proserpina—virgo sacrata dei* (Munich 1962). Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 43–46, 79f. –A.K., A.M.T.

PERSIA. See IRAN.

PERSIAN LITERATURE. The tradition of contacts between Greek and Iranian civilization dates back to the period of the Greco-Persian wars (5th C. B.C.). It is very probable that at that time the literary image of the Greek "enemy" began to develop in Iranian folklore and literature. The principal monuments of old Persian literature (Pahlavī and Sasanian) are apparently lost, even though they still existed in the 6th C.; Agathias (Agath. 4.30) describes Sasanian books on history that he read with the aid of the Syrian monk Sergios. Fortunately, however, the information provided by Sasanian literature on Byz.-Iranian contacts has not been totally lost, since most of it, compiled in a voluminous history, the *Khwadāynāmag*, was translated into Arabic (abstracts are included in the *History* of al-ṬABARĪ and translations in ibn Muqaffaᶜ) and into the Neo-Persian language (Firdausī's *Shāh-nāma*). The national Iranian legacy in which the Greeks appeared as "enemies" to the Iranian state was retained up to the medieval period. Only when Greece (Byz.) became a Christian state did this attitude undergo a transformation. With the triumph of the new faith in Byz. and its restriction in Zoroastrian IRAN, the centuries-old rivalry between the two states became primarily a religious struggle and continued as such when Iran became an Islamic state.

The Iranians living under the ᶜAbbāsid caliphate began to develop a national and cultural self-consciousness in the second half of the 9th C. The new Iranian ideology, at once Islamic and national, was expressed in the establishment of quasi-

autonomous states, such as those of the Ṭāhirids and SĀMĀNIDS. This ideology powerfully influenced the rise of a new Persian literature, composed in the Fārsī and Darī dialects and written in the recently borrowed Arabic script. Familiarity with Arabic now meant that Persian writers were included in the whole Islamic literary tradition. Persian literature consequently evolved under the triple influences of Islamic scholarship, the wider Arabic literary tradition, and the national Iranian legacy. It thus absorbed and perpetuated the content and forms of expression characteristic of each. Works inspired by the Islamic and Arabic legacies include Qur'ān commentaries, *ḥadīth*, and world and local chronicles. Specifically "national" Iranian genres include heroic and epic poetry and folklore. Consequently the image of foreign nations, including "Rūm" (Byz.), is highly diverse and varies according to genre.

In Persian literature, the term RŪM and its ethnic connotations were derived primarily from ARAB GEOGRAPHERS. Rūm variously signified the ancient Greeks (known also as Yūnānī [from Ionians]), occasionally the ancient Romans (known also, just like the people from western Europe, as Farangi [from Franks]), and the Byz. From the 11th C. the term *al-Rūm* (i.e., *Rūm* with the definite article) was used to denote Asia Minor. In addition, theological writers regarded the *Rūm* as descendants of the biblical Yōnan (cf. Gen 10:2,4) and/or a certain Romal(n)us (this detail is of Byz./Christian origin). Those writing in national genres, such as Firdausī in the *Shāh-nāma* and Niẓāmī in the *Iskandar-nāma*, connected the Rūm with Alexander the Great, whom they came to view as the national hero not only of Rūm, but also of Iran.

Persian geographers derived their data about the land of Rūm from Arab geographers and travelers, such as al-JARMĪ, HĀRŪN IBN YAḤYĀ, and al-QAZWĪNĪ. In the ḤUDŪD AL-ʿĀLAM, for example, the land of Rūm is situated on the shores of the Bosporos in the western part of *al-maʿmūra* (Pers./Ar. for Gr. *oikoumene*). It is described as a prosperous country, divided into 14 *nāḥiyat* or themes, each headed by a *sipāhsalār* or governor. The information on Constantinople is also derived from Arab geographers like al-Qazwīnī. Authors writing in the national genres, in contrast, generally provide few details (cf. Firdausī, Hāfiẓ, Jalāl al-Dīn Rūmī, and others). These authors often mention Rūm together with other "western" peoples, primarily the "Rus'," then the "Franks" and Bulgarians.

Persian historians were not very interested in Byz. history. Their knowledge of it was essentially limited to the facts of their "common" history, for instance, the Byz.-Persian wars of the 6th C. The fact that Persian historians and writers (e.g., Firdausī, Balʿamī) deal with these subjects suggests that the Sasanians (and consequently the islamized Persians) primarily claimed to be warriors. Some war themes, for example, the story of the flight of CHOSROES II to Byz. and his alleged marriage to Maria, a daughter of Maurice, were in vogue in Persian literature (Firdausī, Niẓāmī). The Byz., on the other hand, ignored this subject. In the Persian chronicles there is also a list of Byz. emperors up to Nikephoros II Phokas with a few details about their reigns (Balʿamī, Bayḍāwī, Banākitī, Abū Bakr Shabānkārā'ī, and the so-called Anonymous of Iskandar). Quite rare in Persian literature are "original data" such as the observations of Balʿamī on the relations between Bābak and Theophilos ca.831, and some details on the history of Pontos (e.g., Muʿīn al-Dīn Parwāna and IBN BĪBĪ's description of the capture of Sinope; the works of Aqsarayī, Abū Bakr Tihrānī, and Hwagi-Halfa). Some information on Byz.-Seljuk relations (esp. on the battle of Mantzikert, Romanos IV Diogenes, and Alp Arslan's victories) is provided by Kāshānī (his text survives in the Arabic translation by ʿImād al-Dīn al-Iṣfāhānī), Bundārī, Naṣīr al-Dīn al-Ṭūsī, and in the 14th-C. anonymous chronicle, *Ta'rih Al-i-Saljuk.* In addition there is some "historical data" in poetic texts, such as two *qaṣīdas* by KHĀQĀNĪ (dedicated to Andronikos I Komnenos who in 1173–74 lived at the courts of the shahs of Shīrwān) and the *qaṣīda* of Muhī al-Dīn ibn al-Zākī, who describes the conquest of Jerusalem during the First Crusade.

Persian authors rarely distinguished between civil and military officials when describing Byz. administration and the army. They were familiar with the basics of Byz. administration from certain Arabic sources, such as al-MARWAZĪ's translation of al-ʿAwfī and al-Ahwāzī as cited in al-BĪRŪNĪ. Normally, however, Persian authors mentioned only a few ranks, notably the *qayṣar* (emperor) and *biṭrīq* (*patrikios*). In the *Shāh-nāma,* ibn Bībī, Aqsarayī, and Abu Bakr Tihranī these officials are, in fact, identical. The confusion of some administrative titles with similarly sounding eccle-

siastical titles often resulted in erroneous conceptions about the Byz. army. The Byz. fleet was known to the Persians primarily from Arabic sources, but a few eyewitness accounts do exist, for example, Naṣīr-i Khusrau's report on the use of mirrors in defense against the Byz. fleet. The image of the Byz. army, its might and military genius is more apparent in the national genres, where the Rūm were considered equals since they derived their origins from Alexander the Great and possessed an ancient culture as noble as that of the Iranians. In poetry and folklore Byz. warriors appear as knights, equipped with gleaming weapons, banners, trumpets, cymbals, and the obligatory cross (*Shāh-nāma*).

In Persian literature the Rūm are distinguished by their Christian faith. The Persian description of Christianity did not differ from that in Arabic literature. Persian sources include information about Christian sects, hermits, the church hierarchy, the ceremony of baptism, and icons. Some features of the Christian cult were regarded favorably. In poetry the dress of the beloved was sometimes compared with the Christian cross or the golden altar of the Christians. In the epic of Amīr Arslān, the oath that the Franks swear "in the name of Jesus and Mary" strikes the Persians as persuasive. Saʿdī al-Shīrāzī quotes the Gospels to add force to his words, and other poets such as Ḥāfiẓ employ allusions from the Gospels. In the *Shāh-nāma* it is stated that Christianity, like Islam and Zoroastrianism, is one of the defenders of the truth. The same text extols Alexander the Great because he was wedded "in Christian prayer."

The attitude of Persian writers toward Byz. cultural achievements was ambivalent. In a negative vein, they considered the Byz. to be pale imitators of the ancient Greeks, a view that can be traced to Arab authors. This perception of Byz. inadequacy was heightened because of the empire's location in the west—in Ṣūfī thought, the source of all evils. Byz. emperors, moreover, were seen as too harsh. In a positive vein, the Rūm were also viewed as the heirs of the ancient Greeks, and as such were bearers of good. Like the Greeks, they were depicted as skilled musicians, artisans, and even doctors, rivaled only by the Chinese. Persian authors often mention the Rūm as superb painters and describe their icons. Rūm was also considered to be the land of wisdom. The wealth of Byz. was central to the positive image of Rūm, which was popularly depicted as a land rich in gold, jewels, furs, silks, etc., and its luxury products were considered as valuable as those coming from China.

In medieval Persian the term *rūmī* was associated with certain colors, esp. red (as the *rūmī* shoes of the emperor), gold (as in *rūmī* dinars), and white (as in *rūmī* slave girls). The word *rūm* often appears as a metaphor for dawn, as in the poetic cliché, "The world has received the adornments of light; the throng of Ethiopians has fled from the 'Rūm.' "

The influence of Persian literature on Byz. literature was slight, but borrowings are found in the tale of Barlaam and Ioasaph and a story from *Kar-nāmaq* about the birth of Ardashīr, son of Bapak. The latter was included by Agathias in his work (Agath. 2.27). There are also some motifs in the Alexander Romance of Persian origin (the apophthegmata of Alexander which are found in the *Shāh-nāma* and *Qabūs-nāma*) and in the chronicle of George Hamartolos (35.3–5; cf. Plutarch, *Alex.* 21). Especially in the Palaiologan period a few Byz. scholars were familiar with Persian treatises on astronomy, some of which they translated into Greek. Medieval Greek borrowings from Persian vocabulary, with the exception of proper names, are relatively rare; examples are *tzykanisterion*, or polo-ground, from Pers. *čowgan*, polo-game, and *karbanion*, caravan, from Pers. *ḳarvan*, vessel (*De adm. imp.* 9.27, 45.88f).

LIT. N.G. Garsoïan in *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 3.1 (Cambridge 1983) 568–92. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. W.W. Barthold, *Sočinenija* 7 (Moscow 1971) 29–334. I.U. Kračkovskij, *Istorija arabskoj geografičeskoj literatury* (Moscow-Leningrad 1957). E.E. Bertel's, *Izbrannye trudy*, 2 vols. (Moscow 1965). F. Tauer, "Les versions persanes de la légende sur la construction d'Aya Ṣofya," *BS* 15 (1954) 1–20. –N.S.

PERSON (πρόσωπον, lit. "face"), a term used in Trinitarian and Christological controversies, equivalent to the Lat. *persona*. The concept of divine *prosopon* (different from the metaphorical "Face of God" in the Old Testament) appears by the 3rd C., in Tertullian in Latin and Hippolytus in Greek, designating the concrete presentation of the individual; Hippolytus speaks of two *prosopa*—the Father and Son—and one power (*dynamis*) of God. The term was used by the adherents of Sabellianism who seem to have spoken in

the vein of MONARCHIANISM of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit as being "of the same matter (*pragma*) and *prosopon*" (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 26:732C). They evidently were not consistent in their terminology, however, and Eusebios of Caesarea (PG 24:1016A) ascribes to them the formula "One hypostasis of three persons." The lack of clear discrimination between SUBSTANCE, NATURE, HYPOSTASIS, and person led many earlier authors to prefer the vaguer use of "three" and "one." Gradually, in opposition to Sabellios and probably under the influence of ORIGEN and his school, the use of hypostasis—as contrasted with *ousia* (substance) and *physis* (nature)—became preferable, although the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, up to the time of Nestorios, applied the term *prosopon* to describe the unity in Christ as contrasted with his two substances, divine and human.

In usual Byz. terminology *prosopon* denoted the individual (*idikon*) as opposed to the common (*koinon*). This distinction between person and nature, albeit not a domain of philosophical thought, found its place in the formulas of the creed. The anthropological paradigm on which orthodox or Chalcedonian Christology is based contributed to the development of the distinction between the individual that does not exclude the common or *communicabile* ("participating"), and the individual in itself, or *incommunicabile*.

LIT. C. Andresen, "Zur Entstehung und Geschichte des trinitarischen Personbegriffes," *ZNTW* 52 (1961) 1–39. A. Grillmeier, *Christ in Christian Tradition*[2] (Atlanta 1975) 365–75, 460–66. Wolfson, *Philosophy* 333f. Prestige, *God* 157–62. K.-H. Uthemann, "Das anthropologische Modell der hypostatischen Union," *Kleronomia* 14 (1982) 215–312.

–K.-H.U.

PERSONIFICATION, the incarnation in anthropomorphic form of abstract qualities and natural phenomena. Writers of all periods from late antiquity to the end of Byz. used personification as a favored rhetorical device. BOETHIUS presents his *Consolation of Philosophy* as a series of dialogues with the lady Philosophia. Classicizing poets of the 5th and 6th C. personified forces such as Aletheia (Truth) and Eirene (Peace), VIRTUES such as Dikaiosyne (Justice) and Sophrosyne (Moderation), and countries (e.g., Aigyptos). Writers of letters and sermons (e.g., PHOTIOS) were fond of using personifications as vehicles for the points they wished to make.

In art, such devices were widely favored until the 6th C. Based on literature, these figures of Classical or, more often, Hellenistic inspiration are found in floor mosaics and retained in MSS

PERSONIFICATION. Personifications from the Joshua Roll (Vat. Pal. gr. 431, sheet XII); 10th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. To the left, the reclining male personification of Mt. Ebal; to the right, the seated female personification of the city of Gabaon.



and other works made for Christian patrons. Antique personifications such as Homonoia (Concord) were preserved only as inscriptions on marriage belts and finger rings; iconographically their role was assumed by Christ. On the other hand, pre-Christian concepts such as the TYCHE survived, essentially unchanged in form and meaning, in consular diptychs and MSS. Ancient personifications of disciplines such as Epinoia (Design) and qualities such as Megalopsychia (Magnanimity) and Phronesis (Prudence or Good Sense) appear in the 6th-C. Vienna DIOSKORIDES. Political concepts such as Eutaxia (Good Order), who averts a civil war in Thessalonike (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:115.19–116.3), are embodied and intervene in human affairs in the manner of saints seen in visions. On the other hand, an illuminated biblical MS like the Vienna GENESIS makes use of pagan personifications such as NYMPHS, conceived as the embodiment of springs of water, for what are apparently purely decorative purposes.

Despite a reduction in the absolute number of Classical personifications employed, those that survived were used relatively often in and after the 9th C. and applied to a broader range of situations. In a 9th-C. Chrysostom MS (Athens, Nat. Lib. 211) figures representing the Winds announce the resurrection of the dead; these emerge from the earth, which is personified as Ge. Other personifications were deliberately revived in order to evoke the Christian virtues of princes—SOPHIA and Prophetia accompany David in PSALTER illustrations, while Aletheia (Truth) and Tapeinosis (Humility) appear on the CROWN of Constantine IX. This symbiosis of pagan and Christian personifications thereafter is one of the features of Byz. art. Where a clear preference for one or the other is evident, this is determined by the context and purpose of the work on which they occur: for example, the THEODORE PSALTER and MSS of JOHN KLIMAX employ Christian personifications such as Gastrimargia (Gluttony) or purely medieval inventions such as Aprospatheia, while textiles made for imperial use depict the Antique figure of the City. The most common manner of their employment is the conversion to Christian purposes of pagan personifications: figures such as NIGHT, BYTHOS, and Erythra THALASSA participate in the history of the Chosen People; HADES, the Antipodes, and HELIOS in his chariot lend a Classical aspect to the illustration of verses in the Psalms and Gospels. The repertory of Palaiologan art was enriched not only by a more widespread use of figures such as EKKLESIA and Synagogue but esp. by the return of Antique forms such as COSMOS.

LIT. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters.* Martin, *Heavenly Ladder.* L. Antonopoulos, "Contribution à l'étude des abstractions personifiées dans l'art médiobyzantin," *AnnEPHE*, V^{e} section (Sciences religieuses) 93 (1984/86) 511–14. L.D. Popovich, "Personification in Paleologan Painting" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1963). –L.S.B.MacC., A.C.

PERSPECTIVE, the art of delineating objects on a surface so that their positions and sizes display the same relationship as in nature. For Roman and late antique writers perspective was a part of optics and, under the name of *skenographia,* applied to architectural projection. This involved the sort of distortion evident in the mosaics of the dome of St. George (see GEORGE, ROTUNDA OF SAINT) at Thessalonike where buildings are represented as if from above but read more correctly when seen from the spectator's normal position below. CONSTANTINE OF RHODES (v. 498) seems to describe such a system in the mosaics of the Church of Holy Apostles at Constantinople. The Hellenistic and Roman use of so-called aerial perspective, in which colors change and tend toward blue as a function of their distance from the spectator, is still present in the BACKGROUNDS of such 10th-C. MSS as the PARIS PSALTER but, in monumental art of this and later periods, is replaced by "inverted perspective," in which elements to the rear of the picture space are set farther apart rather than closer together as in the linear perspective of the Italian Renaissance.

Such arrangements were, however, far from systematic. The closest Byz. artists came to a consistent application of rules devised to avoid optical distortions was in differentiations within figures represented on curving surfaces. The lower limbs of bodies appearing on vertical planes are rendered much larger than parts of the body above them in vaults. This could result in disproportionately small heads, as in the Virgin in the apse of the Koimesis church at Nicaea (Lazarev, *Storia,* fig.77); by the Palaiologan period pear-shaped bodies and tiny heads had become stylistic norms. A coherent system of perspective is described by Nikephoros GREGORAS (*Astrolabika,* ed. Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:222.19–25): he speaks of "painters

seeking to imitate objects exactly . . . [who] show the length and breadth of lofty buildings contracting somewhat . . . so as to make them visually more plausible." A theory of "negative" perspective in which the significant (and sacred) area of space lies between the spectator and the picture plane rather than behind the foreground of the image was developed by Demus (*infra*).

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 30–35, 43–54, 77–85. A. Saltykov, "O prostranstvennych otnošenijach v vizantijskoj i drevnerusskoj živopisi," in *Drevnerusskoe iskusstvo: Zarubežnye svjazi* (Moscow 1975) 398–413. G. Mathew, *Byzantine Aesthetics* (London 1963) 29–35, 150–53. –A.C.

PESSINOUS (Πεσσινοῦς), now Ballıhisar, a city in the borderland between GALATIA and PHRYGIA famous for its ancient cult of Cybele, which Emp. Julian attempted to revive during his visit in 362. Pessinous became the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Galatia Salutaris ca.399. After receiving a benefaction of some kind from Justinian I, it assumed the name Justinianoupolis, which long continued in occasional use. In the late 6th C. Pessinous possessed a Cathedral of Hagia Sophia and a Church of the Myriangeloi ("10,000 angels"). The site offers limited possibilities of defense, and Pessinous disappears from history in the 7th C., though until the 14th C. it existed as ecclesiastical metropolis. Some of its suffragans (GERMIA, AMORION), however, acquired independence. Current excavations have revealed restoration in the early 4th C. and a necropolis in use through the 6th C., but nothing later.

LIT. *TIB* 4:214f. J. Devreker et al., *Les fouilles de la Rijksuniversiteit te Gent à Pessinonte 1967–73* (Brugge 1984). P. Lambrechts, R. Bogaert, "Nouvelles données sur l'histoire du christianisme à Pessinonte," in *Beiträge zur alten Geschichte und deren Nachleben: Festschrift für Franz Altheim*, vol. 1 (Berlin 1969) 552–64. –C.F.

PESSOS. See PIER.

PETER (Πέτρος), personal name, given by Christ to his disciple Simon (Mk 3:16). The etymology is evoked in Matthew 16:18: "You are Petros, and on this rock (*petra*) I will build my church." The name appeared in texts from the 3rd C. onward—a bishop in Africa ca.256, an "Aurelius Petrus," governor of Arabia in 278/9. Its popularity increased in the 5th–6th C., esp. among the clergy: W. Ensslin (*RE* 19 [1938] 1319–35) lists 37 secular Peters of the 3rd–6th C. and 83 clergymen, predominantly bishops. *PLRE* has four Peters (secular) of the 4th C. (1:691f) and 32 of the 5th and 6th C. (2:864–71); among the latter, one Peter "monk and bishop" occurs. In Theophanes the Confessor, Peter is still a common name: 23 Peters are mentioned, fourth in frequency, following JOHN, THEODORE, and CONSTANTINE. Thereafter, the popularity of the name decreased radically: in Skylitzes are found only six Peters, including the apostle Peter and two Bulgarians; in Choniates, among four Peters, one is the apostle, two are Vlachs or Bulgarians, and one a crusader. There are nine Peters in vol. 1 of *Lavra*, and only 15 in the more numerous acts of *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (tied for twenty-first place with Gregorios and Symeon); it is a more popular name in the acts of *Iviron*, vol. 1 (10th–11th C.), but some of them—Peter, son of Ivan; Peter the Vlach—are evidently of non-Greek origin. Peters are also rare in the late acts of other collections of the archives of Athos. –A.K.

PETER, also called Simon and Kephas; apostle and saint; feastday 29 June. The Byz. attributed to him two epistles in the New Testament. A legend preserved in Eusebios (*HE* 2.25.5–6) has him beheaded, together with PAUL, in Rome; other versions tell of his crucifixion head-downward. He became the patron of Rome, the place of his martyrdom and burial; in 319–50 the basilica of St. Peter was built there, allegedly on the site of his tomb. The idea of papal PRIMACY, inherited from Peter, was closely interconnected with this cult. At the same time other ecclesiastical centers (Antioch, Caesarea in Cappadocia) claimed Peter as the founder of their sees. In Constantinople, Peter appears primarily as the leader (*koryphaios*) of the apostles, often venerated together with Paul, but sometimes separately as in a chapel in the Great Palace and in an *apostoleion* near Hagia Sophia. In this *apostoleion* were exhibited Peter's chains, which had miraculously fallen from him when Herod had ordered him arrested.

Peter's story was developed in APOCRYPHAL texts (esp. the *Gospel of Peter*) and in numerous sermons (e.g., by Asterios of Amaseia, Sophronios, George Akropolites), often together with the story of Paul. They had a common major feastday (29 June);

the feast of Peter's chains was celebrated on 16 Jan.

Representation in Art. The most clearly characterized of the APOSTLES and the first to exhibit a distinct iconographic type, Peter appears from the 4th C. onward with a square white beard, a straight hairline, and (in painting) a blue tunic and yellow himation in both western and eastern Mediterranean art: Roman CATACOMBS, "Passion" sarcophagi, the Sarigüzel sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art,* fig.75), an icon at Sinai (Weitzmann, *infra,* fig.2), and in apses of churches. He accompanies the living Christ, acclaims the risen Christ, and is found in scenes of his own ministry and passion. From the 9th C. onward, Peter heads the assembly of the apostles, appears in Gospel scenes as Christ's preeminent disciple, dominates Byz. ACTS cycles, is portrayed at the beginning of his Epistles in New Testament MSS, and occasionally accompanies MARK in series of EVANGELIST PORTRAITS. His imagery is largely canonical, though scenes of his martyrdom occur in cycles of the apostles' deaths; his ecstatic meeting with PAUL was used to symbolize brotherly accord. The only monumental cycles of his life from the 9th–12th C. occur in Hagia Sophia, KIEV, and the churches of Norman SICILY, though Peter appears consistently in Palaiologan mural cycles and often balances Paul in icons hung between the columns of TEMPLON screens.

SOURCE. *Évangile de Pierre,* ed. M.G. Mara (Paris 1973).

LIT. *BHG* 1482z-1501n. A. Penna, D. Balboni, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:588–639. M. Maccarrone, "San Pietro in rapporto a Cristo nelle più antiche testimonianze," *Studi Petriani* (Rome 1968) 41–101. B.A. Johnson, "The Gospel of Peter: Between Apocalypse and Romance," *StP* 16.2 (1985) 170–74. K. Berger, "Unfehlbare Offenbarung: Petrus in der gnostischen und apokalyptischen Offenbarungsliteratur," in *Kontinuität und Einheit. Für Franz Mussner* (Freiburg 1981) 261–326. V. von Falkenhausen, "San Pietro nella religiosità bizantina," *SettStu* 34.2 (1986) 627–74. Kessler, "Acts." K. Weitzmann, *The St. Peter Icon of Dumbarton Oaks* (Washington, D.C., 1983). G. Stuhlfauth, *Die apokryphen Petrusgeschichten in der altchristlichen Kunst* (Berlin 1925).

–J.I., A.W.C.

PETER III, patriarch of Antioch (spring 1052–Sept. 1056). A native of Antioch, he studied in Constantinople and, after serving as imperial secretary, provincial judge, and *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia, was appointed to the see of Antioch. His surviving correspondence with Pope Leo IX, Dominic of Grado, and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS sheds valuable light on the debate leading up to the schism of 1054. His synodical letter to Leo IX (1052) is significant because it offers conclusive evidence that a schism existed before 1054. His discussion of Latin irregularities, about which Keroularios informed him after the embassy of Cardinal HUMBERT to Constantinople (1054), is notable for its moderation and conciliatory tone. It contrasts sharply with Humbert's and Keroularios's own impetuous actions. Peter agreed that Byz. eucharistic practice was preferable to the Latin use of AZYMES, and he was convinced that the innovation of the FILIOQUE was unacceptable. Nevertheless, he insisted that Keroularios's other charges against the Latins were either exaggerated or trivial and, as such, no obstacle to unity. Finally, his letters show him to have been a compelling advocate of the PENTARCHY thesis.

ED. C. Will, *Acta et scripta quae de controversiis Ecclesiae graecae et latinae saeculo undecimo composita exstant* (Leipzig-Marburg 1861) 168–228. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios,* vol. 2 (Paderborn 1930) 416–75.

LIT. Grumel, "Patriarcat." A. Michel, "Die römischen Angriffe auf Michael Kerullarios wegen Antiocheia," *BZ* 44 (1951) 419–27. Idem, "Die Botschaft Petros' III von Antiocheia an seine Stadt über seine Ernennung," *BZ* 38 (1938) 111–18. Papadopoulos, *Antioch.* 844–60. –A.P.

PETER CAPUANO (sometimes erroneously referred to as Peter of Capua), cardinal-deacon of St. Mary in Via Lata (1192–1201), then cardinal-priest of St. Marcellus; born Amalfi, died 1214. In 1198–99 Peter was legate of INNOCENT III in France where he promulgated the idea of a new (Fourth) CRUSADE. Innocent then sent him to the crusading army in Venice. When the conflict concerning the Venetian plan to attack ZARA arose, Peter criticized the Venetians, but insisted on the necessity of continuing to support the Crusaders. In 1202 he returned to Rome. He then was dispatched on a mission to Palestine, only to leave the Holy Land and join the Crusaders after he learned about the capture of Constantinople. At a conference with the Greek clergy in Hagia Sophia in Dec. 1204, Peter demanded that the Greeks conform to the Latin rite, disregarding the conciliatory efforts of Innocent that were announced publicly by the new papal legate Benedict in 1205. Peter should be distinguished from another Peter Capuano, a theologian at the University of Paris whom Honorius III appointed patriarch of An-

tioch in 1219, but who never arrived at his see (E. Rey, *ROL* 8 [1900–01] 140).

LIT. W. Maleczek, *Petrus Capuanus: Kardinal, Legat am vierten Kreuzzug, Theologe (1214)* (Vienna 1988). *HC* 2:155–57, 173, 196. H. Roscher, *Papst Innocenz III. und die Kreuzzüge* (Göttingen 1969) 104–11. –A.K.

PETER MONGOS (Μογγός, "hoarse"), Monophysite patriarch of Alexandria (477–29 Oct. 490). He was apparently consecrated by only one bishop on the death of the Monophysite patriarch TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. Because the Chalcedonian TIMOTHEOS SALOPHAKIALOS was still on the throne, however, Peter was forced to go into hiding until Salophakialos died (482). Then, despite Peter's irregular ordination, ZENO and Patr. AKAKIOS of Constantinople officially received him into communion, on the condition that he accept the HENOTIKON. His energetic support of this compromise formula failed to satisfy his more extreme followers, however, who demanded a public condemnation of CHALCEDON and the *Tome* of Leo. This led to schism, and the extremists (left without a personal leader or head) became known as *Akephaloi* ("headless ones"). But Peter's openly Monophysite exegesis of the *Henotikon* also alienated those Chalcedonians who were interpreting it in an Orthodox manner. In sum, his politics had the opposite effect from that which the edict had intended. The Roman synods (484 and 485), which condemned the *Henotikon* and led to the AKAKIAN SCHISM, anathematized both Peter and Akakios.

LIT. E. Schwartz, "Publizistische Sammlungen zum acacianischen Schisma," *ABAW*, Phil.-hist. Abt., n.s. 10 (1934). F. Hofmann in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:30–51. –A.P.

PETER OF ALEXANDRIA (not to be confused with the 3rd-C. martyr of the same name), 10th-C. author of a chronicle entitled *A Brief Survey of Years,* from Adam to the reign of Leo VI and Alexander. A 10th-C. MS preserves the text. Peter lists countries, nations, rivers, and islands, sometimes including the contemporary designation (thus "Danoubes" is mentioned side by side with the ancient Istros); the Slavs are identified as Avars (I. Dujčev, *REB* 17 [1959] 294). Except where Peter refers to Christ's life, historical information is mostly limited to the length of reign, with rare exceptions: the meaning of Anastasios's name, the poisoning of Staurakios by his sister Prokopia, the murder of Michael III by Basil I. Consistently Peter mentions usurpation: Basiliskos, Artabasdos, and others. Since Peter expressly calls Michael III "orthodox emperor" and relates that he burned the corpse of Constantine V, this brief chronicle may have been written to counterbalance the official historiography of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY.

ED. Z. Samodurova, "Chronika Petra Aleksandrijskogo," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 180–97. –A.K.

PETER OF AMIENS. See PETER THE HERMIT.

PETER OF ARGOS, saint; born Constantinople, died Argos; feastday 3 May. The chronology of ca.850–ca.920 established by Papaoikonomos (*infra*) needs correction, since the lifespan of 70 cited in the vita is a hagiographical convention, and Peter apparently survived both the Slavic revolt in the Peloponnesos ca.922–25 and the great famine of 927/8 (p.66.4–8). The fourth child in a prosperous and generous family, Peter was tonsured like his brother Paul. The brothers were close to Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, who appointed Paul archbishop of Corinth and planned to make Peter *protothronos* (p.63.16–18), that is, archbishop of Caesarea (not Corinth, as Vasiliev states). If Nicholas chose Peter to replace ARETHAS, the event may be dated to 912. Peter followed his brother to Corinth, however, and was elected, although reluctantly, bishop of Argos. Peter wrote several *enkomia* of saints, including KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS and the 9th-C. Athanasios of Methone (see list of K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, *Peloponnesiaka* 13 [1978–79] 264f).

Peter's Life, arbitrarily ascribed by Papaoikonomos to Peter's disciple and successor Constantine (cf. F. Halkin, *AB* 69 [1951] 167), was compiled by Theodore of Nicaea (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 52). The hagiographer praised Constantinople and devoted special attention to Peter's protection of the poor. The Life describes an invasion of Cretan Arabs and the conversion of some pagan Slavic tribes; Peter mentions the attacks of Scythians and Hagarenes in his *enkomion* of Kosmas and Damianos. Laurent published Peter's seal (*Corpus* 5.1, no.571).

SOURCES. Ch. Papaoikonomos, *Ho poliouchos tou Argous hagios Petros* (Athens 1908).

LIT. *BHC* 1504. A. Vasiliev, "The 'Life' of St. Peter of Argos and its Historical Significance," *Traditio* 5 (1947) 163–90. K.Th. Kyriakopoulos, *Hagiou Petrou episkopou Argous bios kai logoi* (Athens 1976). –A.K.

PETER OF ATROA. See ATROA.

PETER OF BRACIEUX (Πέτρος ὁ Πράτζης), more correctly, Bracheux, French crusader; died ca.1210. A vassal of LOUIS OF BLOIS, from the vicinity of Beauvais, Peter joined the Fourth CRUSADE at Zara. A warrior of great height and strength, he won even his enemies' admiration. After the installation of ALEXIOS IV, he commanded a detachment lodged in the Blachernai Palace, probably until late 1203. In Apr. 1204 he was among the first to seize a tower on the city wall. Following the city's capture, he went to conquer the region from Pegai to Nicaea for Louis. At POIMANENON he defeated Theodore I Laskaris. Recalled in 1205 to oppose Kalojan, Peter was too late for the battle of Adrianople. Thereafter he fought in Thrace and Anatolia. In 1206 he occupied Pegai and Kyzikos, whence he raided Laskarid territory. In 1207, however, a truce compelled him to surrender Kyzikos. After a brief visit to France (1209), Peter returned to Pegai and somehow fell into Theodore's hands. How he died is uncertain; Innocent III's allegation that a Crusader was reportedly flayed alive by Theodore can neither be substantiated nor definitively connected to Peter (G. Prinzing, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 424, n.4).

LIT. Longnon, *Compagnons* 91–98. –C.M.B.

PETER OF BULGARIA, second son of SYMEON OF BULGARIA and his successor as tsar (27 May 927–969); born ca.903, died 30 Jan. 969. George Soursouboullos served as the young prince's counselor and co-ruler. The administration of Peter and George reversed previous policy toward Byz. and proposed a peace treaty that was signed in 927. Under its terms the frontier was established (Byz. losing Develtos, Sozopolis, and Agathopolis); Byz. was obliged to pay tribute; Peter was granted the title of *basileus* and married Maria (who then took the new name Irene), daughter of CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS; and Byz. also accepted the autocephaly of the Bulgarian church. It is plausible that the speech, "On the treaty with the Bulgarians," preserved in Vat. gr. 483 (see BULGARIAN TREATY, ANONYMOUS TREATISE ON THE), was delivered upon this occasion; the author of the speech was probably Theodore DAPHNOPATES (I. Dujčev, *DOP* 32 [1978] 217–95). The domestic and international situation was strained after long wars. Peter had to deal with the resistance of the BOGOMILS and schemes of the nobles, including his own brothers John (928) and Michael (930). In addition Bulgarian authority in the west was challenged by ČASLAV, and the northern frontier was constantly threatened by the HUNGARIANS. This eventually permitted Byz. to change the conditions of the peace treaty: after Maria-Irene's death (ca.963), the Byz. demanded that two of Peter's sons, BORIS and Romanos, be sent to Constantinople as hostages; also the Bulgarians were to forbid the Hungarians to cross their territory to Byz. In 966 NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS canceled payment of the tribute and incited SVJATOSLAV against Bulgaria. Overwhelmed by these troubles, Peter died (perhaps from a stroke).

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:516–93. G. Bakalov, "Carskata promulgacija na Petŭr i negovite priemnici v svetlinata na bŭlgaro-vizantijskite diplomatičeski otnošenija sled dogovora ot 927 g.," *IstPreg* 39 (1983) no.6, 35–44. Runciman, *Romanus* 96–103. –A.K.

PETER OF BULGARIA, cofounder, with his younger brother ASEN I, of the Second Bulgarian Empire; baptismal name Theodore; died Tŭrnovo 1197. Following the brothers' successful insurrection, Peter was crowned with gold ca.1185 or 1186. He donned boots of imperial purple and probably adopted the name "Peter" in honor of the earlier PETER OF BULGARIA (903–69). E. Pochitonov (*BS* 42 [1981] 52–57) attributes to Peter a series of billon trachy coins found in Bulgaria and issued by a "Theodore." (Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 235f, and Hendy, *Economy* 439, assign these to Theodore MANKAPHAS.) In 1189, when Frederick I led the Germans of the Third Crusade into Thrace, Peter (called "Kalopetrus" in the HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI) offered 40,000 Vlachs and Cumans for Frederick's planned attack on Constantinople and demanded the imperial crown of "Grecia"; indeed, the *Historia* (ed. Chroust, 69.24–25) says Peter "was called emperor of Greece by his followers." Frederick refused both the troops and the title. Circa 1192 or 1193 Peter was won over to alliance with Byz. in opposition to Asen. The rift between the brothers,

however, seems to have been brief; Byz. gained nothing. With Asen's death, Peter returned to lead the Bulgarian state, only to be slain by a fellow countryman.

LIT. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 427–65. A. Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 167–74. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Les forces centrifuges et centripètes à Byzance du début du règne d'Isaac Ange," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1980) 4:55–64.
–A.K., C.M.B.

PETER OF COURTENAY, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1217–19?), count of Nevers and Auxerre; born ca.1165. Marriage to YOLANDE brought him the Latin Empire of Constantinople when HENRY OF HAINAULT died in 1216 without direct heirs. Peter went to Rome, where after some hesitation Pope Honorius III (1216–27) crowned him Latin emperor on 9 April 1217. The Venetians ferried his expedition across the Adriatic to Dyrrachion. His plan was to proceed along the Via Egnatia to Thessalonike. It was a bold attempt to strengthen the western frontiers of the Latin Empire, but it proved foolhardy. Peter was intercepted by THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS and disappeared. Rumor placed his death in summer 1219, but it may have been earlier since not a word is said about him during the negotiations in 1218 which secured the release of the papal legate captured with him.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 153–57. Nicol, *Epiros I* 50–53. *HC* 2:212–13.
–M.J.A.

PETER OF DAMASCUS. See DAMASKENOS, PETER.

PETER OF EBOLI (Petrus de Ebulo), southern Italian cleric, *magister*, and writer; died before July 1220. Peter composed a lost work on Frederick I and a *Liber ad honorem Augusti* (Book in Honor of the Augustus, ca.1195/6) for Henry VI on his war over southern Italy. His detailed account is bitterly hostile to TANCRED OF LECCE and openly seeks a reward from Henry for his support. A MS in Bern (Burgerbibliothek 120) preserves Peter's richly illustrated original and depicts Greek notaries (ed. Siragusa, 1:pl.7 and ed. Rota, pl.6), ceremonies (e.g., pls. 7 and 40, the *adventus* of Tancred and Henry VI into Palermo, complete with musicians), costumes, ships, insignia, military equipment, and castles of southern Italy; some similarities to the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES exist, esp. in the area of siege equipment and tents, but in general the *Liber* was decorated by more competent and ambitious painters using full pages whether one or more scenes were represented. Peter's poem on the medicinal qualities attributed to various baths along the Campanian coast also seems to have been illuminated (e.g., *Petrus de Ebulo, Nomina et virtutes balneorum*, ed. A. Daneu Lattanzi [Rome 1962]).

ED. *Liber ad honorem Augusti*, ed. G.B. Siragusa, 2 vols. [= FSI 39–40] (Rome 1905–06); ed E. Rota in RIS, vol. 31.1 (Città di Castello 1904).

LIT. *Studi su Pietro da Eboli* (Rome 1978). H. Georgen, "Der Ebulus-Codex als Ausdruck der Konflikt zwischen Städten und staufischem Hof," in *Bauwerk und Bildwerk im Hochmittelalter*, ed. K. Clausbert et al. (Giessen 1981) 145–67. P. Schramm, F. Mütherich et al., *Die deutschen Kaiser und Könige in Bildern ihrer Zeit, 751–1190*^{2} (Munich 1983) 269.
–M.McC., A.C.

PETER OF SICILY, author of a Greek treatise entitled *Useful History and Refutation of the Senseless and Vain Heresy of the Manichaeans, also Named the Paulicians.* He claims to have been Basil I's envoy to TEPHRIKE in 869 (PG 104:1241 AG). The treatise has survived in a single MS, Vat. gr. 511 (of the 11th C., not the 10th C. as previously thought). It is dedicated to an unnamed archbishop of Bulgaria, and the first chapters are probably a separate letter addressed to the archbishop. Peter's treatise contains data on the history and dogmas of the PAULICIANS; its primary aim was to prove that the heresy was indistinguishable from the teaching of MANI. Since there are several other texts treating the Paulician heresy (by Photios, George Hamartolos, Peter the Hegoumenos), the question of their interrelation has been a topic of discussion. Most contemporary Byzantinists consider Peter of Sicily's tract as the original work that was eventually used by Photios and Peter Hegoumenos; one cannot, however, exclude the possibility that Peter of Sicily, who borrowed much from Cyril of Jerusalem, derived his information from other existing literary texts. It remains questionable whether he had at his disposal the writings of Paulician heresiarchs (e.g., epistles of Sergios, the vita of Sergios).

ED. "Les sources grecques pour l'histoire des Pauliciens d'Asie Mineure," ed. C. Astruc et al., *TM* 4 (1970) 3–67.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Les sources de l'histoire des Pauliciens," *BAcBelg* 22 (1936) 95–114. M. Loos, "Deux contributions à l'histoire des Pauliciens," *BS* 17 (1956) 202–17.

R.M. Bartikjan, *Istočniki dlja izučenija istorii pavlikianskogo dviženija* (Erevan 1961) 73–88. P. Speck, "Petros Sikeliotes, seine Historia und der Erzbischof von Bulgarien," *Hellenika* 27 (1974) 381–87. –A.K.

PETER PATRIKIOS, official, diplomat, and writer; born ca.500, died Constantinople 565. Probably of Illyrian origin and from Thessalonike (V. Grecu, *BZ* 40 [1940] 448), Peter earned fame as an eloquent lawyer at Constantinople, where he attracted the interest of Empress THEODORA. In 534 she cajoled Justinian I into sending Peter as envoy to Italy, where he spent three years in an Ostrogothic prison and was somehow involved in the murder of AMALASUNTHA. In 539 Justinian made him *magister officiorum*, a post he held for the unparalleled term of 26 consecutive years. His other activities included involvement in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy and negotiating peace terms with Chosroes I in 561–62; his documentary account of the latter assignment is preserved in a collection of his writings by MENANDER PROTECTOR (ed. Blockley, fr.6.1). A controversial figure, Peter is described as a fountain of virtue in JOHN LYDOS (*De mag.* 2.25) but as a boastful windbag by Menander Protector (fr.6.2). He was the first late Roman author to record and write about protocols, beginning with Leo I's coronation and his reception of foreign embassies (Cameron, *Circus Factions* 249f). Some extracts survive in the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.*, bk.1, chs. 84–95, pp.386–433), probably from the work that the *Souda* calls *Peri politikes katastaseos*, perhaps identical with his study of the *magister officiorum*'s office mentioned by John Lydos. This work is probably not the anonymous PERI POLITIKES EPISTEMES, the authorship of which until recently has often been attributed to Peter. Peter also wrote a Roman history from the death of Julius Caesar to that of Constantius II (361), of which nearly 20 fragments survive.

ED. *FHG* 4:184–91.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:723–29. P.T. Antonopoulos, "Petrus Patricius: Some Aspects in his Life and Career," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium*, ed. V. Vavřínek (Prague 1985). –B.B.

PETER THE DEACON, librarian in MONTECASSINO; fl. first half of the 12th C. He was a chronicler and hagiographer of his monastery, notorious for his forgeries. His writings include the *Liber illustrium virorum archisterii Casinensis*, the *Ortus et vita iustorum coenobii Casinensis*, a *Liber de locis sanctis*, exegetical works, sermons, poems, and letters. Much of his work remains unpublished. He was particularly interested in ancient Roman history, but he had some knowledge (primarily through the works of ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS) of Byz. He used this information first of all to compose a biography of the local saint Placidus (ed. Rodgers, *infra* 6–16), allegedly written by a certain Gordianus in Constantinople; Peter refers to libraries of the city of Constantinople (*Constantinopolitanae urbis bibliothecae*), which contained additional data on St. Placidus. He made Placidus a nephew of Justinian I; the saint died a martyr's death in Messina at the hands of the Arabs (*sic*); when his monastery was later destroyed by another Arab raid, Gordianus narrowly escaped being killed. According to Peter, Placidus was invited by Justinian to visit Constantinople, where the emperor promised to confer upon Montecassino a *chrysobullium immunitatis*; Peter gives a long list of estates granted by Justinian in various provinces of the empire. Peter also provides information on the hierarchy of Byz. EUNUCHS, whom he divided into four groups: *spadones*, *falcati*, *thomii*, and *inguinarii*. The three last terms do not occur elsewhere in Latin.

ED. PL 173:763–1144. R.H. Rodgers, *Petri Diaconi: Ortus et vita iustorum cenobii Casinensis* (Berkeley 1972). For other ed., see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 620f.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Petrus Diaconus und die Monte Cassineser Fälschungen* (Berlin 1909). H. Bloch, "Peter the Deacon's Vision of Byzantium and a Rediscovered Treatise in his *Acta S. Placidi*," *SettStu* 34.2 (1988) 797–847. –A.K.

PETER THE FULLER (Γναφεύς), Monophysite patriarch of Antioch (469?–71, 476–77, 482–88); died 488. Peter began his career as a monk in the Akoimetoi monastery in Constantinople but quarreled with his brethren and accompanied the future emperor Zeno to Syria. In 469 or 470 he was consecrated patriarch of Antioch even though the incumbent Martyrios was still alive. Peter added to the TRISAGION the Theopaschite formula "who was crucified for us," which soon became the touchstone of MONOPHYSITISM. In 471 Peter was deposed and taken to Constantinople. He was restored to the see of Antioch by the usurper Basiliskos but in 477, after the restoration of Zeno, was again exiled, this time to Euchaita. Peter accepted the HENOTIKON in 482 and resumed his see until his death.

Some liturgical innovations introduced by Peter

(e.g., anointment of the entire congregation attending the service) have parallels in pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite. This prompted the hypothesis, developed by U. Riedinger (*BZ* 52 [1959] 281–96), that Peter was the author of the "Dionysian" corpus and that he devoted his many years of exile to this work. Riedinger's thesis has not, however, met with general acceptance.

LIT. A. Solignac, *DictSpir* 12 (1986) 1588–90. Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 167f, 188–90. L. Perrone, *DPAC* 2:2794f. –T.E.G.

PETER THE HERMIT, leader of the "Peasants' Crusade"; called "Koukoupeter" (Κουκούπετρος) by the Byz. (perhaps from Lat. *cucullatus*, "monk"); born near Amiens ca.1050, died Huy 6 or 8 July 1115. Responding to the summons of Urban II, Peter assembled peasants, burghers, knights, women, and children in northern France and Germany (1095–96). His followers clashed with the Byz. at Niš and suffered heavy losses. To minimize discontent among the "Crusaders," Alexios I's envoys arranged markets for supplies. Peter's forces reached Constantinople on 1 Aug. 1096. Alexios interviewed Peter and gave him money but soon transported his "armies" and his predecessor "Walter the Penniless" to Kibotos in Bithynia. At first they purchased provisions but, as their funds failed in mid-Sept., they began plundering (F. Duncalf, *AHR* 26 [1920–21] 451f). While Peter returned to Constantinople for assistance, Kilic Arslan I ambushed and killed most of his followers (21 Oct. 1096); Alexios rescued the survivors. Peter participated in the First Crusade until the capture of Jerusalem, then returned to France ca.1099 or 1100 (C. Dereine, *Nouvelle Clio* 5 [1953] 445f). In Anna Komnene's view, Peter instigated the Crusade to safeguard his pilgrimage after having been frustrated in an attempt to reach Jerusalem before 1095.

LIT. H. Hagenmeyer, *Peter der Eremite* (Leipzig 1879). *HC* 1:253–62, 280–84. –C.M.B.

PETER THE IBERIAN, early Georgian monk and bishop; pre-baptismal name Murvan; born Georgia 409?, died Jamnia, Palestine, 488? Son of the king of Georgia, he was sent at age 12 to Constantinople as a hostage. He fled to Jerusalem ca.430 and became a monk, taking the name Peter. Unlike the Georgian majority, he was a Monophysite and a disciple of Theodosios, the anti-Chalcedonian bishop of Jerusalem, who made him bishop of Maiuma (near Gaza) in 453. Peter spent little time in his see, but his monastery near Maiuma became an important center of Monophysite sentiment. Severos of Antioch studied there. Peter assisted at the consecration of Timotheos Ailouros in Egypt (457) and supported the Henotikon of Zeno. A notable representative of the important Georgian community in Palestine, Peter founded the first Georgian monastery in Jerusalem and established several other monasteries and hospices.

The biographies of Peter by John Rufus, bishop of Maiuma (surviving only in Syriac), and Zacharias of Mytilene (lost, save for a Syriac fragment) provide much detail on the early struggle between Chalcedonians and Monophysites in the East. The later Georgian Life distorts Peter's anti-Chalcedonian position, attempting to bring him in line with Georgian orthodoxy. To Peter some scholars have attributed the writings of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite.

SOURCES. Vita by John Rufus in Syriac—*Petrus der Iberer*, ed. R. Raabe (Leipzig 1895), with Germ. tr. Vita in Georgian—*Žitie Petra Ivera*, ed. N. Marr, *PPSb* 16.2 (1896).
LIT. D.M. Lang, "Peter the Iberian and his Biographers," *JEH* 2 (1951) 158–68. –R.T., T.E.G.

PETRA (Πέτρα), city in Jordan, ancient Nabataean capital and the center of the caravan trade; it was obscured by the rise of Palmyra and Persian success in moving the main trade route to the Euphrates and the Persian Gulf. Byz. coins to the reign of Justin II have been found in Petra (N. Khairy in *Petra*, ed. M. Linder [Munich 1986] 66), as has a Vandal *nummus* of Hilderich of the period 523–30 (M. Mackensen in ibid. 189–91). Christianity reached Petra no later than Constantine I's reign. About 300 (not later than 314) Petra was transferred from the province of Arabia to Palaestina Tertia and became its capital. In 451 the bishopric of Petra was placed under the patriarchate of Jerusalem. It was probably a center of local ecclesiastical culture; Theodore, bishop of Petra, wrote an *enkomion* of St. Theodosios Koinobiarches (died 529).

LIT. G.W. Bowersock, *Roman Arabia* (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1983) 184f. Y. Tsafrir, "The Transfer of the Negev, Sinai and Southern Transjordan from *Arabia* to *Palaestina*," *IEJ* 36 (1986) 80–86. P. Parr, "The Last Days

of Petra," *Proceedings of the Symposium on Bilād al-Shām During the Byzantine Period*, ed. M.A. Bakhit, M. Asfour (Amman 1986) 2:192–205. –W.E.K., A.K.

PETRALIPHAINA, THEODORA. See THEODORA OF ARTA.

PETRALIPHAS, or Petraleiphas (Πετραλ(ε)ίφας, fem. Πετραλίφαινα), an aristocratic lineage of Western origin. The family's founder was Peter of Alifa (near Caserta, Italy). After the death of ROBERT GUISCARD, Peter joined Alexios I, participated in the First Crusade, and fled from Antioch when Turks besieged it. Niketas Choniates mentions four Petraliphas brothers, soldiers of Manuel I, who were "Franks" by origin and lived in Didymoteichon. The later tradition, preserved in the romance of BELISARIOS, described the Petraliphas family as an insignificant family from Didymoteichon. At least two members of the Petraliphas family, however, were Manuel's generals: the *sebastos* Alexios in 1166 and Nikephoros; perhaps they were among the "brothers" from Didymoteichon. Nikephoros Komnenos Petraliphas, *sebastokrator*, issued a *sigillion* for the Xeropotamos monastery (probably ca.1200) to confirm his grandmother Maria Tzousmene Komnene's donation (*Xerop.*, no.8). Another *sebastokrator*, John Petraliphas, was governor of Macedonia and Thessaly under the Angeloi. His sister Maria married Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. One of his daughters, Theodora Petraliphaina (THEODORA OF ARTA) wed MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. Another branch of the family sided with the empire of Nicaea: George Akropolites (Akrop. 58.19–21) mentions John Petraliphas, a courageous warrior, whom John III Vatatzes appointed *megas chartoularios* ca.1237; identification with the above-mentioned *sebastokrator* John is questionable. A ridge called Petraleiphes, near Perigardikeia (Macedonia), mentioned in a charter of 1341 (*Docheiar.*, no.20.17), is perhaps a trace of the Petraliphas property in the area.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 215f. –A.K.

PETRA MONASTERY, dedicated to the Prodromos, located in the northwestern part of Constantinople near the cistern of Aetios. According to John MAUROPOUS, who lived at Petra in the 11th C., the monastery was founded by the Egyptian monk Baras in the late 5th or early 6th C. In the late 11th C. the monastery was restored by the *hegoumenos* John the Faster, who also composed a rule—as yet unedited (Milan, Ambros. gr. 270)—for the monastery. In 1200 Petra reportedly housed 200 monks. The monastery continued to flourish during the Palaiologan period; STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN founded a hospital there, the XENON OF THE KRAL, which later included a school (*katholikon mouseion*). In 1381 Petra held third place in the hierarchy of monasteries of Constantinople. Russian pilgrims commented on its wealth of relics, and CLAVIJO praised the lavish mosaic decoration of its church. Petra was still functioning in 1453 when it was sacked by Janissaries (Douk. 363.1–3); by the 16th C. its church was in ruins, and a few nuns lived in its cells.

The monastery possessed a substantial library, including the 6th-C. MS of DIOSKORIDES now in Vienna; 28 MSS that once belonged to Petra are still preserved. Between the 11th and 13th C. a number of scribes were active at Petra, copying MSS for the monastic library and for outside patrons (H.D. Kakoulides, *Hellenika* 21 [1968] 3–39).

LIT. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 339–45. Janin, *Églises CP* 421–29. Beck, *Kirche* 214, 555f, 775. –A.M.T.

PETRIC'I, JOHN. See JOHN PETRIC'I.

PETRION (Πέτριον), also called Petria, a region in Constantinople on the Golden Horn as well as the name of a nunnery located near the "Iron Gate" in the Petrion region. The history of the convent remains obscure. Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 113.20–24) mentions the chapel (*eukterion*) of St. Euphemia "in the so-called Petrion," the foundation of which he ascribes to Kastinos, a legendary bishop of Byzantion (mid-3rd C.), that is, before Euphemia's birth. On the other hand, the PATRIA OF CONSTANTINOPLE (ed. Preger 3:274.15–18) makes Basil I the founder of the monastery of St. Euphemia, of the "tombs in Petrin," and of a bathhouse, adding that the emperor "tonsured" his daughters there. Later sources usually refer separately to the nunnery of St. Euphemia and that of Petrion/Petria, and Janin (*CP byz.* 408) distinguishes them, but it is very

probable that they are one and the same. J. Pargoire's hypothesis that Gül Cami should be identified as the monastery of St. Euphemia has been rejected (Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 128f).

The nunnery served as a place of confinement or refuge for several empresses and other women of the imperial family. Besides Basil's daughters, ZOE KARBONOPSINA was "tonsured in Petrion in the convent of St. Euphemia" (*TheophCont* 397.13–14). In 1031 the Empress Zoe forced her sister THEODORA to become a nun "in Petrion" (Skyl. 385.34–36), but she was later released and ascended to the throne. In 1078 MARIA OF "ALANIA" retired to Petrion after the abdication of her first husband Michael VII but soon left the nunnery and married Nikephoros III Botaneiates (Bryen. 253.11–14). In 1081 Anna DALASSENE and her female relations were imprisoned "in the convent of Petria" (An.Komn. 1:79.9–11). Thereafter Petrion disappears from the sources.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 127–29, 397. –A.M.T., A.K.

PETRITZOS MONASTERY, founded in the late 11th C. by Gregory PAKOURIANOS, a Byz. general of Armeno-Georgian ancestry. Still surviving south of PHILIPPOPOLIS, near modern Bačkovo, it is dedicated to the Theotokos Petritzonissa (or Petritziotissa), whose epithet derives from the medieval *kastron* of Petritzos (Πετριτζός). The monastery was established for the use of 51 Georgian monks; retired soldiers who had served under Pakourianos were its earliest inhabitants. Pakourianos, who had no surviving heirs, endowed the monastery liberally with properties located in the themes of Philippopolis, Boleron, Serres, and Thessalonike (esp. in STENIMACHOS); both he and his brother Apasios were buried at Petritzos.

Its *typikon*, based largely upon the (lost) rule of the Panagiou monastery in Constantinople, was composed by Pakourianos in 1083 and includes much autobiographical information; it was drafted in Greek and Georgian versions, which survive, and possibly in Armenian. The *typikon* emphasizes the independence of Petritzos both from the authority of the local bishop and from future control by members of his family. The document prohibits the residence of any Greek priests or monks but requires a *notarios* able to read and write Greek who could deal with the local Byz. civilian authorities. Eunuchs and young boys were refused admission, but provision was made for six boys to be trained as priests at the nearby and dependent monastery of St. Nicholas (I.M. Konidares in *Antidoron Pneumatikon: Timetikos tomos Gerasimou Io. Konidare* [Athens 1981] 162–69). The inventory lists the icons, liturgical books, and sacred vessels as well as the livestock that Pakourianos donated to the monastery. He constructed three hostels near Petritzos as refuges for travelers. By the 14th C. the monastery had lost its Georgian character; in 1344 it came under the control of Tsar IVAN ALEXANDER and was inhabited by Bulgarian monks. After Bulgaria fell to the Turks (1393), the monastery became a center of Bulgarian culture.

The double church, built between 1074 and 1083, is the only Byz. structure preserved at the monastery. Its upper story contains two wall-tombs and is of fine brick construction with occasional stone courses. The crypt, with 14 floor-tombs, has a Deesis in the apsidal conch and a fresco of Ezekiel's vision in the Valley of Dry Bones, befitting the role of the ossuary described in the *typikon*. The earliest layer of fresco decoration has Greek inscriptions and includes six life-size saints, among them the Georgians Hilarion and GEORGE MT'AC'MINDELI. Ezekiel's vision, like the elaborate Last Judgment in the narthex of the lower church, may belong to a second campaign of decoration under John Iveropoulos (see ARTISTS). The third layer includes portraits of Gregory and Apasios Pakourianos, shown as *ktetores*, and Ivan Alexander; the latter portrait must have been painted between 1344 and 1363. Among rare features of the decoration are the Melismos (see FRACTION) in the upper church, and half-length portraits of saints painted as simulated hanging icons in the apses of both stories.

SOURCES. P. Gautier, "Le typikon du sébaste Grégoire Pakourianos," *REB* 42 (1984) 5–145. M. Tarchnišvili, *Typicon Gregorii Pacuriani* (Louvain 1954).

LIT. N. Lomouri, *K istorii gruzinskogo Petriconskogo monastyrja* (Tbilisi 1981). V. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, *Tipik Grigorija Pakuriana* (Erevan 1978). Lemerle, *Cinq études* 115–91. S. Grishin, "Literary Evidence for the Dating of the Bačkovo Ossuary Frescoes," *ByzAus* 1:90–100. E. Bakalova, *Bačkovskata kostnica* (Sofia 1977). –A.M.T., A.C.

PETRONAS (Πετρωνᾶς), general; died 865?. Younger brother of Empress THEODORA and Caesar BARDAS, Petronas was of Armenian descent (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 151). He served as *droun-*

garios tes viglas under Theophilos, who appointed him *patrikios*. The emperor reportedly ordered Petronas to decapitate THEOPHOBOS in 840 or 842. On the other hand, a story frequently repeated to illustrate Theophilos's devotion to justice says that the emperor had Petronas publicly stripped and beaten for illegally constructing a building that blocked a widow's view (e.g., Leo Grammatikos, *Chronographia*, ed. I. Bekker [Bonn 1842] 215.20–216.11). Petronas apparently had little influence during Theodora's regency for Michael III; he helped Bardas depose her in 856. He was named *strategos* of the Thrakesion theme and given command of an army that raided as far as Samosata and Amida. In 863 Michael appointed him supreme commander of the army and sent him against ʿUMAR, emir of Melitene. Petronas annihilated ʿUmar's army on 3 Sept. at Poson (or Porson) on the border between the Armeniakon and Paphlagonian themes (Grégoire, "Études" 536). After his victory he celebrated a triumph in Constantinople; a chant composed for the occasion is extant (*De cer.* 1:332f). He became *domestikos ton scholon* and was entitled *magistros*. He died while returning from an expedition and was buried in the monastery of Gastria.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:437. Halkin, *Saints moines*, pt.VIII (1944), 187–225. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:251–56. –P.A.H.

PETRONIUS MAXIMUS, Western Roman emperor in 455; born 396, died Rome 31 May 455. Petronius was of noble origin, although nothing is known of his ancestors; Theophanes' assertion (Theoph. 108.22–23) that Petronius was a grandson of the usurper MAXIMUS is not valid. Petronius had a brilliant career, becoming consul, praetorian prefect of Italy, and *patrikios*. He was involved in the plot against general AETIUS in 454. After the murder of VALENTINIAN III, Petronius was immediately elected in his stead (17 March), but whether he participated in the conspiracy or was chosen as a weak and honorable representative of senatorial nobility is unclear. In any case Petronius demonstrated his loyalty to Valentinian's traditions by marrying Valentinian's widow and betrothing Valentinian's daughter Eudocia to his own son Palladius. He sought an alliance with the Gallic aristocracy by appointing EPARCHIUS AVITUS *magister militum* and sending him immediately as envoy to the Visigothic court in Toulouse. Petronius did not gain the support of the local Roman population, nor was he able to appease the Vandals; in May 455 GAISERIC appeared with his navy in the estuary of the Tiber and Rome was besieged. While fleeing, Petronius was recognized at the gates and literally torn into pieces by angry inhabitants and soldiers. Contrary to common opinion, Czúth (*infra*) denies that Petronius cooperated with the Italian senatorial aristocracy.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 14 (1930) 2543–45. *PLRE* 2:749–51. B. Czúth, "Petronius Maximus—Kaiser der italischen Senatorenaristokratie," *Oikumene* 4 (1983) 253–58. –A.K.

PETS. See BIRDS; DOGS.

PHAINA (Φαίνα, Ar. Mismīyah in modern Syria), city, military post, and bishopric of the province of Arabia under jurisdiction of BOSTRA, noted for its 2nd-C. "Praetorium," which was converted to a church before 450 and destroyed ca.1890. Built on a centralized four-column plan, the "Praetorium" (whose original function is unknown) has been cited by architectural historians as a possible prototype of medieval Byz. churches. It has been suggested that the centralizing elements were added in the 5th C. to the "Praetorium," which otherwise most closely resembles southern Syrian temples at Erre (es-Sanamen) and Slem, a type of building that influenced in many ways the development of local church architecture.

LIT. S. Hill, "The 'Praetorium' at Musmiye," *DOP* 29 (1975) 347–49. G. Hölscher, *RE* 19 (1938) 1562. –M.M.M.

PHAKRASES (Φακρασῆς), family name of unknown origin, surely not Greek; the name Οἰνοφάγος ("wine swiller"), found in MAZARIS (18.30), is obviously a pun based on a supposed etymology φάγω κρασί. Some members of this family flourished in the 13th–15th C., holding secular and ecclesiastical offices. John Phakrases (ca.1300), *logothetes ton agelon* and correspondent of Maximos PLANOUDES, GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, and Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, is perhaps to be identified with a *parakoimomenos* John Phakrases to whom one MS attributes the metrical *Description of Imperial Offices*. A certain Phakrasina (Kantak. 1:409.21) was in the retinue of ANNA OF SAVOY in

1330. George Phakrases was a military commander (1342–55) and supported John VI Kantakouzenos; he also wrote an account of the dispute between Gregory PALAMAS and Nikephoros GREGORAS (1355). Manuel Phakrases was an *oikeios* of John V (1370) as well as of Manuel II in 1409, when he took part in a synod in Constantinople. Demetrios Phakrases lived in Thessalonike as *megas primikerios* (1366–77); another Demetrios, also named Palaiologos, appeared as a witness in 1406 (N. Oikonomides in *Docheiar.* 219). Kantakouzenos Phakrases was an ambassador from Constantinople to John VIII at Florence in 1439. Matthew Phakrases, metropolitan of Serres (1377–1409), was captured by the Turks in 1383, but released four years later; John CHORTASMENOS esteemed him highly (Chortasm. 102–04). In sum, the Phakrases family was of minor importance, but occasionally appeared in higher positions and was related to nobler families.

LIT. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 234–37, add. in *DOP* 27 (1973) 312f. S. Lampros, "Ekphrasis peri ton basilikon offikion hypo Ioannou Phakrase," *NE* 13 (1916) 23–32. –E.T.

PHALERA. See CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS.

PHANTINOS THE YOUNGER, saint; born Calabria late 9th C., died Thessalonike 14 Nov.? or 30 Aug.? in late 10th C. A master of the ascetical life, Phantinos (Φαντῖνος) was at MERKOURION ca.940 when he undertook the spiritual direction of NEILOS OF ROSSANO. He reportedly founded three monasteries, including one for women. Believing himself divinely warned of impending Muslim raids, however, he departed for Greece, where he settled at Thessalonike and met ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS.

Until recently, it was generally believed that there were two different saints named Phantinos the Younger: the abbot at Merkourion known to Neilos, and the saint at Thessalonike known to Athanasios. A still unedited 11th-C. Life, discovered by E. Follieri in a Moscow MS (*infra*), demonstrates that the two traditions refer to the same person.

SOURCE. E. Follieri, "La vita inedita di S. Fantino il Giovane nel Codice *Mosquensis* 478," *Atti del 4° Congresso storico calabrese* (Naples 1969) 19–35.

LIT. *BHG* 1509b, *BHG Auct.* 2366z. B. Cappelli, "Sui santi monaci calabresi Fantino e Nicodemo," *BollBadGr* n.s. 29 (1975) 55–71. –J.M.H.

PHARAN (Φαράν), name of several sites in Palestine and Sinai.

1. The wilderness of Pharan and the mountain of Pharan mentioned in the Old Testament as the site of a divine theophany during the Israelites' wanderings (Num 10:12, Dt 33:2, Hab 3:3) and with the site of Hagar's wilderness journey (Gen 21:14, 21).

2. Episcopal see located in the date-palm oasis of the SINAI peninsula northwest of St. Catherine's Monastery (Wadi Feiran). It was known to Eusebios of Caesarea (*Onomastikon*) in the early 4th C. The pilgrim EGERIA visited the hermits of Pharan on her way to and from the "Mountain of God" of Sinai (*Itinerarium* 6.1–3). Its 5th-C. bishop, Martyrios, pacified nomad attackers. By the 6th C. it was a fortified site on the Sinai pilgrim route. Its 7th-C. bishop, Theodore, a proponent of Monoenergism, is probably to be identified with THEODORE OF RAITHOU.

3. Monastery northeast of Jerusalem, founded by St. Chariton ca.330 and possibly named after the wilderness Pharan (Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th C.)* 406). It was a residence of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT in the 5th C. and John MOSCHOS in the late 6th. It produced a patriarch of Antioch, Gregory, in the 6th C. By the 7th C., Pharan disappears from the sources.

LIT. **2.** R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique, des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23.
LIT. **3.** Beck, *Kirche* 203. –L.S.B.MacC.

PHARMACOLOGY. Drug lore was fundamental in Byz. MEDICINE, much as it was in Greco-Roman medicine. The pharmaceutical lists of ORIBASIOS, AETIOS OF AMIDA, and PAUL OF AEGINA owe data to earlier lore gathered by DIOSKORIDES, Xenocrates, and GALEN, but Byz. physicians were in full command of herbs and drugs, illustrated in the medical books by ALEXANDER OF TRALLES. Few new drugs were added to the pharmacopeia after Dioskorides' *De materia medica* (about 65) and the huge compaction of pharmacological doxography in the drug tracts by Galen, but Byz. doctors shrewdly rearranged aspects of drug theory to make sense of Galen's often confusing notions of how drugs "worked." Aetios of Amida's preface on the theory of drug actions, and Paul of Aegina's careful catalog of useful drugs (bk.7), show Byz. pharmacology precisely designed to fit neatly into basic treatments of diseases from PLAGUE to

skin rashes. An anonymous tract of sometime during the 11th–14th C. (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301) contains dietetic and pharmaceutic advice, including the recipe for the "perfume of the Empress Zoe." Using approximately 700 fundamental simples, derived from plants, animals (including insects), and minerals, Byz. drug lore became the model for later Arab pharmacology. In turn, late Byz. medical summaries, suggested by the works of Symeon SETH and Nicholas MYREPSOS, reflect the influence of Arab pharmaceuticals, esp. imported substances from the Far East. Almost all of the traditional drugs remained standard through the millennium of Byz. medicine, with the repeated employment of opium poppy, the hellebores, blister beetle solution, caustic mineral washes, soft emollients manufactured from rose oils, kaolin as an antidote, and hundreds of similar compounds. Noteworthy too are the *kyphi* formulas, incorporated into Byz. pharmacy from the venerated folk medicine of Egypt. Generally drug actions were explained by the old theories of elements, qualities, and humors, illustrated by the pharmacy in Oribasios, Aetios of Amida, and Paul of Aegina.

LIT. J. Riddle, "Byzantine Commentaries on Dioscorides," J. Stannard, "Aspects of Byzantine Materia Medica," and J. Scarborough, "Early Byzantine Pharmacology," *DOP* 38 (1984) 95–102, 205–32. –J.S.

PHAROS CHURCH. See NEA EKKLESIA.

PHASIS (Φᾶσις), a river in Colchis, the modern Rioni, which flows into the Black Sea at Poti. The Laz (see LAZIKA) first appear in this area at the beginning of the 6th C. Prokopios was personally familiar with the area, which figures prominently in his *Wars*, books 1 and 4. Later Byz. writers used the term Phasis in this sense (e.g., Nik.Chon. 528.84, 626.59, or Chalk. 1:130.8–9, 2:223.7), but earlier writers often identified the Phasis with the river Araxes (e.g., Theoph. 329.31, *De adm. imp.* 45). This stems from rendering "Basean," the Armenian district on the upper Araxes, as "Phasiane" in Greek (e.g., *De adm. imp.* 45.44) and Latin (COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA, 69). Phasiane appears in Byz. sources in various spellings (Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 196).

LIT. D. Kekelia, "O geografičeskom aspekte lokalizacii Fasisa," *Soobščenija AN Gruz SSR* 102 (1981) no.2, 505–08. –R.T.

PHELA TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and found before 1955 in Syria or Lebanon, is composed of seven silver objects (two chalices, two patens, a cross and holder, a seal), five of which bear dedications; the church named in two of these is that "of the Theotokos of the village (*kome*) of Phela." With the exception of the cross holder, now apparently lost, the objects are divided between collections in Bern and Washington. One paten with SILVER STAMPS of 577 was given by an *exkoubitor*, who may have retired to his native village. The seal, a unique example of an early "cone" seal (see SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID) in silver, had belonged to a "bishop of Kerania" (Kerynia [Kyrenia] in Cyprus?), perhaps another native of Phela. (See also TREASURES, SILVER AND GOLD; LITURGICAL VESSELS.)

LIT. E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Treasures* (Bern 1973), nos. 4–8. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 61–66. –M.M.M.

PHELONION (φελόνιον), a vestment worn primarily by priests and bishops, the Eastern equivalent of the Latin chasuble. Like the chasuble, the *phelonion* derives probably from the Roman PAENULA. The *phelonion* is a form of cape, worn over the STICHARION and simply pulled on over the head. It was made of wool or silk and could be any number of colors. It was originally circular and hung down nearly to the knees in front and back; the front section was gradually shortened over time, so that the garment became more semicircular in shape and allowed the wearer freer use of his arms (for the form in the 10th C., see the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS, fol.3; for the 11th C., the Homilies of John Chrysostom, Paris, B.N. Coisl. 79, fol.2v; Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.233). In the late 11th C., the *phelonion* of a patriarch began to be decorated regularly with an overall pattern of crosses and was referred to as a POLYSTAURION.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 234–47. –N.P.Š.

PHERRAI. See BERA.

PHIAL. See GLASS CRUETS.

PHIALE (φιάλη, also called κρήνη, λουτήρ), the fountain in the open court or ATRIUM preceding a church; in a secular context, a luxurious palace furnishing (Preger, *Scriptores*, 103.4). The term

may also refer to the square, octagonal, or polygonal structure erected over the *phiale* (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 110–14).

Church *phialai* were originally intended for the ablutions of participants in the liturgy. From the 6th C. onward, however, they were also used for the blessing of the waters at Epiphany. *Phialai* often had the form of a shallow bowl. Two important examples of solid stone are the 5th-C. *phiale* of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike and that in the outer narthex of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople (L. Bouras, *Gesta* 16.2 [1977] 65). A monolithic *phiale* (1060) in the Lavra on Mount Athos is the only example retaining an elaborate bronze trough (*strobilion*) spouting water. Representations of *phialai* in monumental painting and MS illumination often display troughs ending in a pinecone or eagle finial.

The meaning of *phiale* in the title PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES is unclear. It probably referred to a part of the Boukoleon harbor.

LIT. G. Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos III: Phiale et simandre à Lavra," *BCH* 29 (1905) 105–23. L. Bouras, "Some Observations on the Grand Lavra Phiale at Mount Athos and its Bronze Strobilion," *DChAE*[4] 8 (1975–76) 85–96. A. Khatchatrian, *Origine et typologie des baptistères paléochrétiens* (Paris 1982) 81f. –L.Ph.B.

PHILADELPHIA (Φιλαδέλφεια, now Alaşehir), city of LYDIA and last Byz. possession in Asia Minor. Philadelphia was significant in the 6th C., when the followers of PROKLOS called it "little Athens" because of its festivals and temples (JOHN LYDOS, *De mensibus*, bk.4, ch.58); John Lydos, however, described the suffering of his native Philadelphia under John the Cappadocian, whose agents ruthlessly extracted taxes (*De magistratibus*, bk.3, chs. 58–59). Philadelphia, a city of the THRAKESION theme, was occupied by the Turks after Mantzikert (1071), but was recovered by the Byz. in 1098 and became capital of the theme (by the mid-12th C.), a major bulwark of the frontier, and base for imperial expeditions to the east. The city was a center of resistance to Andronikos I in 1182 and the capital of Theodore MANKAPHAS. Philadelphia flourished under the Laskarids, when it was administered by a *stratopedarches* of Philadelphia and Thrakesion. It was a center of trade, with colonies of Venetians (attested in 1188) and Genoese (1342), and was noted for its production of leather goods and red-dyed silk.

In the 14th C., Philadelphia, as the easternmost Byz. city, was frequently attacked by the Turks. Rescued by the Catalan Grand Company in 1304, it was forced to pay tribute to GERMIYAN after the siege of 1309/10; from 1322 to 1324 it endured a long siege by Germiyan and Aydın, the account of which reveals many details of local topography. Two bishops of that era, THEOLEPTOS and Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS, played an enormous role in administering and defending the city. Philadelphia was then a Byz. enclave surrounded by Turkish emirates, prospering through trade and its strategic location. It finally fell to Bayezid I in 1390. Philadelphia, which was a suffragan bishopric of SARDIS, became an independent metropolis under Isaac II and metropolis of Lydia in 1369.

Philadelphia owed its survival in part to its long and powerful walls, whose extensive remains appear to date to the 3rd and 12th–13th C. (A. Pralong et al. in *Philadelphie et autres études* [Paris 1984] 17–67, 101–26). The city also preserves the ruins of a large domed basilica, evidently Justinianic (H. Buchwald, *JÖB* 30 [1981] 301–18).

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 375–431. H. Ahrweiler, "La région de Philadelphie au XIVe siècle," *CRAI* (1983) 175–97. –C.F.

PHILAGATHOS, monk of ROSSANO, author of the so-called Italo-Greek homiliary; baptismal name probably Philippos, family name probably Kerameus; born Sicily or Calabria late 11th C., died mid-12th C. According to C. Cupane (*SicGymn* 31 [1978] 5), Philagathos "was a monk of an absolutely new type." Philagathos's homilies were based not only on patristic tradition, but on classical authors as well, and on the principles of ancient rhetoric. In the 27th homily, pronounced after 1143 according to E. Kitzinger (in *Byzantino-Sicula* 2 [Palermo 1975] 301–06), Philagathos described the Cappella Palatina in Palermo in detail and praised the founder of the church, ROGER II. Like his younger contemporary, EUGENIOS OF PALERMO, Philagathos was interested in the *Stephanites and Ichnelates* of Symeon SETH and produced an allegorical commentary on this text. Possibly Philagathos wrote a commentary on HELIODOROS, although Hunger dates this work in the 5th C. (*Lit.* 2:121). The commentary attempts to use the love story of the *Aethiopica* as a Christian allegory.

ED. *Filagato da Cerami, Omilie per i Vangeli domenicali e le feste fisse di tutto l'anno*, ed. G. Rossi Taibbi (Palermo 1969). S. Caruso, "Le tre omilie inedite 'Per la domenica delle palme' di Filagato de Cerami," *EEBS* 41 (1974) 109–27. *Heliodori Aethiopica*, ed. A. Colonna (Rome 1938) 365–70. Russ. tr. S.V. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 245f.

LIT. M. Gigante, "Il problema Filagato," *SBNG* 633–39. A. Colonna, "Teofane Cerameo e Filippo Filosofo," *BollCom* 8 (1960) 25–28. B. Lavagnini, "Filippo-Filagato promotore degli studi di greco in Calabria," *BollBadGr* 28 (1974) 3–12. –A.K.

PHILANTHROPENOS (Φιλανθρωπηνός). This family, whose name is etymologically connected with the monastery of Christos tou Philanthropou in Constantinople, appeared in the mid-13th C.; many of its members held high positions in the army and administration. Alexios Doukas Philanthropenos, a commander in 1255 near Ohrid in the Bulgarian war, who later became *protostrator* and *megas doux*, died ca.1275; by his daughter Maria, who married Michael Tarchaneiotes, he was the grandfather of the Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS who rebelled against Andronikos II. Later Philanthropenoi, likewise related to the Doukai, included George Doukas Philanthropenos, who was governor of Lemnos and held the dignity of *megas hetaireiarches* in 1346 (*Lavra* 3, no.126.39–40). Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos bore the title of CAESAR and was the real ruler of Thessaly ca.1382–89 (B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* [Belgrade 1974] 265–77). He was succeeded by his brother, Caesar Manuel Angelos (ca.1389–94). One of the most eminent 15th-C. Philanthropenoi was George, who, appointed MESAZON by John VIII, accompanied him to the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9 (Syropoulos, *Mémoires* 486–92). Alexios Laskaris Philanthropenos, governor of Patras in 1445, was highly esteemed by BESSARION, who sent him a theological treatise.

Numerous Philanthropenoi are of interest either for their relationship to other famous lineages (Kantakouzenos, Palaiologos, Bryennios, Komnenos, Asan, Choumnos, Tarchaneiotes) or because of their profession (*epi tes trapezes, megas stratopedarches, megas droungarios*, admiral, *protasekretis, megas oikonomos, protopsaltes*). Several women of the family are noted, for example, Anna Kantakouzene Komnene Palaiologina Bryennissa Philanthropene (fl. ca.1330; Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 150f).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 167–70. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:365. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 177–81. – E.T.

PHILANTHROPENOS, ALEXIOS, general; born ca.1270?, died after 1323. Second son of the *protovestiarios* Michael TARCHANEIOTES and, through his mother, a member of the Philanthropenos family, Alexios attained military renown at a young age. In 1293 he was made *pinkernes* and *doux* of the theme of THRAKESION and sent to Asia Minor to fight the Turks and regain control of the Maeander region. His campaigns of 1294–95 were marked with successes, such as the reconquest of Miletos and Achyraous. The local population rallied to his support. In late 1295 he rebelled against ANDRONIKOS II and ruled independently for a brief period. He was soon, however, arrested and blinded (on 25 Dec. 1295: *Kleinchroniken* 1:194, 2:214f).

Philanthropenos was the son-in-law of Constantine AKROPOLITES and a friend of Maximos PLANOUDES, who addressed 28 letters to him. Toward the end of his life he regained imperial favor, thanks to the urging of Patr. Isaias (1323–32). In 1323 he was sent to Philadelphia to help raise the Turkish siege (Greg. 1:360–62).

LIT. A. Laiou, "Some Observations on Alexios Philanthropenos and Maximos Planoudes," *BMGS* 4 (1978) 89–99. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 80–87, 292. –A.M.T.

PHILANTHROPOS SOTER MONASTERY. See CHOUMNAINA, IRENE.

PHILANTHROPY (φιλανθρωπία, "love of mankind") was regarded as an essential divine attribute, which every good Christian was bound to emulate by ministering to Christ in the person of the POOR, the sick, the aged, the homeless, and the imprisoned. *Philanthropia*, incorporating the quality of *eleemosyne* (mercy or ALMSGIVING), was thus one of the major virtues expected of saints and emperors, the supreme "imitators of Christ." Emperors took every opportunity to characterize, and justify, their legislation as philanthropic.

The most striking manifestation of philanthropy in Byz. society was the systematic public provision of social welfare and HOSPITALITY through a variety of specialized institutions: the HOSPITAL (*xenon*, or, less frequently, *nosokomeion*), the hospice (XENODOCHEION), the old-age home (GEROKOMEION), the poorhouse (PTOCHOTROPHEION), the ORPHANAGE (*orphanotropheion*), and the ecclesiastical welfare center (*diakonia*). These

institutions, like philanthropy itself, had pre-Christian antecedents, but were essentially the product of the establishment of Christianity in the 4th–5th C. and represented a transformation in the pattern of public benefaction (*euergesia*) from the ancient ethos of "bread and circuses" to one that stressed the spiritual salvation of both the giver and the beneficiary. Although many such institutions were lay sponsored, and some of the most important depended directly on the emperor (see CHURCHES, IMPERIAL), all were, like MONASTERIES, ecclesiastical units. From the 10th C., indeed, all new foundations of charitable houses were invariably attached to monastic communities.

LIT. D.J. Constantelos, *Byzantine Philanthropy and Social Welfare* (New Brunswick, N.J., 1968). H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna 1964) 143–53. Patlagean, *Pauvreté* 181–96. R. Volk, *Gesundheitswesen und Wohltätigkeit im Spiegel der byzantinischen Klostertypika* (Munich 1983). –P.M.

PHILARETOS BRACHAMIOS. See BRACHAMIOS.

PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL (Φιλάρετος ὁ Ἐλεήμων), saint; born Amneia, Paphlagonia?, 702, died in Constantinople in the monastery of Krisis or Rhodophyllion 792; feastday 1 Dec. Son of a well-to-do peasant, Philaretos supposedly owned the most impressive house in Amneia, 48 or 50 farmsteads (PROASTEIA), enormous herds of livestock, and many *oiketai* (slaves). He lost his wealth during the Arab invasion; his *proasteia* were seized by "neighboring magnates" and peasants; and he gradually distributed the rest to the poor. In 788 Maria, the granddaughter of Philaretos, was chosen in a BRIDE SHOW as the spouse of CONSTANTINE VI; Philaretos's family moved to Constantinople, where one of Maria's sisters married the *patrikios* Konstantinakios, and another was sent to become the bride of the Lombard king Argouses (Harichis).

The Life of Philaretos was written in 821/2 by his grandson, the monk Niketas of Amneia, as a Byz. version of the story of JOB. The hero is a man of exceptional generosity, but he differs from the paragon of philanthropy, JOHN ELEEMON, in that John was a politician, directing the patriarchal treasury of Alexandria, while Philaretos was a private citizen who distributed his own possessions, apparently to his own detriment, so that ordinary people, including his wife, considered him a fool. Unlike SYMEON OF EMESA, however, Philaretos is not a wild eccentric, but a mild and temperate person. The Life bears no traces of anti-Iconoclastic polemics. It is a very important source for 8th-C. agrarian history (J. Nesbitt, *GOrThR* 14 [1969] 150–58). The Life is preserved in two versions: Paris, B.N. gr. 1510, a 10th-C. MS, and Genoa, Bib. Franz. 34, 11th C. K. Bonis (in *Überlieferungsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen* [Berlin 1981] 97) ascribes both MSS to the 12th C. L. Rydén (*AB* 100 [1982] 485–95) hypothesizes that the Genoa MS preserves the earlier tradition and that the Paris version represents a revision produced in the same milieu as the Life of ANDREW THE FOOL. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.218) shows the burial of Philaretos (in the Krisis monastery, according to the text).

SOURCES. M.-H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, "La Vie de S. Philarète," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 85–170, with Fr. tr. A. Vasiliev, "Žitie Filareta Milostivogo," *IRAIK* 5 (1900) 64–86.

LIT. *BHG* 1511z–1512a. P. Giannopoulos, "Paratereseis sto 'Bio tou hagiou Philaretou,'" *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 487–503. S.V. Poljakova, "Fol'klornyj sjužet o ščastlivom glupce v nekotorych pamjatnikach agiografii VIII v.," *VizVrem* 34 (1973) 130–36. P. Speck, *Kaiser Konstantin VI.*, vol. 1 (Munich 1978) 204–06. I. Diller-Sellschopp, "Der Weg des Aschenputtelmärchens vom Orient zu den Brüdern Grimm (AT 510)," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 19f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PHILES (Φιλῆς, cf. φίλος and the component -φιλής in εὐ-φιλής, "well-loved," etc.), a noble family flourishing only during the 13th–14th C. Theodore, appointed governor of Thessalonike by JOHN III VATATZES soon after 1246, was blinded in 1255 by his great enemy, THEODORE II LASKARIS, and therefore in 1258 went over to Michael VIII Palaiologos (Angold, *Byz. Government* 76–78, 82, 289). Theodore's son Alexios married Maria Palaiologina, second daughter of John Kantakouzenos and Irene Palaiologina and thus niece of the emperor; in 1261 Alexios received the rank of *megas domestikos*. Campaigning in the Peloponnesos in 1262, he was taken prisoner; he died there a year later (A. Failler, *REB* 38 [1980] 87–96). John Philes, also called Palaiologos, was invested with the function of a *protostrator* and campaigned successfully against the Turks (before 1314). A learned man, he corresponded with Michael GABRAS, who also wrote a letter to Theo-

phylaktos Philes, probably John's son. Another John Philes accompanied the Empress Irene (wife of John VI Kantakouzenos) to Didymoteichon in 1352. By far the most renowned member of the family was Manuel PHILES, the poet, to be distinguished from the hymnographer Michael Philes, who probably also lived in the 14th C. (Beck, *Kirche* 707).

LIT. Gabras, *Letters* 1:48, 54, 65. Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 19, 79, 106. –E.T.

PHILES, MANUEL, court poet under Andronikos II and III; born Ephesus ca.1275, died ca.1345. A pupil of George Pachymeres, Philes participated in an embassy to the "Tauroscythians" (Tatars) in 1293 to arrange the marriage of Maria, daughter of Andronikos II, to the khan of the Golden Horde. He also went on a mission to recruit Georgian archers in 1305–06 and claims to have traveled among the "Persians [Turks], Arabs, Indians, and Scythians." He offended an emperor, probably Andronikos II, and was briefly imprisoned. His complaints of poverty, hunger, thirst, and the cold may be a topos. The subjects and addressees of his poems indicate that he had close ties with the imperial family, the aristocracy (he was related to the Melissenoi), and the patriarch.

Philes's poetry, in iambics and political verse, was immensely varied and prolific. It included poems on flora and fauna (e.g., his very lengthy *On the Characteristics of Animals*, based primarily on AELIANUS), his descriptions of an elephant and an ostrich, and two didactic poems on silkworms (Z. Kádár, *Acta Classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 1 [1965] 49–55). In a panegyric in honor of John Kantakouzenos, Philes converses with abstract notions such as Reason, Virtue, Truth, and Modesty. He wrote *epitaphioi* for members of the imperial family and the nobility, an *enkomion* of Andronikos III (M.I. Gedeon, *EkAl* 4 [1883] 291f), poems on feastdays, petitions (for a horse, bridle, barley, winter cloak, wine, etc.), accounts of historical events such as the Bulgarian campaigns of 1304 and the Catalan raids in Thrace, and *ekphraseis* of relics and works of art. His verses provide information on Vlach sheep shearing and the geography of Thrace, Macedonia, and the Adriatic coast. His poems are a good source for prosopography, and for descriptions of icons, icon frames, and books, which show that the patronage system extended to commissioning epigrams to celebrate such artistic creations (Belting, *Illum. Buch* 18f, 48f). His poetry so closely resembles that of PTOCHOPRODROMOS that there has sometimes been confusion between the two.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. E. Miller, 2 vols. (Paris 1855–57; rp. Amsterdam 1967). *Carmina inedita*, ed. E. Martini (Naples 1900); corr. N. Bees, *VizVrem* 20.2 (1913) 66f and E. Kurtz, *BNJbb* 4 (1923) 51–76. *Poetae bucolici et didactici*, ed. F. Dübner, F.S. Lehrs (Paris 1862) 1–68. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:263–74, 610f.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:147, 172, 266f, 275. Ch. Loparev, *Vizantijskij poet Manuil Fil* (St. Petersburg 1891). I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Beobachtungen zur Stellung des Dichters in der byzantinischen Gesellschaft des XIV. Jhs. anhand der Schriften des Manuel Philes," 14 *CEB* 2 (Bucharest 1975) 251–58. N. Radošević in *VizIzvori* 6:591–98. –A.M.T., A.C.

PHILIP (Φίλιππος), apostle and saint; feastday in Constantinople 14 Nov. He was popular with the Gnostics, who attributed to him one of the NAG HAMMADI Gospels addressed to the topic of the mystical marriage of the Perfect (i.e., Jesus) to Sophia. Another Gnostic document connected with Philip is the letter of PETER to him: it contains the invitation to join the apostles and is followed by a description of their questions addressed to the Savior. Byz. legend relates Philip's missionary work (primarily in Scythia and Phrygia) and his martyrdom, together with that of BARTHOLOMEW, in Hierapolis. His cult developed from the early 6th C., when his *apostoleion* was constructed in Constantinople, in the district of Meltiadou, by Anastasios I, according to the *Patria* (Janin, *Églises CP* 493f). The *Acts of Philip* (5th C.?) were translated into Latin, Syriac, Armenian, Ethiopic; later Greek eulogies (e.g., by Niketas Paphlagon, Symeon Metaphrastes) are short on detail and ignore Philip's colorful miracles related in his *Acts*.

With the exception of a unique icon of the 10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B.59), where he is shown blessed by Christ, Philip usually appears collegially with other apostles on ivories and in MS illustration. On the Harbaville triptych (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.33) and other works, he is indistinguishable, except for his inscription, from Thomas, the other youthful apostle.

SOURCES. J.E. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Philippe* (Paris 1967). *The Gospel of Philip*, tr. R. McL. Wilson (London 1962). J.E. Ménard, *La lettre de Pierre à Philippe* (Quebec

1977). *Acta apostolorum apocrypha,* ed. M. Bonnet, vol. 2.2 (Leipzig 1903).

LIT. *BHG* 1516–1530c. J.M. Sevrin, "Les noces spirituelles dans l'Évangile selon Philippe," *Muséon* 87 (1974) 143–93. –J.I., A.K., A.C.

PHILIP I OF TARANTO, prince of Taranto (1294–1331), prince of Achaia (1307–13), titular Latin emperor of Constantinople (1313–31); died Naples 26 Dec. 1331. Son of Charles II, king of Naples, and grandson of CHARLES I OF ANJOU, Philip inherited the Angevin rights of suzerainty over Frankish Greece (including Achaia, Athens, Naxos, Albania, and Thessaly). By conquest and marriage he sought to expand Frankish territory at the expense of the Byz. and was a continual threat to Andronikos II. His first marriage (to Thamar of Epiros, daughter of NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, in 1294) brought him the promise of suzerainty over the despotate of EPIROS but ended in divorce in 1309. From his base in Italy and Kerkyra, Philip campaigned twice in Epiros in an unsuccessful effort to make good his claim to the despotate; he also made an expedition to the Morea in 1306. In 1313 he married Catherine of Valois (the daughter of CHARLES OF VALOIS), who brought with her the titular claim to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. He made plans to reconquer Constantinople, as part of a crusade to recover the Holy Land, but the expedition never materialized. In 1313 Philip relinquished his title of prince of Achaia but remained suzerain of the principality.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 42f, 238f, 253–58, 318f. Longnon, *Empire latin* 272–74, 292–95, 302–04. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:185–90. –A.M.T.

PHILIP MONOTROPOS (Μονότροπος, lit. "solitary"), monk and author; fl. ca.1100. He wrote two ascetic works in verse: the *Mirror* (*Dioptra*), also known as *Tears and Laments* (in 1095), and two years later the compilation entitled *Sylloge* or *Dialexis,* in the genre of a conversation between the soul and the body; in the later MS tradition the two works formed a single unit. Philip presents the posthumous destiny of the soul and a vision of the Last Judgment. Unlike the Life of BASIL THE YOUNGER, the presentation of Monotropos has no narrative element, only the lyrical perception of divine punishment and reward (F. Batjuškov, *ŽMNP* 273 [Feb. 1891] 333–42). Following Niketas STETHATOS, Philip placed the souls of the just not in earthly paradise but in the Kingdom of God in heaven (A. Wenger, *BZ* 44 [1951] 560–69). The *Dioptra* became very popular in the 14th C.; it was reworked by a certain Phialites and translated into Church Slavonic in Bulgaria (H. Miklas, *Starobŭlgarskata literatura* 2 [Sofia 1977] 169–81). Some MSS of the *Dioptra* contain several accompanying texts, including a preamble by Michael PSELLOS which was used by A. Sonny to date Psellos's death after 1095 (*BZ* 3 [1894] 602f); the validity of this attribution has, however, been questioned by J. Darrouzès (*REB* 32 [1974] 199f).

ED. Spyridon Lauriotes in *Ho Athos,* vol. 1, pts. 1–2 (Athens 1919–20) 1–247. E.S. Shuckburgh, *Debate of the Body and the Soul* (Cambridge 1894), with Eng. tr.

LIT. V. Grumel, "Remarques sur la Dioptra de Philippe le Solitaire," *BZ* 44 (1951) 198–211, with add. by W. Hörandner, in *Akrothinia* (Vienna 1964) 23–40. G.M. Prochorov, "'Dioptra' Filippa Pustynnika—'Dušezritel'noe zercalo,'" *Russkaja i gruzinskaja srednevekovye literatury* (Leningrad 1979) 143–66. W. Hörandner, "Notizen zu Philippos Monotropos," *Byzantina* 13.2 (1985–86) 817–31. –A.K.

PHILIP OF SIDE, churchman and writer; born Side, fl. first half 5th C. In the early 5th C. Philip, perhaps accompanied by his relative Troilos, emigrated to Constantinople, where he became a good friend of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, who ordained him deacon. Troilos became a successful orator and teacher, numbering future clerics and men of letters among his pupils, and with friends in high places. Philip, by contrast, failed in three bids for the patriarchate (426, 428, 431).

His major work was titled *Christian History* (not ecclesiastical, as Sokr. *HE* 7.27, emphasizes), written between 434 and 439, extending from the Creation to ca.426. To judge from the strong criticisms of Sokrates and Photios (*Bibl.,* cod. 35) of the history's Asianist style, pretensions to polymathy, shapeless format, purple passages, and chronological deficiencies, Philip was attempting a fusion of various literary genres, pagan and Christian. Apart from the quotation by Photios of the opening sentence, extracts remain only in a 14th/15th-C. MS in Oxford (Bodl. Barocc. 142, fols. 216r–v). The many other works ascribed to Philip by Sokrates, including a refutation of Julian's *Against the Galilaeans,* have vanished without a trace.

ED. C. de Boor, *Neue Fragmente des Papias, Hegesippus und Pierius, in bisher unbekannten Excerpten aus der Kirchengeschichte des Philippus Sidetes* in *TU* 5 (Leipzig 1889) 165–84.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* [= ST 173] (Vatican 1953) 82–91. –B.B.

PHILIP OF SWABIA, king of Germany (1198–1208); son of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA; born 1178, died Bamberg 21 June 1208. In 1197, at the direction of his brother HENRY VI, Philip married Irene, daughter of Isaac II and widow of Roger, son of TANCRED OF LECCE. The future ALEXIOS IV escaped from Constantinople to Germany and spent the winter of 1201/2 at Philip's court in or near Hagenau (Alsace). With the evident support of Philip's ally Philip II of France (M. Zaborov, *VizVrem* 6 [1953] 228–35), BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT, leader of the Fourth Crusade, spent Christmas 1201 at Hagenau; the three almost certainly discussed the possibility of turning the Crusade to Alexios's advantage. Late in 1202 envoys of Philip reached the Crusaders at Zara; through them, he guaranteed Alexios's offers, thus bringing about the Crusade's diversion to Constantinople. Philip believed that, through his wife, he had a claim to the Byz. throne. In May 1203 he promised Pope INNOCENT III, "If omnipotent God subdues the Greeks' realm to me or my brother-in-law, in good faith and without fraud I will act to subject the Constantinopolitan church to Rome" (MGH *Leges*, Sectio 4, 2:9).

LIT. E. Winkelmann, *Philipp von Schwaben und Otto IV. von Braunschweig*, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1873–78; rp. Darmstadt 1963). C. Diehl, *Choses et gens de Byzance* (Paris 1926) 213–29. J. Godfrey, *1204: The Unholy Crusade* (Oxford 1980) 67–69. –C.M.B.

PHILIPPI (*Φίλιπποι*), city of eastern MACEDONIA, in a rich plain astride the Via EGNATIA, slightly inland from its port at CHRISTOUPOLIS. It was an important economic and cultural center in the 4th C.; HIMERIOS, in a speech delivered in Philippi probably in 362, praised the city and particularly the purity of the Greek spoken by its population.

At Philippi are preserved the remains of many buildings, esp. of the 5th–6th C., and many tombs both Christian and pagan, with coins through Justinian I (Ch.I. Pennas in *Kabala* 1:437–44). Basilica A, which was built on a succession of levels rising from forecourt to nave, and Basilica C were decorated with marble and mosaic floors. Basilica B (6th C.) was an enormous vaulted structure with a dome over the central bay; the dome collapsed before completion. The so-called Octagon was built by the bishop Porphyry (mid-4th C.), rebuilt with a mosaic pavement in the late 4th or early 5th C., and inscribed in a square in the early 6th C. (S. Pelekanides, *Ergon tes Archaiologikes Hetaireias* [1978] 181–91). It was the cathedral of Philippi and part of a vast complex, including a bishop's palace, that became the focus of civic life until a fire of the 7th C. (Ch. Bakirtzes in *Kabala* 2:149–57); according to Pelekanides the cult of the apostle Paul that was centered in the Octagon continued a Hellenistic hero cult (*Kabala* 1:149–58). Among the Christian monuments of Philippi is an inscription of the 5th C. on the city gates containing fragments of correspondence between Christ and Abgar of Edessa (C. Picard, *BCH* 44 [1920] 41–69).

The fate of Philippi after the 7th C. is obscure. Slavs settled in much of the surrounding territory. Bulgarian invasions of ca.812 forced Greeks to flee from the "fortress" (*ochyroma*) of Philippi (Theoph. 496.4–5). Two fragments of a Bulgarian inscription dated to the second quarter of the 9th C. survived in Basilica B; one of them mentions the benefactions made to Christians and their ingratitude (Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.14, pp. 163–74). Byz. writers are silent about Philippi except for the author of the *Vita Basilii* who "remembered" Philippi as one of the Macedonian *poleis* at the time of Herakleios (*TheophCont* 214.17–18). It was a *kastron* ca.965/6, when Nikephoros II Phokas organized the repair of its rampart, an event recorded in an inscription (P. Lemerle, *BCH* 61 [1937] 103–08). The remains of the walls show that during "the Byz. period" (not specified further by Lemerle) some additions to the ancient fortifications were made: a *proteichisma*, or low external wall; two inner walls strengthening the lines of resistance; and a "donjon," or medieval castle, as an independent fortified structure (H. Ducoux, P. Lemerle, *BCH* 62 [1938] 17f).

Philippi was known to al-IDRĪSĪ in the 12th C. as a trade center. It was an impregnable fortress protected, according to Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 3:328.15–21), by precipitous rocks and swamps. It is rarely mentioned in later sources, although we can assume that Philippi shared the fate of

eastern Macedonia. In 1208 the Latin emperor of Constantinople, Henry of Hainault, defeated the Lombards, who had refused to let him into Christoupolis, "in the valley of Philippi." In 1246 John III Vatatzes held a military council in Philippi (Akrop. 73.8–12). The city survived the attack of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in the early 14th C. but was later taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. Gregoras (Greg. 3:564.11–12) describes an expedition of Matthew I Kantakouzenos against the *asty* of Philippi in 1355; the caesar Voihna, Serbian ruler of Drama, took him captive (Kantak. 3:330.15–18). The city probably fell to the Ottomans in 1387.

The history of the ecclesiastical metropolis of Philippi is also obscure, and the data about it before the 10th C. are questionable; only in the notitiae of the 10th–12th C. is there evidence about it. It probably declined in rank during the Palaiologan period, and Christoupolis and Drama ceased to be its suffragans.

LIT. P. Lemerle, *Philippes et la Macédoine orientale* (Paris 1945). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:538–43. S. Pelekanides, "Hoi Philippoi kai ta christianika mnemeia tous," *Makedonia, Thessalonike: Aphieroma Tessarakontaeteridos* (Thessalonike 1980) 101–25. –T.E.G.

PHILIPPIKOS (Φιλιππικός), general in the reign of Maurice; died ca.613/14. He was married to Gordia, Maurice's sister, in 584. Philippikos led expeditions into Persian territory in 584 and 585 (and allowed the massacre of Persian captives); he defeated the Persians at the battle of Solachon in 586 and ravaged their border territories in Mesopotamia in 587, but in no campaign could he deliver a decisive blow against the Persians. Maurice's replacement of Philippikos by PRISKOS as *magister militum* of the East caused the mutiny at Monokarton in spring 588. Philippikos's reappointment to that post in 589 satisfied the soldiers. After Philippikos failed to recover Martyropolis from the Persians, Maurice replaced him with KOMENTIOLOS in 589. Philippikos was *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* at the end of Maurice's reign, but in 603 Phokas replaced him with Priskos. In 594 Philippikos constructed a monastery in Chrysopolis (Bithynia), known as the monastery of Philippikos, which he dedicated to the Virgin. In the reign of Phokas, Philippikos was tonsured and exiled to this monastery. Briefly recalled to active military command after Herakleios dismissed Priskos in winter 612–13, Philippikos died soon after and was buried in his monastery.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 67–71. Goubert, *Byz. avant l'Islam* 1:91–104, 111–15. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 278–89. –W.E.K.

PHILIPPIKOS, emperor (711–13); baptismal name Bardanes; died Constantinople 20 Jan. 714 (Sumner) or 715 (Grierson, "Tombs and Obits" 51f). He was the son of a *patrikios* Nikephoros from a Pergamene family. By 702/3 Bardanes was prominent enough to be exiled to Kephalenia by Tiberios II. Recalled by Justinian II, he was sent with a punitive expedition against Cherson, where he was acclaimed emperor as Philippikos. Supported by the Khazar khagan and rebellious Byz. troops, he entered Constantinople in Nov. 711. Philippikos's active support of MONOTHELETISM is often attributed to his presumed Armenian origins (Ostrogorsky). He deposed Patr. Kyros (705–11), appointed John VI (712–15), and convened a council (including the future Patr. GERMANOS I) that anathematized the Third Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Philippikos also rehabilitated those (e.g., Patr. SERGIOS I) whom the council had excommunicated and removed from the palace the council's inscriptions and representations. A painted stele (or mosaic?) of Philippikos—one of the last public images of its kind to be erected—was displayed in the ZEUXIPPOS. Philippikos was suspicious of statues, allegedly ordering the destruction of one that had fallen on a *koubikoularios* and of two others that bore inscribed prophecies (Dagron, *CP imaginaire* 134, 145). His military efforts were inconsequential. In 712 he resettled Armenians from Byz. territory to Melitene and Armenia IV, but MASLAMA took Amaseia, while TERVEL devastated Thrace; in 713 the Arabs sacked Antioch of Pisidia. This ineffectiveness probably caused the revolt by officers of the Opsikion in favor of Anastasios II; Philippikos was deposed and blinded on 3 June. He was buried in the DALMATOU Monastery.

LIT. Hefele-Leclerq, *Conciles* 3.1:593–600. Ostrogorsky, *History* 144, 152–54. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 287–89. –P.A.H., A.C.

PHILIPPOPOLIS (Φιλιππούπολις, Thracian Pulpudeva [Ž. Velkova in *Pulpudeva* 1 (Sofia 1976) 174f], mod. Plovdiv), city in northern Thrace on the right bank of the Hebros (Marica) River,

founded in antiquity. Despite urban contraction after the Gothic invasion of 250, Philippopolis remained a major city, and excavations reveal various buildings dating to the 4th C., such as mosaic-floored *thermae* and Christian basilicas. The inhabitants of Philippopolis stubbornly supported the rebellious Prokopios in 365, and in 475/6 erected a laudatory inscription in honor of the usurper Basiliskos. Justinian I fortified it anew.

It was an ecclesiastical metropolis under the jurisdiction of Constantinople. From the 8th C. onward, Philippopolis, located near the Bulgarian border, was a subject of dispute between the Bulgarians and Byz. Krum's invasion in 813 forced the Christians to abandon the town temporarily. During Basil II's wars against Bulgaria, Philippopolis was one of the major Byz. strongholds, and the *protospatharios* Nikephoros Xiphias was appointed its *strategos*. Pechenegs attacked Philippopolis in the mid-11th C., temporarily occupying the city ca.1090. Nevertheless, Philippopolis flourished: in the 12th C. a water reservoir was built on the hill of Nebettepe in Plovdiv (Ch. Djambov, *Godišnik na Narodnija archeologičeski muzej Plovdiv* 6 [1968] 71–81), and the city walls were restored. Philippopolis was the residence of some prominent literati: MICHAEL ITALIKOS was its metropolitan and worked effectively to reconcile the knights of the Second Crusade with the population of Philippopolis; Niketas CHONIATES served as governor of the city. Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN considered Philippopolis one of the three largest cities of the empire. The city sustained damage from Crusader armies passing through it and also from religious conflicts, as it contained substantial Paulician and Armenian populations that were persecuted by the Orthodox. It was destroyed by Kalojan in 1206 but soon restored. In 1219 it formed a Latin "ducatum de Finepople." The Bulgarians captured the city in 1263, lost it to the Byz., and finally regained it in 1323 (when the inhabitants were busy harvesting grain). The Ottomans conquered the city in 1363 or 1364 (B. Cvetkova, *EI*² 2:914).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 154–62. M. Oppermann, *Plovdiv—antike Dreihügelstadt* (Leipzig-Jena-Berlin 1984) 108–23. G. Cankova-Petkova, "Kŭm istorija na Plovdivska oblast," *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* (Sofia 1980) 73–77. E. Kesjakova, "Akvedukite i vodosnabdjavaneto na Filipopol," *Archeologija* 25.1–2 (1983) 63–76. Ch. Džambov, "Srednovekovnijat Plovdiv spored novite archeologičeski otkritija," *Srednovekovijat bŭlgarski grad* (Sofia 1980) 315–22.
–A.K.

PHILO, Jewish philosopher and apologist of Alexandria who interpreted Judaism on the basis of Hellenistic (primarily Platonic and Stoic) philosophy; born ca.20 B.C., died A.D. 50. His extant literary corpus, written in Greek and preserved in Greek and Armenian, consists mainly of allegories and philosophical commentaries on biblical themes, in particular Genesis and Exodus. His synthesis of Greek and Hebrew thought was a significant methodological tool for the CHURCH FATHERS, esp. his idea of God's wisdom, *logos*, as creating the cosmos through speech (cf. Jn 1:1). Philo's philosophic mysticism expressed in the *Vita of Moses* influenced Gregory of Nyssa and was well known among church fathers. Photios comments on a number of his works (*Bibl.*, cod.103–04), in particular Philo's description of the Essenes and Therapeutai, whom both Photios and GEORGE HAMARTOLOS identified as monastic groups. Photios also considered Philo a convert to Christianity (*Bibl.*, cod.105), based on his embassy to Caligula in Rome, where he supposedly met Paul. Philo's Greek style was praised by Photios and recommended by Joseph Rhakendytes. His influence was still strong in the 14th C. Theodore Metochites, who wrote an essay on Philo (*Miscellanea*, ch.16), quipped, following Jerome (*De viris illustribus*, 11), "Does Philo platonize or does Plato philonize?" –S.B.B.

PHILOCALUS. See CALENDAR OF 354.

PHILOGELOS (Φιλόγελως, Laughter-lover), a collection of 265 jokes, known in many MSS from the 10th–11th C. onward. It is attributed in MS tradition to Hierokles and Philagrios, whose identity is unknown. The certain *terminus post quem* is 248, since the millennium of Rome is mentioned; the calculation of money in myriads (units of 10,000) points to a date in the 4th–5th C., as does the custom of wearing TROUSERS. The presence of eunuchs and the use of blinding as punishment may also indicate the latter date. Some of the jokes, however, such as those which mention the Serapaeum as still standing, may be ancient.

The whole setting of *Philogelos* is urban, with references to city magistrates, elections, theaters, gladiators, public bathhouses, market places, advocates, merchants, etc. The countryside appears only rarely, in the form of the "landlord and his tenants." Slaves are mentioned in many of the

jokes. The objects of ridicule are *scholastikoi* ("eggheads"), misers, men with bad breath, false prophets, inhabitants of Abdera and Kyme—but never peasants. The pantheon of pagan gods is present, while allusions to Christianity, if any, are vague. The jokes are structured on the principle of ridiculous misunderstandings or impossible juxtapositions and analogies, sometimes with sexual overtones.

ED. *Philogelos: Der Lachfreund, von Hierokles und Philagrios*, ed. A. Thierfelder (Munich 1968). Eng. tr. B. Baldwin, *The Philogelos or Laughter-lover* (Amsterdam 1983).
LIT. A. Thierfelder, *RE* supp. 11 (1968) 1062–68.

–A.K.

PHILOKALES (Φιλοκάλης, "loving the good," fem. Φιλοκαλίνα), also Philokalios, a family name. The first known Philokales is mentioned in Basil II's novel of 996 as an example of an ordinary peasant who rose to the title of *protovestiarios* and acquired the lands of neighboring peasants; Basil ordered the confiscation of the estate of Philokales. The family reappeared in the second half of the 11th C. when Andronikos Philokales served as *katepano* of Bulgaria ca.1066 (N. Bănescu, *BZ* 25 [1925] 331). Some family members, including Eudokia Philokalina, *proedrissa*, are known by the seals of this period (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282f). Gautier ("Blachernes" 241) identified Michael Philokales, eparch and *mystikos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1033), with Michael (without patronym), *mystikos* and eparch in 1094. Manuel Philokales was *kanikleios* in 1094.

Eumathios Philokales, one of Alexios I's ablest generals, served as governor of Cyprus ca.1092–1103 and again ca.1112, led an embassy to the Hungarian court, and defeated the Seljuks ca.1109/10. Some seals name the same Eumathios (or his homonym) *megas doux* and *praitor* of Hellas and Peloponnesos; a charter of 1118 dealing with a land dispute on Crete calls him *sebastos*, *megas doux*, and *praitor* (MM 6:96.13–14). Though not a trained soldier, he knew how to entrap his adversary and use war machines, according to Anna Komnene. Probably during his first governorship of CYPRUS he commissioned the *parekklesion* of the Trinity at the monastery of Chrysostomos, near Koutsovendi, in the northern part of the island. The brick walls, ashlar-and-brick dome, and high quality of the paintings at Koutsovendi, superior to any program surviving from 11th-C. Cyprus, suggest the accessibility to aristocrats, even early in their career, of major craftsmen and the readiness of the latter to work in the provinces. Most of the chapel's paintings remain unpublished.

Some 12th-C. Philokalai held military posts: one was Manuel I's general; another, probably, was *doux* of Dalmatia in 1178. Others were in civil service, such as the *grammatikos* Eumathios (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1192); a certain Philokales, *logothetes ton sekreton*; and Eumathios, eparch under Alexios III, one of the richest men in Byz. and the emperor's envoy. V. Laurent identified a Philokales, *megas doux* in 1214 (*RegPatr.*, fasc. 4, p.26), with the above-mentioned *logothetes*, but the information available is too meager and their posts too different for such identification.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Hoi authentai ton Kretikon," *Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 311–13. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282f, 315f. C. Mango, E.J.W. Hawkins, "Report on Field Work in Istanbul and Cyprus, 1962–63," *DOP* 18 (1964) 333–40. A. Papageorghiou, *Masterpieces of the Byzantine Art of Cyprus* (Nicosia 1965) pls. XIV, XV.

–A.K., A.C.

PHILOKALIA (Φιλοκαλία, lit. "love for the good" [in Church Slavonic translated as *dobrotoljubie*]). A term for property improvement (in documents) or for scholarly correction (e.g., Epiphanios of Salamis, [PG 41:220B]), it came to be used as a term for *florilegia*. BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS gave this name to their anthology of the works of ORIGEN compiled ca.360. Under this title, two Greek theologians, Nikodemos of Mt. Athos (1749–1809) and Makarios, bishop of Corinth (1731–1805), issued a collection of ascetic works written by Byz. authors of the 4th–15th C.: Antony the Great, Evagrios Pontikos, Maximos the Confessor, John of Damascus, Symeon the Theologian, Niketas Stethatos, Elias Ekdikos, Gregory Palamas, Markos Eugenikos, Symeon of Thessalonike, and others. John Cassian, who wrote in Latin, is also included, since some of his works had already been translated into Greek during the Byz. period. The *Philokalia* was published in Venice in 1782 and later on reproduced with some changes (K. Papoulides, *Makedonika* 10 [1970] 291–93). Paisij Veličkovskij (1722–94) translated the *Philokalia* into Church Slavonic (St. Petersburg 1793); in the West it was discovered later and used by J.P. Migne while preparing the second half of his *Patrologia Graeca*.

ED. *Philokalia ton hieron neptikon*, 5 vols. (rp. Athens 1957–63). Eng. tr. G.E.H. Palmer, P. Sherrard, K. Ware, *The Philokalia* (London-Boston 1979–). Fr. tr. J. Gouillard, *Petite Philocalie de la Prière du Coeur*[2] (Paris 1968).

LIT. M. Spinelli, "Dagli 'Apophtegmata patrum' alla 'Philocalia' greca," *Benedictina* 30 (1983) 195–202. –A.K.

PHILOPATRIS (Φιλόπατρις ἢ Διδασκόμενος, The Patriot), title of a dialogue preserved among the works of LUCIAN in several MSS. The conversation of Triephon and Kritias, full of phrases from genuine Lucianic works, ridicules pagan myths, but at the same time the author scorns (ch.12) the creed of Constantinople ("the son of the father, spirit proceeding from the father") and St. Paul ("a Galilaean with receding hair and a long nose"); the author laughs at astrologers and false prophets also, but in his turn expresses the hope that the emperor will destroy "Babylon," enslave Egypt, and check the Persians and the Scythians (ch.29). Stylistic and chronological grounds preclude the authorship of Lucian, but defining the date and, accordingly, the purpose of the *Philopatris* is very difficult. Following B. Niebuhr, most scholars have attributed the *Philopatris* to the reign of NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS; Ch. Angelide narrowed this date to the period March–Aug. 963 (*Hellenika* 30 [1977–78] 34–50). R. Anastasi (*SicGymn* 17 [1964] 127–44) identified the emperor as Isaac I and even hypothesized the authorship of PSELLOS. B. Baldwin is pessimistic about the possibility of establishing a firm date for the work: rejecting the arguments in favor of Nikephoros II's reign, he admits that the *Philopatris* may have been produced in the time of Julian, or Justinian I, or any time thereafter (*YCS* 27 [1982] 321–44).

ED. *Lucian*, vol. 8, ed. and tr. M.D. Macleod (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1967) 416–65.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:149–51. R. Anastasi, "Sul testo del *Philopatris* e del *Charidemus*," *SicGymn* 20 (1967) 111–17. P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich vojn Svjatoslava," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 230–32. –A.K.

PHILOPONOS, JOHN, scholar of philosophy, science, and theology; born ca.490, died after 567, or after 574 (Sorabji). *Philoponos* (Φιλόπονος) is a sobriquet meaning "lover of work" and may also refer to the Alexandrian guilds of *philoponoi*, or church helpers. A Christian who was trained by the Neoplatonist AMMONIOS, John became a professional *grammatikos* at Alexandria. A born controversialist, in 529 he attacked the Neoplatonist notions of PROKLOS concerning the world's eternity in *Against Proklos on the Eternity of the World.* He also developed a Christian theory of matter, attacking Aristotle's *On the World* in a treatise (surviving only in fragments) that provoked an elaborate response from SIMPLIKIOS. John refuted Aristotle's concept of the *ousia* (substance), later to be called quintessence (the fifth substance), that is, of things immobile or moving circularly round the center of the universe, completely separate from matter and therefore divine; the stars, according to Aristotle, know no upward and downward motions and possess a unique substance that is eternal. John, referring to astronomic observations that the stars have specific motions nonhomocentric with the universe, inferred that celestial bodies are not cardinally distinct from terrestrial, have no "quintessence," and are not eternal; he argued for the contingency of the world. John criticized much of Aristotelian science, esp. the ancient philosopher's explanations of dynamics, and proposed his own innovative theories on velocity in a vacuum and on impetus.

In his later years (from ca.553) John, a supporter of MONOPHYSITISM, turned to theology: his essay *On the Making of the World* appears to have been directed against the cosmogony of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES. A tract of 567, entitled *On the Trinity* or *On Theology*, reveals his leanings toward TRITHEISM, the concept of the separate being of each hypostasis. Several of his theological works, including the *Arbiter* and the *Letter to Justinian*, are transmitted in Syriac. John's diverse works included commentaries on ARISTOTLE and treatises on the astrolabe and on grammar. His notice in the SOUDA, along with the several discussions in the *Bibliotheca* of PHOTIOS variously applauding his style and condemning his heretical opinions, imply an enduring Byz. audience; he was also read in the Arab world.

ED. *CAG*, vols. 13–17 (Berlin 1887–1909). *De aeternitate mundi contra Proclum*, ed. H. Rabe (Leipzig 1899; rp. 1963). *Against Aristotle on the Eternity of the World*, ed. and tr. C. Wildberg (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). *De opificio mundi*, ed. W. Reichardt (Leipzig 1897). Syriac texts—*Opuscula monophysitica Ioannis Philoponi*, ed. A. Sanda (Beirut 1930), with Lat. tr. *Traité de l'astrolabe*, ed. with Fr. tr. A.P. Segonds (Paris 1981).

LIT. *Philoponus and the Rejection of Aristotelian Science*, ed. R. Sorabji (Ithaca, N.Y., 1987). C. Wildberg, *John Philoponus' Criticism of Aristotle's Theory of Aether* (Berlin–New York 1988). –B.B., A.M.T.

PHILOSOPHER (φιλόσοφος, lit. "loving wisdom"). This term had a broad range of meanings in Byz.: first of all, it designated pagan philosophers and had two distinct aspects—a false philosopher opposed to Christianity, and a wise man who was versed in the ancient intellectual tradition (also an educated man, a rhetorician, etc.). *Philosophia* or knowledge was laudable, constituting the "discipline of disciplines," the basis of any intellectual activity, but it could also be frightening, connected with dark forces, as are philosophers in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI and to some extent in the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA—guardians of strange and deceptive legends. Secondly, a philosopher was a person seeking moral perfection, and thus the word became synonymous with monk or ascetic. As defined by Neilos of Ankyra (PG 79:721B), "philosophy is perfection of morality combined with veneration of the true knowledge of being." Technically, a philosopher was a scholar who studied and taught the disciplines concerned with being, that is, beyond rhetoric and logic, which belonged to the sphere of the *sophistes.* The term *philosophos* could apparently also be used as an official title, e.g., on a seal of John, *chartophylax* [and] *philosophos* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.780).

A view of *philosophoi* at work under Constantine VII—teaching pupils at a long table and inspecting their exercise books—is provided by the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* no.329).

Images of Pagan Philosophers. This is the conventional term for a cycle of paintings preserved in some churches. The *Painter's Manual* (*Hermeneia*) of Dionysios of Fourna (see MODELS AND MODEL-BOOKS) recommended that images of philosophers be represented together with the TREE OF JESSE, beneath the Old Testament prophets. They were considered to be pagan harbingers of Christ's incarnation. Several churches and monasteries—Lavra and Iveron on Mt. Athos, St. Nicholas Spanos (Philanthropina) on an island near Ioannina, Bačkovo and Arbanesi in Bulgaria, and others—contain images of ancient "philosophers." They are dated to the 16th–18th C., although K. Spetsieres (*infra*) supposes that the artists followed an earlier tradition.

The list of "philosophers" represented includes well-known names not only of philosophers (Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Pythagoras, Philo) but also of politicians (Solon), writers (Homer, Plutarch, Thucydides), scientists (Galen), and prophets (the Sibyl); several names are unknown, for example, Lisitis, Astakor, Xialgis. The images are conventional, with few individual features: the men have luxurious hair and beards and, with some exceptions, wear crowns and rich attire; the Sibyl appears dressed as an empress. The figures are identified by inscriptions not restricted to names but including some Christian statements (e.g., "God is the Reason, Word, Spirit, and incarnate Word [Logos] of the Father"). At Bačkovo, the image of Socrates is accompanied by an inscription referring to Christ: "He took his flesh from a Jewish virgin, and was crucified; blessed are those who listened."

LIT. Dölger, *Byzanz* 197–208. I. Ševčenko, "The Definition of Philosophy in the Life of St. Constantine," in *For R. Jakobson* (The Hague 1956) 449–57. A.M. Malingrey, *"Philosophia": Étude d'un groupe de mots dans la littérature grecque* (Paris 1961) 185–288. K. Spetsieres, "Eikones Hellenon philosophon eis ekklesias," *EEPhSPA* 14 (1963–64) 386–458. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:478–85, 564f; 3:641–49.
–A.K., A.C.

PHILOSOPHY, defined by JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Schriften,* ed. Kotter, 1:56) as (1) knowledge of beings (*onta*) *qua* beings; (2) knowledge of divine and human matters; (3) preparation (*melete*) for death; (4) assimilation to God; (5) the art (*techne*) of arts and the science of sciences; and (6) the love of wisdom. These definitions, which had been assembled by the Neoplatonists of the Alexandrian school (AMMONIOS, DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER, and ELIAS OF ALEXANDRIA), derive from Aristotelian (1, 5), Stoic (2), and Platonic (3, 4) conceptions of philosophy as well as indicating the origin of the word (6). Alongside these school definitions, philosophy as a term could in Byz. have meanings already developed in the patristic period; thus in rejecting the claim of pagan philosophers to provide enlightenment, moral reform, and union with the divine, Christians asserted their religion as the true philosophy as compared to false (pagan) philosophy (*he exo philosophia*) that inspired heresy. The identification of the Christian way of life as true philosophy was specified further so that philosophy could refer to paradigms of such a life: martyrdom and the monastic ideal. Broader meanings of philosophy as designating eloquence, education, and ency-

clopedic knowledge were also to be found in Byz.

John of Damascus then divides philosophy into two branches, theoretic (dealing with knowledge) and practical (concerned with the virtues): theoretic included physics, mathematics (arithmetic, geometry, astronomy, and harmonics), and "theology" (= metaphysics: the study of immaterial realities, God, angels, soul); practical included ETHICS, "economics" (i.e., domestic ethics), and politics. LOGIC he considers as the instrument, rather than as a branch, of philosophy. This division of philosophy, also derived from later NEOPLATONISM, remained standard (at least as an ideal) in Byz. and determined the order of a philosophical curriculum that would begin with logic and ethics and progress (in some cases) through physics and mathematics to metaphysics. The first stages of the curriculum, along with rhetoric, constituted the cornerstone of a higher EDUCATION in Byz.

The question of the existence of a specific Byz. philosophy risks anachronism if it presupposes a modern criterion of what is to count as philosophy. If philosophy is seen as a historical development, it is to be found in Byz. in the interest taken in ancient philosophy and in the efforts to develop and criticize this heritage. This work provided in turn vital inspiration to Renaissance philosophy. Some of the major periods, figures, and themes of Byz. philosophy will be noted here as well as the problem of its relation to Christian religion.

The beginnings of Byz. philosophy may be found in the Neoplatonism of PROKLOS and his school at Athens and in that of his pupil Ammonios and his school at Alexandria. Not only did these schools establish the philosophical curriculum, but also they made important contributions. Among these might be mentioned Proklos's theory of the structure and derivation of reality and the philosophical critique by John PHILOPONOS of Aristotelian physics, particularly the notion of a special celestial substance and the doctrine of the eternity of the world, on which subject his debate with SIMPLIKIOS anticipated the great debate in the Latin West in the 13th C. In the 7th and 8th C., the teaching of logic and ethics continued at an elementary level and in the form established by the Neoplatonic schools, John of Damascus being the best-known example. This presence of philosophy was strengthened in the 9th and 10th C., first by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN (or Philosopher) who taught philosophy at Constantinople in the 9th C. and then, a century later, by Constantine, "leader of the philosophers," who was apparently responsible for teaching the theoretical sciences. In the same period PHOTIOS produced versions of Aristotelian logic and attacked Plato's theory of Ideas, which suggested that there were other causes of reality besides God. A greater friend of Plato was ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, who was responsible for important editorial work on MSS of Plato and other ancient philosophers.

The renewed efforts of the 9th and 10th C. to revive and strengthen education, including philosophy, bore fruit in the 11th C. Michael PSELLOS inspired the founding, as part of the new UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, of a School of Philosophy by Constantine IX. Psellos headed the school, taught philosophy in all its branches, and was given the honorific title HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. His description of his philosophical progress (Psellos, *Chron.* 1:134–38) matches that prescribed by later Neoplatonism. In teaching the branches of philosophy, Psellos attained considerable mastery of them through use, unparalleled in Byz. in its extensiveness, of the philosophical MSS available to him, of which Proklos was his preferred source. Reflections of this reading are found in his short encyclopedia *De omnifaria doctrina* (*Didaskalia pantodape*), in his commentaries on Aristotle's logic and physics, and in a large number of short pieces discussing particular problems raised in part at least by his pupils. Psellos impresses more by his vast erudition and Neoplatonist leanings than by any originality. This latter quality is more evident in his pupil and successor, JOHN ITALOS, who was more systematic and radical in applying philosophical analysis to theological issues. Italos was succeeded by THEODORE OF SMYRNA, author of an epitome of physics. Italos's pupil, EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, working with MICHAEL OF EPHESUS and other members of a circle associated with Anna Komnene, produced commentaries on Aristotle's ethics, physics, and logic.

The court at Nicaea ensured that the fall of Constantinople in 1204 did not break the tradition of philosophical learning in Byz. An instance of this continuity is Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, who produced handbooks of logic and physics. In the period of the Palaiologan revival a large group of scholars who were competent in the various

branches of philosophy and willing to criticize philosophical theories emerged. PACHYMERES produced a compendium of Aristotelian philosophy, and paraphrases of Aristotle were prepared by Sophonias (late 13th C.), Leo Magentenos (14th C.), and Theodore METOCHITES. In addition to reading Plato and some rare Neoplatonic texts, Metochites engaged in scientific polemic with his rival Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, stressing against Choumnos the uncertainty of physics and the disappointing nature of Aristotle's metaphysics; Choumnos, on the other hand, attacked the orthodoxy of Neoplatonic psychology. Metochites' pupil Nikephoros GREGORAS shows a knowledge of and sympathy for Neoplatonism (in, e.g., his commentary on Synesios's *On Dreams*) that is reminiscent of Psellos (whom he uses).

Leading figures of the final period of Byz. philosophy were PLETHON, GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, and BESSARION. Plethon proposed replacing Christianity as a theology and political system with Neoplatonism as represented in Proklos and Psellos. These views were attacked as heretical by Scholarios, who was more favorable to the Roman church and to Latin SCHOLASTICISM and found Aristotle more amenable. Bessarion's attempts to mediate the dispute between his teacher Plethon and Scholarios helped bring to the attention of Italian humanists the dispute as well as the philosophical texts that were concerned.

Byz. philosophy is inextricably tied to the question of its relation to Christian doctrine. The question had already arisen in the patristic period and had evoked different responses. At first in competition with philosophical schools, Christians asserted the superiority of their faith in truth and in antiquity: Plato, to the extent he found truth, had read the Bible. This was attacked by the philosophers Celsus and PORPHYRY, to whom replied in turn ORIGEN, METHODIOS OF OLYMPOS, EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, and others. Despite this conflict and the view of some Christians that pagan philosophy, as St. Paul indicated (1 Cor 1:21, 25; Col 2:8), was superfluous and insidious, Origen and later Christian writers influenced by him still found room for philosophy as a preparation for faith, as a means of deepening understanding of the faith, and as a dialectical weapon to be used against heresies. Platonism in particular seemed to them to come nearest to Christian religion. Julian the Apostate's abortive attempt to revive pagan religion hardened church leaders' attitude to philosophy.

The educational value of pagan philosophy, however, continued to be recognized and tolerated to some extent. Justinian's closing of the Neoplatonist ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529 and the transposition by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE of Proklos's metaphysical system into Christian terms both express possible reactions. The link between higher education and philosophy made it difficult in later centuries to dispense with philosophy. Scholars and teachers like Photios and Psellos had to face attacks on their theological orthodoxy as a consequence of their interest in learning. Psellos is a clear case of this ambivalence. In his aggressive program to "revive" and advance philosophical learning he found himself presenting the pagan theology that constituted metaphysics in Proklos. He was, however, careful to note the heretical aspects, distance himself from them (for example in his commentary on the CHALDEAN ORACLES), or discreetly remove them (as did the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos in his excerpts from Proklos). In a letter to Xiphilinos, Psellos justified the teaching of such pagan philosophy by claiming that it can play a useful role as subordinate to, preparing for, and clarifying Christian doctrine.

Nevertheless, the tension between pagan philosophy and Christianity was not satisfactorily resolved in Psellos. The trial of Italos in 1082 rested on the association of heresy with interest in Greek philosophy and ended at least further talk of the pagan theology of Neoplatonism that had been popularized in some circles by Psellos and that was attacked by NICHOLAS OF METHONE in his *Refutation of Proklos's Elements of Theology*. The logic and physics of Aristotle, however, could evidently still be defended in the 12th C. as more amenable to Christian purposes. More broadly, the debate between proponents of Plato and of Aristotle in Byz. might be regarded in part as a debate about the theological acceptability of philosophy. Neither Plato nor Aristotle could be accepted entirely. To the heresy of Plato's (and the Neoplatonists') concepts—hierarchical subordination of first causes, emanation from these causes, existence of eternal Ideas, divinity and preexistence of souls, metempsychosis—could be opposed the heresies of Aristotle—a God who merely moves the heavens and exerts little providence, eternity

of the world, omission of a future life in ethics. As Aristotle's logic was the beginning stage and Platonic metaphysics the highest level of the philosophical curriculum, the latter was least familiar and most exposed to the charge of heresy, whereas the former could be integrated more easily as a basic intellectual discipline. Even Aristotelian logic, however, was suspect to those monks whose spirituality opposed them to any form of philosophy, to those opposed to the Roman church and a Latin Scholasticism heavily indebted to Aristotle, and to those who knew some Neoplatonic philosophy and could agree that God transcends all syllogism.

LIT. L. Benakis, "He spoude tes byzantines philosophias, kritike episkepse 1949–1971," in *Philosophia* (Athens 1971) 390–433. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:3–62. A.M. Malingrey, *"Philosophia"* (Paris 1961). G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* (Munich 1969). B. Tatakis, *La philosophie byzantine* (Paris 1949). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii*, vol. 1 (Moscow 1984) 42–77; vol. 2 (1989) 36–58. G. Podskalsky in *Historisches Wörterbuch der Philosophie* 7:623–26. –D.O'M.

PHILOSTORGIOS (Φιλοστόργιος), ecclesiastical historian; born Borissos in Cappadocia Secunda ca.368, died ca.439. At the age of 20 Philostorgios emigrated to Constantinople, where he spent most of his life and became a follower of EUNOMIOS. Himself a layman, he wrote in ostensible continuation of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA a church history in 12 books covering the years 300–425. Perhaps because of its extreme ARIANISM, it has survived only in fragments, primarily in the *Passio* of the martyr Artemios (died ca.362), and in an epitome by PHOTIOS, who also (*Bibl.*, cod.40) provides a highly critical précis; two complimentary epigrams (*AnthGr*, bk.9:193f) also imply its endurance. His history affords a welcome glimpse into the Arian view of things. Notable items include a mild treatment of the emperor JULIAN for his recall of Arians and attacks on such orthodox luminaries as BASIL THE GREAT, albeit GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was let off lightly. A long section on NATURAL PHENOMENA interprets in apocalyptic vein earthquakes, eclipses, and meteors as scourges of divine anger. One fragment discloses his authorship of a refutation of the philosopher PORPHYRY and an *enkomion* on Eunomios about which nothing more is known. Philostorgios also wrote a vita of LUCIAN OF ANTIOCH.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*[3], ed. J. Bidez, revised F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1981). Eng. tr. of *Epitome* in E. Walford, *Sozomen; Philostorgius* (London 1855) 429–528.

LIT. Z. Udalcova, "Filostorgij—predstavitel' eretičeskoj cerkovnoj istoriografii," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 3–17. G. Geutz, *RE* 20 (1941) 119–22. –B.B.

PHILOTHEOS, metropolitan of Selymbria; baptismal name Philemon; born Dakibyze near Nikomedeia, died Selymbria? after 1389. The father of Philotheos was a priest named John who died when Philotheos was 15. The youth was entrusted to the care of his uncle Sabbas, a disciple of Makarios of Constantinople. After completing his education, Philotheos became a monk. He was a supporter of hesychasm and JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS. By 1366 he was metropolitan of SELYMBRIA; he remained in this position until at least 1389. In 1366 he anathematized Nikephoros GREGORAS, who had been dead for some years (MM 1:490; *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2515).

The most important work of Philotheos is a pro-hesychast treatise in the form of a dialogue between supporters and opponents of Palamas (Patm. gr. 366). He also composed hagiographical works, such as *enkomia* of Agathonikos (martyred at Selymbria in the 3rd C.) and Makarios of Constantinople (died ca.1341). Magdalino (*infra* 315, n.47) has suggested that Philotheos was the author of an oration of Patr. ARSENIOS, but its editor, P.G. Nikolopoulos, prefers an early 14th-C. date and proposes an attribution to Maximos PLANOUDES (*EEBS* 45 [1981–82] 406–61). Philotheos was also a scribe, who copied his own works (Kamariotissa 51, now in Istanbul, Gr.Patr.) as well as a *tetraevangelion* dated to 1380 (Princeton Art Museum 57–19).

ED. Vita of Agathonikos—PG 154:1229–40. *Enkomion* of Makarios—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Maurogordateios Bibliotheke* [= *Hellenikos Philologikos Syllogos*, supp. 17 (Constantinople 1886)] 46–59.

LIT. P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978) 309–18. Beck, *Kirche* 776f. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS, KLETOROLOGION OF, a conventional name for the longest and most important of the TAKTIKA, i.e., official lists of titles and offices. The complete heading of the treatise reads, "The precise exposé of the order of imperial banquets, of the names and value of each title, compiled on the basis of ancient *kletorologia*." The word *kletorologion* (κλητορολόγιον) itself is linked

with *klesis*, "invitation," and *kletorion*, "banquet." The author is known only from this treatise; he was *protospatharios* and ATRIKLINES. He published the book in 899 and it was immediately confirmed by an imperial *thespisma* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 235.2). The *Kletorologion* consists of four sections: in the first Philotheos presents the philosophy of the work—the definition of various DIGNITIES and the distinctions among them; the second lists the highest dignities, esp. those entitled to join the emperor's table—the patriarch of Constantinople, caesar, *nobelissimos, kouropalates, basileopator*, and *zoste patrikia* as well as *magistroi, anthypatoi*, and *patrikioi* as holders of important offices; the third section, after a short mention of higher ranks, gives a list of *protospatharioi* and lower dignities; the fourth describes how the *atriklines* should arrange the imperial banquet. The court eunuchs, generals, and civil functionaries are included in the general catalog according to their titles; within the framework of a title the order is based on the importance of the office. At the end Philotheos included the *Notitiae episcopatuum* by pseudo-Epiphanios. The two complete extant MSS contain the *Kletorologion* together with the DE CEREMONIIS, which it concluded.

ED. and LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 65–235. J.B. Bury, *The Imperial Administrative System in the Ninth Century* (London 1911; rp. New York n.d.), with an index by M. Gregoriou-Ioannidou in *EEPhSPTh* 10 (1968) 165–240. –A.K.

PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS (Κόκκινος), patriarch of Constantinople (1353–1354/5; 8 Oct. 1364–1376); born Thessalonike ca.1300, died ca.1377/8. Born to poor parents, Philotheos worked as a cook for THOMAS MAGISTROS to pay his tuition. He became a monk and then hieromonk on Athos; ca.1340/1 he returned to Thessalonike as superior of the Philokalou monastery. After a spell as superior of the Great Lavra (1344?–47), he became metropolitan of Thracian Herakleia (1347–53). A staunch Palamite and Kantakouzenist, in 1353 he succeeded Patr. KALLISTOS I who had refused to perform the coronation of MATTHEW I KANTAKOUZENOS. With the abdication of John VI the following year, Philotheos was deposed and replaced by Kallistos. He returned to the patriarchal throne ten years later after Kallistos's death. His second patriarchate was marked by the canonization of Gregory PALAMAS (1368), the personal conversion to Catholicism of John V (1369), and the reestablishment of partial jurisdiction of Constantinople over the Serbian church. Philotheos was again deposed after the coup of Andronikos IV.

Philotheos was a prolific writer of homiletic, dogmatic, and hagiographical works: he wrote 14 *kephalaia* against BARLAAM OF CALABRIA and AKINDYNOS and 15 *antirrhetikoi* against Nikephoros GREGORAS. He also codified liturgical rubrics for Eucharist and Vespers in two ceremonial books, *Diataxeis* (PG 154:745–66), which became definitive practice in the Greek and Slavic Orthodox world (R. Taft, *DOP* 42 [1988] 191–94). His most important vitae were those of Sabas the Younger (fl. first half of 14th C.), ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS, and Germanos Maroules (died ca.1336) as well as a lengthy and informative *enkomion* of Palamas. The hymns usually ascribed to him may be the work of Philotheos Sinaites. Philotheos was venerated as a saint within a generation of his death (D.G. Tsames, *EEThSPTh* 22 [1977] 35–52). Spatharakis (*Portrait*, figs. 91, 92) and others have argued that Philotheos is portrayed in two illuminated MSS.

ED. MM 1:448–592. *Logoi kai Homilies*, ed. B.S. Pseutonkas (Thessalonike 1981). *Dogmatika Erga*, vol. 1, ed. D. Kaimakes (Thessalonike 1983). *Hagiologika Erga*, vol. 1, ed. D.G. Tsames (Thessalonike 1985). For complete list of works, see *Tusculum-Lexikon* 636f.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2347–72, 2461–681; 6, no.2681a. *PLP*, no.11917. P. Chrestou, "He oikoumenike politike tou patriarchou Philotheou Kokkinou," *Xenia Iakobo archiepiskopo Boreiou kai Notiou Amerikes* (Thessalonike 1985) 248–62. H.-V. Beyer, "Der Streit um Wesen und Energie und ein spätbyzantinischer Liedermacher," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 255–82. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS OF ATHOS, saint; born Chrysopolis, Macedonia, died Athos 21 Oct. ca.1450 at age 84. Philotheos was the son of émigrés who fled Turkish oppression in Asia Minor. By the 1380s, however, the Ottoman yoke reached Chrysopolis, and Philotheos and his brother were recruited for the child-levy (*devşirme*). The boys managed to escape their Turkish captors and sought refuge in Neapolis (probably Kavalla) at a double monastery dedicated to the Virgin. Their widowed mother, Eudokia, became a nun at the same monastery.

After his mother's death, Philotheos left Neapolis for Athos, where he spent some years at the DIONYSIOU MONASTERY. He decided eventually that

he preferred the solitary life and moved some distance from Dionysiou. His later years were marked by a fervent asceticism, rewarded, according to his hagiographer, with the gift of prophetic vision. His anonymous vita (*BHG* 1534), probably composed in the second half of the 15th C., is preserved in a 16th-C. MS from Dionysiou.

SOURCE. B. Papoulia, "Die Vita des Heiligen Philotheos vom Athos," *SüdostF* 22 (1963) 259–80. –A.M.T.

PHILOTHEOS OF OPSIKION, saint of unknown date; feastday 15 Sept. The only useful source for his biography is the Life of Philotheos by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, since the *Menologion of Basil II* (PG 117:49CD) presents a standardized portrayal of Philotheos as priest and wonderworker devoid of any information. The Life of Philotheos is Eustathios's manifesto: he proclaims that the pious life in the world has advantages over the hermitic life. Philotheos did not leave the world; quite to the contrary, he retained his land, wealth, and secular manner of life and possessed everything that is blessed on the earth, but he used his riches to support the poor. The conventional form of the Life sharply contrasts with its nonconventional content, and Eustathios presents his point in a vigorous polemic against the traditional monastic ideal. In this respect the Life of Philotheos corresponds to Eustathios's pamphlet, *On the Improvement of Monastic Life.*

SOURCE. Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 145–51. PG 136:141–62.
LIT. *BHG* 1535. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 151f. –A.K.

PHILOTHEOU MONASTERY, located inland near the northeast coast of the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, not far from Iveron. The origins of Philotheou (Φιλοθέου) are unclear. According to an 18th-C. tradition (D. Papachryssanthou, *Prot.* 91, n.312), the founder was a certain Philotheos, a contemporary of Athanasios of Athos. A century later Porphyrij Uspenskij (*Istorija Afona* 3.1 [Kiev 1877] 65f; *Pervoe putešestvie v Afonskie monastyri i skity* 1.1 [Kiev 1877] 399) read a manuscript (now lost?) of a 19th-C. monk of Philotheou who asserted, referring to a codex of the Great Lavra, that his monastery (Phtere or Philotheou) existed in 992, "in the days of St. Athanasios." The first incontrovertible evidence of the existence of Philotheou, however, is an act of 1015 (*Ivir.* 20.60) that bears the signature of its *hegoumenos* George, probably the same person as George of the Theotokos of Ptereos, who signed an act of 1013 (*Ivir.* 1, no.18.38).

In the 11th–12th C. Philotheou was a monastery of modest size and its attempts to enlarge its properties were usually curbed by the Lavra; thus in 1046 Philotheou was forced to cede to Lavra *metochia* of St. Elias and of Atziioannou, and in 1154 the *metochion* of Kalyka. By the 14th C. Philotheou became an imperial monastery (first attested in 1322) and gained the support of influential magnates (the parents of Theodora Palaiologina Philanthropene, the aunt of Andronikos IV; the *protovestiarios* Andronikos Palaiologos, nephew of Andronikos II; etc.). The monastery enlarged its possessions, acquiring lands both in the valley of the Strymon River and on Lemnos, even though some of its estates were lost owing to an unstable situation caused by continual warfare. From 1346 onward, the monastery enjoyed the patronage of Serbian rulers and received from them certain donations in the *katepanikion* of Serres and Zichna. Probably in the 15th C. Philotheou acquired some lands on Thasos.

In the mid-14th C. a number of Serbian monks came to the monastery, and in the 15th C. it adopted the IDIORRHYTHMIC regime. The monks claimed possession of important relics: according to a late tradition Nikephoros III gave to Philotheou a piece of a nail from the Crucifixion, while the false chrysobull allegedly granted by Andronikos II in 1284 mentions the donation of a reliquary (*chrysoplekton kibotion*) containing the right hand of John Chrysostom.

Because of a disastrous 16th-C. fire, scarcely anything remains of the original Byz. buildings. The library, however, contains 142 Byz. MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:151–69), most notably the 10th-C. illuminated Gospel book, cod. 33. The scriptorium was particularly active in the 14th C. Sometime in the Palaiologan period a monk of Philotheou named Arsenios compiled a *Synopsis canonum* (Beck, *Kirche* 711).

SOURCE. *Actes de Philothée,* ed. W. Regel et al., *VizVrem* 20 (1913) supp. V. Kravari, "Nouveaux documents du monastère de Philothéou," *TM* 10 (1987) 261–356.

LIT. *Treasures* 3:190–99, 311–15. S. Nicolaescu, "Mânâstirea Philotheu dela Sfântul Munte," *Revista arhivelor* 5 (1943) 433–42. –A.M.T.

PHILOXENIA OF ABRAHAM, the "hospitality" (*φιλοξενία*) of Abraham to the Lord when he appeared by the Oak of MAMRE in the form of three men (Gen. 18:1–18). In the passage, the three are sometimes "they" (v.9) and sometimes "he" (v.10), leading to a Trinitarian interpretation by Byz. commentators (e.g., Prokopios of Gaza, PG 87:364BC). Others were concerned that angels appeared to consume food (e.g., Theodoret, PG 80:177C). Illustrations of the scene are found already in the Via Latina catacomb, and the Trinitarian and eucharistic significance is made clear in the bema mosaics at S. Vitale in RAVENNA (ca.540). The scene is repeated with few variants in later centuries, notably in MSS (e.g., the OCTATEUCHS) and in monumental art (e.g., the Peribleptos at MISTRA). Fourteenth-century Russian travelers record that the stone table of the Philoxenia was exhibited in the southeastern exedra of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 32, 228).

LIT. E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 1:21–23. –J.H.L., A.C.

PHILOXENOS OF MABBUG, bishop of Hierapolis-Mabbug (485–518/19); Syrian Monophysite theologian and saint; born Tahal in Persia ca.440, died Philippopolis 10 Dec. 523. His Syriac name was Aksenaya. Philoxenos (Φιλόξενος) studied in the Nestorian school of Edessa but rejected Nestorianism as well as the Council of Chalcedon. A friend of PETER THE FULLER and SEVEROS of Antioch, he became the leading proponent of Monophysitism in Syria; he was successful in the struggle against Nestorianism in the province of Euphratensia. He opposed Flavian who became patriarch of Antioch in 498, eventually obtaining his deposition in 512. Supported by Emp. Zeno and Anastasios I, Philoxenos later lost his position under Justin I, who exiled him first to Gangra and then to Philippopolis.

At the center of his theology stood the problem of salvation: Philoxenos worried that the dyophysite distinction between the divine and human essence in Christ deprived mankind of the way to deification (THEOSIS), and therefore he stressed the unity or "becoming" in Christ's nature: God's essence, while becoming man, remained immutable; God became man by his will, without changing his nature, on account of his love of mankind. Philoxenos, however, accepted neither Docetism nor Theopaschitism. Personally puritanical and rigorist, Philoxenos was also a strong supporter of Syriac culture: he commissioned a new translation of the Bible into Syriac and wrote exclusively in that language.

ED. *Discourses*, ed. E.A.W. Budge, 2 vols. (London 1893–94), with Eng. tr. *Commentaire du prologue Johannique*, ed. A. de Halleux, 2 vols. (Louvain 1977), with Fr. tr. *Fragments of the Commentary on Matthew and Luke*, ed. J.W. Watt, 2 vols. (Louvain 1978), with Eng. tr. *Dissertationes decem de uno e sancta trinitate incorporato et passo*, ed. M. Brière, F. Graffin in PO 39.4 (Turnhout 1979) 545–764, with Fr. tr. *Tractatus tres de trinitate et incarnatione*, ed. A. Vaschalde, 2 vols. (Paris 1907), with Lat. tr.

LIT. A. de Halleux, *Philoxène de Mabbog, sa vie, ses écrits et sa théologie* (Louvain 1963). C. Tsirpanlis, "Some Reflections on Philoxenos' Christology," *GOrThR* 25 (1980) 152–62. A. Grillmeier, "Die Taufe Christi und die Taufe der Christen," in *Fides sacramenti* (Assen 1981) 137–75. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 57–112. –T.E.G.

PHLORIATIKON. See KASTROKTISIA.

PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (*Φλώριος καὶ Πλάτζια-Φλώρα*). Written in about 1,800 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES in the 14th C., perhaps in a milieu connected with the ACCIAJUOLI family, *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* is a reasonably close translation of *Il cantare de Fiorio e Biancifiore*. This is the Tuscan version (also used by Boccaccio for his *Filocalo*) of *Flore et Blanceflor*, a romance of ultimately Eastern origin that was widely known throughout Europe from the 12th C. onward. The plot relates how two lovers, one the son of the ruler of Rome and the other the daughter of a Saracen captive, are raised together and, using native wit and a magic ring, overcome all obstacles (parental opposition, separations, trial by fire, etc.) to live happily ever after in marriage. The romantic world of *Phlorios and Platzia-Phlora* is scarcely that of Byz., with Italian loan words to refer to court officials (e.g., *siniskalkos*, "seneschal") and the baptism of the hero's parents into the "orthodox catholic faith of the Romans." Nevertheless, the author is familiar with the Byz. stylistic conventions of the genre (vernacular verse romance) to which the poem belongs; e.g., Phlorios's ride on horseback resembles a similar episode in IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA, and paternal advice on several occasions echoes that of the SPANEAS poem.

ED. *Le roman de Phlorios et Platzia Phlore*, ed. D.C. Hesseling (Amsterdam 1917). Kriaras, *Mythistoremata* 133–96.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 140–43. G. Spadaro, "Per una nuova edizione di Florios ke Platziaflore," *BZ* 67 (1974) 64–73. – E.M.J., M.J.J.

PHOBEROU MONASTERY, located at Monacheion on the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos, probably near the entrance to the Black Sea. Dedicated to the Prodromos, Phoberou (Φοβεροῦ) was also called Chasmadion, Chamadion, and Machadion. The assertion of the 12th-C. *ktetor*, the monk John, that the monastery was originally a 5th-C. foundation (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *infra* 51.26–31), is not confirmed by any source. A church of this name is known to have existed by the reign of Theophilos, when it provided refuge for iconodule monks, such as the painter LAZAROS. According to the *typikon*, the monastery housed 170 monks during the 11th C. but was subsequently ruined, when it was granted as a CHARISTIKION.

In Oct. 1112 John began the restoration of the monastic complex, reconstructing the church and cells; he also donated books, icons, ecclesiastical furnishings, and estates. Sometime thereafter he composed for the monks a lengthy *hypotyposis*, based in part on the 11th-C. *typikon* of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY. The monks were limited to 12 in number and were required to be literate. John's rule was strict, forbidding the monks to have servants or to take baths. The possession of female animals and the admission of beardless youths was also prohibited. The monastery does not appear in the sources after the 12th C.

SOURCE. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petr.* 1–88.
LIT. Janin, *Églises centres* 7f. –A.M.T.

PHOENIX, mythical bird that is reborn out of its own ashes every 500 years. The bird's fabulous story was mentioned by Byz. lexicographers (*Souda* 4:770f) and historians (Zon. 3:10.22–25). Since Roman times the phoenix has been a symbol of rebirth (Constantine issued coins with an image of the phoenix on one side). The church fathers (First Letter of Clement 1.25; Origen, *Against Celsus* 4.98; Lactantius, *De ave phoenice*) used it as a symbol of Christ's Resurrection, an image found in the PHYSIOLOGOS as well. The common rhetorical usage of the phoenix in Byz. literature was in a simile for rarity (Nik.Chon. 442.32). Brought from the East probably on SILKS, the ornamental motif of the phoenix was in use in the 10th C., as in the Berlin HIPPIATRICA MS and an ivory casket in Troyes (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.122).

LIT. A. Rusch, *RE* 20 (1941) 422. B.E. Perry, *RE* 20 (1941) 1080f. –P.A.A., A.C.

PHOKAIA (Φώκαια, Ital. Foglia, Turk. Foça), ancient city located at the northern entrance to the bay of Smyrna, near the estuary of the Hermos River. It is mentioned as a city in the *Synekdemos* of HIEROKLES and is listed in many episcopal notitias as suffragan of Ephesus and later (from the 10th C. onward) of Smyrna. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, however, omitted Phokaia from his list of the *poleis* of the theme of Thrakesion. Byz. historians mention Phokaia as a geographical site, without any social or economic characterization: Theodore Karantenos won a naval victory over the fleet of Bardas Skleros in 977 near Phokaia (W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* [Vienna 1976] 42); ca.1088 TZACHAS conquered Phokaia and made it the base of his maritime operations. It was a commercial port, and Alexios I included Phokaia in the list of coastal towns in which the Venetians were granted privileges.

The importance of Phokaia rapidly increased from the end of the 13th C. after it was ceded by Michael VIII to the Genoese family of ZACCARIA and became the center of ALUM production and trade. Probably sometime between 1286 and 1296 the stronghold of New Phokaia was erected to the north of the old town, which came to be called Ancient (Palaia) Phokaia. The two cities suffered from a naval assault of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307 or 1308 (Lemerle, *infra* 26, n.1); among the precious objects carried away as loot were, according to local tradition, a piece of the Holy Cross, the shirt made by the Virgin for St. John the Apostle, and the manuscript of the Apocalypse written by St. John himself. Although Andronikos III managed to conquer New Phokaia temporarily (probably in 1336) with the help of his Turkish allies, the cities remained in the hands of the Genoese throughout the Palaiologan period. The GATTILUSIO family seized control of Ancient Phokaia ca.1402, and a Greek inscription of Dorino I Paleologo Gattilusio, "*authentes* of Palaia Phokaia," dated in 1423/4, was found there (F.W. Hasluck, *BSA* 15 [1908–09] 258f). In 1455 both towns fell to the Ottomans.

LIT. Miller, *Essays* 283–96. Lemerle, *Aydin* 50–55, 108–15. –A.K.

PHOKAS (Φωκᾶς), an aristocratic lineage of Cappadocian origin. Both the theory of Michael ATTALEIATES that the Phokas family descended from the Roman Fabii and the assertion of IBN AL-

Athīr that they were of Arab stock are legendary: neither can the hypothesis of their Armenian origin be proved. The family founder was a *tourmarches* ca.872; his son, Nikephoros Phokas "the Elder" (died ca.900), was a successful general who fought against the Arabs in both Asia Minor and Sicily. Throughout the 10th C. the Phokades were great landowners and military commanders and tried to assume supreme power: Leo, the son of Nikephoros, was defeated by the Bulgars at Achelous 20 Aug. 917, then ousted by his rival Romanos I Lekapenos; he rebelled in 919, but failed and was blinded; nonetheless his brother Bardas and Bardas's sons Nikephoros and Leo remained leading generals in the mid-10th C. In 963 Nikephoros (II) Phokas seized the throne, rewarding Bardas with the title of caesar and Leo with *kouropalates*. Perhaps at that time a chronicle of the deeds of the Phokas family was compiled: fragments survive in Leo the Deacon and military textbooks. Although the Phokades were restrained after the murder of Nikephoros II in 969, they kept struggling for power: Nikephoros's nephew Bardas, *doux* of Antioch, revolted in 987, but after early successes fell at Abydos on 13 Apr. 989; his son Nikephoros perished while rebelling in 1022; and Nikephoros's son Bardas was blinded by Constantine VIII. The family did not recover until the 13th C. when they were promoted by the Laskarid dynasty: Theodotos, the uncle of Theodore I Laskaris, became *megas doux* soon after 1204; Michael was *stratopedarches* in 1234; and a certain Phokas, metropolitan of Philadelphia, was John III's adviser.

LIT. I. Djurić, "Porodica Foka," *ZRVI* 17 (1976) 189–296. J.-C. Cheynet in *Le traité sur la guérilla*, ed. G. Dagron, H. Mihăescu (Paris 1986) 289–315. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 177. N.M. Panagiotakes, "He byzantine oikogeneia ton Pleuston," *Dodone* 1 (1972) 245–64. H. Grégoire, "La carrière du premier Nicéphore Phocas," in *Prosphora eis S. Kyriakiden* (Thessalonike 1953) 232–54. –A.K.

PHOKAS, emperor (from 23 Nov. 602); born ca.547, probably in Thrace (although George Hamartolos, ed. de Boor-Wirth, 662.10, calls him Cappadocian), died Constantinople 5 Oct. 610. Phokas was of modest origin, served in the army, and reached the post of *kentarchos* (commander of a hundred). One of the most vocal rebels against Komentiolos, he was proclaimed exarch by Danubian troops who revolted in early Nov. 602, after Maurice's brother Peter refused to rescind orders to winter north of the Danube. The army headed toward Constantinople intending (or pretending?) to proclaim Theodosios (Maurice's son) or his father-in-law, Germanos, emperor. A mutiny of the Greens made resistance impossible, and Maurice fled with his family. The army crowned Phokas; Maurice was executed.

Upheaval ensued. Chosroes II used Phokas's "revolution" as a pretext to invade Byz. Persian success impelled Phokas to conclude a peace treaty with the Avars, increasing the tribute he had formerly paid them, but the Slavs, disregarding the treaty, continued to penetrate Thrace and Dalmatia. Domestic affairs were menacing. Revolts of the circus factions erupted in many areas, including Constantinople and Antioch (Ju. Kulakovskij, *VizVrem* 21 [1914] 1–14). Generals rebelled: esp. dangerous was Narses' revolt, endorsed by Chosroes II. Phokas's strict Orthodoxy, supported by Pope Gregory I, prompted religious conflicts; the Persians overtly supported the Nestorians, and the Monophysites in Antioch murdered the Chalcedonian patriarch Anastasios, leading to a bloody revenge. The exarch of Carthage revolted ca.608 and sent a fleet to the East under the command of his son Herakleios; he was joined by Niketas in Egypt. Herakleios moved to the Hellespont, attracted the support of Priskos, and, with the help of the factions, seized Constantinople. On his orders Phokas was beheaded.

Byz. historians described Phokas as an abominable tyrant, and modern scholars have adopted the same attitude (e.g., P. Goubert, *OrChrP* 33 [1967] 604–19). V. Kučma (*VizOč* 3 [1977] 182–94), on the contrary, construed "the civil war and Phokas's bloody terror" as a period when the power of aristocratic landowners was destroyed and a substantial number of dependent peasants achieved freedom; these measures allegedly prepared "the reform activity of Herakleios."

LIT. D. Olster, "The Politics of Usurpation in the Seventh Century: The Reign of Phocas," (Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1976). Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:40–91. R. Spintler, *De Phoca imperatore Romanorum* (Jena 1905). –W.E.K., A.K.

PHOKAS, saint; feastdays 21–22 Sept., 22–23 July. His cult is attested by Asterios of Amaseia, who described Phokas as a gardener from Sinope

who was denounced as a Christian, made to dig his own grave, and then decapitated; Asterios did not indicate the era of Phokas's martyrdom. Another legend, in an anonymous *passio* (preserved in a mutilated 10th-C. MS), characterizes Phokas as the son of a "very noble" shipwright from Herakleia Pontike. At the age of ten Phokas performed exorcisms and miracles; he was esp. successful in saving ships. (Asterios also ascribes this function to Phokas the gardener.) Thus, when a ship from Macedonia was in danger of shipwreck near the shore of Pontos, Phokas embarked in a small boat, approached the ship, and threw it his cloak; the storm calmed immediately. Another legend makes Phokas a bishop executed under Trajan. In the 14th C. Andrew LIBADENOS dedicated a panegyric to Phokas and mentioned a church of Phokas built by "Alexios the Grand Komnenos," probably ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond.

Representation in Art. The confused literary tradition is reflected in the images of Phokas. Though the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES incorporates the Asterios text, Phokas is represented as a bishop in one metaphrastic MS (Oxford, Bodl. Barocci 230, fol.3v). The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.58), in accordance with its text for 22 Sept., shows a bishop being beheaded and, in the background, a fire lit to receive his remains; Phokas the gardener was apparently celebrated on 22 July. In ivories and in monumental painting, it is the image of the bishop that is predominant.

SOURCES. PG 40:299–314. C. van den Vorst, "Saint Phocas," *AB* 30 (1911) 252–95.

LIT. *BHG* 1535y-1540b. L. Radermacher, "St. Phokas," *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* 7 (1904) 445–52. K. Lubeck, "Der hl. Phokas von Sinope," *HistJb* 30 (1909) 743–61. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:210. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PHOKAS, JOHN, pilgrim of the 12th C., author of the *Concise Description* of the Holy Land. He accompanied Emp. Manuel I on an expedition to the "sea of Attaleia." It is unclear whether he should be identified with a certain Phokas who served in 1147 as the guide of the Crusaders to Ikonion (MGH *SS* 16:5). According to a marginal note on the MS, he was a priest, the son of a certain Matthew who became a monk on Patmos, and he visited Palestine in 1177 or 1195. Phokas's information is brief but precise and contains sometimes unique evidence, such as the description of the Chasisioi (ch.3), a fanatic Arab sect. Phokas is very sensitive to the beauty of the places described and tolerant toward the Latins. He is well versed in the Bible but also quotes secular writers: Josephus Flavius and Achilles Tatius, the author of an erotic romance.

ED. I. Troickij, "Ioanna Foki Skazanie vkratce o gorodach i stranach ot Antiochii do Ierusalima," *PPSb* 8 (23) (1889), with Russ. tr. PG 133:923–62. *The Pilgrimage of Joannes Phocas in the Holy Land*, tr. A. Stewart (London 1896). –A.K.

PHOKAS, LEO, *kouropalates;* brother of NIKEPHOROS II and son of Bardas PHOKAS; born ca.915–20, died on island of Prote? after 970. CONSTANTINE VII, seeking the support of the Phokas family, appointed Leo *strategos* of Cappadocia ca.945; he later became *strategos* of Anatolikon (ca.955) and of the West. ROMANOS II promoted him to *domestikos* of the West and granted him the title of *magistros;* in 960/1, during Nikephoros Phokas's expedition against Crete, Leo replaced his brother as *domestikos ton scholon* of the East. He waylaid SAYF AL-DAWLA, who had invaded and pillaged the Charsianon region, and routed his army at the Kylindros pass in the Taurus Mountains. When Nikephoros ascended the throne, he granted his brother the title of *kouropalates* and entrusted him with the entire internal administration (the functions of the *logothetes tou dromou*); Leo's power and his frugal policy contributed much to the rivalry between him and JOHN (I) TZIMISKES. Skylitzes (Skyl. 278.66–68) charged that Leo's petty greed (*kapeleia*) was a cause of the general unpopularity of Nikephoros II. When Tzimiskes seized the throne, Leo conspired against him in 970 and was exiled to Lesbos; he schemed again in 971, for which he was banished to the island of Prote and blinded (Skyl. 303.61–62). In a curious fashion LEO THE DEACON relates Leo's blinding twice (G. Wartenberg, *BZ* 6 [1897] 110). In the index to J. Thurn's edition of Skylitzes (Skyl. p.530), Leo Phokas is divided into three people: Leo Kouropalates; Leo, son of Bardas Phokas; and Leo, brother of Nikephoros II. A miniature in the illustrated Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.433, pl.XXXII) shows figures identified as Leo the *kouropalates* and Nikephoros his son crossing the Hellespont in rebellion against Tzimiskes.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:445f. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 139–46. –A.K., A.C.

PHONETICS AND PHONOLOGY. The former studies the sounds of a language as produced by the speaker (articulatory phonetics) and as perceived by the hearer (auditory phonetics); the latter deals with the structured relations of the sounds as used to convey meaning, that is, with their significant distinctions and oppositions. Evidence for the phonetics of Greek in antiquity and the Middle Ages is limited and not easy to interpret. Changes in the phonology of the language, however, which began in Hellenistic times and continued into the Byz. period, can sometimes be traced through errors in ORTHOGRAPHY (such as ITACISM), transcription of foreign words in Greek and of Greek words in foreign languages, etc. These gradual changes include loss of the distinction between long and short vowels and restructuring of the complex vocalic system of Attic and Hellenistic KOINE, resulting in a simple five-vowel system (*a, e, i, o, u*); reduction of diphthongs to simple vowels; transformation of the consonantal system whereby the unvoiced aspirated plosives (*φ, θ, χ*) became unvoiced fricatives (*f, th, kh*) and the voiced plosives (*β, δ, γ*) became voiced fricatives (*v, dh, gh*); lability of the final *-n*; predominance of the element of stress over that of pitch in the accentual system; and consequent loss of distinction among acute, grave, and circumflex accents. The phonology of Medieval Greek was thus already substantially that of Modern Greek. The traditional orthography was in principle retained, and many, but not all, errors of orthography reflect progressive changes in the phonology of Greek over the centuries. The articulatory and acoustic qualities of individual sounds and of suprasegmental features have no doubt changed while the phonological structure remained unchanged, and today vary slightly from region to region of the Greek world.

LIT. N.S. Trubetzkoy, *Grundzüge der Phonologie* (Prague 1939). B. Newton, *The Generative Interpretation of Dialect: A Study of Modern Greek Phonology* (Cambridge 1972). W.S. Allen, *Vox Graeca*[2] (Cambridge 1974). F.T. Gignac, *A Grammar of the Greek Papyri of the Roman and Byzantine Periods, I: Phonology* (Milan 1976). Browning, *Greek* 56–58, 75–77. –R.B.

PHONIKON (*φονικόν*), a term attested from the second half of the 13th C. (1259: *Esphig.*, app.A, 11.60–62) in chrysobulls and *praktika* for monasteries, cities, or individuals, and often mentioned along with PARTHENOPHTHORIA and TREASURE TROVE as one of the three *kephalaia* (capital items) from which recipients of the privilege are not exempt. The precise nature of the *phonikon* is disputed. According to some scholars it is a fine or tax exacted by the fisc from people in a community in which a murder has been committed (G. Rouillard, A. Soloviev, *Mnemosyna Pappoulia* [Athens 1934] 221–32; P. Charanis, *Speculum* 20 [1945] 331–33). M.A. Tourtoglou (*To phonikon kai he apozemiosis tou pathontos* [Athens 1960]) interprets it as the punishment exacted from a person guilty of an intentional MURDER, which consisted of confiscation of a certain proportion of the offender's property and is known from Byz. law (*Basil.* 60.39.3, 5; Andronikos II, nov.26 [a.1306]; Zepos, *Jus* 1:535).

That the *phonikon* was not, however, a punishment exacted from a murderer seems to be confirmed by one of the few documents that elaborates on the nature of the *phonikon*, Andronikos II's chrysobull for Kanina (1307), which shows that the fisc was demanding the *phonikon* from people who had not committed a murder, that is, neighbors of a murderer or neighbors or relatives of a person who had died accidentally (ed. P. Alexander, *Byzantion* 15 [1941] 181.83–182.106). This chrysobull and others in which an exemption from the *phonikon* is granted state that it is an unjust exaction and that only the person responsible for a willful killing and accomplices to the crime should pay the penalty (*Lavra* 2, no.89.179–88 [a.1298]; 3, no.118.200–09 [a.1329]). Furthermore, a passage in BALSAMON's commentary on the canons shows that the *kephalaia* were fiscal exactions (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 3:346.32).

It is not clear whether the *phonikon* became a yearly tax applied to a community without regard for actual cases of murder (Dölger, *BZ* 54 [1961] 253f). Certainly the above-cited documents do not confirm this. As a fiscal charge on persons not guilty of a killing it had precedents in Byz., as indeed the chrysobull of 1327 for Zographou claims (*Zogr.* no.26.60–65) and imperial legislation and other 6th-C. sources show. –R.J.M.

PHOS HILARON (*φῶς ἱλαρόν*, lit. "joyous light"), ancient "thanksgiving for the light," a hymn that

accompanied the lighting of lamps at VESPERS. Named after its opening words, the *Phos hilaron* is a praise of the Trinity for Christ, true "light of the world" (Jn 1:9) of which the evening lamp was a symbol. Unknown in the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA, or cathedral rite of Constantinople, the hymn came to Constantinople only with the introduction of the Palestinian monastic HOURS, a gradual process that began with the Stoudite reform of the 9th C. (see STOUDITE TYPIKA). Though cited by Basil the Great (PG 32:205A) for Cappadocia, the earliest actual liturgical witness is the 5th-C. Georgian LECTIONARY of Jerusalem.

ED. A. Tripolitis, "'Phos hilaron,' Ancient Hymn and Modern Enigma," *VigChr* 24 (1970) 189f. J. Mateos, "Un horologion inédit de Saint-Sabas," in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 (Vatican 1964) 56, 70–74.
LIT. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," 286, 363f, 367. –R.F.T.

PHOTIOS (Φώτιος), patriarch of Constantinople (858–67, 877–86), scholar and politician; born ca.810 (H. Ahrweiler, *BZ* 58 [1965] 348f), died after 893 (R. Jenkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 244). Born to an influential family, and nephew of Patr. TARASIOS, Photios grew up under the shadow of the Iconoclastic persecution (C. Mango in *Iconoclasm*, 139) but at an early age received a high position in the Byz. bureaucracy: he participated in an embassy to the Arabs (in 838, 845, or 855) and was appointed PROTASEKRETIS. When IGNATIOS was forced to resign, Photios was swiftly elected patriarch although he was a layman. Michael III and Caesar BARDAS supported him, and his correspondence suggests that he was on better terms with the military aristocracy than with civil officialdom (A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 61 [1986] 897). Ignatios's abdication instigated a battle within the church: when the party of Ignatios gained the support of Pope NICHOLAS I, a conflict with the papacy ensued. After ascending to the throne, Emp. BASIL I—who was seeking the support of Italian powers against the Arabs—decided to reconsider the administration's attitude toward Photios; the council of 869–70 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) restored Ignatios and banished and condemned Photios. After Ignatios died, Photios was peacefully returned to the patriarchal throne. At the council of 879–80 (see also under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), he was rehabilitated and reconciled with the pope. In Basil's conflict with Leo VI, Photios sided with the father; so Basil's sudden death and Leo's succession ended Photios's career. He was dismissed and exiled; his demise went unnoticed by contemporaries.

Versed in ancient literature, Photios did much to revive interest in antiquity. His activity as professor in Constantinople has been questioned by Lemerle (*infra*); I. Ševčenko, however, considers him, along with LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, among the most prominent teachers in the capital (*AHR* 79 [1974] 1533f). Besides the BIBLIOTHECA, Photios compiled a *Lexikon*, an unsystematic list of notable words and expressions which he collected by casual reading. Photios's letters, sometimes laudatory, sometimes caustic and dogmatic, are addressed to popes and rulers (the letter to BORIS I attempts to influence Bulgarian policy), to military, civil, and church leaders. The *Amphilochia*, also unsystematic, are answers addressed to Amphilochios, metropolitan of Kyzikos, treating both theological problems and secular questions. In his polemical *Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit*, Photios developed arguments against the Latin doctrine of the FILIOQUE. He also wrote a treatise against the PAULICIANS, based on a similar work by PETER OF SICILY. Photios's homilies contain abundant material for political history (e.g., the first attack of the Rus' on Constantinople in 860) as well as Byz. art (description of the Church of the Virgin at Pharos, of the image of the Virgin in Hagia Sophia). His authorship of the EPANAGOGE remains unproven.

Contemporary attitudes toward Photios varied greatly. A pamphlet against him was used by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON in his vita of Ignatios and by pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS; on the other hand, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* included Photios's name (*Synax.CP* 448.19–23) under 6 Feb., although no vita of him is known. For a long time modern Western scholars, such as Hergenröther (*infra*), saw in Photios the instigator of the SCHISM between Rome and Constantinople and tried to "unmask" his activity, whereas Russian and Greek historians treated Photios as a saint and a humanist. V. Grumel (*Revue des sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 32 [1933] 432–57) and Dvornik (*infra*) demonstrated that the so-called Photian schism was of short duration.

ED. PG 101–04. *Homiliai*, ed. B. Laourdas (Thessalonike 1959). Eng. tr. C. Mango (Washington, D.C., 1958). *Epistulae et Amphilochia*, ed. B. Laourdas, L. Westerink, 6 vols.

(Leipzig 1983–88). *Lexicon*, ed. Ch. Theodoridis, vol. 1 (Berlin–New York 1982). Eng. tr. *On the Mystagogy of the Holy Spirit* (Astoria, N.Y., 1983).

LIT. J. Hergenröther, *Photius, Patriarch von Constantinopel*, 3 vols. (Regensburg 1867–69). D.S. White, *Patriarch Photios of Constantinople* (Brookline, Mass., 1981). F. Dvornik, *The Photian Schism* (Cambridge 1948; rp. 1970). Lemerle, *Humanism* 205–35. Beck, *Kirche* 520–28. –A.K.

PHOULLOI (Φοῦλλοι) or Phoulla⟨i⟩, a city in the CRIMEA the location of which is disputed; identifications have been suggested with Solkhat (R. Blockley in *History of Menander the Guardsman* [Liverpool 1985] 275f) and Tepsen' (V. Kropotkin, *SovArch* 28 [1958] 198–218), both in eastern Crimea, or Čufut-Kale (A. Jakobson, *SovArch* 29–30 [1959] 108–13) and Kyz-Kermen (E. Vejmarn in *Archeologičeskie issledovanija srednevekovogo Kryma* [Kiev 1968] 45–77), near Bakhchisarai. It was probably located on the trans-Crimean route, approximately halfway between Cherson and Cimmerian Bosporos.

First mentioned in MENANDER PROTECTOR (fr. 19.21), Phoulloi then appears in the vita of St. John of Gothia, who in 787 was imprisoned in this city; there he baptized and cured the child "of the lord of Phoulloi" (*AASS* June 7:171B). Miraculously John managed to escape to Amastris. The hagiographer of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER observed that "the nation of Phoulloi" venerated an enormous oak and was ruled by an elder. According to the ecclesiastical notitia of 787–869, the see of the bishop of the Khazars-Chotziroi was situated near Phoulloi or Charasion (Turk. Kara Su, "Black Water") or Mabron Neron (*Notitiae CP*, no.3.778), the Greek equivalent of Kara Su. In later notitiae Phoulloi appears as an archbishopric along with Gothia and Sougdaia (ibid., no.7.97–99), but by the 14th C. Phoulloi and Sougdaia were combined into one metropolis (ibid., no.20.12). A metropolitan of Sougdaia and Phoulloi is named in several patriarchal documents of the 14th and 15th C. (e.g., MM 2:42.29), but we know nothing about the fate of the city. –O.P.

PHOUNDAGIAGITES (Φουνδαγιαγῆται), name applied in several Byz. documents to the BOGOMILS. The name is derived by most scholars from the Greek form of the Latin *funda* ("a bag"). The heretics supposedly acquired it from their life of poverty, which compelled them to beg for their living. The Phoundagiagites are known mostly from a letter written ca.1050 by EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA from Constantinople to his compatriots in the diocese of Akmonia in Phrygia. On a visit home, probably in the early 11th C., Euthymios encountered the heretics who, he assures us, had even managed to penetrate into his monastery (PERIBLEPTOS) in Constantinople. He describes their zealous proselytism in Asia Minor (in the themes of Opsikion and the Kibyrrhaiotai as well as the region of Smyrna) and in the Balkans. His report on their teaching confirms and in places supplements the evidence of KOSMAS THE PRIEST. What is new is his description of the prayer meetings of the heretics, his account of their DUALISTIC cosmology, and the statement that they were explicitly forbidden to shed blood. Euthymios's letter is the earliest document unequivocally linking Bogomilism with the monastic life.

LIT. G. Ficker, *Die Phundagiagiten* (Leipzig 1908). –D.O.

PHOUNDAX (φοῦνδαξ, from *pandocheion*, "inn"), a warehouse. An 11th-C. historian (Attal. 202f) describes a *phoundax* established in Rhaidestos under Michael VII: it was headed by a *phoundakarios* under whose authority were appraisers (*taxeotai*) and dealers in wheat (*sitokapeloi*), who had their shops (*sitonai*) "in the prison of the *phoundax*." The *phoundax* held a monopoly on trade in grain and other foodstuffs. Direct private purchase from peasants' carts was prohibited and the *sitokapeloi* had the right to set prices. According to Attaleiates, the price of grain skyrocketed from 1/18 of a nomisma to 1 nomisma per *modios*. The state received 60 *litrai* for leasing the *phoundax*.

It remains unclear whether the case of Rhaidestos was unique or whether *phoundakes* of this kind existed throughout the empire, as for instance in the fortress of Plateia Petra in Opsikion in the 10th C., where foodstuffs were stored (*TheophCont* 421.16–17). It is also uncertain whether the *phoundax* of Rhaidestos was the successor of the late Roman *apothekai* and *sitobolones* (state granaries): the *sitobolon* is mentioned in Palladios, Philostorgios, and John Moschos. In the 12th C. Michael GLYKAS (570.14–16), describing the famine during the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas, states that the emperor opened "the state

sitothekai" and commanded that the grain be sold at one half nomisma per *medimnos*. The *oreiarios* Constantine on the island of Kos (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan,* no.11) may have been an official in charge of a *horreum* or *sitotheke/sitobolon*.

LIT. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 185f. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 294–96. –A.K.

PHOURNES, JOHN, theologian, *protos* of Ganos, a collaborator of ZIGABENOS; fl. ca.1100. V. Laurent identified his seal (*EO* 32 [1933] 45f). In 1112 Phournes (Φουρνῆς) participated in the dispute with Peter GROSSOLANO. Rejecting the FILIOQUE, Phournes emphasized the monarchical principle of the deity (Demetrakopoulos, 40.7–9) against the alleged *ditheia* of his opponent. On the other hand, he stressed the equality of the Son and the Holy Spirit, "the two hands of the same substance and of the same power" (p.46.1–2). Phournes finished his speech by inviting Grossolano to emigrate to Byz. Patr. JOHN XI used Phournes's work. Phournes also wrote a homily on the Dormition of the Virgin Mary (*BHG* 1136) and a letter to the monk Gregory Antigonites on liturgical questions (*EkAl* 4.10 [1882–83] 170f).

ED. A. Demetrakopoulos, *Ekklesiastike bibliotheke* (Leipzig 1866, rp. Hildesheim 1965) 1:36–47.
LIT. V. Grumel, "Autour du voyage de Pierre Grossolanus," *EO* 32 (1933) 27f. –A.K.

PHRANGOPOULOS (Φραγγόπουλος, lit. "the son of a Frank"), patronymic of a family (*genos,* as it is called on a seal) of the 11th–15th C. The Norman HERVÉ FRANKOPOULOS was the first known member of the family. We cannot be sure that the Phrangopouloi of the late 12th C. (among them Constantine, a naval commander, and John, a court orator) were his descendants. Phrangopouloi are often mentioned on seals and in documents from this time onward, as modest landowners (*Esphig.*, no.28.5), monks (*Lavra* 3, no. 161.46), or officials (*Docheiar.*, no.9.22). A Phrangopoulos was involved in a plot against Michael VIII; another family member, George, was *doux* of Thessalonike at the beginning of the 13th C. Some Phrangopouloi were active in scholarship: Andronikos was a teacher of rhetoric in the mid-13th C., and Manuel studied at the University of Bologna in 1374/5. In 1360–61 John Phrangopoulos, a merchant from Adrianople, was an active trader in CHILIA; A. Laiou (*AkadAthPr* 57.1 [1982] 107, 114) has suggested that he (or a relative) should be identified with the Phrangopoulos who led a rebellion against John VI Kantakouzenos in Adrianople from 1341–46. A later John Phrangopoulos, *protostrator* and *mesazon* in MISTRA, founded the Pantanassa monastery there in 1428. A splendid ruined mansion in Mistra has been linked with his name on the basis of the letter *phi* embedded in a slab on the northeast corner of the building. He is probably to be identified with John Phrangopoulos, who was *generales* of the *despotes* Constantine Palaiologos in 1444 (MM 3:259.16–17).

LIT. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 30 (1931) 467–73. M. Chatzidakis, *Mystras. Historia, mnemeia, techne*[2] (Athens 1956) 85f. –A.K., A.C.

PHROURION. See KASTRON.

PHRYGIA (Φρυγία), mountainous region of Asia Minor between the Aegean plains and the central plateau, a rough country of great strategic importance because of the highways that passed through it. Phrygia was made a province, joined with CARIA, in 297; it became separate in the early 4th C., then was divided into Phrygia Pacatiana in the west (capital LAODIKEIA) and Phrygia Salutaris in the south (capital SYNADA). In 536 Justinian I gave the governor of the former province the rank of *comes* with civil and military powers and appointed a *biokolytes* of Phrygia to suppress local outbreaks of violence. Both offices were abolished by 553. The territory of Phrygia was divided between two themes (ANATOLIKON and THRAKESION); it continued to exist, however, as an ecclesiastical province and as a geographical term that frequently appears in the 11th and 12th C., when the region was on the frontier and subject to the incessant attacks of the Turks, to whom its last Byz. outpost fell after 1204. Phrygia contains many Byz. remains, notably fortresses (C. Foss, *Survey of Medieval Castles of Anatolia. I: Kütahya* [Oxford 1985]) and rock-cut churches (E. Haspels, *The Highlands of Phrygia* [Princeton 1971] 205–57). Phrygia was an early center of Christianity. It was notorious as the home of a variety of heresies, including MONTANISM, NOVATIANISM, and the judaizing sect of ATHINGANOI; some of them survived into the 9th C.

LIT. W.M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford 1895–97). H. Leclercq, *DACL* 14:758–806.
–C.F.

PHRYGIAN DYNASTY. See AMORIAN OR PHRYGIAN DYNASTY.

PHTHORA (φθορά), a Byz. musical sign used within a composition to indicate a change of MODE. Each of the eight modes has its own *phthora*, each being a different form of the letter φ. The earliest known example occurs in a table of NEUMATA on fol.159r of Athos, Lavra Γ.67 (late 10th C.); in musical documents the use of *phthorai* is extremely limited through the 13th C. From the 14th C. onward, they appear more frequently. Manuel CHRYSAPHES devotes a large section of his mid-15th-C. treatise to explaining the function and correct use of these signs.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *The Treatise of Manuel Chrysaphes, the Lampadarios* (Vienna 1985) 49–67, 84–93. –D.E.C.

PHYGELA (Φύγελ(λ)α, now Kuşadası), Aegean seaport of Asia Minor. Phygela first appears in Byz. history when St. Willibald (see HUGEBURC) visited it in 721; he described it as *villa magna.* Phygela was a fortified base by 823, when a lieutenant of THOMAS THE SLAV was imprisoned there. It subsequently rose to prominence as a major port, replacing EPHESUS, whose harbor was rendered unusable by silting. Phygela, which had facilities for repairing ships and storing material, was the port of embarkation for two expeditions against Crete, of HIMERIOS in 911 and of NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS in 961. It was still a port in the 13th C., when it was called an EMPORION. It fell to the Turks of AYDIN ca.1305. Phygela was never a bishopric; its remains are insignificant.

LIT. C. Foss, *Ephesus after Antiquity* (Cambridge 1979) 123f. –C.F.

PHYLARCH (φύλαρχος), title applied from the 4th through 7th C. to a commander of Arab auxiliaries formally allied to the empire (FOEDERATI), although it is necessary to distinguish between this official rank and the term's older, more general meaning of any kind of Arab tribal chief (Ar. *shaykh*). Each phylarch commanded the Arab *auxilia* in a different province of Oriens; ca.530 Justinian I subordinated them to the ruling family of the GHASSĀNIDS, naming ARETHAS ibn Jabala "*basileus* of the Arabs" and supreme phylarch. Sixth-century phylarchs received titles of CLARISSIMUS or higher, and both Arethas and his son became PATRIKIOI. Around 585, Emp. Maurice disbanded the centralized GHASSĀNID monarchy and phylarchate, although Ghassān and its phylarch Jabala ibn al-Ayham continued to act as Byz. auxiliaries as late as 636.

These phylarchs disappeared in the wake of the Islamic conquest, but the word *phylarchos* is attested later, generally denoting tribal chieftains of various nomadic groups such as Turks (Kinn. 208.7). It appears among the diplomatic titles used to address barbarian rulers (*De cer.* 679.10), and in the 11th C. the Arab chieftain Apelzarach (al-Hassan ibn al-Mufarrij) is called *phylarchos* (Kek. 302.13). Since the practice of recruiting Arab auxiliaries had been revived during the 10th C., it is significant that al-Hassan, like the Ghassānids, officially entered Byz. military service, held the title *patrikios*, and professed Christianity.

LIT. Nöldeke, *Die Ghassânischen Fürsten.* Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th c.)* 514–21. –A.J.C.

PHYSICIAN (ἰατρός, νοσοκόμος). In the later Roman Empire the principal physicians were municipal doctors (*archiatri*), but private practice also existed and some physicians were itinerant. There were also military physicians: ALEXANDER OF TRALLES reportedly served 25 years in the army and navy. The palace doctors (*archiatri sacri palatii*) were members of the state hierarchy, with diplomatic functions (R.C. Blockley, *Florilegium* 2 [1980] 89–100). Church fathers such as John Chrysostom severely criticized physicians as an element of ancient urban culture. Hagiography also often attacked physicians as greedy and incompetent. An influential rival of the physician was the SAINT who practiced HEALING through MIRACLES, EXORCISM, and INCUBATION. After urban life declined in the 7th C., physicians played a less significant role, being superseded by the "*iatroi* of the soul" who tended to monopolize MEDICINE. Social acceptance of doctors increased around the 10th C.; from the 12th C. onward they were important in intellectual circles. By then the distinction between a professional doctor and a civil functionary-scholar interested in medicine (Michael Pantechnes, Nicholas KALLIKLES, etc.) was imprecise.

Physicians who worked at state and church HOSPITALS received a precisely determined salary in cash and kind. Despite prohibitions they also engaged in private practice. The position of "municipal doctor" does not appear in later Byz. Doctors-to-be studied medicine at larger hospitals (cf. V. Grumel, *REB* 7 [1949] 42–46) or at general schools such as the one at the HOLY APOSTLES in Constantinople. "Philosophers" such as MICHAEL ITALIKOS and JOSEPH THE RHAKENDYTES often taught medicine. Both monks and priests were active as physicians. Most doctors were of the native population, but some Arabs and Jews were hired as imperial physicians (AKTOUARIOS).

Representations of physicians are relatively rare in Byz. art, and when they do appear (e.g., in the Vienna DIOSKORIDES and the medical compendium in Florence, Laur. Plut. 74.7), they usually offer little evidence of the appearance, equipment, or practice of contemporary medicine. Rare exceptions include a 14th-C. portrait of a physician, allegedly Nicholas MYREPSOS, in his fully equipped office, and a 15th-C. portrait of THEOPHILOS PROTOSPATHARIOS conducting uroscopy. Additional evidence may be gained from portraits of popular doctor saints (ANARGYROI), such as KOSMAS AND DAMIANOS, KYROS AND JOHN, and PANTELEEMON (cf. K. Weitzmann in *Books and Bookmen*, fig.23), who are often shown with a PHYSICIAN'S BOX and/or instruments of SURGERY (see also IATROSOPHISTES).

LIT. H.J. Frings, *Medizin und Arzt bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern* (Bonn 1959). H. Evert-Kappesowa, "The Social Rank of a Physician in the Early Byzantine Empire," in *Mél.Dujčev*, 139–64. A. Kazhdan, "The Image of the Medical Doctor in Byzantine Literature," *DOP* 38 (1984) 43–51. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Médecins, maladies et remèdes dans les *Lettres* de Théophylacte de Bulgarie," *Byzantion* 55 (1985–86) 483–92. E. Trapp, "Die Stellung der Ärtze in der Gesellschaft der Palaiologenzeit," *BS* 33 (1972) 230–34. Vikan, "Art, Medicine & Magic" 65f. L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1965), figs. 1, 5. –J.S., A.K., G.V.

PHYSICIAN'S BOX, a container specifically for medicines and/or surgical instruments (see SURGERY), in use at least to the early 8th C., identifiable by its design and decoration. Like a WEIGHT BOX, it is typically low and rectangular, with a sliding lid (often with a lock) and various internal compartments; examples survive in bronze, wood, and ivory. Earlier specimens might bear images of ASKLEPIOS or Hygieia on the lid, while later Christian examples show a cross or the Healing of the BLIND MAN. Representations of doctor saints in the 5th–8th C. occasionally show them carrying leather pouches of a size and shape appropriate for such boxes (P.-J. Nordhagen, *ActaNorv* 3 [1968] 58). Generally related is a possibly 7th-C. doctor's instrument case in leather, with attached PYXIS, in the Yale University Art Museum; it depicts a doctor saint and tables for mixing medicines, and bears the inscription "Use in Good Health." Although no such boxes or cases specifically for physicians are identifiable from later centuries, representations from the 9th–14th C. of the ANARGYROI (esp. Panteleemon) with their paraphernalia suggest that a variety of rectangular and cylindrical containers were then so used (S. Pelekanides, *Kastoria*, vol. 1 [Thessalonike 1953] pl.26).

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, & Magic" 65, n.1. W.R. Dawson, "Egyptian Medicine Under the Copts in the Early Centuries of the Christian Era," *Proceedings of the Royal Society of Medicine* 17 (1923–24) 56f. –G.V.

PHYSICS. The nonbiological phenomena of the universe were explained by the Byz. in two different types of text. The first consists of commentaries on or expositions of the *Timaeus* of Plato (for which the only example is that by Proklos) and of Aristotle's *Physics*, *On Generation*, *On Heaven*, and *Meteorology*, while the second consists of solutions to questions (*aporiai*) about nature. On the *Physics* one may cite the paraphrase by Themistios and the commentaries by John PHILOPONOS, SIMPLIKIOS, Michael PSELLOS, MICHAEL OF EPHESUS (lost), and Theodore METOCHITES; on the *On Generation* those by Philoponos and Metochites; and on the *Meteorology* by Philoponos, OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA, and Metochites. Special works on physics include *Elements of Physics* by PROKLOS and his *On the Eternity of the World*, which later was attacked by Philoponos in his *On the Eternity of the World against Proklos* (Philoponos wrote another treatise on the same subject *Against Aristotle*), *On Physics* by Nikephoros BLEMMYDES, and part of Theodore II Laskaris's *Explanation of the World*.

Most original of all these authors was Philoponos, whose belief in Monophysite Christianity led him to argue forcefully against Aristotle's theories of the ether and of motion (see MOTION, THEORY OF), both of which he needed to refute in order to establish his own concept of the unity

of the universe. He also proposed original solutions to problems in Aristotelian physics such as the nature of light (S. Sambursky, *The Physical World of Late Antiquity* [London 1962] 74–76, 113–17, 170–75).

Byz. representatives of the *aporiai* tradition include Stobaios's *Excerpts on Physics*, Priscianus Lydus's *Answers to Chosroes*, *Synopsis of Physics* by Symeon SETH, Psellos's *De omnifaria doctrina*, *Aporiai* by JOHN ITALOS, *Epitome* by THEODORE OF SMYRNA, and the so-called *Meteorology* by EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA. Discussions of various aspects of physics from different Christian standpoints can be found in such works as the *Hexaemeron* of Basil of Caesarea and of George of Pisidia and the *Therapeutics* of Theodoret of Cyrrhus. –D.P.

PHYSIOLOGOS (Φυσιολόγος), Greek bestiary preserved in three major recensions. The earliest was produced in the 2nd C. (U. Treu, *ZNTW* 57 [1966] 101–04) or 4th C. (E. Peterson, *BZ* 47 [1954] 60–72), in a Christian milieu, but on the basis of ancient texts. It describes various ANIMALS, BIRDS, reptiles, and so on as well as certain plants and precious stones; most of the animals are real but provided with fantastic features, and some (unicorn, phoenix) are mythical. The presentation is poetic and symbolic; the behavior of each animal symbolizes Christ, the devil, or a virtue or vice. Some older legends are transformed to harmonize with Christian doctrine.

The second recension was dated by Sbordone in the 5th–6th C., but B.E. Perry (*AJPh* 58 [1937] 494) sets it in the 11th C. or later; it omits, among others, the chapters on plants and minerals. The third recension is called pseudo-Basilian because it refers to BASIL THE GREAT, the author of the HEXAEMERON. The *Physiologos* affected neighboring literatures enormously: medieval translations into Latin, Armenian, Georgian, Slavic, Syriac, Coptic, and Ethiopic are known.

ED. *Physiologus*, ed. F. Sbordone (Milan 1936; rp. Hildesheim 1976). Eng. tr. M.J. Curley, *Physiologus* (Austin, Tex., 1979).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 33–35. B.E. Perry, *RE* 20.1 (1941) 1074–1129. P. Cox, "The *Physiologus*: A *Poiesis* of Nature," *ChHist* 52 (1983) 433–43. M.J. Curley, "*Physiologus*, Physiologia and the Rise of Christian Nature Symbolism," *Viator* 11 (1980) 1–10. J.H. Declerck, "Remarques sur la tradition du *Physiologus* Grec," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 148–58. –J.S., A.K.

PHYSIS. See NATURE.

PIACENZA PILGRIM, an anonymous Latin traveler who, ca.570, composed the most vivid surviving account of a pilgrim's visit in Palestine. Seemingly an amalgam of personal experience and secondhand information from guide books (for those sites not visited), it provides invaluable documentation for the LOCA SANCTA large and small, from northern Palestine into Egypt, including a detailed description of the Holy Sepulchre and its relics. It includes references to remarkable vegetation (e.g., one-pound dates in Jericho), to exotic local populations (e.g., Ethiopians in the Negev, with split nostrils and rings on their toes), and to the survival of ancient beliefs and practices (e.g., the use of geodes from Mt. Carmel as AMULETS against miscarriage). But, most of all, it is an illuminating account of pilgrim piety: of various modes of veneration at the holy sites, of the systematic collection of pilgrim EULOGIAI, of the importance of the calendar as well as the site for the receipt of spiritual power (e.g., the celebration of the EPIPHANY at the Jordan River), and of the increasing importance of relics and icons in the pilgrim's experience.

ED. "Antonini Placentini Itinerarium," ed. P. Geyer in *Itineraria et alia geographica* [= CChr ser. lat. 175] (Turnhout 1965) 127–74. Eng. tr. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 79–89. –G.V.

PIAZZA ARMERINA, a town in central Sicily made famous by the discovery, about 5 km to the southwest, of a large and elaborately decorated VILLA, one of the best preserved of its kind to have survived from the late Roman world. The villa consists of a central peristyle in the shape of an irregular rectangle, around which are arrayed a monumental triple-gated entrance, a bath complex, a basilica, a triconch adjoining an oval court, and several suites of smaller rooms. The rising walls of the villa, of stone-faced rubble, do not generally survive to a great height (often no more than 1–2 m); nonetheless, the villa shelters much of its original decoration, notably wall paintings and polychrome FLOOR MOSAICS in almost every room. These show a great variety of subjects ranging from the whimsical (sporting *erotes*) to the weighty (the so-called "Triumph of Hercules"),

giving rise to much speculation as to the original function and patron of the complex. The villa has even been attributed to the emperors Maximian and Maxentius (among others), although the matter has never been definitively resolved. The main body of the structure and its decoration are of the early 4th C.

LIT. A. Carandini, A. Ricci, and M. de Vos, *Filosofiana, La villa di Piazza Armerina: Immagine di un aristocratico romano al tempo di Costantino,* 2 vols. (Palermo 1982). R.J.A. Wilson, *Piazza Armerina* (Austin, Tex., 1983). –W.T.

PIER (πεσσός, lit. a pebble used in a board game, by extension any object of cylindrical form; λόφος), the fundamental structural support of arcuate architecture, usually built of ashlar blocks, set dry or with thin mortar beds. Piers are designed to carry the concentrated weight of arches, vaults, and domes (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.1.37, 69, 71) and are often used where walls and columns are inadequate to sustain contemplated loads. The imposition of domes in basilicas such as St. John at EPHESUS required the insertion of piers at regular intervals, creating a system of bays (Krautheimer, *ECBArch,* figs. 196–98). Low, oblong piers carry heavy arches over the columnar arcade of Basilica A at SERGIOPOLIS and support the massive arcade at QALB LAWZAH (Mango, *Byz.Arch.,* figs. 97, 150). In plan, piers may be formed of simple geometric shapes and proportioned like columns; others, sometimes called compound piers, are defined by more complex profiles that often serve to define adjacent spaces (Mango, *Byz.Arch.,* figs. 109, 115, 143). Byz. builders generally subordinated the structural function of piers to spatial design and masked their surfaces with marble placage, disguising their strength and size; in the stone structures of Syria and Armenia, on the other hand, their size and functions are clearly exposed.

LIT. Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia* 46f, 53–56, 74–76. –W.L., N.E.L.

PIETROASELE, a site near Buzău, Rumania, on a tributary of the southern Danube. Excavations have discovered the remains of a 4th-C. Roman military camp (coins of Constantius II were found) that was eventually occupied by the Visigoths. In the nearby village of Dara, a rune-inscribed ceramic plate was found (G. Diaconu, *Dacia* 20 [1976] 269–71). In 1837 Pietroasele yielded a hoard of 22 late Roman objects of which 12 survive, mostly gold, sometimes ornamented with precious stones—fibulae; necklaces; vessels; a *patera* (flat dish), probably of Antiochene origin, with depictions of a ritual procession, etc. These valuables are dated to the 4th C. and seem to have belonged to the imperial treasury. Rusu (*infra*) hypothesizes that they were brought to Pietroasele by GAINAS when he left Constantinople. The objects are now in the Historical Museum in Bucharest.

LIT. G. Diaconu et al., "L'ensemble archéologique de Pietroasele," *Dacia* 21 (1977) 199–220. M. Rusu, "Der Schatz von Pietroasele und der zeitgenössische historische Kontext," *Zeitschrift für Archäologie* 20 (1986) 181–200. –A.K.

PIGNUS (*ἐνέχυρον*), pledge or pawn. A *pignus* serves as the security for a credit or for claims that will be payable in the future. The *pignus* can be negotiated by contract or be determined by law. All salable property can serve as a *pignus.* In the place of single objects the entire current and future property of the debtor can also be pledged (general pledge). A *pignus* can, but does not have to be, handed over to the creditor. The so-called propertyless *pignus* that the debtor can continue to use is commonly called *hypotheke* (HYPOTHEC) (cf. Harm. 3.5.26): it cannot be alienated by the debtor without the consent of the creditor.

The primary examples of a general pledge determined by law without the need for any special agreement are as follows: in favor of the wife in her claim for the restitution of her dowry against the husband's property (*Cod.Just.* V 12.30 = *Basil.* 29.1.117); in favor of the state for tax demands against the property of the debtor (*Cod.Just.* VIII 14.1 = *Basil.* 56.4.17); in favor of the church in its claims over the property of *emphyteutai* arising from EMPHYTEUSIS (*Nov.Just.* 7.3.2 = *Basil.* 20.2.5); in favor of children against the property of the guardian (*Nov.Just.* 118.5 = *Basil.* 37.4.13), or against the property of the mother and her second husband, if a new guardian was not appointed at the time of the remarriage (*Nov.Just.* 22.40 = *Basil.* 28.14.13). The large number of these and other legally determined pledges must have greatly limited the availability of land and movable property for credit and sale transactions. Moreover, the existence of (privileged) general

pledges gave rise to problems involving the relative priority of various claims, as is documented in the TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS. –M.Th.F.

PIGS. See SWINE.

PILASTER, an engaged PIER articulated into base, shaft, and capital, or an imitation of such a pier created by imposing decorative features of base, shaft, and capital upon a properly proportioned projection of a wall. Pilasters often mark the ends of open colonnades set between piers (Mainstone, *Hagia Sophia,* pls. 46, 48, 55) as well as the flanks of portals. As at the palace of TEKFUR SARAYI in Constantinople they articulated façades and were more substantial members than the pilaster strips used, for example, on the Church of the Virgin at STUDENICA.

LIT. S. Ćurčić, "Articulation of Church Façades during the First Half of the 14th Century," in *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle* (Belgrade 1978) 17–28. –W.L.

PILGRIMAGE (*προσκύνησις*, lit. "veneration," in Church Slavonic *choženie*, as equivalent of Greek *ὁδοιπορία*, "journey"). Although mandated neither by the Bible nor by the church fathers, pilgrimage developed into an important Byz. religious phenomenon, esp. between the early 4th and the mid-7th C. when, following in the footsteps of Constantine's mother, HELENA, vast numbers of Christians journeyed to Palestine to venerate the holy places, or LOCA SANCTA. Although Old Testament sites, such as Mt. SINAI, greatly outnumbered those of the New Testament, the latter sites, and especially *loca sancta* associated with the life and Passion of Christ, were far more popular. JERUSALEM alone claimed a half-dozen of Christianity's most famous pilgrimage destinations, and by the 4th–5th C. had developed into an acknowledged circuit of sites (beginning with the Tomb of Christ at the Holy Sepulchre), with scores of churches, monasteries, and hospices. There were citywide processions on the most important holidays of the year (for example, down from the Mount of Olives on Palm Sunday) and a rich variety of commercial fairs and festivals to entertain and exploit the thousands of visitors.

Popular destinations outside the Holy Land (esp. in Syria, Egypt, Asia Minor, and Greece) included Constantinople; shrines of holy men, such as that of St. Symeon the Stylite the Elder at QALʿAT SEMAN; churches of famous martyrs and heavenly powers, such as that of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike or the archangel Michael at CHONAI; and sites featuring miracle-working relics and/or waters, such as the cisterns and tomb of St. Menas at ABŪ MĪNĀ, near Alexandria. Beyond these there were many popular pre-Christian tourist attractions—like the therapeutic hot springs near Gadara and the pyramids of Egypt—which were given biblical associations (the latter claimed as the patriarch Joseph's grain storage bins).

Inspired by the belief that sanctity was transferable through physical contact, Christians undertook pilgrimage for various purposes: to intensify their faith through prayer and revelation, to bring offerings and VOTIVES, to obtain HEALING of physical and/or spiritual diseases, to seek advice, and for PENANCE. Their activities are recorded in travel diaries, such as those of EGERIA and the PIACENZA PILGRIM; in guidebooks, such as the BREVIARIUS; in hagiographical texts, such as the *Religious History* of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, or the vitae of the elder and the younger Symeon the Stylite. Complementing these are the surviving *loca sancta* structures themselves, and their associated shrines, such as the Church of Constantine and Holy SEPULCHRE in Jerusalem, as well as various smaller artifacts like the pilgrimage AMPULLAE.

After the mid-7th C. pilgrims to the holy sites included Greeks (e.g., EPIPHANIOS HAGIOPOLITES, John PHOKAS); Westerners (e.g., Arculf [see ADOMNAN] and Willibald [see HUGEBURC] in the 7th–8th C., and Seewulf ca.1102/3), some coming from such faraway countries as Iceland (e.g., Nikulás of Munkathverá in the 12th C.—J. Hill, *HThR* 76 [1983] 175–203); and Slavs (e.g., DANIIL IGUMEN, ZOSIMA). Their diaries and PROSKYNETARIA are important sources for topography, the history of churches and cults, and sometimes even for economic and political history, esp. in Palestine and Constantinople.

Pilgrims—men and women, young and old, rich and poor—came to the Holy Land from every corner of the empire and well beyond; for safety they usually journeyed in groups. TRAVEL by sea was speedier and more comfortable, but overland transit by donkey or on foot (at no more than 30

km per day) seems to have been the rule. Travel was inevitably slow (Egeria was away four years) and dangerous (because of wild animals and bandits); but it could be undertaken at little expense, since pilgrims were cared for as the obligation of the local Christian community, and church- and state-endowed hostels for strangers (XENODOCHEIA) abounded—as did commercial hotels and campgrounds (e.g., at Qalʿat Seman). The indigent and sick were well represented among the travelers, but so also were merchants (who traded as they traveled) and aristocrats (e.g., the noblewoman Egeria), as well as soldiers, bureaucrats, monks, nuns, and theologians (e.g., St. Jerome), and even members of the imperial family (e.g., Theodosios II and ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA).

Pilgrims took along Bibles, maps, and guidebooks as well as letters of introduction and transit, to facilitate the crossing of the frontiers and to gain access to the much faster official highway system (the *cursus publicus*); a local guide might also be needed, to point out obscure sites and/or to deal with hostile natives. The actual encounter with the holy site could take several forms, from direct physical contact (e.g., kissing) to private reenactment of the original sanctifying event (e.g., throwing stones at the grave of Goliath), to ritualized public reenactment (e.g., the stational liturgy in Jerusalem, and the Sunday liturgy in the Holy Sepulchre). The pilgrim might come once, or repeat the encounter many times; at the great healing shrines the sick would rest on mats near the relic, sometimes for years, until a cure was received.

Living holy men were venerated directly, through prayer, the lighting of lamps, and the burning of incense; such encounters may have involved hundreds of conversions at a time as well as subsequent baptisms. Some pilgrims went to die and be buried near an appropriate site, such as the Grotto of the SEVEN SLEEPERS, near Ephesus.

Such mobilization of people and wealth, and the concomitant movement of sacred objects, exercised a significant social and economic impact on Byz. This was felt not only in the Holy Land—which between the 4th and 6th C. emerged from relative obscurity to become a spiritual focus of the empire—but also on a number of other centers, including Constantinople, which as a recently founded city had begun its Christian existence "saint-poor," but as the new capital attracted many early translations of relics. At the level of POPULAR RELIGION pilgrimage exercised a significant impact first on the developing cult of RELICS, and from the 5th C. onward on the emerging cult of images. Many of these, such as the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, were at once icons and relics, with reputed links to the Holy Land. Yet pilgrimage was also a powerful force within the official church, since the Jerusalem stational liturgy and festival calendar soon came to dominate the pattern of worship in the Eastern church (see BYZANTINE RITE).

Pilgrimage also engendered its own distinctive forms of art. Most prominent were the great pilgrimage churches, such as that above Qalʿat Seman. Because of its size and opulence, its imperial associations, and its location along a well-traveled pilgrimage route, this monument—like others of its type—exercised a general impact on Byz. architecture. Moreover, within these great churches were often found elaborate shrines housing the foremost local relic. Like the most famous such shrine, the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem, most were essentially large-scale reliquaries.

On the level of the minor arts, pilgrimage inspired a wide variety of portable EULOGIAI, which pious travelers carried home for their amuletic/medicinal powers. Pilgrims also left votives behind; these could either be valuable personal possessions or works of art bearing invocations of thanks or representations of parts of the body to acknowledge specific healings.

LIT. B. Kötting, *Peregrinatio religiosa* (Regensberg 1950). J. Wilkinson, *Egeria's Travels*[2] (Jerusalem-Warminster 1981). Wilkinson, *Pilgrims*. E.D. Hunt, *Holy Land Pilgrimage in the Later Roman Empire, AD 312–460* (Oxford 1982). G. Vikan, *Byzantine Pilgrimage Art* (Washington, D.C., 1982). –G.V.

PILGRIM MEDALLIONS, conventional term applicable to two categories of pilgrimage artifacts worn on the body. The first consists primarily of pressed-gold medallions—either pendants or fibulae—of the 6th–7th C. Most bear a scene from the PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE; the preponderance of the Adoration of the Magi as well as invocational inscriptions (e.g., "Lord, help the wearer") suggest an amuletic function related specifically to the pilgrim's journey. The second category consists almost exclusively of cast-lead pendants from the shrine of St. SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER (some from the shrine of St. MAMAS are also known). Produced after the Byz. reoc-

cupation of the region of Antioch in the later 10th C., Symeon medallions were consciously modeled upon Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) but lack the EULOGIA of blessed earth that was the latter's *raison d'être.*

LIT. Vikan, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 73f, 82. Idem, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of *Mimesis* on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," in *The Blessings of Pilgrimage* (Champaign-Urbana, Ill., 1990) 106ff. –G.V.

PILGRIM TOKENS (*σφραγίδια*), conventional term applied to a common variety of pilgrims' EULOGIA artifacts, designating small pieces (diam. 1–10 cm) of sanctified earth, identifiable by the stamped impression that they bear. Pieces of portable, palpable sanctity, pilgrim tokens were valued for their apotropaic and medicinal powers. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*Histoire des moines,* ed. Canivet—Leroy-Molinghen 21.4.10–13) describes the hill, upon which a certain ascetic named James stood, that was generally believed to have received so powerful a blessing (*eulogia*) that people came from all sides to carry away prophylactic clumps of dirt.

By far the most common variety of pilgrim tokens are those associated with the shrine of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, conventionally called "Symeon tokens." They survive in at least several dozen examples assigned on historical and iconographic grounds to the 6th–7th C. Approximately 1–3 cm in diameter, they are made of clay from the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN, Symeon's pilgrimage shrine near Antioch. According to the saint's vita, the token was "the *eulogia* made from dust blessed by him." Its function was primarily medicinal; it was usually crumbled into dust and applied externally, either dry or in a paste. Symeon tokens are identifiable by the *sphragis* (seal impression) that they bear. The saint is shown on his column, flanked by angels with crowns or palm fronds; usually a monk with a censer climbs a ladder toward him. One type bears the inscription "Blessing (*eulogia*) of St. Symeon of the Wondrous Mountain," and "Receive, O Saint, the incense, and heal all." Another, simpler type occasionally shows the TRISAGION or the word *hygieia* ("health"). Lead Symeon medallions, modeled on the earlier clay tokens, were popular during the 10th–13th C. (see PILGRIM MEDALLIONS).

Like the Symeon tokens, rarer tokens from other shrines, for example that of the poorhouse of St. PHOKAS at Cherson (Vikan, *infra* 14, fig.6), usually show the saint or event that sanctified the site, and the ubiquitous *eulogia* inscription ("Blessing of . . ."). Moreover, tokens with various holy figures (e.g., the Virgin and Child) or sacred events (e.g., the Entry into Jerusalem) could be issued from a LOCUS SANCTUS with which they were not directly related. Like the functionally related pilgrim AMPULLAE, the stamped pilgrim token was predominantly a phenomenon of the 5th–7th C.

LIT. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 12–40. Idem, "Art, Medicine, and Magic" 67–83. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche* (Brussels 1967) 140–68. –G.V.

PINAKION (*πινάκιον*, lit. "small board"), also called *tetartion* or *karta* (from It. *quarta*), measure of volume equaling 1/4 *thalassios* MODIOS (= 4.3 liters). Since 1 *pinakion* consisted of 10 *logarikai* LITRAI of wheat, the term *dekalitron* was sometimes applied to it. Accordingly, as a measure of land, the *pinakion* corresponded to 1/4 *modios.* In the wheat trade, 1 *pinakion* = 1/4 of the Byz. *modios* of trade = 77 liters, and was called *mega* (large) *pinakion.* The nickname "Parapinakes" applied to Michael VII refers to this measure and alludes to the emperor's rapacity.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 71, 102, 108. –E. Sch.

PINDAR, Greek lyric poet; born Cynoscephalae, Boeotia, ca.520 B.C., died ca.445. Pindar was sometimes called the "Theban lyre" or "a lyric poet" by Byz. writers. The *Souda* gives an account of his life and work along with several entries from his text. The earliest extant MS (Vat. gr. 1312 of the late 12th C.) of his surviving poems (*The Victory Odes*) is contemporary with an essay on the Pindaric meter by Isaac Tzetzes and a Pindaric commentary by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, THOMAS MAGISTROS, and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS edited and annotated Pindar in the 14th C. The question of a Planoudean recension of Pindar is still debated.

The most widely read of the Pindaric poems were the *Olympian Odes.* Highly regarded for his language, which was considered a model of the poetic "koine" (Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer 12), as well as for the didactic value of his poems, Pindar was used as a school author in Byz. from the 4th to 6th C. (Irigoin, *infra* [1952] 97), but

from the 7th to the mid-9th C. Pindar was not read (ibid. 121). Some 200 surviving MSS and the numerous citations in Byz. authors such as Ignatios the Deacon (Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.V [1977], 41, n.110) and Psellos attest to his increasing popularity thereafter.

Up to the 4th C. Christian authors made use of Pindaric quotations in a religious context, that is, in support of Christian tenets. The learned Cappadocian fathers and their circle, on the other hand, broke with this tradition by quoting Pindar for purely literary purposes (mostly in their correspondence), whereas the 4th- and 5th-C. hymnographers (Synesios and pseudo-Apollinaris of Laodikeia) reverted to the earlier practice.

ED. *Isaac Tzetzae De metris pindaricis commentarius*, ed. A.B. Drachmann (Copenhagen 1925). Idem, ed. "Eustathii prooemium," *Scholia vetera in Pindari carmina* (Leipzig 1903–27; rp. Amsterdam 1964) 3:279–311. *Les scholies métriques de Pindare*, ed. J. Irigoin (Paris 1958).

LIT. J. Irigoin, *Histoire du texte de Pindare* (Paris 1952). J. Irmscher, "Pindar in Byzanz," *Aischylos und Pindar: Werk und Nachwirkung*, ed. E.G. Schmidt (Berlin 1981) 296–302. I. Opelt, "Die christliche Spätantike und Pindar," *ByzF* 2 (1967) 284–98. –A.C.H.

PINDOS (Πίνδος, also Pydnos, Aitolika Ore, Pyrenaia Ore), mountain chain running north to south dividing Macedonia and Thessaly on the east from Epiros on the west. Two main routes crossed the Pindos from TRIKKALA: northwest across the Metsovo Pass to IOANNINA and southwest either through Porta or across the Korakou Bridge to ARTA. There were important Byz. settlements and monasteries along the eastern foothills of the Pindos, on the edge of the Thessalian plain (e.g., Phanarion, Porta), but the interior of the Pindos was underpopulated. A chrysobull of Andronikos III of March 1336 (*Reg* 4, no.2825), referring to the *praktikon* of the *anagrapheus* Manouses, presents a list of possessions of the bishop of STAGOI that provides valuable information on the topography of the medieval Pindos (Abramea, *Thessalia* 60).

LIT. *TIB* 1:243; 3:239. –T.E.G.

PINKERNES (⟨ἐ⟩πιγκέρνης), cup-bearer, at first a palace eunuch. The word, used already in pseudo-Kallisthenes' ALEXANDER ROMANCE (L. Bergson, *Der griechische Alexanderroman. Rezension B* [Stockholm 1965] 184.5 and 9), derives from the verb *epikerannymi*, "to mix [wine]." Periphrastic expressions, such as the emperor's *oinochoos*, *archioinochoos*, and *kylikiphoros*, were also employed to denote the cup-bearer. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS listed the emperor's *pinkernes* and that of the augusta as courtiers following the PAPIAS and his *deuteros*. The vita of Patr. Euthymios (*Vita Euthym.* 63.2) mentions an anonymous *pinkernes* sent by Leo VI on a delicate assignment; in the 11th C. the *pinkernes* could combine his duties with those of the DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.965). Under the Komnenoi some bearded men and even the emperor's relatives were *pinkernai*. The importance of the post grew significantly from the 13th C. onward, when the *pinkernes*—like several other functions connected with the imperial table (e.g., the EPI TES TRAPEZES)—became a high honorific title. Personages such as Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and SYRGIANNES held the post in the 14th C.

In addition to the imperial *pinkernes*, John, a patriarchal *pinkernes*, is attested in the 10th C. (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 187.30), and in the mid-12th C. Constantine, *pinkernes* of a great landowner Isaac Komnenos (V. Arutjunova, *VizVrem* 29 [1968] 66), is known.

LIT. R. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:242–50. –A.K.

PIRACY. Individual acts of piracy were endemic in the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea in antiquity and the Roman period, the inhabitants of the coasts of Cilicia, Dalmatia, and the Black Sea being particularly active. One may distinguish small-scale piracy, carried out on small boats and from the pirate's base, from large-scale piracy, carried out on the high seas or against ports. In the Byz. period, piracy was most active when the state's control over the seas was reduced. Isaurian and Cilician pirates are particularly mentioned until the 7th C. From the 7th to the early 10th C., the Arabs engaged in acts of piracy and corsair raids against the islands and coasts of the Aegean, disrupting commerce and taking captives. CRETE and TARSOS were pirate bases, as was North Africa; the capture of THESSALONIKE by LEO OF TRIPOLI is noteworthy. With the reestablishment of Byz. control in the 10th C., piracy was greatly reduced. It became endemic again in the middle of the 12th C. (Niketas CHONIATES speaks

of the thalassocracy of pirates) and flourished in the 13th–15th C. In this late period, pirates in the Aegean and the Black Sea were mostly Genoese or other Italians, but also Greeks from MONEMVASIA, RHODES, and the other islands of the Aegean, and, from the early 14th C., Turks. They preyed on both large-scale and small-scale trade and engaged in the slave trade. Bilateral treaties between Byz. emperors, beginning with Michael VIII, and the Italian maritime city-states did not reduce piracy. In economic terms, piracy, esp. in the later period, functioned as an illegitimate part of the trade system, since pirates sold their booty in the marketplace. It added to the cost of trade and forced Italian merchants to travel in convoys and to develop marine insurance.

LIT. H. Ahrweiler, "Course et piraterie dans la Méditerranée orientale aux IVème–XVème siècles (empire byzantin)," *Commission internationale d'histoire maritime—Course et piraterie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1975) 7–29. P. Charanis, "Piracy in the Aegean during the Reign of Michael VIII Palaeologus," *AIPHOS* 10 (1950) 127–36. G. Morgan, "The Venetian Claims Commission of 1278," *BZ* 69 (1976) 411–38.
–A.L.

PISA, Italian maritime republic. Contacts with Byz. are first mentioned in 1098. To obtain a defensive alliance, Alexios I gave Pisa privileges in 1111: annual tribute, a quarter in Constantinople, and a 4 percent KOMMERKION for products imported into Byz. The quarter in Constantinople was lost in 1163, when Pisa supported FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA, but restored in 1170. The anti-Latin riot in Constantinople (1182) decimated the Pisan community and provoked retaliation by Pisa. Isaac II subsequently renewed privileges and enlarged the Pisan quarter (1192). In 1204, Pisa suffered great losses in Constantinople and the formerly flourishing community began to decay. Although surpassed by Venice and Genoa, Pisa continued to enjoy its privileges until these were transferred to Florence in 1439.

The Pisan quarter in Constantinople lay along the Golden Horn, between the Neorion and Ikanatissa Gates, and had two churches, a public bath, a hospital, SKALAI, an EMBOLOS, and more than 19 houses. Political and commercial interests were defended by a viscount (*vicecomes*), who was elected in Pisa and had charge of justice and finance. A prior took care of religious matters and the temporal interests of the cathedral of Pisa in Constantinople. The translation of Greek theological and juridical texts by two Pisan scholars, BURGUNDIO and Hugo ETERIANO, helped transmit Greek knowledge to the West. Pisan merchants brought wine, clothes, iron, and money; traded oil and slaves in the eastern Mediterranean; and returned with spices, grain, cotton, and sugar.

SOURCE. J. Müller, *Documenti sulle relazioni delle città toscane coll'Oriente cristiano e coi Turchi fino all'anno MDXXXI* (Florence 1879; rp. Rome 1966).

LIT. Lilie, *Handel und Politik* 69–83, 325–612. C. Otten-Froux, "Documents inédits sur les Pisans en Romanie aux XIIIe–XIVe siècles," in M. Balard, A.E. Laiou, C. Otten-Froux, *Les Italiens à Byzance* (Paris 1987) 153–95.
–C.O.-F.

PISIDIA (Πισιδία), region of western Anatolia marked by mountains and lakes, bounded by Phrygia, Lycia, and Pamphylia. Pisidia became a separate province in the early 4th C. with ANTIOCH as its metropolis. A turbulent region, Pisidia was constantly afflicted by brigandage and revolt. Remoteness made it difficult to control and encouraged a long survival of paganism. By the time of Justinian I, the oppression of troops and officials combined with banditry provoked him to appoint a praetor with full civil and military powers in 535. When this failed, a *dux* or *biokolytes* was given similar powers, but in 552 this also was suppressed and Pisidia was entrusted to its governor and bishops (Justinian, novs. 24, 145). Pisidia was divided between the ANATOLIKON and KIBYRRHAIOTAI themes by the 8th C. but was for a period considered as a unit. A *kommerkiarios* of Pisidia is attested as late as 720 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.225); the ecclesiastical province long survived. After the battle of Mantzikert in 1071, Byz. control was limited to the western parts around SOZOPOLIS and ceased altogether by 1204.

LIT. X. de Planhol, *De la plaine pamphylienne aux lacs pisidiens* (Paris 1958). N. Mersich, "Einige Festungen im pisidisch-pamphylischen Grenzgebiet," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 191–200. C. Diehl, "Rescrit des empereurs Justin et Justinien en date du 1er juin 5–7," *BCH* 17 (1893) 501–30. –C.F.

PISTIKOS (πιστικός), according to the hagiographers of the 6th–7th C. (e.g., Moschos, PG 87:2936D) and the *Basilika*, an agent to whom a ship was commissioned. The usage remained current to the end of the 11th C., when the will of CHRISTODOULOS OF PATMOS mentioned monastic boats commissioned (*pistekeuomena*) by certain per-

sons (MM 6:82.6–10). The *Martyrion* of Bp. Sadoth (martyred under Shāpūr II in the 4th C.) speaks of imperial "*archontes* and *pistikoi*" in a vague sense of confidential servants (H. Delehaye, PO 2.4 [1907] 449.6–7).

The term *basilikos pistikos*, however, appears on seals beginning in the 8th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 2376, 2617); the functions of this official are not clear. Pančenko viewed him as an imperial maritime agent; his attempt (*IRAIK* 13 [1908] 116) to read *pistikos* in a corrupted line of the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.32) is not convincing (R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 15). Some imperial *pistikoi* served in the department of the DROMOS (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 489–90). The office of *basilikos pistikos* is not known after the 10th C.

LIT. B. Pančenko, "Basilikos pistikos," *IRAIK* 7 (1902) 40–55. –A.K.

PITTAKION (*πιττάκιον*), a term that in antiquity designated primarily a writing tablet. By the 4th C. it acquired the meaning of a short document (e.g., *P.Gen.* 62), probably with a pejorative connotation; thus, Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 26:800C) speaks of a *pittakion* allegedly produced at the council in Serdica. Later, it designated a kind of imperial PROSTAGMA, and was esp. popular during the reign of the Komnenoi (Dölger, *Diplomatik* 5, n.14). The term was also employed for patriarchal documents issued in the form of a letter. N. Svoronos (in *PGEB* 425) asserts that it was reserved for imperial and patriarchal acts, but there are some exceptions. In 1414, for example, the *kephale* of Thessalonike, Manuel Eskammatismenos, expressed regret that the priest and monk David had not received any of his *pittakia* (*Docheiar*, no.54.33).

LIT. J. Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1971) 172–81. Idem, "Sur la nomenclature des actes patriarcaux au XIVe siècle," *RESEE* 11 (1973) 244f. –A.K.

PLAGUE (λοιμός), pandemic disease that struck Byz. several times. The earliest clearly documented and detailed description of a plague is of that which occurred in 541–44; Prokopios (*Wars* 2.22f), John of Ephesus, and Evagrios Scholastikos described it. Even though Prokopios's account is modeled on Thucydides, clearly the "Justinianic" plague was bubonic, contrasted with the uncertain diagnosis of earlier pestilences. The disease recurred several times during the 6th to 7th C. A decline of population resulted, although J.C. Russell's estimate of 50–60 percent (*Demography* 5.1 [1968] 180) cannot be proved.

The Black Death of 1348–49 was the second major plague. The epidemic in Constantinople was described by JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, who also imitated Thucydides (T.S. Miller, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 385–95) and Prokopios. A contemporary Arab author, ibn-Khātimah (died 1369), states that the plague started in China and spread through Iraq to the Crimea, Pera, and Constantinople (cf. Dols, *infra* 42). Rich evidence concerning the 1348 plague in the Balkans is preserved in the Dubrovnik archives; here the Black Death, which caused a shortage of manpower, led to "labor legislation" that established a ceiling for workers' salaries (A. Kazhdan, *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 17 [1955] 43–45).

LIT. M.W. Dols, *The Black Death in the Middle East* (Princeton 1977) 13–67. J.-N. Biraben, J. LeGoff, "The Plague in the Early Middle Ages," in *Biology of Man in History*, ed. R. Forster, O. Ranum (Baltimore, Md., 1975) 48–80. P. Allen, "The 'Justinianic' Plague," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 5–20. T.L. Bratton, "The Identity of the Plague of Justinian," *Transactions and Studies of the College of Physicians of Philadelphia* n.s. 3 (1981) 113–24, 174–80. –J.S., A.K.

PLANOUDES, MAXIMOS, scholar and translator; baptismal name Manuel; born Nikomedeia ca.1255, died ca.1305. Planoudes (Πλανούδης) began his career as a MS copyist and scribe in the imperial palace (1283). Sometime thereafter, he became a monk. Although *hegoumenos* of the monastery at Mt. AUXENTIOS, Planoudes lived in Constantinople, where he taught at the CHORA monastery, relocating to the Akataleptos monastery sometime before 1301. Prominent men like John PHAKRASES and Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS sent boys to study with Planoudes, whose pupils included Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and George LAKAPENOS. In 1296 Planoudes went to Venice on an imperial embassy.

Planoudes is remarkable for his translations of Latin authors, both theological (AUGUSTINE, pseudo-Cyprian) and secular (OVID, Cicero, pseudo-Cato, MACROBIUS, BOETHIUS). His translations are primarily literary in style and content, unlike those of Demetrios KYDONES. Among Planoudes' scholarly contributions are important edi-

tions and scholia (e.g., NONNOS, PLUTARCH, Diophantos, ARETHAS OF CAESAREA), a collection of folk proverbs, and a handbook on arithmetic (*The So-Called Great Calculation According to the Indians*). His collection of epigrams (the *Anthologia Planudea*) includes 388 missing from the *Anthologia Palatina* (see GREEK ANTHOLOGY). He composed the panegyric *Basilikos* at the accession of MICHAEL IX and left letters detailing the activities of the ecclesiastical and civil officials, and official intellectual élite.

ED. *Epistulae*, ed. M. Treu (Breslau 1890; rp. Amsterdam 1960). L.G. Westerink, "Le Basilikos de Maxime Planude," *BS* 27 (1966) 98–103; 28 (1967) 54–67; 29 (1968) 34–48.
LIT. C. Wendel, *RE* 20.2 (1950) 2202–53. W.O. Schmitt, "Lateinische Literatur in Byzanz: die Übersetzungen des Maximos Planudes und die moderne Forschung," *JÖB* 17 (1968) 127–47. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:129f, 2:67–71, 246f.
–E.A.F.

PLANTS. See BOTANY.

PLASTICITY, the quality in an image of appearing to be modeled, and esp. of being monumental and thus "real." In classical relief sculpture plasticity was achieved by carefully graduated planes of recession and the use of undercutting: these techniques mark the best IVORY carving of the 10th C. Similarly, the illusion of solidity in a figure painted on a two-dimensional surface depends upon the suggestion of a reciprocal relationship between LIGHT and shade and the presence of tonal gradations, particularly on flesh and drapery, to represent the gamut between these two extremes. Striking examples of plasticity are to be found in early icons preserved at Mt. Sinai, in the frescoes of CASTELSEPRIO, in some miniatures of the PARIS PSALTER, and occasionally in MONUMENTAL PAINTING of the late 13th and early 14th C. Elsewhere the illusion of plasticity is imperfectly conveyed by a "shorthand" system of conventional highlights and shadows and often negated by the use of LINE to define the contours of a figure or object at the expense of its volumetric properties.
–A.C.

PLATAMON (Πλαταμῶν), site of a fortress near the mouth of the Peneios River, overlooking the wide plain of Pieria to the north and commanding north-south communication at the entrance to the valley of Tempe. It was an *episkepsis* at the end of the 12th C. and in the 14th C. was termed a *polichne* (Kantak. 2:571.19–20). Platamon is mentioned for the first time in a chrysobull of Alexios III in 1198. The fortress was probably rebuilt by Roland Piscia, who received the site from BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT after 1204. In 1218 it was taken by Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros and fell to Michael VIII after the battle of Pelagonia in 1259. In 1343, during the civil war, Platamon first supported John VI Kantakouzenos but later revolted and recognized John V Palaiologos. Some of the ZEALOTS from Thessalonike were imprisoned at Platamon in 1346. Circa 1385 the castle fell to the Turks, who apparently kept it in good repair. The fortress has a simple plan, with exterior circuit wall, interior fort, and central tower or donjon. As preserved, it is completely Frankish in design. The bishopric of Platamon and Lykostomion, suffragan of Thessalonike, is known only from the 14th C. (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 43 [1985] 296).

LIT. A. Bakalopoulos, *Ta kastra tou Platamona kai tes Horias Tempon kai ho tekes tou Chasan Mpampa* (Thessalonike 1972) 9–61.
–T.E.G.

PLATE, DOMESTIC GOLD AND SILVER, made in quantity in the latter metal (300–650), took the form of display objects, table services, household articles, furniture fittings, and horse trappings, most of which continued late Roman forms and decoration. According to SEVEROS of Antioch (I. Guidi, PO 22 [1930] 247), households in that city were well provided in the 6th C. with such SILVER objects; many examples have survived singly and in various silver treasures (e.g., CANOSCIO TREASURE, LAMPSAKOS TREASURE, MYTILENE TREASURE). Silver display objects included statuettes and display PLATES that were decorated, often in relief, with both pagan and Christian subjects. Table services (*ministeria*) contained sets of articles for serving (e.g., a ewer, amphora, platter [*missorium*], ladles, strainers), drinking (e.g., goblets, which survive in small numbers), eating (plates, bowls, SPOONS), and hand-washing (CHERNIBOXESTON). The numerous plain plates from the 4th C. to the mid-7th C. were probably dinner plates. References are made to large Byz. silver dinner services ca.600: that of a magnate of Edessa is described in MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (2:380, 3:13f); another service was sought by a bishop in Egypt, according to Leontios of Neapolis (Life of JOHN

ELEEMON, ed. Festugière, ch.27.12–13); and a third belonged to a bishop of Auxerre (ed. Adhémar, *infra*). Among household objects in silver were LIGHTING fixtures and toilet articles of various types for the bath (e.g., mirror, SITULA, *chernibo-xeston*, metal CASKETS AND BOXES). In some households, furniture had plated silver REVETMENTS; horses and mules were decked with silver trappings (see CHARIOT MOUNTS AND HORSE FITTINGS).

The evidence for domestic gold and silver plate after the 7th C. is less plentiful: few single objects (e.g., the 9th-C. inkpot in Padua—A. Guillou, *La civilisation byzantine* [Paris 1974], pl. opposite p.336; 12th-C. bowls with secular figures) and no treasures survive. Written references to the latter are scattered but include allusions to tables of gold (Oikonomides, *Listes* 203.5) and silver, separate gold and silver dinner services (LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, *Antapodosis* 6.8), large gold *minsouria* (*missoria*) (Oikonomides, *Listes* 275, n.43), and gold *cherniboxesta* (*De cer.* 9.18), all in use in the Great Palace, Constantinople. General reference to such plate (*asemion*) is made in the will of Eustathios BOILAS. Recorded single objects include a gold *krater* of Constantine DALASSENOS, *doux* of Antioch in the 11th C. (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:458–61), and a gold vessel decorated with scenes of military victory of MANUEL I KOMNENOS (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 172, no.315.1).

LIT. J. Adhémar, "Le trésor d'argenterie donné par Saint Didier aux églises d'Auxerre (VIIe siècle)," *RA*[6] 4 (1934) 44–54. Mango, *Silver*, nos. 48, 98, 103–06. V.P. Darkevič, *Svetskoe iskusstvo Vizantii* (Moscow 1975). –M.M.M.

PLATE, LITURGICAL. See PATEN AND ASTERISKOS.

PLATES, DISPLAY (*πινάκια*), popular between 300 and 650, were decorated with an image and, unlike similarly ornamented items of domestic silver PLATE, were apparently intended for viewing rather than for the serving of food. More survive in SILVER than in other metals; imitations in ceramic and glass are known. On round plates, the image, usually in relief, was presented in one of two ways: restricted to a central medallion (the Hellenistic manner), sometimes accompanied by a historiated rim, or covering the entire surface (the Roman manner). The less common rectangular plate (*lanx*) had an inner rectangular "picture" and outer decorated rim. Subjects illustrated were imperial (see LARGITIO DISHES); mythological, for example, Achilles, Herakles, Bellerophon (see MILDENHALL TREASURE); PERSONIFICATIONS, for example, Africa (see LAMPSAKOS TREASURE); pastoral (shepherd, fisherman); hunting; and both narrative (DAVID PLATES) and symbolic (see CANOSCIO TREASURE). Some display plates were made in sets (e.g., David Plates), perhaps for symmetrical arrangement on a wall or sideboard. CORIPPUS (*Laudatio Iustini* 3.111) refers to gold dishes decorated with triumphal scenes that Justinian I had made to celebrate his army's victory at Carthage. Manuel I Komnenos similarly commemorated his exploits on silver plate. Plates with mythological and Dionysiac subjects (bearing 7th-C. SILVER STAMPS) document the late survival of pagan themes.

LIT. D.E. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1966) 111, 150–52. J.M.C. Toynbee, K.S. Painter, "Silver Picture Plates of Late Antiquity: A.D. 300 to 700," *Archaeologia* 108 (1986) 15–65. –M.M.M.

PLATO, ancient Greek philosopher; born ca.429 B.C., died 347. He was, along with ARISTOTLE, one of the pillars of Greek PHILOSOPHY whose works the Byz. carefully transmitted, despite occasional lapses in interest and some hostility to his thought. Numerous papyri of Plato survive from late antique Egypt. Approximately 260 MSS of Plato, about a quarter of the number for Aristotle, are preserved from the 9th to the 16th C. The difference is partly owing to the more controversial nature of Plato's philosophy and to the fact that Aristotelian LOGIC, a neutral and useful subject, became a cornerstone of Byz. higher education. Highly esteemed as a stylist, Plato is one of the most frequently quoted classical authors in Byz. belles lettres.

Through the 6th C., interest in Plato was mainly centered in the Platonic schools of Athens and Alexandria, where the standard curriculum, inherited from IAMBLICHOS, consisted of 12 dialogues. An edict of Justinian I in 529 had a serious effect on the ACADEMY OF ATHENS, but in Alexandria the pagan OLYMPIODOROS was still lecturing on Plato 40 years later, thanks to a compromise philosophical approach that avoided a clash with Christian monotheism, and the Alexandrian

Monophysite John PHILOPONOS commented on the *Phaedrus*. Thereafter the fate of Plato's texts and of interest in them lay principally in the hands of learned individuals, most of whom were careful to keep a certain distance from the pagan philosopher. In the 9th–10th C., such men were LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, PHOTIOS, and ARETHAS OF CAESAREA. Photios (probably) and Arethas (certainly) commissioned copies of Plato that must have played a pivotal role in the transmission. In the 11th C., PSELLOS and JOHN ITALOS caused a renewed interest in Plato; later he received the attention of Theodore METOCHITES. In the 15th C. PLETHON reintroduced Plato to Italy where Platonism began a whole new life.

Plato and the Church Fathers. NEOPLATONISM flourished at the same time that the church fathers were elaborating Christian doctrine. Modern scholarship is strongly divided on the question of their interrelationship: on the one hand, H. Dörrie (*Platonica minora* [Munich 1976] 508–23; *Theologie und Philosophie* 56 [1981] 1–46) considers Platonism a "different religion," completely distinct from Christianity and therefore unable to influence it; on the other hand, von Ivánka (*infra*) admits that some Christian theologians had accepted substantial elements of Platonic teaching, whereas others transformed Platonic tenets in accordance with Christian views. This discrepancy is built in part on the ambiguity of the patristic approach to Plato: Epiphanios of Salamis proclaimed Platonism a heresy originating from pagan philosophy and Eastern mystery religions, whereas Eusebios of Caesarea saw in Plato a follower of Moses, and in the 11th C. John Mauropous prayed for the salvation of Plato as a forerunner of Christianity.

Byz. theologians through Gregory Palamas used Platonic vocabulary, and not only the vocabulary. They shared with Platonism some basic views, such as the idea that the things of the visible world do not exist by and through themselves, but depend on a primary, perfect, and absolute reality; this supreme being is of an infinitely higher value than visible things. There is, however, a cardinal difference between Platonism and Christian doctrine: the Platonic supreme being reveals himself through logical (dialectical) operations, descending through a series of intermediary stages to the preexisting material world, whereas the equal and consubstantial *hypostaseis* of the Trinity are divided from the world of things by a gap that can be bridged only by a mystery—Christ who mysteriously combined in himself the perfect divine and the perfect human natures is a phenomenon forming the core of Christianity, but is absolutely alien to Platonism. Also unacceptable to the church fathers was Plato's thesis of the existence of eternal Ideas that presupposed the preexistence of souls and metempsychosis.

LIT. Westerink, *Prolegomena* x–xxxviii. M. Sicherl, "Platonismus und Textüberlieferung," in Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 535–76. R. Arnou, *DTC* 12 (1935) 2294–2392. E. von Ivánka, *Plato Christianus: Übernahme und Umgestaltung des Platonismus durch die Väter* (Einsiedeln 1964). C.J. de Vogel, "Platonism and Christianity: a Mere Antagonism or a Profound Common Ground?" *VigChr* 39 (1985) 1–62. C. Andresen, "The Integration of Platonism into Early Christian Theology," *StP* 15 (1984) 399–413. –J.D., A.K.

PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, Iconodule monk, saint; born Constantinople? ca.735, died Constantinople in Stoudios monastery 4 Apr. 814; feastday 18 Apr. Born to a family of functionaries, Plato was orphaned at age 12. He was raised by his uncle, a high-ranking financial official, who taught him the profession of notary and helped him to become a *zygostates*. In 759 Plato took the monastic habit at the monastery of Symboloi (or Symbola) on Mt. Olympos in Bithynia. He returned to the capital at least briefly in the 770s, but turned down the opportunity to become metropolitan of Nikomedeia. In 783, together with his nephew THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, Plato founded the monastery of Sakkoudion (Janin, *Églises centres* 177–83) on family property near Mt. Olympos and became its *hegoumenos*.

Plato was an Iconodule who attended the Second Council of Nicaea (787). In 795 he was imprisoned in Constantinople for his opposition to the second marriage of Constantine VI. After his release in 797, he spent the rest of his life at STOUDIOS except for a period in 809 when he was exiled by Emp. Nikephoros I for his unwavering rigidity in the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY over Constantine's marriage. Theodore of Stoudios wrote a funeral oration for his uncle (PG 99:803–50), which is essentially a vita.

LIT. *BHG* 1553–1553c. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP" 230–40. J. Pargoire, "A quelle date l'higoumène saint Platon est-il mort?" *EO* 4 (1900–01) 164–70. –A.M.T., A.K.

PLEDGE. See PIGNUS.

PLETHON, GEORGE GEMISTOS, Neoplatonic philosopher; one of the most original Byz. thinkers; born Constantinople ca.1360, died Mistra 26 June 1452. The first 50 years of his life are shadowy. According to his enemy GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, George Gemistos studied with a Jew, Elisha (Elissaios), at the "court of the barbarians," perhaps Bursa, and was exposed to ZOROASTRIANISM. He evidently taught in Constantinople (Mark EUGENIKOS was his student) until ca.1410, when he was exiled to MISTRA by Emp. Manuel II on suspicion of heresy and paganism. He spent the rest of his life at Mistra, where he was rewarded with land grants for various public services and headed the circle of intellectuals that adorned the court of the *despotes* of MOREA.

Although Gemistos played only a nominal role at the Council of Ferrara-Florence in 1438/9, his visit to Italy (almost at the age of 80) was a turning point in his life. His conversations with Florentine scholars led him to write *On the Differences of Aristotle from Plato*; his defense of Plato probably inspired Cosimo de' Medici's subsequent foundation of the Platonic Academy. At this time Gemistos adopted the pseudonym Plethon (Πλήθων "abundant," a synonym of *gemistos*), with its connotation of a "second Plato" (Gr. Πλάτων). He also composed *On Virtues* and an essay on STRABO (A. Diller, *Isis* 27 [1937] 441–51). Plethon's final years were spent at Mistra teaching, writing, and engaging in polemics with Scholarios, a defender of Aristotle.

Among the most innovative of Plethon's rhetorical works is his *Address to the Despotes Theodore [II Palaiologos]*, proposing reforms to improve the condition of the Morea: his suggestions included a highly structured three-class society (manual workers, service workers, and a ruling class encompassing the military), reliance on a citizen army rather than mercenaries, sumptuary laws, and a ban on the import of foreign clothing; these proposals may, however, be mere rhetorical exercises, rather than a revolutionary program. His *Address to Manuel [II]* urged the exemption of soldiers from taxation and communal land tenure and attacked monks as drones who made no contribution to society. He strongly emphasized the theme of Hellenic patriotism. Plethon's final and most controversial work, the *Book of Laws*, is a synthesis of Neoplatonism and a belief in the Olympian gods, expressly stating that ZEUS is the supreme god, and including prayers, hymns, and a liturgy to the pagan gods. It survives only in fragments, some autograph, as most of the treatise was burned posthumously by Scholarios.

ED. PG 160:821–1020. *Differences*—ed. B. Lagarde, *Byzantion* 43 (1973) 312–43. *Traité des Lois*, ed. C. Alexandre (Paris 1858; rp. Amsterdam 1966), with Fr. tr.; Russ. tr. I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 171–241. *Georges Gémiste Pléthon: Traité des vertus*, ed. B. Tambrun-Krasker (Athens-Leiden 1987). For complete list, see Woodhouse, *infra* xvi–xix.

LIT. C.M. Woodhouse, *George Gemistos Plethon* (Oxford 1986). F. Masai, *Pléthon et le platonisme de Mistra* (Paris 1956). –A.M.T.

PLETHRON (*πλέθρον*), an ancient measure of length mentioned in some Byz. metrological tables but not in documentary texts. From the 11th C. onward the *plethron*, called also *plinthos*, was used as a special measure for vineyards (= 600 sq. ORGYIAI or 600 sq. KALAMOI). Depending on the customs of viticulture the *plethron* varies between 1,184 sq. m and 2,818 sq. m.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 30–32, 81–83. –E. Sch.

PLISKA (*Πλίσκοβα*), first capital of BULGARIA, near the village of Aboba in northeastern Bulgaria. The name is Slavic, but no trace has been found of the presumed Slav settlement. The earliest Bulgarian settlement, traditionally (but without archaeological substantiation) assigned to ASPARUCH, was doubtless a tented camp. The foundations of two tent-shaped wooden buildings represent a more permanent settlement but cannot be dated. By the beginning of the 9th C. substantial stone buildings surrounded by a defensive wall stood in the center of the area, while an outer line of earthworks revetted with stone 21 km long enclosed an area of 2,300 hectares, which held many Slav-type small square semi subterranean buildings used as workshops, dwellings, market buildings, stables, and places of worship. This was the Pliska of KRUM, which Nikephoros I sacked and burned in 811. OMURTAG constructed some presumed religious buildings and a new and larger palace, which was a small fortress of beautifully cut stone from nearby Roman sites; the overall design of rectilinear rooms around the perimeter and basilican rooms within shows reliance on late Roman prototypes such as the palace of Diocletian at SPLIT.

After the conversion of Bulgaria in 864 the religious buildings were adapted for Christian use and a large basilica with an attached monastery built (but cf. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 301), where the disciples of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS continued their work. Pliska's pagan associations were strong, however, and may have contributed to the anti-Christian revolt after BORIS I abdicated in 893. SYMEON OF BULGARIA established a new capital at PRESLAV, and Pliska was gradually abandoned. It remained to the end a vast enclosed camp with scattered buildings rather than a typical medieval city. In 999/1000 the generals Theodorokanos the *patrikios* and Nikephoros Xiphias the *protospatharios* captured Pliska for Basil II.

LIT. F. Uspenskij, et al., "Aboba-Pliska," *IRAIK* 10 (1905) 1–596. *Pliska-Preslav,* vol. 1, ed. Ž. Vŭžarova (Sofia 1979) 44–176; vol. 4, ed. D. Angelov (1985) 7–131. R. Rashev, "Pliska: The First Capital of Bulgaria," in *Ancient Bulgaria,* ed. A.G. Poulter, vol. 2 (Nottingham 1983) 255–69. Idem, *Pliska: Pŭtevoditel* (Sofia 1985). T. Totev, "Les monastères de Pliska et Preslav aux IX^e–X^e siècles: Aperçu archéologique," *BS* 48 (1987) 185–200. –R.B., E.C.S.

PLOIMOS. See NAVY.

PLOTINOS, Neoplatonist philosopher; born 205, died near Rome 270. Plotinos studied philosophy in Alexandria with Ammonios Sakkas. After joining Gordian III's Persian expedition (243), he set up a philosophical school in Rome, where he had close ties with the Roman senatorial class and with Gallienus. His project of an ideal city (Platonopolis), however, was not realized. His pupils Amelius and esp. PORPHYRY assured the influence of Plotinos's interpretation of Plato (NEOPLATONISM) on the philosophical schools of late antiquity. Porphyry published a *Life of Plotinos* and edition (the *Enneads*) of Plotinos's works, commentaries, and a digest of Plotinian philosophy (the *Sentences*). Plotinos is quoted by Eusebios of Caesarea, Cyril of Alexandria, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Aineias of Gaza, the *On the Holy Spirit* attributed to Basil the Great, Augustine, Ambrose, Macrobius, and other writers in late antiquity.

Besides this impact on the philosophy, theology, and literature of the late Roman empire, Plotinos may have influenced through his AESTHETICS the art of the period (Grabar, *Fin Ant.* 1:15–29). In the 6th C. JOHN OF SKYTHOPOLIS used the *Enneads* in commenting on pseudo-Dionysios. Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES dedicated a mimetic letter to Plotinos. Michael PSELLOS made many excerpts from the *Enneads* as well as from the otherwise lost *Commentary on Plotinos* of PROKLOS. The earliest MSS of the *Enneads* date from the 12th and 13th C., when a Plotinian *florilegium* was composed.

Plotinos was also read by Theodore Metochites, Nikephoros Choumnos, Nikephoros Gregoras, Plethon, Gennadios II Scholarios, and Bessarion. Plotinos appealed to this select group of Christian intellectuals because of his emphasis on the existence, beyond this world, of an immaterial world (the "fatherland" of the soul), an emphasis that, while avoiding a dualistic opposition of the two worlds, called the soul to a virtuous life that would lead it to transcend its materialistic preoccupations. If Plotinos's philosophy was not as closely tied to pagan religion as that of his successors (Proklos, for example), it contained certain ideas, esp. concerning psychology, whose incompatibility with Christian doctrine did not escape the notice of some of his Byz. readers.

ED. *Plotini Enneades,* ed. P. Henry, H.-R. Schwyzer, 3 vols. (Paris-Brussels-Leiden 1951–73), editio maior, revised in the editio minor, 3 vols. (Oxford 1964–82). *Plotinus,* ed. A.H. Armstrong, 7 vols. (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1966–88), with Eng. tr.

LIT. J.M. Rist, *Plotinus: The Road to Reality* (Cambridge 1967). D. O'Meara, "Plotinus," *Catalogus translationum et commentariorum,* vol. 7 (Washington, D.C., 1989). H.-R. Schwyzer, *RE* 21 (1951) 471–592, 1276; supp. 15 (1978) 310–28. –D.O'M.

PLOVDIV. See PHILIPPOPOLIS.

PLOW (*ἄροτρον*). The use of the sole-ard or "scratch" type plow continued from Roman times. Its parts, as identified in illustrations of Hesiod's *Works and Days* (for comparison with Roman plows, see K.D. White, *Agricultural Implements of the Roman World* [Cambridge 1967] 129, fig.104), may be distinguished as follows: *gyes* (plow beam), *istoboeus* (yoke beam), *echetle* (stilt), *elyma* (share beam), and the *hynis* (plowshare). The plow beam (well delineated in Venice, Marc. gr. 464, fol.34r) is the curved portion of the plow that unites the share beam with the yoke beam. The share beam, the essential part of the plow, narrowed to a point and was frequently protected by an iron tang to reduce friction and prevent splintering. Attached

horizontally by doweling to the plow beam and through it to the yoke beam, the sole was dragged by a pair of work animals, usually oxen, through the top layer of soil, loosening and depositing it on both sides of the resultant furrow. The exact depth of the furrow was determined by the stilt, while the oxen were controlled by a goad (*boukentron*). By cutting through only the upper layers of soil, moisture was retained below, an important consideration in semiarid regions such as Greece and Anatolia, where winters may be wet but the summers are hot and dry. The sole-ard plow was used in medieval Bulgaria and Wallachia, but perhaps by the 10th C. asymmetrical plows, which cut to much greater depths and turned the slices, were in use north of the Danube. Plows made from tree stumps, with one branch hitched to a team of oxen and another serving as the share, are frequently depicted in the OCTATEUCHS and Job MSS.

LIT. Z. Mihail, "South-East European Ethnolinguistic 'Convergences' (in the Field of Agricultural Implements)," *RESEE* 24 (1986) 179–89. A.P. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 219f. –J.W.N., A.C.

PLUMBING AND HEATING. Country houses and those of ordinary townspeople had practically no plumbing; these people got their water from cisterns, wells, or springs, the mouths of which could be lined by stone walls (E. Darko, *EEBS* 10 [1933] 471f); LATRINES were located outside the main building; and the house was heated by braziers and a kitchen oven. According to TZETZES (ep.18, p.33.3–16), even a three-story house in Constantinople could be built without drains, and Michael Choniates (Mich.Akom. 2:235f) describes a country bathhouse in which smoke and soot from the hearth filled the air. More complicated appliances (including HYPOCAUST, the system of ducts under the floor) were in use in urban public BATHS, monasteries, mansions, and palaces. In Corinth numerous short stretches of drains, water channels, and tile water pipes have been discovered (Scranton, *Architecture* 133). In bathhouses the water was heated in a boiler (*kaminion*); it also supplied the room with heat through the hypocaust. Monasteries had a system of water-closets (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 40–42) as well as laundry rooms placed outside main buildings and provided with marble basins for washing, caldrons to heat the water, and stone drains (ibid. 138–43). A special plumbing system was used in wine shops, such as the "Grape Emporium" in Corinth where the floor was reconstructed of Roman marble slabs sealed with waterproofed cement and supplied with a tile pipe leading to a *pithos* (Scranton, *Architecture* 74). In Mistra similar devices served to collect wine as well as precious rain water from the roof (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 56f).

LIT. T. Ivanov, "Proučvanija vŭrchu chipokausta ot rimskata i rannovizantijskata epocha v Bŭlgarija," *Archeologija* 13 (1971) 23–44. H. Buchwald, "Lascarid Architecture," *JÖB* 28 (1979) 268. A. Berger, *Das Bad in der byzantinischen Zeit* (Munich 1982) 102–08. –A.K.

PLUTARCH (Πλούταρχος), Greek essayist and biographer; born Chaeronea, Boeotia ca.46, died ca.120. The so-called *Catalog of Lamprias* (3rd or 4th C.) lists 227 works of Plutarch that can be divided into two major groups, *Lives* and miscellaneous writings, or *Moralia*; 83 of them have survived. In addition are 18 other works as well as fragments of 15 essays not listed in the *Catalog*. The *Souda* erroneously attributed the *Catalog* to Plutarch's son. In certain MSS a short letter (which is a 13th- or 14th-C. forgery) prefaces Plutarch's works and repeats this misinformation.

Plutarch was popular with the Neoplatonists (Proklos, Damaskios), rhetoricians (Themistios), and biographers (Eunapios) of the 4th–5th C. Even Latin authors such as Macrobius knew him. Church fathers also used Plutarch: Isidore of Pelousion studied him diligently, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus respected Plutarch and believed that he had read the Gospels. In the 6th C. Plutarch was translated into Syriac. After Agathias's praise of Plutarch (late 6th C.), his name disappeared from Greek texts until the 9th C., when Photios used one volume of a collection of the *Lives* and approved of Plutarch's moral principles (*Bibl.*, cod.161, ed. Henry, 2:126.36–38). The oldest extant MSS of the *Lives* are from the 10th C.; there were probably two editions in two and in three volumes respectively. The *Moralia*, however, survived only in dispersed groups; it was PLANOUDES who first assembled the previously ignored essays (the so-called *Corpus Planudeanum* in Paris [B.N. gr. 1671], which also contained the *Lives*). Some MSS of Plutarch's *Lives* have scholia based probably on the notes of ARETHAS OF CAESAREA (M. Manfredini, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 83–119).

Plutarch was highly appreciated and imitated

in Byz. R. Jenkins (*Studies*, pt.I [1948] 73) hypothesized that Constantine VII's portrait of Michael III in the *Vita Basilii* "is a conflation of the worst features of Plutarch's Antony with a now unidentifiable part of Plutarch's Nero." John MAUROPOUS (epigram 43) prayed that God would spare the souls of Plato and Plutarch, whose lives "in word and character adhere closely to Thy laws." Tzetzes, forced by poverty to sell his books, retained only a volume of mathematical texts and his copy of Plutarch's *Lives*. Theodore Metochites relied heavily on the "most learned Plutarch" as a historical source (I. Ševčenko in *Kariye Djami* 4:38, 41f).

LIT. K. Ziegler, "Plutarchos," *RE* 21 (1951) 696–702, 947–54. D.A. Russell, *Plutarch* (London 1973) 18f, 143–47. Wilson, *Scholars* 151, 190f, 235f. A. Garzya, G. Giangrande, M. Manfredini, *Sulla tradizione manoscritta dei "Moralia di Plutarco"* (Salerno 1988). – A.K., K.S.

PNEUMATIKOS PATER. See PATER PNEUMATIKOS.

PNEUMATOMACHOI (Πνευματομάχοι, "those who fought [the divinity of] the Spirit"), referring to those who taught that the HOLY SPIRIT was a created being, the gift of God, rather than God himself. From 362 onward, strict Nicaeans, led by ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, sought to exclude from the church those who held the Spirit to be a created being. In 367 some HOMOOUSIANS, under the leadership of Eustathios of Sebasteia and Silvanos of Tarsos, stated their desire to maintain the traditional ambiguity of church doctrine concerning the Holy Spirit and to emphasize the charismatic experiences of their ascetic life as the manifestations of the Spirit. By their adversaries they were called Pneumatomachoi, or Macedonians after they had drawn near to the radical homoousian faction, that is, to Eleusios of Kyzikos and Marathonios of Nikomedeia, both students of Makedonios of Constantinople (died before 364). The Pneumatomachoi were condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381, but survived until Nestorios closed their churches in the 5th C.

LIT. H. Dörries, *De Spiritu Sancto* (Göttingen 1956). W.-D. Hauschild, *Gottes Geist und der Mensch* (Munich 1972). –K.-H.U.

PODANDOS. See CILICIAN GATES.

POETRY. Byz. poetry may be categorized as either secular or ecclesiastical and within these broad groups by level of language (learned or popular). The rules of Byz. RHETORIC frequently blur the distinctions now felt to exist between PROSE and poetry, both as to form and to the subjects appropriate to each medium. Accurate composition in the meters with classical antecedents (chiefly the HEXAMETER, the DODECASYLLABLE, and the ANACREONTIC) was a demanding task. Accomplished writing in archaizing forms and language was achieved only by a comparatively small group of literati; their work was comprehended outside that group with difficulty. It is a problem that up to the 11th C. there seems to be no surviving verse likely to appeal to a popular and uneducated audience. In the later period, poetry that was intended to reach a wider audience—those attending a court ceremonial, a half-educated patroness, or a class of children—was frequently composed in the POLITICAL VERSE. Poetry in the popular language was composed almost exclusively in this METER; since much of the surviving popular poetry shows features frequently associated with oral poetry it is likely that much more poetry of this sort was in circulation than is now preserved in written form. RHYME, originally a rhetorical device used sparingly, appears regularly only in couplets in late popular texts. No metrical form was used exclusively for any one purpose; thus in the 12th C. greetings for an imperial victor could be expressed in hexameters, dodecasyllables, or political verse (as well as in prose).

Poetry at both the learned and the popular level of the language served many purposes in Byz. It functioned as a means of expressing personal emotions (nowadays probably perceived as poetry's major role, but, in a rhetorically conditioned society such as Byz., perhaps the least highly regarded). Under this heading would come the EPIGRAMS or short poems (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS, PALLADAS, AGATHIAS, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, or John MAUROPOUS) on topics ranging from the lighthearted to the serious; one could also include the pleas of PTOCHOPRODROMOS or the love songs of the EROTOPAIGNIA or a lament (THRENOS) for a captured city.

Poetry was used for the formal expression of appropriate sentiments on official occasions. It received both state and private patronage—for

MONODIES, EPITHALAMIA, and speeches of welcome on the return of a victorious emperor as well as for a wide variety of other "occasional verse," such as dedicatory epigrams on church vessels, icons, vestments, etc.

Poetry, esp. in the easily memorable political verse, was also a medium for instruction. Examples include the textbooks written by Psellos for his pupil Michael VII, the anonymous schedographical *lexika*, the genealogical handbook on the Olympian deities by TZETZES, his verse commentary on the allusions in his letters, the chronicle of Constantine MANASSES. Probably closer to the circulating oral material were the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the advice of the SPANEAS poem.

By the 12th C. and later, narrative poetry had become a medium for a literature of entertainment. Texts could be long, as in romances such as *Drosilla and Charikles* of Niketas EUGENEIANOS or BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA, the epic-romance DIGENES AKRITAS, or the satirical POULOLOGOS; or short, as in the TRAGOUDIA.

At the learned level of the language, all poets (except those working in political verse) were constrained by the literary and formal conventions of the classical past, which dictated grammatical forms, lexical items, and a repertoire of historical and mythological references. They were under pressure to demonstrate their mastery of the linguistic and metrical medium, frequently by the presentation of showpieces before an audience. Thus John Tzetzes feared his rivals' reactions should he misuse the dichronous vowels or use a nonclassical word, and he regretted that a patron compelled him to use the undemanding political verse rather than display his prowess with hexameters (which were barely comprehensible even to the educated).

The regard in which the classical authors of pagan antiquity were held and the need felt to adapt their poetry to a Christian society are demonstrated, for example, by the CENTOS of the empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA or the anonymous CHRISTOS PASCHON, where strings of verses from Homer or the tragedians were strung together to form a new theologically based narrative. Nevertheless, despite this high regard and the conservative linguistic pressures of the schools, the major poetical genres of classical literature—EPIC, DRAMA, LYRIC—did not persist into Byz. unaltered. Though NONNOS still constructs epic recognizably on the ancient patterns, the *Bellum Avaricum* of GEORGE OF PISIDIA and *Digenes Akritas* are epics very different from those of Homer. Though the *Katomyomachia* of Theodore PRODROMOS demonstrates that the classical tragedians were read attentively, the dramatic literature of Byz. was found in the KONTAKION and other HYMNS and the liturgy, rather than on the stage. The epigrams of John Mauropous or JOHN GEOMETRES do not use the range of lyric meters available in late antiquity.

Poetry in Byz. was written almost entirely by men (Athenais-Eudokia and KASSIA are among the rare exceptions), and by men of considerable education. Though poetry in the popular language must have existed for centuries, it appears first in the 12th C., apparently as a linguistic experiment by educated writers; only from the 14th C. do popular texts of any length survive, but almost all are anonymous and not even the place of composition is certain.

LIT. B. Baldwin, *An Anthology of Byzantine Poetry* (Amsterdam 1985). L. Politis, *Poietike anthologia* (Athens 1975–77). Hunger, *Lit.* 2:87–180. Beck, *Volksliteratur*. –E.M.J.

POETRY, ECCLESIASTICAL, verse used during the LITURGY or in religious contexts. Much of the liturgy in the Orthodox church consists of HYMNS; some are brief, such as STICHERA and TROPARIA, meditations inserted between the verses of a psalm; others are longer, such as KONTAKIA and KANONES, reflections on the nine biblical odes. In all these the lines and OIKOI (stanzas) are structured on complex patterns of corresponding stressed syllables, following the rhythms of the spoken language, rather than the artificial long and short syllables of classical Greek prosody; the *oikoi* are often linked by ACROSTICS. Some religious poetry was written in the classical meters (e.g., by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS and SYNESIOS of Cyrene) for private, rather than liturgical, use. Most nonliturgical devotional poetry (like the hymns of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN or the penitential alphabets of various authors) used the stress meters, chiefly the POLITICAL VERSE. Though not untouched by the conventions of RHETORIC, ecclesiastical poetry remained generally closer to the spoken than the formal language. EPIGRAMS (dedicatory inscriptions in a variety of meters) were sometimes, esp. in late Byz., attached to icons,

church ornaments, or vestments by their donors; in form they are indistinguishable from secular poetry.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 262–66. –E.M.J.

POETRY, ORAL. Although oral poetry may be studied through references to oral singers and singing, often, paradoxically, the main evidence is from written texts, those showing performance details and stylistic features associated in other cultures with oral poetry. In Byz. independent references are few—a scrappy but continuous series from the 9th C. onward mentioning singers and "heroic songs," perhaps TRAGOUDIA, one or more of which may be reflected in works such as DIGENES AKRITAS. However, most surviving Byz. poetry before the 12th C. is at a learned linguistic and metrical level, composed in writing for an educated audience. Lack of evidence for oral songs for and by the uneducated, however, is not an indication that no such songs existed: the question is whether scholarly analysis can be subtle enough to find them in the centralized and archaizing society of Byz.

More particular arguments for the existence of oral poetry derive from vernacular texts from the 14th C. onward: the POLITICAL VERSE in which almost all these texts appear, which had had a long tradition at a level despised by the learned; the poems' diachronic language mixture, resembling the oral language of Homer, which allows metrical flexibility and rapid composition; the high proportion of repeated half-lines or "formulas"; the widely differing versions of texts preserved in more than one MS. Such arguments are accepted in other linguistic environments as signs that surviving texts were deeply influenced by oral poetry. It is unlikely, however, that any Byz. text is a direct record of oral performance.

Oral poetry can take many forms. In Byz. the evidence is clearest for narrative oral poetry, resembling the vernacular ROMANCES (e.g., the WAR OF TROY, the ACHILLEIS, IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA, BELISARIOS, LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE) or chronicles, such as the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO. Shorter, lyric oral poetry also existed, however, as demonstrated by the EROTOPAIGNIA or the songs embedded in the *Achilleis* and *Libistros and Rhodamne*. (See also ACCLAMATIONS.)

LIT. E.M. & M.J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1.3 (1986) 504–47. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

POETS, WANDERING, a conventional term introduced by Cameron (*infra*) for the "school" of poets of the 4th and 5th C. Primarily of Egyptian origin, they came mainly from Panopolis and the neighboring area (Thebes, Koptos), from Alexandria and even Cyrenaica (D. Runia, *Historia* 28 [1979] 254–56). To this "school" belonged CLAUDIAN, PALLADAS, CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS, OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, PAMPREPIOS, KYROS, TRIPHIODOROS, and others. They were professional poets, paid sometimes at the rate of one solidus per line or rewarded with rich spouses; they traveled throughout the empire, taught grammar, and recited their verses in public. Some of them became politically influential and acquired high positions and titles. The majority were pagan, and they wrote primarily in Greek. They worked in such genres as *enkomion*, invective, *epithalamion*, epigram, and epic.

LIT. Al. Cameron, "Wandering Poets: A Literary Movement in Byzantine Egypt," *Historia* 14 (1965) 470–509. –A.K.

POIMANENON (Ποιμανηνόν), a small fortified town (*polichnion*) where a Church of the Archangel Michael was erected (Akrop. 35.1). Ansbert (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), however, distinguishes between "Ypomenon" and "Archangelos," the town and the castle (MGH *SRG* n.s. 5 [1928] 72). Poimanenon was located south of the Sea of Marmara (probably at modern Eski Manyas) overlooking a rich plain and controlling a major route into the interior. This plain witnessed two battles between the LATIN EMPIRE of Constantinople and the Laskarids (see LASKARIS). Païen of Orleans and PETER OF BRACIEUX, leading 140 knights (and mounted sergeants), encountered THEODORE I LASKARIS with a larger force at Poimanenon on 6 Dec. 1204. Since the Byz. were unable to withstand the Latins' onslaught, the Crusaders won a victory that gave them possession of the coastal lands of the Marmara up to PROUSA (Villehardouin, 2:112–14, 126–29; Nik.Chon. 601f). After the accession of JOHN III VATATZES, Theodore I's brothers Alexios and Isaac deserted to the Latins; in 1224 they led a large Crusader army against the Byz. At

Poimanenon, the Latin knights at first triumphed, but Vatatzes rallied his men to victory. Consequently, Vatatzes regained most of the Latin Empire's territory in Anatolia and seized footholds in Europe (Akrop. 1:34–36).

LIT. Ramsay, *Asia Minor* 157f. Longnon, *Empire latin* 161f. Janin, *Églises centres* 206f. –C.M.B., C.F., A.K.

POLAND (Λαχία, Πόλτζα, Πολανία). Traces of Byz. contact with Poland date from the 10th C. in finds of Byz. coins and perhaps in references by Constantine VII to the Lenzanenoi and to the unbaptized Litzike on the Visla (*De adm. imp.* 9.10, 33.19). Mieszko received Christianity from CZECHIA in 966 (see also POLISH LITERATURE). His son Boleslav I (ca.995–1025) was made *patrikios* and possibly caesar by OTTO III, and in 1018 he briefly occupied KIEV. Boleslav IV (1146–73), "king of the Lechoi, a tribe of Scythians" (Kinn. 84.12–13) participated in the Second Crusade. An anonymous poet of the 12th C. praised Manuel I for his victories over six kings, including those of the Czechs and Poles-Lechoi (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," nos. 318.13, 320.6–7).

Casimir III (1333–70) annexed most of GALITZA and Volynia and wrote in 1370 to Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS informing him that the Polish king, together with his "princes [*rhegades*] and *archontes*" of those parts of RHOSIA, elected a certain Antony as Orthodox metropolitan, and asking for patriarchal confirmation (MM 1:578.6–12, cf. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2622). After Poland's union with LITHUANIA in 1386 it was on several occasions asked to join an alliance against the TURKS: for instance, by Patr. Antony IV in 1397, by Emp. Manuel II in 1412, by the ambassador Manuel Philanthropenos in 1420. The proposal was not adopted until VLADISLAV III JAGELLO undertook the Crusade of VARNA. A 15th-C. historian (Chalk. 1:124.23–125.2) states that the Poles (Polanoi) spoke a language similar to that of the Russians.

LIT. Vlasto, *Entry* 113–42. O. Halecki, "La Pologne et l'empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 41–67. N. Davies, *God's Playground: A History of Poland*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1981) 61–155. –S.C.F.

POLEMIC, RELIGIOUS, a branch of theological literature whose purpose was to attack a disputed theological position and justify the attacker's own stance. Unlike INVECTIVE, polemical works were directed primarily against ideologies rather than individuals; the objects of polemic were pagans, Jews, Muslims (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST), Latins, and heretics. Polemical works took various forms: a collection of essays (*panoplia*), treatise (ANTIRRHETIKOS, APOLOGY, etc.), DIALOGUE, letter, *kephalaia* (CHAPTERS), *elenchos* (examination). Among the greatest polemicists were JOHN OF DAMASCUS, PHOTIOS, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, and MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS. The main features of polemic were exaggeration *ad absurdum* of the adversary's error and the demonstration of the adversary's deviation from traditional (biblical or patristic) views or repetition of old mistakes. Thus the polemicists tried to equate new ideological movements with early heresies condemned by the authority of ecumenical councils and great teachers of the church. –A.K., E.M.J.

POLEMIUS SILVIUS, Latin writer; fl. Gaul 5th C. In the biography of his friend Hilary of Arles Polemius is described as a famous author. A chronicle entry for 438 less flatteringly says he suffered mental trouble after palace service and turned to writing about religion. His *List* [*Laterculus*] *of Roman Princes,* dedicated to Eucherius, bishop of Lyons (ca.434–50), was written in 448–49 under Valentinian III. This calendar-cum-register, which comports a list of emperors from Julius Caesar to Valentinian III, is useful for its lists of provinces in East and West, sometimes a valuable adjunct to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. It is much more reliable and (for its day) up-to-date for the West, esp. Gaul, than the East, owing probably to a combination of Polemius's own geographical location and the relative merits of his sources (impossible to ascertain precisely). The work is otherwise something of a ragbag, with pagan material ostentatiously downplayed and miscellaneous remarks on (e.g.) grammar and meteorology inserted.

ED. T. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 9.1:511–51.

LIT. T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 7 (Berlin 1909) 633–67. J.B. Bury, "The Provincial List of Verona," *JRS* 13 (1923) 149–51. A. Chastagnol, "Notes chronologiques sur l'Histoire Auguste et le Laterculus de Polemius Silvius," *Historia* 4 (1955) 173–88. –B.B.

POLEMOS TES TROADOS. See WAR OF TROY.

POLIS (πόλις), the principal term, inherited from antiquity, to designate a CITY. Other terms applied to the city were *asty*, *polisma*, and *polichne*, which had essentially the same meaning as *polis*. A larger city, such as Alexandria, Antioch, or Thessalonike, was sometimes referred to as a *megalopolis* ("great city"), whereas the term *komopolis* (lit. "country city") was used in narrative sources for a sizable village. Constantinople had a special designation—the "imperial city" or the "Queen of Cities." A. Carile (*StVen* 7 [1965] 227) suggested, however, that the term *polis* was employed primarily for Constantinople, whereas other cities were called KASTRA (he gives the single example of Smyrna [MM 4:9.1]). At any rate, the term *kastron* seems to have prevailed in Byz. Italy (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 145f), while in Byz. proper both terms were used interchangeably. Even Thessalonike—usually defined as a *polis*—could be described as a *kastron* (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 121.1537). In the 15th C. in addition to *polis* many terms were used for town, esp. *chora* and *kastro* (the vernacular form), and the distinction between them was vague: thus the *Chronicle of the Tocco* calls Ioannina a *polis*, *chora*, and *kastro* (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 172).
–A.K.

POLISH LITERATURE. Almost all extant Polish writing from the Middle Ages is in Latin. References to Byz. occur occasionally in annals and chronicles, esp. the monumental compilative history of Jan Długosz (died 1480), who includes an account of the fall of Constantinople in 1453 (I. Dujčev, *BS* 17 [1956] 329–33; see KONSTANTIN MIHAILOVIĆ OF OSTROVICA). Indirect evidence suggests that the Slavonic Rite may have been used in Poland until the late 11th C., though both its status and the extent of its proliferation are uncertain. The earliest surviving works in Polish are the fragmentary *Sermons of the Holy Cross* from the 14th C.; the only work with a clearly Byz. literary connection (probably via CZECH LITERATURE) is the hymn *Bogurodzica*, which cannot be securely dated to before the 14th C. (S. Urbańczyk, *Pamiętki literacki* 69.1 [1978] 35–70); the relative importance of its native, Byz., and Czech inspiration is a matter of controversy.

ED. *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* n.s. 2–8 (1952–70). Długosz, *Opera omnia* 10–14, ed. A. Przezdziecki (Krakow 1873–78). *Bogurodzica*, ed. J. Woronczak (Warsaw-Krakow 1962).

LIT. K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland* (Rome 1961). A. Stender-Petersen, "Die Kirillo-Methodianische Tradition bei den Polen," in *Cyrillo-Methodiana*, ed. M. Hellmann (Cologne-Graz 1964) 440–69. J. Krzyzanowski, *A History of Polish Literature* (Warsaw 1978) 1–25.
–S.C.F.

POLITICAL STRUCTURE. Byz. never possessed a written constitution and the forces that did produce political decisions in Byz. present a difficult, shifting picture. Individual elements within the broader political structure grew and changed organically, but the Byz. mentality's obsession with TAXIS and with maintaining ancient forms and terms and applying them to new realities conceals development in the articulation of political structure.

The primordial component of political structure was the monarchy, totalitarian in ambition and ideology, absolute in its power to intervene directly in every aspect of Byz. life and government. Typically, other elements of the political structure defined themselves in terms of the precedence, that is, the proximity and nature of their relation to the EMPEROR. Emperors were usually able to dominate other constituents of the political structure: for example, patriarchs were deposed or humiliated and aristocrats' estates were confiscated. The monarchy was hemmed in by custom and expectations, however, and failure or behavior not consonant with them led to the upheavals that often toppled emperors (A. Kazhdan, *Narody Azii i Afriki*, no.6 [1966] 52–64, 195). Emperors were particularly limited when several elements of the political structure opposed them, such as when church, bureaucracy, and Constantinople's population coalesced against Michael V. The emperor's personal servants (e.g., *kouboukleion*) within his palace were influential; when, like Empress IRENE or the last Macedonians, emperors wished to govern without interference from the bureaucracy or army, the outsider status of palace eunuchs such as STAURAKIOS or JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS brought them unusual political power.

The Byz. state machinery was extraordinarily developed, efficient, and expensive by medieval standards. It accomplished—or stymied—the emperor's will by regimenting the population, by administering justice, and by extracting taxes that paid for troops and officials. The BUREAUCRACY

created and employed much of the aristocracy and might compete with the emperor for control of the political structure. By a combination of design and historical accident, however, the extreme fragmentation of functions and power (9th–10th-C. finances alone—an asset indispensable for revolution—were divided among nine separate officials and subordinate services, each of which reported directly to the emperor [Oikonomides, *Listes* 312–19]) as well as overlapping jurisdictions, the combination of disparate competences (e.g., *logothetes tou dromou*), and the fact that offices were held at imperial pleasure made it difficult for the bureaucracy to unite in opposing the emperor. The SENATE constituted more a social order of active and retired functionaries than a political body capable of acting on an institutional basis.

The church was a *de facto* political force within the political structure, but its political power lacked constitutional status. The depositions of Byz. patriarchs suggest that their power was weakened by loose authority over bishops, the emperor's privileges within the church, and the patriarch's physical proximity to him. Nonetheless, the secular church's prestige and role in publicly recognizing the emperor's Orthodox LEGITIMACY gave the PATRIARCHATE an influence that could sometimes stalemate imperial power. The monastic church's decentralization diffused the political and economic impact of individual monastic communities, although it could provide a political irritant, as it did during Iconoclasm.

The military enjoyed a privileged place in the political structure and was always a factor to be reckoned with. Yet it, too, divided into separate vertical lines of organization answering directly to the emperor, such as the distinctions among *themata* with their dispersed geographic basis, TAGMATA, and palace units like the VIGLA or the HETAIREIAI, whose foreign mercenaries stood outside the social and cultural networks that might have fostered political cooperation with other units. The bureaucracy's role in financing and equipping the troops limited their freedom of action and provoked constant frictions in the provinces, thanks to the army's extensive and ill-defined role in local administration.

Local power was controlled as tightly as possible from Constantinople, whence came the governors, tax registrars, and inspectors; the emperor saw to it that judicial appeals were made from the provinces and the general effect was administration from above. At the same time, however, ethnic colonies within the empire might enjoy autonomy (e.g., SKLAVINIAI). Provincial cities possessed a relatively extensive self-administration, although an imperial governor from Constantinople was often present. The significance of cities in the political structure was greatest from the 4th to the 6th C. and esp. in late Byz., when some were able to extract privileges from the emperor.

The capital as a whole enjoyed unique status within the political structure as a source of legitimacy and as the impregnable reservoir of power. This was where the principal organs of the Byz. political structure were headquartered, esp. when Constantinople acquired an exceptional position thanks to the loss of Alexandria and Antioch. The influence of Constantinople increased as its population and commerce revived.

Although late Roman emperors had feared urban riots and ultimately mastered the FACTIONS, demographic collapse neutralized the people, who played little role in the theory and practice of the political structure after the 7th C., as the Byz. notion of *demokratia* (see DEMOCRACY) suggests. Imperial law insisted that popular sovereignty had been transferred definitively to the emperor (e.g., scholion to *Basil.* 60.46.1) and the people were considered to have fulfilled their political duties when they obeyed imperial commands, paid their taxes, or participated in ceremonies. Just how insignificant they were considered is revealed by the way *laos* is used unconsciously to refer to the elite and the army (e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 71, n.130, 194, n.27).

From Constantine I to the Komnenoi, institutions supplied the key criterion in each social element's relations to the emperor. Even the lowest-born individuals could play a decisive role if they occupied an essential institutional position within the political structure. From the time of the Komnenoi, however, kinship supplanted institutions, as power flowed from family proximity to the emperor.

The late Roman political structure recognized a role for the senate, army, people, and to a lesser degree the church, as is reflected, for example, in imperial ACCLAMATION and coronation. Within certain bounds, such as allegiance to the reigning emperor, some diversity of opinion might be tolerated, but it was risky. Diffuse power persisted

in the great cities' masses and, once the government had settled in Constantinople, emperors paid nervous attention to the FACTIONS and the crowds' acclamations. Nonetheless, even the serious NIKA REVOLT threatened the throne only when senatorial malcontents attempted to graft a USURPATION onto the disturbances. At this time power was securely anchored in the army, which produced a majority of new emperors. The central bureaucracy's status grew considerably in the 5th C., culminating in the election of Anastasios I and recruitment of subsequent emperors from the palace milieu.

The military crises of the 7th–8th C. brought soldier emperors to the fore, as the state's dimensions and resources shrank. The central bureaucracy successfully opposed Constans II's plan to move the capital back to Italy, but theme commanders subsequently dominated the political structure, supplying numerous emperors and usurpers as Constantinople's population dwindled. The church became mired in doctrinal disputes with political overtones, like MONOTHELETISM and ICONOCLASM, and proved unable to thwart the imperial will.

The last great revolt of the themes failed with THOMAS THE SLAV (820–23). The next two centuries were a period of centralization and organization in which the bureaucratic oligarchy and central military command competed for political center stage in Constantinople, reflected in controversy and codification of precedence and CEREMONY. The church had increased its prestige and ambition after Iconoclasm, but patriarchs who overestimated their political weight were deposed. By the 11th C., Constantinople's nonsenatorial population was flourishing again and began to claim a political role (S. Vryonis, *DOP* 17 [1963] 289–314; Lemerle, *Cinq études* 287–93), esp. through the guilds, some of whose members gained senatorial status on the eve of the Komnenoi.

The Komnenoi and their successors in Nicaea attempted to transform the political structure fundamentally, along the lines of a patrimonial state in which political power was essentially reserved to members of the imperial clan and their family allies. Gradations of the political structure's hierarchy now reflected the degree of kinship between the dignitary and the emperor. The expansion of the senate was blocked or undone and the church's growing power was curtailed along with that of the city, which provided so many of its officers.

The Latin Empire's feudal, centrifugal character spawned autonomous territorial entities on the model of Western principalities, which sometimes united Greek and Frankish lineages and survived the Latin Empire's collapse. Direct intervention by foreign powers in Byz. internal politics became a permanent component of the political structure.

Paradoxically, the tiny Palaiologan state, with its APPANAGE system, was the most politically decentralized in the empire's history. Its ambitions far outstripped its capacities. The political structure combined the imperial clan system with a feudalized state. The effort to secure political support degenerated into civil war, and the political structure was further fragmented by attempts to win loyalty through the concession of heritable PRONOIAI, IMMUNITIES, and municipal franchises. The political structure failed to integrate the emerging territorial or urban forces, such as Thessalonike's ZEALOTS. As the emperors' power base and prestige contracted, that of the church expanded since patriarchal spiritual authority ran much further than the emperor's writ, allowing patriarchs and dissident factions to paralyze and even alter imperial policy, such as Union of the Churches.

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.XII (1966), 22–47. Idem, "*Nomos, Kanon* und Staatsraison in Byzanz," *Sitzungsberichte der österreichische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-historische Klasse* 384 (1981) 1–60. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 249–312. Hendy, *Economy*. –M.McC.

POLITICAL VERSE (πολιτικὸς στίχος, "city verse" or more likely "verse of ill repute"), a 15-syllable meter, based on word-accents, without reference to ancient patterns of long and short syllables. There is an invariable break after syllable 8 and compulsory accents on 14 and either 6 or 8 or both. Each half-line has an iambic tendency to stress even-numbered syllables, increasing in strength toward its end, as shown in the figure.

Byz. commentators derived political verse from ancient iambic and trochaic catalectic tetrameters, but this is uncertain. Political verse first appears around the 6th C. as fragments within other varied verse forms, esp. the KONTAKION, which may be coincidental (J. Koder, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 45–56). In surviving texts it was first used consistently, in learned language and at the imperial court, by

Stress Pattern of Political Verse

<table>
<tr><td>Syllable:</td><td>1</td><td>2</td><td>3</td><td>4</td><td>5</td><td>6</td><td>7</td><td>8</td><td>||</td><td>9</td><td>10</td><td>11</td><td>12</td><td>13</td><td>14</td><td>15</td></tr>
<tr><td>Stress:</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>(/</td><td>˘</td><td>˘)</td><td>||</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>(˘)</td><td>(/)</td><td>(˘)</td><td>(˘</td><td>˘</td><td>/)</td><td>||</td><td>x</td><td>x</td><td>(˘)</td><td>(/)</td><td>˘</td><td>/</td><td>˘</td></tr>
<tr><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td>(/</td><td>˘</td><td>/)</td><td>||</td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td><td></td></tr>
</table>

Key: / invariable stress; (/) frequent stress; x free in accentuation; (˘) rare stress; ˘ unstressed

SYMEON METAPHRASTES (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969/70] 185–228). It is unwise to assume, however, that the verse was the result of innovation at this cultural level. Whatever its origin, its preservation was only likely within the milieu of Byz. literati, who dominated the dissemination of the written word. Political verse may perhaps have won entry to the court by its similarity to the traditional verse of the Roman TRIUMPH. Much circumstantial evidence points to a popular origin in oral poetry (see POETRY, ORAL), particularly its use by those Byz. scholars who exploited its lack of ancient models and consequent freedom from linguistic conservatism: it was easier to use than prose in addressing half-literate patrons. It was closely connected with the breakthrough of VERNACULAR into writing; in fact it is the verse of almost all Byz. popular poetry surviving in written form. By the 14th C., the connection with poetry at an oral level, which has been stated as a hypothesis for the earlier period, seems all but certain. This fact is confirmed by the dominance of political verse in modern Greek folk song, at least since the first preserved examples from the 16th C.

LIT. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Nature and Origins of the Political Verse," *DOP* 28 (1974) 141–95. B. Lavagnini, *Alle origini del verso politico* (Palermo 1983). L. Politis, "Neoteres apopseis gia te gennese kai te dome tou dekapentasyllabou," *AkadAthPr* 56.2 (1981) 211–28. –M.J.J.

POLL TAX (from "poll," head [in men and animals]), a term of English fiscal law conventionally used in discussion of the late Roman and Byz. FISCAL SYSTEM. It means the tax levied on an individual or his animals, rather than on his land or merchandise. According to traditional views, developed in the late 19th C. by V. Vasil'evskij and retained by many modern scholars, the late Roman CAPITATIO (the levy on CAPUT) was a poll tax. After the fall of the Roman Empire it survived in the form of the HEARTH TAX (KAPNIKON) and appears in late Byz. texts under names connected with the Greek word for head, *kephale*, such as KEPHALAION and *kephalatikion*. The existence of the poll tax in the Roman Empire and Byz. has since been questioned: A. Déléage (*La capitation du Bas-Empire* [Macon 1945] 255) and Goffart (*Caput* 36, n.19) consider the *capitatio* not as a tax but as "a method of evaluation"; the equation of the hearth tax with the poll tax is doubted; and many terms interpreted by Vasil'evskij as poll tax turn out to have no such meaning.

LIT. V.G. Vasil'evskij, "Materialy dlja vnutrennej istorii Vizantijskogo gosudarstva," *ŽMNP* 210 (1880) 366–69. –A.K.

POLO. See SPORTS.

POLOS. See SPHAIRA.

POLOVTSY. See CUMANS.

POLYCYCLIC. See MONOCYCLIC AND POLYCYCLIC.

POLYELEOS (πολυέλεος), a CHANT, comprising selected verses from Psalms 134 and 135, sung during the *orthros* on Feasts of the Lord and several other times during the church year. Preserved in 14th- and 15th C. musical anthologies (*Akolouthiai*), the earliest musical settings consist of three separate melodic categories: (1) anonymous and traditional repertories that presumably contain the oldest layers of chant; (2) newer chants—personal and individual extensions of the older layers—attributed to various composers active in the 14th and 15th C.; and (3) a collection of kalophonic settings (see TERETISMATA) for certain lines from Psalm 134, which are also new compositions attributed to specific composers.

LIT. E. Williams, "The Kalophonic Tradition and Chants for the Polyeleos Psalm 134," *SEC* 4 (1979) 228–41.
–D.E.C.

POLYEUKTOS (Πολύευκτος), patriarch of Constantinople (3 Apr. 956–5 Feb. 970); born Constantinople ca.900, died Constantinople. Castrated in childhood, Polyeuktos was a monk when, after the death of Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS, he was promoted to the see of the capital. His election is mysterious: not only had a segment of the ecclesiastical hierarchy led by Nikephoros of Herakleia opposed him, but the Lekapenoi were in conflict with Polyeuktos; moreover, Constantine VII, who allegedly had chosen Polyeuktos for his wisdom, modest behavior, and praise of poverty, kept trying to depose the patriarch. One of the first measures of Polyeuktos was the restoration of Patr. EUTHYMIOS to the diptychs. In 963, when Byz. was on the verge of civil war, Polyeuktos, acting with the support of the senate, urged NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS to vow solemnly to preserve the rights of the minor sons of Romanos II. After the victory of Nikephoros, Polyeuktos consistently opposed the new emperor: he protested against the imperial edict concerning the automatic sanctification of warriors fallen in battle as well as his restrictions on monastic property. When Nikephoros was murdered, Polyeuktos demanded from JOHN I TZIMISKES the abolition of all novels promulgated by Nikephoros and the banishment of THEOPHANO, Nikephoros's widow. After John had accepted these conditions, the patriarch crowned him, stating that the coronation absolved John from the sin of murdering his predecessor. Polyeuktos placed the newly reconquered Antioch under his control: he designated the monk Theodore as patriarch of Antioch and allowed the Antiochene patriarchs to reside in their METOCHIA in Constantinople. When the Germans under Otto I increased their pressure on Rome, Polyeuktos elevated Otranto to the rank of metropolis in 968, viewing it as a point of Byz. ecclesiastical influence on Italy.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 790–97. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen 1980) 124–26. Idem, *Nomos, Kanon und Staatsraison in Byzanz* (Vienna 1981) 25–34. R. Janin, *Bibl.sanct.* 10:995f.
–A.K.

POLYEUKTOS, CHURCH OF SAINT, built between 524 and 527 by ANICIA JULIANA in the Constantianae quarter of Constantinople (mod. Saraçhane), where she owned a mansion. Inscribed in it was a long epigram (*AnthGr* 1:10) alluding to this and other unnamed foundations of hers. Despite its magnificence and prominent situation on the street leading to the Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, St. Polyeuktos has no history. A chance discovery of inscribed blocks corresponding to the text of the epigram (1960) led to excavations that revealed the vast substructures of the church with an atrium to the west and an adjoining baptistery and a wealth of elaborate architectural sculpture. The plan of the church at ground level remains uncertain, but certainly it was domed and had several exedrae and a gallery. Before the construction of HAGIA SOPHIA, St. Polyeuktos may have been the most ambitious church of the city. It was abandoned in the 12th C. and robbed of its sculpture both before and after 1204. The so-called Pilastri Acritani, which stand near the southwest corner of S. Marco, Venice, as well as capitals in Venice and elsewhere, come from St. Polyeuktos.

LIT. C. Mango, I. Ševčenko, "Remains of the Church of St. Polyeuktos at Constantinople," *DOP* 15 (1961) 243–47. R.M. Harrison, *Excavations at Saraçhane in Istanbul*, vol. 1 (Princeton 1986). C. Strube, *Polyeuktuskirche und Hagia Sophia* (Munich 1984).
–C.M.

POLYKANDELON. See LIGHTING, ECCLESIASTICAL.

POLYSTAURION (*πολυσταύριον*), a PHELONION or liturgical cape decorated with a design of crosses, first encountered in late 11th- and early 12th-C. images of church fathers (e.g., Vat. gr. 1156, fol. 250v, and at ASINOU, M. Sacopoulo, *Asinou en 1106* [Brussels 1966] pl.XXIIb); the term first appears in a text in a 12th-C. commentary (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:260.25). The wearing of the *polystaurion* may have been originally the prerogative of patriarchs (Theodore Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.26–28), but by the 14th C. its use had been extended to metropolitans as well. Although the *phelonion* could be of any color, the *polystaurion* was always white, with black crosses.

LIT. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 237. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 132f. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 14–16.
–N.P.Š.

PONTIFEX, pontiff, the title of a pagan Roman priest, *pontifex maximus,* assumed by Roman emperors and retained by Constantine I after his conversion to Christianity. Emp. GRATIAN abolished the title between 375 and 383, but it continued to be used in Constantinople until the 6th C. The title influenced Christian terminology: the phrases *summus sacerdos* and *summus pontifex* were used to render the Greek title *archiereus* and were applied to bishops. In the 2nd C., for example, in Tertullian, the term had pagan connotations and its application had a derisive tone; in the 4th C., however, *pontifex* was a term for a bishop; in the 5th C. PAULINUS of Nola characterized the bishop of Hippo as *summus pontifex.* By approximately 378 the title of *pontifex religionis* was applied to the pope of Rome. Pope LEO I used the expression *summus pontifex* for Christ and for himself; he bears the title *pontifex* on an inscription in the Basilica of St. Paul fuori le Mura. ISIDORE OF SEVILLE also accepted *pontifex* as *princeps sacerdotum* and an official designation of episcopal rank (PL 82:291C). The title *pontifex maximus* for popes did not pass into common usage until the Renaissance.

LIT. P. Stockmeier, "Die Übernahme des Pontifex-Titels im spätantiken Christentum," *Konzil und Papst* (Munich-Paderborn-Vienna 1975) 75–84. G.J. Szemler, *RE* supp. 15 (1978) 347. R. Le Déaut, "Le titre de *Summus Sacerdos* donné à Melchisédech est-il d'origine juive?" *RechScRel* 50 (1962) 222–29. –A.K.

PONTOHERAKLEIA. See HERAKLEIA.

PONTOS (Πόντος, Lat. *Pontus*), a toponym with four Byz. meanings.

1. *The south shore of the Black Sea,* from the Halys River to the Phasis, together with the adjacent mountains and the valleys of the Isis and Lykos. The coastal region is exceptionally fertile and well forested, with rich mineral deposits. It had always been densely populated, while the drier interior contains fewer cities. The whole region is filled with Byz. monuments, most of them from the empire of TREBIZOND.

2–3. *Two Diocletianic provinces.* The first, Helenopontos (called Diospontos until the time of Constantine I), stretched from SINOPE to the Lykos, with AMASEIA as its metropolis; the second, Pontos Polemoniakos, was administered from NEOKAISAREIA and reached as far as Trebizond. The ecclesiastical dioceses followed this division. In 535, Justinian I combined these two civil provinces under the *moderator Justinianus Helenoponti,* who had both civil and military powers. This reform was ephemeral, and the two provinces were restored and existed through the 7th C. *Kommerkiarioi* of Pontos, however, are attested as late as the 9th C.

4. *Pontica diocese of the Diocletianic system.* The diocese comprised central and northern Asia Minor, with the provinces of BITHYNIA, Honorias, GALATIA, PAPHLAGONIA, Helenopontos, Pontos Polemoniakos, CAPPADOCIA, and Armenia; it was administered by a vicar with headquarters at Amaseia. Its army was commanded by the *dux Ponti et Armeniae* until the mid-5th C., when *duces* of the two provinces of Pontos were instituted instead. Justinian abolished these commands, entrusting the whole region to the *magister militum* for Armenia, the forerunner of the *strategos* of ARMENIAKON. The emperor suppressed the diocese in 535, making the vicar the governor of Galatia I with special powers. When this failed, the vicar was restored in 548 with broader authority than before. The diocese ceased to exist in the 7th C. Its territory was divided between the OPSIKION and Armeniakon themes.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos.* W.M. Ramsay, *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (London 1890; rp. Amsterdam 1962) 317–30. –C.F.

POOR (*πτωχοί,* also *πένητες,* APOROI, etc.). Byz. law defined the poor as those who possessed less than 50 nomismata (PROCHIRON, 27.13) and distinguished their legal status, so that in some cases a wealthy person was fined while a poor person underwent corporal punishment (flogging) for the same offense. There is only scanty information concerning the number of poor in Byz. society; John Chrysostom estimated their number in Constantinople at no more than 50,000 (PG 60:97.26–27) and (less reliably) as a tenth of Antioch's population (PG 58:630.10); the 7th-C. patriarch JOHN ELEEMON supported more than 7,500 indigents in Alexandria (vita, 348.39). The poor included not only the destitute (*aporoi*) and BEGGARS but underemployed urban laborers (*Pratum Spirituale* [PG 87.3:2888AB]) and small farmers unable to work their lands profitably (Leo VI,

nov.114). Their diet, primarily cereals and dry vegetables (often in inadequate quantities), was nutritionally deficient, and they appear to have suffered consequently high rates of illness and early mortality. They were often identifiable by their appearance, esp. by threadbare clothing replaced only yearly. For many, shelter comprised rented accommodations near worksites, while homeless beggars congregated—despite imperial prohibition (Justinian I, nov.80, ch.5.1)—in obscure sections of Constantinople, sleeping under arcades during inclement weather (*TheophCont* 909.5–6); St. Loukas the Stylite distributed alms to wandering vagabonds in Paphlagonia (ed. Delehaye, *Saints stylites* 205.8–11). Relations between rich and poor were at times marked by overt hostility; some 11th-C. peasants raided neighboring estates (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 2:82f), while a 14th-C. coalition of poor cultivators and monks opposed John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:196.21–23). A similar antagonism is expressed by Alexios Makrembolites in his *Dialogue Between the Rich and the Poor.*

Imperial solicitude for the poor formed a salient feature of the (idealized) emperor's image in Byz. political theory, while poverty provided a model for monastic life and figured prominently in many hagiographical legends. Thus the Byz. always possessed an ambivalent attitude toward poverty, considering it a manifestation of social inferiority but, at the same time, superiority in terms of spiritual values and access to salvation.

LIT. E. Patlagean, *Pauvreté économique et pauvreté sociale à Byzance, 4e–7e siècles* (Paris–The Hague 1977), with rev. M. de Waha, *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 465–90, M. Mazzo, *Studi storici* 23 (1982) 283–315. L.C. Ruggini, "Povertà e ricchezza nel cristianesimo antico," *Athenaeum* 65 (1987) 547–52. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O ponjatii 'trudjaščijsja' v Vizantii," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 3–6. K. Chvostova, "Ešče raz o termine 'ptochos' v Vizantii," *VizOč* (1982) 208–15. –A.J.C.

POORHOUSE. See Ptochotropheion.

POPULAR ART, conventional term applied to art and artifacts of low inherent value (by material and/or technique) made, assumedly, for the lower echelons of society. Bronze, glass, lead, bone, and terra cotta were its characteristic media, while molds and stamps were often employed for mass production; inscriptions were usually impersonal (e.g., "Lord, help the wearer"). In some instances clear strata in terms of media (and cost) can be charted across an object type (e.g., belt fittings or pectoral crosses in gold, silver, bronze, and lead). Roman sumptuary laws, which restricted some luxury materials (gold rings, amethysts) to certain classes, were not effectively applied in Byz., suggesting that the mechanism of stratification was the marketplace. Some categories of object (e.g., oil lamps and censers) were, because of their utilitarian nature, manufactured primarily in base media (bronze and terra cotta); similarly, pilgrim eulogiai were made in terra cotta not for reasons of economy but because the material itself was valued for its reliclike power, having come from a locus sanctus. Over the centuries kitchen and dining utensils in glass and esp. terra cotta were in great demand, and created industries of their own, including northern Syrian mortaria in the 4th C., North African stamped redware in the 5th C., and sgrafitto ware from various centers in Greece and Asia Minor in and after the 9th C. Especially in the last instance, whole categories of decorative motifs (stylized "Sasanian" plants and animals) were developed which otherwise had little impact on more sumptuous arts.

LIT. A. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978). A. Cutler, "Art in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31.2 (1981) 772–76. –G.V.

POPULAR RELIGION, a term used to designate both the body of religious practices existing outside the official liturgical ritual of the Nicaean-Chalcedonian church, and a body of beliefs other than those sanctioned by the definitions (*horoi*) of the ecumenical councils, the canons of the ecumenical councils and local synods, and the writings of church fathers. Popular religion is not a "vulgar" or popular phenomenon that emerges from the lower orders of society, but a style of religiosity extant in all social strata. Many of its elements, for example, icon veneration and the manufacture and use of Christian amulets, gradually became part of orthodox practices since they contravened no rules.

Byz. Christianity developed on the substrata of civic, rural, and popular Hellenic polytheism and magic, all of which profoundly influenced the new religion. Although Constantine I the Great and his successors transferred confiscated temple lands to local churches and required conversion

to Christianity for economic and political advancement, a Hellenic substratum of PAGANISM often persisted despite conversions: Pegasios, the bishop of Alexandria Troas, for example, continued to maintain temples and idols and to perform sacrifices (JULIAN, ed. Wright, ep.19). The cities were mostly Christian by the late 4th C., though sites like GAZA and Carrhae-Ḥarrān had large pagan populations much longer. The religious transformation of the countryside was slow. Writers such as SHENOUTE of Atripe, ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE, and JOHN OF EPHESUS mention pagan villages in the late 5th and early 6th C. Monks penetrated the countryside to convert villages, a policy that was sporadic until the time of Justinian I, who began bringing urban pagans to trial under the law of 529. The law also threatened confiscation of lands for all who refused baptism, a clear advance over provisions in the CODEX THEODOSIANUS, which established harsh penalties for sacrifice, but none for the unbaptized. The result of Justinian's compulsory conversions was the mixing of old cult practices and beliefs with the Christian: christianization of pagan rite and the emergence of a large, barely catechized population. Here the origins of Byz. popular religion are to be sought.

Evidence for popular religion abounds throughout Byz. Animal sacrifice continued in Anatolia into the period of Ottoman rule. Monks like NICHOLAS OF SION conducted christianized animal sacrifices to counter this practice, but with mixed results. The defenders of Pergamon sacrificed an unborn fetus during Maslama's siege of the city in 716/17 (Theoph. 390f). The Appendix (4.20, 21, 23) to the *Ecloga* of Leo III and Constantine V (ca.750) repeated earlier prescriptions banning sacrifice, but Photios (ep.79) mentions people who sacrificed a dog at a tomb to induce the earth Gē to yield secret wealth. When the attempt failed, they confessed to their bishop. Penalties for sacrifice fell under civil law; renewed prohibitions appear in the BASILIKA. Neither the canons of the Council in Trullo or later councils, nor the 12th-C. glosses of Balsamon and Zonaras treat the matter.

The Council in TRULLO proscribed many other types of popular religion, however, including Armenian customs, and established penalties (Trombley, "Trullo"). Among the "destructive pagan practices" dealt with by the Council were calendar customs and festivals such as the BRUMALIA, CALENDS, BOTA, First of March, and New Moon. The canons mention practitioners of DIVINATION, including "centurions," animal leaders, MAGICIANS, ENGASTRIMYTHOI, astrologers, and cloud-drivers (*nephodioktai*). The latter not only predicted the future from the shapes of clouds, but also used INCANTATIONS to deliver rain clouds to parched fields. The sixty-second canon condemned the invocation of DIONYSOS during the vintage cycle. Many of these practices lasted until the time of Balsamon and Zonaras. Balsamon describes the mumming processions at the time of the Brumalia at the beginning of winter, when the fermented wine was poured into jars. The revelers entered churches wearing masks and animal costumes and mocked the clergy and monks. Works of PARODY, such as the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY, which ridicule both clergymen and the church service itself, reflect a similar attitude toward the official church.

Popular FEASTS not acknowledged by the church calendar preserved pagan practices. Sorcery was used against persons to provoke sickness and could evoke popular hysteria. Monks like St. HYPATIOS OF ROUPHINIANAI and NIKON HO "METANOEITE" used prayers, sacred oil, relics, and amulets to calm the ailing; THEODORE OF SYKEON aided his possessed patients by scouring the countryside for the sorcerers responsible and by himself exorcising the *daimon* thought to cause the malady. Saints appropriated other functions and powers claimed by mantics and magicians as well, including DREAM interpretation, knowledge of the past and future, speed of movement, the summoning of rain clouds, the taming of wild beasts, and marked the perimeters of tilled fields with the cross to protect them from hailstorms, floods, and locusts. Churches were erected at the sites of pagan sanctuaries, and ancient statues were thought to possess demonic power, a belief which pervades the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI. (See also DEMONOLOGY.)

LIT. Trombley, "Paganism." I. Rochow, "Zu 'heidnischen' Bräuchen bei der Bevölkerung des byzantinischen Reiches im 7. Jahrhundert," *Klio* 60 (1978) 483–97. J. Geffcken, *Last Days of Greco-Roman Paganism*, tr. S. MacCormack (Amsterdam 1978). Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1 (1948) 7–63. J. Quasten, *Music and Worship in Pagan and Christian Antiquity* (Washington, D.C., 1983). R. MacMullen, *Christianizing the Roman Empire* (New Haven 1984). A. Frantz, "From Paganism to Christianity in the Temples of Athens," *DOP* 19 (1965) 185–205. W.H.G. Frend, *Religion Popular and Unpopular in the Early Christian Centuries* (London 1976),

pt.XVII (1971), 19–29. H.J. Carpenter, "Popular Christianity and the Theologians in the Early Centuries," *JThSt* 14 (1963) 294–310. –F.R.T.

POREČ (Parenzo), a village in Croatia approximately 50 km south of Trieste. The mid-6th C. cathedral was built by Bp. Eufrasius (hence, Basilica Eufrasiana) in the style of RAVENNA. It is a basilica with conch mosaics in three apses and exceptionally well preserved OPUS SECTILE on the main apse wall. Columns and capitals of Greek marble, the latter identical to some in S. Vitale, must have been imported from Byz., as were some parts of the *opus sectile*; according to A. Terry (*DOP* 40 [1986] 147–64), the assemblage of mosaic and *opus sectile* was done by local Adriatic craftsmen.

LIT. B. Molajoli, *La Basilica Eufrasiana di Parenzo* (Padua 1943). M. Prelog, *Euphrasius-Basilika von Poreč* (Zagreb 1986). A. Terry, "The Sculpture at the Cathedral of Eufrasius in Poreč," *DOP* 42 (1988) 13–64. –D.K.

PORIKOLOGOS (Πωρικολόγος, lit. "Fruit Book"), a short anonymous prose text of uncertain date, satirizing late Byz. legal procedures and court ceremonial. All the parts are played by fruit: Grape is denounced before Emp. Quince, who is attended by Protostrator Peach, the Caesar Pistachio, etc. Grape is condemned to be suspended from a tree, beaten, and his blood consumed until men have drunk themselves into a stupor. As the context is now unknown, it is not clear whether *Porikologos* is a tract against drunkenness or a satire directed against individuals who are concealed behind the fruit figures. Not dissimilar in tone to the OPSAROLOGOS, *Porikologos*'s continuing popularity is attested by many post-Byz. versions as well as by Serbian and Turkish translations.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 199–202. Eng. tr., M.C. Bartusis, "The Fruit Book," *Modern Greek Studies Yearbook* 4 (1988) 205–12.
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 177f. –E.M.J.

PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, bishop of Gaza (from 395) and saint; born Thessalonike ca.347, died Gaza 26 Feb. 420. Porphyrios began his career as a monk in the Egyptian and Palestinian desert (ca.372–82), then went to Jerusalem, where he earned his living as a leather-worker. In 392 he became a priest and three years later bishop of GAZA. The core of the Life of Porphyrios, allegedly written by his disciple MARK THE DEACON, involves the bishop's struggle against paganism in Gaza and his campaign for destruction of the temple of the local god Marnas (identified with Zeus). In Constantinople, Porphyrios gained the covert support of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM and attracted the Empress EUDOXIA to his cause by predicting to her the birth of a male heir. Her husband, Emp. Arkadios, was reluctant, but Eudoxia arranged for her newborn son, THEODOSIOS II, to sanction the destruction of the Marneion, supposedly on his baptismal day (6 Jan. 402?). Returning with an army commanded by the *clarissimus* Cynegius (a relative of CYNEGIUS MATERNIUS?), Porphyrios set the Marneion afire and replaced it with a huge church allegedly designed and funded by Eudoxia.

SOURCE. *Marc le Diacre, Vie de Porphyre évêque de Gaza*, ed. H. Grégoire, M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1930), with Fr. tr.; rev. by F. Halkin, *AB* 49 (1931) 155–60, and F. Nau, *ROC* 27 (1929–30) 422–41.
LIT. *BHG* 1570–72. J.L. Heiberg, *Den hellige Porphyrios, biskop af Gaza* (Copenhagen 1912). –A.K.

PORPHYRIUS OPTATIANUS, perhaps correctly (the orthography and style are disputed) Publilius Optatianus *signo* Porphyrius, 4th-C. Latin poet. Porphyrius was an important senator and perhaps a pagan priest from Africa, who in 325 earned his recall from exile by Constantine with a batch of 20 panegyrical poems. He later published these with the addition of seven more addressed to a certain Bassus, perhaps the eastern praetorian prefect of 318–31 and consul in the latter year (T.D. Barnes, *AJPh* 96 [1975] 173–86). Imperial favor subsequently extended to making Porphyrius governor of Achaea (325–29) and twice (329, 333) prefect of Rome. A fuller career is possible on the plausible but unprovable identification of him with the anonymous official whose horoscope is supplied by Firmicus Maternus (*Mathesis* 2.29.10–20). His verses (some items in the *Latin Anthology* may also be by him) are notable only for their structural trickeries, being multiple acrostics and on occasion figurate in the Hellenistic manner.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. G. Polara, 2 vols. (Turin 1973). It. tr. G. Polara, *Carmi* (Naples 1976).
LIT. *PLRE* 1:649. G. Polara, *Ricerche sulla tradizione manoscritta di Publilio Optaziano Porfirio* (Salerno 1971). W. Levitan, "Dancing at the End of the Rope: Optatian Porfyry and the Field of Roman Verse," *TAPA* 115 (1985) 245–69. –B.B.

PORPHYROGENNETOS (πορφυρογέννητος, πορφυρογεννήτης), an imperial epithet meaning "purple-born" and designating a son or daughter born after the father had become EMPEROR. The concept was already familiar in the 6th C. (G. Ostrogorsky, E. Stein, *Byzantion* 7 [1932] 199; cf. JOHN OF EPHESUS, *HE* 3.5.14, tr. Brooks, 199.29–200.5), but the term itself seems to reflect advancing conceptions of hereditary LEGITIMACY and has not been securely detected before 846 (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 12, n.64). It became common in the 10th C., esp. in connection with CONSTANTINE VII PORPHYROGENNETOS, who described the court ceremonies that attended the birth of a male *porphyrogennetos* (*De cer.*, bk.2, ch.21, ed. Reiske 615–19). Byz. explained *porphyrogennetos* either in terms of the parents' assumption of the PURPLE (Psellos, ep.144, ed. Sathas, *MB* 5:390.21–27) or by the custom that had empresses giving birth in a purple-decorated structure of the palace, the Porphyra (An.Komn. 2:90.3–19). Both explanations were already current in the 10th C., since LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA accepts first the latter (*Antapodosis* 1.6, 3.30) and then echoes the former account (*Legatio*, 15f). As Psellos's phrasing suggests and *De ceremoniis* (cf. F. Dölger, *BZ* 36 [1936] 148 n.1) confirms, ACCLAMATIONS esp. favored the epithet. The term *porphyrogennetos* remained in use into the Palaiologan period (pseudo-Kod. 134.17).

LIT. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:10. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 61f, 108–10. –M.McC.

PORPHYRY, a hard rock ranging in color from dark red to purple. It was extracted in Upper Egypt until the mid-5th C., when the quarries of the Mons Porphyreticus were abandoned (R. Gnoli, *Marmora Romana*^{2} [Rome 1988] 122–33). The hardest stone known to antiquity, it appears to have been reserved for imperial use, esp. during the Tetrarchy and the reign of Constantine I. Imperial PORTRAITS, SARCOPHAGI, and the column of Constantine in Constantinople represent the most important work in this material. Porphyry was worked by abrasion in Egyptian workshops and displays distinct features that had an impact on contemporary marble SCULPTURE (Kitzinger, *Making* 9–12, figs. 5, 8). Thus the tetrarchs in Venice and those in the Vatican as well as a bust of Galerius in Cairo (*Age of Spirit.*, no.5) share the wide staring eyes, typical also of FAYYŪM PORTRAITS, and the summary modeling that is also evident in parts of the Arch of Constantine in Rome and a number of marble sarcophagi in the same city (Kitzinger, *op. cit.* 22, figs. 35–38). The ornate porphyry sarcophagi of Constantia (the daughter of Constantine I) and St. Helena in the Vatican display pagan decoration, while imperial examples in Constantinople bear only crosses and wreaths. In a letter written from Rome to John VIII, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS recalls seeing enthroned figures of porphyry in Constantinople.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "Imperial Porphyry Sarcophagi in Constantinople," *DOP* 4 (1948) 1–26. R. Delbrück, *Antike Porphyrwerke* (Berlin-Leipzig 1932) 1–13, 24–30, 84–129, 140–51, 215f, 221–27. M.J. Klein, *Untersuchungen zu den kaiserlichen Steinbrüchen an Mons Porphyrites und Mons Claudianus in der östlichen Wüste Ägyptens* (Bonn 1988). –L.Ph.B.

PORPHYRY, Neoplatonist philosopher, named Malchos at birth; born Tyre 233, died ca.306. Porphyry studied NEOPLATONISM first at Athens, chiefly under Longinos, the "living library and walking museum" (EUNAPIOS, *Lives of the Sophists* 456). He then moved to Rome, where for six years (263–69) he was a disciple of PLOTINOS, whose works he edited and whose biography he later wrote. Mental illness drove him to Sicily to recuperate. Later he returned to Rome, where he taught Plotinian Neoplatonism for the rest of his life, IAMBLICHOS being his prize student. His wife Marcella was herself an amateur of philosophy. Not instantly famous (Eunapios remarks that there was no biography of him), he acquired notoriety through his treatise in 15 books *Against the Christians* (now fragmentary), which was condemned and burned in 448 (T.D. Barnes, *JThSt* n.s. 24 [1973] 424–42). An unlikely tradition makes him an apostate; any faith would not have survived a beating-up by a Christian gang in Caesarea (Sokr., *HE* 3.23).

Porphyry wrote some 78 works on a wide range of topics: vegetarianism, grammar, philosophy, rhetoric, science. His philosophical writings include a commentary on the *Categories* of Aristotle (*CAG*, vol. 4.1, ed. A. Busse [Berlin 1887]). His *Introduction* (*Eisagoge*) to the Aristotelian *Organon* was to be an influential schoolbook in both East and West. The traditional ascription to him of a chronicle that much influenced EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA has now been discredited. In sum, Porphyry's indefatigable preservation of others' work is

more valuable than his own. Bidez remarks that there is not a thought or an image that one can confidently affirm to be his own.

Porphyry accepted the theory of emanation developed by Plotinos: from the One through its hypostases, Intellect and Soul, to the matter that was unable to exist without form and therefore could not be preexistent. Porphyry, however, put the emphasis on the unity of the universe and on the monistic perception of the Triad. The central point of his doctrine was the soul's search for salvation: it was impossible for the individual soul to be consubstantial with the universal Soul; it was bound with the body, but at the same time, through the phenomenon of *epistrophe,* open to the god; it desires the ascent to the god with the help of thinking and of will, through faith, truth, love, and hope, but remained fettered by evil decisions, sin, and passions. The ascent is construed as a primarily intellectual operation, although Porphyry assumed (to a lesser degree than Iamblichos) a role for magic and theurgy, esp. for the rank and file.

ED. *Opuscula selecta,* ed. A. Nauck (Leipzig 1886; rp. Hildesheim 1963). *Gegen die Christen,* ed. A. Harnack (Berlin 1916, supp. Berlin 1921). Eng. tr. A.H. Armstrong, *Plotinus,* vol. 1 (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1966) 3–85. *Sententiae ad intellegibilia ducentes,* ed. E. Lamberz (Leipzig 1975).

LIT. J. Bidez, *Vie de Porphyre* (Leipzig 1913). B. Croke, "The Era of Porphyry's Anti-Christian Polemic," *Journal of Religious History* 13 (1984) 1–14. Idem, "Porphyry's Anti-Christian Chronology," *JThSt* n.s. 34 (1983) 168–85. L. Brisson et al., *Porphyre: La Vie de Plotin: Travaux préliminaires et index grec complet* (Paris 1982). A. Smith, *Porphyrios' Place in the Neoplatonic Tradition* (The Hague 1974). P. Hadot, *Porphyre et Victorinus,* 2 vols. (Paris 1968). F. Romano, *Porfirio di Tiro* (Catania 1979). C.J. Larrain, *Die Sentenzen des Porphyrios* (Frankfurt–Bern–New York 1987).

–B.B., A.K.

PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Following an overview, this article treats imperial and dynastic portraits, portraits of officials, authors, and donors, and funerary images.

AN OVERVIEW. In ancient Greece and Rome prominent individuals were honored by having their likenesses set up in public. Late Antique and Byz. portraits derive from the Roman traditions of public and funerary portraiture. Numerous portraits in SCULPTURE, predominantly frontal bust-length examples, survive from the 4th–5th C., and the genre continues, to a lesser extent, through



PORTRAITS AND PORTRAITURE. Portrait of Theodore Komnenos Doukas Synadenos and his wife Eudokia. Miniature in the *typikon* of the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery (Lincoln College, Oxford, gr. 35, fol.8r); 14th C. Bodleian Library, Oxford.

the 6th and 7th C. These are mostly of emperors and members of imperial families. Public officials are represented, among others, by the two statues of high dignitaries from Aphrodisias now in Istanbul.

The deceased, too, were honored by the setting up of portraits, carved in relief or painted, in funerary chambers. Since the cult of holy figures was focused on tombs, the Roman practice of having a portrait at the tomb developed into the creation of the images of saints that are known as ICONS. Verisimilitude here was requisite, since the spirit of the saint was thought in some way to be present in the icon. From the start, icons exemplified the classical notion that a portrait should be generally frontal, bust-length, and a "true likeness," however that may be understood. Early icons (of the 6th and 7th C.) include the portraits

of APA ABRAHAM in Berlin (K. Wessel, *Koptische Kunst* [Recklingshausen 1963] 187, title plate), Sts. Sergios and Bakchos in Kiev, and St. Peter and Christ Pantokrator at the St. Catherine monastery on Mt. Sinai (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, nos. B1, B5, B9). (See HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.)

After the 7th C., the Roman tradition of portraiture continued in the icon, which isolated and presented to the beholder a holy figure as a subject in itself. It is a frontal close-up view of the saint, emphasizing his facial features and costume. When individuals other than saints were represented, they were shown participating in acts of piety rather than presented as portraits. The few exceptions are portraits of emperors, primarily in enamel, that were presented as gifts (e.g., on the Holy Crown of Hungary, the PALA D'ORO, or the diadem in Budapest). The icon thus became for all intents and purposes one of the principal vehicles of true portraiture. Sacred portraits were based on what were considered to be authentic models, such as St. Luke's painting of the Virgin; when no contemporary model of a saint was available, the painter was often said to have been helped by miraculous intervention. Once a likeness or portrait type was accepted, it was subsequently little altered. For this reason, great consistency is found in the portraits of holy figures throughout the centuries.

Beyond the realm of the icon, representations of individuals are generally limited to members of the imperial family, the aristocracy, the educated elite, and ecclesiastical personages. In contrast to the earlier portraits, those created from the 9th C. onward forego the variety of the Roman media. Portrait statues ceased to be made, perhaps as early as the 7th C. The artists worked in the two-dimensional media of painting and mosaic and in low relief in metal, ivory, and stone. The subjects were usually shown performing one of a limited number of acts (praying, presenting gifts, writing, etc.), for example, the *proskynesis* of the high official at the feet of the Virgin (cod. Lavra A 103, fol.3v; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.45), of the monk Neophytos Enkleistos at the feet of Christ in the wall painting of his cell in the Enkleistra on Cyprus, or of the nun Theotime at the feet of the enthroned Virgin (Sinai, gr. 61, fol.256v; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.17); the imperial donation of Constantine IX and Zoe in the south gallery mosaic in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, or Theodoule shown in the Lincoln College Typikon presenting to the Virgin and Child the church of the Bebaias Elpidos convent that she had founded (ibid., figs. 145, 153).

In this later tradition the bust-length portrait is rarely used for contemporary figures, perhaps because such portraits would have seemed too much like icons. The focus, as in icons, is not on accurate physiognomy, though this of course may be achieved; it is on identification of the individual and his status. A person is recognized by a few select physical characteristics (type of beard, hair color, shape of nose) and by insignia or attributes (headdress, garment, weapons, etc.). The portrait of BASIL II as a triumphant general (Marc. gr. Z 17, fol.IIIr; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.6) accentuates his military dress and weapons. The emperor ALEXANDER, in the mosaic in Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, stands in full regalia: he wears the *loros* and the crown and holds the orb and *akakia*. In the narthex mosaic of the Chora church in Constantinople, the position of the high court official Theodore METOCHITES is demonstrated by the elaborate headdress and gold-embroidered coat (*kabbadion*) of his office.

There are also funerary portraits in Palaiologan chapels that again show individuals as donors of the chapel they had built or as supplicants to Christ or the Virgin. In similar fashion a series of miniatures in the 14th-C. Lincoln College Typikon consists of portraits commemorating deceased relatives of the founders of the monastery. The figures are depicted standing frontally and praying to a small image of Christ or the Virgin represented above them.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "Some Reflections on Portraiture in Byzantine Art," *ZRVI* 8 (1963) 185–93. Grabar, *Sculptures* I, 9–16. T. Velmans, "Le portrait dans l'art des Paléologues," in *Art et Société* 93–148. I. Spatharakis, *The Portrait in Byzantine Illuminated Manuscripts* (Leiden 1976). C. Mango, "Epigrammes honorifiques, statues et portraits à Byzance," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:23–35. G. Dagron, *La romanité chrétienne en Orient*, pt.XI (1979), 133–60. –I.K.

IMPERIAL PORTRAITS. Portraits of emperors survive from all periods in a variety of media, although only coinage offers a historically continuous series. From the late Roman period survive a few heads and full-length statues of emperors: the colossal head of Constantine I in Rome, the over lifesize statue of Marcian or Leo I in Barletta (U. Peschlow in *Studien Deichmann* 1:21–33), the statue of Valentinian II and the head of Arkadios

in Istanbul, the head of the empress Ariadne in the Louvre, and the head of Theodora in Milan. There are a number of portraits in MSS from the 9th through the 15th C. as well as in mosaic, enamel, and ivory. Imperial portraits also adorned wall paintings, marble reliefs, and silver dishes. After the 6th C., with the exception of coins, there are no surviving bust-length portraits, and after the 7th C. three-dimensional sculpture ceases. The sequence of drawings of Roman and Byz. imperial heads in the 15th-C. Zonaras MS (Modena, Bibl. Estense, gr. 122; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 115–17, 119, 121–23, 125, 127, 129, 131) is a unique occurrence.

In MSS imperial figures are usually portrayed frontally, with names and titulature invariably accompanying the portraits. Emphasis is placed on the garments. The LOROS marks a figure as imperial; when the CHLAMYS or the long tunic are worn, they are made imperial by rich ornament and appropriate imperial colors: Nikephoros III Botaneiates is shown wearing all three of these garments in reworked portraits in Paris (B.N. Coisl. gr. 79; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 70–72). The emperor wears or carries a combination of imperial insignia, such as the crown, the scepter, the orb and the *akakia*, so that his imperial status is always unambiguous. A common theme was the investiture of the emperor by Christ, as on the ivory plaque with the portrait of CONSTANTINE VII in Moscow. Some imperial chrysobulls, for example, that of ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS of Trebizond, bore portraits of the emperor.

To ensure that the viewer recognized the figure as imperial, the portraits tended to focus on accoutrements of office rather than individualized physiognomy. Almost all surviving portraits, from the mosaics in Hagia Sophia to those in MSS, are of an official nature and served the emperor as propaganda images. Not all imperial portraits were commissioned by the emperors themselves, inasmuch as gifts to the emperor (e.g., MSS) could also contain their portraits. Depicting the emperor in an official way did not exclude an attempt at likeness: when the 11th-C. Coislin MS (see *supra*) was relabeled for the emperor Nikephoros Botaneiates, his facial features were painted over those of the previous emperor, Michael VII.

LIT. A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin* (Paris 1936, rp. 1971). *DOC* 2:88–94; 3:142–45. –I.K.

DYNASTIC PORTRAITS. Byz. representations of members of a dynasty are found in the same media as imperial portraits. Most common are representations on coins on which the emperor is depicted with one or, more rarely, two of his dynastic successors; both Herakleios and Eudokia Makrembolitissa, for example, are depicted with two sons (*DOC* 2:216–19; 3:779–84). Dynastic representations most often show the imperial couple and the children chosen as successors, not the whole family. In the double-page composition in Paris, B.N. gr. 510, Basil I and Eudokia are represented with Leo and Alexander, the two of their children who had been crowned co-emperors (Omont, *Miniatures*, pl.XVI). The children, wearing crowns and the *loros*, flank the empress. That Leo was the next in succession was immediately apparent to the Byz. viewer, since he is larger than his brother. In mosaic there survive in the south gallery of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, the portraits of JOHN II KOMNENOS and his wife, together with their first-born son, Alexios.

An unusual case is the illustration in an early 15th-C. MS of the works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (Paris, Louvre, cod. Ivoires 100; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.93), sent as an official gift from Manuel II Palaiologos to the monastery of St. Denis. The image depicts not only the emperor, his wife Helena, and their crowned successor John (VIII), but also the couple's two younger sons, who were not co-emperors. Although the image is official in nature, it is as much a family portrait as an official representation of the dynasty. An elaborate series of family portraits is preserved in the 14th-C. Lincoln College Typikon (A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, *CahArch* 27 [1978] 179–93). –I.K.

PORTRAITURE OF OFFICIALS. When government or court officials are represented in the company of an emperor, they remain anonymous to underscore the emperor's importance. They flank Constantine I in the ADLOCUTIO scene on the Arch of Constantine in Rome, Theodosios I on the obelisk base in Constantinople, and an anonymous emperor attending the games in the Hippodrome in the 12th-C. frescoes in a staircase at St. Sophia in Kiev. In only a few of these cases was the attempt made to depict historical individuals. In the apse mosaic in San Vitale, RAVENNA, for example, the officials flanking Justinian I have

individual and differentiated facial characteristics, unlike the uniformly treated faces of the soldiers. Only the figure of MAXIMIAN, archbishop of Ravenna, is identified by an inscription. The officials in the 11th-C. miniature of Paris, B.N. Coislin 79 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.71) are similarly individualized.

From the late Roman period survive a number of statues of officials; they have been found primarily at Ephesus, Aphrodisias, Sardis, Constantinople, and Rome. Many of the statues are of high-ranking magistrates, garbed in togas, and holding a scepter in one hand, the *mappa* in the other. The similar togate torsos were evidently "mass produced" and then an individual portrait head was attached.

In the Byz. period officials sometimes commissioned their own portraits in MSS or wall paintings to commemorate their role as donors or *ktetores*. Here, a resemblance to the historical individual may be assumed, for instance, the portrait of LEO SAKELLARIOS of the 10th C. in Vat. Reg. gr. 1 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.1) shows Leo as an old man with gray hair but beardless, suggesting that he was a eunuch. As in imperial portraiture, the individual's status or office is explicitly denoted by an accompanying inscription and by his garments and attributes. Thus, Leo's red and gold embroidered *chlamys* marks his high office. His brother Constantine, who is depicted in the subsequent miniature (ibid., figs. 2, 4), wears a similar garment, although his position as *protospatharios* is indicated by the sword he is holding.

When officials founded churches, they frequently had themselves depicted as presenting the church to Christ, the Virgin, or the eponymous saint of the church. The *magistros* Nikephoros Kasnitzes and his wife Anna are shown in the narthex of their church at Kastoria, offering a model to St. Nicholas. An example in mosaic is the portrait of Theodore Metochites as *ktetor*, offering the Chora church to Christ.

LIT. C. Foss, "Stephanus, Proconsul of Asia, and Related Statues," in *Okeanos* 196–219. C. Mango, "The Date of Cod. Vat. Regin. Gr. 1 and the 'Macedonian Renaissance,'" *ActaNorv* 4 (1969) 121–26. –I.K.

AUTHOR PORTRAITS. Author portraits were a common feature of MSS from late antiquity. Usually the author was shown in a frontispiece to his work, either seated as a philosopher or in a bust-length portrait. The portraits are almost always posthumous. From the late Roman period survive a few MSS with author portraits, such as the Vienna DIOSKORIDES, which has two frontispieces, each with seven portraits of the physicians who contributed to the medical treatise. The most common Byz. images of authors are portraits of the Evangelists, who are shown standing and holding the Gospels, seated while writing, or in contemplation (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). Other authors commonly portrayed are Gregory of Nazianzos, John Chrysostom, and John Klimax. A small number of historical books with author portraits survives. Niketas Choniates is shown writing his history in the pose of an evangelist (Vienna, hist. gr. 53; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.98). A standing frontal portrait of George Pachymeres as a cleric introduces his history (Munich gr. 442; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 106–07). The only known example of a portrait of a living author is found among the theological treatises of John VI Kantakouzenos (Paris, B.N. gr. 1242; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, figs. 87, 89): he is depicted twice in the miniature preceding his *Apology against Islam*, as emperor (with a dark short beard) and as monk (with a long white beard).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Ill.* 116–27. –I.K.

DONOR PORTRAITS. The number of donor portraits surviving from different periods attests that it was a common practice to have one's portrait included in an artifact that one had commissioned. Donor portraits are found in MSS, wall paintings, mosaics, ivories, and icons. The donor commonly assumed a supplicant posture and was identified by an inscription. He was usually depicted holding his gift in his hands, whether a church or a manuscript, and offering it to God or an intercessor. Leo Sakellarios presents his Bible to Christ by handing it to the Virgin, who is interceding on his behalf (Vat. Reg. gr. 1; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.1), while Basil the *protospatharios* presents his lectionary directly to Christ (Athos, Koutl. 60; Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.52). In a 12th-C. fresco in the Church of Sts. Kosmas and Damianos in Kastoria, Theodore Lemniotes, his wife Anna Radene, and their son offer the church they have built to a standing Virgin and Child.

While most donors were members of the upper class, whether Constantinopolitan or provincial, from time to time they were monks who had

produced the MSS they were offering, (e.g., the monk THEOPHANES—Melbourne gr. 710/5; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.43). Emperors were shown as donors in a variety of ways. Justinian I and Theodora in San Vitale offer liturgical vessels for the newly built church. Constantine IX Monomachos and Zoe present money and a document to Christ in a mosaic in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, while in a MS (Vat. gr. 666; Spatharakis, *Portrait,* fig.80) Alexios I Komnenos offers the *Panoplia Dogmatica* to Christ as a symbol of his efforts to defend orthodoxy.

LIT. H. Belting, "Die Auftraggeber der spätbyzantinisches Bilderhandschrift," in *Art et Société à Byzance sous les Paléologues* (Venice 1971) 149–76. –I.K.

FUNERARY PORTRAITS. Funerary portraits are most commonly found in connection with the burial site. In Egypt up to the 4th C. the so-called FAYYŪM PORTRAITS were painted on wooden panels that covered the faces of mummies. Roman traditions also continued at least into the 4th C.: on sarcophagi the deceased were depicted either in medallions or as full figures on the front side; in the catacombs, pictures of the dead were painted on the walls, often in an ORANS position. The first surviving Byz. funerary portraits are in fresco and mosaic and date from the 13th C., although there may have been examples in the tombs that appear in churches from the 11th C. onward. Funerary portraits are usually found on the walls of private chapels built for entombment of the patron and his family. The deceased are shown as donors of their church or as supplicants to Christ or the Virgin. The portrait is placed near or above the tomb, often within the niche containing the tomb (e.g., the portrait of Michael Tornikes and Eugenia in the *parekklesion* of the Chora in Constantinople). Portraits of deceased individuals may also be of a commemorative nature, as in the mosaic portraits in the Chora of Isaac Komnenos, son of Alexios I, and Maria Palaiologina, who took the monastic name Melane. That the 13th-C. portraits of the *despotissa* Theodora (St. THEODORA OF ARTA) and her son Nikephoros of Arta were carved on a marble sarcophagus is possibly a result of Western influence.

LIT. T. Velmans, *La peinture murale byzantine à la fin du moyen âge* (Paris 1978) 89–97. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:45–47, 269–99. –I.K.

PORTS (sing. λιμήν). The relatively small size of Byz. SHIPS and the use of a keel that could be lifted meant that a natural harbor (a well-protected bay, a soft sandy bank upon which to drag boats) was preferred to a complicated system of harbor construction. The jagged coastline of the Aegean Sea, Cilicia, western Balkans, and the Black Sea provided Byz. with plentiful places for mooring, so that not only small towns but even individual monasteries (e.g., on Mt. Athos) possessed their own harbors. The larger ports had more complex equipment, including piers and SKALAI for landing, loading, and unloading ships, as well as shipyards (*neoria*), breakwaters, chains to seal off the bay as in Constantinople and Thessalonike, and lighthouses. City walls extended close to the sea to prevent attacks from hostile warships. The larger ports functioned as trade centers, sometimes as places where cargo was transferred for land transportation; they were also customs points, and centers of ship construction. A larger port usually was under the command of an *archon.* Special harbor dues (*limeniatikon, katartiatikon, skaliatikon*) were paid for use of the port, wharves, landings, etc.

During the late Roman period construction of ports continued: the harbor of SELEUKEIA PIERIA was cleared under Diocletian and rebuilt under Constantine I; Lehmann-Hartleben (*infra*) lists Alexandria, Patras, Methone, and Aegina as ports reconstructed at this time. The underwater excavations in CAESAREA MARITIMA have discovered the harbor of Herod; the port was rebuilt in the early 6th C. by Anastasios I (R. Hohlfelder, *Mediterranean Historical Review* 3 [1988] 55–62). After the 7th C. there are few references to harbor construction; in some cases, the threat of pirate raids compelled the transfer of the city center away from the shore, onto a hill; the cessation of dredging work could result in the transformation of an estuary into a swamp. In smaller centers, the coastal EMPORION was distinct from the *polis* proper. The major Byz. seaports, after the 7th C., were Constantinople, Thessalonike, Corinth, Monemvasia, Patras, Abydos, Smyrna, Ephesus, Miletos, Attaleia, Dyrrachion, Herakleia in Pontos, Trebizond, Cherson; from the 11th C. onward, Venetian and Genoese colonies were established in some of them. River harbors played no significant role in Byz. Metaphorically, the word

limen was used to designate refuge, peace, or absence of persecution.

LIT. K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *Die antiken Hafenanlagen des Mittelmeeres* (Leipzig 1923) 208–17. H. Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantins (VIIe–IXe siècles)," in *La navigazione mediterranea nell'alto medioevo,* vol. 1 (Spoleto 1978) 259–83. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–39. B. Cvetkova, "Régime de certains ports dans les terres balkaniques pendant les XVe et XVIe siècles," *BBulg* 7 (1981) 283–89. D.J. Blackman, "Ancient Harbors in the Mediterranean," *The International Journal of Nautical Archaeology* 11 (1982) 79–104, 185–211. –A.K.

PORTULAN (πορτολᾶνος, Ital. *portolano*), sailing directions for navigators, the successor to the ancient PERIPLOUS. The anonymous and undated *Brief Measurement of the Entire Oikoumene* (*GGM* 1:424–26) is too general a survey to be considered a predecessor of true portulans, but the so-called *Stadiasmos* or *Periplous of the Great Sea* (Ibid., 1:427–514), which survives in a 10th-C. MS in Madrid (Bib. Nac. 4701) within the chronicle of Hippolytos, comes closer to the genre: it describes two sea routes—from Alexandria westward, along the North African coast, and from Ptolemais in Syria, via Antioch and the coast of Pamphylia, to Miletos. True Greek portulans are known only from MSS of the 16th C. and have strong similarities to Italian and Turkish portulans of the period; their vernacular language shows the influence of Western, esp. Venetian, vocabulary. The fullest example begins with Corfu (Kerkyra) and describes in detail the Dalmatian coastline, the Ionian islands, the Morea, Crete, the Aegean archipelago, Cyprus, and the route from Rhodes to Karaman. The term *portulan* is also applied to the regional maps that began to appear in the West in the 13th C. and soon replaced the *mappae mundi* typical of Western medieval CARTOGRAPHY.

ED. A. Delatte, *Les portulans grecs,* 2 vols. (Liège-Paris 1947, Brussels 1958).

LIT. Svoronos, *Études,* pt.I (1949), 237–40. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:525–27. M. de la Roncière, M. Mollat du Jourdin, *Les portulans* (Freiburg 1984). E.I. Čudinovskich, "Grečeskie portulany kak istočnik po istorii torgovych putej Central'nogo i Vostočnogo Sredizemnomor'ja XV–XVI vv.," *ADSV* 3 (1965) 61–84. –A.K.

POSOTES (ποσότης, lit. "value" or "quantity"), a term with three basic meanings in Byz. documents: (1) in general usage, a property's sale price; (2) rarely, in the 12th C., a synonym for ARITHMOS (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.65.11); (3) in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 117.42), a quota of state revenues given to a grantee to collect from the villages that are not in his ownership; it was measured in money (hence, *noumismatike posotes*). In this latter sense, the term is frequent in the acts of the 13th–15th C., where it indicates the size of imperial grants ceded to individuals (often holders of PRONOIA) or ecclesiastical/monastic corporations. While the *posotes* of *pronoia* grants varied widely, the typical range for a pronoiar-soldier in the 1320s seems to have been 70–80 hyperpyra; the *posotes* of monastic holdings in the 14th C. often was several thousand hyperpyra. The *posotes* represented only a quantification of the fiscal revenues (TELOS and state charges) ceded to the beneficiary, not the true economic benefit derived from the grant. Thus, because many imperial grants contained substantial quantities of arable land that seem to have been state-owned and that the grantee evidently rented to peasants, this RENT, together with other charges (mill fees, dock fees, KANISKIA, OIKOMODION) that the beneficiary enjoyed as landholder, increased the yearly economic revenue produced by the grant well beyond the official *posotes* of the OIKONOMIA.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 214–18. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 104f, 357. N. Oikonomides, "Contribution à l'étude de la pronoia au XIIIe siècle," *REB* 22 (1964) 170f. H. Ahrweiler, "La 'pronoia' à Byzance," in *Structures féodales et féodalisme dans l'Occident méditerranéen (Xe–XIIIe siècles)* (Rome 1980) 681–83, 687. –M.B.

POSSESSION (νομή, κατοχή), in Byz. law, was the effective tenure of one's own or of another's object. Possession could be legitimate (based on a lease- or tenure-CONTRACT) or unlawful. A possession was protected against removal or interference by a so-called *interdictum* (*parangelma*). With this legal means a decision is reached in favor of the "better" owner; this decision was provisional, however, and avoided prejudicing the question as to who was the real owner of the object.

These dogmatic principles, already developed in Roman law, were preserved in Byz. legal literature practically unchanged (Harm. 2.1). The use of the terms *nome, katoche, despoteia* in documents is imprecise; the verbs *nemesthai* (possess) and *despozein* (own) are occasionally used synonymously (e.g., Guillou, *Ménécée,* no.40.6–7), and the im-

precise demarcation between possession (often connected with long-term rights of use) and OWNERSHIP led to numerous legal disputes (e.g., Dölger, *Schatz.* no.57.7–11). –M.Th.F.

POSTAL SERVICE. See DROMOS.

POTTERS' STAMPS. See STAMPS, COMMERCIAL.

POTTERY. See CERAMICS.

POULOLOGOS (Πουλολόγος, lit. "Bird Book"), an anonymous poem in nearly 700 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, dating probably from the late 14th C. Emp. Eagle summons all the birds to celebrate his son's wedding; at the ensuing feast pairs of birds (Stork and Swan, Heron and Crane, etc.) quarrel noisily over their respective qualities (incidentally revealing some practical aspects of everyday life of the time); quiet is restored only when Eagle threatens to set Hawk and Falcon on them. Written at a VERNACULAR level of the language and including some striking compound words, *Poulologos* (surviving in seven MSS) enjoyed a certain popularity. Like the DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON, it reflects both long-standing Greek traditions (e.g., the fables of AESOP and the PHYSIOLOGOS or SYNTIPAS, combined with accurate observations on bird behavior) and the literary fashions of western Europe (e.g., the "Debate" poems of 13th-C. France or Chaucer's *Parlement of Fowles*); no direct Western model is known, however. Though the poem's satirical elements are directed at human foibles as mirrored in the birds' demeanor, rather than at particular social problems, the disharmony among the characters, as in the *Diegesis ton tetrapodon zoon*, probably refers to the upheavals of 14th-C. life.

ED. *Ho Poulologos,* ed. I. Tsabari (Athens 1987).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 173f. –E.M.J.

POUND. See LITRA.

POUS (ποῦς, pl. πόδες, lit. "foot"), a unit of length. The foot of 31.23 cm, used in the construction of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, seems to have been standard in the eastern half of the empire (with fluctuations between 30.8 and 32 cm). This foot does not derive from the Roman foot of 29.6 cm, but from the common Greek foot of 31.6 cm. It remains unclear whether different regional *podes* were in use. The *pous* was divided into 16 DAKTYLOI.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 13–16. D. Chen, "A Note Pertaining to the Design of the Rotunda Anastasis in Jerusalem," *ZDPV* 95 (1979) 179. P. Underwood, "Some Principles of Measure in the Architecture of the Period of Justinian," *CahArch* 3 (1948) 64–74. –E. Sch.

POVERTY. See POOR.

POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET (lit. "Tale of Bygone Years"), conventionally known as the *Primary Chronicle* or the *Russian Chronicle*, is a hypothetical prototype extrapolated by modern scholars from preserved chronicles (primarily the Laurentian, Hypatian, and the first Novgorod Chronicle). It was compiled at the Kievan Caves monastery ca.1115 from diverse native and foreign sources and arranged according to the Constantinopolitan era (but with the years commencing in March rather than September); it is sometimes attributed to the Kievan monk NESTOR. The *Povest' vremennych let* is the main narrative source for the early history of Rus' and Rus'-Byz. relations. It includes the only extant texts of the 10th-C. Russo-Byz. TREATIES, accounts of the attacks by the Rus' on Constantinople, semilegendary tales about OL'GA and Constantine VII and about SVJATOSLAV and John I Tzimiskes, and a long composite tale of the conversion of VLADIMIR I and his sack of Cherson. After the mid-11th C., direct references to Byz. are sparser. The *Povest'* is itself evidence for the reception of Byz. literature in Rus'. Particularly frequent use is made of the chronicle of GEORGE HAMARTOLOS (O.V. Tvorogov, *TODRL* 28 [1974] 99–113); among other Byz. authorities cited are the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER, EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, pseudo-METHODIOS, the ALEXANDER ROMANCE (A. Vaillant, *BS* 18 [1957] 18–38), MALALAS, and various chronological, exegetic, and apocryphal fragments (S. Franklin, *OSP* n.s. 15 [1982] 1–27). The compiler of the *Povest' vremennych let* employs these texts to locate Rus' in the context of universal history and trace the development of the Rjurikid dynasty.

ED. Laurentian chronicle (*PSRL* 1); Hypatian chronicle (*PSRL* 2). *Povest' vremennych let,* ed. D.S. Lichačev, 2 vols. (Moscow-Leningrad 1950). *The Russian Primary Chronicle,*

tr. S.H. Cross, O.P. Sherbowitz-Wetzor (Cambridge, Mass., 1953).

LIT. A.A. Šachmatov, *"Povest' Vremennych Let i ee istočniki,"* *TODRL* 4 (1940) 9–150. D.S. Lichačev, *The Great Heritage* (Moscow 1981) 44–135. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 202–15. –S.C.F.

PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (*Στρατηγικὴ ἔκθεσις καὶ σύνταξις* Νικηφόρου δεσπότου, Presentation and Composition on Warfare by the Emperor Nikephoros), conventional title of a short military treatise of ca.965 preserved in the same 14th-C. MS (Moscow, Hist.Mus. 436/285) that contains the text of KEKAUMENOS (B.L. Fonkič, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 108–20). Its attribution to "the emperor Nikephoros," meaning Nikephoros II Phokas, is reliable, confirmed by the listing of "Nikephoros" among the sources for the *Taktika* of Nikephoros OURANOS (ca.1000); moreover, the *Praecepta*'s strict instructions on MILITARY RELIGIOUS SERVICES are in full accord with the ascetic character of Nikephoros Phokas. Ouranos rewrote the text, with slight revisions, as chapters 56 to 62 of the *Taktika*. The theory that chapters 63 to 74 preserve lost chapters of the Moscow text (R. Vári, *BZ* 30 [1929/30] 49–53; A. Dain, *TM* 2 [1967] 370f) must be rejected, however; these chapters instead represent Ouranos's continuation of the *Praecepta*, including his own contributions, sections from the DE RE MILITARI, and classical tacticians.

Written for commanders of expeditionary forces (about 25,000 strong) in the East, the text, in six chapters, prescribes the equipment, deployment, and tactics to be used against the Arabs: the INFANTRY in square formation maintained a strong defensive position, while the CAVALRY, reinforced by KATAPHRAKTOI, provided the offensive force. The author presents likely battle situations ranging from skirmishes to pitched battles and recommends the proper response to each one, repeatedly stressing reconnaissance, discipline, and caution. The text concludes with brief remarks on CAMPS, spies, and the army's religious observances.

ED. "Strategika imperatora Nikifora," ed. Ju.A. Kulakovskij, *ZapANIst-fil* 8.9 (St. Petersburg 1908) 1–58.

LIT. H. Mihăescu, "Pour une nouvelle édition du traité *Praecepta militaria* du Xᵉ siècle," *RSBS* 2 (1982) 315–22. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 153f. –A.K., E.M.

PRAEFECTUS MILITUM. During the 5th C. a deputy of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT was appointed to oversee the provisioning of expeditionary armies; this formerly *ad hoc* position became permanent during the reign of Justinian I. Prokopios records such an officer (*choregos*) sent out with an army (*Wars* 1.8.5) and gives the Greek title as *eparchos tou stratopedou* (3.11.17). A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 146.22–24) also refers to this officer as a quartermaster and overseer of an expeditionary force.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 673f. Kaegi, *Unrest* 309–11. –E.M.

PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI (*πραιπόσιτος τοῦ εὐσεβεστάτου κοιτῶνος*), grand chamberlain, and normally the highest-ranking EUNUCH in the imperial service. The office was introduced to replace the former *a cubiculo*, probably by Constantine I, although the first securely identified *praepositus sacri cubiculi* is Eusebios under Constantius II. Originally under the control of the *castrensis sacri palatii* (E.A. Costa, *Byzantion* 42 [1972] 358–87), the grand chamberlain managed the imperial bedchamber, wardrobe, and receptions; he had a staff of KOUBIKOULARIOI. As the emperor's confidant, the chamberlain was involved in important state affairs, including diplomatic activities; by the end of the 4th C. he replaced the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM in charge of imperial estates in Cappadocia, and by the 5th C. he was ranked at the level of QUAESTOR. As a powerful eunuch the *praepositus* encountered considerable resentment from the aristocracy. By the 5th C. the empress had her own chamberlain. After the 6th C. the office of *praepositus sacri cubiculi* declined; his functions as grand chamberlain were assumed by the PARAKOIMOMENOS, and the Greek form of the title, *praipositos*, was assigned to eunuchs involved primarily in palace ceremony. The title itself disappeared after 1087 (Oikonomides, *Listes* 300).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE*, supp. 8 (1956) 556–67. Boak-Dunlop, *Two Studies* 178–223. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:338–80. –A.K.

PRAETEXTATUS, more fully Vettius Agorius Praetextatus, a leader, together with Nicomachus FLAVIANUS and SYMMACHUS, of the Roman senatorial aristocracy; born Rome? in 310 (*PLRE*) or in 320 (Ensslin), died Rome end of 384. Praetextatus belonged to a noble family that had houses in Rome and an estate near Baiae and governed

the province of Etruria (Matthews, *Aristocracies* 26). The early career of Praetextatus was one customary for an aristocratic youth, but his fervent paganism checked his advancement. Julian appointed him proconsul of Achaia, and as such Praetextatus supported the local curiae (he is praised in inscriptions from Thespiai and Gortys) and resisted the enforcement of antipagan measures (e.g., Valentinian I's law prohibiting nocturnal sacrifices). The peak of his career occurred in Rome where he was prefect of the city (367–68) and prefect of Italy, Illyricum, and Africa (384). He participated in many senatorial embassies to the emperor. He protected pagan temples, supervised urban construction, and enforced correct measures and weights. The paganism of Praetextatus was probably more political than ideological; he allegedly said to Pope Damasus: "Make me the bishop of the Roman church, and I shall immediately become a Christian" (Jerome, PL 23:377). He was a priest of the Eleusinian cult. Praetextatus's justice and liberality are attested by Ammianus and Zosimos. His interest in philosophy is indicated by his translation into Latin of Themistios's paraphrase of Aristotle's *Analytics* and his composition of a philosophical tract in the manner of Iamblichos; none of these works survives, however. He is the primary speaker in MACROBIUS's *Saturnalia*.

LIT. T.W.J. Nicolaas, *Praetextatus* (Nijmegen-Utrecht 1940). *PLRE* 1:722–24. W. Ensslin, *RE* 22 (1954) 1575–79. –T.E.G.

PRAETOR (*πραίτωρ*), police and judiciary official during the late Roman Empire (G. Wesenberg, *RE* 22 [1954] 1602–05); the seal of the praetor Thomas is dated by Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.562) to 550–650. In its Greek form *praitor*, the term reappears in the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij as a provincial functionary under the STRATEGOS. From the end of the 10th C. the term *praitor*, as a synonym for *krites* (JUDGE), designated the civil administrator of a province. Even though in theory the *praitor* was sharply distinguished from the DOUX or KATEPANO, both functions were regularly combined in the 12th C. An early 13th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 330.64–74) ascribes to Andronikos I the "revival" of the "praetorian office," which meant essentially the appointment of new officials and an increase in their salary. The term seems to have fallen out of use after 1204.

According to Ahrweiler ("Administration" 44), Nikephoros II created the office of *praitor* of Constantinople, a high-ranking judiciary official in the capital. Laurent published several seals of the *praitor* of Constantinople (*Corpus* 2:637–40) and suggested that in the 13th–14th C. he was identical with the *praitor* of the *demos*; Nicholas Sigeros, the last known *praitor* of the *demos*, held office in 1352–55 before acquiring the title of *megas hetaireiarches* (A. Pertusi, *Leonzio Pilato fra Petrarca e Boccaccio* [Venice-Rome 1964] 48f).

LIT. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 148f. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. XXV (1969), 81–84. N. Bănescu, "La signification des titres de *praitor* et de *pronoetes* à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *ST* 123 (1946) 388–94. –A.K.

PRAETORIAN PREFECT (*praefectus praetorio*, *ἔπαρχος τῶν πραιτωρίων*), commander of the emperor's bodyguard under the principate, but from the 4th C. an important regional civil functionary responsible for a praetorian prefecture. The praetorian prefect frequently acted as a kind of vice-emperor and many laws were addressed to him. In the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM one finds a system of four praetorian prefects, for Gallia, Italy, Illyricum, and Oriens; the prefects were attached not to the emperor's person, but to fixed areas. The traditional view that they formed a college is not valid (A.H.M. Jones, *JRS* 54 [1964] 78–89). Their responsibilities included taxation, justice, the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS), public construction, grain provision, trade, prices, and higher education. The officials of the praetorian prefect's bureau were called *praefectiani*, divided primarily into two categories: the *schola exceptorum*, which dealt with political and judicial affairs; and *scrinarii*, who administered primarily financial matters. The office of the praetorian prefect declined in the turmoil of the 7th C., as it came to be rivaled by the EXARCHS in the West and LOGOTHETAI in the East; the last known praetorian prefect is Alexander in 626. According to Stein (*infra*), some aspects of the office were preserved in Illyricum to the 9th C. The link between the praetorian prefect and the APO EPARCHON who are mentioned in the *De ceremoniis* and in some seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 231, 644) is questionable, *apo eparchon* being an honorary title of minor officials.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 22 (1954) 2426–2502. J.-R. Palanque, *Essai sur la préfecture du prétoire du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1933), with rev. E. Stein, *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 327–53. E. Stein, *Untersuchungen über das Officium der Prätorianerpräfektur* (Vienna 1922). R. Morosi, "L'*officium* del prefetto del pretorio nel VI secolo," *Romanobarbarica* 2 (1977) 103–48.
–A.K.

PRAIPOSITOS. See PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI.

PRAKTIKON (πρακτικόν, from *prasso*, "to do, to exact," cf. PRAKTOR), an inventory listing the taxes, as well as the DEMESNE land and PAROIKOS households held by a single individual or religious institution, that an imperial tax assessor (*apographeus*, ANAGRAPHEUS) either copied from imperial cadastral records (*thesis* or *biblion*) or compiled on the spot to be transcribed later into such records and delivered to the holder. While the earliest known *praktikon* is from 1073 (for Andronikos DOUKAS), most belong to the first half of the 14th C. and refer to southern Macedonia. Almost all are inventories of the possessions of monasteries, particularly those on Mt. Athos; only six deal with the possessions of laymen.

Praktika commonly contain the following elements: (1) a delimitation (*periorismos*) of the boundaries of the demesne lands, (2) a listing of the households of *paroikoi* with brief data concerning their family and property (STASIS), (3) a description of the taxes and supplementary charges burdening these lands and people, and (4) the fiscal and other privileges (EXEMPTION, EXKOUSSEIA) that were accorded to the property holder. Sometimes certain elements of the *praktikon* (e.g., *periorismos*) exist as separate documents.

During the 12th C., reflecting the ascendancy of the *paroikia*, collections of *praktika* supplanted the KODIX as the primary form of tax records. An act from the reign of Isaac II speaks of "the public *praktika-kodikes*" (MM 4:325.34–35). The *praktikon* and the *kodix* (or *isokodikon*) had several important differences: while the taxpayer in a *kodix* did not necessarily occupy the properties in his STICHOS, the peasant listed in a *praktikon*, as a rule, did; unlike the typical *kodix*, the *praktikon* provides data on the type and size of the taxpayer's properties, his family or his livestock; and most importantly, while the *kodix* was a fiscal instrument appropriate to an agrarian society composed of middling and small independent landowners, the *praktikon* developed out of the need to record the property of large landowners with substantial numbers of dependent peasants.

Because of their vast quantity of detail, much of which lends itself to quantitative analysis, *praktika* are important sources for the agrarian economy, fiscal practices, social structure, and demography of peasant society, and are esp. valuable in those cases when several *praktika* cover the same village, allowing the investigation of changes over time. Some Latin and Greek *praktika* survive from the Morea and Venetian Messenia.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 259–368. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 1:105–07. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 9–23.
–M.B.

PRAKTOR (πράκτωρ), fiscal official of a low rank in the late Roman Empire. The office continued throughout the Byz. period. Vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS (ed. Noret, par.10.13–15) equates the *praktor* with the KOMMERKIARIOS; according to Dölger (*infra*), the *praktor* inherited the functions of the DIOIKETES, whom he seems to replace after 1109. The first mention of *praktor* is by an early 9th-C. historian (Nikeph. 51.5–6), who says that before becoming emperor Theodosios III was *praktor* of "the state taxes" in Atramyttion. The functions of *praktores* are not clearly defined in the sources; THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid complains about their activity and represents *praktores* primarily as TAX COLLECTORS, but he also indicates that they measured land "by the leaps of the flea." In the vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS (55.20–24), Merkouras, *praktor* of the "state treasury," is described as confiscating the properties of those who died intestate. Litavrin (*Bolgaria i Vizantija* 301) distinguishes local *praktores* from those of the central administration.

In various acts of the 10th–12th C. (the earliest of 984: *Ivir.* 1, no.6.34) *praktores* are mentioned as the agents of the fisc; a certain Constantine Doukas was *doux* and *praktor* of the themes of Boleron, Strymon, and Thessalonike (*Lavra* 1, no.64.60–61). Fiscal *praktores* also had judicial duties, the role of which increased in the 13th C. (Angold, *Byz. Government* 258–60). In a chrysobull of 1263 *praktores* are placed between the *doux* and the *katepano* (*Lavra* 2, no.72.81). *Praktores* disappear from the acts after 1264, but a model FOR-

MULARY of the 14th C. indicates that *praktores* fulfilled the duty of collecting "the state *akrosticha*" (Sathas, *MB* 6:627.14–18). Ahrweiler ("Smyrne" 162) suggests that there were *praktores* of large domains, e.g., John Thelolites or Theololites, who served in 1302 or 1307 as representative of the *parakoimomenos* Nestongos (MM 4:259.12).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 71–75. –A.K.

PRANDIOPRATES (πρανδιοπράτης), merchant in Syrian textiles. The term is derived from *prandion* (Lat. *brandeum*), "ribbon" or "band." A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 232.7–10) relates that the Avars wore long hair tied with *prandia*. *Prandia* are included among the luxury goods, such as purple cloth, gold brocade, pepper, and scarlet or "Parthian" leather, that were transported to Cherson and given to selected Pechenegs in payment for services (*De adm. imp.* 6.8–9).

The guild of *prandiopratai* is first mentioned in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.5), which states that *prandiopratai* dealt in garments imported from Syria, esp. *chareria* (Ar. *harir*) brought from Seleukeia Pieria; the text lists various other Islamic textiles, but the meaning of the words employed is not always clear. *Prandiopratai* were prohibited from selling clothing produced in the empire (a privilege reserved to the VESTIOPRATAI); they were also forbidden to deal in dyestuffs and perfumes imported from Syria. The textiles had to be stored in a MITATON. The guild (*koinotes tou systematos*) of *prandiopratai* acquired the imported textiles collectively, with the participation (or assistance) of those Syrian merchants who had lived in Constantinople for not less than 10 years. *Prandiopratai* sold their goods in the EMBOLOS. In the 12th C. a decree forbade clergy from becoming members of guilds, such as money changers, *prandiopratai*, or wine merchants (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:469.27–29).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 32–34. *Bk. of Eparch* 156–61. –A.K.

PRAOTES (πραότης, "gentleness, mildness") was considered a virtue by the church fathers; John Chrysostom (PG 59:335.53–58) proclaimed it, together with the synonymous *epieikeia*, to be the quality that best distinguishes humans from beasts and enables them to compete with angels. *Praotes* was not, however, common in the lists of imperial virtues and is absent in *prooimia* to the emperors' charters (Hunger, *Prooimion* 254); *to praon* ("kindness") is only incidentally mentioned in the *Imperial Statue* of Nikephoros BLEMMYDES (ed. H. Hunger, I. Ševčenko, ch.61); the 14th-C. paraphrase replaces the word with *to tapeinon* ("humility"). On the other hand, Plethon (PG 160:876AB) lists *praotes* among the virtues and explains its necessity in terms of human limitations: we cannot rule the souls of other men.

In art, the PERSONIFICATION Praotes is found in imperial contexts. This Antique female figure attends David's Anointment in the PARIS PSALTER, where she is shown pointing out the proper candidate to Samuel and thus functioning as an agent of divinity. Similarly clad and nimbed but without identifying inscription, she plays the same role in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS and in illustration of the Book of KINGS; she is omitted in other versions of the scene. In the *Heavenly Ladder* of JOHN KLIMAX, Praotes is described by Anger as his adversary; illuminated versions of this text put Praotes in medieval garb (a sleeved and belted tunic) and show her in the company of such figures as Simplicity and Placidity, who with Praotes embody the virtues taught by the abbot.

–A.K., A.C.

PRAXAPOSTOLOS (πραξαπόστολος), a LECTIONARY used only at EUCHARIST, which contains all the nonevangelical New Testament lections except for Revelation, which was not used in the Byz. liturgy. In the *Typikon of the Great Church*, *praxeis* and *apostolos* seem to be two separate books (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285f, 314). In MSS, *apostolos* usually designates a lectionary containing only the passages actually read during the service, while the term *praxapostolos* refers to a book with the whole New Testament text except for the Four Gospels and Revelation. The text was arranged, like the EVANGELION, according to the LECTION system of the mobile cycle of the church CALENDAR, beginning with the readings for Easter. The sequence was as follows: Acts, the Catholic Epistles in their biblical order, then the Pauline and other Epistles in their biblical order. Fully developed *praxapostoloi* also contain, in appendices, the responsories (*prokeimenon*, alleluia) for the whole

church year and calendars with lection tables (*kanonarion* and *synaxarion*) for the mobile and fixed cycles, respectively.

LIT. C.R. Gregory, *Textkritik des neuen Testamentes*, vol. 1 (Leipzig 1900) 335–42, 465–78. –R.F.T.

PRAYER (εὐχή), in Christian thought, consciously placing oneself in God's presence by raising mind and heart to him, in thought or in word, expressly or interiorly, speaking and/or listening to him speaking in one's heart. Christian prayer, addressed to God or to one of the Trinity, includes praise, blessing, thanks, confession of faith, and petitions. Prayer at set times later evolved into the HOURS. The "Our Father," Jesus' model prayer (Mt 6:9–13; Lk 11:2–4), and the command to pray without ceasing (1 Th 5:16–18; Col 4:2; Eph 6:18; Lk 18:1), provide the basis for treatises on prayer by the church fathers.

Prayer could be "bodily," involving gestures (see LITURGY); "vocal," the recitation of set formulas (the "Our Father," *Kyrie eleison*, PSALMODY); or "meditation" (*melete*), a ruminative reading, esp. of the Bible, but also of patristic FLORILEGIA. The life of Jesus, believed to be the only way to the Father, was a preferred object of meditation. The purest form of prayer was contemplation by means of the *nous* purified of passions through the practice of asceticism and the virtues. Mystical prayer, produced by divine illumination, described as the "ascent of Sinai" or the "light of Tabor" (see TRANSFIGURATION), was an apophatic prayer that rejected images to achieve pure contact with God. This "prayer of the heart" was esp. cultivated by the HESYCHAST monks of Athos in the 13th–14th C., though its origins go back to the earliest days of monasticism.

The only prayer books in this time of widespread illiteracy were the LITURGICAL BOOKS used by the clergy and monks. The PSALTER, which the monks knew by heart, was the privileged monastic prayerbook. For Byz. laity, prayer was chiefly "bodily" and liturgical. In addition to SUNDAY worship, they participated in FEASTS and VIGILS, and, less frequently, the hours.

LIT. T. Špidlík, *La spiritualité de l'Orient chrétien, La prière* (Rome 1988). L. Bouyer et al., *History of Christian Spirituality*, vol. 2 (New York 1968) 547–90. F. Heiler, *Das Gebet*[5] (Munich 1923). –R.F.T.

PREDESTINATION (πρόθεσις) is God's universal foreknowledge or his eternally conceived plan, according to which he leads humans to their supernatural end. In a narrow sense, predestination or predetermination is the mystery of God's judgment: which mortals will be doomed to HELL and which will be liberated and admitted to PARADISE. Origen (ed. J.A.F. Gregg, *JThSt* 3 [1902] 240f) distinguishes *proorismos* (predetermination) and *prothesis* as two stages of this mystery: *proorismos* is a design formed on the basis of God's plan (*ennoemata*), *prothesis* is a subsequent step. Connected with the concept of GRACE, predestination was its preparation, grace being the bestowal of the gift itself. The Greek fathers usually considered SALVATION as the resultant force of two factors: predestination/grace on the one hand, human FREE WILL on the other. Salvation comes, says John Chrysostom (PG 62:12.49–53), "neither from grace (*agape*) alone nor from our virtue, but from them both . . . Had it been accounted for only by our virtue, then [Christ's] coming and the whole [mystery of] *oikonomia* would have been superfluous . . . Nobody could be saved if grace did not exist." In general, the Greek fathers did not pay much attention to this problem, although John of Damascus dwelt on it in his polemics against the Manichaeans (ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 4:393f), defining *proorismos* as judgment and sentence of future actions.

The problem of predestination is of greater concern in AUGUSTINE's attack on PELAGIANISM: the Pelagians denied the necessity of supernatural grace and connected salvation with man's own efforts, whereas in Augustine's doctrine God predivides mankind into two groups, the virtuous and the sinners, the chosen and the doomed, and thus brings to realization his foreknown design of historical development.

LIT. J.N.D. Kelly, *Early Christian Doctrines*[2] (London 1960) 366–69. J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1971) 297–331. G. Nygren, *Das Prädestinationsproblem in der Theologie Augustins* (Göttingen 1956). –A.K.

PREFECTURE, office and sphere of authority of a *praefectus*, a late Roman functionary, ranging from the highest (PRAETORIAN PREFECT, URBAN PREFECT) to local governors (prefect of Egypt), fiscal officials (prefect of the ANNONA), police of-

ficers (prefect of the night watch, *nykteparchos*), and some military commanders (PRAEFECTUS MILITUM). -A.K.

PREFIGURATION (τύπος, lit. "form, type"), a vehicle of EXEGESIS for the purpose of establishing Old Testament prototypes of the events of the New Testament. Thus, according to Cyril of Jerusalem (PG 33:849AB), JONAH being swallowed by a great fish was the *typos* of Christ descending into Hell, to "the heart of the earth." Adam, Moses, and Joshua were also interpreted in TYPOLOGY as prefigurations of Christ. The concept of prefiguration was extended to nonbiblical personages (Emp. Nero as the *typos* of ANTICHRIST) and to objects and actions (BAPTISM as a prefiguration of salvation). The idea of prefiguration contributed much to the development of Byz. allegorical and symbolic vision of the world.

In art the most important prefigurations were those of the Virgin. Often cited as the new Eve, the Virgin was also likened to numerous other Old Testament figures and even objects. Many of these parallels evolved from Old Testament readings in the liturgies of her feasts: the high priests before the altar (Ezek 43:27–44:3, read on all her feasts), Jacob's Ladder, and Wisdom building herself a temple (Gen 28:10–17, Pr 9:1, read on the feasts of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN and her DORMITION), the BURNING BUSH (Ex 3:1–8, read for the ANNUNCIATION), the rod from Jesse's root (Is 11:1–9, read on Christmas Eve), and the tabernacle of Moses as well as the individual objects brought into the Holy of Holies—the ARK OF THE COVENANT, the *stamnos* filled with manna, the altar for incense that fills the universe with sweet odor, the table for the bread, the seven-branched candlestick (Ex 25–27, 1 Kg 8:1–6, Heb 9:1–7, read for the feast of the PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN).

Other parallels emerge from theological literature: Moses' staff (Ex 4:2–4), the blossoming rod of Aaron (Num 17:8), Balaam and the star (Num 24:17–19), Gideon's fleece (Jg 6:36–40), the tongs with the live coal (Is 6:1–8), the closed gate (Ezek 44:2), Mount Sion and the rock that fell from it (Ps 68:16, Dan 2:31–35), and Solomon's bed (S of S 3:7–8). Though used in literature since the 4th C., these acquire visual form only from the 9th C. onward, first in icons (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.54) and MSS: marginal PSALTERS (Mount Sion; Gideon's fleece at Ps 72), the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS (Ark of the Covenant), a KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES MS formerly in Smyrna (tabernacle of Moses), illustrated homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS (Eve, Jacob's ladder, Moses' staff and the bush, Aaron's rod, Gideon's fleece, Solomon's bed). These images enter monumental painting in the Palaiologan period, usually in the narthex programs (OHRID, Sv. Kliment; Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND), but in the naos at Polško (G. Babić, *CahArch* 27 [1978] 163–78) and in the funerary *parekklesion* at the CHORA.

LIT. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:305–46.

-A.K., A.W.C.

PREPENDOULIA. See CROWN.

PRESANCTIFIED, LITURGY OF THE (λειτουργία τῶν προηγιασμένων), a COMMUNION service appended to VESPERS, for use on days when there is no EUCHARIST. "Presanctified" gifts—eucharistic gifts that have been consecrated at an earlier Eucharist—were reserved for such occasions. The usage results from the practice of prohibiting the Eucharist, deemed festive, on weekdays during Lent (Council of Laodikeia, par.49, Mansi 2:571D). Presanctified followed vespers because only one meal, to be consumed in the evening, was allowed those who were fasting, and even communion would break this fast. Thus the full Eucharist, a morning service, could not be celebrated on fast days, and canon 52 of the Council in TRULLO orders Presanctified to be substituted for it on all days of Lent except Saturdays and Sundays and on the feast of the Annunciation (Mansi 11:968B–C). This is the usage in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:315f). A passage in the CHRONICON PASCHALE regarding the year 615 (705.21) is the earliest witness to the use of the Presanctified rite in Constantinople. With the introduction of the SABAITIC TYPIKA into the monasteries of Constantinople, elements of Jerusalem vespers—for example, the PHOS HILARON—are synthesized with those of Constantinopolitan vespers in the first part of Presanctified to form a hybrid rite.

The attribution of Byz. Presanctified to Pope Gregory I the Great does not antedate the 12th C. The short *diataxis* of the Presanctified (PG

99:1687–90) attributed to Theodore of Stoudios is, in its present redaction, later in date.

The *typika*, the HOUR preceding *none*, was originally a Palestinian monastic Presanctified communion service for days without the full liturgy, first found in the 9th-C. HOROLOGION MS Sinai gr. 863 (J. Mateos in *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant*, vol. 3 [Vatican 1964] 54f). The STOUDITE TYPIKA borrowed this service, but, since Constantinople already had its own Presanctified service, *antidoron* (blessed but unconsecrated PROSPHORA) was substituted for communion—*ta hagia dora*—at the *typika*, hence its name, "in place of the gift." By the 11th C., the *typika* was split in two and added to the beginning and end of the Eucharist (Mateos, *La parole* 68–71).

LIT. M. Arranz, "La Liturgie des Présanctifiés de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OrChrP* 47 (1981) 332–88. –R.F.T.

PRESBEUTIKOS. See BASILIKOS LOGOS.

PRESBYS HIPPOTES. See OLD KNIGHT.

PRESENTATION OF CHRIST. See HYPAPANTE.

PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN (εἴσοδος τῆς Θεοτόκου) in the Temple, one of five Marian GREAT FEASTS, celebrated 21 Nov. It is based not on the Bible, but on New Testament APOCRYPHA—the Gospel of pseudo-Matthew 4 and, esp., the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES (chs. 7–8)—that apply to Mary the Jewish custom (Lev 12:2–8) of presenting a male or female child in the temple after birth. The Presentation falls within the pre-Nativity LENT (15 Nov.–24 Dec.) and foreshadows the Nativity. The poetry for the feast stresses the theme of Mary as the true temple and "Godbearer" (*theotokos*); the Ark of the Covenant; and the candelabrum bearing Jesus, the light of the world.

Though believed to originate in Jerusalem in the dedication of the Nea (New St. Mary) church under Justinian I (21 Nov. 543), the feast is not found in the Jerusalem LECTIONARIES through the 8th C. It appears in Constantinople in the *Typikon of the Great Church* (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:110f) and in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.198). In this period, the emperor regularly celebrated the feast in the Church of the Chalkoprateia (*Synax.CP*, 244.33–34); in the 14th C. he went to the Peribleptos monastery instead (pseudo-Kod. 243.9–12). Manuel I Komnenos included the Presentation in a list of holidays (*Reg* 2, no.1466). The West received the feast from Byz., apparently via Hungary, ca.1200 (M. Zalan, *EphLit* 41 [1927] 188f).

Representation in Art. The standard composition—first attested in a 10th-C. ivory in Berlin (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.11)—shows a procession consisting of the Virgin's parents, seven candle-bearing maidens, and the little Virgin. The priest, Zacharias, stands beneath the altar ciborium to receive her, and behind him the Virgin appears again, now seated in the sanctuary receiving bread from an angel (*Protoevangelion of James*, ch.8:1). Varying little in iconography, the scene appears in liturgical MSS, the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, and monumental painting, where it is found either in the narthex as at DAPHNI or in the naos (LAGOUDERA).

LIT. I.E. Anastasios, "Eisodia tes Theotokou," *ThEE* 5 (1964) 451–54. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Iconographie de l'enfance de la Vierge dans l'empire byzantin et en occident*, vol. 1 (Brussels 1964) 136–67. –R.F.T., A.W.C.

PRESLAV, GREAT (Μεγάλη Πρεσθλάβα), Bulgarian city on the left bank of the river Tiča (Kamčija), immediately south of modern Preslav, in northeastern Bulgaria. The name is Slavic (Prěję̨slav, "inheritor of glory"?). Founded by SYMEON OF BULGARIA at the end of the 9th C. as the second capital of BULGARIA, Preslav is on the site of a 6th-C. Roman fortress. Extensive building went on for some 30 years. Preslav consisted of an outer city surrounded by massive earthworks, and an inner or royal city surrounded by a stone wall and containing a palace, administrative buildings, and churches. The outer city held many substantial dwellings, churches (esp. the Round Church, a major monument of BULGARIAN ART), monasteries, and industrial premises. Excavations have revealed much sculptured decoration, floor and wall mosaics, and decorative ceramics. In a suburb on the right bank of the Tiča were two large monasteries and several churches, and 1.5 km southeast of the city was an *ergasterion* (workshop) that produced decorative TILES. Preslav was captured in 969 by SVJATOSLAV of Kiev and in 971 by John

I Tzimiskes, who destroyed much of the city and renamed it Ioannopolis. It was reoccupied by the Bulgarians in ca.986 and by the Byz. by ca.1000. Under the Second Bulgarian Empire it remained an important city until its capture by the Ottoman Turks in 1388.

LIT. *Pliska-Preslav*, vol. 4, ed. D. Angelov (Sofia 1985) 132–222. *Preslav*, ed. T. Totev, 3 vols. (Varna 1968–83). K. Mijatev, *Krŭglata cŭrkva v Preslav* (Sofia 1932). Idem, *Preslavskata keramika—Die Keramik von Preslav* (Sofia 1936). T. Totev, *Manastirŭt v Tuzlalŭka—Centŭr na risuvana keramika v Preslav prez IX–X v.* (Sofia 1982). Idem, "Les monastères de Pliska et Preslav aux IX^e–X^e siècles: Aperçu archéologique, *BS* 48 (1987) 185–200. –R.B.

PRESLAV, LITTLE (Πρεσθλαβίτζα, Russ. Perejaslavec), Bulgarian city at the mouth of the Danube. Prince SVJATOSLAV of Kiev considered it an important entrepôt for trade between eastern and central Europe and the Byz. Empire, and, perhaps encouraged by Nikephoros II Phokas, proposed in 968/9 to move his residence from Kiev to Little Preslav. It played an important role in the Russo-Byz. conflict of 967–71, but John I Tzimiskes finally recaptured it. I. Jordanov (*Vekove* 12.1 [1983] 58–62) suggests, on the basis of seals found at Great Preslav, that it was renamed Theodoropolis after 971; 11th-C. seals, however, record *strategoi* and *kommerkiarioi* of Presthlabitza, and Skylitzes reports that a Byz. army recaptured Mikra Presthlaba ca.1000. The last mentions of Little Preslav are in Idrisi and in sailors' maps (PORTULANS). The city appears to have been in decline in the 12th C. For a short time after 971 Little Preslav may have been the administrative center of the *katepanate* of MESOPOTAMIA TES DYSEOS.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Presthlavitza, the Little Preslav," *SüdostF* 42 (1983) 1–9. I. Jordanov, "Malŭk Preslav ili Preslavec X–XI v.," *Bulgaria 1300*, vol. 2 (Sofia 1982) 335–40. P. Diaconu, "Où trouvait Théodoroupolis, nom consigné sur certains sceaux du Grand Preslav?," *II Meždunaroden kongres po bŭlgaristika* 6 (Sofia 1987) 437–47. –R.B.

PRESPA (Πρέσπα), the name of two adjoining lakes in western Macedonia. Great Prespa Lake is situated at the intersection of the borders of modern Yugoslavia, Greece, and Albania, with most of it lying within Yugoslavia. Little Prespa Lake, separated from the larger body of water by a narrow sand spit, is predominantly in Greece but extends into Albania. A town at Prespa is first attested at the end of the 10th C., when Samuel of Bulgaria temporarily established his residence there and transferred the relics of St. Achilleios from LARISSA to Prespa (Skyl. 330.5–9). When the Byz. quelled the rebellion of the Bulgarian George VOITECH (died 1073), the German and Norman mercenaries destroyed Samuel's palace in Prespa. The town remained an administrative and ecclesiastical center; however, the letter that THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid addressed to an *archon* of Prespa in 1103 (ed. P. Gautier, no.108) requesting that he make sure there was sufficient provision of food for a synod meeting there suggests difficult living conditions. Late Byz. writers (Akropolites, Pachymeres, Gregoras) infrequently mention Prespa (Lj. Maksimović in *VizIzvori* 6:15, n.18).

The date of the now-ruined basilica of St. Achilleios on the island of that name in Little Prespa Lake is disputed, but its original construction probably goes back to the time of Samuel. It had three aisles, with nave arcades supporting galleries. In the apse were painted inscriptions (now lost) naming 14 metropolitan seats subject to the archbishop of Prespa (A. Grabar, *ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 163–66), and (on a later layer) a bold painted inscription in honor of the Virgin around the base of the conch. Other churches on or near Little and Great Prespa lakes possess frescoes of the 13th and 14th C. (N. Moutsopoulos, *The Churches of the Prefecture of Florina* [Thessalonike 1966] 9–13).

LIT. J. Ivanov, "Zar Samuilovata stolica v Prespa," *Izvestija na Bŭlgarskoto archeologičesko družestvo* 1 (1910) 55–80. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:503–07. S. Pelekanides, *Mnemeia byzantina kai metabyzantina tes Prespas* (Thessalonike 1960). N.K. Moutsopoulos, *Anaskaphe tes basilikes tou Hagiou Achilleiou* (Thessalonike 1972). –A.K., N.P.Š.

PRICE EDICT (*edictum de pretiis*), issued by DIOCLETIAN between 20 Nov. and 9 Dec. 301 (E. Ruschenbusch, *ZPapEpig* 26 [1977] 193), law that set maximum PRICES for a wide variety of goods and services, with severe penalties for disobedience. The Latin and Greek texts of the edict are known only from inscriptions found in Asia Minor, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Greece, and Italy; Giacchero (*infra*) counts 132 fragments, some relatively complete, such as those from Stratonicaea in Caria, Aix-en-Provence (of Egyptian prove-

nance), and Aezanoi. The edict was an attempt to control inflation by imperial fiat. No copies have been found in the West, and it seems that neither Maximian nor Constantius Chlorus published it in their territory. Even in the East it apparently had little effect. Some local governors put forth modified versions; thus Fulvius Asticus, governor of Caria, issued an order which echoes many phrases of Diocletian's preface, but emphasizes a fair rather than a maximum price (M. Crawford, J. Reynolds, *JRS* 65 [1975] 162). The edict is an important source for the study of coinage, prices, industry, trade, and language ca.300.

ED. S. Lauffer, *Diokletians Preisedikt* (Berlin 1971). M. Giacchero, *Edictum Diocletiani et collegarum de pretiis rerum venalium*, 2 vols. (Genoa 1974). Eng. tr. W.M. Leake, *Edict of Diocletian, Establishing a Maximum Schedule of Prices for Commodities and Services throughout the Roman Empire, 301 A.D.* (Providence, R.I., 1919?).

LIT. G. & W. Leiner, "Kleinmünzen und ihre Werte nach dem Preisedikt Diokletians," *Historia* 29 (1980) 219–41. H. Michell, "The Edict of Diocletian: A Study of Price Fixing in the Roman Empire," *Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science* 13 (1947) 1–12. –T.E.G.

PRICES are mentioned in various sources, some of which (such as saints' vitae) are not reliable, while others (such as chronicles) deal with exceptional cases of inflation. Papyri have abundant information, whereas the late Byz. documents convey almost exclusively data concerning immovable property; even this documentary evidence is tenuous since the quality of the object is rarely indicated.

It is not quite clear which forces, beside market supply and demand, regulated prices. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT demonstrates an attempt of the state to control prices, and state MONOPOLIES provided a powerful means for such regulation. The idea of the JUST PRICE was presumably operable and not only with regard to land. Moral strictures could be effective: the story is told of a shoemaker who was irritated when a dealer sold his product for a price three times higher than the shoemaker considered just (F. Halkin, *Le Corpus Athénien de S. Pachôme* [Geneva 1982] 84, par.23). It is plausible to hypothesize that social status also influenced the price of immovables: thus, lords fixed arbitrary prices when buying the lands of their *paroikoi*, or lands sold to religious institutions could go for reduced prices (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 156–62).

A general impression is that after the great devaluation of the 3rd C. prices remained relatively constant until the 11th C. G. Mickwitz (*Aegyptus* 13 [1933] 103), however, calculates that in late Roman Egypt prices declined 30 percent, a development that he connects with the diminishing amount of gold in circulation. Prices vacillated during natural disasters (droughts, severe winters, etc.), sieges, or conscious trade speculation. Chronicles preserve complaints about rising prices under Basil I and Nikephoros II; they seem to have skyrocketed in the mid-11th C. Alexios I managed to restrain inflation, but it again became substantial in the 14th C. The causes of inflation are not yet clear: besides negative factors such as military defeats or debasement of coinage, intensification of the exchange of goods could also contribute to the destabilization of prices. At any rate, the Byz. government finally gave up its attempts to control the level of prices, WAGES, and PROFIT in general.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *BZ* 32 (1932) 312–33. J. Irmscher, "Einiges über Preise und Löhne im frühen Byzanz," *BBA* 51 (1983) 23–29. *Les 'dévaluations' à Rome* 2 (Paris 1980) 187–270. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, "Démographie, salaires et prix à Byzance au XIe siècle," *Annales ESC* 27 (1972) 215–46. –A.K.

PRIENE (Πριήνη), town of the Aegean region of Asia Minor near MILETOS whose development can be followed primarily from the archaeological evidence. During late antiquity, although a cathedral church was built, most of the city was in decline, with small houses occupying the public buildings and overriding the regular urban plan. The ancient site was apparently abandoned in the late 7th C. when Priene withdrew to its high fortified acropolis. The lower city was reoccupied during the 11th–13th C. By then Priene was known as Sampson (Σαμψών), a name that also appears in al-IDRĪSĪ. Sampson was center of an *episkepsis* in 1204; it was the capital of the ephemeral state of Sabbas ASIDENOS, 1204–08. Remains indicate that it consisted of the fortress on the acropolis (rebuilt in the 12th and 13th C.) and a small fort in the lower town with scattered habitations outside its walls. Priene was a suffragan bishopric of EPHESUS.

LIT. T. Wiegand et al., *Priene* (Berlin 1904) 475–88. W. Müller-Wiener, "Mittelalterliche Befestigungen im südlichen Jonien," *IstMitt* 11 (1961) 46–56. –C.F.

PRIEST (πρεσβύτερος, *presbyteros*, "elder, venerable man"), originally a member of the council of elders, or "senate," surrounding the BISHOP. Although the terms "priest" and "bishop" (*episkopos*) seem to be interchangeable in the New Testament (Titus 1:5–7), the bishop appears as the only head of each community and as the celebrant of the eucharist, with priests acting as advisers, teachers, and administrators. The priest, however, was superior to the DEACON (the lowest order among the CLERGY). By the 4th C. in both town and countryside, resident presbyters were being put in charge of parishes then springing up with the expansion of Christianity and became normal celebrants of the eucharist. Despite this "division of labor," the priest was assigned to his parish by the bishop and was entirely under his jurisdiction. In the main, he could celebrate the LITURGY or administer baptism only in churches (*katholikai ekklesiai*) immediately dependent on the bishop, rather than in private chapels or EUKTERIA (Council in TRULLO, canons 31, 59). Permission to officiate in the latter was eventually granted, however.

Although the priest was an influential member of Byz. society, his social position and material status varied (cf. B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 22 [1983] 59–117). His salary as a rule came from the bishop or from the properties of the episcopal district to which he was assigned. In the case of private churches, the founder alone was responsible for the priest's livelihood. This was equally the case for those who were or lived as dependent peasants (PAROIKOI) on the estate of a wealthy landowner or monastery. Although formal education or training was unknown, knowledge of the faith and the canons and a blameless moral life were considered essential for ordination (Justinian I, nov.6, 123). The minimum age of entry into the priesthood, from which women were excluded (PG 104:1025C), was fixed at 30 (Justinian, nov.123; Trullo, canon 14). Unlike in the West, CELIBACY was never obligatory for priests. Their principal vestments were the STICHARION, EPITRACHELION, *zone* (see BELT), PHELONION, and, from the 12th C., the EPIMANIKIA and EPIGONATION.

LIT. W. Seston, "Note sur les origines religieuses des paroisses rurales," *Revue d'histoire et de philosophie religieuses* 15 (1935) 243–54. E. Herman, "Die kirchlichen Einkünfte des byzantinischen Niederklerus," *OrChrP* 8 (1942) 378–442. *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Theologie des Presbyterates*, ed. L. Ulrich (Leipzig 1971). E. Theodorou, "Das Priestertum nach dem Zeugnis der byzantinischen liturgischen Texte," *Theologia* 57 (1986) 155–72. J. O'Callaghan, "La palabra 'presbiteró' en documentos de epoca bizantina," *Boletin de la Asociacion Española de Orientalistas* 12 (1976) 212–14.

–A.P.

PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA, anonymous southern Slavic author of a *Chronicle* (*Letopis*) recounting the history, partly legendary, of southern DALMATIA and neighboring lands from the 6th to 12th C.; fl. mid-12th C. Originally written in Church Slavonic, the *Chronicle* survives only in a 16th-C. Latin translation and an Italian version of that translation. Its sources are largely local legend, but they include a lost Life of Prince Vladimir of Zeta and a forged bull of Pope Callistus II. The *Chronicle* is a valuable, if not always reliable, source for the early medieval history of the Dalmatian cities, and also for the last decades of the First Bulgarian Empire and the efforts of Tsar SAMUEL OF BULGARIA to form an anti-Byz. alliance with Serbian principalities.

ED. *Letopis popa Dukljanina*, ed. F. Šišić (Belgrade-Zagreb 1928).

LIT. J. Ferluga, "Die Chronik des Priesters von Diokleia als Quelle für die byzantinische Geschichte," *Byzantina* 10 (1980) 429–60. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o terminologii letopisi popa Dukljanina," *Slavjanskij archiv* (1959) 30–45. L. Havlik, *Dukljanskatá kronika a Dalmatskatá legenda* (Prague 1976).

–R.B.

PRILEP (Πρίλαπος), a stronghold, *phrourion* (Skyl. 349.35), or *asty* (Akrop. 92.1, 149.6) in western Macedonia, probably northwest of modern Prilep (Soulis, *Dušan* 223, n.154). It is first mentioned in connection with the war of 1014, when Basil II took it from Samuel of Bulgaria. In 1041, when Michael IV was crushing Deljan's revolt, Manuel Ibatzes tried to stop the emperor's army at Prilep but failed. DOBROMIR CHRYSOS and his father-in-law, Manuel Kamytzes, occupied Prilep, but in 1202 Alexios III recaptured the fortress (Nik.Chon. 535.90). Prilep played an important role in the conflicts of the 13th C.: Epiros, Bulgaria, and Nicaea in turn obtained it. Prilep was one of the fortified Byz. cities on the Serbian border ca.1300. In 1321 Andronikos II appointed the *protostrator* Synadenos governor of "the *eparchia* of Prillapos" (Kantak. 1:87.1). The district remained in Byz. hands until the treaty with Stefan Uroš IV Dušan in 1334 (*Reg* 4, no.2815), which gave Prilep to the Serbians. VUKAŠIN possessed it ca.1350, and after his death Prilep became the capital of the princi-

pality of Vukašin's son Marko. Prilep fell under Turkish domination in 1385 (Soulis, *Dušan* 156) or 1395 (Fine, *Late Balkans* 424). Byz. coins of the 12th to 14th C. have been found in the region.

LIT. J. Hadji-Vasiljević, *Prilep i njegova okolina* (Belgrade 1902). B. Babić, *Materijalnata kultura na makedonskite Sloveni vo svetlinata na arheološkite istražuvanja vo Prilep* (Prilep 1986). –A.K.

PRIMACY of the PAPACY, phrase that refers to the supreme authority of the pope of Rome over all bishops. The idea of primacy developed slowly; in the 4th C. the bishop of Rome was considered an equal of the principal Eastern bishops, such as those of Alexandria and Antioch. The growth of Constantinople as an administrative and ecclesiastical center and the rivalry between Constantinople and Alexandria allowed Rome to adopt the position of mediator and to reach the highest rung in the PENTARCHY, with Constantinople assuming the second rank, as seen at the Council of Constantinople in 381 and esp. in canon 28 of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451. At the same time, the theory of Roman primacy developed in the 5th C. under Popes LEO I and GELASIUS (A.S. McGrade, *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance History* 7 [1970] 1–45), esp. during the AKAKIAN SCHISM.

The cornerstone of the primacy theory was the belief that the Roman church was founded by the apostles Peter and Paul and that the pope was a successor to PETER. From Peter the pope was understood to inherit absolute power, *plenitudo potestatis*, which at first involved only the church, since the emperor was considered the total master of secular affairs. From the 8th C. onward, however, the popes expanded the idea of primacy to encompass political relations—first with the Byz. emperor, then the German king (H.M. Klinkenberg, *ZSavKan* 72 [1955] 1–57). The political independence of the papal state was supported by the legend of Constantine I the Great's baptism by Pope SILVESTER, who was allegedly rewarded with the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE. The patriarchate of Constantinople opposed the concept of Roman primacy—at first actively, as in the 6th and 7th C. when the bishops of Constantinople claimed the title of ECUMENICAL PATRIARCH; then, in the 9th C., during the dispute between Pope NICHOLAS I and Patr. PHOTIOS, when the latter insisted on the equality of both sees. From the 11th C. onward, the Byz. patriarchs adopted a defensive stance, protecting the independence of Constantinople from subjugation to Rome (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 23 [1965] 42–88). After 1204 and the split of the two churches, Rome always made recognition of papal primacy a condition of UNION OF THE CHURCHES and of Western military assistance.

LIT. F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966; rp. 1980). P. Conte, *Chiesa e primato nelle lettere dei papi del secolo VII* (Milan 1971). J. Spiteris, *La critica Bizantina del Primato Romano nel secolo XII* (Rome 1979). D. Stiernon, "La 'Nouvelle Rome' et le Siège apostolique," *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983) 261–66. J. Meyendorff, "La primauté romaine dans la tradition canonique jusqu'au Concile de Chalcédoine," *Istina* 4 (1957) 463–82. –A.K.

PRIMARY CHRONICLE. See POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

PRIMIKERIOS (πριμικήριος, Lat. *primicerius*, "the one whose name stands first on the wax tablets"), the senior member of any group of functionaries (SOUDA 2286, ed. Adler, 4:195). The term was in use from the late Roman period until the end of Byz. in various spheres.

1. ***Military primikerioi.*** These included esp. the palatine guards, *primicerii* of the *domestici*, of the *scholae*, and so on; after the late Roman period there were *primikerioi* of the VESTIARITAI, MANGLABITAI, VARDARIOTAI, and VARANGIANS.

2. ***Courtiers, primarily eunuchs.*** The *primicerius sacri cubiculi*, mentioned in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, appears in the TAKTIKA as *primikerios* of the *kouboukleion*; from the time of Alexios I onward, there was the post of *primikerios* of the *aule* (court). *Primikerioi* are often represented on seals combining their duties with certain civil services connected with the emperor, e.g., the chiefs of the KOITON, the EIDIKON, and the VESTIARION.

3. ***Civil primikerioi.*** These included primarily *primikerioi* of the notaries, who in the *Book of the Eparch* are called *primikerioi* of the *taboullarioi*.

4. ***Ecclesiastical primikerioi.*** Darrouzès (*Offikia* 356) distinguishes ecclesiastical *primikerioi* of notaries from those of *taboullarioi*; *primikerioi* of *taboullarioi* are also known from several documents of the metropolitan chancery in Serres of ca.1300 (e.g., *Koutloum.*, no.4; *Esphig.*, no.9; *Lavra* 2, no.102); there were also *primikerioi* of ANAGNOSTAI, SINGERS, and other groups.

The difference between the office and the title is not always clear. By the end of the 11th C. the title of *megas primikerios* was introduced; the first known holder was TATIKIOS. According to the 14th-C. pseudo-KODINOS, *megas primikerios* was one of the highest titles, above the *megas konostaulos* and *megas logothetes*, but in the 15th C. George SPHRANTZES considered the title inadequate, although he was satisfied with that of *megas logothetes*. There were *primikerioi* at the court of the Morea.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:300–32. Bury, *Adm. System* 122f. W. Ensslin, *RE* supp. 8 (1956) 614–24. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 174–78. –A.K.

PRINCES' ISLANDS (Πριγκίπιοι νῆσοι in *SynaxCP* 158.26), nine islands in the Sea of MARMARA; the largest are Prote, Antigone, Chalke, and Prinkipo, and the smaller ones Plate, Oreia, Pita, Niandros, and Terebinthos. They were an important monastic retreat—some 12 monasteries from the Byz. period are known—and a place of EXILE, esp. in the 9th and 10th C. In 809 THEODORE OF STOUDIOS was exiled by Nikephoros I to Chalke and his brother Joseph to Prote. In 813 Michael I Rangabe and his two sons were exiled to Prote, and in 820 Michael II sent Theodosia, widow of Leo V, and her four sons to Prote—she was later transferred with her son Basil to Chalke. In 821 the future patriarch METHODIOS I was exiled to Antigone, where he was supposedly imprisoned in a cave under terrible conditions. The islands were sacked by the Rus' in 860; PHOTIOS may have been responsible for the subsequent restoration of the monasteries. In 921 Romanos I Lekapenos banished several of his enemies to a monastery on Antigone, and in 944 the emperor was himself exiled to Prote, where he died; in 945 his sons followed him to the islands and then on to other places of exile. In 970 John I Tzimiskes exiled the empress Theophano to Prote and in 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes was mutilated and sent to Prote, where he soon died in a monastery he had founded.

Soldiers of the Fourth Crusade sacked the islands in 1204 and Latin pirates from Crete and Euboea again burned and pillaged them in 1302. In 1412 the fleet of Manuel II defeated a Turkish squadron in the waters north of Chalke. The islands were taken by the Ottomans on 17 April 1453, during the siege of Constantinople.

The Princes' Islands contain the remains of many monasteries, most of them in ruined condition. On Prote are the ruins of the monastery founded by Romanos IV and some traces of another monastery on the site of the modern Church of the Virgin in the lower town. At the summit of Antigone are the remains of a monastery of Christ (or the Transfiguration), possibly dating from the 9th C.; in the lower town are the ruins of a large cistern. On Chalke is the Church of the Virgin Kamariotissa, a tetraconch building of Constantinopolitan type now assigned to the 11th–12th C. (A. Pasadaios, *ArchEph* [1971] 1–55), although previously dated in the 14th C. The monastery of the Holy Trinity on Chalke has been identified by some as a monastery known to have existed in the early 9th C. and perhaps restored by Photios. The rich MS collections of these latter monasteries were transferred to the Library of the Greek Ecumenical Patriarchate in Istanbul in 1936 (E. Tsakopoulos, *Perigraphikos katalogos ton cheirographon tes bibliothekes tou oikoumenikou Patriarcheiou*, vols. 1–2 [Istanbul 1953–56]).

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 506–12. T. Mathews, "Observations on the Church of the Panagia Kamariotissa on Heybeliada (Chalke), Istanbul," *DOP* 27 (1973) 115–27, with note by C. Mango, *ibid.* 128–32. A. Mellas, *He Chalke ton Prinkeponeson* (Athens 1984). –T.E.G.

PRINKIPS CHEILAS. See CHEILAS.

PRISCIAN, Latin poet and grammarian; born Caesarea (in Mauritania), died Constantinople probably after 530. He studied in Constantinople under a certain Theoktistos and became a teacher of Latin grammar. The most important of his several grammatical works is the *Grammatical Institutions*, 18 voluminous books dedicated to a consul and *patrikios* named Julian, dealing with accidence and syntax and rich in quotations from early Latin literature; it was widely influential in the Middle Ages. His other grammatical studies included accent and meter, with particular attention to Terence and VERGIL; three of these are dedicated to Symmachus, who had been consul in 485.

Priscian also wrote two hexameter poems. One is a translation/adaptation of the *Description of the World* by Dionysios Periegetes, the other a panegyric on Emp. ANASTASIOS I. The panegyric is usually dated between 503 and 513, with Al. Cameron (*GRBS* 15 [1974] 313–16) preferring the former date, while its most recent editor, Chauvot (*infra* 98–107) argues that 513 is more likely. The

eulogy of Anastasios emphasizes his struggle against the Isaurians and contains invective against certain curias for their cruelty to peasants, against corrupt magistrates, and against barbarians. Overall, Priscian's works argue for a continued Latin-reading audience in the East in the early 6th C.; if, as some think, his addressee Julian is JULIAN THE EGYPTIAN, the poet of the *Greek Anthology*, a healthy cultural and linguistic interchange is also implied.

Priscian the grammarian is to be distinguished from his homonymous contemporary, the philosopher Priscian of Lydia, who was a student of DAMASKIOS, and one of the philosophers who sought refuge in Persia after Justinian I closed the ACADEMY OF ATHENS.

ED. M. Hertz, H. Keil, *Grammatici latini*, vols. 2–3 (Leipzig 1855–59; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1981). *La Periégèse de Priscien*, ed. P. van de Woestijne (Bruges 1953). A. Chauvot, *Procope de Gaza, Priscien de Césarée. Panégyriques de l'empereur Anastase Ier* (Bonn 1986).

LIT. M. Salamon, "Priscianus und sein Schülerkreis in Konstantinopel," *Philologus* 123 (1979) 91–96. R. Helm, *RE* 22.2 (1954) 2328–46. –B.B., A.M.T.

PRISCILLIAN, bishop of Avila, Spain; born between ca.335 and 345, died Trier 385 or more probably summer 386 (Chadwick, *infra* 137). Priscillian came into conflict with Spanish bishops, because he expounded Eastern-style asceticism. Condemned at the Synod of Saragossa in 380, he tried fruitlessly to gain the support of Pope Damasus I (366–84) and AMBROSE of Milan. Even less successful was his attempt to obtain assistance from the usurper MAXIMUS: after being condemned for MANICHAEANISM and involvement in black magic, Priscillian was executed. This first execution of a Christian heretic created a wave of protest, even by churchmen such as Ambrose who had refused to support Priscillian. Priscillian's adherents were active in Spain and Gaul in the 5th C., but his tenets were little known in the East.

Data about Priscillian's literary oeuvre and teaching are questionable. A parchment codex of the 5th–6th C. in the University of Würzburg contains Priscillianist writings, but it is unclear whether they are his own work or those of his followers. It is also debatable whether he actually propagated the heretical ideas that were ascribed to him by his adversaries: a distinction between the God of the Old Testament and the God of the New Testament; emphasis on the divine nature of the soul; denial of the perfect humanity of Christ; condemnation of marriage; engaging in the practice of magic and astrology. Many of these accusations resemble those made against GNOSTICISM and Manichaeanism.

LIT. H. Chadwick, *Priscillian of Avila* (Oxford 1976). F. Paret, *Priscillianus, ein Reformator des vierten Jahrhunderts* (Würzburg 1891). J.M. Blásquez Martínez, "Prisciliano introductor del ascetismo en Gallaecia," *Primera Reunión gallega de estudios clásicos* (Santiago de Compostela 1981) 185–209. –A.K.

PRISKOS (Πρίσκος), rhetorician at Constantinople and writer; born Panion between 410 and 420, died after 472. In 449, he went unofficially (?) on an embassy to ATTILA the Hun. Then after an interlude in Rome, he traveled to Egypt, visiting Alexandria and the Thebaid. He last appears ca.456 in the East, attached to the staff of Euphemios as Marcian's *magister officiorum*. Priskos's *History of Byzantium* (perhaps not the original title) survives only in fragments. Its scope is uncertain; he may have written a separate account of Attila. Very influential in Byz., it was much used in the *Excerpta de legationibus* (see EXCERPTA) and cited by authors from EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS (commending its elegance and erudition) to the SOUDA; CASSIODORUS and thereby JORDANES also exploited it. Priskos can be too rhetorical, his military narratives (esp. sieges) often owing more to literature than to reality. His attitudes, e.g., contempt for barbarians, are often traditional, but strong personal likes and dislikes often make him inconsistent. His meeting with a Greek defector provokes a debate over the respective qualities of justice and life in Byz. and among the barbarians. This occurs in his long account (fr.11) of the embassy to Attila, a narrative rich in ethnographic detail. Western events were evidently less amply treated, but Priskos shows himself well aware of the collapse of the old Roman Empire.

ED. Blockley, *Historians* 1:48–70, 113–23; 2:222–400, with Eng. tr. *Fragmenta*, ed. F. Bornmann (Florence 1979).

LIT. B. Baldwin, "Priscus of Panium," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 18–61. E.A. Thompson, *A History of Attila and the Huns* (Oxford 1948) 9–14, 103–20, 184–203. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:282–84. –B.B.

PRISKOS (Patr. Nikephoros I calls him Krispos), general; died after 612. Priskos was *magister militum* under Maurice, who sent him to replace PHILIPPIKOS in 588; a soldiers' mutiny forced Priskos to resign. In 592 the emperor put Priskos in

command on the Danube border (Theophanes the Confessor calls him "*strategos* of Thrace"); the chronology of the events described by Theophanes and Simokattes is not clear. Priskos's policy consisted in fighting small groups of Slavs penetrating Byz. territory while, by sly negotiations, he kept the khan of the Avars at peace. Maurice attempted to replace Priskos by Peter, the emperor's brother, but Peter was defeated and Priskos recalled. He was clever in dealing with soldiers, appeasing their discontent; he even managed to send to Constantinople booty that the soldiers had claimed was their own. When at Easter (598) Priskos was encamped near Tomi before the Avars, he persuaded the khan to conclude a truce, and the khan even sent grain to the Romans suffering from famine. A new appointment of Peter to the Danube army and the order to winter to the north of this river provoked the revolt of PHOKAS. Priskos was one of the few commanders who retained the favor of soldiers and Phokas after their victory: Phokas appointed him *komes* of the *exkoubitoi* and married his own daughter Domentzia to Priskos. When HERAKLEIOS approached Constantinople, Priskos clandestinely negotiated with him against his father-in-law and retained his position. Priskos marched against SHĀHĪN and encircled the Persian army at Caesarea in 612 but allowed the enemy to escape. Herakleios ordered the case to be investigated by the senate and accused Priskos of treason; he was deposed and tonsured on 5 Dec. 612.

LIT. Kaegi, *Unrest* 104–07, 145–47. Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:56–60. Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 151–64.

–W.E.K.

PRISONERS, EXCHANGES OF (ἀλλάγια). Soldiers or civilians taken prisoner by an army were often sold into SLAVERY. In Byz., their relatives usually had to find the funds and make the arrangements for buying them back. Byz. and the Arabs, however, arranged for exchanges of the very numerous prisoners captured in the course of the continuous raids and counterraids of the 9th–10th C. From 844 to 946, ten such exchanges are attested. They were carried out on the Cilician frontier at the river Lamis (west of Tarsos): during a truce, prisoners of either side, one by one, walked across a bridge to liberty and their coreligionists. Another such exchange is mentioned in 966, near Samosata. The exchanges, which involved several thousand prisoners each time, were usually peaceful (only in 905 was the exchange interrupted by the sudden departure of the Byz., probably motivated by a revolt in the empire). The unexchanged prisoners were bought back by the authorities of their country or exchanged later with liberated slaves.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 319f. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:198–204, 222–26, 239f; 2:124f, 182–84, 243f, 254–56.

–N.O.

PRISONERS OF WAR (αἰχμάλωτοι) were commonly paraded in triumphal processions (e.g., McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 147f); thereafter they were normally sold into captivity or retained in prison for ransom or exchange. A novel of John I Tzimiskes regulates the purchase and resale of prisoners by soldiers (Zepos, *Jus* 1:257f). During the 9th and 10th C., exchanges of captives (see PRISONERS, EXCHANGES OF) between Byz. and Arabs took place with a certain regularity. In other cases, esp. in times of military crisis, foreign prisoners of war might be invited to join the imperial army, and *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 695.3–14) outlines a procedure whereby Muslim prisoners of war who converted to Orthodoxy were introduced into Byz. households. While Byz. might occasionally make a noble gesture of releasing captives without ransom, examples of cruel treatment of prisoners of war—such as execution or mass blinding—are also attested.

The legal rights of Byz. captured by the enemy were suspended. In classical Roman law both their marriages and wills were voided; over the centuries, however, some of these provisions underwent modification: Justinianic legislation ruled that marriages continued in force as long as a captive spouse was known to be alive; Leo VI in novel 40 allowed prisoners of war to draw up wills while in confinement and in novel 33 prohibited wives of prisoners of war from remarrying in their absence. The same emperor permitted children of two captives to inherit regardless of whether their parents died free or in captivity.

In art prisoners of war are depicted as bound or in *proskynesis*, as in the JOSHUA ROLL. Exhibited in the HIPPODROME, they were a standard feature of imperial triumphs. The theme of captivity was often treated in Byz. literature and formed a *topos*

of the romance, depicting the separation of lovers taken captive. The cruelty of captors and physical sufferings of captives are described in historical texts (e.g., Theodosios the Monk, John Kaminiates) whereas hagiographers and authors of romances stressed the moral problem—the difficulty of preserving chastity or Christian faith while in captivity. The stories of benefactors ransoming people from captivity and of miraculous liberation of captives by saints (St. Nicholas of Myra, St. George, and others) are common in saints' vitae. The hagiographer of Neilos of Rossano, however, censured a metropolitan of Calabria who managed to bring many captives from Africa—Neilos reportedly was cross with the metropolitan for his negotiations with the Arabs (*AASS* Sept. 7:301A).

LIT. L. Amirante, "Appunti per la storia della 'redemptio ab hostibus,'" *Labeo* 3 (1957) 170–220.

–A.J.C., A.C., A.K.

PRISONS (primarily φυλακαί or δεσμωτήρια: Koukoules, *Bios* 3:224) served as a place of confinement for criminals (thieves, debtors, murderers, traitors, magicians) and political adversaries. Private prisons were prohibited by law (*Basil.* 60.55.2), but monasteries were widely used as jails (A. Guillou, *JÖB* 33 [1983] 79–86). Conditions were poor; the cells varied from dark rooms where prisoners were kept in chains to individual chambers where noble inmates lived in relative comfort. The most ancient prison in Constantinople was the Strategion, but the largest prison was the Praetorium of the eparch (see Logothetes tou Praitoriou); according to a legend, a pious lady Mare or Markia, under Phokas, appalled by the dirty conditions of existing prisons, donated her house for use as a jail. Five or six prisons were located in the Great Palace: Chalke, Noumera, Elephantine, Boukoleon, Anemas, and nearby Prandiara.

The chief of prisons, *tes phylakes proestos*, was in theory to be punished if he improperly alleviated the conditions of prisoners; a certain John Lagos, however, who was in charge of the Praetorium prison, employed prisoners for his own benefit, releasing thieves at night to burgle houses, and then dividing with them their loot (Nik.Chon. 525.85–95). Charity toward prisoners was a point of Christian morality, and pious people were supposed to visit prisons and comfort inmates. The release of prisoners sometimes became a political necessity, and the government also released them when Constantinople was threatened by attack or revolt. Women were not confined in regular prisons but in convents.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, R. Guilland, "Voleurs et prisons à Byzance," *REGr* 61 (1948) 127–36. Janin, *CP byz.* 166–73. G. Dmitriev, "Dolgovaja tjur'ma v Latinskoj Moree," *BS* 30 (1969) 73–76.

–A.K.

PRIZREN (Πρισδρίανα), town in modern Yugoslavia, district of Kosovo and Metohija, known from the early 11th C. as a bishopric in Bulgaria and site of a cathedral church. In 1072 it was a center of the revolt of George Voitech against Byz. (*SkylCont* 163.13–19). The Serbs, Byz., and Bulgarians disputed control over Prizren during the second half of the 12th and in the 13th C., but in the 14th C. it was one of the most important economic and political centers of the Serbian state: an annual fair was held there, and numerous merchants (Latin, Greek, traders from Dubrovnik, etc.) came to the town. Some Serbian coins were minted in Prizren, and an episcopal see was established there.

Church of the Virgin Ljeviška (Bogorodica Ljeviška). Cathedral church of the bishops of Serbia from the 13th C., the original structure was a three-aisled basilica of the 10th C. (a coin of Romanos I Lekapenos was found in excavations). This building was frescoed in the 13th C.; a figure of the Virgin Eleousa holding Christ (who is called "the one who feeds") and some Miracle scenes are preserved from this period. According to a brick inscription on the east façade, this original church was restored in 1306/7 by King Stefan Uroš II Milutin, who is referred to as the son-in-law of Andronikos II.

The church is oblong in plan, but in elevation it is an inscribed cross with five domes. The walls, of stone and brick cloisonné (see Brickwork Techniques), are articulated by arches framing gables and windows and other decorative brickwork. The outer aisles have apses at their east end; a high belltower and two side chapels were built over the exonarthex. According to an inscription in the exonarthex, the church was executed by the architect Nicholas, who is believed to have been trained in Epiros.

The wall paintings were done between 1307 and 1313. They reflect a typically Byz. program, and include themes such as the life of St. NICHOLAS OF MYRA (Ševčenko, *Nicholas*, 40f, 241f) and church councils (both in the south outer aisle), episcopal themes particularly appropriate for the decoration of a cathedral. An image of Christ is labeled the "protector" of Prizren. In the narthex, the figures of Milutin and his father stand under a blessing Christ; these royal portraits again echo Byz. models. Earlier members of the NEMANJID DYNASTY are portrayed on a facing wall. The exonarthex contains wall paintings of the Last Judgment, a long Baptism cycle, the Tree of Jesse, an illustration of the Second Kanon of John of Damascus, the Heavenly Ladder, prophets holding symbols of the Virgin, and personifications of the Old and New Testament.

The paintings are the work of Astrapas, whose name appears alongside that of the architect; he is probably the painter MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS). Though the volume of the human body is still stressed through the juxtaposition of light and shade, the colors are more harmonious here than in the earlier work of Astrapas at the Peribleptos church in OHRID. Although these frescoes do have some local Serbian features in their program, they are to be considered one of the finest surviving examples of the "second" Palaiologan style (see MONUMENTAL PAINTING).

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba* 2 (Belgrade 1952) 94f. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 2:142. D. Panić, G. Babić, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade 1975). S. Nenadović, *Bogorodica Ljeviška* (Belgrade 1963). Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 68–70.
–A.K., G.B.

PROASTEION (*προάστειον*), in classical and patristic vocabulary "suburb" or "suburban house"; Prokopios (*SH* 15:36) notes that the nobles of Constantinople spent almost the entire year in their "littoral *proasteia*," probably their suburban mansions. In the papyri of the 6th and 7th C., *proasteion* designated the owner's country residence without any connection with "suburbanism" (G. Husson, *Recherches de papyrologie* 4 [1967] 192–96). This sense of the term becomes prevalent in Byz. texts from the 8th C. onward, which mention *proasteia* located far away from urban centers (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 60, n.13): for instance, Eustathios BOILAS founded several *choria* and a *proasteion* (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 22.66) in a deserted region (possibly Cappadocia). The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.39–43) gives a definition of the *proasteion*: it was an allotment located at a distance from the inhabited center of a village; unlike the *agridion*, a regular type of "outside allotment," the *proasteion*'s owner did not dwell there but it was inhabited by his slaves, MISTHIOI, and the like. Gregory, the hagiographer of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER, owned a *proasteion* of this kind, which he visited annually, and where a *misthios* lived and worked. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, the son of a rich peasant in the Paphlagonian village of Amnia, is said to have had 48 or 50 *proasteia* (possibly within the territory of a single village), and the widow DANELIS possessed 80 *proasteia* in the Peloponnesos.

From the end of the 10th C. onward, the term *proasteion* designated an estate populated with *paroikoi*: Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:595.15–16) speaks generally of the "outside *proasteion*" inhabited by *paroikoi*, and monastic charters, from ca.975 onward, list *paroikoi* living in *proasteia* (*Lavra* 1, no.6.14, *Ivir.*, no.2.13–14). Alexios I's chrysobull of 1104 describes three *proasteia* of the Lavra of St. Athanasios, which contained approximately 14,000 *modioi* of land and accommodated 50 *paroikoi* (G. Ostrogorsky, *Istoriski časopis* 5 [1954–55] 19–25). The term, common in acts of the 11th–13th C., is relatively rare in later charters; it may have had the generic meaning of "countryside" as opposed to "polis" ("they built shrines everywhere in cities and *proasteia*"—*Lavra* 3, no.167.10, a.1429). The *idiostata* (lit. "separated") *proasteia* or *agridia* were allotments severed by fiscal officials from the main body of the *chorion* and levied at a separate, usually reduced, rate. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov (*infra*), maintaining the classical meaning of the word, considered *proasteia*-suburbs as major centers of industrial and trade activity.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 127f, 137–39. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Ekonomika prigorodov vizantijskich krupnych gorodov," *VizVrem* 11 (1956) 59–65. M. Loos, "Quelques remarques sur les communautés rurales et la grande propriété terrienne à Byzance," *BS* 39 (1978) 8–10. –M.B.

PROBUS, more fully Sextus Claudius Petronius Probus, Roman senator; born Verona? 328 (*PLRE*) or between 330 and 334 (W. Seyfarth), died Thessalonike 388 or later. Probus belonged to the wealthy and influential Christian family of ANI-

CIUS and played an important role during the reign of Valentinian I and esp. during the minority of Valentinian II. He was at least four times praetorian prefect and in 371 consul (together with the emperor Gratian). Probus is praised in several inscriptions and esp. by Ausonius; Symmachus corresponded with him seeking his support. He was reportedly well educated. Paulinus, a biographer of Ambrose, relates that his fame reached the Persians. The image of Probus in Ammianus Marcellinus, however, is a kind of caricature. In 375 the philosopher Iphicles, representing Epiros, accused Probus of fiscal oppression in Illyricum, and this probably forced him to retire. He reappeared at court in 383 as prefect of Illyricum, Italy, and Africa. In 387 Probus fled with Valentinian II from Rome when it was endangered by the invasion of MAXIMUS; he died soon after.

LIT. W. Seyfarth, "Sextus Petronius Probus," *Klio* 52 (1970) 411–25. *PLRE* 1:736–40. –T.E.G.

PROCESSION (*πρόκενσος, προέλευσις*), a public parade staged by various social groups (clergy, guilds, students, dignitaries, etc.). This basic element of most Byz. CEREMONY took its most characteristic form in the emperor's processions around Constantinople and its environs. Solemn imperial processions to HAGIA SOPHIA for the Eucharist on Great Feasts—which entailed sizable payments to the clergy—and to other shrines apparently reached their classic form by the 8th C. and are documented by DE CEREMONIIS, book 1, chapters 1–37 and the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH. Preliminary ceremonies within the palace included donning the COSTUME selected for the occasion and formation of the escort. The itineraries of processions changed over time (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 216–20); the routes were cleaned and decorated in advance and stations were selected at which the FACTIONS would greet with ACCLAMATIONS the emperor, who might walk or ride according to the occasion. Written petitions might be thrown on the emperor's path. For major processions to Hagia Sophia, a similar ceremony was observed on the return. Special kinds of processions included the TRIUMPH, ADVENTUS, and PROFECTIO. Artistic representations of such events, from the 4th through the 12th C., suggest only minor variations on the imperial adventus ceremony (K. Holum, G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 [1979] 115–33).

Processions formed a substantial element of private ceremonies such as WEDDINGS and FUNERALS. Hagiographical texts describe the processions accompanying the transfer of the coffin of a deceased saint from one church to another, where it was placed in a special chapel; the populace wore white garments and carried candles and torches (e.g., vita of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, ed. Lietzmann, 76.5–10). Processions also accompanied translations of RELICS and were a constituent element of festivities organized by professional groups or of collective prayers asking for rain, the extermination of locusts, or repulsion of the enemy. (See also LITE.)

LIT. D.F. Beljaev, *Byzantina*, vols. 2–3 (St. Petersburg 1893–97). Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 150–55. –M.McC., A.C.

PROCHEIRON NOMON. See HARMENOPOULOS, CONSTANTINE.

PROCHIRON, or *Procheiros Nomos* (Πρόχειρος Νόμος, Handbook, or The Law Ready at Hand), a law book divided into 40 titles that used to be dated to 870–79 (more precisely 872) but must be regarded as a revision of the EPANAGOGE ordered by Leo VI in 907 (Schminck, *Rechtsbücher* 55–107). The compiler of the *Prochiron* is unknown, though a Symbatios who is named in the preface to the EPITOME LEGUM may have participated in its composition. The aim of the *Prochiron* was to eliminate the forgeries and adulterations in the *Epanagoge* that were ascribed to Photios. The *Prochiron* is closer than the *Epanagoge* to their common basic source, the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Thirteen chapters of the *Prochiron* contain new regulations of Leo VI. The work mainly comprises private and penal law. The *Prochiron* is transmitted in numerous MSS and served as the basis for several other law books, for example, the *Hexabiblos* of HARMENOPOULOS.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 2:107–228, 395–410. Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Manual of Eastern Roman Law. The Procheiros Nomos* (Cambridge 1928).

LIT. Troianos, *Peges* 103–07. M. Benemanskij, *Ho Procheiros Nomos imperatora Vasilija Makedonjanina*, vol. 1 (Sergiev Posad 1906). N. Oikonomides, "Leo VI's Legislation of 907 Forbidding Fourth Marriages. An Interpolation in the Procheiros Nomos (IV, 25–27)," *DOP* 30 (1976) 173–93. –A.S.

PROCHIRON AUCTUM (Expanded Handbook), an extensive collection of mostly secular law, divided into 40 titles and 32 (or 33) supplementary titles (*paratitla*). The compilation, which originated in the first half of the 14th C., is based on the PROCHIRON, whose text—including the order of titles—was essentially retained but expanded through borrowings from various other sources (such as the ECLOGA, the EPANAGOGE, and the BASILIKA). The law book is transmitted in about a dozen MSS—considerably fewer than those containing the legal compendia of Matthew BLASTARES and Constantine HARMENOPOULOS, which originated at approximately the same time.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 7:1–361.
LIT. Zachariä, *Prochiron*, clv–clxxxv. J.-A.-B. Mortreuil, *Histoire du droit byzantin*, vol. 3 (Paris 1846; rp. Osnabrück 1966) 277–95. Burgmann in *Ecloga* 68f. –A.S.

PROCHIRON LEGUM (Handbook of the Laws), also called *Prochiron Calabriae*, a law book in 40 (or 41) titles transmitted in a single MS, Vat. gr. 845. The work of an unknown compiler, it must have been produced in Norman Italy in the 12th C. Sources of the *Prochiron legum* are a version of the ECLOGA closely related to the ECLOGA PRIVATA AUCTA and a version of the EPITOME LEGUM, which was enriched by passages of the EPANAGOGE. The special character of the work lies in the fact that its models are not reproduced word for word but in a simplified style and vocabulary.

ED. F. Brandileone, V. Puntoni, *Prochiron Legum* (Rome 1895). Partial Eng. tr. E.H. Freshfield, *A Provincial Manual of Later Roman Law. The Calabrian Procheiron* (Cambridge 1931).
LIT. F. Brandileone, "Studio sul Prochiron legum," *Bullettino dell'Istituto Storico Italiano* 16 (1895) 93–126. L.-R. Ménager, "Notes sur les codifications byzantines et l'Occident," in *Varia: Études de droit romain*, vol. 3 (Paris 1958) 264–69. Burgmann in *Ecloga* 77–79. –A.S.

PROCONSUL. See ANTHYPATOS.

PRODROMOS. See JOHN THE BAPTIST. For monasteries of the Prodromos, see MENOIKEION, MOUNT; PETRA MONASTERY; PHOBEROU MONASTERY.

PRODROMOS, MANGANEIOS, conventional name of the 12th-C. author of anonymous poems contained in the 14th-C. MS, Venice, Marc. gr. XI, 22. Up to the end of the 19th C. the poems were attributed to Theodore PRODROMOS, as they closely resemble his works in their contents and technique. There are, however, some difficulties in attributing them to Prodromos. One of the poems apparently alludes to Prodromos as deceased; the biographies as established on the basis of the works of Theodore and of Manganeios Prodromos are slightly different; rhythmic patterns also seem dissimilar. None of these arguments is, however, irrefutable, and the question remains open.

Manganeios Prodromos relates that he served as a poet in the entourage of the exiled *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE and addressed proud verses to Manuel I in Irene's name, claiming that she had been unjustly accused. Eventually he returned to Constantinople and tried to acquire Manuel's favor. He persistently begged Manuel to permit him to enter the monastery of St. George in MANGANA. Poems of Manganeios Prodromos contain abundant historical and prosopographical data on mid-12th-C. Byz.

ED. S. Papadimitriu, "Ho Prodromos tou Markianou kodikos XI 22," *VizVrem* 10 (1903) 102–63. *Theodori Prodromi De Manganis*, ed. S. Bernardinello (Padua 1972), rev. by A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 35 (1973) 252–54. I. Rácz, *Byzantina poiemata peri ton Oungrikon ekstrateion tou autokratoros Manuel* (Budapest 1941).
LIT. W. Hörandner, "Theodoros Prodromos und die Gedichtsammlung des Cod. Marc. XI 22," *JÖB* 16 (1967) 91–99. Idem, "Marginalien zum 'Manganeios Prodromos,'" *JÖB* 24 (1975) 95–106. –A.K.

PRODROMOS, THEODORE, poet at the court of IRENE DOUKAINA and JOHN II; born Constantinople ca.1100, died Constantinople ca.1170?. Prodromos (Πρόδρομος) developed the genre of poetic panegyric created by Nicholas KALLIKLES and used it to praise the military qualities of both the emperor and noble generals. In a poem on the birth of Alexios, son of the *sebastokrator* Andronikos Komnenos, Prodromos expatiates on the ideal education for a young aristocrat, on his wealth and his noble origin (Hörandner, no.44). Prodromos also produced prose panegyrics, such as a eulogy of Patr. John IX Agapetos (1111–34) (K. Manaphes, *EEBS* 41 [1974] 226–42) and a monody on his friend and teacher Stephen Skylitzes (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 8 [1903] 6–14). More than the conventional presentation of the emperor or a virtuous man, Prodromos's panegyrics are full

of personal observations and emotions, of gentle lyricism and mockery (even self-mockery). He helped to regenerate the genre of erotic romance. Although his *Rodanthe and Dosikles* imitated the *Aethiopica* of HELIODOROS, it reflected the realities and political aspirations of his own time (cf. C. Cupane, *RSBN* 10–11 [1973–74] 147–68); also the *Katomyomachia* (The War of the Cat and Mice), despite its archaic framework, has contemporary allusions and associations. Prodromos wrote parodies laughing at the shortcomings and vices of everyday life—illiteracy, lewdness, the helplessness of a patient in the hands of a clumsy dentist (ed. G. Podestà, *Aevum* 21 [1947] 12–21); in a more serious vein he also composed an allegorical description of the 12 months and philosophical and theological works.

The events of Prodomos's life are little known. His career probably ended with the death of John II. He lost his position of poet laureate and his modest property and lived at the Church of the Holy Apostles, writing occasional verses for the Byz. nobility. Prodomos died as a monk, having assumed the name of Nicholas. He enjoyed enormous popularity; some of his devotees knew his prose and iambics by heart (*Michel Italikos*, ed. P. Gautier [Paris 1972] 64.1–3). Niketas EUGENEIANOS (along with other contemporaries) lamented Prodomos's death in monodies, and many of his works were imitated. On the other hand, Prodromos's authorship of several pieces has been questioned; no convincing evidence proves whether he was the real author of poems conventionally assigned to PTOCHOPRODROMOS and Manganeios PRODROMOS.

ED. *Historische Gedichte*, ed. W. Hörandner (Vienna 1974). PG 133:1101–1424. R. Hercher, *Scriptores erotici graeci* (Leipzig 1859) 2:287–434. H. Hunger, *Der byzantinische Katz-Mäuse-Krieg* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1968). A.A. Longo, *Il calendario giambico in monostici di Teodoro Prodromo* (Rome 1983). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon*, 666–70.

LIT. S.D. Papadimitriu, *Feodor Prodrom* (Odessa 1905). Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 87–114. W. Hörandner, "Prodromos-Reminiszenzen bei Dichtern der nikänischen Zeit," *ByzF* 4 (1972) 88–104. –A.K.

PROEDROS (πρόεδρος), a term used both as a civilian title of rank and as an ecclesiastical title.

Proedros as a Civilian Dignity. According to an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 284.2–4), Nikephoros II Phokas appointed BASIL THE NOTHOS as *proedros*, "an *axioma* that did not previously exist." The title was high-ranking: it is mentioned in the mid-10th-C. TAKTIKON of Beneševič (245.3) following the BASILEOPATOR, but G. Ostrogorsky (*ZRVI* 2 [1953] 56f) considered this a later interpolation; in the slightly later *Taktikon of Escurial* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 263.10) it is situated one rung lower, after the ZOSTE PATRIKIA. The dignity of *proedros* was identical with the office of *proedros* of the SENATE, the promotion to which is described in *De ceremoniis*. The term implied precedence: *proedros* of the notaries amounted to the PROTONOTARIOS; the first *proedros* of judges (*dikaspoloi*) is known from an undated seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.687). The title of *proedros* (and *protoproedros*) was broadly granted in the 11th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp. klass.* 107–13) but disappeared after the mid-12th C. The first *proedroi* seem to have been exclusively eunuchs, but from the mid-11th C. there were bearded *proedroi*, many from the military aristocracy. In the second half of the 11th C., a *proedrissa*, Maria Philokalina, is attested.

A leaf inserted into a late 11th-C. MS in Princeton (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 74–76) depicts a *proedros* John, holding a scroll on which his dedication of a *menologion* is inscribed. He wears a chlamys perhaps similar to the silk coat of the *proedros* ARGYROS, son of Melo, valued at 100 *librae* of silver in an 11th-C. document (A. Guillou, *DOP* 28 [1974] 100, 109).

LIT. C. Diehl, "De la signification du titre de proèdre à Byzance," in *Mélanges G. Schlumberger*, vol. 1 (Paris 1924) 105–17. Oikonomides, *Listes* 299. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 282–86, 297–301. –A.K., A.C.

Proedros as an Ecclesiastical Title. In ecclesiastical terminology *proedros* was generally a synonym for BISHOP, the supreme officer or "president" of the local church. Every bishop was indeed the natural *proedros* of his see (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:453A). Infrequently, however, the term served as a title for the METROPOLITAN, the superior of an ecclesiastical province (TRULLO, canon 39). Despite this occasional restriction, the term continued to be used indiscriminately for all dignitaries of episcopal rank until the 13th C. when it acquired a more technical canonical meaning. Specifically, a bishop given a vacant see(s) to hold as a benefice concurrently with his own—*kat' epidosin*—was referred to in the patriarchal acts as the *proedros* of the vacant see. By virtue of this subvention the bishop in effect became the administrator or director of the second see but not

its effective titular head as no enthronement or installation was involved. Strictly speaking, he could never occupy this throne. The incorporation of such sees was, in fact, provisional, ceasing once a new bishop was elected. *Proedros* in this absolutely new sense was thus the equivalent of administrator.

Since the word implied a right of precedence, it was sometimes combined with other titles to form honorary offices, such as *proedros* (or *protoproedros*) *ton protosynkellon*.

LIT. S. Salaville, "Le titre ecclésiastique de 'proedros' dans les documents byzantins," *EO* 29 (1930) 416–36. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:xxxi. N.B. Tomadakis, "I titoli 'Vescovo, arcivescovo e proedro' della Chiesa Apostolica Cretese nei testi agiografici," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 321–26. –A.P.

PROFECTIO (τὰ ἐξιτήρια, προπομπή), the ceremonial counterpart of ADVENTUS, marking the departure of the emperor, officials, etc., for which the Romans issued COINS and developed a specific iconography. *Profectio bellica* marked the departure of the army or the emperor for war and entailed propitiatory services, distribution of alms, a PROCESSION out of Constantinople, and veneration of the emperor's cross-standard containing a relic of the True Cross (*TheophCont* 881.5–9; Goar, *Euchologion* 651–53) and, when appropriate, a blessing for the fleet (Prokopios, *Wars* 3.12.1–2; Goar, *Euchologion* 685). A more common form of *profectio* was the peacetime departure ceremony, which might comprise a liturgical service, citizens' escort out of the city gates, acclamations, and even panegyrics. It allowed citizens to express their opinion of an administrator: Kekaumenos (Kek. 154.9–11) told his son that he would get a real send-off if he administered his district properly.

LIT. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 246–51, 254f. –M.McC.

PROFIT (κέρδος) was evaluated by the Byz. on social and moral grounds. Kekaumenos wrote that "honest" profit was one derived from agricultural enterprise (the simple surplus of goods produced above the demands of the household) and from state salaries; he overtly rejects "dishonest" (and dangerous) sources of profit, such as USURY or tax farming. Emp. Theophilos went even farther than Kekaumenos and condemned commercial activity as unworthy of a noble person. The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (15:39) arrogantly dismissed profit-seeking as a motive for any imperial action: "*Kerdos*," he said, "is not the objective of Our Majesty in seeking to subjugate Our opponents."

The Byz. tended to eliminate the uncertainty or RISK involved in seeking profit by introducing the idea of fixed profit: the JUST PRICE restricted in theory the rampant inflation of PRICES (which in practice could soar during a shortage of goods), and the *Book of the Eparch* regulated the level of profit; the prohibition on hoarding goods in the expectation of price increases was directed toward the same tendency to fix profits; in practice, however, Byz. managers recommended the purchase of goods at a time of low prices, even once a year. MONOPOLY as a means to maximize profit also originated with the concept of a "stable" economy, providing the state with a source of income independent of any market fluctuation.

LIT. A. Toynbee, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus and His World* (London 1973) 39f. Litavrin in Kek. 102. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni" 208–12. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "O zaprete nakoplenija naličnymi den'gami v Vizantii," *VizVrem* 1 (1947) 267–69. –A.K.

PROGYMNASMATA (προγυμνάσματα), "preliminary exercises" in composition, originally designed to prepare a student for *gymnasmata*, the public performance of complete speeches. They were first discussed by Theon of Alexandria (1st–2nd C.), then by an anonymous author whose work was included in the corpus of HERMOGENES, more fully by NICHOLAS OF MYRA and esp. APHTHONIOS. Aphthonios established 14 categories of *progymnasmata*: (1) FABLE; (2) *diegema*, short narrative; (3) *chreia*, maxim or anecdote; (4) GNOME; (5) *anaskeue*, refutation (of a statement or narrative); (6) *kataskeue*, confirmation; (7) *koinos topos*, a general point (usually exemplifying a vice); (8) ENKOMION; (9) INVECTIVE; (10) *synkrisis*, comparison; (11) ETHOPOIIA; (12) EKPHRASIS; (13) *thesis*, presentation of an argument; (14) *tou nomou eisphora*, introduction of a law.

Numerous *progymnasmata* composed by teachers and men of letters survive from the time of Libanios through the last Palaiologoi. Some of the categories acquired independent status as separate genres. According to Schissel (*infra*), the most popular *progymnasmata* were *ekphrasis* and *ethopoiia*, which gave the maximum opportunity for aesthetic expression. Though biblical topics appear occasionally (e.g., in the *ethopoiia* of Nike-

phoros BASILAKES on the "Words the Theotokos uttered when Christ changed water into wine"), the majority of themes were borrowed from Greek mythology or ancient history. *Progymnasmata* may have been not mere exercises, but a way to escape the prohibitions of Orthodoxy by choosing non-Orthodox topics (H.G. Beck, *Das byzantinische Jahrtausend* [Munich 1978] 146f) or using hidden allusions.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:92–120. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 54–70. O. Schissel, "Rhetorische Progymnasmatik der Byzantiner," *BNJbb* 11 (1934–35) 1–10. –E.M.J., A.K.

PROHOR OF PČINJA, southern Slavic hermit, monk, and saint; fl. mid-11th C.; feastday 15 Jan. Prohor established himself in a cave at Staro Nagoričino near Kumanovo, where he was visited, according to the late tradition, by the Byz. officer Romanos Diogenes, to whom Prohor foretold that he would become emperor. When Romanos did so in 1067 (see ROMANOS IV DIOGENES), he built a church on the site of Prohor's cave, which was restored in the 14th C. During the Pecheneg and Cuman invasions Prohor moved to Pčinja near Vranje. In the late 11th C. a monastery was founded there that became, like those of GAVRIIL OF LESNOVO, Ioakim of Osogove, and JOHN OF RILA, a center of southern Slavic literature and culture in the 12th C. In the early 14th C., King Stefan Uroš II Milutin restored the Pčinja monastery.

LIT. J. Hadži-Vasiljević, "Sv. Prohor Pčinjski i njegov manastir," in *Godišnjica Nikole Čupića* 20 (1900) 167f. –R.B.

PROKATHEMENOS (προκαθήμενος, lit. "president"), the designation of the chief of a bureau. The term appeared in the 12th C. (not the 11th, as in Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 155, n.106). In 1166 Manuel I listed four major tribunals, whose heads were the *megas* DROUNGARIOS [TES VIGLAS], the *prokathemenos* of the *demosiaka dikasteria* (state courts), PROTASEKRETIS, and DIKAIODOTES (R. Macrides, *FM* 6 [1984] 138.223–24); in 1186 Isaac II entrusted the *prokathemenos* of the SEKRETA with collecting fines for disobeying the emperor's chrysobull (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.10.25). It is not clear whether the two should be identified, as did Stein ("Untersuchungen" 34). The *prokathemenos* of a *kastron* or town is attested at the same time, if the seal of a certain *prokathemenos* of Maroneia is indeed of the 12th C. In any case, *prokathemenoi* of towns are often mentioned in the 13th–14th C.: in Smyrna (Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 155–58), Philadelphia, Drama, Ioannina, Avlon, Kanina, and Dyrrachion. Stein ("Untersuchungen" 24, n. 1) suggests that *prokathemenoi* were civil administrators, whereas the KASTROPHYLAX served as commander of the garrison. Pseudo-KODINOS speaks also of *prokathemenoi* of palaces, of the imperial KOITON and VESTIARION—all connected with aulic service.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 2:53, 55f. –A.K.

PROKLOS (Πρόκλος), bishop of Constantinople (from 434 or 437) and saint; died 12 July 446 or 447; feastday 20 Nov. In 425 he failed to secure election to the see of Constantinople on the death of Patr. ATTIKOS, whose secretary he was; he also failed to gain his designated see at Kyzikos in 426. In 428/9 at Constantinople he delivered an epochal sermon against NESTORIOS, in which he praised Mary as the THEOTOKOS, developing the notion that she had conceived Christ aurally on hearing the words of the Holy Spirit (T.E. Gregory, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 321–23). After finally becoming bishop, he effected the transfer of the body of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM to Constantinople in 438, one of several attempted acts of reconciliation of the theological factions. He is credited with introducing the TRISAGION into the liturgy.

Nearly 30 of his sermons survive, in Greek, Armenian, Ethiopic, and Syriac versions; the authenticity of some is disputed. In the so-called *Tome to the Armenians*, Proklos defends the Chalcedonian doctrine of two natures of Christ in one hypostasis or person. Although Proklos does not name him, the *Tome* is directed against THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. Letter 4, which is preserved in a Latin fragment (PG 65:876f), contains the words "One of the Trinity was crucified according to the flesh," a formula that was discussed in the 6th C. during the controversy over THEOPASCHITISM.

ED. PG 65:679–888. Theotokos sermon—ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, Tome 1, vol. 1, pt.1:103–07. Syriac tr., ed. E. Lucchesi in *Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, ed. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey (Geneva 1984) 187–98. *Tome*—ed. Schwartz, *ACO*, Tome 4, vol. 2:187–95.

LIT. F.J. Leroy, *L'homilétique de Proclus de Constantinople* (Vatican 1967). F.X. Bauer, *Proklos von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1919). Richard, *Opera minora* 2, no.52:303–31. –B.B.

PROKLOS, Neoplatonic philosopher; born Constantinople 8 Feb. 410 or 412, died Athens 17 Apr. 485. Proklos first studied rhetoric, law, and philosophy at Alexandria. In 430/1 he joined the Neoplatonic ACADEMY OF ATHENS, studying Aristotelian and Platonic philosophy with Ploutarchos of Athens and with Syrianos, whom he succeeded as head of the school (ca.437). A life of intensive teaching and writing, interrupted by a year of exile in Lydia, resulted in a large corpus, including commentaries on Euclid, Ptolemy, and Aristotle and on Plato's *Alcibiades*, *Republic*, *Timaeus*, and *Parmenides* as well as a *Platonic Theology* and the *Elements of Theology*.

Proklos developed the philosophy of his immediate predecessors (not enough is known of the latter to permit one to measure the degree of Proklos's originality), giving it a systematic form that became authoritative in the Neoplatonic schools of Athens and Alexandria. Like his immediate predecessors, Proklos saw philosophy as a divine revelation conveyed to man by the gods through oracles (the so-called CHALDEAN ORACLES), prophets, and sages (both barbarian and Greek), including in particular PLATO. This revelation is intended to save man by leading him to self-knowledge and a return to his divine, otherworldly origin. The return makes use of theurgy and sciences such as physics and mathematics that prepare the soul for access to the science of the divine (theology or metaphysics), communicated in Plato's *Parmenides*, and leading to a union of the soul with the divine that transcends scientific thought. Proklos summarized very successfully the science of the divine in his *Elements of Theology*, where, following the strict standards of scientific demonstration prescribed by Aristotle and that Proklos found exemplified in Euclid, the various levels of reality transcending the material world are presented: the ineffable "One," the source of all reality; the "henads," an order of gods deriving from the One and acting as causes of what follows; a series of descending levels of lesser gods, "intelligible" and "intellectual," terminating at the level of the human soul and arranged in complicated, mathematically inspired (in particular, triadic) relationships.

Later Influence of Proklos. Proklos's works became standard in the philosophical schools of the period and his authority was assured by a network of pupils that included Marinos, his successor and biographer, and AMMONIOS. Proklos's ideas were appropriated for Christian theology by pseudo-DIONYSIOS, but attacked by John PHILOPONOS. From the 7th C. onward the name of Proklos disappears from view, to be resurrected in the 11th C., esp. by Michael Psellos and John Italos and also by Eustratios of Nicaea and Michael of Ephesus. The 12th C. became more critical of Proklos: whereas the *sebastokrator* Isaac KOMNENOS still copied much of him, Tzetzes, George Tornikes, Niketas Seides, and Prodromos were polemical. NICHOLAS OF METHONE wrote *Refutation*, in which he emphasized the unity of the Trinity as opposed to the Proklean theory of emanation. Proklos again became popular from the 13th C. onward, when George Pachymeres copied, supplemented, and quoted from MSS of Proklos. The *Elements of Theology* was translated into Georgian by JOHN PETRIC'I, and WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated many of Proklos's works into Latin.

ED. *The Elements of Theology*², ed. E.R. Dodds (Oxford 1963), with Eng. tr. *Théologie platonicienne*, ed. H.-D. Saffrey, L.G. Westerink, 6 vols. (Paris 1968–), with Fr. tr.

LIT. W. Beierwaltes, *Proklos: Grundzüge seiner Metaphysik*² (Frankfurt 1979). G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaus von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 509–23. P. Kristeller, "Proclus as a Reader of Plato and Plotinus, and His Influence in the Middle Ages and in the Renaissance," in *Proclus lecteur et interprète des anciens*, ed. J. Pépin, H.-D. Saffrey (Paris 1987) 191–211. *Proclus et son influence*, Actes du colloque de Neuchâtel (Zürich 1987). L. Siorvanes, *Proclus: The Forgotten Light* (London 1989).

–D.O'M., A.K.

PROKONNESOS (Προικόννησος, mod. Marmara), the largest island in the Sea of MARMARA, close to the city of KYZIKOS. It was famous for its MARBLE quarries, which continued production during the late Roman period: in the early 5th C. taxes on the mines and quarries of Docimeum, Prokonnesos, and the Troad were levied with a special strictness (*Cod.Theod.* XI 28.9 and 11), and Prokonnesian marble was used to ornament Constantinople (e.g., ZOSIMOS 2.30.4, ed. Paschoud 1 [1971] 103.25); in the 9th C. "the white stone from Proikonnesos" still served as building material for major monuments (*TheophCont* 141.17–18, 145.22). The SARCOPHAGI made of fine, blue-tinged, crystalline Prokonnesian marble were known throughout the whole Roman world; in the 4th and 5th C. elaborate garland-patterned sarcophagi were replaced by plain chests without garland pattern (J.B. Ward Perkins, *Archaeology* 11 [1958] 98–104).

Prokonnesos was the seat of the archbishop of the Islands (*Notitiae CP* 1.55); 11th-C. seals of archbishops of "Proikonnesos" are published (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 829–30). The island served as a place of exile: Stephen the Younger was banished there in 754; in 1058 Patr. Michael I Keroularios was exiled there, together with his nephews; Patr. Arsenios was exiled to Prokonnesos in 1264 and founded a small monastery on the island in the region of Souda; according to a late *akolouthia*, Emp. Michael VII took the monastic habit at the monastery of St. Timothy on Prokonnesos.

LIT. C.M. Danoff, *RE* supp. 14 (1974) 560f. Janin, *Églises centres* 209–14. –A.K.

PROKOPIOS (Προκόπιος), saint; feastday 8 July. According to EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA (*De mart. Palest.* 1.1–2), he was the first Palestinian martyr, beheaded in Caesarea during Diocletian's persecutions of 303 after refusing to sacrifice to the four emperors. The longer version of Eusebios's work, preserved in Syriac, Georgian (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 66 [1953] 245–66), and Latin translations, conveys more biographical data: supposedly born in Aelia-Jerusalem, Prokopios was active in Skythopolis as *anagnostes*, interpreter in Syriac, and exorcist. These data are included in the first version of Prokopios's *passio*, which relates in great detail the martyr's trial and miracles: the hands of the "speculator" Archelaos were paralyzed when he lifted his sword against Prokopios; Prokopios held burning frankincense in his palm. The second version transforms Prokopios into a different person—the pagan Neanias, son of a *synkletike prote* in Aelia. Diocletian's military commander, he was miraculously converted to Christianity. CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS and the CHRONICON PASCHALE attest the veneration of Prokopios in Skythopolis and Caesarea; eventually he acquired the features of a MILITARY SAINT. Prokopios's *passio* was included in the collection of SYMEON METAPHRASTES and he was praised by NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON (F. Halkin, *AB* 80 [1962] 174–93), Constantine AKROPOLITES, and others. A very rhetorical *passio* of Prokopios of Persia by HESYCHIOS OF JERUSALEM (H. Delehaye, *AB* 24 [1905] 475–82) may have been modeled on the *passio* of Prokopios of Caesarea.

Representation in Art. In artistic depictions it is the military figure of Prokopios that predominates. He wears a *maniakion* (see TORQUE) on 10th-C. ivory triptychs and icons but is clad in full armor by the 11th C. in his many representations in MSS of Symeon Metaphrastes and in monumental painting, esp. in Cappadocia. He is young and beardless, with dark hair curling about his ears. His vision while on horseback of a cross hung in the sky by two chains is illustrated in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.85r) and his beheading in one MS of Metaphrastes (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.86v).

SOURCES. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 228–33. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:1–27. F. Halkin, *Inédits byzantins d'Ochrida, Candie et Moscou* (Brussels 1963) 96–130.
LIT. *BHG* 1576–1582c, 1584. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:229f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

PROKOPIOS, usurper (from 28 Sept. 365); born Korykos ca.326, died Phrygia 27 May 366. Prokopios was related (probably through his mother) to Emp. Julian. First a notary, he was given an important military command by Julian, who may have promised him the succession to the throne. In 363, however, when Julian was killed, he yielded to Jovian; after presiding over Julian's burial in Tarsos, he went into retirement on his estates in Cappadocia. Once Valens came to the throne in 364, however, he fell under suspicion and subsequently fled to the Chersonese in the Crimea. Broad opposition to the harsh policies of Valens led to the proclamation of Prokopios by troops in Constantinople. He arrested the supporters of Valens and tried to gain the backing of the house of Constantius II, including his widow Faustina. The movement was supported by peasants in Thrace and Asia Minor. In his propaganda Prokopios stressed his legitimacy as Julian's successor (J.-L. Desnier, *Latomus* 43 [1984] 606), but lack of resources forced him to levy high taxes, which made him unpopular. The majority of troops either remained loyal to Valens or soon deserted Prokopios's cause. Prokopios was captured and executed. The revolt, however, continued, and Markellos, a former commander under Julian, was acclaimed emperor in Nicaea; he too was soon seized and killed. Chalcedon and Philippopolis held out for a while, but the rebels surrendered after they were shown Prokopios's head. Thrace was severely punished and some rebels fled to the barbarians.

LIT. G.L. Kurbatov, "Vosstanie Prokopija," *VizVrem* 14 (1958) 3–26. A. Solari, "La rivolta Procopiana a Costanti-

nopoli," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 143–48. N.J.E. Austin, "A Usurper's Claim to Legitimacy: Procopius in A.D.365/6," *Rivista storica dell'antichità* 2 (1972) 187–94. –T.E.G.

PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA in Palestine, 6th-C. historian. Prokopios spent his adult life in Constantinople. Until 540 he accompanied the campaigns of Justinian's general BELISARIOS (whose secretary and legal adviser [*assessor*] he became in 527) in the East, North Africa, and Italy. His eyewitness account of the PLAGUE shows he was in Constantinople in 542. Prokopios then largely drops from view, his fortunes doubtless suffering from Belisarios's own vicissitudes. His equation with the Prokopios who was city prefect in 562 has been rightly challenged.

Prokopios's major work is the *Wars*, eight books celebrating Byz. victories over the Persians, Vandals, and Ostrogoths. More observer than analyst, Prokopios is conventional in his attitudes toward emperor and society, albeit his preference for secular over religious causation is notable. The *Buildings*, a eulogy of Justinian's public works, has some tedious passages, but is valuable for its architectural and social history. Most notorious is the *Secret History* (*Anekdota*), in which Prokopios reshapes his narratives into a vicious, indeed ludicrous, invective against Justinian, Theodora, and other principals of the reign; it can have circulated only clandestinely. All three works were probably written in the 550s, though precise dates are much disputed, and the reasons for his change in attitude toward Justinian are endlessly discussed. The apparent promise (*SH* 26.18) to write an ecclesiastical history has surprised some, but further calumny of Justinian seems to be his principal aim.

ED. *Procopii Caesariensis opera omnia*, ed. J. Haury, revised G. Wirth, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1962–64). *Procopius*, ed. H.B. Dewing, 7 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1914–40), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Av. Cameron, *Procopius and the Sixth Century* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1985). J.A.S. Evans, *Procopius* (New York 1972). B. Rubin, *Prokopios von Kaisareia* (Stuttgart 1954) [= *RE* 23.1 (1957) 273–599]. I. Goldstein, "Historiografski kriteriji Prokopija iz Cesareje," *ZRVI* 24/25 (1986) 25–101. –B.B.

PROKOPIOS OF GAZA, rhetorician and exegete; born Gaza ca.465, died ca.528. Prokopios's career was spent in his native city. His reputation profits from the glittering funeral tribute of his pupil CHORIKIOS, which emphasizes Prokopios's student precocity. His Christianity led him into polemics against the Neoplatonist PROKLOS, along with commentaries on biblical texts. Discernible ideas include preference for a progressive universe over an eternal world and prophetic inspiration rather than ecstasy. Prokopios's panegyric on Emp. ANASTASIOS I is of value to modern historians, and his approximately 160 letters provide much contemporary information. A monody on Antioch's destruction by earthquake in 526 is lost. Among his rhetorical set pieces, the description of a mechanical HOROLOGION in which a figure of Herakles came out to perform his 12 labors (H. Diels, *Über die von Prokop beschriebene Kunstuhr von Gaza* [Berlin 1917]) and pictures of scenes from Euripides' *Hippolytus* (P. Friedländer, *Spätantiker Gemäldezyklus in Gaza* [Vatican 1939]) are of most interest to historians of art and science.

The major part of the oeuvre of Prokopios is devoted to commenting on the Old Testament (the Octateuch, Song of Songs, etc.); in the case of the *Eklogai,* Prokopios's exegesis of the Proverbs, however, there survives not the original version but "a medieval catena of very bad quality" (Richard, *Opera minora* 1, no. 17, 1259f). Prokopios believed that the so-called obscurity of the Old Testament was owing to the failure of previous generations to understand it (PG 87:28C); to clarify the text he collected statements of "fathers" and of other writers, regardless of whether they agreed or disagreed with one another (PG 87:21A). Thus he tried to systematize the patristic heritage and was one of the creators of the genre of CATENAE.

ED. PG 87. *In imperatorem Anastasium Panegyricus*, ed. C. Kempen (Bonn 1918). *Epistolae et declamationes*, ed. A. Garzya, R.-J. Loenertz (Ettal 1963).

LIT. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 170–75. G. Downey, *Gaza in the Early Sixth Century* (Norman, Okla., 1963) 108–16. L. Eisenhofer, *Procopius von Gaza* (Freiburg 1897). E. Lindle, *Die Oktateuchkatene des Prokop von Gaza und die Septuagintaforschung* (Munich 1902). –B.B., A.K.

PROKYPSIS (*πρόκυψις*), a term describing both an elevated wooden platform and an imperial CEREMONY performed on that structure at the Komnenian and Palaiologan court. The emperor mounted the platform behind a closed curtain. On cue, he was brilliantly illuminated, the curtain was thrown open, and an audience of palace

guards, officials, and clergy, which was assembled below, intoned the *polychronion* (see ACCLAMATIONS) and appropriate chants. Surviving texts associated with the *prokypsis* are filled with sun and light metaphors, leading some to claim survivals in them from Hellenistic or Roman solar cults. A 14th-C. ceremonial book describes the ceremony as it was performed on Christmas Eve (pseudo-Kod. 195.11–204.23); it seems to have been repeated for Epiphany as well as for imperial CORONATIONS and weddings. Parallels with earlier KATHISMA ceremonies have been argued, but the precise origins of *prokypsis* remain unclear. A possible illustration in Vat. gr. 1851, fol.7r (cf. M. Jeffreys, *Byzantine Papers* [Canberra 1981] 101–15) remains controversial.

LIT. E.H. Kantorowicz, "Oriens Augusti–Lever du roi," *DOP* 17 (1963) 119–77. Spatharakis, *Portrait* 214–16. M. Andreeva, "O cerimonii 'prokipsis,'" *SemKond* 1 (1927) 157–73. –M.McC.

PRONOETES (προνοητής), administrator, supervisor, esp. of estates; the term was often used in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:149f) and a novel of Tiberios I mentions the *pronoetes* of imperial domains (Zepos, *Jus* 1:20.2). This meaning was preserved to the 10th and 11th C.: the vita of PAUL OF LATROS (*AB* 11 [1892] 138.17–18) speaks of a *protospatharios* entrusted with the *pronoia* of imperial estates, and a *sigillion* of 1092 mentions the *pronoetes* of estates of a *sebastokrator* (*Lavra* 1, no.51.14). *Pronoetes* could also be the designation of the user of a CHARISTIKION. The *protonotarios* of St. George (of MANGANA) and *pronoetes* was the owner of a seal of the 12th C. (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 151), and probably CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, "the *phylax* of the *pronoia* of Mangana and of the documents" (*SkylCont* 106.9), held this post a century earlier. In the 10th–12th C. the terms *pronoia* and *pronoetes* were employed for provincial administration; *pronoetai* of Bulgaria, Samos, Lakedaimon, and Athens are known. Bănescu considered *pronoetai* as fiscal officials, while Wasilewski viewed them as governors, although of a lower rank than the DOUX or KATEPANO. The term *pronoetes* was never applied to the holder of a private PRONOIA (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 18).

LIT. N. Bănescu, "La signification des titres de *praitor* et de *pronoetes* à Byzance aux XIe et XIIe siècles," *ST* 123 (1946) 395–98. T. Wasilewski, "Les titres de duc, de catépan et de pronoétès dans l'Empire byzantin du IXe jusqu'au XIIe siècle," 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Belgrade 1964) 236f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 210–13. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 149f. –A.K.

PRONOIA (πρόνοια, lit. "care," "forethought"), in Byz. Greek both a theological and administrative-fiscal term.

Theological Meaning. *Pronoia*, meaning providential care, was a concept developed by Byz. theology in contrast to pagan, esp. Epicurean, DETERMINISM. The problem was discussed in apologetic and polemical literature, in EROTAPOKRISEIS, and in monographs, the greatest of which are the five tracts by Patr. GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS. Although the distinction between *pronoia* and TYCHE was not always clear-cut, the concept of providence presupposed belief in the personal Godhead who had created mankind as good but possessing FREE WILL and thus able to choose the path of good or evil. Michael PSELLOS was the first to analyze deeply relations between human deliberate choice (*proairesis*) and divine providence.

In patristic terminology providence often appears synonymously with (kindness of) God; Eusebios of Caesarea (*HE* 2.14.6), for example, speaks of "the all-good Pronoia, philanthropic toward all" that directed the apostle Peter to Rome. The idea of providential care was, in John of Damascus and his followers, a momentous argument against the concept of ontological evil typical of dualistic tenets. It created, however, another difficulty: Beck (*infra* 262) emphasizes the "tragic conflict" in late Byz. that existed between the concept of providence and predestination (*proorismos*), between the concept of a personal God caring about his "chosen people," and the reality of the shrinking world of Byz., ever oppressed and finally destroyed by surrounding "barbarians." The rationale for this paradox, that it was a temporary divine punishment for sinful behavior, became less and less convincing as Byz. moved toward its demise; the late Byz. philosophy of history suggested no rationale for the fact that providence had seemingly turned away from the Byz. (C.I.G. Turner, *BZ* 57 [1964] 346–73).

LIT. H. Beck, *Vorsehung und Vorherbestimmung in der theologischen Literatur der Byzantiner* (Rome 1937). L.G. Benakis, "Die Stellung des Menschen im Kosmos in der byzantinischen Philosophie," in *L'homme et son univers au Moyen Âge: Actes du 7e Congrès international de philosophie médiévale (30 août–4 sept. 1982)* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1986) 64–75. W. Lackner in *Nikephoros Blemmydes, Gegen die Vorherbestimmung*

der Todesstunde (Leiden 1985) xliii–lxxxiv. M. Pharantos, *Peri theias pronoias kai proorismou kata ten didaskalian Gennadiou tou Scholariou* (Athens 1966). –G.P., A.K.

Fiscal Meaning. Used in a technical sense from the 12th C. onward, *pronoia* was equated by F. Uspenskij and after him by Ostrogorsky with the Western fief, thus forming one of the foundations of the theory of Byz. FEUDALISM. The 12th-C. data on *pronoia* are meager and disputable (A. Hohlweg, *BZ* 60 [1967] 288–308; Jacoby, *Société*, pt.VI [1967], 479–81). The testimony of Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 208.23–24) regarding Manuel I's "grants of PAROIKOI" to soldiers has frequently been interpreted as *pronoia*; the term *pronoia*, however, is not used by Choniates, but appears only in a *scholion* to the late revision of this passage in the chronicle ascribed to Theodore SKOUTARIOTES (Sathas, *MB* 7:301, n.1). The latinized term *pronoiarios* is attested only in the 15th C., and the modern term "pronoiar" is a scholarly convention.

In documents of the 13th–15th C., *pronoia* (sometimes identified with the term OIKONOMIA) is technically a grant of a certain amount (POSOTES) of tax revenues derived from specific properties and *paroikos* households. In fact the holder of a *pronoia* also acquired the right to the rents on some of the property he was assigned, as well as the labor services of the *paroikoi*. Occasionally, things such as fishing rights could be granted as *pronoia*. The *pronoia* was a conditional grant that at times implied military service, but the precise nature of these conditions is not yet clear. Michael VIII was the first emperor to make *pronoia* hereditary on a large scale, granting soldiers who gave their lives or otherwise served well the right to leave their *pronoia* to their sons (N. Oikonomides in *Docheiar.* 125). In the 14th–15th C. the right to transmit *pronoia* through one or more generations, though never the rule, became increasingly common and could be granted "with service" or "without service."

The question of the status of pronoiars is also under discussion: Uspenskij described them as feudal knights, and Ostrogorsky saw in them a landowning aristocracy, whereas Lemerle (*Agr. Hist.* 222–41) emphasized the low origin of, at least, the earlier pronoiars. In any case, some sources indicate that women and church institutions may have been in possession of *pronoia-oikonomia*. By the first half of the 14th C. (and probably already in the late 12th C.) the "collective *pronoia*" appears, in which a number of persons, particularly a company of soldiers, each possesses his own, rather modest, *posotes* within a single *pronoia* (N. Oikonomides, *TM* 8 [1981] 353–71). The term and concept of *pronoia* were appropriated by the Latin and Serbian authorities of the Balkans.

In a nontechnical sense, the term *pronoia* was employed to designate various kinds of "care"—CHARISTIKION, administration of imperial estates or institutions (e.g., of the MANGANA monastery), and esp. of provinces (such as Samos, Bulgaria, Athens, etc.). The administrator of such *pronoiai* was called PRONOETES, a term attested at least from the 10th C. onward.

LIT. F. Uspenskij, "Značenie vizantijskoj i južnoslavjanskoj pronii," *Sbornik statej po slavjanovedeniju sostavlennyj i izdannyj učenikami V.I. Lamanskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883) 1–32. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 1–257, with add. *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 41–54. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 202–23. R. Radić, "Novi podaci o pronijarima iz prvih decenija XIV veka," *ZRVI* 21 (1982) 85–93. K. Chvostova, "Pronija: Social'no-ekonomičeskie i pravovye problemy," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 13–23. –M.B.

PROOIMION (προοίμιον), preamble or introduction to a document, letter, or literary work, often imitating a classical model. *Prooimia* to emperors' chrysobulls were usually written by eminent authors and are important for studying imperial ideology and propaganda. *Prooimia* to letters sometimes became independent of the main text and fulfilled their own rhetorical purposes (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:218f). *Prooimia* to historical works were manifestos of the AUTHOR; although many points of the preamble were drawn from Thucydides or Lucian, *prooimia* served as a vehicle to present the author's position. Prokopios and Agathias stressed their individual attitudes to the events described, whereas Theophylaktos Simokattes furthered his own interests in a complicated two-part preamble that is in the form of a DIALOGUE between History and Philosophy; it contains compliments addressed to Simokattes' patron, the patriarch, followed by the praise of historiography as the most significant creation of reason and a discipline useful to generals and laymen, old and young (I. Čičurov in *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 204–06).

The antique topos of MODESTY, already—and incongruously—present in the sophisticated Simokattes, was used by Theophanes the Confessor

and George Hamartolos (probably under the influence of hagiographical *prooimia*), but was omitted by Skylitzes who devoted his introduction to an analysis of the faults of his predecessors. Psellos avoided *prooimia* entirely. The authors of saints' lives composed *prooimia* that emphasized the hero's significance and the hagiographer's inadequacy; a similar topos also appears in *enkomia*. Christian themes are frequent, and didactic purposes (usefulness and entertainment alike) are stressed. (For *prooimion* as a legal term, see CIVIL PROCEDURE.)

LIT. H. Hunger, *Prooimion* (Vienna 1964). R. Browning, *Studies on Byzantine Prooimia* (Vienna 1966). J. Bompaire, "A propos des préambules des actes byzantins des Xe–XIe siècles," in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 133–47. H. Lieberich, *Studien zu den Proömien in der griechischen und byzantinischen Geschichtschreibung*, vol. 2 (Munich 1900). R. Maisano, "Il problema della forma letteraria nei proemi storiografici bizantini," *BZ* 78 (1985) 329–43. M. Mazza, "Sulla teoria della storiografia cristiana," in *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980) 335–89. –A.K., I.Š.

PROPAGANDA. Imperial propaganda stressed LEGITIMACY, victory, divine approval, and subjects' loyalty; subtle changes in themes mirror changes in society, for example, the growth of military imagery in the late 11th C. Church propaganda concerned doctrinal tenets (e.g., ICONS), competing cults of saints, and sometimes rival patriarchs.

The means were diverse. COINS of the 4th–6th C. constantly announced and interpreted political events. From the 7th C. onward, coinage's spectrum of messages narrowed dramatically and its concentration on gold suggests an elite audience. Art—whether posterlike murals or monuments addressing a broad audience, imperial PORTRAITS, or INSIGNIA granted to officials or client rulers—had an avowed purpose as propaganda (Mansi 13:356B). CEREMONY acted out the imperial and religious themes in ritual form, such as TRIUMPHS or the Feast of Orthodoxy (see TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY). Publicity stunts reinforced a menaced regime's credibility. RELICS were exploited to enhance its religious prestige, as in the translation of the relics of St. Stephen the protomartyr by Theodosios II and Pulcheria (K. Holum, G. Vikan, *DOP* 33 [1979] 115–33) or Irene's discovery and translation of the relics of St. Euphemia. Even more characteristic of Byz. mentality were faked prophecies planted and "discovered" at a propitious moment, for example, the pagan sage who prophesied the Virgin Birth and his own exhumation after 2,000 years, when Irene and Constantine VI took power (C. Mango, *ZRVI* 8.1 [1963] 201–07), or the inscription acclaiming John I Tzimiskes and Theodora, unearthed in a Constantinopolitan garden (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 171, n.162).

Official communiqués provided "sanitized" versions of events and influenced historiography, while laws and PROOIMIA of diplomas trumpet favorite propaganda themes. Panegyrics presented official commentary on events to elite audiences; ACCLAMATIONS or prayers focused minds on orthodoxy or victory, while SERMONS and HYMNS delivered propaganda to a wider audience, as when SEVEROS of Antioch celebrated the fall of Vitalian (PO 7 [1911] 710f, 36.3 [1972] 430–37). Partisan or subversive propaganda, like vernacular songs, taunted Maurice or Theophano (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 25–28), while religious songs spread Arian doctrines; lampoons, adulatory verses, or *libelli famosi* were set up surreptitiously in public places and might be legally repressed (*Cod.Just.* IX 36; *Basil.* 60.63.1), while political tracts like PHILOPATRIS circulated among the elite and left traces in historical writing. Ambassadors and missionaries helped spread imperial propaganda beyond Byz.'s borders.

LIT. Beck, *Ideen*, pt.IV (1967), 649–74. A. Kazhdan, "Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* (Paris 1983) 13–28. C. Jolivet-Levy, "L'image du pouvoir dans l'art byzantin à l'époque de la dynastie macédonienne (867–1056)," *Byzantion* 57 (1987) 441–70. I.S. Cičurov, "Teorija i praktika vizantijskoj imperatorskoj propagandy," *VizVrem* 50 (1989) 106–15. –M.McC.

PROPERTY (*οὐσία, περιουσία, πράγματα, ὑπόστασις*, all nontechnical terms). All material goods that a person has at his disposal constitute his property. To these belong his claims (from legal transactions) as well as his POSSESSION and his OWNERSHIP of movable and immovable THINGS. This broad concept of property was mainly relevant in Byz. inheritance law: the HEIR did not inherit single objects but entered into all the testator's rights of whatever kind. "Net" property (*kathara ousia* or *hypostasis*) was the property after subtraction of the testator's debts (e.g., *Prochiron* 32.3).

G. Litavrin (*VizOč* [1971] 152–68) has demon-

strated, on the basis of three aristocratic wills of the 11th C., that movable things were deemed more significant than land. We get the same impression from William of Tyre (PL 201:734AB), who relates that Manuel I's niece brought to her marriage to Baldwin III of Jerusalem a dowry of 100,000 hyperpera as well as clothing, jewelry, carpets, etc., whereas the Latin groom gave her as DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS the town of Saint-Jean d'Acre; the story reflects two different approaches to property. Other features of Byz. property are the large role of livestock (e.g., Weiss, *Kantakuzenos* 21f), a relative contempt for mercantile property, and the perception of slaves (at least through the 11th C.) as part and parcel of property. On the other hand, Theodore PRODROMOS (ed. Hörandner, no.44.150–54) includes as property, besides clothing and jewelry, retainers, income-producing lands, and high-roofed houses. -A.K.

PROPERTY, SACRED, constituted a sizable, if indeterminable, proportion of the total wealth of Byz. society. Churches, monasteries, and charitable foundations attracted all manner of donations and bequests, both because of the social and spiritual recognition expected in return and because of the protection that civil and canon law accorded such property. Despite distinctions between different ecclesiastical proprietors and between different types of sacred property—consecrated goods (*hiera*: church buildings, altars, liturgical utensils, cemeteries) being distinguished from those that were merely dedicated (*aphieromena*) to sacred use—sacred property formed a single category insofar as it was, in theory, strictly inalienable and contributions to it were irreversible. By the 9th C., an inventory (BREBION) of every church's holdings was to be deposited with the local bishop or the patriarch. The legal status of sacred property was first properly defined by Justinian I, who systematically limited the conditions under which church goods, esp. immovable assets and liturgical objects, could be mortgaged, sold, leased, or exchanged, and under which clerics could dispose of property in their possession (esp. *Cod.Just.* I 2–3; novs. 6, 7, 67, 120). Justinian's concern was primarily to protect church assets against unscrupulous creditors and leaseholders and against corrupt or irresponsible bishops.

In later centuries, the principle of inalienability, reiterated and extended by church councils, was more frequently invoked against the secularization of church property by emperors and their officials. This was a point on which ecclesiastical opinion, regardless of political necessity, progressively hardened, in reaction not only to major expropriations (e.g., by Herakleios, Alexios I, John V), but also to increased taxation and restrictions on the growth of episcopal and monastic domains (Nikephoros I, Nikephoros II, Basil II). Theodore BALSAMON, in the late 12th C., implied that the very taxation of church lands—a matter on which Justinian had made no concessions—was a form of secularization, which the emperor had a duty to alleviate (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:594–611).

The excesses, and corrupting effects, of ecclesiastical wealth, esp. in monasteries, were criticized by ascetics, emperors (Manuel I), and leading churchmen (EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Patr. ATHANASIOS I). Yet religious poverty (*aktemosyne*) never became as contentious an issue as in the medieval West or Russia. The canonical theory of sacred property was tempered by a flexibility of practice that, on the one hand, allowed clerics to enjoy private possessions, and, on the other, allowed lay KTETORES a direct, tangible, and personal return on their religious endowments (see CHURCHES, PRIVATE). Moreover, much sacred property, such as imperial CHURCHES, constituted STATE PROPERTY, and emperors were able to confiscate on a small scale without arousing controversy (THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, *Letters*, ed. Gautier 215.6–10; Tafel-Thomas, *Urkunden* 1:111f). This and the practice of granting monasteries in CHARISTIKION to lay protectors helped to ensure that sacred property was not subject to infinite accumulation, and that churchmen were never entirely responsible for its abuse.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 65–67, 71f. Ševčenko, *Society*, pt.IV (1957), 145–61. Hendy, *Economy* 231f, 495. -P.M.

PROPHET BOOK, modern term for a collected volume of the biblical books of the 16 PROPHETS (see also PROPHETOLOGION.) The prophets were popular with the church fathers, who sought in their words clues to the coming of Christ. Patristic commentaries (already begun by Hippolytos and Origen) were devoted primarily to ISAIAH and DANIEL, but also to some of the minor prophets,

(e.g., Hosea and Malachi, by Apollinaris of Laodikeia). The books of the 12 minor prophets were systematically commented on by CYRIL of Alexandria, from the viewpoint of typology of Christ, and THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, within the framework of a history of the Jews. John Chrysostom devoted two homilies to the prophets in general, observing their "obscurity," whereas his homilies on Isaiah primarily treated moral problems. After the 6th C. interest in the prophets decreased. Basil of Neopatras (10th C.?) cited them in anti-Jewish polemics, interpreting them as foretelling Christ's mission on the earth. Some of the prophets were later cited by Balsamon and Matthew of Ephesus.

The prophet book circulated in Byz. as a convenient single volume, like the Octateuch or Psalter. Seven illustrated examples of the prophet book date from the mid-10th C. (Vat. Chis. gr. R.VIII.54) to the second half of the 13th C. (Vat. gr. 1153). Miniatures are for the most part simple author portraits, with little narrative content. More complex narrative scenes are also found, as in Vat. gr. 755. This MS has an illustration to Isaiah's Ode that closely follows a famous model in the PARIS PSALTER and an image of the martyrdom of the prophet, based on the account in the vita by pseudo-Epiphanios and related iconographically to a scene in the PARIS GREGORY. The relationship among prophet books is relatively straightforward, the text of the oldest supplying the model for the latest MSS. This type of book was probably developed in Byz. only after Iconoclasm, although Weitzmann (*Sacra Parallela* 133–60, 257) proposed that all images deriving from the prophetical books stem from pre-Iconoclastic examples. (See also OLD TESTAMENT ILLUSTRATION.)

LIT. M.G. Mara, *DPAC* 2:2917–20. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. C. Walter, "The Iconography of the Prophet Habakkuk," *REB* 47 (1989) 251–60. –J.I., J.H.L., C.B.T.

PROPHETIC VISIONS. See VISIONS.

PROPHETOLOGION (προφητολόγιον, sometimes called a *propheteia*), Old Testament LECTIONARY of Constantinople, for use during services other than Eucharist, principally at VESPERS and PRESANCTIFIED during Lent and on vigils of the GREAT FEASTS. The *prophetologion* also contained responsories (*prokeimena*), ANTIPHONS, STICHERA, etc., as well as rubrical information proper to the feast. The *prophetologion* developed in the 7th–8th C. after the Old Testament lection had been eliminated from the Constantinopolitan Eucharist in the 7th C. (Mateos, *La parole* 131–33) and achieved its final form ca.800; the earliest known MS is the 9th-C. Sinai gr. 7. Old Testament lections for the liturgical HOURS and Presanctified were gradually incorporated into other liturgical books, namely the MENAION, TRIODION, and PENTEKOSTARION, thereby rendering the *prophetologion* obsolete.

ED. *Prophetologium* [= *Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae, Lectionaria, 1*], pt.1, ed. C. Höeg, G. Zuntz (Copenhagen 1970); pt.2, ed. G. Engberg (Copenhagen 1980–81).

LIT. G. Zuntz, "Das byzantinische Septuaginta-Lektionar ('Prophetologion')," *ClMed* 17 (1956) 183–98. C. Höeg, G. Zuntz, "Remarks on the Prophetologion," in *Quantulacumque, Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* (London 1937) 189–226. –R.F.T.

PROPHETS, supposed authors or protagonists of 16 books of the OLD TESTAMENT. The Byz. recognized the four Major Prophets—ISAIAH, JEREMIAH, Ezekiel, and DANIEL—and the twelve Minor Prophets—Hosea, Joel, Amos, Obadiah, JONAH, Micah, Nahum, Habakkuk, Zephaniah, Haggai, Zechariah, and Malachi. The term *prophetes*, however, was also used for many other Old Testament worthies, for example, AARON and MOSES, ELIJAH and Elisha, and DAVID and SOLOMON. This use was sanctioned in the New Testament, esp. Matthew, by the frequent references to Old Testament prophecies of events in Christ's life. Their most sophisticated application was a typical scheme in CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION in which a variable number of prophets stand below the Pantokrator in the dome; they usually display texts that provide a theological commentary, often on the Incarnation. Such a scheme was already known in the art of the 6th C., to judge from the rhetorical description by Chorikios of Gaza (Chorik.Gaz. p.7, pars. 17–20) of the Church of St. Sergios. The principal Byz. commentators on the Prophets were Basil the Great, Cyril of Alexandria, and Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and at a later date Theophylaktos of Ohrid.

LIT. Lowden, *Prophet Books*. –J.H.L., A.C.

PROPONTIS. See MARMARA, SEA OF.

PROSEK (Πρόσακος), Bulgarian fortress (*phrourion*) on the right bank of the Vardar near Demirkapija, first mentioned by Skylitzes (Skyl. 358.88) while recording Basil II's victory over Bulgaria. It was assigned to the bishopric of MOGLENA, which owned some *paroikoi* there. From the end of the 12th C. Prosek was disputed by several powers: in 1197/8 DOBROMIR CHRYSOS seized it; by 1204 it seems to have been controlled by KALOJAN. At the beginning of the reign of BORIL, Strez, a nephew of Kalojan, established himself in Prosek, but by 1208 he had submitted to Boril. Captured by Serbia in 1327/8, Prosek remained in Serbian hands until the battle of Kosovo POLJE, when it passed to the Ottomans.

LIT. N. Radojčić, "O nekim gospodarima grada Proseka na Vardaru," *Letopis Matice srpske* 259 (1909) 1–19; 260 (1909) 32–40. –R.B.

PROSKATHEMENOS (προσκαθήμενος, "settler" [Laiou, *Peasant Society* 246]), a term applied to various categories of peasants; according to N. Svoronos (*TM* 1 [1965] 357, n.155), a collective term meaning "tenant" in general. The word appears in the vita of St. Peter of ATROA (ed. Laurent, *La vita retractata*, par.94.1; p.47.5–9) as a synonym for *hyperetes* ("servant") and becomes common in later documents, sometimes in a variant form, such as *proskathezomenoi* (*Ivir.*, nos. 2.18, 10.14). The term could be used independently or formed into a compound with other social and agrarian terms: not only with *douleutoparoikoi*, PAROIKOI, *ateleis*, MISTHIOI (*mistharnoi*), ELEUTHEROI, *xenoi*, *ptochoi*, etc., but also with ANTHROPOI, EPOIKOI, and priests—terms that do not inherently imply dependency. This multiple use of the term reveals its fluidity of meaning and the lack of precision. Smetanin (*infra*), however, considers *proskathemenoi* as a specific, large group of dependent peasants, second only to the *paroikoi*, who either had no land whatsoever or leased it under worse conditions than *paroikoi*. The term itself and its combination with words denoting the status of "strangeness" indicates that in many cases *proskathemenoi* were newcomers who in the course of time were gradually transformed into ordinary dependent peasants.

LIT. V.A. Smetanin, "Proskafimeny pozdnevizantijskogo vremeni," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 3–24. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 69f. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 85f. P. Zepos, "Kalliergetai xenes ges eis to Byzantinon Kratos," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 35–40. –M.B.

PROSKOMIDE (προσκομιδή), offering, offertory. Until the 10th C. the term *proskomide* was synonymous with ANAPHORA. Thereafter it was used, by synecdoche, for the opening formula of the anaphora, called the prayer of the *proskomide*, in which the priest prays for worthiness to approach the altar and offer the sacrifice (Mateos, *La parole* 176–79). From the 12th C. the term *proskomide* is synonymous with PROTHESIS (Laurent, "Proscomidie" 126–35; P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 45).

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 350–73. –R.F.T.

PROSKYNESIS (προσκύνησις, Lat. *adoratio*), a common gesture of supplication or reverence in Byz. CEREMONIAL. The physical act ranged from full prostration to a genuflection, a bow, or a simple greeting and concretized the relative positions of performer and beneficiary within a hierarchical order (TAXIS). Although *proskynesis* to the emperor occurred under the principate, the revamped Byz. symbolism of absolute rulership lent it new meaning and system. Certain forms of *proskynesis*, such as those which entailed kissing the emperor's breast, hands, or feet, were reserved to specific categories of officials. AUDIENCES granted to native or foreign delegations included multiple series of *proskyneseis* at points marked by porphyry disks (*omphalia*) set in the floor. Until the 10th C., at least, imperial ceremonial avoided *proskynesis* on Sundays out of reverence for the divinity. As a form of loyalty display, *proskynesis* had strong political overtones; it recurs in imperial iconography and its importance in imperial ceremonial could sometimes raise delicate diplomatic dilemmas when foreign potentates were involved.

Proskynesis in the sense of prostration was by no means confined to the imperial court. It occurs as a posture of intense prayer, of penance (whence its designation as *metanoia*), or as a gesture of greeting holy men. Its wide diffusion in society explains, for example, the legend that a great tree bent down to worship the infant Jesus (Sozom., *HE* 5.21.9), the common pilgrim idiom "venerating the Holy Places" (derived from Ps 131:7), and the gesture's transformation into a banal formula for concluding letters (e.g., *P.Oxy.* XVI 1933).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 84–94. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:144–50. B. Hendrickx, "Die 'Proskunesis' van die bysantynse Keiser in die dertiende eeu," *Acta Classica* 16 (1973)

147–58. I. Spatharakis, "The Proskynesis in Byzantine Art," *BABesch* 49 (1974) 190–205. –M.McC.

PROSKYNETARION (προσκυνητάριον). The rare Byz. term *proskyneterion* (προσκυνητήριον), meaning "oratory," "place of worship," was applied to places or objects associated with the Muslim cult: the Arabs, say both Theophanes (Theoph. 339.20–22) and Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 19.10–11), transformed the Jewish temple of Solomon into the *proskyneterion* of their blasphemy. NIKETAS BYZANTIOS describes Muslims as turning their faces toward the "*proskyneterion* of contemplation" as their idol was called (PG 105:720BC).

Despite this pejorative connotation of *proskyneterion*, the term *proskynetarion* was coined and acquired two meanings:

1. From the 16th C. onward, it designated travel guides to Sinai or Jerusalem; the term was translated into medieval Russian as *poklonen'e* (Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 38–41).

2. As a modern, conventional term, it denotes the monumental ICON of Christ, the Virgin, or the patron saint of a church; A. Epstein (*JBAA* 134 [1981] 12–15) proposed that from the 10th C. *proskynetaria* were set on the piers separating the parts of the TEMPLON. Usually in fresco or mosaic, such icons were sometimes carved in stone (Lange, *Reliefikone* 129f). Their frames were mostly carved in marble, molded in gesso, or simply painted on the surface of the pier; the marble frame consists of a plain or a three-lobed arch or an arched slab on double, often knotted colonnettes (G. Babić, *ZbLikUmet* 11 [1975] pls. 2f, 9f). *Proskynetaria* of the patron saint may be found in the narthex or along the nave walls. The term may also refer to the stand of a particularly venerated processional icon (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 145).

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, "L'évolution de l'icône aux 11e–13e siècles et la transformation du templon," 15 *CEB* (Athens 1979) 1:336. –L.Ph.B., A.K.

PROSMONARIOS (προσμονάριος), or *paramonarios* (παραμονάριος), the "concierge" of a church or monastery, so called because he remained in the church permanently and was thus responsible for keeping it locked at night (An.Komn. 1:77.3–5). In canon 2 of the Council of Chalcedon, *prosmonarioi* are listed among those clerics whose functions were conferred by appointment rather than ordination; however, as in the case of the *ekdikoi* (see PROTEKDIKOS) and the OIKONOMOI, with whom they are grouped, this did not prevent them from being chosen from the ranks of the ordained clergy. By the late 14th C., and probably much earlier, the *prosmonarios* of the Great Church was subordinate to the *megas* SKEUOPHYLAX (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.3066). A *prosmonarios* of the monastery of St. Diomedes in Constantinople achieved fame and fortune through befriending the future emperor Basil I (pseudo-Symeon Magistros in *TheophCont* 656.3).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 105, 114, 133. –P.M.

PROSOPOGRAPHY, an AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE dedicated to the study of names of individuals and families in a given historical period. The main sources for Byz. prosopography are these: (1) narrative texts; (2) EPISTOLOGRAPHY; (3) documents, esp. PRAKTIKA; (4) SIGILLOGRAPHY; (5) EPIGRAPHY (to a much lesser extent than for the Roman Empire); and (6) lists of participants in COUNCILS. The sources have serious limitations, since most of them (except the *praktika*) deal with the upper echelon of society, and the *praktika* are geographically and chronologically restricted; for some periods (esp. the 7th–9th C.) the data are meager and barely representative. The goals of prosopography may be defined on two levels. The first is establishing lists of persons organized either by family names or by titles/offices; for the late Roman period local lists—for Rome (H. Sorin, *Die griechischen Personennamen in Rom* [Berlin 1982]), Africa (A. Mandouze, *Prosopographie chrétienne du Bas-Empire* [Paris 1982]), and part of Egypt (J. Diethart, *Prosopographia arsinoitica*, vol. 1 [Vienna 1980])—are available. The second level is the interpretation of the prosopographical material for history, primarily social history—such problems as structure of the ruling class in the 11th–12th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 185–96) and the ethnic and professional composition of rural society in 14th-C. Macedonia (A. Laiou, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 71–95).

A related discipline is onomastics, the study of the etymology, origin, and patterns of usage of personal NAMES. Patterns of name-change may, for example, reflect the christianization of society.

LIT. *The Prosopography of the Later Roman Empire*, ed. A.H.M. Jones, J.R. Martindale, et al., 2 vols. (Cambridge

1971–80). *Prosopographisches Lexikon der Palaiologenzeit,* ed. E. Trapp (Vienna 1976–). H. Moritz, *Die Zunamen bei den byzantinischen Historikern und Chronisten,* 2 vols. (Landshut 1897–98), rev. by S. Papadimitriou, *VizVrem* 5 (1898) 713–35, 6 (1899) 167–76. A. Chastagnol, "La prosopographie, méthode de recherche sur l'histoire du Bas-Empire," *Annales* 25 (1970) 1229–35. Winkelmann, *Quellenstudien* 13–24. R.S. Bagnall, "Conversion and Onomastics," *ZPapEpig* 69 (1987) 243–50. –A.K.

PROSOPON. See PERSON.

PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS (προσφωνητικὸς λόγος), a formal address to an ARCHON, according to MENANDER RHETOR (pp. 164–70); Menander describes it as a de facto ENKOMION, but not a complete one. In the 11th–15th C. the terms *prosphonematikos, prosphoneterios,* and *prosphonemation* designated the speech directed to a high official; Eustathios of Thessalonike addressed to the *megas hetaireiarches* John Doukas a specimen "of talk and *prosphonesis.*"

The term could be applied to a speech to an emperor; thus JOHN SIKELIOTES called his speech to Basil II a *prosphonetikos logos* (*RhetGr,* ed. Walz 6:447.25–27). More often an improvised address to the emperor was called *autoschedios.* It apparently differed from the BASILIKOS LOGOS to the extent that the emphasis was not on the ideal qualities of the ruler, but on the specific occasion of the speech.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 207. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:145–47. –A.K., E.M.J.

PROSPHORA (προσφορά, lit. "offering"), term referring to (1) bread loaves prepared for consecration at the EUCHARIST and stamped with a seal (see STAMPS, BREAD); (2) the act of offering these gifts; or (3) the consecrated gifts themselves (van de Paverd, *Messliturgie* 238, 247–50, 288f, 457, n.2). Bringing *prosphorai* for the Eucharist, a custom witnessed from the 3rd C. onward, was a privilege and obligation of baptized communicants in good standing; those excluded from communion could make no offering. *Prosphorai* were handed over to the deacons on arrival at church for the liturgy. The deacons then selected which loaves were to be brought to the altar. The selection of gifts before the liturgy was to evolve into a separate rite, the PROTHESIS, and the transfer of these gifts to the altar is later solemnized in the GREAT ENTRANCE. Various forms of bread and of bread stamps were used for the preparation of the *prosphora,* whence the term "seal" (*sphragis*) for the eucharistic loaves, though the term properly refers only to the AMNOS, or central section.

LIT. Taft, *Great Entrance* 11–46. G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (Madison 1970). –R.F.T.

PROSTAGMA (πρόσταγμα, esp. 13th–15th C.) or *prostaxis* (πρόσταξις, 11th–13th C.) or HORISMOS or PITTAKION, synonymous terms designating an administrative order. Technically, they indicate a usually short imperial document (earliest preserved original: 1214) signed with the autograph red MENOLOGEM and often bearing (until the end of the 13th C.) the wax seal of the emperor (Trapezuntine *prostagmata* as well as *horismoi* of the rulers of Epiros were signed with an abridged signature; less is known of the *prostagmata* of Serbian rulers). Beyond transmitting orders, *prostagmata* were also used for granting privileges, for legislating and for regulating, for attesting an OATH taken by the emperor (*horkomotikon prostagma*), for appointing individuals to administrative positions, or for granting honorific titles (11th–15th C.; in this they replaced the late Roman *probatoriae* and the *kodikilloi,* still attested in the 10th C. but none of which have survived). *Horismos* was also the technical name of documents issued by 14th–15th-C. *despotai,* while *pittakion* was commonly used to indicate simple letters, often those coming from the patriarchal CHANCERY. The patriarch's orders and those of the state officials were usually called *⟨para⟩keleusis, entalma, gramma,* etc. and could be signed with a *menologem.*

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 109–12. Oikonomides, "Chancery" 319f. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 191f. Darrouzès, "Ekthesis Nea," 85–127. G. Ostrogorsky, "Prostagme srpskih vladara," *PKJIF* 34 (Belgrade 1968) 245–57. –N.O.

PROSTATES (προστάτης), an ancient term meaning "defender" and later "chief, head," was applied to the bishop as protector of the ordinary people (B. Treucker, *Politische und sozialgeschichtliche Studien zu den Basilius-Briefen* [Frankfurt 1961] 31). In the *Book of the Eparch* it is employed, along with EXARCH, to refer to the heads of some guilds—soapmakers, harnessmakers, fishmongers. In other

cases a similar term *prostateuon* or the more general *proestos* was used. –A.K.

PROSTIMON (*πρόστιμον*), the penalty for a breach of contract. According to Roman law the *prostimon* could be agreed upon through STIPULATION and was to be paid to the contract-partner in case of infringement of the contract. Its main function was to ensure an orderly and punctual payment of DEBT. The same aim was served by the agreement regarding the fines owed to the state in case of breach of contract. The two kinds of *prostima* competed in Byz. legal texts for reasons that have not yet been explained. Default on the part of the parties and lack of enforcement by judges (PROCHIRON AUCTUM 17.77), which could result when the *prostima* agreed upon were unreasonably harsh (*Peira* 45.2), gave the legislator repeated occasion to demand payment of the *prostimon* (*Reg* 1, nos. 358, 691; 2, nos. 1083, 1465; 4, no.2295). Also designated as *prostimon* was the fine imposed by a judge based on his independent assessment as opposed to the fine determined by law. (For the *prostimon* in the marriage contract, see ARRHA SPONSALICIA.)

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 1:519–21, 2:268f. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 305–08. –L.B.

Usage in Documents. The term *prostimon* is common in papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2 [1925] 415f). Byz. documents establish *prostimon* in one of their final clauses as a guarantee against breach of contract; the earliest known case is a purchase deed of 897 (*Lavra* 1, no.1.29). In addition to purchase deeds, *prostimon* appears in acts of exchange, donation, and guarantee; a chrysobull of 1102 establishes *prostimon* for transgression of the EXKOUSSEIA (*Lavra* 1, no.55.85–87). Typical of the chancellery of Thessalonike, it appears also in documents from Smyrna (e.g., MM 4:198.20) and Serres (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.9.25, *Koutloum.*, no.7.27). The sum of *prostimon* varies significantly: a fine of 4 nomismata is known (*Chil.*, no.125.80–81), but in an act of 897 the exorbitant *prostimon* of 20 litrae is prescribed. The clause establishing *prostimon* varies; sometimes it is noted that a *prostimon* was imposed in accordance with the contract and stipulation (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.59.67–68); the formula "as *prostimon* and for the disregard of the revered cross" (*Ivir.*, no.26.30) is also found. *Prostimon* is meant to be a private indemnification, usually given for one party; an act of exchange of 1154, however, stipulates mutual *prostimon* (*Lavra* 1, no.63.58). In some documents alongside the private *prostimon* an (unnamed) state fine is anticipated: it was less than *prostimon* (an act of 1110 [*Lavra* 1, no.59.67–68] established it as one-third of the *prostimon*; often it is not defined in figures, only said to be "in accordance with laws") and collected by various treasuries (*sakelle*, office of the *epi ton oikeiakon*, and mainly the *vestiarion*). –A.K.

PROSTITUTION (*πορνεία*), engaging in sexual intercourse in exchange for payment, remained a permanent feature of late Roman and Byz. society, despite urban decline. Prostitutes (*pornai, hetairai*) flourished in organized brothels (*mastropeia*) as well as at baths, theaters, and hippodromes, along with masseuses, dancers, and other female entertainers (cf. Prokopios, *SH* 9.1–30). They also worked in inns and changing posts along the main highways, e.g., Helena, the mother of Constantine I, and the mother, aunt, and grandmother of THEODORE OF SYKEON. While laws forbade the exploitation of young girls as prostitutes (esp. Justinian I, nov.14 pr.) and the church regularly condemned prostitution (e.g., Council in Trullo, canon 86), both poor girls working for pimps (*pornoboskoi*) and more professional theatrical performers (*skenikai*) continued to provide sexual services. These circus artists and actresses, attired in silk and gold cloth, bejeweled, and liberally adorned with cosmetics and perfume, often became quite wealthy. Some prostitutes even worked at the imperial court, as during the reign of Andronikos I, who amused himself with courtesans and CONCUBINES (Nik.Chon. 321.20–322.41).

The Byz. had a charitable attitude toward repentant prostitutes, even providing "houses of reformation" for those who wished to change their way of life. Best known are the monastery of Metanoia (Repentance) established in the 6th C. by the empress THEODORA, herself a former actress and prostitute (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.9.1–10; *SH* 17.5–6), and the convent founded by Michael IV in the 11th C. Saints, esp. holy FOOLS, also endeavored to reform prostitutes on an individual basis (cf. vita of Symeon of Emesa, ed. Festugière, 79.11–14, 88.28–89.18). Some former prostitutes, for example, PELAGIA THE HARLOT and MARY OF EGYPT, even attained sanctity,

thus symbolizing the power of Christian redemption modeled on Mary Magdalene.

LIT. S. Leontsini, *Die Prostitution im frühen Byzanz* (Vienna 1989). J. Irmscher, "Die Bewertung der Prostitution im byzantinischen Recht," in *Gesellschaft und Recht im griechisch-römischen Altertum* (Berlin 1969) 77–94. Koukoules, *Bios* 2:117–62. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 270–74. –J.H.

PROTASEKRETIS (πρωτασηκρῆτις), head of the college of ASEKRETIS. The first certain mention of *proto a secreta* (*sic*) is in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS (*Lib.pont.* 1:452.12) under the year 756; later evidence of earlier *protasekretis*, including MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR under Herakleios (W. Lackner, *JÖB* 20 [1971] 63–65), may be anachronistic. Seals of the *protasekretis* are known only from the 9th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 3–4). As chief of the imperial chancery, the *protasekretis* enjoyed enormous influence, and important persons such as Photios held the post. One of the major functions of the *protasekretis* was the production of CHRYSOBULLS. Even though the college of *asekretis* seems to have disappeared after the 12th C., the office of *protasekretis* remained in existence and is mentioned in the 14th C. by pseudo-KODINOS. According to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 131), after 1106 the *protasekretis* left the chancery to preside over one of the major judicial courts in Constantinople.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 97f. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 62–64. –A.K.

PROTATON (Πρωτᾶτον), the central administration of Mt. Athos, located at KARYES, in the center of the peninsula, and headed by the PROTOS. The term, first mentioned in 1153, is also used for the monastic community and for the church at the lavra of the Protaton. The central administration was in existence by 958, when assemblies there are first attested. Originally three annual assemblies called *synaxeis* (with epithets *katholikai*, *megalai*, etc.) were held, which all Athonite monks were entitled to attend; after the TRAGOS of between 970 and 972, attendance at *synaxeis* was limited to *hegoumenoi*, the heads of independent KELLIA, and a few independent hesychasts. The *hegoumenoi* of the most important monasteries were members of a council formed to advise the *protos*. Various officials, such as an *oikonomos* (first mentioned in 972), *epiteretes* (known from the mid-11th C.), *ekklesiarches* (from 972, but mostly in the 14th C.), and the "agent" (see DIKAIOS), assisted the *protos* in his administration of Athonite affairs. The main functions of the central administration were juridical and administrative; it also distributed to Athonite monks the annual pension instituted in the 10th C. by Romanos I.

The Byz. archives of the Protaton (13 documents ranging from 883 to 1406), such as the *typika* of John I Tzimiskes (*Tragos*) and Constantine IX Monomachos, differ from those of other Athonite monasteries in that they do not concern land transactions or property disputes, but are primarily regulations affecting all the monks on the Holy Mountain. The library contains 63 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:1–10; Polites, *Katalogoi* 109–38).

The present church, fully restored in 1955–58, is of the early 14th C. and is supposed to reproduce the form of a chapel built by the brother of Nikephoros II Phokas. It is the only church on the Holy Mountain to be built of cut stone. Often described as a basilica, it is a longitudinal structure with a triple apse and cruciform plan. The interior contains frescoes of a Great Feast cycle and scenes from the Life and Passion of Christ that have been attributed to the Thessalonican artist Manuel PANSELINOS. The Protaton retains a pair of (12th C.?) wooden doors inlaid with bone marquetry (S. Pelekanides, *ArchEph* [1957] 63–67).

SOURCE. D. Papachryssanthou, *Actes du Prôtaton* (Paris 1975).

LIT. I. Djurić, "Pomenik svetogorskog protata s kraja XIV veka," *ZRVI* 20 (1981) 139–69. P.M. Mylonas, "Les étapes successives de construction du Protaton au Mont-Athos," *CahArch* 28 (1979) 143–60. *Treasures* 1:22–33, 389–91. –A.M.T., A.C.

PROTE. See PRINCES' ISLANDS.

PROTEKDIKOS (πρωτέκδικος), title first attested in the second half of the 7th C., bestowed on a cleric who presided over the *ekdikeion*, a tribunal composed of a varying number of priests (*ekdikoi*, *ekklesiekdikoi*), instituted as a group by Justinian I and attached to Hagia Sophia (G. Prinzing, *FM* 7 [1986] 14–17). References to the *protekdikos* are rare until the 12th C. A treatise by Theodore BALSAMON reflects a controversy in ecclesiastical circles in the second half of the 12th C. concerning the relative powers and rights of the *protekdikos* and CHARTOPHYLAX (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma*

4:530–41). In the last decade of the century, under Patr. George II Xiphilinos (1191–98), the *protekdikos* was awarded sixth rank among the EXOKATAKOILOI. Sources of the 12th–15th C. describe his function as protecting those who sought ASYLUM in Hagia Sophia, be they debtors, slaves, or people suspected justly or unjustly of murder. It is esp. with regard to the latter that the *protekdikos*'s activities are documented. In such cases he listened to the confession of the penitent, judged his innocence or guilt, and accordingly set the EPITIMIA in expiation of the sin, handing these to the penitent sinner in a document, the SEMEIOMA (A. Pavlov, *VizVrem* 4 [1897] 155–59; R. Macrides, *Speculum* 63 [1988] 509–38). From the 11th C. the *protekdikos* is also attested in the provinces, although not in connection with cases of asylum (*Lavra* 1, no.35.53 [a.1071]; Michael CHONIATES, ed. Lampros 2:313.14–21).

LIT. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 323–32. K.M. Rhalles, "Peri tou ekklesiastikou axiomatos tou protekdikou," *AkadAthPr* 11 (1936) 286–91. R. Macrides, "Justice under Manuel I Komnenos: Four Novels on Court Business and Murder," *FM* 6 (1984) 202f. Eadem, "Poetic Justice in the Patriarchate: Murder and Cannibalism in the Provinces," in *Cupido Legum* 156f, 164. –R.J.M.

PROTEUS, minor sea god living on the Egyptian island of Pharos, a wise old man who could transform himself into any imaginable shape. In Byz. literature he is most often a symbol of mutability, usually applied in a negative way (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:46 [bk.6, ch.152.11]). Less often Proteus is the wise prophet (Niketas CHONIATES, *Orationes* 164.30–31). Finally, some traces of allegorical interpretation seem to survive during Byz. times: Proteus in his mutability symbolizes the four elements (*Eust. Comm. Od.* 1:174f [1503.6–36]).

LIT. H. Herter, *RE* 23 (1957) 940–75. –P.A.A.

PROTHESIS (πρόθεσις, lit. "offering"), the offertory, the preparation of the bread and chalice in a separate liturgical rite before the beginning of the EUCHARIST. Before the 9th C. there was only the material preparation of the gifts by the deacons in the *skeuophylakion* (see PASTOPHORIA), after which the prothesis prayer was said by the priest or bishop. From the 9th C. the rite evolved into a plethora of local usages (Laurent, "Proscomidie" 116–42), and the eucharistic bread (PROSPHORA), interpreted in the liturgical COMMENTARIES as antitype of Christ's body, came to be related symbolically to the Old Testament AMNOS, the Lamb of God. As the liturgy, according to these commentaries, mirrors the stages of Jesus' earthly life, the bread prepared in the prothesis rite came to symbolize the Jesus of both Bethlehem and Golgotha. The 14th-C. *diataxis* of Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS prescribes the use of five loaves of bread: one for the excision of the *amnos*, representing Jesus, which will be consecrated in the ANAPHORA; the others for commemorative particles cut out with appropriate accompanying formulas in honor of the Theotokos, the saints, the living, and the dead. The term *prothesis* can also refer to the offering itself and to the table on which the prothesis rite is performed.

LIT. G. Descoeudres, *Die Pastophorien im syro-byzantinischen Osten* (Wiesbaden 1983) xiv–xvi, 91–96, 116–21, 150–59. –R.F.T.

PROTHESIS CHAMBER. See PASTOPHORIA.

PROTIKTORES (προτίκτωρες, Lat. *protectores*), a troop of the emperor's bodyguards created ca.250, sometimes called *protectores domestici.* They also served as members of the emperor's staff and fulfilled special assignments: the arrest and execution of political adversaries, levies and inspections, and supervision of the post and customs. After 400, *protiktores* shifted toward court service. According to R. Frank (*infra*), they were the predecessors of the SCHOLA PALATINA. Whether they survived beyond 600 is unclear; a seal of one is dated 550–650 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.568). *Protiktores* reappear in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS as subaltern officers under the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON. The *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 11.20) mentions the "standards" (*skeue*) that *protiktores* and senators carried in ceremonial processions; Philotheos lists *protiktores* along with the bearers of *eutychia* (banners).

LIT. R. Frank, *Scholae palatinae* (Rome 1969) 33–45, 87–90, 179–84. G. Gigli, "I *protectores* e i *domestici* nel IV secolo," *Accademia dei Lincei. Rendiconti. Classe di scienze morali* 4 (1949) 383–90. –A.K.

PROTIMESIS (προτίμησις, lit. "preference"), the right of preemption, or priority, in various property arrangements, usually purchases. The term

is most commonly found in 10th-C. legislation concerning the VILLAGE COMMUNITY. Although not explicitly employing the term *protimesis*, novel 114 of Leo VI implies that the right of NEIGHBORS to have first refusal on property sales was well-established in Byz.: a person could sell his property to anyone, but his neighbors had six months to object to the sale, reimburse the buyer, and themselves possess the property. Conflicts between traditional practices and more recent legislation led to a detailed clarification of this form of *protimesis* in a novel of Romanos I: there were to be no restrictions on the gratuitous alienation of property (i.e., as gifts, dowries, bequeathals), but properties sold, leased, or given as LEGATON had to be offered first to five hierarchical categories of privileged acquirers, from co-owning relatives down to simple neighbors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:203.6–11). That this right of *protimesis* was an obstacle to the aggrandizement of the DYNATOI is seen from a novel of Nikephoros II Phokas that forbade the POOR from exercising the right of *protimesis* when the property of a *dynatos* was on sale (Zepos, *Jus* 1:253–55).

While the decline of an independent peasantry and the rise of the *paroikia* during the 11th C. shows that peasants were ultimately unable to enforce their rights of *protimesis*, the principle seems to have persisted into the 14th C.: without explicitly employing the term *protimesis*, the 1319 chrysobull for Ioannina (MM 5:83.18–19) states that properties held by the city's inhabitants could not be sold to any ARCHON or STRATIOTES unless they were first offered to fellow inhabitants of the city. *Protimesis* was also used to denote other types of prior rights: for instance, a novel of Nikephoros II Phokas (Zepos, *Jus* 1:255f) orders that if a *stratiotes* had sold property not included within his STRATEIA, he could recover it *en protimesei* by paying a JUST PRICE; in 995 (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.57) the right of *protimesis* to complete construction of a mill was granted by a village community to a man whose father had begun the mill; and in 1384 (*Docheiar.*, no.49.42) *protimesis* was used to signify a widow's right to the first settlement in the disposition of her husband's estate.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 90–93, 101f, 157–60. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Peasant's Pre-Emption Right," *JRS* 37 (1947) 117–26. –M.B.

PROTO-BULGARIAN INSCRIPTIONS, from the pre-Christian period of the Bulgarian state (681–864/5). A few brief inscriptions in runes resembling those used by the Orkhon Turks of Central Asia survive; though they cannot be read, no doubt they are in the Turkic language of the BULGARS and would have been unintelligible to their Greek and Slavic-speaking subjects. Therefore, for public communication the Bulgars adopted Greek, the lingua franca of the eastern Balkans, although this is often closer to spoken Greek than to the Byz. literary Greek language. Almost 100 Greek inscriptions of the 8th–9th C., some only fragmentary, have been discovered in the former territory of the First Bulgarian Empire, together with a few in the Bulgar language written in the Greek alphabet. The main types of Proto-Bulgarian inscriptions are *res gestae*; military inventories; triumphal, building, sepulchral, and commemorative inscriptions; treaties and boundary markers; graffiti; and inscriptions on seals and other portable objects. The earliest Proto-Bulgarian inscription (no.1 a–c), carved on a cliff at Madara beside the gigantic relief of a horseman, recounts early Bulgaro-Byz. relations and dates from shortly after 705. Several recount the exploits of KRUM. Another (no.40) sets out the terms of a peace treaty with Byz., probably ca.816–17. The best preserved is a building inscription of OMURTAG on a column now in a church in Tŭrnovo (no.55). These inscriptions throw light on the organization of the early Bulgarian state, on military and diplomatic relations with Byz., and on the history of the Greek language.

ED. V. Beševliev, *Die protobulgarischen Inschriften* (Berlin 1963). Idem, "Eine neue protobulgarische Gedenkinschrift," *BZ* 65 (1972) 394–99.

LIT. V. Beševliev, "Les inscriptions protobulgares et leur portée culturelle et historique," *BS* 32 (1971) 35–51. Idem, *Prabŭlgarski epigrafski pametnici* (Sofia 1981). Idem, "Die byzantinischen Elemente in den protobulgarischen Inschriften," *BBA* 52 (1985) 93–96. –R.B.

PROTOCOL. See ACTS, DOCUMENTARY.

PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, conventional and incorrect title of a Christian apocryphal text produced probably at the very end of the 2nd C. in Egypt; at any rate, it did not originate in Palestine, since the situation there is presented in a confused form. The Protoevangelion survives in a 4th-C. papyrus (Pap. Bodmer V), several papyrus fragments, and numerous MSS from ca.900 onward. P. Bodmer gives the title *The Nativity of Mary (Gennesis Marias).* The author, who

presents himself as JAMES, the Lord's brother, relates the Virgin's biography, from her miraculous birth to a barren couple Ioakeim and Anna up to the birth of Christ, the arrival of the Magi, and Herod's wrath. The story was known to Origen under the name *The Book of James*, and probably to Clement of Alexandria; EUSTATHIOS OF ANTIOCH preserved a detailed résumé of it. The text was included in liturgical collections for the reading on 8 Sept. Syriac, Sahidic Coptic, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, and Latin versions are known.

Usage as an Iconographic Source. Rapidly and widely disseminated, the Protoevangelion fundamentally influenced the imagery of Mary, furnishing Byz. art from the 5th C. onward with numerous Marian images: the story of Mary's parents, Ioakeim and Anna, with Ioakeim's expulsion from the Temple for barrenness, his retreat into the wilderness, Anna's lament, the annunciation to both parents, and their joyful meeting before Anna's house (paralleled iconographically with the VISITATION, but often commemorated as the moment of Mary's conception); the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, her infancy, her blessing by the Temple priests, her PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE and nourishment by angels, and her selection as the one to weave the purple wool for the Temple veil; her betrothal to Joseph, the dual ANNUNCIATION at the well and then indoors, and the trial by bitter water; the account of the NATIVITY in a cave rather than a stable, with the doubting midwife, Salome, and the ADORATION OF THE MAGI; and the events befalling the Holy Family during the Massacre of the Innocents (the escape into the mountain of Mary's cousin, Elizabeth, with her son, John the Baptist; the murder of John's father, the priest Zacharias, and the election of Symeon to succeed him).

The Protoevangelion provided theophanic events for Early Christian cycles and human and emotional themes for art from the 12th to the 14th C. The two superbly illustrated 12th-C. editions of the homilies on the Virgin by JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, which are based on the Protoevangelion, contain the most comprehensive Byz. Marian cycle. The Protoevangelion is also basic to the cycle of Mary's life at the CHORA.

ED. *Papyrus Bodmer V: Nativité de Marie*, ed. M. Testuz (Cologny-Genève 1958). E. Hennecke, W. Schneemelcher, *New Testament Apocrypha*, vol. 1 (Philadelphia 1963) 370–88, with Eng. tr.

LIT. E. de Strycker, "Le Protévangile de Jacques: Problèmes critiques et exégétiques," *TU* 88 (1964) 339–59. Idem, "Die griechischen Handschriften des Protevangeliums Iacobi," in *Griechische Kodikologie und Textüberlieferung* (Darmstadt 1980) 577–612. *Gli apocrifi del Nuovo Testamento*, ed. M. Erbetta, vol 1.2 (Casale 1981) 7–43. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–94. –A.W.C., A.K.

PROTOIERAKARIOS (πρωτοιερακάριος), the first falconer of the emperor, an office/title known in the 13th–14th C. Guilland is wrong in asserting that Anna Komnene "speaks of a *protoierakarios*"; in fact, she only mentions (An.Komn. 2:117.8–9) a certain Constantine in charge of the emperor's falcons. A 14th-C. historian (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1.41.13–14) relates that Theodore Mouzalon was appointed *prothierakarios*, whereas other sources call him PROTOKYNEGOS. The title had a relatively modest place in the hierarchy (after *logothetes tou stratiotikou*) and appears rarely in the sources. In 1344 two *protoierakarioi*—Iagoupes and Demetrios Komes—participated in a session of imperial OIKEIOI who endowed estates upon the monastery of Docheiariou (*Docheiar.*, no.23); thus there could be several *protoierakarioi* simultaneously. In the list of pseudo-Kodinos they stood below the *megas tzaousios* and *skouterios*. (See also HAWKING.)

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:600f. –A.K.

PROTOKARABOS (πρωτοκάραβος) is listed among the subordinates of STRATEGOI of maritime themes in the 9th–10th C. and refers to a ship's pilot or steersman, the rank immediately below a KENTARCHOS, who was the captain of a DROMON (Oikonomides, *Listes* 341). Imperial warships had two *protokaraboi* (the senior of the two was named *protos protokarabos*) handling the steering oars and commanding the rowers on either side of the ship. During the 10th C. the *protokarabos* of the imperial *dromon* customarily became PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES as well (*De adm. imp.* 51.188–91).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 69. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:221f. –E.M.

PROTOKYNEGOS (πρωτοκυνηγός), the first hunter of the emperor, an office/title known from the 13th C. onward. According to pseudo-KODINOS, the *protokynegos* had hunters (*skyllomangoi*, probably guardians of hounds) under his command; his function was to hold the emperor's stirrup when the latter was mounting his horse. Despite

a relatively modest place in the hierarchy (after the *megas logariastes*), the title of *protokynegos* was granted to several important personages, such as Theodore Mouzalon under Theodore II Laskaris; Kontophre-Godefroi, governor of Mesothynia under Andronikos III; and John Vatatzes in the mid-14th C. The predecessor of the *protokynegos* was probably the *komes tou kynegiou* attested on an undated seal of the *protospatharios* John, who combined this function with that of HETAIREIARCHES (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.524).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:601–03. –A.K.

PROTO-MAIOLICA WARE, a type of pottery with a tin glaze and light-colored fabric found throughout the eastern Mediterranean in the 13th to 14th C. It was first thought to have been produced in the Crusader states of the Levant (F. Waagé, *Hesperia* 3 [1934] 129–39); a Byz. origin of the ware was later suggested (Morgan, *Pottery* 105–14), but it has now been established that the pottery was made in southern Italy, particularly in the area of Apulia. Small bowls, broad plates, and pitchers are typical forms. The ware is decorated with various colors of glaze, esp. blues, purples, and black; geometric designs as well as figural representations are common. The pottery was exported in considerable quantities and gained supremacy over many Byz. wares in Greece and Syria. The expansion of Proto-Maiolica demonstrates the growth of Western economic power vis-à-vis Byz. and also provides reasonably well-dated horizons in archaeological contexts.

LIT. D. Whitehouse, "Proto-Maiolica," *Faenza* 66 (1980) 77–87. D. Pringle, "Some More Proto-Maiolica from ʿAthlit (Pilgrims' Castle) and a Discussion of its Distribution in the Levant," *Levant* 14 (1982) 104–17. G. Sanders, "An Assemblage of Frankish Pottery at Corinth," *Hesperia* 56 (1987) 159–95. –T.E.G.

PROTOME (προτομή), the bust of a human or the front part of an animal, often paired on early Byz. textiles under Sasanian influence and in architectural sculpture. *Protome* CAPITALS, based on Roman and Hellenistic models ultimately of Persian origin, were often employed in 5th- and 6th-C. churches, particularly for CIBORIA and TRIBELA. They consist of a zone of acanthus leaves, often of the fine-toothed type, or a zone of stylized floral ornament, or a basket, surmounted by busts of griffins, rams, bulls, lions, or winged horses. Such capitals provided models for medieval revivals, esp. in S. Marco, VENICE.

LIT. E. Kitzinger, "The Horse and Lion Tapestry at Dumbarton Oaks," *DOP* 3 (1946) 1–72. M. Panayotidi, "Byzantina kionokrana me anaglypha zoa," *DChAE*[4] 6 (1970–72) 82–129. J.-P. Sodini, "La sculpture architecturale à l'époque paléochrétienne en Illyricum," 10 *IntCongChrArch*, vol. 1 (Thessalonike 1984) 234–43. –L.Ph.B.

PROTONOTARIOS (πρωτονοτάριος), chief of the NOTARIES. Laurent (*Corpus* 2:77) distinguishes two kinds of *protonotarioi*: those of the emperor, also called "*proedroi* of the notaries of the *despotes*" (no.165) or PRIMIKERIOI of the notaries (no.177), and those of the SEKRETA. Among the other *protonotarioi* that of the DROMOS played an esp. important role, serving as deputy of the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU (Oikonomides, *Listes* 311); the *protonotarios* of the GENIKON (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 384–87) and other *logothesia* are known as well. The *protonotarioi* of the themes belonged to the department of the SAKELLION: they dealt with supply of the army and fleet (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 43). A 10th-C. seal was owned by the *ostiarios* Gregory who held the office of *protonotarios* of the "Augustiakos *oikos*" (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.923) that perhaps designates the "private" estate of the augusta. The office of *protonotarios* was probably created simultaneously with the system of the LOGOTHESIA; their seals belong mostly to the period of the 8th–11th C. Dölger (*Beiträge* 69) suggests that the *protonotarioi* of the themes disappeared after the 11th C.; the *protonotarios* of the *dromos* is known at least through ca.1185 (Nik.Chon. 335.21). Pseudo-Kodinos mentions only one secular *protonotarios* whom he places after the ORPHANOTROPHOS. N. Oikonomides (*REB* 43 [1985] 170–72) hypothesizes that in the 14th C. the *protonotarios* was the emperor's personal secretary; he also thinks that MAZARIS, when speaking of the imperial *grammateus*, meant the *protonotarios*.

The patriarchal *protonotarios* was an official of the second class, below the EXOKATAKOILOI (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 175).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 38–40. –A.K.

PROTOS (πρῶτος, lit. "the first [monk]"), head of a group of scattered hermitages and monasteries, as at the HOLY MOUNTAINS of GANOS, LATROS,

METEORA, and esp. ATHOS. The beginning of the institution is obscure; it is unclear whether the *protos* was a modified form of the supervisor of local monastic communities such as the ARCHIMANDRITE or EXARCH. The evidence of seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1135, 1272A) suggests that *protoi* may have been in existence at least as early as the 7th C.

Papachryssanthou argues that the first *protos* on Mt. Athos was a certain Andrew, "monk and first (*protos*) hesychast of the famous Mountain," who is mentioned in an act of Leo VI of 908 (*Prot.*, no.2.17–18). Her hypothesis is based on an ambiguous passage from the vita of St. Blasios (died ca.911/12), who is said to have met at the Stoudios monastery with the *protos* and chosen brethren; Papachryssanthou (*infra* 52, n.64) rejects the logical interpretation that the hagiographer meant the *protos* of Stoudios and connected the evidence instead with Athos. The next known *protos* of Athos was Stephen (ca.958/9), who is mentioned in the vita of Athanasios of Athos; Athanasios himself was *protos* in 972. The list of *protoi* of Athos established by Papachryssanthou contains 87 names up to 1452. The *protos* of the Holy Mountain, usually from one of the smaller Athonite monsteries, was elected by an assembly of monks at KARYES; the emperor himself invested him with the staff of authority. Originally the *protos* served for life, but since the persons elected were of honorable age, the duration of the office was usually no longer than five to ten years; exceptionally, the *protos* Isaac (I. Mamalakas, *EEBS* 36 [1968] 70–80) ruled the community for about 30 years (ca.1316–45). By the end of the 14th C. the system of annual elections was introduced. The institution of *protos* survived on Athos until the late 16th C.

It is difficult to determine the rights of the *protos* over the community of Athos: in 972 the TRAGOS of John I Tzimiskes ruled that the authority of the *protos* was limited by the assembly of *hegoumenoi* at the PROTATON. By the 11th C. the authority of the *protos* was eclipsed by that of the *hegoumenoi* of the three major monasteries of Great Lavra, Iveron, and Vatopedi. The *protos* served as representative from Athos to both civil and ecclesiastical authorities. Assisted by the *hegoumenoi*, he administered justice and had disciplinary powers over the monks of Athos. He also confirmed the election of *hegoumenoi* and handed them the staff of office in the name of the emperor. He was responsible for distributing to the Athonite monks the annual pension (*roga*) from the emperor.

Preservation of the independence of the community was the main political task of the *protos*. In the 10th C. he managed to limit the role of the bishop of Hierissos in the ordination of priests and deacons on Athos. In theory he was dependent only on the emperor, but he frequently had to deal with the patriarch's attempts to encroach upon Athonite independence: thus Patr. Nicholas III Grammatikos tried to exercise jurisdiction over Athos, imposing *epitimia* and excommunications; in the 13th C. the monks of Athos addressed patriarchs asking them to solve property cases on the Holy Mountain; Patr. Athanasios I insisted on the patriarchal investiture (benediction) of the *protos* together with that of the emperor. Andronikos II in 1312 introduced patriarchal investiture as a rule. Moreover, in 1368 the *protos* was subordinated to the bishop of Hierissos. At the same time Serbia established its influence over Athos: in the 1350s and 1360s the *Serboprotoi* (Serbian *protoi*) Antony, Dorotheos, and Sabbas signed their documents in Slavonic. Only Patr. Antony IV, from 1392 onward, began to restore the former independence of the *protos*.

LIT. Papachryssanthou, *Prôtaton* 123–50. H. Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.VIII (1952), 359–69. Ch. Ktenas, "Ho protos tou Hagiou Orous Atho kai he 'Megale Mese' e 'Synaxis,'" *EEBS* 6 (1929) 233–81. J. Darrouzès, "Liste des prôtes de l'Athos," in *Mill. Mont-Athos* 1:406–47.

–A.K., A.M.T.

PROTOSEBASTOS (πρωτοσέβαστος), a high title designating the first (*protos*) of the SEBASTOI (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2711). It is generally accepted that the title was created by Alexios I, although in a document of 1049 resolving a litigation Domenico Contarini, the doge of Venice, calls himself imperial *patrikios* and *protosebastos* (S. Romanin, *Studia documentata di Venezia* 1 [Venice 1853] 219f). Among Byz. nobles the first *protosebastos* was Michael TARONITES, husband of Alexios's sister; eventually he received the higher title of PANHYPERSEBASTOS. In the 12th C. the title of *protosebastos* was conferred on close relatives of the emperor, sometimes the sons of a SEBASTOKRATOR (L. Stiernon, *REB* 23 [1965] 224, n.17). In the 14th-C. list of pseudo-KODINOS the *protosebastos* ranks between the *megas logothetes* and *pinkernes*.

The title was granted to members of noble families such as the Palaiologoi, Tarchaneiotai, Raoul, and Metochitai.

LIT. Raybaud, *Gouvernement* 180f. –A.K.

PROTOSPATHARIOS (πρωτοσπαθάριος), the first SPATHARIOS, a dignity of the imperial hierarchy; this dignity usually conferred membership in the SENATE. The first reliable evidence is in 718 (Sergios, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Sicily [Theoph. 398.7]), the last is in 1115 (*Lavra* 1, no.60.74), although the title was still known in the 14th C. to pseudo-KODINOS. Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, no.163) dates a seal of the *protospatharios* Basil Spondyles to the 13th C. Up to the 10th C. *protospatharios* was a high title granted mostly to commanders of THEMES; in the 11th C. it lost this significance. *Protospatharioi* of the 10th C. were divided into two groups, "bearded" and EUNUCHS. Some holders of this dignity had special court functions, such as the *protospatharioi* of CHRYSOTRIKLINOS and of LAUSIAKOS. The *protospatharios* of the BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI had military or paramilitary functions, while the PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES had judicial duties. The title was also granted to several foreign princes. The salary of a *protospatharios* was 72 nomismata a year. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 50.235–56) tells the story of a wealthy cleric Ktenas who bought the title of *protospatharios* for 60 litras, a sum 60 times his annual *roga* (which he received for only two years since he was an old man), indicating that the honor that accrued to this title was more important than its monetary value.

The insigne of the bearded *protospatharios* was a golden collar with precious stones; bearded *protospatharioi* carried swords, while eunuchs were garbed in white robes and cloaks adorned with gold. In MS illustrations the depiction of the *protospatharios* varies over time. In the first half of the 10th C. Constantine the *protospatharios*, the brother of Leo Sakellarios, wears a red CHLAMYS edged in gold with a rinceau motif over a white CHITON, as well as his sword of office. The *protospatharios* Basil, who was the patron of a 12th-C. lectionary, is shown in a purple chiton under a red chlamys with gold border and TABLION, but without a sword (Spatharakis, *Portrait* 11, 84, 228, figs. 2, 4, 52, 164).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:99–131, corr. in Oikonomides, *Listes* 297. –A.K., A.C.

PROTOSPATHARIOS TES PHIALES (πρωτοσπαθάριος τῆς Φιάλης), an enigmatic official appointed as judge of the imperial oarsmen, described in the DE ADMINISTRANDO IMPERIO (51.46–191) but omitted in contemporary TAKTIKA. The meaning of *phiale* (lit. "drinking-bowl" or "basin") is also uncertain; probably it means a part of the harbor at Boukoleon (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:256). Until Romanos I only the oarsmen of the emperor's ships were within his jurisdiction, the barges of the augusta being under the control of her "master of the table" (EPI TES TRAPEZES); Romanos, however, gave the *protospatharios tes Phiales* authority over the barges of the augusta. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 51.93–102) relates that a certain Podaron, first oarsman under Basil I, was made *protospatharios tes Phiales* and later *strategos* of Kibyrrhaiotai; since he was illiterate, a *krites* of the Hippodrome was appointed to help him judge the sailors.

LIT. A. Vogt, "Le protospathaire de la Phiale et la marine byzantine," *EO* 39 (1940–42) 328–32. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:113–15. –A.K.

PROTOSTRATOR (πρωτοστράτωρ), chief of imperial STRATORES. His major duty in the 9th and 10th C. was to accompany the emperor while on horseback. The first mention of the imperial *protostrator* refers to 765, when the *spatharios* and *protostrator* Constantine, son of the *patrikios* Bardanes, was among the victims of Iconoclast persecution; in the account of Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 438.15–16) he is almost at the bottom of the list of victims. The TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. place *protostratores* on a relatively low rung of the hierarchical ladder. The post, however, seems to have been a good starting place for many careers: the general MANUEL began as *protostrator* of Michael I, and at least two *protostratores* of the 9th C., Michael (II) and Basil (I), became emperor. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:412.4–5) defined the *protostrator* as one of the highest officials; ca.1200 Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 600.48) equated him with the Western *mariscaldus* (marshal).

During the Palaiologan period the *protostrator* was one of the highest functionaries; he had ceremonial duties and commanded troops. There was one *protostrator* in the 12th C., but several from the end of the 13th C. onward. Among the renowned *protostratores* of the Palaiologan period were Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS and Theodore

SYNADENOS. The last *protostrator*, a certain Palaiologos, perished during the siege of Constantinople in 1453. From the 13th C. onward the distinction between the functions of *protostrator* and MEGAS DOUX gradually became blurred.

The staff of the *protostrator* in the 9th–10th C. included grooms, supervisors of stables, and *armophylakes* (officials in charge of weapons, according to Bury [*Adm. System* 118], but responsible for chariots according to Oikonomides [*Listes* 338]). Besides imperial *protostratores* there were *protostratores* of some high functionaries, both in the provinces (the *protostrator* of Opsikion [Theoph. 383.11]) and possibly in central departments, if Laurent's reading of a seal, "*protostrator* of the KOMES TOU STAULOU" (*Corpus* 2, no.931) is correct.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:478–97. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 111–17. –A.K.

PROTOTHRONOS (πρωτόθρονος), a term derived from *thronos*, a synonym for the episcopal see, and designating the chief or preeminent bishop occupying the first see. Hence its usage by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS to denote Rome's honorary PRIMACY—the *prima sedes* within the PENTARCHY (PG 99:1332B). Ordinarily, however, the title was used for the senior ranked metropolitan in a patriarchate. Thus the *protothronos* of ANTIOCH, next to the patriarch of the city of Antioch itself, was usually the metropolitan of Tyre. His counterpart in Constantinople was the metropolitan of CAESAREA, who alone carried the title in the patriarchate of CONSTANTINOPLE. Since the term was connected with the *taxis prokathedrias* (order of precedence), the highest ranking suffragan bishop of an ecclesiastical province was likewise called *protothronos* of his *metropolis* or province. Indeed, a new autocephalous archbishop was often *protothronos* of his metropolis prior to his elevation.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 73. –A.P.

PROTOVESTIARIOS (πρωτοβεστιάριος), post for a palace eunuch, second to that of PARAKOIMOMENOS. The *protovestiarios* is considered to be the successor to the *comes sacrae vestis*, keeper of the emperor's wardrobe; he is first recorded in 412 (Jones, *LRE* 1:567) and presided over the emperor's private VESTIARION, which differed from the state *vestiarion*. The early evidence about *protovestiarioi* is very scarce. Several seals of *protovestiarioi* of the 8th–9th C. survive (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, no.25; Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1410, 1634, 1781); none, however, mentions the *protovestiarios* in association with another title or office. Of the TAKTIKA from the 9th and 10th C., only the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS lists the *protovestiarios* of the *despotes* (emperor), but it gives no evidence of his functions. The first *protovestiarios* mentioned in narrative sources is Leo Chamaidrakon (*TheophCont* 791.1–3), whom Emp. Theophilos dispatched to bring (to the palace?) a candelabrum broken at the time of Leo V's murder. Neither this assignment nor other cases presented in the texts have anything to do with the imperial wardrobe: in the 9th–11th C. *protovestiarioi* commanded armies, conducted peace negotiations, investigated conspiracies, and so on. Sometimes, as in the career of SAMONAS, an individual was appointed first *protovestiarios* and later *parakoimomenos*, whose aide the *protovestiarios* seems to have been.

The role of the *protovestiarios* increased in the 11th C. when the *protovestiarios* Symeon was at the same time the *domestikos ton scholon* under Romanos III; the *protovestiarios* CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES, the future patriarch, administered the government of Constantine IX. *Protovestiarios* became an honorific title, and it was conferred on bearded nobles, such as Andronikos DOUKAS, the son of Caesar John. From the 12th C. onward, many aristocrats and high-ranking dignitaries were granted the title, including some future emperors (Alexios V, John III Vatatzes) and other important politicians (George MOUZALON). In the 14th C. it was one of the highest titles: a Palaiologan ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 135f) relates that Michael VIII appointed his nephew Michael TARCHANEIOTES as *protovestiarios*, placed him above the *megas domestikos*, and gave him the exclusive right to the "green garments." The last renowned *protovestiarios* was Alexios ASAN in the mid-14th C.

In the late 9th C. Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 97.4) mentions the *protovestiaria* of the augusta as the first of the empress's female servants; *protovestiariai* are also known in the 11th–15th C. (e.g., An.Komn. 1:80.23; MM 2:456.20–34). *Protovestiarioi* of private persons are attested as well: Lykastos, *protovestiarios* of St. PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, had to carry his master's purse and distribute money among the poor (vita, ed. Fourmy, Leroy, 149.11–15). The term should not be confused with that of PROTOVESTIARITES.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:216–36. Bury, *Adm. System* 125. –A.K.

PROTOVESTIARITES (πρωτοβεστιαρίτης), chief of the VESTIARITAI or imperial bodyguard. The position probably existed from the 13th C. onward. –A.K.

PROTO-______. See also under latter part of term.

PROUSA (Προῦσα, now Bursa), city of BITHYNIA. Rarely mentioned before the 12th C., Prousa appears as a military base in the time of Justinian I, and as the site of a renowned hot spring frequently visited by Byz. emperors. During the Iconoclastic period, Prousa was the regional center for the monks of the neighboring Mt. OLYMPOS. The city gained in importance under the Komnenoi, when it was exposed to Turkish attack. In 1184 it revolted against Andronikos I, who took it in spite of its powerful fortifications. The city, described as built on a hill and surrounded by strong walls (Nik.Chon. 602.8–603.23), was besieged in vain by the Latins in 1204–5. Prousa was threatened by OSMAN in 1302 and bought peace after a siege in 1304. According to Turkish sources Osman surrounded it with blockading fortresses in 1315; it was finally forced to surrender on 6 Apr. 1326 and to pay a tribute of 30,000 gold pieces.

Prousa was a suffragan bishopric of NIKOMEDEIA; it briefly assumed the name Theopolis in the 7th C. and was made a metropolis by Isaac II Komnenos.

LIT. J. Sölch, "Historisch-geographische Studien über bithynische Siedlungen," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 292–95. H. Inalcik, *EI*[2] 1:1333–86. –C.F.

PROVERB (παροιμία), a rhetorical device very like a GNOME, though not necessarily taken from a literary source. Its general familiarity made it a favored mode of stylistic ornament for writers of the SECOND SOPHISTIC and subject of collections from the Hellenistic period onward. Proverbs played a role in Byz. literature at both a learned and a popular level. Three main versions of the Hellenistic collections circulated in the Byz. period: that of Zenobios (1st C., an abbreviated alphabetic form of the collections of Didymos and Lucillus Tyrrhaeus), the *Proverbs of Plutarch used by the Alexandrians* (drawn from Seleukos of Alexandria), and an alphabetical list of *Popular Proverbs* (1st C., based on Diogenianos). These gave rise to the late Byz. collections of GREGORY II OF CYPRUS, the *Rhodonia* of Metr. Makarios CHRYSOKEPHALOS of Philadelphia, and the *Ionia* of Michael APOSTOLES. Simultaneously, proverbial expressions, many derived from those in the learned tradition, flourished in everyday speech, as may be seen from quoted examples (e.g., by EUSTATHIOS in his account of the fall of Thessalonike or Michael GLYKAS in his verses from prison). A small collection of these popular proverbs is attributed to Michael PSELLOS; other larger anonymous collections also survive (complete with theological interpretations). Maximos PLANOUDES made the fullest such collection, preserved in several MSS.

ED. *Corpus Paroemiographorum Graecorum*, ed. E.L. Leutsch, F.G. Schneidewin, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1839–51; rp. Hildesheim 1958). *Mittelgriechische Sprichwörter*, ed. K. Krumbacher (Munich 1893; rp. Hildesheim 1969).

LIT. K. Rupprecht, *RE* 18 (1949) 1707–78. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 206f. –E.M.J.

PROVINCE (*provincia*, ἐπαρχία), the primary administrative district in the Roman Empire. Since provincial governors acquired dangerous independence in the 3rd C., Diocletian tried to decrease their power. First, the provinces were subdivided (Lactant., *De mort. pers.* 7.4), with 120 provinces recorded in the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. Second, in some provinces military power was separated from civil administration: the *dux* (see DOUX) commanded the troops, and the *praeses* performed fiscal and judicial functions. Third, the DIOCESE was introduced as an intermediary unit between the province and the praetorian PREFECTURE. All this created a competition for power, as stressed in Justinian I's novel 24.1. In 535–36 Justinian attempted to restrict this competition and to increase the power of provincial officials: some dioceses (Asia, Pontica) were abolished and the functions of their VICARS transferred to provincial governors called *comites* (see COMES); in several provinces the posts of military commander and civil administrator were combined in the office of PRAETOR. This tendency was further developed by the creation of EXARCHATES and eventually THEMES, the word *eparchia* being applied to the theme. Personifications of provinces are among the commonest figures on coins, silver, and MSS

such as the *Notitia dignitatum*, often assuming, like cities, the form of a TYCHE.

LIT. G. Wesenberg, *RE* 23 (1957) 1014–17. Jones, *LRE* 1:42–46, 280f. –A.K., A.C.

PROVINCIAL ADMINISTRATION of the late Roman Empire had the tendency to lessen the independence of the PROVINCES, partly by decreasing their size, partly by dividing authority between military and civil administration. The reverse policy cautiously started by Justinian I found its realization in the creation of EXARCHATES and eventually of large THEMES. By the beginning of the 8th C. the powerful STRATEGOI of the themes temporarily gained control over Constantinople, but the power of the themes was slowly diminished in the 9th–10th C. At the same time, several themes could be united under the command of a single administrator, and larger units such as DOUKATON and KATEPANATE were created (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 82–91). The emperors of Nicaea managed to subdue the independence of provincial *doukes* by introducing strong administrators within the framework of greater local districts (Angold, *Byz. Government* 257). In the last centuries the empire presented a network of fragmented units, called *themata*, EPARCHIAI, or *katepanikia*, which were administered by the KEPHALE and APOGRAPHEUS; these units usually consisted of a town with its hinterland. Simultaneously the larger APPANAGES developed, sometimes under the command of a DESPOTES, which imitated on a smaller scale the court of Constantinople.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 1–109. L. Maksimović, *The Byzantine Provincial Administration under the Palaeologoi* (Amsterdam 1988). –A.K.

PROXIMOS (*πρόξιμος, προέξημος*, Lat. *proximus*), in the late Roman Empire a civil official in various *scrinia* (bureaus). He reappears in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij and *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS; in the latter he is on the staff of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, i.e., a military officer. In the vita of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER (PG 100:1169C-1172A) the *proximos* is described as a man armed with a sword who performed police functions. The *proximos* could bear the high title of *patrikios* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.691).

In the 11th C. the term was employed to designate teachers in some schools in Constantinople (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 228f); one of them was NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA. A letter by Psellos (*Scripta min.* 2:30f) is addressed to a *proximos* and teacher Isaias.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 23 (1957) 1035–37. –A.K.

PRUDENTIUS, more fully Aurelius Clemens Prudentius, government official and Latin poet; born Saragossa 348, died after 405. Prudentius enjoyed a successful secular career, progressing from rhetoric and law to two provincial governorships and a palace position under HONORIUS. After retiring in 405, he gave the rest of his life, perhaps spent in an ascetic Christian community, to devotional poetry. His works, equipped with biographically informative preface and epilogue, span several genres. Two lyrical collections are the *Kathemerinon* (hymns for specific times of the day) and *Peristephanon* (in praise of individual Western martyrs). Didactic poems include the hexametric *Apotheosis* (on the Trinity), *Hamartigenia* (against Dualist views of the nature of sin), and *Psychomachia*, an allegory on virtues and vices vying for the soul. Prudentius's *Dittochaeon*, hexameter quatrains on 24 Old Testament and 24 New Testament subjects, apparently intended as *tituli* for images on the facing walls of a basilica, is the classic document of the typological system of CHURCH PROGRAMS OF DECORATION. Two books of hexameters against SYMMACHUS and paganism (S. Döpp, *JbAChr* 23 [1980] 65–81), datable to 402, probably reflect a final summary of Christian victory rather than his own participation in the ALTAR OF VICTORY controversy of the 380s. No great theologian and not formally a hymnographer, Prudentius is best seen as the first major Christian Latin poet, reshaping Horatian lyric and Lucretian didactic epic to the new purposes. Full-scale poetic use of allegory was his greatest innovation and legacy.

ED. *Carmina*, ed. M.P. Cunningham (Turnhout 1966). *Prudentius*, ed. H.J. Thomson, 2 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1949–53), with Eng. tr.

LIT. B. Peebles, *The Poet Prudentius* (New York 1951). C. Witke, *Numen litterarum* (Leiden-Cologne 1971) 102–44. T.D. Barnes, "The Historical Setting of Prudentius's *Contra Symmachum*," *AJPh* 97 (1976) 373–86. L. Padovese, *La Cristologia di Aurelio Clemente Prudenzio* (Rome 1980). R.J. Deferrari, J.M. Campbell, *A Concordance of Prudentius* (Cambridge, Mass., 1932). J.-L. Charlet, *La création poétique dans le Cathemerinon de Prudence* (Paris 1982). M.A. Malamud, *A*

Poetics of Transformation: Prudentius and Classical Mythology (Ithaca, N.Y., 1989). –B.B., A.C.

PSALMODY (ψαλμῳδία), the use of the 150 Psalms of the Bible in worship. The Psalms were initially combined with nonbiblical compositions; later, to avoid the inclusion of heretical hymns, psalmody was restricted to the Psalms alone, until the introduction of ANTIPHONS in the 4th C. Psalmody for the Eucharist (antiphons, *prokeimena*, alleluia, KOINONIKON) is found in a LECTIONARY, that for the liturgical HOURS in the Psalter.

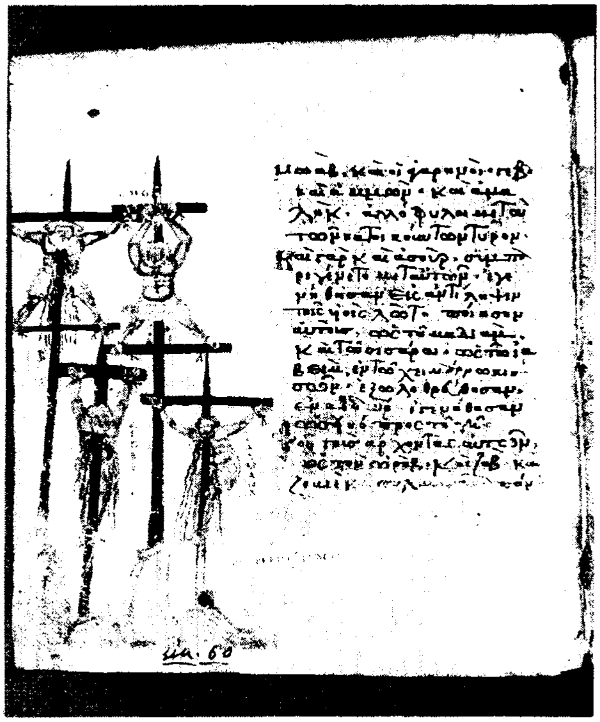
Psalmody is either "monastic" or "cathedral." Monastic psalmody is continuous, that is, it follows the biblical sequence of Psalms and is chanted straight through, either "directly," as one piece, by a soloist or all the monks together, or "alternatively," with the monks in two choirs alternating verses. The monastic Psalter, or *psalterion*, Palestinian in origin, was divided into 20 sections called KATHISMATA; each *kathisma* comprised three *doxai* of (ideally) three psalms each, or nine psalms in all. The *psalterion* also included ten biblical canticles grouped into nine ODES as well as fixed chants such as the PHOS HILARON and the Great DOXOLOGY used in the monastic hours; its earliest surviving MS is Leningrad, Publ. Lib. 216, dated 862. In the psalmody used in the Stoudite monasteries in Constantinople in the period between Iconoclasm and the Fourth Crusade (see STOUDITE TYPIKA), the singing of the Psalter was spread over three weeks during the summer, but it was sung once every week in winter and twice a week in Lent. The later usage (see SABAITIC TYPIKA) supplanted the mitigated summer system with the heavier weekly winter schedule. The Palestinian all-night *agrypnia* (see VIGIL) included the entire Psalter with canticles.

In cathedral psalmody, individual psalms were selected on the basis of their suitability to the service and executed responsorially or antiphonally. The Psalter used for the cathedral rite of Constantinople (see ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA) was called an *antiphonarion*, since it grouped the psalms into ANTIPHONS, 74 or 76 depending on the MS. To these were added 15 odes (Taft, "Mount Athos" 181 n.19). The earliest extant Psalter of this type, the illustrated Khludov Psalter (see section on illustration under PSALTER), already shows signs of Palestinian monastic influence common in Constantinopolitan monasteries from the 9th C. onward.

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 181f, 187–90. J. Mateos, "La psalmodie variable dans l'office byzantin," *Societas Academica Dacoromana, Acta Philosophica et Theologica*, vol. 2 (Rome 1964) 327–39. Mateos, *La parole* 7–26. –R.F.T.

PSALTER (ψαλτήριον, lit. "a stringed instrument, harp"), a liturgical book containing the 150 psalms attributed to King DAVID, accompanied by the odes (canticles). Of all the OLD TESTAMENT books the Psalms were the most popular with the Byz. As Athanasios of Alexandria says (PG 27:12C), "Like a garden, the book of Psalms contains, and puts in musical form, everything that is to be found in other books, and shows, in addition, its own particular qualities." From the 3rd C. onward, the Psalter became the Christian prayer book par excellence, used during the liturgy in an ANTIPHONAL dialogue between the deacon and choir; the themes of individual psalms then served for the development of TROPARIA. Of all scriptural books the Psalter was considered the most powerful weapon against demons (John Moschos, PG 87:3020A). It also was the main textbook of elementary education, was memorized by children, and was the most frequently quoted book of the Old Testament: thus, in Niketas Choniates it provides more than 40 percent of all Old Testament citations.

The excellence of the Psalter was seen in the force of its religious expression: beside the direct expression of human hope the Psalter was interpreted as Christ's prayers to the Father (and in this case the church was thought to pray with him) or as prayers addressed to the Lord (in this case the faithful were thought to pray to him). EXEGESIS of the Psalms had a double goal: typological or allegorical analysis based on Christocentric interpretation and the prosopological method (i.e., concern with the identity of the speaker). Since this person was often interpreted as Christ, the distinction between the humanity and divinity of Christ became the focus of exegesis. Among the commentators on the Psalms (preserved only partially in CATENAE) were Origen, Eusebios of Caesarea, pseudo-Athanasios, Didymos the Blind, Diodoros of Tarsos, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Hesychios of Jerusalem as well as Latin church fathers—Ambrose, Augustine, and others. Much later, Nikephoros



PSALTER. Page from a marginal Psalter (Athos, Pantokrator gr. 61, fol.115v); 9th C. Pantokrator monastery, Mt. Athos. The illustration depicts the death by impaling of the Midianite kings.

Blemmydes wrote a commentary on the book of Psalms; the monk JOB commented on the first 15 Psalms. Old Slavonic commentators drew upon Byz. tradition.

Psalter Illustration. This developed from the Psalter's special place in both the public liturgical and private spiritual life of Byz. Eighty-five illustrated MSS survive (Lowden, *infra*), the earliest dating from the 9th C. They have been conventionally divided into two groups on the basis of their illustration: the "marginal" (sometimes tendentiously termed "monastic" or "theological") and the "aristocratic."

Marginal Psalters. This closely related family of MSS includes the three earliest illustrated Byz. Psalters (Athos, Pantok. 61; Paris, B.N. gr. 20; Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 129D [the "Khludov Psalter"]), all usually attributed to the second half of the 9th C. The illustration takes the form of numerous small figures and narrative scenes placed in the broad outer margins of the pages and usually linked to the relevant Psalter text by a system of sigla. Various interpretative methods underlie the pictures; single words or phrases from the title or the text itself may be represented literally or subjected to a Christian allegorical interpretation. In the 9th-C. MSS a further layer of meaning is supplied by images displaying vigorous anti-Iconoclastic propaganda. Thus in the Khludov Psalter the reference to vinegar and gall in Psalm 68:21 is glossed visually first by an image of the Crucifixion and then by a parallel in which the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos and Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS whitewash an icon of Christ (see ICONOCLASM). The few Psalms that lend themselves to narrative treatment (e.g., the Exodus account in Ps 77) are supplied with particularly detailed illustration. Marginal Psalters continued to be made in Byz. into the 14th C. (Baltimore, Walters 733) and after ca.1300 pictorially related examples were produced in culturally related centers (Greco-Latin, Bulgarian, Serbian, and Russian: e.g., Berlin, Kupferstichkab. 78.A.9, the "Hamilton Psalter"; Munich, Bayer. Staatsbibl. slav. 4, the "Serbian Psalter").

Aristocratic Psalters. These form a less easily defined group. Their chief exemplar is the magnificent 10th-C. PARIS PSALTER, a truly aristocratic book. Recent research, by emphasizing the large number of these MSS, has also drawn attention to the wide disparities among them and called into question the terminology and grouping. Their illustration is "nonmarginal" and usually consists of one or more frontispiece pictures and major illustrations to Psalms 50, 77, and 151 and the ODES, but there are many exceptions. Some of these images are full-page miniatures. In contrast to the sometimes learned and usually specific images of the marginal type, these are for the most part generalized, isolated, and iconlike.

Other illustrated Psalters (such as Vat. gr. 752 and 1927 and Oxford, Bodl. Canon. gr. 62) stand completely apart in the nature of their commentary-based illustration.

The precise relationships among most of the surviving Psalters and the nature of their debt to sources, esp. from the period before Iconoclasm, are complex and controversial. Recent research suggests that the very nature of the marginal arrangement of the 9th-C. MSS excludes the creation of a book of this type much before 800 (Corrigan, *infra*). The DAVID PLATES, closely related in some instances to the Paris Psalter, emphasize the existence before Iconoclasm of icon-

ographic compositions, which could be taken to presuppose illustrated Psalters of nonmarginal type. Important questions, such as the liturgical (or other) use of these books, still await systematic investigation.

LIT. J.A. Lamb, *The Psalms in Christian Worship* (London 1962). F. von Lilienfeld, "Psalmengebet und christliche Dichtung in der kirchlichen und monastischen Praxis des Ostens," *Liturgie und Dichtung*, vol. 1 (St. Ottilien 1983) 465–507. M.J. Rondeau, *Les Commentaires patristiques du Psautier*, 2 vols. (Rome 1982–85). G. Mercati, *Osservazioni a proemi del Salterio* (Vatican 1948). G. Dorival, "Aperçu sur l'histoire des chaînes exégétiques grecques sur le psautier," *StP* 15 (1984) 146–69. M. Simonetti, "La tecnica esegetica di Teodoreto nel *Commento ai Salmi*," *VetChr* 23 (1986) 81–116. Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*. J. Lowden, "Observations on Illustrated Byzantine Psalters," *ArtB* 70 (1988) 242–60. K.A. Corrigan, "The Ninth Century Byzantine Marginal Psalters" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of California, Los Angeles, 1984). –J.I., A.K., J.H.L.

PSALTIKON (ψαλτικόν), a music book containing special CHANTS and verses in a highly ornate idiom to be sung by a soloist (usually the *protopsaltes*; see SINGERS). While it differs in repertory, style, and function from the ASMATIKON, the two books are nonetheless complementary: together they allow the proper conduct of the musical part of the service. The known copies of the *Psaltikon*, all from the 12th to 13th C. and most of southern Italian origin, appear to be derived from a single archetype, for they contain the same pieces, arranged in the same order and belonging to the same melodic tradition. Originally these two compilations, the *Psaltikon* and the *Asmatikon*, were kept separate, but scribes at the monastery of S. Salvatore in MESSINA consolidated the contents of the two books ca.1225, combining them with other material to form a new compilation.

ED. C. Høeg, *Contacarium Ashburnhamense* (Copenhagen 1956).
LIT. Strunk, *Essays* 45–54. –D.E.C.

PSAMATHIA (Ψαμάθια, Ψωμάθια, etc., possibly from *psamathos*, "sand"; Turk. Samatya), quarter in the southwestern corner of Constantinople between the Constantinian and Theodosian Walls. In the 4th–5th C. the area was occupied by aristocratic mansions, which were gradually replaced by monasteries. The three most famous of these were the STOUDIOS, the monastery of Patr. EUTHYMIOS, and the PERIBLEPTOS (built 1030–34), the last represented by the Armenian church of Sulu Manastır in whose *hagiasma* ("holy fountain") several pieces of Byz. sculpture (now in Berlin) were found in 1897. The best known of these reliefs represents Christ between two apostles (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.73) and imitates the style of the Sidamara sarcophagi.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 418. V. Tiftixoglu, "Die Helenianai," in *Studien zur Frühgeschichte Konstantinopels*, ed. H.-G. Beck (Munich 1973) 49–120. C. Mango in *La civiltà bizantina dal IV al IX secolo* (Bari 1977) 307–15. –C.M.

PSELLOS, MICHAEL, intellectual and writer; baptismal name, Constantine; born Constantinople 1018, died after 1081?. Born to a family of modest position, Psellos (Ψελλός) received an outstanding education (one of his professors being John MAUROPOUS) and made a career in civil administration. He belonged to a group of young and energetic intellectuals (JOHN [VIII] XIPHILINOS, CONSTANTINE [III] LEICHOUDES) who had hopes of exercising real power under CONSTANTINE IX but had to resign in 1054. Psellos was forced to take the monastic habit at Mt. Olympos. Soon he returned to Constantinople and participated in political life. However, his claim of having played a crucial role under Constantine X, Romanos IV, and Michael VII seems exaggerated; he was rather a court philosopher, holding the title of HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. It is possible that Psellos left the capital under Michael VII, lived in relative poverty, and died forgotten by the new generation. The date of his death is under discussion: an arbitrary identification with a certain Michael of Nikomedeia dates Psellos's death to 1078 (P. Gautier, *REB* 24 [1966] 159–64), whereas an attribution to Psellos of the introduction to the *Dioptra* of PHILIP MONOTROPOS would suggest 1095 as a *terminus post quem* for his death. In any case it seems that some of his works were written after 1081 (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 53–55). Psellos is shown as a white-bearded monk in a miniature in the late 12th-C. MS, Athos, Pantok. 234 (Spatharakis, *Portrait*, fig.174) that accompanies one of his poems addressed to Michael VII.

Psellos was a polymath whose enormous oeuvre encompasses historical, philosophical, rhetorical, theological, and legal texts as well as a collection of letters; several works attributed to him are spurious, e.g., the so-called *De Daemonibus* (P. Gautier, *REB* 38 [1980] 105–94). As a philosopher

Psellos emphasized the role of NATURE or *physis*, which, created as it was by God, functions according to its immanent laws, leaving a very limited place for the miraculous. The *Chronography* of Psellos, which was probably preceded by a very traditional short chronicle (K. Snipes, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 53–61), describes the years 976–1078 primarily on the basis of personal observations; Psellos presents events as the result of strong personal conflicts, emotions, and intrigues, leaving no room for divine Providence. As a writer Psellos developed the trends typical of Mauropous and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE, but reached a much higher level. Consistently individualistic in his approach, he viewed the world from his own vantage point, sometimes seriously, sometimes ironically. His presentation of himself as actively involved in major affairs is a distortion of historical reality. It even appears that he rewrote the Life of St. AUXENTIOS, modeling it on his own biography.

Psellos rejected the conventional aesthetic of black-and-white judgment, even though he applied this method to his panegyrical portraits of Constantine X and Michael VII. He tried to conjure up complex and contradictory images, such as Constantine IX in his *Chronography* or the monk Elias in his letters; Psellos realized their shortcomings but appreciated both men's vitality and enjoyment of life. His psychological characterizations are rich and varied; he did not even avoid the theme of sexual desire. With rare exceptions, however, his physical descriptions remained conventional and consisted of longer or shorter lists of individual elements (eyes, lips, breasts, etc.). Even the past was perceived by Psellos not as a stream of events, but as a series of images, first of emperors and empresses, but also of their favorites and lovers. Psellos praised friendship (F. Tinnefeld, *JÖB* 22 [1973] 151–68) and was a trustworthy friend, even though he knew that the realities of Byz. life often required submissiveness and compromises with one's conscience. He clearly understood the force of the written word and in a letter to Machetarios, *droungarios tes viglas* (Sathas, *MB* 5:352.25–27), used a promise to include Machetarios in his story as a means to influence his former friend's behavior.

ED. *Chronographie*, ed. E. Renauld, 2 vols. (Paris 1926–28), with Fr. tr.; Eng. tr. by E.R.A. Sewter (London 1953). *Imperatori di Bisanzio*, ed. S. Impellizzeri, 2 vols. (Venice 1984), with Ital. tr. by S. Ronchey. Russ. tr. by Ja. Ljubarskij (Moscow 1978). *Historia syntomos*, ed. W. J. Aerts (Berlin–New York 1990), with Eng. tr. *Scripta minora*, ed. E. Kurtz, F. Drexl, 2 vols. (Milan 1936–41). Sathas, *MB*, vols. 4–5. *De omnifaria doctrina*, ed. L.G. Westerink (Utrecht 1948). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 677–80.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:372–82. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, *Michail Psell. Ličnost' i tvorčestvo* (Moscow 1978). G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973). L. Benakis, "Michael Psellos' Kritik an Aristoteles," *BZ* 56 (1963) 213–27. P. Gautier, "Collections inconnues ou peu connues de textes pselliens," *RSBS* 1 (1981) 39–69. Idem, "Quelques lettres de Psellos inédites ou déjà éditées," *REB* 44 (1986) 111–97. C. Chamberlain, "The Theory and Practice of Imperial Panegyric in Michael Psellus," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 16–27. –A.K.

PSEUDO-________. See under latter part of name.

PSOMOZEMIA (ψωμοζημία, lit. "a fine or penalty of bread"), a kind of EPEREIA mentioned in imperial chrysobulls from the end of the 11th C. onward (*Lavra* 1, no.48.46; *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.6.62) and not the mid-12th C. (thus Mutafčiev, *infra*); it probably survived until the 15th C. (*Esphig.*, no.31.10). It was one of the most important SECONDARY TAXES, listed usually after the ANGAREIA and in some cases even before it (e.g., *Xerop.*, no.8.17–18; *Koutloum.*, no.10.61–62). THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, in a letter of 1092/3 (ep.19.4–7), mentions the priests of Polog (Bulgaria) who had been exempted by a chrysobull from *munera sordida* and *psomozemia*, but were ordered to fulfill the obligation of *psomozemia*. The precise meaning of this *epereia*, however, is not elucidated by the scanty evidence of lists of exemption; the etymology implies that the word denoted provisioning [of the army?] with bread.

LIT. D. Xanalatos, *Beiträge zur Wirtschafts- und Sozialgeschichte Makedoniens* (Munich 1937) 49f. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1973) 599f, rev. F. Dölger, *BZ* 26 (1926) 112. –A.K.

PSYCHOMACHIA (ψυχομαχία, "struggle for the soul"), the term usually applied in patristic literature to the fight for life on the deathbed. Some church fathers raised the question why some righteous people struggled desperately for life while sinners could pass away quietly (pseudo-Athanasios, PG 28:661D; Anastasios of Sinai, PG 89:741B). In modern scholarship the term has been transferred to the contest for the SOUL between angels and demons: thus Basil the Great (PG 31:432AB) admonishes the faithful to accept death without

anxiety—angels and demons will determine the destiny of a soul "as if it were weighed on a pair of scales." The vita of Basil the Younger describes at length a struggle between angels and demons for the soul of a righteous woman during her ascent to heaven.

In art, the contest for the soul of the deceased entered into the iconography of the Last Judgment, although by no means do all such images include the balance scales. The earliest surviving example is at Hagios Stephanos in Kastoria, the best-known at Torcello. Sometimes scrolls, presumably recording the deeds of the candidate for salvation, are thrown onto the scales (Omont, *Evangiles,* pl.81); in a striking variation in Athos, Dion. 65 (Stichel, *infra*), the struggle is for the soul of a living monk.

LIT. Brenk, *Tradition und Neuerung* 100f. R. Stichel, *Studien zum Verhältnis von Text und Bild spät- und nachbyzantinischer Vergänglichkeitsdarstellungen* (Vienna 1971) 33f, 70–75. –A.K., A.C.

PTERYGES. See Armor.

PTOCHOLEON (Ἱστορία Πτωχολέοντος), or "Poor Leo," a tale drawing on the traditional story of the wise man able to detect excellence in jewels, horses, and women, a motif found throughout Europe and the Middle East from the 12th C. onward. Written in unrhymed octosyllables, the *Ptocholeon* survives in four versions (most in more than one MS), which vary in length and style. The earliest form is to be dated to the beginning of the 14th C.

ED. *Kritike ekdose tes historias Ptocholeontos,* ed. G. Kechagioglou (Thessalonike 1978).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 148–50. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

PTOCHOPRODROMOS (lit. "the poor Prodromos"), name assumed by the author of four vernacular poems ascribed in the MS tradition to Theodore Prodromos. Doubts concerning Prodromos's authorship were expressed by G. Chadzidakis (*VizVrem* 4 [1897] 101–27) and S. Papadimitriu (*VizVrem* 5 [1898] 91–130), and the poems were attributed to a certain Hilarion Prodromos; the critical edition clarified that the name of Hilarion is a later insertion. On the other hand, it has been shown that Theodore Prodromos did write, albeit rarely, in the vernacular mode (E. Legrand, *REGr* 4 [1891] 72f; A. Maiuri, *BZ* 23 [1914–19] 397–407). The only remaining objections to the attribution of the Ptochoprodromic verses to Theodore Prodromos derive from the content of the poems, which allegedly contain autobiographical data contradicting Theodore Prodromos's biography; however, heroes of Ptochoprodromos's satirical scenes (a young monk envying his superiors, a henpecked husband, etc.) are invented, although the poet speaks in the first person. Thus no serious argument prevents identification of Ptochoprodromos with Theodore Prodromos. It is quite plausible that Prodromos contributed much to the transformation of the vernacular into the language of written poetry in accordance with the fashion at the Komnenian court.

ED. D.C. Hesseling, H. Pernot, *Poèmes prodromiques en grec vulgaire* (Amsterdam 1910).
LIT. M.J. Kyriakis, "Poor Poets and Starving Literati in Twelfth Century Byzantium," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 290–309. H. Kapessowa [sic], "Biedaczyna Prodromos—człowiek 'niepotrzebny,'" *Meander* 12 (1957) 269–82. M. Alexiou, "The Poverty of Ecriture and the Craft of Writing: Towards a Reappraisal of the Prodromic Poems," *BMGS* 10 (1986) 1–40. –A.K.

PTOCHOTROPHEION (*πτωχοτροφεῖον*), or *ptocheion,* "poorhouse," institution that provided hospitality and shelter for the poor and sick (including those suffering from leprosy). Like gerokomeia and xenodocheia, *ptochotropheia* were organized by emperors, patriarchs, bishops, or private persons in accordance with the principle of philanthropy. Among the best documented institutions are the *ptochotropheia* established by Michael Attaleiates in Rhaidestos and Constantinople. In theory admittance to poorhouses was strictly determined by age and health; those poor who were able to support themselves were not accepted. The system of adelphaton, however, allowed some relatively well-off people to be admitted to privileged refuges for the elderly. A seal of a 7th-C. *ptochotrophos* (i.e., the head of a poorhouse) is preserved (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1062). *Ptochotrophoi* seem to have been influential officials. At least two were promoted to the post of patriarch. Whether they were state or ecclesiastical functionaries is unclear.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 257–69. –A.K.

PTOLEMY, ancient astronomer, astrologer, and mathematician; fl. Alexandria ca.130–75. The greatest authority on ASTRONOMY and ASTROLOGY in late antiquity, Ptolemy continued to be regarded as such in Byz. until the Palaiologan period, when some astronomers, beginning with Gregory CHIONIADES, were persuaded to prefer new parameters and methods of computation derived from Islamic sources. Ptolemy's most impressive work, in which he presented the astronomical system named after him, was the *Mathematical Composition* (*Syntaxis mathematike*), better known as the *Almagest.* Besides numerous Byz. MSS (including two of the 9th C.), two early commentaries—by PAPPOS and by THEON—and the *Prolegomena*—probably by EUTOKIOS—attest to its popularity. There were also two 14th-C. commentators, Theodore METOCHITES and Nicholas KABASILAS (bk.3 only).

Of Ptolemy's other astronomical works, only the *Phases of the Fixed Stars* and the *Canobic Inscription* survive complete in Greek. The canons to the *Handy Tables* are preserved, though the tables themselves were known only in Theon's version; and of the *Planetary Hypotheses,* only the major portion of book 1 survives in Greek.

Ptolemy's astrological work, the *Astrological Effects* (*Apotelesmatika*), was known to Byz. both in its original form and in the *Treatment* (*Metacheiresis*) ascribed to Proklos. An anonymous commentary on it seems to be of the 3rd C. rather than Byz. The *Fruit* (*Karpos*) is not a work by Ptolemy but was translated into Greek from the original Arabic ca.1000.

The *Geography* was apparently little read in Byz. until its rediscovery in the 1290s by Maximos PLANOUDES, who may be the source of the extant maps accompanying the text (A. Diller, *TAPA* 71 [1940] 62–67). Scholia on the *Geography* were written by Nikephoros GREGORAS. This renewed interest is epitomized in the detailed polychrome maps illustrating the *Geography* in the early 14th-C. Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:31–34). These show latitudes and longitudes, indicate rivers, lakes and seas; and employ crenellated emblems for cities. Ptolemy's *Harmonics* was also read by scholars of the Palaiologan period—most importantly, George PACHYMERES, Gregoras, and Isaac ARGYROS. The works of Ptolemy were translated into Arabic beginning in the 9th C. and into Latin by such scholars as WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE and EUGENIOS OF PALERMO.

ED. *Opera quae exstant omnia,* ed. J.L. Heiberg et al., 3 vols. (Leipzig 1898–1954). *Geographia,* ed. C.F.A. Nobbe, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1843–45; rp. Hildesheim 1966). *Claudii Ptolemaei Geographiae codex Urbinas Graecus 82,* ed J. Fischer, 2 vols. in 4 pts. (Leiden-Leipzig 1932). I. Düring, *Die Harmonielehre des Klaudios Ptolemaios* (Göteborg 1930).

LIT. O. Neugebauer, *A History of Ancient Mathematical Astronomy* (New York 1975) 1:21–261, 2:917–41. G.J. Toomer, *Ptolemy's Almagest* (London 1984). P. Kunitzsch, *Der Sternkatalog des Almagest: Die arabisch-mittelalterliche Tradition* (Wiesbaden 1986). –D.P., A.C.

PULCHERIA (Πουλχερία), augusta (from 4 July 414), sister of Theodosios II, saint; born Constantinople 19 Jan. 399, died Constantinople July 453; feastday 10 Sept. or 11 July. Orphaned after the death of her father Arkadios, Pulcheria was 15 when she assumed power. She replaced the praetorian prefect ANTHEMIOS with Aurelianos and exercised influence on her younger brother Theodosios. Pulcheria was ardently religious: she took a public vow of virginity and urged her sisters to follow her example. She was later (PG 86:165A) credited with having requested from Jerusalem the image of the Virgin supposedly painted by the apostle Luke. Supported by Patr. ATTIKOS, she transformed the court into a conventlike community and supervised the education of the young emperor. Pulcheria was Western oriented. She restored the bust of Honorius in the senate of Constantinople and rejected the pro-Persian policy of Anthemios, thus provoking hostilities with Persia ca.420 (K. Holum, *GRBS* 18 [1977] 162). Pulcheria's influence was challenged by her sister-in-law ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA and then by Patr. NESTORIOS, who denied Pulcheria's right to enter the Holy of Holies (probably 15 Apr. 428). Allied with CYRIL of Alexandria, Pulcheria was victorious at the Council of EPHESUS in 431, demoting and exiling Nestorios. After the return of Athenais from her trip to Jerusalem (439) and her promotion of the eunuch Chrysaphios, Pulcheria fell from power (441). Her interests were defeated at the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449. She thereafter sought alliance with Pope Leo I. The unexpected death of Theodosios in 450 brought Pulcheria again to the forefront. Despite her vow of virginity she married MARCIAN (the marriage was regarded as nominal) and with his

help and the support of Rome restored Orthodoxy at the Council of Chalcedon, where she made a personal appearance.

LIT. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 79–111, 147–228. –T.E.G., A.C.

PULPIT. See AMBO.

PUN (παρονομασία, παρήχησις), a figure of speech, discussed by antique rhetorical theory; a play on words, involving the juxtaposition—either obvious or more subtle—of two or more words with similar meaning, or two words similar in form but with different meanings. The punning effect might be achieved by a slight change of the word's form so that the similarity remained recognizable—by the addition or removal of several letters, by using the same root in different grammatical categories (noun, adjective, etc.), or the same word in different grammatical cases. Church fathers, with their concern for explaining the great RIDDLE of the cosmos, took puns seriously: thus JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp.fidei.* 12.2–3, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:35), developing pseudo-Dionysios's statement (*De divinis nominibus* 1.3; PG 3:589B-C) that God is "the cause, beginning, existence, and life" introduced a series of puns: "the life of the living, the existence of the existent, etc." A typical form of Byz. puns was the interpretation of the hidden significance of names (Irene as peace, Eusebios as pious, etc.), sometimes by opposition ("Eusebios but truly impious"). Manuel I Komnenos, as a sort of reified Christological pun, placed the image of Christ Emmanuel on his coins.

In addition to using the pun as a tool of interpretation, Byz. authors resorted to it as a device of invective or playful entertainment: an unpopular or false patriarch might be called "phratiarch" (leader of a faction); under the guise of pious fasting (*nesteia*) Eustathios discovers robbery (*lesteia*) (Escorial Y II 10, fol.39v); hypocrisy, he says (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 73.40–41), is a delightful-looking (*charopon*) beast concealing his jagged (*karcharon*) teeth. A gullible collector of relics was jeered by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE for buying bones of sheep (*probata*) instead of those of St. Probos. "What spell or melodies of the *Sirens*," exclaims Choniates (Nik.Chon. 393.11), "could have lured them toward peace (*pros eirenen* [pronounced "*prosirinin*"])?" He also relates (p.441f) an obscene joke about Isaac II Angelos, who asked at dinner for some salt (*halas*), but was deliberately misunderstood by a jester to have asked to try "other (*allas*) women."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 304f. Lausberg, *Handbuch* 1:322–25. –A.K.

PUNISHMENT. See PENALTIES; TORTURE.

PURCHASE DEEDS. See SALE.

PURCHASES, CONFIRMATION OF, is rarely mentioned in Byz. documents. In 1301 a group of peasants, one of whom is named the *anthropos* and others the *paroikoi* of Amnon, sold a *choraphion* to the Esphigmenou monastery; the charter (*Esphig.*, no.10.4–5) formulated expressly that they did it "with the volition and permission of the lord (*kyrios*) Alexios Amnon." In 1331 a certain Doukopoulos confirmed a donation of his *paroikoi* to a monastery (*Docheiar.*, no.11.1–4). More complex is a case of 1193 when two inhabitants of the *chorion* of Sillamon or Sillamos on Crete sold two parcels of vineyard to the notary Leo Krestes; the social status of the sellers is not defined in the document but it states that they notified their lord (*authentes*) the *logariastes* Michael Chrysoberges (MM 6:125.18–22) about the purchase; they were probably dependent peasants. Even free individuals and institutions needed (always or in certain cases?) a confirmation of their land purchases from the authorities: monasteries regularly asked new emperors for the confirmation of their former acquisitions with the result that imperial chrysobulls often repeated identical lists of purchases and donations. The vita of Cyril Phileotes by Nicholas KATASKEPENOS (ch.47.8) shows that Alexios I considered the lands acquired by Cyril and his brother for a monastery as STATE PROPERTY until the government announced its grant to the monastery, that is, confirmed the acquisition. –A.K.

PURGATORY (καθαρτήριον, πουργατόριον), a place of purification and temporal punishment where souls of those who have died without mortal sin can expiate their venial sins by temporary suffering before entering PARADISE; it is thus a

third locality "between" heaven and HELL. The doctrine of purgatory, rejected by the Eastern church during the theological debates of the 12th C., paradoxically can be traced back in its essential features to Greek patristic theology. The view that punishment serves to improve, which can be found already in Plato, is augmented by CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA (*Strom.* 6.6) in the argument that when the soul is liberated from the body it is open to a gradual increase in knowledge. Origen frequently speaks of a "purifying fire"; by this term, however, he means the inner torment of the soul, which follows from his presupposition of the *apokatastasis panton*, the restoration of all spiritual beings, and so does not imply the existence of a "third place." Already in the Cappadocian Fathers the expression "purificatory fire" is found.

The idea of a purifying, atoning punishment for the redemption of those who have died was consistent with the simultaneous admonition to the living to offer intercessory prayer. In the year 1231, after a debate between George BARDANES and the Franciscan Bartholomaeus in Otranto, the question was forced on Byz. theology from a scholastic view. At the Union Councils of Lyons in 1274 and Ferrara-Florence in 1439 (J. Jorgenson, *SVThQ* 30 [1986] 309–34), the question concerning a "third place" was likewise ignored, that is to say, it remained open. The relevant documents speak only of the essential content of Western doctrine, i.e., of the "*poenae purgatoriae* (or *cathartariae*)." The opposition between Byz. and the West was more a matter of different mentality (systematic theology in the West versus rhetorical use of Scripture and the church fathers in the East) than of a dogmatic gap.

LIT. A. Michel, *DTC* 13 (1936) 1198–212, 1244–64. A. Stawrowsky, "Le purgatoire," *Euntes Docete* 28 (1975) 160–83. G.R. Edwards, "Purgatory: 'Birth' or Evolution?" *JEH* 36 (1985) 634–46. G. Dagron, "La perception d'une différence: les débuts de la 'Querelle du purgatoire,'" 15 *CEB*, vol. 4 (Athens 1976) 84–92. R. Ombres, "Latins and Greeks in Debate over Purgatory, 1230–1439," *JEH* 35 (1984) 1–14. –G.P.

PURIFICATION, FEAST OF. See HYPAPANTE.

PURPLE (πορφύρα, ἀλουργίς, βλάττα, ὀξύς) in Byz. usage covered a range of red-blue hues, prized for their status value and intimately connected with the imperial office. By extension, esp. in monumental painting and book illustration, purple was frequently used for the tunic of Christ and the MAPHORION of the Virgin Mary. Purple pervaded the symbols of imperial power, from the emperor's COSTUME—where it allowed spectators to spot the key figure in a procession (M. McCormick, *JÖB* 35 [1985] 1–20)—to the purple ribbons marking confiscated property (Agath. 5.4.2), not to mention the PORPHYRY disks (*omphalia, rotae*) on which the emperor stood during ceremonies, the SARCOPHAGI, and the emperor's signature in purple INK (*Cod.Just.* I 23.6). In the 4th C., *adorare purpuram* designated an audience in which the beneficiary enjoyed the privilege of kissing the emperor's purple garment (W.T. Avery, *Memoirs of the American Academy in Rome* 17 [1940] 66–80). In later centuries children born to emperors were called PORPHYROGENNETOI, purple parchment is attested for letters to foreign princes, and purple silk cords held the SEALS hung from imperial documents.

Production of Purple Dye. The highest quality purple dye was obtained from the mollusk called murex, found in the region of Tyre, but also in the waters off the Peloponnesos and adjacent islands. The production of shell-based purple dye continued at least to the 13th C. Its manufacture was very laborious, up to 12,000 shells being needed to produce enough dye for the decoration of a single garment (D.J. Reese, *AJA* 90 [1986] 183). This best quality of purple was reserved for imperial use (e.g., *Cod.Just.* IV 40.1; XI 9.3–5), although lesser qualities and imitations circulated freely and abundantly. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT cites 12 kinds of purple textile, whose unit price ranged from 10,000 denarii (for red wool) to 150,000 denarii (for purple silk). In the late Roman period the state workshops of dyers were based at TYRE, where the weaving also took place; workshops and private guilds existed in Heliopolis and Laodikeia, and in the west in Otranto (6th C.). After the 7th C. purple dyeing seems to have been concentrated in Constantinople.

Control of Purple Textiles. The manufacture and export of high-quality textiles remained tightly controlled. Some purple textiles, the BLATTIA, *oxyblatta*, and *hyakintha*, were reserved for the emperor and his family, whereas cheaper sorts were available (mostly as strips or bands) to others. Faction members at one time wore garments resembling imperial raiment and adorned with *blat-*

tion oxy, but, according to a later source, Emp. Tiberios I limited them to a purple hem of two-fingers width (Cedr. 1:688.19–689.1). Leo VI liberalized the sale of purple remnants (nov.80), but relaxations of this sort were limited. When Isaac II allowed his maternal uncle, Theodore Kastamonites, to use a purple cloak and horse trappings and even to sign documents in purple ink, it aroused the indignation of his contemporaries (Nik.Chon. 438.38–45). (See also COLOR.)

LIT. K. Schneider, *RE* 23 (1959) 2000–2020. M. Reinhold, *History of Purple as a Status Symbol in Antiquity* (Brussels 1970), with rev. F. Kolb, *Gnomon* 45 (1973) 56f. H. Gipper, "Purpur: Weg und Leistung eines umstrittenen Farbworts," *Glotta* 42 (1964) 39–69. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 259–62. Hunger, *Reich* 84–89. –M.McC., A.K., A.C.

PUTEAL (*περιστόμιον*), a stone or wooden wellhead, sometimes furnished with a basin and a wheel for drawing water. Puteals usually took the form of a column base, cubical or cylindrical, and were sometimes made of reused antique altars or column drums. Polygonal, cruciform, or quatrefoil versions appear in representations of Christ healing the Paralytic and with the Samaritan Woman (Orlandos, *Patmos,* pls. 8, 33). An elaborate puteal in Constantinople is decorated with a pair of dragons flanking a human mask, a theme inspired by the so-called Dan amulets (L. Bouras, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 323–26), while a Cretan example of the late 12th or the early 13th C. is decorated with a foliate cross, a bicorporate lion, a griffin, and a hunting scene (A. Orlandos, *ArchDelt* 9 [1924–25] 188–91). The puteal of the Holy Well is recorded among the relics of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:315–17. –L.Ph.B.

PYLAI (Πύλαι, now Yalova), port on the Sea of Marmara. Pylai derived its name, "the Gates [of Asia]," from its position at the head of one of the main routes into Asia Minor. Herakleios set forth from here against the Persians in 622; in the 9th C. emperors regularly landed at Pylai, where they were met by the *domestikos* of the OPTIMATOI. The importance of Pylai was also reflected in the BEACON above the town that brought news from the frontier and the imperial *xenodocheion* established in it. Pylai was a port for shipment of food to the capital: LEO OF SYNADA described it as a wretched village filled with pigs, horses, donkeys, cattle, and sheep waiting to be shipped to Constantinople. In 1071 Romanos IV Diogenes set out from this town on his fatal campaign; the Turks ravaged the district after Mantzikert. Pylai recovered under the Komnenoi and in 1147 received a colony of Greek refugees from Phrygia. By 1199, Pylai, together with Pythia, formed an *episkepsis,* where Venetian traders received privileges, and by 1204 constituted a separate province (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 19 [1949] 4; 25 [1955] 139f). The Laskarids maintained Pylai against the Latins; it was their main port for Nicaea. In 1302, however, Turkish attacks were so serious that much of the population took refuge in the PRINCES' ISLANDS. It apparently fell to the Turks soon after. Pylai was never a bishopric. Byz. remains survive not in the town but in the nearby hot springs of Pythia Therma, a Byz. resort in all periods.

LIT. T. Corsten, *Die Inschriften von Apameia (Bithynien) und Pylai* (Bonn 1987). A.M. Mansel, *Yalova und Umgebung* (Istanbul 1936). –C.F.

PYRGOS (*πύργος*), a fortification tower; other uses of the term are, however, also known (variations are discussed by D. Vagiakakos in *Pyrgoi kai kastra, infra* 47–49). A *pyrgos* could be used as a fortified country residence (e.g., St. Basil on Lake Koronia near Thessalonike) or as a fortified residence within an urbanized setting (e.g., at Galatista on Chalkidike—I.A. Papangelos, *Chronika Chalkidikes* 33–34 [1978] 70). Most commonly a *pyrgos* formed an integral part of monastic fortification walls, as on Mt. Athos (Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 134–38). It could serve as a belfry (ibid. 127–34) or as a platform for an elevated chapel (D. Piguet-Panayotova, *Byzantion* 49 [1979] 363–84). Most *pyrgoi* are characterized by a square plan and smooth exterior faces. A distinctive type appears in the Balkans around 1300: characterized by multiple projecting spur walls on all four faces, it seems to be related to a type of French medieval donjon, though the links between these two developments have been insufficiently studied.

Literary References to *Pyrgoi*. There are only infrequent references to *pyrgoi* in monastic documents before the 14th C.; those that are mentioned are primarily "ancient *pyrgoi*" (e.g., *Ivir.* nos. 4.49, 29.11) that were used as landmarks. In

the 14th and 15th C., in contrast, the lands of the monasteries of Mt. Athos were dotted with *pyrgoi* having a double function. They were both fortifications (which sometimes suffered from hostile attacks but were rebuilt to be even "more beautiful and strong"; see *Pantel.*, no.13.3–7) and centers of monastic estates. A *praktikon* of 1338 speaks of a METOCHION around the *pyrgos* (*Xenoph.*, no.25.15), and an inventory of 1409 lists the *pyrgos* of Perigardikeia and half of the *pyrgos* of Ermeleia among the "*metochia* and *ktemata*" of Docheiariou. The *pyrgoi*, like *choria*, are described as inhabited by peasants (*Docheiar.*, no.53.2–16) and as such are almost indistinguishable from *metochia*.

LIT. M. Živojinović, *Svetogorske kelije i pirgovi u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1972). *Pyrgoi kai kastra*, ed. N.K. Moutsopoulos (Thessalonike 1980). S. Ćurčić, "Pyrgos—Stl'p—Donjon: A Western Fortification Concept on Mount Athos and Its Sources," 7 *BSC Abstracts* (1981) 21f. X. Chvostova, "Vzaimootnošenija Chilandarskogo monastyrja i nekotorych ego metochov v XIV v.," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 34–47.
–S.Ć., A.K.

PYRRHON (Πύρρων) of Elis, ancient Greek philosopher, founder of Skepticism; born ca.365/360, died 275/270 B.C. Kedrenos (Cedr. 1:283f) included the followers of Pyrrhon and Sextus Empiricus (2nd C.) as the last school in his list of ancient philosophers; he considered *akatalepsia* "imperturbability of mind" as the major point of Pyrrhonian tenets. Pyrrhon's ideas were rejected by many Byz. theologians, esp. Gregory Palamas, since they contradicted the concept of absolute truth; Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.212) is an exception, treating Pyrrhon neutrally or even positively. The term *akatalepsia*, however, was appropriated by Christian theologians. Thus BASIL THE GREAT (ed. Courtonne, ep.234: 2.12–14) acknowledges the "feeling of *akatalepsia*" as far as the divine substance is concerned—"we know that the substance exists but not what it is."

LIT. G. Podskalsky, "Nikolaos von Methone und die Proklosrenaissance in Byzanz," *OrChrP* 42 (1976) 512f.
–A.K.

PYRRHOS (Πύρρος), patriarch of Constantinople (20 Dec. 638–29 Sept. 641; 8/9 Jan.–1 June 654); died Constantinople. A favorite of Herakleios (he was godson of the emperor's sister) and Patr. SERGIOS I, Pyrrhos was *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Chrysopolis before becoming patriarch. He supported the Monothelite program of Sergios and immediately confirmed the EKTHESIS (*RegPatr*, fasc. 1, no.294). He found himself in a difficult position, however, because of Orthodox opposition directed by Stephen of Dor in Palestine and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR and because the new pope John IV (640–42) rejected the *Ekthesis*. The conflict in the exarchate of Africa was exacerbated by the arrival of Monothelite refugees from Egypt, esp. the activity of Monothelite nuns. The death of Herakleios stirred up the rivalry of two court parties: Pyrrhos supported MARTINA and ended up on the losing side. Consequently he laid his episcopal attire on the altar of Hagia Sophia and left for Carthage, without having been canonically deposed.

His successor, Paul II (641–53), was a Monothelite who supported Constans II and could not achieve a compromise with Popes Theodore I (642–49) and MARTIN I. The exarch of Carthage GREGORY decided to use the conflict to attract the support of Pyrrhos, who still had not been canonically deposed; in 645 Gregory organized a disputation between Pyrrhos and Maximos (PG 91:287–354) as a result of which Pyrrhos converted to Orthodoxy and accompanied Maximos to Rome. Gregory's death in the war against the Arabs ruined Pyrrhos's hopes of regaining the patriarchal throne through a military insurrection; on the other hand, the TYPOS OF CONSTANS II brought no peace with Rome. After the death of Paul II, Pyrrhos recanted once more, claiming that he had been forced to renounce MONOTHELETISM by starvation and torture. Finally Constans accepted him, but Pyrrhos's second patriarchate (654) lasted only a few months. Together with Sergios I he was condemned by the Council of 680.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 294–98. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 57–105. Stratos, *Studies*, pt.VIII (1976), 11–19. W. Peitz, "Martin I. und Maximus Confessor," *HistJb* 38 (1917) 213–36, 429–58.
–A.K.

PYTHIA. See PYLAI.

PYXIS, modern conventional term (from Greek πυξίς, "box") for a circular or elliptical container cut from a section of elephant tusk. Most are attributed on stylistic grounds to the 5th–7th C.



PYXIS. The Moggio pyxis; ivory, late 5th–6th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The pyxis is decorated with Old Testament scenes (Moses receives the Law, the Israelites express their awe).

and to North Africa, Gaul, or Syria-Palestine, although the provenance of only two is known. Normally, pyxides do not exceed 9 cm in height, although two examples with Orphic scenes are exceptionally tall (16 cm). Elaborately carved, about 20 examples with pagan iconography and more than 40 with Old and New Testament subjects or, more rarely, scenes of martyrdom, are preserved. The diversity of subject matter represented on the outside provides a few clues as to their function. It has been argued that pyxides with scenes of Christ healing may have been used for medications and that others with the MYRROPHOROI contained the Eucharistic wine (A. St. Clair, *Gesta* 18 [1979] 127–35) or EULOGIAI; Volbach (*infra*) suggested that some were containers for incense, as prescribed by the Council of Narbonne (589). Some Christian specimens had locks (now usually missing) or seals; pagan pyxides lacked these precautions. The decoration of many is sufficiently alike to suggest that, rather than being unique creations, pyxides were produced in series. One 10th- or 11th-C. example is known (W.D. Wixom, *Gesta* 20 [1981] 43–49). This is possibly a deliberate archaism since its shape differs from the gilded rectangular boxes held by deacons and angels in monumental painting of the period.

LIT. Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 89–106, 161–201a. J. Duffy, G. Vikan, "A Small Box in John Moschus," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 93–99. –A.C.

Q

QĀḌĪ AL-NUʿMĀN, AL-, more fully ibn Muḥammad ibn Ḥayyūn al-Tamīmī al-Qāḍī al-Nuʿmān, Arab jurist and historian of the FĀṬIMIDS; born Tunisia ca.904, died Cairo 974. He served this dynasty's first four caliphs as palace librarian, chief judge, and adviser. Of over 50 works attributed to him, 20 have survived. The chief exponent of early Ismāʿīlī jurisprudence and Fāṭimid propaganda, two of his historical works are important for the Byzantinist.

His *Opening of the Mission and Beginning of the State,* completed in 957, is a contemporary history of the early Fāṭimids, rich in firsthand reports, including information on Fāṭimid expeditions against Byz. Calabria. The *Councils and Outings,* written between 959 and 970, is a semiofficial compilation based on the author's intimate knowledge—including detailed minutes—of councils, statements, and decisions of the caliph al-Muʿizz (953–75). Propagandistic in tone and somewhat hagiographic in approach, it sheds important light on Fāṭimid foreign policy, inter-Arab rivalries, and Byz.-Arab relations, for example, naval collaboration between Byz. and the Umayyads of Spain against the Fāṭimids (956–57), the reception of a Byz. ambassador at the Fāṭimid court (S.M. Stern, *Byzantion* 20 [1950] 239–58), the Byz.-Fāṭimid truce of 957, al-Muʿizz's refusal to send envoys to Constantinople and his correspondence with both Constantine VII and Romanos II, the Byz. expedition against Crete in 960–61 (F. Dachraoui, *Cahiers de Tunisie* 26–27 [1959] 307–18), and the role of Byz. artisans in Fāṭimid industry.

ED. *Opening of the Mission—Iftitāḥ al-Daʿwa,* ed. W. Qadi (Beirut 1971). *Councils and Outings—al-Majālis wa-l-Musāyarāt,* ed. H. Faqi et al. (Tunis 1978).

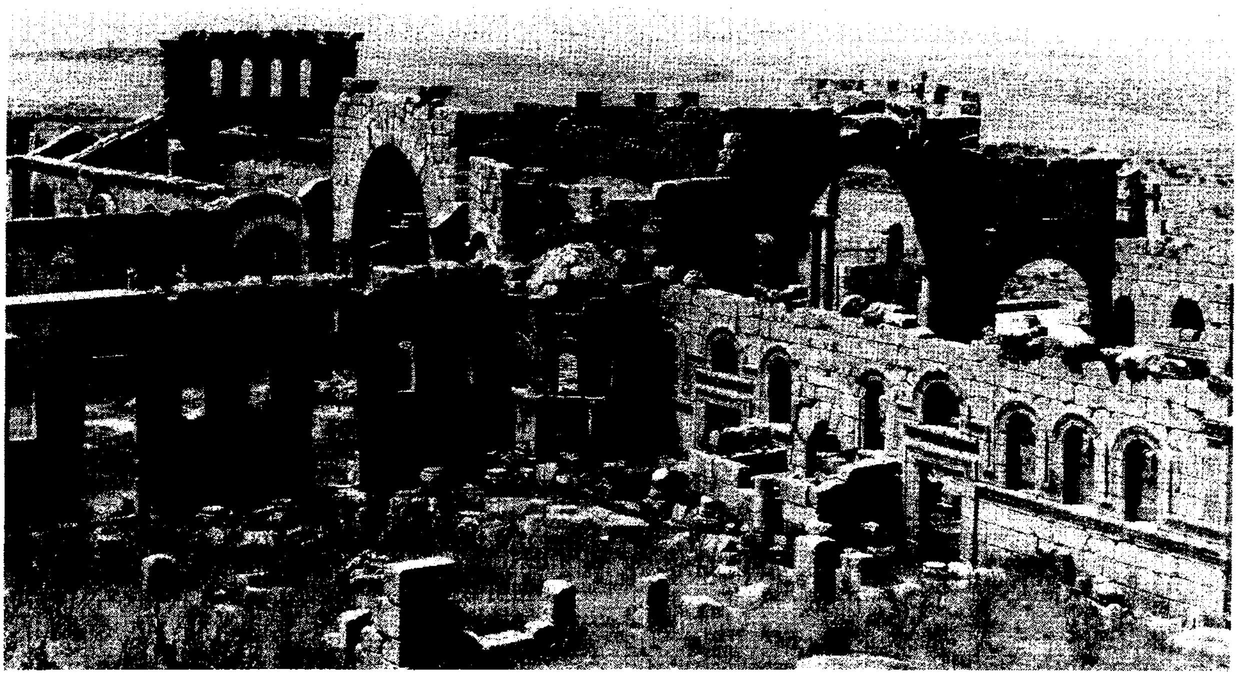
LIT. I.K. Poonawala, *Bibliography of Ismāʿīlī Literature* (Malibu, Calif., 1977) 48–68. —A.Sh.

QALʿAT SEMʿĀN (Τελάνισσος), in Syria northeast of Antioch, the site of a pilgrimage complex built ca.476–90 around the column of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER in the limestone massif beside the road running north to Cyrrhus from the Antioch-Chalkis highway. Prominently situated, the complex was approached through a triumphal arch. After Symeon's death in 459, his body was escorted to ANTIOCH, where a large *martyrion* was built in his honor, perhaps before 467 (Malal. 369.10–16). The patron and the building dates of the Telanissos shrine remain matters of conjecture, but imperial patronage has been suggested on account of its large scale and lavish decoration. The shrine was cruciform in plan, with four basilical wings fanning out from an octagon surrounding the Stylite's column. It is uncertain whether or not the octagon, whose span is about 20 m, was originally roofed (with a wooden dome?), but by the 590s it was said by EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS to be open to the sky. The capitals of the shrine are of a finely cut wind-blown acanthus type distinctive of northern Syria; marble champlevé-carved revetment plaques, similar to those found at Antioch and SELEUKEIA PIERIA, decorated the walls. An octagonal baptistery was erected a short distance west of the shrine, and a monastery was built in the vicinity. Relatively little is recorded of the site after the 6th C., at the time when SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER was gaining popularity on the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN.

The monastery at Qalʿat Semʿān was refounded in the 10th C., before the Byz. reconquest of Antioch in 969. Situated at that period on the Byz.-Arab frontier of northern Syria, the shrine itself was fortified reusing some of its ashlar stone, and the church area was reduced to the eastern basilical arm, where a Greek-Syriac pavement inscription dated 979 records this work. (For ill., see next page.)

LIT. Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:205–76; 3:124. F. Deichmann, "Qalb Löze und Qalʿat Semʿān," *SBAW* (1982), no.6, 3–40. J.-L. Biscop, J.-P. Sodini, "Travaux à Qalʿat Semʿan," 11 *IntCongChrArch* (Rome 1989) 1675–93. —M.M.M.

QALB LAWZAH, in Syria, site of large 5th-C. basilical church in the province of Syria I between Antioch and Berroia (Aleppo); ancient name unknown. While its function is unclear (pilgrimage



Qalʿat Semʿān. General view of the pilgrimage shrine.

or village church?), the ashlar limestone church is distinguished architecturally by several typically northern Syrian features: the façade incorporates two symmetrical towers; the nave and side aisles open into each other through an arcade supported by three widely spaced masonry piers instead of the more usual numerous and closely spaced piers or columns; the timber roof was supported by a corbel table; the exterior of the apse was ringed by an engaged colonnade. Equally characteristic is a large sanctuary room to the southeast, which is entered through a wide arch that allowed the public veneration of relics; the sculptural decoration includes continuous ornamented moldings both inside and out, those around the window terminating in volutes.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 140–45, 151. F. Deichmann, "Qalb Löze und Qalʿat Semʿān," *SBAW* (1982) no.6, 3–40.

–M.M.M.

QAṢR IBN WARDĀN, in Syria, northeast of Ḥamāh; complex of palace, church, and barracks, dated 561–64 and situated in the province of Syria II in the desert LIMES; ancient name unknown. It was probably the residence of a military commander (perhaps named George) whose monogram decorates one capital. The large barracks is now largely destroyed, but both palace and church are well preserved. The church is a domed basilica with inscribed apse; the dome is unusual by Constantinopolitan standards for it rests on an octagonal drum, its pendentives are pierced by windows springing within it, and its supporting arches are nearly pointed. The two-story palace had a quatrefoil audience hall similar to that of other Syrian palaces (e.g., at BOSTRA). In contrast to the ashlar typical of rural Syrian buildings, masonry at Qaṣr ibn Wardān is composed of three bands of stone alternating with bands of brick, reminiscent of masonry used in western Asia Minor and Constantinople. The site's builder was probably a Syrian knowledgeable about the architecture of Constantinople.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 146–58. C. Strube, "Die Kapitelle von Qasr ibn Wardan," *JbAChr* 26 (1983) 59–106.

–M.M.M.

QAYS (Καϊσός), Arab PHYLARCH; died ca.536. He is frequently confused (e.g., Stein, *Histoire* 2:298f) with the pre-Islamic poet Imru' al-Qays, about whom fantastic stories are repeated by later Arabic sources (e.g., that he was aided by Justinian I but later killed with a magic cloak sent by the emperor because he had seduced his daughter). Qays was probably grandson of Arethas of KINDA, phylarch in the 520s. After the death of Arethas in 528, Justinian dispatched three embassies to Qays, reports of which are extant (see NONNOSOS). Prokopios (*Wars* 1.20.9–13) describes Qays as a murderer and fugitive from his own land. In fact, in the context of war with Persia, Justinian seems to have persuaded Qays to leave Arabia and come to Palestine, where he was given "hegemony" over Palestina I and II ca.532.

LIT. I. Kawar, "Byzantium and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 57–73. Idem, "Procopius and Kinda," *BZ* 53 (1960) 74–78. N. Pigulevskaja, *Araby u granic Vizantii i Irana v IV–VI vv.* (Moscow-Leningrad 1964) 162–64, 168–72. –T.E.G.

QAZWĪNĪ, AL-, more fully Zakariyyā' ibn Muḥammad al-Qazwīnī, author of Arabic works on cosmography and geography; born Qazwīn (Iran) ca.1203, died 1283. Often overestimated, he is essentially a compiler, vulgarizer, and plagiarizer (sometimes inaccurate) of earlier Arabic works on geography, travel, and natural history; his fondness for *mirabilia* should be noted. The fame of his frequently illustrated *Cosmography*, or *Marvels of Creation* (*ʿAjaʾib al-Makhlūqāt*), apparently reached 16th-C. Russia. His *Geography*, or *Monuments of Countries* (*Āthar al-Bilād wa Akhbār al-ʿIbād*), arranged alphabetically within each of the seven climates, contains extracts on churches and statues of Constantinople, popular views of Byz. society and monasticism, Rome, Byz.'s northern neighbors, and life in Seljuk Asia Minor, all taken from al-HARAWĪ, ibn al-Fakih, ibn Saʿīd, YĀQŪT, and other known Arab authors.

ED. *Zakarija ben Muhammed ben Mahmud el-Cazwini's Kosmographie*, ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 2 vols. (Göttingen 1848–49; rp. Wiesbaden 1967, also vol 1. rp. Beirut [n.d.] and vol. 2 Cairo 1966).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 358–66. M. Kowalska, "The Sources of al-Qazwīnī's Āthār al-Bilād," *Folia Orientalia* 8 (1966) 41–88. T. Lewicki, *EI*² 4:865–67. –A.Sh.

QENNESHRIN. See CHALKIS.

QENNESHRIN MONASTERY. See EUROPOS.

QUADRIVIUM, or "mathematical quartet" (ἡ τῆς μαθηματικῆς τετρακτύς), term applied to four disciplines (arithmetic, geometry [see MATHEMATICS], MUSIC, and ASTRONOMY) that formed a group complementary to the main CURRICULUM of grammar, rhetoric, and dialectic (philosophy). The word *tetraktys* was used by the Byz. (e.g., in Ignatios the Deacon's vita of Patr. Nikephoros I), but the quadrivium never acquired an independent place in Byz. EDUCATION, even though some textbooks treated the subject. One, written in 1007/8, was later falsely attributed to Psellos (A. Diller, *Isis* 36 [1946] 132); more elaborate is the *Tetrabiblos* of George PACHYMERES.

LIT. V. Laurent in P. Tannery, *Quadrivium de Georges Pachymère* (Vatican 1940) xvii–xxxiii. –A.K.

QUAESTOR (κναίστωρ or κοιαίστωρ) of the sacred palace (Lat. *quaestor sacri palatii*), high-ranking official of the late Roman Empire, an office created by Constantine I. The quaestor was originally responsible for drafting imperial laws and, together with several other functionaries, dealt with petitions addressed to the emperor. His judicial rights were relatively insignificant, but as the emperor's closest adviser in legal questions he acquired enormous influence. The importance of the quaestor increased concurrently with that of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. TRIBONIAN was probably the most significant holder of the office. In 539 Justinian I introduced another office called *quaesitor* (called also simply quaestor), involving police and judicial power in Constantinople, esp. control over newcomers settling in the capital. After Justinian some quaestors served as imperial envoys: Troianos in 574, Kosmas in 617.

By the 8th/9th C. the quaestor had lost his earlier prestige, some of his functions having been transferred to the LOGOTHETES TOU DROMOU, the EPI TON DEESEON, and others; in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the quaestor occupies 34th place in the hierarchy. He was considered one of the JUDGES and his duties were those of the *quaesitor* rather than of *quaestor sacri palatii*—supervision of visitors and beggars in Constantinople, conflicts between tenants and landlords, and so on. While the quaestor in the late Roman Empire did not have his own staff, in the 9th C.

he commanded a large and varied group of officials (ANTIGRAPHEIS, scribes, etc.). The quaestor survived at least until the 14th C., when he occupied 45th place in the hierarchy, but this was only an honorary position.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 73–77. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIII (1971), 78–104. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:605–24. J. Harries, "The Roman Imperial Quaestor from Constantine to Theodosius II," *JRS* 78 (1988) 148–72. S. Faro, "Il questore imperiale: luci ed ombre su natura e funzione," *Koinonia* 8 (1984) 133–59. G. Kolias, "Metra tou Ioustinianou enantion tes astyphilias kai ho thesmos tou koiaisitoros," *Tomos Konstantinou Harmenopoulou* (Thessalonike 1952) 39–77. –A.K.

QUARRIES. Until the 5th C. the late antique taste for colored MARBLES was satisfied from the same sources ancient Rome had exploited. No later than 393, private exploitation was forbidden in order to protect the marble monopoly of the state, whose quarries included those of Dokimion and Alexandria in Bithynia (Sodini, "L'artisanat urbain" 101f). MASONS used picks, wooden mallets, metal chisels, and wedges to quarry stone, and methods of cutting, splitting, and dressing stone varied little from those of antiquity; even the sophisticated ancient device of a water MILL is attested at a quarry in Simitthu (Tunisia). Mango (*Byz.Arch.* 24) suggested that antique quarries, not least those of PROKONNESOS, were abandoned by the late 6th–7th C., in part because of a decline in the available labor force. Thereafter, virtually all stone used for construction seems either to have been SPOLIA or locally produced. A hagiographical topos of the 11th–12th C. involves monks miraculously saved from being crushed by stones that they rolled down mountains (PG 127:484A). Some quarrying did continue, as indicated by the words of Psellos on Romanos III's Church of the Peribleptos in Constantinople: "He hollowed all the mountains." Despite the testimony of the literary sources on the construction of the Nea Mone on Chios, which state that marble was brought from afar, much of the polychrome stone used was in fact from quarries on the island (Ch. Bouras, *Nea Moni* 148f). Elsewhere, as, for example, in Cyprus, fieldstone was widely used. In the provinces, some ancient quarries were reused while new, neighboring sources were found: both contributed to the fortress at PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, where P. Diaconu and E. Zah (*Dacia* 15 [1971] 289–306) found 15 different types of stone issuing from possibly 20 to 25 quarries. In Constantinople, the carved ornament of the Pantokrator and Chora monasteries suggests that local colored marbles were still produced for decorative use. (See also MARBLE TRADE.)

LIT. N. Asgari, "Roman and Early Byzantine Marble Quarries of Proconnesus," 10 *IntCongClassArch* (Ankara 1978) 1:467–80. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Quarries and Stoneworking in the Early Middle Ages," *SettStu* 18 (1971) 525–44. A. Dworakowska, *Quarries in Roman Provinces* (Wroclaw 1983). –A.C.

QUḌĀʿĪ, AL-, Arab jurist, diplomat, and writer; died Fusṭāṭ, Egypt, Nov. 1062. Al-Quḍāʿī studied law and Islamic traditions (*ḥadīth*) in Baghdad and later became a judge in Egypt. He also performed important diplomatic services for the FĀṬIMID regime. In 1055 he was sent as a Fāṭimid envoy to Constantinople on an abortive mission to resolve the breach of truce (M. Canard, EI^2 2:855). His two major works are a universal history, *The Sources of Knowledge and the Methods of the History of the Caliphs*, extending to the year 1031; and a topographical work, *Selected Accounts on Topography and History*. His books were highly esteemed by later historians of Egypt, particularly by al-MAQRĪZĪ.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:418f, supp. 1:584f. C. Becker, *Beiträge zur Geschichte Ägyptens* (Strassburg 1902) 19–21. C. Cahen, "La diplomatie orientale de Byzance face à la poussée seldjukide," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 13. –A.S.E.

QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR, author of works in Arabic, best known for his *Book of Revenues*, which includes valuable information on Byz.; born Baṣra? ca.873, died Baghdad between ca.932 and 948. Of Aramaean Christian background, he converted to Islam ca.905 while a state secretary and achieved high rank in the department of revenues in Baghdad. Of his 15 books, only an essay titled *Poetics* and the *Book of Revenues and the Art of the Secretary* have survived. The latter, written after 928, is an extensive manual for officials; geographical and statistical details occupy only a small portion therein. Four of eight sections survive: on the army; the land of Islam, its revenues and neighbors; revenues in general; politics.

Qudāma's information pertaining to Byz. includes the topography, revenue, and expenditure of the Islamic frontiers facing Byz., with valuable historical references; details on the Byz. army, including military hierarchy and the THEMES; and

brief remarks on a typical Arab raid into Asia Minor. Based on official records and the reports of al-Jarmī, his account gives details on the numerical strength of Byz. army corps and precisely delineates the territory of each theme and the points of contact between Arab and Byz. territories.

ED. *Book of Revenues—Kitāb al-Kharāj wa Ṣināʿat al-Kitāba*, partial ed. M. de Goeje [*BGA* 6 (1889)], with Fr. tr.

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 160–62. Miquel, *Géographie* 1:xxviii, 95–101. Gelzer, *Themen* 17–19, 81–100. S.A. Bonebakker, *EI*² 5 (1980) 318–22. –A.Sh.

QUEDLINBURG ITALA. See Kings, Books of.

QUINCUNX. See Church Plan Types.

QUINISEXTUM. See Trullo, Council in.

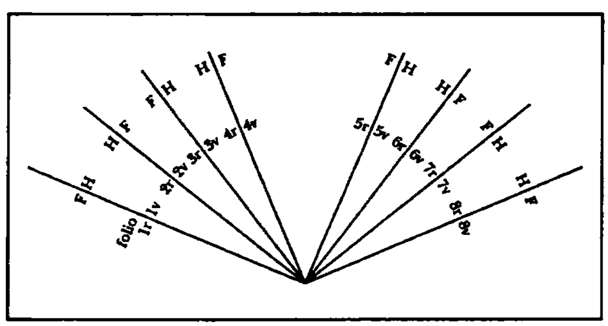
QUINTUS OF SMYRNA, poet of uncertain history and date (anywhere from late 3rd to early 5th C.). Quintus (Κόϊντος) predates Nonnos in metrical technique, but the latter's date is also problematic. No external evidence exists; Quintus himself says only that he was a shepherd and lived at Smyrna. The first detail may be only a Hesiodic conceit; the second is generally accepted, though Quintus might have manufactured it as a geographical link between himself and Homer. Quintus's extant work is the epic *Posthomerica*, 14 books of (as he hoped) Homeric hexameters, bridging the dramatic gap between the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. Almost universally, modern critics deride Quintus for his wooden hexameters, scant vocabulary, and poor imagination, but some passages are vivid, for example, Achilles and the dead Penthesilea. Quintus's seeming knowledge of Vergil, perhaps Ovid as well, is relevant to the general and important issue of Eastern acquaintance with Latin literature. Earlier speculation that he or his son wrote a Christian poem, *The Vision of Dorotheos* (see Dorotheos, Vision of), has now been rejected (A. Hurst, *Actes du Xe Congrès de l'Association Guillaume Budé* [Paris 1980] 131).

ED. *Kointou ta meth'Homeron*, ed. A. Koechly (Amsterdam 1968). *Quintus de Smyrne: La Suite d'Homère*, ed. F. Vian, 3 vols. (Paris 1963–69), with Fr. tr. *The Fall of Troy*, ed. A.S. Way (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1914), with Eng. tr.

LIT. F. Vian, *Recherches sur les Posthomerica de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1959). F. Vian, E. Battegay, *Lexique de Quintus de Smyrne* (Paris 1984). M. Campbell, *A Commentary on Quintus Smyrnaeus, Posthomerica XII* (Leiden 1981). –B.B.

QUIRE, the basic unit of the codex, consisting of one or more folded sheets (*bifolia* or *diphylla*). The quire is called a *bifolium* (or *unio*), *binio*, *ternio*, *quaternio*, *quinio*, etc., according to the number of folded sheets that compose it. The most frequent form is the *quaternio* (Gr. *tetradion*) made of four *bifolia*, that is, eight folia or 16 pages; thus "tetradion" became a synonym for quire. In parchment MSS, to ensure that any two facing pages were of the same color and surface texture, the sheets were arranged before folding, alternately hair side upward and flesh side upward. In Greek MSS the first and last pages and the two middle pages of each quire are usually flesh side; this system is sometimes reversed in MSS produced in areas under Western influence, such as southern Italy and Cyprus. Quires of mixed materials can be found in late antique papyrus codices and in paper codices from the 13th C. onward, leaves of papyrus or paper being reinforced by stronger parchment leaves, for example, in Vat. gr. 644 of 1279/80, where parchment is used for the exterior *bifolium* and sometimes also for the middle *bifolium*. Before copying the text, the scribe ruled guide lines with a blunt lead stylus according to a predetermined ruling pattern. After copying the text he numbered each quire on the first page, and sometimes also on the last, with a Greek numeral, or wrote catchwords to enable the bookbinder to assemble the quires in correct sequence. Mistakes occurring in bookbinding include arranging quires, or sheets within a quire, in the wrong order, and reversing single sheets or entire

Quire. Diagram of a typical quire. F = flesh side; H = hair side; r = recto; v = verso.



quires. Each of these mistakes results in a different type of disturbance of the text.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 9, 20f. J. Irigoin, "Pour une étude des centres de copie byzantins," *Scriptorium* 12 (1958) 220–23. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 50f. J. Leroy, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PGEB* 27–44. L. Gilissen, *Prolégomènes à la codicologie* (Ghent 1977) 14–41. –E.G., R.B.

QUR'ĀN, the Islamic scripture, recited (610–32) by MUHAMMAD and preserved since ca.650 as a fixed Arabic text of 114 chapters (*sūras*) of unequal length. A few loan words from Byz. usage and allusions to the story of the SEVEN SLEEPERS and ALEXANDER ROMANCE (Qur'ān 18:9–26, 84–98) may indicate aspects of Byz. impact upon Arabia on the eve of Islam.

A Qur'ānic allusion to potential adversaries (48:16) was taken by some commentators to include Byz., but the typically referential and apocalyptic opening of *sūra* 30 on al-Rūm (see RŪM) documents the interest and affinity of the early Muslims towards Byz. during the last Byz.-Persian war: "The Byz. have been defeated in the nearer land, and after their defeat they shall be victorious in a few years; on that day the believers shall rejoice in God's victory . . ." (30:1–6). These and other verses sympathetic to Christians (e.g., 5:85; 57:27), with extensive historical exegesis, modified the otherwise negative image of Byz. in Arab eyes; they were often evoked in later official letters to Byz.

Refutation of the Qur'ān preoccupied Byz. theologians in their polemic against Islam (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST). JOHN OF DAMASCUS already showed some knowledge of the Qur'ānic text in the 8th C., and NIKETAS BYZANTIOS composed a systematic, if pedantic, *Refutation* (*Anatrope*) against it, comparing it unfavorably with the Bible; this tradition continued to the end of Byz. and influenced Europe's anti-Islamic polemic.

TR. *The Koran Interpreted*, tr. A.J. Arberry (New York 1955).

LIT. W.M. Watt, *Bell's Introduction to the Qur'ān* (Edinburgh 1970). A. Welch, R. Paret, J. Pearson, *EI*² 5:400–32. A.-T. Khoury, *Les théologiens byzantins et l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Louvain-Paris 1969). Idem, *Polémique byzantine contre l'Islam (VIIIe-XIIIe S.)* (Leiden 1972) 143–218. A. Nour, *To Koranion kai to Byzantion* (Athens 1970). –A.Sh.

R

RABBULA, bishop of Edessa (from 412), Syrian churchman and translator; born Qenneshrin (Chalkis), near Berroia in Syria, died Edessa 7 Aug. 436. According to his anonymous Syrian biographer, Rabbula was a son of a pagan priest and Christian mother and converted to Christianity as an adult. During the Council of Ephesus (431), at first he supported the party of JOHN OF ANTIOCH, but even before that, in 428, he delivered a speech against THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA and attacked Nestorios as a "new Jew." In the course of the council or a little later Rabbula joined John's adversary, CYRIL of Alexandria, whose ally he remained for the rest of his career, translating Cyril's *On the Correct Faith* into Syriac. Rabbula's hagiographer presents him as a reformer of church life in Edessa who introduced austerity for the clergy and ordered that the silver dishes being used by clerics should be sold for the benefit of the poor and replaced with ceramic wares. The hagiographer's affirmation that Rabbula was responsible for the translation of the New Testament part of the *Peshitta*, the Syriac Bible, has been questioned by A. Vööbus and other scholars, who demonstrated that Rabbula's quotations of the Bible do not coincide with the *Peshitta*. Of his oeuvre, three treatises on the ecclesiastical organization of Edessa have survived as well as a few sermons. His hagiographer mentions 46 letters in Greek sent by Rabbula to priests, princes, nobles, and monks; some of these letters—mostly in fragments—are known, including his correspondence with Cyril.

ED. *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta*, ed. J.J. Overbeck (Oxford 1865) 159–248, 362–78. *Canons* in A. Vööbus, *Syriac and Arabic Documents* (Stockholm 1960) 24–50, with Eng. tr.

LIT. G.G. Blum, *Rabbula von Edessa: Der Christ, der Bischof, der Theologe* (Louvain 1969). A. Vööbus, *Investigations into the Text of the New Testament Used by Rabbula of Edessa* (Pinneberg 1947). P. Peeters, "La vie de Rabboula, évêque d'Edesse," *RechScRel* 18 (1928) 170–204. –A.K., B.B.

RABBULA GOSPELS (Florence, Laur. Plut. I, 56), a Syriac MS completed on 6 Feb. 586 by the calligrapher Rabbula at the monastery of Beth Mar John of Beth Zagba, located north of Apameia (M. Mango in *Okeanos* 405–30). Rabbula, not to be confused with RABBULA OF EDESSA, may have been the head of the scriptorium, for, according to the colophon, others worked on the MS. The decoration is clustered at the beginning of the MS (fols. 1–14) in and around its extensive CANON TABLES. Accompanying the tables are prophets, evangelists, various plants and animals, and a New Testament cycle. Three full-page miniatures precede the tables and four follow. Miniatures of the Virgin and Child and of Christ with four unidentified figures have analogies in later Greek Gospel books. More unusual is the attention paid to the scenes of the Crucifixion and Resurrection, Ascension, Pentecost, and Election of Matthias.

LIT. J. Leroy, *Les manuscrits syriaques à peintures* (Paris 1964) 139–97. D.H. Wright, "The Date and Arrangement of the Illustrations in the Rabbula Gospels," *DOP* 27 (1973) 197–208. –R.S.N.

RADOLIBOS (Ῥαδολίβους, Slav. Radoljubo, mod. Rodolibos), Macedonian village northwest of Mt. Pangaion in the katepanate of Zabaltia that in the 14th C. belonged to the theme of BOLERON, Mosynopolis, Serres, and Strymon. Archaeological findings indicate the existence here of a modest late Roman village, the name of which remains unknown; nothing is known about Radolibos in the 7th–10th C. The area evidently was settled by Slavs, who gave their own name to the site, and many peasants in the later Radolibos bore Slavic names. At the end of the 11th C. the *proasteion* of Radolibos was in the hands of the Pakourianos family (G. Litavrin in *VizOč* [Moscow 1971] 158, 165); Lefort distinguishes it from the *koinotes* (community) of the *chorion* of Radolibos. In 1098 the nun Maria, widow of the *kouropalates* Symbatios Pakourianos, conferred the *proasteion* on the Athonite monastery of IVERON.

PRAKTIKA of 1103, 1316, and 1341 make possible a reconstruction of the character and history of Radolibos. The village possessed arable lands

located not far from its nucleus and abundant vineyards (about 126 hectares, according to Lefort); it was surrounded by pastures and forests. Its population grew significantly—from 122 households in 1103 to 226 in 1316; by 1341, however, the economic situation in Radolibos had deteriorated: total income from the village fell from 350 nomismata in 1316 to 270 in 1341; the *praktika* record decreases in the number of oxen and vineyards as well. Wars and the plague probably accelerated economic and demographic decline: in 1464/5 Radolibos contained only 146 households. In 1346 STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN exempted Iveron from the tax imposed on Radolibos (which, by this time, had grown to 400 nomismata), and both John VI (in 1351) and John V (in 1357) confirmed this privilege.

LIT. J. Lefort, "Radolibos: Population et paysage," *TM* 9 (1985) 195–234. Idem, "Le cadastre de Radolibos (1103)," *TM* 8 (1981) 269–313. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana dela* 4 (Belgrade 1970) 197–215. H. Lowry, "Changes in 15th-C. Ottoman Peasant Taxation: The Case Study of Radolifo," in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Early Ottoman Society* (Birmingham 1986) 23–37. –A.K.

RADULF OF CAEN, Norman Crusader and writer; born ca.1080?, died after 1131. Radulf joined the contingent of BOHEMUND and later entered the service of TANCRED OF LECCE. He mixed prose and verse in the *Gesta Tancredi* (Deeds of Tancred), a highly rhetorical and uncritical glorification of his master, which he dedicated to Arnulf, his teacher in Normandy who had become Latin patriarch of Jerusalem (1112–18); the text breaks off after the capture of Apameia. Radulf is hostile to the treacherous, cowardly, and corrupt Byz. (J.-C. Payen in *Images et signes de l'Orient dans l'Occident médiéval* [Marseille 1982] 269–80), who appear frequently in his account, for example in his descriptions of Tancred's battle at the Vardar (pp. 607–10), Alexios I's splendid tent (pp. 619f), relations between Alexios and Bohemund (pp. 612–15, including a version of Alexios's letter of Feb. 1097), the siege of Nicaea (pp. 615–18), Alexios's failure to relieve Antioch (pp. 658f), the destruction of the city's churches (p.661), and the Byz. garrison at Laodikeia (pp. 649, 706–09).

ED. RHC *Occid.* vol. 3 (1866) 603–716.

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:786f, 3:210. J.-C. Payen, "Une légende épique en gestation: les 'Gesta Tancredi' de Raoul de Caen," in *La chanson de geste et le mythe carolingien: Mélanges René Louis*, vol. 2 (Saint-Père-sous-Vézelay 1982) 1051–62. –M.McC.

RAETIA, a Roman province in the middle and eastern Alps, west of NORICUM. At the beginning of the 4th C., it was divided into Raetia I (capital, Curia or Chur) and Raetia II (capital, Augusta Vindelicorum); civil administration was in the hands of two *praesides*, but the military command was entrusted to one officer, the *dux* of both Raetias. The economic situation of Raetia in the 4th C. can be studied only on the basis of archaeological data: Overbeck (*infra*) emphasizes the impoverishment of the province, systematically plundered by barbarians, esp. Alemanni; Henning (*infra*) gives a more complicated picture—villas continued to exist, sometimes far from any fortified refuge, and luxury objects (even from Africa) were imported; urban life continued although some ancient cities (such as Chur) underwent ruralization. After 389 the northern flatland was ceded to the Alemanni; temporarily recovered ca.430, it was lost after the death of the *magister militum* AETIUS. Some loose links, however, connected Raetia with Ostrogothic Italy as late as the beginning of the 6th C.; for example, CASSIODORUS (*Variae* 1.4) mentions a *dux Rhetiarum* as a subordinate of Theodoric. The episcopal seat of Chur is known from 451 onward.

LIT. R. Heuberger, *Rätien im Altertum und Mittelalter* (Innsbruck 1932; rp. Aalen 1971). B. Overbeck, *Geschichte des Alpenrheintals im römischen Zeit*, vol. 1 (Munich 1982). J. Henning, "Ökonomie und Gesellschaft Rätiens zwischen Antike und Mittelalter," *Klio* 67 (1985) 625–29. –A.K.

RAGUSA. See DUBROVNIK.

RAITHOU, monastic site on the southwestern coast of the SINAI peninsula (identified with El Tor or possibly Abu Zenima: I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 20 [1966] 255f, n.2), first inhabited in the 4th–5th C. by *anachoretai*, who were harassed by nomad raids and either martyred or dispersed to Palestine and Egypt. Some, however, survived to send a representative to the Synod of Jerusalem in 536, prompting Justinian I to rebuild their lavra. Its late 6th-C. abbot, Daniel of Raithou, wrote the biography of his friend JOHN KLIMAX.

Theodore of Raithou was a Chalcedonian theologian of the early 7th C. The Arab governor of Egypt is recorded as having requisitioned supplies from Raithou in the early 8th C. (*P. Lond.* IV 1433.16, 92, 276).

The martyrdom of the 33 monks of Raithou was celebrated annually on 14 Jan. Symeon Metaphrastes assumed the account by Neilos of Ankyra into his *menologion*, and several illustrated MSS of this text contain scenes of their beheading. This text, as incorporated into the "imperial" menologion (F. Halkin in *Mémorial A.-J. Festugière: Antiquité païenne et chrétienne*, eds. E. Lucchesi, H.D. Saffrey [Geneva 1984] 267–73), is accompanied in a MS in Baltimore (Walters 521, fol.92v) by an unusually brutal image of the slaughter: the head of a seated monk has been split in two by the axe of a dark-skinned attacker. The image derives from that in the Menologion of Basil II (p.317), where, however, the miniature has been overpainted as a monk with two heads.

lit. R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique des origines à l'arrivée des musulmans," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23. B. Kötting, *LThK* 8:981.
–L.S.B.MacC., N.P.Š.

RALLES. See Raoul.

RAOUL (Ῥαούλ, fem. Ῥαουλαίνα), from the 14th C. also Ralles, an aristocratic family of Norman origin; perhaps founded by Rudolfus Peel de Lan (called Raoul by Anna Komnene), Norman ambassador to Nikephoros III, who later fled from Robert Guiscard to Bohemund; no source, however, mentions Rudolfus's shift to Byz. Even less valid is the hypothesis that Raoul was brother of Roger, Dagobert's son, another Norman ambassador; Albert of Aix, who describes this embassy (PL 166:415C), does not refer to the envoys as brothers and calls Roger alone *filium Dagoberti*. In 1108 Humbert, Graoul's (Raoul's) son and Alexios I's councilor, signed the treaty of Devol. Fassoulakis's hypothesis that Leo, the scribe of two MSS of 1139, was Humbert's brother cannot be proved.

Despite scanty evidence for the Raoul family in the 12th C., its members probably belonged to the social elite: they possessed large estates in Thrace (A. Carile, *StVen* 7 [1965] 219), and the *sebastos* Constantine Raoul actively supported Alexios III's usurpation (1195). The *protovestiarios* Alexios Raoul was influential at John III's court and his sons supported Michael VIII Palaiologos: John was appointed *protovestiarios* and Manuel *pinkernes*. Manuel and another brother, Isaac, sided with the Arsenites; they lost imperial favor, however, and were arrested and blinded. The family recovered under Andronikos II, when another Alexios Raoul was *megas domestikos* and one of his sons *megas stratopedarches*. The Raouls married into the families of Palaiologos, Kantakouzenos, Synadenos, Asan, and others. Yet another Alexios was *megas domestikos* after 1333 and later emigrated to Serres. Thereafter the Raouls lost significance, except for the Peloponnesian branch of the family, which played an important role in resisting the Turks. The family also produced such literati as Theodora Raoulaina and Manuel Raoul (see Raoul, Manuel). Some Raouls accompanied Sophia Palaiologina to Moscow, where they served as diplomats.

lit. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973), corr. and add. R. Walther, *JÖB* 25 (1976) 314–19. G. Ostrogorsky, "Alexios Raul, Grossdomestikos von Serbien," in *Festschrift Percy Ernst Schramm*, ed. P. Classen, P. Scheibert, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1964) 340–52. E.Č. Skržinskaja, "Kto byli Ralevy, posly Ivana III v Italiju," *Problemy istorii meždunarodnych otnošenij* (Leningrad 1972) 267–81.
–A.K.

RAOUL, MANUEL, also known as Manuel Rhales, writer; born Mistra?, fl. ca.1355–ca.1369. Educated in Thessalonike, he spent at least part of his life in the Morea during the reign of *despotes* Manuel Kantakouzenos (1349–80). He evidently held a bureaucratic position as *grammatikos*, until forced to resign by failing eyesight. Three of his 12 surviving letters are addressed to the former emperor, John VI Kantakouzenos, the others to government officials, literati, and an abbot. He makes frequent allusions to classical literature as well as to Scripture. Most of the letters are quite conventional in subject matter, but they do provide some prosopographical data and interesting details of everyday life in the 14th-C. Peloponnesos, including the plague of 1361–62, the capture of a friend by bandits, and a fall from a horse that made him lame and prevented him from paying his respects to the emperor.

ed. R.-J. Loenertz, "Emmanuelis Raul Epistulae XII," *EEBS* 26 (1956) 130–63.

lit. S. Fassoulakis, *The Byzantine Family of Raoul-Ral(l)es* (Athens 1973) 51f.
–A.M.T.

RAOULAINA, THEODORA, more fully Theodora Palaiologina Kantakouzene Raoulaina, anti-Unionist and bibliophile; born ca.1240, died Constantinople 1300. Niece of Michael VIII Palaiologos and third daughter of Irene-Eulogia and John KANTAKOUZENOS, she married George MOUZALON in 1256 and John Raoul Petraliphas, the *protovestiarios,* in 1261. Widowed a second time in 1274, Raoulaina actively opposed her uncle's Unionist policies and was exiled with her mother. During her imprisonment she wrote a vita of the Iconoclast confessors, Sts. THEODORE GRAPTOS and THEOPHANES GRAPTOS. After Michael VIII's death, she restored the Constantinopolitan convent of St. Andrew in Krisei, where she took monastic vows. A staunch supporter of the ARSENITES, she arranged for the transfer of the relics of Patr. ARSENIOS from Hagia Sophia to this convent. She also built the small monastery of Aristine to house Patr. GREGORY II OF CYPRUS following his resignation.

Raoulaina was well read in classical literature and possessed an important library. She herself copied a MS of the *Orations* of Ailios ARISTEIDES (Vat. gr. 1899). Her literary circle included Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, Maximos PLANOUDES, and the patriarch Gregory. Buchthal and Belting (*infra*) suggested that she may have commissioned a group of 15 deluxe liturgical codices, which they assigned to an "atelier of the Palaiologina."

ED. Vita of Graptoi—ed. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. A.-M. Talbot, "Bluestocking Nuns: Intellectual Life in the Convents of Late Byzantium," in *Okeanos* 604–18. Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage* 100–21, rev. G. Vikan, *ArtB* 63 (1981) 325–28. –A.M.T.

RAOUL OF CAEN. See RADULF OF CAEN.

RAPE (βιασμός, Lat. *raptus*) was conceived in Roman law as the abduction of a woman against the will of her parents (A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* [Philadelphia 1953] 667). Legislators of the 4th and 5th C. did not draw a clear line between rape and ADULTERY, and Constantine I in 320 esp. underscored that the consent of the girl should be of no advantage to the rapist (*Cod.Theod.* IX 24.1 pr.). The punishment of the *raptor* (and of the girl if she consented) was death by burning; if she did not consent the girl was nevertheless disinherited. Justinian I introduced a major distinction (*Cod.Just.* IX 13.1), retaining execution as the penalty for the *raptor* whereas the violated girl was no longer subject to a fine. Justinian's ruling was developed in novels 143 and 150, which emphasized that marriage after abduction was not considered as an amelioration of the crime, a position that remained typical of canon law. *Ecloga* 17.30 punished the ravisher with a milder penalty, cutting off his nose. Leo VI, in novel 35, drew a distinction between armed rape (*harpage*) of a woman and unarmed violence; the first case required capital punishment, the second mutilation (the loss of a hand or arm). Michael Psellos, in commenting on novel 35, introduced a new principle—the violated girl should be compensated by the entire property of the rapist (G. Weiss, *JÖB* 26 [1977] 91)—an opinion probably based on *Basil.* 60.58.1.

The theme of rape appears in literature and art: the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès,* fol.208) depicts a woman killing a Varangian rapist; John Moschos (PG 87:2892AC) tells the story of a monk incited by the devil—he tried to rape the daughter of a peasant, but she deterred him by saying that "for the sake of a brief pleasure" he would negate all his monastic achievements and drive her to SUICIDE. Digenes Akritas's rape of the daughter of Haplorrabdes was followed by no penalty except his remorse.

Byz. law distinguished the deflowering (*phthora*) of a girl from rape/abduction; the penalty for *phthora* depended on the girl's consent or lack thereof and on the age of the virgin (before 13 or after); in such cases marriage was recommended. Fines for *phthora* were probably transformed into PARTHENOPHTHORIA.

LIT. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 15–92. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 153f. O. Efer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 250f. –J.H., A.K.

RAPHAEL. See ARCHANGEL.

RAŠKA, the name of the main part of the territory of medieval SERBIA. In Latin sources, beginning with Ansbert (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Rassia or Raxia was a designation of Serbia, and in Slavic documents of the 13th C. the expression "the land of Raška" was used, but it disappeared after STEFAN UROŠ I. Greek texts

avoided this term. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, however (*De adm. imp.* 32.53), mentions a site (a town?) called Rase between Serbia and Bulgaria; by 1020 a bishopric of Ras (a town on the river Raška) was established as a suffragan of Ohrid. The stronghold (*phrourion*) Rason of the 12th C. appears in Kinnamos (Kinn. 12.10, cf. 103.8).

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*[2], vol. 2 (Belgrade 1978) 3. M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1978) 37–41. J. Kalić, "La région du ras à l'époque byzantine," *Géographie historique du monde Méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 127–40. –A.K.

RASTISLAV, prince of MORAVIA (846–70); died Bavaria after Nov. 870. Rastislav became ruler with help from the king of the Eastern Franks, Louis the German (843–76), but thereafter resisted Frankish encroachments, esp. in the ecclesiastical sphere. He broke with the archbishop of Passau in the late 850s and sought Italian and Byz. clergy for his subjects. Failing to receive a bishop from Pope NICHOLAS I, in 862 Rastislav asked Michael III for clerics to organize an independent church using the local Slavic language rather than Latin; he may also have been seeking to counteract an impending Frankish-Bulgarian alliance. Michael sent CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS, who arrived in Moravia in 863 with their disciples (including KLIMENT OF OHRID). It may have been at Rastislav's request that Constantine and Methodios journeyed to Rome in 867 to seek papal approval for ordinations and use of the Church Slavonic liturgy in Moravia. Dethroned by his nephew Svjatopluk in Nov. 870, Rastislav was condemned to death at an imperial diet in Regensburg, blinded, and imprisoned in a Bavarian monastery, where he died.

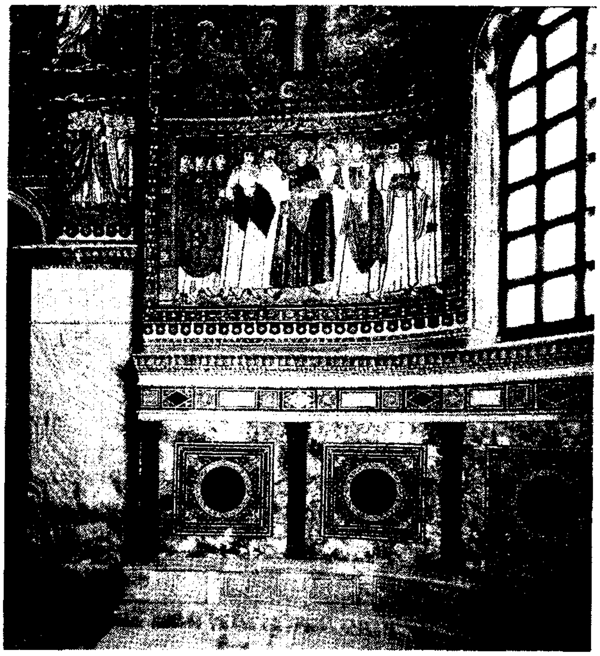
LIT. Z.R. Dittrich, *Christianity in Great-Moravia* (Groningen 1962) 82–108, 174–92. –P.A.H.

RATS. See MICE.

RAVENNA (Ῥάβεννα), with its harbor suburb of Classe, a cosmopolitan naval and commercial center; capital of the Italian province of Flaminia et Picenum in the 4th C. HONORIUS moved the imperial court there from MILAN in 402 because of its secure position (surrounded by marsh) and its easy access by river channels to the Adriatic Sea and the River Po. As capital of the Western Empire and residence of the praetorian prefect of Italy, it expanded in size in the 5th C. and saw the building of palaces and churches, esp. during the reign of Valentinian III. Its cathedral was built at the end of the 4th C. by Bp. Ursus, possibly replacing one in Classe, and during the episcopate of Peter Chrysologus (ca.432–50) six sees in Emilia were transferred to Ravenna from the jurisdiction of Milan.

Ravenna's importance declined in the confused last years of the Western Empire (455–76), but it recovered the role of capital of Italy under ODOACER and the OSTROGOTH kings. The court attracted senators and scholars, such as BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS, and Ravenna emerged as an important center of MS copying and literary production. Its church became increasingly rich, with patrimonies as distant as Sicily, and its bishops influential spokesmen for the Roman population. In addition to restoring aqueducts and building a new palace, THEODORIC THE GREAT undertook construction of several Arian churches (e.g., S. Apollinare Nuovo). Few catholic churches were built in his reign, but several major ones were begun by his successors.

Justinian I's general, BELISARIOS, took control of Ravenna in 540 and throughout the Gothic War it served as a bridgehead for Byz. forces as well as capital of Italy. Bp. MAXIMIAN (546–56), well known because of his mosaic portrait at S. Vitale and his ivory throne, was an energetic scholar-prelate appointed by Justinian I to promote his ecclesiastical policies in the West; he was also the first bishop of Ravenna to receive the title of archbishop. The see supported the imperial position in the THREE CHAPTERS affair against Milan and AQUILEIA, for which Archbp. Agnellus (557–70) was rewarded with the buildings and property of the Arian church. After the late 6th C. Ravenna remained a center for luxury manufacture and trade, esp. with the Lombard kingdom. Latin literary activity continued in fields such as liturgy, geography, medicine, and hagiography (e.g., the *Passio* of its legendary patron St. Apollinaris), but the Greek monastic presence was small and no Greek works survive. The 6th–7th-C. RAVENNA PAPYRI reveal the increasing importance of soldiers and officials, many of Eastern origin. In response to the eclipse of the civilian hierarchy following the Lombard invasion of Italy in 568 the EXARCHATE of Ravenna was created



RAVENNA. Mosaic panel in the Church of San Vitale, north wall of the apse, above a dado of *opus sectile*. The central figure is the emperor Justinian I; to his right, members of his court and palace guard; to his left, Maximian, archbishop of Ravenna, and members of the clergy.

(first recorded in 584). A major social role was played by its garrison (*exercitus*), which gradually merged with local Latin elements. Ravenna's culture and outlook became more exclusively Latin and local, as reflected in the work of its historian AGNELLUS.

Close ties between the Byz. administration and the church of Ravenna were reinforced by privileges. One, a grant of autocephaly by Constans II in 666, was soon revoked by Constantine IV, but the increased claims and independent-mindedness of its archbishops led to a deterioration of relations with the papacy. The see's links with members of the military elite were cemented by granting them lands throughout the exarchate and PENTAPOLIS, which were rented back to officials in EMPHYTEUSIS.

The increasingly local interests of the officials were at the root of several obscure revolts in the 7th–8th C., although the immediate causes were Byz. religious and fiscal policies. Some exarchs were murdered (e.g., John I in 616, John Rizokopos in 710, and Paul in 726), while others attempted usurpations (e.g., Eleutherios in 619, Olympios ca.651–52). Separatist feeling became esp. strong from the late 7th C. (opposition to the arrest of Pope Sergius in 693, resistance to the exarch Theophylaktos ca.701) and led to the brutal punishment of leading citizens by Justinian II ca.709. This provoked the establishment of a citizen militia and the election of an independent duke. In the 720s renewed Lombard expansions, increased taxation, and the beginnings of Iconoclasm in Constantinople under Leo III caused further discontent, leading Ravenna to participate in the general Italian revolt of 727. In 732 Ravenna was captured by the Lombard king Liutprande, but was soon recovered for the Byz. by the Venetians. Lombard pressure on the exarchate continued, and Ravenna fell to the Lombard King Aistulf in 751. It was shortly thereafter incorporated in the papal patrimony and its commercial role declined with the silting up of its harbor and the rise of VENICE; it remained important, however, as the seat of a powerful archbishop and its society retained features distinct from those of Lombard and Frankish Italy for centuries.

Monuments of Ravenna. Ravenna's monuments of the late antique and Byz. period can be divided into three epochs—Late Roman (402–76), Gothic (493–540), and Byz. (to the end of the exarchate)—with a resurgence in the early 12th C. The late Roman buildings include the Baptistery of the Orthodox, with spectacular figural mosaics of ca.450, and the so-called Mausoleum of GALLA PLACIDIA, a cruciform oratory probably founded by the empress, who almost certainly was buried not there, but in Rome.

Sixth-century buildings include S. Vitale, S. Apollinare in Classe, and the destroyed Church of S. Michele in Africisco (orig. *ad Frigiscus*), the apse of which is preserved (much restored) in Berlin. S. Vitale is octagonal, with a dome on eight masonry piers that are connected by two-storied curved colonnades. In design it is the nearest known relative of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople; nevertheless, Krautheimer and Deichmann (*infra*) suggest that the architect was Italian. Mosaics in the apse depict Bp. Ecclesius (522–32) as donor in the conch and Justinian I (see ill. above) and Theodora on the lower wall (for ill., see THEODORA). Archbp. Maximian consecrated S. Vitale in 547.

S. Apollinare in Classe, erected on or near the

tomb of Ravenna's first bishop, Apollinaris, was consecrated by the same Maximian in 549. It is a longitudinal basilica with colonnades of imported Greek and Prokonnesian marbles; the unusual apse mosaic shows a symbolic Transfiguration attended by St. Apollinaris. On the wall below are two panels inserted in the 7th C. to commemorate a privilege granted by Constantine IV, whose portrait appears. The mosaic program of the Arian Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, with its long procession of saints down the nave, was partially redesigned ca.550 when the church came into Orthodox hands.

In the absence of surviving monumental imagery from 6th-C. Constantinople, scholars have taken the mosaics of Ravenna as paradigms of Justinianic style, even attributing them to Constantinopolitan craftsmen (Kitzinger, *infra*). Inscriptions attest that S. Vitale and S. Apollinare in Classe were paid for by JULIANUS "ARGENTARIUS," who also contributed to S. Michele in Africisco.

Ravenna enjoyed an artistic resurgence in the 11th and 12th C. In 1112 the apse of the cathedral (Basilica Ursiana) was redecorated with mosaics by a master who, according to Demus (*infra*), also worked in the apse of S. Marco in VENICE. Only fragments of this mosaic survive, as the Basilica Ursiana was demolished in 1733.

LIT. T.S. Brown, "The Interplay between Roman and Byzantine Traditions and Local Sentiment in the Exarchate of Ravenna," *SettStu* (1988) 127–60. Idem, "The Aristocracy of Ravenna from Justinian to Charlemagne," *CorsiRav* 33 (1986) 135–49. A. Guillou, "Ravenna e Giustiniano," *CorsiRav* 30 (1983) 333–43. R.A. Markus, "Ravenna and Rome, 554–604," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 566–78. F.W. Deichmann, *Ravenna* 2.2 (Wiesbaden 1976). Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 176–78, 181–87, 232–37, 277f. Kitzinger, *Making* 81–107. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:281f.

–T.S.B., D.K.

RAVENNA PAPYRI, a general designation for the Latin nonliterary archival material originating in the archiepiscopal chancery of RAVENNA or sent there from other chanceries of Italy (Rome, Syracuse) in late antiquity. Since they were written in Latin and, unusually, on papyrus, they attracted the attention of early humanists and palaeographers. The documents' contents relate to church privileges and the management of ecclesiastical estates, wills, and donations benefiting churches and monasteries, and heritable leases and sales pertaining to the landed properties of the see of Ravenna. The earlier group of them (about 60 pieces) is dated between 445 and 700, the last certain date being 642/3 or 665/6; then after a gap come the papyri of the 9th–10th C. These later papyri have been less well studied. The Ravenna, or better, Italian papyri are of great importance as sources for legal procedure in late antique society, esp. in dealings with the church, and as illustrating Latin linguistic evolutions in their later stages. They also illustrate the development of the late Roman cursive script as it was used for writing Latin in the West.

ED. J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens aus der Zeit 445–700*, 2 vols. (Lund-Stockholm 1955–82).

–L.S.B.MacC.

RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, Crusader historian; fl. ca.1100. Canon of Le Puy and chaplain of Count RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, Raymond participated in the First Crusade and composed a *Liber* [or *Historia*] *Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem* (History of the Franks Who Captured Jerusalem) addressed to the bishop of Viviers; he began writing the book with Pons of Balazun, who was killed at ʿArqah. His perspective on events from 1095 to 1099 reflects his relations with the count Raymond and Ademar, bishop of Le Puy. Raymond describes his Provençal contingent's crossing of the Byz. Empire and their difficulties with the PECHENEGS (ed. Hill et al., pp. 36–47). Raymond complains about Alexios I's duplicity (p.41) and reports Byz. ships' victualing of the Crusaders (p.108) and the Crusaders' later relations with Alexios (pp. 125f).

ED. *Le "Liber,"* ed. J. Hill et al. (Paris 1969). *Historia Francorum qui ceperunt Iherusalem*, Eng. tr. J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill (Philadelphia 1968).

LIT. Wattenbach, Holtzmann, Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Sachsen u. Salier* 2:792. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:415f. C. Klein, *Raymund von Aguilers* (Berlin 1892). Zaborov, *Krest. poch.* 64–66.

–M.McC.

RAYMOND OF POITIERS (Πετεβῖνος), prince of Antioch; born ca.1098 or 1099, died near Inab (southeast of Antioch) 29 June 1149. Younger son of the count of Poitiers, Raymond became prince by marrying Constance, heiress of Antioch, in 1136. John II, who had hoped to fulfill the Komnenian goal of regaining Antioch by marrying Constance to the future Manuel I, attacked

Raymond in Aug. 1137, then made peace on condition that Raymond become his vassal. A joint Byz.-Antiochene expedition in Apr.–May 1138 took Buzā'ah, Ma'arat al-Nu'mān, and Kafarṭāb in northern Syria, but failed at Shayzar. When John entered Antioch and demanded the citadel, rioting townsmen forced him to withdraw. In 1142 John again threatened Antioch, but his death prevented an attack. Manuel's forces ravaged the region in 1144. The danger to Antioch caused by the fall of Edessa compelled Raymond to visit Constantinople (ca. 1145), humiliate himself at John II's tomb, and become Manuel's vassal, but he gained little direct aid. Because his daughter MARIA OF ANTIOCH subsequently wed Manuel, Raymond was very favorably treated by the historian John KINNAMOS.

LIT. C. Cahen, *La Syrie du Nord à l'époque des croisades et la Principauté franque d'Antioche* (Paris 1940) 357–84.
–C.M.B.

RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE, called Raymond of Saint-Gilles (hence 'Ισαγγέλης in Anna Komnene); born ca.1041/2, died Mont-Pèlerin near Tripoli ca.28 Feb. 1105. Leading the Provençal contingent of the First Crusade, Raymond reached Constantinople on 21 Apr. 1097. While declining to become vassal to Alexios I, he swore to uphold Alexios's rights, respect his territories, and aid him against opponents (J.H. Hill, L.L. Hill, *AHR* 58 [1952–53] 322–27). At the capture of Antioch (June 1098), he gained possession of a gate and a portion of the city. Until dispossessed by BOHEMUND (Jan. 1099), he asserted the emperor's right to the city as a means of safeguarding his own position (J. France, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 291f). Following the capture of Jerusalem, Raymond sailed to Constantinople (May/June 1100). With Alexios's support, he joined the Crusade of 1101. When it was destroyed in Anatolia, he escaped with the survivors to Constantinople. Returning to Syria in early 1102, he devoted himself to capturing towns near TRIPOLI, although the latter remained unconquered at his death. Anna Komnene praises his high character in comparison with the greed and treachery of other crusading leaders.

LIT. J.H. & L.L. Hill, *Raymond IV, Count of Toulouse* (Syracuse 1962).
–C.M.B.

REBELLION (ἐπανάστασις) was considered in Roman law as a grave crime (T. Mommsen, *Römisches Strafrecht* [Leipzig 1899; rp. Graz 1955] 554f), to be punished by execution unless a special agreement was reached by both parties. The church usually assumed a neutral position toward USURPATION, but tended to attribute the success of a rebellion to the emperor's fall from God's grace (S. Elbern, *RQ* 81 [1986] 31–35). A negative attitude toward insurrection pervades Byz. literature: KEKAUMENOS, although he was surely aware of the defeat of numerous emperors by usurpers, emphasized that the ruler of Constantinople always would prevail; he gave his readers advice about how to remain safe during a rebellion and recommended supporting (openly or clandestinely) the legitimate emperor. Niketas Choniates accused his contemporaries of frequent rebellions, contrasting them with Westerners who remained loyal to their kings.

The driving force behind insurrection could be the urban masses (e.g., circus FACTIONS in the 6th C.), a mutinous army, the population of a certain province (esp. in the frontier areas), or a dissident religious group. A usurper might be motivated not only by his desire for power, but also by fear of punishment; foreign alliances and support offered by neighboring tribes or rulers played a substantial role. The goal of a rebellion could be USURPATION of the throne, defense of an emperor and the concept of dynastic legitimacy, political secession, the removal of an unpopular official, satisfaction of economic demands (alleviation of taxation, grain supply), or religious convictions. The term *epanastasis* could also be applied to enemy attacks on the empire.
–A.K.

RECENSION THEORY, conventional term for an art historical method that seeks to identify genealogical affinities among disparate narrative picture CYCLES ultimately derived from the same text. Corresponding iconographic episodes are analyzed with the aim of determining which shows greater fidelity to the text and therefore may be assumed to be the more "original." The goal is to establish stemmatic relationships among all extant witnesses (including all artistic media) and to reconstruct from them as full and accurate an archetype as possible. Ultimately based on 19th-C.

text-critical practice, this approach was modified and adapted to the analysis of narrative picture cycles by Weitzmann. He distinguished, for example, four distinct recensional traditions for the illustration of GENESIS. They are identified by their most famous surviving representatives: the Cotton Genesis, the Vienna Genesis, the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, and the Joseph page (fol.69v) in the PARIS GREGORY.

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *Illustrations in Roll and Codex*[2] (Princeton 1970). J. Białostocki, "Problem oryginalności i kryteria wartościowania w studiach nad ikonografią starochrześcijańskiego malarstwa miniaturowego," in *Interpretacija dzieła sztuki* (Warsaw 1978) 5–22. –G.V.

RECIPES survive mainly in treatises describing the nutritious properties of food (see DIET) and the monthly regimen necessary for good health. Some of these recipe collections were produced by known writers, such as Symeon SETH or Nicholas MYREPSOS; some were by anonymous or obscure persons whose identification is hardly possible, for example, the treatise of the 11th–14th C. (G. Litavrin, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 249–301) that was falsely ascribed to empress ZOE. The content of recipes is varied, including formulas for cooking, COSMETICS, PHARMACOLOGY, or even MAGIC. The advice ranges from sound observations to fantastic qualities ascribed to real products. Thus, Seth (*De alim. fac.* 26f) says that beef, in comparison with mutton, is "cold" and brings forth blood like black bile; therefore it can be recommended only to those who have a "warm" stomach and exercise continually. Pseudo-Zoe's treatise distinguishes eight kinds of food: sweet, bitter, salty, fat, sour, scalding, astringent, and neutral, and in accordance with this scale recommends them before or after the main course or to people of differing temperament or to the sick. It also provides recipes for growing hair and relieving headaches, and advises writing words on bay leaves to avoid insomnia. –A.K., Ap.K.

RECLUSE. See ENKLEISTOS.

RECORDS (sing. θέσις or παρασημείωσις) of outgoing (and, eventually, incoming) ACTS were kept by most CHANCERIES. The sources mention the imperial record (*thesis*), in which the PROTONOTARIOS copied all documents signed by the emperor (14th–15th C.). Actual records (Vienna, ÖNB hist. gr. 47 and 48) survive for the patriarchate (14th C.), which always possessed archives kept by the CHARTOPHYLAX. Similar records (*hypomnemata, codices, tomaria, chartia, thesis*) were kept by the central and provincial administration, which also registered pertinent documents (*katastrosis*). In the later Roman Empire, private deeds underwent registration (*insinuatio*) by the city authorities, but this practice had disappeared well before the end of the 9th C. In later centuries evidence for the existence of recognized notarial minutes or drafts is very scarce and uncertain (cf. *Peira* 38 and the "notarial minutes" of Vat. gr. 952 in G. Ferrari, *SBN* 4 [1935] 249–67). Records were usually kept in roughly chronological order (this is partly true for CADASTERS).

LIT. Oikonomides, "Chancellerie" 187. J. Darrouzès, *Le registre synodal du patriarcat byzantin au XIVe siècle* (Paris 1971). Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*. H. Saradi-Mendelovici, "Le notariat byzantin du IXe au XVe siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Montreal, 1985). –N.O.

RECRUITMENT was both voluntary and compulsory throughout the Byz. period. Volunteers, Byz. and foreign, were attracted to the imperial units (TAGMATA) by cash bounties, salaries, and the prospect of advancement offered by a military career; the state issued their equipment and rations or allowances for their purchase. By contrast, a system of hereditary conscription, the STRATEIA, supplied the manpower for the provincial armies (*themata*); these soldiers (STRATIOTAI) equipped themselves but were eligible for salaries (ROGA) and state-supplied provisions (OPSONION) when their forces were mobilized for campaigns. Following the fiscalization of the *strateia* after the 11th C., the state issued grants of land (fiscal PRONOIA) in return for military service. The hiring of MERCENARIES and the settlement of warlike foreign peoples in Byz. territory were also common means of recruitment.

Men were eligible for army service between the ages of 18 and 40 with length of service spanning 30 years. The STRATEGIKA specify youth, size, and strength as the qualities required of soldiers; various nationalities were recommended for particular roles, such as Armenians for heavy infantry

and Rus' as skirmishers in the 10th C. (Oikonomides, *Listes* 336).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 614–19. J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950* (Vienna 1979). N. Oikonomides, "Middle-Byzantine Provincial Recruits: Salary and Armament," in *Gonimos* 121–36. –E.M.

REDEMPTION (λύτρωσις, from *lytron*, "ransom"), the mystery of Christ's death, which was instrumental for the SALVATION of mankind. In the Old Testament the concept of redemption, or liberation, had a political tinge—the liberation of the chosen people from the Egyptian captivity. Christianity ascribed to it a cosmic character; although the church fathers considered Christ as typified by Moses, the deliverer from Egypt (e.g., pseudo-MAKARIOS/SYMEON, hom.11.6, ed. H. Dörries, 99.82–83), he was more often contrasted with ADAM—Christ's death was to redeem mankind from the state of sin created by Adam's fall.

Patristic doctrine did not evolve a systematic concept of redemption. The creed of both the First Council of Nicaea and the First Council of Constantinople is limited to the statement that Christ was crucified "for us," "for our salvation." The implication is that redemption is both a preconceived act of God the Father who sacrificed his Son because of his love for mankind, and a free act of the Son who underwent the CRUCIFIXION to destroy the power of SATAN over the world and, in so doing, became the "new Adam," leading humanity to eternal life. Maximos the Confessor, while emphasizing the existence of human will in Christ, stressed in fact the personal and free commitment of every man in the search for salvation: human persons are called to participate in the human nature of the incarnate Logos, and thus share in deification (THEOSIS). (See also SOTERIOLOGY.)

LIT. H.E.W. Turner, *The Patristic Doctrine of Redemption* (London 1952). J. Rivière, *DTC* 13 (1937) 1912–2004. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 159–65. Kelly, *Doctrines* 163–88. –A.K.

RED SEA. See CROSSING OF THE RED SEA; PERIPLOUS.

REFECTORY. See TRAPEZA.

REFERENDARIOS (ῥεφερενδάριος, from Lat. *referendarius*), term used to denote both a state and an ecclesiastical official.

1. The ***secular referendarios***, an office created by Julian, was the emperor's secretary. Under Justinian I the *referendarios* acquired considerable importance; the number of active *referendarioi* decreased from 14 to 2 (plus one for the empress). The major duty of the *referendarios* was to transmit the emperor's orders to the MAGISTROI and to submit the petitions and complaints of subjects to the emperor. General scholarly opinion holds that the *referendarios* disappeared after 600; however, both Laurent (*Corpus* 2, no.1174) and Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2051) date the seal of John, "the imperial *referendarios* and *dioiketes* of provinces," to the 8th C. Two other seals of 8th-C. imperial *referendarioi* were published by Seibt (*Bleisiegel*, nos. 83–84).

2. The ***ecclesiastical referendarios*** was a cleric, normally a DEACON, who acted as the liaison officer of the patriarch of Constantinople with the imperial court; one of his major functions was to transmit patriarchal documents to the palace. He also played a key role in all ceremonial occasions involving both emperor and patriarch and was responsible for presenting newly appointed metropolitans and *hegoumenoi* to the emperor. Herakleios's novel of 612 fixed at 12 the number of *referendarioi* on the staff of the Great Church (ed. I. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 70.111–12); as in the case of the SKEUOPHYLAX, however, later sources mention only one incumbent, and it is doubtful whether his subordinates—if he had any—continued to hold the same title. This development may have been connected with the appointment of *referendarioi* in provincial sees, which is well attested by the 13th C., and, by the 15th C., seems to have extended to the humblest of bishoprics (see, e.g., N.A. Bees, *Byzantis* 2 [1911] 52.26).

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:4f (with add. in Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 418, 533, 1048A). Guilland, *Institutions* 2:92–98. Beck, *Kirche* 103. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 119, 373f. –A.K., P.M.

REGALIA. See INSIGNIA.

REGENCY, a political arrangement intended to ensure a family's hold on the throne when a senior

emperor was precluded from exercising his office. Regency usually arose when a senior emperor died leaving a minor co-emperor. It took two main forms: formal co-rulership by an EMPRESS, whether mother (e.g., Martina, Theodora [wife of Theophilos], Anna of Savoy) or older sister (e.g., Pulcheria), or the appointment of one or more guardians (*epitropoi*). Both options might be combined; in fact, multimember regencies predominated after Martina and Irene, such as during the minority of Michael III or Constantine VII. Coruling regents were officially acknowledged on coins, in acclamations, and dating formulas, although empresses usually yielded precedence to the young emperor: Anna of Savoy was an exception (Dölger, *Paraspora* 208–11).

The makeup of a regency reflected the contemporary POLITICAL STRUCTURE, for example, STILICHO, *magister militum*, as regent for Honorius or Patr. NICHOLAS I as one of Constantine VII's regents. The precise arrangement might be spelled out in an emperor's will (e.g., *Reg* 1, no.216) or a decree (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.1120). The regent empress's ability to remarry and thereby upset the arrangement could be limited by her oath (e.g., Eudokia [1067]) or nunhood (e.g., Maria of Antioch [1171: N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 (1963) 101–28]). Other circumstances led to *de facto* regency: for example, Justin II's mental illness resulted in the actual exercise of power by Sophia and Tiberios Caesar (the future Tiberios I). Similarly, the senior emperor's long absence on campaign explains, for example, the role of Bonos (or Bonosos) the *patrikios* and Patr. Sergios I under Herakleios or the decree of Alexios I granting administrative power to Anna Dalassene (*Reg* 2, no.1073).

Regencies generally spawned political tensions and conflict involving competing regents (e.g., Theoktistos's murder with the connivance of Bardas during Theodora and Thekla's regency for Michael III) or contenders for the throne, such as Romanos I or John VI Kantakouzenos. When the young emperor reached majority—usually at age 16—he sometimes found it difficult to dislodge the empress (e.g., Constantine VI and Irene) or effective regent (e.g., BASIL II and BASIL THE NOTHOS).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "He antibasileia eis to Byzantion," *Symmeikta* 2 (1970) 1–144. –M.McC.

REGGIO-CALABRIA (Ῥήγιον), a port city at the southwestern tip of Italy, the administrative and ecclesiastical center of CALABRIA. Calabria was considered part of ILLYRICUM and during the Iconoclast controversy remained under the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople. The metropolitan see of Reggio was created probably soon after 800, since archbishops of Calabria are known from the 7th and 8th C. Reggio was captured by Robert Guiscard in 1060. The last Greek metropolitan of Reggio, Basil, was deposed in 1078 (F. Russo, *BollBadGr* 7 [1953] 163–78).

LIT. F. Russo, *Storia della archidiocesi di Reggio-Calabria*, vol. 1 (Naples 1961). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:709–16, 3:146. –A.K.

RELATIONSHIP, DEGREES OF. The closeness of relationship between two individuals is designated by the term *bathmos* (degree, corresponding to the Lat. *gradus*). The degree of relationship is determined by the number of intermediate generations or births ("quot generationes, tot gradus"). For example, father and son are related to one another in the first degree, grandfather and grandson in the second, great-grandfather and great-grandson in the third, that is, in a "direct line" in which the one person (descendant, *kation*) is directly descended from the other (ascendant, *anion*). Two people who are related to one another collaterally (*ek plagiou*) go back to a common progenitor, starting from whom the degrees are calculated; for example, sisters are related in the second degree, an aunt and a niece in the third, cousins in the fourth. The degrees of relationship were of legal importance esp. in the area of inheritance law where those who had a more distant degree of relationship were excluded from inheriting by those who had a less distant degree of relationship to the deceased (see INTESTATE SUCCESSION) and in the area of marriage law, which forbade marriage between certain persons closely related in degree (see MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS).

LIT. Zhishman, *Eherecht* 217–23. –A.S.

RELICS (τὰ λείψανα), the mortal remains of holy persons, or objects sanctified by contact with them. The first relics venerated by Christians were those of the MARTYRS. After persecution ended in 312,



RELICS. Translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.353). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The relics were translated to the Church of the Holy Apostles, Constantinople, in 438. At the right, Emp. Theodosios II.

this veneration was extended to those of CONFESSORS, great bishops, "the Fathers," ascetics, etc. Veneration quickly went beyond "primary relics" or mortal remains to "secondary relics," such as the instruments of the martyr's passion, and, with the discovery of the holy places in Jerusalem (see LOCUS SANCTUS), to instruments of Jesus' Passion, articles of the Virgin's clothing, etc.

Primary relics were venerated as signs of the victory of Christ's sacrifice repeated in his saints. MARTYRIA with ALTARS on which the sacrament of that sacrifice (see EUCHARIST) was renewed were built over martyrs' graves, and relics were actually enclosed inside the altars. Secondary relics, first opposed, were eventually accepted as instruments through which God had chosen to work. Especially significant was the role of relics in HEALING.

From the 4th C. onward, holy bodies were exhumed, dismembered, and distributed by solemn "translation" to various local churches, esp. Alexandria, Antioch, and Constantinople. Constantinople, a newcomer with few native martyrs' remains from the pre-Constantinian persecutions, worked hard at gathering relics, esp. the instruments of the Passion (two pieces of the TRUE CROSS, one brought from Apameia; the pillar on which Jesus was scourged; the crown of thorns; the sponge and Sacred Lance used to pierce Christ's side). Other relics in Constantinople included the

Virgin's robe, girdle, and shroud (M. Jugie, *La mort et l'assomption de la Sainte Vierge* [Vatican 1944] 688–707) and other spurious New Testament relics such as one of the several reputed heads of John the Baptist, the remains of the Holy Innocents and of St. Stephen the protomartyr, plus other miracle-working objects (icons, the columns of Hagia Sophia, etc.). Many of these relics were kept in the Great Palace. They figure predominantly in descriptions of Constantinople and travelers' accounts and were a major attraction for pilgrims (K.N. Ciggaar, *REB* 34 [1976] 245f).

According to O. Meinardus (*OrChr* 54 [1970] 130–33), about 3,600 relics of 476 Greek saints are recorded as having reposed in 427 Byz. churches and monasteries and 37 non-Byz. institutions; this figure represents only 12.5 percent of all known saints. Five saints (Charalampos, PANTELEEMON, Tryphon, PARASKEVE THE ELDER, and GEORGE) left more than 100 relics each, or 24.1 percent of all recorded relics.

The translation of relics was sumptuously celebrated and gave birth to a special literary genre: the sermon on translation. Constantine VII wrote one on the translation of the MANDYLION to Constantinople, Theodore DAPHNOPATES delivered another in 957 on the translation of the hand of John the Baptist to Constantinople from Antioch, and KOSMAS VESTITOR dedicated at least five to the translation of the relics of John Chrysostom. The translation itself often became a FEAST that found its way into the church CALENDAR and was marked by annual processions (LITE) to the appropriate shrine (R. Taft, *OrChrP* 48 [1982] 159–70).

The attitude of the Iconoclasts toward relics is still under discussion. It is possible that they rejected the veneration of icons and relics alike (Gero, *Constantine V* 152–65). Their opponents accused them of hating relics, and John of Damascus found himself compelled to provide a justification for the cult of relics. J. Wortley (*ByzF* 8 [1982] 253–79) has questioned, however, the idea of Constantine V being an active persecutor of relics.

The collection of relics became fashionable and increasingly competitive. Sermons on translations often emphasize how strongly the population resisted the removal of relics, so that supernatural signs were often necessary to reconcile the people to the loss of their holy protector. Trade in stolen relics flourished (P.J. Geary, *Furta Sacra* [Princeton 1978]). The most notorious thefts were those of the bodies of St. MARK, taken from Alexandria to Venice in 827 (to replace the "Byz." patron of the city, St. Theodore), and of St. NICHOLAS, taken from Myra to Bari in 1087. The excesses that characterized relic collection were upbraided by CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (no.114), who ridiculed a naive monk Andrew who had collected 10 hands of Prokopios, 15 jaws of Theodore, 8 legs of Nestor, and even the beards of the Holy Innocents murdered in Bethlehem.

During the Crusades, Latin armies despoiled Constantinople, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Edessa of their relics and the RELIQUARIES that housed them and shipped them home to the West. ROBERT DE CLARI gives a list of those seized in Constantinople during the Fourth Crusade.

LIT. S.G. Mercati, "Santuari e reliquie Costantinopolitane," *Rendiconti: Atti della Pontificia Accademia Romana di Archeologia* 12 (1937) 133–56. P. Maraval, *Lieux saints et pèlerinages d'Orient* (Paris 1985). Walter, *Art & Ritual* 144–58. –R.F.T., A.K.

RELIEF (ἀναγλυφή), the carving of materials in such a way that depicted phenomena appear in successive zones of SPACE AND DEPTH between the surface plane and the background. Notably on SARCOPHAGI and imperial monuments of the 4th and 5th C., relief SCULPTURE is largely figural, even when displaying the anticlassical rigidity and repetitiveness of the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE in Rome and much carving in PORPHYRY. By the end of the 4th C., as on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS I in the Hippodrome at Constantinople and numerous IVORIES, official art displayed an interest in idealized human form in a style sometimes described as that of the "Theodosian Renaissance" (Kitzinger, *Making* 32–34). From the 6th C. onward, relief was increasingly limited to an architectural role. Already in use in the Church of St. POLYEUKTOS, relief in Justinianic monuments established a new *koine* characterized by antiplastic techniques and a preference for stylized floral ornament.

After the end of Iconoclasm, the sculpture of the Church of the Panagia at Skripou (873–74) still displayed a nonfigurative repertory carved in two-dimensional low relief (A. Megaw, *BSA* 61 [1966] 25–27). Greater technical ability is evident in the mélange of revived Late Antique themes

and orientalizing floral ornament in the sculptures of the church of Constantine LIPS (908) in Constantinople, where preserved reliefs still exhibit traces of gilding and polychrome. The same church marks the appearance of a new type of sculpture, the relief icon. Stone and esp. ivory icons of the 10th C. widely employed relief to represent saints and the Great Feasts; thereafter the technique was applied to enrich the content of sculpture with ORNAMENT, heraldic imagery (see COATS OF ARMS), ANIMAL COMBATS, and mythological subjects. These are accompanied by a rising interest in PLASTICITY and carving virtuosity. The last phase of relief sculpture, in Palaiologan Constantinople (H. Belting, *MünchJb*[3] 23 [1972] 63–100), shows a return to concern with representations of the human figure.

LIT. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle)* (Paris 1963). Idem, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge, II (XIe–XIVe siècle)* (Paris 1976). T. Ulbert, *Studien zur dekorativen Reliefplastik des östlichen Mittelmeerraumes* (Munich 1969). R. Lange, *Die byzantinische Reliefikone* (Recklinghausen 1964). –L.Ph.B.

RELIQUARY (λάρναξ, κιβωτίδιον, θήκη), a receptacle for RELICS. The rise of the cult of MARTYRS led to the division and distribution of the supposed earthly residue of the saints, a multiplication which, in turn, necessitated the manufacture of containers for these relics' protection and display. From the 4th C. onward, such vessels were placed within or under ALTARS; their proximity to sacred remains suggested that reliquaries be made of precious materials—above all, gold, silver, and ivory—a sentiment abetted by the desire to honor relics; Leo I placed a garment said to have belonged to the Virgin in a gem-encrusted reliquary casket called a SOROS. Lavish containers were also requisite when relics were sent as diplomatic gifts: Alexios I is described as having sent such a box, with the respective saints identified by labels, to Henry IV of Germany (An.Komn. 1:135.23–25). At the same time some containers, esp. for souvenirs of a holy site (LOCUS SANCTUS), might be made of humbler materials: the painted wood of the SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY or the lead pilgrimage AMPULLAE. Relics could be enclosed in ENKOLPIA or inserted into much larger receptacles like the 6th-C. throne-reliquary known as the "sedia di S. Marco" (*Treasury S. Marco*, no.7).

While never attaining the variety of shapes known in the medieval West, Byz. examples included skull-reliquaries (Rückert, *infra*, figs. 1–7) and containers in the form of ciboria, like one in Moscow bearing the portraits of Constantine X and Eudokia (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 2, no.547). This last may have been a receptacle for a relic of St. Demetrios, a genre that is characterized by esp. intricate and often diminutive constructions, decorated with ENAMEL, that include images of the bodies and tombs of Demetrios and his companions (A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 1–28). These are, however, exceptions to a fairly straightforward pattern of development from simple metal CASKETS AND BOXES to ever more elaborate types. Their size varied not as a function of time but of these reliquaries' contents—from the small gabled box depicted in the hands of a bishop on an ivory plaque in Trier (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.143)—itself perhaps part of such a container—to the coffinlike chests, requiring at least two men to carry them, that are represented in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (pp. 344, 353). Such caskets had locks and their presence in monastic treasuries is regularly signaled in INVENTORIES. (Most texts refer, nonetheless, to the contents rather than to the container).

Among the preserved reliquaries, examples down to the 10th C. often reproduce the form of SARCOPHAGI. Some have donor portraits and a precious few, such as the Brescia LIPSANOTHEK (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.107), represent miracles of Christ and typologically related Old Testament scenes. Toward the end of this period a special type, the so-called *staurotheke*, was developed for fragments of the TRUE CROSS; more than 1,000 relics of this sort are known (Frolow, *infra*). Normally these involved an inner receptacle, with a cruciform compartment housing the holy particle, inserted into a rectangular, often jeweled casing inscribed with the donor's name (LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY). The uses of such *staurothekai* are suggested by inscriptions on the back of a cross-reliquary at Cortona (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.77); these inscriptions describe the ivory as having been presented by a *skeuophylax* named Stephen to the monastery where he was raised and note its (later) role as a victory token carried into battle by an emperor named Nikephoros. Customarily such reliquaries bear the images of Constantine I and Helena.

Both functionally and formally, by the 12th C. some reliquaries had coalesced with icons. A diptych containing the relics of saints as well as their portraits is mentioned in the Patmos inventory of 1200. Just such an object—with the portraits of 28 saints and slots for their remains—is preserved in a diptych of THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ. In the case of the BESSARION RELIQUARY, a *staurotheke* is actually incorporated into the icon.

LIT. R. Rückert, "Zur Form der byzantinischen Reliquiare," *MünchJb*[3] 8 (1957) 7–36. A. Frolow, *Les Reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965). –M.E.F., A.C.

REMARRIAGE (*διγαμία*) was accepted by the early church, but reluctantly; while the NOVATIANISTS condemned it, METHODIOS of Olympos (*Symposium* 3.12, ed. N. Bonwetsch [Leipzig 1917] 41.7–8), quoting St. Paul, stated that *digamia* was not a good action, but preferable to "sexual burning" (*ekpyrosis*). EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 59.6) granted a widow the right to remarry as many times as she lost her husband; opinion differs as to whether he permitted remarriage after a divorce resulting from ADULTERY or serious crime (P. Nautin, *VigChr* 37 [1983] 157–73, rejected by H. Crouzel, *VigChr* 38 [1984] 271–80). Justinian I permitted remarriage with provision for the protection of surviving children and their inheritance (*Cod.Just.* V 9.9). Canon law recognized the legality of *digamia* for widowers and widows, prescribing a year or two of penance as punishment (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:106–30); *digamia* after a DIVORCE was not completely prohibited but condemned by rigorists, as indicated by the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY provoked by the second marriage of Constantine VI. The negative attitude of Byz. moralists toward second marriages is reflected, for example, in Kekaumenos's advice to avoid marrying a WIDOW; he held that tensions with a stepmother were a major problem in remarriage.

The third and fourth marriage of widowers was hotly debated. Irene legislated against a third marriage; Basil I and Leo VI against a fourth. After the dispute over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, the TOMOS OF UNION (920) recognized the lawfulness of second marriages, but restricted third and prohibited fourth marriages; canonists recommended a five-year *epitimion* for the third marriage. Basil the Great (canon 50) branded a third marriage as *porneia* (prostitution or fornication), but 12th-C. canonists referred to civil law, which permitted the third marriage (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:203–05). Balsamon (ibid. 481.14–18) emphasized that childlessness could justify remarriage. The empress EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA in 1067, just before the death of Constantine X, vowed not to remarry in order to protect the rights of her children and assure the continuity of the Doukas dynasty (N. Oikonomides, *REB* 21 [1963] 101–28), but then changed her mind. Widowers might circumvent MATRIMONIAL LEGISLATION by taking CONCUBINES, a socially valid way of avoiding prohibited unions, but some widows allegedly resorted to murdering their children in order to remarry (John Moschos, PG 87:2929BC).

LIT. Ritzer, *Mariage* 209–11. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 159–61. A. Laiou, "Consensus facit nuptias—et non," *RJ* 4 (1985) 189–201. –J.H., A.K.

RENAISSANCE. The existence of a genuine renaissance in Byz. was denied by A. Heisenberg (*HistZ* 133 [1926] 393–412), but since then the concept has become popular, esp. with art historians. Some scholars argue that the following renaissances are properly so termed: Macedonian, Komnenian, and Late or Palaiologan. P. Speck (*Poikila Byzantina* 4 [Bonn 1984] 175–210) introduced the idea of a pre-Macedonian renaissance, and sometimes the terms "Late Roman" (or Theodosian) renaissance and a "renaissance of Justinian" are used. Thus, the label "renaissance" has been applied to practically the entire Byz. millennium, with very insignificant exceptions (we still have no renaissance of the 7th C.). The concept of a perpetual renaissance is contradictory in itself, since a substantial gap is necessary for a renaissance to occur; Heisenberg used this argument of cultural continuity for rejecting a Byz. renaissance. Furthermore, there is always a danger of confusing a simple interest in antiquity (whether we call it continuity or revival) with renaissance.

However one understands this phenomenon of renaissance (the "autumn of the Middle Ages" or the beginning of a new era), one would presuppose in it some cardinal changes that go beyond the mere imitation of ancient models. A genuine renaissance requires a particular intellectual milieu, and it is debatable whether such a Florentine-

style milieu existed in Constantinople or Mistra. A genuine renaissance requires a radical shift in both the social position and self-estimation of the master (painter, architect, writer, or scientist) and, again, it is questionable whether such a shift ever took place in Byz. Finally, a genuine renaissance "divinizes" man in his practical activity and in his practical goals, whereas Byz. did not go far beyond the traditional perception of man as a pawn in the hands of God or Fate. It might be more appropriate to apply the term "prerenaissance" to the period of the 11th–12th C., when some significant cultural innovations emerged (A. Kazhdan, *Bisanzio e la sua civiltà* [Rome-Bari 1983] 161–81), while recognizing that these innovations were not followed by full-fledged renaissance phenomena similar to those in Italy.

LIT. W. Treadgold, I. Ševčenko, in *Renaissances before the Renaissance* (Stanford, Calif., 1984) 1–22, 75–98, 144–76. S. Runciman, *The Last Byzantine Renaissance* (Cambridge 1970). I. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976). P. Schreiner, "'Renaissance' in Byzanz?" in *Kontinuität und Transformation der Antike im Mittelalter*, ed. W. Erzgräber (Sigmaringen 1989) 389f. –A.K.

RENIER OF MONTFERRAT, youngest son of William, marquis of Montferrat; born ca.1163, died Constantinople ca.1182/early 1183. William chose Renier as bridegroom for Maria Komnene, Manuel's daughter, to confirm an alliance between the Montferrats and Manuel against FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. Renier reached Constantinople in Aug./Sept. 1179, and the wedding took place in Feb. 1180. In accordance with Byz. custom, Renier was renamed "John" and given the title CAESAR. He joined his wife (see KOMNENE, MARIA) in her conspiracy against the regents for ALEXIOS II. Renier and his Italian supporters distinguished themselves in the defense of Hagia Sophia (Mar.–May 1181). Renier returned to the palace with Maria, and they were executed by Andronikos (I) Komnenos.

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 34–37. K.N. Juzbašjan, *Klassovaja bor'ba v Vizantii v 1180–1204 gg. i Četvertyj krestovyj pochod* (Erevan 1957) 11–17. –C.M.B.

RENT. In common usage, rent is a periodic payment to a landlord or owner for use of land, buildings, etc. A varied terminology (e.g., PAKTON, MORTE, EMPHYTEUSIS) attests to manifold forms of renting, most of which are still somewhat obscure. For agricultural land, rent was paid in the form of cash or as a portion of the harvest. As for rates of rent, while the Farmer's Law (par.10) states that the owner received 1/10 of the harvest, numerous documents from the 11th–14th C. state, with few exceptions, that the rent for cereal-producing land was 1/3 the harvest or 1 hyperpyron for 10 *modioi* of land. For vineyards, there are few figures; according to a 13th–14th-C. LAND LEASE formulary (Sathas, *MB* 6:621.10–11), the owner and renter split equally the wine produced. A theoretical average rent may be calculated as 1 hyperpyron per *modios* of vineyard. The attested rates of the *pakton* of vineyards, however, are much lower, fluctuating at 1 hyperpyron for 6–8 *modioi* of vineyards—therefore N. Svoronos (in *Lavra* 4:162) suggested that the *ampelopakton* (*pakton* for vineyards) was not the base rental charge on vineyards but a state surcharge levied on vineyards cultivated by *xenoparoikoi*. In practice, rates of rent varied depending on the nature of the renter, whether the state or a private individual, on the social status of the tenant, on local customs, and other noneconomic factors.

In a broader conceptual sense, the word rent is used in two distinct ways by some scholars to designate taxes: (1) "feudal rent" is sometimes used to mean the taxes a PAROIKOS paid to his lord; (2) other scholars (e.g., A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 10 [1956] 48–65) suggest that taxes levied from STATE PROPERTY can be characterized as "centralized rent." (For rents paid on houses, rooms, and workshops, see ENOIKION.)

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 216–21. M. Sjuzjumov, "Suverenitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *ADSV* 9 (1973) 57–65. –M.B.

REPENTANCE. See PENANCE.

RESCRIPTUM (Lat.) or *lysis* (λύσις), a document issued by the imperial or patriarchal CHANCERY in order to answer a (initially legal) question or request. The *rescriptum*, on which the emperor wrote the word ⟨*re*⟩*scripsi* ("I have written"), is a late Roman term. The *lysis*, with the emperor's red autograph MENOLOGEM and his wax seal, often written on the back of the original request, was not limited to legal questions. It is attested from the 10th–12th C. and was replaced, already in the 12th C., by ordinary PROSTAGMATA.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 80–87. P. Classen, *Kaiserreskript und Königsurkunde* (Thessalonike 1977). –N.O.

RESPONSA NICOLAI PAPAE, the answers of Pope NICHOLAS I to 106 (Heiser, *infra* 79–89) or 115 (Dujčev, *infra* 3:145) questions posed in 866 by BORIS I of Bulgaria. In his responses the pope argued that Roman practices were more suitable for the newly converted barbarians than the strict rules of Constantinople. The *Responsa* contain unique information concerning both Bulgarian and Byz. customary law, including marriage customs (A. Laiou, *RJ* 4 [1985] 189–201). G. Dennis (*OrChrP* 24 [1958] 165–74) asserts that the *Responsa* had no anti-Byz. features, apart from the fact that the pope disapproved of married clergy and refused to recognize Constantinople's second rank among the patriarchates; F. Dvornik (*BS* 34 [1973] 41), however, rejects this thesis.

ED. E. Perels, MGH *Epist.* 6:568–600.

LIT. L. Heiser, *Die responsa ad consulta Bulgarorum des Papstes Nikolaus I. (858–867)* (Trier 1979). Dujčev, *Medioevo* 1:125–48, 3:143–73. –A.K.

RESURRECTION (ἀνάστασις). The resurrection of Christ from the dead and the resurrection of all who have died prior to the LAST JUDGMENT are essential components of the Christian faith and are included in all CREEDS and confessions of faith. From the 4th C. onward, the resurrection of Christ was subordinate in theological reflection to the INCARNATION as the decisive "salvific event," although it continued to be central in the church year (see EASTER), and in liturgy and art.

The struggle with ORIGENISM, esp. in Palestine, concerned primarily the constitution of the resurrected body. The individuality of the latter, that is, its identity with the earthly body, and the idea of the soul's wandering, which is thereby excluded, was at the center of discussion.

In Byz. statements on the resurrection, the immortal SOUL is once again united to its own individual BODY which is now no longer corruptible, but neither is it an astral body, that is, it does not journey to the heavenly spheres as 6th-C. Origenism taught.

To guard against APHTHARTODOCETISM and to maintain the full reality of Christ's human nature, it was stressed that even Christ's human body became incorruptible only in his resurrection. This emphasis was also opposed to those theologians from Palestine who took up the doctrines of JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS and taught that while corruptibility is the result of Adam's sin, involving the capacity to suffer and to die, human nature in itself is incorruptible as it is in Paradise: if Christ did save us from death as corruptibility (*phthora*), he had to be incorruptible (*aphthartos*).

Finally, the resurrection of the dead was challenged because of the belief in the eternality of the COSMOS and the spherical shape of the world; at least, this is how the matter was viewed by KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES (*Topographia christiana*, 7:1–3.23). Whether or not his attack was intended to answer *On the Resurrection* of John PHILOPONOS must, in view of the state of the texts, remain open to discussion. The question of the resurrection and the corruptibility of the world was also treated by JOHN ITALOS. (For the Resurrection in art, see ANASTASIS.)

LIT. R. Cadiou, *La jeunesse d'Origène* (Paris 1935) 117–29. F. Diekamp, *Die origenistischen Streitigkeiten im sechsten Jahrhundert* (Münster 1899). A. Guillaumont, *Les "Kephalaia gnostica" d'Évagre le Pontique* (Paris 1962) 113–17. W. Wolska, *La Topographie chrétienne de Cosmas Indicopleustès* (Paris 1962) 23f, 89–92, 188–91. E. Stéphanou, "Jean Italos, L'immortalité de l'âme et la résurrection," *EO* 32 (1933) 413–28. –K.-H.U.

REVELATION (ἀποκάλυψις), God's partial communication to created beings of knowledge he possesses, including his intimate self-knowledge. Andrew of Caesarea (PG 106:220D) defines it as "a disclosure of concealed mysteries" either through divine DREAMS (*oneirata*) or, if one is in a waking state, through divine enlightenment. Origen (ed. C. Jenkins, *JThSt* 10 [1909] 36.13–15) indicates that at the moment of revelation the human mind is above earthly matters and sets aside all carnal concerns through the power of God. The great revelations were conferred upon ABRAHAM, MOSES, and the apostles and formulated in two great collections of divinely inspired books, the Old and the New Testament. The last book of the New Testament was specifically titled the Book of Revelation (APOCALYPSE). The church repeatedly defended the Old Testament as revealing salutary doctrine to mankind in contrast to the Manichaean teaching that rejected its claim to be a text of revelation. Gradually, the church was led to distinguish between written revelation ("Scripture") and the unwritten "holy tradition" (see par-

ticularly Basil of Caesarea, *Traité du Saint-Esprit*, ch.27, ed. B. Pruche [Paris 1945] 231–38). This implied discernment between authentic revelation and arbitrary claims by "heretics."

Related to revelation was *epiphaneia*, in which the image more than the word or command was the subject of manifestation. The term encompasses such phenomena as the manifestation of God in the Old Testament, Christ's Incarnation and Second Coming; the appearance of the Holy Ghost at Christ's baptism; appearances of angels, saints, and, by extension, demons. The vision of the divine light in Symeon the Theologian or of the light of Tabor in Hesychasm belongs to the same category of phenomena.

LIT. R. Latourelle, *Théologie de la révélation* (Bruges 1963). P. Stockmeier in *Handbuch der Dogmengeschichte* 1.1a (Freiburg im Breisgau 1971) 27–87. A. Dulles, "The Theology of Revelation," *Theological Studies* 25 (1964) 43–58. W. Wiegand, *Offenbarung bei Augustinus* (Mainz 1978). –A.K.

REVELATION, BOOK OF. See APOCALYPSE.

REVETMENT, a facing of thin MARBLE slabs covering the rough masonry of walls and piers; it is usually carried up to the springing point of major arches and vaults, where the painted or mosaic decoration begins. Expensive marbles were often used to frame larger, rectangular sheets of Prokonnesian marble, whose gray veining created symmetrical abstract patterns when slabs cut from the same block were juxtaposed in mirror reversal. Marble revetment brought piers and walls into harmony with marble columns and entablatures, brightened interiors with reflected light, and transformed load-bearing structure into colorful ornament; similar functions were performed by OPUS SECTILE. Widespread in architecture from the 2nd C. onward, revetment was used in the most elaborate churches of Justinian I and later in the inner narthex and naos at the CHORA. Some of these materials may have been SPOLIA: Choniates (Nik.Chon. 442.49–51) reports that Isaac II took revetment slabs from palaces in Constantinople when he restored the Church of St. Michael at Anaplous. –W.L., K.M.K., A.C.

REVETMENT, METAL. The Romans sheathed furniture in metal, and the Byz. continued to cover both household (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS) and church furniture in gold, silver, and bronze. While gold revetment largely served imperial circles (vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA, ch.39; Sozom., *HE* 9.1, 4), SILVER was widely used for this purpose, particularly in churches. Starting with the gifts made by Constantine I to the Lateran Basilica in Rome, it became standard practice to cover the ALTAR, CIBORIUM, chancel barrier or TEMPLON, AMBO, shrines, saints' TOMBS, COLUMNS, CAPITALS, and DOORS in sheets of silver. While only one such set of revetment survives—in the 6th-C. SION TREASURE—numerous written references testify to its use in cathedral, pilgrimage, parochial, and other types of churches, in both villages and cities, throughout the empire. The weight of revetment could be considerable, with one ciborium requiring about 2,000 pounds of silver. After the 7th C. references to revetment are fewer, for example, the ciborium of St. DEMETRIOS at Thessalonike described as "silver" in a text of the 7th C. (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:66.24) is characterized in a text of the 11th C. (?) as made entirely of marble (A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 332.30). Examples of such revetment are often restricted to imperial patronage, for example, in the palatine chapel described by Photios (*Homily* 10, ch.5)—possibly the Church of the Pharos; in the Great Palace by Theophilos (*TheophCont* 140.8–9), by Basil I (*TheophCont* 325.21), by Constantine VII (*TheophCont* 450.21, 456.9); and in the Blachernai church by Romanos III in 1031 (Skyl. 384.21), whose tomb in the PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY, Constantinople, was covered in gold revetment in 1034 (CLAVIJO, 38); the joint tomb of Sophia-Sosanne, the daughter of Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator*, and her daughter Irene (12th C.) had a silver *periphereion* or border (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 47, no.85, title). Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, still had extensive silver revetment in the mid-12th C. (C. Mango, J. Parker, *DOP* 14 (1960) 237, 239f, 243f).

Revetment was used for ICON FRAMES and for certain details on icons themselves, for example, the NIMBUS. –M.M.M.

RHABDAS, NICHOLAS ARTABASDOS (Ῥαβδᾶς Ἀρτάβασδος), mathematician and grammarian; born Smyrna, fl. Constantinople mid-14th C. He was a contemporary of Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, who dedicated to him a treatise on magic

squares. In 1341 Rhabdas addressed to Theodore Tzabouches of Klazomenai his more elaborate letter on arithmetical computation (on fractions, square roots of nonsquare numbers, the date of EASTER, and business and other MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS). He sent to George Chatzykes a more elementary letter on the value of the Greek alphabetical NUMBERS, on finger-reckoning, on the four arithmetical procedures, and on the order of numbers in a base-10 system. In this second letter Rhabdas refers to the *Great Indian Calculation*, which is the *So-called Great Calculation According to the Indians* of Maximos PLANOUDES. In fact, several MSS of this work by Planoudes contain two additions attributed to Rhabdas, one on finger-reckoning and the other on the method of nines. Rhabdas also wrote on the COMPUTUS (O. Schissel, *BNJbb* 14 [1937–38] 43–59) and compiled a small treatise on grammar for his son, Paul Artabasdos.

ED. P. Tannery, *Mémoires scientifiques*, vol. 4 (Toulouse-Paris 1920) 61–198. A. Allard, *Maxime Planude: Le grand calcul selon les indiens* (Louvain-la-Neuve 1981) 203, 207f.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:247. *PLP*, no.1437. –D.P.

RHAIDESTINOS, DAVID (baptismal name Daniel), musician, composer, DOMESTIKOS, and scribe; born Rhaidestos, fl. early 15th C. The real surname of Rhaidestinos (Ῥαιδεστινός) was probably GABALAS (as noted in a number of MSS) and he spent the major part of his life at the Pantokrator monastery on Mt. Athos, where he sang, composed, directed the right-hand choir, and copied both musical and nonmusical MSS. Three of his musical autographs (1431–36) are known, all at Athos: Iveron 544, Pantok.214, and Lavra E.173. The Iveron MS is one of the first attempts to combine in one volume an entire anthology of kalophonic chants (see TERETISMATA) by various composers, including Rhaidestinos himself. It preserves florid verses for vespers, the POLYELEOS of *orthros*, the antiphons of the *oktoechos*, the Magnificat, etc. Rhaidestinos's own compositions are few, yet they were widely copied in 15th- through 19th-C. collections. They include STICHERA for the MENAION, KOINONIKA, and kalophonic CHANTS.

LIT. S. Eustratiades, "Thrakes mousikoi," *EEBS* 12 (1936) 54–56. A. Jakovlević, "David Redestinos i Jovan Kukuzel u srpskoslovenskim prevodima," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 179–91. Idem, "David Raidestinos, Monk and Musician," *SEC* 3 (1973) 91–97. –D.E.C.

RHAIDESTOS (Ῥαιδεστός, also Rodosto, anc. Bisanthe, mod. Tekirdağ), city on the north shore of the Sea of MARMARA. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.17–20) calls it a "littoral *chorion*," and a similar epithet, *parathalattidios*, is found in Niketas Choniates (e.g., Nik.Chon. 448.15). According to Prokopios, Rhaidestos was fortified by Justinian I. In 813 the *kastron* of Rhaidestos, with its houses and churches, was burned by the Bulgarians (*TheophCont* 614.24). By the 9th C., Rhaidestos was probably functioning as a port connected with Adrianople; this is suggested by the seals of a certain George, *dioiketes* of Rhaidestos (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.1915). It was an important center of grain trade in the 11th C., controlled by an imperial PHOUNDAX. Michael ATTALEIATES owned properties in Rhaidestos, and he certainly was not the only great landowner in the area; at the end of the 11th C., a noble widow of a certain Batatzes was influential there (Attal. 244.19–21). Rhaidestos was among the Thracian and Macedonian cities that joined the revolt of Leo TORNIKIOS. The city was plundered by Kalojan in 1206 and by the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1307 and was heavily damaged during the civil wars of the 14th C. Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:436.2–6) reports on his victory over Turkish troops who were pillaging the lands around Rhaidestos. In 1382 John V ceded Rhaidestos to Andronikos IV. Rhaidestos was a bishopric under the jurisdiction of Thracian HERAKLEIA and, from the 14th C. onward, a metropolis.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 3 (1899) 500f. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:218–22; 5.3:61f. Ph. Manoulides, "Rhaidestos," *Thrakika* 24 (1955) 13. –A.K.

RHAIKTOR (*ῥαίκτωρ*), or rector, high-ranking courtier whose functions were probably to administer the imperial palace; Liutprand of Cremona calls him *rector domus*. Bury (*Adm. System* 115) assumes that the post was introduced by Basil I or Leo VI, but Oikonomides (*Listes* 47.9) restores the title in the text of the mid-9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij. The *rhaiktor* could be a eunuch or a cleric, even a priest; on the other hand, some high officials combined the title with the functions of *stratopedarches* or important civil posts, such as *logothetes* of the *genikon* (*Lavra* 1, nos. 10.29, 11.15; Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.912) or *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 772–73). The exact meaning of the title was not clear to PHILOTHEOS, who included

the *rhaiktor* along with special *axiai* in his *Kletorologion* of 899. The use of the title after the 11th C. is not known. The term was employed in a specific sense on seals of the 7th–8th C., sometimes as *rhaiktor* of Calabria (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1477, 2635); it designated the administrator of the *patrimonium* of the Roman church.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:212–19. Oikonomides, *Listes* 308. –A.K.

RHAKENDYTES, JOSEPH. See JOSEPH RHAKENDYTES.

RHEA, a Greek goddess, early identified with Kybele, the mother of the gods, who was worshiped in Asia Minor. A myth made her the wife of Kronos and mother of Zeus, whom she saved from his father who had eaten his older children. The Christian church rejected this legend as particularly distasteful. In the *Dionysiaka* by NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Rhea is assigned by Hermes to nurse the baby DIONYSOS; Hermes calls her "nurse of lions" (9:147). Later Rhea the "Allmother" summons the army for Dionysos's expedition to India (13:35–42). TZETZES (*Hist.* 13:251–56) relates that in antiquity beggars would place an idol of Rhea on a donkey and walk around the countryside, singing and beating on drums, to solicit alms.

The story of Rhea and Kronos was illustrated in MSS of pseudo-Nonnos, Gregory of Nazianzos, and pseudo-Oppian. Rhea is sometimes depicted with her right breast bare (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.36).

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 38–41, 78f, 127–29. –A.K., A.M.T.

RHEGION (Ῥήγιον, now the village of Küçük Çekmece in Turkish Thrace [Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1 (1918) 275, n.2]), suburb west of Constantinople; it was on a lake connected by the narrow Myrmex Canal to the Sea of Marmara. Gregoras notes Constantinopolitan *proaulia* and *proasteia* located in Rhegion (Greg. 1:321.3–4). Prokopios (*Buildings* 4:8.5–17) describes in detail a paved road for carriages and a stone bridge over the Myrmex, both constructed by Justinian I. By the 15th C. the bridge had become dilapidated and the roads to Constantinople swampy (Kritob. 101.1–6). Rhegion had a port (*epineion*), which was damaged in the earthquake of 557 (Agath. 167.25), as was a Church of Sts. Stratonikos and Kallinikos (Theoph. 231.23–24). Ships could moor at Rhegion in the 14th C. (Greg. 1:540.5–7).

Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Rhegion was often involved in the political strife of the capital: thus the Green faction welcomed Phokas in Rhegion and invited him to HEBDOMON (Theoph. 289.8–10), Maurice came to Rhegion to distribute silver coins among the poor (268.8–9), and in 1329 people gathered in Rhegion to meet Andronikos II (Kantak. 1:426.22–427.4). Rhegion was frequently subject to hostile attacks: Krum burned it in 813, Kalojan pillaged it in 1206. In 1261 Alexios STRATEGOPOULOS camped in Rhegion before capturing Constantinople (Greg. 1:83.18–19). One of the gates in the west wall of Constantinople was called that of Rhegion (or Rhesion, or Polyandros [vernacular Koliandros]; Janin, *CP byz.* 277f). (For Rhegion in Italy, see REGGIO-CALABRIA.)

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 1 (1920) 476f. –A.K.

RHETORIC (ῥητορική), the technique of persuasion through the art of public speaking. It strongly influenced not only orations but other literary genres that often included full speeches—genuine or invented—and used RHETORICAL FIGURES of speech, descriptive passages (EKPHRASIS), etc. Rhetorical technique left its imprint on historiography, hagiography, poetry, and epistolography. Ancient rhetoric greatly affected Byz.; the major types of classical oratory were retained, and the teaching of rhetoric was based on ancient handbooks. Especially popular were the corpus of HERMOGENES (particularly on forms of styles and classes of arguments) and treatises ascribed to MENANDER RHETOR, as well as their continuators such as APHTHONIOS (on PROGYMNASMATA). Collections of Byz. speeches, preserved in Byz. MSS such as Escorial Y II 10 and Vienna, ÖNB, philol. gr. 321, probably also served educational purposes.

The establishment of the Roman Empire and the later crisis of urban life caused substantial changes in rhetoric. Ancient society was oriented primarily toward oral forms of communication, whereas Byz., while remaining essentially oral, placed more emphasis on the BOOK (Averincev, *Poetika* 183–209). The 4th-C. church fathers pes-

simistically expressed their wariness of the spoken word (H.G. Beck, *Rede als Kunstwerk und Bekenntnis* [Munich 1977] 29–32). Judicial and deliberative oratory lost importance, and of three major genres of ancient rhetoric only EPIDEICTIC oratory (esp. the ENKOMION) seems to have flourished; accordingly, the SECOND SOPHISTIC first lost its political function and then disappeared, leaving its trace only in the system of exercises. Theological oratory, esp. POLEMIC, developed quickly: its principles, often differing from those of ancient rhetoric, were not reflected in handbooks or later commentaries on them, even though Byz. commentators tried to equate some theological genres with epideictic ones, for example, homily (SERMON) with the traditional diatribe or *parainesis*. Patr. GERMANOS II (PG 140:713BC) distinguished two types of oratory: the judicial, intended to refute opponents' views by means of ANTITHESIS; and the panegyrical, to "set in order the desires of the soul" and to create a serene and untroubled state of mind. Such techniques, it has been suggested (Maguire, *Art & Eloquence*), likewise underlay compositions in religious art.

Stylistically, rhetoric was based on ancient models. DEMOSTHENES and Ailios ARISTEIDES remained, at least in theory, the model for orators. Some later authors also became paradigms: among church orators, Basil the Great, Gregory of Nazianzos, and John Chrysostom; among the secular writers, Michael Psellos. IMITATION (*mimesis*) embraced both style and content and the subject matter for *progymnasmata*: rhetoric ignored developments in the morphology, syntax, and vocabulary of the spoken LANGUAGE and frequently referred to mythology or Greek and Roman history as well as traditional moral or satirical topics, thus producing a timeless quality and "deconcretization." Nevertheless Byz. rhetoric, if not rhetorical theory, reveals some substantial changes in aim and method.

The classical ideal of rhetorical *sapheneia* (clarity) was underpinned by the relative simplicity of the language of the New Testament, and later theoreticians such as PHOTIOS praised the clarity of authors they had read. This classical virtue, however, was at odds with the perception of the cosmos as mystery, and commentators such as JOHN SIKELIOTES and John DOXOPATRES used the term *mysterion* to define rhetoric. Obscurity (*asapheia*), as Kustas (*infra* 83–85, 91–93, 188–94) has stressed, became the stylistic principle of rhetoric, which widely used RIDDLES, ALLEGORIES, and very long composite EPITHETS to represent how language overcomes the enigmatic ineffability of the world. The strength of logic gave way to the strength of emotion: the author's role was to participate in events rather than explain them to the audience; indifferent to his individuality, he associated himself with his listeners under a faceless "we." Syllogism ceased to be a powerful weapon; instead the orator turned to the authority of the Bible and church fathers and expected his assertions to be accepted without logical reservations. The fact was precious, not as a piece of reality, but as a vehicle for moral or theological generalizations, hence the accumulation of abstract statements and the lack of detail. On the other hand, J. Onians (*Art History* 3 [1980] 1–24) suggested that Late Antique rhetorical descriptions of works of art became more specific precisely at the time when artists were abandoning niceties of detail. In both art and literature fact itself was a *mimesis*, a repetition of past events, so that contemporaries were viewed as "new Josephs" or "new Alexanders."

Probably to a lesser extent than in the medieval West, Byz. rhetoric was oriented toward disputation. Contests before the *logothetes tou dromou* formed an important element of rhetorical EDUCATION, and rhetoricians characterized a speech as an *agon* ("contest"), even though it was sometimes explained as a contest between the author and the subject of his praise.

Rhetoric together with PHILOSOPHY formed major disciplines of Byz. education; the MAISTOR TON RHETORON taught at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople. Eloquence, including knowledge of the rules of the school rhetoric, was essential for an administrative career: some youths of poor families, such as Psellos, climbed the social ladder primarily due to their mastery of words. Conversely, ineloquence in a high-ranking official aroused the contempt of his peers. Rhetorical performances had an established place in state and church ceremonial: John Chrysostom had to compete, by the power of his sermons, with such popular events as circus games; the sermon remained a potent tool of ideological propaganda; ceremonial speeches were delivered before the emperor (BASILIKOS LOGOS, PROSPHONETIKOS LOGOS) and patriarch at set feasts, and speeches

could be heard during the state ceremonies, in church councils, and even in the public places of Constantinople.

Despite the codification of rhetoric with written forms and rules, Byz., like all preindustrial societies, remained largely oral. LITERACY at more than a functional level was confined to a small, and chiefly male, segment of the population; silent reading was for a long time exceptional. The evidence is intermittent but persistent that literary compositions were performed orally before an audience up to the Palaiologan period. The rules for rhetoric were originally devised as an aid to fluent public speaking and persuasive communication and continued to be used for this purpose throughout the Byz. period. Nonetheless, rhetoric was equally influential on purely literary compositions. Paradoxically many of the features of Byz. literature that seem to a modern reader particularly redundant and artificial derive from rules developed for severely practical purposes of oral presentation.

LIT. W.J. Ong, *Rhetoric, Romance and Technology* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1971). G.L. Kustas, *Studies in Byz. Rhetoric* (Thessalonike 1973). G.A. Kennedy, *Greek Rhetoric under Christian Emperors* (Princeton 1983); rev. A. Kazhdan, *Speculum* 59 (1984) 662–64 and G. Kustas, *ClPhil* 80 (1985) 381–85. S. Averincev, "Vizantijskaja ritorika," in *Problemy literaturnoj teorii v Vizantii i latinskom srednevekov'e*, ed. M. Gasparov (Moscow 1986) 19–90. R. Browning, *Dictionary of the Middle Ages* 10 (1988) 349–51. W.E. Voss, *Recht und Rhetorik in den Kaisergesetzen der Spätantike* (Frankfurt am Main 1982). W. Hörandner, "Eléments de rhétorique dans les siècles obscurs," *Orpheus* n.s. 7 (1986) 293–305.

–A.K., E.M.J., A.C.

RHETORICAL FIGURES, figures of speech or techniques of verbal ornament; Greek rhetoricians divided them into two groups, TROPES and figures proper (*schemata*). The latter—whose number seemed infinite (Alexander in *RhetGr*, ed. Spengel 3:9.5–9)—were subdivided into figures of reason or speech (*logos*) and figures of expression or thought (*dianoia*). Figures of reason were related to the author's attitude toward his text: emphasis on what he will eventually say, an anticipation of what his opponent will say, PARRHESIA, concession, *aporia*, ETHOPOIIA, etc. Figures of expression included individual grammatical features, omission of conjunctions and prepositions (asyndeton) and of verbs (ellipsis), pleonasm, repetition of the same word (anadiplosis), beginning or ending several clauses of a period with the same word (epanaphora or antistrophe), etc. Late Roman theoreticians produced treatises on figures, following ancient tradition (e.g., Tiberios, 3rd–4th C., *On the Figures of Demosthenes*). The Byz. continued to use traditional figures, which served the role of creating intimacy between the orator/writer and listener/reader. A typical feature was the treatment of the speech as an arena of contest between the (weak) author and (excellent) hero of the *enkomion*. Epanaphora (e.g., *chairetismos*, repetition of *chaire*, "welcome," at the beginning of the clauses) was popular in both prose discourses and in verses.

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 270–315. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 123–26. Kustas, *Studies* 136–38.

–A.K., E.M.J.

RHETORIOS OF EGYPT, astrologer; fl. early 7th C., probably at Alexandria. His biography is unknown. Rhetorios was the author of an extraordinary collection of excerpts from earlier Greek astrologers, based on what must have been a magnificent library. His date is determined by his inclusion of a HOROSCOPE that can be dated 24 Feb. 601 (D. Pingree, *Dorothei Sidonii Carmen astrologicum* [Leipzig 1976] xii), and the presumption that he wrote before the fall of Alexandria to the Arabs in 642. This date is consistent with the fact that his collection was available to THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA in the 8th C. We now possess of it only three epitomes and several sub-epitomes. The main epitomes date from the 9th and early 11th C., while the third is preserved only in a 13th-C. Latin translation.

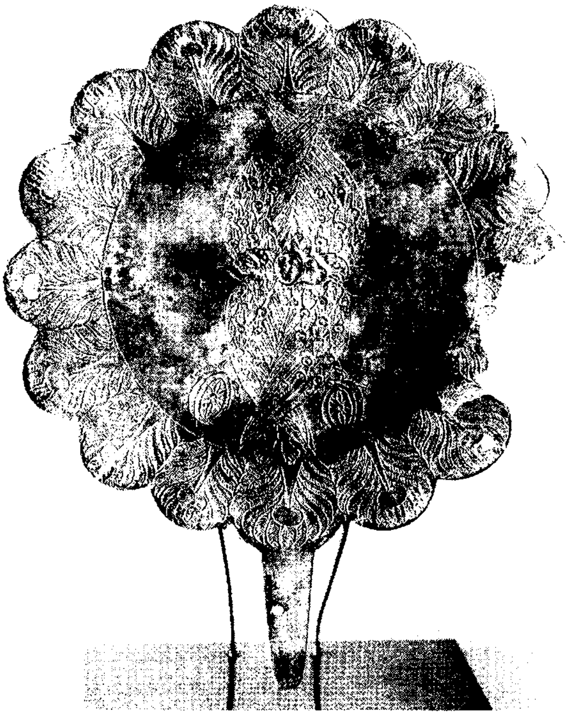
Rhetorios's treatise shows acquaintance with the writings of numerous scientists and astrologers, including Balbillus (1st C.), Dorotheos of Sidon (ca.75), PTOLEMY, Vettius Valens (2nd C.), Antiochus of Athens (3rd C.), PAUL OF ALEXANDRIA, Julian of Laodikeia, and EUTOKIOS. Rhetorios's collection is one of the basic constituents of the compendium put together by Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias, in 1388 under the false name of Palchos. It is also one of the main repositories of 5th- and 6th-C. Byz. horoscopes.

ED. *CCAG* 1:142–64; 5.3:124f; 5.4:123–54; 7:192–226; 8.1:220–48.

LIT. D. Pingree, "Antiochus and Rhetorius," *ClPhil* 72 (1977) 203–23.

–D.P.

RHIPIDION (ῥιπίδιον, Latin *flabellum*), a fan widely used in the Mediterranean. A consular diptych of the early 6th C. presents the consul



RHIPIDION. Silver *rhipidion* ("Riha" *rhipidion*) from the Kaper Koraon Treasure, 577. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The border of the *rhipidion* is a design of peacock feathers; and the central image is that of a cherub.

Philoxenos in official attire accompanied by a eunuch holding a *rhipidion* in both hands; the instrument consists of a staff and a square piece of tissue with a wreath of laurel depicted in its middle. Attested in liturgical use by the 4th C. (APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTIONS 8.12.3), it is described as made of fine skin or peacock feathers or linen. The soft pennant of the fan was replaced by a metal disc. The earliest surviving *rhipidia* are from the KAPER KORAON TREASURE; they are made of silver, form a disc with scallop edges and a tang, and are decorated with seraphs or cherubs; the silver stamps date them to 577. Liturgical texts indicate that the fan was waved by the deacon over the sacramental elements to protect them from insects; at the same time they were considered to be heavenly powers hiding their faces in awe at the Passion. The name *hexapterygon* (see SERAPHIM) applied to liturgical fans stresses the symbolism of their function.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5:1610–25. Brightman, *Liturgies* 1:577. Mango, *Silver* 147–54. D.I. Pallas, "Meletemata leitourgika-archaiologika. II. To ekklesiastikon hexapterygon," *EEBS* 24 (1954) 184–93. –M.M.M.

RHIZA CHORIOU (ῥίζα χωρίου, lit. "root of a village"), the total gross tax burdening a village community. The *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.22–30) defines it as the entire sum of taxes before subtracting the figures for reduced and/or abolished levies (SYMPATHEIAI, KLASMATA, SOLEMNIA, etc.). The problem is whether the *rhiza* was established on the basis of an actual line-by-line addition of individually calculated STICHOI (the principle of the CAPITATIO-JUGATIO) or was imposed upon the CHORION as a global sum by fiscal authorities. The *Treatise* seems to imply the latter since it juxtaposes the *hypotage* (the size of the village's land) with the *rhiza* and indicates that the EPIBOLE equalled the *hypotage* divided by the *rhiza* so that the quotient forms the *modismos*, or the village's official rate of taxation expressed as number of *modioi* per nomisma of taxes (Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.34–115.6).

The term is rare in later documents. In 1089 the monks of Docheiariou feared losing their land since they had no *rhiza* "on their small possession" at the site called Satoubla, although they had to pay a nomisma for this allotment (*Docheiar.*, no.2.3–5). According to their request, this payment was taken into account in the calculation of the whole *demosion* of the village of Perigardikeia. When, in 1152, the monastery of the Virgin Eleousa (VELJUSA) received a donation of 12 *zeugaratoi*, it became evident that the *modismos* in the area was uncertain, no *geometria* (proper measurement) was available, and the *rhiza* had to be established by the emperor's command (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 39.9–17).

LIT. K. Chvostova, "Rhiza choriou v XIV v.," *VizVrem* 26 (1965) 46–57. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 248f. Ostrogorsky, *Steuergemeinde* 26f, 78f. –M.B.

RHODES (Ῥόδος), mountainous island in the Dodekanese, off the southwest coast of Asia Minor. Rhodes is also the name of a city (*civitas Rhodiorum: Cod. Just.* I 40.6, a.385) on this island; according to the *Synekdemos* of Hierokles (Hierokl. 686.1), it was the capital of the province of the Islands, administered by a *hegemon* and containing 20 *poleis*, including Kos, Samos, Chios, Mytilene, Andros, Naxos, and Paros. Rhodes was a metropolitan see of the Cyclades and had 11 suffragans

(Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:528–38). From the 7th C. the island served as a frontier station against the Arab fleet: in 654 Muʿāwiya plundered Rhodes and carried away the remains of the Colossus; a 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 345.9–11) relates that a Jewish merchant from Edessa loaded the bronze from the statue on 900 camels. In 715 the Greek navy revolted on Rhodes and sailed to Constantinople to depose Anastasios II; soon thereafter the Saracens captured the island, but their fleet was destroyed by a storm and by Greek fire. In 807 Hārūn al-Rashīd landed on Rhodes; he was, however, unable to take the fortress (*phrourion*: Theoph. 483.7).

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 14.43, ed. Pertusi p.79) describes Rhodes as located in the middle of the theme of Kibyrrhaiotai. Al-Masʿūdī (Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 2.2:39) mentions, under the year 943/4, an arsenal and shipbuilding activity on Rhodes. A seal of 695/6 (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.189) refers to the *apotheke* of Asia, Caria, Lycia, Rhodes, and Cherronesos (in Caria?). The administration of the island, according to a seal of the 10th–11th C., was in the hands of an *archon* (G. Schlumberger, *Mélanges d'archéologie*, vol. 1 [Paris 1895] 207, no.16).

Rhodes was a naval station during the Crusades: from 1097 to 1099 Rhodian merchant ships carried supplies to the Crusaders' camp at Antioch, but then conflicts arose; in 1099 the Pisan fleet had to fight a Byz. naval squadron near Rhodes (*HC* 1:374). Some royal Crusaders stopped at the island on their way to Palestine (Richard I Lionheart) or on the return (Philip II of France). After 1204 Rhodes remained independent under Leo Gabalas and his descendants (A. Sabbides, *Byzantina* 12 [1983] 405–28). It was taken in 1232/3 by John III Vatatzes and ruled by a *komes* (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 317, 361) but was later controlled by the Genoese who, in 1306, received refugees from the Hospitallers; in 1309 the latter took the island after a two-year siege. The Hospitallers built powerful fortifications and withstood the Turks until 1523 (A. Luttrell, V. von Falkenhausen, *RSBS* 22–23 [1985–86] 317–32); under the rule of the Hospitallers reasonably peaceful relations prevailed betweeen Latins and Greeks (cf. Greg. 3:12f).

The ancient settlements of the town of Rhodes in the north and Lindos in the east survived into Byz. times. Several Early Christian basilicas have been excavated, esp. in the town of Rhodes (Pallas, *Monuments paléochrétiens* 236–39), and E. Dyggve (*Lindos* [Berlin 1960] 521–28) has argued for continuity of cult (Athena/Virgin) at Lindos. There are also many churches with frescoes of the 13th to 15th C., for example, St. George ho Bardas (1289/90) and St. Phanourios (before 1335/6).

LIT. C. Torr, *Rhodes under the Byzantines* (Cambridge 1886). H. von Gaertringer, *RE* supp. 5 (1931) 813–17. A.K. Orlandos, "Byzantina kai metabyzantina mnemeia tes Rodou," *ABME* 6 (1948) 55–215. A. Luttrell, "Greeks, Latins and Turks on Late-Medieval Rhodes," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 357–74. J.A. Ochoa Anadón, "Rodas y los caballeros de San Juan de Jerusalém en la embajada a Tamerlan," *Erytheia* 7 (1986) 207–27. –T.E.G.

RHODIAN SEA LAW (Νόμος ναυτικός), a three-part collection of regulations involving maritime law. The third and longest part deals with specific punishable offenses and regulates questions of liability and contribution (Ashburner, *infra* ccli–cclxxxv) in the area of shipping. The second part establishes, among other things, profit-sharing for the crew and shipboard regulations. The first part relates the ratification of the *Rhodian Sea Law* by the Roman emperors. This prologue, which is transmitted in but a few MSS from the 12th C. onward, is considered today a late addition that was inspired by the information—itself rather dubious—contained in the often quite inconsistently transmitted headings. The designation of the collection as *Nomos Rhodios* or *Nomos Rhodion* (Rhodian Law or Law of the Rhodians) is an allusion to the Sea Law of Rhodes, which, though famous since antiquity, is hard to place historically (cf. *Digest* 14.2 rubric). Current opinion holds that the *Rhodian Sea Law* was compiled in the 7th or 8th C.; its relationship to the Ecloga in content, language, and MS tradition (sometimes it forms a part of its Appendix) is less close than Zachariä had maintained. The idea of an official promulgation of the collection is no longer generally accepted. The *Sea Law* (minus prologue) was received into the Basilika—if not from the very beginning, at least early on—as a supplement to book 53.

ED. W. Ashburner, *The Rhodian Sea-Law* (Oxford 1909; rp. Aalen 1976).

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 313–19. M. Sjuzjumov, "Morskoj zakon," *ADSV* 6 (1969) 3–54. I. Spatharakis, "The Text of Chapter 30 of the Lex Nautica," *Hellenika* 26 (1973) 207–15. –L.B.

RHODOPE (Ῥοδόπη), name of several geographical areas in the Balkans.

1. Mountain range separating the coastal plain of THRACE from the interior plain of PHILIPPOPOLIS. Asdracha (*infra*) uses the geographical term in a broader sense; in addition to the mountainous area (western Rhodope with the fortress of Tzepaina and eastern Rhodope—MARONEIA and MORA), it encompasses the system of valleys—the upper valley of the HEBROS (the region of Philippopolis), the lower valley of the Hebros with the port of AINOS—and the littoral, including Traianopolis.

2. Late Roman province along the Aegean coast of Thrace between MACEDONIA on the west and Europa on the east. It had seven cities, with Ainos as its capital. The province disappeared in the 7th C., and most of the area was later incorporated in the theme of BOLERON. The ecclesiastical province—often identified with Europa—survived at least until the 12th C. (*Notitiae CP* 13.772, although the see was then vacant); Traianopolis was the metropolis and Ainos, ANCHIALOS, KYPSELLA, Maroneia, and Maximianoupolis were archbishoprics.

LIT. C. Asdracha, *La région des Rhodopes aux XIIIe et XIVe siècles* (Athens 1976). –T.E.G.

RHOMAIOS (Ῥωμαῖος), ancient Greek ethnic term for an inhabitant of ROME. When—from Themistios onward—Constantinople came to be called Second, Eastern, or New Rome (E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 32f), the population of the Eastern Empire became "Romans." Since the ancient meaning was also retained, terminological confusion sometimes resulted; for example, NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS continually referred to the pope as "the archpriest of the Rhomaioi" (*Letters*, no.28.26, etc.). To avoid this confusion, the Byz. called the Romans "Italoi" and accordingly termed Roman law "Italian knowledge" or "wisdom" (F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* [Leipzig-Berlin 1926] 27). The term *Rhomaios* entered official formulas, such as the phrases "*basileus* of the Rhomaioi," used from the 7th C. onward (P. Classen, *DA* 9 [1952] 115f), and "*krites katholikos* of the Rhomaioi" (e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.160.35–36).

While Muslim writers considered Byz. as Rome and used the name RŪM for the imperial territory that was annexed by Arabs and Turks, Westerners consistently called the Byz. "Greci" and their emperor "rex Grecorum" (A.D. v. den Brincken, *Die "Nationes Christianorum Orientalium"* [Cologne-Vienna 1973] 16–76); the same ethnic term is predominant in Slavic literature (V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *EtBalk* no.1 [1984] 51–57), a usage that G. Litavrin interpreted as pejorative (17 *CEB, Major Papers* [Washington, D.C., 1986] 375–77). The Byz. themselves used the word *Graikos* and its derivatives; this term had had a pejorative connotation in antiquity, but the Byz. reluctantly accepted it while rejecting the term HELLENES that became synonymous with pagans; the term *Graikos* acquired primarily religious and cultural significance, whereas Rhomaios was used predominantly in connection with the state (G. Tsaras, *Byzantina* 1 [1969] 146–48).

LIT. T. Lounghis, "Le programme politique des 'Romains orientaux' après 476," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 369–75. M. Mantouvalou, "Romaios—Romios—Romiossyni. La notion de 'Romain' avant et après la chute de Constantinople," *EEPhSPA* 28 (1979–85) 169–98. P. Gounaridis, "'Grecs,' 'Hellenes' et 'Romains' dans l'état de Nicée," *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:248–57. –A.K.

RHOMAIOS, EUSTATHIOS, judge at the imperial court (ca.975–1034), as had been his grandfather. Rhomaios (Ῥωμαῖος) began his career as a simple judge (*litos krites*) and rose to *magistros* and *droungarios tes viglas*. Of his writings—which seem to have consisted primarily of statements of verdict (HYPOMNEMATA), counsel's opinion, and special legal studies (*meletai*)—only a few pieces have survived in their entirety. A colleague took excerpts from some of his works and arranged them according to subject in a textbook called the PEIRA. Rhomaios was held in high esteem in his own time, and even more so later, for his legal erudition and his skill in decision making.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "The Peira of Eustathios Romaios," *FM* 7 (1986) 169–92. G. Weiss, "Hohe Richter in Konstantinopel. Eustathios Rhomaios und seine Kollegen," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 117–43. –D.S.

RHOPAI (Ῥοπαί), an anonymous treatise on "the divisions of time," specifically, procedural and other legally significant time limits ranging from one hour to 100 years. Like the treatise DE ACTIONIBUS, the work has its origin in the period of the

ANTECESSORES and was altered and enlarged over the course of later centuries.

LIT. F. Sitzia, *Le Rhopai* (Naples 1984). –D.S.

RHOS. See RUS'.

RHOSIA (Ῥωσία). Rhosia was a term with a variety of meanings in Byz. texts.

1. In the most common Byz. usage Rhosia designates the land of the RUS'. The term is first used by Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9.42; *De cer.* 594.18) and occurs frequently thereafter, esp. in documents and seals. In addition, Rhosia occurs with various adjectival modifiers: (a) "outer Rhosia": a term found only once (*De adm. imp.* 9.3), perhaps referring to the northern parts of the territory (V. Petruchin, F. Šelov-Kovedjaev, *VizVrem* 49 [1988] 184–190; for a different view see O. Pritsak in *Okeanos* 555–67); (b) "new Rhosia": a late 11th-C. term, probably referring to the titular metropolis of Černigov (A. Poppe, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 180f); (c) "little Rhosia": GALITZA and Volynia, esp. under LITHUANIA and POLAND; (d) "great Rhosia": first used in the 12th C. with reference to the metropolis of KIEV (*Notitiae CP*, no.13.754), then with reference to all the former lands of Rus' under the control of Moscow; and (e) "all Rhosia": from the mid-12th C. onward, usually in the title of the metropolitan to promote the principle of the unity of Rus'.

2. Rhosia is also the name of a town and harbor located, according to al-IDRĪSĪ, at a distance of 27 miles from TMUTOROKAN, on the western or possibly eastern shore of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS (A. Kazhdan, *Problemy obščestvenno-političeskoj istorii Rossii i slavjanskich stran* [Moscow 1963] 93–95). N. Bănescu (*BSHAcRoum* 22.2 [1941] 75f) erroneously located it in the estuary of the Don. In the 12th C. Rhosia was one of the Byz. bases in the area, and the administration tried to secure it from the penetration of Italian merchants (*Reg* 2, no.1488). It is debatable whether the title "*archontissa* of Rhosia" on the seal of Theophano of the MOUZALON family refers to the Byz. harbor town or to Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs* 16–39, 85–153. A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'état russe* (London 1979). M.V. Bibikov, "Vizantijskie istočniki po istorii Rusi, narodov severnogo Pričernomor'ja i severnogo Kavkaza (XII–XIII vv.)," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR 1980* (Moscow 1981) 42–46. –S.C.F., A.K.

RHYME, in its standard meaning, had no place in the archaizing classical meters of Byz. secular POETRY or the system of syllabic correspondences of ecclesiastical poetry. Once classical meters were replaced by verses based on word-accent, however, rhyme was used quite often to point a balance between two lines or two parts of one line, whether the *kontakia* of Romanos the Melode or the POLITICAL VERSE of Theodore Prodromos (W. Hörandner, *Theodoros Prodromos: Historische Gedichte* [Vienna 1974] 116f). Similar rhyming clauses also appear in prose, for rhetorical effect, from Proklos of Constantinople onward. Systematic rhyme in verse couplets is usually considered to have been introduced as a result of influence from French and Italian vernacular literatures, where rhyme is a prominent feature. Rhyme of this sort appears first in Byz. in the work of the Cretan writers Stephen SACHLIKES and Marinos FALIERI. Rhyme remained confined to vernacular texts and rare until the late 15th C., when romances such as BELISARIOS and IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA and satire such as the SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY were rewritten in rhyming couplets; many of these rewritings were later printed in Venice.

LIT. W.F. Bakker, "The Transition of Unrhymed to Rhymed: The Case of the *Belisariada*," in *Neograeca Medii Aevi*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 25–50. Averincev, *Poetika* 221–36. –E.M.J.

RHYNDAKOS RIVER (Ῥυνδακός, modern Orhaneli in northwest Asia Minor), site of a battle (15 Oct. 1211) between troops of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and THEODORE I LASKARIS. HENRY OF HAINAULT, with perhaps 260 knights, camped on the Rhyndakos, probably near Lopadion. Theodore, who had a large army but only a few Latin knights, lured Henry's troops into an ambush. Leaving some to guard his camp, Henry charged the Byz. army, which yielded at the first onslaught; the rout and slaughter lasted until sunset. According to his letter of Jan. 1212 (Prinzing, "Brief Heinrichs" 415–17), Henry suffered no losses. The ensuing treaty with Theodore (Akrop. 1:27f) reestablished Crusader power in north-western Anatolia. –C.M.B.

RICHARD I LIONHEART, king of England (1189–99); born Oxford 8 Sept. 1157, died Chalus near Limoges 6 Apr. 1199. While en route to the Holy Land to participate in the Third Crusade,

Richard learned that some of his fleet had been shipwrecked on Cyprus (Apr. 1191). The *basileus* Isaac Komnenos held Crusaders captive and threatened the ship carrying Richard's affianced bride Berengaria. Arriving in early May, Richard forced a landing, defeated Isaac, and ultimately took him captive. He conquered the island and appropriated the large treasure accumulated by Isaac. Even before Isaac's capture, Richard married Berengaria at Limassol (12 May). Richard first appointed English justiciars to govern Cyprus, then sold it to the Templars. The latter, with Richard's consent, sold the island in 1192 to Guy of Lusignan, who did homage to Richard.

LIT. J. Gillingham, *Richard the Lionheart* (New York 1978). G. Hill, *A History of Cyprus*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1940) 315–21, vol. 2 (1948) 31–38. –C.M.B.

RICIMER, *patrikios, magister militum,* and consul (in 459); died 18? Aug. 472. Of mixed barbarian ancestry, he was an Arian. Successful in a campaign against the Vandals in Sicily (456), Ricimer revolted with Majorian and defeated Eparchius Avitus at Placentia (7 Oct. 456). He agreed to Leo I's nomination of Majorian but had him executed in 461. Ricimer defended Italy against the Ostrogoths and Alemanni and named as emperor Libius Severus (461–65), who was not accepted in Constantinople; during this period Ricimer was the real ruler of the West. Threatened by the Vandals, Ricimer sought the support of Leo I and in 466 agreed to the elevation of Anthemios, indicating growing Eastern influence in Italy. Ricimer married Anthemios's daughter. This alliance led to the disastrous campaign of Basiliskos against the Vandals in 468. Angered because his enemies were playing a large role in the project, Ricimer refused to take part and may even have conspired in the expedition's failure. He rebelled against Anthemios in 470 and had him killed in 472. He appointed Olybrius as emperor but died soon thereafter.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:327–41. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 104–28. *PLRE* 2:942–45. –T.E.G.

RIDDLE (*αἴνιγμα, γρῖφος*), word-game whose antecedents stretch back to the earliest phases of Greek literature; ancient rhetoricians treated riddles, a kind of tropos (Martin, *Rhetorik* 262), as an elaborate but foolish play on words that aimed at obscuring the sense (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:193.14–16). This negative evaluation of the riddle as a stylistic tool evidently disappeared in the Byz. period: in any case John Doxopatres refers to those who accepted the riddle as a vehicle of expression as well as those presenting "clear objects" (Rabe, *Prolegomenon* 145.10–14).

Riddles were broadly used by various authors, such as pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and Nonnos of Panopolis, who were dissatisfied with the traditional *sapheneia* (clarity) and perceived the world in its complexity as an enigma slowly revealing its solution. The riddle was also a fashionable artistic device in the romance. Always popular in folklore, riddles became a specific genre in prose and verse, used by prominent literati (John Geometres, Psellos, Christopher of Mytilene, John Mauropous, Theodore Prodromos, Manuel Moschopoulos). Mainly intended as entertainment, riddles could contain political allusions; thus a riddle of Eustathios Makrembolites hints at the barbarous (?) people of Rhos. Apparently the composition of riddles was also regarded as an educational technique (perhaps akin to the Erotapokriseis): Nicholas Mesarites (G. Downey, *TAPhS* 47 [1957] 866, 899) mentions that students revised lessons by inventing riddles.

ED. *Byzantina Ainigmata*, ed. Č. Milovanović (Belgrade 1986), with Serbian tr.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119. Kustas, *Studies* 167, 193. Averincev, *Poetika* 129–49. Poljakova, *Roman* 120–23. N. Bees, "Byzantina ainigmata," *Epeteris tou philologikou syllogou Parnassou* 6 (1902) 103–10. –E.M.J., A.K.

RIHA TREASURE. See Kaper Koraon Treasure.

RIḤĀB (in Jordan), village in the province of Arabia, northeast of Gerasa; its ancient name is unknown. Riḥāb flourished particularly in the 6th–7th C. At least eight churches have been excavated there, one dated 533, the others 594–635. Two were built under Persian rule (614–28) and one in 635, the year before the battle of Yarmuk. Seven dedicatory inscriptions name the archbishop of Bostra as eponymous authority; most name laymen and families as donors.

LIT. M. Avi-Yonah, "Greek Christian Inscriptions from Rihab," *Quarterly of the Department of Antiquities of Palestine* 13 (1948) 68–72. M. Piccirillo, "Les antiquités de Rihab des Benê Hasan," *RevBibl* 88 (1981) 62–69. –M.M.M.

RILA, a monastery in the mountains east of the Upper Strymon River in southwestern Bulgaria. It was founded in the 10th C. by the hermit St. JOHN OF RILA. During the 13th and 14th C., the monastery was endowed with lands and privileges by Bulgarian tsars and nobles, and the present site, which is approximately 3 km from the original one, was developed then. The sole remaining medieval structure at Rila is Hreljo's Tower, a defensive dwelling of a type seen in areas within the cultural orbit of Byz.; the tower (PYRGOS) at Hilandar offers a parallel. Hreljo's Tower is built of stone, with brick used for window arches and spandrels as well as for a long inscription dated 1334/5 naming the nobleman Hreljo, a semi-independent feudal lord (died 1343), as its patron. The lowest story of the tower served as a prison and hiding place; the middle four were used for storage, defense, and living quarters; and the uppermost story contained a vaulted chapel dedicated to the Transfiguration. This chapel is adorned with 14th-C. frescoes in a vigorous, local style; they depict Christ Emmanuel, the life of John of Rila, and illustrations of the last three Psalms, showing groups singing and dancing in praise. The monastery houses an important library and museums of ecclesiastical and secular art.

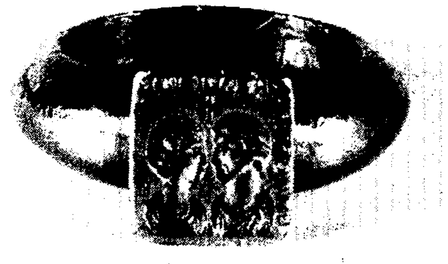
LIT. G. Chavrukov, *Bulgarian Monasteries* (Sofia 1974) 258–77. K. Hristov, G. Stojkov, K. Mijatev, *The Rila Monastery* (Sofia 1959). L. Praškov, *Chrel'ovata kula* (Sofia 1973). M. Margaritoff, *Das Rila-Kloster in Bulgarien* (Kaiserlautern 1979). –E.C.S.

RINCEAU, ORNAMENT consisting of a continuous foliate scroll with spirals alternately reversing direction, usually composed of elongated acanthus leaves that are sometimes supplemented by floral motifs. Vine-scroll rinceaux normally have fewer leaves, meager stems, and bear grape clusters. The scrolls may be "inhabited," with figures, birds, or animals enclosed within the spirals, a formula apparently described in the Life of St. STEPHEN THE YOUNGER as "swirls of ivy leaves [enclosing] cranes, crows, and peacocks" (PG 100:1120C). Rinceaux functioned as border motifs, decorative fillers or, occasionally, as terminal ornaments. Byz. acquired the fully developed rinceau from the Romans and it remained popular until the 10th C. The elongated acanthus leaves are often interspersed with or replaced by calyxes, a stylized form of the leaves at the base of a flower, with a flanged or polylobed end from which the next leaf or calyx emerges (as in the mosaics of 565–77 and the 870s at HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople); sometimes the calyxes are interspersed with smooth tubular shafts. Rinceaux appeared in all media and were esp. favored in mosaic and metalwork.

LIT. Frantz, "Byz. Illuminated Ornament" 60–62. K.A.C. Creswell, *Early Muslim Architecture*, vol. 1 (Oxford 1932) 173–81. –L.Br.

RING, FINGER (δακτύλιος, also δακτυλίδιον). Rings were the most prevalent object of personal adornment in Byz. society. Most showed incised devices on their bezels for the production of wax or clay sealings. While the Romans preferred gemstone intaglios with figural devices for this purpose, the Byz. leaned toward metal bezels with incised inscriptions. Early Byz. rings usually bear MONOGRAMS (*DOCat* 2, nos. 54–56), while those from the 9th C. onward often bear short invocations ("Lord, help . . ."). More luxurious examples, in gold, name the owner, while cheap bronze imitations end the invocation generically with "the wearer." Titles, functions, and family names, so characteristic of lead SEALS, are rare, which suggests that ring signets were used privately, in and around the home. Some rings are incised with well-known iconic images (ibid., no.123) or even with multifigural biblical scenes; many, including the special category of marriage rings (see RING, MARRIAGE), seem to have been amuletic. This is indicated by the frequency (on early specimens) with which the octagonal hoop appears. For the treatment of colic, ALEXANDER OF TRALLES (Alex.Trall. 2:377) suggests, "Take an iron ring and make its hoop eight-sided and write thus on the octagon: 'Flee, flee, O bile. . . .' " –G.V.

RING, MARRIAGE. Rings exchanged by spouses during the MARRIAGE RITE are a significant subgroup among finger rings. Many were not intended for sealing and only the most luxurious are inscribed with the name of the bridal couple. The marriage ceremony, as documented from the *Akolouthia of Betrothal and Marriage*, known from MSS of the 10th C. onward (P.N. Trempelas, *Theologia* 18 [1940] 134.2–4), describes the hus-



RING, MARRIAGE. Gold marriage ring; late 4th to 5th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. On the square bezel are the profile busts of a man and woman below a small cross, their names inscribed in Greek.

band as receiving a gold *daktylidion* and the wife one of iron. Many early Byz. gold marriage rings survive, as do occasional examples in bronze. The earliest specimens follow Roman practice, showing juxtaposed profile portraits of husband and wife (*DOCat* 2, nos. 50–52). Later (6th–7th C.) examples emphasize the ceremony itself, with either the *dextrarum junctio* (joining of right hands) or the marriage rite. In the former, Christ plays the role of officiating priest. Christ with or without the Virgin may crown the couple (ibid., nos. 64–69) or the spouses may simply be shown *en buste*, at either side of a cross, with crowns above their heads. Inscribed good wishes are common, with "Concord," "Grace," and "Health" predominating. The octagonal hoop employed for some marriage rings further suggests a medico-amuletic role directed toward childbirth. (See also LOCUS SANCTUS MARRIAGE RINGS.) -G.V.

RING SIGNS (or "characters"), a modern term applied to magical characters developed and popularized on Greco-Egyptian amuletic intaglio gemstones and perpetuated on Byz. amulets (5th–7th C.). So named for the tiny rings with which they terminate, ring signs are most frequently encountered in Byz. on HOLY RIDER, EVIL EYE, and Medusa AMULETS, where they usually take the form of an N (or Z), a barred triple-S, or an eight-armed cross. The origin and significance of individual ring signs is uncertain, although generally they seem to have been valued for their putative healing powers, esp. for the abdominal area. Alexander of Tralles (Alex.Trall. 2:377) describes the making of an amuletic ring with a ring sign on its bezel.

LIT. Bonner, *Studies* 58f. A.A. Barb, "*Diva Matrix*," *JWarb* 16 (1953) 216, n.48. -G.V.

RISK, the element of uncertainty, inherent in most economic activities, either because of unpredictable occurrences, such as acts of nature, or because of changes in the conditions of economic activity, such as unexpected fluctuations in supply or demand. In the late Middle Ages, the merchants of Italian maritime cities developed mechanisms to deal with the second set of factors. In Byz., the element of risk was recognized and admitted primarily, though not only, in maritime trade, where the possibility existed of shipwreck or acts of PIRACY. To compensate for high risk, sea-loans carried a high interest rate, 12 percent in Justinianic legislation. A sea-loan contracted in 1363/4 shows an interest rate of 16.75 percent for one journey. In Thessalonike, in the early 15th C., an interest rate of 20 percent or 25 percent was usual. A merchant traveling with the goods or funds of others was liable for all losses and could be imprisoned. A way of spreading risk was through the formation of a PARTNERSHIP, whereby two or more persons could invest in a single venture, the investment consisting either entirely in assets or partly in assets and partly in labor. The profit or loss would be divided proportionately to the investment (*Ecloga* 10.4). This type of contract is equivalent to the Italian *colleganza* or *commenda*. The RHODIAN SEA LAW (e.g., 2.17) makes meticulous provisions regarding trading partnerships at sea. Contracts of the early 14th C. show the traveling partner investing about 30 percent of the capital, plus his labor, and expecting half the profits (or losses).

LIT. A.E. Laiou-Thomadakis, "The Byzantine Economy in the Mediterranean Trade System; Thirteenth–Fifteenth Centuries," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 198–201. -A.L.

RIVERS (sing. ποταμός). After the loss of Egypt and the NILE to the Arabs in the 7th C., the empire retained two stretches of major rivers—the Upper EUPHRATES and the Lower DANUBE. These formed its natural frontiers to the east and north, respectively, but offered no aid to unification. Other rivers (Vardar, STRYMON, HEBROS,

Meander, Sangarios, Halys, etc.) were navigable only in their lower reaches and were not very useful for purposes of communication and transport. Hence, major PORTS tended to be on the sea rather than along rivers. The Byz. used streams for FISHING, to provide water power for MILLS, and for IRRIGATION.

Most rivers in Greece and Asia Minor are torrents that dry up in summer and flood after heavy rain or snowmelt, not only disrupting roads but inundating fields. A documentary act of ca.1344 mentions such a flood on the property of the Athonite monastery of Xenophon that the monks tried to stop by erecting a wall (*Xénoph.*, no.27.24–28). An early 13th-C. historian (Nik.Chon. 624.6–10) describes a disaster in 1205; the waters of the Hebros, swollen by heavy rains, deluged the Latin camp and carried off soldiers, horses, and war machinery.

Christianity rejected the pagan cult of rivers and imagined that rivers were the dwelling place of DEMONS. Gregory of Nyssa, however, observing the continuous flow of rivers, suggested (PG 45:161A) that their movement rather than that of the stars could be the cause of human fate (*heimarmene*). In Christian cosmology the rivers of PARADISE played an essential part, and a river of fire was given the function of punishing sinners and destroying all things at the end of the world.

The "rivers," lines marked out on the floor pavement of churches, had the liturgical function of guiding the movements of the officiating priest. In Hagia Sophia they were represented by green marble bands; in ordinary churches they could be drawn with chalk (G. Majeska, *DOP* 32 [1978] 299–308).

LIT. Koder, *Lebensraum* 47f. E.C. Semple, *The Geography of the Mediterranean Region* (London 1932) 102–33.

–A.K.

ROADS (sing. ὁδός, also δρόμος, στράτα) are often mentioned in official acts or *praktika*, which distinguish different types of roads: imperial (*basilike*), state (*demosia* or *demosiake*), big (*megale*), general (*katholike*), for transport of wood (*xylophorike*), and for wagons (*hamaxege*). The distinctions between them are sometimes unclear: the combined term "state wagon road" is sometimes used, for example (*Lavra* 2, no.108.199). A paved road (*plakote*) is mentioned in an inventory of perhaps 1044 (*Pantel.* no.3.23). Other acts refer to old (*palaia*), small (*mikra*), or narrow (*estenomene*) roads or even to a path (*monopation*). If this terminology can be taken at face value, it seems that the Byz. inherited the Roman distinction of public, local, and private roads, although the categories sometimes seem to have been confused.

Roman public roads or highways continued to function along major LAND ROUTES; among the most important were the Via EGNATIA and strategic highways in Asia Minor. Prokopios (*Wars* 5.14.6–11) praised the Via Appia, which led from Rome to Capua, a five days' journey: it was wide enough to allow two wagons to pass each other and was made of polygonal basalt slabs snugly fitted together. Quite a different road (near Antioch) was described by Emp. Julian (ep.98, ed. J. Bidez [Paris 1924] 180.3–11): built on marshy ground, it was rough and made of stones laid without any skill, unlike other highways whose materials were tightly assembled, as in walls. Roads were supplemented by accessory constructions such as BRIDGES and dikes, MILESTONES, military posts, changing stations, and INNS. In novel 24.3 Justinian I imposed on governors the duty to repair aqueducts, bridges, ramparts, and *hodoi*, but it is unclear from the text whether the legislator meant highways or city streets. Probably at a later date the maintenance of roads was assigned to the local population—at any rate, some 11th-C. chrysobulls grant exemption from *hodostrosia*, building roads, mentioned usually between exemptions from KASTROKTISIA and bridge repair or construction (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, nos. 3.37, 6.48; *Lavra* 1, no.48.36). It is surprising that the manuals of military tactics ignore road construction. The frequent complaints about the bad condition of *hodoi* refer primarily to urban streets that were often in appalling state even from the viewpoint of Western travelers (e.g., Odo of Deuil).

In religious symbolism the *hodos* held an important place: the path of justice or of the Lord was contrasted to evil ways; Athanasios of Alexandria distinguished between the way of Adam and that of Christ (PG 26:285AB). Christ himself is the Way, and man is a traveler in life who finally returns home at the time of his death.

LIT. R. Chevallier, *Roman Roads*, tr. N.H. Field (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1976) 82–106. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:318–36.

–A.K.

ROBBER COUNCIL. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: "Robber" Council.

ROBBERY (ἁρπαγή), THEFT marked by the application of force, was technically a private offense (DELICT) and brought with it a corresponding PENALTY (*Institutes* 4.2; *Basil.* 60.17). But when the aspect of violence was emphasized or when other factors were present, robbery was considered a public offense and severely punished. An esp. serious form of robbery was BRIGANDAGE; as a deterrent, brigands were to be brought to death by the *furca* (lit. "fork," an instrument of execution related to the gibbet) at the place of their seizure (*Ecloga* 17.50; *Basil.* 60.51.26.15). To counter gang activity (as in the case of PIRACY), special paramilitary personnel (e.g., *lestodioktai* and *biokolytai*) were appointed, but the blurring of the distinction between pursuer and pursued frequently gave rise to complaints and imperial intervention. The RAPE or abduction of unmarried women (virgins at first, later also widows and nuns) was also designated as *harpage* and severely punished in Byz., where sexual offenses formed a special category only from the time of the ECLOGA. (See also GRAVE-ROBBING.)

LIT. Troianos, *Poinalios* 12–16, 23–29, 40–45. L. Burgmann, P. Magdalino, "Michael III on Maladministration," *FM* 6 (1984) 377–90. G. Lanata, "Henkersbeil oder Chirurgenmesser?" *RJ* 6 (1987) 293–306. –L.B.

ROBERT DE CLARI, French historian of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1203–04; born Clari (mod. Cléry-les-Pernois), died after 1216. Robert participated in the Fourth Crusade as a vassal of Peter of Amiens. He returned to France, probably in 1205 and, in 1206 and 1213, gave to Corbie relics taken from the Great Palace during the sack, including Passion and other relics in crystal reliquaries, an icon of the Virgin, and other objects (Riant, *Exuviae* 2:197–99). Robert, whose command of numbers and dates is shaky (Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 39, 220), offers a soldier's vivid vision of the conquest. He includes descriptions of the Byz. emperor's battle icon (ch.66, pp. 66.49–67.77), the Boukoleon Palace and its relics (ch.82, p.82.19–35), Hagia Sophia (Greek for "Holy Trinity" according to Robert: ch.85, p.84.2–3), the triumphal column of Justinian I (identified as Herakleios, ch.86, p.86.1–18), the Golden Gate (ch. 89, p.87.1–6), the Hippodrome, statuary (chs. 90–91, pp. 87–89), and so on. Robert agrees with VILLEHARDOUIN that the diversion of the Crusade to Constantinople was the result of a series of accidents, not a Venetian plot.

ED. Ph. Lauer, *La conquête de Constantinople* (Paris 1924); corr. P. Dembowski, *Romania* 82 (1961) 134–38. Tr. E.H. McNeal, *The Conquest of Constantinople* (New York 1936; rp. New York 1966). *Zavoevanie Konstantinopolja*, Russ. tr. M.A. Zaborov (Moscow 1986).

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde* 2:465. C.P. Bagley, "Robert de Clari's *La Conquête de Constantinople*," *Medium Aevum* 40 (1971) 109–15. Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 278–86. –M.McC.

ROBERT GUISCARD (Old Fr. "clever" or "wily"), duke of Apulia and Calabria; born Hauteville, Normandy, ca.1015, died Kephalenia 17 July 1085. By 1057 Robert (Ῥομπέρτος) commanded the NORMANS in southern Italy; in 1059 Pope Nicholas II (1058–61) recognized him as duke. His conquest of Byz. territory in Italy culminated in the capture of Bari in 1071. MICHAEL VII hoped to strengthen his position by a marriage alliance with Robert. Psellos (*Scripta min.* 1:329–34) composed a chrysobull for Michael addressed to Robert confirming these arrangements. Around 1078 Robert's daughter Olympias (Helena) went to Constantinople to wed Michael's son Constantine DOUKAS. Michael's dethronement offered Robert an excuse to intervene in Byz. He produced a monk who pretended to be Michael and organized an expedition to install him (or probably himself) in Constantinople. In 1081 ALEXIOS I was defeated in several battles near Dyrrachion; Robert's forces advanced into Macedonia and Thessaly. Alexios induced Henry IV of Germany to attack Rome, and Pope Gregory VII summoned Robert to his aid (1082). Robert's son BOHEMUND, left behind in Greece, was outmaneuvered by Alexios. In 1084 Robert launched a fresh invasion, but died at its outset. Anna Komnene vividly depicts his great height, terrifying war cry, military skills, and overpowering ambition.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:115–284. G. Kolias, "Les raisons et le motif de l'invasion de Robert Guiscard à Byzance," *Actes du Ier Congrès international des études balkaniques et sud-est européennes*, 3 (Sofia 1969) 357–61. H. Bibicou, "Une page d'histoire diplomatique de Byzance au XIe siècle: Michel VII Doukas, Robert Guiscard et la pension des dignitaires," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 43–75. R. Fiorentino, "Roberto il Guiscardo tra Europa, Oriente e Mezzogiorno," *Nuova rivista storica* 70 (1986) 423–30. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF COURTENAY, Latin emperor of Constantinople (1221–28); second son of PETER OF COURTENAY; died Clarenza Jan. 1228. In the face of the growing threat from THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS, Robert tried to maintain the un-

derstanding that his mother YOLANDE had built up with THEODORE I LASKARIS. Plans that Robert should marry one of Theodore's daughters foundered with the Nicaean emperor's death in 1221. Robert intervened in the ensuing succession crisis at Nicaea. The Latin army was, however, defeated, which cost the Latins of Constantinople virtually all their remaining territories in Asia Minor. This setback was immediately followed by the loss of Thessalonike in 1224 to Theodore Komnenos Doukas. Robert never recovered from these blows, inflicted in the space of a year. He lapsed into a life of indolence, which so frustrated the barons that they broke into the palace, murdered his mother-in-law, and disfigured his wife. Robert left Constantinople in humiliation and went to Rome to seek papal support. He never returned to Constantinople.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 159–68. *HC* 2:213–16. –M.J.A.

ROBERT OF FLANDERS ("the Frisian"), count of Flanders (1071–93); born ca.1013, died 12/13 Oct. 1093. Robert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem ca.1086 or 1087 to early 1090. Supposedly while returning, he met Alexios I. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:105.19–26) places the site at Berroia (Thrace) in 1087, but a meeting in Constantinople or southern Thrace in late 1089/early 1090 seems more probable. Robert (perhaps in return for money) offered fealty to Alexios and pledged to send 500 knights to aid him. About 1090 the 500 arrived; after garrisoning Nikomedeia, they were transferred to Thrace to fight the Pechenegs (1091). K. Ciggaar (*Byzantion* 51 [1981] 44–74) asserts on the basis of an Old Norse tale that the Flemish knights took part in a campaign against Vlachs and Cumans in 1094 or 1095. Robert was the purported addressee of an alleged letter from Alexios I that urged the dispatch of Western knights to defend the empire against Turks and Pechenegs and to rescue Jerusalem (Eng. tr., E. Joranson, *AHR* 55 [1949–50] 812–15). The letter was probably forged shortly before 1108, but portions of its historical narrative describe the empire's situation in 1090–91 so accurately as to suggest that it was based on an actual letter of Alexios.

LIT. F.-L. Ganshof, "Robert le Frison et Alexis Comnène," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 57–74. M. de Waha, "La lettre d'Alexis I Comnène à Robert I le Frison: Une revision," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 113–25. J.H. Pryor, "The Oaths of the Leaders of the First Crusade to Emperor Alexius I Comnenus: Fealty, Homage—*πίστις, δουλεία*," *Parergon: Bulletin of the Australian and New Zealand Association for Medieval and Renaissance Studies* n.s. 2 (1984) 113–15. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF NORMANDY, son of William the Conqueror and leader of the First Crusade; born ca.1054, died Cardiff (Wales) Feb. 1134. Leading Crusaders from Normandy and adjacent regions, Robert crossed the Adriatic in Apr. 1097 and reached Constantinople in May. Stephen of Blois, who accompanied Robert, reports that Alexios I magnificently feasted them both, while providing markets for their followers. Both readily became Alexios's vassals and received rich gifts, then joined the other Crusaders in attacking Nicaea (early June). During the siege of Antioch, Robert spent Dec. 1097–early Feb. 1098 at Laodikeia, which a fleet of English Crusaders had occupied with Byz. support. After participating in the capture of JERUSALEM, Robert returned to the West via Laodikeia (Sept. 1099) and Constantinople.

LIT. C.W. David, *Robert Curthose, Duke of Normandy* (Cambridge, Mass., 1920; rp. New York 1982) 89–119, 238–44. –C.M.B.

ROBERT OF TORIGNY, also Robert de Monte, Norman Benedictine historian; died 23/4 June 1186. Robert entered the monastery of Bec in Normandy in 1128, became prior there ca.1149, then abbot of Mont St. Michel (1154). Circa 1149 Robert revised William of Jumièges' *Deeds of Norman Dukes* (*Gesta Normannorum ducum*, cf. E.M.C. van Houts in *Proceedings of the Battle Conference on Anglo-Norman Studies 1980* [1981] 106–18, 215–20); the new material on ROBERT GUISCARD comes from WILLIAM OF APULIA (M. Mathieu, *Sacris erudiri* 17 [1966] 66–70). Robert's universal chronicle continued Sigebert of Gembloux until 1186. His original contribution begins in 1147; its main focus is Normandy and England, but it includes information on Norman Italy and the Crusader states (e.g., a.1155–58, ed. Delisle, 1:295–316) and Byz., esp. Manuel I's marriage diplomacy (e.g., a.1162, 1:342; a.1167, 2:364). For the years 1179–82, he seems to receive more detailed information from Constantinople—possibly in connection with the marriage of AGNES OF FRANCE to Alexios II (a.1179, 2:78, 83f)—including the efforts of Andronikos I Komnenos to achieve power,

Andronikos's anti-Latin policy (a.1182, 2:114), and information on the Seljuk sultanate of Rūm (a.1182, 2:106f). Robert was also interested in translations from Greek (a.1152, 1:270; a.1182, 2:109 on BURGUNDIO OF PISA).

ED. L. Delisle, *Chronique de Robert de Torigni*, 2 vols. (Rouen 1872–73). L. Bethmann, MGH *SS* 6 (1844; rp. 1925) 475–535. Partial tr. (1100–86) J. Stevenson, *The Church Historians of England*, 4.2 (London 1856) 673–813.
LIT. R. Foreville, "Robert de Torigni et 'Clio'," *Millénaire monastique du Mont Saint-Michel*, vol. 2 (Paris 1967) 141–53. A. Gransden, *Historical Writing in England c.550 to c.1307* (Ithaca, N.Y., 1974) 261–63. –M.McC.

ROCK-CUT CHURCHES AND DWELLINGS. Living and worshiping spaces carved from rock are found throughout the empire. Ascetics seem to have been particularly attracted to cave-dwelling. Most commonly these habitations are simply modified natural caves, though occasionally they are elaborately carved to resemble built structures. The process of the discovery and preparation of such spaces is described in the vitae of a number of saints, for example, SABAS (ed. Schwartz, ch.18) in Palestine and ELIAS SPELEOTES (*AASS*, Sept. 3:864f) in Italy. Large communities of cave dwellers, both lay and monastic, developed where the geology was particularly favorable. Best known of these areas is CAPPADOCIA, where towns as well as ecclesiastical structures were carved in the cliffs or below ground level. Other significant rock-cut conglomerations are found near Mount LATROS, in the Crimea, and in southern Italy, particularly APULIA.

LIT. L. Giovannini, "The Rock Settlements" in *Arts of Cappadocia* (London 1971). C.D. Fonseca, "La civiltà rupestre in Puglia," and C. D'Angela, "Archeologia ed insediamenti rupestri medievali," in *La Puglia fra Bisanzio e l'Occidente* (Milan 1980) 37–44, 45–116. L. Rodley, *Cave Monasteries in Byzantine Cappadocia* (Cambridge 1985). –A.J.W.

ROGA (*ῥόγα*), cash salary, esp. remunerations paid to members of the armed forces and civil service; the term already appears with this meaning in the early 7th C. (*Chron. Pasch.* 706.10). In the 10th C. STRATEGOI received 5, 10, or 20 pounds of gold annually according to which province they commanded; contemporary thematic soldiers received *roga* every fourth year on a rotating basis (*De cer.* 493.20–494.7), and special stipends were given to participants in expeditionary forces (*De cer.* 651–60). Holders of court titles also received *roga*. A *protospatharios* was paid 1 pound of gold annually, while *rogai* for higher dignities doubled at successive levels: *hypatos* (2 pounds), *magistros* (16 pounds), *kouropalates* (32 pounds). The *roga* could be obtained through the purchase of an office or title (see TITLES, PURCHASE OF)—thus forming a kind of government annuity—and from the 11th C. regularly accompanied dignities bestowed upon foreign rulers. Most, although not all, *rogai* were presented to high officials and title holders in a ceremony held in Constantinople the week before Palm Sunday (*SkylCont* 133.18–21); Michael III ordered 200 pounds of gold objects melted down and coined for one such distribution (*TheophCont* 173.3–14). The term *roga* can also designate cash stipends allocated by the ecclesiastical hierarchy or founders of religious houses to monks or clergy (e.g., will of Eustathios BOILAS, 27.217, 223). (See also WAGES.)

LIT. P. Lemerle, " 'Roga' et rente d'État au Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100. J.-C. Cheynet, "Dévaluation des dignités et dévaluation monétaire dans la seconde moitié du XIe siècle," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 453–77. Hendy, *Economy* 187–95, 648–54. –A.J.C.

ROGER I (Ῥογέριος), count of Sicily (from 1072); born Hauteville, Normandy, ca.1031, died Mileto, Calabria, 22 June 1101. Roger was the youngest brother of ROBERT GUISCARD, who aided his conquest of Sicily. There Roger maintained some Greek monasteries. In 1089 he assisted Pope URBAN II in his effort to heal the schism with Byz. Roger's support of his nephew Roger Borsa, count of Apulia, encouraged BOHEMUND to leave Italy and join the First Crusade.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:148–354. –C.M.B.

ROGER II, son of ROGER I, count (from 1105), then king of SICILY (1130–54); born 22 Dec. 1095, died Palermo 26 Feb. 1154. Taking advantage of the preoccupation of MANUEL I with the Second Crusade (1147), Roger dispatched a fleet that captured Kerkyra and plundered Thebes and Corinth as well as Euboea. His captives included numerous silk weavers (see SERIKARIOS), who established the industry in Sicily. The recapture of Kerkyra required lengthy sieges (1148–49) by Manuel and the Venetians. To distract the Byz., Roger sent a fleet (ca.1149) that reached Constan-

tinople. The Normans burned wharves at Skoutarion and in a defiant gesture shot arrows at the palace. Roger's successor, WILLIAM I, inherited the conflict.

Among Sicilian monuments sponsored by Roger, the mosaics of CEFALÙ and the Cappella Palatina in PALERMO draw heavily on Byz. sources and perhaps Byz. craftsmen. In the church of the Martorana at Palermo, Roger is depicted as a *basileus* crowned by Christ.

LIT. E. Caspar, *Roger II. (1101–1154) und die Gründung der normannisch-sicilischen Monarchie* (Innsbruck 1904). Chalandon, *Domination normande* 1:355–404, 2:1–166. P. Rassow, "Zum byzantinisch-normannischen Krieg, 1147–1149," *Mitteilungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung* 62 (1954) 213–18. Lamma, *Comneni* 1:85–147.
–C.M.B., A.C.

ROGER DE FLOR, commander of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY; born Brindisi ca.1267, died Adrianople 30 Apr. 1305. Of German extraction (his name Flor is apparently a translation of Germ. *Blum*), Roger began his career as a Templar but left the Order in disgrace after misconduct at the siege of Acre (1291). He was then entrusted by Frederick II of Sicily (1296–1337) with command of a company of Catalans and Aragonese who fought the Angevins in Italy. After the Peace of Caltabellotta (1302), Roger offered his services to the Byz. in exchange for the title of MEGAS DOUX and marriage to Maria, niece of Andronikos II. Roger arrived in Constantinople in 1303 with seven ships and about 8,000 mercenaries. After wintering in Kyzikos, he mounted a successful campaign against the Turks. In Aug. 1304, however, Andronikos recalled him because of Catalan looting of the local Greek population. Roger then seized control of KALLIPOLIS and made it his base of operations. In the spring of 1305, Roger was promoted to CAESAR and offered the position of *strategos autokrator* in Anatolia. Before leaving on campaign he visited MICHAEL IX at Adrianople where he was murdered by Alan mercenaries, probably at Michael's instigation.

SOURCES. Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:393–400, 415–51, 505–18, 521–28. R. Muntaner, *Crònica*, ed. M. Gustà, vol. 2 (Barcelona 1979) 59–97. Eng. tr. Lady [A.] Goodenough, *The Chronicle of Muntaner*, vol. 2 (London 1921) 466–513.
LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 131–47. –A.M.T.

ROGERIOS (Ῥογέριος), a noble family of Norman origin. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 1:55.15–18) relates that a magnate of ROBERT GUISCARD, "Rogeres," who was a brother of Raoul, deserted to Byz. ca.1080; he is probably to be identified with the Roger (a son of Dagobert) who signed the treaty of Devol in 1108. KALLIKLES praised Rogerios the *sebastos* (probably the founder of the Byz. family) as an experienced military commander who fought against "Celts," the Danubian "Scythians," and "Persians." His son by a Dalassene, John Rogerios Dalassenos the caesar (see ROGERIOS, JOHN), married Maria, John II's daughter; their daughter Theodora married John KONTOSTEPHANOS. Several Rogerioi had the high title of *sebastos*: Constantine, John II's contemporary; Andronikos, "son of the caesar," and Alexios (his son?) in 1166; another (?) Andronikos in 1191. Leo Rogerios, "grandson of a *sebastos*," is mentioned in a 12th-C. epigram as a translator from Latin (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 129, no.113). In 1189 a certain Rogerios Sclavo acted as *dux* of Dalmatia and Croatia (T. Smičiklas, *Codex diplomaticus regni Croatiae, Dalmatiae et Slavoniae*, vol. 2 [Zagreb 1904] nos. 163,165), but it remains unclear whether he was a Byz. governor or an independent ruler and whether he was related to the above-mentioned Rogerios. A poem entitled SPANEAS addresses the son of the caesar Rogerios. The identification of the caesar with Roger II of Sicily (e.g., by H. Schreiner, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 295f) and of his son with the *dux* of Dalmatia proves invalid. BALSAMON praised Andronikos Rogerios for the construction of the monastery of the Virgin Chrysokamariotissa.

LIT. L. Stiernon, "A propos de trois membres de la famille Rogerios (XIIe siècle)," *REB* 22 (1964) 184–98. V. Laurent, "Andronic Rogerios, fondateur du couvent de la Théotocos Chrysokamariotissa," *BSHAcRoum* 27 (1946) 73–84. B. Ferjančić, "Apanažni posed kesara Jovana Rogerija," *ZRVI* 12 (1970) 193–201. –A.K.

ROGERIOS, JOHN, caesar; died after 1152, perhaps after 1166. Rogerios was son of Roger, a Norman deserter to Byz., and a Dalassene. On his seal (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.724) and in a poem addressed to him (Lampros, "Mark. kod. 524" 21), he is called Dalassenos (and presumably preferred that name), but Kinnamos calls him Rogerios. Because of his marriage to Maria Komnene, eldest daughter of JOHN II KOMNENOS, Rogerios became caesar. Following John II's death, and before Manuel I occupied Constantinople, Rogerios plotted to make himself emperor. His many supporters included Prince Robert of Capua,

a Norman refugee then in Constantinople, and his knights. Preferring her brother to her husband, Maria reported the conspiracy to Manuel's agents. Rogerios was lured out of Constantinople and held in a suburb. Sometime (either before or shortly after his wife's death ca.1146) he recovered his position. In 1152 he held estates and administrative authority in the Strumica-Vardar region (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 193–201). About 1152 he was sent to Antioch to marry the widowed Constance, but because of his age she refused him. He returned to Byz. and died a monk. J. Schmitt's identification of John Rogerios as the addressee of the SPANEAS has not been proved (Beck, *Volksliteratur* 106f).

LIT. Chalandon, *Comnène* 2:197f. J. Schmitt, "Über den Verfasser des Spaneas," *BZ* 1 (1892) 318–21. –C.M.B.

ROGER OF HOVEDEN (or Howden), Anglo-Norman historian; died 1201/2, but certainly before 29 Sept. 1202. He was a clerk at the English court (1174–1189/90) who participated in the Third Crusade (J.B. Gillingham in *Medieval Historical Writing in the Christian and Islamic Worlds*, ed. D.O. Morgan [London 1982] 60–75) and was likely parson of Howden (by 1174; active there in the 1190s). He probably wrote the *Gesta regis Henrici II* (Deeds of King Henry II, 1169–92; revised in 1192 or 1193), ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough. Roger carefully reworked (1192/3–1201/2) the *Gesta*'s account of 1169–92 into a *Chronica* and continued it to 1201 (D. Corner, *EHR* 98 [1983] 297–310). The revisions prompted by new data imply that each source's material on Byz. requires comparison. Thus the *Chronica* gives the text of Manuel I's letter to Henry II (2:102–04; *Reg* 2, no.1524), while the *Gesta* has only a résumé (ed. Stubbs, 1:128–30). Conversely, the day-by-day journal of Richard I's Crusade, including the conquest of Cyprus (7 Aug. 1190–22 Aug. 1191; *Gesta* 2:112–91) is, despite some additions (e.g., sailing time from Marseilles to Acre: *Chronica* 3:51), abridged in the *Chronica* (3:39–129). So too the document reporting the prophecy on the Golden Gate of a Latin emperor in Constantinople and the treaty of Isaac II Angelos with Saladin appears in *Gesta* (2:51–53), while *Chronica* only summarizes it (2:355–56). Particularly while at court, Roger acquired a wealth of information ranging from news of an earthquake at Catania (a.1164, *Chronica* 1:223) or the marriage of Agnes of France to Alexios II (*Chronica* 2:192; *Gesta* 1:239) to detailed accounts of the marriage of William II of Sicily to Henry II's daughter (*Chronica* 2:94–97; cf. *Gesta* 1:115–17, 120, 157f, 169–72) and Conrad of Montferrat's cooperation with Manuel I (*Chronica* 2:194f; *Gesta* 1:243f, 250). Histories of Alexios II, Andronikos I Komnenos, and Isaac II Angelos also appear including an account of Isaac's alleged studies at Paris (*Gesta* 1:251–62; *Chronica* 2:201–08). The apparently eyewitness description of Philip Augustus's return from the Crusade across Byz. includes, for example, a description of Kerkyra, which supposedly provided the emperor with 1,400 pounds of gold annually (*Gesta* 2:194–205; abridged in the *Chronica* 3:157–66).

ED. *Gesta*, ed. W. Stubbs, 2 vols. [= *RBMAS* 49] (London 1867). *Chronica*, ed. W. Stubbs, 4 vols. [= *RBMAS* 51] (London 1868–71; rp. Wiesbaden 1964). Tr. H.T. Riley, *The Annals of Roger de Hoveden*, 2 vols. (London 1853).

LIT. D. Corner, "The *Gesta Regis Henrici Secundi* and *Chronica* of Roger, Parson of Howden," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 56 (1983) 126–44. –M.McC.

ROLL (εἰλητάριον, Lat. *rotulus*, *volumen*). In antiquity the BOOK was in the form of a roll made of sheets of PAPYRUS pasted together and rolled onto a rod. Writing, usually on only one side of the scroll, was parallel to the long axis. In the 4th C. the roll was generally supplanted by the more convenient CODEX, but continued to be used in the imperial chancery, for tax collectors' PRAKTIKA and for liturgical texts (see ROLLS, LITURGICAL). The only major example of a roll richly illustrated along its long axis is the JOSHUA ROLL. Artists continued to represent the book in the form of a roll in mosaics and MS illustration, even when the codex format had become preponderant. Most commonly the roll is shown unfurled, in the hands of bishops and esp. of prophets, displaying the incipits of biblical utterances.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 7–9. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 43–47. L. Santifaller, "Über späte Papyrusrollen und frühe Pergamentrollen," in *Speculum Historiale*, ed. C. Bauer et al. (Freiburg-Munich 1965) 117–33. E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso: The Anatomy of the Papyrus Roll* (Brussels 1978). –E.G., A.M.T., A.C.

ROLLS, LITURGICAL. Written on sheets of PARCHMENT or PAPER that were glued together, liturgical rolls could reach 12 m in length; the text was copied parallel to the narrow side (i.e., at right angles to the long axis or *transversa charta*:

E.G. Turner, *The Terms Recto and Verso* [Brussels 1978] 26–51). Frequently the verso of liturgical rolls was also used. L.W. Daly (*GRBS* 14 [1973] 333–38) suggests that the format of liturgical rolls was inspired by imperial documents. The earliest surviving liturgical roll on parchment (the Ravenna roll) is probably of the 7th C.

Liturgical rolls survive in large numbers from the 11th C., but only a few have extensive figural decoration. Typically they open with author PORTRAITS of Sts. Basil and/or John Chrysostom and may contain floral and zoomorphic initials in the body of the text. Additional figural decoration is varied, each roll emphasizing different aspects of the text. One 11th-C. example in Jerusalem has historiated initials and marginal vignettes, including a representation of Constantinople that establishes the provenance; the imagery of another in Moscow pertains to the STOUDIOS MONASTERY in Constantinople. A 12th-C. roll in Athens, Nat. Lib. 2759, depicts Basil and John at the altar of a many-domed church; the illustration resembles the frontispieces of the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS, while the text's border is decorated in the manner of 12th-C. imperial scrolls. The numerous liturgical rolls of the Palaiologan period are seldom elaborately embellished, although one has an ornate border with monograms of the imperial family. Rolls figure prominently among the products of the HODEGON MONASTERY and constitute about one third of the signed works of its best known scribe, Ioasaph.

LIT. G. Cavallo, "La genesi dei rotoli liturgici Beneventani," in *Miscellanea in memoria di Giorgio Cencetti* (Turin 1973) 213–29. A. Grabar, "Un rouleau liturgique constantinopolitain et ses peintures," *DOP* 8 (1954) 161–99.

–R.S.N., E.G., A.M.T.

ROMANCE, or novel; a work of fiction that in the ancient and Byz. world narrates, with some attention to the characters' psychological states, the hazards that a pair of lovers successfully face. The ancient romances (e.g., those of ACHILLES TATIUS, CHARITON, HELIODOROS, Longus), composed between the 2nd and 4th C. by writers well versed in rhetorical techniques and read, it seems, by a broad spectrum of the literate public, maintained an intermittent readership in the Byz. period. Byz. readers interpreted ancient romances as metaphorical descriptions of the struggle for salvation (S. Poljakova, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 243–48); accordingly Metaphrastes used romances to embellish hagiographic plots (S. Poljakova, *ADSV* 10 [1973] 267–69). In the 12th C. Eustathios MAKREMBOLITES, Theodore PRODROMOS, Constantine MANASSES, and Niketas EUGENEIANOS revived the genre, showing by direct quotation and use of shared motifs that they were well acquainted with their predecessors. Nevertheless, these works (Makrembolites' written in prose, the others in verse, and all in purist language with elaborate rhetorical devices, e.g., EKPHRASEIS of gardens and buildings) are not merely slavish imitations. Why the romance should reappear at this moment, after six centuries, is a question yet to be answered satisfactorily.

Some romances composed in the 14th C. (all in POLITICAL VERSE) show knowledge of the conventions of the 12th-C. works, esp. in their use of *ekphraseis* (e.g., the *Erotokastron* [Castle of Love] of BELTHANDROS AND CHRYSANTZA and similar scenes in KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE, in LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE, and the ACHILLEIS). Others, however, are either close translations (e.g., WAR OF TROY and PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA) or free adaptations (e.g., IMBERIOS AND MARGARONA) of a Western original. Almost all 14th-C. romances reveal by their vocabulary and assumptions that they derive from a mixed Frankish-Greek society, such as that found in the Morea or Cyprus.

Characteristics of these later verse romances (cf. also BELISARIOS, ROMANCE OF, and DIGENES AKRITAS) include a language that, though closer to the spoken than the purist level, presents a range of forms drawn from all stages of the development of Greek; a loose MS tradition, with many variants that are hard to reconcile into one text, even when all MSS plainly descend from one archetype; and many lines and half-lines that are repeated both within one romance and also in others. Explanations for these phenomena have been sought in the incompetence of barely literate authors (Krumbacher, *GBL* 795f) or the imperfect attempts of educated aristocrats to use the vernacular (Beck). More recently comparisons have been made with similar features in the medieval vernacular literatures of western Europe. There has been postulated a background of orally disseminated traditional literature, which has been shown elsewhere to produce features such as those observed in the Greek context (Jeffreys). Counterarguments, however, maintain that the repetitions

between texts are due only to the normal literary processes of quotation and plagiarism (Spadaro). The question of the genesis of the 14th-C. romances, and thus also of the audience for whom they were intended, has yet to be fully resolved.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:119–42. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 117–47. E.M. and M.J. Jeffreys, "The Oral Background of Byzantine Popular Poetry," *Oral Tradition* 1 (1986) 504–47. G. Spadaro, "Edizioni critiche di testi greci medievali in lingua demotica: Difficoltà e prospettive," in *Neograeca Medii Aevi: Texte und Ausgabe*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986) 327–55. H.-G. Beck, F. Conca, C. Cupane, *Il romanzo tra cultura latina e cultura bizantina* (Palermo 1986). C. Cupane, "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 213–33. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

ROMANCE OF JULIAN, a fictional account of the reign of Emp. JULIAN surviving in two partial Syriac MSS of the 6th or 7th C., now in London (B.L. Add. MSS 14641, 7192). The work purports to be *Stories of the Kings of Romania* by a certain Aplōrīs, who appears in the work as an official of Emp. Jovian. The author composed the accounts, he says, to aid in the conversion of pagans. Internal criteria suggest that a single author wrote the *Romance* in Edessa between 502 and 532. In addition to the antipagan and anti-Julian character of the work, the author is at pains to put the Jews in a bad light, as supporters of the apostate emperor. This polemical note suggests that there were still influential pagans and Jews in the environs of Edessa in the first half of the 6th C. Later writers in Syriac and Arabic took the *Romance* to be a work of history and quoted from it in their accounts of Julian's reign.

ED. J.G.E. Hoffmann, *Iulianos der Abtrünnige* (Leiden 1880). Eng. tr. H. Gollancz, *Julian the Apostate* (Oxford-London 1928).

LIT. T. Nöldeke, "Über den syrischen Roman von Kaiser Julian," *ZDMG* 28 (1874) 263–92. Idem, "Ein zweiter syrischer Julianusroman," ibid, 660–74. R. Asmus, "Julians autobiographischer Mythus als Quelle des Julianusromans," *ZDMG* 68 (1914) 701–04. –S.H.G.

ROMANIA, Latin term that appeared in the 4th C. to designate the Roman Empire, esp. in contrast to the barbarian world (F. Clover in *Bonner Historia-Augusta-Colloquium 1977/78* [Bonn 1980] 80f); the term may have originated in a popular and Christian milieu. In the East the Greek term is known from the 6th C.—in a chronicle (Malal. 408.11) and in a vernacular inscription from Sirmium that entreats God to save Romania from the Avars (J. Brunšmid in *Eranos Vindobonensis* [Vienna 1893] 331–33). In Greek the term *Romania* also denoted the empire. This "universal" meaning was lost in the West, where it came to be applied to Romagna (the former exarchate of Ravenna). After 1080 Westerners used Romania for either the empire, in accordance with the Byz. tradition, or RŪM, in accordance with Muslim usage. In 1204 the name *Romania* was given to the Latin Empire of Constantinople. As a result, the Byz. virtually stopped using the term in official documents, although there are exceptions, such as a curious "chrysobull" (of 1326–28?) that a certain Komnenos Palaiologos gave to the church of the Virgin Pogoniatiane (in northern Epiros) at the request of "Andronikos, the emperor of Constantinople and all Romania" (D. Zakythenos, *EEBS* 14 [1938] 293.7–8). The term was adopted by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan who styled himself the "emperor and *autokrator* of Serbia and Romania" (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.25.22–23).

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "Romania: The Latin Empire of Constantinople," *Speculum* 23 (1948) 1–34. A. Carile, "Impero romano e *Romania*," in *La nozione di "Romano" tra cittadinanza e universalità* (Naples 1984) 247–61. Idem, "Roma e Romania dagli Isaurici ai Comneni," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 531–92. Lj. Maksimović, "Grci i Romanija u Srpskoj vladarskoj tituli," *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 61–78. J. Zeiller, "L'apparition du mot *Romania* chez les écrivains latins," *Revue des études latines* 7 (1929) 194–98. –A.K.

ROMANIA, ASSIZES OF, conventional name assigned (following the example of the Assizes of JERUSALEM) to a collection based purportedly on the "usages and statutes of the empire of Romania," but actually upon those of the principality of ACHAIA. The Assizes was a private compilation (between ca.1333 and 1346) written in Old French. Between 1375 and 1400 it was translated into the Venetian dialect, and an officially approved version was published by VENICE in 1452 or 1453 for use in Euboea and other Venetian possessions. The Assizes generally concerns the feudal relationships of the prince of Achaia and his vassals and draws on oral tradition, precedents from the prince's court, and the treatise of Jean d'Ibelin in the Assizes of Jerusalem. Some clauses deal with the Greek inhabitants and derive from Byz. usages. Thus properties belonging to both Greek landowners accepted into the Moreote hierarchy and peasants (successors of the PAROIKOI) were, in Byz. fashion, divisible among heirs, while Frankish fiefs

passed undivided. The peasants' conditions of tenure followed Byz. legal prescriptions. Among the Greeks, Byz. customs regarding dowry persisted.

ED. *Les Assises de Romanie*, ed. G. Recoura (Paris 1930). Eng. tr., P.W. Topping, *Feudal Institutions as Revealed in the Assizes of Romania* (Philadelphia 1949) 15–99.
LIT. D. Jacoby, *La féodalité en Grèce médiévale: Les 'Assises de Romanie': sources, application, et diffusion* (Paris 1971).
–C.M.B.

ROMANOS (Ῥωμανός), personal name (etym. "inhabitant of Rome"). Plutarch (*Romulus* 2.1) preserved a legend that reversed this etymology and presented Romanos as a son of Odysseus and Circe. Romanos allegedly colonized Rome, and was Rome's eponym. The name was common in Rome and was still popular in the 4th and 5th C. (*PLRE* 1:768–70, 2:946–49), primarily in the secular milieu, although some 5th-C. bishops named Romanos are known (B. Stech, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1066) as well as an obscure martyr and an ascetic in Syria. ROMANOS THE MELODE is the only famous ecclesiastical writer of this name. The name, not very fashionable in later periods, had its peak in the 10th–11th C.: in Skylitzes, who lists 20 Romanoi, the name is in eighth place, right after NIKEPHOROS. It is perhaps no coincidence that the four emperors called Romanos all lived in the 10th–11th C. In the acts of *Lavra* the name occurs even less frequently than PETER. –A.K.

ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, emperor (920–44); born Lakape ca.870, died on island of Prote 15 June 948. The son of an Armenian peasant (see LEKAPENOS), Romanos made a career as a naval officer; he was *strategos* of Samos and eventually *droungarios* of the fleet. A legend attributes his rise to a successful single combat with a lion. During the regency of ZOE KARBONOPSINA, he managed to ruin his major rival Leo PHOKAS and married his daughter Helen to CONSTANTINE VII (May 919); he became *basileopator*, caesar, and was crowned on 17 Dec. 920. The actual ruler of the empire, he crowned his sons CHRISTOPHER, Stephen, and Constantine co-emperors in order to diminish Constantine VII's role. Acting as a representative of the officialdom of Constantinople, Romanos promulgated a series of laws (NOVELS) designed to protect small landowners against the DYNATOI; the date of the first novel, allegedly 922, is questionable; the second one was issued in 934, soon after the great famine of 927/8 and immediately after the rebellion of BASIL THE COPPER HAND. Although Romanos restricted the *dynatoi*'s opportunity to acquire peasants' land and introduced the right of PROTIMESIS, he also increased their taxes (*TheophCont* 443.13–18). He also subdued revolts that occurred in southern Italy, Chaldia, and the Peloponnesos, predominantly in 920–22. Romanos inherited a burdensome war against SYMEON OF BULGARIA, but after the latter's death the *patrikios* THEOPHANES concluded a treaty with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927.

Thereafter Byz. started gaining momentum: it increased its influence in Serbia, concluded a treaty with the Hungarians, defeated the fleet of IGOR in 941, and persuaded him to sign a treaty in 944. John KOURKOUAS led the offensive against the Arabs. Romanos also kept the church under control. The TOMOS OF UNION (920) brought peace to the church, and the promotion of Romanos's younger son THEOPHYLAKTOS to patriarch transformed the church administration into a sort of family affair. Notwithstanding all these successes, Romanos was dethroned by his sons Stephen and Constantine on 20 Dec. 944 and exiled to Prote. Constantine VII's victory over the Lekapenoi (27 Jan. 945) did not change Romanos's status; he died as a monk.

LIT. Runciman, *Romanus*. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 90–97. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 355–66. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.XX. (1955), 204–11. –A.K.

ROMANOS II, emperor of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY (959–63); son of CONSTANTINE VII and Helen; born Constantinople 939, died Constantinople 15 Mar. 963. In Sept. 944 ROMANOS I married him to Bertha (Eudokia), a daughter of Hugo of Provence, king of Italy (927–47), but after her premature death Romanos married THEOPHANO, who exerted great influence on him. Crowned co-emperor on 6 Apr. 945 (G. de Jerphanion, *OrChrP* 1 [1935] 490–95), he succeeded Constantine on 9 Nov. 959. He retained Constantine's closest supporters, such as THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS and NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS, but entrusted the entire administration to Joseph BRINGAS. In his agrarian legislation, Romanos continued the policies initiated by Constantine: in a departure from the principles of Romanos I, he tended to protect the buyer of peasants' and soldiers' holdings rather

than the poor person who was forced to sell his property for an unfair price (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 409f). Under Romanos, Nikephoros Phokas led a successful offensive against the Arabs: he reconquered Crete in 960/1, defeated SAYF AL-DAWLA, recaptured Germanikeia, and besieged Aleppo.

LIT. Schlumberger, *Phocas* 1–308. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 126–28. –A.K.

ROMANOS III ARGYROS or Argyropoulos, emperor (1028–34); born ca.968, died Constantinople 11/12 Apr. 1034. Coming from a noble family, Romanos was *oikonomos* of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, then EPARCH OF THE CITY. Constantine VIII, on his deathbed, married his daughter ZOE to Romanos, whose previous wife entered a convent. As emperor, Romanos sought popularity: he treated the church generously, released prisoners, recalled the blinded Romanos SKLEROS and the exiled Nikephoros Xiphias, and annulled the ALLELENGYON, which was hateful to ecclesiastics and probably to other great landowners. At enormous expense he constructed the monastery of the PERIBLEPTOS in Constantinople, gilded the capitals of the Great Church, and, in 1031, lavishly restored the church of BLACHERNAI. He levied heavy taxes in the provinces, but corrupt officials kept much of the revenue. Imagining himself a great general, Romanos forced a quarrel on the emir of Aleppo and in midsummer 1030 (against advice) marched on that city. A defeat brought a hasty retreat to Constantinople. In Syria only the early achievements of George MANIAKES illuminated the reign. In vain Romanos tried to continue Basil II's aggressive policy in Sicily and negotiated with the Western emperor Conrad II (1024–39). Constantine DIOGENES and other discontented aristocrats apparently developed plots around Zoe's sister THEODORA. Neglected by Romanos, Zoe favored the future MICHAEL IV and contrived Romanos's drowning.

LIT. Vannier, *Argyroi* 36–39. G. Litavrin in *Istorija Vizantii*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1967) 263f. M. Canard, *Byzance et les Musulmans du Proche Orient* (London 1973) pt.XVII:300–11. –C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS IV DIOGENES, emperor (1068–71); died Prote 4 Aug. 1072. An Anatolian magnate, Romanos commanded on the Danubian frontier under CONSTANTINE X. He had been convicted of conspiring with the Hungarians against EUDOKIA MAKREMBOLITISSA, when she suddenly decided to make him her husband and emperor, 1 Jan. 1068. Although Romanos ruled with Constantine X's sons MICHAEL VII, Andronikos, and Konstantios as co-emperors, their relatives, led by the caesar John DOUKAS, feared lest the princes be disinherited. Romanos constantly had to guard against Doukas plots. Bari, insufficiently supported by Romanos, fell to the Normans. Romanos attempted to reconstruct the Anatolian army from new recruits and foreign mercenaries. In 1068–69, he made two expeditions to eastern Anatolia, but the Turks sacked IKONION and CHONAI while Romanos was in the East. In 1071 Romanos encountered Alp Arslan at MANTZIKERT. He was taken captive through the treachery of the caesar's son, Andronikos. Released on condition he yield claims to Armenia, pay a ransom, and assist the sultan in the future, Romanos was treated as a rebel by the Doukas faction. Only the Armenian KHAČʿATUR came to his aid. Romanos lost the ensuing civil war and, after surrendering, was blinded on the caesar's orders (29 June 1072—D. Polemis, *BZ* 58 [1965] 65f, 76); he soon died in a monastery.

An ivory panel (now in Paris) depicts an emperor Romanos and his wife Eudokia being crowned by Christ. Since both Romanos II and Romanos IV married Eudokias, the problem of identification and of dating this panel is complex. Goldschmidt and Weitzmann (*Elfenbeinskulpt.* II: 35) argued that the panel portrayed Romanos II, whereas I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*DOP* 31 [1977] 305–25) assigns it to Romanos IV.

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 98–109. –C.M.B., A.C.

ROMANOS THE MELODE, hymnographer and saint; born Emesa, died after 555; feastday 1 Oct. A native (perhaps of Jewish background) of Syria, Romanos was deacon in a church in Berytus before coming to Constantinople in the reign of Anastasios I; there he served in the Church of the Virgin in the Kyrou district. Byz. legend has him divinely inspired by the Virgin, so much so that he composed 1,000 HYMNS; 85 actually survive in his name, of which 59 are probably genuine, though the debate over individual items is endless, there being no sure way of determining

authorship. In particular, the AKATHISTOS HYMN is variously attributed or denied to him. Romanos, while proclaimed a saint and highly honored by the Byz., was not imitated; the genre of KONTAKION that he developed soon waned in popularity and the church did not accept the hymns of Romanos in the liturgy (the Akathistos is the exception, but its authenticity as the work of Romanos is doubtful).

Romanos's hymns essentially recreate stories from the Old and New Testaments and from hagiography and are often linked with religious feasts; he did not avoid contemporary topics, however, and the hymn *On the Earthquake and Fire* depicts the NIKA REVOLT and praises "the new Solomon" (Justinian I) for the restoration of Hagia Sophia. Following the mainstream of Orthodox theology, Romanos does not eschew moderate Monophysitism, emphasizing the divine nature in "divided and undivided Christ." His language is simple, and the tonic system replaced the Hellenic meter. The composition is terse (in comparison with contemporary sermons), with refrains playing an important part and sometimes even expressing the main idea of the *kontakion*. His *oikonomia* comes not through contemplation but through action and drama, and accordingly the theme of the Descent into Hell (as the way of redemption) often attracts him; the dialogical structure of many *kontakia*, addressing pregnant questions to biblical figures, and broad use of irony add dramatic tension. The extent of his debt to Syriac religious poetry has been much debated.

ED. *Cantica Genuina*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Oxford 1963). *Cantica Dubia*, ed. P. Maas, C.A. Trypanis (Berlin 1970). *Hymnes*, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons, 5 vols. (Paris 1964–81), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. M. Carpenter, *Kontakia of Romanos*, 2 vols. (Columbia, Mo., 1970–73), rev. A.C. Bandy *BS/EB* 3 (1976) 64–113; 7 (1980) 78–113.

LIT. J. Grosdidier de Matons, *Romanos le Mélode et les origines de la poésie religieuse à Byzance* (Paris 1977). S. Averincev in *Kul'tura Vizantii* 1 (Moscow 1984) 318–27. W.L. Petersen, "The Dependence of Romanos the Melodist upon the Syriac Ephrem," *VigChr* 39 (1985) 171–87. K. Mitsakis, *The Language of Romanos the Melodist* (Munich 1967). –B.B.

ROME (Ῥώμη). In the early Roman Empire of the 1st to 3rd C., Rome was the major city (*urbs*)—capital of the state, residence of the emperor, site of the SENATE and the administration, and an economic and cultural center. This status of Rome was undermined by the barbarian invasions and civil disorders of the 3rd C., which required the frequent presence of the emperor near the frontiers, but it was not until CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT made his residence at MILAN in 312 and then founded CONSTANTINOPLE in 324 that Rome began to lose its unique and exclusive position. Nevertheless, Rome continued to be the first city of the empire with its probable population of just under one million and, more important, as the emergent seat of the PAPACY. In the 4th C. Rome contained an enormous number of private dwellings and civic buildings: a notitia of this date lists no fewer than 46,602 apartment houses, 1,797 private residences, 11 large and 856 small bath buildings, 1,352 cisterns, and 144 public lavatories.

Rome suffered from a severe earthquake in 422 and from sieges and plundering in the 5th and 6th C.: by ALARIC (in 410), GAISERIC (455), RICIMER (472), TOTILA (546 and 549), and NARSES (552). The conquest of Africa by the VANDALS in the second quarter of the 5th C. deprived Rome of its major granary and made the city increasingly dependent on Sicilian foodstuffs; as a result there was a decline in the population. At the end of the 6th C. Rome had only 30,000–40,000 inhabitants (Graffunder, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 1060).

A wealth of material is available for demographic studies of Rome in the 4th to 6th C.: thousands of funeral inscriptions, both pagan and Christian, mostly in Latin, although many Greek and Jewish texts are known. Social analysis of this evidence has only begun, and preliminary observations, such as the decrease in the number of tombs of slaves and freedmen from the 4th C. onward (L. Urdahl, *Classical Journal* 60 [1964–65] 276), need to be checked further on the basis of larger samples (e.g., G. Sanders, *Latomus* 30 [1971] 461). Changes within the ruling class are better documented. The senatorial aristocracy, gradually christianized (e.g., the family of ANICII), retained its position until the 6th C., when it still supported fashionable charioteers and dreamed of creating a university in Rome. By the 7th C., however, it was gradually replaced by military commanders based not in Rome (with its broad economic connections and cultural traditions) but on their estates. These administrators and the commanders of the urban militia eventually formed

a new Roman elite. The troops in Rome were organized along the lines of the Byz. army and exercised considerable influence through their control over offices and military arrangements and by means of the property they accrued.

During the 7th C. a new landholding class emerged that was closely tied to the church through its monasteries and distribution centers (*diaconiae*) for grain and other foodstuffs. Comprised of small landholders and their tenants and led by local notables, this group formed new local militias that eventually replaced regular Byz. military units. It was in these militias that opposition to Byz. rule was eventually centered. Accordingly, the administration of Rome changed: the senate lost its significance, the URBAN PREFECT was eliminated by the mid-6th C., and Rome was placed under the control of the praetorian prefect of Italy and then of the *dux* of Rome, who submitted in turn to the exarch of Ravenna. At the same time the role of church administration increased. After 554 the church became increasingly the upholder of civic traditions in Rome. The pope took over the collection of tolls and the repair of public works, while, with the decline of the grain supply, "deaconries" attached to churches took over the task of feeding the city's poor.

Despite lessening political control by Byz., cultural and ideological ties between Constantinople and Rome continued. From the mid-7th C. there was substantial migration of refugees from the eastern provinces, which were under attack by the Arabs. In 645 a group of monks from the Lavra of St. SABAS in the Judaean Hills settled on the Little Aventine. A few years earlier (641), a monastic congregation from southeastern Asia Minor was established at Tre Fontane. Nestorians from Syria or Mesopotamia also immigrated to Rome. Refugees brought with them to Rome Eastern relics, feasts, and traditions, including the custom of transferring the bones of martyrs. Iconoclastic elements penetrated as well. A series of popes of Greek or Syrian background continued unbroken from Theodore I to ZACHARIAS in the mid-8th C. The activities of the Greek population, however, were restricted for the most part to the ecclesiastical sphere. Rome remained a Western city even as it assimilated and integrated Eastern influences. Nevertheless, ideology and ritual played a key part in binding Rome to the empire. Imperial documents and coins were seen as symbols of authority. Wall paintings and portable portraits of the emperor were a common feature in late 7th- and early 8th-C. Rome.

During the 7th C. the Roman church came to dissociate itself from Constantinople, largely because of doctrinal differences, and to seek political control of Byz. possessions in Italy as heir of the exarch. Ground was prepared for a rupture with Byz. after the failure of a meeting in Constantinople between emperor and pope in 711, designed to restore theological and political unity. No more successful was the attempt to reorganize Rome and its territory into a Byz. DOUKATON. A major break came during the reign of Leo III because of his Iconoclastic policy. Eventually, the concept of a Roman *res publica* associated with the see of St. Peter was promoted and encouraged by circulation of the spurious DONATION OF CONSTANTINE, but until 772 the papacy continued to date all documents according to the regnal years of the Byz. emperor. Imperial coinage continued to be minted in Rome until at least 776 and probably 781. Although clerical control in the city was becoming steadily more pronounced, imperial titles among the laity, such as consul and *dux*, remained common, and the lay aristocracy retained a powerful role in Roman society for centuries. Local military officials, although their right to rule based on imperial commissions became less important as links with Byz. weakened, kept their traditional titles and a preference for Byz. culture and remained a powerful influence until the middle of the 11th C.

The Idea of Rome. After Rome lost its position of political leadership in the 4th C., the idea (or myth) that Rome remained the center of the empire survived, but from the Byz. viewpoint it was a Rome transferred to Constantinople. CASSIODORUS stated that Emp. Constantine I called Constantinople *secunda Roma* and placed this name on a marble column, but his report was evidently based on a post-Constantinian tradition; the Greek term New Rome (*Nea Rome*) is attested no earlier than 381, in canon 3 of the First Council of Constantinople (when Themistios, in 357, contrasted New Rome with ancient Rome it was only as a rhetorical expression and not an official formulation—J. Irmscher, *Klio* 65 [1983] 434f). In the late 4th C. Gregory of Nazianzos still applied the nonofficial epithets *hoploteros* ("younger") and *neourgos* ("new") to Rome-Constantinople (E.

Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 58). The designation "New Rome" or "Second Rome" in reference to Constantinople became common from the 6th C. onward (in Corippus, the *Chronicon Paschale*, etc.).

In the West the concept of the relocation of the capital to Constantinople was accepted, but the anonymous 9th-C. author of the *Versus Romae* complained that Rome yielded to the Greeks "nomen honosque tuus" (W. Hammer, *Speculum* 19 [1944] 54). Charlemagne entertained the idea of building a city in imitation of Rome (K. Hauck, *Frühmittelalterliche Studien* 20 [1986] 518). In the 10th C. the Ottonian dynasty established a "Roman" empire, and later the Muscovite ideologists developed the notion of Moscow as the "Third Rome," after Constantinople.

SOURCE. *Inscriptiones Christianae urbis Romae septimo saeculo antiquiores*, 9 vols. in 13 (Rome 1922–85).

LIT. T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers: Imperial Administration and Aristocratic Power in Byzantine Italy* A.D. *554–800* (Rome 1984). R. Krautheimer, *Rome: Profile of a City 312–1308* (Princeton 1980). C. Wickham, *Early Medieval Italy* (London 1982). T.F.X. Noble, *The Republic of St. Peter* (Philadelphia 1982). F. Gregorovius, G. Hamilton, *History of the City of Rome*², vols. 1–2 (New York 1967). L. Homo, *Rome médiévale* (Paris 1934). P. Llewellyn, *Rome in the Dark Ages* (London 1970). Dölger, *Byzanz* 70–115. P. Bruun, "Byzantium—the Second Rome," *Byzantium and the North* (Helsinki 1985) 21–28. *Roma, Costantinopoli, Mosca* (Naples 1983). R.L. Wolff, "The Three Romes: The Migration of an Ideology and the Making of an Autocrat," *Daedalus* 88 (1959).

–R.B.H., A.K.

ROME, MONUMENTS OF. As long as Rome remained part of the empire, the emperor was legally responsible for the city's public buildings, and the palace on the Palatine hill was maintained at least until the early 8th C. for possible imperial visits. During the 4th and early 5th C., the tradition of imperial sponsorship of public building was still active, albeit on a reduced scale: Diocletian built new baths; Maxentius, a circus on the Via Appia; the Basilica Nova was begun by Maxentius and completed by Constantine, who also constructed the ARCH OF CONSTANTINE near the Flavian amphitheater and Janus Quadrifons Arch in the Forum Boarium; Constantius II transported an obelisk from Egypt and erected it in the Circus Maximus; Valentinian I rebuilt two bridges and constructed two porticoes; Theodosios I rebuilt one bridge; and Honorius made substantial additions to the walls of Aurelius.

Many buildings were in decay, however, and spolia from them were frequently reused in new buildings, including churches. Imperial legislation designed to curtail the despoiling of public monuments and encourage restoration and repair was largely ineffective, although until the end of the 5th C. some repairs were undertaken by the administration and, occasionally, private senatorial patrons. There is no evidence of a change in this situation under the OSTROGOTHS, and Justinian I, although encouraging the maintenance of public buildings in the SANCTIO PRAGMATICA of 554, does not seem to have made any financial contributions toward renovation of the city's monuments. By the time of Pope GREGORY I THE GREAT, the aqueducts were in a state of disrepair.

In the course of the late 6th through 7th C., responsibility for the repair and maintenance of civic buildings, historically the purview of the emperor and senate, fell increasingly under the authority of the pope. The only secular construction activity known in the period is the rebuilding of the Ponte Salaria in 565 and the dedication of the column of Phokas in the Forum in 608, both by Byz. exarchs. Constans II exemplified the policy of imperial neglect or even abuse by despoiling the city of its bronze ornaments and roof tiles on his visit in 667. The ultimate preservation of temples and government structures was mostly through their conversion into churches, beginning with the Pantheon, which was alienated to the pope by Phokas in 609.

The decline of civic building in late antique Rome was offset, to a large degree, by growth in ecclesiastical construction. Constantine I erected numerous Christian basilicas (for donation lists, see *Lib.pont.* 1:170–83), including one over a shrine believed to be the tomb of St. Peter, another at the tomb of St. Lawrence, and the cathedral (St. John Lateran) and its freestanding baptistery. Except for the baptistery none of these buildings survives, but S. Costanza, the mid-4th-C. mausoleum of Constantine's daughter Constantina, is well preserved. It is a domed rotunda with partly figural mosaics in a surrounding barrel vault; its "double-shell" design is thought to be an ancestor of Byz. edifices such as Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS in Constantinople.

After Constantine, imperial patronage of churches in Rome was infrequent. A large basilica over the tomb of St. Paul was begun by Valentinian II, Theodosios I, and Arkadios (S. Paolo fuori le mura, destroyed by fire in 1823); it was completed by Honorius, who also erected a dy-

nastic mausoleum at St. Peter's (later consecrated as the chapel of S. Petronilla). Theodosios II and his daughter Eudoxia sponsored the basilica of St. Peter in Chains (S. Pietro in Vincoli, extant but remodeled).

Nonimperial Byz. patronage is also little attested. Much has been made of the fact that there were 13 non-Italian popes between 642 and 772, but few can be associated with extant works of art. An exception is Pope JOHN VII, who sponsored paintings and mosaics, the surviving fragments of which are generally considered Byz. (i.e., Constantinopolitan) in facture and style. There were also numerous Greek and Palestinian monasteries in Rome, whose artistic record too is almost nil. Fragmentary paintings at S. Saba on the Aventine are dated by D.H. Wright (*BSC Abstracts* 10 [1984] 62–64) to two periods, before 726 and after 787; he attributes the later murals to a master from Constantinople. Pope Paschal I (817–24) established a Greek monastery at S. Prassede where, although the architecture of the extant church is strictly Roman, the mosaics are stylistically akin to the 9th-C. *Sacra Parallela* miniatures, now attributed by Weitzmann to Palestine (Weitzmann, *Sacra Parallela* 14–25).

It is commonly thought that in the period from the Gothic wars to the so-called Carolingian revival (i.e., from the late 6th to the 8th C.) Rome was not a vital cultural milieu but an artistic province of Constantinople; much Roman painting of this period is defined as Byz., regardless of patronage, by its style. This is esp. true of the fragmentary murals in S. Maria Antiqua, where the so-called palimpsest wall, displaying four strata of superimposed decorations, provides a useful relative chronology. Kitzinger and others discern essentially two trends in these paintings: "Hellenistic" (loosely painted, naturalistic) and "hieratic" (linear, static, and flat), which occur in alternation. The "Hellenistic" style is universally attributed to Constantinople (where it is superbly represented in the floor mosaics of the GREAT PALACE), and paintings in this manner are considered Byz. or byzantinizing. Kitzinger believes that the "hieratic" style likewise emanated from Constantinople; other examples of the style in Rome are the mosaics in S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38) and the chapel of S. Venanzio at the Lateran (642–49).

Vitae of popes of the 8th and 9th C., beginning with Zacharias (741–52), record the donations to Roman churches of thousands of TEXTILES, often qualified as *alexandrina*, *olosirica*, *de blatin bizantea*, etc. (for the terms, see F. Mosino, *BollBadGr* n.s. 37 [1983] 61–73). Many are described as having figured scenes (J. Croquison, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 577–605), and these textiles (of which only paltry scraps survive) must have been an influential means of transmission of Byz. iconography to the West.

Presumably, icons also were imported, although the five pre-Iconoclastic icons extant in Rome are mostly considered local products: four are of the Virgin Mary, in S. Maria in Trastevere, S. Francesca Romana, S. Maria del Rosario, and the Pantheon; one, called *acheropsita* ([sic] see ACHEIROPOIETA) in the *Liber pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:443), is of Christ and is preserved in the Sancta Sanctorum at the Lateran. None is surely dated, although it is plausible that the Pantheon icon was made for the building's conversion in 609.

Unlike RAVENNA, Rome has no buildings of purely Byz. design, except perhaps the galleried basilicas of S. Lorenzo fuori le mura (579–90) and S. Agnese fuori le mura (625–38). Krautheimer has pointed to a number of churches erected just after the Gothic wars that have Byz. features or motifs, possibly reflecting Byz. military construction.

After the political split with Byz. ca.750, most of the monumental art in Rome reverted self-consciously to local prototypes, such as the Constantinian basilicas and the apse mosaic of SS. Cosma e Damiano (526–30). Nevertheless, Byz. traces appear in Roman mosaics. They have already been noted for the 9th C. (in S. Prassede, above). Many scholars believe that the revival of mosaic in 12th-C. Rome was due to descendants of the Byz.-founded workshop of MONTECASSINO. The influence of Montecassino may also be seen in the Byz. bronze DOOR donated in 1070 to S. Paolo fuori le mura, which was by then a Benedictine monastery.

LIT. Kitzinger, *Making* 99–122; rev. D. Kinney *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 316–33. P.J. Nordhagen, "Italo-Byzantine Painting of the Early Middle Ages," *SettStu* 34 (1988) 593–626.

–D.K., R.B.H.

ROMUALD II, archbishop of Salerno (1153–1 Apr. 1181); statesman at the Norman court of Sicily. A universal chronicle (from the time of Christ to 1178), which is esp. useful for southern Italy (1125–78), is attributed to him, although this ascription has been challenged by Matthew

(*infra*). The initial section was compiled from BEDE, OROSIUS, Paul the Deacon, LIBER PONTIFICALIS, Bonizo of Sutri, and other sources. The section from 839 to 1126 preserves some unique information on events and disasters (earthquakes, famines, etc.) in Apulia and Benevento; the emphasis on Troia suggests that this section could have been written there and then continued at Salerno. The long description (ed. Garufi, pp. 270.5–296.26) of negotiations for the treaty of Venice (1177) explicitly identifies itself, and possibly the entire chronicle, as the work of Romuald, who figures prominently in the later sections. Revisions concerning southern Italy and Antioch introduced into some MSS derive in part from Lupus Protospatharius (see ANNALS OF BARI). The chronicle treats Norman relations with Byz. (e.g., 227.4–16, 254.23–255.1, 261.16–22), Manuel I's operations against Italy (239.6–241.15), Byz. and Ikonion (267.13–268.6), and the Norman kings' artistic projects (e.g., Palermo: 252.21–253.2, 254.1–3).

ED. *Chronicon*, ed. C.A. Garufi [= RIS^2 7.1] (Città di Castello 1914–35). Cf. C. Erdmann, *Neues Archiv* 48 (1930) 510–12 and H. Hoffmann, *DA* 23 (1967) 116–70.

LIT. D.J.A. Matthew, "The Chronicle of Romuald of Salerno," in *The Writing of History in the Middle Ages: Essays Presented to R.W. Southern* (Oxford 1981) 239–74. –M.McC.

ROMULUS AUGUSTULUS (in texts) or Augustus (on coins), Western emperor (31 Oct. 475–after 4 Sept. 476); died probably after 507 or 511. Romulus (Ῥώμυλος) was proclaimed augustus by his father Orestes, who was the former secretary of Attila, and *magister militum* and patrician during the brief reign of JULIUS NEPOS, whom Orestes soon overthrew. The Eastern court never recognized Romulus. When the Germanic troops revolted and Orestes was killed, ODOACER became ruler of Italy and made Romulus formally abdicate. The life of Romulus was spared due to his youth and physical charm: he was given a substantial pension and sent to live in Campania with relatives. Odoacer sent a delegation to Zeno announcing that no new Western emperor was needed, but Constantinople continued to regard Julius Nepos as the official augustus of the West.

The events of 476 are often considered the end of the Western Empire and of antiquity. They did not, however, produce any real change in the state of affairs and were not viewed by contemporaries as a major turning point.

LIT. A. Momigliano, "La caduta senza rumore di un impero nel 476 d.C.," in *Concetto, storia, miti e immagini del Medio Evo* (Florence 1973) 409–28. B. Croke, "A.D. 476: The Manufacture of a Turning Point," *Chiron* 13 (1983) 81–119. E. Demougeot, "Bedeutet das Jahr 476 das Ende des römischen Reichs im Okzident?" *Klio* 60 (1978) 371–81. J. Irmscher, "Das Ende des weströmischen Kaisertums in der byzantinischen Literatur," *Klio* 60 (1978) 397–401. –T.E.G.

ROMYLOS, hesychast monk; saint; born Vidin, Bulgaria, died Ravanica, Serbia, after 1381; feastdays 11 Jan., 1 Nov. Son of a Greek father and Bulgarian mother, he was given the baptismal name of Raikos (or Rousko). To avoid the marriage planned by his parents, he fled to the Hodegetria monastery at Tŭrnovo, where he took the monastic name of Romanos (later changed to Romylos). He preferred the solitary to the cenobitic life, however, and moved to PARORIA in southeastern Bulgaria, where he became a disciple of GREGORY SINAITES and helped him construct his monastery. On three occasions Romylos was forced to leave his beloved Paroria for the safety of Zagora (near Tŭrnovo) because of famine and the threat from brigands and Turks.

After a Turkish attack on Paroria, Romylos fled to Athos, where he lived as a solitary near the LAVRA. When Athos became endangered after the Serbian defeat at MARICA in 1371, Romylos moved on to Avlon. His final journey was to the Serbian monastery at Ravanica. Before 1391 Gregory, a Greek who had been Romylos's disciple on Athos, wrote his vita (*BHG* 2384); its contemporary Slavonic version also survives.

SOURCES. F. Halkin, "Un ermite des Balkans au XIVe siècle. La vie grecque inédite de Saint Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 111–47. Eng. tr. M. Bartusis, K. Ben Nasser, A. Laiou, "Days and Deeds of a Hesychast Saint: A Translation of the Greek Life of Saint Romylos," *BS/EB* 9 (1982) 24–47. P. Devos, "La version slave de la Vie de S. Romylos," *Byzantion* 31 (1961) 149–87. –A.M.T.

ROOF (στέγος, ὀροφή). In Byz., roofs were ordinarily flat for houses, trussed over palaces and the broad spans of the naves of basilicas (with shed roofs over the aisles), and conical or domical (in imitation of vaulted masonry domes) over centralized spaces. Roofing material—thatch, tile (ceramic, marble, copper), lead or bronze sheets—

was laid on masonry vaults or timber roofs to protect the structure from the elements. The earliest extant Byz. timber roof is at the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Sinai, a truss roof with a central vertical joggle post locked into the apex of the rafters at the top and notched at the bottom to support struts angled to meet the rafters at their midpoints. Horizontal tie beams keep the rafters from spreading; purlins laid horizontally on major rafters support lesser rafters on which the roof cover is laid. Eusebios notes the use of lead sheets on the Martyrion at Jerusalem and bronze tile instead of terracotta on the Holy Apostles (*VC* 3.36.2, 4.58). Thomas I, patriarch of JERUSALEM (807–20), restored Modestus's conical roof of the Anastasis, damaged by an earthquake, with 40 beams of pine or cedar from Cyprus (H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 [Paris 1914] 220, 244).

LIT. F. Deichmann, *RAC* 3:531–36. H. Hellenkemper, *LMA* 3:423f. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:386–96. –W.L.

ROSSANO (Ῥουσιανόν, Ῥουσκιανή), port city in southern Italy. Prokopios (*Wars* 7.28.8) describes Rouskiane as the harbor of Thourioi, above which a fortress was built by "ancient Romans." In 548, during the Gothic war, Rouskiane surrendered to Totila after a long resistance. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 27.49) names Rousianon as one of the strongholds the Lombards were unable to take. Rossano probably served as the base of operations for Nikephoros Phokas the Elder in CALABRIA in 885/6. At the end of the 9th C. a bishopric was established at Rossano, replacing the see of Thourioi, which is still attested in the 7th C. The bishop of Rossano was a suffragan of REGGIO-CALABRIA. Rossano had a powerful fortress: in 982 Otto II, on campaign against the Arabs in Calabria, left his wife Theophano and the state treasure within the walls of the stronghold. After being defeated, Otto took refuge on a Byz. ship, but fearful of being taken prisoner jumped overboard at Rossano and swam ashore. In the 10th C. the Byz. controlled Rossano but frequently had to deal with local revolts, as in ca.965, when the city rebelled against the *magistros* Nikephoros. Rossano was one of the last fortresses captured by the NORMANS during their occupation of Calabria ca.1059.

There were many monasteries in the vicinity of Rossano, esp. at MERKOURION, where NEILOS OF ROSSANO was active. After the Norman conquest the monastery of PATIR was founded. Monasteries of the Greek rite still existed in this region in the 15th C. (M. Adoriso Ambonio, *BollBadGr* 27 [1973] 91–96).

Monuments of Rossano. Cappelli (*infra*) counted five extant Byz. churches in Rossano, of which the most important are S. Marco and the Panaghia. The latter (12th-C.?) is a rectangular building on a terrace, with its original entrance in the long south wall; it has one apse and a longitudinal chapel on its north side. These features constitute a distinctive Calabrian type. S. Marco, by contrast, is a five-domed church, square with four masonry piers in the center: it is the same type as the Cattolica at STILO. Scholars have placed its date between the 9th and the 11th C. Cappelli proposed to identify S. Marco with the oratory of the convent of S. Anastasia mentioned in the vita of Neilos of Rossano. The ROSSANO GOSPELS, now in the Museo Arcivescovile, were not made in Rossano but may have been brought there as early as the 7th C.

LIT. A. Gradilone, *Storia di Rossano* (Rome 1926). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:719–21. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:308–10. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 402f. B. Cappelli, "Rossano bizantina minore," *AStCal* 24 (1955) 31–53. –A.K., D.K.

ROSSANO GOSPELS, the oldest surviving illustrated Greek Gospel book, now preserved in the cathedral museum at Rossano. A fragment, it contains the texts of Matthew and Mark (up to 16:14), although its illustration draws on all four Gospels. It is written in silver uncials on purple parchment, with incipits in gold, on 188 folios measuring 30.7 × 26 cm. Fourteen miniatures and the frontispiece to the (lost) CANON TABLES depict events in the life of Christ. The page devoted to St. Mark and a personification sometimes said to represent SOPHIA is painted on a *bifolium* that O. Kresten and G. Prato (*RömHistMitt* 27 [1985] 381–99) have argued is an insertion of the 11th–12th C., when purple parchment was used in southern Italy. In ten of the miniatures Old Testament prophets are shown holding scrolls inscribed with texts read in the liturgy and pointing to the Gospel scenes illustrated above them. The MS is generally agreed to be a work of the second half of the 6th C., although its place of origin (Syria?, Constantino-



Rossano Gospels. Page from the Rossano Gospels. Museo Arcivescovile, Rossano. Pilate offering the Jews the choice between Christ and Barabbas (fol.8v).

ple?) is far from certain. Loerke (*infra*) has argued that some miniatures depend directly on lost wall paintings in Jerusalem.

ED. and LIT. *Codex Purpureus Rossanensis*, ed. G. Cavallo, J. Gribomont, W.C. Loerke, 2 vols. (Rome-Graz 1985–87). –A.C.

ROSSIA. See Rhosia.

ROSSIKON. See Panteleemon Monastery.

ROTULUS. See Joshua Roll; Rolls, Liturgical.

ROUPHINIANAI (Ῥουφινιαναί), or Rufinianae, Asiatic suburb of Constantinople, located on the Sea of Marmara southeast of Chalcedon. The area, formerly referred to as Drys ("the Oak"), took its name from the praetorian prefect Rufinus, who undertook a building program there in the late 4th C. At the time of his conversion to Christianity, Rufinus constructed a church dedicated to Peter and Paul (the Apostoleion). In 393 he founded a separate monastery nearby where he installed Egyptian monks to serve as the clergy for the Apostoleion. This original phase of the monastery was very brief, since it was abandoned after Rufinus's murder in 395. The monastery quickly fell into disrepair but was restored ca.400 by Hypatios, who served as *hegoumenos* until his death in 446. The restored monastery bore the name of St. Hypatios after its second founder and housed 50 monks in the mid-5th C. In 403 the Apostoleion was the site of the Synod of the Oak that deposed Patr. John Chrysostom. Circa 950 Patr. Theophylaktos restored the monastery once again. After the Latin conquest of Constantinople, the monastery was abandoned by its Greek monks for about ten years (ca.1215–25) and inhabited by Cistercians as a dependency of the monastery of St. Angelus of Pera (E.A.R. Brown, *Traditio* 14 [1958] 88–90). When the Greek monks returned, the monastery came under the direction of the *hegoumenos* of St. Paul of Latros. It does not appear in the sources after the 13th C.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 207. J. Pargoire, "Rufinianes," *BZ* 8 (1899) 429–77. J.P. Meliopoulos, "Bounos Auxentiou: Rouphinianai," *BZ* 9 (1900) 63–71. Janin, *Églises centres* 36–40. –A.M.T.

ROUSSEL DE BAILLEUL (Ῥουσέλιος or Οὐρσέλιος), Norman mercenary; born Bailleul, Normandy, died Herakleia Perinthos 1078. Roussel fought in Sicily (1069), then led the Norman troops on Romanos IV's expedition to Mantzikert, but escaped the debacle. In 1073 he quarreled with his commander Isaac Komnenos and departed to establish a base in the Armeniakon. In 1074, at the Zompos Bridge over the Sangarios, he captured the caesar John Doukas. After advancing as far as Chrysopolis, Roussel proclaimed John emperor to give his revolt a legal pretext. Assisted by Artuk, Michael VII captured Roussel and John. Ransomed by his wife (probably late 1074), Roussel returned to the Armeniakon to create a state. He levied funds from the cities and fought the Turks. About 1075 the future Alexios I Komnenos induced Roussel's Turkish ally Tutach (Τουτάχ—Bryen. 187.6) to betray him. When the people of Amaseia rioted against a levy to pay Tutach, Alexios pretended to have Roussel blinded; thereafter, the populace paid. Roussel was imprisoned in Constantinople until late 1077, when Michael VII released him

to oppose Nikephoros BRYENNIOS. Roussel garrisoned Thracian Herakleia. After Michael's fall, his minister NIKEPHORITZES fled there to join Roussel. When Roussel died suddenly, rumor blamed Nikephoritzes' poison. Schlumberger (*Sig.* 660–64) published Roussel's seal.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Récits de Byzance et des Croisades*, vol. 2 (Paris 1922) 78–91. Polemis, "Chronology" 66–68. Vryonis, *Decline* 99, 103, 106–08. –C.M.B.

ROUTES. See LAND ROUTES; SEA ROUTES; SILK ROUTE.

ROVINE, BATTLE OF, a fierce but indecisive encounter between the armies of MIRCEA THE ELDER of Wallachia and the Ottoman ruler BAYEZID I, which took place on the plain of Rovine in western Rumania (20 km west of mod. Arad) on 17 May 1395 (G. Radojičić, *RHSEE* 5 [1928] 136–39). The outcome of the battle is not clear. Although Mircea apparently won, he still had to acknowledge Ottoman suzerainty over Wallachia and pay tribute. Among those killed in the battle were two Serbian princes who were fighting for Bayezid as Ottoman vassals. They were MARKO KRALJEVIĆ and CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ.

LIT. D. Radojičić, "Jedna glava iz 'Života Stefana Lazarevića' od Konstantin Filozofa," *Hrišćanski život* 6 (1927) 138–44. M. Dinić, "Hronika sen-deniskog kaludjera kao izvor za bojeve na Kosovu i Rovinama," *Prilozi za književnost, jezik, istoriju i folklor* 17 (1937) 51–66. –A.M.T.

RUBENIDS (Ῥουπένιοι), first dynasty to rule Armenian CILICIA (1073?-1226). The Rubenids descended from a certain Ruben, for whom Armenian sources claim royal descent, though he was more likely a henchman than a kinsman of the last Bagratid king, GAGIK II. The original strongholds of the Rubenids were Gobidar (Kopitar) and Vahka in the Anti-Taurus mountains, but Prince T'oros I (1100–29) moved down toward the plain to install himself at ANAZARBOS. The defeat and capture of his successor Prince Leo I (1129–1137/8) by Emp. John II Komnenos forced the Rubenids to return to the mountains. Leo's younger son T'OROS II was able to control the plain again after his submission to Manuel I Komnenos in 1158. Finally, with the consent of Byz., Prince Leo II (see LEO II/I) was crowned as king of all of Cilicia in 1198 or 1199; he moved the Rubenid capital to Sis in the foothills, where it remained. Subsequently, Rubenid rule in Cilicia was weakened by Leo's long struggles with the principality of ANTIOCH; when he died in 1219, the crown passed to the HET'UMIDS through the marriage of Leo's daughter Zabel to Het'um I.

LIT. Adontz, *Etudes* 177–95. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 633–52. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 39–42. W. Hecht, "Byzanz und die Armenier nach dem Tode Kaiser Manuels I (1180–1196)," *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 66–74. V.P. Stepanenko, "Ravninnaja Kilikija vo vzaimootnošenijach Antiochijskogo knjažestva i knjažestva Rubenidov v 10–40–ch godach XII v.," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 119–26. –N.G.G.

RUFINIANAE. See ROUPHINIANAI.

RUFINUS (Ῥουφῖνος), praetorian prefect and adviser of Theodosios I and Arkadios; born Elusa, Gaul, died outside Constantinople 27 Nov. 395. He was *magister officiorum* 388–92 and used his tenure to increase the importance of that office. In 390 he urged Theodosios to admit his error in the massacre of citizens in the hippodrome of Thessalonike. He was appointed consul for 392. Rufinus was an ambitious and ruthless politician; he hoped to marry his daughter to Arkadios. When Theodosios went to the West in 394, he left Rufinus as the principal adviser to Arkadios. After the death of Theodosios in Jan. 395 Rufinus served briefly as regent for the young emperor. He was accused of encouraging ALARIC to attack Greece. He was jealous of STILICHO because of his military power in the West. He was murdered by GAINAS on the instructions of Stilicho. A pious Christian, Rufinus founded a monastery on his estate of ROUPHINIANAI. Claudian's *In Rufinum* is a masterpiece of invective directed against him.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:107–13. *PLRE* 1:778–81. Demougeot, *Unité* 119–61. A.S. Kozlov, "Bor'ba meždu političeskoj oppoziciej i pravitel'stvom Vizantii v 395–399 gg.," *ADSV* 13 (1976) 69–74. Matthews, *Aristocracies* 235–38, 249f. –T.E.G.

RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA, more fully Tyrannius Rufinus, Latin writer and translator; born at Concordia near Aquileia ca.345, died Messina 410. After studies in Rome, where he met JEROME, Rufinus went to Egypt ca.372, thence to Jerusalem, where a decade later he founded a monastery on the Mount of Olives with Melania the Elder. In the interim, he had studied at Alexandria,

where he was captivated by the Origenism of DIDYMOS THE BLIND. Returning to Aquileia in 397, he devoted his last years largely to Latin translations of the Greek fathers. The traditional date of his move south to Rome is 407; C.P. Hammond, however, argues that he left Aquileia as early as 403 (*JThSt* n.s. 28 [1977] 372–429) and went to Sicily ca.408.

Rufinus's condensed version of Eusebios's *Church History*, supplemented by two books covering the period 324–95, which are either his own work or drawn from the similar (lost) church history of GELASIOS OF CAESAREA, marks the introduction of this genre into Latin. His *On Principles* provides the only complete version of the *First Principles* of Origen, some of whose biblical commentaries he also translated. Rufinus's *History of Monks* is a collection of anecdotes of Egyptian monks designed to recommend their way of life.

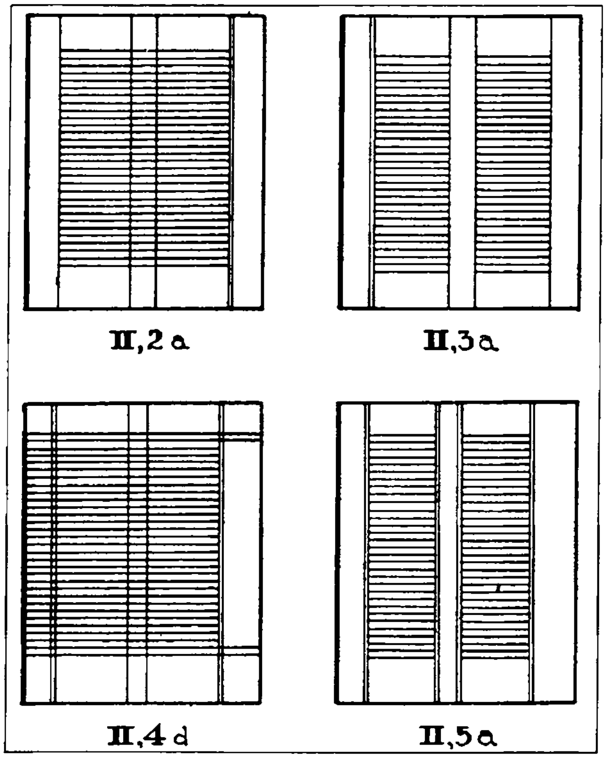
ED. *Opera*, ed. M. Simonetti (Turnhout 1961). *Les Bénédictions des Patriarches*, ed. M. Simonetti (Paris 1968), with Fr. tr.

LIT. F. Thelamon, *Païens et chrétiens au IVe siècle: l'apport de l'"Histoire ecclésiastique" de Rufin d'Aquilée* (Paris 1981). F.X. Murphy, *Rufinus of Aquileia (345–411)* (Washington, D.C., 1945). H. Chadwick, "Rufinus and the Tura Papyrus of Origen's Commentary on Romans," *JThSt* n.s. 10 (1959) 10–42. –B.B.

RUFUS FESTUS. See FESTUS.

RULES, MONASTIC. See TYPIKON, MONASTIC.

RULING PATTERNS. Ruling determines the layout of each page of the CODEX (number of columns, width, and number of lines of main text, and, where applicable, of the commentary). The ruling was made by the SCRIBE or by a specialized member of the SCRIPTORIUM by pricking holes with a spiked lead wheel and a circle. Ruling was applied either separately on each folio or *bifolium* of the QUIRE or only once on and through the top folio to underlying folios. Classification of ruling patterns and ruling systems is important in CODICOLOGY for localization of scriptoria and dating. Inventories and classification of ruling patterns have been made by Lake (*infra*) and, more recently, A. Tselikas (*Thesaurismata* 13 [1976] 297–318) and Leroy (*infra*).



RULING PATTERNS. Sample ruling patterns.

LIT. K. & S. Lake, *Dated Greek Minuscule Manuscripts to the Year 1200*, vol. 1 (Boston 1934) pls. 1–6. *Indices* (Boston 1945) 121–34. J. Leroy, *Les types de réglure des manuscrits grecs* (Paris 1976). Idem, "La description codicologique des manuscrits grecs de parchemin," in *PCEB* 29–39. Idem, "Quelques systèmes de réglure des manuscrits grecs," in *Studia Codicologica*, ed. K. Treu et al. (Berlin 1977) 291–312. –E.G., I.Š.

RŪM, term in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish designating Byzantium (the empire of the RHOMAIOI); it also referred to ancient Greece and the Roman Empire. After the SELJUK conquest of Asia Minor in the late 11th C., the conquered territory became the sultanate of Rūm. Under the Ottomans Rūm included the districts of Amasya (Amaseia) and Sivas (Sebasteia). Geographic names such as RUMELI and Erzurum were based on the root of Rūm.

LIT. Miquel, *Géographie* 2:381–481. M. Marín, "'Rūm' in the Works of the Three Spanish Muslim Geographers," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 109–17. J. Laurent, "Byzance et les origines du sultanat de Roum," in *Mél.Diehl* 1:177–82. A.G.C. Savvides, "A Note on the Terms *Rûm* and *Anatolia* in Seljuk and Early Ottoman Times," *Deltio Kentrou Mikrasiatikon Spoudon* 5 (1984–85) 95–102. –A.K.

RUMANIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE. Architectural remains of the early medieval period in the territory of modern Rumania show a dependence on late Roman and Byz. types; 4th-C. Tropaeum had several three-aisled basilicas, as did HISTRIA (4th–6th C.). Treasures found at CONCEŞTI and Apahida (ca.400) comprise silver repoussé vessels decorated with classical themes. Capitals from TOMIS (6th C.) belong to the Justinianic impost type.

One of the first dated ensembles is the fortress on the Danubian island of PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE, built by John I Tzimiskes around 972. Elsewhere churches show Byz. influence filtered through BULGARIA: the small church in the cemetery of DINOGETIA (11th–12th C.) has a central dome over a shallow cruciform space carved out of the thickness of the wall, similar to the east church at BOJANA. The narrow rows of rough stone alternating with tripled rows of brick is a crude version of a Byz. building technique. Ceramic finds from the period before the 14th C. include unglazed amphoras and tablewares of Byz. manufacture as well as copies they inspired.

In the 14th C., WALLACHIA and MOLDAVIA achieved political independence from Hungary and, with the appointment of an Orthodox metropolitan of Wallachia (1359), Byz. influence became even more pronounced. The royal church of St. Nicholas-Domneasca at Curtea de Argeş, built before 1352, exhibits a variation of the cross-in-square plan, with the dome resting on large square piers. The sober façade consists of courses of rough stone alternating with tripled bands of brick. The large, wide proportions of the church and the scarcity of windows allow the maximum surface for frescoes, which cover the interior in a continuous layer. In program and iconography, these paintings are astonishingly close to the narthex mosaics of the CHORA church.

Byz. influence transmitted via Serbia becomes dominant in the later 14th C. It is attributed to the Serbian monk Nikodemos, who came from Athos to Wallachia and founded several monasteries with churches of a trefoil plan. The monastic church of Cozia (1386) is a domed triconch built of ashlar masonry alternating with tripled bands of brick. The exterior is articulated by pilasters supporting an arcade; round windows in the arcade are filled with interlaced geometric and floral sculpture designs. The frescoes date from the same time as the church. Churches at Cotmeana and Siret in Moldavia, related contemporary triconchs, are decorated with inset ceramic panels, circular and cross-shaped, as well as with dogtooth brick bands.

The Orthodox liturgy even had an impact on buildings of Western type: for example, the Church of St. Nicholas in Rădăuţi, the earliest surviving church in Moldavia (1359–65), is a barrel-vaulted basilica, but the four piers in the naos are evidently inspired by the Byz. cross-in-square plan.

Other arts show similar influence from Byz. Sgraffito bowls of both imported and local manufacture are found everywhere by the 13th and 14th C. Jewelry finds likewise include both imported pieces and copies made locally following Byz. types.

Icons were not produced until the 16th C., but MSS were being copied and illuminated a full century earlier. A Slavonic Gospel book written by Nikodim (1404/5), preserved at Putna monastery, is illuminated with initials and simple headpieces reflecting Byz. ornamental motifs. Manuscripts by Gavril Uric from Neamţ—the bilingual Greco-Slavonic *Gospels of Alexander the Good* (Oxford, Bodl. can. gr. 122) from 1429 and a Slavonic Gospels from 1435/6 (now at Neamţ)—have pylon-shaped headpieces and initials decorated with interlace and vegetal designs. Both MSS contain evangelist portraits. The latter MS has its original silver repoussé covers; in the center the front cover is the Anastasis.

Carved wooden doors are preserved at several monasteries. Those of the Annunciation Chapel at Snagov (1453) have three registers of figures: the Annunciation with David and Solomon displaying scrolls on top, two pairs of church fathers framed by arches in the middle, and two equestrian saints under arches below. Slavonic inscriptions frame the doors and fill the arches, but the selection of these figures as well as their style and dress are Byz.

Many fine embroidered liturgical textiles have also been preserved in Rumania. The EPITAPHIOS of Neamţ, ordered by the *hegoumenos* Silvan in 1437, was embellished with gold, silver, and pearls, probably in Constantinople. Greek inscriptions identify the figures, while the border inscription is in Slavonic. The EPITRACHELION of Antim at

Tismana (1370) is decorated with busts of saints in roundels that echo carved and painted motifs of the Morava school.

Art reached its zenith during the 15th and 16th C. Exterior church painting and MS illumination preserve Byz. iconography and the late Palaiologan style to such an extent that the culture has been described as "Byzance après Byzance."

LIT. G. Ionescu, *Histoire de l'architecture en Roumanie* (Bucharest 1972). V. Vătăşianu, *Istoria Artei Feudale în Ţarile Romîne*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1959). C. Nicolescu, *Moştenirea artei bizantine în România* (Bucharest 1971). R. Theodorescu, *Un mileniu de artă la Dunărea de jos (400–1400)* (Bucharest 1976). M.-A. Musicescu, "Relations artistiques entre Byzance et les pays roumains (IVe–XVe s.)," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 509–25. –E.C.S.

RUMANIANS. The origin of this people is enigmatic. Most probably they are descendants of romanized DACO-GETANS and hellenized THRACIANS, who absorbed some Slavic and other ethnic elements. Written sources are silent on Rumanian ethnogeny, however, and it can be established only on the basis of archaeological data; thus, the results remain tentative and hypothetical. By the 11th C. the VLACHS were mentioned in sources as existing throughout the whole northern Balkan peninsula, but not north of the Danube; there is no reason, however, to date the creation of the first Rumanian "state formations" to the 10th C., as does Ş. Ştefănescu (*Dacoromania* 1 [1973] 104–13). The hotly debated problem of whether or not the Second Bulgarian Empire was founded by the Proto-Rumanians depends on the interpretation of the term *Blachoi* in Niketas Choniates—did he mean the Vlachs proper or did he use the term inaccurately, applying it to Bulgarians? The first unquestionable testimonies to the Proto-Rumanian states belong to the 13th–14th C., when the principalities in DOBRUDJA, WALLACHIA, and MOLDAVIA were created; the Slavic ethnic substratum as well as Slavic linguistic elements were, at this time, strongly interwoven with "post-Roman" traditions. The young principalities were conquered by the Turks in the late 14th–15th C.

LIT. V. Arvinte, *Die Rumänen. Ursprung, Volks- und Landesnamen* (Tübingen 1980). I. Russu, *Etnogeneza Românilor* (Bucharest 1981). C. Giurescu, *Formarea poporului român* (Craiova 1973). G. Brătianu, *Une énigme et un miracle historique: le peuple roumain*[2] (Bucharest 1988). – A.K.

RUMELI (from Turk. Rūm-eli, the land of RŪM or of the Rhomaioi), the name of an Ottoman province consisting of Macedonia, Thrace, Bulgaria, Serbia, Albania, and Greece with the exception of its coastline and islands. The first governor (*beylerbey*) of Rumeli was the tutor (*lala*) of Murad I, Şahin-Paşa, with his seat at Philippopolis from ca.1362–65. Between 1370 and 1385 the capital of Rumeli was moved to Sofia.

LIT. F. Babinger, *Beiträge zur Frühgeschichte der Türkenherrschaft in Rumelien (14.-15. Jahrhundert)* (Munich 1944). H. İnalcık, *İA* 9:766–73. –A.K.

RUPERT OF DEUTZ, prolific Benedictine theologian; born between ca.1075 and 1080, died 4 Mar. 1129. Rupert entered St. Laurent, Liège, at an early age and became a priest ca.1106; from 1111 he sparked theological controversies; in 1120 he was made abbot of Deutz. The chronicle attributed to him is a 13th-C. forgery (H. Silvestre, *RHE* 77 [1982] 365–95). His theological treatises occasionally refer to the errors of "certain Greeks"; *De glorificatione Trinitatis* (On the Glorification of the Trinity) treats the *filioque* problem at a papal legate's request (PL 169:13–202; cf. J.H. Van Engen, *Rupert of Deutz* [Berkeley 1983] 362f). A sermon he preached at Cologne (sometime between 1125 and 1129) describes local travelers' familiarity with the reliquary of St. Pantoleon at Constantinople and an annual miracle that had announced the destruction of the Pechenegs (Rupert confuses Alexios I and Michael VII—ed. Coens, 262.3–264.7) as well as a miracle concerning prince Mstislav of Kiev (son of Vladimir Monomach), his mother the English princess Gyda's devotion to the Cologne shrine of St. Pantoleon, and her pilgrimage to Jerusalem.

ED. M. Coens, "Un sermon inconnu de Rupert, abbé de Deutz, sur S. Pantaléon," *AB* 55 (1937) 244–67.
LIT. M. McCormick, *Index scriptorum operumque latinobelgicorum medii aevi* 3.2 (Brussels 1979) 235–62. –M.McC.

RUS' (*οἱ* Ῥῶς, sometimes Ῥώς), people from RHOSIA, first mentioned in the *Annales Bertiniani* for 839; the earliest reference in Greek is by PHOTIOS (*Homilies* 3 and 4), who describes their attack on Constantinople in 860. Mention of the Rus' in the vita of GEORGE OF AMASTRIS may be a later insertion (A. Markopoulos, *JÖB* 28 [1979] 75–82). The earliest Rus' were Scandinavians (VIKINGS or VARANGIANS). Constantine VII, in his description of the DNIEPER rapids (*De adm. imp.*

9.40–65), distinguishes toponyms of the Rus' from their Slavonic equivalents. In subsequent Byz. usage, however, the term was transferred to Slavic-speakers. Byz. writers also call the Rus' SCYTHIANS, Tauroscythians, Hyperborean Scythians, SARMATIANS, or Northerners, indicating a link with the ancient peoples of the steppes (M. Bibikov in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSR 1980* [Moscow 1981] 34–78). Leo the Deacon (Leo Diac. 149.24–150.20) traces the descent of the Rus' to Achilles, and also associates them with the biblical Ros (cf. Ezek 38:2, 39:1). LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA (*Antapodosis* 5.15) asserts that the Byz. called the Rus' *Rhousioi* ("red," "ruddy"; cf. Lat. *russus*) on account of their complexion. The actual etymology and origins of the name are still disputed (see G. Schramm, *Forschungen zur osteuropäischen Geschichte* 30 [1982] 7–49).

Photios depicts the Rus' as exotic and belligerent. This image recurs frequently, reinforced by further raids on Constantinople by OLEG (907?) and IGOR (941), by the Bulgarian campaigns of SVJATOSLAV (966–71), the sack of Cherson by VLADIMIR I of Kiev, and the war of 1043–46 under Prince JAROSLAV. At least from the early 10th C. Rus' were recruited into the Byz. army, eventually forming the nucleus of the Varangian guard. During the 9th and 10th C. Viking Rus' settled along the river routes and gradually assimilated with the native Slav population, creating a network of principalities under a single ("Rjurikid") dynasty with its center of authority in KIEV. The principalities of "Kievan Rus'" were concentrated north of the steppes, separated from Byz. by the PECHENEGS and later the CUMANS. TMUTOROKAN was a possession of the Rus' until the end of the 11th C. The extent of their settlement and activity in the Azov and northern Pontic region is unclear. Only Svjatoslav attempted to establish an administrative base south of the DANUBE in Little PRESLAV.

The Rus' were traders as well as raiders. Constantine VII describes both the organization of their expeditions to Constantinople, and the use of the Pechenegs to contain and restrain them (*De adm. imp.* 2, 4, 9; a possible earlier allusion is in the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI [20.69]). The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET preserves versions of the 10th-C. commercial agreements that ostensibly followed the campaigns of Oleg, Igor, and Svjatoslav (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE). Principal imports from the Rus' were furs (J. Martin, *Treasure from the Land of Darkness* [Cambridge 1986] 35–47, 115–18), honey, wax, and probably slaves. Exports to the Rus', both directly from and through Constantinople and from the Byz. cities on the BLACK SEA, included amphorae with oil and wine, coins, walnuts, Caucasian boxwood, silks, and glass. The pattern of trade was uneven. Byz. coins circulated in small quantities before ca.950, then regularly until ca.1050, then sparsely until ca.1130, then not at all (T. Noonan, *BS/EB* 7 [1980] 143–81). Some types of glass ceased to be exported in the early 11th C., because the equivalent technology had been acquired for local production in Kiev (Ju. Ščapova, *VizVrem* 19 [1961] 60–75). It is widely suggested that trade along the Dnieper via Kiev declined in the late 12th C., but finds in the Polock region indicate no significant reduction until the early 13th C. (F. Gurevič, *VizVrem* 47 [1986] 65–81).

The political focus of Byz.-Rus' relations, by contrast, did change. By the mid-12th C. Kiev had lost its dominance over the principalities of the Rus'. GALITZA, SUZDAL', NOVGOROD, and SMOLENSK pursued increasingly independent foreign policies. Manuel I, for example, was supported by Galitza and Suzdal' against the pro-Hungarian Izjaslav II of Kiev (1146–54). Exiled princes of the Rus' from Černigov (1079) and Polock (1130) were received in Constantinople (*PSRL* 1:204, 2:293), while in 1162 the relatives of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO were given lands on the Danube (*PSRL* 2:561; Kinn. 232.3–12). Twelfth-century Byz. writers show a particular interest in Galitza and the northern Pontic region, rather than concentrating on Kiev. However, political relations at the highest level were seldom intimate. After the marriages of Vladimir I Svjatoslavič and (perhaps) of his grandson Vsevolod to imperial brides, there is no reliable evidence that any Rjurikid prince or princess married into the imperial family.

Cultural contacts with the Rus' intensified with the spread of Christianity. In 867 Photios claimed in an encyclical to the Eastern patriarchs, perhaps overoptimistically, that the Rus' had been converted (ep.2.293–302). This group of Rus' (cf. *TheophCont* 196.6–7, 342.20) had little connection with the later Rus' of Kiev and may have operated from settlements on the Black Sea (J.-P. Arrignon, *RES* 55 [1983] 129–37) or from the Azov region (G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia* [New Haven

1943] 345–53). M. Brajčevskij (*VizVrem* 47 [1986] 31–38) asserts that in 863 Photios addressed a letter to the Kievan prince Askold and to the metropolitan of Rus' Michael the Syrian protesting against the activity of papal envoys in Kiev, but there are no serious data to substantiate this hypothesis. The 911 Russo-Byz. treaty assumes that the Rus' were pagan, whereas the 944 treaty refers to a church in Kiev and Constantine VII mentions "baptized Rus'" (probably Varangian mercenaries) in Constantinople (*De cer.* 579.21–22). OL'GA was herself baptized, but Christianity only became the "official" religion after Vladimir's conversion in 988. Thenceforth Rus' became an ecclesiastical province of the patriarchate of Constantinople, under the metropolitan of Kiev. The metropolitan was normally a Greek (with few exceptions, such as ILARION or KLIM SMOLJATIČ), as were many of his suffragan bishops (11 bishoprics were established by the late 12th C.—*Notitiae CP*, no.13.759–70). The seals of the metropolitan and bishops were inscribed in Greek (V. Janin, *Aktovye pečati Drevnej Rusi*, vol. 1 [Moscow 1970] 44–59). Despite political fragmentation and the MONGOL invasion, the metropolitan see retained its unified structure until the 14th-C. expansion of LITHUANIA and POLAND into the lands of the Rus'. A monastery *tou Rhos* on Athos is first mentioned in 1016; this is probably the monastery *tou Xylourgou* attested in documents of 1030, 1048, 1070, and 1142, which in 1169 acquired the PANTELEEMON MONASTERY (Rossikon) on Athos (D. Nastase, *Symmeikta* 6 [1985] 284–97). There were also Greek monks in Kiev.

For the converted Rus', Constantinople itself became the model of civilization and a place of pilgrimage (see DANIIL IGUMEN, ANTONY of Novgorod). Greek architects, craftsmen, and painters were brought in to build and decorate the major 11th-C. public buildings; Byz. exports now included ICONS and liturgical silver; some princes of the 11th through early 12th C. had Greek seals (Janin, *supra* 1:14–42); the art and architecture and most of the literature of the Rus' followed Byz. ecclesiastical patterns, modified to local perceptions and conditions.

This diversification of contacts over the 11th and 12th C. is reflected in the attitudes of Byz. writers, who, while not abandoning the "belligerent Scythian" stereotype, also show a more specific awareness of customs and even language of the Rus' (A. Kazhdan in *Okeanos* 354–56). Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 522.28) may call the Rus' Tauroscythians, but he also refers to them as a "most Christian people." In modern nomenclature Rus' is usually applied to the territory populated by the Rus', as in Kievan Rus'.

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Excurs.* Obolensky, *Byz. Commonwealth* 37–41, 179–201, 223–32, 353–61. Davidson, *Road to Byz.* H. Rüss in *Handbuch zur Geschichte Russlands*, ed. M. Hellmann, vol. 1 (Stuttgart 1981) 199–429. Poppe, *Christian Russia.* M. Bibikov, "Die alte Rus' und die russisch-byzantinischen Beziehungen im Spiegel der byzantinischen Quellen," *JÖB* 35 (1985) 197–222. P.P. Toločko, *Drevnjaja Rus'* (Kiev 1987). V. Vodoff, *Naissance de la Chrétienté russe* (Paris 1988). –S.C.F.

RUS', ART AND ARCHITECTURE OF. The Byz. tradition was the primary inspiration of "high" art in medieval Russia. While examples of Byz. art penetrated Rus' before the nation's conversion to Christianity, the major Byz. impact began with the official adoption of Christianity in 988 and is most noticeable in the religious arts. A second period of major artistic impact from Byz. can be discerned in the latter part of the 14th C.

The POVEST' VREMMENYCH LET notes that the newly converted VLADIMIR I of Kiev returned to his capital from CHERSON not only with clergy, but also with books, sacred vessels, and icons. These doubtless served as models for the primitive production of religious artifacts in the newly christianized land. Soon, however, Byz. architects and painters were brought to build and decorate churches. Kiev's Desjatinnaja ("Tithe") Church (989–96), apparently a traditional Byz. three-naved, cross-in-square masonry edifice surrounded by galleries, was erected by Greek architects. In less important centers, wooden churches seem to have sufficed for practice of the Christian cult. Under JAROSLAV of Kiev, however, masonry building burgeoned in Rus'. The ruling city of KIEV was graced with a triumphal "Golden Gate," inspired by the portal of the same name in Constantinople as well as with the Church of St. Sophia. Like this cathedral, the slightly later Dormition Church (ca.1073) of the Caves Monastery near Kiev, a single-domed, cross-in-square structure with three apses and an integrated western narthex bay, appears to be the work of Byz. architects.

While the major masonry churches in southern Rus'—including the Transfiguration church in

Černigov, an elongated, five-domed, cross-in-square church with three apses and two-level arcades at either side of the wide central bay (ca. 1036)—are Byz.-style buildings erected on foreign territory, the same cannot be said of the churches built in the northern city of NOVGOROD. Its Sophia church (1045), for example, while Byz. in plan and general conception, betrays features deemed characteristic of the architecture of Rus', most notably increased height and pointed domes, that combine to create a pyramidal silhouette, a feature already discernible in the arrangement of the thirteen domes of St. Sophia at Kiev. The unusually tall churches of the St. Antony (1117) and St. George (1119) monasteries near Novgorod are often seen as dramatic examples of a russianizing of Byz. architectural vocabulary in the north. These tendencies, albeit in less radical form, appear, too, in the Suzdalian school of architecture, notable also for its broad use of exterior bas-relief decoration (Dormition cathedral, 1158, 1189; St. Demetrios, 1194, both in Vladimir).

Just as architects were brought to Kievan Rus' "from Greece," so too were painters and mosaicists. Like St. Sophia in Kiev, but in a more illusionistic style, both the Dormition church of the Caves Monastery and the main church of the St. Michael "Golden-topped" (Zlatoverchij) Monastery (1108) also had traditional Byz. pictorial cycles in mosaic. Outside of Kiev, however, mosaic remained a medium foreign to the Rus'. The frescoed churches of Novgorod (Spas Neredica, 1198) and its sister town Pskov (Mirožskij Monastery, ca.1156) leave no doubt about how thoroughly Byz. techniques and iconographic cycles had been absorbed, either from traveling painters or from pattern books. Illuminated MSS such as the Ostromir Gospel (1057) and Svjatoslav's IZBORNIK also testify that the Rus' absorbed Byz. conventions in painting.

Byz. icons were copied in Rus' from the time of its conversion to Christianity. No pre-12th-C. panel paintings survive, yet by the 12th C. local schools of icon painting were already fully developed in Rus'. The most important of these was that of Novgorod, where artists imitated Byz. paintings of the Komnenian period, such as the 12th-C. Constantinopolitan icon of the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR, but also drew on a strong, almost primitive, local tradition marked by the use of large juxtaposed blocks of bright colors.

The "minor arts" of Rus', particularly jewelry, metal work, and bone, wood, and stone carving, are also heavily indebted to Byz. models, often reproducing Byz.-style figures and scenes in unexpected media, sometimes juxtaposed with fantastic animals from Slavic folklore. Indeed, Byz. influence also affected the popular arts, where one finds not only Byz. figures and scenes reproduced in folk painting along with Slavic pagan motifs, but also bas-relief icons and polychrome wood sculpture imitating traditional Byz. religious painting.

As the Rus' shed the Mongol yoke in the late 14th C., a new Russian state arose, centered on the upper reaches of the Volga river basin. The massive building program of this new state, which would eventually coalesce as Muscovy, attracted Byz. artists who brought to the cities and monasteries of northeastern Russia the latest trends in Constantinopolitan painting. THEOPHANES "THE GREEK" stands out among the painters who reinvigorated the long Byz. tradition in Russia. His impact is also visible in the work of Andrej Rublev, a Russian master who combined delicate and highly refined Palaiologan artistic techniques and sophisticated theological concepts with the strong linear traditions seen in Novgorodian painting and thereby created masterpieces of 15th-C. Byz.-style art such as the "Old Testament Trinity" icon.

Byz. art challenged Russian creativity with new ideals, forms, and techniques. The art of medieval Russia was in large part a response to that challenge in the very vocabulary of the Byz. challenger.

LIT. *Istorija russkogo iskusstva*, ed. I.E. Grabar' et al., vol. 2 (Moscow 1954). H. Faensen, V. Ivanov, *Early Russian Architecture* (New York 1975). V.N. Lazarev, *Old Russian Murals and Mosaics* (London 1966). Idem, *Russian Icons from the Twelfth to the Fifteenth Century* (New York 1962). O. Popova, *Russian Illuminated Manuscripts of the 11th to the Early 16th Centuries* (London 1984). A. Komeč, *Drevnerusskoe zodčestvo konca X—načala XII v.* (Moscow 1987). —G.P.M.

RUS', LITERATURE OF. The literature of Kievan and Muscovite Rus' chiefly consists of translations from Greek into CHURCH SLAVONIC (mostly via Bulgaria) and of native works written in a Byz. manner. For the historian of Byz. texts, therefore, material from Rus' can provide important evidence where Greek MSS are sparse or lost. For the cultural historian, however, the literature of Rus' is neither a precise copy nor merely a defec-

tive copy of a Byz. model. In the process of "cultural translation" the authoritative Byz. prototypes were modified in accordance with local resources, experience, and perceptions.

The content of the literature of early Rus' was principally directed toward (1) explaining, justifying, and propagating the precepts and practices of Christianity in its new and sometimes hostile environment and (2) reinforcing the authority of the rulers who sponsored it. Beyond a basic concern for the works needed in the liturgy and in the organization of ecclesiastical and monastic life, the interests of writers were more ethical and ethnic than speculative or antiquarian. They tended to operate through narrative example (chronicle, hagiography: see POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET, BORIS AND GLEB, FEODOSIJ OF PEČERA, PATERIK, EPIFANIJ, and KIPRIAN) and by instruction and exhortation (homilies, canonical instruction: see ILARION, VLADIMIR MONOMACH, KIRILL of Turov, SERAPION OF VLADIMIR, KIRIK OF NOVGOROD, NIKEPHOROS I, and JOHN II), while virtually ignoring the "philosophical" and rhetorical pursuits of the intellectual elite of Constantinople. Only as an exception did Greek secular narrative (e.g., DIGENES AKRITAS; *Stephanites and Ichnelates*) penetrate to Rus'.

The writers of Rus' did not identify with the Roman past of the Rhomaioi, had no pseudoclassical *paideia,* and placed no special value on classical forms of expression. Constantinople itself, however, was a persistent literary presence: apart from accounts of Russo-Byz. relations, there are narratives of the captures of Constantinople in 1204 and 1453 (see TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD) and several descriptions of the city by PILGRIMS and travelers (ANTONY of Novgorod, STEFAN OF NOVGOROD, IGNATIJ OF SMOLENSK, ZOSIMA).

LIT. D. Čiževskij, *History of Russian Literature from the Eleventh Century to the End of the Baroque* (The Hague 1960). G. Podskalsky, *Christentum und theologische Literatur in der Kiever Rus'* (Munich 1982). *Istorija russkoj literatury X–XVII vekov*², ed. D.S. Lichačev (Moscow 1985). –S.C.F.

RUṢĀFAH. See SERGIOPOLIS.

RUSSIAN PRIMARY CHRONICLE. See POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET.

RUTILIUS CLAUDIUS NAMATIANUS, 5th-C. Latin writer from a noble family in Gaul, perhaps Toulouse. He served as *magister officiorum* in the West (412) and prefect of Rome (in 414). His poem *De reditu suo* (a provisional title) describes his return home (from Rome as far as Luna on the bay of La Spezia) in Oct.–Nov., probably 417 (Al. Cameron, *JRS* 57 [1967] 31–39). The first book lacks its opening, the second breaks off after only 68 lines, albeit a little is restored by a newly discovered fragment (M. Ferrari, *ItMedUm* 16 [1973] 15–30). Basically a travel poem in a long classical tradition, Rutilius's piece also exploits the currently fashionable (in East and West) genre of PATRIA, Rome being treated to an exordial eulogy and long valediction. Contemporary matters obtrude, notably an attack on STILICHO in obvious contrast to CLAUDIAN, also invectives against JEWS and monks. Style and content betray no overt debts to Christianity, but this does not automatically make him a pagan.

ED. *Rutilius Claudius Namatianus: De reditu suo sive Iter Gallicum,* ed. E. Doblhofer, 2 vols. (Heidelberg 1972–77), with Germ. tr. *Minor Latin Poets,* ed. J.W. Duff, A.W. Duff (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1978) 751–829, with Eng. tr.
LIT. I. Lana, *Rutilio Namaziano* (Turin 1961). –B.B.

S

SABAITIC TYPIKA, final generation of liturgical TYPIKA codifying the neo-Sabaitic rite formed when the monasteries of Palestine, which followed the rite of the Lavra of St. SABAS, adapted the STOUDITE TYPIKA to their own needs. The Sabaitic *typikon* in its final, Athonite redaction became the definitive liturgical synthesis of the BYZANTINE RITE under the hesychasts in the 14th C. The earliest Sabaitic *typika* are distinguished from Stoudite *typika* in that they begin with a description of the *agrypnia* or monastic VIGIL (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 3:20).

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 187–94. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" nos. 40, 45, 46, 52. –R.F.T.

SABAS (Σάβας), saint; born village of Moutalaska in Cappadocia in 439, died in his Lavra 5 Dec. 532. As a boy Sabas was placed in the monastery of Flavianae, near his native village; ca.456 he left for Palestine and was accepted as a disciple by EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT. Subsequently he visited Alexandria, where he met his parents. They tried to persuade him to become an officer in the *noumeros* of the Isaurians; Sabas refused, however, and having taken 3 nomismata from his parents, returned to Palestine. In 483 (Schwartz, *infra* 99.10) Sabas established near Jerusalem the Lavra (see SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF), which attracted monks from Armenia, Isauria, and other remote places. Sabas had to cope with the resistance of certain brethren who finally seceded and built their own *koinobion*, the New Lavra. Sabas organized at least six other monasteries. He supported the teaching of the Council of Chalcedon, but his journey to Constantinople and attempt to persuade Emp. Anastasios I to abandon his support of Monophysitism proved fruitless. Under Sabas's name is preserved a type of liturgical *typikon* (see SABAITIC TYPIKA).

CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote his vita, an important source for understanding monasticism in Palestine, where monks were striving for salvation amid danger from Saracens, robbers, and religious dissidents and from which Constantinople appeared very remote. Sabas regularly worked miracles of healing; he was also very close to nature, and a lion visited him in a cave after he was forced by rebellious monks to leave the Lavra. Sabas, an old monk with a long beard, is very often represented in monumental painting in the company of other ascetics, esp. St. Euthymios.

SOURCES. E. Schwartz, ed. *Kyrillos von Skythopolis* (Leipzig 1939) 85–200. Fr. tr. A.-J. Festugière, *Les moines d'Orient*, 3.2 (Paris 1962) 13–133. Ed. I. Pomjalovskij, *Žitie sv. Savy Osvjaščennogo* (St. Petersburg 1890), with Slavonic tr.

LIT. G. Lafontaine, "Deux vies grecques abrégées de S. Sabas," *Muséon* 86 (1973) 305–39. A. Cameron, "Cyril of Skythopolis, V. Sabae 53. A Note," *Glotta* 56 (1978) 87–94. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 106f. M. Lechner, *LCI* 8:296–98. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF (Mar Saba), monastic settlement southeast of Jerusalem, traditionally founded in 483 by the ascetic St. SABAS. After having visited the Egyptian desert, Sabas lived in Palestine as a solitary and attracted disciples who lived near him as *anachoretai*, thus giving rise to a monastic complex or lavra of modified Egyptian type. The monastery expanded physically with the building of churches and dependencies. It was the intellectual and spiritual center for the patriarchate of Jerusalem and for Palestinian monasticism in general. After serving as a focal point of resistance to imperial MONOTHELETE policies in the 7th C., Mar Saba continued its prominent role in Chalcedonian Christian Palestine even after the Arab conquest, leading the way in the change from Greek to Arabic as the dominant cultural language of the area's Christians. Mar Saba attracted prominent visitors, from CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS, biographer of Sabas, to JOHN OF DAMASCUS; numerous scholars and writers worked in its library, and its scriptorium continued to produce MSS as late as the 11th–12th C., some illustrated (A. Cutler, *Journal of Jewish Art* 6 [1979] 63). Manuscripts from the Mar Saba library, which numbered more than 1,000 in 1834, are found in many European libraries. The Lavra still exists today.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 204. S. Griffith, "The Monks of Palestine and the Growth of Christian Literature in Arabic," *Muslim World* 78 (1988) 1–28. Idem, "Anthony David of Baghdad, Scribe and Monk of Mar Sabas: Arabic in the Monasteries of Palestine," *ChHist* 58 (1989) 7–19.
–L.S.B.MacC.

SABAS THE GOTH, Christian martyr and saint; born in "Gotthia" 334, died 12 Apr. 372; feastday 17 Apr. The account of his martyrdom, written in the form of a letter from the church of Gotthia to the church of Cappadocia, is preserved in two MSS (of the 10th–11th C. and of 912). An uneducated peasant from a Gothic *kome*, Sabas refused to yield to demands of local magnates and the king (*basiliskos*) Athanaric to eat meat that had been sacrificed to idols; he was drowned in the Mousaios River (?). His body was sent by Ounios (Junius) Soranos, *doux* of Scythia, to Cappadocia. Some hints at these events are found in letters of BASIL THE GREAT: in letter 155 (ed. Y. Courtonne, 2 [1961] 80f) Basil addresses a man who was collecting in Scythia the relics of the victims of the new persecutions; in letter 164.1, addressed to Ascholios, bishop of Thessalonike, he mentions "a martyr who came to us from the barbarians dwelling beyond the Istros" (2:98.26–27); in letter 165 he writes that Ascholios honored his motherland (evidently Cappadocia) by sending there "a new martyr who had flourished in a neighboring barbarian country" (2:101.23–25). The letters are dated to 373–374. The discrepancy between the two versions of events, crediting both the *doux* Junius Soranos and Bp. Ascholios with sending the relics, has not been resolved.

ED. and LIT. *BHG* 1607. *Synax.CP* 608f. H. Delehaye, "Saints de Thrace et de Mésie," *AB* 31 (1912) 216–21, 224, 288–91.
–A.K.

SABELLIANISM. See MONARCHIANISM.

SABIRI (Σάβειροι), a substantial branch of the HUNS who appear in the Greek sources as inhabiting the Caucasian region of the Boas River in the 5th and 6th C. The Byz. and Persians bought the alliance of their chiefs with gold as they needed them during their various wars in the Caucasus and Armenia. In 530 the Sabiri furnished 3,000 troops to the forces of Kavād I, and in 550, 12,000 to the Persian general Mermeroes. The Sabiri were of particular importance to the Byz. and Persians not only because of their military prowess, but also because of a particular technological innovation which they made in siege machinery (see ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY). The Byz. and Persian engineers customarily made battering rams of heavy beam construction, rendering them cumbersome and difficult to maneuver in precipitous terrain. When the Byz. besieged the fortified mountain city of Petra (in Lazika), the traditional battering rams could not be brought into place. Thus they called for Sabiri, who had invented a new light ram, devoid of the heavy structural beams, which could be carried on the backs of 40 men. The central beam of these light rams would dislodge stones in the city wall, and armored soldiers would then pry them loose with picks (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.11.11–34). This technology was soon adopted by the Persians, who also had recourse to the Sabiri and their battering rams in the siege of the city of Archaiopolis in LAZIKA.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:67–69, 2:262f. Ju.R. Džafarov, "K voprosu o pervom pojavlenii Sabir v Zakavkaz'e," *VDI*, no.3 (1979) 163–72. H. Howorth, "The Sabiri and the Saroguri," *JRAS* 24 (1892) 613–36.
–S.V.

SABORIOS (Σαβώριος), 7th-C. general and rebel. He was said to be of Persian origin (Περσογενής) by Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 348.29–30) but usually is considered Armenian (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 149). He is sometimes identified with "Pasagnathes, the *patrikios* of the Armenians," who rebelled against Constans II in 651/2 (P. Peeters, *Byzantion* 8 [1933] 405–23). Saborios was *strategos* of Armeniakon in 667, when he revolted against Constans II. He sent the *stratelates* Sergios to MUʿĀWIYA for aid. Despite the protests of the *koubikoularios* Andrew, sent to Damascus by the emperor's son Constantine (IV), Sergios persuaded Muʿāwiya to help Saborios. The revolt soon collapsed. Captured en route to Saborios, Sergios was executed by Andrew. Saborios, waiting at Adrianople (Hexapolis in Asia Minor) for Muʿāwiya's troops, was preparing to confront an army sent by Constantine when he died accidentally: his horse bolted and rammed his head into a city gate.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:236–47.
–P.A.H.

SACHLIKES, STEPHEN, poet; born Chandax, Crete, ca.1331/2, died there after 1391. Until re-

cently, assigned to the second half of the 15th or early 16th C., Sachlikes (Σαχλίκης) has now been firmly placed in the 14th C. by M.I. Manousakas and A.F. van Gemert (*Pepragmena tou D' Diethnous Kretologikou Synedriou*, vol. 2 [Athens 1981] 215–31). Details of the life of Sachlikes are known both from Venetian documents and from his autobiographical poem *A Curious Tale* (*Aphegesis paraxenos*). He represents himself as the son of well-to-do parents, a youth who dropped out of school, turned to debauchery, and squandered his inheritance, but this may be a literary convention. From archival sources we know that he was a member of the Maggior Consilio of Chandax from 1356 to 1361. He was imprisoned ca.1370/1, perhaps as the result of involvement with a widow; after his release from prison he attempted farming, but was unsuccessful. Upon his return to Chandax, Sachlikes served as a lawyer (*dikegoros*); he is mentioned in notarial documents in this capacity from ca.1382/3 until 1391.

His poetry, written in the VERNACULAR and political verse, reflects the bitter disillusionment of a disappointed man. Besides *A Curious Tale*, he composed several poems on his imprisonment. Two of his works, *The Pimps* (*Hoi Archemaulistres*) and *Council of the Prostitutes* (*Boule ton Politikon*), satirize women of loose morals. Other poems attack greedy and corrupt lawyers and fickle friends who abandoned him during his imprisonment. He finds little consolation in religion and laments the uncertainty of human fortunes. Sachlikes is noted as one of the earliest Greek poets to make occasional use of RHYME.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 62–105. S.D. Papadimitriu, "Stefan Sachlikis i ego stichotvorenie 'Aphegesis Paraxenos,'" *Letopis'* 3 (1896) 1–256. M. Vitti, "Il poema parenetico di Sachlikis nella tradizione inedita del cod. Napoletano," *KretChron* 14 (1960) 173–200.

LIT. A.F. van Gemert, "Ho Stephanos Sachlikes kai he epoche tou," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 36–130. Ja.N. Ljubarskij, "Kritskij poet Stefan Sachlikis," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 65–81 (mod. Gr. tr. by M.G. Nystazopoulou, *KretChron* 14 [1960] 308–34). Beck, *Volksliteratur* 200–202. –A.M.T.

SACIDAVA (Σκεδεβά in Prokopios, mod. Musait, near Constanţa in Rumania), a Roman fort erected at the end of the 3rd C. (on the site of an older settlement) on the right bank of the Danube, between DOROSTOLON and AXIOPOLIS. The name *Sacidava* is known from the *Notitia dignitatum* as well as from a 3rd-C. milestone found south of Axiopolis. Excavations on the hill above Musait have revealed a modest fortress, built of large blocks set in lime mortar mixed with crushed bricks; it was reinforced by rectangular towers. Coins from Aurelian to Theodosios II are numerous (more than 150 examples), whereas there are no coins from the second half of the 5th C. and only ten from the period of Anastasios I to Maurice (G.P. Bordea, *SCN* 6 [1975] 72–80). C. Scorpan (*infra*), however, insists on the continuity of Sacidava throughout the 5th C.

LIT. C. Scorpan, "Săpăturile arheologice de la Sacidava," *Pontica* 6 (1973) 267–331. Idem, "Sacidava—A New Roman Fortress on the Map of the Danube *Limes*," 9 *CEFR* (1972) 109–16. P. Diaconu, "Despre Sacidava şi 'stratigrafia' ei," *SCIV* 31 (1980) 125–30. –A.K.

SACRAMENTS (μυστήρια, lit. "mysteries"), liturgical rites believed to continue the mystery of Jesus' saving presence and action in his church through the Holy Spirit. Often described as "ineffable" and "awe-inspiring," sacraments were interpreted, like the Incarnation of Jesus, as being the visible side of a hidden reality perceptible only with the eyes of faith, windows through which the Sun of Justice (SOL JUSTITIAE) penetrates this shadowy world (W. Völker, *Die Sakramentsmystik des Nikolaus Kabasilas* [Wiesbaden 1977] 45–48).

Individual sacraments were not seen as isolated acts but as manifestations of the one divine economy of salvation, which included the entire ministry of the church; the customary list of seven sacraments thus appears in Byz. only quite late, in the Profession of Faith that Pope Clement IV (1265–68) required of Michael VIII in 1267. Byz. authors before this time give varying lists. John of Damascus includes the sign of the cross among the sacraments (*Imag.* 1:36.9–11, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 3:148). Theodore of Stoudios lists six: BAPTISM, EUCHARIST, *myron* (chrism), ordination, monastic profession, and the burial service (PG 99:1524B), though he also knew PENANCE (1504–16), and, apparently, UNCTION (325B). Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:177B) lists the by then traditional seven: baptism, chrismation, Eucharist, ordination, marriage (see MARRIAGE RITE), penance, and unction. But his contemporary, canonist Ioasaph of Ephesus, rejected the limitation to seven and listed ten: the usual seven plus burial, ENKAINIA, and monastic profession (*Kanoničeskie otvety Ioasafa*, ed. A.I. Almazov [Odessa 1903] 38).

Byz. liturgical books take no account of the theological distinction between sacraments and other prayers and rituals. They reserve the term MYSTERIA to the Eucharist or the eucharistic species; the EUCHOLOGION calls other rites, sacramental or not, simply "prayers" or AKOLOUTHIAI. Byz. sacramental mystagogy reached its classical expression in Kabasilas' *The Life in Christ* (*La vie en Christ*, ed. M.H. Congourdeau [Paris 1989–]).

Representation in Art. Depictions of the sacraments usually figure in narratives of sacred Scripture and the lives of the saints. The Eucharist is the only sacrament that from the 6th C. is depicted for its own sake. It is represented on liturgical vessels, e.g., the Riha paten (see KAPER KORAON TREASURE), and from the 11th C. on it has a place in the apse of the church (see LORD'S SUPPER). In all cases the Eucharist is depicted as the Communion of the Apostles with Christ giving the bread and wine, while the everyday scene of the faithful taking communion is never represented. Scenes of baptism, ordination, and last rites occur frequently in hagiographical illustrations, as in the lives of Gregory of Nazianzos and his father, of St. Basil in the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY, or the 11th-C. MS, Jerusalem Taphou 14. Except for the unusual representations in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES, marriage is represented in a symbolic manner with Christ rather than the priest joining the bride and groom. The rites of confirmation and penance are not depicted.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 191–211. Arranz, "Les sacrements." R. Hotz, *Die Sakramente im Wechselspiel zwischen Ost und West* (Gütersloh 1979). P. de Meester, *Studi sui sacramenti amministrati secundo il rito bizantino* (Rome 1947). Walter, *Art & Ritual* 121–36, 184–96. –R.F.T., A.K., I.K.

SACRA PARALLELA (Lat., lit. "Holy Parallels"), a conventional title, introduced by M. Lequien in his edition of 1712, of a theological and ascetic FLORILEGIUM. No single MS contains the complete text of the *Sacra Parallela*; the common opinion, however, is that various preserved versions originate from a prototype entitled *Hiera* (the Sacred), an important *florilegium* now largely lost, but compiled in the 8th C., probably in Palestine and by JOHN OF DAMASCUS. John's authorship, however, is questionable (J.M. Hoeck, *OrChrP* 17 [1951] 29f) and a 10th-C. MS (Vat. gr. 1553) names the text's authors as "Leontios the priest and [an unidentified] John." Since the earliest fragments are dated in the 9th C., the *Sacra Parallela* could have been produced in the 8th C., probably to emulate the secular *gnomologium* of STOBAIOS.

The *Sacra Parallela* consists of three books, dealing respectively with God and the Trinity, man, and the theme of virtue and vice; the texts of the first two books are presented in a semialphabetical order (no strict sequence within individual letter-sections), while in the third book material is organized in logical pairs, each virtue followed by a contrasting vice. This third book is sometimes named *parallela* in MSS. The material is drawn from scriptural texts and church fathers (esp. Basil the Great and John Chrysostom); Philo and Josephus Flavius are also used. Eventually the *Sacra Parallela* was a source for the *florilegium* of pseudo-Maximos the Confessor and for the MELISSA.

The only illustrated copy of this work and the only illustrated Byz. *florilegium* known is a MS in Paris (B.N. gr. 923). Very large (35.6 × 16.5 cm), it now contains 394 folios of an original 424. The majority of its 1,658 marginal images are author portraits, but the images draw also on the books of the Old Testament, the Gospels, Acts, and homiletic and historical texts, including a few arranged in short narrative sequences. All are literal illustrations of the texts to which they are attached, with gold lavished on drapery, architecture, and occasionally scenery. The MS has been variously attributed to Palestine, Italy, and Constantinople. Its sloping UNCIAL script suggests a 9th-C. origin, although various attempts at greater precision on stylistic or iconographical grounds remain inconclusive. Several pages with text and illustrations missing in the Palaiologan period were then supplied. The MS was brought from Wallachia to the Bibliothèque Royale in Paris in 1730.

ED. PG 95:1041–1588, 96:9–544.
LIT. M. Richard, *DictSpir* 5 (1962) 476–86 (rp. in his *Opera minora*, vol. 1, pt.1). Idem, "Les 'Parallela' de saint Jean Damascène," 12 *CEB* (Belgrade 1964) 2:485–89. O. Wahl, *Die Prophetenzitate der Sacra Parallela*, 2 vols. (Munich 1965). K. Holl, *Die Sacra Parallela des Johannes Damascenus* (Leipzig 1896). K. Weitzmann, *The Miniatures of the Sacra Parallela* (Princeton 1979). –E.M.J., A.K., A.C.

SACRIFICE. See EUCHARIST.

SACRILEGE (ἱεροσυλία), a crime against a sacred person, thing, or place. Sacrilege against persons is mistreatment of an individual who has dedicated himself or herself to God: it ranged from raping consecrated virgins (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzos, PG 37:341B) to the beating and imprisonment of clergymen or their arraignment in a secular court, a procedure from which even patriarchs were not protected. Sacrilege against things is the misuse of sacred objects such as the eucharistic elements or icons; the Iconoclasts and Iconodules exchanged accusations of sacrilege, the Iconoclasts accusing their opponents of idolatry, while the Iconodules charged their adversaries with attacking sacred icons. Attempts of the state to confiscate sacred vessels in times of crisis (under Herakleios or Alexios I) were interpreted by the opposition as sacrilege. SIMONY can also be viewed as a type of sacrilege against things. Sacrilege against places is a violation of a cemetery (see GRAVE-ROBBING) or church. The law of ASYLUM protected churches from violent intrusions, but Byz. authors report many cases of the sacrilegious treatment of church buildings by external enemies, heretics, or warring factions, and hagiographers relate stories of divine punishment for sacrilege against places. In theory, ecclesiastical lands were considered inalienable, but the perception of the seizure of church land as sacrilege contradicted the concept of state control over all lands of the empire, and canon law yielded to pressure from the state. An excessively luxurious lifestyle on the part of clergymen was also considered *hierosylia* (e.g., [pseudo-]Palladios, *Dialogus*, ed. P.R. Coleman-Norton [Cambridge 1928] 70.4).

LIT. N. Iung, *DTC* 14 (1939) 692–703. A. Christophilopoulos, *Hellenikon ekklesiastikon dikaion* 3 (Athens 1956) 49f. Troianos, *Poinalios* 12–16, 48–52. –A.K.

SAEWULF, English pilgrim who visited Palestine in 1102–03, probably a merchant by profession. The focus of his *Relatio*, written in Latin, is Jerusalem and the Holy Land with its monuments and relics, but on the way there and back Saewulf visited Cyprus, some islands in the Aegean, and Byz. cities. His information about these sites combines reality, Christian tradition, and scraps of ancient lore. We learn that "Galienus," whom Saewulf calls "the most highly esteemed physician," was born in "Anchos" (in fact Pergamon); that John the Evangelist was banished to Patmos; that Andros was famous for its production of precious silk cloth; and that Smyrna was a great city. The description stops at the "Arm of St. George" (here meaning the Hellespont) and the two cities on its opposite shores, which he calls "the keys of Constantinople," whence he sailed to Macedonia.

ED. and TR. The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of Clifton in *PPTS* 4.2 (London 1896). Russ. tr. P. Bezobrazov in *PPSb* 9 (1885) 259–91.
LIT. Beazley, *Geography* 2:139–55. –A.K.

SAGAS. Written mainly in the 13th C. but based on oral tales and poetry composed from the 9th C. onward, the Icelandic sagas often set the exploits of their Scandinavian heroes, such as HAROLD HARDRADA, in Rus' (Gardariki) and in Constantinople (Mikligard, the Great Town). They rarely provide reliably precise historical information but can corroborate and supplement evidence for events in Byz. and Rus', esp. concerning the VARANGIANS. Some of their material and literary motifs probably emanated from a Varangian milieu. Stender-Petersen has suggested that parts of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET may also derive from Varangian sagas.

LIT. A. Stender-Petersen, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik* (Copenhagen 1934). E.A. Rydzevskaja, *Drevnjaja Rus' i Skandinavija v IX–XIV vv.* (Moscow 1978). D. Fry, *Norse Sagas Translated into English: A Bibliography* (New York 1980). C.J. Clover, J. Lindow, *Old Norse-Icelandic Literature: a Critical Guide* (Ithaca-London 1985). Davidson, *Road to Byz.* –S.C.F.

SAGION (σαγίον, Lat. *sagum*), term used for several varieties of cloak. It could be worn by soldiers: a military treatise of ca.600 (*Strat.Maurik.* XII B.1.8) prescribed that infantrymen should wear simple belts but no "Bulgarian *sagia*"; heavyweight *sagia* were used as blankets and tents (V.4.3–5). The term could also be used for the cloak of a hermit (John Moschos, PG 87:2908A). In the 12th C. the term appears in the *typikon* of the Kecharitomene nunnery (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 75.1013) as a general term for monastic robes.

The *sagion* was also an element of court attire:

according to a 10th-C. ceremonial book, during the procession to the Church of St. Mokios, *patrikioi* wore red (*alethina*) *sagia*, while *protospatharioi* had red *spekia* (*De cer.* 99.1–3)—the latter being, according to R. Guilland (*REGr* 58 [1945] 196–201), a garment worn beneath the cloak. In the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 171.18–19), *protospatharioi* are clad in both *sagia* and *spekia*. D. Beljaev (*Byzantina*, vol. 2 [St. Petersburg 1893] 23f, n.2) suggested that the *sagion* was a "semi-festive" cloak, shorter than the CHLAMYS. The emperor wore the *sagion* over the SKARAMANGION (*De cer.* 192.3–4); it could be purple and have a gold-embroidered border and pearl ornament (ibid. 72.7, 634.14–16). In the Psalter of BASIL II the emperor's cloak, probably a *sagion*, is blue. E. Piltz (*Figura* n.s. 17 [1976] 13–26) wrongly associates *sagion* and SAKKOS.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris 1917) 56f. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 25, n.75.
–A.K.

SAʿĪD IBN BAṬRĪQ. See EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA.

SAILOR (πλώϊμος, also πλωτής), the holder of a naval STRATEIA serving in the imperial NAVY or in the thematic fleets. Sailors fell into two categories: those who actually sailed the ship (rowers, steersmen) and the marines, who fought or launched GREEK FIRE or projectiles against the enemy (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 397–407). A novel of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos set the minimum property value sufficient to support a naval *strateia* in the maritime themes of SAMOS, AEGEAN SEA, and KIBYRRHAIOTAI at four pounds of gold; such a high value was necessary because these fleets, which saw more action, were self-equipped and rowed. Other thematic sailors or those of the imperial fleet (who received salaries) were to have property of at least two pounds of gold to support their *strateia* (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222.9–223.9). The naval *strateia* was among the less burdensome, however, falling between maintenance of the public post and infantrymen (Zon. 3:506.3–6); it was fiscalized during the 11th C. before being abolished by Manuel I Komnenos. –E.M.

SAINT (ἅγιος), or holy man (ὅσιος), synonymous titles given to Christians who by their death (MARTYR) or by their perfect life (CONFESSOR) made manifest their close linkage with the divine world. The Byz. did not have a formal procedure of CANONIZATION until very late in their history, and the acceptance of an individual as a saint was based on local traditions, reflected in the inclusion of the saint in the church CALENDAR and in SYNAXARIA. Essential characteristics of saints were their constant battle against DEMONS and their capacity for working MIRACLES. Saints belonged to all walks of life—from emperors (JOHN III VATATZES) and empresses (St. THEODORA [wife of Theophilos], St. THEOPHANO [wife of Leo VI]), to patriarchs, generals, craftsmen, and peasants, and even to freedmen (ANDREW THE FOOL), converted Jews (CONSTANTINE THE JEW), and reformed criminals (Moses the Black). Saints of the 4th to 6th C. apparently originated from and were closely connected to predominantly urban milieus whereas, beginning with NICHOLAS OF SION and THEODORE OF SYKEON, the countryside and then the capital assumed the leading role in producing saints.

The cult of saints included commemoration of their anniversaries (feastdays, the days of their death), composition of their VITAE, dedication of churches to them, veneration of their ICONS and RELICS; hymns in honor of the saints and readings from their vitae were included in the office. The saint was considered as the embodiment of Christian virtues, and in popular conception the image of the saint rivaled that of the emperor; the role of the saint was, however, questioned in the 12th C., at least by intellectuals (P. Magdalino in *Byz. Saint* 51–66). (See also HAGIOGRAPHY and HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION.)

LIT. *Bibliotheca sanctorum*, 12 vols. and indices (Rome 1961–70). D.H. Farmer, *The Oxford Dictionary of Saints*² (Oxford 1987). T. Baumeister, *RAC* 14 (1987) 96–150. H. Delehaye, *Sanctus* (Brussels 1927; rp. 1954). *The Byzantine Saint*, ed. S. Hackel (London 1981). P. Brown, *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley 1982). J. Seiber, *The Urban Saint in Early Byzantine Social History* (Oxford 1977).
–A.K.

SAINT'S LIFE. See VITA.

SAINTS' DAYS. See CALENDAR, CHURCH; FEAST.

SAKELLARIOS (σακελλάριος), the title of both an administrative and ecclesiastical official. The functions of the administrative *sakellarios* changed

over the centuries. The first known official of this title was Paul, a former slave, appointed to the post by ZENO (Jones, *LRE* 3:162, n.7). The duties of the *sakellarios* in the early period were connected with the care of the imperial bedchamber; the official is simultaneously named *spatharios* and *sakellarios* (I. Ševčenko, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 3) or *koubikoularios* and *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 737, 739–42, 744, 747). Under Justinian II the eunuch Stephen was appointed *sakellarios*. Despite the name of the office, which implies that the *sakellarios* was head of the SAKELLION, the functions of the *sakellarios* were not always financial. Herakleios sent the *sakellarios* Theodore at the head of an army; under Constans II a *sakellarios* conducted the examination of MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 23.12, 37.12–13) calls both Theodore and Stephen "treasurers (*tamiai*) of the imperial funds." This passage indicates that by the early 8th C. the office had acquired fiscal responsibilities, but does not demonstrate (as Bury [*Adm. System* 85] suggested) that *sakellarioi* of the 7th C. were already treasurers. A seal of the early 9th C. seems to name the *patrikios* Basil as *chartoularios* of the imperial VESTIARION and *sakellarios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.748).

By the mid-9th C. the *sakellarios* became a general comptroller, a high-ranking official who had notaries at every SEKRETON. From the end of the 11th C. the epithet *megas* was added to the designation of *sakellarios*. Dölger hypothesized that after 1094 the duties of the *sakellarios* were assumed by the *megas* LOGARIASTES; later, however, the *sakellarios* was restored. The *sakellarios* functioned until 1196 (the last mentioned in *Lavra* 1, nos. 67f).

The ecclesiastical *sakellarios* was a clerical official whose title probably originated in a connection between his office and a cathedral treasury (*sakellion*) analogous to the connection between the identically named imperial institutions. The patriarchal *sakellarios* rose to prominence at the end of the 11th C., acquired the epithet *megas*, displaced the (*megas*) SKEUOPHYLAX as the second ranking official on the staff of the patriarchate, and became closely involved in the reform of monastic patronage undertaken by Patr. Nicholas III Grammatikos and Emp. Alexios I. By this time, the office had lost any financial functions it may have had and carried responsibility for the supervision of the monasteries of Constantinople (Balsamon, Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:534.31–32), including, notably, the registration and execution of patriarchal acts entrusting monastic houses to the care of lay patrons (see EPHOROS; CHARISTIKION). Perhaps for a time in the 13th C. this role was restricted to convents. By this date, the institution was replicated throughout the provinces. A late 13th-C. act of the metropolitan of Thessalonike shows the local *megas sakellarios* fulfilling exactly the same functions as his counterpart in Constantinople (ed. P. Magdalino, *REB* 35 [1977] 285).

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 16–19. Oikonomides, *Listes* 312. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 310–14, 551, 556, 558, 561. Meester, *De monachico statu* 183–85. –A.K., P.M.

SAKELLION (σακέλλιον), or *sakelle*, or *sakella*; terms used for treasury, with three different meanings.

1. Imperial Treasury. The Byz. variously attempted to derive the etymology of the term. ANASTASIOS OF SINAI (PG 89:84CD) explained *sakella* as a Syriac word for "receiving," while BALSAMON (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:534.28–29) defined *sakellon* (*sic*) as "management and preservation." Dölger (*Beiträge* 25) equates *sakellion* with the *tamieion*, that is, the bureau of the COMES RERUM PRIVATARUM. The 7th-C. texts, however, do not have this specific meaning: in the Life of JOHN ELEEMON (ch.12.5–9), Leontios of Neapolis speaks of the *demosia* (state) *sakella*, to which special taxes would flow, and in the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE (2:9.10–11), the *sakellion* functions as a treasury to reward soldiers freed from captivity. The *sakellion* was a treasury of money, to be distinguished from the VESTIARION. It is generally assumed that the SAKELLARIOS was for a while a head of the *sakellion*, but already in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij he is distinguished from the CHARTOULARIOS of the *sakelle*, the latter having the rank of *patrikios*. Besides being a treasury, the *sakellion* accumulated varied functions, as can be concluded from the list of its staff which included, besides clerks, a ZYGOSTATES (controller of the weight [of coins]), *metretes* (controller of MEASURES), directors of philanthropic institutions, and a *domestikos tes thymeles*, responsible for expenditures on public amusement. By the 11th C. the *sakelle* was the place where the inventory (BREBION) of imperial monasteries and

their properties was registered (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.30). The *sekreton* was also called the "imperial *sakellion*," and its head *ho epi sakelliou*. The extant seals cover the period from the 8th/9th to the 11th/12th C. The last mention in written sources is of 1145 (MM 6:105.27).

2–3. Ecclesiastical Usages. *Sakellion* or *sakelle* was originally a treasury of the Great Church of Constantinople, analogous to the imperial *sakellion*. Possibly following imperial precedent, the officials associated with the patriarchal *sakellion* had, by the 1090s, lost their residual function as treasurers and become responsible for religious foundations under patriarchal jurisdiction: the *megas sakellarios* for monasteries and the *sakelliou* (*ho sakelliou*) for public churches.

Sakelle was also the name given to the jail of the Great Church for clerical offenders, first attested in the 10th C. (Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 68.13).

LIT. **1.** Bury, *Adm. System* 93–95. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 737–83. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XVIII (1971), 412–14. –A.K.

LIT. **2–3.** Darrouzès, *Offikia* 62–64, 318–22. –P.M.

SAKKOS (σάκκος), a form of TUNIC; the word originally meant coarse sackcloth. In the late Roman empire the *sakkos* was a symbol of asceticism or penitence; *Sakkophoroi*, "those wearing sackcloth," became the name of a group of heretics who practiced an extreme asceticism. It is unknown how and when the word acquired the meaning of the Latin *dalmatica*, a T-shaped tunic with broad sleeves: it had a slit for the head and extended to the knees.

The imperial *sakkos* was the equivalent of or successor to the DIVETESION. According to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 224.27, 256.25), the emperor wore the *sakkos* at his coronation at Hagia Sophia (where at one point it was covered by a MANDYAS), on Palm Sunday, and probably at the PROKYPSIS. On Christmas the emperor wore a black *sakkos*, interpreted by the same source (201.10–12) as symbolic of the "mystery of imperial power"; this color, however, might reflect the early meaning of the word as the garb of penitence and asceticism.

The *sakkos* was also a church vestment. According to Balsamon (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:478.26–33, 546.31), the wearing of the *sakkos* was a patriarchal prerogative, but by the 13th C. it was permitted to certain metropolitans, and its use was eventually extended to bishops as well. As a vestment it was richly ornamented; the most elaborate as well as the earliest surviving example is the so-called DALMATIC OF CHARLEMAGNE (14th C.). From the 14th C. onward, Christ is sometimes depicted wearing the *sakkos* in scenes of the Communion of the Apostles in apse decoration.

LIT. Papas, *Messgewände* 105–30. Walter, *Art & Ritual* 17–19, 216. E. Piltz, "Trois sakkoi byzantins," *Figura* n.s. 17 (1976) 13–26. –A.K.

SALADIN (Ṣalāḥ al-Dīn Yusuf ibn Aiyūb), sultan of Egypt (from 1169), Damascus (from 1174), and Aleppo (from 1183), and suzerain of Mosul (from 1186); born Takrit 1138, died Damascus 4 Mar. 1193. Having reunified the lands of NŪR AL-DĪN, Saladin concentrated on war against the CRUSADER STATES. About 1185 ANDRONIKOS I allegedly asked him for an alliance. After Saladin conquered Jerusalem in 1187, ISAAC II requested his friendship and allowed the recognition of the ʿAbbāsid caliph in the mosque in Constantinople. Saladin's embassies to Constantinople (1188–89) sought information about the gathering Third Crusade and seemingly encouraged Isaac to resist Crusader armies that passed through Byz. Isaac probably sought favor for Greek Orthodoxy and possibly territorial grants in Saladin's realm. Isaac therefore tried to destroy the Crusade of FREDERICK I BARBAROSSA. In 1190–92 Isaac's frequent messages to Saladin seem to have gained an ineffectual alliance against ISAAC KOMNENOS, *basileus* of Cyprus. The relationship between Saladin and Isaac justified Westerners in depicting Byz. as pro-Muslim. Saladin founded the AYYŪBID dynasty.

LIT. M.C. Lyons, D.E.P. Jackson, *Saladin: The Politics of the Holy War* (Cambridge 1982). H. Möhring, *Saladin und der dritte Kreuzzug: Aiyubidische Strategie und Diplomatie im Vergleich vornehmlich der arabischen mit den lateinischen Quellen* (Wiesbaden 1980). R.-J. Lilie, "Noch einmal zu dem Thema 'Byzanz und die Kreuzfahrerstaaten,'" in *Varia*, vol. 1 (Bonn 1984) 142–63. –C.M.B.

SALAMIS. See CYPRUS.

SALE (πρᾶσις), a legal transaction in which rights of disposal are exchanged for money. In general, all THINGS (movable and immovable, animals) and rights (including state functions and DIGNITIES,

the purchase of TITLES) could be the basis for a sale CONTRACT. Limitations arose as a result of various economic, political, and social concerns, for example, with regard to ecclesiastical or military property (STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA), in transactions involving politically sensitive goods (PURPLE dye, WEAPONRY), in the market regulations of big cities, in the PROTIMESIS of neighbors, in the prohibition against selling oneself, in the respect for slave families, etc. An admissible sale contract could be either oral or written. In the case of defects in the merchandise, the goods could be returned within six months or a reduction in the price could be demanded within a year. Special regulations governed the purchase of animals in the marketplace (*Bk. of Eparch* 21.5,6). The seller had to protect the buyer from legal deficiencies (*dephension*). If the seller did not succeed in the *dephension* and the item was lost, the buyer was entitled to double the sale price plus the value of improvements made to it (*beltiosis*). Apart from the *laesio enormis* (or *diplasiasmos*: if the sale price was less than half the value of the item), which was operative in every sale, price regulation is documented primarily for transactions involving the provisioning of Constantinople (see MONOPOLY).

Deeds of Purchase. Some Byz. FORMULARIES of deeds of purchase have survived (e.g., D. Simon, S. Troianos, *FM* 2 [1977] 267–71, 290f) as have actual documents, both originals and copies. The earlier documents are primarily papyri from Egypt, the ALBERTINI TABLETS, and RAVENNA PAPYRI; the later ones are charters in monastic archives. G. Ferrari (*Byzantinisches Archiv* 4 [1910] 100) stressed the uniformity that characterizes Byz. deeds of purchase and their similarity in structure with those from southern Italy; according to D. Simon (in *Flores legum H.J. Scheltema oblati* [Groningen 1971] 175), this uniformity originated in the 6th C. due to the activity of LAW SCHOOLS in Constantinople and Berytus. Byz. deeds of purchase from the 13th–14th C. show certain significant local variations, so that it is possible to distinguish the clauses or sections of documents from chancelleries in Thessalonike, Serres, Miletos, and Smyrna (Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 28–36).

LIT. D. Nörr, "Das Struktur des Kaufes nach den byzantinischen Rechtsbüchern," *ByzF* 1 (1966) 230–59. M. Sargenti, "La compravendita nel tardo diritto romano," *Studi Biscardi*, vol. 2 (Milan 1982) 341–63. J.-O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2 (Stockholm 1982) 29–46. P. Zepos, "Paradosis engraphou e di'engraphou eis to byzantinon kai to metabyzantinon dikaion," in *Mneme G. Petropoulou*, vol. 1 (Athens 1984) 85–98. –A.K.

SALERNO (Σαλερινόν, in *De adm. imp.* 27.4), city in CAMPANIA on the southwest coast of Italy. It was captured by the Lombards probably after 625 (T.C. Lounghis, *Les ambassades byzantines en Occident* [Athens 1980] 107) and formed a part of the duchy of BENEVENTO. By 849 Salerno gained independence and formed a separate duchy. Like Benevento and CAPUA, Salerno was threatened by Arab attacks and by the end of the 9th C. had to acknowledge Byz. suzerainty. In 887 the Byz. confirmed the possessions of Guaimar I of Salerno within the borders of 849 and conferred upon him the title of *patrikios*; in 893/4 they even attempted to seize Salerno but failed (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 36f). After a victory over the Arabs at the GARIGLIANO in 915, the Byz. experienced a series of setbacks in the 920s that allowed Guaimar II of Salerno to strengthen his position and subjugate some territories in Lucania.

In the mid-10th C. a new element appeared on the scene in Italy—the Germany of OTTO I. Paldolf I Capodiferro of Capua became Otto's vassal and under his rule assembled Lombard lands in central Italy; in 977 Paldolf established his authority over Salerno. After Paldolf's death in 981, however, his great dominion disintegrated, and the inhabitants of Salerno accepted as their ruler the duke Manso of AMALFI (966–1004), an ally of Byz. Otto II besieged Salerno in 982; the city surrendered only after Otto had recognized Manso. Salerno continued to profit from the rivalry of the two empires that enabled Guaimar V (1027–52) to consolidate his rule; he united Capua, Amalfi, and Gaeta under his authority and, acting in concert with the Normans, shook off the last traces of Byz. suzerainty. It was to be only a temporary period of independence, however; Guaimar's son Gisulf II (1052–76), after desperate attempts to enlist the support of Amalfi and Constantinople, surrendered his city to the Normans in 1076. Salerno was one of the centers of Byz. cultural influence in Italy, esp. famous for its medical school, which developed Greek traditions.

Monuments of Salerno. The Lombard ruler Arechis II (758–87) repaired the city walls, built

a palace, and constructed a church dedicated to SS. Pietro e Paolo (Ward-Perkins, *From Classical Antiquity* 54, 171f, 197). The cathedral, sponsored by Archbp. Alfanus I (1058–85) and ROBERT GUISCARD, was consecrated in 1084. Byz. bronze DOORS were donated by Landulfo Butrumile and his wife. Fragmentary mosaics on the east wall of the transept were identified by Kitzinger as the work of Byz.-trained craftsmen from MONTECASSINO; more recently, however, A. Carucci reports restorations that in his opinion reveal that the mosaics must postdate the decoration of Alfanus I, putting the Cassinese connection in doubt.

LIT. C. Carucci, *Il principato di Salerno* (Salerno 1910). *Guida alla storia di Salerno*, ed. A. Leone, G. Vitole, 1 (Salerno 1982) 55–207. P. Delogu, *Mito di una città meridionale* (Naples 1977). A. Carucci, *I mosaici salernitani nella storia e nell'arte* (Cava dei Tirreni 1983). Kitzinger, *Art of Byzantium* 271–89. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 5:552–54.
–A.K., D.K.

ṢĀLIḤIDS, the dominant group among Arab FOEDERATI in the 5th C., sometimes called the Zokomids. Their history is obscure and it is not entirely clear whence they wandered into Oriens and where they settled. Byz. sources have preserved the name of Zokomos, the first of their chiefs in the service of Byz., while Arabic sources cite Dāwūd (David), one of the last. The Ṣāliḥids fought for Theodosios II and participated in his two short Persian wars. They performed their function as christianized *foederati* until the GHASSĀNIDS eclipsed them as the dominant federate power, but they continued as Byz. allies until the Arab conquests. The first recorded instance of Arabic court poetry in Oriens is associated with the Ṣāliḥids; it was probably under their influence that a version of the Arabic script was developed in Oriens that made use of both the old Nabatean and new Syriac scripts.

LIT. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (5th c.)*. –I.A.Sh.

SALLOUSTIOS (Σαλ⟨λ⟩ούστιος), 4th-C. author of a Greek handbook of NEOPLATONISM entitled *On the Gods and the World.* He has been variously identified with Flavius Sallustius, consul in 363, and with Saturninius Secundus Salutius, praetorian prefect in the East in 361–67, a high political and intellectual confidant of JULIAN. Either way, his book can be understood as involved with Julian's anti-Christian policy.

ED. *Saloustios, Des dieux et du monde*, ed. G. Rochefort (Paris 1960), with Fr. tr. *Sallustius Concerning the Gods and the Universe*, ed. A.D. Nock (Cambridge 1926), with Eng. tr.

LIT. G. Rochefort, "Le *Peri theon kai kosmou* de Saloustios et l'influence de l'empereur Julien," *REGr* 69 (1956) 50–66. R. Étienne, "Flavius Sallustius et Secundus Salutius," *REA* 65 (1963) 104–13. –B.B.

SALONA (Σάλωνες, mod. Solin in Yugoslavia), a Roman *municipium* and port in Illyricum on the Dalmatian sea coast. Finds of coins and pottery suggest prosperity in the 4th C. despite the scarcity of building remains from this period (V. von Gonzenbach in *Excavations at Salona, Yugoslavia*, ed. C. Clairmont [Park Ridge, N.J., 1975] 134f). The mausoleum of Anastasios in the Marusinac cemetery may date as early as ca.300, while the first episcopal basilica, the southern part of Salona's twin cathedral, may be of the mid-4th C. (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 180). The northern church, the *basilica urbana*, dates to the first quarter of the 5th C. In the 5th C. Salona was in the hands of the Ostrogoths, who contributed to the development of Arianism in the city. Dyggve (*infra*) suggests that at least one of the basilicas excavated in Salona was Arian. Salona became a metropolis and in 530 the site of a council, its bishop Honorius being called *archiepiscopus*. Reconquered by the Byz. under Justinian I ca.537, Salona was subjected to Slav and Avar attacks, but probably remained inhabited until the 630s (I. Marović in *Disputationes salonitanae*, vol. 2 [Split 1984] 293–314). Its population then migrated to nearby SPLIT, where the episcopal center was also transferred; the greatly venerated relics of the Salonitan martyrs, however, were carried to Rome. Only the mausoleum of Anastasios was able to survive the general destruction of Salona. The site was revived as Solin under Croatian rulers by the 11th C.; some new churches were built and in 1076 King Zvonimir was crowned there.

LIT. E. Dyggve, *History of Salonitan Christianity* (Oslo 1951). I. Nikolajević, "Salona cristiana aux VIe et VIIe siècles," *Disputationes salonitanae*, vol. 1 (Split 1975) 91–95. E. Dyggve, R. Egger, *Der altchristliche Friedhof Marusinac* (Vienna 1939). E. Ceci, *I monumenti cristiani di Salona* (Milan 1963).
–A.K.

SALT (ἅλας). This product, essential for the preservation of food and of life, was, in the medieval and early modern periods, an important item of trade and of revenues. In Byz., salt was produced

in salines (*halyke*), and the state retained rights over its production and sale. An edict of Arkadios and Honorius (398) gave the managers of salines privileges over the sale and purchase of salt in the city of Rome; all others who wished to buy and sell salt could do so only if the managers (*mancipes*) were intermediaries (*Cod.Just.* IV 61.11). An edict of Justinian II (Sept. 688) granted to the Church of St. Demetrios, in gratitude for the saint's help in the wars against the Slavs, the revenues of a saline near Thessalonike (on the west coast of the Thermaic Bay [?]). The saline is called "entirely free," that is, it paid no taxes to the state; the clergy were exempted from giving contributions from the saline to any military person (Grégoire, *infra*). There were many salines near Thessalonike and in the rest of Macedonia. In 1415 there were in Thessalonike at least two guilds of workers in the saline, who drew an annual salary (*Dionys.*, no.14); they seem to have been quite an important group. Salines were granted by emperors to monasteries (*Xénoph.*, no.1.146). There were also salines on the Black Sea coasts, in Crete, Peloponnesos, and very important ones in Cyprus.

The export of salt to "barbarians" was forbidden (SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM K.10.1, *Basil.* 56.1.11). The first Palaiologan emperors tried to retain or reestablish state rights over the sale of salt. The Venetians and the Genoese could not sell salt from the Black Sea in Byz. territories. They were not even allowed to unload it in Constantinople and Pera (Belgrano, "Prima serie" 116–23). The Venetians were forbidden to buy or sell salt within the empire (G.M. Thomas, *Diplomatarium Veneto-Levantinum* [Venice 1880; rp. New York 1966] no.73, p.129.14). Salt from the Black Sea and the Italian possessions in Romania was an important item of trade for Venice and Genoa—but they seem to have adhered to the prohibition of selling it in Pera. Alexios APOKAUKOS made a fortune as manager of the state salt pans, whose revenues he was accused of appropriating (Kantak. 1:118.3–5; cf. Greg. 1:301.12).

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "An Edict of the Emperor Justinian II, September, 688," *Speculum* 18 (1943) 1–13 (and comments by S. Kyriakides, *Makedonika* 2 [1941–52] 751–53). H. Grégoire, "Un édit de l'empereur Justinien II daté de septembre 688," *Byzantion* 17 (1944–45) 119–124a. K.-P. Matschke, *Die Schlacht bei Ankara und das Schicksal von Byzanz* (Weimar 1981) 144–59. Balard, *Romanie génoise* 2:708–11.
–A.L.

SALTOVO, a village in the Ukraine near the Siverskij Donec where in 1890–1900 an extensive complex of fortified (120 hectares) and open settlements (villages) were excavated; hence the newly discovered culture (8th–10th C.) was called "Saltovo" (or "Saltovo-Majacky"; Majackoe gorodišče is located at the confluence of the Tichaja Sosna and the Don). At present more than 300 Saltovo sites have been found in a vast territory extending from the basin of the Kama river to Dagestan, the Crimea, and Bulgaria. The two variants of Saltovo culture represent two basic "ethnic" components of the KHAZAR state: the "Alan" in the northern Caucasus and in the Donec-Don forest-steppe zone, and the "Proto-Bulgarian" (BULGAR) in the steppe zone as well as in the region of Phanagoria (Magna Bulgaria). The Alan type is characterized by large, permanent agricultural settlements (both fortified and open) with semi-subterranean dwellings and by catacomb burials with rich grave goods. The Proto-Bulgarians were nomads or seminomads who had temporary yurt-like dwellings and narrow-pitted burial grounds. They buried the dead with their horses and with only modest offerings.

Two characteristics common to both types of Saltovo culture are a particular yellow pottery made of clay mixed with grass and sand, and "castles" of white sand, 12 of which, including SARKEL, have been found in the Donec-Don region. Some of the pottery and other artifacts display Late Antique forms and subsequently follow contemporary Byz. patterns.

LIT. S.A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam* (Moscow 1967). Eadem, "Saltovo-Majackaja kul'tura," *Archeologija SSSR. Stepi Evrazii v epochu srednevekov'ja* (Moscow 1981) 62–75, 150–72. A. Bartha, *Hungarian Society in the 9th and 10th Centuries* (Budapest 1975).
–O.P.

SALUTATORIUM, a conventional (Western) term for the reception room located at the entrance to the PALACE of a ruler, official, or bishop. There is little archaeological evidence for its architectural form. The circular, domed chamber at the entrance to Diocletian's palace at Split may have been a *salutatorium*, as is also possible for the 5th-C. MYRELAION rotunda and the rotunda of the Palace of Lausos in Constantinople.

LIT. E.B. Smith, *Architectural Symbolism of Imperial Rome and the Middle Ages* (Princeton 1956) 135, 142.
–M.J.

SALVAGE, RIGHT OF, a medieval custom that allowed the owners of coastal lands to take possession of cargo washed ashore after a shipwreck. The *Basilika* preserved the regulations of the *Digest* that prohibited such a seizure: thus *Basil.* 53.3.23 states that items found after a storm or wreck are not subject to the LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO, since they do not "lack an owner" (*adespota*). The RHODIAN SEA LAW (par.45) permitted the person on shore who salvaged objects from a shipwreck to take as his reward (*misthos*) one-fifth of them (or of their prices). *Cod. Just.* XI 6.1 stresses that the fisc has no right to salvaged property; it belongs to its original owner. Actual practice, however, differed from law: Andronikos I opposed the old custom of plundering wrecked ships and introduced a severe penalty for such a crime (*Reg* 2, no.1566). International treaties protected ships that foundered in foreign waters: thus, the Russo-Byz. treaty of 911 prescribed that a Greek ship cast ashore in the land of Rus' should remain safe and inviolate and established a penalty for plundering such a ship.

LIT. M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Vnutrennjaja politika Andronika Komnina," *VizVrem* 12 (1957) 66, n.46. –A.K.

SALVATION (σωτηρία), the most generic concept of Christian SOTERIOLOGY, designating the final restoration of MANKIND to its status before original SIN, its deification (THEOSIS). Theodore of Mopsuestia (PG 66:828BC) defines it as "universal liberation from evil which will take place in the future age." The possibility of salvation was created by the mystery of REDEMPTION and it is received from God/Christ through the Scripture, sacraments, orthodox belief, and upright life. Whereas Augustine stressed the necessity of the church as an institution for salvation (as an agent officiating at baptism, Eucharist, extreme unction, exorcism), some Eastern theologians (SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, HESYCHASTS) emphasized the individual way of salvation via moral purification and complete submission to God's will.

The scope of salvation was discussed by the church fathers. The common opinion was that salvation was offered to all (e.g., Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:149C), but the "sons of lawlessness" were not to be saved; ORIGEN, on the other hand, taught that in the final account everybody would be granted salvation. It remained unclear when the fate of an individual was decided, whether it was immediately after death, while passing through multiple *teloneia* (as described in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER), or at the LAST JUDGMENT. Salvation was conceived as related to both soul and body, even though the physical dwelling in Christian PARADISE was not depicted in such graphic terms as that of Islam. The history of mankind was seen teleologically as a way toward salvation through several stages of development; Christian thinkers dwelt much on the vision of the period preceding the Last Judgment, but Byz. ESCHATOLOGY did not reach the level of Western concepts.

LIT. B. Studer, B. Daley, *Soteriologie in der Schrift und Patristik* (Freiburg im Breisgau–Basel–Vienna 1978). J.P. Burns, "The Economy of Salvation. Two Patristic Traditions," *TheolSt* 37 (1976) 598–619. J. Allen, "An Orthodox Perspective of 'Liberation,'" *GOrThR* 26 (1981) 71–80. A. Luneau, *L'histoire du salut chez les Pères de l'Eglise* (Paris 1964). J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vol. 1 (Chicago-London 1971) 141–55, 232–36. –A.K.

SALVIAN, Latin ecclesiastical writer; born Trier? ca.400, died Marseilles ca.480. After separation from his wife, Salvian lived on the island of Lérins (off the French Riviera) from ca.424 and then ca.439 settled as a priest at Marseilles. His major work is the *Governance of God*, in the eight books of which he imitates Tacitus in contrasting barbarian virtue with Roman decadence, claiming their invasions to be God's punishment. Salvian can fairly be blamed for helping to propagate the myth of the noble savage, but his book is full of valuable secular and social history, with much on the collapse of urban life in the provinces, the barbarian impact, and passionate reflections on the poverty of the many and the oppression and decadence of the rich minority. A treatise on almsgiving, variously titled *To the Church* or *Against Avarice*, survives, as do nine letters that furnish some autobiographical details.

ED. *Oeuvres*, ed. G. Lagarrigue, 2 vols. (Paris 1971–75), with Fr. tr. *The Writings*, tr. J.F. O'Sullivan (Washington, D.C., 1947; rp. 1977).

LIT. J. Badewien, *Geschichtstheologie und Sozialkritik im Werk Salvians von Marseille* (Göttingen 1980). M. Pellegrino, *Salviano di Marsiglia* (Rome 1940). P. Lebeau, "Hérésie et Providence selon Salvien," *Nouvelle revue théologique* 65 (1963) 160–75. –B.B.

SĀMĀNIDS, a dynasty of Persian emirs (874/5–999) who ruled in Transoxiana and Persia. From their capital at Bukhara their power eventually reached to the southern shore of the Caspian Sea and the major part of modern Afghanistan. The Sāmānid state had trade relations with Iran, Khazaria, Rus', and China. Their court was a center of the revival of Persian literature.

In the course of the 10th C. the Sāmānids faced two problems before which they eventually succumbed. First, they relied very heavily on the GHULĀM system for much of their military power. These Turkish slave troops eventually separated from the state and founded a rival dynasty, the Ghaznavid. Second, the demographic pressure of the Karahānid (Ilek Hān) Turks created a new political threat to the Sāmānid state in the north. Before these two forces the Sāmānid state collapsed in 999, the Karahānids occupying Transoxiana and the Ghaznavids Khurāsān. Of ultimate importance for Byz. was the fact that the SELJUK nomads made their appearance here during the three-way struggle of Karahānids, Sāmānids, and Ghaznavids. In 1040 the Seljuks defeated the Ghaznavids at Dandanaqan, decided the fate of Khurāsān, and intensified the westward progress of the Turkish nomads who would conquer and settle Byz. Anatolia.

LIT. V.F. Büchner, *EI* 4:121–24. O. Pritsak, "Die Karachaniden," *Der Islam* 31 (1953) 17–68. C.E. Bosworth, *The Ghaznavids* (Beirut 1973). Vryonis, *Decline* 80–85. –S.V.

SAMARIA. See SEBASTE.

SAMARITANS (from Samaria in the mountains of central Israel), a strictly monotheistic sect, descended, according to the Pentateuch, from the ancient Israelite tribes of Ephraim and Manasseh. Led by high priests (Aaronides), Samaritans rejected the prophets and writings of the Hebrew Bible and the centrality of Jerusalem in late biblical and rabbinic Judaism. Normative Jews in turn excommunicated them. Still, Samaritans enjoyed the Jewish status of *religio licita* until the time of Justinian I. Their primary settlement was near Nablus, with colonies in Egypt, Syria, Thessalonike, and Constantinople. Extremely rebellious toward Byz. policy in Palestine, they revolted frequently (e.g., in 451, 484, 529, 578) and were ruthlessly crushed. Justinian destroyed their synagogues and their altar on Mt. Gerizim and imposed severe restrictions (*Cod.Just.* I 5.17) that Justin II renewed in 572 (nov.144). Mentioned among rioting mobs in Constantinople in 580, Samaritans still appear in Byz. law codes even after Arabs conquered their homeland.

LIT. A.D. Crown, "The Samaritans in the Byzantine Orbit," *BullJRylandsLib* 69 (1986) 96–138. A.M. Rabello, *Giustiniano, Ebrei e Samaritani*, vol. 1 (Milan 1987). K.G. Holum, "Caesarea and the Samaritans," in *City, Town and Countryside in the Early Byzantine Era* (New York 1982) 65–73. J. Kaplan, "A Samaritan Amulet from Corinth," *IEJ* 30 (1980) 196–98. S. Winkler, "Die Samariter in den Jahren 529/30," *Klio* 43/45 (1965) 435–57. –S.B.B.

SAMONAS (Σαμῶνας), a favorite of LEO VI; born Melitene, ca.875, died Constantinople? after 908. A captive Arab eunuch, Samonas served in the house of Stylianos ZAOUTZES and launched his career ca.900 by denouncing a plot of Zaoutzes' relatives against Leo (the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER erroneously presented Samonas as *parakoimomenos* already in 896). Circa 904 Samonas made an enigmatic flight toward the eastern frontier; he was, however, arrested by Constantine DOUKAS and brought to trial in the senate. Although not acquitted, Samonas managed to regain imperial favor. Jenkins (*infra*) hypothesized that the flight was a pretense and that Samonas intended to engage in espionage within the caliphate; the sources are too meager to prove it. The episode reflects, however, the conflict between the military aristocracy (the Doukas family) and Leo's officials. Samonas remained a staunch supporter of Leo VI during the dispute over the TETRAGAMY and was appointed *parakoimomenos* (probably after the deposition of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS). His intrigue against the *patrikios* Constantine was a failure. With the help of CONSTANTINE OF RHODES, Samonas produced a letter offensive to the emperor and allegedly written by the *patrikios* Constantine. His plot was discovered, and in 908 Samonas was compelled to take the monastic habit. He is described with an apparent animosity in the vitae of both Basil the Younger and Patr. EUTHYMIOS; Janin adopted this negative approach, while Karlin-Hayter characterized Samonas as "a trusted and powerful minister of Leo's, particularly concerned with Security" (*Vita*

Euthym. 177). Samonas's career is recounted at length by John SKYLITZES and depicted in a long sequence of miniatures in the illustrated version of this chronicle, Madrid, Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26-2 (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 251–52, 258, 261–63, 267–70).

LIT. R. Janin, "Un Arabe ministre à Byzance: Samonas," *EO* 34 (1935) 307–18. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt.X (1948), 217–35. –A.K., A.C.

SAMOS (Σάμος), island in the Aegean Sea off the west coast of Asia Minor, part of the province of the Islands (Insulae). Excavations have revealed building activity of the 4th C. in the city of Samos: a peristyle house on Kastro Tigani (R. Tölle-Kastenbein, *Samos* 14 [1974] 83–89) and the bath complex on the site of the former gymnasium, with coins through 352 or 354. In the 5th C. a basilica was erected (*ibid.* 92–105). The bath was inhabited in the 6th–7th C. (W. Martini, *Samos* 16 [1984] 264), and a cistern in the Heraion was active to ca.538 (H.P. Isler, *MDAI AA* 84 [1969] 229). Thereafter many sites along the coast were abandoned, and settlement concentrated in the interior at sites such as Kastrovouni and in the vicinity of Karlovasi. The remains of many churches of the 4th–6th C. are preserved on the island. A 7th-C. fort has been identified at Kastro Lazarou.

In the 7th C. Samos was in an area subject to Arab attacks. A later tradition preserved in Chalkokondyles says that Samos was subdued by the caliphs of Cairo and forced to provide them with ships. The theme of Samos was formed by the end of the 9th C. and is first mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos; it included considerable territory on the mainland, and the capital was SMYRNA. It was divided into two *tourmai*, Ephesus and Atramyttion. In the 10th C. Samos was used as a base both by the Arabs in their inroads in the Aegean Sea and by the Byz. for attacks on Crete; TZACHAS temporarily occupied the island. Despite all the hardships of warfare Samos flourished in the 12th C.: DANIIL IGUMEN praises its wealth, esp. in fish, and al-IDRĪSĪ describes it as a pleasant place rich in cows and sheep. In 1204 Samos was granted to BALDWIN OF FLANDERS, but it was seized by John III Vatatzes ca.1225. It was surrendered to the Genoese in 1304, recovered briefly by the Byz. between 1329 and 1346, then ruled again by the Genoese until 1475.

Legends connect the christianization of Samos with St. Paul, but no bishop is known before the 5th or even the 7th C. The bishop of Samos was the first suffragan of Rhodes (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:530–34). The Church of the Panagia Sarandaskaliotissa west of Marathokambos was built by PAUL OF LATROS.

LIT. G. Shipley, *A History of Samos, 800–188 B.C.* (Oxford 1987) 249–68. A.M. Schneider, "Samos in frühchristlicher und byzantinischer Zeit," *MDAI AA* 54 (1929) 96–141. I. Siderokastrou, *He ekklesia tes Samou* (Samos 1967). K. Tsakos, "Symbole ste palaiochristianike kai proime byzantine mnemeiographia tes Samou," *ArchEph* (1979) 11–25. –T.E.G.

SAMOSATA (Σαμόσατα, Ar. Sumaysāṭ, now Samsat in Turkey), city on the north bank of the Euphrates. According to Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 14.8.7), it was one of the largest cities of the province of EUPHRATENSIS. During the Persian wars Samosata was often a campsite for the Byz. army on the way to Persia, but it did not play any decisive role in events. The city was an important center of Christianity: many martyrs of the 3rd C. originated there as well as Lucian of Samosata, the teacher of Arius, and Paul of Samosata, a defender of the idea of strong episcopal power. Arians prospered in Samosata, and its bishop Eusebios tried in vain to oppose them; killed by an Arian woman in 380, he was allegedly proclaimed a "holy victim" by Gregory of Nazianzos (F. Halkin, *AB* 85 [1967] 15.10–12). Eusebios's tomb in the cathedral became the center of a cult.

After being occupied by the Arabs in 639, Samosata early became the target of Byz. raids: in 700 the Byz. under Tiberios II took booty and captives in the region of Samosata. Expeditions continued throughout the 9th and 10th C. The 10th-C. *Taktikon* of Beneševič mentions the *katepano* of Samosata, but it is unclear whether this was Samosata on the Euphrates or Samosata in Armenia (Oikonomides, *Listes* 360). Samosata was probably a part of the THEME of "the *poleis* on the Euphrates" that existed in the 11th C. In 1070 it was included in the region between Edessa and Antioch controlled by Philaretos BRACHAMIOS.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 134–37. –A.K.

SAMOTHRACE (Σαμοθράκη), mountainous island in the northeastern AEGEAN SEA, a city of Macedonia I in the 6th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 1.57, ed. Pertusi 86) describes it as part of the *eparchia* of Thrace. Pseudo-Symeon Magistros (*TheophCont* 706.4–8) calls it a Thracian peninsula and suggests a fantastic etymology of its name (opulent with beasts and colonized by Samians). Some churches, graves, and minor objects (lamps, weights, etc.) of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered on Samothrace (K. Lehmann-Hartleben, *AJA* 43 [1939] 141f) as has an inscription mentioning restoration of a bath by Justinian (probably Justinian I: G. Downey, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 21f). A biographer of Theophanes the Confessor (who was exiled to Samothrace) describes the island as situated in the sea of MARONEIA and calls it a horrible and arid place (Theoph. 2:12.13–16). In 945 Constantine Lekapenos, son of Romanos I, was exiled to Samothrace, where he was accused of an attempt at usurpation and murdered (*TheophCont* 438.2–5).

After 1204 Samothrace was given to the Latin emperor of Constantinople but returned to Byz. in 1261. Circa 1330 the island was attacked by the emir of SMYRNA and EPHESUS (Lemerle, *Aydin* 72f). During the Civil War of 1341–47 John V Palaiologos seized Samothrace together with Lemnos, Imbros, and Lesbos (Greg. 3:226.10–13). Circa 1431 Samothrace was in the hands of Palamede GATTILUSIO, the lord of AINOS, who built a new fortress there, as witnessed by two inscriptions on its walls. The island, called Sanctus Mandrachi by the Latins, was famous for its honey and goats (Miller, *Essays* 326f). John Laskaris Rhyndakenos governed Samothrace from 1444 to 1455; the Gattilusi came back for a short time, but in 1456 the Turkish fleet annexed the island. A papal navy under the command of Cardinal Scarampi, patriarch of Aquileia, was sent to incite a revolt on the island; the Greek *archon* of Kastro captured Samothrace and it remained under papal jurisdiction until 1459, when it was recaptured by the Turks. In 1460 Mehmed II granted a part of Samothrace to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea.

LIT. S.N. Papageorgiou, *Samothrake* (Athens 1982) 51–64. P.W. Lehmann, D. Spittle, *The Temenos* (Princeton 1982) 297–301. –T.E.G.

SAMPSON. See PRIENE.

SAMPSON THE XENODOCHOS, legendary saint; feastday 27 June. He is thought by some to be of the 6th C., although the notice on Zotikos in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 359.44) calls him a contemporary of Constantine I. T. Miller argues that Sampson (Σαμψών) may in fact have lived in the 4th C. According to his vita, Sampson was born in Rome to a noble family and emigrated to Constantinople during the patriarchate of MENAS (536–52), who ordained him to the priesthood. He was also a PHYSICIAN who reportedly healed Justinian I and founded the Constantinopolitan HOSPITAL (*xenon*) that bore his name. Sampson was considered the patron of physicians, who would march in procession on his feastday to the Church of St. Mokios, where his relics allegedly reposed. His vita is known only in the version of SYMEON METAPHRASTES, which contains abundant information concerning the activity of the *xenon* in the 10th C. and esp. about the misbehavior of its officials, whom the saint castigated in a posthumous appearance. Later Constantine AKROPOLITES wrote a panegyric of Sampson (unpublished), and Manuel PHILES called him a model of generosity. During the Latin occupation of Constantinople the *xenon* was taken over by the Templars.

In illustrated MSS of the *menologion* of Metaphrastes, Sampson is portrayed as an elderly priest with a short round beard, holding a book; one of these MSS shows him in a church being laid out on a bier (Paris, B.N. gr. 1528, fol.47v).

SOURCE. PG 115:277–308. *Synax.CP* 773–76.
LIT. *BHG* 1614z–1615d. D. Stiernon, *Bibl.Sanct.* 11 (1968) 636–38. T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore-London 1985) 80–83. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 191–95. Janin, *Églises CP* 574f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SAMSUN. See AMISOS.

SAMUEL OF ANI, chronicler and priest. Of his life nothing is known, save that an Armenian patriarch of Cilicia, Gregory (probably Gregory III, 1113–66), requested a chronicle from him. The first part of this chronicle is based on the *Canon* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA and on MOSES XORENAC'I. The second part, from the birth of

Christ to 1179, gives chronological tables, correlating events in Armenia with the reigns of Byz. emperors. It is a useful source for Byz. policy in Anatolia and was frequently quoted by Armenian writers of the 13th C. and later. The narrative was later continued down to 1665.

ED. *Hawak'munk'i groc' Patmagrac'*, ed. A. Ter-Mikaelean (Ejmiacin 1893). Lat. tr. PG 19:607–742. Partial Fr. tr. in M.F. Brosset, *Collection des historiens arméniens*, vol. 2 (St. Petersburg 1876; rp. Amsterdam 1979) 340–483.

LIT. M. Brosset, "Samouel d'Ani: revue générale de sa chronologie," *Bulletin de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg* 18 (1873) 402–42. –R.T.

SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, seemingly the youngest of the KOMETOPOULOI; tsar of BULGARIA; died Prilep 6 Oct. 1014. He ruled the area of Ohrid with his brothers, then alone after 987 or 988—as *basileus* after 996 or 997. He reestablished the Bulgarian patriarchate at Ohrid. Primarily, he struggled for independence against Byz. P. Tivčev (*BBulg* 3 [1969] 42) hypothesizes that ca.981 Samuel invaded Greece, then (between 982 and 986, according to G. Litavrin, *Kek.* 512) Thessaly, where he seized Larissa. Exploiting Basil II's involvement in the struggle with Bardas SKLEROS and Bardas PHOKAS, Samuel expanded his realm. The peak of his success was his victory over Basil at TRAJAN'S GATE. From 991 Basil waged systematic war against Samuel. Despite the victory of Nikephoros OURANOS over Samuel at the Spercheios River (996 or 997), the struggle was indecisive. Basil tried to attract the Serbs as allies against him (G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantion* 19 [1949] 187–94) and made generous promises to Bulgarian aristocrats. From 1001 the Byz. offensive was continuous. Basil invaded the regions of Serdica, Macedonia, Vidin, Skopje (1004), and Dyrrachion (1005). The decisive blow fell in July 1014, when Basil annihilated the Bulgarian army at Belasica (Gr. Kleidion); allegedly 14,000 captives were blinded and sent to Samuel. Unable to endure the sight of this sorrowful procession, he died in two days. The controversy over whether Samuel created a Macedonian, West Bulgarian, or Bulgarian state is ahistorical, as it projects modern ethnic distinctions onto the past.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1. 2:643–743. S. Antoljak, *Samoilovata država* (Skopje 1971). R. Ljubinković, "L'Illyricum et la question romaine à la fin du Xe et au début du XIe siècle," *La chiesa greca in Italia*, vol. 3 (Padua 1973) 927–69. –A.K., C.M.B.

SANCTA SANCTORUM RELIQUARY, conventional name for a small red box (24 × 18.5 × 4 cm) in the Vatican filled with bits of earth, wood, and cloth. Manufactured in Palestine ca.600, it entered the Museo Sacro from the Treasure of the Sancta Sanctorum in the early 20th C. The box contains EULOGIAI from the Holy Land, some of which still have legible labels (e.g., "from Sion"). The inside of its sliding cover bears five scenes of events from the life of Christ. They read from lower left to upper right: Nativity, Baptism, Crucifixion, Myrrophoroi, and the Ascension. Their figure style and arrangement parallels that of contemporary Palestinian icons preserved in the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Mt. Sinai. The pictures document the sacred origin of the *eulogiai* contained in the box, but only in a general way: some *eulogiai* lack pictures, and vice versa. Not all scenes correspond accurately to the biblical text: the MYRROPHOROI, for example, shows a complex architectural ensemble modeled on the Holy Sepulchre and the Anastasis Rotunda instead of the rock-hewn cave of the Gospel account. Iconographically, this cycle is part of a group that includes pilgrims' AMPULLAE, octagonal gold marriage RINGS, PILGRIM TOKENS, and silver amuletic ARMBANDS. They repeat some or all of a distinctively PALESTINIAN CHRISTOLOGICAL CYCLE developed in the 6th C. in response to the pilgrim trade.

LIT. C.R. Morey, "The Painted Panel from the Sancta Sanctorum," in *Festschrift Paul Clemen* (Düsseldorf-Bonn 1926) 150–67. K. Weitzmann, "*Loca Sancta* and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 31–55. –G.V.

SANCTIO PRAGMATICA, law issued 13 Aug. 554 by Justinian I, officially at the request of Pope VIGILIUS but addressed to NARSES as well as to the prefect Antiochos. Its aim was the restoration, after the reconquest of Italy, of the Roman order. Preserving the acts of such Ostrogothic rulers as AMALASUNTHA and THEODAHAD, the *Sanctio Pragmatica* annulled the measures of TOTILA: former owners recovered their estates, slaves (including those emancipated by Totila), and herds of cattle; the *Sanctio Pragmatica* confirmed senators' titles to their estates and enhanced their control over tenant farmers; it cancelled any contracts extorted on behalf of Totila or his partisans. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* also restored Roman administration

and the privileges of both senate and church, allowed civilians to be tried only by civil judges, and guaranteed traditional rations and salaries to grammarians, rhetors, doctors, and jurists. It reestablished funds for the repair of aqueducts and public buildings. Some local privileges were also emphasized: the election of provincial governors was reserved to local bishops and primates, and governors' salaries were abolished. The law protected landowners from the abuses in *coemptio* (see SYNONE), the forced purchase of agricultural products. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* was similar to the decrees issued after the conquest of Africa in 534; but, unlike Africa, which was a single military unit, Italy consisted of several independent districts. The *Sanctio Pragmatica* also tried to protect provincial governors from the interference of central departments in tax collection.

LIT. G. Archi, "Pragmatica sanctio pro petitione Vigili," in *Festschrift für Franz Wieacker* (Göttingen 1978) 11–36. Z.V. Udal'cova, "Pragmatičeskaja sankcija Justiniana ob ustrojstve Italii," *SovArch* 28 (1958) 317–32. T.S. Brown, *Gentlemen and Officers* (Rome 1984) 8f, 33, 198. –W.E.K.

SANCTUARY. See BEMA.

SANTABARENOS, THEODORE, a supporter of PHOTIOS; born Santabaris, Phrygia, died Constantinople? between 914 and 919. Santabarenos (Σανταβαρηνός; Sandabarenos in Skylitzes) originated from a "Manichaean" milieu; Caesar BARDAS placed him in the STOUDIOS monastery, where, after the deposition of NICHOLAS OF STOUDIOS, Santabarenos became *hegoumenos* temporarily; he was expelled from Stoudios after the fall of Photios. During his second patriarchate, Photios promoted Santabarenos to the post of metropolitan of Euchaita and ca.880 introduced him to BASIL I. Santabarenos acquired Basil's favor by showing him—magically—the image of his deceased son CONSTANTINE. In the plot against the future emperor LEO VI, Santabarenos played a decisive role, arranging the deposition of ANDREW THE SCYTHIAN as well. Vogt ("Léon VI," 420f) connects Santabarenos's slandering of Leo with the mutiny of John KOURKOUAS against Basil I and considers Kourkouas a relative of Photios. Leo's reconciliation with his father (in memory of which a feastday was established on 20 July) and then Basil's death ended Santabarenos's career; he was brought to trial, and Leo personally flogged him. Exiled to Athens, Santabarenos was eventually blinded and then banished to the east. Later Leo recalled him and granted him a pension (*siteresion*) from the Nea Ekklesia.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 40–53. –A.K.

SANT'ANGELO IN FORMIS, church of the monastery donated to MONTECASSINO by Prince Richard I of Capua in 1072. Located to the northeast of Capua, it preserves an extensive fresco decoration generally believed to be the most authentic extant reflection of the work of the Byz. artists brought to Italy by Abbot Desiderius (1058–87). Sadly damaged by restoration, the murals include a portrait of Desiderius as donor in the apse, three registers of New Testament scenes above the nave colonnades, Old Testament scenes in the aisles, and a Last Judgment on the west wall. It is a reasonable presumption that the church was painted shortly after 1072, but some scholars assign the murals to a later period because of contradictions in the written documentation. In style and quality these paintings are almost unique in their local context; de' Maffei (*infra*) attributes them to Desiderius's mosaicists, though some may be by local artists emulating Byz. effects. In the porch, which was rebuilt in the 12th C., are paintings in a different style, including an image of the Virgin as queen with a Greek inscription (*o despena theotoke*), unanimously attributed to a Byz. painter.

LIT. O. Morisani, *Gli affreschi di S. Angelo in Formis* (Naples 1962). *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:468f, 480–87. F. de' Maffei, "Sant'Angelo in Formis," *Commentari* n.s. 27 (1976) 143–78; n.s. 28 (1977) 26–57, 195–235. –D.K.

SANTA SEVERINA (Ἁγία Σεβερίνη, Σεβεριάνη), city in CALABRIA near Crotone. The name of this Calabrian town derives from ancient Siberine; a saint Severina is unknown to the Greek and Roman calendars. The town is first mentioned in 885/6, when the Byz. general Nikephoros Phokas the Elder took it from the Arabs. Medieval sources do not confirm the 16th-C. legend that the Greek pope ZACHARIAS originated there. Shortly after the Byz. conquest Santa Severina became a metropolitan see, with Umbriatico, Cerenzia, Gallipoli, and Isola Capo Rizzuto as suffragans. A 10th-C. seal of the metropolitan

Stephen has survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.912). Between 1060 and 1072 the town was conquered by the NORMANS. In 1089, its Greek metropolitan submitted himself to the papacy, but as the local population was predominantly Greek, Greeks continued to occupy the see until 1251.

Two extant churches have votive inscriptions in Greek. A rotunda of unknown function (now a baptistery) adjoining the 13th-C. cathedral has inscriptions of Archbp. John and of Theodore, also archbishop or, in the reading of Castelfranchi Falla, *exeparchon*. The building is a Late Antique type (resembling S. Costanza in ROME) but almost certainly erected after 885. The old cathedral (rebuilt as the Addolorata) has a foundation inscription of Archbp. Ambrose dated 1036 and an inscription of the *spatharokandidatos* Staurakios. A third church, S. Filomena, is undocumented but of byzantinizing form, two-storied with a very elongated cupola before the apse.

LIT. P. Orsi, *Le chiese basiliane della Calabria* (Florence 1929) 189–239. V. Laurent, "A propos de la métropole de Santa Severina en Calabre," *REB* 22 (1964) 176–83. M. Castelfranchi Falla, " 'He Aghia Seberiane': Note sul cosidetto Battistero," *Magna Graecia* 12, nos. 1–2 (1977) 5–8. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:314f. A. Jacob, "Le Vat. gr. 1238 et le diocèse de Paléocastro," *Rivista di storia della chiesa in Italia* 25 (1977) 516–23. –V.v.F., D.K.

SANUDO TORSELLO, MARINO ("the Elder"), Venetian businessman, diplomat, and historian; born ca.1270, died after 9 Mar. 1343. Born to an aristocratic Venetian family, Sanudo traveled widely (from 1289 until his last trip to Constantinople in 1333) in the eastern Mediterranean, particularly in Venetian Romania, where his relatives held the duchy of NAXOS. He zealously promoted a crusade against Egypt and, to this end, ecclesiastical union with Constantinople. Over the years he revised and expanded his treatise advocating a crusade, *Secreta fidelium crucis* (Secrets for True Crusaders), whose first version was composed between Mar. 1306 and Jan. 1307. Presented to Pope CLEMENT V, it provided the data necessary for a successful economic blockade of Egypt (e.g., substituting Cypriot or Rhodian sugar for European needs, *Secreta* 1,1,2 [ed. Bongars 2:24.5–10]). Book 2 was written in 1312–13 at Clarenza (Chlemoutsi) in the Morea and discussed logistical difficulties facing such an expedition. It also included a short history of the Holy Land that Sanudo later (1318–21) revised and expanded down to 1307 to include a geography of the Levant; Sanudo continued to add marginalia to his copy in later years. The new version was presented to Pope John XXII (1316–34), while a French version went to Charles IV the Fair, the king of France (1294–1328).

Between 1326 and 1333 Sanudo composed a valuable Latin history of the Frankish principalities and Byz. that survives only in a Venetian translation, *Istoria del regno di Romania*, which sheds unique light, for example, on Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople. Also ascribed to Sanudo is a brief Latin account of the poverty and collapse of the Latin Empire of Constantinople and the efforts of BALDWIN II to promote a new reconquest. This work was apparently intended to continue Geoffrey VILLEHARDOUIN. Perhaps the most remarkable testimony of all comes from Sanudo's 42 surviving letters (1323–1336/7), addressed, for example, to Andronikos II Palaiologos, the *sebastokrator* Stephen Syropoulos, and Jerome, Franciscan bishop of Kaffa, on church union and an anti-Turkish alliance; they reflect Sanudo's extensive personal experience and contacts as well as the development of Venetian policy (cf. A. Laiou, *Speculum* 45 [1970] 374–92).

ED. [J. Bongars], *Gesta Dei per Francos*, vol. 2 (Hanau 1611) 1–316. Tr. A. Stewart, *Part XIV. of Book III. of Marino Sanuto's Secrets for True Crusaders to Help Them Recover the Holy Land* [PPTS 12] (London 1896). C. Hopf, *Chroniques gréco-romanes* (Berlin 1873) 99–170. F. Kunstmann, "Studien über Marino Sanudo den Älteren," *ABAW*, Hist. Kl. 7 (Munich 1855) 695–819. C. de la Roncière, L. Dorez, "Lettres inédites et mémoires de Marino Sanudo l'Ancien," *BECh* 56 (1895) 21–44. A. Cerlini, "Nuove lettere di Marino Sanudo il vecchio," *La bibliofilia* 42 (1940) 321–59. Tr. S. Roddy, "The Correspondence of Marino Sanudo Torsello" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Pennsylvania, 1971) 109–309.

LIT. Jacoby, *Recherches*, pt.V (1974), 217–61. R.-J. Loenertz, "Pour une édition nouvelle de l'Historia del Regno di Romania de Marin Sanudo l'Ancien," *StVen* 16 (1974) 33–66. Ch. Maltezou, "Ho Marin Sanudo pege dia ten meleten dyo agnoston Byzantinon gegonoton," *Thesaurismata* 4 (1967) 20–37. –M.McC.

SAPPHO, Greek lyric poet; born Lesbos ca.600 B.C. Despite an early Christian attack against Sappho as a depraved woman (cf. Tatian, PG 6:873C), Sappho continued to be read by pagan (Julian the Apostate) and Christian (Gregory of Nazianzos) authors alike; most of the preserved fragments of her poems were transmitted through papyri of the 7th C. (*BKT* V 2). After a period of silence Sappho reappears at the end of the 10th

C., when the *Souda* includes her biography and passages from the original poems, noting that she had been accused of "shameful friendship" with her female companions. Symeon Metaphrastes uses her vocabulary to characterize the beauty of St. Euphemia (S. Costanza, *Orpheus* n.s. 1 [1980] 106–14). Sappho was esp. popular in the 12th C., even though Isaac Tzetzes (Cramer, *Anec.Gr.Paris.* 1:63.20–21) claims that her works had disappeared; it is impossible to say whether scholarly acquaintance with Sappho was direct or derived from reference works. Scholars praised "Sappho's grace" (Mich.Ital. 158.20) and often used her verses to describe women's excellence or a wedding celebration. Niketas Choniates (*Orationes* 43.26–28), in good Byz. fashion, evokes Sappho's *chairetismos* praising the bride and the bridegroom (*nymphios*—in the original, *gambros*—but Choniates revised the line). Interest in Sappho diminished after the 12th C., although Planoudes, Moschopoulos, and Metochites were apparently familiar with her verses (K. Nickau, *ZPapEpig* 14 [1974] 15–17).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Studia Byzantina* 408–13, with add. Q. Cataudella, *REGr* 78 (1965) 66–69. Garzya, *Storia*, pt.XV (1971), 1–5. I. Ševčenko, "A New Fragment of Sappho?," *Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.* 1 (1951) 150–52. –A.C.H., A.K.

SAQQĀRA, pagan necropolis of the city of Memphis in Egypt, used for burials well into the Christian period, and the site of a 6th–9th-C. monastery founded by Apa Jeremias. The early monastic community settled in abandoned mausolea; their first church was a modest mudbrick chapel, which was gradually enlarged down to the mid-7th C. The Arab conquest caused many wealthy Christian families to leave Egypt and to abandon their richly decorated mausolea, which the monks dismantled for use in new monastic buildings. Within the necropolis only the so-called Tomb church (building no.1823), the three-aisled superstructure of an earlier hypogeum, remained to serve as the monks' burial place. The new main church (late 7th C.) was a large basilica with a narthex, a tripartite sanctuary, and an early example of a *khūruṣ* (choir, narrow transverse hall) before the sanctuary. Spolia of at least five earlier buildings were used to build this church. The new refectory was a three-aisled hall with an attached four-column chapel. (The earlier refectory had only one aisle with two rows of circular benches.) The monks' cells were collected into larger complexes with an irregular internal organization; the individual rooms within these complexes are often fitted with prayer-niches, and some have fine paintings of saints and famous monks.

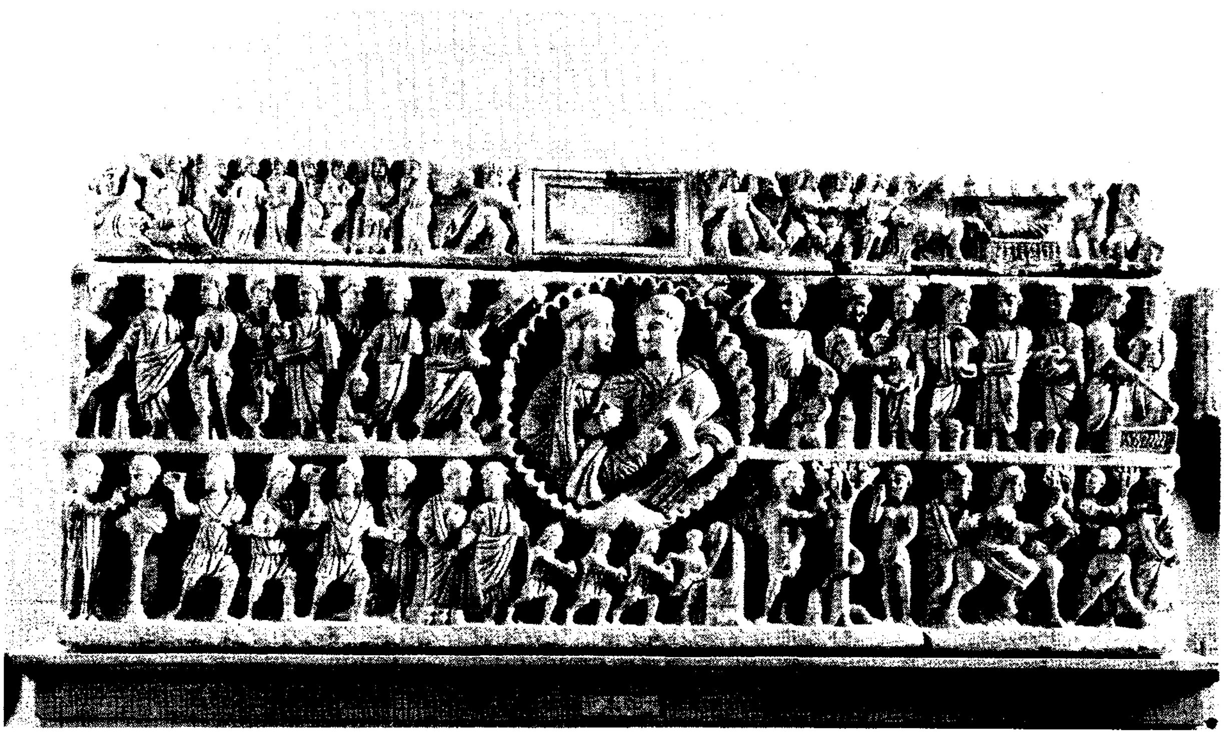
LIT. J.E. Quibell, *Excavations at Saqqara*, vols. 3–4 (Cairo 1909–12). P. Grossmann, H.-G. Severin, "Reinigungsarbeiten im Jeremiaskloster bei Saqqara," *MDAI K* 28 (1972) 145–52; 38 (1982) 155–93. M. Rassart-Debergh et al., "Miscellanea Coptica: Baouit et Saqqara," *ActaNorv* 9 (1981) 9–220. –P.G.

SARAÇHANE. See Polyeuktos, Church of Saint.

SARANTENOS. See Karantenos, Manuel.

SARCOPHAGUS (σαρκοφάγος, lit. "flesh-eater"), trough-shaped stone coffin in widespread use for burial of the dead up to the late 5th C. Christians first took up the form, which had roots deep in antiquity, in the 3rd C. and decorated it with the imagery of the catacombs, embodying, above all, a belief in personal salvation. After Christianity was granted toleration ca.311–13 (see Edict of Milan), sarcophagi came to be embellished with more elaborate and varied programs, for example, the Traditio legis, including outright quotations from other works of art (e.g., apse decoration). In the middle of the 4th C. the method of producing sarcophagi changed fundamentally. Previously mass-produced and thus widely available to even a relatively modest clientele, they became much less common and were mainly custom-made affairs for the very rich. Thus the later history of the form from the 4th to the 10th C. concerns largely a few extraordinarily luxurious pieces (Vatican, Junius Bassus Sarcophagus; Milan, S. Ambrogio—Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pls. 41–43, 46f). These were often of porphyry, as for the emperors buried in the Holy Apostles in Constantinople (Grierson, "Tombs & Obits"), which served as an imperial mausoleum until the reign of Constantine VIII.

Later emperors were also interred in sarcophagi. Using the term *nekrodegmona* ("death receptacle"), Choniates (Nik.Chon. 256.59) reports this manner of burial for Manuel I. The sarcophagus of Theodora of Arta depicts the saint and her son blessed by the Hand of God, but the vast



SARCOPHAGUS. The Adelphia sarcophagus; mid-4th C. National Archaeological Museum, Syracuse. Portraits of the deceased with her husband are flanked by scenes from the Old and New Testaments.

majority of examples of the 11th C. and later—often mere slabs enclosing a space within an ARCOSOLIUM and therefore sometimes called pseudo-sarcophagi—are simpler affairs characteristically decorated with crosses, birds, and trees.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Repertorium der christlich-antiken Sarkophage*, vol. 1 (Wiesbaden 1967). G. Wilpert, *I sarcofagi cristiani antichi*, 3 vols. (Vatican-Rome 1929–36). O. Feld, "Mittelbyzantinische Sarkophage," *RQ* 65 (1970) 158–84. Th. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi kai epitaphies plakes tes meses kai hysteres byzantines periodou sten Hellada* (Athens 1988). –W.T., A.C.

SARDICA. See SERDICA.

SARDINIA (Σαρδινία, Σαρδώ), Mediterranean island west of Italy. Under Diocletian it formed a province under the command of a *praeses*. The Vandals occupied it ca.455. In 466–68 the *comes* Marcellinus, sent by Emp. Leo I, temporarily drove the Vandals out of Sardinia, but after Marcellinus's murder and the defeat of BASILISKOS in Africa, Leo recognized their right to Sardinia (the treaty of 474). Circa 530, Godas, a former slave of the Vandal king GELIMER, administered Sardinia. He then proclaimed himself king of Sardinia and started negotiations with Justinian I, who was preparing to attack the Vandals of Africa and welcomed the alliance with Godas. Tzatzon, Gelimer's brother, recovered control of Sardinia, but in 534 Carthage fell to the Byz., Tzatzon was killed in battle, and the Byz. commander Cyril brought Tzatzon's head to Sardinia, thus persuading the Vandals to surrender without resistance. During the Gothic war in Italy, TOTILA managed to occupy Sardinia temporarily in 551/2, but soon it was reconquered by John TROGLITA.

Sardinia resisted the Lombard attacks of the mid-7th C. and remained in Byz. hands. An inscription from the reign of either Constans II or Constantine IV praised the emperor as triumphant over the Lombards (S. Mazzarino, *Epigraphica* 2 [1940] 292–313). By the end of the 7th C. Byz. power on the island was nominal. Theodotos, the *hypatos* and *doux* of Sardinia, is mentioned on a seal (of the 9th C.?), and to the 9th C. belongs

the Greek seal of Arsenios, archbishop of Sardinia (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.917). Papal authority over the island was strong from the time of Pope Gregory I. Pope Leo IV, in a letter dated sometime between 850 and 854, demanded that John, archbishop of Cagliari, destroy an altar that had been dedicated to the archangel Michael by the archbishop Arsenios (perhaps the one whose seal was mentioned above), whom the pope accused of heresy. A hoard of Byz. and Arab coins dating to the 9th C. indicates continuing commercial activity on the island (A. Taramelli, *NS*[5] 19 [1922] 294–96).

Numerous attacks by the Arabs failed to seize Sardinia but resulted in the island's virtual independence until the early 11th C., when the Arabs finally achieved their goal. In 1016, however, a fleet from Genoa and Pisa defeated the Arabs and expelled them from Sardinia. By this time Byz. control over the island had ended; the precise date and circumstances of the Byz. departure are unknown.

Monuments of Sardinia. Few buildings of the Byz. period survive on the island. All are churches and can be characterized as small in size, constructed of ashlar masonry, and, usually, domed. Among those dating to the 5th and 6th C. the most common form is that of a Greek or Latin cross plan with the crossing surmounted by a dome or tower. Most important among these is the church of S. Saturnino in Cagliari, originally a square baldachinlike structure to which four arms were added in the 6th C. Similar, though smaller, churches are S. Maria at Bonarcade, S. Giovanni at Sinis, and S. Elia at Nuxis. Dating to the 10th C. is S. Giovanni at Assemini, erected according to an inscription by Torkotorios, described as "*archon* of Sardinia," and his wife. It is a variation on the cross-in-square plan type with L-shaped piers carrying a small dome. Remains of another Byz. church with a tripartite sanctuary have been recently identified at Is Mortorius near Cagliari.

LIT. E. Besta, *La Sardegna medioevale*, 2 vols. (Palermo 1908; rp. Bologna 1966). E. Pais, *Storia della Sardegna e della Corsica sotto il domino romano* (Rome 1923). C. Bellieni, *La Sardegna e i Sardi nella civilta dell'Alto Medioevo*, 2 vols. (Cagliari 1973). M.L. Wagner, "Die Beziehungen des Griechentums zu Sardinien," *BNJbb* 1 (1920) 158–69. A. Boscolo, *La Sardegna bizantina e alto-giudicale* (Sassari 1978). L. Pani Ermini, "La Sardegna e l'Africa nel periodo vandalico," *Africa romana* 2 (1985) 105–22. Idem, "La città sarde tra tarda antichità e medioevo," *Africa romana* 5 (1988) 431–33. R. Delogu, *L'architettura del medioevo in Sardegna* (Rome 1953) 6–44. R. Serra, "La chiesa quadrifida di S. Elia a Nuxis," *Studi sardi* 21 (1968–70) 30–64.

–A.K., R.B.H., M.J.

SARDIS (Σάρδεις), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of LYDIA in western Asia Minor, a place of considerable wealth from natural resources and its location on major highways; headquarters of an imperial weapons factory. Sardis was attacked by the Goths in 399 but flourished continuously until the early 7th C. In the 4th C. a philosophical school arose there, known from the works of EUNAPIOS. Excavations have revealed details of late antique urban life, with maintenance of classical public buildings, construction of churches (including a large domed basilica of Justinian I), abandonment of temples, and growth of a new residential district. The gymnasium basically maintained its function, but one hall was taken over by the hellenized Jewish community and became the largest SYNAGOGUE known in the ancient world; a row of shops was added outside in the 4th C. Some parts of Sardis may have declined in the 6th C. The excavated civic and private buildings perished ca.616, possibly as the result of a Sasanian attack, and were never restored. The ruined city served as a quarry for the fortress on the acropolis built in the mid-7th C. Medieval Sardis, which consisted of the fortress and small settlements scattered among the ruins, was a city of the THRAKESION theme. It was taken by the Arabs in 716, by TZACHAS in 1092, and reconquered by the Byz. in 1098. Sardis grew in importance under the Laskarids, who built a five-domed church over the ruins of a 4th-C. basilica. Threatened by the Turks in the late 13th C., its citadel was divided with them in 1304; Sardis definitively fell to Saruhan ca.1315.

LIT. C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976). G.M.A. Hanfmann et al., *Sardis from Prehistoric to Roman Times* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). –C.F.

SARKEL (Σάρκελ), Khazar name that ought to be written "Šarkel," meaning "White House" or "White Tower." A fort on the Don, Sarkel is now identified with the ruins discovered near the township of Cimljanskaja. The early fort existed on the right bank of the Don in the 8th and beginning of the 9th C. and controlled the ford

crossing the river; its population belonged to the culture of SALTOVO. After the destruction of the right-bank fort, the khagan of the KHAZARS asked Emp. Theophilos to build the *kastron* of Sarkel (*De adm. imp.* 42.22–56). Around 833 the *spatharokandidatos* Petronas Kamateros (his identification with the general PETRONAS is groundless) came to "the Tanais river" and erected a fortress of bricks baked on the spot with mortar made of tiny river shells. Sarkel had a garrison of 300 men who were relieved annually. The Sarkel of Petronas was on the left bank of the Don. Excavations there brought to light a fort with a citadel, surrounded by walls with towers built of local white bricks of excellent quality. The fort was square in shape, 193.5 by 133.5 m; the walls were 3.75 m thick; the brick stamps differ from Byz. types. Archaeological data show that the fortifications fell into disuse after only a few decades and Sarkel became an ordinary settlement. The fort was destroyed by SVJATOSLAV in 965, but the settlement there survived until the campaign of VLADIMIR MONOMACH in 1116/17. The early 10th-C. geographer Ibn Khurdādhbeh probably refers to Sarkel when he states that a Khazar governor resided on the Don and collected a tithe from the Rus' merchants (O. Pritsak, *Folia Orientalia* 12 [1971] 241–59).

LIT. *Trudy Volgo-Donskoj archeologičeskoj ekspedicii*, 3 vols. (Moscow 1958–63). M.I. Artamonov, *Istorija Chazar* (Leningrad 1962) 297–323. S.A. Pletneva, *Ot kočevij k gorodam* (Moscow 1967) 43–48. –O.P.

SARMATIANS (Σαρμάται), also Sauromatoi, nomadic tribal groups that replaced the SCYTHIANS in the steppe north of the Black Sea. They used the East Iranian lingua franca. Among their tribes were the ALANS. PTOLEMY's concept of two Sarmatias, the European and the Asian, enjoyed great popularity in the Middle Ages, both in Christian (esp. Armenian) and Muslim geography.

The Sarmatian state was weakened by the GOTHS in the 3rd C., and the character of the ethnic substrate indicated by the name *Sarmatian* became confused. A. Vasiliev (*Goths in the Crimea* [Cambridge, Mass., 1936] 22f) suggests that the Sarmatians on the shores of the Maeotis (the Azov Sea) mentioned by Zosimos were Goths. Chronicles of the 4th C. speak of the revolt of slaves against their Sarmatian masters; the latter escaped to the empire and were settled by Constantine I and then Constantius II in Thrace, Scythia Minor, Macedonia, Italy, and other provinces (K. Kretschmer, *RE* 2.R. 1 [1920] 2547). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 53.2–123) was familiar with the legend of the Sarmatian attack on Asia Minor; when CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS was sent against them, he invited the inhabitants of Cherson to join him in a coalition. Swept up by the Hunnic invasions, some Sarmatians emerged in the early 5th C. in Illyricum, where they are said to have contested Theodoric's power over Singidunum. The latest event connected with the Sarmatians is their participation in the Lombard march into Italy, mentioned by Paulus Diaconus.

Some Byz. authors (esp. in the 11th–12th C.) used "Sauromatoi" as an archaizing term for the Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, and later the Ottomans (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:270) and Tatars. Gregoras, Plethon, and Chalkokondyles identify Sarmatia with "Rhosia."

LIT. Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 90–94. G. Bichir, "Sarmaşii şi relaşiile lor cu Geto-Dacii," *Revista de istorie* 38 (1985) 1043–57, 1164–77. –O.P.

SARUHAN (Σαρχάνης), a Turkish emirate that emerged from the breakup of the SELJUK sultanate of RŪM; it was named after its founder. It extended over the region of Nymphaion and the fertile plain of Mainomenos/Menemen; its capital was Magnesia, conquered ca.1313. It exported grain, and there was an important slave market in Magnesia. The lords of Saruhan, whose territories bordered the alum-producing region of PHOKAIA, extracted an annual tribute from the Genoese established there. This relationship brought them into a rapprochement with the Byz. In 1329 Andronikos III Palaiologos expelled the Genoese lord of Chios, ZACCARIA; compelled the Genoese of Phokaia to recognize his suzerainty; and then concluded a treaty with the emir of Saruhan. Around 1335 the emperor signed another treaty with the emir, who gave him military aid against the rebel Genoese governor of Phokaia, Cattaneo; ca.1358, when John V Palaiologos liberated the Ottoman prince Halil, who had been kept in captivity in Phokaia, another peace treaty was concluded between Byz. and Saruhan with the emir's children taken as hostages to Constantinople. On the other hand, the Saruhan Turks carried out naval raids in the Aegean, some of

them jointly with the AYDIN Turks. The emirate was temporarily annexed by the OTTOMANS from 1390 to 1402 and permanently in 1410.

LIT. Ç.Uluçay, *Islâm Ansiklopedisi* 10:239–44. Zachariadou, *Menteshe & Aydin*. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:269f. –E.A.Z.

SASANIANS, Iranian dynasty (226–651) that arose from among other minor dynasties in Parthia recognizing ARSACID suzerainty. Ardashīr I (224–40) defeated and slew the last Arsacid monarch, Artabanus V (224), and captured the capital of Ctesiphon. The formation of the Sasanian state replaced the degenerating congeries of insubordinate kinglets, vaguely acknowledging the Arsacids, with a much more powerful empire that henceforth contested control of Mesopotamia, Armenia, and the Caucasus with the late Roman Empire and Byz. Sasanian society was characterized by divine monarchy, an officially authorized version of the ZOROASTRIAN religion, and the seven great Persian noble families, the totality being organized according to a rigidly structured caste system. Internally the system was threatened by MANICHAEANISM in the early centuries and by the movement of MAZDAK.

The long series of exhausting wars with Byz. brought the Sasanians some victories, but no enduring territorial acquisitions. Emp. Julian fell in battle with the Persians, and King Shāpūr II (r.309–79) was able to sign an advantageous treaty with Emp. Jovian. Peaceful relations in the 5th C. were interrupted by short wars that led to the treaties of 422 and then 442. KAVĀD resumed warfare in 502. In 532 CHOSROES I signed the "eternal peace" with Justinian I but soon reopened military actions. Justinian was compelled to pay tribute; when Justin II refused to continue payments the war broke out again. Emp. Maurice used the internal struggle in Persia in order to establish an alliance with CHOSROES II, but the coup of Phokas in 602 created a new excuse for Persian interference in the affairs of Constantinople. The Persian generals SHAHRBARĀZ and SHĀHĪN were temporarily victorious, but Emp. Herakleios shattered the Sasanian state; in 628 KAVĀD-SHĪRŪYA was forced to conclude a truce. The land was unable to recover: political troubles, plague, ruin of the irrigation system, and famine caused Sasanian Persia to fall to the Arab armies at Qādisīya (627) and Nihāwand (642). Under YAZDGIRD III (died 651) Sasanian rule came to an end. (For a list of Sasanian rulers, see table.)

Christianity in Sasanian Iran. Christianity penetrated early into IRAN; probably in the 3rd C. some elements of ecclesiastical hierarchy were established, with the center in Ctesiphon. Constantine I's alliance with Christianity and probably his attempts to gain the support of Christian subjects of the Sasanian state (thus, T.D. Barnes, *JRS* 75 [1985] 126–36) provoked a series of persecutions during the reign of Shāpūr II that were exaggerated in Greek vitae of Persian saints. This anti-Christian wave subsided at the end of the 4th C., and in 410 the first local council was convened in Ctesiphon. Nestorians (see NESTORIANISM) from the Roman Empire found refuge in Persian cities, and in the 5th–6th C. Christian culture flourished

Rulers of the Sasanian Dynasty

Ruler	*Reign Dates*	*Ruler*	*Reign Dates*	*Ruler*	*Reign Dates*
Ardashīr I	224–240	Bahrām IV	388–399	Hurmazd IV	579–590
Shāpūr I	240–270	Yazdgird I	399–420	CHOSROES (Khusrau) II (first reign)	590
Hurmazd I (Hurmazd-Ardashīr)	270–271	Bahrām V	420–438	Bahrām VI Chobīn	590–591
Bahrām I	271–274	Yazdgird II	438–457	Chosroes (Khusrau) II (second reign)	591–628
Bahrām II	274–293	Hurmazd III	457–459?	KAVĀD II (Shīrūya)	628
Bahrām III	293	Pērōz	459–484	Ardashīr III	628–629
Narseh	293–302	Balāsh	484–488	SHAHRBARĀZ	629
Hurmazd II	302–309	KAVĀD I (first reign)	488–496	Bōrāndukht	630–631
Shāpūr II	309–379	Zāmāsp	496–498	YAZDGIRD III	632–651
Ardashīr II	379–383	Kavād I (second reign)	498–531		
Shāpūr III	383–388	CHOSROES (Khusrau) I	531–579		

Source: *The Cambridge History of Iran*, vol. 3.1, ed. E. Yarshater (Cambridge 1983) 178.

in centers such as NISIBIS. On the other hand, Persian Christianity began to lose its ascetic radicalism, typical of the earlier period, partly under the pressure of official Zoroastrianism, which was hostile toward eremitism, partly because of the threat of more radical movements, such as Manichaeanism or Mazdakism. The Nestorian church, which enjoyed a relative tolerance and occasionally even the sympathy of individual Persian rulers, expanded its influence eastward to CENTRAL ASIA and CHINA, but the Arab conquest of the early 7th C. ended the policy of toleration.

LIT. A. Christensen, *L'Iran sous les Sassanides*[2] (Copenhagen 1944). *The Cambridge History of Iran*, ed. E. Yarshater, vol. 3.1–2 (Cambridge 1983). R. Ghirschman, *Iran. Parthians and Sassanians* (London 1962). N. Pigulevskaja, *Vizantija i Iran na rubeže VI i VII vekov* (Moscow-Leningrad 1946). J. Labourt, *Le christianisme dans l'empire perse*[2] (Paris 1904). S. Gero, "Die Kirche des Ostens," *OstkSt* 30 (1981) 22–27. G. Blum, "Zur religionspolitischen Situation der persischen Kirche im 3. und 4. Jahrhundert," *ZKirch* 91 (1980) 11–32. –S.V., A.K.

SATALA (Σάταλα, now Sadak), city north of Erzincan between the upper Euphrates and the Lykos on the best route across northern Anatolia. Satala was one of the greatest bastions of the eastern frontier through the 6th C. It was the headquarters of a legion and became a bishopric and city of Armenia I. The fortress played a role in Justinian I's wars with Persia; he rebuilt it completely after the Persian attack of 529. Following its capture by Chosroes II in 610, Satala fell into obscurity, but its bishops are attested through the 11th C. The site preserves the dilapidated remains of Justinian's fortress, as well as a bath and aqueduct belonging to the civil settlement.

LIT. T. Mitford, "Biliotti's Excavations at Satala," *AnatSt* 24 (1974) 221–44. Idem, "Cappadocia and Armenia Minor," *ANRW* 7.2:1169–228. F. & E. Cumont, *Studia Pontica*, vol. 2 (Brussels 1908) 343–51. –C.F.

SATIRE, critical treatment in verse or prose, often by way of exaggeration or caricature, of the foibles of individuals, institutions, or society as a whole. Important in classical antiquity, satire was revived in Byz. literature and rhetoric in the 11th C., but remained a minor genre, which could take many forms, including PARODY and ALLEGORY. Intentionality and not literary form determine what is satire. Satire in the learned language often conceals its true target beneath a timeless veil of classicism, which was easily penetrable by contemporary readers. Thus the CHARIDEMOS imitates a Platonic dialogue, and both the PHILOPATRIS and the TIMARION have been mistaken for genuine works of Lucian, despite the clear allusions in the latter to early 12th-C. personages. MAZARIS's *Journey to Hades* betrays its 15th-C. context more directly. The *Katomyomachia*, probably by Theodore PRODROMOS, is a parody of classical tragedy with a strong satirical element. PTOCHOPRODROMOS's satires on a nagging wife, a downtrodden monk, and a poor scholar are firmly rooted in their 12th-C. context, without any classicizing veneer. Satirical motifs become prominent in vernacular verse texts of the 14th C., for example, on social contradictions in the POULOLOGOS, SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY, and DIEGESIS TON TETRAPODON ZOON; on the imperial court and the judiciary in the PORIKOLOGOS and the OPSAROLOGOS; and on the church in the scatological *Mass of the Beardless Man* (SPANOS).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 25–28, 101–05, 193–96. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:149–58. B. Baldwin, "A Talent to Abuse: Some Aspects of Byzantine Satire," *ByzF* 8 (1982) 19–28. T.M. Sokolova, "Vizantijskaja Satira," in *Vizantijskaja Literatura*, ed. S.S. Averincev (Moscow 1974) 122–58. H. Eideneier, *Spanos: Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie* (Berlin–New York 1977) 29–56. H.F. Tozer, "Byzantine Satire," *JHS* 2 (1881) 233–70. –E.M.J., R.B.

SATRAPIES (Lat. *gentes*), conventional name usually given to a group of Armenian autonomous principalities lying along the Euphrates-Arsanias River and including ANZITENE, Ingilene, Asthianene, Sophene, Sophanene, and Balabitene. All the information concerning them comes from Greek and Latin, not Armenian sources. The satrapies passed to the Roman sphere of influence after the peace of Nisibis of 298, though Jovian returned some of them to Persia in 363 (Amm.Marc. 25:7.9). In Roman law, the satrapies originally had the status of *civitates foederatae liberae et immunes*, their hereditary rulers paying no tribute and receiving their regalia (see INSIGNIA), including the imperial red shoes, from Constantinople (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.1.17–27). These sovereign rights were first curtailed after the satraps' support of the revolt against Zeno in 485. Thereafter, these rulers were appointed by the emperor, and taxes apparently paid. Finally, a decree of Justinian I in 529 (*Cod.Just.* I 29.5)

abrogated all rights of the satrapies; novel 31:1.3 (536) combined them to form ARMENIA IV.

LIT. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) 25–37, 87–93. –N.G.G.

SATURDAY. See SUNDAY.

SATYR, zoomorphic companion of DIONYSOS. In his company, and usually that of MAENADS, satyrs are commonplace on late antique silver, textiles, and ivory boxes (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 122–24, 130). In literary sources they appear mostly as soldiers of the god, in connection with his expeditions to India and his attempt to seize the throne of Thebes. They are called *skirtoi* (leapers) and come from the land of Bessica (Malal. 43.1–3). In the *Vita Basilii*, the companions of Michael III were compared to satyrs (*TheophCont* 200.16). Various entries of the *Souda* mention satyrs. A rare etymology is found in MALALAS (Malal. 49.16–17), where *satyros* in Boeotian dialect stands for metempsychosis to a lower corporeal form. Theodore PRODROMOS (*Rodanthe and Dosikles* 4:365–77), within the *ekphrasis* of a drinking cup, describes a Dionysiac vintage and the god's revelry with maenads and drunken satyrs. Though they are almost nonexistent in post-Iconoclastic art, one satyr appears with warriors on a 10th-C. bone casket in Milan (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, no.8).

On the Asian shore of the Bosporos, an ancient temple of a satyr gave its name to an EMPORION, a harbor in which the Arab fleet sought refuge in 718. The ruins of the temple were used by Theophilos to build the palace at BRYAS and, probably, by Patr. Ignatios, who constructed in 873/4 a monastery of Michael Archangel "tou Satyrou," in which he was eventually buried (Janin, *Églises centres* 42f).

LIT. S. Reinert, "The Image of Dionysus in Malalas' Chronicle," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos* (Malibu 1985) 10f. –P.A.A., A.K., A.C.

SAVA OF SERBIA, founder and organizer of the autocephalous Serbian church; saint; baptismal name Rastko; born 1175, died Tŭrnovo 14 Jan. 1235. Youngest son of STEFAN NEMANJA, he was allotted an appanage by his father, but fled to Mt. Athos, where he became a monk, first in Panteleemon monastery, later in Vatopedi. In 1198 his father, who had himself become an Athonite monk, sent Sava to Constantinople, where he obtained authority from Emp. Alexios III to found a Serbian monastery at HILANDAR on Athos. In 1208, after Athos came under Latin control, he migrated to STUDENICA in Serbia, taking his father's relics with him. As superior he tried to resolve the power struggle between his brothers. He returned to Hilandar in 1217 in protest against the coronation of his brother Stefan the First-Crowned by a papal legate. In 1219 Sava was consecrated first archbishop of the autocephalous church of Serbia by the Nicaean patriarch Manuel I Sarantenos (1216–22). Subsequently Sava organized the church hierarchy and defended the independence of the Serbian church with determination and subtlety against papal claims, BOGOMIL influence from Bosnia, and the persistent efforts of Demetrios CHOMATENOS, Epirot archbishop of Ohrid, to subject Serbia to his diocese. As a churchman Sava continued his father's policy of creating a viable Serbian state. In pursuit of this policy he undertook missions to Nicaea and elsewhere and twice visited Jerusalem (1230, 1234). His wealth and social position enabled him to become founder or benefactor of churches and monasteries in Serbia, on Athos, in Thessalonike, Constantinople, and the Holy Land. He wrote a Life of his father and edited monastic *typika*, liturgical texts, and the Serbian *Nomokanon*. A contemporary fresco portrait of him survives in the MILEŠEVA monastery.

ED. Vita of Stefan Nemanja—ed. V. Ćorović, *Spisi svetoga Save* (Belgrade-Sremski Karlovci 1928) 151–75. For other ed., see Dj.S. Radojičić, *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 7 (Zagreb 1968) 146.

LIT. S. Stanojević, *Sveti Sava i nezavisnost Srpske crkve* (Belgrade 1934). *Sveti Sava: Spomenica povodom osamstogodišnjice rodjenja 1175–1975* (Belgrade 1977). *Sava Nemanjić-Sveti Sava: Istorija i predanje*, ed. V. Djurić (Belgrade 1979). Jo. Taranidis, "Kult svetog Save i svetog Simeona kod Grka," *HilZb* 5 (1983) 101–78. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 115–72. –R.B.

SAVCI BEG (Σαβούτζιος, Σαουζῆς), Ottoman prince; died Bursa (formerly PROUSA) 1385 ?. Savci was the eldest son of the Ottoman sultan MURAD I and ally of ANDRONIKOS IV, son of JOHN V, in a joint rebellion that contemporary Greek and Italian sources date to spring 1373, when Savci was probably the prince governor of Rumeli. Sometime in 1373, and under obscure circum-

stances, Savci and Andronikos formed a conspiracy to overthrow their fathers and establish themselves respectively as sultan and *basileus*. Their rebellion actually materialized, it seems, after John V discovered their plans—evidently early in May. Then, on 6 May, Andronikos escaped from Constantinople and hastened probably to Derkos, where he joined forces with Savci. Meanwhile John V appealed to Murad I for help; the latter crossed into Thrace with Byz. help on 11 May and proceeded to Constantinople. On 25 May a battle occurred between fathers and sons in the suburb of Pikridion. Although Andronikos's troops fought well, many of Savci's men defected to Murad and others fled. Savci retreated to Didymoteichon, while Andronikos submitted to John (30 May). Savci held out until 29 Sept., when Murad captured and blinded him. Contemporary sources do not reveal Savci's end, but imply that he survived his blinding for some time.

Sixteenth-century Ottoman historians date Savci's uprising to 1385; locate it in Bithynia, without mentioning Andronikos IV's role; and claim that Murad first blinded, then executed Savci. The value of this version in conjunction with the early accounts remains speculative.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 19–21. P. Charanis, "The Strife among the Palaeologi and the Ottoman Turks, 1370–1402," *Byzantion* 16 (1942–43 [1944]) 293–95. F. Dölger, "Zum Aufstand des Andronikos IV. gegen seinen Vater Johannes V. im Mai 1373," *REB* 19 (1961) 328–32. M. Gökbilgin, *İA* 10:251–53. R. Loenertz, "La première insurrection d'Andronic IV Paléologue (1373)," *EO* 38 (1939) 334–45. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:304–07. –S.W.R.

SAYF AL-DAWLA, ḤAMDĀNID lord of Aleppo; born June 916, died Aleppo 25 Jan. 967. After asserting his power over Aleppo and Damascus and failing in his advance against Egypt, Sayf al-Dawla concentrated his efforts on invasions of Byz. His first raid in 936 proved a failure, and his war against John KOURKOUAS had varied success: in 938 Sayf al-Dawla advanced into Byz. territory and seized enormous booty, and the next year he attempted to conquer Armenia, but in the 940s Kourkouas began a successful offensive. Kourkouas's replacement by a certain Pantherios (Skyl. 230.44) permitted Sayf al-Dawla to win the day: Pantherios was defeated near Aleppo in Dec. 944 (Vasiliev [p.305f] named the *domestikos ton scholon* not Pantherios, but Bardas Phokas). The Byz. offensive, however, continued under Bardas and Leo PHOKAS, and the Byz. government tried to attract Egypt as an ally. In 953 Sayf al-Dawla achieved a major success when he captured Constantine, son of Bardas Phokas, but in 958 JOHN (I) TZIMISKES defeated the Ḥamdānid emir near Aleppo. In 962 NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS seized and plundered Aleppo. Although paralyzed in the hand and foot, Sayf al-Dawla resisted and even won a victory near Aleppo, but his death paved the way for the Byz. invasion of Syria and Mesopotamia.

SOURCES. *Sayf al-Daula. Recueil de textes relatifs à l'émir Sayf al Daula le Hamdanide*, ed. M. Canard (Algiers 1934).

LIT. G.W. Freytag, "Geschichte der Dynastien der Hamdaniden in Mosul und Aleppo," *ZDMG* 11 (1857) 177–225. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:273–95, 311–20, 341–65. M. Canard, *Histoire de la dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazîra et de Syrie* (Algiers 1951) 595–663. –A.K.

SBEITLA. See SUFETULA.

SCALE, a set of gradations in a work of art by which relative position and size, as well as relative theological and political importance, is conveyed to the beholder. Early Byz. artists perpetuated Hellenistic schemes in which figures are too large with respect to their architectural or LANDSCAPE settings: on his diptychs the consul is many times larger than the figures in the arena below him. Not until the Palaiologan period do relatively tiny figures appear in such contexts, a scale that contributes greatly to the beetling settings in the wall paintings at the CHORA and MISTRA. Images of Christ, the Virgin Mary, and emperors generally tower over their ministrants (sometimes with the aid of a throne or footstool). On the Cross, Christ's body dwarfs those who stand below it, while Mary on her deathbed in the Dormition is often much larger than her mourners. Attendants of all sorts are customarily arranged according to principles of hierarchy and isocephaly. Figures in PROSKYNESIS are invariably smaller than the object of their veneration. On coins as on works of art, the emperor's preeminence over his spouse and heir is indicated as much by his greater height as by their position always to his left. –A.C.

SCALES. See BALANCE SCALES; COIN SCALES; STEELYARD.

SCEPTER (σκῆπτρον), a symbol of the power and authority of Roman consuls, which was adopted by the emperors in their function as consuls. The consular scepter was a staff surmounted by an EAGLE, as can be seen on consular DIPTYCHS (e.g., Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, pls. 7, 20). The eagle-topped scepter is held by emperors on some coins, the latest examples being Maurice, Phokas, and after a considerable interval Philippikos in the early 8th C. Another type of scepter was surmounted by a cross: A. Alföldi (*Schweizer Münzblätter* 4 [1954] 81–86) erroneously interpreted a spear in images of Constantine I as a cross-topped scepter, but this type did not come into use until Theodosios II. Scepters seem to have played a minor role in Byz. ceremonial, at least before the 11th C.; when they do occur on coins, they are symbols of imperial authority rather than representations of tangible objects. *De ceremoniis* applied the term *skeptron* to insignia borne by various imperial attendants.

The scepter as a real object with various shapes is depicted on coins beginning with Nikephoros II Phokas. Some 11th-C. coins were called *skeptrata* (Hendy, *Coinage* 29f). A cross from the treasury of the cathedral at Tournai, decorated with pearls and enamel, was identified by M. Ross as the top of a scepter and dated to the 10th C. (*JÖB* 9 [1960] 91–95). An ivory fragment from the Dahlem Museum in Berlin, depicting an emperor crowned by the Virgin and accompanied by the Archangel Gabriel, has been identified as the top of the scepter of Leo VI (K. Corrigan, *ArtB* 69 [1978] 407–16).

LIT. *DOC* 2.1: 87f; 3.1:138–41. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:398–403. –A.K.

SCHEDOGRAPHIA (σχεδογραφία, σχεδουργία, from *schedos*, with a postclassical meaning of "note, composition"), a system of educational exercises introduced probably ca.1000; in any case the young PSELLOS studied *schedographia*. It flourished in the 11th and 12th C. and met with severe criticism: Anna Komnene despised *schedographia*, "the new invention of our generation" (An.Komn. 3:218.3–25), and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (*Gedichte*, no.11) punned on a teacher who was selling *schede* and thus transformed the school at Chalkoprateia into a *schedoprateion*, "a composition shop." According to Garzya (*infra*), this criticism resulted from the conflict between the old *schedographia*, which consisted of simple grammatical analysis (word-by-word) of selected texts, and the "new" or "second" *schedographia*, the writing of short paradoxical compositions, such as the 12th-C. parody, "Notes (*schede*) of the Mouse." These playful exercises probably went out of fashion in the 13th C.: a short tract by Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, *On the Schede*, written before 1288/9, uses for grammatical analysis standardized material drawn from biblical and Homeric topics; another handbook was ascribed to Basil the Great; also a *Schedographic Lexikon* was produced. *Schede* used material similar to EPIMERISMS.

LIT. Krumbacher, *GBL* 590–93. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:24–29. A. Garzya, *Storia e interpretazione di testi bizantini* (London 1974), pt.VII (1973), 1–14. J. Keaney, "Moschopoulea," *BZ* 64 (1971) 303–13. Browning, *Studies*, pt.XVI (1976), 21–34. –A.K.

SCHEMA (σχῆμα, lit. "form, shape"), the habit of monks and nuns, which took two forms: the *mikron schema*, or "lesser habit," and the *mega schema* (or *angelikon schema*), the "greater habit," which symbolized the highest level of monastic profession. The monastic COSTUME of the *megaloschemos* monk was differentiated from that of the *mikroschemos* by the *koukoulion* (cowl) and *analabos* (scapular). The distinction between *mikroschemoi* (or *staurophoroi*) and *megaloschemoi* monks is first mentioned in the *Diatheke* of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, who disapproved of this hierarchical differentiation, "because there is only one habit, just as there is only one baptism" (PG 99:941C). Most monastic *typika* ignore the distinction, although there are exceptions: the 12th-C. *typikon* for the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY provides that female novices who wish to be *mikroschemoi* need wait only six months, whereas those who wish to be *megaloschemoi* must wait three years. Sometimes a monk took a second monastic name when he became *megaloschemos*; thus the future patriarch Athanasios I, who was baptized Alexios, assumed the monastic name Akakios but changed it to Athanasios when he donned the greater habit (THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE, *Vita Ath.* 4.24, 10.1–3).

LIT. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 111–13. M. Wawryk, *Initiatio monastica in liturgia byzantina: Officiorum schematis magni et parvi necnon rasophoratus exordia et evolutio* (Rome 1968). Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 89–103. Meester, *De monachico statu* 82–86. –A.M.T.

SCHEMATA. See RHETORICAL FIGURES; TROPES.

SCHILTBERGER, JOHANN, German author of memoirs relating his adventures and travels in the East; born Freising 1380. He participated in the crusade of 1396 and was captured at Nikopolis. In the service of the Turks and (after 1402) the Mongols, he visited Asia Minor, Egypt, and the Crimea; he finally escaped, with other Christian captives, via Batumi to Constantinople (1427), where he stayed three months. Schiltberger described the palace and Hagia Sophia; he expatiated on Greek Orthodoxy and the Greeks' hostility to the Armenians, whom he characterized as "a brave people"; he also emphasized that in Constantinople the emperor appointed patriarchs. The memoirs contain evidence concerning a visit by DEMETRIOS PALAIOLOGOS to Sigismund of Hungary.

ED. *Reisebuch*, ed. V. Langmantel (Tübingen 1885). Eng. tr. by J.B. Telfer, *The Bondage and Travels of Johann Schiltberger* (London 1879; rp. New York 1970).

LIT. E. Kislinger, "Johann Schiltberger und Demetrios Palaiologos," *Byzantiaka* 4 (1984) 97–111. –A.K.

SCHISM (σχίσμα), term found in the New Testament designating a split in the Christian community. Basil the Great of Caesarea applies the term "to those who had separated from the rest for some reasons of church policy and questions capable of adjustment" (PG 32:665A). He distinguishes "schism" from HERESY, a division on doctrinal grounds. Schisms have occurred during the entire history of Christianity, and many within the boundaries of the Byz. world were eventually resolved (e.g., the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY, the schism between Photios and Ignatios, the one connected with the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, the ARSENITE schism). Other ecclesiastical splits became permanent: the deposition of DIOSKOROS of Alexandria at Chalcedon (451), originally motivated by disciplinary reasons only (*ACO* 2:1,2, pp.41 [237]–42 [238], 124 [320]), resulted in doctrinal division between Chalcedonians and Monophysites.

Most frequently and specifically, the term is applied to the division between the Eastern and the Western churches and the focal incident of 1054. Although, from the beginning of the FILIOQUE controversy (8th–9th C.), doctrinal elements were involved in the split, so that many, on both sides, spoke of their adversaries' "heresy," there remained, at least until the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39), a substantial consensus on the point that the division was "capable of adjustment" and therefore was covered by the concept of "schism," as defined by Basil of Caesarea. This provided the basis for numerous union attempts.

The existence of different interpretations of both the PRIMACY of Rome and the position of other important Christian centers was evident already in the 4th C. The First Council of Constantinople (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), representing the Eastern view, attributed to the bishop of the new capital "the privileges of honor next to the bishop of Rome, because that city is a New Rome" (canon 3). A similar sociopolitical definition appears in 451 and is applied to the "old Rome" as well: "The Fathers rightly granted privileges to the throne of old Rome, because it was the imperial city," and now "equal privileges are granted to the most holy throne of New Rome . . . , which is honored with the presence of the emperor and the senate" (Council of Chalcedon, canon 28).

Such statements were obviously incompatible with the view expressed by Roman popes such as Damasus (366–84), LEO I (457–74), GELASIUS (492–96), and HORMISDAS (514–23) that the authority of Rome lies with the words addressed by Jesus to Peter (Mt 16:18) and not with the political structure of the empire. The estrangement provoked by such differing views on primacy manifested itself repeatedly in connection with several ecclesiastical conflicts, for example, the various positions concerning the resolution of the crisis over ARIANISM (late 4th C.) and the diverging attitudes toward the MONOPHYSITES (AKAKIAN SCHISM, 484–519). Although some Byz. churchmen (MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS) occasionally referred to Roman "apostolicity" to gain Rome's support against Byz. emperors, the estrangement was deepened by the political involvement of Pope Stephen II (752–57) with the Franks (754) and the *filioque* dispute begun by Charlemagne. The *filioque* issue added a doctrinal dimension to the jurisdictional conflict between Photios and Pope NICHOLAS I (858–67). Remarkably, however, none of these early confrontations resulted in final schism, because neither side was pushing its position to the point of ultimate rupture.

A substantially new situation prevailed by the

mid-11th C. The *filioque* had been added to the creed in Rome itself (presumably in 1014) and the papal throne was occupied by German popes (since 1046). Formal contacts between the patriarchate of Constantinople—at the zenith of its medieval power—and a decadent papacy were allowed to lapse. In southern Italy, Frankish and Greek clergy were in conflict over discipline (clerical CELIBACY imposed by the Franks) and LITURGY (Latin use of AZYMES). A reconciliation attempt, sponsored by Emp. CONSTANTINE IX, included the invitation of a papal delegation to Constantinople. The total intransigence of both Cardinal HUMBERT and Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS led to mutual anathemas (1054). The anathemas, however, referred to the immediate participants, i.e., the legates and the patriarch, and not to the churches at large, so that relations remained unclear for years. The "reformed papacy" of GREGORY VII (1073–85) could hardly have improved the situation; neither could it make concessions to Byz. ecclesiological patterns.

Nevertheless, when legates of URBAN II visited Constantinople (1089), the patriarchate, at the request of Emp. Alexios I Komnenos, declared that its files contained no evidence of formal schism and that unity could be restored on the basis of the pope's confession of Orthodox faith. There is evidence that, in the following years, intercommunion was taking place locally between Latins and Greeks and that many still considered the situation as a temporary quarrel between patriarch and pope. In reality, however, the Latin and the Greek worlds were drifting apart institutionally, culturally, and theologically.

During the CRUSADES, the estrangement became open conflict. After conquering Antioch (1098) and Jerusalem (1099) and initially recognizing the authority of the local Greek patriarchs, the Crusaders had them replaced with Latin incumbents. After the Crusaders captured Constantinople in 1204, Pope INNOCENT III condoned the election of the Venetian THOMAS MOROSINI as patriarch of Constantinople. Thereafter the schism could be considered as final, since the Greek pretender to the see, MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS, elected in Nicaea in 1208, was recognized as legitimate by the entire Orthodox world. However, negotiations for UNION OF THE CHURCHES—made urgent by the Turkish danger—continued, almost without interruption, during the Palaiologan period. The union councils of LYONS and Ferrara-Florence failed to overcome either the theological issues dividing the churches or the cultural animosity that opposed the peoples. Only a handful of Greeks were ready to accept the Latin doctrine of the *filioque*, or the "full power" (*plena potestas*) of the pope, as defined in Florence. The fall of Constantinople to the Turks ended negotiations.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford 1955). F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* (Cambridge, Mass., 1958). Idem, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966; rp. 1979). P. Lemerle, "L'Orthodoxie byzantine et l'oecuménisme médiéval: Les origines du 'schisme' des Églises," *BullBudé* (1965) 228–46. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 91–114. –J.M.

SCHOINION (σχοινίον, lit. "rope"), a measure of length for the survey of land, also called *geometrikon schoinion*, *schoinometrion*, and *sokarion*.

1. In the survey of vineyards and fields with better soil, the *schoinion* of 10 ORGYIAI was used; until the time of Michael IV this was 21.1 m, and thereafter 21.7 m. As a measure used by the EPOPTES, it was sometimes called *epoptikon metron*. A square *schoinion* corresponded to 1/2 *thalassios* MODIOS = 445 sq. m.

2. For fields with poor soil, or when the summary method of survey by *periorismos* was used, the *schoinion* of 12 *orgyiai* [= 25.3 m] was used. The corresponding square *schoinion* was 640 sq. m.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 28–30. –E. Sch.

SCHOLAE PALATINAE, imperial guard created by Diocletian or Constantine I. According to the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, it included five regiments in the West and seven in the East, each regiment being about 500 men strong. In Constantine's time they were mainly Franks and Alemanni, although the emperors of the 4th C. required religious orthodoxy from their bodyguards. The *scholae palatinae* served under the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM both as elite troops and as a vehicle of political control. In the mid-5th C. they ceased to play an active military role and became ceremonial troops, their function of protecting the emperor entrusted to a small body of 300 *exkoubitores* (see DOMESTIKOS TON EXKOUBITON). More prestigious than the COMITATENSES, the *scholae* attracted aristocratic youths, and posts there were often obtained through purchase. In the early 6th C. Justin I introduced four more regiments, aim-

ing primarily at an increase in state income; Justinian I, however, attempted to send the *scholae palatinae*, along with the PROTIKTORES, into actual battle. The 6th-C. *scholae palatinae* were billeted in and around Constantinople and were enrolled from the native population. They retained their parade role probably until Constantine V placed them under the command of the DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON; thereupon they became one of the most important TAGMATA.

LIT. R.I. Frank, *Scholae Palatinae* (Rome 1969). Haldon, *Praetorians*. –A.K.

SCHOLASTICISM, a system of thought that was a main element of Latin philosophy and theology in the Middle Ages. Its beginnings can be traced to works such as the *Monologium* and *Proslogium* of Anselm of Canterbury (1033–1109) and the *Sic et non* and *Theologia christiana* of Peter Abelard (1079–1142). As a teaching method, scholasticism submitted problems in philosophy, theology, and the sciences to a rational, dialectical examination that relied principally on the logic of ARISTOTLE. Its goal was to investigate questions from opposing points of view and, by means of logic, to formulate solutions consonant with reason as well as with Christian faith and the patristic tradition.

The scholastic theology of Hugo ETERIANO was influential in Christological discussions at the local council of Constantinople of 1166–67 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Beginning in the 13th C., Greek translations of Latin treatises broadened the influence of scholastic theology in Byz. Scholars including Maximos PLANOUDES, Prochoros KYDONES, Demetrios KYDONES, Manuel KALEKAS, and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS translated works such as Anselm of Canterbury's *On the Procession of the Holy Spirit* and *On the Azymes*, Thomas Aquinas's *Summa contra gentiles* and *Summa theologiae*, Ricoldo da Monte Croce's *Refutation of the Koran*, and a number of pseudo-Augustinian works. The theology of Latin scholastic writers, esp. that of Thomas AQUINAS (Thomism), became both a tool and an issue in the 13th- and 14th-C. polemical debates in Byz. between supporters and opponents of intellectual and political rapprochement with western Europe.

LIT. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–230. P. Classen, "Das Konzil von Konstantinopel 1166 und die Lateiner," *BZ* 48 (1955) 339–68. –F.K.

SCHOLASTIKOS (σχολαστικός). Already in the Roman Republic a "student" educated in rhetoric was called a *scholastikos*. From the 4th C. onward the term became a title. It was favored by LAWYERS and rhetors without, however, becoming a technical term for the person who appeared in court or in public in some other way. It is therefore a term that the educated person used of himself; on the basis of his education he could hope to improve his official and social standing. After the 8th C. the term disappears from the sources.

LIT. A. Claus, *Ho scholastikos* (Cologne 1965), with rev. by D. Simon, *BZ* 59 (1966) 158–61. –D.S.

SCHOLIA (sing. σχόλιον), line-by-line commentaries on literary or scientific texts, usually written on the margin of the text to which they refer. Many of them originated from Hellenistic commentaries, the debris of which were gathered and padded out primarily by Byz. scholiasts of the 9th-10th C., notably ARETHAS OF CAESAREA. The frequent occurrence one after the other of two or more versions of the same note demonstrates the compilatory character of most of these so-called Scholia Vetera. Some later scholia, for example, those of John TZETZES or Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, show learning and independence of judgment, but most are mechanical and unimaginative compilations. Bodies of scholia exist on HOMER (particularly rich), the Attic tragedians, ARISTOPHANES, PLATO, LUCIAN, and many other ancient writers, as well as scientists such as EUCLID, ARCHIMEDES, PTOLEMY, HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, the Hippokratic corpus, and grammarians (DIONYSIOS THRAX). The same technique was applied for commenting on the church fathers (CATENAE) as well as on legal texts, primarily the BASILIKA. Tzetzes created an original genre of verse commentary (*The Histories*) on his own letters and added marginal scholia to the poem. Scholia are linked to their text either by a LEMMA or word from the text standing at the head of each note, or by arbitrary reference signs placed over words in the texts; sometimes the scholiast deliberately used a different script to distinguish scholia from the text (E. Granstrem, *VizVrem* 13 [1958] 239f). Scholia provide valuable information on ancient literature and science, on lost states of the transmission of the text; they also may contain political judgments and unique data on Byz. history.

LIT. A. Gudeman, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 625–705. Wilson, *Scholars* 33–36, 120–35, 249–56. L.D. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*² (Oxford 1974) 10–15, 58f, 67f. –R.B.

SCHOOL (σχολή). In the later Roman Empire there was, in theory, a three-tier structure of schools: the school of letters directed by the *grammatistes*, the school of GRAMMAR under the GRAMMATIKOS, and the school of RHETORIC. In practice, however, this clear-cut distinction gave way to more complicated gradations, partly due to local circumstances, partly to social differentiation (R. Kaster, *TAPA* 113 [1983] 323–46). Christian society made only occasional and incidental changes in this inherited pattern. Monastic education provided elementary knowledge to illiterate brethren and to children who intended to become monks and nuns; John Chrysostom's proposal to entrust secular education to monks met with little success.

While children were often taught to read and write by parents, priests, or notaries, elementary schools, usually with a single TEACHER, are occasionally attested after the 6th C. The secondary school, which furnished the *enkyklios paideia*, was private, although the state and church (but not the city) had some control over it. According to the correspondence of the 10th-C. anonymous teacher (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS), he had under his charge STUDENTS of various ages; the more advanced instructed the younger ones.

The state took over from the *polis* responsibility for higher education. Theodosios II founded the UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, which does not appear to have lasted long. In the mid-9th C. a school of secondary and higher education was established in the palace and revived or refounded by Constantine VII. Constantine IX founded schools of philosophy and law (see LAW SCHOOLS) in Constantinople. In the 12th C. a school of rhetoric and theology existed under patriarchal authority, the so-called PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL. Instances of imperial patronage of higher education are found in the late 13th and 14th C. Most Byz. schools remained as before, however, private or semiprivate.

LIT. Marrou, *Education* 451–71. Lemerle, *Humanism* 281–308. R. Browning, "Byzantinische Schulen und Schulmeister," *Das Altertum* 9 (1963) 105–18. M. Pavan, *La crisi della scuola nel IV secolo d.C.* (Bari 1952). Speck, *Univ. von KP* 29–55. –R.B.

SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUSTRATION OF. Scientific MSS illustrated in Byz. comprise texts by Heron of Alexandria and his anonymous paraphraser, Heron of Byzantium; DIOSKORIDES; NIKANDER; PTOLEMY; KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES; and the *Kynegetika* of pseudo-OPPIAN. The basic illustration consisted of simple diagrams or plant pictures and probably repeated ancient designs, since the images were essential to the meaning of the text. Lavish MSS include the Dioskorides MSS in Vienna and New York, the Vatican Ptolemy (Vat. gr. 1291), the Paris Nikander, a collection of medical texts in Florence, and the Venice MS of the *Kynegetika*. In the 10th C. and later, human figures were added to demonstrate the effects or use of the object. Illustrations in Greek MSS influenced the decoration of Arabic translations, although Muslim artists greatly extended the notion of the explanatory figure. (See also HIPPIATRICA.)

LIT. K. Weitzmann, *Ancient Book Illumination* (Cambridge, Mass. 1959). Idem, *Studies* 20–44. –R.S.N.

SCIENTIFIC TRADITION. There are two separate scientific traditions in Byz., those of "high" and "low" science. The first is represented by the "Little Astronomy," which was taught throughout the existence of the empire, and by the advanced texts on MATHEMATICS and ASTRONOMY that were taught in the 4th–7th C. in Alexandria, Athens, Constantinople, and the monasteries of Syria. The second is represented by ALCHEMY and ASTROLOGY, which in the same period were widely practiced in the same intellectual centers, but seldom officially taught. The difference between these two traditions is clearly reflected in the ways in which the texts were transmitted in Byz.

The "Little Astronomy" was taught from a collection of treatises (perhaps originated by THEON, but not put into its present, expanded form before the 6th C.), which is found in a 9th-C. codex, Vat. gr. 204, and at least 28 later MSS. The Vatican codex includes works by EUCLID and EUTOKIOS (D. Pingree, *Gnomon* 40 [1968] 13–17). The more advanced mathematical and astronomical texts are also represented by a series of magnificent 9th-C. copies. Manuscripts of Ptolemy's *Almagest* are the uncial Paris, B.N. gr. 2389 and the minuscule Vat. gr. 1594; manuscripts of the *Handy Tables*, the uncial Vat. gr. 1291 (now claimed

to be of ca.753 by D.H. Wright [*BZ* 78 (1985) 355–62]) and Leiden B.P.G. 78. The Leiden codex also contains a fragment of six folios of Theon's *Little Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* from another MS written in the 9th or 10th C. The archetypal MS of his *Great Commentary* is the 9th-C. Vat. gr. 190, which also contains Euclid's *Elements* (in their original version) and *Data*, both with scholia and the latter with Marinos's commentary as well. Theon's and Pappos's commentaries on the *Almagest* are preserved, though incompletely, in Florence, Laur. 28, 18. The role played by LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN in the production of any of these codices remains very problematic; but in any case they attest to a general reawakening of admiration for these sciences in the 9th C., which the extant copies prove to have continued into the 10th (Wilson, *Scholars* 85f). The TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from uncial to minuscule apparently began with scientific MSS.

In the 12th–13th C., however, some of these MSS were taken to the West, and the texts they contained were lost to Byz. Thus the Papal Library at Viterbo included by 1295 Florence, Laur. 28, 18 and Vat. gr. 218; the unique 10th-C. copy of Anthemios's *On Burning Mirrors* and the archetype of all other MSS of Pappos's *Collections*; two now lost MSS of ARCHIMEDES, one of which also contained works by PTOLEMY, pseudo-Ptolemy, and Eutokios; MSS of the "Little Astronomy"; part of Theon's commentary on the *Almagest*; and the *Almagest* itself (Jones, "Papal Manuscripts"). Some of these MSS were at Viterbo by 1269 when WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE used them as the basis of his Latin translations.

The efforts of early Palaiologan scholars such as PACHYMERES, PLANOUDES, METOCHITES, and GREGORAS rescued many of the remaining advanced scientific treatises from being lost. They and their successors produced a voluminous treasury of copies of them.

Among the "low" sciences, the alchemical texts were gathered together in a corpus, perhaps in the late 9th or in the 10th C., that is preserved primarily in the 10th-C. codex, Venice, Marc. gr. 299. Most early Byz. alchemy can be recovered only from the Syriac and Arabic translations; the texts were lost to Byz. when the Arabs overran Egypt and Syria in the 7th C.

The case of astrology is much more complicated. Very few late antique astrological texts survived intact till the 9th C.; one can cite only Ptolemy's *Astrological Effects*, the anonymous 3rd-C. commentary on it, Porphyrios's *Introduction*, Paul of Alexandria's *Introduction*, and pseudo-Proklos's *Treatment*. Astrological literature was preserved primarily by practicing astrologers, who were few in number in Constantinople in the 7th and 8th C. and who tended to make compendia of material they thought would be useful to their business rather than to preserve texts intact. The practice of making compendia is already evident in the *Astrological Effects* by HEPHAISTION OF THEBES. Even more important for Byz. astrological collections was the work of RHETORIOS OF EGYPT in the early 7th C. The result is that, though we know that Leo the Mathematician had MSS of Ptolemy, Paul of Alexandria, Hephaistion, and John Lydos, the only 9th-C. astrological MS extant is an incomplete copy of the poems of Manetho and Maximus, Florence, Laur. 28, 27, that was copied by the scribe of the valuable *Almagest*, Vat. gr. 1594. From the 10th C. survive two codices: Vat. gr. 1453, which contains the pseudo-Proklian *Treatment*, and an influential compendium in Florence, Laur. 28, 34. Other compendia were produced in the Komnenian period and are now preserved in such later copies as Paris, B.N. gr. 2506; Vat. gr. 1056; and Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 115. From them we can gather together, in often transformed excerpts, the scattered fragments of ancient and Byz. astrology, which must be supplemented by the equally scattered material in Arabic compendia.

The last of the Byz. compendia was that concocted by Eleutherios Zebelenos and attributed by him to Palchos, the unnamed "translator from Balkh" once mentioned by Abū Maʿshar. Eleutherios was a prominent member of the School of John ABRAMIOS, which systematically rewrote much of earlier classical and Byz. astrological literature between 1370 and 1400; their efforts have thoroughly perverted the texts on which they worked and until recently obscured the history of Greek astrology.

During the 4th to the 7th C. the Byz. taught and preserved the texts of "high" science so that many of them were still recoverable in the 9th C., either to be transliterated from uncial into minuscule or to be translated into Arabic. Though many MSS were lost to Byz. scholars during the Latin occupation of Constantinople, some of them

were by chance preserved in Italy; those remaining were eagerly sought out and vigorously copied under the Palaiologoi. The texts of "low" science fared much worse and present many more difficulties of reconstruction and interpretation. Though alchemy and astrology certainly attracted the interest of the powerful and wealthy from time to time, the practitioners of these sciences were on the fringes of intellectual society and failed to treat the literature they read with the respect that professors and potentates paid to the treatises of the famous scientists of the past. It is not surprising, then, that the astrological works associated with the names of Ptolemy, Porphyrios, and Proklos can still be read in their entirety, while those of Vettius Valens, Hephaistion, John Lydos, and Rhetorios cannot. –D.P.

SCRIBE (καλλιγράφος, lit. "one who writes beautifully"), the copyist of a MS text. COLOPHONS are our main source of information on scribes: the first scribe of an existing codex to be mentioned by name is Nicholas, who copied the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK dated 835. In addition to scribes known only by name and status (e.g., monk or priest), some well-known authors worked as copyists or left us autograph MSS or scholia (e.g., ARETHAS OF CAESAREA, EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE, Maximos PLANOUDES, Nikephoros GREGORAS). A. Cutler, on the basis of Vogel-Gardthausen (*BZ* 74 [1981] 328–34), has calculated that in the 10th–11th C. 50 percent of scribes were monks; he concluded that thereafter the percentage of monastic scribes declined (to 16 percent in the 15th C.), to be replaced by an increasing proportion of laymen (39 percent in the 15th C.). Only a very few women scribes, such as Theodora RAOULAINA and Irene, daughter of the scribe Theodore Hagiopetrites (A.W. Carr, *Scriptorium* 35 [1981] 287–90) are documented. Some scribes specialized in TACHYGRAPHY or in certain kinds of MSS; e.g., the 14th-C. Ioasaph, of the HODEGON monastery, copied primarily New Testament and liturgical codices. Occasionally a scribe might also paint miniatures (Buchthal-Belting, *Patronage* 54).

It took a scribe about four months to copy a MS of 350 folios (Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 50); in the 9th–10th C. Arethas paid 13–20 nomismata for the copying of slightly longer books. A 10th-C. copyist is known to have earned 900 nomismata from 28 years' work (*Synax.CP* 727.40f). Verse colophons written by scribes stress their inadequacy for the task (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), the hardships of copying a text, and their relief at completing an assignment. The vita of Michael MALEINOS (p.566f) tells of a scribe who drove himself so hard to transcribe a book that he suffered a massive hemorrhage. The Rule of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS included a list of punishments for careless monastic scribes (PG 99:1740B–D).

LIT. M. Vogel, V. Gardthausen, *Die griechischen Schreiber des Mittelalters und der Renaissance* (Leipzig 1909; rp. Hildesheim 1966). Gamillscheg-Harlfinger, *Repertorium*. L.D. Reynolds, N.G. Wilson, *Scribes and Scholars*[2] (Oxford 1974). –E.G., A.M.T.

SCRIPT. See PALAEOGRAPHY.

SCRIPTOR INCERTUS (lit. "writer unknown"), conventional Latin title of an anonymous 9th-C. historical work from which two fragments are preserved: one, in Vat. gr. 2014 (13th C.), where it is placed between descriptions of the sieges of Constantinople of 626 and 717 and several hagiographical texts; the second, in Paris, B.N. gr. 1711 (dated 1013), is accompanied in the MS by the so-called chronicle of Leo Grammatikos (see SYMEON LOGOTHETE). Grégoire (*infra*), on the grounds of stylistic similarity, hypothesized that the two fragments belong to the same chronicle; his hypothesis is commonly accepted, although stylistic similarity is an unreliable basis for identification. The first fragment treats Nikephoros I's unsuccessful expedition against Bulgaria (811); the second describes the reigns of Michael I and Leo V. Both texts give details not in THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR or THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS. Grégoire also hypothesized, again on the basis of stylistic similarity, that the fragments formed part of a lost continuation of MALALAS. The date of compilation is questionable: the vividness of the description led to the conclusion that a contemporary wrote it. L. Tomić (*ZRVI* 1 [1952] 81) dates the text after 864, however, because it alludes to the eventual baptism of the Bulgarians (Dujčev, *infra*, p.216.83); her critics describe this allusion as a later editorial gloss. Pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS evidently used the second fragment, but, according to Browning (*infra* 406–11), there is no trace

of a similar source in the section on the period from Leo III to Michael I.

ED. I. Dujčev, "La chronique byzantine de l'an 811," *TM* 1 (1965) 210–16. *Leo Grammaticus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842) 335–62, corr. R. Browning, *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 391–406.

LIT. H. Grégoire, "Un nouveau fragment du 'Scriptor incertus de Leone Armenio,'" *Byzantion* 11 (1936) 417–20. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:333f. –A.K.

SCRIPTORIUM, a center for book production. Attribution of Byz. MSS to scriptoria is based on COLOPHONS and on palaeographical and codicological evidence; due in part to the dearth of material, however, our knowledge of Byz. scriptoria lags far behind that of Western centers. Best known are the scriptoria located at monasteries, such as STOUDIOS, where the rules of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS included regulations for SCRIBES (PG 99:1740B–D). The *protokalligraphos* distributed the work; the monks copied the models into QUIRES. Many of the MSS copied at Stoudios (ascetical works, rules of the founder, liturgical books, monastic literature, and commentaries on the Scriptures) were for the use of the Stoudite monks (N.F. Kavrus, *VizVrem* 44 [1983] 98–111). Other monastic scriptoria accepted commissions from outside clients; some specialized in certain kinds of MSS, for example, deluxe liturgical codices at the HODEGON MONASTERY in Constantinople. Scriptoria also existed at such Constantinopolitan monasteries as the Prodromos in PETRA and EUERGETIS. Scriptoria outside the capital included those at the monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKEION or on Mt. Athos, esp. at Lavra, Iveron (J. Irigoin, *Scriptorium* 13 [1959] 195–204), and Philotheou.

The existence of an imperial scriptorium is attested as early as the reign of Constantius II, who commissioned scribes to copy works of ancient Greek literature (Lemerle, *Humanism* 58f). Under Constantine VII an imperial scriptorium is also well attested (J. Irigoin, *supra* 177–81). The best-known private scriptorium is that of the *anagnostes* Theodore Hagiopetrites, who specialized ca.1300 (perhaps in Thessalonike) in the production of liturgical MSS, esp. of the New Testament (R.S. Nelson, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 79–85).

MS decorations aid further in identifying and understanding the nature of the scriptorium. Some scriptoria, such as the Stoudios monastery in the 11th C., maintained resident ILLUMINATORS, as may be deduced from subscriptions and illuminations. Many, however, worked with independent outside illuminators. Often when MSS related by script are assembled, their decoration differs, and vice-versa, as has been shown for MSS of the 10th–14th C. (R.S. Nelson, *The J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 [1987] 58f). For example, the scribe Ioasaph of the Hodegon monastery worked with various illuminators in the 14th C. (H. Buchthal, *Art of the Mediterranean World AD 100 to 1400* [Washington, D.C., 1983] 157–70).

LIT. J. Irigoin, "Centres de copie et bibliothèques," in *Books & Bookmen* 17–27. L. Politis, "Quelques centres de copie monastiques au XIVe siècle," in *PGEB* 291–302. S. Dufrenne, "Problèmes des ateliers de miniaturistes byzantins," *JÖB* 31 (1981) 445–70. B.L. Fonkić, "*Scriptoria* bizantine," *RSBN* 17–19 (1980–82) 73–118. –E.G., R.S.N., A.M.T.

SCULPTURE (*λιθοξοϊκή, γλυπτική*). Sculpture in the round was largely reduced to RELIEF in Byz., with the exception of imperial statuary and that of dignitaries; the last honorific statue to be erected in Constantinople was that of a cousin of Emp. Herakleios ca.614 (Mango in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:30f). The disappearance of statuary may be connected with a gradual process of dematerialization, also evident in sculpture intended for gardens or TOMBS. Relief PORTRAITS appear already on early imperial monuments: the Arch of Constantine, the columns of Theodosios I and Arkadios, and the Obelisk of Theodosios I, offer examples of high-quality relief.

Tombs containing SARCOPHAGI or sarcophagus slabs provide the best recorded group of 4th- and 5th-C. sculpture, with Rome and Ravenna as the main centers of production; Alexandrian workshops furnished the imperial PORPHYRY sarcophagi. Church furniture, including AMBOS, CIBORIA, and episcopal THRONES, is closely related to architectural sculpture and was often exported from the same Constantinopolitan workshops all around the Mediterranean. Peripheral workshops included Thessalonike, an ambo from there (J.-P. Sodini, *BCH* 100 [1976] 493–510) being an outstanding example with figural decoration. A gradual shift from the Graeco-Roman heritage toward truly Byz. forms, with a new ornamental

vocabulary partially indebted to Sasanian influence, appears in architectural sculpture (Church of St. POLYEUKTOS) in the time of Justinian I.

From the 8th C. onward, sculpture in the round was no longer being created, although Byz. writers (the anonymous author of PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI, Niketas CHONIATES) continued to notice Constantinople's heritage of bronze statues. A new type of monumental sculpture appeared in 10th-C. Constantinople—the relief ICON, many extant examples of which were transported to S. Marco, Venice. The development of architectural sculpture can be found in numerous monuments in Constantinople, along the coast of Asia Minor, and in Greece. Late 9th–11th-C. TEMPLA, CAPITALS, CORNICES, slabs, ICON FRAMES, and doorframes display a limited vocabulary of crosses, geometric patterns, stylized floral ornament, a few animals or birds, and bosses. From the 12th C., however, a resurgent interest in sculpture is accompanied by increased PLASTICITY and a repertory that now included mythological subjects, heraldic compositions, and ANIMAL COMBAT, the human form being only rarely employed, mainly in Palaiologan Constantinople (H. Belting, *MünchJb*[3] 23 [1972] 63–100). The same ornamental repertory is adopted in the rare preserved examples of church furniture and the numerous funerary monuments of the period, mainly built sarcophagi faced with marble slabs. A more ambitious type of funerary monument, dressed in marble, appears in 14th-C. Constantinople, with rich sculptural decoration around the arch of the niche (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 248–63). (See also OXYRHYNCHUS SCULPTURE.)

LIT. A. Grabar, *Sculptures byzantines de Constantinople (IVe–Xe siècle)* (Paris 1963). Idem, *Sculptures byzantines du moyen âge II (XIe–XIVe siècle)* (Paris 1976). F.W. Deichmann, *Einführung in die christliche Archäologie* (Darmstadt 1983) 289–322. V. Korać, "Beleška o načinu rada vizantijskih klesara u XI veku," *Zograf* 7 (1977) 11–16. –L.Ph.B.

SCYPHATE, a term often wrongly applied to Byz. concave coins (TRACHEA) of the 11th–14th C. in the belief that the word *scyphatus* found in southern Italian documents of the 11th–12th C. had this meaning. This word derived not from Greek σκύφος, "cup," but from the Arabic word *shafah*, "edge" or "rim" (adjectival *shiff*), and was used with reference to the conspicuous border of early HISTAMENA and not to the concavity that characterized the later coins (P. Grierson, *NChron*[7] 11 [1971] 253–60). –Ph.G.

SCYTHIA MINOR, a province south of the Danube estuary, separated in the 4th C. from MOESIA II. Its autochthonous population was comprised of DACO-GETANS, whose material culture dominated the countryside through the 6th C. (G. Scorpan, *Pontica* 4 [1971] 137–53); Roman villas are also known in Scythia Minor (V.H. Baumann, *Ferma romana din Dobrogea* [Tulcea 1983]). The numerous cities of Scythia Minor can be divided into two groups: old Greek colonies on the Black Sea (TOMIS, which was the capital, HISTRIA, KALLATIS, etc.) and Roman fortresses, primarily on the Danube (DOROSTOLON, AXIOPOLIS, DINOGETIA, NOVIODUNUM, etc.). Located away from the main routes of barbarian invasions, Scythia Minor seems to have flourished in the 4th–6th C. Christian inscriptions are abundant. Among leading theologians of the time were the "Scythians" John CASSIAN and DIONYSIUS EXIGUUS (I. Coman, *Kleronomia* 7 [1975] 27–48). A serious threat to Scythia Minor arose at the end of the 6th C., when it was invaded by the AVARS and Slavs. The fate of the Geto-Roman population in the 7th C. is under discussion: A. Petre (*RESEE* 19 [1981] 555–68) insists on its continuity; A. Poulter (in *Classical Tradition* 198–204) asserts that archaeological data show a material decline of Scythia Minor and a progressive weakening of Byz. control that did not survive the reign of Herakleios.

LIT. A. Barnea, "Aspetti della vita economica della Scythia Minor," *Quaderni Catanesi di studi classici e medievali* 4 (1980) 519–47. E. Popescu, "Zur Geschichte der Stadt in Kleinskythien in der Spätantike," *Dacia* 19 (1975) 173–82. H. Gajewska, *Topographie des fortifications romaines en Dobroudja* (Wroclaw 1974) 125–44. –A.K.

SCYTHIANS (Σκύθαι), nomadic tribal groups of the Eurasian steppe. Forced out of their habitat north of the Black Sea by the SARMATIANS, they temporarily retained Dobrudja, where the Roman province was officially called "SCYTHIA MINOR," and the interior of Crimea; the Scythians, however, were dispersed among the local population.

Byz. writers used the term *Scythians* as an archaism denoting all nomadic peoples whom they

encountered, beginning in the 4th C. with the Huns (ASTERIOS OF AMASEIA) and in the 6th C. with COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS and the Old Turks. The usage continued throughout the empire's history; the name *Scythian* was later applied to the Avars, Khazars, Bulgars, Hungarians, Pechenegs, Uzes, Cumans, Seljuks, Mongols, and Ottomans. Sometimes the term included the Slavs; the Rus' were also called "Scythians" or "Tauroscythians." Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 1:8.3–6) uses the term *Scythian* to designate "the people speaking the same tongue and equipped in the same way" who occupied the territory from the Don (Tanais) to Sarmatia (Poland), but indiscriminately transfers this name also to the Tatars.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:279–83. I. Dujčev, "Slavjani-skiti," *Slavia* 29 (1960) 109–14. Ditten, *Russland-Exkurs* 94f. –O.P.

SEALING IMPLEMENTS. For sealing with lead three items were required: a *boulloterion*, a blank, and a piece of cord. Blanks were cast in slate molds, as evidenced by examples recovered from excavations at Corinth (cf. Davidson, *Minor Objects*, pl.134). The molds featured circular wells with grooves; wire was placed in the grooves and when molten lead was poured into a mold it traveled into the wells and hardened into blanks. In the last phases the wire was removed to produce a hollow channel and to accomodate a cord by which the seal was attached to a document. The blank was placed between the two engraved heads of a *boulloterion*, a pliers-like instrument, and, when pressure was applied to the *boulloterion*, the blank received the imprint of the dies and the channel closed around the cord. It might be noted that since *boulloteria* were made from iron—a metal that corrodes relatively quickly after burial—only a small group has survived. Two extant examples (Zacos, *Seals* 1, pls. 1–4) appear somewhat flattened, suggesting that pressure was applied to a blank, not by squeezing the handles of the *boulloterion*, but rather by striking one of its heads with a hammer.

For sealing with wax a *boulloterion* might take the form of either a signet RING or a small stamp. Wax had the advantage over lead in that it could be more easily manipulated; also it added little weight when the owner was away from his desk or traveling. For these reasons, signet rings were used throughout the entire Byz. period for the protection of letters and for the security of such household items as chests and cabinets. (See also SEALS, BIVALVE and SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 10–25. C. Morrisson, "Numismatique et sigillographie," in *Byz. Sigillography* 1–25. –J.W.N.

SEALS, BIVALVE, conventional term for seals with which two incised surfaces of matching dimensions but contrasting devices may be impressed on opposite sides of a single sealing, usually with a cord incorporated. Two variant bivalve types belong to the same family as the signet RING and the cone seal, since they were obviously intended for use with wax, pitch, or clay and produce impressions of comparable size and iconography to those made by rings and cones. One, a clamshell-like seal, is made of bronze and consists of a pair of hinged, shell-like disks with intaglio devices on their inner faces and a suspension loop above. The other, a disk-like seal, is usually made of STEATITE and has its two devices carved into the opposite faces of a single disk. Both of these SEALING IMPLEMENTS are characteristically (but not exclusively) of the 10th–12th C., steatite specimens being quite rare. Not surprisingly, both disks and clamshells draw on the same repertoire of sealing devices as contemporary rings, including monograms, invocations, icons, and narrative scenes. Bivalves were used in both the private and public sectors of Byz.; an early specimen found in Sicily, for example, belonged to a notary. Moreover, the imperial wax seal was sometimes referred to as *diptychos* ("two-fold"; *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.13.42), suggesting that not one but two sides were impressed with seals—very possibly by a clamshell bivalve.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 23f. –G.V.

SEALS, CONE OR PYRAMID, conventional terms for a seal that was a functional twin to the signet ring, with the intaglio sealing device cut into the bezel-like base of a small cone or pyramid, and with a tiny loop at the apex for suspension. Apparently without antecedent in Western Roman society, the cone seal represents instead an absorption and adaptation, in Byz. Anatolia, of a characteristically Persian SEALING IMPLEMENT. Early specimens tend to be of stone (e.g., rock crystal),

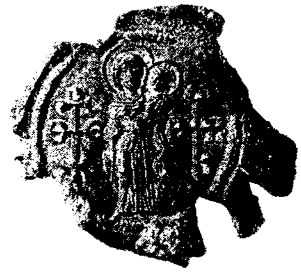
with uninscribed figures or animals, while those of the 10th C. or later are almost universally bronze. For the most part they bear standard invocational formulas ("Lord, help . . ."), although some carry images or zoomorphic motifs. Like signet rings and bivalve SEALS, cone seals could only have been used with a pliant medium such as wax or clay. Official titles appear only very rarely, which suggests that their primary role was in the home.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 20–23. –G.V.

SEALS AND SEALINGS. Technically speaking, a seal (σφραγίς, Lat. *sigillum*) is an implement, while sealings are the objects produced, but following common English usage we refer to the object as a "seal" and use the word *bulla* in the same sense. Seals were made of lead, gold, silver, and wax; they are found to vary in diameter from approximately 15 to 80 mm; most seals, however, range in size from approximately 23 to 28 mm. Seals were used to authenticate the signature of the person responsible for the issuance of a document; they were also used in place of a countersignature, an indication of the responsibility of a senior official for the issuance of a document when he was not present as signator but approved of its issuance by a subordinate. In addition, seals of both wax and lead were employed to preserve the integrity of correspondence. After being folded, a letter was tied with a string, the security of the small bundle assured by the application of a wax seal to paper and string or the placement of the two ends of the string within the channel of a lead seal. Finally, lead seals were used to secure tied bundles, as indicated by numerous seals carrying the imprint of burlap. Lead bullae were used at least as early as the 4th C. (e.g., Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, nos. 1–5), but such seals are rare; the earliest bullae to be recovered in large numbers are examples of the 6th C. They continued to be employed until 1453, although large collections reflect a significant decline in use after 1200 (possibly because of a shortage of lead or perhaps simply a decline in population).

All segments of society used seals: emperors and their chanceries employed ones made of gold, wax, and lead. We know from pseudo-KODINOS (p.175.26–32) that an emperor would employ wax seals when writing to members of his immediate family, his mother, wife, or son. The use of wax seals in the imperial chancery is exemplified by a wax seal of the *sebastokrator* Nikephoros Petraliphas, still suspended on a document of 1200 (preserved on Mt. Athos at the Xeropotamou Monastery and illustrated in Oikonomides, *Seals*, fig.10). The use of gold bullae may have originated as early as the 8th C. (Grierson, *DOP* 20 [1966] 240), but over the course of centuries their method of manufacture underwent alteration. At first they were made in a casting mold, like lead seals; in the mid-11th C. the chancery began to make them out of two separate roundels of gold held together by solder; and in the 14th–15th C. they consisted simply of two thin sheets of gold bound together with wax.

The weight of gold seals was reckoned in solidi and the *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 686.5–10, bk.2, ch.48) reports that the pope should receive a gold seal equal in weight to two gold coins, but the patri-





SEALS AND SEALINGS. Lead seal of Basil, *hypatos* and imperial *notarios* (787–815). Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C. The Virgin Hodegetria is depicted on the obverse of the seal; the reverse bears the inscription naming Basil.

archs of Antioch and Jerusalem should be honored with bullae equal to three solidi. Silver seals were issued by the *despotai* of Epiros and Morea during the 13th–14th C.; an example of this very rare type is attached to a charter of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS, dating from ca.1251 (T. Bertelè, *Numismatica* 17–18 [1951–52] 17). Lead seals were used at every level of the central and provincial administration, by emperors, officials, ecclesiastics, and men and women from all walks of life. The rarity of titles on signet rings or small stamps may simply indicate that (nonimperial) wax seals were usually employed in private situations, where the formality of title was dropped, but it is difficult to assess the status of persons using wax for sealing.

The majority of seals from before 700 simply carry MONOGRAMS and/or inscriptions. Some monograms are invocative, requesting the help of Christ or the Virgin; others express the name of the seal's owner or his name and title. On the other hand, for the sake of clarity, the name and title might be expressed in the form of a linear inscription. Although comprising a much smaller percentage, iconographic seals were used; the most popular depiction was the Virgin, followed by Christ and the saints. During Iconoclasm, iconography was eschewed, but, after the victory of the Iconodules, depictions of Christ, the Virgin, and the saints returned. By the 11th C., seals with iconography comprise a much higher percentage of extant specimens than in the earlier period. Although depictions of animals (birds and griffins in particular) were used to ornament seals in the 6th–7th C., this type of motif is more commonly met among 10th-C. seals. On occasion seals carry portraits of their owners, but such instances are relatively rare. The vast majority of Byz. seals are inscribed in Greek. In the 6th C., however, Latin was occasionally used, esp. among officials governing in the West. From the 10th to 11th C. there survives a small group of seals inscribed with legends in Syriac or Arabic; Dumbarton Oaks, for example, preserves 80 such objects. (See also SIGILLOGRAPHY and SEALING IMPLEMENTS.)

LIT. N.P. Lichačev, *Istoričeskoe značenie Italo-Grečeskoj ikonopisi* (St. Petersburg 1911). N. Oikonomides, "The Usual Lead Seal," *DOP* 37 (1983) 147–57. W. Seibt, "Die Darstellung der Theotokos auf byzantinischen Bleisiegeln, besonders im 11. Jahrhundert," in *Byz. Sigillography* 35–56.

–J.W.N.

SEA ROUTES. From Roman times and through the 6th C., the most important sea routes were those that linked the eastern Mediterranean with Italy, going either from the west coast of Asia Minor to the Greek coast and then along the Peloponnesos to Italy and Sicily, or from the southern coast of Asia Minor, Syria, or Palestine to Crete and then to Sicily, or from Alexandria along the North African coast to Sicily to Italy. These east-west routes were significantly disturbed by the establishment of Muslim sea power, after the capture of Crete and Sicily. From then until the 11th C., coastal navigation along the Asia Minor and Greek shores became usual, the Aegean islands playing the role of relay stations. Thus GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS sailed from Ephesus to Prokonnesos, to Ainos and Christoupolis. From Thessalonike he continued to Corinth, Reggio, Naples, and finally to Rome (*Vita* 53–56). Arab sources show a transverse route between Pelousion in Egypt and Constantinople, through the Cretan sea (9th–10th C.), and a route from Tripoli (in North Africa) to Byz. (10th C.). Also important were the Black Sea coastal routes, both along the north-south axis and from Trebizond to Constantinople.

After the 11th C., the east-west routes became open once again, primarily under the influence of the Italian traders. In the Black Sea, navigation in the open sea continued. IBN BAṬṬŪṬA took a Greek ship from Sinope to Vosporo (Kerch) on his way to Kaffa (*Travels* 141f); the party of Ignatij of Smolensk sailed from Surož (Sougdaia) to Constantinople in 13 days in June 1389 (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 86–90, 401–03).

As for the length of TRAVEL, the vita of Blasios of Amorion gives 12 days between Rome and Methone (*AASS* Nov. 4:666B), while 20 days from the southern coast of Asia Minor to Bari (in 1087) may have been unusually short. The Geniza documents show 18 days between Alexandria and Constantinople, and in the 12th C. it took 10 days from Constantinople to Cyprus (A.L. Udovitch, *SettStu* 25.2 [1978] 510–12). The transport of commodities by sea was usually cheaper than by land. (See also LAND ROUTES.)

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Zivilschiffahrt und Handelsschiffahrt in Byzanz: Quellen und Probleme bezüglich der dort tätigen Personen," in *Le Genti del mare Mediterraneo*, ed. R. Ragosta, vol. 1 (Naples 1981) 9–25. H. Ahrweiler, "Les ports byzantins (VII^{e}–IX^{e} siècles)," *SettStu* 25.1 (1978) 259–83. J. Rougé, *Recherches sur l'organisation du commerce mari-*

time en Méditerranée sous l'Empire romain (Paris 1966) 84–93. T. Lewicki, "Les voies maritimes de la Méditerranée dans le haut Moyen Age d'après les sources arabes," *SettStu* 25.2 (1978) 439–69. –A.L.

SEASONS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF. These symbols of the quarterly divisions of the year, like those of the MONTHS, were common as decorative motifs in Late Antique floor mosaics; on occasion they can be interpreted as elements in a cosmic scheme (Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 36). On the Parabiago plate (*Age of Spirit.*, no.164), the representation of the Seasons as fruit-bearing children associated with Kybele and Attis suggests that they refer to death and resurrection. Similar concerns are evident on sarcophagi (ibid., no.386) where the Seasons appear as *erotes*. Their role as aspects of a comprehensive attitude toward CREATION, suggested in the *Ekphrasis* of JOHN OF GAZA, received its fullest treatment in art of the 11th C. and later. In most of the illustrated OCTATEUCHS, differing versions of the Seasons attend God's promise to Noah (Gen 8:22): thus in Vat. gr. 746, fol.57r, DAY and NIGHT turn an ovoid wheel containing a sower (Spring), a man gathering flowers (Summer), a thresher (Autumn), and an old man warming himself by a fire (Winter).



SEASONS, PERSONIFICATIONS OF. The four seasons. Detail of a miniature in an Octateuch manuscript (Vat. gr. 746, fol.57r); 12th C. Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana.

LIT. G. Galavaris, *RBK* 3:510–19. G.M.A. Hanfmann, *The Season Sarcophagus in Dumbarton Oaks* (Cambridge, Mass., 1951; rp. New York–London 1971) 262–74. –A.C.

SEBASTE (Σεβαστή, Ar. Sebasṭīyah, now Shomeron in Israel), city in the province of Palestina I under CAESAREA MARITIMA and bishopric under the patriarch of JERUSALEM; situated just northwest of NEAPOLIS. Called Samaria in antiquity, the city was rebuilt and renamed Sebaste by Herod. The discovery here during the reign of Julian of John the Baptist's tomb and relics was the occasion of a pagan riot. Veneration of the relics, and of those of the prophets Elisha and Obadiah found nearby, nevertheless persisted, and Sebaste became a pilgrimage center, with legends claiming it as the site of John's death. Two churches were built to honor him; a 12th-C. pilgrim reports that one of them, the cathedral, was then being replaced by a Crusader church, while the other (of the 6th C.?), then part of a Greek monastery, had been partly rebuilt in the 11th C. as a Byz. domed church and was remodeled in the 12th C. in mixed Latin and Byz. style. Frescoes from the last two phases have been found. Crowfoot's association of the second of these phases with restoration in the Holy Land supported by Manuel I Komnenos has been challenged by Hunt, who suggests that these paintings were done by a Byz. artist working in the 1140s for the Knights of the Order of St. John.

LIT. J.W. Crowfoot, *Churches at Bosra and Samaria-Sebaste* (London 1937) 24–39. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 169. Ovadiah, *Corpus* 157–59. *EAEHL* 4:1049f. L.-A. Hunt, "Damascus Gate, Jerusalem and Crusader Wallpainting of the Mid-Twelfth Century," in *Crusader Art in the Twelfth Century*, ed. J. Folda (Jerusalem 1982) 191–213. –M.M.M., G.V.

SEBASTEIA (Σεβάστεια, mod. Sivas), city of northeastern Cappadocia on the Halys at the junction of major roads; civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Armenia I from the early 5th C. Justinian I rebuilt its walls, but Chosroes I surprised and burned it in 575. Under Arab attack from the late 7th C., when it appears as a city of ARMENIAKON, Sebasteia became a KLEISOURA under Leo VI and by 911 a separate THEME that stretched

to TEPHRIKE and MELITENE before being reduced later in the 10th C.; it subsisted through the 11th C. So many Armenians immigrated to the city in the 10th C. that they predominated in the population: Sebasteia was an Armenian bishopric from 986 and in 1019 was given to Senacherim ARCRUNI, whose successors administered it first as Byz. vassals, then independently after 1074 until the Turkish conquest, ca.1090. The last years of Byz. rule were marked by increasing hostility between Greeks and Armenians. The walls of Sebasteia have disappeared, but a Byz. inscribed-cross church survives as a mosque. (See also FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA.)

LIT. *TIB* 2:274–76. –C.F.

SEBASTOKRATOR (σεβαστοκράτωρ), word formed from a combination of SEBASTOS and AUTOKRATOR, a title created by Alexios I for his brother Isaac KOMNENOS. Under the Komnenoi, *sebastokrator* was the highest title (following that of co-emperor and later DESPOTES) conferred on the emperor's sons and brothers. After 1204 the title was assumed also in the Latin Empire. The emperors of Nicaea bestowed it on some semi-independent (?) landlords such as Sabas ASIDENOS. The title *sebastokrator* was granted primarily to the emperor's relatives. The last known holder of this title is Demetrios Kantakouzenos under John V. The title was used in Bulgaria during the 13th–14th C. (E. Savčeva, *EtBalk* [1979] no.3, 53–71). Blue was the color that distinguished the *sebastokrator*, who had the right to sign his documents with blue ink and to attach his seal with a blue silk cord; he wore blue shoes but was allowed to have a coronet in red and gold and a red tunic. The *sebastokrator*'s wife was the *sebastokratorissa*.

LIT. B. Ferjančić, "Sevastokratori u Vizantiji," *ZRVI* 11 (1968) 141–92; with add. A. Kazhdan, *ZRVI* 14–15 (1973) 41. Dölger, *Schatz.* 90. –A.K.

SEBASTOPHOROS (σεβαστοφόρος), an office or title mentioned in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial. Oikonomides (*infra*) suggested that it was introduced between 963 and 975 and conferred primarily on eunuchs. The functions of the *sebastophoros* are not clear—the etymology of the word implies that he may have carried the emperor's banner. The first *sebastophoros* was probably Romanos LEKAPENOS, son of the ephemeral *basileus* in 944–45, Stephen Lekapenos (Skyl. 238.43–44); other *sebastophoroi* included such influential persons as Stephen Pergamenos and NIKEPHORITZES. The Georgian hagiographer of St. John and Euthymios the Iberian (P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 20.12–13) defines an anonymous *sebastophoros* as one of the most significant "princes" of the palace. On seals, *sebastophoroi* combine their title with relatively modest functions of the *logothetes ton agelon, vestiarios*, or *droungarios ton ploimon* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 587, 710, 961). The seal of the monk and *sebastophoros* Basil (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.383) is enigmatic, unless we hypothesize that *monachos* is his second name or sobriquet like that of Basil Monachos, governor of Bulgaria in the mid-11th C. The title does not appear after the 12th C. In antiquarian texts, such as the *Souda* or a scholion to the *Patria of Constantinople*, the term *sebastophoroi* designates "the district chiefs" (*regeonarchai*) who performed dances in honor of the emperor.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XVI (1963), 199–207, with corr. and add. by Oikonomides, *Listes* 308, n.107, and G. Litavrin in Kek. 552. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 318. –A.K.

SEBASTOPOLIS (Σεβαστούπολις), ancient Dioscurias, a fortified town on the east coast of the Black Sea, near the modern Suchumi. STRABO (11.2.14–16) describes the great variety of languages spoken in the area (near the older town of Dioscurias) and Pliny (*Natural History* 6.5.15) notes that 130 interpreters were needed. Under Justinian I, Sebastopolis and the nearby Pityus (modern Pitzunda) were reconstructed (Prokopios, *Buildings* 3.7.8–9). By the 8th C. a tradition had developed that the apostle Andrew had visited Sebastopolis (F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolicity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew* [Cambridge, Mass., 1958] 208). Until the end of the 8th C. Sebastopolis remained an important base for Byz.

LIT. Iu.N. Voronov, *Dioskuriada-Sevastopolis-Cchum* (Moscow 1980) 89–112. –R.T.

SEBASTOS (σεβαστός, lit. "venerable"), term that in the works of Greek authors of the 1st–2nd C. served to render the Lat. *augustus*. It reappeared in the 11th C. as an honorific epithet: Constantine IX proclaimed his mistress SKLERAINA *sebaste*, and soon thereafter Alexios (I) and Isaac Komnenos

acquired the title. Constantine, nephew of Patr. Michael I Keroularios, was also *sebastos* before 1081. The term became the foundation of Alexios I's reform of TITLES: it served as the root for the highest titles, SEBASTOKRATOR, PANHYPERSEBASTOS, and PROTOSEBASTOS, and was itself conferred on the nobility, primarily relatives of the Komnenian dynasty—according to Stiernon (*infra* 229), more than 90 percent of *sebastoi* belonged to the ruling family. The title was debased by the end of the 12th C. (Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 114f), and in a 14th-C. ceremonial book *sebastos* occupies a low rank, following the *droungarios* (pseudo-Kod. 139.30). The formulary of Sathas (*MB* 6:651.6–11) preserves the type of imperial *prostaxis* granting the *sebastaton*, or the dignity of *sebastos*. The *sebastoi* of the 12th C., called *pansebastoi sebastoi*, formed two groups: *sebastoi* GAMBROI and simple *sebastoi*. The title could be conferred on foreign princes. In the 13th–14th C. *sebastoi* were the commanders of ethnic units (H. Ahrweiler in *Polychronion* 34–38). Adopted by the Bulgarians in the 12th C., the term designated, according to P. Petrov (*VizVrem* 16 [1959] 52–64), the ruler of a district, whereas in Serbia it was known from the end of the 13th C. and used for officials of various functions.

LIT. L. Stiernon, "Notes de titulature et de prosopographie byzantines. Sébaste et gambros," *REB* 23 (1965) 226–32. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 311–18. –A.K.

SEBEOS, the author of a 7th-C. Armenian *History of Herakleios*, according to 11th-C. Armenian writers. The surviving MS of 1672, however—the basis of later copies and of printed editions of "Sebeos"—lacks both title and author's name. Whether the surviving text is in fact the *History of Herakleios* by "Sebeos" is unclear. Nevertheless, this history is particularly valuable as a source for the Byz.-Persian wars from the reign of Maurice to the accession of Muʿāwiya as caliph (591–661). Besides providing information on military and political matters, it describes the unsuccessful attempts of Byz. rulers to enforce a reunion of the churches of Constantinople and Armenia. The beginning of the extant text contains brief sections on the original settlement of Armenia (the *Primary History*, MOSES XORENACʿI) and the early history of Armenia (based on authors as late as the 11th C.). These, however, have no connection with the *History of Herakleios*.

ED. *Patmutʿiwn*, ed. G.V. Abgaryan (Erevan 1979). *Histoire d'Héraclius*, tr. F. Macler (Paris 1904).

LIT. G. Abgarian, "Remarques sur l'histoire de Sébéos," *REArm* n.s. 1 (1964) 203–15, with add. in *Banber Matenadarani* 10 (1971) 425–74. R.H. Hewsen, "The Synchronistic Table of Bishop Eusebius (Ps. Sebēos): A Reexamination of its Chronological Data," *REArm* n.s. 15 (1981) 59–72. M.K. Krikorian, "Sebēos, Historian of the Seventh Century," in *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1979) 52–67. J.-P. Mahé, "Critical Remarks on the Newly Edited Excerpts from Sebeos," in *Medieval Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1984) 218–39. –R.T.

SECONDARY TAXES. In the Byz. FISCAL SYSTEM, a considerable part was played by various secondary taxes and obligations, theoretically required for a limited time and in order to meet a specific need. They affected the wealthy as well as the poor. Many were outlays in kind or consisted of a service, but often, through COMMUTATION, they were turned into payments in money, thereby losing their exceptional character and becoming regular fiscal obligations. Their total burden upon the taxpayer cannot be evaluated with any certainty. Probably under normal conditions the sum of these obligations in the 10th C. was not much heavier than the STRATEIA. Large landowners claimed, often successfully, exemption for their domains, obviously because secondary taxes represented a sizable fiscal burden: because of their exceptional character, secondary taxes were more likely to be claimed arbitrarily, with increased frequency, by TAX COLLECTORS (mainly tax farmers), and thus could become a major and unpredictable fiscal burden. They were called by pejorative generic names, such as *munera sordida* (dirty services), *bare* (burdens), and EPEREIAI (vexations).

First Period (4th to 7th C.). The old taxes in money (unimportant, because of the 3rd-C. crisis) and those initiated after Constantine I's monetary reform were collected by the office of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM. The *comes* also collected such odd taxes as the *aurum coronarium* (theoretically voluntary but in fact a regular contribution of the cities for the emperor's accession to the throne) and the *aurum oblaticium* (a similar payment made by the senate); he also collected CITY TAXES and taxes initiated in the 4th C. such as the *collatio glebalis* (paid by senators proportionately to their property), the *collatio lustralis* (CHRYSARGYRON), and the *aurum tironicum*, a gold levy in commutation for recruits. The PRAETORIAN PRE-

FECT, normally responsible for collecting the main tax and the extraordinary ones (KANON, INDICTION, *superindictiones*), also exacted the various *munera sordida*: grinding grain and baking bread for the troops; furnishing animals and services for the post; billeting of traveling soldiers or officials; burning lime, providing timber and charcoal; providing craftsmen for public works; and maintaining roads, bridges, and fortresses. Moreover, as the commutation of contributions in kind prevailed, the state introduced the *coemptio* (SYNONE), i.e., the obligation for farmers to sell part of their crops to the state at a fixed price (it would later become through commutation a kind of HEARTH TAX paid in cash by well-off farmers).

Second Period (8th to 12th C.). The taxes collected previously by the *sacrae largitiones* disappeared almost completely, while the *munera sordida* considerably increased in number and importance; together with new secondary taxes, they reached a peak in the late 11th C. (very long lists are to be found in imperial CHRYSOBULLS granting exemptions), at a time when collectors were predominantly tax farmers. Next to various hearth taxes and TITHES are several new secondary taxes, such as the OIKOMODION, taxes paid for the PAROIKOI (*paroikiatikon*), sometimes according to their means (ZEUGARATIKION, *aktemonitikion* for AKTEMONES). Moreover the equivalent of most of the above *munera sordida* and some new ones are found: the obligation to offer winter quarters to Byz. and (mostly) foreign mercenaries (MITATON) or alternatively to make payment in order to avoid the inconvenience (*antimitatikion*); the offer of short-term billeting to (APLEKTON) or residence for (KATHISMA) military or civil officials; to provide food and forage (*diatrophe*, *ekbole chreion kai chortasmaton*); mandatory sale of one's produce to the state at a fixed price (this is the equivalent of the old *synone*, now called *exonesis*); requisition of part of the crops for the army or for storage in a fortress (*sitarkesis*); requisition of horses and mules from the wealthy contributors of a province (*monoprosopon*); and several CORVÉES—first the ANGAREIA, then providing timber or coal, making bread for the army (PSOMOZEMIA), and building or maintaining roads (*hodostrosia*), bridges (*gephyroktisia*), fortresses (KASTROKTISIA), or ships for the navy (*karabopoiia*, later *katergoktisia*). Other obligations are directly related to the army: providing or equipping policemen (*taxatoi*), light soldiers (archers, mounted archers, footsoldiers armed with spears, maces, or axes), or sailors (*ploimoi*); providing blacksmiths (*komodromikon*) with nails and horseshoes, etc.

Third Period (12th to 15th C.). The long lists of secondary taxes disappear in the 12th C. but several of these taxes survive with the same or new names, while others are introduced, inspired by new conditions or foreign influence. In the 12th C. appears the *zeugologion*, the nature of which is unclear (related to the ZEUGARION); it is still attested in the 15th C. In the empire of Nicaea, the SITARKIA became a very important tax on farmers possessing a pair of oxen, while the *agape* was presumably paid by those who had none. Most services mentioned above survived well into the 14th C. The Palaiologan period, however, brought several innovations: surtaxes, such as the *opheleia* (10 percent increase of the OIKOUMENON of the *paroikoi*); ABIOTIKION; fiscalized fines such as the AER; and supplementary taxes such as the DIMODAION, the *vigliatikon* (service of watchman, which could be commuted to a cash payment), the *syndosia* (contribution?), the *phloriatikon* (see KASTROKTISIA), the *kapeliatikon* (tax on the sale of wine), the *kokkiatikon* (contribution in grain for the biscuit rations of the fleet at the beginning of the 15th C.), and several other taxes and rights, such as the ones levied for the rights of fishing in rivers or lakes. The number of secondary taxes and corvées dropped drastically in early 15th-C. Chalkidike, where a fiscal system influenced by the Ottomans was established.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 427–35. Karayannopulos, *Finanzwesen* 168–82. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:159–65. Angold, *Byz. Government* 202–36. Oikonomides, "Ottoman Influence" 5–10, 16–24. F. Dölger, *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt* (Speyer 1953; rp. Darmstadt 1964) 232–60. –N.O.

SECOND COMING. See PAROUSIA.

SECOND ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople I.

SECOND SOPHISTIC (δευτέρα σοφιστική), term introduced by Philostratos (ca.200) to designate the branch of RHETORIC that emphasized social and political aspects of life rather than morals and philosophy (*Opera*, ed. C.L. Kayser [Leipzig 1871; rp. Hildesheim 1964] 2:2f). The term *Sec-*

ond Sophistic is now applied to a literary movement of the 2nd–6th C. closely connected with the cultural activity of urban intellectuals. From the 4th C. onward, sophists such as THEMISTIOS were esp. concerned with preserving or even restoring ancient virtues. Unlike Philostratos, EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS, a biographer of the 4th-C. sophists, presented them as both orators and philosophers, often involved in imperial administration. He also dwelt on the rivalry between various groups of sophists who would accuse each other of tyranny. The chief categories into which sophistic oratory in its developed form could be divided, and its stylistic techniques, were listed in handbooks (HERMOGENES, MENANDER RHETOR, APHTHONIOS, NICHOLAS OF MYRA) that significantly influenced Byz. literary theory. The greatest church orators (JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, GREGORY OF NYSSA) used these techniques (metaphors of secular origin, bizarre comparisons, alliterations, *homoeoteleuta,* etc.) in their practice. In Byz. the term *sophistes* meant an eloquent man, esp. a teacher of eloquence (e.g., Darrouzès, *Tornikès* 255.30), as well as a shrewd person.

LIT. G. Bowersock, *Greek Sophists in the Roman Empire* (Oxford 1969). L.C. Ruggini, "Sofisti greci nell'Impero Romano," *Athenaeum* 49 (1971) 402–25. T.E. Ameringer, *The Stylistic Influence of the Second Sophistic on the Panegyrical Sermons of St. John Chrysostom* (Washington, D.C., 1921). L. Méridier, *L'influence de la seconde sophistique sur l'oeuvre de Grégoire de Nysse* (Paris 1906). A. Kélessidou, "Critique de la sophistique par Plethon," *Revue de philosophie ancienne* no.2 (1984) 29–40. E. des Places, "La seconde sophistique au service d'apologétique chrétienne: Le *Contre Hiéroclès* d'Eusèbe de Césarée," *CRAI* (Apr.–June 1985) 423–27.
–A.K., E.M.J.

SEIDES, NIKETAS, theologian of the first half of 12th C., possibly from Ikonion; his name, Σεΐδης, may be a Greek version of Arabic-Turkish Saʿīd. In one MS he is described as a rhetorician; Browning hypothesizes that he was a teacher in Constantinople ("Patriarchal School" 25). In 1112 he participated in the dispute against Peter GROSSOLANO. Seides counted 32 discrepancies between the Greek and Latin churches, but concentrated on three major points—the FILIOQUE, AZYMES, and papal PRIMACY. This last point was raised probably for the first time since the dispute of 1054. In 1117 Seides attacked EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, accusing him of "atheism."

ED. R. Gahbauer, *Gegen den Primat des Papstes: Studien zu Niketas Seides* (Munich 1975). Darrouzès, *Ecclés.* 306–09 (republ. with corr. by Th.N. Zeses, *Kleronomia* 8 [1976] 77–82).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 617f. O. Schissel, "Niketas Seidos: Eine Handschriftenstudie," *Divus Thomas* 15 (1937) 78–90.
–A.K.

SEKOUNDINOS, NICHOLAS, writer and diplomat; born Chalkis, Euboea, 1402, died Venice, 22/3 Mar. 1464. Born to a Greek family, Sekoundinos (Σεκουνδινός, Lat. Sagundinus) received an excellent classical education. In 1430 he was captured by the Turks during their conquest of Thessalonike. After his release he was appointed by Venice as *advocatus curiae* at Chalkis (1434–37). Sekoundinos was bilingual in Greek and Latin and served as official translator at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE (1438–39). A supporter of Union, he converted to Catholicism after the Council. Following a period (1439–41?) as papal secretary to EUGENIUS IV, he returned to Euboea as secretary (*cancelliere*) to the Venetian *bailo.* In 1453 he became ducal secretary in Venice and spent the rest of his life on missions in Italy, Spain, Greece, and Turkey.

Sekoundinos left a substantial number of works, mostly in Latin and still unpublished. They include 66 letters (addressed mainly to his family and Italian humanist friends); minor treatises on philosophy, theology, and rhetoric; and a summary of Ottoman history, *Othomanorum familia,* which was commissioned in 1456 by Aeneas Silvius Piccolomini. Sekoundinos also translated into Latin ancient Greek authors such as Demosthenes, Onesander (the *Strategikos*), Plutarch, and Arrian.

ED. For complete list, see Mastrodemetres, *infra* 115–223.

LIT. P.D. Mastrodemetres, *Nikolaos Sekoundinos (1402–1464). Bios kai ergon* (Athens 1970). F. Babinger, "Nikolaos Sagoundinos, ein griechisch-venedischer Humanist des 15. Jhdts.," *Charisterion eis Anastasion Orlandon,* vol. 1 (Athens 1965) 198–212.
–A.M.T.

SEKRETIKOI (σεκρετικοί), generic term used in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS to designate one of three categories of civil officials (*sekretikoi,* JUDGES, *demokratai*); they included the SAKELLARIOS, several LOGOTHETAI and CHARTOULARIOI, PROTASEKRETIS, *epi tou eidikou* (see EIDIKON), KOURATORES, and ORPHANOTROPHOS. Their major, though not exclusive, duties were financial; an obscure passage in an 11th-C. historian about

sekretika zetemata, "sekretikal exactions" (Attal. 76.8), does not show (as Oikonomides, *Listes* 309, n.121, argued) that Attaleiates characterized their functions as purely fiscal. Patriarchal *sekretikoi* are also known (Darrouzès, *Offikia* 33, n.1).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 78–105. –A.K.

SEKRETON (σέκρετον), a bureau or department. The term, in the form *secretarium*, appeared first in 303 to describe the tribunals investigating accusations against Christians (Lactant., *De mort. pers.* 15.5); it underscored the secrecy of the procedures, in contrast to the open sessions of regular Roman courts. As these sessions fell into disuse, the term *secretarium* came to be identified with *judicium*, the external mark of which was the curtain (VELUM) used to separate the court from the public. *Sekreton* was also occasionally used as a term for the CONSISTORIUM, and in the *De ceremoniis* it designated the entire body of higher officials. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion of Philotheos* (e.g., Oikonomides, *Listes* 113.24) uses *sekreton* as a technical term for the bureau of a government official; from it the terms SEKRETIKOI and ASEKRETIS as well as *logothetes ton sekreton* (known through the 12th C.) were dervied. A bureau consisted of various subordinate officials, some of whom Philotheos calls CHARTOULARIOI of the *sekreton* and imperial NOTARIES of the *sekreton*.

In the 14th and 15h C. the imperial or *katholikon sekreton* (cf. KRITAI KATHOLIKOI) designated the supreme judicial court, the decisions of which could not be appealed (*Koutloum.*, no.34.110–11, a.1375); a text of 1334 identifies the imperial *sekreton* as the tribunal of *katholikoi kritai* (*Esphig.*, no.19.12). An act of Patr. Joseph II from 1426 juxtaposes "the *sekreton* of the holy *basileus*" and the synodal court (*Kastam.*, no.6.22), and a document of 1377 speaks of the *archontes* of the imperial and ecclesiastical *sekreta* (*Lavra* 3, no.148.8).

From the 7th C. onward the term *sekreton* was applied to both the patriarchal court or council and the patriarch's council hall; later the patriarchal *sekreton* was identified with the bureau of the CHARTOPHYLAX (MM 4:310.16–17), but the term could be extended to other departments of the patriarchate.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 83f. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 427. O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 979–81. –A.K.

SELEUKEIA (Σελεύκεια, mod. Silifke), coastal city of ISAURIA. As ecclesiastical metropolis, Seleukeia was the site of a synod that discussed Arianism in 359. Seleukeia was headquarters of a civil governor and a military commander, *comes Isauriae*. It was an active port and the site of an imperial factory that manufactured cloth for the army and officials. Local conditions are revealed in the miracles of St. THEKLA, whose shrine lay outside Seleukeia at MERIAMLIK. In 616 Herakleios established a mint at Seleukeia during his campaigns against the Persians; its transfer to ISAURA in 617 suggests that Seleukeia was taken. Seleukeia was seat of the *droungarios* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme, then capital of the theme of Seleukeia (ISAURIA). After a temporary loss to the Turks, Seleukeia was recovered and refortified in 1099. It had a prosperous Jewish community in the mid-12th C. and was the base for Manuel I's temporary reconquest of Cilicia in 1159. It fell to the Armenians soon after 1180. Seleukeia contains ruins of a church converted from a temple and a fortress with some Byz. walls.

LIT. H. Hellenkemper, *Burgen der Kreuzritterzeit* (Bonn 1976) 249–54. S. Goitein, "A Letter from Seleucia (Cilicia)," *Speculum* 39 (1964) 298–303. –C.F.

SELEUKEIA PIERIA (now the two sites of Kapısuyu and Mağaracık in Turkey), city and bishopric in the province of Syria I and port serving ANTIOCH until at least the 7th C. Seleukeia Pieria was rebuilt and its harbor enlarged in 345/6 by Emp. Constantius II (Theoph. 38.6–7), who was residing at Antioch. In 524, 64 arches and breakwaters of the harbor were altered, and three bridges between Seleukeia Pieria and Antioch were built by Ephrem, *comes Orientis* (*IGLSyr* 3, no.1142). Justinian I gave the city a grant in 528 and reduced its taxes to finance the repair of earthquake damage (Malal. 443.8–444.4). In 540 Seleukeia Pieria, like the suburb of Daphne, was untouched by the Persian ruler Chosroes I, who sacked and burned Antioch (Prokopios, *Wars* 2.11.1). Some pavements of the 5th and 6th C. have been excavated, as has what may have been a large tetraconch cathedral with champlevé marble decoration. During the Monophysite persecution of ca.525 the monastery of St. Thomas near the harbor of Seleukeia Pieria moved to EUROPOS. There are remains of Byz. (4th–6th C.) and Georgian (11th–

13th C.) monastic installations above Seleukeia Pieria.

LIT. G.W. Elderkin, R. Stillwell, *Antioch-on-the-Orontes*, vol. 3 (Princeton 1941) 35–54. W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 27 (1973) 91–95, 108–14. W. Djobadze, *Archeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart 1986) 171–75. –M.M.M.

SELJUKS. A dynasty named after an ancestor called Seljuk, perhaps a converted Muslim, who, according to Mahmud al-Kashgari (fl. ca.1075), was a *subaşı* (chief of the army) belonging to the Turkic nomadic people of the Oghuz. When the great Oghuz migration began in the 11th C. from the region of the Aral Sea toward the West, Seljuk's successors, profiting from the situation, established their rule in Khurāsān and soon conquered Persia. Seljuk's grandson, TUGHRUL BEG, at the invitation of the ʿAbbāsid caliph put an end to the Buyid dynasty and began to rule as sultan in Baghdad, which became the capital of the Great Seljuk state. His successor ALP ARSLAN defeated the Byz. army at MANTZIKERT in 1071 and captured Emp. Romanos IV Diogenes. After this victory and profiting from the dynastic strife in the Byz. empire, the Seljuks established the sultanate of RŪM with NICAEA as its capital; SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTLUMUŞ was sent by the government of Baghdad to organize the newly conquered territories but perished in internal strife ca.1085. Expelled from Nicaea and the coastlands of Asia Minor by the Crusaders (1097), the Seljuks moved their capital to IKONION. In the 12th C. they had to confront the rival Turkish state of the DANIŞMENDIDS. In 1176 the Seljuks defeated the Byz. at MYRIOKEPHALON; by the end of the century they had succeeded in uniting the whole of Islamic Asia Minor under their rule and, during the first decades of the 13th C., in reaching a remarkable prosperity. Upheaval began in their territories, however, as a result of a new Turkoman migration because of the Mongol advance toward the West. In 1243 the MONGOLS defeated the Seljuks near Köse-Dağ (a region of Sebasteia) and invaded their territories, which remained in continuous turmoil until the first decade of the 14th C., when the sultanate of Rūm disappeared under unclear circumstances. A number of Turkish emirates were subsequently established in the former Seljuk domain, that is, KARAMAN, GERMIYAN, MENTESHE, AYDIN, SARUHAN, KARASI, and the emirate of OSMAN.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945) 80–88. C. Cahen, *Pre-Ottoman Turkey* (London 1968) 19–51, 66–91, 96–106, 110–38. H. İnalcık, O. Turan, *CHIsl* 1:231–69. Vryonis, *Decline* 69–142. –E.A.Z.

SELYMBRIA (Σηλυμβρία, mod. Silivri), city in Thrace on the north shore of the Sea of Marmara, west of Constantinople, inside the LONG WALL. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.9.12–13) attributes the fortification of Selymbria to Justinian I, and Theophanes (Theoph. 234.3–5) also states that Justinian went to Selymbria "to build the Long Wall." Selymbria was an important strategic point at the end of the Via EGNATIA and is usually mentioned in connection with the passage of armies and processions: the dying Constantine V was brought from Arkadioupolis to Selymbria, where he boarded a ship (Theoph. 448.15–19), and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (ep.19.42–43) invited Symeon of Bulgaria to come to Herakleia or Selymbria to negotiate peace. Manuel I spent Easter of 1167 at Selymbria on his way to Hungary (Kinn. 265.3–4).

The city acquired special significance during the civil wars of the mid-14th C. John VI Kantakouzenos rebuilt its fortifications, and the remains of his ramparts still stand; in 1345 the wedding of John V's daughter to the Ottoman sultan Orhan was celebrated in Selymbria. In 1327 Alexios APOKAUKOS was *archon* of Selymbria (Kantak. 1:258.22), and ca.1399 a certain Bryennios Leontares acted as *kephale* of the city (MM 2:401.19–20). In 1382 John V ceded Selymbria, together with Herakleia, Rhaidestos, and Panion, to Andronikos IV and John VII. In 1453 Selymbria effectively resisted Turkish attack and surrendered only after the fall of Constantinople.

Selymbria is listed in notitiae as the "archbishopric of Europe," and from the 12th C. onward as a metropolis without suffragans. PHILOTHEOS, metropolitan of Selymbria in the 14th C., noted several churches there, one of which was sponsored by Apokaukos; its ruins were recently discovered.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 2 (1923) 1324–27. F. Dirimtekin, "La forteresse byzantine de Selymbria," 10 *CEB* (Istanbul 1955) 127–29. Maksimović, *ByzProvAdmin* 51f. P. Magdalino, "Byzantine Churches of Selymbria," *DOP* 32 (1978) 309–18. S. Eyice, "Alexios Apocauque et l'église

byzantine de Sélymbria," *Byzantion* 34 (1964) 77–104, with add. O. Feld, *Byzantion* 37 (1967) 57–65 and S. Eyice, *Byzantion* 48 (1978–79) 406–16. –A.K.

SEMANTRON (σήμαντρον), a gong, used in monasteries in preference to BELLS. The *semantron* was a long piece of iron (*sideroun*), bronze (*chalkoun*), or wood (*xylon*) that was struck with a hammer to awaken monks and nuns and to summon them to services. Monasteries usually had three *semantra*, of varied sizes and materials, which sounded distinct notes and served different purposes. A wooden *semantron* (*aphypnisterion*) was used to awaken the nuns at the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY and the monks at the EUERGETIS MONASTERY for midnight services; at the conclusion of that service, the "great *semantron*" (also called a *synakterion*) and one of bronze were struck to signal the beginning of the ORTHROS service. The large *semantron* was approximately 2 m in length, and was sometimes suspended by chains in a tower; the smaller ones were portable. Sounding boards of iron or wood are attested from the 4th C.; in the early period they were called *xylon* or *rhabdos sidera* ("iron rod"). The terms *semanter*, *semanterion*, and *semantron* were used later, from at least the 11th C. onward.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 3:1970–77. G. Millet, "Recherches au Mont-Athos III. Phiale et simandre à Lavra," *BCH* 29 (1905) 105–41. Clugnet, *Dictionnaire* 136f. Arranz, *Typicon* 412, 434. –A.M.T.

SEMEIOMA (σημείωμα), or *semeiosis* (σημείωσις), written report of a judicial decision or verdict, excerpted from the tribunal's RECORDS (*parasemeioseis*). It usually contained a list of the deliberating officials or judges and was used even for decisions taken with the participation of the emperor or by the ecclesiastical tribunal (*synodikon semeioma*). In the 14th–15th C. the term was replaced by *sekretikon gramma*.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 82, 85–87. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 482–508. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 426. –N.O.

SEMISSIS (σημίσιον, from Lat. *semis* + *as*, "half a unit"), in late Roman and Byz. times a small gold coin weighing 2.78 g and worth half a SOLIDUS. Minted on a modest scale during the 4th–5th C. , semisses were much more important during the 6th–7th C. and the first decades of the 8th C. From the 740s onward this coin, like the TREMISSIS, was only rarely struck in the East, the latest specimen known being of Basil I. In the West it continued as a normal element in the coinage of Sicily down to the fall of Syracuse in 878.

LIT. *DOC* 3:22. –Ph.G.

SEMPAD CONNETABLE. See SMBAT THE CONSTABLE.

SENACHERIM. See ARCRUNI.

SENATE (σύγκλητος), supreme and most prestigious council of the Roman state, transformed in the imperial period into an advisory board with ill-defined rights and duties. Diocletian tried to deprive the senate of any administrative functions, but many of his measures were revoked by Constantine I. After the founding of Constantinople, the senate of Rome remained a council of the URBAN PREFECT, with whom the SENATORS managed the city treasury (*arca publica*), provisioning of the city, and building activity. In theory the senate retained the right of legislation, but in practice it served as a place where imperial edicts were made public. As a body the senators commanded respect and even the power to resist imperial orders, as revealed in the dispute over the ALTAR OF VICTORY. Under the Ostrogoths, the senate and the PAPACY were the last organized form of Roman administration in Italy; Justinian I, however, entrusted the Roman senate with very limited rights such as supervision of measures and weights (SANCTIO PRAGMATICA 19). After an embassy to Constantinople in 580 there is no evidence concerning the senate of Rome.

The senate of Constantinople was created by Constantine I but given only secondary rank, its members called not CLARISSIMI but *clari*. Constantius II in a series of laws of 357–61 made the Constantinopolitan institution equal to its counterpart in Rome. The senate of Constantinople survived to the very end of Byz., but it played mainly an advisory and ceremonial role, often acting in concert with the CONSISTORIUM. Leo VI (novs. 47 and 78) officially abrogated the senate's rights to appoint PRAETORS and pass laws. When

the heir to the throne was a minor (as, for example, after the death of Romanos II), the senate could have a voice in the nomination of the regent, but participation of the senate in a regular proclamation of the emperor (even a usurper) was ceremonial rather than meaningful. The actual relationship between the senate and the emperor, who was to convoke the senate and preside over it, depended on the concrete situation. In case of a crisis, the senate could nominate generals and conduct international negotiations; it also possessed judicial power in cases involving high-ranking officials. The number of members of the Constantinopolitan senate in the mid-4th C. is estimated between 50 (*Cod.Theod.* VI 4.9) and 2,000, the difference probably to be explained as one between the active administrators and the holders of the senatorial rank. In the 11th C. Attaleiates speaks of the *myriades* of senators, suggesting the growth of the institution, but he does not give precise information about this increase in size (Lemerle, *Cinq études* 291).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, *He synkletos eis to Byzantinon kratos* (Athens 1949). A. O'Brien Moore, *RE*, supp. 6 (1935) 795–800. C. Lécrivain, *Le Sénat romain depuis Dioclétien à Rome et à Constantinople* (Paris 1888). Beck, *Ideen*, pt. XII (1966), 1–75. Dagron, *Naissance* 119–46. –A.K.

SENATE HOUSE (Σενάτον, also Sinaton), the name of two buildings in Constantinople, construction of which is usually ascribed to Constantine I, although the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* name an unknown Sinatos as a founder of one of them—a typical example of fantastic and arbitrary etymology. There is no evidence that either of these buildings was ever used to house the assembly of SENATORS. One building, located east of the AUGUSTAION, was burned in 404, restored, again destroyed by fire in 532, and rebuilt by Justinian I. The other senate house, a domed structure, was in the northern part of the Forum of Constantine. Both were splendid buildings adorned by numerous statues of emperors and mythological figures (e.g., that of Zeus brought from Dodone); both suffered from several fires and were thereafter rebuilt. The source information on them is frequently confusing (it is not always possible to distinguish to which one a citation refers) and legendary. Thus the *Parastaseis syntomoi chronikai* (*Parastaseis*, p.116f) relates that in front of "the so-called Senate of the Forum" was erected a porphyry statue that represented Constantine I with his two sons, Constantius and Constans, with three heads and six hands but only two feet; during a fire in the reign of Theodosios II, it was stolen and thrown into the sea; the enraged Theodosios then ordered the senate house to be burned.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 154–56. Mango, *Brazen House* 56f. –A.K.

SENATOR (συγκλητικός), member of the SENATE. Although in late antiquity the senate as an institution did not play a dominant role, senators as a body formed the upper stratum of society. Diocletian tried to exclude senators from all but a few state offices, but Constantine I and his successors reversed this policy: they accepted the growth of a senatorial aristocracy in the West, while in the East they encouraged vertical mobility so that stable families of great landowners (such as the APIONS) were few. Senators were divided officially into several ranks—ILLUSTRES, SPECTABILES, and CLARISSIMI—but as a result of the devaluation of titles only the *illustris* remained a senatorial prerogative. Justinian I was accused by PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA of anti-senatorial attitudes, and Phokas sought to eliminate the last senatorial families. At any rate, in the 7th–9th C. there is no evidence of senatorial or other aristocratic families of long duration; senators were ephemeral functionaries rather than stable aristocrats and landowners. In 996 Basil II still expressed indignation that certain families remained in power for 70 to 100 years.

By the 11th C. the senatorial class was again institutionalized. It included all high-ranking officials (beginning with PROTOSPATHARIOS) and some members of the highest clergy (such as SYNKELLOS); senators were obliged to live in Constantinople and participate in palace ceremonial. The term senators also designated the body of civil functionaries as opposed to the military aristocracy. The 11th C. witnessed the upsurge of the civil senators. The Komnenoi, on the other hand, despised the senators and relied on their own relatives (Zon. 3:766.17–18). The same ambivalent attitude toward senators was preserved by later authors: Kantakouzenos both distinguishes senators from the nobles (e.g., Kantak. 2:166.1–3) and considers the nobles (*epiphaneis*) as a group among the senators (3:23.15).

LIT. M.T.W. Arnheim, *The Senatorial Aristocracy in the Later Roman Empire* (Oxford 1972). G. Ostrogorsky, "Observations on the Aristocracy in Byzantium," *DOP* 25 (1971) 1–32. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 78f, 132–38, 190–94, 202–08. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 287–93. –A.K.

SEPHER YOSIPPON. See JEWISH LITERATURE.

SEPTEM (Σέπτον, mod. Ceuta), a Roman *castrum* (originally *Septem Fratres*) on the northwestern coast of Africa, on the south side of the Strait of Gibraltar. Septem was seized by Byz. forces in 533. Provided with walls and a naval squadron of DROMONES under the command of a tribune, its purpose was to guard the strait and keep watch on affairs in Spain and Gaul. Although briefly seized by the Visigoths in 546 or 547, Septem remained in Byz. hands until 711, when it was surrendered to the Arabs by its last governor, Julian. In 641 the empress Martina exiled Philagrios, a former adviser of Herakleios Constantine, to Septem.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 65, 225f. C. Posac Mon, *Studio arqueologico de Ceuta* (1962). Diehl, *L'Afrique* 36, 171, 267, 420. –R.B.H.

SEPTUAGINT. See OLD TESTAMENT.

SEPULCHRE, HOLY (Ἅγιος Τάφος), in JERUSALEM, from the 4th C. the most important LOCUS SANCTUS. It consisted of three elements: the tomb proper with its enclosing circular church (the Anastasis Rotunda); Golgotha (a rocky outcrop about 40 m to the east, separated by an open, colonnaded court); and the Church of Constantine I, a five-aisled basilica to the east of Golgotha, and fronting, through an atrium, on the city's major north-south axis. This was the principal liturgical meeting place in Jerusalem and the first stop on the pilgrimage "circuit." Eusebios (*VC* 3.28) describes the discovery of the tomb under the temple of Jupiter Capitolinus, and the subsequent building of the basilica, as directed by Constantine. Some years later (ca.350) the conical-domed rotunda was added over the tomb, which was carved out of living rock and embellished with columns, a porch, and precious-metal sheathing. The Golgotha hillock was marked by first a simple cross (4th C.), then, under Theodosios II, a gem-encrusted gold cross. The most important relic associated with the site (from the mid-4th C.) was the TRUE CROSS; later, many objects linked with the Passion of Christ (e.g., the sponge and lance) were also venerated there. Major pilgrim EULOGIAI included earth brought to the tomb to be blessed and oil blessed by contact with the True Cross. The latter practice is attested by the pewter AMPULLAE in Monza and Bobbio, which bear imagery consistent with the tomb shrine (porch, grills, "stone rolled away," etc.) as it existed in the 6th C.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 174–78. H. Vincent, F.-M. Abel, *Jérusalem*, vol. 2 (Paris 1914) 1–300. V. Corbo, *Il Santo Sepolcro di Gerusalemme*, 3 vols. (Jerusalem 1981–82). –G.V.

SERAPHIM (σεραφ(ε)ίμ), celestial beings mentioned only once in the Old Testament, in the vision of Isaiah (Is 6:2); he represents them as having three pairs of wings and standing above God's throne. John Chrysostom, in his commentary on Isaiah, describes seraphim as incorporeal (ASOMATOI) powers of the heavenly *demoi* whose name in Hebrew means "burning mouths" (PG 56:70.5–9). Pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite defines them as the highest order of the first triad of celestial beings, whereas other church fathers sometimes equated them either with the *thronoi*, another order of angels (Didymos the Blind, PG 39:545A) or with the *dynameis*, powers (Gregory of Nyssa, PG 45:348B). The number of seraphim was also disputed: some texts speak of two seraphim only, others of "many." Origen tentatively expresses the idea (*Contra Celsum* 6.18.17–22; *De principiis* 1.3.4) that the two seraphim in Isaiah's vision are the Son and the Spirit, but this thesis was refuted by Antipater of Bostra (PG 96:505B). The usual epithet of seraphim was *hexapteryga* ("with six wings"). Ephrem the Syrian called them "of fourfold form" (*tetramorpha*).

Under the inspiration of Revelations 4:8, by the 9th C. artists depicted seraphim not as angels but as composite creatures similar to the CHERUBIM: they have six wings, a tiny human face at the center, and human feet. The many-eyed wings are derived from those of cherubim. Like the latter, they occupy pendentives (HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, PANAGIA TON CHALKEON in Thessalonike). On the LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY the seraphim are called *exousiai*.

LIT. D. Pallas, *RBK* 3:78–89. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SERAPION (Σαραπίων), bishop of Thmuis in Lower Egypt (from ca.339) and saint; died after 362; feastday 21 Mar. Formerly head of a colony of monks, Serapion was intimate with St. ANTONY THE GREAT and linked with ATHANASIOS of Alexandria by friendship, patronage, and correspondence. Serapion's mission to Constantinople in 356 as envoy of Athanasios, with the purpose of countering the Arians and conciliating Constantius II, was a clear failure, since Serapion was soon removed from his see and (probably) exiled.

His treatise *Against the Manichaeans* combats the dualistic theory and Old Testament interpretations of that sect. His theological vocabulary is plain: he speaks of God as *theos*, father, creator, demiurge, avoiding the disputable term HOMOOUSIOS but using the vague *homoios*. He does not clarify the nature of Christ: it suffices for him to say that Christ had a mortal body similar to ours. Doubts have been cast on the authenticity of the *Euchologion*, a collection of 30 prayers (B. Botte, *OrChr* 48 [1964] 50–56). A few letters also survive in Armenian, Syriac (R. Draguet, *Muséon* 64 [1951] 1–25), and Greek, mainly notes of encouragement to individuals and communities. SOZOMENOS (*HE* 3.14) commends his virtue and eloquence, JEROME (*De viris illustribus* 99) his erudition.

ED. PG 40:895–942. *Against the Manichees*, ed. R.P. Casey (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1931). *Euchologion*—ed. G. Wobbermin, *Altchristliche liturgische Stücke aus der Kirche Aegyptens* (Leipzig 1899). Eng. tr. J. Wordsworth, *Bishop Sarapion's Prayer-Book*[2] (London 1923). F. Brightman, "The Sacramentary of Serapion of Thmuis," *JThSt* 1 (1900) 88–113, 247–77.

LIT. G. Bardy, *DTC* 14 (1941) 1908–12. H. Dörrie, *RE* supp. 8 (1956) 1260–67. G.J. Cuming, "Thmuis Revisited: Another Look at the Prayers of Bishop Sarapion," *TheolSt* 41 (1980) 568–75. –B.B.

SERAPION OF VLADIMIR, archimandrite of the Kievan Caves Monastery, then bishop of Vladimir-SUZDAL'; died 1275. Serapion wrote five extant sermons on the theme of repentance and divine punishment, usually dated ca.1230 (no.1, delivered in Kiev) and 1274–75 (nos. 2–5, in Vladimir). In the first three sermons Serapion interprets misfortunes (an earthquake, the Mongol invasion) as punishment of sins, while in the final two sermons he exhorts his audience to resist pagan magicians, not through trials and burning but with firm faith. There are few learned Greek allusions, although Serapion does reproach his audience for "not hearkening to Basil and Gregory the Theologian and John Chrysostom" (no. 1) and some of his historical illustrations are possibly derived from MALALAS and JOSEPHUS FLAVIUS (nos. 4, 5).

ED. *Serapion Vladimirskij, russkij propovednik XIII veka*, ed. E. Petuchov (St. Petersburg 1888).

LIT. N.K. Gudzij, "Gde i kogda protekala literaturnaja dejatel'nost' Serapiona Vladimirskogo?" *IzvANSRR.OL* 11 (1952) 450–56. R. Bogert, "On the Rhetorical Style of Serapion Vladimirskij," in *Medieval Russian Culture*, ed. H. Birnbaum, M. Flier (Berkeley 1984) 280–310. –S.C.F.

SERBIA (Σερβία), also called Serblia, a medieval Balkan state (to be distinguished from the Byz. district and bishopric of SERVIA in Macedonia). In Latin sources it is sometimes called Rascia (Rassia, Raxia), derived from the Slavic name RAŠKA. The term Serbian (see SERBOI) appears in 9th-C. Latin texts in the form *Sorabi* as a description of a people living in Dalmatia (M. Dinić, *Srpske zemlje u srednjem veku* [Belgrade 1978] 36). In the 10th C., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, who devoted an entire chapter to Serblia (*De adm. imp.*, 32), called it "the head (*kephale*) of all the surrounding countries"; he defined it as bordered on the north by Croatia and in the south by Bulgaria (ibid. 30.117–19). It was separated from the Adriatic by Pagania, ZACHLUMIA, Terbounia, and DIOKLEIA. He notes that Serbia had *kastra* and was ruled by *archontes*. The author of the VITA BASILII defines the *Serbloi* as one of the Scythian (i.e., Slavic) peoples living in Pannonia and Dalmatia (*TheophCont* 291.1–8). Skylitzes (Skyl. 353.65) uses the term Serbia alongside the archaic Tribalia, which became common in later histories. From the 10th C. onward, however, documents (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.10.12) employ the term *Serboi* and in the 14th C. "*basileia* of the Serbs" was the official Byz. designation of Serbia.

History. The history of the early relationship between Serbia and Byz. is obscure. According to Constantine Porphyrogennetos, who wrote 300 years after the event, the Serbs accepted the suzerainty of Herakleios and were christianized. More reliable is his evidence about conflicts between the Serbian *archon* VLASTIMIR and the Bulgarian khan Presian ca.838. In the same century, between 867 and 874 according to Dj. Radojičić (*Byzantion* 22 [1952–53] 253), the Serbs were converted to Orthodox Christianity, thus coming within the reli-

gious and cultural orbit of Byz. In the 10th C. Symeon of Bulgaria occupied Serbian lands, but following his death the Serbian prince Časlav managed to establish an independent and unified country. Under Basil II the Byz. sought an alliance with the Serbs, evidently against the Bulgarian tsar Samuel (G. Ostrogorsky, *GlasSAN* 193 [1949] 15–29).

After the Byz. conquest of Bulgaria in 1018, Serbia became a direct neighbor of Byz. and was thus compelled to reassess its policy toward the empire. Constantine Bodin, after wavering between Alexios I and the Normans, took advantage of the danger faced by Byz. to consolidate Zeta, Raška, and Bosnia under his power. In the 12th C. Serbia joined Hungary, Venice, and probably Kiev in an anti-Byz. coalition. Manuel I defeated Stefan Nemanja and made him a Byz. vassal, but after Manuel's death Serbia became fully independent. Nemanja was the founder of the Nemanjid dynasty (between 1165 and 1168–1371).

The fall of Constantinople to the Fourth Crusade in 1204 made possible the continued growth of the Serbian state. In 1217 Nemanja's son Stefan the First-Crowned proclaimed himself king after receiving a crown from Pope Honorius III; in 1219 his brother Sava of Serbia obtained from the Byz. patriarch and emperor at Nicaea recognition of an autocephalous Serbian archbishopric, which he headed. In the complicated situation in the Balkans in the 13th C. Serbian rulers looked first to the despotate of Epiros for alliances: King Radoslav (ca.1228–34) was related to Theodore Komnenos Doukas; he signed his decrees in Greek and minted coins with Greek legends. His successor Vladislav (ca.1234–43) leaned toward Bulgaria, while Stefan Uroš I (1243–76) joined Manfred of Sicily in the latter's anti-Byz. coalition. This alliance was defeated by Michael VIII Palaiologos at Pelagonia in 1259, and the Serbs had to give up Skopje and some other lands they had previously occupied.

Serbian kings of the late 13th and 14th C. were faced with separatist movements by semifeudal magnates, esp. in Zeta, and had to ward off Byz. and Bulgarian attacks. The exploitation of silver mines (at Novo Brdo and elsewhere) provided a strong economic basis for their expansionist policies. Uroš's son Stefan Uroš II Milutin (1282–1321) conquered a substantial part of Macedonia from the Byz., acquiring control over the Vardar valley. Milutin's successor, Stefan Uroš III Dečanski (1321–31), defeated a Byz.-Bulgarian coalition at Velbužd (1330), but was deposed by a revolt in Zeta. Medieval Serbia reached its height under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1331–55), who was enabled by civil wars in Byz. to pursue an imperialistic policy toward the empire in Constantinople. He created a Byz.-Serbian empire that dominated the Balkans; in 1346 an independent patriarchate was established at Peć. Soon after Dušan's death, however, this empire began to disintegrate under the ineffective rule of his son Stefan Uroš V (1355–71), the last Nemanjid. Local lords took advantage of the increasing weakness of the central power to form their own independent principalities.

The advances of the Ottoman Turks in the Balkans in the 14th and 15th C. were irresistible: the defeat of the Serbs at Marica (1371) and a setback at Kosovo Polje (1389) reduced Serbia to a position of vassalage to the Ottomans. The various princes and *despotai* (e.g., Stefan Lazarević) were obliged to pay tribute and participate in Ottoman military campaigns. Like the Byz. Empire, Serbia enjoyed a brief respite after the Ottoman defeat by Timur at the battle of Ankara (1402) and the ensuing civil strife among the Ottoman claimants to the throne. George Branković (1427–56) built the fortress of Smederevo on the Danube and fought valiantly against the Turks. Ironically, however, as an Ottoman vassal he had to send troops to help the Turks at the final siege of Constantinople in 1453. By 1459, only a few years after Branković's death, Serbia was completely occupied by the Ottomans.

Byzantine Influence on Serbia. In contrast to the Bulgarians, few Serbs settled in Byz. territory or became assimilated into the Byz. ruling class or army; one of them was "the nephew of Bakchenos," a noble citizen of Trebizond in the early 12th C. (An. Komn. 3:75.21–23). Infrequently the name *Serbos* appears among peasants in southern Macedonia, such as Serbos, son of Zires, in 1317 (*Lavra* 2, no.104.157). Some Serbs, like Stefan Dečanski and his family, lived in exile in Byz. On the other hand, a number of Greeks emigrated to Serbia and became a major conduit of Byz. influence. Several Byz. princesses were given in marriage to Serbian rulers: Eudokia, niece of Isaac II, married Stefan the First-Crowned; their son, Radoslav, married Anna, daughter of Theo-

dore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros; Milutin married a daughter of Andronikos II (SIMONIS) and Dečanski a grandniece (Maria Palaiologina); George Branković took as his wife Irene Kantakouzene, granddaughter of Matthew I, and his son Lazar married Helena Palaiologina. These intermarriages accounted for the presence of Greek courtiers, ambassadors, and messengers at the Serbian court and constant correspondence between the two countries.

Another avenue for the penetration of Byz. influence into Serbia was through its annexation of Greek territories, esp. under Dušan. At that time Serbia was divided into two regions, with Byz. impact on the fiscal and administrative organization clearly evident in the southern part. The Serbian court adopted Byz. ceremonial and titulature: the royal title became "*basileus* and *autokrator* of Serbia and 'Romania' " or in Slavic documents "tsar of the Serbs and Greeks" (Soulis, *Dušan* 29f; Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 12 [1970] 61–78); high nobility was also granted Byz. titles such as *sebastokrator* and caesar (B. Ferjančić, *ZbFilozFak* 11.1 [Belgrade 1970] 255–69; Soulis, *Dušan* 64f). Greek magnates, such as Jovan OLIVER and Thomas Kantakouzenos, a defender of Smederevo (Nicol, *Kantakouzenos* 182–84, no.70), played an important part in Serbian politics of the 14th and 15th C. Byz. influence on the fiscal system was more complex: some Byz. taxes were accepted, although others were modified. Northern Serbia experienced less Byz. impact than the southern districts (Lj. Maksimović, *ZRVI* 17 [1976] 101–25). The *Zakonik,* Dušan's law code, was based on Byz. models. Trade relations are less well documented: the analysis of coin hoards found in the territory of medieval Serbia (I.A. Mirnik, *Coin Hoards in Yugoslavia* [Oxford 1981] 90–104) shows that after a gap between the 8th and 10th C. Byz. coins of the 11th-13th C. are relatively abundant. They disappear in the 14th C., to be replaced by Hungarian, German, Italian, Dubrovnik, and other types of coins.

Ecclesiastical contacts also contributed to the penetration of Byz. culture: Serbian rulers supported monasteries on Mt. Athos, esp. HILANDAR, and founded numerous churches and monasteries not only in Serbia, but also in Constantinople (XENON OF THE KRAL) and Thessalonike (see SERBIAN ARCHITECTURE and SERBIAN WALL PAINTINGS). SERBIAN LITERATURE was also greatly influenced by Byz., including translations of Greek ecclesiastical works and romances. Biographies of rulers and churchmen, a Serbian literary genre, owe much to Byz. hagiography.

LIT. K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*², 2 vols. (Belgrade 1978). *IstSrpskNar,* vols. 1–2. G. Ostrogorsky, "Vizantijsko-južnoslovenski odnosi," *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije,* 1 (Zagreb 1955) 591–99. M. Laskaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1926). –J.S.A., A.K.

SERBIAN ARCHITECTURE. The medieval architectural tradition in Serbia was molded by a continuous influx of builders and artisans from the East and West alike. While the predominant and most enduring manner of building derived from the Adriatic littoral, the Byz. mode also played a fundamental role. Imported by invited Byz. architects and craftsmen, such building was related to certain specific moments in Serbia's history and, therefore, to specific patterns of patronage. The first phase of Byz. presence is attested to during the reign of STEFAN NEMANJA (1166–96). His foundations—St. Nicholas at Kuršumlija and the dome of the Church of the Virgin at STUDENICA—indicate the presence of Komnenian masters, possibly from Constantinople.

The second, much more strongly pronounced phase occurred during an era of active cultural "byzantinization" of Serbia under STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN (1282–1321). Churches such as St. NIKITA at Čučer (Banjani), Bogorodica Ljeviška at PRIZREN, St. George at STARO NAGORIČINO, and the Church of the Dormition at GRAČANICA illustrate the scope and skill of the imported masters. While the specific identities of these masters remain obscure, on the basis of regional building practices (spatial planning, structural solutions, building technique, decorative details), their origins can be traced to Thessalonike and Epiros.

The last phase of direct Byz. importation occurred during the reign of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN (1331–55). Church building under his auspices and that of his nobles reveals the strong influence of Constantinople, along with continuing links with Thessalonike. The Church of the Archangels in the monastery of the same name near Prizren, the Church of the Virgin at Matejič, and St. Demetrios at Markov Manastir illustrate the degree of dependence on Constantinople, while the Church of the Archangel Michael at Lesnovo reveals the role of Thessalonike. Subsequent de-

velopment is characterized by the total assimilation of the Byz. mode into a distinctive regional building tradition.

LIT. G. Millet, *L'ancien art serbe: Les églises* (Paris 1919). M. Čanak Medić, Dj. Bošković, *L'architecture de l'époque de Nemanja*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1986). S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica* (University Park, Pa.–London 1979). –S.Ć.

SERBIAN LITERATURE. The language of medieval Serbian literature is Old Slavonic (see CHURCH SLAVONIC), based on the dialect used in the Thessalonike region in the 9th C. But from the beginning, and increasingly as time passed, Serbian writers introduced features of the spoken language of their own era and region. This is particularly noticeable in the treatment of the reduced and nasal vowels of Old Slavonic. Thus evolved a Serbian Slavonic, distinct from the Slavonic written in Bulgaria or Rus', though all three were easily mutually comprehensible in the Middle Ages.

After the Serbs' conversion to Christianity in the late 9th and 10th C., they took over most of the religious literature translated from Greek by CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER, METHODIOS, and their successors in Moravia and later in Bulgaria. They made further translations in this domain themselves, such as the works of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, translated in 1371 by the monk Isaiah; the homilies of Gregory PALAMAS, surviving in a 14th-C. MS; the Gospel commentaries of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid, translated by the monk Ioannikios for Queen Jelena, wife of King Stefan Uroš I (1243–76); or the commentary on Job by Olympiodoros of Alexandria, translated by the monk Gavriil for the *despotes* STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ. The principal centers of writing and diffusion of Serbian literature were HILANDAR on Athos and PEĆ.

Medieval Serbian literature, though Christian, was not predominantly ecclesiastical. The genre that it developed most fully and richly was that of biography of rulers and church leaders. From the beginning, there was rivalry between different ruling houses in the Serbian lands. Even after Stefan Nemanja and his descendants had established themselves as rulers of the Serbian kingdom, internal feuding and territorial disintegration always threatened the unity of the kingdom. To establish and confirm the legitimacy, both political and theological, of Nemanjid rule, and to preserve political unity and national identity, a series of such Lives was written by members or dependents of the ruling house, both lay and clerical. Two of Stefan Nemanja's sons, St. SAVA and STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, wrote biographies of their father, who toward the end of his life became a monk in Hilandar and was soon recognized as a saint. A further Life of Stefan Nemanja and a Life of St. Sava were written in the mid-13th C. by the monk DOMENTIJAN. Another monk, TEODOSIJE, spiritual adviser of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, revised Domentijan's Life of St. Sava in the early 14th C. Archbp. DANIIL II composed a series of Lives of Serbian kings and bishops of the 13th and early 14th C., which was later anonymously extended to cover Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. Patr. Daniil III wrote commemorations (*pomeni*) of Stefan Nemanja and St. Sava, a commemoration and *akolouthia* on King Stefan Uroš II Milutin, and a long oration (*slovo*) on Prince Lazar toward the end of the 14th C. Though intended for liturgical use, these works are mainly narrative and biographical. In the early 15th C. Bp. Marko wrote a Life of Patr. Ephraim. About the same time Grigorij CAMBLAK wrote a Life of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski, and a little later KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI wrote a Life of the *despotes* Stefan Lazarević.

These Lives were, in general, modeled on the rhetorical Byz. Metaphrastic hagiography, though some writers, like Teodosije, were apparently influenced by a more popular, narrative type of Greek saint's Life. These writers, who were all learned men, familiar with Greek literature, were concerned with political history as much as with holiness. They were not merely writing history, they were making it. It is very likely that they sought models in Byz. secular historiography. At any rate the narrative element is more prominent, more detailed, and more secular in tone than in most Byz. saints' Lives.

There was much translation, amounting sometimes to rewriting, of Byz. entertainment literature. The Serbian version of the ALEXANDER ROMANCE of pseudo-Kallisthenes probably dates from the early 11th C. The large number of surviving MSS attests to its popularity. The TROY TALE was probably translated in the early 14th C., though the surviving version is post-Byz. Among other such texts translated or adapted from Greek were *Stephanites and Ichnelates* by Symeon SETH, BARLAAM AND IOASAPH, and the *Tale of Aseneta* (a

romantic account of the love of Joseph for a young Egyptian girl). The story of the 10th-C. Prince Vladimir of Zeta, preserved only in a 12th-C. Latin version, is an original Serbian tale partly modeled on Byz. exemplars. It may well also have drawn on oral narrative poetry sung in one of the courts of southwestern Serbia. That such epic poetry flourished from an early date is certain. "Songs of heroes" were sung at the court of Stefan the First-Crowned. Such songs contributed motifs and attitudes to the royal biographies.

A number of short, unpretentious chronicles was also composed. In the early 15th C. the monk Nikon wrote an account of his pilgrimage to the Holy Land, which is marked by much vivid observation. The proems to the numerous royal and ecclesiastical documents that still survive are often both elegant compositions and expressions of the ideology of those who issued them. A good example is the proem to the testament of Duke Stefan Vukčić Kosača (1436–66). The anonymous funeral oration on the *despotes* GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ shows the survival of sophisticated rhetorical literature into the immediately post-Byz. period.

LIT. M. Kašanin, *Srpska književnost u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1975). D. Bogdanović, *Istorija stare srpske književnosti* (Belgrade 1980). Dj.S. Radojičić, *Tvorci i dela stare srpske književnosti* (Titograd 1963). S. Hafner, *Studien zur altserbischen dynastischen Historiographie* (Munich 1964). S. Koljević, *The Epic in the Making* (Oxford 1980) 1–211.

–R.B.

SERBIAN WALL PAINTINGS. The wall paintings of Serbia closely parallel developments in Byz. MONUMENTAL PAINTING, from Djurdjevi Stupovi in the 12th C. to the second Palaiologan style of the 14th-C. churches founded by STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, when Byz. artistic language thoroughly dominated both Serbian architecture and painting. The use of the Serbian language on frescoes (STUDENICA) and certain other local Serbian features, such as the cult and image of STEFAN NEMANJA, first appear toward the end of the 12th C. Royal and episcopal ideology determined the content of many Serbian fresco programs: the fresco icon of the "Virgin of Studenica"; the life of the Serbian saints Stefan Nemanja, SAVA OF SERBIA, and of Arsenije; the "horizontal" genealogies or the family tree of the Nemanjids; the allusions to the "chosen people" and its leaders, etc. The fact that the Nemanjid state included both Greek and Latin church jurisdictions also left its mark on the monuments. Between 1374/5 and 1459, the frescoes of the Morava school show several original features as well as some similarities with frescoes from Mistra.

LIT. V. Djurić, *Byzantinische Fresken in Jugoslawien* (Munich 1976). Idem, *Moravska škola i njeno doba* (Belgrade 1972). *L'art byzantin au début du XIVe siècle, Symposium de Gračanica* (Belgrade 1978). S. Radojčić, *Staro srpsko slikarstvo* (Belgrade 1966). *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200* (Belgrade 1988). –G.B.

SERBLIAS (Σερβλίας), name of a family of civil officials. The first known Serblias, Leo, was sent ca.1053 to Iberia to assess taxes in lieu of performing military service (Skyl. 476.52; the editor misread the name as Serblios—pp. 530, 548; see, however, Kek. 152.31). Some members of the Serblias family served as judges: Michael, *proedros*, visited Thessalonike in 1062 to resolve litigations (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.57.7); others are known from their seals: Nicholas, judge of the Hippodrome (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.842); Peter, judge of Peloponnesos and Hellas; another Peter, judge in Seleukeia (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 270f); Nikephoros (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.314). Family members served also in fiscal departments, such as John, notary of the *genikon* in 1109 (*Reg* 2, no.1247), and Stephen, *kommerkiarios* of Langobardia (Schlumberger, *Sig.* 218); some served as secretaries: Theodore (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.49A.269), notary in the department of the *oikeiakoi* in 1088, and Nikephoros, *mystikos* in the mid-12th C. John Serblias (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.18.435) served in the imperial chancellery ca.1099. The Serblias family had connections with intellectuals: John Serblias corresponded with THEOPHYLAKTOS, archbishop of Ohrid; TZETZES wrote a letter (ep. 18) to the *mystikos* Nikephoros Serblias describing him as "the eye of the senate" and the descendant of "Caesares Servilii." One family member was a pupil of John Italos; according to the *Alexiad* (An.Komn. 2:37.21–29), he only pretended to be a scholar. Niketas Choniates relates that, after being educated by Italos "in a pagan manner," Serblias threw himself into the sea, exclaiming, "Poseidon, take me" (G.L.F. Tafel, *Annae Comnenae Supplementa* [Tübingen 1832] 2.5). –A.K.

SERBOI (Σέρβοι, Σέρβιοι), a term that first appears in the *Geography* of PTOLEMY (ed. Nobbe, 42.22, bk.5, ch.9.21) to designate a tribe dwelling in Sarmatia, probably on the Lower Volga. The name reappears, in the form Serbloi, in Constan-

tine VII Porphyrogennetos and in Theophanes Continuatus, usually in the same context as the Croatians, Zachlumians, and other peoples of Pannonia and Dalmatia (*TheophCont* 288.17–20). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.1–16) derives the name from the Latin *servi*, which he explains as *douloi* (slaves), a name that the Serboi allegedly acquired as the slaves of Roman emperors. He relates that the Serboi are descended from the unbaptized Serboi who lived in the place called Boïki (Bohemia?), next to Frankia, and that they claimed the protection of Emp. Herakleios, who settled them in the province of Thessalonike. There are no sources to verify Constantine's evidence. Kekaumenos (Kek. 268.28) locates the Serboi on the Sava River, apparently incorrectly.

The first certain data on the state of the Serboi, SERBIA, begin with the 9th C., and the episcopal lists of Leo VI mention bishops of Drougoubiteia and the Serbioi. Circa 993 envoys of the Serboi arrived at the court of Basil II (*Lavra* 1, no.10.12). In the 11th C. there was probably a theme of Serbia: a seal of Constantine Diogenes, *strategos* of Serbea, is preserved, and ca.1040 Theophilos Erotikos was the governor of the Serboi until he was expelled by Stefan Voislav, who reportedly conquered the territory of the Serboi and became its *archon* (Skyl. 408.73–75). T. Wasilewski (*ZRVI* 8.2 [1964] 465–82) surmised that this theme was the same as SIRMIUM, whereas Dj. Radojčić (*GlasSAN* 268 [1966] 1–8) thinks that it was RAŠKA, only temporarily governed by the Byz.

LIT. K. Jirecek, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*,[2] vol. 1 (Belgrade 1978) 58–70. G. Ostrogorsky, *Vizantija i Sloveni* [= *Sabrana dela* 4] (Belgrade 1970) 80f. V. Laurent, "Le thème byzantin du Serbie au XIe siècle," *REB* 15 (1957) 185–95. –A.K.

SERDICA (Σερδική; Slavic Sredec; mod. Sofia), city in Bulgaria on the river Iskŭr, at the intersection of the northwest-southeast Belgrade-Constantinople route and a north-south route linking the Aegean with the Danube. Originally the capital of the Thracian Serdi, it was raised to city status by Trajan and under Diocletian became the capital of Dacia Mediterranea. In 342 or 343 a church council was held there in a futile attempt to solve the problem of ARIANISM (see SERDICA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF). Probably captured by the Visigoths in the late 4th C., Serdica was sacked by Attila in 441/2. Refortified in the 6th C., it remained a Byz. outpost during the Avar and Slav invasions and the early Bulgar expansion. Captured by KRUM in 809, it probably returned to Byz. control briefly, but it remained in Bulgarian hands from the time of BORIS I until 1018, with a short interval of Byz. rule in the 970s. In 1018 it became, with the rest of Bulgaria, part of the Byz. Empire; Serdica saw the passage of the armies of the First and Second Crusades. In 1194 ASEN I captured Serdica and incorporated it in the Second Bulgarian Empire. In 1382 it fell to the Ottoman Turks, who made it the capital of a *beylerbeylik.*

The center of the city preserves the ancient town plan unchanged. Two churches survive from antiquity. The round Church of St. George was originally part of an imposing public building, perhaps baths or an imperial reception hall. The earliest of its five layers of frescoes dates from the 4th C. The Church of Sveta Sofija, originally outside of the walls, was destroyed and rebuilt four times in antiquity; its present form is probably 6th-C. Its scale bears witness to the importance of Serdica in late antiquity. STEFAN NEMANJA was buried in a medieval church on the site of which the 19th-C. Church of Sveta Nedelja was built.

LIT. *Serdika: archeologičeski materiali i proučvanija*, vol. 1, ed. T. Gerasimov (Sofia 1964). *Serdika, Sredec, Sofija* (Sofia 1976). Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 169–78, 269–79. M. Stančeva, L. Dončeva-Petkova, "Sur la surface habitée de Sredec au IX^{e}–XIV^{e} s.," *IzvBŭlgArchlnst* 35 (1979) 111–33. M. Končeva, *Cŭrkvata "Sveti Georgi" v Sofija* (Sofia 1979). S. Bojadžiev, *Sofijskata Cŭrkva Sveta Sofija* (Sofia 1967). –R.B.

SERDICA, LOCAL COUNCIL OF. CONSTANS I and CONSTANTIUS II summoned this council in 342 or 343 to settle the dispute that had split the episcopate into two rival camps after the deposition of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria (335). The two groups met separately because the Eastern semi-Arian party insisted that Athanasios, being deposed, could not participate. The Eastern group therefore confirmed Athanasios's expulsion from his see, condemned MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA, and excommunicated Pope Julius (337–52) for supporting both. The creed of this rump synod was identical to the fourth creedal statement of the Council of ANTIOCH (341). Conversely, the Western bishops, headed by Hosius of Cordoba, re-

habilitated Athanasios and acknowledged his orthodoxy. Failing to recognize Markellos's Sabellianism (see MONARCHIANISM), they nevertheless admitted him to communion. They further complicated matters by identifying the term HYPOSTASIS with *ousia* (SUBSTANCE)—an identification subsequently rejected by the church. This group also issued 20 canons, whose authenticity has sometimes been questioned. Several of the canons recognized Rome's appellate jurisdiction. An accused bishop, however, was to be retried in the province adjoining his own and by its bishops (or the pope's own judges), rather than in Rome or by the pope. Later the West mistakenly attributed these canons to NICAEA I.

SOURCES. Mansi 3:1–140. C.H. Turner, *Ecclesiae Occidentalis monumenta juris antiquissima* (Oxford 1930) 1:441–560.
LIT. C.H. Turner, "The Genuineness of the Sardican Canons," *JThSt* 3 (1902) 370–97. L.W. Barnard, "The Council of Serdica: Some Problems Re-assessed," *AnnHistCon* 12 (1980) 1–25. Idem, "The Council of Serdica—Two Questions Reconsidered," *Ancient Bulgaria* (Nottingham 1983) 2:215–31. N. Stanev, "Le Concile de Sardique (343): étape nouvelle dans la lutte des idées au IV[e] siècle," *Actes du II[e] Congrès international de Thracologie* (Bucharest 1980) 2:425–33. I. Opelt, "I dissidenti del concilio di Serdica," *Augustinianum* 25 (1985) 783–91. H. Hess, *The Canons of the Council of Sardica A.D. 343* (Oxford 1958).
–A.P.

SERFDOM, the term used in medieval Western historiography to designate the status of dependency under which the majority of PEASANTS subsisted within the manorial economy of FEUDALISM. In Byz. scholarship, two fundamental issues have arisen. The first centers around the appropriateness of characterizing the COLONUS and/or the PAROIKOS as serfs. While the *colonus* had characteristics of both serf and free man, those scholars who argue for the genesis of feudalism at an early period in Byz. see the colonate as a kind of serfdom. Moreover, while most scholars view the *paroikia* as an institution analogous to serfdom, a number of characteristics of the *paroikos* (greater mobility, greater freedom to acquire and dispose of property, etc.) argue against equating the two. In fact some scholars claim that the term serfdom, imbued as it is with Western connotations, should be avoided entirely in the Byz. context. The second issue involves whether and to what extent the *paroikia* and Western medieval serfdom had common origins in the colonate. This question raises the larger issue of continuity within Byz. institutions as well as the question of the similarities and differences in how the "sibling" civilizations of Byz. and western Europe responded to social and economic changes. –M.B.

SERGIOPOLIS (Σεργιόπολις, Ar. Ruṣāfah, Ῥουσαφών), lit. "the city of (St.) SERGIOS," who, together with Bakchos, was martyred nearby under Diocletian, when the site was a Roman *kastron* known simply as Rusafa. Sergiopolis lies on a caravan route in the desert of northeastern Syria, south of the Euphrates River and north of PALMYRA. An early structure (*mnema*) "of stone and clay" that marked the burial place of Sergios and Bakchos in the necropolis of Rusafa was replaced later in the 4th C. by a *martyrion* inside the *kastron* (Passio of Sergios and Bakchos, *AB* 14 [1895] 395.9–14); ca.431 the archbishop of Hierapolis spent 300 pounds of gold in erecting another church, other buildings, and walls. In 454 Theodosios II made Rusafa an independent bishopric (Mansi 5:915C, 943C), while in 514–18 Anastasios I made it the metropolitan see, gave it the name of Sergiopolis, and sent a relic of Sergios from Constantinople. In 527–42 Justinian I built new circuit walls, cisterns, houses, stoas, and other buildings (some of which still stand) and garrisoned the city. The shrine of Sergios and Bakchos, now identified with Basilica B, and the tetraconch cathedral, long thought (erroneously) to have been the *martyrion*, were probably built in the first half of the 6th C. An inscription in Basilica A identifies it as the Church of the Holy Cross built in 559 by Bp. Abraham. Between 569 and 581 al-Mundhir (ALAMUNDARUS), the Ghassānid phylarch, built a praetorium outside Sergiopolis, and in 604–16 Noman, son of al-Ḥārith, repaired reservoirs there. Justinian and Theodora had presented the shrine with a gemmed cross, which was seized in 540 by Chosroes I, together with the gold revetment on the saints' tomb and other treasures (Evagrios Scholastikos, *HE* 6.28). In 591–92 Chosroes II, giving thanks to St. Sergios for a military victory and the birth of a son, returned Justinian's cross and gave the shrine several gold votive objects. It has been erroneously suggested that the KAPER KORAON TREASURE was intended for Sergiopolis; the only silver objects that can be associated with the site were excavated in 1982 in the Holy Cross Church, where they had been buried in 1144.

These include chalices, a paten, and a plate of Gothic appearance; several of the objects have Arabic, Syriac, or Greek inscriptions or Crusader heraldic devices; at least two objects were donated by someone from EDESSA. The Church of St. Sergios continued to attract pilgrims until the 12th C. and perhaps later.

LIT. H. Spanner, S. Guyer, *Rusafa* (Leipzig 1939). M. Mackensen, *Resafa, I: Eine befestigte spätantike Anlage vor den Stadtmauern von Resafa* (Mainz am Rhein 1984). T. Ulbert, *Resafa, II: Die Basilika des Heiligen Kreuzes in Resafa-Sergiupolis* (Mainz am Rhein 1986). W. Karnapp, *Die Stadtmauer von Rusafa* (Berlin 1976). W.E. Kleinbauer, "The Origin and Functions of the Aisled Tetraconch Churches in Syria and Northern Mesopotamia," *DOP* 28 (1973) 89–114.
–M.M.M.

SERGIOS I, patriarch of Constantinople (18 Apr. 610–9 Dec. 638); born in Syria ca.580?, died Constantinople. As a young deacon and *ptochotrophos* of the hospices in the harbor of Phryxos in Constantinople, Sergios found a patron in THEODORE OF SYKEON. Shortly after becoming patriarch Sergios crowned Herakleios, thus sanctioning the downfall of Emp. Phokas. He became a staunch supporter of the new emperor, even though he dared to oppose him on occasion: he tried to dissuade Herakleios from marrying his niece MARTINA (but yielded to the firm desire of the *basileus*) and resisted the emperor's attempt to shift the capital to Carthage. Sergios was concerned about finances: in 612 he promulgated the rule that new members of the ever-increasing staff of Hagia Sophia (reaching 600 persons) should not be paid by the fisc; in 621 Sergios approved the emperor's use of church treasures for the Persian expedition. During the absence of Herakleios the patriarch served as regent and was in charge during the combined siege of Constantinople by the Persians and Avars in 626; their withdrawal was ascribed to the assistance of the Virgin.

Sergios tried to elaborate a theological compromise to promote the ideological unification of the empire: together with KYROS of Phasis (the future patriarch of Alexandria) and Theodore of Pharan he developed the formula of MONOENERGISM (633) that was later altered into the concept of one will in Christ (MONOTHELETISM). Sergios defended his position by referring to such ecclesiastical authorities as CYRIL of Alexandria and Patr. MENAS. His alliance with Pope HONORIUS I (F. Carcione, *OrChrP* 51 [1985] 263–76) and the idea of one will formed the foundation of the EKTHESIS. The compromise, however, satisfied neither the Chalcedonians (headed by SOPHRONIOS OF JERUSALEM) nor staunch Monophysites, and the resulting disunity in the eastern provinces facilitated the Arab conquest. Sergios was condemned at the Council of 680. He was possibly the author of the *prooimion* to the AKATHISTOS HYMN.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 1, nos. 278c-293b. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 1–56, 174–78. F. Carcione, *Sergio di Costantinopoli ed Onorio I nella controversia monotelita del VII secolo* (Rome 1985).
–A.K.

SERGIOS II, patriarch of Constantinople (June/July 1001–July 1019 [V. Laurent, *EO* 35 (1936) 73f]); died Constantinople. He is called (Skyl. 341.12) a descendant of Photios; Janin (*Églises CP* 320) identifies Sergios with a monk Sergios, "great-nephew of Photios," who was a favorite of Romanos I back in 944. The chronological gap makes the identification improbable. Before being elected patriarch, Sergios was *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Manuel in Constantinople. As patriarch Sergios resisted the introduction of ALLELENGYON by Basil II. In 1016, however, he accepted the practice of CHARISTIKION prohibited by his predecessor Sisinnios (K. Setton, *AJPh* 74 [1953] 247). Sergios attempted to restrict the excessive individualism of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN as reflected in the latter's veneration of his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes but eventually yielded under the pressure of the magnates of the capital (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 28 [1967] 8–10). In a solemn encyclical, Sergios prohibited the marriages of close relatives (V. Laurent, *EO* 33 [1934] 301–05), a practice typical of the high aristocracy.

There is an established tradition that under Sergios the church of Constantinople broke with Rome, but already ca.1100 the *chartophylax* Niketas was unaware of the causes of this conflict (PG 120:717D). According to Michael I Keroularios, Sergios demanded that Pope Sergius IV eliminate the FILIOQUE formula and after his refusal excommunicated the pope. In the 12th C. JOHN OF JERUSALEM wrote that it was Sergios who excluded the name of the pope of Rome from the diptychs (A. Michel, *RQ* 41 [1933] 136, n.43).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 815–25. A. Michel, *Humbert und Kerullarios*, vol. 1 (Paderborn 1924) 20–29. V. Laurent, "Notes critiques sur de récentes publications," *EO* 31 (1932) 97–103.
–A.K.

SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS (Σέργιος καὶ Βάκχος), martyrs executed under Maximian, saints; feastday 7 Oct. Sergios was *primikerios* of the *schola gentilium*, and Bakchos was *sekoundokerios* of the same contingent. Accused of being Christians, they were divested of their military uniforms and paraded in female garments throughout the city. Thereafter the emperor sent them to Antiochos, *doux* of Augustoeuphratesia, "neighboring the Saracen people"—an area that, in fact, was outside Maximian's sphere of influence. Here they were executed, steadfast in maintaining their Christian beliefs: Bakchos was flogged to death in the *kastron* of Barbalisson, Sergios beheaded several days later in the *kastron* of Ruṣāfah. THEODORET OF CYRRHUS testifies to the existence of the cult of Sergios (PG 83:1033B), and PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (*Buildings* 2.9.3–9) relates that the inhabitants of a site in Euphratesia called it Sergioupolis (see SERGIOPOLIS) after the saint who had helped them repel the Saracens. When the role of MILITARY SAINTS was ascribed to Sergios and Bakchos is unclear (A. Poidebard, R. Mouterde, *AB* 67 [1949] 114f). The time of the compilation of their *passio* is also unknown; 11th-C. MSS preserve it, and SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked it for his collection; various Latin and Eastern versions of the martyrdom survive also.

Representation in Art. The two young saints are depicted clad in court, rather than military, costume, but they do wear the *maniakion* (see TORQUE) and sometimes hold lances. Portraits exist as early as the 7th C. (icon from Mt. Sinai, now in Kiev [Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons* no.B.9] and mosaic in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike) and appear in church programs throughout the Byz. period. The saints are shown being beheaded in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.95) and in a MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Moscow, Hist. Mus. gr. 175, fol.50r).

SOURCES. I. Van den Gheyn, "Passio antiquior ss. Sergii et Bacchi," *AB* 14 (1895) 375–95. PG 115:1005–32.

LIT. *BHG* 1624–25. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:329f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS, CHURCH OF SAINTS (Turk. Küçük Ayasofya Camii). Built in Constantinople by Justinian I and Theodora in the Palace of Hormisdas, it was joined to a basilica of Sts. Peter and Paul, both sharing the same atrium (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.4.1–4). It is first attested (as a monastery) in 536. The origin of the church is controversial: in Mango's opinion it was erected by Theodora for the benefit of a colony of Syrian Monophysite monks, not as a palatine chapel as others believe.

The church remained monastic for the rest of the Byz. period. Its most renowned *hegoumenos* (ca.815–37) was John Grammatikos, later Patr. JOHN VII, who interrogated there many prominent supporters of icons (PLATO OF SAKKOUDION, THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, etc.). Basil I restored it after 867 (Skyl. 162.20–25). In 880 it was granted (as a pied-à-terre?) to the see of Rome, which seems to have had earlier rights to it. Leo VI offered its *hegoumenate* to Euthymios (the future patriarch), who refused it. The emperor visited it on the Tuesday after Easter (*De cer.*, bk.1, ch.11). The heads of Sts. SERGIOS AND BAKCHOS and other relics were kept there. The Church of Sts. Peter and Paul, joined to the south side of the existing structure, and the monastic buildings have disappeared.

The building has an octagonal nave inscribed within an irregular rectangle and is covered by a dome (diam. 17 m) with alternately flat and concave segments. Columns of verd antique support a carved horizontal entablature along whose entire length is inscribed an epigram in honor of Justinian and Theodora. A gallery repeats the arrangement of the ground-level ambulatory.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 451–54. P. Sanpaolesi, "La chiesa dei SS. Sergio e Bacco a Costantinopoli," *RIASA*, n.s. 10 (1961) 116–80. Mathews, *Early Churches* 42–51. C. Mango, "The Church of Sts. Sergius and Bacchus Once Again," *BZ* 68 (1975) 385–92.

–C.M.

SERGIOS OF REŠʿAINA, priest and physician; died Constantinople 536. He had studied in Alexandria under John PHILOPONOS and was a typical representative of the bilingual intelligentsia in Syria in the early 6th C. He belonged to the Jacobite church in Syria, but he quarreled with his bishop and sought refuge with Ephraim, the Chalcedonian patriarch of Antioch, on whose behalf Sergios was then sent on a diplomatic mission to Pope Agapetus I (535–36), during which he died. The fame of Sergios rests on his translations of medical, philosophical, and theological texts into Syriac. He is particularly remembered for his versions of Aristotelian logical texts, some medical

texts of Galen, and for the first Syriac translations of parts of the pseudo-Dionysian corpus. Some sources also attribute to Sergios the authorship of a tract on the spiritual life.

ED. P. Sherwood, "Mimro de Serge de Rešayna sur la vie spirituelle," *L'Orient Syrien* 5 (1960) 433–57; 6 (1961) 95–115, 121–56.

LIT. Baumstark, *Literatur* 167–69. I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*² (Rome 1965) 110f. P. Sherwood, "Sergius of Reshaina and the Syriac Versions of the Pseudo-Denis," *Sacris Erudiri* 4 (1952) 174–84. –S.H.G.

SERGIOS THE CONFESSOR, historian and saint; born Constantinople, died after 829 in exile; feastday 13 May. According to the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 682.9–20), Sergios was born to a family of renown. Because he was an ardent Iconophile, the Iconoclast emperor Theophilos, after a public punishment, confiscated his wealth and banished him, his wife Irene, and their children. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus's identification of Sergios as the father of PHOTIOS (*BZ* 8 [1899] 656, n.2) remains questionable. In the *Bibliotheca* (Photios, *Bibl.*, cod. 67) Photios briefly describes a historical book by Sergios that probably encompassed events from Constantine V to the eighth year of Michael II; Sergios reportedly wrote not only about wars but also about society (*politeia*) and ecclesiastical problems. F. Barišić (*Byzantion* 31 [1961] 260–62) suggested that GENESIOS and THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS used Sergios's history.

LIT. A. Nogara, "Sergio il Confessore e il cod. 67 della *Biblioteca* de Fozio patriarca di Costantinopoli," *Aevum* 52 (1978) 261–66. –A.K.

SERGIUS I, pope (15 Dec. 687–9 Sept. 701); born Palermo to a Syrian family. He was installed as pope by the personal intervention of the Byz. exarch. Sergius repudiated his legates to Constantinople and refused to accept the Council in TRULLO of 691 because several canons contradicted Roman practice (e.g., those that sanctioned the marriage of clergy or exalted the patriarch of Constantinople). The ensuing efforts of JUSTINIAN II to have Sergius deported to Constantinople failed and weakened the Byz. position in Italy. Sergius introduced the Byz. feasts of the Virgin—Nativity, Annunciation, Purification (Hypapante), and Assumption—into the Roman liturgy.

LIT. O. Bertolini, *Roma di fronte a Bisanzio e ai Longobardi* (Bologna 1941) 399–408. –M.McC., A.K.

SERIKARIOS (σηρικάριος), artisan involved in the production and sale of SILK textiles. In late Roman inscriptions the term *sericarius* or *negotiator sericarius* designates not a silk manufacturer—as M.T. Schmitter-Picard argues (in *Mélanges C. Picard* 2 [Paris 1949] 952), since before the 6th C. silk was imported mostly in the form of cloth—but a SILK MERCHANT (H. Blümner, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 1926). Diocletian's PRICE EDICT lists *sericarii* dealing in various kinds of textiles.

In 10th-C. Constantinople, *serikarioi* formed a guild that is described in the *Book of the Eparch* (ch.8). One of their principal activities seems to have been dyeing, but at the same time they worked as weavers and tailors (D. Simon, *BZ* 68 [1975] 34); at any rate they purchased raw silk and their final product was clothing. Their activity was strictly controlled: they were prohibited from using certain dyes and from making certain kinds of garments (e.g., SKARAMANGIA, which were woven and sewn in imperial factories); other types of fabric (e.g., BLATTIA in Persian style) had to be shown to the eparch; a BOULLOTES regularly visited their workshops; and they had to bring their products to the imperial stores (*kylistareia*).

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 181–90. –A.K.

SERMON (λόγος) or homily (ὁμιλία), an ecclesial discourse for instruction, exhortation, edification, commonly in the context of a liturgical service, often commenting on the LECTIONS just read. Originally the preacher had to be a bishop, but by the 4th C. the right was extended to priests as well. Later even emperors gave eulogies.

Great preachers were one of the early church's main attractions. The bishop preached seated on his throne in the nave, or at the AMBO, sometimes for as long as two hours (A. Olivar in *Liturgica* 3 [Montserrat 1966] 143–84). The golden age of sermons in the 4th C. established a tradition of homiletics rooted in theological learning, knowledge of the Scriptures, and of the artifices of antique RHETORIC. Sermons, which customarily opened with a set greeting and concluded with a DOXOLOGY, comprised several standard types. The majority were commentaries on sacred Scripture. Others were heortological, on a FEAST; theological, on a point of doctrine; panegyrics, on a saint; eulogies, or funeral orations; socio-ethical, against the circus, theater, orgies, drunkenness, avarice,

or in favor of fasting, prayer, almsgiving, modesty, etc.; occasional, such as John Chrysostom's homilies *On the Statues* (PG 49:15–222) or *On Eutropios after his Fall* (PG 52:391–414); and mystagogic, providing a regular course of instruction during Lent and Pentecost for the CATECHUMENATE and neophytes. Sermons would also later provide monastic instruction (e.g., the Catecheses of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS).

By the 6th C., however, the golden age had passed. Sermons in the antique rhetorical tradition were barely understood by the common people, many ministers were no longer capable of composing an adequate sermon on their own, and preaching entered a period of decline. Canon 19 of the Council in TRULLO enjoins bishops to preach daily, esp. Sundays, and instructs them to follow the Fathers, "for if they compose their own discourses, a task of which they are sometimes incapable, they may miss what is suitable" (Mansi 11:952D). By the 9th C. a new set of LITURGICAL BOOKS appeared: anthologies of sermons (*panegyrikon,* MENOLOGION) arranged according to the church CALENDAR, esp. those of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, PROKLOS of Constantinople, and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS. These books shaped a canon of ecclesiastical rhetoric and eventually filled the need for ready-made sermons. The creation in 1107 of the group of *didaskaloi* of the PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL by Alexios I and the establishment of a fixed salary for preachers (P. Gautier, *REB* 31 [1973] 165–201; I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 238–42) were further measures aimed at improving the quality of contemporary sermons.

LIT. A. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche,* 3 vols. (Leipzig 1936–39). R. Caro, *La homilética mariana griega en el siglo V,* 3 vols. (Dayton 1971–73). A. Olivar, "Quelques remarques historiques sur la prédication comme action liturgique dans l'Église ancienne," in *Mélanges liturgiques offerts au R.P. Dom Bernard Botte O.S.B.* (Louvain 1972) 429–43. R. Grégoire, *DictSpir* 7.1 (1969) 606–17. T.K. Carroll, *Preaching the Word* (Wilmington 1984).

–R.F.T.

SERPENTS. See SNAKES.

SERRES (Σέρραι, ancient Siris), city in Macedonia on the Strymon River. In late antiquity a *polis* of Macedonia I, Serres is mentioned by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.*, 1.52–53, ed. Pertusi 86) as a *polis* in the *eparchia* of Rhodope. Its first known bishop participated in the council of 449. The history of Serres is obscure until the end of the 10th C., when it played a role in the war with the Bulgarians and one of the KOMETOPOULOI, Moses, was killed while besieging the city (Skyl. 329.81). Before 997 Serres was elevated to the rank of metropolis. From the end of the 12th C. onward, it was again at the center of military operations: in 1185 the Normans ravaged its territory; ca.1195 the Bulgarians defeated the army of the *sebastokrator* Isaac Komnenos near Serres; Boniface of Montferrat occupied the city; and in 1206 it fell to the Bulgarians. George Akropolites (Akrop. 74f) writes that Serres, a large city in the past, was destroyed by Kalojan and transformed into a *kome* with a fortified acropolis, whereas the lower town was protected only by a plain stone wall erected without lime mortar. Serres was recovered by John III Vatatzes in 1246. Its significance grew in the 14th C., when a contemporary historian (Greg. 2:746.14) called Serres "a large and marvelous *asty*."

On 25 Sept. 1345 Serres fell to STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. After Dušan's death, Serres and the surrounding territory formed an independent "principality," first under Dušan's widow Helena, and from Aug./Sept. 1365 under the *despotes* John Uglješa. In this principality Greek was the official language; the Greek *oikeioi* of the *despotes* played an important part in the administration; and the links with Constantinople and Mt. Athos remained strong. After the battle at MARICA in 1371 Manuel (II) Palaiologos, John V's son, who ruled in Thessalonike, gained control over Serres. The city finally fell to the Ottomans on 19 Sept. 1383 (*Kleinchroniken* 2:326f; P. Nasturel, N. Beldiceanu, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 270). There is some evidence that in the summer of 1397 John VII resided in Serres (D. Bernicolas-Hatzopoulos, *BS* 41 [1980] 220f).

The well-preserved walls of the fortress date from various periods, with major construction in the 10th and 13th C.; the so-called Tower of Orestes, at the highest point of the fortifications, was built under Dušan, as shown by an inscription (L. Polites, *BS* 2 [1930] 292). The architecture of the Church of St. Nicholas in the lower town is similar to the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON in Thessalonike and can be dated to the 11th–12th C. The metropolitan church, Sts. Theodore, had a mosaic of the Communion of the Apostles in the apse (cf. that in St. Sophia in Kiev) (P. Perdrizet,

L. Chesnay, *MonPiot* 10 [1903] 122–44). The church itself was burned in 1913, then rebuilt, but fragmentary figures of the Apostles have been taken to Thessalonike; their stylistic affinities with the mosaics of Daphni and the frescoes of Hagios Chrysostomos on CYPRUS indicate a date in the very early 12th C. The Church of St. Nicholas within the fortress resembles the Holy Apostles in Thessalonike in construction and is dated to the early 14th C. The nearby monastery of the Prodromos on Mt. MENOIKEION was founded in the late 13th C.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast posle Dušanove smrti* (Belgrade 1965), with a French résumé, H. Miakotine, *TM* 2 (1967) 569–73. G. Soulis, "Notes on the History of the City of Serres under the Serbs," in *Aphieroma ste mneme tou M. Triantaphyllide* (Thessalonike 1960) 373–81. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:595–98, 3:133, 160. A. Xyngopoulos, *Ereunai eis ta byzantina mnemeia ton Serron* (Thessalonike 1965).
–T.E.G., N.P.Š.

SERVIA (τὰ Σέρβια, also Serblia), city in southern Macedonia controlling the main road between Berroia and Larissa. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 32.11) defines Serblia as a site in the theme of Thessalonike where Herakleios (allegedly) settled the "Serbloi" in the 7th C. Servia is first attested in the early 10th C. (*Notitiae CP* 7.300) as a bishopric suffragan to Thessalonike. Two seals of bishops of Servia or Servion (10th and 11/12th C.) are published by Laurent (*Corpus* 5.3, nos. 1729–30). In Skylitzes (Skyl. 344.93–12, 364.67) Servia appears as a stronghold (*phrourion*) that several times changed hands during the Bulgarian war of Basil II; the general Xiphias destroyed it in 1018. Kekaumenos (Kek. 174.18–28, 260.24–26) and later John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 130.8–131.2) described Servia as a well-fortified *polis* divided into three sections: the *akra*, where the *archon* lived, and the upper and the lower sections inhabited by the *politai*. The *strategos* and the *doux* of Serb[i]a are mentioned on several seals of the 11th C. (V. Laurent, *REB* 15 [1957] 189f), but it is unclear whether they were connected with the fortress and bishopric of Servia.

After 1204 Servia was in the hands of the Latins, but ca.1216 it fell to Theodore Komnenos Doukas of Epiros. In 1257 it was ceded, along with DYRRACHION, to Theodore II Laskaris of Nicaea. Circa 1341 Servia was taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. It was besieged by John VI Kantakouzenos in 1350; although the siege ended in failure, a treaty of the same year ceded Servia to Byz. Circa 1393 Servia fell to the troops of Bayezid I.

In their present form the fortifications should be dated to the 13th C., although the towers of the acropolis were probably built under the Serbs. In the upper city are the ruins of a large basilica with three aisles, built in the first quarter of the 11th C., later remodeled, with paintings of the late 12th–early 13th C. There are two other single-aisled basilicas within the city and another at a ruined monastery 3 km to the west.

LIT. M. Maloutas, *Ta Serbia* (Thessalonike 1956). A. Xyngopoulos, *Ta mnemeia ton Serbion* (Athens 1957). S. Kyriakides, *Byzantinai meletai* 4 (Thessalonike? n.d.) 405–07, 415–24, 455–63.
–T.E.G.

SERVITUS (δουλεία), the charge on a piece of land that obliged the owner to tolerate certain uses of, or encroachments upon, his land by another person. "Real" *servitutes* are those that are imposed on the piece of land itself, without time limit, regardless of the current occupant. The owner of the land burdened with a real *servitus* was required to allow the other person, who was usually, but not necessarily, a neighbor, to drive his livestock over the encumbered piece of land, for example, or to draw water from a source located there, or to drain sewage from his side onto the encumbered piece of land. Personal *servitutes* are similar to the OWNERSHIP rights of certain individuals to another's lands, esp. that of USUFRUCT. This form of *servitus* ends (at the latest) with the death of the occupant.

With the changing concepts of ownership, esp. as regards immovable THINGS, the *servitus* declined in importance in the later Byz. period. In the documents the technical term *douleia* no longer meant a *servitus* but generally a rather imprecisely defined form of tax liability.

LIT. D. Bonneau, "Les servitudes de l'eau dans la documentation papyrologique," *Sodalitas*, vol. 5 (Naples 1984) 2273–85.
–M.Th.F.

SETH, SYMEON, scientist and writer; fl. second half of 11th C.; born perhaps in Antioch. His biography is little known; his identification with the *protovestiarios* Symeon who became a monk

ca.1034 (Skyl. 396f) is now rejected. According to the lemmata of his MSS, Symeon Seth (Σήθ) was *magistros* and philosopher, and he mentions his travel to Egypt (perhaps in 1058). Symeon compiled a book on DIET based predominantly on ancient tradition; sometimes, however, he refers to everyday practice and Arab recipes. He also produced books on physics and medicine, including a refutation of GALEN.

Symeon translated from Arabic and dedicated to Alexios I a collection of fables under the title of *Stephanites and Ichnelates.* The fables are assembled within an external framework of conversations between the king of India and his philosopher, and between the lion king and his courtiers, among whom two jackals, Ichnelates and Stephanites, are particularly articulate. The characters of the fables are primarily animals, but we also encounter people—merchants, physicians, hunters. The moral principle formulated at the very beginning (ed. Sjöberg 151f) is far removed from Byz. official ethics: there are three sources of happiness—independent fortune, good repute, and success. This goal can be achieved by four means: the just acquisition of wealth; good administration of property; generosity toward the needy; and avoidance of sin. *Stephanites and Ichnelates* was perhaps reworked by EUGENIOS OF PALERMO in the 12th C. (Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 18f). The book was popular in the medieval West and in Slavic countries.

ED. *De alimentorum facultatibus,* ed. B. Langkavel (Leipzig 1868). Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:1–127. C. Daremberg, *Notices et extraits des manuscrits médicaux* (Paris 1853) 44–47. L.-O. Sjöberg, *Stephanites und Ichnelates* (Stockholm-Göteburg-Uppsala 1962). *Stefanit i Ichnilat,* Russ. tr., ed. O.P. Lichačeva and Ja.S. Lurie (Leningrad 1969).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 41–45. –A.K.

SEVEN SLEEPERS, legendary saints; feastdays 22 and 23 Oct. These were saintly youths who reportedly fled the persecutions of the 3rd-C. Roman emperor Decius and hid in a cave near Ephesus. The persecutors blocked the cave entrance, but the saints slept for about 190 years (figures vary) and awoke during the reign of Theodosios II. The legend's origin is unclear; the first certain evidence dates from ca.530, when the pilgrim Theodosios visited their tomb in Ephesus; he listed their names and related that they were all brothers whose mother's name was Caritina-Felicitas. A. Allgeier (*BNJbb* 3 [1922] 311–31) hypothesized that the original legend was in Syriac, a view rejected by P. Peeters (*AB* 41 [1923] 369–85), who questioned the authenticity of the homily of JACOB OF SARUG on the seven saints. The Syriac version counted eight saints and gave them different names. Already by the late 6th C. the legend was known to GREGORY OF TOURS, who referred to a "Syrian interpreter." The legend contains precious numismatic evidence: when the youths left the cave and tried to buy food with coins from the reign of Decius, they were suspected of having found a hoard of old coins and were therefore summoned before a magistrate. The miracle of the Seven Sleepers has been interpreted as a prefiguration of the RESURRECTION of mankind. Their cave and cemetery became the site of frequent pilgrimage (C. Praschniker, *Das Cömiterium der sieben Schläfer* [Baden 1937]). The legend was widely known and accepted by Islam.

Representation in Art. One of the very few surviving Byz. representations of the Seven Sleepers is a miniature in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.133): it shows the youths huddled together, their heads bowed in sleep, inside the cave. A satchel and a walking stick are visible by the entrance.

SOURCES. M. Huber, *Beitrag zur Siebenschläferlegende des Mittelalters,* pt.II (Metten 1904/5). PG 115:427–48.

LIT. *BHG* 1593–1599d. M. Huber, *Die Wanderlegende von den Siebenschläfern* (Leipzig 1910). E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 125–68. J. Bonnet, *Artémis d'Ephèse et la légende des sept dormants* (Paris 1977). F. Jourdan, *La tradition des sept dormants* (Paris 1983). M. Lechner, C. Squarr, *LCI* 8:344–48. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SEVENTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See NICAEA, COUNCILS OF: Nicaea II.

SEVERIANOS (Σευηριανός), bishop of Gabala in Syria, biblical exegete; died before 430. Sometime before 401 he moved to Constantinople, where he enjoyed oratorical fame. In a homily on Epiphany Severianos praised Arkadios and Honorius, the two sons of Theodosios I, "that shining light" (A. Wenger, *REB* 10 [1953] 47–50). He obtained influence over the empress EUDOXIA (Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* 70f) and played a major role in her struggle against JOHN CHRYSOSTOM. His works are primarily exegetic and hom-

iletic; most important are his six homilies on the HEXAEMERON. An oration, *On Peace*, extant wholly in Greek (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 1:15–26) and in Latin fragments (PG 52:425–28), gives his version of the temporary rapprochement in 401 between himself and Chrysostom. A strict Nicene, Severianos was full of rancor against heretics and Jews (his homily against the Jews—PG 61:793–802).

In his exegesis Severianos, under the influence of DIODOROS OF TARSOS, followed the principles of the Antiochene School, being outstandingly literal in the interpretation of Old Testament imagery, which he often misuses as science. His oeuvre is mainly preserved under the names of his adversaries (primarily Chrysostom), in *catenae*, and in Armenian (H.J. Lehmann, *Per piscatores* [Århus 1975]), Arabic, Coptic, and Syriac translations; many of them are of disputed authenticity.

ED. PG 56:429–516, 59:585–90, 63:531–44. *Un traité inédit de christologie de Sévérien de Gabala*, ed. M. Aubineau, with Fr. tr. (Geneva 1983). *Die Genesishomilien des Bischofs Severian von Gabala*, ed. J. Zellinger (Münster 1916). For complete list of ed. see *CPG*, vol. 2, nos. 4185–295.

LIT. J. Zellinger, *Studien zu Severian von Gabala* (Münster 1926). H.J. Lehmann, "The Attribution of Certain Pseudo-Chrysostomica to Severian of Gabala Confirmed by the Armenian Tradition," *StP* 10 [= TU 107] (1970) 121–30. M. Aubineau, "Textes de Jean Chrysostome et Sévérien de Gabala: Athos Pantocrator 1," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 25–30. S.J. Voicu, "Nuove restituzioni a Severiano di Gabala," *RSBN* 20–21 (1983–84) 3–24. –B.B.

SEVERINUS, preacher of Christianity in the Roman Danubian province of NORICUM at a time when it was about to be overrun by Germanic tribes; saint; died in monastery of Favianis/Mautern on the Danube 8 Jan. 482. His vita was written by his disciple EUGIPPIUS. Severinus was an Eastern monk of unknown background who appeared rather mysteriously in Noricum after the death of Attila (453). The attempt of F. Lotter (*infra*) to identify Severinus with the homonymous consul of 461 has not been accepted. His primary mission was to encourage a spiritual revival in Noricum, to introduce monasticism, and to combat Arianism and paganism. He can be seen as an agent of Byz. Danubian foreign policy, encouraging the church, organizing relief work, and restraining the excesses of reluctantly respectful barbarians (notably ODOACER).

SOURCE. For ed. of Vita, see EUGIPPIUS.

LIT. R. Bratož, *Severinus von Noricum und seine Zeit* (Vienna 1983). Thompson, *Romans & Barbarians* 113–33. F. Lotter, *Severinus von Noricum: Legende und historische Wirklichkeit* (Stuttgart 1976). K. Kramert, E.K. Winter, *St. Severin: Der Heilige zwischen Ost und West* (Klosterneuburg 1958). –B.B.

SEVEROS (Σεβῆρος), bishop of Antioch (512–18); born Sozopolis, Pisidia, ca.465, died Xois, Egypt, 8 Feb. 538. Severos was a Monophysite theologian and saint of the Monophysite church. He studied philosophy and law, came under the influence of PETER THE IBERIAN and entered monastic life. In 508 he went to Constantinople to plead for the persecuted Monophysite monks of Palestine; while in the capital he acquired the favor of Anastasios I. In 512 he became bishop of Antioch. He was a tireless administrator, but upon the accession of Justin I, he was exiled and took up residence in Egypt. An attempted reconciliation under Justinian I (535/6) failed, and Severos was condemned by a council in Constantinople in 536.

Severos was the leading spokesman for moderate Monophysitism, rejecting both the Council of Chalcedon and the teachings of EUTYCHES and JULIAN OF HALIKARNASSOS. Severos understood the divine nature in Christ as his hypostasis or *prosopon* and therefore professed his single *physis*, but he accepted that the complete humanity of Christ was distinct from the nature/hypostasis of the Logos; he refuted Julian and considered Christ's body before the Resurrection as corruptible and Christ as consubstantial with the Father only according to his divinity. However, in Severos this "perfect humanity" did not form a nature or hypostasis but only an annex of the single divine *physis*.

Frequently accused of pagan tendencies, Severos was cosmopolitan and steeped in the teachings of the Greek fathers. He had no desire to found a regional, rurally based church, yet his teachings were the basis of Monophysite theology. He wrote voluminously, although most of his works are preserved only in a Syriac translation by James of Edessa. His biography by ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE survives in a Syriac version (W. Bauer in *Aufsätze und kleine Schriften*, ed. G. Strecker [Tübingen 1967] 210–28).

SOURCE. M.-A. Kugener, "Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique," PO 2 (1903) 3–115.

ED. *Les Homiliae cathedrales de Sévère d'Antioche,* ed. R. Duval et al., 17 vols. (Paris 1906–76), with Fr. tr. *Liber contra impium Grammaticum,* ed. J. Lebon, 3 vols. in 6 (Paris 1929–38), with Lat. tr. *Orationes ad Nephalium,* ed. idem, 2 vols. (Louvain 1949), with Lat. tr. *Le Philalèthe,* ed. R. Hespel, 2 vols. (Louvain 1952), with Fr. tr. *La polémique antijulianiste,* ed. idem, 3 vols. in 8 (Louvain 1964–71), with Fr. tr. *CPG,* vol. 3, nos. 7022–80.

LIT. J. Lebon, *Le Monophysisme sévérien* (Louvain 1909; rp. New York 1978). Frend, *Monophysite Movement* 202–76. Chesnut, *Three Christologies* 9–56. A. Vööbus, "Eine Entdeckung von zwei neuen Biographien des Severos von Antiochien," *BZ* 68 (1975) 1–3. H. Brakmann, "Severos unter der Alexandrinern," *JbAChr* 26 (1983) 54–58. I. Torrance, *Christology after Chalcedon: Severus of Antioch and Sergius the Monophysite* (Norwich 1988). –T.E.G.

SEXTUS JULIUS AFRICANUS. See AFRICANUS, SEXTUS JULIUS.

SEXUALITY was pervaded by a hypocritical double standard in Byz. as in other medieval societies. While men appreciated female charms and employed PROSTITUTES and CONCUBINES for sexual adventures, they expected moral purity of their female relatives. A rich inheritance of erotic EPIGRAMS and ROMANCES, preserved and developed in later Byz. editions, extolled the physical pleasures of LOVE, yet girls were expected to guard their VIRGINITY until their wedding night and wives were to conceal their physical charms. The contrast between ecclesiastical canons governing morality and popular enjoyment of sex reflected this chasm. Some church fathers considered sexual intercourse an evil necessary for procreation, and therefore condemned all sexual relations designed for pleasure as fornication (*porneia*); John Chrysostom, however, viewed legitimate intercourse as less important for procreation than for the avoidance of fornication. The church included MARRIAGE in the sacraments, but at the same time might recommend partial abstinence as practiced by CYRIL PHILEOTES and his wife, or even complete CELIBACY.

Throughout Byz. society feminine beauty was admired and women, including virgins, nuns, and prepubescent girls, were regularly seduced; even monks who had taken vows of chastity were occasionally convicted of sexual crimes (M.-H. Congourdeau, *REB* 40 [1982] 103–16). Moral standards were established more by the imperial court, where emperors might take mistresses, than by celibate bishops. Male descriptions of sex were couched in martial imagery: "a Herculean combat . . . an erotic assault on the female citadel of virginity." In contrast, sexual advances by women, as recorded in daily life or in dreams (S. Oberhelman, *BS* 47 [1986] 8–24), were usually characterized as a devilish temptation to corrupt men.

Sexual intercourse, as in the mating of Zimri and Chasbi (Num 25:7–18), was depicted fairly explicitly in Octateuch MSS, for example, Vat. gr. 747, fol.178v. (For Byz. attitudes toward the naked body, see NUDE, THE.)

LIT. H.G. Beck, *Byzantinisches Erotikon* (Munich 1986). C. Cupane, "Byzantinisches Erotikon: Ansichten und Einsichten," *JÖB* 37 (1987) 213–33. P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988). E. Patlagean in Veyne, *Private Life* 1:599–609, 618–24. –J.H.

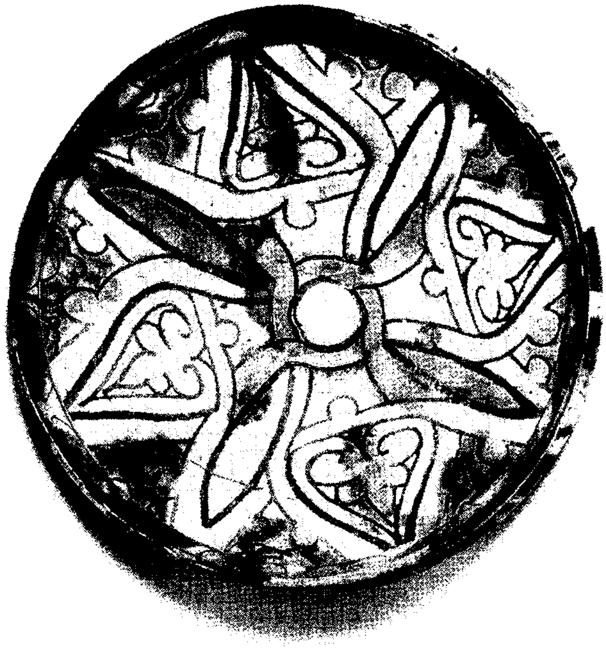
SGOUROPOULOS (Σγουρόπουλος, from σγοῦρος, "curly," + the diminutive -πουλος), a family first appearing in the late 13th C. Manuel, *pansebastos, sebastos,* and *domestikos ton anatolikon thematon* (1286–93), apparently corresponded with Michael GABRAS ca.1308. Demetrios, a retainer of John VI Kantakouzenos, was captured by Alexios APOKAUKOS in 1341. Stephen held the office of *protonotarios* at Trebizond and wrote six poems, some dedicated to Alexios III Komnenos, emperor of Trebizond (1349–90; Hunger, *Lit.* 2:115). By far the best known 15th-C. Sgouropoulos was Demetrios, who copied MSS for Cardinal BESSARION (1443 at Florence) and for Francesco FILELFO (1444–45 at Milan); afterwards he went to Kastoria and Thessalonike. In 1472–73 he corresponded with Theodore GAZES as well as with Filelfo (Gamillscheg-Harlfinger, *Repertorium,* no. 101). Many other known members of this family were clergymen, esp. priests. Of particular note are two 14th-C. composers of ecclesiastical music, George (also *domestikos*) and John (also deacon—M.K. Chatzegiakoumes, *Mousika cheirographa Tourkokratias, 1453–1832* [Athens 1975] 381). A patriarchal document of ca.1400 mentions a certain Sgouropoulina (MM 2:429.9). Relations to nobler Byz. families are unattested, with the sole exception of Doukas Sgouropoulos, who wrote a codex containing medical works in the 14th C. Their connections to Leo SGOUROS and his relatives are not attested.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 175f. Gabras, *Letters* 1:35, 54. –E.T.

SGOUROS, LEO, independent lord of Corinth and the Argolid; died Corinth 1207/8. He succeeded his father as an official in Nauplia and ca.1198 participated in levying a tax on Athens. Circa 1201, after DOBROMIR CHRYSOS and Manuel KAMYTZES seized Thessaly, Sgouros (Σγουρός, Fr. Asgur) made himself independent. He captured Argos, killing its bishop, then CORINTH, where he flung its metropolitan from the Acrocorinth. Michael STRYPHNOS vainly sought to subdue him (1201–02). Taking advantage of the Fourth Crusade's attack on Constantinople, Sgouros enlisted the piratical inhabitants of Aigina for an attack on Athens. Its metropolitan, Michael CHONIATES, held the Acropolis, but the city was burned; Sgouros marched against Thebes, which immediately surrendered. Advancing into Thessaly (summer 1204), he encountered the fleeing Alexios III and married his daughter Eudokia (already the wife of Alexios V). When BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT entered Thessaly (autumn 1204), Sgouros retreated to the Acrocorinth, where he defended himself until his death (R.-J. Loenertz, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 389–91).

LIT. Brand, *Byzantium* 152–54, 244f. –C.M.B.

SGRAFFITO WARE, perhaps the most characteristic type of Byz. decorated pottery. Sgraffito technique, probably imported from Persia, involved a two-step firing process in which dark clay vessels were first covered with a white slip, usually only on the interior, and given a preliminary firing. Designs were then scratched through the slip, revealing the darker clay beneath, and a vitreous glaze, usually pale yellow or green, was applied. When the vessel was fired a second time the glaze over the scratches appeared darker than that over the white slip. Designs included geometric and decorative motifs as well as figures of birds, fish, animals, and humans; some of the latter have been identified as DIGENES AKRITAS (A. Frantz, *Byzantion* 15 [1940–41] 87–91). "Incised Ware" involved a variation of sgraffito technique in which the background of the design was cut away, leaving the figure lighter and the background darker. Incised and sgraffito techniques were frequently combined and glaze-painted designs were often added (Painted Sgraffito Ware). Byz. sgraffito ware developed in the 11th C. and reached its high point in terms of quality in the 12th C. It continued to be produced well into



SGRAFFITO WARE. Interior of a bowl with sgrafitto design; 13th–14th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

Ottoman times. The ware was manufactured at many places throughout the eastern Mediterranean and some specific styles (such as ZEUXIPPOS WARE) have been identified.

LIT. Morgan, *Pottery* 115–66. –T.E.G.

SHĀHĪN (Σαήν), general of CHOSROES II; died late 625/6? in campaign in Asia Minor or Persarmenia. Shāhīn led the Persian army that broke Byz. defenses in 611, captured Mardin, Amida, and Martyropolis, invaded Armenia, and penetrated into Cappadocia. He wintered in Caesarea, where PRISKOS ineptly besieged him but allowed his forces to escape in 612. In 616 Shāhīn led his army across Asia Minor to besiege Chalcedon, where he personally negotiated with Herakleios. Shāhīn's pressure on Chalcedon forced Herakleios to send three ambassadors to Chosroes with proposals for peace. Shāhīn and his army returned to Persia with the ambassadors, but Chosroes rejected peace and threatened his general. In 617 Shāhīn captured Chalcedon, probably contributing to the fall of other Byz. strongholds in Anatolia. Shāhīn led major armies in 624 and 625. Herakleios fell upon and decisively defeated Shāhīn in 624 after penetrating into Persia. Nar-

ratives of the campaigns of 624–25 are very confused. In 625 (?) Shāhīn's army dissolved between Tigranocerta and Nachisevan in Persarmenia. Fear of Chosroes' fury at this disaster allegedly caused Shāhīn to fall sick and die.

LIT. A. Pernice, *L'Imperatore Eraclio* (Florence 1905) 60–63, 68–74, 130. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:115–17, 157–61. Kaegi, "New Evidence" 322–26. –W.E.K.

SHAHRBARĀZ (Σαρβαραζᾶς, lit. "Wild Boar of the Empire"), Persian general; Sasanian king (630); died Ctesiphon Apr. 630. In 606/7 he commanded the Persian invasion of Mesopotamia. Profiting from the unstable situation in Byz. after the coup of HERAKLEIOS, Shahrbarāz invaded Syria, in 613 occupied Damascus, and in 614 Jerusalem (the attack described by ANTIOCHOS STRATEGOS) whence the fragments of the True Cross were carried away to Ctesiphon. He probably invaded Egypt ca.616 and took Alexandria in 619. In 622 Herakleios started the counteroffensive (N. Oikonomides, *BMGS* 1 [1975] 1–9), but in 626 Shahrbarāz led an army to Constantinople and besieged the city with the help of the Avars. Then the attitude of Shahrbarāz toward Byz. altered because of his growing respect for Herakleios, tensions with CHOSROES II, or his inclination toward Christianity.

Shahrbarāz's position during the short reign of KAVAD-SHĪRŪYA is unknown, but after the king's death Shahrbarāz met Herakleios at Arabissos in July 629. Herakleios agreed to support the Sasanian general's efforts to win the Persian throne, and Shahrbarāz restored the True Cross to the Byz. Shahrbarāz assumed the throne on 27 Apr. 630 with the help of Byz. troops. He supported Christians in Persia, and Niketas, his son, was probably Christian. After three months (or 40 days) Shahrbarāz was assassinated in a conspiracy led by Bōrāndukht, the daughter of Chosroes II. Afraid of Herakleios's possible intervention, she sent the Nestorian *katholikos* Išoʿyahb as envoy to him and acknowledged Byz. tutelage over the country.

LIT. Mango, "La Perse Sassanide" 105–18. A. Kolesnikov, "Iran v načale VII veka," *PSb* 22 (1970) 90f. –W.E.K.

SHAYZAR (Σέζερ, ancient Sizara, or Larissa, now Sayjar in northern Syria), city on the Orontes River, mentioned several times in late Roman *itineraria* as a station on the Orontes. A bishopric by 325, in the first half of the 6th C. Larissa was the scene of a battle between the Monophysite partisans of Peter of Apameia and local Orthodox monks (Mansi 8:1131D). In 638 its citizens received the Arabs with open arms. From the second half of the 10th C. onward, the Byz. tried to regain Shayzar. Nikephoros II Phokas briefly took the city in 968; Basil II recaptured it temporarily in 994/5 and more lastingly in 999, after destroying its aqueduct. On 19 Dec. 1081 the Muslims obtained the citadel by treaty with a bishop residing in Shayzar. John II Komnenos unsuccessfully besieged it 29 Apr.–21 May 1138. Despite the efforts of the Crusaders, Shayzar remained Arab.

USĀMAH IBN MUNQIDH describes Shayzar, his native city, as a fortress built on a steep ridge; the citadel had three gates; the neighborhood was well watered and had rich vegetation. Byz. masonry is still visible at Shayzar amid later work.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 419. Idem, *EI* 4:288f. –M.M.M.

SHEEP (πρόβατα) probably constituted the principal kind of domesticated animal in Byz., although it is not always possible to distinguish them from GOATS in the documents; they supplied MEAT, CHEESE, and wool. The flocks of the great landowners were enormous: thus John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:185.8) complained that he had lost 70,000 sheep when his property was confiscated in 1341/2. *Praktika* of the 14th C. show a precipitous decline of flocks: in 1300/1 the village of Gomatou possessed 1,131 sheep and goats, in 1320/1 only 612, and in 1341 a mere 10 animals (Laiou, *Peasant Society* 174). A peasant household might own up to 300 sheep and goats; the Vlachs were esp. active in sheep breeding. Sheep were particularly suited to the practice of TRANSHUMANCE; the vita of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS describes large flocks guarded by dogs moving across Cappadocia. This led to the perennial conflict between settled agriculturists and migrating shepherds (J.G. Keenan, *YCS* 28 [1985] 245–59).

Images of sheep and lambs occupied an important place in Christian allegory: they were a metaphor for Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, and for his flock; sheep were the righteous at the Last Judgment. On the other hand, humanity was referred to as "lost sheep," and "unbranded sheep" were people untouched by baptism. The laity was com-

monly designated as sheep or a flock (*poimnion*), whereas the bishop was called shepherd (*poimen*). –A.K.

SHENOUTE (Σινούθιος, lit. "child of God"), *hegoumenos* (from 388) of a monastery in Atripe (near SOHAG, Upper Egypt), now called the White Monastery or the Monastery of Shenoute; born ca.350, died 466 (previously suggested date ca.451) at the White monastery; feastday in the Coptic church 1 July. Born to Christian parents, he entered the White Monastery (ruled by his uncle Pgôl) ca.370. Under his leadership the monastery complex grew to approximately 2,200 monks and 1,800 nuns. Strict discipline, including physical punishment, was the rule, and Shenoute introduced a formal vow of obedience as a further means of control. As a strong supporter of CYRIL of Alexandria, he attended the Council of EPHESUS in 431. He was very active in the area around the monastery: attacking pagan temples, instructing local Christians, and providing shelter for the population during barbarian invasions.

Shenoute spoke and wrote in Coptic (though he probably knew Greek). He left many letters, homilies, and apocalypses written in a vigorous style and dealing mainly with the monastic life and Christian virtue. Early studies of Shenoute (Leipoldt) maintained that he lacked theological sophistication, but recently discovered texts imply understanding of current theological problems. He eagerly polemicized against Gnosticism as it was expressed in the texts of NAG HAMMADI (T. Orlandi, *HThR* 75 [1982] 85–95), and against Nestorianism. Closely connected with the patriarchate of Alexandria, he followed the Christology of Cyril, stressing the divine nature of Christ and the soteriological aspect of Christ's mission (H.F. Weiss, *BSAC* 20 [1969–70] 177–209). His pupil Besa composed his Life.

ED. *Vita et opera omnia*, ed. J. Leipoldt, tr. H. Wiesmann, 5 vols. (Paris-Louvain 1906–51). *Oeuvres*, ed. E. Amélineau, 2 vols. (Paris 1907–14), with Fr. tr.

SOURCE. Besa, *The Life of Shenoute*, tr. D. Bell (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1983).

LIT. J. Leipoldt, *Schenute von Atripe* (Leipzig 1903). J. Timbie, "The State of Research on the Career of Shenoute of Atripe," in *Roots of Egypt. Christ.* 258–70. T. Orlandi, *DictSpir*, fascs. 92–94 (1989) 787–804. –J.A.T., A.K.

SHIELD. See ARMOR.

SHIELD-RAISING, a military CEREMONY of imperial accession. Byz. borrowed it from Germanic custom when Western troops raised Julian on a shield during his ACCLAMATION at Paris (361). Shield-raising featured regularly in accessions down to PHOKAS and may have connoted solar symbolism (E.H. Kantorowicz, *DOP* 17 [1963] 119–77). The sources mention no further shield-raising during CORONATIONS until the 13th C., except the usurpations of Peter Deljan and Leo Tornikios. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 38.51–53) considered it a Khazar custom, yet Old Testament illustration depicts shield-raising in connection with accession and majesty, and it crops up in the 12th-C. romance by Theodore PRODROMOS, *Rhodanthe and Dosikles* (5.107–14). This motif may reflect a shift toward a more militarist political ideology (A. Kazhdan in *Prédication et propagande au moyen âge* [Paris 1983] 13–28). Shield-raising was revived no later than Theodore II Laskaris (1254) and was used often thereafter. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 255.20–256.20) places shield-raising before the emperor's entry into Hagia Sophia for ANOINTING and coronation; he was acclaimed as he was raised on a shield held by the patriarch and dignitaries of the realm arranged in order of precedence. Shield-raising was also used for the accession of co-emperors.

LIT. C. Walter, "Raising on a Shield in Byzantine Iconography," *REB* 33 (1975) 133–75. –M.McC.

SHIP (ναῦς, πλοῖον). Byz. merchant ships were smaller than those of antiquity, although large merchantmen were built to transport grain well into the 6th C. (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 161f). The decreased volume in trade, limited means of investment in SHIPBUILDING, and lack of security on maritime routes after the early 7th C. prompted construction of small, rapid vessels capable of carrying sufficient cargo yet still outdistancing hostile ships. The common name for a merchant ship, *dorkon* ("gazelle"), refers to its speed. Archaeological excavation of a 7th-C. shipwreck has uncovered a Byz. merchantman of approximately 20 m in length, 5.3 m in width (length to beam ratios were usually 3:1 or 4:1), with a shallow keel and rounded hull, features suitable for coastal sailing and not much more. She had a cargo capacity of 60 tons and room for a few passengers; a crew of six to eight was sufficient for her op-

eration. The hatch was in the ship's bow, the galley in the stern. The most common types of Byz. ships were the DROMON, CHELANDION, and GALEA.

As depicted in illustrations (such as the 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY), merchant ships were round-hulled and had one, two, or three masts supporting triangular (lateen) sails on a slanting yardarm; the rigging was simple since this type of sail could be handled from the deck of the ship. Two oars on either side of the stern were for steering. Details on Byz. ships are scant after the 11th C. There are illustrations from the 14th C. showing ships thought to be Byz. galleys modeled after Genoese types (M. Goudas, *Byzantis* 2 [1912] 329–57); similar ships operated between Constantinople and Trebizond (A. Bryer, *Mariner's Mirror* 52 [1966] 3–12), but whether they were Byz. or Western in design is unknown.

LIT. F.H. van Doorninck, "Byzantium, Mistress of the Sea: 330–641," in *A History of Seafaring*, ed. G.F. Bass (New York–London 1972) 133–58. B.M. Kreutz, "Ships, Shipping and the Implications of Change in the Early Medieval Mediterranean," *Viator* 7 (1976) 79–109. J.H. Pryor, *Geography, Technology, and War* (Oxford 1988) 25–86. C. Villain Gandossi, "L'iconographie des navires au Haut Moyen Age," in *Horizons marins, itinéraires spirituels*, eds. H. Dubois, J.-C. Hocquet, A. Vauchez, vol. 2 (Paris 1987) 77–96.

–E.M.

SHIPBUILDING (ναυπηγία) in Byz. gradually evolved from the Greco-Roman technique of outer shell construction to full frame-first construction. In shell construction, the keel was laid and the stempost and sternpost fixed to it. The hull was then built up plank by plank, without a preparatory frame. The planks were trimmed and edge-joined by mortise and tenon joints at close intervals to ensure a tight fit. Supporting inner frames were then nailed to the already finished hull, but the ship's strength and impermeability rested in the outer shell, the construction of which required a high level of skilled labor. Archaeological evidence from a 7th-C. shipwreck, however, reveals a hybrid method of construction. Shell construction was used to build the hull up to the water line, then the frames were installed and the thick side timbers (wales) nailed to them to complete the hull structure. The workmanship was not as painstaking as in full-shell construction, but frame construction was simpler, faster, and more economical.

The earliest confirmation of full frame-first construction is from an 11th-C. wreck. The hull's structure and strength now depended entirely on the inner frame, and frequent caulking ensured impermeability; the once precisely and closely fitted edge-joining necessary in shell construction disappeared from use. As in antiquity, the preferred woods were oak or elm for the frames and keel, and pine, cypress, or cedar for the hull planking. The Byz. were also familiar with the *monoxyla* of the Slavs and Rus' (vessels hollowed out from a single tree trunk) no later than 626 (D. Obolensky in *De adm. imp.* 2:23–25).

Shipbuilders (*naupegoi*) are mentioned in the sources, as are the KALAPHATAI, who caulked the finished ship. Shipyards were spread throughout the empire during the 6th C., but most shipbuilding was concentrated at Constantinople after the 7th C. under the supervision of the *exartistes* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 316). Several seals of *exartistai* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 733–36) are dated from the 7th to the 10th C. Provincial fleets were constructed locally in the maritime themes (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 419–39). Most Byz. representations of shipbuilding occur in the context of the construction of NOAH'S ARK.

LIT. L. Casson, *Ships and Seamanship in the Ancient World* (Princeton 1971) 201–23. G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck* (College Station, Texas, 1982). Eidem, "An 11th-Century Shipwreck at Serçe Liman, Turkey," *International Journal of Nautical Archaeology and Underwater Exploration* 7 (1978) 119–21.

–E.M.

SHOEMAKER (σκυτεύς, σκυτοτόμος, ὑποδηματορράφος, τζαγγάριος, etc.), one of the most common artisanal professions: John Chrysostom includes them in lists of typical crafts (e.g., "builder, carpenter, *hypodematorrhaphos*, baker, peasant, smith, rope-maker"—PG 61:292.14–15) or an even shorter selection consisting of smith, *hypodematorrhaphos*, and peasant (PG 58:579.34–35). Another of his lists of craftsmen (PG 54:673.16–18) mentions both *hypodematorrhaphos* (sandalmaker?) and *skytotomos*, but the distinction between the two is unclear. In the 9th C. Theodore of Stoudios also distinguished the same two kinds of shoemakers among the monk-artisans of his monastery (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412). It is not known how shoemaking was organized in the late Roman Empire. In the vita of St. Pachomios (F. Halkin, *Le corpus athénien de Saint Pachôme* [Geneva 1982] 84,

par.23) a shoemaker is described who did not sell the sandals he produced, giving his wares to another person to market—but the available data are insufficient to decide whether this case is regular or exceptional.

From the 12th C. onward, the traditional terms for shoemaker began to be replaced by the word *tzangarios* (maker of TZANGIA), a word known already from papyri. It was probably a vernacular expression: PTOCHOPRODROMOS (ed. Hesseling-Pernot, no.4.79–89) describes his attempt to become a *tsangares*, which ended unsuccessfully when he injured himself with an awl (*sougli*). Athanasios the *tzangares*, a monk of the Philotheou monastery on Mt. Athos, signed an act of 1154 (*Lavra* 1, no.63.8), and a damaged and undated document mentions a *maistor* of *tzangarioi* (*Lavra* 1, App. 1.9). *Tzangarioi*, along with smiths and tailors, are the most frequently mentioned artisans in late Byz. *praktika* and other acts; sometimes, however, it is not easy to determine whether the word is used as a family name or as the designation of a profession. The term *skytotomos* continued to be used as well, however: a 14th-C. historian (Greg. 2:850.29) names carpenters, shoemakers (*skytotomoi*), and smiths as the most typical craftsmen of Constantinople.

Despite the large numbers of shoemakers, the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* does not include a guild for this profession, but only for the harnessmakers (LOROTOMOI). *Peira* 51.7, however, considers the shoemaker's trade, *skytotomike*, as a SOMATEION. The shoemaker's trade was regarded with scorn by the Byz. A 10th-C. story about the shoemaker Zacharias (*SynaxCP* 233.27–33) depicts his profession as so menial that he was poverty stricken. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 349.17) classes cobblers, along with tanners and sausage sellers, among the "stupid and ignorant" members of the population of Constantinople.

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 145f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:214f. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 101, n.192. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 233. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 90. –A.K.

SHOES. See FOOTWEAR.

SHRINES. See PILGRIMAGE.

SHROUD OF TURIN. See ACHEIROPOIETA.

SIBṬ IBN AL-JAWZĪ, more fully Shams al-Dīn abu'l Muẓaffar Yūsuf, Arab historian; born Baghdad 1186, died Damascus 10 Jan. 1257. Because his mother was a daughter of the famous Muslim theologian and polyhistor ibn al-Jawzī, he was better known by the name Sibṭ (i.e., the grandson of) ibn al-Jawzī. After finishing his studies in Baghdad, Sibṭ traveled extensively before settling in Damascus. There he gained fame as a legal expert and orator exhorting people to fight the Crusaders; he himself led a victorious expedition to Nābulus.

Although Sibṭ wrote several books, he is best known for his universal chronicle, *The Mirror of Time Reflecting the History of Prominent People*, which begins with Creation and ends with the year of his death. Apart from its value for students of Islamic history, *The Mirror* constitutes an important source for Byz. history, for its author sheds new light on the SELJUK penetration of Asia Minor. He is the only Arab author who treats extensively the peace negotiations between ALP ARSLAN and ROMANOS IV DIOGENES after the battle of MANTZIKERT and the ultimate fate of the emperor (C. Cahen, *Byzantion* 9 [1934] 617f).

ED. *Mir'âtü'z-Zeman fî Tarihi'l-âyan*, ed. A. Sevim (Ankara 1968). Extracts in RHC *Orient.* 3:517–75, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Brockelmann, *Litteratur* 1:424, supp. 1:589. C. Cahen, "Les chroniques arabes concernant la Syrie, l'Égypte et la Mésopotamie," *REI* 10 (1936) 339f. M.H.M. Ahmad in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 91f. M. ben Cheneb, *EI*² 3:752f. –A.S.E.

SIBYLLINE ORACLES (Σιβυλλικοὶ χρησμοί), a compilation of oracles contained in 14 books of differing dates (2nd C. B.C.–A.D. 7th C.) and provenance. The text written in (defective) hexameters is known only in late MSS (14th–16th C.), but certain oracles were quoted by church fathers and a 4th-C. parchment fragment has been discovered (G. Vitelli, *Atene e Roma* 7 [1904] 354f). The material is mostly Jewish, primarily from Egypt, with substantial Christian insertions; the latest event alluded to is probably the Arab conquest of Egypt. The Prologue is of the 6th C. Its main goal was apologetic, to demonstrate that Sybil, the renowned pagan prophetess, was an independent witness to the truth of the Christian faith. The oracles emphasize monotheism, promise the advent of a glorious kingdom after disasters befall mankind, and take the moral position that our predicament is a punishment for our sins

and can be avoided by righteousness. Along with warnings to reject injustice and violence, the oracles specifically attack idolatry and sexuality. They prophesy the suppression of the cult of Serapis in Alexandria and the cult of ARTEMIS in Asia Minor. Book 8:217–50 contains an acrostic with the first letters of each line spelling the Greek words "Jesus Christ, Son of God, Savior, Cross."

ED. *Die Oracula Sibyllina,* ed. J. Geffcken (Leipzig 1902). Eng. tr. *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha,* ed. J. Charlesworth, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y. , 1983) 317–42. S. Agourides, "Sibyllikoi Chresmoi," *Theologia* 55 (1984) 335–74, 628–49 (ed. of bks. 3–4 only).

LIT. J. Collins, *The Sibylline Oracles of Egyptian Judaism* (Missoula, Mont., 1974). V. Nikiprowetzky, *La Troisième Sibylle* (Paris 1970). –F.R.T., A.K.

SICHEM. See NEAPOLIS.

SICILIAN VESPERS, an anti-Angevin rebellion that broke out in PALERMO on 30 Mar. (Geanakoplos, *infra* 364, n.101) or 31 Mar. (cf. Franchi, *infra* 7) 1282. It took its name from the first incidents of the revolt that occurred outside the Church of S. Spirito just before the vespers service. The rule of CHARLES I OF ANJOU over Sicily (1266–82) was unpopular. The Sicilians became even more resentful of French domination when Charles began to organize a massive expedition against Constantinople after the Treaty of Orvieto (July 1281) and levied special taxes to support his preparations (W. Percy, *Italian Quarterly* 22, no.84 [1981] 75–78). Since Charles's projected crusade had the blessing of the pro-Angevin pope Martin IV (1281–85), who excommunicated MICHAEL VIII, Constantinople was in great danger. Michael, always the skilled diplomat, negotiated an alliance with Peter III of Aragon (1276–85), who was anxious to seize control of Sicily in the name of his wife Constance, daughter of MANFRED, the previous king of Sicily. Michael sent Peter gold to help equip his fleet for an attack on the island and apparently also gave financial support to conspirators in Sicily (C.N. Tsirpanlis, *Byzantina* 4 [1972] 299–329). The rebellion spread quickly and Charles was forced to divert his expedition from Constantinople to Sicily. When the Aragonese fleet arrived (Aug. 1281), the Angevins were driven from the island. Thus, Charles's planned attack on Constantinople was once more postponed and, indeed, never realized. Although Michael VIII's role in the Sicilian Vespers is debatable, in his *Autobiography* (ed. H. Grégoire, *Byzantion* 29–30 [1959–60] ch. IX, 461) he did take credit for being the instrument of God's deliverance of the Sicilians.

LIT. A. Franchi, *I Vespri Siciliani e le relazioni tra Roma e Bisanzio* (Palermo 1984). S. Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers* (Cambridge 1958). Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 335–67, 375–77. –A.M.T.

SICILY (Σικελία), Mediterranean island separated from the toe of Italy by the narrow Strait of MESSINA, forming a link between Italy and Africa. In the 4th C. and the first half of the 5th C., Sicily preserved the major features of ancient economy and civilization: flourishing urban centers (SYRACUSE, CATANIA, PALERMO, etc.), *latifundia* of great landowning families, and Latin language and culture. With the loss of Africa to the Vandals in the 5th C., Sicily became a major source of foodstuffs for the city of Rome. By 475, after many attacks, the Vandal king GAISERIC conquered Sicily along with SARDINIA and Corsica, but the Vandals had to relinquish the island to the Ostrogoths in 491. In 535–36, during the Gothic war, Belisarios recovered Sicily for Constantinople, and thereafter the island remained under Byz. control, despite a brief invasion by Totila in 550.

Although Justinian I sought to restore traditional forms of Roman law and landownership, there were major changes in Sicily's agrarian system: the letters of Pope Gregory I reveal an "atomization" (the term of Ruggini, *infra*) of property and an increase in the number of small and medium-sized allotments. *Coloni* or *rustici* of ecclesiastical and senatorial estates were predominantly free peasants who paid rent either in kind or in money and were drafted for military service. There was also a change in urban character: the role of the city became primarily administrative and ecclesiastical; cities also served as fortified refuges for the surrounding population.

Sicily probably formed a THEME by the end of the 7th C. The first *strategos* is attested ca.700; the *doukaton* of CALABRIA was a part of the theme (Oikonomides, *Listes* 351). The political significance of Sicily increased esp. between 663 and 668, when the imperial court of Constans II resided in Syracuse. Originally under Roman ecclesiastical jurisdiction, Sicily was severed from it

ca.733 and subordinated to the patriarchate of Constantinople. The hellenization of the island was enhanced by the immigration of Greek refugees from Africa and probably the Balkan peninsula in the 7th–8th C.

Arab raids on Sicily began in 652, when the caliph Muʿāwiya sent a flotilla to attack the island. OLYMPIOS, the exarch of Ravenna, reportedly came to defend Sicily. The Arabs failed to make any permanent conquest and returned home with some booty and captives. The Byz., in their turn, used Sicily as a base for their attacks on North Africa (e.g., an expedition against Carthage in 697). In the 8th C. Muslims attacked Sicily from Africa and from Syria; in the 9th C. a force from Spain joined the effort. In 826 an invasion of Arabs was provoked by the revolt of Euphemios, the Byz. naval commander in Sicily, who offered the Aghlabid ruler of North Africa, Ziyâdat-Allāh (817–38), suzerain rights over Sicily on condition that he himself (Euphemios) be governor of the island with the honorific title of *basileus*. The Arab army met firm resistance at Syracuse but by 829 managed to establish a foothold in Mazara (on the west coast) and Mineo (in the interior). In 831/2 the Arabs seized Palermo, in 858/9 Enna (Castrogiovanni), in 878 Syracuse, and in 902 TAORMINA. The ultimate stronghold, Rametta, fell to Arabs in 965.

The last Byz. attempt to recover Sicily, the expedition of George MANIAKES in 1038–42, was of short duration. In 1060 the Normans began their invasion of the island; they completed their conquest in 1091 with the capture of Noto. The Norman occupation was followed by the transfer of ecclesiastical jurisdiction over Sicily back to Rome and the establishment of the Latin rite; both Greek language and Byz. administrative and cultural tradition survived, however, well through the period of Norman domination. After the Norman dynasty came to an end, Sicily fell under the control of HENRY VI of Germany and eventually of FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN. In the late 13th C. it was under the unpopular rule of CHARLES I OF ANJOU; Michael VIII Palaiologos organized a coalition against Charles, but before the alliance took effect the rebellion of 1282, called the SICILIAN VESPERS, put Charles to flight. Peter of Aragon then assumed control over the island.

LIT. L.C. Ruggini, "La Sicilia fra Roma e Bisanzio," in *Storia della Sicilia*, vol. 3 (Naples 1980) 1–96. A. Guillou, "La Sicilie byzantine—état de recherches," *ByzF* 5 (1977) 95–145. S. Lagona, "La Sicilia tardo-antica e bizantina," *FelRav*[4] 119–120 (1980) 111–30. V. von Falkenhausen, "Chiesa greca e Chiesa latina in Sicilia prima della conquista araba," *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 5 (1978/85) 137–55. Eadem, "Il monachesimo greco in Sicilia," *La Sicilia rupestre* (Galatina 1986) 135–74. A. Ahmad, *A History of Islamic Sicily* (Edinburgh 1975). F. Giunta, *Bizantini e bizantinismo nella Sicilia Normanna* (Palermo 1974). Q. Cataudella, "La cultura bizantina in Sicilia," in *Storia della Sicilia*, vol. 4 (Naples 1980) 1–56. –A.K.

SICKNESS. See DISEASE.

SIDE (Σίδη), city of PAMPHYLIA, a metropolis from the 5th C. Excavation has revealed a detailed picture of urban development. Side occupied a peninsula defended by walls restored in late antiquity. Colonnaded streets led from the main gate to the agora and theater, thence past churches and gymnasia to a large basilica on the harbor; the civic buildings were extensively restored by *comites* and various municipal officials called *pater poleos* in the 4th–6th C. This period saw the construction of a new bath and of a large complex of cathedral, bishop's palace, and associated buildings. Unfortunately, the chronology of most buildings has not been determined. Side also had a synagogue that served its Jewish community. Circa 390 AMPHILOCHIOS OF IKONION convoked a large council in Side to condemn Messalianism. Photios (*Bibl.*, cod.52) read its minutes, which are now lost. G. Ficker (*Amphilochiana* 1 [Leipzig 1906] 259f) suggested that the council had convened in the 5th C. and was presided over by Amphilochios of Side, a correspondent of Cyril of Alexandria, but his conjecture was rejected (Bardenhewer, *Literatur* 3:221, n.4). Side flourished through the 6th C. but contracted thereafter, when a new fortification wall included only half the urban area. The Byz. churches of Side, which include some of the first examples of the inscribed-cross plan, are tiny compared with earlier churches: one of them was built within the nave of the ruined harbor basilica. Sources of the 11th C. describe Side as abandoned.

LIT. A.M. Mansel, *Side* (Ankara 1978). Idem, *Die Ruinen von Side* (Berlin 1963). C. Foss, "Bryonianus Lollianus of Side," *ZPapEpig* 26 (1977) 161–71. Idem, "Attius Philippus and the Walls of Side," *ibid.*, 172–80. –C.F.

SIDON (Σιδών, Ar. Ṣaydā in Lebanon), ancient Phoenician city, noted during the Roman period for its GLASS industry (R. Dussaud, *Syria* 1 [1920]

230–34) and factories for PURPLE dyeing. ACHILLES TATIUS describes its inner harbor, where ships could safely winter; the port of Sidon was apparently restored in the 5th–6th C. Roman *itineraria* define Sidon as a station on the route from Antioch to Ptolemais. The law school of BERYTUS reportedly moved there temporarily after the earthquake of 550/1. Bishops of Sidon are known from 325. In 512 Sidon housed a local synod in which the Monophysites had a majority despite the resistance of Flavian II, patriarch of Antioch (T. Nöldeke, *BZ* 1 [1892] 333f). The *martyrion* of St. PHOKAS at Sidon had an accommodation for pilgrims (Gerontius, *Life of Melania the Younger*, ch.58, 242.13]). In 637/8 the city fell to the Arabs without a struggle. Baldwin I of Jerusalem captured it in Dec. 1110 with the help of a Norse fleet; thereafter the Crusaders retained Sidon until Saladin took it on 30 July 1187.

LIT. F.C. Eiselen, *Sidon* (New York 1907) 82–109. Stein, *Histoire* 2:172, 758. A. Poidebard, J. Lauffray, *Sidon: Aménagements antiques du port de Saida* (Beirut 1951). J.L. LaMonte, "The Lords of Sidon in the XIIth & XIIIth c.," *Byzantion* 17 (1944/5) 183–211. –M.M.M.

SIDONIUS, more fully Gaius Apollinaris Sidonius, Latin writer, government official, bishop, and saint; born Lyons ca.431, died ca.490; feastday 23 Aug. A scion of wealthy Gallic aristocrats, Sidonius received a classical and Christian education in his native city and at Arles. In 451 he married Papianilla, whose father EPARCHIUS AVITUS became Western emperor in 455, celebrated the next year by Sidonius in a verse panegyric. After Avitus's fall, Sidonius ingratiated himself with the new ruler MAJORIAN, duly celebrating him in verse in 458; he subsequently received offices and a statue was erected in his honor. After Majorian's fall (461), Sidonius retired to the leisure of his Gallic estates until summoned in 467 on an embassy to Rome before the new emperor ANTHEMIOS, to whom he addressed a verse panegyric and who rewarded Sidonius with the prefecture of Rome (468–69). Abandoning this as uncongenial, Sidonius returned to Gaul where ca.470 he was appointed to the see of Clermont-Ferrand. He survived the invasions of the VISIGOTHS, a panegyric to whose king produced his release from imprisonment in 476.

His extant works comprise 24 poems (eight panegyrics, the rest short occasional pieces) and about 150 letters in nine books. A translation of the Life of APOLLONIOS OF TYANA is lost. Sidonius can tell a good story well, but his style is less attractive than his content. Though often contemptuous of the barbarians, he provides valuable vignettes of them; while sometimes complacent in the face of impending catastrophe, he was not blinded by classical nostalgia to the contemporary realities and strove to preserve the position of his class and himself by paternalism and compromise.

ED. *Oeuvres*, ed. A. Loyen, 3 vols. (Paris 1960–70), with Fr. tr. *Poems and Letters*, ed. W.B. Anderson, 2 vols. (London–Cambridge, Mass., 1935–65), with Eng. tr.

LIT. C.E. Stevens, *Sidonius Apollinaris and His Age* (Oxford 1933). N.K. Chadwick, *Poetry and Letters in Early Christian Gaul* (Cambridge 1955) 296–327. R. van Dam, *Leadership and Community in Late Antique Gaul* (Berkeley 1985) 157–78. –B.B.

SIEGE. See ARTILLERY AND SIEGE MACHINERY; DE OBSIDIONE TOLERANDA.

SIGE (probably Byz. Συκίδες or Συκή), site in BITHYNIA on the Sea of Marmara west of Mudanya, noted for its church of the Taxiarchs, a cross-domed basilica with narthex, exonarthex, and a complex of late additions. The church preserves some of its sculptural decoration and frescoes. A 19th-C. inscription dates it to 780, a chronology that suits its architectural style. As one of a group of cross-domed basilicas, it is important in establishing the development of Byz. architecture in the 7th–8th C. Constantine XI restored it in 1448. Janin (*infra*) suggests that the church at Sige should be identified with the Church of St. Michael at the MEDIKION monastery, but the latter seems rather to have been located just south of Trigleia.

LIT. H. Buchwald, *The Church of the Archangels in Sige near Mudania* (Vienna 1969). Janin, *Eglises centres* 165, 183f. –C.F.

SIGILLION (*σιγίλλιον*), generic term designating a document bearing a SEAL (but not necessarily any document with a seal) and used by several CHANCERIES. Imperial *sigillia* (already in 883; few preserved from the 11th C.) displayed in red ink the word *sigillion* and the emperor's autograph MENOLOGEM, but not necessarily his gold seal (this would be a *chrysoboullon sigillion*—see CHRYSOBULL). In the patriarchal chancery, the term *sigillion* (or *sigilliodes gramma*) was used officially first by the mid-13th C. and gradually replaced the

term HYPOMNEMA in designating the most solemn document emanating from the patriarch (with his full signature) in order to set in stone an ecclesiastical law or rule (often voted by the synod) or a privilege granted to a bishopric or a monastery. The *sigillion* (or *sigilliodes gramma*) of public officials, including judges (for whom the *hypomnema* was substantiated legal opinion) and tax collectors, was a solemn document confirmed with their lead seal.

LIT. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 112f. Svoronos, "Actes des fonctionnaires" 426f. —N.O.

SIGILLOGRAPHY. Byz. SEALS, like COINS, form an unbroken historical record. Because of the scarcity of Byz. charters, on the one hand, and, on the other, the large number of extant seals, sigillography has long been recognized as an important AUXILIARY DISCIPLINE, its place firmly established by G. Schlumberger with the publication of his monumental *Sigillographie de l'Empire byzantin* (Paris 1884). At least 40,000 seals are extant; almost all of these are lead, only some 30 being gold.

Prosopography and Ethnography. Seals have proven invaluable in revealing the existence of people or persons who are not known (or at best poorly known) from written sources. For example, a group of seals has established the presence of a Slavic tribe, the Bichetai, living in the 9th C. within the boundaries of the empire, seemingly in the theme of Hellas (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1877). Seals are a major source for compiling and filling out lists of the names of officials, both lay and ecclesiastical, who occupied such varied offices as *strategoi* of the themes, judges of the Hippodrome, directors of silk factories, and *hegoumenoi* of monasteries. Thus, the seal of a certain Epiphanios, *hegoumenos* of the monastery of Patmos, identifies a superior (ca.1130–60) whose name is not otherwise attested (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1279). Seals either supplement information about members of Byz. families or, not uncommonly, are the sole witness of their existence. For example, the Palaiologoi are among the most famous families of Byz., yet several early members are known only from seals, such as the *kouropalates* Theodore Palaiologos and the *nobelissimos* Alexander Palaiologos (Cheynet-Vannier, *Etudes*, pp. 136f, nos. 3, 5).

Administrative Studies. Since provincial affairs are, on the whole, poorly documented in Byz. historical writings, seals of provincial officials can offer unique information. Zacos and Veglery (Zacos, *Seals* 1.1:211–363) have published some 200 seals issued by KOMMERKIARIOI, or impost collectors, a series dating from the later 6th C. to the mid-9th C. Inscribed with the place names where imperial warehouses functioned, these bullae provide invaluable data about trade routes within the empire. A 7th-C. seal with the legend *Tes phabrikos Seleukeias* testifies to the existence of an arms factory in Seleukeia (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1136). Seals deriving from periods of expansion and consolidation reflect successful campaigns along the borders and the installation of Byz. officials in newly acquired territories. In the wake of expansion along the southeastern frontiers, new THEMES emerged in the 10th C., a development attested by such seals as the bulla of David (?), *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Aetos (a region near Edessa; cf. Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.349). The gradual expansion of Byz. along its eastern frontiers in the 10th–11th C. is traceable through seals such as the later 10th-C. bulla of Gregoras, *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Leontokome (Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.157), and the mid-11th-C. bulla of Stephen, *katepano* of Vaspurakan (Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.1046). Often seals reveal or confirm documentary evidence about the earlier history of the administration of a region and its elevation from an *archontia* to a theme; the seal of Bardas, *archon* of the Strymon (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2, no.1753), for example, suggests such a development within the theme of the same name. Seals have also proven useful for uncovering administrative groupings. Thus four seals, presently at Dumbarton Oaks and identifying their respective owners as "judge of Chaldia and Derzene," show that, as occasion warranted in the later 10th–11th C., the administration of justice in these two themes was combined.

Foreign Relations. Bullae also complement written sources regarding relationships between the empire and foreign peoples, as in the case of the seal of the Bulgarian khan Tervel. On this bulla (Oikonomides, *Seals* 24), Tervel, who, as ally of Justinian II, received the title of caesar in 705, is represented as a Byz. emperor, wearing a crown, cuirassed, and carrying a shield with a depiction of a victorious horseman. N. Oikonomides (*RN*[6] 25 [1983] 191–93) has published a 12th-C. seal

struck in the name of the Danişmendid ruler Yaghibasan (1142–64); it carries on the obverse a bust of Christ Emmanuel and on the reverse a legend reading in Greek, "Slave of the Emperor, the emir Yaghibasan." The seal vividly confirms the testimony of historical sources that by 1146 Yaghibasan had become an ally of Manuel I.

Religious Life. Seals have brought to light a number of diaconates or CONFRATERNITIES (charitable organizations attached to a particular church or monastery), such as the 12th-C. "diaconate of the monastery of Theodore" (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1218) and the 8th-C. "diaconate of the Theotokos" (ibid., nos. 1219–20). Since seals often carry on the obverse a depiction of the Virgin, Christ, or a saint, they are useful for gauging the popularity of saints in a given period or even attesting the existence of certain cults, as in the case of the 7th-C. seal of the "diaconate of St. Koronatos" (ibid., no.1214), affirming devotion to a saint whose cult is little known.

Art Historical Studies. Since seals form a continuous historical record, they offer insights into the changes and development of artistic style and iconography. For example, the bullae of the patriarchs of Constantinople provide information on the development of throne types, since either Christ or the Virgin is often depicted seated. With regard to ICONOCLASM, a few seals dated to the period of the Iconophile reaction supply an exceptional glimpse of style and iconography in the years 787–815 (Zacos, *Seals* 1.2:810–24). In addition, seals can be profitably consulted regarding early or rare instances of the depiction of a saint, as in the instance of a later 9th–10th-C. seal of the Fogg Art Museum (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.53), which is decorated on the reverse with a bust of St. Himerios, perhaps the sole extant depiction of this 7th-C. martyr.

Poetical Studies. Beginning in the 10th C. it became popular for legends on seals to be inscribed in meter. At first, inscriptions were couched in dodecasyllabic verse, but later 15-syllable or POLITICAL VERSE was used. Such seals provide a source for research on poetic tastes and style.

Difficulties of Dating and Identification. For the dating of seals the sigillographer relies on letter forms, the manner and style in which a seal is decorated, and internal evidence. It is really only on the basis of the latter that a seal can be closely dated, as in the case of the seal of Michael Stryphnos, "grand *doux* and husband of Theodora, sister of the empress" (1195–1203; Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no.126). Although the family name does not appear, the attribution to this personage, well known from historical sources, is assured both by the information given in the legend and the decoration of the obverse with a depiction of St. Hyakinthos of Amastris; this saint, rarely shown on seals, is found on bullae with Michael's name inscribed in full. It is the exception, rather than the rule, however, that a seal can be securely ascribed to persons known through texts, since often no family name appears, and at the same time the Christian name is a common one, such as John or Constantine, and the person's title is also relatively common. In these cases the sigillographer must rely on the subjective criteria of style and the epigraphic characteristics of letter form; on this basis a seal cannot be dated more closely than to a century or, at best, within fifty years.

Collections. The largest collection of Byz. lead seals, consisting of some 17,000 examples, is preserved at Dumbarton Oaks. The next largest is the some 12,000–13,000 lead bullae at the Hermitage in Leningrad. The number of seals in the collection of the National Numismatic Museum at Athens is unknown, but the holdings of this museum are quite extensive (some 2,500 lead sealings were published from this collection by K.M. Konstantopoulos, *Byzantiaka molybdoboulla tou en Athenais Ethnikou Nomismatikou Mouseiou* [Athens 1917]). Smaller collections, numbering fewer than 3,000 sealings, are to be found in the national museums of Vienna, Istanbul, Paris, and Sofia (concerning the last, see N.A. Mušmov in *IzvBŭlgArchInst* 8 [1934] 331–49). No list of collections is complete without mention of the private collection of approximately 6,000 sealings assembled by G. Zacos (the majority published under the title *Byzantine Lead Seals*, 2 vols. in 4 pts. [Basel-Bern 1972–84]).

LIT. N. Oikonomides, *Byzantine Lead Seals* (Washington, D.C., 1985). V. Laurent, *La Collection C. Orghidan* (Paris 1952). Idem, *Les sceaux byzantins du Médailler Vatican* (Vatican 1962). Idem, *Le corpus des sceaux de l'Empire byzantin*, 2 vols. in 5 pts. (Paris 1963–81). W. Seibt, *Die byzantinischen Bleisiegel in Österreich*, pt. 1, *Kaiserhof* (Vienna 1978). V. Šandrovskaja, *Sfragistika*, in *Iskusstvo Vizantii v sobranijach SSSR. Katalog vystavki* (Moscow 1977) vol. 1, nos. 205–58; vol. 2, nos. 447–57, 678–865; vol. 3, nos. 1020–1044.

–J.W.N.

SILENTIARIOS (σιλεντιάριος), a court attendant whose first duty was to secure order and silence in the palace. The *silentiarioi* belonged to the staff of the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI and stood under the jurisdiction of the MAGISTER OFFICIORUM. *Silentiarioi* are first mentioned in an edict of 326 (Guilland) or 328 (Seeck). By 437 the *schola* of *silentiarioi* in Constantinople consisted of 30 members under the command of three *decuriones*. Their functions were informal: they served as the emperor's marshals, calling the meeting of the CONSISTORIUM (*silentium nuntiare*), and also guarded the emperor during military expeditions. Low-ranking servants at the time of Constantine I, the *silentiarioi* became SPECTABILES in the 5th C. and their *decuriones* were ILLUSTRES in the 6th C. In the late 5th C. a *decurion* of the *silentiarioi*, Anastasios (I), was proclaimed emperor. After the 6th C. their role decreased and became ceremonial. In TAKTIKA and on seals the term is used as a title, not an office. Oikonomides (*Listes* 296) thinks that the last datable mention of *silentiarios* comes from the reign of Nikephoros II Phokas, but Guilland concludes that *silentiarioi* still existed in the 11th–12th C.

LIT. O. Seeck, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 57f. Guilland, *Titres*, pt. XVII (1967), 33–46. Bury, *Adm. System* 24f. –A.K.

SILENTIUM (σιλέντιον, lit. "silence"), the joint meeting of the SENATE and CONSISTORIUM. Justinian I (nov.62.1.2, from 534 or 537) considered the *silentium* as the supreme judicial tribunal. The *silentium* discussed cases of treason and crime against the emperor, as well as major ecclesiastical issues. The *silentium* also functioned as a supreme ceremonial gathering to praise the emperor or to receive foreign ambassadors. After the disappearance of the *consistorium* the term *silentium* continued to refer to solemn gatherings. The biographer of STEPHEN THE YOUNGER relates that Constantine V convened a *silentium* in the HIPPODROME in order to punish the Iconophiles; for this he summoned "young and old, men and women" (PG 100:1136D–1137A). A 10th-C. historian (Genes. 36.83) still used the term to designate a convention of senators in the MAGNAURA, whereas later authors referred to speeches of the emperor as *silentia* (e.g., Nik.Chon. 210.74).

LIT. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Silention," *BZ* 44 (1951) 79–85. –A.K.

SILK (μέταξα, σηρικόν), yarns and textiles made with filaments of the cocoons of several species of moth (esp. the *Bombyx mori*, which feeds on white mulberry leaves and was cultivated in ancient China). Silk cloths from the Far East reached the Mediterranean already in Roman times, and raw silk and silk yarns imported from China, Central Asia, and India via the SILK ROUTES formed the basis for the production of late Roman silks. In 553/4, under Justinian I, actual silk moth eggs were reportedly smuggled into the empire by some monks who had learned the secrets of sericulture (Prokopios, *Wars* 8.17.1–8); the silk industry thus established eventually came to constitute a major element of the Byz. economy. Silk moths were cultivated first in Syria, then in Asia Minor, southern Greece, and southern Italy; weaving establishments are attested in Phoenicia by the 7th C., and there is archaeological evidence for the existence of silk weaving in Egypt (M. Martiniani-Reber, *Lyon, Musée historique des tissus: Soieries sassanides, coptes et byzantines Ve–XIe siècles* [Paris 1986] 61–97). Additional supplies of raw silk and silk textiles were imported from these countries after they came under Muslim domination.

The center of the Byz. silk industry from the 7th C. onward was Constantinople, though after the 10th C. silk weaving is known to have been practiced in Thebes, Corinth, Athens, and Thessalonike as well. The silks were made either in imperial FACTORIES (located both within and near the Great Palace) or in numerous private workshops. The industry was very specialized and, in Constantinople at least, the private production of silk was divided among several different professions, whose members were organized into guilds. Some of these professions are named in the *Book of the Eparch*: the PRANDIOPRATES or silk importer, the SILK MERCHANT for the raw silk, the KATARTARIOS, or raw silk dresser, the SERIKARIOS, or silk weaver, and the VESTIOPRATES, or silk clothier.

Silks were widely used in Byz. for court and ecclesiastical vestments, and for domestic and church furnishings, such as altar cloths, curtains, and couch covers. Silk yarns were used for a variety of fabrics, including tapestry-woven hangings (see TEXTILES) and EMBROIDERY. Wearing of the finest grades of silks, esp. the purple-dyed ones (see BLATTION), was limited to the imperial family and entourage, at least through the 9th C.



SILK. Silk tapestry depicting an imperial triumph; 10th or 11th C. Cathedral Treasury, Bamberg. The mounted emperor, possibly Basil II, is greeted by two city personifications (Tyches).

Silk was always considered a luxury product; valued on a par with gold and other precious materials (even sold by weight and bought on speculation), its manufacture and trade was controlled, and its quality guaranteed, by the state. Foreign trading of Byz. silks was restricted. Only small quantities were exported to Muslim countries (S.D. Goitein, *A Mediterranean Society*, vol. 1 [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1967] 46, 103; vol. 4 [1983] 299–301), and the Venetian, Amalfitan, and other privileged Italian merchants were permitted to sell only lesser quality Byz. silks in Pavia.

Silks from the state workshops in Constantinople were thus greatly coveted both at home and abroad; they were an essential part of official court COSTUME and could also be awarded to loyal followers. As imperial gifts, they were an important element of Byz. foreign policy: since neither western Europe nor the Slavs produced any silk of their own, they turned to Byz. for silks, which they could acquire only in the form of official gifts or tribute (100 SKARAMANGIA, for example, were sent annually to Symeon of Bulgaria by Leo VI and Romanos I Lekapenos).

The few extant Byz. silks are found mainly in the church treasuries of western Europe, where they were often used to wrap holy relics; most date from the 10th and 11th C., though pre-Iconoclastic silks have also survived. Most likely made in imperial factories and given by the emperor (the names of emperors were woven on several of them), these fabrics amply justify the prestige of Byz. silks attested in the sources. Superb examples of twill weave (a patterned drawloom technique particularly suitable for silk yarn), the silks are characterized by bright colors and bold animal designs (esp. lions, griffins, and elephants in roundels, and eagles); comparable designs are mentioned in Byz. sources. They required great technical dexterity, esp. to achieve the repeats and the complicated outlines. Silks featuring hunting scenes and images of emperors are also known (e.g., the Bamberg tapestry, and the portrait of John I Tzimiskes on a silk listed in the inventory of the VELJUSA MONASTERY, ed. Petit, 123.17). One of the very rare silks woven with a biblical theme (the pair of Annunciation and Nativity panels in the Museo Sacro of the Vatican) has been variously dated (6th and early 9th C.).

LIT. O. von Falke, *Kunstgeschichte der Seidenwerberei* (Berlin 1913) vol. 2:1–24. A. Muthesius, "A Practical Approach to the History of Byzantine Silk Weaving," *JÖB* 34 (1984) 235–54. R.S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 1–42. N. Oikonomides, "Silk Trade and Production in Byzantium from the Sixth to the Ninth Century: The Seals of Kommerkiarioi," *DOP* 40 (1986) 33–53. H. Schmidt, *Alte Seidenstoffe* (Braunschweig 1958) 64–87. –A.G., N.P.Š.

SILK MERCHANT. In Justinian I's legislation (*Cod.Just.* VIII 13[14].27) the Latin term for silk merchant is *metaxarius*; in the 10th C. their guild was called that of the *metaxopratai*. The *Book of the Eparch* (ch.6.14) defines their function as purchasing and selling raw SILK (*metaxa*); they were prohibited from engaging in silk processing or production. *Metaxopratai* bought raw silk from traders coming "from outside" (from the provinces or a foreign country?) and sold it publicly ("in the forum," not in their private houses) to buyers who were primarily the KATARTARIOI or processors of raw silk. The sale of *metaxa* to Jews or to merchants who would export it from Constantinople was forbidden.

In the chapter on *katartarioi* (ch.7.2) the term *metaxarios* also appears—the reference is to *metaxarioi* who are not on the official register. It is unclear whether they are identical with the *meta-*

xopratai or form a group of lower-ranking merchants (i.e., silk traders who do not belong to the guild). Another unclear term is the "so-called *melathrarioi*" (ch.6.15) who are forbidden to sell "the cleaned raw silk"; it is uncertain whether they are forbidden to deal at all in raw silk, and thus *melathrarioi* (or *lathrarioi*, as Sjuzjumov suggested) are unauthorized dealers, or whether they are traders in uncleaned raw silk.

Another problem is the relationship between the dealers in raw silk, the *metaxopratai*, and the silk processors (*katartarioi*). Discussion has questioned whether the *metaxopratai* formed a guild of manufacturer-managers who controlled silk processing or whether they were simply a wealthier guild, and therefore *katartarioi* were anxious to join it.

To be distinguished from the *metaxoprates* is the *serikoprates*, a type of silk merchant mentioned in the *Book of the Eparch* (4.2 and 7). The *serikoprates* evidently dealt in silk textiles rather than raw silk, since the regulations attest that the VESTIOPRATAI bought cloth from either *archontes* or *serikopratai* and forbade one person to combine the job of a *vestioprates* and a *serikoprates*. Both Stöckle (*Zünfte* 31) and Sjuzjumov (*Bk. of Eparch* 150) consider the *serikoprates* identical with the SERIKARIOS, an artisan involved in various aspects of silk production, esp. dyeing, and the sale of textiles.

Two 8th-C. seals of a certain Anastasios have been published (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 656–57): on one he is termed *hypatos* (Zacos [*Seals* 1, no.3076] considers the reading of the word questionable) and *serikoprates*; on the other *holoserikoprates*. The seals add to the confusion rather than solve it—it remains unclear whether this Anastasios was a state functionary (if the *hypatos* is a correct reconstruction) or only a private merchant, and whether he traded in all sorts of silk fabric or only in specific varieties of this textile.

LIT. Sjuzjumov, *Bk. of Eparch* 161–74. D. Simon, "Die byzantinischen Seidenzünfte," *BZ* 68 (1975) 23f, 35–42. G. Mickwitz, "Die Organisationsformen zweier byzantinischer Gewerbe im X. Jahrhundert," *BZ* 36 (1936) 70–76.

–A.K.

SILK ROUTE, the routes through which SPICES and SILK (whose production was a Chinese monopoly until the reign of Justinian I) reached the ports of the MEDITERRANEAN. In the 6th C., KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES mentions the existence of two routes, one by sea from China to Ceylon and the other through the steppes of Central Asia to the Persian frontier. The sea route continued through the Red Sea to Ethiopia and eventually to Egypt or Syria.

The land route from China went along the north edge of the Lob Nor desert, or north of the Turfan oasis, and reached the Persian border. By treaties, Nisibis and Dara were important trade posts where the Byz. bought silk from the Persian middlemen. The undesirable dependence on the Persians forced the Byz., at the time of Justinian I, to develop domestic production and to seek to open the northern routes, from the Black Sea to the Caspian and then along a line parallel to the central land route. This, however, was a very difficult route until the 13th C., when the Mongols brought all these areas under their control and made it possible for merchandise to travel safely along it. Chinese silk was first mentioned in Genoa in 1257–59 and must have come from the northern route. PEGOLOTTI mentions the northern route as the safest; it took between 259 and 284 days to travel from the Crimea to Peking. The central and southern routes regained their importance after the mid-14th C.

LIT. N. Pigulewskaja, *Byzanz auf den Wegen nach Indien* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1969). R.S. Lopez, "Silk Industry in the Byzantine Empire," *Speculum* 20 (1945) 1–42. R.S. Lopez, "China Silk in Europe in the Yuan Period," *JAOS* 72 (1952) 72–76. H.W. Haussig, *Die Geschichte Zentralasiens und der Seidenstrasse in vorislamischer Zeit* (Darmstadt 1983).

–A.L.

SILK WEAVER. See SERIKARIOS.

SILVAN. See MARTYROPOLIS.

SILVER (ἄργυρος, also ἄσημον, ἀσήμιν [e.g., *Lavra* 3, no.147.2, a.1375]) was the second most precious metal in Byz. The official ratio of GOLD to silver in the late Roman Empire was 1:18 (according to *Cod.Theod.* VIII 4.27, 4 solidi were equivalent to 1 libra of silver), and ca.1300 it was 1:14 (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 125). The proportion of silver obtained from MINES and from recycling is uncertain. In the 6th C. no silver coins were struck for commercial purposes and only occasional ceremonial COINS were issued in silver. In the 7th C. the silver HEXAGRAM was introduced by Herakleios and later on MILIARESIA were minted, but these played a smaller role than their coun-

terparts in gold and copper. In 13th-C. Trebizond the silver *aspron* became a common coin, probably due to the area's proximity to Caucasian sources of silver ore.

From the 4th to the 7th C. silver was widely used for furniture REVETMENTS. In addition, about 1,500 examples of domestic PLATE and LITURGICAL VESSELS survive from the period as single objects or TREASURES. Nearly all the approximately 300 objects that have been analyzed are of 92–98 percent pure silver. About 200 objects have SILVER STAMPS. Many plates, PATENS, and SPOONS surpass those of the 3rd C. or earlier in size and weight. Most objects of the 4th–7th C. were shaped by hammering (and occasionally cut into openwork) rather than cast, except for attachments such as handles, which were made separately and soldered into place. Decorative techniques included raised (by repoussé [*anaglyphon*] or chasing and carving) and incised work as well as the inlay of engraved areas with niello (*enkausis*). Further embellishment was provided by partial gilding (*diachryson*).

It is known from written texts that silver enjoyed many of the same uses after the 7th C., but few examples survive. Silver was employed for the decoration of church pavements and liturgical vessels (of the types in use already in the 4th–7th C.) as well as ICON FRAMES (*Xénoph.*, no.1.81–85). Although some domestic plate of silver survives from after the 7th C. and is also cited in texts, little personal jewelry was ever made of silver, except for certain AMULETS.

Almost no scientific work has been carried out on silver made after the 7th C. Except for the introduction of filigree work (and the cloisonné technique in the Palaiologan period), most of the metalworking techniques from the earlier period (4th–7th C.) continued in use. But the effect achieved was often very different after the 7th C.: silver objects might be completely gilded in imitation of gold, particularly those set with gold enamel plaques and gems, and liberal use was made of ornamental scrollwork.

LIT. C.E. Snow, T.D. Weisser in Mango, *Silver* 38–65. M. Frazer, "Byzantine Enamels and Goldsmith's Work," in *Treasury S. Marco* 109–78. Grierson, *DOC* 2.1 (1968) 17–21. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 125f, 175–79. Kent-Painter, *Wealth.* V.N. Zalesskaja, "Vizantijskaja torevtika," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 124–33.

–M.M.M., L.Ph.B., A.C.

SILVERSMITH. See JEWELER.

SILVER STAMPS, state control marks impressed on some silver objects between the 4th and 8th (?) C. In the early 4th C. such stamps, giving the place of manufacture (e.g., Nikomedeia, Antioch), were applied to some LARGITIO DISHES manufactured by the state for distribution by the emperor (see MUNICH TREASURE); the earliest surviving examples were made for Licinius at Naissos in 317. Contemporary with these stamps are those of various types impressed on INGOTS, bearing the names of places and officials. From 350 onward, gold and silver ingot stamps could include an imperial bust, and two of this latter type (dated 393–95 and ca.425) are composed of four different stamps, one of which features a TYCHE. Such stamps also appear on silver objects: *tyche* stamps are attributed to the 4th–5th C. and sets of multiple stamps with imperial busts were introduced under Anastasios I.

As introduced, these multiple control marks included five stamps of different shapes containing combinations of imperial busts, imperial monograms, monograms of the COMES SACRARUM LARGITIONUM, and names of minor officials. By the 7th C., the name of the EPARCH OF THE CITY or some other official apparently replaced that of the *comes*. The multiple stamps continued to be used into the reign of Constans II. Although Constantinople is not named in the multiple stamps, it is supposed that they were all applied there, although similar stamps (dated 602–10) bear the name of ANTIOCH (Theoupolis). Contemporary with the *pentasphragiston* (five-stamp) series of control marks is another, likewise giving the emperor's name, which is composed of two stamps, the earliest dated example of which was applied in 541 at Carthage; the other stamps of this type do not name a city.

There are at least seven other types of silver stamps published that are apparently Byz. but belong to none of the above groups; at least one Merovingian imitation of the five-stamp type is known. While it has been assumed that the stamps guaranteed metallic purity, compositional analysis of a wide range of silver objects of the 4th–7th C. has established that stamped and unstamped SILVER objects were of comparable metallic refinement.

LIT. E.C. Dodd, *Byzantine Silver Stamps* (Washington, D.C., 1961). Baratte, "Ateliers," 193–212. D. Feissel, "Le préfet de Constantinople, les poids-étalons et l'estampillage de l'argenterie au VIe et au VIIe siècle," *RN*[6] 28 (1986) 119–

42. R. Delmaire, "Les largesses impériales et l'émission d'argenterie du IVe au VIe siècle," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 113–22. –M.M.M.

SILVESTER I, pope (from 31 Jan. 314); died Rome 30 Jan. 335. He played a more significant role in legend than in reality. In the 5th C. the legend spread in both Syria and Rome that CONSTANTINE I was baptized not by Eusebios in Nikomedeia but by Silvester in Rome; Malalas was familiar with this legend in the 6th C. The date when the legend reached Constantinople is debatable: C. Mango and I. Ševčenko (*DOP* 15 [1961] 245 and n.14) hypothesize that Silvester's baptism of Constantine was represented in the 6th-C. Church of St. POLYEUKTOS; the first undisputed mention of it is in the epistle sent by Pope HADRIAN I to Emp. Constantine VI in the late 8th C. It is not known when the Latin *Acts* of Silvester, describing his miracles and the baptism of Constantine, were translated into Greek: while in the early 9th C. Theophanes the Confessor only mentions the baptism, in the mid-9th C. George Hamartolos used the *Acts* abundantly. The legend also connected the DONATION OF CONSTANTINE with Silvester. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner (*JÖB* 32.5 [1982] 453–58) notes that Vat. gr. 752 (dated in 1059) included a representation of Silvester, and she suggests that this scene reflected the conflict between Emp. Isaac I and Patr. Michael I Keroularios.

SOURCE. *Illustrium Christi martyrum lecti triumphi,* ed. F. Combefis (Paris 1660) 258–336.

LIT. W. Levison, "Konstantinische Schenkung und Silvester-Legende," *ST* 38 (1924) 159–247. M. van Esbroeck, "Legends about Constantine in Armenian," *Classical Armenian Culture* (Chico, Calif., 1982) 79–101. E. Ewig, "Das Bild Konstantins des Grossen in den ersten Jahrhunderten des abendländischen Mittelalters," *Spätantikes und fränkisches Gallien* (Munich 1976) 1:72–113. –A.K.

SIMEON. See SYMEON; for St. Simeon of Serbia, see STEFAN NEMANJA.

SIMILE (παραβολή), a RHETORICAL FIGURE by which an object or action is explicitly compared with another object, etc., often by use of "like" (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:371.7–9). Since antiquity Homer was considered as a master of the simile. Eustathios of Thessalonike, who deals much with Homeric similes, indicates that they had three goals (3:249.12–13): amplification (*auxesis*), [emotional] effectiveness (*energeia*), and clarity (*sapheneia*). As similes the Byz. widely used images borrowed from ancient writers, such as "cave" (W. Blum, *VigChr* 28 [1974] 43–49), "sea" (T. Miller in *Antičnost' i sovremennost'* [Moscow 1972] 360–69), "harbor," "banquet" (P. Alexander, *VigChr* 30 [1976] 55–62), and so forth. A direct comparison with biblical personages and figures of mythology and ancient history was common. Starting with St. Paul, early Christian and patristic texts used athletic metaphors (athlete of Christ, training, etc.) borrowed from pagan popular philosophical diatribe (R. Merkelbach, *ZPapEpig* 18 [1975] 101–48).

The attitudes of authors toward the use of similes and METAPHORS were personal: some authors, such as JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS, resorted to similes reluctantly, others, for example, his contemporary Nikephoros GREGORAS, readily employed them, developing the image into a complete episode. One can speculate that the surrounding milieu influenced the choice of simile: SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN preferred metaphors and similes reflecting court life and commerce, whereas another mystical theologian, ELIAS EKDIKOS, favored military and agricultural similes (A. Kazhdan in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserem Gott überantworten* [Göttingen 1982] 221–39). Different authors might emphasize different aspects of the simile: thus in PSELLOS or Gregoras similes of the sea bear a predominantly optimistic message, salvation from the storm, whereas in Niketas CHONIATES the emphasis lies on shipwreck (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 263–78).

LIT. M. McCall, *Ancient Rhetorical Theories of Simile and Comparison* (Cambridge, Mass., 1969). J. Sawhill, *The Use of Athletic Metaphors in the Biblical Homilies of St. John Chrysostom* (Princeton 1928). H. Degen, *Die Tropen der Vergleichung bei Johannes Chrysostomus* (Olten 1921). –A.K.

SIMOKATTES, THEOPHYLAKTOS, civil servant and writer; born Egypt late 6th C. Simokattes (Σιμοκάτ⟨τ⟩ης) is called *antigrapheus* and *apo eparchon* and may be the judge attested in an inscription from Aphrodisias ca.641 (Grégoire, *Inscriptions,* no.247); he may earlier have served Probus, bishop of Chalcedon. His major work is a history in eight books of the reign of MAURICE, whom he also eulogized in a speech at the commemorative funeral organized ca.610 at Constantinople by

Herakleios. Written in continuation of MENANDER PROTECTOR, his work, though bombastic, chronologically unsound, and neglectful of Western events, is honestly presented and provides an important contemporary account of the period. Letters and documents are cited, while the presentation of Maurice ranges beyond military matters to detailed accounts of imperial ceremonial at Constantinople. Simokattes' geographical horizons extend through the Turkic peoples to CHINA (P.A. Boodberg, *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* 3 [1938] 223–53). His prefatory dialogue between the personified History and Philosophy elaborates the traditional PROOIMION separating history from other genres (T. Nissen, *BNJbb* 15 [1939] 3–13). Simokattes is more overtly Christian than his predecessors, with correspondingly more overt attention to miraculous happenings; he serves as an important halfway house between the so-called Profanhistoriker and THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR. He also composed a dialogue dealing with natural sciences, a work on predestination once wrongly ascribed to PSELLOS, and 85 letters on erotic and other traditional sophistic themes that suggest, as does his *History*, that he was a trained rhetorician.

ED. *Historiae*, ed. C. de Boor, revised P. Wirth (Stuttgart 1972). *The History of Theophylact Simocatta*, Eng. tr. L.M. & M. Whitby (Oxford 1986). *Questioni naturali*², ed. L. Massa Positano (Naples 1965). *On Predestined Terms of Life*, ed. C. Garton, L.G. Westerink (Buffalo, N.Y., 1978), with Eng. tr. *Epistulae*, ed. I. Zanetto (Leipzig 1985).

LIT. O. Veh, *Untersuchungen zu dem byzantinischen Historiker Theophylaktos Simokattes* (Fürth 1957). A. Moffatt, "The After-Life of the Letters of Theophylaktos Simokatta," in *Maistor* 345–58. T. Olajos, *Les sources de Théophylacte Simocatta historien* (Leiden 1988). M. Whitby, *The Emperor Maurice and his Historian* (Oxford 1988). J.D.C. Frendo, "History and Panegyric in the Age of Heraclius: The Literary Background to the Composition of the *Histories* of Theophylact Simocatta," *DOP* 42 (1988) 143–56. –B.B.

SIMONIS (Σιμωνίς), daughter of ANDRONIKOS II and IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT; wife of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN; born Constantinople 1294, died Constantinople after 1336. The marriage of five-year-old Simonis resulted from a difficult political situation for the Byz. on their frontier with Serbia: the Byz. army had been defeated by the Serbs and Andronikos wanted to negotiate a peace treaty. He suggested a marriage alliance to Milutin, who gladly accepted even though it meant repudiating his wife Anna, the daughter of the Bulgarian tsar George Terter. Andronikos had originally planned to betroth to Milutin his sister Eudokia, widow of John II Komnenos of Trebizond; when she refused, Simonis remained the only possibility. Andronikos and Irene-Yolanda insisted on the marriage even though they met with resistance, esp. in ecclesiastical circles. Milutin also had to overcome local opposition since an alliance with Byz. meant the rupture of relations with Bulgaria.

At the end of 1298 (*Reg* 4, no.2209) Theodore METOCHITES went as ambassador to Serbia and reached an agreement after long negotiations. The wedding was celebrated that spring in Thessalonike, and in April 1299 Simonis left for Serbia. Eventually Irene-Yolanda tried to use Simonis to influence Milutin: Gregoras claims that the empress hoped that the Serbs would conquer Byz. to the benefit of Simonis and her descendants. When Irene learned that Simonis was unable to have children, she tried to make Milutin adopt one of her sons (Demetrios or Theodore) as the heir to the Serbian throne. After Milutin's death in 1321, Simonis returned to the Byz. capital and took the veil at the convent of St. Andrew in Krisei. She was her father's confidant until his death. Her fresco portrait is preserved at Gračanica.

LIT. Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 94–99, 229–31. M. Laskaris, *Vizantiske princeze u srednjevekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1926) 53–82. L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'empire serbe. Le Kralj Milutin* (Thessalonike 1978) 89–119. *VizIzvori* 6:77–143. –J.S.A.

SIMONY (ἡ τοῦ Σίμωνος αἵρεσις). The act of buying or selling an ecclesiastical office or service (liturgical, judicial, or administrative) by a layman or cleric was characterized in the canons from the 4th C. onward as the "heresy of Simon" (cf. Acts 8:14–24). Canon law specified the punishment of dismissal for all ecclesiastical parties concerned and of excommunication for laymen (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:37.1–5, 217f, 554f, 572f, 630f). Although such acts were repeatedly condemned in canon law until the fall of the empire (GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, ed. L. Petit, X. Siderides, M. Jugie, vol. 4 [Paris 1935] 480.35–38) as well as by civil law (Justinian I, novs. 6.1.5; 123.2.1, 16; 137.2), it is evident that the practice was in fact widespread and indeed "institutionalized."

The evidence comes from the civil and ecclesi-

astical laws that limited the sums of money ("the customary gratuity") given (1) by a cleric to his future colleagues upon his appointment to Hagia Sophia (cf. S. Troianos, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 37–52), (2) by a cleric to the bishop who ordained him, and (3) by laymen to clerics who performed weddings. What began as a means of providing an income for the otherwise unsalaried clerics developed into a contribution that was expected. Money that was given to the bishop as KANONIKON (Patr. Nicholas III defended the custom [*Reg.patr.* 3, no.942] by referring to I Corinthians 9:7, which considered it unreasonable "to serve in the army at one's own expense"; Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:61.9–15) and contributions that were made to clergy "on the occasion of" administering the sacraments were regarded as canonical if the sum was not excessive and was given "by choice of" the donor (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 4:472.2–6, 5:386.23–27).

LIT. E.S. Papagianni, *Ta oikonomika tou engamou klerou sto Byzantio* (Athens 1986) 224–47. –R.J.M.

SIMPLIKIOS (Σιμπλίκιος), philosopher who studied under AMMONIOS at Alexandria and DAMASKIOS at Athens; born Cilicia 6th C. Some time after Justinian's interference with the ACADEMY OF ATHENS in 529, Simplikios was one of the seven famous philosophers who migrated to the court of the Persian king CHOSROES I. When disillusion set in, they were allowed to return to Byz. territory under pledges of safe conduct and freedom of expression. Simplikios spent his remaining years in Athens, producing important commentaries on ARISTOTLE, as well as one on the *Encheiridion* of Epictetus, superficially dull but perhaps containing discreet attacks on Justinian and Christianity if read between the lines. Cameron (*infra*) suggests that Simplikios may be the "bean-eating Athenian" attacked by PAUL SILENTIARIOS in his description of Hagia Sophia (125–27). Simplikios did provoke extremes of opinion, being hailed for his Aristotelian scholarship in contemporary epigrams as well as getting embroiled in quarrels with John PHILOPONOS.

ED. *CAG* 7–11. *Commentaire sur les Catégories d'Aristote, traduction de Guillaume de Moerbeke*, ed. A. Pattin et al. (Paris 1971–75).

LIT. E. Sonderegger, *Simplikios: Über die Zeit. Ein Kommentar zum Corollarium de tempore* (Göttingen 1982). *Simplicius: Sa vie, son oeuvre, sa survie*, ed. I. Hadot (Berlin–New York 1987). Cameron, "Academy" 13–30. –B.B.

SIN (ἁμαρτία, ἁμάρτημα). Sin was interpreted by church fathers as a falling away from the good, estrangement from God, and spiritual death of the soul. Christianity rejected the Marcionite and Gnostic concepts that matter or the body is bad and sinful as such, since otherwise a real incarnation would not be possible. The church fathers considered sin the choice of human FREE WILL, occurring because of ignorance and weakness (ORIGINAL SIN), pride and disobedience, addiction to material pleasures. Passions (*pathe*) or emotions were distinguished from sin as motives diminishing the use of reason. The healing of sin can be achieved through divine agency with human cooperation, such as PENANCE and CONFESSION, ALMSGIVING, pilgrimage, and other good works. Ecclesiastic punishment of sin included EPITIMION, EXCOMMUNICATION, and suspension of clerics.

The concept of ranking sins by their gravity was developed by Origen (G. Teichtweier, *Die Sündenlehre des Origenes* [Regensburg 1958]), who categorized them into mortal sins and pardonable VICES perpetrated without the full use of reason and free will. By the end of the 4th C. murder, idolatry, and fornication were defined as the three capital sins, and the system of eight vices was developed, primarily by EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS (in the West, Pope Gregory I listed seven). The question of whether this system drew upon Stoic or Gnostic models is still being debated (S. Wenzel, *Speculum* 43 [1968] 2f).

John Chrysostom emphasized in his sermons the social and pastoral aspects of sin and conversion and underlined the necessity of subduing the passions and returning to the practice of love of God and one's neighbor through good works. Later and ascetic authors added little to these principles.

LIT. R. Staats, *RAC* 13:734–70. I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux," *OrChrAn* 30 (1933) 164–75. A. Vögtle, "Woher stammt das Schema der Hauptsünden?" *ThQ* 122 (1941) 217–37. F. Leduc, "Péché et conversion chez S. Jean Chrysostome," *PrOC* 26 (1976) 34–58; 27 (1977) 15–42; 28 (1978) 44–84. –G.P.

SINAI (Σινά), peninsula north of the Red Sea, between the gulfs of Suez and ʿAqaba. The region forms a plateau with several high peaks and a few fertile valleys such as PHARAN and RAITHOU; it was populated primarily by seminomadic Bedouin tribesmen. The mountains of the southern plateau were an early object of religious veneration,

and tradition connected this region with Moses' encounter with God and transmission of the Law. Christian hermits began to settle in Sinai in the 4th C.—first in the valleys but eventually on Mt. Sinai proper, where several monasteries were built, including the Batos (Burning Bush), the future Monastery of St. Catherine. Despite the existence of a Roman garrison in Klysma (Suez) that was responsible for the whole area, Arab attacks were frequent and the monks' sufferings provided material for stories of martyrdom. Justinian I is said to have fortified the Batos to protect it from Bedouin raids. Sinai became a center of monastic culture where writers such as John Klimax and Anastasios of Sinai were active; the exploits of Sinaite monks were recorded in several collections (e.g., by Neilos of Ankyra and Ammonios). After the advent of Islam, the threat of Arab invasion compelled the bishop of Pharan to shift his see to the monastery at Mt. Sinai, but this area too fell to the Arabs by the end of the 7th C. Sinai was the goal of many pilgrimages—from Egeria and the Piacenza Pilgrim to Boldensele and Schiltberger and his contemporaries.

LIT. R. Devreesse, "Le christianisme dans la péninsule sinaïtique," *RevBibl* 49 (1940) 205–23. K. Amantos, *Syntomos historia tes hieras mones tou Sina* (Thessalonike 1953). M. Labib, *Pèlerins et voyageurs au Mont Sinai* (Paris 1961).

–A.K.

SINGERS (ψάλται), trained vocalists who sang the responses and chants of the liturgy and the liturgical hours. The composition of the choirs at Hagia Sophia in Constantinople is not sufficiently known. According to the 10th-C. Typikon of the Great Church, the singers were divided into two *hebdomades*, each led by a primikerios. Contrary to what is generally believed, there was neither a *protopsaltes* (leader of the right-hand choir) nor a *lampadarios* (leader of the left-hand choir) among the singers at Hagia Sophia before 1453; these ranks were associated with parochial or provincial

Singers. *Psaltai* at the funeral of St. Nicholas; fresco, 14th C. Church of Markov Manastir, near Skopje.



churches or they belonged to the so-called Imperial Clergy, that is, they were members of the palatine choirs. The DOMESTIKOS began the chant by singing alone the *echemeta* (intonation formulas), thus establishing the pitch and the mode of the ensuing chant. In late Byz. times, a MAISTOR was chosen to perform particularly elaborate and virtuosic solo items. For secular ceremonies, the ACCLAMATIONS in honor of the imperial family were sung by two choirs of court officials and laymen (*kraktai*).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 102–14. N. Moran, *Singers in Late Byzantine and Slavonic Painting* (Leiden 1986). –D.E.C.

SINGIDUNUM (Σιγγιδών, Σιγγιδόνον, mod. Belgrade), Roman city at the confluence of the Sava and the Danube rivers. In late antiquity the bridge over the Sava River made Singidunum an important station on the Via EGNATIA; it also served as a river port for the fleet, but never achieved as high an administrative position as nearby SIRMIUM. A bishopric in the 4th C., Singidunum was a center of Arianism: Ursacius of Singidunum and his successor Secundianus—supported by neighboring bishops in Mursa, Ratiaria, etc.—resisted the creed of Nicaea until 381. In the 5th and 6th C. Singidunum suffered from invasions by the Huns, Sarmatians, Gepids, and other tribes. Prokopios relates that Justinian I restored the city and its walls, but Singidunum was lost to the Avars in the early 7th C. Its subsequent fate is unknown; when Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos mentions it in the 10th C., he refers to the district "around Singidon and Sermion" (*De adm. imp.* 25.22), but in the same work (40.29, 32.20) calls the city Belegrada or Belegradon, Greek forms of its new Slavic name Beograd (White Town).

As a part of the First Bulgarian Empire, Belgrade came under Byz. rule by 1018. Together with ZEMUN, BRANIČEVO, and Sirmium, the city was one of the most important strongholds on the Hungarian frontier; it was destroyed and restored several times during the Byz.-Hungarian wars. Many Crusader armies passed through Belgrade on their way to Constantinople. In the 13th–15th C. Serbs and Hungarians fought over the city. In 1403/4 the Serbian *despotes* Stefan Lazarević received it as a vassal of the Hungarian king, and Belgrade became the Serbian capital; in 1427 Hungary reacquired it. HUNYADI stopped the Ottoman army in 1456 at the walls of Belgrade, but in 1521 the city fell to Süleyman the Magnificent.

LIT. *Istorija Beograda*, vol. 1 (Belgrade 1974) 105–277. J. Kalić-Mijušković, *Beograd u srednjem veku* (Belgrade 1967). F. Barišić, "Vizantiski Singidunum," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 1–13. –A.K.

SINOPE (Σινώπη, mod. Sinop), major port of PONTOS whose double harbor and location at the narrowest point of the Black Sea provided commercial importance and close ties with the Crimea. Its early history is obscure. It appears in written sources in connection with the Black Sea: Justinian II used Sinope to reconnoiter Cherson, and a *kommerkiarios* of Sinope and the Black Sea is named on a 9th-C. seal (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2894). Sinope was involved in the revolt of Armeniakon in 793, and in 834 THEOPHOBOS was proclaimed *basileus* of Sinope by "Persian" mercenaries. Sinope lay outside the main Arab invasion routes, though they did attack it in 858. In 1081, the Seljuks captured Sinope along with a sizable imperial treasury established there. Alexios I restored Byz. rule, and Sinope prospered as a well-defended port; it was the base for Andronikos (I) Komnenos during his activities in the Pontos. The Komnenoi of TREBIZOND held Sinope from 1204 to 1214, when it fell to the Seljuks; except for a brief Trapezuntine recapture ca.1254–65, it remained under Turkish rule. Sinope was a suffragan bishopric of AMASEIA. Its main Byz. monuments are the fortifications and a gymnasium.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 69–88. –C.F.

SION, conventional name for elaborate silver models of shrines. Three of them can be connected with the Byz. world: one in the Cathedral Treasury of Aachen, in the form of an almost perfect cube with dome, and two in the treasury of St. Sophia in Novgorod (the Great and the Little Sions), in the form of a rotunda, with a cross, evoking that of Golgotha, on the top. The Little Sion is usually considered as consisting of two independent parts that were eventually connected. The Sion of Aachen bears three biblical quotations and a prayer to the Lord to assist Eustathios, *strategos* of Antioch and Lykandos; according to W. Saunders (*DOP* 36 [1982] 211–19), he should be identified with Eustathios MALEINOS

and the object dated 969/70. The Little Sion of Novgorod bears the name of Constantine, *megas oikonomos* of the Tropaiouchos (i.e., St. George), whom N. Oikonomides (*DOP* 34–35 [1980–81] 243–46) hypothetically identified as the future patriarch CONSTANTINE (III) LEICHOUDES. The function of Sions is unclear: Antony of Novgorod (Ch. Loparev, *PPSb* 51 [1899] 13) saw a "radiant bright Jerusalem" carried during the liturgy, together with the RHIPIDIA. The identification of the Aachen Sion as a reliquary (allegedly of Anastasios the Persian) is arbitrary. Nor is it clear whether such shrines in general should be connected with the reputation and form of the Church of St. Sion in Jerusalem disseminated in panegyrics such as that of Patr. John II of Jerusalem, 387–417 (M. van Esbroeck, *AB* 102 [1984] 124f).

LIT. N.V. Pokrovskij, *Ierusalimy ili Siony Sofijskoj riznicy v Novgorode* (St. Petersburg 1911). G.N. Bočarov, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Novgoroda Velikogo* (Moscow 1969) 19–29.

–A.C., A.K.

SION, HOLY (Ἁγία Σιών), monastery in LYCIA established in the reign of Justinian I by the local saint, NICHOLAS OF SION, at his birthplace, the village of Tragalassos in the mountains above MYRA. Its fairly uncommon name indicates the close connections between Lycia and Palestine, which developed in part from the visits Nicholas made to Jerusalem. The church soon attracted gifts, most notably the SION TREASURE, lavish silver furnishings of all kinds dedicated by a bishop and other individuals in the late 6th C. The monastery was still functioning in 787 but was robbed of its treasures, probably by Arab raiders who buried them near the sea, presumably preparatory to further transport. The monastery has been identified with a church at Karabel, a domed basilica whose triconch apse and side chapels reflect the influence of Egypt or the Holy Land and whose architecture corresponds to the description in the Life of Nicholas and to the style of the 6th C. The church was richly decorated and contains elements suitable for installation of the surviving silver ornaments. In a late, undated period the central dome collapsed and a smaller rectangular church was built in the ruins.

LIT. R.M. Harrison, "Churches and Chapels of Central Lycia," *AnatSt* 13 (1963) 131–35, 150. I. & N. Ševčenko, *The Life of Saint Nicholas of Sion* (Brookline, Mass., 1984).

–C.F.

SION, MOUNT, holy site in JERUSALEM. The Hebrew name was usually interpreted as meaning "watchtower," but Titus of Bostra (PG 18:1269C) suggested another (false) etymology—"thirsty." Old Testament tradition identified Sion or Zion (Σιών) with the city of David on a hill southeast of JERUSALEM, but Josephus situated it in the southwest, and this location was accepted by Christian tradition. Several important LOCA SANCTA were to be found on Mt. Sion: the upper room to which the apostles retreated after the Resurrection, the place where they waited after the Ascension, and the site of the Pentecost. The house of Caiaphas and the Column of the Flagellation (with imprints of Christ's hands) were also located on Mt. Sion. By the early 4th C. Sion was believed to be the site of the Last Supper.

In 340, Maximos, bishop of Jerusalem, built a church on the traditional site of the Last Supper, the Church of the Apostles, also called the Church of Mt. Sion; it appears on the MADABA MOSAIC MAP. Meager remains of this church have been found, but its plan is not clear. In the 5th C. Sion was enclosed in the city by a wall built by Empress ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, remains of which have been discovered. The medieval "Tomb of David" was constructed in a late Roman building (a synagogue?) and includes a wall with a niche facing north and a mosaic floor.

The church fathers sometimes distinguished Sion from, sometimes identified it with, Jerusalem. The name was often used figuratively. "There are three ways," wrote Prokopios of Gaza (PG 87:2476C), "to understand Sion and Jerusalem: with the senses; as the pious society of those on earth; as an angelic community (*politeia*) in heaven." The term was used to connote the church, the saints, consummate virtue, and the intellect.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 171f. A. Legendre, *DictBibl* 5.2: 1787–95. D. Correa, *De significatione montis Sion in Sacra Scriptura* (Rome 1954). *EAEHL* 2:614f, 625.

–G.V., A.K., Z.U.M.

SION TREASURE, 6th C., found in 1963 near Kumluca (anc. Korydalla) in Lycia and now divided among collections in Antalya, Washington, and Geneva. It is composed of about 71 items in silver, some being fragmentary (50 objects, 20 revetment sheets, a ring), a copper coin of either Leo I or Zeno, silver-plated bronze pincers, and a gold scepter. Approximately 30 of the objects

have SILVER STAMPS dated 550–65, all of which were presented by Eutychianos, the bishop of an unidentified see, to a church generally thought to be that of Holy Sion (see SION, HOLY) founded by NICHOLAS OF SION between 541 and 565: several objects are inscribed with the name of "Holy Sion." An alternative opinion holds that the treasure belonged to the cathedral of Korydalla. Of outstanding interest are the metal REVETMENTS (for a table, colonnettes, lampstands), some of which were donated by two bishops and other clergy. The gifts of Bp. Eutychianos included five sets of ecclesiastical LIGHTING fixtures (three types of *polykandela*, two types of lamps), two amphoras, two CENSERS, and three large PATENS; the latter apparently served as models for others given by laymen to the same church. The pieces of high-quality metalwork have been attributed to workshops in Constantinople. Boyd (*infra*) and others have suggested that the treasure may have been buried at the time of Arab raids along the Lycian coast in the 7th C.

LIT. S. Boyd, "A Bishop's Gift: Openwork Lamps from the Sion Treasure," in *Arg. rom. et byz.* 191–202.

–M.M.M.

SIRMIUM (Σίρμιον, mod. Sremska Mitrovica in Yugoslavia), a city on the left bank of the Sava. Late Roman Sirmium was an important strategic point in the region endangered by barbarian invasions; Diocletian made it the capital of Pannonia II and of the diocese of PANNONIA. In the 4th C. the area was crucial both in the struggle for control over the Roman Empire and in the defense of the Middle Danube. It was lost to the Huns in 440/1, and thereafter the empire was able to recapture it only for short periods of time. Justinian I, among others, with the help of the Gepids, seized Sirmium from the Ostrogoths in 535, but the Gepids soon occupied it. Byz. controlled Sirmium from 567 to 582, but then lost it to the Avars. The last bishop of the city, Sebastianos, left Sirmium in 582 (V. Popović, *REAug* 21 [1975] 91–111).

Excavations at Sirmium have brought to light a section of city walls, public buildings (a bathhouse, several warehouses, a hippodrome), villas and apartment complexes (*insulae*), an urban church, and several chapels outside the ramparts, probably in cemeteries. Until ca.357 there was a mint at Sirmium, producing bronze coinage; numerous coins have been found at the site, most of them struck between 351 and 361 and between 364 and 378 (C. Nixon, *JbNumGeld* 33 [1983–84] 45–55). From the end of the 4th C. onward, Sirmium began to decline: large public buildings were either abandoned or were not restored after a fire, or were replaced by small houses and shops. In the 6th C. only a minor portion of the old city was populated.

Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 25.22, 40.31) twice mentions Sermion (*sic*) as close to SINGIDUNUM. In the early 11th C. it was under the control of the Bulgarian Sermon (a name curiously reminiscent of Sirmium itself), who yielded it to the Byz. general Constantine Diogenes. Diogenes had been *archon* of Sirmium before Constantine VIII appointed him *doux* of Bulgaria. Sirmium was an important objective in the Byz.-Hungarian wars of the 12th C., but by then the name designated the district (otherwise called Frankochorion) rather than the city. It remains questionable whether or not Sirmium formed a separate theme (Litavrin, *Bolgaria* 273–78). Its later fate is unknown.

LIT. *Sirmium: Archaeological Investigations in Syrmian Pannonia*, ed. V. Popović, E.L. Ochsenschlager, N. Duval, 12 vols. (Belgrade 1971–80). N. Duval, "Sirmium 'ville impériale' ou 'capitale'?" 26 *CorsiRav* (1979) 53–90. B. Ferjančić, "Sirmium u doba Vizantije," *Sirmium-Sremska Mitrovica* (Sremska Mitrovica 1969) 33–58.

–A.K.

SITARKIA (σιταρκία), a secondary or supplementary tax of uncertain nature usually listed among EPEREIAI. Two chrysobulls of 1327 state explicitly that *sitarkia* was paid from the ZEUGARIA of *paroikoi* (*Zogr.*, no.26.33–35; *Chil.*, no.113.31–32), and it is sometimes identified with the ZEUGARATIKION (*Pantel.*, no.11.25–26) or an obscure charge called *haloniatikon* (*Pantel.*, no.10.77), which etymologically is linked with the *halonion*, "threshing floor." This identification is not certain: a chrysobull of 1342 lists *sitarkia* among the *epereiai* from which the *chorion* of Chantax is exempted and separately indicates that only the Zographou monastery could levy the *zeugaratikion* on the village (*Zogr.*, no.32.42–54). F. Dölger (*BZ* 38 [1938] 497) questioned also the identity of *haloniatikon* and *sitarkia*. Data about the amount of *sitarkia* are scarce: the *chorion* of Prebista in 1327 paid 45 hyperpers of *sitarkia* (*Zogr.*, no.26.35–36). *Sitarkia* was among those charges that—like *phonos* (PHONIKON)—were relatively rarely abolished.

Dölger (*Beiträge* 59) hypothesized that *sitarkia*, which is attested from the 13th C. onward, replaced SYNONE but this cannot be proved. The relation of *sitarkia* to the obligation called "*sitarkesis* of fortresses" (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.33) is unclear.

LIT. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 99, n.122, 243f, 249–51.
–A.K.

SITERESION. See OPSONION.

SITOKOKKON (σιτόκοκκον, lit. "grain of wheat"), also called *sitarion sporimon, kokkositarion,* and *pyros,* a unit of weight approximately equal to that of a grain of wheat: 1 *sitokokkon* = 1/4 KERATION = 0.046 g.

The relationship between *sitokokkon* and *krithokokkon* ("grain of barley") is not clear. Some texts define *sitokokkon* as 1/5 *keration* and *krithokokkon* as 1/4 *keration.* Schilbach (*infra*) considers this ratio as resulting from a confusion and equates 1 *sitokokkon* to 1.25 *krithokokkon.* Known only in arithmetical tracts, these tiny measures had no practical significance.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 186. –E. Sch., A.K.

SITOKRITHON (σιτόκριθον, lit. "wheat [and] barley"), a tax introduced by Andronikos II in 1304 (*Reg* 4, no.2271). A contemporary historian (Pachym., ed. Bekker, 2:492.16–493.12) relates that every peasant was obliged to pay six local *modioi* of wheat and four of barley. This grain was to be sold, and the silver and gold handed over to the *megas doux.* The term appears even before 1304, however, in Andronikos's chrysobull of 1298, in which various exemptions of the Lavra are listed—from the obligations of KASTROKTISIA, the draft of soldiers and sailors, MITATON and APLEKTON, ANGAREIAI, supply of salt, payment in cash for *sitokrithon* and grapes (*Lavra* 2, no.89.163–69; cf. *Lavra* 3, no.118.190–95, etc.). The term is often used in connection with the OIKOMODION when the formula of chrysobulls prescribes the donation of "a *sitokrithon staurikon modion*" for each three hyperpera of the *telos* (e.g., *Esphig.*, no.7.17–18, end of the 13th C.). Ostrogorsky (*Féodalité* 284f) considered *sitokrithon* as a regular secondary tax, whereas J. Bompaire (*BCH* 80 [1956] 630f) saw in the term simply an indication of the form of tax collection (i.e., in wheat and barley). It is certain, however, that Pachymeres understood the *sitokrithon* as a tax, although imposed only temporarily, to satisfy a specific need of the army.
–A.K.

SITULA (κάδος), bucket probably used for drawing water. Such vessels could be worked in various techniques in silver (relief), bronze and brass (engraved), and glass (intaglio and openwork), with both profane and sacred decorations; examples survive from the 4th to the 7th C. Two glass *situlae* now in Venice have Dionysiac and hunting scenes, respectively. Four in silver (one in the CONCEŞTI TREASURE buried ca.400, a pair in the Sevso Treasure, and one with stamps of 613–30) have classical and mythological images, while a third (with silver stamps of the 6th C.? found in Albania) has a diaper pattern. Elaborately decorated buckets of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered in various parts of the empire. The best known of these, the "Secchia Doria," with scenes from the *Iliad,* is possibly from Caesarea Maritima in Palestine; others with hunting and animal scenes and, in some cases, domestic inscriptions, have come to light in Spain and Britain; one, found in Mesopotamia, decorated with crosses, has a dedicatory inscription implying ecclesiastical use (for baptism?). As much could be said of another, 4th-C. bronze *situla,* with CHRISTOGRAMS, and of a lead example from Tunisia, decorated with Christian figures and symbols. Domestic *situlae* are shown in the bath scenes on the Projecta casket in the ESQUILINE TREASURE (Shelton, *Esquiline,* pl.6). Constans II was murdered with a silver *situla* in a bath in Sicily in 668, as described by MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN (2:450f).

LIT. Matzulewitsch, *Byz. Antike* 38–42, 134f. Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps,* nos. 56, 88. Ross, *DOCat* 1, no.50. A. Carandini, *La secchia Doria* (Rome 1965). M. Mango, C. Mango, et al., "A 6th-century Mediterranean Bucket from Bromeswell Parish, Suffolk," *Antiquity* 63 (1989) 295–311.
–M.M.M.

SIXTH ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF: Constantinople III.

SKALA (σκάλα, lit. "stairs," "gangway of a ship," from Lat. *scala*). From the 5th C. onward, the term was employed to designate mooring stations in Constantinople. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.17.3) distinguishes *skalai,* where fishing boats

were moored and unloaded their catch, from *epochai*, the fishing grounds. According to Leo VI's novel 102, the *epochai* were often used by PARTNERSHIPS (*koinoniai*) of fishermen. Attaleiates (Attal. 278.2–7) gives the vernacular name of *skalai* to the wooden "bulwarks" (*proteichismatia*) erected close to the sea in Constantinople where merchants traded with sailors. In the 11th C. Michael VII attempted to confiscate private *skalai* in Constantinople, but his decree was rescinded by Nikephoros III. When the Byz. government began conferring privileges on Venetian merchants in the late 11th C., it also granted them *skalai* in the capital.

Probably after the 11th C. the term began to lose its specific connection with Constantinople; ca.1300 Manuel Moschopoulos defined *skalai* as a word used by ordinary people (*koinoi*) to designate a place in the harbor where ships were pulled ashore and secured. Late Byz. documents mention *skalai* outside Constantinople, such as a building in Kotzenos (on Lemnos) constructed by the monks of the Great Lavra near the seashore "as *skalai* of the boats of monks" (*Lavra* 2, no.74.77–78, a.1284).

A tax called *skaliatikon* had to be paid on *skalai*. A chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1298 lists it together with other levies on maritime commerce—KOMMERKION, *antinaulon*, and *limniatikon* (*Lavra* 2, no.89.194–95).

LIT. H. Kahane, "Italo-byzantinische Etymologien. Scala," *BNJbb* 16 (1940) 33–58. –A.K.

SKANDERBEG (Gr. Σκενδέρης), Albanian form of Turkish name (Iskender Beg) of George Kastriota, "captain of Albania" (1443–68) and hero of Albanian resistance against Ottoman conquest; born northern Albania ca.1405, died Lezhhë, Albania, 17 Jan. 1468. Son of John Kastriota, prince of Emathia (*PLP*, no.11400), who ruled in central and northern Albania, Skanderbeg in his youth was given to the Ottomans as a hostage after his father's defeat by the Turks. He converted to Islam and was educated at the Turkish military school at Edirne (Adrianople). In 1443 he deserted from the Turks, resumed his Christian faith and returned to his homeland to defend it against Ottoman invasion. Between 1444, when he organized the League of Albanian Princes, and 1466 he repelled 13 Turkish invasions. His base was the mountain stronghold of Krujë (Gr. Kroia), the home of the Kastriota family, located north of Tirana. ALBANIA fell to the Turks only after Skanderbeg's death. His son was married to Irene Palaiologina, daughter of THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS. There is surprisingly little information about Skanderbeg in 15th-C. Byz. histories, and one must use Italian, Serbian, and Turkish sources to establish his biography.

LIT. J. Radonić, *Djuradj Kastriot Skenderbeg i Arbanija u XV veku* (Belgrade 1942). A. Ducellier, "La façade maritime de la Principauté des Kastriote, de la fin du XIVe siècle à la mort de Skanderbeg," *Studia Albanica* 5.1 (1968) 119–36. G. Soulis, "Hai neoterai ereunai peri Georgiou Kastriotou Skenderbee," *EEBS* 28 (1958) 446–57. *Studia Albanica Monacensia. In memoriam Georgii Castriotae Scanderbegi 1468–1968*, ed. A. Schmaus (Munich 1969). S. Dimitrov, "Georgi Kastrioti-Skenderbeg i negovata osvoboditelna borba," in *Georgi Kastrioti Skenderbeg* (Sofia 1970) 7–32. –A.M.T.

SKARAMANGION (σκαραμάγγιον), a belted TUNIC with long full sleeves and with slits up the front and back or sides, probably in origin a Persian rider's caftan. The word appears in Theophanes (Theoph. 319.17) as a Persian garment. A PURPLE *skaramangion* could be worn only by the emperor, who might also wear a gold or red one, while the courtiers wore *skaramangia* in a variety of colors, some even two-toned, as their basic official dress. The *skaramangion*, often worn under the SAGION, was not considered a particularly ceremonial garment: the emperor seems to have worn it whenever he left the palace, and both he and the officials were instructed to take off their gala robes and put on their own *skaramangia* for banqueting (Oikonomides, *Listes* 185.23, 195.24–25). To judge by representations, the *skaramangion* was made of silk and had gold armbands and a gold-embroidered border running along the hem and up the slits. *Skaramangia* were favored imperial gifts (LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA, *Antapodosis*, ed. J. Becker, 157f) and could apparently be used as altar cloths (see ENDYTE). It is thought by some that the 14th-C. term SKARANIKON may refer to the successor to this garment.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, "Les costumes orientaux à la cour byzantine," *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 11–15. P.A. Phourikes, "Peri tou etymou ton lexeon skaramangion, kabbadion, skaranikon," *Lexikographikon archeion tes meses kai neas hellenikes* 6 (1923) 444–73. –N.P.Š.

SKARANIKON (σκαράνικον), an element of court costume. The word appears first as an adjective in a 12th-C. poem of Ptochoprodromos (ed. Hes-

seling-Pernot, no.1.248) describing a type of headgear, *epanokamelauchis*. It is frequently mentioned in the 14th-C. ceremonial book of pseudo-Kodinos. Two interpretations of the term have been suggested: a kind of TUNIC similar to and replacing the SKARAMANGION, or a hat, specifically the tall, squarish headdress worn by some high officials in Palaiologan portraits, for example, the *despotes* Theodore I Palaiologos at Mistra, or Alexios APOKAUKOS (J. Verpeaux in pseudo-Kod. 145f, n.2). Pseudo-Kodinos, while describing the costume of various dignitaries places *skaranikon* either between the headgear called SKIADION, and the caftan, KABBADION, or after both *skiadion* and *kabbadion*; it is described as red and gold (*chrysokokkinon*), although courtiers of lower rank wore apricot, lemon, or gold-white *skaranika*; it was embroidered and bore pictures of the emperor either standing or sitting on the throne (pseudo-Kod. 152.1–9, 153.13–17). The origin of *skaranikon* is obscure: pseudo-Kodinos (206.19–20) claims that it was of "Assyrian" origin, and Ptochoprodromos places it within a Slavic context, while Caratzas (*infra*) hypothesizes that it was a western (Germanic) garb that penetrated Byz. during the reign of Manuel I.

LIT. J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923) 122. S.C. Caratzas, "Byzantinogermanica (karanos-skaranikon)," *BZ* 47 (1954) 320–32. –A.K.

SKARIPHOS (σκάριφος), a sketch or, in architecture, a ground plan. The 5th-C. architect Rufinus is said in the vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA to have based his outline (*thesis*) for the cathedral of Gaza on a *skariphos* sent from Constantinople by the empress Eudoxia. Plans were often transmitted in visions, such as the one in which St. Martha dictated to a monk the scheme for her chapel at the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN (*AASS* May 5:416F). By the 14th C. *skariphos* had come to mean an artist's brush, as in an epigram of Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos on an image painted by EULALIOS (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *BZ* 11 [1902], p.46, n.16, line 1). –A.C.

SKEPIDES (Σκεπίδης), family known in the mid-11th C. Michael Skepides, a *protospatharios*, is depicted in 1060/1 in Karabaş Kilise in the SOĞANLI valley of Cappadocia and described in an inscription there as responsible for its redecoration. Other members of his family portrayed are Catherine (a nun) and Niphon (a monk). John Skepides, "*protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, *hypatos*, and *strategos*," is depicted as the founder of Gök (Geyik) Kilise in the same valley. A *strategos*, Eustathios Skepides, witnessed a legal judgment in November 1042: A. Guillou (*Byzantion* 35 [1965] 122) suggests that he may have been an administrator in LUCANIA.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2.1:334–36, 371f. Rodley, *Cave Mons.* 198–202, 250f. –A.C.

SKETE (σκήτη), also *sketis* (from *asketerion*, "monastery," "hermitage"), term designating a small monastery; in the *Miracles* of St. GEORGE (ed. J.B. Aufhauser, 153.23) are listed *sketai* and *monai*. The name also commemorates the original Skete, the Egyptian monastic settlement in the WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN. It appears sometimes in Athonian documents of the 14th–15th C. The forged chrysobull of Andronikos II (*Xerop.* γ.35) equates the terms *skete* and *monydrion*. According to the act of the *protos* Theodosios of 1353 (*Lavra* 3, no.133.7) the *skete* of Glossia contained several *kellia* and *hesychasteria* (probably cells and hermitages). Manuel II's *Typikon* of 1406 orders that the "*kellia* of the *sketis*" send 100 wooden planks to the *protos* (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 201.4–5)—it is unclear which *skete* is meant or whether it was a proper name, Sketis. Today 12 *sketai* survive on Mt. Athos but they are relatively new, not going back further than 1572. Some are idiorrhythmic, others cenobitic, but there is no evidence that such a distinction existed in the Byz. period. The Russian word *skit* (hermitage), derived from *skete*, is attested as early as the 14th C.

LIT. E. Amand de Mendieta, *Mount Athos, the Garden of the Panaghia* (Berlin-Amsterdam 1972) 202–07. –A.M.T., A.K.

SKETIS. See WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN.

SKEUOPHYLAX (σκευοφύλαξ, "keeper of the vessels"), a cleric, usually a priest, appointed to look after the sacred valuables and LITURGICAL VESSELS of a church. In this capacity, he played an important part in liturgical ceremonial and had a role in the administration of sacred PROPERTY comparable and complementary to that of the OIKONOMOS. Like the (*megas*) *oikonomos*, the (*megas*) *skeuophylax* of the Great Church was ap-

pointed by the emperor in the century or so before Isaac I relinquished the right of appointment. The *skeuophylax* ranked next to the *oikonomos* until the late 11th C., when he was demoted to third place in favor of the SAKELLARIOS. The SEKRETON that he headed, the *mega skeuophylakeion*, employed a number of CHARTOULARIOI. This *sekreton* probably evolved from the *epitagma* of 12 *skeuophylakes* (four priests, six deacons, two *anagnostai*) attested on the staff of the Great Church in 612 (ed. J. Konidaris, *FM* 5 [1982] 66).

The *skeuophylax* of a monastery was a monk or nun (*skeuophylakissa*) entrusted with responsibility for sacred vessels and furnishings. The *skeuophylakissa* of KECHARITOMENE also supervised the manufacture of wax candles and assumed the duties of CHARTOPHYLAX.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 101f, 112f. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 314–18. Meester, *De monachico statu* 280f. E. Papagianni, S. Troianos, "Die Besetzung der Ämter im Grossskeuophylakeion der Grossen Kirche im 12. Jahrhundert," *FM* 6 (1984) 87–97. –P.M., A.M.T.

SKIADION (σκιάδ(ε)ιον, from σκιά, shadow), a type of hat. In antiquity the term *skiadeion* designated a sunshade or parasol; according to a scholiast on Theokritos and the 5th/6th-C. lexicographer Hesychios of Alexandria, it later acquired the meaning of a conical hat with a broad brim. By the 14th C., according to pseudo-Kodinos, the term *skiadion* designated the type of hat worn by the emperor and most of his courtiers. Variations in its fabric (gold and red, or gold-embroidered or plainly embroidered) denoted the rank of the wearer (pseudo-Kod. 302.7–14); the *skiadion* of a *despotes* was covered with pearl crosses (141.3–4, 147.4–8). Since pseudo-Kodinos states that a *megas logothetes* should wear a *skiadion*, it is usually assumed that the headdress worn by Theodore METOCHITES in his portrait at CHORA is such a hat, even though its turbanlike shape is difficult to reconcile with the etymology of the term. Metochites' headdress has gold vertical stripes outlined in red. It was apparently made of silk cloth stretched over some kind of internal armature; it fitted tight over the brow but flared out dramatically, curving forward again at the top. Somewhat similar beehive-shaped hats appear in 11th- and 12th-C. representations of both court officials and singers (Sinai gr. 339, Spatharakis, *Corpus* fig. 278). Other scholars have identified the *skiadion* with the conical or pyramidal hat with broad brim familiar from Italian portraits of John VIII Palaiologos (e.g., on the Pisanello medallion in the British Museum). The *skiadion* was also an ecclesiastical headdress. Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:396BC) states that *skiadia* were worn by deacons and priests as well as by senators and even the emperor.

LIT. J. Verpeaux in pseudo-Kod. 141f, n.1. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 1:42. –N.P.Š.

SKLAVENOI (Σκλαβηνοί), the name of a people north of the Danube. It remains unclear whether their mention in pseudo-KAISARIOS is the earliest, since the date of this text is not yet firmly established. The Sklavenoi are described by many authors of the 6th and 7th C. (Prokopios, Menander Protector, Jordanes, Theophylaktos Simokattes)—sometimes together with the ANTAE, sometimes under the sway of the AVARS—as a dangerous force ready to invade Balkan territory. The STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE presents them as exceptionally skillful in swimming and diving; they operated on foot in guerrilla fashion in marshy or mountainous regions, being also expert archers and javelin throwers. The *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS credits the Sklavenoi with the ability to build and sail dugouts (*monoxyla*); on the other hand, Simokattes stresses their talent in fighting from fortifications made of wagons. Byz. authors speak of a great number of Sklavenoi; Simokattes even preserves a legend of the Sklavenoi living on the shore of the western ocean.

The last mention of the Sklavenoi is in the 9th-C. vita of GREGORY OF DEKAPOLIS. In the 9th C. they were considered allies or subjects of the Bulgars, the inhabitants of SKLAVINIA. In Soviet, Bulgarian, and Serbo-Croatian scholarship, Sklavenoi are uniformly treated as an early SLAV tribe.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 365–69, 390, 397–416. E. Skržinskaja, *Jordan, O proischoždenii i dejanijach Getov* (Moscow 1960) 210–13. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia 1971) 106–14. Z. Kurnatowska, "Structure sociale des Sclavènes à la lumièrè d'une analyse de l'habitat," *Balcanoslavica* 1 (1972) 87–96. –O.P.

SKLAVINIA (Σκλαβηνία), a region occupied by the SKLAVENOI; a stronghold, whether small or large in area, of the frontier military type. The first author to use the term is Theophylaktos

SIMOKATTES (fl. 628–41), referring to barbarian strongholds on the left bank of the Danube.

Each Sklavinia had its own leadership, headed by a *župan* (an Avar honorific of Iranian origin), a title replaced in the 8th-9th C. by the more impressive Byz. designation EXARCH or ARCHON. The Sklaviniai were united in larger units called *geneai*, tribes, in the same way as the Hunno-Turkic nomadic *oq/oγur* ≈ *oγuz*. Thus the Bulgars of Asparuch, having settled in Moesia ca.679, subjugated there the so-called Seven Tribes of the Sklavenoi. Unlike the steppe *oγur/oγuz*, whose economy was pastoralist, the Sklavinian military colony subsisted by agriculture. Like their steppe counterparts, however, these colonies strove, whenever circumstances permitted, to become independent of their imperial suzerains, be these Avars, Bulgars, or Byz.

It is possible to establish the existence of the following Sklaviniai:

- Carinthia (Latin sources of the 8th–9th C.)
- Pannonia (*Sclavenia* in Latin documents of the 9th C.)
- Transylvania, where "Geographus Bavarus" (ca.840) places the *Eptaradici* (lit. "of seven roots"), probably a distorted reflection of the Seven Slavic tribes in Theophanes
- Dalmatia, including Carinthia (Caruntania; *Sclavenia* in Latin documents of 871)
- Thrace and Moesia (Scriptor Incertus), including Seven Tribes and DROUGOUBITAI
- Macedonia (second half of 7th C.; *Miracles* of St. DEMETRIOS; Theophanes)
- Peloponnesos (8th–9th C.; Theophanes; *Chronicle of Monemvasia*)
- Rus' (first half of 10th C.; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, *De adm. imp.* 9.107)

Because of the gradual transformation of the Sklaviniai into ethnic units, *ethne*, esp. after the collapse of the Avar Empire (796) and the baptism of the Sklavenoi, their original professional military "democracy" gradually gave way to a class of hereditary *archontes* and their retinues. This resulted in social differentiation and the transformation from corporate to family ownership of the land. The Sklaviniai then became obsolete.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, *Sabrana dela* 4 (Belgrade 1970) 7–20. S. Antoljak, "Unsere 'Sklavinien,'" 12 *CEB*, vol. 2 (Belgrade 1964) 9–13. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 245–59, 291–335. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 407–16.
–O.P.

SKLERAINA (Σκλήραινα), probably to be identified as Maria, the daughter of a Skleros and widow of a *protospatharios* (*Peira* 50.4). She became mistress of CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS, who granted her the title of *sebaste* and installed her in the palace with his legitimate wife, Empress ZOE. Skleraina used her influence to promote her brother Romanos Skleros; his career, however, remains unclear, since the evidence is insufficient to distinguish between several Romanoi Skleroi of the period. Skylitzes mentions an uprising against Skleraina in 1044. She apparently died ca.1045; Psellos wrote a poem on her death. Constantine IX built a monastery in her memory and placed it under the authority of LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS.

LIT. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna 1976) 71–76. M.D. Spadaro, "Note su Sclerena," *SicGymn* 28 (1975) 351–72.
–A.K.

SKLEROS (Σκληρός, fem. Σκλήραινα), the name of a noble family. No evidence attests an Armenian origin, although the first known Skleros, a general serving in the Peloponnesos ca.805, came from Lesser Armenia. Several 9th-C. Skleroi were governors of the Peloponnesos (Leo, ca.811) and Hellas (Antoninus Durus, attested in a Hungarian chronicle, *Scriptores rerum Hungaricarum*, vol. 1 [Budapest 1937] 164); Niketas Skleros was an envoy to the Hungarians ca.895.

The family acquired eminence by the late 10th C.: the *magistros* Bardas Skleros, one of the ablest generals of John I Tzimiskes, defeated SVJATOSLAV in 971 but later fell from imperial favor and was accused of conspiracy. In 976 the army in Mesopotamia proclaimed Bardas *basileus*, and he marched against Constantinople. Victorious in 977, he was defeated in 979 and fled to the Arabs; he rebelled again in 987. Bardas PHOKAS, another usurper, took him captive. After the death of Phokas, Bardas Skleros kept fighting against Basil II, but in Oct. 989 he was reconciled and was granted lands. He died 6 March 991.

Both Bardas's brother Constantine and son Romanos were generals; Romanos's son Basil, *magistros* and *strategos* of Anatolikon, and his relatives acted as independent seigneurs on their estates; their arrogance is criticized in PEIRA. Basil and his wife Pulcheria, sister of the future emperor Romanos III, were exiled in 1033. Their relative

Maria SKLERAINA and her brother Romanos played an important role in the mid-11th C. Thereafter the significance of the Skleroi decreased; from the late 11th C. they were primarily civil functionaries (the *logothetes tou dromou* Andronikos, the *megas droungarios tes viglas* Nicholas, the *epi ton deeseon* Nicholas) and judges. They did not enter the clan of the Komnenoi and were involved in a scheme against Alexios I ca.1105. Twelfth-century sources rarely mention the Skleroi except for a certain Seth Skleros, blinded ca.1166/7 for involvement with astrology and magic. A 14th-C. Skleros had the title of *sebastos* (1336) and owned a *choraphion* in the Serres region.

LIT. W. Seibt, *Die Skleroi* (Vienna 1976). –A.K.

SKOPJE (Σκόπια), town in Macedonia, on the river Vardar, not far from ancient Scupi, which in the 4th C. was the capital of Dardania and a bishopric; the first known bishop of Scupi, Paregorios, participated in the Council of Serdica in 342/3. The ancient theater stopped functioning in the 4th C. and its site was occupied by small dwellings. Two basilicas of the late 4th C. have been discovered. In the 5th C. Scupi fell into decline; it was destroyed by the earthquake of 518, although some habitation continued there until the early 7th C. (the last coins found in Scupi are those of Maurice, 586). Probably in the 6th C. several fortresses were constructed in the area, for example, that of Markovi kuli (I. Mikulčić, N. Nikuljska, *Macedoniae acta archaeologica* 4 [1978] 137–50).

Medieval Skopje appears in written sources from the beginning of the 11th C., when the town was conquered by Basil II. Excavations have revealed the existence of a 10th-C. fortress and probably of a lower township of the 11th C. The walls of the fortress were built of small stones held together with mortar, and had round, square, and triangular towers. The walls were reconstructed under the Komnenoi. In the 11th C., Skopje emerged as the capital of the *doukaton* of Bulgaria (Litavrin, *Bolgarija* 278) and was frequently a center of anti-Byz. revolts. In the 13th C. it was a bone of contention between Bulgaria, Serbia, Epiros, and Nicaea. From 1282 onward Skopje was in Serbian hands. In the second half of 1298 (*Reg* 4, no.2209) or in the winter of 1299 (L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'Empire serbe. Le kralj Milutin* [Thessalonike 1978] 43), the Byz. mission headed by Theodore Metochites arrived at Skopje to negotiate the marriage of SIMONIS with Stefan Uroš II Milutin. Stefan Uroš IV Dušan was crowned at Skopje in 1346. The Turks occupied the city in 1391.

LIT. I. Mikulčić, *Staro Skopje so okolnite tverdini* (Skopje 1982). A. Deroko, "Srednjovekovni grad Skoplje," *SpomSAN* 120 (1971) 1–16. R. Grujić, "Vlastelinstvo sv. Gjorgja kod Skoplja od XI–XV v.," *Glasnik Skopskog naučnog društva* 1 (1925) 45–75. –A.K.

SKOTEINE MONASTERY, a foundation of uncertain location in the diocese of PHILADELPHIA, known only from the *diataxis*, or rule, composed in 1247 by the hieromonk Maximos, *ktetor* and *hegoumenos*. The original buildings of Skoteine (⟨Σ⟩κοτεινή), a small chapel and cell, were built (in the late 12th C.?) on a rugged mountainside by Maximos's father, Gregory. Maximos was among a number of male relatives who subsequently joined Gregory in the monastic life. Under Maximos's leadership, the number of monks increased to about 20 and facilities were expanded. Thanks to the financial support of an official (*allagator*) named Phokas and other local patrons, Maximos was able to construct a new church and add a refectory, kitchen, bakery, and water pipes to the complex. Maximos also acquired substantial property through donations and purchase and established five METOCHIA.

Maximos's *diataxis* is distinguished by an unusually lengthy and detailed list of properties owned by the monastery. The inventory of the libraries of the monastery and *metochia* lists about 130 liturgical and patristic volumes, a surprising number for an obscure provincial establishment. The enumeration of liturgical vestments and furnishings also indicates the substantial wealth of the monastery.

ED. S. Eustratiades, "He en Philadelphia mone tes hyperagias Theotokou tes Koteines," *Hellenika* 3 (1930) 325–39, corr. A. Sigalas, *EEBS* 8 (1931) 377–81. M.I. Gedeon, "Diatheke Maximou monachou ktitoros tes en Lydia mones Kotines (1247)," *Mikrasiatika Chronika* 2 (1939) 263–91.

LIT. P.Ş. Năsturel, "Recherches sur le testament de Maxime de Skoteinè (1247)," in *Philadelphie et autres études* (Paris 1984) 69–100. –A.M.T.

SKOUTARIOTES, THEODORE, ecclesiastical official and metropolitan of Kyzikos (1277–82); born ca.1230. Skoutariotes (Σκουταριώτης) began

his career as *epi ton deeseon* and deacon and was appointed *dikaiophylax* by Michael VIII Palaiologos in 1270. Ambassador to Rome in 1277, he was deposed from his see in 1282.

He was identified by Heisenberg as author of an anonymous chronicle preserved in Venice, Marc. gr. 407 and copied by John ARGYROPOULOS. This chronicle of events from the creation of the world through 1261 is the work of a compiler who, for the earlier period, apparently used the same source as ZONARAS (A. Heisenberg, *BZ* 5 [1896] 182f). For the later period he employed primarily Niketas CHONIATES and George AKROPOLITES; the additions to the latter are of special value. The author belonged to the circle of Patr. ARSENIOS; his additions are important for both the political and economic history of Byz. (V.N. Zavražin, *VizVrem* 41 [1980] 252–55). Heisenberg's identification is based, first, on the marginal note in Marc. gr. 407 stating that the book (*biblos*) is of Theodore of Kyzikos from the family of Skoutariotes; this note, however, shows ownership of the MS rather than authorship of the chronicle; a certain Theodore Skoutariotes also possessed a MS of Aristotle (D. Harlfinger, D. Reinsch, *Philologus* 114 [1970] 28–50). The second argument is the note on a 16th-C. MS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:371, no.3758) asserting that Theodore of Kyzikos wrote this chronicle in detail from the reign of Alexios I and John II to Michael VIII. It is not clear, however, whether we can trust such a late testimony (A. Kazhdan, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 14–15 [1964] 529f).

ED. Sathas, *MB* 7:1–556. A. Heisenberg, *Georgii Acropolitae opera* (Leipzig 1903) 1:275–302.

LIT. A. Heisenberg, *Analecta* (Munich 1901) 5–16. E. Patzig, "Über einige Quellen des Zonaras," *BZ* 5 (1896) 24–53. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:477f. –A.K.

SKOUTERIOS (σκουτέριος, lit. "shield-bearer"), an officer who bore the emperor's emblem (*dibellion*) and shield (*skoutarion*) during the PROKYPSIS and ceremonial processions; he is rarely mentioned in the sources. A 14th-C. ceremonial book notes that the *dibellion* had to be accompanied by the Varangians (pseudo-Kod. 183.11–20). Known from the 13th C. onward, the title occupied in the 14th C. a place in the hierarchy after the PROTOKYNEGOS. It was bestowed on both generals and fiscal officials; in 1344 a *skouterios* Senachereim participated in endowing estates on a monastery (*Docheiar.*, no.23.57), signing the document between the *megas tzaousios* and *protoierakarios*. According to a *prostagma* of 1351, the monks of Xeropotamou were obliged to pay annually to the *skouterios* Andrew Indanes 20 hyperpera for the foundry in their village, the money due against a possible attack of the Serbians (*Xerop.*, no.27.3–7).

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXV (1969), 84–86. –A.K.

SKRIBAS (σκρίβας), a subordinate of the QUAESTOR, according to the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 115.7). Bury (*Adm. System* 76) conjectured that he was a successor to the *scriba*, a notary in the office of the 5th-C. *magister census*. The *skribas* of the 10th–11th C., however, was not a notary but a high-ranking official titled *protospatharios* and even *patrikios* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1196–98), who combined his duties with those of the judge of the *velum* or of the Hippodrome. Romanos, *asekretis* and *skribas*, assisted Patr. Eustratios (1081–84) (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933) or Eustathios (1019–25) (Laurent, *Corpus* 2:670) in a case of an illegal marriage. It is not impossible that Romanos, *asekretis* and *skribas*, the owner of a seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.878), was the same man. The author of a novel of Constantine VII that regulated the SYNETHEIA granted to the *skribas* (N. Svoronos, *La Synopsis major des Basiliques et ses appendices* [Paris 1964] 94, no.8) had difficulty describing the position of the *skribas* whom he defined as a "not full-fledged (*ou teleios*) judge related to the *thematikoi* and to *antigrapheis*" (Zepos, *Jus* 1:220.17–18). –A.K.

SKYLITZES, GEORGE, mid-12th-C. governor of Serdica under Manuel I. Skylitzes (Σκυλίτζης) or his homonym, *protokouropalates* and imperial secretary, was active in 1166 (PG 140:277B). Yet another George Skylitzes is mentioned in a 12th-C. epigram (Lampros, "Mark. kod." 186, no.367.4). Skylitzes seems to have carried out the policy of cultural rapprochement between Byz. and the recently conquered Bulgaria: he wrote a Life of St. JOHN OF RILA and *kanones* in his honor (both preserved only in Slavic translations). He also produced two other *kanones* (on St. Demetrios and St. George), iambic poems on the *Hoplotheke* by Andronikos KAMATEROS, and an *akolouthia* on the

translation of the stone upon which allegedly the corpse of Jesus Christ had been laid (the stone was brought to Constantinople in 1169).

ED. See list in Beck, *Kirche* 663.

LIT. V. Zlatarski, "Georgi Skilica i napisanoto ot nego žitie na sv. Ivana Rilski," *IzvIstDr* 13 (1933) 50–53. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:217. B.S. Angelov, "Un canon de St. Jean de Rila de Georges Skylitzès," *BBulg* 3 (1969) 171–85.

–A.K.

SKYLITZES, JOHN, historian; fl. second half of 11th C. His life remains obscure. S. Antoljak's doubts concerning the family name of Skylitzes are not valid (14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 677–82). The title of his *Synopsis* calls him KOUROPALATES and former DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS. He is usually identified with John Thrakesios, *kouropalates* and *droungarios tes viglas* in 1092 (W. Seibt, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 81f). Skylitzes' *Synopsis historiarum*, for the years 811–1057, is conceived as a continuation of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, whom Skylitzes praises in his preamble as the most reliable historian and with whom he contrasts several contemporary authors, including PSELLOS. Skylitzes uses a variety of sources and sometimes presents contradictory conclusions (e.g., in his attitude toward Nikephoros II). The sections differ stylistically as well: thus, the reign of Michael IV is presented in an annalistic manner (typical of Theophanes), as a series of short and incoherent topics cemented by a sequence of chronological dates, whereas the history of Constantine IX consists of several long excursuses, has few chronological indications, and avoids describing military stratagems, frequent in previous sections. The major hero of the last part of Skylitzes is KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS (J. Shepard, *REArm* 11 [1975–76] 269–311), and it is plausible to suppose that Skylitzes was close to that general.

In its present state the Skylitzes MS in Madrid (Bibl. Nac. vitr. 26–2) comprises 574 miniatures, probably about 100 fewer than its original complement. This body of pictures, adhering for the most part closely to the text, adorns the only surviving illustrated Byz. CHRONICLE in Greek. They are rendered in a variety of styles concurrently practiced in mid-12th-C. Norman SICILY. Whether an original creation or a copy of a Byz. prototype, the MS is a prime source for our visualization of imperial CEREMONY, WEAPONRY, and transportation by land and sea.

ED. *Synopsis historiarum*, ed. H. Thurn (Berlin–New York 1973), rev. G. Fatouros, *JÖB* 24 (1975) 91–94 and A. Kazhdan, *IFŽ* (1975) no.1:206–12. Germ. tr. H. Thurn, *Byzanz, wieder ein Weltreich* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1983). Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*.

LIT. M. Sjuzjumov, "Ob istočnikach L'va Djakona i Skilicy," *VizObozr* 2 (1916) 106–66. B. Prokić, *Die Zusätze in der Handschrift des Johannes Skylitzes* (Munich 1906). D.I. Polemis, "Some Cases of Erroneous Identification in the Chronicle of Skylitzes," *BS* 26 (1965) 74–81. I. Ševčenko, "The Madrid MS of the Chronicle of Skylitzes in the Light of its New Dating," in *Byz. und der Westen* 117–30.

–A.K., A.C.

SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS, conventional title of a short chronicle encompassing the period 1057–79, which in many MSS follows the *Synopsis historiarum* of John SKYLITZES. The chronicle is a reworking of the *Historia* of Michael ATTALEIATES with an evident aristocratic bias. Its authorship remains unclear: Tsolakes hypothesized that Skylitzes himself wrote the chronicle, whereas G. Litavrin pointed out ideological distinctions between Skylitzes and Skylitzes Continuatus (Kek. 90f).

ED. E.Th. Tsolakes, *He synecheia tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse* (Thessalonike 1968).

LIT. E.Th. Tsolakes, "To problema tou Synechiste tes Chronographias tou Ioannou Skylitse," *Hellenika* 18 (1964) 79–83.

–A.K.

SKYTHOPOLIS (Σκυθόπολις, Hebr. Beth Sh'an or Shean, Ar. Baysān), largest city of northern Palestine and administrative and episcopal capital of Palaestina II. In the 4th C. there were imperial linen workshops in Skythopolis. The theater, with a capacity of 4,500–5,000, was enlarged in the 3rd C.; abandoned for a short time, it continued to function in the 5th and 6th C. (S. Applebaum, *Revue biblique* 69 [1962] 408–10). The city accommodated pagan, Jewish, Samaritan, and Christian communities, and attempts were made there to translate the liturgy from Greek into Aramaic. While Christian influence continued to grow in the city proper, the only synagogue as yet found is a mere prayer room; outside Skythopolis, however, in Rehov and Beth Alpha, synagogues continued. Greek inscriptions of the 5th C. (N. Zori, *IEJ* 16 [1966] 123–34), found in a mosaic in the Jewish villa called the House of Kyrios Leontis, but containing Christian formulae, demonstrate cultural and religious symbiosis in Skythopolis. At the same time there could be bitter intolerance, and in 361 the city underwent a wave of anti-

Christian persecutions. At the beginning of the 4th C. the Christian community was under strong Arian influence, but after 340 the see was in the hands of the Orthodox. Coin finds (up to the 8th C.), inscriptions, and archaeological remains testify to the continuing prosperity of Skythopolis; the city walls were repaired in the 6th C. and at least five or six monasteries were active. Outside the city wall survive the remains of the monastery of Lady Mary (Kyria Maria) with mosaic floors of the 6th C., including a zodiac with personifications of the MONTHS. The only church as yet discovered is a round centralized building of perhaps the 5th C. on the ancient mound of Tell el Husn, destroyed before 806; rich Christian tombs of the 5th C. have been discovered on Tell el Mastaba. St. SABAS was active at Skythopolis, which was also the native town of CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS.

After the Arab conquest of 636 Skythopolis flourished as the center of a province called al-Urdun (Jordan), until it was destroyed in the earthquake of 747. After being conquered by Tancred in 1099, Skythopolis became the Crusader barony of Bessan; the bishopric was transferred to NAZARETH. Skythopolis was taken by Saladin in 1187, and plundered by the Fifth Crusade in 1217.

LIT. J.T. Raynor, "Social and Cultural Relationships in Skythopolis/Beth Shean in the Roman and Byzantine Periods" (Ph.D. diss., Duke Univ., 1982). G.M. Fitzgerald, *Beth-Shan Excavations* (Philadelphia 1931). Idem, *A Sixth-Century Monastery at Beth-Shan* (Philadelphia 1939). M. Smith, "Helios in Palestine," *Eretz Israel* 16 (1982) 199–214. *EAEHL* 1:221–29.

–A.K., Z.U.M.

SLAVERY (δουλεία). In Byz. law, slaves occupied an ambiguous position between human beings and chattel. They were responsible for their own criminal acts, and from the 6th C. the intentional killing of a slave was considered homicide; in most other respects, however, they never achieved any substantial legal personality. Thus they were normally considered incompetent to act as WITNESSES and could neither be plaintiff nor defendant in civil lawsuits; owners held noxal liability (see NOXAL ACTIONS) for servile delicts in a manner analogous to those committed by livestock. Themselves considered property, slaves lacked rights of OWNERSHIP, although they might administer their personal PECULIUM. Leo VI (nov.38) allowed imperial slaves to dispose of their property in WILLS, but in other cases the incapacity to draft testaments may still have been observed in the 11th–12th C. Slaves were forbidden to become priests or monks without permission (Leo VI, novs. 9–11) and according to classical jurisprudence did not possess the right to marry, although it appears that some did obtain Christian MARRIAGES that were first officially recognized—over widespread opposition by slaveowners—under Alexios I Komnenos (Zepos, *Jus* 1:343f, 345f).

The most important sources of slaves were PRISONERS OF WAR and foreign slaves imported into the empire. Children of slaves normally inherited this condition, even if only their mothers were of servile status. Although Leo VI (nov.59) prohibited individuals from selling themselves into slavery, traces of this practice may be observed in later periods (Zepos, *Jus* 1:341f, 344f).

In the late Roman Empire slavery formed an important element in the social and economic structures: Libanios, in his oration *On Slavery*, presents it as a ubiquitous phenomenon; Justinianic law constantly deals with the status of slaves; they are mentioned in Egyptian papyri, in the letters of Gaius Apollinaris SIDONIUS, and in the documents of Ravenna. There is no evidence that during this period servile labor was replaced by that of dependent COLONI.

Our knowledge of slavery during the 7th to 9th C. is limited by a paucity of documentation; nevertheless slaves are mentioned in a variety of sources. There are references to *douloi* and *oiketai* in the *Ecloga* in paragraphs concerning MANUMISSION, delicts, fornication, and theft of slaves. Hagiographic texts speak of manumissions and runaway slaves; the FARMER'S LAW mentions slave-shepherds.

During the 10th C. slavery seems to have expanded. Although the story of 3,000 slaves liberated by the widow DANELIS appears in a context reminiscent of a fairy tale, an 11th-C. historian (Skyl. 250.56–57) mentions urban mansions and fields filled with slaves after the victories of Nikephoros (II) Phokas in 962; a novel of John I Tzimiskes regulated the sale of prisoners of war into slavery. The vita of St. BASIL THE YOUNGER reveals that slaves were numerous in Constantinople, where they frequently are found in imperial workshops and in the service of goldsmiths and silk weavers. In contrast, sources of the 11th and 12th C. reflect the decline of slavery, which

was frequently referred to in contemporary acts of manumission as an institution "against the law of nature." Although later jurists preserved theoretical distinctions between free and servile status, by the 13th C. employment of slaves—except perhaps as domestic servants—largely vanished and the concept of DOULOI acquired new connotations.

Religious opinion concerning slavery was ambivalent. Gregory of Nazianzos condemned the practice and Eustathios of Thessalonike urged manumission, while Basil the Great tolerated the institution as a necessary evil; although Theodore of Stoudios forbade monks to possess slaves, some monasteries were slaveholders (Zepos, *Jus* 1:252.7). The concept of slavery was also employed with a variety of wider theological meanings: holy men were termed "slaves of God"; writers mention slavery to human passions or to sin.

LIT. R. MacMullen, "Late Roman Slavery," *Historia* 36 (1987) 359–82. Z.V. Udal'cova, "Položenie rabov v Vizantii v VI v.," *VizVrem* 24 (1964) 3–34. Ch. Angelide, "Douloi sten Konstantinoupole tou I' ai.," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 33–51. A. Kazhdan, "Raby i mistii v Vizantii IX–XI vekov," *Učenye zapiski Tul'skogo pedagogičeskogo instituta* 2 (1951) 63–78. H. Köpstein, *Zur Sklaverei im ausgehenden Byzanz* (Berlin 1966). –A.J.C.

SLAVONIC. See CHURCH SLAVONIC.

SLAVOS, ALEXIOS, independent ruler of MELNIK; died after 1229. A nephew of KALOJAN, in 1207 Slavos (Σθλάβος), who was governor of Melnik, refused to acknowledge BORIL as the legitimate tsar of Bulgaria and concluded an alliance with Henry of Hainault, the Latin emperor of Constantinople; he married Henry's daughter and was granted the title of *despotes*. Slavos supported the Latins in their war against Bulgaria, but the allies had no success. Then Slavos switched his allegiance to Theodore Komnenos Doukas, the emperor of Thessalonike; the death of his first wife (the daughter of Henry) enabled him to conclude a new marriage, with a relative of Theodore (a daughter of Theodore PETRALIPHAS). The new alliance, however, met with failure. After initial successes, Theodore was defeated at KLOKOTNICA in 1230. The fate of Slavos is unknown: he is mentioned in 1224 in connection with his military operations in Thrace where he assisted Theodore, and in a treaty of 1229 there is a reference to *tota terra de Sclave*. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 3:351) hypothesizes that after the battle of Klokotnica Slavos accepted the suzerainty of John Asen II, to whom he was related. –A.K.

SLAVS. The name *Slav* (which has no Slavic etymology) appears in the form *Sklavenoi* or *Sthlabenoi* in Greek and Latin sources, probably not earlier than the mid-6th C. All attempts to probe deeper into the past, to establish direct links between the Slavs and previous ethnic groups such as the SCYTHIANS, have failed, as have attempts to interpret as Slavic some archaeological cultures (e.g., that of ČERNJACHOVO) that flourished in this region at the beginning of the first millennium A.D.

JORDANES (*Getica* 119) distinguishes three tribes (*gentes*), "offshoots of a single origin"—Venethi, Antes (ANTAE), and Sclaveni (SKLAVENOI). He locates the Venethi on the Vistula, the Sklavenoi between the Vistula and the Danube, and the Antae from the Dniester to the Don. Since the Byz. of the 6th C. were concerned with the topic of the Slavic invasion, they present them only as potential frontier warriors and not as political, ethnic, racial, or linguistic communities. Of these three *gentes* the Byz. had to deal only with the last two, for the Venethi dwelled far from the Eastern Empire.

Slavo-Byz. relations can be divided into three periods. The first period roughly encompasses the 6th C. The Slavs were firmly entrenched on the left bank of the Danube and from there attacked the northern Balkans (esp. in 551/2, 558/9, and 580/1). Harrying expeditions of the Slavs, often in concert with COTRIGURS, were limited in scope. Around 559–60 the Slavs began to winter on Byz. soil. After 576 they became part of the AVAR military force and the latter's design for conquest.

The second period (ca.590–800) coincides with the first crossing of the Danube in 594 by Maurice, who moved Byz. military action to Slavic territory. In two or three decades the Avars transformed the bands of Slavic frontiersmen into shipbuilders and formidable amphibious troops. Already in 593, the Pannonian Sklavenoi built ships for the Avars as well as a bridge over the Sava River. Around 600 the Slavic fleet was in operation in the Aegean; in 623 they attacked Crete and, in 626, formed the backbone of the joint Avar-Persian attack on Constantinople. It was probably in this

period that Slavic became an attractive lingua franca in the area populated by Sklavenoi, Serbs, Croats, etc.

In this period the Slavs began to settle south of the Danube to form the so-called SKLAVINIAI. There is no archaeological evidence for Slavic penetration of imperial territory before the end of the 6th C. The ceramics and the semisubterranean houses of the 7th C. considered by archaeologists to be Slavic are found in Moldavia, on the Lower Danube, and, less frequently, in the basin of the Sava. The cartography of these findings allows the hypothesis that Slavic penetration south from the Danube followed two independent routes—via the Lower Danube in the east and from Pannonia to Illyricum in the west. Traces of Slavic culture in Greece are rare: a Slavic cemetery near Olympia, ceramics in Argos and Tiryns, fibulae from Lakonia and Kenchreai, tombs of warriors near the walls of Corinth containing Slavic belt buckles and weapons (K. Kilian, *Peloponnesiaka* 16 [1985–86] 295–304). It is possible that the majority of the Slavs in this area had undergone (at least partial) hellenization before they formed established settlements.

The Slavs participated in the creation of new political entities in the basin of the Danube. In the former NORICUM the realm of Samo emerged (ca.623–58). This had two social strata: the ruling Winidi (Jordanes' Venethi?) and the inferior stratum of the Sclavi, to whom also belonged the Serbi. Even less is known about the polity called "Volhynia," a name that survives in al-Mas'ūdī and in the Kievan chronicle. The polity created in Moesia ca.680 by the Bulgars of ASPARUCH appeared much more stable. These Bulgars assumed control of local Sklaviniai (esp. those of the "Seven Tribes" and DROUGOUBITAI). Now Thessalonike and its environs, rather than the Danube, was the frontier and focus of Slavo-Byz. relations.

The third period was initiated by the destruction of the Avar realm by CHARLEMAGNE and Franco-Bulgar cooperation in pacifying the region. Two types of Slavs appear soon after 800: mobile military colonists who were ready to settle as allies on any sort of frontier within the Byz. Empire, esp. in the Peloponnesos (EZERITAI and MELINGOI), in Asia Minor (esp. in Opsikion, Pontos, and Cilicia), and in Italy; and the former Avar military elite and their retainers who were eager to settle and establish their power over semi-independent princes under Frankish or Byz. sovereignty, for example, in Pannonia or Moravia.

During this period the Slavs converted to Christianity and the Slavic sacred language (CHURCH SLAVONIC) was created by CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS. The Slavic lingua franca was elevated (along with Hebrew, Greek, and Latin) to the language of an ecclesiastical rite. Though originally a failure in Moravia where it was introduced, Slavic laid down stronger roots in Bulgaria, whence it expanded to Kievan Rus' and Serbia.

In the earlier stage, the Slavic rite found the support, albeit reluctant, of the papal court and facilitated the extension of papal jurisdiction over Pannonia, the territory of the former Avar realm and their Sklavinian successors (with Slavic as the current lingua franca); but soon, in neighboring Nitra and in Split, Latin replaced the Slavic tongue in church services. The situation changed dramatically, however, when the rulers of Bulgaria, at the end of the 9th C., abandoned their Bulgaro-Greek bureaucratic bilingualism and turned to the Slavic lingua franca and the Slavic rite for the needs of both church and state.

In the 9th C. the Slavs exerted an influential force on Byz. territory: at the beginning of the century they besieged PATRAS, and legend has it that only the supernatural assistance of the apostle Andrew saved the city. After the Byz. victory the Slavs were placed under the jurisdiction of the metropolis of Patras, and the obligation to accommodate traveling imperial functionaries and ambassadors was imposed on them. Various sources speak of Slav rebellions in the Peloponnesos in the 9th and 10th C. The hagiographer of NIKON HO "METANOEITE" snobbishly represents the Peloponnesian Slavs as robbers and pagans. Still, in the 14th (and probably 15th) C. some Slav groups dwelled on Mt. Taygetos: they refused to pay taxes but agreed to serve as soldiers. An even more substantial Slav population existed in Macedonia, and the *praktika* of various monasteries on Mt. ATHOS show that many *paroikoi* in the 14th and 15th C. bore Slavic names. Some Slavs became members of the Byz. elite (esp. after Basil II's occupation of Bulgaria) or served as mercenaries. Significant traces of Slavic survive in Greek TOPONYMS. The role of the Slavs in Byz. has, however, been exaggerated by some Russian and So-

viet scholars (from V. Vasil'evskij onward) who connected with the Slav penetration the resurgence of Byz. after the decline of the 7th C., the expansion of the peasant community, and military reform; they considered even the FARMER'S LAW a document of Slavic customary law.

After the 9th C. Byz. authors rarely used the term *Sklavenoi* and its derivatives, and preferred to apply to the Slavs either specific ethnic denominations (Rus', Bulgarians, Serbs, Chorbatoi, Lechoi, etc.) or antiquarian terms such as Scythians, Sarmatians, Illyrians; they seem to have had no concept of the ethnic unity of the Slavs and had only a very vague idea of the unity of the Slavic languages.

LIT. O. Pritsak, "The Slavs and the Avars," *SettStu* 30 (1983) 353–435. Z. Váňa, *The World of the Ancient Slavs* (London 1983). A.P. Vlasto, *The Entry of the Slavs into Christendom* (Cambridge 1970). I. Dujčev, *Medioevo bizantino-slavo,* 3 vols. (Rome 1965–71). I. Sorlin in Lemerle, *Miracles* 2:219–34. V.V. Sedov, *Proischoždenie i rannjaja istorija slavjan* (Moscow 1979). I. Ševčenko, "Byzantium and the Slavs," *HUkSt* 8 (1984) 289–303. O.R. Borodin, "Slavjane v Italii i Istrii v VI–VIII vv.," *VizVrem* 44 (1983) 48–59. –O.P.

SMBAT THE CONSTABLE, brother of Het'um I, king of Armenian Cilicia; born Cilicia 1208, died 1276. He was given the title of "Constable" (Sparapet)—an indication of Crusader influence—when Het'um became king in 1226. In 1247 Smbat visited the Mongol capital, Karakorum.

He adapted the secular code of Mxit'ar Goš (compiled in 1184) for westernized Cilician Armenia, and translated the French *Assizes of Antioch* into Armenian (the original is lost). His *Chronicle* is important for Byz. and Crusader history; for the period 951 to 1162 it is based on MATTHEW OF EDESSA, but for the period down to 1272 it offers original information.

ED. *Sempadscher Kodex aus dem 13. Jahrhundert oder Mittelarmenisches Rechtsbuch,* ed. J. Karst, 2 vols. in 1 (Strassburg 1905). *Assises d'Antioche* [ed. L. Alishan] (Venice 1876) with Fr. tr. *Taregirk',* ed. S. Agelean (Venice 1956). *La chronique attribuée au Connétable Smbat,* tr. G. Dédéyan (Paris 1980).

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *Etudes byzantines et arméniennes* 1 (Louvain 1973) 353–77. –R.T.

SMEDEREVO (Σμέδροβον), a fortress southeast of Belgrade at the confluence of the Jezava and the Danube rivers, erected in 1428–30. After GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ lost Belgrade to the Hungarians in 1427, he received permission from the Turks to build this stronghold that was to be his capital; Thomas Kantakouzenos, his brother-in-law, directed the construction work. The stronghold, copied after Constantinople, is triangular in plan, fortified by square towers; the princely residence, the so-called Mali grad (Small Fort), was located in its northern corner. The princely edifices (palace, donjon for a treasury ?) were built of wood and are poorly preserved.

On 27 Aug. 1439 Murad II seized Smederevo, but it was returned to Branković in 1444. HUNYADI and VLADISLAV III JAGELLON stopped there on their way to Varna that same year, and in 1448 Hunyadi found refuge in Smederevo after his defeat at KOSOVO POLJE. In 1449 the Hungarians and Turks signed a treaty in Smederevo, vowing not to invade Serbian territory, but there was only a short respite for the Serbs—Mehmed II captured Smederevo on 20 June 1459.

LIT. P. Popović, *Smederevo* (Belgrade 1932). Lj. Petrović, *Grad Smederevo u srpskoj istoriji i književnosti* 1 (Pančevo 1922). D. Trifunović in *Enciklopedija Jugoslavije* 7 (Zagreb 1968) 409f. M. Popović, "La résidence du despote Djuradj Branković dans le Châtelet de la forteresse de Smederevo," *Balcanoslavica* 7 (1978) 101–12. I. Zdravković, "Smederevo, najveća srpska srednjovekovna tvrdjava," *Starinar* n.s. 20 (1969) 423–29. –A.K.

SMITH. In classical Greek *chalkeus* (χαλκεύς) and *chalkotypos* (χαλκοτύπος) were both specific terms for a copper or bronze smith and for a smith in general; the same holds true for *sidereus* (σιδηρεύς), an ironmonger. Oikonomides (*Hommes d'affaires* 102, n.199) tentatively differentiates *chalkeis* (smiths) from *chalkotypoi* (founders). Terms for smiths are common in papyri (Fikhman, *Egipet* 28), hagiography (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 144f), and in later documents. They gave their name to quarters in Constantinople (Chalkoprateia) and in Thessalonike (the region where the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON church was built). Some smiths became prosperous; for example, the *chalkeus* Matthew in a *praktikon* of the mid-14th C. paid more than 14 nomismata in *enoikiakon* or rent (Guillou, *Ménécée,* no.35.40–42).

In the regulations for his 9th-C. monastery, Theodore of Stoudios named specialized artisans who produced metal objects: *machairopoios,* cutler; *kleidopoios,* locksmith; *katenaras,* chainmaker; *ankistras,* maker of fishhooks (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor*

1:412f). Such a division of labor, however, was possible only in a large monastic community and was not typical of Byz. An exceptional case probably was the production of nails: a chrysobull of John V Palaiologos of 1342 mentions *ergasteria, trapezotopia*, and *karpheia* (nail factories) in Constantinople (*Lavra* 3, no.127.144–46), and the *Patria of Constantinople* (ed. Preger, 236.11–13) cites an area in the capital where small nails (*kinthelia*) were produced.

Various TOOLS used by smiths are mentioned in hagiographical texts: hammer, anvil, bellows, furnace, tongs. Iron tongs 38 cm long were discovered in Corinth (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, no.1444). Excavations in Cherson have uncovered equipment used by founders: stone molds for rings and crosses, ceramic crucibles, ladles for melted metal (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovyj Cherson* [Moscow-Leningrad 1959] 325–30). Several bone-clad caskets (of the 10th–11th C.) depict Adam as a smith, with tongs, hammer, and anvil, while Eve handles the bellows at a forge.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 192–95. L. Dončeva-Petkova, "Za metalodobiva i metaloobratvaneto v Pliska," *Archeologija* 22.4 (1980) 27–36. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 76f. –A.K.

SMOLENOI (Σμολένοι, also Smoleanoi), a Slavic tribal name, probably from Slavic *smola*, "tar," reflected in Balkan toponymy (J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bŭlgarskite slavjani na Balkanskija poluostrov* [Sofia 1967] 170) and also known in eastern Europe (see SMOLENSK). There is no reason to identify the name of Smolenoi with that of MOGLENA as S. Kyriakides (*Byzantinai Meletai* 4 [Thessalonike? n.d.] 318–20) suggested. The Smolenoi are first mentioned in a damaged inscription referring to an expedition of the Bulgar khan Persian ca.837 (Beševliev, *Inschriften*, no.14.9). The localization of the Smolenoi is under discussion: Theocharides (*infra*) hypothesizes that the Smolenoi settled in a *kleisoura* that secured the entrance into the valley of the STRYMON; when defeated by Persian they retreated to CHRISTOUPOLIS. The inscription, however, provides insufficient basis for such a hypothesis.

By the end of the 11th C. a theme of Smolenoi existed: an act of 1079 is signed by John Kataphloron, *strategos* of Smolenoi (*Lavra* 1, no.39.9), and Gregory PAKOURIANOS, in his *typikon*, lists several documents related explicitly to the theme of Smolenoi. The last mention of the theme of Smolenoi is in Niketas Choniates.

After the christianization of the Smolenoi there was founded a bishopric of Smolenoi, known from notitiae of the 9th–13th C. A priest Theodore Smolenetes lived in the village of Dobrobikeia (in the district of Boleron and Strymon) in the first half of the 11th C. (*Ivir.* 1, no.30.24).

LIT. G. Theocharides, "Morounats, to dethen Slabikon onoma tes Kabales," *Makedonika* 6 (1964–65) 82–89. D. Dečev, "Gde sja živeli Smolenite?" *Zbornik v čest na V. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 45–54. Lemerle, *Philippes* 116, 136, 137 n.1. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 8, n.1. –A.K.

SMOLENSK (Σμολ(ἐν)ισκον), a town on the upper DNIEPER and center of a principality of RUS'. Relations with Constantinople can be traced back to the 10th C., the time of the earliest Byz. coins, glass, and silks found in the region. Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 9.6) mentions Smolensk as one of the places where the Rus' gathered in preparation for their expeditions to Constantinople. Smolensk's most prosperous and influential period was from the mid-12th to the mid-13th C., under Rostislav (ca.1125–59) and his successors, of the dynasty of VLADIMIR MONOMACH. An exceptional number of churches were built during this period. The bishopric of Smolensk (*Smoliskon* in *Notitiae CP*, no.13.769) was founded in 1134–36. Its first incumbent, Manuel (a Greek, and possibly the uncle of Theodore PRODROMOS), supported the patriarchate in the controversy over KLIM SMOLJATIČ. In 1370 Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS excommunicated Prince Svjatoslav of Smolensk for his alliance with LITHUANIA against Moscow (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2582).

LIT. Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 372–81. L. Alekseev, *Smolenskaja zemlja* (Moscow 1980). –S.C.F.

SMYRNA (Σμύρνη, now Izmir), city on the Aegean coast of Asia Minor. Its late antique history is obscure, with only a few epigrams providing evidence for construction or maintenance of public works. The city walls were restored by Arkadios and Herakleios. MUʿĀWIYA devastated the city in 654, and the Arabs occupied it in 672/3. Smyrna was a major naval base that gained importance as the harbor of EPHESUS silted up. According to Constantine VII (*De them.* chs. 16.14–16, 17.15, ed. Pertusi, p.82), Smyrna was a city of the

THRAKESION theme and at the same time capital of the theme of SAMOS. The city also had an *archon*, apparently a maritime governor (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 91). Smyrna played a more significant role after Alexios I recaptured it from TZACHAS in 1097 and made it a naval base for operations in Asia Minor. It was then put under a *doux*; by 1133 it was again a city of Thrakesion.

Smyrna had considerable importance under the Laskarids, for whom it was the major military and commercial port, as well as a center of silk production and of education. John III Vatatzes built the powerful upper fortress, still well preserved. Smyrna was then administered by a *katepano*, later by a *prokathemenos*. The documents of the LEMBIOTISSA MONASTERY reveal considerable information about the region in this period. By 1261 Smyrna had a Genoese colony that prospered into the 14th C. After 1304, the city was capital of Thrakesion but was practically surrounded by the Turks of AYDIN, who captured its fortress in 1317. A joint fleet of the Hospitallers, Venetians, Cypriots, and some other Latin rulers of Aegean islands took Smyrna by surprise on 28 Oct. 1344, and the city remained in the hands of the Latins until it was seized by Timur after the battle of Ankara in 1402.

Long a suffragan of Ephesus, Smyrna became autocephalous in 451–57 and metropolis in the 9th C. It had only three suffragans.

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 4–11, 155–58. Lemerle, *Aydin* 40–58, 180–203. W. Müller-Wiener, "Die Stadtbefestigungen von Izmir, Siğacık und Çandarlı," *IstMitt* 12 (1962) 60–96. Angold, *Byz. Government* 109f. –C.F.

SNAKES (sing. ὄφις) or serpents. Despite the general interest of Byz., zoological treatises on snakes have not survived. Sporadic information on the snake's nature is mostly based on ancient authorities. Psellos mentions the display of snakes for entertainment, an ancient practice that continued to his day (A. Karpozilos, *Dodone* 9 [1980] 289–310). Such a performance is illustrated in an 11th-C. illuminated MS of the *Homilies* of Gregory of Nazianzos (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies*, fig.51). The church condemned the performances of snake charmers, usually GYPSIES (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:444f).

Christian attitudes to the mythology of the snake were contradictory. Thus, in marginal PSALTER illustration a snake represents the venom of sinners, but a snake charmer the voice of the wise (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig.116). The PHYSIOLOGOS emphasized the snake's ability to change its skin and drew from this capability some moralizing examples for human behavior. The Brazen Serpent could even represent Christ. On the other hand, the snake was an instrument of the DEVIL or an embodiment of the Devil himself. SEVERIANOS OF GABALA, developing the theme of Genesis, says that the snake in Paradise differed from those serpents that we now despise and avoid; he was Adam's closest friend and an imitator of human behavior, but at the Devil's instigation he became the murderer of man (PG 56:485–88). In hagiography the snake appears mostly to challenge the saint's virtue or miraculous power; hence the slaying of the snake or dragon by saints such as GEORGE, SYMEON OF EMESA, and ELISABETH is presented as a major ascetic deed. In mythological zoology, the deer was granted the ability to kill the snake. Proverbs and *gnomai* use the image of the venomous snake as a symbol of evil and perfidy.

Snakes are frequently represented in art as conquered by EAGLES. Identified with dragons, they were also shown without apparent symbolic significance. Images of snakes adorned a great porphyry basin that was once in a garden of the Great Palace of Constantinople and was moved in the reign of Andronikos I to the courtyard of the church of the Forty Martyrs (Nik.Chon. 332.18–22). Dragons were represented on military standards held by *drakonarioi*. –Ap.K., A.C.

SOAP (σαπώνιον) in the modern sense of the word, a soluble washing compound made from the combination of fatty acids with soda and potash, was unknown in antiquity (H. Blümner, *RE* 2.R. 2 [1923] 1112–14). Instead the Greeks used *nitron*, a form of sodium carbonate, which formed a cleansing compound when mixed with oil. Even though Arethas of Caesarea, in his scholia to Lucian, notes that it was the ancients who used *nitron* in their baths (S. Kougeas, *Laographia* 4 [1913] 248), the term *nitron* continued to be used through the Byz. era. Thus, the 14th-C. *typikon* of the BEBAIAS ELPIDOS NUNNERY (ed. Delehaye, 74.5) provided for a monthly distribution of *nitron* to the nuns to wash their clothes, and Niketas Cho-

niates (Nik.Chon. 149.23–24) described the baths in Constantinople where the patrons applied *nitron.* The chemical composition of Byz. *nitron* is unknown.

The word *sapo* (from Celtic *saipo*) is used by Latin writers from the 1st C. onward, and Greek *sapon* appears in a papyrus of the 1st C. B.C. in an unclear context but related to washing (*Aegyptische Urkunden der königlichen Museen zu Berlin,* vol. 4 [Berlin 1912] no.1058.35). Pliny the Elder (*Natural History* 28.51) explains *sapo* as a Gallo-Germanic concoction for giving hair a bright hue; Oribasios (*Collectionum medicarum reliquiae,* ed. J. Raeder, vol. 3 [Leipzig-Berlin 1931] 45.29.59) defines *sapon* as a Germanic unguent used in the bath. Bartholomew of Edessa, a writer of the 8th or 9th C., knew the terms *sopounion* and *sapounion* for soap (PG 104:1405B, 1413A). In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch, saponion* is used to designate soap; *saponarii* and *saponopratai* were the SOAPMAKERS. Another word for soap was *gallikon* (Gallic soap): Emp. Constans II is said to have smeared himself with *gallikon* in the bathhouse just before he was murdered (Theoph. 351.29–31). The 10th-C. *saponopratai* were prohibited from selling the *gallikon* (*Bk. of Eparch* 12.4). Stöckle (*Zünfte* 39) hypothesizes that the use of *gallikon* was a privilege reserved for the imperial family.

LIT. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology,* vol. 3 (Leiden 1955) 174–82. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:451, notes 5 and 6. –A.K., A.M.T.

SOAPMAKER (σαπωνοπράτης). In antiquity the substitute for soap (*nitron*) was available in bathhouses, and the profession of "soap"-vendor, *nitropoles,* is attested to at least in one late Roman papyrus (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 3:133). In the late Roman period soapmakers, *saponarii,* existed in Italy and in Gaul: thus, a contract of 541 mentions Isaac, *vir honestus, saponarius Classis,* in Ravenna (J.O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri aus der Zeit 445–700,* vol. 2 [Stockholm 1982] no.33.2), and in 599 the *corpus* of *sapunarii* in Naples asked Pope Gregory I for protection.

The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.12) devotes a section to the Constantinopolitan guild of *saponopratai* who were both producers and vendors of soap. Their shops (*ergasteria*) had to be separated from each other by a distance of 7 *pecheis* and 12 *podes* (see POUS). Besides the usual restrictions imposed on guilds, soapmakers were forbidden to use animal fat during Lent. A synodal decision of 1400 (MM 2:440.32–34) estimated the cost of a large caldron and a complete set of tools of a *saponarios* at 100 hyperpers.

LIT. *Bk. of Eparch* 211–15. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 39f. –A.K.

SOCIAL STRUCTURE. Byz. society has been divided into CLASSES and other entities conventionally called MICROSTRUCTURES. Some of them were ephemeral or fluid units, constantly forming and breaking up—learned assemblies and schools, bands of hunters, occasional gatherings (e.g., in taverns); they left little trace and can scarcely be studied. Others were more or less stable: FAMILY, LINEAGE, VILLAGE COMMUNITY, GUILD, town, parish, CONFRATERNITY, MONASTERY, military unit, ethnic group. Late Roman society inherited ancient municipal organization and elements of traditional lineages-*gentes* (at least in the form of the system of NAMES). Both aspects seem to have declined by the 8th C., whereas the nuclear family grew stronger and became the cornerstone of Byz. social structure; other microstructures were relatively loose, composed mostly of agglomerations of nuclear families; even the cenobitic monastery was challenged by the familylike eremitic unit, the LAVRA. The ideal of celibacy as a major virtue contributed to a certain devaluation of family ties and to the profound atomization of society. Vertical social bonds were underdeveloped if compared with the Western feudal hierarchy.

We may assume that this atomization of society and lack of strong horizontal and vertical social bonds accounted for the Byz. concept that a man was primarily the subject of the *basileus* (his "slave" or "child") rather than a member of a lineage, township, or village community, or a link in a hierarchical chain of lords and vassals. Vassalage was at a rudimentary stage and the hierarchy one of meritorious ranks conferred by the *basileus,* rather than one of hereditary titles, lands, and jurisdictions. The system of vertical mobility created a constant flow—although more in theory than in practice. This system was supported by traditions of Roman law that—more often than not rhetorically—proclaimed mankind's equality before the law and ignored legal privileges of social status, albeit developed in custom. Atomized social structure was supported by a belief in the individual path to SALVATION propagated

by such mystics as SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN or the partisans of HESYCHASM. Byz. theology pursued the hierarchical world view of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE less energetically than Western theologians. The Byz. clergy was not as sharply separated from the ordinary lay people as its Western counterpart, and the Byz. church did not achieve as great a monopoly on salvation or education as did the church in the West.

The urban revival and the aristocratization of society from the 11th C. onward caused a breach in the traditional social structure and a revision of many conservative values, but the process was too slow and inconsistent. Byz. institutions began to bear greater resemblance to Western feudal society but remained substantially different, and the Byz. never identified themselves with the West.

LIT. J. Haldon, "On the Structuralist Approach to the Social History of Byzantium," *BS* 42 (1981) 203–11.

–A.K.

SOCRATES (Σωκράτης), ancient Greek philosopher; born Athens 469 B.C., died Athens 399. The *Souda* contains many references to Socrates, preserving a curious mixture of fact and fiction, while the Byz. scholia to Aristophanes' *Clouds* add little or nothing to our knowledge of the historical Socrates. The aphorisms attributed to Socrates in STOBAIOS and the *gnomologia* (collections of GNOMAI) are of uncertain age and authenticity. The *Gnomologion Vaticanum* (a 14th-C. MS) contains 31 sayings attributed to Socrates and one attributed to his wife Xanthippe. Byz. writers were divided in their view of Socrates. Some rejected him as the embodiment of paganism, while others saw him as a critic of pagan society who was repudiated and executed, and thus a man of true wisdom who had anticipated the future truths of Christianity. In paintings of the TREE OF JESSE in a group of late Byz. churches in Greece and the Balkans, Socrates is sometimes included among pagan writers and philosophers who had prophesied the coming of Christ. Although the pagans depicted in the Tree are undoubtedly connected with the *Prophecies of the Seven Sages* (a text formulated shortly before 560 that omits Socrates), the paintings all appear to derive from a 13th-C. Italian archetype and do not represent a survival of Hellenism as some scholars have believed. (For historian, see SOKRATES.)

LIT. H. Erbse, *Fragmente griechischer Theosophien* (Hamburg 1941). J. Ferguson, *Socrates: A Source Book* (London 1970). I. Dujčev, *Heidnische Philosophen und Schriftsteller in der alten bulgarischen Wandmalerei* (Opladen 1976). M.D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 125–76.

–K.S.

SOFIA. See SERDICA.

SOĞANLI, a valley in CAPPADOCIA. Located between Ürgüp and Niğde on the central Anatolian plateau, the valley is the site of a number of ROCK-CUT CHURCHES with frescoes dating from the late 9th or early 10th C. to the third quarter of the 11th C. Two churches are dated by inscription. St. Barbara (dated to a 4th indiction, probably 1006 or 1021) is a single-naved, barrel-vaulted church with a *parekklesion.* The large apse is adorned with a MAJESTAS DOMINI. Narrative images from the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES decorate the south side of the nave vault; iconic representations of the Nativity and Anastasis appear on the north side. Karabaş Kilise is a monastic complex probably founded in the late 9th or early 10th C., made up of four single-naved chapels. The principal northern church was redecorated in 1060/1 by a *protospatharios* Michael SKEPIDES, a nun Katherine, and a monk Nyphon. The Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) fills the conch of the apse, and feast scenes as well as portraits of saints and the donors decorate the nave. The style of the frescoes is similar to those of St. Sophia in OHRID. Another member of the Skepides family, John, *protospatharios* of the Chrysotriklinos, *hypatos* and *strategos*, is mentioned in an undated inscription in Geyik Kilise in the same valley. The three churches of the Belli Kilise group are notable for their carved exteriors and for the elaborate subsidiary rooms associated with them; frescoes in this complex probably date to the early 10th C.

LIT. Jerphanion, *Églises rupestres* 2:249–381. N. Thierry, "Étude stylistique des peintures de Karabaş Kilise en Cappadoce," *CahArch* 17 (1967) 161–75. M. Restle, "Zum Karabaş Kilise im Soğanlı Dere," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 261–66.

–A.J.W.

SOHAG, town in Upper Egypt at the edge of the western desert, site of the famous 5th-C. monastery of SHENOUTE (Dayr Anbā Shinūda). The monastery originally covered several acres; exca-

vations have unearthed sections of the outer wall and traces of buildings. Still standing is the church misleadingly named the "White Monastery," built ca.440, one of the largest basilicas in Egypt, with galleries, two narthexes, and a richly adorned triconch sanctuary. In front of the triumphal arch are traces of two additional columns that once bore a secondary triumphal arch, a typical feature of Upper Egyptian triconch churches. Several thousand monks and nuns lived in this monastery under very strict regulations, mainly working in its fields. They slept in common dormitories and had their meals at special hours in the refectory.

A few miles to the north lies another monastery, St. Bishoi (Dayr Anbā Bishūy), probably a dependent house of St. Shenoute. Its church, although smaller, is of similar plan, and its triconch with semidomes and two stories of columns has remained fully intact; it is datable to the 5th C. The central dome replaced the original pyramidal roof. Farther into the desert lies a small ruined 5th-C. chapel, dedicated to Shenoute.

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *Les couvents près de Sohâg*, 2 vols. (Milan 1925–26). P. Akermann, *Le décor sculpté du Couvent Blanc* (Cairo 1976). P. Grossmann, "New Observations in the Church and Sanctuary of Dayr Anbā Šinūda," *Annales du Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte* 70 (1984–85) 69–73. Timm, *Ägypten* 2:601–34. –P.G.

SOKRATES (Σωκράτης), ecclesiastical historian; born Constantinople ca.380, died after 439. Sokrates was a lawyer (*scholastikos*) at Constantinople, where he had been educated by Ammonios and Helladios, two pagan grammarians living there in exile from Alexandria. His *Church History* covers the period 305–439 in seven books, each one containing the reign of an emperor. There is much emphasis on local events affecting Constantinople, also some obtruded sympathy for NOVATIANISM. Secular events, including military history, are given due focus. Sokrates is a good critical historian who cites his documentary sources verbatim. He published a second edition (the one that survives) when a perusal of ATHANASIOS of Alexandria convinced him that there were serious chronological errors in his first source, the Latin *Church History* of RUFINUS OF AQUILEIA. The work also survives in an Armenian version (M. Širinjan, *VizVrem* 43 [1982] 231–41).

ED. *Ecclesiastical History*², ed. R. Hussey, revised W. Bright (Oxford 1893). PG 67:29–842. Eng. tr. A.C. Zenos, *Ecclesiastical History* (New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952).

LIT. G.F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories* (Paris 1977) 167–89. Idem, "Kairos and Cosmic Sympathy in the Church Historian Socrates Scholasticus," *ChHist* 44 (1975) 161–66. F. Geppert, *Die Quellen des Kirchenhistorikers Socrates Scholasticus* (Leipzig 1898). -B.B.

SOLEA (σωλαία, σωλεία, σολέα, etc.), in early churches of Constantinople an enclosed processional pathway leading from the TEMPLON to the AMBO. After Iconoclasm, when this *solea* was no longer used, the term is sometimes applied to that part of the raised sanctuary platform (BEMA) that lies outside the templon. Pseudo-Sophronios interprets the *solea* in this latter sense, as the river of fire separating sinners from the just (PG 87:3985A).

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 32, 37f, 54, 65f, 98f, 179. S.G. Xydis, "The Chancel Barrier, Solea, and Ambo of Hagia Sophia," *ArtB* 29 (1947) 15–24. –R.F.T.

SOLECISM (σολοικισμός), technical term of grammar, denoting incorrect use of language, usually resulting from ignorance. Roman grammarians distinguished between "barbarism," in which the error was confined to a single word, and solecism, involving several words. Solecism was thus mainly concerned with SYNTAX. Byz. grammarians repeated this distinction. For Byz. rhetoricians such as the 11th-C. John DOXOPATRES (*RhetGr*, ed. Walz, 2:240f), avoidance of solecism was an element in correct Greek. When the incorrect use was deliberate and made for effect, however, solecism became a feature of style rather than of language, and as such was recognized by Byz. grammarians as a figure of speech. The term could thus be applied to ellipsis, pleonasm, or unusual word order as well as to errors of grammar. Byz. writers often charged one another with solecism, and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 455.44–45) accused Emp. Alexios III of signing any document presented to him, even if it was solecistic. This sensitivity to solecism, real or imagined, is a feature of ATTICISM, and indicates that the grammar of the literary Greek language was sometimes not fully internalized either by writers or readers.

LIT. H. Lausberg, *Handbuch der literarischen Rhetorik*² (Munich 1973) 1:267–74. –R.B.

SOLEMNION (σολέμνιον, "stipend," from Lat. *solemne donum,* "festive gift"), an annual payment of a sum of money granted as a gift by the emperor, took two forms. One kind, a direct grant from the treasury, is attested in 10th- through 12th-C. documents in which its recipient is always the Great Church or a monastery in Constantinople. Another, more important for the history of Byz. fiscal practices, is the *solemnion logisimon* described in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 117f). Instead of receiving a *solemnion* from the treasury, the beneficiary received fiscal revenues drawn at their source. This *solemnion logisimon* had three forms: (1) The beneficiary had his property tax reduced by the amount of the *solemnion;* (2) a provincial treasury official bestowed the *solemnion* from taxes collected in the province, so that the *solemnion* bypassed the central treasury; and (3) the emperor ordered a certain CHORION to pay its taxes directly to the beneficiary (specifically, to an ecclesiastical institution).

Solemnia are mentioned in acts of the 10th–11th C. At the end of the 10th C., the Lavra of St. Athanasios received 600–700 nomismata as *solemnia,* in part from the island of Lemnos and, probably, from the region of the Strymon; it was also granted a *solemnion* in grain (N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 1:61). Constantine IX Monomachos conferred upon Vatopedi a *solemnion* of 80 hyperpyra (M. Goudas, *EEBS* 3 [1926] 125, no.3.5–6), and in 1079 Nikephoros III ordered the *dioiketes* of the Cyclades islands to pay a *solemnion* of 16 nomismata to the monk Arsenios Skenoures and his cells (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.3.14–15). The principle behind *solemnion logisimon* was central in the formation of the PRONOIA and *oikonomia* that later supplanted it.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 83f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 215f. Ahrweiler, *Structures,* pt.I (1964), 105f. –M.B.

SOLIDUS, initially the name of Diocletian's gold coin struck 60 to the Roman pound (see LITRA) but more particularly applied to its successor, struck 72 to the pound and weighing 24 *siliquae* or *keratia.* It was introduced under Constantine I at the mint of Trier in 309. This was gradually extended to the other mints of Constantine's dominions and under him and his successors became the standard gold coin of the empire. In Greek it was known from the first as a NOMISMA, but numismatists have been accustomed to use the Latin word *solidus* for the coin down to the 10th C., despite the incongruity of this in a purely Greek setting. Though the coin was theoretically of pure gold, there was a slight falling off in fineness in the 10th C., followed by a catastrophic decline between the 1030s and 1080s. Solidi of Nikephoros III were only about 33 percent fine and those of the early years of Alexios I ceased to be of gold at all. A return to good quality gold was made in 1092, with the introduction of the HYPERPYRON. Provincial gold coins, notably those of 8th-C. Italy and of 9th-C. Sicily, had often been of much poorer gold than those of Constantinople. Solidi weighing less than the theoretical 24 carats—the precise figures vary from 20 to 23 carats—had been struck in small quantities in the 6th–7th C., their reduced weight being indicated to users by small changes in design. The purpose of these coins is unknown. In the 10th C. a new class of lightweight solidi came into existence with the creation of the TETARTERON.

LIT. *DOC* 2:10–17, 3:19–62. C. Morrisson et al., *L'or monnayé. I. Purifications et altérations de Rome à Byzance* (Paris 1985). –Ph.G.

SOL INVICTUS, the invincible sun, was the symbol of HELIOS in his capacity as protector of the emperor; under Aurelian (270–75) and in the first quarter of the 4th C. the distinction between the *sol invictus* and the emperor himself became confused. The *sol invictus* appears on the coins of Galerius and Maximinus and later, through 323. Sometimes the *sol invictus* is presented on a chariot, with the SPHAIRA, or orb, in his left hand and the right hand upraised; according to Prokopios of Gaza this gesture meant a command to open the gates of the hours. After Constantine I, the image of the solar god-emperor vanishes, whereas the SOL JUSTITIAE (or *sol salutis*), the sun of justice and of salvation, merges with the image of Christ.

LIT. H.P. L'Orange, "Sol Invictus Imperator: Ein Beitrag zur Apotheose," *Symbolae Osloenses* 14 (1935) 86–114. Idem, "Konstantin den Stores triumfbue i Roma," *Kunst og Kultur* 54 (1971) 81–120. –A.K.

SOL JUSTITIAE ("sun of justice"), later also *sol salutis* ("sun of salvation"), usually a symbol and metaphor for Christ, according to late antique and Byz. exegesis of Malachi 4:2. The concept arose in an ancient Near Eastern milieu and be-

came widespread in Neoplatonic thought; Philo calls the sun the divine *Logos*. The classic formulations of Christ as the *sol justitiae*, "risen with healing in his wings," are in ORIGEN's *Against Celsus* ("the One Word, risen like the Sun of Justice"), and in CYRIL of Alexandria's commentary on Malachi ("Christ rises upon the world as the Sun of Justice, of most perfect knowledge, enlightening our eyes and souls"). Also regarded as a type of the risen Christ was the sun "rejoicing as a giant to run his course" of Psalm 19(18):4–5, an emblem of the just law of God. This exegesis, however, posed for Christian theologians the problem of how to distinguish between the worship of Christ and the veneration of the sun, such as that reported to be practiced by the Manichaeans. A vestige of solar veneration can be seen in the tradition of Christian congregations facing east during the liturgy. In Byz. art the type is usually subsumed into the fusion of Christ with SOL INVICTUS.

LIT. F.J. Dölger, *Die Sonne des Gerechtigkeit und der Schwarze* (Münster 1919) 83–110. Idem, *Sol Salutis* (Münster 1925).

–L.S.B.MacC.

SOLOMON (Σολομών), son and successor of DAVID; king of Israel. Early Christian tradition attributes to Solomon three books of the OLD TESTAMENT (Proverbs, Ecclesiastes, and the SONG OF SONGS) that, according to Origen, formed a unit symbolically reflecting the major elements of human wisdom: ethics (Proverbs), physics (Ecclesiastes), and metaphysics (the Song of Songs). Basil the Great, in his homily on the exordium of Proverbs (PG 31:385–424), praised it as speaking of true wisdom and righteousness. In contrast, Theodore of Mopsuestia considered Proverbs and Ecclesiastes as books that, while canonical, exhibited less inspiration; this view was condemned at the Council of Constantinople in 553. Ecclesiastes caused particular difficulties for exegetes, since they had to explain the Epicurean tendencies of this divine book; Gregory of Nyssa solved the difficulty by applying the theory of *prosopopoiia*: Solomon's dialogue was with a hypothetical hedonist interlocutor. A lengthy commentary by GREGORY OF AKRAGAS reveals a knowledge of ancient authors (Aristotle, Philo, the rhetoricians) and a freedom to disagree with renowned church fathers.

The biblical story of Solomon, elaborated in the so-called *Testament of Solomon* extant in Greek MSS of the 15th to 17th C., is probably already referred to in a Christian text of 400. The *Testament* relates the construction of the Temple and presents Solomon as ruling over demons, whom he put to work for the Temple. Solomon also received gifts from all the kings of the earth and from Sheba, the Queen of the South.

Representation in Art. Solomon was often paired with DAVID, for example, among groups of Old Testament PROPHETS in monumental decoration and among those awaiting Christ in the ANASTASIS. Exegetical parallels drawn between David and emperors were sometimes extended to include the emperors' sons as types of Solomon (H. Buchthal, *JWarb* 37 [1974] 332). In contrast to David, Solomon was usually represented as an idealized, beardless young man; both are dressed as emperors. Solomon appears as an author inspired by SOPHIA (H. Belting, G. Cavallo, *Die Bibel des Niketas* [Wiesbaden 1979] 46–48) and raised on a shield in a frontispiece to 3 Kings (1 Chr) in the Bible of LEO SAKELLARIOS. As a legendary embodiment of Wisdom, Solomon was named in magic scrolls (Nik.Chon. 146.47–49) and seals.

SOURCE. *The Testament of Solomon*, ed. C.C. McCown (Leipzig 1922). Eng. tr. D.C. Duling, J. Charlesworth, *The Old Testament Pseudepigrapha*, vol. 1 (Garden City, N.Y., 1983) 935–97.

LIT. S. Leanza, *DPAC* 2:3084–96. R. Maisano, "L'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Isidoro Pelusiota: I libri sapienziali," *Koinonia* 4 (1980) 39–75. A. Kartsonis, *Anastasis: The Making of an Image* (Princeton 1986) 186–200.

–A.K., J.I., J.H.L., A.C.

SOLOMON, general of Justinian I; born at Solachon near Dara, died 544 at Cillium, on the border of Numidia and Byzacena. A eunuch, Solomon was Belisarios's *domestikos* and a commander of *foederati* during the expedition to Africa in 533–34. He fought well at the battle of Ad Decimum against the Vandals. When recalled to Constantinople, Belisarios left Solomon in command. Successful in the war against the Moors in Byzacena and Numidia, Solomon faced his own soldiers' discontent: he was almost assassinated in Carthage at Easter 536, was unable to quell the mutiny of STOTZAS, and fled to Sicily. Belisarios quickly came to Africa and reestablished Solomon's military and civil command, but Solomon was soon replaced by GERMANOS. Only after the suppression of mutiny in 539 was he restored to

his position as military (*magister militum*) and civil (praetorian prefect) governor of Africa. Again Solomon had to deal with the Moors and occupied several fortresses. When his troops fled from the battle at Cillium, Solomon kept fighting bravely and was killed. PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA, who was his assessor, describes Solomon as a courageous, capable, and energetic commander, although unpopular with the army.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 22–31. H. Halm, "Eine Inschrift des *Magister Militum* Solomon in arabischer Überlieferung," *Historia* 36 (1987) 250–56. A. Nagl, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 941–46. –W.E.K., A.K.

SOLOMON, SONG OF. See SONG OF SONGS.

SOMATEION (σωματεῖον), legal term designating a corporate body. *Cod.Just.* I 2.20 employs the word for contingents of soldiers. The scholion to *Basil.* 60.32.3.1 equates *somateia* with the "Hellenic" *hetaireiai* and prohibits the founding of *somateia* without an imperial decree. *Basil.* 54.16.16 states that admission of an individual to "the state *somateia*" had to occur in the presence of the *archon* of the *eparchia*, after the *somateion* testified to the applicant's fitness. *Basil.* 8.2.101 presents the statement of Gaius (*Digest* 3.4.1) in which the *somateion* represents the Latin *corpus*; the text refers primarily to PARTNERSHIP, the *societas* of Roman law. The case is illustrated in the scholion by a body for the levying of taxes, such as the *somateia* that collect tolls in a port or at a city gate.

The scholiast also speaks of Roman *collegia* or *somateia* (lit. "*somateion* of a *collegium*"), which were created by order of the senate or by imperial decree, such as the corporation of bakers. The structure of these *somateia* is said to have resembled that of *municipia* (*poleis*) because it too had a common administration, a common treasury, and a *syndikos* to run the common business. In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, the term *somateion* is found only in the title, whereas the text uses the terms *systema* and, in the case of notaries, *syllogos*. *Peira* 51.7, on the other hand, distinguishes between *systema* and *somateion*, describing *somateia* as corporations (GUILDS) engaged in manual work, such as shoemakers or dyers, whereas merchants engaged in the raw silk trade or textile importers (PRANDIOPRATAI) are considered members of *systemata*.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 8–11. Litavrin, *Viz.obščestvo* 131f. –A.K.

SONG OF SONGS (ᾆσμα ᾀσμάτων), a book of the BIBLE attributed to SOLOMON, and frequently commented upon by church fathers. ORIGEN established the foundation of its interpretation in his *Commentaries* and *Homilies* (preserved mainly in Latin translations by RUFINUS and JEROME). He rejected the possibility of a historical exegesis and interpreted the text as an ALLEGORY: the bridegroom, Solomon the "peaceable," and the bride stood respectively for Christ and the Church (the *Homilies*) or the Logos and the Soul (the *Commentaries*). GREGORY OF NYSSA refers to Origen in his exegesis of the *Song of Songs* and follows the principle of allegorical interpretation, even though he does not deny the historical element in the text; the historicity, however, is enigmatic and hard to decipher. The allegorical interpretation remained dominant, with the exception of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, who rejected the allegorical meaning of the text and saw in its protagonists the historical Solomon in love with an Egyptian princess. Theodore's exegesis was condemned at the Second Council of Constantinople, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS dedicated a tract to its refutation. In the 7th C. CATENAE on the *Song of Songs* appeared, which contained sentences ascribed to three theologians—Gregory of Nyssa, NEILOS OF ANKYRA, and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR—that served as the major source of information for subsequent generations. PSELLOS wrote a superficial commentary in verse, based primarily on Gregory, and in the 14th C. MATTHEW (I) KANTAKOUZENOS interpreted the bride of the text not only as the Church, but also as the Theotokos (PG 152:997–1084).

LIT. W. Riedel, *Die Auslegung des Hohenliedes in der jüdischen Gemeinde und der griechischen Kirche* (Leipzig 1898). M. Faulhaber, *Hohelied-, Proverbien- und Prediger-Katenen* (Vienna 1902) 1–73. –A.K.

SOPHIA (Σοφία) was a complex term in patristic vocabulary. As human wisdom it had ambivalent meaning—sometimes connoting a virtue, sometimes sophisticated eloquence devoid of ethical or spiritual content, sometimes vain and "carnal" pseudo-wisdom. In Gnostic thought Sophia was one of the Aeons, a bearer of the female principle:

she was the counterpart to the Father, with whom she produced, by contemplation, divine beings; in the form of Agape-Sophia she was the counterpart to Christ and, in the form of Pistis-Sophia, the counterpart to the Saviour. On the other hand, divine Sophia was construed as an attribute of the Godhead, sometimes even identified with the second or third person of the Trinity. Thus Christ is identified as the Wisdom of God on a 14th-C. icon now in the Byzantine Museum in Athens (*Holy Image*, no.30).

Representations in Art. In painting, Sophia could be embodied in a great variety of ways. Though female, she may represent Christ or the wisdom that he incarnates. In the catacombs of Karmouz at Alexandria she is a winged, nimbed figure inscribed *Sophia I(esou)s Ch(ristos)*, while on 6th–8th-C. seals of officials of the patriarchate of Constantinople, as on those of metropolitans and bishops (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 49, 703, 931, 951, 956), Sophia holds a cross or vessel before her breast. A miniature in a 9th-C. MS of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM illustrates the author's image of Wisdom with Adam holding a lamp that supports a bust of Christ Emmanuel (Meyendorff, *infra* [1959] fig.2). Sophia was also understood as an imperial virtue. In Psalter illustration of the 10th C. and later she joins Prophetia as a companion of David (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, figs. 2, 154, 251, 295). Z. Gavrilović (*Zograf* 11 [1980] 44–52) extended this political connotation to images of Serbian kings and emperors illuminated with the wisdom of Joseph, Christ, the Virgin, and various church fathers; in such frescoes Sophia is only rarely personified. She is found more often in late 13th- and 14th-C. painting (Prizren, Ohrid, Gračanica) where, as a winged being, she incarnates the Wisdom of the Book of Proverbs, ch.9. In these contexts, too, she appears as the companion of one or more of the Evangelists. The Gnostic Sophia is depicted as a female figure on engraved gems and in drawings in magical papyri. Many Byz. churches were dedicated to HAGIA SOPHIA ("Holy Wisdom").

LIT. A. Koffas, *Die Sophia-Lehre bei Klemens von Alexandrien* (Frankfurt am Main 1982). A. Orbe, " 'Sophia soror': Apuntes para la teología del Espíritu Santo," in *Mélanges d'histoire des religions offerts à Henri-Charles Puech* (Paris 1974) 355–63. J. Meyendorff, "Wisdom-Sophia: Contrasting Approaches to a Complex Theme," *DOP* 41 (1987) 391–401. Idem, "L'iconographie de la Sagesse Divine dans la tradition byzantine," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 259–77. F. von Lilienfeld, " 'Frau Weisheit' in byzantinischen und karolingischen Quellen des 9. Jahrhunderts," in *Typus, Symbol, Allegorie bei den östlichen Vätern*, ed. M. Schmidt, C.F. Geyer (Regensburg 1982) 146–86. D. Good, *Reconstructing the Tradition of Sophia in Gnostic Literature* (Atlanta 1987). –A.C., A.K.

SOPHIA, legendary saint; feastday 17 Sept. Born in Milan, she had three daughters, Pistis, Elpis, and Agape (Faith, Hope, and Charity [Love]), whose martyrdom she was forced to witness in Rome. The beheading of the girls and their burial by Sophia in a common sarcophagus (with heads back in place) is depicted in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.43). The vita by SYMEON METAPHRASTES is illustrated either with portraits of the mother and her daughters or with the execution scene.

LIT. *BHG* 1637x–1639. M. Girardi, "Le fonti scritturistiche delle prime *recensiones* greche della *passio* di S. Sofia e loro influsso sulla redazione metafrastica," *VetChr* 20 (1983) 47–76. M. van Esbroeck, "Le saint comme symbole," in *Byz. Saint* 129–38. G. de Tervarent, "Contribution à l'iconographie de sainte Sophie et de ses trois filles," *AB* 68 (1950) 419–23. –N.P.Š.

SOPHIA, empress; wife of JUSTIN II and niece of THEODORA; born before 530, died after 600. Strong-willed, persistent, and ambitious for power, Sophia played a leading role during the reign of her husband, esp. after he had shown signs of mental disease. She was the first empress whose effigy was struck on coins (folleis) together with that of the emperor; she similarly appears with him on a silver cross in the Vatican (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.71). Rumor attributed to Sophia the cancellation of arrears in taxation. She strongly supported the handsome TIBERIOS (I), and promoted him as heir to the throne, but required him to keep his wife away from the main palace; it was said that Sophia planned to marry him. After Justin's death, Tiberios respected Sophia and provided chambers for her in the palace, but called her "mother" and remained with his family. Her hopes dashed, Sophia schemed against Tiberios; he arrested her and confiscated her treasures. At his deathbed he recalled her, and she supported Maurice as his successor. The last mention of Sophia is an anecdote of Theophanes the Confessor, who relates that she and the empress Constantina, at the end of Maurice's reign, presented him with a crown (*stemma*) that he ordered to be

hung above the altar of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople.

LIT. Av. Cameron, "The Empress Sophia," *Byzantion* 45 (1975) 5–21. –W.E.K., A.K.

SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA (Paleolog), wife of IVAN III of Moscow; baptismal name Zoe; born Morea 1450/1 (V. Tiftixoglu, *BZ* 60 [1967] 279–87), died Moscow 7 Apr. 1503. Daughter of THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, the last *despotes* of the Morea, and niece of CONSTANTINE XI PALAIOLOGOS, the last Byz. emperor, Sophia fled to Kerkyra in 1460 and then went to Rome. Contrary to the statement of pseudo-Sphrantzes, she was never married to the Roman noble Carracciolo (J.B. Papadopoulos, *EEBS* 12 [1936] 264–68). On the advice of her guardian, Cardinal BESSARION, Zoe was betrothed to Ivan in June 1472 at the Vatican in the presence of Pope Sixtus IV, who hoped to promote Catholicism in Russia. Upon her arrival in Moscow, however, she converted to Orthodoxy. She married Ivan on 12 Nov. 1472, taking the new name Sophia. Sophia bore her husband seven children, one of whom, Basil III, eventually succeeded his father in 1505 after a power struggle. Earlier theories that Sophia's marriage led to a Russian claim to succession to the Byz. throne and empire are now discredited (Meyendorff, *Russia* 274). Her patronage of art and architecture brought Italian and Byz. influence to her new homeland.

LIT. M. Paximadopoulou-Stavrinou, *Ho gamos tes Sophias Zoes Palaiologou meta tou Ioannou tou III tes Rossias (1472)* (Athens 1972). G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age* (New Haven, Conn.–London 1959) 17–26. M. Hellmann, "Moskau und Byzanz," *JbGOst* 17 (1969) 321–38. –A.M.T.

SOPHOCLES, Greek tragic poet; born Athens 496 B.C., died Athens 406. An account of his life and work is given in the *Souda*, where the number of Sophoclean entries indicates a partiality to him. Fragments of his tragedies are preserved in papyri of the 4th–7th C. The oldest extant MS of Sophocles dates from the mid-10th C., but a revived interest in Sophocles is already evident in IGNATIOS THE DEACON (cf. Browning, *Studies*, pt.XIV [1968]). In the 12th C. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE knew well the text of Sophocles, whose debt to Homer he repeatedly identified in his Homeric commentaries. The most widely read of the Sophoclean plays were the triad of *Ajax*, *Electra*, and *Oedipus the King*. Annotated editions of the entire corpus were produced in the 14th C. by THOMAS MAGISTROS and Demetrios TRIKLINIOS; a recension of the triad by Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS is a matter of debate (cf. Wilson, *Scholars* 246). The number of surviving MSS and the quotations in Byz. authors indicate that among the tragedians Sophocles was second to Euripides in popularity.

ED. *Scholia byzantina in Sophoclis Oedipum tyrannum*, ed. O. Longo (Padua 1971).

LIT. R.D. Dawe, *Studies on the Text of Sophocles*, 3 vols. (Leiden 1973–78). R. Carden, *The Papyrus Fragments of Sophocles* (Berlin–New York 1974). –A.C.H.

SOPHRONIOS (Σωφρόνιος), patriarch of Jerusalem (634–38); born Damascus ca.560, died Jerusalem 11 March 638. He was a teacher of rhetoric in Damascus, usually identified with Sophronios the Sophist, although the arguments for this are not fully conclusive. Sophronios then became a monk and, together with his teacher and intimate John MOSCHOS, journeyed widely, visiting numerous monastic centers in Egypt, Palestine, and Rome (H. Chadwick, *JThSt* n.s. 25 [1974] 41–74). He returned to Jerusalem to join the monastery of Theodosios (ca.619). His uncompromising opposition to MONOENERGISM in 633 brought him to Egypt and Constantinople, though his courage and dedicated defense of the Council of CHALCEDON failed to convince either KYROS of Alexandria or SERGIOS I of Constantinople. His Synodal Letter, issued in 634 on his elevation to patriarch, is a detailed exposition of his staunch Chalcedonianism. On the whole, his other literary output is hagiographic and homiletic. His 23 Anacreontic Odes in classical meter deal with liturgical feasts. He is also credited with being the author of liturgical texts, including the Office of Blessing of Water on Epiphany. In addition to his *enkomion* of Sts. KYROS AND JOHN, a fragment of his biography of his friend JOHN ELEEMON, coauthored with Moschos, has survived. He is an important literary witness to the conquest of Jerusalem by Caliph ʿUMAR in 638 (M.B. Krivov, *VizVrem* 41 [1980] 249–51).

ED. PG 87.3:3147–4014. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 5:151–68. M. Gigante, *Sophronii Anacreontica* (Rome 1957).

LIT. C. von Schönborn, *Sophrone de Jérusalem* (Paris 1972). H. Donner, *Die anakreontischen Gedichte Nr.19 und Nr.20 des*

Patriarchen Sophronios von Jerusalem (Heidelberg 1981). A. Cameron, "The Epigrams of Sophronius," *CQ* 33 (1983) 284–92. –A.P.

SOPOĆANI, located near Novi Pazar in Serbia, site of the Church of the Trinity. Founded ca.1255 by STEFAN UROŠ I, it was possibly designed originally as a cathedral church. It then became the *katholikon* of a monastery and served as a mausoleum for Uroš himself and his parents; he brought the remains of his father Stefan "the First-Crowned" here from STUDENICA in 1266. A tall, single-aisled basilica with a dome over the crossing, similar to Studenica in its ground plan, the church was built of stone and has a single round apse; its many Romanesque features include corbels under the roofline and sculptured marble portals and window frames. The building was enlarged in the later 13th C. through the addition of two chapels flanking the narthex, then of an open exonarthex and belfry tower to the west (the exonarthex was painted under Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, before 1346); at about this time (1342–46?) two chapels were inserted along the north and south flanks of the naos between the eastern cross-arms and western narthex chapels, and each of these rows of chapels was given a common roof.

The frescoes of the naos and narthex are considered among the great masterpieces of medieval monumental painting. Though the origin of the artists has not been determined, these paintings are crucial for any study of the transition from Komnenian to Palaiologan art, since they were done at a time (probably between 1263 and 1268) for which few monuments exist in Constantinople. The frescoes were executed in part by an artist still rooted in the rambling narrative linear style of late Komnenian painting (narthex and upper levels of the naos, including pendentives), and in part by artists, probably Greeks, working in a new heroic style (as in the scene of the Dormition of the Virgin on the west wall) whose stately compositions, monumental single figures, and massive architectural forms herald Palaiologan works of the late 13th and 14th C. The backgrounds, as at Studenica and MILEŠEVA, imitate gold mosaic through the use of gold leaf on a yellow ground. The relatively traditional program includes several royal portraits, council and Last Judgment cycles in the narthex, and certain rare compositions again in the narthex (18 scenes from the life of JOSEPH thought to betray the influence of the vitae of the Serbian royal brothers Stefan Nemanja and Sava written by DOMENTIJAN, and a fresco showing the death of Anna Dandolo, the mother of King Uroš I).

Further historical compositions (e.g., the translation of the remains of Stefan Nemanja from Hilandar to Studenica) adorn the southern narthex chapel. The naos chapels were dedicated to Sts. George and Nicholas, respectively, and each was adorned with scenes from the life of the appropriate saint.

LIT. V. Djurić, *Sopoćani* (Leipzig 1967). *L'art byzantin du XIIIe siècle: Symposium de Sopoćani* (Belgrade 1967). D. Winfield, "Four Historical Compositions from the Medieval Kingdom of Serbia," *BS* 19 (1958) 251–78. R. Hamann-MacLean, H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien*, vol. 1 (Giessen 1963) 25f, pls. 115–42, plans 16–17b. –N.P.Š.

SORCERY. See MAGIC.

SOROS (σορός), a reliquary casket, esp. the two caskets containing RELICS of the Virgin Mary, and the buildings housing them in Constantinople. Mary's mantle (*esthes*), which became one of Constantinople's palladia, was allegedly brought to Constantinople from Palestine in 473. Emp. Leo I installed it in a round chapel adjoining the Church of the Virgin of BLACHERNAI. Known as the Hagia Soros, the chapel was inaccessible to laymen; its splendid silver REVETMENT indicates that it was regarded as a reliquary shrine of architectural dimensions. A feastday on 2 July celebrated the relic and its triumphal return to the chapel in 620 after its removal for safekeeping during an Avar raid. The other relic, Mary's belt, or girdle (*zone*), was placed in the CHALKOPRATEIA church by Emp. Arkadios, according to legend. By the time of Justin II, it was installed in an architectural *soros* of its own. Its translation was celebrated on 31 Aug.; the emperors visited its *soros* on the feasts of the Annunciation and Nativity. The icon type of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA is associated with this shrine. (See also MAPHORION.)

LIT. Av. Cameron, "The Virgin's Robe: An Episode in the History of Early Seventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantion* 49 (1979) 42–56. Janin, *Églises CP* 169–71. –A.W.C.

SOTERIOLOGY, the teaching of REDEMPTION and SALVATION. Although Byz. theological controversies dealt primarily with ontological concepts of SUBSTANCE, NATURE, HYPOSTASIS, etc., they were primarily soteriologically oriented, since ultimately they focused on the redemptive work of CHRIST and sought a radical argument to answer the questions: Why is Christ God? Why is he a man? Why is he a hypostatic union of divine and human natures? These qualities of Christ assured the possibility of man's redemption. As stated in the Nicaean CREED, the INCARNATION and death in the flesh of the Logos—who was consubstantial (HOMOOUSIOS) with the Father—was a voluntary act undertaken for the salvation of mankind. Gregg and Groh (*infra*) hypothesized that the dispute over ARIANISM revolved around two contrasting models of salvation: in ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, divine grace opened the way to deification (THEOSIS), the consubstantiality of the Logos creating the possibility of human ascent to the kingdom of God; in the doctrine of the Arian first generation, the emphasis lay on the will and choice of the Son, on his action, not his being.

On the other hand, by overstressing either the human or divine nature of Christ, both the Nestorian and Monophysite doctrines endangered the "soteriological balance" announced, for example, in GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS (ep.101). If Christ is seen as too human his identity with God can suffer, if too divine his human connections can be severed. In either case deification would have been unattainable. Only in union with God can mankind find redemption and salvation, as defined in the formula of two natures in one hypostasis of Christ.

The preservation of the particularity of both natures is the leitmotif of Byz. theology, esp. in MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. This allowed both salvation and healing, the renewal (*anakainismos*) of the original creature, man's liberation from the existing mode of SIN. Christ as the new ADAM is a redeemer and restorer of the sinless state of original mankind.

Many problems are connected with the concept of salvation: the role of the church as an institution and the possibility of individual salvation outside the official church; the material means of salvation and the role of symbols, icons, sacraments, etc., in the process of salvation; the question of whether sinners and demons will be redeemed in the final accounting; the question of whether a good action in itself assures salvation.

LIT. Balthasar, *Kosmische Lit.* 188–203. Meyendorff, *Byz. Theology* 151–65. R. Gregg, D. Groh, *Early Arianism—A View of Salvation* (Philadelphia 1981). –K.-H.U.

SOTERIOUPOLIS (Σωτηριούπολις, also Soteropolis), in the 10th C. a *kastron* on the border with Abchasia (*De adm. imp.* 42.110), a center of a *kleisoura* (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.948). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of the Escurial mentions a *strategos* of Soterioupolis or Bourzo (Oikonomides, *Listes* 269.3). From the 10th C. on, Soterioupolis is also known as an autonomous archbishopric (*Notitiae CP* no.7.87); by the 12th C. it was united with the metropolis of Alania. Its identification with modern Pitsounda or with Suchumi is not valid.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "L'organisation de la frontière orientale de Byzance aux Xe–XIe siècles," 14 *CEB*, vol. 1 (Bucharest 1974) 293f. –A.K.

SOUBLAION. See CHOMA.

SOUDA (Σοῦδα), title of a LEXIKON; the etymology seems to be "fence" or "moat." Already in the 12th C. the title was misunderstood, and EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE interpreted it as the name of a certain Suidas. Its date of compilation is debatable, certainly later than mid-10th C., probably ca.1000; the problem is whether the reference to the emperors Basil II and Constantine VIII belongs to an authentic text or an interpolation. The entries are organized in alphabetical order, diphthongs (αι, etc.) being considered as independent letters. *Souda* explains difficult grammatical forms, rare words, and proverbs, and comments on persons, places, institutions, and even concepts (such as cosmos or *physis*). The material commented on is primarily ancient or biblical, and medieval data are infrequent; an important exception is the entry on KRUM. Some Byz. topics are mentioned in entries on ancient subjects, e.g., a very critical judgment of Patr. POLYEUKTOS.

Souda is a "compilation of compilations" (Lemerle, *Humanism* 345), based primarily on such sources as *lexika* and ETYMOLOGIKA, excerpts from CONSTANTINE VII, collections of SCHOLIA to Homer, Aristophanes, etc. *Souda* refers not only to ancient

historians but to some Byz. authors such as Theophylaktos SIMOKATTES, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS, and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I. References to SYMEON METAPHRASTES and medical and metrological glosses seem to be interpolations. Unlike the *lexika* of HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA and PHOTIOS, *Souda* became very popular. Preserved in manifold MSS and excerpts, it was used by Eustathios, the so-called *Lexikon* of ZONARAS, and later writers such as Constantine Laskaris (died 1501) or Maxim the Greek (died 1556) (D. Bulanin, *TODRL* 34 [1979] 257–85).

ED. *Suidae Lexicon*, ed. A. Adler, 5 vols. (Leipzig 1928–38).

LIT. A. Adler, *RE* 2.R. 4A (1932) 675–717. B. Lavagnini, "Suida, Suda o Guida," *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 40 (1962) 441–44. A. Steiner, "Byzantinisches im Wortschatz der Suda" in *Studien zur byzantinischen Lexikographie*, eds. E. Trapp et al. (Vienna 1988) 149–81.

–A.K.

SOUGDAIA (Σουγδαία), also called Surož and Sudak, a city and port in eastern Crimea, between Alouston and KAFFA, first mentioned by the COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA in the 7th C. (*Ravennatis Anonymi Cosmographia*, ed. M. Pinder, G. Parthey [Berlin 1860; rp. Aalen 1962] 176). The 9th-C. hagiographer Epiphanios, describing the travels of the apostle ANDREW, locates Upper Sougdaia (M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 [1894] 334.2–3) in a different region, between ZICHIA and Cimmerian BOSPOROS on the eastern shore of the Azov Sea, in the land of the ALANS. The hagiographer of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER mentioned the people of Sougdoi, whom he situated between the Iberoi and the (Crimean) Goths; F. Dvornik (*Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode*[2] [Hattiesburg, Miss., 1969] 207f) identifies them as Alans. By the mid-11th C., Sougdaia was in the hands of the Byz.; in 1059 Leo Aliates was *strategos* of Cherson and Sougdaia. Later, the Cumans, Venetians, Genoese, and Tatars appear as successive masters of Sougdaia, although the city preserved a certain degree of independence.

Near the seashore excavation has uncovered 6th-C. constructions that were abandoned in the 8th–9th C. The site was esp. active in the 11th through 14th C., not only in the harbor but also on terraces above it and in the citadel; a hoard contained coins of Michael VIII, Andronikos II, and Michael IX. The city played an important role in Black Sea trade; IBN BAṬṬŪṬA compares its port with that of Alexandria. However, the Kaffa-TANA alliance supported by the Genoese blocked Sougdaia: PEGOLOTTI, who visited the Crimea ca.1330, speaks of Kaffa and Tana but does not mention Sougdaia. By the 14th C. Sougdaia was an autocephalous archbishopric and then a metropolis, having incorporated that of PHOULLOI. Its cathedral church was St. Sophia, the foundation of which is dated by later tradition to 793. The legendary story of the capture of Sougdaia by Prince Bravlin of Novgorod, allegedly in the reign of Leo III, is preserved in a 16th-C. Russian MS.

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3 (1915) cxlii–cclxxxviii. S. Sekirinskij, *Očerki istorii Suroža IX–XI vv.* (Simferopol' 1955). M. Nystazopoulou, *He en te Taurike Chersoneso polis Sougdaia* (Athens 1965). M. Frondžulo, "Raskopki v Sudake," *Feodal'naja Tavrika* (Kiev 1974) 139–50.

–O.P.

SOUL (ψυχή), the vital life principle in creatures. The Byz. connected the word with verbs meaning "animate, bring to life," while the Origenists accepted Plato's etymology from "cool, make solid." The Byz. had many problems in understanding the soul, such as the nature of its substance. Some perceived the soul in physical terms, as breath (e.g., Didymos the Blind, PG 39:737A) or blood (the notion criticized by Nemesios [PG 40:541B]), but Gregory of Nyssa insisted on a purely intellectual definition of it as *ousia noera*. Was the soul "simple" or composed of several parts or "faculties," two, three, or more? Thus MAKARIOS THE GREAT thought that the soul consisted of many "limbs" such as INTELLECT, consciousness, will, aggressive and defensive aspects (PG 34:528B). With regard to the origin of the soul, ORIGEN presented the concept of preexistent souls that "fell" from their *politeia*, resided in bodies, and would have to ascend to heaven. This concept was refuted by the church fathers, who developed the idea of the created soul, infused into the body; it is generated not from a material seed, but by the will of the creator, without, however, becoming a divine essence.

The soul was considered a guide for the body, giving it life and movement and causing its growth; the Stoic idea that the soul is imprisoned in the body was rejected. The relation of soul to intellect also produced difficulties—was the soul distinct from intellect, as Basil the Great stated (PG 31:204A), or did intellect form a part of the soul?

"The sensory perception of the rational soul," says pseudo-Maximos (PG 90:1437B), "is its atrium, reasoning its temple, and intellect its supreme priest." After DEATH the soul retains its identity and is linked to its former body, which it recovers at the future RESURRECTION. Thus the church fathers rejected the concept of metempsychosis as well as the idea of the dissolution of souls in the air.

The soul is made in God's image, and is in principle the divine indwelling, but the gnomic will of man allows him to choose the way of sin or the way of perfection leading to eternal beatitude. A special problem was the soul of Christ: APOLLINARIS of Laodikeia denied the existence of a human soul in Christ, asserting that the soul belonged to the "outer man." In the orthodox view, however, the full humanity of Christ required his possession of a human soul.

The Byz. distinguished perishable "animal" or "instinctive" forces from the human or rational forces of the soul. Man possessed both categories, animals only the first category, and therefore they acted according to nature rather than any desire for virtue or sin. The orthodox theologians accused the adherents of MONOTHELETISM of acknowledging in Christ the elements of the animal soul but not of the reasoning and immortal soul.

Representation in Art. More concerned with the resurrection of the flesh, as in the ANASTASIS, artists rarely represented the soul. When they did so, it was as a baby wrapped in swaddling clothes (as the Virgin in the DORMITION) or as a naked, youthful body (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.*, e.g., II, nos. 1, 16); damned souls in the arms of Hades are depicted similarly (Der Nersessian, *L'illustration* II, fig. 16).

LIT. E. Stéphanou, "La coexistence initiale du corps et de l'âme d'après saint Grégoire de Nysse et saint Maxime l'Homologète," *EO* 31 (1932) 304–15. J.M. da Cruz Pontes, "Le problème de l'origine de l'âme de la patristique à la solution thomiste," *Recherches de théologie ancienne et médiévale* 31 (1964) 175–229. J. Hirschberger, *Seele und Leib in der Spätantike* (Wiesbaden 1969). J.M. Rist, *Eros and Psyche: Studies in Plato, Plotinus, and Origen* (Toronto 1964). K. Hoheisel, "Das frühe Christentum und die Seelenwanderung," *JbAChr* 27–28 (1984–85) 24–46. –A.K., A.C.

SOUMELA MONASTERY, located in a spectacular site on the face of a cliff on the western slopes of Mt. Melas, about 40 km south of Trebizond. The origins of Soumela (Σουμελᾶ), which was dedicated to the Virgin, are shrouded in legend. Pious tradition, going back at least to the 10th C., places the foundation of Soumela in the 4th C. and attributes its establishment to two Athenian monks, Barnabas and Sophronios, who supposedly discovered in a cave at Soumela an icon of the Virgin painted by St. Luke. The monastery prospered during the reign of the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, esp. ALEXIOS III KOMNENOS who was responsible for the restoration of Soumela in 1360–65. A chrysobull of Alexios of 1364 (MM 5:276–81) lists the properties owned by the monastery in the MATZOUKA region and characterizes the relations between Soumela and its *paroikoi*: the monastery had the right of jurisprudence over them, could levy military recruits, etc. The document also granted Soumela immunity (EXKOUSSEIA) from taxes and other financial and military obligations (P. Jakovenko, *K istorii immuniteta v Vizantii* [Jur'ev 1908] 28–31, 66–70; G. Ostrogorsky, *Byzantion* 28 [1958–59] 236f). The monastery was called imperial as well as patriarchal and stauropegial.

The main grotto church contains fresco portraits of Trapezuntine emperors, including Alexios III and MANUEL III KOMNENOS. The monastery was abandoned in the 20th C.

LIT. S. Ballance, A. Bryer, D. Winfield, "Nineteenth-Century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond," *ArchPont* 28 (1966–67) 263–67; 30 (1970) 270–84. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 254f. Janin, *Églises centres* 274–76. O. Meinardus, "The Panagia of Soumela: Tradition and History," *Orientalia suecana* 19–20 (1970–71) 63–80. –A.M.T.

SOZOMENOS, Salamanes Hermeias, ecclesiastical historian who practiced law at Constantinople; born Bathelia near Gaza, 5th C. His *Church History*, covering the period 324–425 in formal continuation of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, was dedicated to Theodosios II, whose approval of its content he formally requested. This may imply some competition with the pagan history of OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES, whose work Sozomenos (Σωζομενός) used, and which was also dedicated to that emperor. The final part of book 9, dealing with the years 425–39, is lost; the last datable event mentioned (in the preface) is Theodosios's trip to Bithynia in 443. Sozomenos drew extensively but critically from his predecessor SOKRATES, to whom he is stylistically superior. Though Sozomenos is weak in understanding

dogmatic issues, and credulous about miracles, his use of other sources makes the *History* an important supplement to Sokrates, esp. his detailed account (2.9–14) of the persecution of Christians in Persia under Shāpūr II and his information on the spread of Christianity among Armenians, Saracens, and Goths.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. J. Bidez, G.C. Hansen (Berlin 1960). (Partial) *Histoire ecclésiastique*, ed. J. Bidez (Paris 1983), with Fr. tr. by A.-J. Festugière. *The Ecclesiastical History of Sozomen*, tr. C.D. Hartranft (New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1952).

LIT. G.F. Chesnut, *The First Christian Histories* (Paris 1977) 191–200. G. Schoo, *Die erhaltenen schriftlichen Hauptquellen des Kirchenhistorikers Sozomenos* (Berlin 1911). –B.B.

SOZOPOLIS (Σωζόπολις), the name of two cities in the Byz. Empire, one in Thrace, the other in Pisidia.

Sozopolis in Thrace (anc. Apollonia, mod. Sozopol in Bulgaria), city on the Black Sea, located partially on islands. The ancient name, still used in Ammianus Marcellinus (Amm.Marc. 22:8.43) and the *Tabula Peutingeriana*, was replaced with a "Christian" appellation, "the city of salvation," by 431. Sozopolis was among the cities that supported the revolt of Vitalian. Historians from Prokopios onward ignore Sozopolis, but the bishopric of Sozopolis, under the jurisdiction of Adrianople, is regularly listed in notitias. Velkov (*infra*) identifies three archaeological strata in a basilica excavated in Sozopolis: one of the 5th to 6th C.; one of the 8th to 9th C., to which belong the fragments of a marble ambo; and of the 9th C. and later. In the 9th C. Sozopolis probably formed a tourma; the seal of an anonymous *spatharios* and *tourmarches* of Sozopolis has been published, as have three seals of 11th to 12/13th-C. bishops of Sozopolis (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 720–22). More is known about Sozopolis in the 14th C., when it was a major trade center in the area and Bulgaria and Byz. fought over the rights to the city. According to Manuel Philes, Michael Glabas Tarchaneiotes conquered Sozopolis in 1263 (Zlatarski, *Ist.* 3:504), but at the beginning of the 14th C. it belonged to Bulgaria. Amadeo VI of Savoy captured it in 1366 and then handed it over to John V, together with Mesembria and some other coastal towns. At least five monasteries existed in Sozopolis in the 14th C., some of them built on islands.

LIT. B. Dimitrov, "La città medievale di Sozopol," *Bulgaria Pontica* 2 (Sofia 1988) 497–522. V. Velkov, "Prinos kŭm materialnata kultura na srednovekovnija Sozopol," *IzvBŭlgArchInst* (1964) 43–54. –A.K.

Sozopolis of Pisidia (mod. Uluborlu), city in southwestern Anatolia, perhaps the successor to ancient Apollonia. Rarely mentioned in late antiquity, Sozopolis was the birthplace of Severos of Antioch and the site of the miracle-working icon in the Church of the Virgin mentioned in the vita of Theodore of Sykeon. The city probably reappears in the 9th C. as the seat of a *tourmarches* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2643) or *kleisourarches*, but in the latter case a conjecture "of Seleukeia" was suggested (Oikonomides, *Listes* 54, n.35) and in the former Sozopolis in Thrace cannot be excluded. Romanos IV refortified it in 1070. It fell soon after to the Seljuks, but was retaken by John II Komnenos in 1120; it became a strong frontier bulwark, resisting attack until the Seljuks finally captured it in 1180. Sozopolis was a suffragan bishopric of Antioch of Pisidia. Remains of the well-built fortress indicate major construction in the 7th–8th C., with rebuilding in 1070.

LIT. *MAMA* 4:45–81. C. Foss, "The Defences of Byzantine Asia Minor against the Turks," *GOrThR* 27 (1982) 153–57. Foss-Winfield, *Fortifications* 139f. –C.F.

SPACE (τόπος, lit. "place") is defined by Psellos (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.154.1–2) as the receptacle (*dektikon*) of a body or of an incorporeal being. From *topos* Psellos (par.155) distinguishes *chora* (usually location or position), which he understands specifically as the distance between numbers or as the portion of space containing something (e.g., the hollow part of a *pithos* that contains wine).

The word *topos* had a variety of meanings. The Byz. inherited the Aristotelian concept of *topos* as container or boundary of three-dimensional bodies. From it they distinguished "intelligible space," *topos noetos*, which was a metaphorical or mental container of incorporeal beings, such as angels. Unlike angels God did not exist "in space" since he had no limits; he was his own *topos*, filling up everything and containing everything (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 13.2–38, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:37–39).

Simplikios criticized Aristotle's theory of *topos* as preoccupied with the "external place" of the

body, that is, its positional relationship to bodies external to it; this led, according to Simplikios, to the axiom of immobility. He suggested the definition of *topos* as an ordering (*taxis*), measure, or limit of the concrete situation of the body (H.R. King, *CQ* 44 [1950] 92).

Another perception of space is that of Proklos who identified it with light and considered it to be an immovable, indivisible, immaterial body, *soma* (*CAG* 9:612.24–25, see Armstrong, *Philosophy* 435, n.10), but NICHOLAS OF METHONE (*Anaptyxis* 92.15–16) retorted that the Infinite (*apeiron*) is not a substance but a relation. Yet another aspect of space is the problem of its expanse beyond the COSMOS. Aristotle opposed the concept of "empty space," and accordingly Psellos (*De omnifaria doctrina*, par.153.4–8) calls it "invisible chaos," "a fantastic infinite in an infinite place (*topos*)." In other words, space is endlessly divisible and endlessly expanding only in potentiality and in man's imagination, but in reality it is finite and limited. Since the concept of *apeiron* acquired a theological meaning—the characterization of God's perfect immeasurability—in Gregory of Nyssa, as it already had in Plotinos (L. Sweeney, *Gregorianum* 38 [1957] 515–35, 713–32), any cosmological application of this concept was questionable. The contrast of the spaceless Godhead and the body's limit is revealed in Christological discussions of God's describability and Christ's "circumscribed" (*perigrapton*) body.

The third aspect of space as a place for human beings is its ethical qualification, the spatial distinction of good and evil: not only did heaven and hell have different locations, but also earthly locations were endowed with virtue (such as mountains or DESERT) or vice (such as hippodromes and often urban centers in general).

LIT. V. Goldschmidt, "La théorie aristotélicienne du lieu," in *Mélanges de philosophie grecque, offerts à Mgr. Diès* (Paris 1956) 79–119. L.C. Ruggini, "Universalità e campanilismo, centro e periferia, città e deserto nelle storie ecclesiastiche," in *La storiografia ecclesiastica nella tarda antichità* (Messina 1980) 183–94. –K.-H.U.

SPACE AND DEPTH, concepts of linear distance between two or more points or objects. Means used to suggest depth include inverted PERSPECTIVE, PLASTICITY, LANDSCAPE (usually lacking a horizon), and devices creating the illusion of an INTERIOR SPACE. Generally horizontal extension, like narrative sequence, is indicated by figures or events read from left to right on a shallow "stage" at the picture plane, although either may be overridden by a concern for SYMMETRY. So, too, compositions in which a single or at most a few planes of recession are indicated by rows of figures may be elaborated by a crowd shown tightly packed in vertical perspective or opened up by the insertion of a BACKGROUND scene. The illusion of space is most successful when an image is imposed upon an already convex surface as in an apse or a squinch, but even in such a context recession may be summarily treated by imbricated or overlapping figures. A system of chiastic construction, suggesting deep space behind the picture plane and apparently based on antique models, is evident in the JOSHUA ROLL and the PARIS PSALTER. In late MONUMENTAL PAINTING, architectural settings, in themselves irrationally composed, sometimes lend a greater sense of depth to a picture than ever before in Byz. art.

LIT. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 13f, 19, 78–84. A. Cutler, "On the Use of Sources in the Macedonian Renaissance," 14 *CEB*, vol. 3 (Bucharest 1976) 299–303. T. Velmans, "Le rôle du décor architectural et la représentation de l'espace dans la peinture des Paléologues," *CahArch* 14 (1964) 183–216. –A.C.

SPAIN (Ἱσπανία, also called Ἰβηρία) was under Diocletian a diocese consisting of five provinces: Baetica, Lusitania, Carthaginensis, Gallaecia, and Tarraconensis; Baetica (with CORDOBA as capital) was the most romanized of them. In the 4th C. Spain prospered economically as a center of agriculture, esp. livestock-breeding (Spanish horses were famous), and metallurgy; it exported lard, fish, wheat, and oil. Spaniards played a central role at the imperial court under Theodosios I. From the early 5th C. various barbarian peoples began to penetrate into Spain. In Sept.–Oct. 409 the Suevi, VANDALS, and ALANS invaded the peninsula. In 422 the Roman army under the command of the *magister militum* Castinus was defeated by the Vandals, who then moved southward and occupied Africa. The Suevi stayed behind and tried to establish their rule over Spain, but had to yield to the VISIGOTHS, who invaded the peninsula in 456. Visigothic domination was challenged by Justinian I in the 550s, and the empire temporarily established a foothold in the south around Malaga and CARTAGENA. The Visi-

gothic kingdom of Toledo was conquered by the Arabs in 711.

Christian states in northern Spain (esp. the CATALANS) maintained relations with Constantinople; some unsuccessful negotiations to establish marriage alliances with the Komnenoi took place, and by 1200 "Iberian" soldiers were active in Constantinople. In the late 13th C. the Aragonese seized power in Sicily, in 1292 plundered the Byz. coast, and in the early 14th C. endeavored to settle in the Peloponnesos; the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY was a major political and military factor in the Balkan peninsula in the 14th C. In the early 15th C. Pero TAFUR visited Constantinople and Trebizond.

LIT. S.J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988). J. Arce, *El último siglo de la España romana* (Madrid 1982). R. Collins, *Early Medieval Spain* (New York 1983). H. Ditten, "Beziehungen zwischen Spanien und dem byzantinischen Bereich im Mittelalter," *Byzantinische Beiträge* (Berlin 1964) 257–90. F. Roldàn, P. Díaz, E. Díaz, "Bizancio y al-Andalus, embajadas y relaciones," *Erytheia* 9.2 (1988) 263–83. C. Alvarez García, "El tema bizantino en la literatura medieval y clásica españolas," *Bizantion-Nea Hellas* 6 (1982) 57–69. –R.B.H.

SPALATO. See SPLIT.

SPANEAS, conventional title of a didactic poem in the vernacular, preserved in several substantially different versions. Its title in MSS is unclear, and attempts to determine its authorship and original addressee remain unconvincing (S.D. Papadimitriu, *Letopis'* 5 [1900] 337–66); the original may have been produced in the 12th C. The author of *Spaneas* (unless he is using a rhetorical convention) is an old man, whose career was a failure and who writes from exile, separated from his beloved "son," the addressee. *Spaneas*'s advice is trivial, borrowed primarily from Holy Scriptures and a work ascribed to Isocrates; some points, however, could be perceived as genuinely Byz., such as the recommendations to inform on blasphemy and on criticism of the emperor (Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1:1.15–26). Interest in warfare and hunting probably reflects the worldview of the Komnenian period. Despite its banality, *Spaneas* enjoyed popularity; it was imitated by later romances, esp. PHLORIOS AND PLATZIA-PHLORA (G. Spadaro, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 282–88), and by FALIERI (N. Papatriantaphyllou-Theodoride, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 92–101); it was reworked in southern Italy (G. Spadaro, *JÖB* 32.3 [1982] 281f) and Epiros (G. Zoras, *RSBN* 1 [1964] 47–77, with ed.) and translated into Serbian before 1332 (Dj. Radojičić in *Studi in onore di Ettore LoGatto e Giovanni Mauer* [Milan 1962] 563–66).

ED. Legrand, *Bibliothèque* 1:1–10. Wagner, *Carmina* 1–27. F. Hanna, *Das byzantinische Lehrgedicht Spaneas nach dem Codex Vindobonensis Suppl. gr. 77 und Oxoniensis Miscell. 284* (Vienna 1898). Idem, *Das byzantinische Lehrgedicht Spaneas nach dem Codex Vindobonensis Theolog. 193* (Vienna 1896).

LIT. G. Danezis, *Spaneas: Vorlage, Quellen, Versionen* (Munich 1987). V. Sacharov, "Opyt issledovanija teksta 'Ek tou Spanea,'" *VizVrem* 11 (1904) 99–114. I. Rosenthal-Kamarinea, "Die byzantinische Mahnrede im 12. Jahrhundert," *FoliaN* 4 (1982) 182–89. –A.K.

SPANOS (Σπανός), more properly *Akolouthia tou anosiou tragogene spanou* (Office for the Impious Goat-bearded Beardless Man). This anonymous PARODY survives in three versions (two in verse, one in prose), all dating to the first half of the 16th C. Eideneier (*infra*) argues that the original text was produced in Constantinople in the 14th or 15th C. *Spanos* closely follows the formal structure of an AKOLOUTHIA in commemoration of a saint, including vespers and *orthros,* complete with *kathisma, troparia,* and *epitaphios.* The *synaxarion* imitates hagiographic conventions, describing the birth of the beardless man to a donkey and his lengthy journey to find his paternal uncle, a wild goat, and obtain from him three-and-a-half chin hairs. The author, perhaps a cleric, was familiar with rhetoric and thoroughly versed in the liturgy. His language alternates between hagiographic formulas and a rich and bawdy vernacular vocabulary, which includes numerous extremely long compounds. The work is full of obscenities and sexual allusions and offers an extraordinary example of late Byz. HUMOR.

ED. *Spanos. Eine byzantinische Satire in der Form einer Parodie,* ed. H. Eideneier (Berlin–New York 1977).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 195f. –A.M.T.

SPARSIO. See LARGESS.

SPARTA. See LAKEDAIMON.

SPATHARIOS (σπαθάριος, lit. "sword-bearer"), a DIGNITY. In the late Roman Empire the term designated a bodyguard, either private or imperial (M. San Nicolò, *RE* 2.R. 3 [1929] 1545f). Imperial *spatharioi,* who belonged to the corps of

KOUBIKOULARIOI and were eunuchs, are known from the time of Theodosios II (Jones, *LRE* 1:567). The *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron.Pasch.* 627.8–9) distinguished the "bearded" Eulalios from the "eunuchs and *spatharioi*" rather than including him in their ranks, as Oikonomides (*infra*) thinks. By the beginning of the 8th C. *spatharios* had probably become a title: Justinian II appointed the *spatharios* Elias (his future murderer) as governor of Cherson, and he gave the title *spatharios* to his friend, the future emperor Leo III. The title decreased in importance by the 9th C. It disappeared after 1075, and a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 1:95–97) mentions the *spatharios* as an insignificant person. In the 9th C. the term *oikeiakos spatharios* could still denote an imperial bodyguard (P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst-fil* 7.2 [1905] 158–65). (See also PROTOSPATHARIOS.)

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 112f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 297f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 319–26. –A.K.

SPATHAROKANDIDATOS (σπαθαροκανδιδᾶτος), a DIGNITY, the name formed by combining SPATHARIOS and KANDIDATOS. The first mentions of *spatharokandidatos*, in SEBEOS and a letter of Pope GREGORY II to Leo III, are dubious, but the title is attested from the first half of the 9th C. Bury's doubts concerning the TAKTIKON of Uspenskij are rejected by Oikonomides (*Listes* 52, n.29). In the *taktika*, *spatharokandidatos* occupies the place between *dishypatos* and *spatharios*. On seals it is connected with subaltern offices such as notary, *asekretis*, and lower judges. The last mention comes from 1094 (MM 6:94.6 and 11), and the title seems to have disappeared in the 12th C. (V. Laurent, *Hellenika* 7 [1934] 77, n.3).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 26f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 326–33. –A.K.

SPECTABILIS (lit. "notable," Gr. περίβλεπτος [*peribleptos*]), the second-ranking title of SENATORS in the late Roman Empire, between ILLUSTRIS and CLARISSIMUS. First mentioned in 365, the title was bestowed primarily on proconsuls, VICARS, and *duces* (see DOUX), while the highest functionaries in the central administration, originally ranked as *spectabiles*, soon acquired the title of *illustris*. The term was not used in the Byz. hierarchy; the last mention of *peribleptos* as a title of an official is in the papyrus of 710 (P. Lond. IV 1542.7) in which it designated a modest functionary in local administration. (For *peribleptos* as an epithet of the Virgin, see VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.)

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 1552–68. O. Hirschfeld, *Kleine Schriften* (Berlin 1913; rp. New York 1975) 663–71. –A.K.

SPEKION. See SAGION.

SPHAIRA (σφαῖρα, sphere, in Prokopios πόλος, celestial sphere), the orb, a symbol of imperial power used in the ancient world (e.g., M.R. Alföldi, *Jahrbuch für Numismatik und Geldgeschichte* 11 [1961] 19–32) and adopted by late Roman emperors. On coins the orb was at first depicted as surmounted by a Victory, then—from the time of Theodosios II onward—as a *globus cruciger*, a globe surmounted by a cross (although the Victory is still occasionally used, as by Justin II). Prokopios (*Buildings* 1.2.11) describes the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion as holding in its left hand a *polos*, signifying that the whole earth and sea was in servitude (*dedoulotai*) to the emperor. Representations of *sphairai* are known until the reign of Alexios III Angelos, but not in the empire of Nicaea or during the Palaiologan period; the orb was, however used by the Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond.

It remains under discussion whether the *sphaira* was a real emblem of power (J. Deér, *BZ* 54 [1961] 53–85), since it is not mentioned in any of the lengthy descriptions of coronation ceremonies; Grierson and Schramm (*infra*) argue that it may have been rather a symbolic representation of imperial power over the world. The symbol of the globe was adopted both in the West and in 16th-C. Russia (A. Grabar, *HistZ* 191 [1960] 344f). It is unclear whether the *sphaira* reflects a Byz. perception that the earth was round. Sometimes the *sphaira* was interpreted by the Byz. as an apple (A.R. Littlewood, *JÖB* 23 [1974] 55–57).

LIT. P.E. Schramm, *Sphaira, Globus, Reichsapfel* (Stuttgart 1958) 24–28. A. Alföldi, "Insignien und Tracht der römischen Kaiser," *MDAI RA* 50 (1935) 117–20. *DOC* 2.1:84–86; 3.1:131–33. P. Arnaud, "L'image du globe dans le monde romain," *MEFRA* 96.1 (1984) 102–12. –A.K.

SPHENDONE (σφενδόνη, lit. "sling"), term designating anything resembling a sling, including the curved southwestern end of the HIPPODROME of Constantinople (Guilland, *Topographie* 1:375f).

The lexicographer HESYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (5th/6th C.) considered the word as a synonym of *sphragis,* seal. A 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 175.26–32) defines *sphendone* as a seal to make wax sealings that was employed only by the emperor, his spouse, his son, and the dowager empress; other high officials, including *despotai* and patriarchs, had to employ lead sealings. The *sphendone* was inserted in a ring (*daktylion*). It was used for imperial PROSTAGMATA. The office of the PARAKOIMOMENOS of the [grand] *sphendone* existed from the reign of Michael VIII onward and was conferred upon various noble personages.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:208f. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 44. S. Pétridès, "Sceau byzantin à cire," *EO* 10 (1907) 83f. –A.K.

SPHRAGIS THEOU ("Seal of God"), or *sphragis Solomonos* ("Seal of Solomon"), interchangeable terms referring to the seal (i.e., signet ring) that, according to *The Testament of Solomon* (ed. C.C. McCown [Leipzig 1922] 10*), was given by God to King Solomon in order that he might "lock up all the demons" and thereby enlist their aid in the building of the Temple. According to the 6th-C. *Breviarius de Hierosolyma* (ed. P. Geyer, *Itinera Hierosolymitana saeculi iiii–viii* [Prague-Vienna-Leipzig 1898] 154), this ring was venerated as a relic in Jerusalem. Some text variants describe the signet's device as the *pentalpha*; that the early Byz. understood it as such is suggested by the frequency of this device on amuletic rings, pendants, and armbands. The *sphragis theou* appears regularly on the reverses of haematite medical AMULETS.

LIT. P. Perdrizet, "*Sphragis Solomonos,*" *REGr* 16 (1903) 42–61. Bonner, *Studies* 209f, 220. –G.V.

SPHRANTZES, GEORGE, courtier, diplomat, and historian; born 1401, died Kerkyra 1477/8. As a youth Sphrantzes (Σφραντζῆς) entered the service of Manuel II; upon Manuel's death, Sphrantzes joined the entourage of his son, the *despotes* (and future emperor) Constantine (XI). In his service he undertook numerous embassies to the Turks, Georgia, Trebizond, Morea, and the Aegean islands. He was appointed governor of Patras in 1430, *protovestiarites* in 1432, and governor of Mistra in 1446. He was taken prisoner in Constantinople at the time of the Ottoman conquest. After his release by the Turks, he continued to travel widely, in Italy, Serbia, and the Ionian Islands. He ended his days on Kerkyra as the monk Gregory.

The *Chronicon Minus,* based on the diary of Sphrantzes, covers the period 1413–77. It is a revealing personal memoir that combines annalistic accounts of events with records of the dates of birth (and death) of Sphrantzes' children. The language of this *Chronicon* is surprisingly colloquial and includes a number of Turkish and Italian words. It is now generally accepted that the expanded version of this work, the *Chronicon Maius,* is a 16th-C. compilation of the metropolitan of Monemvasia, Makarios MELISSENOS (R.-J. Loenertz in *Miscellanea Giovanni Mercati,* vol. 3 [Vatican 1946] 273–311). M. Carroll argues, however, that most of the "siege section" of the *Maius* is the work of Sphrantzes (*Byzantion* 41 [1971] 28–44; 42 [1972] 5–22; 43 [1973] 30–38).

ED. *Georgios Sphrantzes, Memorii 1401–1477,* ed. V. Grecu, with Rumanian tr. (Bucharest 1966). Eng. tr. of *Chronicon Minus*—M. Philippides, *The Fall of the Byzantine Empire: A Chronicle by George Sphrantzes, 1401–1477* (Amherst, Mass., 1980).

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:494–99. R. Maisano, "L'opera memorialistica di Sfranze dentro e fuori i confini della storia," *Italoellenika,* vol. 1 (Naples 1988) 111–122. –A.M.T.

SPICES (μυρεψικά). In medieval merchant handbooks, the term *spezierie* designates a large number of items that were used in medicine, perfume making, and embalming, as well as dyestuffs and seasonings. Since many spices, including the most expensive ones, were produced in Southeast Asia and Africa, the term is associated with eastern trade, although among the spices are items such as saffron, produced in the western Mediterranean, and mastic, produced on CHIOS. For medieval commerce, pepper and ginger were the most important items; of small bulk and very high value, carried primarily on galleys, spices were very lucrative commodities.

Until the 7th C., Byz. territories included some spice-producing areas (Egypt) as well as the ports through which eastern spices reached the Mediterranean. After the loss of the eastern provinces, Constantinople became the most important market within Byz.; ALEXANDRIA remained a major outlet throughout the Middle Ages. In the 10th C., the campaign manual of Constantine VII (*De cer.,* [appendix to] vol. 1, 468.15–18) mentions as

items to be carried into the field: Greek incense, frankincense, mastic, saffron, musk, amber, aloe and wood aloe (or eaglewood), cinnamon of first and second quality, and cassia. All of these, and other spices, are mentioned in the BOOK OF THE EPARCH in the chapter on Myrepsoi (ch.10), which suggests that spices reached Constantinople primarily from the area of TREBIZOND. Symeon SETH lists a considerable number of spices along with their therapeutic qualities. In the 14th C., Constantinople and PERA were important centers of the spice trade as was CYPRUS, because Italian traders shunned the Egyptian ports to some extent. By the late 14th C., Alexandria became the major market for spices in the eastern Mediterranean.

LIT. Heyd, *Commerce* 2:563–609, 614–24, 626–29, 631–48, 658–70, 676. E. Ashtor, *Levant Trade in the Later Middle Ages* (Princeton 1983). –A.L.

SPIRITUAL RELATIONSHIP (*πνευματικὴ συγγένεια*) was contracted on a number of ritual occasions, such as BAPTISM (see GODPARENT), ADOPTION of a child or brother/sister (ADELPHOPOIIA), or taking monastic vows. In the cases of baptism and adoption, the spiritual relationship created by the rituals included not only the participants, the sponsor, and sponsored, but also others related to them by blood (see MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENTS). The language of spiritual kinship could also be applied to relationships not created by a ritual, such as that between a confessor and confessant (V. Christophorides, *He pneumatike patrotes kata Symeon ton Neon Theologon* [Thessalonike 1977]), superiors and monks/nuns, or between emperors and foreign Christian rulers (Dölger, *Byzanz* 183–96). The emperor's spiritual father or confessor could play an important political role (R. Morris in *Byz. Saint* 46–49). –R.J.M.

SPITHAME (*σπιθαμή*, lit. "space between the thumb and little finger"), a unit of length = 12 DAKTYLOI = 3/4 POUS (= 23.4 cm). As an official measure for the survey of fields it was also called *basilike* (imperial) *spithame*. Besides this official *spithame* there existed another *spithame* of 10 *daktyloi* (= 19.5 cm) or of 10.33 *daktyloi* (= 20.8 cm), called the *koine* (common) *spithame*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 19f. –E. Sch., A.K.

SPLIT (Ἀσπάλαθος, Roman Spalatum), city on the Dalmatian coast on a promontory in Kaštelanski Bay, southeast of SALONA. The etymology suggested by Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.237) from *palatium* (palace) is now considered incorrect—possibly, the Greek name was derived from a plant used in the manufacture of perfumes. Sometime before 305, Diocletian built a residence on this obscure site for his years of retirement; it was constructed of local limestone and brick, while marble, mosaic decoration, and statues of sphinxes were imported. Diocletian's villa was square in plan, had four gates, and was surrounded by limestone walls with square and octagonal towers. Two principal streets (in some places colonnaded) divided the villa complex into four quarters. The villa contained the Mausoleum of Diocletian, a temple, baths, private apartments, and an aqueduct.

After Diocletian's death Spalatum experienced a period of stagnation; according to the 5th-C. *Notitia Dignitatum*, it housed a military clothing factory. Excavations have uncovered only modest traces of building activity in the 5th–6th C.; baths were adapted for use as churches, and twin basilicas were erected outside the walls. In the 7th C. the inhabitants began to rebuild Spalatum as a small town: some columns and floor slabs were removed to obtain materials for renovation; the standard of living declined. Then new forms (in construction technique and pottery), reflecting Slav influence, emerged.

THOMAS THE ARCHDEACON relates that the inhabitants of Salona, after the destruction of their city in the 630s, fled to Split. The episcopal center was transferred there, and Diocletian's mausoleum was transformed into the cathedral. Small as it was, Split played an important role in the making of the Croatian state in the 10th–11th C. and as the site of local synods. The archbishop of Split tried to maintain ties with both Rome and Constantinople. Byz. claimed certain administrative rights over this area. From the 12th C. onward Split was several times sacked by the Hungarians and Venetians. In 1420 it finally recognized Venetian supremacy.

LIT. G. Novak, *Povijest Splita*, vols. 1–2 (Split 1978). *Vita religiosa, morale e sociale ed i concili di Split (Spalato) dei secoli X–XI*, ed. A. Matanić (Padua 1982). *Diocletian's Palace*, 4 vols., ed. J. Marasović et al. (Split 1972–79). J. Wilkes, *Diocletian's Palace, Split* (Sheffield 1986). S. McNally, "Diocletian's Palace," *Archaeology* 28 (1975) 248–59. –A.K.

SPOLIA, materials taken over for reuse from older buildings, particularly columns, capitals, and other MARBLE. The use of *spolia* in construction appeared in the early 4th C. and, as the supply of material and means of production diminished, continued throughout the Byz. period. Earlier structures provided builders with inexpensive, ready-made, and easily reusable material. *Spolia* were often employed in a conscious manner, as in pairing columns of the same material or capitals of the same style. In some Late Antique buildings the use of *spolia* from pagan temples sometimes symbolized the triumph of Christianity: the author of the vita of PORPHYRIOS OF GAZA interpreted the reuse of marbles from the temple of Zeus Marnas at Gaza in the pavement of that city's cathedral as a proper trampling on the remnants of idolatry.

Other materials were recycled from older artifacts simply because they were valuable. SILVER was frequently melted down, old mosaic tesserae were saved, seals were recut, and coins (Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 87f, 204–06) were overstruck. The reuse of Roman cameos and intaglios and of parchment in PALIMPSESTS is easily identified; less so is the removal of gems from crosses and Gospel books for items of personal adornment—a charge leveled at Isaac II (Nik.Chon. 443.78–82).

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, *Die Spolien in der spätantiken Architektur* (Munich 1975). S.E. Bassett, "Omnium Paene Urbium Nuditate: The Reuse of Antiquities in Constantinople, 4th through 6th Centuries" (Ph.D. diss., Bryn Mawr College, 1985). –M.J., A.C.

SPOONS (κοχλιάρια), of silver, bronze, and bone, served both domestic and cult purposes. Silver spoons were elaborately decorated and plentiful in the 4th–6th C. Treasures of domestic silver PLATE contain two types of spoon used for eating, the *kochliarion* with round bowl and pointed handle and the *ligula* (a Lat. term) with pear-shaped bowl connected by a disk to a handle with finial or having a curved "swan's neck" handle; both kinds were decorated with images, inscriptions, and monograms. Although the *ligula*-type spoon replaced the *kochliarion,* the latter word continued to be used in the Greek East (cf. mod. Greek *chouliari*). Silver spoons of the 6th C. bearing crosses and (in two cases) dedicatory inscriptions form part of the ecclesiastical KAPER KORAON TREASURE and MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE and may be the earliest examples of the liturgical implement called *labis,* for which contemporary written evidence is, at best, ambiguous. In this period it is unclear if the spoon was used to stir the wine of the EUCHARIST or to distribute wine-soaked bread from the chalice.

LIT. M. Martin in *Der spätrömische Silberschatz von Kaiseraugst,* ed. H.A. Cahn, A. Kaufmann-Heinimann (Augst 1984) 56–96. Mango, *Silver* 118–27. W.D. Wixom, "A Mystery Spoon from the Fourth Century," *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* 57 (1970) 141–49. T. Totev, "Brovzova lŭžicka ot s. Vŭrbica, Šumensko," *Muzei i pametnici no kulturata* 13.2 (1973) 9f, 84, 86. –M.M.M.

SPORTS. Participation in (and attendance at) sporting events was one of the most important forms of ENTERTAINMENT in antiquity. The triumph of Christianity in the 4th C. brought about changes, as the church condemned dangerous sports, esp. those that could prove fatal: gladiators ceased to perform in the 4th C. (G. Ville, P. Veyne, *Annales ESC* 34 [1979] 651–71). Theodosios I abolished the Olympic Games in 393, but they apparently continued in Daphne, near Antioch, until 521 (J. Keresztényi, *Olympiai játékok Daphnéban* [Budapest 1962]). Canon law accepted wrestling, boxing, running, jumping, and discus-throwing (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:360.7–8, 4:133.24–26). Running contests were held in the HIPPODROME. Basil I in his youth excelled in wrestling, and John I Tzimiskes is reported to have been outstanding at ARCHERY (Leo Diac. 97.4–10).

Equestrian sports were most common during the Byz. millennium. In addition to HUNTING, three different kinds of contests took precedence over CHARIOT RACES: *tzykanion, tornemen,* and *dzoustra. Tzykanion* (from Pers. *tshu-gan*), a ball game played on horseback, similar to polo, was introduced from Persia and known supposedly from the reign of Theodosios II, who built a stadium (TZYKANISTERION) in Constantinople for the game. Played on an open field, it involved two teams on horseback, equipped with long-handled nets with which they tried to hit a leather ball the size of an apple into the goal of the opposing team (Kinn. 263.17–264.11). It was a sport very popular at the imperial court and among the nobility: Basil I excelled in it (Genes. 89.92–90.3), and John I Komnenos Axouch, emperor of Trebizond (1235–38), was fatally injured while playing in the *tzykanisterion* at Trebizond (Panaretos, ed. O. Lampsides, *ArchPont* 22 [1958] 61.15–16).

Tornemen and *dzoustra* (Greek transcriptions of the Old French *tourneimen* and *joste*) were intro-

duced from the West and played according to the rules of Western chivalric encounters. Both derived from mounted warfare and were practiced as a means of military training. In the *tornemen* the participants fought as members of a group, while in the *dzoustra* the contestants met in individual combat. A 12th-C. writer (Nik. Chon. 108.56–110.91) describes a tournament in Antioch in which Byz. nobles led by Manuel I competed as members of a group against Western knights. In similar fashion a Palaiologan historian (Greg. 1:482.1–483.20) describes the two contests organized by Andronikos III Palaiologos at Didymoteichon in 1332 to celebrate the birth of his son John.

The horsemanship of famous riders performing in the hippodrome is depicted in the Madrid MS of John Skylitzes: Theodore Krateros in the reign of Theophilos, and Philoraios in that of Romanos II (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 130f, 352). Jousts and other equestrian sports seem to be parodied on bone CASKETS of the 11th or 12th C. (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* I, nos. 40, 53). (See also CHARIOTEERS.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 3:81–147. W. Rudolph, "Der Sport in der spätantiken Gesellschaft," *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 40 (1966) 208–210. L. Kretzenbacher, "Ritterspiel und Ringreiten im europäischen Südosten," *SüdostF* 22 (1963) 437–55. A. Ducellier, "Jeux et sport à Byzance," *Dossiers de l'archéologie* 45 (1980) 83–87. A. Pagliaro, "Un gioco persiano alla corte di Bisanzio," 5 *CEB* 1 (Rome 1939) 521–24. –Ap.K., A.C.

SPORTULAE. See SYNETHEIA.

SPYRIDON (Σπυρίδων), 4th-C. bishop of Trimithous on Cyprus; saint; born Askia, Cyprus; feastday 12 Dec. A shepherd, he continued to herd his flock after having been elected bishop. His participation in the Council of Nicaea in 325 is questionable; ATHANASIOS of Alexandria, however, testifies that a certain Spyridon of Cyprus signed the acts of the Council of Serdica (342/3). RUFINUS knew oral traditions about Spyridon and mentioned two of his miracles: invisible ropes bound the thieves who stole his sheep, and his deceased daughter Irene identified from her grave the site of a treasure she had hidden before her death. Spyridon became popular in Byz. literature. A poem ascribed to his pupil Triphyllios, now lost, is mentioned in the *Souda*; it served as the basis for two 7th-C. vitae, one by Theodore of Paphos (completed by 655) and another possibly by LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS. The vitae describe miracles worked by Spyridon, including his healing of the emperor Constantine I; Theodore's Life mentions the deacon Stephen, who in 619 was reading a book about Spyridon, and also contains accounts of miracles performed at Spyridon's tomb. SYMEON METAPHRASTES used the Life by Theodore; Arabic and Georgian vitae also survive.

Though Spyridon is portrayed as a bishop in artistic representations, he wears a special cap as a reminder of his shepherd past. He has a pointed white beard.

SOURCES. *La légende de s. Spyridon évêque de Trimithonte*, ed. P. van den Ven (Louvain 1953), rev. G. Garitte, *RHE* 50 (1955) 125–40.

LIT. *BHG* 1647–48. Johann Georg, Herzog zu Sachsen, *Der heilige Spyridon, seine Verehrung und Ikonographie* (Leipzig-Berlin 1913). C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:387–89. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SPYRIDONAKES, JOHN, rebellious governor; fl. ca.1195–1201. A Cypriot craftsman, allegedly deformed, Spyridonakes (Σπυριδωνάκης) gained favor with ALEXIOS III. After rising to superintendent of the "inner treasury" he was appointed governor of the theme of Smolena. Here (like his contemporaries DOBROMIR CHRYSOS, LEO SGOUROS, and IVANKO) he sought independence. About 1201 Alexios's son-in-law Alexios PALAIOLOGOS overran Smolena and drove Spyridonakes to flee to KALOJAN. –C.M.B.

SQUINCH, a half-conical niche, arched or corbeled in brick or stone across the corners of a square bay. The function of the squinch was to create, above a square plan, an octagonal base for a dome, drum, or cloister vault. To smooth the transition from octagon to circle, smaller and shallower squinches were sometimes inserted at the corners of the octagon. Squinches appear in the stone architecture of Syria, Asia Minor, and Armenia, and in the brick superstructures of Hosios Loukas, the Nea Mone on Chios, and Daphni. In these 11th-C. Greek churches, the squinch created a non-Euclidean surface for mosaic compositions, the base of which consisted of flat surfaces set at right angles to one another in the corners of the

naos, while the squinch vault itself united these two surfaces into a quarter sphere at the top. Like PENDENTIVES, to which they are aesthetically and programmatically related, squinches were normally adorned with images of the GREAT FEASTS or EVANGELIST PORTRAITS.

LIT. Mango, *Byz.Arch.* 181–84. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 344f. Demus, *Byz. Mosaic* 22–26. M. Rumpler, *La coupole dans l'architecture byzantine et musulmane* (Strasbourg 1956) 82–99. F. Antablin, "The Squinch in Armenian Architecture in the 6th & 7th cent.," *REArm* 18 (1984) 503–13. –W.L.

STABILITY, MONASTIC (*ἰσόβιος ἄσκησις*), the principle that monks and nuns should remain for life in the monastery in which they took their monastic vows. This idea was enjoined by both canon and civil law. The canons of the 4th and 7th ecumenical councils and commentaries on them (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:225–29, 641f) forbade a monk or nun to leave his or her original monastery, as did civil law (cf. Justinian I, novs. 5.4, 7; 123.42). There were, however, legitimate reasons for a monk to move, for example, if his monastery was closed, if he were needed at another institution, or if a move would promote his spiritual well-being or serve as punishment. The monk had to seek the permission of the *hegoumenoi* of both monasteries before making the move. If he left his monastery without permission he was excommunicated.

In reality, however, many monks (including those considered holy men) moved frequently from one monastery to another or alternated between a cenobitic and eremitic way of life; nuns, on the other hand, virtually always remained in the same convent for life (A.M. Talbot, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 14f). Monks might move to escape enemy attack, to find an isolated *koinobion* more conducive to the ascetic life, or to escape worldly glory and live as a HERMIT (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 78 [1985] 50–52). Beck (*Jahrtausend* 213) has suggested that a common motivation was the individualism of the Byz. monk and the difficulty of obedience to a *hegoumenos*. Most monastic *typika* were more realistic than canon law and permitted the admission of monks from other monasteries, although the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY required a thorough investigation of the alien monk's past, and certain monasteries prohibited his promotion to the post of *hegoumenos* (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 31 [1971] 57f).

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "*Instabilitas loci*: The Wanderlust of Late Byzantine Monks," in *Monks, Hermits and the Ascetic Tradition* [= *SChH* 22] (London 1985) 193–202. E. Herman, "La 'stabilitas loci' nel monachismo bizantino," *OrChrP* 21 (1955) 115–42. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 149–56. E.W. McDonnell, "Monastic Stability," in *Charanis Studies* 115–50. –A.M.T.

STAGOI (*Στάγοι*, etymology uncertain, mod. Kalampaka), on the site of ancient Aiginion, a stronghold (*phrourion* or *kastron*) and bishopric in Thessaly known from the 10th C. onward. According to an act of 1163, Stagoi belonged to the theme of SERVIA. This act (C. Astruc, *BCH* 83 [1959] 206–46, with add. E. Vranouse, *Symmeikta* 7 [1987] 19–32) gives a list of the properties of the bishopric (many villages having Slavic names) and exempts the bishop's *klerikoparoikoi* from diverse levies. John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:474.1–3) names Stagoi among *phrouria* that had belonged to the GABRIELOPOULOI but in 1333 were occupied by John Orsini of Epiros. From the mid-14th C. all of Thessaly was controlled by Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, and Serbian *kephalai* administered Stagoi. Its bishop was suffragan of Larissa (*Notitiae CP* 7.574). The first monasteries at METEORA were apparently under the bishop's control, and his rights are confirmed in imperial rescripts of 1336 and 1393 preserved on the walls of the cathedral. The stronghold and the bishopric, however, soon declined and fell under the domination of either the monks or the bishops of TRIKKALA.

Several monuments are known to have existed in Stagoi, among them a Church of St. Barbara, but of these only the cathedral, dedicated to the Dormition of the Virgin, survives. This is a three-aisled basilica, constructed probably in the late 11th or early 12th C. on the foundations of a church from the 4th–6th C.; the (rebuilt) AMBO, chancel screen, and *synthronon* of the earlier structure survive in the interior, and there are mosaics under the pavement of the floor. Some late 12th C. frescoes (standing portraits of saints) remain in the south aisle, although most of the decoration is from the latter part of the 16th C. (I. Pispa, *Ho hieros naos tes Koimeseos tes Theotokou en Kalampaka*[2] [Kalampaka 1988]).

LIT. *TIB* 1:262f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 158–61. Nicol, *Meteora* 78–80. G.A. Soteriou, "He basilike tes Koimeseos en Kalampaka," *EEBS* 6 (1929) 291–315. –T.E.G.

STAMENA. See HISTAMENON.

STAMPS, BREAD (σφραγῖδες), closely related to commercial STAMPS, were used to mark bread for ecclesiastical use. Typically 5–10 cm across—and most often made of clay, wood, or limestone—they may be divided into two basic types, depending on the impressed text or image that they bear. Some, intended for EULOGIA bread (i.e., that which is distributed apart from the Divine Liturgy on specific feastdays), carry an image or text designating the saint to be celebrated, whereas others, intended for the EUCHARIST itself, bear devices that guided the priest in subdividing the oblation (PROSPHORA), and texts corresponding to the symbolism or wording of the office. Specifically, some stamps are square, inscribed with a cross marked in its quadrants by the letters IC XC NIKA (for "Jesus Christ is victorious"); these evoke the Liturgy of John Chrysostom and closely resemble the eucharistic bread represented in MSS and monumental painting—as in the Church of Hagia Sophia at OHRID. Others, which are generally larger, bear a dense waffle pattern to facilitate removal of particles in honor of the Virgin, John the Baptist, and other saints; around the circumference of these might be the words recited at the institution of the sacrament: "Take, eat: this is my body that is broken for you."

LIT. G. Galavaris, *Bread and the Liturgy* (Madison 1970). –G.V.

STAMPS, COMMERCIAL. A continuation of Roman *signacula*, these stamps (τύποι) are typically 3–10 cm at their widest and formed in the shape of a rectangle, circle, foot, cross, or crescent. Nearly all have handles, in some instances with their own smaller stamping device; although specimens are known in wood, stone, and clay, the majority are of bronze. Usually much cruder in manufacture than their Roman predecessors, Byz. *typoi* almost invariably show raised (rather than INTAGLIO) framed devices, consisting of words or phrases, which are usually aligned backward. Private names (e.g., "of John") are common, as are good wishes ("health," "life," "immortality"), references to abundance ("fruits of God"), and apotropaic ACCLAMATIONS ("One God"). Like *signacula*, commercial stamps functioned primarily within the marketplace as is indicated by some of the inscriptions (e.g., "wine vat," "pithos key," "good wine," "Jesus, may you purify"), by their frequent allusions to prosperity or abundance (Fortuna, Hermes, the caduceus), and esp. from the fact that many parallel stamp impressions are preserved on MORTARIA, AMPHORAS, amphora stoppers, and BRICKS. A significant majority of surviving Byz. commercial stamps date from the 4th to 8th C.

A notable exception is a large and homogeneous group of amphora stamps, which are 9th–12th C. in date. Smaller and lighter in manufacture than the early stamps, they come in a richer variety of shapes (quatrefoils, birds, human heads) but bear only a limited range of devices—specifically, a handful of male names, in some cases combined or even repeated on a single stamp ("John, Leo"; "John, John, John"). Their dating and function are revealed by correspondences with impressions on the handles and necks of archaeologically excavated amphoras. The fact that they show only a first name (and neither a place of origin nor date) sets them apart from antique amphora stamps, which may have been used to guarantee volume or quality, or to ensure state control of the wine trade. Yet their homogeneity in design and device and their wide distribution suggest that they were not simple potters' stamps, but either those of vintners, to facilitate shipment or storage, or those of established (family?) pottery workshops, to control the manufacture or sale of the vessels.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 25–28. –G.V.

STAPHIDAKES (Σταφιδάκης), writer; fl. ca.1320. His biography is totally unknown. His most important surviving work is a MONODY on an emperor of the Palaiologan dynasty, usually identified as MICHAEL IX (cf. R. Förster, *BZ* 9 [1900] 381 and S. Lampros, *NE* 1 [1904] 368–70). This brief oration laments the untimely demise of an emperor who predeceased his father and died in Thessalonike. It is a conventional piece, full of repetitions and empty formulas, reminiscent of contemporary works of the same genre. Two of the letters of Staphidakes are preserved (ed. S. Lampros, *NE* 12 [1915] 8–12), and some unpublished EPIMERISMS (in Vienna, ÖNB, phil. gr. 250, fol. 201r-207r) have been attributed to him.

ED. A. Meschini, "La monodia di Stafidakis," *Università di Padova. Studi bizantini e neogreci, Quaderni* 8 (Padua 1974) 3–20.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:138, 193, 236; 2:23, n.5. –A.M.T.

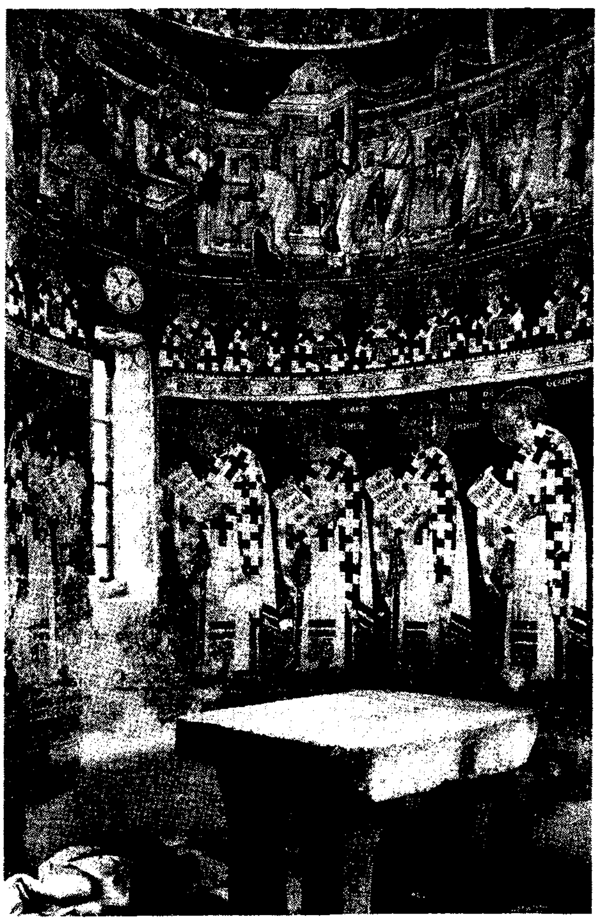
STAR (ἀστήρ). Ancient and Byz. writers on ASTRONOMY divided the celestial bodies into two groups: immovable stars, primarily those combined into 12 groups forming the CONSTELLATIONS of the Zodiac, and seven moving stars, or planets, to which also belonged the sun and the moon; a COMET could also be defined as a star (e.g., HEPHAISTION OF THEBES, lib. 1:22.14, vol. 1, p.64.20–21). The Old Testament rejected the astral cult, common in Babylonia, and reduced the stars to simple celestial "lamps" that emerged only on the fourth day of the Creation; ancient Greeks and Romans, however, saw in planets and stars divine essences—gods or mythical heroes taken to heaven. Christianity condemned the pagan attribution of divinity to stars and denied their control over human actions, even though rudiments of such a view were preserved by ASTROLOGY and the planets continued to bear the names of Greek gods. Nevertheless, the attitude toward the stars remained somewhat ambivalent: JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp. fidei* 21.187–88, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:61) stresses that they are composite and perishable but confesses that "we do not know their nature [*physis*]." Some people continued to believe that stars were ethereal bodies, inanimate, and knowing God. Stars assumed an important place in Christian legends: the star of Bethlehem is said to have led the Magi to Christ's cradle, and Constantine I allegedly saw in the sky the sign of the Cross formed of stars.

Taking various forms (usually four-, five-, or seven-pointed), stars were frequent in carved epitaphs and as signs in early Christian epigraphy and on gems and lamps. In addition to their customary appearance in images of the ADORATION OF THE MAGI, they occur in many other scenes of the Infancy of Christ (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, nos. 129, 133, 169). Connotations of sanctity are implied by the eight-pointed stars adorning the books held by evangelists (ibid., no.152). God's intervention is suggested by the star in early images of the Raising of Lazarus and divine presence by the stars depicted in the vaults of the "Mausoleum" of Galla Placidia and other buildings in RAVENNA; set around the portraits of holy men in the crypt of HOSIOS LOUKAS they suggest a celestial vault. Particularly in later versions of the Transfiguration, the Anastasis, and the Dormition, Christ appears in a star-shaped or star-filled MANDORLA. Only rarely, as on St. Demetrios's costume in a mosaic in his church in Thessalonike (Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.45), does a star seem to denote an earthly rank; its precise meaning in this context is unknown.

LIT. F.W. Deichmann, "Zur Erscheinung des Sternes von Bethlehem," in *Vivarium: Festschrift Theodor Klauser zum 90. Geburtstag* (Münster 1984) 98–106. –A.K., A.C.

STARO NAGORIČINO, situated not far from Kumanovo, site of a monastery of St. George built by King STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN in 1313, according to an inscription on the lintel over the western entrance to the church. The latter was erected on the foundations of an 11th-C. basilica, traditionally believed to be a gift from the emperor Romanos IV Diogenes to St. PROHOR OF

STARO NAGORIČINO. Church of St. George. Frescoes in the south half of the apse. Above is the Communion of the Apostles (Lord's Supper); below are busts of bishops and bishops performing the liturgy.



PČINJA. The original three-aisled basilica has been combined with a cross-in-square structure having five domes and a narthex. The lower walls are constructed of large well-cut stones, and the upper walls are of stone and brick, enlivened by brick arches and decorative brick designs.

Two artists, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS, painted their names in the church; another fresco inscription confirms their involvement and indicates they were at work between 1316 and 1318. The ambitious fresco program includes, along with the usual Byz. themes, scenes of the Passion, Miracles and Parables of Christ, and the Appearance of Christ after the Passion, all in the nave. There is also a life of St. GEORGE in the nave, the life of the VIRGIN MARY in the *prothesis*, and the life of St. NICHOLAS in the *diakonikon* (Ševčenko, *Nicholas* 42, 243–51). The marble iconostasis, which is original, preserves fresco icons of St. George the "Diassoritis" and the Virgin Pelagonitissa (see VIRGIN ELEOUSA). In the narthex, 365 scenes from the church CALENDAR are illustrated for the first time in Serbian art, and there are portraits of Milutin and his wife SIMONIS.

The vast number of episodes represented and the didactic character of the cycles as a whole nearly disrupt the balance between narrative and image achieved in the earlier work of these masters (e.g., at STUDENICA). Milutin appreciated their work nonetheless, for he called on some unidentified masters to repeat the program and style of Staro Nagoričino at GRAČANICA.

LIT. Radojčić, *Slikarstvo* 102–05. Djurić, *Byz. Fresk.* 71f. Miljković-Pepek, *Mihail i Eutihij*, esp. 22–25, 56–62.
–G.B.

STASIS (στάσις, lit. "stand," also *staseion* or *stasion*), in fiscal terminology, a homestead, frequently with noncontiguous parcels of arable land; more specifically, the taxable property of a taxpayer, usually a peasant. Through the 12th C., in KODIKES, the *stasis* of a taxpayer, as described within the STICHOS, consisted of the individual taxable parcels of land held by the taxpayer upon which his TELOS was based. The records of the cadaster of THEBES indicate that these parcels were frequently spread throughout a VILLAGE and, because of property transfers within the CHORION, the parcels themselves are often described as having been the *stasis* or part of the *stasis* of earlier taxpayers. In 13th- and 14th-C. documents from Trebizond, the word *staseis* is often used to denote particular geographic areas within a *chorion*, which, though the names they bear were apparently those of previous individual holders, were often divided among several subsequent tenants. In 11th–15th-C. *praktika*, a *stasis* (and the evidently synonymous *hypostasis* and *oikostasion*) consisted of land (CHORAPHION, vineyard, garden, etc.), animals (oxen, cows, sheep, etc.), dwellings, and agricultural capital (mills, boats, etc.).

The elements within the *stasis* could be alienated, divided, and inherited by the peasants. Similarly, through purchase and escheat, landlords often acquired the *staseis* of their peasants. The meaning of the term *hypostatikos* (e.g., *Lavra* 2, nos. 91.I.17; 109.644) is unclear. Dölger (*Sechs Praktika* 127) explains it as a free peasant who could exercise rights over his land.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 158–60. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 118f. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 55f, 60. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o strukture pozdnevizantijskogo poselenija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 12–14.
–M.B.

STATE PROPERTY. State land, as distinct from the vast imperial domains and/or the land of the crown, had the following characteristics: (1) the land was given to an individual on the basis of the amount of tax imposed; (2) there was no substantial difference between the state tax and private rent; (3) the state had an unrestricted right of confiscation—according to Symeon Metaphrastes (PG 114:1156A), there was a "bad habit" in Byz. that any land on which the emperor or the empress stepped became imperial property; the owner could be compensated by another allotment or JUST PRICE; (4) imperial confirmation was needed for the transmittance of a title of private property. Scholars who deny the concept of state property explain these phenomena as equivalent to state sovereignty, the state judicial system and/or as facts limited to the land of the crown. In this context the status of the settlers on state land is crucial: it is unclear whether such categories as STRATIOTAI, DEMOSIARIOI, or *exkoussatoi* of the DROMOS were full owners of their allotments or were conditional possessors of state property.

The concept of state property is in obvious contradiction to the Roman law of free property that was adopted by Byz. legislators. It always remains questionable, however, to what extent

Byz. legal practice complied with Roman legal theory and to what extent state control over private estates (JUST PRICE, PROTIMESIS, ARITHMOS, i.e., number of the peasants allowed to be accomodated, etc.) accorded with the idea of free ownership.

LIT. Kazhdan, *Gosp.klass.* 227–35. Ostrogorsky, *Paysannerie* 11–24. M. Ja. Sjuzjumov, "Suvernitet, nalog i zemel'naja renta v Vizantii," *ADSV* 9 (1973) 57–65. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 22–42. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 161f; *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 208f. –A.K.

STATES, HIERARCHY OF. The late antique concept of universality survived its factual destruction and became a prime constituent of Byz. imperial ideology and a potential irritant to smooth relations with foreign powers. TAXIS within Byz. society produced precedence; applied to the outside world, it produced a concept in which foreign powers were ranked relative to Byz. Some of Byz.'s diplomatic partners accepted the scheme (e.g., as a result of successful pressure SYMEON OF BULGARIA won a higher rank in the hierarchy); others, like FREDERICK I, did not. Lesser potentates received imperial dignities and thereby entered directly into the precedence scheme, helping to blur the distinction between Byz. CITIZENS and foreigners. The hierarchy of states shaped diplomatic communications' carefully calibrated wording of addresses and external form (guidelines for which are preserved in *De cer.*, bk.2, chs. 46–48; W. Ohnsorge, *BZ* 45 [1952] 320–39) as well as ambassadors' privileges. Subtle differentiations between emperor and barbarian ruler on insignia granted to the latter symbolically expressed this view, such as the crown Michael VII sent to Géza I of Hungary (1074–77).

The concept of the "family of princes" added a dimension of artificial kinship to the hierarchy of states: rulers with whom Byz. had privileged relations were classified as the emperor's brothers, sons, or friends. Their positions within the hierarchy of states changed to reflect circumstances. In the 6th C. Byz. recognized the Persian Empire as an equal: the shah was called BASILEUS and brother, while other rulers were *reges* or *archontes* and sons at best, like the West's Germanic kings. CHARLEMAGNE and his successors, however, rose to the level of "brothers." In late Byz. John VIII Palaiologos, for example, used the concept for his "brother" Sultan Murad II.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World-Order," *SlEERev* 35 (1956–57) 1–14. Dölger, *Byzanz* 34–69, 183–96. E. Chrysos, "Legal Concepts and Patterns for the Barbarians' Settlement on Roman Soil," in *Das Reich und die Barbaren* (Vienna-Cologne 1989) 13–33. –M.McC.

STAURAKIOS (Σταυράκιος), adviser of Empress IRENE; died Constantinople 3 June 800. A eunuch and *patrikios,* Staurakios was described as "the foremost man of his day and in charge of everything" (Theoph. 456.13–14). He became *logothetes tou dromou* in 781 during Irene's regency for Constantine VI. In 782, after TATZATES defected, Staurakios was captured while negotiating with the Arabs and held until a treaty was concluded with HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD. Staurakios campaigned in 783 against the Slavs in Greece down to the Peloponnesos and celebrated a triumph in Constantinople in Jan. 784 (McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 141). In 786 he helped Irene suppress ICONOCLASM by disarming imperial guards who had prevented iconophile bishops from meeting in Constantinople. In 790 Constantine conspired to remove Staurakios and in Dec. had him beaten, tonsured, and exiled to the Armeniakon. He returned with Irene in 792 and plotted with her against Constantine. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 471.23–25) says that in 797 Staurakios deliberately undermined Constantine's authority by frustrating his campaign against the Arabs. After Constantine's fall Staurakios's influence with Irene was eclipsed by that of AETIOS. When Irene fell sick in Feb. 800 Staurakios moved to seize power but was discovered and arrested. Seriously ill, he instigated a revolt in Cappadocia just before he died.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres,* pt.IX (1970), 333f. Idem, "Les Logothètes," *REB* 29 (1971) 47. –P.A.H.

STAURAKIOS, emperor (28 July–1 Oct. 811); died Constantinople 11 Jan. 812. Son of Emp. Nikephoros I, he was crowned co-emperor in Dec. 803. Staurakios was "completely unfit in appearance, strength, and judgment for such an honor," according to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 480.14–15), who also says that Staurakios raped two beautiful girls. Theophanes' evident hostility toward Staurakios likely stemmed from his own animosity toward Nikephoros. In Dec. 807 Nikephoros married Staurakios to Theophano from

Athens, a relative of Empress Irene who had previously been betrothed (Theoph. 483.18–19). On 26 July 811 Staurakios was gravely wounded during Nikephoros's fatal encounter with KRUM and was carried to Adrianople, where the *domestikos ton scholon* Stephanos proclaimed him emperor, despite considerable support for Michael (I) Rangabe, the husband of Staurakios's sister Prokopia. In Constantinople Staurakios tried to hand over power to Theophano and have Michael blinded, but Stephanos organized Michael's acclamation with the blessing of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I, whereupon Staurakios abdicated and took the monastic habit.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 152–55, 174–77. Bury, *ERE* 16–21. –P.A.H.

STAURATON (σταυράτον), a name first applied in the mid-11th C. to a NOMISMA showing the emperor holding a scepter in the form of a cross (σταυρός). Later, more famously, it was used for the heavy silver coins (initially approximately 8.5 g, but falling to 6 g) that form the most characteristic feature of the last century of Byz. coinage. They were worth half a (notional) gold HYPERPYRON. The date of their introduction is uncertain: while they have been generally ascribed to the 1370s, either to John V or Andronikos IV (1376–79)—they figure as *istevret* in AŞIQPAŞAZADE's account of Bayezid's wedding in 1381/2—some evidence favors treating these as a revival of a type introduced by Andronikos III in the 1330s. The name is difficult to explain, for although the legends on these coins begin with crosses—an unusual feature on Byz. coins—these are not conspicuous in their designs. In Italian commercial documents they are termed *stravati* [*sic*]. One-half and 1/8th stavrata were also struck.

LIT. A. Cutler, "The Stavraton: Evidence for an Elusive Byzantine Type," *MN* 11 (1964) 237–44. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 280f, 314–17. Hendy, *Economy* 536–46. –Ph.G.

STAURONIKETA (Σταυρονικήτα), small monastery on the northeast coast of Mt. ATHOS that flourished primarily in the post-Byz. era. It was probably founded in the late 10th C. by a Greek monk called "Stravoniketas" ("Squint-eyed Niketas"); this is the name given to the monastery when it is first mentioned in a document of 1013. By the 13th C. the monastery had been destroyed (by pirate raids?) and abandoned; in 1287 its lands and ruined buildings were granted to Koutloumousiou. It was revived and restored in the 16th C. The present buildings and treasures, with the exception of 79 MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:75–90; Polites, *Katalogoi* 178–95) and a 14th(?)-C. mosaic icon of St. Nicholas (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, no.27), are 16th C. or later.

LIT. Ch. Patrinelis et al., *Stavronikita Monastery* (Athens 1974). –A.M.T., A.C.

STAUROPEGION (σταυροπήγιον, lit. "fixture of a cross"). An act of 1047 mentions *stauropegia*, and specifically wooden *stauropegia* (*Ivir.* 1, no.29.11, 84), used as boundary marks. In a liturgical context *stauropegion* designated a cross fixed by a bishop on the site of a new church (Goar, *Euchologion* 485, 488). The term was employed primarily for patriarchal monasteries: for example, a *sigillion* of Patr. Polyeuktos of 964 (MM 5:251.24–30) proclaimed the monastery of the Philosopher, near the village of Demestane, as a patriarchal *stauropegion* and therefore independent of the metropolitan of Patras and the bishop of Lakedaemonia. The decision of Patr. George II Xiphilinos of 1197 (Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 5:102.9–14) and the *enkyklika* of Patr. Germanos II of 1233 concerning Epirot monasteries (E. Kurtz, *BZ* 16 [1907] 138.38–44) contrast stauropegial communities with those under the jurisdiction of local bishops. Patr. Niphon in 1312 (*Prot.*, no.11.153-55) also did not draw a distinction between stauropegial and patriarchal monasteries. The *sigillion* of Patr. Antony IV of 1391 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2892), on the other hand, distinguished between them; accordingly Antony, in a *sigillion* of 1393 (*Koutloum.*, no.40), granting the Koutloumousiou monastery the status of patriarchal monastery, did not use the term *stauropegion*; at that time only those monasteries that had been actually founded by the patriarch were considered stauropegial. In 1396, however, Antony gave stauropegial rights to the Pantokrator Monastery on Athos, even though he had not founded it (Pantokr., no.12.33).

Stauropegial monasteries acknowledged the jurisdiction of the patriarch, commemorated him in the diptychs, and paid him the KANONIKON. They provided an important source of revenue for the patriarchate; as a consequence Michael VIII, dur-

ing his struggle against Patr. John XI Bekkos, temporarily abolished the right of *stauropegion*.

LIT. Meester, *De monachico statu* 8, 10f, 103, 119. E. Herman, "Ricerche sulle istituzioni monastiche bizantine," *OrChrP* 6 (1940) 353–55. N. Oikonomides in *Dionys.* 65f. P. Lemerle in *Koutloum.* 395, 397. –A.K., A.M.T.

STEATITE, a usually green or buff stone, carved into icons or pendants and known to the Byz. as *amiantos lithos* ("spotless stone"). Easier to carve than IVORY, it is also more fragile; examples are therefore generally more worn and often fragmentary. More than 170 steatite carvings survive, attributed by Kalavrezou (*infra*), with two 10th-C. exceptions, to the 11th C. and later. Many represent Christ, the Virgin, and esp. military saints. Cycles of the life of Christ are concentrated in 12th-C. specimens. From the 14th C. there survive two PATENS, one naming ALEXIOS (III) KOMNENOS of Trebizond. Although often technically and formally simpler than ivories—undercutting is little used—steatite may well have been carved by the same hands. Their small size suggests that steatite icons were intended for private chapels, while crosses, *phylakteria* (see AMULETS), and seals of this material were evidently for personal use. One steatite icon is listed in the inventory of the Eleousa monastery at VELJUSA (ed. L. Petit, *IRAIK* 6 [1900] 118.22–23), and two epigrams of Manuel Philes (*Carmina*, ed. Miller, 1, nos. CCXVIII, CCXIX) are devoted to a steatite of the Virgin.

LIT. I. Kalavrezou-Maxeiner, *Byzantine Icons in Steatite*, 2 vols. (Vienna 1985). A.V. Bank, *Prikladnoe iskusstvo Vizantii IX–XII vv.* (Moscow 1978) 89–114. –A.C.

STEELYARD (καμπανός, Lat. *statera*), a bronze instrument for gross weighing based on the second principle of unequal-arm beams. Invented by the Romans, steelyards are levers having one or more fixed points (fulcra) by which they are held, a shorter arm from which the load is suspended in a pan or by hooks, and a longer arm along which the counterpoise (see WEIGHTS) is slid until the beam is in balance; scales appropriate to the various fulcra are incised on the facets of the longer arm, which may also bear the owner's name. Steelyards were esp. popular in the 5th–7th C. An unusually large example, discovered in the early 7th-C. Yassi Ada shipwreck (G.K. Sams in G. Bass, F.H. Van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada* [College Station, Tex., 1982] 202–30), is 1.46 m long; with its bust weight of 24 Roman pounds (LITRA), it could handle a load equal to nearly 300 pounds avoirdupois.

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 32f. –G.V.

STEFAN LAZAREVIĆ, prince of Serbia (from 1389; called *krales* in Douk. 39.12) and *despotes* (from 1402); born ca.1373, died in village of Glavi near Kragujevac 19 July 1427. A son of LAZAR who fell at Kosovo POLJE in 1389, Stefan inherited his father's territory. He took part in the battles of ROVINE (1395), NIKOPOLIS (1396), and ANKARA (1402) as an Ottoman vassal; Doukas (Douk. 97.10–27) describes his heroism at Ankara in contrast to the cowardice of Bayezid I. En route back to Serbia, Stefan stopped in Constantinople, received the title of *despotes*, and soon thereafter (1405) married Helena, daughter of Francesco II GATTILUSIO.

The internal strife among the Ottomans following their defeat at Ankara enabled Stefan to consolidate Serbian territory and to form an anti-Turkish coalition; the Ottoman prince SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI had to acknowledge Stefan's authority. On the other hand, Stefan accepted Hungarian suzerainty for which he was granted the Mačva region and Belgrade (in 1403/4), which became his capital. He also inherited ZETA from his uncle Balša III in 1421. In his expansion, however, he encountered resistance from Venice, which claimed rights to the coast of Zeta and negotiated with the sultan against Stefan. In 1421 an alliance between Byz., Serbia, and the Turkish usurper Mustafa was being negotiated, while Venice sought the favor of MURAD II. In 1424 Stefan participated in negotiations between Sigismund of Hungary (1387–1437) and John VIII Palaiologos and in 1425 tried to bring about a reconciliation between Venice and Hungary. Although he was faced with Turkish attacks from 1425 onward, Stefan nevertheless refused to extradite Mustafa, who in 1427 had fled from Thessalonike to Serbia. His attempts to militarize Serbia for a new war against the Ottomans were ended by his death (J. Kalić, *Istorijski časopis* 29–30 [1982–83] 7–20). Since he died childless, his nephew GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ inherited his land.

Stefan, himself a writer, was a patron of literature and the arts and invited Grigorij CAMBLAK

and KONSTANTIN KOSTENEČKI to his court. The latter's biography of Stefan is an important work of Serbian literature. Stefan built as his mausoleum the Resava monastery (1406–18), where his portrait is preserved.

LIT. M.A. Purković, *Knez i despot Stefan Lazarević* (Belgrade 1978). *IstSrpskNar* 2:205–17. Fine, *Late Balkans* 500–525. –J.S.A.

STEFAN NEMANJA (Νεεμᾶν of Greek sources), grand *župan* of RAŠKA (i.e., Serbia) and founder of the NEMANJID DYNASTY; born Ribnica in Diokleia, died Mt. Athos 13 Feb. 1199 (F. Barišić, *HilZb*, vol. 2 [Belgrade 1971] 31–40) or 1200 (K. Jireček, J. Radonić, *Istorija Srba*², vol. 1 [Belgrade 1978] 160, n. 83). He was appointed grand *župan* (*satrapes* in Greek terminology) by Manuel I, probably sometime between 1165 and 1168 (J. Kalić in *VizIzvori* 4:144f, n.135) and ruled until 25 Mar. 1196 (R. Novaković, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 129–39). With Hungarian and Venetian support, Nemanja rebelled against Byz., at first successfully. In 1172, however, Manuel attacked Nemanja with a large army and forced him to surrender; the Byz. emperor then took the conquered rebel to Constantinople and made a triumphal entry (Kinn. 287.18–288.3). Manuel's victory over Nemanja was depicted in wall paintings in the imperial palace.

Nemanja was restored to power as a Byz. vassal; in 1183, however, taking advantage of the chaotic situation after Manuel's death, he rebelled once more and invaded Byz. territory in alliance with BÉLA III of Hungary. The allies sacked Belgrade, Braničevo, Niš, and Sofia. Nemanja retained control over Niš, where in 1189 he cordially received Frederick I Barbarossa and other participants in the Third Crusade. The *župan* expanded his territory to the east and south and united ZETA with Raška. He eradicated the BOGOMILS, whose influence was spreading in Raška. In the early 1190s Nemanja tried to improve relations with Byz.: he married his second son STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED to Eudokia, a niece of Emp. Isaac II Angelos, who received the Byz. title of *sebastokrator*.

In 1196 Nemanja abdicated in favor of Stefan the First-Crowned, while giving Zeta to his eldest son Vukan to rule. He first retired to the monastery he had founded at STUDENICA and became the monk Symeon; later he went with his youngest son SAVA OF SERBIA to Mt. Athos and began the construction of the HILANDAR monastery, where he died. Nemanja also built the monasteries of Djurdjevi Stupovi and of the Virgin Mary and St. Nicholas in Toplica. His portrait (as Symeon) is represented on the frescoes of many Serbian monasteries. Both Sava and Stefan the First-Crowned wrote biographies of their father.

SOURCE. Domentian, *Život Svetoga Simeuna i Svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade 1865).

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:208–11, 251–65. R. Novaković, "Kad se rodio i kad je počeo da vlada Stevan Nemanja?" *Istoriski glasnik* (1958) no.3/4, 165–89. –J.S.A.

STEFAN OF NOVGOROD, author of a description in Slavonic of Constantinople's sacred sites, based on a visit during Holy Week of 1348 or 1349. Stefan traveled "to revere the holy places and kiss the bodies of the saints," though his privileged reception by Patr. ISIDORE I BOUCHEIRAS and the *protostrator* Phakeolatos in Hagia Sophia may indicate an additional purpose: to bring a contribution from Rus' toward repairing the dome that had partially collapsed in 1346, and perhaps to win Byz. support against Muscovite pressure on the Novgorod archbishopric. His silence on the still-damaged dome is problematic (due perhaps to later editing or to the pilgrim's need for an unblemished description?). Stefan's work, whose arrangement suggests a series of six or seven daily itineraries, is permeated with a sense of wonder, yet among Eastern Slavic accounts it is also notably vivid and precise. Besides some unique information on monuments (e.g., the monastery of St. Demetrios and its tomb of "Laskariasaf," probably John IV Laskaris), Stefan also notes details of nonreligious topography (e.g., the harbor of Kontoskalion). His commentaries conflate history and legend, fusing victories over Chosroes II's allies in 629 and over the Rus' in 860 and claiming that Theodore of Stoudios sent books to Rus'. The economic aspect of religious tourism in Constantinople is illuminated by Stefan's comment that the stingy or impecunious pilgrim will have restricted access to relics.

ED. Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 15–47, with Eng. tr.

LIT. I. Ševčenko, *Soc. & Intell.*, pt.xv (1953), 165–75. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 221–28. –S.C.F.

STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, grand *župan* of Serbia (1195–1217), king (from 1217); born ca.1165, died 24 Sept. 1227. The middle son of

STEFAN NEMANJA, in the early 1190s (A. Kazhdan in *Istočniki i istoriografija slavjanskogo srednevekov'ja* [Moscow 1967] 216f) he married Eudokia, the niece of Isaac II Angelos, and received the title of *sebastokrator* (B. Ferjančić, *ZRVI* 11 [1968] 168–70). After Nemanja's abdication Stefan succeeded him, but was opposed by his elder brother Vukan, who had the support of both Hungary and Rome. Civil war erupted, a degree of reconciliation being achieved ca. 1207, when SAVA OF SERBIA came from Mt. Athos, bringing with him Nemanja's relics. A condition of peace was probably the territorial division of Serbia; at any rate George, Vukan's son, acted from 1208 onward as a ruler of ZETA under Venetian sovereignty. The struggle continued despite Sava's appeals to brotherly love, but by 1216 Stefan conquered almost all of Vukan's former possessions. In 1217 Pope Honorius III sent a special delegation with royal insignia and crown and conferred upon Stefan the king's title. Stefan the First-Crowned wrote the vita of his father.

ED. *Žitije Simeona Nemanje od Stevana Prvovenčanoga*, ed. V. Ćorović in *Svetosavski zbornik* 2 (Belgrade 1939) 1–76. Germ. tr. S. Hafner, *Stefan Nemanja nach den Viten des hl. Sava und Stefans des Erstgekrönten* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1962).

LIT. St. Stanojević, "Stevan Prvovenčani," *Godišnica N. Čupića* 43 (1934) 1–56. E.P. Naumov, *Gospodstvujuščij klass i gosudarstvennaja vlast' v Serbii XIII-XV vv.* (Moscow 1975) 196–226. Lj. Maksimović, "O godini prenosa Nemanjinih moštiju u Srbiju," *ZRVI* 24/25 (1986) 437–44. Fine, *Late Balkans* 41–51, 103–09. –A.K., A.M.T.

STEFAN UROŠ I (Οὔρεσις), king of Serbia (1243–76); died in Zachlumia as the monk Symeon probably 1 May 1277. Son of STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED, Uroš succeeded on the throne his deposed brother Vladislav (ca.1234–43). Uroš had first to cope with the hostile alliance of Bulgaria and Dubrovnik, which continued to pose a threat until the Bulgarian tsar Michael Asen was murdered in 1257. In the south, Uroš joined the anti-Nicaean coalition of Manfred of Sicily and Michael of Epiros and in 1258 penetrated into Macedonia, occupying Skopje, Prilep, and Kičevo. In the following year, defeated by Michael VIII Palaiologos at PELAGONIA, Uroš lost these lands. In the north, he faced the rivalry of Hungary; after an unsuccessful war in 1268, he negotiated a peace agreement confirmed by the marriage of his older son Dragutin and the Hungarian princess Katalina, daughter of Stephen V. To improve his position in the Balkans, Michael VIII planned a marriage between his daughter Anna and Uroš's younger son STEFAN UROŠ (II) MILUTIN. In 1271–72 the Byz. emperor sent to Serbia Patr. Joseph I and John Bekkos to negotiate this marital alliance. Anna and her large retinue went as far as Ohrid. According to Pachymeres, the envoys were shocked at the sight of the simplicity and primitive conditions of Uroš's court (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:453–57). The embassy returned to Constantinople with no results.

During his reign, Uroš consolidated his kingdom economically and politically and Serbia became an important power in the Balkans. Using Saxon miners, refugees from the Mongol invasion of Transylvania, he opened up rich mines of silver, gold, lead, copper, and iron. The development of metallurgy intensified trade, with centers at Uroš's coastal cities of Kotor, Bar, Ulcinj, and Scutari along with independent Dubrovnik. Uroš also minted the first Serbian silver coinage. In his later years his son Dragutin, under the pressure of Hungarian in-laws, demanded an appanage and an active role in state affairs. When Uroš refused these requests, Dragutin rebelled and, with the help of the Hungarian army, defeated his father at Gacko (Hum) in 1276. Uroš abdicated and died shortly thereafter. Uroš was the founder of SOPOĆANI, where his portraits are represented together with those of his family.

SOURCE. Danilo, *Životi Kraljeva*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866; rp. London 1972) 7–21.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:341–56. Fine, *Late Balkans* 137–41, 199–204. S. Ćirković, "Srbija kralja Uroša I," in *Sedam stotina godina Sopoćana* (Belgrade 1965) vii-xii. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN (Μηλωτῖνος), Serbian king (from 1282); died Nerodimlje Palace in Kosovo region 29 Oct. 1321. Second son of STEFAN UROŠ I, Milutin succeeded his disabled older brother Dragutin, who abdicated in 1282 but maintained and eventually expanded his appanage in northwestern Serbia. Milutin, whose first wife Helena was the daughter of JOHN I DOUKAS of Thessaly, took an anti-Byz. position from the beginning of his reign; he launched a war against the empire and captured Skopje (1282) and Dyrrachion as well as a great part of Macedonia. He repelled the attack of the Bulgarian Šišman of Vidin and managed to appease Šišman's suzerain,

the Tatar khan NOGAY. In 1298 Milutin agreed to change his policy toward Byz., signed a peace treaty, and took Andronikos II's daughter SIMONIS as his fourth wife. Despite a temporary alliance with CHARLES OF VALOIS in 1308, Milutin remained within the Byz. orbit: during his reign, the Serbian court adopted Byz. imperial ceremonial and titulature; Byz. influence increased in Serbia; in the lands he conquered Byz. institutions were retained. Milutin looked to Constantinople for support during internal tensions in Serbia when he faced the resistance of his brother Dragutin and of his own son STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI, the "junior king" administering Zeta. He was able to suppress his son's revolt in 1314 and exile him to Constantinople.

Milutin also sought the support of the church by founding many monasteries and making generous donations to them. His biographer DANIIL II (Danilo) refers to 15 churches and monastic buildings constructed by Milutin in Serbia, Constantinople, Thessalonike, Mt. Athos, Jerusalem, and Mt. Sinai. They include the XENON OF THE KRAL in Constantinople, HILANDAR (main church), Banjska, St. NIKITA (Čučerski), GRAČANICA, STUDENICA (King's Church), STARO NAGORIČINO, and the Virgin of Ljeviška in PRIZREN. Portraits of Milutin are preserved at the last four mentioned churches and at ARILJE.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:437–95. L. Mavromatis, *La fondation de l'empire Serbe. Le Kralj Milutin* (Thessalonike 1978). M. Dinić, "Odnos izmedju kralja Milutina i Dragutina," *ZRVI* 3 (1955) 49–82. S. Ćurčić, *Gračanica, King Milutin's Church* (University Park-London 1979) 5–11. I. Djurić in *VizIzvori* 6:77–143. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI, son of STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN, Serbian king (1321–31; crowned 6 Jan. 1322); died in fortress of Zvečan 11 Nov. 1331. In his youth his father was forced to send him as a hostage to the Tatar khan NOGAY, with whom he stayed until 1299. As "junior king" he ruled ZETA from 1309. In 1314 he participated in an unsuccessful revolt of Zeta's aristocracy against Milutin. As a consequence he was imprisoned, partially blinded, and exiled with his family for seven years to Constantinople, where he remained under the protection of Andronikos II. Before Milutin died, he permitted his son to return to Serbia. According to legend, Stefan miraculously regained his sight after his father's death in 1321. After succeeding his father as king, he had to face opposition from his half-brother Constantine and his cousin Vladislav (son of Dragutin), but held on to his throne.

Stefan first married Theodora, a daughter of the Bulgarian tsar Smilac. After her death he took as his second wife ca.1324–26 Maria Palaiologina, daughter of the *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos and granddaughter of Theodore Metochites. During the civil war of the 1320s between Andronikos II and Andronikos III, Stefan supported the old emperor and was rewarded with some lands near PROSEK. As a result he was in a precarious situation following the defeat of Andronikos II in 1328, especially after the victorious emperor Andronikos III formed an alliance with the Bulgarian tsar MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN in 1330. Stefan, however, defeated this Byz.-Bulgarian coalition at the battle of VELBUŽD that same year and recovered for Serbia some Macedonian cities it had previously lost. Soon thereafter the semifeudal lords of Zeta revolted against Stefan; his own son Stefan Dušan, the "junior king" then ruling Zeta, defeated Dečanski and imprisoned him (Aug. 1331) in Zvečan, where he soon died. Folk tradition developed his image as a martyr allegedly blinded by his father and strangled by his own son.

Stefan started the construction of the church at Dečani, from which he derived his surname; the building was completed by Dušan. His portrait is preserved at Dečani, where he was buried. Biographies of Dečanski were written by Grigorij CAMBLAK and DANIIL II.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:496–510. Fine, *Late Balkans* 270–75. M. Purković, "Byzantinoserbica," *BZ* 45 (1952) 43–47. –J.S.A.

STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, Serbian *kralj* (from 8 Dec. 1331), *basileus* and *autokrator* of Serbia and "Romania" (from Dec. 1345); died 20 Dec. 1355. In his youth Dušan spent seven years in Constantinople with his exiled father, STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI. After his return he ruled ZETA as "junior king" and distinguished himself in the battle of VELBUŽD (1330). In 1331 he deposed his father with the support of the nobles of Zeta.

Dušan devoted his principal efforts to the conquest of Byz. lands south of Serbia. First, he protected his western frontier by a treaty with

Dubrovnik and established peace with Bulgaria by marrying in 1332 princess Helena, sister of tsar IVAN ALEXANDER. Then, in alliance with the Byz. rebel SYRGIANNES Dušan waged war against Andronikos III in Macedonia; seized Prilep, Ohrid, and the Strymon region; and forced the Byz. emperor to sign a truce (24 Aug. 1334), according to which the Serbian *kralj* retained the lands he conquered. The CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47 gave Dušan an excuse to intervene again in Byz. affairs. He backed John VI Kantakouzenos in 1342–43, but then, after the latter's success and the appearance of Turkish mercenaries in Macedonia, he shifted his support to John V Palaiologos. In the 1340s the Serbs annexed Epiros, Albania, and Thessaly, so that their power extended from the Danube to the Gulf of Corinth and from the Adriatic to the Aegean. In 1345, after his conquest of Serres, Dušan proclaimed himself emperor of the Serbs and the Rhomaioi; the next year he was crowned at Skopje and his son Stefan Uroš V became "junior king." At the same time the archbishopric at PEĆ was proclaimed a patriarchate independent of Constantinople.

Dušan's conquest of former Byz. territories intensified the process of the political and cultural hellenization of Serbia: Greek magnates and officials were integrated into the ruling elite of the Serbian empire; the administrative structure and titulature acquired Byz. features; Byz. legal texts were in part translated (*Syntagma* of Matthew BLASTARES), in part used as the basis of the new Serbian legal code (*Zakonik*); Dušan was a benefactor of monasteries on Mt. Athos and himself spent several months in 1347/8 at HILANDAR (M. Živojinović, *ZRVI* 21 [1982] 119–26); the Greek language was used by Dušan's chancellery; and Serbian diplomatics was influenced by Byz. formularies.

Portraits of Dušan are preserved in churches at Peć, Bela Crkva at Karan, Dečani, Lesnovo, Ljuboten, St. Nicholas in Ohrid, and Matejča.

SOURCE. *Vita* by Continuator of Daniil—*Životi kraljeva i arhiepiskopa srpskih*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Zagreb 1866) 215–31.

LIT. G. Soulis, *The Serbs and Byzantium during the Reign of Tsar Stephen Dušan (1331–1355) and His Successors* (Washington, D.C., 1984). *IstSrpskNar* 1:524–65. *VizIzvori* 6:262–96. G. Ostrogorsky, "Étienne Dušan et la noblesse serbe dans la lutte contre Byzance," *Byzantion* 22 (1952/53) 151–59. M. Dinić, "Za hronologiju Dušanovih osvajanja vizantiskih gradova," *ZRVI* 4 (1956) 1–11. V. Mošin, "Vizantiski uticaj u Srbiji u XIV veku," *Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis* 3 (1937) 147–59. –J.S.A., A.K.

STEFAN UROŠ V, also called Stefan Uroš Nejaki, "the Weak," Serbian tsar (from Dec. 1355); died 2 or 4 Dec. 1371. Son and heir of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, he was crowned "junior king" in 1346 at the time of his father's coronation and entrusted with lands in the northern part of Dušan's empire. After he succeeded his father in 1355, he proved unable to control the heterogeneous components of the empire and the centrifugal tendencies of the regional governors. Thus he presided over the disintegration of the empire established by his father and its dismemberment into several independent states (Hum or ZACHLUMIA, ZETA, SERRES, etc.), with the result that Serbian territory became more vulnerable to the advancing Ottomans.

Soon after Stefan V became tsar, his uncle SYMEON UROŠ rebelled unsuccessfully; when the Serbian nobles supported Stefan Uroš at the national assembly in 1357, Symeon established independent rule in Thessaly and Epiros (1359). In 1365 Stefan Uroš appointed as co-ruler the powerful courtier VUKAŠIN, who soon came to dominate the partnership. Other semifeudal lords at this time were JOHN UGLJEŠA in Serres and CONSTANTINE DRAGAŠ in eastern Macedonia. The internal strife in BRANIČEVO enabled the Hungarians to impose their suzerainty over this province, which then seceded from Serbia. The Byz. took advantage of Stefan's weakness to launch attacks on Serbian territory: they occupied the region of CHRISTOUPOLIS and in 1356 Matthew I Kantakouzenos tried to seize Serres, but was taken captive.

Together with his mother Helena, Stefan Uroš built the Matejić monastery. The best portrait of him is in the church at Psača.

LIT. Soulis, *Dušan* 86–92. Fine, *Late Balkans* 345–50. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 11–79. –J.S.A.

STEMMA CODICUM (the pedigree of MSS), a means of demonstrating the interrelationship of extant MSS of a given text in order to clarify their dependence on the archetype (the common ancestor) and the original. The method consists of grouping the MSS in clusters (recensions) on the basis of their similarity (the spotting of common errors is an important means of establishing this similarity) and displaying them as "branches" sprouting from the archetype. The chronology of MSS is also crucial for establishing the stemma,

even though the oldest MSS are not necessarily "better," that is, closer to the archetype. The stemma aims at reconstruction of the author's text (unnecessary in those rare cases in which autographs survive) and tracing, albeit hypothetically, its destiny: thus on the basis of his stemma, J.L. van Dieten suggested that two sequential drafts of Niketas Choniates' *History* survive, and J. Koder surmised that the hymns of Symeon the Theologian underwent a stylistic pseudo-emendation after Niketas Stethatos had prepared their edition soon after his master's demise.

This method is hardly applicable to vernacular literary works for which the text has been modified substantially, partly by oral tradition: thus we cannot establish the stemma of the DIGENES AKRITAS but must deal with separate and mostly independent versions (not recensions). To a smaller extent, the same phenomenon can be observed in the transmission of popular romances of chivalry and in the development of hymnography and chronography (it is impossible to establish the stemma of the chronicle family of Symeon Logothete because the MSS are authors' versions rather than scribal copies).

LIT. P. Maas, *Textual Criticism* (Oxford 1972). G. Pasquali, *Storia della tradizione e critica del testo*[2] (Florence 1952). *Neograeca medii aevi*, ed. H. Eideneier (Cologne 1986). H.-G. Beck, "Überlieferungsgeschichte der byzantinischen Literatur," in H. Hunger et al., *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur*, vol. 1 (Zurich 1961) 423–510. –A.K., W.H.

STEMMATOGYRION (*στεμματογύριον*, not *stematourgion*, as in Ferjančić), a crown worn by a DESPOTES. The term is used only in a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 275.6–14), where the crown is described as being decorated with precious stones and pearls; if the *despotes* was the emperor's son, the crown had a small arc (*kamara*) on each of four sides; if he was the emperor's son-in-law, the *stemmatogyrion* had only one arc in front. George Akropolites (Akrop. 159.9) uses the phrase *despotike tainia* for the crown of the *despotes*, while Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:433.12) is even less specific, referring to the *kalyptra* (headdress) of the *despotes*.

Although attempts have been made to identify as *stemmatogyria* certain crowns depicted in miniatures (Piltz, *infra*), such identifications should be viewed as hypothetical.

LIT. E. Piltz, "Couronnes byzantines réfléchies dans les sources littéraires," *Byzantina* 3–4 (1974–75) 8f. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 32f, 64, 89. Ferjančić, *Despoti* 22f. –A.K.

STENIMACHOS (Στενίμαχος), a site southeast of Philippopolis, in the southern part of modern Asenovgrad, Bulgaria, at the entrance to a gorge of the river Asenica. A *chorion* in the late 11th C., it is characterized as *phrourion* and *eryma* in Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 518.20, 642.70), *asty* in George Akropolites (Akrop. 121.14), and *polis* in Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 1:135.19–20). In the 11th C. it belonged to Gregory PAKOURIANOS and is described in detail in his *typikon* (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 35.272–78, 111.1532–44, 131.1842): a large village, Stenimachos contained two *kastra*, estates, and monastic institutions; Pakourianos founded there a *xenodocheion* that was to be supplied by the village (two *modioi* of wheat, two *metra* of wine, seeds, and vegetables every day); he also gave to this *xenodocheion* a water-mill and a *paroikos* exempted from regular rents and services but obliged to provide the *xenodocheion* with water and wood; a *panegyris* (fair) took place in Stenimachos.

At the time of the Fourth Crusade Stenimachos played a substantial role in wars between the Bulgarians, Latins, and Byz.: IVANKO controlled Stenimachos until Alexios III captured it in 1200. The knights of Renier of Trit were besieged by the Bulgarians in the "strong castle of Estanemac" for 13 months (1205–06); when Renier departed, the fortress was taken by Kalojan. John III Vatatzes conquered it in 1246, but Stenimachos kept changing hands; finally Anna of Savoy surrendered it to the Bulgarians in 1344, but the whole area of Philippopolis was occupied by the Turks in 1364.

Excavations have revealed remains of medieval Stenimachos. With the exception of a necropolis of the 3rd–4th C., the monuments are to be dated in the 12th–14th C. A hoard found nearby contains coins from Alexios I to the imitations of those of the Latin emperors of Constantinople. A lead seal of Alexios I was also discovered. The center of the site formed a stronghold (the so-called fortress of Asen) north of which lay the town proper whose population was involved in both agriculture and craftsmanship (metalworking, production of ceramics, and weaving). The remains of fortresses located nearby on the way to Philippopolis were found on a hill near the

Church of the Archangels and on the slope where the Church of John the Baptist (of the 12th–14th C.) still stands.

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 162–66. R. Moreva, "Stenimachos," *Balcanica Posnaniensia* 2 (1985) 167–80. D. Končev, St. Stoilov, "La forteresse d'Asên," *BS* 22 (1961) 20–54. Ch. Džambov, R. Moreva, "Architekturni problemi na Asenovata krepost v svetlinata na novite razkopki," *Architektura na Pŭrvata i Vtorata Bŭlgarska dŭržava* (Sofia 1975) 136–49. St. Bojadžiev, "Cŭrkvata Sv. Ivan Predteča v Asenovgrad," *Izvestija na bŭlgarskite muzei* 1 (1969/71) 155–68. –A.K.

STEPHANITES AND ICHNELATES. See SETH, SYMEON.

STEPHEN (Στέφανος "crown, wreath"), personal name. It existed already in antiquity. The name was widely used in the 4th and 5th C. (*PLRE* 1:852f, 2:1028–32). The popularity of Stephen the First Martyr no doubt contributed to the spread of this name in the Christian milieu; for example, Sozomenos mentions, besides the first martyr, two ecclesiastics of this name. The growth of its popularity, however, coincided with the period of Iconoclasm; several Stephens were executed during this time, according to legends. Two patriarchs of Constantinople of the 9th–10th C. bore the name. Theophanes the Confessor names 19 Stephens, as many as PAUL, and in Skylitzes there are 17 Stephens, more than NIKETAS. Relatively numerous in *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), in which Stephen precedes Athanasios and Euthymios and holds twelfth place, the name is very infrequent in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3 (13th–15th C.). –A.K.

STEPHEN, jurist active in the time of Justinian I, author of a Greek paraphrase (*index*) of the DIGEST provided with notes (*paragraphai*). A great number of fragments of this work have been preserved, esp. in the scholia to the BASILIKA. It is unclear whether the detached résumés of passages of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS attributed to Stephen in the MSS, and commonly assigned to a separate course of his lectures on the *Codex*, are also taken from what must have been an extensive commentary on the *Digest*. H.J. Scheltema (*Tijdschrift* 26 [1958] 9–14) has with good reason connected the text of Reinach papyrus Inv. 2173 to Stephen's series of lectures on the *Digest*.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:32, 49–54, 78–80. Scheltema, *L'enseignement* 24–29, 66f. L. Burgmann, S. Troianos, "Appendix Eclogae," *FM* 3 (1979) 63–66, 121–24. –A.S.

STEPHEN. See also ISTVÁN; STEFAN.

STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA, philosopher; probably born in Athens between about 550 and 555, died Constantinople? after 619/20. According to Wolska-Conus (*infra*), he is the same person as Stephen of Athens. His teaching activity in Alexandria is attested by John MOSCHOS (PG 87.3:2929D). He was close to the circle of John PHILOPONOS. The hypothesis that Herakleios summoned Stephen to Constantinople and appointed him *oikoumenikos didaskalos* was rejected by H.-G. Beck (in *Polychronion* 72f), but found a new supporter in A. Lumpe (*ClMed Dissertationes* 9 [1973] 150–59). The list of his works is not yet established. Stephen wrote a commentary on several treatises of Aristotle and, probably, on the *Introduction* by PORPHYRY; he also wrote an *Explanation* to the astronomical commentary of THEON. J. Duffy considers as his main extant works the commentaries on the *Prognosticon* and *Aphorisms* of Hippocrates, and the *Therapeutics* of Galen (in the title of which Stephen is called an Athenian). More questionable remains the attribution to Stephen of some alchemical works preserved under his name. Not authentic is a treatise (apparently of 775) allegedly predicting the destiny of Muḥammad's dynasty. On the other hand, the commentary on Ptolemy ascribed to John TZETZES in fact belongs to Stephen (R. Browning, *ClRev* 15 [1965] 262f).

ED. *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms*, ed. L. Westerink (Berlin 1985). *Stephanus the Philosopher: A Commentary on the Prognosticon of Hippocrates*, ed. J. Duffy (Berlin 1983).

LIT. W. Wolska-Conus, "Stéphanos d'Athènes et Stéphanos d'Alexandrie," *REB* 47 (1989) 5–89. H. Usener, *Kleine Schriften* (Leipzig-Berlin 1914) 3:247–322. Lemerle, *Humanism* 88f. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:300f. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM, author of the *Ethnika*, a list of geographical names complete with related proverbs, oracles, and miracles; fl. probably ca.528–35. There is no external evidence for Stephen; from the *Ethnika* it has been concluded that he was a Constantinopolitan grammarian who dedicated his book to Justinian I. Constantine VII

Porphyrogennetos seems to be the last scholar who was familiar with the complete text of the *Ethnika*. The *Souda* lexicographers and Eustathios of Thessalonike used the abridgment of a certain *grammatikos*, Hermolaos, who is otherwise unknown; this epitome survives in several MSS of the 15th C. and later. Although drawing primarily on ancient geographers (including PTOLEMY, STRABO, and PAUSANIAS), grammarians (the 5th-C. Oros of Miletos and others), commentators on Homer (H. Erbse, *Beiträge zur Überlieferung der Iliasscholien* [Munich 1960] 251–69), and historians (Polybios, etc.), Stephen on occasion gives contemporary names (the Goths, Anastasioupolis, George CHOIROBOSKOS); there is always the possibility that such information originated with Hermolaos and that the mention of Choiroboskos is an interpolation. Stephen was a Christian who characterizes Bethlehem as the birthplace "of our God and Savior," yet he rarely cites Christian authors (Eusebios and Synesios are each mentioned once). Stephen's geographical knowledge is poor (J. Pargoire, *EO* 2 [1898–99] 206–14), and his etymologies are confused. The significance of the *Ethnika* lies more in its preservation of ancient tradition than in its originality.

ED. *Ethnicorum quae supersunt*, ed. A. Meineke (Berlin 1849), with corr. R. Keydell in *Studi in onore di Anthos Ardizzoni*, vol. 1 (Rome 1978) 477–81.

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 3 (1929) 2369–99. A. Diller, "The Tradition of Stephanus Byzantius," *TAPA* 69 (1938) 333–48. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF SOUGDAIA, Iconodule bishop of SOUGDAIA (Surož); saint; born village of Borisabos, Cappadocia, ca.700?, died Sougdaia after 787; feastday 15 Dec. Information on his life is found in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*, and a short Greek *enkomion*, whereas his longer vita is known only in a 15th-C. Slavo-Russian version (preserved in a 16th-C. MS). The data about Stephen are confusing (e.g., whether he was educated in Athens or Constantinople), and the chronology inconsistent: he was supposedly ordained by Patr. GERMANOS I (early 8th C.), but also sent to Sougdaia by Leo V the Armenian (early 9th C.). Probably he was appointed by Leo III, recalled by Constantine V, imprisoned, and released through the intervention of an influential lady, Irene, identified by Vestberg (*infra*) as wife of Constantine V and daughter of Theodore, Khazar ruler of Kerč. The Slavo-Russian version of Stephen's vita became the object of heated controversy because it mentions an attack of the Rus' on Crimea led by prince Bravlin; if we believe the vita, this would be evidence of the first attack of the Rus' on Byz. territory. The authenticity of the vita, however, was denied by G. da Costa-Louillet (*Byzantion* 15 [1941] 242–44); it was supported with qualification by Vasiliev (*Russian Attack* 81–83), but is accepted by Soviet scholars (e.g., Levčenko, *Rus-VizOtn* 50–55).

SOURCES. V. Vasil'evskij, *Russko-vizantijskija issledovanija* (St. Petersburg 1893) 2:74–79, with Slavo-Russian version, 80–103. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 3:72–98.

LIT. *BHG* 1671. F. Vestberg, "O žitii sv. Stefana Surožskogo," *VizVrem* 14 (1909) 227–36. –A.K.

STEPHEN OF TARŌN. See ASOŁIK.

STEPHEN SABAITES, also called Manṣūr, hagiographer and hymnographer; born Damascus 725?, died in Lavra of St. SABAS in Palestine on 2 Apr. 807 (S. Eustratiades, *Nea Sion* 28 [1933] 601f). Nephew of JOHN OF DAMASCUS, Stephen lived in the Lavra from the age of ten, according to his vita written by his pupil Leontios. He wrote the *Martyrdom* (*Martyrion*) of 20 monks murdered in the Lavra by Arabs in 797 as well as various hymns. He can also be identified with the author of the Life of Romanos the Younger (died 780) that is known in a Georgian translation (P. Peeters, *AB* 30 [1911] 393–427). I. Phokylides (*Nea Sion* 10 [1910] 64–75) distinguished the hymnographer from the hero of the vita by Leontios; Leontios, however, says explicitly that his Stephen produced a *Diegesis* of the pillage of the Lavra (*AASS* Jul. 3:578B), while the author of the *Martyrdom* states that he also "wove hymns" (*PPSb* 19.3, p.39.29–30). Stephen's poetry includes *heirmoi, kanones,* and *idiomela* (i.e., hymns sung to a unique melody) that were dedicated to the Virgin, saints, and festivals. The *kanon* on the translation to Bari of the relics of NICHOLAS OF MYRA, preserved under Stephen's name, cannot be his work on chronological grounds.

ED. S. Eustratiades, "Stephanos ho poietes ho Sabaites," *Nea Sion* 28 (1933) 651–73, 722–37; 29 (1934) 3–19, 113–30, 185–87. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Exegesis etoi martyrion ton hagion pateron," *PPSb* 19.3 (1907) 1–41; add. R.P. Blake, *AB* 68 (1950) 27–43.

SOURCE. Vita by Leontios—*AASS* Jul. 3:504–84.
LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 507f. *BHG* 1670. –A.K.

STEPHEN THE PERSIAN, chief eunuch and *sakellarios* under Justinian II. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 367.16–17) describes him as "lordly and authoritative, exceedingly bloodthirsty and cruel." Initially in charge of administering finances, in 694 Stephen was also made responsible for supervising Justinian's building projects, including additions to the GREAT PALACE. Stephen's harsh treatment of contractors and laborers greatly increased popular dissatisfaction with Justinian. Theophanes (367.18–21) also reports that he whipped Justinian's mother Anastasia while the emperor was away. During the uprising of 695 a mob seized Stephen and dragged him along the Mese to the Forum Bovis, where he was burned alive.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:67–73. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:360. –P.A.H.

STEPHEN THE YOUNGER, saint; born Constantinople ca.713, died Constantinople 28 Nov. 764 (O. Volk, *LThK* 9:1049), a date questioned by G. Huxley (*GRBS* 18 [1977] 105–07); feastday 28 Nov. A lateborn son of a craftsman, Stephen was baptized by Patr. GERMANOS I. His parents brought him to Mt. AUXENTIOS, where he lived as a hermit and worked as a calligrapher. After the death of John, his spiritual father, Stephen founded a monastery that became, according to his hagiographer, a center of monastic resistance against the Iconoclastic policy of CONSTANTINE V. Supposedly Stephen advised the monks to flee to the Black Sea, Rome, Lycia, and elsewhere. After his refusal to accept the local council of HIERIA in 754, he was accused of illegally tonsuring an imperial favorite, George Synkletos, brought to Constantinople and executed after long confinement and tortures. Stephen the Deacon, author of Stephen's vita, notes that he wrote it 42 years after Stephen's martyrdom (in traditional chronology ca.806).

The vita is full of precious details, for example, the procedure of "washing-away" the monastic habit from George Synkletos. The role of icons is prominent: an icon of the Virgin predicted Stephen's birth, and icons helped heal a blind man (Ševčenko, "Hagiography" 120). Many passages of the vita were borrowed from the Life of EUTHYMIOS THE GREAT by CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (J. Gill, *OrChrP* 6 [1940] 114–20). The vita influenced many authors who wrote on Iconoclasm, for instance, GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. Another vita was written by SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

Representation in Art. The portrait of Stephen differs from those of other monks in that, as the great martyr of Iconoclasm, he holds an icon or icon diptych, which usually bears the bust figures of Christ and the Virgin. At the Enkleistra of St. NEOPHYTOS, he holds a large icon of the type known as the VIRGIN ELEOUSA, perhaps meant to represent the famous nearby icon of the Virgin Kykkotissa. Stephen is depicted as still fairly young, with black hair and beard. His death by dragging is illustrated in one MS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes (Athos, Doch. 5, fol.254r). He is one of the witnesses to the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY on a 14th-C. icon in the British Museum.

SOURCE. PG 100:1069–186. *Simeone Metafraste, Vita di s. Stefano minore*, ed. F. Iadevaia (Messina 1984), rev. E. Follieri, *BZ* 79 (1986) 144.
LIT. *BHG* 1666–1667a. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2:297–350. M.F. Rouan, "Une lecture 'iconoclaste' de la Vie d'Étienne le Jeune," *TM* 8 (1981) 415–36. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:404f. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 156–58. –A.K., N.P.Š.

STETHATOS, NIKETAS, theologian, monk, and probably, at the end of his life, *hegoumenos* of STOUDIOS; born 1005?, died Constantinople ca.1090. A disciple of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Stethatos (Στηθᾶτος) wrote his vita and published his works. Apparently Stethatos polemicized against MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS concerning the right of Stoudite deacons to wear girdles (*zonai*). In 1054 he participated in the dispute against the Latins, but his tone was relatively moderate; HUMBERT declared that Stethatos eventually yielded and became the legate's friend (PL 143:1001). Unlike Symeon, Stethatos ascribed great importance to hierarchy: in accordance with pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE he regarded the earthly hierarchy as resembling the celestial one. In Stethatos's theology there is no place for an agonizing search for salvation, as in Symeon: man is the summit of creation, the king of creatures, and, having both soul and body, he mediates between the world and God. The historical Eden is of no avail now; the visible world is a paradise from which man can rise to God by understanding the

symbolism and significance of intelligible objects. Stethatos also wrote discourses against the Jews and Armenians.

ED. *Opuscules et lettres*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1961). *Mystika syngrammata*, ed. P. Chrestou (Thessalonike 1959). "Vie de Syméon le Nouveau Théologien," ed. I. Hausherr, G. Horn, *OrChrAn* 12 (1928) 2–228.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 535–38. D. Tsames, *He teleiosis tou anthropou kata Niketan ton Stethaton* (Thessalonike 1971). J. van Rossum, "Reflections on Byzantine Ecclesiology: Nicetas Stethatos' 'On the Hierarchy,' " *SVThQ* 25 (1981) 75–83. –A.K.

STICHARION (*στιχάριον*), a long tunic with sleeves, the primary vestment of the higher orders of the Orthodox clergy (deacons and above). It was usually made of linen or silk and could be of any color. The *sticharion* of a bishop was adorned with two pairs of dark vertical stripes called *potamoi* (see CLAVUS); the *sticharion* of a deacon was usually plain white, to judge by representations, and was never belted.

LIT. Bernadakis, "Ornements liturgiques" 129f. Braun, *Liturgische Gewandung* 92–101. –N.P.Š.

STICHERARION (*στιχηράριον*), a liturgical MS with musical notation, containing the STICHERA for Orthros and Vespers services throughout the year. Three sets of *stichera* make up the bulk of a complete *sticherarion*: from the MENAION, from the TRIODION and the PENTEKOSTARION, and from the OKTOECHOS; *stichera* were also frequently included for special saints' days or feasts of local significance. Presumably because of the sheer mass of material involved, the sets of *stichera* were often divided into separate volumes. An 11th-C. revision of the *sticherarion* (with some saints' days removed) continued in use until the 15th C., when more florid melodies replaced the previous syllabic style. Several hundred *stichera*ria survive, each normally containing about 2,000 *stichera*.

ED. C. Høeg, H.J.W. Tillyard, E. Wellesz, *Sticherarium (Vindob. theol. gr. 181)* (Copenhagen 1935). E. Wellesz, *Die Hymnen des Sticherarium für September* (Copenhagen 1936). H.J.W. Tillyard, *The Hymns of the Sticherarium for November* (Copenhagen 1938).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 142f, 244f. D. Stefanović in *The New Grove Dictionary of Music and Musicians*, ed. S. Sadie (London 1980) 18:140. –E.M.J.

STICHERON (*στιχηρόν*, from *στίχος*, "verse"), a HYMN, a form of TROPARION, sung during Orthros and Vespers after a "verse" of a psalm (usually the last three to six verses). Of many varieties (*anastasimon*, "On the Resurrection," THEOTOKION, "On the Theotokos," etc., or appropriate to a feast or a saint), they are written in rhythmic prose and offer meditations suitable for the day. As with the *heirmoi* in the HEIRMOLOGION, the melodies for the *stichera* (normally syllabic and without ornamentation) would be marked as either unique (*idiomela*) or modeled on others (*prosomoia*). *Stichera* were assembled in a STICHERARION.

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 243–45. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 2:231–306. –E.M.J.

STICHOS (*στίχος*, lit. "line"), the basic entry in a PRAKTIKON or KODIX, the smallest fiscal unit and the nucleus of cadastral organization, so called because originally, or customarily, the entire *stichos* was entered on a single line of the *kodix*. *Stichoi* were normally composed of three parts: (1) the name of the taxpayer responsible for paying the tax (in the *kodix* this was not necessarily the person who actually worked the land; in the *praktikon*, other members of the taxpayer's household were usually listed as well); (2) a description of the STASIS of the taxpayer (in the *kodix*, only immovable properties are listed; in the *praktikon*, immovables as well as animals owned by the taxpayer); and (3) the TELOS the taxpayer owed the fisc (for the *kodix*) or his lord (for the *praktikon*). By semantic transference, *stichos* was occasionally used in the 10th–12th C. to denote the properties themselves.

LIT. Svoronos, *Cadastre* 22–24. –M.B.

STIGME. See HOUR.

STILBES, CONSTANTINE, rhetorician and poet, *didaskalos* (teacher) at the Patriarchal School in Constantinople, metropolitan of Kyzikos (under the name of Cyril) from ca.1204. Stilbes (Στιλβής) devoted two (?) poems to fires in Constantinople—those of 1197 and 1198 according to Ch. Loparev (*VizObozr* 3 [1917] 72–88), whereas Browning considers the verses to be two redactions of the same poem ("Patriarchal School" 27, n.1). His speech to Alexios III (ed. R. Browning, *Byzantion* 28 [1958–59] 36–40; see J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 184–87) describes the political situation of ca.1192/3. Stilbes also wrote a discourse against the Latins and speeches addressed to Patr. George

II XIPHILINOS as well as letters (e.g., U. Criscuolo, *RSBS* 3 [1984] 11–19) and educational treatises. In a short note (ed. W. Lackner, *JÖB* 34 [1984] 107–21), Stilbes indicated that there were multiple forgeries of Chrysostom's works; the reader should not be deceived by the antiquity of the MSS, but distinguish authentic texts from the false ones by examining the tenets, vocabulary, figures of speech, rhyme, structure, and other points of style.

ED. J. Darrouzès, "Le mémoire de Constantin Stilbes contre les Latins," *REB* 21 (1963) 61–91. U. Criscuolo, "Nuovi contributi alla storia letteraria del XII secolo: inediti di Costantino Stilbes," *SBNG* 293–99. Idem, "Didascalia e versi di Costantino Stilbes," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 83–94. *La prolusione del maestro dell'Apostolo,* ed. L.R. Cresci (Messina 1987).

LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 26–32. –A.K.

STILICHO (Στιλίχων), *magister militum* and virtual ruler of the West (395–408); died Ravenna 22/3 Aug. 408. Son of a Vandal father and a Roman mother, Stilicho rose through the army; married Serena, the adopted daughter of Theodosios I; and commanded the emperor's troops against the usurper EUGENIUS in 394. Named *magister militum praesentalis* in the same year, he used the office as the basis of personal power. Theodosios made Stilicho guardian of his son HONORIUS in 395, and he had *de facto* control of both Eastern and Western armies. Stilicho's campaigns against ALARIC in Greece were hindered by rivalry between RUFINUS and EUTROPIOS, and Stilicho was briefly declared a public enemy in Constantinople. Named consul in 400 and again in 405, Stilicho put an end to the revolt of GILDO in Africa and forestalled several barbarian invasions of Italy. His daughters Maria and Thermantia married Honorius in turn. Upon the death of Arkadios in 408, Stilicho suggested that he be sent to rule the East, but his enemies convinced Honorius that Stilicho was scheming against the Theodosian house (Zosim. 5.31–34), and he was executed. Stilicho was the archetypal barbarian *magister militum* who exercised power in the name of a weak emperor.

Stilicho is depicted on one leaf of a DIPTYCH in Monza (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen,* no.63), with Serena and their son Eucherius on the companion leaf. A challenge to this identification (K.J. Shelton, *JbAChr* 25 [1982] 132–71) is to be rejected.

LIT. S. Mazzarino, *Stilicone* (Rome 1942). Al. Cameron, "Theodosius the Great and the Regency of Stilico," *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 73 (1969) 247–80. O'Flynn, *Generalissimos* 14–62. H.R. Minn, "Stilicho and the Demise of the Western Empire," *Prudentia* 4 (1972) 23–32. –T.E.G., A.C.

STILO, small town in southeastern CALABRIA. Owing to the presence of two Greek monasteries, St. Leontios and St. John Theristes (S. Giovanni Vecchio), whose archives have been partly preserved, Stilo is much better documented for the 11th–12th C. than any other medieval Calabrian town. The archive of St. John Theristes (founded by Gerasimos Athoulinos in the mid-11th C.) contains 51 Greek documents, only one of which was issued before the Norman conquest of 1071. This act of 1054 testifies to a division of a significant property among seven parties that seem to have possessed it in common from approximately 900.

The so-called Cattolica at Stilo is probably the best known monument of Byz. southern Italy. The date and circumstances of its foundation are unknown. It is a tiny (7.4 × 7.5 m) five-domed building like S. Marco at ROSSANO but more refined, with four spoliate columns instead of piers and brick masonry rather than local stone. Suggested datings range from the 10th to the 13th C.; Krautheimer (*infra*) favors the 10th.

SOURCE. S.G. Mercati, C. Giannelli, A. Guillou, *Saint-Jean-Théristès (1054–1264)* (Vatican 1980).

LIT. *Aggiornamento Bertaux* 4:303–08, 317–19. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 402f. –A.K., D.K.

STIPULATION (ὁμολογία), in Roman law, was an oral CONTRACT based on the exchange of promises in question-and-answer form; it was unilateral in the sense that it imposed an obligation only on the promiser. It is generally accepted that in the postclassical era the verbal contract lost its previous significance (e.g., Taubenschlag, *Law of GRE* 396f). F. de Visscher (*Eos* 48.2 [1956–57] 161–69), however, considers the formulaic clause of the papyri—*eperotetheis homologesa,* "after being asked, I stipulated"—not as an empty phrase but as local notarial practice.

By the 7th C. the terminology of the stipulation was being used in the context of pious donations. For example, in describing the charitable action of a man who "loaned" 50 miliaresia to the poor in a church, John Moschos (PG 87:3060A) used the verb *rogeuein,* a typical Latin term for questioning in a stipulation. In later documents one of the formulaic *eperoteseis* ("askings") became an

element of the guarantee clause: the sellers provided the purchaser "with a full *defensio* and other legal *asphaleia* (guarantee) and *eperotesis*" (*Lavra* 2, no.83.3–4, a.1290?). Another element of the stipulation formula, the *homologia*, was also applied to written contracts—one could "stipulate the deed of purchase" (*Docheiar.*, no.35.25, a.1361).

The names of specific Roman types of stipulation are attested in later documents. A charter of 1081 mentions the Roman *acceptilatio* and Aquilian stipulation (*eperotesis*—*Lavra* 1, no.42.5) that was formerly a means of discharging any debts between two parties; here, however, the terms have a different meaning and describe a regular transfer of ownership for which 24 litrai were paid.

LIT. Buckland, *Roman Law* 434–45. –A.K.

STIRRUP (σκάλα). The iron stirrup, which was unknown to the Romans, was first mentioned in the early 7th-C. *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.* p.80.41–42); it probably entered the empire via the Avars. An ivory in Baltimore (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.86b), now said to be of the mid-7th C., shows an emperor (with bare feet!) using stirrups. On an 8th-C. textile from Mozac, now in Lyons (Beckwith, *ECBA*, fig.144), given to Pepin by Constantine V, emperors use stirrups as they spear lions. Stirrups occur regularly in post-Iconoclastic representations of riders except, notably, in the 10th-C. JOSHUA ROLL.

It should be noted that from the 7th to the 11th C. the stirrup facilitated the rider's mounting of the HORSE, but did not serve to anchor him in the saddle. The CAVALRY could wield lances and bows well without the use of stirrups.

LIT. J. Werner, "Ein byzantinischer 'Steigbügel' aus Caričin Grad," in *Caričin Grad*, vol. 1, ed. N. Duval, V. Popović (Belgrade-Rome 1984) 147–55. Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977) 347–69. –A.C., E.M.

STOA (στοά), generally, a long narrow, rectangular building with colonnades on both short sides and along one long side; also a freestanding colonnade or portico. Stoas usually enclosed the sides of an AGORA and were used to line important streets in front of public buildings. As such they were found in all cities of the late Roman Empire. As noted by Downey (*infra*), the term was used by Byz. writers to denote any building or part thereof that consisted basically of columns supporting a roof. The term remained in use for a long time: Choniates (Nik.Chon. 554.22) knew stoas—along with agoras—as the main element in Constantinopolitan architecture.

LIT. G. Downey, "On Some Post-Classical Greek Architectural Terms," *TAPA* 77 (1946) 22–34. Janin, *CP byz.* 87–94. –M.J., A.K.

STOBAIOS (Στοβαῖος), more correctly John of STOBI in Macedonia, writer; fl. 4th/5th C. For the edification of his son Septimios, Stobaios excerpted Greek literature from Homer to THEMISTIOS, arranging the extracts in a form of anthology (FLORILEGIUM) under various headings denoting material objects or ethical topics, the whole in four books ultimately divided into two volumes entitled *Eclogues* and *Anthology*. Its pronounced NEOPLATONISM and avoidance of Christian authors suggests a defiantly pagan posture on his part. PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.167) thought it a useful synthesis for those who had read the originals in full, a short cut to learning for those who had not. Byz. used Stobaios extensively (cf. the important 10th-C. MS, Vienna, ÖNB, philol. gr. 67), and his predilections helped to shape Byz. taste, e.g., his weakness for Theognis helped give that poet a particularly rich MS tradition.

ED. *Anthologium* (including *Eclogues*), ed. C. Wachsmuth, O. Hense, 5 vols. (Berlin 1884–1912).

LIT. S. Luria, "Entstellungen des Klassikertextes bei Stobaios," *RhM* 78 (1929) 81–104. K. Wachsmuth, *Studien zu den griechischen Florilegien* (Berlin 1882; rp. Amsterdam 1971). A.L. Di Lello-Finuoli, "A proposito di alcuni codici Trincavelliani," *RSBN* 14–16 (1977–79) 349–76. D. Campbell, "Stobaeus and Early Greek Lyric Poetry," in *Greek Poetry and Philosophy: Studies in Honour of Leonard Woodbury*, ed. D.E. Gerber (Chico, Calif., 1984) 51–57. –B.B.

STOBI (Στόβοι), a Roman *municipium* in northern Macedonia, in the Vardar valley, on the route connecting Thessalonike with the middle Danube. The ancient city, with its orthogonal street plan, was destroyed in the 3rd C. and replaced by a new urban plan, with a zigzagging main street of varying widths; the ancient theater was abandoned in the 4th C. The zenith of late Roman Stobi is variously dated to the 5th C. (e.g., Kitzinger) or the 4th C. (I. Mikulčić in *Palast und Hütte* [Mainz 1982] 536). To this period belong six "palaces" (e.g., the so-called Fuller's house) and

various churches: the episcopal basilica, or that of Bishop Philip; the Old Basilica below the level of Philip's church; the North and Central Basilicas, the latter being erected on the site of a synagogue destroyed between 457 and 474; basilicas outside the city walls, etc. In some basilicas FLOOR MOSAICS and sculptures were found as well as church furniture, crosses, etc. Geometric pavements in the Old Basilica were laid in two phases. An inscription included in the second-phase work praises a bishop named Eustathios for renewing the church (R. Kolarik, *DOP* 41 [1987] 295–306).

In 386 Stobi became the capital of the province of Macedonia II (Salutaris). It sustained damage from an attack of the Ostrogoths in 479 and from the earthquake of 518. The splendid "palaces" were replaced by huts. In the 6th C. Stobi ceased to be an urban center, even though its bishops are known until 692, and the refurbishing of the old templon in the basilica of Philip is dated in the 8th C. (I. Nikolajević, *ZRVI* 4 [1956] 157f). Stobi was occupied by the Slavs, whose tombs between the North and Central Basilicas are of the 9th–12th C.

The *phrourion* of Stypeion captured by Basil II in 1014 (Skyl. 351.4–5) is usually identified as Stobi; more questionable is Stobi's identification as the Stoumpion attacked by the "Vlachs" ca.1191 (Nik.Chon. 434.16). B. Saria (*RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 51f) hypothesizes that the unnamed "grad" (fortress) in a chrysobull of 1372–75 (*Pantel.*, p.170: an interpolation in the version B, lines 35–37) may be Stobi, by then possibly in ruins.

LIT. *Studies in the Antiquities of Stobi*, ed. Dj. Mano-Zeissi, J. Wiseman, 3 vols. (Belgrade 1973–Titov Veles 1983). J. Wiseman, *Stobi* (Belgrade 1973). E. Kitzinger, "A Survey of the Early Christian Town of Stobi," *DOP* 3 (1946) 81–162. B. Aleksova, "The Early Christian Basilicas in Stobi," *CorsiRav* 33 (1986) 13–81. –A.K.

STOICISM, philosophical school founded in the 4th C. B.C. by Zeno of Kition, Cleanthes, and Chrysippus, disappeared by the 3rd C. A.D. Its doctrines, however, as conveyed in the works of Epictetus and Marcus Aurelius and as assimilated in NEOPLATONISM and patristic theology remained very much alive in Byz. If the claim, in Stoic physics, that all reality is corporeal and that matter is structured by an immanent god (*logos* or *pneuma*) was not acceptable to Byz. Christians, the vision of the COSMOS as a complex unified rational whole seemed to some to express the idea of divine providence. Elements of Stoic logic survived in Byz. as incorporated in Neoplatonic interpretations of Aristotelian LOGIC.

It was esp. Stoic ETHICS, however, that proved popular in Byz. as providing a means for formulating the Christian and in particular the monastic way of life. According to this ethics, virtue (equated with wisdom) is cultivated by the control of our judgment as to what is good and bad. The purpose is liberation from enslavement to our passions (*pathe*) and to externals, such as riches and fame, which are not in our power and therefore not "goods," but rather "indifferents." The good, or happiness, is then freedom from external influences (*apatheia*) and control of one's judgment, which alone is in one's power. Continual exercise in correct action and judgment is required by the learner in order to advance toward the ideal of the virtuous life (*prokope*).

The adaptability of these ethical concepts and the interest taken in them in monastic circles can be traced in the fortune of Epictetus's *Manual*, of which a number of Byz. Christian paraphrases, adaptations, and commentaries are known, some attributed to appropriate monastic heroes, St. ANTONY THE GREAT and NEILOS OF ANKYRA. The popular appeal of Stoic ethics can also be traced in the Byz. fortune of various stoicizing moralizing anthologies of late antiquity (sayings of the "seven sages," those ascribed to Democritus, etc.) and of the larger excerpts from Epictetus and other Stoic authors contained in Byz. moralizing anthologies such as the *Loci communes* attributed to Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:721–1018) and the MELISSA. Byz. scholars also took an interest in the Stoic philosophers: Photios read Epictetus, as did Arethas of Caesarea, who also had a copy made of Marcus Aurelius's *Meditations*. Latin Stoic sources were used by Barlaam of Calabria in his *Ethics according to the Stoics* (PG 151:1341–64).

LIT. F. Sandbach, *The Stoics* (London 1975). M. Spanneut, *Le stoïcisme des Pères de l'église* (Paris 1957). Idem, *DictSpir* 4 (1960) 830–49. Idem, "Stoïcisme byzantin autour du IXe siècle d'après un document inédit," in *Universitas: Mélanges de science religieuse* (Lille 1977) 63–79. –D.O'M.

STOTZAS (Στότζας), soldier in the army of BELISARIOS; retainer (*doryphoros*) of an officer Martinos; died Thacia (Africa) end of 545. When the soldiers of the expeditionary force in Africa re-

belled against SOLOMON on 27 May 536, they elected Stotzas their leader. The main reason for the mutiny was Solomon's decision to ascribe to the state or the imperial domain lands confiscated from the Vandals that the soldiers wanted to apportion among themselves. Solomon fled to Sicily, but Belisarios managed to drive Stotzas to Numidia. Some Moors and many fugitive slaves joined the revolt. GERMANOS defeated Stotzas at Scalae Veteres; he barely escaped. In 544 a few soldiers supported by the Moors rose again in revolt; Solomon soon fell in battle. Stotzas was active in Byzacena and seized Hadrumetum, but soon was killed in single combat by John, son of Sisiniolos, commander of the Byz. troops; nonetheless, the insurgency continued until it was crushed in the winter of 545/6.

LIT. W.E. Kaegi, "Arianism and the Byzantine Army in Africa 533–546," *Traditio* 21 (1965) 43–50. Pringle, *Defence* 25–32. –A.K.



STOUDIOS MONASTERY. Church of St. John, Istanbul. North colonnade and east end of the church.

STOUDIOS MONASTERY (Imrahor Camii), located in the Psamathia region of Constantinople. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist (the Prodromos), the monastery was founded by a certain Stoudios, not in 463 (as in Theophanes) but before 454 (C. Mango, *BMGS* 4 [1978] 115–22). Brick stamps uncovered in recent excavations suggest that the church was begun in 450 (U. Peschlow, *JÖB* 32.4 [1982] 429–33). Its official name was the monastery of the Prodromos *ton Stoudiou* (*τῶν Στουδίου*) or *en tois Stoudiou.* The Stoudios monastery first attained prominence at the end of the 8th C. during the controversy over ICONOCLASM, when it was a bulwark of support for image veneration under the leadership of its celebrated *hegoumenos,* THEODORE OF STOUDIOS. The rules established by Theodore (catecheses), his *diatheke,* and other sources (*hypotyposis* ascribed to Theodore), provide information on the organization of the monastery: the number of monks is calculated at 700 (surely an exaggerated figure, unless it includes monks in outlying METOCHIA); for their support the monastery was granted (under Empress Irene?) a stipend (*basilikoi eisodoi*); it also possessed lands, gardens, vineyards, water mills, livestock, a wharf with boats, workshops. The monks had to work on the land or in workshops, in the kitchen or refectory, to fish or to tend livestock. The monastery tried to be self-sufficient. Theodore's reforms followed the general outlines of the ideal KOINOBION of Basil the Great, although Basil was not his only source (J. Leroy, *Irénikon* 52 [1979] 491–506). In the early 9th C. the monastery became a center of intellectual activity, where HYMNOGRAPHY and a SCRIPTORIUM flourished (Lemerle, *Humanism* 137–46).

In the political struggles of the 9th C. Stoudios maintained an independent position against both the emperor (in the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY) and the patriarch, accusing both Patr. Tarasios and Nikephoros I of inconsistency in their resistance to the Iconoclasts; Patr. METHODIOS condemned the Stoudite leaders Athanasios and Naukratios, insisting that they should obey the patriarch rather than criticize him. In this situation the monastery sought an alliance with the papacy. After the conflict over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI in the early 10th C., the Stoudios came to an understanding with the emperors and subsequently provided them with candidates for the posts of *synkellos* and patriarch (Antony III [974–79], ALEXIOS STOUDITES, and Dositheos [1189–91]). The monastery also served as a place of confinement for unsuccessful rebels and deposed emperors (e.g., Michael V Kalaphates, Isaac I Komnenos, and Michael VII Doukas). The rules

of Theodore served as a model for the organization of several monasteries, including some on Mt. ATHOS. The Stoudios played a lesser role under the Komnenoi and entered a period of decline during the Latin occupation of Constantinople. It was restored in 1293 and in the 14th C. held first place among the monasteries of Constantinople.

The original large 5th-C. three-aisled basilica still stands, although in ruinous condition, and is the oldest church surviving in Istanbul. Preceded by a porticoed atrium and a narthex, the nave was flanked by monolithic columns of green marble. Columns with Ionic IMPOST CAPITALS marked the galleries that enclosed the church on three sides. The semicircle of the apse, which was polygonal on its exterior, contained a SYNTHRONON. Rich sculptural decoration found at the site (Grabar, *Sculptures I,* 45, 49) included a relief of the Entry into Jerusalem.

SOURCES. Diatheke of Theodore—PG 99:1813–24. Hypotyposis—Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:224–38.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 430–40. Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:396–590. E. Patlagean, "Les Stoudites, l'empereur et Rome," in *Bisanzio, Roma e l'Italia nell'alto medioevo,* vol. 1 (Spoleto 1988) 429–60. J. Leroy, "La réforme studite," *OrChrP* 153 (1958) 181–214. N.E. Eleopoulos, *He bibliotheke kai to bibliographikon ergasterion tes mones ton Stoudiou* (Athens 1967). Mathews, *Byz. Churches* 143–58. Mathews, *Early Churches* 19–27. –A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

STOUDITE TYPIKA, liturgical TYPIKA of the BYZANTINE RITE codifying the synthesis of Palestinian monastic and Constantinopolitan liturgical usages begun at Stoudios by the reform of THEODORE OF STOUDIOS in 799 and first compiled in rudimentary form after his death (826) in the Stoudite *Hypotyposis* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:224–38; PG 99:1704–20). Stoudite *typika* ruled the rite of most Byz. monasteries outside Palestine until supplanted by SABAITIC TYPIKA during the hesychast ascendancy on Mt. Athos. Early Stoudite *typika* are characterized by the fact that the liturgical directions begin with a description of the Easter Vigil (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:173, 225, 246). A 12th-C. example, that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY (ibid. 1:256–656), had great influence on the usages of many other monasteries, esp. on Mt. Athos.

LIT. Taft, "Mount Athos" 182–87. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" nos. 30, 34, 37f, 40, 42–47, 52. –R.F.T.

STRABO, Greek geographer; born Amaseia in Pontos ca.63 B.C., died ca.A.D. 21, but probably after 23 or 26. He wrote two lengthy works, the *Historical Notes* (extant only in a few fragments) and the *Geography.* The latter was well known in the 6th C., when STEPHEN OF BYZANTIUM quoted it abundantly; other contemporary authors (Hesychios of Miletos, Prokopios of Caesarea, Evagrios Scholastikos, Cassiodorus) also mention Strabo. A 6th-C. palimpsest of the *Geography* survives, containing primarily books 8–17. Forgotten in the 7th and 8th C., Strabo was one of those ancient writers in whom interest later revived: a 9th-C. MS (Heidelberg, Palat. gr. 398) contains an epitome of the *Geography* as well as the *Periplous of the Erythrean Sea,* tales of paradoxographers, mythological lore, and other texts. The epitome mentions, among other tribes, the "Scythians or Slavs." A 10th-C. codex (Paris, B.N. gr. 1397) is the earliest medieval MS of the full text of the *Geography.* Two of Psellos's treatises were based on Strabo (F. Lasserre, *AntCl* 28 [1959] 55–61). Eustathios of Thessalonike and John Tzetzes used the *Geography,* but the real explosion of interest in Strabo occurs at the end of the 13th C. From this period several MSS are preserved, and excerpters of the *Geography* included Planoudes, Plethon, and Plethon's friend Demetrios Raoul Kabakes (S. Lilla, *Scriptorium* 33 [1979] 68–75). Bessarion's library held three Strabo MSS, and Italian scholars of the 15th C. (Guarino, Gregorio Tifernate, Giovanni Andrea Bassi) translated the *Geography* into Latin.

LIT. A. Diller, *The Textual Tradition of Strabo's Geography* (Amsterdam 1975). W. Aly, F. Sbordone, *De Strabonis codice rescripto* (Vatican 1956). E. Mioni, "I manoscritti di Strabone della Biblioteca Marciana di Venezia," in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* (Milan 1982) 260–73. –A.K.

STRABOROMANOS, MANUEL, writer; born ca.1070. His father, perhaps the *megas hetaireiarches* Romanos Straboromanos (Στραβορωμανός), fell from favor and had his property confiscated, so that Manuel grew up in poverty. Manuel spent seven years in imperial service and then held some sort of military command. By the time he declaimed a funeral oration for Michael Doukas, brother-in-law of Alexios I (delivered between 1108 and 1118), he was already *protonobelissimos* and *megas hetaireiarches.* Straboromanos took his literary activity very seriously, arguing that

literature achieves three goals: it reveals the internal sense (*logos*) of events, increases our knowledge of the world, and brings solace.

In addition to the *logos* of consolation addressed to Empress Irene Doukaina at the time of her brother Michael's death, Straboromanos composed a eulogy of Alexios I. His mainly conventional praise of the emperor contains some concrete details, including unique evidence about the Byz. acquisition of the Cimmerian BOSPOROS (G. Litavrin, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 221–34). Straboromanos perceives Alexios within a broad historical framework: the Roman state, flourishing under Augustus, had no one to fear and therefore plunged into disorder and civil wars, lost Asia and Libya, and retained only a tiny part of Europe; then came the Franks and the Pechenegs. According to Straboromanos, God did not want to destroy "this iron state," however, and sent Alexios, who reinstated the beauty and power of the empire.

ED. P. Gautier, "Le dossier d'un haut fonctionnaire d'Alexis Comnène, Manuel Straboromanos," *REB* 23 (1965) 178–204, with corr. by W. Bühler, *BZ* 62 (1969) 237–41. –A.K.

STRATARCHES (στρατάρχης, lit. "general"), a term that in the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS and the *De ceremoniis* designated a special category of high officials: HETAIREIARCHES, DROUNGARIOS TOU PLOIMOU, LOGOTHETES TON AGELON, *protospatharios* of the BASILIKOI ANTHROPOI, and KOMES TOU STAULOU. Most of these officials held an intermediary position between military dignities and civil functionaries. The conventional meaning of the term was, however, lost, and from the end of the 11th C. *stratarches* (in DIGENES AKRITAS *stratarchos*) as well as *megas stratarches* and *panstratarches* became honorific epithets of high-ranking generals. The term was applied to the commanders of the past, for instance to BELISARIOS.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:394f. –A.K.

STRATEGIKA (στρατηγικά), military treatises, also called *taktika*. The Byz. consulted, copied, and excerpted ancient military writers who were regarded as authorities on different topics, esp. Aelian the Tactician (tactics and terminology), Onasander (generalship), Sextus Julius AFRICANUS and Polyainos (devices and stratagems), and Aineias and Hero (sieges and war engines). Late Roman *strategika* first appear in the 5th and 6th C. Known authors and works include Ourbikios (a contemporary of Anastasios I); Syrianos Magistros (on naval warfare); an untitled, anonymous tactical handbook (the first leaf is lost; ed. Dennis, *Military Treatises* 1–136); and the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE. The 10th C. witnessed renewed interest in military science; the great military MSS (Florence, Laur. 55-4; Milan, Ambros. 139 [B 119 sup.], among others) date from this period. The TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (ca.905), SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, NAUMACHIKA (both from the 950s), and the *Taktika* of Nikephoros OURANOS (ca.1000) are lengthy compilations paraphrasing classical and late Roman treatises but containing some contemporary material. Practical handbooks based on firsthand experience stem from the circle of Nikephoros II Phokas and Basil II, including the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA (ca.965), DE VELITATIONE (ca.975), and DE RE MILITARI (ca.1000). Although some *strategika* closely follow older traditions, others are valuable sources for the theory and practice of warfare in Byz., the army's social basis, and the habits and attitudes of hostile neighbors. The production of *strategika* stopped after Basil II.

The Byz. themselves were convinced of the utility of such works. The *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cer.* 467.4–14) recommended bringing tactical treatises along on campaigns, while Kekaumenos urged consultation of *strategika* in combination with personal inventiveness (Kek. 142.12–18, 148.22–27). The number of *strategika* attests their widespread popularity; soldiers, often great bibliophiles such as the 11th-C. warrior John Doukas (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:181–83), avidly collected and read them.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:321–38. A. Dain, *Histoire du texte d'Elien le Tacticien* (Paris 1946). Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 140–75. V. Kučma, "Vizantijskie voennye traktaty VI–X vekov," *ADSV* 4 (1966) 31–56. –A.K., E.M.

STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE. The attribution of this military treatise to Emp. Maurice is uncertain, but as the *Strategikon* does not refer to the Arabs it must date from before the 630s. Whereas classical military treatises had emphasized the use of INFANTRY, the *Strategikon*, the first distinctly Byz. military treatise, is essentially a manual for CAVALRY warfare, stressing mobile, flexible tactics, and showing the influence of the empire's eastern

enemies, esp. the Persians, on equipment and skills. The author gives detailed instruction on cavalry training and formations (bks. 1–3, 6), supplemented by diagrams (C.M. Mazzucchi, *Aevum* 55 [1981] 111–38), and includes sections on strategy (bk.7), attacks and ambushes (bks. 4, 9), and sieges (bk.10). An account of infantry tactics (bk.12) was appended to the original text, but short pieces on encampments and hunting are later additions. The survey of foreign peoples (bk.11) is useful not only for comparative methods of warfare, but also for the social structure and early history of the nomadic AVARS, ANTAE, and Hunnic tribes. The *Strategikon* demonstrates that up to the early 7th C. Latin was still the language of military COMMANDS in Byz. armies (3.5) and the terminology of the text attests the heavy influence of Latin on military Greek.

ED. G.T. Dennis, E. Gamillscheg, *Das Strategikon des Maurikios* (Vienna 1981), with Germ. tr. Eng. tr. G.T. Dennis, *Maurice's Strategikon: Handbook of Byzantine Military Strategy* (Philadelphia 1984).

LIT. F. Aussaresses, *L'armée byzantine à la fin du VIe siècle d'après le Strategicon de l'empereur Maurice* (Bordeaux-Paris 1909). A. Kollautz, "Das militärwissenschaftliche Werk des sog. Maurikios," *Byzantiaka* 5 (1985) 87–136. V.V. Kučma, "'Strategikos' Onasandra i 'Strategikon Mavrikija': Opyt sravnitel'noj charakteristiki," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 35–53; 45 (1984) 20–34; 46 (1986) 109–23. Bivar, "Cavalry" 271–91. J. Wiita, "The Ethnika in Byzantine Military Treatises" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Minn., 1977). –E.M.

STRATEGIS (στρατηγίς), term infrequently used to designate both the function of the STRATEGOS and (as a synonym of THEME) an administrative unit under the command of a *strategos*. A 9th-C. historian (Nikeph. 73.14–15) says that Constantine V summoned sailors and soldiers from "the maritime *strategides* and other districts"; Constantine VII equated the terms *thema* and *strategis* (e.g., *De them.*, ch.2.31, ed. Pertusi, p.88) and frequently used the word *strategis* for themes such as Mesopotamia, Cappadocia, Lykandos, Charsianon, etc. However, the TAKTIKON of Escurial (Oikonomides, *Listes* 273.10–14) lists the *chartoularioi* of the major themes (Anatolikon, Thrakesion, Charsianon), then the *chartoularioi* of the *tagmata* and *strategides*, then the *topoteretai* of themes, thus implying that at the end of the 10th C. the term referred to an administrative unit smaller than the theme. Anna Komnene also describes relatively insignificant districts, such as Hagios Elias and Borze, as *strategides*. The *Taktikon* of Beneševič applied the term *strategia* to the district administered by a *strategos*.

LIT. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 30f. –A.K.

STRATEGOPOULOS (Στρατηγόπουλος, from στρατηγός, "general," + the diminutive -πουλος), one of the noblest families in the empire of Nicaea. In 1216 the *megas logothetes* and *sebastos* John Strategopoulos presided over a tribunal in the imperial court, when the monks of St. Paul in Latros had a dispute with the inhabitants of the town of Sampson. Constantine, son of the well-known general Alexios (see STRATEGOPOULOS, ALEXIOS), was blinded by Theodore II in 1255; three years later he went over to Michael VIII. His wife, a niece of John III Vatatzes, lived until at least 1291. Michael Strategopoulos, perhaps a grandson of Alexios, likewise served as a general: *strategos* in Herakleia Pontike, he was deposed in 1280 and escaped blinding only through the merciful intervention of the empress. Appointed *protostrator* (1283), he was accused of conspiracy in 1294 and died in prison four years later. His wife was most probably the *protostratorissa* Anna Komnene Raoulaina Strategopoulina, by whom he had a son, Andrew. Apparently the influence of the family later declined. Simon Strategopoulos is known as a captain of Ioannina in the service of Carlo I Tocco in 1411. About one year later, in the battle of Kranea against the Albanians, he was wounded and his son Paul was captured. In June 1448 Strategopoulos Skantzileres conspired with some other adherents of the late THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS against Emp. John VIII (E. Trapp, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 962).

LIT. Angold, *Byz. Government* 77, 82, 85, 149, 325. Fassoulakis, *Raoul* 31–33. *Chron. Tocco* 57f. –E.T.

STRATEGOPOULOS, ALEXIOS, 13th-C. general. Of aristocratic background, Strategopoulos began his career under the emperor JOHN III VATATZES with campaigns in Europe. In 1254/5 he commanded a division of the Nicene army at Serres. Under THEODORE II LASKARIS he fell from favor and was imprisoned; his son Constantine was accused of treachery and blinded. Therefore Strategopoulos supported Michael (VIII) Palaiologos's usurpation and was promoted to *megas domestikos* after 1258. He participated in the Nicene

victory at Pelagonia, captured Arta in 1259, and was rewarded with the title of caesar. The culmination of his career occurred in 1261 when he recovered Constantinople from the Latins, almost by accident. En route to Thrace, at the head of 800 Greek and Cuman soldiers, Strategopoulos perceived that the capital was virtually undefended. Taking advantage of the absence of the Venetian fleet on an expedition to the Black Sea, Strategopoulos entered the city on 25 July with the assistance of local Greeks. In 1262 he was captured by Michael II Komnenos Doukas of Epiros and delivered to Manfred of Sicily. Michael VIII secured his release by restoring to Manfred his sister, Constance-Anna of Hohenstaufen.

LIT. Geanakoplos, *Michael Pal.* 92–123. -A.M.T.

STRATEGOS (στρατηγός), ancient term for a general; the term is still used in this sense in the *Strategikon of Maurice.* In the 8th C. or possibly earlier it came to designate the military governor of a theme who also directed local financial and judicial administration (see Provincial Administration). The *strategoi* of major themes were the most powerful figures in the empire at the beginning of the 8th C. when they fought each other for the throne of Constantinople. Gradually, however, their power was restricted, and major themes were divided: the mid-9th-C. taktikon of Uspenskij has a list of 18 *strategoi* (from Anatolikon to Klimata), while the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos includes 26. Other limitations on *strategoi* were their appointment for terms of three to four years, and the prohibition on buying lands in their district. On seals and in narrative sources the title of *strategoi* varies from *spatharios* to *patrikios* (I. Sokolova, *Bŭlgarskoto srednovekovie* [Sofia 1980] 137–41), rarely *magistros.* The staff of the *strategos* consisted of military officers (tourmarches and others) as well as officials with civil and police duties. At the end of the 10th C. many new *strategoi* were introduced, mainly on the eastern frontier, where they commanded small territorial and military units (Oikonomides, *Listes* 345f); the *taktikon* of Escurial (ca.971–75) lists about 90 *strategoi.* Their role decreased through the 11th C.: civil administration was given to thematic judges, and *strategoi,* as commanders of garrisons and small units, were put under the control of doukes. Later the term lost its technical meaning.

The term *strategetes* was occasionally used for *strategos* (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:395); in the 8th–9th C. *monostrategos* designated a general commanding several *strategoi* (V. Laurent, *BZ* 60 [1967] 186), not a Byz. "marquis," or governor of vast frontier lands (R. Lopez in *Mélanges offerts à René Crozet,* vol. 1 [Poitiers 1966] 77–80). The term *strategos-autokrator,* meaning commander in chief, was in use in the 6th C. and reappeared in the 10th–11th C. (Guilland, *Institutions* 1:382–84); nontechnical expressions such as *archistrategos* or *protostrategos* had the same meaning. *Hypostrategos,* however, signified lieutenant-general, and could also be used for a *strategos* in contrast to the emperor as *strategos.*

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 36–52. F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 72–118. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 118–21. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 111–16. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 294–98. -A.K.

STRATEGY (στρατηγία), military art or wisdom, was not clearly distinct from the everyday tactical aims of warfare. The central tenet of Byz. strategy, beginning with the Strategikon of Maurice, was that the outcome of war was dictated by Providence; accordingly, military religious services attracted the attention of many strategists. Since God's will is unfathomable, the unknown or unexpected was always a factor in warfare, meaning that military prowess alone was no guarantee of success; caution thus prevailed over the adventurous, daring combat typical of the Western knight. Byz. strategy derived from two sources: the theoretical tradition of classical tacticians and the general's own practical experience, esp. the observation of hostile peoples; Byz. strategika reflect these two approaches.

Although war was considered evil (see Peace and War), patriotism and the belief that Byz. was the defender of Christian and classical values fostered the readiness for resistance and counterattack. The Byz. pursued an essentially defensive strategy in campaigns of attrition where partial victories and defeats formed the links of a coherent whole, making diplomacy, reconnaissance, occupation of strategic points or fortifications, and ruses the major means of warfare. During the 6th C. the Byz. discarded the infantry-dominated tactics of the Romans in favor of the rapid, flexible cavalry tactics (esp. the use of mounted archers) of the Huns and Avars (A.D.H. Bivar, *DOP* 26

[1972] 271–91); BELISARIOS used these tactics to win victories in the East, and they also helped to maintain a mobile defensive strategy after the 7th C. In the 10th C. an offensive strategy was revived, highlighted by the development of the elite corps of KATAPHRAKTOI responsible for the victories of Nikephoros II Phokas and John I Tzimiskes; the revitalized INFANTRY supplied a secure defensive base. In the late period, strategy was restricted by declining manpower. Although Byz. "knights" could contend with Western feudal forces during the 12th and 13th C. in spite of severe reverses (Thessalonike in 1185; Constantinople in 1204), they were powerless against Ottoman encroachment.

Two 11th-C. MSS, Vat. gr. 1164 (Weitzmann, *Studies* 192), and Venice, Marc. gr. 516 (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:34f, figs. 25–27), contain diagrams of such tactics as the cavalry wedge (*embolos hippike*) as well as an encircling maneuver (*hyperkerasis*) and various phalanx formations.

LIT. W.E. Kaegi, *Some Thoughts on Byzantine Military Strategy* (Brookline 1983). Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 177–257. V.V. Kučma, "Iz istorii vizantijskogo voennogo iskusstva na rubeže IX–X vv.," *ADSV* 12 (1975) 79–85; *VizVrem* 38 (1977) 94–101. –A.K., E.M., A.C.

STRATEIA (στρατεία), a term equivalent to the Lat. *militia* (Jones, *LRE* 377f), signified enrollment into state (civil or military) or ecclesiastical service and the attendant obligations (Oikonomides, *Listes* 283f). The military *strateia* imposed on its holder (STRATIOTES) either personal military service (the *stratiotes* provided for his own equipment) or the obligation to maintain a soldier; in the latter case the *strateia* could be supported singly or jointly (see SYNDOTAI). Originally personal and hereditary (passing either to widows or offspring), by the 10th C. the *strateia* had become attached to the properties (STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA) that supported it. Varying levels of military *strateiai* are attested in the sources. Constantine VII referred to the *strateiai* of cavalrymen and sailors (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222.9–223.9; *De cer.* 695.14–18), and Zonaras (Zon. 3:505.16–506.10) lists maintenance of the *dromos*, sailor, infantryman, cavalryman, and a new service of heavy cavalryman (KATAPHRAKTOS) as the *strateiai* in which Nikephoros II Phokas had his subjects, poorest to richest, assessed and registered. During the 11th C. the *strateia* appears to have shed all trappings of personal service, becoming instead a uniquely fiscal obligation; it is sometimes listed among exemptions from various fiscal burdens.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 222–29. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 10–24. Haldon, *Recruitment* 41–65. –E.M., A.K.

STRATELATES (στρατηλάτης) had two different meanings in the late Roman Empire: first, it designated a general and was used to translate into Greek the term MAGISTER MILITUM; second, it was a modest title equated to that of the APO EPARCHON in Justinian I's novel 90. In this capacity the term *stratelates* often appears on seals of the 6th–8th C., sometimes as an "isolated" dignity, sometimes in connection with the relatively low offices of notary, *kommerkiarios, kourator, komes*, etc. This meaning was still preserved in the late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS. In the 10th–11th C. the term was widely used to designate a general or commander in chief, such as the *stratelates* of East or West. At the same time the *tagma* (or phalanx) of the *stratelatai* was a select group of common soldiers: thus Bardas Phokas reportedly conveyed his plan of rebellion "primarily to the *tagma* of the *stratelatai*" (Skyl. 315.92), and the *stratelates* Polyeuktos in the vita of Neilos of Rossano (PG 120:101B) was at most a low-ranking officer. More complicated is the case of the *stratelates* Alyates (Aleates) from an inscription in Preslav (V. Beševliev, *Spätgriechische und spätlateinische Inschriften aus Bulgarien* [Berlin 1964] no.254) who seems to be a commander rather than a rank-and-file soldier.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:385–92. Bury, *Adm. System* 23f. Oikonomides, *Listes* 332. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 333–39. –A.K.

STRATIOTES (στρατιώτης). In narrative texts, STRATEGIKA, and other documents, the term *stratiotes* meant soldier; in legislative texts it denoted the holder of a STRATEIA. *Stratiotai* were sometimes contrasted with peasants (*georgoi*): the NOMOS STRATIOTIKOS prohibited *stratiotai* from involvement in agriculture or trade, and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (11.11) described peasants who maintained *stratiotai* and *stratiotai* who defended peasants as the "twin pillars" of Byz. society. *Stratiotai* were listed in muster-rolls as the possessors of STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA and were exempted from all taxes save the state KANON and AERIKON. They were paid for serving in expeditions and for such labor as building fortresses, roads, bridges, and

ships. *Stratiotai* were divided into several general categories, such as sailor, infantryman, or cavalryman, and a chrysobull of 1086 lists more specific groups, including archers, spearmen, men armed with maces, etc. (*Lavra* 1, no.48.40–41).

The exact nature of *stratiotai* is debatable. G. Ostrogorsky (*VfSWG* 22 [1929] 131f) linked the establishment of *stratiotai* as soldier-peasants with the introduction of the thematic system and considered them the backbone of the Byz. army during the 7th through 11th C.; he argued that they were later replaced by MERCENARIES and holders of a PRONOIA. P. Lemerle (*Agr. Hist.* 116–25), on the other hand, denied the existence of such soldier-peasants and held that the *stratiotai* of 10th-C. legislation provided material support only, whereas effective soldiers were allegedly labeled *strateuomenoi*. The last term, however, is rare, and when found (e.g., Zepos, *Jus* 1:204.9–10; *De cer.* 695.18–21) is synonymous with, not opposed to, *stratiotai*. Both in hagiographical texts (e.g., the Life of St. Philaretos the Merciful) and 10th-C. legislation *stratiotai* appear as people of modest income, who tilled their land in peacetime and presented themselves with their equipment and horses when called up for campaign. In the 11th C. *stratiotai* are listed with other privileged groups within the rural population, such as *demosiarioi* or *exkoussatoi tou dromou* (*Lavra* 1, no.33.33–34, from 1060).

The term later acquired two meanings: in the chartulary of Lembiotissa *stratiotai* are modest landowners on a level not much higher than ordinary peasants, and in a 1321 *praktikon* of the Lavra (*Lavra* 2, no.109.157) a *stratiotes* named John Kaseidares appears as a dependent. Yet *stratiotai* are also mentioned as holders of *pronoia* and owners of PAROIKOI, and the term *basilikos stratiotes* (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.11.5, from 1311) probably applied to them. The *basilikos stratiotes* may have been titled the emperor's DOULOS. Although some *stratiotai* of the second type did hold *pronoiai*, it is impossible to identify *pronoia*-holders as *stratiotai*.

LIT. Haldon, *Recruitment* 41–65. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 153–62. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 1 (Sofia 1973) 518–652. –A.K., E.M.

STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA (*στρατιωτικὰ κτήματα*, "soldiers' properties"). The profits derived from *stratiotika ktemata*, that is, soldiers' estates or lands, provided the revenues necessary to supply a thematic soldier with the equipment and horse required for military service. A novel of Constantine VII (Zepos, *Jus* 1:222–26) called for the registration of *stratiotika ktemata* and, regulating what previously had been customary, restricted their sale by setting the minimum inalienable values at four pounds of gold for cavalrymen and two for sailors. Only unregistered property above these minimum values was freely disposable. Constantine also decreed that properties sold or abandoned were to be restored to the original owners without compensation to the purchaser or current holder retroactive 40 years; if the owners were unavailable, rights of preemption or PROTIMESIS were extended to relatives, SYNDOTAI, or members of the same community who, singly or jointly, would fulfill the *strateia* attached to the property. Later, a decree of Nikephoros II Phokas (Zepos, *Jus* 1:256) raised the minimum inalienable value of soldiers' properties from 4 to 12 pounds of gold to ensure that those wealthy enough either to serve as, or to sustain the expense of, KATAPHRAKTOI would be obliged to support this newly created *strateia*.

The *stratiotika ktemata* are not specifically attested before 10th-C. legislative texts. They appear to have originated during the late 7th C. when the state was forced to offer land in lieu of cash payments for personal, hereditary military service (Hendy, *Economy* 619f), and over time these personal or fiscal obligations became fixed to the property that supported them. The term is not found after the 10th C.

LIT. J.F. Haldon, *Recruitment and Conscription in the Byzantine Army c.550–950: A Study on the Origins of the Stratiotika Ktemata* (Vienna 1979). Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 115–31. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 10–24. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 237–53. –E.M.

STRATIOTIKON. See LOGOTHETES TOU STRATIOTIKOU.

STRATOPEDARCHES (*στρατοπεδάρχης*), a term for a military commander, infrequently used in literary texts and papyri from the 1st to the 2nd C. (E. Kiessling, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 329). From the 5th through the 9th C. the term was a synonym of STRATEGOS. The term was applied metaphorically to heavenly generals such as Moses and Eli-

jah (e.g., PG 86:261D). It does not appear in the lists of official functions before the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, which names *stratopedarchai* of West and East. In 967 Nikephoros II Phokas created an official post of *stratopedarches* for the eunuch Peter Phokas; according to Oikonomides (*Listes* 334), it was to substitute for the position of DOMESTIKOS TON SCHOLON, which eunuchs could not hold. In the 11th–12th C. *stratopedarches* was one of the official designations of the commander in chief that appeared on seals (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2680) and was bestowed on many bearded generals such as Isaac (I) Komnenos, the future emperor, and the *sebastokrator* Isaac DOUKAS.

From the mid-13th C. the term *megas stratopedarches* was used, the first known being George MOUZALON. A 14th-C. ceremonial book places the *megas stratopedarches* between the *protostrator* and *megas primikerios* and considers him responsible for provisioning the army (pseudo-Kod. 174.10–13). Under his command were four officers: the *stratopedarchai* of *monokaballoi* (cavalry), of *tzangratores* (crossbowmen), of *mourtatoi* ("renegades"), and of TSAKONES. In reality, however, in the 14th–15th C. *stratopedarches* was a title, and few individuals titled *stratopedarches* were actual commanders of troops.

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:498–521. Stein, "Untersuchungen" 54f. Oikonomides, "Evolution" 141–43. Hohlweg, *Beiträge* 123–26. –A.K.

STRATOR (στράτωρ), in narrative sources often *hippokomos*, "groom," an office that existed in the Roman Empire. The *stratores* formed a corps (*schola*) both at the imperial court and in the service of some high-ranking provincial administrators. Their functions went beyond the simple care of the stable and included purveyance of horses (F. Lammert, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 329f). Their chief was the KOMES TOU STAULOU, later *domestikos* of the *stratores* (Theoph. 388.22). Many seals of *stratores* are preserved, beginning with some Latin ones of the 6th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 391, 2827). It seems that on seals of the 8th and 9th C. the term was used as a title of subaltern officers (*tourmarches, droungarios*) and provincial officials (*komes tes kortes, archon* of Mesembria, *chartoularios* of Thrace, *protonotarios* of Thessalonike). Probably to distinguish them from the actual grooms under the command of the PROTOSTRATOR the latter were defined as *stratores* of the imperial *stratorikion* (*Kletorologion* of Philotheos: Oikonomides, *Listes* 155.26). The latest mention of *strator* is in the cadaster of Thebes (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 11,18), as the title of certain landowners. *Strator* reappears on an inscription from Cyprus of 1402 in the form of *staratoros*. The term *strator* was known in the West from 754; R. Holtzmann (*HistZ* 145 [1931] 301–50) hypothesized that it was introduced under Byz. influence.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 298f. C. Kyrris, "Staratoros = [Proto]strator, or Strator," *EEBS* 36 (1968) 119–38. –A.K.

STREMMA (στρέμμα, lit. "that which is twisted, thread"), a measure of land (for both arable land and for vineyards). In the 11th C. the term designated a piece of land, and an act of 1015 speaks of a "few *stremmata* prepared for planting vineyards" (*Ivir.* 1, no.20.43f). By the 13th C. *stremma* had acquired the meaning of a land measure: a charter of 1239 (MM 4:157.27–28) registers the sale of a *choraphion* "measured at approximately 20 *stremmata*." There is no direct data concerning the size of a *stremma*, but an act of the early 14th C. (*Xerop.* no.16.153–56) seems to equate *stremma* and *modios*. A list of tenures of ca.1307 (*Docheiar.*, no.10) employs the term *stremma* exclusively, whereas other *praktika* prefer *modios* and use *stremma* only as an exception (e.g., *Dionys.*, no.25.78; Guillou, *Ménecée*, no.35.63). On the other hand, in deeds of purchase *stremma* appears no less often than *modios*.

LIT. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 61–67. –E. Sch., A.K.

STROBILOS (Στρόβιλος, mod. Aspat or Çifut Kalesi), fortress and port on the coast of CARIA; never a bishopric. First mentioned in 724, Strobilos rose to prominence when it served as a place of exile or refuge. An important link in the coastal defenses, Strobilos was a bastion of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme; an *archon* administered it. The Arabs attacked Strobilos in 924 and 1035; the Turks captured it ca.1080. Thereafter, it lay in ruins until the Komnenoi restored it and gave concessions there to the Venetians. It was lost to the Turks of MENTESHE in 1269. As one of the few towns of Anatolia that came into existence in the Middle Ages, Strobilos should reveal the appearance of a distinctively Byz. site. It is a small

place on a steep conical hill overlooking the strait between Kos and the mainland. Remains consist of docks and magazines, scattered habitation on the slopes, a monastery in a cave (mentioned in a document of 1079), and a small but powerful fortress whose Byz. walls, apparently of the 12th C., were extensively rebuilt by the Turks.

LIT. C. Foss, "Strobilos and Related Sites," *AnatSt* 38 (1988) 147–74. –C.F.

STRYMON (Στρυμών), the name of both a river and a theme.

Strymon River. A Balkan river, now called the Struma, it rises not far from Serdica and flows southward, emptying into the Aegean Sea at Amphipolis. An important road ran through the Strymon Valley from the interior of the Balkans to Serres and the sea; it also served as a significant invasion route in the 7th C. and later. The valley of the Strymon, esp. its eastern part, is the most fertile region of southern Macedonia.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 24–26. –T.E.G.

Theme of Strymon. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 3.1–5, ed. Pertusi 88f) was not sure whether Strymon was a theme or a *kleisoura*—he knew only that the district was populated by "Scythians" (Slavs) from the time of Justinian II. It was a region that suffered from Bulgarian attacks in the 8th and 9th C.: in 809 they killed a *strategos*, *archontes*, and "*archontes* of other themes" there (Theoph. 484.29–485.3). The phraseology of Theophanes seems to indicate that the region of Strymon was already a theme by 809, but the *strategos* of Strymon was unknown to the mid-9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij* and reappears only in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos in 899. The offices of both *archon* and *strategos* of Strymon are known from seals of the 9th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1753, 2659). In the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* two themes are listed: Strymon, or Chrysaba (Krusovo), and New Strymon, unknown to other sources and identified by Oikonomides (*Listes* 357) as the region of Boleron. The administrative structure of the area was very unstable: at the end of the 10th C. Strymon is described as united with Thessalonike or with Thessalonike and Drougoubitia (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.2), in the 11th C. with Boleron. The area preserved a substantial stratum of Slav population. Important towns in the Strymon region were Serres, Philippi, Christoupolis, and Chrysopolis.

After 1204 Strymon was assigned to the kingdom of Thessalonike, but in 1246 John III Vatatzes conquered and restored it as a distinct theme (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.71.30). In 14th-C. documents it is usually combined with Boleron and other administrative units or *kastra* (Thessalonike, Serres, etc.).

LIT. Lemerle, *Philippes* 124–28. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 47f. M. Rajković, "Oblast Strimona i tema Strimon," *ZRVI* 5 (1958) 1–7. Z. Pljakov, "La région de la Moyenne Struma aux XIe–XIIe siècles," *Palaeobulgarica* 10 (1986) no.3, 73–85. Zacos, *Seals* 2:190f. –T.E.G.

STRYPHNOS, MICHAEL, fl. ca.1190–1203. Brother-in-law of Empress Euphrosyne Doukaina Kamatera, Stryphnos (Στρυφνός) was chief of the vestiarion in the reign of Isaac II; he became megas doux under Alexios III. For his private profit, he sold the fleet's anchors, sails, and other gear, while oppressing Genoese merchants. Circa 1201–02 he went to Hellas to restrain Leo Sgouros; unsuccessful there, he was still lauded in an oration by Michael Choniates. Because of his maladministration, the Fourth Crusade encountered no opposition from the Byz. fleet. A massive enameled gold ring, inscribed with his name, is preserved (A. Cutler, *JÖB* 31.2 [1981] fig.7, following p.764). –C.M.B., A.C.

STUDENICA, monastery near Ušće, in south central Serbia, founded after 1183 by Stefan Nemanja. Nemanja's son Sava of Serbia became abbot of the monastery in 1208, introducing into Serbia via Studenica the set of rules contained in the *typikon* of the Euergetis monastery in Constantinople (Babić, *Chapelles annexes* 50f).

At least four churches were erected within the monastic enclosure. The Church of the Virgin was begun by Nemanja but completed by his sons after his withdrawal to Mt. Athos. Built of finely dressed local marble as his grave church (Nemanja's body was brought from Athos to Studenica in 1208), the church blends Romanesque and Byz. elements into a new architectural entity: a single-aisled basilica of Italian-Dalmatian type having a byzantinizing dome over the crossing and a large narthex, a façade decorated with pilasters and corbel-table friezes under the eaves, and figural stone carving

on a tympanum over the west door. The narrow cross-arms of the basilica are preceded by a series of recessed arches and resemble Italian porches. The plan and decoration of this royal foundation, the prototype for monuments of the so-called Raška school, was to have a profound effect on later Serbian developments (e.g., MILEŠEVA, SOPOĆANI, Dečani).

A painted Greek inscription in the dome names the sons of Nemanja along with Stefan himself, and provides the date of 1208/9 for the fresco decoration. What remains of the original program (much of it was overpainted in 1569) shows a conscious attempt by the fresco painter to imitate mosaic: in the highest levels of fresco, gold leaf is applied to the background. Lower levels have a yellow ground instead, while the Crucifixion on the west wall has a ground of blue sprinkled with stars. In the latter composition (much of it repainted in the later 13th C. as well as in the 16th), the huge solemn figure of the dead Christ already shows a notable departure from the nervous configurations of late 12th-C. Komnenian art. Serbian, instead of Greek, is used as the language of the painted inscriptions on certain of these frescoes.

An exonarthex was added about 25 years later by Nemanja's son Stefan Radoslav, and to this narthex were appended two chapels. That on the south side was dedicated to Stefan Nemanja; it was adorned in ca.1233/4 with four scenes from his life, including a representation of the translation of his body from Hilandar to Studenica, the earliest extant historical composition in Serbian monumental painting.

The independent Chapel of St. Nicholas, also located within the enclosure, was probably built about the same time as the Church of the Virgin; it has fragments of frescoes of the first half of the 13th C. akin to those adorning the church at Mileševa.

Another independent chapel within the precinct was known as the King's Church ("Kraljeva crkva"); it was built by King STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN and dedicated to Saints Ioakeim and Anna. A domed cross-in-square in plan, the chapel was constructed in 1313/14, according to an inscription carved on the east façade.

The frescoes were probably executed in 1314. The Pantokrator in the dome is surrounded by the four Evangelist symbols, cherubim with wheels of fire, and the Divine Liturgy (see LORD'S SUPPER). Eight prophets carry scrolls referring to the Resurrection, and 34 busts of the ancestors of Christ refer to the earthly life of the Son of God. The usual Evangelist portraits and ten Great Feasts occupy the pendentives and the upper zone of the walls, while the life of the Virgin Mary is depicted in the lower zone. The portraits of Milutin and his wife SIMONIS are on the south wall, facing the Nemanjid saints Stefan Nemanja and Sava of Serbia and the Virgin and Child with saints; a parallel is thus drawn between the ancestors of Milutin and those of Christ. The large number of bishops in the sanctuary (in bust, full figure, and officiating) emphasizes the importance of the Orthodox church and its tradition; it includes as recent a figure as EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. The modeling in rich tones of ochre, red, green, and white, and the highly individualized heads recall the saints in the lower zone of the Church of St. George at STARO NAGORIČINO, justifying the current attribution of the frescoes of the King's Church to the artists of Staro Nagoričino, MICHAEL (ASTRAPAS) AND EUTYCHIOS.

The ruins of a fourth chapel may be those of a chapel of John the Baptist.

LIT. M. Kašanin, V. Korać, D. Tasić, M. Šakota, *Studenica* (Belgrade 1968). S. Mandić, *The Virgin's Church at Studenica* (Belgrade 1966). R. Hamann-MacLean and H. Hallensleben, *Die Monumentalmalerei in Serbien und Makedonien* (Giessen 1963) 19–22, pls. 53–79, plans 8–11. G. Babić, *Kraljeva crkva u Studenici* (Belgrade 1987). *Studenica et l'art byzantin autour de l'année 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988).

–N.P.Š., G.B.

STUDENT (φοιτητής). The student had a private relationship with his TEACHER that was defined and confirmed in special contracts, a sample of which survives in a 14th-C. MS (P. Schreiner, *Byzantina* 13.1 [1985] 286–88). The contract even regulated the student's schedule, such as time for sleep and meals. Byz. teachers (e.g., Psellos) often complained of their students' bad discipline and truancy from SCHOOL, and they sometimes had difficulty collecting fees from the students' parents. Nevertheless, the student-teacher relationship could be cordial and stable. Eustathios of Thessalonike, among others, affectionately reminisced about a "holy and great man" who instructed and educated him (Eust. Thess., *Opuscula*, p.103.90–93) and about his other wise teachers. Theodore Metochites spoke with deep

affection of his old teacher, Joseph Rhakendytes. Students formed close groups supporting their teachers in their scholarly and personal endeavors. Popular teachers attracted pupils from different parts of the world, and from the 13th C. onward some Greek youths studied at Western universities.

The novel of Constantine IX on the organization of the law school in Constantinople contains some evidence about the status of students. Admission was available to everyone regardless of origin or social position, and education was free. The legislator stressed that students should refrain from bribing teachers, but he did not prohibit, indeed even recommended, offering presents to the professor after completing the course of education. Students had to pass examinations and received a diploma testifying to their knowledge. A lively picture of the extracurricular activities of students is offered by canon 71 of the Council in Trullo (691/2) and Theodore Balsamon's commentary, as well as by Christopher of Mytilene, poem 136.

lit. M.J. Kyriakis, "Student Life in Eleventh-Century Constantinople," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 375–88. C. Kunderewicz, "Le gouvernement et les étudiants dans le Code Théodosien," *Revue historique de droit français et étranger* 50 (1972) 575–88. –A.K., R.B.

STUMA TREASURE. See Kaper Koraon Treasure.

STYLE. This term, as applied to literature and art, has been used in a variety of overlapping senses. In literature it might be defined as "alternative modes of expressing the same (or approximately the same) content" (I. Ševčenko, *JÖB* 31.1 [1981] 289). In both letters and arts it may designate either "levels" of production ("high," "middle," "low") or a particular "ductus" that may be personal or else characterize a genre, a period, or even a geographical area. In Byz. literature the existence of several levels of expression, distinct as they are linguistically and grammatically, and independent of the date of a given group of works, is clearly apparent and was recognized by the Byz. themselves. It is possible to date works of middle or low level by their style; the dating of works written in "high style" is difficult; and the search for an individual style has proved yet more difficult, even in the case of the most famous authors. The task, however, is not hopeless. We are still not clear about the correlation between the style of different "arts" and genres—visual arts and literature, and, within literature, prose and poetry, hagiography and historiography, the so-called monastic chronicle and contemporary history. The concept of levels without reference to time can be applied to art, mostly with regard to the level of skill, some works being naturally more accomplished, others more rustic. The concept is less useful in terms of regional "schools." On the other hand, the existence of period style (e.g., the Komnenian, the "rococo" of the late 12th C., or the Palaiologan) is undeniable in art. The common stylistic points between literature and art are the strength of tradition and the invisibility of individual hands.

The term "style" is normally understood by art historians to be the sum of details—drapery folds, proportion, plasticity, etc.—which, when put together, allow us to date and even to localize an artifact. Style is sometimes viewed as a manifestation of the way an epoch expresses itself in its different arts and modes of thinking (painting, architecture, literature, music, e.g., Baroque style). Such an approach, if applied to Byz., would meet with difficulties, since "styles" in various Byz. arts of a given period are indebted more to devices of the past than to contemporary developments. This approach should be nevertheless tried (one can speak of the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods both in letters and art). Rather than concentrating on "stylistic" or formal qualities of an object, more recent art-historical scholarship, often under the influence of disciplines other than art history, has paid particular attention to the nature and function of that object, or to the social and political circumstances of its creation, and found that these factors strongly affect, if not determine, its form.

lit. I. Ševčenko, *Three Byzantine Literatures* (Brookline, Mass., 1985). H. Hunger, "Stilstufen in der byzantinischen Geschichtsschreibung des 12. Jahrhunderts: Anna Komnene und Michael Glykas," *BS/EB* 5 (1978) 139–70. H. Belting, "Kunst oder Objekt-Stil?" in *Byz. und der Westen* 65–83. C. Walter, "Style, an Epiphenomenon of Ideological Development in Byzantine Art," *JÖB* 32.5 (1982) 3–6.
–C.M., I.Š., A.C.

STYLE MIGNON (sometimes "Style cloisonné"), modern term for a manner of book illustration current in the third quarter of the 11th C. It is characterized by brilliantly colored, enamellike figures silhouetted against flat landscapes or in-

teriors like stage sets. The key dated examples of this style are a *menologion* in Moscow, Hist. Mus. 9 (of 1063); the THEODORE PSALTER (1066); a Praxapostolos, Epistles, and Apocalypse (Moscow, Univ. Lib. gr. 2280) produced for the emperor Michael VII in 1072 and a MS of the *Heavenly Ladder* of John Klimax (Princeton, Univ. Lib. 16) of 1081. Less precisely dated but related in style are the Paris MS, B.N. gr. 74 (one of the FRIEZE GOSPELS), a Klimax MS in the Vatican, gr. 394, and several icons at Mt. Sinai. Their two-dimensional forms have been interpreted as expressing "the ascetic spirit of monasticism" and even the mysticism of Symeon the Theologian, but gold is widely used to separate areas of color in the garments, and normally unmonastic, classical personifications occur, esp. in the Vatican Klimax. The "Style mignon" coexisted with several other contemporary manners of book illustration and has no equivalent in monumental painting of the period.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Studies* 271–313. Lazarev, *Storia* 187–89. Spatharakis, *Corpus*, nos. 78, 80, 92, 100. V.D. Lichačeva, *Vizantijskaja miniatjura* (Moscow 1977) 15f. –A.C.

STYLITE (στυλίτης), a type of ascetic monk who stood on a platform atop a pillar (*stylos*), which was connected with the ground by a ladder. Such platforms were open to rain, snow, and winds, although some included a small shelter. To increase their suffering, stylites often wore chains placed so that they formed a cross (e.g., PG 100:1104C, *AASS* Nov. 3:520C). The purpose of ascending the pillar was to disengage oneself from the sinful world (and from the crowd of pilgrims) and to find tranquility among the "pure" elements; stylites, however, were also involved in political activity, and DANIEL THE STYLITE even descended from his column to lead a demonstrating mob to Constantinople. The movement started in the 5th C., with SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, and soon became popular; stylites attracted pilgrims who stimulated the development of trade and innkeeping. Veneration of stylites, which often flourished during their lifetime, took the form of image worship: according to THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*Histoire des moines de Syrie*, vol. 2 [Paris 1970] 782.19–21), Symeon's icons adorned the entrance to workshops (*ergasteria*) as far away as Rome, while Daniel's vita mentions a silver icon of the saint that weighed 10 *litrae* and was given to a church. Special Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS) with the image of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER were produced for pilgrims (G. Vikan, *DOP* 38 [1984] 67–73). A few women also joined the movement (H. Delehaye, *AB* 27 [1908] 391f).

It is plausible that Iconoclasm caused a reduction of stylites; Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 442.18–24) relates the cruel execution of the stylite Peter by Constantine V, and the vita of THEODORE OF EDESSA presents a stylite community as declining in the 9th C. (A. Kazhdan, *GOrThR* 30 [1985] 473f). From the end of the century the movement again revived; in the 10th C., LOUKAS THE STYLITE claimed to be the fifth in the series of great stylites. Some saints spent "only" a few years on columns (e.g., seven by LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS) and were closely connected with nearby monasteries. A similar form of extreme asceticism was that of the dendrites who lived in trees, such as DAVID OF THESSALONIKE.

Representation in Art. Stylites were depicted as ancient, white-bearded monks, visible only to their shoulders or waists, atop marble columns; the two Sts. Symeon generally wear the *koukoullion*, or monastic hood. Hands raised before their chest, the stylites are protected from falling by an iron railing that runs around the large, fancy capital. Many churches are adorned with images of stylites, often painted on piers or other narrow vertical surfaces, so that the painted column resembles a colonnette applied to the pier; when two portraits flank the bema arch in this way, they reinforce its triumphal character. There is sometimes a little door or niche visible in the column shaft, which suggests the existence of an internal stairway, or sometimes an access ladder is shown propped against the column. When the image has room to expand, as on a MS page, however, a flight of stairs or a circular wall pierced by a passageway may be included to either side of the column.

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les saints stylites* (Brussels-Paris 1923). K. Holl, *Gesammelte Aufsätze*, vol. 2 (Tübingen 1928) 388–98. B. Kötting, "Das Wirken der ersten Styliten in der Öffentlichkeit," *Zeitschrift für Missionswissenschaft* 37 (1953) 187–97. A. Leroy-Molinghen, "Mention d'un stylite dans un papyrus grec," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 635. I. Pena, P. Castellana, and R. Fernandez, *Les stylites syriens* (Milan 1975). A. Xyngopoulos, "Hoi stylitai eis ten byzantinen technen," *EEBS* 19 (1949) 116–29. I. Djordjević, "Sveti stolpnici u srpskom zidnom slikarstvu srednjeg veka," *ZbLikUmet* 18 (1982) 41–52. V. Elbern, *LCI* 8:413. A. Chatzinikolaou, *RBK* 2:1071–77. –A.K., N.P.Š.

STYPPEIOTES (Στυππειώτης), a family that produced some generals and diplomats from the 9th C. onward. The name is interpreted by H. Moritz (*Zunamen* 1:29, 2:42) as derived from a toponym, but is more probably to be connected with Gr. *styppeion*, "flax or hemp fiber." Kesta (the first known Styppeiotes), *domestikos ton scholon*, died in 883 during an expedition against Tarsos. Michael, *patrikios* under Romanos I, participated in negotiations with Symeon of Bulgaria. Another Michael was general ca.1116.

From the end of the 11th C. onward the Styppeiotai primarily held posts in the civil administration: Demetrios, official in the bureau of the *megas logariastes* in 1094; Theodore, *kanikleios* of John II and Manuel I, was involved in a plot, deposed, and blinded in 1159. Michaelitzes Styppeiotes, mentioned in the *typikon* of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople as an intimate retainer of John II, is an enigmatic figure: Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 3:192.5–8) states that Michael Styppeiotes gave Alexios I a slave and barbarian, also called Styppeiotes; perhaps he should be identified with Michaelitzes. It is questionable but possible that Patr. Leo Styppes (1134–43) belonged to the family (P. Wirth, *ByzF* 3 [1968] 254f). A certain Strongylos Styppeiotes served as *vestiarites* of John III in 1237 or 1252, while Demetrios and Theodore, priests in Constantinople, signed a patriarchal document in 1357.

LIT. Kresten, "Styppeiotes." G.S. Henrich, "Kesta ho Styp[pe]iotes und die Namen von Štip," *Onomata* 9 (1984) 83–89. –E.T., A.K.

SUANIA (Σουανία), a land at the eastern end of the Black Sea. STRABO (11.2.19) notes that the Soanes controlled the summits of the Caucasus above Dioscurias (SEBASTOPOLIS). The language of the Svan, with Laz and Georgian, belongs to the Kartvelian family.

By the 6th C. the Svan were Christian; Prokopios (*Wars* 8.2.23) notes that their priests were appointed by the bishops of the Laz, although politically the Svan were independent of them and of the Persians. Suania figures prominently in the Persian-Byz. wars (ibid., 8.14.53, 16.14; MENANDER PROTECTOR, 76–86); its loyalties wavered between Byz. and Persia. Suania was later controlled by Georgian princely houses.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:117, 123. M.J. Higgins, *The Persian War of the Emperor Maurice* (Washington, D.C., 1939) 36–38, 58. Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 257. –R.T.

SUBDEACON (ὑποδιάκονος). As the title indicates, the subdeacon was created to assist the DEACON in the performance of his duties. His primary function in the liturgy was to stand guard at the doors during the exit of the CATECHUMENS. Before the eucharistic celebration he was responsible for preparing the sacred vessels, lighting the altar lamps, and helping the priest dress (Council of Laodikeia, canons 20–22, 43). At the Council in TRULLO the age at which a candidate could enter the subdiaconate was fixed at 20 (canon 15). According to the same council, subdeacons (like the major orders of CLERGY) could not marry after ordination (canon 3). The Byz. church always viewed the office as a minor clerical rank immediately below the deacon. Western practice, however, differed: by the early 13th C. the office had been raised to major orders. The earliest mention of subdeacon is in the 3rd C.

LIT. A. Catoire, "Le sous-diaconat dans l'Église grecque," *EO* 13 (1910) 22–24. W. Croce, "Die niederen Weihen und ihre hierarchische Wertung," *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 70 (1948) 257–314. H. Petzold, "Das Verhältnis des Subdiakonats zum Weihesakrament in der alten Kirche und seine Stellung im klassischen orthodoxen Kirchenrecht," *Österreichisches Archiv für Kirchenrecht* 4 (1967) 394–455. –A.P.

SUBSTANCE (οὐσία). The notion of *ousia* entered the history of Christian THEOLOGY in the 4th C. when the Council of Nicaea acknowledged in its creed the concept of HOMOOUSIOS. Generally the term *ousia* designates the real existent, which in the Aristotelian tradition is called the "primary essence." On the one hand, this is contrasted to the abstract idea or species ("secondary essence"); on the other hand, it is distinguished from accidents. If in the interpretation of the Nicaean Creed proposed by the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS a distinction is made between the common *ousia* and the HYPOSTASES of the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, there is the danger of seeing this essence as a universal, as in the MONARCHIAN interpretation of MARKELLOS OF ANKYRA modified by GREGORY OF NYSSA (R. Hübner in *Epektasis: Mélanges Jean Daniélou* [Paris 1972] 463–90), or of taking it in the sense of the Aristotelian secondary essence as in the TRITHEISM of John PHILOPONOS. Nevertheless, in BASIL THE GREAT and GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS the concept of *ousia* as that which is common (*koinon*) is joined with Stoic ontology and logic, and in this connection *ousia* signifies the individual: *ousia* is the "subject" (*hypokeimenon*)

that "lies under" the individual characteristics and natural qualities that attach to one substance and not to another.

NEO-CHALCEDONISM, whose starting point was the Trinitarian terminology of the Cappadocians, interpreted the doctrine of two natures of Christ put forth by the Council of CHALCEDON in such a way that nature and substance signify the same thing. Subsequent to this, one observes that the high standard of the Christologies of theologians such as LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the salient features of which were two radically distinctive modes of individuation (the specific and the hypostatic-personal), could not be maintained. *Ousia*, or nature, is mostly understood as a simple reality, or that which truly exists (ANASTASIOS OF SINAI, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.3, lines 6–12; cf. 8.5, lines 120–24). This modified view of Anastasios typifies the level of theological reflection in Byz. as soon as this formula took precedence over the development of thought.

The question of the essence of God, which in the context of apophatic theology and PALAMISM is inexpressible, directs attention to the ENERGIES of God. This theory is encountered also in John KYPARISSIOTES (PG 152:794A–798C), for example, who followed pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE in teaching that God can be spoken about, but knowledge of God in the created order is attained through inference on the basis of experience, that is, its starting point is taken from his energies or their effects.

LIT. G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*[2] (London 1952). H.A. Wolfson, *The Philosophy of the Church Fathers*[3], vol. 1 (London 1970). H. Martin, "La controverse trithéite dans l'Empire byzantin au VI[e] siècle" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Louvain [n.d.]). K.-H. Uthemann, "Sprache und Sein bei Anastasios Sinaites," *StP* 18 (1987) 221–31. G.C. Stead, *Divine Substance* (Oxford 1977). –K.-H.U.

SUCCESSION (περὶ διαθέσεων). Byz. law recognized two fundamentally different ways of transferring the property of a deceased person to his HEIRS. The estate could be distributed through a disposition (*diathesis*) made during the person's lifetime that was to become operative in event of death (see WILLS) or, when such a disposition did not exist, the estate passed to certain heirs in accordance with the law (INTESTATE SUCCESSION). Informal agreements could also be made when the DOWRY was promised for a marriage contract, so that these agreements assume the character of both marriage and inheritance contracts. Since the appointment of an heir was no longer deemed a prerequisite for the validity of a will (as in Roman law) and since LEGATA, FIDEICOMMISSA, donations in view of death, pious foundations, distributions of money for the good of the soul (*psychika*), and similar arrangements could be made independently, without being part of a formal will, the will presented itself as only one of many dispositions made "during lifetime and in view of death." Such private and individual dispositions conflict with succession in accordance with the law, a system of preference by which the children of the deceased and their descendants (= grandchildren) were favored over the parents and their descendants (= siblings), who were in turn favored over the grandparents and their descendants (= uncles/aunts) in the line for inheritance.

Claims on Inheritances and Restrictions on Succession. Byz. law had to deal with certain specific problems involving succession. First of all, Christianity encouraged donations at death to churches and monasteries as well as the distribution of part of the inheritance among the poor. Second, the state demanded a certain part of the inheritance in the form of voluntary grants or as a mandatory obligation (ABIOTIKION). The right to transfer property upon death was not given to slaves, but wills of women and monks are known, and PAROIKOI were entitled to transfer their lands to heirs, though probably only with the approval of their lords. The right to receive an inheritance could be restricted: various heretics as well as apostates and even children of a mixed marriage with a heretic were excluded from succession, and manumitted slaves might receive only the so-called LEGATA.

Specific types of property had restrictions on succession: STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA, for example, could be inherited only by those capable of fulfilling military service. Succession could be restricted by time, though some grants could be made for two or three generations (esp. CHARISTIKION). The medieval right of primogeniture had no place in Greek society: Jacoby (*Féodalité* 35) has emphasized the difference between two systems of succession in the Latin Peloponnesos—Western primogeniture and the local tradition of apportioning the land between all the sons and daughters.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 133–207. W. Selb, "Erbrecht," *JbAChr* 14 (1971) 174–84. E.F. Bruck, "Kirchlich-soziales

Erbrecht in Byzanz," in *Studi in onore di S. Riccobono*, vol. 3 (Palermo 1936; rp. Aalen 1974) 377–423. B. Albanese, "L'abolizione postclassica delle forme solenni nei negozi testamentari," *Sodalitas*, vol. 2 (Naples 1984) 777–92.
–A.K.

SUCIDAVA (Συκίβιδα in Prokopios), a Roman fortress located 3 km west of mod. Corabia in Rumania, on the left bank of the Danube, facing Palatiolon (anc. Oescus) on the other side of the river. It was retained by the Romans after Aurelian yielded DACIA to the barbarians. The coins found in Sucidava show an uninterrupted series from Aurelian to Theodosios II. Constantine I the Great restored the citadel of Sucidava and connected it with Oescus by a stone bridge. In the mid-5th C. Sucidava suffered from the attacks of the Huns but was again restored, probably under Justin I, whose coins are found in great quantity in the area, or by Justinian I according to his novel 11. A Christian basilica was constructed in Sucidava in the 6th C. and a "secret well" dug out. Ceramic finds include both autochthonous forms and imports from the Aegean region, Asia Minor, and North Africa (D. Tudor, V. Barbu, 14 *CEB* 2 [1975] 638). Circa 600 the Byz. garrison left Sucidava.

LIT. D. Tudor, *Sucidava* (Brussels 1965). Idem, *Sucidava* (Bucharest 1966).
–A.K.

SUDAK. See SOUGDAIA.

SUDŽA, a tributary of the Dnieper River, beside which, in the village of Bol'šoj Kamenec in the region of Kursk, two "hoards" were found in 1918–19 and 1928 containing objects probably from the tomb of a barbarian "prince." Among these were a fragment of a bronze bucket, a gold necklace and bracelets, and a well-preserved silver ewer with nine Muses produced ca.400 (*Iskusstvo Vizantii* 1, no.37).

LIT. L. Maculevič, *Pogrebenie varvarskogo knjazja v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow-Leningrad 1934). Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps*, no.84.
–A.K.

SUFETULA (mod. Sbeitla, in central Tunisia). Among the more prosperous towns in BYZACENA, its wealth was derived from olive oil produced on the numerous villas and small farms within its territory. The late 4th and early 5th C. saw the construction of three basilicas (one perhaps belonging to the Donatist community) inside the remnants of two court-style temples and the public basilica attached to the forum. A small votive shrine to the martyrs Sylvanus and Fortunatus was also established in the main necropolis. Under the VANDALS, a bishop of Sufetula, Praesidius, was exiled to Sardinia. In the late 5th or early 6th C. a new church and ecclesiastical complex was erected on the site of an earlier villa or villas on the northern edge of the city. After the Byz. reconquest, new churches were constructed over the shrine in the necropolis and at the southeast entrance to the city. Repairs and liturgical modifications of existing basilicas were also carried out over the course of the 6th and 7th C. and, evidently, in the early Arab period.

Sufetula was also the site of a number of provincial councils in the 6th C. A group of Latin Christian epitaphs dating from the Justinianic period and 7th C. indicates that the city was an important military, cultural, and religious center, although the absence of substantial fortifications raises questions about its overall value in the frontier defensive system established under Justinian I. Despite the apparent prominence of Byz. Sufetula, there is evidence that some streets and quarters of the city were falling into disuse; at some point an olive press was built over a main road in the southeast quarter. Archaeological surveys also indicate a decline in the number of active rural settlements in the 6th and 7th C. In 646 the rebellious exarch of Carthage, GREGORY, established his headquarters at Sufetula. In the following year, however, he was defeated by the Arabs and Sufetula was sacked. There is some archaeological evidence suggesting that a small Christian community remained on the site in the early Arab period.

LIT. N. Duval, "Observations sur l'urbanisme de Sufetula," *Cahiers de Tunisie* 12 (1964) 87–103. Idem, *Sbeitla et les églises africaines à deux absides*, vol. 1 (Paris 1971). Idem, "L'epigraphie chrétienne de Sbeitla (Sufetula) et son apport historique," *Atti del IV Convegno di studio su "L'Africa romana"* (Sassari 1987) 385–414. P.V. Addyman, W.G. Simpson, "Archaeology of the Sbeitla Area," *Brathey Exploration Group, Annual Report and Account of Expeditions* (1966) 153–70. J. Barbery, J.P. Delhoume, "Le Route de Masclianae" *AntAfr* 18 (1982) 27–43. Pringle, *Defence* 63, 113, 142, 284f.
–R.B.H.

SUICIDE (*αὐτοκτονία*). Even though recent scholarship has rejected the traditional image of a Roman mania for suicide, in the Roman Empire of the 1st–2nd C. suicide was evidently still con-

sidered an acceptable and even noble way to solve personal or political problems. Only in the 3rd C. did PLOTINOS take a negative stand toward suicide by equating it with murder. Christianity, in its earlier stages, was not hostile toward suicide: AMBROSE praised St. PELAGIA THE VIRGIN for killing herself after she had been raped. A position critical of suicide was taken by LACTANTIUS and esp. AUGUSTINE, who consistently rejected this course of action. At the same time the law changed its perception of suicide, which began to be treated as a confession of depravity. In the East, PALLADIOS of Galatia in the 5th C. still considered suicide a possible means of protecting one's chastity, but later canon law prohibited killing oneself. A certain ambivalence remained in the literary appraisal of martyrs, who in fact sought death through execution, and of ascetics whose starvation was a slow self-destruction: the righteous could yearn for DEATH as the gateway to union with God, but the moment of death had to remain in the hands of God. The negative attitude toward suicide was enhanced by the image of JUDAS, who died by hanging himself. The question of the guilt of those who urged others to commit suicide was discussed at the Council of Ankyra in 314; accomplices were condemned to 10 years of penitence.

Documented instances of suicide are indeed infrequent in Byz., a rare example being the scribe Melitas who hanged himself in 1303 because he was despondent over his indebtedness (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:385–88). The vita of St. Makarios of Pelekete attributed the attempted suicide of a certain Gregory to demoniac possession (P. van den Gheyn, *AB* 16 [1897] 162.27–34). Unhappy wives sometimes used the threat of suicide by drowning, hanging, or hurling themselves from a high rock to obtain a DIVORCE (A. Laiou, *FM* 6:309–12), since suicide was considered a worse crime than divorce.

LIT. J.D. Ehrlich, "Suicide in the Roman Empire" (Ph.D. Diss., Columbia University 1983) 190–213. Y. Grisé, *La suicide dans Rome antique* (Paris 1982) 283–89. A. Vandenbossche, "Recherches sur le suicide en droit romain," *AIPHOS* 12 (1952) 500–05. –A.K., A.M.T.

SUIDAS. See SOUDA.

SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI (Σουλαϊμάνης and other forms), second son of BAYEZID I, and ruler (1402–11) over part of the Ottoman realm; born 1377?, died Düğüncü-Ili 17 Feb. 1411. After Timur's victory over Bayezid, Süleyman Çelebi fled eventually (20 Aug. 1402) to Gallipoli (KALLIPOLIS). He was acknowledged as sultan in Rumeli, but his brothers in Anatolia—Isa and MEHMED (I)—disputed his claims. He strengthened his position by accommodation with local Christian powers, including Byz. By the peace of Jan.–Feb. 1403, Constantinople recovered Thessalonike and other places and was freed from tribute payments. In 1403–10 Süleyman Çelebi expanded his rule into Anatolia, perhaps eliminating Isa before mid-March 1403 and otherwise holding his own against Mehmed. In Rumeli he generally preserved the status quo.

His position crumbled in 1410–11. Early in 1410, Mehmed dispatched his younger brother MUSA to Rumeli, and on 13 Feb. he and his Balkan allies defeated Süleyman Çelebi's *beylerbeyi* Sinan at Iambol. Facing disaster, Süleyman Çelebi renewed his accord with Manuel II (late May), possibly marrying then a daughter of THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS. He twice defeated Musa the following summer: 15 June at Kosmidion, a suburb of Constantinople; 11 July near Edirne (ADRIANOPLE), but the Rumelian Turks then shifted support to Musa, whose austerity and unsubmissiveness to Constantinople they esteemed. Early in 1411 Musa defeated Süleyman Çelebi's army near Sofia (SERDICA), and he fled from Edirne for Constantinople. On 17 Feb., however, he perished at Düğüncü-Ili—assassinated, or captured and then strangled on Musa's orders.

Süleyman Çelebi's passion for drink and debauchery was renowned. The historian Doukas also depicts him as gentle, guileless, compassionate, and generous; Chalkokondyles praises him as a brave soldier. Süleyman Çelebi apparently felt a special reverence for Christ, and some of his fellow Muslims viewed him as overly sympathetic to Christians.

LIT. E. Zachariadou, "Süleyman Çelebi in Rumili and the Ottoman Chronicles," *Der Islam* 60 (1983) 268–96. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 289–96. Barker, *Manuel II* 247–55, 281–84. –S.W.R.

SÜLEYMAN IBN KUTULMUŞ, first Seljuk ruler in Anatolia; died near Aleppo 1086. Son of Kutulmuş (or Kutlumuş), cousin of TUGHRUL BEG, Süleyman (Σολυμάν) and his brother Manşūr were in Anatolia by 1078, where they supported the usurpation of NIKEPHOROS III and gained lands

around NICAEA. During Nikephoros's reign, MALIKSHĀH sent Bursuk to subdue the brothers. Manṣūr was killed, but Süleyman expanded his domain. The rebel Nikephoros MELISSENOS granted him Nicaea, Chrysopolis, and other cities. In 1081 ALEXIOS I, in return for aid against the Normans, recognized Süleyman's boundaries; the Byz. called him "sultan" (Bryen. 303.26), but this term may reflect Turkoman usage rather than an officially conferred title. Circa 1084, abandoning Nicaea to his supporter Abu'l-Qāsim, Süleyman moved east, where he seized Antioch from Philaretos BRACHAMIOS, only to perish in battle with Malikshāh's brother Tutuş. –C.M.B.

SÜLEYMAN PASHA (Σουλιμάν in Kantakouzenos), eldest son of ORHAN; died near Bolayır 1357. He was a leader in the earliest Ottoman conquests and settlements in Thrace after ca.1352. Previously he had participated in the conquests of Nicaea (1330), the beylik of KARASI (1334–35), and Nikomedeia (1337). After Orhan's marriage in 1346 to Theodora, daughter of John VI, Süleyman Pasha was thrice dispatched with Turkish forces to assist the Kantakouzenoi (1348, 1350, 1352). In 1352, his troops captured Tzympe near KALLIPOLIS, which they refused to evacuate. On 1–2 Mar. 1354, an earthquake severely damaged fortifications in the Thracian Chersonnese, and many Byz. fled. He quickly seized Kallipolis and other places, which he refortified and colonized with Anatolian emigrants. From these bases he and his ghazis pressed further into mainland Thrace. By his death the Turks had penetrated throughout much of the Marica Valley corridor. He established his headquarters at Kallipolis and Bolayır, where he was buried following a fatal hunting accident.

LIT. Bombaci-Shaw, *L'Impero ottomano* 239–47. M. Tekindağ, *İA* 11:190–94. İnalcık, "Edirne" 189–95. –S.W.R.

SULTAN (σουλτάνος). An Arabic word that appears in the Qur'ān with the meaning of moral or magic power; later it took the meaning of administrative power and finally of the possessor of the power (i.e., the ruler). In the 11th C., with the rise of the SELJUKS, it became specifically the title borne by strong and independent rulers whose vassals and provincial princes received the title of *malik* ("king" in Arabic) or *shāh* ("king" in Persian). The Islamic world was considered an entity guided by the caliph, the religious spiritual leader, and the sultan, to whom the caliph delegated military and administrative authority. The term *sultan* appears in late 11th-C. Byz. sources as a loanword from Arabic/Persian, and was used to designate the Seljuk, the MAMLŪK, and finally the OTTOMAN monarch. A 14th-C. Byz. view of a sultan is provided by a figure, identified as a sultan in Arabic but as PTOLEMY in Greek, in a MS in Venice (Furlan, *Marciana* 4:38–40, fig. 33). He is shown seated cross-legged, but wears a tunic decorated with imperial purple EAGLES.

LIT. J.H. Kramers, *EI* 4:543–45. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:286–89. –E.A.Z., A.C.

SUN AND MOON. The sun (HELIOS) was a major concern of late antique theology and, in the form of SOL INVICTUS and SOL JUSTITIAE, played a part in Christian cosmological and ethical concepts. In Byz. art the sun and moon are depicted either as schematic heads in circles or as PERSONIFICATIONS. Both types are found in depictions of the CRUCIFIXION, the most important context in which they occur. Diagrammatic versions of the sun and moon occur on the Barberini ivory, flanking the bust of Christ; they "stand still" beside Jericho in the Joshua Roll. Similarly enduring is the tradition of depicting the luminaries as human busts. The sun takes this form in a 6th-C. pavement at Skythopolis and, four centuries later, in the PARIS PSALTER where it appears above the ailing Hezekiah. Both Helios and Selene were understood as moving STARS. The interchangeability of their position in images of the Crucifixion has been ascribed by J. Engemann (*infra*) to legends preserved in pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and elsewhere. In such scenes, as in painted versions of the CREATION and Ascension where they are also found, the sun is normally a red male while the moon is a blue female. When sun, moon, and stars appear together as in the Vienna GENESIS (Gerstinger, *Wien. Gen.*, pl.29), only the two main luminaries are personified. In this case their presence is justified by the text (Gen 37:9); lacking this basis, their function on the DAVID PLATES and elsewhere may witness to their symbolic role in events understood as divinely inspired.

LIT. H. Laag, *LCI* 4:178–80. J. Engemann, "Zur Position von Sonne und Mond bei Darstellungen der Kreuzigung Christi," in *Studien Deichmann* 3:95–101. –A.C.

SUNDAY (Κυριακή, "the Lord's day"), the weekly Christian feastday from earliest times, though some judaizing Christians continued to observe the Jewish Sabbath, a practice that was condemned by St. Paul and eventually suppressed by the 2nd C. Sunday was not a Christian Sabbath, however; it was an ordinary workday until Constantine I the Great proclaimed it a day of rest in 321, prohibiting all kinds of work except that in the fields and all legal transactions except manumissions. In 386, theatrical and circus performances were also forbidden on Sunday. Judaizing tendencies were a recurring problem, however, and the church fathers (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa and John Chrysostom) criticized those observing Saturday as a day of rest.

Sunday was the day symbolic of the New Age, the day on which the LORD'S SUPPER is celebrated, sign of the continued presence of the Risen One until he comes again. It was also called "the eighth day," meaning that as the new day, symbol of the arrival of the final age, it was outside the normal Jewish cycle of time, conceived in multiples of seven. Originally EUCHARIST was celebrated only on Sunday, and because it was a day of joy, KNEELING and FASTING were prohibited. In the 3rd C. Christians began to celebrate Eucharist on Saturday too and to prohibit fasting and kneeling on Saturday as on Sunday. In the West, however, Saturday was a fast day, and this became a source of dispute between Rome and Constantinople.

From the 4th C. onward Sunday was celebrated with great splendor in liturgical services focused on the paschal mystery, so that Sunday came to be considered a "Little Easter." The festivities commenced Saturday night with a Resurrection VIGIL comprising three antiphons, prayers, the burning of INCENSE in memory of the spices that the MYRROPHOROI brought to the tomb of Jesus, and the proclamation by the bishop of the Gospel story of Jesus' death and resurrection. This was followed at dawn by the customary ORTHROS and Eucharist and, in the evening, by VESPERS. All these elements were integrated into the Byz. Sunday services.

LIT. W. Rordorf, *Sunday* (Philadelphia 1968). C.S. Mosna, *Storia della domenica* (Rome 1969). Taft, *East & West* 31–40. –R.F.T.

SUNDAY OF ORTHODOXY. See TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

SUNDIAL (ἀνάλημμα). PTOLEMY described the principles of the sundial in *On the Analemma.* This work was not known in Constantinople after the late Roman period but is preserved in a Latin translation by WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE in 1269.

A number of stone sundials survive from antiquity, at least some of which are probably late Roman. There are fragments of at least five portable sundials from the 4th to 6th C., of which one includes a gearing mechanism to display the calendar (J.V. Field, D.R. Hill, M.T. Wright, *Byzantine and Arabic Mathematical Gearing* [London 1985] 1–138). (See also HOROLOGION.)

LIT. S.L. Gibbs, *Greek and Roman Sundials* (New Haven, 1976). J.V. Field, M.T. Wright, *Early Gearing* (London 1985) 5–13, 18–20. Eadem, "More Gears from the Greeks," *Interdisciplinary Science Reviews* 11 (1986) 10–12. –D.P.

SUPERFICIES (ὑπερῷον, ἐποικοδομηθέν, lit. "upper story, built up"), all things built upon or attached to the ground, esp. houses and buildings, but also trees and other plants. According to the Roman principle sanctioned by Justinian I, *superficies solo cedit,* the ownership of the *superficies* always fell to the owner of the ground. However, the *superficiarius,* that is, the one who built on another's land or cultivated it, was by no means devoid of rights. As long as he acted with the consent of the landowner, either a SERVITUS or an EMPHYTEUSIS could apply. Both legal institutions ensured the *superficiarius* a lasting return on his investments; the *emphyteusis,* moreover, ensured a right like that of ownership with regard to the heritability and the alienation of the *superficies.* In late Byz. practice the principle *superficies solo cedit* was generally neglected, so that separate property ownership rights could exist on a piece of land and on its *superficies*: a mill or chapel, for example, could be disposed of separately from the land.

LIT. F. Sitzia, *Studi sulla superficie in epoca giustinianea* (Milan 1979). –M.Th.F.

SURETYSHIP (ἐγγύη), a simple and, next to the PIGNUS, the most popular transaction for the security of financial claims of all kinds. It consisted of the written promise of a person, the guarantor, that he would fulfill the claim of the creditor in case of insolvency of the (chief) debtor. The complicated late Roman development culminated in

Justinian I's regulation of 535 (*Nov.Just.* 4) that remained in force until the end of the Byz. Empire (e.g., Harm. 3.6). The creditor who wished to collect a claim had to apply first to the chief debtor, then to the guarantor, and finally to third parties who possessed objects belonging to the debtor (e.g., pawns). The legal collections associate suretyship with financial LOANS; therefore the prescriptions on suretyship are found in the titles dealing with "loans" or close by. In practice, however, the setting of sureties occurred in the most diverse cases, for example, the obligation to return a dowry (*Peira* 65.2), to hand over the father's property (*Peira* 65.5), to fulfill public or private services (*Peira* 65.1, 65.15), etc. In the later period suretyship was even involved in obligations that cannot be calculated in terms of money (Hunger-Kresten, *PatrKP*, no.89, a.1325: surety for abstaining from sexual intercourse). Independent formulas are not known, perhaps because suretyship was already absorbed into the legal transaction between creditor and chief debtor (*Docheiar.*, no.3.4, a.1112).

LIT. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2:457–61 (§278). –D.S.

SURGERY. Discussing surgery and its implements in book 6 of his medical encyclopedia, PAUL OF AEGINA gathers Greco-Roman operations and techniques and adds 7th-C. Byz. advances. Several operations are detailed for various wounds, malformations of external structures surrounding the eyes, the surgical correction of pterygium (a growth of the conjunctiva), and couching of cataracts. Paul has sensible descriptions of tooth extraction, surgical correction for ankyloglossia (tongue-tie), tonsillectomy, the removal of the uvula, and a clipped account of tracheotomy quoted from the works of Antyllos (fl. ca.150). Among dozens of operations, Paul provides detailed instructions for lithotomy (removal of bladder stones), a technique for draining pus in empyema, the surgical repair of enterocele (intestinal hernia), and embryotomy. Cautery crudely seals amputations, but excellent methods for splinting, setting, and bandaging fractures, dislocations, and sprains are given. Trephination is recommended for certain kinds of skull fractures, with good results claimed by Paul and his sources. Although later Byz. medical texts devote little attention to surgery, other evidence attests to the continuation of a wide variety of operations. One notable example was the (unsuccessful) separation of Siamese twins in the 10th C. (G.E. Pentogalos, J.G. Lascaratos, *BHM* 58 [1984] 99–102).

Among the over 200 known Byz. surgical instruments (as distinguished from those of Greek or Roman manufacture) are traditional probes, scalpels, bone chisels and saws, and lancets for venesection as well as sophisticated ear syringes, periosteal elevators, surgical scoops for removing weapons or missiles, variously shaped cauteries, and rectal and vaginal specula. Several MS illuminations (Florence, Laurent. 74.7) of around 900, possibly executed under the direction of the physician Niketas, depict many methods in the *Bandages* of Soranus (fl.98–117) and the reductions of dislocations in the *Commentary on Hippocrates' Joints* by Apollonios of Kition (fl.ca.50 B.C.). Arabic surgery absorbed much data from Byz. texts, esp. Paul of Aegina.

LIT. L. Bliquez, "Two Lists of Greek Surgical Instruments and the State of Surgery in Byzantine Times," *DOP* 38 (1984) 187–204. J.S. Milne, *Surgical Instruments in Greek and Roman Times* (Oxford 1907; rp. New York 1970). J. Scarborough, *Roman Medicine* (London 1969) pls. 39–44. –J.S.

SURVEY. See CADASTER; LAND SURVEY.

SUSANNA AND THE ELDERS. See COMMENDATIO ANIMAE.

SUTTON HOO TREASURE, dated to the 6th or 7th C. and discovered in 1939 in a burial mound at Woodbridge in Suffolk as part of the grave goods placed between 625 and 630 in the tomb of a king of East Anglia, probably Raedwald, who had been interred inside a ship. In addition to objects of local and Scandinavian manufacture, there are works of late Roman and Byz. silver that include a bowl similar to others in the MILDENHALL TREASURE; a large niello-inlaid plate with SILVER STAMPS of 491–518, decorated with small busts of personifications of Rome and Constantinople; a set of ten bowls similar to the pair in the LAMPSAKOS TREASURE; and two spoons, one inscribed "Saul," the other "Paul," once thought to be baptismal gifts. Other works of Byz. manufacture in this treasure that could have reached Anglo-

Saxon England by trade are two bronze bowls of a type often described as "Coptic."

LIT. R.L.S. Bruce-Mitford, *The Sutton Hoo Ship Burial*, 3 vols. (London 1975–83). –M.M.M.

SUZDAL' (Σούσδαλις), one of a cluster of towns in northeast Rus', often linked politically to Rostov and to Vladimir-on-the-Kljaz'ma. Political, commercial, and cultural relations with Byz. grew in the mid-12th C. under the princes JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ and ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO: Byz. silks have been found at several sites in the region (M. Fechner, *SovArch* 3 [1977] 30–42); Jurij and Andrej were useful allies of Manuel I in that they curbed the effectiveness of the pro-Hungarian princes of KIEV; Andrej, through his patronage of art, literature, and public buildings in Vladimir attempted to create a prestigious cultural center in the Byz. style. The bishopric of Rostov-Suzdal' was founded in the 1070s (A. Poppe, *Byzantion* 40 [1970] 193–97). Patr. LOUKAS CHRYSOBERGES, however, refused Andrej's request to establish there a metropolitan see independent of Kiev. From ca.1250 the metropolitan of Kiev tended in fact to reside in Vladimir—an arrangement Patr. PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS formalized in 1354 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 5, no.2367), although from 1308 the actual residence of the metropolitan was Moscow. Later Suzdal' was elevated to an archbishopric. A letter by Patr. Neilos Kerameus of 1381 mentions Dionysios, archbishop of Suzdal' (MM 2:33.33; on the date—*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2729). In 1393 Euphrosynos, archbishop of Suzdal' (MM 2:196.12–13), was in conflict with KIPRIAN, the metropolitan of all Russia, contesting his jurisdiction over the *kastra* of [Nižnij] Novgorod and Borodetzion (Gorodec) (*RegPatr*, fasc. 6, no.2938).

LIT. Tikhomirov, *Ancient Rus* 415–49. Meyendorff, *Russia* 216–20, 248f. Ju.A. Limonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaja Rus'* (Leningrad 1987). E. Hurwitz, *Prince Andrej Bogoljubskij: The Man and the Myth* (Florence 1980). –S.C.F.

SVJATOSLAV (Σφενδοσθλάβος), prince of Kiev from ca.945; died at the Dnieper rapids early spring 972. Son of IGOR and OL'GA, Svjatoslav spent his life in military expeditions, leaving the domestic administration to Ol'ga. In the 960s Svjatoslav destroyed the KHAZAR state, razing to the ground their strongholds SARKEL and Itil. After NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS failed in negotiations with the Bulgarians, the emperor decided to use Svjatoslav against Bulgaria. The following chronology of events was established, primarily on the basis of John SKYLITZES, by P. Karyškovskij (*infra*), who considers the data in LEO THE DEACON vague and imprecise. In late 967 (or early spring 968) Nikephoros sent his envoy Kalokyros of Cherson to Kiev; in accordance with their negotiations, Svjatoslav invaded Bulgaria in the summer of 968. A Pecheneg attack caused Svjatoslav to return home, but in July or August of 969 he was again in Bulgaria, where he deposed BORIS II and planned to transfer his capital to Little PRESLAV on the Danube. Now the Byz. became frightened at the success of the Rus'. JOHN I TZIMISKES sent Bardas SKLEROS against Svjatoslav but had to recall him to subdue the rebellion of the PHOKAS in Asia Minor. In April 971 John I marched to Preslav, captured the city, and reestablished Boris as ruler of Bulgaria. Besieged in Dorostolon, Svjatoslav surrendered in July. He signed a treaty promising that he would not invade Bulgaria or attack Cherson and that he would help Byz. against its enemies. During his retreat to Kiev Svjatoslav was attacked by the Pechenegs and fell in battle; his skull was reportedly used as a drinking bowl. Leo the Deacon preserves a vivid portrait of Svjatoslav as a typical barbarian king (Leo Diac. 156.20–157.9).

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Svjatoslava* (Moscow 1982). P.O. Karyškovskij, "K istorii balkanskich pochodov Rusi pri Svjatoslave," *Kratkie soobščenija Instituta slavjanovedenija* 14 (1955) 26–30. F. Dölger, "Die Chronologie des grossen Feldzuges des Kaisers Johannes Tzimiskes gegen die Russen," *BZ* 32 (1932) 275–92. A.D. Stokes, "The Background and Chronology of the Balkan Campaigns of Svyatoslav Igorevich," *SlEERev* 40 (1961–62) 44–57. I. Ševčenko, "Sviatoslav in Byzantine and Slavic Miniatures," *Slavonic Review* 24 (1965) 709–13. –A.K.

SWINE (χοῖροι) are usually listed in *praktika* along with SHEEP and GOATS, but they were owned in fewer numbers (usually two to five animals) and by fewer households. Great landowners, however, might possess large herds of pigs—thus John VI Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:185.7–8) calculates that 50,000 of his swine were confiscated after he was proclaimed emperor in 1341. Children drove swine to pastures for the entire day, as did St. Ioannikios at age seven (*AASS* Nov. 2.1:333C). Peasants fed their pigs in oak groves—a decision of Judge Nicholas in 995 relates that the swine grazed on

chestnuts and acorns in the mountains (*Ivir.* 1, no.9.49–50). A tithe on swine (*choirodekatia*) sometimes appears in acts together with the *ennomion* on beehives (*Esphig.*, no.7.7), sometimes with the *ennomion* on sheep and *balanistron* (*Chil.*, no.45.16–17)—evidently, a tax on oak groves. The Byz. considered pork and lard coarse foods typical of boorish villagers.

LIT. N. Kondov, "Svinovŭdstvoto prez srednovekovieto v bŭlgarskite zemi," *Selskostopanska nauka* (1972) no.1, 94–103. –A.K., J.W.N.

SYKAI. See GALATA.

SYKEON (Συκεών), village in GALATIA on the great highway across Anatolia, about 100 km west of ANKYRA. The road here crossed the Siberis River, over which Justinian I built a strong stone bridge. At that time, Sykeon contained an inn kept by prostitutes; one of these was the mother of St. THEODORE OF SYKEON. His Life provides considerable information about the district, which was evidently well populated and flourishing in the late 6th C. Sykeon had several churches, the most important the triple-apsed monastery of Theodore with its adjacent chapels. Persians ravaged the district ca.622; Sykeon does not reappear in history. The site has vanished beneath the floodwaters of a dam.

LIT. *TIB* 4:228f. –C.F.

SYLLAION (Συλ⟨λ⟩αῖον), city of PAMPHYLIA. An unimportant place in late antiquity, Syllaion first appears in history in 673, when an Arab fleet was destroyed nearby. It gained in importance in the 9th C. as a fortified city and residence of the *ek prosopou* of the KIBYRRHAIOTAI theme. John, who held the office ca.821–29, is best known as St. ANTONY THE YOUNGER. Between 787 and 815, Syllaion became the ecclesiastical metropolis, replacing Perge, then in decline. It played a role during Iconoclasm: Patr. Constantine II (754–66), an active supporter of Constantine V, was bishop of Syllaion, and ANTONY I KASSYMATAS came from Syllaion. Otherwise, its history is obscure; it probably fell to the Turks in the 12th C. The site contains a fortified acropolis, probably Byz., and a palace (9th C.?).

LIT. K. Lanckoronski, *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens*, vol. 1 (Vienna 1890) 65–84. V. Ruggieri, F. Nethercott, "The Metropolitan City of Syllion and its Churches," *JÖB* 36 (1986) 133–56. –C.F.

SYLLOGE TACTICORUM (Συλλογὴ Τακτικῶν, Collection of Tactics), a 10th-C. compilation of tactics and stratagems divided into two parts. The first section (1–56) covers a wide range of subjects including generalship, definitions of terminology, measurements, encampments, equipment, formations, and siege warfare; among the compiler's sources were Onasander (1st C.), the Roman tactician Aelianus, and the TAKTIKA OF LEO VI. The second part (57–102) lists devices and mechanisms reputedly employed by famous commanders of antiquity; descriptions of these tactics were based on collections deriving from Sextus Julius AFRICANUS and Polyaenus. This reliance on earlier authorities is balanced, however, by the compiler's treatment of current warfare in chapters 38 and 39 (on infantry and cavalry equipment) and 46 and 47 (on tactics for cavalry alone or with infantry), in which he presents a detailed outline of contemporary formations and tactical doctrine, esp. on the offensive role of KATAPHRAKTOI and the defensive role of the infantry. These chapters later formed the main source for the PRAECEPTA MILITARIA. Moreover, his comparison of classical and Byz. warfare (30–39) and comments on the differences (33.1, 47.1) reveals the compiler to be a serious student of war.

The date of the *Sylloge* is uncertain, and the text itself shows signs of being unfinished. The title and index in the only MS (Florence, Laur. Plut. 75–76) attribute it to Leo VI, but these appear to be later additions. References to soldiers and weapons first attested in the mid-10th C., and not found in the *Taktika of Leo VI*, suggest that the *Sylloge* was compiled during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos.

ED. A. Dain, *Sylloge Tacticorum* (Paris 1938).
LIT. R. Vári, "Die sog. 'Inedita Tactica Leonis,'" *BZ* 27 (1927) 241–70. –E.M.

SYMBOLISM, a system of representing intelligible or supraintelligible (unknowable) objects through sensible things. Christian theology dealt with two separate levels of beings: those of the earthly world and those of heaven. The union of

the two levels could be achieved ontologically through miracles, primarily the miracle of Christ who possessed two natures, divine and human. It could also be achieved gnosiologically: not by dint of logical concepts, however, but through a system of signs or symbols. Accordingly, the Byz. tackled the notion of signs, which they divide into ALLEGORY, symbol, and PREFIGURATION (*typos*). The distinction between them could be confused and the terms used interchangeably, but in principle a prefiguration was an object or event that "typified" or foreshadowed a greater event in the future, as Jonah swallowed and disgorged by the sea monster typified Christ's death and resurrection; allegory is a metaphorical description of a complex phenomenon; and the symbol is a manifestation (theophany) of the divine in a sensible form that allows our ascent to the intelligible and even to the unknowable.

The principles of symbolic theology were developed by the mystical writer pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Dionysios taught that there were two ways to transmit information about truth: by logical concepts and by symbols: a symbol is information beyond logic, based on the RIDDLE that reveals and at the same time conceals the truth. Ascent to the truth via symbols presupposes a triad of purification, illumination, and perfection.

Symbolism pervaded many aspects of Byz. life, esp. LITURGY, CEREMONY, and ICONOGRAPHY; liturgical space symbolized the cosmos, liturgical actions reproduced the history of salvation, imperial ceremonial was the image of the heavenly order, and the icon a sensible form of the divine. Various problems arose in this connection: thus, one and the same sensible object could serve as a symbol of manifold events and ideas, while, on the other hand, one and the same phenomenon could be symbolized through manifold sensible things. Moreover, the borderline between symbol and being could be vague. For instance, did the EUCHARIST symbolize the sacrifice of Christ or was each eucharistic act an actual repetition of the sacrifice? Was the icon a symbol of divinity, the Virgin, or a saint, or was it a divinity in itself, wielding its own miraculous power? Was the emperor an image of God or was he and all his environment divine, so that a crime against the emperor was a crime against God? Both interpretations of these contradictory views found their supporters in Byz. thought. The solution, however, lay in the concept of the sign-symbol as an "intermediary" between illusionistic imitation of reality and conventional abstraction deprived of sensible content (V. Byčkov, *Estetika pozdnej antičnosti* [Moscow 1981] 267).

In the visual arts, as in literature, symbolism similarly operated at a variety of levels and in a great diversity of contexts. Simplest perhaps were the representations of animals and plants that carried hidden significance: the DEER that thirsts because it has swallowed a serpent was a widespread image alluding to the Baptism of Christ. Manmade objects such as a lighthouse were represented, probably to signify the salvific light of Christ. PERSONIFICATIONS, too, functioned at different levels of meaning, the relationship between them being explained (or not) by the context. Thus parallels between the divine maker and a human founder were sometimes evoked by the image of Ktisis (Creation); Ananeosis (Renewal), a common embodiment of the notion of restoration as applied to a monument, also evoked the idea of the renewal provided by the eucharistic sacrifice (Maguire, *infra* 48–53). Biblical persons and events were represented for their significance in terms of TYPOLOGY: the pit into which Joseph was lowered, as on the cathedra of Maximian and other works, was understood as the tomb of Christ, while the BURNING BUSH, Aaron's rod, and the ARK OF THE COVENANT were viewed as prefigurations of the Virgin Mary.

LIT. *Symbolik des orthodoxen Christentums*, ed. K.C. Felmy et al. (Stuttgart 1968). D. de Chapeaurouge, *Einführung in die Geschichte der christlichen Symbole* (Darmstadt 1984). M. van Parys, "Le symbolisme dans la liturgie byzantine," in *Le symbolisme dans le culte des grandes religions*, ed. J. Ries (Louvain-la-Neuve 1985) 265–73. V. Byčkov, *Vizantijskaja estetika* (Moscow 1977) 122–29. Averincev, *Poetika* 109–28. Maguire, *Earth & Ocean* 5–15. –A.K., A.C.

SYMEON, archbishop of Thessalonike (1416/17–1429) and ecclesiastical writer; born Constantinople, died Thessalonike mid-Sept. 1429. Before his elevation to the see of THESSALONIKE he was a hieromonk, perhaps at the monastery ton Xanthopoulon in Constantinople. An ardent hesychast, he staunchly defended Orthodoxy and opposed the surrender of Thessalonike to either Venetians or Turks.

Symeon's works shed much light on both the

historical events and liturgical practices of his day. Especially important is the description of the critical situation of Thessalonike in the 1420s, then under pressure from both Turks and Venetians, and its surrender to the Venetians in 1423, found in his lengthy *Logos* of 1427/8 on the miracles of St. Demetrios. A number of hortatory treatises deplore the moral depravity of his flock and urge them to repent, asserting that the Turkish expansion was God's punishment for the sins of the Byz. In his principal liturgical treatises, which reflect the conservative traditions of Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, he deals with topics such as ordination, baptism, the Eucharist, penance, marriage, unction, and burial. An incomplete and unpublished liturgical *typikon* provides further information on the rite at Hagia Sophia in Thessalonike, listing feastdays and describing the positions of icons and church furniture as well as the order of the clergy in procession (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 34 [1976] 45–78). He also wrote *Dialogue Against Heresies*, a group of treatises set in the framework of a dialogue between an archbishop and a cleric.

ED. PG 155:33–976. Partial Eng. tr. H.L.N. Simmons, *Treatise on Prayer: An Explanation of the Services Conducted in the Orthodox Church* (Brookline, Mass., 1984). *Politico-historical Works of Symeon, Archbishop of Thessalonica*, ed. D. Balfour (Vienna 1979). *Erga theologika*, ed. idem (Thessalonike 1981). *Ta leitourgika syngrammata: 1. Euchai kai hymnoi*, ed. I. Phountoules (Thessalonike 1968).

LIT. I. Phountoules, *To leitourgikon ergon Symeon tou Thessalonikes* (Thessalonike 1966). D. Balfour, "Saint Symeon of Thessalonike as a Historical Personality," *GOrThR* 28 (1983) 55–72. –A.M.T.

SYMEON, MONASTERY OF SAINT (Dayr Anbā Hadrā), ruined complex on the west bank of the Nile near Aswān, built on the presumed dwelling site of a 4th-C. bishop of Aswān. Except for the caves of some Early Christian anchorites, the visible remains are all Fāṭimid (11th–12th C.). The 11th-C. church belongs to the domed-octagon type, found in the contemporary architecture of Greece and occasionally in Egypt, where, however, there are two domes, not one. The sanctuary is a triconch comprising the altar chamber and the *khūruṣ* (*choros*, choir).

LIT. U. Monneret de Villard, *Il monastero di S. Simeone presso Aswân* I (Milan 1927). Timm, *Ägypten* 2:664–67. H. Munier, "Les stèles coptes du monastère de Saint Siméon à Assouan," *Aegyptus* 11 (1930–31) 257–300, 433–84. –P.G.

SYMEON, PSEUDO-. See MAKARIOS/SYMEON.

SYMEON II, patriarch of Jerusalem (from before 1092); died Cyprus 15 July 1098. Few details of his life are known. Circa 1092 he attended a local council in Constantinople. Shortly before the arrival of the First Crusade he fled to Cyprus to escape the Turkish threat. At the end of 1097 and again on 15 Jan. 1098, he cooperated with the Latins by sending an appeal to the West for help (ed. Hagenmeyer, *infra*). A short treatise, irenic in tone, condemning the use of AZYMES is attributed to him. Leib denied his authorship in spite of the MS tradition, but Michel has shown that the tract was Symeon's reply to a certain Laycus of Amalfi.

ED. B. Leib, "Deux inédits byzantins sur les azymes," *OrChr* 2.3 (1924) 177–239. H. Hagenmeyer, *Die Kreuzzugsbriefe aus den Jahren 1088–1100* (Innsbruck 1901; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1973) 141f, 146–49. Fr. tr. by B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XI^e siècle* (Paris 1924) 260–63.

LIT. A. Michel, *Amalfi und Jerusalem im griechischen Kirchenstreit (1054–1090)* (Rome 1939) 35–47. V. Grumel, "Jérusalem entre Rome et Byzance," *EO* 38 (1939) 104–17. Idem, "La chronologie des patriarches de Jérusalem sous les Comnènes," in *Sbornik P. Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 109–14. –A.P.

SYMEON LOGOTHETE, *magistros*; writer; fl. mid-10th C. Symeon wrote a chronicle published under various names: Theodosios of Melitene (in fact Melissenos—misunderstood in the 16th C.—O. Kresten, *JÖB* 25 [1976] 208–12), Leo Grammatikos (a scribe of 1013), etc. It is suggested that an epitome from Adam up to Justinian II was the basis of this chronicle; it was continued to 842, coinciding often with GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. The chronicle of Symeon proper encompasses 842–948 and consists of three sections different in style and approach: the story of Michael III and Basil I; the story of Leo VI and Alexander, based in part on the "annals" of Constantinople (R. Jenkins, *DOP* 19 [1965] 89–112); and a description of the period 913–48 based on the author's personal observations. The chronicle is known in three versions: the original written from a pro-Lecapene position; the so-called Continuation of George Hamartolos, which probably was extended to 963 and originated in the circle connected with the Phokas family (A. Markopoulos, *BZ* 76 [1983] 279–81); and the chronicle of pseudo-SYMEON MAGISTROS. Various continuations of

Symeon's chronicle exist. It is preserved also in Church Slavonic translation.

Also preserved under Symeon's name is a poem on the death of Stephen (in 963), son of Romanos I; because this death is not mentioned in the chronicle, V. Vasil'evskij concluded that the chronicle was produced before 963 (*VizVrem* 3 [1896] 576). Another poem of Symeon, called *magistros* and *logothetes tou stratiotikou,* is a dirge for Constantine VII (died 959). There is also a series of letters by Symeon, *magistros* and *logothetes tou dromou* (a former *protasekretis*), unfortunately without any chronological indications: Darrouzès' insufficient argumentation for a late 10th-C. date is based only on a reference to the name of Bp. Theodegios. In the MS, these letters are mixed with those of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS, thus suggesting a date in the first half of the century rather than at its end. Because throughout the 10th C. many patricians and *magistroi* were named Symeon (I. Ševčenko, *DOP* 23/4 [1969–70] 216f), their identification is tricky, and it cannot be proved that the author of the chronicle was SYMEON METAPHRASTES.

ED. Leo Grammaticus, *Chronographia,* ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1842). V.M. Istrin, *Knigy vremen'nyja i obraznyja: Chronika Georgija Amartola,* vol. 2 (Petrograd 1922). *Slavjanskij perevod chroniki Simeona Logotheta,* ed. V.I. Sreznevskij, rp. with intro. by I. Dujčev (London 1971). Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 99–163.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:354–57. A. Kazhdan, "Chronika Simeona Logofeta," *VizVrem* 15 (1959) 125–43. W. Treadgold, "The Chronological Accuracy of the Chronicle of Symeon the Logothete for the Years 813–845," *DOP* 33 (1979) 157–97. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.431. A. Sotiroudis, *Die Handschriftliche Überlieferung des "Georgius Continuatus"* (Thessalonike 1989). –A.K.

SYMEON MAGISTROS, PSEUDO-, conventional name of the author of the anonymous chronicle preserved in a single copy, Paris, B.N. gr. 1712 of the 12th or 13th C. The chronicle begins with Creation and ends at 963; it was apparently completed at the end of the 10th C. It is a compilation based primarily on THEOPHANES and SYMEON LOGOTHETE; for the initial section, the author also used MALALAS and especially JOHN OF ANTIOCH. Particularly important are the traces of an anti-Photian pamphlet which NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON probably also used in his vita of Patr. IGNATIOS. The text of Symeon was translated into Slavonic in the 14th C. Only some sections of the chronicle have been published.

ED. F. Halkin, "Le règne de Constantin d'après la chronique inédite du Pseudo-Syméon," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 11–27. *TheophCont* 603–760.

LIT. A. Markopoulos, *He chronographia tou Pseudosymeon kai hoi peges tes* (Ioannina 1978). R. Browning, "Notes on the 'Scriptor Incertus de Leone Armenio,'" *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 406–11. –A.K.

SYMEON METAPHRASTES, writer, high official at the end of the 10th C., and saint; died ca.1000; feastday 28 Nov. Mark EUGENIKOS, who wrongly called him *megas logothetes,* made the improbable statement that Symeon was born in the reign of Leo VI (cf. H. Delehaye, *AB* 17 [1898] 450f); an attempt by S. Eustratiades (*EEBS* 10 [1933] 26–38) to relocate Symeon to the 11th C. contradicts the direct evidence of EP'REM MCIRE, who places Symeon's acme in the sixth year of Basil II (P. Peeters, *AB* 29 [1910] 357–59). YAḤYĀ OF ANTIOCH also regards Symeon as a contemporary of Basil II and Patr. Nicholas II CHRYSOBERGES (V. Vasil'evskij, *ŽMNP* 212 [Dec. 1880] 436). Although usually identified with SYMEON LOGOTHETE, the hagiographer apparently belonged to the next generation and worked in a different genre. Symeon composed a hymn to the Trinity (J. Koder, *JÖB* 14 [1965] 133–38), various KANONES and STICHERA, and edifying excerpts from Basil the Great and other church fathers.

His major achievement was a voluminous collection of saints' Lives (see VITA), systematized in the style of 10th-C. ENCYCLOPEDISM (Lemerle, *Humanism* 337–39), which Ehrhard characterizes as "a revolution in the field of hagiography" (*infra* 2:307). Symeon reworked most of the texts he used, to standardize and purify the language (H. Zilliacus, *BZ* 38 [1938] 333–50; W. Lackner in *Byzantios* 227–31) and give it rhetorical embellishment. The material was organized according to the feasts of the ecclesiastical calendar. Symeon's work was highly appreciated by his contemporary Nikephoros OURANOS (Mercati, *CollByz* 1:565–73), and PSELLOS dedicated an *enkomion* to him (Psellos, *Scripta min.* 1:94–107).

The texts of the Metaphrastian MENOLOGION, usually arranged in editions of ten volumes each, became standard reading in monastic circles from the 11th C. onward. During the 11th C., these editions were occasionally illustrated, some with frontispieces, others with standing portraits, figured initials, scenes of martyrdom, or even very short narrative cycles accompanying every text.

Few illustrated editions were produced after the early 12th C.

ED. PG 114–16, add. Beck, *Kirche* 572–75.
LIT. Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 2:306–709. F. Halkin, "Un métaphraste de décembre enrichi de douze ou treize suppléments," *AB* 90 (1972) 370. Idem, "Fragments du ménologe métaphrastique à Leningrad," *BS* 24 (1963) 63f. M. Aubineau, "Fragments de ménologes métaphrastiques dans les codices 94 et 95 d'Ann Arbor (Michigan)," *Scriptorium* 28 (1974) 64f. N.P. Ševčenko, *Illustrated Manuscripts of the Metaphrastian Menologion,* (Chicago 1990). –A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON OF BLACHERNAI. See MENOLOGION OF BASIL II.

SYMEON OF BULGARIA, tsar (893–927); born between 863 and 865, died 27 May 927. BORIS sent Symeon, his third son, to Constantinople to be educated for an ecclesiastical career; in 893, however, Symeon was recalled to replace his elder brother Vladimir as prince of Bulgaria. Imbued with Byz. culture, Symeon became a dangerous rival of the Byz. emperor; he tried first to establish an equality of power between the two states, then to conquer Constantinople and become emperor of the Greeks and Bulgarians. As a pretext for war, Symeon used the transfer of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessalonike in 893. After some successes, Symeon was temporarily checked by the Hungarians (see HUNGARY); then he won a decisive battle at BOULGAROPHYGON and signed a peace treaty. The second war began again with Symeon's offensive, probably during the reign of ALEXANDER (A. Kazhdan in *Slavjanskij archiv,* vol. 2 [Moscow 1959] 23–29). In 913 Symeon marched toward Constantinople and forced the administration of NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS to yield: the patriarch placed on Symeon's head a sort of crown that symbolized his installation within the Byz. imperial hierarchy. This peace did not last. Either ZOE KARBONOPSINA broke the promises made by Nicholas, or Symeon decided to take advantage of the shaky situation in Constantinople, and in 914 war broke out again. Symeon crushed the Byz. army at ACHELOUS and KATASYRTAI and in 918 reached the Gulf of Corinth. ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, after his coup d'état, endeavored to muster a defense, although the government was ready to agree to pay tribute and yield some territories. In 922 Byz. attempted to create a broad coalition against Symeon (including Armenia and Abasgia) but failed; Symeon's meeting with Romanos in 924 did not lead to a reconciliation. Then Romanos arranged resistance against Symeon in the Balkans. After a hard struggle Symeon managed to subdue the Serbians, but in 926 TOMISLAV defeated a Bulgarian army that invaded Croatia. Soon thereafter Symeon died while planning a new expedition against Byz. His successor PETER OF BULGARIA immediately negotiated a peace treaty.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:278–515. I. Božilov, *Car Simeon Veliki (893–927): Zlatnijat vek na srednovekovna Bŭlgarija* (Sofia 1983). G. Cankova-Petkova, "Pŭrvata vojna meždu Bŭlgarija i Vizantija pri car Simeon i vŭzstanovjavaneto na bŭlgarskata tŭrgovija s Carigrad," *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 20 (1968) 167–200. I. Božilov, "A propos des rapports bulgarobyzantines sous le tzar Symeon (893–912)," *BBulg* 6 (1980) 73–81. A. Stauridou-Zafraka, *He synantese Symeon kai Nikolaou Mystikou* (Thessalonike 1972). A. Kazhdan, "Bolgarovizantijskie otnošenija v 912–925 gg. po perepiske Nikolaja Mistika," *EtBalk* 12 (1976) no.3, 92–107. –A.K.

SYMEON OF EMESA, saint, the first of the holy FOOLS whose activity was described; of Syrian origin (from Edessa?); feastday 21 July. His dates are disputed: EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS makes him a contemporary of Justinian I, while LEONTIOS OF NEAPOLIS places his *floruit* in the reign of Maurice. After 29 years in the desert near the Dead Sea, Symeon came to Emesa, where he spent the rest of his life. Leontios's Life of Symeon is an important source for the study of urban life in late antiquity. Leontios created the image of a saint who in his extreme humility played the role of a fool and rejected the traditional values and order of the ancient *polis*: Symeon supposedly dragged along the streets a dead dog found on a dunghill and even disrupted church services by throwing nuts and snuffing out candles. On the other hand, Symeon's behavior imitated that of Christ himself: he overturned the counters of pastry cooks near a church, struggled against the Devil, worked miracles, foresaw the future, and averted an earthquake. Thus Leontios made manifest the double nature of the holy man. Symeon's vita is known also in Syriac, Arabic, Georgian, and Slavonic translations.

SOURCES. *Das Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis,* ed. L. Rydén (Uppsala 1963). *Leontios de Néapolis, Vie de Syméon le Fou et Vie de Jean de Chypre,* ed. A.-J. Festugière (Paris 1974) 1–222, with Fr. tr.
LIT. *BHG* 1677–1677d. L. Rydén, *Bemerkungen zum Leben des heiligen Narren Symeon von Leontios von Neapolis*

(Uppsala 1970). V. Rochau, "Saint Siméon Salos, ermite palestinien et prototype des 'Fous-pour-le-Christ,'" *PrOC* 28 (1978) 209–19. W.J. Aerts, "Emesa in der Vita Symeonis Sali von Leontios von Neapolis," in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* (Prague 1985) 113–16. –A.K.

SYMEON OF MYTILENE. See DAVID, SYMEON, AND GEORGE OF MYTILENE.

SYMEON THE FOOL. See SYMEON OF EMESA.

SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER, saint; born village of Sis or Sisa, Cilicia, ca.389, died QALʿAT SEMʿĀN near Antioch 24 July 459; feastday 1 Sept. A shepherd as a boy, Symeon later joined the monastery of Teleda but was temporarily expelled because of his extreme asceticism; for example, he wore next to his skin a rope of palm fibers so rough that it cut his flesh. He lived briefly in a dry cistern in the mountains, then in seclusion for three years in a small cell at Telanissos, and then in a circular enclosure on the mountain of Qalʿat Semʿān, where he chained his right leg to a stone; he yielded, however, to the *chorepiskopos* Meletios and permitted a blacksmith to remove the chain. The first STYLITE, Symeon acquired considerable fame and was visited by people of many nations: Ishmaelites, Persians, Armenians, Iberians, Spaniards, British, etc. To avoid their attempts to touch him, Symeon had the column built higher and higher, until it reached 16 meters. He preached from the pillar, but evidence



SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER. Portrait of Symeon. Miniature in the *Menologion of Basil II* (Vat. gr. 1613, p.2). Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana. The saint on his column is visited by Arabs. To the right, a monk.

of political interference is rare: the Syriac vita (ed. Lietzmann, *infra*, p.174f) relates that Symeon forced Theodosios II to cancel his edict restoring synagogues in Syria. When Symeon died, baptized Arabs tried to carry away his coffin, but ARDABOURIOS, son of Aspar, stopped them. His body was soon removed to Antioch, but the pillar continued to be an object of veneration. The story of Symeon is related by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (A. Leroy-Molinghen, *Byzantion* 34 [1964] 375–84); in a Greek Life, whose author claims to be Antony, a disciple of Symeon; and in a Syriac Life.

At Qalʿat Semʿān are the impressive remains of the shrine enclosing Symeon's column.

Representation in Art. It is difficult to distinguish between images of the two saints called Symeon the Stylite except when they are identified by inscription or clearly connected with a specific date in the church calendar. Inscribed EULOGIAI have been found showing the hooded bust of the saint on his column, two angels, and the ladder; on bas-reliefs, a dove with a crown replaces the angels (I. Pena, P. Castellana, and R. Fernandez, *Les stylites syriens* [Milan 1975] 179–95). A 6th-C. silver plaque in the Louvre shows a Symeon, probably the Elder, in conversation with a huge serpent coiled around the column (*Age of Spirit.*, no.529). Symeon the Elder's commemoration on 1 Sept., the beginning of the church year, assured him a certain importance in liturgical book illustration: his portrait appears as a frontispiece to the volume as a whole (*menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes) or to the calendar section of illuminated Gospel lectionaries (Athos, Dion., 587, fol.116r [*Treasures* 1, fig.237]). A miniature in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.2) shows the saint being visited by several individuals, mostly Arabs. In other miniatures his mother and a monk, probably his biographer Antony, are often shown in attendance. Narrative cycles of unusual length are found in a Cappadocian church (Zilve) and in one 11th-C. MS of Metaphrastes, which includes scenes of Symeon's early years and of his death (Athos, Esphig. 14, fols. 2r–2v [*Treasures* 2, figs. 327–28]). In the 9th-C. Khludov Psalter (fol.3v; see PSALTERS), a basket is being lowered from the saint's platform by means of a rope.

SOURCES. *Théodoret de Cyr, Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, vol. 2 (Paris 1979) 158–215 (ch.26), with Fr. tr. *Das Leben des heiligen Symeon Stylites*, ed. H. Lietzmann (Leipzig 1908).

LIT. *BHG* 1678–88. Peeters, *Tréfonds* 93–136. Delehaye, *Saints stylites*, i–xxxiv. S. Vryonis, "Aspects of Byzantine Society in Syro-Palestine: Transformations in the Late Fourth and Fifth Centuries," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. (Malibu 1985) 43–63. D. Krencker, *Die Wallfahrtskirche des Symeon Stylites in Kalʿat Simʿān* (Berlin 1939). K.G. Kaster, C. Squarr, *LCI* 8:361–64. V.H. Elbern, "Eine frühbyzantinische Reliefdarstellung des älteren Symeon Stylites," *JDAI* 80 (1965) 280–304.
–A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER, saint; born Antioch 521, died in monastery of the WONDROUS MOUNTAIN 592; feastdays 23 and 24 May. Symeon was born to a family of perfumers originally from Edessa. When his father perished in an earthquake (26 May 526), Symeon left for a mountainous site called Pila; at age seven he ascended a pillar and became a STYLITE. Circa 541 he moved to another pillar, atop the Wondrous Mountain; later a monastery was built nearby. Symeon wrote ascetic works and *troparia;* two of his letters are preserved. JOHN OF DAMASCUS attributed Symeon's Life to Arkadios, archbishop of Constantia on Cyprus, but van den Ven (*infra* [1962] 1:101f) rejects this attribution, suggesting that it was written by an anonymous contemporary of Symeon. Although Symeon's exploits took place in a deserted mountainous site north of the Orontes, the author frequently refers to ANTIOCH, describing the Persian siege of 540, the plague of 542, and the earthquake of 557; he worries that the Antiochenes, particularly the elite, are infected with paganism, Manichaeanism, astrological beliefs, and other heresies (par. 161.20–21). Also interested in events in Constantinople, he has Symeon predict that Justin II would succeed Justinian I. He is aware of the Arab world, reporting the death of the Lakhmid al-Mundhir (ALAMUNDARUS) in 553. Nikephoros OURANOS reworked the Life, which is also preserved in several abridged versions (J. Bompaire, *Hellenika* 13 [1954] 71–110) and in Georgian and Arabic translations (J. Nasrallah, *AB* 90 [1972] 387–89). The monastery produced Symeon tokens (see PILGRIM TOKENS), clay and lead images of Symeon, which were popular with pilgrims until the 12th C. (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 631). Images of the younger Symeon the Stylite closely echo that of the Elder, so that it is often difficult to distinguish between the two when there is no identifying caption.

ED. P. van den Ven, "Les écrits de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune avec trois sermons inédits," *Muséon* 70 (1957) 1–57.
SOURCES. *La Vie ancienne de s. Syméon Stylite le Jeune*, ed. P. van den Ven, 2 vols. (Brussels 1962–70).
LIT. *BHG* 1689–1691c. A.-J. Festugière, "Types épidauriennes de miracles dans la vie de Syméon Stylite le Jeune," *JHS* 93 (1973) 70–73. S. Šestakov, "Žitie Simeona Divnogorca v ego pervičnoj redakcii," *VizVrem* 15 (1908) 332–56. C. Squarr, K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:364–67. W. Volbach, "Zur Ikonographie des Styliten Symeon des Jüngeren," *RQ* 30 (1966) 293–99. J. Lafontaine-Dosogne, *Itinéraires archéologiques dans la région d'Antioche* (Brussels 1967). Eadem, "L'influence du culte de Saint Syméon stylite le Jeune sur les monuments et les représentations figurées de Géorgie," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 183–96. –A.K., N.P.Š.

SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, mystic and saint; born in Paphlagonia in 949?, died near Constantinople 12 Mar. 1022; the chronology of his life seems debatable (Kazhdan, "Simeon" 4–10). H.-G. Beck has questioned his customary epithet, the "New Theologian" (*BZ* 46 [1953] 59f; see, however, the retort of B. Krivochéine, *OrChrP* 20 [1954] 327). According to his biography written by Niketas STETHATOS, Symeon was born to a rich family, educated in Constantinople and at 14 [sic] became a senator. Soon, however, he abandoned his career and entered the STOUDIOS monastery under the supervision of Symeon Eulabes. He then moved to the monastery of St. MAMAS, where he was appointed *hegoumenos* sometime between 979 and 991. The monks opposed him, rebelling in 996–98, and he had serious difficulties with the ecclesiastical authorities: Symeon's veneration of his spiritual father Symeon Eulabes was proclaimed excessive; forced to resign, he was banished to a small town near Chrysopolis. Under pressure from some magnates in Constantinople, Symeon was recalled from exile and granted land near the capital to build a monastery of St. Marina; here he had some problems with neighboring peasants.

In his *Centuria* (CHAPTERS), catecheses, treatises, and hymns, Symeon developed the concept of an individualistic path to salvation: "Do not ruin your own house," says Symeon, "while trying to help your neighbor build his house" (*Centuria* 1.83). Not charity, nor even the sacraments determine one's salvation, but submission to one's spiritual father, a constant awareness of one's humble position, and awe in the face of God that finds consummation in the vision of divine light. Symeon neglects the concept of hierarchy that is so important for Niketas Stethatos and presents man as capable of direct ascent to God. Accordingly he divinizes even the human body, whose every part, even the pudenda, is Christ himself (Hymn 15.141–74). Socially, Symeon's individualism led to a consistent rejection of FRIENDSHIP and family ties; man stands alone in the world, devoid of hierarchical, institutional, or personal relationships except for obedience to the spiritual father, the emperor, and God. The rich imagery of Symeon's works is dominated by two typically Byz. themes: palace life centered on the figure of the emperor and the circle of merchants and craftsmen (A. Kazhdan in *Unser ganzes Leben Christus unserem Gott überantworten* [Göttingen 1982] 221–39).

ED. *Chapitres théologiques, gnostiques et pratiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès (Paris 1957), Eng. tr. P. McGuckin, *Practical and Theological Chapters* (Kalamazoo 1982). *Catéchèses*, ed. B. Krivochéine, 3 vols. (Paris 1963–65). *Traités théologiques et éthiques*, ed. J. Darrouzès, 2 vols. (Paris 1966–67), Eng. tr. C.J. deCatanzaro, *The Discourses* (New York–Toronto 1980). *Hymnes*, ed. J. Koder, 3 vols. (Paris 1969–73). *Hymnen*, ed. A. Kambylis (Berlin–New York 1976), Eng. tr. G.A. Maloney, *Hymns of Divine Love* (Denville, N.J., 1976).
LIT. B. Krivochéine, *Dans la lumière du Christ* (Chevetogne 1980). W. Völker, *Praxis und Theoria bei Symeon dem Neuen Theologen* (Wiesbaden 1974). G.A. Maloney, *The Mystic of Fire and Life* (Denville, N.J., 1975). D. Stathopoulos, *Die Gottesliebe (theios eros) bei Symeon, dem Neuen Theologen* (Bonn 1964). A.J. van der Aalst, "Symeon de Nieuwe Theoloog 949–1022," *Het Christelijk Oosten* 37 (1985) 229–47; 38 (1986) 3–22. B. Fraigneau-Julien, *Les sens spirituels et la vision de Dieu selon Syméon le Nouveau Théologien* (Paris 1985). –A.K.

SYMEON TOKENS. See PILGRIM TOKENS.

SYMEON UROŠ, more fully Symeon Uroš Nemanjić Palaiologos, *despotes* of Epiros and Akarnania (1348–55), independent ruler of Epiros (from 1359); died after 1369. Son of Stefan Uroš III Dečanski and grandson of *panhypersebastos* John Palaiologos, Symeon was made *despotes* by his half-brother STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. He married Thomais, sister of NIKEPHOROS II of Epiros. When, after Dušan's death (1355), Nikephoros invaded Epiros and Thessaly, Symeon was forced to move his capital from Trikkala to Kastoria; in 1356, with the support of his army, he revolted against STEFAN UROŠ V, Dušan's son and legitimate heir, and proclaimed himself tsar of the Rhomaioi, Serbs, and Albanians. The Serbian nobles, however, supported Stefan Uroš and defeated Sy-

meon in his attacks on Serbian lands. Following the death of Nikephoros in 1358 or 1359, Symeon took over control of Epiros and Thessaly, where he reigned independently.

Symeon was a major benefactor of the METEORA monasteries; his son John Uroš Doukas Palaiologos, who became the monk Ioasaph, continued this patronage, supporting the construction of the monastery of the Transfiguration. Symeon's full-length portrait is represented on the genealogical tree of the Nemanjid dynasty as depicted in a fresco painting in the Church of the Virgin at Peć.

LIT. *IstSrpskNar* 1:568–79. Soulis, *Dušan* 115–17, 120–22. Nicol, *Epiros II* 131–35. Fine, *Late Balkans* 347–53.
–J.S.A.

SYMMACHUS, more fully Quintus Aurelius Memmius Eusebius Symmachus, writer and statesman; born ca.345, died ca.402. Scion of a wealthy and politically important family at Rome, Symmachus rose through various offices to become urban prefect of Rome (384–85) and consul in 391. He twice backed losing usurpers (383, 392–94), but twice ingratiated himself with Theodosios I, a tribute to the eloquence that even Christian opponents admired. In religion as in politics he backed the wrong horse, losing to AMBROSE of Milan the famous struggle about the ALTAR OF VICTORY removed by Gratian (381). His pagan beliefs were sincere (he was also an assiduous priest) but cannot be divorced from his attempted perpetuation of the cultural life and leisure of a classical Roman. His oratorical fame cannot be tested since only fragments of eight speeches survive; his career suggests that it was deserved. His poetry, polymathy, and promotion of education, praised by MACROBIUS, SIDONIUS, and SOKRATES, must also be more surmised than sampled. About 900 of his letters survive, however, published posthumously by his son, who also memorialized his career in an extant (*CIL* 6:1699) inscription at Rome. Arranged in ten books, most of the letters are largely empty verbiage, though they mirror the social and intellectual pursuits of Symmachus's milieu. The tenth book preserves the formerly separate *relationes*, his official reports as urban prefect to Valentinian II, giving a valuable picture of late Roman bureaucracy in action.

ED. O. Seeck in MGH *AuctAnt* 6.1 (Berlin 1883). *Prefect and Emperor; The Relationes of Symmachus, A.D. 384*, ed. R.H. Barrow (Oxford 1973), with Eng. tr. *Lettres*, ed. and Fr. tr. J.P. Callu, 2 vols. (Paris 1972–82).

LIT. J.A. McGeachy, *Quintus Aurelius Symmachus and the Senatorial Aristocracy of the West* (Chicago 1942). J.F. Matthews, "The Letters of Symmachus," in *Latin Literature of the Fourth Century*, ed. J.W. Binns (London 1974) 58–99. R. Klein, *Symmachus* (Darmstadt 1971). L. Cracco Ruggini, "Apoteosi e politica senatoria nel IV s. d.C.: Il dittico dei Symmachi al British Museum," *Rivista storica italiana* 89 (1977) 425–89.
–B.B.

SYMMACHUS, pope (from 22 Nov. 498); born Sardinia, died Rome 19 July 514. A pagan in his youth, Symmachus was elected pope during the AKAKIAN SCHISM with the backing of THEODORIC THE GREAT; the Ostrogothic ruler favored him as an adversary of the supporters of Patr. AKAKIOS. During his pontificate he confronted the resistance of partisans, headed by Laurentius, who favored reconciliation with Constantinople. The senior priests and deacons formed the Laurentian camp, whereas junior priests favored Symmachus. By 501 Theodoric—probably in an attempt at appeasement with Constantinople—shifted sides and supported Laurentius. He convened a synod in Rome to judge Symmachus but the synod refused to try the pope. In 502, at the request of Laurentius, Theodoric sent his envoy Peter of Altinum to Rome to celebrate Easter on the Greek date. Laurentius gained the assistance of Emp. Anastasios I, who wrote to Symmachus accusing him of being a Manichaean and of having conspired to excommunicate the emperor. In his response Symmachus curtly refused any reconciliation with the partisans of Akakios. As a result of his struggle on two fronts Symmachus developed the principle that the bishops of Rome were accountable only to God; this idea was elaborated in pamphlets and in a series of forged documents ascribed to Popes SILVESTER and LIBERIUS and to the acts of a council in Sinuessa (which were later accepted in the LIBER PONTIFICALIS). In 506 Theodoric ordered Laurentius to retire to an estate, and the conflict subsided.

LIT. Richards, *Popes* 69–99. Caspar, *Papsttum* 2:88–129.
–A.K.

SYMMETRY (συμμετρία) was one of the cardinal notions of Byz. AESTHETICS, closely connected with the idea that the God-created cosmos possessed "inborn" beauty and TAXIS. In the words of

Athanasios of Alexandria (PG 25:76A), "the universe is characterized not by disorder but by *taxis*, not by disproportions but by *symmetria*, not by lack of ornament but by orderly decoration and harmonious array." The symmetry of the universe is reflected in the bilateral structure of the human body, and this was praised as a simple and ideal relationship revealing *indissociabilis unitas* (Lactantius, *De opificio dei*, ed. M. Perrin [Paris 1974] 10:10–11). Symmetry and harmony were known in classical aesthetics, yet did not occupy a leading position; on the other hand, Psellos consistently emphasizes symmetry and bodily harmony as typical of his heroes. Other related categories were connected with symmetry: proportionality (*metron*), balance (*eurhythmia*), and inner *rhythmos*. All these categories had not only physical meaning but a moral connotation as well: "proportional" and "well-balanced" meant at the same time "even tempered" and were contrasted with "ugly" and "disorderly." Accordingly, Byz. ceremonial, imperial and ecclesiastical alike, was based on symmetrical structures, as for instance the disposition of the *demoi* during festal acclamations.

Symmetry in Art. Defined as the correspondence in position, size, or shape of the elements of an image, symmetry was an abiding principle of Byz. composition. For aulic representations, such as the imperial PORTRAITS in Hagia Sophia (Constantinople), and sacred images, in single works and composite schemes such as triptychs, artists echoed the philosophical ideas of balance and *taxis*. For Paul Silentiarios and Agathias the symmetry of Hagia Sophia was an essential part of the architects' achievement. In practice, it is easily recognized in images of the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER) where, from the 6th C. onward, the apostles approach Christ in two equilateral files; the "rhyming" figures of Mary and John witness the Crucifixion, while symmetrical groups of patriarchs and kings regard the Anastasis. In and after the late 13th C. asymmetry appears but always as an exception. Thus in the Gospel book, Malibu, J.P. Getty Mus., cod. Ludwig II 5, while the Ascension (fol.188r) is composed as usual with the figures arranged symmetrically, the Gethsemane miniature (fol.68r) shows the mass of sleeping apostles outweighing the two figures of Christ to the right.

LIT. V. Šestakov, *Garmonija kak estetičeskaja kategorija* (Moscow 1973). H. Hommel, *Symmetrie im Spiegel der Antike* (Heidelberg 1987). Ljubarskij, *Psell* 235f. H. Torp, *The Integrating System of Proportion in Byzantine Art* (Rome 1984). –A.K., A.C.

SYMPATHEIA (συμπάθεια, lit. "sympathy"), a fiscal term used in the treatises on TAXATION to designate a kind of TAX ALLEVIATION. According to the treatise of St. Nikanor, *sympatheia* was established when an allotment of land was abandoned and the ALLELENGYON of the *demosion* (see KANON) was to be instituted, but instead of imposing the tax on neighbors the EPOPTES rented out the land. Within 30 years the "heirs" (owners) could return and claim the land; after 30 years, through the procedure of ORTHOSIS, *sympatheia* became a KLASMA. The Venice treatise on taxation (ed. Dölger, 118.21–37) also allows "heirs" to claim the land within 30 years; it contrasts, however, the comprehensive *sympatheia* or *holosympatheton*, which encompassed the entire sum of a taxpayer's *kanon*, and partial *sympatheia*, which encompassed only some of his STICHOI. The author of the treatise distinguishes the KOUPHISMOS from *sympatheia* in that in the case of *kouphismos* the whereabouts of the owner was unknown (p.119.19–21). The paragraph on the *kouphismos* in the treatise of St. Nikanor makes no sense (J. Karayannopulos in *Polychronion* 331), and probably the difference between the two institutions disappeared.

LIT. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 206–14. –A.K.

SYMPONOS (σύμπονος), coadjutor of the EPARCH OF THE CITY. Bury (*Adm. System* 70f) considered him a successor of the *adsessores* of the URBAN PREFECT. The earliest seal of a *symponos* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.1049) is dated to the 6th or 7th C. The *symponos* represented the eparch in his relations with guilds; the hypothesis (supported by Sjuzjumov in *Bk. of Eparch* 238) that there were individual *symponoi* in each guild is rejected by Oikonomides (*Listes* 320, n.189). On seals of the 10th–11th C. the *symponos* receives relatively high titles (mostly *protospatharios*, but even *magistros* and *protovestarches*). The last known *symponos* seems to have been the *spatharokandidatos* Basil who participated in a session of the patriarchal tribunal in 1023 (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.933, with incorrect date). The office is not mentioned by pseudo-Kodinos in the 14th C.

LIT. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:579–99. –A.K.

SYNADA (Σύν(ν)αδα, now Şuhut), city of Phrygia at an important highway junction. Although metropolis of Phrygia Salutaris, Synada rarely appears in late antique history. It was occupied by the Arabs in 740. Synada contained a Jewish community from which in the 9th C. came St. Constantine the Jew. The city is best known from the letters of its 10th-C. metropolitan Leo of Synada that claim that the barren region of Synada produced no olives, wine, or wheat; its inhabitants were forced to eat barley, to import necessities from Thrakesion and Attaleia, and to burn dried dung for fuel. These rhetorical complaints reveal a geographical reality but fail to mention the region's wealth, based on cattle and a strategic location. Another letter shows that Synada continued to function as a center of the marble trade: marble from the nearby quarries of Dokimeion, widely used in late antiquity (notably in Hagia Sophia of Constantinople), was still being quarried, cut, and transported. Synada fell to the Turks after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The city was an ecclesiastical metropolis.

LIT. L. Robert, "Sur des lettres d'un métropolite de Phrygie," *JSav* (1961) 115–66; (1962) 5–43. M.P. Vinson, *The Correspondence of Leo Metropolitan of Synada and Syncellus* (Washington 1985) 126. –C.F.

SYNADENOS (Συναδηνός, fem. Συναδηνή), a noble family name, deriving from the town of Synada in Phrygia. Setting aside a 9th/10th-C. seal on which the name of Synadenos can barely be read, the first known Synadenos was Philetos, judge of Tarsos, a man close to Nikephoros Ouranos; a contemporary of Philetos is mentioned in *Peira* 17.19, but the editor, Zachariä von Lingenthal, misinterpreted the name of Synadenos. The 11th- and 12th-C. Synadenoi were primarily military commanders; one held a *pronoia* in the *emporion tou Brachioniou* near Constantinople (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 117.1473–74). They were related to the Botaneiatai and later to the Komnenoi; Nikephoros III married his niece Synadene to a Hungarian king or magnate. In the mid-12th C. Andronikos Synadenos was governor (sequentially) of Dyrrachion, Cyprus, Niš, and Trebizond. After 1204 the Synadenoi opposed the Laskarid dynasty: a young general, Synadenos, was captured by Theodore I Laskaris in 1204; another Synadenos was blinded ca.1225 for participation in a plot.

The Synadenoi acquired importance under Michael VIII: John was *megas stratopedarches*, his son John *megas konostaulos*, and another son, Theodore, *protostrator*; Theodore (died before 1346) supported Andronikos III during the Civil War of 1321–28 and Kantakouzenos against John V, but after 1342 he sided with the latter. The *megas stratopedarches* John Synadenos (monastic name Ioakeim) and his wife Theodora Palaiologina (as a nun, Theodoule) founded the Bebaias Elpidos nunnery and are depicted in its *typikon*. This MS further includes images of their sons, John and Theodore, together with their spouses, and two Asan men married to Synadenai. Other noble families to whom the Synadenoi were related include the Raoul. Their connection to the family of Synadenos Astras is unclear.

LIT. C. Hannick, G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Synadenoi," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 125–61, with add. A. Kazhdan, *ByzF* 12 (1987) 72f. V. Laurent, "Andronic Synadénos ou la carrière d'un haut fonctionnaire byzantin au XII^e siècle," *REB* 20 (1962) 210–14. Lj. Maksimović, "Poslednje godine protostratora Teodora Sinadina," *ZRVI* 10 (1967) 177–85. A. Cutler, P. Magdalino, "Some Precisions on the Lincoln College Typikon," *CahArch* 27 (1978) 179–98. –A.K.

SYNAGOGE OF FIFTY TITLES (Συναγωγὴ κανόνων ἐκκλησιαστικῶν εἰς ν΄ τίτλους διῃρημένη, "a compilation of ecclesiastical canons divided into 50 titles"), a "systematic" collection of canons organized according to content. The collection reproduces the Apostolic Canons and the canons of the councils of Nicaea, Ankyra, Neokaisareia, Serdica, Gangra, Antioch, Laodikeia of Phrygia, Constantinople, Ephesus, and Chalcedon as well as the "canonical" letters of Basil the Great. According to the *prooimion* of the work, the latter had been overlooked in a comparable collection (not preserved) that was divided into 60 titles. According to a plausible attribution found in several MSS, the author was Patr. John III Scholastikos. The collection probably originated in the mid-6th C., when John was a priest in Antioch. The work was later expanded into a Nomokanon of 50 Titles and translated into Slavonic in the 9th C.

ED. V. Beneševič, *Ioannis Scholastici Synagoga L titulorum* (Munich 1937).

LIT. V. Beneševič, *Sinagogà v 50 titulov i drugie juridičeskie sborniki Ioanna Scholastika* (St. Petersburg 1914; rp. Leipzig 1972). E. Schwartz, *Die Kanonessammlung des Johannes Scholastikos* [*SBAW* 1933, no.6]. –A.S.

SYNAGOGUE (*συναγωγή*), a place of assembly for a Jewish community, the primary focus of Jewish religious life after the destruction of the Temple in Jerusalem. A synagogue provided a prayer hall for the recitation and study of the Torah, rooms for sacred meals, a law court, treasury, and guest quarters. While synagogues may stem from the Exilic period (6th C. B.C.), they are attested from the 1st C. A.D. (Mt 13:54, Mk 1:21, Acts 9:20); physical remains from the 2nd through 7th C. are extant in Egypt, Palestine, Syria, Asia Minor, and Italy. The central synagogue at Alexandria, destroyed under Trajan, was probably the most impressive; that at SARDIS (major phase 320–40) is the most distinguished surviving example. The small synagogue at DURA EUROPOS was, apparently uniquely, decorated with Old Testament frescoes. Synagogues normally served small communities (in the 3rd and 4th C. Tiberias had 13 of these buildings). Ground plans and orientation vary, but common to many is a central, rectangular prayer room, set off from aisles on three sides by columns and entered on the short side from an open columnar court. Benches were provided against the rear walls of the aisles; from the 5th C. a permanent Torah shrine is found on the north long wall, on the east entrance wall flanking the central portal (Sardis), or in the apse facing Jerusalem.

The term applied primarily to the congregation of Jews and to their place of worship (sometimes also to the synagogue of the SAMARITANS), as contrasted with the Gospel and the church. In patristic literature it also denoted the Christian community, its public worship (*synaxis*), and its place of worship.

LIT. *Ancient Synagogues Revealed*, ed. L. Levine (Jerusalem 1982). *Ancient Synagogues: The State of Research*, ed. J. Gutmann (Chico, Calif., 1981). G.M.A. Hanfmann, *Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983) 168–90. C.H. Kraeling, *The Synagogue (Excavations at Dura-Europos)* (New Haven 1956).

–W.L.

SYNAGOGUE, PERSONIFICATION OF. See EKKLESIA.

SYNAPTE. See LITANY.

SYNAXARION (*συναξάριον*), a church CALENDAR of fixed FEASTS with the appropriate LECTIONS indicated for each one, but no further text. The *synaxarion* is often appended to a PRAXAPOSTOLOS or EVANGELION. It is rarely illustrated, but one MS, Vat. gr. 1156 of the 11th C., has an image of a saint for each day from Sept. through Jan. as well as scattered ones thereafter (Lazarev, *Storia*, fig.205). There also exist "calendar" icons, with portraits of saints and feasts for each day of the year (Soteriou, *Eikones*, figs. 126–35), that must be based on this type of *synaxarion*.

The term *synaxarion* is also used in Byz. Greek for a specific collection of brief notices, mostly hagiographical: the *Synaxarion of Constantinople*. The *Synaxarion of Constantinople* was probably formed in the 10th C. (the earliest MSS already include notices on JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER and on Patr. ANTONY II KAULEAS [893–901]), and there are Arabic, Georgian, Syriac, and Ethiopic versions. These daily commemorations, which average only about a paragraph in length, stress the martyrdom of the saints and inform us where in the city the commemoration took place. The MENOLOGION OF BASIL II is, despite its name, an illustrated version of this type of text, as are those icons and frescoes that have images of the martyrdoms of the saints, rather than just their portraits (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION). Some of the frescoes use verses from the metrical calendar of CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE as captions; these verses had been incorporated into certain recensions of the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* from the 12th C.

These texts were incorporated into the MENAION and the TRIODION and usually read after the sixth ode of the *kanon* at ORTHROS. They are not to be confused with the much longer notices, similarly ordered, found in a MENOLOGION.

ED. *Synaxarium ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae. Propylaeum ad AASS Novembris*, ed. H. Delehaye (Brussels 1902).

LIT. J. Noret, "Ménologes, synaxaires, menées," *AB* 86 (1968) 21–24. Idem, "Le synaxaire Leningrad gr. 240," *ADSV* 10 (1973) 124–30. H. Delehaye, *Synaxaires byzantins, ménologes, typica* (London 1977). W. Vander Meiren, "Précisions nouvelles sur la généalogie des synaxaires byzantins," *AB* 102 (1984) 297–301. P. Mijović, *Menolog* (Belgrade 1973).

–R.F.T., N.P.Š.

SYNAXARION OF THE HONORABLE DONKEY (*Συναξάριον τοῦ τιμημένου γαδάρου*), a delightful story telling how the hard-working and ill-treated Donkey outwits the wily Wolf and the cunning Fox, who had planned to make a meal

of him. The work survives in two closely connected versions, both in POLITICAL VERSE (one in 393 unrhymed lines; the other in 543 rhymed lines and printed in Venice in 1539), both deriving from a version written probably in the early 15th C. The humor and satire of the piece, given its edge by the animal actors, is directed against unscrupulous clergy who bemuse their simple parishioners with mumbo-jumbo, but in this case receive their just deserts. Though the Wolf and the Fox share the characteristics of their counterparts in similar western European folktales (esp. as developed in the many versions of the *Roman de Renart*), the details are Greek and no direct Western model is known. By the 12th C. the subject had entered the repertoire of animal forms carved on lintels, capitals, and other relief sculpture in churches. This situation led D. Pallas (*EEBS* 30 [1960–61] 413–52) to suggest that such figures had apotropaic and specifically Christian significance.

ED. Wagner, *Carmina* 112–40. L. Alexiou, "He Phyllada tou Gadarou," *KretChron* 9 (1955) 81–118.
LIT. K. Tzantzanoglou, " 'Peri onou . . . ,' " *Hellenika* 24 (1971) 54–64. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 176f. –E.M.J., A.C.

SYNAXIS (σύναξις), an assembly, esp. a monastic or liturgical gathering. Monks on Mt. Athos distinguished between *katholikai* and *koinai synaxeis,* the former being the assembly of selected Fathers to discuss serious affairs, the latter, the gathering of ordinary monks on feast days (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.*, p.119). In the APOPHTHEGMATA PATRUM the word *synaxis* refers to an office of prayer even when not performed in common (PG 65:201CD, 220CD). A *synaxis* required suitable dress. The same source describes a hermit who was reprimanded by his superior for appearing in church for the *synaxis* wearing a patched old *maphorion* (249AB).

In the TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH the term *synaxis* refers both to the assembly for the Eucharist and to the shrine or church where the service takes place. *Synaxis* also refers to the special commemorative services celebrated the day following six of the GREAT FEASTS (9 Sept., 26 Dec., 7 Jan., 3 Feb., 26 Mar., 30 June); the *synaxis* of the Holy Spirit is celebrated on the Monday after Pentecost.

LIT. J. Baldovin, *The Urban Character of Christian Worship* (Rome 1987) 205–08. –A.K., R.F.T.

SYNAXIS TON ASOMATON. See ASOMATOS.

SYNDOTAI (συνδόται, lit. "contributors"). Theophanes (Theoph. 486.23–26) cites as one of the "great evils" introduced by Emp. Nikephoros I the imposition of a collective payment on the neighbors of impecunious soldiers. If the latter were too poor to equip themselves, these contributors of financial support were termed *syndotai.* Similarly, in the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De cer.* 695.14–696.1) ruled that any soldier unable to support his military obligations (*strateia*) should be bailed out by *syndotai*, that is, contributors from the same community, to provide him with the means necessary to fulfill his military service. As partial supporters of a *strateia, syndotai* were thus entitled to rights of PROTIMESIS if the soldier's property came up for sale (Zepos, *Jus* 1:225.18–19).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 134f. Haldon, *Recruitment* 49f. –E.M.

SYNEKDEMOS. See HIEROKLES.

SYNERGISM (συνέργ⟨ε⟩ια, "cooperation"). In the doctrine of GRACE, the Eastern concept of the cooperation of God or an angel with man was frequently contrasted with an Augustinian monergism (the absolute priority of divine grace in salvation) and equated to a guarantee of human FREE WILL. Byz. theology in fact never accepted the doctrine of ORIGINAL SIN to the extent that the ethical striving of man—albeit with the assistance of God (the Holy Spirit)—would no longer be possible. Moreover, the concept always meant the cooperation of God with man, never the converse. In the case of man, therefore, there is a distinction between *proairesis* (the ability of the soul to distinguish between appropriate and inappropriate objects) and desire (*epithymia* or *eros*), which by nature is directed toward certain objects. The question is how far the first faculty of the soul requires the help of the Holy Spirit to attain clarity of insight. The objection historically raised on the Protestant side, that the Greek church has not properly grasped the essence of grace, cannot be said, for example, with respect to GREGORY OF NYSSA.

LIT. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 232–34. E. Mühlenberg, "Synergism in Gregory of Nyssa," *ZNTW* 68 (1977) 93–122. W. Hauschild in *Theologische Realenzyklopädie* 13:476–80. –G.P.

SYNESIOS (Συνέσιος), writer and bishop of Ptolemais; born Cyrene ca.370, died Ptolemais? ca.413. Of a rich pagan family, Synesios studied under HYPATIA at Alexandria. After a disappointing visit to Athens, he represented his native city and others at Constantinople from 399 to 402 (T.D. Barnes, *GRBS* 27 [1986] 93–120), winning tax remissions for them and personal exemption from public duties. In 403 he married a Christian lady who gave him three sons and some faith. In 410 the people of Ptolemais, impressed by his active role against barbarian marauders, invited him to become their bishop, albeit unbaptized. He accepted, provided he could retain both wife and philosophic doubts; THEOPHILOS OF ALEXANDRIA consecrated him in 411.

Most important of his various writings are nine poems or hymns (a tenth is spurious), a Christian and Neoplatonist mixture in one of the last attempts at the classical lyric meters. A discourse titled *On Royalty* (at Constantinople, in 400), amid clichés about the ideal emperor, breathtakingly rebukes ARKADIOS for his "mollusklike" existence. *On Providence* is a political allegory about events and personalities at Constantinople. *Dion*, a blend of history and personal apology, defends classical culture against monkish attacks. His 156 letters, dating between 399 and 413, provide much ecclesiastical and secular information about conditions in the Pentapolis.

ED. *Hymni et Opuscula*, 2 vols. ed. N. Terzaghi (Rome 1944). *Hymnes*, ed. C. Lacombrade (Paris 1978). *The Essays and Hymns*, tr. A. FitzGerald, 2 vols. (London 1930). *Epistolae*, ed. A. Garzya (Rome 1979). *The Letters*, tr. A. FitzGerald (London 1926).

LIT. J. Bregman, *Synesius of Cyrene* (Berkeley–Los Angeles 1982), rev. D. Roques, *REGr* 95 (1982) 537–39. J. Vogt, *Begegnung mit Synesios, dem Philosophen, Priester und Feldherrn* (Darmstadt 1985). D. Roques, *Synésios de Cyrène et la Cyrénaïque du Bas-Empire* (Paris 1987). –B.B.

SYNETHEIA (συνήθεια, lit. CUSTOM). The term also had the technical meaning of *sportulae*, "fees" paid to state officials for their "services." The system of *sportulae* was well-established already under Justinian I. Dölger (*infra*) categorizes several types of officials' fees of the 6th C.: *synetheiai* for assistants in central offices; *dikastika* for judges; *synetheiai* for collecting taxes; *paramythia* for quartering and provisioning the troops. This system probably fell into disuse, and in the *Ecloga* (16:4) the term *synetheia* designates salary paid by the treasury to officials. It reemerged evidently in the late 9th–10th C. when dignitaries, during the festivities celebrating their appointment, had to pay *synetheiai* to their colleagues (Oikonomides, *Listes* 88, n.28); judges received fees (*ektagiatika*) from the parties at the trial; and *strategoi* of western themes were paid *synetheiai*, not salary. In an imperial ordinance of 1109, *synetheia* and the related ELATIKON (a fee for traveling) are mentioned—they were paid to fiscal officials according to a firmly established percentage (1/12 and 1/24, respectively) of the state tax.

Sportulae for functionaries are mentioned in later lists of tax exemptions; a chrysobull of 1298 contrasts EPEREIAI of the fisc and *synetheiai* of the *praktores* (*Lavra* 2, no.89.213–14). Dölger surmised that various charges were levied for measuring products given in kind (*metretikon*, OIKOMODION, OINOMETRION, etc.); unfortunately, his interpretation is based on the etymology of these terms and direct evidence is lacking. It is also unclear whether taxes like *prosodion* (lit. "revenue"—P. Lemerle and others in *Lavra* 1:209f), *proskynetikion* (lit. "for respect")—levied in 1235 together with the *pakton* for *vivarium* (MM 4:18.6)—or KANISKION and *antikaniskion* can be considered as *sportulae*.

LIT. Dölger, *Byzanz* 232–60. –N.O., M.B.

SYNKELLOS (σύγκελλος, lit. "living in the same cell"). By the 5th C. the term denoted the adviser and fellow-boarder of a patriarch (or bishop); he lived as a rule with the patriarch, sharing his residence or "cell." From the 6th C., owing to his influence and importance as the patriarch's confidant, he frequently succeeded to the vacant patriarchal throne; he came to be viewed as the successor designate of the reigning patriarch in the 10th C., possibly earlier. By then the *synkellos* was nominated by the emperor (*De cer.* 530–32) and was considered a member of the SENATE (*Vita Euthymii* 23.9,18–19). Although until the 10th C. the title had been limited to priests and deacons, it was thereafter occasionally given to ambitious METROPOLITANS as well. The office was gradually

inflated further to include, among others, the titles of *protosynkellos* and *proedros ton protosynkellon.* This new largely honorary titulature caused the original office to decline in value. During the Palaiologan period the *megas protosynkellos* was none other than the *synkellos* of the patriarch.

LIT. Athenagoras of Paramythia, "Ho thesmos ton synkellon en to oikoumeniko patriarcheio," *EEBS* 4 (1927) 3–38. V. Grumel, "Titulature de métropolites byzantins, I. Les métropolites syncelles," *REB* 3 (1945) 92–114. Darrouzès, *Offikia* 18f. –A.P.

SYNKLETOS. See SENATE.

SYNOD. See COUNCILS; ENDEMOUSA SYNODOS.

SYNODICON VETUS (Ancient Synodikon), conventional title of an anonymous concise history of church COUNCILS written between 887 and 920, most probably at the end of the 9th C. It begins with the synod of the apostles in Jerusalem, includes ecumenical and local councils up to the Constantinople Council of 869/70, and describes the activity of Patr. Photios up to his deposition in 886. The earlier parts of the treatise are based on church historians such as Eusebios, Theodoret of Cyrrhus, and Theodore Lector, and on some vitae, for example, of Patr. Eutychios and of St. Sabas. For the period of Iconoclasm the author used, besides Theophanes and George Hamartolos, other, mostly unknown, texts. The conflict between Ignatios and Photios is represented in a fashion similar to that of the vita of Ignatios by Niketas David Paphlagon and reveals strong anti-Photian sentiments.

ED. *The Synodicon Vetus,* ed. J. Duffy and J. Parker (Washington, D.C., 1979), with Eng. tr.
LIT. J.L. van Dieten, "Synodicon vetus," *AnnHistCon* 12 (1980–82) 62–108. –A.K.

SYNODIKON (συνοδικόν), sometimes used as an adjective (*synodikon gramma, synodike epistole*), a term referring to a synodal epistle addressed to high ecclesiastical authorities and presenting the important decisions of a council; thus Basil the Great, in epistle 92.3 (*Lettres,* ed. Y. Courtonne, vol. 1 [Paris 1957] 203.46–47), speaks of "dogmatic decisions defined canonically and lawfully in the *synodikon gramma.*" The term designated particularly the patriarchal epistles sent to the pope of Rome (e.g., Malal. 491.21), esp. after the patriarch's installation; thus after his CHEIROTONIA Patr. Tarasios is said (Theoph. 460.23–27) to have dispatched *synodika* and the credo (*libellos tes pisteos*) to Pope Hadrian I. The term has also been applied to liturgical documents containing benedictions of dogmas and of church heroes as well as anathemas against heretics. The word *synodikarios* denoted a bishop's secretary, probably in his capacity of drafting *synodika,* episcopal documents.

LIT. P. Joannou, *LThK* 9:1238f. Beck, *Kirche* 155f. –A.K.

SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, a liturgical document produced after the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY (843) and before 920, probably on the basis of earlier *synodika.* The first part, *eucharistia* (thanksgivings), expresses gratitude to the Lord and praise of those who fought against his adversaries, esp. the pious emperors, empresses, and patriarchs as well as martyrs and confessors. The second, "negative," part contains ANATHEMAS against various heretics. From the end of the 11th C. the church enlarged the *Synodikon* by including anathemas of contemporary heresiarchs, such as EUSTRATIOS OF NICAEA, BARLAAM of Calabria, AKINDYNOS, etc. The last known recension is of 1439. The *Synodikon* existed in various versions, both Constantinopolitan and provincial. Additions to the 10th-C. text are an important source for the study of religious and ideological controversies in Byz. According to V. Mošin (*infra*), an Old Slavonic translation of the *Synodikon* was known in Kievan Rus' by the first third of the 12th C., and a new translation was produced in Bulgaria under Tsar BORIL in 1211.

ED. J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *TM* 2 (1967) 1–316.
LIT. J. Gouillard, "Nouveaux témoins du Synodicon de l'Orthodoxie," *AB* 100 (1982) 459–62. V.A. Mošin, "Serbskaja redakcija Sinodika v nedelju pravoslavija," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 317–94; 17 (1960) 278–353. –A.K.

SYNONE (συνωνή, Lat. *coemptio,* "purchase"), forced sale of commodities to government officials at a prescribed price. It developed as the counterpart to the monetary commutation (*adaeratio*) of ANNONA and allowed supplies previously replaced by cash payments to be converted back into tax in kind when necessary. During the 5th

C., *synone* lost its original character as an exceptional levy and every landowner became liable for *synone* in proportion to his normal tax obligation; such purchases were subsequently credited against future assessments (*Cod.Just.* X 27.2). The term *synone* can refer to such compulsory sales as late as the late 12th C. (*Patmou Engrapha*, 1, no.11.25), but from the 10th C. it primarily designates a monetary tax. Contemporary documents mention collection officials called *synonarioi* (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.2.24, 6.60), and both *De ceremoniis* (*De cer.* 695.7) and the *Peira* (18.2) imply that *synone* on cultivated lands, together with KAPNIKON on rural households, formed the basic agricultural TELOS; it is not clear, however, whether in every case *synone* comprised the entire land tax or only a portion of it (Svoronos, *Cadastre* 139f). It is important to distinguish this tax system—despite the similarities in nomenclature—from its earlier counterpart, based upon the Diocletianic CAPITATIO-JUGATIO. In the 13th C., *synone* is replaced in the sources by SITARKIA.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 5–7. Dölger, *Beiträge* 57–59. –A.J.C.

SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, an abridged version of the BASILIKA. According to its title the *Synopsis Basilicorum* was an "alphabetically arranged selection and abbreviated version of the 60 imperial books [*basilika*], with references"; probably produced in the 10th C., it contains approximately one-tenth of the text of the *Basilika*. The alphabetical arrangement is based on the key words of the headings; under these the author assembled the relevant excerpts from the *Basilika* with precise textual citations and made reference to additional passages. Because of this arrangement, the *Synopsis Basilicorum* could be used both to facilitate the use of the *Basilika* and to replace it in practice as a one-volume abbreviated version. The large number of preserved MSS of the *Synopsis Basilicorum*, many of which contain scholia and text supplements, attests to its popularity. The *Synopsis Basilicorum* is usually transmitted with an appendix (which occurs in two forms), consisting primarily of imperial novels of the 10th through 12th C.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 5.
LIT. N.G. Svoronos, *La Synopsis major des Basiliques et ses appendices* (Paris 1964). –L.B.

SYNOPSIS MAJOR. See SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM.

SYNOPSIS MINOR (*τὸ μικρὸν κατὰ στοιχεῖον*, lit. "the little alphabetical [lawbook]") was a compilation of legal principles arranged in alphabetical order, dating from the end of the 13th C. (S. Perentidis, *FM* 7 [1986] 253–57). It was so called in contrast to the "large" SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM. The compiler drew mainly on the law book of Michael ATTALEIATES and the *Synopsis Basilicorum*, which he sometimes excerpted word for word and sometimes paraphrased. A section of the text—with frequent explanations of more recent vernacular legal terms—appears to have been produced by the compiler himself or his contemporaries. The reasons for the selection of particular legal principles and for the choice of the key words used for the alphabetization often cannot be reconstructed. HARMENOPOULOS integrated a part of the *Synopsis minor* into his *Hexabiblos*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 6:319–547.
LIT. S. Perentidis, "Recherches sur le texte de la *Synopsis minor*," *FM* 6 (1984) 219–73. –M.Th.F.

SYNTAGMA (*σύνταγμα*), a term used in patristic literature to designate any treatise or book, esp. those that were scriptural, exegetic, or polemical in content. The term was extended to characterize some collections of canon law: thus, Matthew BLASTARES wrote an *Alphabetical Syntagma (Syntagma kata stoicheion)* in 1335. Athanasios Scholastikos of Emesa, in the text of his paraphrase of the Justinianic novels, refers to his work as a *syntagma* divided into *titloi* and *diataxeis* (D. Simon, *FM* 6 [1984] 4–7); the title of the work (which may or may not be the original rubric) is, however, "Epitome of the *diataxeis* of the Novels [issued] after the Codex." Zachariä von Lingenthal conjectured that a *Syntagma of Fourteen Titles* preceded the NOMOKANON OF FOURTEEN TITLES.

LIT. D. Simon, S. Troianos, *Das Novellen-Syntagma des Athanasios von Emesa* (Frankfurt am Main 1989). –A.K.

SYNTAX, the rules governing the combination of words in sentences, and the study and classification of those rules. Ancient Greek syntax was studied in particular by the Stoics and expounded most authoritatively by Apollonios Dyskolos (2nd C.). Byz. grammarians largely adopted his defi-

nitions and concepts; they contributed scarcely anything of their own, partly because they dealt exclusively with the learned literary language to the neglect of the living spoken tongue. The most noteworthy among them were MICHAEL SYNKELLOS, NIKETAS OF HERAKLEIA, Gregory PARDOS, Maximos PLANOUDES, and Patr. JOHN XIII GLYKYS. They all based their study on parts of speech rather than on types of sentence. The syntax of spoken Greek developed in new directions during the Middle Ages, foreshadowing the patterns of Modern Greek. All prepositions came to be used with the accusative, and a number of new compound prepositions developed (*πάνω ἀπό, ἀνάμεσα σέ, μαζὺ μέ*, etc.); the dative case was eliminated and the range of uses of the genitive restricted; participial phrases were replaced by subordinate clauses; prolative infinitival clauses were replaced by subjunctive clauses introduced by *νά*; considerable use was made of quasi-subordinate paratactic clauses introduced by *καί* (cf. English "try and come" = "try to come"). All these features occur sporadically in traditional literature and more systematically in late Byz. VERNACULAR literature.

LIT. S. Psaltes, *Grammatik der byzantinischen Chroniken*[2] (Göttingen 1974). H. Ljungvik, *Beiträge zur Syntax der spätgriechischen Volkssprache* (Uppsala-Leipzig 1932). D. Tabachovitz, *Études sur le grec de la basse époque* (Uppsala 1943). E. Mihevc-Gabrovec, *Études sur la syntaxe de Ioannes Moschos* (Ljubljana 1960). Browning, *Greek* 82f. –R.B.

SYNTHRONON (*σύνθρονον*), term used from no later than the 5th C. to denote one or more benches reserved for the clergy and arranged in a semicircular tier in the APSE of a church. Well-preserved *synthrona* exist in the 6th-C. Church of St. IRENE and in the ruins of St. EUPHEMIA in Constantinople. These *synthrona* rise high enough to allow a space for a passage underneath and along the apse wall, the function of which is unknown. Even where a large number of benches exist, it is clear from literary sources that only the top bench was used for seating clergy. According to pseudo-Germanos I (Germanos, *Liturgy*, chs. 26–27), the bishop's ascent to the *synthronon* was symbolic both of Christ's sacrifice and subsequent glorification. The bishop seated on the CATHEDRA at the top of his *synthronon* and flanked by the clergy symbolized Christ among his disciples; in the scheme of pseudo-Dionysios (K.E. McVey, *DOP* 37 [1983] 95), he represented the Lord amid the nine angelic orders. The *synthronon* is reduced to a simple bench on a step in the 12th-C. south church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople (A. Megaw, *DOP* 17 [1963] 340). A rare example of a *synthronon* in a nonecclesiastical context was discovered in the ruins of the so-called Gymnasium at Athens, built after 400 (H.A. Thompson, *Hesperia* 19 [1950] 134–37).

LIT. Mathews, *Early Churches* 143f, 146–48, 150–52, 179. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:495–502. –M.J., A.C.

SYNTIPAS, called more fully *Book of the Philosopher Syntipas,* was a Greek translation from Syriac made by Michael Andreopoulos for Gabriel, the ruler (*doux*) of Melitene (ca.1100). *Syntipas* belongs to the very popular cycle of the story of Sindbad that exists in various languages and is most probably of Persian origin. The framework of the book is the story of the Persian king Kyros who had seven wives and only one son whom he entrusted to the philosopher Syntipas for a proper upbringing. One of the wives of Kyros tried unsuccessfully to seduce the young man and after her failure accused him of libertine behavior. After a protracted trial he was acquitted. Various short stories told by the king's advisers, the son, and the stepmother are interwoven with the main narrative. They deal primarily with cases of sexual assault or infidelity, and their milieu varies from the royal court to merchants, peasants, and soldiers; once a "Hagarene" (Muslim) appears among the characters. *Syntipas* is indicative of the cultural links between Byz. and the Muslim world in the late 11th C. The book was probably reworked in the 13th C. (the so-called *Retractatio*) and remained popular in the post-Byz. period.

ED. *Michaeli Andreopuli Liber Syntipae,* ed. V. Jernstedt (St. Petersburg 1912).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 45–48. G. Kehagioglou, "Ho byzantinos kai metabyzantinos Syntipas: gia mia nea ekdose," *Graeco-arabica* 1 (1982) 105–30. B.E. Perry, "The Origin of the Book of Sindbad," *Fabula* 3 (1959) 1–94. –A.K.

SYRACUSE (*Συρακοῦσαι*), city on east coast of SICILY. In 491 all of Sicily, including Syracuse, was occupied by the Ostrogoths, who repaired the town walls. The city was recaptured by Belisarios at the end of 535. Totila's army besieged Syracuse in 550, but the Byz. fleet under the command of

Liberios forced its way into the harbor and prevented the city's surrender. In 663 Constans II moved the imperial court to the West; according to a 9th-C. chronicle (Theoph. 348.15) he wanted to establish his official residence in Rome, but settled in Syracuse instead. He was murdered there in 668 in a bathhouse, possibly in the governor's palace.

The bishops of Syracuse were under papal jurisdiction; at the end of the 7th C. Bishop Maurice used a seal with a Latin legend (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, no.884). Emp. Leo III separated Syracuse from Rome ca.733 and placed it under the authority of the patriarchate of Constantinople; the head of its diocese became archbishop of Syracuse, then archbishop of Sicily, then (probably from the second half of the 9th C.) metropolitan of Sicily. Among the archbishops of Sicily in the 9th C. was Gregory ASBESTAS. Byz. objects found in Syracuse—ceramics, a *solidus* of Michael II and Theophilos (A. LaRosa, *Sileno* 1 [1985] 87–101)—attest to close cultural links with Byz.; ambitious youths from Syracuse sometimes went to Constantinople for their schooling.

The Arabs frequently raided Syracuse and destroyed fields outside the city; in Aug. 877 they began a siege and on 20 or 21 May 878 entered the city. The Arab capture of Syracuse is described in detail by THEODOSIOS THE MONK. George MANIAKES occupied Syracuse in 1040, but after his recall the Arabs recovered the city. Syracuse was one of the last Arab strongholds to fall to the Normans. In March 1085 they sailed to Syracuse, defeated the Muslim fleet, and laid a siege that lasted until Oct., at which time the Arab nobles fled and Syracuse surrendered. The Normans restored papal jurisdiction and the Latin rite in Syracuse.

Monuments of Syracuse. Syracuse's early Christian remains are extensive but poorly preserved. There are more catacombs than in any other city save Rome; S. Lucia is the oldest (mid-3rd C.); Vigna Cassia has the most paintings (4th C.). The churches, which require more study, present several unusual forms including the trefoil ("La Cuba," 5th C.) and a vaulted basilica (S. Pietro ad Baias, 6th C.). The basilican S. Giovanni Evangelista (6th C.?) is the largest church in pre-Muslim Sicily.

The gold ring of Eudoxia now in Palermo, believed by some to have belonged to Constans II, was discovered in 1872 near a private bath excavated in 1934. G. Cultrera (*NS*[8] 8 [1954] 114–30) identified the building as the Daphne Bath where the emperor was murdered, but the identification remains hypothetical.

LIT. S. Lagona, "La Sicilia tardo-antica e bizantina," *FelRav*[4] 1–2 (1980) 111–30. O. Garana, *Le catacombe siciliane e i loro martiri* (Palermo 1961) 37–67. S.L. Agnello, "Chiese siracusano del VI secolo," *CorsiRav* 27 (1980) 13–26.

–A.K., D.K.

SYRGIANNES (Συργιάννης), also known as Syrgiannes Palaiologos Philanthropenos, an ambitious and treacherous military governor under ANDRONIKOS II and ANDRONIKOS III; born ca.1290, died Galykos 23 Aug. 1334 (*Kleinchroniken* 2:245). Son of the *megas domestikos* Syrgiannes, who was of Cuman or Mongol extraction, he was related to the ruling Palaiologan dynasty through his mother. A contemporary and friend of JOHN (VI) KANTAKOUZENOS, Syrgiannes was among the young noblemen who encouraged Andronikos III to rebel against his grandfather in 1321. During the seven-year civil war, he twice shifted his allegiance to further his own ambitions. After throwing his support to Andronikos II late in 1321 he was granted the title of *megas doux*. Again reversing himself, he unsuccessfully plotted the murder of Andronikos II and was sentenced to life imprisonment. After the victory of Andronikos III in 1328, Syrgiannes was released from prison and appointed governor of Thessalonike (winter of 1329/30). In 1333 he was arrested again, this time on charges of conspiracy against Kantakouzenos. He escaped from Constantinople and sought refuge in Serbia with STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN. His final treacherous act was to lead the Serbian army that conquered several Byz. towns in northern Greece, including Kastoria. He was murdered near Thessalonike by a Byz. officer, Sphrantzes Palaiologos.

LIT. S. Binon, "A propos d'un prostagma inédit d'Andronic III Paléologue," *BZ* 38 (1938) 133–55, 377–407 (corr. by R.-J. Loenertz, *REB* 22 [1964] 230f, 235 nn. 26–27). U.V. Bosch, *Kaiser Andronikos III. Palaiologos* (Amsterdam 1965) 26–29, 89–95. –A.M.T.

SYRIA (Συρία), area in eastern part of the empire bounded on the west by the Mediterranean Sea, on the north and east by the Taurus Mountains, the Euphrates River, and desert regions, and to

the south by the headwaters of the Orontes River. Broadly speaking, Syria is divided vertically into three geographical zones: (1) the littoral, (2) the interior band of fertile plains and plateaus, and (3) the desert to the east. Ethnically, three peoples corresponded to these three zones: Greek-speaking descendants of Hellenistic settlers mostly on the seacoast; Syriac-speaking Aramaeans in the central farming area; Arabic-speaking Arab settlers and seminomads in the eastern desert area. While it is often said that Syria was split between a hellenized urban population and a Semitic rural one, epigraphic evidence suggests a linguistic mixture of Greek and Syriac in all regions, in city and countryside alike. Other groups included Jews, particularly in the cities, and Latin-speaking personnel attached to the 4th-C. imperial court resident at Antioch. In Byz. Syria of the 10th–11th C., the Greek-speaking element may have been a minority, with the Semitic element predominating; added to this were Georgian and Armenian communities settled around Antioch and in the Black Mountains.

From ca.350 Syria was a province (called Coele-



Syria) of the diocese of ORIENS; its major city was ANTIOCH. After ca.415 this province was subdivided into those of Syria I to the north, under Antioch (with the cities of SELEUKEIA PIERIA, BERROIA, CHALKIS, ANASARTHA, and Gabbula), and Syria II to the south, under APAMEIA on the Orontes (with the cities of EPIPHANEIA, Larissa [SHAYZAR], Arethusa, Mariam(n)e, Raphaneae, and Seleukeia ad Belum); in 528 the small province of THEODORIAS, under LAODIKEIA, was created from coastal territory. The term *Syria* is often taken to include adjacent provinces, e.g., EUPHRATENSIS, Phoenicia, ARABIA, and, occasionally, the Levant in general. Syria was occupied by the Persians from 609 to 628, briefly reconquered by the Byz., and then came under Arab rule from ca.640 to 969, the date of the Byz. recovery of part of Syria, which lasted until 1084.

Syrian culture in the 4th–7th C. reflects the two larger elements in its linguistic mixture—the Greek and the Syriac. (The adjective "Syriac" properly refers only to the language and literature and not, e.g., to the churches or art of those who used that language, which should be termed "Syrian"). At its highest, creative level—as represented by the rhetoricians, historians, and theologians of Antioch and the philosophers of Apameia—the pre-Islamic culture of Syria can be described as adhering to Greco-Roman traditions, but it also showed Semitic influences (e.g., the Syriac-inspired KONTAKION). Greek likewise influenced SYRIAC LITERATURE, whose main center, however, was not in Syria proper but in the provinces of OSRHOENE and MESOPOTAMIA. Brock (*infra*) has described the process whereby writers of Syriac became, between the 4th and 7th C., increasingly hellenized in thought-patterns and style, so that by the 9th C. perfected translation techniques enabled Syriac scholars at the ʿAbbāsid court in Baghdad to transmit via their own language Greek works to the Arabs. The Syriac language was written as well as spoken in Syria, as extant MSS copied there prove, but a high proportion of inscriptions of all types were in Greek.

Syria was divided into two metropolitan sees under the patriarch of Antioch (see ANTIOCH, PATRIARCHATE OF), which corresponded to the civil provinces of Syria I and II. Syria was notable for the theologians it produced (e.g., of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL) as well as for religious fervor that variously manifested itself in the guises of asceticism, heresy, and fanaticism. Prominent among pilgrimage centers in the region were the shrines of the two SYMEON THE STYLITES and Apameia on the Orontes, which reportedly possessed an important relic of the True Cross. Monasticism spread to Syria from Mesopotamia, the earliest account being that of THEODORET OF CYRRHUS. From ca.518 the MONOPHYSITE ecclesiastical hierarchy, which duplicated that of the official church, lived for the most part in exile from the urban sees, usually in monastic communities that were centers of theological and polemical activity, mostly in the Syriac language. One area of concentration of such activity was the limestone massif of Belus, where, interspersed with affluent villages, were well-constructed Monophysite monasteries whose names are known from documents of ca.570 (A. Caquot in Tchalenko, *Villages* 3:63–106). Ecclesiastical architecture ranged from the centralized domed (?) cathedrals of Antioch, Seleukeia Pieria, Apameia, and Berroia to the often very large village basilicas with solid masonry and elaborate sculpture.

As a result of damage sustained from military action and natural disasters (earthquakes, fires), Syrian cities required large-scale renewal and reconstruction in the 4th–6th C., the latest dated example being that of 588 at Antioch. Commerce and trade were based in the cities, yet Syrian merchants traveled widely in the empire. Aside from precious-metal objects produced at Antioch and linen woven at Laodikeia, the export industries of such luxuries as silk, purple-dyeing, and glass were based in Phoenicia (TYRE, SIDON, BERYTOS) rather than in Syria. State arms factories were in both areas, at DAMASCUS and Antioch.

The hinterlands of Syria were densely settled. There is epigraphic evidence of imperial domains at Bab el-Hawa, Taroutia Emporon, Rouhaiy, and Meshrefe (*IGLSyr* 2, no.528; 4, nos. 1631, 1875, 1905, 1908). The large private estates referred to in written sources were probably in the Orontes and Afrin valleys and in the plains near Berroia and Chalkis. The agricultural prosperity of the villages of Syria (e.g., KAPER BARADA, KAPER PERA, DEHES) is reflected in their dimensions, which could rival those of cities, and in their well-constructed ashlar buildings, including private houses and tombs that still stand. Tchalenko argued that this prosperity was based on the exclusive cultivation and processing of OLIVES for export. More recent excavations at Dehes have revealed a mixed agriculture of crops and live-

stock. The livestock may have provisioned the army stationed in Syria. It is unclear whether the farmers of Syria were independent owners or tenants.

Recent archaeological work in the city of Apameia on the Orontes (large and well-maintained dwellings in use until the 8th C.) and the village of Dehes (continuous habitation until the 9th C.) has produced good reason to challenge the previously accepted view that Syria underwent a steep decline starting as early as 540, resulting in a collapse, ca.600, that facilitated the Persian takeover and subsequent Arab conquest. The plague of the 540s–50s, local dissatisfaction with Byz. rule, state persecution of religious minorities, and a weakened military position—or combinations thereof—have all been offered as causes for a decline from the mid-6th C. and the end of what from the 4th to 6th C. had been an expanding and prosperous society. Although this thesis still has its adherents, e.g., H. Kennedy (in *Past and Present* 106 [1985] 3–27), who asserts that urban economic decline took place between 540 and 640 but that a revival occurred under the Arabs, other scholars date the end of late antiquity in Syria and Palestine to the ʿAbbāsid revolution of 750. Ethnically and religiously, this society did not radically change under the Umayyads: while some Greek-speaking Syrians fled the cities, others, such as the bureaucrats who continued to work for the Umayyad government (e.g., the family of John of Damascus) did not. Donner (*Conquests* 245–50) has argued that peasants remained (e.g., at Dehes) and that tribes from the Arabian peninsula were not settled in Syria as they were in Iraq; the relatively few Arab newcomers settled in cities rather than the countryside. Many cities (e.g., Antioch, Edessa, and Jerusalem) maintained large Christian populations until the Byz. and Crusader conquests of the Levant in the 10th–12th C.

There was a strong military aspect to Syria from the 4th to the 7th C. All cities were walled and some were garrisoned, and its eastern flank was protected against the Persians and the Lakhmid Arabs by a line of forts (the limes) that was reinforced by the Ghassānid Arabs allied with Byz. While in the 4th C. Byz. military strategy in Syria could be described as offensive (campaigns, often imperial, into Persia), in the 6th C. it was defensive, with Persian invasions occurring in 540, 573, and 609/10. In the 630s Syria again became the base of imperial political and military operations relating at first to the Persians (C. Mango, *TM* 9 [1985] 105–18) but shifting abruptly to counter the new offensive from the Arabian peninsula from about 634. The Byz. defense failed and the Byz. frontier in Syria was then transferred from the eastern desert to the region near Antioch; this northern part of the Umayyad Levant assumed a role secondary to the region farther south, that of Damascus, the capital of the new caliphate (661–750). With the Byz. partial reconquest of Syria in 969, the frontier moved again to a north-south line between Antioch and Berroia, and the Ḥamdānid emir of the latter city became a Byz. vassal. John I Tzimiskes briefly took other cities in Syria (Balaneai, Gabala) in 975, and Basil II expelled a Fāṭimid army from Syria in 995. In 1084 Syria was taken by the Seljuks, but part of it soon fell to the First Crusade. The princedom of Antioch established by the Crusaders in 1098 was forced by treaty in 1108 to recognize Byz. suzerainty. This authority was strengthened in 1137 by John II Komnenos and again in 1159 by Manuel I.

LIT. R. Dussaud, *Topographie historique de la Syrie antique et médiévale* (Paris 1927). *Publications of the Princeton University Archaeological Expeditions to Syria in 1904–5 and 1909*, 7 vols. (Leiden 1907–49). *IGLSyr*, vols. 2–4, 5:1–106. G. Tchalenko, *Villages antiques de la Syrie du Nord*, 3 vols. (Paris 1953–58). R. Mouterde, A. Poidebard, *Le "Limes" de Chalcis* (Paris 1945). S. Brock, "From Antagonism to Assimilation," in *East of Byzantium* 17–34. S. Vryonis, "Aspects of Byzantine Society in Syro-Palestine," in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos*, ed. S. Vryonis (Malibu, Calif., 1985) 43–63. –M.M.M.

SYRIAC LITERATURE originated as part of the literature of the late Roman Empire. Its classic period occurred in the 3rd–7th C. in Syria and Mesopotamia, with a revival in the 12th–13th C. The northern Mesopotamian cities of Edessa and Nisibis, together with Mosul and its environs, were centers for the development of Syriac as a literary language in the Western (Jacobite) and Eastern (Nestorian) idioms that came to be the two states the language assumed in its classic form. Syriac had its own distinctive literary forms that preferred metrical to prosaic genres of discourse, except in chronicles and biblical commentaries. Syriac hymnography, as exemplified in the works of Ephrem the Syrian, had a strong influence on the development of the kontakion, at the hands of Romanos the Melode.

The Syriac language is important for Byzantinists both for works originally written in Syriac and for works composed in Greek but surviving only in Syriac versions. Notable among the original Syriac compositions are the works of Ephrem the Syrian, JACOB OF SARUG, NARSAI OF EDESSA, ISAAC OF NINEVEH, and historical works such as the CHRONICLE OF 1234, the *Chronicle* of MICHAEL I THE SYRIAN, and the *Chronicle* of GREGORY ABŪ'L-FARAJ. Notable among the works composed in Greek, but surviving only in Syriac versions, are the *Kephalaia Gnostica* of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, the *Cathedral Homilies* of SEVEROS of Antioch, and the Life of PETER THE IBERIAN by John Rufus.

LIT. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922). I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca*[2] (Rome 1965). S.P. Brock, "Syriac Sources for Seventh-Century History," *BMGS* 2 (1976) 17–36. Idem, "From Antagonism to Assimilation: Syriac Attitudes to Greek Learning," in *East of Byzantium* 17–34. –S.H.G.

SYROPOULOS, JOHN, late 12th-C. *grammatikos,* author of an oration for Epiphany addressed to ISAAC II. The dating of the speech is disputed: Bachmann placed it in 1192, because he assumed that the speech was dedicated to the same events as the discourses by Sergios KOLYBAS and George TORNIKIOS; Dujčev defended an earlier dating (Epiphany of 1187), asserting that the speech seems to have been delivered soon after Isaac's coup. Indeed, its similarity with the orations of Kolybas and Tornikios is only apparent (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 167f). In his speech Syropoulos (Συρόπουλος) contrasted the beneficial rule of Isaac with the atrocities of ANDRONIKOS I and praised Isaac for his victory over Alexios BRANAS (with the unique information that Branas, after his first failure, disguised himself as a peasant [p.14.20]). He described "the western evil" that was destroying the area of Zygos (the revolt of PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I); he called the leaders of the revolt an ox and an ass and predicted their subjugation to Byz. (p.17.15–24).

ED. M. Bachmann, *Die Rede des Johannes Syropulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* (Munich 1935).
LIT. Dujčev, *Proučvanija* 86–90. –A.K.

SYROPOULOS, SYLVESTER, patriarchal official; born Constantinople before 1400, died Constantinople after 1453. *Megas ekklesiarches* and *dikaiophylax* of the patriarchate of Constantinople, Syropoulos was a member of the Byz. delegation at the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE in 1438–39 (P. Wirth, *OstkSt* 12 [1963] 64f) and signed its decree of UNION OF THE CHURCHES. He did so under duress, however, according to his own account. Indeed, he eventually became a staunch supporter of Mark EUGENIKOS, denouncing the council on his return to Constantinople and joining the anti-Unionist forces. In his *Memoirs,* composed shortly after 1443—according to Laurent's recent critical edition, a second redaction was issued ca.1461—he opposed the council openly. Although far from impartial, this eyewitness account is neither worthless nor an intentional falsification of facts. Even though it contains little on the public debates themselves, its information about the council's private intrigues and discussions (otherwise unavailable) is invaluable. Moreover, its bias or partisanship, for which it is frequently criticized, is also characteristic of the acts of the council.

ED. V. Laurent, *Les 'Mémoires' du grand ecclésiarque de l'Église de Constantinople Sylvestre Syropoulos sur le Concile de Florence (1438–1439)* (Rome 1971), rev. O. Kresten in *RHT* 4 (1974) 75–138.
LIT. J. Gill, "The Acta and Memoirs of Syropoulos as History," *OrChrP* 14 (1948) 305–55. J.L. van Dieten, "Silvester Syropoulos und die Vorgeschichte von Ferrara-Florenz," *AnnHistCon* 9 (1977) 154–79. J. Décarreaux, "L'arrivée des Grecs en Italie pour le Concile de l'Union d'après les Mémoires de Syropoulos," *Revue des études italiennes* 7 (1960) 27–58. –A.P.

SYRO-ROMAN LAWBOOK, a 5th-C. compilation of legal texts that has survived in several Syriac MSS, the oldest of which, now in the British Museum (MS Add. 14,528), is of the 6th C. (although Nallino [*infra*] dated it in the 8th C.); recently discovered MSS (A. Vööbus, *Sodalitas,* vol. 5 [Naples 1984] 2105–08) are 13th–17th-C. copies. A certain Ambrosius, a contemporary of Emp. Valentinian (III?), is named in a later MS as author; another later note refers to the constitutions of Theodosios (I or II?) and Leo I. Selb (*infra,* 252–54), however, rejects the reliability of this information. It is generally accepted that the original was written in Greek, but the character of the *Lawbook* is still under discussion. Nallino considered it a didactic work based on Roman law; many scholars (e.g., R. Taubenschlag, *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 6 [1952] 103–19) view it as a

book with a practical purpose, revealing a "mixture" of Roman law and local practice. Recognizing that the *Lawbook* dealt primarily with problems of family law, slave ownership, and SUCCESSION, E. Seidl (*RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 1783) suggested that it had served the needs of episcopal courts. At any rate, the *Lawbook* contains certain regulations that were obsolete in the 5th C. and has no clear system of organization of the content. The book was popular in the East and is known also in Arabic and Armenian versions.

ED. K.G. Bruns, E. Sachau, *Syrisch-römisches Rechtsbuch aus dem fünften Jahrhundert* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Aalen 1960). A. Vööbus, *The Syro-Roman Lawbook* (Stockholm 1982), with Eng. tr.

LIT. C. Nallino, "Sul libro siro-romano e sul presunto diritto siriaco," in *Studi in onore di Pietro Bonfante*, vol. 1 (Milan 1930) 203–61. W. Selb, *Zur Bedeutung des Syrisch-Römischen Rechtsbuches* (Munich 1964). –A.K.

T

ṬABARĪ, AL-, more fully Abū Jaʿfar Muḥammad ibn Jarīr al-Ṭabarī, Arab jurist and historian; born Āmul in Ṭabarīstān, Persia, autumn 839, died Baghdad 16 Feb. 923. A precocious student, al-Ṭabarī left Ṭabarīstān to study in Persia, Iraq, Syria, and Egypt, then spent most of his career in Baghdad, where family income enabled him to devote himself to scholarship. Al-Ṭabarī is best known for his *History of the Prophets and Kings.* This vast annalistic work was intended to complement his Qur'ān commentary and to provide an authoritative summa of earlier research, encompassing Creation, the prophets, the Arabs before Islam, the life of Muḥammad, and the caliphate to 915. Al-Ṭabarī used many sources; importantly, he names his informants. Accounts were included largely for their authoritative transmission, making for conceptual clarity if not always historical accuracy.

For Byz. history al-Ṭabarī provides valuable information on the pre-Islamic Arabs (including the GHASSĀNIDS) and relations with the Sasanians. The conquests by the Arabs are related fully for Syria and Egypt, less so for North Africa. Byz. subsequently figures primarily in military affairs: warfare along the Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), naval confrontation (e.g., the battle of the Masts, the struggle for Cyprus, Crete, and Rhodes, and the Byz. attack on Damietta in 853) and the expeditions against Constantinople. He also describes the treatment and exchanges of PRISONERS and discusses diplomatic contacts, sometimes citing correspondence. Occasionally he includes more external matters, for example, the successes of the Bulgarians against Leo VI in 896.

ED. *Annales,* ed. M.J. de Goeje et al., 15 vols. (Leiden 1879–1901). *The History of al-Ṭabarī: An Annotated Translation,* ed. E. Yar-Shater, 38+ vols. (Albany 1985–).

LIT. A.A. Duri, *The Rise of Historical Writing Among the Arabs* (Princeton 1983) 69–71. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:4–23. –L.I.C.

TABARI CONTINUATUS. See ʿARĪB IBN SAʿD AL-QURṬUBĪ.

TABENNISI, a site in upper Egypt, on the right bank of the Nile, near Dendera, halfway between PBOW and Chenoboskion, find-spot of the NAG HAMMADI Gnostic manuscripts. Circa 320–25 PACHOMIOS founded a cenobitic monastery near the deserted village of Tabennisi; gradually a large community of PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES developed in the area, owning and working farmland and paying taxes to the government (E. Wipszycka in *Le monde grec: Hommages à Claire Préaux* [Brussels 1975] 625–36). The original house at Tabennisi remained, along with the basilica at Pbow, one of the two centers where Pachomian monastic superiors gathered for their annual meetings. It apparently survived until the 7th C. –A.K.

TABGHA. See HEPTAPEGON.

TABLES (sing. τράπεζα). Tables were evidently used more widely in Byz. than in Rome, esp. after the transition from the Roman habit of reclining around a table to that of sitting at a table for meals, a change that occurred by the 10th C. Among the few Byz. tables to survive is a very long (15.7 m) specimen with semicircular ends and an inlaid marble top, in the refectory (TRAPEZA) of the NEA MONE on Chios (Bouras, *Nea Moni,* figs. 152, 156). It is furnished with niches for utensils, as are the WRITING DESKS depicted in representations of the Evangelists. These desks usually have a square top, unlike the sigma-shaped tables conventional in images of the Last Supper (see LORD'S SUPPER). Fragments of such sigma tables have been excavated at Corinth (Scranton, *Architecture* 139f).

Plain tables were of wood, but tables of more precious materials were found in wealthy households: according to the vita of PHILARETOS THE MERCIFUL, he had a round table ornamented with ivory and gold that could seat 36 people (ed. M.H. Fourmy, M. Leroy, 137.30–31); the main imperial table at palace BANQUETS was called "golden" and was probably gilded. Tables were usually rectan-

gular, with the place of honor at the head of the table; Constantine VII also describes a *paratrapezion* set up for Arab allies, which was round so that all the seats were of equal rank (*De cer.* 594.9–14). The term *systelta* or *symbalta trapezia* (*De cer.* 465.10, MM 6:243.7), used for portable furniture, probably designated folding tables. For the sake of monastic discipline LAZAROS OF MT. GALESIOS ordered that a *symbaten* (correct reading, *symbalten*) *trapezan*, or worktable, be removed from the cell of a monk-cobbler, since the rules prohibited having such a piece of furniture (*AASS* Nov. 3:552AB). The word *trapezion* also designated the counters of craftsmen and esp. money-changers; a chrysobull of 1342 mentions 20 "exchanging (*katallaktika*) *trapezia*" acquired by the Great Lavra (*Lavra* 3, no.123.105–06). (See also ALTAR; OFFERTORY TABLE.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:77f; 4:189–91.
–Ap.K., A.K., A.C.

TABLION (ταβλίον), one of a pair of rectangular or trapezoidal embroidered panels sewn at right angles to the edges of a CHLAMYS, or other civilian cloak. In representations of figures clad in the *chlamys*, only one *tablion* is generally visible, since if the cloak is fastened in its usual manner at the right shoulder, one half of it falls down behind the body and the second *tablion* is thus hidden from view. When the cloak is shown fastened under the neck in front, both *tablia* can be seen side by side on the wearer's chest. In the 4th C. the *tablia* were attached to the emperor's *chlamys* below the level of the knees, but from the 6th C. onward they appear at chest level. A *tablion* could be embroidered with images of the emperor or elaborate designs, and its color was purposely contrasted with that of the cloak. A traditional piece of masculine court costume (e.g., *De cer.* 142.18–19), the appropriate *tablion* had to be paid for by the prospective title-holder (a *patrikios* in the 9th C. paid 24 nomismata for his *tablion*—Oikonomides, *Listes* 95.7). Though military saints are depicted wearing over their armor a *chlamys* adorned with a *tablion*, the *tablion* was generally a mark of civilian status. Among women only the empress was permitted to wear a *tablion*.

In the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 133.7–8) the word also designated a box for precious garments: the emperor's *tablion* was carried by servants (*diaitarioi*) during ceremonial processions.

LIT. *DOC* 2.1:76f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:47. J. Ebersolt, *Mélanges d'histoire et d'archéologie byzantines* (Paris 1917) 51, n.3. Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* nos. 38, 51. –N.P.Š.

TABOR, MOUNT, also Itabyrion, mountain in Galilee south of Nazareth. In 348 CYRIL of Jerusalem decisively identified Tabor (Θαβώρ) as the site of the TRANSFIGURATION; there are, however, some doubts whether this identification is valid (*DictBibl* 5.2:2141). Remains of what was perhaps a basilica of the 4th/5th C. survive on the spot (Ovadiah, *Corpus* 71); 6th-C. pilgrims speak of three basilicas on Tabor. One was dedicated to Christ, two smaller churches to Moses and Elijah. In the 7th C. monastic buildings were surrounded by fortifications. The archbishopric of Tabor was created in the 11th C. In the 12th C. both DANIIL IGUMEN and John PHOKAS saw on the top of Tabor two monasteries—one Latin, the other Orthodox. The precise location of the Transfiguration was supposed to be beneath the altar of the Latin monastery: it was encircled by a bronze fence; a marble circle with the sign of the cross marked the exact spot where Christ had stood. Tabor's lower slopes incorporated the area associated with the meeting of Abraham and Melchizedek.

LIT. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 173. B. Meistermann, *Le mont Thabor* (Paris 1900). Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:404f.
–G.V., A.K.

TABOULARIOS. See NOMIKOS; NOTARY.

TABULA ANSATA (Lat. "tablet with handles"), a rectangular frame or tablet with projections, used to contain an inscription and, by extension, as an ornament. The motif appeared on sarcophagi of the 3rd–4th C., in MSS such as the CALENDAR OF 354, ivory panels of the 4th–6th C., and numerous consular DIPTYCHS. It is all but unknown after the 6th C. –L.Br.

TABULA PEUTINGERIANA, a parchment map of the 12th or early 13th C., now in Vienna (ÖNB, Vindobon. 324), named after its former owner, Konrad Peutinger (1465–1547), a humanist of Augsburg. It is considered to be a copy of a 5th-C. tourist map. The *Tabula* is a roll of which 11

segments survive (one or two are lost); the preserved portion forms a narrow strip approximately 6.75 m long and 34 cm wide, depicting the known world from Gallia eastward to India and Ceylon; Britannia and Spain are lost save for small eastern regions. The map represents primarily land routes, indicating distances and cities (about 4,000 localities *in toto*); Latin inscriptions offer some clarifying information, for example, "the moat dug by slaves of the Scythians" or "elephants are born in this area." Pictorial vignettes provide characteristic emblems for 555 cities: towers, temples, baths, warehouses, harbors, lighthouses. Three cities—Rome, Constantinople, and Antioch—are indicated by distinct personifications of TYCHAI. Despite certain faults, it preserves unique geographical data. The COSMOGRAPHER OF RAVENNA seems to have derived his information from either the *Tabula* or a common source.

ED. Facs. ed.—E. Weber, *Tabula Peutingeriana: Codex Vindobonensis 324* (Graz 1976).

LIT. A. & M. Levi, *Itineraria picta* (Rome 1967). L. Bosio, *La Tabula Peutingeriana* (Rimini 1983). A. Levi, B. Trell, "An Ancient Tourist Map," *Archaeology* 17 (1964) 227–36. E. Weber, "Die Tabula Peutingeriana," *Antike Welt* 15 (1984) 3–8. V. Manfredi, "L'Europa nella Tabula Peutingeriana," in *L'Europa nel mondo antico* (Milan 1986) 192–98. –A.K.

TACHYGRAPHY (*ταχυγραφία*, "quick writing"), conventional term used to designate a form of stenographic script (termed "notation of Tiro" in antiquity) whose purpose was to save time in writing. The Byz. used the term *semeiographike techne* for tachygraphy, and the terms *semeiographos*, *tachygraphos* (cf. the Old Church Slavonic calque *skoropis'c*"), and *oxygraphos* for the SCRIBE who wrote in shorthand. Attested in the PAPYRI, where it was used for accounts, tachygraphy was used in Byz. from the 4th C. onward for taking dictation, recording sermons and the minutes of church councils, and taking down testimony in law courts. It was so common that Basil the Great used the image of tachygraphy for a simile (PG 30:733A–D). In the mid-6th C. John Lydos stated that *tachygraphoi* were numerous and important members of the imperial bureaucracy (*On the Magistracies* 3.9). St. NEILOS OF ROSSANO and the *hegoumenos* Paul of Grottaferrata are said to have used tachygraphy, and indeed the system of tachygraphy is best known from southern Italian MSS. In tachygraphic MSS stenographic signs are used to represent syllables or short words, such as prepositions, articles, and conjunctions; sometimes these shorthand symbols are identical with the ABBREVIATIONS found in minuscule MSS. Chionides (*infra*) suggests a distinction between tachygraphy and brachygraphy, whose aim was not greater speed, but efficient use of the page.

LIT. Devreesse, *Manuscrits* 36–43. M. Gitlbauer, *Die Überreste griechischer Tachygraphie im Codex Vaticanus graecus 1809*, in 2 parts (Vienna 1878). O. Lehmann, *Die tachygraphischen Abkürzungen der griechischen Handschriften* (Leipzig 1880; rp. Hildesheim 1965). S. Lilla, *Il testo tachigrafico del "De divinis nominibus" (Vat. gr. 1809)* (Vatican 1970). H. Boge, *Griechische Tachygraphie und Tironische Noten* (Berlin 1973) 103–51. N.P. Chionides, S. Lilla, *La brachigrafia italobizantina* (Vatican 1981). –E.G.

TAFUR, PERO (Peter), Spanish traveler; born Cordoba ca.1410, died ca.1484. He undertook a long journey (end of 1435 or 1436 through March or Apr. 1439) and visited Italy, Palestine, and some islands in the Aegean (Rhodes, Chios, Tenedos); he was twice in Constantinople (Nov. 1437 and the beginning of 1438) and also saw Adrianople, Trebizond, and the Genoese colony of Kaffa in the Crimea. Pretending to be a relative of the Palaiologoi, Tafur was received by John VIII and shown around Constantinople by the future emperor Constantine XI.

Tafur's narration of his trip describes churches and their relics as well as the Hippodrome and the Palace, including a unique account of the library in a palace loggia. He relates that Trebizond had 4,000 inhabitants and records various legends about the empire's past, for example, the story of a war of Charlemagne against Constantinople. Tafur stresses the shabby clothing of the citizens of Constantinople and sympathizes with their sufferings inflicted by the Turks, the Venetians, and their own rulers; never, he says, had he seen so many people mutilated for felonies. At the same time he emphasizes the depravity of the Greeks and contrasts them with the noble Turks.

ED. *Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español*, ed. F. López Estrada (Barcelona 1982). Eng. tr. M. Letts, *Travels and Adventures (1435–1439)* (New York–London 1926).

LIT. J. Vives, "Andanças e viajes de un hidalgo español," in *Gesammelte Aufsätze zur Kulturgeschichte Spaniens*, vol. 7 (Münster 1938) 127–206. A. Vasiliev, "Pero Tafur," *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 75–122. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:52–63. –A.K.

TAGARIS (Τάγαρις), a rather unusual family name derived from *ταγάριον*, a dry measure. The first known member is George, whom Manuel PHILES mentioned in a poem (*EkAl* 3 [1882/3] 653), probably of the early 14th C. Next comes Manuel, governor of Philadelphia (ca.1309–27), whose first marriage was to Doukaina Monomachina. Although of lowly origins, he campaigned successfully against the Turks in Asia Minor and was esteemed by Andronikos II. Manuel received the rank of senator and *megas stratopedarches*; his second wife, Theodora Palaiologina Asanina, was a daughter of John III Asan (tsar of Bulgaria, 1279–80). In 1321 the emperor sent Manuel back from Constantinople to Philadelphia, where he stayed at his post during the siege of the city until 1324, when Alexios PHILANTHROPENOS liberated it. Manuel apparently died before 1342. His son George Tagaris likewise held the office of *megas stratopedarches*. In 1346 the empress Anna of Savoy sent him to the Lydian emir Saruhan to recruit soldiers for the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Saruhan, an acquaintance of Manuel, was pleased to supply George with a Turkish army. In 1356 George received a personal letter from Pope Innocent VI (1352–62) commending his inclination toward UNION OF THE CHURCHES. Perhaps another son of Manuel, or in any case a relative, was Paul Palaiologos TAGARIS, the Latin patriarch, by far the best-known member of the family. The line apparently died out soon after 1400, when Anna Laskarina Tagarina brought a lawsuit before the patriarchal court.

LIT. D. Nicol, "Philadelphia and the Tagaris Family," *Neo-Hellenika* 1 (1970) 9–17. Kourouses, *Gabalas* 129–33, 280–89, 329–43. P. Schreiner, "Zur Geschichte Philadelpheias im 14. Jahrhundert (1293–1390)," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 390–95. –E.T.

TAGARIS, PAUL PALAIOLOGOS, Greek monk and Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1379/80–1384?); born ca.1340?, died after 1394. His life story is known primarily from his confession of sins before the synod of Constantinople in 1394 (MM 2:224–30). Tagaris claimed to be related to the PALAIOLOGOS family, perhaps through his stepmother. He married at the age of 14 but soon left his wife and became a monk in Palestine. His greed led him into scandal and corruption. After a brief spell in Constantinople (ca.1363), he left in disgrace for Jerusalem, where he was ordained deacon, and then moved to Antioch, where he became priest and exarch. In return for bribes he performed numerous uncanonical ordinations and even masqueraded as patriarch of Jerusalem. In the 1370s he traveled to Persia and Georgia and was finally made bishop of Taurezion (perhaps the Tauric Chersonese, or, less likely, a see in the Taurus Mountains). Upon learning that his charlatanry was discovered by PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, he fled via Tartary and Hungary to Rome. There he made his submission to Pope Urban VI (1378–89), who named him titular Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1380). In 1384 he was denounced as an impostor and escaped to Cyprus where, for 30,000 gold pieces, he crowned Jacques I de Lusignan (1382–98). Tagaris's travels continued: after a brief imprisonment in Rome (1388–89) he sought refuge with Amadeo VII of Savoy (1383–91) and journeyed to Avignon and Paris. He then repented and returned to Constantinople where he recanted in 1394. Nothing is known of his subsequent career.

LIT. D.M. Nicol, "The Confessions of a Bogus Patriarch: Paul Tagaris Palaiologos," *JEH* 21 (1970) 289–99. R.-J. Loenertz, "Cardinal Morosini et Paul Paléologue Tagaris, patriarches," *REB* 24 (1966) 224–56. *RegPatr*, fasc. 5, nos. 2449, 2598, 2639, 2642; fasc. 6, nos. 2775, 2894, 2974.
–A.M.T.

TAGENO, participant in and diarist of the Third Crusade; died Tripolis in Syria between 21 June and 3 Nov. 1190. Tageno is attested (1184) as notary and chaplain of Dietpald, bishop of Passau, and as dean of Passau cathedral (1189). Tageno's account extended from his bishop's departure from Passau on 15 May 1189 to 21 June 1190. Although the original is lost (see HISTORIA DE EXPEDITIONE FRIDERICI), Magnus of Reichersberg (died 1195) substantially excerpted it in his *Annals*. A lost early recension first published by J. Aventin (1522) preserves part of a version closer to Tageno, but most was incorporated after additional revision into Magnus's surviving second (according to Schmale, *infra* 203, n.105) redaction. Tageno gave a detailed account of the crossing by FREDERICK I of the Byz. Empire and Anatolia as well as of local geography and climate and negotiations of the Crusaders with Constantinople.

ED. W. Wattenbach, MGH *SS* 17 (1861; rp. 1925) 509–17.

LIT. Wattenbach-Schmale, *Deutsch. Gesch. Heinr. V* 1:96–99, 203–08. –M.McC.

TAGMA (*τάγμα*), the classical word used to designate a regiment; in the 4th C. it was usually equated to the *arithmos* or Lat. *numerus* (F. Lammert, *RE* 2.R. 4 [1932] 2023). It acquired a technical meaning in the mid-8th C. when Constantine V created a professional army of *tagmata* under the direct command of the emperor, as a check on the contingents that were in the service of powerful STRATEGOI of the THEMES; the reform was completed by Nikephoros I. The first *tagmata* were *scholai* and *exkoubitoi* under the command of their respective DOMESTIKOI; the VIGLA (or *arithmos*) and *hikanatoi* (see DOMESTIKOS TON HIKANATON) appeared by the end of the 8th C. For a short period at the beginning of the 9th C. FOEDERATI also formed a *tagma*. Special Constantinopolitan units—the wall regiments and *noumera* (see DOMESTIKOS TON NOUMERON) who guarded parts of the city walls and some imperial prisons—were also added to the main *tagmata*. According to QUDĀMA IBN JAʿFAR, four cavalry units and two infantry regiments based at Constantinople each had 4,000 men, making a total of 24,000 soldiers; Haldon thinks these figures are exaggerated, but W. Treadgold concludes that Qudāma was correct (*GRBS* 21 [1980] 270–77). N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 143f) suggests that from the end of the 10th C. the tagmatic army was in decline, since the *tagmata* were located in the provinces; the term acquired the vague meaning of a military contingent, and *tagmata* of STRATELATAI, of ATHANATOI, of *megathymoi* (Skyl. 413.18), and of ARCHONTOPOULOI are mentioned in the sources. After the 11th C. the term seems to have disappeared, as well as the distinction between thematic and "imperial" troops.

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 228–337. Ahrweiler, "Administration" 24–32. F. Winkelmann, "Probleme der Informationen des al-Ǧarmi über die byzantinischen Provinzen," *BS* 43 (1982) 18–29. –A.K.

TAILOR (*ῥάπτης*). The word *raptes* appears in late Roman papyri (Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:440) and in inscriptions from Korykos (*MAMA* 3, nos. 554, 581), but seems to have been unknown in classical texts. It is usually understood as "clothesmender" (e.g., Fikhman, *Egipet* 26), but this translation is unlikely since PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler, 94.7–9) encountered 15 *raptai* and 15 fullers in the monastery of Panos—figures that suggest tailoring rather than mending. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT (7.42–51) contrasts *brakarios* (see TROUSERS) and *raptes*; M.N. Tod (*JHS* 24 [1904] 201) and E. Hanton (*Byzantion* 4 [1929] 70f) interpret this as a distinction between a craftsman producing articles made of coarse woolen cloth or felt (*brakarios*) and one engaged in making finer garments, esp. of linen and silk (*raptes*).

It is unclear whether Byz. tailors were distinct from WEAVERS; in any case they are not included as a separate guild in the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*. In the Stoudios monastery there were *rapheis* and *vestiarioi* who washed and mended clothes (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:413, n.2), and *hyphantai* and *akestai* who sewed cloaks but started their work at the loom (i.e., also made the cloth—Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 225f). Both *raptai* and *hyphantai* are mentioned in the acts of Athos, as a profession and as a last name: among the various monks of the Philotheou monastery who signed a charter of 1154 were a *hyphantes*, a *raptes*, a barrelmaker, a carpenter (*xylourgos*), a shoemaker (*tzangarios*), and a cook (*Lavra* 1, no.63.3–8). The poet Stephen SACHLIKES refers to *raptes* (*sic*, a plural form) dwelling in the countryside (ed. S.D. Papadimitriu, *Letopis'* 3 [1896] 21.173).

LIT. Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 146. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:210. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 100, n.183. –A.K.

TAINIA. See HEADGEAR.

TAKTIKA (*τακτικά*), or notitias, official lists of titles and offices. Except for the early NOTITIA DIGNITATUM and the 14th-C. tract by pseudo-KODINOS, all belong to the 9th–10th C.: the so-called *Taktikon of Uspenskij* was issued in 842/3, then follows the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS (899), the *Taktikon of Beneševič* (934–44), and the Escurial (or Oikonomides) *taktikon* (971–75). *Taktika* are concerned with ceremonial and court precedence; their primary aim was to guide the ATRIKLINES in the appropriate placement of dignitaries at imperial banquets. *Taktika* are the most important source for the study of administration because they provide an almost complete picture of the Byz. bureaucratic machine; their evidence, however, must be expanded and checked by reference to narrative texts and esp. SEALS.

ED. N. Oikonomides, *Les Listes de préséance byzantines des IXe et Xe siècles* (Paris 1972).

LIT. F. Winkelmann, *Byzantinische Rang- und Ämterstruktur im 8. und 9. Jahrhundert* (Berlin 1985) 19–28. –A.K.

TAKTIKA OF LEO VI (Τῶν ἐν πολέμοις τακτικῶν σύντομος παράδοσις), a large handbook of STRATEGY and tactics for land and naval warfare in 20 books compiled by Leo VI ca.905. In the preface Leo states his purpose to revive military science in face of the Arab threat. Based mainly on Onasander and the STRATEGIKON OF MAURICE, the *Taktika* discusses generalship and planning, equipment and deployment, encampments, sieges, and duties before and after battle. Although much in the text is derived and hence remote from Leo's time, sections on foreign peoples such as the HUNGARIANS (18.45–76) and ARABS (18.109–41) or the exploits and innovations of his generals (11.25–26; 15.38; 17.83) are contemporary, while the lack of sources on naval warfare compelled him to ask his own sailors for information on this subject (19.1). The *Taktika* became the authoritative military reference work in the 10th C., inspiring and influencing later STRATEGIKA (Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 139–60).

The text has come down in two traditions—a preliminary model and a fully revised version (A. Dain, *TM* 2 [1967] 354–57). Of interest for the text's early history is the acrostic in book 20, rearranged during the reign of Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos to delete the name of Leo's brother Alexander (J. Grosdidier de Matons, *TM* 5 [1973] 229–42). Another *strategikon*, conventionally titled SYLLOGE TACTICORUM, is wrongly attributed to Leo VI.

ED. PG 107:669–1120. Incomplete ed.—R. Vári, *Leonis imperatoris Tactica*, 2 vols. (Budapest 1917–22).

LIT. V.V. Kučma, " 'Taktika L'va' kak istoričeskij istočnik," *VizVrem* 33 (1972) 75–87. G. Dagron, "Byzance et le modèle islamique au Xe siècle. A propos des *Constitutions tactiques de l'empereur Léon VI*," *CRAI* (Paris 1983) 219–43. T.G. Kolias, "The *Taktika* of Leo the Wise and the Arabs," *Graeco-Arabica* 3 (1984) 129–35. –E.M.

TALE OF THE TAKING OF TSAR'GRAD, name of two different accounts of a capture of Constantinople.

CAPTURE OF 1204. The Eastern Slavic account of the capture of Constantinople by the Crusaders in 1204, preserved in the Novgorod First Chronicle and in several historical compilations, is apparently based on an eyewitness report. The background to the attack seems to derive from oral sources: a version of Alexios III Angelos's escape from Constantinople that differs from that in Niketas CHONIATES, and an account of diplomacy that is favorable to PHILIP OF SWABIA. The *Tale* blames Constantinople's rulers and would-be rulers rather than Philip or the pope. The capture itself is described in detail and is particularly useful as a source on the plundering of Hagia Sophia. It has been suggested that ANTONY, archbishop of Novgorod, was the author.

ED. S. Patri, "La relation russe de la quatrième Croisade," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 461–501, with Fr. tr.

LIT. N.A. Meščerskij, "Drevnerusskaja povest' o vzjatii Car'grada frjagami kak istočnik po istorii Vizantii," *VizVrem* 9 (1956) 170–85. J. Gordon, "The Novgorod Account of the Fourth Crusade," *Byzantion* 43 (1973–74) 297–311. M.A. Zaborov, "Izvestija russkich sovremennikov o krestovych pochodach," *VizVrem* 31 (1971) 98–106. –S.C.F.

CAPTURE OF 1453. The account of the capture of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453 is attributed in one MS to Nestor-Iskander, purportedly a Russian pressed into service in the Turkish army. The core of the work—an eyewitness description of the fall of the city—is set in an eschatological framework; a preface treats the founding of Constantinople, and digressions use prophecies from pseudo-METHODIOS, the visions of Daniel, and Leo VI the Wise.

ED. O.V. Tvorogov, "Povest' o vzjatii Car'grada Turkami v 1453 godu," in *Pamjatniki literatury drevnej Rusi: Vtoraja polovina XV veka* (Moscow 1982) 216–66.

LIT. M.O. Skripil', "Istorija o vzjatii Car'grada turkami Nestora Iskandera," *TODRL* 10 (1954) 166–84. I. Dujčev, "La conquête turque et la prise de Constantinople dans la littérature slave contemporaine," *BS* 17 (1956) 283–309. N.A. Smirnov, "Istoričeskoe značenie russkoj 'povesti' Nestora Iskandera o vzjatii turkami Konstantinopolja v 1453 g.," *VizVrem* 7 (1953) 50–71. – S.C.F.

T'AMARA OF GEORGIA, queen of Georgia (from 1184); born ca.1156, died 1207 or 1212/13. In 1178 T'amara (Θάμαρ) was associated with her father Giorgi III (r.1156–84). Her marriage (in 1185?—certainly not before 1184, cf. V.B. Vinogradov, S.A. Golovanova, *Voprosy istorii* [1982] no.7, 182–84) to Jurij, son of ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO, failed. In 1191 she had to suppress a revolt of Georgian nobles, aided by Byz., in support of Jurij (M.D. Lordkipanidze, *Georgia in the XI–XII Centuries*, tr. D. Skvirsky [Tbilisi 1987] 142f). Militarily, she expanded Georgian power into Armenia. When the Fourth Crusade attacked Constantinople (July 1203), T'amara exploited the Byz. Empire's disintegration. In Apr. 1204 her armies occupied TREBIZOND, where they installed her

kinsman ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS, and advanced into Paphlagonia with DAVID KOMNENOS.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Foundation of the Empire of Trebizond (1204–1222)," *Speculum* 11 (1936) 3–37. C. Toumanoff, "On the Relationship between the Founder of the Empire of Trebizond and the Georgian Queen Thamar," *Speculum* 15 (1940) 299–312. –C.M.B.

TANA, ancient Tanais in the estuary of the Don, on the site of the village of Nedvigovka. The city was destroyed by a hostile invasion (of the Goths or Sarmato-Alans?) soon after 244; it was probably restored ca.375 and regained its previous extent, although it was poor, with many buildings in ruins. Some trade with Cimmerian BOSPOROS persisted, but objects (ceramics, bone combs, fibulae) typical of western areas (ČERNJACHOVO?) have been found side by side with Late Antique ware of the 4th–5th C. This partial change in material culture testifies to the penetration of new inhabitants into Tanais. In the mid-5th C. Tanais was deserted; the nearby necropolis likewise has no graves later than the 5th C.

From Prokopios to Doukas, when Byz. authors speak of Tanais they mean only the river Don; for instance, some of them are aware of Italians sailing to the Tanais River (e.g., Kantak. 3:192.18) or of wares brought from "the Scythians and Tanais" (Greg. 3:90.14–15).

The Italian colony of Tana is known from the end of the 12th C. onward. It was a trading center, probably founded by Cuman merchants, connecting the basin of the Black Sea (primarily KAFFA) with eastern Europe, the Golden Horde, and the empire of the Ilkhans. Its main exports were fish and caviar. From 1235 to 1475 Tana was ruled by the TATARS. The Orthodox church in Tana was under the jurisdiction of the metropolitan of Alania (or the Caucasus); in 1356 several priests from Tana lodged complaints in Constantinople concerning actions of the metropolitan, including his attempts to let Armenians use their church (MM 1:357.33–34). Sacked by TIMUR in 1375, Tana deteriorated thereafter. It lost all significance when it was conquered by the Ottomans in 1475.

LIT. D.B. Šelov, *Tanais i Nižnij Don v pervye veka našej ery* (Moscow 1972) 307–35. T. Arsen'eva, *Nekropol' Tanaisa* (Moscow 1977) 151. M. Kovalevskij, "K rannej istorii Azova: Venecianskaja i genuezskaja kolonii v Tane v XIV veke," *Trudy XII archeologičeskogo s'ezda*, vol. 2 (Moscow 1905) 109–74. M.E. Martin, "Venetian Tana in the Later Fourteenth and Early Fifteenth Centuries," *ByzF* 11 (1987) 375–79. –O.P.

TANCRED (Ταγγρῆς), nephew of BOHEMUND; born ca.1075, died Antioch ca.12 Dec. 1112. Tancred joined Bohemund's Normans on the First Crusade. Only under strong pressure did he take the oath of vassalage to Alexios I (June 1097). In Sept. 1097, in cooperation with their Byz. and Armenian inhabitants, he took Tarsos and Mamistra. Tancred participated in the capture of Antioch and Jerusalem and then in 1101, after the Turks imprisoned Bohemund, became regent of Antioch. In 1103, after an 18-month siege, Tancred took LAODIKEIA from the Byz. When, following Bohemund's release, a Byz. force seized all of Laodikeia except the citadel, Bohemund determined to return to Italy; Tancred again became his deputy in Antioch. In 1107, while Bohemund attacked Byz. from the west, Tancred expelled the Byz. army that had occupied Cilicia; in 1108 he regained Laodikeia. About 1109, Alexios recovered part of Cilicia; in 1109/10, Tancred again drove him out. After Bohemund died, Alexios demanded the fulfillment of the Treaty of DEVOL that Bohemund had signed, but Tancred contemptuously rejected his envoys. Anna Komnene admired his leadership and bravery.

LIT. R.L. Nicholson, *Tancred: A Study of his Career and Work* (Chicago 1940; rp. New York 1978). –C.M.B.

TANCRED OF LECCE, claimant king of Sicily (1189–94); died Palermo 20 Feb. 1194. An illegitimate son of Roger, duke of Apulia, son of ROGER II, Tancred (Ταγκρέ) was chosen king by a faction of barons upon the death of WILLIAM II of Sicily. Tancred contended against internal revolts, repeated invasions by his German rival HENRY VI, and the Crusaders RICHARD I LIONHEART and Philip II of France (1190–91). To resist Henry, Tancred made an alliance on unknown terms with ISAAC II, who dreaded a German occupation of Sicily. To cement this alliance, Isaac sent his daughter Irene to marry Tancred's eldest son Roger (July–Aug. 1192), who then became coruler with Tancred. Roger, however, died 24 Dec. 1193, and Tancred soon after. Henry then easily took Sicily.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:419–91. Brand, *Byzantium* 189–90. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 80–121. –C.M.B.

TANNER (βυρσεύς, also βυρσοποιός, βυρσοδέψης). In the late Roman period the verb *byrsao* probably did not refer specifically to tanning, but to LEATHER processing in general: "God," says Epiphanios of Salamis (PG 43:128C), in imitation of Origen, "is not a *byrsodeutes* (or *byrsodepses*) who works on hides, making tunics for Adam and Eve." John Chrysostom (PG 52:522.43–47) describes the work of leather dressers (*skytodepsai*): first they treat the hides with a mordant, then stretch and beat them, dash them against walls and rocks, preparing them for dyeing. A 6th-C. papyrus may mention *byrseis* (I. Fikhman, *PSb* 7 [1962] 53, n.9).

Some tanners plied their trade at monasteries: PALLADIOS (*Hist.Laus.*, ed. Butler 96.3) saw a *byrseion* or tannery among the workshops in a monastery in Panos, and there were also *byrseis* at the Stoudios monastery in Constantinople. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* distinguishes between two kinds of craftsmen working on hides, *byrsopoioi* and *malakatarioi* (lit. "softeners"). The latter term is found nowhere else, although the related word *malakourgos* is used to describe artisans at Stoudios; Dobroklonskij (*Feodor* 1:413), however, understood it to mean carpenter.

Tanners ranked low on the social scale; Niketas Choniates disparagingly includes *byrsodepsai* among the "stupid and ignorant inhabitants of Constantinople," alongside the sausage sellers and shoemakers (Nik.Chon. 349.15–18). A letter of Maximos PLANOUDES mentions Jewish tanners in the Vlanga quarter of Constantinople (ep.31.53–61, ed. Treu, 52), the stench of whose profession he detested.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Hommes d'affaires* 101, n.191. –A.K.

TANŪKHIDS, the dominant group among the Arab FOEDERATI in the 4th C. They had wandered into Oriens from the Arabian peninsula via Persian territory and were settled in the region of Chalkis in northern Syria. As *foederati* they fought for the late Roman Empire against the Persians during the reign of Constantius II and Julian, and against the Goths under Valens, including the defense of Constantinople in 378, immediately after the battle of Adrianople. They also fought against the empire. As zealous adherents of Nicene Christianity they successfully opposed Valens in the 370s, and as discontented *foederati* they revolted against Theodosios I and were crushed by Ricimer in 383. They remained in the service of Constantinople (although not as the dominant Arab group) in the 5th–6th C. and took part in the defense of Oriens against the Muslim Arabs in the 7th. To the 4th-C. Tanūkhids most probably belong the earliest expressions of Arabic culture in Oriens: a rudimentary form of an Arabic liturgy and epinician odes celebrating their victory over Valens.

LIT. H. Kindermann, *EI* supp. 227–30. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th c.)*. –I.A.Sh.

TAORMINA (Ταυρομένιον), city on the northeastern coast of Sicily, between Messina and Catania. Founded in the 4th C. B.C., it fell into economic decline after antiquity, and has no late Roman archaeological monuments (G. Fasoli, *Atti del 3° Congresso internazionale di studi sull'alto medioevo* [Spoleto 1959] 382f) except for some tombs and inscriptions, one of which is dated in 409 (B. Pace, *Arte e civiltà della Sicilia antica*, vol. 4 [Rome-Naples 1949] 195). Medieval Taormina was a stronghold and a bishopric. A late legend (probably of the 8th or 9th C.) attributes the foundation of the bishopric to St. PANKRATIOS OF TAORMINA (*BHG* 1410), an alleged disciple of the apostle Peter who reportedly came to Taormina from Antioch.

In the 9th C. Taormina became the target of constant attacks by the Arabs, who devastated the area in 869, 877, 879, and 889. Taormina was the last significant fortress in Sicily to resist the Arab onslaught, but on 1 Aug. 902 the Muslims took the city after a siege. Many captives, including Bp. Prokopios, were beheaded and their corpses burned. Those Byz. commanders who avoided capture and came to Constantinople were condemned to be executed, but at the request of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos they were permitted to escape the death penalty by taking monastic vows. Soon after the fall of Taormina the Byz. authorities proclaimed the city an archbishopric. The fortress was rebuilt by the Arabs and was known to Arab sources as "New Stronghold." The local population tried to preserve a certain independence, but

by 962 Taormina came under the total control of the Arabs. In 1078 the Normans took the city.

LIT. E. Mauceri, *Taormina* (Bergamo, n.d.) 20–31. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:142–48, 226. –A.K.

TARANTO (Τάρας, Τερεντός), ancient Italian port on the Ionian Sea, connected by the Via Appia with Rome and central Italy, and an important naval stronghold during the Gothic wars. In 663 Constans II landed in Taranto, whence he started his brief campaign against BENEVENTO. Taranto was conquered ca.680 by the Lombards and ca.840 by the Arabs. In 880 the Byz. recovered the port; they held it until the Norman conquest of the 1060s. Administratively, Taranto belonged to the theme of LONGOBARDIA and later to the katepanate of Italy. In this period Taranto lost to OTRANTO its importance in the Mediterranean traffic; fishing, however, remained important in the local economy. The population consisted of Greeks and Lombards. The bishops—from 978, archbishops—and the clergy of the cathedral were usually Latin-speaking Roman Catholics, whereas the local landowners and officials were generally Greek. The latter's prevalence is testified to by a number of Greek monasteries, some of which survived through the Norman period. No Byz. monument has been preserved.

LIT. V. von Falkenhausen, "Taranto in epoca bizantina," *StMed*[3] 9 (1968) 133–66. A. Jacob, "La réconstruction de Tarente par les Byzantins aux IXe et Xe siècles," *QFItArch* 68 (1988) 1–19. –V.v.F.

TARASIOS (Ταράσιος), patriarch of Constantinople (25 Dec. 784–18 Feb. 806) and saint; born Constantinople? ca.730, died Constantinople 25 Feb. 806; feastday 25 Feb. Son of a high-ranking judge, Tarasios had a secular career under the Iconoclast rulers and became *asekretis*. Empress Irene, seeing in Tarasios an ally, selected him as the successor of Paul IV (780–84), a patriarch who was inclined to restore icon veneration but was afraid to take a decisive step. Tarasios acted immediately, addressing to Pope HADRIAN I an epistle with an anti-Iconoclast profession of faith and anathemas against heretics condemned by six ecumenical councils, including Pope Honorius. Hadrian's answer was cautious: he welcomed the restoration of the cult of icons but protested against the election of a layman to the patriarchal throne; he demanded energetic action against the Iconoclasts. Overcoming the opposition primarily of military circles, Irene and Tarasios convoked the Second Council of NICAEA in 787 and abolished ICONOCLASM. Tarasios, however, in his desire for pacification, assumed a mild position with regard to former Iconoclasts as well as repentant clergymen condemned for simony. The patriarch's moderate attitude inspired criticism by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS and his partisans. The conflict between the two factions of Iconophiles became esp. acute during the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY but simmered down after the blinding of Constantine VI.

The literary oeuvre of Tarasios is insignificant, comprised primarily of letters, a *Refutation* of the decisions of the Iconoclast Council of 754, a homily on the Presentation of the Virgin, and a speech on his election. His vita was written by IGNATIOS THE DEACON.

ED. PG 98:1423–1500. Mansi 13:205–356.

SOURCE. *Ignatii Diaconi Vita Tarasii archiepiscopi Constantinopolitani*, ed. I.A. Heikel (Helsingfors 1891). Lat. tr.—PG 98:1385–1424.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 350–73. Beck, *Kirche* 489. R. Janin, *DTC* 15 (1946) 54–57. G. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de Constantinople aux VIIIe, IXe et Xe siècles," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 217–29. G. Ostrogorsky, "Rom und Byzanz im Kampfe um die Bilderverehrung," *SemKond* 6 (1933) 73–87. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES (Ταρχανειώτης, fem. Ταρχανειώτισσα), also Trachaneiotes, a lineage of military aristocracy. Both etymology and family origin are questionable. Seibt (*Bleisiegel* 280) connects the name with the Mongol *targan*, "smith," although Moravcsik (*Byzantinoturcica* 2:300) had questioned the Turkish-Bulgarian connections of the name. C. Cahen (*Byzantion* 9 [1934] 630), without any documentation, considers the family Georgian. They may have been of Bulgarian stock; in any case they belonged to the nobles of Adrianople. From the late 10th C. they occupied important military posts: Gregory Tarchaneiotes was *katepano* of Italy from 998; Basil was *stratelates* of the West ca.1057; Joseph, the general of Romanos IV Diogenes, died in 1074 as *doux* of Antioch; his son Katakalon Tarchaneiotes succeeded his father as governor of Antioch. In the struggle for power in the 11th C., the Tarchaneiotai opposed the rebellious Anatolian aristocracy; Basil remained loyal to Michael VI Stratiotikos and fought against

Isaac I Komnenos; Joseph resisted Romanos IV's plans for broad expansion, played a two-faced role at the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071), and was rewarded by the Doukai. A certain Tarchaneiotes (Tarchaneiotes Katakalon, acc. to Anna Komnene) supported Michael VII against Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and later fought against Alexios I Komnenos. (Gautier ["Blachernes" 254f] identified him with the governor of Antioch, but the man was still young in 1077.)

Accordingly the Komnenoi did not trust them; after "the son of Tarchaneiotes," *protoproedros* in 1094, and John Tarchaneiotes, *protos* of Athos in the early 12th C., the Tarchaneiotai suffered a temporary eclipse but regained importance after 1204. PACHYMERES listed them among the most influential families of the empire of Nicaea; they possessed land in the Smyrna region. Nikephoros Tarchaneiotes was *megas domestikos* under John III; married to Maria-Martha, Michael VIII's sister, he became a Palaiologan supporter and his sons were awarded high titles: Andronikos, *megas konostaulos*, and Michael (died 1284), *protovestiarios*. Another Michael (Tarchaneiotes GLABAS) was *protostrator* ca.1300. Kantakouzenos describes the military prowess of Constantine Tarchaneiotes, *strategos* of the "triremes" in 1352. The family was closely connected with the PAMMAKARISTOS church in Constantinople: an enigmatic description of the church mentions the *sebastos* Alexios Tarchaneiotes, *gambros* of the founders, and several later family members. The Tarchaneiotai's intellectual role is unattested, except for the questions addressed to Patr. Nicholas (III?) (Beneševič, *Opisanie* 1:288f) by John Tarchaneiotes, an Athonite monk, probably the above-mentioned *protos*.

LIT. P. Schreiner, "Eine unbekannte Beschreibung der Pammakaristoskirche," *DOP* 25 (1971) 229, n.27, 230–33. G.I. Theocharides, "Michael Doukas Glabas Tarchaneiotes," *EEPhSPTh* 7 (1956) 183–206. –A.K.

TARCHANEIOTES, MICHAEL DOUKAS GLABAS. See GLABAS, MICHAEL TARCHANEIOTES.

TARION (*ταρίον*, It. *tari* or *tareno*), the name given in southern Italy and Sicily to the Muslim gold quarter dinar (*rubāʿi*) and imitations or derivatives of it struck in Amalfi, Salerno, and the Norman kingdom of Sicily in the 10th–13th C. The term came from the Arabic *ṭarī*, "new, fresh," implying "newly struck" and used as a description of condition (*rubāʿi ṭarī*), but it was thought by Christian users to be the actual name of the coins. These weighed a theoretical 1.06 g and the originals were of pure gold, but the imitations and derivatives were in varying degrees debased, the taria of Sicily being 16.33 carats fine. The tari subsequently became a money of account paid in gold coins by weight, the individual coins being struck to no specific standard at all. It was adopted into the southern Italian system as a weight, the trappeso (i.e., *tari* + *peso*) of .89 g.

LIT. S.M. Stern, "Tari," *StMed* 11 (1970) 177–207. P. Grierson, W.A. Oddy, "Le titre du tari sicilien du milieu du XI[e] siècle à 1278," *RN*[6] 16 (1974) 123–34. –Ph.G.

TARŌN (Ταρών), district of southwest ARMENIA; in the 4th C., the domain of the MAMIKONEAN. In the 8th C. Tarōn passed to a branch of the BAGRATID house and formed a separate principality recognizing the overlordship of the caliphate while simultaneously maintaining friendly relations with Byz., which granted to its princes the titles of *magistros, patrikios*, and *strategos* of Tarōn (*De adm. imp.* 43.65, 152). At the death of Prince Ašot I in 966, Tarōn was annexed by Byz. and formed with KELTZENE a theme usually ruled by a *protospatharios*, and a metropolitan see with 21 suffragans (*Notitiae CP* no.10.702–29), while the Taronite princes received extensive domains and went on to distinguished careers at the imperial court. In the mid-11th C. Tarōn was reunited with VASPURAKAN, for GREGORY MAGISTROS styles himself *doux* of Vaspurakan and Tarōn in his letters and inscriptions (*Letters*, p.148). After the Byz. defeat at MANTZIKERT in 1071, a Taronite prince named Tornik established himself at Muš west of Lake Van, which his descendants held until dispossessed by the Muslims in 1189/90.

LIT. K.N. Yuzbashian, "L'administration byzantine en Arménie aux X[e]–XI[e] siècles," *REArm* n.s. 10 (1973–74) 140–48. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 198–201. –N.G.G.

TARONITES (Ταρωνίτης), a noble family of Armenian origin. According to Adontz (*infra*), it was founded by Gregory and Bagrat (Pankratios), sons of Ašot, prince of Tarōn; after Ašot's death in 968 the brothers yielded Tarōn to Byz. in exchange for the title of *patrikioi* and lands "of large

revenues" (Skyl. 279.82–84). According to Laurent (*infra*), already established in Byz. by that time was another branch of the family to which belonged Romanos Taronites, who married Irene, Gregory's daughter. In the 10th–11th C. Taronitai were predominantly military commanders: Gregory was *magistros* and governor of Thessalonike; his son Ašot defended Thessalonike against SAMUEL OF BULGARIA and was captured in 996; Michael fought against the Turks, his son John against the Cumans. The Taronitai were eager to side with rebels: Gregory and Bagrat supported Bardas SKLEROS but later joined the emperor; another Gregory joined the aristocratic conspiracy of 1040; a third Gregory, *doux* of Trebizond, rebelled there in 1104, but the revolt was put down by his cousin John, Michael's son. The Taronites family belonged to the aristocratic elite: Michael married Maria, Alexios I's sister, and had the title of *panhypersebastos*. In the 12th C. the Taronitai were primarily civilian functionaries: John, *epi ton deeseon* in 1094/5; John, eparch in ca.1107; John, *praitor* and *anagrapheus* of Thrace in 1102; John, eparch in 1147; Gregory, *protovestiarios* of John II; Theodore, notary in 1195. A puzzling case is Eudokia Taronitissa, called *sebaste* on a 12th-C. seal and *proedrissa* on a 13th-C. (?) seal. Theodore PRODROMOS mentions that John, Manuel I's nephew, married a lady of the Taronites family who dwelled on the Euphrates; perhaps the family left Constantinople and moved east, but the poet could have had a local branch of the family in mind. They did not play any political role after 1204.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 197–251, 339–45. V. Laurent, "Alliances et filiation des premiers Taronites," *EO* 37 (1938) 127–35. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 17–25. –A.K.

TARSOS (Ταρσός, mod. Tarsus), civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of CILICIA I, flourished as a trade and military center because of its strategic location below the CILICIAN GATES on the main highway between Anatolia and Syria. An early center of Christianity, Tarsos was famous as the birthplace of St. Paul, whose shrine was built there by Maurice. The city was still largely pagan, however, in the time of Julian the Apostate, who planned to make it his residence; instead, he was buried by the city walls opposite the tomb of Maximinus Daia. Justinian I regulated the course of the Kydnos through Tarsos and rebuilt its bridge, but the city suffered from riots of the Blues late in his reign. The Arabs took Tarsos in 637 and made it the center of their defensive system against Byz. In the 7th–8th C. Tarsos was frequently attacked and ruined, but recovered after 834 to become a major Arab commercial city. Nikephoros II Phokas took it in 965 and installed a garrison of 5,000 under a *strategos*. It remained Byz. until 1085, then frequently changed hands among Byz., Armenians, Crusaders, and Seljuks. John II took it in 1137, and Manuel I received there the homage of the Latins in 1159. The Armenians conquered it in 1172. Tarsos preserves no significant Byz. remains.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 4 (1932) 2430f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:679. –C.F.

TATARS (Τάταροι), seminomadic groups in East Asia who are first mentioned in the Old Turkic runic royal inscriptions from Mongolia (A.D. 732). They probably used a Mongolian idiom as their lingua franca and, during the 12th C., played a leading role in Mongolia. In 1202 the Tatars were defeated by the Mongol ruler Genghis Khan but, because of the prestige of the Tatars' name in the Eurasian steppe, the Mongols appropriated this charismatic appellation for themselves. "Tatar" became the designation for the realm of the Mongols in Rus' and the Cuman steppes (including the Crimea). The terms *Tataros* and *Mougoulios* are very rare in Byz. historical sources, apart from a *synaxarion* from Sougdaia in which Tatar occurs many times (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:282f). As usual the Byz. preferred the archaizing designation "Scythians" for the Mongols and Tatars.

LIT. A. Graf, "Die Tataren im Spiegel der byzantinischen Literatur," in *Jubilee Volume in Honour of Prof. Bernhard Heller on the Occasion of his Seventieth Birthday*, ed. S. Scheiber (Budapest 1941) 77–85. –O.P.

TATAS (τατᾶς), or *tatas* of the court (*tatas tes aules*), a title mentioned first on a seal of John Komnenos Vatatzes, nephew of Manuel I. Several individuals are known to have held this title in the 13th and 14th C. The functions of the *tatas* are not defined in the available sources. Since the historian Doukas explained the word as "pedagogue," Stein ("Untersuchungen" 45, n. 1) suggested that the *tatas* replaced the *megas* BAIOULOS,

but V. Laurent (*EEBS* 23 [1953] 203) rejected this hypothesis. The only evidence that sheds some light on his duties is in an early 14th-C. historian (Pachym., ed. Failler, 2:413.18–21) who presents the *tatas* as one of the three major aulic functionaries (along with the PINKERNES and EPI TES TRAPEZES) appointed by Michel VIII for his co-emperor Andronikos II. In pseudo-KODINOS the *tatas* occupies a modest position.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXIV, 149–51. –A.K.

TATIKIOS (Τατίκιος), general; fl. 1057–99. Son of a "Saracen" (An.Komn. 1:151.25–7; perhaps a Turk—Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:225, 305) captured by John Komnenos, Tatikios was the same age as ALEXIOS I, with whom he was nurtured. In 1078 Tatikios fought beside Alexios against Nikephoros BASILAKES. As *megas primikerios* of the internal VESTIARITAI (Gautier, "Blachernes" 252–54), he commanded the VARDARIOTAI against the Normans in 1081 and led expeditions against Turks and PECHENEGS in 1086–90. In 1094 his firmness ended the conspiracy of Nikephoros DIOGENES against Alexios near Serres. During the First Crusade's attack on Nicaea (1097), Tatikios's troops supported the Westerners. With a small Byz. force he then accompanied them across Anatolia, representing the emperor. During the siege of ANTIOCH (Dec. 1097–June 1098), Tatikios alienated BOHEMUND and RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE; thus isolated, he was compelled to withdraw (ca. early Feb.) by sea to Cyprus on the pretext of securing food and/or assistance for the Crusaders. Because he failed to return, Western sources condemn him as a liar and traitor. He last appears as a naval commander against Pisan raiders (1099). He was devoted to Alexios. Some Crusader narratives allege his nose had been slit, possibly indicating he had begun his career in Byz. as a slave.

LIT. Skoulatos, *Personnages* 287–92. J. France, "The Departure of Tatikios from the Crusader Army," *Bulletin of the Institute of Historical Research* 44 (1971) 137–47.
–C.M.B.

TATZATES (Τατζάτιος, Τατζάτης, Arm. Tačat), 8th-C. general who served both the Byz. and Arabs. An Armenian noble (Toumanoff, "Caucasia" 150), Tatzates came to Byz. ca.760 and reportedly campaigned under Constantine V against the Bulgarians. He was named *strategos* of the Boukellarion before 776, when he led an army against the Arabs into Samosata. In 778 Tatzates accompanied Michael LACHANODRAKON into Syria and again campaigned with him against the Arabs in 781. In 782, when HĀRŪN AL-RASHĪD invaded Asia Minor, Tatzates defected with the bulk of his troops, allowing the caliph to advance to Chrysopolis and force IRENE to negotiate for peace. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 456.12–13) says that Tatzates was motivated by hatred for the eunuch STAURAKIOS; his flight may also reflect Irene's animosity toward iconoclastic *strategoi*. Theophanes (456.22–23) also says that as a result of his flight Tatzates was deprived of his wife and all his property. Hārūn named him commander of Arab-occupied Armenia. Tatzates died while campaigning against the Khazars.

LIT. L.A. Tritle, "Tatzates' Flight and the Byzantine-Arab Treaty of 782," *Byzantion* 47 (1977) 279–300.
–P.A.H.

TAURUS (Ταῦρος), a mountain range in southeastern Anatolia that ancient geographers considered the natural frontier between Europe and Asia. Its distinction from the Caucasus was confused by some writers on geography: according to Orosius, northern Mesopotamia lay between the Taurus and the Caucasus; Eustathios of Thessalonike, on the other hand, defined the Caucasus as the northern part of the Taurus. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 138.20–21) speaks of two Tauruses separated by the valley of Klaudioupolis. Byz. authors (e.g., Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos in *De thematibus*) usually considered the Taurus as a mountainous area dividing northern Syria from eastern Asia Minor and extending as far as Isauria, Cilicia, Lykaonia, and Cappadocia; Armenia was located beyond the Taurus. In Nonnos of Panopolis, Taurus is described as an enormous mountain rising to the clouds; Prokopios (*Buildings* 5:5.15) emphasizes that in winter the whole Taurus range is snow covered. In addition to descriptions of the natural barriers that strengthen the defense of the region, Theophanes (138.16–18) also mentions fortifications and *phrouria*. Barely passable (the main road led through the CILICIAN GATES), the rugged terrain of the Taurus contributed to the relative independence of the local (Isaurian) population and, on the other hand, presented a serious obstacle for

the armies of Arabs, Byz., Crusaders, etc., moving to and from Syria.

In later texts (e.g., Skyl. 107.45–46) the name Taurus (or Northern Taurus) was linked to the Crimea (Taurike or Taurike Cherronesos of ancient authors), and the area was said to be populated by the Rus' or Tauroscythians.

LIT. W. Ruge, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 39–50. –A.K.

TAVERN (*καπηλεῖον*, also *φουσκαρεῖον* or *δειπνοποτήριον* [vita of HYPATIOS of Gangra, ed. S. Ferri, *StB* 3 (1931) 76.30–31]) was the shop (also called *ergasterion*) of a retail WINE MERCHANT, *kapelos*, as distinct from the roadside INN. The *kapelos* provided patrons with not only wine but also food (Zonaras in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:327.4). Taverns had a bad reputation: the *kapeloi* were usually accused of diluting wine with water; taverns became the site of DRUNKENNESS and brawls. For example, some young men took Andrew the Fool to a *phouskareion* in the Artopoleia in Constantinople and began to punch him. The saint then drank a mug of first-quality wine, broke the cup over the head of one of the youths, and fled; the young men caught him, struck him, and dragged him back into the tavern (PG 111:648CD). The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (19.4) prohibited *kapeloi* from opening their taverns on the days of Great Feasts "before the second hour of the day" (8:00 A.M.), and they were obliged to close at the second hour of the night (8:00 P.M.) "lest the frequenters of these taverns have the right of access thereto at night time." In the early 14th C. Patr. ATHANASIOS I (eps. 42–44) urged the prohibition of drinking in taverns on the Sabbath and during Lent.

LIT. H.J. Magoulias, "Bathhouse, Inn, Tavern, Prostitution, and the Stage as Seen in the Lives of the Saints of the Sixth and Seventh Centuries," *EEBS* 38 (1971) 238–40. –A.K.

TAX ALLEVIATION, partial or total, was necessary in order to avoid the economic ruin of farmers whose fiscal burden had considerably increased because of their obligation to pay the taxes of absent co-contributors or whose income had dropped because of a disaster. Tax alleviation could be short term (KOUPHISMOS) or long term (SYMPATHEIA) and was granted by the EPOPTES, who was also expected to check on previous alleviation and, if conditions had changed, reestablish the initial tax, partially or wholly (ORTHOSIS). Land that remained abandoned for 30 years was declared a KLASMA; the state could sell it and claim for it only 1/12 of the normal KANON (*libellikon demosion*) with the hope that in the future a series of gradual *orthoseis* would bring the tax back to normal levels. Tax alleviation was a regular administrative procedure and had nothing to do with tax exemption (EXKOUSSEIA), which mainly concerned the SECONDARY TAXES and services and which was a privilege granted to persons who offered a specific service to the state (STRATIOTAI, *exkoussatoi tou dromou* [see EXKOUSSATOS]) or to magnates receiving special treatment.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "Les terres à l'abandon selon le 'Traité fiscal' du Xe s. et leur importance pour le fisc," *EtBalk* 7.3 (1971) 18–30. N. Oikonomides, "Das Verfalland im 10.–11. Jahrhundert: Verkauf und Besteuerung," *FM* 7 (1986) 161–68. –N.O.

TAXATION. The principal taxpayers were landowners, and Byz. law considered payment of taxes as the primary duty of the *georgoi* (peasants). Specific taxes such as the CHRYSARGYRON on craft production and related occupations disappeared by the 7th C., but export-import taxes continued in the form of KOMMERKION, and city dwellers paid taxes on their immovable property—land and buildings (see CITY TAXES). Taxes were levied in money, in kind, and in the form of services (ANGAREIAI, MITATON, etc.). The complaints of Patr. Nikephoros I (Nikeph. 76.5–11) that Constantine V, "a new Midas," compelled peasants to pay taxes in cash and thus forced them to sell their goods at a loss show that in the 8th–9th C. taxation in money was considered inconvenient, at least by some Byz. In the 11th C. replacement of taxes in kind by money payments led to a revolt in Bulgaria.

The principles of late Roman taxation were established by the legislation of Diocletian and Constantine: it was based on two units of account—JUGUM and CAPUT; *jugum* encompassed the land, *caput*, manpower and animals. The quality and type of land (arable field, vineyard, olive grove) was taken into consideration. The land unit and the "poll" unit of account, although separate, were interrelated since a regular household and estate would include both elements. Accessory or SECONDARY TAXES were also imposed. Different

geographical regions, esp. Egypt and Africa, had their own characteristic taxes. It is impossible to determine when this system of taxation changed; many attempts have been made to show that it did not change at all and that land tax and POLL TAX remained as typical of late Byz. as they were of the 4th to 6th C. No late Byz. system of CAPITATIO-JUGATIO has been attested, however. N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 26 [1987] 9–19) suggests that the late Roman system of taxation based on the assessment "from above" (the central government sending "financial plans" to local fiscal units) had disappeared by the 8th C. (the last mention is the extraordinary imposition of taxes in 710), and was replaced by a system based on the evaluation of individual properties ("impôt de quotité"). Late Byz. taxation, which is better understood because of the large number of surviving PRAKTIKA, is characterized by the following features: the amount paid by the individual peasant was determined differently in different locations, draft animals, arable land, vineyards, and livestock being major factors in the fiscal assessment (Chvostova, *infra* 126); property was not the only factor determining the amount of taxes, so that poorer peasants usually paid heavier taxes than their well-to-do neighbors (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 317; Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–56); the norms of taxation could be altered even though there was no change in the property—owing to grants of fiscal alleviations (KOUPHISMOS) or privileges (EXKOUSSEIA). This permits the conclusion that late Byz. taxation was in part influenced by the social status of taxpayers and their ability to resist fiscal pressure.

The levying of taxes was divided into two phases: the assessment of taxes required a LAND SURVEY and preparation of the CADASTER, followed by the collection of taxes (usually twice a year); the assessment was carried out by EPOPTAI, ANAGRAPHEIS, and similar officials, the collection by DIOIKETAI and PRAKTORES. Tax collection could be farmed out to individuals or conferred upon exempt landlords (see TAX COLLECTORS). Taxes were directed to central bureaus, first of all the GENIKON, but also other treasuries (SAKELLION, VESTIARION, etc.); revenues from imperial domains were collected in special offices such as KOURATOREIAI, although the distinction between state and crown

TAXATION. Enrollment of Mary and Joseph for taxation; mosaic, early 14th C. Outer narthex of the church of the Chora monastery, Istanbul.



treasury was not always clear-cut. Part of the revenue went to fiscal officials in the form of SYNETHEIAI and ELATIKON, for their work in collecting taxes; certain *strategoi* were paid directly from local revenues, and part of the income was assigned as SOLEMNIA to privileged institutions or individuals.

In theory, the tax was assessed first and then the assets (esp. land) were given to the taxpayer accordingly; thus, HIKANOSIS or the adaptation of land to conform with the sum of taxes assessed was possible. The responsibility for the payment of taxes lay not only on the landowner but on his neighbors who could be asked to pay for impoverished or fugitive peasants (ALLELENGYON).

(On the development of taxation, see FISCAL SYSTEM.)

LIT. J. Karayannopulos, *Das Finanzwesen des frühbyzantinischen Staates* (Munich 1958). W. Treadgold, *The Byzantine State Finances in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries* (New York 1982). F. Dölger, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der byzantinischen Finanzverwaltung* (Munich 1927; rp. Darmstadt 1960). K. Chvostova, *Osobennosti agrarnopravovych otnošenij v pozdnej Vizantii, XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1968). N. Oikonomides, "Quelques boutiques de Constantinople au Xe s.: prix, loyers, imposition (*Cod. Patmiacus* 171)," *DOP* 26 (1972) 345–56. –A.K.

TAXATION, TREATISES ON, manuals for tax collectors. Many particular documents or categories of documents survive.

1. The most important treatise, preserved in a single parchment MS, Venice Marc. gr. 173, fols. 276v–281, was published by W. Ashburner (*JHS* 35 [1915] 76–84) and then by F. Dölger (*infra*). The text is anonymous; Dölger dates the MS before 1166 and the text between 913 and 1139, while Ostrogorsky places the text between 912 and the 970s. The treatise contains unique data on the structure of the village (definitions of CHORION, *agridion*, PROASTEION, etc.), on taxes and TAX ALLEVIATIONS (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS), and exemptions, on the activity of tax collectors (EPOPTES, DIOIKETES) and their SYNETHEIAI.

2. The second treatise is preserved in a paper codex of the 13th C. from the monastery of St. Nikanor at Zaborda (no.121). It was published by J. Karayannopulos, who dated the text to the 11th C. and considered it older than the Venice treatise; this thesis cannot be proved. Unlike the Venice treatise, which gives a coherent exposé, the short treatise of Zaborda consists of individual paragraphs poorly connected with each other. The paragraphs begin with standard headings such as "What is *sympatheia*," "What is OPISTHOTELEIA," or "How the *sympatheia* is performed," "How the ORTHOSIS is performed," etc. Brief definitions serve the purpose of reference rather than a systematic instruction. The text has no data on the structure of the village but does contain important additional information on TAXATION, including a concise definition of the PRONOIA.

3. Metrological MSS contain a schedule of taxation on land as well as humans and livestock, which dates from the mid-11th C.

4. An excerpt of a similar text is contained in the *praktikon* of Adam of 1073 (*Patmou Engrapha*, vol. 2, no.50.312–17).

5. The documents known as Ancient Account and New Account (see LOGARIKE, PALAIA AND NEA) provide normative information concerning surtaxes and methods of collecting land tax before and after the reform of Alexios I.

6. Other texts concern later periods and regions under Latin domination (such as Cyprus).

ED. Dölger, *Beiträge* 3–9, 113–56. J. Karayannopulos, "Fragmente aus dem Vademecum eines byzantinischen Finanzbeamten," in *Polychronion* 318–34. Engl. tr. C. Brand, "Two Byzantine Treatises on Taxation," *Traditio* 25 (1969) 35–60.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 73–85. G. Ostrogorsky, *Die ländliche Steuergemeinde des Byzantinischen Reiches im X. Jahrhundert* (Amsterdam 1969). Schilbach, *Metrologie* 256, n.1, 257. –A.K., N.O.

TAX COLLECTORS fall into two groups. They could be public servants (such as the DIOIKETES) who collected for the account of the state and were remunerated by salary (?) and SYNETHEIAI (those working *eis to piston*); or they could be businessmen who farmed out the fiscal revenue of a province after bidding at an auction (working *epi pakto*), who were obliged to match their bid (otherwise their property was confiscated) and were likely to press the taxpayers excessively. Both systems are attested throughout Byz. history, but tax farming became very frequent after the middle of the 11th C., when the generic term PRAKTOR (or *energon*, "manager") came to designate the tax collector. The *dioiketes* or *praktor* normally visited the taxed properties (and thus collected their *synetheiai*, in money or in kind); they were kept off some privileged domains, however, and were obliged to accept, in lieu of cash, the receipts that

some taxpayers obtained by paying their taxes directly to the central financial office; this procedure, favorable for the taxpayer, could in practice be followed only by large landowners. As they had vested interest in what they collected, tax collectors were seen by the public as greedy and disreputable (G. Litavrin in Kek. 374f).

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 467–69. Dölger, *Beiträge* 70–78. G. Weiss, *Oströmische Beamte im Spiegel der Schriften des Michael Psellos* (Munich 1973) 54–58. –N.O.

TAXIARCHOS (ταξίαρχος), also *taxiarches*, a military rank. Although often used generically to mean "commander," *taxiarchos* in the *Strategikon of Maurice* (ca.600) specifically refers to the commander (*moirarches*) of the OPTIMATOI, who were then foreign mercenaries. The SOUDA defines *taxiarchos* as an old term, "now" replaced by *hekatontarchos*, that is, the commander of 100 men. With the reorganization and increased role of INFANTRY during the 10th C., however, the *taxiarchos* appears in the *strategika* and Kekaumenos as a high-ranking officer in command of a 1,000-man unit (*taxiarchia*) comprising 500 heavy infantrymen, 300 archers, and 200 light infantrymen (Oikonomides, *Listes* 335f); the terms *chiliarches* and *chiliarchia* also refer to this officer and his unit. The rank of *taxiarchos* gained prestige during the 11th C. and eventually surpassed that of TOURMARCHES (Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 125–27). The *taxiarchos* must be distinguished from the *axiarches*, who is known from seals and inscriptions (J.-C. Cheynet, *REB* 44 [1986] 233–35).

In patristic literature, the term *taxiarchos* characterized God as the creator of order (TAXIS), or archangels leading the armies of heaven, esp. St. Michael, "the *taxiarchos* of the heavenly host." The term also applied to an office held by monks who maintained order in the choir and refectory.

LIT. V. Val'denberg, "Taxiarchos," *VizVrem* 24 (1926) 134–37. N. Oikonomides, "Le taxiarque de Crète," *Ariadne* 5 (1989) 132–38. –A.K., E.M.

TAXIS (τάξις, "order"), an essential concept that penetrated the Byz. understanding of themselves and their world, as evidenced by the term's polyvalency: *taxis* designates realities ranging from "rank, class, troops, way of life," to "etiquette, precedence, CEREMONY," or "government bureau." Within Byz. society, *taxis* encompassed the harmonious hierarchy of institutions that constituted the state; ecclesiastical *taxis* did the same for the church. The *taxis* of human society mirrored that of the cosmos, whose celestial powers were organized into a divine hierarchy, as expressed by pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. Outside Byz. society, *taxis* organized foreign societies into a hierarchy of STATES. Indispensable to the exercise of imperial authority (*De cer.*, bk.2, praefatio, ed. Reiske, 516f), *taxis* occurs often in PROOIMIA as a motive for imperial acts (e.g., Hunger, *Prooimion* 181f). The rigid dictates of *taxis* were tempered by compromise or OIKONOMIA imposed by circumstances and opposed to the most abhorrent phenomenon to the Byz., *ataxia*, or disorder, which was reckoned characteristic of BARBARIANS or *demokratia*. *Taxis* helps to explain why Byz. depicted itself as unchanging; change meant divergence from the established order, thus reform could be represented only as return to the original ancient *taxis* (e.g., Justinian, nov.59, 316.25–27).

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Idéologie* 129–47. R. Roques, *L'univers dionysien* (Paris 1954) 36–40. –M.McC.

TAYK'/TAO, the Armenian and Georgian names for a region on the upper Čoruch, west of the source of the Kura River. The name derives from the Taochoi, first mentioned in Xenophon (*Anabasis* 4.4.18). By the division of Armenia in 387 the province fell under Iranian control, but in 591 came to Maurice. The MAMIKONEAN princely house occupied it until the 8th C. On their decline the southwest part, "Upper Tayk'," was acquired by the BAGRATIDS and the northeast part, "Lower Tayk'," fell to the Guaramids; by the mid-10th C. it was all in Bagratid hands.

The Armenian Tayk' was more comprehensive than Georgian Tao, including the area to the southeast toward Kars (Toumanoff, *Caucasian Hist.* 450–57). Georgian settlement in the region in the 9th C. is described in the Life of Gregory of Khandztha (P. Peeters, *AB* 36–37 [1917–19] 207–309.)

DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO received lands in Byz. Armenia for supporting Basil II during the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS, but these were lost on his death in 1000. In 1022 Upper Tao was incorporated into the theme of IBERIA, but the area fell under Turkish control after the battle of MANTZIKERT (1071). At the beginning of the 12th C.

DAVID II/IV THE RESTORER brought Tao back into Georgian control.

LIT. H. Hübschmann, *Die altarmenische Ortsnamen* (Strassburg 1904) 276–78, 357–61. R.W. Edwards, "The Vale of Kola," *DOP* 42 (1988) 119–41. –R.T.

TEACHER (διδάσκαλος, παιδευτής). In the Roman Empire teachers worked primarily for municipal SCHOOLS. This system was preserved after Christianization of the empire (Marrou, *Education* 460–62). The teacher enjoyed certain fiscal privileges, such as exemptions from municipal levies; this policy was ratified by Justinian I (*Cod.Just.* X 53). Teachers were divided into several categories: *grammatistes* for primary EDUCATION and GRAMMATIKOS for secondary education. Diocletian's Price Edict established substantially lower fees for teachers in elementary schools than for *grammatikoi.* With regard to higher education, A. Moffatt (14 *CEB* 3 [Bucharest 1976] 659–61) suggested a distinction between science teachers (of philosophy, mathematics, and medicine) and arts teachers (of grammar, rhetoric, and law), and calculated that, between 330 and 610, 20 percent of all known teachers taught "science."

The privatization of teaching in Byz. after the 6th C. accounts for the decline in the number of teachers. Elementary skills were taught by parents and local literate men (priests, notaries, etc.) or by private schoolmasters, while secondary education was rare (it was hard to find a *grammatikos* in the 9th C. outside of Constantinople) and was conducted on the basis of private agreements with STUDENTS. The correspondence of the anonymous teacher of the 10th C. (see TEACHER, ANONYMOUS) shows him in a constant search for fees, supplementing them with honoraria for copying MSS. At his school, as Lemerle (*Humanism* 291f) notes, more advanced students taught the younger ones. Teaching activity was by the 10th C. a channel of upward social mobility (ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS started as a professional teacher), but it remained closely linked with participation in the state or ecclesiastical administration; teachers at the Patriarchal School (DIDASKALOI) often became provincial bishops. In monastic communities the concept of teacher played an essential role, defining the close relationship between a young monk and his experienced mentor. –A.K., R.B.

TEACHER, ANONYMOUS (sometimes called "Anonymus Londinensis"), conventional name for the author of a group of 122 letters preserved in a single MS of the late 10th C. (London, B.L. Add. 36749). Born in Thrace (?) probably ca.870, he was a secondary school teacher and scribe in Constantinople in the 920s. According to Browning (*infra* [1954] 434), the last datable letter is of 931, but C. Mango (*ActaNorv* 4 [1969] 121–26) dates two letters to LEO SAKELLARIOS shortly after 940 and places the entire collection of letters between 925 and 944. The letters are addressed to the teacher's colleagues, important functionaries, and esp. high-ranking clergymen; among the addressees is Sophia, the widow of CHRISTOPHER LEKAPENOS. The identification of many of the teacher's correspondents remains problematic (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 18 [1960] 113f). The letters shed light on the status of TEACHERS (their fees, relations with STUDENTS and their parents and between colleagues), the program of EDUCATION, and the character of the SCHOOL. It is unclear to what extent the anonymous teacher's school was independent and, in particular, whether it was financially supported by church authorities. The correspondence contains information on the copying of books for influential and wealthy patrons; very important is epistle 88 to a patriarch (Nicholas I Mystikos?) describing the problems of a scribe who had to compare variant readings of numerous MSS, choose between variants, and make necessary corrections. The teacher also mentions his own literary activity of which no samples survive; the style of his letters is obscure and enigmatic, typical of a teacher of RHETORIC.

ED. R. Browning, B. Laourdas, "To keimenon ton epistolon tou kodikos BM 36749," *EEBS* 27 (1957) 151–212, with corr. J. Darrouzès, *EEBS* 28 (1958) 444–46 and I. Kakrides, *Hellenika* 16 (1958–59) 220–22.

LIT. A. Steiner, *Untersuchungen zu einem anonymen byzantinischen Briefcorpus des 10. Jahrhunderts* (Frankfurt 1987). Browning, *Studies*, pt.IX (1954), 397–452. Lemerle, *Humanism* 286–98. A. Markopoulos, "L'épistolaire du 'professeur anonyme' de Londres: Contribution prosopographique," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 139–44. –A.K.

TEARS. See CONTRITION.

TEBESSA. See THEVESTE.

TECHNITES (τεχνίτης), a term that in antiquity designated an artist (F. Poland, *RE* 2.R. 5 [1934] 2473–2558), but that in the late Roman Empire was applied to skilled craftsmen (as distinct from *ergatai*, day laborers), including hairdressers, cooks, astrologers, scribes, surgeons, and architects. In the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* 22.1–3 the term is used primarily for construction workers (i.e., carpenters, masons, gypsum workers, painters, etc.) who were not members of any guild. An artisan who cast bronze statues could be called a *technites* (*TheophCont* 327.18–20). ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS hired *technitai* to build the Lavra (*Vita A*, ed. Noret, par.234.14–21); *technitai* are also mentioned in his *Hypotyposis* for the Lavra (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 140.25). The term is uncommon, however, in later documents. John V Palaiologos, in a letter of 1361 (?), ordered the *hegoumenoi* of Athos to send two *technitai* to Lemnos to repair fortifications on the island (*Lavra* 3, App. XIV.8–10).

Early church fathers (Origen, Clement of Alexandria, and others) used the epithet *technites* for God as the architect of the universe and supreme artist. Eusebios of Caesarea (*De eccl. theol.* 1:10.1—*Werke* 4, ed. E. Klostermann [Leipzig 1906] 68.18–22) contrasted God's fatherhood of the Son with his role as demiurge, *technites*, and founder of the world, while Basil of Caesarea (PG 32:77C) accused the Arians of conceiving of the Father as *technites* and of the Son as his tool. –A.K.

TECHNOLOGY. The Byz. inheritance of technology from the Roman Empire allowed it to remain, at least until the 12th C., the richest and technically most advanced state in the Mediterranean, one that provided examples for imitation. The period of the 4th–6th C. can be characterized by a propensity for the gigantic, esp. as related to building activity: the churches, such as HAGIA SOPHIA in Constantinople, were enormous, the LIMES could compete with the Chinese wall, a major AQUEDUCT was restored by Valens in Constantinople, and a project was even conceived to construct a Bithynian canal, diverting the Sangarios River and connecting the Black Sea with the Lake of Nikomedeia (F. Moore, *AJA* 54 [1950] 108–10). On the other hand, even the most sophisticated technical achievements were used primarily to create objects of luxury and toys: thus ANTHEMIOS OF TRALLES used steampower to produce an artificial earthquake in the house of a certain Zeno; magnificent HOROLOGIA were built both in Constantinople and provincial cities, whereas practical use of water power for mills remained limited, and the existence of the sawmill is questionable (O. Wikander, *Opuscula romana* 13 [1981] 98–100). The scientists of the period were more concerned with the preservation of ancient tradition than in developing it. The 5th-C. alchemist Zosimos and his successors left descriptions of chemical apparatus and recipes for various processes of smelting, dyeing, alloying, and the like. PAPPOS OF ALEXANDRIA depicted mechanical devices, including pulleys and gears, using ARCHIMEDES and Heron as his sources; EUTOKIOS and ISIDORE OF MILETUS also commented on ancient models. In the realm of military technology, the anonymous Latin treatise DE REBUS BELLICIS contains descriptions of new inventions, but it is not known whether they were ever actually produced.

Strangely, the crisis of urban life in the 7th C. released the forces of inventiveness, and the 7th–9th C. brought forth significant technical innovations, esp. in such fields as AGRICULTURE, transport, and military equipment and WEAPONRY. The water MILL became a standard power source by the time of the FARMER'S LAW. The nailed horseshoe and improvement of harness attested by ca.900 allowed progress in both ploughing and transportation. The lateen sail, in use probably from the 7th C., made ships more responsive to the wind. The STIRRUP, attested from the 7th C., permitted a radical change in the ARMY structure that culminated by the 10th C. in the creation of the cavalry of the KATAPHRAKTOI. GREEK FIRE was invented in the 7th C. For imperial ceremonial, various AUTOMATA and the pipe ORGAN were created. LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN invented the fire BEACON system to warn against Arab invasions. Two phenomena of intellectual life were probably connected with this growing interest in technological innovation: the replacement of uncial script by the MINUSCULE, and the TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS from old MSS, which started not with patristics, but with books on MATHEMATICS and ASTRONOMY (Wilson, *Scholars* 85f); the increasing use of PAPER encouraged this development. Oikonomides has suggested that the Byz. began to make paper themselves by 800, although the question is still open.

Byz. interest in technology is recorded by ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, who ca.624 time and again listed technical achievements such as beer brewing, use of the goose quill PEN and INK, and use of ALUM for dyeing. SILK production developed from the 6th C. onward. However, the Byz. theorists of the time preferred to crib from ancient and late Roman "engineering" works, whereas Byz. recipes and devices are described not in Greek works, but in a Latin tract by the 11th-C. (?) priest Theophilus.

After the 10th C. Byz. technology started lagging behind that of Muslims and Westerners, and progress slowed down. The insignificant invention of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, the use of oxen power for mixing dough, was praised by his hagiographers. Some improvements in GLASS production and CERAMICS were introduced. The windmill began to appear. In the major fields of technology, however, the Byz. were outdistanced by their neighbors: they borrowed the crossbow (*tzangra*) from the Westerners, but yielded before the Turkish cannons (see FIREARMS); they lost in the competition with Italian SHIPBUILDING; they did not broadly apply new uses of energy sources, water and wind, to their manufacturing activities (e.g., for sawing or forging). Bessarion was impressed by the Western production of glass, textiles, weapons, and ships (A. Keller, *Cambridge Historical Journal* 11 [1953–55] 343–48). And even though Byz. silk weavers were still famous in 15th-C. France, Byz. had fallen hopelessly behind.

LIT. L. White, *Medieval Religion and Technology* (Berkeley 1978). *A History of Technology*, vol. 2 (Oxford 1956). F. Feldhaus, *Die Technik der Antike und des Mittelalters* (Potsdam 1931) 208–32. K. Vogel, *CMH* 4.2:299–305, 465–70.
–A.K., D.P.

TEDALDI, JACOPO, Florentine merchant who helped defend Constantinople against the siege of Mehmed II; fl. ca.1453. Tedaldi escaped capture by swimming to a Venetian ship that took him to Negroponte. *Informations*, an account of Tedaldi's experience, survives in French and may derive from his encounter at Negroponte with one Jean Blanchin, whose role in the transmission (or creation) of the document is obscure. It is a source for the fall of Constantinople, providing valuable data on Turkish leaders, details of the siege, and estimates of the value of the Turkish booty and Italian losses. Tedaldi's account exists in long (probably interpolated) and short redactions, of which one illuminated MS (Paris, B.N. fr. 6487) is in scroll form and bears a subscription by a copyist, Johannes Columbi (31 Dec. 1453). In 1454 Tedaldi's *Informations* was revised, translated into Latin, titled the *Treatise* [*Tractatus*] *on the Conquest of the City of Constantinople,* given a prologue, and used as a propagandistic text calling for a new Crusade.

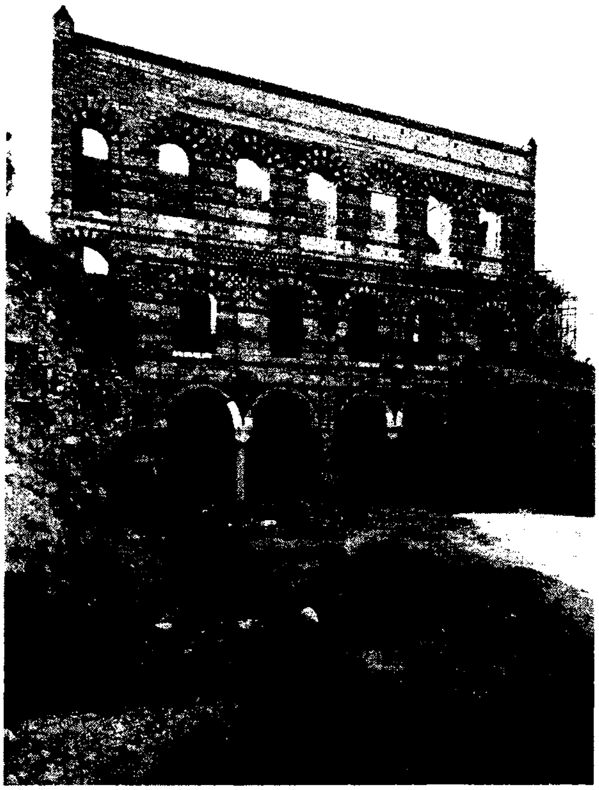
ED. J.J. de Smet, "Chroniques des Pays-Bas, de France, d'Angleterre et de Tournai," *Recueil des chroniques de Flandre* 3 (Brussels 1856) 511–56. E. Martène, U. Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* 1 (Paris 1717) 1819–26. Ital. tr. Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:175–89. Eng. tr. Jones, *Siege of CP* 1–10.

LIT. M.-L. Concasty, "Les 'Informations' de Jacques Tedaldi sur le siège et la prise de Constantinople," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 95–110.
–M.McC.

TEIA (Τεΐας), last Ostrogothic king (from July 552); died Mons Lactarius, southern Italy, 30 Oct. (or Nov.—Stein, *infra*) 552. Commander (*comes*) in Totila's army, Teia defended Verona against the troops of NARSES. After the defeat at BUSTA GALLORUM the Goths elected Teia their king. He led the suicidal resistance of the Goths with unnecessary cruelty (execution of hostages), treason, and brave but useless expeditions. The Franks did not respond to Teia's plea for help. From Ticinum, Teia marched south toward Naples only to learn that he had been betrayed by the Gothic fleet, treachery that made provisioning impossible. In a courageously fought battle, Teia was killed and his head placed on a spear to demoralize his troops. Narses used his command at sea and his excellent archers as well as numerical superiority to crush Teia. His death ended organized Ostrogothic resistance in Italy, although some skirmishes continued until 555.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:600–04. Bury, *LRE* 2:262f, 267–74. H. Delbrück, *History of the Art of War*, vol. 2 (Westport, Conn., 1980) 363–67. Wolfram, *Goths* 361f.
W.E.K., A.K.

TEKFUR SARAYI (Turk., lit. "Palace of the Sovereign"), Turkish name for a three-story Byz. palace of which the empty shell remains at the north termination of the Theodosian land walls, occupying the space between the inner and outer walls of the city (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF). It is the only well-preserved example of Byz. domestic architecture at Constantinople. The ground floor was supported on col-



TEKFUR SARAYI. Northwest façade of the palace.

umns, while the uppermost story probably constituted a vast throne room, as in the Palace of the Despots at MISTRA. The north and south façades are elaborately decorated with patterns of tiles, while a balcony supported on corbels ran along the east side. The drawings of C. Texier (1833–35) and W. Salzenberg (*Altchristliche Baudenkmale von Constantinopel* [Berlin 1854] 124–28, pls. 37–38) show many features that have since disappeared.

The use of the machicolations and heraldic escutcheons indicates that the building is Palaiologan. It should probably be identified with "the house[s] of the Porphyrogennetos" (Kantak. 1:305.21, 3:290.15). If the Porphyrogennetos in question was Constantine, third son of Michael VIII, it should be dated between 1261 and 1291. Its exact relation to the Palace of BLACHERNAI remains unclear.

LIT. A. van Millingen, *Byzantine Constantinople* (London 1899) 109–14. B. Meyer-Plath, A.M. Schneider, *Die Landmauer von Konstantinopel*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1943) 95–100. C. Mango, "Constantinopolitana," *JDAI* 80 (1965) 330–36. O. Feld, "Zu den Kapitellen Tekfur Saray in Istanbul," *IstMitt* 19–20 (1969–70) 359–67. Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon* 244–47. –C.M.

TEKIRDAĞ. See RHAIDESTOS.

TELERIG (Τελέριγος), Bulgar khan (768/74–777). In 774 Constantine V launched a major campaign against BULGARIA, which Telerig forestalled by sending an embassy to Varna and signing an agreement not to invade Byz. territory. In the fall, however, even as Telerig's envoys were negotiating in Constantinople, Telerig dispatched a large force to capture Berzitia and resettle its populace in Bulgaria. "Secret friends," evidently at the khan's own court, warned Constantine, permitting his victory at LITHOSORIA. Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 448.4–10) relates Telerig's countermeasure: he wrote to Constantine expressing interest in fleeing to Constantinople and requesting the identities of the emperor's supporters in Bulgaria, so that he might join them. Constantine sent the men's names, whereupon Telerig eliminated them. Whatever the story's veracity, in 777 Telerig did indeed flee to Constantinople, where he was baptized, made a *patrikios* by Leo IV, and married to a niece of Leo's wife (Empress Irene). The cause of Telerig's flight is unknown, and nothing is heard of him after his arrival in Constantinople.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:226–38. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 223–28. –P.A.H.

TELLA. See CONSTANTINA.

TELOS (τέλος), generic designation of taxes, used in both narrative texts and documents: thus, an act of 1008 (*Lavra* 1, no.14.24) speaks of the *telos* of a CHORION; in 927 the inhabitants of Hierissos stubbornly refused to pay state (*demosion*) *telos* (*Ivir.*, no.1.1–2). Later, in the *praktika* of the 14th C., *telos* most frequently is the tax on a STASIS. Svoronos (*Cadastre* 24, n.3) distinguishes *telos* (the gross tax) from the *teloumenon*, the net tax to be paid after the subtraction of sums representing various forms of tax-relief or alleviation (SYMPATHEIA, KLASMA, KOUPHISMOS). It seems, however, that *teloumenon* is a term of the 10th–11th C., used before *telos* acquired its technical meaning and replaced *teloumenon*. The *Treatise on Tax-*

ation (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 114.23, 33; 118.24) does not mention *telos*, only *teloumenon*; a fragment of a *kodix* of 1098 uses *teloumenon* to denote the basic tax (Dölger, *Schatz.*, no.65.12–13) to which SYNETHEIA, ELATIKON, etc. are added; and in 1089 Alexios I conferred upon the monks of Docheiariou land appropriate to their *teloumenon* (*Docheiar.*, no.2.6–7). *Praktika* do not use the term *teloumenon*.

Quantitative studies of 14th-C. PRAKTIKA (J. Lefort, *RH* 252 [1974] 315–52; K. Chvostova, *VizVrem* 39 [1978] 63–75) indicate that there were general guidelines for the rates at which property was taxed (e.g., arable land was generally taxed at 1 hyperpyron per 50 *modioi*) and that these guidelines varied by locality and period. The fact that *staseis* with identical property in the same village often were assessed a different *telos* suggests that social and other nonfiscal factors played a significant role in the calculation of the *telos*.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 48–62. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 151–62. –M.B.

TELOUCH (Τελούχ), Byz. city and theme, later a STRATEGIS, on the borders of Anatolia and Syria, near GERMANIKEIA. It derived its name from late antique Doliche (now Dülük in Turkey), a small town (*polichne*) and bishopric known primarily for its cult of Baal (named Zeus Dolichenus by the Romans). THEODORET OF CYRRHUS (*HE* 5.4.7–8) describes it as affected by "the Arian malaise." Occupied by the Arabs, Telouch took the Arabic name Dulūk and became an important fortress in Arab-Byz. wars. Regained by the Byz. in 962, Telouch is not mentioned in the 10th-C. Escurial *Taktikon*, but it often appears in the texts of the 11th–12th C. as a center of military operations. George MANIAKES, its *strategos* ca.1030, cleverly overcame the trickery of Arabs who tried to sack the *polis*. A troop of mounted archers was stationed in Telouch in 1051; Romanos IV used the city as a base of operations against the emir of Aleppo (BERROIA) in 1068. The treaty of DEVOL of 1108 assigned Telouch to Alexios I. During the Crusades it became the seat of a bishop and the scene of constant military engagements. After NŪR AL-DĪN captured Telouch in 1155, the city fell into decline.

LIT. Honigmann, *Ostgrenze* 127, n.4. Ahrweiler, *Administration* 48, n.12. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 195. D. Sourdel, *EI*² 2:624. –M.M.M.

TELOUMENON. See TELOS.

TEMPLON (*τέμπλον*, also called *κάγκελλα*, *κιγκλίδες*), the screen separating the nave from the sanctuary. Originally a low parapet or chancel barrier, about the mid-5th C. it developed into a taller partition (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:526f). The templon stood at a right angle to the nave, or projected into it in the form of the letter *π* (*pi*); an entrance on each of the three sides was sometimes preceded by a four-column porch (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:531). Such barriers were supported by a molded stylobate (bema), 24–40 cm high, and consisted of closure slabs held in place by waist-high piers, colonnettes on piers, or plain colonnettes (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 49) carrying an EPISTYLE.

Surviving templa are mostly fragmentary. Elaborate examples had colonnettes and stylobate of colored marble (Mathews, *Early Churches* 25), while the screen of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople, as described by PAUL SILENTIARIOS, was dressed in silver. After Iconoclasm the templon was extended to the PASTOPHORIA. Like the screen of the BEMA, these screens consisted of slabs set between colonnettes and carrying an epistyle; all such forms, nonetheless, were generally slighter than those of the time of Justinian I. According to M. Chatzidakis (15 *CEB* [Athens 1976] 3:165), toward the end of the 11th C. the transformation of the medieval templon was completed with the appearance of PROSKYNETARIA and icons set in its intercolumnar openings. An elongated painted panel with the DEESIS, the GREAT FEASTS, or both, was added on top of the epistyle (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*⁴ 12 [1984] 64–86). PHOTIOS (*Homiliai* 10.5, ed. B. Laourdas 102.1) describes the chancel-screen in a palace church, perhaps the Virgin of the Pharos, with its peristyle of colonnettes dressed in silver. Enameled screens were also produced. The PALA D'ORO is thought to enclose part of the enameled *dodekaorton* (panels of the Twelve Great Feasts) that once embellished the screen of the south church in the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY in Constantinople, and the inventory of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY in Constantinople refers to bema doors of silver, decorated with the Annunciation (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 154.73).

Most surviving medieval templa were, however, carved in marble, the most elaborate ones showing uprights and stylobates of colored stone. Inlaid



TEMPLON. Marble templon; 12th C. Church of St. Panteleemon, Nerezi. An image of the saint is painted on the pier to the right of the templon.

champlevé screens (Grabar, *Sculptures* II, pls. V–IX) were probably meant to suggest the effect of silver and niello. On the other hand, templa with relief decoration indicate a renewed interest in plasticity. After the reconquest in 1261, screens in Constantinople reveal further development toward sculpture in the round (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 225–36). From this last period also date the first woodcarved templa that were to prevail in the post-Byz. period; such a templon is usually called an iconostasis.

LIT. M. Chatzidakis, *RBK* 3:326–53. C. Mango, "On the History of the *Templon* and the Martyrion of St. Artemios in Constantinople," *Zograf* 10 (1979) 40–43. V. Lazarev, "Trois fragments d'epistyles peintes et le templon byzantin," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 117–43. A.W. Epstein, "The Middle Byzantine Sanctuary Barrier: Templon or Iconostasis?" *JBAA* 134 (1981) 1–28. N. Thon, "Zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der Ikonostase," *Zeitschrift für ostkirchliche Kunst* 2 (1986) 193–207. –L.Ph.B.

TEMPTATION OF CHRIST. After his baptism, Christ prepared for his ministry by fasting for 40 days in the wilderness. There he was thrice tempted by the Devil: to use his divine power to undermine his human will by turning stones into bread to eat, to test his divinity capriciously by hurling himself from the Temple, and to worship the Devil in return for wealth and power (Mt 4:1–11, Lk 4:1–13). Though the relevant passages were read at the beginning of Lent, the Temptation was not a liturgical feast and hence appears only rarely in Byz. art. It is unknown before the 9th C., when the marginal PSALTERS use one of the three episodes to illustrate Psalm 91:11–12, quoted by the Devil during the Temptation. The full, tripartite version of the event appears first in the PARIS GREGORY (fol.165r) and becomes standard thereafter: S. Marco in VENICE preserves a good example (Demus, *infra* 1.2:pl.103). The most ex-

haustive treatment is the four-stage narrative at the CHORA.

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:95f. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:277–79. –A.W.C.

TENEDOS (Τένεδος, mod. Bozca Ada), island in the northeastern Aegean Sea off the shore of the Troas near the entrance to the HELLESPONT; in HIEROKLES, a part of the province of the Islands (Insulae). Justinian I had a granary built there for grain brought from Alexandria (Prokopios, *Buildings* 5.1.7–16). Despite its strategic location near Constantinople, Tenedos is barely mentioned until the 13th C., when the island was given to the Latin emperor of Constantinople and his rights to Tenedos were repeated in the Treaty of Viterbo of 1267 (Miller, *Essays* 290). Pachymeres (Pachym., ed. Bekker 2:344.3–4) mentions Tenedos as a pirate stronghold; Mouriskos, naval commander for Andronikos II, attacked its *phrourion* with two battleships (2:556.10–14). The Byz. retained the island, and in the winter of 1352/3 John V withdrew to it (according to Kantakouzenos; Gregoras states that the emperor went to Lemnos), attacked Constantinople in March 1353, and came back to the island (*Kleinchroniken* 2:281f). In 1352 John V gave Tenedos to the Venetians as security for 20,000 ducats he borrowed from them (*Reg* 5, no.3005). In 1370 John V was ready to cede Tenedos to Venice in exchange for imperial jewelry pawned there by his mother, six transport vessels, and 25,000 ducats, but this offer was rejected by Andronikos IV, who intended to give the island to the Genoese; in 1376, after Andronikos entered Constantinople, Genoa received Tenedos. In 1377 war broke out between Venice and Genoa over Tenedos; the struggle was protracted and a settlement was made in Turin in a treaty of 8 Aug. 1381, whereby the fortifications of Tenedos were to be razed and the demilitarized island controlled by a representative of the count of Savoy. Venice, however, continued to use Tenedos as a naval base.

LIT. F. Thiriet, "Venise et l'occupation de Ténédos au XIVe siècle," *MEFR* 65 (1953) 219–45. –T.E.G.

TEODOSIJE, Serbian hagiographer; born ca.1246, died ca.1328. A monk in the HILANDAR monastery on Athos, Teodosije was the spiritual counselor of King Stefan Uroš III Dečanski. He devoted himself in particular to spreading and supporting the cult of Sts. Simeon (STEFAN NEMANJA) and SAVA, which provided the main focus of Serbian national and cultural identity. His works include a revised recension of the Life of St. Sava by DOMENTIJAN, allegedly based on oral suggestions by the author; several *kanones*, liturgies, and *akolouthiai* on Sts. Simeon and Sava; and a Life of and *akolouthia* on St. Peter of Koriša near Prizren.

ED. *Život svetoga Save*, ed. Dj. Daničić (Belgrade 1973).
LIT. Dj.S. Radojičić, "O srpskom književniku Teodosiju," *Istorijski Časopis* 4 (1952–53) 13–41. S.P. Rozanov, "Istočniki, vremja sostavlenija i ličnost' sostavitelja Feodosievskoj redakcii Žitija Savvy Serbskogo," *IzvORJaS* 16 (1912) no.1, 185–209. A. Naumov, "Teodosije Hilandarac i Sveto pismo," *HilZb* 5 (1983) 81–89. –R.B.

TEPHRIKE (Τεφρική, mod. Divriği), fortress in the mountains of northeastern CAPPADOCIA, west of the Euphrates. KARBEAS founded the powerful fortress ca.850 in a region beyond the Byz. frontier and remote from the authority of the emir of Melitene. Under CHRYSOCHEIR it became the seat of a PAULICIAN state. PETER OF SICILY, who visited Tephrike in 870 as Byz. ambassador, provides the main source on the region. After its capture by the Byz. in 878, Tephrike, under its new but ephemeral name Leontokome (for Leo VI), became the seat of a KLEISOURA, then of a THEME (ca.940). Tephrike was granted to the son of Senacherim ARCRUNI of Vaspurakan in 1019 in exchange for his lands. Romanos IV campaigned against the Turks around Tephrike in 1068, but it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The surviving fortress contains stretches of Byz. walls.

LIT. *TIB* 2:294f. –C.F.

TEREBINTHOS. See MAMRE, OAK OF.

TERETISMATA (τερετίσματα, lit. "chirruping"), musical vocalizations set to the meaningless syllables *te te te, to to to, ri ri ri*, etc., which first appear appended to or inserted in 14th-C. CHANT settings. On a larger scale, they are found as independent melodic units known as *kratemata* and used to prolong a hymn. Some are given descriptive titles; epithets such as "bell," "viola," "trumpet," and "nightingale" are used in the *Kratematarion*, a collection of *kratemata* arranged according to the eight MODES. *Teretismata* constitute the chief

element of an ornate species of musical composition called kalophonic ("beautified") chant. Hymns written in this style are either freely constructed original works or elaborate embellishments of traditional music.

LIT. D.E. Conomos, *Byzantine Trisagia and Cheroubika of the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (Thessalonike 1974) 274–86. –D.E.C.

TERMINOLOGY was in Byz. as everywhere a necessary vehicle of legal, administrative, and scientific activity. It reflected real practice and incorporated various neologisms to designate elements of ceremonial, the fiscal system, social and administrative relations, and so forth. Some new terms were obviously borrowed from the terminology of neighboring states, for example, LIZIOS or SULTAN. There are, however, two features of Byz. terminology that to a certain extent obscure the reality covered by corresponding terms and transform terminology into a distorting mirror that often prevents rather than helps in understanding Byz. The first was an attachment to ancient terms that were retained but applied to different objects. This predilection is clear so far as it concerns geographic nomenclature but is less recognized in the field of legal or administrative terminology. It is, however, obvious that the Byz. *hypatos* had nothing to do with the Roman *consul*, and the Byz. *magistros* was worlds away from the late Roman *magister*; similarly, the late Byz. *emphyteuma* differed radically from the late Roman *emphyteusis*. The second trait is vagueness: on the one hand, the Byz. employed nontechnical terms, such as the biblical PAROIKOS ("dweller, stranger") to designate a category of dependent peasants; on the other hand, a single term, PRONOIA, for example, could possess a broad range of meaning. Indifferent as they were to geographical or administrative terminology, the Byz. cared much for theological terminology and devoted special attention to developing the cardinal notions of the Christian creed, as was demonstrated during the discussions about *homoousia* in the 4th C. or about the phrase "My father is greater than I" in the 12th C.

LIT. F. Preisigke, *Fachwörter des öffentlichen Verwaltungsdienstes Ägyptens* (Göttingen 1915). O. Hornickel, *Ehren- und Rangprädikate in den Papyrisurkunden* (Giessen 1930). H.J. Mason, *Greek Terms for Roman Institutions* (Toronto 1974). –A.K.

TERVEL (Τέρβελις), Bulgar khan (691/703–718/24); son and heir of ASPARUCH. The sources first mention Tervel in 704, when Justinian II sought his help in regaining the throne. Tervel raised a combined force of Bulgars and Slavs and in 705 marched with Justinian against Tiberios II. In reward, Justinian gave Tervel many gifts, invested him with the CHLAMYS, and proclaimed him CAESAR (Nikeph. 42.20–25); Tervel may have married Justinian's daughter. Justinian may also have renewed the treaty of 681 between Asparuch and Constantine IV (V. Beševliev, *VizVrem* 16 [1959] 8f). According to many Byz. sources, Justinian broke the peace in 708. Nevertheless, in 711, faced with the revolt of Philippikos, he requested and received 3,000 soldiers from Tervel. After Justinian's death, Tervel plundered Thrace in 712. Four years later Theodosios III, fearing an imminent Arab attack on Constantinople, concluded a treaty that fixed the Byz.-Bulgar border in Thrace (thereby formally ceding to the Bulgars the Zagoria region), granted the Bulgars garments worth 30 *litrai* of gold, arranged for the return of fugitives, and established some commercial regulations (V. Kutikov, *GSU JuF* 65 [1974] 69–116). During the Arab siege of Constantinople in 717–18 Leo III sought and obtained Tervel's help (V. Gjuzelev, *IstPreg* 29 [1973] no.3.28–47), yet in 719 Tervel gave the deposed Anastasios II gold (50 kentenaria) and troops to march against Leo. Nothing further is heard of Tervel.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:162–92. Stratos, *Byzantium* 4:109f. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 191–203. N. Oikonomides, "Tribute or Trade? The Byzantine-Bulgarian Treaty of 716," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 29–31. –P.A.H.

TESSERAE. See ALMSGIVING; MOSAIC.

TETARTERON (*νόμισμα τεταρτηρόν*), the name of two quite distinct coins, a lightweight gold NOMISMA struck ca.965–1092, and a small copper (initially lead) coin introduced in 1092 and still minted into the second half of the 13th C.

The name of the gold coin, introduced by Nikephoros II, derives from the fact that it was initially a quarter (*τέταρτον μέρος*, "fourth part") of a tremissis (i.e., 2 carats) lighter than the standard nomisma; in the mid-11th C., however, the weight was apparently standardized at 3.98 g, that is, 3 carats under the full nomisma. This latter

coin was by now known as an HISTAMENON, and the denominations were distinguished by reducing the diameter of the small thick tetartera from the traditional 20 mm of the nomisma to 18 mm, and increasing that of the broad, thin histamena to approximately 25 mm.

The copper tetarteron or tarteron was very similar in size and fabric to the former gold coin, a fact that has usually been regarded as the explanation of its name, but the suggestion (by J.D. MacIsaac) that it was due to the coin's initial worth of one-quarter of the old FOLLIS is much more plausible. Its subsequent values are unknown.

LIT. *DOC* 3:28–39. Hendy, *Economy* 506–08, 515f.

–Ph.G.

TETRACONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TETRAEVANGELION. See EVANGELION.

TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI, conventional term for the political and ecclesiastical controversy (906–20) caused, at least externally, by the fourth marriage of LEO VI. After three marriages (to THEOPHANO; Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES; and Eudokia) that produced no male heir to the throne, in 905 Leo fathered a son, the future CONSTANTINE VII, by his concubine ZOE KARBONOPSINA. His desire to legitimize his marriage met the resistance of Patr. NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS; although he reluctantly christened Constantine (906), Nicholas prohibited Leo's entrance into the church and kept delaying the removal of the *epitimion* (906–07). Since Nicholas's resistance chronologically coincides with the revolt of Andronikos DOUKAS, it is plausible to hypothesize that Nicholas's position was part of the aristocratic opposition to the administration of Leo and SAMONAS.

On 1 Feb. 907 Leo deposed Nicholas, and soon thereafter Doukas escaped to the Arabs; Nicholas was replaced as patriarch by EUTHYMIOS, who removed the *epitimion* but also severely punished the priest Thomas who had performed the fourth marriage. This compromise solution was confirmed by a council of patriarchal envoys convened in Constantinople (Feb. 907). Nicholas's return to power in 912 gave a new aspect to the struggle; he energetically deposed supporters of Euthymios from many sees and promoted his own candidates. The political instability of the regency after Leo's death (Constantine VII being a minor) and the active involvement of the papacy in the conflict aggravated the situation. Euthymios's death in 917 paved the way for reconciliation, finally achieved in July 920 by ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS, who arranged the promulgation of the TOMOS OF UNION; three years later Rome approved the Tomos, and the papal delegates joined Nicholas in anathematizing the fourth marriage.

SOURCES. Jenkins, *Studies*, pts. VII (1956), 293–372; VIII (1962), 231–41.

LIT. J.L. Boojamra, "The Eastern Schism of 907 and the Affair of the Tetragamia," *JEH* 25 (1974) 113–33. P. Karlin-Hayter, "Le synode à Constantinople de 886 à 912 et le rôle de Nicolas le Mystique dans l'affaire de la tétragamie," *JÖB* 19 (1970) 59–101. N. Oikonomidès, "La dernière volonté de Léon VI au sujet de la tétragamie," *BZ* 56 (1963) 46–52.

–A.K.

TETRAMORPH. See SERAPHIM.

TETRAPYLON. See ARCH, MONUMENTAL.

TETRARCHY (*τετραρχία*, lit. "rule of four"), system of government proclaimed by DIOCLETIAN on 1 Mar. 293 with the addition of the two caesars, CONSTANTIUS CHLORUS and GALERIUS to the college of two augusti, Diocletian and MAXIMIAN. The members of the tetrarchy were bound by ties of marriage (Constantius married Theodora, daughter of Maximian, while Galerius married Valeria, daughter of Diocletian). The augusti, as senior emperors, called each other "brothers" and the caesars "sons." Relationships within the tetrarchy were further characterized by the divine protectors of the augusti: Jupiter for Diocletian, Hercules for Maximian. This reflected the divine order in which Jupiter commands and Hercules puts his wishes into effect; the caesars were incorporated into this system and grouped into the Jovian and Herculian "dynasties." Although the theoretical unity of the empire was not broken, each member of the tetrarchy was in effect responsible for a specific area.

As men who rose in the army, the members of the tetrarchy were always depicted as harsh and strong, with thick necks, short-cropped hair, and stubbly beards. They are shown, on coins and in sculpture—such as the porphyry groups now in Venice and the Vatican (Kitzinger, *Making*, figs.

5, 8)—as virtually identical, another means of emphasizing the unity of the tetrarchy.

Upon his abdication in 305 Diocletian planned to continue the tetrarchy through the elevation of the two caesars to be augusti and the appointment of Severus and MAXIMINUS DAIA as caesars. This failed due to the ambition of the rulers' natural sons, Constantine I and MAXENTIUS. The Conference of Carnuntum in 308, which attempted to restore the tetrarchy, was also unsuccessful. Although the tetrarchy as an institution did not outlive its originator, the principle of the division of the empire into distinct geographical spheres, each with its own ruler, survived until the fall of the Western Empire.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 8–12. W. Seston, *Dioclétien et la tétrarchie* (Paris 1946). –T.E.G.

TETRASTOON (*τετράστῳον*), a huge square in BYZANTION surrounded by four STOAS (porticoes). It existed at least at the time of Septimius Severus, who is said (Malal. 292.2–4) to have added to it the public baths of ZEUXIPPOS. In the middle of the Tetrastoon stood a statue of Helios. Zosimos (Zosim. bk.2:31.2–3, ed. F. Paschoud, 1:104.11–23) relates that Constantine I erected two pagan shrines there dedicated to Rhea and to Tyche. The location of the Tetrastoon is under discussion: according to Guilland (*Topographie* 2:3), it lay on the site of the Basilike Cistern (see CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF), whereas Mango suggests that it coincided in part with the AUGUSTAION that must have been carved out of it. Another *tetrastoon*, dedicated to St. John, was built in Alexandria in the mid-5th C. (Theoph. 114.9–10).

LIT. Mango, *Brazen House* 43–45. Janin, *CP byz.* 16f, 59. –M.J., A.K.

TEVARIH-I AL-I OSMAN, a title attached to numerous Turkish chronicles or histories that recount the fortunes of the Ottoman dynasty, and literally meaning *Histories of the House of Osman*. Unless otherwise qualified, it commonly designates one of the first of these texts, an anonymous collection of stories or legends about the Osmanoğulları from Süleymanşah to ca.1420, composed early in the reign of Murad II (1421–51). MSS of this *Tevarih* in its original form do not survive, but its essential content can be established by comparing 16th-C. recensions (which evidently preserve the original form without major interventions) with the 15th-C. historians AŞIQPAŞAZADE and Uruc Beg, who likewise relied upon it for the early sections of their works. No satisfactory edition of this *Tevarih* exists to date, and Giese's version (*infra*)—although still fundamental—must be used with caution.

ED. *Die Altosmanischen Anonymen Chroniken*, ed. F. Giese, 2 vols. (Breslau 1922, Leipzig 1925), with Germ. tr.

LIT. V. Ménage, "The Beginnings of Ottoman Historiography," in Lewis-Holt, *Historians* 171–73. H. İnalcık, "The Rise of Ottoman Historiography," in ibid. 152–59. –S.W.R.

TEXTILES (*ὑφάσματα*). Byz. textiles were mainly of linen (*linon*), wool (*erion*), and SILK. Cotton (*bambax, bambakina, bambukina*) is more rarely mentioned in the sources, though the cultivation of cotton in the Peloponnesos in the 14th and 15th C. is attested by Plethon (*Analekten der mittel- und neugriechischen Literatur*, ed. A. Ellissen, vol. 4.2 [Leipzig 1860; rp. 1976] 56 and 101, para. 21). These textiles were produced in state weaving establishments, private workshops, and individual households, depending on their type, quality, and use. Alexandria (and Egypt in general) and Syria were particularly noted for textile production before they fell to the Arabs in the 7th C.; Thessalonike, Corinth, Thebes, and Athens are known to have had important textile (esp. silk) weaving workshops between the 10th and 12th C.

Byz. WEAVERS used several types of loom. Only a simple loom was needed for the common linen and woolen cloth (tabby) and tapestry weaves. Patterned compound weaves, preferred for silk but also used for wool, were made on a drawloom with a pattern-making mechanism. Finished woolen fabrics could also be fulled by fullers (*knapheis*) before being made into clothing by TAILORS. Few Byz. weaving implements have been preserved, as most were made of wood, but some clay spindle whorls, bronze spindle hooks, and bronze loom combs have been found at Corinth (Davidson, *Minor Objects*, nos. 1213–33). Bronze needles, open-tip thimbles, and clay thread spools used for sewing were also found at Corinth (nos. 1234–98).

A wide variety of textiles is recorded in the sources. Besides the most highly valued silks and purple-dyed cloths (see BLATTION), homespun woolens, coarse linens (*sabana*), and fine linen

cloths (*lepte othone*) are also mentioned (*TheophCont* 199.22–200.1). The Byz. also manufactured loop-pile textiles (*mallota* and *linomallotaria*), the fleece-like texture of which made them particularly suitable for blankets and covers (*P.Ant* I 44.8; *TheophCont* 318.15); they had knotted carpets (*nakotapetes*; ibid. 319.16) as well.

Ordinary tunics and cloaks were made of plain linen, woolen, or cotton cloth, while silks, often woven with gold threads, were the COSTUME of emperors, the imperial household, and court officials. Linen was needed for sails, nets, and for other commercial and military uses. Household towels, coverings, curtains, and such were made of linen, while blankets, coverlets, and cushions were made of wool.

Hangings, curtains, and carpets executed in various materials and techniques were a regular component of domestic and official architecture, both secular and religious. Curtains fill the spaces between columns in a mosaic representing the palace of Theodoric the Great in S. Apollinare Nuovo in Ravenna (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, pl.152). The importance of textiles in an architectural context is revealed in the endless opening and closing of curtains around the emperor and in the imperial palace as recorded in the DE CEREMONIIS. Hangings had a more purely decorative function. Often executed in tapestry technique, hangings were particularly suited for the portrayal of figural subjects, both secular (e.g., the Hestia and the Nereid tapestries in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection, Washington, D.C., ca.6th C.) and religious (e.g., the Virgin in the Cleveland Museum of Art, ca.6th C.). The silk tapestry depicting a triumphant emperor in Bamberg is a rare later specimen of these weavings (ca. early 11th C.). A separate category of textiles comprised those that evolved in the service of church ritual: over time, various altar covers and other liturgical cloths such as the AER, ANTIMENSION, EILITON, and ENDYTE acquired distinctive shapes as well as specific decoration.

Decoration, whether in the form of ornamental designs or figural composition or both, was an important component of higher quality textiles. Besides the mechanically produced designs of the drawloom weaving, decoration could also be painted, achieved through resist dying, or executed in such ancient textile techniques as tapestry weaving and EMBROIDERY. The latter technique was particularly favored in the Palaiologan period.

One of the most noted uses of Byz. textiles, esp. the silks produced in state workshops, was as imperial gifts, regularly distributed on specific official occasions (e.g., *De cer.* 235.12–13, 258.5–6; *TheophCont* 342.21) or sent abroad as important instruments of foreign policy.

Byz. textiles have not fared well. Extant examples are scarce, despite the prominence of textiles as reflected in Byz. written sources and as depicted in works of art. Early textiles (before 8th C.) come mainly from Egyptian graves, while later textiles (from 9th C. onward) survive primarily in the church treasuries of Western Europe; most of the latter are silks. Byz. textiles have also been found in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe, esp. Kiev.

LIT. R.J. Forbes, *Studies in Ancient Technology*^{2}, vol. 4 (Leiden 1964). J. Ebersolt, *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance* (Paris 1923). Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 223–32. W.F. Volbach, "Textiles," Athens Cat. 460–85. Idem, *Early Decorative Textiles* (London 1969). –A.G.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM was applied both to sacred/theological and pagan classical texts. The pre- and proto-Byz. representatives of high level scriptural criticism are ORIGEN and JEROME. Textual criticism gained a strong impetus during theological disputes, as in the 6th C., when the authenticity of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE was questioned by HYPATIOS of Ephesus, and esp. during the Iconoclastic controversy, when a number of FORGERIES and interpolations were produced and, in part, rejected. The textual studies of the earlier period were, however, ideological rather than philological; even Photios, while dealing with the problem of forgery (E. Orth, *Photiana* 1 [Leipzig 1928] 120f), applies stylistic rather than purely philological criteria. We must postulate, however, the practice of some textual criticism during the 9th and 10th C., the period of TRANSLITERATION and collection of texts (e.g., the *Palatine Anthology*). J. Koder (*JÖB* 15 [1966] 182) suggests that Niketas STETHATOS used the principles of textual studies by introducing emendations based on the meter when editing Symeon the Theologian's hymns; this hypothesis is, however, open to discussion (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 34 [1973] 286). P. Maas (*Kleine Schriften* [Munich 1973] 519) considered Eustathios of Thessalonike

as a textual critic of a high order, a hypothesis refuted by Wilson (*infra* 201f).

The evidence is much clearer with regard to the textual studies of some later professional philologists, Maximos PLANOUDES, THOMAS MAGISTROS, Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS, and esp. Demetrios TRIKLINIOS. They understood the necessity of using several MSS for an edition (an idea already expressed by John Tzetzes) and correct metrical principles for restitution of corrupted lines of Pindar, the tragedians, and Aristophanes; some "corrections" were extremely felicitous and have survived into modern editions; others were hopeless failures. It is not always clear which emendations belong to Byz. critics and which were drawn from ancient works now lost.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 230–64. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:59–77. B. Schartau, "Observations on the Activities of the Byzantine Grammarians of the Palaeologian Era," *Cahiers de l'Institut du Moyen-Age grec et latin* 4 (1970) 3–34. –A.K.

THALASSA (Θάλασσα), PERSONIFICATION of the Sea, a female figure shown standing in water with an oar over her shoulder. Found most commonly in scenes of the CROSSING OF THE RED SEA, she also appears as the counterpart of Earth in some images of the LAST JUDGMENT, where she represents the Sea disgorging its dead (Rev 20:13). The Sea is still represented by monsters in the 11th-C. Paris, B.N. gr. 74, but in this same century (e.g., in a fresco in the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON at Thessalonike) the monsters are replaced by Thalassa. In monumental art and icons of the 13th–15th C., Thalassa may be shown carrying a boat, seated in a shell, or riding a dolphin. She replaces the figure of Okeanos, an old man with crustaceans in his hair and an oar in his hands, still the usual personification of the Sea in Late Antique art (*Age of Spirit.*, nos. 130, 164). In Byz. painting Okeanos survived only as a partner to the figure of JORDAN. (See also BYTHOS.) –A.C.

THALELAIOS (Θαλέλαιος), an ANTECESSOR, probably a professor at the law school of Berytus, and one of the eight addressees of the Constitutio *Omnem* of Justinian I from the year 533. He presumably gave lectures on the INSTITUTES and the DIGEST. Of his commentary to the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, which is perhaps the most important product of the brief period of state legal education in the first half of the reign of Justinian I, a large number of fragments has survived in the BASILIKA (and its scholia) as well as elsewhere. According to general consensus, this commentary formed for books 1–7 and 9–12 of the *Codex* the basis of the *Basilika* text.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:32f, 47–49, 72–78. D. Simon, "Aus dem Codexunterricht des Thalelaios," *ZSavRom* 86 (1969) 334–83; 87 (1970) 315–94, and *Revue Internationale des Droits de l'Antiquité*[3] 16 (1969) 283–308; 17 (1970) 273–311. –A.S.

THAMUGADI (Ταμούγαδις; mod. Timgad, in southeastern Algeria). After CARTHAGE and LEPTIS MAGNA, Thamugadi provides the richest epigraphic records on municipal life in late Roman North Africa. In particular the inscription called the *Album of Thamugadi* (368) offers indisputable evidence of the survival of the curial class and its privileges in that period. The emergence of Thamugadi as the center of DONATISM in the late 4th and early 5th C., particularly under the leadership of Bp. Optatus (388–98), who appears to have usurped civil as well as religious authority, seems to have marked an end to civic generosity on the part of the municipal aristocracy, since from this time onward there is little epigraphic evidence of construction or repairs to public monuments. Significantly, the only attested building erected in this period was the vast Donatist cathedral complex to the west of the city.

Following a brief occupation by the VANDALS, Thamugadi was sacked and emptied of its inhabitants by MAURI tribes from the nearby Aures mountains (late 5th C.). In 539 the city was retaken by the Byz. under the general SOLOMON, who claims in an inscription to have reconstructed the city (Pringle, *infra* 326f, no.27). The principal element of the revived community was the fortress (112 × 67 m) erected to the south of the old urban center; its primary function seems to have been to guard the city and the agriculturally rich plain surrounding it against raids by the Mauri. A chapel constructed in the necropolis south of the fortress during the exarchate of GREGORY (641–47) by John the Armenian, *doux* of Tigisis, is the last monument built at Thamugadi. Nothing else is known of the city's history under Byz. rule.

LIT. Lepelley, *Cités* 2:444–76. Pringle, *Defence* 232–36. J. Lassus, *La forteresse byzantine de Thamugadi*, vol. 1 (Paris

1981). P.-A. Février, "Approches récentes de l'Afrique byzantine," *Revue de l'Occident Musulman et de la Méditerranée* 35 (1983) 23–34. J. Durliat, *Les dédicaces d'ouvrages de défense dans l'Afrique byzantine* (Rome 1981) 47–53. –R.B.H.

THANTIA. See UMM EL-JIMAL.

THASOS (Θάσος), island in the northern Aegean Sea near CHRISTOUPOLIS. In late antiquity Thasos was assigned either to Macedonia I (Hierokl. 640.9) or Thrace (*De them.* 1.57, ed. Pertusi 86). In the 13th C. Thasos was a Byz. naval base against the Latins and was administered by a *doux*. Held briefly by the Genoese Tedisio, the nephew of Benedetto ZACCARIA, 1307–13, it was Byz. from 1313 to ca.1434, when it fell again to the descendants of Francesco GATTILUSIO; it was handed over to the Turks in 1455. Part of the island was given by Mehmed II to Demetrios Palaiologos, former *despotes* of the Morea, in 1460. The bishop of Thasos was raised to archiepiscopal status by Manuel II (*Notitiae CP* 18.157).

Several churches of the 4th–6th C. have been found, both in the ancient city center (e.g., C. Delvoye, *BCH* 75 [1951] 154–64) and elsewhere (A.K. Orlandos, *ABME* 7 [1951] 1–72; P. Lemerle, *Byzantion* 23 [1953–54] 531–43); there is a double basilica at Aliki, one dating from the early, the other from the late 5th C. Quarries at Aliki yielded a blue-veined marble, easily confused with that from PROKONNESOS, which was used as revetment (Sodini et al., *Aliki I* 81–137). Marble production on a large scale probably continued until the Slavic invasions. Inscriptions testify to the building activity of the Genoese lords of the island (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II*).

LIT. J.P. Sodini, *Thasos du IVe au VIIe siècle* (Paris 1975). Ch. Bakirtzes, "Ti synebe stis arches tou 7ou aiona ste Thaso?" *Trito symposio Byzantines archaiologias* (Athens 1983) 57f. Miller, *Essays* 288, 330f. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEATER (*θέατρον*). The performance of plays on stage, which had been the leading form of public ENTERTAINMENT in antiquity, died out in the Byz. era. Theater was perceived as an embodiment of immorality, and even the pagan historian Zosimos presented Stilicho's infatuation with ACTORS and consequent distraction from affairs of state as a crucial factor enabling the successful invasions of the Goths. By the end of the 7th C. the church completely banned theater, theatrical buildings were abandoned, and the word *theatron* came to denote spectacles in the HIPPODROME or a literary circle in which rhetorical works were read aloud. The late Roman church tried to employ the theater as a means of spreading Christianity (A. Vogt, *Byzantion* 6 [1931] 623–40), but these attempts failed.

Vestiges of theatrical performances survived, however. Imperial ceremonial preserved certain traits of theatricality, and popular festivals required the participation of MIMES, jesters, musicians, dancers, etc. Theatrical shows served not only as pure entertainment, but also could be used for political propaganda: thus, in the days of Theophilos, a comic skit presented by actors in the Hippodrome helped to topple the *praipositos* Nikephoros (Janin, *CP byz.* 366). In literature, DIALOGUE contributed to the dramatization of the narrative (e.g., in hymns of ROMANOS THE MELODE), and some plays for reading (e.g., CHRISTOS PASCHON) were produced. LITURGY had numerous dramatic features, and the excessive theatricality of the church service was frequently criticized by strict moralists. In the 14th and 15th C. there was apparently a revival of liturgical drama, including productions of the story of the Three Hebrews in the Furnace.

Theatrical terminology was used by rhetoricians: Psellos described one of his speeches as an *agon* (contest) between him and the object of his *enkomion*, the emperor, who like the sun filled the *theatron* with his rays. This use of theatrical terminology continued throughout the Palaiologan period (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:70, 210f).

LIT. W. Puchner, "To Byzantino Theatro," *EKEE* 11 (1981–82) 169–274. Idem, "Zum 'Theater' in Byzanz: Eine Zwischenbilanz," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz*, ed. G. Prinzing and D. Simon (Munich 1990) 11–16. M. Velimirović, "Liturgical Drama in Byzantium and Russia," *DOP* 16 (1962) 351–55. A. Kazhdan, *La produzione intellettuale a Bisanzio* (Naples 1983) 129–38. –Ap.K., A.K.

THEBAID (Θηβαΐς), administratively, the southern Egyptian province of Upper and Lower Thebaid, with its capital at ANTINOÖPOLIS; in an extended sense, used to designate the heartland of Egyptian monasticism in that area, centered on the Pachomian settlement of PBOW and the site of Shenoute's White Monastery at SOHAG. The area of Thebes proper (LUXOR) contained several

Christian settlements, including the town of Jeme that survived into the 8th C., and the monastery of St. Phoebammon, documented by numerous papyri. The Thebaid was the center of the standard literary dialect of classical Coptic known as Sahidic. Its dry climate preserved the Gnostic books known as the NAG HAMMADI (Chenoboskion) codices.

LIT. M. Krause, "Das christliche Theben: Neuere Arbeiten und Funde," *BSAC* 24 (1982) 21–33.

–L.S.B.MacC.

THEBES (Θῆβαι), name of several cities in the Mediterranean region.

THEBES IN EGYPT, the former capital of ancient Egypt that became in the late Roman period a center of monastic development (see THEBAID). The Byz. had but a vague perception of Thebes; Theophanes mentions it as a region where the *poleis* of Obousiris and Koptos were located (Theoph. 6.24). Tzetzes, however, often speaks of Egyptian Thebes. –T.E.G.

THEBES IN BOEOTIA. In the late Roman period Thebes was a stronghold that successfully resisted ALARIC. Its fortifications were restored by Justinian I (Prokopios, *Buildings* 4.3.5). Excavations have revealed an Early Christian and Byz. cemetery, the date not being defined more precisely (A. Keramopoullos, *Archaiologikon Deltion tou Hypourgeiou ton Ekklesion kai tes Demosiou Ekpaideuseos* 10 [1926] 124–36). Thereafter the political history of Thebes is unknown until the 11th C., although the city is named in notitiae as an autocephalous archbishopric of Hellas by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and a metropolitan see from the 10th C. (8.63).

Skylitzes reports that the troops of Deljan reached Thebes in 1040 and there won a victory over the Byz.; a great number of Thebans perished when they tried to escape (Skyl. 411.54–57). In the 12th C. Thebes appears as an important center of the SILK industry. Roger II of Sicily sacked the city in 1147 and carried off many artisans, but the industry continued to flourish. Thebes supplied the court with silk garments and the Seljuks refused to accept any silk fabrics except those made at Thebes; Benjamin of Tudela counted 2,000 Theban Jews engaged in silk production; Tzetzes praised the skill of the local women silk weavers (Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 231). By the 12th C. Thebes became the residence of the *strategos* of Hellas. From the 12th C. the Venetians and Genoese had trading colonies in the city.

In 1204 Thebes was taken by Leo SGOUROS, but it soon came under Frankish domination. It was given first to BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and then to Othon de la Roche, lord of Athens (1205–25); Thebes became the residence of powerful barons, most prominent of whom was Nicholas II de St. Omer, lord of half of Thebes (1258–94) and bailie of Achaia, married to Anna Angelina Komnene, daughter of Michael II of Epiros. Nicholas rebuilt the walls and constructed a castle after 1287. In 1311 Thebes fell to the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY that destroyed the castle of St. Omer in 1331. The Turks devastated the surrounding territory in 1339/40, and in 1378 it came under the control of the ACCIAJUOLI (G.T. Dennis, *OrChrP* 26 [1960] 42–60), who ruled the city until the Ottomans took it ca.1456.

Literary sources praise the wealth of the castle of St. Omer and mention an episcopal palace and many churches. Of these there survive only a rectangular tower that was probably the donjon of the castle and the Church of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, apparently constructed as a private chapel in 872/3 (G.A. Soteriou, *ArchEph* [1924] 1–26). S. Symeonoglou (*infra* 164) identified up to 20 churches in the city as Byz. in origin.

A bishop of Thebes is attested at the councils of Nicaea and Serdica in the 4th C. He was archbishop by the late 8th–early 9th C. (*Notitiae CP* 2.79) and metropolitan by the 10th C. (8.63).

(For Thebes in Phthiotis, see NEA ANCHIALOS.)

LIT. *TIB* 1:269–71. S. Symeonoglou, *The Topography of Thebes* (Princeton 1985) 156–70. A. Kominis, *Episkopikoi katalogoi Thebon* (Athens 1968). –T.E.G.

THEBES, CADASTER OF, a unique document (probably of the second half of the 11th C.) consisting of fragments of an *isokodikon*, an official copy of a state CADASTER in the form of a KODIX. The fragments contain the description of 45 STICHOI, giving the names of individual taxpayers, the amount of the tax, and cases of tax alleviation: KLASMATA and SYMPATHEIAI. The taxpayers are predominantly middle-ranked notables characterized as *archontes*, *protospatharioi*, *spatharokandidatoi*, *komites*, *droungarioi*, *protokankellarioi*, and other ti-

tles. Only once is a taxpayer characterized as *ptochos* (p.18.66). Although the region described is the area of Boeotian Thebes, the taxpayers come not only from Thebes but also Athens, Euripos, and even Avlon.

Svoronos asserted that the Cadaster of Thebes depicted a traditional Byz. rural community no different from that presented in the *Treatise on Taxation* (ed. Dölger). Lemerle (*infra* 198) acknowledges that in the cadaster one can see "a reflection of social change," but he also insists on the continuity of the rural community composed of independent peasants, basing his argument in part on the omission of any reference to PROASTEION and PRONOIA.

ED. N. Svoronos, "Recherches sur le cadastre byzantin et la fiscalité aux XI[e] et XII[e] siècles: le cadastre de Thèbes," *BCH* 83 (1959) 1–166.

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr.Hist.* 193–200. A. Kazhdan, "Kritičeskie zametki po povodu izdanij vizantijskich pamjatnikov," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 275–82. –A.K.

THEFT (*κλοπή*). Common in Byz., ordinary thieves were active at night along with prostitutes and murderers, according to a proverb cited by Stephen SACHLIKES (Koukoules, *Bios* 3:209); they also frequented public bathhouses, at any rate in the 4th–6th C. The FARMER'S LAW testifies to the existence of thieves in the countryside; both agricultural tools and flocks as well as horses and weapons were at risk. Hagiographical texts often relate cases of theft in monasteries. Special categories of theft were burglary at the scene of a fire, robbery of wrecked ships, SACRILEGE, and GRAVE-ROBBING as well as seizing and selling people into slavery. Robbers could act in an organized manner, as in the case of bandits and APELATAI or the attack of nobles upon their neighbors. To protect property from thieves the Byz. used LOCKS and DOGS, as well as magic signs; magical means (e.g., the magic eye drawn on a wall) were used to discover the thief as well. The state maintained night guards and night police; in 14th-C. Trebizond night heralds existed (H. Grégoire, *BZ* 18 [1909] 493f).

While Justinianic law considered theft primarily as a private delict and tried to satisfy the victim with the return of his property or its cash value (sometimes multiplied), the ECLOGA elaborated the idea of the thief's responsibility before the state; accordingly, the PENALTY was not only a fine, but also flogging and mutilation of limbs (Zachariä, *Geschichte* 339f). The church, at least from the 10th C., imposed on thieves severe fasts, compulsory almsgiving, and exclusion from communion for one or two years.

LIT. Ph. Koukoules, R. Guilland, "Voleurs et prisons à Byzance," *REGr* 61 (1948) 119–27. Troianos, *Poinalios* 23–29, 107–16. –A.K.

THEKLA (Θέκλα), "the first martyr among the women and an apostle"; according to legend, born in Ikonion, died near Seleukeia, Cilicia, at age 90; major feastday 24 Sept. The legend of Thekla was known before the end of the 2nd C. Despite criticism (esp. by Tertullian) it became popular, representing a type of Christian romance. Its core is the story of an extremely beautiful woman who rejected her family and suitors, despised her body, and followed an apostle (Paul) in whom she saw the embodiment of Christianity. The *Acta Pauli et Theclae* describe her travels, chaste adventures, and miracles: she was placed in a burning pyre, but rain extinguished the flames; wild beasts in the arena did not harm her. She is the only nonbiblical figure included in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE.

An anonymous 5th-C. author wrote the Miracles of Thekla; the text has been wrongly attributed to BASIL OF SELEUKEIA, whereas the author was, in fact, hostile toward Basil (G. Dagron, *AB* 92 [1974] 5–11). The miracles worked by Thekla are categorized by Dagron (*infra* 102f) as those of healing, of illusion, of foresight, of reward, and of vengeance. She acted as the protector of her home town Hagia Thekla (MERIAMLIK), near Seleukeia, and accordingly the Miracles are an important source for reconstructing the life of a small provincial town. The author concentrates on the urban population, and no inhabitant of the countryside is described in any detail; in addition to the townsmen, only the ISAURIANS, whom the author treats as bandits, play any role. Among the townspeople he focuses primarily on physicians, rhetoricians, soldiers, and clergy rather than on artisans; typical urban entertainments are mentioned, such as *theai*, nocturnal spectacles.

Representation in Art. Images of Thekla among the beasts of the arena appear on AMPULLAE of the 6th–7th C. from Egypt (*Age of Spirit.*, no.516). Later portraits stress her connection with Paul in

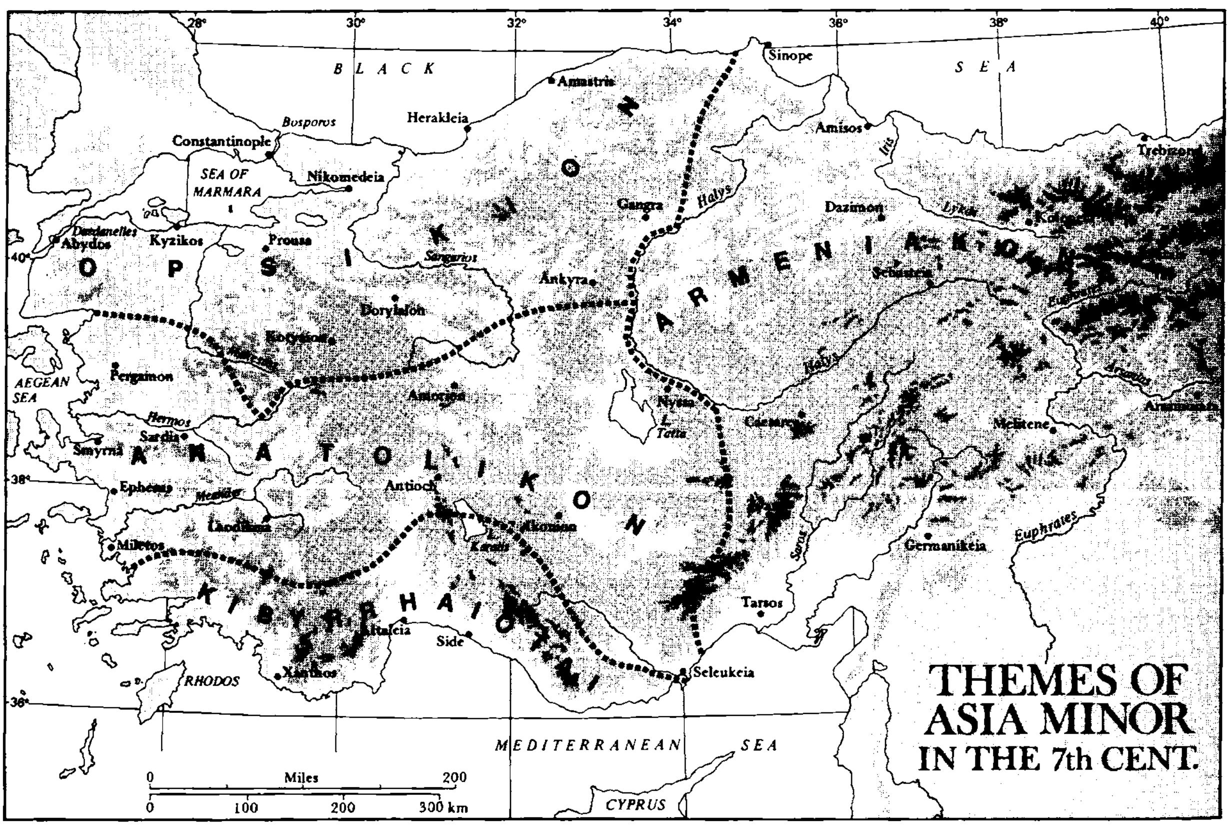
that she carries a book, the attribute of the apostles. MSS of the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES are sometimes illustrated with a narrative scene: her encounter with the beasts, or her final disappearance into a cleft in the rock.

SOURCES. *Vie et Miracles de s. Thècle,* ed. G. Dagron (Brussels 1978).

LIT. *BHG* 1710–1722. C. Holzhey, *Die Thekla-Akten* (Munich 1905). A.J. Festugière, "Les énigmes de s. Thècle," *CRAI* (1968) 52–63. C. Nauerth, R. Warns, *Thekla. Ihre Bilder in der frühchristlichen Kunst* (Wiesbaden 1981). A. Ja.Kakovkin, "Koptskij tkanyj medal'on s isobraženiem mučeničestva sv. Fekly," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 139–42. R. Warns, "Weitere Darstellungen der heiligen Thekla," *Studien zur frühchristlichen Kunst,* vol. 2 (Wiesbaden 1986) 75–137. Sacopoulo, *Asinou* 85–87. J. Leibbrand, *LCI* 8:432–36.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEME (θέμα), term for a military division and for a territorial unit administered by a STRATEGOS who combined both military and civil power. The etymology and origin of the term is under discussion. J. Howard-Johnston (in *Maistor* 189–97) suggested an Altaic origin for the word—from *tümän,* "ten thousand men"; however, Constantine VII explicitly affirms that the word is Greek, originating from *thesis.* N. Oikonomides (*ZRVI* 16 [1975] 5f) believes it was equivalent to *katalogos,* the list of soldiers. The date of the appearance of the term *thema* is also a subject of controversy: G. Ostrogorsky (*Byzantion* 23 [1953/4] 55) asserted that the term existed in 622, when Theophanes describes the arrival of Herakleios in "the lands (*chorai*) of themes"; according to Pertusi (*infra* 39), the southern themes were created after 634, the northern ones after 679. The nature of this administrative change and its social character are also far from clear: Ostrogorsky argued that Herakleios created the theme when he introduced a new type of army, that of the farmer-soldiers who were granted STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA; they formed the backbone of Byz., until destroyed by the feudal development of the 11th C. Karayannopulos, on the other hand, insists that there was no single reform, but "an organic development" from the 6th C. onward, that had only administrative, not social, implications. Lilie accepts the idea of or-



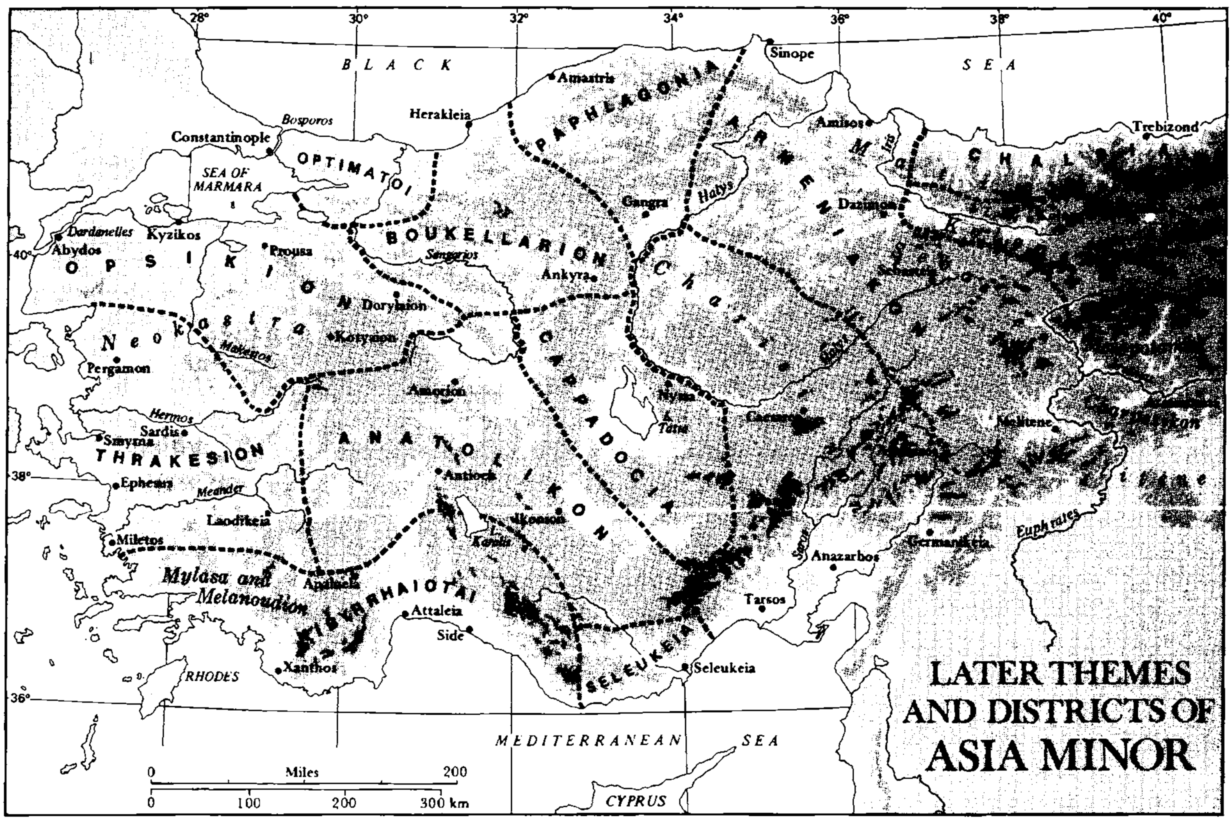
THEMES OF ASIA MINOR IN THE 7th CENT.

ganic development but thinks that the crucial steps took place in the mid-8th C.

In any case, it appears that by the end of the 7th C. the major part of Byz. territory was organized in large units (unlike the Justinianic system of small provinces), with the military commander functioning simultaneously as civil administrator and judge; the example of the EXARCHATES definitely played a part in this process. The earliest themes were ARMENIAKON, OPSIKION, ANATOLIKON, and THRACE. W. Kaegi (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 39–53) argues that the theme system did not contribute to the strengthening of defense against the Arabs and Bulgarians: by the beginning of the 8th C., the themes were centers of revolts, and the *strategoi* of themes became pretenders to the throne. The task of the central government in the 8th-9th C. was to diminish the power of large themes; they were divided into smaller units. The revolt of THOMAS THE SLAV in the early 9th C. was the last major mutiny of themes. By the 11th C. the unity of thematic administration was dissolved, and civil governors (*kritai*, later *praitors*) slowly replaced military commanders. The collapse of the themes became reality by the last quarter of the 12th C. (J. Herrin, *DOP* 29 [1975] 253–84). The system of themes nevertheless existed in the empire of Nicaea (Angold, *Byz. Government* 243–49) and in Epiros (D. Angelov, *BS* 12 [1951] 56–74), and the term was used, esp. for territorial fiscal units, until the end of the empire (e.g., *Docheiar.*, no.56.5–6 [a. 1418]; *Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10 [1420]).

LIT. A. Pertusi, *La formation des thèmes byzantins* (Munich 1958). J. Karayannopulos, *Die Entstehung der byzantinischen Themenordnung* (Munich 1959). R.J. Lilie, "Die zweihundertjährige Reform," *BS* 45 (1984) 27–39, 190–201. J.V.A. Fine, "Basil II and the Decline of the Theme System," *Studia slavico-byzantina et mediaevalia Europensia*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1989) 44–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Ableitung des byzantinischen Verwaltungsterminus *thema*," *Historia* 4 (1955) 189–98.
–A.K.

THEMISTIOS (Θεμίστιος), one of the first pagan rhetoricians to make a successful career under Christian emperors; born Paphlagonia or Constantinople ca.317, died ca.388. Apart from wide



LATER THEMES AND DISTRICTS OF ASIA MINOR

travel on official and court business (including a visit to Rome in 357 for the *vicennalia* of Constantius II), he passed his life in Constantinople. His combination of eloquence, level-headed NEOPLATONISM, unfanatic paganism, and timeserving brought him to imperial attention and favor more comprehensively than LIBANIOS, with whom he enjoyed a sometimes stormy friendship; GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS was also a correspondent of his. Theodosios I crowned his career in 384 by appointing him prefect of the capital and entrusting to him the education of his son Arkadios. The notice of PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.74) attests to his Byz. popularity.

The vital theme of his 34 extant speeches, esp. those concerned with Constantius II, Valentinian I, Gratian, and Theodosios, is a Neoplatonically conceived perfect ruler, guided by divine and philosophic principles. His philosophic essays *On Virtue* (extant in Syriac) and *On the Soul* (adduced by STOBAIOS) are natural pendants to these. His Aristotelian paraphrases (H. Blumenthal, *Hermes* 107 [1979] 168–82), of which some survive only in Hebrew, are more industrious than original; those on Plato (lost, though known to Photios) might have been better.

ED. *Orationes quae supersunt*, ed. H. Schenkl, G. Downey, A.F. Norman, 3 vols. (Leipzig 1965–74). Aristotelian paraphrases—*CAG*, vol. 5, in 6 pts. (Berlin 1899–1903).

LIT. G. Dagron, "L'empire romain d'Orient au IVe siècle et les traditions politiques de l'hellénisme: le témoignage de Themistios," *TM* 3 (1968) 1–242. Kennedy, *Rhetoric* 32–35. G. Downey, "Themistius' First Oration," *GRBS* 1 (1958) 49–69. L.H. Daly, "Themistius' Refusal of Magistracy," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 164–212. –B.B.

THEODAHAD (Θευδάτος), Ostrogothic king (from 2 Oct. 534); died Dec. 536 on the way from Rome to Ravenna. Theodoric's nephew, Theodahad was a rich landowner in Etruria, notorious for his greed. Inexperienced in warfare, he showed an interest in Platonic philosophy. He planned in 533/4 to hand over the whole of Etruria to the emperor, to whom he was loyal, in exchange for money, a senatorial title, and a mansion in Constantinople. His cousin AMALASUNTHA raised him to be *consors regni* after the death of her son Athalaric and Theodahad's recognition of her as regent. The conflict between Amalasuntha and Theodahad ended in the queen's exile and murder; together with Theodahad's support of the anti-Byz. Pope Silverius (536–37), these events served as the cause of Justinian's invasion. Theodahad had no clear idea of defense, sent envoys to Constantinople apologizing for his conduct, and even promised to cede his throne to Justinian. When Byz. armies invaded Dalmatia, Sicily, and Calabria and BELISARIOS occupied Naples, the Goths elected VITIGES as their king. Theodahad fled to Ravenna, but was murdered.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 337–42. *PLRE* 2:1067f. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 93–95. E. Chrysos, "Die Amaler-Herrschaft in Italien und das Imperium Romanum," *Byzantion* 51 (1981) 433–474. –W.E.K., A.K.

THEODORA (personal name). See THEODORE.

THEODORA (Θεοδώρα), empress; wife of Justinian I; born Constantinople or Paphlagonia ca.497, died Constantinople 28 June 548, perhaps of gangrene (J. Fitton, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 119) or cancer (J. Körbler, *Janus* 61 [1974] 15–22). She was allegedly one of three daughters of Akakios, an animal keeper of the Green faction. Theodora spent some time as an actress in Alexandria and Antioch and reportedly bore a son before she met JUSTINIAN I ca.520. She married him in 525 and was proclaimed augusta 1 Apr. 527. Theodora had strong religious interests, favored Monophysitism, endowed monasteries, churches, orphanages, and hospitals, and took interest in the welfare and the rehabilitation of former prostitutes. She vigorously participated in the decision to resist NIKA rioters, stiffening the resolve of Justinian. She contrived the removal of JOHN OF CAPPADOCIA and Pope Silverius (536–37) and pressured Justinian to remove Pope VIGILIUS.

The best-known extant representation of Theodora is the wall mosaic in S. Vitale, RAVENNA; some authorities accept a marble bust in Milan as her portrait (*Age of Spirit.*, no.27). Prokopios of Caesarea scurrilously and inaccurately depicts her in his *Secret History*; his charges about her sinister influence cannot be verified. Her role as an adviser on political and religious policies is difficult to ascertain, but Rubin (*Zeit. Justinians* 1:113f) assumed that her role was significant. JOHN OF EPHESUS praised her for her Monophysite sympathies and for her sponsorship of JACOB BARADAEUS (PO 19:153f). She was buried in the Church of the Holy Apostles.



THEODORA. The empress and her retinue; mosaic, 6th C. South wall of the apse of the Church of San Vitale, Ravenna.

LIT. Cameron, *Procopius* 67–83. R. Browning, *Justinian and Theodora* (London 1987) 38–41, 128–31. Stein, *Histoire* 2:235–39, 385–88, 623–25. H.G. Beck, *Kaiserin Theodora und Prokop* (Munich-Zurich 1986) 89–158. –W.E.K.

THEODORA, wife of Theophilos, empress (842–56), and saint; born Ebissa in Paphlagonia, died after 867. The daughter of a *droungarios* or *tourmarches* Marinos and Theoktiste Phlorina (*TheophCont* 89.15–19), she was of Armenian descent (P. Charanis, *BS* 22 [1961] 207f). Perhaps on 12 May 821 (E.W. Brooks, *BZ* 10 [1901] 540–45), but more likely on 5 June 830 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 325–41), Theodora was married to Theophilos after a BRIDE SHOW and crowned empress shortly thereafter. Together they had five daughters—Thekla, Anna, Anastasia, Pulcheria, Maria—and two sons, Constantine and Michael III. After the death of Theophilos in 842, she served as regent for Michael but the eunuch THEOKTISTOS effectively held power.

A devout ICONOPHILE, Theodora reportedly venerated icons despite the disapproval of Theophilos; she secured the release from prison of the painter LAZAROS. Yet she consented to the restoration of icons in Mar. 843 only after being assured that Theophilos would not be condemned: she vowed that he had repented on his deathbed. She approved the election of Patr. IGNATIOS and the persecution of the PAULICIANS. Her brother, Caesar BARDAS, reportedly convinced Michael to dethrone her by saying that she planned to marry Theoktistos or else marry him to one of her daughters (R. Guilland, *REB* 29 [1971] 49). She was formally deposed on 15 Mar. 856 but continued to live in the palace until 858, when she and

her daughters were eventually sent to the monastery of Gastria, despite the refusal of Ignatios to tonsure them. Michael may have released her a few years later and allowed her to play a ceremonial role. She died sometime after the accession of Basil I and was buried in the Gastria monastery (P. Grierson, *DOP* 16 [1962] 57). Her vita was written soon after her death; it served as a source for GEORGE HAMARTOLOS. She is commemorated on 11 Feb. for her role in the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY.

SOURCE. A. Markopoulos, "Bios tes autokrateiras Theodoras (BHG 1731)," *Symmeikta* 5 (1983) 249–85.
LIT. D. Stiernon, *Bibl. sanct.* 12 (Rome 1969) 222–24. Bury, *ERE* 154–61. –P.A.H.

THEODORA, third daughter of CONSTANTINE VIII, co-empress (with her sister ZOE) 21 Apr.–12 June 1042, sole empress 1055–56; died Constantinople 31 Aug. 1056. Early in the reign of ROMANOS III, she was charged with complicity in conspiracies of Prousianos and Constantine DIOGENES; Zoe forced her into the Petrion convent in Constantinople. The Madrid Skylitzes MS represents this expulsion from the palace and confinement in the monastery (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 487, 498). On 19 Apr. 1042 the populace, guided by senators and Patr. ALEXIOS STOUDITES, rebelled against MICHAEL V and drew Theodora forth; she was crowned in Hagia Sophia shortly after midnight on 20 April. After Michael fled, she joined Zoe in the palace. At her insistence, Michael was blinded. Theodora then shared Zoe's rule and remained in the palace after the accession of CONSTANTINE IX. Her image together with those of Zoe and the emperor in the Chrysostom MS, Sinai gr. 364, enables one to date this book not later than three months after Constantine's coronation (12 June 1042). At his death she claimed the throne as the last member of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY. She ruled authoritatively. Her appointment of clerics, deemed a masculine privilege, aroused the enmity of Patr. MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS. Leo PARASPONDYLOS was her chief minister and Michael PSELLOS alleges he advised her. When the general BRYENNIOS brought his army to Chrysopolis, her supporters seized and exiled him. As Theodora lay dying, she consented to her officials' choice of MICHAEL VI. Psellos described her as placid and miserly, but given to chattering.

LIT. H. Mädler, *Theodora, Michael Stratiotikos, Isaak Komnenos. Ein Stück byzantinischer Kaisergeschichte* (Plauen im Vogtland 1894) 17–27, rev. P. Bezobrazov, *VizVrem* 2 (1895) 233f. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 50–52, 68–71. –C.M.B., A.C.

THEODORA OF ARTA, saint; born Thessaly, died Arta ca.1270?; feastday 11 March. Daughter of the *sebastokrator* John PETRALIPHAS, she married MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros ca.1230 and moved to Arta. According to her vita, Michael soon took a mistress and banished Theodora from Arta, even though she was pregnant with their first child, the future NIKEPHOROS I KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros. After enduring five years of exile and poverty without complaint, she was finally recalled by Michael, who repented of his adultery. After their reconciliation, the couple produced five more children.

Theodora is reputed to have influenced Epirot policy. She favored rapprochement first with the empire of Nicaea and later with the restored Palaiologan dynasty in Constantinople. Famed for her piety and virtue, she founded the nunnery of St. George (now the Church of St. Theodora) at ARTA and took the habit there after her husband's death. Her tomb (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no.152) in the monastic church bears carved portraits of Theodora and Nikephoros; it was reputedly the site of many healing miracles. The monk JOB wrote her short vita (*BHG* 1736) in the late 13th C. (L.I. Vranouses, *Chronika tes mesaionikes kai tourkokratoumenes Epeirou* [Ioannina 1962] 49–54).

SOURCE. PG 127:903–08.
LIT. *PLP*, no.5664. Nicol, *Epiros I* 128–31, 149–60, 200–03. Polemis, *Doukai* 166. –A.M.T.

THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE, saint; born Aigina ca.812, died Thessalonike 29 Aug. 892. Theodora was the daughter of Antony, *protopresbyteros* of the local "Great Church." Beautiful and rich, she was betrothed at seven to one of the most noble men on the island. An Arab attack forced the family to flee ca.826 to Thessalonike. Theodora and her husband had three children, two of whom died; the third, Theopiste, was given to a nunnery. After being widowed at 25, Theodora took the monastic habit and divided her property between the poor and the convent of Stephen the Protomartyr, where she spent the rest of her life.

A certain cleric Gregory, who was evidently a young man at the time of the translation of Theodora's corpse into a marble coffin, wrote the vita and *Translatio*; he had never met Theodora, but he listened to the tales of eyewitnesses. Unlike the vitae of MARY THE YOUNGER and THOMAIS OF LESBOS, Theodora's story concentrates on the heroine's monastic virtues, which sometimes conflicted with parental love. Thus, although Theodora and Theopiste lived in the same convent, the *hegoumene* forbade them to converse. The hagiographer praises Thessalonike, "the brilliant megalopolis," and mentions its monuments and some of its inhabitants, including a painter who never saw Theodora alive but who "witn God's help" as the result of a dream produced an icon that strikingly resembled the saint (ed. Arsenij, 31f). The vita became the object of later reworking, including an *enkomion* by Nicholas KABASILAS (PG 150:753–72).

SOURCES. *Žitie i podvigi sv. Feodory Solunskoj*, ed. Arsenij (Juriev 1899). *Des Klerikers Gregorios Bericht über Leben, Wunderthaten und Translation der hl. Theodora von Thessalonich*, ed. E. Kurtz (St. Petersburg 1902).

LIT. *BHG* 1737–41. E. Patlagean, "Theodora de Thessalonique: Une sainte moniale et un culte citadin (ix[e]–xx[e] siècle)," in *Culto dei santi, istituzioni e classi sociali in età preindustriale*, ed. S.B. Gajano, L. Sebastiani (Rome 1984) 39–67. –A.K.

THEODORE (Θεόδωρος, fem. Θεοδώρα), personal name (meaning "God's gift"). Common in antiquity, the name remained in broad use after the triumph of Christianity, albeit the perception of God (as part of the theophoric name) changed radically. This ambiguity allowed the name to be accepted by both pagans and Christians: thus, among 29 Theodores of the 4th C. (*PLRE* 1:896–902) we meet a pagan high priest of Asia in 362, a Neoplatonist philosopher, a pagan rhetorician from Arabia, and a friend of EUNAPIOS OF SARDIS. In the 5th C. (*PLRE* 2:1085–99) PROKLOS addressed one of his works to the engineer and Neoplatonist philosopher Theodore. At the same time many Theodores were theologians (e.g., Theodore of Mopsuestia) and clergymen. Several Theodores were martyrs, THEODORE TERON and THEODORE STRATELATES being esp. popular saints; their popularity contributed to the expansion of the name.

Theodore occupies third place in Sozomenos (7), after EUSEBIOS and JOHN, and in Prokopios (11) is second only to John. It retains second place (34) in Theophanes the Confessor (after John), but drops to fifth in Skylitzes (26) and to fourth in Niketas Choniates (18). In the acts of *Lavra*, vol. 1 (10th–12th C.), Theodore holds seventh place (30), right behind NIKEPHOROS, and sixth position (145) in vols. 2–3 of *Lavra* (13th–15th C.), following MICHAEL (152). The name was frequently used as a play on words to emphasize the positive qualities of an emperor or saint.

The feminine version of the name, Theodora, also known in the 4th–5th C. in the pagan and the Christian milieus (*PLRE* 1:895f, 2:1084f), was used throughout the whole period of Byz. history as one of the most popular feminine names. It was borne by several Byz. empresses and holds fifth place in *Lavra*, vols. 2–3. –A.K.

THEODORE, brother of Herakleios, military commander, and *kouropalates;* died Yarmuk 20 Aug. 636, according to some Arabic sources, or, more probably, later. Theodore commanded the army that fought SHĀHĪN in Asia Minor, brought military aid to Constantinople at the end of the siege of 626, assisted Herakleios in campaigns against the Persians, and ejected recalcitrant Persians from Edessa after they refused to obey the peace agreement of ARABISSOS. Theodore may have been a commander at Mu'ta, and probably at Ajnādayn; he led the Byz. forces that reoccupied Ḥimṣ and Damascus as Muslims evacuated them during the abortive Byz. counteroffensive of 636. Some Muslim traditions attribute an aggressive and foolhardy attitude to Theodore. Monophysite traditions are hostile to him and blame him for Byz.'s military debacle. After Theodore fled Ajnādayn (or YARMUK), he went to Herakleios at Emesa or to Antioch; the emperor, enraged by Theodore's military failures, ordered him sent to Constantinople and imprisoned. Theodore's son Theodore participated in an unsuccessful palace plot against Herakleios in 637.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 2:135–37. M. Krivov, "Nekotorye voprosy arabskogo zavoevanija Sirii i Palestiny," *VizVrem* 46 (1986) 88–99. –W.E.K.

THEODORE I LASKARIS, founder of the empire of NICAEA and its emperor (1205–21); born ca.1174, died Nicaea Nov. 1221 (J. Darrouzès,

REB 36 [1978] 276). He married Anna, daughter of ALEXIOS III ANGELOS (1199) and was soon afterward promoted to the rank of DESPOTES. After his father-in-law's overthrow in July 1203, he escaped with his wife to Asia Minor. There he began to lay the foundations of an empire in exile centered on Nicaea, organizing resistance to the Latins and bringing local rulers under his control. In summer 1205 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 345–56; Dieten, *Erläuterungen* 151f), an assembly at Nicaea proclaimed him emperor in the aftermath of the Latin defeat at the battle of ADRIANOPLE (1205). His elevation to the imperial office was confirmed by his coronation in March 1208 by the new patriarch MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS.

In 1211 Theodore had to meet a full-scale Seljuk invasion. He secured victory by killing the sultan in single combat, a success that so alarmed HENRY OF HAINAULT that he invaded the Nicaean territories in order to preempt a Nicaean strike against Constantinople. He won a great victory over Theodore on 15 Oct. 1211 on the banks of the RHYNDAKOS RIVER. Theodore was forced to cede northwestern Asia Minor to the Latins of Constantinople, but his annexation of Paphlagonia after the death of its ruler, DAVID KOMNENOS, in 1212 was some compensation. His marriage in 1219 to Marie, daughter of YOLANDE, was an attempt to break the deadlock with the Latins of Constantinople, but one that foundered on ecclesiastical opposition. He was buried in the monastery of Hyakinthos at Nicaea.

LIT. A. Gardner, *The Lascarids of Nicaea* (London 1912) 52–115. P. Žavoronkov, "Nikejsko-latinskie i nikejsko-sel'džukskie otnošenija v 1211–1216 gg.," *VizVrem* 37 (1976) 48–61. —M.J.A.

THEODORE I PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1380/1–1407; cf. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 230–34); born 1350s, died Mistra 24 June 1407, as monk Theodoretos. Fourth son of JOHN V PALAIOLOGOS and Helena Kantakouzene, Theodore was named *despotes* of Thessalonike in 1376. He was not able to take up this post, however, because he was imprisoned for three years (1376–79) after his brother ANDRONIKOS IV seized control of Constantinople. In 1382 Theodore went to Mistra as first Palaiologan *despotes* of the MOREA. In 1384 he married Bartholomaia, daughter of Nerio I ACCIAJUOLI.

During his rule over the Morea he encouraged the settlement of ALBANIANS, whom he used as soldiers to maintain control over the local *archontes*. He initiated an aggressive foreign policy, seeking to expand Palaiologan territory in the Morea, and was moderately successful, purchasing CORINTH from Carlo I Tocco in 1395/6 (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110), and defeating the NAVARRESE COMPANY in 1395. Discouraged, however, by the Ottoman attacks on the Morea of 1395 and 1397, Theodore sold Corinth (1397) and then the despotate itself (1400) to the HOSPITALLERS and temporarily withdrew from Mistra to Monemvasia. The Byz. recovered this territory in 1404.

Theodore was very close to his brother MANUEL II, who ca.1409 composed a funeral oration in his honor. Although this speech is a eulogy of Theodore that defends his policies in the Morea and omits some of his less worthy actions, it is a source of great importance for the history of the despotate of the Morea.

SOURCE. *Manuel II Palaeologus. Funeral Oration on his Brother Theodore*, ed. J. Chrysostomides (Thessalonike 1985), with Eng. tr.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:117–69, 339–53. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.85. *PLP*, no.21460. —A.M.T.

THEODORE II LASKARIS, emperor of Nicaea (from 3 Nov. 1254); born Nov. 1221, died Nymphaion 16 Aug. 1258 (*Kleinchroniken* 1:75, no.3). The only son of JOHN III VATATZES, Theodore was brought up to be a "philosopher-king," tutored by the most learned and exacting teachers, including Nikephoros BLEMMYDES and George AKROPOLITES. Some notes in his own hand in a MS of Aristotle's *Physics* proclaim that he had read the whole volume from beginning to end (G. Prato, *JÖB* 30 [1981] 249–58). He left a corpus of philosophical, scientific, and theological works and a series of rhetorical pieces, including an *enkomion* for the city of NICAEA and a funeral oration for FREDERICK II HOHENSTAUFEN (C. Astruc, *TM* 1 [1965] 393–404; H. Hunger, *JÖB* 8 [1959] 127–37). His letters reveal a man of great charm, who could also be spiteful and cruel. Toward the end of his reign his health deteriorated and he became increasingly neurotic.

Before his health gave way, he proved himself a ruler of great energy. In the winter of 1254–55 he led a brilliant campaign, throwing back the Bulgarians who were threatening the Nicaean ter-

ritories in Europe. The marriage in 1256 of his daughter Maria to Nikephoros I Komnenos Doukas, the heir to Epiros, appeared to consolidate his hold over his European territories. At home, however, his position was weakened by the opposition of great court families, who objected to his reliance on ministers of humble origin, such as George Mouzalon. He dealt with his adversaries ruthlessly, depriving some of their rank and some of their eyes. Others, including Michael (VIII) Palaiologos, he forced into exile. Theodore left George Mouzalon, as regent for his young son John IV Laskaris, to face the mounting resentment of the aristocracy.

ED. *Theodori Ducae Lascaris Epistolae CCXVII*, ed. N. Festa (Florence 1898). L. Tartaglia, "L'opusculo *De subiectorum in principem officiis* di Teodoro II Lascaris," *Diptycha* 2 (1980–81) 187–222 (with It. tr.). For other works see *Tusculum Lexikon*, 772f.

LIT. A.M. de Guadan, "La 'democracia' in la epoca de Teodoro II Lascaris (1254–1258)," *Publications de l'Institut d'études orientales de la bibliothèque patriarcale d'Alexandrie* 11 (Alexandria 1962) 29–50. J. Papadopoulos, *Théodore II Lascaris, empereur de Nicée* (Paris 1908). M. Andreeva, "Názory Theodora II. Laskarise na ideálniho panovníka," *Sborník Jaroslavu Bidlovi* (Prague 1928) 71–76. –M.J.A.

THEODORE II PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of the Morea (1407–43); born ca.1395, died Selymbria 26 June (?) 1448 (E. Trapp, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 959–64). Second son of Manuel II, Theodore spent part of his childhood at the court of his uncle, Theodore I, at Mistra. He was about 12 when he succeeded his uncle as *despotes* in 1407. During Theodore's minority, Manuel took a special interest in the Morea, visiting the region twice, in 1408 and in 1415–16 when he supervised the construction of the Hexamilion. In 1421 Theodore married an Italian princess, Cleopa Malatesta (died 1433; cf. G. Hofmann, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 129–37). Theodore pursued an expansionist policy in the Peloponnesos, esp. against Centurione Zaccaria, prince of Achaia, and Carlo Tocco, count of Kephalenia, but the Byz. were weakened by the invasion of the Turkish general, Turahan Bey, in 1423. After 1428, when Theodore's younger brothers Constantine (XI) and Thomas Palaiologos associated themselves with his rule, the Byz. enjoyed even greater military success, adding Patras to their territory in 1430. The final years of Theodore's despotate were marred, however, by disputes with Constantine over the succession to the childless John VIII. As the result of a compromise in 1443, Theodore exchanged his despotate at Mistra for Constantine's newly acquired appanage of Selymbria. He died of the plague five years later.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119–21, 165–225, 299–302, 352–54. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.91. *PLP*, no.21459. –A.M.T.

THEODORE ABU-QURRA (Ἀβουκαρᾶ), theologian; born in Edessa between ca.740 and 750, died between 820 and 825. Theodore was a monk in the Lavra of St. Sabas, later for a time bishop of Harran, and then itinerant controversialist. He wrote in Syriac, Arabic, and perhaps Greek, although his works preserved in Greek may be translations (S. Griffith, *JEH* 36 [1985] 23–45). In some cases there are parallel Greek and Arabic versions of sayings attributed to him (S. Griffith, *Le Muséon* 92 [1979] 33f). Influenced by Leontios of Byzantium and John of Damascus (the suggestion that Theodore was John's disciple is questionable), Theodore dedicated himself to the defense of Orthodoxy. A passionate polemicist, he argued against Judaism, Islam, and Christian heresies. It is not excluded that he participated in a dispute (Baghdad 824) with several brilliant Muslim scholars at the caliph's court. Theodore developed John's views in support of icon veneration; he also defended the importance of the church councils (H.J. Sieben, *Theologie und Philosophie* 49 [1974] 489–509). His philosophical concepts are very close to those of Leontios and John (E. Hammerschmidt, *OstkSt* 4 [1955] 153f), and it is plausible that the treatise *On the Heresies*, ascribed in some MSS to Leontios, belonged in fact to Theodore (M. Waegeman, *AntCl* 45 [1976] 190–96), whereas J. Speigl (*AnnHistCon* 2 [1970] 207–30) attributes it to another Theodore, of the late 6th C.

ED. PG 97:1462–1610. *Theodori Abu Kurra de cultu imaginum libellus e codice arabico*, ed. J.P. Arendzen (Bonn 1897). I. Dick, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité de l'existence du createur et de la vraie religion* (Jounieh-Rome 1982). Idem, *Théodore Abuqurra, Traité du culte des icônes* (Jounieh-Rome 1986).

LIT. G. Graf, *Die arabischen Schriften des Theodor Abû Qurra* (Paderborn 1910). I. Dick, "Un continuateur arabe de Jean Damascène: Théodore Abuqurra, évêque melkite de Harran, la personne et son milieu," *PrOC* 12 (1962) 209–23, 319–32; 13 (1963) 114–29. J. Nasrallah, "Dialogue islamo-chrétien à propos de publications récentes," *REI* 46 (1978) 129–32. –S.H.G., A.K.

THEODORE GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; born in Moabite mountains, Palestine ca.775, died in Apameia, Bithynia, between 841 and 844; feastday 27 or 28 Dec. He and his brother THEOPHANES GRAPTOS, pupils of MICHAEL SYNKELLOS in the Lavra of St. SABAS, followed Michael to Constantinople in 813. There they defended icon veneration and were exiled by Leo V and again by Theophilos; in 836 the latter ordered a certain Christodoulos to tattoo 12 iambic lines on their foreheads (hence their soubriquet Graptoi). Theodore describes their ordeal in a letter to John, bishop of Kyzikos; SYMEON METAPHRASTES includes this letter in his vita of the two brothers. Their biography is known primarily from the vita of Michael Synkellos. Circa 886 Theophanes of Caesarea wrote an *enkomion* of Theodore, suppressing most details and omitting Michael's role in the struggle against the Iconoclasts. This *enkomion* served as the major source for Metaphrastes, who possessed, however, some additional information. Before 1300 Theodora RAOULAINA wrote a vita of both brothers.

Representation in Art. The crucial event that gave the saint his epithet is illustrated only in the 11th-C. marginal psalters (e.g., THEODORE PSALTER, fol.120v): Theodore lies prone while the Iconoclast Christodoulos inscribes the verses onto his forehead. Elsewhere the saint is portrayed as an ordinary monk.

SOURCES. J.-M. Featherstone, "The Praise of Theodore Graptos by Theophanes of Caesarea," *AB* 98 (1980) 93–150. PG 116:653–84. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:185–223, 5:397–99.

LIT. *BHG* 1745z–1746a, 1793. S. Vailhé, "Saint Michel le Syncelle et les deux frères Grapti, saint Théodore et saint Théophane," *ROC* 6 (1901) 313–32, 610–42.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS (of the ANGELOS family), ruler of Epiros (ca.1215–30), emperor at Thessalonike (from 1224/5—A. Karpozilos, *Byzantina* 6 [1974] 253–61—or between Apr. and Aug. 1227—E. Bee-Sepherle, *BNJbb* 21 [1971–74] 272–79); born ca.1180–85, died Nicaea soon after 1253. A son of the *sebastokrator* John DOUKAS, he took service with THEODORE I LASKARIS, but ca.1210 went to EPIROS to join his half-brother MICHAEL I KOMNENOS DOUKAS, whom he succeeded ca.1215. Having assured the alliance of the Albanians and Serbians, Theodore attacked Bulgaria. In 1217 he defeated and captured PETER OF COURTENAY; then, after occupying one by one Neopatras, Lamia, Platamon, and Prosek, he seized Thessalonike in autumn 1224 (B. Sinogowitz, *BZ* 45 [1952] 28) and was subsequently crowned as *basileus*.

Theodore's conquest of Adrianople in 1225 suggested that the recovery of Constantinople was within his grasp, but this hope was dashed by his defeat and capture by the Bulgarian tsar, JOHN ASEN II, in 1230 at the battle of KLOKOTNICA. The tsar released him from captivity ca.1237 when he married Irene, the daughter of Theodore and his wife Maria Petraliphaina. Theodore was able to recover Thessalonike, but preferred to rule through his sons John and DEMETRIOS ANGELOS DOUKAS, while he resided at VODENA. His aim was to hold together the various princes of the house of Doukas in the face of the Nicaean advance. In 1252 John III Vatatzes had him seized; he died soon afterward in captivity.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros I* 47–112. Polemis, *Doukai* 89f, no.42. Barzos, *Genealogia* 2:548–637, no.168. G. Prinzing, "Studien zur Provinz- und Zentralverwaltung im Machtbereich der epirotischen Herrscher Michael I. und Theodoros Dukas," *EpChron* 24 (1982) 73–120; 25 (1983) 37–112.

–M.J.A.

THEODORE LECTOR, or Anagnostes, ecclesiastical historian; died after 527. Theodore lived at Constantinople, where he produced a *Tripartite History* comprising extracts from SOKRATES, SOZOMENOS, and THEODORET OF CYRRHUS for the period 305–439, and also an *Ecclesiastical History* continuing until 527. Only fragments survive from both. He once cites John Diakrinomenos for an anecdote concerning Emp. ANASTASIOS I. The SOUDA mentions his interest in the biblical commentaries of DIODOROS OF TARSOS. Theodore's own work, or excerpts therefrom, were a major source for THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

ED. *Kirchengeschichte*, ed. G.C. Hansen (Berlin 1971).

LIT. J. Bidez, *La tradition manuscrite de Sozomène et la Tripartite de Théodore le Lecteur* (Leipzig 1908). –B.B.

THEODORE OF ALANIA, bishop of Alania, certainly by 1226 when he signed a synodal decree (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Analekta* 4:114) and probably from 1223; fl. first half of the 13th C. Theodore wrote a *logos* for Patr. GERMANOS II on his enthronization at Nicaea (Jan. 1223), and the

Alanikos, an account of Theodore's journey to his see, Alania, in the northern Caucasus, after his consecration as bishop. This work, in the form of a letter to the *endemousa synodos* in Nicaea, describes the state of Christianity among the Alans and the behavior of the local ecclesiastical authorities. It refers to a "Scythian" attack on the Bosporos, which has been identified with the Tatar attack in the winter of 1223 (M. Nystazopoulou, *EEBS* 33 [1964] 270–78). Theodore's *Ethika* and *Matthaios*, as well as his *logos* on the tomb of Christ, remain unpublished.

ED. *Alanikos*—PG 140:387–414. Russ. tr. Ju. Kulakovskij, *Zapiski Odesskogo obščestva istorii i drevnostej* 21.2 (1898) 11–27. *Logos*—A. Karpozilos, "An Unpublished Encomium by Theodore Bishop of Alania," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 227–49. –R.J.M.

THEODORE OF DEKAPOLIS (Dekapolites), mid-10th-C. high official, *patrikios* and quaestor under CONSTANTINE VII, *magistros* under ROMANOS II. He was the author of several novels concerning agrarian relations. The Novel of 947, following the legislative principles of ROMANOS I, required that the DYNATOI return to the poor the allotments sold by their owners under duress; unlike Romanos I, however, Theodore presumed that the peasants, except the poorest, should return the price of the land. Small *archontes* and small monasteries were to be recompensed for the improvements made on the land during their term of possession. In another, undated novel Theodore stated that the allotments of the *stratiotai* should not have been sold; this novel is probably the first legislation concerning soldiers' holdings. In his decision (*lysis*) of 960/1, Theodore regulated the procedure for the restitution of peasants' and soldiers' properties illegally acquired by the *dynatoi*.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 1:222–26, 227–29, 240–42.
LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 98–100, 116–26. –A.K.

THEODORE OF EDESSA, saint; hero of a hagiographical romance preserved in Greek MSS (the oldest Moscow, Hist. Mus. 15/381, dated 1023) and in Arabic and Slavonic translations; feastday 19 July. His identification with the homonymous author of *heirmoi* in Florence Laur. B 32 (13th C.), proposed by S. Eustratiades (*Nea Sion* 34 [1939] 43–45), is based only on the similarity of names. According to his vita, Theodore was born in Edessa to a noble couple after his mother had a miraculous vision; he became a monk and then *hegoumenos* of the Lavra of St. SABAS. He was appointed to the see of Edessa—in 836 according to A. Vasiliev (*Byzantion* 16 [1942–43] 176f), who defends the historicity of the vita. Theodore supposedly died at St. Sabas. In the vita's title, its author calls himself Basil, bishop of Emesa, and claims to be Theodore's nephew, an eyewitness to and participant in the events described. The core of the vita is the story of Mauias, the *basileus* in "Babylon" (Baghdad), who converted to Christianity and was murdered by the Muslims; Vasiliev identified him first with Abbas, nephew of al-Muʿtaṣim (833–42), who allegedly "embraced Christianity" (according to Armenian sources), then with al-Mu'aiyad, who was murdered by his brother Caliph al-Muʿtazz (866–69); no evidence of al-Mu'aiyad's Christian sympathies exists, however. Most probably the vita was an apologetic work produced in the 10th C. (Michael III is mentioned) within the milieu connected with the St. Sabas monastery, or, less probably, in Constantinople. P. Peeters (*AB* 48 [1930] 64–98) hypothesized that Theodore's legend reflected some traits of the biography of THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but this is only conjecture.

ED. *Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego Feodora archiepiskopa Edesskogo*, ed. I. Pomjalovskij (St. Petersburg 1892), corr. P. Nikitin, *ZapANIst-fil* 1 (1895), no.1, 63–67, rev. A. Vasiliev, *ŽMNP* 286 (1893) 201–10.
LIT. *BHG* 1744. J. Gouillard, "Supercheries et méprises littéraires: L'oeuvre de saint Théodore d'Edesse," *REB* 5 (1947) 137–57. A. Abel, "La portée apologétique de la 'Vie' de St. Théodore d'Edesse," *BS* 10 (1949) 229–40. S.H. Griffith, "Greek into Arabic: Life and Letters in the Monasteries of Palestine in the Ninth Century," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 131f. –A.K.

THEODORE OF KYZIKOS, epistolographer and bishop of Kyzikos (mid-10th C.). Two collections of his letters have been published: one by S. Lampros from Vienna, ÖNB phil. gr. 342 (some texts in this collection are probably not by Theodore) and another by J. Darrouzès from Patmos 706. Theodore was a confidant of Constantine VII (his correspondence with the emperor is preserved) and adversary of Patr. POLYEUKTOS. The correspondence includes an allusion to an invasion of the Scythians (i.e., the expedition of IGOR of Kiev in 941), some data on the administrative system (e.g., the mention of a KOMES HYDATON),

and a short *ekphrasis* of the warm springs of Pythia (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:171).

ED. S. Lampros, "Epistolai ek tou Biennaiou kodikos phil. gr. 342," *NE* 19 (1925) 269–96; 20 (1926) 31–46, 139–57. Darrouzès, *Epistoliers* 317–41. –A.K.

THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, theologian; bishop of MOPSUESTIA (from 392); born Antioch ca.350, died Mopsuestia ca.428. In Antioch Theodore was a fellow pupil of JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, first under LIBANIOS, then DIODOROS OF TARSOS. A brief worldly lapse led to thoughts of marriage and a legal career, but two letters from Chrysostom recalled him to the monastic life. He was ordained priest ca.383; after becoming bishop, he remained in his Cilician see until his death.

Theodore's writings and reputation enjoyed very mixed fortunes in Byz. He was accused of Nestorianism and Pelagianism, and his opinions on Christology and sin were proscribed at Ephesus (431). His writings were among those condemned by the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 in the Affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. PHOTIOS, however, commended his refutation of EUNOMIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.4). His works survive mainly in Syriac versions. The biblical commentaries are historical and philological in approach, with minimal allegorization. His most important theological work was *On the Incarnation*, aimed primarily at the Apollinarians whose *logos-sarx* dichotomy he countered with the definition of Christ as a union of two natures. His terminologies are not always precise, but they helped point the way to the formulations of the Council of CHALCEDON in 451.

ED. PG 66:9–1020. *Le commentaire de Théodore de Mopsueste sur les Psaumes (I–LXXX)*, ed. R. Devreesse (Vatican 1939). *Commentarius in XII prophetas*, ed. H.N. Sprenger (Wiesbaden 1977). Lat. tr. *In epistolas B. Pauli commentarii*, ed. H.B. Swete, 2 vols. (Cambridge 1880–82). Syriac texts—*Commentarius in Evangelium Iohannis Apostoli*, ed. J.M. Vosté, 2 vols. (Paris 1940). *Fragments syriaques du Commentaire des Psaumes*, ed. L. van Rompay, 2 vols. (Louvain 1982), with Fr. tr. For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 2, nos. 3827–73.

LIT. R.A. Norris, *Manhood and Christ: A Study in the Christology of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Oxford 1963). R. Devreesse, *Essai sur Théodore de Mopsueste* (Vatican 1948). J.M. Dewart, *The Theology of Grace of Theodore of Mopsuestia* (Washington, D.C., 1971). R.K. Bultmann, *Die Exegese des Theodor von Mopsuestia* (Stuttgart 1984). M. Simonetti, "Note sull'esegesi veterotestamentaria di Teodoro di Mopsuestia," *VetChr* 14 (1977) 69–102. –B.B.

THEODORE OF RAITHOU, theologian; monk at the monastery of RAITHOU; fl. first half of the 7th C. W. Elert (*Theologische Literaturzeitung* 76 [1951] cols. 67–76) identified him with Theodore, bishop of Pharan (died before 625). The major work of Theodore of Raithou is a *Preparation* (*Proparaskeue*) consisting of two parts: a refutation of Christological heresies from MANI to SEVEROS of Antioch, and a "dialectical" presentation of Christian creed. The main purpose of the book was to reconcile the Chalcedonian formulas with the statements of CYRIL of Alexandria, which had been interpreted by the Monophysites in their own vein. M. Richard (*Opera minora*, vol. 2, no.55) attributed the treatise *On Sects* to Theodore; recently the work was discovered also in a Georgian version and attributed by L. Datiašvili to THEODORE ABU-QURRA, but M. van Esbroeck (*BK* 42 [1984] 35–52) suggests that the tract is by LEONTIOS OF BYZANTIUM as in the MS tradition.

ED. *Preparation*—ed. Diekamp, *AnalPatr* 173–222.
LIT. A. Nikas, *Theodoros tes Raithou* (Athens 1981). Beck, *Kirche* 382f. –B.B., A.K.

THEODORE OF SMYRNA, high-ranking official and scholar; born mid-11th C., died after 1112. He was *magistros* and judge in 1082 and later held the post of quaestor with the titles of *protoproedros* and *protokouropalates* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 1118–19). After the deposition of JOHN ITALOS, Theodore was appointed HYPATOS TON PHILOSOPHON. In 1112 he engaged in discussions in Constantinople with the Latin theologian Peter GROSSOLANO. His writings, mostly unpublished, include a commentary on Aristotle (W. Lackner, *ByzF* 4 [1972] 168), a theological tract on the AZYMES, a funeral speech on a son of the *protostrator* Michael Doukas (now lost), and a couple of hagiographical works. The author of the *Timarion* made Theodore the guide of his hero through the underworld and praised (ironically?) his learning and fairness.

LIT. P. Gautier, "Le synode des Blachernes (Fin 1094): Étude prosopographique," *REB* 29 (1971) 255f. V. Laurent, "Légendes sigillographiques et familles byzantines," *EO* 31 (1932) 331–35. –A.K.

THEODORE OF STOUDIOS, theologian, monastic reformer, and saint; born 759, died on Princes' Islands or near Cape Akritas 11 Nov. 826. Born to a family of civil functionaries and iconodules, in 780 he entered the family monastery of Sakkoudion, in Bithynia, administered by his uncle PLATO OF SAKKOUDION; in 794 Theodore

became its *hegoumenos.* During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY he opposed CONSTANTINE VI and was exiled in 795/6 to Thessalonike. After Constantine's defeat, Theodore returned to Sakkoudion and ca.798 went to Constantinople; J. Leroy has questioned the traditional view that an Arab raid forced him to move (*OrChrAn* 153 [1958] 201f). In Constantinople Theodore restored the STOUDIOS monastery and organized there a strong cenobitic community. Theodore objected to the efforts of Patr. NIKEPHOROS I to find a compromise between the court of Emp. Nikephoros I and the militant monks; in 809 Theodore and his brother Joseph of Thessalonike were banished to Princes' Islands. Michael I decided the dispute in Theodore's favor, but the new outbreak of ICONOCLASM set Theodore again in opposition to the court. After having refused to participate in the local council of 815 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), he was exiled again, to Metopa in Bithynia, then to a much more remote fortress (Bonita) and finally to Smyrna. Michael recalled him in 821.

The essence of Theodore's activity was the creation of an independent monastic organization able to resist imperial coercion: the rules of BASIL THE GREAT served him as a model. In his struggle Theodore did not neglect the possibility of papal support (J. Gill, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 115–23). Both his *Catecheses,* the Great and the Little, emphasize the role of monastic discipline and the necessity for the monk to participate in communal work, both manual and intellectual. Theodore highly valued family ties and paid serious attention to the role of women (J. Gouillard, *JÖB* 32.2 [1982] 445–52). His letters, primarily dispatched from exile, treat the moral duties of monks and admonish his correspondents to resist and to endure their ordeal; his own example in the face of adversity should encourage his followers. Theodore's epigrams are also dedicated to the moral courage of the monk, and the terminology of martyrdom is typical of them. At the same time Theodore is fond of the theme of everyday monastic life and praises the hard labor of the monastic cook or the serenity of evening prayer. A steadfast fighter, Theodore wrote a refutation of Iconoclastic concepts and developed John of Damascus's theory of the image (see ICONS). He also produced liturgical hymns, as well as homilies and panegyrics: of his mother, of his uncle Plato, of the chronographer THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23), of St. Arsenios (T. Nissen, *BNJbb* 1 [1920] 246–62). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theodore's *enkomion* of the apostle Bartholomew.

Theodore's memory was celebrated by Naukratios, his successor at Stoudios (PG 99:1825–49); in an anonymous description of the translation of Theodore's relics to Constantinople on 26 Jan. 844 (C. van de Vorst, *AB* 32 [1913] 27–62); and in several vitae. Avoiding traditional hagiographical motifs (such as miracles), these vitae present Theodore first and foremost as a politician and administrator.

ED. PG 99. *Jamben auf verschiedene Gegenstände,* ed. P. Speck (Berlin 1968). *Parva Catechesis,* ed. E. Auvray (Paris 1891). Eng. tr. C.P. Roth, *On the Holy Icons* (Crestwood, N.Y., 1981). Germ. tr. J. Leroy, *Studitisches Mönchtum* (Graz-Cologne-Vienna 1969).

SOURCE. B. Latyschev, "Vita S. Theodori Studitae in codice Mosquensi musei Rumianzoviani no.520," *VizVrem* 21 (1914) 258–304.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 491–95. A. Dobroklonskij, *Prep. Feodor, ispovednik i igumen Studijskij,* 2 vols. (Odessa 1913). I. Hausherr, *Saint Théodore Studite* (Rome 1926). P. Henry, "Theodore of Stoudios: Byzantine Churchman" (Ph.D. diss., Yale Univ., 1968). E. Werner, "Die Krise im Verhältnis von Staat und Kirche in Byzanz: Theodor von Studion," *BBA* 5 (1957) 113–33. –A.K.

THEODORE OF SYKEON, saint; born in the village of Sykeon, Galatia, during the reign of Justinian I, died Sykeon 613; feastday 22 Apr. Theodore was the illegitimate son of the prostitute Maria and an imperial messenger, Kosmas, a Constantinopolitan who had performed in the Hippodrome as an acrobat on camels. After Theodore's birth, his mother abandoned her previous way of life. Upon finishing elementary school, Theodore became a hermit; he lived two years in a subterranean cave, then in an iron cage. He worked miracles, exorcised demons, and healed the sick (P. Horden, *SChH* 19 [1982] 1–13); he built the Church of the Archangel Michael, founded a monastery in Sykeon, and was elected bishop of Anastasioupolis, but he later resigned and returned to his monastery. He traveled far—to Jerusalem, Constantinople, and Sozopolis. Throughout his life Theodore remained under the special protection of St. George.

His disciple George, priest and *hegoumenos* of the Sykeon monastery, wrote Theodore's Life. It contains important data on rural life, topography (M. Waelkens, *Byzantion* 41 [1971] 349–73; 49 [1979] 447–64), and political history, esp. the

rebellion of KOMENTIOLOS, brother of Emp. PHOKAS, against Herakleios (Kaegi, "New Evidence" 308–30). Theodore was also praised by JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER (A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *EkAl* 24 [1900] 388–95) and by Nikephoros, *skeuophylax* of the church in Blachernai, in the 9th C. (C. Kirch, *AB* 20 [1901] 252–72).

SOURCES. *Vie de Théodore de Sykeon*, ed. A.-J. Festugière, 2 vols. (Brussels 1970), corr. D. Baker, *SChH* 13 (1976) 83–96, and J.O. Rosenqvist, *Eranos* 78 (1980) 163–74; partial Eng. tr. Dawes-Baynes, *Three Byz. Sts.* 88–192.

LIT. *BHG* 1748–1749c. J.O. Rosenqvist, *Studien zur Syntax und Bemerkungen zum Text der Vita Theodori Syceotae* (Uppsala 1981). R. Cormack, *Writing in Gold* (New York 1985) 17–49. –A.K.

THEODORE PSALTER (London, B.L. Add. 19.352), one of the marginal PSALTERS. It was illustrated in Feb. 1066 by Theodore, a native of Cappadocian Caesarea and *protopresbyteros* of a monastery the name of which is erased in the colophon of the MS; he is otherwise unknown. Theodore says that he prepared his book at the orders of Michael, *synkellos* and *kathegoumenos* of his monastery; since Michael is identified beneath his picture in the book as *kathegoumenos* and *synkellos* of the STOUDIOS monastery in Constantinople, the Psalter is always taken to be a Stoudite production. The MS contains more than 400 miniatures, including a wealth of Gospel, liturgical, and hagiographical illustration allusively applied to the Old Testament text. Richer in this apparatus than previous Psalters of the type, Theodore's book allows the presumption of considerable iconographic inventiveness in the center where it was made. Stylistically, it is a landmark of the STYLE MIGNON.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, *L'illustration des Psautiers grecs du moyen âge, II. Londres Add. 19.352* (Paris 1970). –A.C.

THEODORE SCHOLASTIKOS, jurist of the second half of the 6th C., from Hermoupolis in the Thebaid of Egypt. He composed a short Greek paraphrase of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS, of which numerous fragments have been preserved in the scholia to the BASILIKA and elsewhere. Almost completely preserved is his abridged version of a collection of about 168 Justinianic and post-Justinianic novels (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I) down to the year 575, in which there are references to parallel passages in the *Novels* and in the *Codex*.

THEODORE PSALTER. Miniature from the Theodore Psalter (London, B.M. add. 19.352, fol.255r). British Museum, London. St. Theodore of Stoudios (left) and Patr. Nikephoros I of Constantinople (right) refuting Emp. Leo V. At the far right, Iconoclast bishops whitewash an icon of Christ.



ED. Paraphrase of the *Codex*—ed. H.J. Scheltema, "Fragmenta breviarii Codicis a Theodoro Hermopolitano confecti," *Byzantina Neerlandica* 3 (1972) 9–35. H.R. Lug, "Ein Bruchstück des Codex-Kommentars des Theodoros," *FM* 1 (1976) 1–15. Paraphrase of the *Novels*—ed. K.E. Zachariä von Lingenthal, *Anekdota*, vol. 3 (Leipzig 1843; rp. Aalen 1969) 1–165.

LIT. Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:80–85, 88f. P. Pieler in Hunger, *Lit.* 2:436. –A.S.

THEODORE STRATELATES (στρατηλάτης, "general"), saint; feastday 7 Feb. Closely linked with St. THEODORE TERON (the recruit), Theodore Stratelates first appears in hagiographical literature in the 9th C. The author of his earliest extant biography, NIKETAS DAVID PAPHLAGON, clearly distinguishes him from Theodore Teron and places his execution in the reign of Licinius (*AASS* Nov. 4:83–89). His developed biography, however, was modeled on that of Teron. Allegedly the *tachygraphos* Augaros, Theodore's contemporary, wrote his earliest vita, which is preserved in an 11th-C. MS; the story of his killing a dragon with the help of Eusebia, a woman from Euchaita (Van Hooff, *infra* 361.1–2), forms the core of the vita. In the 10th C. Euthymios Protasekretis composed a very conventional *enkomion* of Theodore that omits any factual information, even the name of Licinius (F. Halkin, *AB* 99 [1981] 223–37); Symeon Metaphrastes also devoted a *martyrion* to Theodore Stratelates (Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 168–82). Byz. hagiographers disagreed about the place of Theodore's interment: "Augaros" located it in Euchaita (Van Hooff 367.11–18), Metaphrastes in Euchaina (Delehaye 181.31, 182.7), and the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 738.33) in "Euchaina near Euchaita."

The cult of the Stratelates became popular by the end of the 10th C., probably owing to the increasing aristocratization and militarization of society: Theodore Teron, the ordinary recruit, did not satisfy the new social tendencies. Skylitzes relates that during the battle against the Rus' in 971 "one of the victorious martyrs named Theodore," that is, the Stratelates (Skyl. 308.15–19), came to help the Byz. army; as a commemoration of this event John I Tzimiskes built the large and beautiful shrine in which the saint's remains were deposited (309.29–33), and gave the new name of Theodoropolis to Euchaneia (a third similar name for the place of Theodore's burial). It is plausible to hypothesize that the cult of Theodore Teron continued in Euchaita, whereas Euchaneia became the center of veneration of the general. Euchaneia is attested as an archbishopric in the 10th C. and as a metropolis in the 11th c; at least one of its "shepherds" had the image of Theodore Stratelates on his seal (Zacos, *Seals* 2, no.519). It is curious that he is not celebrated in the early MSS of the *Typikon of the Great Church* but is called *megalomartyros* in the *Menologion of Basil II.*

The cult of Theodore as a MILITARY SAINT, who is frequently represented as a mounted warrior, acquired particular significance from the 12th C. when Manuel I introduced Theodore's image on his coins (Hendy, *Coinage* 438). Both Theodores served as military helpers in a story of the conquest of the fortress at MELNIK in 1255 written by Theodore PEDIASIMOS (Dölger, *Paraspora* 299–305).

Representation in Art. In the earliest representations of Theodore, ivories and MSS of the 10th and 11th C. (e.g., MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.383), he is portrayed as an officer holding a lance, sword, and shield. His pointed, occasionally two-part, brown beard serves to distinguish him from Theodore Teron, with whom he is most often paired. His martyrdom in the form of a flagellation is depicted in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.39v). Sometimes he appears in court costume, and he is paired with St. GEORGE as a mounted warrior spearing a serpent.

SOURCES. G. Van Hooff, "Acta graeca S. Theodori ducis," *AB* 2 (1883) 359–67.

LIT. *BHG* 1750–1753m. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 26–43. N. Oikonomides, "Le dédoublement de S. Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. G. Weigert, *LCI* 8:444–46. M.F. Murjanov, "Fragment kul'turnoj istorii drevnich Slavjan," *Sovetskoe Slavjanovodenie* (1984) pt.1, 57–67. L. Mavrodinova, "Sv. Teodor–razvitie i osobenosti na ikonografskija mu tip u srednovekovnata živopis," *Izvestija na instituta za izkustvoznanie* 13 (1969) 33–52. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORE SVETOSLAV, Bulgarian monarch (1300–21/2), son of Georgij Terter I (1280–92). Held as hostage by the Mongol khan NOGAY from 1286 to 1298, he escaped and organized a conspiracy against Khan Čaka that ended Mongol rule in Bulgaria. Theodore united all Bulgarian principalities except VIDIN under his sovereignty; in the course of a war against Byz. in 1303–07 he seized Mesembria, Sozopolis, Anchialos, Achtopolis, Rusokastro, and other strong points in east-

ern Bulgaria, his possession of which was confirmed by a treaty of 1307. After his first marriage to Euphrosyne, the granddaughter of a rich merchant Pantoleon (A. Failler, *BZ* 78 [1985] 92f), Theodore married (ca.1308) Theodora, daughter of Michael IX. The rest of his reign was marked by peace with Byz., friendly relations with Serbia, and growing links with Venice, which was interested in purchasing Bulgarian grain.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 227–30, 268–70. Dölger, *Paraspora* 222–30. –R.B.

THEODORE SYNKELLOS, politician and writer; first half of 7th C. His biography is barely known. The *Chronicon Paschale* (*Chron. Pasch.* 721.9) mentions him as a member of the embassy sent to the khagan on the eve of the AVAR siege of Constantinople in 626. His identification with Patr. Theodore I (677–79, 686–87) is impossible because of the chronological gap. Theodore delivered an oration on the robe of the Virgin that was preserved in the church of Blachernai but was moved to Hagia Sophia because of an enemy invasion. Ch. Loparev, disregarding the MS tradition, ascribed the speech to GEORGE OF NIKOMEDEIA and considered the events described as the attack of the Rus' in 860 (*VizVrem* 2 [1895] 581–628). Vasil'evskij (*infra*), however, demonstrated that Theodore was referring to the Avar assault of 619. Theodore probably also composed the anonymous homily on the siege of Constantinople by the Avars and Persians in 626 that was delivered on 7 Aug. 627.

ED. F. Combefisius, *Graecolatinorum patrum bibliothecae novum auctarium,* vol. 2 (Paris 1648) 751–86. L. Sternbach, "Analecta Avarica," *Rozprawy Akademii Umiejętności. Wydział filologiczny*[2] 15 (Krakow 1900) 297–333. Fr. tr. F. Makk, *Traduction et commentaire de l'homélie écrite probablement par Théodore le Syncelle sur le siège de Constantinople en 626* (Szeged 1975).

LIT. V. Vasil'evskij, "Avary, a ne Russkie, Feodor, a ne Georgij," *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 83–95. *VizIzvori* 1:159–68. –A.K.

THEODORE TERON (Τήρων, lit. "recruit"), "the great martyr," saint; born "in an eastern land," died Amaseia under Maximian; feastday 17 Feb. According to a homily ascribed to GREGORY OF NYSSA, Theodore was a simple soldier who came with his *tagma* "to our country." When he confessed to being Christian, the authorities urged him to recant, but in response he set afire the temple of "the mother of the gods" in Amaseia (PG 46:744A). He was then condemned to be burned. Chrysippos of Jerusalem (died 479) dedicated an *enkomion* to Theodore, locating his activity in an unnamed city in Pontos (*AASS* Nov. 4:59B). His cult underwent changes by the 9th C.: a legend appeared about Theodore's killing a dragon with a spear, helped by a princess named Eudokia. Nikephoros OURANOS (F. Halkin, *Martyrs grecs* [London 1974], pt.IX [1962], 308–24) combined various stories about Theodore.

The *Miracles* of Theodore describe life in the province of Pontos, recount "barbarian" raids, and locate the saint's tomb on an "estate" at Euchaita belonging to his patroness Eusebia. The *Miracles* have been variously dated: from the 7th C. (F. Trombley in *Byzantine Studies in Honor of Milton V. Anastos,* ed. S. Vryonis, Jr. [Malibu 1985] 83, n.26), to the second half of the 8th C. (C. Zuckerman, *REB* 46 [1988] 192f), to the 10th C. (H. Delehaye in *AASS* Nov. 4:17, par.22). John MAUROPOUS testifies that in the 11th C. Theodore was venerated in Euchaita as a foot soldier (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 53 [1983] 544f). The area was a popular destination of pilgrimages (H. Delehaye in *Anatolian Studies Presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* [Manchester 1923] 11–82).

A sermon for the first Saturday of Lent, falsely attributed to Nektarios, patriarch of Constantinople, describes a miracle worked by Theodore: during the reign of Julian, Theodore allegedly appeared before the "patriarch" and informed him that all the food in the marketplace was stained with blood and therefore could not be used on fastdays. He urged a boycott of the market and provided the inhabitants of Constantinople with food "called *kolbia* [*kollyba,* boiled wheat?] in the local dialect of Euchaita" (PG 39:1832A).

Representation in Art. The homily ascribed to Gregory of Nyssa speaks of paintings depicting the martyrdom of Theodore at his tomb (PG 46:737D). There are surviving images of Theodore, with his dark pointed beard, at least as early as the 6th C. (in the Church of SS. Cosma e Damiano in Rome); a Sinai icon dating to the 9th–10th C. (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons,* no.B.43) already shows him in military attire, mounted and spearing a dragon. A gold medallion found in Calabria also depicts Theodore killing a dragon; it has parallels in objects of the late 6th–7th C. (W.F. Volbach, *AStCal* 13 [1943–44] 65–72). His

martyrdom in the fiery oven appears in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II (p.407). In monumental painting he is often paired with THEODORE STRATELATES: the two saints, both in full armor, turn to address Christ, who extends to them crowns from the arc of heaven. The features of the two saints resemble each other, but Theodore Teron's beard is not forked.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4 (1925) 11–82.

LIT. *BHG* 1760–73. N. Oikonomides, "La dédoublement de Saint Théodore et les villes d'Euchaïta et d'Euchaneia," *AB* 104 (1986) 327–35. Delehaye, *Saints militaires* 11–43. A. Sigalas, *Des Chrysippos von Jerusalem Enkomion auf den hl. Johannes den Täufer* (Athens 1937) 81–102. C. Weigert, E. Lucchesi-Palli, *LCI* 8:447–51. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *Erytheia* 9 (1988) 197–200. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, Christian writer; bishop of CYRRHUS (from 423); born Antioch ca.393, died ca.466. Although dedicated by his parents from childhood to service of Christ, Theodoret (Θεοδώρητος) received a classical education. He became an *anagnostes* while still a boy and eventually entered a monastery near Apameia. After becoming bishop he was frequently embroiled in theological controversies, taking the side of NESTORIOS against CYRIL of Alexandria, whom he attacked in a (lost) pamphlet, maintaining his position even after the condemnation of Nestorian doctrine at the Council of EPHESUS (431). Deposed and exiled in 449 by the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS at the behest of Patr. DIOSKOROS of Alexandria, he was restored after appeals to Pope Leo I and the emperor Marcian but was compelled by the Council of Chalcedon (451) to anathematize Nestorios. He then returned to his diocese in Syria, where he spent his remaining years. His writings against Cyril were condemned in the THREE CHAPTERS affair by the Council of Constantinople in 553.

Of his numerous writings (which he estimated to be 35 in number in 450), the most important extant work is *The Cure of Pagan Maladies*, a Christian apology replete with classical quotations. Ten discourses titled *On Providence* argue for God's loving care of mankind. His chief Christological treatise, *Eranistes* (Beggar), ridicules the Monophysites. His *Religious History*, consisting of biographies of about 30 monks, is a major source of information on Syrian monasticism in the 4th and 5th C. It is to be distinguished from his *Church History* for the period 323–428, written between 444 and 450, which celebrates the Orthodox victory over ARIANISM, discreetly excluding the Nestorian issue; in contrast to his contemporaries SOKRATES and SOZOMENOS, he concentrates on ecclesiastical affairs. Secular and dogmatic issues are embraced in over 200 surviving letters (M.M. Wagner, *DOP* 4 [1948] 119–81).

ED. PG 80–84. *Kirchengeschichte*², ed. L. Parmentier, revised F. Scheidweiler (Berlin 1954). *The Ecclesiastical History, Dialogues and Letters of Theodoret*, tr. B. Jackson (New York 1892; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1953). *Graecarum affectionum curatio*, ed. I. Raeder (Leipzig 1904). *Histoire des moines de Syrie*, ed. P. Canivet, A. Leroy-Molinghen, 2 vols. (Paris 1977–79), with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. R.M. Price, *A History of the Monks of Syria* (Kalamazoo, Mich., 1985). *Correspondance*, ed. Y. Azéma, 3 vols. (Paris 1955–65), with Fr. tr. *Commentaire sur Isaie*, ed. J.N. Guinot, 3 vols. (Paris 1980–84). For complete list of ed., see *CPG* 3, nos. 6200–88.

LIT. B. Croke, "Dating Theodoret's *Church History* and *Commentary on the Psalms*," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 59–74. G. Ashby, *Theodoret of Cyrus as Exegete of the Old Testament* (Grahamstown, South Africa, 1972). M. Simonetti, "La tecnica esegetica di Teodoreto nel Commento ai Salmi," *VetChr* 23 (1986) 81–116. P. Canivet, *Le monachisme syrien selon Theodoret de Cyr* (Paris 1977). –B.B.

THEODORIAS (Θεοδωριάς), small maritime civil province created in 528 from territory taken from Syria I and II by Justinian I, who named it after his wife (Malal. 448.11–15). In addition to its capital, LAODIKEIA, it included the cities of Paltos, Balaneai, and Gabala, all of which retained their earlier ecclesiastical provincial affiliations under either ANTIOCH or APAMEIA on the Orontes. Theodorias is also another name for the city of ANASARTHA.

LIT. Jones, *LRE* 2:881. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 1803f. –M.M.M.

THEODORIC THE GREAT, Flavius Theodericus, king of the Ostrogoths (from 471) and ruler of Italy (from 493); born Pannonia ca.454, died Ravenna 30 Aug. 526. Son of Theodemur, king of the Ostrogoths, Theodoric (Θεουδέριχος) was hostage for ten years in Constantinople, where he was educated. As his father's colleague he won several victories in 472–73 over the Romans, capturing Singidunum, Herakleia Lynkestis, and Larissa. After his father died ca.474, Theodoric became sole ruler. In 476 he helped Zeno regain his throne. He was named *patrikios* and *magister militum* and was adopted by Zeno. A long period

ensued in which Theodoric was hostile to Byz. and attacked the cities of Thrace and Macedonia, although in 484 he was named consul. In 488 Theodoric agreed to Zeno's proposal that he and his people move to Italy and seize control from ODOACER. He arrived in Italy in 489 and had Odoacer killed in 493. In 497 Theodoric won recognition from Anastasios I as ruler of Italy but he never took the title of augustus. Although Theodoric was an Arian, he generally treated his Orthodox subjects, including the Italian aristocracy, with respect. Both BOETHIUS and CASSIODORUS lived under his rule and they at least partially profited from the king's favor for traditional Roman culture. After 497 Theodoric grew more hostile toward his Roman subjects, whom he suspected of plotting with the Eastern emperor against him. Theodoric reigned from RAVENNA, where he constructed a palace (now destroyed) and the Church of S. Apollinare Nuovo, the Arian baptistery, and his own mausoleum, all of which are preserved.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:411–28, 453–69. *PLRE* 2:1077–84. W. Ensslin, *Theoderich der Grosse* (Munich 1947). L. Várady, *Epochenwechsel um 476. Odoaker, Theoderich der Grosse und die Umwandlungen* (Budapest 1984). P. Lamma, "Teodorico nella storiografia bizantina," *Studi romagnoli* 3 (1952) 87–95. D. Claude, "Universale und partikulare Züge in der Politik Theoderichs," *Francia* 6 (1978) 19–58. –T.E.G.

THEODOROKANOS (Θεοδωροκάνος), a noble family, possibly of Armenian origin. The family founder was the *patrikios* Theodorokanos, Basil II's general and governor of Philippopolis. Several 11th-C. Theodorokanoi served as generals: George, *strategos* of Samos during the reign of Constantine VIII; the *magistros* Basil, *katepano* of Italy in Feb. 1043 and commander against the Rus' in July 1043. Adontz's hypothesis that both George and Basil were sons of the first Theodorokanos cannot be proved. Constantine (Basil's son, acc. to Adontz, but without any textual evidence) was defeated by the rebel Nikephoros BRYENNIOS in 1077 and taken captive. The family disappeared after the 11th C.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 153–62. Kazhdan, *Arm.* 97–99. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 96f. –A.K.

THEODORO-MANGUP. See DORY.

THEODOSIAN CODE. See CODEX THEODOSIANUS.

THEODOSIAN RENAISSANCE. See RELIEF; RENAISSANCE; SCULPTURE.

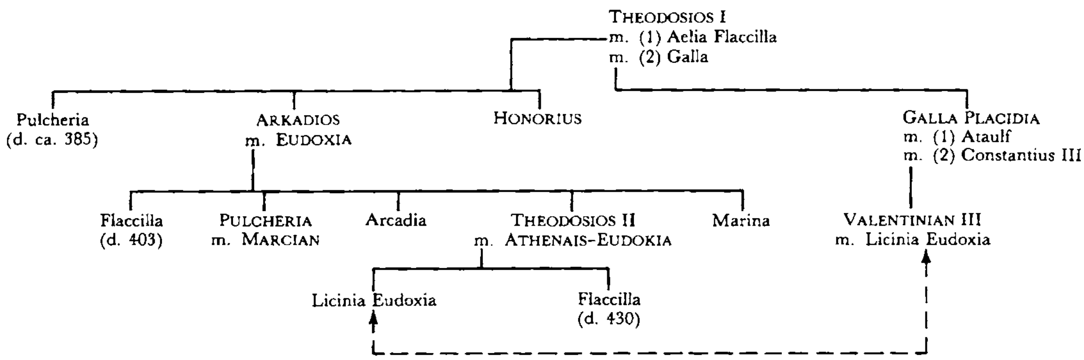
THEODOSIOS (Θεοδόσιος), eldest son of Maurice; born Constantinople 4 Aug. 583 or 585, died soon after 27 Nov. 602 (Whitby, *Maurice & His Historian* 18, 26). MAURICE married him in 601/2 to a daughter of Germanos, an influential member of the senate. During the revolt of PHOKAS, the soldiers demanded that Theodosios or Germanos replace Maurice, but the emperor refused. He dispatched Theodosios to ask CHOSROES II for assistance, but the youth was forced to return. It was rumored that Theodosios had escaped the slaughter of Maurice's family, fled to the east, and, after much wandering, landed in Colchis, where he died. Simokattes claims that he investigated the case and discovered that Theodosios had been slain with his brothers. Nonetheless NARSES, the rebellious governor of Syria, proclaimed a (false) Theodosios and presented him to CHOSROES II, who then used him in support of his claims to avenge Maurice's murder.

LIT. Olster, "Politics of Usurpation" 125–27, 193–216. Stratos, *Byzantium* 1:55f. P. Goubert, "Autour de la révolution de 602," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 612f. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:5f. –W.E.K., A.K.

THEODOSIOS (Serbian hagiographer). See TEODOSIJE.

THEODOSIOS I, augustus (from 19 Jan. 379); born Cauca in Gallaecia (northwest Spain) 11 Jan. 347 (346?), died Milan 17 Jan. 395. Son of the general THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, who fell in disgrace in 375, Theodosios had to interrupt his military career. After the battle of ADRIANOPLE, however, he was summoned by Gratian and proclaimed emperor in the East; when Gratian was murdered in 383 Theodosios ruled over an undivided empire. He pursued a policy of "national" unity. He supported the urban curiae, reduced taxation in provinces ravaged by the barbarians, and encouraged the cultivation of abandoned fields. He also sought to control the flight of slaves and *coloni* from the land. At the same time Theodosios tried to attract barbarians to his service, settling them as FOEDERATI within the empire (in Pannonia and Thrace) and assigning them to positions of command in the army. His attitude toward religion reflected his political tendencies. Officially

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE THEODOSIAN DYNASTY



Based on K. Holum, *Theodosian Empresses* (Berkeley 1982) 133.

Theodosios was the staunchest supporter of Orthodoxy. In 380 he issued an edict declaring Orthodoxy the true faith and had Arianism condemned at the First Council of Constantinople in 381 (see under Constantinople, Councils of). Beginning in 391 he issued a series of harsh laws prohibiting pagan rites of sacrifice. On the other hand, he tolerated the Arianism of *foederati* and collaborated with influential pagans such as Themistios and Symmachus. In 390, during a riot in Thessalonike, Theodosios supported the barbarian soldiers against the city population and severely punished the citizens, for which he was compelled by Ambrose to do penance. He was surrounded by energetic assistants (Stilicho, Rufinus, etc.)—Spaniards, barbarians, and Easterners—and brought about the recovery of the state after the disaster of the Gothic invasions. He had to deal with several revolts (esp. those of Maximus and Eugenius) and with the opposition of the Roman aristocracy.

Theodosios was married first to Aelia Flavia Flaccilla, the mother of Arkadios, Honorius, and Pulcheria, and then to Galla, who bore to him Galla Placidia (see genealogical table). He appears with his sons on the base of the Obelisk of Theodosios that he erected in the Hippodrome, and on a missorium made for his *decennalia* in 388 (*Age of Spirit.*, no.64). He is described in Kedrenos as a gracious man with blond hair and eagle-like nose. Already by the mid-5th C. the church endowed him with the title "Great."

LIT. A. Lippold, *Theodosius der Grosse und seine Zeit*[2] (Munich 1980). W. Ensslin, *Die Religionspolitik des Kaisers Theodosius d. Gr.* (Munich 1953). N. King, *The Emperor Theodosius and the Establishment of Christianity* (London 1961). M. Pavan, *La politica gotica di Teodosio nella pubblicistica del suo tempo* (Rome 1964). –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS II, augustus (from 10 Jan. 402), successor of his father Arkadios (from 1 May 408); born Constantinople 10 Apr. 401, died Constantinople 28 July 450. Theodosios was a typically Constantinopolitan ruler who left his capital infrequently; he was of scholarly temperament, interested in theology and science. A man of gentle and kindly nature, he was dominated by strong women such as his sister Pulcheria and his wife Athenais-Eudokia as well as by civil officials, esp. Anthemios, Kyros of Panopolis, and the eunuch Chrysaphios, whereas generals like Aspar had no strong influence on his policy. His government was more concerned about functionaries and senators than *curiales*, and paid special attention to building activity in the capital, such as construction of the Theodosian Walls, begun in 413 (see under Constantinople, Monuments of). Publication of the Codex Theodosianus and formation of the University of Constantinople (425) met the interests of officialdom.

The situation on the Eastern frontier was relatively quiet during his reign, and the offensive of Attila was stopped by heavy payments. After the death of Stilicho and esp. after the demise of

Honorius, the leaders of the Eastern administration tried to restore the unity of the empire. They avoided military confrontation, however, and in the end failed to achieve unification, being satisfied that in the person of Valentinian III a representative of the dynasty ruled in the West. Growing papal claims, esp. under Pope Leo I, made relations even more tense, although there was no open clash between the churches of Rome and Constantinople.

The religious views of Theodosios were often on the verge of heresy: he supported Nestorios (who in his turn maintained the idea of strong imperial power) and only reluctantly agreed to the condemnation of Nestorianism; he convoked the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449 and supported its decisions despite the remonstrations of Pulcheria, Valentinian III, and Leo I. Theodosios died unexpectedly in a riding accident. A marble head in Paris (*Age of Spirit.*, no.22) is generally accepted as his likeness, which is well known from coins.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:212–35. A. Lippmann, *RE* supp. 13 (1973) 961–1044. A. Güldenpenning, *Geschichte des oströmischen Reiches unter den Kaisern Arcadius und Theodosius II* (Halle 1885; rp. Amsterdam 1965). C. Luibhéid, "Theodosius II and Heresy," *JEH* 16 (1965) 13–38. M. Giacchero, "Il realismo della politica orientale di Teodosio II," *Accademia romanistica constantiniana. Atti del V° Convegno internazionale* (Perugia 1983) 247–54. –T.E.G., A.C.

THEODOSIOS III, emperor (715–17); perhaps son of Tiberios II (Sumner, *infra*); died Ephesus after 754?. A tax-gatherer at Atramyttion, Theodosios was acclaimed emperor by troops in the Opsikion revolting against Anastasios II. Reluctantly accompanying the rebels, he entered Constantinople in late fall. Little is known of his reign. In 716 he concluded a treaty with the Bulgar khan Tervel, probably anticipating the impending Arab attack on Constantinople. When Maslama invaded Byz. territory that same year, the thematic generals Artabasdos and Leo III deposed Theodosios. He abdicated on 25 March and both he and his son became monks. Sumner identifies Theodosios with the bishop "Theodosios of Ephesus, son of Apsimar" who served as Leo III's religious adviser in the late 720s and presided over Constantine V's Iconoclastic Council in 754, but Grierson ("Tombs & Obits" 52f) believes him to be Theodosios's son.

LIT. Ostrogorsky, *History* 155f. Sumner, "Philippicus, Anastasius II & Theodosius III" 291–94. –P.A.H.

THEODOSIOS BORADIOTES (Βοραδιώτης), patriarch of Constantinople (between Feb. and July 1179–Aug. 1183 [V. Grumel, *REB* 1 (1943) 259f]). The father of Theodosios was Armenian; a letter calls Theodosios Syrian (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 30 [1972] 209, no.18), while a later chronicle specifies that he was Antiochene (*Kleinchroniken* 1:147.4–5 [no.84]). He moved to Constantinople and became a monk in the Boradion monastery on the Asian shore of the Bosporos (Janin, *Églises centres* 16f). Appointed patriarch by Manuel I, Theodosios resisted the emperor's attempt to abolish the anathema on "the god of Muḥammad" and made Manuel accept a compromise formula. Theodosios tried to reconcile the factions who were fighting for power during Alexios II's minority; Michael the Syrian even relates that Theodosios imposed an interdict on the populace of Constantinople for massacres committed there so that "prayers in churches ceased from February to October" of 1182. He opposed Andronikos I and refused to bless the marriage of Andronikos's illegitimate daughter Irene to Alexios, illegitimate son of Manuel I. Forced to comply with the expulsion of the dowager empress Maria from the Great Palace, Theodosios soon abdicated and retired to the island of Terebinthos (Nik.Chon. 262.89). His subsequent fate is unknown.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 3, nos. 1152–61. Hussey, *Church & Learning* 142f. F. Cognasso, *Partiti politici e lotte dinastiche in Bisanzio alla morte di Manuele Comneno* (Turin 1912) 254, n.2. –A.K.

THEODOSIOS OF PEČERA. See Feodosij of Pečera.

THEODOSIOS OF TŬRNOVO, Bulgarian hesychast monk and saint; born ca.1300, died Constantinople 27 Nov. 1363. Theodosios (Slav. Teodosij) took the monastic habit in a monastery at Arčar, near Vidin; later, together with Romylos, he joined Gregory Sinaites at the monastery of Paroria (in southeastern Bulgaria). There he was introduced to hesychastic doctrines and practices. After Gregory's death, Theodosios founded ca.1350 a monastery located either at Kilifarevo, near Tŭrnovo, or at Kefalerevo, near Mesembria (M. Damjanova in *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola* 4 [1985] 334–40), under the patronage of Tsar Ivan Alexander. An ardent supporter of hesychasm, Theodosios translated the *Kephalaia* of Gregory Sinaites into Church Slavonic. He fought against heretics

(esp. Bogomils) and Jews who had acquired some influence at the court of Ivan Alexander. Syrku (*infra*) suggested that Theodosios allied with Patr. KALLISTOS I of Constantinople against the Bulgarian patriarch Theodosios II (1337–60); in any case, at the end of his life Theodosios of Tŭrnovo and some of his followers moved to Constantinople, where Kallistos arranged for them to reside in a suburban monastery. Among Theodosios's disciples were EVTIMIJ OF TŬRNOVO and KIPRIAN.

Kallistos was probably the author of a Greek vita of Theodosios that has survived only in Bulgarian; according to Kiselkov (*infra*), the text now available is a 15th-C. revision of the original translation. In addition to data on the church and heresy in Bulgaria, the vita contains evidence on the Turkish penetration into the area (Dujčev, *Medioevo* 3:339–41).

SOURCE. "Žitie i žizn' prepodobnogo otca našego Feodosija," ed. V.N. Zlatarski in *Sbornik na narodni umotvorenija, nauka i knižnina* 20 (1904) 1–41.

LIT. D. Obolensky, *The Byzantine Commonwealth* (New York–Washington, D.C. 1971) 302f, 336f, 342. P.A. Syrku, *K istorii ispravlenija knig v Bolgarii v XIV veke* (St. Petersburg 1898) 2:141–411. V. Kiselkov, *Sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski* (Sofia 1926). Idem, *Žitieto na sv. Teodosij Tŭrnovski kato istoričeski pametnik* (Sofia 1926), with rev. P. Nikov, *Makedonski pregled* 3.2 (1927) 162–66. Dujčev, *Medioevo* 2:221f.

–A.M.T., A.K.

THEODOSIOS THE DEACON, author of a poem, *The Capture of Crete*; his life is obscure. The poem was written in 962/3 and dedicated to the recovery by NIKEPHOROS II PHOKAS of the island from the Arabs in 961. His verses present the conquest on a cosmic scale as a victory of light over darkness and as an exploit of the army rather than of a single general. Theodosios refers to some ancient authors but is contemptuous of antiquity: contemporary deeds surpass incomparably the successes of ancient Greeks and Romans. He imitated GEORGE OF PISIDIA. L. Petit attributed to Theodosios, although hesitantly, an *akolouthia* on the death of Nikephoros Phokas (*BZ* 13 [1904] 400).

ED. *De Creta capta*, ed. U. Criscuolo (Leipzig 1979).

LIT. U. Criscuolo, "Aspetti letterari e stilistici del poema *Halosis tes Kretes* di Teodosio Diacono," *Atti dell'Accademia Pontaniana* 28 (1979) 71–80.

–A.K.

THEODOSIOS THE KOINOBIARCHES (Κοινοβιάρχης), saint; born in village of Garissos or Mogarissos, Cappadocia, died in his monastery near Jerusalem 11 Jan. 529, reportedly almost 100 years old. Hagiographers are silent about his family and youth. He left for Antioch where SYMEON THE STYLITE THE ELDER supposedly proclaimed Theodosios's sanctity; ca.457 he came to Jerusalem and, after staying in various monasteries, settled in a cave. With material assistance from the *illoustrios* Akakios from Constantinople, Theodosios built a monastery, which included four churches—one for Greek services, another for Armenian, the third for the enigmatic "language of the Bessoi," and the fourth for brethren whose minds had been deranged by "the sordid demon" (Usener, *infra* p.45.6–14).

Theodore of Petra wrote Theodosios's Life, emphasizing his political activity; the Life includes his correspondence with Emp. Anastasios I as well as the story that Theodosios gave his threadbare cloak to the "*komes* of the East" Kerykos, thus making him victorious over the Persians. Theodosios is said to have worked miracles (drove off locusts, created abundance during famine, healed the sick). CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS wrote a short Life of Theodosios; SYMEON METAPHRASTES reworked the legend.

Representation in Art. The saint is portrayed as an old, somewhat balding monk with a long two-pointed beard. There is a scene of his temptation in the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.78r).

SOURCES. H. Usener, *Der heilige Theodosios* (Leipzig 1890). Russ. tr. I.V. Pomjalovskij, "Žitie iže vo svjatych otca našego avvy Feodosija Kinoviarcha," *Palestinskij paterik* 8 (1895) 1–94; rev. I. Sokolov, *VizVrem* 3 (1896) 166.

LIT. *BHG* 1776–1778b. K. Krumbacher, "Studien zu den Legenden des hl. Theodosios," *SBAW* (1892) 220–379. C. Weigert, *LCI* 8:454. Mouriki, *Nea Moni* 165f.

–A.K., N.P.Š.

THEODOSIOS THE MONK, 9th-C. eyewitness to the capture of SYRACUSE by the Arabs in 878, who described this event in a letter addressed to the deacon Leo. The complete Greek MS of the letter is lost (S.G. Mercati, *ST* 68 [1935] 320–30), and the text was published on the basis of Paris, B.N. gr. 3032 that comprised only a section of the letter. Fortunately, the full Latin translation, by a certain Josaphat Azzale, is preserved in a 17th-C. MS. Although Theodosios was an eyewitness, his presentation is impersonal: he acts only as a member of the Syracusan clergy that suffered from the Arab siege. His description lacks concrete detail, except for an exaggerated account of the hunger in the besieged city (e.g., a modios of grain reportedly cost 150 gold coins). Theodosios is inclined to give lists of objects: e.g., when

describing the Arabs' murder of their captives, he specifies their use of stones, clubs, and spears. The hero of the story is a certain Patritius (*patrikios*) whose moral noblesse astonished even the Arab leader. The story differs drastically in style from the description by John KAMINIATES of the fall of Thessalonike. Theodosios also wrote iambs on the Arab capture of Syracuse (B. Lavagnini, *Diptycha* 1 [1979] 295–99).

ED. C.O. Zuretti, "La espugnazione di Siracusa nell' 880," in *Centenario della nascità di Michele Amari*, vol. 1 (Palermo 1910) 165–73.

LIT. B. Lavagnini, "Siracusa occupata dagli Arabi e l'epistola di Teodosio monaco," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 271–79. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:359f. Vasiliev, *Byz.Arabes* 2.1:71f, n.6.

–A.K.

THEODOSIOUPOLIS (Θεοδοσιούπολις, Arm. Karin, Ar. Qalīqalā, Turk. Erzurum), major strategic and commercial center on the main east-west highway between Anatolia and the East. Its original name of Karin (or more correctly *Karnoy k'ałak'*) was derived from that of the district known to classical authors as Karenitis. It was renamed Theodosioupolis in honor of Theodosios II and returned to a variant of its original name under the Arabs.

Karin first formed a part of the domain of the Armenian Arsacids and was the residence of the last ruler of the western part of the realm after its partition between the late Roman Empire and Persia ca.387. Its real importance began with its fortification under Theodosios in 415 and esp. under Justinian I when it became the northern anchor of the eastern *limes* and the seat of the *magister militum* for Armenia. The strategic importance of the site was recognized throughout the Middle Ages. First taken by the Arabs in 653 and included in the Muslim fortified border zone, it was briefly recovered by Constantine V in 754 and part of its population moved to the Balkans. Recaptured by the Arabs, it remained Muslim, though occasionally recognizing Armenian overlordship, until its reconquest by Byz. in 949, when Greeks and Armenians were again settled there. Early in the 11th C., Basil II made it the residence of the *strategos* of the theme of IBERIA until its administrative center was shifted to ANI in 1045. The Seljuk sack of the neighboring commercial city of Artze in 1048/9 forced its population to retreat to the fortress of Theodosioupolis, which began to be called Arcn Rum (Arzān ar-Rūm). The city was ruled from 1201 by the Seljuks and after 1243 by the Mongols, under whom it appears to have prospered, but a new period of crises began in the 14th C. and continued until the incorporation of Erzurum into the Ottoman Empire.

LIT. N. Adontz, *Armenia in the Period of Justinian* (Lisbon 1970) 98–100, 115–24. A. Ter-Ghewondyan, *The Arab Emirates in Bagratid Armenia* (Lisbon 1976) 22–24, 88–91, 115, 127–33.

–N.G.G.

THEODOSIUS THE ELDER, father of Theodosios I; died Carthage ca.375. A native of Spain, he rose through a military career to become *comes rei militaris* and commander in Britain (368–69) and *magister equitum* (369–75) under Valentinian I. He was active in the north against the Alemanni and the Sarmatians and in 373 was sent to Africa against the usurper Firmus, whom he defeated. Theodosius became involved in some difficulty, however, and was executed on a charge of unclear nature. He was baptized a Christian just before his death.

LIT. *PLRE* 1:902–04. A. Demandt, "Die Feldzüge des älteren Theodosius," *Hermes* 100 (1972) 81–113. Idem, "Der Tod des älteren Theodosius," *Historia* 18 (1969) 598–626. N. Gasparini, "La morte di Teodosio padre," *Contributi dell'Istituto di storia antica* 1 (Milan 1972) 180–97. –T.E.G.

THEODOTOS I KASSITERAS (Κασσιτερᾶς, Κασσιτηρᾶς), patriarch of Constantinople (1 Apr. 815–ca.Jan. 821 [V. Grumel, *EO* 34 (1935) 506]). Born in Nakoleia to the distinguished Iconoclast family of MELISSENOS, Theodotos was related to the third wife of CONSTANTINE V. After the deposition of Patr. Nikephoros I, Leo V appointed him patriarch; at this time he was an elderly *spatharokandidatos* who is described as "meek" and "uneducated" (*Script. incert.* 395f). Theodotos presided over the local council of Constantinople of 815, which officially ushered in the second period of ICONOCLASM (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Theodotos is not mentioned in the sources after Leo's death in 820. A 9th-C. marginal PSALTER (Athos, Pantokrator 61, fol.16r) contains a miniature depicting Patr. Nikephoros trampling on Leo V and Theodotos (I. Ševčenko, *Ideology*, pt.XIII [1965], 39–60).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 408–11. P.J. Alexander, *The Patriarch Nicephorus of Constantinople* (Oxford 1958) 136f, 141.

–A.M.T.

THEODOTUS, *ktetor* of a private chapel in S. Maria Antiqua, Rome; fl. second half of the 8th C. Theodotus is described in a Latin inscription as administrator (*dispensator*) of the *diaconia* of the church and *primicerius* of the *defensores* (i.e., head of a college of curial lawyers). In the *Liber Pontificalis* (*Lib.pont.* 1:486) he is called "consul et dux." The decoration of the chapel is unique in that it shows its founder in three different ways: once in a donor portrait; once with his family; and in a votive image, adoring the chapel's titular saints, Kerykos and Ioulitta, martyrs of Ikonion (*BHG* 313y-318e). Belting read the latter image as reflecting the iconophile concerns of the community of Byz. and Eastern monks in Rome. The donor, his relatives, and Pope John VII are shown wearing square haloes. The wall paintings in the chapel include a Crucifixion closely akin to that in the RABBULA GOSPELS.

LIT. H. Belting, "Eine Privatkapelle im frühmittelalterlichen Rom," *DOP* 41 (1987) 55–69. Sansterre, *Moines grecs* 1:166, 168. –A.C.

THEOGNOSTOS (Θεόγνωστος), grammarian and author of the book *On Orthography,* dedicated to "the wise crown-bearer Leo" (first half of 9th C.). Since THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS mentions Theognostos as a contemporary of the events of 826/7, the emperor in question must be LEO V. Theognostos claims to be the emperor's servant (*oiketes*); K. Alpers (*infra* 63f) hypothesizes that he is identical with his homonym, a *protospatharios* sent by Michael I in 812 to Charlemagne; Theognostos's description of the revolt of a certain Euphemios in Sicily and the Arab assault on the island is lost. The book *On Orthography* contains more than 1,000 rules (*kanones*) of spelling, mainly based on Herodian of Alexandria (2nd C.). It treats primarily the classical vocabulary and proper names, although it includes such words as *Sarakenos* (p.67) or *Pascha* (p.78). K. Alpers (*Byzantion* 39 [1969] 5–12) suggested that Theognostos reworked Herodotus's story of Artaxerxes so as to flatter Leo V. *On Orthography* was a source for the *Etymologicum Genuinum.*

ED. J.A. Cramer, *Anecdota graeca e codd. manuscriptis bibliothecarum Oxoniensium,* vol. 2 (Oxford 1835–37; rp. Amsterdam 1963) 1–165.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:19f. K. Alpers, *Theognostos, Peri Orthographias* (Hamburg 1964). A. Kambylis, "Theognostea," *Glotta* 49 (1971) 46–65. W. Bühler, "Eine Theognosthandschrift aus der Zeit um 1000 auf Patmos," *JÖB* 22 (1973) 49–91. –A.K.

THEOGNOSTOS, monk who was the staunchest supporter of Patr. IGNATIOS; fl. second half of the 9th C. The lemma to his *Libellus* gives him the curious title of "exarch of Constantinople," and an even stranger one, that of "archimandrite of ancient Rome." In 861 he wrote the *Libellus,* an epistle addressed to Pope NICHOLAS I in the name of Ignatios, in which he presented the elevation of Photios to the patriarchate from the viewpoint of the anti-Photian opposition; he emphasized the pope's PRIMACY and called Nicholas "the *proedros* and patriarch of all sees" and "the ecumenical pope." In secular garb he surreptitiously left for Rome where he remained until 868, urging the pope to support Ignatios. Soon after the dethronement of Photios, Theognostos returned to Constantinople and was rewarded by Ignatios with an appointment as archimandrite of the PEGE monastery and *skeuophylax* of Hagia Sophia. His further fate is unknown. Two more works "by Theognostos the monk" are ascribed to him: an *enkomion* of all saints and another one on the Dormition of the Virgin, in which the author strongly stressed Mary's perpetual sanctity, from conception through her Dormition.

ED. PG 105:849–61. M. Jugie, "Homélies mariales byzantines," PO 16 (1922) 457–62.

LIT. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres du moine Théognoste (IX^{e} siècle)," *Bessarione* 34 (1918) 162–74. –A.K.

THEOKTISTE OF LESBOS, saint; born Methymna, Lesbos, died Paros; feastday 9 Nov. The Life of Theoktiste (Θεοκτίστη), written by NIKETAS MAGISTROS ca.920, is modeled on that of MARY OF EGYPT but incorporates crucial changes to suit 10th-C. taste: instead of being a "wild" harlot (like Mary), Theoktiste is said to have been an 18-year-old nun when captured by the Arabs. She escaped on the island of Paros, where she lived 35 years in solitude until a hunter discovered her and learned her story. After Theoktiste died, he buried her corpse but cut off her hand as a relic. Miraculously, winds obstructed his departure so that he had to return his relic, and thereafter the corpse disappeared. The legend, retold to the author by a hermit called Symeon, is placed in a setting that depicts the real political situation

of the early 10th C. (e.g., an embassy to the Cretan Arabs in which Niketas participated) and thus strikingly contrasts with the miraculous contents of the Life itself. Niketas's Life was slightly reworked by SYMEON METAPHRASTES, who placed Theoktiste's celebration on 10 Nov.

Representation in Art. The association of Theoktiste with St. Mary of Egypt determined her iconographical type: a thin woman with white hair, who is barefoot and wears a ragged cloak that covers barely half her body. In two MSS of the *menologion* of Symeon Metaphrastes, she is shown sitting inside an initial, being blessed by Christ; there are *stelai*, pagan statues, above the initial.

SOURCE. *AASS* Nov. 4:224–33.
LIT. *BHG* 1723–1726b. H. Delehaye, "La Vie de sainte Théoctiste de Lesbos," *Byzantion* 1 (1924) 191–200. L.G. Westerink, *Nicétas Magistros, Lettres d'un exilé* (Paris 1973) 41–46. O. Karsay, "Der Jäger von Euböa," *ActaAntHung* 23 (1975) 9–14. A. Kazhdan, "Hagiographical Notes," *BZ* 78 (1985) 49f. –A.K., N.P.Š.

THEOKTISTOS (Θεόκτιστος), regent for Michael III and adviser to Empress THEODORA; died Constantinople 20 Nov. 855 (F. Halkin, *Byzantion* 24 [1954] 11–14). A eunuch (*TheophCont* 148.11) and perhaps a member of the imperial guard under Leo V, Theoktistos was instrumental in helping Michael II assassinate Leo and seize the throne. Michael appointed him *patrikios* and *chartoularios tou kanikleiou.* Theophilos made him *magistros* and *logothetes tou dromou,* and before his death designated Theoktistos to serve in the regency for the infant Michael III. Under Theodora he capably exercised great influence. Most notably, Byz. sources credit him with the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY over Iconoclasm in 843. He was directly involved in the elections of Patr. METHODIOS and Patr. IGNATIOS.

By continuing the sound fiscal policies of Theophilos—in 856 Theodora showed Michael 190 kentenaria of gold and 300 kentenaria of silver in the treasury—Theoktistos could build up the navy and campaign against the Arabs. In 843 he led a naval expedition that briefly restored Byz. rule on Crete (Ahrweiler, *Mer* 112), but in 844 he was defeated by an Arab army at Mauropotamon in Cappadocia. He made peace with the caliphate in 845 and exchanged prisoners, but hostilities broke out again in 851. In 853 a Byz. fleet sacked the Arab fortress of Damietta in Egypt (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:212–18). Under his influence the PAULICIANS were persecuted; many were resettled in Thrace. Theoktistos helped revive secular learning by promoting the careers of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN and CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER. In 855 Caesar BARDAS persuaded Michael to dethrone Theodora, and Theoktistos was arrested and killed.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres,* pt.IX (1970), 348–50. I.I. Malyševskij, "Logofet Feoktist, pokrovitel' Konstantina Filosofa," *Trudy Kievskoj duchovnoj akademii* 28.2 (1887) 265–97. –P.A.H.

THEOKTISTOS THE STOUDITE, 14th-C. monk, hagiographer, and hymnographer. He is known only from his writings, which were almost entirely devoted to perpetuating the memory of Patr. ATHANASIOS I of Constantinople. In the 1320s and 1330s he composed a Life of Athanasios, an *enkomion,* an oration on the translation of his relics, and a number of *kanones.* The collected writings of Theoktistos were an important factor in the recognition of Athanasios's sanctity in the mid-14th C.

His epithet indicates his association with the STOUDIOS monastery, but he must also have resided for a time in Athanasios's monastery on Xerolophos in Constantinople. Theoktistos was a supporter of Gregory PALAMAS, in whose honor he wrote a quatrain.

ED. *Vita Athanasii*—ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *ZapIstFilFakSPetUniv* 76 (1905) 1–51. Oration—ed. A.-M. Talbot, *Faith Healing in Late Byzantium* (Brookline, Mass., 1983).
LIT. *PLP,* no.7498. V. Grolimund, "Theoktistos Studites, ein wenig bekannter byzantinischer Hymnograph und theologischer Gelegenheitsschriftsteller des 14. Jahrhunderts," in *Festschrift für Fairy von Lilienfeld zum 65. Geburtstag* (Erlangen 1982) 479–510. –A.M.T.

THEOLEPTOS (Θεόληπτος), metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283/4–1322); born Nicaea ca.1250, died 1322. After a brief marriage, Theoleptos left his wife by 1275 and became a monk. On Mt. Athos he was introduced to the mystical life; Gregory PALAMAS called him a forerunner of HESYCHASM. He was imprisoned in Constantinople by Michael VIII for his opposition to the Union of LYONS, but after the accession of Andronikos II was given the see of Philadelphia. He held the

position of metropolitan for about 40 years, and led the heroic defense of the city against Turkish attack in 1310. Theoleptos was an ardent opponent of the ARSENITES and refused to accept the reconciliation of the church with the Arsenites in 1310; he remained in schism until ca.1319 (V. Laurent, *REB* 18 [1960] 45–54).

Theoleptos had close ties with the Choumnos family; he served as spiritual director to Irene CHOUMNAINA and was counselor to the double monastery of Philanthropos Soter, which she restored in Constantinople. Irene's father, Nikephoros CHOUMNOS, wrote a eulogy of Theoleptos at his death (ed. Boissonade, *AnecGr* 5:183–239). The writings of Theoleptos, still largely unpublished, include religious poetry, treatises on monastic life, anti-Union and anti-Arsenite tracts, and letters to Irene Choumnaina.

ED. R.E. Sinkewicz, "A Critical Edition of the Anti-Arsenite Discourses of Theoleptos of Philadelphia," *MedSt* 50 (1988) 46–95, with Eng. tr. S. Salaville, "Une lettre et un discours inédits de Théolepte de Philadelphie," *REB* 5 (1947) 101–15. A.C. Hero, "The Unpublished Letters of Theoleptos Metropolitan of Philadelphia (1283–1322)," *Journal of Modern Hellenism* 3 (1986) 1–31; 4 (1987) 1–17. For list of further ed., see Beck, *Kirche* 694.

LIT. D.J. Constantelos, "Mysticism and Social Involvement in the Later Byzantine Church: Theoleptos of Philadelphia—A Case Study," *BS/EB* 6 (1979) 83–94. *PLP*, no.7509. –A.M.T.

THEOLOGY (*θεολογία*, lit. "speech about God"). This entry is divided into three sections that treat, in turn, the Byz. definition of theology, that branch of theology called "negative" or "apophatic," and the historical development of Byz. theology.

BYZANTINE DEFINITION OF THEOLOGY. Originally, the term "theology" referred to stories about God handed down in the mythic cult. In the Aristotelian and middle-Platonist traditions, it signified the science of the highest principles or demiurge. Both of these ideas flourished in the threefold division of Stoic philosophy: mythical and political theology on the one hand, and a "natural," or philosophical, theology on the other (EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, *Praeparatio evangelica* 4.1.1–4). But in ORIGEN (*In Ioannem* 1.23 [24], ed. E. Preuschen [Leipzig 1903] 30.14), "theology" is brought into Christian usage as the doctrine of the true God and his Messiah that is inaccessible to created minds (man, angel, demon) except at the end of time. The apologetic force of the term is often evident and appears when the verb *theologein* is contrasted to *mythologein* (Athanasios of Alexandria, PG 25:40C).

Characteristic of 4th-C. literature is the treatment of the incarnation of the Logos and the sending of the Spirit under "economy" (OIKONOMIA), as distinguished from *theologia.* In the mind of Athanasios, "theology" refers to the immanent TRINITY (PG 26:49A), that is, its object of study is the one essence of God, which transcends human understanding, and the relationship of Father, Son (Logos), and Holy Spirit as three HYPOSTASES of the (numerically) one divine substance. In this respect, theology refers more specifically to human thought and speech about the (immanent, and not economic) Trinity, and signifies the highest form of mystical knowledge of God.

In its narrowest sense, theology is "pure prayer," beyond all multiplicity, and therefore devoid of image, thought, or conception. It may be conceived as purely intellective activity (EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, Thalassios [ca.650], MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR); or it may be interpreted as the experience of spiritual perception of the vision of light (DIADOCHOS of Photike, SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN, Niketas STETHATOS). This concept of theology became dominant in Byz. *Oikonomia*, on the other hand, deals with the relationship of themes pertaining to Christology and SOTERIOLOGY, and so, in contrast to Western tradition, does not belong to theology in the technical sense: "Things that are said with respect to the *oikonomia* are not necessarily to be joined to things that are said with respect to theology" (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Eranistes* II, ed. G.H. Ettlinger, 40.20–21).

In pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, all theological activity is carried out with reference to authority, that is, to Scripture or *logia*, as in PROKLOS, and to spiritual and ecclesiastical hierarchies. A technical terminology distinguishes between affirmative (cataphatic) and negative (apophatic) theology (see below). Cataphatic theology offers affirmative statements about God at first in symbolic, and then in conceptual languages in the manner of the philosophic and apodictic tradition of the theologians. Affirmative theology, however, must be dialectically complemented by negative theology. Yet one should not equate apophatic theology with the hidden, mystical tradition that transcends all dialectic, and therefore speech, in the One. Although affirmative theology and the

authority of the hierarchy dominate the thought of pseudo-Dionysios, the mystical aspect nonetheless remains the ultimate and irreducible element of theology, "For the ineffable has intertwined itself with speech" (PG 3:1105CD).

Since the Dionysian Corpus influenced Byz. only indirectly, through the interpretation given to it by JOHN SCHOLASTIKOS and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, the history of its reception in Byz. does not affect our perspective. Byz. retained its emphasis on the negative and mystical aspect; yet, in spite of the influence of the passage in *Divine Names* 2.7 (PG 3:645AB), it continued to focus on the immediacy of the vision (*theoria*) or knowledge of God, as opposed to the mediation of the knowledge of God through the hierarchies and analogies (*analogia entis*). This remained true even into late Byz. history, for example, in men such as John KYPARISSIOTES (PG 152:762A–769B; 772C–776C), BARLAAM of Calabria (Podskalsky, *Theologie* 129–32, 138), their opponent Gregory PALAMAS (*Syngrammata* 1:265.21–277.28), and Prochoros KYDONES, in his treatise on affirmative and negative theology (Vat. gr. 678, fols. 31–64). What we today would call "theology" (which is contrasted primarily to philosophical concepts that do not derive from revelation), is understood under the formulas "according to us" (*kath' hemas*) or "the inner philosophy" (*eso philosophia*), in contrast to "outer (*exothen*) philosophy" or "the wisdom of the world" (*kosmike sophia*—cf. 1 Cor 1:20, 3:19). As a result, although the verb *philosophein* embraces a wider range of meaning, in this connection it became a catchword of the monastic life. A slogan coined by GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS to oppose the second generation Arians, EUNOMIOS and AETIOS, "To be like a fisherman, not like Aristotle" (cf., e.g., PG 35:1164CD), and that became a part of the store of Byz. tradition (A. Grillmeier, *Mit ihm und in ihm* [Freiburg-Basel-Vienna 1975] 283–300; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 24f), was also applied in this connection to keep "specifically Christian doctrine," that is, the unique tradition, separate from any theology consisting of rational or dialectical argumentation.

In Gregory Palamas and in the reaction to SCHOLASTICISM (H.-G. Beck, *Divus Thomas* 13 [1935] 3–22; Podskalsky, *Theologie* 180–230), the concept of theology is placed in opposition to rational, scientific disputation, challenging and surpassing it: "For theology transcends philosophy by virtue of its incomparable subject (*logos*); but it itself is subject to nothing" (Joseph BRYENNIOS, ed. Vulgaris, 1:93).

LIT. J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology: Historical Trends and Doctrinal Themes* (New York 1974). Idem, *Byzantine Hesychasm: Historical, Theological and Social Problems* (London 1974), cf. A. Wenger, *REB* 13 (1955) 167–73. D. Stiernon, "Bulletin sur le Palamisme," *REB* 30 (1972) 255–61. G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). A. Catoire, "Philosophie byzantine et philosophe scolastique," *EO* 12 (1909) 193–201. Idem, "Philosophie et théologie ou épisodes scolastiques à Byzance de 1059 à 1197," *EO* 29 (1930) 132–56. E. von Ivánko, *Plato christianus* (Einsiedeln 1964) 389–91, 401–04, 461–82. F. Kattenbusch, *Die Entstehung einer christlichen Theologie: Zur Geschichte der Ausdrücke theologia, theologein, theologos*[2] (Darmstadt 1962).
–K.-H.U.

APOPHATIC THEOLOGY (from ἀπόφασις, "denial"). Also called negative theology, apophatic theology is a branch or rather methodology of Orthodox theological thought concerned with the problems that now might be termed the theory of knowledge of the Godhead. This approach was developed in NEOPLATONISM; Neoplatonists, however, employed the term *aphairesis* more often than *apophasis*. For them the Supreme principle, the One, appeared bereft of all attributes. The CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS also emphasized the unknowability of God but with a substantial reservation: they rejected every concept that our minds could form about God as being inadequate, but they accepted revelation about God in Scripture. Pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE elaborated further the apophatic approach (while using the Neoplatonic term *aphairesis* as well): although an adequate knowledge of God is impossible, we can approach him with the assistance of SYMBOLISM and ideas. Since the cosmos is a reflection of the divine and possesses the same dialectic structure, our intellect can produce symbols and figures resembling the unknowable; pseudo-Dionysios calls this process *anagoge*, "leading up." In his view, "the *apophaseis* are the genuine way of dealing with the divine whereas affirmations (*kataphaseis*) are inadequate, since the enigmatic nature of the ineffable is more proper for the invisible world than fantastic explanations based on dissimilar objects" (PG 3:141C). Thus RIDDLE and obscurity became vehicles of *anagoge*.

LIT. V. Lossky, "La théologie négative dans la doctrine de Denys l'Aréopagite," *Revue de sciences philosophiques et théologiques* 28 (1939) 204–21. H.J. Krämer, *Der Ursprung der Geistmetaphysik*[2] (Amsterdam 1967) 343–46. Armstrong, *Philosophy* 434f.
–A.K.

HISTORY OF BYZANTINE THEOLOGY. The development of Byz. theology reflects the political history of Byz. and its unique cultural environment.

Byz. (or late Roman) theology begins in the 4th C. after the First Council of Nicaea (325) when the church was embroiled in controversies over the doctrine of the TRINITY. These disputes were finally settled when the CAPPADOCIAN FATHERS proposed a notion of HYPOSTASIS that proved acceptable to the majority. In the 5th C., theology centered on the reality of Christ's human nature and its union with the Logos. Controversy over this issue led to the Council of EPHESUS (431) and the separation of the NESTORIANS, Christian communities located predominantly beyond the eastern borders of the empire. The Christological controversy continued, leading to the Council of CHALCEDON (451), which set forth a definition of faith that was rejected by Egyptian and Syrian MONOPHYSITES, whose radical adherence to CYRIL of Alexandria would not allow them to go beyond Cyrillian formulas.

A position mediating between Nestorianism and Monophysitism, today called NEO-CHALCEDONISM, was reached in the time of Justinian I. Oriented toward the Christology of Cyril, neo-Chalcedonism was directed against a strict Chalcedonism that was prevalent esp. in the Latin West, and that followed the so-called *Tome* of Pope LEO I THE GREAT (440–461) in emphasizing the two natures of Christ more than the hypostatic union. Neo-Chalcedonism, which became dogma at the Third Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), presented Justinian's religious policy with a compromise formula that would appear acceptable to the Monophysites of Egypt and the eastern provinces, and unite them with the imperial church.

Under Emp. Herakleios church unifications did take place in Armenia (626) and in Egypt (633). These rapprochements were established on the basis of a doctrine inspired by neo-Chalcedonism: MONOENERGISM. Monoenergism emphasized Christ's personal unity by teaching the unity of his energies (or wills—MONOTHELETISM). One of the reasons they did not succeed was the Arab invasions. The imperial church, at the Council of Constantinople IV (680/1), however, chose union with Rome and Western Christianity, and at that council received as dogma the teaching of dyotheletism (the concept of two wills in Christ), represented by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, and rejected the idea of a singular, personal/hypostatic will in Christ.

In the second half of the 7th C., even though Origenism had been condemned in 543 under Justinian I, a union was effected, through the synthesis of Maximos the Confessor, between the mysticism of EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which sought a direct knowledge of God, and the theology of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, in which knowledge of God is mediated through the authority of hierarchies. The result was a monastic spirituality that sought direct knowledge of God through the mediating symbols of the church.

At the time of the controversy over ICONOCLASM (726–843), both Iconoclasts and Iconodules were able to advocate their own practices, Christological arguments, and ecumenical councils (at HIERIA and the Second Council of NICAEA). The beginning of the controversy appears to have been a dispute over images that arose in a former territory of the empire that had been conquered by the Muslims; and indeed, the most significant theologian of this period, JOHN OF DAMASCUS, lived and worked his whole life under the rule of a Muslim caliph.

The period from ca.850 to ca.1050 witnessed both increasing alienation between East and West, and the process, which began with PHOTIOS and ended with MICHAEL I KEROULARIOS, that led to the so-called SCHISM of the mid-11th C. The beginning of the schism is usually dated 16 July 1054 when Cardinal HUMBERT of Silva Candida laid a bull of excommunication on the altar of Hagia Sophia. This event was not viewed by Byz. historians and contemporaries with the significance it has acquired today. Photios had already challenged the Roman view of papal PRIMACY; but until the revival of this argument under Keroularios, it had remained secondary to the FILIOQUE. In the mission of CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER and METHODIOS to the Slavs in the 9th C., differences of rites and discipline (e.g., the use of unleavened bread [AZYMES], CELIBACY, and Saturday fasts) were the most prominent controversial issues that contributed to the schism.

Yet in the 9th–11th C., polemical literature, whether directed against the Westerners, or Muslims (see ISLAM, POLEMIC AGAINST), or the PAULICIANS and the BOGOMILS, constitutes but a fraction

of the theological output. The period represents the highpoint of homiletic and hagiographic literature. It had in ARETHAS OF CAESAREA a philologically inclined exegete, and produced in SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN an outstanding mystic.

In the 11th C. Byz. turned in increasing measure to the study of the ancients. The theological literature shows a marked interest in the philosophy of PLATO, and there was a revival of ARISTOTLE in the recourse to a kind of dialectical argumentation.

The theological activity in the period of the Komnenoi and Angeloi is distinguished by the revival of the tradition of compiling FLORILEGIA that bring together arguments from tradition to form an arsenal (*panoplia*) for fighting every kind of HERESY. The treatise of Neilos DOXOPATRES, *On God's Oikonomia*, is comparable to this, although its structure is that of an independent, systematic work. One emperor, Manuel I, took special delight in theological controversies such as the questions of whether the Son is greater than the Father (Jn 14:28), and whether the Son offers and receives the eucharistic offering, disputed by Soterichos PANTEUGENOS. He opposed the Islamic claim that its God is the one true God, and he defended the compatibility of ASTROLOGY with Christian belief. His theological adviser, NICHOLAS OF METHONE, wrote against a revival of PROKLOS that was going on in Byz. at that time.

The capture of Constantinople in 1204, and the installation of a Latin hierarchy to which the Greeks were subjected, gave occasion for the revival of anti-Latin polemic, with the notable exception of the most cultured theologian of the empire of Nicaea, Nikephoros BLEMMYDES. The period of Latin domination in Constantinople raised barriers between East and West that would frustrate all future attempts at UNION OF THE CHURCHES.

The 14th C. was dominated by the controversy over PALAMISM. Through the activity of GREGORY SINAITES on Mt. Athos, the MYSTICISM and method of prayer made popular by Symeon the Theologian became the possession of Athonite spirituality. Gregory PALAMAS sought to defend this mystical movement—known as HESYCHASM—against the attacks of BARLAAM OF CALABRIA by providing it with a speculative basis that, in his view, was grounded in the tradition of the church fathers. His doctrine of the uncreated ENERGIES of God, distinguished from God's essence, together with the theological method he put forth, provoked a controversy that was made particularly intense by Demetrios KYDONES' preparation of a translation of the works of Thomas AQUINAS. Nonetheless, the Palamite doctrine of God's uncreated energies did not set the hesychastic practices of Palamites and anti-Palamites at variance with each other.

In view of the Ottoman successes, there occurred in Byz. in the 15th C. an ethical and theological renewal that found expression in, for example, the apology of MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS directed against Islam. The most significant theologians of the time, both those writing for the Council of FERRARA-FLORENCE, such as ISIDORE OF KIEV and BESSARION, and those writing against it, such as Mark EUGENIKOS and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, envisioned a world-wide culture embracing all men. Their successors and those of PLETHON worked together with the Platonic Academy of Florence at the beginning of the Renaissance in the West.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 279–368. H.-G. Beck, *Geschichte der orthodoxen Kirche im byzantinischen Reich* (Göttingen 1980). J.M. Hussey, *The Orthodox Church in the Byzantine Empire* (Oxford 1986). J. Meyendorff, *Byzantine Theology* (New York 1974). J. Pelikan, *The Christian Tradition*, vols. 1–3 (Chicago 1971–79). G. Podskalsky, *Theologie und Philosophie in Byzanz* (Munich 1977). –K.-H.U.

THEON OF ALEXANDRIA, mathematician, astronomer, and teacher; father of HYPATIA; fl. ca.360–80. According to the SOUDA, Theon (Θέων) was a member of the MOUSEION at Alexandria; if so, he would be the latest to be recorded. His approximate chronology is known from his references to two eclipses in 364 and to other dates ranging from 360 to 377.

Theon is best known as a commentator on the two major astronomical works of PTOLEMY. Of that on the *Almagest* books 1–4, part of book 5 (J. Mogenet, A. Tihon, *AntCl* 56 [1987] 201–18), books 6–10 and 12–13 are extant; some of this commentary, which is a revision of his lectures, is based on that by PAPPOS. Of the five books of the *Great Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* there survive books 1–3 and the beginning of book 4 (A. Tihon, *AntCl* 50 [1981] 526–34). The *Little Commentary* on the *Handy Tables* (in one book) survives intact. The *Handy Tables* accompanied by the *Little Commentary* was apparently available to Severos Sebokht in Syria in the 7th C. (D. Pingree, *JAOS*

93 [1973] 34) and was translated into Arabic in the early 9th C. (F.I. Haddad, E.S. Kennedy, D. Pingree, *The Book of the Reasons behind Astronomical Tables* [Delmar, N.Y. 1981] 203–06). Severus Sebokht most probably based his treatise on the ASTROLABE on a lost work of Theon (O. Neugebauer, *Isis* 40 [1949] 242–46).

In MATHEMATICS Theon's effort consisted in revising the *Elements* and *Data* of EUCLID and in reworking his *Optics* to make them more accessible to his students. He may also be the author of the pseudo-Euclidean *Catoptrics* or *Mirrors*. His version of Euclid was that most familiar to the Byz., e.g., the MS of Euclid copied for ARETHAS in 888 was the revision of Theon.

ED. *Le "Petit Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, ed. A. Tihon (Vatican 1978), with Fr. tr. *Le "Grand Commentaire" de Théon d'Alexandrie aux Tables Faciles de Ptolémée*, vol. 1, ed. J. Mogenet, A. Tihon (Vatican 1985), with Fr. tr. *Commentaires de Pappus et de Théon d'Alexandrie sur l'Almageste*, ed. A. Rome, 3 vols. (Vatican 1931–43). *Euclidis Opera Omnia*, ed. J.L. Heiberg et al., 5.1 (Leipzig 1888; rp. 1977) xxxix–lviii; 6 (Leipzig 1896) xxxii–xlix; 7 (Leipzig 1895) xlix–l.

LIT. G.J. Toomer, *DSB* 13:321–25. Wilson, *Scholars* 42, 83, 86, 121, 262. –D.P.

THEOPASCHITISM (from θεοπασχίτης, "[one who believes that] God suffered"), a variant of MONOPHYSITISM that held that "one of the Holy Trinity suffered in the flesh." First propounded in Constantinople in 519 by four Scythian monks, the doctrine was seen by some, including Justinian I, as a solution to the division between Monophysites and Chalcedonians. Although Theopaschite doctrine was vigorously opposed in Constantinople by the AKOIMETOI, it was officially propounded by a law of 533 (*Cod. Just.* I 1.6). This concession, however, failed to win the allegiance of the Monophysites and the issue was allowed to lapse.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:375–77. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1946) 505–12. W. Ebert, "Die theopaschitische Formel," *Theologische Literaturzeitung* 75 (1950) 195–206. –T.E.G.

THEOPHANES (Θεοφάνης) favorite and adviser of ROMANOS I; *patrikios, protovestiarios,* and later *parakoimomenos*; died after 947. Theophanes came to the fore in October 925, when he replaced John Mystikos as the emperor's chief adviser; he played a decisive role in negotiations with PETER OF BULGARIA in 927 and with the Hungarians (see HUNGARY) in 934 by arranging terms of truce satisfactory to both sides. In 941 he commanded the Byz. fleet in actions against IGOR. The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes the victory over the Rus', but instead of Theophanes names other generals: the *patrikios* (Bardas) Phokas, Pantherios, Theodore Spongarios. H. Grégoire suggested that the last, who is mentioned in no other sources, was substituted for Theophanes in the vita; he also hypothesized that Theodore Spongarios was a personification of St. THEODORE STRATELATES. In 944 Theophanes was sent to receive the MANDYLION of Edessa. After Romanos's deposition, Theophanes and Patr. THEOPHYLAKTOS devised a plot to reinstate the deposed emperor, but the scheme was discovered and Theophanes banished.

LIT. E. v. Dobschütz, "Der Kammerherr Theophanes," *BZ* 10 (1901) 170–72. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:219f. H. Grégoire, P. Orgels, "La guerre russo-byzantine de 941," *Byzantion* 24 (1954) 155f, with criticism by Angelide, *Bios tou Basileiou* 146–64. Zacos, *Seals* 2:472f, no.1084. –A.K.

THEOPHANES, a painter or patron of ca.1100, shown as a monk presenting his Gospel book (now Melbourne, Nat. Gall. 710/5) to the Virgin. Above this frontispiece image (fol.1v) are verses in which Theophanes claims to have written and illuminated the MS; the rarity of this claim—its only parallel is in the THEODORE PSALTER—has led it to be questioned by R.S. Nelson (*J. Paul Getty Museum Journal* 15 [1987] 63f). Buchthal (*infra*) suggested that Theophanes may have been a monk in the HODEGON MONASTERY. Theophanes' book has canon tables, with human *atlantes* representing the MONTHS and virtues, and elaborate calligraphic headpieces.

LIT. H. Buchthal, "An Illuminated Byzantine Gospel Book of about 1100 A.D.," *Special Bulletin of the National Gallery of Victoria* (Melbourne 1961). Spatharakis, *Portrait* 76–78. –A.C.

THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, or *Scriptores post Theophanem,* conventional title of a collection of chronicles preserved in a single 11th-C. MS, Vat. gr. 167. The collection encompasses 813–961 and consists of four independent sections. The anonymous author of the first part (813–67) considered himself as the continuator of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR; he differed, however, from his predecessor in the composition of his

work, which is not annalistic, but a series of imperial biographies. Commissioned by CONSTANTINE VII, the chronicle expressed the political views of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY, praised generals, and criticized merchants (p.88f). The anonymous author sometimes attempted to clarify the earthly causes of great events, e.g., the Arab invasion of Crete (p.74.5–6). He probably used the same sources as GENESIOS. The second part is a biography of Basil I (VITA BASILII), the third (886–948) is very close to SYMEON LOGOTHETE. The final section was apparently written before 963, probably by Theodore DAPHNOPATES, and reveals an aristocratic bias: e.g., the author censures the agrarian policy of ROMANOS I and contrasts it with the generosity of Constantine VII, his favorite hero (p.443.13–18). He writes with great sympathy about the Phokas family, John Kourkouas and the Argyroi; he does not yet know about the conflict between the Phokades and Joseph BRINGAS, however, and is quite favorable toward the latter.

ED. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838), corr. K. Kumaniecki, *Byzantion* 7 (1932) 235–37.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:339–43. A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 1," *VizVrem* 19 (1961) 76–96. H. Nickles, "The Continuatio Theophanis," *TAPA* 68 (1937) 221–27. Jenkins, *Studies*, pt. IV (1954), 11–30. –A.K.

THEOPHANES GRAPTOS (Γραπτός, lit. "marked with writing"), saint; brother of THEODORE GRAPTOS; born in the Moabite mountains ca.778, died in Constantinople ? 11 Oct. 845. A defender of icon veneration, Theophanes accompanied his brother on a trip to Constantinople in 813 just as the second period of ICONOCLASM began; like Theodore he endured exile and the punishment of having insulting verses tattooed on his forehead. After the end of Iconoclasm, Theophanes was elected archbishop of Nicaea. He was an active hymnographer, and a great number of *idiomela* and *kanones* are ascribed to him, including some in dialogue form (a unique feature) and an acrostic *kanon* on ROMANOS THE MELODE (S. Pétridès, *BZ* 11 [1902] 363–69). S. Vailhé (*ROC* 6 [1901] 641) characterizes him as a poet more personal and human than JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER.

Representation in Art. Theophanes looks just like his brother Theodore, except that he wears the turban of a Palestinian melode. In a pendentive at CHORA he is shown writing his hymns in the pose of an evangelist in the company of other hymnographers. In the illustrated MS of John SKYLITZES in Madrid, he is shown clad as a bishop, confronting the emperor Theophilos and his court (fol.51r).

SOURCES. See THEODORE GRAPTOS.
LIT. S. Eustratiades, "Theophanes ho Graptos," *Nea Sion* 31 (1936) 339–44, 403–16, 467–78, 525–40, 666–73; 32 (1937) 81–96, 187–95, 252–59, 401–08, 569–79; 33 (1938) 317–22, 516–23, 618–23. K.G. Kaster, *LCI* 8:461. –A.K., D.E.C., N.P.Š.

THEOPHANES KERAMEUS. See THEOPHANES OF SICILY.

THEOPHANES OF BYZANTIUM, historian; fl. 2nd half of 6th C. His *Historika* is an account in ten books of the period 566–81, with an introduction going back to 562. Known only from PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.64), its main theme was the diplomatic and military history of Byz. and its eastern neighbors, the Persians, Armenians, and other peoples of the Caucasus. Some of its information is rare and precious, for instance on the Turks who were called "Kermichiones" by the Persians (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:158f) and on Tblisi as the capital of the IBERIANS; Theophanes clearly took pains over his ethnography and geography. He also recounts the smuggling into Byz. of silkworm eggs from CHINA, an episode made famous by PROKOPIOS OF CAESAREA (R. Hennig, *BZ* 33 [1933] 295–312); the two versions do not tally in all points. The works of Theophanes and MENANDER PROTECTOR overlap in period and subject matter; who used whom cannot be determined.

ED. *FHG* 4:270f. Dindorf, *HistGr* 1:446–49.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:309. –B.B.

THEOPHANES OF MEDEIA. See AGALLIANOS, THEODORE.

THEOPHANES OF SICILY, 9th-C. hymnographer. His biography is unknown. S. Pétridès surmised that he lived in Syracuse before 878 (*EO* 4 [1900-1901] 285). Papadopoulos-Kerameus (*infra* 371) made him a pupil of JOSEPH THE HYMNOGRAPHER, the author of Joseph's vita and a correspondent of PHOTIOS; however, the identification

proves to be not valid, and the letter in question, although it used to be published among the works of Photios (PG 102:924D–925D), was apparently written by THEODORE OF STOUDIOS in 824. Theophanes wrote several *kanones* dedicated to Sicilian saints: Beryllos of Catania, Theoktistos *hegoumenos* of Cucumo, Agatha of Palermo, Pankratios of Taormina, Markianos of Syracuse, and perhaps Agrippina, martyred in Rome and buried in Sicily. Some of them allude to the war against the Arabs in Sicily. The relationship between Theophanes and "Theophanes Kerameus," author of a homily on Pankratios of Taormina (*BHG* 1412), needs to be clarified, since the MS tradition of the homily is confusing (G. Rossi Taibbi, *Filagato da Cerami* [Palermo 1965] vii-xvi).

ED. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Theophanes Sikelos," *BZ* 9 (1900) 370-78.

LIT. M. Théarvic, "A propos de Théophane le Sicilien," *EO* 7 (1904) 31-34, 164-71. –A.K.

THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR, historian and saint; born Constantinople ca.760, died Samothrace 12 Mar. 817 (C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 155) or 818 (Hunger, *Lit.* 1:336). Son of a *strategos* of the Aegean Sea, Theophanes became *strator* at the court of Leo IV and married Megalo, daughter of a *patrikios* and the emperor's friend. After a short conjugal life, Theophanes and Megalo took the monastic habit; Theophanes founded the monastery of Megas Agros on the mountain of Sigriane (the southern shore of the Propontis) and lived there. During the MOECHIAN CONTROVERSY Theophanes supported Patr. Tarasios in his policy of compromise, in contrast to THEODORE OF STOUDIOS (J. Pargoire, *VizVrem* 9 [1902] 62–66). However, their common fate under Leo V (Theophanes was summoned to Constantinople and exiled to Samothrace after his refusal to join the Iconoclasts) led to their reconciliation; Theodore even wrote an *enkomion* after the death of Theophanes (ed. C. Van de Vorst, *AB* 31 [1912] 19–23).

The *Chronographia* of Theophanes covers the years 285–813 and forms a continuation of GEORGE THE SYNKELLOS. C. Mango's hypothesis (*ZRVI* 18 [1978] 9–17) that Theophanes served only as editor of the *Chronographia* written by George is questionable. The problem of the sources of Theophanes is very complicated. L. Whitby (*BMGS* 8 [1982/83] 1–20) suggests that the lost Great Chronographer was the major source of both Theophanes and Patr. NIKEPHOROS I; on the contrary, Ja. Ljubarskij (*VizVrem* 45 [1984] 72–86) thinks that Theophanes used 5th- to 7th-C. historians (Prokopios, Malalas, Theophylaktos Simokattes, etc.) in the original, often quoting them from memory. K. Uspenskij (*VizVrem* 3 [1950] 393–438; 4 [1951] 211–62) emphasizes that Theophanes had at his disposal pro-Iconoclast sources that he sometimes employed uncritically. N. Pigulevskaja (*JÖB* 16 [1967] 55–60) assumes that Theophanes used Syriac chronicles. All these assertions are difficult to prove. Theophanes was freer in his use of sources than Synkellos, an antiquarian who clung to the original; Theophanes reworked the available material, adapting it to his purposes (I. Čičurov, *VizVrem* 37 [1976] 62–73; *ADSV* 10 [1973] 203–06) and rarely indicating the provenance of his material. Theophanes, like JOHN OF DAMASCUS, consistently presents his account not as his personal opinions, but as objective truth; unlike Synkellos, he considered himself as a humble narrator (I. Čičurov, *Antičnost' i Vizantija* [Moscow 1975] 203–17). More than Synkellos he believed that the flow of time by itself determines the logic of historical development and presented his material in a strictly chronological order, rather than organizing it in thematic groupings. His is a rare case of Byz. annals that did not find a proper continuation.

As a steadfast iconodule, Theophanes was critical of the imperial power and subsequent to the idealized Constantine I found scarcely a single ruler worthy of praise; Marcian forms an exception. He was esp. hostile to the Orthodox emperor Nikephoros I, as well as to the Iconoclasts. The earliest MS (Oxford, Bodl., Wake 5) is of the late 9th C. (N. Wilson, *DOP* 26 [1972] 358). ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS translated Theophanes into Latin. Several vitae of Theophanes are known, including one attributed to Patr. METHODIOS.

ED. *Chronographia*, ed. C. de Boor, 2 vols. (Leipzig 1883–85, rp. Hildesheim 1963). Eng. tr. H. Turtledove (Philadelphia, Pa., 1982).

SOURCE. V. Latyšev, *Mefodija patriarcha Konstantinopol'skogo Žitie prep. Feofana Ispovednika* (Petrograd 1918).

LIT. I. Čičurov, *Vizantijskie istoričeskie sočinenija* (Moscow 1980) 17–144. Idem, "Mesto 'Chronografii' Feofana v rannevizantijskoj istoriografičeskoj tradicii," in *Drevnejšie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR* (Moscow 1981) 5–146. A.S. Proudfoot, "The Sources of Theophanes for the Heraclian Dynasty," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 367–439. *BHG* 1787z-1792e. –A.K.

THEOPHANES "THE GREEK," painter of frescoes, icons, and books; active in Russia from 1378 at the latest, until at least 1405. His only surviving wall-painting is in the Church of the Transfiguration at NOVGOROD where, according to the *ktetor*'s inscription (preserved in the Third Novgorod Chronicle, *sub anno* 6886 = 1378), he worked with a team of indigenous craftsmen. This highly individualized decoration consists of fragments of biblical scenes alternating with friezes of saints. A letter of ca.1415 from the hagiographer EPIFANIJ PREMUDRYJ describes Theophanes' work elsewhere and is the fullest and most personal account we have of any Byz. artist. Epifanij relates that Theophanes painted more than 40 stone churches in Constantinople, Chalcedon, Galata, Kaffa, Novgorod, and Nižnij Novgorod. In Moscow, Theophanes is said to have decorated three churches, painting the TREE OF JESSE and the APOCALYPSE in the Annunciation Church in the Kremlin and "a city with all its particulars" in that of the Archangel Michael. Theophanes' secular frescoes included a view of Moscow in the palace of Vladimir, prince of Serpuchov (1353–1410), and an unidentified picture in that of Basil I of Moscow (1389–1425). Epifanij reports that Theophanes painted a view of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople, and the statue of Justinian I in the AUGUSTAION in a book that served as a model to other artists. The painter's activities in Moscow, including his work in the Annunciation Church (1405), are confirmed in the early 15th-C. Troickaja Chronicle. The iconostasis from this church, containing a Great DEESIS by Theophanes, is preserved in the present cathedral of the same name.

LIT. V.N. Lazarev, *Feofan Grek i ego škola* (Moscow 1961; Germ. tr. Vienna 1968). G.I. Vzdornov, *Feofan Grek: Tvorčeskoe nasledie* (Moscow 1983). –A.C.

THEOPHANIES. See EPIPHANIES; VISIONS.

THEOPHANO (Θεοφανώ), empress; first wife of LEO VI; born Constantinople ca.875, died Constantinople 10 Nov. 895 or 896 (cf. P. Karlin-Hayter, *BZ* 62 [1969] 14). Daughter of the *patrikios* Constantine Martinakios, Theophano was chosen as Leo's bride by EUDOKIA INGERINA (Theophano's relative, according to later sources) at the BRIDE SHOW of 881/2 (Vogt, "Léon VI," 415; Karlin-Hayter questioned the date, *Vita Euthym.* 167). Theophano bore to Leo a daughter, Eudokia. Theophano supported Leo during his imprisonment, but eventually her great piety made the marriage a failure; Theophano devoted herself to prayer, while Leo lived with his mistress Zoe, daughter of Stylianos ZAOUTZES. After Theophano's premature death, she was proclaimed a saint, and Leo built for her relics a sanctuary of St. Theophano (G. Majeska, *BS* 38 [1977] 14–21). The vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS emphasizes the discord between Theophano and Leo: allegedly only Euthymios's influence stopped Theophano from divorce; in contrast, the vita of Theophano, written by an anonymous contemporary, presents the couple's relationship as ideal. The cult of Theophano existed in later centuries, and Nikephoros GREGORAS produced a new version of her Life.

SOURCES. E. Kurtz, *Zwei griechische Texte über die heilige Theophano, die Gemahlin Kaisers Leo VI.* (St. Petersburg 1898), rev. Ch. Loparev, *ŽMNP* 325 (Oct. 1899) 343–61.

LIT. G. Downey, "The Church of All Saints (Church of St. Theophano) near the Church of the Holy Apostles at Constantinople," *DOP* 9–10 (1956) 301–05. –A.K.

THEOPHANO, empress and wife of ROMANOS II; baptismal name Anastaso; born Constantinople after 940, died Constantinople probably after 976. Daughter of a wine merchant from Constantinople, the beautiful Theophano enchanted Romanos II, who married her ca.956 after the premature death of his fiancée. Skylitzes, who hated the young upstart, asserts that Theophano tried to poison CONSTANTINE VII (Skyl. 246.55–56) and participated in murdering Stephen Lekapenos, son of ROMANOS I (Skyl. 255.71–72). She probably also urged Romanos II to send his sisters to a convent and incited him against his mother Helen. However, he did not dare remove her from the palace for fear of her curse. After Romanos II's premature demise, Theophano remained regent for her minor sons BASIL II and CONSTANTINE VIII; in the struggle for power she supported NIKEPHOROS (II) PHOKAS against Joseph BRINGAS. After seizing the throne in 963, Nikephoros removed Theophano temporarily to the palace of Petrion, but soon (in Sept.) married her. Marriage with the austere and ascetic warrior did not satisfy Theophano; eventually she plotted with JOHN (I) TZIMISKES and helped his supporters to enter Nikephoros's bedchamber and murder him.

Theophano's expectations of a third marriage, to Tzimiskes, were not realized. Under pressure from Patr. POLYEUKTOS, Tzimiskes banished her before his coronation and married Theodora, Romanos II's sister. A satirical song describes Theophano's failure (G. Morgan, *BZ* 47 [1954] 292–97). She was banished to the Prokonnesos but recalled from exile in 976. –A.K.

THEOPHANO (Lat. Theophanu), wife of the German emperor Otto II (973–83); born ca.955, died Nimwegen 15 June 991. Her grant of dowry from Otto II specifies that she was a niece of Emp. JOHN I TZIMISKES, but M. Uhlirz attempted to show that she was descended from the Lekapenoi. F. Dölger refuted this theory (*HistJb* 62–69 [1942–49] 646–58). Apparently because she was not a *porphyrogennete,* some in Otto I's court opposed her marriage to Otto II, but the wedding and coronation occurred at St. Peter's, Rome, 14 Apr. 972. Theophano bore Otto II daughters and a son, the future OTTO III. Under her influence, Otto II revived the title *Romanorum imperator augustus*; he also undertook an attack on the Saracen invaders of southern Italy because such action was appropriate for an emperor. As regent for Otto III, Theophano stressed her imperial rank. Following the pattern of Empress IRENE, she used the masculine form for her title (W. Ohnsorge, *Konstantinopel und der Okzident* [Darmstadt 1966] 59–61). In the youthful Otto III, she instilled her consciousness of imperial tradition and a desire to emulate Byz. Together with her husband, she is represented on a southern Italian (?) ivory in Paris (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, no.85). H. Wentzel (*Aachener Kunstblätter* 40 [1971] 15–39, 43 [1972] 11–96) associated a huge quantity of Late Antique gems and Byz. ivories, textiles, and MSS with her dowry and ascribed an excessive number of new creations in these media to her patronage.

LIT. W. Ohnsorge, *Ost-Rom und der Westen* (Darmstadt 1983) 128–206. M. Uhlirz, "Zu dem Mitkaisertum der Ottonen: *Theophanu coimperatrix,*" *BZ* 50 (1957) 382–89. K. Ciggaar, "The Empress Theophano," *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Hernen 1985) 33–77. –C.M.B., A.C.

THEOPHILOS (Θεόφιλος), archbishop of Alexandria (from 385 [Favale] or 384 [Declerck]); theologian and politician; born Menfi, Egypt, ca.345, died Alexandria 15 Oct. 412. A saint of the Coptic and Syrian churches (feastdays 15 and 17 Oct.), Theophilos appears in the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 812.16–20) in a negative vein—as the alleged organizer of the slaughter of holy fathers "in caves." Uncle of Cyril of Alexandria, Theophilos was his political forerunner. His aim was to promote the role of Alexandria, which had experienced a setback at the Council of Constantinople in 381: Theophilos at first supported the usurper MAXIMUS but prudently changed his mind; he then tried to exert influence on Theodosios I and to introduce the Alexandrian paschal date into Constantinople ca.388. He collaborated with Theodosios in antipagan persecutions, culminating in the destruction of the Serapeion at Alexandria (391). He failed, however, in his plan to elect his closest aide, the priest Isidore, to the see of Constantinople (397). As an Origenist, Theophilos attacked (ca.399) anthropomorphist views popular among Egyptian monks; the ensuing opposition led Theophilos to change his position and begin persecution of the Origenists, esp. the so-called Tall (*Makroi*) Brothers. After emigrating from Egypt, they were supported by JOHN CHRYSOSTOM, the bishop of Constantinople, thus introducing a new source of conflict between the two sees. This time Theophilos emerged victorious, and at the Synod of the Oak near Chalcedon (403) obtained John's deposition.

Most of what remains from his many attested writings survives in fragments or in Coptic, Ethiopic, Latin, or Syriac translations. His name has also been assigned to some spuria, notably a discourse describing the flight of the Holy Family into Egypt.

ED. PG 65:29–68.

LIT. A. Favale, *Teofilo d'Alessandria* (Turin 1958). J. Declerck, "Théophile d'Alexandrie contre Origène," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 495–507. Richard, *Opera minora* 2, nos. 37–39. P. Nautin, "La lettre de Théophile d'Alexandrie à l'Église de Jérusalem et la réponse de Jean de Jérusalem (juin-juillet, 396)," *RHE* 69 (1974) 365–94. –B.B., A.K.

THEOPHILOS, 6th-C. jurist, ANTECESSOR, professor at the law school of Constantinople. He was appointed by Justinian I to the commissions for the compilation of the first edition of the CODEX JUSTINIANUS and the DIGEST; together with DOROTHEOS, he was ordered to compile the INSTITUTES. Résumés of passages of the first books of the *Digest* are ascribed to him in the scholia to the BASILIKA.

His paraphrase of the *Institutes* is preserved in its entirety in several MSS. This work, whose attribution to Theophilos was incorrectly disputed by Ferrini, may have been based on notes taken by a student at a lecture given by Theophilos shortly after the completion of the *Institutes*.

ED. Paraphrase of the *Digest*—Heimbach, *Basil.* 6:33–36. Paraphrase of the *Institutes*—E.C. Ferrini, *Institutionum graeca paraphrasis Theophilo Antecessori vulgo tributa*, 2 vols. (Berlin 1884–97; rp. Aalen 1967).

LIT. B. Kübler, *RE* 5A 2 (1934) 2138–2148. J.H.A. Lokin, "Theophilus Antecessor," *Tijdschrift* 44 (1976) 337–44. Idem, "Die Karriere des Theophilus Antecessor: Rang und Titel im Zeitalter Justinians," *SubGr* 1 (1984) 43–68. –A.S.

THEOPHILOS, emperor (829–42); born 812/13 (W. Treadgold, *GRBS* 16 [1975] 337), died Constantinople 20 Jan. 842. Son of Michael II and Thekla, he was crowned co-emperor in spring 821. Theophilos married THEODORA after a BRIDE SHOW at which he rejected KASSIA. Theophilos cultivated an image as "a fiery lover of justice and a strict guardian of civil laws" (*TheophCont* 85.1–2). Immediately after his accession he executed his father's accomplices in the assassination of Leo V (his godfather). Many colorful stories depict him dispensing justice at the expense of high officials like PETRONAS. His reputation endured in legend (C. Diehl, *SemKond* 4 [1931] 33–37): the TIMARION depicts him as a judge in hell. His sound fiscal policies enriched the treasury and allowed major additions to the GREAT PALACE, renovations of Constantinople's walls, the building of a *xenon* on the Golden Horn, and the construction of a palace at BRYAS. Theophilos likely established regional mints and issued large numbers of FOLLEIS, partly aiding the gradual revival of provincial economies (D. Metcalf, *Byzantion* 37 [1967] 310). His devotion to learning included patronage of LEO THE MATHEMATICIAN, METHODIOS (I), and JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS (his childhood tutor); evidently he himself wrote hymns as well (Vasiliev, *infra* 1:16, n.1). With Patr. ANTONY I KASSYMATAS and John Grammatikos he restored ICONOCLASM by prohibiting all painted images (*Reg* 1, no.427) and any aid to iconodules, many of whom he exiled or physically punished (e.g., THEODORE GRAPTOS).

To strengthen the empire's defenses he built the fortress of SARKEL on the Don; created the themes of Cherson, Paphlagonia, and Chaldia; and formed the *kleisourai* of Charsianon, Cappadocia, and Seleukeia (Oikonomides, *Listes* 348–54). He neglected the threat of the Muslims in Sicily and southern Italy, but confronted them in Asia Minor and was defeated by MUʿTAṢIM in 831. In 837 he campaigned with his generals MANUEL and THEOPHOBOS against the Arabs. Their destruction of Zapetra provoked the invasion in 838 of Muʿtaṣim, who defeated Theophilos at the battle of Dazimon, where the emperor narrowly escaped capture; his life was reportedly saved by Theophobos. The Arabs then sacked AMORION. The emperor subsequently sent embassies to the Franks, Venice, and Cordoba to obtain help against the caliphate (P. Teofilatto, *Studi Meridionali* 12 [1980] 186–94). Theophilos died of dysentery.

LIT. Treadgold, *Byz. Revival* 263–329. J. Rosser, "Theophilos (828–842)," *Byzantiaka* 3 (1983) 37–56. Griffith, "Apologetics in Arabic." Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:89–190. Bury, *ERE* 120–43, 251–74. –P.A.H.

THEOPHILOS OF EDESSA (Ar. Thīyūfīl ibn Thūmā), translator and Christian astrologer; born Edessa ca.695, died 15/16 July 785. A Greek from Syria, Theophilos served the ʿAbbāsid caliph al-Mahdī (775–85) as astrological military adviser and wrote several astrological treatises in Greek (partially preserved also in Arabic versions). His *Labors Concerning the Beginnings of Wars* is the only medieval Greek text devoted entirely to the subject of military ASTROLOGY. Addressed to his son Deukalion, it is partially based on Indian sources (D. Pingree, *Viator* 7 [1976] 148f); a "second edition," consisting of chapters 24–41, includes material ascribed to Zoroaster and to Julian of Laodikeia, the latter taken from the collections of RHETORIOS OF EGYPT. A later recension of all of Theophilos's astrological writings was made in ca.1100, and another devised in the School of John ABRAMIOS in the 14th C. The *Labors* were also pillaged by John's pupil, Eleutherios Zebelenos, also called Elias, for his compendium falsely ascribed to Palchos.

Theophilos's so-called *Astrological Effects* in 30 chapters, addressed to Deukalion, also contains material influenced by Indian sources and was utilized by 9th-C. theoreticians of magic from Ḥarrān (D. Pingree, *JWarb* 43 [1980] 6). In part it too is dependent on Rhetorios. Theophilos's final work, entitled *On Different Beginnings*, deals

with the rules for undertaking activities governed by each of the 12 astrological places. Much of this work is based on Dorotheos of Sidon and HEPHAISTION OF THEBES. A separate treatise by Theophilos, the *Collection on Cosmic Beginnings*, deals with annual and monthly predictions and the various definitions of the beginning of the year according to the Egyptians, Greeks, Persians, and Arabs. Theophilos's works are among the most original and influential medieval Greek treatises on various aspects of astrology. Theophilos's Syriac translations of Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey* have not survived.

ED. *CCAG* 1:129–31; 4:93f, 122f; 5.1:212–26, 233–38; 8.1:266–70; 11.1:204–66.

LIT. D. Pingree, *The Yavanajātaka of Sphujidhvaja*, vol. 2 (Cambridge, Mass.–London 1978) 443f. –D.P.

THEOPHILOS PROTOSPATHARIOS, physician; his biography and dates are unknown; conventionally assigned to the 7th C., but may date to the 9th or 10th. Theophilos composed *On the Constitution of the Human Body*, melding Christian theology and the *Use of the Parts of the Human Body* by GALEN. Greek texts on various medical subjects, including *Excrements*, *Pulses*, and *Urines*, survive under Theophilos's name. The work *Urines* became the ancestor of many tracts on this subject, such as the *Urines* of JOHN AKTOUARIOS. Apparently Theophilos also wrote some commentaries on the works of Hippocrates, but these tracts are jumbled in the MSS with similar treatises by DAMASKIOS, STEPHEN OF ALEXANDRIA (or Athens), and MELETIOS THE MONK; Theophilos's *On Various Fevers* has come down in MSS meshed with tracts on the same subject by Stephen. A portrait of Theophilos in physician's garb, conducting uroscopy, is preserved in a 15th-C. copy of his *Urines* (L. MacKinney, *Medical Illustrations in Medieval Manuscripts* [Berkeley–Los Angeles 1965] fig.5).

ED. *De corporis humani fabrica libri V*, ed. W.A. Greenhill (Oxford 1842). For list of other works, see Hunger, *Lit.* 2:299–301.

LIT. L.G. Westerink, "The Theophilus Scholia," in *Stephanus of Athens: Commentary on Hippocrates' Aphorisms, Sects. I–II* (Berlin 1985) 17–19. –J.S., G.V.

THEOPHILOS THE INDIAN, also called the Ethiopian (Philostorg., *HE* 6.3), Arian bishop; born island of Dibous (probably the Maldive Islands, near Ceylon), died after 364. His life is described in detail by PHILOSTORGIOS. As a young man he was sent to the court of Constantine I where EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA ordained him deacon. Although Constantius II respected him, he still banished Theophilos for his support of the caesar GALLUS. Famous for working miracles, Theophilos was recalled to Constantinople and acquired even greater renown for healing the empress Eusebia. In 356 Constantius II sent him to the ethnarch of Saba (ḤIMYAR) with 200 Cappadocian horses and other gifts. Theophilos founded three churches—one in the capital called Tapharos (Ẓafār), one in the Roman *emporion* or Adane, and another in the Persian *emporion*. From the land of the Ḥimyarites he sailed to Dibous, then to the "other India," and returned to Constantinople via Antioch. Constantius II exiled him again together with other partisans of AETIOS the Arian, to whom Theophilos maintained allegiance after his banishment and subsequent release in 359. A later version of the *Martyrdom of Arethas* makes him "orthodox" and the principal evangelizer of South Arabia, from Najrān to the Persian Gulf.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 5 (1934) 2167f. Shahid, *Byz. & Arabs (4th C.)* 86–104. G. Fiaccadori, "Teofilo Indiano," *Studi classici e orientali* 33 (1983) 295–331; 34 (1984) 271–308. A. Dihle, "Die Sendung des Inders Theophilos," in *Politeia und Res publica: Dem Andenken Rudolf Starks gewidmet*, ed. P. Steinmetz (Wiesbaden 1969) 330–36. –A.K., L.S.B.MacC.

THEOPHOBOS (Θεόφοβος; Naṣr in Arabic and Syriac sources), a Persian or Kurdish military commander in Byz. service; died Constantinople 840 (Kaegi, *Unrest* 254) or 842. Theophobos fled to Byz. territory in 834 after the Khurramites were defeated by MUʿTAṢIM in 833. Emp. Theophilos organized the Khurramite refugees into a special cavalry *tagma* under Theophobos, who converted to Christianity, was appointed *patrikios*, and married the sister of either Theophilos or Empress Theodora (Bury, *ERE* 253). Skylitzes (Skyl. 67.3–9) reports that Theophobos wedded the emperor's sister; in the illustrated Madrid MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.127), Theophilos is shown seated with Theophobos on his knee—a symbolic representation of adoption. Theophobos campaigned with Theophilos in 837, and Michael the Syrian (ed. Chabot, 3:96) says that his troops cruelly sacked Zapetra. He campaigned with Theophilos again in 838 and reportedly saved the emperor's life during the battle at Dazimon

(*TheophCont* 113f). Rumors of the death of Theophilos apparently instigated a conspiracy in Constantinople on behalf of Theophobos; reports that Theophobos was an iconophile suggest that the plot may have been a reaction against ICONOCLASM. When Theophilos returned to the capital, he recalled Theophobos, who fled with his *tagma* to Amastris and then Sinope, where the troops proclaimed him emperor. There Theophobos secretly negotiated with Theophilos, who received him favorably in Constantinople but dispersed the *tagma* throughout the themes. Byz. sources report that Theophilos ordered PETRONAS to arrest and kill Theophobos, perhaps to forestall any plot against the young Michael III.

LIT. M. Rekaya, "Mise au point sur Théophobe et l'alliance de Bâbek avec Théophile (833/34–839/40)," *Byzantion* 44 (1974) 43–67. J. Rosser, "Theophilus' Khurramite Policy and its Finale: the Revolt of Theophobus' Persian Troops in 838," *Byzantina* 6 (1974) 263–71. H. Grégoire, "Manuel et Théophobe ou la concurrence de deux monastères," *Byzantion* 9 (1934) 183–204. Z.M. Bunijatov, "Babek i Vizantija," *Doklady Akademii Nauk Azerbajdžanskoj SSR* 15 (1959) no.7, 613–16. –P.A.H., A.C.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, patriarch of Constantinople (2 Feb. 933–27 Feb. 956); born Constantinople? 917, died Constantinople. He was a son of Romanos I Lekapenos, who wanted him to become patriarch, and appointed him when he was still a child (924) as *synkellos* of Patr. Nicholas I Mystikos. At age 16 Theophylaktos was ostentatiously installed in the see of Constantinople. He consistently supported his father's policy and acted in accord with him. In 937 he negotiated with the sees of Alexandria and Antioch and informed them about changes in the liturgy of Constantinople, thus trying to confirm the links with Eastern patriarchates. In order to influence the Hungarians, ca.948 Theophylaktos sent the monk Hierotheos as "bishop of Tourkis" (Skyl. 239.67–68). In a letter to Tsar Peter of Bulgaria, Theophylaktos defined BOGOMILISM as a dangerous heresy, a mixture of Manichaeanism with "Paulinism," that is, the teaching of Paul of Samosata, who was considered the founder of Paulicianism. Byz. chroniclers hostile to Theophylaktos present him as an irreverent man who cared only for his 2,000 horses and who was willing to interrupt services in Hagia Sophia to attend the foaling of his mares. He reportedly introduced theatrical elements into the liturgy and appointed as *domestikos* of the church a certain Euthymios Kasnes, who organized "satanical dances" and singing of street songs during the liturgy (Skyl. 243f). Theophylaktos was buried at the ROUPHINIANAI monastery in Chalcedon, whose restoration he had ordered (Janin, *Églises centres* 39).

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, nos. 787–89. Runciman, *Romanus* 76f. –A.K.

THEOPHYLAKTOS, archbishop of OHRID (from 1088/9) and writer; born Euboea ca.1050, died after 1126. P. Gautier (*REB* 21 [1963] 165–68) has shown that his surname was Hephaistos, a patronymic otherwise unattested after the 6th C. He was the pupil of Michael PSELLOS and served as deacon of Hagia Sophia. As the teacher of Constantine DOUKAS, son of Michael VII, Theophylaktos produced ca.1085/6 a MIRROR OF PRINCES addressed to his pupil, in which he praised noble origin and martial prowess as necessary qualities of a successful emperor. In 1088 he wrote a panegyric of Alexios I, even though his sympathies lay with Maria, Michael VII's widow, rather than with the Komnenoi. His letters from Ohrid are a valuable source for the economic, social, and political history of Bulgaria as well as Byz. prosopography. They are filled with conventional complaints concerning Theophylaktos's "barbarian" surroundings, whereas in fact he was deeply involved in local cultural development, producing an *enkomion* of 15 martyrs of Tiberioupolis and a vita of KLIMENT OF OHRID. His exegetic production was prolific: Theophylaktos commented on the Psalms, Prophets, Gospels, epistles of St. Paul, and others. His polemical works against the Latins are relatively tolerant; although he rejected the FILIOQUE, Theophylaktos opposed the idea of schism and defended the Latins from slanderous accusations.

ED. PG 123–26. *Discours, traités, poésies et lettres*, ed. P. Gautier, 2 vols. (Thessalonike 1980–86).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 1:134–49. R. Katičić, "Biographika peri Theophylaktou archiepiskopou Achridos," *EEBS* 30 (1960–61) 364–85. S. Maslev, *FGHBulg* 9 (Sofia 1974). –A.K.

THEORETRON (*θεώρετρον*), a wedding gift of a husband to his wife that supplemented the DONATIO PROPTER NUPTIAS or the HYPOBOLON. This gift is mentioned for the first time in a novel of Constantine VII (*Reg* 1, no.677). The *theoretron*

was basically granted only in a first marriage (cf., however, SYNOPSIS MINOR θ 10) and had consequently the character of a *pretium virginitatis* ("reward for virginity"). The *theoretron* had to amount to at least a twelfth of the DOWRY. The wife administered the *theoretron* and could dispose of it freely. In contrast to the *hypobolon* it remained her property after the termination of the marriage, even if there were children and even if she remarried (*Peira* 25.47,62). The wife's unlimited rights to the *theoretron* were comparable to her rights to the so-called *exoproika*, which she herself contributed.

LIT. Simon, "Ehegüterrecht" 223f. S. Perentides, "Pos mia synetheia mporei na exelichthei se thesmo; he periptose tou 'theoretrou,'" in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 2:476–85. –M.Th.F.

THEORIANOS, diplomat and polemicist of the second half of 12th C. MANUEL I sent Theorianos in the fall of 1169 and in the fall of 1171 to the *katholikos* of Armenia, NERSES ŠNORHALI; the negotiations took place at Hromklay on the Euphrates. Theorianos tried to persuade the Armenians (as well as the Syrian Jacobites) to accept the creed of the Council of CHALCEDON by explaining that the differences resulted primarily from linguistic misunderstandings. Theorianos seems to have also negotiated with Enrico, patriarch of Grado (1131–86); according to Loenertz (*infra* 47f), this probably occurred in 1177, when an embassy of Manuel went to Venice. Theorianos also wrote a letter "To the priests of Oriane," dedicated to the discrepancies in ritual between the Byz. and Latin churches. The addressee of this letter was, according to Beck (*Kirche* 628), the community of Beth-Zachariah in Palestine; according to Loenertz (*infra* 49f), that of Oria in Apuleia. The letter was partially translated into Latin in the 13th C. and attributed to JOHN CHRYSOSTOM.

ED. PG 133:113–298. Loenertz, *ByzFrGr I* 55–66.
LIT. Tekeyan, *Controverses* 21–33. B. Zekiyan, "Un dialogue oecuménique au XII^e siècle," 15 *CEB* 4 (Athens 1980) 420–41. –A.K.

THEOSIS (θέωσις), or deification in the Byz. tradition, is the goal of man to which he is naturally destined and which is realized through the grace of God. In a Christian context primarily concerned with SALVATION the ethical ideal of Plato survives, "To become like God insofar as that is possible for man" (*Theaetetus* 176b), although this does not mean that the soul is of divine essence.

"*Theosis* consists of being as much as possible like and in union (*henosis*) with God" (pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE, PG 3:376A). It is the "exaltation of nature, not its destruction or alteration" (Anastasios of Sinai, ed. Uthemann, *Viae Dux*, 2.7.8–9), and "participation through grace in that which surrounds the nature of God" (John of Damascus, *Exp. fidei* 88.18, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:203). Its highest realization is in the deification of Christ's human nature. As elaborated by MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, "nature" is understood as the essence of man as originally established in CREATION, but which is darkened by its existential condition (*tropos tes hyparxeos*) subsequent to Adam's sin; or, to use a different metaphor, it is corroded "like a mirror" composed of metal, not "damaged," as it was described in the anti-Pelagian tradition of the West under the influence of Augustine.

Theosis preserves and saves the created order of human nature, which remains incommensurable to God; it is maintained without commingling and unseparated as in Christ. The initial development of this doctrine is found in Athanasios of Alexandria's theory of the "deification of man through the incarnation of God." "He became man that we might become divine" (*Oratio de incarnatione Verbi* 54.3, ed. C. Kannengieser, 458). For him, the HOMOOUSIOS of the First Council of Nicaea by itself ensures this participation in deification (*theopoiesis*). In the refutation of the PNEUMATOMACHOI by BASIL THE GREAT, deification of man as sanctification is rooted in the work of the Holy Spirit who is God; otherwise, man would be neither sanctified nor deified. This tradition culminates in CYRIL of Alexandria, for whom the deification of man is determined by the indwelling of the TRINITY. In all these statements concerning the "being" of divinized man, the difference, or, in the language of Gregory of Nyssa, the infinite gap between the prototype and the image is constantly stressed.

In HESYCHASM one sees in the light of Mt. Tabor the revelation of *theosis*, which in the theory of PALAMISM is attributed to the activity of the divine energies. The extent to which Sinaitic mysticism, with its emphasis on incommensurability, survived

at this late date in its most essential features, without having been submitted to the "Messalian logic" (I. Hausherr, *OrChrP* 1 [1935] 328–60) with its overemphasis on sensation and its conviction that grace can and must be a perceptible experience (*aisthesis*), is a disputed question.

LIT. J. Gross, *La divinisation du chrétien d'après les Pères grecs* (Paris 1938). M. Lot-Borodine, "La doctrine de la déification dans l'église grecque jusqu'au XI[e] siècle," *RHR* 105 (1932) 5–43; 106 (1932) 525–74; 107 (1933) 8–55. M.-J. Congar, "La déification dans la tradition spirituelle de l'Orient," *La Vie Spirituelle*, supp. 43 (1935) 91–107. B. Sartorius, *La doctrine de la déification de l'homme d'après les Pères grecs* (Geneva 1965). –K.-H.U.

THEOTOKION (*θεοτοκίον*), a HYMN addressing and invoking the THEOTOKOS. *Theotokia* are sung mainly at the end of vespers, at *orthros* before the KATHISMATA, as the final TROPARION in the odes of most KANONS, and after the Great DOXOLOGY. In a collection known as the *Theotokarion*, *theotokia* are arranged according to the eight MODES. A variant form is the *staurotheotokion*, a hymn that describes Mary's grief as she stood at the foot of the Cross (*stauros*).

LIT. Wellesz, *Music* 242f. –D.E.C.

THEOTOKOS (Θεοτόκος, lit. "God-bearing"), Mother of God, an epithet of the VIRGIN MARY. This title, which referred earlier to the ancient Egyptian goddess Isis, appears for the first time as far as we know in a *troparion* of the 3rd C. and in a text of Hippolytus of Rome (H. Rahner, *Zeitschrift für katholische Theologie* 59 [1935] 73–81). Already ATHANASIOS of Alexandria used it in his *Discourses against the Arians*, and Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:177C–180A) considers use of the title as one of the foundations of the Christian faith: "If anyone does not confess that the Virgin Mary is Theotokos, he is found to be far from God. Whoever maintains that Christ passed through the Virgin as through a channel and was not fashioned in her in a manner at the same time divine and human—in a divine manner because [the conception occurred] without a man, in a human manner because Christ developed in her according to the principles of nature—is likewise godless. Whoever maintains that the human being was formed first, and later God descended upon him, is to be condemned." This passage reveals the Christological implications of Mary's title.

The opponents of this expression, who belonged to the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, were willing to grant only the title "birth-giver of man." NESTORIOS argued that the term Theotokos is neither scriptural nor sanctified by the church fathers; that Mary, as a created being, could not bear God; and that the title implies that Mary is a goddess. He looked, however, for a compromise, suggesting alternative epithets such as Christotokos or Theodochos, and reluctantly agreed that the term Theotokos might be accepted. CYRIL of Alexandria undertook the defense of the title and was solemnly endorsed both by a Roman Synod under Pope Celestine I and by the Council of EPHESUS (431).

LIT. G. Jouassard, "Marie à travers la patristique. Maternité divine, virginité sainteté," in H. du Manoir, *Maria*, vol. 1 (Paris 1949) 69–157. G.A. Wellen, *Theotokos, Eine ikonographische Abhandlung über das Gottesmutterbild in frühchristlicher Zeit* (Utrecht 1960). G. Giamberardini, "'Sub tuum praesidium' e il titolo 'Theotokos' nella tradizione egiziana," *Marianum* 31 (1969) 324–62. Av. Cameron, "The Theotokos in Sixth-Century Constantinople," *JThSt* 29 (1978) 79–108. E. Benz, "Die heilige Höhle in der alten Christenheit und in der östlich-orthodoxen Kirche," in *Eranos Jahrbuch* 22 (1953) 365–432. G. Podskalsky, "Nestorius," in M. Greschat, *Gestalten der Kirchengeschichte, 2: Alte Kirche II* (Stuttgart 1984) 215–25. –G.P.

THERMON. See ZEON.

THESEID, anonymous and faithful translation into Greek political verse (unrhymed except for the Prologue and the synopsis to each book) of Boccaccio's *Teseida*. Translated probably late in the 15th C., the *Theseid* survives in two MSS, one used as the printer's copy for the 1529 Venice edition.

ED. *Il Teseida neogreco: Libro I: Saggio di edizione*, ed. E. Follieri (Rome-Athens 1959).

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 139f. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

THESEUS, son of Aegeus, a legendary king of Athens; in Malalas, however, he appears as a ruler of Thessaly. Of the great number of stories connected with Theseus, Malalas chose two—his victory over the Minotaur with the help of ARIADNE and the tragic fate of HIPPOLYTOS and Phaedra (Malal. 87–90). Both NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS (*Dionysiaka* 47:269–71) and Malalas stressed negative features of Theseus's behavior, such as his abandonment of Ariadne. TZETZES knew other legends about Theseus, for example, his attempt

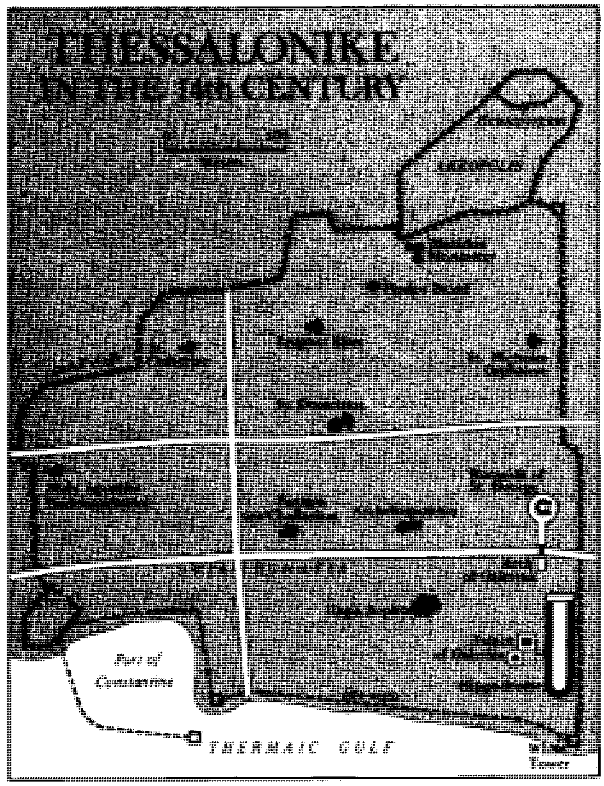
to rescue PERSEPHONE from the underworld (*Hist.* 2:744–61). The attempt failed and Theseus was imprisoned. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 150.49–53) praises Theseus for the punishment he had imposed on robbers and compares Manuel I to him.

A MS of pseudo-Oppian in Venice (Marc. gr. 479) shows Theseus at Troizen finding the weapons his father had hidden under a rock (Weitzmann, *infra*, fig.159). In the miniature, however, the wrong figure is labeled Theseus.

LIT. Weitzmann, *Gr.Myth.* 131–33. –A.K., A.M.T.

THESSALONIKE (Θεσσαλονίκη), ancient city located at the head of the Thermaic Gulf near the mouth of the VARDAR and on the Via EGNATIA. Its importance from the end of the 3rd C. derived from its strategic location with regard to both barbarian invasions across the Danube and East-West confrontation. The residence of Emp. GALERIUS in Thessalonike was accompanied by burgeoning building activity (a palace, the triumphal ARCH OF GALERIUS); in 298/9 a mint was opened there, gradually replacing that of SERDICA (P. Bruun, *Opuscula romana* 15 [1985] 7–16). During Constantine I's war against Licinius, Thessalonike was, for a while, the headquarters of Constantine, but after his victory he demoted the city, making it the place of Licinius's exile. From the mid-5th C. Thessalonike was the capital of the prefecture of ILLYRICUM and an important episcopal center, created according to tradition by St. Paul; the bishopric (later archbishopric) was under the jurisdiction of Rome, and in the beginning of the 5th C. Bishop Rufus was the papal *vicarius* of Illyricum; from the second half of the 6th C. Constantinople strengthened its grip on Thessalonike, and ca.733 the archbishopric was transferred to the jurisdiction of the patriarchate of Constantinople; within its hierarchy it was soon demoted to the 16th rank, with only five suffragans. In the 7th–9th C., Thessalonike was administered by an eparch, later by a *doux.*

In 390 Emp. Theodosios I massacred thousands of citizens in the hippodrome at Thessalonike as punishment for the murder of one of his barbarian generals. The Germanic invasions of the 4th and 5th C. bypassed Thessalonike; in the 6th C., however, Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.29) spoke of the city as "easily assailable by barbarians." In 479, when the news of an imminent Ostrogothic attack



spread in Thessalonike, the inhabitants expressed no confidence in the eparch (praetorian prefect) and took the keys to the gate away from him, entrusting them to the bishop (Malchos, fr. 20, ed. Blockley, *Historians* 2:436.17–19). More dangerous were the Slavic sieges of Thessalonike from the end of the 6th C. onward, repelled according to contemporary legend only by the supernatural intervention of St. DEMETRIOS. Thessalonike remained in Byz. hands, although most of its hinterland was overwhelmed by Slavic settlers.

Little is known about the economic life of Thessalonike in the 7th and 8th C. Some construction work continued in the city, some churches were decorated, and a salt-pan functioned, but the mint evidently ceased production and resumed operation only in the 9th C. with extensive issues of bronze folleis of Basil I (D.M. Metcalf, *BalkSt* 4 [1963] 277–86). At the end of the 9th C. the administration attempted to transfer the center of trade with the Bulgarians from Constantinople to Thessalonike, but this failed because of Bulgarian mistrust. Symeon of Bulgaria's invasions of Macedonia did not affect Thessalonike, but in 904 LEO OF TRIPOLI captured and sacked the city. The peace with Bulgaria and its subsequent con-

quest by Basil II tranformed Thessalonike into the major center of economic and cultural interchange in the southern Balkans: K. Dieterich (*BZ* 31 [1931] 37–57, 334–49) outlines two routes of Byz. trade with Bulgaria—one from Constantinople and another to the west from Thessalonike. According to the TIMARION, Thessalonike in the 12th C. was a trade center that attracted merchants from Scythia, Italy, Iberia, Lusitania, and the Transalpine "Celtic" lands. Italian merchants began to organize colonies there, and in 1185 the Normans temporarily occupied the city.

After the Fourth Crusade BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT became king of Thessalonike, with territory in Macedonia and western Thrace and interests as distant as the Peloponnesos. After the battle of Adrianople in 1205 KALOJAN besieged Thessalonike, but the city withstood the attack; in Dec. 1224 THEODORE KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros captured Thessalonike and it remained part of the despotate of Epiros until it fell to John III Vatatzes in 1246. In the spring of 1308 the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY unsuccessfully besieged Thessalonike, and beginning in 1320 the city was a focus of contention between Andronikos II and Andronikos III. In 1334 the walls of Thessalonike stopped the advance of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, but the Serbs attacked again in 1341. In the 1340s Thessalonike fell temporarily under the control of the ZEALOTS. The Ottomans attacked Thessalonike in autumn 1383 and the city fell in April 1387. It returned briefly to Byz. hands but was taken by Bayezid I on 12 April 1394. In the aftermath of the battle of Ankara in 1402 Byz. regained Thessalonike and a despotate was established there. In 1423, however, the *despotes* Andronikos surrendered the city to Venice, which agreed to respect the rights and privileges of the inhabitants. Murad II took the city on 29 March 1430 after a brief siege.

Close contacts with Westerners (merchants, churchmen, and warriors) created a cosmopolitan atmosphere in Thessalonike: the KYDONES brothers and their associates were esp. active in propagating Latin theology in a Greek milieu (D.M. Nicol in *He Thessalonike metaxy Anatoles kai Dyseos* [Thessalonike 1982] 121–31).

Thessalonike preserves many Byz. monuments, including the northern sections of the land walls (see below). A large building identified as a Byz. palace was discovered in the center of the city, and a Byz. bath has been identified in the northern area.

The churches of St. Catherine (late 13th C.), the Prophet Elijah, St. Panteleemon, and the Taxiarchs (all 14th C.) are notable for their lively architecture; all have fresco remains. (For the churches of the ACHEIROPOIETOS, St. DEMETRIOS, St. GEORGE, HAGIA SOPHIA, the HOLY APOSTLES, HOSIOS DAVID, St. NICHOLAS ORPHANOS, and the PANAGIA TON CHALKEON, and the monasteries of AKAPNIOU, BLATADON and NEA MONE, see independent entries.)

LIT. A. Vacalopoulos, *History of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1963). J. -M. Spieser, *Thessalonique et ses monuments du IVe au VIe siècle* (Paris 1984). G.T. Dennis, *The Reign of Manuel II Palaeologus in Thessalonica, 1382–1387* (Rome 1960). E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 6 (1937) 143–63. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:324–47. F. Dölger, "Zur Frage des jüdischen Anteils an der Bevölkerung Thessalonikes im XIV. Jahrhundert," in *The Joshua Starr Memorial Volume* (New York 1953) 129–33. H. Lowry, "Portrait of a City: The Population and Topography of Ottoman Selânik (Thessaloniki) in the Year 1478," *Diptycha* 2 (Athens 1980–81) 254–93. Janin, *Églises centres* 341–419. –T.E.G.

Walls. The fortifications of Thessalonike can be divided into two sections: the city walls and the citadel. The walls of the lower city form a rough rectangle, wider at the east than at the west: the sea wall (to the south) has completely disappeared except for the so-called White Tower, which may have been constructed under the Venetians (J.P. Braun, *ByzF* 11 [1987] 269f); the east wall runs upward nearly directly from the sea, while the west wall takes an undulating course to the north and east. The citadel occupies a height at the northeastern corner of the city. From the fortification walls a total of more than 20 gateways and 100 towers are preserved, most of the latter originally triangular or rectangular in shape; also surviving are a number of inscriptions, such as those of the *strategos* of the city Leo Chitzilakes (ca.904), Anna of Savoy (1355/6), and the *doux* George Apokaukos, who served under the *despotes* Manuel Palaiologos, the future emperor, when he governed Thessalonike between 1369 and 1373 (J. Spieser, *TM* 5 [1973] 176f).

Since the Hellenistic walls had fallen into disrepair, the city refortified in the mid-3rd C. in response to barbarian invasions. This was followed by a major reconstruction that essentially determined the course the fortifications were to take throughout the Byz. era. The date of this

has been hotly debated, with estimates ranging from 380 to 448–50, but the latter is probably preferable. In 512 repairs were made to the west wall, but after that there is no evidence of restoration until the third quarter of the 12th C. During that time, however, the walls repeatedly protected the city against attacks from Slavs and Bulgars; the poor condition of the fortifications may help to explain the capture of the city by Leo of Tripoli in 904; John KAMINIATES (9.28–35) described the land walls as strong and high, whereas the sea wall was completely useless for defense. EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE (Eust. Thess., *Capture* 74.17–19), writing in the 12th C., emphasized that the sea walls were built "nonprofessionally" and were allowed to fall into disrepair by the governor. Repairs are attested in the 12th C. and again under Manuel II, probably between 1369 and 1373.

LIT. G. Gounaris, *The Walls of Thessaloniki* (Thessalonike 1982). Spieser, *Thessalonique* 25–80. M. Vickers, "The Byzantine Sea Walls of Thessaloniki," *BalkSt* 11 (1970) 261–80. Ch. Bakirtzes, "He thalassia ochyrose tes Thessalonikes," *Byzantina* 7 (1975) 291–341. B. Croke, "Hormisdas and the Late Roman Walls of Thessalonike," *GRBS* 19 (1978) 251–58. –T.E.G.

THESSALONIKE, THEME OF. The letter of Emp. Michael II to Louis the Pious in 824 mentions *partes* of Thrace, Macedonia, Thessalonike, and neighboring Sclavenia (MGH *Leges. III. Concilia* 2.2:476), evidence used by some scholars (e.g. Oikonomides, *Listes* 353) to argue that the theme existed at that time. The *strategos* of Thessalonike is first mentioned ca.836. He was replaced by a *doux* mentioned in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial*, and according to an act of 995 the *doux* John Chaldos held command of Armeniakon, Boukellarion, and Thessalonike (*Ivir.*, no.8.1–2). In the 11th C. the *doukaton* of Thessalonike was usually granted to relatives of the emperor because of its strategic importance (Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 223). The theme survived through the 15th C.; a *praktikon* of 1420 defines it as "the theme of the divinely protected and famous city of Thessalonike" (*Lavra* 3, no.165.9–10); in the early 15th C. the district was probably limited to the city itself.
–T.E.G., A.K.

THESSALY (Θεσσαλία), region of central Greece south of MACEDONIA, north of HELLAS, and on the west separated from EPIROS by the PINDOS Mountains. Thessaly is characterized by a large central plain formed by the Peneios River and surrounded on all sides by high mountains. The main city was always LARISSA, other important centers being TRIKKALA and STAGOI in the west, LAMIA and NEOPATRAS in the south, and DEMETRIAS and NEA ANCHIALOS on the sea to the east. The major north-south road ran from Thermopylai north to Larissa, continuing to Macedonia, either through SERVIA or along the coast to Thessalonike; the main east-west road ran to Trikkala and thence either north to Grevena and KASTORIA or west to the pass of Porta, or, in the summer months, over the pass of Metsovo. In late antiquity the province of Thessaly possessed 16 cities, including the islands of Skiathos, Skopelos, and Peparisthos (Hierokl. 642.1–13, 643.1–5). In the 6th–8th C. Slavs settled in the north and northwest, and VLACHS were established in large numbers by the 11th C., forming a separate administrative subdivision, the Megale VLACHIA.

According to Abramea (*infra* 119–84), five Thessalian cities disappeared from the sources after the 7th C., seven (Larissa, Trikkala, Demetrias, etc.) continued to exist, and at least nine were built from the 9th C. onward (Halmyros, Stagoi, etc.). In fact, however, the continuity of urban life in Thessaly is less evident (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantina* 11 [1982] 433–35). In the 12th C. trade seems to have been important in Thessaly, and the Treaty of 1198 gave the Venetians trading privileges in many places. There were Jewish communities at Gardiki, Halmyros, Lamia, and Besaina. The area was subjected to hostile invasions; esp. serious were those of the Bulgarians in the 10th C. and the Normans in 1082.

After 1204 the Latins controlled the eastern cities while the west seems to have been independent. The area was contested by the Epirots and Nicaeans, but JOHN I DOUKAS (1267/8?–89?), assuming the title *sebastokrator*, established an independent principality in Thessaly with a capital in Neopatras; he expanded his territory to the east, thus becoming involved in conflict with Michael VIII; with the help of CHARLES I OF ANJOU and the Latin dukes of Athens he managed to repel Byz. attacks. John II (1303–18) was also Western-oriented and sought the support of the Venetians, who were importing agricultural produce from Thessaly. The invasion of the CATALAN GRAND COMPANY in 1309 was detrimental for Thessaly;

after John II's death the Company occupied the south of the country, including Neopatras and Lamia. Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS preserved the independence of Thessaly until 1332/3, but thereafter it fell to John II Orsini of Epiros and in 1335 to Constantinople. Large landholding developed in Thessaly, acquiring a semifeudal character, and Thessalian seigneurs supported John VI Kantakouzenos in his struggle for power. A. Soloviev (*BS* 4 [1932] 159–74) hypothesized that these feudal forces allowed Thessaly to resist the attacks of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan. In 1348, however, the Thessalian seigneurs acknowledged Serbian sovereignty while retaining their traditional privileges. After Dušan's death Thessaly formed the center of the domain of the "emperor" SYMEON UROŠ; this Serbian ruler encouraged the (at least external) hellenization of the country. When his son and heir John Uroš retired to a monastery in 1373, power was seized by the caesar Alexios Angelos Philanthropenos, who governed Thessaly as a vassal of John V. In 1393 the Ottomans conquered Thessaly.

In ecclesiastical terminology the name *Thessalia* and derivations were applied (esp. in the 12th C.) to Thessalonike, and its metropolitans were called "of the Thessalians" (e.g., Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1, nos. 459, 461).

Byz. fortifications can be found at several places in Thessaly (e.g., Trikkala, Larissa, and Lamia), and there are important churches at Porta Panagia (founded in 1283 by John I Doukas: A. Orlandos, *ABME* 1 [1935] 5–40) and Stagoi; Nea Anchialos and Demetrias preserve the ruins of many Early Christian buildings, while the monasteries at METEORA and the ruined, largely 14th-C. city at Phanarion are esp. noteworthy. Architecturally, the churches of Thessaly were influenced by currents from Macedonia, although in the 13th–14th C. there were also borrowings from Epiros.

LIT. J. Koder, F. Hild, *Hellas und Thessalia* [= *TIB* 1] (Vienna 1976). A.P. Abramea, *He Byzantine Thessalia mechri tou 1204* (Athens 1974). B. Ferjančić, *Tesalija u XIII i XIV veku* (Belgrade 1974). N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979). –T.E.G.

THEURGY (*θεουργία*) originally signified activity undertaken with the help of the gods, that is, coercion exerted on the gods by performing magical rites. Theurgy appears chiefly in religious Neoplatonism (particularly in IAMBLICHOS, unlike the more cautious PORPHYRY) and is applied in the discipline of a religious philosophy of nature.

Rites of theurgy were performed for three different purposes: (1) in order to bring divine power into the soul of the celebrant, the "theurge," who thereby obtains salvation; (2) in order to "animate" statues of the gods with divine reality so that the initiate may perceive the Godhead; or (3) in order to conjure up the divinity itself—esp. the goddess HEKATE—through a medium induced into trance by the "theurge."

However, when PRAYER is introduced as an element of theurgy, it no longer has the sense of coercion exerted on the deity through MAGIC. The philosophical basis of prayer, at least in PROKLOS, shows that prayer is the way to union with the deity corresponding to religious contemplation: "It is fitting that we men should pray for our return to our true fathers, the gods" (Proklos, *In Platonis Timaeum*, ed. Diehl, 1:208.13–14).

Because of his dependence on Proklos it is not surprising that pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE applied theurgic terminology in a Christian context to explain the works of God as well as the performance of the sacraments. Nevertheless, this does not become dominant in the theological terminology of Byz. In the 11th C., owing to the greater awareness of Neoplatonic sources as well as the Chaldean oracles, the phenomenon of theurgic ritual holds no more than literary interest and, in Christian understanding, belongs to magic and incantation.

LIT. S. Eitrem, "La théurgie chez les néo-platoniciens et dans les papyrus magiques," *Symbolae Osloenses* 22 (1942) 49–79. E.R. Dodds, "Theurgy and its Relationship to Neoplatonism," *JRS* 37 (1947) 55–69. P. Boyancé, "Théurgie et télestique néo-platoniciennes," *RHR* 147 (1955) 189–209. H. Lewy, *Chaldaean Oracles and Theurgy: Mysticism, Magic and Platonism in the Later Roman Empire* (rev. ed. Paris 1978). J. Bidez, "Proclus, Peri tes hieratikes technes," *AIPHOS* 4 (1936) 85–100. A.A. Barb, "The Survival of Magic Arts," in *The Conflict Between Paganism and Christianity in the Fourth Century*, ed. A. Momigliano (Oxford 1963) 100–125. –K.-H.U.

THEVESTE (Τεβέστη; mod. Tebessa, in southeastern Algeria). The history of the city from Diocletian to the Byz. reconquest of Africa (533) is not well known. Some fragmentary inscriptions attest to repairs or restoration of the theater, arch of Caracalla, public baths, and amphitheater as

well as to the construction of certain unidentified public works. In the early 5th C., a great basilican complex dedicated to Christ was erected north of the town, including gardens, martyrion, baptistery, stables, and lodgings; a smaller basilica was added in the 6th C. The complex probably served as a sort of martyrs' shrine for pilgrims and, to a lesser degree, as a monastery. Vandal occupation of the city is attested by funeral epitaphs. The recent discovery of two cemeteries belonging to the 4th–6th C. indicates the continuity of urban life at Theveste despite the claim of the Justinianic general SOLOMON that he rebuilt Theveste *a fundamentis*. Solomon's effort primarily involved enclosing the old urban center with a wall measuring 290 × 260 m. There is some archaeological evidence for 6th-C. habitation in the Roman amphitheater and at least one church appears to have been constructed within the enceinte. Theveste is mentioned by the 7th-C. geographer GEORGE OF CYPRUS, but between then and the 11th C., when it was described as a thriving town by Arab geographers, its history is unknown. The ALBERTINI TABLETS, deeds of sale dating from the Vandal period, were found in the hills to the east of Theveste.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 238f. J. Christern, *Das frühchristliche Pilgerheiligtum von Tebessa* (Wiesbaden 1976). S. Lancel, "Une nécropole chrétienne à Tebessa," *Libyca* 4 (1956) 319–31. P.-A. Février, "Nouvelles recherches dans la salle tréflée de la basilique de Tebessa," *Bulletin archéologique algérienne* 111 (1968) 167–91. K.F. Kadra, "Nécropoles tardives de l'antique Theveste: Mosaïques funéraires et *mensae*," *L'Africa-Romana* 6 (1989) 265–82. –R.B.H.

THINGS, CORPOREAL AND INCORPOREAL. Roman jurisprudence classified all things as corporeal and incorporeal. According to a definition of the jurist Gaius (2nd C.), corporeal things are those that "a person can touch," whereas incorporeal things are rights such as "inheritance" (even when this consists of individual corporeal things), USUFRUCT, and (contractual) claims. This classification was taken over from the *Digest* (1.8.1.1) into the *Basilika* (46.3.1). It had just as little practical significance in Byz. law as in Roman law. –M.Th.F.

Incorporeal Donations. Ahrweiler (*infra*) defines the donation of incorporeal things (*asomata dikaia*) as a kind of "conditioned grant" conferred upon the beneficiary primarily by the state. The grant was usually attributed to the emperor's generosity. Incorporeal donations consisted of fiscal revenues (SOLEMNION, ROGA, etc.), rights to monastic institutions and *sekreta* (CHARISTIKION), or an endowment of a fictitious possession (PRONOIA) that gave the beneficiary the right to collect state taxes (or a portion of them) from a group of *paroikoi*. At the beginning strictly limited with regard to the number of dependent peasants (ARITHMOS) or amount of "rent" (POSOTES), the incorporeal donation had a tendency to be transformed into OWNERSHIP.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Structures*, pt.1 (1964), 103–14. –A.K.

THINGS, MOVABLE AND IMMOVABLE. The classification of things into movable and immovable acquired significance in various ways: in the ACQUISITION of OWNERSHIP by occupation, for example, the time limit for movable things was significantly shorter than for immovable things (see LONGI TEMPORIS PRAESCRIPTIO). Immovable things, that is, land and the buildings erected on it, were more affected by limitations on their free disposal than were movable things. There is evidence for four types of restricted disposal: (1) the landed property of the church or a monastery could be given in lease and in EMPHYTEUSIS but in principle could not be alienated (*Nov.Just.* 7 and 120 = *Basil.* 5.2.1–7 and 9–13); (2) parcels of land which were a part of a DOWRY could be sold or pledged by the husband or the wife only under certain conditions (*Cod.Just.* V 13.1.15 = *Basil.* 29.1.119.15); (3) STRATIOTIKA KTEMATA were—at least from the 10th C. onward—basically excluded from salable property; (4) finally, the agrarian legislation of the 10th C. (see PROTIMESIS; DYNATOI) considerably limited the uncontrolled transfer of land by excluding certain groups of people from the ranks of potential buyers. Movable things were less frequently affected by such limitations. The so-called *res sacra*, *religiosa*, and *sancta* (THEOPHILOS, *Institutes* 2.1.7–10) were completely removed from private ownership and hence from disposal. Accordingly the movable property of the church could not be alienated, except in case of emergency, as happened under Herakleios or Alexios I Komnenos. –M.Th.F.

THIRD ECUMENICAL COUNCIL. See EPHESUS, COUNCILS OF: Council of 431.

THOMAIS OF LESBOS, saint; born Lesbos 10th C. (?), died Constantinople at age 38 on 1 Jan. Thomais (Θωμαΐς) was the daughter of a prosperous couple who had long remained childless. From Lesbos the family moved to the shores of the Bosporos. Despite her desire to remain virgin, Thomais was married at 24 to a certain Stephen. He proved to be a cruel husband who beat her and discouraged her charitable activities. Thomais's anonymous Life, preserved only in a 14th-C. MS, contains an invocation addressed to a *porphyrogennetos* ruler named Romanos (241E). If the term PORPHYROGENNETOS is a true epithet and not mere flattery, the emperor in question should be ROMANOS II, although the notice that the monastery of the HODEGON is now called Hodegetria (238B) seems to indicate a later origin of the vita. The author is well informed about Constantinople and mentions several of its monuments (Church of St. Michael tes Oxeias, convent of *ta Mikra Romaiou*), but in general the vita is poor in data. It consists of two sections: a very conventional biography of Thomais and a description of her posthumous miracles. The vita resembles that of MARY THE YOUNGER in that it recounts the fate of a simple woman married to a brute; the hagiographer stresses that Thomais was not only virtuous but also beautiful. Secondary personages such as a licentious woman and a prostitute are introduced to contrast with Thomais. An *enkomion* of Thomais by Constantine AKROPOLITES also survives.

SOURCES. *AASS* Nov. 4:234–46.

LIT. *BHG* 2454–57. da Costa-Louillet, "Saints de CP," *Byzantion* 25–27 (1955–57) 836–39. Patlagean, *Structure* pt.XI (1976), 620–22. –A.K.

THOMAS (Θωμᾶς), apostle and saint; feastday in Constantinople 6 Oct. In the Gospel of John, "doubting Thomas" is presented as having a confused understanding of Christ's mission. Thomas's name is connected with a Gnostic Gospel from NAG HAMMADI, consisting primarily of Christ's sayings, and with the Gnostic or Manichaean *Acts* that relates how Thomas was bought by a merchant and taken to the kingdom of Goundaphoros in India, where he worked many miracles, evangelized the country, and died as a martyr. General consensus has it that the *Acts of Thomas* was written in Syriac and eventually translated into Greek. Another apocryphal *Gospel of Thomas* describes Christ's infancy and miracles performed by him; it is possible that the author experienced some Buddhist influence. The *Apocalypse of Thomas* was rejected by the *Decretum Gelasianum*; its Greek original is lost, but Latin versions survive. The *Acts* and the *Infancy Gospel* are known in many languages, including Armenian (G. Garitte, *Muséon* 84 [1971] 151–95), Ethiopic, Old Slavonic, and so forth.

At least three churches dedicated to Thomas are known in Constantinople (Janin, *Églises CP* 248–52). A lection (Jn 20:19–31) for the first Sunday after Easter recalls Thomas's doubt. As one of the "lesser" apostles, he is usually found represented in the same collegial contexts as ANDREW, although from the 9th C. onward Thomas's incredulity toward the risen Christ was the subject of mosaics (e.g., Daphni), ivories, and MS illustration.

ED. A.J.F. Klijn, *The Acts of Thomas* (Leiden 1962). *Les actes apocryphes de Jean et Thomas*, tr. A.J. Festugière (Geneva 1983). J. Ménard, *L'Évangile selon Thomas* (Leiden 1975).

LIT. S. Gero, "The Infancy Gospel in Thomas," *Novum Testamentum* 13 (1971) 46–80. G. Huxley, "Geography of the *Acts of Thomas*," *GRBS* 24 (1983) 71–80. *BHG* 1800–1844b. –J.I., A.K., A.C.

THOMAS AQUINAS. See AQUINAS, THOMAS.

THOMAS MAGISTROS, philologist and writer; monastic name Theodoulos; born Thessalonike ca.1275?, died Thessalonike soon after 1347. Thomas spent his entire career in Thessalonike. Among his students were divergent personalities such as PHILOTHEOS KOKKINOS, Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, and Gregory AKINDYNOS. Sometime between 1314 and 1318 he went to Constantinople on an embassy to Andronikos II. His letter describing his trip (ed. M. Treu in *Jahrbuch für classische Philologie*, supp., vol. 27 [1902] 5–30) provides useful information on travel by sea and trade. The purpose of his mission was to deliver an oration on behalf of the general Chandrenos, who had valiantly defended Thessalonike against the "Italoi" (Catalans), "Persai" (Turks), and "Triballoi" (Serbs) but was falsely accused of treason.

Despite continuing eye problems that eventually led to blindness, Thomas was a productive scholar. He compiled a *Selection (Ekloge) of Attic Names and Words* with explanations and references to ancient authors; he produced scholia on Pindar, Aeschy-

lus, Sophocles, Euripides, Aristophanes, and Synesios. It remains questionable whether he also issued a "Thoman recension" of emended texts of these authors (O.L. Smith, *GRBS* 17 [1976] 75–80; E.C. Kopff, *TAPA* 106 [1976] 241–66). Ten of his letters are preserved.

His rhetorical writings are often devoted to the past, both Christian (panegyric of Gregory of Nazianzos) and classical (the battle of Marathon); even his works on contemporary subjects are often imitative or teeming with classical allusions and citations. In fact, as F.W. Lenz has shown (*AJPh* 63 [1942] 154–73), two of his orations, the so-called "Leptinean Declamations," were erroneously attributed to Ailios ARISTEIDES. Some of them are dry *enkomia,* such as the speech to the *megas domestikos* (John Kantakouzenos?). Others, like his defense of Chandrenos, contain vague descriptions of political events; in a letter to a *megas logothetes,* full of references to figures such as Aeschylus, Demosthenes, and Lykourgos, Thomas describes the civil war in Thessalonike (PG 145:408f). One of his two surviving political treatises, *On the Political Structure,* expresses sympathy not for poor people, good-for-nothings "worth-three-obols," but for the owners of houses, fields, and ancestral graves (521B). The other, a MIRROR OF PRINCES entitled *On the Imperial Office,* alongside traditional clichés, proposes that the emperor should be a "lover of war" (*philopolemos*) in order to have peace (457C). Thomas also recommends moderate taxation and "marvelous *eleutheria* (freedom)" for the subjects (465D).

ED. PG 145:215–548. *Ecloga vocum Atticarum,* ed. F. Ritschl (Halle 1832; rp. Hildesheim–New York 1970). *Fünf Reden,* ed. F.W. Lenz (Leiden 1963). Partial Germ. tr. W. Blum, *Byzantinische Fürstenspiegel* (Stuttgart 1981) 49–53, 99–193.
LIT. *PLP,* no.16045. Wilson, *Scholars* 247–49. K. Skalistes, *Thomas Magistros: Ho bios kai to ergo tou* (Thessalonike 1984). –A.K., A.M.T.

THOMAS MOROSINI, first Latin patriarch of Constantinople (from the end of 1204); born between 1170 and 1175?, died Thessalonike June/July 1211. A member of a distinguished Venetian family, he was a subdeacon of Pope INNOCENT III studying in Ravenna when unexpectedly the all-Venetian cathedral chapter of Hagia Sophia elected him patriarch after the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204 and the establishment of the LATIN EMPIRE OF CONSTANTINOPLE. Although Innocent proclaimed the election uncanonical, nonetheless he received Thomas in Rome, rapidly promoted him to deacon, priest, bishop, and archbishop, and confirmed his election in March 1205. Upon arrival in Constantinople in mid-summer of 1205 Thomas encountered serious problems: the resistance of the Greek clergy, the refusal of the French Crusaders to acknowledge his position, the hostile attitude of the Latin emperor, and the greed of the Venetians. The ill-tempered Thomas only exacerbated the situation. He failed to achieve reconciliation with the Greeks and temporarily stopped Greek services in Constantinople when the Orthodox priests omitted his name from their prayers; most Greek bishops refused obedience to him. The pope tried to use Thomas in the interests of the papacy, playing him against all the parties, granting him various superficial privileges and at the same time belittling him.

The most heated dispute centered on Thomas's oath to admit only Venetian canons into the cathedral chapter and to promote only Venetians as archbishops; the pope made him renounce his pledge on 15 Dec. 1208. Thomas also quarreled with the Venetian podesta over the possession of the Hodegetria icon (R.L. Wolff, *Traditio* 6 [1948] 319–23). The patriarch was accused by the French of appropriating enormous sums (100,000 marks) from the treasury of Hagia Sophia; he acknowledged taking 18,000 marks. He quarreled with the French and Emp. Henry about jurisdiction over conventual churches. His policy contributed to the decline in respect for the Latin church in the conquered empire. A contemporary historian portrayed him as a very fat clean-shaven man, dressed in a tight-fitting garment (Nik.Chon. 623.73–79, 647.8–14).

LIT. G. Fedalto, *La chiesa latina in Oriente,* vol. 1 (Verona 1973) 181–211. L. Santifaller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte des Lateinischen Patriarchats von Konstantinopel (1204–1261)* (Weimar 1938) 25–28. R.L. Wolff, "Politics in the Latin Patriarchate of Constantinople," *DOP* 8 (1954) 227–46. Idem, *HC* 2:195–99. B.A. Pančenko, *Latinskij Konstantinopol' i papa Innokentij III* (Odessa 1914) 12–44. C. Frazee, "The Catholic Church in Constantinople, 1204–1453," *BalkSt* 19 (1978) 34f. –A.K.

THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, *despotes* of Morea (1428/30–1460); born Constantinople 1409, died Rome 12 May 1465. He shared power with his brothers THEODORE II and CONSTANTINE (XI) from 1428 to 1443, with Constantine from 1443 to

1449, and with DEMETRIOS from 1449 to 1460. Youngest son of Manuel II, Thomas was sent to the MOREA in 1418, probably in training as a future *despotes*. In 1430, Thomas married Caterina, daughter of Centurione ZACCARIA, and by 1432 controlled all Zaccaria's territory in Achaia and Arkadia. The same year Thomas handed over his capital at KALAVRYTA to Constantine in exchange for CHLEMOUTSI. When Theodore II left for Selymbria in 1443, Constantine and Thomas divided the Morea; Thomas received the less important appanage and probably resided at Leontarion. The final years of his despotate were marked by conflicts with his brother Demetrios. Unlike the pro-Turkish Demetrios, Thomas was a Latinophile who sought alliances with the papacy and the Italian states. During the campaign of MEHMED II that resulted in the Ottoman conquest of the Morea, Thomas fled to Kerkyra (July 1460) and then to Rome (1461), where he lived until his death, supported by a pension from Pope Pius II (1458–64). His lineage continued in Russia through the marriage of his daughter Zoe (SOPHIA PALAIOLOGINA) to Ivan III in 1472.

LIT. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:119f, 184, 204–97, 351–58. Papadopulos, *Genealogie*, no.98. *PLP*, no.21470. –A.M.T.

THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ, also called Thomas Komnenos Preljub (Πρεάλιμπος in *Lavra* 3, no.146.4) and Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos, Serbian *despotes* of Ioannina (from 1366/7); died Ioannina 23 Dec. 1384. Son of the caesar Gregory Preljub, who served Stefan Uroš IV Dušan as governor of Thessaly, he married Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina (Polemis, *Doukai* 100, no.59), a daughter of SYMEON UROŠ. In 1366/7 he entered IOANNINA with Serbian forces to protect the local populace against Albanian attacks. He then took control of northern Epiros, while the southern part of the region remained in the hands of the Albanian rulers Ghin Bua Spata and Peter Ljoša. Thomas eventually won the war against the Albanians with the help of the Ottomans. He calls himself *despotes* in an act of 1375; in 1382 the title was confirmed by the Byz. emperor.

The 15th-C. CHRONICLE OF IOANNINA, which is hostile toward Thomas, but favorable to his wife, depicts him as a greedy tyrant, who persecuted local ecclesiastical authorities, confiscated their lands, and heavily taxed the nobility, who responded with a series of revolts. According to the *Chronicle*, he was assassinated by members of his bodyguard under suspicious circumstances. His wife remarried almost immediately, in Jan. 1385, taking as her second husband Esau Buondelmonti, a nobleman of Florentine origin and a relative of the ACCIAJUOLI, who succeeded Thomas as *despotes* until ca.1408–11. The *"basilissa"* Maria died on 28 Dec. 1394, probably in Ioannina.

A reliquary-diptych in the Spanish cathedral of Cuenca bears images of Christ, the Virgin, and 28 saints (Beckwith, *ECBA*, pl.287). The figures of the two *ktetors* have virtually disappeared, but inscriptions preserve their names—the *basilissa* Maria Angelina Doukaina Palaiologina and the *despotes* Thomas Komnenos Palaiologos. According to Beckwith (ibid., 152) the diptych reproduced another diptych (of which only one leaf survives) presented by Maria to the monastery of the Transfiguration at METEORA, the second *ktetor* of which had been her brother, John-Ioasaph Uroš. The same monastery contains an icon of the Incredulity of Thomas, which likewise bears portraits of Thomas Preljubović and Maria.

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 143–57. S. Cirac Estopañan, *Bizancio y España: El legado de la basilissa María y de los déspotas Thomas y Esaú de Joannina*, 2 vols. (Barcelona 1943). Th. Papazotos, "Ho Thomas Prelioumpobitz kai he Maria Palaiologina," *Kleronomia* 13 (1981) 509–16. A. Xyngopoulos, "Neai prosopographiai tes Marias Palaiologinas kai tou Thoma Prelioumpobitz," *DChAE*[4] 4 (1964–65) 53–70. Soulis, *Dušan* 123–28. Fine, *Late Balkans* 351–55. –J.S.A., A.C.

THOMAS THE ARCHDEACON, Dalmatian chronicler; born Split ca.1200, died 8 May 1268. After studying law and theology in Bologna, Thomas became a notary and canon in SPLIT in 1227, and from 1230 archdeacon. A prominent figure in the political and ecclesiastical leadership, he defended the autonomy of the city against the Hungarian monarchy and Croatian feudal magnates and the right of the clergy to elect their bishop without lay participation. His *Historia Salonitana*, in Latin, recounts the history of SALONA and neighboring Split from Roman times to 1266. For the earlier period it draws on lost Croatian sources as well as on legendary material; for the later years Thomas is an eyewitness and often a participant in the events which he narrates. A variant recension, the *Historia Salonitana Major*, may be either a reworking by a later editor or an earlier draft by the author.

ED. *Historia Salonitana*, ed. F. Rački (Zagreb 1894). *Historia Salonitana Maior*, ed. N. Klaić (Belgrade 1967).

LIT. K. Šegvić, *Toma Splićanin, državnik i pisac* (Zagreb 1927). –R.B.

THOMAS THE SLAV, leader of a rebellion; born ca.760, died Arkadiopolis Oct. 823. He was called "the Slav" because he came from a "Scythian" family dwelling in Pontos near Gaziura (M. Rajković, *ZRVI* 2 [1953] 33–38). J.B. Bury (*ERE* 84) speculates that he came to Constantinople and worked for a *patrikios* but fled to the Arabs ca.788 because of some scandal involving his master's wife. Yet in 803 Thomas was serving in the Anatolikon theme under BARDANES TOURKOS, and he fled to the Arabs only after the rebellion of Bardanes failed. Leo V recalled him in 813 and made him *tourmarches* of the *foederati* in the Anatolikon. In winter 820/1 Thomas rebelled. Some scholars accept the testimony of GENESIOS, THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, and a letter from Michael II to Louis the Pious and believe that Thomas revolted against Leo V (A. Kazhdan, *VizVrem* 30 [1969] 279f). Others follow the chronology of SYMEON LOGOTHETE and assert that Thomas rebelled only after Michael II assassinated Leo in Dec. 820 (W. Treadgold, *DOP* 33 [1979] 167).

Posing as the late Constantine VI and entrusting command of his army to a man he adopted and named Constantius, Thomas rallied supporters from all the Asian themes except Opsikion and Armeniakon. He made an alliance with Caliph MA'MŪN, who recognized him as emperor and allowed the Melchite patriarchy Job of Antioch (813/4–844/5) to crown him *basileus* in return for Thomas's promise to surrender certain territory and pay tribute to the caliph. Thomas marched on Constantinople and, aided by the Aegean and Kibyrrhaiotai themes, besieged it from Dec. 821 to spring 823, when an assault by the Bulgarian khan OMURTAG forced him to retreat (P. Tivčev, *IstPreg* 25.5 [1969] 68–76). A subsequent attack by Michael II compelled Thomas to seek refuge in Arkadiopolis, where in mid-Oct. he was handed over to the emperor and executed. The last of the great thematic rebellions, Thomas's revolt has been variously attributed to a reaction against ICONOCLASM, a social revolution and popular uprising, a revolt by the empire's non-Greek ethnic groups, Thomas's personal ambitions, and his desire to avenge Leo V. The entire episode is given unusually rich treatment in the illustrated Madrid SKYLITZES MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 56–78).

LIT. P. Lemerle, "Thomas le Slave," *TM* 1 (1965) 255–97. H. Köpstein, *Thomas, Rebell und Gegenkaiser in Byzanz* (Berlin 1986). Lipšic, *Očerki* 212–28. F. Barišić, "Dve versije u izvorima o ustaniku Tomi," *ZRVI* 6 (1960) 145–69. Bury, *ERE* 84–110. –P.A.H., A.C.

THORAKION. See LOROS.

THOROS I. See RUBENIDS.

THRACE (Θρᾴκη), in late antiquity a region bordered by the Balkan Mountains, the Black Sea, the Sea of Marmara, and the Nestos River. In the 4th–7th C. the term designated (1) the traditional Thracian territory, (2) the province of Thracia, and (3) the diocese of Thraciae (plural), embracing the provinces of Europa, Thracia, Haemimontus, Rhodope, Moesia II, and Scythia. HIEROKLES listed five major cities in Thrace proper: PHILIPPOPOLIS (capital), Augusta Trajana, Diokletianopolis, Sebastopolis, and Diospolis. The supreme military commander in the diocese of Thrace was the *magister militum* for Thrace. In the 6th C., after the construction of the LONG WALL in Thrace to protect Constantinople from barbarian invasions, the office of the *vicarius* of the Long Wall was created. In the 4th through 7th C. the diocese of Thrace was invaded by Goths, Huns, Slavs, and other peoples; finally the Slavs and Bulgars settled in the area, almost all the cities were deserted, and the Thracian population retreated to the mountains. The metropolitan see of Thrace was located in Philippopolis.

By the end of the 7th C. the administration of Thrace changed. In 680/1 the *patrikios* Theodore was *komes* of Opsikion and *hypostrategos* of Thrace (Mansi 11:209A); it is unclear whether this combined title indicates that Theodore held command of the two themes, Opsikion and Thrace, or whether the district of Thrace was joined to neighboring Opsikion. No clearer is the evidence of a seal of the early 8th C., with the name of Barasbakourios, *komes* of Opsikion and *strategos* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.3081); that he was *strategos* of the theme of Thrace is a sheer guess, unsupported by any source. In 740 a certain Nikephoros was a commander of Thrace (Theoph. 415.13–14)—probably of the theme of Thrace. Seals of

8th-C. *strategoi* of Thrace are known (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1744, 2486, 2671), and Thrace is in the lists of themes (between Paphlagonia and Macedonia) in the 9th-C. *Taktikon of Uspenskij*; in the 10th-C. *Taktikon of Escurial* it is combined with Ioannoupolis. From the 11th C. Thrace as an administrative unit usually appears combined with Macedonia under the command of the same *strategos*. Thrace seems to have later disappeared from official administrative nomenclature, but the term was broadly used by some antiquarian writers such as Kantakouzenos and Kritoboulos.

LIT. C. Asdracha, Ch. Bakirtzis, "Inscriptions byzantines de Thrace," *ArchDelt* 35 (1980) A 241–82. C. Asdracha, "La Thrace orientale et la Mer Noire," in *Géographie Historique du monde méditerranéen* (Paris 1988) 221–309. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija pres kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959). R.J. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1976) 7–47. H. Ditten, "Die Veränderungen auf dem Balkan in der Zeit vom 6. bis zum 10. Jh. im Spiegel der veränderten Bedeutung von 'Thrakien,' " *BBulg* 7 (1981) 157–79. –T.E.G.

THRACIANS (Θρᾷκες), the autochthonous population of the northern Balkan peninsula, residing between Mt. Haimos and the Lower Danube; their neighbors to the west were Illyrians, to the northwest DACO-GETANS. This people consisted of many tribes, of which the Bessoi (or at least their name) survived through the late Roman Empire. Conquered by the Romans, the Thracians were romanized and in part hellenized, but rural inhabitants preserved their original language (still in the 6th C. called "the language of the Bessoi") and up to the 5th C. their religion. In the 4th–5th C. the area underwent many hostile invasions and the settlement of various FOEDERATI; intermarriages with Germanic, Alan, Sarmatian, and other settlers made the ethnic pattern of the region even more complex. The free peasantry played an essential role among the Thracians; Justinian I in novel 34 speaks of Thracian *coloni* as owners of their land. Thracians actively participated in the political life of the empire in the 5th–6th C. (V. Beševliev, *IzvInstBŭlgIst* 1–2 [1951] 217–34)—Theophanes explicitly calls the emperors Leo I, Justin II, and Tiberios I "Thracian by birth." The ethnic name *Thracian* (often linked to that of Illyrians) was used in Byz. texts through the early 7th C.—later only as an archaism (V. Tăpkova-Zaimova, *Thracia* 1 [1972] 223–30); it was preserved, however, in administrative nomenclature as THRACE (Thracia) and THRAKESION. The Thracian substratum participated in the formation of the Bulgarian and Rumanian peoples.

LIT. D. Angelov, *Obrazuvane na bŭlgarskata narodnost* (Sofia 1971) 74–99. N. Miteva, "On the Ethno-Cultural Aspect of the Thracians in Late Antiquity," *Thracia* 5 (1980) 255–64. –A.K.

THRAKESION (Θρακησίων), theme of western Asia Minor, apparently named from a body of Thracian troops settled there. The name first appears in reference to Pope Conon (686–87), who was descended "patre Thracesio" (*Lib.Pont.* 1:368). A *tourmarches* of Thrakesion is mentioned in 711, a *strategos* in 741. Thrakesion has generally been regarded as a creation of the early 8th C., having formerly been a *tourma* of the ANATOLIKON theme; recent theories, however, make it one of the original themes of Anatolia. It comprised the rich Aegean territories of Ionia and Lydia, with parts of Phrygia and Caria. It contained 20 cities, of which the largest was EPHESUS; its capital may have been at CHONAI. The *strategos* of Thrakesion commanded 10,000 troops and drew a salary of 40 pounds of gold. In the 12th–13th C. a *doux* administered the province, which included the region of Smyrna, Ephesus, and the Hermos valley, from his headquarters at PHILADELPHIA (C. Foss, *Byzantine and Turkish Sardis* [Cambridge, Mass., 1976] 164, n.45). As the empire shrank, the importance of the theme as a bulwark against the Turks grew. It survived as long as Byz. rule in the area; its last *doux*, of the early 14th C., controlled only the district around Smyrna.

LIT. A. Pertusi in *De them.* 124–26. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 137–54. R. Lilie, " 'Thrakien' und 'Thrakesion,' " *JÖB* 26 (1977) 7–47. –C.F.

THREE CHAPTERS, AFFAIR OF THE, controversy concerning the person and the work of THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, and IBAS OF EDESSA. Although representatives of the ANTIOCHENE SCHOOL, these 4th- and 5th-C. theologians were tolerated by the Council of Chalcedon in 451 and died at peace with the church. In the 6th C., however, they came to be vehemently opposed by the Monophysites (see MONOPHYSITISM) as tainted with NESTORIANISM; condemnation of the Three Chapters (i.e., the writings of the three theologians) was seen as a means to sidestep the decisions of Chalcedon.

Convinced that condemnation of the Three Chapters might bring about reunion with the Monophysites, Justinian I composed a theological treatise to this effect and issued it, on his own authority, as an imperial edict between 543 and 545. The edict was generally well received in the East, but there was great agitation in the West, with Pope VIGILIUS first condemning, then accepting the imperial decree. At the Second Council of Constantinople in 553 (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF) the Three Chapters, as well as ORIGEN, were again condemned and Vigilius once more expressed his reservations. The pope ultimately accepted the decisions of the council, but there was never full agreement in the West. In the East the condemnation of the Three Chapters had little effect, as the Monophysites remained unmoved.

LIT. H.M. Diepeu, *Les trois chapitres au Concile de Chalcédoine* (Oosterhout 1953). C. Moeller in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 1:637–720. E. Amann, *DTC* 15 (1950) 1868–1924. F. Carcione, "La politica religiosa di Giustiniano nella fase conclusiva della seconda controversia origenista (543–553)," *Studi e ricerche sull'Oriente cristiano* 9 (1986) 131–47. –T.E.G.

THREE HEBREWS, or Holy Children, Ananias, Mishael, and Azarias, whom their Assyrian captors named Shadrach, Meshach, and Abednego, respectively. The three were condemned to the furnace by Nebuchadnezzar for refusing to worship his golden statue, but were providentially rescued (Dan 3). The story of the Three Hebrews was popular in patristic and Byz. literature beginning with the commentary of Hippolytos on the book of Daniel, and the boys were proclaimed saints (feastday 17 Dec.). They were praised by many authors, including ROMANOS THE MELODE (*Hymn* 8, ed. J. Grosdidier de Matons 1:360–403), Kosmas the Hymnographer, and Eustathios of Thessalonike (Eust.Thess., *Opuscula* 49–53). Exegetes saw them as a PREFIGURATION of Christ, since their bodies were not harmed in the flames, just as the womb of the Virgin was not burned by the divine fire of the Only Begotten (Theodore PRODROMOS in the *Commentary on Kosmas*). On the other hand, they also typified Christian martyrs, and their encomiasts stressed their defiance of the tyrant. The seventh and eighth liturgical ODES, used in the ORTHROS, are, respectively, the Prayer of Azarias and the Hymn of the Three Hebrews; as odes, they came to be included in the PSALTER.

Both Latin and Slavic sources (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 329) report that the bodies of the Three Hebrews were in the monastery of St. Romanos in Constantinople, along with those of Daniel and Habakkuk. At the joint commemoration of the Three Hebrews and DANIEL in Constantinople, the liturgical drama of *The Three Holy Children* was performed. BERTRANDON DE LA BROQUIÈRE (*Le voyage d'Outremer de Bertrandon de la Broquière* [Paris 1892; rp. Farnborough 1972] 154–56) mentions seeing such a play there in 1432 or 1433; Symeon of Thessalonike (PG 155:113D) describes a similar play (S. Baud-Bovy, *Hellenika* 28 [1975] 333f). The four extant MSS of such a play date to the 15th–17th C. (M.M. Velimirović, *DOP* 16 [1962] 353–55).

Representation in Art. The scene of the three ORANT figures, usually in Persian garb and often accompanied by the angel, was already popular in decorations of the catacombs and sarcophagi, partly because of its role in the COMMENDATIO ANIMAE. Later it was rarely used except as one of the standard Ode illustrations. The saint unscathed in a fiery furnace is a hagiographic topos (F. Halkin, *AB* 70 [1952] 251) that frequently recalls the language and details of the Septuagint account (see, e.g., Symeon Metaphrastes' accounts of Sts. Eustratios, Barbara, Plato). MS illustrators also patterned such fiery torments on the experience of the Three Hebrews (e.g., St. Eustratios—K. Weitzmann, *DOP* 33 [1979] 105, pl.27).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:668–76. Seeliger, "Drei Jünglinge." A.T. Walton, "The Three Hebrew Children in the Fiery Furnace: A Study of Changes in Christian Iconography," in *The Medieval Mediterranean: Crosscultural Contacts*, ed. M.J. Chiat, K.L. Reyerson (St. Cloud, Minn., 1988) 57–66. –C.B.T., J.H.L., A.C.

THRENOS (*θρῆνος*, "lament"), a term usually applied to vernacular poems in POLITICAL VERSE mourning the fate that befell Byz. at the hands of the Turks and lamenting lost glories (a prose lament in learned language would be termed a MONODY). The *threnoi* that refer to Constantinople include *The Conquest of Constantinople* (*Halosis Konstantinopoleos*), calling for aid from the European nations and perhaps written in 1453, and the *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoleos*, also from the 15th C., a dialogue between two ships bringing news of the sack of the city and perhaps based on a TRAGOUDI. In dialogue form are the *Lament of the*

Four Patriarchates (*Threnos ton Tessaron Patriarcheion*), in which the patriarchs of Constantinople, Jerusalem, Antioch, and Alexandria compete with tales of suffering and a lament between Venice and Byz.; the destruction of Athens in 1456 is mourned by the city itself in a short *threnos*. The *Lament for Tamerlaine* emphasizes the savagery of the Mongol invasions of 1402. Similar laments survive for the fall of Adrianople (1362) and of Trebizond (1461). All anonymous and most surviving in several differing versions, the *threnoi* (esp. those on Constantinople) are reflected in *tragoudia* collected in the 19th C., showing the profound effect of these events on popular consciousness.

ED. G.T. Zoras, *Byzantine Poiesis* (Athens 1956). E. Kriaras, *Anakalema tes Konstantinopoles*[2] (Thessalonike 1965).
LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 161–66. –E.M.J.

THRESHING. After being reaped, sheaves of GRAIN were carried to the threshing floor (*halon*). The GEOPONIKA (bk.2.26.1) recommends building the threshing floor in a high place exposed to the wind. The Byz. did not beat the grain with flails but used cattle (predominantly oxen) to trample the sheaves; the threshing sled (*doukane*) was also used. *Halonia* are often mentioned in *praktika* and other documents as reference points to indicate the location of a nearby field or house; thus, a charter of 1081 of Paul, the *protos* of Mt. Athos, mentions an old threshing floor on the Oxys hill (*Xerop.*, no.6.39–40).

Images connected with threshing often appeared in Christian metaphors. The biblical saying (Dt 25:4), "You shall not muzzle an ox when it treads out the grain," was commonly quoted (e.g., V. Vasil'evskij, *ŽMNP* 238 [1885] 236f). The metaphor of the separation of grain and chaff was even more common; thus Isidore of Pelousion (PG 78:225A) called the community of the universal church a threshing floor, where we are cleansed of chaff. EPIPHANIOS of Salamis (*Panarion* 2:305.5–6) called Christ "the primary offering of the threshing floor."

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:263–68. M. Blagojević, *Zemljoradnja u srednjovekovnoj Srbiji* (Belgrade 1973) 124–31. L. Cheetham, "Threshing and Winnowing—An Ethnographic Study," *Antiquity* 56 (1982) 127–30. –A.K., J.W.N.

THRONE (*θρόνος*, also *καθέδρα*, *σέντζος*), the official seat of the emperor, as distinct from his ordinary seat, *skamnon* (*De cer.* 178.4–5). It was often equipped with a FOOTSTOOL. The tradition of the throne as a divine and imperial symbol was firmly established in pagan antiquity and inherited by Constantine I and his successors; it merged with the Jewish tradition of the throne of SOLOMON, which was allegedly restored by Emp. Theophilos. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos records (*De cer.* 521.8–13) that on weekdays the emperor would sit in a golden chair (*sellion*) at the eastern (or right) side (?) of the throne in the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS to receive his courtiers; on Sundays and during the reception of foreign envoys, the *sellion* that he occupied was covered with silk and placed at the left side (?) of the throne. The perception of the throne as a divine attribute was esp. stressed during the celebration of Palm Sunday at the palace, when a deacon placed a Gospel book on the throne while the emperor stood in front of his seat (*De cer.* 175.15–16). Above the throne was a baldachin similar to a CIBORIUM.

The term *thronos* was also employed for chairs of bishops and officials that were made of precious materials and richly ornamented (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:79). The bishop's throne was placed in the center of the priests' seats at the east end of the church; it was considered the teacher's seat, and the bishop preached from it.

The throne held a place of honor in Christian metaphor. Christ was conceived as the Father's throne, and in this capacity was typified by the BEMA and the holy ALTAR (*trapeza*). On the other hand, Christ shared the throne with the Father, thus symbolizing their equal dignity. The HETOIMASIA, the throne prepared for Christ's Second Coming, was a frequent image in Byz. art. The plural form, *thronoi*, could denote the highest order of ANGELS. The throne was a symbol of episcopal jurisdiction, Jerusalem and esp. Rome being called apostolic thrones; Rome was also the throne of the *koryphaios*, or chief of the apostles, that is, Peter (cf. Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1289D).

Representation in Art and Surviving Examples. The *sella curulis* is a distinct type of folding chair widely employed, esp. by consuls; their DIPTYCHS often depict this throne adorned with lion's legs and heads. The so-called "lyre-backed" throne appears from the 5th C. onward, esp. in the monumental painting and coinage of the Macedonian dynasty (R. Cormack, E.J.W. Hawkins, *DOP* 31 [1977] 241–43). This form may derive from a mosaic in the Chrysotriklinos of the Great Palace that shows Christ enthroned (Grier-

son, *DOC* 3:778–80). Tenth-century descriptions of the imperial "throne of Solomon" imply that it was accompanied by AUTOMATA, lions that roared and struck the ground with their tails. Other imperial thrones recorded in the *De Ceremoniis* include those of Constantine I, Arkadios, and Theophilos. This implies that thrones of different dates continued to be employed in the MAGNAURA long after their construction.

Author portraits in Gospel book illumination depict thrones that can be classified into five groups, already known in Roman furniture: those with rectangular legs (*Athens Cat.*, pl.315); those with turned legs, often decorated with arcades, rows of balusters, and knobs (ibid., pls. 307, 314); thrones with crossed legs deriving from the *sella curulis* (H. Buchthal, H. Belting, *Patronage in Thirteenth-Century Constantinople* [Washington, D.C., 1978] pl.26); solid thrones with a rounded back, particularly in 13th- through 14th-C. MS illumination (*Athens Cat.*, pl.329); and "basket" thrones of plaited wicker (*Treasures*, pl.99).

The episcopal throne (CATHEDRA) originally crowned the SYNTHRONON (Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:492) and was sometimes equipped with an axial staircase. This practice appears to have survived well into the 11th/12th C. (*ABME* 5 [1939–40] 161). Some Western sources refer to movable thrones placed between the altar and the bema doors. Episcopal thrones were often carved in wood; others, like the cathedra of MAXIMIAN in Ravenna, consist entirely of ivory and were probably more symbolic than functional. A dominant type with trapezoidal flanks is attested from at least the 7th C. onward. Most medieval examples, with the exception of the throne of Melegob (H. Rott, *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler* [Leipzig 1908] 285f, 294), survive in fragments. The association of numerous trapezoidal slabs of marble with such thrones has recently been disputed (Sodini-Kolokotsas, *Aliki II* 106).

LIT. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 32–34, 56f, 133–35. O. Wanscher, *Sella Curulis* (Copenhagen 1980). Cutler, *Transfigurations* 5–52. H. Leclerq, *DACL* 3.1:19–75. J.D. Breckenridge, "Christ on the Lyre-Backed Throne," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 247–60. –A.K., L.Ph.B.

THUCYDIDES, Greek historian of the Peloponnesian war; born Athens ca.460 B.C., died Athens ca.400. Highbrow Byz. historians from PRISKOS of Panion to KRITOBOULOS were acquainted with Thucydides. They imitated his introductory remarks, his annalistic arrangement of history, his technique of introducing formal speeches into the narrative, and above all his phraseology whenever they chronicled similar events (e.g., a siege, an outbreak of an epidemic, or a civil war). In such cases, however, the imitation was confined to literary technique and involved neither a distortion of contemporary facts nor the acceptance of the historical outlook of Thucydides. Among his imitators were PROKOPIOS and JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS.

Although Thucydides was highly regarded as a writer of the Attic dialect (cf. Gregory PARDOS, ed. Schäfer, 7), his obscure and involved style drew mixed comments from Byz. critics. PSELLOS (Mayer, "Psellos' Rede" 57.338–41) found his funeral orations inferior to those of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS but admired Thucydides as a master of stylistic obscurity and condensation (ed. J.F. Boissonade in *De operatione daemonum* [Nuremberg 1838; rp. Amsterdam 1964] 50f). John TZETZES, on the other hand, declared Thucydides worthy of "being thrown into the pit" because his style lacked clarity, persuasiveness, and charm (cf. B. Baldwin, *BZ* 75 [1982] 313–16). The *Excerpta de virtutibus et vitiis* (pt.2, ed. A.G. Roos, 33–45) draws on Thucydides. The *Souda* includes his biography, and his earliest MS dates from the early 10th C. Possibly excepting Maximos PLANOUDES, no Palaiologan scholar is known to have engaged in textual criticism of Thucydides. The number of extant MSS indicates that Thucydides was more widely read than HERODOTUS.

ED. *Scholia in Thucydidem*, ed. K. Hude (Leipzig 1927).
LIT. A. Kleinlogel, *Geschichte des Thukydidestextes im Mittelalter* (Berlin 1965). O. Luschnat, "Die Thukydidesscholien," *Philologus* 98 (1954) 14–58. H. Hunger, "Thukydides bei Johannes Kantakuzenos. Beobachtungen zur Mimesis," *JÖB* 25 (1976) 181–93. B. Hemmerdinger, *Essai sur l'histoire du texte de Thucydide* (Paris 1955). M. Cagnetta, "Per una edizione critica della Vita di Tucidide di Marcellino," *BollClass*[3] 7 (1986) 59–80. –A.C.H.

THŪGHUR. See ʿAWĀSIM AND THŪGHUR.

THURIBLE. See CENSER.

TIARA. See CROWN.

TIBERIOS I (Τιβέριος), also known as Tiberios II; emperor (from 26 Sept. 578); born Thrace mid-6th C., died Constantinople 14 Aug. 582.

Justin II's notary, handsome and young, Tiberios was promoted by SOPHIA, raised to caesar on 7 Dec. 574, and renamed Tiberios Constantine (or new Constantine). As Justin's co-ruler he remained under the strict supervision of Sophia but acquired a freer hand after being proclaimed augustus. He behaved as the master of a great empire, showed generosity in taxation, ordered construction works (notably, according to John of Ephesus, in the GREAT PALACE at Constantinople), and intervened in internal policy in Gaul and Spain. It remains questionable, however, whether Frankish agrarian legislation was influenced, as E. Stein (*Klio* 16 [1919] 72–74) thought, by the abolition of the EPIBOLE allegedly ordered by Tiberios. Personally tolerant, Tiberios still had to put up with persecutions of pagans and Monophysites. His major problems were wars against the Persians and Avars. After the success of his general JUSTINIAN at Melitene, the Byz. were routed in Armenia and the future Emp. Maurice, commanding in the East, was unable to curb the invasion of CHOSROES I. In the Balkans, Avar and Slav raids created a permanent tension, esp. when BAIAN took Sirmium. Tiberios kept Sophia's intrigues at bay and remained faithful to his wife Anastasia (whose pre-baptismal name was Ino); one of his daughters, Constantina, married Maurice. Although popular and well-intentioned, Tiberios had no long-range plan for the empire.

LIT. Stein, *Studien* 56–116. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 2:377–418. W. Goffart, "Byzantine Policy in the West under Tiberius II and Maurice," *Traditio* 13 (1957) 73–105. –W.E.K.

TIBERIOS II, emperor (698–705); baptismal name Apsimar; died Constantinople 15 Feb. (?) 706. He is not to be confused with TIBERIOS I, who is sometimes called Tiberios II. A noble of Gothic, Iranian, or possibly Armenian origins, Apsimar was *droungarios* of the Kibyrrhaiotai in 697 when he accompanied JOHN PATRIKIOS and a fleet sent by Leontios to recapture North Africa. Upon John's murder in 698, Apsimar was proclaimed emperor as Tiberios. After a lengthy siege Tiberios took Constantinople with the help of the Green FACTION and was crowned by Patr. Kallinikos (694–706). The little that is known of Tiberios's rule indicates that he worked to strengthen the empire militarily. He repaired Constantinople's sea walls (Preger, *Scriptores* 2:208.18–19). In 698 he repatriated Cypriots captured by the caliph ʿABD AL-MALIK to Cyprus (R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:181) and reorganized its administration and defenses. He appointed his brother Herakleios *monostrategos* of an army that invaded Syria in 700, but Arab counterattacks subdued Armenia by 703/4. In Aug. 705 Tiberios fled Constantinople at Justinian II's advance but was soon arrested. After several months Tiberios, Herakleios, and Leontios were paraded through Constantinople and executed. Justinian spared Tiberios's son Theodosios, who later became bishop of Ephesus; some scholars believe he ruled as THEODOSIOS III.

LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 5:84–126. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:279–84. –P.A.H.

TILES (κεραμίδια) were the usual ceramic coverings for ROOFS. Most tiles were of the simple curved type: some nearly semicircular, some only slightly curved. Byz. tiles did not preserve the ancient distinction between pan and cover tiles; one tile placed with its convex surface upward was set over the joint between two tiles placed with their concave surface upward. Flat tiles, little different from BRICKS, were regularly used in masonry, fitted between courses of stones and occasionally arranged in decorative patterns; cut tiles were used in pseudo-Kufic designs and in dentil patterns and various geometric forms (see BRICKWORK TECHNIQUES). Most tiles were locally made. No detailed study of them has yet been made.

Tiles with glazed polychrome decoration were used as CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION, on icon frames, and, at one site, as pavement. Finds in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS in Constantinople suggest their use in secular buildings. Figurative tiles have been unearthed at many sites in Constantinople, and at PRESLAV and Patleina in Bulgaria (see BULGARIAN ART AND ARCHITECTURE). Their decoration includes mixtures of floral and geometric designs and sometimes birds. Depictions of the Virgin, saints, or apostles appear on square tiles as busts, full figures, or in medallions. Several tiles could be used to form a single representation (K. Miatev, *Monumenta Artis Bulgariae* 4 [1936], pl.XIX). Inscriptions identifying the figures are in Greek or, on some Bulgarian tiles, in Slavonic or faulty Greek. Stratigraphic data and textual

sources place these tiles in the 9th to 11th C. Evidence of workshops has been found at Preslav, Patleina, Nicaea, and Nikomedeia. A document of 1202, describing a church in Constantinople given to the Genoese (MM 3:55.13–14), refers to piers decorated with "tiles (*tanstria*) of Nikomedeia."

LIT. P. Verdier, "Tiles of Nicomedia," in *Okeanos* 632–36. E.S. Ettinghausen, "Byzantine Tiles from the Basilica in the Topkapu Sarayı and Saint John of Studios," *CahArch* 7 (1954) 79–88. A. Grabar, *Recherches sur les influences orientales dans l'art balkanique* (Paris 1928) 42–51. D. Talbot Rice, *Byzantine Glazed Pottery* (Oxford 1930) 13–19, 97.
–T.E.G., S.M.C.

TIMARION, an anonymous satirical dialogue of the first half of the 12th C. Its authorship has been variously attributed to PRODROMOS (H. Hunger), KALLIKLES (E. Lipšic, R. Romano), and MICHAEL ITALIKOS (B. Baldwin). An imitation of LUCIAN, Timarion describes a journey to the netherworld by a certain Timarion who was mistaken for a corpse. The picture of the underworld is devoid of the tragical perception of the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER and mildly derisive of the habits and persons Timarion saw in the realm of the dead. Among the figures satirized are Greek mythological personages, ancient writers on medical subjects, and several Byz., such as Emp. THEOPHILOS and Michael PSELLOS; the contemporary predilection for medical studies and current jurisprudence is ridiculed. The dialogue begins with a detailed description of the FAIR in Thessalonike—important evidence for Byz. trade—and with an elaborate eulogy of a member of the PALAIOLOGOS family which has been interpreted by M. Alexiou as a piece of irony in disguise (*BMGS* 8 [1982–83] 29–45). Constantine AKROPOLITES severely censured Timarion (M. Treu, *BZ* 1 [1892] 361–65) for its allegedly anti-Christian attitude.

ED. R. Romano, *Pseudo-Luciano, Timarione* (Naples 1974). Eng. tr. B. Baldwin, *Timarion* (Detroit 1984). Russ. tr. S. Poljakova, I. Felenkovskaja (introd. E. Lipšic), *VizVrem* 6 (1953) 357–86.
LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:151–54. B. Baldwin, "The Authorship of the *Timarion*," *BZ* 77 (1984) 233–37. –A.K.

TIME (χρόνος). OLYMPIODOROS OF ALEXANDRIA (PG 93:508A) defined *chronos* as the interval during which something occurs and *kairos*, another term for time, as the period necessary for a certain action. *Kairos* was sometimes used as a synonym for *chronos*, sometimes contrasted with it, so that *kairos* acquired a more concrete and practical character. The measurement of time in Byz. was based on natural phenomena, such as the alternation between night and day or the change of seasons; this dependence of *chronos* on the movement of the sun, the moon, and other celestial bodies was stressed by the Eunomians, according to Basil the Great (PG 29:557C).

The major units of time—the DAY, MONTH, SEASONS, and year—were derived from the observation of natural phenomena; the smaller divisions of the day—HOURS and watches (*vigiliae*)—corresponded to the needs of convenience. The week was determined by authority or tradition: the seven-day week was based on the Bible and on ancient astrology with its list of seven celestial bodies; even Christians could speak of the day of Aphrodite or the day of Helios (as reflected in Egyptian inscriptions); later, the Byz. preferred the numerical designation of days of the week—the second (Monday), the third (Tuesday), etc., up to Paraskeve (Friday), Sabbath (Saturday), and the Lord's or the first day (Sunday). Passage of the hours of the day was measured by a SUNDIAL or HOROLOGION, the passage of the days and months by a calendar.

Historical time was calculated in Byz. from the Creation and not from Christ's birth, as in the West. The number of elapsed years between the Creation and the Incarnation was variously calculated, but the predominant figure for the BYZANTINE ERA came to be 5508. Christ's Second Coming or PAROUSIA signified the end of time (sometimes measured at 7,000 or 8,000 years from the Creation), so that the history of mankind was conceived as developing within a limited framework of time with both beginning and end (see ESCHATOLOGY). Even though the notion that cyclical historical time was predominant in antiquity has been questioned (A. Momigliano, *History and Theory* 5 [1966] 3–23), it was only in the Middle Ages that the linear perception of time became ubiquitous: the time of Byz. chronicles was open at one end and could be extended without difficulty by the simple addition of subsequent events. The time of historians was "material," and CHRONOLOGY in itself conferred sense upon events, creating logical links between chronologically coinciding facts (J. Beaucamp et al., *TM* 7 [1979] 225f)—at least in works such as the CHRONICON

PASCHALE and the *Chronographia* of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR.

The principle of the plain continuum of time (the narrative in Theophanes is organized by years) was not accepted by many historians, hagiographers, and the authors of romances or epics. "Narrative time" or "artistic time" often does not accord with chronological sequence of events: some historians destroyed the plain continuum by structuring the narrative not on the basis of chronology but of subject matter; storytellers were introduced to relate events that took place in the distant past, and some visions could reveal the future up to the Last Judgment; the literary device of iteration (artistic repetition) permitted returning to the same episode two or three times.

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 161–235. A. Sharf, "The Eighth Day of the Week," in *Kathegetria: Essays Presented to Joan Hussey for her 80th Birthday* (Camberley, Surrey, 1988) 27–50. –A.K.

Philosophical and Theological Terminology of Time. According to the categories of Aristotle, time as an accident is itself unmoved, but it presupposes movement that in turn involves number, hence, a numerical entity. This philosophical definition, also common in Byz.—as in the 9th-C. Zacharias of Chalcedon (K. Oehler, *Antike Philosophie und byzantinisches Mittelalter* [Munich 1969] 300–08)—is extended by Gregory of Nyssa in the sense that man moves to perfection in an unending assimilation to the good that, in the final analysis, eliminates the distinction so important to Greek philosophy between rest and movement (*Vita Moysis*, 2.243, 1; ed. J. Daniélou [Paris 1968] 110). At the same time, the other apparently unresolved conflict between a linear and cyclical conception of time is overcome in Christian thought. The tension between creation and recapitulation, between beginning (*arche*) and end (*telos*) was united in both models of thought. For Byz. historiography the periodization of world history into four major kingdoms and a thousand-year reign of peace, which is rooted in various biblical interpretations (e.g., Dan 2 and 7; Rev 20, etc.), proved equally important.

The involvement of mankind in a world epoch corresponded, for the individual, to the division of his life into different periods. The church incorporated these views into the liturgical year (see YEAR, LITURGICAL), with its times of fasting and feasting, its times of baptism and commemoration of the dead. Monks and ascetics limited their concern for the body to a minimum in order to establish through fixed hours of prayer a maximum amount of meditation on the divine or the salvation of the soul. Brief episodes of participation in the life of God (MYSTICISM) and above all the blessed hour of DEATH as the moment of birth into eternal life became for the mystically inclined monk the significant "heavenly time" of his life, which constitutes a continuous spiritual renewal.

Theologically, time was contrasted both with the *aion* that Maximos the Confessor (PG 91:1164BC) defines as *chronos* without movement, and with ETERNITY, or divine timelessness. Time is a creature, and the Trinity is both before and beyond *chronos* and the *aion* (i.e., *hyperchronios* and *hyperaionios*); the Trinity is the creative cause (*aitia poietike*) of time which—by definition—is connected with such categories as "birth" and destruction (cf. Michael Psellos in L.G. Benakis, *Philosophia* 10/11 [1980–81] 398–421, and NICHOLAS OF METHONE, ed. Angelou, 7.20–22, 9.14).

LIT. I. Escribaño-Alberca, "Zum zyklischen Zeitbegriff der alexandrinischen und kappadokischen Theologie," *StP* 11 (1972) 42–51. *Le temps chrétien de la fin de l'Antiquité au Moyen Âge, IIIe–XIIIe siècle* (Paris 1984). *Liturgical Time*, ed. W. Vos, G. Wainwright [= *Studia liturgica* 14.2–4] (Rotterdam 1982). R. Sorabji, *Time, Creation and Continuum* (Ithaca 1983). G. Podskalsky, "Zur Symbolik des achten Tages in der griechisch-byzantinischen Theologie," in *Fest und Alltag in Byzanz* (Munich 1990) 157–66, 216–19. –G.P.

TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS (Αἴλουρος, lit. "cat" or "weasel"), Monophysite bishop of Alexandria (457–458/60, 476–77); a saint in the Coptic church; died Alexandria 31 July 477. His nickname was given him either because of his small stature or because he prowled the streets and monasteries spreading dissension. A priest under DIOSKOROS, Timotheos participated in the "Robber" Council of Ephesus in 449 and maintained his allegiance to Dioskoros after the Council of Chalcedon (451). Together with PETER MONGOS, Timotheos organized the Monophysite opposition in Egypt. He had the support of the mob that killed his Orthodox rival Proterios, thus allowing him to become bishop. As a result of pressure from the Chalcedonians and esp. Pope LEO I, Emp. Leo I exiled Ailouros to Gangra sometime between 458 and 460 and to Cherson ca.464/5. The usurper BASI-

LISKOS recalled him from exile in 475, but Patr. AKAKIOS remained his enemy. Having returned to Alexandria, Ailouros died before he could again be banished as the result of another reversal of policy under Emp. Zeno.

More politician than theologian, Ailouros tried to maintain a middle ground between the dyophysites and the followers of EUTYCHES. He rejected the concept of two natures in Christ but assumed that through his flesh Christ was related to mankind and that the Logos suffered on the cross as a result of the Incarnation. His writings, both letters (R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, *JThSt* 21 [1970] 321–69) and polemical works against the Council of Chalcedon and the *Tomus* of Pope Leo, have survived in Syriac and Armenian fragments. Ailouros is a rare polemicist who quoted his adversaries extensively before refuting them. A 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 111.9–11) accused him of falsifying unpublished works of Cyril of Alexandria—probably an attempt to exonerate the latter of pro-Monophysite sympathies.

ED. Armenian version—*Widerlegung der auf der Synode zu Chalcedon festgesetzten Lehre*, ed. K. Ter-Mekerrtschian, E. Ter-Minassiantz (Leipzig 1908). Syriac version—*Against the Definition of the Council of Chalcedon*, ed. R.Y. Ebied, L.R. Wickham, in *After Chalcedon* (Louvain 1985) 115–66, with Eng. tr. *CPG*, vol. 3, nos. 5475–5491.

LIT. J. Lebon, "La christologie de Timothée Aelure," *RHE* 9 (1908) 677–702. F. Nau, "Sur la christologie de Timothée Aelure," *ROC* 14 (1909) 99–103. H.P. Opitz, *RE* 2.R. 12 (1937) 1355–57. M. Simonetti, *DPAC* 2:3452f.

–T.E.G.

TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA, *grammatikos* (*Souda*, ed. Adler, 4:557.9) and armchair zoologist; fl. ca.491–518. A student of the Egyptian philosopher Horapollo, Timotheos reflected the approach to learning of the 5th-C. school of GAZA. He wrote a poem in four books on exotic ANIMALS, variously called *Indian Animals* or *Quadrupeds and Their Innately Wonderful Qualities* or *Stories about Animals.* He drew from several earlier sources, including Aristotle, Plutarch, Oppian, Aelian, and Philostratos, with passages culled from Nikander of Colophon, Pliny the Elder, Galen, and an early version of the PHYSIOLOGOS. The work survives only in a mid-11th-C. prose summary, dated by the scribe's mention (ch.24) of the zoo of Constantine IX Monomachos. The work is a fine mélange of ZOOLOGY and legend (e.g., ch.9, "The Tiger and the Griffin"). The chapter on "The Giraffe" gives valuable details on the transport of ELEPHANTS and giraffes in the reign of Anastasios I, yet states that the giraffe is "produced by the intercourse of different animals" (24.1). John TZETZES remarks that Timotheos, along with Aelian and Oppian, represents the best zoology (*Historiae* 4.166–69); apparently the prose summary of the *Animals* was widely used as a schoolbook and was enormously popular.

ED. M. Haupt, ed., "Excerpta ex Timothei Gazaei libris de animalibus," *Hermes* 3 (1869) 1–30. *Timotheus of Gaza on Animals*, tr. F.S. Bodenheimer, A. Rabinowitz (Paris-Leiden 1949).

LIT. M. Wellmann, "Timotheos von Gaza," *Hermes* 62 (1927) 179–204. A. Steier, *RE* 6 A 2 (1937) 1339–41. R.A. Kaster, *Guardians of Language* (Berkeley 1988) 368–70.

–J.S.

TIMOTHEOS SALOPHAKIALOS (Σαλοφακίαλος), Orthodox patriarch of Alexandria (spring 460–Feb. 482). His name reportedly meant "white cap" or more probably "wobble cap." Initially a Pachomian monk at Canopus, Timotheos was consecrated patriarch after the exile of the Monophysite patriarch TIMOTHEOS AILOUROS. Although a strict Chalcedonian in doctrine, he acted with forbearance toward MONOPHYSITISM. Still, his conciliatory nature did not please everyone. When he restored the name of DIOSKOROS to the diptychs, Rome protested. On Ailouros's return from exile (475), Timotheos retired to his own monastery. When Ailouros died (31 July 477), he was reinstated. ZENO and Patr. AKAKIOS of Constantinople continued to support him, although the Monophysites had in the meantime elected PETER MONGOS as Ailouros's successor. Since Timotheos wanted to have an Orthodox succeed to the see on his death, he sent John Talaia to Constantinople to speak with Zeno. The mission failed. In fact, Talaia had to agree not to seek the throne himself. As a consequence, on Timotheos's death, his rival Mongos, having promised to support the emperor's HENOTIKON, was recognized, while Talaia, who had himself elected by the Orthodox despite his pledge, was forced to flee to Rome. Mongos eventually struck Timotheos's name from the diptychs, disinterred his body, and cast it outside the city walls.

LIT. F. Hofmann in Grillmeier-Bacht, *Chalkedon* 2:33–40.

–A.P.

TIMUR (Τεμήρης, etc.), or Tamerlane, founder of a vast Turco-Mongol empire in Central and western Asia; born Kesh (near Samarkand) 1336, died Otrar (on the Sīr Daryā River) 18 Feb. 1405. From ca. 1370 Timur ruled the decaying Chagatay khanate, and by 1399 his dominion extended from eastern Turkestan and northern India to Mesopotamia and the frontiers of Ottoman Anatolia. In these years Timur's impact on Byz. affairs was minimal, although tales of his might had reached Constantinople. His clash with the Ottoman sultan BAYEZID I, coinciding with the latter's siege of Constantinople, instantly brought Timur into the mainstream of Palaiologan politics. In 1399, when Bayezid expanded deep into eastern Anatolia, Timur replied by sacking Sivas. Although he then campaigned in northern Syria and Iraq, by summer 1401 he was again planning a major assault on the Ottomans. He then concluded agreements with JOHN VII PALAIOLOGOS and the Genoese, the latter promising to acknowledge his sovereignty and to provide financial and naval support in his war on Bayezid. His invasion of Anatolia in spring 1402 culminated in Bayezid's defeat and capture at the battle of ANKARA on 28 July. Shortly thereafter the Turks abandoned the siege of Constantinople and peace was concluded between John VII and Bayezid's son, SÜLEYMAN ÇELEBI. Timur remained in Anatolia until spring 1403, assaulting Smyrna in Dec. 1402 and otherwise reconstituting the traditional Turkish beyliks. During these months, John VII evidently acknowledged Timur's suzerainty, but the khan did not attempt to secure direct control of Constantinople. Timur's dismantling of Ottoman Anatolia and the accompanying succession strife among Bayezid's sons (1402–13) allowed Byz. some political and military recovery in Thrace and Macedonia.

The contemporary Greeks perceived Timur as the tool of either God or the Virgin, dispatched to Asia Minor for the purpose of liquidating Bayezid and thereby ending his attack on Constantinople. Later historians such as DOUKAS and CHALKOKONDYLES likewise tend to develop Timur, in secular terms, as an essentially just antagonist of Bayezid. Their political viewpoint parallels that of the *begs*, who regarded Bayezid's imperial ambitions as unjustified and deserving of chastisement.

LIT. Barker, *Manuel II* 216–51. M. Alexandrescu-Dersca, *La campagne de Timur en Anatolie (1402)*[2] (London 1977). G. Dennis, "Three Reports from Crete on the Situation in Romania, 1401–1402," *StVen* 12 (1970) 243–65. Idem, "The Byzantine-Turkish Treaty of 1403," *OrChrP* 33 (1967) 72–88. Schreiner, *Kleinchroniken* 2:367–78. –S.W.R.

TIPOUKEITOS (Τιπούκειτος, "what is to be found where"), an "index" to the BASILIKA produced probably toward the end of the 11th C. A judge by the name of Patzes is assumed to be the author. To his table of contents he added countless references with precise indication of their sources and, in the case of individual chapters, the actual *incipit*, thereby producing an aid to the *Basilika* that, in contrast to the SYNOPSIS BASILICORUM, could not be employed independently. Individual scholia to the *Basilika* are used in the form of terse comments and observations; moreover, there are occasional references to Eustathios RHOMAIOS and recent imperial legislation.

ED. *M. Kritou tou Patze Tipoukeitos*, 5 vols., ed. C. Ferrini, I. Mercati (bks. 1–12—Rome 1914), F. Dölger (bks. 13–23—Rome 1929), St. Hoermann, E. Seidl (bks. 24–60—Rome 1943–57). –L.B.

TIRIDATES THE GREAT. See TRDAT THE GREAT.

TITHE (δεκατεία, δέκατον, lit. "tenth"). Three different tithes are known in Byz.

1. There was the tithe on trade, that is, the KOMMERKION, and a more specific tithe collected on wine transported by sea to Constantinople (*dekateia oinaron*).

2. The tithe on land was basically the rent that the landowner collected from his tenants: 1/10 of the gross product (MORTE); or a rent collected for the pasture of animals—in reality paid by those who possessed such animals (ENNOMION and more specifically *probatoennomion*, *choiroennomion*, *melissoennomion*: rent paid by those who possessed sheep, pigs, or beehives).

3. In the 15th C., under Ottoman influence, a new *dekaton* (on wheat and on wine) appears in eastern Macedonia: a Byz. adaptation of the Muslim *uşr* (10 percent or 7 percent of the produce, N. Oikonomides, *SüdostF* 45 [1986] 7–9).

LIT. H.F. Schmid, "Byzantinisches Zehntwesen," *JÖB* 6 (1957) 47–110. N. Svoronos in *Lavra* 4:169–71. Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 102–04. P. Lemerle, "Notes sur l'administration byzantine à la veille de la IVe croisade d'après

deux documents inédits des archives de Lavra," *REB* 19 (1961) 271. –N.O.

TITLES. See DIGNITIES AND TITLES.

TITLES, PURCHASE OF. Some honorific titles as well as active offices were bestowed by the emperor on individuals who had to pay a certain amount of cash in return. Not necessarily simple purchases, these were certainly not seen as signs of CORRUPTION. There were three main forms of purchase. (1) Farming out of offices, esp. those related to fiscal or economic activities (tax collection, trade monopolies such as those of the KOMMERKIARIOI), was a perennial practice, usually following a public auction. (2) Lifelong positions in the civil administration, such as those of NOTARIES or CHARTOULARIOI, positions in the palace service or in public institutions, and many others were considered STRATEIAI that could be acquired directly from their actual holder and transmitted in other ways (donation, exchange, dowry, etc.). (3) From the 8th to 11th C., several honorific titles (such as SPATHARIOS) were normally given by the emperor to individuals who paid in advance a large and variable amount of money and received in return the title accompanied by a yearly lifelong salary (ROGA) corresponding to 2.31 to 3.47 percent of the invested capital (the purchase of increases of the yearly salary was possible at much more profitable rates). The purchase of ecclesiastical titles was censured as SIMONY.

LIT. G. Kolias, *Ämter- und Würdenkauf im früh- und mittelbyzantinischen Reich* (Athens 1939). Guilland, *Institutions* 1:73–83. P. Lemerle, "'Roga' et rente d'état aux Xe–XIe siècles," *REB* 25 (1967) 77–100. –N.O.

TITULAR CHURCHES. The term TITULUS was applied to certain churches of Rome (*titulus Anastasiae, titulus Pudentis*), probably originally to indicate the owner of the property that came to house the church. Although titular churches are first mentioned only in the 4th C., some of the structures so designated are believed to have had roots in the pre-Constantinian period, and thus to constitute the oldest official Christian meeting places of the city, as archaeological evidence suggests (SS. Giovanni e Paolo; S. Martino ai Monti). Two synodal lists (499, 595), however, demonstrate that the number and identity of the titular churches changed in the course of time.

LIT. J.P. Kirsch, *Die römischen Titelkirchen im Altertum* (Paderborn 1918). –W.T.

TITULUS (Gr. τίτλος), term of Roman law that originally designated a dedicatory or honorific inscription on a temple, gravestone, or building, then a notice, label, or title; in a technical sense, it could mean the item of taxation and esp. the title of ownership (e.g., J.O. Tjäder, *Die nichtliterarischen lateinischen Papyri Italiens*, vol. 2 [Stockholm 1982] no.31.I.7, a.540). The term is conventionally used by art historians (1) to describe explanatory legends that accompany narrative or symbolic representations and (2) to indicate the title of a TITULAR CHURCH.

LIT. H. Heumann, E. Seckel, *Handlexikon zu den Quellen des römischen Rechts* (Jena 1907; rp. Graz 1958) 586f. A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law* (Philadelphia 1953) 737f. Preisigke, *Wörterbuch* 2:604. –A.K., W.T., A.C.

TITUS (Τίτος), bishop of Bostra in Arabia; died before 378. Titus was bishop under Emp. JULIAN, who attacked him in a letter (ep.41, ed. Wright) of 1 Aug. 362 concerning civic disturbances in Bostra; he continued his post as bishop under Jovian. In 363 he took part in a synod at Antioch at which he signed a letter accepting the HOMOOUSION. His major work was a polemic in four books against MANICHAEANISM, written after Julian's death. It is wholly extant in a Syriac translation; the first half survives also in Greek. Titus argues that God's justice is not incompatible with the existence of evil, the latter being not a substance but the product of human weakness and free will. Manichaean notions of conflict between the Dark and the Light and of matter and evil are combatted with ideas of divine providence and creation. Titus defends the divine inspiration of the Old Testament, while exposing in detail Manichaean interpretations of the Old Testament and interpolations into the New Testament. Valuable for its quotations and paraphrases of MANI, Titus's book was much exploited in Byzantium. Byz. *catenae* also preserve fragments of his commentary on Luke; his sermon on Epiphany survives in Syriac fragments. The *Oration on Palm Sunday* attributed to Titus is spurious.

ED. *Contra Manichaeos libri quatuor syriace*, ed. P.A. de Lagarde (Berlin 1859; rp. Hannover 1924). *Titi Bostreni quae ex opere contra Manichaeos . . . servata sunt graece*, ed. idem (Berlin 1859).

LIT. J. Sickenberger, *Titus von Bostra: Studien zu dessen Lukashomilien* (Leipzig 1901). R.P. Casey, "The Text of the Anti-Manichaean Writings of Titus of Bostra and Serapion of Thmuis," *HThR* 21 (1928) 97–111. P. Nagel, "Neues griechisches Material zu Titus von Bostra (Adversus Manichaeos III 7–29)," *Studia Byzantina*, vol. 2 (Berlin 1973) 285–350. –B.B.

TMUTOROKAN (τὰ Μάτραχα), also Tmutarakan, city on the east side of the Crimean strait of Kerč, succeeding the ancient Greek colony of Hermonassa. Located apart from the main barbarian routes in the 4th C., Hermonassa suffered less than Tanais or the cities of the Crimea. Based on archaeological data, S.A. Pletneva (in *Keramika, infra* 63) divides the history of medieval Tmutorokan into six periods: post-Hunnic (5th–7th C.), Khazar (8th–mid-10th C.), Rus' (mid-10th–11th C.), Cuman (12th–mid-13th C.), Tatar (mid-13th–beginning of 14th C.), and Genoese (14th–15th C.). The city flourished under Khazar rule when SALTOVO ware dominated Tmutorokan ceramics. The city was governed by a municipal system, the head of which—*balikči* (lit. "fisherman")—was appointed by the Khazars (V. Minorsky, *WZKM* 56 [1960] 131).

Raided by the Rus' ca.925 (N. Golb, O. Pritsak, *Khazarian Hebrew Documents* [Ithaca, N.Y., 1982] 139–42), Tmutorokan became a part of the Kievan realm after 965. At that time ceramic imports decreased and dozens of Saltovo workshops were destroyed. A Greek element was active in 11th-C. Tmutorokan (E. Skržinskaja, *VizVrem* 18 [1961] 74–84), and "Cuman Tmutorokan" was under Byz. administrative control. By the treaties of 1169 and 1192, Byz. forbade the Genoese to use the Tmutorokan harbor. The seal of Michael, "*archon* of ZICHIA, Tmutorokan, and Khazaria" probably belonged to a Byz. governor of the Azov Sea region rather than to Oleg-Michael, the prince of Chernigov, as A. Soloviev (in 11 *CEB* [Munich 1960] 572f) suggested. Byz.'s special interest in Tmutorokan can be explained (G. Litavrin, *Voprosy istorii*, no.7 [1972] 39) by the oil wells in the area that provided Byz. with the raw materials for GREEK FIRE.

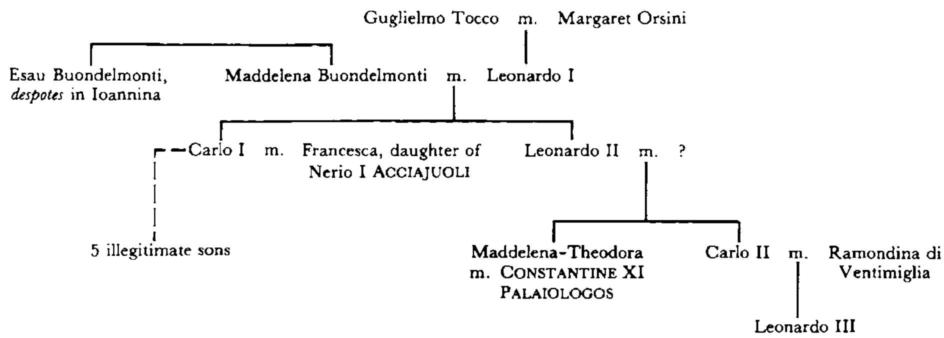
From the end of the 10th C. onward, the autocephalous archbishopric of Tmutorokan and Zichia is recorded (*Notitiae CP*, no.8.120–21), and as late as the 1230s the Hungarian missionary Julian observed in Tmutorokan a population that "had Greek books and priests" (L. Bendefy, *Fontes authentici itinera [1235–1238] Fr. Iuliani illustrantes* [Budapest 1937] 22.6–9). In 1482 Tmutorokan was taken by the Ottomans.

LIT. G. Litavrin, "À propos de Tmutorokan," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 221–34. A. Kazhdan, "Some Little Known or Misinterpreted Evidence about Kievan Rus' in Twelfth-Century Greek Sources," in *Okeanos* 344–53. V. Mošin, "Nikolaj, episkop Tmutorokanskij," *SemKond* 5 (1932) 47–62. *Keramika i steklo drevnej Tmutarakani* (Moscow 1963). –O.P.

TOCCO (Τόκκοι), an Italian family, originally from Benevento, which played a prominent role in the Ionian islands and despotate of EPIROS in the 14th and 15th C. The first member of the family to settle in Greece was Guglielmo Tocco (died 1335), who served as governor of Kerkyra for the Angevin PHILIP I OF TARANTO in the 1330s. In 1357 Robert of Taranto made Guglielmo's son Leonardo I (died 1375/6) count of Cephalonia (KEPHALENIA) and Zante (ZAKYNTHOS). Leonardo extended his control to Leukas (1362) and Ithake. Leonardo's two sons, Carlo I (died 1429) and Leonardo II (died 1418/19), are the heroes of the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO. Carlo, who was married to Francesca ACCIAJUOLI, daughter of Nerio I Acciajuoli, expanded his territory to the mainland by seizing Corinth and Megara in 1395 after his father-in-law's death (J. Chrysostomides, *Byzantina* 7 [1975] 81–110). By 1408 he had conquered Akarnania from the Albanians. After the death of his uncle Esau Buondelmonti (see EPIROS) in 1411, Carlo succeeded him as *despotes* of Ioannina and in 1416 acquired Arta as well. Until his death he ruled as the last true *despotes* of Epiros, the rank Manuel II conferred on him in 1415. After 1429 the despotate, a subject of dispute between the illegitimate sons of Carlo I and his nephew Carlo II, fell apart again. Carlo II surrendered Ioannina to the Turks in 1430 but remained lord of Arta until he died in 1448. Arta fell in 1449. By ca.1460 Carlo's son Leonardo III (died 1494) retreated to the Ionian islands, the last remaining Christian territory in Greece, until they were in turn captured by the Ottomans in 1479. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. Nicol, *Epiros II* 165–215. G. Schirò, "Manuele II Paleologo incorona Carlo Tocco despota di Gianina," *Byzantion* 29–30 (1959–60) 209–30. –A.M.T.

THE TOCCO FAMILY IN THE IONIAN ISLANDS AND EPIROS
IN THE FOURTEENTH AND FIFTEENTH CENTURIES



Based on Nicol, *Epiros II* 256, and Bon, *Morée franque* 707.

TOGA, Roman outer garment, draped around the body in such a way that the right arm remained free. The distinguishing mark of a Roman citizen, it did not long survive the imperial administration's move from Rome to Constantinople. Ordinary people had come to prefer the HIMATION already by the 2nd C., and wearing of the toga was gradually restricted to specific officials (among them senators, consuls, and the emperor, and their wives and mothers) on ceremonial occasions. Silk replaced the original wool fabric. The color of the toga was usually white, but other colors could indicate the higher rank of the wearer: a *trabea* was purple or gold, while the highest form of toga, the *toga picta* or *trabea triumphalis*, was embroidered with gold rosettes and even scenes, or encrusted with jewels, and had an elaborate border. The *trabea triumphalis* was the standard costume for consuls opening the games and is hence frequently depicted on the ivory consular DIPTYCHS. The use of the toga decreased with the decline of the consulship, but its border was retained as a separate imperial vestment, already referred to in the 6th C. as a LOROS (C. Albizzati, *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 35 [1922] 69–92).

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Roman Toga* (Baltimore 1924). Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen* 43–58. E. Piltz, *RBK* 3:428–35. –N.P.Š.

TOKALI KILISE. See GÖREME.

TOKENS (σφραγίδια, "little sealings"; Lat. *tesserae*) were given to the poor and exchanged by them for food and other necessities of life. Such tokens served as counters, in the same manner that Roman tokens allowed an official to keep track of and verify goods that he disbursed; unlike Roman practice, however, Byz. tokens were not used for advertising. They were issued in lead and copper and resemble lead SEALS both in size (somewhat smaller) and decoration; the planchet, however, exhibits no perforation for cording and suspensions. The great majority of tokens date from the 11th C., although there are earlier references in literature. For example, in 436, according to a decree in the *Theodosian Code* (XIV 26.2), 110 *modii* of grain were to be added to the grain supply of Alexandria, and bread tickets (tesserae) were to be marked and validated by the imperial name. *Sphragidia* were distributed by imperial command on various holidays, such as 22 July, a commemorative ceremony of Leo VI, when tokens were given to the poor and later exchanged at a rate of 1 1/3 nomisma per token (Oikonomides, *Listes* 217.33–219.3). Typically the obverse and reverse of lead tokens are decorated with an inscription quoting Proverbs 19:17: "He who is generous to the poor lends to the Lord." The same inscription appears on copper tokens, but often on the reverse alone, leaving the obverse field to be filled with an effigy of the Virgin, Christ, or a saint.

LIT. J. Nesbitt, "Byzantine Copper Tokens," in *Byz. Sigillography* 67–75. –J.W.N.

TOKENS, PILGRIM. See PILGRIM TOKENS.

TOMB (τάφος). The Byz. vocabulary for tomb varied: Niketas Choniates, besides *taphos*, used such terms as *theke, mneme, sema,* and *soros*. Legal texts (e.g., *Basil.* 59.1.2) distinguished between *taphos* and *mneme;* according to the *Synopsis Basilicorum* (Zepos, *Jus* 5:559, note b), *taphos* was the grave for the BURIAL of the corpse while *mneme* was the "building" (*ktisma*) over it. The *Basilika* (59.1.5) preserved also the ancient distinction between *familiarioi* tombs (for the individual and his whole *familia*) and *kleronomiaioi* tombs (for the individual and his descendants).

A tomb could take the form of a grave faced with a slab or surmounted by a stele or a CIBORIUM, a niche with an ARCOSOLIUM and room for a SARCOPHAGUS, a funerary CHAPEL, or MAUSOLEUM. Early Byz. tombs are found singly or communally in underground CEMETERIES and CATACOMBS or in the open air, often in the context of a MARTYRION (Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 51f). A grave might be surrounded by a barrier of stone or metal; its stone plaque might bear an inscription; lamps and icons might be set on it. CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. E. Kurtz, no.16) mentions the tomb of a *patrikios* Melios ornamented with images of his secular and monastic life. Luxurious tombs could have small columns adorned with silver (Psellos, *Chron.* 2:61, par.183.6–7), probably supporting a roof over the grave. The Holy SEPULCHRE of Christ in Jerusalem attracted special veneration. Particular care was given to the tombs of patron saints such as LOUKAS THE YOUNGER, MELETIOS THE YOUNGER, and ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, and church founders such as Isaac KOMNENOS and Theodore METOCHITES (Ø. Hjort, *DOP* 33 [1979] 249f). In Christian metaphor the tomb was a symbol of death, of sinful life, of the body imprisoning the soul; pagan shrines were also called tombs.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:198–203. Pazaras, *Anaglyphes sarkophagoi.* –A.K., L.Ph.B.

TOMIS (Τόμις), ancient city on the west coast of the Black Sea, near Constanţa. A flourishing city in the 4th–6th C., Tomis preserved its ancient town plan (A. Rădulescu et al., *Pontica* 6 [1973] 350). The tomb of a *vicarius* of Odessos, dating from ca.500, implies that at that time Tomis belonged to the bishopric of Odessos (I. Barnea, *SCIV* 8 [1957] 347–52). In late antiquity Tomis was the civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of the province of SCYTHIA MINOR (*Cod.Just.* I 3.35.2). Two large basilicas of the 5th–6th C. have been discovered. Justinian I rebuilt the fortifications, and the city withstood a siege by the Avars in 599. Thereafter its history is obscure for some centuries. By the 10th C. it appears, with the name Konstantia, as a station on the route of ships of Rus' to Constantinople (*De adm. imp.* 9.99) and was probably then in Bulgarian hands. The identification of Konstantia with both late antique Constantiana and Konstanteia, a stronghold on the Danube (Skyl. 301.2–3), remains questionable (E. Popescu, *BZ* 66 [1973] 359–82; I. Barnea, *SCIV* 25 [1974] 427–29). In 971 Konstantia surrendered to John I Tzimiskes. In 1201/2 it was captured by KALOJAN and by the mid-15th C. was under Ottoman rule. In antiquity Tomis was noted for the export of grain, but by the 14th–15th C. VICINA and CHILIA filled this role. Rock-cut chapels at Basarabi, 15 miles west of Tomis, contain graffiti of the 10th–11th C. in runic characters as well as in Glagolitic, Cyrillic, Greek, and possibly Arabic script.

LIT. I. Barnea, Ş. Ştefănescu, *Bizantini, Români şi Bulgari la Dunărea de jos* (Bucharest 1971). I. Barnea, "Byzantinische Bleisiegel aus Rumänien," *Byzantina* 13.1 (1985) 298–300. –R.B., A.K.

TOMISLAV, 10th-C. prince of Croatia. According to D. Farlati (*Illyricum sacrum* [Venice 1751] 3:84), Tomislav reigned 20 years, until ca.940; F. Šišić (*Povijest Hrvata* [Zagreb 1925] 401f) prefers the dates 910–28. Tomislav enlarged the borders of Croatia, uniting Pannonian and Dalmatian Croatia, and ca.925 accepted the title of king. CONSTANTINE VII described a Croatian army that was able to muster 60,000 horses, 100,000 foot soldiers, and about 180 ships (*De adm. imp.*, 31.71–74), probably referring to the time of Tomislav's reign. Along with MICHAEL VIŠEVIĆ of Zachlumia, Tomislav sought and received papal support at the Council of Spalato (SPLIT) in 924. When the Byz.-Serbian alliance was routed by SYMEON OF BULGARIA ca.924, the Bulgarian threat hung over Croatia; the Bulgarian invasion ca.926 was repulsed, however. Zlatarski (*infra*) suggests that this success accounted for a broad anti-Bulgarian coalition of Croatia, Zachlumia, and Serbia under Byz. control and that Tomislav was granted the title of *anthypatos*. In any case the peace treaty with Bulgaria was signed, with the help of Pope

JOHN X, before Symeon's death. After Tomislav died the role of Croatia declined, and Serbia under ČASLAV assumed the leading role in the area.

Goldstein (*infra*), who has critically reconsidered the scanty data about Tomislav's reign, has tried to show that there is no reason to call Tomislav the first king of Croatia and that the word *rex* in John X's epistle was not an official title but only a polite expression.

LIT. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.2:477–79. R. Jenkins in *De adm. imp.* 2:99f. I. Goldstein, "O Tomislavu i njegovom dobu," *Radovi Instituta za hrvatsku povijest* 18 (1985) 23–55. –A.K.

TOMOS (*τόμος*, from *τέμνω*, "to cut"), term that designated in antiquity a "page" (J. Schmidt, *RhM* 47 [1892] 326) or a section of a ROLL. Photios used it often for a division (chapter) of a book, as a synonym for *logos* or *biblos*. The word is employed in the same sense for headings in MS editions, e.g., "The third *tomos* of the reign of Isaac Angelos" in the history of Niketas Choniates. The term could also be used for codex-books and esp. for documents (register, decree, chrysobull), frequently of ecclesiastical character, e.g., the TOMOS OF UNION of 920. Circa 1339–40 the monks of Athos issued the *Tomos hagioreitikos* in defense of the hesychasts; the Council of 1351 also formulated its decision in a *tomos*. Metaphorically the word denotes the Virgin, as, for example, "the *tomos* of a new mystery" in the second homily on the Nativity of the Virgin (PG 96:692B) that is ascribed to John of Damascus, but probably was written by Theodore of Stoudios (C. van de Vorst, *BZ* 23 [1914–20] 128–32).

LIT. B. Atsalos, *La terminologie du livre-manuscrit à l'époque byzantine* (Thessalonike 1971) 150–61. –A.K.

TOMOS OF UNION (*τόμος ἑνώσεως*), a document that formulated the decision of the local council of Constantinople of 920, convened to settle the conflict between the partisans of Patr. EUTHYMIOS and NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF). Solemnly proclaimed on 9 July 920, the Tomos attempted to terminate the long dispute over the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI by completely banning a fourth marriage and restricting the third marriage (with the penalty of four to five years' deprivation of communion). The statement satisfied the Euthymians, and later ARETHAS OF CAESAREA claimed to have coauthored the Tomos with ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS (*Scripta minora* 1:229-30). By 920, since Leo VI had been dead for eight years, the core of the conflict was no longer the fourth marriage but the validity of episcopal appointments—whether the nominees of Euthymios or of Nicholas were rightfully entitled to their sees. The latter question was not mentioned in the Tomos, but since Euthymios had died in 917 and Nicholas, after a short period of disfavor, gained the support of the *basileopator* Romanos, his partisans evidently had the upper hand. Absent from the first preserved version of the Tomos, dated ca.930, Euthymios's name appears only in a later version, ca.1000. The Tomos signified not only the unification of the Byz. church, very important for a government that was at war with Bulgaria, but also the restoration of the alliance with Rome, since the papal representatives approved of the Council of 920.

LIT. *RegPatr*, fasc. 2, no.669. L. Westerink in *Nicholas I, Letters* (Washington, D.C., 1973) xxiv–vi. –A.K.

TONDRAKITES (Arm. T'ondrakec'i), Armenian sect taking its name from the district of T'ondrak north of Lake Van. The founder of the sect, Smbat of Zarehawan, lived in the mid-9th C. The sect spread rapidly to Hark' and VASPURAKAN and other districts, penetrating all levels of society. The Tondrakite communities were generally destroyed by the end of the 11th C., though isolated groups may have survived as late as the 19th.

The extreme Iconoclasm characterizing the Tondrakites and their rejection of ecclesiastical authority and the sacraments suggest the influence of the later Byz. (Neo-)PAULICIANS with whom GREGORY MAGISTROS (*Letters*, p.161) explicitly identified them. Nevertheless, the ADOPTIANIST Christology set out in their manual, the *Key of Truth*, and their worship of their leaders as "Christs" links them rather to primitive Armenian Paulicianism.

LIT. F.C. Conybeare, *The Key of Truth* (Oxford 1898). Garsoïan, *Paulician Heresy*, esp. 98–102, 152–67. Eadem, "L'abjuration du moine Nil de Calabre," *BS* 35 (1974) 12–27. –N.G.G.

TONSURE (*κουρά*), the ritual of cutting the hair by which a lay person was admitted to the monastic or clerical state. Although the custom was

not prescribed by any canon, it was practiced as early as the 4th C. in the PACHOMIAN MONASTERIES, where it was prohibited to cut off hair without the permission of a superior. In the same century it is attested as a preliminary act to the admission to clerical status: St. Euthymios the Great is said (by a later author, Cyril of Skythopolis) to have been tonsured when he was ordained *anagnostes* in Melitene ca.379. In the 5th C. tonsuring regularly accompanied the taking of monastic vows, for example, in the case of the eparch Kyros in 441. A Justinianic novel of 535 (nov.5.2.1) ordered that a layman receive "the tonsure and the habit (*stole*)" after a three-year novitiate (see NOVICE). Canon 33 of the Council in Trullo forbade those who had not been tonsured to preach from the ambo.

The actual procedure of tonsuring varied. Pseudo-Sophronios (PG 87:3985D) prescribes a circular shaving of the hair in imitation of Christ's crown; hair might also be cut so as to form the sign of the cross. Another form, the so-called *tonsura more Orientalium S. Pauli* (cf. Bede, PL 95:172) consisted of a complete shaving of the head in imitation of St. Paul's baldness. The term *apokarsis* was also used: according to pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite (PG 3:536A) the *apokarsis* indicated "a pure life." Another term for the tonsure was *epikouris,* but the difference between *epikouris* and *apokarsis* is obscure.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 15:2430–35. A.S. Alivisatos, "He koura ton klerikon kai monachon kata to kanonikon dikaion tes Orthodoxou ekklesias," *EEBS* 23 (1953) 233–39. Konidares, *Nomike theorese* 108–11. Panagiotakos, *Dikaion* 49f, 79–88. –A.M.T., A.K.

TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS of the Byz. period continued the forms and functions of Roman examples but are less well known as a body. Many tools for stoneworking, METALWORK, and woodworking, as well as AGRICULTURAL IMPLEMENTS, were made of IRON, although some were of BRONZE. Sets of agricultural and carpentry tools—containing spades, hoes, axes, punches, chisels, and files—were found in the 7th-C. shipwreck at Yassi Ada off Asia Minor. Excavations at, for example, Corinth and Sardis have yielded others as well as domestic tools for kitchen use and spinning. Lists of surgical instruments (see SURGERY) survive from the 6th to 11th C., but few extant examples have been identified.

Excavations have produced varied examples of household fittings from the 4th to 13th C. Bronze and iron furnishings include LIGHTING fixtures, iron stool frames, feet, knobs, handles, and other attachments esp. for chests, LOCKS, and KEYS. Solid silver and bronze tripod tables survive from the 4th to 7th C. Written texts refer to (solid) bronze fountains with animal figures in the Great Palace, Constantinople, in the 9th C. (*TheophCont* 141.20–21; 327.4–5). A set of bronze kitchen UTENSILS with caldrons, pitcher, baking pan, and jug was found in the Yassi Ada shipwreck, and many loose bronze casseroles, kettles, ladles, and ewers have been found in Egypt. Large numbers of household utensils were excavated at Sardis in the Byz. shops where they had been on sale when the city was destroyed in the early 7th C. Archaeologists have unearthed a set of three bronze kettles (one inscribed) and jug of the 10th–11th C. at Corinth in addition to other metal vessels. Household utensils and PLATE were also made of silver, CERAMIC, and GLASS.

LIT. G.F. Bass, F.H. van Doorninck, Jr., *Yassi Ada: A Seventh-Century Byzantine Shipwreck,* vol. 1 (College Station, Tex., 1982) 231–73. G.R. Davidson, *Corinth XII. The Minor Objects* (Princeton 1952). J.C. Waldbaum, *Metalwork from Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1983). J.S. Crawford, *The Byzantine Shops at Sardis* (Cambridge, Mass., 1990). J. Strzygowski, *Koptische Kunst* (Vienna 1904) 253–303, 307–12. A. Guillou, "Outils et travail dans les Balkans du XIIIe au XIXe siècle," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 443–49. –M.M.M.

TOPARCHA GOTHICUS, conventional title of an anonymous work, three fragments of which C.B. Hase published in 1819. The fragments describe journeys of a (possibly Byz.) commander in the Dnieper and Danube regions and his confrontations with barbarians; among others is mentioned "the ruler to the north of the Istros [Danube]," in whom many scholars have seen the prince of Kiev. The text is obscure and incoherent; neither its topographical and chronological data nor its astronomical observations permit a convincing solution concerning the place and date of its composition. Ševčenko (*infra*) put forth serious arguments demonstrating that *Toparcha Gothicus* was a forgery by Hase, but the majority of East European scholars have not accepted his hypothesis.

ED. *Die Fragmente des Toparcha Goticus (Anonymus Tauricus) aus dem 10. Jahrhundert,* ed. F. Westberg (St. Petersburg 1901; rp. Leipzig 1975).

LIT. Vasil'evskij, *Trudy* 2.1:136–212. I. Ševčenko, "The Date and Author of the So-called Fragments of Toparcha Gothicus," *DOP* 25 (1971) 115–88. I. Božilov, "Hase's Anonym and Ihor Ševčenko's Hypothesis," *BBulg* 5 (1978) 245–59. A.N. Sacharov, "Vostočnyj pochod Svjatoslava i 'Zapiska grečeskogo toparcha,'" *Istorija SSSR* (1982) no.3, 86–103. –A.K.

TOPARCHES (τοπάρχης), term that in Hellenistic and Roman texts designated a medium-ranked official administering a district (E. Kiessling, *RE* 2.R. 6 [1937] 1716). Justinian I, in novel 128.21, understood *toparchai* as local magistrates in a broad sense, including both military and civil authorities. The term was eventually equated with king: a 6th-C. historian (Malal. 231.9) speaks of a *toparches* of the Jews; Prokopios (*Wars* 2.12.8) calls Abgar *toparches* of Edessa. The term reappeared in the 10th–13th C. as a nontechnical word designating independent rulers (of Sicily, Crete, Bulgaria, etc.) as well as Byz. governors, who normally enjoyed relative independence. Kekaumenos dwells at length on the relations between a Byz. general and the neighboring *toparches*. Cheynet (*infra*) assumes that by the 12th C. some TOPOTERETAI were identified as *toparchai*, that is, they became more independent; he interprets this as a sign of administrative disintegration. The attribution of the title of *toparches* to the author of the so-called TOPARCHA GOTHICUS is arbitrary, since the term is not employed in the text (M. Nystazopoulou, *BCH* 86 [1962] 321–26).

LIT. J.-C. Cheynet, "Toparque et topotérètes à la fin du 11e siècle," *REB* 42 (1984) 215–24. –A.K.

TOPONYMICS, the study of place names, encompassing inhabited and uninhabited sites as well as rivers, mountains, valleys, islands, etc. The etymology of toponyms can reflect social and economic relations (Ph. Malingoudis, *EtBalk* 21 [1985] no.1, 87–91) but has been primarily used to demonstrate continuity or change in ethnic substrata: the most obvious examples are the penetration into Greek place names of Frankish roots (O. Markl, *Ortsnamen Griechenlands in "fränkischer" Zeit* [Graz-Cologne 1966]) and esp. roots of Slavic origin—some of the latter appear as far east as Bithynia (Ph. Malingoudis, *Hellenika* 31 [1979] 494–96). Other problems in toponymics include the spread of Greek and Latin place names beyond the frontiers of the empire and the occurrence of Greek toponyms in southern Italy. Thus the Byz. gave the name Hagia Agathe to an *oppidum* (fortress) in the *tourma* of Salines (Calabria) when they founded a town and bishopric there (A. Guillou, *La Théotokos de Hagia-Agathè [Oppido]* [Vatican 1972] 18f). Such renamings are evidently linked to ethnic movements, although they can rarely define the degree of assimilation. Less evident are those changes not caused by the settlement of newcomers. In the transition from late Roman to Byz. society, changes occurred in local nomenclature; sometimes these shifts had political causes (conferring an emperor's name upon a city, as in the cases of Justiniana Prima and Constantinople) or religious explanations (renaming a city in honor of a saint). In other cases, changes of name (e.g., from Kolossai to Chonai) lack an obvious rationale. Names of rivers and mountains seem to be less subject to change than those of cities or villages and may often be derived from pre-Roman nomenclature.

LIT. L. Zgusta, *Kleinasiatische Ortsnamen* (Heidelberg 1984). D. Georgacas, *The Names for the Asia Minor Peninsula* (Heidelberg 1971). O. Kronsteiner, "Rückläufiges Verzeichnis der slawischen Ortsnamen in Griechenland," *Österreichische Namenforschung* 7 (1979) 3–24. J. Zaimov, *Zaselvane na bŭlgarskite slavjane na Balkanskija poluostrov* (Sofia 1967). A. Bryer, "The Treatment of Byzantine Place-Names," *BMGS* 9 (1984–85) 209–14. M. Vasmer, *Die Slaven in Griechenland* (Berlin 1941; rp. Leipzig 1970). –A.K.

TOPOTERETES (τοποτηρητής). In 5th–6th-C. Egypt, the *topoteretes* was a deputy of the DOUX. The term seems to have fallen into disuse thereafter, but appears again in the TAKTIKA of the 9th–10th C., in the *De ceremoniis,* and on seals; at that time it designated a lieutenant of the commanders of TAGMATA, THEMES, or the navy. His functions were military: in theory he commanded a unit of 15 BANDA (Dennis, *Military Treatises* 252.136). In an enigmatic passage of Kekaumenos (Kek. 188.1–2) *topoteretes* is contrasted with STRATEGOS, but his functions are not defined. Circa 1100, *topoteretai* were in charge of small districts and fortresses; J.-C. Cheynet (*REB* 42 [1984] 222–24) suggests that *topoteretai* acquired some independence when the administrative system of the empire was disorganized. In the 15th C. *topoteretai* were patriarchal representatives in metropolitan sees outside the empire (Cyprus, Ankyra, Nikomedeia, etc.).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 52f. G. Litavrin in Kek. 453f. C. Kunderewicz, "Les topotérètes dans les novelles de Justinien et dans l'Egypte byzantine," *Journal of Juristic Papyrology* 14 (1962) 33–50. –A.K.

TORCELLO. On this island in the Venetian lagoon are two adjoining churches, the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca. S. Fosca is a Byz. building type: a modified Greek-cross octagon, with a plan that accommodates the Western liturgy. S. Maria Assunta is a Latin basilica, decorated with mosaics closely related to some in S. Marco in VENICE. Preserved images include the Virgin Hodegetria and standing apostles in the main apse, a seated PANTOKRATOR with angels and saints in the right minor apse, and a LAST JUDGMENT on the inner west wall. Stylistic analysis reveals at least two medieval phases (mid- or late 11th and 12th C.) and the participation of Byz. craftsmen. More precise attributions are disputed. Andreescu, for one, attributes the Hodegetria to a Byz. mosaicist working around 1185. On the lower wall of the main apse are fragmentary frescoes, also ascribed to a Byz. master, dated to the late 10th or early 11th C.

LIT. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 26 (1972) 183–223; 30 (1976) 245–341 [title varies]. Krautheimer, *ECBArch* 405f. R. Polacco, *La Cattedrale di Torcello* (Venice 1984). –D.K.

TORNESE (It., also tornesello, from Fr. *tournois*), the name given to the deniers of base silver struck by the abbey of St. Martin of Tours prior to the annexation of Touraine by Philip Augustus in 1206. Subsequently deniers tournois, with their characteristic type of a "castle" (châtel tournois), became one of the chief coinages of the French crown and the basis of the main French system of account. Imitations of them were issued on a vast scale by several of the Frankish states in Greece between the mid-13th and mid-14th C., so that the name came by extension to be applied to several denominations of low-grade billon coins of much the same value minted at Venice, in the Aegean area, and at Constantinople itself, though the Greek name for them is unknown. At Constantinople in the 1330s 8 tornesi were reckoned to the BASILIKON and 96 to the HYPERPYRON; and a century later the account book of BADOER (1436–40) shows the STAURATON, the standard silver coin then in use, as worth 96 tornesi.

LIT. G. Schlumberger, *Numismatique de l'Orient latin* (Paris 1878; rp. Graz 1954) 308–11, 321. Grierson, *Byz. Coins* 279–81, 298, 317f. Hendy, *Economy* 534f. –Ph.G.

TORNIKIOS (Τορνίκιος, also Τορνίκης, fem. Τορνικίνα), a noble family of Armenian or Georgian origin. According to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 43.55–60), Abu Ghanim (Apoganem), brother of a prince of TARŌN, was brought to Byz. and granted the title of *protospatharios* in the early 10th C.; Abu Ghanim's son Tornikios came to Constantinople later and received the rank of *patrikios*. A marginal note on Paris, B.N. gr. 2009, explains that he was Nicholas Tornikios's father; Nicholas can perhaps be identified with the Nicholas Tornikios who, with Leo Tornikios, supported Constantine VII in 945. Their relationship with John Tornikios is unclear: John, a vassal of DAVID OF TAYK'/TAO, settled eventually as a monk on Athos but later served Basil II as diplomat and general; in 979 he won the decisive victory over Bardas SKLEROS. John mastered both Armenian and Georgian: he erected a stone cross with an Armenian inscription near Karin (THEODOSIOUPOLIS) (Adontz, *Études* 309) and promoted the copying of Georgian MSS (P. Peeters, *AB* 50 [1932] 358–71). John's relatives served Byz. as military commanders; some took the name of John's brother Varazvače. In the Hermitage is a seal of the *strategos* Tornikios Varazvače; a certain Varazvače, whom Skylitzes (Skyl. 403.33) called *Iberos* (Georgian?), was governor of Edessa ca.1038; Kontoleon Tornikios served as *katepano* of Italy in 1017; J.-C. Cheynet (*BS* 42 [1981] 197–202) suggested that Leo Tornikios was *domestikos* of the West as well (see TORNIKIOS, LEO).

From the 12th C. onward the Tornikioi were predominantly civil functionaries: Demetrios, *logothetes tou dromou* in the late 12th C.; his son Constantine, *logothetes* after his father's death (ca.1201). Constantine's son Demetrios (died ca.1252) was *mesazon* in Nicaea, and his son Constantine *sebastokrator*; John Tornikios, governor of the Thrakesian theme in 1258, may have been the brother of the *sebastokrator* Constantine. The Tornikioi intermarried with many noble families including the PALAIOLOGOI and played important roles in the 14th C.: Demetrios Tornikios Palaiologos was *megas droungarios tes viglas*; Andronikos (monastic name Antonios) Tornikios Palaiologos was *parakoimomenos*; Michael Tornikios was *megas*

konostaulos. B. Schmalzbauer's hypothesis that a Slavicized branch of the family existed ca.1356 (allegedly Tornikios Rodosthlabos was *kephale* of Serres) is based on a misreading of the name (*Esphig*. 159). The family produced several 12th-C. literati: Euthymios Tornikios and two named George (see TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS and TORNIKIOS, GEORGE). Maria Tornikina Komnene Akropolitissa, possibly the *sebastokrator* Constantine's niece, is represented on the icon of the Virgin Hodegetria in the Tret'jakov Gallery (Moscow).

LIT. Kazhdan, *Arm*. 47–57. G. Schmalzbauer, "Die Tornikioi in der Palaiologenzeit," *JÖB* 18 (1969) 115–35.
–A.K.

TORNIKIOS, EUTHYMIOS, ecclesiastical official and writer; died Epiros after 1222. Son of the *logothetes tou dromou* Demetrios TORNIKIOS, he served as deacon in 1191. His preserved works are dated predominantly in 1200–05, although they include a poem dedicated to ISAAC II (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Noctes Petr*. 188f). Tornikios's rhetorical works are very conventional, esp. his panegyric of ALEXIOS III, which describes the revolt of John KOMNENOS the Fat. Tornikios mentions an expedition of Alexios against the Bulgarians, but the data are too vague to identify it. Tornikios's monody for his father is more personal, describing both family characteristics and, tenderly, Demetrios's death. His monodies for Demetrios and for Euthymios MALAKES are full of respect for the eloquence of the deceased, but this respect is expressed by clichés: the honey-dripping tongue of Malakes (p.78.21–22), the fire-breathing tongue of Demetrios (p.94.23–24).

ED. J. Darrouzès, "Les discours d'Euthyme Tornikès," *REB* 26 (1968) 53–117.
LIT. Darrouzès, "Notes" 149–55. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, writer; according to Darrouzès, born between 1110 and 1120, died 1156/7 (according to Browning, died in 1166/7). Tornikios's mother was apparently the niece of THEOPHYLAKTOS of Ohrid. Tornikios made a career in Constantinople as *didaskalos* of the Psalms and Gospels; in 1153–55 he occupied the post of *hypomnematographos* (second to the *chartophylax*) in the patriarchal chancellery; in 1155 he was elected metropolitan of Ephesus. His letters addressed to various secular and ecclesiastical administrators are important primarily for prosopographical information, because their content is conventional (e.g., ep.21 complains about the people of Ephesus who are wilder than leopards and more treacherous than foxes). Tornikios's eulogy of Anna KOMNENE presents a portrait of the princess and her desire for education. In a letter to the pope (written at the command of Manuel I), he defended the idea of a UNION OF THE CHURCHES to be achieved on the basis of the primacy of Constantinople. Unlike MICHAEL ITALIKOS, Tornikios was first and foremost a theologian; in his system of imagery, biblical borrowings are much more abundant than classical references.

ED. J. Darrouzès, *Georges et Dèmètrios Tornikès, Lettres et discours* (Paris 1970).
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 34–37. –A.K.

TORNIKIOS, GEORGE, *magistros ton rhetoron* in the 1190s. He has been confused by some scholars with his mid-12th-C. homonym; also his speech to Isaac II was wrongly dated to the end of 1186 (approximately at the same time as the discourses of John SYROPOULOS and Sergios KOLYBAS). Because these speeches provide unique information about the Byz. relationship with Bulgaria and Serbia, several events have consequently been misdated (the conflict between PETER OF BULGARIA and ASEN I, the marriage of STEFAN THE FIRST-CROWNED to Eudokia, daughter of Alexios III). The date of ca.1193 suggested by M. Bachmann (*Die Rede des Johannes Syropoulos an den Kaiser Isaak II. Angelos* [Munich 1935] 96, n.4) for the speech has been confirmed by later investigation. Tornikios's speech of 1192 to Patr. George II Xiphilinos (1191–98) is still unpublished.

ED. Regel, *Fontes* 254–80.
LIT. Browning, "Patriarchal School" 37f. Darrouzès, "Notes" 163–67. A. Kazhdan, "La date de la rupture entre Pierre et Asen (vers 1193)," *Byzantion* 35 (1965) 167–74. J.L. van Dieten, "Das genaue Datum der Rede des Georgios Tornikes an Isaak II. Angelos," *ByzF* 3 (1968) 114–16.
–A.K.

TORNIKIOS, LEO, nephew of CONSTANTINE IX; born Adrianople, died after 1047. He was *patrikios* and *strategos* of Melitene according to Attaleiates, governor of IBERIA according to Psellos. The latter describes Tornikios as short, crafty, proud, and ambitious. Initially honored by Constantine, he became devoted to the emperor's sister Eupre-

pia, who opposed her brother. During Tornikios's governorship, his Macedonian supporters attempted a revolt in his name. Recalled to Constantinople, he was made a monk, but allowed personal freedom. On 14 Sept. 1047 he fled to Adrianople, where his Macedonian supporters (including John VATATZES, a man of heroic strength, says Psellos) rallied around appeals against Constantine's misgovernment. When Tornikios's forces reached Constantinople, a motley force attempted to defend a moat outside the city wall; after they were driven within the gates, panic spread among the defenders. With the walls and gates abandoned, Tornikios might have taken the city, but lacked resolution. That night, Constantine reinforced the defenses; Tornikios's men, repelled, began to desert. Tornikios was forced to lift the siege and withdraw westward. An attack on Rhaidestos proved vain, and many of his supporters abandoned him. Drawn from his refuge in a church at Boulgarophygon, he was blinded in Constantinople at Christmas 1047, along with Vatatzes.

LIT. Adontz, *Études* 251–56. J. Lefort, "Rhétorique et politique: Trois discours de Jean Mauropous en 1047," *TM* 6 (1976) 280–82. –C.M.B.

T'OROS I. See RUBENIDS.

T'OROS II (Θεόδωρος), prince of Armenian CILICIA (1145?–68). Youngest son of Prince Leo I, T'oros was taken prisoner with his entire family by Emp. John II Komnenos in 1138 and educated at Constantinople. He escaped and returned to Cilicia in mysterious circumstances ca.1145. He rallied the local Armenian nobles, retook the RUBENID seat of ANAZARBOS, and collaborated with the Latin principalities of Edessa and Antioch. T'oros routed the Byz. army sent against him in 1152 as well as the Seljuks allied with the empire, and he raided as far as Cappadocia in 1154. In 1158, however, he was overcome by the campaign led by Manuel I Komnenos in person, was forced to recognize Manuel as his overlord, and received from him the title of *sebastos*. Despite his submission and occasional friction with Byz. authorities in the region, T'oros continued to play an active political role until his death. It was he who successfully consolidated the control of the Rubenids in Cilicia.

The Armenian historian Vahram of Edessa (13th C.) relates that in Constantinople T'oros married a "Greek princess." This evidence is questionable. He was later married to Isabella, daughter of Joscelin II, Count of Edessa; their daughter (the name is unknown) married Isaac, the *basileus* of Cyprus.

LIT. Der Nersessian, "Cilician Armenia" 637–42. –N.G.G.

TORQUE (*μανιάκιον, στρεπτός*), a form of neck ring or collar. Probably of Scandinavian origin, it may first have served to shield the neck and could be made of bronze, silver, or gold. In the Byz. era *maniakia* were worn by slaves (PG 65:104A, 86:444B) and kings (e.g., the king of India; Malal. 457.13–20) alike. It was also a sign of military rank; in Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 91.7, 93.4, 127.19) it is an insigne awarded to the *kandidatos*, *spatharokandidatos*, and *protospatharios*. The torque is depicted in the ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.8v) where it is worn by the officers flanking Pilate. It is also represented in images of certain military saints, for example, Sergios and Bakchos on a 7th-C. (?) icon (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B9); these torques are gold set with cabochon gems. According to their vita, their gold *maniakia* were removed when the saints were deprived of military rank (*AB* 14 [1895] 380.24–25). A member of the imperial bodyguard wears one in the Justinian mosaic at S. Vitale, RAVENNA. After the 6th C. the form consists of a loose necklace joined at the front by a medallion. The shape may have influenced gold NECKLACES, the chief ornament of which consisted of coins or medallions. From the time of Julian onward several usurpers were proclaimed emperors by setting a *maniakion* on their head as a form of crown. This custom seems to have disappeared after the 6th C.

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 3:417–20, 473. Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 20–22. *DOC* 3.1:122f. O.M. Dalton, "A Byzantine Silver Treasure from the District of Kerynia, Cyprus, now Preserved in the British Museum," *Archaeologia* 57 (1900) 159–62. –S.D.C., N.P.Š.

TORTURE, the intentional infliction of severe pain, was applied in Byz. as corporal punishment (see PENALTIES), to elicit confession or testimony, to extort the payment of taxes, and to take vengeance on an enemy, and as a means of trial by

ORDEAL. In the early Christian centuries MARTYRS were often tortured in a vain attempt to force them to recant their faith. The ECLOGA speaks often of flogging (*typtein*) as punishment, although less frequently than MUTILATION. Torture, sometimes combined with EXILE, was imposed for THEFT, sexual crimes, or misdemeanors. The FARMER'S LAW prescribes flogging (sometimes 12, 30, or even 100 blows) primarily for stealing livestock or grain and for arson, but also for using false measures of grain and wine (par.70). Disobeying the rules governing commercial transactions also was punished by scourging, according to the *Book of the Eparch*.

Another reason for torture was the refusal to pay taxes or a fine. A 4th-C. historian (Amm.Marc. 22:16.23) reports that Egyptians were proud of the scars they bore for not paying taxes, and NICHOLAS IV MOUZALON described how on Cyprus the peasants in arrears were bound together with hungry dogs in order to extort their payments (F. Dölger, *BZ* 35 [1935] 14). A detailed description of torture is found in the vita of St. ANTONY THE YOUNGER: when he did not return money to the treasury, the *epi ton deeseon* Stephen gave him 50 heavy blows with a whip; the punishment took place in Stephen's house. The government also applied torture to religious dissidents: hagiographers present frequent cases, and a 14th-C. historian states that the opponents of UNION OF THE CHURCHES suffered from confiscation, exile, imprisonment, blinding, mutilation, and flogging (Greg. 1:127.15–17). –A.K.

TOTILA (Τουτίλας; on coins, Baduila), Ostrogothic king (from autumn 541); born after 511, died near BUSTA GALLORUM June/July 552. Offspring of a Gothic aristocratic family, the young Totila commanded the garrison in Trevisium, in northern Italy, when Ostrogothic affairs were in disarray following the capture of VITIGES. Totila was ready to negotiate with the Byz., but the Goths elected him king "so that he might gain power over the Italiotai" (Prokopios, *Wars* 7:1.26). Totila acted with great efficiency and readily attracted *coloni* and slaves to his army; many estates of Roman landowners were confiscated and conferred on Goths; the hatred of Totila expressed by churchmen, including Pope Gregory I, suggests that Totila was hostile toward the Roman church. Wolfram (*infra*) distinguishes three phases of the war:

1. ***First Phase (541–43).*** Totila established Gothic power in the north with the victory at Faenza and moved to the south, occupying Naples, where anti-imperial sentiments were strong.

2. ***Second Phase (543–50).*** After assuring the neutrality of the Franks, Totila besieged and took Rome (17 Dec. 546). He left the city when it turned out that its possession was no guarantee of success in negotiations with Constantinople, then—after BELISARIOS retreated—again besieged and captured it on 16 Jan. 550; in May he even encroached upon Sicily.

3. ***Third Phase (550–52).*** GERMANOS and then NARSES led an expedition to Italy. Totila's attempts to wage war outside Italy (Kerkyra, Epiros, Sardinia, and Corsica) failed. At Busta Gallorum Totila was defeated; wounded, he died near the battlefield.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 353–61. Burns, *Ostro-Goths* 210–14. Z. Udal'cova, *Italija i Vizantija v VI veke* (Moscow 1959) 334–414. Stein, *Histoire* 2:567–602. –W.E.K., A.K.

TOULDOS (τοῦλδος or τοῦλδον, from late Lat. *tuldum*), a term first used in the 6th C. to denote the army's supply train. In the *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat. Maurik.*, bk.5) the *touldos*, under a separate commander, includes the army's nonmilitary personnel, pack animals, reserve horses, and frugal provisions for food and shelter. Similar notes on the composition of the *touldos* are found in the 10th-C. STRATEGIKA. They too emphasize frugality for the sake of the army's mobility, since most daily needs, food, fodder, or wood, could be collected by foraging parties. Specially assigned units guarded the *touldos* while the army marched or fought, and it was kept well inside the CAMP at night.

Imperial expeditions took lavish supplies (*De cer.* 455–81), but experienced soldiers warned of the disorganization and danger brought on by an overly large supply train, such as befell Manuel I Komnenos at MYRIOKEPHALON in 1176. A special transport corps, the OPTIMATOI, was created in the 8th C. to attend to the supply train and look after the imperial baggage if the emperor were on campaign (Haldon, *Praetorians* 223–27).

LIT. A. Dain, "'Touldos' et 'Touldon' dans les traités militaires," *AIPHOS* 10 [= *Mélanges Henri Grégoire* 2] (1950)

161–69. Dagron-Mihăescu, *Guérilla* 186–89. Hendy, *Economy* 272–75, 304–15. –E.M.

TOUPHA (*τοῦφα*, also *τουφίον*), tuft of hair from exotic animals used to decorate the helmets of cavalrymen and imperial crowns. The *Strategikon of Maurice* (*Strat.Maurik.* 1.2.10, 12B.4) refers to small *touphai* atop helmets; the passage is repeated in the *Taktika of Leo VI* (6.2). According to Kosmas Indikopleustes (Kosm. Ind. 11.5), officers ornamented their horses and standards with the so-called *touphai* made from the tail hairs of the Indian yak (*agriobous*); this *toupha* remained stiff and did not bend.

The crown (or helmet?) on the equestrian statue of Justinian I in the Augustaion (P. Lehmann, *ArtB* 41 [1959] 39-57; cf. C. Mango, ibid. 351–58) was surmounted by a *toupha*; when it fell off in the 9th C., it was replaced by a daring master roofer (*skalotes*) who from the roof of Hagia Sophia shot a cord attached to an arrow and then walked along the tightrope to reach the statue; Emp. Theophilos rewarded him with 100 nomismata (Leo Gramm. 227.3–11). CLAVIJO (ed. Lopez Estrada 44.19–20) described the *toupha* on this statue as so big it resembled a peacock's tail.

The term was subsequently extended to denote the headgear itself: thus Constantine VII (*De cer.* 188.10) equated *touphai* with tiaras, as did TZETZES (*Hist.* 8.297–301), adding that this kind of *typha* surmounted the equestrian statue of Justinian. A 12th-C. historian (Zon. 3:566.16–567.2) says that *toupha* was a vernacular word for tiara; he derives it from the verb *typhoomai*, meaning "to be filled with insane arrogance."

LIT. Piltz, *Kamelaukion* 49, 57. Janin, *CP byz.* 74. *DOC* 3.1: 129f. –A.K.

TOURKOI (Τοῦρκοι), Greek rendering of the name of the nomadic people Tür⟨ü⟩k. Chinese sources designate this people as *Tukiu*; thanks to the contemporary Byz. term *Tourkoi*, it becomes clear that they were the TURKS who founded a vast empire extending between the Chinese and the Persian frontier in the 6th C. Later the Byz. gave the name Tourkoi to several peoples originating primarily from Central Asia such as the KHAZARS, the HUNGARIANS and their offshoot, the VARDARIOTAI, etc. From the late 11th C. onward the Byz. used the term for the SELJUKS, for the Anatolian emirates, and finally for the OTTOMANS. In the last three cases the term is used alternatively with the archaic *Persai*.

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:320–27. –E.A.Z.

TOURKOPOULOI (Τουρκόπουλοι, lit. "sons of Turks"), a body of Turkish soldiers in Byz. service, or, later, any body of lightly armed horsemen. The term passed into Latin sources as a loanword, *turcupler*. This kind of light cavalry existed in some Latin states of the Levant, such as Rhodes, Cyprus, and the kingdom of Jerusalem (cf. J.L. Lamonte, *Feudal Monarchy in the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 1100 to 1291* [Cambridge, Mass., 1932] 136, 160–63).

LIT. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327f. P. Wittek, "Yazijioghlu ʿAlī on the Christian Turks of the Dobruja," *BSOAS* 14 (1952) 639–68. –E.A.Z.

TOURMA (*τούρμα* or *τοῦρμα*), term for a military detachment, in use (along with DROUNGOS) from the beginning of the 8th C., replacing the *meros* and *moira* listed in the *Strategikon of Maurice*. According to the *Taktika of Leo VI*, the *tourma* consisted of 3,000 men and three *tourmai* made up a THEME, but reality differed from these standardized figures. According to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos, each theme consisted of two to four *tourmai* (Ahrweiler, "Administration" 80, n.5), while that of OPTIMATON was not divided into *tourmai* or *droungoi*. As part of a theme, *tourma* acquired the meaning of an administrative unit. The commander of a *tourma* was a TOURMARCHES; the *tourma* could be administered by an EK PROSOPOU (*Ivir.* 1, no.10.13, 29 [a.996]). As the designation of a district, the word was still used in an act of 1193 (MM 6:125.2).

LIT. Haldon, *Praetorians* 210–12. –A.K.

TOURMARCHES (*τουρμάρχης*), a military commander, described in the 10th-C. military tract *On Skirmishing* (DE VELITATIONE) as the first assistant of the STRATEGOS. In the writings of a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 378.28–29), Christopher, the *tourmarches* of Thrakesion, acts independently; he was reportedly sent with 300 soldiers to Cherson by Justinian II in 711/12. On seals the *tourmarches* has the title of SPATHAROKANDIDATOS, KANDIDATOS, or SPATHARIOS (Laurent, *Méd. Vat.*, nos. 149–

51). It is generally accepted that the *tourmarches* commanded a TOURMA and held fiscal and judicial authority over the population in his region. The term is not mentioned in the latest of the TAKTIKA, that of Escurial in 971–75, but it appears in the table of contents of the work of a mid-11th-C. military writer (Kek. 656, par. 86), and there were *tourmarchai* in South Italy in the first half of the 11th C. It is unclear whether it was used after the 11th C. The term also designated commanders of naval units and of littoral districts.

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 41f. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 83–85. Falkenhausen, *Dominazione* 117–20. –A.K.

TOURNAMENT. See SPORTS.

TOYS AND GAMES. Toys (ἀθύρματα) were simple and predominantly made by children themselves; as the vita of Nikephoros of Medikion reports (F. Halkin, *AB* 78 [1960] 401, par.1.1–2), infants "compose" (a hapax is used—*kompostolousin*) their toys of "unshaped matter." Sand, clay, bones, sticks, and rags provided necessary materials: insects and plants were also employed as toys. A floor mosaic in the Great Palace (*Great Palace, 1st Report,* pl.29) shows children aping circus games, wheeling spoked disks around simulated *metae*. They also wrestled, played leapfrog, and pushed each other on swings (Galavaris, *Liturgical Homilies* 165–70). Board games, dice—esp. knucklebones (*astragaloi*)—and balls (*sphairai*) were popular with boys; dice were played for money, not only by children. Girls, who stayed mostly indoors, preferred dolls, *ninia* (*TheophCont* 90.23). Some children's games imitated important events or ceremonies, such as the liturgy (T. Nissen *BZ* 38 [1938] 361f; PG 25:ccxxiv AB), exorcisms (PG 82:1384CD), horse races, or battles. In popular perception, *athyrma* was a symbol of instability and of frivolous conduct, and hagiographers stressed that their heroes avoided playful BEHAVIOR. (See also GAMES, BOARD.)

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 1.1:161–84. M. Kuryłowicz, "Das Glückspiel im römischen Reich," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 197–200. L.Y. Rahmani, "Finds from a Sixth to Seventh Centuries Site near Gaza: I, The Toys," *IEJ* 31 (1981) 72–80. –A.K., A.C.

TRABEA TRIUMPHALIS. See TOGA.

TRACHY (νόμισμα τραχύ, pl. trachea), Greek term for the type of concave Byz. coin (struck 11th–14th C.) that numismatists formerly and incorrectly described as SCYPHATE. Because another standard name existed for the gold coins (HYPERPYRA), the term *trachy* was normally limited to coins of electrum and billon (later copper), with either the context or some further descriptive term indicating which was meant in any particular case. The word means basically "rough" or "uneven" and was apparently applied to the concave coins in the sense of "not flat."

LIT. Hendy, *Coinage* 29–31. –Ph.G.

TRACTATUS DE CREDITIS, a legal treatise probably written in the middle of the 11th C. Perhaps occasioned by an actual legal case, its aim was the demonstration that creditors not safeguarded by a PIGNUS are equal to each other (i.e., have the same position). Other questions regarding LOANS and, in an extended sense, claims are handled in textbook form, esp. the order of precedence of competing creditors who have each received a *pignus*. The *Basilika* with its scholia as well perhaps as the paraphrase of the *Institutes* by the 6th-C. jurist THEOPHILOS (3.14) and the *Peira* (6.2) are used as sources. Michael PSELLOS made the *Tractatus de creditis* the basis of verses 890–920 of his *Synopsis legum.* Zachariä doubted, probably incorrectly, that a section that follows the *Tractatus* (both in the independent transmission and in the 24th *paratitlon* of the PROCHIRON AUCTUM), which concerns exceptions to the rule "unus testis nullus testis" that are valid in cases of donations, belongs to the same treatise.

ED. Zepos, *Jus* 7:346–54. –L.B.

TRADE. See COMMERCE AND TRADE.

TRADE TREATIES. Trade clauses in TREATIES between Byz. and other states normally regulated the place and terms of the exchange of merchandise, often gave privileges (such as duty exemptions) to the merchants, and sometimes gave the MERCHANTS of other states quarters in Constantinople or other cities. Such commercial clauses were sometimes inserted in general treaties. The peace treaty with Persia, in 562, stated that all exchange of merchandise should take place at

specific trade stations (probably NISIBIS, KALLINIKOS, and Doubios [DUIN]), and that Saracen and other merchants should also trade only in Nisibis and Dara. The treaty of 907 with Rus' (see TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE) stipulated that Rus' merchants in Constantinople would stay in St. Mamas, receive supplies for six months, and trade without paying duties. In 969, a treaty with the emirate of Aleppo included a clause that regulated the payment of duties at the frontier and the movement of caravans of merchants. Krum's peace embassy in 812 included clauses regulating commerce (Theoph. 497.24–26). There was also a trade treaty between Michael VIII Palaiologos and the Egyptian sultan Kalāwūn, as part of a peace agreement (M. Canard, *Byzantion* 10 [1935] 669–80).

The most famous commercial treaties are those the Byz. concluded with Italian maritime cities, starting with the treaty of 992 with Venice, and continuing with the treaties and privileges granted by the Komnenian emperors after 1082, and then by the Angeloi and the Palaiologoi to Venice, Pisa, and Genoa. The treaties gave the merchants of these cities free access to various Byz. markets, reduced or abolished the KOMMERKION on the transactions of their merchants, and granted their merchants residential quarters and extraterritorial rights. These were full-fledged trade treaties, in the sense that their primary focus was on commerce.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Second Russian Attack on Constantinople," *DOP* 6 (1951) 219–23. M. Canard, *Histoire de la Dynastie des H'amdanides de Jazīra et de Syrie*, vol. 1 (Paris 1951) 835f. R.-J. Lilie, *Handel und Politik zwischen dem byzantinischen Reich und den italienischen Kommunen Venedig, Pisa und Genua in der Epoche der Komnenen und der Angeloi* (Amsterdam 1984). –A.L.

TRADITIO LEGIS (Lat. "transmission of the law"), the modern title for a group of 4th–13th-C. compositions, predominantly Roman, showing Christ holding a scroll and flanked by PETER and/or PAUL. The *Traditio legis* emerges just after the edict of toleration of Christians in the early 4th C., and draws heavily on imperial imagery. The earliest version, found on "Passion" sarcophagi, shows Christ on the mount of PARADISE, his right arm raised in a gesture of address and his left holding an open scroll, as Peter approaches from his right and Paul acclaims him on his left. This version, chosen ca.370 for the apses of St. Peter's (Buddensieg, *infra*, fig.13) and S. Costanza in ROME, was revered later in the Middle Ages as an image of Peter's primacy. Its initial meaning was probably apolitical, conflating Christ's eschatological appearance as a lawgiver with his post-Passion appearances (see APPEARANCES OF CHRIST AFTER THE PASSION) as victor over death. A similar interpretation can be assigned to the variant version on the Junius Bassus sarcophagus (Volbach, *Early Christian Art*, fig.42) showing Christ enthroned like a lawgiving emperor above a personification of the Heavens. A third image, with Christ seated in a neutral setting giving a closed scroll to Paul, survives on SARCOPHAGI in Ravenna. Sometimes interpreted as an anti-Roman variant of the compositions described above, it is regarded by Schumacher (*infra*) as an independent, probably Constantinopolitan, image showing the transmission of the Gospels to the Gentiles.

LIT. T. Buddensieg, "Le coffret en ivoire de Pola, Saint-Pierre et la Lateran," *CahArch* 10 (1959) 157–200. W.N. Schumacher, "'Dominus Legem Dat,'" *RQ* 54 (1959) 1–39. –A.W.C.

TRAGEDY shared the fate of the THEATER and DRAMA, which declined in imperial Rome. Tragedy was no longer produced as a theatrical performance; rather the author or an actor read the entire text to an assembled audience. This procedure was familiar to Ambrose and Augustine, who stressed that the actor (*hypokrites*) sang or declaimed tragedies on the stage (H.A. Kelly, *Traditio* 35 [1979] 35, 42). Classical tragedies were still known in the 4th–6th C., and quotations from them have been found in provincial inscriptions, such as one from 6th-C. Apollonia, Epiros (Al. Cameron, *ClRev* 81 [1967] 134). Tragedies continued to be written, and the *Souda* mentions a "*tragodia*" by a certain Timotheos of Gaza addressed to Emp. Anastasios I; it was devoted, however, to the theme of the CHRYSARGYRON, which makes it questionable that the work was a genuine play. The Byz. of the 7th–10th C. lost interest in tragedy; sporadic quotations appear in certain authors, e.g., IGNATIOS THE DEACON (R. Browning, *REGr* 81 [1968] 401–10), but Photios, for example, ignored the great classical tragedians in his *Bibliotheca*. Interest revived in the 11th C. when Psellos produced a comparison of EURIPIDES and GEORGE OF PISIDIA; probably in the 11th or

12th C. was written an anonymous treatise on tragedy that has survived in MS Oxford, Bodl., Barocci 131. Simultaneously began the transmission of the plays of AESCHYLUS, SOPHOCLES, and Euripides, which culminated in the work of Demetrios TRIKLINIOS, who prepared the corpus of extant ancient tragedies. The word "tragedy," however, lost its classical meaning; the vernacular *tragoudi* and its derivatives denoted popular songs without any connection to the theater.

LIT. Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:958f. R. Browning, "A Byzantine Treatise on Tragedy," in *Geras: Studies Presented to George Thomson* (Prague 1963), with add. by J. Gluckner, *Byzantion* 38 (1968) 267–72. –A.K.

TRAGOS (lit. "he-goat"), *typikon* for Mt. ATHOS drafted by the Stoudite monk Euthymios and signed by JOHN I TZIMISKES between 970 and 972. Its name derives from the thick goatskin parchment on which the original document is written. It bears the signatures of the PROTOS of Athos and 56 monks and is still preserved in the Protaton archives at Karyes. This first rule for Athonite monks was composed at a time of tension between independent groups of anchorites and the new KOINOBIA on the Holy Mountain, as exemplified in the recently founded Great Lavra of Athanasios (963). The *typikon* confirmed the rights of *hegoumenoi*, thus ensuring the future predominance of cenobitic monasticism on Athos but, at the same time, protected the interests of hermits living in small groups or as solitaries. The number of annual assemblies at the Protaton was reduced from three to one, and the *protos* was forbidden to make any decision without the consent of the *hegoumenoi*.

ED. *Prot.* 95–102, 202–215.
LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 215–24. –A.M.T.

TRAGOUDI (τραγοῦδι), a song; though applicable to any type of song (e.g., love songs, which can exist either independently, as in the EROTOPAIGNIA, or embedded in a longer work, as in the romance LIBISTROS AND RHODAMNE), the term is conventionally applied to short narrative poems (such as the *Song of Armouris* [see ARMOURES] or the *Song of Porphyris*) in the popular language, usually in POLITICAL VERSE and ostensibly with historical allusions. Origins in the ancient and Byz. world have been claimed for many of the *tragoudia* collected orally or rediscovered in MS form in Greek-speaking lands during the 19th C. It has thus been argued that the *Song of Armouris* refers to the capture of Amorion in 838, the *Son of Andronikos* to Andronikos Doukas or Andronikos I Komnenos, while the AKRITIC SONGS in general would refer to the wars of the 9th and 10th C. However, many of the motifs of these *tragoudia* (e.g., abducted brides, valiant younger brothers, precocious heroes) have the timeless nature of folk tale and cannot be tied to a precise Byz. context; nevertheless the 15th-C. MS of the *Song of Armouris* and THRENOI like the *Battle of Varna* (which could be defined as a *tragoudi*) indicate that some *tragoudia* were certainly composed in late Byz., while there are signs (e.g., in DIGENES AKRITAS or the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA) that short *tragoudia* were stitched together to form longer narratives. The length of this tradition, given the ephemeral nature of oral POETRY, is hard to assess.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur* 48–63, 110f, 161–67. –E.M.J.

TRAJAN'S GATE, a narrow pass between Ikhtiman and Pazardčik, scene of a defeat of BASIL II by SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, 16/17 Aug. 986. Basil had attacked SERDICA, but after 20 days was compelled to retreat. At Trajan's Gate the Bulgarians attacked Basil's forces from the mountainsides. Much of the army perished; the imperial tent and regalia fell into Samuel's hands. Basil's defeat encouraged Bardas SKLEROS to revolt once more and allowed Samuel to expand his state. Basil, however, was never again trapped in a mountain pass.

LIT. P. Mutafčiev, *Izbrani proizvedenija* 2 (Sofia 1973) 478–606.
–C.M.B.

TRALLES (Τράλλεις), now Aydın, city of Lydia on the north side of the Meander valley. The skins and cushions produced there were valuable enough to be included in the price edict of Diocletian, and its monumental aqueduct of the mid-4th C. was the subject of commemorative inscriptions. Tralles was a bishopric throughout the Byz. period, but its history is obscure. Under Justinian I, JOHN OF EPHESUS based his missionary activity there and converted thousands of pagans in the neighboring mountains. In its final role as a bul-

wark against the Turks, Tralles, then desolate, was rebuilt by Andronikos II in 1280 and renamed Andronikopolis and Palaiologopolis. It contained, according to Pachymeres (ed. Bekker 1:470.12) 36,000 inhabitants. Because of its planners' failure to provide a water supply, the project was aborted and the Turks of MENTESHE took Tralles in 1284.

LIT. Foss, "Twenty Cities" 483. Laiou, *CP and the Latins* 24f. K.A. Žukov, *Egeiskie emiraty v XIV–XV vv.* (Moscow 1988) 20f. –C.F.

TRANSFIGURATION (*μεταμόρφωσις*), the appearance of Christ, accompanied by Moses and Elijah, to Peter, James, and John in the shining glory of his divinity (Mt 17:1–8), traditionally believed to have taken place on Mt. TABOR. This illumination, seen only by the three disciples, foreshadowed the complete transformation of Christ at the Resurrection, after his suffering on the cross. The Transfiguration served as a prophetic sign foretelling the future transfiguration of all Christians.

A number of writers devoted homilies to the Transfiguration: from the early authors John Chrysostom, Cyril of Alexandria, pseudo-Proklos, and Andrew of Crete, up to later writers such as Joseph Bryennios and Patr. Gennadios II Scholarios. The main themes of sermons on this topic were the cardinal distinction between Christ and the two principal Old Testament prophets Moses and Elijah with whom he appeared to his apostles and the significance of the Transfiguration as a pledge of redemption: "Christ was transformed not without purpose but to show us the future transformation of nature and the coming second advent . . . bringing salvation" (pseudo-Chrysostom, PG 61:714.19–22).

The Transfiguration of Christ was a central

TRANSFIGURATION. The Transfiguration; mosaic, 6th C. Apse of the Church of St. Catherine, Sinai.



paradigm for Palamite HESYCHASM and served as the principal example of any vision of the uncreated LIGHT (energies or grace), which embraces both the spirit and the senses, beheld by the natural eyes of man who is transformed, however, by the Spirit of God. By referring to the supposed consensus of the Greek fathers, Palamas sought to avoid in his doctrine the crude, sensate vision of light characterizing the Messalians; in his doctrine (outlined in the *Triads*) he attached the earlier effect of the Holy Spirit to the eyes of the body.

The feast of the Transfiguration (6 Aug.) was introduced at Constantinople even before the time of Leo VI, to whom it is attributed, probably at the beginning of the 8th C. at the latest (V. Grumel, *REB* 14 [1956] 209f). Constantinople borrowed the feast from Jerusalem, though its origins there remain obscure. It did not exist in the 4th C. (P. Devos, *AB* 86 [1968] 87–108) and probably derives from a ca.6th-C. Palestinian "Feast of Tabernacles." It has been suggested that it commemorated the dedication of the three basilicas on Mt. Tabor (M. Aubineau, *AB* 85 [1967] 422–27).

One of the 12 GREAT FEASTS of the Byz. church calendar, the Transfiguration has a *paramone* VIGIL plus a seven-day afterfeast. The emperor celebrated the feast in Hagia Sophia (Philotheos, *Kletor.* 219.12–23), but in the 14th C. he went to the church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY instead (pseudo-Kod. 245.7–10).

Representation in Art. The earliest depictions of the Transfiguration are from the mid-6th C.: the apse mosaic at the monastery of St. CATHERINE, Mt. Sinai, shows the classic composition with Christ in MANDORLA flanked by Moses and Elijah and with Peter, John, and James at his feet; the apse of S. Apollinare in Classe, RAVENNA, conveys the Transfiguration in symbols—sheep beneath a cross in glory. By replacing Christ with a jeweled cross—sign of his eschatological return—the Ravenna mosaic reveals the significance given the event by Christ himself, as a foretaste of the PAROUSIA when he will come in glory to consummate the law (Moses) and the prophets (Elijah). The scene, at first static and symmetrical, becomes more dynamic in the 12th C. For instance, Nicholas MESARITES interprets the disciples not as cowering in fear but hurled to the ground by the light. The light becomes an active force in Palaiologan imagery, blazing from Christ's mandorla and hurtling the disciples down a precipitous landscape, for example, Paris, B.N. gr. 1242 (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, pl.XXXIX), and thus illustrating the hesychast theology.

LIT. G. Habra, *La Transfiguration selon les pères grecs* (Paris 1974). M. Aubineau, "Une homélie grecque inédite sur la Transfiguration," *AB* 85 (1967) 401–27. Meyendorff, *Palamas* 172–78. G. Podskalsky, "Gottesschau und Inkarnation," *OrChrP* 35 (1969) 5–44. J.A. McGuckin, "The Patristic Exegesis of the Transfiguration," *StP* 18.1 (1986) 335–41. M. Sachot, *L'homélie pseudo-chrysostomienne sur la Transfiguration* (Frankfurt am Main 1981) 22–37. Idem, *Les homélies grecques sur la Transfiguration: Tradition manuscrite* (Paris 1987). Millet, *Recherches* 216–31. E. Dinkler, *Das Apsismosaik von S. Apollinare in Classe* (Cologne-Opladen 1964). K. Weitzmann, "Byzantium and the West Around the Year 1200," in *The Year 1200: A Symposium* (New York 1975) 62f. –G.P., R.F.T., A.W.C.

TRANSHUMANCE. The Byz. kept their cattle (at least partially) in stalls and stables, but the limited size of meadows forced them to drive SHEEP to remote pastures. The distances varied: young boys might graze flocks nearby, returning home at night (I. van den Gheyn, *AB* 18 [1899] 214f); cattle could be pastured in the woods without herdsmen; but often shepherds went far from home with their flocks. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 1:379.20–23) describes peasants in the Strumica region of Macedonia who left their homes in spring for the mountains and stayed there to milk their animals. There were also special winter pastures (*cheimadeia*)—thus, an Athonite act of 1333 mentions a *cheimadeion* in the area of Kassandreia, near which were located a field of 1,800 *modioi* and an oak grove, probably for the swine (*Xénoph.* no.22.5–6). Another monastery possessed a *cheimadeion* in the same area where several *demosiakoi paroikoi* had settled (*Chil.*, no.58.4–7). A contract might regulate the use of such a winter pasture: for example, two neighboring landowners were to feed their cattle on it during the winter, but from the beginning of the spring, when the grass began to grow, they had to avoid it (MM 4:181.19–25).

Sheep were esp. suited for long journeys, and large flocks accompanied by shepherds and dogs could be seen in Cappadocia. Some ethnic minorities, such as the Vlachs and Albanians, practiced transhumance in mountainous regions. The mass production of CHEESE was connected with this type of husbandry, which required the preservation of dairy products for long periods. –A.K., J.W.N.

TRANSLATION. Throughout the Byz. era neighboring cultures showed an awareness of Greek literature and made translations of Greek authors. The Byz., on the other hand, showed much less interest in translating works in other languages into Greek, except in the final centuries of the empire.

GREEK INTO LATIN. In the West interest in translation into LATIN concentrated around several types of literature: science (in 6th-C. Africa, Mustio translated the gynecological works of Soranos of Ephesus; in the 5th–6th C. a metrological treatise by EPIPHANIOS of Salamis, written ca.392, was translated; a Latin version of Aratos's interpretation of meteorological phenomena appeared in the 7th C.); military exploits and adventures (alleged memoirs of the Phrygian Dares from the 6th C., the story of APOLLONIOS OF TYRE); theological, hagiographical, and church historical writings translated by JEROME, RUFINUS, etc. Already by 373 the vita of St. ANTONY THE GREAT by Athanasios of Alexandria appeared in Latin. Interest in contemporary Greek literature can be traced through the 9th C., when ANASTASIUS BIBLIOTHECARIUS rendered the *Chronographia* of Theophanes the Confessor into Latin.

From the 9th C. onward attention focused on theological works, esp. pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE (translated by Eriugena) and BARLAAM AND IOASAPH (first translated into Latin in the 11th C., then into various "national" languages). In the 12th C. BURGUNDIO OF PISA's translations included John Chrysostom and John of Damascus, while MOSES OF BERGAMO translated a treatise attributed to Epiphanios of Salamis and a florilegium on the Trinity. From the 13th C. onward interest shifted toward ancient Greek philosophy on the part of both Greek and Latin scholars. WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE translated Aristotle and Proklos, while Robert GROSSETESTE headed a group of scholars at Lincoln who translated Aristotle and Byz. commentaries on Aristotle as well as works of pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and John of Damascus. Byz. literati in Italy, such as John ARGYROPOULOS, Theodore GAZES, and GEORGE TRAPEZOUNTIOS, made translations of Plato and Aristotle, in addition to some patristic writings, while Nicholas SEKOUNDINOS translated Demosthenes and Plutarch, among other authors. During the Renaissance scholars rediscovered Homer and other classics of ancient literature, while paying little attention to writings of the Byz. era.

LIT. L. Zgusta, "Die Rolle des Griechischen im römischen Kaiserreich," in *Die Sprachen im römischen Reich der Kaiserzeit* (Cologne 1980) 135–45. W.J. Aerts, "The Knowledge of Greek in Western Europe at the Time of Theophano," in *Byzantium and the Low Countries in the Tenth Century* (Dordrecht 1985) 73–83. W. Berschin, *Griechisch-Lateinisches Mittelalter* (Bern-Munich 1980).

–A.K., A.M.T.

GREEK INTO SLAVONIC. The earliest surviving Slavonic translations of Greek texts date from the Christian period of the first Bulgarian Empire (864–971), since those made by Cyril (CONSTANTINE THE PHILOSOPHER) and METHODIOS for their Moravian mission (863–85) have been lost. The entire corpus of translations could be compared to the library of a large, provincial Byz. monastery: the Bible; homiletic and exegetic writings, but few dogmatic works; hagiography; liturgy; *gnomologia*; *florilegia*; popular world histories; canon law; and a few popular romances, such as the *Alexander Romance*. In the 12th to 15th C. more translations were made in Bulgaria, Serbia, and on Mt. Athos (e.g., at HILANDAR), but they were again mainly ecclesiastical, including the fathers who influenced the Hesychasts, so that the orthodox Slavs remained largely ignorant of Byz. (and classical) philosophy and science. Most of the translations, in keeping with the medieval theory of the need to preserve both content and form of the original, were literal. (See also RUS', LITERATURE OF; BULGARIAN LITERATURE; SERBIAN LITERATURE.)

LIT. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 56–72. F. Thomson, "*Sensus* or *proprietas verborum*—Mediaeval Theories of Translation as Exemplified by Translations from Greek into Latin and Slavonic," in *Symposium Methodianum*, ed. K. Trost, E. Völkl, E. Wedel [*Selecta Slavica*, vol. 13] (Neuried 1988) 675–91.

–F.J.T.

GREEK INTO LANGUAGES OF THE CHRISTIAN EAST. Translations of Greek texts played a very important role in the formation of the Eastern Christian literatures in Syriac, Armenian, Georgian, Arabic, Coptic, and Ethiopic. In some cases (Armenian, Georgian) translations from Greek and Syriac played a formative role, being the first productions in the native tongue. In other cases (Syriac, Coptic) the translations were vital for the full development of the local Christian traditions, even if an indigenous Christian literary tradition coexisted.

Translations from Greek are indicative of a common cultural heritage among Eastern Christians that is derived from the Hellenistic world. Not only did biblical, liturgical, and theological texts come in large part from Greek sources but it was through translations that Syrians, Armenians, and others participated in the general culture of their time in the Eastern Mediterranean and Near East.

Although national literatures developed in languages that had no linguistic affinity (Semitic/Hamitic, Indo-European, Caucasian), there was a common pool of themes both Christian and secular. Thus cultural boundaries were not significant, and even theological differences did not prevent a great deal of translation from one language to another.

Syriac. The large number of translations and constant revisions of the Bible indicates Syrian preoccupation with authoritative foreign texts. Although native traditions, esp. poetry, developed along local lines (and in turn influenced Greek—cf. ROMANOS THE MELODE), translations from Greek theological, philosophical, rhetorical, and scientific texts formed the basis for Syrian learning in those spheres. Furthermore, the role of Syriac texts and of Syrian translators in the early transmission of Greek thought to the Muslim world is paramount (see below). (See also SYRIAC LITERATURE.)

Armenian. The first texts written in Armenian were biblical, liturgical, and theological works translated from Greek and Syriac. The translators were familiar with the contemporary literary culture of the Eastern Mediterranean, and translations of secular texts (philosophy, grammar, rhetoric, the sciences) rapidly augmented the growing body of native literature. Especially influential for Armenian historians were Eusebios of Caesarea (*Ecclesiastical History*, *Chronicon*), Sokrates, Philo, Josephus Flavius (though only a later, 17th-C. translation survives), and the *Alexander Romance*. Translations of Dionysios Thrax and David the Philosopher of Alexandria were significant for the development of Armenian grammatical and philosophical interests; in theology John Chrysostom and Gregory of Nazianzos had the greatest influence. Translations from Greek (and Syriac, and later from Arabic, Persian, and Latin) continued to enrich Armenian learning throughout the Byz. period (e.g., pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and scholia in the 8th C.). (See also ARMENIAN LITERATURE.)

Georgian. As in Armenia, so in Georgia a native literature developed first from translations of biblical, liturgical, and theological texts. But even more than in Armenia, the influence of Palestine was noticeable in Georgia. Thus Georgian has preserved biblical and liturgical traditions associated with Jerusalem that were later subordinated to the Byz. rite. Continuing ties with Palestine after the Muslim conquest are evident from many translations into Georgian from Christian Arabic. Since the Georgians remained Chalcedonian, they associated with Greek scholars in monastic centers such as Mt. Athos (esp. IVERON), Mt. Sinai, and the Black Mountain. In the 10th and 11th C. many new translations from biblical, theological, exegetical, and philosophical texts were made. (See also GEORGIAN LITERATURE.)

Arabic. There is not always a clear distinction between Christian and Muslim translations from Greek into Arabic, given the interplay between the two literatures. The earliest transmission of Greek learning to the Muslims was effected by Christian translators working primarily from Syriac versions. Emphasis was given to philosophical, medical, and scientific works.

Writers of Christian texts in Arabic were also heirs to Greek traditions of learning. In the ecclesiastical sphere the first translations were of biblical and liturgical texts. Whether any of these predate Islamic times is a debated question. By the 9th C. translations of Greek patristic writers, augmented by versions of ascetic and hagiographic literature, were being produced in the monasteries of southern Palestine (see JUDEA, WILDERNESS OF and SABAS, GREAT LAVRA OF) and the SINAI peninsula.

LIT.—General. G. Garitte, *Scripta Disiecta* 2 (Louvain 1980) 676–717. P. Peeters, *Tréfonds oriental de l'hagiographie byzantine* (Brussels 1950).

LIT.—Syriac. A. Baumstark, *Geschichte der syrischen Literatur* (Bonn 1922). I. Ortiz de Urbina, *Patrologia Syriaca* (Rome 1965).

LIT.—Armenian. V. Inglisian in *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, 7.1 (Leiden-Cologne 1963) 157–250. G. Zarp'analean, *Matenadaran Haykakan Targmanut'eanc' Naxneac'* (Venice 1889).

LIT.—Georgian. M. Tarchnišvili, *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Vatican 1955). R.P. Blake, "La littérature grecque en Palestine au VIIIe siècle," *Muséon* 78 (1965) 367–80.

LIT.—Arabic. F. Rosenthal, *The Classical Heritage in Islam* (London 1975). R. Walzer, *Greek into Arabic* (Cambridge,

Mass., 1965). G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur, 1: die Übersetzungen* (Vatican 1944). –R.W.T.

OTHER LANGUAGES INTO GREEK. Translations into Greek from other languages were infrequent in the late Roman Empire (Christ, *Literatur* 2.2:665, n.1), even though a few 6th-C. authors (John Lydos, Malalas) evidently had some knowledge of LATIN literature (B. Baldwin in *From Late Antiquity to Early Byzantium* [Prague 1985] 237–41). The most important translations were not in belles lettres, but in the sphere of law and jurisprudence, that is, the translation of Justinian's legal codification. It is also possible to trace some translations of hagiographical works from Latin: thus, the *Dialogues* of Pope Gregory I were translated by Pope ZACHARIAS or someone at his court; more difficult is the question of the Greek Acts of Pope SILVESTER and the date of their compilation or translation. The origin of the Greek vitae of some popes (Leo I, Martin) and Latin saints (Martin of Tours) is not certain. The influx of Latin literature, esp. theological (AUGUSTINE, Thomas AQUINAS), took place in the 14th and 15th C. through the translations of the KYDONES brothers and GENNADIOS II SCHOLARIOS, while PLANOUDES introduced secular authors, such as OVID and Cicero, to a Byz. audience. Some astronomical tables were also translated from Latin. Translations from Armenian into Greek were rare, but there are Greek versions of two recensions of AGATHANGELOS and of the NARRATIO DE REBUS ARMENIAE. Translations from Arabic and Persian were primarily of scientific texts, esp. on ASTRONOMY and to a lesser extent MEDICINE and PHARMACOLOGY.

The relation of certain Greek texts with their supposed Syriac, Arabic, or Georgian "originals" is unclear; one of the texts in dispute is BARLAAM AND IOASAPH. The situation began to change in the 11th C. when oriental texts such as *Stephanites and Ichnelates* (translated from Arabic by Symeon SETH) and SYNTIPAS (translated from Syriac by Michael Andreopoulos) penetrated Greek literature.

LIT. K.F. Weber, *De Latinis scriptis quae Graeci ad linguam suam transtulerunt* (Cassel 1852). D. Holwerda, "La code de Justinien et sa traduction grecque," *ClMed* 23 (1962) 274–92. –A.K., A.M.T.

TRANSLATION OF RELICS. See RELICS.

TRANSLITERATION OF TEXTS, that is, transcribing UNCIAL MSS into a new script (MINUSCULE), occurred primarily in the 9th and 10th C. Neither the precise date of the beginning of transliteration (μεταχαρακτηρισμός) nor the place of its origin is well established. The first precisely dated minuscule copy is the USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK of 835, but Wilson (*infra* 66) considers a collection of astronomical texts in Leiden (Universiteitsbibliothek B.P.G. 78) as written between 813 and 820. The Stoudios monastery has been suggested as the site of the invention of minuscule, but the hypothesis is based on circumstantial evidence. Nevertheless, Constantinople is probably where the transliteration started.

It is difficult to establish the history of transliteration since many MSS have been lost and others are not dated. Dain (*infra* 127) thinks that the New Testament was the first type of book to be transliterated, but in the 9th C. the Byz. continued to produce some uncial MSS of the New Testament (e.g., the so-called Coridethi Gospel). The earliest dated Old Testament manuscript in minuscule is of 914 (Athens, Nat. Lib. suppl. 614), whereas the so-called Uspenskij Psalter of 862 (Rahlfs, *Verzeichnis* 224f) was still written in uncial. Liturgical texts continued to be produced in uncial, as were some works of the church fathers (the copy of pseudo-Dionysios sent to France in 827 was still in uncial), while other patristic works were transliterated as early as the 9th C. (e.g., Vaticanus gr. 503 containing the *Panarion* of Epiphanios of Cyprus). Scientific MSS (e.g., Ptolemy, Euclid, and collections of mathematical, astronomical, and medical writings) were among the works transliterated in the 9th C. as well as some treatises on philosophy, including Aristotle and Plato. Secular literature (poets, tragedians, historians) was rendered into minuscule somewhat later (10th C.) with the exception of Homer (for whom there is a 9th-C. minuscule MS). The process of transliteration left telltale signs in extant texts (e.g., errors due to misunderstanding of the uncial letters on the part of scribes making the transliteration into minuscule).

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 65–68, 85–88, 136–40. A. Dain, *Les manuscrits*[2] (Paris 1964) 124–33. Lemerle, *Humanism* 125–36. *Geschichte der Textüberlieferung der antiken und mittelalterlichen Literatur,* ed. H. Hunger, 2 vols. (Zurich 1961–64). –A.K., I.Š.

TRANSPORTATION. See DROMOS; TRAVEL.

TRAPEZA (τράπεζα, lit. "table"), a refectory in a MONASTERY. Monastic *typika* regulated in detail behavior "in the *trapeza*" where monks took their meals (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 67.788–89). Some *typika* emphasized that all the monks should eat together "in the *trapeza* of nourishment" (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 47.458–59), whereas the *typikon* of the KECHARITOMENE NUNNERY permitted some distinguished nuns to eat in their cells "beyond the apse of the *trapeza*" (P. Gautier, *REB* 43 [1985] 37.315–16). The monk (or nun) in charge of the *trapeza* was called the *trapezarios* (or *trapezaria*).

Architecture of the Refectory. The refectory was often located opposite the KATHOLIKON, which it followed in the liturgical hierarchy of the monastery, since the common meals eaten there were seen to be a continuation of the liturgy. The three types of Byz. refectories were a rectangular hall, the same with an added transept, and a room cruciform in plan as at the Great LAVRA on Mt. Athos. The buildings were sometimes apsed and usually covered with wooden roofs. A long TABLE with benches might be placed in the middle of the refectory or a number of semicircular tables (*sigmata*) were placed along the walls, which were often frescoed.

LIT. P.M. Mylonas, "La trapéza de la Grande Lavra au Mont Athos," *CahArch* 35 (1987) 143–57. Orlandos, *Monast.Arch.* 43–60. –A.K., M.J.

TRAPEZITES. See BANKER.

TRAVEL. The geographic horizons of the late antique world remained broad and encompassed CHINA, INDIA, CEYLON, ETHIOPIA, and the British Isles. After the 7th C. the scope of Byz. travel significantly diminished; although we hear sometimes about journeys to India, in reality the Byz. rarely ventured farther than Baghdad and Alexandria in the southeast, France in the west, and the northern shore of the Black Sea. In the late Palaiologan period some venturesome travelers visited ENGLAND and the Baltic regions (MANUEL II PALAIOLOGOS, Laskaris KANANOS, Manuel CHRYSOLORAS). Constantinople attracted western and eastern travelers (esp. from the 11th C. onward); in comparison the Byz. did not travel as much.

Major purposes of travel were COMMERCE (the money-changer KALOMODIOS, said Niketas Choniates, often set forth on long journeys), official government business, EMBASSIES, PILGRIMAGE, and visits to shrines for HEALING; travel for EDUCATION or pleasure was rare. Although the principle of STABILITY was among the rules of monastic behavior, the saints' vitae often describe voyages of monks, esp. to Jerusalem and Rome.

Travelers were endangered by hazards such as PIRACY, BRIGANDAGE, and shipwreck, and inconvenienced by slow vehicles, poor ROADS, and underdeveloped facilities; they often preferred monastic hostels (XENODOCHEIA) to commercial INNS and MITATA. If choice was available, the Byz. opted to travel by SHIP because it was easier and faster. Travelers on land walked or rode HORSES, mules, and donkeys; occasionally horses and oxen were used to pull CARTS. Rich people were sometimes carried on a litter (by slaves in the 9th C. at least). Pious men usually journeyed alone or in pairs, whereas MERCHANTS preferred to travel in groups, hiring professional ass-drivers. The travel of state officials was facilitated by the department of the DROMOS, and local inhabitants were required to provide them with free transportation and lodging.

Some information on the length of journeys is preserved in both Greek and foreign sources (the Greek ones usually indicate shorter times): an uneventful sea voyage from Constantinople to Cyprus in the 12th C. took 10 days, and one could ride from Paphlagonia to the capital on horseback in eight days, although John Mauropous complained that his trip from Constantinople to Euchaita took two months. (See also GEOGRAPHY; TRAVEL LITERATURE.)

LIT. Ch. Angelide. "Emporikoi kai hagiologikoi dromoi (4os–7os ai.)—Hoi metamorphoseis tes taxidiotikes aphegeses," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1989) 675–85. Kazhdan, "Iz ekonomičeskoj žizni," 170–83. A. Laiou-Thomadakis, "Saints and Society in the Late Byzantine Empire," in *Charanis Studies* 97–99. –Ap.K., A.K.

TRAVEL LITERATURE encompasses numerous late antique and medieval genres (PERIPLOUS, itinerary, PROSKYNETARION, etc.) varying in their languages, goals, and approaches. Its principal

languages were Greek, Latin, Arabic, and Slavic. Main areas of attention were Palestine (sometimes together with Egypt), Constantinople, and Rome; other regions appear as way stations. Greek, Latin, and Slavic works were predominantly descriptions of pilgrimages and guidebooks (*hodoiporiai*) for PILGRIMS primarily interested in religious monuments (LOCA SANCTA) and relics. They could also be (or include) tales of wonder-working, descriptions of diplomatic missions, or the adventures of captives; there are also some narrative accounts of journeys for arranged marriages. Arabic texts were primarily guides for merchants and contained information about marketplaces and the goods produced at various locales. Some travel accounts take a personal approach, depicting fears and hardships, describing meetings with local celebrities, and expressing individual opinions; others are restricted to lists of sites, the distances between them, and concise indications as to what is worth seeing. Pilgrim attractions are standardized; material is often repeated in book after book without any concern for plagiarism. Linguistic difficulties sometimes led to misunderstandings, and medieval gullibility confused reality with legend; nevertheless, many travel accounts contain unique and precious information: the fresh, if naive, eye of a foreigner could observe phenomena that local people or a Constantinopolitan historian might neglect. (See also GEOGRAPHY.)

LIT. Beazley, *Geography* 1:53–242; 2:112–217. E. Honigmann, "Un itinéraire à travers l'Empire byzantin," *Byzantion* 14 (1939) 645–49. Van der Vin, *Travellers* 1:1–23. K.D. Seemann, *Die altrussische Wallfahrtsliteratur* (Munich 1976). Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 1–12. –A.K.

TRDAT. See HAGIA SOPHIA.

TRDAT THE GREAT (Τηριδάτης), first Christian Arsacid king of Armenia and saint. The dates of his reign are still disputed, but the years 298–330 seem most likely since the recently discovered Paikuli inscriptions, which name the Sasanian Narseh king of Armenia, make the previously proposed dates impossible. According to Armenian "received" tradition, Trdat was educated within the territory of the Roman Empire, having been taken there by his nurse after the murder of his father Chosroes I the Great of Armenia. Diocletian reinstated Trdat, probably after the peace of NISIBIS in 298. Obeying Roman policy, he persecuted GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR, the virgin martyr Hṙip'simē (see VAŁARŠAPAT), and Christians in general until the era of toleration was inaugurated after 313. Trdat then permitted Gregory to be consecrated as bishop and primate of Armenia, was baptized himself, and spread the faith throughout his realm. Little is known about the end of his reign because of the silence or disagreement of the sources. Trdat was still alive to send a representative to the First Council of Nicaea in 325 and probably fought against northern invaders. The account given of his death during a rebellion (MOSES XORENAC'I 2.92) is unsupported, however, and the tale of his visit to Constantine I the Great at Rome (AGATHANGELOS, ed. Thomson, pt.875–82) is certainly apocryphal.

LIT. C. Toumanoff, "The Third-Century Armenian Arsacids: A Chronological and Genealogical Commentary," *REArm* n.s. 6 (1969) 233–81. Asdourian, *Armenien und Rom* 243–72. –N.G.G.

TREASON, HIGH (καθοσίωσις, Lat. *crimen laesae majestatis*), was during the Roman republic an offense against the state and its magistrates; in the empire it was defined as a crime against the ruler or the appropriation of his privileges (such as counterfeiting of coins or establishing a private prison). The standard penalty was capital punishment, followed by CONFISCATION of property, denial of proper burial, and DAMNATIO MEMORIAE. Legal procedure in the case of high treason was relieved of certain customary restrictions: slaves were allowed to bear witness against their masters and freedmen against their "protectors" (*patroni*), and the testimony of soldiers, women, and disreputable persons was considered valid. The *Ecloga* (17.3) defined high treason as an "association, conspiracy, or plot against the emperor or the *politeia* of the Christians" and left the final decision about punishment to the emperor. Preventive measures against high treason included MUTILATION of the emperor's relatives and OATHS of fealty. Several emperors succeeded in having potential rebels threatened by the church with ANATHEMA, though such attempts remained sporadic and controversial. The most elaborate description of a treason trial is that of the future emperor MICHAEL [VIII] PALAIOLOGOS.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 336f. B. Kübler, *RE* 14 (1930) 550–59. Troianos, *Poinalios* 10–12. K.A. Bourdara, *Katho-*

siosis kai tyrannis kata tous mesous byzantinous chronous (Athens 1981). —A.K.

TREASURES, SILVER AND GOLD (κειμήλια ἄργυρα καὶ χρυσά), are frequently alluded to in literature of the 4th–7th C. and about 30 survive from this period. They have been found in all parts of the empire—Italy and North Africa, Asia Minor, Syria, and Egypt. Byz. silver objects have also been found outside the empire, mostly in tombs, for example, at Malaja Pereščepina. Nearly half of the treasures are of domestic silver plate; the other half have been identified epigraphically and/or archaeologically as containing liturgical vessels belonging to village churches. In some cases treasures were found with gold coins and/or jewelry; the Second Cyprus Treasure included several bronze objects, and the Vrap treasure contained both gold and silver Byz. objects of the 5th–7th C. (Dodd, *Byz. Silver Stamps,* nos. 88, 103). Excavated treasures dating from after the 7th C. are virtually unknown. —M.M.M.

TREASURE TROVE (εὕρεσις θησαυροῦ). A technical term related to the state's interest in hoards of coins (see Coin Finds), buried in times of uncertainty and later discovered. The state's approach varied considerably, taking into account first its sovereign rights and, second, the theory that treasures were the property of the dead. In the late Roman Empire and under the Macedonian and Komnenian dynasties, the government encouraged such discoveries and the return of the cash to normal monetary circulation by recognizing the rights of individuals over them, esp. the finder and the owner of the land where the money was found. In contrast, during the Iconoclastic period and under the Palaiologoi, the state faced financial difficulties and insisted on recovering whatever was hidden in the land: treasures found by individuals were confiscated either by the imposition of a very heavy tax (Nikephoros I) or by the state's claiming the whole find (Palaiologoi). In the Palaiologan period, a treasure trove was considered part of the aerikon, a fiscalized fine, a regular fiscal obligation of the peasants.

LIT. C. Morrisson, "La découverte des trésors à l'époque byzantine: Théorie et pratique de l'heuresis thesaurou," *TM* 8 (1981) 321–43. M. Tourtoglou, *Parthenophthoria kai heuresis thesaurou* (Athens 1963) 119–44. —N.O.

TREATIES (sing. συνθήκη, συμβόλαιον, τρέβα) with other countries were of two basic types: those in the form of a unilateral privilege and those concluded between two theoretically equal parties; an intermediary variation was the exchange of two unilateral documents. The basic principles of Byz. diplomacy determined the type of treaty used. The first type is by far better known because it was used in relations with the Italian republics (many entire treaties are preserved in archives, mainly in Venice and Genoa); it normally appears as a chrysobull sanctioning the agreement that the ambassadors had negotiated and both states confirmed. A very few real bilateral treaties with Venice in the mid-14th C. are extant, written and countersigned by a Latin notary. The second type was used with the Sasanian Persians, then the Arabs, and eventually the Bulgarians and the Rus' (see Treaties, Russo-Byzantine).

An essential part of the treaties was the oath, usually taken by the ambassadors, each according to his religion, after several translators (up to six from each party) had verified the accuracy of the two versions of the agreement. Until the 12th C., the emperor usually only confirmed the proceedings; later he had to take the oath himself. Most treaties concerned a limited number of years but some were "eternal." All were usually global agreements, covering all aspects of the relations between the two countries: political, military, commercial (trade treaties), legal (including the refugee problem), and religious. Sometimes long negotiations in Constantinople, in the other capital, or somewhere near the frontier and several exchanges of embassies were necessary before a treaty would be ready for signature.

LIT. Bréhier, *Institutions* 314–23. Dölger-Karayannopulos, *Urkundenlehre* 94–105. D. Miller, "Byzantine Treaties and Treaty Making: 500–1025 AD," *BS* 32 (1971) 56–76. W. Heinemeyer, "Die Verträge zwischen dem oströmischen Reiche und den italischen Städten Genua, Pisa und Venedig vom 10. bis 12. Jahrhundert," *Archiv für Diplomatik* 3 (1957) 79–161. —N.O.

TREATIES, RUSSO-BYZANTINE, established the rules of relations between the empire and the Rus' in the 10th C., esp. the privileges and norms of behavior of Rus' merchants and envoys in Constantinople. The Slavonic texts of the treaties are preserved in the Povest' vremennych let; their Greek versions, if indeed they were ever

produced, are lost. The *Povest'* mentions the treaty of 907 (whose authenticity has been hotly debated, along with the historicity of the expedition of OLEG against Constantinople in this year) and contains the texts of the treaties of 911, 944, and 971. All the treaties were concluded under similar political circumstances, after Rus' invasions in Byz. or Bulgaria; they are modeled on the charters of the imperial chancery and are important sources for the history of Byz. DIPLOMACY. Even greater is their significance for the history of Kievan Rus', since they show that the young state was negotiating with Byz. on equal terms. The treaties reveal that among the Rus' envoys were men with Scandinavian names; already by 944 some members of the Rus' elite were Christian.

LIT. A.N. Sacharov, *Diplomatija Drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1980). I. Sorlin, "Les traités de Byzance avec la Russie au Xe siècle," *Cahiers du monde russe et soviétique* 2 (1961) 313–60, 447–75. H. Herrera Cajas, "Bizancio y la formación de Rusia (Los tratados bizantino-rusos del S. X)," *Bizantion-Nea Hellas* 6 (1982) 13–56. J.H. Lind, "The Russo-Byzantine Treaties and the Early Urban Structure of Rus'," *SlEERev* 62 (1984) 362–70. F. Wozniak, "The Crimean Question, the Black Bulgarians, and the Russo-Byzantine Treaty of 944," *JMedHist* 5 (1979) 115–26. –A.K.

TREBIZOND (Τραπεζοῦς, mod. Trabzon), the greatest city of Pontos, flourished because of its fine harbor and location at the head of the best route from the sea to the interior and Iran. Restored by Diocletian after a Gothic attack, Trebizond became a legionary base and a city of Pontos Polemoniakos (see PONTOS). In the reorganization of Justinian I, it was assigned to Armenia I. Justinian conducted his Armenian campaigns from Trebizond, restored its walls, and built an aqueduct. Trebizond had bishops from the 3rd C. onward; Eirenaios, responsible for the rebuildings of Justinian, played a major role in civic life. Trebizond became an archbishopric in the 8th C. and a metropolis of the diocese of Lazike in the early 10th. In the 7th C., Trebizond became a city of ARMENIAKON, and, in the early 9th C., capital of CHALDIA. A brief Turkish occupation after 1071 was followed by the rule of the GABRADES, nominally subject to the Komnenoi. The well-documented period after 1204 was one of great architectural and artistic activity. Two 15th-C. *ekphraseis* (by BESSARION and a shorter one by John EUGENIKOS) characterize the geographical position, climate, and trade activity of the city and describe its palace.

In 1204, Trebizond consisted of a small fortified enceinte on a steep hill, with market, harbor, suburbs, and separately fortified monasteries outside the walls. Much of it was exposed to Turkish attacks, which began in 1223. ALEXIOS II KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1297–1330), built a new wall that encompassed the harbor and lower city. It was strengthened in 1378; the citadel, which contained the imperial palace and government offices, was frequently repaired until the fall of the Trapezuntine Empire. The commercial district, with numerous churches and the separate fortifications of the Genoese and Venetians, lay beyond the walls. Names of many quarters are known from contemporary texts or later Turkish documents. In spite of its numerous monuments, Trebizond was surprisingly small, with only about 4,000 inhabitants in 1438. Powerful fortifications and an isolated location enabled it to survive numerous Turkish attacks until 1461.

Monuments of Trebizond include the fortifications, which manifest eight periods of construction, mostly of the 13th–14th C. Parts of the palace have also survived. Trebizond preserves the remains or memory of some 95 churches. Most important is the monastery of St. Sophia, probably founded by MANUEL I KOMNENOS, emperor of Trebizond (1238–63), and extensively rebuilt in the early 15th C.; a cross-in-square church with three apses, a narthex, and three porches, its interior was covered with frescoes. Also prominent are the Church of St. EUGENIOS of Trebizond (1291); the Cathedral of the Virgin Chrysokephalos, rebuilt in 1214 as the imperial coronation church; and the earliest church of Trebizond, the Basilica of St. Anne, restored in 885. Other churches are generally small and undatable, but their characteristic pentagonal apses and porches suggest that most belong to the period of the 13th–15th C.

LIT. Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 178–250. –C.F.

TREBIZOND, EMPIRE OF, one of the three successor states to the Byz. Empire, lasting from 1204 to 1461. It arose at the time of the conquest of Constantinople by the Fourth Crusade. Unlike the empire of NICAEA and despotate of EPIROS, however, the empire of Trebizond was established not in response to the Latin occupation, but just prior to it as a continuation of the rule of the Komnenian dynasty, overthrown in 1185 by the

Angeloi. Founded by ALEXIOS I KOMNENOS and DAVID KOMNENOS, grandsons of Andronikos I Komnenos, the new "empire" was restricted to a narrow strip of land along the southeast coast of the Black Sea and was isolated from Constantinople. Under the rule of the GRAND KOMNENOI, the empire of Trebizond survived for 250 years, despite its small size and the constant threat of conquest by the Turks. Its longevity can be attributed to the natural barrier of the Pontic Mountains, the strong fortifications of the capital city of TREBIZOND, the flourishing commerce of this port city, and the astute marriage diplomacy carried out by the Trapezuntine emperors, who sought alliances for themselves primarily with Byz. and Georgian princesses and married many of their daughters and sisters to Turkomans. For much of its history the empire was the vassal of successive stronger powers: the Seljuks of Ikonion (1214–43), the Mongols (after the invasions of 1243 and 1402), and the Ottomans (after 1456). It was the last outpost of Byz. civilization to fall to the Turks, being forced to surrender in Aug. or Sept. 1461 (F. Babinger, *REB* 7 [1950] 205–07) when besieged by Ottoman forces by land and sea.

LIT. W. Miller, *Trebizond: The Last Greek Empire* (London 1926; rp. Amsterdam 1968). F. Uspenskij, *Očerki iz istorii Trapezuntskoj imperii* (Leningrad 1929). A. Bryer, *The Empire of Trebizond and the Pontos* (London 1980). S.P. Karpov, *Trapezundskaja imperija i zapadnoevropejskie gosudarstva v XIII–XV vv.* (Moscow 1981). –A.M.T.

TREE OF JESSE, a metaphorical image of the GENEALOGY OF CHRIST, specifically his descent from the kings of Judah through his mother, Mary. It consists of a tree springing from the loins of Jesse, the father of DAVID, with the generations of David's lineage depicted in its branches, the Virgin Mary on its stem, and Christ at its crown. Based on Isaiah 11:1 and Matthew 1:1–17, it asserts both Christ's Incarnation and his messianic descent from the Old Testament kings. It is probably a Western invention. With the exception of the Crusader image at the Church of the Nativity at BETHLEHEM, the composition appears in Byz. only in the Palaiologan period, when it is incorporated into narthex programs showing Old Testament harbingers of Christ and PREFIGURATIONS of the Virgin: Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND; the Mavriotissa at KASTORIA (14th-C. layer); the HOLY APOSTLES, Thessalonike. The last is probably the earliest Byz. example. It is closely akin to a group of elaborate Serbian examples in which the genealogy of the NEMANJID DYNASTY is brought into parallel with the genealogy of Christ.

LIT. M.D. Taylor, "A Historiated Tree of Jesse," *DOP* 34–35 (1980–81) 125–76. A. Watson, *The Early Iconography of the Tree of Jesse* (London 1934). –A.W.C.

TREMISSIS (*τριμίσιον*, Lat. *tremis* or *triens*, from *tres* + *as*, "a third of a unit," formed by analogy with SEMISSIS), a small gold coin weighing 1.52 g, worth a third of a SOLIDUS, introduced in the 380s during the reign of Theodosios I. It continued as one of the main Byz. gold denominations until late in the reign of Leo III, but from the 740s onward tremisses were only rarely struck in the East, presumably for ceremonial purposes, and none are known after the reign of Basil I. In Italy and Sicily this coin continued in common use until the end of Byz. rule (fall of Syracuse 878). The later electrum TRACHY was the value equivalent of the old tremissis, being one-third of a HYPERPYRON, but was never called by that name.

LIT. O. Ulrich-Bansa, "Les premières émissions du *tremis aureus* (383–395)," *Bulletin du Circle d'études numismatiques* 5 (1968) 80–94. *DOC* 3:22. –Ph.G.

TRIAL (*δίκη*). Byz. inherited from Rome a system of trying lawsuits that was based on the principles of a fair trial, a competent judge (*prosphoros dikastes*), and legality of procedure and judgment—principles that of course had to be adapted to the conditions created by the "absolute monarchy" of Byz. In spite of relevant legislative activity in the 11th and 12th C., the rules for CIVIL PROCEDURE and CRIMINAL PROCEDURE remained as they had been laid down in the CORPUS JURIS CIVILIS. Besides, the lawsuit was affected by peculiarities in the system of judicial administration, esp. the division, which never completely disappeared, between jurisdiction (*dikaiodosia*) and the actual delegated execution of a lawsuit (*dikazein*), as well as by the absence of any effective regulations for successive appeal. These circumstances meant the prolongation of civil lawsuits in particular, which the legislator tried to prevent through the reduction of court holidays (*apraktoi hemerai*), the establishment of procedural time limits, and by an ineffective prohibition on parties applying to the emperor during the course of the trial with a petition (*deesis*). Ecclesiastical penal and disci-

plinary procedure was regulated by CANON LAW. For actual Byz. trials, our richest sources are, in addition to historiographical information on *causes célèbres* and a series of decisions of civil and ecclesiastical courts, the PEIRA, the corpus of acts of Demetrios CHOMATENOS, the accounts of John APOKAUKOS, and the Acts of the patriarchate of Constantinople, which are well preserved for the 14th C. They owe their existence in the first place to the legally prescribed recording of the proceedings.

LIT. Troianos, *Ekklesiastike Dikonomia*. Idem, *He ekklesiastike diadikasia metaxy 565 kai 1204* (Athens 1969). Macrides, "Justice" 99–204. –L.B.

TRIBELON (τρίβηλον, etym. *tri-* + Lat. *velum*, curtain or door hanging [Tafrali, *infra*]), a rare term designating a part of a church. The *Miracles of St. Demetrios* (Lemerle, *Miracles* 1:162.2–11) describes two supernatural persons entering "the *tribelon* of the holy shrine of the renowned martyr Demetrios." Later versions used instead the word *tribolon* that C. Ducange (*Glossarium ad Scriptores Mediae et Infimae Graecitatis* [Lyon 1688; rp. Graz 1958] s.v.) suggested "correcting" to *peribolon*. The word evidently refers to the area at the entrance to the church, designating the "atrium or narthex" according to Tafrali (*infra* 43) or the narthex according to Lemerle (*supra* 1:159, n.3).

Art historians use the term conventionally to denote three arches carried on two intermediate columns between two piers. Triple-arched openings between piers are common in Byz. arcuate and domical architecture, notably in the EXEDRAE of S. Vitale, Ravenna, of Sts. Sergios and Bakchos, and of Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. As a natural concomitant of the bay system, they are found in the nave of the east church at ALAHAN MANASTIRI, around the naos of the *katholikon* of HOSIOS LOUKAS, and in the south and west porches of Hagia Sophia, TREBIZOND. The term *tribelon* is usually reserved for the triple opening between the narthex and the naos.

LIT. O. Tafrali, *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie byzantines* (Paris 1913) 40–50. –W.L., A.C.

TRIBIGILD (Τιρβίγιλλος, Τριγίβιλδος), a Goth and *comes rei militaris* in the East; died Thrace ca.400. He was a relative of GAINAS and commanded barbarian troops settled in Phrygia. After a visit to Constantinople in 399, during which he was slighted by EUTROPIOS, his troops revolted. Valentinus, a local commander in Pamphylia, took charge of organizing resistance to the barbarians. He was assisted by local peasants and slaves. Tribigild was defeated near Selge. He barely escaped with 300 mounted soldiers (Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 1:170–72). Tribigild then conspired with Gainas, who had been sent to quell the revolt, and together the two Goths marched on Constantinople. While Gainas entered the capital Tribigild crossed over to Thrace, where he died shortly thereafter. The uprising stimulated anti-Germanic feeling in Constantinople and gave rise to the oration titled *On Kingship* by SYNESIOS.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 1:129–33. *PLRE* 2:1125f. Demougeot, *Unité* 224–29, 249. G. Albert, *Goten in Konstantinopel* (Paderborn 1984) 89–149. –T.E.G.

TRIBONIAN (Τριβωνιανός), jurist and high-ranking official at the court of Justinian I; born Pamphylia before 500, died probably 542 of plague. Justinian's protegé, he served as member of the emperor's commission appointed in Feb. 528 to draft a law code (CODEX JUSTINIANUS). According to Honoré (*infra*), he profited from the purge of the commission (pagan lawyers were dismissed) and became quaestor and its chairman; this Honoré connects with the shift in the focus of the commission from the practical need of lawyers for an established code to an antiquarian and scholarly approach as reflected in the DIGEST. Accusations of graft launched against Tribonian during the NIKA REVOLT compelled Justinian to dismiss him; although he eventually returned to the commission, he never regained his former authority. Evidence of Tribonian's fall from favor was the slow replacement of Latin by Greek in legislation (see NOVELS OF JUSTINIAN I). A jurist with enormous knowledge of Roman law, Tribonian tried to retreat from the magniloquence of the CODEX THEODOSIANUS to the simplicity and clarity of Gaius, yet retained affectations for the sake of imperial propaganda.

LIT. T. Honoré, *Tribonian* (London 1978). D.J. Osler, "The Compilation of Justinian's Digest," *ZSavRom* 102 (1985) 129–84. W. Waldstein, "Tribonianus," *ZSavRom* 97 (1980) 232–55. –W.E.K., A.K.

TRICONCH. See CHURCH PLAN TYPES.

TRIESTE (Τέργεστ⟨ρ⟩ον), Roman port and fortress at the north end of the Adriatic Sea, economically and politically overshadowed by the neighboring Aquileia. Legends connect the activity of several martyrs with Trieste, for example, Servolus in the 3rd C. and Justus (San Giusto) in 303. After 488 Trieste was in the hands of the Goths, but in 539 the region was conquered by the army of Justinian I. Despite the attacks of the Lombards, Avars, and Slavs the city remained under Byz. authority, and a special military detachment, *numerus tergestinus*, protected northern Illyricum from barbarian invasions. Ecclesiastically, Trieste was linked with Aquileia and Grado and supported them in the conflict of the THREE CHAPTERS against Rome and Constantinople. In 752 Trieste fell to the Lombards, in 787 or 788 to Charlemagne, and thereafter stood outside the political sphere of Byz.

Monuments of Trieste. Two apses in the cathedral of S. Maria Assunta e S. Giusto are decorated with mosaics that Demus (*infra*) considers "Greek" rather than Adriatic in style. The cathedral was originally two separate buildings (like S. Maria Assunta and S. Fosca on TORCELLO): S. Maria Assunta, an 11th-C. basilica, and S. Giusto, a centralized church with a dome on squinches. In the main apse of S. Maria Assunta is an image of the Virgin enthroned between archangels, with the 12 Apostles below; in the main apse of S. Giusto, Christ between Sts. Justus and Servolus. The two mosaics, not necessarily contemporary, are variously dated to the 11th, 12th, or 13th C.

The cathedral treasury contains an image of St. Justus painted on silk, 119 cm high, also dated to the 11th–13th C. Though some scholars have identified the painter as Constantinopolitan, Demus believes he was "Veneto-Byz."

LIT. M. Mirabella Roberti, *San Giusto* (Trieste 1970). Demus, *Mosaics of S. Marco* 1.1:51; 2.1:213f. I. Andreescu, "Torcello," *DOP* 30 (1976) 258f. –A.K., D.K.

TRIGLEIA. See MEDIKION MONASTERY; PELEKETE MONASTERY.

TRIKEPHALON (*νόμισμα τρικέφαλον*, lit. "three-header"), sometimes abbreviated $\Gamma^{\kappa\lambda}$ (F. Dölger, *BZ* 27 [1927] 296, n.4); a word applied to the one-third HYPERPYRON or electrum TRACHY of the early 12th C., which had on it a total of three "heads": that of the emperor, the Virgin, and Christ (in the form of a medallion held by the Virgin), in contrast to the hyperpyron, which had the figures of Christ and the emperor only. The three decades during which such trikephala were issued (1092–1118) resulted in *trikephalon* becoming one of the several names regularly used for this denomination even where it no longer accurately described the design of the coins.

LIT. V. Laurent, "Les monnaies tricéphales de Jean II Comnène," *RN*[5] 13 (1951) 97–108. Hendy, *Coinage* 31–34, 226. –Ph.G.

TRIKKALA (Τρίκ⟨κ⟩αλα, anc. Trikke, Trik⟨k⟩a), city in a fertile valley in northwest Thessaly. Trikkala was an important transit point, with roads running west across the PINDOS Mountains to Epiros and north to Grevena and Macedonia. Prokopios (*Buildings* 4.3.5) names "Trika" among the Thessalian *poleis* whose walls were repaired by Justinian I. From the 4th C. onward, the city was a suffragan bishopric of LARISSA. The first known bishop, HELIODOROS, was thought to be the author of the *Aethiopica*. The old name Trikka survived in several anachronistic texts, while Trikkala appears first in Kekaumenos, who speaks of Trikalitan Vlachs. Anna Komnene (An.Komn. 2:31.27) cites *ta Trikala* as a geographic name without defining the character of the site. Al-IDRĪSĪ described Trikkala as an important agrarian center with abundant vineyards and gardens. In Alexios III's charter of 1198 for Venice, Trikkala is mentioned along with other Thessalian cities. Its political role before 1204 is almost unknown: in 1082/3 Trikkala was for a short time captured by the Normans. It seems not to have been occupied by the Crusaders after 1204 (Nicol, *Epiros I* 36) but was controlled by Epiros.

After the victory at PELAGONIA in 1259, John Palaiologos, Michael VIII's brother, reached Neopatras and "Trikke" and took them without resistance (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:151.14). In the 14th C. (until 1332/3) Trikkala formed the center of the independent "fief" of Stephen GABRIELOPOULOS; after his death Trikkala fell under the control of John Orsini of Epiros, then of Byz.: a chrysobull of Andronikos III of March 1336 (*Reg* 4, no.2826) rewards the monks of the Zablantion monastery near Trikkala for their help in transferring the city to the emperor. The Serbs con-

quered Thessaly in 1348, and Dušan's general Preljub governed it from Trikkala. In 1359 SYMEON UROŠ established his court in Trikkala, where he imitated the ritual of Constantinople. Trikkala was occupied by the Ottomans in 1393. In the 14th C. the bishopric of Trikkala gained increasing control over METEORA.

The fortifications on the acropolis are mostly of Turkish date, but traces of the Justinianic repairs have been identified on the south side (L.W. Daly, *AJA* 46 [1942] 507). A floor mosaic on the hill of Prophetis Elias is from the narthex of a basilica, probably of the 5th C., and the ruins of a church, presumably of Byz. date, are on the acropolis. The Church of St. Stephen contains an inscription naming Symeon Uroš and the Despoina Anna (D. Papachryssanthou, *TM* 2 [1967] 483–88). Many small churches, esp. of the 12th–13th C., can be found in the villages around Trikkala.

LIT. *TIB* 1:277f. Abramea, *Thessalia* 132–35, 195f. Ferjančić, *Tesalija* 168–82. N. Nikonanos, *Byzantinoi naoi tes Thessalias* (Athens 1979) 75–98, 118–22.

–T.E.G.

TRIKLINIOS, DEMETRIOS, classical philologist; fl. Thessalonike ca.1300–25. He changed his name from Triklines to Triklinios (Τρικλίνιος) around 1316 or 1319. Triklinios studied with THOMAS MAGISTROS and Maximos PLANOUDES, and probably ran a school and scriptorium in Thessalonike. He copied MSS of Hesiod, Hermogenes, and Aphthonios in a fine calligraphic hand, but is better known for his editions of classical poets and dramatists. Owing to his understanding of ancient Greek meters, he was able to make emendations in the texts based on metrical principles. He also incorporated the scholia of his slightly older contemporaries Manuel MOSCHOPOULOS and Thomas Magistros. His most significant contribution was his preparation of new recensions of ancient Greek tragedies and comedies, esp. those texts that did not normally form part of the standard CURRICULUM. Thus he edited five plays of AESCHYLUS, including the previously ignored *Agamemnon* and *Eumenides* (an autograph MS survives), all seven extant plays of SOPHOCLES, and eight of ARISTOPHANES instead of the usual three. Especially important was his edition of all the plays of EURIPIDES including the "non-select" plays (i.e., those plays not selected for school use), which were virtually unknown before the 14th C. Triklinios evidently also revised the *Anthologia Planudea* (A. Turyn, *EEBS* 39–40 [1972–3] 403–50). An essay on lunar theory (ed. A. Wasserstein, *JÖB* 16 [1967] 153–74) indicates his interest in astronomy.

LIT. Wilson, *Scholars* 249–56. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:69–77. O.L. Smith, *Studies in the Scholia on Aeschylus* (Leiden 1975). Idem, "Tricliniana," *ClMed* 33 (1981–82) 239–62. R. Aubreton, *Démétrius Triclinius et les recensions médiévales de Sophocle* (Paris 1949). G. Zuntz, *An Inquiry into the Transmission of the Plays of Euripides* (Cambridge 1965) 193–201. Schartau, *Observations*, vol. 1. M. Fernández-Galiano, "Demetrio Triclinio en su centenario," *Emerita* 53 (1985) 15–30.

–A.M.T.

TRIKLINOS OF JUSTINIAN (Ἰουστινιανός), a hall constructed by Justinian II (probably in 694) and richly decorated with mosaics by Theophilos. It is also called the Hall of Procession, and in the *De ceremoniis* is mentioned primarily in connection with processional routes (e.g., from CHRYSOTRIKLINOS via LAUSIAKOS and the Triklinos of Justinian to the gate of Skyla and the Hippodrome). It served also as a place for discussing state affairs. In 1289 Athanasios I was proclaimed patriarch there. Pachymeres relates that at the beginning of the 14th C. the building was destroyed by violent winds, leaving no trace; in 1345, however, Alexios Apokaukos built there a prison, or transformed into a prison the remnants of the formerly splendid edifice.

LIT. Guilland, *Topographie* 1:153f. –A.K.

TRIMOIRIA. See ABIOTIKION.

TRINITY (τριάς). Although not mentioned specifically in the New Testament, the doctrine of the Trinity is supported by the unique relationship of Jesus to God, whom he calls "Abba," and by the resurrection, or the experience of Pentecost, on the basis of which his disciples confess him to be the Son of God whose Spirit they have received. BAPTISM, the CREED, and the DOXOLOGY were the original setting from which the doctrine of God as one, yet three, evolved.

The term *trias* occurred relatively early, even before it had been accepted as ecclesiastical doctrine. Even though he knew of the term's usage in Gnostic speculation, CLEMENT OF ALEXANDRIA, for example (*Stromata* 5.103.1, ed. O. Stählin, L.

Fruchtel, 395), associated the triad of Father, Son, and Holy Spirit with Plato's *Second Letter* (312e); Clement also referred to "the blessed triad" of God in connection with the three prayer periods of the Christians (ibid. 7.40.3, p.31).

More important, however, was the doctrine of the three hypostases of Plotinos, and the terminology of Origen because of its influence on the Cappadocian Fathers. Origen distinguished between God's substance and the hypostases of the Father and the Logos/Son (cf. Homoousios). Around 260, the term was already part of ecclesiastical language. Dionysius of Rome (died 268), in his letter to Dionysius of Alexandria (died ca.264), used it to oppose Monarchianism (Sabellianism) and Marcion (died ca.160; cf. Athanasios of Alexandria, *De decretis Nicaenae synodi*, 26.3, 7, ed. Opitz, 22.10, 23.15), and Gregory Thaumatourgos (died ca.270) spoke in his *Ekthesis* of "the perfect triad" (ed. E. Schwartz, *ACO* 3:3, 10).

In the 4th C. the formula of one *ousia* (substance) of God and three hypostases was generally accepted. This involved both the use of imagery or examples and the formation of an appropriate terminology. Some images were seen in creation (e.g., the sun, its rays, and light; a spring, a creek, and its current; or, a wellspring, a fount, and a stream, respectively), and some, admittedly hidden, in the Old Testament as allegory or typology (e.g., Adam and Eve, Seth). A special example was the tradition of the three men who visited Abraham under the oaks of Mamre (Gen 18:1–8; cf. Gregory of Nazianzos, or.28.18.7–9, ed. Gallay, 136; PG 36:49A), or the divine image of man. The words, "Let us create man in our image and according to our likeness" (Gen 1:26) were understood to have been spoken by the Father to the Son and Holy Spirit. In more sophisticated theological circles, however, these illustrations were met with reserve and their dissimilarities to the prototype were emphasized (e.g., Gregory of Nazianzos, or.39.11–13, ed. Gallay, 170–79; PG 36:169AC).

At issue was how three persons can be distinct from one another, and yet one. An important approach was discussion of the "inner man" as a union of soul, reason, and spirit (or, *nous, logos,* and *pneuma*), or of the soul as the subject of the three Platonic virtues, and the "inner man" became the paradigm par excellence from the time of Photios to Manuel II Palaiologos (*Dialogues with a Persian* 17, ed. E. Trapp, 216.39–218.2).

Decisive for the formation of an appropriate terminology was Orthodox opposition to Sabellianism and so-called Modalism. The Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are not simple "figures" (*prosopa* or *morphai*) in which the one God remains transcendentally aloof in encounters with man. Therefore they are not mere divine manifestations in accordance with the religious understanding of the Greeks. Rather, Father, Son, and Holy Spirit refer to distinctions *within* God himself (see Theology). Thus, the full divinity or consubstantiality of the Logos is defended against Arius, and the divinity of the Holy Spirit against the Pneumatomachoi.

The doctrine of consubstantiality excludes subordinationism, a teaching that appeared in middle- or neo-Platonic theology (e.g., in the doctrine of the principles—*archai*) as the structure of intermediaries, that is, those principles that constitute the first difference. In this context, subordinationism was viewed as carrying the danger that the Logos or the Holy Spirit, as "intermediaries," would approach, or be placed in, the domain of creatures. Not until *ousia* (substance), or *physis* (nature), was terminologically distinguished from hypostasis in the formula "one *ousia*, three hypostases," could the Son be conceived as *homoousios* with the Father. Thus, the numerically one (single) essence, or being, of the Father and Son was maintained, while at the same time the divine nature of the Holy Spirit was confessed. For many in the 4th C., the formula adopted by the First Council of Nicaea (325) sounded Sabellian; modern translations, such as "consubstantial" or "of one essence," imply interpretations that are partly anachronistic and partly obscurant.

The term *hypostasis*, which for many in the 4th C. implied subordinationism because of its application in Origenism, must, in this context, be understood to indicate a distinction (*diaphora*), but not a division (*diairesis*), of three numerically distinct individuals, separate and independent from each other. A clever semantic resolution of this problem is found in the masterful formulation of Gregory of Nazianzos (PG 37:180AB): Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are each "an other," but "not others." Therefore, the hypostasis can be defined as a particular (*idikon*) that is distinguished from other particulars through a complex of individual

properties, while the *ousia* is conceived as that which is common (*koinon*) to many particulars. Although the Cappadocians were influenced by Platonism, their notion of the *koinon* (if one excludes GREGORY OF NYSSA, for whom the *koinon* is conceptual) is to be interpreted in the framework of Stoic ontology and logic. Hence, the meaning of *koinon* or *ousia* in theology is the reality of the one God, whose common essence stands in contrast to another common essence, that of created reality.

Although hypostasis, from 380 onward, was used as a synonym of PERSON (*prosopon*), in conformity with the Latin tradition, so that it is clearly distinguished from substance, no speculative advance was reached that would necessarily exclude TRITHEISM. Not until the distinctiveness inherent in individual particularity was achieved in NEO-CHALCEDONISM at the beginning of the 6th C. could this be realized. The distinctive individuality of concrete natures and the notion of person as existing in and for itself was directed against the MONOPHYSITES. It is not by accident that there appeared in the Monophysite camp a group who taught that Father, Son, and Holy Spirit are three distinct *ousiai*.

This tritheism, which found a philosophical basis in John PHILOPONOS, does not appear to have been without influence on the Byz. imperial church of the time (Anastasios I of Antioch, ed. K.-H. Uthemann, *Traditio* 37 [1981] 73–108). Against tritheism, it was not necessary to emphasize the numerical unity of the *ousia* while retaining the Three Persons. This involved reflection on the fundamentals of arithmetic: in particular, the distinction between the countable multiplicity of things and their basis or principle had to be shown and explained so as to permit exclusion of a univocal usage of number in *theologia* (MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR, MONOTHEISM).

Such an undertaking can lead to nothing more than a purely homonymic concept of number, as is shown in Maximos the Confessor's attempt to incorporate into the tradition of the church both the Origenism associated with EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS, which emphasized the knowledge of the unity of God that transcends all unity or multiplicity, as well as the doctrine of emanation and univocal concept of unity (taken from PROKLOS) of pseudo-DIONYSIOS THE AREOPAGITE. For Maximos, only apophatic theology is appropriate to the Trinity, since the triune God bears no trace (*ichnos*) in creation, and "the infinite" cannot be grasped by thought (PG 91:1168A, 1188A). Here, the thought of Evagrios clearly predominates, and not the cataphatic theology of the Areopagite, which leads only to the (univocal) "one God" of monotheism.

This provides us with an indication of how Byz. theologians (such as NICHOLAS OF METHONE) would react to the so-called renaissance of Proklos in the 11th and 12th C.: either by maintaining that "unity is not canceled by difference or number," or by going beyond an arithmetic concept to "a unity that lies beyond number," or finally, by resorting to an extreme apophatic theology in which the multiplicity of all thought is overcome, as in the "essential gnosis" of Evagrios.

In the 8th and early 9th C., a new problem appeared in Byz.: the controversy with the Westerners concerning the FILIOQUE. Centuries later, DEMETRIOS OF LAMPE, upon returning from a delegation to the West in the 1160s, brought back a dispute that revived subordinationist themes. In the apologetic literature against JUDAISM and ISLAM, the relationship of monotheistic and trinitarian depictions of God occupied the foreground. An irenic position was presented by Manuel I who wanted to remove the denunciation of Muḥammad's God in the recantations required of Islamic converts, since such an anathema was directed against "the true God," a view out of favor among his contemporaries. –K.-H.U.

Representation in Art. Until the 13th C. the Trinity was depicted only symbolically or in association with other images. Thus the Magi may appear each holding one of the three hypostases (Huber, *Heilige Berge*, fig.207). Thereafter the triad is found as an iconic group including the Son, who holds the dove in a disk, and is seated in the lap of the Ancient of Days. –A.C.

LIT. J. Lebreton, *Histoire du dogme de la Trinité*[7], 2 vols. (Paris 1927). G.L. Prestige, *God in Patristic Thought*[2] (London 1952). M. Gomes de Castro, *Die Trinitätslehre des hl. Gregor von Nyssa* (Freiburg im Breisgau 1938). G. Kretschmar, *Studien zur frühchristlichen Trinitätstheologie* (Tübingen 1956). E. Corsini, *Il trattato De Divinis Nominibus dello Pseudo-Dionigi e i commenti neoplatonici al Parmenide* (Turin 1962). H.U. von Balthasar, *Kosmische Liturgie, Das Weltbild Maximus des Bekenners*[2] (Einsiedeln 1961). E. Bailleux, "Le personnalisme trinitaire des pères grecs," *MélScRel* 27 (1970) 3–25.

TRIODION (τριῴδιον), liturgical hymnbook "of three odes" containing the variable parts of the services for the mobile Lenten and Easter cycle,

from the pre-Lenten period beginning with vespers the eve of the tenth Sunday before Easter through *mesonyktikon* of Holy Saturday. The *triodion* originally also included the entire Easter season through to the end of the PENTECOST cycle, but from the 14th C. onward, this material, starting with Easter *orthros*, was sometimes relegated to a separate book, the PENTEKOSTARION.

The *triodion*, comprising chiefly hymnody for the liturgical HOURS, is basically a monastic book that first appears in MSS of the 10th C.; its name derives from the fact that some of the KANONES sung during this season do not have the standard nine odes but normally only three. The pristine Palestinian or "Oriental" monastic *triodion* of the 7th–8th C. was enriched over the next three centuries with hymns composed by the Stoudite monks of Constantinople and southern Italy; to it was also added a SYNAXARION, the liturgy of the PRESANCTIFIED, various fixed Sunday commemorations such as the feast of Orthodoxy (TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY) with its SYNODIKON OF ORTHODOXY, and pre-Lenten weeks of preparation.

ED. *Triodion* (Rome 1879). *Triode de Carême*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1978).
LIT. P. de Meester, *Rite e particolarità liturgiche del Triodio e del Pentecostario* (Padua 1943). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 365–67. M. Momina, "O proischoždenii grečeskoj triodi," *PSb* 28 (1986) 112–20. –R.F.T.

TRIPHIODOROS (Τριφιόδωρος), in some MSS Tryphiodoros, Greek poet from Egypt. Long thought to postdate NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS, Triphiodoros is now revealed by P. Oxy. XLI, 2946.9f to belong to the late 3rd to early 4th C. A grammarian by profession, he is credited in the SOUDA with several epics (now lost), including the *Marathoniaka*, the *Hippodamea*, and a "lipogrammatic *Odyssey*." Some scholars conflate him with a second Triphiodoros listed (also by the *Souda*) as author of a verse paraphrase of Homeric similes. Triphiodoros's one extant piece is *The Capture of Troy*, detailing in 691 hexameters the stratagem of the Trojan horse and the bloody sack of the city. Quite its most interesting feature is the extent to which Triphiodoros shows direct knowledge of VERGIL, *Aeneid* 2 (G. d'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Vergilio* [Palermo 1976]).

ED. *La prise d'Ilion*, ed. and tr. B. Gerlaud (Paris 1982). *Oppian, Colluthus, Tryphiodorus*, ed. A.W. Mair (London–New York 1928), 573–636 with Eng. tr.
LIT. L. Ferrari, *Sulla presa di Ilio di Trifiodoro* (Palermo 1962). Al. Cameron, *Claudian: Poetry and Propaganda at the Court of Honorius* (Oxford 1970) 478–82. *Lexicon in Triphiodorum*, ed. M. Campbell (Hildesheim 1985). –B.B.

TRIPOLI, COUNTY OF, located on the Lebanese coast from Maraclea (Maraqīyah) to Gibelet (Jubayl) and inland to the Orontes valley. The territory around Tripoli was conquered by RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE and his forces after the First Crusade. Raymond's son Bertrand took Tripoli in 1109 and became the first count. Raymond's oath of allegiance to Byz. was renewed by his successors Guillaume-Jourdain, Bertrand (1109, 1112), Pons (1112), and Raymond II (1137, when John II threatened northern Syria). By the time of Bertrand, the oath was limited to Maraclea and Tortosa, formerly parts of the Byz. *doukaton* of Antioch. Alexios I strove to develop the county as a counterweight to the principality of Antioch: the Byz. sent material from Cyprus to build Mont-Pèlerin, the castle constructed for the siege of Tripoli (1103–09), and Byz. supplies and funds reinforced the Crusaders. Despite Alexios's efforts, Antiochene influence predominated after 1112. In 1160–61 Byz. envoys persuaded Raymond III (1152–87) that his sister Melisende would marry Manuel I. A large dowry was prepared. A document of Baldwin III (31 July 1161) calls her "futurae imperatricis Constantinopolitanae" (R. Röhricht, *Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani* [Innsbruck 1893; rp. New York 1960] no.366). When Manuel broke off the match in favor of MARIA OF ANTIOCH, Raymond, infuriated, ravaged Byz. coasts.

LIT. J. Richard, *Le Comté de Tripoli sous la dynastie toulousaine (1102–1187)* (Paris 1945). –C.M.B.

TRIPOLIS (Τρίπολις, Ar. Ṭarābulus, modern Tripoli in Lebanon), port city in Phoenicia. Late Roman Tripolis is infrequently mentioned: according to a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 367.12–18), Emp. Marcian rebuilt an aqueduct and a summer bath adorned with many statues there. Legend ascribes the establishment of Christianity in Tripolis to the apostle Peter; in fact, the bishopric of Tripolis, under TYRE, is attested from 325 onward. By the 6th C., the most important pilgrimage center of Phoenicia was that of St. Leontios at Tripolis. Under Persian rule from 612 to 628, it was briefly regained by Herakleios; Tripolis resisted an Arab siege in 635, but finally the starving population was forced to ask the emperor to send rescue ships to evacuate the city by sea.

MUʿĀWIYA resettled the city with Jews and Persians and created a dockyard to build a navy to attack Constantinople. In 654/5 two Christian brothers, the sons of a trumpeter, reportedly broke the gates of the city jail, killed the emir of Tripolis, and fled (Theoph. 345.18–25). In the 10th C. the Tripolis region was constantly reconnoitered by the Byz.; when the Byz. launched attacks on Syria they tried to seize the city, but both Nikephoros II Phokas on 5 Nov. 968 and John I Tzimiskes in 975 could only burn its suburbs. Basil II was routed at Tripolis on 13 Dec. 999. Under Romanos III, the emir of Tripolis, Ḥassān ibn Mufarrij, surrendered to the Byz., but the city remained under the control of the FĀṬIMIDS until the early 12th C. Arab geographers described medieval Tripolis as surrounded by fields and gardens and protected on three sides by the sea; it reportedly had 20,000 inhabitants in the 11th C.

In the aftermath of the First Crusade, the Crusaders founded the county of Tripoli (see TRIPOLI, COUNTY OF) in 1102 but did not capture the city itself until 1109, after a five-year siege. (For Tripolis in North Africa, see TRIPOLITANIA.)

LIT. E. Honigmann, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1939) 205f. F. Buhl, *EI* 4:660. –A.K.

TRIPOLITANIA, modern name for the African region called Tripolis in Greek sources; in Latin texts (e.g., the VERONA LIST) it is called Tripolitana. Under Diocletian the Syrtic coastal cities of Oea (mod. Tripoli), Sabratha, and LEPTIS MAGNA and their hinterlands (northwest Libya), as well as Tacapes and Gigthis on the southern border of BYZACENA, were formed into the province of Tripolitania, protected by the Limes Tripolitanus. The area was never deeply romanized; strong Punico-Libyan cultural and religious influences were still evident in the late antique period. Christianity made little headway outside the cities. Indeed, at the inland settlement of Ghirza, the cult of Ammon was active into the 6th C. Roman military and administrative authority in Tripolitania was weakened by the rise of the tribal confederation of Leuathai (see MAURI) in the 4th C., whose control eventually extended over much of the province. A consequence of the decreasing Roman military presence in the countryside was the replacement of *opus Africanum*-style farms (which first appeared in the early Roman period) with *gsur* (fortified farms), but the precise role these played in the defense of the province remains unclear. Another consequence of the changes in Tripolitania was a general decline in olive oil exports. The Vandal conquest of between 442 and 455 (Courtois, *infra* 174) did not result in significant changes in the condition of Tripolitania.

The Byz. reconquest in 533 affected only the coastal cities. A rebellion of the Leuathai caused by the massacre of 79 subchiefs of the tribe by Sergios, the Byz. *doux*, took four years to quell. A Byz. reprisal may account for the destruction of the temple at Ghirza at about this time. In the late 6th C. Tripolitania was separated from the newly established African exarchate and annexed to the diocese of Egypt, although it may have been briefly reattached to the former during the rebellion of GREGORY, the exarch of Carthage (646–47). Tripolitania was overrun by the Arabs in 642–43; the Byz. were able to recover Tripolis temporarily, but a permanent Arab garrison was established there in the 660s.

LIT. D.J. Mattingly, "Libyans and the 'Limes': Culture and Society in Roman Tripolitania," *AntAfr* 23 (1987) 71–94. Pringle, *Defence* 23, 45f, 63f. R.G. Goodchild, "Byzantines, Berbers and Arabs in seventh-century Libya," *Antiquity* 41 (1967) 115–24. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955) 70–79, 93–95. –R.B.H.

TRIPTYCH, tripartite icon made of wood, bronze, or ivory and composed of wings, the same size or shorter than the central panel, that close over the main image. The principal subject matter—often the Deesis with apostles and saints or the Crucifixion—is thus revealed only when the wings are opened, an effect that has been compared to the opening of the doors of a templon barrier (K. Weitzmann, *DChAE*[4] 4 [1964–65] 16–18). Wooden triptychs are known from the 6th C. onward, but most such assemblages, painted on wood or carved in ivory, date from the 10th or 11th C. Their size (up to 33.6 cm, fully open) and iconography suggest that, at least at this period, the triptychs rested on tables or ledges as objects of veneration in private houses. Only a few complete sets of panels are preserved, among which the "Harbaville Triptych" (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *infra*, no.33) is the most celebrated. This is one of a group of three very large triptychs that also includes an example in the Palazzo Venezia, Rome

(ibid., no.31), with a long inscription addressed to an emperor Constantine, perhaps Constantine VII, who is protected and adorned with virtues by the martyrs represented about him. Here the reverse of the main panel exhibits a flowering cross. On the backs of other triptychs, and sometimes on the outside of the wings, the cross is accompanied by the legend IC XC NIKA.

LIT. Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 10–23. E. Kantorowicz, "Ivories and Litanies," *JWarb* 5 (1942) 56–81. Kalavrezou, "Eudokia Makrem." 319–25. –A.C.

TRISAGION (Τρισάγιον, lit. "thrice-holy [hymn]"), Byz. name for the biblical *Sanctus* (Is 6:3, Rev 4:8) chanted from the 4th C. onward in the ANAPHORA. Byz. used the same name for the TROPARION "Holy [is] God, holy [and] mighty, holy [and] immortal! Have mercy on us!" sung at the beginning of all Eastern and some Western EUCHARISTS.

The origins of the *Trisagion* are disputed. Monophysites claimed it originated in Antioch (Severos of Antioch, PO 29:62, 246f); the bishops of that region chanted it at the Council of Chalcedon in 451 (*ACO* II.1, 195). But an oft-repeated Byz. legend attributed it to a heavenly vision in the time of Patr. Proklos (B. Croke, *Byzantion* 51 [1981] 127–31).

The interpretation of the *Trisagion* was another point of dispute with Monophysites who conceived the *Trisagion* to be directed to Christ. The Byz. "Prayer of the Trisagion" that accompanies the *Trisagion* in the liturgy (Brightman, *Liturgies* 369f) interprets it as addressed simply to God without distinguishing the persons. Canon 81 of the Council in Trullo in 691 (Mansi 11:977DE) condemned the theopaschite clause, "Who was crucified for us," which the Monophysites had added to the *Trisagion* under PETER THE FULLER between 468 and 470. The Monophysite formula is preserved among others in an inscription found near Antioch (*CIG* 4, no.8918). This additional clause directs the *Trisagion* to Christ, whereas all Byz. COMMENTARIES, from that of Germanos I onward, interpret the hymn as addressed to the three persons of the Trinity, transforming "mighty" and "immortal" into substantives modified by "holy": "Holy God (Father), holy mighty one (Son), holy immortal one (Holy Spirit), have mercy on us."

The *Trisagion* first appears in Byz. liturgy as a processional chant during a LITE in 438/9 and was a frequently used processional *troparion* in Constantinople, probably as a refrain sung after the verses of an antiphonal psalm (PSALMODY). Often used as the chant accompanying the procession into church at the beginning of the Eucharist, by the 6th C. it had become a permanent part of the service (*ACO* 3:71–76; Job, *On the Incarnation,* in Photios, *Bibl.* cod. 222).

LIT. Mateos, *La parole* 91–118. V.-S. Janeras, "Les byzantins et le trisagion christologique," in *Miscellanea liturgica in onore di sua eminenza il Cardinale Giacomo Lercaro,* vol. 2 (Rome 1967) 469–99. –R.F.T.

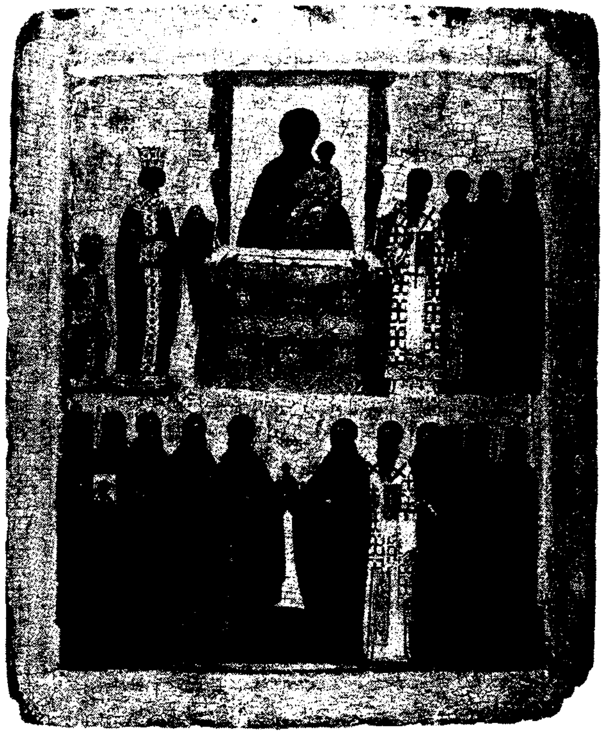
TRITHEISM (τριθεΐα, lit. "three divinity"), an accusation often made in theological disputes of the late 3rd–7th C. against those who emphasized the "individuality" of *hypostaseis* rather than the unity of the Trinity. Among those accused of Tritheism were the following: the opponents of Sabellianism for rejecting MONARCHIANISM; the Orthodox who were criticized by the PNEUMATOMACHOI for accepting the Holy Spirit as an individual deity; the followers of EUNOMIOS for underscoring the independence of the Son; the Nestorians; and esp. John PHILOPONOS and his adherents such as Eugenios and Konon of Tarsos. In 616 the synod of Alexandria condemned Tritheism. –A.K.

TRIUMPH (θρίαμβος, τὰ ἐπινίκια, ἐπινίκιος ἑορτή), a victory celebration inherited from Rome that featured a triumphal parade into the capital of troops, captives, booty, and the victorious emperor. It was often accompanied by triumphal circus games, religious services, largess, and banqueting. Triumphs exemplified imperial ideology, since the *imperator*'s military origins implied that victories demonstrated the emperor's right to rule; emperors alone celebrated them from the time of Augustus. From the 4th to the 7th C., numerous triumphs in various capitals saluted real or imagined victories over usurpers or barbarians by emperors whose victory permeated the reaction of imperial PROPAGANDA to a deteriorating military situation. In the 5th–7th C., the circus absorbed this ceremony, as successful generals and defeated enemies paraded in the HIPPODROME and honored the triumphant emperor ensconced in the KATHISMA. Special coin issues, panegyrics, mon-

uments, anniversary races, and provincial celebrations marked these late Roman triumphs. The defeat of a usurper sometimes introduced his ritual divestiture or trampling (*trachelismos*; Lat. *calcatio colli*) into the ceremony. Although the triumph quickly shed its pagan trappings, Christianity was slow to fill the gap, as parallel, independent rites like thanksgiving services and litanic processions emerged.

Victorious generals eroded the imperial monopoly of triumph by staging their own celebrations in the provinces. From the 8th C. onward, generals might even dominate triumphs celebrated at Constantinople, culminating in the *sebastophoros* Stephen Pergamenos's triumph (1043). Emperors nevertheless continued to celebrate triumphs themselves between the 8th and 12th C., when the parade through Constantinople's streets again prevailed, though circus triumphs and victory games still occurred. The parade often followed the MESE from the Golden Gate to Hagia Sophia and the Great Palace; its religious content increased steadily from the 7th C. onward. Thus the calculated gesture of John I Tzimiskes, who paraded in 971 behind an icon mounted in a triumphal carriage, was imitated and embellished by John II Komnenos in 1126 and Manuel I Komnenos in 1167. No triumphs have yet been detected after the ceremony marking Michael VIII's reconquest of Constantinople in 1261.

LIT. M. McCormick, *Eternal Victory: Triumphal Rulership in Late Antiquity, Byzantium, and the Early Medieval West* (Cambridge 1986). Koukoules, *Bios* 2:55–60. –M.McC.



TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The Triumph of Orthodoxy; painted icon, 14th C. National Icon Collection, no.18; British Museum, London. The empress Theodora and her son Michael III stand next to an icon of the Virgin Hodegetria. To the right of the icon is the patriarch Methodios. The other figures are also heroes of the struggle against Iconoclasm.

TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY, the final defeat of ICONOCLASM in 843, celebrated as the Sunday of Orthodoxy on the first Sunday of Lent. After Emp. Theophilos died in 842, the eunuch THEOKTISTOS overcame the reluctance of Empress THEODORA to permit the restoration of icons by arranging that Theophilos would not be condemned. He deposed Patr. JOHN VII GRAMMATIKOS, secured the appointment of METHODIOS I, and conducted a series of meetings (some in his own house) that, using OIKONOMIA, definitively ended the controversy. On 11 Mar. 843 Theodora, Theoktistos, and Methodios made a symbolic triumphal procession from the Church of the Theotokos in Blachernai, an Iconophile center, to Hagia Sophia, formerly in Iconoclast hands, and there celebrated a liturgy to mark the occasion.

An annual feast was established by the end of the 9th C.; it is mentioned in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos and described in the *Book of Ceremonies* (*De cer.* 1:156–60) but does not exist in the *Typikon of the Great Church;* the *Synaxarion of Constantinople* (*Synax.CP* 460.48–50) admits it only in a later addition. The celebration included a procession from the Blachernai to Hagia Sophia, where the emperor joined the assemblage and a banquet was given either by the patriarch or the emperor. A church service devoted to the "triumph over heretics" included a reading of the anathema of 843 and the singing of the *kanones* composed by THEOPHANES GRAPTOS and Patr. Methodios. The feast was called the day of ENKAINIA, or dedication of churches, since churches were to be construed not only as splendid sacred buildings but as communities of the pious (J. Gouillard, *infra* 45.5–9).

Over the centuries numerous panegyrics, hymns, and sermons were composed for the holiday (BHG 1386–94t).

The personalities associated with the Triumph in 843 were celebrated in Palaiologan art: an icon of ca.1400 now in the British Museum shows the Hodegetria attended by Theodora and Michael III on one side and Patr. Methodios on the other, while a row of monastic saints below includes Theodore of Stoudios holding a circular image of the sort represented in the marginal PSALTERS produced shortly after 843.

LIT. J. Gouillard, "Le Synodikon de l'Orthodoxie," *TM* 2 (1967) 129–38. J.F.T. Perridon, "De Zondag der Orthodoxie in de Byzantijnse Kerk," *Het Christelijk Oosten* 9 (1956–57) 182–200. Martin, *Iconoclastic Controversy* 212–15.
–P.A.H., A.K., A.C.

TROCHOS (τροχός, lit. "wheel" or "disk"), word that came to signify a circular layout for a set of chronological synchronisms, the best known being the four *trochoi* contained in the Vatican MS of the CHRONICON PASCHALE and depicted by a hand of the 12th–13th C.: I (*Chron. Pasch.* 25) presents a lunar cycle; II (p.27) a solar cycle; III (p.372) a lunar cycle for explaining the chronology of the conception of John the Baptist; and IV (p.534) a lunar cycle with Easter dates. The structure of a typical *trochos* (IV) is a circle divided into 19 segments representing successive years of the lunar cycle from 344 to 362, with each segment further divided into three compartments. The outer contains the year of the cycle, the epact, or day of the lunar cycle at 1 Jan., and the date of Easter for that year according to the Roman calendar; the middle contains the Easter date according to the Macedonian and Egyptian calendars; the inner the year of the DIOCLETIANIC ERA. The space in the center of the circle is filled with an explanation of how the cycle works and where it begins and ends. Another *trochos* is that ascribed to a certain George (F. Diekamp, *BZ* 9 [1900] 32f, 50f).

LIT. Grumel, *Chronologie* 73–84, 232. J. Beaucamp et al., "Temps et histoire I: Le prologue de la *Chronique pascale*," *TM* 7 (1979) 227, 292–95.
–B.C.

TROGLITA, JOHN, general and hero of the epic poem *Johannis* by CORIPPUS; born probably Trogilos, Macedonia, died after 552. Perhaps commander of the *foederati* during the Vandal war in Africa, Troglita may have taken part in the battle of Scalae Veteres (537) against STOTZAS. Under general SOLOMON, Troglita was probably *doux* of TRIPOLITANIA or BYZACENA; after 541 he served in Mesopotamia. It is uncertain if he is the same John, *doux* of Mesopotamia, said by Prokopios to have nearly lost a battle. Corippus credits Troglita with the successful defense of Theodosioupolis and Daras. *Magister militum* for Africa from 546 onward, Troglita defeated the MAURI at Castra Antonia and restored the military frontier in Byzacena. The Mauri rebelled soon thereafter, lured Troglita into the desert, and crushed him at Marta (Marath) in 547. With a refurbished army, Troglita advanced against the Mauri and decisively defeated them at Latara in western Tripolitania in the spring or summer of 548. He was probably rewarded with the title *patrikios*. After an unsuccessful expedition in 551, Troglita succeeded in 552 in seizing Sardinia. Nothing is known of his career after 552.

LIT. Pringle, *Defence* 33–39. Guilland, *Institutions* 2:146. Y. Moderan, "Corippe et l'occupation byzantine de l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 22 (1986) 195–212.
–R.B.H.

TROJAN WAR, the conflict between the combined forces of the Hellenes and the inhabitants of Troy that culminated in the Greek conquest of Troy after a ten-year siege. It is recorded in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* of HOMER as well as in the poems of the Epic Cycle and is referred to constantly by the poets and historians of the ancient world. The war is focal in the legendary histories of Rome and hence of its successor state, the Byz. Empire. Constantine I, perhaps influenced by these legends, reportedly hesitated between the sites of Troy and Byz. for his new capital (cf. Zosim. 2:30.1–2, Theoph. 1:23.22–27). The Trojan War, a pivotal point in the *Chronicle* of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, figures prominently in Byz. chronicles (e.g., those of John MALALAS and Constantine MANASSES). In short, the war lent itself to the historical understanding of the past as a sequence of world empires, though the synchronistic date attributed to it varied from the time of Moses to the reign of David. The war figures in Byz. literature, too, in compositions like the *Homerica* of John TZETZES or the essay on Homeric characters by Isaac KOMNENOS the Porphyrogennetos, and

in commentaries like those of EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE. References to the war appear also in popular literature, for example, in the ACHILLEIS, the TROY TALE, and the WAR OF TROY. There the idea of the importance of the Trojan War has probably been derived from the chroniclers and from the significant place given to the Homeric poems in Byz. education, but little detailed knowledge is shown. The work with the most circumstantial information (the *War of Troy*) draws upon its French source.

LIT. Browning, "Homer," 15–33. Jeffreys, "Chroniclers." –E.M.J.

TROPARION (*τροπάριον*), the earliest and most basic form of the Byz. HYMN. Originally a short prayer in rhythmic prose inserted after each verse of the psalms sung during Orthros and Vespers, later the *troparion* became strophic in character and more closely connected to individual feasts. Numerous *troparia* were written. *Troparion* came eventually to mean simply a stanza (the basic strophic unit of any hymn, whether KONTAKION or KANON or STICHERON), an inserted set of lines. A *troparion* can be classified according to its contents (as, e.g., *anastasimon*, "On the Resurrection"), the moment of performance (as, e.g., *apolytikion*, sung at the DISMISSAL at the end of Vespers), its melody (as either *idiomelon*, sung to a unique melody, or *prosomoion*, sung to an existing melody), or the type of verse to which it is attached (e.g., *apostichon*, developing the verse of a psalm).

LIT. Mitsakis, *Hymnographia* 72–77. Szövérffy, *Hymnography* 1:100–10. –E.M.J.

TROPES (*τρόποι*) and *schemata* were considered by ancient rhetoricians as the two categories of RHETORICAL FIGURE. Both aimed at the ornamentation of speech: even though the distinction between them was not always consistent, *schemata* did not entail a change of meaning and remained within the category of *kyriologia* (proper meaning of words); a trope, on the other hand, was defined as an expression that contained in itself an alteration (*metatrope*) of character, hence its name (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:215.10–12). Several works on the tropes have survived but their chronology is obscure: some tracts are anonymous, some ascribed to ancient grammarians such as Tryphon (1st C. B.C.) or an otherwise unknown Kokondrios, and two bear names of Byz. rhetoricians—George CHOIROBOSKOS and Gregory PARDOS (whose dates are themselves under discussion). Moreover, while A. Kominis (*Gregorios Pardos metropolita di Corinto* [Rome-Athens 1960] 77–80) attributes a treatise on the tropes to Pardos, M.L. West (*CQ* n.s. 15 [1965] 230–48) sees it as a work of Tryphon. At any rate, examples in these tracts are drawn predominantly from ancient writers, even though "Choiroboskos" (*RhetGr*, ed. Spengel, 3:251.19) once refers to Metaphrastes (Symeon Metaphrastes?).

Most ancient theoreticians listed 10–14 *tropoi* (Martin, *infra*), whereas "Choiroboskos" and "Pardos-Tryphon" established a longer list of 27 tropes (it is unclear whether this list is classical or Byz.), including ALLEGORY, METAPHOR, SIMILE, HYPERBOLE, metonymy (replacement of the word by a related one), synecdoche (putting a part for the whole, the whole for the part, species for the genus, etc.), RIDDLE, irony, and so forth. This list also includes pleonasm and ellipsis, which were considered by other rhetoricians as *schemata*, not tropes, and omits EPITHET, which others did classify as a trope.

The church fathers introduced and broadly used the term *tropologia* to define the tropological or figurative method of demonstration, esp. important for such subtle topics as the substance of God (Basil the Great, PG 29:544C). The difference between *tropologia*, allegory, and metaphor remained unclear. Eustathios of Thessalonike, in his commentary on the *Iliad* (*Eust. Comm. Il.* 1:478.20), cites various *tropikai diatheseis* unknown from ancient texts and probably originating from everyday vocabulary ("talons of a mountain," "twigs of rivers"); in one case at least he states that the expression "the eyes of plants" (1:479.1–2) is borrowed from "the peasants' language."

LIT. Martin, *Rhetorik* 261–69. –A.K.

TROUSERS (*ἀναξυρίδες*; also *braka*, a term of Germanic origin) were known among the later Romans, and *braccarii* ("breeches makers") are mentioned in Diocletian's Price Edict and in some papyri. The fashion was introduced under barbarian influence, and Prokopios of Caesarea speaks of *anaxyrides* as an element of Slavic costume. A 4th-C. tomb painting in Silistra (A. Frova, *Pittura romana in Bulgaria* [Rome 1943], figs. 1, 9, 11)

shows servants approaching the deceased with various articles of clothing, including trousers with a simple BELT, and a much larger and more ornate belt, probably to be worn over a tunic.

The use of the garment after the 6th C. is suggested by the discovery of BELT FITTINGS in Constantinople and Asia Minor, although belts were worn over tunics as well as to hold up trousers. Except for images of DANIEL and the THREE HEBREWS, trousers are rare in Byz. painting; unusually, either long or short underwear covers the legs and loins of the FORTY MARTYRS OF SEBASTEIA in 10th-C. ivories in Leningrad and Berlin (Goldschmidt-Weitzmann, *Elfenbeinskulpt.* II, nos. 9–10). In the 12th C. Eustathios of Thessalonike was still critical of the fashion of wearing trousers; Niketas Choniates used the words *anaxyrides* and *braka* but does not define them. By this time the expression "to wear trousers" seems already to have become synonymous with manliness.

LIT. Kazhdan-Epstein, *Change* 76f. A. Brzóstkowska, "'Anaxyrides' u Prokopa z Cezarei na tle greckiej i rzymskiej tradycji literackiej," *Eos* 68 (1980) 251–65.

–G.V., A.K., A.C.

TROY TALE (Διήγησις γεναμένη ἐν Τροίᾳ) or the "Byzantine Iliad" is an anonymous poem in 1,166 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES, written at an unknown date, probably in the late 14th C. It presents an idiosyncratic account of the TROJAN WAR, independent both of the WAR OF TROY and the *Iliad* of Constantine HERMONIAKOS. It falls into three sections: the first (lines 1–779) covers events preceding the war (centering on Paris and his romantic childhood when, following an ominous dream before the child's birth, Priam has Paris first placed in a tower, then cast out to sea in a chest, etc.); the second (lines 780–1,138) concerns the war itself, with a brief catalogue of ships and battle scenes but with most emphasis on Achilles; the third relates the aftermath of the war and the mourning for Achilles. The material would seem to derive ultimately from the Byz. chronicle tradition, esp. Constantine MANASSES. Some lines are also found in the Appendix to the ACHILLEIS, in the Naples MS. The text survives in one 16th-C. MS.

ED. *A Byzantine Iliad*, ed. L. Nørgaard, O.L. Smith (Copenhagen 1975).

LIT. A. Kambyles, "Beiläufiges zur byzantinischen Ilias des cod. Paris Suppl. Gr.926," *JÖB* 29 (1980) 263–73.

–E.M.J., M.J.J.

TRUE CROSS, the term used for the wooden cross (τὸ ξύλον τοῦ σταυροῦ) on which Jesus was crucified or, more often, for fragments supposed to derive from it. It was reportedly discovered in Jerusalem by Empress HELENA—an event that was celebrated at the feast of the Exaltation of the Cross (see CROSS, CULT OF THE). The historicity of this event is questionable—at any rate, Eusebios of Caesarea says nothing about such a discovery (H.A. Drake, *JEH* 36 [1985] 21). Nevertheless, particles of the True Cross were in circulation by the mid-4th C.: CYRIL of Jerusalem stated that the entire *oikoumene* was filled "with the wood of the Cross" (PG 33:469A), and an inscription of 359 records the deposit of a particle of the Cross in Mauretania (*CIL* VIII, supp. 3, no.20600). The pilgrim EGERIA observed the veneration of the Cross in Jerusalem in the 380s, and by the end of the 4th C. the legend about Helena's discovery was already known.

Helena is said to have divided the relic: one section of the Cross was sent to Constantinople, while another remained in Jerusalem, in the shrine of the Holy SEPULCHRE. Numerous pilgrims came to see it, and despite the constant watch of special guardians pieces of the holy wood were frequently removed from Jerusalem; moreover, fragments of the Cross were given by officials of the Holy Sepulchre to certain monasteries, for instance, to that of St. Euthymios near Jerusalem; Melania the Elder received a piece of the Cross from John, the bishop of Jerusalem. In 614 the relic was captured by the Persians who conquered Jerusalem, but Herakleios's eventual victory allowed the Byz. to recover the Cross: on 21–22 Mar. 631 it was solemnly brought back to Jerusalem (V. Grumel, *ByzF* 1 [1966] 139–49). In 635, however, in the face of the Arab invasion, Herakleios transferred it to Constantinople. Much later, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS related that the Cross was buried in Jerusalem and rediscovered at the time of the First Crusade; other legends continued to report examples of holy fragments preserved in Palestine.

Numerous parts of the Cross ended up in Constantinople; besides those sent by Helena, Justin II ordered the transfer of a substantial piece from Apameia in Syria, and in 635 the Jerusalem section was appropriated. These relics are reported to have been kept in various locations. The church historian Sokrates says that a piece was sealed in a column in the Forum; Patr. Nikephoros I locates

the relic in Hagia Sophia; some sources speak instead of the Great Palace. Strangely enough, the ceremonial of the Great Palace omits any reference to the relic unless we accept with Frolow (*infra* [1961] 238, no.143) that "three [*sic*] venerable and life-giving crosses" (*De cer.* 549.6) allude to the particles of the holy wood. Other ecclesiastical institutions, both in Constantinople (EUERGETIS MONASTERY, PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY) and outside the capital, claimed possession of the precious wood. Despite the looting of scores of fragments in and after 1204, a 14th-C. Russian pilgrim states that the Cross was still at Hagia Sophia (Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 130f, 222).

The True Cross was used primarily to guarantee the truth of statements and oaths, and for such a purpose it was exhibited at sessions of councils (e.g., in 869—Mansi 16:309C, 321B). Skylitzes' account of oaths taken on the True Cross in 917 by generals of various themes is represented in the Madrid MS of this text (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.286). It was paraded around the walls of Constantinople during sieges and, appended to a golden lance, served as a talisman in battles. It was carried during imperial and ecclesiastical processions and fragments were used as diplomatic gifts; a notable example was that enclosed in the jeweled cross sent by Justin II to the pope John III (561–74), now in the Vatican (Rice, *Art of Byz.*, fig.71). Most relics of the True Cross that went to the West (see LIMBURG AN-DER-LAHN RELIQUARY) as well as others that stayed longer within the empire, were enclosed in precious RELIQUARIES, the creation of which, as much as their contents, occasioned epigrams by poets such as John Mauropous and Nicholas Kallikles. Private persons wore phylacteries (ENKOLPIA) containing fragments of the True Cross.

LIT. A. Frolow, *La relique de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1961). Idem, *Les reliquaires de la Vraie Croix* (Paris 1965).

–A.C., A.K.

TRULLA (*τροῦλλα*), Lat. term designating a small ladle, trowel, or basin; it is preserved in the list of table implements translated from the jurist Paul (*Digest* 33.10.3) in the *Basilika* (44.13.3). The 5th-C. historian Olympiodoros of Thebes, however, uses the word for a grain measure (1/48 of a *modios*) and relates that the Vandals called the Goths Truli because they bought grain from the Vandals at one solidus per *troulla* (Blockley, *Historians* 2:192, fr.29.1). The word was not used by the Byz. save for lexicographers, who understood it as a spoon (Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2 [1948] 102). It is applied by E. Dodd (*Byz. Silver Stamps*, nos. 1, 14, 30, 50) and other scholars to two types of dish with long handles: a broad, flat *patera* and a narrow, high "saucepan." Not only is the ancient name of these objects uncertain, but their function is open to question. While comparable objects from the Greco-Roman period ornamented with diverse subjects are considered variously as libation- or saucepans, the Byz. objects, decorated with aquatic images of Aphrodite, Poseidon, Okeanos, fishermen, and Nilotic scenes, were probably restricted to washing, for example, *chernibeia*. A series of such dishes is dated by SILVER STAMPS to the period 491–651 (see CHERNIBOXESTON).

LIT. Shelton, *Esquiline* 68, n.15. D. Strong, *Greek and Roman Gold and Silver Plate* (Ithaca, N.Y.–London 1966) 145–48, 166–70, 192f. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:102.

–M.M.M.

TRULLO, COUNCIL IN. The council was convoked by Emp. JUSTINIAN II between the end of 691 and 1 Sept. 692 to complete the work of the fifth and sixth ecumenical councils (Constantinople II, III; see under CONSTANTINOPLE, COUNCILS OF), which had failed to issue any disciplinary canons; hence the Byz. title of the council, *penthekte* ("Fifth-Sixth," Lat. Quinisextum). The assembly considered itself ecumenical. Its 102 decrees, which alone survive with an address to the emperor, are a milestone in the history of Byz. ecclesiastical legislation. The corpus is divided into two broad sections, one dealing with the clergy and monasticism, the other with the laity. The latter concerns such matters as marriage (53, 54, 72); prostitution (86); manumission of slaves, which required three witnesses (85); religious representations, which must depict Christ "in his human form" (82); as well as general abuses and superstition (61). The earlier section addresses numerous ecclesiastical matters including ordination (see CHEIROTHESIA) (14), clerical dress (27), SIMONY (22, 23), monastic STABILITY (46), and the alienation of monastic property (49). The council's references to Constantinople's patriarchal privileges (36) and its explicit condemnation of such

Latin practices as clerical celibacy and Saturday fasting in Lent (13, 55) explain its partial rejection by the West.

SOURCES. Mansi 11:929–1006. F. Lauchert, *Die Kanones der wichtigsten altkirchlichen Concilien* (Freiburg 1896; rp. Frankfurt 1961) 97–139. P. Joannou, *Les canons des conciles oecuméniques* (Rome 1962) 98–241.

LIT. F. Görres, "Justinian II. und das römische Papsttum," *BZ* 17 (1908) 432–54. –A.P.

TRYPHIODOROS. See TRIPHIODOROS.

TSAKONES, or Tzakones (Τζάκωνες), first mentioned by CONSTANTINE VII (*De cer.* 696.4), and described as APELATAI; some versions of the text identify the Tsakones as Laconians. Michael VIII transferred loyal units of Tsakones to Constantinople and its environs, where they staffed garrisons under their own *stratopedarchai*; others served in his fleet. By the 13th C. "Tsakonia" designated Lakonia with the Crusader city of Geraki as capital and Monemvasia as port. Mazaris and Isidore of Kiev termed the local Greek dialect barbarous. Palaiologan sources, arguing from the assonance of the names and the Tsakones' supposed Peloponnesian origin, identify Tsakones as ancient Lakonians. Earlier scholarship considered Tsakones Slavs or Greeks from southern Italy (P. Charanis, *DOP* 5 [1950] 139–60). Present scholarship views the term as a military designation that became an ethnographic and topographic name. Caratzas (*infra* 316–48), referring among others to George METOCHITES, speculates that the ethnonym Tsakones-Lakones-Makedones was connected with the heretical Paulicians settled in the Balkans.

LIT. S. Caratzas, *Les Tzacones* (Berlin-New York 1976). Ch. Symeonides, *Hoi Tsakones kai he Tsakonia* (Thessalonike 1972). H. Ahrweiler, "Les termes *τσάκωνες-τσακωνίαι* et leur évolution sémantique," *REB* 21 (1963) 243–49. –S.B.B.

TSAMBLAK. See CAMBLAK, GRIGORIJ.

TUGHRUL BEG (Ταγγρολίπηξ), Seljuk sultan (1055–63); born ca.993, died Raiy, Iran, 4 Sept. 1063. After occupying much of Iran and Iraq (after 1040), Tughrul encouraged his Turkoman followers to ravage Armenia and the Byz. borders. The Turkish raids, sporadic since ca.1021, now gave way to large-scale expeditions, such as that led by Tughrul's half-brother Ibrahim Inal (ca.1048–49) into the region of Erzurum, where he defeated the Byz. under Aaron, KATAKALON KEKAUMENOS, and the Abchazian Liparit IV (see LIPARITES). Liparit, captured, was released by Tughrul without ransom at the request of Constantine IX. In 1054 Tughrul attacked Byz. He was, however, frustrated in a siege of Mantzikert. Despite negotiations, Turkoman attacks continued.

LIT. C. Cahen, *Turcobyzantina et Oriens Christianus* (London 1974), pt.I (1946–48), 10–21. Vryonis, *Decline* 82–89. W. Felix, *Byzanz und die islamische Welt im früheren 11. Jahrhundert* (Vienna 1981) 165–81. –C.M.B.

TŪLŪNIDS, first independent Muslim dynasty in Egypt and later in Syria (15 Sept. 868–Jan. 905). Its founder, Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn, took advantage of the weakening ʿABBĀSIDS. He controlled the finances of Egypt by 872 and occupied Syria in 878 on the pretext of protecting Islamic frontiers against Byz. The Ṭūlūnids first raided Byz. Anatolia in 878. Aḥmad ibn Ṭūlūn strengthened the fleet, developed efficient fiscal controls, and built an army of 100,000, including many Christians, Turks, and Sudanese. In 882 Muslims at Tarsos rebelled against the Ṭūlūnids and established local independence. Aḥmad's son Khumārawayh succeeded him in 884. Ṭūlūnid rule in Tarsos was restored in 892. After raiding Byz. territory in 893 and 894, the Ṭūlūnids negotiated a truce in late 895 and arranged the exchange of 2,504 Muslim prisoners on 16–20 Sept. 896. Khumārawayh, who wasted funds, was assassinated in Dec. 896. Tarsos drove out the Ṭūlūnid governor in 897 and received an ʿAbbāsid governor in Apr. 898. The Ṭūlūnids defeated the Byz. fleet that year. The dynasty ended with the assassination of Khumārawayh's brother Hārūn in 905. The dynasty divided Islam. It temporarily threatened Byz., but internal disturbances and the location of its center in Egypt hampered it in that struggle.

LIT. Z.M. Hassan, *EI²* 1:278f. H.A.R. Gibb, *EI* 4:834–36. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:87–99, 100–03, 120–33. –W.E.K.

TUNIC (χιτών). Wool, linen, or cotton tunics, short or long, short-sleeved or long-sleeved, were the basic garment of most citizens of the empire,

men and women alike, from the highest to the lowest, whether laymen, ecclesiastics, or monks. Tunics were often worn one atop the other: under a toga, for example, would be a linen tunic with sleeves, topped by a broader short-sleeved COLOBIUM. After the 7th C. long tunics were the rule for anyone of rank, at least to judge by artistic representations: short tunics were reserved for people in active professions, such as shepherds, seamen, builders, executioners, etc., and for soldiers under their armor.

The number of terms for such garments is bewildering. A *kamis⟨i⟩on* was perhaps the simplest kind, worn by monks and lower orders of the clergy (below the level of deacon). Purple *kamisia* were worn by *psaltai* or SINGERS; those of the *protopsaltes* and *domestikos* were white (pseudo-Kod. 190.2–5). Monks at the Pantokrator monastery in Constantinople were issued two *hypokamisa* a year (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 65.608); these were probably undershirts. The *kamision* was also worn by low-ranking court officials and its decoration might reflect the office: for example, the *kamision* of a NIPSISTIARIOS was made of linen and bore a decorative panel in the form of a basin.

Chiton is the word generally employed for the classical tunic worn by Old Testament figures, as well as by Christ and the apostles, throughout Byz. art. At court it was worn by officials of higher rank than those wearing the *kamision*; these *chitones* were embroidered with gold panels on the shoulders. (In monastic documents the term *chiton* appears only as an archaism, in place of the customary *kamision*.)

Courtiers of even higher rank wore the silk SKARAMANGION. The emperor himself had two primary silk tunics, the DIVETESION and the *skaramangion*, though the distinction between the two is difficult to define. It is also uncertain whether he wore any other sort of tunic under either of these: the gold cuffs and hems visible on imperial portraits may have been detachable from the main tunic and do not necessarily indicate the existence of an undergarment. By the 14th C., the favored robe was a KABBADION, more coat than tunic.

Tunics were often gaily patterned, with special stripes or CLAVI to indicate the rank of the wearer, or fancy hems and collars. The shorter belted knee-length tunics worn by ordinary people were sometimes adorned with *segmenta* (rectangular ornamental panels) or with plain black squares. The basic tunic worn by the clergy of all ranks was the STICHARION.

LIT. L.M. Wilson, *The Clothing of the Ancient Romans* (Baltimore 1938) 55–75. N.M. Beljaev, "Ukrašenija pozdneantičnoj i ranne-vizantijskoj odeždy," *Recueil d'études, dédiées à la mémoire de N.P. Kondakov* (Prague 1926) 213–28. H. Mihăescu, "Les termes byzantins *birryn, birros,* 'casque, tunique d'homme' et *gouna,* 'fourrure,'" *RESEE* 19 (1981) 425–32, with add. A. Kazhdan, *JÖB* 33 (1983) 15. Oppenheim, *Mönchskleid* 88–104. G. Fabre, "Recherches sur l'origine des ornements vestimentaires du Bas-Empire," *Karthago* 16 (1973) 107–28. –N.P.Š.

TUR ʿABDIN (Syriac for "mountain of the servants [of God]"), a plateau known also as Mt. Masios or Mt. Izla in the province of MESOPOTAMIA; from the early 6th C. it was part of southern Mesopotamia. The *Notitia Antiochena* of 570 first lists a bishop of Turabdion, who may have sat at Hah, where there is a large 6th-C. church; the exact location of the fortified Rhabdios mentioned by Prokopios (*Buildings,* 2.4.1–13) is unclear (E. Honigmann, *BZ* 25 [1925] 83f). The Tur ʿAbdin is noted for Monophysite and Nestorian monasteries and numerous surviving churches built on either single-nave or transverse plans. Many are decorated with elaborate architectural sculpture (e.g., DEIR ZAʿFARAN MONASTERY). Having suffered from the Byz.-Persian wars and the Monophysite persecutions, the Tur ʿAbdin enjoyed a period of marked prosperity under the Arabs, starting in the late 7th C.

LIT. Bell-Mango, *Tur ʿAbdin* iii–x, 159–64. G. Wiessner, *Christliche Kultbauten im Ṭūr ʿAbdīn,* I–II (Wiesbaden 1981–83). A. Palmer, "A Corpus of Inscriptions from Tur Abdin and Environs," *OrChr* 71 (1987) 53–139. Idem, *Monk and Mason on the Tigris Frontier: The Early History of Ṭur ʿAbdin* (Cambridge 1990). M. Mundell Mango, "Deux églises de Mésopotamie du Nord: Ambar et Mar Abraham de Kashkar," *CahArch* 30 (1982) 47–70. –M.M.M.

TURKOMANS (Τουρκομάνοι), a term first appearing in Islamic texts during the 10th C. and used alternatively with Oghuz, i.e., the Turkic nomadic people that one century later and after a long migration invaded Asia Minor. More precisely, *Turkoman* came to mean the Muslim Oghuz in contrast to the pagan, shamanist, or the Christian Oghuz, a minority group. The term had already passed into Greek in the first half of the 12th C.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945) 62, 82. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:327. –E.A.Z.

TURKS. Turks in general are peoples living in or originating from Turkestan, the vast region between the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and the Altai Mountains, which from the 6th C. onward is also called Turan. From the end of the 11th C. the term *Turks* meant only those Turks living in the region of present-day Turkey. From the early Middle Ages several Turkish peoples migrated as nomads or advanced as warriors, reached the east European and the Mediterranean regions, and came into contact with the Byz.

The Turks practiced a variety of religions, being Buddhists, Manichaeans, Christians (mainly Nestorians), even Zoroastrians; but initially the most popular religion was shamanism, the religion of the steppe. With the Arab conquest of Transoxiana (705–15), Islam spread successfully among the Turks.

Most probably the earliest Turks known to history are the HUNS. The first people whom the Byz. called TOURKOI, however, were governed by a KHAGAN, who in 568 sent ambassadors to Constantinople, seeking alliance with Justin II against the Persians. In the following year a Byz. ambassador, ZEMARCHOS, reached the *khagan*'s nomadic court; the account concerning his mission is a precious source. On the other hand, the 8th-C. Orkhon inscriptions, the earliest historical monument made by Turks who call themselves Turks, contain a short history of their state extending from the Chinese to the Persian frontier. The northern Black Sea regions attracted several Turkic peoples such as the AVARS, the BULGARS, the KHAZARS, etc., while the lower Danube remained an area of confrontation between the Byz. and Turks. In the 12th C. this area was occupied by the CUMANS.

Around 960 the first Turco-Islamic state appeared, that of the Karakhanids or Ilek-khanids. Established in the cities of Balasagun and Kashgar (eastern Turkestan), they soon conquered the region of Transoxiana. A member of the Karakhanid family was the scholar Maḥmūd al-Kāshgarī, who wrote (ca.1075) an encyclopedia concerning the Turks.

Shortly after the Karakhanids, another Turco-Islamic dynasty appeared in Ghazna. The Ghaznavid sultan Maḥmūd (998–1030) was glorified for his long and victorious holy war (*jihād*) against India. The end of his campaigns left the warriors of the faith, the GHAZIS, unemployed and seems to be one of the reasons for the great migration of the Oghuz Turks in the 11th C.

The Oghuz people living around the year 1000 south of Lake Aral included 22 of 24 tribes; Byz. sources mention some of these (e.g., the Avshar or the Čepni). The first Oghuz tribe that headed towards the west and reached the Danube regions was the PECHENEGS. A second wave of Oghuz reached the territories of Rus'; the Byz. mention them by their real ethnic name, Ouzoi (see UZES). For the Byz. Empire, the most significant Oghuz migration was that guided by the family (later dynasty) of the SELJUKS. The Seljukid TUGHRUL BEG, sultan of Baghdad from 1055, unable to control the Oghuz nomads, dispatched them as *ghazis* against the Christians. This policy led his successor ALP ARSLAN to open confrontation with the Byz. and the victory at MANTZIKERT.

During the 12th C. the Turks of Asia Minor were divided and established several states, the most important of which, after the Seljuks, was that of the DANIŞMENDIDS. After the Seljuks defeated the army of MANUEL I in 1176 near MYRIOKEPHALON, the Byz. were obliged to regard the Turkish occupation of Asia Minor as permanent.

When the MONGOLS conquered Asia, they caused a new large Turkish migration into Anatolia, which the Mongols invaded in 1243. Population pressure, need for pasture lands, and political oppression obliged many Turks to settle in the frontier zones between the Seljuk and Christian territories and to carry out holy war. Resistance against them was weak. The Christian rulers (Byz., Grand Komnenoi of Trebizond, and Cilician Armenians) tried to save their domains by maintaining good relations with the Mongol conquerors, who actually undertook some campaigns to pacify Islamic Anatolia, but with ephemeral results. The government of Constantinople neglected Byz. Anatolia and the AKRITAI abandoned their posts. During the gradual dissolution of the Seljuk sultanate a series of Turkish states were established in the vicinity of the Christian territories: KARAMAN, GERMIYAN, MENTESHE, AYDIN, SARUHAN, KARASI, etc., and the emirate of Osman, the nucleus of the OTTOMAN Empire.

Turks in Byzantine Service. From the 11th C. onward, the Byz. hired Turkish peoples (Pechenegs, Cumans, Seljuks) as mercenaries, and some groups of Turks settled on Byz. territory. According to the chroniclers of the First Crusade, the

Tourkopouloi formed a substantial and effective contingent of the Byz. army, and Ibn Jubayr counted 40,000 Turkish horsemen in the ranks of the army at the time of Andronikos I (Hecht, *Aussenpolitik* 32f). Eustathios of Thessalonike praises Manuel I's tolerance toward foreigners and relates that significant "Persian" colonies were established within the empire. Several Turkish families (Axouch, Samouch, Prosuch) reached high ranks and supplied the empire with generals; it is possible that Tatikios and the founder of the family of Kamytzes were of Turkish stock. After the 12th C., however, the Turks appeared in the empire as allies rather than settlers, and finally as overlords and conquerors.

LIT. W. Barthold, *Histoire des Turcs d'Asie Centrale* (Paris 1945). Vryonis, *Decline*. C. Brand, "The Turkish Element in Byzantium, Eleventh–Twelfth Centuries," *DOP* 43 (1989) 1–25. –E.A.Z., A.K.

TŬRNOVO (Τίρναβος), city on the river Jantra in northern Bulgaria. Site of a Roman fort probably destroyed by the Visigoths in the late 4th C., Tŭrnovo was by the 6th C. a modest Byz. city. Captured by Krum ca.809, Tŭrnovo remained in Bulgarian hands until the late 10th C. In Tŭrnovo Peter and Asen began their revolt against Byz. rule in 1185, and it became the capital of the Second Bulgarian Empire, seat of the exarch, and from 1235 seat of the patriarch of Bulgaria. On 17 July 1393 the Ottoman Turks captured and burned Tŭrnovo and deported many of its inhabitants to Asia Minor.

In the 14th C. Tŭrnovo was a center of trade and industry and of Slavic literature and scholarship, particularly under Patr. Evtimij. After the capture of Tŭrnovo many Bulgarian scholars sought refuge in Russia and contributed to the development of Russian literature. Of Tŭrnovo's medieval monuments, there survive the Church of the Forty Martyrs, which was built by John Asen II to celebrate his victory over Theodore Komnenos Doukas at Klokotnica in 1230 and which contains a Greek inscription of Omurtag and a Slavic inscription of John Asen II, and perhaps the tomb of St. Sava of Serbia, who died in Tŭrnovo in 1251; the Church of Sts. Peter and Paul (Holy Apostles), a 14th-C. reconstruction of a 12th-C. building, severely damaged by an earthquake in 1913; the Church of St. Demetrios of 1185/6, which has the characteristic Bulgarian form of an aisleless, barrel-vaulted hall pierced by a tall drum supporting a dome; and the vast complex of ruins of the royal palace.

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 249–53. S. Bossilkov, *Tŭrnovo: Its History and Art Heritage* (Sofia 1960). *Carevgrad Tŭrnov*, 3 vols. (Sofia 1973–80). A. Popov, "Târnovgrad selon les études archéologiques," *BHR* 9.4 (1981) 42–57. *Tŭrnovska knižovna škola*, 4 vols. (Sofia 1970–85). P. Dinekov, "Tŭrnovskata knižovna škola (Istorija, osnovni čerti, značenie)," *Starobŭlgarska literatura* 20 (1987) 3–19. –R.B., A.C.

TURSUN BEG, Ottoman historian; died after 1499. Tursun was financial secretary (*defterdar*) to the Ottoman sultans Mehmed II and Bayezid II (ca.1481–1512), and author of the *Tarih-i Ebu'l Feth*—primarily an account of Mehmed II, but also covering the first six years of Bayezid II's reign (i.e., to 1487). Unlike Aşiqpaşazade and the popular historians, Tursun expressed himself in learned Ottoman, with ornate syntax. He depicts Mehmed II as an ideal ruler, the embodiment of all virtues, whose actions ensured good order in society. Overall, Tursun's tone is remote and often abstractly panegyrical. Beneath the rhetoric, however, Tursun conveys valuable information, reflecting in part his own experience in sultanic circles. Tursun participated, for example, in Mehmed's capture of Constantinople in 1453, and his account of the sultan's reactions to the splendors of Hagia Sophia is particularly vivid.

ED. *The History of Mehmed the Conqueror by Tursun Beg*, facs. ed. by H. İnalcık, R. Murphey (Minneapolis 1978), with Eng. tr. *Tursun Bey, Tarih-i Ebü'l Feth*, ed. M. Tulum (Istanbul 1977). Ital. tr. in Pertusi, *Caduta* 1:307–31.
LIT. Bombaci, *Lett. turca* 352–54. –S.W.R.

TYANA (Τύανα, now Kemerhisar near Niğde), city on the main route between Constantinople and the Near East, about 30 km north of the beginning of the Cilician Gates. A bishopric attested at the Council of Nicaea, Tyana became civil and ecclesiastical metropolis of Cappadocia II in 372; it sometimes appears with the additional name Christoupolis. A frequent goal of Arab attack, Tyana was taken and severely damaged in 708, 806, and 831. Arab control of Tyana provided an advance base against Byz. Asia Minor, but after 933 Tyana fell into permanent decline, retaining only its ecclesiastical rank. Remains of the Byz. city are insignificant.

LIT. *TIB* 2:298f. –C.F.

TYCHE (τύχη), fate, fortune, or chance, a complex concept inherited from antiquity. As a symbol of prosperity and success, *tyche* (as popular superstition) was often connected with cities, including Constantinople (Janin, *CP byz.* 438). The emperors were also considered to have their *tyche*, the survival of the Roman concept of an individual's genius, as embodiment or special protector. Hagiography developed the topos of martyrs who refused to swear an oath to the imperial *tyche*. At the same time there were some attempts to adjust the pagan concept of *tyche* to the Christian empire. In the Forum of Constantine, there was a sculptural group representing Constantine, Helena, a cross, and the personified Tyche of Constantinople (Dagron, *Naissance* 44f). A legend has it that Constantine had a cross engraved on the forehead of the Tyche of Constantinople, but it was removed by Emp. Julian the Apostate (SOUDA, ed. Adler, 3:395.24–29). Justinian I (nov.105.2.4) proclaimed that the *tyche* of the emperor was above all limitations, since it was a "living law" granted by God.

Tyche was also construed as an impersonal agent or cause of events evolving independently from human FREE WILL; this concept, reflecting pagan and popular DETERMINISM, was rejected by the church fathers. Thus, Eusebios of Caesarea described it as an empty word: there is no place for change or fate in a world ruled by divine law and order (*Constitutio ad coetum sanctorum* 6). It was similarly rejected by Theodoret of Cyrrhus (*HE* 3.16), Cyril of Jerusalem (*Catech.* 4.5), and Isidore of Pelousion (*Epist.* 3.154).

On the other hand, Prokopios (like his classical models) as well as many later historians referred to the concept of *tyche*. Michael Psellos emphasized the element of irregularity and chance in *tyche*, but sometimes the distinction between *tyche*, *ananke*, *heimarmene*, and even *pronoia* is quite vague. In his work on providence, Isaac KOMNENOS the *sebastokrator* (12th C.) sought to neutralize the much admired and influential Neoplatonist Proklos by introducing into his pagan writings numerous citations from pseudo-Dionysios the Areopagite and Maximos the Confessor as well as by adding Christian touches to his terminology (particularly with respect to *tyche* and *heimarmene*). The idea that *tyche* directs human success and failure can also be seen in such historians as Kinnamos (A. Kazhdan, *BS* 24 [1963] 29) and Leo the Deacon (M. Sjuzjumov, *ADSV* 7 [1971] 132). Theodore Metochites ascribed particular significance to Tyche (the personification of fortune). She could be of greater or lesser importance, in the former case dealing with the destiny of countries, in the latter with individual lives; she could act beneficially (*agathe tyche*) but is usually a fickle, unreliable whore, shifting from one to another.

LIT. A. Anwander, "'Schicksal'-Wörter in Antike und Christentum," *Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte* 1 (1948) 316–22. Podskalsky, *Theologie* 120, n.554. E. de Vries-van der Velden, *Théodore Métochite* (Amsterdam 1987) 157–81. Hunger, *Reich* 358f. I.P. Medvedev, *Vizantijskij gumanizm XIV–XV vv.* (Leningrad 1976) 104–23. –G.P.

Representation in Art. As in literature, the figure of Tyche in art could personify both the fortune of cities and that of individuals. In both cases this image is scarcely known after the 10th C. Holding a globe, rudder, or wheel to symbolize her regulatory function, she represents the operation of cosmic forces. Depicted as an Amazon or an older woman, often with a mural crown and attributes of a specific place, the local Tyche survived longer than the image of personal fortune but became ever more syncretistic in form and function. Images of Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch personified in this fashion all may be shown with a cornucopia as an emblem of abundance; other aspects of their iconography likewise became nonspecific. On the *sella curulis* of consular DIPTYCHS, running Tyche figures represent provinces paying homage (Delbrück, *Consulardiptychen*, no.19) or, as busts, are associated with NIKE (ibid., no.21). Tychai appear in monumental painting, in books such as the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM, and on SILVER STAMPS and other metalwork as well as on honorific COLUMNS. The decline of the type is evident in the JOSHUA ROLL, where the personified cities of Jericho, Ai, and Gibeon differ not only from each other but from other personifications of the same cities. In later periods the Tyche's role was in part assumed by local epithets, such as "Tiberiadiotissa," applied to types of the Virgin Mary.

LIT. K.J. Shelton, "Imperial Tyches," *Gesta* 18 (1979) 27–44. T. Dohrn, *Die Tyche von Antiochia* (Berlin 1960). –A.C.

TYPIKON, LITURGICAL, a liturgical CALENDAR to which have been added instructions for each day's services. This type of *typikon* (τυπικόν) is one

of two Byz. LITURGICAL BOOKS with rules governing the celebration of services: where the DIATAXIS gives the rubrics regulating the ordinary structure of services, the *typikon* indicates what is proper to each day of the year. There are three types of liturgical *typikon*: the "cathedral" TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH for the rite of Hagia Sophia and other secular churches, and two "monastic" forms, the STOUDITE and SABAITIC TYPIKA, which regulated services in monasteries.

Liturgical instructions of this sort first appear in the 9th–10th C. either as directions (*kanonaria*) added to liturgical books for special services and feasts of the church year (e.g., Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:172–221) or as rudimentary regulations (*hypotyposeis*) for the monastic HOURS and PSALMODY added to monastic *typika* (ibid. 1:224–56). The term *typikon*, of monastic origin, is not found in the earliest MSS and was applied to these liturgical regulations only from the 11th C. onward (NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN, *Taktikon*, ed. Beneševič 21).

Fully developed liturgical *typika* such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople, designed esp. to regulate what happens when feasts of the fixed and mobile cycles of the church calendar fall on the same day, comprise two lists giving the feasts and commemorations of both these cycles, filled out with more or less complete information concerning the place ("station") of the celebration and the "proper" (variable) elements of the service such as the lections, *prokeimena* and alleluia verses, ANTIPHONS, TROPARIA, etc., as well as particular ceremonies (e.g., a LITE). Later liturgical *typika* also have appendices and chapters explaining general principles and rules.

LIT. I. Mansvetov, *Cerkovnyj ustav (Tipik)* (Moscow 1885). M. Skaballanovič, *Tolkovyj tipikon*, 3 vols. (Kiev 1910–15). Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 359–61. –R.F.T.

TYPIKON, MONASTIC, a set of regulations prescribing the administrative organization and rules of behavior of a cenobitic monastery as well as its liturgical observances (see TYPIKON, LITURGICAL). *Typikon* has become a conventional term designating a wide variety of foundation charters and monastic testaments, which bear such titles as *diatheke, hypotyposis, thesmos, diataxis,* and *hypomnema,* in addition to *typikon*. Around 50 of these documents (often referred to by scholars as *ktetorika typika*, i.e., *typika* of the KTETOR or founder) survive. They range in date from the 9th to the 15th C., but the majority are concentrated in the 11th to 14th C. Fifteen of the preserved *typika* are for foundations in Constantinople, 18 for monasteries in Greece (including Mt. Athos), the others for institutions in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Syro-Palestine, the northern Balkans, and Italy.

Since there were no monastic orders in Byz., each monastic community needed its own formulary; in some cases, however, a *ktetor* would model his *typikon* on an earlier example, such as that of the EUERGETIS MONASTERY in Constantinople. *Typika* vary greatly in length, format, and content. Typically they contain rules about election of the HEGOUMENOS and appointment of other officials, enclosure, novitiate, diet, clothing, discipline, and commemorative services for benefactors of the monastery. They may also include a biography (or autobiography) of the founder and a BREBION (inventory) of monastic property, both movable and immovable. C. Galatariotou (*infra*) has suggested a distinction between "aristocratic *typika*," which emphasize family connections, and "nonaristocratic *typika*," written by a member of the monastic community, which stress bonds of spiritual kinship. The aristocratic *typika* usually provide more detail on the administrative structure of the monastery.

In addition to the light they shed on the structure and administration of the KOINOBION and on MONASTICISM in general, *typika* are invaluable sources of information on varied topics such as monastic property holdings, philanthropic institutions like hospitals and *gerokomeia*, monastic food and clothing, books and sacred vessels, prosopography, and ecclesiastical lighting. *Typika*, however, prescribed an ideal form of monastic life, and other sources indicate that many of the rules were not always observed.

ED. For list of ed., see Galatariotou, *infra* 137f.
LIT. K.A. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970). I.M. Konidares, *Nomike theorese ton monasteriakon typikon* (Athens 1984). C. Galatariotou, "Byzantine Ktetorika Typika: A Comparative Study," *REB* 45 (1987) 77–138. –A.M.T.

TYPIKON OF THE GREAT CHURCH, liturgical ordinal of the rite of HAGIA SOPHIA of Constantinople, the earliest complete liturgical TYPIKON of the BYZANTINE RITE. It is preserved in seven MSS of which two—Jerusalem, Hagiou Staurou, cod. 40 (10th–11th C.), and Patmos, cod. 266 (10th C.)—contain the relatively complete text,

although without a title. The 14th-C. MS in Oxford (Bodl. Lib., Auct. E 5 10) does, however, bear a title, "Synopsis of the ecclesiastical *akolouthiai* for the liturgy, *litai*, and vigils of the entire year." Other MSS are of the 11th–14th C., mostly incomplete. The text of the Patmos version of the Typikon was produced between 950 and 959 (it mentions the translation of the relics of St. Gregory of Nazianzos, on 25 Jan. 950). The date of the Jerusalem text is debatable: A. Baumstark (*OrChr* 2 [1927] 11f) theorized that it was based on two independent sections—one (the *typikon* proper) created ca.802–06, another (the *synaxarion*) produced between 878 and 893; Mateos rejects the hypothesis of two sources and dates the production of the entire text to the end of the 9th or early 10th C. The mention of the late patriarch Ignatios makes 878 a firm *terminus post quem*.

The Typikon gives the description of services for each day, first for the cycle of immovable feasts, secondly for that of movable feasts, beginning with the Sunday of *apokreos* (the second week before Lent). Each entry lists the saints, feast, or celebration celebrated on that day, as well as other memorable events (fires, etc.); the entry also indicates where a SYNAXIS or procession should take place and establishes which *akolouthia* should be sung and which biblical text read.

The Typikon is essential for the study of liturgical practice in Constantinople of the 9th–10th C., even though some omissions remain enigmatic—for instance it does not include the celebration of the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY. The *Typikon of the Great Church* fell into disuse at Constantinople after the Fourth Crusade but remained in force in Thessalonike until the end of Byz. (Symeon of Thessalonike, PG 155:553D, 625B).

ED. J. Mateos, *Le Typicon de la Grande Église*, 2 vols. (Rome 1962–63). Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 1:1–163.

LIT. A.A. Dmitrievskij, *Drevnejšie patriaršie tipikony: Svjatogrobskij Ierusalimskij i velikoj Konstantinopol'skoj cerkvi* (Kiev 1909), with rev. I. Sokolov, *ŽMNP* 34 (Aug. 1911) 300–32. A. Baumstark, "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," *OrChr* 2 (1927) 1–32. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours," nos. 31, 36, 40, 46. –R.F.T., A.K.

TYPOLOGY, a system in which explicit iconographic parallels were drawn between characters and events in the Old Testament and those in the New Testament, played a less prominent role in Byz. than it did in the later medieval West (12th–15th C.). Yet, in a somewhat different sense, PREFIGURATIONS and other typological relationships had a profound impact on Byz. piety, and through it, on art—both as the foundation of ICON veneration and as the basis of a universal guide to Christian behavior. Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:500f) noted that "every artificial image . . . exhibits in itself, by way of imitation, the form of its model (*archetypon*) . . . the model [is] in the image, the one in the other, except for the difference of substance." Much earlier, though as a guide for conduct, Basil the Great had invoked "types" and mimesis (ep.2, ed. Deferrari, 1:14–15): "the lives of saintly men, recorded and handed down to us, lie before us like living images of God's government, for our imitation . . ." (see IMITATION). Such concepts were central not only to belief in the power of icons, but also to the stylistic and iconographic conservatism that characterizes their history. Moreover, the Basil passage helps explain the typological parallels that were often drawn in art and literature, for example, between emperors and Old Testament kings (as on the DAVID PLATES) or between Holy Land pilgrims and the Magi (on pilgrims' AMULETS). (See also SYMBOLISM.)

LIT. G. Vikan, "Pilgrims in Magi's Clothing: The Impact of Mimesis on Early Byzantine Pilgrimage Art," *The Blessings of Pilgrimage*, ed. R. Ousterhout (Urbana-Chicago 1990) 97–107. –G.V.

TYPOS OF CONSTANS II, an imperial edict of 648 requiring adherence to Orthodoxy. To mollify opposition to the EKTHESIS and end debate over MONOTHELETISM, Patr. PAUL II persuaded Constans II to sign a "*typos* concerning the faith." Monotheletism was not directly condemned by the Typos, but the text of the Ekthesis was ordered removed from Hagia Sophia. The Typos did not define official dogma but sought confessional unanimity by forbidding discussion of Christ's wills and energies and by commanding acceptance of Scripture and the doctrinal definitions of the five ecumenical COUNCILS. Reaction to the Typos was strongest in the West; Byz. sources do not even mention it. The text is preserved in the acts of the LATERAN SYNOD, which, despite the presence of the exarch OLYMPIOS, denounced the Typos, excommunicated Paul, and wrote to Constans blaming the patriarch for condoning Monothele-

tism. In late 649 Pope MARTIN I anathematized Archbp. Paul of Thessalonike (then under papal jurisdiction) for not signing a letter explicitly rejecting the Typos. Constans considered resistance to the Typos as treason; the charge figured in the trials of both Martin and MAXIMOS THE CONFESSOR. Pope VITALIAN took a more conciliatory position, and the issue subsequently subsided.

ED. Mansi, 10:1029C–32E. Hefele-Leclercq, *Conciles* 3.1:432–71.
LIT. Stratos, *Byzantium* 3:94–130. Dieten, *Patriarchen* 92–103, 113f. –P.A.H.

TYRE (Τύρος, Ar. Ṣūr in Lebanon), Phoenician seaport. Tyre consisted of two parts, one on the seacoast, another on an island, connected by a bridge. The walls rose straight out of the sea. An ancient aqueduct supplied the city with water. Tyre was an important commercial city with developed silk, purple-dyeing, and glass industries. The PIACENZA PILGRIM was astonished by its luxury and public brothels. Its circus and actors were famous in the 4th C. Christianity had to overcome the resistance of the pagans (PORPHYRY was a native of Tyre) and Jews. In 314–17 Bp. Paulinos built a basilica in Tyre, the most splendid in Phoenicia, described in detail by EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA.

Between 381 and 425, the province of Phoenicia Maritima was created and Tyre became its civil capital and ecclesiastical metropolis (with the exception of BERYTUS, which was autocephalous); Tyre later served as the *protothronos* see of the patriarchate of ANTIOCH. In 335 a church council in Tyre was dominated by the Arians; a Monophysite synod was held at Tyre in 514 (Stein, *Histoire* 2:173). Tyre was also a seat of KOMMERKIARIOI at the end of the 6th and early 7th C. (Antoniadis-Bibicou, *Douanes* 158).

During the Persian war of the early 7th C., conflicts between the Jews and Orthodox led to a Jewish attack on Tyre and the massacre of 2,000 Jews on the city walls, as related by EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA. In 635 the Arabs took Tyre through treachery, and the city became a base for their maritime expeditions. After coming under Fāṭimid rule, Tyre resisted the Crusaders until July 1124, but then remained in their domain until 1291. Greek metropolitans of Tyre are known from 11th-C. seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2:365–69), but the Crusaders established a Latin archbishopric there as well. The marriage of Manuel I Komnenos and Maria of Antioch was solemnized in the church of Tyre in 1167.

LIT. W.B. Fleming, *The History of Tyre* (New York 1915) 74–122. J.P. Rey-Coquais, *Inscriptions grecques et latines découvertes dans les fouilles de Tyr. I. Inscriptions de la nécropole* [= *Bulletin du Musée de Beyrouth* 29] (Paris 1977). –M.M.M.

TZACHAS (Τζαχᾶς, Turk. Çaka), Turkish emir and usurper; died Abydos ca.1093. According to Tzachas's alleged statement, he had been a Turkoman raider, but was captured in the reign of NIKEPHOROS III. Pledging allegiance to Byz., he was created *protonobelissimos* and given rich gifts, but lost everything on the accession of ALEXIOS I (An.Komn. 2:114.11–13). Circa 1088–91 Tzachas employed Christians to construct a fleet at SMYRNA; he captured Phokaia, Mytilene, Chios, Samos, and Rhodes. Circa 1090/1 Constantine Dalassenos recovered Chios. Circa 1091, with a new fleet, Tzachas reasserted his sway, ravaging many islands. He proclaimed himself emperor and sought alliance with the PECHENEGS in Thrace. In 1092 John DOUKAS recovered Mytilene and most of Tzachas's territories, but ca.1092/3 Tzachas attacked ABYDOS. At Alexios's urging, KILIC ARSLAN I (Tzachas's son-in-law) advanced to Abydos, enticed Tzachas to a banquet, and allegedly killed him (An.Komn. 2:166.13–15). Circa 1097 John Doukas constrained a "Tzachas" holding Smyrna (the same person, or a son?) to surrender it.

LIT. Ahrweiler, *Mer* 184–86. A.N. Kurat, *Çaka Bey, Izmir ve civarindaki adalarin ilk Türk Beyi: M.S. 1081–1096*^{3} (Ankara 1966). A. Savvides, "Ho Seltzoukos emires tes Smyrnes Tzachas," *Chiaka Chronika* 14 (1982) 9–24; 16 (1984) 51–66. –C.M.B.

TZAMANDOS (Τζαμανδός, mod. Kuşkalesi), site in CAPPADOCIA, on a high peak overlooking the road between Caesarea and Melitene. It first appears in the historical sources in 908 when MELIAS built its fortress in a region that had been a no-man's land between Byz. and the Arabs. It became a bishopric (attested only in the 10th C.) and a KLEISOURA in the theme of LYKANDOS. After surviving the attacks of SAYF AL-DAWLA, Tzamandos was colonized by Jacobite Syrians who established their own bishopric (ca.955–1180). It willingly joined the revolt of Bardas SKLEROS in 976. Tzamandos was given to David, son of Senacherim

ARCRUNI, in 1022, and to Gagik of Kars in 1065; it then became an Armenian bishopric. Attacked by the Seljuks in 1068 and 1070, it fell to them after the battle of Mantzikert in 1071. The fortress, with its well-preserved double circuit of walls, is largely Byz.

LIT. *TIB* 2:300f. –C.F.

TZAMBLAKON (Τζαμπλάκων), a family of military commanders, landowners, and courtiers known from the mid-13th C., when John III granted the *megas domestikos ton scholon* Tzamblakon an estate in the region of Christoupolis (Kavalla); one of his relatives was TATAS ca.1272. Alexios Tzamblakon, son of the *megas domestikos*, served Andronikos II as *megas tzaousios* and governor of Serres but then sided with Andronikos III and was rewarded with the office of *megas papias* and an estate near Thessalonike. He took the monastic habit as Antony ca.1330. His son, known only under his monastic name Arsenios, also *megas papias*, supported John VI during the Civil War of 1341–47 and was tonsured after John's failure. His sons were the *megas doux* Asomatianos and the *megas stratopedarches* Demetrios. The family intermarried with the Palaiologoi, Tornikioi, and Kaballarioi; the Kaballarioi Tzamblakones were active from the 1370s. Alexios Tzamblakon Kaballarios is mentioned in MAZARIS. The Tzamblakones were closely connected with the Slav neighbors of Byz.: some documents from Dubrovnik of 1344–46 mention merchants who visited territories subjected to a certain Zamblacus, and Grigorij CAMBLAK, Bulgarian and a disciple of Metr. KIPRIAN, became metropolitan of Kiev (1415–19); as a writer he was very critical of the Byz. court.

LIT. G.I. Theocharides, "Hoi Tzamplakones," *Makedonika* 5 (1961–63) 125–83. N. Bănescu, "Peut-on identifier le *Zamblacus* des documents ragusains?" in *Mél.Diehl* 1:31–35. J. Holthusen, "Neues zur Erklärung des Nadgrobnoe Slovo von Grigorij Camblak auf den Moskauer Metropoliten Kiprian," *Slavistische Studien zum VI. Internationalen Slavistenkongress in Prag 1968* (Munich 1968) 372–82. –A.K.

TZANGION (τζαγγίον), boot or sandal. In the late Roman period the word acquired the connotation of an elegant shoe; thus EPHREM THE SYRIAN (ed. J.S. Assemani, 1 [Rome 1732] 42CD) envisages a man who is barefoot today and tomorrow requires *tzange* or *caliga,* who is today garbed in coarse wool and tomorrow wants fine silk.

The word was usually applied to the emperor's purple shoes, one of the most revered INSIGNIA of imperial authority. The tradition probably came to Byz. from the East: a 6th-C. chronicler (Malal. 413.17–18) relates that when the king of Lazika was crowned by Justin I he donned Roman imperial garb; however, he wore *tzangia* decorated with pearls in the Persian manner, which he had brought from his native land. A 9th-C. chronicler (Theoph. 168.26–27) adds that they were red (*rousia*). A 14th-C. ceremonial book describes *tzangia* as high boots ornamented with images of EAGLES made of precious stones and pearls; the emperor wore them on ceremonial occasions (pseudo-Kod. 171.11–17).

As a basic element of the imperial costume, the *tzangia* replaced the boots called *kothornoi*; this shift, at an uncertain date, is perhaps connected with the increasing role of the cavalry in military operations. Justinian I still wore *kothornoi* in the 6th C., but by the 10th C. the custom of wearing *tzangia* was firmly established; Leo Grammatikos viewed the *tzangia* as an essential part of the emperor's garb during his coronation (Leo Gramm. 246.19–21). A rebel's putting on red shoes signified his USURPATION of the throne.

In the 12th C. the word was used to denote a boot issued to workmen serving the monastery of the Kosmosoteira (L. Petit, *IRAIK* 13 [1906] 49.28). A SHOEMAKER was sometimes called a *tzangarios,* and *tzangareia* were bootmakers' shops, while a maker of imperial boots was called *tzangas.*

LIT. L. Wessel, *RBK* 3:445f. –A.K.

TZAOUSIOS (τζαούσιος), an enigmatic court office in the 13th–15th C. The term is of Turkish origin, from *çavuş*, meaning "courier" (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:308f), and was rendered in Greek as *angelophoros* (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:325.13–14). The formulary of appointment of a *tzaousios* (Sathas, *MB* 6:647.16–26) considers him the commander of the garrison of a *kastron*; H. Ahrweiler (in *Polychronion* 37) sees the SEBASTOS-*tzaousios* as chief of the MELINGOI in the Peloponnesos. A *tzaousios* of the *droungos* of the Melingoi is known in the 14th C. Some *tzaousioi* served as officers of the *mega* ALLAGION.

The first known *megas tzaousios* was Constantine

Margarites under John III Vatatzes; Guilland surmised that the *megas tzaousios* had ordinary *tzaousioi* under his command, successors of the earlier MANDATORES. In the 14th-C. hierarchical list of pseudo-KODINOS he occupied the place after the TATAS; the *megaloi tzaousioi* are described as being responsible for maintaining the order of the imperial retinue. The *megas tzaousios* of Morea, Eliavurco (Elias Bourtzes?), is mentioned in the *Chronicle of the Tocco* (A. Kazhdan in *Bisanzio e l'Italia* [Milan 1982] 171).

LIT. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:596–600. M. Bartusis, "The megala allagia and the tzaousios," *REB* 47 (1989) 195–204. –A.K.

TZATOI (Τζᾶτοι, Τζᾶθοι, etym. unknown), Armenians who belonged to the Greek church. The Armenian version of Basil the Great's *Hexaemeron* uses the word *cayt'* to render "Valentinians." After the 10th C. it was applied to Armenians who were Chalcedonian, in opposition to the Gregorian Monophysite church. (See also IBERIANS.) The Armenian historian Uxtanes (10th C.?) promises to discuss the Cayt', but the relevant part of his *History* is lost. The term is more common in the 12th–13th C. In Greek the Tzatoi are first mentioned in the 11th-C. *Taktikon* of NIKON OF THE BLACK MOUNTAIN (ed. Beneševič, 11.7).

LIT. N.Marr, "Ark'aun, mongol'skoe nazvanie christian," *VizVrem* 12 (1906) 32–38. P. Peeters, "Sainte Sousanik," *AB* 53 (1935) 256–58. –R.T.

TZETZES, JOHN, poet; born ca.1110, died between 1180 and 1185. According to his own statement, Tzetzes (Τζέτζης) was Georgian on his mother's side (P. Gautier, *REB* 28 [1970] 207–20), which accounts for his interest in the Black Sea region (M. Bibikov, *EtBalk* 12 [1976] no.4, 116–20). Even though he boasts that his grandfather was rich (albeit illiterate), Tzetzes had no substantial fortune. He earned his living by his literary work (ep.75, p.109.19–20) and thus belonged to the group of professional literati. Neither his writing nor his attempts at teaching brought him sufficient salary, and the theme of the poverty of intellectuals permeates his works: he had to sell his library, the patrons who commissioned his works were slow in payment, etc. His major work is unique in genre: it consists of a collection of letters accompanied by poetic SCHOLIA entitled *The Histories* (or *Chiliads*). Tzetzes' letters often deal with political events (e.g., J. Shepard, *ByzF* 6 [1979] 191–239) and historical personages and provide vivid scenes of everyday life (e.g., description of a priest's family that lived above Tzetzes and kept swine indoors), while *The Histories* emphasize the antiquarian trend of Tzetzes' interests, frequently citing ancient and biblical data and names. Tzetzes' works dedicated to contemporary events are rare (among others, a poem on Manuel I's death and iambics mocking contemporary education—P.A.M. Leone, *RSBN* 6–7 [1969–70] 135–44). He composed voluminous commentaries on Homer (*Allegories to the Iliad and Odyssey, Exegesis, Antehomerica, Homerica,* and *Posthomerica*, in which he claimed to be more consistent than Homer), Hesiod, tragedians, Aristophanes, Lykophron, and Oppian. In Tzetzes' Life of St. Lucia (O. Garana, *Archivio Storico Siracusano* 1 [1955] 15–22) he apparently alludes to the Byz. war against a coalition of Normans, Hungarians, and their Russian allies.

ED. *Epistulae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Leipzig 1972). *Historiae*, ed. P.A.M. Leone (Naples 1968). See list in *Tusculum-Lexikon* 814–17, also B. Konstantinopoulos, "Inedita Tzetziana," *Hellenika* 33 (1981) 178–84.
LIT. C. Wendel, "Tzetzes," *RE* 7A (1948) 1959–2011. –A.K.

TZIKANDELES (Τζικανδήλης), also Tzykandeles or Kykandeles, an aristocratic family name deriving from Latin *cicindela*, "glowworm," according to E. Trapp (*JÖB* 22 [1973] 233). The family is known from the late 11th C. (Leo, governor of Kibyrrhaiotai) and included high-ranking military commanders intermarried with the Komnenoi: (another?) Leo married the *sebaste* Anna, daughter of a Komnene (V. Vasil'jevskij, *VizVrem* 3 [1896] 580.6–12); Goudelios, *sebastos*, who was married to Eudokia, Alexios I's granddaughter (Lampros, "Mark. kod.," no.103.17–19, 26–29), attended the council of 1166; Basil was Manuel I's general. Later their position declined: the *vestiarites* Manuel addressed Patr. Michael (perhaps MICHAEL IV AUTOREIANOS) about problems of marriage law (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, nos. 1208, 1211); Manuel PHILES described a certain Demetrios Tzikandeles Doukas as "born a Komnenos" (Κομνηνοφυής), but nothing is known about the man. George Doukas Tzikandeles was a judge in Thessalonike ca.1375. Manuel Tzikandeles was an

active scribe in 1358–70; another scribe, Demetrios Kykandyles, lived ca.1445 (*PLP*, no.11712).

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 186f. –A.K.

TZOUROULLOS (Τζουρουλ⟨λ⟩ός, mod. Çorlu), fortress in Thrace, north of Herakleia, on the road from Adrianople to Constantinople. Greek authors describe it variously as a *phrourion* (Prokopios, *Wars* 7.38.5), *polichnion* (An.Komn. 2:123.18), *kome* (An.Komn. 1:81.15), *asty* (Akrop. 55.10), and *polis* (Theoph.Simok. 249.14). An inscription names a certain Sisinios, *kourator* of Tzouroullos, who died in 813 (I. Ševčenko, *Byzantion* 35 [1965] 564–74). An imperial estate (KOURATOREIA) was probably established in this area. Because of its proximity to Constantinople, Tzouroullos was subject to frequent attacks: in 559 Slavs and Hunnic Bulgars reached Tzouroullos and Arkadioupolis (Theoph. 234.1); during the reign of Maurice, the Avar khan besieged PRISKOS in Tzouroullos; in 813 Krum attacked it; in the time of Alexios I the region was pillaged by the Pechenegs. In 1235 John III Vatatzes took Tzouroullos from the Latins. John Asen II's attempt to occupy the fortress failed; in 1240 the Latins seized it again, but John III regained Tzouroullos in 1246.

Tzouroullos appears as a suffragan bishopric of Herakleia ca.800 (*Notitiae CP* 2.140). In the notitia of Andronikos II it is listed as an archbishopric.

LIT. E. Oberhummer, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2012. V. Velkov, *Gradŭt v Trakija i Dakija prez kŭsnata antičnost* (Sofia 1959) 102. Fine, *Late Balkans* 130–35, 156. Laurent, *Corpus* 5.1:235f. –A.K.

TZYKANISTERION (Τζυκανιστήριον), word of Persian origin, meaning a place for throwing a ball. It designated a polo field (see SPORTS) constructed within the precincts of the GREAT PALACE. The first stadium called Tzykanisterion was built under Theodosios II; Basil I demolished it in order to erect the NEA EKKLESIA and build a larger one. The new Tzykanisterion was connected with the Nea by two galleries.

LIT. Janin, *CP byz.* 118f. –A.K.

U

ÜÇAYAK, a Byz. church (original name unknown) in a desolate area of northwestern Cappadocia, 30 km north of Kırşehir. The structure, exceptionally for the region, is entirely of brick. Its unusual plan of two adjoining cruciform domed chapels with separate apses but a common narthex suggests a dedication to twin saints or perhaps by two emperors; possibly it was built to commemorate the victory of Basil II and Constantine VIII over Bardas SKLEROS in the vicinity in 979. In any case, its style and decoration—the interior decor is lost but the outer walls bear a system of blind arcades—indicate a date in the 10th–11th C.

LIT. S. Eyice, "La ruine byzantine dite 'Üçayak' près de Kırşehir en Anatolie centrale," *CahArch* 18 (1968) 137–55. –C.F.

UGLINESS. See BEAUTY.

UGLJEŠA. See JOHN UGLJEŠA.

ULFILAS (Οὐλφίλας), "bishop of the Goths"; born Cappadocia? ca.311, died Constantinople 382/3. Captured by the Goths in 337, Ulfilas was sent by them as a member of an embassy to Constantinople where EUSEBIOS OF NIKOMEDEIA ordained him as bishop. During his activity among the Goths, Ulfilas translated the Bible (or part of it) into Gothic. In 360 he became an adherent of ARIANISM and signed the creed of the HOMOIOUSIANS; his activity thus contributed to the entrenchment of this doctrine among 4th-C. Germanic people.

The role of Ulfilas has been reconsidered by modern scholars. Thompson stated plainly that Ulfilas did not convert the Goths to Christianity, Schäferdiek rejected the possibility of Ulfilas's definition as a "missionary bishop," and Stockmeier emphasized that the Goths had already accepted Christianity in the 3rd C.

LIT. E.A. Thompson, *The Visigoths in the Time of Ulfila* (Oxford 1966). K. Schäferdiek, "Wulfila," *ZKirch* 90 (1979) 252–92. P. Stockmeier, "Bemerkungen zur Christianisierung der Goten im 4. Jahrhundert," *ZKirch* 92 (1981) 315–24. –A.K.

ULPIOS. See OULPIOS.

ʿUMAR (Οὔμαρος), more fully ʿUmar ibn al-Khaṭṭāb; caliph (634–44); born Mecca ca.592, assassinated Madīna 3 Nov. 644. Elected caliph, he succeeded Abū Bakr in 634. Muslim conquests of Byz. territory, including most of Palestine, Syria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, and Mesopotamia, took place under ʿUmar. He reportedly met Patr. Sophronios at the Church of the Holy Sepulchre in Jerusalem in 637 while visiting newly won territories in Palestine and Syria. It was probably at Jābiya in 637 that he made the precedent-setting decisions for the initial administrative organization of the newly conquered lands. Desiring peace with the Byz. while he consolidated these lands, he permitted the withdrawal or evacuation of Christians from Chalkis (Ar. Qinnasrīn) in northern Syria and restrained his expansion into new territory. He allegedly did not wish ʿAMR to conquer Egypt but acquiesced in its occupation. He disliked KHĀLID and removed him from command. His diplomatic contacts with Byz. include his successful negotiations to recover prominent Muslims from Byz. captivity and his successful demands for the return of Arabs who had fled to Byz. territory; allegedly he used threats to Christians within caliphal territory to secure his terms. Many Muslim institutions, including a number of treaties and regulations concerning non-Muslim subjects, are ascribed to his decisions.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 150–53, 193–200. Caetani, *Islam* 3:119–973, vols. 4–5. W. Kaegi, "The Frontier: Barrier or Bridge?," 17 *CEB Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 288–93. A.S. Tritton, *The Caliphs and Their non-Muslim Subjects: A Critical Study of the Covenant of Umar* (Oxford 1930; rp. London 1970). –W.E.K.

ʿUMAR (Ἄμερ), emir of Melitene (Malaṭya); died 3 Sept. 863. A lifelong opponent of the Byz. Empire, he was often allied with the ʿAbbāsid

caliphate and the Paulician leader KARBEAS. In 863 ʿUmar accompanied a Muslim army through the Cilician Gates but then advanced separately into Cappadocia, where he probably fought an inconclusive battle with Michael III before moving on to sack Amisos. He is reported to have imitated Xerxes by flogging the Black Sea for stopping his progress (Genes. 67.71–75; *TheophCont* 179.16–19). He then confronted the Byz. general PETRONAS, who destroyed his army at Po(r)son; ʿUmar died in the battle.

LIT. G. Huxley, "The Emperor Michael III and the Battle of Bishop's Meadow (A.D. 863)," *GRBS* 16 (1975) 443–50. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 1:249–56. Bury, *ERE* 283f. –P.A.H.

ʿUMAR II ibn ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, caliph of the UMAYYADS (717–20); born Medina 682/3, died Radjab Feb. 720. After his accession ʿUmar ordered MASLAMA to lift the siege of Constantinople and thereafter maintained peaceful relations with Byz.; he may even have signed a seven-year treaty that granted Byz. pilgrims access to the Holy Land (Gero, *infra* 177, n.5). His military activities were almost all defensive in nature (M. Cheira, *La lutte entre Arabes et Byzantins* [Alexandria 1947] 207–13). Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 399.20–26) states that in 718 ʿUmar persecuted Christians, exempting from taxation converts to Islam and declaring Christian testimony against Muslims inadmissible, and that he sent Leo III "a dogmatic letter" in hopes of converting him. Thomas Arcruni (10th C.), however, reports that Leo's reply persuaded ʿUmar to reject many Islamic beliefs (Gero, *infra* 132f). Other evidence indicates that ʿUmar was relatively tolerant. Arabic sources say that he prohibited the destruction of old churches, permitted bequests to churches, forbade Christians to wear Arab clothing, and lowered taxes on non-Muslims. He ordered that the Church of St. John in Damascus, dismantled by Walīd I (705–15) and incorporated into the Umayyad Mosque, be returned to the Christians, although he accepted a compromise whereby they received only the suburban Church of St. Thomas.

LIT. K.V. Zetterstéen, *EI* 3:977–79. A. Jeffrey, "Ghevond's Text of the Correspondence between ʿUmar II and Leo III," *HThR* 37 (1944) 269–332. Gero, *Leo III* 44–47. –P.A.H.

UMAYYAD CALIPHATE (661–750), founded by MUʿĀWIYA with its capital at Damascus. After the haphazard formation of the vast Arab empire under the early successors of Muḥammad came a period of administrative consolidation. Even though the Umayyad caliphs tried to expand their possessions in Byz. Asia Minor and attacked Constantinople in 674–80 and 717–18, the view of their relations with Byz. cannot be limited to warfare; as H. Gibb (*DOP* 12 [1958] 219–33) stressed, both their military assaults and administrative adaptation reveal the ambition to establish their own imperial dynasty at Constantinople. To this end the Umayyads used both those Arab tribes traditionally allied with Byz. as well as the Syrian population of former Roman provinces. The Umayyads built substantial fleets that allowed them to exploit a new military tactic—attacking islands and blockading ports. Umayyad expansion was stopped at AKROINON—in part because of stiffening Byz. resistance, in part due to growing internal conflicts within the caliphate. Surviving Arabic traditions are hostile to the Umayyads: these caliphs are criticized for betraying the spirit of the theocratic state as Muḥammad had established it. (See table for a list of Umayyad caliphs.)

LIT. G.R. Hawting, *The First Dynasty of Islam* (Carbondale, Ill., 1987). P. Crone, M. Hinds, *God's Caliph* (Cambridge 1987). H. Lammens, *Études sur le siècle des Omayyades* (Beirut 1930). –W.E.K.

Umayyad Caliphs

Caliph	*Dates of Rule*
MUʿĀWIYA I	661–680
Yazīd I	680–683
Muʿāwiya II	683–684
Marwān I	684–685
ʿABD AL-MALIK	685–705
al-Walīd I	705–715
Sulaymān	715–717
ʿUMAR II	717–720
YAZĪD II	720–724
Hishām	724–743
al-Walīd II	743–744
Yazīd III	743
Ibrāhīm	744
Marwān II	744–750

UMM EL-JIMAL, in Jordan, ruined site probably to be identified as Thantia; a large walled and garrisoned settlement of the 4th–7th C. in the province of ARABIA. A watchtower was built there in 371 in the names of Valentinian I, Valens, and Gratian, and a *kastellos* (barracks?) was constructed by a *doux* in 412/13. Umm el-Jimal is noted for its approximately 15 churches of the 4th–6th C., including the earliest dated church of Syria (built in 344 by a local priest as a memorial church for his son), the cathedral of 556 (?), and at least four other churches paid for by families. The town continued to prosper until the end of the Umayyad period, when it was apparently destroyed by an earthquake and not rebuilt.

LIT. *Princeton Exped. to Syria* 2A:149–213, 3A:131–223. B. De Vries, "Research at Umm el-Jimal, Jordan, 1972–1977," *Biblical Archaeologist* 42 (1979) 49–55. –M.M.M.

UMUR BEG ('Αμούρ), emir of the coastal beylik of AYDIN; born 1309, died Smyrna 1348. He was the second son of Mehmed and grandson of Aydın, the eponymous founder of the Aydınoğlu dynasty. The exploits of this ghazi warrior are recounted both by Byz. historians (Nikephoros GREGORAS, JOHN VI KANTAKOUZENOS) and the Turkish poet ENVERI, a section of whose *Desturname* (composed in 1465) deals with Umur. In 1326 Mehmed assigned SMYRNA to Umur as his appanage, but not until 1329 did he gain control of the lower harbor fortress, which was held by the Genoese. Once in command of the port, he constructed a sizable fleet and raided Byz. territory (Chios and Kallipolis) and Latin possessions in Greece (Bodonitsza and Negroponte). Umur succeeded his father as emir in 1334. The next year he formed an anti-Latin alliance with ANDRONIKOS III PALAIOLOGOS and renewed his attacks on Frankish territory. After the death of Andronikos (1341), Umur became a staunch ally of Kantakouzenos and gave him crucial support in the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47. Gregoras (Greg. 2:649.16) compares Kantakouzenos's relationship with Umur to that of Orestes and Pylades, while Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:393.2–3) stresses Umur's slavish devotion to him. The loss of the port of Smyrna in Oct. 1344 to Latin Crusaders, led by Henri d'Asti, Latin patriarch of Constantinople (1339–45), was a severe blow to Umur's naval power; thereafter he was restricted to overland raids. He was killed while trying to dislodge the Latins from lower Smyrna.

SOURCE. *Le Destan d'Umur Pacha*, ed. I. Mélikoff-Sayar (Paris 1954).

LIT. P. Lemerle, *L'Emirat d'Aydin, Byzance et l'Occident: Recherches sur "La Geste d'Umur Pacha"* (Paris 1957). –A.M.T.

UNCIAL, or majuscule—the latter term now being preferred by some scholars, esp. by G. Cavallo and H. Hunger—is the conventional designation for the kind of script used almost exclusively for writing books from the 2nd to 9th C., until the rise of the MINUSCULE as book script. Uncials are also used in INSCRIPTIONS. The characters are *grosso modo* the same as those used up to the present as Greek capital letters; they are unconnected, of equal height, and (with few exceptions) fit into the space between two lines. In early uncial MSS the words are not separated or accented. In its most pure and aesthetically attractive form this script is called "biblical uncial," after the famous Bible codices of the 4th C. (Alexandrinus, Sinaiticus, Vaticanus). Most of the characters can be inscribed into a square, very much as in the Latin *capitalis quadrata*. Besides this ideal type are three other main (and later) types of uncial: the so-called Coptic uncial (today usually called Alexandrian, after the center of its diffusion), the upright ogival uncial, and the inclined ogival uncial, the last two with regional variants: Italo-Greek, Palestinian, and Constantinopolitan.

With the development of the minuscule as book script from around 800 onward, the use of uncials declined and was reserved increasingly for special purposes. In secular texts it was now used exclusively for certain prominent parts of the text (hence Hunger's term "Auszeichnungsmajuskel" for what was commonly called half-uncial), for example, for titles (LEMMA), tables of contents (*pinakes*), marginal notes, etc. The Alexandrian uncial was often used for this purpose. Only in the religious sphere did the uncial continue to be used for writing entire books (in its upright form, until the 11th C.); uncial codices thus gained an additional symbolic value, being associated a priori with the religious world.

LIT. Hunger, "Buch- und Schriftwesen" 80–86. Idem, "Epigraphische Auszeichnungsmajuskel," *JÖB* 26 (1977)

193–210. G. Cavallo, *Ricerche sulla maiuscola biblica* (Florence 1967). Idem, "Funzione e strutture della maiuscola greca tra i secoli VIII–XI," in *PGEB* 95–137. E. Crisci, "La maiuscola ogivale diritta," *Scrittura e civiltà* 9 (1985) 103–45. –W.H.

UNCTION (*εὐχέλαιον, ἅγιον ἔλαιον*), SACRAMENT of the anointing of the sick for healing and for the forgiveness of sin, the administration of which was eventually restricted to presbyters and bishops. The Byz. also called this rite *heptapapadon akolouthia* because it was celebrated (ideally) by seven priests. Unction, foreshadowed in New Testament therapeutic and burial anointings, is seen in James 5:14, in the oldest extant church orders, which have blessings of oil for therapeutic and exorcistic use, and in the earliest Byz. *euchologion* (Goar, *Euchologion* 346–48). Symeon of Thessalonike comments at length on the rite, disputing the Latin view that it should be received only by the moribund (PG 155:515–36). In Byz. it was administered to both the dying (vita of Theodore of Stoudios—PG 99:325B) and the dead, and confusion between the two anointings in *euchologia* MSS was a source of complaint. Patr. Nikephoros II of Constantinople (1260–61) condemned the *euchelaion* of the dead (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1348).

Unction, which could be administered to several persons at once, was originally a series of prayers distributed throughout the offices, beginning at *pannychis* (see VIGIL) and concluding with the anointing itself at the end of the morning liturgy. It eventually became an independent *akolouthia* (Dmitrievskij, *Opisanie* 2:320–24, 369–71, 405–10), consisting of a KANON modeled on that of ORTHROS, followed by the sevenfold repetition of a specific liturgical unit concluding with a prayer of blessing over the oil (Goar, *op. cit.* 332–46). After each of the seven priests had blessed the oil in turn, the people came forward to be anointed on the forehead, ears, nostrils, hands, etc., the order and number of senses anointed varying according to the MS. The ANOINTING of persons and objects in other Byz. *akolouthiai* (baptism, imperial coronation, the consecration of a church) should not be confused with this sacrament.

SOURCE. *Sacrement de l'huile sainte et prières pour les malades*, tr. D. Guillaume (Rome 1985).

LIT. E. Melia, "The Sacrament of the Anointing of the Sick," in *Temple of the Holy Spirit* (New York 1983) 127–60. A.M. Triacca, "Per una rassegna sul sacramento dell'Unzione degli infermi," *EphLit* 89 (1975) 431f (bibl.). –R.F.T.

UNGUENTARIUM, a conventional term applied to a well-attested type of small (approximately 18–21 cm in height) pottery flask, fusiform in shape—with a short tubular mouth marked off from the body by a slight ridge—tapering at the bottom to a roughly truncated point. Nearly half the specimens bear a stamp impression, most often of a MONOGRAM, but occasionally of an image (e.g., lion) or a text (e.g., "of Bishop Severianos"). The vessel type is datable ca.500–650 by the monogram format ("box" and "cruciform") and by the discovery of a cache of 20 examples in the Athenian Agora in mid-6th-C. context. Findspot evidence indicates substantial production and wide distribution, probably from a single source in Palestine. The stamps were probably added to vouch for the vessels' contents (see STAMPS, COMMERCIAL); ecclesiastics' names among them, coupled with the likely Palestinian origin, suggests that they were pilgrimage AMPULLAE made as containers for Jordan water or holy oil from the LOCA SANCTA.

LIT. J.W. Hayes, "A New Type of Early Christian Ampulla," *BSA* 66 (1971) 243–48. –G.V.

UNION OF THE CHURCHES, term describing the effort to reunify the churches of Rome and Byz. following the breach of the 9th to early 13th C. Although theological, disciplinary, and liturgical polarization between Rome and Constantinople led to temporary schisms during the first millennium of Christian history, only gradually did this opposition, along with cultural and political differences, result in a permanent breach. The so-called SCHISM of 1054 did not mark a final separation of Eastern and Western Christendom. It was rather the Fourth Crusade (1204) that rendered the breach definitive. During the next two centuries there were innumerable attempts to restore communion, but developments such as the Latin domination of Byz. by the Crusaders, papal centralization, scholastic theology, and the dogmatization of the FILIOQUE at the Second Council of LYONS complicated the situation.

Political more than religious considerations motivated the negotiations for union during the Komnenian and Palaiologan periods. The Palaiologos dynasty particularly needed military aid to fight the Turks. The papacy, realizing this, demanded total ecclesiastical submission of the Byz.

church in return for military assistance. Unconditional union—not a negotiated settlement—was to precede military aid.

The Western church was reluctant to acknowledge the traditional practice and habits of the East. On the other hand, Byz. hardliners and esp. monks clung to minor niceties of their tradition, refusing to give up even the slightest items and sometimes preferring Turkish conquest to submission to the "papists." In such conditions only a few politicians and intellectuals on both sides were sincere supporters of the union; political agreements remained short-lived and cynical, often resulting from Western indifference and Eastern zeal.

The Unionist attempts could not succeed, as the unions of Lyons and FERRARA-FLORENCE demonstrate. Lyons is an esp. dramatic case not only of the limitations of Byz. imperial influence over religious policy, but of the rigidity of papal diplomacy. Ultimately both councils only served to widen the separation.

LIT. S. Runciman, *The Eastern Schism* (Oxford 1955). F. Dvornik, *Byzantium and the Roman Primacy* (New York 1966). D.M. Nicol, "Byzantine Requests for an Oecumenical Council in the Fourteenth Century," *AnnHistCon* 1 (1969) 69–95.
–A.P.

UNIVERSITY OF CONSTANTINOPLE, conventional term for an institution of higher education, the stage subsequent to the CURRICULUM of *enkyklios paideia.* Of the two formal features of most medieval universities—a royal charter or papal bull granting recognition and juridical personality—the University of Constantinople had only the former. Like Western universities, however, it developed the elements of professional education (e.g., a LAW SCHOOL), whereas MEDICINE was taught at hospitals by physicians. The earlier University of Constantinople was organized (or reorganized) by Theodosios II in 425. Located in the Kapetolion (Janin, *CP byz.* 174–76), it had 31 chairs, primarily for Greek and Latin grammar and also for rhetoric, philosophy, and law. The fate of the University of Constantinople after Justinian I is obscure. The schema presented by A. Schneider (*Byzanz* [Berlin 1936] 25)—that the university was closed by Phokas and replaced by a "Patriarchal Academy" under Herakleios—is simplistic and unfounded (Lemerle, *Humanism* 93f, n.39). The school in MAGNAURA created by Caesar BARDAS used to be described as a university, but its curriculum and structure did not differ substantially from those of regular secondary schools.

There is more justification for applying the name *university* to the schools of law and philosophy founded by Constantine IX; for the first of them there is a statute promulgated in 1046/7 (in Apr. 1047, according to J. Lefort, *TM* 6 [1976] 279f). The school, which was administered by the NOMOPHYLAX, was responsible for training high functionaries, lawyers, and notaries. The secular university reached its acme in the 11th C., but in the 12th C. it was overshadowed by a more conservative PATRIARCHAL SCHOOL, which was more concerned with the teaching of theology. Nevertheless, at least until ca.1300, Constantinople retained, together with Paris and Baghdad, the reputation of a center of higher education. Some kind of officially sponsored higher education was available in Constantinople up to 1453, though its institutional form varied (see XENON OF THE KRAL).

LIT. F. Fuchs, *Die höheren Schulen von Konstantinopel im Mittelalter* (Leipzig-Berlin 1926). P. Speck, *Die kaiserliche Universität von Konstantinopel* (Munich 1974). M.J. Kyriakis, "The University: Origin and Early Phases in Constantinople," *Byzantion* 41 (1971) 161–82. W. Wolska-Conus, "Les écoles de Psellos et de Xiphilin sous Constantin IX Monomaque," *TM* 6 (1976) 223–43. C.N. Constantinides, *Higher Education in Byzantium in the Thirteenth and Early Fourteenth Centuries, 1204–ca.1310* (Nicosia 1982).
–A.K.

URBAN II (Odo of Châtillon), elected pope at Terracina 12 Mar. 1088; born Châtillon-sur-Marne ca.1035, died Rome 29 July 1099. Urban inherited a difficult situation: northern Italy was under the control of Henry IV of Germany, who supported the antipope CLEMENT III; Urban's natural ally in this state of events was ROGER I, count of Sicily. After the death of ROBERT GUISCARD in 1085 the Normans did not continue their attack on Byz., and, according to GAUFREDUS MALATERRA, opened negotiations with Alexios I in 1089 after consultation with Roger. Patr. NICHOLAS III GRAMMATIKOS, in an epistle addressed to Urban, expressed expectations that UNION OF THE CHURCHES could soon be attained. No evidence of a formal union agreement is known, but Urban evidently achieved his aim and prevented Alexios from joining an alliance with Henry IV and Clement. When the situation improved in Italy in the early 1090s, Urban journeyed from Rome to France. On his way in March 1095, he convened

a synod in Piacenza, which was attended by Byz. envoys who appealed for Western military aid against the Seljuk Turks; a few months later at Clermont he made a full-fledged appeal for a crusade (Nov. 1095), thus initiating the First Crusade. J. Hill (*Speculum* 26 [1951] 265f) hypothesizes—on the basis of indirect evidence—that Urban prepared a plan of Greco-Latin union, the execution of which he entrusted to RAYMOND OF TOULOUSE.

LIT. S. Runciman, *A History of the Crusades*, vol. 1 (Cambridge 1951) 100–10. A. Becker, *Papst Urban II. (1088–99)*, 2 vols. [= MGH *Schriften* 19.1–2] (Stuttgart 1964–88). W. Holtzmann, "Die Unionsverhandlungen zwischen Kaiser Alexios I. und Papst Urban II. im Jahre 1089," *BZ* 28 (1928) 38–67. H.E.J. Cowdrey, "Pope Urban II's Preaching of the First Crusade," *History* 55 (1970) 177–88. J. Richard, "Urbain II, la prédication de la croisade et la définition de l'indulgence," in *Deus qui mutat tempora*, ed. E.-D. Hehl et al. (Sigmaringen 1987) 129–35. –A.K.

URBAN V (Guillaume de Grimoard), pope (from 28 Sept. 1362); born Grisac Lozère, France, ca.1310, died Avignon 19 Dec. 1370. Urban spent the first five years of his pontificate in Avignon; after 1367 he resided in Rome. Urban supported the idea of a crusade, but the success of the king of Cyprus, Peter I Lusignan (1359–69), in capturing Alexandria in 1365 was short-lived. Urban also failed to achieve significant results in imposing UNION OF THE CHURCHES on Constantinople. Emp. John V came to Rome and on 18 Oct. 1369 abjured the Eastern creed and recognized papal supremacy, but the agreement remained on the level of a personal compact, with the vast majority of the Byz. clergy and people refusing to accept their emperor's decision. The cause for Byz. opposition was Roman arrogance rather than Byz. obstinacy: the pope rejected the idea of a universal council to discuss theological differences and was very reluctant to allow continuation of the Greek rite. J. Gill (*OrChrP* 39 [1973] 461–68) tried to reconsider the traditional interpretation of the pope's letter to the archbishop of Crete; Gill argues that Urban allowed Greek priests, after their conversion to Catholicism, to retain their wives. They could conduct processions and ceremonies that were part of the Greek rite; since they knew no Latin, they celebrated in Greek.

LIT. E. de Lanouvelle, *Urbain V* (Paris 1929). O. Halecki, *Un empereur de Byzance à Rome* (Warsaw 1930). W. de Vries, "Die Päpste von Avignon und der christliche Osten," *OrChrP* 30 (1964) 85–128. N. Housley, "The Mercenary Companies, the Papacy, and the Crusades, 1356–1378," *Traditio* 38 (1982) 253–80. –A.K.

URBAN LIFE. See CITIES.

URBAN PREFECT (*praefectus urbi*, ἔπαρχος Ῥώμης), high-ranking official of the early Roman Empire who was responsible for police and criminal prosecution in Rome and Italy. Reforms of Diocletian, Constantine I, and Constantius II limited the area of his activity to within 100 miles of Rome, while Italy was placed under the authority of the PRAETORIAN PREFECT. At the same time his functions within Rome were increased: besides criminal jurisdiction the urban prefect controlled trade, the bread supply, building activity, and the administration of spectacles. He held a military command and, as president of the SENATE, supervised the senators. As Chastagnol has shown, the post was in the hands of the great landowners, 60 percent of whom were local, demonstrating imperial leniency toward the Roman aristocracy. Until 323 all urban prefects were pagans and until 352 Christian urban prefects remained exceptional. The urban prefect of Rome continued to exist after the fall of the Western Empire, as attested by CASSIODORUS and CORIPPUS, and is mentioned as late as 879. The staff of the urban prefect included the *princeps officii*, who was the prefect's adviser in matters of administration and law.

By 359 the office of the Constantinopolitan urban prefect, or EPARCH OF THE CITY, was created to replace the former proconsul (see ANTHYPATOS); thus the administration of Constantinople was equated to that of Rome.

LIT. A. Chastagnol, *La préfecture urbaine à Rome sous le Bas-Empire* (Paris 1960). Idem, *Les Fastes de la préfecture de Rome au Bas-Empire* (Paris 1962). Dagron, *Naissance* 213–94. W.G. Sinnigen, *The Officium of the Urban Prefecture during the Later Roman Empire* (Rome 1957). *PLRE* 1:1052–56; 2:1252–56. –A.K.

URFA. See EDESSA.

UROŠ V. See STEFAN UROŠ V.

USĀMAH IBN MUNQIDH, noble Muslim knight, Arab poet, man of letters, and passionate hunter; born Shayzar, Syria, 4 July 1095, died Damascus

16 Nov. 1188. His life span corresponded with a dramatic period in Near Eastern history that saw incessant Muslim factional struggles, the capture of Jerusalem, the establishment of the Latin Kingdom by the First Crusade, the failure of the Second Crusade, and the recapture of Jerusalem by SALADIN. Serving or visiting different Muslim and Crusader princes, sultans, and caliphs, Usāmah participated in their court life, military campaigns (e.g., the siege of Shayzar by JOHN II KOMNENOS), and hunting expeditions.

Usāmah spent the last two decades of his life mostly in religious contemplation, teaching, and writing. He attained fame as a superb poet and prolific author. Most important among his surviving works, *The Book of Didactic Examples* is essentially his memoirs. A source of direct information about contemporary battle and siege methods, it also provides details on the treatment of prisoners (e.g., the ransoming of a Muslim slave from his Greek owner in Constantinople), on the intimacies of Muslim court and private home life as well as on horse races and falconry. Above all, it offers Usāmah's personal and equanimous observations on different habits and social customs, thoughts, medical treatments, religious attitudes and practices of the Muslims and Franks in Syria.

ED. *Ousama ibn Mounkidh*, ed. H. Derenbourg, 2 vols. (Paris 1886–89). *An Arab-Syrian Gentleman and Warrior in the Period of the Crusades*, tr. P.K. Hitti (New York 1929). *Des enseignements de la vie: Souvenirs d'un gentilhomme syrien du temps des Croisades*, tr. A. Miquel (Paris 1983). *Die Erlebnisse des syrischen Ritters*, tr. H. Preissler (Munich 1985). –A.S.E.

USPENSKIJ GOSPEL BOOK, the earliest known dated minuscule manuscript, written in 835 on parchment in the scriptorium of the STOUDIOS MONASTERY by the scribe Nicholas. The manuscript contains notes on the death of the Stoudite leaders Plato of Sakkoudion and Theodore, as well as Joseph of Thessalonike. The codex, from the former collection of the bishop Porfirij Uspenskij, a traveler to Mt. Athos, is now in the Leningrad Public Library (gr.219).

LIT. E.E. Granstrem, "Katalog grečeskich rukopisej Leningradskich chranilišč, 1," *VizVrem* 16 (1959) 233f. –A.K.

USUFRUCT (*χρῆσις καρπῶν*, in scholia to the *Basilika* usually *οὐσούφρυκτος*), according to classical Roman law, "the right to use the things of another, their substance remaining unimpaired" (a definition accepted by *Basil.* 16.1.1). Unlike praedial servitudes, usufruct was personal, given for life or for a fixed term. Classical jurisprudence differentiated usufruct from OWNERSHIP; this distinction, strong under Diocletian, became obscured during the 4th and 5th C. when the tendency arose to consider usufruct as a form of POSSESSION, limited in time and content. Justinian I sought, with partial success, to reverse this process and return to the classical formulation. Later texts cease to distinguish between usufruct and plain use (CHRESIS).

LIT. M. Bretone, *La nozione romana di usufrutto*, vol. 2 (Naples 1967), rev. D. Medicus, *ZSavRom* 85 (1968) 525–28. Kaser, *Privatrecht* 2, par.247. –A.J.C.

USURPATION, a common phenomenon of late Roman and Byz. political life, was neither terminologically nor legally defined in Byz. The most usual term for usurpation of power by an illegal claimant was *tyrannis*, but the term *tyrannis* could designate other situations (rebellion, arbitrary rule) and other terms could be used for usurpation—*stasis* (insurrection), *epibouleuma* (conspiracy). Usurpation may be defined as an illegal arbitrary assumption of the emperor's power, but since, in theory, proclamation by the people in the Hippodrome or by the army was considered legal authorization, the concept of usurpation appears significantly ambiguous; furthermore, a co-emperor who cleared his way to the throne by murder (e.g., Basil I) was not considered a usurper but a legitimate heir.

Usurpation usually is recognized as symptomatic of broader trends in the distribution, bases, and exploitation of power in Byz. society. In the late Roman Empire usurpation had diverse causes and diverse characteristics: it originated in both military and civilian milieus, could have a religious tinge, and was often connected with crisis situations on an endangered frontier (e.g., PHOKAS) or in Constantinople (HYPATIOS during the Nika Revolt). It was a subject of intense political concern to the emperor; its repression was frequently and loudly celebrated in TRIUMPHS. From the second half of the 7th C. to the mid-9th C., usurpation occurred primarily in new provincial territorial units—first exarchates and then themes—that provided a material base for military seditions (GREGORY, exarch of Africa; OLYMPIOS, exarch of Ravenna, etc.). From the 10th C. onward, usur-

pation came first and foremost from the action of high-ranking families (Lekapenoi, Phokades, Skleroi, Komnenoi, Palaiologoi, etc.), whereas usurpers from the rank and file (e.g., Nicholas KANNABOS) were rare. At the same time, the sources distinguish between usurpation (*tyrannis*) and a less grave offense (*apostasia*), while punishments for participants became more lenient. The major symbol of usurpation was putting on the PURPLE; additional actions could be CORONATION, SHIELD-RAISING, and ACCLAMATIONS. Public opinion condemned usurpation; KEKAUMENOS is esp. vocal in criticizing it and in predicting that every revolt against the emperor would fail. In reality, however, many usurpations were successful.

LIT. S. Elbern, *Usurpationen im spätrömischen Reich* (Bonn 1984). W. Kaegi, *Byzantine Military Unrest, 471–843* (Amsterdam 1981). J. Szidat, "Usurpator und Zivilbevölkerung im 4. Jhd. n. Chr.," *Gesellschaft und Gesellschaften* (Bern 1982) 14–31. M. Koutlouka, "La tyrannie dans la philosophie byzantine du XIe siècle," *Actes du Colloque La Tyrannie* (Caen 1984) 51–60. McCormick, *Eternal Victory* 80–83, 186–88. P. Salama, "L'apport des inscriptions routières à l'histoire politique de l'Afrique Romaine," *L'Africa romana*, vol. 3 (Sassari 1986) 229–31. –A.K.

USURY (τοκοληψία, lit. "receipt of interest") in the ancient and medieval sense of the word encompasses a variety of modes of receiving INTEREST, whereas in the modern period it is applied only to excessive interest. Usury, defined as any form of lending money or things at interest, was a controversial topic from the 4th C. onward, when three different approaches were formulated: church fathers condemned all usury as contradicting the principles of Christian ethics; ecclesiastical councils forbade only the clergy to lend at interest; and civil legislation continued to permit usury, although Justinian I apparently lowered the maximum rate of interest. Attempts to abolish usury in the 8th (?) or 9th C. failed, and Leo VI, in novel 83, reinstated the practice despite its un-Christian character. The general attitude of society toward usury was negative. Hagiographers compared usurers to wild beasts. In the 14th C. Nicholas KABASILAS wrote at least two works against usurers. Time and again demands for action against usury were voiced (see DEBT).

LOANS played a double role in Byz. society. On the one hand, the use of credit could stimulate small enterprises; thus, the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER mentions a wine merchant who borrowed money to purchase goods. On the other hand, usury contributed to the redistribution of (landed) property. Peasants contracted loans for a variety of reasons—in times of famine, to ransom prisoners of war, to pay taxes; in these cases their livestock or land served as a mortgage. A case described in *Peira* 40.10 presents the stages of expropriation: when a debtor was unable to pay, the judge ordered him to hand over his houses to the creditor "as possession" (*epi nome*); after six months the creditor acquired the *despoteia* of the immovables. Little is known about loans among the nobility, but in the late centuries the Byz. crown was deeply in debt to Venice and other Western powers.

LIT. E. Bianchi, "Il tema d'usura," *Athenaeum* 61 (1983) 321–42; 62 (1984) 136–53. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 295–98. –A.K.

UTENSILS (ἔπιπλα). Household implements and furnishings encompassed FURNITURE, VESSELS, cutlery (knife, spoon, and fork), lighting appliances (LAMPS), writing tools (inkstands, etc.); the distinction between utensils and tools (see TOOLS AND HOUSEHOLD FITTINGS), on the one hand, and utensils and liturgical vessels, on the other, as described in texts is sometimes conventional and reveals itself more in function than in form. Utensils were made of wood, stone, metal, clay (CERAMIC), glass, bone, skin, osier, and cloth; there was a hierarchy of materials in which gold and silver stood above bronze and iron, ebony and cedar above other kinds of wood, ivory above ordinary bone, etc. A 14th-C. historian (Greg. 2:788.15–18) stresses the hierarchy of materials when he exclaims that the poverty of the imperial court required the replacement of gold and silver vessels by those made of tin and "ceramic and clay." Ornament was another means to express the hierarchy of utensils, and glaze and coloring usually distinguished table dishes from plain kitchen pottery. For expensive utensils, gold, silver, precious stones, enamel, and ivory were applied. A simple method of ornamentation was to carve lines on wooden and ceramic objects. The most precious utensils were adorned with inscriptions (dedications), while ordinary objects occasionally bore marks (of craftsmen or owners?).

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.2:60–116. E. Kislinger, "La cultura materiale di Bisanzio," *Schede medievali* 11 (1986) 299–313. –A.K.

ʿUTHMĀN (Οὐθμάν), caliph (early Nov. 644–17 June 656); born Mecca, ca.569 or 575, died Madīna 17 June 656. A merchant who converted to Islam, he was the chosen successor of ʿUMAR. Although the rate of Muslim territorial expansion slackened during ʿUthmān's caliphate, his forces overran Armenia. The Sasanian Empire ended with the death of YAZDGIRD III, and Muslim naval prowess increased. ʿUthmān approved the renewal of conquests to the west: in North Africa, Ibn Saʿd, his governor of Egypt, crushed GREGORY the exarch in 647 and, with the exception of Carthage, conquered much of Byz. Africa. This seriously threatened the remaining Byz. positions in the entire Mediterranean. Two critical maritime triumphs over Byz. in ʿUthmān's caliphate were the victory of the Battle of the Masts (655) and the first invasion of Cyprus (648). ʿUthmān was accused of indolence, corruption, and, in the later years of his caliphate, nepotism. Some allege that he modeled his administrative changes on Byz. and Sasanian models, but documentation for this is poor. Civil strife in ʿUthmān's caliphate disillusioned many Muslims. He was slain after his besieged house was stormed.

LIT. M. Hinds, "The Murder of the Caliph ʿUthmān," *International Journal of Middle Eastern Studies* 3 (1972) 450–69. J. Wellhausen, "Prolegomena zur ältesten Geschichte des Islams," *Skizzen und Vorarbeiten* (Berlin 1899) 6:113–35. Caetani, *Islam* 7, 8:1–321. —W.E.K.

UTOPIA, a term coined in the 16th C. to designate a perfect commonwealth. The ancient mind created politico-geographical utopias, considering certain real (Sparta in Plato) or fictitious states as ideal systems. The ancient tradition of a world without labor and tyranny, spatially separated from the regular *oikoumene* and located at its edge, seems to have been preserved in chs. 4–21 of the EXPOSITIO TOTIUS MUNDI (C. Molè in *Le transformazioni della cultura nella tarda antichità* [Rome 1985] 2:730–36). Christianity shifted the emphasis from the spatial category to one pertaining to time: utopia, as elaborated particularly in APOCALYPSES, was placed in the future—as a perfect reign of an expected king, or an ESCHATOLOGICAL period of peace, or the Heavenly Kingdom. In LACTANTIUS this concept of the future happy era when everyone would praise the true God is combined with a Platonic social utopia and mythological imagery of the age of Saturn. The Byz. envisaged that the Kingdom of justice would be established after the second PAROUSIA; at the same time they thought that mankind had reached maturity following Christ's advent and therefore stressed that ideal life is attainable here and now. From antiquity they inherited the topos of the "happy barbarian" as opposed to the corrupted civilized man: this topos appears, for example, in Simokattes' account (Theoph.Simok. 6.2.10–16) of the Sklavenoi, who lived in a remote area on the Western Ocean and were distinguished for their height and beauty; they never used iron weapons and carried with them only lyres. The communities of the Brahmans were also represented as ideal societies as in PALLADIOS. Another type of ideal life was the image of the "angelic communities" of monks, esp. hermits dwelling in the DESERT, withdrawn from the world and to some extent resembling the Brahmans. The palace and Constantinople were viewed as representing the ideal "heavenly" order, although the Byz. understood the difference between the heavenly utopia of the palace or monastery and everyday reality.

The concept of political utopia was employed as a means of propaganda; thus CLAUDIAN predicted Stilicho's prosperous rule, and Andronikos I Komnenos claimed that he had brought the golden age of justice on earth: his portrait showed him as "the laborers' king," and Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 325.17–36) preserved the traces of a contemporary pamphlet whose author, using biblical citations (e.g., Mic 4:4), depicted the perfect life of satisfied subjects under his reign. On the other hand, utopia might appear as a form of political program, for example, in the case of PLETHON, who used Platonic traditions as a model for his (unrealistic) project of reforms in the Peloponnesos.

LIT. J. Irmscher, "Die christliche und die byzantinische Utopie," *StItalFCl*[3] 3.2 (1985) 250–66. Mango, *Byzantium* 218, 223f. A. Kazhdan, "Certain Traits of Imperial Propaganda in the Byzantine Empire from the Eighth to the Fifteenth Centuries," in *Prédication et propagande au Moyen Age: Islam, Byzance, Occident* (Paris 1983) 23f. —A.K.

UTRIGURS. See COTRIGURS AND UTRIGURS.

UZES (Οὖζοι), Torki in Kievan sources, the confederation of Oghuz Turks that formed a part of the Old Turkic steppe empire; they were akin to the SELJUKS. Under CUMAN pressure the Uzes moved west, crossed the Volga, and in the 10th C., following the PECHENEGS, appeared in the area

north of the Black Sea and on the Middle Danube. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 9.114) suggested the Uzes as potential allies against the Pechenegs.

Closely involved in skirmishes with Rus' princes, in 1064 the Uzes crossed the Danube and invaded Byz. territory as far as Thessalonike. Attaleiates (Attal. 83.19–20) reckons that they numbered 600,000. Disease and starvation, however, as well as Bulgarian and Pecheneg attacks forced the Uzes to retreat; many were crushed by their own animals and vehicles. Some Uzes became Byz. MERCENARIES, some merged with the Pechenegs, others settled near Kiev as military colonists in the service of the Rus' princes (*černye klobuci*). In Byz. the corps of mercenary Uzes was still active in the second half of the 11th C. (*SkylCont* 144.13), then disappeared as a distinct force, leaving some echoes in toponymy (Lake Ouzolimne) and personal names (a commander Ouzas "of Sauromatian origin" in the *Alexiad* of Anna Komnene). The Byz. identified the Uzes as Scythians (Skylitzes Continuatus) or Huns (Anna Komnene); TZETZES (*Hist.* 8.773), following an old tradition, placed the Uzes with the Huns in the vicinity of the Caspian Sea.

LIT. O. Pritsak, *Studies in Medieval Eurasian History* (London 1981), pts. VI, X, XIX. P. Golden, "The Migrations of the *Oğuz*," *ArchOtt* 4 (1972) 45–84. T. Nagrodzka-Majchrzyk, *Czarni kłobucy* (Warsaw 1985). –O.P.

V

VAHRAM, known as *rabun*, "master," or *vardapet*, "teacher"; Armenian scholar active in the late 13th C. He calls himself "chancellor" at the court of Leo II, king of Armenian Cilicia (1270–89); little else is known of his life. His *Rhymed Chronicle* traces the history of Armenian Cilicia from its occupation by Ruben (see RUBENIDS) in the late 11th C. until 1276. His *Commentary on Aristotle's Categories* follows the tradition made popular in Armenia by works of (or attributed to) DAVID THE PHILOSOPHER.

ED. E. Dulaurier, ed., "Chronique rimée des rois de la petite Arménie," RHC *Arm.* 1:491–535, with Fr. tr. Eng. tr. in C. Neumann, *Vahram's Chronicle* (London 1831). *Lucmunk' "storogut'eanc'n" Aristoteli*, ed. G. Grigoryan (Erevan 1967). –R.T.

VAŁARŠAPAT (Vagharshapat, now Ejmiacin in Armenia), capital city under TRDAT THE GREAT; site of the martyrdom of Sts. Hṙip'simē, Gayanē and their companions. Since the 4th C., churches at Vałaršapat have commemorated the martyrs and the spot where GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR had a vision in which four lofty columns supporting vaults were called forth by a man descended from heaven. (The 12th-C. identification of the man as Christ explains the cathedral's dedication, Ejmiacin, "the Only-Begotten-One descended.")

The present cathedral is a 7th-C. cross-in-square church, with apses to the north, south, and west, as well as east. Seventeenth-century additions obscure the exterior. Beneath the apse and nave are remains of basilicas (and a Zoroastrian temple); A. Sahinyan's reconstruction of a 5th-C. cross-domed structure here (*REArm* n.s. 3 [1966] 39–71) is based on a misunderstanding of excavation notes (F. Gandolfo, *Le basiliche armene IV–VII secolo* [Rome 1982] 14–19).

St. Hṙip'simē (618) is the best-known example of a church plan type (including Džvari at MC'XET'A) peculiar to the Transcaucasus: four apses open out of a domed central area. Between the apses, steep, three-quarter-round chambers lead to four square corner rooms. St. Gayanē (630) is a cross-domed basilica. Like St. Hṙip'simē, its apse and auxiliary chambers are inscribed within a flat wall. Later churches at Vałaršapat (e.g., the 17th-C. Šołokat) presumably mark the sites of other 4th-C. *martyria*.

LIT. O.Kh. Khalpakhchian, *Architectural Ensembles of Armenia* (Moscow 1980) 97–157. A.B. Eremjan, *Chram Ripsime* (Erevan 1955). –A.T.

VALENS (Οὐάλης), augustus (from 28 Mar. 364); born Cibalae, Pannonia, ca.328, died near Adrianople 9 Aug. 378. A low-ranking army officer during the reigns of Julian and Jovian, he rose swiftly after the ascent to the throne of his brother Valentinian I. Valentinian appointed him *tribunus* (or *comes*) *stabuli*, and less than a month later he became co-ruler. After a division of responsibilities Valens retained the eastern part of the empire including Thrace and Egypt. The brothers reversed Julian's policies, depriving the curiae of state support and removing Julian's appointees. The pro-Julian elements gathered around the rebel PROKOPIOS. His revolt in 365, however, was suppressed. Less clear are the reasons for the so-called plot of Theodoros in 371/2 in which many influential people were involved; denunciation led to a series of severe punishments.

The situation on the Persian frontier was troublesome during his reign, and Valens spent the winters of 373/4 and 377/8 in Antioch negotiating such matters as the division of Armenia between Constantinople and Persia. The first war against the Goths ended with a peace treaty in 369 that was not favorable to the empire. In 376 Valens gave permission for a large number of Visigoths, fleeing from the Huns, to settle in Thrace. This operation was poorly handled, supplies of food ran out, and Roman officials took advantage of the situation to gain personal profit. As a result, the Visigoths rose in revolt and ravaged the Thracian countryside. Valens, then at Antioch, rushed westward, hoping to defeat the barbarians without the help of his nephew Gratian; as a result, he

was routed and killed in 378 at the battle of ADRIANOPLE.

Valens was a Christian; probably under the influence of his wife Domnica he accepted Arianism and toward the end of his reign began to persecute the Orthodox. He was not popular, esp. with the intellectuals, who ridiculed his lack of education and ignorance of the Greek language. In Constantinople Valens rebuilt the main AQUEDUCT, which has since borne his name.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:172–90. A. Nagl, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2097–2137. I. Opelt, "Ein Edikt des Kaisers Valens," *Historia* 20 (1971) 764–67. R. Snee, "Valens' Recall of the Nicene Exiles and anti-Arian Propaganda," *GRBS* 26 (1985) 395–419. –T.E.G.

VALENTINIAN I (Οὐαλεντινιανός), emperor (from 26 Feb. 364); born Cibalae, Pannonia, 321, died Brigetto, Pannonia, 17 Nov. 375. He was an officer in Julian's army but as a Christian could not expect a successful career. The accounts of his exile by Julian are contradictory. He subsequently became *tribunus* in the army of Jovian. When the latter emperor died, Valentinian was unanimously proclaimed augustus by the generals and civil officials. He soon promoted his brother VALENS as co-emperor. The brothers agreed to divide the empire and its administration (two *consistoria* were established), but to rule in cooperation. Valentinian held the West, residing in Milan and Trier.

Valentinian's domestic policy was inconsistent. He abolished some exemptions given by Julian to *curiales* and promoted the appointment of DEFENSORES CIVITATUM, but he was frugal like Julian and tried to reduce the expenditures of the court. His major source of support was among Pannonians, whereas few senators (e.g., PROBUS) collaborated with him. The thesis that Valentinian introduced a "reign of terror" against senators, at least after 368 (C. Schuurmans, *AntCl* 18 [1949] 25–38), is probably an exaggeration (P. Hamblenne, *Byzantion* 50 [1980] 198–225).

Valentinian did not intervene in Eastern affairs during the revolt of PROKOPIOS in 365, nor did he seek assistance when Firmus revolted in Africa. His foreign policy was also independent of the eastern half of the empire. His major concerns were Britain and the Rhine and Danube frontiers. In 375 he undertook operations in Pannonia against the Quadi and Sarmatians. During negotiations with them, he became so enraged that he died of a stroke.

His first wife was Marina Severa, mother of Gratian. In ca.370 he married Justina, widow of the usurper MAGNENTIUS, who bore him Valentinian II. Ammianus Marcellinus presents a negative image of Valentinian as alien to the classical ideal of man, avoiding military action, and frightened of magicians. On the contrary, Jerome (Eusebios, *Chronicon*, Lat. tr. by Jerome, ed. R. Helm, U. Treu [Berlin 1984] 244) praises him as an outstanding emperor whose biased adversaries portrayed his severity as cruelty and his economy as greed.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 1:172–83. A. Alföldi, *A Conflict of Ideas in the Late Roman Empire* (Oxford 1952). R. Soraci, *L'imperatore Valentiniano I* (Catania 1971). M. Fasolino, *Valentiniano I* (Naples 1976). –T.E.G.

VALENTINIAN II, Western emperor (from 22 Nov. 375); born Trier? 371, died Vienne (in Gaul) 15 May 392. Proclaimed as augustus by the army in Aquincum immediately after the death of his father Valentinian I, the child-emperor Valentinian II was kept in a subordinate position under the tutelage of his half-brother Gratian. When Gratian was murdered in 383, Valentinian's mother Justina ruled in his name. The major problems of her administration were the pressure of the Alemanni on the northern frontier that general Bauto managed to curb, in part with the help of the Huns and Alans; religious conflicts, since Justina leaned toward Arianism while AMBROSE exercised a strong Orthodox influence on the young emperor; and a powerful aristocratic elite that cherished paganism and traditional virtues and attempted to shift the burden of taxation to the urban population, esp. the merchants. The usurpation of MAXIMUS was particularly dangerous, compelling Valentinian to flee to Thessalonike in 387. This changed the balance of power between West and East. From 384 onward Theodosios I attempted to assume the role of the elder augustus. In 388 he, together with ARBOGAST, defeated Maximus. Valentinian ruled the West from Vienne, under the general control of Arbogast. Desirous of asserting his independence, Valentinian considered moving his court to Milan or using Ambrose as a mediator between himself and Arbo-

gast; he attempted in vain to have Arbogast killed. Valentinian was subsequently found hanged in his palace—the sources either accuse Arbogast (B. Croke, *Historia* 25 [1976] 235–44), portray the death as suicide, or remain silent about it.

Valentinian is depicted on official monuments of his house, as co-emperor at age 17 on the missorium of Theodosios I (see LARGITIO DISHES, SILVER), and on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS. A bronze bust in Budapest (*Age of Spirit.*, no.19), found in Pannonia and possibly from a military standard, closely resembles the portraits of Valentinian on coins and medallions (Delbrück, pl.14.1–4).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2205–32. Stein, *Histoire* 1:203f, 210f. P. Grattarola, "La morte dell'imperatore Valentiniano II," *Rendiconti dell'Istituto Lombardo di scienze e lettere. Classe di scuola di lettere di scienze morali e storiche* 113 (1979) 359–70. –T.E.G., A.C.

VALENTINIAN III, Western emperor (from 425); born Ravenna 4 July 419, died near Ravenna 16 Mar. 455. He was the son of GALLA PLACIDIA and the patrician Constantius. After the death of Honorius, Theodosios II was reluctant to use the family of Galla Placidia to maintain Eastern influence in the West. It was only under pressure from the revolt of a certain John that he had the young Valentinian made caesar on 23 Oct. 424 and augustus the next year. Galla Placidia dominated the Western court during her son's minority, although she was constantly challenged by her rival AETIUS, who relied on the support of the Gallic aristocracy. In 437 Valentinian married Licinia Eudoxia, daughter of Theodosios II; the marriage produced two daughters, Eudocia and Placidia. Valentinian had good relations with the Vandals and Eudocia married Huneric, son of GAISERIC. In 450 Valentinian, along with his wife and mother, wrote to Theodosios II asking him to repudiate the teachings of the "Robber" Council of EPHESUS. He attempted to secure independence from the tutelage of Aetius but was not always successful. Finally, in 454, he murdered Aetius with his own hand, but fell the next year to Optila, one of the former's supporters.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 7 (1948) 2232–59. G. Härtel, "Die Novellen Valentinians III. als wichtige zeitgenössiche Quelle," in *Studi in onore Cesare Sanfilippo*, vol. 1 (Milan 1982) 231–51. A. Musumeci, "La politica ecclesiastica di Valentiniano III," *SicGymn* 30 (1977) 431–81. –T.E.G.

VALENTINOS ARŠAKUNI (Βαλεντιανός or Βαλεντινός), usurper of the Byz. throne in 645. He presumably belonged to the Armenian Arsacid house and played a brief role in the succession of Herakleios. At first he seems to have supported Constantine Herakleios and his sons against MARTINA, with the help of Anatolian contingents stationed at Chalcedon, and he may have brought about the coronation of Constans II in 641. Four years later, however, after an unsuccessful expedition against the Arabs in Syria, he revolted and made his own bid for the throne. The scant Byz. notices (e.g., Theoph. 343.3–6) and the slightly longer account of the Armenian historian SEBĒOS disagree on the ultimate goal of Valentinos and on Constans II's acceptance of him as co-ruler. Nevertheless, they agree that Valentinos was brought to the throne by a military coup d'état and crowned. Soon thereafter, however, he aroused the hostility of the population of Constantinople, which rose against him and put him to death (645).

LIT. Kulakovskij, *Istorija* 3:189f. J.B. Bury, *History of the Later Roman Empire*, vol. 2 (London 1889) 283–85. –N.G.G.

VANDALS (Βανδίλοι), a Germanic people. They first appear in 406 when they crossed the Rhine in company with the Alans and Suevi and devastated Gaul for three years. The coalition entered Spain in 409 and again inflicted considerable destruction before settling in the western and southern part of the peninsula. In 429 the Vandals and Alans crossed into Africa. Vandal authority over the two MAURITANIAS and NUMIDIA was recognized by Valentinian III in 435. Four years later the Vandals seized CARTHAGE. The peace treaty of 442 ceded control of AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, BYZACENA, TRIPOLITANIA, and eastern Numidia to the Vandals and retroceded Mauritania and western Numidia to the empire. Aware of the threats posed by Ravenna and Constantinople, the Vandals carved out a sphere of power in the western Mediterranean that included control of the Balearic Islands, Corsica, SARDINIA, and SICILY. Vandalic fleets carried out frequent attacks against the empire, one of which resulted in the sack of Rome (455). Following two unsuccessful Byz. attempts to recover Africa (465–66, 470), a treaty was signed in 474 bringing hostilities to a close

and reaffirming Vandal control as *foederati* over Africa.

The Vandals in Africa comprised the Vandal Hasdingi-Silingi clans, Alans, and small numbers of Hispano-Romans, Goths, and Suevi. After capturing Carthage, GAISERIC forcibly established a family dynasty. Subsequent Vandal kings—Huneric (477–84), Gunthamund (484–96), Thrasamund (496–523), Hilderic (523–30), and GELIMER (530–33)—were his direct descendants. In 456, the dynasty was linked to the house of Theodosios I by the marriage of Hilderic to Eudokia, daughter of Valentinian III. Power in Vandal Africa rested with the king and the Vandal elite, made up of the *optimates* (nobles), Arian clergy, and warriors. The so-called *sortes Vandalorum*, probably public lands in Africa Proconsularis, were provided by Gaiseric to the warriors. The Vandal kings reserved for themselves and their family similar allotments (probably former imperial estates) in Byzacena and eastern Numidia. Relations between the Vandals and the Roman-African population were sometimes strained. Some properties belonging to the Roman-African elite were seized, forcing the latter to seek refuge in western Numidia, Mauritania, Italy, and the East. Nevertheless, the Vandals maintained elements of the Roman administrative and political infrastructure, including the imperial cult. The *Latin Anthology* also attests to the encouragement by late Vandal kings of Latin literary culture. Relations between the Arian Vandals and the Orthodox African church were frequently hostile, although periods of toleration are known. The MAURI tribes initially cooperated with the Vandals and even fought together with them in some overseas campaigns, but Vandal military weakness in the late 5th C. contributed to the emergence of autonomous Mauri chiefdoms in Numidia and Byzacena.

The period of Vandal hegemony in Africa shows much continuity with the late Roman period. African grain, oil, and wine, although no longer linked to the ANNONA, were still exported in considerable quantity to Spain, Gaul, and the eastern Mediterranean. While there is a noticeable lack of civic building activity in African cities under the Vandals, this trend probably began in the 3rd C. In general the Vandals were too few in number to offer a serious cultural alternative to Roman-African civilization; they were thus being slowly assimilated at the time of Justinian I's invasion of Africa. The pretense for the invasion was Gelimer's deposition and murder of Huneric, the grandson of Gaiseric and Valentinian III. The end of the kingdom came with the fall of Carthage in 533. Vandal prisoners of war were organized into cavalry regiments known as the *Justiniani Vandali* and stationed in the East, where they disappear from history.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Les Vandales et l'Afrique* (Paris 1955). Pringle, *Defence* 9–22. N. Duval, "Culte monarchique dans l'Afrique vandale," *REAug* 30 (1984) 26–73. F.M. Clover, "Carthage and the Vandals," *Excavations at Carthage Conducted by the University of Michigan* 7 (Ann Arbor 1982) 1–22. C. Bourgeois, "Les Vandales, le Vandalisme et l'Afrique," *AntAfr* 16 (1980) 213–28. –R.B.H.

VARANGIANS (Βάραγγοι), Norsemen or VIKINGS in the Byz. army; from the late 11th C. the term also refers to Anglo-Saxons (J. Shepard, *Traditio* 29 [1973] 53–92). The term is first encountered in Byz. sources with reference to events of 1034 (Skyl. 394.71–5) and then in documents exempting monasteries from billeting Varangians on their property. Scandinavians had been coming via Rus' to serve in Byz. from at least the early 10th C. The Varangians are often linked to or conflated with the RUS' (Rhos), or else they are designated "Tauroscythians" or "axe-bearers." Basil II organized them into a TAGMA in 988, when some 6,000 were sent by VLADIMIR I of Kiev for use against Bardas PHOKAS. Over the next two centuries the Varangians were prominent both in field armies and esp. in their role as a palatine corps in Constantinople with quarters in the Great Palace and (under the Komnenoi) at the Mangana and Blachernai palaces. The Varangian guard was elite, expensive to join, notoriously loyal (e.g., An.Komn. 1:92.12–17), and distinctive in physical appearance (cf. Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, no.507), dress, and weaponry, and in its traditional code of discipline. Its officers held standard palatine ranks (e.g., the *spatharokandidatos* HAROLD HARDRADA), but its commander (AKOLOUTHOS) is thought normally to have been a Greek. There were churches of the Varangians dedicated to the Virgin in Constantinople, Crete, and near Taranto.

LIT. S. Blöndal, *The Varangians of Byzantium*, revised by S. Benedikz (Cambridge 1978). G. Schramm, "Die Waräger: osteuropäische Schicksale einer nordgermanischen Gruppenbezeichnung," *Die Welt der Slaven* 28 (1983) 38–67. –S.C.F., A.C.

VARDAN VARDAPET ("teacher"), Armenian scholar, born 1200 or 1210 in Greater Armenia (hence his frequent title *Arewelc'i*, "the Easterner"), died 1271 at monastery of Xor Virap. He is noted for a universal history, biblical commentaries, a study of grammar, and a brief *Geography*. He spent some years in Jerusalem and Cilicia. After 1243 he taught in numerous monasteries in Greater Armenia.

Vardan's *Historical Compilation* traces the fortunes of Armenia from the creation of the world to 1267. Although primarily based on earlier Armenian sources, it is of particular value for the history of Greater Armenia in the 12th–13th C. under Georgian and then Mongol domination. Ecclesiastical relations between the Greek and Armenian churches interest Vardan, but he otherwise pays little attention to Byz.

ED. *Hawak'umn Patmut'ean*, ed. L. Alishan (Venice 1862). Partial Fr. tr. in J. Muyldermans, *La domination arabe en Arménie, extrait de l'Histoire Universelle de Vardan* (Louvain 1927). H. Berbérian, *Ašxarhac'oyc' Vardanay Vardapeti* (Paris 1960). Fr. tr. in J. Saint-Martin, *Mémoires sur l'Arménie*, vol. 2 (Paris 1819) 406–71.

LIT. M. Brosset, "Analyse critique de la Vseobščaja istorija de Vardan," *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St. Petersbourg*[7] 4.9 (1862) 1–30. R.W. Thomson, "Vardan's *Historical Compilation* and its Sources," *Muséon* 100 (1987) 343–352. –R.T.

VARDARIOTAI (Βαρδαριῶται), an ethnic (or possibly territorial) group that probably received its name from the river Vardar. The name first appears in an episcopal *notitia* of the 10th C. as a bishopric "of Vardariotai or TOURKOI" in the diocese of Thessalonike (*Notitiae CP*, no.7.308). The origin of the Vardariotai is unclear: pseudo-Kodinos (pseudo-Kod. 182.4–10) notes that they "were 'Persians,' whom the emperor [Theophilos, according to Gy. Moravcsik] transferred and settled on the Vardar"; their language was "Persian" (210.7–8). Despite this direct evidence, it has often been assumed that the Vardariotai were Hungarians. They formed a police corps under the command of a *primikerios* and probably replaced the MANGLABITAI (Oikonomides, *Listes* 328, n.241). They wore red uniforms and "Persian" headgear called *angouroton*, with a whip at their belt as a symbol of their function. A 13th-C. historian (Akrop. 131.26–30) relates that the Vardariotai accompanied the emperor to his military camp, and in a charter of 1195 there is a signature of a representative of a *sebastos* and *primikerios* of the Vardariotai, Constantine Taronides (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.56.31), or rather Taronites, whose service was connected with the sea.

The seals of at least two *vardarioi* of Thessalonike are known; one of them, Kosmas (10th–11th C.), was at the same time *kommerkiarios* and *protonotarios*. If *vardarioi* were somehow linked to Vardariotai, it reveals quite a different activity of these imperial guardians.

LIT. R. Janin, "Les Turcs Vardariotes," *EO* 29 (1930) 437–49. Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 1:86f. V. Laurent, "Ho Bardarioton etoi Tourkon," in *Sbornik v pamet na prof. Petŭr Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 275–88. G. Konidares, "He prote mneia tes episkopes Bardarioton Tourkon," *Theologia* 23 (1952) 87–94, 236f. –A.K.

VARNA, ancient Odessos (Ὀδησσός), city on the west coast of the Black Sea. Odessos prospered in the 4th–6th C. as indicated by numerous surviving inscriptions that were made by military officers, clergymen, merchants, and craftsmen (V. Beševliev, *IzvNarMus-Varna* 19 [1983] 19–34). There are remains of two Roman baths, a 4th-C. basilica with a mosaic floor, and two large Byz. churches, as well as a 6th-C. basilica outside the urban area. Coins of Herakleios were found in Odessos, but the city was burned in the 7th C., probably by the Avars and/or Slavs. Bulgars did not settle at Odessos, but in its vicinity, to which Theophanes gives the name Varna, whose etymology (possibly Slavic) is unclear. In the following centuries Varna is mentioned as a geographic name: the river of Varna (*De adm. imp.* 9.100) or the coast of Varna (Skyl. 433.28–29). In 971 John I Tzimiskes conquered the region. The fortress of Varna on a cliff overlooking the sea was built by the Byz. probably in the 11th or 12th C. In the 12th C. it was a port (V. Gjuzelev, *IzvIstDr* 28 [1972] 318f) and an important defensive base, with considerable urban development. Although Isaac II Angelos rebuilt the fortifications of Varna (Nik.Chon. 434.22), KALOJAN recaptured the city from the Byz. in 1201. In the 13th–14th C. it was the major port of the Second Bulgarian Empire, through which grain was exported in Venetian and Genoese ships (E. Todorova, *IzvNarMus-Varna* 18 [1982] 79–85; 21 [1985] 25–41). In 1389 the Ottoman Turks captured Varna; in 1399 TATARS from the Golden Horde sacked it. In 1444 a united Christian army was defeated by the Ottomans near Varna (see VARNA, CRUSADE OF).

LIT. Hoddinott, *Bulgaria* 49–56, 223–33, 323–33. V.I. Velkov, *Roman Cities in Bulgaria* (Amsterdam 1980) 245–49. V. Beševliev, "Iz starata istorija na Varnensko," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 16 (1980) 121–25. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 293–310. D. Dimitrov, "Varna i bliskata i okolnost prez VII–IX v.," *IzvNarMus-Varna* 18 (1982) 55–77. –R.B.

VARNA, CRUSADE OF. As a result of the Crusade preached by Pope Eugenius IV in 1440, a predominantly Polish-Hungarian army of about 25,000 men—led by HUNYADI, *voivode* of Transylvania, King VLADISLAV III JAGELLO of Hungary and Poland, and GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ of Serbia—advanced in 1443–44 into the Balkans, where they won some significant victories over the Turks. Consequently MURAD II agreed to a ten-year truce with the Christians, which was ratified at Szegedin in July 1444. When Murad withdrew his troops, however, the Crusaders, with the exception of Branković, broke their oath (F. Pall, *BSHAcRoum* 22 [1941] 144–58; *Balcania* 7 [1944] 102–20) and attacked the Ottomans at VARNA on 10 Nov. 1444. After some initial success, the Christians were defeated and Jagello was killed.

The Crusade of Varna was the final attempt of Western Crusaders to stem the Ottoman conquest and preserve the Byz. capital of Constantinople. After the failure of the expedition, Emp. John VIII was forced to send congratulations and presents to the sultan. The battle is described in some detail by Doukas (Douk. 275.20–277.15) and CHALKOKONDYLES (ed. Darkò, 2:98–110), whose accounts are supplemented by a contemporary vernacular poem, written between 1456 and 1461 (N.G. Svoronos, *Athena* 48 [1938] 163–83). It is preserved in two versions, one by an eyewitness, Zotikos Paraspondylos (who is hostile to John VIII), the other, slightly later, by George Argyropoulos.

SOURCE. Gy. Moravcsik, *Hellenikon poiema peri tes maches tes Barnes* [= *Oungroellenikai meletai*, vol. 1] (Budapest 1935).

LIT. M. Chasin in *HC* 6:276–310. O. Halecki, *The Crusade of Varna* (New York 1943). A. Hohlweg, "Der Kreuzzug des Jahres 1444," in *Die Türkei in Europa*, ed. K.-D. Grothusen (Göttingen 1979) 20–37. B. Tsvetkova, *La bataille mémorable des peuples* (Sofia 1971), esp. 322–66. –A.M.T.

VASMOULOS. See GASMOULOS.

VASPURAKAN (Βαασπρακανία, Βαασπρακάν, Ἀσπρακανία, etc.), district in southeast ARMENIA identified by this name only after the Byz.-Persian partition of the country in 591; it was first overrun by the Arabs in 653. Gradually dominated by the house of Arcruni, Vaspurakan reached its zenith under Gagik-Xačʻik Arcruni (908–43/4) who was crowned by the Muslims in opposition to the BAGRATID king Smbat I and eventually recognized by Byz. as well. During his reign, the balance of power in Armenia shifted to Vaspurakan. In 924, Gagik gave asylum to the historian JOHN V KATHOLIKOS, who fled to him from the Muslims, and the primates of Armenia remained in Vaspurakan until 961. Gagik also built the Church of the Holy Cross next to his palace on the island of AŁTʻAMAR in Lake Van. His successors, however, failed to maintain the unity of his kingdom. Threatened by the Dailamite precursors of the Seljuks, the last Arcruni king, Senekerim-Yovhannes, ceded Vaspurakan to Basil II in 1021/2 in exchange for Sebaste and domains in Cappadocia. As part of the 11th-C. Byz. expansion to the east, the kingdom of Vaspurakan with some additional territories became the Byz. catepanate of Basprakania (Asprakania) with its center at Van; it served as the bulwark of the empire in the southeast until the Turks overran it after 1071. The archbishop of Vaspurakan at Ałtʻamar, however, kept his see and proclaimed himself *katholikos* in 1113, a claim his see maintained until 1895.

LIT. V.A. Arutjunova-Fidanjan, "Fema Vaspurakan (territorjal'nyj sostav)," *Vestnik obščestvennych nauk Arm. AN* 9 (1974) 92–99. M. Thierry, "Notes de géographie historique sur le Vaspurakan," *REB* 34 (1976) 159–73. S. Der Nersessian, *Aghtʻamar, Church of the Holy Cross* (Cambridge, Mass., 1965). –N.G.G.

VATATZES (Βατάτζης, fem. Βατατζίνα), a noble Byz. lineage known from ca. 1000, when a certain Vatatzes moved from Byz. to Bulgaria (Skyl. 343.74). Vatatzes lived in Macedonia, where he probably possessed estates. In the 11th–12th C. the family occupied important military positions: the *megas domestikos* John in the late 12th C.; the *domestikos* of the East, Basil (later, the *domestikos* of the West); *doux* of the West, Nikephoros; governors of various regions (Bulgaria, Thrakesion, etc.). John's father (perhaps Theodore) was granted the high title of DESPOTES. The Vatatzai married with the BRYENNIOI, KOMNENOI, and ANGELOI. In 1047 John Vatatzes supported the rebellion of Leo TORNIKIOS; the Vatatzai were loyal to the

Komnenoi but fought against Andronikos I and perhaps against the Angeloi. John III Vatatzes became emperor of Nicaea and was succeeded by his son Theodore II (who assumed his mother's name, Laskaris) and grandson John IV Laskaris. Driven from the throne by the Palaiologoi, the Vatatzai were still important up to the mid-14th C. when John, *stratopedarches* and *protokynegos*, was governor of Thessalonike (died 1345).

The name Diplovatatzes ("Double Vatatzes") was used at least from the second half of the 13th C. for those who had Vatatzes ancestors on both sides. The romance of Belisarios listed them among the upper crust of the aristocracy. A certain Diplovatatzina was the mistress of Michael VIII Palaiologos; Alexios Diplovatatzes is known as *sebastos*, *megas hetaireiarches*, and landowner in 1307–10.

LIT. Polemis, *Doukai* 106–11. F. Barišić, "Jovan Vatac, protokinig," *ZbFilozFak* 11.1 (1970) 283–87. *PLP*, nos. 2512–25, 5506–16. –A.K.

VATOPEDI MONASTERY, sometimes called Batopedion (Βατοπέδιον, lit. "Bramble-bush valley"), located at the midpoint of the northeast coast of the Mt. Athos peninsula. Since the rich archives of the monastery have only been partially published, the early history of the monastery is still obscure. One legend, evidently fantastic, attributes its foundation to Emp. Theodosios I; another, closer to reality, says that in the mid-10th C. three *archontes* from Adrianople—Athanasios, Nicholas, and Antony—came to Athos and at the urging of Athanasios of Athos restored a ruined monastery. The first documentary evidence is an act of the *protos* Paul of 985 on which the signature of Nicholas, *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi, is the last among the *hegoumenoi* (*Ivir.* 1, no.7.5 and 63). In 996, however, another *hegoumenos* of Vatopedi, Nikephoros, signed the act of the *protos* John ahead of all the other *hegoumenoi* (*Lavra* 1, no.12.25). Thereafter Vatopedi ranked with Iveron in second place in the Athonite hierarchy, just after Lavra. Vatopedi played an important role in the development of Hesychasm after the young Palamas took the monastic habit there.

By the end of the 13th C. Vatopedi had become a major landowner. A chrysobull of Andronikos II of 1292 lists several villages in the theme of Serres, *metochia* and *monydria* in various places (e.g., in Thessalonike), a fair (*panegyris*), an enclosure for cattle, a parcel of land "with beautiful trees," and the island Amoliane among the properties of Vatopedi (ed. Regel, *infra*, no.1). As a result of this ownership Vatopedi was involved in litigation with other monastic institutions, such as Esphigmenou (e.g., L. Maurommates in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:308–16). From the end of the 12th C. onward the influx of Slavic monks to Vatopedi became significant: in the 1190s Sava of Serbia stayed in Panteleemon and Vatopedi before building his own cell in Karyes. In Apr. 1230 John Asen II gave Vatopedi a Slavic chrysobull granting the monks a village near Serres (M. Andreev, *Vatopedskata gramota* [Sofia 1965]). Stefan Uroš IV Dušan and John Uglješa also conferred upon Vatopedi sundry privileges (M. Lascaris, *BS* 6 [1935–36] 166–85). In Oct. 1393 Constantine Dragaš, Serbian ruler of Melnik, donated a *monydrion* of the Pantanassa to Vatopedi (V. Laurent, *REB* 5 [1947] 171–84).

The library is particularly rich in Byz. MSS, containing over 600 codices, including some rare geographical works by Ptolemy, Strabo, and Pausanias, two illuminated Psalters (codd. 760, 761: Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, nos. 15, 54), and a fragment of a richly illustrated Octateuch.

Mosaic decoration on both the exterior and interior of the church includes a Deesis, two Annunciations, and a bust of St. Nicholas (G. Millet, *Monuments de l'Athos* [Paris 1927] pls. 1–4) variously ascribed to the 11th, early 12th, and 14th C. Frescoes in the church are dated by inscription to 1312 but heavily restored (ibid., pls. 81–94). Vatopedi is distinguished for its mosaic icons (Furlan, *Icone a mosaico*, nos. 24–25) and was the source of the miniature mosaic of St. John Chrysostom now at Dumbarton Oaks (O. Demus in *DOP* 14 [1960] 109–14). A. Grabar (*Revêtements*, no.25) hypothesized that the monastery housed a workshop making gold and silver icon frames in the early 14th C. Among the many panels so treated are the so-called "Dolls of Theodora" (icons of Christ and the Virgin, ibid. no.32) and one of the Hodegetria, presented by an otherwise unknown woman named Papadopoulina in honor of her sister (ibid. no.21). Other treasures include a silver reliquary depicting St. Demetrios defending Thessalonike (A. Grabar, *DOP* 5 [1950] 1–3) and a jasper cup said to have been given by the *despotes* Manuel Kantakouzenos.

SOURCE. W. Regel, *Chrysoboulla kai grammata tes en to Hagio Orei Atho hieras kai sebasmias megistes mones tou Batopediou* (St. Petersburg 1898). M. Goudas, "Byzantina grammata tes en Atho hieras mones tou Batopediou," *DChAE* 3 (1926) 35–45. Idem, "Byzantiaka engrapha tes en Atho hieras mones tou Batopediou," *EEBS* 3 (1926) 113–34; 4 (1927) 211–48. G.I. Theocharides, "Hoi Tzamplakones," *Makedonika* 5 (1959) 125–83. M. Lascaris, *Actes serbes de Vatopedi* (Prague 1935).

LIT. D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 91. F. Dölger, "Chronologisches und diplomatisches zu den Urkunden des Athosklosters Vatopedi," *BZ* 39 (1939) 321–40. S. Eustratiades and Arcadios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mt. Athos* (Cambridge, Mass., 1924). S. Eustratiades, *Sympleroma hagioreitikon katalogon Batopediou kai Lauras* (Paris 1930).

–A.K., A.M.T., A.C.

VAULT (κρυπτή), a ceiling or roof of brick, stone, or concrete built on the principle of the ARCH. In Byz. architecture vaults were constructed of brick, using the pitched-brick masonry technique, and occasionally ribbed. Types of vaults employed were (1) the barrel, or tunnel, vault, constructed of a single layer of bricks, slightly pitched, laid across the axis of the vault and set in thick beds of mortar; (2) the cloister, or domical, vault, composed of four, eight, or twelve curved surfaces or segments in the form of a DOME; (3) the groin, or cross, vault, created by the interpenetration at right angles of two barrel vaults of equal diameter and height, with the lines of intersection (groins), forming a diagonal cross. In general, Byz. vaults were not built with great care or skill and exhibit many irregularities.

LIT. J.B. Ward-Perkins, "Notes on the Structure and Building Methods of Early Byzantine Architecture," in *Great Palace, 2nd Report* 52–104. F.W. Deichmann, *Studien zur Architektur Konstantinopels* (Baden-Baden 1956) 38–40. Ch. Bouras, *Byzantina staurotholia me neuroseis* (Athens 1965).

–M.J.

VAZELON MONASTERY, also called Zaboulon, located on a cliff face on Mt. Zaboulon, about 45 km southwest of Trebizond. Dedicated to St. John the Baptist, the monastery of Vazelon (Βαζελών) was, according to legend, founded in the 3rd C., destroyed by the Persians in the 5th or 6th C., and restored by Belisarios in the 6th C. The first reliable historical data about Vazelon does not appear, however, until the 13th C. when the GRAND KOMNENOI of Trebizond became generous benefactors of the monastery.

The 180 surviving Byz. documents from Vazelon (dating from the 13th to 15th C.) provide valuable information on the topography of the MATZOUKA region and social and economic conditions; for example, they describe a mixed agriculture, in which a variety of crops was grown, including wheat, fruits, nuts, and olives. The acts of Vazelon, to a greater extent than those of ATHOS, include private charters, such as the wills of individuals and transactions between peasants (A. Bryer in *Continuity and Change in Late Byzantine and Ottoman Society* [Birmingham–Washington, D.C., 1986] 5f, 53–86).

Like SOUMELA, Vazelon had a sacred cave; virtually nothing remains of its Byz. buildings on account of massive reconstruction in the 19th C. The exception appears to be a small, barrel-vaulted chapel of St. Elias (Bryer-Winfield, *Pontos* 289–94).

SOURCES. Acts—F.I. Uspenskij, V.V. Beneševič, *Vazelonskie akty* (Leningrad 1927).

LIT. Dölger, *Diplomatik* 350–70. S. Ballance, A. Bryer, D. Winfield, "Nineteenth-Century Monuments in the City and Vilayet of Trebizond," *ArchPont* 30 (1970) 289–98. Janin, *Églises centres* 283–86.

–A.M.T.

VEGETABLES. See HORTICULTURE.

VELBUŽD (Βελεβούσδιον), ancient Pataulia, modern Küstendil, city and fortress in southern Bulgaria. It first appears under its Slavic name in the 11th C. as a bishopric of Justiniana Prima (*Notitiae CP*, no.13.836, 850). Seals of several bishops of Velbužd have survived (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, nos. 1501–02; 5.3, no.2019; Zacos, *Seals* 2.1, no.676).

Velbužd is best known as the site of a battle on 28 July 1330 in which the Serbian ruler STEFAN UROŠ III DEČANSKI and his son Stefan Dušan won a victory over a Byz.-Bulgarian coalition led by Emp. Andronikos III and MICHAEL III ŠIŠMAN. In spring 1330 Andronikos and Michael had formed an alliance against the growing power of the Serbs, a coalition strengthened by new family ties between the two rulers: in 1326 Michael had repudiated his wife Anna-Neda, sister of Stefan III Dečanski, and their three sons, in order to marry Andronikos's sister Theodora, widow of Michael's predecessor THEODORE SVETOSLAV. Then Andronikos invaded Serbian territory at the head of several thousand mercenaries. The Serbian army was about 15,000 strong, including some German

and Spanish mercenaries; the Bulgarians assembled about the same number of men. When the Byz. and Bulgarian armies began to march toward each other, Stefan III made a surprise attack on Michael at Velbužd, in order to prevent a rendezvous. The Serbian king totally destroyed the Bulgarian forces; Michael was wounded, taken captive, and soon died. Stefan III then forced Andronikos to retreat to his frontier.

The Serbian victory at Velbužd was a turning point in Balkan history, leading to Serbian domination of Macedonia. Stefan III signed a peace treaty with the Bulgarians whereby they were forced to install his nephew Ivan Stefan on the Bulgarian throne (1330–31), together with his mother Anna-Neda. The way was open for Stefan Dušan's penetration into Macedonia.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 271–74. A. Burmov, "Istorija na Bŭlgaria prez vremeto na Šišmanovci (1323–1396 g.)," *Izbrani proizvedenia* 1 (Sofia 1968) 256–64. *VizIzvori* 6:336 n. 130. –J.S.A.

VELJUSA MONASTERY, located in the village of Veljusa near Strumica in Macedonia. The monastery was dedicated to the Virgin of Mercy or Theotokos Eleousa; Veljusa is a Serbian form of the Greek Eleousa. An inscription over the door to the church informs us that it was built in 1080 by Manuel, bishop of Tiberioupolis (Strumica). Manuel, formerly a monk on Mt. AUXENTIOS, also built a modest monastic complex to house ten monks. He provided them with a *typikon* (composed between 1085 and 1106), in which he emphasized a cenobitic way of life, the absolute autonomy of the monastery, and extraordinary privileges and independence for the *hegoumenos.* Admission was restricted to those 18 or older. The monastic property, originally quite limited, grew in the 12th C. thanks to the patronage of the Komnenian dynasty. An inventory dated to 1449, records the treasures of the monastery and the 68 volumes in the library, primarily liturgical. In the early 13th C., probably under the Bulgarian tsar JOHN ASEN II, Veljusa came under the control of the IVERON MONASTERY on Athos, where most documents relating to Veljusa are still preserved today, including its 14th–15th-C. cartulary.

The church was built by Manuel, probably as his mausoleum if, as Miljković-Pepek supposes, an arcosolium in the narthex is the *ktetor*'s tomb. The church is a domed tetraconch, like the chapel adjoining it to the south, and built of a mixture of brick and fieldstone, plastered to simulate cloisonné masonry. The interior has an opus sectile floor and a finely carved templon, reconstructed in the restoration of 1968–69. An enthroned Virgin and Child dominates an iconographical program that includes four hierarchs attending the Hetoimasia (see LAST JUDGMENT) and such relatively rare subjects as the Ancient of Days (see CHRIST: Types of Christ) in the narthex cupola and the manifestation of Christ in Glory to St. Niphon, bishop of Constantiniae, depicted in the south chapel. Miljković-Pepek dates this and the paintings in the naos, choir, and narthex to 1085–93, while attributing frescoes in the south porch and exonarthex to painters who also worked at NEREZI.

SOURCE. L. Petit, "Le monastère de Notre-Dame de Pitié en Macédoine," *IRAIK* 6 (1900–01) 1–153.

LIT. P. Miljković-Pepek, *Veljusa: Manastir Sv. Bogorodica Milostiva vo seloto Veljusa kraj Strumica* (Skopje 1981). V. Laurent, "Recherches sur l'histoire et le cartulaire de Notre-Dame de Pitié à Stroumitsa," *EO* 33 (1934) 5–27. –A.M.T., A.C.

VELUM (βῆλον), a Latin term meaning "curtain." Curtains played an important role in imperial ritual, courtiers being obliged to wait in front of the *velum* while the emperor prepared for certain ceremonies (Treitinger, *Kaiseridee* 55f). According to the 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 131.16–18), the DEUTEROS was responsible for care of *ta bela* of the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS in the Great Palace. The word *vela* also designated the groups of dignitaries who entered the ceremonial halls together. In the context of the Hippodrome *velum* has been interpreted as awning, flag (R. Guilland, *Speculum* 23 [1948] 676–78), or curtain.

A special group of JUDGES, *kritai tou belou,* functioned in Constantinople from the 10th C. onward; the first mention is in the TAKTIKON of Escurial of 971–75. According to Balsamon, they formed a college of 12. V. Gardthausen (*BNJbb* 3 [1922] 342–50) considered them as umpires in the horse races at the Hippodrome; in reality they formed one of the highest tribunals. The name probably originates from the place of their meetings behind a curtain at the Hippodrome. The office seems not to have survived after 1204, al-

though some lists of offices of the 14th C. continue to mention it, and in the early 15th C. John Argyropoulos named a certain Katablattas judge of the *velum* (P. Canivet, N. Oikonomides, *Diptycha* 3 [1982–83] 63.502). An inferior category of judges were the so-called *kritai* of the Hippodrome; the distinction between the two groups is not always clear.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 322f. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:438–65. –A.K.

VENICE (Βενετία), Italian port city built on islands and lagoons in the north Adriatic. According to legend, it was officially founded on 25 March 421; the earliest reliable information, however, is from the period of the Lombard invasion of the late 6th C., when the region provided sanctuary for many refugees. The territory was administered by a *magister militum* under the command of the exarch of RAVENNA; the ecclesiastical authority over the region belonged to the bishop of AQUILEIA and later GRADO. When Ravenna fell to the Lombards in 751, Venice remained under the jurisdiction of Constantinople; an attempt by the Franks to conquer Venice in 810 failed, and the treaty of Aachen between the two empires recognized Venice as a Byz. province. Venice was governed by local nobles (*tribuni*) under the supervision of a Byz. official (*doux*), whose functions were gradually taken over by local officials, doges, who were granted Byz. titles (e.g., *spatharios*) and paid by Constantinople. The first local bishopric appeared sometime between 780 and 790 on the island of Olivolo, as a counterbalance to Grado; the first head of the diocese bore the Greek name Christopher. Five new bishoprics were created in the area in the 9th C.

Venetian independence from Constantinople was slowly attained during the 9th C. Under Doge Peter Tribuno (888–920) Venice was proclaimed a *civitas*; the translation of the relics of St. MARK from Alexandria in 828 contributed to the development of a local pride and sense of identity. The major factor in the growth of Venice was its role as a maritime power whose fleet was active in the struggle against the Arabs in the Adriatic Sea. Veneto-Byz. contacts are attested in the 9th and 10th C.: according to the *Chronicon Venetum* the Venetian doge Orso II (864–81) sent 12 BELLS to Constantinople, thus introducing their use in Byz.; Venetian ships brought Western ambassadors to Constantinople; its merchants sold slaves to Greeks (prohibited in 960) and bought garments that, in the words of Liutprand of Cremona, "were worn by Italian harlots and conjurers." In his chrysobull of 992 Basil II provided the Venetians with special privileges that could not be extended to Jews or inhabitants of Amalfi and Bari traveling on Venetian ships. Alexios I Komnenos granted the Venetians another chrysobull, probably in 1082 (the dates of 1083 and 1092 are also suggested—O. Toma, *BS* 42 [1981] 171–85): they received certain properties in Constantinople and customs exemptions in various cities of the empire, CORINTH and HALMYROS being the ports they visited most frequently.

In 1171 Manuel I Komnenos expelled the Venetians from Constantinople. Even though negotiations for a reconciliation began soon thereafter, relations remained tense: not all Venetian property was restored and compensation payments were still continuing under the Angeloi; Venice was apprehensive not only of the direct actions of the emperor but also of the danger of pirates in Byz. waters and of competition from the other Italian republics, esp. PISA but also GENOA. The Fourth CRUSADE created a convenient opportunity for Venetian intervention in Byz. affairs: having first destroyed the harbor of ZARA, Doge Enrico DANDOLO cleverly diverted the crusade against Constantinople. The Venetians profited most from the conquest of the Byz. capital in 1204: in accordance with the terms of the PARTITIO ROMANIAE they received CRETE, numerous cities in Thrace and Propontis, including LAMPSAKOS on the eastern shore of the Sea of Marmara, KORONE and METHONE in the Peloponnesos, and properties in Constantinople. Some territories were occupied not by Venice as a state but by semi-independent Venetian knights. They were also awarded special trading privileges. A Venetian, THOMAS MOROSINI, was elected patriarch of Constantinople. Venetian attempts to encroach upon the eastern coast of the Adriatic (Dyrrachion, Kerkyra, etc.) failed, however.

The role of the Venetians in the occupation of Constantinople, their active participation in plundering the Byz. capital, and their seizure of vast territories made both the empire of Nicaea and the state of Epiros hostile toward the Italian republic. Michael VIII Palaiologos gained the sup-

port of Venice's rival, Genoa, in his war against the LATIN EMPIRE. The period from 1261 to ca. 1328 was one of an unstable truce between Byz. and Venice, interrupted by a number of clashes of varying severity. From 1328 onward Byz. sought a balance of power between Genoa and Venice, often leaning toward an alliance with Venice. John V and Manuel II effected a pro-Venetian policy. In the 14th–15th C. the Venetians were active in trade in Constantinople (see BAILO; BADOER, GIACOMO) and penetrated the Black Sea (including Trebizond), competing there with the Genoese. They established trading colonies in Egypt, Syria, and Asia Minor. The growth of Ottoman power should have prompted a policy of unity and cooperation between Byz. and the Italian republics, but it was difficult to realize; thus in 1376 the Genoese and Venetians were at war over TENEDOS; exploiting the weakness of the Byz., Venice was granted Thessalonike in 1423 but was able to hold it only until 1430, when the Turks captured the city. During the final years of the empire, Venice received with honor two Byz. emperors—Manuel II and John VIII—but its military aid to Constantinople remained minimal. Cardinal BESSARION bequeathed to Venice in 1468 his collection of Greek MSS, which became the nucleus of the Bibliotheca Marciana.

LIT. *Le origini de Venezia* (Florence 1964). D.M. Nicol, *Byzantium and Venice* (Cambridge–New York 1988). F. Thiriet, *Études sur la Romanie greco-vénitienne* (London 1977). Idem, "Die venezianische Wirtschaftspolitik im byzantinischen Reich," *BBA* 52 (1985) 109–18. M. Martin, "The Venetians in the Byzantine Empire before 1204," *ByzF* 13 (1988) 201–14. Lilie, *Handel und Politik*. –A.K.

Monuments of Venice. The monument in Venice most strongly influenced by Byz. art and architecture is the Church of S. Marco. The will of Doge Justinian Partecipacius (died 829) decreed the foundation of a church to house the relics believed to be those of St. Mark. Burned in 976 and repaired, the first church was replaced by Doge Domenico Contarini (1042–71). Sixteenth-century sources date the start of construction to 1063 and state that the chief architects came from Constantinople. The relics of St. Mark were installed in the new crypt in 1094.

The early 12th-C. *Translatio Sancti Nicolai* notes that S. Marco was "of the same artful construction as the church of the Twelve Apostles in Constantinople" (O. Demus, *The Church of San Marco in Venice* [Washington, D.C., 1960] 90). By copying the Justinianic Church of the HOLY APOSTLES, the patron may have intended to express S. Marco's unique association with the doges (comparable to the association of the prototype with the Byz. emperors), or its status, like that of the Holy Apostles, as an *apostoleion*. At S. Marco the distinctive original plan, a freestanding cross with five domes, was enlarged by annexes (north and west porches and a baptistery) around the western cross arm. The façades were decorated with columns, capitals, and reliefs taken from Constantinople in the sack of 1204. Other booty exhibited includes four bronze horses from the Hippodrome, formerly displayed above the west porch; porphyry tetrarchs, possibly from the Philadelphion, immured outside the treasury; and the so-called Acre pillars, probably from St. POLYEUKTOS. The treasury contains many priceless works of art, mostly looted from Constantinople. Byz. objects were also acquired by gift or purchase, including the earliest parts of the PALA D'ORO and a bronze DOOR of ca. 1080 inside the west porch.

Like its Constantinopolitan model, S. Marco was decorated with figural mosaics, mostly by local craftsmen. As at MONTECASSINO, the craft was introduced by artists from Constantinople; unlike Montecassino, the local workshop thus established never died out. Mosaic-making was virtually continuous at S. Marco from the late 11th through the 14th C., with changes in style echoing those in Byz. Demus identifies repeated waves of Byz. influence, which he attributes to the use of Byz. MODEL-BOOKS and to the occasional interventions of visiting Byz. mosaicists. But the work is diverse and many other sources came into play. A most interesting example is the decoration of five small cupolas in the west and north porches with scenes copied from the Late Antique Cotton GENESIS, presumably acquired in 1204.

LIT. Demus, *Mosaics of San Marco*. F.W. Deichmann, et al., *Corpus der Kapitelle der Kirche von San Marco zu Venedig* (Wiesbaden 1981). *Treasury S. Marco*. –D.K.

VERGIL (Publius Vergilius Maro), Roman epic poet; born 70 B.C., died 19. Vergil remained popular in the late Roman Empire: the 4th-C. grammarian Servius compiled a Latin commentary on Vergil. The poet was also known in the East; Egyptian and Palestinian papyri of the 5th and

6th C. contain more fragments of and glossaries to Vergil than to any other Roman poet. According to CHRISTODOROS OF KOPTOS, Vergil's statue was placed in the Baths of ZEUXIPPOS. Directly or indirectly Vergil influenced late antique EPIC poets, such as QUINTUS OF SMYRNA and possibly TRIPHIODOROS and NONNOS OF PANOPOLIS. In his *Speech to the Assembly of Saints*, Constantine I—following LACTANTIUS (*Divine Institutes* 7.16–25)—quoted and analyzed Vergil's *Fourth Eclogue* as a prophecy of the birth of Christ. JOHN LYDOS referred not only to Vergil but also to Servius's commentary. Malalas (Malal. 216.3–6, 285.5–11) quotes the *Aeneid*, book 4, vv. 302–03, and identifies Vergil as a "wise Roman poet" who wrote on the fall of Troy and the story of Dido and Aeneas. B. Baldwin (*Hermes* 111 [1983] 127f) found another vestige of Vergil in PROKOPIOS OF GAZA.

Vergil achieved the status of the canonical Latin poet, and the word *birgilios* acquired in hagiography the meaning of "the wisest" (V. Peri in *ItMedUm* 19 [1976] 1–40). From the period of the 4th to 6th C. two elaborately illuminated codices survive, the "Vatican Vergil" (Vat. lat. 3225), devoted to the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid* (*Vergilius Vaticanus* [Graz 1984]) and the "Vergilius Romanus" (Vat. lat. 3867), somewhat cruder than the first MS but including illustrations to the *Eclogues* (*Picturae Ornamenta Complura Scripturae Specimina Codicis Vaticani 3867* [Rome 1902]).

The *Souda* and *Geoponika* contain many references to Vergil; thereafter he is mentioned infrequently (e.g., by Tzetzes and Holobolos). Unlike OVID, Vergil was neither translated nor imitated by the late Byz. There is no direct connection between Vergil and the *Idyll* of PLANOUDES (*Maximi Planudis Idyllium*, ed. F.M. Pontani [Padua 1973] 6, n.12). Further, an anonymous idyll published by J. Sturm (*BZ* 10 [1901] 433–52) belongs to the 16th, not the 15th C.

LIT. *Enciclopedia virgiliana* (Rome 1984–). B. Baldwin, "Vergil in Byzantium," *AntAb* 28 (1982) 81–93. A. Meschini, "Per il Virgilio greco: Le 'Bucoliche' tradotte da D. Halsworth," *Orpheus* 5 (1984) 110–14. P. Courcelle, "Les exégèses chrétiennes de la quatrième éclogue," *REA* 59 (1957) 294–319. G. d'Ippolito, *Trifiodoro e Vergilio* (Palermo 1976). E. Rosenthal, *The Illuminations of the Vergilius Romanus* (Zurich 1972). –P.A.A., A.K., A.C.

VERINA (Βερίνα), more fully Aelia Verina, wife of Leo I, whom she married before 457; died fort of Papyrios (Paperon), Isauria, ca.484. She bore Leo two daughters, ARIADNE and Leontia, and a son (name unknown) who died in infancy in 463 (G. Dagron, *AB* 100 [1982] 271–75). After Leo's death in Jan. 474 Verina expected to rule as the grandmother of the minor Leo II, while Zeno, the husband of Ariadne and father of Leo II, was proclaimed emperor. Leo II, however, died in Nov. 474, and Verina, disappointed in her expectations, began to intrigue against Zeno. She wanted to replace him with her paramour, the *magister officiorum* Patrikios, whom she planned to marry. She sought assistance from her brother BASILISKOS, but he deceived her, received the crown himself, and executed Patrikios. Verina then conspired for the return of Zeno (476); the actual government fell to his supporter ILLOS. Verina and Ariadne plotted against Illos but in vain. Verina was exiled to Tarsos and forced to become a nun. In 479 Marcian, the son of ANTHEMIOS and husband of Verina's daughter Leontia, revolted against Zeno, as if resenting Zeno's treatment of his mother-in-law; he nearly overthrew the emperor. In 482 Ariadne convinced Zeno, and through him Illos, to liberate her mother, but in 484 Verina joined Illos in Tarsos as he revolted against Zeno and proclaimed his ally LEONTIOS as emperor. In the ensuing war Illos was defeated and Verina died. The Verina presented as a witch in the PARASTASEIS SYNTOMOI CHRONIKAI (ch.89) is perhaps the wife of Leo I.

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 1546–48. Bury, *LRE* 1:335, 390–98. –T.E.G.

VERNACULAR, the spoken language of everyday communication. Byz. literature was dominated by ATTICISM. The language spoken by all classes in day-to-day use, which differed from the literary language in MORPHOLOGY, vocabulary, and SYNTAX, is attested between the 6th and 12th C. in occasional verbatim quotations by historians and chroniclers; in subliterary texts such as popular hagiography, legal documents; occasionally in personal names and place names; and—until the 8th C.—in PAPYRUS letters and other documents from Egypt. All these are liable to show the influence of the literary language. In the 12th C. occasional sustained attempts to imitate spoken Greek in literature (e.g., by PTOCHOPRODROMOS and Michael GLYKAS), attest to a new interest in the vernacular, which is also displayed by EUSTATHIOS OF THESSALONIKE in his Homeric commen-

taries. Virtually no vernacular texts survive from the turbulent 13th C.

Only in the early 14th C. does a body of literature in vernacular Greek appear, with a greater or lesser admixture of learned elements. This comprises ROMANCES of chivalry, pseudo-historical poems on ALEXANDER and BELISARIOS, the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA and the CHRONICLE OF THE TOCCO, satirical beast FABLES, short religious poems, poems by Stephen SACHLIKES, and a recension of DIGENES AKRITAS. These poems are composed in a fairly uniform language, with many alternative forms but few local dialect features. This points to the existence, at least in the cities, of a common vernacular Greek. Ottoman rulers of the 14th through 15th C. used this common language in their diplomatic correspondence with Byz. emperors. Few vernacular poems can be dated precisely. Some are adapted, or even translated, from Western models, but Western influence should not be exaggerated. This literature, which aimed largely at entertainment, owes more to relaxation of linguistic rigor by the educated than to literary ambitions of the less educated. Prose literature, and indeed all "serious" writing, remained the preserve of the learned tongue. Apart from the *Chronicle* of Leontios MACHAIRAS and one or two other texts in Cypriot dialect, the only prose work showing marked vernacular features is the *History* of DOUKAS.

LIT. Beck, *Volksliteratur*. B. Knös, *Histoire de la littérature néo-grecque* (Stockholm 1962). Jeffreys, *Popular Literature*. E.M. & M.J. Jeffreys, "The Style of Byzantine Popular Poetry: Recent Work," in *Okeanos* 309–43. M.J. Jeffreys, "The Literary Emergence of Vernacular Greek," *Mosaic* 8.4 (1975) 171–93. H. Eideneier, "Leser- oder Hörerkreis? Zur byzantinischen Dichtung in der Volkssprache," *Hellenika* 34 (1982–83) 119–50. G. Böhlig, "Das Verhältnis von Volkssprache und Reinsprache im griechischen Mittelalter," in *Aus der Byzantinistischen Arbeit der Deutschen Demokratischen Republik*, ed. J. Irmscher, vol. 1 (Berlin 1957) 1–13. T.V. Popova, *Vizantijskaja narodnaja literatura* (Moscow 1985). –R.B.

VEROLI CASKET. See CASKETS AND BOXES.

VERONA LIST, conventionally called *laterculus Veronensis*, a short list compiled in 297 or some time later and preserved in a 7th-C. MS, now in the library of the cathedral in Verona. It contains an enumeration of 12 Roman dioceses established by Diocletian's reform, from Oriens to Africa, with indication of the provinces of each diocese. It is supplemented by catalogs of barbarian tribes under the power of the emperor; of tribes in Mauretania; and of *civitates* (cities?) located beyond the Rhine.

LIT. T. Mommsen, *Gesammelte Schriften*, vol. 5 (Berlin 1908) 561–88. –A.K.

VERRIA. See BERROIA.

VERSINIKIA (Βερσινικία), a battle site north of Adrianople near modern Malamirovo (V. Beševliev, *XI Congrès international des sciences onomastiques* [Sofia 1972] 1:128). In response to attacks by the Bulgarian Khan KRUM, in May 813 Emp. Michael I led into Thrace a large army drawn from various themes. At Versinikia the Byz. and Bulgars clashed on 22 June. The Macedonian and Thrakesian troops, led by the general John Aplakes, successfully attacked the Bulgarian flank but were eventually overwhelmed when the other Byz. forces retreated. The Bulgars, fearing a trap, at first hesitated and then routed the fleeing soldiers. Michael retreated to Constantinople, where he was deposed three weeks later. Many scholars suspect that treachery induced the Byz. defeat, since the Anatolikon troops reportedly were the first to flee (*Script.incert.* 336.14–339.18) and their general subsequently became emperor (Leo V).

LIT. Bury, *ERE* 349–52. Zlatarski, *Ist.* 1.1:266–70. Beševliev, *Geschichte* 251–54. –P.A.H.

VESPERS (ἑσπερινός), an evening liturgical service to thank God for the day's graces and seek his pardon for one's sins. With ORTHROS, one of the two original major HOURS to open and close the day, vespers was celebrated at sundown, the lamplighting hour, whence its alternate name *lychnikon*. As at *orthros*, the basic symbol was LIGHT, the evening lamp being a symbol of Christ, the light of the world.

The vespers service in the ASMATIKE AKOLOUTHIA of Constantinople opened with variable PSALMODY, followed by Psalm 140 with a TROPARION, the entrance of the patriarch, a responsory, and three ANTIPHONS. The service concluded with a LITANY, three LECTIONS on some days, a *troparion*, and dismissal (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:xxii–xxiii; 2:305f).

In the hybrid urban-monastic service that re-

sulted from the gradual introduction of Palestinian monastic vespers into Constantinople (see SABAITIC TYPIKA), elements from the Palestinian HOROLOGION were combined with elements of the cathedral vespers of Constantinople (*asmatikos hesperinos*). In the final Sabaitic *typika*, this hybrid vespers could take three forms: "daily" vespers; "Great Vespers," with an introit, on days when there was Great DOXOLOGY at *orthros*; and "Little Vespers," celebrated only in some monasteries, this being an abbreviated vespers before some feasts to close the day before initiating the festive VIGIL with Great Vespers.

LIT. M. Arranz, "L'office de l'Asmatikos Hesperinos ('vêpres chantées') de l'ancien Euchologe byzantin," *OrChrP* 44 (1978) 107–30, 391–412. Idem, "Les prières sacerdotales des vêpres byzantines," *OrChrP* 37 (1971) 85–124. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 361–65. –R.F.T.

VESSELS (σκεύη, also sing. *docheion, angeion*, etc.). Vessels could be distinguished according to their function into LITURGICAL VESSELS (PATEN, CHALICE, *thalassa*), ornamental vases, and domestic UTENSILS; according to their material into those made of gold, silver, bronze, tin, iron, stone, glass, CERAMIC, or fabric; and according to their form. Niketas Choniates gives manifold terms for vessels: *pithos*, large jar or barrel; *amphoreus*—AMPHORA; *hydrochoos* or *hydreion*, vessel for holding water, bucket; *gaulos*, milk-pail; *louter*, bathing-tub; *tryblion* and *lopas*, dish (can be used generically for "vessel"); *lebes*, caldron; *chytra*, earthen pot; *krater, lekanis, plynos*—basin or bowl; *oinochoe*, vessel for wine; *kaddion*, small pitcher; *kissybion*, rustic drinking-cup; *kondy, kotyle*, cup; *poterion, ekpoma, skyphos*, drinking-cup, used also for chalice; *kylix, kypellon*, beaker, goblet; *askos, thylakos*, skin bag, wineskin; *kaneon, kophimos, kyrtos, sargane*, basket; *amis*, chamber pot. Vessels (esp. amphoras) were sometimes used in construction, particularly for erection of VAULTS; amphoras filled with sand and cement were employed to repair city walls (N. Cambi, *Vjesnik za arheologiju i historiju dalmatinsku* 63–64 [1961–62] 145–50). Bowls and plates were also used on walls as CERAMIC ARCHITECTURAL DECORATION. –A.K.

VESTARCHES (βεστάρχης), title first mentioned in the 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial, originally applied to the eunuch-*patrikios*. In the 11th-C. hierarchy it occupied a place between the MAGISTROS and VESTES. Several high-ranking generals held this title: Michael BOURTZES (Skyl. 483.8), Nikephoros MELISSENOS (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2697), BASILAKES (no.2691), probably the future emperor Nikephoros III (no.2686), and the future emperor Romanos IV (Attal. 97.8). It was also conferred on some officials of lower status such as the *kritai* (judges) of the VELUM (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, nos. 14 and 188) and even SYMPONOS (no.340). Michael PSELLOS was granted this title as well. It was probably devalued at the end of the 11th C. when the title of *protovestarches* was given to judges and notaries (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48A.197–99). *Vestarches* was in use at the beginning of the 12th C. (e.g., *Lavra* 1, no.56.29) but seems to have disappeared soon thereafter.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 299f. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 153f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 225–28, 286f. –A.K.

VESTES (βέστης), title first mentioned under John I Tzimiskes, who is said to have exiled "Nikephoros the *vestes*" (Skyl. 284.12). This was not Nikephoros Ouranos (as Dölger, *Beiträge* 35) but the son of Leo Kouropalates. Dölger also suggested that the *vestes* was identical with the VESTARCHES; they were, however, distinct. Thus the seal of Nikephoros Botaneiates, *doux* of Edessa, calls him *magistros, vestes*, and *vestarches* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2686). In the 11th C. *vestes* was a high title conferred on prominent generals such as Isaac Komnenos, the *stratopedarches* of the East (no.2680), and Leo TORNIKIOS (Attal. 22.8), often combined with the title of *magistros* (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.76). The 10th-C. TAKTIKON of Escurial distinguished bearded *vestai* who were at the same time *magistroi* or *patrikioi* from eunuch *vestai* who were *praipositoi* (see also Seibt, *Bleisiegel*, no.53). At the end of the 11th C. *vestai* were lower-ranking officials, such as the imperial ANTHROPOS Peter (*Lavra* 1, no.48.7) or the notary John Karianites (*Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48A.200). The title *protovestes* appeared at the same time (e.g., *Patmou Engrapha* 1, no.48G.236); it was conferred among others on a certain John "the Rhos" (Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, no.69). Neither *vestes* nor *protovestes* seems to have survived the reign of Alexios I. The alleged connection between *vestes* and the service of the imperial VESTIARION has no support in the sources, despite their common etymology.

LIT. Oikonomides, *Listes* 294. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:87f. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 229–36, 287. –A.K.

VESTIARION (*βεστιάριον*), state warehouse and treasury, sometimes described as *basilikon* and rarely *mega* (Oikonomides, *Listes* 161.12). The CHARTOULARIOS of the *vestiarion* is mentioned in the 9th-C. TAKTIKON of Uspenskij; some seals of the *chartoularioi* of the imperial *vestiarion* are dated by Laurent to the 8th C. (*Corpus* 2, nos. 688–91). The *vestiarion* was planned as an institution parallel to the SAKELLION, as an arsenal to supply the fleet and the army and to store precious goods; the distinction, however, was not consistent, and the *vestiarion* dealt also with money. Basil I built two structures close to the Pharos, one called *thesaurophylakeion*, another *vestiarion* (*TheophCont* 336.10–11); various payments had to be received in equal parts by the *sakellion* and the imperial *vestiarion*. The staff of the *vestiarion* included notaries, *mandatores*, *archon* of the CHARAGE, and several officers (KENTARCHOS, LEGATARIOS, and so on), whose functions are obscure.

After the 12th C. the *vestiarion* became the only state treasury, and the archaic word *tameion* referred only to it. Evidence for the emperor's private *vestiarion* is insufficient: e.g., imperial notaries of the *vestiarion* who together with (their?) PRIMIKERIOS took care of precious vessels after the imperial banquet (Oikonomides, *Listes* 277.1–4) are indistinguishable from imperial notaries under the *chartoularios* of the *vestiarion* and could be state officials; nor are the *archontes* of the imperial *vestiarion* in the *Kletorologion* of Philotheos (Oikonomides, *Listes* 227.27) radically different from the *sekretikoi, chartoularioi*, and notaries who precede them.

LIT. Dölger, *Beiträge* 27–31. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:353–81. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:81–89. –A.K.

VESTIARIOS (*ὁ βεστιαρίου, βεστιάριος*), according to a 14th-C. ceremonial book (pseudo-Kod. 186.18–23), a special treasurer: when the emperor set off on a naval expedition the *vestiarios* followed him in a ship that carried the VESTIARION. In the hierarchical list he comes after the PROKATHEMENOS of the *vestiarion* and was probably his assistant. The *vestiarios*, sometimes called imperial *vestiarios* (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1891), is known on seals from the 7th C. (no.1433). Schlumberger (*Sig.* 623) dated the seal of the *vestiarios* Epiphanios Artabasdos to the time of the Komnenoi. The seals do not clarify the functions of the *vestiarios*. The title of one of the epigrams of Theodore of Stoudios equates *vestiarioi* with tailors (*Jamben*, ed. P. Speck [Berlin 1968], no.15); the origin of this title is, however, unclear. The word is rare in documents; in 1337 the emperor's *oikeios*, the *vestiarios* Kyr Manuel, possessed lands which were eventually transferred to the monastery of Docheiariou (*Docheiar.*, no.18.16–17).

LIT. J. Ebersolt, "Sur les fonctions et les dignités du Vestiarium byzantin," in *Mél. Diehl* 1:87, n.5. A. Failler, "L'eparque de l'armée et le bestiariou," *REB* 45 (1987) 199–203. –A.K.

VESTIARITES (*βεστιαρίτης*), imperial bodyguard, according to a 12th-C. historian (An.Komn. 1:152.2), who calls *vestiaritai* the courtiers closest (*oikeioteroi*) to the emperor. The first known *vestiarites* was Iberitzes in 1049 (Sathas, *MB* 5:197.2). They are mentioned in chrysobulls from 1074 onward, often together with MANDATORES. According to N. Oikonomides (*TM* 6 [1976] 129), they replaced the MANGLABITAI. In the 13th C. *vestiaritai* acquired fiscal functions such as the levy of soldiers and wagons (MM 4:251.7); they served under the command of the DOMESTIKOS of the Eastern themes as arbiters of conflicts concerning property (Dölger, *Beiträge* 31). They existed at least through 1387. The chief of the *vestiaritai* was called *primikerios* of the *vestiaritai* (Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 218–20) and probably from the 13th C., *protovestiarites*, a position different from the PROTOVESTIARIOS; he occupied a lower rank on the hierarchical ladder of the 14th C. (Guilland, *Institutions* 2:203–11).

LIT. Ahrweiler, "Smyrne" 160. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XV (1967), 3–10. Oikonomides, *Listes* 297, n.57. Guilland, *Institutions* 1:589. –A.K.

VESTIOPRATES (*βεστιοπράτης*), merchant of luxury garments (and some fabrics?, e.g., BLATTIA), primarily of SILK but also of fine linen (*Bk. of Eparch*, ch.9, par.1). The term, unknown before the 9th C., derives from the Latin *vestis*, used by Malalas (Malal. 322.21) in the form *bestion* to designate clothing handed out to the population of

Constantinople together with charitable distributions of bread, wine, and meat. According to the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* (ch.4), the *vestiopratai* formed a guild that dealt in garments produced domestically, as opposed to the PRANDIOPRATAI who handled Syrian textiles. They acquired their goods either from the *archontes* of workshops (ARCHONTES TON ERGODOSION) or from *serikopratai*, silk merchants.

The activity of *vestiopratai* was rigorously controlled by the eparch: they could not purchase garments costing more than 10 nomismata without the eparch's knowledge and were strictly forbidden to sell to foreigners certain materials, esp. purple stuffs; the so-called *blattia* could be bought and sold only under the eparch's supervision. *Vestiopratai* were also assigned certain state functions: for the emperor's processions to Hagia Sophia they were responsible for decorating the Tribounalion (a hall in the Great Palace, on the way from the CHRYSOTRIKLINOS to CHALKE) with *blattia* and other precious textiles, while the ARGYROPRATAI displayed gold and silver vessels (*De cer.* 12.19–21). The 9th-C. seal of the *vestioprates* Constantine is probably connected with his official duties. The term was not used after the 10th C., except in the corrupted form of *bestoprotes* on a 13th-C. seal.

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 31f. *Bk. of Eparch* 148–56. Laurent, *Corpus* 2:338f. –A.K.

VESTITOR (*βεστίτωρ*), courtier of modest rank known from seals beginning in the 6th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 395, 582). According to the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS, the *vestitores* belonged to the category of SENATORS and together with SILENTIARIOI stood under the command of the EPI TES KATASTASEOS. A 10th-C. ceremonial book (*De cer.* 305.14–15) reports that they helped the PRAEPOSITUS SACRI CUBICULI dress the emperor, while a 9th-C. historian (Theoph. 226.19–20) indicates that they were in charge of the imperial crown. On seals from the 8th C. onward, they are called predominantly imperial *vestitores* and in the 9th C. they often combine their title with the duty of the *protonotarios* of a theme (e.g., Laurent, *Coll. Orghidan*, nos. 210, 233; Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.1937 and others) or *kommerkiarios* (vol. 1, nos. 2671A, 3168). The term was in use as late as the 10th C., when an anonymous teacher addressed letters to two *vestitores* (R. Browning, B. Laourdas, *EEBS* 27 [1957] 170, 185).

LIT. Bury, *Adm. System* 25. Dölger, *Beiträge* 35. Seibt, *Bleisiegel* 236f. –A.K.

VESTMENTS, LITURGICAL. See ENCHEIRION; EPIGONATION; EPIMANIKIA; EPITRACHELION; OMOPHORION; ORARION; PHELONION; POLYSTAURION; STICHARION.

VETERINARY MEDICINE. See HIPPIATRICA.

VICAR (*βικάριος*, from Lat. *vicarius*), deputy, representative, or lieutenant, applied primarily to the heads of DIOCESES as deputies of the PRAETORIAN PREFECTS. The diocesan vicars were identical with *agentes vices* (M. Arnheim, *Historia* 19 [1970] 593–603) and, together with their symbols of office, they appear in illustrated copies of the NOTITIA DIGNITATUM. In some dioceses the heads had different titles, such as *praefectus Augustalis* of Egypt and *comes* of Oriens. The vicar's functions were vague, and his position intermediary, between the governor and prefect: he held the right of appeal, as well as partial control over jurisdiction, tax collection, and the *cursus publicus* (see DROMOS). The vicar had no military functions. His staff was headed by a *princeps*. The office disappeared with the collapse of the diocesan system; Justinian I transferred some financial functions from the vicar to the praetorian prefect, and litigants preferred to appeal to the prefect rather than the vicar (Jones, *LRE* 1:281).

LIT. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 2015–44. –A.K., A.C.

VICES (sing. *κακία*). By the term *vice* one understands a certain habitually evil disposition, a weakness and inclination to do evil, an explicit predisposition to individual SINS. Vice as such cannot coexist in man together with the opposing VIRTUE. A man of vice, however—so long as other virtuous inclinations are present—can still perform other good works in place of, or next to, the chief sin. Eastern monasticism developed Origen's doctrine of eight vices (systematized by EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS), which later in the West was shortened by Pope Gregory the Great to seven vices (the seven

deadly sins). Other enumerations failed to gain acceptance. Opinions vary concerning the pre-Christian origins of this doctrine. The eight vices or sins are: gluttony, fornication, avarice, despair, anger, sloth, vainglory, and arrogance. This system of vices was developed for monks, with listing of categories of special temptations instigated by DEMONS, and then applied to laymen.

LIT. I. Hausherr, "L'origine de la théorie orientale des huit péchés capitaux," *OrChrAn* 30 (1933) 164–75. S. Wenzel, "The Seven Deadly Sins: Some Problems of Research," *Speculum* 43 (1968) 1–22. A. Vögtle, "Woher stammt das Schema der Hauptsünden?" *ThQ* 122 (1941) 217–37.
–G.P.

VICINA (Βιτζίνα, called Disina by al-Idrīsī), a city in the delta of the Danube, cited in a variety of sources. According to PORTULANS, it was a major port in the 13th–14th C. It is listed as a metropolis in the episcopal *notitia* of Michael VIII. The district of Vicina formed a Byz. enclave in the empire of the Tatars, probably granted to Michael VIII by his son-in-law and ally NOGAY. The Tatars conquered Vicina in 1337/8. The earlier history of Vicina is obscure. It is first mentioned by Anna Komnene as being occupied by some Pecheneg chieftains.

The exact location of Vicina has incited heated discussion: J. Bromberg (*Byzantion* 12 [1937] 178) places it between DOROSTOLON and CHILIA; E. Todorova (*EtBalk* 14 [1978] no.2, 134), between Carsium-Hîrşova and AXIOPOLIS; C. Giurescu (*Peuce* 2 [1971] 258), in NOVIODUNUM; P. Diaconu, in PĂCUIUL LUI SOARE; A. Kuzev (*EtBalk* 13 [1977] 121), in Ismail on the left bank of the river-branch Kilia; V. Beševliev (*IzvNarMus-Varna* 21 [1985] 21f), at the estuary of the river Kamčija; etc.

LIT. G. Brătianu, *Recherches sur Vicina et Cetatea Alba* (Bucharest 1935). P. Năsturel, "Les fastes épiscopaux de la métropole de Vicina," *BNJbb* 21 (1971–74) 33–42. Idem, "Mais où donc localiser Vicina?" *ByzF* 12 (1987) 145–71. V. Laurent, "Le métropolite de Vicina Macaire et la prise de la ville par les Tartares," *RHSEE* 23 (1946) 225–32.
–A.K.

VICTORIA. See NIKE.

VICTOR TONNENSIS, Latin chronicler, bishop of Tonnena (or Tunnuna) in Africa Proconsularis; died Constantinople after 567. Victor spent much of his life in Constantinople. A staunch Chalcedonian, in 543 he opposed Justinian I in the THREE CHAPTERS controversy, resulting in many years of imprisonment in various places ranging from the fortified monastery of Mandracion (near Carthage) to Alexandria. After trial in 556 the unrepentant Victor was confined to a monastery in Egypt, and in 565 at Constantinople. There he composed a world chronicle from Creation to 567, of which only the last part, from 444, written in formal continuation of Prosper of Aquitaine, survives. Its earlier perspective is mainly Eastern, with Africa understandably becoming more prominent as Victor reaches his own time; there is the same dichotomy between secular and ecclesiastical topics. Though often thin, chronologically unsound, and prejudiced on doctrinal issues, Victor's chronicle can be a valuable source on secular matters, offering, for example, unique information on the last days of the young Leo II (B. Croke, *GRBS* 24 [1983] 82f) and the death of Theodora, wife of Justinian I (J. Fitton, *Byzantion* 46 [1976] 119).

ED. Th. Mommsen, MGH *AuctAnt* 11:178–206.

LIT. S.T. Stevens, "Victor of Tonnena, a Chronicler of African Resistance," 11 *BSC Abstracts* (1985) 3f. Av. Cameron, "Byzantine Africa—The Literary Evidence," *University of Michigan Excavations at Carthage* 7 (Ann Arbor, Mich., 1982) 29–62. A.S. Kozlov, "Idejnopolitičeskaja napravlennost' chroniki Viktora Tunnunskogo," *ADSV* 23 (1987) 25–41.
–B.B.

VICTOR VITENSIS, late 5th-C. bishop of Vita in BYZACENA and ecclesiastical historian. After refusing to attend the council of Arians and Orthodox at Carthage on 1 Feb. 484, Victor went into exile near Tripoli. There he composed his *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae* in Latin, publishing it ca.489. Its three books (five in the older editions) describe the Arian persecution of the Orthodox church in Africa under the Vandal kings GAISERIC and HUNERIC (477–84). Victor paints an often horrible picture of this period, with sickening emphasis on scenes of torture. His style is a strange blend of rhetoric and poeticisms mixed with gross syntactical errors. He provides, however, a contemporary, often eyewitness, account of 5th-C. Africa, made more valuable by his laudable habit of inserting official documents, for example, a list of Catholic bishops drawn from the *Notitia Africae* of 484. The *Passio septem monachorum*, describing the martyrdom of seven bish-

ops at Carthage, which is attached to the older editions, is now generally regarded as not by Victor.

ED. *Historia persecutionis Africanae provinciae*, ed. M. Petschenig (Vienna 1881). C. Halm, MGH *AuctAnt* 3.1.

LIT. C. Courtois, *Victor de Vita et son oeuvre: Étude critique* (Algiers 1954). H.J. Diesner, "Sklaven und Verbannte, Märtyrer und Confessoren bei Victor Vitensis," *Philologus* 106 (1962) 101–20. –B.B.

VIDIN (Βιδίνη), city and fortress on the Danube in northeastern Bulgaria. In Roman times, under the name Bononia, it was a fortress of secondary importance, probably abandoned in the 6th C. A Bulgarian city, Bdin (Vidin), arose on its site. From the 9th C. it was the seat of a bishop and under SAMUEL OF BULGARIA the capital of a province. Captured by Basil II in 1003, the city remained in Byz. hands after the reestablishment of Bulgarian independence in 1186/7. In the early 13th C. Vidin became the center of an independent Bulgarian principality under Prince Šišman and his son, and in 1323 was incorporated into the restored Bulgarian state. Situated in a frontier zone, it was repeatedly attacked by Hungarians and Serbs and was under Hungarian occupation in 1365–69. Later Vidin was the center of a semi-independent Bulgarian principality under Ottoman sovereignty. In 1396 BAYEZID I captured it. A revolt in 1408 expelled the Turks, who recaptured the city only in 1413. In 1444 Janos HUNYADI captured and burned Vidin. In the later 14th C. it was a center of Bulgarian culture; several manuscripts copied there survive. The existing fortress dates from the period of the Second Bulgarian Empire.

LIT. A. Kuzev, V. Gjuzelev, *Bŭlgarski srednovekovni gradove i kreposti*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1981) 98–115. Idem, "Prinosi kŭm istorijata na srednovekovnite kreposti po Dolnija Dunav, III," *IzvNarMuz-Varna* 4 (1968) 37–49. P. Nikov, "Istorija na Vidinskoto knjažestvo do 1323 g.," *GSU FIF* 18.8 (1922) 3–124. I. Božilov, "Zur Geschichte des Fürstentums Vidin," *BBulg* 4 (1973) 113–19. D. Polyvjannyj, "K istorii Vidinskogo despotstva v XIV veke," in *Rec.Dujčev* (1980) 93–98. V. Gjuzelev, "Beiträge zur Geschichte des Königreiches von Vidin im Jahre 1365," *SüdostF* 39 (1980) 1–16. –R.B.

VIENNA GENESIS. See GENESIS.

VIGIL (παννυχίς, παραμονή, ἀγρυπνία), any night prayer or liturgical service involving sacrifice of sleep, or the eve of a FEAST, when FASTING and keeping vigil were customary. Liturgical vigils were adumbrated in the pre-Constantinian custom of private prayer at night and of keeping vigil before a martyrdom and at the tombs of martyrs. From the 4th C. onward, they were formalized in the daily nocturns or vigil (*mesonyktikon*) of the monastic HOURS and in occasional all-night vigils before days of EUCHARIST (Sundays and feasts), before BAPTISM, by the bier of the departed, or for special purposes, such as to counteract heresy.

Vigils were of varying length and structure. The *Typikon of the Great Church* mentions some types (Mateos, *Typicon* 2:285, 309, 311): nocturnal psalmody prefixed to ORTHROS; *pannychis*, comprising VESPERS with lections plus the *pannychis* proper (despite its name, the *pannychis* was not an all-night affair, but a brief service similar to APODEIPNON; it consisted of three ANTIPHONS and five prayers with their corresponding litanies); and *paramone*, a solemn vespers with lections celebrated on the eve of 15 feasts. The later SABAITIC TYPIKA kept the old Constantinopolitan *paramone* before Nativity and Epiphany, but inherited for other feasts the Palestinian monastic *agrypnia*, comprising vespers, the entire Psalter with all ten canticles, and Sabaitic *orthros*.

LIT. Taft, *Liturgy of the Hours*, esp. 165–213. Taft, "Mount Athos" 187f. Taft, "Bibl. of Hours" 358–70. –R.F.T.

VIGILIUS, pope (from 29 Mar. 537); born Rome before 500, died Syracuse 7 June 555. He was the scion of a senatorial family. In 536 Vigilius journeyed with Pope AGAPETUS I to Constantinople where he seems to have concluded an agreement with Justinian I's wife, the empress THEODORA, promising to soften Western opposition toward Monophysitism. When BELISARIOS captured Rome, the pro-Gothic pope Silverius (536–37) was deposed and replaced by Vigilius. His position between the Western clergy and Justinian (who claimed political power over the West) explains the pope's vacillation, as revealed esp. during the affair of the THREE CHAPTERS. After his arrest in Sicily during the liturgy (22 Nov. 545) and his transfer to Constantinople in Jan. 547, Vigilius tried to preserve the principles of the Council of CHALCEDON and at the same time—under pressure from Justinian—to accept, at least partially, the condemnation of the three "heretical" theologians. At first Vigilius excommunicated Patr.

MENAS, but then he resumed his communication with the patriarch and on 11 Apr. 548 sent him his verdict accepting the condemnation of the Three Chapters. This decision raised such indignation in the West, however, that Vigilius was forced to withdraw his opinion; this change of mind led to a direct conflict with Justinian, and the pope fled to Chalcedon.

A reconciliation of emperor and pope in 552 was but partial, and Vigilius did not participate in the Second Council of Constantinople in 553. In fact he criticized the decisions of the council, and in the *Constitutum I* (14 May 553) rejected the condemnation of the Three Chapters, although he did condemn approximately 60 "erroneous" sentences in THEODORE OF MOPSUESTIA. In the *Constitutum II* (23 Feb. 554) he yielded to imperial pressure and revoked his previous defense of the Three Chapters. Thereafter Vigilius was allowed to return home, but died en route.

LIT. L. Duchesne, *L'église au VI^e siècle* (Paris 1925) 156–218. G. Every, "Was Vigilius a Victim or an Ally of Justinian?" *Heythrop Journal* 20 (1979) 257–66. P. Hildebrand, "Die Absetzung des Papstes Silverius (537)," *HistJb* 42 (1922) 213–49. –A.K.

VIGLA (*βίγλα*, from Lat. *vigilia*, "watch"). In Rome the term designated night guards, but from the 4th C. onward *vigiliae* were guards of all kinds in the army (R. Grosse, *Römische Militärgeschichte von Gallienus bis zum Beginn der byzantinischen Themenverfassung* [Berlin 1920] 225). Theophanes (Theoph. 307.26) speaks even of the *vigla* (sentinels?) of the Persian king Chosroes II. From the 8th C. onward, the term referred to the contingent of paramilitary troops assigned to protect the imperial palace. The word was used—interchangeably with *arithmos* in some *taktika* (Bury, *Adm. System* 60–62)—primarily in connection with the official called DROUNGARIOS TES VIGLAS.

–A.K.

VIKINGS first came into contact with Byz. in the mid-9th C., initially as armed traders or plunderers, later principally as mercenaries. Three main groups are mentioned in Byz. sources: the Rhos (RUS'), the VARANGIANS, and the Koulpingoi (Russian *Kolbjagi*), most likely from Old Norse *Kylfingar*, which probably derives from *kylfa*, a staff or club. Kylfingaland in some Icelandic sources denotes Rus' (E. Mel'nikova, *Drevneskandinavskie geografičeskie sočinenija* [Moscow 1986] 131–38, 209–10). References to the latter two groups only begin in the 11th C. and in the second half of the century they are named in chrysobulls (e.g., those of Michael VII [March 1075] and Nikephoros III [May 1079]) as foreign units in the Byz. army. The distinction between the three terms is not always clear. It may be that *Varangian* and *Koulpingoi* came to denote specifically the army units, after the term *Rhos* had become ambiguous through association with the increasingly Slavicized rulers of RHOSIA. The Varjagi and Kolbjagi of Rus' texts exactly correspond to them (A. Sobolevskij, *VizVrem* 1 [1894] 460f). Viking tales of Byz. survive in SAGAS.

LIT. A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica* (Aarhus 1953) 89–113. H.R. Ellis Davidson, *The Viking Road to Byzantium* (London 1976). –S.C.F.

VILLA, term designating a luxurious urban or rural mansion in the Roman Empire. Villas usually possessed an atrium, external portico, sometimes cisterns, swimming pools (if the villa was constructed near the seashore), and elements of fortification (esp. in remote provinces); FLOOR MOSAICS and BATHS are their most conspicuous remains. Late Roman villas are known in Antioch, Ephesus, Italy, and Sicily (e.g., PIAZZA ARMERINA), Africa, Gallia, and the Danubian provinces (Pannonia, Raetia, etc.). S.P. Ellis (*AJA* 92 [1988] 565–76) attributed the increasing elaboration of such structures in the 4th to mid-6th C. to the concentration of wealth in the hands of Roman aristocrats and the growing practice of conducting business from the home.

The term *villa* was also applied to the entire ESTATE. E. Štajerman (Schtajerman, *infra*) contrasts the villa based on slave labor with the *latifundium* that exploited the work of *coloni*; she views the replacement of the old, slave-oriented villa—by necessity modest in size—with great estates with prefeudal type of labor organization as one of the features of the crisis that befell the Roman Empire in the 3rd C. and finally led to its economic decline and political fall. It is questionable, however, whether this scenario is appropriate to Byz. in part because the slave-based villa was never common in the Roman east.

LIT. A.W. Van Buren, *RE* 2.R. 8 (1958) 2142–59. E.M. Schtajerman, *Die Krise der Sklavenhalterordnung im Westen*

des Römischen Reiches (Berlin 1964) 89–106. E.B. Thomas, *Römische Villen in Pannonien* (Budapest 1964).

–A.K., A.C.

VILLAGE, the geographic, economic, and administrative entity of the countryside designated in narrative sources by the classical term *kome* (typical also of Egyptian papyri) and by the new term CHORION.

The history of the village in the late Roman Empire is not well known; archaeological evidence indicates that, from the 4th C. in northern Syria, large-scale landowning declined as larger economic units were replaced by VILLAGE COMMUNITIES (Tchalenko, *Villages* 1:385), and from the 7th C. in the southwestern Crimea, village settlements flourished (A. Jakobson, *Rannesrednevekovye sel'skie poselenija Jugo-Zapadnoj Tavriki* [Leningrad 1970] 181). Villages seem to have been large, as is attested by terms such as METROKOMIA and *komopolis*. According to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 39–42), the 14th-C. Macedonian village contained an average of 33 households. The *Treatise on Taxation* distinguished three kinds of country sites (ed. Dölger, *Beiträge* 115.13–20): *chorion*, hamlet (*agridion*), and estate (PROASTEION). A village consisted of STASEIS; individually cultivated CHORAPHIA, vineyards, and gardens were located far from the KATHEDRA of the *chorion*, and documents mention roads and small paths leading to them or forming their boundaries.

A village could include streams; hills covered with forests; groves of chestnut, walnut, and other trees; sea and lake shores. The clearing of the woods and occupation of virgin lands allowed some households to move to remote areas of the village's property; first they formed dependencies closely connected with the maternal village, but later these could be transformed into independent *agridia*. On the other hand, various reasons led to the desertion of villages. Dependent villages could contain estates of several owners, secular and ecclesiastical, alongside tenements of free peasants, soldiers, etc. In theory villages were considered under the control of a local urban center, but it seems that in fact villages were free of urban control from the 7th C. At least in the 13th–15th C., some villages possessed PYRGOI for defense.

LIT. J. Lefort, "En Macédoine orientale au Xe siècle," in *Occident et Orient au Xe siècle* (Paris 1979) 251–72. K. Chvostova, "K voprosu o strukture pozdnevizantijskogo sel'skogo poselenija," *VizVrem* 45 (1984) 3–19. A. Kazhdan, "Vizantijskoe sel'skoe poselenie," *VizVrem* 2 (1949) 215–44. H. Antoniadis-Bibikou, "Villages désertés en Grèce, Un bilan provisoire," *Villages désertés et histoire économique. XIe–XVIIIe siècle* (Paris 1965) 343–417.

–M.B.

VILLAGE COMMUNITY (*κοινότης τοῦ χωρίου*), a fiscal and legal unit made up of landowners usually living in a single VILLAGE. It was once commonly believed that the origin of the Byz. village community could be found in the importation of the alleged Slavic village community institution, later called the *mir*, into Byz. in the 7th C.; it is more likely, however, that the Byz. village community was an indigenous development arising from the crises in Byz. of the 6th–8th C., during which time the relative decline of the urban centers allowed increased autonomy among the villages. The village community included privately owned cultivated lands of the members, common lands (*koina topia*), and the dwellings found within the official *periorismos* ("delimitation of the boundaries") of the village community, while excluding property detached from the *periorismos*, such as *idiostata* and KLASMA, even if located within the "physical" village.

The village community is probably best thought of as a corporation (JURISTIC PERSON), a legal entity recognized as such by the state, that could intervene in the affairs of its members, administer and have CHRESIS of the properties of its members, make payments, sell property, and take part in legal suits (e.g., *Ivir.* 1, no.9). The members of the village community were usually free peasants (though it could indeed include wealthy landowners and ecclesiastical corporations) who had no restrictions on alienating, bequeathing, or abandoning their lands. They are commonly designated by the words *georgos*, "farmer," or *chorites*, "member of a CHORION." Frequently, however, the sources use vaguer, less specialized terms: *ktetor*, *kyrios*, and *kleronomos*, which emphasize the members' full ownership of their property; *convicanus*, *consors*, *synkleronomos*, *synchorites*, *homochoros*, and *plesiochoros*, which emphasize the close spatial proximity of the NEIGHBORS; *syntelestes*, *synteles*, *syntelon*, and *homokensos*, which emphasize their collective tax obligations, perhaps the most fundamental and distinguishing characteristic of the free village community (ALLELENGYON, EPIBOLE). The principle of joint tax liability, which made the members of the village community responsible

collectively for the taxes of their defaulting fellow members, lasted at least until the 12th C.

The village community was the fundamental unit of Byz. taxation, and, thus, as 10th-C. legislation shows, the state was interested in maintaining its integrity. Nevertheless, the institutions of *klasma* and SOLEMNION weakened the village community by allowing DYNATOI to acquire more property within the village and thereby enervate the solidarity of the village community. Throughout the Byz. era it is possible to see aspects of the village community; even in the 13th–15th C., villages of PAROIKOI at times act as corporate bodies (e.g., MM 4:217–20, 6:212–14). As an economic and fiscal unit, the village community would often act collectively in defense against robbers, in a court trial with a neighboring village or a lord, in building a bridge or in a common feast (Rudakov, *Kul'tura* 180). The village had its (irregular?) assemblies, "rural courts," and *protogerontes*—elders who dealt with imperial officials, primarily tax collectors. Local priests and monks of small monasteries played an important organizational role in the life of the village community, as teachers, scribes-*nomikoi*, and leaders of religious ceremonies that frequently were connected with agrarian activity (rain magic, extermination of locusts, etc.).

LIT. Lemerle, *Agr. Hist.* 18, 75–84, 93–108, 195–99. Kazhdan, *Derevnja i gorod* 21–56. Ju. Vin, "Evoljucija organov samoupravlenija sel'skoj obščiny i formirovanie votčinnoj administracii v pozdnej Vizantii," *VizVrem* 43 (1982) 201–18. H. Antoniadis-Bibicou, A. Guillou, "Vizantijskaja i postvizantijskaja sel'skaja obščina," *VizVrem* 49 (1988) 24–39. D. Górecki, "The Slavic Theory in Russian Pre-Revolutionary Historiography of the Byzantine Farmer Community," *Byzantion* 56 (1986) 77–107. –M.B.

VILLANUS COMMUNIS. See VILLEIN.

VILLEHARDOUIN, GEOFFREY, French historian of the Latin conquest of Constantinople in 1204; born near Troyes before 1152, died between 11 Dec. 1212 and 1218. Prominent feudal officer of the counts of Champagne (marshal in 1185), one of six commissioners entrusted with negotiating the Fourth Crusade's transport to the East with the Venetians, Villehardouin played a key role in the conquest and subsequent governance and defense of Constantinople, where he became Marshal of Romania. Circa 1208 he began writing his Old French *Conquest of Constantinople*, which provides a detailed account of events from 1202 to 1207 from the Latin perspective and sheds light on the empire's historical geography, the topography and monuments of Constantinople (e.g., on the Jewish quarter of Galata [ch.159] and on a triumphal column [chs. 307–08]), ceremonies (ch.207, chs. 212–15), booty (ch.255), and other matters. His testimony on the cause of the diversion of the Crusade, that it was a series of accidents, has been judged not to be intentionally misleading (Queller, *Fourth Crusade* 10–16, 219f).

ED. *La conquête de Constantinople*, ed. E. Faral, 2 vols. (Paris 1938–39), with mod. Fr. tr. Eng. tr. M.R.B. Shaw, *Chronicles of the Crusades* (Baltimore 1963) 29–160.

LIT. J. Longnon, *Recherches sur la vie de Geoffroy de Villehardouin* (Paris 1939). J. Dufournet, *Les écrivains de la IVe croisade. Villehardouin et Clari*, 2 vols. (Paris 1973). C. Morris, "Geoffrey de Villehardouin and the Conquest of Constantinople," *History* 53 (1968) 24–34. K. Gagova, "Njakoi svedenija za istoričeskata geografija na Trakija u Žofrua de Vilarduen," *Vekove* 15 (1986) 48–53. –M.McC.

VILLEIN (Lat. *villanus*), the term for a dependent peasant used in the territories of Byz. conquered by the Latins. The Latins considered all indigenous population, both rural and urban, as villeins, with the exception of *archontes*, *archontopouloi*, and a few emancipated rank-and-file inhabitants. In Crete, which was under the direct authority of Venice, a specific category of villeins is attested, *villani Co⟨m⟩munis* (i.e., of the republic of Venice), who probably were descendants of the Byz. DEMOSIARIOI. They were in a slightly better economic and legal position and had a greater chance of being enfranchised than other villeins. The villeins of the Commune paid an annual tax, *villanzio*, and were forbidden to leave the land they held; they could not be transformed into the villeins of individuals, and the state could reclaim all the fugitive *villani Comunis*. The institution of the villeins of the Commune offers insight into Byz. agrarian history before 1204.

LIT. D. Jacoby, *HC* 6:207–14. F. Thiriet, "La condition paysanne et les problèmes de l'exploitation rurale en Romanie greco-vénitienne," *StVen* 9 (1967) 35–69, esp. 55f, 60–63. E. Santschi, *La notion de "feudum" en Crète vénitienne* (Montreux 1976) 172–78. –M.B.

VINEYARD (ἀμπελών, also *ampeloperibolion*). Together with the CHORAPHION, the vineyard was the most typical form of cultivated land in Byz., where bread and WINE constituted the main alimentary products. In 14th-C. Macedonia the majority of

peasants possessed vineyards: 83.7–92 percent according to N. Kondov (*EtBalk* 9 [1973] 69), 74–96 percent according to Laiou (*Peasant Society* 174). The size of the vineyards belonging to a single household varied (according to Kondov) between .5 and 22 *modioi*, but Laiou stresses as a basic fact of peasant life "the relatively equal distribution of vineyards" among a population economically unequal in other respects. Usually the vines were untrellised; farmers used vine props or trained the vines to wrap themselves around trees in GARDENS. In MSS such props are shown as simple forked wooden sticks (A. Bryer, *BSA* 81 [1986] 64f, 71, figs. 13, 14, 16). The cultivation of vines involved arduous work. The GEOPONIKA devoted five books (4–8) to vines and WINE PRODUCTION. It has been estimated that the yield of a 2-*modios* vineyard furnished a total of 820 liters of wine per year (M. Kaplan, *Klio* 68 [1986] 211).

Chvostova (*Osobennosti* 131) considers vineyards as lands of best quality, whereas Schilbach (*Metrologie* 242–44) distinguishes three categories of vineyards with respect to their quality. Both the price of and the rent from vineyards varied significantly.

The vineyard acquired an important role in biblical exegesis: it was a metaphor for the church, and neglect of the vineyard meant the loss of paradise.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:122–29, 280–95. T. Gal, "Vineyard Cultivation at Emek Harod and its Vicinity during the Roman-Byzantine Period," *Haaretz Museum Yearbook* 20/21 (1985/6) 129–38. N. Kondov, "Lozarstvoto po bŭlgarskite zemi prez srednovekovieto," *Gradinarska i lozarska nauka* 13 (1976) no. 1, 103–21. P. Topping, "Viticulture in Venetian Crete (XIII[th] C.)," *Pepragmena tou D' diethnous Kretologikou synedriou*, vol. 2 (Athens 1981) 509–20.

–J.W.N., A.K.

VIRANŞEHIR. See CONSTANTINA; MOKISSOS.

VIRGIN, TYPES OF. See VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary.

VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA (Βλαχερνίτισσα, Βλαχερνιώτισσα). Several different icons of the Virgin are known to have existed in the monastery of BLACHERNAI. There was a miraculous image of the Virgin and Child there in the 8th C. (vita of St. Stephen the Younger, PG 100:1076B, 1080AB); of the images housed there in the 10th C., only one is described in enough detail for us to be able to visualize it (*Der cer.* 555.8–10): in the imperial bath area near the chapel of St. Photeinos was a marble image of the Virgin from whose outstretched hands flowed the *hagiasma*, or holy water. An ancient painted icon of the Virgin was uncovered in 1030/1 during restoration work in the church undertaken by Romanos III Argyros; it was apparently the bust of the Virgin holding Christ (Skyl. 384.19–28; cf. E. Trapp, *JÖB* 35 [1985] 193–95). One of these Blachernai icons, was kept in the right side of the monastery church covered by a veil that miraculously lifted without human aid every Friday evening. This "habitual miracle" is not mentioned before the second half of the 11th C. or after 1204. Another Virgin icon known as the Blachernitissa regularly accompanied emperors on military campaigns during the 11th C. (Attal. 153.4–14).

Coins and seals of the 11th C. identify an *orans* figure of the Virgin, hands outstretched, as the Blachernitissa (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 50–54). A number of extant marble slabs repeat the type, probably echoing specifically the image at the imperial bath (the hands have been bored), though none is labeled (Lange, *Byz. Reliefikone* 43f). Thus it is very likely that the primary Blachernai image, perhaps a figure in the apse, was of this venerable type: a Virgin *orans* without Christ.

Another popular image (sometimes designated the VIRGIN PLATYTERA), an *orans* Virgin with the bust of Christ Emmanuel in a medallion before her chest, has also been associated in modern scholarly literature with the name Virgin Blachernitissa, but it is labeled as such on only one seal of the 11th C. It is called the Episkepsis on another seal, and this name, the Virgin Episkepsis, has been most recently adopted to designate the image. C. Belting-Ihm has proposed that what Romanos III uncovered was an old icon of the VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS, and that this image was subsequently merged at Blachernai with the *orans* type to form this new image, the Virgin *orans* with medallion (cf. also W. Seibt, *Byzantina* 13 [1985] 551–64). To complicate the issue further, a late 11th-C. icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Sinai has an image of the Virgin labeled "the Blachernitissa" (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.148) that depicts neither of the above types, but one we would ordinarily call a VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

LIT. C. Belting-Ihm, *"Sub matris tutelis"* (Heidelberg 1976) 50–56. V. Grumel, "Le 'miracle habituel' de Notre-Dame des Blachernes à Constantinople," *EO* 30 (1931) 129–46. M. Tatić-Djurić, "Brata slova: Ka liku i značenju Blachernitise," *ZbLikUmet* 8 (1972) 61–88. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN DEXIOKRATOUSA. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.

VIRGIN ELEOUSA (Ἐλεοῦσα). The epithet "compassionate" was applied to the Virgin from the 8th–9th C. onward, and was also attached with rather little consistency to a wide variety of her images (H. Hallensleben, *LCI* 3:170f). It is used today to designate one specific icon type: the image of the tender mother who bends her head to touch her cheek to the cheek of her child. Christ puts his arm around her neck; the Virgin may be either standing or seated. The image, which probably evolved from the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA, is known from the 10th C. (N. Thierry, *Zograf* 10 [1979] 59–70), perhaps even as early as the 7th C. (P. Nordhagen, *Bollettino d'Arte* 47 [1962] 351–53). It was particularly popular in the Komnenian period, perhaps owing to the contemporary Passion liturgy celebrating the mother's love for her son, both as a child and at his death. The 12th-C. imperial monastery of the PANTOKRATOR in Constantinople had a church dedicated to the Virgin Eleousa, but it is unknown whether its icon belonged to the type we would call Eleousa and thus contributed to the spread of the image. The best-known example of this type of Virgin is the VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR.

Images of this type may differ slightly in emphasis and bear a variety of names besides Eleousa (Virgin Episkepsis, Gorgoepekoos, Panton Chara, even VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA). The Virgin Pelagonitissa, named after a famous lost original somewhere in Pelagonia (Macedonia), perhaps of the 13th C., shows the Child almost from behind, throwing his head back and squirming to touch his mother's cheek with his hand. A Cypriot variant, the Kykkotissa, is thought to reproduce an icon given to the Kykkos monastery by Alexios I Komnenos. Here Christ also twists restlessly; he wears a short sleeveless chiton (cf. D. Mouriki, *DOP* 41 [1987] 406), and the Virgin wears an extra veil over her *maphorion*. In a particularly Cretan variant, the Virgin Kardiotissa, Christ stretches out both arms to embrace his mother. The term Glykophilousa is applied to the Eleousa image only in post-Byz. times.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 167–73. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB* 20 (1938) 36–42. A. Grabar, "Les images de la Vierge de Tendresse," *Zograf* 6 (1975) 25–30. L. Hadermann-Misguich, "Pelagonitissa et Kardiotissa," *Byzantion* 53 (1983) 10–16. P. Santa Maria Mannino, "La Vergine 'Kykkotissa' in due icone laziali del Duecento," in *Roma Anno 1300: Atti della IV Settimana di Studi di Storia dell'Arte Medievale dell'Università di Roma* (Rome 1983) 487–92. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN EPISKEPSIS. See VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA.

VIRGIN GALAKTOTROPHOUSA. See VIRGIN MARY: Types of the Virgin Mary.

VIRGIN GLYKOPHILOUSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN GORGOEPEKOOS. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA (Ἁγιοσορίτισσα, lit. "the Virgin of the holy Soros"), an iconographic type in which the Virgin is depicted nearly in profile with both her hands extended out from her chest in prayer or entreaty, the very pose she assumes in DEESIS compositions. Sometimes the figure of Christ appears as a bust in the upper part of the composition, or he may occupy a corresponding panel, as when the two figures adorn the piers flanking the TEMPLON. The image probably reflects an original in a church with a holy SOROS, or reliquary chest, probably the Soros chapel in the Constantinopolitan monastery of BLACHERNAI rather than the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA. The image bears the name Hagiosoritissa first on seals from the 1040s (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 48–50) and on coins from the 12th C.; it is closely related to the VIRGIN PARAKLESIS, except that the Virgin here does not carry a scroll. Images of this type also may be labeled the Virgin Paraklesis, Kecharitomene, or Episkepsis. (For ill., see next page.)

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 78–81. T. Bertelè, "La Vergine Aghiosoritissa nella numismatica bizantina," *REB* 16 (1958) 233f. –N.P.Š.



VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA. Relief of the Virgin Hagiosoritissa; marble, mid-11th C. Dumbarton Oaks, Washington, D.C.

VIRGIN HODEGETRIA (Ὁδηγήτρια), an icon of the Virgin known to have been housed, at least from the 12th C. onward, in the HODEGON MONASTERY in Constantinople. On special occasions it was taken in procession to other parts of the city: John II Komnenos requested that it be brought to the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY and kept overnight near his tomb on the days commemorating his death or that of his wife (P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 81.883–83.900); in 1187, it was taken up onto the walls to protect the city under siege (Nik.Chon. 382.57–58). How early this latter practice began remains unclear: in the *Triodion* account of the 7th-C. attacks on the city, it is assumed that the icon brought onto the walls at that time was that of the Virgin Hodegetria (PG 92:1352D), but 10th-C. accounts make only general reference to icons of the Virgin and Child (PG 92:1356D). The icon was kept in the Pantokrator monastery during the Latin occupation, but Michael VIII Palaiologos entered the capital in 1261 walking behind it, whereupon it was returned to the Hodegon. During the 14th C. it was regularly taken to the BLACHERNAI palace the Thursday before Palm Sunday, and remained there until Easter Monday. Two visitors to Constantinople in the Palaiologan period, CLAVIJO and TAFUR, witnessed a ceremony that took place at the monastery every Tuesday, attracting large crowds. Special bearers clad in red in turn carried the heavy icon, which was very large and covered with silver and jewels, out into the crowd. The icon was cut up into four pieces when the city fell in 1453. The popular tradition that the icon was painted by the Evangelist Luke is recorded no earlier than the end of the 12th C. (Mercati, *CollByz* 2:476, par.4).

In the image known as the Hodegetria, the Virgin holds the Christ Child on her left arm; she gestures toward him with her right hand while directing her gaze either at the viewer or off into the distance. Christ sits erect and comfortable in her arms, holding a scroll on his lap, and blessing with his right hand; he looks directly out of the picture. The type, which predates Iconoclasm, was frequently used on patriarchal seals from the 9th C.; the term Hodegetria is first associated with the image on 11th-C. seals (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 251–52; 5.2, no.1202). A variant, referred to as the Dexiokratousa, has the Virgin holding the Child on her right arm. Both versions may be used within a single church (e.g., in the mosaics of HOSIOS LOUKAS).

The Hodegetria was the most widely copied of all types of the Virgin. Certain images attempt to represent the actual icon: it appears in 14th-C.



VIRGIN HODEGETRIA. Panel of the Virgin Hodegetria; ivory, 10th C. Rijksmuseum het Catharijne convent, Utrecht.

illustrations of the AKATHISTOS HYMN (A. Grabar, *CahArch* 25 [1976] 144–47) and in images of the TRIUMPH OF ORTHODOXY (where it is supported by angel-bearers clad in red). A miniature in the Hamilton Psalter may also represent the icon itself (Belting, *Illum. Buch,* fig.1). Many replicas of the icon went on to perform miracles in their own right and were given new epithets; among them "Psychosostria" and "Peribleptos." The somewhat more sentimental VIRGIN ELEOUSA type grew out of the Hodegetria image, in which the balance between reserve and affection was always strictly maintained.

LIT. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 325–28. Janin, *Églises CP* 203–06. A. Grabar, "L'Hodigitria et l'Éléousa," *ZbLikUmet* 10 (1975) 3–14. –N.P.Š.

VIRGINITY (*παρθενεία*) had two distinct aspects in Byz.: the physical virginity expected of women until their wedding night, and the spiritual Christian notion of complete sexual abstinence exercised by those who dedicated themselves to God. The first was required for a successful MARRIAGE. A husband could repudiate a nonvirgin bride but only on the first night (e.g., *Peira* 49.5); parents therefore kept their daughters closely chaperoned, though not always successfully. The second constituted a MARRIAGE IMPEDIMENT, as it deprived a husband of his conjugal rights. Ascetic men who lived with virgins or *parthenoi syneisaktoi* (a practice condemned by John Chrysostom, PG 47:495–532) or couples who lived as brother and sister renounced SEXUALITY altogether. But when THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and his wife emulated this commitment to virginity, his father-in-law protested angrily at their failure to produce children (Theoph. 2:15–16). The early church maintained an order of virgins, and the vow of perpetual virginity was common among female ascetics. Basil the Great condemned the dedication of young girls to virginity solely in order to favor their brothers' inheritance, but Byz. parents regularly committed their sons and daughters to lives of CELIBACY. Saintly children also fled from arranged marriages in order to preserve their virginity. For female martyrs and devout Christians, the loss of virginity was considered a form of death.

LIT. P. Brown, *The Body and Society: Men, Women and Sexual Renunciation in Early Christianity* (New York 1988). Brock-Harvey, *Women* 30f, 71, 165. Patlagean, *Structure,* pt.VIII (1969), 1353–69. A. Emmett, "Female Ascetics in the Greek Papyri," *JÖB* 32.2 (1982) 507–15. –J.H.

VIRGIN KARDIOTISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN KECHARITOMENE. See VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA.

VIRGIN KYKKOTISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN KYRIOTISSA. See VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS.

VIRGIN MARY, mother of Jesus Christ, *aeiparthenos* and THEOTOKOS in Greek terminology. The Gospels give little historical data concerning Mary

other than her betrothal to Joseph, the birth of Jesus, and her presence in Bethlehem, Nazareth, Jerusalem, at the miracle of CANA, and at her son's execution, when she stood beneath the cross and Jesus recommended her to his "beloved disciple." Matthew relates that Joseph, Mary, and the infant Jesus fled to Egypt from the persecutions of King Herod, while Luke dwells on the themes of ANNUNCIATION and VISITATION, John mentions her presence at the marriage at Cana and at the foot of the cross, and the Acts mention that she prayed with the Apostles. The scarcity of biographical detail in the New Testament was supplemented by the apocrypha, esp. the PROTOEVANGELION OF JAMES, which depicts Mary as the daughter of Ioakeim of Nazareth and Anna of Bethlehem, who presented her to the Temple for upbringing and, at the age of 14, married her to Joseph. After Christ's Ascension she lived quietly in Nazareth, died with many miraculous signs, and was taken up into heaven (see DORMITION). Her life was also described in vitae by Maximos the Confessor, Epiphanios the Monk, Symeon Metaphrastes, and other authors, and in a number of homilies.

THEOLOGICAL PERSPECTIVES. The focal point of Mary's history was the conception and birth of Christ, presaged by the Annunciation. The Cappadocian fathers emphasized not only the virginal birth of Christ but also Mary's perpetual virginity; Basil the Great (PG 31:1468B), while refuting EUNOMIOS, stated that, although only Mary's virginity at the time of the conception of Jesus is a binding dogma, he joined those *philochristoi* who believed that the Theotokos had never ceased to be a virgin. Cyril of Alexandria saw Mary's virginity as the basis for God's becoming the Father of all mankind (PG 75:1008B). Accordingly, church fathers considered the "brothers of Jesus" mentioned in the New Testament as Joseph's children from a first marriage. Jerome explained the usage of the term *adelphoi/adelphai* (brothers and sisters) of Jesus in Gospels as meaning "cousins" and connected "the carpenter, the son of Mary, the brother of James and Joseph" (Mk 6:3) with a different Mary.

The problem of Mary's role in the process of SALVATION was hotly discussed in the 5th C.—was she only a vessel (a "channel") in which the Logos dwelled temporarily or was her action indispensable in the process of INCARNATION? Orthodox doctrine, as formulated by JOHN OF DAMASCUS (*Exp. fidei* 56.27–28, ed. Kotter, *Schriften* 2:134), stressed the active role of Mary: Christ was born not *through* the woman but *of* the woman; from her he received his human nature, as he received his divine nature from the Father.

Mary's cult reflected social expectations of the poor and humble (J. Vogt, *VigChr* 23 [1969] 241–63), esp. of women. Many churches were dedicated to the Virgin, and several festival days were celebrated in her honor: the feast of the Annunciation on 25 Mar. instituted in the 6th C., and the feast of the Dormition on 15 Aug., established by Emp. Maurice. Liturgical hymns, esp. the AKATHISTOS HYMN, celebrate Mary's virginity.

Some attempts to discourage her veneration took place under Leo III and Constantine V, the latter reportedly comparing Mary to an empty purse from which gold coins had been taken. Nevertheless her veneration remained strong: she was the mediator between suffering mankind and Christ (see DEESIS) and esp. the protectress of Constantinople, the new Jerusalem, and, hence, the empire (cf. E. Fenster, *Laudes Constantinopolitanae* [Munich 1968] 100–04).

Old Testament PREFIGURATIONS of Mary included the BURNING BUSH that was not consumed (e.g., Gregory of Nyssa, PG 46:1136BC), the ladder reaching to heaven, the star of the house of Jacob, the closed door of the restored temple, the fleece of Gideon soaked with dew from heaven, and the stone quarried from the mountain without human hands (e.g., Proklos of Constantinople, PG 65:680C–681B). As Christ abolished the sin of Adam, Mary was "the new Eve"; she was also contrasted to the pagan ATHENA as the truly powerful supporter of Byz.

LIT. *Theotokos: A Theological Encyclopedia*, ed. M. O'Carroll (Wilmington, Del., 1982). H. du Manoir, *Maria*, vol. 1 (Paris 1949). E. Testa, *Maria Terra Vergine* (Jerusalem 1984). L. Heiser, *Maria in der Christusverkündigung des orthodoxen Kirchenjahres* (Trier 1981). *BHG* 1046–1161d. –G.P.

REPRESENTATION IN ART. Narratives of the Virgin's life focus either on her conception and childhood, narrated in the so-called Protoevangelion of James, or on her Dormition. Imagery drawn from the Protoevangelion emerges in the 5th C. and abounds in the 6th, albeit in cycles of Christ's INFANCY rather than those of Mary. The earliest surviving Virgin cycle (at Kızıl Çukur,

Cappadocia, 869–70?) must reflect earlier models, but evidence of a systematic Marian imagery appears only in the 10th–11th C. The events of her life celebrated as church feasts acquire standard compositions—the conception, the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN, and her PRESENTATION IN THE TEMPLE (all found already in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II), and the Dormition. A codified narrative cycle based on the Protoevangelion appears in side-chapels of churches (e.g., Hagia Sophia in KIEV). The late 11th–12th C. saw the expansion of this cycle (e.g., in the exceptional, 63-scene illumination of the homilies of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS) and its transfer into the naos of churches dedicated to the Virgin, traceable from DAPHNI (five scenes in the narthex complement two in the naos) through LAGOUDERA, where Marian feasts dominate the naos. These developments unite in the long Palaiologan cycles adorning the naves of churches dedicated to the Virgin. In Palaiologan painting, too, the Dormition is incorporated into an extensive cycle narrating Mary's death and burial.

LIT. X. Jacob, "La vie de Marie interprétée par les artistes des églises rupestres de Cappadoce," *Cahiers de l'art médiéval*[6] 6.1 (1971–73) 15–30. Underwood, *Kariye Djami* 4:161–94. –A.W.C.

TYPES OF THE VIRGIN MARY. Most Byz. images of the Virgin stress her role in Christ's Incarnation and show her as the Theotokos, holding her young child in a variety of ways. The "types" differ mainly in the way in which these two figures are shown responding to each other, whether it is with grave respect, mutual tenderness, playfulness or foreboding, or with the Virgin nursing the Child in her guise of Galaktotrophousa (A. Cutler, *JÖB* 37 [1987] 335–50). In some images of the Virgin, Christ's independence of his human mother is made explicit by showing him enclosed in a medallion set before her chest, a medallion that in some cases she neither holds nor even touches with her hands. If the Virgin is represented alone, without her child, it is usually in the role of intercessor with her risen son, now the judge of mankind (e.g., VIRGIN PARAKLESIS).

Emp. Leo VI was the first to put the image of the Virgin on a coin. Both seals and coins, on which the images are frequently labeled, can serve as a guide for reconstructing the appearance and early history of the various types of the Virgin (W. Seibt in Oikonomides, *Sigillography* 35–56), but the task is not simple. Though the various iconographic types of the Virgin can be quite easily grouped and distinguished one from another, we find considerable discrepancy between the type depicted and the Byz. name attached to it: even identical images may be accompanied by quite different epithets or designations. This is because the designations are not in fact iconographic in character. They are either names of sanctuaries, or poetic epithets that aim at conveying some important quality in the Virgin.

An icon of the Virgin was presumed to be at once an image of the Virgin herself and the replica of some famous icon original, one that was either extremely venerable—of some it was even claimed that they had been painted by St. Luke—or esp. miraculous. Each replica could thus share in the miraculous powers both of the Virgin herself and of the specific icon it reproduced. An icon of the Virgin will thus often bear the name of the sanctuary where the famous original was housed (e.g., the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA from the HODEGON MONASTERY, or the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA).

Difficulties arise when the sanctuary has more than one important icon: replicas of both, even if they are quite different in appearance, may both bear the name of that sanctuary (e.g., VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA). Furthermore, a replica of a famous icon in one sanctuary made for a different sanctuary may take on the name of its new home without any alteration in the image.

Many epithets of the Virgin found on Byz. icons do not refer to famous originals but rather to special aspects of the Virgin's nature. These "qualitative" epithets, most of which derive from metaphors used for the Virgin in liturgical poetry, may accompany an image expressing their meaning (e.g., VIRGIN ELEOUSA, VIRGIN PLATYTERA), but they are also quite freely applied to a variety of different iconographic types (e.g., Virgin Episkepsis). As both image and epithet have their own independent history and particular resonance, the interplay of the two, while confusing to the modern scholar, does serve to enrich the meaning of the icon.

How and why later variants of well-known types were introduced and established is a problem that has received relatively little scholarly attention. Some variants may result from the increased viv-

idness of the liturgical poetry, esp. the Passion celebrations (e.g., VIRGIN OF THE PASSION), some from attempts to bring certain traditional images closer to the poetic epithets that accompany them or to appropriate the special qualities of one type for another. When it comes to determining by what process the new types became established, the role of the individual artist must be taken into account, as well as the history of the actual icon and of the sanctuary for which it was made. The fame of newer icons depended not on their beauty but on the miracles they could produce: their fortune and the popularity of the new type was intimately connected with that of the sanctuaries that housed them.

LIT. N.P. Kondakov, *Ikonografija Bogomateri*, 2 vols. (St. Petersburg 1914–15). H. Hallensleben, H. Skrobucha, *LCI* 3:161–281. V. Lasareff, "Studies in the Iconography of the Virgin," *ArtB* 20 (1938) 26–65. M. Vloberg, "Les types iconographiques de la mère de Dieu dans l'art byzantin," in *Maria*, ed. H. du Manoir, vol. 2 (Paris 1952) 403–43. G. Babić, "Epiteti Bogorodice koju dete grli," *ZbLikUmet* 21 (1985) 261–75. I. Tognazzi Zervou, "L'iconografia e la 'vita' delle miracolose icone della Theotokos Brefokratoussa: Blachernitissa e Odighitria," *BollBadGr* 40 (1986) 215–87. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN MARY, DEATH OF. See DORMITION.

VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS (Νικοποιός, lit. "the Victory-maker"). The type, the frontal bust of the Virgin holding directly before her a medallion containing an equally frontal figure of Christ, appears as early as the 7th C. on icons (Weitzmann, *Sinai Icons*, no.B28), though it acquires the label Nikopoios only in the 11th C. (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.900). The venerable icon discovered in the Blachernai church by Romanos III in 1030/1 may have been of this type (see VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA); at any rate Romanos put this image on his seals, and an image of the Virgin Nikopoios is known to have been in the Blachernai palace in the 14th C. (pseudo-Kod. 227.13–15; 228.1). The Komnenian icon in San Marco in Venice, which tradition claims to be the original Nikopoios, differs in that Christ is not enclosed in a medallion and the icon is not inscribed. The icon type without the medallion was sometimes called the Kyriotissa (S. Kalopissi-Verti, *Die Kirche der Hagia Triada bei Kranidi* [Munich 1975] 213–16), perhaps after an image of this kind housed in the monastery "ta Kyrou" in Constantinople; at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai this latter type became known as the VIRGIN TES BATOU.

LIT. A. Rizzi, "Un'icona costantinopolitana del XII secolo a Venezia: La Madonna Nikopeia," *Thesaurismata* 17 (1980) 290–306. W. Seibt, "Der Bildtypus der Theotokos Nikopoios," *Byzantina* 13 (1985) 551–64. R.L. Wolff, "Footnote to an Incident of the Latin Occupation of Constantinople: The Church and the Icon of the Hodegetria," *Traditio* 6 (1948) 326, n.41. M. Tatić-Djurić, "L'icône de Kyriotissa," 15 *CEB*, vol. 2.2 (Athens 1976) 759–86. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN OF THE PASSION (*τοῦ Πάθους*), the conventional term for a late variant of the VIRGIN HODEGETRIA type, in which the Christ Child, clasping his mother's hand, turns his head away from her to confront the bust of the archangel Gabriel holding the cross. The inscription that sometimes accompanies the figures stresses the theme of Gabriel's "second Annunciation," that of the coming PASSION OF CHRIST. The type, which is also known as the Virgin Amolyntos ("Immaculate"), was esp. favored on Crete in the 15th C. (esp. by the painter Andreas Ritsos), where the figure of St. Michael was added carrying the other symbols of the Passion, the lance and the sponge. The image itself first appears in a fresco at LAGOUDERA (a.1192), where, however, the Virgin is called the Arakiotissa, following the dedication of the church, as well as Kecharitomene; Christ lies horizontally in her arms, a pose that may be a conscious reference to the image of CHRIST ANAPESON.

LIT. Pallas, *Passion und Bestattung* 173–80. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN OF THE SOURCE. See PEGE.

VIRGIN OF VLADIMIR, a processional icon of the VIRGIN ELEOUSA brought to Kiev in the 12th C. and famous since then as a palladium of the Russian church and state. Now in the Tretyakov Gallery, Moscow, it is a bilateral ICON; on the obverse the Virgin is depicted with her cheek against that of her child, who embraces her neck as she gazes at the viewer. Only the faces are original; they belong to the early 12th C. The reverse has a 15th-C. painting or repainting of an altar with cross and instruments of the Passion. The POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET relates that the icon

was brought from Constantinople in 1131/2 (to be, according to Onasch, a counterpart in Rus' to the Constantinopolitan Eleousa icon venerated by the ruling Komnenian dynasty), and that ANDREJ OF BOGOLJUBOVO took it when he transferred his power to Suzdal (1155), installing it in a superb cover in the new Dormition Cathedral in Vladimir after benefiting from its miracles. It was taken temporarily in 1395 and finally in 1480 to the Dormition Cathedral in Moscow, where it preserved the city from Tatar invasions on this and two subsequent occasions, commemorated in its three feasts (26 Aug., 21 May, 23 June).

LIT. A.I. Anisimov, *Our Lady of Vladimir*, tr. N.G. Yaschwill, T.N. Rodzianko (Prague 1928). M. Alpatov, V. Lasareff, "Ein byzantinisches Tafelwerk aus der Komnenenepoche," *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 46 (1925) 140–55. K. Onasch, "Die Ikone der Gottesmutter von Vladimir," *OstkSt* 5 (1956) 56–64. V.I. Antonova, "K voprosu o pervonačal'noj kompozicii ikony Vladimirskoj Bogomateri," *VizVrem* 18 (1961) 198–205. –A.W.C.

VIRGIN PARAKLESIS (Παράκλησις), the Virgin Intercessor. This type shows the Virgin almost in profile holding a scroll on which are inscribed the words of a dialogue with Christ in which she pleads for mankind (the customary text is preserved in the *Hermeneia* of Dionysios of Fourna, ed. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus [St. Petersburg 1909] 280). Christ's image is often included in the upper corner. Although the epithet *paraklesis* is not found attached to the image before the 14th C., the image itself occurs several centuries earlier (mosaic on a pier of the bema in St. Demetrios, Thessalonike, 9th C.?); a 12th-C. icon of the Virgin in Spoleto reproduces the type, which is closely related to that of the VIRGIN HAGIOSORITISSA. It occurs frequently on Cyprus, where a corresponding figure of Christ may be painted on the opposite pier of the templon, and a nearby figure of John the Baptist may complete a sort of DEESIS as, for example, at Moutoullas (D. Mouriki in *Byz. und der Westen* 189–91). A 15th-C. icon at the monastery of St. Catherine on Mt. Sinai shows the Virgin Paraklesis in a true Deesis composition (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.170).

An icon of this type accompanied the body of Stefan Nemanja, according to the illustration of the translation of his remains in the narthex chapel of SOPOĆANI. Images of the Virgin Paraklesis are sometimes labeled the VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

LIT. S. Der Nersessian, "Two Images of the Virgin in the Dumbarton Oaks Collection," *DOP* 14 (1960) 81–86. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN PELAGONITISSA. See VIRGIN ELEOUSA.

VIRGIN PERIBLEPTOS. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA; PERIBLEPTOS MONASTERY.

VIRGIN PLATYTERA (Πλατυτέρα), the Virgin "wider (than the heavens)," an epithet of the Virgin derived from the liturgy of St. Basil, and often inscribed on her images, esp. those in apse compositions (Ihm, *Apsismalerei* 64). Though not a consistent type of the Virgin, it is most often associated with the second type of the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA: a Virgin *orans* whose arms spread out to fill the conch, while Christ appears in a medallion on her chest.

LIT. A. Weis, *Die Madonna Platytera* (Königstein 1985) 20–44. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN PSYCHOSOSTRIA. See VIRGIN HODEGETRIA.

VIRGIN TES BATOU (τῆς Βάτου), the Virgin of the (Burning) Bush. The Bush that burned but was not consumed (Ex 3:2–5) became a metaphor for the Virgin and was understood as a PREFIGURATION of her. The epithet was applied from the 13th C. onward to a particular image of the Virgin associated with the monastery of St. CATHERINE on Mt. Sinai, the alleged site of the BURNING BUSH. The Virgin, shown standing, is holding the seated frontal Christ Emmanuel directly before her chest; the Child gives a blessing, and holds a roll (Soteriou, *Eikones*, pl.155). The image itself is not new: it is essentially that of the Virgin Kyriotissa (see VIRGIN NIKOPOIOS). But it does appear esp. frequently on Sinai icons after the 12th C., and on works in which the figure of the Virgin is often flanked by pairs of saints of particular significance to Sinai.

An image of the Virgin, though a different one, was also incorporated into compositions of Moses and the Burning Bush. In a version of the VIRGIN BLACHERNITISSA type, she appears *orans* within the Bush, with the medallion of Christ Emmanuel,

previously represented alone inside the Bush, visible before her chest.

LIT. D. Mouriki, "Four Thirteenth-Century Sinai Icons by the Painter Peter," in *Studenica i vizantijska umetnost oko 1200*, ed. V. Korać (Belgrade 1988) 331f, 337f. K. Weitzmann, "Loca Sancta and the Representational Arts of Palestine," *DOP* 28 (1974) 53f. –N.P.Š.

VIRGIN ZOODOCHOS PEGE. See PEGE.

VIRTUE (ἀρετή), a concept that was well developed in antiquity, esp. by Plato and the Stoics. The significance of the quartet of four cardinal virtues—courage (*andreia*), righteousness (*dikaiosyne*), prudence in the sense of moderation (*sophrosyne*), and prudence as good sense (*phronesis*)—was emphasized by ancient moralists and developed by MENANDER RHETOR. This quartet remained the foundation of the lists of virtues in Byz. MIRRORS OF PRINCES, but to the four cardinal virtues were added other qualities, such as generosity, wisdom (SOPHIA), gentleness (PRAOTES), PHILANTHROPY, and piety. By the second half of the 11th C., nobility of lineage and military prowess were also considered secular virtues (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 24–32).

The church fathers' teaching on virtue is based on the interpretation of Holy Scripture. They developed both the general idea of virtue and the categorization of individual virtues. Christian exegetes understood the virtues of human behavior as gifts of God that should lead us back to him and that are therefore connected with the three theological virtues (faith, hope, and love [*agape*]) as their presupposition. Virtue was engendered by the soul, not of its own power but in its capacity as the bride of Christ; it presupposed intelligence and free will.

Monastic-ascetic ETHICS, even though it preserved some elements of the ancient system, or at least its terminology, in fact diverged from classical principles: the role of reason in the system of virtues decreased while experience as the source of virtue was emphasized; the classical magnanimity (or *megalopsychia*) (G. Downey, *TAPA* 76 [1945] 279–86) was replaced by humility (*tapeinotes*). John of Damascus (PG 95:85C) drew up a list of virtues that included the ancient cardinal virtues, three theological virtues, and others—prayer, humility, mildness, tolerance, clemency, and 23 more. Michael PSELLOS (*De omnifaria doctrina*, pars. 66–81) defined and classified the virtues, esp. the cardinal virtues, following the tradition of Plato and Aristotle, without evaluating or combining the different independent lists. Hagiography presents virtues (esp. faith, hope, and love) in action; even though acts of MARTYRS readily exaggerated the saintly virtues, a cautious and negative attitude toward excessive deeds of virtue is sometimes seen, esp. in the vitae of the 12th C. PERSONIFICATIONS of both imperial and monastic virtues, usually female and dressed in nonclassical garb, were depicted in Byz. art.

LIT. G.W. Forell, *History of Christian Ethics*, vol. 1 (Minneapolis 1979). E. Osborn, *Ethical Patterns in Early Christian Thought* (Cambridge 1976). T. Imamichi, "Die Notizen von der Metamorphose der klassischen Ethik bei den griechischen Kirchenvätern," *StP* 5 (1962) 499–507. A. Ioannides, "Ho horos arete kai he ennoia autou eis ten Hagian Graphen kai tous pateras tes ekklesias," *Kleronomia* 15 (1983) 5–70. –G.P.

VISIGOTHS (Οὐισίγοτθοι), a polyethnic people within the union of the GOTHS. The initial entry of the Visigoths into the Roman Empire resulted in the Battle of ADRIANOPLE (378), at which Valens was killed. The Visigoths subsequently ravaged Thrace and threatened Constantinople until 382, when Theodosios I settled them as FOEDERATI in Thrace. In 395 the Visigoths, now under ALARIC, rebelled and pillaged Thrace and Illyricum. Attempts by STILICHO to thwart them and establish Western imperial control over Illyricum were viewed with apprehension by Arkadios, who appointed Alaric *magister militum* for Illyricum. In 401 the Visigoths invaded Italy and sacked Rome in 410. Following a failed attempt to cross from Italy to Africa and the sudden death of Alaric, the Visigoths under Athaulf moved into southern Gaul. In 414 Athaulf married GALLA PLACIDIA. In 416–18, in their capacity as *foederati*, the Visigoths invaded Spain and crushed the Siling VANDALS and Alans.

After another unsuccessful effort to cross into Africa, the Visigoths were forced to return to Gaul, where they settled in Aquitania and Septimania. This marks the beginning of the Visigothic kingdom centered on Toulouse, which under Theodoric II (453–66) and Euric (466–84) was extended into Spain. In 507 the FRANKS under Clovis defeated and killed Alaric II near Poitiers.

Aquitania passed into Frankish hands, but an Ostrogothic protectorate (508–22) kept Septimania and Spain in Visigothic hands. The Visigoth kingdom in Spain proved to be a successful sub-Roman successor state. Relations between the Arian Visigoths and orthodox Hispano-Roman population were generally harmonious, protected, as it were, by law codes for both the former (*Code of Euric* and *Book of Judges* [654]) and latter (*Breviary of Alaric*).

The kingdom was susceptible to Constantinopolitan influence through its lively commercial contacts with the East and, after 552, by Justinian I's establishment of a province along the southeastern coast of the peninsula. Although Africa remained the prime source of olive oil for the Visigothic coastal cities, oil, wine, perfume, and pottery were imported in considerable quantities from Asia Minor and the Levant. East Roman architectural and artistic influences are evident in Visigothic churches and in the long halls constructed at Reccopolis, the city founded by King Leovigild (568–86) east of modern Madrid. Key Visigothic church and literary figures, such as Leander of Seville, Martin of Braga, JOHN OF BICLAR, and ISIDORE OF SEVILLE, were deeply influenced by their contacts or experience with Constantinopolitan culture. Visigothic kings from Leovigild onward likewise adopted the regalia and court ceremonial of the Eastern emperors. The political unification of Visigothic Spain achieved by Leovigild may also be attributed in some measure to his decision to make Toledo (Toletum) the royal capital in imitation of Constantinople.

At the same time, Eastern cultural influences were used to define further a Visigothic-Spanish identity distinct and even in opposition to Constantinople (this despite the conversion of the kingdom to orthodoxy under Reccared in 586). This opposition was fundamental in the expulsion of Byz. forces from Spain in 621 and the emergence of a mature Visigothic kingdom that survived until the early 8th C.

LIT. G. Garcia Volta, *Die Westgoten* (Berg 1979). E.A. Thompson, *The Goths in Spain* (Oxford 1969). E. James, *Visigothic Spain* (Oxford 1980). J. Fontaine, *Culture et spiritualité en Espagne du IVe au VIIe siècle* (London 1986). S.J. Keay, *Roman Spain* (Berkeley 1988) 202–217. L.A. Garcia Moreno, *El fin del reino visigodo di Toledo* (Madrid 1975). *Los Visigodos, historia y civilizacion en Antiguedad y Cristianismo*, ed. D.A. Gonzales Bianco (Murcia 1986). –R.B.H.

VISIONS (ὀπτασίαι), supernatural phenomena viewed primarily by prophets and saints. Visions should be distinguished from illumination, a final act of spiritual purification (the divine light of SYMEON THE THEOLOGIAN and the HESYCHASTS), and from diabolical apparitions, aimed at the deception and ruin of men. A vision could occur in sleep or in waking hours and could be experienced by an individual or a group. It might consist of signs (Constantine I's vision of a cross in heaven), figures (visions of Christ, Mary, angels, or saints), or developed images (Hell, Paradise, images of the near or remote future).

Vision or DREAM literature as a genre existed in both antiquity and the BIBLE: the church fathers were esp. concerned with the Old Testament themes of the ladder of Jacob, the theophany at SINAI, and prophets' visions as well as the New Testament themes of the TRANSFIGURATION, Christ's appearances after the Resurrection, and the vision of PAUL on the road to Damascus (a theme dwelt on, like the visions of Isaiah and Ezekiel, in the late 9th-C. PARIS GREGORY and illuminated MSS of KOSMAS INDIKOPLEUSTES). Visions became a substantial element in hagiography: they conveyed prophetic messages, revealed events happening at a distance or in the past, and offered consolation at time of distress.

A vision of Hell and Paradise could form a part of a saint's vita (e.g., the vision of Theodora in the vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER) or an independent work (visions of ANASTASIA, DOROTHEOS, or of the monk Kosmas). From these visions we should distinguish satirical travels to Hades, in imitation of LUCIAN, which contained no visionary elements or supernatural revelation. Prophetic visions in APOCALYPTIC literature often displayed political tendencies.

Representation in Art. All representations of the divine can be said, in a sense, to be visionary. A special class of such images, however, are those of the prophets, who are often depicted reacting in astonishment to the vision that is vouchsafed to them. Such scenes are found as early as ca.500 at HOSIOS DAVID in Thessalonike. The depiction of such epiphanies reached their peak in the 9th–10th C. when, according to A. Grabar (*Iconoclasme* 244), scenes of this sort are to be understood as part of a larger Iconodule emphasis upon visual experience. The largest surviving cluster of these

prophetic visions is in the apses of churches in CAPPADOCIA (J. Lafontaine-Dosogne in *Synthronon* 135–43).

LIT. P. Dinzelbacher, *Vision und Visionsliteratur im Mittelalter* (Stuttgart 1981). H.R. Patch, *The Other World according to Descriptions in Medieval Literature* (Cambridge, Mass., 1950). *Papyrus Bodmer XXIX: Vision de Dorothéos,* ed. A. Hurst et al. (Cologne-Geneva 1984). M. Fantuzzi, "La visione di Doroteo," *Atene e Roma* 30 (1985) 186–91.
–J.I., A.K., A.C.

VISITATION (ἀσπασμός, "greeting"), the meeting of the pregnant Virgin and Elizabeth, when Elizabeth's child, JOHN THE BAPTIST, leapt in her womb. The episode is notable for Elizabeth's acclamation of Christ and for Mary's Magnificat (Lk 1:39–56). In art, the former quite displaces the latter; only in Psalters—where it is a canticle—is the Magnificat occasionally illustrated. The Visitation is represented only in cycles of the INFANCY OF CHRIST. In 6th-C. art, there were three variants: the women may shake hands (Grabar, *Ampoules,* pls. XLVI, LI), converse (apse mosaic, POREČ), or embrace (Grabar, *Ampoules,* pl.XLVII). The third variant becomes standard. A curious maid (Poreč; Çambasli Kilise at Ortahisar, where she becomes a donor portrait—N. Thierry, *Peintures d'Asie Mineure et de Transcaucasie au X^e et XI^e siècles* [London 1977], pt.XI, pl.4), or Zacharias (NEREZI) may serve as witness, but further elaboration is rare. Exceptions include the THEODORE PSALTER (fol.113v) where the blessing Christ Child and kneeling John the Baptist appear behind their mothers, the MSS of JAMES OF KOKKINOBAPHOS that illustrate the event with nine scenes, and the late 14th-C. mural at Pelendri on Cyprus, where the gesturing infants are visible in their mothers' bodies. Though the Byz. church calendar knows no such feast, the passage from Luke was read at the feast of the Deposition of the Virgin's Robe (*esthes*) in the BLACHERNAI church on 2 July (Mateos, *Typicon* 1:328–33).

LIT. K. Wessel, *RBK* 2:1093–99. –A.W.C., R.F.T.

VITA, or Life (βίος, usually *bios kai politeia,* "life and deeds"), biography of a SAINT. Unlike the MARTYRION, which emphasizes heroic death for Christian beliefs, the vita depicts ideal Christian behavior. EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA created the genre in his biography of Constantine I the Great, the VITA CONSTANTINI, in which he emphasized didactic purpose over factual trustworthiness; equally influential, ATHANASIOS of Alexandria elaborated the framework of the Christian biography in his vita of ANTONY THE GREAT. Though preserving certain traditions of ancient biography, the vita was a new genre, typified by a new ideal of behavior (rejection of earthly values for the sake of future reward), a new type of storyteller who understood and accepted his humble position in comparison with the saint (see MODESTY, TOPOS OF), a new view of the legendary and miraculous as normal and ordinary (within the sphere of the saint's influence), and a new concept of time as a series of independent episodes without any claim to coherency. The stereotypical saint's biography coexisted with vivid details of both real life (making some vitae invaluable for their political, social, and economic data) and MIRACLES, VISIONS, wondrous lands, and the heavenly realm. Delehaye (*infra* 106–09) distinguished six types of HAGIOGRAPHY on the basis of credibility, from authentic sources to hagiographical romances. The differentiation is in fact more complex: vitae differed in ideology, language, the role of the hagiographer, his interest in detail, etc. Vitae were collected in MENOLOGIA.

Illustration of Vitae. Only those vitae included in the *menologion* of SYMEON METAPHRASTES were ever regularly illustrated in MSS; these texts were most often accompanied by portraits, and narrative cycles are almost invariably brief. Vita ICONS (also known as "hagiographical" icons) and fresco cycles (see HAGIOGRAPHICAL ILLUSTRATION) may illustrate a dozen or so episodes from the life of a saint but they draw from a variety of sources, both visual and written, and can rarely be traced to any single vita text.

SOURCE. *Acta Sanctorum Bollandiana* (Antwerp 1643–Brussels 1925).

LIT. H. Delehaye, *Les légendes hagiographiques*[4] (Brussels 1955), Eng. tr. D. Attwater (New York 1962). L. Rydén, "New Forms of Hagiography: Heroes and Saints," 17 *CEB, Major Papers* (Washington, D.C., 1986) 537–54. N.P. Ševčenko, "An Eleventh Century Illustrated Edition of the Metaphrastian Menologium," *East European Quarterly* 13 (1979) 423–30. –A.K., N.P.Š.

VITA BASILII, a biography of BASIL I, the second section of THEOPHANES CONTINUATUS, written most probably by CONSTANTINE VII ca.950. The *Vita Basilii* is a panegyric presenting Basil as

a descendant of noble ancestors and as a wise administrator. The author emphasized that Basil established a just government and that the poor were able to till their fields peacefully; the emperor himself took part in judicial tribunals and protected peasants from tax collectors. Thus the program described in the vita differed radically from that of ROMANOS I. The author was hostile to high officials and he esp. hated eunuchs. On the other hand, he did not portray Basil as a great general and was reticent in describing his expeditions; he did not conceal Basil's military defeats. In contrast, the emperor was portrayed as a great builder: the vita is our most important source for imperially sponsored architecture and decoration of the period, both within and beyond the GREAT PALACE in Constantinople and elsewhere in the empire. Jenkins, who stressed the influence of PLUTARCH on the vita, argued that the author used both the biography of Antony and the lost biography of Nero (*Studies*, pt.IV [1954], 13–30). At the same time the author uses ancient imagery cautiously: he contrasts rather than compares Basil with ancient heroes. To Basil is opposed his antihero, Michael III, the embodiment of evil. It seems that the vita was a source of GENESIOS or was based upon a common source.

ED. *Theophanes Continuatus*, ed. I. Bekker (Bonn 1838) 211–353. Germ. tr. L. Breyer, *Vom Bauernhof auf den Kaiserthron* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1981).

LIT. I. Ševčenko, "Storia letteraria," in *La civiltà bizantina dal IX all'XI secolo* (Bari 1978) 89–127. A. Kazhdan, "Iz istorii vizantijskoj chronografii X v. 3," *VizVrem* 21 (1962) 95–117. V. Lichačeva, Ja. Ljubarskij, "Pamjatniki iskusstva v 'Žizneopisanii Vasilija' Konstantina Bagrjanorodnogo," *VizVrem* 42 (1981) 171–83. –A.K., A.C.

VITA CONSTANTINI, a Life of the emperor CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT in four books, according to T.D. Barnes (*infra*) written between 337 and 339. It is now generally accepted as a work of EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, although there has been much controversy over its historical value. Embarrassed or repelled by its flatteries, many critics have impugned its honesty and even denied its authenticity. In a much-quoted extreme judgment, J. Burckhardt (*Die Zeit Constantins des Grossen* [Basel 1853] 260, 283) dismissed its author as the first thoroughly dishonest historian of ancient times, the most disgusting of all eulogists. More sober readers are bothered by its undeniable sins of omission, internal and external inconsistencies, and doublets, while the Constantinian documents it contains have also provoked suspicion. Much of this stems from a failure to take the work on its own terms. It was intended to be a public eulogy in the classical tradition, akin to the contemporary PANEGYRICI LATINI; hence its tone. The defects in presentation are the result of Eusebios dying before the piece was finished and revised. At least one document (Constantine's letter to the provincials after the defeat of Licinius) has been vindicated by the discovery that a text preserved on papyrus (*P.Lond.* III 878) corresponds verbatim with most of *Vita* 2.26–29 (A.H.M. Jones, *JEH* 5 [1954] 196–200). There are also later Lives of Constantine and his mother Helena (*BHG* 362–369K), often embellished by legendary stories.

ED. *Eusebius Werke*, vol. 1.1, ed. F. Winkelmann (Berlin 1975). Eng. tr. E.C. Richardson, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers*², vol. 1 (Oxford–New York 1890; rp. Grand Rapids, Mich., 1971) 481–540.

LIT. Barnes, *Constantine & Eusebius* 265–71. R.T. Ridley, "Anonymity in the Vita Constantini," *Byzantion* 50 (1980) 241–58. –B.B.

VITA CONTEMPLATIVA, contemplative life, Latin term used by Augustine and the scholastics and derived from the Greek philosophical concept of *βίος θεωρητικός*; it was introduced by Aristotle and developed by the Stoics and is usually coupled with and opposed to the *vita activa*, *βίος πρακτικός*. The distinction also appears in the paired words *praktikos-gnostikos*, or in a tripartite form *praktikos-physikos-theologikos*. For ancient Greek philosophers, *praktikos* always had a secular connotation denoting either manual work (Plato), or activity in general (Aristotle), or political activity (Stoics), whereas *theoretikos* had a sublime and even divine connotation. Far from accepting the ancient concept of noble LEISURE, church fathers held in high respect the human ability to contemplate; pseudo-Basil (PG 31:1340D–1341A) says that the soul has a twofold force (*dynamis*)—one part giving life to the body, the other contemplative or rational. ORIGEN stressed that contemplative and active life should be complementary: Mary is the symbol of contemplative life, Martha of the practical or active (*Commentary on John* 11:18, frag.80, ed. Preuschen, p.547). EVAGRIOS PONTIKOS took the next step and developed a hierarchical notion: the practical life (which has nothing in common with Aristotelian "activity") is for

Evagrios the first stage of ascetic behavior, the purpose of which is to prepare oneself for contemplation of God; the practical life leads to HESYCHIA, tranquil lucidity. Only after having reached this point is the ascetic ready for genuine contemplation. The Evagrian concept influenced Byz. monastic ethical ideals, including the teaching of Symeon the Theologian.

LIT. A. and C. Guillaumont in *Evagre le Pontique, Traité pratique ou le Moine,* vol. 1 (Paris 1971) 38–63. M.E. Mason, *"Active Life" and "Contemplative Life"* (Milwaukee 1961).
–A.K.

VITALIAN (Βιταλιανός), usurper (513–15); born Zaldaba in Moesia, died Constantinople after 10 July 520. He was probably the offspring of a mixed marriage since he was called Scythian or Thracian, whereas his mother was a sister of Patr. Makedonios II (496–511). Military commander of barbarian mercenaries in Thrace, Vitalian in 513 revolted against Emp. Anastasios I, attacked the *magister militum* HYPATIOS, and marched on Constantinople, posing as the champion of Orthodoxy. His revolt apparently gained support for both social and political reasons since his army included farmers as well as soldiers. He was initially successful and recognized as *magister militum* of Thrace, but in 515 he was defeated at sea and withdrew into Thrace. After the death of Anastasios in 518, Justin I came to terms with Vitalian and honored him with high office, making him *patrikios* in 518 and consul in 520. He was a strong supporter of Chalcedonian Orthodoxy and took part in negotiations with the papacy to end the AKAKIAN SCHISM. He was murdered in the palace, allegedly at the order of the future Justinian I, who had reasons to fear Vitalian's rivalry.

LIT. Bury, *LRE* 2:447–52. *PLRE* 2:1171–76. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 9 (1961) 374–78. –T.E.G.

VITICULTURE. See VINEYARD.

VITIGES (Οὐίττιγις), king of the Ostrogoths (Nov. 536–May 540); died ca.542 on Byz. eastern frontier. An experienced military commander, although not of noble origin, Vitiges was raised on the shield because the Goths resented the sluggish warfare of THEODAHAD. Vitiges married MATASUNTHA to add legitimacy to his rule, but she hated him personally and politically and became involved in pro-Roman plots. He had to confront BELISARIOS, who entered Rome on 9/10 Dec. 536. Vitiges bought peace with the Franks by ceding them territories in southern Gaul and paying 2,000 pounds of gold; he then besieged Rome at length but in vain. When Byz. troops invaded Picenum in Feb. 538 Vitiges retreated to Ravenna. He tried to draw CHOSROES I into an alliance against Justinian I, but the Persian expedition came too late and the Franks proved dangerous allies. Beleaguered in Ravenna, Vitiges sued for peace, proposing to divide Italy between Byz. and the Goths. Belisarios delayed agreement and, under duress, the Goths opened the gates. Vitiges was arrested and sent to Byz. with his relatives; there, having abjured his Arianism, he received the title of *patrikios* and rich estates on the Persian border, where he died.

LIT. Wolfram, *Goths* 342–52. Stein, *Histoire* 2:347–68. W. Ensslin, *RE* 2.R. 9A 1 (1961) 395–400.
–W.E.K., A.K.

VIVARION (*βιβάριον*, loanword from Lat. *vivarium*), a preserve for wild animals (Prokopios, *Wars* 5:22.10) or for fish. John TZETZES (*Historiae* 8:142–51 [pp.302f]) relates that Crassus kept a domesticated sea eel in an elaborately ornamented *vivarion.* The word commonly appears in documents of the 13th-15th C., with the meaning of a place to keep fish (a pond, riverbank, or marsh). Charters of 1229–34 mention *vivaria* on the river Hermon that constituted the *pronoia* of a certain Kalegopoulos (MM 4:239.29); in a will of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75.34–35) a *vivarion* is named together with a marshland as one of the "rights" (*dikaia*) conveyed to a certain Theodore Kerameas and, in a *praktikon* of 1301 (Dölger, *Sechs Praktika,* p.36.30), rent for a *vivarion* is mentioned alongside rents for a mooring place (*skaliatikon*) and a place for washing flax (*linobrocheion*). On the other hand, a *praktikon* of 1317 that describes the village of Doxompous, where the inhabitants made their living primarily by FISHING, lists several peasant households in possession of *vivaria,* sometimes as many as 12 to 15 each (*Lavra* 2, no.104.21, 41), in this case, probably small ponds to keep fish.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 5:341–43. Dölger, *Schatz.* 188, 191.
–J.W.N., A.K.

VIVARIUM MONASTERY (*monasterium Vivariense*), founded by CASSIODORUS in the mid-6th C. on the bay of Squillace, Calabria; the name originates from the fishpond (*vivarium*) on the rocky coast near the modern town of Copanello di Staletti. It is plausible that Cassiodorus organized the institution after his visit of ca.549–53 to Constantinople, where he learned about the theological school in Nisibis that he decided to emulate (R. Macina, *Muséon* 95 [1982] 131–66). At any rate, Vivarium was modeled on Byz. monasticism, not the Italian practices that are revealed in the contemporary Rules of St. Benedict of Nursia (K. Zelzer, *WS* 19 [1985] 235f). A religious and cultural center developed around the library and scriptorium at Vivarium; many Greek works were translated there into Latin (R. Hanslik, *Philologus* 115 [1971] 107–13): for example, Epiphanios Scholastikos translated church histories of Theodoret, Sozomenos, and Sokrates. After founding Vivarium, Cassiodorus spent the rest of his life in the monastery, although it is unclear whether he himself became a monk. A sarcophagus identified as that of Cassiodorus was found at the Church of San Martino, which is all that remains of the monastery.

LIT. P. Courcelle, "Nouvelles recherches sur le monastère de Cassiodore," 5 *IntCongChrArch* (Rome-Paris 1957) 511–28. A. Van de Vyver, "Les *Institutiones* de Cassiodore et sa fondation à Vivarium," *Revue bénédictine* 53 (1941) 59–88. R. Farioli, "Note sull'edificio tricono di S. Martino nel monastero 'Vivariense sive Castellense' di Cassiodoro," *Magna Graecia* 10.1–2 (1975) 20–22. –A.K.

VLACHIA (Βλαχία), a district in Thessaly, near HALMYROS, mentioned in some 12th-C. sources, beginning with BENJAMIN OF TUDELA. Niketas Choniates (Nik.Chon. 638.50, with corr. I. Dujčev, *BZ* 72 [1979] 51) speaks of Great (Megale) Vlachia, which he locates near Thessalian METEORA. In the army of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros in 1258 were brave soldiers, according to Pachymeres, "whom [his son John] called Megalovlachitai" (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:117.15). After Pachymeres the term *Megale Vlachia* disappears and reappears only in the 15th C. as a designation not for the district in Thessaly, but for a region on the Lower and Middle Danube (WALLACHIA). Megale Vlachia was an administrative unit: in 1276 the *pinkernes* Raoul Komnenos held the post of the *kephale* of Megale Vlachia. Besides Great Vlachia there are references to Upper Vlachia in Epiros, Little Vlachia in Acharnania and Aetolia, and "Vlachia in Hellas" (i.e., in Thessaly).

LIT. G. Soulis, "Blachia—Megale Blachia—he en Helladi Blachia," *Geras Antoniou Keramopoullou* (Athens 1953) 489–97. Idem, "The Thessalian Vlachia," *ZRVI* 8.1 (1963) 271–73. –A.K.

VLACHS (Βλάχοι), an ethnic group that lived in mountainous areas of Thessaly (VLACHIA) and the northern Balkans. They were most probably the descendants of THRACIANS and DACO-GETANS who, under the pressure of Germanic and Avaro-Slavic invasions, migrated to isolated areas. The name first appears in Byz. sources of the 11th C. (Skylitzes, Kekaumenos, then in Anna Komnene); the anonymous chronicle of Bari mentions Vlachs in the Byz. army in Italy between 1025 and 1027 (M. Gyóni, *ActaAntHung* 1 [1951] 235–45). Kekaumenos identified the Vlachs with the Dacians conquered by Trajan—but one should be very cautious with regard to the ethnic perceptions of Byz. authors. The Vlachs earned their living primarily by TRANSHUMANCE and are mentioned in registers of monasteries as sheep- and cattle-owners. By the end of the 11th C., Vlach DOULOPAROIKOI played an important role in the economy of Mt. ATHOS; Alexios I, however, expelled the Vlachs from the Holy Mountain, to the great regret of the monks (Meyer, *Haupturkunden* 163). Sometimes the Byz. government confiscated lands that the Vlachs considered as their [common?] property; thus, in 1293 Andronikos II conferred upon a certain Leo Koteanitzes the land in Preasnitza "taken from various Vlachs" (*Chil.*, no.11.6–7).

The Byz. sources preserve a view of Vlachs as liars, thieves, and unbelievers, who make solemn oaths and then immediately break them (Kek. 268.14–21). It remains under discussion whether the Byz. were able or willing to distinguish between Vlachs and Bulgarians; the identity of the Blachoi who played the leading role in the revolt against the Byz. in 1185 (Nik.Chon. 368.53–57) is thus unclear.

LIT. D. Dvoichenko-Markov, "The Vlachs," *Byzantion* 54 (1984) 508–26. V. Marinov, "Rasselenie pastuchov-kočevnikov vlachov na Balkanskom poluostrove i za ego predelami," in *Slavjano-Vološskie svjazi* (Kišinev 1978) 162–77. G.

Litavrin, "Vlachi vizantijskich istočnikov," *Jugovostočnaja Evropa v srednie veka* (Kišinev 1972) 91–138. P. Năsturel, "Les Valaques balcaniques aux Xe–XIIIe siècles," *ByzF* 7 (1979) 89–112. T.J. Winnifrith, *The Vlachs* (New York 1987) 39–122. –A.K.

VLADIMIR, prince of GALITZA (from 1141); born ca.1110, died 1153. He was the grandson of Rostislav of Tmutorakan and Lanka, daughter of Béla I of Hungary. Involved in constant conflicts with Polish and Volhynian princes and, from 1146, with Hungary and Kiev, Vladimir concluded an alliance with Byz., probably ca.1146–47. Kinnamos (Kinn. 115.18–19) describes him as "a man allied with (*hypospondos*) the Romans," which suggests the existence of a treaty, but which has been wrongly interpreted as denoting Vladimir's vassalage. In Manuel I's war against Hungary, Vladimir and JURIJ DOLGORUKIJ were Byz.'s allies. With Byz. support, Vladimir established the bishopric of Halič ca.1150. His son Jaroslav Osmomysl' (1153–87) briefly supported the future emperor Andronikos I Komnenos before returning to the alliance with Manuel I.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istorija* 2:417–36. G. Vernadsky, "Relations byzantino-russes au XII[e] siècle," *Byzantion* 4 (1927–28) 273–76. V. Pašuto, *Vnešnjaja politika drevnej Rusi* (Moscow 1968) 167–69, 173–78. –An.P.

VLADIMIR (Russian town). See SUZDAL'.

VLADIMIR I (Βλαδιμηρός), prince of Kiev, son of SVJATOSLAV and grandson of IGOR; sole ruler of Kievan Rus' (from 980); baptismal name Basil; died 15 July 1015. In Sept. 987 Vladimir I formed an alliance with Basil II, sealed a year later by Vladimir's marriage to Basil's sister ANNA. Vladimir was baptized on Epiphany, the multitude of Kievans probably on Pentecost 988, and a metropolitan see subordinate to Constantinople was established in Kiev. Vladimir sent several thousand warriors from Rus' to fight in battles at Bithynian Chrysopolis (Jan. 989) and at Abydos (13 April 989), contributing to Basil's victory over Bardas PHOKAS. CHERSON, which rebelled against the emperor, was captured by other troops of Vladimir before 27 July 989. (According to the traditional view, Cherson was taken by the still-pagan Vladimir in order to accelerate his marriage.) During Vladimir's reign, auxiliary troops from Rus' participated in Basil's campaigns in Asia Minor and against Bulgaria.

In the *Povest' vremennych let* the baptism of Vladimir and Rus' is presented as determined by Providence, with the Greeks as its agents. The conversion of Rus' was mistrusted in Byz. society: Basil's allies were regarded as an apocalyptic force that threatened the empire.

LIT. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pt.II (1976), 197–244. –An.P.

VLADIMIR MONOMACH, prince of Perejaslavl' (1094–1113) and Kiev (1113–25); his father was VSEVOLOD, prince of Kiev, and his mother was allegedly a daughter of CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS (V.G. Brjusova, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 127–35); born 1053, died 19 May 1125 at L'to River. In his foreign policy Vladimir tried to secure southern Rus' against the CUMANS through concerted action by the Rjurikid princes. In 1116–18 he encroached on Byz. interests by sanctioning two attempts to occupy towns on the lower Danube, the first led by the enigmatic Leo, known to some sources as "son of Diogenes," who was probably related to Vladimir by marriage (M. Mathieu, *Byzantion* 22 [1952] 133–48; A. Gorskij, *Istoričeskie zapiski* 115 [1987] 308–328). If there was a rift with Byz., it was apparently healed by 1122, when Vladimir's granddaughter was married into the Komnenian lineage. A later Muscovite legend casts Vladimir as a powerful tsar who was kept from attacking Constantinople only by rich gifts from Alexios I Komnenos.

Vladimir's image as the model prince of Rus' stems largely from his cultural activities, including a redaction of the POVEST' VREMENNYCH LET that he sponsored, his correspondence with Metr. NIKEPHOROS I, and esp. his *Instruction* [*Poučenie*] to his children (ca.1124?), a kind of MIRROR OF PRINCES mixed with autobiography. It was included in the *Povest' vremennych let.* Vladimir quotes from translated compilations of patristic writings (F. Thomson, *Slavica Gandensia* 10 [1983] 20f, 84f). Thematic parallels have been found in various paraenetic works from Byz. and western Europe (M.P. Alekseev, *TODRL* 2 [1935] 39–80; T. Čyževška, *WSlJb* 2 [1952] 157–60); its sources include Byz. liturgies (N.V. Šljakov, *ŽMNP* [June 1900] 227–37) and patristic authors, such as BASIL THE GREAT (L. Müller, *RM* 1 [1973] 30–48).

ED. *Povest' vremennych let*, ed. D.S. Lichačev (Moscow-Leningrad 1950) 1:153–67, 2:425–57.
LIT. A.S. Orlov, *Vladimir Monomach* (Moscow-Leningrad 1946). Fennell-Stokes, *Russ. Lit.* 64–79. Podskalsky, *Rus'* 215–18. D. Obolensky, *Six Byzantine Portraits* (Oxford 1988) 83–114. –S.C.F., P.A.H.

VLADISLAV III JAGELLO, or Władysław III Jagiełło (Λαδίσλαος), king of Poland from 1434 and of Hungary from 1440 (as Ulászló I); born Krakow 31 Oct. 1424, died Varna 10 Nov. 1444. With the support of HUNYADI, who had secured the young king's victory over his Habsburg rivals in Hungary, Vladislav fought a victorious campaign in 1443/4 against the Turks and in 1444 agreed to the secret peace negotiations of Hunyadi and GEORGE BRANKOVIĆ with the Ottoman sultan MURAD II. Although a treaty was signed at Szeged in August 1444—securing a ten-year truce, reinstating Branković in Serbia, and promising tribute and aid from the sultan for Hungary—Vladislav was persuaded by the papal legate, Giuliano Cesarini, to break the peace and lead a Polish-Hungarian army against the Turks, having been assured of Venetian and papal support. This Crusade of VARNA ended in disaster, however; the legate and Vladislav perished while fighting heroically. According to Chalkokondyles (Chalk. 2:106–08), the young king tried personally to attack the sultan but was surrounded by janissaries and killed; his head was brought to Murad.

LIT. J.J. Dąbrowski, *Władysław I Jagiełłończyk na Węgrzech 1440–1444* (Warsaw 1922). A.S. Atiya, *HC* 3:654–56. B. Cvetkova, "Die Feldzüge Wladislaw III. Jagiello und Ianku de Hunedoara (1443–1444), der Südosten Europas und die Bulgaren," *RESEE* 19 (1981) 17–29. Ch. Kolarov, "Otstŭplenieto na krŭstonosnata armija na kral Vladislav III Jagelo po vreme na pŭrvija mu pochod na Balkanite (1443–1444 g.)," *Bŭlgarsko srednovekovie* (Sofia 1980) 105–12. –J.B., A.K.

VLASTIMIR (Βλαστίμηρος), mid-9th-C. Serbian prince (*archon*); son of Prosegoes and grandson of Rodoslav. According to Constantine VII (*De adm. imp.* 32.33–38), these princes were "in servitude and submission" to Byz. During Vlastimir's rule Presian of Bulgaria (836–52) unsuccessfully attacked the Serbs. V. Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.1:346) suggests that the Serbo-Bulgarian war lasted from 839 to 842, and that it was Emp. THEOPHILOS who incited Vlastimir against Presian. Constantine also records that Vlastimir married his daughter to Kraina, *župan* (ruler) of Terbounia and proclaimed him an independent *archon* (*De adm. imp.* 34.7–10). After Vlastimir's death, three of his sons, Muntimer, Strimer, and Goinikos, divided up the country.

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Porfirogenitova hronika srpskih vladara," *Istoriski časopis* 1 (1948) 25. –A.K.

VODENA (τὰ Βοδηνά), ancient Edessa, a city in southern Macedonia on the via Egnatia, controlling the entrance to a pass through the mountains. In the 7th C. Edessa was a bishopric. The Slavic name Vodena appears first in the story of Basil II's capture of the stronghold (*phrourion*) in 1001 (Skyl. 345.20–24). Zlatarski (*Ist.* 1.2:654f), however, hypothesized that Vodena and not VIDIN had been a center of the KOMETOPOULOI in the late 10th C. Due to its strategic importance, Vodena was often fought over: thus, BOHEMUND temporarily captured it in 1083; John III Vatatzes, during his campaign against Thessalonike, occupied Vodena in 1253; John VI Kantakouzenos disputed it with the Serbians; and it was taken by STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN in Jan. 1351. Little is known of the administrative organization of Byz. Vodena. An 11th-C. seal of a *doux* of Edessos (Zacos, *Seals* 1.3, no.2686) may refer to Vodena. An enigmatic list of the estates of Lavra monastery mentions the *archontia* of Vodena (*Lavra* 1, app. II.50), and in a charter of 1375 THOMAS PRELJUBOVIĆ named himself the lord of the *toparchia* and *kastron* of Vodena (*Lavra* 3:146.17–18). In an ecclesiastical list of Bulgaria (11th to the beginning of the 12th C.) two bishoprics are named: Edessa or MOGLENA and Vodena (*Notitiae CP* no.13.839–41). The Ottoman Ghāzī Evrenos seized the fortress in the late 14th C.

LIT. J. Ferluga, *LMA* 3:1565–67. –R.B., A.K.

VOISLAV, STEFAN, ruler (*archon*) of the Serbians, according to Skylitzes (Skyl. 408.73–74); born in Brusna, a district of Drina, died between 1043 and 1052. Reared in Bosnia and Dubrovnik, Voislav (Βοϊσθλάβος) married a relative of SAMUEL OF BULGARIA, according to the PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA (343f). Voislav revolted against Byz. rule ca.1034. He was captured and taken to Constantinople. Escaping before 1040, he renewed his rebellion. The Byz. governor Theophilos Erotikos was expelled from Diokleia, where Voislav established

an independent principality. Kekaumenos (Kek. 170.30) calls him toparch, indicating an alliance with Byz. Voislav subdued some Dalmatian fortresses and Ston, north of Dubrovnik. The revolt of DELJAN helped Voislav consolidate his power. Voislav's struggles with Byz. proved victorious; he seized a Byz. treasure ship wrecked off Diokleia, refused Michael IV's demand for restitution, and destroyed Byz. troops sent against him under George Probatas. He also defeated (ca.1042) the army of Michael, *strategos* of Dyrrachion, which was supported by the princes of Raška and Zachlumia, and enlarged his territories. Voislav's victory and the subsequent escape of Byz. troops through subterranean galleries are depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, nos. 543–44). After Voislav's death, his son Michael (Michaelas) emerged as "*archegos* of the Triballians and Serbians" (Skyl. 475.13–14); he signed a treaty with Byz. and received the title of *protospatharios*.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 203–07, 211–13. Ferluga, *Byzantium* 371–75. Idem in *VizIzvori* 3:156–62. T. Wasilewski, "Stefan Vojislav de Zahumlje, Stefan Dobroslav de Zéta et Byzance au milieu du XIe siècle," *ZRVI* 13 (1971) 109–26. –C.M.B., A.K., A.C.

VOITECH, GEORGE, a Bulgarian magnate in Skopje; died 1073? According to SKYLITZES CONTINUATUS (163.14–15) Voitech (Βοϊτάχος) was kin to the Kopchanoi, whom Zlatarski (*Ist.* 2:138, n.1) understood as *kauchans* (anc. Bulg. "aristocrats"). Voitech's rebellion in Skopje, probably in Aug.–Sept. 1072, was supported by the ruler of DIOKLEIA, who sent an army under CONSTANTINE BODIN and general Petrilos to aid Voitech. They shunted him aside, defeated the Byz. *strategos* Damianos DALASSENOS, and occupied the theme of Bulgaria by seizing Ohrid and Devol. Petrilos lost a battle at Kastoria and retreated to Diokleia. A Byz. army commanded by Michael Saronites approached Skopje, and Voitech agreed to betray the town in exchange for his personal safety. He then changed his mind and summoned Bodin's army from Niš (Dec. 1072). Bodin, however, was defeated and captured. The Byz. took Voitech captive; he died from torture on the way to Constantinople.

LIT. Fine, *Early Balkans* 213f. Litavrin, *Bolgarija i Vizantija* 402–10. – A.K., C.M.B.

VOLUME STYLE, a term introduced by E. Kitzinger (*DOP* 20 [1966] 31f, 45) to denote a phase of 13th–14th-C. Byz. art first thoroughly analyzed by Demus. Most clearly identifiable in MONUMENTAL PAINTING of the second and third quarters of the 13th C., esp. in Serbia, the "volume style" is distinguished by an exaggerated sense of sculptural monumentality. Apparently a reaction to the highly mannered trend of the later 12th C. known as the DYNAMIC STYLE, it continued into the 14th C. in a more decorative form at the CHORA MONASTERY in Constantinople. Kitzinger argued that this style, with its evocation of classical antiquity, exercised a formative impact on Italian Renaissance painting, and specifically on Giotto.

LIT. O. Demus, "Die Entstehung des Paläologenstils in der Malerei," 11 *CEB* (Munich 1958) 26–31. -G.V.

VOTIVES (ἀφιερωτικοί). Objects of varying shapes and decoration were offered at Byz. shrines for the continuance of a donor's prayers, either of supplication or thanksgiving, reflecting a pagan tradition (THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, *Cure of Pagan Maladies* 8, 64). Leaf-shaped silver plaques (*pinakes*) with CHRISTOGRAMS survive from the 4th C.; the 6th-C. MAʿARAT AL-NUʿMĀN TREASURE includes one large pentagonal version with a representation, possibly of St. Symeon the Stylite the Younger, and a group of very small plaques with orant figures or pairs of eyes. Such objects belong to a subcategory of votives directly associated with PILGRIMAGE. Other than graffiti—usually invoking intercession for travelers or for those who stayed behind—pilgrims' votives were generally of two sorts. On the one hand, valued possessions, such as jewelry or pack animals, were deposited as thanks for blessings received or anticipated; thus, the Holy Sepulchre was laden with "bracelets, rings, tiaras, plaited girdles, belts, emperors' crowns of gold and precious stones" (PIACENZA PILGRIM, ed. Wilkinson, *Pilgrims* 18); later on, numerous icons were added to the array (P. Nordhagen, *DOP* 41 [1987] 453–60). The THEKLA shrine at Meriamlik was richly endowed with votive birds, some from exotic lands, which gave delight to the children who played in the gardens of the sanctuary (vita of Thekla, ed. Dagron, 350.23–352.32). On the other hand, inscribed artifacts—plaques, crosses, metal or clay body parts—were left to

record a specific request or thanks. SOPHRONIOS of Jerusalem describes such a votive at the shrine of Sts. KYROS AND JOHN (*Miracles* 69) recording the cure of a blind man from Rome.

A number of major works of Byz. art were votive (*ex voto*) offerings. The earliest surviving large-scale iconic figures are the votive mosaics in the Church of St. DEMETRIOS in Thessalonike; famous sumptuary objects—the cross of Justin II and Sophia in Rome, the crown of Leo VI in Venice—were votive gifts; innumerable icons were *ex votos*—visitors to Constantinople speak of icon painters outside Hagia Sophia ready to supply icons for votive offerings. The many small, repetitive icons at the monastery on Mt. Sinai indicate that pilgrims often left votive icons there.

Chapels attached to urban sanctuaries and many of the tiny churches that dot Byz. villages were votive offerings by individuals; the lower walls, piers, and narthexes of countless provincial church buildings are layered with frescoed panels that depict a saint and a donor and include a votive inscription.

LIT. H. Leclercq, *DACL* 5.1:1037–49. Mango, *Silver* 240–45. Vikan, *Pilgrimage Art* 44–46. –G.V., M.M.M., A.W.C.

VOUSSOIR, a masonry unit of an ARCH, usually a wedge-shaped block of stone whose tapering sides are cut to align with radii of the arch. The units of a brick arch are sometimes slightly wedge-shaped. The voussoir at the crown of the arch is called the keystone; when it is in place, the arch forms a stable, self-supporting unit. On brick arches, voussoirs were sometimes simulated with marble revetment. The sides of voussoirs could be notched or "joggled" to lock into adjacent members (Aphentiko, MISTRA; PAMMAKARISTOS Church, Constantinople) or simply to create a surface pattern (Müller-Wiener, *Bildlexikon*, fig.155).

LIT. A.K. Orlandos, "He orthomarmarosis tou en Mystra naou tes Hodegetrias (Aphentikou)," *ABME* 1 (1935) 155–57. –N.E.L., W.L.

VOYAGE DE CHARLEMAGNE À JÉRUSALEM ET À CONSTANTINOPLE, epic poem whose semicomical account of Charlemagne's fictional trip to Jerusalem and his stay in Constantinople is related to the *chansons de geste* and foreshadows the genre of "romans d'Orient." The sole MS is in the Anglo-Norman dialect. The work's date is controversial: theories range from the late 11th C. to between ca.1217 and 1263, when it was translated into Old Norse. Its theme of Passion relics at St. Denis may reflect the long controversy between that abbey and the bishop of Paris over the Lendit fair. The *Voyage* reflects Western attitudes and keen interest in Byz. during a period of intensifying contacts and crusades. The description of wares and location of markets at Jerusalem near Ste. Marie Latine seems to fit the situation between ca.1125 and 1150 (J. Richard, *RBPH* 43 [1965] 552–55). The bulk of the tale takes place in Constantinople at the court of a Byz. King Hugh, where a spy overhears Charlemagne's peers and their drunken boasting, and they are forced to perform as promised. This they do, thanks to relics: for example, Olivier successfully makes love to the Byz. princess 30 times in one night (vv. 692–734), and Hugh becomes Charlemagne's vassal. Constantinople, its domed architecture, perfumed gardens, and magical palace—with its iconography and AUTOMATA (some details fit with the *Patria of Constantinople*: M. Schlauch, *Speculum* 7 [1932] 500–14)—even the Byz. emperor's plow, are described in great and imaginative detail.

ED. J.-L.G. Picherit, *The Journey of Charlemagne to Jerusalem and Constantinople* (Birmingham, Ala., 1984), with Eng. tr.

LIT. M. Gosman, "La propaganda politique dans Le Voyage de Charlemagne à Jérusalem et à Constantinople," *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie* 102 (1986) 53–66. G. Van Belle, "Le voyage de Charlemagne à Jerusalem et à Constantinople—Pour une approche narratologique," *RBPH* 64 (1986) 465–72. –M.McC.

VRAP, a mountainous village in Albania, near ancient Clodiana, a station on the Via EGNATIA. Before 1902 local inhabitants discovered there a hoard of gold, silver, and bronze objects; a part of the same group was found in 1894 in Erseke, on the Greco-Albanian frontier. The treasure contained, together with Avar belt buckles, etc., Byz. vessels, sometimes with Greek inscriptions, and two chalices, one decorated with *tychai* in relief (*Age of Spirit.*, no.156), now in the Metropolitan Museum, New York. Two Byz. silver plates from Erseke (now in private hands) bear stamps

of Constans II, suggesting a date in the late 7th C. for this group. Certain pieces seem to have been produced in local workshops by craftsmen with "Byz. experience." Werner suggested that the hoard belonged to an Avar *khagan*. Lemerle (*Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:56–58) argued that it could not have been that of Kouber.

LIT. J. Werner, *Der Schatzfund von Vrap in Albanien* (Vienna 1986), rev. É. Garam, *BJb* 187 (1987) 854–57. –A.K.

VSEVOLOD, prince of KIEV; son of JAROSLAV; baptismal name Andrej; born 1030, died Kiev 13 Apr. 1093. Sometime between 1047 and 1052 he married a relative of Constantine IX Monomachos. After his father's death (1054) Vsevolod, as prince of Perejaslavl', ruled Kievan Rus' together with his older brothers Izjaslav of Kiev and Svjatoslav of Černigov. As a consequence of this triarchy, the bishoprics of Perejaslavl' and Černigov were elevated in the 1060s to titular metropolitan sees. In 1078, Vsevolod became the ruler of all Rus'. He supported the attempts of JOHN II, metropolitan of Kiev, to restore Kievan church jurisdiction over Perejaslavl' and Černigov. Vsevolod contributed to the increased veneration of his saintly patron; probably at this time the legend of the journey of the apostle ANDREW to the Dnieper region was developed. Vsevolod was the first prince of Rus' who, while continuing to use seals with Greek inscriptions (as did his predecessors), also used seals similar to Byz. ones but with Slavic inscriptions.

LIT. Hruševs'kyi, *Istorija* 2:47–81. Poppe, *Christian Russia*, pts.IV, VII–IX. A. Soloviev, *Byzance et la formation de l'État russe* (London 1979), pts.V–VI. –An.P.

VUKAŠIN, Serbian king (*kralj; krales* in the Greek sources) and co-ruler with STEFAN UROŠ V (from Aug./Sept. 1365); died at Černomen on the Marica River 26 Sept. 1371. According to Chalkokondyles, Vukašin was cupbearer (*oinochoos*) of STEFAN UROŠ IV DUŠAN, while his brother JOHN UGLJEŠA served the tsar as *hippokomos*, or groom. In 1350 Dušan appointed Vukašin *župan* in Prilep. After Dušan's death, Vukašin expanded his holdings in Macedonia and Kosovo Polje; Tsar Stefan Uroš V gave him the title of *despotes* in 1364 and *kralj* in 1365. Gradually Vukašin acquired dominance over his co-ruler Uroš V; correspondence with Dubrovnik shows him acting in his own name alone. Since Uroš V was childless, Vukašin crowned his son MARKO KRALJEVIĆ as "junior ruler." The rise to power of Vukašin and John Uglješa caused jealous opposition among a number of influential Serbian lords. The Serbian forces were thus weakened at the time of the battle of MARICA against the Turks, when both Vukašin and Uglješa were killed and the Serbian army was defeated. Marko succeeded his father, but had to recognize the suzerainty of the Ottoman sultan.

Joint portraits of Uroš and Vukašin are represented at the Psača monastery, with Uroš in the senior position.

LIT. Fine, *Late Balkans* 362–64. Mihaljčić, *Kraj carstva* 80–163. Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 7–14, 18–21. K. Jireček, *Zbornik* 1 (Belgrade 1959), pt. X, 339–85. –J.S.A.

W

WĀDĪ NAṬRŪN (Sketis [Σκῆτις], Coptic Shiet), west of the Nile Delta, one of the most famous Early Christian monastic centers in Egypt, thought to have been founded by MAKARIOS THE GREAT ca.300. The anchorites joining him lived in individual small houses (*kellia*), usually accompanied by a younger monk who saw to the food supply; there were no shared refectories. The monks' daily occupation consisted of prayer and simple handicrafts (e.g., basketwork), and the products were sold in nearby markets. The monks assembled in church only on Sundays for the liturgy. By the late 4th C. four churches were attested. The present four monasteries in Wādī Naṭrūn represent a development after the 9th C., when for security reasons monks settled within an area surrounded by a high wall. Each monastery had its own multistoried defense tower (*jawsaq*), refectories, a guesthouse, and several decorated churches, of which the earliest belong to the late 7th or early 8th C.

LIT. H.G. Evelyn White, *The Monasteries of the Wâdi'n Natrûn*, 3 vols. (New York 1926–33; rp. 1973). P. Grossmann, *Mittelalterliche Langhauskuppelkirchen und verwandte Typen in Oberägypten* (Glückstadt 1982) 112–15, 122f, 206–08, 213–15. J. Leroy, *Les peintures des couvents du Ouadi Natroun* (Cairo 1982). –P.G.

WAGES (μισθός, μίσθωμα) were paid to agricultural hired workers and apprentices (both called MISTHIOI) as well as to construction workers and some professionals (clergy, hospital physicians, teachers) on a daily, monthly, or annual basis. Wages could also be paid for services on a piecework principle: to a craftsman for a specially commissioned object, to a contractor for erecting a building, to a doctor as an honorarium, to a scribe for copying a book; payment to a prostitute was also called *misthos*. Another form of wages was a percentage share: the scribe of a *taboularios* received 2 *keratia* for each nomisma earned by his master, that is, 1/12 of his pay. Wages were paid primarily in money, but also in grain, olive oil, wine, etc.

Concrete data on wages are scanty: in Egyptian papyri the annual wages of a hired worker average around 6 nomismata a year, whereas a shipbuilder received 2 nomismata monthly; hagiographical sources of the 6th–7th C. give 1 *keration* a day as a typical figure. A 14th-C. textbook of MATHEMATICAL PROBLEMS (K. Vogt, *Ein byzantinisches Rechenbuch des frühen 14. Jahrhunderts* [Vienna 1968], no.51) calculates the daily earning of a worker as 10 assaria (copper coins). Monastic *typika* provide evidence for the salary (in kind and money) of the monastery's steward, physician, and clergy, as well as hospital employees (e.g., P. Gautier, *REB* 32 [1974] 99.1176–105.1289). Women seem to have been paid two to three times less than men (Fikhman, *Egipet* 76f); the woman physician at the Pantokrator hospital in Constantinople received half the salary of her male colleagues (P. Gautier, *supra* 101.1198–99).

Wages were established by private agreement and fixed in CONTRACTS, but the state had control over both wages and PRICES. Diocletian's PRICE EDICT is an example of such control in late antiquity, while the BOOK OF THE EPARCH regulated the size and the form of payment in 10th-C. Constantinople: the contract was not to exceed 30 days, and attempts to increase wages in order to attract the services of another man's *misthios* were punished. Laborers and professionals used the strike as a means to increase their wages: the evidence about the strike of construction workers in Constantinople between 481 and 491 may be questionable (H.G. Beck, *BZ* 66 [1973] 268); much more reliable is the statement of Attaleiates (Attal. 204.5–6) that *mistharnountes* in Rhaidestos demanded that their wages be increased in accordance with rising prices. The clergy of Hagia Sophia went on strike in 1307 because the patriarchal treasury did not have sufficient funds to pay them (A.M. Talbot, *DOP* 27 [1973] 25f).

The salary (ROGA) of high-ranking officials was much higher than artisans' wages: according to Justinian's law of 534, the prefect of Africa was paid 100 litrae of gold yearly; Ibn Khurdādhbeh

calculates the salary of officers in the 9th C. between 1–40 pounds of gold, and *De ceremoniis* gives similar sums (5–40 pounds) as the salary of *strategoi.* The salary of functionaries was supplemented by bribes, by presents conferred upon them on feast days, and by various services. Private donations were encouraged: pupils of the law school in Constantinople were allowed to give presents to the *nomophylax* (the director of the school), judges could be paid directly by the litigants, and so on. (See also SYNETHEIA.)

LIT. G. Ostrogorsky, "Löhne und Preise in Byzanz," *BZ* 32 (1932) 295–305. –A.K., A.M.T.

WALLACHIA, region on the left bank of the Lower and Middle Danube, bordering MOLDAVIA on the northeast. The term originates from the name of VLACHIA or *Wlachen lant* (in the *Niebelungenlied*) and was firmly established by the 14th C.

Wallachia coincided in rough outline with Trajan's DACIA. When the Romans left in the 3rd C., they retained some fortresses on the left bank (e.g., SUCIDAVA), but the autochthonous romanized culture dominated through the 4th C., Germanic FOEDERATI probably not having been very numerous. In the 5th–6th C. the territory of Wallachia was completely ceded to the Huns, and then to the Avars and Slavs. In the 9th–10th C. a substantial part of Wallachia was within the borders of the Bulgarian state; later, it was invaded by the Pechenegs, Cumans, and Tatars.

The creation of an independent Wallachia began in the 13th C. In 1330, Prince Basarab won a victory over the Hungarian king, Charles (son of CHARLES I OF ANJOU), and established the independence of his princedom. Wallachia reached its peak under MIRCEA THE ELDER and looked to Byz. for support: the spouses of the princes Ladislas-Vlaico (1364–ca.1375) and Radu I (ca.1375–ca.1377) were probably of Greek or Greco-Slavic origin; some Wallachian princesses were married to Serbian and Bulgarian rulers. Wallachia also moved toward Orthodox Christianity, and the metropolis of VICINA became its center. In the 15th C. Wallachia acknowledged allegiance to the Ottoman Empire. (See also RUMANIANS.)

LIT. *Istoria Romîniei,* 2 vols. (Bucharest 1960–62). A. Elian, "Les rapports byzantino-roumains," *BS* 19 (1958) 212–22. Ş. Andreescu, "Alliances dynastiques des princes de Valachie (XIV^{e}–XVI^{e} siècles)," *RESEE* 23 (1985) 359–61. D. Deletant, "Some Aspects of the Byzantine Tradition in the Rumanian Principalities," *SlEERev* 59 (1981) 1–14. –A.K.

WAR. See PEACE AND WAR.

WAR OF TROY (Ὁ Πόλεμος τῆς Τρωάδος), an anonymous translation of the 12th-C. *Roman de Troie* of Benoit de Ste. Maure, made probably during the 14th C. in Frankish Greece. Originally intended to be illustrated, this is the longest (over 14,000 unrhymed POLITICAL VERSES) of the extant popular verse romances and seems to have exerted a major influence on the genre. Though some of the lengthy EKPHRASEIS of the original have been curtailed, otherwise the version faithfully renders Benoit's romance, itself based on the Latin novels of Dares the Phrygian and DIKTYS OF CRETE. Although the author of the *War of Troy* conceals his debt to these and to Benoit by omitting all references to them, he shows almost no knowledge of either the ILIAD or the Byz. chroniclers' account of the TROJAN WAR. The *War of Troy* thus represents a return of the Trojan story to Greek lands after its circulation throughout the Europe of late antiquity and the Middle Ages. Although the closeness of the translation demonstrates that the poem was composed in a conventional literary manner, its style—with its mixed language and repeated phrases—probably indicates contact with orally disseminated traditional material (see ROMANCE).

ED. L. Polites, ed., "Cheirographa dyo idiotikon syllogon," *Hellenika* 22 (1969) 106–15.

LIT. M. Papathomopoulos, "Diorthoseis ston 'Polemo tes Troados,'" *Dodone* 5 (1976) 349–68; 8 (1979) 355–415. Jeffreys, *Popular Literature,* pt.III (1979), 115–39. –E.M.J., M.J.J.

WARSHIP. See CHELANDION; DROMON; GALEA.

WASHING OF THE FEET. During the Last Supper, Christ washed his disciples' feet, indicating, when Peter protested, that this was a symbolic cleansing from sin (Jn 13:1–20). The scene appears first on 4th-C. sarcophagi as a pendant to that of Pilate washing his hands, Christ being upright; the later ROSSANO GOSPELS (fol.3r) show Christ deeply bowing and humble. The standard imagery had emerged by the 9th C.: Christ slightly

bowing, holding a towel; Peter with one or both feet in a basin, grasping his head in dismay or sorrow, or gesturing to Christ; and up to 11 other disciples, some often shown removing their sandals. It appears in Gospel and PASSION cycles, sometimes displacing the Last Supper; at Psalm 50 (51) in marginal PSALTERS; and occasionally on icons (Soteriou, *Eikones*, figs. 33, 49), appearing in the latter below the Communion of the Apostles (see LORD'S SUPPER). Byz. churches often locate the scene in the narthex (HOSIOS LOUKAS), where the monastic ceremony of the washing of the monks' feet by the *hegoumenos* was usually performed on Holy Thursday. In some large 12th- and 13th-C. churches (MONREALE; S. Marco in VENICE) and in many Palaiologan churches, the Passion cycle adorned the naos instead, and the monastic ceremony sometimes followed the image inside.

In imitation of Christ, Byz. bishops and *hegoumenoi* performed on Holy Thursday the ceremony of washing of the feet of 12 clergymen. Similarly, the emperor washed the feet of 12 poor men selected in Constantinople and brought to the palace. They received new garments and had to approach the emperor with a candle in hand; he washed only the right foot of each person. Each one was given three gold coins before departing.

LIT. H. Giess, *Die Darstellung der Fusswaschung Christi in den Kunstwerken des 4.-12. Jahrhunderts* (Rome 1962). S. Pétridès, "Le lavement des pieds le jeudi-saint dans l'église grecque," *EO* 3 (1899–1900) 321–26. –A.W.C., A.K.

WATER (ὕδωρ) was the most essential of BEVERAGES in the eastern Mediterranean. Cold water was precious in a hot climate: LIUTPRAND OF CREMONA was appalled to see water being sold on the streets of Constantinople. The quality of drinking water was a matter of serious concern, esp. during the summer, when it became scarce. An anonymous author advised drinking only fresh water during July (A. Garzya, *Diptycha* 2 [1980–81] 47). Another anonymous writer recommended water from natural springs, which is superior because it does not smell, has good taste, and is cold year round (Delatte, *AnecdAth* 2:470). In summer, water was kept cold in special VESSELS, which were stored in cellars and cool places.

The problem of water supply was acute in Byz. In Constantinople the AQUEDUCT provided water for the capital and water was also stored in cisterns (see under CONSTANTINOPLE, MONUMENTS OF); in many places the cisterns were filled with rainwater. Purchase deeds indicate accurately the existence of wells on the lot, and retreating armies are frequently described as destroying and poisoning wells. Water was also needed for BATHS, small-scale IRRIGATION, and as power for MILLS and AUTOMATA. A drought was considered a serious calamity, and some saints reportedly possessed the gift of bringing rain (or stopping it at harvesttime).

Water and its source (*pege*) were symbols of life and purification; in the Constantinopolitan suburb of PEGE was a church dedicated to the Virgin as Zoodochos Pege. Water was the main element of the rite of BAPTISM, and the blessing of water played an important part in the Byz. liturgy, esp. at EPIPHANY. Basil the Great ascribed the introduction of the blessing of water to ancient tradition (PG 32:188B); the oldest evidence, however, comes from Tertullian (P. de Puniet, *DACL* 2:685f). At the same time water in the form of a whirlpool, sea, or flood served as a symbol of destruction. Water was also used for semipagan fortunetelling procedures.

LIT. P. Magdalino, "The Literary Perception of Everyday Life in Byzantium," *BS* 48 (1987) 32f. –Ap.K., A.K.

WATERMARKS, emblems or designs found only in the PAPER of occidental origin that began to be imported into Byz. in the 13th C. The impressions, made by wires twisted into the desired shape and sewed to the mold on which the paper was formed, are only visible against the light. Depending on the size and folding of the sheet of paper, the watermark may appear in the middle of the page, in the folding, or in the corner; in the last two cases only one half or one quarter is on the FOLIO. Because watermarks appear on many dated documents or (less frequently) on MSS, they can provide a chronology for an undated MS (Harlfinger, *Kodikologie* 144–69). A wire screen had an average life of between six months and four years; a MS with a given watermark was usually copied within five years from the known date of that watermark (T. Gerardy, *Datieren mit Hilfe von Wasserzeichen* [Bückeburg 1964] 65f, 69). Further precision of dating is provided by the phenomenon

of pairs of watermarks, made by two wire screens in different degrees of deterioration. All 13th-C. and some 14th-C. watermarks were simple geometric shapes and lines; marks of the 14th–15th C. were more elaborate, including such devices as a unicorn, bow and arrow, oxhead, scissors, flute, and pear.

LIT. C.-M. Briquet, *Les filigranes*, 4 vols. (Geneva 1907; rp. with new introd. Amsterdam 1968). G. Piccard, *Die Wasserzeichenkartei Piccard im Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart. Findbücher*, 15 vols. in 22 parts (Stuttgart 1961–87). D. & H. Harlfinger, *Wasserzeichen aus griechischen Handschriften* (Berlin 1974–80). –E.G., A.M.T.

WEAPONRY. The weapons most commonly used by Byz. soldiers were swords, spears, maces, slings, and bows. The sword (*xiphos*) was the primary weapon and many sword types (straight, curved, one- and two-handed) are depicted in illustrations (A. Bruhn Hoffmeyer, *Gladius* 5 [1966] fig.16). According to the STRATEGIKA, by the 6th C. the short Roman *gladius* had been abandoned in favor of a long two-edged sword, the *spathion*, used by both the infantry and cavalry. The 10th-C. SYLLOGE TACTICORUM (38.5, 39.2) gives the length of this kind of sword as the equivalent of 94 cm and mentions a new saberlike sword of the same length, the *paramerion*, a curved one-edged slashing weapon for cavalrymen. Both weapons could be carried from a belt or by a shoulder strap.

Infantrymen and cavalrymen carried spears for thrusting and casting. Cavalrymen of the 6th and 7th C. wielded lances with a thong in the middle of the shaft (Avar style) and a pennant (*Strat. Maurik.* 78.18–20). Infantrymen's spears (*kontaria*) in the 10th C. were 4–4.5 m long (cavalry lances were slightly shorter) with an iron point (*xipharion, aichme*). One type of spear, the *menaulion*, is described in detail; it was very thick, taken whole from young oak or cornel saplings, and capped by a long blade (45–50 cm), for use by esp. strong infantrymen (called *menaulatoi* after their weapon) against enemy KATAPHRAKTOI—an excellent example of a weapon and a type of specialized soldier developed for a specific tactical role (E. McGeer, *Diptycha* 4 [1986–87] 53–57). Both light infantry and cavalry carried javelins (*akontia, rhiptaria*) no longer than 3 m (*Sylloge tacticorum* 38.6, 39.7).

Maces (*rabdia*) and axes (*pelekia, tzikouria*) served as shock weapons. The 10th-C. *kataphraktoi* carried heavy all-iron maces (*siderorabdia*)—six-, four-, or three-cornered—to smash their way through enemy infantry (*Praecepta Milit.* 11.30–32). Infantrymen either hurled maces and battle-axes at the enemy or used them in hand-to-hand combat; the axe was the preferred weapon of the mercenaries from Rus' of the 10th and 11th C. Axes were single-bladed (rounded or straight-edged), sometimes with a spike opposite the blade; various types appear in illustrations in the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES and other MSS (A. Bruhn Hoffmeyer, *Gladius* 5 [1966] fig.18; P. Schreiner in *Les pays du nord et Byzance* [Uppsala 1981] 234–36).

The sling (*sphendone*) and the bow (*toxon*) were the weapons used by light soldiers. Slings, as shown in illustrations of David and Goliath, were the ordinary hand-held type; the Roman staff sling (*fustibalis*) was apparently unknown to the Byz. The Byz. bow, like the late Roman bow, was the composite, reflex type featuring an unbendable horn grip with the reinforced wooden bowstave strung in reverse of the bow's natural flex when unstrung (J.C. Coulston, *BAR* Int. Ser. 275 [1985] 220–366). A bowshot (flight, not target, range) is estimated at over 300 m for an infantry bow (Schilbach, *Metrologie* 42), but cavalry bows, standing 1.2 m high, were smaller and less tightly strung for greater accuracy and ease of handling (*Sylloge tacticorum* 39.4); they had a flight range of 130–35 m (Bivar, "Cavalry" 283). The *solenarion*, usually identified as the Byz. crossbow, has recently been redefined as a hollow tube through which an archer could launch several small arrows (*mues*, i.e., "mice") at a time; consequently Anna Komnene's remarks that the Crusaders' Western-type crossbow (which she called a *tzangra*) was unknown to the Byz. before the 12th C. should be accepted (D. Nishimura, *Byzantion* 58 [1988] 422–35).

Production of Weapons (ὁπλοποιΐα). The production of weapons was assigned to state *ergasteria* (see FACTORIES, IMPERIAL) in the Roman Empire. By the 4th C. there were 15 such centers in the East, 20 in the West (S. James, *BAR* Int. Ser. 394 [1988] 257–331), situated in major cities and along the frontiers. The workers (*fabricenses*) were treated like soldiers and had to meet a minimum quota each month with the weight of their production strictly controlled. Direct supervision and coercion of arms production is evident from the emperor Julian's harassment of the craftsmen in

Antioch as he urged them to furnish arms, uniforms, and siegecraft for his expedition to Persia in 363.

As the story of the transfer of the relics of St. EUPHEMIA relates (F. Halkin, *Euphémie de Chalcédoine* [Brussels 1965] 89.14–19 and n.3), arms factories continued to operate after the 7th C.; the emperor Leo III ordered the establishment of an arms factory in a Constantinopolitan monastery where furnaces were constructed and armorers (*zabaroi*) employed. The production of GREEK FIRE was a state enterprise conducted in great secrecy. No guild of arms-makers is mentioned by the *Book of the Eparch*, but the *Miracles* of St. Artemios refers to a bowmaker (*toxopoios*) in Constantinople. The state's demand that STRATIOTAI present themselves for service with their own arms suggests that local private workshops also existed from which they obtained equipment. The lists of supplies for the 911 and 949 expeditions to Crete (*De cer.* 657.4–660.12, 664.4–678.10) record the quotas assigned to arms factories in both Constantinople and the provinces; for example, in 911 the *strategos* of Thessalonike was ordered to supply 200,000 arrows, 3,000 spears, and "as many shields as possible," and similar demands were sent to the *krites* of Hellas and the *strategoi* of Nikopolis and the Peloponnesos. On campaign the army took along various craftsmen: *samiatores*, who made and repaired iron weapons; *toxopoioi* and *sagittopoioi*, who made bows and arrows (TAKTIKA OF LEO VI 4.50). (See also FIREARMS.)

LIT. J.F. Haldon, "Some Aspects of Byzantine Military Technology from the Sixth to the Tenth Centuries," *BMGS* 1 (1975) 11–47. T. Kolias, *Byzantinische Waffen* (Vienna 1988) 133–259. D.C. Nicolle, *Arms and Armour of the Crusading Era, 1050–1350*, 2 vols. (New York 1988) 26–52, 644–61. Haldon, *Praetorians* 318–23. –E.M., A.K., A.C.

WEAVER (ὑφαντής). The production of TEXTILES involved two major stages, spinning and weaving, in addition to cleaning, bleaching, dyeing, and/or fulling as necessary. Spinning was considered to be a primarily female occupation done at home (e.g., Mary of Egypt states that she usually carried a distaff with her [PG 87:3712B]). Both men and women worked as weavers: Timarion, for example, says that textiles and yarn produced by both men and women were brought to the fair in Thessalonike (*Timarion* 54.149–50). Like spinning, weaving was often a household operation (ACHMET BEN SIRIN, *Oneirocriticon* 215.9 and 22), but in Byz. there were also professional weavers, DYERS, and fullers.

An important source for the activity of women clothmakers is found in Psellos's short treatise on the annual festival of Agathe in Constantinople. This was a celebration by women involved in various aspects of textile production (spinning, carding, weaving) who may have been organized into a guild. The treatise apparently describes wall paintings that depicted women carding and weaving (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:111–22). Sometimes artisans combined weaving with other facets of textile production: TAILORS might first weave the cloth that they sewed into garments, and the SERIKARIOI of the 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch* may have been involved in both dyeing fabric and tailoring it. In the regulations for the Stoudios monastery, however, tailors and weavers appear as separate artisans (Dobroklonskij, *Feodor* 1:412). The weavers are not listed as a separate guild in the *Book of the Eparch*. Some luxury textiles were woven in imperial factories.

The principal raw materials used in weaving were wool and flax (see LINEN) as in antiquity; SILK and later cotton also came to be used. Sometimes different kinds of fibers (e.g., wool and silk) were woven together.

LIT. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:215–17. Smetanin, *Viz.obščestvo* 86f. Aik. Christophilopoulou, "Systema basilikon histourgon," in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:65–72. –A.K., A.M.T.

WEDDING, the nuptial ceremony, was designated in Greek by *gamos*, the word also used for the state of MARRIAGE; the terms for the bride and bridegroom were respectively *nymphe* and *nymphios*. The wedding ceremony was frequently preceded by a BETROTHAL and the signing of a contract that regulated property relations in the marriage, but this was not mandatory. The wedding consisted of two parts—the ecclesiastical MARRIAGE RITE and the subsequent celebratory feast. After ritual ablutions, the bride, clad in white and veiled, left the house of her parents for the church; she and the bridegroom had to express their consent to the marriage, whereupon they received an ecclesiastical blessing (E. Herman, *OrChrP* 4 [1938] 189–234), donned MARRIAGE CROWNS, and exchanged marriage RINGS.

From the church the procession, accompanied by music and special marriage songs (EPITHALAMIA), headed for the house of the groom; the bride was led by a special retinue of *nymphagogoi*, "leaders of the bride." The procession took place at night and was illuminated by torch-bearers. The poor people of Constantinople celebrated their weddings in a public hall, the Nymphaion, located in front of the SENATE HOUSE (Cedr. 1:610.14–15). In the house of the groom the bride removed her veil so that her in-laws could see her (in theory, for the first time). The couple soon retired to the nuptial chamber (*pastas*) where the bride was given the MARRIAGE BELT.

The guests meanwhile were invited to a BANQUET and entertained by MIMES, dancing girls, and spectacles. Church fathers (esp. John Chrysostom) tried to convince the faithful to moderate the games and drinking at weddings, but in vain. The clergy was, however, required to leave the feast before these games began (Balsamon in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:357.10, commenting on canon 24 of the Council in Trullo). By dawn, the guests expected to see proof of the bride's virginity and of the consummation of the marriage.

Aristocratic weddings were magnificent (and sometimes lengthy) occasions: that of DIGENES AKRITAS reportedly lasted three months (Grottaferrata version IV 931, ed. E. Trapp, p.224). Imperial weddings often took the form of a public celebration, with tables placed in open areas, as Eustathios of Thessalonike depicts the reception in honor of Alexios II and Agnes of France. In such cases special games might be arranged.

Descriptions of the "spiritual weddings" of female martyrs (e.g., Martha and Febronia) and nuns to Christ use the vocabulary of earthly weddings: washing, anointing, and clothing of the bride, the dowry, rings and crowns, the wedding feast and bridal chamber (Brock-Harvey, *Women* 70f, 165).

LIT. M. Angold, "The Wedding of Digenis Akrites," in *He kathemerine zoe sto Byzantio* (Athens 1988) 201–15.
–J.H., A.K.

WEIGHT BOX, a low rectangular container (approximately 20 cm long) for flat WEIGHTS and BALANCE SCALES. Many specimens of 5th–7th-C. manufacture—some with their contents intact—have survived in Egypt, and a fragment of another was discovered in the early 7th-C. Yassi Ada shipwreck. Made of wood, they are usually fitted with a sliding lid secured with a lock. Inside is a removable deck with a variety of geometric sinkings to accommodate the various sizes and shapes of flat weights, as well as the pans and balance arm of the scale. More elaborate specimens may bear copper or ivory panels with floral or geometric motifs, or, in rare cases, figures. The cover most often shows a low-relief cross beneath an arch, much like those common on contemporary flat weights. Similarly, the most frequently encountered inscription, "Grace of God," commonly appears also on flat weights. The Christian meaning is clear from 1 Corinthians 15:10 ("By the grace of God I am what I am . . ."): honest weighing and its resultant prosperity are gifts from God.

LIT. M.H. Rutschowscaya, "Boîtes à poids d'époque copte," *Revue du Louvre* 29 (1979) 1–5.
–G.V.

WEIGHTS are known in two main types: bust or statuette weights for gross weighing with STEELYARDS, and flat weights for fine weighing with BALANCE SCALES. The former, introduced by the Romans, survive in large numbers from the 5th to 7th C. Cast in bronze with a lead core, they take two forms: those depicting an empress or, less frequently, an emperor, and those representing Athena-Minerva. The "imperial" imagery likely connoted the accuracy of the measure. Typical specimens weighed approximately four Roman pounds (LITRA).

Flat weights, esp. common from the 4th to 7th C., were used for more precise transactions involving coins and other valuable materials. Most are flat and square, though some take the form of a flattened sphere; all are solid bronze. Moreover, all bear a weight designation: EXAGIA, used for coins, are calibrated in NOMISMATA, whereas *pondera*, generally larger and used for commodities, are calibrated in OUNGIAI or LITRAE. Some bear texts, symbols, or images, which may be inlaid in silver, copper, or brass. Names of officials appear, as do pious phrases, references to justice, and invocations. The cross is esp. common on 5th–7th-C. specimens, whereas earlier examples (4th–5th C.) may bear paired images of emperors. Commonly called imperial weights, the latter often also depict a TYCHE, a reference to HUNTING, or an evocation of prosperity (e.g., via a full MODIOS).

The implication is that prosperity, as facilitated through just weights, was a byproduct of harmonious co-rulership, that rulership drew its legitimacy from the *polis*, and that it depended on the power of the state, as evoked by the hunt. Made in sets, flat weights were stored in WEIGHT BOXES. (See also GLASS WEIGHTS.)

LIT. Vikan-Nesbitt, *Security* 29–37. –G.V.

WHEAT. See GRAIN.

WIBALD OF STAVELOT, Benedictine monk and statesman; born 1098, died 19 July 1158. Of modest origins, Wibald, who was Lotharingian, studied at Liège and was a monk at Waulsort by 1117, but moved to Stavelot, where he became abbot (16 Nov. 1130). He rose to a position of influence at Conrad III's court, where he was regent during the Second Crusade and was made briefly abbot of Montecassino (1137) and, from 1146, abbot of Corvey. In 1155 and 1157 Wibald traveled to Constantinople as Frederick I's ambassador to Manuel I; he died returning from the second embassy. Much of Wibald's correspondence survives in his original register covering 1146/7–Sept. 1157, which includes letters addressed to Wibald. It is an essential source on diplomacy and marital alliances between Constantinople and the German emperors (Lamma, *Comneni* 1:93–115, 243–50). It documents German, Norman, and Byz. policies in southern Italy and contains letters from Conrad to Manuel (eps. 218, 237, 244, 246) and Manuel's wife Irene-BERTHA OF SULZBACH (eps. 243, 245), from Frederick I to Manuel (ep.410), Wibald's own letters to Manuel (eps. 343, 411, 432), and Manuel's letters to him (eps. 325, 424—*Reg* 2, nos. 1382, 1392). The correspondence reveals Conrad's warm relations with Manuel (e.g., ep.78) and Bertha's role in selecting a Byz. princess for Conrad's son (ep.243) as well as an exchange of embassies (eps. 279, 280, etc.) and rumors about Conrad's alliance with Manuel against the *Romana aecclesia* (eps. 198, 252). Epistle 407 conveys the conditions of a truce of 1153 between Frederick and Pope EUGENIUS III, according to which "the king of the Greeks" should not receive any land "on this side of the sea" (in Italy).

ED. P. Jaffe, *Bibliotheca rerum germanicarum* 1 (Berlin 1864; rp. Aalen 1964) 76–616.

LIT. F.K.J. Jakobi, *Wibald von Stablo und Corvey (1098–1158): Benediktinischer Abt in der frühen Stauferzeit* (Münster 1979). W. Koch, *Die Schrift der Reichskanzlei im 12. Jahrhundert 1125–1190* (Vienna 1979). –M.McC.

WIDOWS (*χῆραι*) were traditionally equated with the poor and powerless, who, like orphans and strangers, needed protection; care of widows was prescribed as a Christian duty. Widows received charitable distributions, esp. during Holy Week, and might find refuge in *cherotropheia*, homes for widows created by the state or church, such as those built by Eleusios, bishop of Kyzikos, side-by-side with homes for virgins (Sozom., *HE* 5.15.5); later, NUNNERIES replaced them as a refuge (A.-M. Talbot, *ByzF* 9 [1985] 113–15).

An ecclesiastical order of widows was instituted in the early church, allegedly by St. Peter, and probably functioned until the 5th C. Its members had to be 60 years old and married only once. They were selected by the bishop and assigned a special place in the church during services. The order was considered distinct from laity and clergy (including DEACONESSES), since its members did not receive ordination. They performed various social services later undertaken by CONFRATERNITIES.

Widows could be economically independent and have substantial rights to property. Wealthy widows had significant power, DANELIS being an important example. In 1010 the widow Kalida sold her *choraphion* in order to ransom her son from the Arabs (*Ivir.*, no.16). Laiou (*Peasant Society* 89–94) has calculated that in 14th-C. *praktika* 17 to 22 percent of the households were registered as headed by widows, even if they had adult sons. Some aristocratic widows (Anna KOMNENE, the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE, etc.) exercised enormous influence upon political and cultural life, and dowager empresses could act as regents or rulers. In nunneries, some widows became abbesses and a few, like THEODORA OF THESSALONIKE, attained sanctity. The second marriage of widows was legally permitted and recommended by husbands such as DIGENES AKRITAS, who presumed that widowhood would be unbearable (Grottaferrata version VIII, 3503f, ed. E. Trapp, 362). REMARRIAGE was condemned, however, by rigorists such as Kekaumenos (A. Kazhdan, *Byzantion* 43 [1973] 509), while Neilos of Rossano urged the men of the town to maintain a nunnery

so that their widows could avoid remarriage (PG 120:85CD).

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 13–15, 276. G. Tibiletti, "Le védove nei papiri greci d'Egitto," *Atti del XVII Congresso internazionale di papirologia* (Naples 1984) 985–94. D. Simon, "Witwe Sachlikina gegen Witwe Heraia," *FM* 7 (1986) 325–75. –J.H., A.K.

WILLIAM I, king of Sicily (1154–66); born 1120, died Palermo 7 May 1166. Son of ROGER II, William (Γιλίελμος) and his chief minister, Maio(ne) of Bari, alienated the Norman barons. When MANUEL I failed to gain the support of Frederick I of Germany against Sicily, he allied himself with the discontented barons. In 1155 Manuel sent a few ships, a small force, and gold to hire mercenaries. They captured coastal towns and fortresses in Apulia from the Monte Gargano peninsula to Taranto. Friction was frequent between the barons and the Byz. During the siege of the citadel of Brindisi (Apr.–May 1156), many Normans and mercenaries deserted upon learning that William was approaching with a large army. The Byz. were defeated and their leaders, Alexios Komnenos and John Doukas, captured. In 1157 Manuel sent Alexios AXOUCH to Ancona, whence he encouraged the remaining Norman rebels. Meantime, peace negotiations, fostered by Pope Adrian IV (1154–59), culminated in 1158: Manuel recognized William as king of Sicily, and William returned the noble prisoners taken since 1147, but not the weavers whom Roger II had carried off from Thebes and Corinth. Thereafter, good relations with Byz. lasted into the reign of William's successor, WILLIAM II.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:167–304. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM I OF CHAMPLITTE, prince of Achaia (1205–1208 or 1209); died Apulia 1208/9. A younger son and minor lord in the county of Burgundy, William joined the Fourth Crusade and participated in the attacks on Constantinople. After mid-1204, he served BONIFACE OF MONTFERRAT and joined the latter's expedition into Greece. In 1205, during the siege of Nauplia, the future GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN invited William to help conquer the MOREA. With Boniface's consent, William and Geoffrey advanced to Patras, then to Methone, Korone, and Messenia. A battle at Kountoura (northeast Messenia) in late summer 1205 overcame the only serious resistance. On 19 Nov. 1205 Pope INNOCENT III referred to William as "princeps totius Achaie provincie." William organized his territories as a feudal state. Around 1208, he learned of the death of his brother in France; he set out to secure his inheritance, but died en route.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 54–64. Longnon, *Compagnons* 210–12. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM II, king of Sicily (1166–89); son of WILLIAM I; born 1154, died Palermo 18 Nov. 1189. Plans for him to wed Maria KOMNENE proved vain. During the reign of ANDRONIKOS I, Byz. refugees in Sicily included Alexios KOMNENOS the *pinkernes*, who speciously claimed the throne, and a youth who pretended to be ALEXIOS II. Nominally in their support, but really to establish himself in Constantinople, William attacked the empire in 1185. From Dyrrachion, the army and fleet hurried to Thessalonike. After the city fell (24 Aug. 1185), it was savagely sacked. Alexios BRANAS defeated the Norman army on 7 Nov. 1185 and Thessalonike was recaptured. In 1186 Isaac II pushed the Normans from Dyrrachion, but Kephalenia, Zakynthos, and Ithaka were lost forever. A treaty, ca.1188, provided for an exchange of prisoners. William's most important artistic enterprise was the cathedral of MONREALE.

LIT. Chalandon, *Domination normande* 2:305–418. Brand, *Byzantium* 160–75. Jamison, *Admiral Eugenius* 56–79. –C.M.B.

WILLIAM II VILLEHARDOUIN, prince of Achaia (1246–78); born Kalamata ca.1211/12, died Kalamata 1 May 1278. Son of GEOFFREY I VILLEHARDOUIN, William was born and raised in the MOREA and knew Greek as well as French. He inherited the title to the principality of ACHAIA after the death of his brother, GEOFFREY II. William, one of the chief heroes of the CHRONICLE OF THE MOREA, was a vigorous ruler who expanded the principality to its greatest extent. He conquered the southeast Morea, including MONEMVASIA (1248), and built castles at MISTRA and MAINA. In 1258, William became an ally of MICHAEL II KOMNENOS DOUKAS of Epiros, and married his daughter Anna. At the battle of PELAGONIA William suffered a crushing defeat and was

captured by Nicene forces. To secure his release (1261), William had to relinquish three key fortresses, Monemvasia, Maina, and Mistra. He became a vassal of Michael VIII Palaiologos and received the title of MEGAS DOMESTIKOS.

After his return to the Morea, William continued to lead Latin opposition to the Byz. In 1267 he entered an alliance with CHARLES I OF ANJOU (Treaty of Viterbo) and became his vassal; this alliance, however, served the ambitions of Charles more than those of William. When William died without male issue, Charles inherited the title of prince of Achaia.

LIT. Bon, *Morée franque* 117–50. Zakythinos, *Despotat* 1:13–57. Longnon, *Empire latin* 217–50. –A.M.T.

WILLIAM OF APULIA, historian of the reign of ROBERT GUISCARD; fl. late 11th C. Probably a Norman in southern Italy, William wrote ca.1095–99 the *Gesta Roberti Wiscardi*, a Latin historical epic dedicated to Pope Urban II and Roger Borsa, Bohemund's half-brother. Despite the epic form and the literary conventions thus imposed, William offers a detailed and generally accurate account of events to the death of Guiscard (1085) from a Norman perspective. Books 1–3 use local sources—they are particularly well informed on events in APULIA and aware of events in Constantinople and their implications for Italy—to describe the Norman conquest of Byz. southern Italy and Arab Sicily from ca.1017 onward; they supply valuable information on Byz. leaders like George MANIAKES and ARGYROS, son of Melo. Books 4–5 narrate in detail Guiscard's war on the Greek mainland against Alexios I and form an essential corrective complement to Anna Komnene's version in the *Alexiad.*

ED. *La geste de Robert Guiscard*, ed. M. Mathieu (Palermo 1961), with Fr. tr.

LIT. Karayannopulos-Weiss, *Quellenkunde*, 2:415. E. Hanawalt, "William of Apulia's Gesta Roberti Wiscardi and Anna Comnena's Alexiad: A Literary Comparison" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Calif.–Berkeley 1975). –M.McC.

WILLIAM OF MOERBEKE, Flemish Dominican and Latin translator of Greek; born between ca.1220 and 1235, died Italy? before 26 Oct. 1286. William made some of his translations in Byz.: he was at Nicaea on 24 Apr. 1260 when he finished translating Alexander of Aphrodisias and at Thebes on 23 Dec. 1260 when he completed Aristotle's *On the Parts of Animals*. From Nov. 1267 to Dec. 1277 he was in Italy: by 1272, he became papal chaplain, and he worked for union with the Byz. church at the Second Council of LYONS in 1274. In Apr. 1278 he was made Latin archbishop of Corinth, where he completed three translations of PROKLOS (Feb. 1280). By Jan. 1284, however, he had returned to Italy (A. Paravicini Bagliani, *AFP* 52 [1982] 135–43). It is possible that his remarkable collection of Greek MSS, presumably acquired in Byz., entered the papal library (A. Paravicini Bagliani, *ItMedUm* 26 [1983] 27–69, and Jones, "Papal Manuscripts"). William translated or revised earlier translations of several dozen works, including Aristotle and his commentators, Archimedes, Hero, and Galen. William's literal method of translation means that his Latin versions of many works whose Greek texts survive only partially or not at all illuminate their transmission in Byz.

ED. For lists of works and editions, see L. Minio-Paluello, *DSB* 9:434–40. T. Kaeppeli, *Scriptores ordinis praedicatorum medii aevi*, vol. 2 (Rome 1975) 122–29.

LIT. M. Grabmann, *Guglielmo de Moerbeke O.P., il traduttore delle opere di Aristotele* (Rome 1946). –M.McC.

WILLIAM OF TYRE, statesman and historian of the Crusader states; born Jerusalem ca.1130, died 29 Sept. 1186. William studied in France and at Bologna (1146–65) and then returned home in 1165 to become canon of Acre (Akko), where he may have known Theodora, widow of Baldwin III and Andronikos I Komnenos (*Chron.* 20,2). Subsequently he became archdeacon of Tyre (1167) and Nazareth (ca.1173 or 1174), tutor of future king Baldwin IV, chancellor of the kingdom of Jerusalem (1174), and archbishop of Tyre (1175), but failed to attain the patriarchate of Jerusalem in 1180 (cf. R. Hiestand, *DA* 34 [1978] 345–80). He negotiated the joint invasion of Egypt (*Chron.* 20,4) as King Amalric's envoy to Manuel I (1168) and later spent seven months (1179–80) with Manuel in Constantinople (22,4). Whether he knew Greek is unclear (Huygens, *infra* 2).

William's *Chronicon*, in Latin, is the key source for Byz. relations with the Crusader states and a masterpiece of medieval historical writing. The first 13 books draw on Canon ALBERT OF AACHEN, RAYMOND OF AGUILERS, GESTA FRANCORUM (indirectly?), FULCHER OF CHARTRES, and his own lost

Gesta orientalium principum (Deeds of the Eastern Rulers), which used the *Annals* of EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA as well as Oriental sources (H. Möhring, *Mittellateinisches Jahrbuch* 19 [1984] 170–83). It is uncertain whether the abrupt ending should be explained as an accident of transmission or William's failure to continue. William understands and likes Byz. (R.H.C. Davis in *Relations between East and West in the Middle Ages*, ed. D. Baker [Edinburgh 1973] 64–76); he regularly prefixes a respectful *dominus* to the title of the emperor, whom he reckoned "far richer" than any other Christian prince (20,22).

Even when William rewrites earlier Latin sources, his own experience and insight into Byz. society work subtle changes in formulation. As an independent witness, William reports, for example, John II's campaign against Antioch (14,24–30), the Byz. fleet's role in the invasion of Egypt (20,13–17), the battle of Myriokephalon (21,11), the troubles at Constantinople after Manuel I's death (22,5 and 11–14), and Amalric's trip to Constantinople, including a description of Boukoleon and the carefully calibrated ceremonial (20,22–24). An Old French translation is associated with several continuations on events after 1184 (ESTOIRE D'ERACLES); a Latin continuation comes from England (ed. M. Salloch, *Die lateinische Fortsetzung Wilhelms von Tyrus* [Leipzig 1934]).

ED. *Chronique*, ed. R.B.C. Huygens, H.E. Mayer, G. Rösch, 2 vols. [= CChr., ser. lat., Cont. med. 63–63A] (Turnhout 1986). Eng. tr. E.A. Babcock, A.C. Krey, *A History of Deeds Done Beyond the Sea* (New York 1943).

LIT. P.W. Edbury, J.G. Rowe, *William of Tyre, Historian of the Latin East* (Cambridge 1988). A.P. Kazhdan-M.A. Zaborov, "Gijom Tirskij o sostave gospodstvujuščego klassa v Vizantii (konec XI–XII v.)," *VizVrem* 33 (1971) 48–54. *RepFontHist* 5:329–32. –M.McC.

WILLIBALD. See HUGEBURC.

WILLS (sing. διαθήκη, also *diataxis, diatyposis*), documents by which the property of the deceased was transferred to the HEIRS; in addition to matters of SUCCESSION, wills could include clauses concerning the MANUMISSION of slaves, FIDEICOMMISSA, and settlements of DEBTS. Justinianic law required that the will be signed and sealed by seven witnesses; the procedure was simplified by Leo VI in novel 42. The right of opening (*anoixis*) the will was specifically granted by Justinian I to the QUAESTOR, whereas Leo VI in novel 44 extended this function to various judges in the capital and in the provinces.

Both men and women could make wills. Justinian I, in novel 5.5 of 535, prohibited monks (with certain exceptions) from making wills; Leo VI, in novel 5, did allow monks to dispose of their property, and several preserved wills (esp. of the 13th–14th C.) illustrate this privilege (A. Steinwenter, *Aegyptus* 1 [1932] 55–64). Monastic wills are hardly distinguishable from TYPIKA and contain not only dispositions of property but spiritual indoctrination, autobiographical information, and in some cases the appointment of the successor to the *hegoumenos*.

Well known are the wills of Eustathios BOILAS, Symbatios Pakourianos, Kale-Maria Pakouriane, and the ex-archbishop of Thessalonike Theodore Kerameas of 1284 (*Lavra* 2, no.75). These wills, among others, contain data on economic, social, and legal relations; since they sometimes include INVENTORIES of sacred vessels, books, and other sacred objects they are a precious source for cultural history as well.

LIT. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 150–85. K. Manaphes, *Monasteriaka typika-diathekai* (Athens 1970) 124–92. G. Litavrin, "Otnositel'nye razmery i sostav imuščestva provincial'noj vizantijskoj aristokratii XI v.," in *VizOč* (Moscow 1971) 152–68. Lemerle, *Cinq études* 13–63. J. Lefort, "Une exploitation de raille moyenne au XIIIe siècle en Chalcidique," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:362–72. –A.K.

WINDOW (παραθύριον). Windows of two types became major elements in the design of Roman public buildings: (1) bands of uniform round-headed windows in clerestories of columnar basilicas; and (2) triple windows, with the central opening higher than the flanking ones. These occur in imperial baths and hence are called "thermal" windows. In Constantine I's Audience Hall at Trier, a double tier of round-headed windows perforated walls and apse; in the basilica of Maxentius and Constantine at Rome, triple windows under the great arches admitted a flood of light from all quarters. Christian columnar basilicas continued the Roman system, lighting the nave and apse more brightly than the side aisles; domical churches of centralized type (Hagia Sophia, Constantinople) or of longitudinal basilical type (St. John, Ephesus; Holy Apostles, Constantinople) continued to use the Roman "thermal" window.

Windows were substantially reduced both in

number and size in the smaller centralized churches of the 9th–15th C. The progressively elongated drums of these churches were lit with tall narrow openings, framed in mosaic in Constantinople, Greece, and the Balkans and deeply splayed on the interior in the stone walls of Armenian and Georgian churches. In the Madrid MS of John SKYLITZES most windows are depicted as round-headed; one, at which the decapitated head of Nikephoros II Phokas is exhibited, is rectangular with an open shutter, and other palace windows are of the same form.

Glazing large windows was achieved by using wood, stone, or stucco frames to hold comparatively small pieces of GLASS in a geometric pattern. From the 12th C. important fragments of stained glass (see GLASS, STAINED) held in lead frames have been found at the church of the PANTOKRATOR MONASTERY, Constantinople.

Windows in private houses are known primarily from written sources, which distinguish between large "loggias" (PARAKYPTIKA), which were probably covered with curtains, and small *photagogoi* glazed with pieces of glass or mica. Byz. houses had little natural light; as a result a number of laws protected houses from the construction of neighboring edifices that might cut off the sunlight.

LIT. H.-J. Horn, *RAC* 7:732–47. Koukoules, *Bios* 4:287–90. R. Günter, *Wand, Fenster und Licht in der Trierer Palastaula und in spätantiken Bauten* (Herford 1968). G.D. Triantaphyllides, *Stoicheia physikou photismou ton byzantinon ekklesion* (Athens 1964). –W.L., A.C., A.K.

WINE (*οἶνος*; in later texts also *κρασί⟨ο⟩ν*, a word that appears already in the Acts of the apostle Thomas and in John Moschos but with the meaning "cup," "draught of any liquid"). Wine was a very important BEVERAGE in Byz., second only to WATER. Although it was produced mostly from grapes (see WINE PRODUCTION), it could also be made from the juice of dates and other fruits. The attempts of some heretical groups to prohibit wine drinking were rejected by the church fathers (e.g., Basil the Great, ep.199:47.10 [ed. Y. Courtonne, 2:163]). Bread and wine were staples of the DIET (e.g., Eust. Thess., *Capture* 110.25–27). Monastic *typika* prescribe bread and wine for supper and include wine in the morning meal as well; some *typika* allocate two mugs (*krasobo⟨u⟩lia*) of wine for each monk daily (A. Kazhdan, *Voprosy istorii* [1970] 217). Abstinence from wine was imposed as a PENANCE and on some fast days. Wine was also employed as medicine, for cooking, and for industrial purposes: thus, to make a substitute for armor, linen fabric was soaked in wine with salt, acquiring a relative hardness (Nik.Chon. 386.3–6).

Varieties of wine were distinguished by their color (white, yellow, red, or black), viscosity (thick or thin), and taste (harsh or sweet). Some types of wine were clarified with pitch or gypsum and had a peculiar flavor that Liutprand found repugnant. The most renowned wines were produced in the VINEYARDS of the Aegean islands (Thasos, Chios, Crete) and in Monemvasia (the so-called *malvasia*); those of Thrace and Asia Minor were less famous.

During the EUCHARIST deacons offered all the congregation a cup of wine diluted with water along with the bread; the wine was believed to be transubstantiated into the BLOOD of Christ. Wine was an instrument of salvation and a symbol of true knowledge and Christ's teaching.

LIT. C. Seltman, *Wine in the Ancient World* (London 1957). Koukoules, *Bios* 5:122–29. A. Dembińska, "Diet," *Byzantion* 55 (1985) 447f. H. Eideneier, "Zu *'krasin,'*" *Hellenika* 23 (1970) 118–22. Koder-Weber, *Liutprand* 76–81. –A.K.

WINE MERCHANT. In Rome the distribution of WINE was divided between two professions: *vinarii* (Gr. *oinopolai*), wholesale providers of wine for Rome, who in the 3rd C. or later were formed into a guild; *caupones* (Gr. *kapeloi*), retailers, owners of TAVERNS. The *Basilika* (53.7.1–19) regulated the trade of *oinemporoi*, wholesale merchants who sold large quantities of wine, *pithoi*, or hundreds of vessels at once. The 10th-C. *Book of the Eparch*, on the other hand, mentions only *kapeloi* who sold wine in their *ergasteria* and used smaller measures: *stathmoi* (30 *litrai*), *angeia* (known also from 6th- and 7th-C. papyri—L. Casson *TAPA* 70 [1939] 5), and *minai* of 3 *litrai*; their MEASURES had to be certified by an official seal. The vita of BASIL THE YOUNGER describes the *ergasterion* of a small wine merchant (*katharopoles*): it had a storage room (*apotheke*), where *pithoi* and *angeia* were kept; the owner used credit extensively in his business and was heavily in debt (ed. Vilinskij, 1:313f). The Council in Trullo (canon 9) prohibited the clergy from possessing *kapelika ergasteria*; however, according to both Zonaras and Balsamon, the clergy were prohibited only from running a tavern, not from owning one and renting it out.

Documents of the 14th–15th C. mention *kapeliatikon*, a tax levied on *kapeloi*: the privilege given to Monemvasia in 1328 lists it together with several other taxes imposed on artisans—*ergasteriatikon, metaxiatikon*, etc. (P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 221.34). Manuel II in 1408 allowed the monks of Mt. Athos to sell their wine without *kapeliatikon*, provided that they did not interfere with each other's trade (V. Mošin, *Akti iz svetogoskih arhiva* [Belgrade 1939] 1–14). The *kapeliatikon* could be granted to a landowner: thus, the Lavra had rights to *kapeliatikon* in the village of Bernarous on the Strymon (*Koutloum.*, no.38.5–6).

LIT. Stöckle, *Zünfte* 50f. *Bk. of Eparch* 244–49. Koukoules, *Bios* 2.1:193–95. –A.K.

WINE PRODUCTION. Since WINE was the staple beverage of the Byz., wine grapes were grown widely throughout the empire. After harvesting the grape clusters, cultivators placed them in baskets (as illustrated in mosaics depicting the SEASONS) or on staves (in OCTATEUCH illustrations) and transported them from the VINEYARD to the wine vat (*lenos*). Before the grapes were pressed the vat was fumigated with incense; leaves and rotting clusters of grapes, which could turn the ensuing must bitter, were removed from the baskets. The grapes were then dumped into the wine vat. After first washing their feet, men climbed into the vat and extracted the juice by treading on the grapes. They next removed the seeds from the treading floor, allowing the must to pass into a channel along which the juice flowed before emptying into the *hypolenion*, a receptacle placed below the vat. After the juice was crushed from the grapes, the must was placed in casks (*barelia*), where it fermented.

Late Roman vats have been widely discovered, from Palestine (e.g., G.W. Ahlström, *BASOR* 231 [1978] 19–49; I. Roll, E. Ayalon, *PEQ* 113 [1981] 111–25) to Bulgaria (D. Končev in *Acta antiqua Philippopolitana: Studia archaeologica* [Sofia 1963] 125–31). There were two different kinds, stationary and portable. Vats are listed in several *praktika* of the Palaiologan period (*Dionys.*, no.25 of 1430; *Docheiar.* no.60, early 15th C.), sometimes together with *pitharia*, large vessels to contain wine; they were owned by individual peasants (although not found in every household) and situated in the courtyard.

Liutprand of Cremona found *Graecorum vinum* undrinkable because of the taste of gypsum or probably pitch; BURGUNDIO OF PISA, on the other hand, was interested in Greek wine production and translated some passages from the *Geoponika* into Latin (J.-L. Gaulin, *MEFRM* 96 [1984] 95–127).

LIT. K.D. White, *Roman Farming* (London 1970) 46. J. Koder, T. Weber, *Liutprand von Cremona in Konstantinopel* (Vienna 1980) 76–81. –J.W.N., A.K.

WINE TRADE. Wine was an important item of trade in Byz., perhaps because many wine-producing areas are islands or coastlands and, therefore, the transportation of wine was cheaper and easier than that of grain. Evidence from a 7th-C. shipwreck shows that wine was transported in AMPHORAI at that time (F. van Doorninck in *A History of Seafaring Based on Underwater Archaeology*, ed. G.F. Bass [London 1972] 140); in the later period, casks were used. According to PTOCHOPRODROMOS (3:48–71), wine reached Constantinople from Chios, Lesbos, Crete, Varna, and other areas; Chiot wine was considered particularly good. In the 14th C. Pegolotti mentions in Constantinople and Tana the wines of Cyprus, Crete, Trigleia (Trilya), Greece, Monemvasia, and Thebes. The export of wines to foreigners was forbidden (*Basil.* 19.1.85[86]), and a special duty was levied on internal trade in the 12th C. In the 12th C. wine was, in fact, exported to the West.

Monasteries appear particularly active in the wine trade. The monks of Mt. Athos moved from exchanging wine for other commodities (*Prot.*, no.7.99–100) to trading in it between 972 and 1045 (*Prot.*, no. 8.54–55, 66–67). Both Mt. Athos and Patmos engaged in relatively large-scale sales of wine in Constantinople in the 12th C. Other sources of the period mention the wine trade specifically as an economic activity of monks (Balsamon, in Rhalles-Potles, *Syntagma* 2:151–54; Eust. Thess., *Opuscula* 242.30–31). The exemptions from customs duties that some monasteries obtained undoubtedly facilitated this. The monasteries were also important consumers of wine.

Private individuals participated in the wine trade, although usually without the privileges that monasteries had. In the 14th–15th C. WINE MERCHANTS had to compete with Western, particularly Venetian, merchants. John VI Kantakouzenos and the Palaiologan emperors, esp. John V and Man-

uel II, tried, with only limited success, to protect the trade in Byz. wine, whose price was being depressed below production costs by the importation of Italian wine by the Venetians.

LIT. J. Chrysostomides, "Venetian Commercial Privileges under the Palaeologi," *StVen* 12 (1970) 298–311, 335–39, 345–48, 355f. Schilbach, *Metrologie* 120–22. –A.L.

WISDOM. See SOPHIA.

WITCH. See ENGASTRIMYTHOS.

WITNESS (*μάρτυς*) to a document, as opposed to a WITNESS IN LITIGATION, was someone who, at the request of an individual (in the case of a WILL) or several interested parties (in the case of a sale CONTRACT), indicated by his signature on the document his presence at a legal or other transaction (e.g., a boundary survey; cf. also L. Burgmann, *FM* 4 [1981] 20.49–54). For some legal transactions a specific number of witnesses was prescribed by law—five for receipts of debt, seven for a will—but numerous exceptions existed, and in practice as many witnesses were cited as possible, to ensure that witnesses would be alive and available years later in event of a dispute. The witness, who could not be a minor, had to be trustworthy. Credibility, in this case, was judged according to the reputation of the witness. Women were theoretically excluded from acting as witnesses to documents but several cases are known (e.g., *Xénoph.* no.8.61 [a.1309], or MM 4:93.10).

Witnesses' Signatures. The study of the signatures of witnesses provides data concerning the social status of the population in specific areas, their ethnic composition, and degree of LITERACY; for example, some witnesses use the sign of the cross instead of a signature or make mistakes in spelling.

LIT. N. Oikonomides, "Mount Athos: Levels of Literacy," *DOP* 42 (1988) 167–78. –A.K.

WITNESS IN LITIGATION, a person who appeared in civil and criminal proceedings and testified to the truth or falsity of the facts of the case; the testimony was later confirmed by oath. Witnesses in litigations, who could be women, appeared either voluntarily or compulsorily (by court summons). Their testimony was accepted only if more than one witness was available (*unus testis, nullus testis*). Certain persons of standing (e.g., bishops) and the handicapped (the old, the infirm, minors) were exempted from the obligation to testify. Absent persons could be interrogated by an authorized judge at their place of residence. Slaves, heretics, antisocial and disreputable individuals, and other such types were not allowed to appear as witnesses in litigation. The testimony of a witness could be weakened by the introduction of counter witnesses and attacks on the credibility and usefulness of the deposition. TORTURE could be used to coerce witnesses (esp. those of humble origins) into testifying (*Ecloga* 14.1), and trial by ORDEAL might be used to help establish the truth in the absence of available witnesses.

LIT. D. Simon, *Untersuchungen zum Justinianischen Zivilprozess* (Munich 1969) 209–71. Zachariä, *Geschichte* 397f. –A.K.

WOMEN. Byz. attitudes toward women were ambivalent. On the one hand, the church fathers, following Old Testament tradition, assumed female inferiority and essential weakness, and perceived women to be the instrument of the devil: Eve disobeyed God's first command and was responsible for the Fall of Man. Accordingly, the position of women in the world had to be inferior to that of man, and in the church women were barred from teaching and priestly functions. Byz. churchmen employed a classical misogynist vocabulary with Christian additions, such as *gynaikodoulos,* a man enslaved to women; *gynaikotraphes,* a man reared by women and therefore effeminate (John Chrysostom, PG 61:278.54); and *gynaiazo,* being addicted to women (Theodore of Stoudios, PG 99:1368A). Even sins acquired female personifications, as in Neophytos the Enkleistos (Galatariotou, *infra* 57–77). Patristic commentary, which emphasized the polarity between good women and bad, remained extremely influential through such collections as the *Sacra Parallela.* The pre-Christian association of women with supernatural powers became a satanic one in Byz. Lazaros of Galesios claimed that the devil used women, sometimes disguised as nuns, in attacks on the chastity of monks. Satanic powers were attributed to Amarantina, a sorceress tried in 1350 (*RegPatr,* fasc. 5, nos. 2318, 2334), and to other women accused of witchcraft and soothsaying.

On the other hand, the church proclaimed woman's spiritual equality with man, through her

being created in God's image and redeemed in the same way as man. Women were equal to men in martyrdom, a few good wives and mothers attained sanctity, and the cult of the VIRGIN MARY was extremely popular.

In theory, the major function of women was MARRIAGE and the procreation of children, in contradiction to the extremist idea that VIRGINITY is one of the main virtues. Motherhood (divinized in the cult of the THEOTOKOS), one of the few acceptable Christian roles for women, was glorified in panegyrics, for example, those by Theodore of Stoudios and Michael Psellos. INFERTILITY as well as the death of young children were considered curses against which women took all possible measures. Prayers for conception, esp. of a son, and for a safe pregnancy and delivery (see BIRTH) were accompanied by the use of relics, AMULETS, and incantations.

In general women led secluded lives at home and were supposed to be veiled when they went out. Some women, of course, worked outside the house, and there were other legitimate reasons for women to leave the house: attendance at church services; visits to bath, shrines, or parents; and participation in celebrations to mark civic or imperial events. Kekaumenos urged women to avoid eye contact with unrelated men (Kek. 202f). Nurses undertook the crucial role of chaperoning girls and protecting their virginity and were ridiculed by epigrammatists such as Paul Silentiarios and Agathias (*AnthGr,* bk.5, nos. 262, 289, 294). Sexual misbehavior of young women was punished: any girl who lost her virginity after a BETROTHAL by sleeping with a man other than her fiancé could be repudiated by her bridegroom (Leo VI, nov.93). Byz. society was more tolerant of male ADULTERY and the related practices of CONCUBINAGE and PROSTITUTION, than of female infidelity; however, some church fathers, for instance, Gregory of Nazianzos, treated male and female adulterers equally (P. Phan, *Social Thought* [Wilmington, Del., 1984] 158f).

In addition to childbearing, the second female obligation was the maintenance of the household: in the 10th C. MARY THE YOUNGER, an ideal wife and mother, came to be venerated as a saint, thus demonstrating that sanctity was not limited to consecrated virgins, and Kekaumenos stated that a good wife is a precious gift. Despite their theoretical subjugation to their husbands, women had important rights and enjoyed respect: a woman possessed her DOWRY and could alienate inherited property; in cases of INTESTATE SUCCESSION daughters inherited equal shares with their brothers; WIDOWS had authority over their sons; and a poem of PTOCHOPRODROMOS shows a married woman exercising full power over her henpecked husband. Despite novel 48 of Leo VI, which prohibited a woman from being a WITNESS to business transactions, the *Peira* and later judicial acts reveal female appearances in court to testify and to plead successfully for DIVORCES, resolution of property disputes, and control over dowries. Some rich women managed large households; others might be entrusted with *pronoiai*, evidently after their husbands' demise.

The primary feminine economic activities were those of "distaff and loom," that is spinning, weaving, and making cloth. The treatise of Psellos on the festival of Agathe suggests that this work was not limited to the household, but that some women were professional spinners, WEAVERS, and wool carders, whereas wool dyeing was a male occupation (A. Laiou in *Festschrift Stratos* 1:112). Women were deeply involved in retail trade, esp. selling foodstuffs. In the 14th C. Ibn Baṭṭūṭa noted that most of the artisans and sellers in the markets of Constantinople were women (*Travels in Asia and Africa,* tr. H.A.R. Gibbs [London 1929] 160). Female bakers, cooks, innkeepers, and bathkeepers are attested, as well as washerwomen, gynecologists, midwives, dancers, prostitutes (the last two professions were closely linked by Byz. moralists), matchmakers, and sorcerers. Some women assisted in the charitable work of *diakoniai* (washing the sick and laying out the dead), while those with semiprofessional skills, such as mourners and wet nurses, were always in demand. Women probably engaged in minor agricultural activities (such as cultivating gardens, feeding hens), but their participation in grain harvesting seemed to Apokaukos a strange occupation. They also assisted with grape picking when there were not enough male workers.

A few women from imperial and aristocratic families played a significant role in the social, political, cultural, and religious life of the empire. Some EMPRESSES ruled independently or as regents of their minor sons; some acted through their husbands. NUNS and abbesses of nunneries not only influenced religious activity, but occa-

sionally interfered in court politics. Noble ladies held high positions at court (e.g., ZOSTE PATRIKIA), founded monasteries, organized literary circles, and served as patrons of the arts. The role of women increased during periods of crisis: they were active in religious conflicts (e.g., in the resistance to Iconoclasm) and in political rebellions (e.g., in support of Empress Zoe or in the overthrow of Andronikos I); in certain cases they participated in the defense of besieged cities.

Although elementary education was available for girls, female LITERACY was not very common. There are numerous references to mothers teaching their children the Psalms and Bible stories, but they may have known these by heart, so this is not necessarily an indication of an ability to read. After the late Roman period that produced such intellectuals as HYPATIA of Alexandria and ATHENAIS-EUDOKIA, a female writer was an exceptional figure (KASSIA). The learned princess Anna KOMNENE, who penned a biography of her father Alexios I, is the sole woman historian of the Byz. era. In the Palaiologan period Theodora RAOULAINA and Irene CHOUMNAINA were active bibliophiles. The figures calculated by Laiou (*infra* 255), on the basis of a very small sample, show a low rate of female literacy in the Palaiologan period (1.8 percent in the 13th C., 16 percent in the 14th C.).

The scarcity of evidence makes it difficult to ascertain changes in the position of women, esp. since the data refer primarily to the upper stratum of Byz. society. In the late Roman period, women evidently preserved relative freedom: they were active in intellectual circles, and appeared as equals in politics—women such as PULCHERIA, THEODORA (the wife of Justinian I), and MARTINA left a considerable mark on the history of the 5th to 7th C. Hagiographical legends promoted the image of exceptional women—former prostitutes who achieved extreme piety, or women in disguise emulating male hermits (Patlagean, *Structure*, pt.XI [1976], 597–623). After the mid-7th C. the empire was preoccupied by the response to military threats in which women necessarily had little or no role. Even the role of the Virgin Mary was questioned by the Iconoclasts. Invocations to her on seals were apparently replaced by those of Christ from the mid-9th C. onward (A. Kazhdan, *BZ* 76 [1983] 384), and then by those of some male saints. Empress IRENE, who managed to quell the resistance of her son Constantine VI, is an unparalleled figure of her time, and most women featured by chroniclers are pious and loyal wives (and occasionally mistresses). Psellos presents the empress Zoe primarily in the role of a lover or spouse, and as a woman making perfume in the seclusion of the women's quarters of the palace; he argues that she and her sister Theodora were unfit to guide the fortunes of the empire.

The situation changed by the end of the 11th C.: the bellicose Komnenoi acknowledged the important role of their women, from Anna DALASSENE (who wielded imperial power on occasion during the rule of her son), Anna Komnene, and the *sebastokratorissa* Irene KOMNENE, to EUPHROSYNE DOUKAINA KAMATERA. Literature also reflects a certain liberation of women from the 12th C. onward: the exaltation of femininity and love finds its culmination in the romance of KALLIMACHOS AND CHRYSORRHOE. Laiou, however, hypothesizes that the beginning of the 15th C. brought an end to some of these features of increased feminine activity.

Representation in Art. In contrast to the emphasis on individual identity in imperial Roman art and the marked sensuality of females in Coptic sculpture, Byz. women were generally represented as homogeneous, sexless creatures. As late as the 6th C. even sacred figures have bodies which, esp. when pregnant (as in images of the Visitation), have some semblance of natural shape. From the 7th to 11th C., however—with the exception of dissolute women, and dancers on such objects as CROWNS—women's bodies are either masked entirely by their clothing or are parodies of human form (e.g., martyrs in the MENOLOGION OF BASIL II, p.390). Thereafter all attempts to depict women as such disappear: in the illustrated homilies of James of Kokkinobaphos (Hutter, *infra*, fig.11) one of the Virgin's midwives displays a breast on her back. Like males, female NUDES are utterly distorted. Hutter perceives a return to characteristically feminine figures and faces in and after those at NEREZI but, if achieved, this was never as part of a holistic attitude toward the human body. The reedlike proportions of women in much 14th-C. painting are also applied to male figures.

LIT. A. Laiou, "The Role of Women in Byzantine Society," *JÖB* 31.1 (1981) 233–60. J. Beaucamp, "La situation juridique de la femme à Byzance," *CahCM* 20 (1977) 145–

76. J. Herrin, "In Search of Byzantine Women: Three Avenues of Approach," in *Images of Women in Antiquity*, ed. A.M. Cameron, A. Kuhrt (London 1983) 167–89. Eadem, "Women and the Faith in Icons in Early Christianity," in R. Samuel, G. Stedman Jones, *Culture, Ideology and Society* (London 1982) 65–83. C. Galatariotou, "Holy Women and Witches: Aspects of Byzantine Conception of Gender," *BMGS* 9 (1984/85) 55–94. S.P. Brock, S.A. Harvey, *Holy Women of the Syrian Orient* (Berkeley-Los Angeles 1985). A.M. Talbot, "A Comparison of the Monastic Experience of Byzantine Men and Women," in *Byzantine Saints and Monasteries* (Brookline, Mass., 1985) 1–20. A.W. Carr, "Women and Monasticism in Byzantium," *ByzF* 9 (1985) 1–15. I. Hutter, "Das Bild der Frau in der byzantinischen Kunst," *Byzantios* 163–70. L. Garland, "The Life and Ideology of Byzantine Women," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 361–93.
–J.H., A.K., A.C.

WOMEN AT THE TOMB. See MYRROPHOROI.

WONDROUS MOUNTAIN (Θαυμαστὸν Ὄρος, now Saman Dağı in Turkey), the site of a pilgrimage complex built primarily between 541 and 591 around the column of SYMEON THE STYLITE THE YOUNGER during his lifetime. Situated southwest of Antioch, the Wondrous Mountain stands prominently above the north bank of the Orontes River a short distance before it flows into the Mediterranean; the port of SELEUKEIA PIERIA lies to the west. The vita of Symeon and that of his mother record assemblies of pilgrims at the column and their construction of the complex in spontaneous gestures of thanksgiving for healings and spiritual favors secured by the stylite. In this manner, inns, a main church, and service buildings were constructed in 541–51 by pilgrims, as well as by masons from Isauria. Between 551 and Symeon's death in 591 a forge and a burial church were erected as, probably, were the monastic quarters. The baptistery and circuit walls were apparently built after 591. Many of these structures still stand, including the rock-cut base of the column with staircase and its surrounding octagonal court; also preserved are the figured capitals in the main church said to have been carved by Symeon's disciple John. The monastery in the complex was refounded in the 10th C. by a bilingual community of Greek and Georgian monks, as attested by contemporaneous Georgian manuscript colophons.

Physical remains of this later period include medieval alterations to tessellated pavements, al-Mina glazed pottery, and various objects excavated by W. Djobadze in the 1960s. The Wondrous Mountain was called the Mont Parlier by the Crusaders who settled nearby at al-Mina at the mouth of the Orontes. The site was finally devastated by the Mamlūks in 1260.

LIT. W. Djobadze, *Archaeological Investigations in the Region West of Antioch-on-the-Orontes* (Stuttgart 1986) 57–115.
–M.M.M.

WOOD AND WOODWORKING. Products made of wood, widespread but now little known, included stools, tables, lecterns, candelabra, and perhaps TEMPLON screens as well as paneling. CARPENTERS (*tektones* or *xylourgoi*) seem to have used green rather than seasoned wood and worked with saws, planes, and chisels. Legs of beds and stools were turned on a lathe; bosses on lecterns (*Treasures* III, figs. 14, 15) and thrones (Chatzinicolaou-Paschou, *CBMG* 1, fig.483) were produced the same way. With the exception of a wooden lyre of the 10th–11th C. found at Corinth (see MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS), preserved examples of wooden objects from Europe date from no earlier than the 13th or 14th C.: furniture with balusters from Kastoria (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 4 [1938] 192); carved icons from Gallista and Ohrid (Lange, *Byz. Reliefikone*, nos. 50, 51); and an icon of St. George in the Byz. Museum, Athens (Grabar, *Sculptures II*, no.168). Many items of wood are preserved from Byz. Egypt: furniture legs and ornament, combs, house and church paneling, even musical instruments (H.-G. Severin in *Festschrift für Klaus Wessel*, ed. M. Restle [Munich 1988] 259–67).

Wood in Architecture. Despite its comparative scarcity and high cost, wood was frequently used as a construction material. Readily destroyed, it has survived in few cases. Timber ROOFS were widely used in the 4th–6th C. both in centralized structures and basilicas, although the only preserved example is that of the *katholikon* at the monastery of St. CATHERINE at Sinai. Eusebios (*HE* 10.4.43) mentions beams of Lebanese cedar in the basilica at TYRE; Prokopios (*Buildings* 5.6.15) speaks of this material in a church at Jerusalem. The form of gabled roofs can be deduced from surviving support systems: they had trusses, usu-

ally visible from below; aisles had roofs pitched on single beams. Dendrochronological investigation has revealed oak tie-beams at the Church of St. IRENE in Constantinople, in the Justinianic phase of HAGIA SOPHIA, Constantinople, and again in 14th-C. restorations there. Juniper and chestnut were used elsewhere.

Wood was common in centering, scaffolding, and zones that withstood vault thrusts. A number of carved wood lintels with Coptic inscriptions have been preserved from Egypt: the most famous is the lintel from the el-Moallaqa church in Old Cairo, dated to 735 (L. MacCoull, *ZPapEpig* 64 [1986] 230–34). Existing elements allow the restoration of wood FLOORS in houses and palaces at MISTRA (A. Orlandos, *ABME* 3 [1937] 80f) and in monastic buildings (refectory at HOSIOS LOUKAS). It was the normal material for DOORS and shutters. Town houses were frequently timber-frame structures with wooden floors and roofs; projecting features of the latter are depicted in the Madrid Skylitzes MS (Grabar-Manoussacas, *Skylitzès*, figs. 203, 260).

LIT. G. Sotiriou, "La sculpture sur bois dans l'art byzantin," in *Mél.Diehl* 2:171–80. Bréhier, *Sculpture* 32–33. Orlandos, *Palaiochr. basilike* 2:386–96. P.I. Kuniholm, C.L. Striker, "Dendrochronological Investigations in the Aegean and Neighboring Regions 1977–82," *Journal of Field Archaeology* 10 (1983) 411–20. –Ch.Th.B.

WORKSHOP. See ERGASTERION.

WREATH (*στέφανος*), ring formed from a GARLAND woven of leaves, sometimes decorated with flowers and fruit. Often used as CROWNS, wreaths were presented to winners in the HIPPODROME and to the emperor upon his triumphant ADVENTUS. In imperial art personifications such as the NIKE offer wreaths to emperors or consuls; senators present wreaths to the emperor on the base of the Column of Arkadios in Constantinople (known from drawings); the emperor holds a wreath on the OBELISK OF THEODOSIOS I in the Hippodrome of Constantinople.

The wreath was common in Christian art where it signified immortality or triumph over death. Wreaths framed images of Christ, the LAMB OF GOD, the CROSS, and the CHRISTOGRAM. Martyrs were shown carrying or being crowned with wreaths. The seasonal fruits on the wreath framing the portrait of St. Victor in the dome of S. Vittore in Ciel d'Oro, Milan, reinforce its symbolism of eternity. With the same connotation wreaths were often represented on sarcophagi and in tombs. In the mosaics of the Orthodox Baptistery, RAVENNA, each of the apostles offers a golden wreath to Christ, a depiction influenced by imperial ceremony. From the 4th to the 6th C. wreaths were also commonly used as ornament in architectural sculpture, FLOOR MOSAICS, and TEXTILES.

LIT. K. Baus, *Der Kranz in Antike und Christentum* (Bonn 1940). –R.E.K.

WRITING DESK. In antiquity and the early Middle Ages SCRIBES used to write while supporting the writing material, whether a wax tablet or a papyrus roll, on the knee. Only a few Late Antique illustrations show a scribe using a table or desk. On the other hand, a table or a desk—often a piece of furniture combining the two functions—forms part of the stereotyped repertoire used by Byz. miniaturists when portraying authors, esp. evangelists (see EVANGELIST PORTRAITS). The lower part of this piece of furniture sometimes has the shape of a bookcase in which some rolls or codices are stored together with writing implements. In other instances writing implements (PENS, INK pots, scissors, pumice-stone) lie on the table. Normally an open codex or a roll is on the desk. The evangelist mostly is shown while writing or preparing to write or holding another book on his lap as if collating. Ἀναλόγιον (older form ἀναλογεῖον) is the common word for the desk on which books are placed in churches or elsewhere; it is always mentioned in connection with reading, not with writing (cf., e.g., *De cer.* 760.14; pseudo-Kod. 189.15, 222.4).

LIT. H. Hunger, *RBK* 2:474–77. B.M. Metzger, "When Did Scribes Begin to Use Writing Desks?" 11 *CEB* (Munich 1960) 355–62. –W.H.

WRITING TABLETS (*πυξία, πινακίδια*) of ivory or more usually citrus wood, employed before the Byz. era, seem to have continued in use until at least the 14th C., when they are depicted in scenes of the education of St. Nicholas. Their form varied from single leaves or wooden panels folded to make DIPTYCHS to successions of such panels

joined in "concertina" format by thongs (A.K. Bowman, *ZPapEpig* 18 [1975] 240–42). Such a polyptych may be represented in the hands of notaries on the diptych of Rufius Probianus, ca.400 (Volbach, *Elfenbeinarbeiten*, no.62). Records, both official and private (see ALBERTINI TABLETS), were written either in ink directly onto the surface or incised with styli on wax-filled recesses; the vita of Neilos of Rossano (*AASS* Sept. 7:273A) describes a gadget of wood and wax that he used. A complete set of such writing equipment was found on the Esquiline Hill in Rome. Ivory tablets were always esteemed, as AUGUSTINE (ep.15.1) indicates: he asks a correspondent to return his *tabellae eburneae*. They made welcome presents, as we know from the letters of Libanios.

LIT. Gardthausen, *Palaeographie* 1:126–32. R. Bull, E. Moser, H. Kuhn, *Vom Wachs*, vol. 1 (Frankfurt am Main 1959) 792–94. F. Cabrol, *DACL* 4.1 (1920) 1045–94.

–A.C.

X

XAGION. See EXAGION.

XANTHEIA (Ξανθεία, mod. Xanthe), settlement in southwestern Rhodope, probably distinct from the ancient Xantheia in Thrace known to Strabo (Ch. Danoff, *RE* 2.R. 9 [1967] 1333). Bishopric in 879 (Mansi 17:376A) and suffragan of Traianoupolis (*Notitiae CP* 7.601), it was still a village (*chorion*) in the 11th C. (P. Gautier, *REB* 42 [1984] 127.1781). Only in the 13th C., after Kalojan had destroyed MOSYNOPOLIS and PERITHEORION, did the importance of Xantheia grow: Gregoras calls it either *polichnion* (Greg. 2:814.19) or *polis* (2:727.24); Kantakouzenos (Kantak. 2:534.10–14) defines it as *polis*; and ENVERI (*Desturname*, 99f, v.1529) goes so far as to term it "a very great city." In 1264 Michael VIII decided to winter in Xantheia with his army (Pachym., ed. Failler, 1:295.13–15). The "castle" where the Catalan leader Ferdinand Ximenes sought refuge in 1307 can probably be identified as Xantheia. In 1345 MOMČILO made the city his residence. In 1347 John VI handed Xantheia over to his son Matthew Kantakouzenos, and by 1369 Xantheia, Peritheorion, and Polystylon were in the hands of JOHN UGLJEŠA (Ostrogorsky, *Serska oblast* 32f).

LIT. Asdracha, *Rhodopes* 93–96. S. Kyriakides, *Peri ten historian tes Thrakes* (Thessalonike 1960) 30–43. S. Ćirković, B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 6 (1986) 474, n.377. –T.E.G.

XANTHOPOULOS, NIKEPHOROS KALLISTOS, ecclesiastical writer; born before 1256?, died ca.1335?. He was a priest at Hagia Sophia (and thus had access to the patriarchal library) and before his death became the monk Neilos. He gave lessons in rhetoric, for which he prepared new PROGYMNASMATA (J. Glettner, *BZ* 33 [1933] 1–12, 255–70). Xanthopoulos (Ξανθόπουλος) was a friend of Theodore METOCHITES, who dedicated his Poem 12 to him (ed. M. Cunningham et al. in *Okeanos* 100–116).

The main work of Xanthopoulos is his voluminous *Ecclesiastical History*, compiled after 1317 and dedicated to ANDRONIKOS II PALAIOLOGOS; 18 of its books survive, covering the period from the time of Christ to 610. Five more books, which extended to 911, are lost. Some of his primary sources were EUSEBIOS OF CAESAREA, SOZOMENOS, THEODORET OF CYRRHUS, and EVAGRIOS SCHOLASTIKOS. The *Ecclesiastical History* includes descriptions of secular events, such as the accession of emperors and military campaigns, but emphasizes ecumenical councils, doctrinal disputes, and the four eastern patriarchates. A much slighter historical work is a versified synopsis of Jewish history after the Maccabees (PG 147:623–32). Xanthopoulos was a prolific hagiographer, whose writings include a history of miracles that occurred at the shrine of Zoodochos PEGE (*AASS* Nov. 3:878–89) and Lives of Sts. NICHOLAS OF MYRA and Euphrosyne the Younger. As a poet, he composed prayers to the Theotokos and apostles, iambic renderings of historical sections of the Old Testament, and short poems on icons and sacred vestments and furnishings. His commentary on the Ladder of JOHN KLIMAX has only recently been discovered (L. Politis, *Kleronomia* 3 [1971] 69–84); he also wrote a commentary on the orations of GREGORY OF NAZIANZOS.

ED. History—PG 145:559–147:448. Poetry—M. Jugie, "Poésies rhythmiques de Nicéphore Calliste Xanthopoulos," *Byzantion* 5 (1929–30) 357–90. A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, "Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos," *BZ* 11 (1902) 38–49. For full list of works, see Beck, *Kirche* 705–07.

LIT. G. Gentz, *Die Kirchengeschichte des Nicephorus Callistus Xanthopulus und ihre Quellen* (Berlin 1966). Beck, *Kirche* 705–07. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:96, 98–100; 2:114, 165, n.262, 172. *PLP*, no.20826. –A.M.T.

XANTHOS (Ξάνθος, now Kınık), city of LYCIA. Although Xanthos rarely appears in Byz. written sources, it is well known from excavations that have revealed its development. Xanthos expanded in the 4th–6th C., when new churches and residences adorned its acropolis and the adjacent plain; notable among them was a richly decorated basilica, apparently the cathedral. This church was burned and much of the city aban-

doned in the 7th C., perhaps the date of the new fortifications on the acropolis. The church was rebuilt on a much smaller scale in the mid-11th C., only to be destroyed and abandoned after the battle of Mantzikert (1071).

The nearby Letöon, ancient cult center of Lycia, shows a similar development. After destruction in the 3rd C., the cult buildings were exploited as quarries. A basilical church of the mid-6th C. became the dominant element of the site until its destruction in the early 7th C. After a long period of desolation, the site was reoccupied on a much reduced scale in the 10th–11th C.

LIT. *Fouilles de Xanthos* (Paris 1958–). –C.F.

XENODOCHEION (ξενοδοχεῖον, sometimes synonymous with ξενών), a guest house for travelers, the poor, and the sick. Unlike *pandocheia* (see INN) and MITATA, where the patrons paid for their room and board, *xenodocheia* were philanthropic institutions based on the principle of Christian hospitality, where food and lodging were free. There can be considerable confusion over the distinction in terminology between *xenodocheion* and *xenon*. In the late Roman Empire the terms seem to have been used interchangeably to mean a guesthouse or hospice for both the sick and needy. Since travelers and poor people might often be ill, a hospice would frequently combine the provision of lodging with medical attention. After the 6th C., *xenon* seems to have been generally used for institutions that specialized in tending the sick and acquired the meaning of HOSPITAL (T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* [Baltimore-London 1985] 26–28). As late as the 11th C., however, a monastic *xenodocheion* was described as a facility for strangers and the sick (P. Gautier, *REB* 40 [1982] 81.1166–68).

Xenodocheia and *xenones* were founded by private citizens, the state, and ecclesiastical institutions, and were sometimes supported by the revenues from estates esp. assigned for this purpose. A number of emperors constructed guesthouses in the capital. Justinian I and Theodora built a *xenon* for travelers to Constantinople who could not afford to pay for rooms (Prokopios, *Buildings* 1.11.24–27). Romanos I Lekapenos established the *xenodocheion tou Maurianou* specifically for visitors who had to spend several days in Constantinople on business or for litigation; the facility included stables, and the guests were provided with food and clothing (*TheophCont* 430.6–9). *Xenodocheia* were frequently attached to monasteries, in both town and countryside. At the guesthouse of the monastery of St. Lazaros on Mt. Galesios, for example, guests could stay as long as they wished; some travelers abused the monks' hospitality and stays were temporarily limited to three days (*AASS* Nov. 3:552f). There is little evidence of the construction of new *xenodocheia* in the Palaiologan era, and documents of this time mention guesthouses—a *xenodocheios oikos* in a *praktikon* of 1339 or 1342 (Guillou, *Ménécée*, no.35.11–12) and a former *xenodocheion* in a charter of 1335 (*Xénoph.* no.23.22)—but infrequently. The state *xenodocheia* and *xenones* were integrated into the governmental administrative system, their XENODOCHOI holding a high position in the bureaucracy.

LIT. Constantelos, *Philanthropy* 185–221. E. Kislinger, "Kaiser Julian und die (christlichen) Xenodocheia," in *Byzantios* 171–84. J.P. Thomas, *Private Religious Foundations in the Byzantine Empire* (Washington, D.C., 1987) 46, 62. –A.K., A.M.T.

XENODOCHOS (ξενοδόχος), director of a XENODOCHEION or *xenon*, usually acting under the supervision of the local bishop. The *Epanagoge* (9.19) lists *xenodochoi* between the *oikonomoi* and *nosokomoi* as officials responsible to the bishop. Among the letters of Photios is correspondence with the *xenodochos* Damianos, whom the patriarch reproached for poor administration. The director of a *xenodocheion* attached to a monastery was a subordinate of the OIKONOMOS and was in charge of the meals and general welfare of visitors to the guesthouse, according to CYRIL OF SKYTHOPOLIS (ed. Schwartz, 130f, 136f). There were also *xenodochoi* in the state bureaucracy. The late 9th-C. *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS mentions *xenodochoi* in the department of the SAKELLION and particular *xenodochoi* under the *megas* KOURATOR: those of Sangarios, Pylai, and Nikomedeia. Seals of the 8th–10th C. also list *xenodochoi* of the Xenon of Euboulos in Constantinople and of the town of Lo⟨u⟩padion (Zacos, *Seals* 1, nos. 1779, 1938, 2330, 2495, 2665).

LIT. Constantantelos, *Philanthropy* 216–21. –A.K.

XENON. See HOSPITAL; XENODOCHEION.

XENON OF THE KRAL (Ξενὼν τοῦ Κράλη), a hospital in Constantinople founded by the Serbian ruler STEFAN UROŠ II MILUTIN in the early 14th C. It was attached to the PETRA MONASTERY, which Milutin restored at the same time, and was supported by the income from landed estates. The *hegoumenos* of the HILANDAR MONASTERY on Athos had the use of three rooms at the Xenon of the Kral when he visited Constantinople. In 1406 the monk Nathanael, a physician (*nosokomos*) at the Xenon, commissioned the rebinding of the Vienna DIOSKORIDES MS. In the 15th C. a school called the *katholikon mouseion* was associated with the Xenon; both Michael APOSTOLES and John ARGYROPOULOS taught there just before the fall of Constantinople.

LIT. Janin, *Églises CP* 426, 559, 563. M. Živojinović, "Bolnica Kralja Milutina u Carigradu," *ZRVI* 16 (1975) 105–17. T. Miller, *The Birth of the Hospital in the Byzantine Empire* (Baltimore 1985) 195f. –A.M.T.

XENOPHONTOS MONASTERY (τοῦ Ξενοφῶντος), one of the oldest monastic establishments on the peninsula of Mt. ATHOS, located on the southwest coast between the monasteries of Panteleemon and Docheiariou; relations with the latter were frequently troubled by disputes over property and relative rank in the Athonite hierarchy. Founded before the end of the 10th C. by the monk Xenophon, the monastery was originally dedicated to St. George. Small at first, in the last quarter of the 11th C. the monastic complex was restored and enlarged by a second *ktetor*, the *megas droungarios* Stephen, a eunuch; by that time Xenophontos housed 55 monks. After a period of decline in the 13th C. following the Fourth Crusade, Xenophontos recovered its prosperity in the early 14th C. under the energetic leadership of the *hegoumenos* Barlaam (ca.1312–25). From ca.1425 onward, the monastery again entered a period of obscurity, during which it came under the control of Slavic monks.

In addition to land on the Holy Mountain, the Xenophontos monastery owned property in Thessalonike, the Chalkidike peninsula, and Lemnos. The archive at Xenophontos preserves 33 acts of Byz. date, ranging from 1089 to 1452. The library contains 27 Byz. MSS (Lampros, *Athos* 1:60–74; Polites, *Katalogoi* 196–230).

Numerous elements of architectural sculpture in the "old *katholikon*" of the monastery have been attributed to the period of the church's construction; its templon, however, is regarded by T. Pazaras (*DChAE*[4] 14 [1987–88] 33–48) as belonging to the reconstruction phase sponsored by the *megas droungarios* Stephen.

SOURCE. *Actes de Xénophon*, ed. D. Papachryssanthou (Paris 1986).

LIT. I. Papangelos, "Symbole eis ten etymologian tou onomatos tou choriou Nikete tes Chalkidikes," *Makedonika* 12 (1972) 303–15. A. Kazhdan, "A Date and an Identification in the Xenophon, no. 1," *Byzantion* 59 (1989) 267–71. –A.M.T., A.C.

XENOS, JOHN, or John the Hermit, author of a short autobiographical vita (*Bios kai politeia*) and saint; born in village of Siba, Crete, 970?, died on Crete? after 1027. Born to a rich family, Xenos (Ξένος) spent his life traveling "from mountain to mountain" in western Crete (p.57.19). He founded several monasteries, the most important located on the summit of Mt. Myriokephalon. For these monasteries Xenos acquired land, fruit trees, and privileges; thus, the autobiography contains some evidence for agrarian relations on Crete (e.g., such terms as ZEUGARION and CHORAPHION). Also Xenos describes the visions he saw and voices he heard ordering him to found monastic communities. Meager as it is in information, Xenos's autobiography is important as a revival of the genre. Tomadakes (*infra* [1950] 20) also ascribes to Xenos some homilies on the Gospel of Matthew as well as KANONES and STICHERA.

ED. N. Tomadakes, "Ho hagios Ioannes ho Xenos kai he diatheke autou," *KretChron* 2 (1948) 47–72.

LIT. *BHG* 2196. L. Petit, "Saint Jean Xénos ou l'Ermite d'après son autobiographie," *AB* 42 (1924) 5–20. N. Tomadakes, "Hymnographika kai hagiologika Ioannou tou Xenou," *EEBS* 20 (1950) 314–30. –A.K.

XEROPOTAMOU MONASTERY, one of the oldest monasteries on Mt. ATHOS, located inland from the southwest coast of the peninsula. Its origins are shrouded in legend and confusion; modern scholars place its foundation during the reign of CONSTANTINE VII (D. Papachryssanthou in *Prot.* 65f). Xeropotamou (Ξηροποτάμου) was in existence by 956 when it received a grant of land from a certain *protospatharios* John (*Xerop.*, no.1). At this time it was dedicated to St. Nikephoros. The monks of Xeropotamou attribute its foundation to Paul Xeropotamites, who is known

to have been on Athos in 958 (vita A of ATHANASIOS OF ATHOS, ch.50.7), but this claim must be treated with caution. It is possible that he was founder of the small Athonite monastery of St. Paul, which also bore the name *tou Xeropotamou* in the 10th and 11th C.

In the early 13th C. the church at Xeropotamou was restored and dedicated to the Forty Martyrs. Andronikos II was also a benefactor of the monastery; by the late 14th C. Xeropotamou held third place in the Athonite hierarchy. The present monastic complex dates from the 18th C. or later. Its library contains approximately 40 MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:200–32), while its archives preserve 30 Greek documents dating between 956 and 1445, including a series of six early 14th-C. *praktika* (*Xerop.*, nos. 18A–F) for the theme of Thessalonike, esp. Chalkidike. The monastery's most precious possession is a 14th-C. steatite paten (Kalavrezou, *Steatite*, no.131) known as the "cup of Pulcheria."

SOURCE. J. Bompaire, *Actes de Xèropotamou* (Paris 1964).
LIT. *Prot.* 65–68. S. Binon, *Les origines légendaires et l'histoire de Xèropotamou et de Saint-Paul de l'Athos* (Louvain 1942). *Treasures* 1:312–51, 473–81. –A.M.T., A.C.

XEROS (Ξηρός), a family of civil functionaries known from the first half of the 11th C., when a certain Xeros, a judge, was active (*Peira* 14.22, 45.11). A series of mid-11th-C. judges named Xeros include Psellos's correspondent, a judge or praitor of the Thrakesian theme; Basil Xeros, judge of Hellas; and John Xeros, *protomystikos*, who in 1057 presided over the litigation of two Athonite monasteries (*Pantel.*, no.5.8). Seals of the 11th C. attest several Basils—judges of Peloponnesos and Hellas, of Kibyrrhaiotai, and of Anatolikon (V.Laurent, *Hellenika* 9 [1936] 25–28). In 1092 Gregory Xeros presented a case concerned with marriage law (*RegPatr*, fasc. 3, no.964). The family produced other civil dignitaries: the *logothetes tou genikou* Basil (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.327); the *anagrapheus* Gregory (*Lavra* 1, no.52.16–17, *Esphig.* no.5.3) in 1094–95; John, *dioiketes* of Peloponnesos and *kourator* of the West (Laurent, *Méd.Vat.* no.111); John, *protasekretis* (Laurent, *Corpus* 2, no.7); Bardas, *hetaireiarches* in 1092 (*Reg* 2, no.1168). The eparch Xeros participated in a plot hatched by the ANEMAS family against Alexios I.

Thereafter the role of the Xeroi in the administration drastically declined: the *sebastos* Michael served as *doux* of Mylassa and Melanoudion; Ahrweiler ("Smyrne" 129) dated him ca.1127, but at that time the title of *sebastos* was too lofty for a governor of a modest theme. Basil Xeros was Manuel I's envoy to Roger of Sicily. At the same time the family was praised as Peloponnesian nobility and was active in ecclesiastical administration: Leo (died 1153) was metropolitan of Athens (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 20 [1962] 192), and Constantine was *protos* of a monastery (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1310). Michael Xeros founded the Church of St. George near Ikonion in the early 13th C. (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1297); in the 13th C. Manuel Xeros and his son Leo received at lease (as *charistikiarioi*, although the term is not used) the monastery of Kato Ptomaia from the metropolitan of Mytilene for the rent of 20 *trikephala* (*RegPatr*, fasc. 4, no.1358). Circa 1252 John Xeros was bishop of Naupaktos. In the Palaiologan period members of the family included *paroikoi* of Lavra and Radolibos and clerics (*PLP*, nos. 20915–26). –A.K.

XESTION. See CHERNIBOXESTON.

XIPHILINOS (Ξιφιλῖνος), a family of civil and ecclesiastical functionaries that flourished in the 11th–12th C. Originally from Trebizond, in the 11th C. they were regarded as a family of lowly origin (Sathas, *MB* 4:430.29–30). Except for Bardas, who is called *strategos* of the Thessalians (i.e., of Thessalonike) on an 11th-C. seal (Laurent, *Bulles métr.*, no.526), they were not military men. They served primarily as judges: for example, the future patriarch JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS; the *vestarches* John and *protovestes* Niketas, who participated in the trial of JOHN ITALOS (1082); Niketas, judge and *apographeus* of the Boleron theme in 1088/9; Niketas, judge and quaestor in 1151(?); Donatos, judge in 1196. They also were *droungarioi tes viglas* and fiscal officials. They served mostly in Constantinople and Thessalonike. The family produced two patriarchs: John VIII and George II (1191–98). The Xiphilinoi belonged to a circle of intellectuals: not only was the future patriarch John VIII the friend of PSELLOS, but also Constantine Xiphilinos, *droungarios tes viglas* ca.1070, was Psellos's correspondent; both John VIII and his nephew John (see XIPHILINOS, JOHN THE YOUNGER) were writers. No data attests their political or ecclesiastical role after 1204, although a seal of a certain Clement Xiphilinos is dated to

the 13th C. and Theodore was *chartophylax* of the Great Church (in exile) ca.1256; in a document of 1421 the builder Argyros Xiphilinos is mentioned. The theory that in 1390 the *megas domestikos* Constantine Xiphilinos Hypselantes married the daughter of MANUEL III KOMNENOS of Trebizond is an 18th-C. falsification.

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 20940–47. S. Skopeteas, "Hoi Hypselantai," *ArchPont* 20 (1955) 159–69, corr. and add. F. Dölger, *BZ* 49 (1956) 199. Laurent, *Corpus* 2, nos. 875–76, 1116–17. –A.K.

XIPHILINOS, JOHN THE YOUNGER, writer, monk; died after 1081. Xiphilinos was the nephew of Patr. JOHN VIII XIPHILINOS; probably he or his uncle owned the seal of the monk John Xiphilinos (Laurent, *Corpus* 5.2, no.1404). The composition of his oeuvre is under discussion, some of his works having been ascribed to his uncle or other authors. He reworked, under Michael VII, a section of the *Roman History* of Dio Cassius and also wrote a collection of 53 homilies for Sundays. Xiphilinos's dedication of a MENOLOGION addressed to Alexios I is preserved in a Georgian translation. V. Latyšev's identification of the *menologion* of Xiphilinos with the anonymous "imperial *menologion*" is now rejected (Ehrhard, *Überlieferung* 3:385f). The Georgian translator of Xiphilinos characterized him as the most significant literary figure at the court of Constantinople.

ED. U.P. Boissevain, *Cassii Dionis Cocceiani historiarum romanarum quae supersunt*, vol. 3 (Berlin 1901) 478–730.

LIT. L. Canfora, "Xifilino e il libro LX di Dione Cassio," *Klio* 60 (1978) 403–07. K. Bonis, *Prolegomena eis tas 'Hermeneutikas didaskalias' tou Ioannou VIII. Xiphilinou* (Athens 1937). K. Kekelidze, "Ioann Ksifilin, prodolžatel' Simeona Metafrasta," *Christianskij Vostok* 1.3 (1912) 325–47. H. Hennephof, "Der Kampf um das Prooimion im xiphilinischen Homiliar," in *Studia byzantina et neohellenica Neerlandica*, eds. W.F. Bakker et al., 3 (Leiden 1972) 281–99. –A.K.

Y

YABH ALLĀHÂ III, Nestorian Christian *katholikos*, often called Mar (Lord) Yabh Allāhâ; born China 1245, died 1317. He was a Turkic Mongol who was baptized a Christian, with the name Mark. He became a monk and in ca.1279 set out with his spiritual director, Rabbān Ṣaumā, to visit the centers of Nestorian Christianity in Mesopotamia with the hope of also making a pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Political events altered the plans of the travelers, who were detained in Mesopotamia and ordained to episcopal rank by the then Nestorian *katholikos*, Denḥā I (1265–81). On Denḥā's death, Mark was elected *katholikos* and took the throne name Yabh Allāhâ III. The hope was that a Mongol patriarch could best protect the interests of the Nestorian church under the Christian Mongol khans. Rabbān Ṣaumā wrote a biography of the *katholikos*, including in it an account of his own mission to the West. In Constantinople, Rabbān Ṣaumā saw Hagia Sophia and other monuments and was received by Andronikos II. Then he traveled to the papal court in Rome, on behalf of the khan Arghūn (1284–91), to explore the possibilities of an alliance between the Mongols and the Byz. against the Muslims.

ED. P. Bedjan, *Histoire de Mar Jab-alaha, patriarche*[2] (Paris-Leipzig 1895). Eng. tr. E.A. Wallis Budge, *The Monks of Kûblâi Khân, Emperor of China* (London 1928). Russ. tr. N. Pigulevskaja, *Istorija Mar Jabalachi III i Rabban Saumy* (Moscow 1958).

LIT. M.-H. Laurent, "Rabban Sauma, ambassadeur de l'Il-khan Argoun, et la cathédrale de Veroli," *MEFR* 70 (1958) 331–65. D. Morgan, *The Mongols* (Oxford–New York 1986) 159f, 187. –S.H.G.

YAḤYĀ OF ANTIOCH, or Yaḥyā ibn Saʿīd al-Anṭākī, Abū'l-Faraj, Arab Melchite author related to the historian EUTYCHIOS OF ALEXANDRIA (though not, as occasionally claimed, his son); died ca.1066. He was a physician in Egypt under the Fāṭimids, but in 1015 the caliph al-Ḥākim's persecutions and favorable terms for Christian emigration resulted in his resettlement in Antioch, then under Byz. control. There he wrote a defense of Christianity and refutations of Islam and Judaism.

In Egypt he was asked (probably owing to his interest in chronology) to continue Eutychios's *History*. This *Continuation* thus began in 938. As the text was repeatedly revised in Egypt and Antioch, the MSS end variously, none extending beyond 1034. Yaḥyā concentrated almost exclusively on Byz., Syria, and Egypt, basing his work on Byz., local Christian, and Muslim sources, and on archival materials, personal informants, and his own observations. In addition to military campaigns, politics, and diplomacy, he covers ecclesiastical and doctrinal issues, social and economic developments, natural disasters, and such matters as the history of Bulgaria and Rus'. Byz. is a primary concern throughout, and Yaḥyā's history offers the invaluable perspective (the only one from northern Syria) of an astute and well-placed Arab observer after the heyday of the Macedonian dynasty. It also comprises one of the very few contemporary sources for Byz. history through much of this period.

ED. *Ta'rīkh* (Annales), ed. L. Cheikho et al. in *CSCO* 51, Scriptores arabici 3.7 (Paris 1909) 89–363. *Histoire*, ed. I. Kratchkovsky, A. Vasiliev, PO 18.5, 23.3 (Paris 1924–32), Fr. tr.

LIT. V. Rosen, *Imperator Vasilij Bolgarobojca: Izvlečenija iz letopisi Yach'i Antiochijskogo* (St. Petersburg 1883; rp. London 1972). G. Graf, *Geschichte der christlichen arabischen Literatur*, vol. 2 (Vatican 1947) 49–51. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.2:80–98. M. Canard, "Les sources arabes de l'histoire byzantine aux confins des Xe et XIe siècles," *REB* 19 (1961) 300–11. J.H. Forsyth, "The Byzantine Arab Chronicle (938–1034) of Yaḥyā b. Saʿīd al-Anṭākī" (Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Mich., 1977). Sezgin, *GAS* 1:338. –L.I.C.

YĀQŪT IBN ʿABDALLĀH, more fully Shihāb al-Dīn ʿAbdallāh Yaʿqūb ibn ʿAbdallāh al-Ḥamawī, Muslim geographer and literary historian of Byz. origin; born in Byz. territory 1179, died Aleppo 1229. Captured as a child, he was given a broad Arabic education in Baghdad and became his master's business manager. Manumitted in 1199, he worked as a copyist and bookseller, traveling extensively in the Islamic East and meeting scholars. His erudition made him a protégé of the Ayyūbid vizier and physician ibn al-Qifṭī, and a

friend of other prominent scholars (e.g., IBN AL-ATHĪR and IBN AL-ʿADĪM). Only three of his ten books survive, including his classic *Geographical Dictionary* and the *Dictionary of Learned Men.* The former (begun 1218, completed 1228), the most extensive work of its kind in Arabic, sums up Arab geographical knowledge to the author's day, incorporating valuable historical, cultural, and ethnographic material on Byz. and other non-Islamic lands and peoples. His entries on Constantinople, Rūm, Crete, Tarsos, Thughūr (see ʿAWĀṢIM AND THUGHŪR), Sicily, and Byz.'s northern neighbors preserve material from earlier sources, for example, lost parts of al-Yaʿqūbī's geography, several accounts of earlier travelers, and extracts from lost Sicilian Arabic sources. His account of the THEMES derives from ibn al-Fakih's lost list, that on Constantinople from al-HARAWĪ. He displays no personal knowledge of Byz., and it is inaccurate to describe him as a Byz. native informant, as do some scholars.

ED. *Muʿjam al-Buldān,* ed. F. Wüstenfeld, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1866–73). Partial Eng. tr. W. Jwaideh, *The Introductory Chapters of Yāqūt's Muʿjam al-Buldān* (Leiden 1959).

LIT. Kračkovskij, *Geog. Lit.* 330–42. R. Blachère, H. Darmaun, *Extraits des principaux géographes arabes du Moyen Age* (Paris 1957) 264–75. F.J. Heer, *Die historischen und geographischen Quellen in Jaqut's Geographischem Wörterbuch* (Strassburg 1898). –A.Sh.

YARMUK (Ἱερμουχᾶς), a tributary of the Jordan on the banks of which the Arabs won a decisive battle over the Byz. in Aug.–Sept. 636 (usually dated 20 Aug.). After a series of defeats suffered by THEODORE, Herakleios's brother, the emperor organized an enormous force under the joint command of the *sakellarios* Theodore Trithourios; Niketas, son of SHAHRBARĀZ; and Vahan, a Persian. The Arabs abandoned Emesa and Damascus, but blocked Byz. movement in the area of the Golan Heights. Combat started near Jābiya (Arabic; Gabitha in Syriac) and ended in the Yarmuk valley. According to Theophanes the Confessor (Theoph. 338.9–10), each army was 40,000 strong, but Donner (*infra*) calculates that the Byz. force (100,000) was more than four times larger than the Muslims (24,000) under the command of Abū ʿUbayda and KHĀLID. After initial difficulties, during which even women were forced to fight, the Muslims destroyed the Byz. army, killing many as they fled. To explain the defeat Theophanes cites the southerly wind that blew dust in the face of the Byz. Probably more important were internal discords among the Byz.: Vahan is said to have revolted before the battle and been proclaimed emperor by his soldiers; the inhabitants of Damascus, under MANṢŪR IBN SARJŪN, probably supported the Muslims; and Christian Arabs under Jabalah ibn al-Ayham unexpectedly switched sides during the battle. The effectiveness of the Arab cavalry also contributed much to Muslim success when, under Khālid, their horsemen managed to separate the Byz. infantry from their cavalry. Among the Byz. commanders Trithourios fell in the battle, Vahan probably fled to Sinai, and Niketas escaped to Emesa. Arab losses were insignificant. The battle at the Yarmuk accomplished the occupation of Palestine.

LIT. Donner, *Conquests* 138f, 144–46. Caetani, *Islam* 3:499–625. –W.E.K., A.K.

YAZDGIRD III (Ἰσδιγέρδης), last Sasanian Persian king (from 632); born ca.617, died near Merv 651/2. The grandson of Chosroes II, he was enthroned in the troubled period following the death of KAVAD-SHĪRŪYA. In 636 the Arab army sent by ʿUMAR invaded Persia and in the battle at Qādisīya (near Ḥīra) routed the Persians and seized their flag; the Persian commander Rustam died in the battle. In 642 the Persians under the command of Perozan lost the second decisive battle, at Nihāvand, in Media. Logistical problems made it hard for Yazdgird to establish contact with Byz., and so the two great empires were defeated separately. After much wandering Yazdgird sought a last refuge in Merv. He arrived there, according to tradition, with a retinue of 4,000 slaves, cooks, wives, and servants, but without a single soldier. He met a hostile reception, fled again, and was murdered either by the owner of a water mill or by cavalrymen who pursued him.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 499–509. A. Kolesnikov, *Zavoevanie Irana arabami* (Moscow 1982) 86–88, 131–144. –W.E.K.

YAZĪD II (Ἰζίδ) ibn ʿAbd al-Malik, caliph of the UMAYYADS (720–24); born ca.685, died Bayt Rās 27 Jan. 724. In July 721 Yazīd issued an edict requiring the destruction of artistic images

throughout the caliphate. His brother MASLAMA was charged with carrying out the order. Byz. sources (e.g., Theoph. 401.29–402.7) attribute his action to a Jewish magician, who promised the ailing Yazīd a long reign if he would condemn icons. Archaeological evidence indicates that Christian churches did suffer, but the decree was actually directed at all, not only Christian, human representations (Ostrogorsky, *History* 162, n.1). The order was rescinded by Yazīd's son Walīd, who reportedly had the magician executed. Some scholars believe without foundation that Yazīd's edict inspired the iconoclastic decree of LEO III.

LIT. A.A. Vasiliev, "The Iconoclastic Edict of the Caliph Yazid II, A.D. 721," *DOP* 9/10 (1956) 23–47. K.A.C. Creswell, "The Lawfulness of Painting in Early Islam," *Ars Islamica* 11–12 (1946) 159–66. –P.A.H.

YEAR. See CHRONOLOGY.

YEAR, LITURGICAL, a somewhat artificial conception of the church CALENDAR as a homogeneous chronological cycle of FEASTS and seasons of PENANCE and FASTING, ordered according to the sequence of events in New Testament salvation history. In this conception, the church year is concerned chiefly with the mysteries of the life of Jesus and Mary as found in the New Testament and apocryphal literature, and only secondarily with later happenings, such as councils or the transfer of relics.

The year begins with the feasts of the BIRTH OF THE VIRGIN and PRESENTATION OF THE VIRGIN (8 Sept. and 21 Nov.) serving as preludes to the "theophanic" cycle, or NATIVITY-EPIPHANY season, the most ancient GREAT FEASTS of the fixed cycle. Then commence the festivities of the "paschal" cycle: pre-Lent, LENT, HOLY WEEK, EASTER, and PENTECOST. They are followed by the fasts and feasts of Sts. Peter and Paul (29 June) and the DORMITION of the Virgin (15 Aug.).

The two poles of the year, the theophanic and paschal cycles, are the only periods that can be properly designated "liturgical seasons," and together they occupy less than half the year. The remaining seven-month period escapes facile integration into a coherent, chronologically progressive liturgical year. The feast of the Transfiguration on 6 Aug., for example, precedes that of the beheading of the Baptist (29 Aug.), historically an earlier event. The sanctoral cycle is also unrelated to the unfolding of salvation history except in the case of a few saints directly associated with New Testament events: the SYNAXIS of Ioakeim and Anna on 9 Sept. or John the Baptist on 7 Jan. are in each case connected with the New Testament events of the previous day (Birth of the Virgin and Baptism).

The round of feasts evidently grew piecemeal and haphazardly, with no thought of eventual coordination into a yearly cycle. Indeed three conflicting cycles are discernible in the extant LITURGICAL BOOKS: the most ancient weekly cycle, centered on SUNDAY, found in the OKTOECHOS; the movable lunar cycle of the paschal mystery, found in the TRIODION and PENTEKOSTARION; and the cycle of fixed feasts found in the MENAION, the last book to acquire formulation with a full complement of AKOLOUTHIAI for each date of the year.

LIT. T.J. Talley, *The Origins of the Liturgical Year* (New York 1986). A. Stoelen, "L'année liturgique byzantine," *Irénikon* 4.10 (1928). –R.F.T.

YEMEN. See ḤIMYAR.

YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT. See IRENE-YOLANDA OF MONTFERRAT.

YOLANDE (Ἰολεντία), Latin empress of Constantinople (1217–19), died Constantinople, Sept. 1219. Yolande was the sister of BALDWIN OF FLANDERS and HENRY OF HAINAULT. After the disappearance of her husband PETER OF COURTENAY, she ruled the Latin Empire of Constantinople and proved a capable ruler. She made two shrewd marriage alliances: one of her daughters, Agnes, married GEOFFREY II VILLEHARDOUIN and another, Marie, wed THEODORE I LASKARIS, which helped to ease the pressure on the Latin Empire. Yolande's death opened the question of the succession. Her eldest son, Philip, count of Namur, was unwilling to accept the throne of Constantinople. It went instead to her second son, ROBERT OF COURTENAY, and then to her youngest son, BALDWIN II.

LIT. Longnon, *Empire latin* 157f. *HC* 2:212f. –M.J.A.

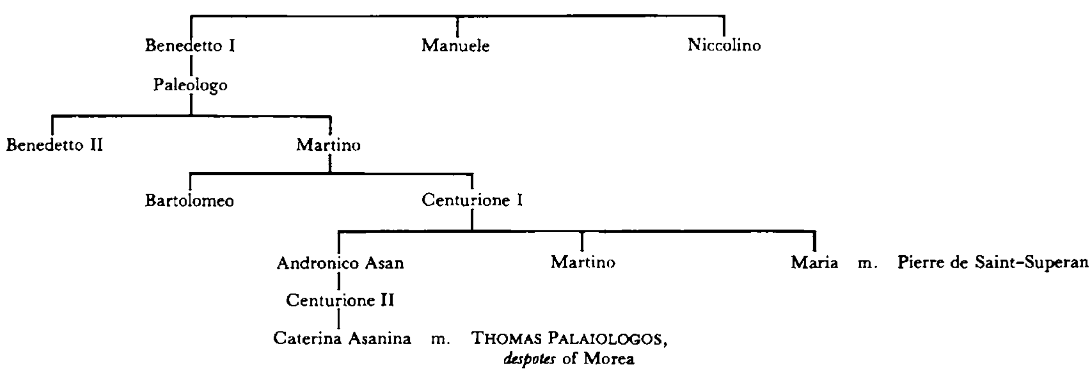
Z

ZABERGAN (Ζαβεργάν), khan of the COTRIGURS in the mid-6th C. After the Cotrigurs and Utrigurs had made peace (ca.558), in the winter of 558/9 Zabergan crossed the frozen Danube with his cavalry, passed through Moesia and Scythia, and invaded Thrace. Agathias (Agath. 5:12.4) ascribes to him a "wild plan" to gain control of the sea. Exploiting the state of the LONG WALL, ruined in the earthquake of 557 and not yet fully repaired, Zabergan penetrated to Constantinople with 7,000 mounted warriors. Justinian I recalled BELISARIOS, who had been out of favor, and commissioned him to fight the intruders. Belisarios had about 300 heavily armed soldiers and other troops consisting of unarmed civilians and peasants from localities that had suffered Zabergan's pillaging. At the village of Chettos, Belisarios won the day, having ambushed the enemy's cavalry. Zabergan, however, remained in Thrace until summer, when the Byz. fleet entered the Danube, thus threatening the Cotrigurs and preventing their retreat. Zabergan negotiated a truce, returned prisoners of war, was promised subsidies, and withdrew across the Danube; Justinian celebrated the triumph on 11 Aug. 559. Justinian then stirred up the hostility between the Utrigurs and Cotrigurs to deflect them from Byz.

LIT. Stein, *Histoire* 2:536–40. Bury, *LRE* 2:304–08. V. Popović, "La descente des Koutrigours, des Slaves et des Avars vers la Mer Egée," *CRAI* (1978) 611. A. Lippold, *RE* supp. 15 (1978) 611. Idem, *RE* 2.R. 9 (1967) 2204–06.
–W.E.K., A.K.

ZACCARIA (Ζαχαρίας), Genoese family active in Levantine affairs in the 13th–15th C. Benedetto I (died 1307) was a merchant and admiral who in the 1290s distinguished himself in the service of the French king Philip IV the Fair (1285–1314). He also served Emp. Michael VIII as an envoy to Western courts, notably Aragon. In 1275 Michael granted PHOKAIA as a fief to Benedetto and his brother Manuele (died by 1288). The family amassed a fortune from the exploitation of the ALUM mines there and built a fleet to protect their merchant vessels from pirates. Phokaia remained in the control of the Zaccaria family until 1314. In 1304 or 1305 (Laiou, *CP & the Latins* 153) Benedetto took CHIOS to protect it from capture by the Turks and further enriched himself through a monopoly in mastic. Benedetto's grandsons, Benedetto II (died 1329) and Martino (died 1345), shared the rule of Chios from 1314 until ca.1325, when Benedetto was forced to abdicate by his brother. A rebellion of local Greeks in 1329 en-

SELECTED GENEALOGY OF THE ZACCARIA FAMILY IN THE LEVANT



Based on Bon, *Morée franque* 708, with modifications.

abled the Byz. to recover the island. Martino, after a long period of imprisonment in Constantinople, returned to Genoa. He died while commanding the fleet that attacked UMUR BEG at Smyrna in 1344.

Through marriage and purchase the Zaccaria also acquired lands at Damala and Chalandritsa in the principality of ACHAIA. Centurione II Zaccaria (died 1432) became the last prince of Achaia (1404–30), taking the title from his aunt, Maria Zaccaria, widow of Pierre de St. Superan (see NAVARRESE COMPANY). He, however, lost most of his territory in Elis and Messenia to the Byz. despotate of MOREA in 1417/18 and in 1430 married his daughter, Caterina Asanina Zaccaria, to THOMAS PALAIOLOGOS, giving his remaining lands as her dowry. (See genealogical table.)

LIT. *PLP*, nos. 6490–96. R. Lopez, *Genova marinara nel duecento: Benedetto Zaccaria, ammiraglio e mercante* (Messina-Milan 1933). W. Miller, "The Zaccaria of Phocaea and Chios (1275–1329)," *JHS* 31 (1911) 42–55. Bon, *Morée franque* 1:279–93. –A.M.T.

ZACHARIAS, pope (3 Dec. 741–15 Mar. 752); born 679. He was the son of a Greek from Calabria, and the last Greek pope. Zacharias reached a truce with the LOMBARDS and stabilized the situation in northern Italy, until the new Lombard king Aistulf (749–57) reopened hostilities and captured Ravenna in 751. The pope then sought the support of Byz. and the recognition of the emperor, even though the situation was complicated owing to the Iconoclast policies of the emperors. When Constantine V was being challenged by the rebellious *strategos* ARTABASDOS in 741–42, the papal envoys to Constantinople maintained a cautious position despite the favorable attitude of Artabasdos toward icon veneration; they recognized Artabasdos but did not associate with his party. Constantine, after his victory, rewarded the pope granting him lucrative estates in Italy. An intelligent man, Zacharias probably translated the *Dialogues* of Pope GREGORY I into Greek.

LIT. G.S. Marcou, "Zaccaria (679–752): L'ultimo Papa greco nella storia di Roma altomedievale," in *Studi in onore di P.A. d'Avack*, vol. 2 (Rome 1976) 1017–45. O. Bertolini, "I rapporti di Zaccaria con Costantino V e con Artavasdo," *ASRSP* 78 (1955) 1–21. –A.K.

ZACHARIAS, JOHN. See JOHN AKTOUARIOS.

ZACHARIAS OF MYTILENE, also called Zacharias Rhetor or Scholastikos, churchman and writer; born Maiouma, near Gaza, ca.465/6, died after 536. Zacharias studied rhetoric and philosophy at Alexandria and law at Berytus. After a period as a monk in his youth, he went to Constantinople to become a lawyer. Originally of Monophysite persuasion, he converted to the Chalcedonian faith in the first decades of the 6th C. As bishop of Mytilene, he attended the Council of Constantinople in 536.

His *Church History*, written originally in Greek from a Monophysite perspective, covers the period 450–91, and was probably composed ca.492–95. It survives only in a Syriac epitome, which forms books 3–6 of a chronicle in 12 books, called *Accounts of Events that Have Happened in the World*, compiled by an anonymous monk at Amida in 569. Indeed, most of his works are extant only in Syriac texts, the exceptions being the *De mundi opificio* or *Ammonios*, a polemic in dialogue form against the pagan philosopher AMMONIOS, in which the question of the eternity of the cosmos is debated (P. Merlan, *GRBS* 9 [1968] 193–203); a fragment from an anti-Manichaean tract is also in Greek. His biography of his fellow pupil, SEVEROS of Antioch, provides a fascinating account of student life in Alexandria, being also a valuable source for late paganism. Zacharias also wrote Lives of Isaias, an Egyptian monk, and PETER THE IBERIAN (M.-A. Kugener, *BZ* 9 [1900] 464–70); only a fragment of the latter is preserved.

ED. *Historia ecclesiastica*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 4 vols. (Paris 1919–24), with Lat. tr. Eng. tr. F.J. Hamilton, E.W. Brooks, *The Syriac Chronicle Known as that of Zachariah of Mitylene* (London 1899). *Vitae virorum apud monophysitas celeberrimorum*, ed. E.W. Brooks, 2 vols. (Paris 1907). *Ammonio*, ed. M.M. Colonna (Naples 1973), with Ital. tr. *Vie de Sévère par Zacharie le Scholastique*, ed. M.-A. Kugener (Paris 1903) [PO 2.1] 7–115, with Fr. tr.

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 385f. E. Honigmann, *Patristic Studies* (Vatican 1953) 194–204. Baumstark, *Literatur* 183f. S. Brock, "Syriac Historical Writing," *Journal of the Iraqi Academy, Syriac Corportion* 5 (1979–80) 4f. P. Allen, "Zachariah Scholasticus and the *Historia Ecclesiastica* of Evagrius Scholasticus," *JThSt* n.s. 31 (1980) 471–88. –B.B., S.H.G.

ZACHLUMIA (Slavic Zahumlje), the country of the Zachloumoi (Ζαχλοῦμοι), a region on the Adriatic coast between Dubrovnik and the Narenta (Neretva) River; Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 33.12) explains that the name in Slavic means "behind the hill." Michael,

prince of Zachlumia in the first half of the 10th C., supported SYMEON OF BULGARIA against Byz. and Serbia, but ca.925 allied with TOMISLAV of Croatia and probably with Byz. The name *Zachlumia* disappears from Greek sources after Constantine VII; only John Skylitzes refers to the people of Zachlouboi (Skyl. 145.74) in a passage borrowed from the *Vita Basilii*. Latin texts, however, continued to name it Zachulmia or Chelmania, while Slavic sources refer to it as Humska zemlja, that is, the land of Hum. The PRIEST OF DIOKLEIA mentions Lutovid, the "*princeps* of Chelmana," who was active in the early 1040s; a charter of Lutovid survives in which he claims to be *protospatharios* and *strategos* of Zachlumia, thus implying the existence of a Byz. theme of Zachlumia in the 11th C. This charter, however, is usually considered to be a forgery (Ja. Ferluga in *VizIzvori* 3:157, n.250). In the 12th C. the land of Hum was incorporated into Serbia and formed an appanage of Miroslav, brother of STEFAN NEMANJA; in the 13th C. the princes of Hum seem to have been again independent, but in the 14th C. Hum was under the sovereignty of BOSNIA.

LIT. F. Dvornik in *De adm. imp.* 2:137–40. Fine, *Late Balkans* 142f. B. Ferjančić, in *VizIzvori* 2:59, n.206.
–A.K.

ZADAR. See ZARA.

ZAK'ARIDS (Georg. Mxagrdzeli), christianized Kurdish dynasty that ruled ARMENIA at the beginning of the 13th C. In 1199, the Zak'arids seized KARS and ANI; by 1203 they had retaken DUIN from the Muslims and controlled most of Armenia north and east of Lake Van. The eldest Zak'arē, who gave his name to the dynasty, resided at Ani and ruled the western portion of Armenia with the title of "commander of the army" (*amirspasalar*), while his brother Iwanē ruled the eastern portion from Duin with the title of "father of the king" (*atabeg*). The precise relationship of the Zak'arids to the Georgian crown remains unclear. They styled themselves kings, sought to reconstruct the earlier Armenian parafeudal social structure, and embellished and erected monuments that they covered with dedicatory inscriptions. Ani regained its former splendor in this period. Nevertheless, the Zak'arids do not seem to have been altogether independent, and Queen T'AMARA OF GEORGIA used Duin as her winter residence. In 1236, the Zak'arids Awag and Šahanšah recognized the overlordship of the Mongols and consequently survived the fall of Armenia, but increasingly heavy taxation and Mongol favor toward other families brought Zak'arid rule to an end in the second half of the 13th C.

LIT. S. Eremyan, *Amirspasalar Zak'aria Erkaynabazowk* (Erevan 1944). L.O. Babaian, *Social'no-ekonomičeskaja i političeskaja istorija Armenii v XIII–XIV vekach* (Moscow 1969). *Histoire des Arméniens*, ed. G. Dédéyan (Toulouse 1982) 299–302.
–N.G.G.

ZAKON SUDNYJ LJUDEM (Law for Judging the People), perhaps the earliest Slavic legal collection adapted from Byz. Its (oldest) short version comprises approximately 30 chapters dealing primarily with penal law; it is based on the ECLOGA, whose rules are in part translated verbatim and in part freely reworked. Although it is agreed that the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem* was produced in the 9th or, at the latest, the beginning of the 10th C., its place of origin (Bulgaria, Great Moravia, Macedonia), precise date, author, and degree of Western influence, remain highly controversial, as does the original function and status of the collection. The preserved MSS all originate in Russia, where the *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem*, having been introduced at the end of the 10th C., was widely circulated as a part of larger legal collections; it was eventually included in the printed edition of the KORMČAJA KNIGA.

ED. M.N. Tichomirov, L.V. Milov, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem kratkoj redakcii* (Moscow 1961).

LIT. V. Ganev, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem: Pravno-istoričeski i pravno-analitični proučvanija* (Sofia 1959). H.W. Dewey, A.M. Kleimola, *Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem (Court Law for the People)* (Ann Arbor 1977). Ja.N. Ščapov, "Zakon Sudnyj Ljudem i slavjanskaja Ekloga," *BS* 46 (1985) 136–39.
–L.B.

ZAKYNTHOS (Ζάκυνθος, Ital. Zante), island in the Ionian Sea south of KEPHALENIA. A *polis* of Achaia, Zakynthos is mentioned by several late antique geographers, including Hierokles and the Cosmographer of Ravenna, among others. In 467 GAISERIC pillaged the island and carried away 500 captives from the local nobility (Prokopios, *Wars* 3.22.17). There are no reliable traces of Slavic settlement in the toponymy of Zakynthos (Vasmer, *Slaven* 79f). Pseudo-Sphrantzes (Sphr. 242.14)

mentions an attack of the Cretan Arabs on Kephalenia and Zakynthos ca.872; he evidently confused it with the Arab assault of 880, when they were defeated by NASAR (Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:54f, n.3). Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De them.* 7.3, ed. Pertusi, 92) lists Zakynthos as belonging to the theme of Kephalenia, and in the lists of bishoprics it appears as a suffragan of Kephalenia (*Notitiae CP* 3.776) and later CORINTH (7.493). In 1099 it was plundered by the Pisans (An.Komn. 3:42.9) but remained Byz. until the end of the 12th C., when it fell to Margaritone of Brindisi, the admiral of WILLIAM II of Sicily. From 1194 to 1328 Zakynthos was in the hands of the Orsini family under theoretical Venetian suzerainty; from 1328 to 1479 it belonged to the Tocco family. In 1479 the island fell temporarily to the Turks, in 1482 to the Venetians.

The Latin bishop of Zakynthos was placed under the archbishop of PATRAS, although the Orthodox bishop remained subject to Corinth. The main Byz. settlement was on the site of the ancient and modern town, where traces of Byz. fortifications remain, built into the Venetian walls. The ruins of the Latin cathedral, with an earlier Byz. phase (late 12th–13th C.), have been identified.

LIT. *TIB* 3:278–80. Ph. Mpoumpoulides, "Symboule eis ten historian tes Zakynthias," *EpMesArch* 7 (1957) 84–128. D. Zakythenos, Ch. Maltezou, "Contributo alla storia dell'episcopato latino di Cefalonia e Zante," in *Mnemosynon S. Antoniade* (Venice 1974) 65–119. D. Triantaphyllopulos, *RBK* 4.1 (1982) 23, 42–46, 52. –T.E.G.

ZANGĪ (or Zengi) of Mosul, son of Aksungur al-Ḥājib; born ca.1084, died Qalʿat Jaʿbar (on the Euphrates, southeast of Aleppo) 14 Sept. 1146. Appointed *atabeg* of Mosul in 1127, Zangī occupied Aleppo in Jan. 1128. He attempted to secure Damascus, control Baghdad, and fight the Crusaders. When JOHN II KOMNENOS attacked northern Syria (Apr.–May 1138), Zangī reinforced and defended Aleppo. John exhausted his patience besieging Shayzar and withdrew; Zangī harassed his retreat. In Dec. 1144 Zangī took EDESSA; its capture occasioned the Second Crusade.

LIT. *HC* 1:449–62. –C.M.B.

ZANGIDS, the descendants of ZANGĪ. Zangī's eldest son, Saif al-Dīn Ghāzi, succeeded him in Mosul, where his descendants reigned until 1222. Zangī's second son, NŪR AL-DĪN, ruled Aleppo and Damascus; his territories later passed to SALADIN.

LIT. C.E. Bosworth, *The Islamic Dynasties* (Edinburgh 1967) 121f. –C.M.B.

ZAOUTZES, STYLIANOS (Ζαούτζης in *Vita Euthym.*, Ζαουτζᾶς in Skyl.), high-ranking official under BASIL I and LEO VI; born Macedonia, died Constantinople 899. Zaoutzes came from an Armenian family; N. Adontz's suggestion (*Études* 55) that he was the son of a *strategos* of Macedonia cannot be proven. Zaoutzes was *protospatharios* and *hetaireiarches* at the end of Basil's reign; he supported Leo in his conflict with Basil, and after their reconciliation Basil appointed Zaoutzes as his son's tutor. Leo promoted Zaoutzes to the titles of *patrikios, magistros,* and BASILEOPATOR; V. Laurent attributes to him the seal of the *patrikios* and "father of the emperor" Stylianos (*Coll. Orghidan* [Paris 1952] no.42). Zaoutzes directed Leo's policy; most of the NOVELS OF LEO VI were addressed to him. Chroniclers accuse Zaoutzes of transferring the market of Bulgarian merchants from Constantinople to Thessalonike in 893, thus providing SYMEON OF BULGARIA with a pretext to begin war. Zaoutzes acquired even more influence when his daughter Zoe became Leo's mistress and in 898 his spouse; Zaoutzes also managed to promote his partisan, ANTONY II KAULEAS, to patriarch. Between 886 and ca.895 the emperor preached a sermon (unreliable ed. by Akakios, *Leontos tou Sophou panegyrikoi logoi* [Athens 1868], no.34; corr. partial tr. by Mango, *Art* 203–05) in a church built by Zaoutzes. The sermon includes an important description of its decorative program.

After Zaoutzes's death and Zoe's demise in 899/900, some relatives of Zaoutzes plotted against Leo, but SAMONAS revealed their scheme and the family lost its power. A. Leroy-Molinghen and P. Karlin-Hayter (*Byzantion* 38 [1968] 280f) hypothesized that one of his descendants married PSELLOS. Zaoutzes is presented as the embodiment of evil in the vita of Patr. EUTHYMIOS.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 149–52. –A.K., A.C.

ZARA (Διάδωρα, anc. Iadera, Slav. Zadar), a city and port in Dalmatia. Its history during the late Roman Empire is poorly documented; together

with all of Dalmatia, Zara was under the control of the Ostrogoths in the 5th C. and ca.537 was reconquered by Justinian I. Some Gothic objects have been found in the vicinity of Zara, for example, in the necropolis in the village of Kašić. The hexagonal baptistery in Zara, previously dated to the 9th C., has been reassigned to the 6th C. (I. Nikolajević, *ZRVI* 9 [1966] 239f). The destruction of SALONA in the early 7th C. and the capture of RAVENNA and AQUILEIA by the Lombards in the 8th C. made Zara the largest city in the northern Adriatic. In 805 Paul, "*dux* Iaderae," and Bp. Donatus appeared at the court of Charlemagne as representatives of Dalmatia. A legend connects Bp. Donatus also with Constantinople: he reportedly went to the Byz. capital, where Nikephoros I gave him the relics of St. Anastasia for transfer to Zara. Construction of the Cathedral of St. Anastasia began around this date. In the 10th C. Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 29.272–84) mentions several churches in the "large *kastron*" of Zara; among them was the basilica of the virgin saint Anastasia whose "flesh" was preserved there. He compares the basilica to the Church of the CHALKOPRATEIA in Constantinople and describes its paintings and floor mosaics.

Zara was autonomous under the Byz. protectorate in the 7th–11th C., elders of Zara functioning (until the mid-9th C.) as *archontes* of Dalmatia, but there were various political forces trying to conquer Zara. Venice was the most dangerous of them, although Zara did not realize it. In 1000 Zara solemnly received the fleet of the doge Pietro Orseoli, but the Venetian expedition of 1050—or rather 1062 (L. Margetić, *StVen* 4 [1980] 279–90)—met resistance; Zara began to seek the support of Hungary against Venice. According to Andreas DANDOLO, in 1112 the doge Ordelafo Falieri asked Emp. Alexios I Komnenos to transfer to Venice supremacy over Zara. Evidently the response was negative, and in 1116 the Venetians attacked Zara and defeated the Hungarian troops defending the city. In 1186, however, BÉLA III established Hungarian authority in Zara, and Venice failed to regain it. A few years later, Doge Enrico DANDOLO decided to use the army of the Crusaders to recover Zara. Despite the opposition of Pope Innocent III, the Venetian fleet of the Fourth Crusade sailed to the Dalmatian coast and on 24 Nov. 1202, after a two-week siege, forced Zara to surrender. The struggle over Zara continued, however, with both Croatian and Hungarian kings claiming rights to it, until 1409 when Venice finally conquered the city.

LIT. *HC* 2:168, 172–76. M. Suić, *Zadar u starom vijeku* (Zadar 1981) 310–43. N. Klaić, I. Petricioli, *Zadar u srednjem vijeku* (Zadar 1976). Ferluga, *Byzantium* 173–92. I. Petricioli, "Contribution à la recherche de la plus ancienne phase de construction de la cathédrale de Zadar," *Disputationes salonitanae*, vol. 2 (Split 1984) 243–53. *Zadar-zbornik* (Zagreb 1964). –A.K.

ZEALOTS (Ζηλωταί), the leaders of a revolt who established a short-lived regime in Thessalonike (1342–49) after driving out the Kantakouzenist governor Theodore Synadenos and his aristocratic supporters. Supreme power in the movement was held by two *archontes* (from 1342 to 1345 the *megas primikerios* John, son of Alexios APOKAUKOS, and Michael Palaiologos) and a council (*boule*) that could be summoned at the initiative of a single archon. At first the Zealots were able to repel the attacks of John VI Kantakouzenos, but by 1345 the city's situation became dangerous. Some factions attempted a reconciliation with Kantakouzenos. In the spring John Apokaukos organized the murder of Michael Palaiologos and arrested his supporters. When Alexios Apokaukos was killed in Constantinople, his son opened negotiations with Kantakouzenos's followers. This incited a new uprising. Apokaukos and his noble partisans were killed, and Andrew Palaiologos, supported by radical elements, seized power. At this time, according to Demetrios Kydones (PG 109:648D), society was topsy-turvy—the slave struck his master, the villager attacked a general, and the peasant a (noble?) warrior. In 1347 the Zealots prevented Gregory PALAMAS, the newly elected metropolitan of Thessalonike, from entering his see. After Kantakouzenos's victory in Constantinople, however, Zealot resistance was doomed. At the end of 1349 they attempted to surrender the city to Stefan Uroš IV Dušan, but the moderate faction, headed by Alexios Metochites, routed the sailors (*nautikon*), who were the backbone of the movement, and handed the city over to Kantakouzenos. In 1350 he arrived in Thessalonike, together with John V and Palamas, while Andrew Palaiologos fled to Mt. Athos.

The revolt of the Zealots has been treated, from O. Tafrali (*Thessalonique au XIVe siècle* [Paris 1913] 225–72) on, as a "revolution," an uprising of the

"lower classes" against the aristocracy, similar to contemporaneous movements in Italian cities, and resulting in social reforms. This interpretation was based on a then-unpublished treatise of Nicholas KABASILAS abundantly quoted by Tafrali. I. Ševčenko, however, in publishing Kabasilas's text (*Soc. & Intell.*, pts. III–VI), showed that it neither referred to the Zealots, nor contained any information concerning reforms.

The revolt of the Zealots should be seen rather as an event within the framework of the CIVIL WAR OF 1341–47, with the Zealots supporting the "bureaucratic" regime of Alexios Apokaukos against the "feudal" supporters of Kantakouzenos (M.Ja. Sjuzjumov, *VizVrem* 28 [1968] 15–37). In time, however, the movement became more than a struggle between two court factions. Gregoras (Greg. 2:796.1–12) says that the regime created by the Zealots was an unprecedented *ochlokratia* (mob rule) and not an aristocracy or democracy. The Zealots were accused of pillaging by their enemies (e.g., Palamas, ed. B. Gorjanov, *VizVrem* 1 [1947] 265.20–26), but it is uncertain whether a systematic confiscation of properties took place. Kantakouzenos's statement (Kantak. 2:570.19–20) that the Zealots "damaged the area" is too vague to permit any conclusions. Nor is the religious program of the Zealots clear. Kantakouzenos reports (Kantak. 2:571.5–7) that the drunken Zealots ridiculed "Christian mysteries" and describes (ibid. 570.21–24) how large vats were set up in the streets so that the Zealots, with candle in hand, could rebaptize (*anebaptizon*) the rank and file. The revolt found support in some neighboring towns (e.g., Platamon, Rentina).

LIT. V. Hrochová, "La révolte des Zélotes à Salonique et les communes italiennes," *BS* 22 (1961) 1–15. P. Charanis, "Internal Strife in Byzantium during the Fourteenth Century," *Byzantion* 15 (1940–1) 208–30. –A.K., A.M.T.

ZEMARCHOS (Ζήμαρχος), diplomat of JUSTIN II and senator; according to Menander Protector, of Cilician origin, but Russu (*infra*) considers the name to be Thracian. His identification with Zemarchos, *comes Orientis* in 556, cannot be proved. Menander preserves the description of Zemarchos's embassy to the Turkish khan Sizaboulos at Sogdiana (H. Haussig, *Byzantion* 23 [1953] 304) or Ištämi (Moravcsik, *Byzantinoturcica* 2:275f) in 568/9–571. Zemarchos encouraged the Turks to make war on Persia and, with a retinue of 20 men, accompanied the khan on one of his anti-Persian expeditions. Having sent his officer George with a Turkish escort by a shorter and deserted road, Zemarchos returned via the "swamp" (Aral Sea) and the Volga, where he was well received by the Alans. Bypassing Persian ambushes, Zemarchos reached Trebizond, probably carrying a large load of silk.

LIT. I. Russu, "Zemarchos. Ein Beitrag zur byzantinischen Prosopographie (6.Jh.)," *Dacia* 14 (1970) 415f. –W.E.K., A.K.

ZEMIANSKÝ VRBOVOK, a village in Silesia, where in 1937 a hoard was discovered that included 17 silver coins (miliaresia and hexagrams) of Constans II and a hexagram of Constantine IV struck at the beginning of his reign. Grierson (*DOC* 2.1:19) suggests that these "ceremonial" coins were struck as diplomatic gifts. The hoard also contained silver objects: bracelets, a necklace, earrings, cups, a chalice, etc., all now in the Slovakian National Museum in Bratislava. Svoboda (*infra*) interprets the hoard as belonging to a silversmith and revealing the area's Byz. connections, in contrast to the lack of evidence for connections between Pannonia and the Lombards or Ravenna.

LIT. B. Svoboda, "Poklad byzantského kovotepce v Zemianském Vrbovku," *Památky archeologické* 44 (1953) 33–108. P. Radoměrský, "Byzantské mince z pokladu v Zemianském Vrbovku," ibid. 109–27. –A.K.

ZEMUN (Ζεύγμινον), also Zemlin; a fortress on the right bank of the Danube, near Belgrade-SINGIDUNUM. It was the site of Roman Taurunum, a station for the Danubian fleet, still mentioned in the *Notitia dignitatum.* By the end of the 11th C., Zemun was a Hungarian stronghold on the frontier with Byz.: in 1096 the crusaders of PETER THE HERMIT took Zemun and allegedly slaughtered 4,000 Hungarians there. In the 12th C., Zemun was a bone of contention between Byz. and the Hungarians. In 1127, the Hungarians attacked BRANIČEVO, demolished its walls, and, according to Niketas Choniates, carried its stones to Zemun; Kinnamos relates that they destroyed Belgrade and used its stones to build Zemun. In 1165 István (Stephen) III, the king of Hungary, besieged Zemun. He allowed the Greeks and the Hungarian partisans of his rival, István IV, to

leave peacefully after having surrendered the fortress. In 1167, Andronikos Kontostephanos captured Zemun and defeated the Hungarian army near it, on the river Sava.

In the 15th C., the Hungarian king Sigismund granted the city of Zemun to George Branković, who had his palace in nearby Kupinovo. On 17 Dec. 1455, in a battle near Kupinovo, the Turks defeated George Branković and took him captive.

LIT. M. Dabižić, *Zemun, pregled prošlosti od nastanka do 1918* (Zemun 1959). Ž. Škalamara, *Staro jezgro Zemuna*, 2 vols. (Belgrade 1966–67). –A.K.

ZENO (Ζήνων), emperor (474–91); died Constantinople 9 Apr. 491. Originally called Tarasis (R.M. Harrison, *BZ* 74 [1981] 27f) or variants thereof, he took the name of Zeno from a distinguished Isaurian countryman who had served under Theodosios II. He was leader of the Isaurian contingent (perhaps the *exkoubitores*) in Constantinople, married Leo I's daughter Ariadne, and became *comes domesticorum.* In 469–71 he cooperated with Leo in the elimination of Aspar and the reduction of the Germanic threat to the capital. Upon Leo's death in 474, Zeno's son Leo II became emperor but died in the same year, leaving power to Zeno. Faced with foreign threats, Zeno negotiated a peace with the Vandal king Gaiseric. He then had to confront a plot engineered by his mother-in-law Verina and her brother Basiliskos. Zeno fled to Isauria in 475 but with the help of Illos and Theodoric the Great returned to the throne the next year. Restored to power, Zeno encountered further difficulty from the Ostrogoths in Thrace and the continued machinations of Verina and Illos. Zeno approved the elevation of Julius Nepos as the last Western emperor in 474 and was technically ruler of an undivided state after the coup of Odoacer. In 488 he rid Illyricum of the Ostrogoths by persuading Theodoric to march on Italy and conquer Odoacer. Zeno's proclamation of the Henotikon led to the Akakian schism with the papacy. Zeno was personally unpopular and the Orthodox sources generally condemn his pro-Monophysite policy. He did, however, see the empire through a particularly difficult period with considerable skill.

LIT. A. Karamaloude, "Hoi metaboles sten politike tou Zenonos meta ten ptose tou dytikou Rhomaïkou Kratous kai hoi Ostrogotthoi hegemones (476–481)," *Symmeikta* 6 (1985) 73–90. D. Pingree, "Political Horoscopes from the Reign of Zeno," *DOP* 30 (1976) 133–50. E.W. Brooks, "The Emperor Zenon and the Isaurians," *EHR* 8 (1893) 209–38. –T.E.G.

ZENOBIA (Ζηνοβία, now Ḥalabīyah in Syria), stronghold on the west bank of the Middle Euphrates, in the province of Euphratensis, founded by and named after Zenobia, queen of Palmyra (266–71). Although it was an insignificant fortress in the 6th C., Chosroes I, during his expedition of 540, failed to take it. Justinian I sent two architects, Isidore the Younger and John of Byzantium, to rebuild the town (Prokopios, *Buildings* 2.8.8–25). Excavations have revealed city walls with two towers flanking the north gates, the palace (praetorium) of the military commander, two major arteries with a tetrapylon in the center, a bath with a palaestra, houses, and churches. The buildings were constructed of local stone in the manner typical of Syria. (The churches are similar to the basilicas in Sergiopolis, showing that the Constantinopolitan architects followed local traditions.) An inscription with a curse of "Bishop Lucian" is interpreted as testifying to the existence of an episcopal see at Zenobia. In the *Notitia Antiochena* Zenobia is a suffragan of Sergiopolis. Taken by the Persians in 610, the fortress was gradually abandoned. The necropolis at Zenobia probably belongs to the Palmyrene period (N.P. Toll, *SemKond* 9 [1937] 11–21).

LIT. J. Lauffray, *Ḥalabiyya-Zenobia: Place forte du limes oriental et la Haute Mesopotamie au VIe siècle*, vol. 1 (Paris 1983). F.W. Deichmann, "Halebiya-Zenobia," *CorsiRav* 21 (1974) 155–60. K. Abel, *RE* 2.R. 10 (1972) 8–10. –M.M.M.

ZEON (ζέον, lit. "hot"), the custom, unique to the Byzantine rite, of adding hot water to the chalice at Eucharist, for Constantinople first alluded in the 6th C. The original term for this was *thermon*, but the word *zeon* was introduced in the 12th C. and the two were thereafter used interchangeably. No early source indicates at what precise point the infusion occurred, but it is possible that hot water was mixed with the wine both at the prothesis and before communion. From the 11th to 12th C. onward, the addition of the *zeon* occurs after the fraction and commixture, though there is evidence pointing to its infusion at the prothesis, too.

The origins of the *zeon* are disputed. It was associated with the flux from Jesus' side or interpreted to mean that in communion one receives the warm blood of the living risen Christ. Since the Resurrection is the work of the Holy Spirit, the formulas accompanying this ritual symbol of the rising refer to the Spirit. *Zeon* and AZYMES were a source of dispute between Greeks and Latins from the 11th C. onward.

LIT. R. Taft, "Water into Wine," *Muséon* 100 (1987) 323–42. –R.F.T.

ZETA (Ζέντα), a region encompassing parts of southwestern Yugoslavia and northern Albania, usually identified as DIOKLEIA-Duklja. The term appears in Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 30.105) as *Zentina*, the name of the river Cetina. Kekaumenos (Kek. 170.29–30) was the first to use the designation Zenta for a region in which [Stefan]-Voislav Diokletianos (from Diokleia) ruled in the mid-11th C. His *toparchia* also included Dalmatia and Stamnon (possibly the island of Ston). St. SAVA OF SERBIA applies the term Zeta to the littoral of the Adriatic Sea, and it is assumed that Zeta was a princedom or kingdom that, in the 11th–12th C., fought with RAŠKA for hegemony over all of SERBIA. Under the NEMANJID DYNASTY Zeta formed a part of the Serbian state, usually being ruled by the "junior king." After the death of Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (1355), however, it acquired independence under the rule of the three Balšići brothers. They acted in alliance with Dubrovnik and took advantage of Serbian involvement in war against the Turks and LAZAR's conflict with Bosnia: after 1371 George Balšić expanded his possessions from Dubrovnik to Prizren, but the Turkish advance cut short the successes of Zeta. In 1444 the new dynasty of Crnojevići acknowledged Venetian supremacy, but nevertheless they had to become vassals of the Turks. In the 14th C. the new name *Montenegro* began to replace that of Zeta.

LIT. *Istorija Crne Gore*, vol. 2, pts. 1–2 (Titograd 1970). Fine, *Late Balkans* 137–42, 389–92, 528–34. –A.K.

ZETOUNION. See LAMIA.

ZEUGARATIKION (ζευγαρατίκιον), a tax or charge in specie attested in documents from 1073 to 1428–43. V. Vasil'evskij (*ŽMNP* 210 [1880] 366f) interpreted it as a land tax, while K. Chvostova (*Osobennosti* 99) sees in *zeugaratikion* a part of the land tax levied from the demesne, and F. Dölger (*Schatz.* 146) a tax from the ZEUGARATOI. *Zeugaratikion* is usually mentioned in lists of exemptions together with EPEREIAI such as KASTROKTISIA or MITATON. A *prostagma* of 1428 or 1443 implies that it was a charge that could be levied on the *zeugaria* of a monastery (*Lavra* 3, no.166.23–24). In the *praktikon* of 1073, *zeugaratikion* is a supplementary tax of insignificant size: the *paroikoi* from three *proasteia* paid more than 32 nomismata from their *stichoi* and only 20 miliaresia of *zeugaratikion* (*Patmou Engrapha* 2, no.50.148–62), that is, less than 5 percent, and the correlation between the two payments varied from one *proasteion* to another. In a *praktikon* of 1333 the *zeugaratikion* was 9.5 hyperpyra or 34.5 percent of the 27.5 hyperpyra levied on the *staseis* of the *paroikoi* (*Zogr.* 29.88–93), and before 1346 Iveron paid 200 hyperpyra as *zeugaratikion* and 200 as KEPHALAION for its properties around RADOLIBOS (Solovjev-Mošin, *infra*, no.6.19–20).

The relation between the *zeugaratikion* and another tax or charge called *zeugologion* is unclear. Jacoby (*Société*, pt.IV [1965], 405–20) suggests that the *zeugaratikion* appears in Venetian Messenia under the name *zovaticum*. *Zeugaratikion* is sometimes identified with SITARKIA.

LIT. Solovjev-Mošin, *Grčke povelje* 442–44. Angold, *Byz. Government* 224. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 122f. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 357. –M.B.

ZEUGARATOS (ζευγαράτος), the designation for a peasant who possessed the fiscal and economic unit of a ZEUGARION. The term is found in documents from 1073 through the end of the 13th C. in which, for purposes of taxation, peasants, esp. *paroikoi*, were frequently categorized according to the quantity of land they held and the number of oxen they owned. The categories were *dizeugaratos* (a rare term denoting the owner of two *zeugaria*), *zeugaratos*, *boidatos* (holding a *boidion*, "one ox," i.e., half a *zeugarion*), AKTEMON and, infrequently, APOROS. A treatise on measurement composed prior to the 14th C. sets the wealth of a *zeugaratos* at 24 nomismata, a *boidatos* at 12 nomismata, and an *aktemon* at 6 nomismata. In the cadaster of LAMPSAKOS (1218/19) the annual base tax on *zeugaratoi* appears to be 10 hyperpyra, on *boidatoi* 5,

aktemones 2.5 to 3, and *aporoi* 1 hyperpyron, in addition to CORVÉES commutable for cash. A treatise dated 1232, probably from Cyprus, provides somewhat different figures: a *zeugaratos* held 40 *modioi* of land with a total wealth of 60 hyperpyra, and a *pezos* (*aktemon*) 30 *modioi* and 40 hyperpyra.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 153, 161–63. Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 303–12. Angold, *Byz. Government* 138, 221–24. Litavrin, *VizObščestvo* 53–63, 117–20. –M.B.

ZEUGARION (*ζευγάριον*, lit. "a yoke of oxen"). This traditional meaning of the term is attested in documents: thus, a chrysobull of 1327 mentions a tax from the *zeugaria* "which are found and work in the *chorion* of Prebista" (*Zogr.* 26.33–34). The ANGAREIA of *zeugaria* appears in some lists of exemptions (e.g., *Lavra* 2, no.89.167). The term has also been applied to a unit of measurement (similar to the Lat. *iugum*) equivalent to the quantity of land that could be cultivated by a pair of oxen; this meaning is also attested in documents—for instance, "the arable land of 4 *zeugaria*" (*Zogr.*, no.10.14). Schilbach (*Metrologie* 67–70) surmises that the theoretical size of a *zeugarion* was 144 *modioi*, although the scarce data of documents available show a range of *zeugaria* from 83 to 213 *modioi*. It may be necessary to raise the latter figure, since a charter of 1407 equates 3 *zeugaria* with 748 *modioi* (by calculation, 723) of CHORAPHIA and *esothyrochoraphia* (*Pantel.*, no.17.38–39). Thus, in this case there were 249 (or 241) *modioi* per *zeugarion*. The usual explanation of such a variation is that the quality of the land was taken into consideration but this cannot be proved; in the charter of 1407 the land was of first quality.

Another difficulty in interpreting the term is that the *praktika* use it only in the sense of a pair of oxen, and it is unclear whether an appropriate piece of land is understood. There appears to be no direct correlation between the number of *zeugaria* (oxen) and the quantity of arable land held by *paroikoi*.

LIT. Laiou, *Peasant Society* 61f, 161–73. Kazhdan, *Agrarnye otnošenija* 141–44. Oikonomides, *Documents et études*, pt.VI (1964), 169f. Chvostova, *Osobennosti* 141–47. –M.B.

ZEUGI CARTHAGO, PROVINCE OF. See AFRICA PROCONSULARIS, PROVINCE OF.

ZEUS, the king of the gods in Greek mythology, equated with Jupiter/Jove by the Latins. Pagans of the 4th C. still addressed Zeus as father of men (cf. Homer) and the "protector of Eastern and Western Rome" (THEMISTIOS, *Orationes* 1:125.3–5). Diocletian assumed the majestic epithet of Jovius ("belonging to Jove"), and one of the 4th-C. Christian emperors bore the theophoric name Jovian. NEOPLATONISTS accepted Zeus as god-demiurge in their divine triad: Kronos, the pure mind (*nous*); Rhea, intellective life; and Zeus, demiurgic mind (H. Schwabl, *RE* supp. 15 [1978] 1386–88). Zeus was also identified with Mithra as solar deity and located in the center of the zodiac (L. Musso, *Manifattura suntuaria e committenza pagana nella Roma dei IV secolo* [Rome 1983] 47).

Christian apologists, drawing mainly on LUCIAN and other ancient rationalists, attacked the mythological image of Zeus, emphasizing its two weak points: his unethical behavior, esp. his adultery (V. Buchheit, *RhM* 125 [1982] 338–42), and his subjugation to fate (*heimarmene*). At the same time, Christians tried to appropriate, together with the idea of four virtues, the Platonic myth of Zeus as charioteer, replacing the king of the gods by Christ (J. Préaux in *Hommages à Marcel Rénard*, vol. 1 [Brussels 1969] 657). In the 12th-C. scholia to Hesiod's *Theogonia* (*Glossen und Scholien zur hesiodischen Theogonie*, ed. H. Flach [Osnabrück 1876; rp. 1970] 340–43), John Galenos treats Zeus as an allegory of Christ ("the cause of life," Galenos writes, playing with ETYMOLOGY by deriving the name Zeus from the word *zoe*) and identifies Zeus's arrows with the sign of the Cross. TZETZES suggested the triple allegory of Zeus: physically, he represents the clear air and the upper hemisphere; pragmatically, the mind (*nous*); and historically, the king of Crete (Hunger, *Grundlagenforschung*, pt.XIV [1954], 47).

In Byz. literature Zeus is primarily a symbol of lust (the rape of EUROPA, the golden rain on DANAË) or of might (the Homeric golden chain with which Zeus threatened to haul up all the other gods [*Iliad* 8:19; *Eust. Comm. Il.* 694.51–695.29]). When PLETHON tried to resuscitate ancient mythology, he conceived of Zeus as the greatest and best god who stood at the head of the universe; Zeus's son Poseidon, born without a mother, created the heaven and entrusted HELIOS to govern it. Scenes of Zeus's birth, his rebellion against Kronos, the courting of Semele, and his

siring of Dionysos and Athena illustrate the commentaries of pseudo-Nonnos included in numerous MSS of the homilies of Gregory of Nazianzos. Like Midas, Alexander, and other rulers, Zeus is habitually represented as an emperor (Weitzmann, *Gr. Myth.*, 78–80, 90f, figs. 52, 57–59). –A.K., A.C.

ZEUXIPPOS, BATHS OF. The most famous public baths of Constantinople, the baths of Zeuxippos (Ζεύξιππος) were allegedly built by Septimius Severus and enlarged by Constantine I. Situated close to the Great Palace by the northeast corner of the Hippodrome, they were decorated with numerous statues, of which 80—of pagan mythological figures, poets, philosophers, etc.—were described in the reign of Anastasios I by Christodoros of Koptos. The statues formed a meaningful arrangement with regard to their subject matter. The baths were burned down in 532 and rebuilt by Justinian I. They are last mentioned as functioning in 713 (Theoph. 383.9). Thereafter the vast building was converted to other uses. Part of it became a prison known as the Noumera, attested until the late 13th C. Michael Glykas was imprisoned there in 1156 and wrote a poem about his experiences. It appears that another part of the building housed a silk workshop, as suggested by the inscription on the textile found in Charlemagne's tomb (C. Diehl in *Strena Buliciana* [Zagreb 1924] 442). Part of the bath complex, probably pertaining to Justinian's rebuilding, was excavated in 1927–28. Two statue bases were then discovered, one inscribed "Hecuba," the other "Aeschines" (*Second Report upon the Excavations Carried Out in and near the Hippodrome of Constantinople in 1928* [London [1929]).

LIT. R. Guilland, "Les thermes de Zeuxippe," *JÖB* 15 (1966) 261–71. Mango, *Brazen House* 37–42. R. Stupperich, "Das Statuenprogramm in den Zeuxippos-Thermen," *IstMitt* 32 (1982) 210–35. –C.M.

ZEUXIPPOS WARE, type of Byz. sgraffito ware pottery, first identified in the excavations of the Baths of Zeuxippos in Constantinople, where it was described as "Shiny Olive Incised Ware II." The ware is characterized by fine, thinly potted, hard-fired fabric with sparse sgraffito decoration, often a central medallion and circles or ovals filled with palmettes or other designs; figural decorations are also found. The characteristic shape is a deep bowl with either a low or a high ring foot. Megaw (*infra*) divided the ware into two classes: one with a colorless or pale monochrome glaze, and one with added color. Zeuxippos Ware was produced during the late 12th and early 13th C. Examples have been found in Constantinople, throughout the Aegean, on Cyprus, on the northern shore of the Black Sea, in Antioch, Egypt, Corinth, Pergamon, and Preslav, making it difficult to accept Megaw's theory that such pots were made only in Constantinople.

LIT. A.H.S. Megaw, "Zeuxippus Ware," *BSA* 63 (1968) 67–88. –T.E.G.

ZEYREK KILISE CAMII. See Pantokrator Monastery.

ZIATA. See Charpete.

ZICHIA (Ζιχία, Ζηκχία), land on east coast of the Black Sea that was separated from Tamatarcha-Tmutorokan by the Oukrouch (Kuban?) River and had a city called "Nikopsis," according to Constantine VII Porphyrogennetos (*De adm. imp.* 42.95–99). In another chapter (6.5) he mentions the inhabitants of Cherson who served the emperor in Rhosia, Khazaria, and Zichia.

The Zechoi, according to Prokopios (*Wars* 8.4.2), used to have their kings appointed by the Romans, but by his time they had become independent. From the 7th C. onward, the autocephalous archbishopric of Zekchia is mentioned in notitias; eventually it appears in conjunction with either Tmutorokan or Cimmerian Bosporos. In the legend of the apostle Andrew's travels he is said to have visited Zichia on his way from Abasgia (Abchasia) to the Upper Sougdaia and Bosporos (M. Bonnet, *AB* 13 [1894] 333.30).

It is unclear to what extent and when the Byz. established control over Zichia. Manuel I used, among others, the title "emperor of Zichia, Khazaria, and Gothia," but this titulature could have been vainglorious. The much-discussed seal of Michael, "*archon* of Tmutorokan, Zichia, and Khazaria," pertains to the same area, but there is no reason to suppose, with Bănescu, that Byz. in the late 11th C. possessed vast territories in the northern Caucasus. Hungarian and Italian travelers of

the 13th C. mention the land of Sychia (the spelling varies) in which the *civitas* of Matrica (Matracha-Tmutorokan) was sometimes believed to be located.

LIT. L.I. Lavrov, "Adygi v rannem srednevekov'e," *Sbornik statej po istorii Kabardy*, vol. 4 (Nal'čik 1955) 19–64. N. Bănescu, "La domination byzantine à Matracha (Tmutorokan), en Zichie, en Khazarie et en 'Russie' à l'époque des Comnènes," *BSHAcRoum* 22 (1941) 57–77. –O.P.

ZIGABENOS, EUTHYMIOS, or Zigadenos, theologian; baptismal name John; fl. ca.1100. His life is obscure. For a long period Zigabenos (Ζιγαβηνός) was wrongly identified with EUTHYMIOS OF AKMONIA. He was a monk in Constantinople invited by Alexios I (probably ca.1110) to write a refutation of heresies, which he produced under the title of *Panoplia dogmatike*, with the collaboration of John PHOURNES. After a eulogy of Alexios, Zigabenos refuted ancient heresies, from Epicureanism to ICONOCLASM, then shifted to contemporary erroneous doctrines, such as those of the Armenians (E. Trapp, *JÖB* 29 [1980] 159–64), Muslims (J. Darrouzès, *REB* 22 [1964] 282), PAULICIANS, and BOGOMILS. He described the execution of BASIL THE BOGOMIL, but differently from Anna KOMNENE, who knew and praised Zigabenos's work. As his primary method of argumentation Zigabenos used abundant citations of the fathers. He also wrote commentaries on the Psalms, Gospels, and St. Paul's epistles. His commentary on the Psalms survives in numerous MSS and was the basis for a unique miniature depicting the Third Anointment of David in the 14th-C. MS Athos, Lavra B. 25 (Cutler, *Aristocratic Psalters*, fig.44). Attribution to Zigabenos of other works preserved under the name of Euthymios is questionable.

ED. PG 128–30. Ficker, *Phundag.* 89–111. *Euthymiou tou Zigabenou Hermeneia eis tas ID' epistolas tou apostolou Paulou*, ed. N. Kalogeras, 2 vols. (Athens 1887).

LIT. Beck, *Kirche* 614–16. M. Jugie, "La vie et les oeuvres d'Euthyme Zigabène," *EO* 15 (1912) 215–25. A.N. Papabasileiou, *Euthymios-Ioannes Zygadenos* (Leukosia 1979). –A.K., A.C.

ŽIGAJLOVKA, village in the district of Sumy, in the Ukraine, where in 1964 a silver vessel of Constantinopolitan provenance and dated to the end of the 4th to beginning of the 5th C. was found. Ornamented with two friezes, the upper shows military scenes and the lower the hunting of various animals. The vessel is now in the Sumy museum.

LIT. V. Kropotkin, *Rimskie importnye izdelija v Vostočnoj Evrope* (Moscow 1970) no.1333. –A.K.

ZION. See SION.

ZLATOSTRUJ (lit. "Golden Stream"), a compilation of homilies by and excerpts from JOHN CHRYSOSTOM in Old Church Slavonic translation. It was probably composed in Preslav in the late 9th or 10th C. under the patronage of Tsar SYMEON OF BULGARIA, who is believed by some scholars to have had a hand in the compilation himself. The *Zlatostruj* is not a liturgical text, but is rather intended for the moral and doctrinal edification of clergy and laymen through private reading. It suggests a not negligible level of literacy in Bulgaria at the time. The work exists in two recensions, a short version of 80 excerpts and a longer one of 136. The latter contains supplementary material from a catena of Theodore DAPHNOPATES (10th C.). The *Zlatostruj* was widely read by southern and eastern Slavs in the Middle Ages and survives in numerous MSS.

LIT. A.F. Malinin, *Isledovanie Zlatostruja po rukopisi XII v. Imperatorskoj Publičnoj Biblioteki* (Kiev 1878). G.A. Il'inskij, *Zlatostruj A.F. Byčkova XI veka* (Sofia 1929). K. Ivanova, "Neizvestna redakcija na Zlatostruja v sŭrbski izvod ot XIII v.," *Zbornik istorije književnosti Srpske Akademije Nauka i Umetnosti* 10 (1976) 89–100. K. Ivanova, in *Kirillo-Metodievska Enciklopedija*, vol. 1 (Sofia 1985) 726–28. –R.B.

ZODIA (ζώδια), "living forms," such as the animals represented in 12th- and 13th-C. sculptures (Grabar, *Sculptures II* 16f). The term usually refers to the four living creatures of biblical theophanies (Ezek 1:5–10, Apoc 4:6–7). The association of their four faces (man, lion, ox, and eagle) with the Gospels was made by Irenaeus (PG 7:885–86) and repeated by later authors. As EVANGELIST SYMBOLS the four are depicted with portraits of Matthew, Mark, Luke, and John as well as various theophanic images. In liturgical contexts, the four beasts may be accompanied by the words with which the heavenly host proclaim the "triumphal hymn" in the liturgy. The pairing of animal and evangelist was never regularized in Byz. and several systems occur before the 13th C. Thereafter,

the solutions associated with Irenaeus and St. Jerome (Nelson, *infra* 15f) prevail. In some Byz. texts, the term *zodia* refers to sculpted images (e.g., *Parastaseis* 33, 290).

LIT. Nelson, *Preface & Miniature* 15–53. –R.S.N.

ZODIAC. See CONSTELLATIONS.

ZOE (Ζωή), second daughter of CONSTANTINE VIII, empress (with her sister THEODORA, 21 Apr.–12 June 1042); born ca.978, died Constantinople 1050. As heiress of the MACEDONIAN DYNASTY, Zoe was wed to ROMANOS III by her father. When Romanos found she was barren, he tolerated her affairs; rumor associated her with Constantine Artoklines and Constantine Monomachos, and she encouraged her lover, the future MICHAEL IV, to drown Romanos. During Michael's reign, agents of JOHN THE ORPHANOTROPHOS watched Zoe closely; she was induced to adopt the future MICHAEL V. After his accession, he determined to rid himself of her: on the night of 18/19 Apr. 1042 she was dispatched to a convent on Prinkipo (see PRINCES' ISLANDS). During the ensuing uprising, she was recalled. The crowd in the Hippodrome, however, rejected her (20 Apr.). After Michael's fall, Zoe and Theodora ruled jointly; they abolished the sale of offices, raised many to the senate, and offered the people generous donatives. Zoe chose CONSTANTINE IX MONOMACHOS as her third husband. During his reign, she died. According to Psellos, she was pious but vain, quick to understand but slow to speak, lavishly generous but capricious in punishing. She delighted in supervising the manufacture of perfumes and ointments carried out in her own quarters. Zoe's portrait, flanking Christ with an emperor whose inscription has been changed to indicate Constantine (IX), survives in Hagia Sophia, Constantinople. The occasion and hence the date of this panel are much disputed (R. Cormack, *Art History* 4 [1981] 141–46, fig.6).

LIT. Skabalanovič, *Gosudarstvo* 10–54. –C.M.B., A.C.

ZOE KARBONOPSINA (Καρβωνοψίνα), or Karbonopsis (lit. "with coal-black eyes"), empress and fourth wife of LEO VI; died Constantinople after 920. Zoe belonged to the family of THEOPHANES THE CONFESSOR and included among her ancestors Photeinos, *strategos* of the Anatolikon theme; the admiral HIMERIOS was her relative. She became Leo's concubine after the death of his third wife, Eudokia, and gave birth in 905 to the emperor's first son, the future CONSTANTINE VII; their illegal union caused the controversy known as the TETRAGAMY OF LEO VI. Leo arranged both an imperial christening for the infant and (probably in June 906) his own marriage to Zoe; the priest Thomas, who performed the marriage, was deposed by EUTHYMIOS. When Leo died, his brother Alexander expelled Zoe from the palace; after Alexander's death NICHOLAS I MYSTIKOS obtained from the senate and the bishops the promise not to accept her as empress. Zoe, however, carried out a coup d'état (Feb./March 914), deposed Nicholas from the regency, and ruled with the support of the *parakoimomenos* Constantine and the general Leo Phokas. The unsuccessful war against SYMEON OF BULGARIA and the humiliating treaty with the Arabs of Sicily, who were asked to assist Byz. in its struggle against rebels in Apulia and Calabria, permitted Zoe's adversaries to gain power; in 919/20 she was compelled to yield the administration to ROMANOS I LEKAPENOS and retire to the convent of St. Euthymia, where she died.

LIT. *Vita Euthym.* 192–95. Vasiliev, *Byz. Arabes* 2.1:223–44. –A.K.

ZOGRAPHOU MONASTERY, dedicated to St. George, located north of Kastamonitou in the interior of the Mt. ATHOS peninsula. Its origins are shrouded in legend. One such legendary source is the so-called chronicle of Zographou, which has been variously dated by scholars from the 13th to the 18th C. Preserved in the Slavic original and in Greek translation, it ascribes the foundation of Zographou to the three Selima brothers, the sons of Justinian I, who allegedly came to Athos from Ohrid in the reign of Leo VI. D. Papachryssanthou (*Prot.*, p.92f) suggests that the monastery was founded by a certain "George the *zographos*," whose signature appears on the TRAGOS of between 970 and 972 (*Prot.*, no.7.167). He is not characterized, however, as a monk or *hegoumenos* and may have been a painter, just as the monk and *hegoumenos* Nicholas who signed the same document was a calligrapher (no.7.163). The monastery definitely existed by the 11th C. when

it is mentioned in a decision of the council of Mt. Athos of 1049 (*Zogr.*, no.3.12 and 51); in an act of 1051 (*Zogr.*, no.4.1–2) it is titled the monastery "of the great martyr George." The data on the history of Zographou in the 12th C. must again be treated with great caution: the *sigillion* of 1142 given by Maria Tzousmene, allegedly daughter of John II Komnenos, is considered by P. Bezobrazov (*VizVrem* 17 [1910] 403–05) to be a forgery, and the so-called chrysobull (in Slavic) of Ivan Kaliman, allegedly of 1192, is a later "compilation."

More is known about Zographou from the 13th C. onward, when the monastery was under the control of Bulgarian monks. The *praktika* of Zographou, from the end of the 13th C. to 1320 (Ostrogorsky, *Féodalité* 266–71), are precious sources for the agrarian history of the Strymon valley, since they reveal the development of certain estates over a period of 25 years. Bulgarian tsars, esp. Ivan Alexander, favored Zographou, conferred privileges, and urged both Byz. emperors and Stefan Uroš IV Dušan (L. Mavromatis, *Byzantion* 52 [1982] 351–56) to make donations to the monastery. The library contains only six Greek MSS of Byz. date (Lampros, *Athos* 1:31–35).

SOURCE. *Actes de Zographou*, ed. W. Regel et al., *VizVrem* 13 (1907), supp. 1. L. Maurommates, "Mesaioniko archeio Mones Zographou," in *Aphieroma Svoronos* 1:308–16.

LIT. K. Tchérémissinoff, "Les archives Slaves médiévales du monastère de Zographou au Mont-Athos," *BZ* 76 (1983) 15–24. A. Stoilov, "Svoden chrisovul za istorijata na Zografskija monastir," *Sbornik v čest na V. Zlatarski* (Sofia 1925) 447–57. V. Mošin, "Zografskie praktiki," *Sbornik v pamet' na P. Nikov* (Sofia 1940) 291–300. –A.K., A.M.T.

ZONARAS, JOHN, historian, canonist, and theologian, high-ranking official (*megas droungarios tes viglas* and *protasekretis*) at the court of Alexios I; died after 1159?. Zonaras (Ζωναρᾶς) probably lost his position after 1118 and became a monk at the monastery of St. Glykeria (location disputed—K.Ziegler, *RE* 2.R. 19 [1972] 722). His chronicle, *Epitome historion*, encompasses history from the creation of the world to 1118; the major portion is based on written sources (Skylitzes and Psellos for the period after 811), but Alexios's reign is Zonaras's original work, evidently a polemic against the eulogy of the emperor by Anna Komnene. Zonaras's chronicle was translated into Church Slavonic. He also produced commentaries on the Apostolic constitutions, canons of councils, and on church fathers, as well as some hagiographical and homiletical works (e.g., an *enkomion* of St. Eupraxia—E.Gamillscheg, *AB* 99 [1981] 247–49). The *lexikon* preserved under his name is not Zonaras's (Hunger, *Lit.* 2:42f; K. Alpers, *RE* 2.R. 19 [1972] 732–63). An ideologue of Byz. officialdom, Zonaras strongly opposed the "seigneurial" style of government as represented by Alexios; he criticized Alexios for distributing "public money" to his relatives who received properties as large as cities (ed. T. Büttner-Wobst, 3:767.2–8), warned against over-indulgence toward the soldiery and resented excessive taxation and wasteful expenditure (Kazhdan-Franklin, *Studies* 59–63).

ED. *Epitome historiarum*, ed. L. Dindorf, 6 vols. (Leipzig 1868–75); Byz. section by T. Büttner-Wobst (Bonn 1897). Germ. tr., E. Trapp, *Johannes Zonaras: Militär und Höflinge im Ringen um das Kaisertum* (Graz-Vienna-Cologne 1986). Commentaries—PG 137–38.

LIT. Hunger, *Lit.* 1:416–19. Beck, *Kirche*, 656f. A. Jacobs, *Zonaras-Zonara: Die byzantinische Geschichte bei Joannes Zonaras in slavischer Übersetzung* (Munich 1970). M. DiMaio, "Smoke in the Wind: Zonaras' Use of Philostorgius, Zosimus, John of Antioch and John of Rhodes," *Byzantion* 58 (1988) 230–55. –A.K.

ZONE. See Belt.

ZOODOCHOS PEGE. See Pege.

ZOODOTES. See Christ: Types of Christ.

ZOOLOGY. Like botany, zoology was not a separate scholarly discipline in Byz. and was not taught in the schools. There was, however, great interest in animals, whose study was approached from various angles. The works of Aristotle were studied in their own right: a 10th-C. *Epitome of Aristotle's Zoology* (ed. V. Rose, *Anecdota Graeca et Graecolatina* [Berlin 1870; rp. Amsterdam 1963] 2:17–40), commentaries by Michael of Ephesus on each of Aristotle's zoological works, and a commentary (attributed to John Tzetzes) on his *Parts of Animals* survive. An interest in the classical catalogs of poisonous creatures by Nikander of Colophon, Philoumenos (fl. ca.150), and Galen is shown by the prose summaries of Nikander's *Theriaka* and *Alexipharmaka* by an otherwise unknown Euteknios (fl. before 512—ed. M. Papa-

thomopoulos [Ioannina 1976]). Accurate zoological illuminations form an important part of the Byz. MSS of Nikander.

Practical needs stimulated the writing of veterinary manuals (summarized in books on HIPPIATRICA), handbooks for farmers (e.g., the GEOPONIKA), tracts on parasitology (ALEXANDER OF TRALLES), treatises on PHARMACOLOGY, and books on HAWKING. Prose summaries of works by OPPIAN on HUNTING and FISHING reflect the persistent Byz. use of ancient authorities.

The Byz. had great curiosity about exotic animals (cf. PHYSIOLOGOS, TIMOTHEOS OF GAZA, Manuel PHILES); often they made no distinction between real and imaginary beasts. In the 11th C. Constantine IX Monomachos established a zoo in Constantinople; Attaleiates (Attal. 48.11–50.11) describes with amazement the ELEPHANT and giraffe exhibited there. The vita of MAKARIOS OF ROME and the ALEXANDER ROMANCE also reflect the Byz. fascination with fantastic animals.

LIT. Z. Kádár, *Survivals of Greek Zoological Illuminations in Byzantine MSS* (Budapest 1978). F.S. Bodenheimer, *Materialien zur Geschichte der Entomologie bis Linné* (Berlin 1928) 1:199–202. Hunger, *Lit.* 2:265–70. K. Vogel, *CMH* 4.2:284–86. –J.S., A.K.

ZORAVA (Ζοραούα, Ezraʿ in modern Syria), village bishopric (Jones, *Cities* 289) in the province of ARABIA. It was situated in the Trachonitis (east of the Jordan River) region, where the governmental unit was usually not the city but the village, which was administered from the 3rd C. by elected officials called, for example, *pistoi, dioiketai, ekdikoi* (G.M. Harper, *YCS* 1 [1928] 103–68). This tradition of community enterprise is still apparent at Zorava in the 6th C.: among the four known churches on the site, all financed by laypeople, that of St. Elias was erected in 512 by "the people of Zorava" (R.E. Brünnow, A. von Domaszewski, *Die Provincia Arabia* 3 [Strasbourg 1909] 350), an unusual form of dedication in the East but one that is found nearby at Kome Nebo and Madaba (*IGLSyr* 21.2, nos. 100, 131, 146). A *proteuon* (*decurion*) was the donor in 515 of the Church of St. George, an aisled tetraconch building apparently modeled on the cathedral of the metropolitan see of BOSTRA, of which Zorava was a suffragan (W.E. Kleinbauer, *DOP* 27 [1973] 108). –M.M.M.

ZOROASTRIANISM, the official religion of the SASANIAN Empire and the ancient, traditional religion of the Persian nation until the triumph of islamization. Under the Sasanian monarchs its religious text (*Avesta*), cult, and priesthood were systematized, and religion and state were closely allied and intertwined. Ardashīr I (224–40) ordered the priest Tansar to create one authoritative version of the *Avesta*, a process finished under Shāpūr II (r. 309–79) in 21 books. Zoroastrian cosmogony, cosmology, and eschatology assume a period of 12,000 years in the course of which the god of light (Ohrmazd) and the god of darkness (Ahriman) are usually in combat and during which time they create good and evil. After 9,000 years Zoroaster appeared to teach mankind the religion of good, and at the end of the 12,000 years the final combat will take place, with the resurrection of the dead. The god of good triumphs, the good enter paradise, the evil go to hell, and those who are neither go to an in-between station. Elements of nature playing an important role are the sun, water, and esp. fire. There was a hierarchization of fire temples at the apex of which were the fire temples of individual monarchs, then those of districts, of villages, and of the house. The priestly class played an important role in the maintenance of the caste structure. The form of Zoroastrianism prevalent among the Sasanians was the Zurvanist. The principal deities of the pantheon were Zurvan, Ohrmazd, the Sun (Mithra), Fire (Adhur), and Bedukht.

The Christian tradition identified Zoroaster as Ham or Nimrod and believed that he died from the impact of a "living stream of a star (*tou asteros zosa rhoe*)" that allegedly gave him a new name (W. Hinz, *RE* 2.R. 10 [1972] 779). A 6th-C. Byz. historian (Agath. 2.24.6–9) relates that Zoroaster or Zarades was a Persian religious reformer whose dates are unknown, that he discarded the veneration of gods who, according to Agathias, were similar to the Hellenic pantheon, and that he introduced a religion that conformed with the dualism of so-called MANICHAEANISM. Some saints' vitae describe the conflict between Zoroastrian priests and Christian holy men. The *Souda* mentions Zoroaster as Zares. In the 15th C. Plethon considered Zoroaster to be an ancestor of Platonism and the inspirer of the CHALDEAN ORACLES, the greatest of ancient legislators and wise men.

LIT. Christensen, *Sassanides* 141–78. G. Widengren, *Die Religionen Irans* (Stuttgart 1965) 243–319. M. Boyce, *A History of Zoroastrianism*, 2 vols. (Leiden 1975–82). M.V. Anastos, "Pletho's Calendar and Liturgy," *DOP* 4 (1948) 277–99. –S.V., A.K.

ZOSIMA, author of the *Ksenos*, an account of his journey from Moscow to Constantinople, Athos, and the Holy Land in 1419–22. In ca.1411–13 Zosima had accompanied the Muscovite bride of the future John VIII Palaiologos on her journey to Constantinople. In the *Ksenos* Zosima's descriptions of the sacred sites are of little independent value, being somewhat haphazard and often derived from previous Eastern Slavic accounts (notably that of DANIIL IGUMEN). The narrative focus and interest of the *Ksenos* is more personal, as Zosima conveys the experience of travel. He describes being beaten and severely injured by "evil Arabs" and being stripped and robbed by pirates. He is curious and informative about money (the variety of coinage, bribes) and about languages (he records and explains Greek, Latin, and Arabic expressions). As to factual reporting, he is normally content to include numbered inventories or lists: the six sons of Manuel II (and their titles); the 22 monasteries on Athos; four leading church officials in Hagia Sophia; ten churches in Jerusalem; seven forms of worship in the Church of the Resurrection; and an appendix of multilingual geographic and numerical lists.

ED. *Kniga choženij: Zapiski russkich putešestvennikov XI–XV vv.*, ed. N. Prokof'ev (Moscow 1984) 120–36. First part only, in Majeska, *Russian Travelers* 166–95, with Eng. tr.
LIT. Seemann, *Wallfahrtslit.* 250–60. –S.C.F.

ZOSIMOS (Ζώσιμος), historian of the 5th–6th C. In the title of his work Zosimos is characterized as *komes* and lawyer of the fisc (*apo phiskou synegoros*); proposed equations with the sophists Zosimos of Gaza or Askalon have no wide acceptance. His *New History*, written perhaps ca.501 (Al. Cameron, *Philologus* 113 [1969] 106–10), after a sketchy prelude about ancient Greece, covers Roman events down to 410, where it breaks off in book 6. The "New" of the title suggests a belligerent opposition to Christianity, rather than a second edition as PHOTIOS (*Bibl.*, cod.98) surmised. Zosimos is one of the last pagan historians and one of the first to talk in terms of the fall of Rome. He can be unnervingly oblivious to the contradictions produced from discrepant sources (F. Paschoud, *Orpheus* n.s. 6 [1985] 44–61), e.g., in the case of STILICHO where a switch from EUNAPIOS (his chief, almost plagiarized source where available) to OLYMPIODOROS OF THEBES turns hostility into admiration. He is most useful for periods for which other sources are lacking, e.g., the 3rd C. and 378–410. Constantinople under CONSTANTINE I THE GREAT is treated at some length, and Zosimos prophesied that Constantinople would flourish (Kaegi, *Decline* 135–42). Zosimos's narrative is at times a vehicle for disguised criticism of contemporary events and personalities; for example, he denounced Augustus for introducing MIMES into Rome (bk.1, ch.6). Zosimos's writings survive in a single MS (Vat. gr. 156) probably produced in the monastery of Stoudios; it contains rebuking marginal notes from several Byz. readers.

ED. *Historia nova*, ed. L. Mendelssohn (Leipzig 1887). (Partial) *Histoire nouvelle*, ed. F. Paschoud, 3 vols. in 4 (Paris 1971–86), with Fr. tr. *New History*, tr. R.T. Ridley (Sydney 1982).
LIT. F. Paschoud, *Cinq études sur Zosime* (Paris 1975). W. Goffart, "Zosimus, the First Historian of Rome's Fall," *AHR* 76 (1971) 412–41. R.T. Ridley, "Zosimus the Historian," *BZ* 65 (1972) 277–302. A.M. Forcina, *Lettori bizantini di Zosimo. Le note marginali del cod. Vat. gr. 156* (Milan 1987). –B.B.

ZOSTE PATRIKIA (ζωστὴ πατρικία), the only specifically female DIGNITY. The term means either "girded" or "girding lady-patrician," or, as Bury (*Adm. System* 33) has it, "mistress of the robes." The *zoste patrikia* was attached to the empress as her "lady of honor." The first known *zoste patrikia* was Theoktiste (ca.830), mother of the empress THEODORA (Oikonomides, *Dated Seals*, no.48). The statement of the *Patria of Constantinople* that Belisarios's wife Antonina was *zoste patrikia* is anachronistic. In the *Kletorologion* of PHILOTHEOS the *zoste patrikia* occupies the place between the *kouropalates* and *magistros*, her insignia being ivory tablets. The title disappears from narrative sources after 1018 (Skyl. 364.64), although it is mentioned on a seal of 1060–70 according to Seibt (*Bleisiegel* 260–62); it is not listed in the 14th-C. pseudo-Kodinos.

LIT. Guilland, *Titres*, pt.XXVI (1971), 269–75. A. Vogt, "Histoire des institutions: Note sur la patricienne à ceinture," *EO* 37 (1938) 352–56. –A.K.

ZUART'NOC' (lit. "Heavenly Hosts, Vigilant Powers"), a church (later dedicated to St. GREGORY THE ILLUMINATOR) built by Nersēs III (*katholikos*, 641/2–52/3 and 658/9–61/2) as part of his palace compound just east of VAŁARŠAPAT. The plan of the complex is clear, although it has long been in ruins. The church stood on a polygonal stepped terrace that projected from the palace. It was a tetraconch with a circular ambulatory. The curving exedrae of the tetraconch opened into this aisle through columns placed between great W-shaped piers. Only the east exedra lacked the columns. It was separated from the aisle by a solid curved wall, and its floor was raised as a bema. At the east a rectangular chamber abutted the outer wall. Sunk in the ambulatory was a quatrefoil baptismal (?) basin. Five steps descended to a small crypt in the center of the church.

The late date of Zuart'noc'—at least a century after similar aisled tetraconchs in Syria (e.g., APAMEIA, SERGIOPOLIS)—and the lack of contemporary parallels in Armenia, are evidence that the plan was imported. Remaining rubble suggests that the church was not timber-roofed, however, but vaulted in tufa-faced concrete throughout. Its precise elevation remains conjectural. Among the many remaining sculptural fragments are basket capitals with Nersēs' Greek monogram and spandrel figures of stone workers.

LIT. W.E. Kleinbauer, "Zvart'nots and the Origins of Christian Architecture in Armenia," *ArtB* 54 (1972) 245–62. –A.T.

ZVONIMIR, DEMETRIOS (Dmitar), ruler (*dux*, then king) of Croatia (1075–89); died Knin 1089. Zvonimir came to power at a time of major changes in the Balkans and the Adriatic. With great diplomatic skill he strengthened his small principality. Byz. was losing its influence over Dalmatia, and Venice tried to replace it. The doge Domenico Silvia (1070–84) not only possessed some coastal land but assumed the title *dux Dalmatiae* and claimed rights over the whole territory. While Venice acted in alliance with Henry IV of Germany (1056–1106), Zvonimir sought the support of Pope GREGORY VII and the Normans. He accepted the Latin liturgy and was rewarded with the royal title. The Dalmatian fleet helped ROBERT GUISCARD cross the Adriatic and attack Alexios I. The deaths of Robert and Gregory VII weakened Zvonimir's position; he faced the resistance of the Slavic aristocracy who opposed the Latin predominance at his court. Under papal urging, Zvonimir was inclined to join a proto-crusade against the Bogomils and pagan Pechenegs, but the assembly of Croatian nobles rejected the idea and murdered him.

LIT. F. Šišić, *Pregled povijesti Hrvatskoga naroda* (Zagreb 1962) 139–42. Fine, *Early Balkans* 279–84. –A.K., C.M.B.

ZYGADENOS, EUTHYMIOS. See ZIGABENOS, EUTHYMIOS.

ZYGOSTATES (ζυγοστάτης, lit. "one who weighs with a balance"), public weigher, a municipal official who, according to a law of Julian (*Cod.Just.* X 73.2), was to check the quality of the SOLIDUS. The term often appears in papyri and inscriptions of the late Roman Empire (L. Robert, *RPhil* 32 [1958] 37f), e.g., in the formula *zygostates tes poleos* (L. Robert, *Hellenica* 11–12 [1960] 51). Justinian I in the 11th edict considers *zygostatai* as the chief offenders in altering the purity of gold coins. Some seals of *zygostatai* are preserved from the 6th and 7th C. (G. Schlumberger, *RN*[4] 9 [1905] 351, no.287). In the TAKTIKA of the 9th and 10th C. the *zygostates* is not an urban but a state functionary, belonging to the staff of the SAKELLION. The epithet "imperial" is given to a *zygostates* on a seal of the 7th C. (Zacos, *Seals* 1, no.2803). Bury (*Adm. System* 94f) surmises that from that time the *zygostates* examined and weighed coins that came to the treasury. Theodore of Stoudios (PG 99:808C) describes the *zygostasia* as a profitable business, and CHRISTOPHER OF MYTILENE (ed. Kurtz, no.12) praised the *zygostates* Eustathios as founder of a church and "one of the great *chartoularioi.*" In the false privilege allegedly bestowed on Monemvasia in 1316 the *zygastikon* was named as one of the customary payments to toll inspectors for weighing and measuring wares (P. Schreiner, *JÖB* 27 [1978] 219.30), but that had nothing in common with the functions of the *zygostates* of the *sakellion.*

LIT. L.C. West, A.C. Johnson, *Currency in Roman and Byzantine Egypt* (Princeton 1944) 187–91. –A.K.